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The origins and development of *jueju* verse

Hsieh, Daniel, Ph.D.

University of Washington, 1991

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The Origins and Development of Jueju Verse

by

Daniel Hsieh

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

University of Washington

1991

Approved by _____
(Chairperson of Supervisory Committee)

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Program Authorized
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Daniel Hsieh

Doctoral Dissertation

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Abstract

The Origins and Development of Jueju Verse

by Daniel Hsieh

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One of the most popular and important of genres in the Chinese poetic tradition is the jueju, or quatrain. It is at first striking that such a brief and apparently minor form played such an important role in the poetic tradition. But during the golden age of Chinese poetry, the High Tang (mid-eighth century), all the great masters of the day excelled at this genre, with a number of poets being known primarily for their jueju poems. The jueju continued to possess a rich vitality after the Tang and through succeeding dynasties even as the classical verse tradition declined.

The purpose of this study is to trace origins and development of this genre. It is only by examining the early evolution of the genre before its maturation that we can begin to understand the reasons for its greatness. We

find that the jueju is more than a bare form, that it is a blend of elements that evolved over a very long period of time. The themes, occasions, diction, and approaches that characterize the jueju often can be traced back to developments that took place centuries before the Tang. For example, during the Tang, the jueju was a favorite genre for composing informal parting verse. Antecedents for this practice can be found as early as the fourth and fifth centuries in the quatrain love lyrics of the Southern Dynasties. Lovers often sang these songs when they parted, and later literati would imitate these songs to express feelings of friendship. As a genre the jueju has a certain character or personality, and in a very real sense this study is a biography of the jueju during its all important formative stages.

The approach of this dissertation is primarily historical. The different stages of the evolution of the jueju are identified and described as it evolves from simple rhymes, to folk and popular song, and finally into a true poetic form. Special attention is focused upon the art and structure of the jueju, and the various means and paths by which it was able to advance from a simple, sub-literary form to a major genre.

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This work is dedicated to my grandfather, Dr. Martin C. Yang. He offered support and encouragement when it was most needed it. Without him this dissertation would never have been written. I only regret that he is not here to see its completion.

INTRODUCTION

Form and Genre

Roses red,
  Violets blue,
Darling sweet
  I love you.[1]

Self-abandonment
I sat drinking and did not notice the dusk,
Till falling petals filled the folds of my dress.
Drunken I rose and walked to the moonlit stream;
The birds were gone, and men also few.[2]

The first "poem" quoted above is a childrens' rhyme long popular in England and America. The second piece is a work by the Tang poet, Li Bo 李白 (701-762), one of China's two greatest poets. There is a vast gulf between these two pieces, but there is also a simple but important similarity. They both are quatrains. Li Bo's poem would be classified by the Chinese as a jueju 絕句 , a distinct genre in the Chinese poetic tradition which in addition to

being comprised of four lines is also subject to a variety of prosodic rules defining meter, tones, and rhyme. Just as important, a juejv is a poem that belongs to a genre that had evolved over a long period of time and attained a certain maturity and consistency of style, language, tone, and had developed a set of established approaches, themes and occasions or sub-genres. In short, the juejv is a true literary genre, that utilizes and evolved from a basic form, the quatrain.

To look at this evolution from form to genre offers a fascinating picture of literary history. We can see how poems such as Li Bo's had their origins in simple songs and lyrics, which at times show similarities to and in structure were only slightly more sophisticated than children's rhymes. The rhyme quoted above, for example, is one of thousands of pieces that have been made up by children to a basic formula in which the first couplet, "Roses are red,/ Violets are blue," is repeated, and the second couplet is improvised with the last line (always ending with "you" to rhyme with blue) serving as a sort of punch line.

Roses are red,
Violets are blue,
I like pecans,
Nuts to you.[3]

The structure of this children's ditty can be compared to a favorite quatrain title of the Six Dynasties, "Ever Since You Left" ("Zi jun zhi chu yi" 自君之出矣).[4]

Ever since you left,
My ornaments of gold and kingfisher have
darkened and dulled.
But my love for you is like the sun and moon;
Over and over, night and day, born and reborn.
(Lu Qinli, p. 1219)[5]

This piece by Liu Jun 劉駿 (430-464), Emperor Xiaowu of the Song Dynasty 宋孝武帝 (420-479), is the earliest surviving example of this title. When we turn to Guo Maoqian's 郭茂倩 (12th century) Yuefu shi ji 樂府詩集 we see twenty other pieces with this title by poets of various dynasties up to and through the Tang (618-907).[6] All but three of these pieces are quatrains. Ordinarily each of the quatrains follows a formula in which the first couplet opens with the line "Ever since you left" and the second couplet opens with the phrase "My love for you is like..." (si jun ru 思君如). As with "Roses are Red," the piece is based upon a standard formula with the burden of the improvisation on the second couplet. The poet will open it with a simile, often consisting of an unusual, striking image (along with the sun and the moon we also see

love compared to form and shadow, swirling snow, a bright candle etc.) which is then resolved or explained in the fourth and last line.

Along with their similarities in approach and structure, "Roses are Red" and "Ever Since You Left" also seem to share a path of development that in one aspect is curiously similar. The Oxford Dictionary of Nursery Rhymes gives several variations of "Roses are Red." The earliest example quoted (from a collection dated 1784) is not a quatrain, but a longer love poem which opens with the quatrain formula that has been described above. The last piece recorded, 'I like pecans, Nuts to you,' is described as a New York children's street rhyme from 1937.[7] The formula for "Ever Since You Left" also was taken from a longer, original poem, Xu Gan's 徐幹 (170-217) "Boudoir Thoughts" ("Shi si" 室思). It is based upon the last four lines of the third stanza (each stanza consisting of 10 lines).

Ever since you left,
My bright mirror, unpolished, has darkened.
My love for you is like the water's flow;
How can it ever end?
(Lu Qinli, p. 376)*

I have juxtaposed a children's ditty and Li Bo's

masterpiece as a way of showing a simple, basic form in its most primitive and most advanced states. They would seem to have nothing in common except for the fact that they are both made up of four lines. Yet the example of "Ever Since You Left" (representative of the middle stages of the development of the Chinese quatrain into the genre of the jueju), with its similarities of structure and approach to the children's ditty, suggests that there are some basic, qualities to be found in at least certain kinds of quatrains be they nonsense rhymes or great poetry. The contrast of the quatrain form at its most primitive and most sophisticated and the suggestion that there are certain fundamental qualities that link them, raises one of the questions that lies at the heart of this study. How does a basic form used for the simplest of rhymes and songs evolve into a literary genre practiced by masters such as Li Bo?

Before preceding I should briefly introduce what is meant by the term jueju. As I have explained above, it is best to think of jueju as a genre rather than a pure form. It can and has been translated into English as quatrain, but this term is limited since it only conveys the fact that the jueju consists of four lines and ignores all the other factors that have made the jueju a literary genre. Traditionally, jueju refers to the genre that was first perfected and flourished during the Tang Dynasty. The four lines of the jueju were composed in a meter of either five

or seven syllables per line. There are a few examples of six-syllable line quatrains. Wang Wei 王維 (701-761), for example, has written in this meter. But they are extremely rare and from the point of literary history, inconsequential. One of the major steps marking the maturity of the jueju was the development of rules of tonal prosody and rhyme. Parallel events were taking place in the eight-line regulated poem, or lüshi 律詩 . There was one major difference however. Though most jueju of the Tang adhered to the newly perfected rules of tonal prosody, unlike the lüshi, adherence to these rules was not required. One could compose guti 古體 (old style) or non-regulated jueju, and in fact many of the most famous jueju of the Tang are guti. Aside from these rules of prosody and form, the jueju is also marked by a maturity of style, language, and approach difficult to define but easy to recognize. This maturity was the result of a long period of evolution and refinement. For all these reasons modern and traditional scholars have distinguished the jueju of the Tang from the pre-Tang quatrains that were the origins of this genre, and have often referred to them by terms other than jueju, for example, wuyan siju 五言四句 (five-syllable quatrain), qiyan siju 七言四句 (seven-syllable quatrain) or simply xiaoshi 小詩 (little poem).

The Place of Jueju in the Poetic Tradition

Traditional Chinese critics and poets, marveling at the extraordinary poetry that could be encompassed within the four lines of the jueju, have regarded this genre with wonder and a special affection. Again and again, while reading through traditional criticism, one encounters the most unrestrained praise.

> Literature is the essence of language, poetry is the essence of literature, and jueju are the essence of poetry.
>
> Yang Shen 楊慎 (1488-1559)[9]

> When poetry evolved to the five-syllable jueju, it attained the purity of the voice of nature. Within it's mere twenty words, there is not a trace of display of learning or effort, yet it was now that the true nature and feeling of poetry, the true character of poetry emerged.
>
> Yang Shounan 楊壽枏 (b. 1867)[10]

> When poetry evolved to the seven-syllable jueju, poetry became perfectly good and perfectly beautiful. Emperors and princes, dukes and ministers, the famous and the unknown, even down

to women and girls, masterpieces came forth in profusion from them all.

Song Luo 宋犖 (1634-1713)[11]

Though the critics have been extravagant in their comments, when one looks to the jueju and its history, one begins to understand their enthusiasm and awe. It can be argued that the jueju is the single most important genre in the Chinese poetic tradition. No other genre can rival it in terms of longevity, vitality or popularity. In its most primitive form it can be traced back at least as far as the Han dynasty (206 B.C.- A.D. 220). Following a long period of development and refinement it was perfected during the Tang, the great age of Chinese poetry, and along with the eight-line lüshi 律詩 was one of the two most important genres of this age.[12]

To those familiar with the Western poetic tradition it may at first seem striking that this most important of Chinese genres should turn out to be a kind of quatrain. The very scale of these quatrains would seem to limit the depth and significance of the poetry of the jueju. In the English tradition the quatrain has generally been a minor form often used for amusement and as an exercise of wit. It is, for example, a favorite form for the epigram. However, when we look to the greatest poets of the greatest age of Chinese poetry---the High Tang---we find that the jueju was

probably the most popular genre of that age. There is no major Tang poet who did not excel at it. Wang Wei (701-761) is known largely for his jueju, as is Wang Changling 王昌齡 (ca. 698-ca. 756). Li Bo (701-762), one of China's two greatest poets, had a much wider range of course, yet the jueju was also a crucial part of his achievements as a poet, and he is generally recognized as the greatest master of this form. While the jueju did not have quite the same place in the corpus of Du Fu 杜甫 (712-770), Du Fu was a far greater master of this form than has been traditionally recognized. It was a form that he turned to increasingly in his old age and it can even be suggested that it was Du Fu's late quatrains that helped to transform and save the genre, enabling it to make the transition into the Middle and Late Tang.[13]

The immense popularity of the jueju during the Tang dynasty is also reflected by the fact that it was not limited to the poetry of the literati. Song Luo has mentioned how it was practiced at all levels of society, from emperors to females. The jueju was a popular form in the most literal sense of the word. As it was being perfected by masters such as Wang Wei and Li Bo, it also flourished among classes of people that were traditionally regarded as the lower strata of society. The huge anthology, Wanshou Tangren jueju 萬首唐人絕句, has devoted 3 juan (a total of 707 poems) to the works of

Buddhists, Daoists, immortals, women, palace ladies, ghosts and other supernatural entities.[14] One Qing critic, Wu Qiao 吳喬 (ca. 1611-after 1670), has gone so far as to say that the five-syllable jueju of boys and girls were superior to those of the literati and scholars, and those of immortals and ghosts surpassed those of boys and girls.[15] This is an unusual statement to say the least, but it does show how deeply this genre had permeated society at all levels.

Much of the popularity of the jueju is explained by the fact that besides being a literary genre, jueju were easily adapted as lyrics and set to music. Wang Wei's famous poem, "Sending Off Yuan the Second on His Mission to Anxi" ("Song Yuan er shi Anxi" 送元二使安西), became a favorite parting song, and is included in the Yuefu shi ji in the category of "Recent Lyrics" ("Jindai quci" 近代曲辭).[16] According to Zhou Xiaotian over 70% of the Sui and Tang lyrics in this category are jueju (the majority being seven-syllable pieces).[17] The story (apparently apocryphal) of the well known poets, Wang Changling, Gao Shi 高適 (ca. 700-765), and Wang Zhihuan 王之渙 (688-742) gathered in a tavern, secretly listening as a group of singing girls and imperial musicians performed their jueju is another example of the jueju serving as both literary poem and musical lyric.[18] The Qing critic, Wang Shizhen 王士禛 (1634-1711), described the jueju as the yuefu 樂府 (song

lyrics) of the Tang.[19]

The jueju continued to develop and evolve throughout the Tang. Each period added its own character and touch to the genre. Again and again we see it being renewed as the poets of each generation experimented and expanded its limits. Looking back on the jueju of the Tang it is difficult to identify a topic or theme it did not treat. Landscape, love, protest, parting, travel, history, were all common topics in jueju verse. Major sub-genres such as guiyuan 閨怨 (boudoir verse), biansai 邊塞 (border verse) and various types of yuefu style verse made up a major portion of the jueju of the Tang, but one also finds youxian 遊仙 (verse on Daoist roamings) and even the beginnings of a new sub-genre that would be associated exclusively with jueju, the lun shi jueju 論詩絕句 (jueju that discuss poetry).

Jueju continued to flourish during the Song dynasty (960-1279) and even though in later periods it along with other classical genres was eclipsed as popular, vernacular forms rose; it still retained a degree of vitality that, for example, the lüshi had long lost.[20] Traditional critics have long been struck by this longevity. The Ming 明 (1368-1644) and Qing 清 (1644-1911) critics looked back upon a poetic tradition that extended for over two thousand years. They were very conscious of the development, rise and fall of various styles, forms and genres through

different periods and dynasties. What amazed them in the case of the jueju was the extraordinary vitality of this genre. The great Ming critic, Hu Yinglin 胡應麟(1551-1602), devoted the first six chapters of the Shi sou 詩藪, to the study of the forms and genres of the shi 詩 tradition. The last of these chapters is on the jueju. In the opening paragraph he described its evolution:

> Coming to the masters of the Tang there was a transformation. The sounds and tones became harmonious, the patterns of the lines steady and smooth. Though in length it amounted to no more than one half of a jinti 近體 (i.e. an eight-line lüshi), in depth of meaning it far surpassed it. Though its rhythms were quicker than those of gexing 歌行 (song-style verse), in feeling and longing it greatly exceeded it. It then became the genre that would not alter through a hundred generations.[21]

Scope and Purpose of This Study

Although we ordinarily associate jueju with the Tang and indeed this is when the form was perfected and flourished, it is necessary to trace the origins and history of this genre if we are to understand the extraordinary

subtlety, richness, and depth that it was capable of. The *jueju* underwent a long period of development during which techniques, form, and content were gradually refined, expanded, and deepened until it became a seemingly inexhaustible genre that poets would turn to again and again not only during the Tang but in later periods as well. The purpose of this study is to trace the origins of the *jueju* from its earliest beginnings, which may go as far back as the *Shijing* 詩經 , through the Six Dynasties, up to the Tang. It was by the end of this period that the basic foundations of the genre had been established.

The story of this development is a fascinating one and not yet fully understood. It will take us from the most primitive children's rhymes and ditties to courtship songs, popular song lyric, court poetry and finally to the eventual unreserved acceptance by the literati in the late Six Dynasties when we see such major poets as Xie Tiao 謝朓 (464-499) and Yu Xin 庾信 (514-581) successfully using and developing this form. This dissertation then will be the first chapter in the story of the *jueju*. It is hoped that by going back to the beginnings and early stages of this genre we will be able to show the basis of its special character and greatness. It will stop with the beginning of the Tang since to go any further would be the subject of another study.

In tracing the evolution of the *jueju* we will also

discover that there is much fine poetry to be found in the pre-Tang quatrains. At times they may have their own special beauty and magic and need not bow down before the Tang. There are a number of fine quatrains by Six Dynasties literati, but even among the simpler folk and popular song lyrics one can find excellent examples. Hu Yinglin, discussing the anonymous quatrains of the Southern Dynasty yuefu, wrote:

> As for songs such as "Ziye" 子夜 , "Qianxi" 前溪, "Huan wen" 歡聞 , and "Tuanshan" 團扇 , though their language could be extremely extravagant, in tone they still preserved the ancient quality. As to the skill with which they expressed their ideas, and the beauty and subtlety with which they expressed their feelings, there were men of the Tang who, try as they might, could not follow in their footsteps.[22]

Hu Yinglin's statement is startling but acute. It reminds us that though the jueju was perfected and reached its height during the Tang we should not forget the poetry of other periods. Indeed there are times when one feels that the verse of the Tang has become too refined, too sophisticated, too perfect, and one longs for the naturalness and directness of the past. The search to trace

the origins and early history of the jueju will not only help us to understand this genre, but will also introduce us to the appreciation of an earlier, simpler, less recognized poetry.

Traditional Criticism

The jueju, being one of the most important genres in the Chinese lyric tradition, has naturally been the subject of much traditional criticism. Traditional Chinese scholars have identified and discussed most of the important problems in jueju scholarship, and it is largely upon the foundations that they have erected and from the issues that they have raised that this dissertation will proceed. Having relied heavily upon this criticism, I would like to briefly review the nature and content of the traditional scholarship.

Traditional literary criticism on the jueju (like other genres of poetry) is found scattered in prefaces to anthologies, commentaries to collections of poetry, letters, handbooks of composition and most importantly in the peculiarly Chinese form of criticism known as shihua 詩話 (poetry talk). In these sources one will not find any sustained, systematic monographs on the jueju. The reader instead will encounter a mass of notes, comments, pronouncements and inspirations on a variety of aspects of the jueju. The organization of these notes will be very

rough, if there is any order at all.

At first glance this approach to criticism can be daunting to the Western student. Statements can be extremely cryptic. Pronouncements are often made without any attempts of explanation or offers of evidence. There is a statement by Hu Yinglin about the seven-syllable jueju that I still puzzle over.

> Coming to the Tang, the seven-syllable jueju was no longer limited to yuefu style verse. However the poets of the High Tang had quite a bit of trouble grasping it. The Late Tang poets on the other hand found it to be extremely easy. Now if you can understand the superiority of the High Tang works and the inferiority of the Late Tang, then we can talk [poetry].[23]

Sometimes I think I understand what Hu Yinglin is saying. And when I think about it, there doesn't seem to be a better, more precise way of putting it.

As one becomes familiar with the style of this criticism one can begin to appreciate the treasury of insight and knowledge that the traditional scholars have to offer. There are weaknesses and flaws, but they have left a heritage that should not be underestimated or overlooked. In the case of the jueju there is a very rich tradition of

criticism, a kind of ongoing dialogue that has been held over centuries. We can see traditional scholars arguing back and forth on certain problems and issues peculiar to the jueju, but also discussing jueju poems and poets in the same ways they have approached poetry in general.

Their efforts have focused on several major topics and approaches: the search for origins; the tracing of the evolution of the genre and the identification of various styles and schools; the evaluation and ranking of individual poems, poets and periods; and the description and analysis of the structure, technique, and aesthetic of the genre. All these concerns are deeply rooted in the critical tradition. It is automatic for a Chinese scholar to look for the earliest origins of the phenomena he is studying; one could say it is an ingrained part of his intellectual background. This is also true of his desire to trace the evolution of the phenomenon and identify its ancestry and lineages. In the case of the jueju these concerns have led to centuries of speculation and debate that have continued to this day. The very question of what the term jueju actually means and the significance it may have in solving the problem of the origins of the genre is still unsettled and continues to be argued. Traditionally it has been the single most controversial issue in jueju scholarship. This question is of course crucial to this study and will be examined in detail in "Chapter I".

The question of the early stages of the evolution of the jueju has also been a major concern of traditional critics. This being the topic of my study, I have looked at their efforts with special interest. In this area in particular both the strengths and weaknesses of the traditional critics are especially visible. One sees their great knowledge of the past and the insight this has given them into the history of literature. For example, when I first began studying the lyrics of the Southern Dynasty yuefu, I began to wonder if there was any link between these quatrains and the jueju of the Tang. Later I discovered that a number of traditional scholars had pointed out the importance of the Southern yuefu centuries ago. In fact, by critically reviewing, sorting and picking through the ideas and statements of the traditional scholarship, one can obtain a remarkably accurate outline of the early stages of development of the jueju. In a sense much of this study will consist of assembling and filling in this outline.

It is in the filling in of the outline that traditional scholarship has been at its weakest. Many crucial questions and details have been ignored. The traditional critic tends to point rather than explain. Much of the traditional account of the early evolution consists of singling out important individual works and poets. Thus debates have focused on what is the earliest example of a seven-syllable quatrain. Especially fine examples of advanced, Tang-like

quatrains are pointed out and praised. In essence, the traditional critics have left behind a set of "landmarks" to guide us, but the precise paths by which the jueju evolved from form to genre have still to be traced.

On occasion one does see a critic attempting to be more systematic, but then other traditional factors have entered in that have limited the value of his work. The Ming critic, Xu Xueyi 許學夷 (1563-1633), for example, attempted to identify the different stages and schools of the jueju from its earliest beginnings. Though his remarks are scattered throughout the various chapters of his Shiyuan bianti 詩源辯體, he has taken care to label the entries that are concerned with the development of the jueju (he distinguishes the five and seven syllable forms and treats them separately). I will quote his first three entries, as examples of his approach.

> Old-style five-syllable quatrains such as "Pick the Mallow But Do Not Hurt the Roots" ("Cai kui mo shang gen" 采葵莫傷根) and "On Southern Mountain There Is a Cassia" ("Nanshan yi shu gui" 南山一樹桂) have a style that is lofty and ancient. The language is full and plain, their natural quality is wondrous. They are the beginnings of the five-syllable jueju. {Down to the five-syllable quatrains of Cao

Zijian}

Comparing Zijian's 子建 (Cao Zhi 曹植 [192-232]) five-syllable quatrains such as "Roaming About Lotus Lake" ("Xiaoyao Furongchi" 逍遙芙蓉池) and "Felicitous Clouds Have Not Risen in Season" ("Qingyun wei shi xing" 慶雲未時興) to the works of the Han, we begin to see traces of conscious craft. {From the anonymous five-syllable quatrains of the Han to the five-syllable quatrains of Zhang Mengyang}

Comparing Zhang Mengyang's 張孟陽 (Zhang Zai 張載 [fl. end of 3rd century]) five-syllable quatrains such as "Spirit and Strength Have Gradually Faltered" ("Qi li jian shuai sun" 氣力漸衰損) to the works of Zijian, we see that there has been a decline in spirit and character. {Down to the five-syllable quatrains of Lingyun (Xie Lingyun 謝靈運 [385-433]) and Yannian 延年 (Yan Yanzhi 顏延之 [384-456]}[24]

Though one can admire Xu Xueyi for his attempts to outline the stages of the evolution of the jueju, the weaknesses of his approach are obvious. There are large gaps between his "landmark" poets. He has concentrated

almost exclusively on major literati poets. And there is no attempt to explain how one stage leads to another. There are reasons for Xue Xueyi's approach and they have led him to a description that is at times very distorted. In essence he has been influenced by certain ideas about the patterns and nature of literary change, lineages and evolution, and has let these ideas guide him rather than the details of empirical evidence. Cao Zhi and Zhang Zai almost certainly had little or no role in the development of the _jueju_. The pieces that Xu Xueyi attributes to them above are most probably fragments.[25] The roles of Xie Lingyun and Yan Yanzhi also appear to be negligible. But Xu Xueyi seems to have been determined to identify the lineages and ancestry of the _jueju_ in the "high" literary tradition and was forced to exaggerate his evidence. On the other hand he virtually ignored the important evidence offered by lesser figures and popular traditions. For example, among the poems in Xie Lingyun's extant corpus, there are only a few pieces that are true, independent quatrains. Two of them are folk-style love songs.[26] Xu Xueyi, however, passed over these pieces. As an example of a Xie Lingyun quatrain he instead cites a piece entitled "Starting Out, Entering Nancheng" ("Chu fa ru Nancheng" 初發入南城), a piece which he singles out for its parallelism and ornateness.[27] But this quatrain is clearly a fragment. It does not read like a complete poem; it comes from a Tang _leishu_; and the

title of the work suggests that it originally was a typical, long Xie Lingyun landscape poem. Xu Xueyi was attempting to find a quatrain that seemed representative of Xie Lingyun's typical style, and that fit his idea of the general trend of literary development; the result was that he ended up misinterpreting, even distorting the evidence. Ever since Zhong Rong's 鍾嶸 (?-ca.518) Shipin 詩品, critics have attempted to identify the "ancestry" of various poets and styles, with mixed results. At times one feels that Xu Xueyi has tried too hard to fit the evidence to certain preconceived patterns and notions, and that the picture he has given us is a theoretical abstraction.

The traditional critics were themselves poets. At times their criticism consisted of concrete advice on how to compose a poem. The often practical concerns behind their comments and discussions have lead them to very perceptive and detailed descriptions and analysis of the structure, technique, and aesthetics of the jueju. The traditional division of the jueju into the four stages of qi 起 (opening), cheng 承 (continuation), zhuan 轉 (turn), and he 合 (resolution), and the stress that the critics have placed upon the third line, while not absolute laws, are overall still the best general analysis of the workings of the structure of the jueju.[28] Traditional discussions of the technique and aesthetics of the jueju have naturally focused on the works of the great Tang masters. It is

clear, however, that the Tang poets owed much to the experiments and developments of their predecessors, and I will attempt to trace the evolution of the techniques and aesthetics of the jueju from the earliest stages of the genre.

The most enjoyable aspect of the traditional critical tradition is simply being able to listen in as the masters talk about poetry and poets. They will single out favorite lines and works, rank and compare poets, evaluate the merits and character of the verse of different ages and dynasties, and then argue back and forth over each others choices and opinions. At times such talk may seem rather slight, almost akin to gossip, and in fact the shihua tradition does have links to the xiaoshuo 小說 (literally, "small talk") tradition of stories and gossip that eventually evolved into fiction.[29] Amidst such talk, however, one will also meet with the most astonishing comments and insights. For example, while discussing the five-syllable jueju of several of the High Tang masters, Hu Yinglin casually remarks that Li Bo's poems are "the spoken words of an immortal" (tianxian kouyu 天仙口語).[30] One can go through shelves of books and essays on Li Bo, but I do not think it is possible to find a better description of Li Bo's verse. When it comes to the pure feeling for poetry, the old critics are unsurpassed.

The jueju is a major topic in traditional literary

criticism. Besides being discussed in and of itself, jueju are often used to illustrate the laws and principles of poetry and poetic theory. At times it seems as if jueju came to be seen as the epitome of poetry.[31] The major critics have all turned their attention to it. And in the following pages I will be quoting from such figures as Wang Fuzhi 王夫之 (1619-1692), Wang Shizhen 王士禛 (1634-1711) and Shen Deqian 沈德潛 (1673-1719). As I have mentioned above, this study is largely based upon the foundations laid by such scholars.[32] Here, however, I would like to briefly acknowledge the contributions of Hu Yinglin. I think that the reader can already see from the number of times I have cited him, the extent to which I am in his debt. The collection of notes and comments grouped together in the Shi sou is probably the single most important body of criticism in the tradition of jueju scholarship. Both scholarly and inspired, it is representative of traditional criticism at its best.

Modern Scholarship

In modern times, there has been some excellent scholarship on the jueju, but until very recently it has generally been limited in scope, consisting primarily of brief surveys and introductions. There has also been a tendency to focus on the traditional problem of the origins

and meaning of the term jueju. I know of two early monographs, Hong Weifa's 洪為法 Jueju lun 絕句論 (1934) and Shao Zuping's 邵祖平 Qijue shilun 七絕詩論 (1946).[33] Hong Weifa's work is a survey of the jueju from its beginnings through the Tang and the Song. It does provide a good introduction to the main issues of jueju scholarship, but it is somewhat dated and of limited value. Shao Zuping's work is interesting because it concentrates exclusively on the seven-syllable jueju. It is illustrative of the special affection that poet and audience have had for this particular form of the jueju.[34] On the whole, however, it is a weak, curious mixture of modern and traditional elements without the strengths of either approach. The recent appearance of Zhou Xiaotian's 周嘯天, Tang jueju shi 唐絕句史 (1987) is a landmark in modern jueju studies. It is an excellent general introduction to the jueju, but it is also distinguished by his own perceptive, original approaches and insights. Zhou Xiaotian has a thorough knowledge of the scholarship of the past and is very much in its debt, but he is not overwhelmed by it. His study is an important addition to the body of jueju scholarship and the first work that a student should consult.

A number of fine articles on the jueju have appeared in this century. Among the earlier and still important studies are Lo Genze's 羅根澤 "Jueju san yuan" 絕句三源

(1944) and Sun Kaidi's 孫楷第 "Jueju shi zenyang qilai de" 絕句是怎樣起來的 (1947).[35] Japanese scholars have also studied the jueju. Two good survey studies on the question of the origins of the jueju are Suzuki Torao's 鈴木虎雄 "Zekku sogen" 絕句溯源 (1925) and Hirano Hikojirō's 平野彦次郎 "Zekku ni tsuite" 絕句について (1974).[36] Hirano Hikojirō's article is very interesting because he examines both Chinese and Japanese scholarship. We can see that the problem of the origins of the jueju has long been discussed by Japanese scholars. Unfortunately Hirano rarely cites the titles of the works that he discusses and quotes. A very good recent article on the development and art of the jueju is Shuen-fu Lin's "The Nature of the Quatrain From the Late Han to the High T'ang" (1986).

In recent years there has been a proliferation of anthologies and collections of jueju. One should not overlook the value of their introductions, prefaces and appendices. They often provide brief but lucid discussions of topics that have yet to be studied in depth. The focus of many of the recent anthologies is very specialized. One sees anthologies devoted to seven-syllable jueju, Song jueju, Qing jueju, Du Fu's jueju, jueju on poetry and so on. Each will usually include an introduction equivalent to a short essay on the area of focus of the anthology.

Much of the modern scholarship has concentrated on the

traditional problems of the origins of the genre and the meaning of the term jueju. Important work has been done, and much of it has direct bearing on this study. Overall however, the modern studies have tended to be survey-like in nature. They usually focus heavily on beginnings, then sketch in an outline of the developments that lead to the Tang. Li Changlu's 李長路 "Han Wei Jin Nanbeichao jueju tanyuan" 漢魏晉南北朝絕句溯源 is the one study I know of that attempts to treat the pre-Tang period in a more detailed and systematic manner.[37] It is a fine beginning step, but a rigorous, historical account of the early history of the jueju in which the stages of its evolution are examined in a concrete, detailed manner is still needed. This is the goal of my dissertation.

Methodology, Organization and Sources

This study, above all, aims to be concrete, detailed and historical. Earlier scholarship has pointed out the important landmarks in development of the pre-Tang quatrains. Here I would like to trace back the paths and by-ways by which these landmarks were reached.

I have divided the history of the pre-Tang quatrain into several stages. Most of the dissertation will be organized along the lines of these stages. Before the historical account begins, however, I will first address the

problem of the origins and meaning of the term jueju. This question will be the primary topic of the first chapter. "Chapter II" will look at the various different uses of the quatrain form up to and through the Han dynasty. The next chapter will look at the quatrain in the early and middle periods of the Six Dynasties, or to put it another way, from the Han to the pre-Southern Dynasties yuefu tradition. The fourth chapter will be devoted entirely to the Six Dynasties yuefu and their role in the evolution of the quatrain. "Chapter V" will focus on developments during the middle Six Dynasties. It is during this period that we see the quatrain form beginning to evolve into a true literary genre as it is adapted and refined by the aristocracy and literati. During this time we see the quatrain playing important roles in contemporary literary movements. The last chapter will be a survey of the quatrain during the late Six Dynasties. At this stage we see the quatrain becoming more personal, and being used for more traditional literati themes. By this point I hope to have shown how deeply rooted the jueju of the Tang are in the developments of the past and how essential it is to look to the origins of this genre if we are to understand its nature and character.

In closing I would like to acknowledge two works that have proven invaluable to this study. Lu Qinli's collection of pre-Tang poetry, Xian Qin Han Wei Jin

Nanbeichao shi 先秦漢魏晉南北朝詩, has been an essential resource. The thoroughness of Lu Qinli's collection and, just as important, his identification of the sources of the poems in his work, have in basic ways shaped my research. Lu Qinli's collection together with the Shi jing 詩經 and the Chuci 楚辭 offer as complete a picture as is now possible of Chinese poetry before the Tang.[38] There are poems that I simply would not have been aware of without his collection. Moreover, a number of the works crucial to this study need to be understood in the context of their settings. The task of tracing these settings without the help of Lu Qinli's references to the sources would have been daunting.

Above I have discussed the significance and value of the work of traditional scholars in the study of the jueju. This body of knowledge however is scattered in prefaces, letters, commentaries and shihua that span over a thousand years. Fortunately, in modern times there have been several attempts to cull these materials and gather together passages that discuss the jueju. The most valuable and extensive collection by far is Fu Shousun's 富壽蓀 and Liu Baishan's 劉拜山 "Tangren jueju jiping" 唐人絕句輯評.[39] They have examined almost 200 works from the Tang up to modern times and have extracted and classified passages that discuss the jueju. Their efforts have made accessible the rich world of traditional criticism.[40]

Notes to Introduction

1. From Iona and Peter Opie, The Lore and Language of Schoolchildren (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1959), p. 237.

2. The translation of Li Bo's "Zi qian" 自遣 is by Arthur Waley. It is as fine a poem in English as in the Chinese. Aware of my own limitations as a translator I wanted the English reader to have some idea of the poetry to be found in the works I will be discussing. Henceforth I will ordinarily be doing my own translations. See Arthur Waley, Chinese Poems (1946; London: Unwin Books, rpt. 1961), p. 103. It can also be found in several of his other anthologies. For the original poem see Li Bo 李白, Li Bo ji jiao zhu 李白集校注, ed. by Qu Tuiyuan 瞿蛻園 and Zhu Jincheng 朱金城, 4 vols. (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1980), III, juan 23.1354. See also Quan Tang shi 全唐詩, comp. by Cao Yin 曹寅 (1658-1712), et al., 12 vols. (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1960), III, juan 182.1858.

3. In Iona and Peter Opie, eds., The Oxford Dictionary of Nursery Rhymes (1951; Oxford: Oxford University Press, rpt. 1980), p. 375.

4. I am using "Six Dynasties" very loosely to refer to the period beginning after the Han continuing up to the Tang.

5. The page on which pre-Tang poems can be found in Lu Qinli 逯欽立, comp., Xian Qin Han Wei Jin Nanbeichao shi 先秦漢魏晉南北朝詩 (hereafter Lu Qinli), 3 vols. (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1983) will be cited in the text. I will list any other sources which I have consulted in the notes. See also Xu Ling 徐陵 (507-583), comp., Yutai xinyong jianzhu 玉臺新詠箋註, ed. Wu Zhaoyi 吳兆宜 and Cheng Yan 程琰 (Qing Dynasty), ed. by Mu Kehong 穆克宏, 2 vols. (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1985), II, juan 10.475. Here it is titled "In Imitation of Xu Gan" ("Ni Xu Gan shi" 擬徐幹詩).

6. Guo Maoqian 郭茂倩 (12th century), Yuefu shi ji 樂府詩集, 4 vols. (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1979), III, juan 69.986-990.

7. Opie, The Oxford Dictionary of Nursery Rhymes, p. 375. As an example of Chinese children taking a serious poem and turning it into a nonsense rhyme, take the case of Meng Haoran's 孟浩然 (689-740) famous jueju, "Spring Morning" ("Chun xiao" 春曉). In Taiwan, children recite:

> Spring sleep unaware of the dawn,
> Here and there mosquitos bite;
> With the coming of last night's rains and winds,
> How many were smite?

They have taken Meng Haoran's original poem and changed the second and fourth lines.

8. See also Xu Ling, Yutai xinyong jianzhu, I, juan 1.36.

9. Yang Shen 楊愼 (1488-1559), Sheng-an shihua 升庵詩話 , quoted in Sun Qin-an 孫琴安 , ed., Tangren qijue xuan 唐人七絕選 (Shanxi: Shanxi renmin chubanshe, 1982), p. 12 (of the preface).

10. Yang Shounan 楊壽柟 (b. 1867), Yunke shihua 雲適詩話 , quoted in "Tangren jueju jiping" 唐人絕句輯評 , p. 968 , in Fu Shousun 富壽孫 and Liu Baishan 劉拜山 , eds., Qianshou Tangren jueju 千首唐人絕句 , 2 vols. (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1985), II, 943-1051.

11. Song Luo 宋犖 (1634-1713), Mantang shuo shi 漫堂說詩 , in Qing shihua 清詩話 , ed. by Zhonghua shuju Shanghai bianjisuo 中華書局上海編輯所 , 2 vols. (Shanghai: Zhonghua shuju, 1963), I, 419. This compilation is based upon Ding Fubao's 丁福保 Qing shihua.

12. About one-fourth of the almost 50,000 poems that survive from the Tang are jueju, second in number to lüshi.

13. The nature and value of Du Fu's jueju have traditionally been the subject of much debate. Hu Yinglin 胡應麟 (1551-1602) went so far as to say, "During the High Tang, Meng Haoran 孟浩然 (689-740) excelled at five-syllable jueju but was weak at seven-syllable jueju. Gao Dafu 高達夫 (Gao Shi 高適 [ca. 700-765]) excelled at seven-syllable jueju but was weak at five-syllable jueju. The poet who was a master of both forms was Li Bo. The poet incapable of either form was Du Fu." See Shi sou 詩藪 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1958), "Neipian" 內篇 , juan 6.116. But Du Fu has also had his defenders. Though they acknowledge his style was "unorthodox," they have appreciated his distinctive voice and flavor. Moreover they have recognized the tremendous importance and influence of his jueju. See the chapter on Du Fu in Zhou Xiaotian 周嘯天 , Tang jueju shi 唐絕句史 (Chongqing: Chongqing

chubanshe, 1987), pp. 92-108; Shirleen Wong, "The Quatrains (Chüeh-chü 絕句) of Tu Fu," Monumenta Serica, vol. 29 (1970-71), 142-162.

14. See Zhao Huanguang 趙宧光 and Huang Xiyuan 黃習遠 , eds., Wanshou Tangren jueju 萬首唐人絕句 , ed. by Liu Zhuoying 劉卓英 , 2 vols. (Beijing: Shumu wenxian chubanshe, 1983), juan 10, 39, 40. This is a Ming compilation based upon the famous Song collection of the same title by Hong Mai 洪邁 (1123-1202).

15. Wu Qiao 吳喬 (ca. 1613-after 1670), Weilu shihua 圍爐詩話 , 2 vols. (Taibei: Guangwen shuju, 1969), I, juan 2.19b.

16. See Guo Maoqian, Yuefu shi ji, IV, juan 80.1139.

17. Zhou Xiaotian, Tang jueju shi, p. 39. Zhou discusses the relationship between jueju, lyric, and music during the Tang, see pp. 38-44.

18. Recorded in Xue Yongruo's 薛用弱 (9th century), Ji yi ji 集異記 . Only fragments of this text survive, an easily accessible version of this story can be found in Wang Pijiang 王辟疆 , ed., Tangren Xiaoshuo 唐人小說 (Shanghai: Gudian wenxue chubanshe, 1955), p. 252. It is translated and discussed in Steven Owen, The Great Age of Chinese Poetry (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981), pp. 91-93.

19. See the preface to his anthology, Tangren wanshou jueju xuan 唐人萬首絕句選 (Taibei: Wenguang tushu gongci, 1974), pp. 1-3.

20. Recently several anthologies devoted exclusively to Song and Qing jueju have appeared. See for example, Wang Yingzhi 王英志 , ed., Qingren jueju wushijia duoying 清人絕句五十家掇英 (Shanxi: Shanxi renmin chubanshe, 1986) and Pan Zhongxin 潘中心 and Fang Kaijiang 房開江 , eds., Songren jueju sanbaishou 宋人絕句三百首 (Guizhou: Guizhou renmin chubanshe, 1984).

21. Hu Yinglin, Shi sou, "Neipian," juan 6.105.

22. Hu Yinglin, Shi sou, "Neipian," juan 6.106.

23. Hu Yinglin, Shisou, "Neipian," juan 6.114.

24. Xu Xueyi 許學夷 (1563-1633), Shiyuan bianti 詩源辯體 , ed. by Du Weimo 杜維沫 (Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 1987), juan 3.59, juan 4.82, juan 5.94, respectively.

25. The earliest surviving source of the three examples cited by Xu Xueyi is the Tang leishu 類書 , the Yiwen leiju 藝文類聚 . They would appear to be extracts from longer poems. The two poems by Cao Zhi can be found in Lu Qinli, p. 462, the poem by Zhang Zai in Lu Qinli, p. 743 (Lu Qinli identifies the earliest sources of each of the poems in his collection). Much of the poetry of the Six Dynasties is preserved only in leishu. The fact that the earliest source of a poem is a leishu immediately raises suspicions that the poem is fragment, though at times it is difficult to determine for certain.

26. See his "Two Poems, Presented and Answered at Dongyang Creek" ("Dongyangxi zhong zengda shi er shou" 東陽溪中贈答詩二首). They are included in Yutai xinyong jianzhu, juan 10.473. See also, Lu Qinli, p. 1185.

27. See Xu Xueyi, Shiyuan bianti, juan 7.114. For Xie Lingyun's piece, see Lu Qinli, p. 1180.

28. Lin Shuen-fu has recently argued against the traditional four part analysis and stressed the two couplet structure of the jueju. He does make some very good points, but I do not feel that his analysis can replace the traditional description. The traditional description coupled with the recognition of the importance of the 3rd line can account for the point that Lin Shuen-fu wants to stress with his analysis---the contrast between the two couplets. But Lin Shuen-fu's analysis does not cover all the distinctions recognized by the traditional description---most notably the distinctions of quality and purpose of the individual lines of each couplet. Both descriptions of course are generalized models, in actual practice one can find a number of exceptional pieces that do not fit the "rules". See Lin Shuen-fu, "The Nature of the Quatrain from the Late Han to the High T'ang," p. 304, in Shuen-fu Lin and Stephen Owen, eds., The Vitality of the Lyric Voice (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986), pp. 296-331.

29. See Zhang Baoquan 張葆全 , Shihua he cihua 詩話和詞話 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1983), pp.5-12.

30. Hu Yinglin, Shi sou, "Neipian," juan 6.119.

31. Zhou Xiaotian describes the influence of jueju on the practice and theory of poetry in general. See Tang jueju shi, pp. 220-221.

32. For a brief review of early anthologies and scholarship see Zhou Xiaotian, Tang jueju shi, pp. 222-223.

33. Hong Weifa 洪為法, Jueju lun 絕句論 (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1934). Shao Zuping 邵祖平, Qijue shilun, Qijue shihua hebian 七絕詩論, 七絕詩話合編 (Chengdu: Ba Shu shushe, 1986); according to the editor's preface this work was first published in 1946, but no bibliographical information is given. See also Shao Zuping's own account of the history of this work in his preface.

34. Several anthologies devoted exclusively to the seven-syllable form of the jueju have recently appeared. See Shen Zufen 沈祖棻, Tangren qijueshi qianshi 唐人七絕詩淺釋 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1981) and Sun Qin-an 孫琴安, Tangren qijue xuan 唐人七絕選 (Xi-an: Shanxi renmin chubanshe, 1982).

35. Sun Kaidi 孫楷第, "Jueju shi zenyang qilai de" 絕句是怎樣起來的 (1947), in his Cangzhou ji 滄州集, 2 vols. (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1965), II, 454-466. Lo Genze 羅根澤, "Jueju sanyuan" 絕句三源 (1944, 1954), in his Zhongguo gudian wenxue lunji 中國古典文學論集 (Beijing: Wushi niandai chubanshe, 1955), pp. 28-53. According to Lo Genze his article was first written in 1944. He does not say where it was first published. The version of 1954 has an additional postscript.

36. Suzuki Torao 鈴木虎雄, "Zekku sogen" 絕句溯源, in Shina bungaku kenkyū 支那文學研究 (Kyoto: Kōbundō, 1925), pp. 157-172. Hirano Hikojirō 平野彥次郎, "Zekku ni tsuite" 絕句について, in Tōshi sen kenkyū 唐詩選研究 (Tokyo: Meitoku shuppansha, 1974), pp. 57-77.

37. Li Changlu 李長路, "Han Wei Jin Nanbeichao jueju tanyuan" 漢魏晉南北朝絕句探源, Beijing shifan daxue xuebao, no. 59 (1983, #5), pp. 30-40, 65.

38. Lu Qinli acknowledges that there are some minor omissions. For example, he has not included bronze mirror inscriptions in the collection. Lu Qinli explains the methodology and scope of his collection in the "Houji" (postface). See vol.III, 2787-2794. There is however one major omission from the collection that hopefully will be addressed in the future--- the lack of verse from the Buddhist sutras. The ramifications of this omission for this study will be discussed in Chapter Three.

39. Fu Shousun 富壽蓀 and Liu Baishan 劉拜山, comps., "Tangren jueju jiping" 唐人絕句輯評, in their Qianshou Tangren jueju 千首唐人絕句, 2 vols. (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1985), II, 943-1051. This is a revised and expanded version of the "Tangren jueju jiping" that appeared in their Tangren jueju pingzhu 唐人絕句評注 (Hong Kong: Zhonghua shuju, 1980), pp. 288-372.

See also Shao Zuping 邵祖平 , compiler, Qijue shihua 七絕詩話 , printed together with Qijue shilun 七絕詩論 in Qijue shilun he Qijue shihua hebian (Chengdu: Ba Shu shudian, rpt. 1986); Liu Yongji 劉永濟 , comp., "Lidai shijia lun jueju xuanlu" 歷代詩家論絕句選錄 in Tangren jueju jinghua 唐人絕句精華 (Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 1981), pp. 339-368.

40. Whenever possible I have attempted to trace the passages they have extracted to the original source. However a number of the works they cite are very rare, only available in obscure congshu 叢書 . Another difficulty is that the "Tangren jueju jiping" only cites the title of the work it is quoting from. Without the juan number, finding the location of a passage can be very difficult.

CHAPTER I

THE ORIGINS AND MEANING OF THE TERM JUEJU

Introduction

The literal meaning of the term jueju and how it relates to the question of the origins of this genre has been the perennial problem of jueju scholarship. It is a problem that every student of the jueju has had to address, and one sees scholars from as early as the Song Dynasty down to the present day wrestling with this issue. The reasons for this intense focus are simple. Scholars have naturally and understandably thought that by discovering the true meaning of the name of the genre they could not only penetrate the mystery of the origins of the genre itself, but could also define its essential nature and character. These concerns coupled with a basic lack of concrete evidence have resulted in a plethora of theories probable and improbable. At one time or another, practically any possible idea that could be construed from the combination of the two words jue and ju has been suggested as the essential meaning of the term jueju. In this chapter I will

review the traditional and modern efforts to explain the term jueju as well as the origins of the genre, two distinct problems that traditionally have been interlinked. I will begin by briefly listing and describing the various theories that have appeared over the centuries. The more important theories will later be discussed in detail in separate sections.

Hirano Hikojirō, in his attempt to discover the origins of the jueju, first surveys the efforts of earlier Chinese and Japanese scholars. He reviews a total of seven theories on the meaning of the term jueju. His list is by no means complete.[1] I have encountered over ten theories and variations on these theories. Most of them can easily be discounted. Here I will list and identify the more well known suggestions.

1. The "wondrous lines" theory.---The basic meaning of jue is "cut" or "break." This is the meaning most scholars have assumed for the jue of jueju. However another common meaning of jue is "extraordinary, unsurpassed, unparalleled." And some scholars have attempted to use this meaning to explain jueju. As we have seen, the Chinese have always marveled at this genre so perhaps it is not surprising that this explanation should have arisen. The Song scholar, Hong Mai 洪邁 (1123-1202), the compiler of the famous anthology Wanshou Tangren jueju 萬首唐人絕句, was apparently the first to suggest this idea.[2] The

problem with this theory is that it has no basis in historical fact. Like a number of other theories that we will be encountering it is the kind of idea that is easily set forth, but for which no evidence can be supplied, and is akin to a sort of folk-etymology.[3]

2. The "lines break off but the meaning goes on" (ju jue er yi bu jue 句絕而意不絕) theory.---Yang Zai 楊載 (1271-1323), in the Shifa jiashu 詩法家數 , begins his discussion of the art and technique of the jueju with the following lines:

> On the art (fa 法) of the jueju.---It must be subtle and winding, and must reverberate. Cut out all that is extraneous; aim for concision. The lines break off but the meaning should go on.[4]

It is not clear if Yang Zai is actually implying that the origins of the term are to be found in his explanation. He is however attempting to explain the art and nature of the jueju through its name. It is not clear how he came to this explanation, but it is obviously another example of a fanciful etymology without any basis in facts.[5] Yang Zai's ideas, however, do point to a basic trait of the genre that has always impressed and fascinated the critics and poets---the fact that despite its brevity it was capable of such subtle and long lasting effect.

3. The "break after each line" (yi ju yi jue 一句一絕) theory.---Critics have focused on a quatrain traditionally attributed to Tao Yuanming 陶淵明 (365-427) and have sought to find the origins of the jueju in its unique style. This theory has a long history. The earliest known proponent of this approach appears to have been Zhang Duanyi 張端義 (1179-?).

> Spring waters overflow the marshlands.
> Summer clouds mass about wondrous peaks.
> The autumn moon emits its bright light.
> On a winter ridge, a noble, solitary pine.
>
> This poem is by Yuanming. It is the ancestor of the jueju. There is a break after each line.[6]

Zhang Duanyi is pointing out that each line of the poem is a distinct sentence unto itself. The lines do not flow into one another. In Chinese poetry, which is based upon the basic unit of the couplet, the style of the poem above is particularly striking and Zhang Duanyi has tried to find the origins of jueju in its distinctiveness. Later the well known Ming critic Yang Shen 楊慎 (1488-1559) would expand on Zhang Duanyi's comments, pointing out several Tang poems that followed this unusual style, but also warning the reader against adopting it.[7]

Though this poem is included in Tao Yuanming's collection under the title "Si shi" 四時 ("The Four Seasons"), commentators have long pointed out that the four lines that make up this piece were extracted from a longer poem by Gu Kaizhi 顧愷之 (ca. 345-ca. 406) entitled "Shen qing" 神情 ("Divine Feelings").[8] It is not clear how these four lines came to be extracted from the original piece to take a place in Tao Yuanming's collection. Some critics have simply assumed that Tao Yuanming enjoyed these lines and picked them out, and they have commended him for his excellent choice.[9] Whatever the case, it is clear that this piece originally was not a quatrain. Moreover, the style of the piece is extremely unusual. There is no basis for singling out this atypical example and attempting to trace the origins and nature of the <u>jueju</u> to it.

This theory also strikes one as a fanciful, spur of the moment "inspiration." One wonders why it proved to be as attractive as was. Perhaps the "aura" of Tao Yuanming gave it some authority. One might also point out that during the Middle and Late Tang and later, one does see poets experimenting with the <u>jueju</u> form, trying to expand its limits. One way to do this was to "pack" each individual line with a greater weight and force and widen the "gaps" between each of the lines (ordinarily, only the gap between the second and third lines was exploited), making each line more independent.[10] This <u>later</u> development in the art of

the jueju may have rendered this theory more plausible to certain critics and poets.

4. The "four lines to a jue" (si ju yi jue 四句一絕) theory.---This theory attempts to explain the jue of jueju as a kind of unit or measure. It maintains that as two lines make up a lian 聯, four lines make up a jue. Not much attention has been paid to this theory. I have only seen it argued by a few Qing critics. Modern scholarship with minor exceptions has ignored it. Though there are some obvious and immediate objections that one could raise against this theory, it should examined in more depth, and I will be treating it in a separate section later.

5. The "cut lüshi 律詩 (regulated poem)" theory. A number of critics have looked at the term jueju and tried to identify what the jueju may have been cut from. The earliest suggestion is that it was cut from a lüshi. This theory has had a long and controversial history (it possibly dates from the Song). It has been very influential despite its obvious flaws and the passionate attempts of many traditional critics to refute it. It has persisted even in modern times, though serious scholars of the jueju have long rejected it. This theory is in a sense the most important in jueju scholarship. All critics have had to confront it, it has stimulated centuries of debate, and much of the most advanced scholarship has resulted from efforts to disprove it. I will examine this theory more closely in a separate

section.

6. The "stanza of an old-style poem" theory.---Though most serious scholars have rejected the "cut lüshi" theory, they have gone on to try and identify other forms and practices from which the jueju (primarily the term jueju) may have been derived. One important suggestion is that the term jueju may have derived from the practice of cutting lines from guti 古體 (old-style) poems. A more specific variation of this idea is that such extractions usually consisted of the four-line stanzas (jie 解) of guti or yuefu poems so that a jueju was the equivalent of a jie. I will return to this theory below.

7. The "cut-off lianju 聯句 " theory. Several scholars have noted the practice of lianju (linked verse) during the Six Dynasties and wondered if the term jueju may refer to a cut-off lianju. There are two variations to this theory. One suggests that a jueju is a section of a lianju series that has been separated from the series. The other variation suggests that a jueju is a lianju that has been left uncompleted or unmatched. This theory has its roots in the Qing, but it was not until modern times that it was developed in depth. Today it is the theory accepted by most serious scholars of the jueju. See below.

8. The "abbreviated poem" theory.---Some scholars have resisted the notion that the jue of jueju necessarily implies a cutting off from a longer form. Instead they have

interpreted jue to mean something like "stopped" or "abbreviated." The modern scholar, Li Changlu 李長路, after briefly reviewing various other theories concludes that jue, "...means 'concise, short yet complete' or 'small yet sufficient,' that it doesn't mean 'a longer piece reduced to a short piece' is very clear."[11] He does not provide any arguments or evidence for his suggestion. It appears that it goes back to an idea advanced by Hu Yinglin. In his chapter on the jueju Hu Yinglin states that the "cut lüshi" theory is wrong. He does not attempt to offer an alternative explanation, and in fact states that the problem of the meaning of jueju had yet to be settled.[12] In a later chapter however he makes the following suggestion:

> When Liu Chang 劉昶 of the Song Dynasty (420-479) entered Wei he composed a duanju 斷句 (literally, "cut line") poem. This piece was in fact a modern jueju. The name jueju would seem to have its origins here. It was composed as a sudden and quick improvisation. It stopped at four lines, yet the composition was finished and the meaning complete. From the meaning of "broken off" and "cut" (duan and jue) there evolved [the term] jueju.[13]

In this passage Hu Yinglin seems to use the terms duan and

jie as "cut-off" in the sense of suddenly stopped or abbreviated, not as cut-off from a longer piece. Hu Yinglin's suggestion is a plausible and reasonable one. There are no strong reasons to reject it. The main problem is simply that however reasonable it is, there is no concrete or even circumstantial evidence to support it. It is the kind of theory that one should be aware of, but that is difficult to argue strongly for or against.

The origins of the term jueju have long been lost. As has been seen, critics from as early as the Song Dynasty did not know what jueju may have originally meant. The result has been a flood of theories, many of them very fanciful. Part of the problem has been that critics, abetted by the lack of concrete evidence, have been free to indulge in attempts to discover in a name, the origins, nature, and even principles of composition of the genre. There are dangers in such speculations, as a name may be nothing more than a name. One must be aware of placing too much significance upon it. More importantly, one must, as several modern scholars have been careful to point out, distinguish between the problems of the origins of the term jueju and the origins of the genre. They are not one and the same. Lo Genze, for example, suggests that the term jueju means a cut lianju, but he recognizes that cut lianju do not play a major role in the development of the genre itself. He simply maintains that the term arose from this

phenomena, and that eventually it came to be applied to the genre as a whole even though it had other more basic and important sources of origin.[14]

Before discussing in detail the major theories on the origins of the jueju, it is important first to review the history of the actual use of the various terms that have been used to name pre-Tang quatrains. An examination of these names and their usage offers the little concrete evidence we have on the origins of the term jueju. This evidence, though scanty, is crucial in eliminating some theories and serves as the basis for suggesting others. Below I have listed each term, citing instances of its earliest use. I have divided the sources of the citations into three categories. (1) Pre-Tang sources: includes such works as the Yutai xinyong 玉臺新詠 (compiled ca. 545 A.D.), Shipin 詩品 (written between ca. 513-ca. 518) and the pre-Tang dynastic histories compiled before the Tang. (2) Early Tang sources: this refers to the Nan shi 南史 and Bei shi 北史, histories that cover pre-Tang periods but compiled by the early Tang historian, Li Yanshou 李延壽 (n.d.). (3) Other sources: the vast majority of pre-Tang poetry has been passed down in sources that have gone through many later hands, and there is no guarantee that later editing has not occurred. Of course the pre-Tang texts also have variants, but in principle they should be more reliable than later sources. When I can locate

examples from pre-Tang and early Tang sources for a specific term, other examples will not be cited.

1. Jueju.

Pre-Tang

a) The Yutai xinyong contains three works with jueju in their titles: the "Gu jueju si shou" 古絕句四首 ("Four Ancient Jueju"); Wu Jun's 吳均 (469--520) "Za jueju si shou" 雜絕句四首 ("Four Miscellaneous Jueju"); and Xiao Gang's 蕭綱 (503--551) "Jueju ci liren" 絕句賜麗人 ("Jueju for a Beauty").[15]

Early-Tang

a) Occurs once in the Nan shi in the phrase, "jueju wu pian" 絕句五篇 (five jueju).[16]

2. Jue.---The term jue is often used by itself. In such instances it is always preceded by a number.

Pre-Tang

a) Occurs twice in the Yutai xinyong: in Liu Xiaowei's 劉孝威 (c.469--549) "He Dingxiang hou ba jue, chu ji yi shou" 和定襄侯八絕,初笄一首 ("Matching the Marquis of Dingxiang's Eight Jue, 'Newly Pinned,' One Verse") and Jiang Boyao's 江伯瑤 (mid-sixth century) "He Dingxiang hou ba jue, Chu Yue shan yi shou" 和定襄侯八絕,楚越衫一首 ("Matching the Marquis of

Dingxiang's Eight Jue, `Chu-Yue Blouse,' One Verse").[17]

Early-Tang

a) Occurs three times in the Nanshi, each time to introduce a poem: "zhi shi si jue" 製詩四絕 (created poems, four jue); "wei shi yi jue" 為詩一絕 (made up a poem, one jue); "wei shi yi jue" (made up a poem, one jue).[18]

b) Occurs once in the Bei shi: "fu shi wu jue" 賦詩五絕 (composed poems, five jue).[19]

3. Lianju 連句 .---Lianju refers to "joined or linked verse." It is not limited to quatrains or series of quatrains, but during the Six Dynasties this was by far the most popular form.

Pre-Tang

a) Occurs twice in the Song shu 宋書 : "wei lianju shi" 為連句詩 (made up a lianju poem); "wei lianju shi" 為連句詩 .[20]

b) Occurs twice in the Yutai xinyong: Jia Chong's 賈充 (217-282), "Yu qi Li furen lianju san shou" 與妻李夫人連句詩三首 ("Three lianju Composed With My Wife, Lady Li"); Xiao Yan's 蕭衍 (464-549), "Lianju shi" 連句詩 ("Lianju Poem").[21] It should be noted that these two lianju in the Yutai xinyong differ somewhat from the usual practice of a quatrain per poet. In

the first example Jia Chong and his wife, Lady Li, each composed a couplet to make up each quatrain. In the second piece, though Xiao Yan is the only poet mentioned, there is a switch from the male to female persona in the second couplet.

Early Tang

a) Occurs four times in the Nan shi (two examples are simply repetitions from the Song shu and will not be cited): "zai yuzhong lianju yue" 在獄中連句曰 (in prison [he] linked a poem which went...), here it is used as a verb; "yan yin lianju" 宴飲連句 (banqueted, drank, and linked verse).[22]

Other

There are a tremendous number of five-syllable lianju quatrains from the Six Dynasties; only the examples cited above can be traced to sources that can be dated.[23] Here I will simply note an interesting phenomena. When one looks at these many examples one sees both the characters lian 聯 and lian 連. They appear to be used interchangeably. Whether there originally was a distinction is not clear. One should point out however that the pre-Tang and early Tang sources cited above always use lian 連, though as I have pointed out in note 21, lian 聯 is listed as a variant for lian 連 in the Yutai xinyong.

Modern scholars when referring to lianju have generally used lian 聯 . At times they have even substituted lian 聯 for an original lian 連 when citing titles and passages.

4. Lianju bu cheng 聯句不成 (lianju uncompleted).---It appears that when a poet has composed a lianju quatrain and the lianju has been left unmatched by another poet, it can be called bu cheng.

Other

I know of two occurrences of this phrase in the titles of poems: Jiang Ge's 江革 (ca. 466-535) "Zeng He jishi lianju bucheng" 贈何記室聯句不成 ("To Secretary He, A Lianju Left Uncompleted") and He Xun's 何遜 (?-ca. 518) "Da Jiang Ge lianju bu cheng" 答江革聯句不成 ("In Answer to Jiang Ge's `A Lianju Left Uncompleted'").[24]

5. Duanju 短句 (short poem).

Pre-Tang

a) Occurs once in the Shipin where Zhong Rong 鍾嶸 (?--c.518) describes Xu Yaozhi 許瑤之 (late fifth-century) as "...excelling at short poems and yongwu " (chang yu duanju yongwu 長于短句詠物).[25] Xu Yaozhi's two surviving poems are in the Yutai xinyong; both are five-syllable quatrains one of which is a yongwu poem.[26]

b) Occurs once in the Nan Qi shu 南齊書: "gong zuo duanju" 共作短句 (together they composed duanju).[27] We know that duanju refers to a five-syllable quatrain because later one of the poets is praised for his 20 characters.

Early Tang

a) Occurs once in the Nan shi; the passage is identical with the Nan Qi shu example above.

6. Duanju 斷句 (cut-lines).

Pre-Tang

No examples

Early Tang

a) Occurs once in the Nan shi: "wei duanju yue" 為斷句曰 (composed a duanju which went...).[28] The only example of this term I have seen. Hu Yinglin's explanation of this term was quoted above (p. 43). Advocates of the "cut-off lianju" theory think that it is synonymous with jueju.

7. Lian jue 連絶. The meaning of the phrase is not clear. Many modern scholars, in particular those who believe that jueju are cut lianju, have assumed that lian is short for lianju and jue for jueju.

Early Tang

a) Occurs once in the Nan shi: Emperor Ming of the Song 明帝, commenting on Wu Maiyuan 吳邁

遠 (?--474), says, "This man, aside from lian and jue, has nothing else" (ci ren lian-jue zhi wai, wu suo fu you 此人連絕之外, 無所復有).[29]

As can be seen from this list, prior to the Tang, there were a number of different terms that were used to refer to five-syllable quatrains.[30] This was only natural, for the quatrain at this point was not a distinct entity and had not developed into a true genre. One simply sees a form used under different circumstances to which various different terms have on occasion been fixed. The use of these terms generally appears to have been quite loose and casual. With the exception of the quatrains that were composed as lianju, it is not easy to distinguish general rules of nomenclature; why one term is used over another, why a term is or is not used. In the Yutai xinyong there are over 150 five-syllable quatrains; only a handful of the titles of these poems contain the terms jueju, jue, or lianju. Of course one would not expect Xu Ling or the authors of these pieces to always to "label" their titles. Even during the Tang and later, only a very small minority of the jueju were actually titled jueju (in fact, other different terms also arose, for example, xiaolü 小律 [little regulated poem]). Nevertheless, it would be valuable to know why of all the pieces in the Yutai xinyong only the "Gu jueju si shou" and

Wu Jun's pieces are actually called jueju and why they were not labeled duanju 短句 or duanju 斷句. There of course has been much speculation and debate on the meaning and significance of the various terms associated with jueju, and this has formed the basis of the theories that will be discussed below.

The "Cut-off Lüshi" Theory

The most influential and well known of all theories of the origins of the jueju maintains that jueju are lines cut off from lüshi. With this idea, the advocates of this theory, in the most extreme cases, have sought to find the origins of the term jueju, the genre itself, as well as define its structure and composition. The origins of this theory are not very clear. One sometimes sees Qing critics blaming it on the Song (see below, p. 58), but the earliest surviving statement is of a Yuan dynasty critic quoted in the Ming anthology, the Wenzhang bianti 文章辨體 compiled by Wu Ne 吳訥 (1372-1457).

> In addition, according to the Shifa yuanliu 詩法源流, "Jueju means cut lines. When the last two lines [of the jueju] are parallel, it is cut off from the first four lines of a lüshi.

> When the first two lines are parallel, it is cut off from the last four lines. When all the lines are parallel, it is cut off from the middle four lines. When none of the lines are parallel, it is cut off from the first and last two lines. Therefore, during the Tang jueju were called lüshi. And when we examine the Changli ji 昌黎集 (The Collected Works of Han Yu 韓愈 [768-824]); edited by Li Han 李漢 (jinshi, 812 A.D.), we find that all jueju are grouped with the lüshi.[31]

The argument of Fu Ruli 傅汝礪,[32] the author of the Shifa yuanliu, proceeds along two lines. First, he shows how the jueju is cut from a lüshi; then he supports his theory by pointing out that the Tang thought of jueju as lüshi. I will come to Fu Ruli's latter point later. Here I would like to explain his analysis of jueju and lüshi. By lüshi Fu Ruli is referring to the eight-line regulated poem, a genre, like the jueju, which was perfected and flourished during the Tang. One of the characteristics of the lüshi was the general rule that its two middle couplets were to be parallel. Another of its basic features were rules governing the patterns of tonal prosody. By picking apart the couplets of the basic lüshi patterns, Fu Ruli thought he could derive the structure patterns of the jueju. Thus, if

the first couplet of a jueju was not parallel and the second was it appeared to him to represent the top half of a lüshi and so on. The reason for the order of Fu Ruli's couplet analysis was the need to fit the patterns of tonal prosody. For example, a jueju could not be construed as the first and third couplets of a lüshi because it would violate basic rules of tonal prosody (though it is usually conveniently forgotten that these rules governed only one type of jueju).

This theory proved to be immensely popular. In addition to explaining the name jueju, it appeared to account very neatly for the couplet and tonal patterns found in the jueju. One finds this theory repeated again and again in Ming and Qing criticism, the only variation being that the critics will often cite specific examples of poems that fit the four possible models that can be derived.[33] But though it appears to have practically become the standard theory, there were doubts. Hu Yinglin (1551-1602) simply stated that the meaning of the term jueju was not known and that he very much doubted the "cut lüshi" theory. He did not however try to give any reasons for his statement and was wary of offering any alternative explanations.[34] By the Qing dynasty one sees a number of important critics attacking the theory from a variety of positions. Wang Fuzhi 王夫之 (1619-1692), Wang Shizhen 王士禛 (1634-1711) and Shen Deqian 沈德潛 (1673-1769) all rejected it. Wang Fuzhi's objections are the most detailed,

insightful, and vehement.

Five-syllable jueju came from five-syllable old-style verse (gushi 古詩). Seven-syllable jueju came from song-style lyrics (gexing 歌行). These two types of verse both preceded the lüshi. The lüshi then emerged from all this; it is a simple matter of evolution enabling things to fill out and expand (yin ling chong chang 演令充暢). There are those who say that jueju means to cut and extract one half of a lüshi; in some cases cutting the first four lines, in some cases the cutting the last four lines, in some cases cutting the first and last two lines, in some cases cutting the middle two couplets. Clearly this is akin to condemning a man to mutilation and amputating his legs and decapitating him. I don't know whoever came up with this idea, but they had to slay a man for this theory. Jueju that come from the five-syllable old-style tradition should arise from a distinct idea, pure and complete. Beyond the actual words they should embrace a far reaching spirit, they should make a person think. Jueju that come from the tradition of song-style lyrics should arise from a distinct mood (qi 氣) and directly convey pure, unrestrained feeling.

> Within the lines there should be an lingering reverberation, and they should move a person's emotions. Though the length of the poems in these two styles differs, the principle that one is not to mix in the extraneous or overload and burden the lines is the same. In five-syllable quatrains there are cases in which two parallel couplets are arranged side by side, but this style is an offshoot of the old-style poems of Yin Keng 陰鏗 (sixth century) and He Xun 何遜 (?- ca. 518). In seven-syllable jueju there are cases of parallel couplets, for example, "On this night I think of home a thousand miles away,/ Tomorrow morning, white-haired I will mark one more year"--but they are flowing and unrestrained. One would never compose in balanced, dense language such as, "Within the River the waves rise to meet the sky,/ Above the pass windy clouds touch the shadows of the earth." From this it should be sufficient to see that the theory of cutting half of a lüshi is nothing more than the jabberings of a barker. Any one with blood under his skin would not be taken in by such nonsense.[35]

One has just had a taste of shihua at its best. Wang Fuzhi is informal, opinionated, even vulgar; he is at the same

time profound, elegant and full of insights.

There are many grounds on which one can object to the "cut lüshi theory." Wang Fuzhi has taken the strongest, most obvious and direct approach. In essence he is saying that it simply does not make sense and that anyone who really understood poetry and how a poem is made and works could not possibly conceive of such an explanation. Wang Fuzhi points out that different forms and genres have their own character and integrity. One cannot create them by chopping apart different sections from another form and putting them together. His metaphor of dismemberment and mutilation is rather extreme, but I think fitting and appropriate. He goes on to explain that one need not derive sentence patterns that occur in jueju from lüshi. It is possible to find jueju with two parallel couplets, but this has nothing to do with lüshi and so he gives the examples of the pre-Tang poets Yin Keng and He Xun, poets who did in fact compose five-syllable quatrains with parallel couplets long before the lüshi became a fixed form.[36] He also notes that though both jueju and lüshi make use of parallelism, the quality of the parallelism found in the two forms is very different. The first parallel couplet he quotes is the ending couplet from a jueju by Gao Shi 高適 (ca. 700-765), "Chuye" 除夜 ("New Year's Eve"). The following couplet he quotes is the second couplet from the first of a famous series of lüshi by Du Fu known as the "Qiuxing ba shou" 秋興

八首 ("Autumn Meditations"). Neither is superior to the other, but their quality differs to suit the demands of two distinct genres.

It would seem difficult to take seriously the "cut lüshi theory" after Wang Fuzhi's attack. And during the Qing dynasty one sees a number other of pointed criticisms:

> Some people today go so far as to say that jueju means "cut lines" [of a lüshi]. This is really vulgar and laughable.[37]

> Some men of the Song made up some fanciful shihua and thought that jueju were cut lüshi...what an absurdity.[38]

In addition to the argument that the "cut lüshi" theory simply ignored the workings of poetry, traditional critics also pointed out that it was ahistorical. Jueju were developing long before lüshi appeared. As we have seen above even the term jueju occurs before the Tang. Despite all these objections, however, the "cut lüshi" theory continued to survive. There are several reasons that help to explain the longevity of this theory. It is simple, neat and clear. In one stroke it appears to explain the basic fundamental questions that have surrounded the jueju: the literal meaning of the term; the origins of the genre; the

structure and prosody of its form. Just as important is the fact that though critics of the theory were able to point out its many flaws, they were unable to come up with a satisfactory alternative. Though they could show that the roots of the genre could be found in the Han and Six Dynasties, they found it difficult to explain what the term jueju actually meant. Some simply acknowledged that the meaning of jueju was unknown and did not try to explain it. Others came up with theories that were very weakly argued, and as we have seen they were at times just as fanciful as the "cut lüshi" theory. The result was that even though no one was able defend the "cut lüshi" theory with its very serious weaknesses, there was a tendency to repeat it over and over until it became the standard theory. Even today one sees that it continues to have a certain influence over scholars who have not carefully examined the theory and have relied on tradition and convention.[39]

In modern times every serious student of the jueju has rejected the "cut lüshi" theory. Each critic has simply noted the obvious historical incongruities. The primary contribution of modern scholars has been their efforts carefully to develop alternative theories that could explain how the term jueju arose. It is true that one does see a scholar such as Wang Li 王力 relying to an extent on the "cut lüshi" theory. But it is clear that he is not a specialist in this area. He has not tried to address the

weaknesses of the theory. His position moreover is, as he readily admits, rather tenuous. He acknowledges that the matter is not settled and also qualifies the theory in various ways.[40]

The question of how the "cut lüshi" theory arose is an interesting one. We cannot say for sure of course, but when we look back at the history of the jueju and the lüshi one can see a series of logical coincidences that eventually led to this misunderstanding. To begin with there are certain surface parallels that seem to link jueju and lüshi. But parallels are all they are. Wang Fuzhi has admirably shown that the sentence patterns of the jueju need not be traced back to the lüshi. But one could also add that the four patterns that the "cut lüshi" theorists derived from the lüshi were, practically speaking, the only possible patterns given the nature of Chinese verse. In Chinese verse (or at least in the shi 詩 tradition), the couplet is the basic unit of composition. It either is or is not parallel. Given that a jueju is made up of only two couplets, there are only four variations possible. With regard to the tonal rules that governed all lüshi but only some jueju, parallels here were also inevitable. The largest unit of tonal prosody that was developed governed a quatrain. That is to say the sum of patterns that applied to the four lines of a quatrain were unique and required four lines to be complete. Once one goes beyond this fundamental unit one is

simply repeating it. Thus in terms of tonal prosody at least, the lüshi can be said to consist of two identical quatrain patterns. In short, the parallels that we see in jueju and lüshi are due to the fact that they both are built up of certain basic units of composition and prosody that existed independent of the specific genres.

Fu Ruli in his explanation of the "cut lüshi" theory noted that during the Tang jueju were thought of as lüshi. He points out that Li Han's edition of the Han Yu's works classified jueju as lüshi. In addition it has also been noted that Bo Juyi 白居易 (772-846) in his four part categorization of his verse put his jueju in the lüshi category.[41] These examples are significant since they reflect Tang concepts of categorization. During the Tang we also see the appearance of the term xiao lüshi 小律詩 (little regulated poem) used to refer to jueju.[42] It continued to be used during the Song.[43] All this however cannot be taken as evidence that jueju were cut from lüshi. During the Tang the majority of jueju were composed using the modern rules of tonal prosody. Thus it was quite natural for the poets of the Tang to think of jueju as regulated, but it does not mean that they thought of them as cut-off from the eight-line regulated poem. In Li Han's edition of Han Yu's works he simply divided the poetry into gushi 古詩 (old-style poems), lianju 聯句 (linked verse) and lüshi 律詩. Given that these were his only categories

and that most jueju at this time were regulated it was only natural for Li Han to group the jueju with the lüshi. As has been pointed out by Hirano Hikojirō, the term lüshi in a broad sense is simply the equivalent of jinti 近體 (modern verse, i.e. regulated verse) and can include both jueju and eight-line lüshi.[44] Here we can see how certain kinds of "distortions" necessitated by decisions of how to categorize and name an object seem to have led to later misunderstanding. In actuality the question of whether the jueju is guti 古體 (old-style verse) or jinti is not easy to answer. It is not a simple "either \ or" matter. Originally jueju developed as guti; in the late Six Dynasties one sees it beginning to be composed according to patterns of tonal prosody; during the Tang most jueju were regulated, and in this sense jinti; but guti style jueju continued to be composed. The nature of the evolution of the jueju and its history makes it difficult to classify.

Another reason that may have led later critics to the "cut lüshi" theory is the fact that there actually are cases of jueju being cut from lüshi. Both traditional and modern critics have noted this phenomenon. Xue Xueyi points out that two jueju by Song Zhiwen 宋之問 (?-712) included in the Ming anthology, Tangshi pinhui 唐詩品彙, were originally the first half of a lüshi and the last quatrain of a pailü 排律(extended lushi) by Song Zhiwen.[45] But though this seems significant, and must have been a factor

in the creation of the "cut lüshi" theory, as evidence of the validity of the theory, its true value is very slight. To begin with, the extraction of lines from longer poems to create shorter ones was not limited to lüshi. In fact, above we have already seen several examples of Six Dynasties quatrains that were originally parts of longer works. In addition it appears that the general practice was to extract in quatrain blocks, be it from lüshi or gushi. I do not know of any cases where, for example, the first couplet of a lüshi was extracted and then joined with the third or fourth couplet.[46] And again there is the ever present fact of history; even though there are cases of cutting lüshi they cannot explain the origins of the term jueju since this term occurs during the Six Dynasties before lüshi existed.

Whoever first created the "cut lüshi" theory did have his reasons. It is clear however that these reasons do not constitute true evidence and the "cut lüshi" theory cannot be valid.

The "Stanza of an Old-style Poem" Theory

Well aware of the weaknesses of the "cut lüshi" theory, scholars have looked to other types of verse from which the jueju may have been derived. An important suggestion is that jueju originated in the practice of cutting gushi.

This theory, of course, does not suffer from the obvious flaw of being anachronistic. It is supported by several types of circumstantial evidence. As we have seen above, there are cases of quatrains and quatrain formulas being extracted from longer gushi. In addition, advocates of this theory have noted that often times gushi, in particular yuefu 樂府 (true song lyrics or verse in imitation of song lyrics), are actually made up of stanzas (jie 解) that usually consist of quatrains. Most scholars have concentrated upon this phenomenon in particular, so that this theory can be thought of as the "cut yuefu" or "yuefu stanza" theory.

The origins of this theory are not very clear. A few traditional scholars have noted that there are examples of quatrains cut from gushi and that some poems can be thought of as consisting of a series of quatrains. Hu Yinglin, for example, points out that one of the quatrain lyrics for the Southern yuefu title, "Lailuo qu" 來羅曲 , consists of the first half of an earlier eight line yuefu, "Junzi xing" 君子行 ("Gentleman's Song").[47] He also describes the long yuefu, "Xizhou qu" 西洲曲 ("Song of Xizhou"), as a sort of linked series of eight jueju.[48] But I do not know of any instances where a traditional Chinese scholar has actually proposed that such practices and phenomena explain the origins of the jueju.

The "cut gushi" theory appears to have had a relatively

long history in Japanese scholarship. Hirano Hikojirō cites a variation of the theory proposed by Sakakibara Gensuke 榊原玄輔(1656-1706), who suggests that the origins of the five-syllable jueju are to be found in the "...ancient language, four-line conclusions of the Wenxuan" (Monzen no kogo ketsubi no shiku 文選の古語結尾の四句).[49] It is not exactly clear what Sakakibara Gensuke is referring to. He may be thinking of the conclusions of gushi found in the Wenxuan or the codas that are sometimes found at the conclusion of fu 賦 or sao 騷 type pieces.[50] In either case it seems like a rather odd suggestion to make, and he does not explain his reasoning. However, it does appear to be an early example of a sort of "cut gushi" theory. Suzuki Torao, an early modern advocate of the "cut yuefu" theory, acknowledges that he is not the creator of this theory; unfortunately he does not mention who the theory originated with. He does however specifically refer to yuefu so he is not thinking of Sakakibara Gensuke. In modern times, in addition to Suzuki Torao (1925), the other major advocate of this theory is Sun Kaidi (1947). Sun Kaidi appears to have arrived at his views independently. Later Chinese scholars of the jueju do not seem to be aware of the Japanese efforts and usually refer to Sun Kaidi when discussing this theory.

Suzuki Torao has pointed out that many of the performance versions of yuefu are divided into stanzas called jie 解 . Many of these stanzas consist of five-

syllable quatrains in which the second and fourth (and sometimes first) lines rhyme. This is the basic meter and rhyme scheme of the five-syllable jueju. He also notes that the four-line stanza has a long tradition that goes as far back as the Shi jing 詩經 (though of course the basic meter and rhyme schemes differ). This leads Suzuki to suggest that this kind of division or unit may have had a role in the origins of the jueju. He is careful to point out however that there were other factors involved in the rise of jueju. He observes that during the Six Dynasties, the five-syllable quatrain was a favorite form in the practice of lianju (though he does not attempt to link the term jueju with lianju), and more importantly he points out the central role of quatrain songs and lyrics such as Southern yuefu. In fact he concludes by suggesting that it is the quatrain yuefu songs and lyrics that are the basic origin of the jueju as a genre, but that it was the idea of the cut section of the longer yuefu that gave the genre its name.

Sun Kaidi is also careful to distinguish between what he sees are the two origins of jueju: the origins of the genre in quatrain songs and yuefu and the origin of the term in the stanzaic division of longer yuefu. Sun Kaidi's conclusions are on the whole similar to those of Suzuki Torao's, though his examination of this theory is more detailed and rigorous. He looks closely at the nature of jie and gives statistics that show that though the length

and meter could vary, the five-syllable quatrain was the most popular form. He also is careful to cite examples of instances where jie have been excerpted from longer original lyrics. He shows that it was fairly common for musicians to modify original lyrics and perform only certain jie from them (though the evidence for five-syllable, four-line jie is slight). In the "Yue zhi" 樂志 ("Treatise on Music") of the Nan Qi shu 南齊書, for example, a number of yuefu lyrics are quoted after which the text specifically notes that the present version consists of such and such jie from the original longer version.[51] Sun Kaidi then attempts to hypothesize how the term jueju developed from the practice of excerpting jie. He suggests that given that one does find cases of lyrics with notes to indicate which jie of the original song the present lyric consists of, it possibly happened that the term jueju arose as a sort of short-hand replacement. Instead of noting the original title and the identity of the jie of the lyric in question they would simply write jueju. Eventually, however, when the quatrain form became established as an independent literary form the term jueju came to cover all such quatrains and lost the specific meaning of cut yuefu.

Given the evidence available, Sun Kaidi has built up as strong a case for the "cut yuefu" theory as is possible. One cannot disprove the theory and it certainly remains a conceivable solution. The problem continues to be the lack

of direct, concrete evidence. Even though it is clear that there was a stanzaic division of yuefu verse and that there was a practice of excerpting quatrain verses and sections, primarily for musical purposes, there are no direct signs of any links between these phenomena and the term jueju. The earliest examples we have of the actual use of the term jueju do not give any hint at all of the processes described by Sun Kaidi. Above we have seen several examples from the dynastic histories which describe the composition of quatrains. They clearly are not excerpting stanzas. Sun Kaidi would of course reply that this represents the later stage of the development of the term jueju. And herein lies the problem. In order to accept this theory one has to assume that the term originated long before the time we see it first appearing and that it had long lost its original meaning through the essentially hypothetical process described by Sun Kaidi. There is very much in the theory that has to be simply be accepted on faith, so that while it is a viable theory, one hesitates from fully accepting it.

The "Cut Lianju" Theory

At present the most accepted theory of the origins of the term jueju links the emergence of this term to the Six Dynasties practice of lianju, a kind of matching verse in

which poets would take turns composing quatrains. The earliest scholar to have associated lianju and jueju seems to have been Wang Shizhen 王士禛 (1634-1711).

> With lianju there are several persons each of whom composes four lines. Divided they become jueju; together they form a single piece. Xie Tiao 謝朓 (464-499), Fan Yun 范雲 (451-503), He Xun 何遜 (?--c.518), Jiang Ge 江革 (c.466-535), and other such poets have many examples of such verse.[52]

Wang Shizhen's statement is very interesting to scholars of the jueju. He appears to be saying that jueju are lianju that have been divided or split up. Unfortunately he does not elaborate, and the assumptions and implications of this statement are not clear. It may in fact be very innocent; he may simply be saying that each quatrain separated stands on its own and is equivalent to a jueju; he may not be trying to explain the origins of the term jueju at all. I do not know of any other instances in which Wang Shizhen has discussed the relationship of lianju and jueju. One would expect that if he actually thought that the origins of the term jueju were to be found in lianju he would have elaborated on it (in the preface to his anthology, Tangren wanshou jueju xuan 唐人萬首絕句

選, for example).

Since Wang Shizhen's statement, two variations of the "cut-off lianju" theory have appeared. One version suggests that the term jueju arose when compilers separated the individual quatrains from a lianju series to include in a poet's individual collection.[53] This version has many weaknesses and can easily be discounted. One can find a number of instances of individual quatrains that have been excerpted from a lianju series yet are still titled lianju, not jueju. For example, in He Xun's collection there are three single quatrains with lianju included in the title.[54] There is no case in which one can clearly demonstrate that a piece titled jueju has been excerpted from a lianju series. In addition, the examples from the dynastic histories which narrate specific instances of jueju being composed again prove valuable. In a number of cases we see figures composing quatrains that are labeled as jueju or jue that clearly have nothing to do with being excerpted from lianju.

The important version of the "cut-off lianju" theory suggests that jueju originally referred to a lianju quatrain which had been left unmatched by another poet. That is to say, it was cut-off in the sense that it was not continued. Curiously enough, the two major proponents of this theory, Li Jiayan 李嘉言 (1942?) and Lo Genze (1944), seem to have arrived at it independently at approximately the same time.[55] Neither appears to have been aware of Wang

Shizhen's statement. Lo Genze's article is the more extensive. In it he identifies what he describes as the "three sources" of the jueju: the form and style of the jueju he traces to yuefu quatrain lyrics, especially the Southern and Northern yuefu of the Six Dynasties; the prosody of the jueju he ascribes to prosodic developments in the late Six Dynasties and early Tang; the term jueju he suggests comes from lianju.

Both critics begin by describing the practice of lianju or "linked verse." There have been different varieties through Chinese history. Usually one associates lianju with poets taking turns composing a line or couplet to form a single poem. During the middle and late Six Dynasties however there arose the fashion of each poet composing a quatrain, which while linked to the other quatrains by theme and occasion, also could stand as an independent piece. Lo Genze has made a list of pre-Tang lianju; he has found 6 seven-syllable lianju (none are quatrains) and 38 five-syllable lianju (all but four are pieces in which each poet composed in the quatrain form). Noticing that this quatrain style lianju seems to have flourished during the late Six Dynasties, just about the time the term jueju was making its first appearance, critics have wondered if they were linked in some way. The terms themselves do appear to be in a sort of juxtaposed relationship, lian meaning to "join" and jue meaning to "cut off," and this would seem to hint at some

connection. Other circumstantial evidence has been pointed out. Above it was noted that there was an instance in which lian and jue appeared together (see above, pp. 50-51), apparently as an abbreviated way of saying lianju and jueju. Also suggestive is the use of the terms lianju and jue (and duanju 斷句) in the dynastic histories. When the composition of a lianju is narrated and quoted in the histories we also see the verse that is matched to it.

> [Xie] Shiji 謝世基 (?--426) was the son of [Xie] Xuan. He was a man of great talent. Before his death he composed a lianju poem:
>
> How mighty the great leviathan that
> transversed the seas,
> How powerful the great bird whose wings
> crossed the skies;
> Then one morning they lost their winds and
> waters,
> They became food for crickets and ants.
>
> [Xie] Hui 謝晦 (390-426) continued it (xu zhi 續之):
>
> In deeds and accomplishments I matched
> those men of the past,
> But I had not the strength or wisdom to
> retreat and hold fast.
> When I entered the defiles of the Taihang

mountains,
The path was truly hard to climb.[56]

In the case of jue or duanju, however, one only sees the single quatrain, or a series of quatrains by an individual author; one does not see any cases of it matched with a quatrain by another figure. In the following example we see the use of the term duanju 斷句. Advocates of the "cut-off lianju" theory suggest that it is synonymous with jueju and was later replaced by jueju.

> [Liu] Chang 劉昶 (436-497) saw the situation was not going well. In the night he opened the gates and fled to Wei, abandoning his mother and his wife. He only took a single concubine, who was dressed in men's clothing and followed him on horseback. On the road, full of frustration and disappointment, he composed a duanju (kangkai wei duanju 慷慨為斷句):
>
> White clouds mount to engulf the fort,
> Yellow dust rises half way up the skies;
> On all sides cut off by the mountains of the pass,
> My home how many thousands of li away?
>
> He then took the hand of his concubine, faced southward, then mourned and wept. All those about

him sorrowed and could not speak.[57]

The explanation of the original meaning of jueju as a cut-off or unmatched lianju is perhaps the strongest theory available. After its proposal by Li Jiayan and Lo Genze, many serious scholars of the jueju have come to accept it; Zhou Xiaotian, Shuen-fu Lin, and Shao Zufen 邵祖棻 are among its contemporary advocates.[58] This theory is also beginning to win some general acceptance. Yu Guanying 余冠英, for example, follows this explanation.[59] But although at present this theory is possibly the best and most likely explanation of the term jueju, it is by no means definitive. It is no more than the most probable of a number of speculative theories and one must still be cautious about accepting it. The evidence that supports it is largely circumstantial. Moreover, there are several points that can be raised, which do not disprove this theory, but do call it into question.

Ordinarily lianju are composed by two or more poets who take turns extemporizing quatrains. They need not be together in the same place; one does find examples of lianju being sent to be matched by other poets in other locales. In either case, however, it does seem clear that there is the expectation that a poem is to be matched. Advocates of the "cut-off lianju" theory say that a jueju is a lianju that has not been matched. Ideally then one would like to

find an example of a situation where we know that a poet is composing a lianju with the expectation that a fellow poet is to match it and when the fellow poet fails to match it see the original quatrain called a jueju. As far as I know there is no clear cut example of such a case. As has been mentioned above, in the dynastic histories one can find examples of quatrains composed by a single author described as jue, jueju, or duanju, but in none of these cases is it clear that the poet was composing with others who failed to match his lines, or that he was even in a situation where he expected them to be matched. In the example quoted just above, Li Jiayan has suggested that Liu Chang's quatrain was called a duanju because it was not matched by his concubine.[60] I think that this is a very speculative guess at best. In fact in the only unambiguous case we know of where a lianju was not able to be matched (at least immediately), the term jueju was not used; instead we see the phrase lianju bucheng 聯句不成, which appears to mean lianju uncompleted. We see this phrase in the titles of two quatrains exchanged between Jiang Ge 江革 (c.466-525) and He Xun 何遜 (?--518). Apparently Jiang Ge first began a lianju which He Xun was not present to match; thus the title, "To Secretary He, A Lianju Left Uncompleted". Later He Xun replied with his "In Answer to Jiang Ge's 'A Lianju Left Uncompleted'" (see above p. 49). Li Jiayan thus suggests that lianju bucheng is the equivalent to jueju.[61]

Li Jiayan may very well be correct; however I find it somewhat suspicious that the only unambiguous cases of true unmatched lianju do not use the term jueju at all.

The points I have raised above do not disprove the "cut-off lianju" theory. They do show that the theory is not as clear-cut and workable as may first appear. Though I would agree that objectively speaking it may be the best explanation to date, it is still a very tenuous argument and must be accepted with caution.

The "Four Lines to a Jue" Theory

Several Qing critics have suggested that the term jueju comes from jue, with the original meaning of jue simply being a four-line unit of verse. According to the early Qing critic, Wu Qiao 吳喬 (ca. 1611- after 1670):

> There is a common saying among poets, "There are lian 聯 and there are jue 絕, two lines make a lian, four lines make a jue." For example, Emperor Xiaowu of the Song said of Wu Maiyuan 吳邁遠, "Aside from lian 聯 and jue, he is not capable of anything else." A four-line poem was called a jueju. The men of the Song did not understand this and said it meant to cut the head

and tail of a lüshi. There are more than a few instances of this.[62]

One sees a very similar explanation by Li Ying 李鎣 (Qing, n.d.). He also brings up the example of Wu Maiyuan and it appears that one of the critics knew the argument of the other.[63] The only other mention of this explanation that I am aware of is a brief statement by Nalan Xingde 納蘭性德 (1655-1685).

During the Six Dynasties, two lines would be called a lian 聯 , four lines would be called a jue. It was not simply a case of a four-line poem being a jueju.[64]

The statements of Wu Qiao and Nalan Xingde appear to have been made with a matter-of-fact assurance. If they are correct, the problem of the origin of the term jueju could immediately be solved and finally disappear. Unfortunately they do not present much of a case for their statements. Little evidence is provided; they do not attempt to explain how jue comes to mean a four-line unit of verse, and there are a number objections that immediately come to mind that are not addressed. This theory, understandably, has not been taken seriously by modern scholars, and has generally been ignored in recent studies. Despite all its weaknesses,

however, I feel that this theory offers some interesting possibilities and should be explored further.

According to Wu Qiao it was common knowledge among poets that a jue, like lian, was simply a unit of verse. Wu Qiao's assumption is puzzling on two points. If it was common knowledge, one wonders why it is not mentioned until the Qing, and then only by a very few critics. Lo Genze, one of the few modern scholars even to bring up this theory quickly dismisses it by saying that though everyone knows that two lines make up a lian, he has never heard of four lines making up a jue.[65] Moreover, even if it was a saying known by poets, there is still the problem of when and how the term arose. Because of the late date of Wu Qiao's statement it would appear very possible that this use of jue developed from the term jueju. That is to say, since jueju poems consisted of four lines, the idea of a four-line unit of verse developed to which the term jue became attached. The only evidence that Wu Qiao is able to present is probably a misinterpretation. He cites the example of Wu Maiyuan and the occurrence of lian and jue. In his citation Wu Qiao has lian 聯 which means couplet and so he also takes jue to be a unit of verse. If we could be sure the original indeed had lian 聯, Wu Qiao's interpretation would be a strong possibility. As far as I can tell however the original passage from the Nan shi has lian 連.[66] As has been noted above (see pp. 48-49), though later scholars

have sometimes used lian 聯 and lian 連 interchangeably, it appears that during the Six Dynasties the character lian 連 was always used when referring to quatrain style lianju.[67] In addition even though one does see both lian 聯 and lian 連 used to write lianju, as far as I know lian is not interchangeable with lian 聯 when the meaning is "couplet." In short it appears that Wu Qiao has mistakenly substituted lian 聯 for lian 連 in the passage above and so has misinterpreted it. The interpretation of lian and jue as short for lianju and jueju, though not certain, does appear to be more likely than Wu Qiao's suggestion. In fact the terms lian 聯 and jue 絕 do not seem to appear together before the Tang. There is an instance of these two terms used together in a work by the Song poet, Liu Kezhuang 劉克莊(1187-1269). The Peiwen yunfu 佩文韻府 quotes the couplet, "Practiced in the art of lian and jue, he attained the true Tang style, / He strove for the 'Dark' and 'Empty' and possessed the aura of the Jin" (xi wei lian jue zhen Tangti, jiang dao xuan xu you Jinfeng 習為聯絕真唐體, 講到玄虛有晉風).[68] In these lines, lian and jue might very well mean couplet and quatrain. If lian means couplet then jue would not appear to mean jueju. Wu Qiao's original statement might have some basis after all. On the other hand this is a couplet from a Song poem and for the reasons stated above one must be extremely cautious about using it for evidence for the pre-Tang

period.

Despite the weakness of Wu Qiao's argument, I have found his statement very interesting and suggestive. The reason is that while looking at the earliest examples of the use of jueju and jue in the Yutai xinyong and the dynastic histories I was struck by a similar idea. At times it did appear as if jue was a kind of unit of verse and was even being used as a kind of measure. In the Yutai xinyong, our earliest source, one sees both jueju and jue in the titles of quatrains (see above, pp. 46-47). It is usually assumed that jue is short for jueju. And this does seem to be the natural conclusion. Since the Yutai xinyong only has these terms in titles, the nature of jue, and its usage is difficult to argue. However, the examples of jueju and jue in the dynastic histories (compiled in the early Tang) are far more suggestive. Here we see these terms used in full sentences and in the context of a narration. What is striking is that the term jueju occurs only once in the histories covering the pre-Tang period. In the Nan shi we are told that among the works that Emperor Jianwen of the Liang (Xiao Gang 蕭綱 [503-551]) inscribed on the walls when he was imprisoned were five jueju (jueju wu pian 絕句五篇, see above, p. 46). There are four examples, however, of jue used by itself. In each case there is a phrase that begins with a verb meaning "compose" (we see fu 賦, wei 為, or zhi 製) followed by shi 詩 (poem),

then a number followed by jue. For example:

> While being held captive [Xiao Yi 蕭繹] asked for wine. He drank, and then composed poems in four jue (zhi shi si jue 製詩四絕). The first went....[69]

The pattern of verb plus object followed by number and then measure is a common order in Classical Chinese. The use of jue in the four passages from the histories fit this pattern exactly. Jue appears to be a kind of unit acting as a measure, functioning no differently from "cup" or "pitcher." I suppose one could still assume that jue is short for jueju but to my ear at least, to put jueju, a full noun, into this pattern sounds very awkward. If one wanted to use jueju in these passages I think the phrase to use would have been something like verb (fu, wei, or zhi) plus jueju then a number plus a measure such as pian 篇 or shou 首. That we do not see this pattern in the histories suggests that jue was being thought of as a unit and measure with the basic meaning of quatrain. As far as I know, in the pre-Tang period when the term jue appears, be it in a title or in a sentence, it is always preceded by a number. For example, in the two titles from the Yutai xinyong, jue is preceded by the number eight (see above, pp. 46-47). The only exception is when it appears once in the problematic

phrase lian-jue.

Even if during the Six Dynasties a jue is a unit that can function as a measure there still is the crucial question of how and when it arose. Our earliest sources of evidence are unable to help us in this matter. In the Yutai xinyong we see both jueju and jue. It is true that the "Gu jueju si shou" in the Yutai xinyong are probably from the Later Han dynasty (A.D. 25- A.D. 220), but this is certainly a title added on to these pieces at a much later date. We cannot tell from the available evidence which term came first. Again the immediate assumption would be to conclude that jue evolved from the original term jueju which always consisted of four lines. There is another possibility, however, that I would like to explore.

When we look at the term jue it difficult to imagine that it could have arisen independently of the term jueju or that it could be the origins of this term. How could jue, which literally means "cut" or "break off," by itself come to mean quatrain? Thus, most scholars have automatically assumed that jue is an abbreviated form of jueju. However, when we look at other words that have come to designate units or sections of music and poetry we find some very interesting, and suggestive parallels. In a number of cases we find words that originally seem to have meant "halt," "divide, section," or "end." All these meanings are not very far in meaning from jue. For example, the basic

meaning of jie 解 is "cut apart, divide." From this meaning it comes to designate a division or unit of music or poetry, a "stanza." Like jue it is a unit that also functions as a measure.[70] According to the Shuo wen 說文 the basic meaning of zhang 章 is for music to halt. "When the music is completed, it is a zhang" (yue jing wei yi zhang 樂竟為一章).[71] It would seem from this basic meaning that zhang then became a division or section of music. Later we see it being used in the sense of stanza, but also in a much broader sense as a unit and measure for literature of various types.[72] Another interesting example is the word que 闋. It also has the basic meaning of "completion, halt." One finds it applied to music and eventually it also becomes a unit of music and verse.[73] Much later one sees it used to designate the sections of a ci 詞 and even used as a measure for ci.

All these examples show that it was possible for the meaning of quatrain, a four-line section of verse, to have evolved from the single word jue. In the sense of "cut" jue is close in meaning to jie. From this basic meaning, jue also comes to mean "halt, stop" and thus shows some similarity in meaning to zhang and que. There is no concrete evidence to show that jue was a technical term applied to music and verse, though one does see examples of it used with music.

> ...he was moved, he sorrowed in his heart, so he composed the tune "Morning Flight" ("Zhao fei" 朝飛) to express his sadness. The music broke off the middle (qi sheng zhong jue 其聲中絕).[74]

If indeed jue did come before jueju one can hypothesize a process similar to one that we have seen with these other terms. It begins with a verb, "cut" or "stop," which evolves into a noun, "a cut, a section," that can also serve as measure. In the case of jue, however, an interesting development seems to take place. What had been a neutral, general unit evolves into a specific form and then eventually into a genre. At some point jue by itself is felt to be inadequate to serve as the name for this form and the word ju is added to form a new compound, a full noun that no longer serves as a measure. One may ask why the particular word ju was added. It is not clear, but possibly because ju, which was a unit and measure itself, readily combined to form compounds. We have already seen it used in lianju, duanju 短句, and duanju 斷句.[75] Admittedly this is all very speculative. There is no hard evidence to show that this process took place. On the other hand, I have tried to show that such a process was very possible, perhaps even likely.

There is one last major problem that needs to be confronted if we are to accept the hypothesis that the term

jueju developed from the term jue. If a jue is a unit of verse, why does it specifically refer to a group of four lines? The discussions above by the advocates of the "cut yuefu" theory offer a beginning towards solving this problem. They have shown that the four-line stanza was a basic unit for song lyrics and poetry from as early as the Shi jing and that it was the predominant lyric stanza length during the Six Dynasties. Clearly this unit of length was related to music and the fact that much of the poetry of these periods was actually song lyrics or modeled after and derived from song lyrics. The quatrain unit continued to be a basic unit in verse forms even long after they had evolved from the song lyric tradition. Though the couplet was the most basic and shortest unit of composition, the quatrain was also fundamental in its own way. When one looks closer at the nature of the poetic tradition one can see some obvious reasons for this. Chinese poetry rhymes; in the mature shi tradition the usual pattern is to rhyme every other line. In such a scheme one needs four lines to complete a rhyme so in this sense a quatrain is a fundamental prosodic unit. Perhaps more important is that it very often appears that Chinese poets organized their thoughts and their compositions in quatrain units. Above Hu Yinglin was quoted as characterizing a certain poem as actually consisting of eight jueju (see above, p. 64). In fact many Chinese poems are built of quatrain blocks. It is

not any kind of rule or law, one does see variation, but clearly it is a natural unit of length with which Chinese poets consistently worked. For these reasons if there is a specific length one would expect a jue to consist of, it would be the quatrain.

Conclusion

The origins of the term jueju are still not clearly understood. It is a simple matter of a lack of concrete evidence. In the long history of jueju scholarship this shortage of evidence has encouraged a proliferation of different explanations to spring forth . Many of these theories can easily be discounted, and what historically has been the most important and influential theory, the "cut lüshi" theory, is certainly wrong and is no longer taken seriously by modern scholars of the jueju. After eliminating such theories, however, several reasonable, possible explanations still remain. The one that has gained the most acceptance recently is the "cut-off lianju" theory. But it is by no means authoritative or universally recognized. Even though it may appear to be the most attractive theory now available, it still is very tenuous. I prefer the explanation that the term jueju comes from the term jue. Though I acknowledge that it is largely

hypothetical and that the evidence for this theory is very weak, it does seem to parallel patterns that are seen elsewhere in music and poetry. I cannot think of any reason to reject it. In the case of the "cut-off lianju" theory, I am still bothered by the fact that we cannot identify any clear-cut case of a quatrain that was composed as a lianju, left unmatched, then actually called a jueju. One should recognize, however, that the evidence for any of the possible theories is so slight that it would be foolish to be adamant about any particular one. The slightest bit of evidence or a new insight could tip the balance in favor of one over the other, and I have often found myself wavering between different theories. Several modern critics have not even attempted to choose. They have simply identified the reasonable theories and concluded all are possible, or even suggested that a combination of the phenomena that have been described eventually resulted in the term jueju.[76]

Notes to Chapter I

1. See Hirano Hikojirō, "Zekku ni tsuite," pp. 57-65. The same list of theories can be found in the jueju entry in Morohashi Tetsuji 諸橋轍次, Dai Kan-Wa jiten 大漢和辭典, 13 vols. (Tokyo: Taishūkan shoten, 1957-1960), VIII, 9178.

2. Hirano Hikojirō cites a line by Hong Mai, "Jueju refers to wondrous, extraordinary (qijue 奇絶)lines." Unfortunately he does not list the title of the source and I have been unable to trace it. He also notes that several Japanese scholars have discussed this theory, for example, Sakakibara Gensuke 榊原玄輔 (1656-1706). See Hirano Hikojirō, "Zekku ni tsuite," pp. 57-58.

3. I also thought of this explanation when I first started to consider the meaning of jueju. Later when discussing the meaning of jueju with Dr. Jerry Norman of the University of Washington, he also came up with the same idea. It appears to be a kind of "natural" guess.

4. Yang Zai 楊載 (1271-1323), Shifa jiashu 詩法家數, juan 1.8a; in Lidai shihua 歷代詩話, compiled by He Wenhuan 何文煥, 2 vols. (Taibei: Yiwen yinshuguan, 1956), II, 470-476.

5. We see another Yuan critic using a similar phrase to describe the quatrains of the Six Dynasties. See Chen Yizeng 陳繹曾 (Yuan), Shipu 詩譜, quoted in Fu Shousun and Liu Baishan, "Tangren jueju jiping," p. 947. Yang Zai's ideas are discussed in Lo Genze, "Jueju san yuan," pp. 29-30.

6. Zhang Duanyi 張端義 (1179-?), Guier ji 貴耳集, ed. by Zhonghua shuju Shanghai bianjisuo 中華書局上海編輯所 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1958), pp. 18-19. Zhang Duanyi's citation of this poem has si 泗 in the first line. All other sources I have seen have si 四 (see note 8) which I have followed. Also quoted in Fu Shousun and Liu Baishan, "Tangren jueju jiping," p. 947.

7. Yang Shen 楊愼 (1488-1559), Sheng-an shihua 升庵詩話, juan 11.3a, in Lidai shihua xubian 歷代詩話續編, comp. by Ding Fubao 丁福保, 5 vols. (Taibei: Yiwen yinshuguan, 1959?), vol.V. Hirano Hikojirō, discussing this theory mentions other critics, Chinese and Japanese, who have adopted it. See "Jueju ni tsuite," pp. 58-59.

8. See the commentary for "Si shi" in Tao Yuanming shi jianzhu 陶淵明詩箋注, ed. by Ding Fubao 丁福保 (Taibei: Yiwen yinshuguan, 1977), juan 3.25a (p. 133). Lu Qinli has included the poem in Gu Kaizhi's collection (Lu Qinli, p. 931). He notes that the Yiwen leiju 藝文類聚 (which attributes the poem to Gu Kaizhi) specifically points out that the four lines are an extract from a longer piece.

9. See commentary in Tao Yuanming shi jianzhu, juan 3.25a. See also Suzuki Torao, "Zekku sogen," p. 158.

10. Hong Mai discusses this style of jueju composition. He describes it as each of the four lines narrating a phenomenon, without seeming to be closely linked. See Hong Mai 洪邁 (1123-1202), "Rongzhai wubi" 容齋五筆, juan 10.1b-2a, in Rongzhai suibi 容齋隨筆, 12 vols. (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1934).

11. Li Changlu, "Han Wei Jin Nanbeichao jueju tanyuan," p. 30.

12. Hu Yinglin, Shi sou, "Neipian," juan 6.105.

13. Hu Yinglin, Shi sou, "Zapian" 雜篇, juan 3.282. I will be looking at Liu Chang's poem in more detail in later chapters.

14. See Lo Genze, "Jueju san yuan" and Sun Kaidi "Jueju shi zenyang qilai de." Though their theories on the origin of the genre differ, each scholar has recognized that the confusion of the term and the genre has traditionally been a major stumbling block in jueju scholarship and they have carefully distinguished between the two.

15. See Yutai xinyong jianzhu, juan 10.469, juan 10.497, juan 19.512, respectively. Note however the variants in the titles by Wu Jun and Xiao Gang: the collation notes point out that for Wu Jun's title one edition omits the "jue;" for Xiao Gang's title one edition omits "jueju."

16. Nan shi 南史, (Li Yanshou 李延壽 [early Tang], comp., Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1975, rpt., 1983), juan 8.234.

17. See Yutai xinyong jianzhu, juan 10.518. Note that the collation notes point out that in the case of both pieces one edition has omitted "ba jue."

18. Nan shi, juan 8.245, juan 51.1279, juan 64.1567, respectively.

19. Bei shi 北史 (Li Yanshou 李延壽 [fl. 625], comp., Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1974), juan 24.878.

20. Song shu 宋書 (Shen Yue 沈約 [441-513], comp., Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1974), juan 44.1361, juan 82.2102, respectively.

21. Yutai xinyong jian zhu, juan 10.469, juan 10.503, respectively. Note that according to the collation notes, lian 聯 is a variant for lian 連 for both titles.

22. Nan shi, juan 53.1331, juan 55.1356, respectively.

23. Lo Genze has made a list of pre-Tang lianju, he has found 6 seven-syllable lianju (none are quatrains) and 38 five-syllable lianju (all but four are pieces in which each poet composed in the quatrain form). See "Jueju san yuan," pp. 37-40.

24. Lu Qinli, p. 1716, Lu Qinli, p. 1714, respectively.

25. Zhong Rong 鍾嶸 (?-ca. 518), Shipin zhu 詩品注, ed. by Chen Yanjie 陳延傑 (Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 1980), juan 3.69.

26. Yutai xinyong jian zhu, juan 10.475-476.

27. Nan Qi shu 南齊書 (Xiao Zixian 蕭子顯 [489-537], comp., Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1972, rpt., 1983), juan 34.625.

28. Nan shi, juan 14.403.

29. Nan shi, juan 72.1766.

30. It should be pointed out that none of the terms listed is used to refer to a seven-syllable quatrain. In fact even during the Tang we do not find the term jueju used for seven-syllable quatrains until Du Fu. See Zhou Xiaotian, Tang jueju shi, p. 14. The reasons for this are not clear. One should not overlook, however, two simple facts: seven-syllable quatrains were relatively rare during the Six Dynasties and even during the early Tang; moreover, it was rare at any time for a poet to label his poem a jueju no matter if it was seven or five-syllable. Given these facts, it is not surprising that we do not find seven-syllable

quatrains labeled jueju until a relatively late date.

31. Wu Ne 吳訥 (1372-1457), Wenzhang bianti xushuo 文章辨體序說, ed. Yu Beishan 于北山 (Hongkong: Taiping shuju, 1965), p. 57. This is a collection of the prefaces from the Wenzhang bianti. It is printed together with Xu Shizeng's 徐師曾 (1517-1580) Wenti mingbian xushuo 文體明辨序說.

32. I have been unable to find Fu Ruli's dates. According to Zhou Xiaotian, he is of the Yuan dynasty. See Tang jueju shi, p.13; p. 34 n. 3.

33. It should be noted that not all the critics who cite this theory necessarily subscribe to it in its entirety. Wu Ne, for example, before quoting Fu Ruli cites another critic who suggests that the five-syllable originated with the Southern yuefu of the Six Dynasties. Wu Ne does not attempt to reconcile the two theories. He may simply be quoting what he thought were two alternative theories, or he may be distinguishing between the origins of the genre and the origins of the term. Xu Shizeng 徐師曾 (1517-1580) is usually cited as a proponent of the cut lüshi theory, but in his preface to the jueju section of his anthology, the Wenti mingbian 文體明辨 (which was modeled after Wu Ne's work), he takes an approach similar to Wu Ne; first saying that jueju came from yuefu and then repeating almost verbatim the cut lüshi theory as cited by Wu Ne. He differs in that he opens his account of the theory with the line "jue zhi wei yan jie ye" 絕之為言截也 (as for the word jue, it means cut). It seems he is deliberately trying to emphasize that there is a distinction between the different origins of the jueju. See Xu Shizeng 徐師曾 (1517-1589), Wenti mingbian xushuo 文體明辨序說, ed. by Lo Genze 羅根澤 (Hongkong: Taiping shuju, 1965), p.108. This work is printed together with Wu Ne's Wenzhang bianti xushuo.

34. Hu Yinglin, Shi sou, "Neipian," juan 6.105. Above I have noted that Hu Yinglin in a later chapter attempts a tentative explanation of the origins of the term jueju.

35. Wang Fuzhi 王夫之 (1619-1692), Jiangzhai shihua jian zhu 薑齋詩話箋注, ed. by Dai Hongsen 戴鴻森 (Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 1981), juan 2.139.

36. See, for example, He Xun's "Xiang song" 相送 ("Parting Poem"), Lu Qinli, p. 1710. Shuen-fu Lin comments on the parallelism in this poem in "The Nature of the Quatrain From the Late Han to the High T'ang," pp. 112-114.

37. See Liu Daqin 劉大勤 (n.d., a contemporary of Wang Shizhen [1634-1711]), Shi you shichuan xulu 師友詩傳續錄, in Qing shihua, I, 157. Also quoted in Fu Shousun and Liu Baishan, "Tangren jueju jiping," p. 956.

38. Li Ying 李鍈 (Qing), Shifa yijian lu 詩法易簡錄, in Fu Shousun and Liu Baishan, "Tangren jueju jiping," p. 946.

39. For example, Yu-kung Kao and Tsu-lin Mei, comment, "It is generally agreed that the quatrain form is called 'cut-off form' (chüeh-chü) because it is cut off from an octave (eight-line) form (lü-shih)." See Yu-kung Kao and Tsu-lin Mei, "Ending Lines in Wang Shih-chen's 'Ch'i-chüeh': Convention and Creativity in the Ch'ing," in Artists and Traditions, ed. by Christian F. Murck (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976), p. 132.

40. Wang Li 王力, Hanyu shilü xue 漢語詩律學 (1958; Shanghai: Shanghai jiaoyu chubanshe, rpt. 1962), pp. 33-41, 463-467.

41. See Shuen-fu Lin, "The Nature of the Quatrain From the Late Han to the High T'ang," p. 298. Bo Juyi 白居易 (772-848) explains his categorization in "Yu Yuan jiu shu" 與元九書 ("Letter to Yuan the Ninth"). See Bo Juyi 白居易 (772-848), Boshi changqing ji 白氏長慶集, Sbck, juan 28.9b-10a.

42. Bo Juyi uses this term several times. See, for example, "Yu Yuan jiu shu," Boshi changqing ji, juan 28.11b.

43. Shuen-fu Lin notes Shen Gua's 沈括 (1031?-1095?) use of the term xiao lüshi. See "The Nature of the Quatrain from the Late Han to the High T'ang," p. 297-298.

44. Hirano Hikojirō, "Zekku ni tsuite," p. 60-61.

45. Xu Xueyi, Shiyuan bianti, juan 13.149. It is Gao Bing 高棅 (1350-1423), the compiler of the Tangshi pinhui 唐詩品彙 who actually points out the original forms of these poems in his notes. It is not clear however when the quatrains were first cut off. See Gao Bing 高棅 (1350-1423), Tangshi pinhui 唐詩品彙, Siku quanshu zhenben liuji, juan 38.6a. The lüshi in question is "Song Du Shenyan" 送杜審言 ("Sending Off Du Shenyan, Tangshi pinhui has bie 別 for song), the pailü is "Zao fa Shaozhou" 早發韶州 ("Early Morning Departure From Shaozhou"), see Song Zhiwen 宋之問 (?-712), Song Zhiwen ji 宋之問集, Sbck xubian, juan 2.10b, juan 2.22a, respectively. See also Quan Tangshi, juan 52.638 and juan 53.654, respectively.

46. There is however an interesting example of a Southern yuefu quatrain which appears to consist of two separate couplets (the third and fifth) extracted from Zuo Si's 左思 (ca. 250- ca. 305) "Zhao yin" 招隱 ("Seeking Reclusion," no.1). See the "Ziye sishi ge, dong ge" 子夜四時歌，冬歌 ("A Four Seasons Ziye Song, Winter Song") in Yuefu shi ji, juan 44.649.

47. Hu Yinglin, Shi sou, "Neipian," juan 6.106. The lyrics to the "Lailuo" title are recorded in Yuefu shiji, juan 49.713 (Hu Yinglin is referring to the second of the set of four lyrics). There is also a twelve line version of "Junzi xing." The notes in the Yuefu shi ji explain the different versions and also point out that the "Junzi xing" has been attributed to Cao Zhi. See Yuefu shi ji, juan 32.467. Another similar example is the Southern yuefu title, "Ziye sishi ge, dongge" 子夜四時歌，冬歌 , which consists of two separate couplets from the first of Zuo Si's 左思 (ca. 250- ca. 305) "Zhao yin" 招隱 poems. See note 46.

48. Hu Yinglin, Shi sou, "Neipian," juan 6.106.

49. Hirano Hikojirō, "Zekku ni tsuite," p. 62.

50. The "Li sao" 離騷 concludes with a quatrain luan 亂 (excluding the opening exclamation), but it is not in five-syllable meter. The "Yufu" 漁父 concludes with a quatrain song, which could conceivably be thought of as in five-syllable meter if the xi 兮 prosodic particles are eliminated. Note that this song first appeared in Mengzi 孟子 , so in a sense it has been "cut-off". See Mengzi 孟子 , Sbck, juan 7.7a. Both these pieces are found in the "Sao" section of the Wenxuan.

51. See Sun Kaidi, "Jueju shi zenyang qilai de," pp. 460-464.

52. Wang Shizhen 王士禛 (1634-1711), Chibei outan 池北偶談 (Taibei: Xinxing shuju, 1960), juan 14.9b.

53. Hirano Hikojirō discusses this variation of the theory. He cites a traditional Japanese critic, Ichikawa Seinei 市川世寧 (1749-1820). It sounds as if this variation may be Ichikawa Seinei's interpretation of Wang Shizhen's 王士禛 statement. See Hirano Hikojirō, "Zekku ni tsuite," p. 61.

54. See He Xun's "Song Chu ducao lianju" 送褚都曹聯句 ("A Lianju Sending Off Capital Minister Chu"), Lu Qinli, p. 1708; "Song Sima _?_ ru Wucheng lianju" 送司馬□入五城聯句 ("A Lianju Sending off Sima (character missing) to Wucheng"), Lu Qinli, p. 1708; "Xiangsong lianju" 相送聯句 ("A Parting Lianju"), Lu Qinli, p. 1711. Lo Genze cites other examples, see "Jueju sanyuan," p. 41.

55. Li Jiayan 李嘉言 , "Jueju qiyuan yu lianju shuo" 絕句起源於聯句說, in Gushi chutan 古詩初探 (Shanghai: Gudian wenxue chubanshe, 1957), pp. 86-90. Li Jiayan notes that this is a slightly revised version of an article that appeared in Guowen yuekan 國文月刊 . He is not sure but thinks that it appeared in no. 17 (1942). Lo Genze's article was written in 1944. In his article he mentions that he had come across Li Jiayan's piece the year before and had similar views.

56. Xie Hui led a revolt against the Song dynasty (420-479). He and his followers were eventually captured and executed. Xie Hui and Xie Shiji composed these pieces just before they died. See Song shu 宋書 , (compiled by Shen Yue 沈約 [441-513], Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1974), juan 44.1361.

57. Liu Chang was a Song prince who unsuccessfully attempted to revolt. See Nan shi, juan 14.403; poem is also recorded in Lu Qinli, p. 2204.

58. See Zhou Xiaotian, Tang jueju shi, pp. 11-14; Shuen-fu Lin, "The Nature of the Quatrain from the Late Han to the High T'ang," pp. 299-301; Shao Zufen, Tangren qijueshi qianshi, pp. 6-8 (of the "Introduction").

59. See Yu Guanying 余冠英 , ed., Han Wei Liuchao shixuan 漢魏六朝詩選 (1958; Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, rpt. 1979), p. 80, note 1.

60. Li Jiayan, "Jueju qiyuan yu lianju shuo," p.87.

61. Li Jiayan, "Jueju qiyuan yu lianju shuo," p.87.

62. Wu Qiao 吳喬 (ca. 1611- after 1670), Weilu shihua 圍爐詩話 2 vols. (Taibei: Guangwen shuju, 1969), I, juan 1.29b.

63. Li Ying 李鍈 (Qing, n.d.), Shifa yijianlu 詩法易簡錄, quoted in Fu Shousun and Li Baiyao, "Tangren jueju jiping," p. 946.

64. Nalan Xingde 納蘭性德 (1655-1685), Lushuiting zazhi 渌水亭雜識 , quoted in Fu Shousun and Liu Baishan, "Tangren jueju jiping," p. 945.

65. Lo Genze, "Jueju sanyuan," p. 30.

66. I am assuming that Wu Qiao is citing the Nan shi passage that has been discussed above. Wu Qiao's citation in fact differs on several points. For example, according to Wu Qiao the comment about Wu Maiyuan was made by Emperor Xiaowu of the Song, whereas the Nan shi says it was by

Emperor Ming. I have checked the collated Zhonghua shuju edition of the Nan shi, no variants are given so I am assuming that Wu Qiao has simply misquoted the passage.

67. As has been noted, when we look to the earliest sources, the Yutai xinyong and the dynastic histories, we see lian 連 being used consistently. The Qing critic, Zhao Yi 趙翼 (1727-1814) has also pointed this out, "Lianju 聯句 verse during the Six Dynasties and earlier was known as lianju 連句, see the Liang shu 梁書 and Nan shi 南史 ." See Zhao Yi 趙翼 (1727-1814), Qubei shihua 甌北詩話 , ed. by He Songlin 鶴松林 and Hu Zhuyou 胡主佑 (Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 1963), juan 3.31.

68. The Peiwen yunfu does not give the title of Liu Kezhuang's poem so I have been unable to trace the source of this couplet. Ordinarily the Peiwen yunfu does give the title of the source; one wonders if the original poem exists intact. Also curious is the fact that this entry is found under the listing for "lian-jue 連絕 " even though the couplet has lian-jue 聯絕 . There is no listing for lian-jue 聯絕 . See Zhang Yushu 張玉書 , et al., comps., Peiwen yunfu 佩文韻府 , 7 vols. (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1937), juan 98.3756.

69. Xiao Yi 蕭繹 (508-554) was Emperor Yuan of the Liang 元帝 . See Nan shi, juan 8.245.

70. Liu Shiru 劉世儒 notes that jie was measure word during the Six Dynasties. He gives an example from the Gu jin zhu 古今注 , "Li Yannian composed 28 more stanzas of new music based upon foreign tunes" (Li Yannian yin hugu geng zao xinsheng ershiba jie 李延年因胡曲更造新聲二十八解). See Liu Shiru 劉世儒, Wei Jin Nanbeichao liangci yanjiu 魏晉南北朝量詞研究 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1965), p.175. The example is from Cui Bao 崔豹 (fl. A.D. 300), Gujin zhu 古今注 , Han Wei congshu, juan 2.4b.

71. See Xu Shen 許愼 (A.D. 58-147), comp., Shuowen jiezi 說文解字 , ed. by Xu Xuan 徐鉉 (916-991) (Hongkong: Zhonghua shuju Xianggang fenju, rpt. 1972), juan 3a.18b (p. 58).

72. See Liu Shiru, Wei Jin Nanbeichao liangci yanjiu, pp. 172-173.

73. In the Shiji 史記 one sees the phrase, "...sang several que..." (ge shu que 歌數闋). See Sima Qian 司馬遷 (ca. 145 B.C.- ca. 87 B.C.), Shiji 史記 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1975), juan 55.2046.

74. See Gujin zhu, juan 2.1a.

75. Liu Shiru discusses ju as a measure. See Wei Jin Nanbeichao liangci yanjiu, pp. 175-176.

76. Ge Jie 葛傑 and Cang Yangqing 倉陽卿, for example, feel that the "cut yuefu stanza" and "cut off lianju" theories are both valid. They suggest that we need not pick one over the other, that they both describe phenomena which were taking place at the same time and eventually combined to result in the jueju. See the prefatory essay in Ge Jie 葛傑 and Cang Yangqing 倉陽卿, eds., Qianjia jueju 千家絕句 (Hebei: Huashan wenyi chubanshe, 1984), pp. 6-7.

CHAPTER II

THE EARLY QUATRAIN

Introduction

Though the origins of the term jueju remain uncertain, traditional and modern scholars are practically unanimous in agreeing that the beginnings of the genre are to be found as early as the Han and that its evolution is to be traced through the Six Dynasties. They have pointed to yuefu and gushi quatrains that date back to the Later Han dynasty, to the crucial role of the Southern Dynasties yuefu and the pioneering efforts of the literati of the later Six Dynasties. For example, Hu Yinglin gives the following account of the origins of the jueju:

> Five-syllable jueju originated during the period of the Two Capitals (the Han dynasty). During the Wei dynasty one sees occasional examples, but it was during the Jin and Song dynasties that they truly flourished. Pieces such as "Ziye" 子夜 and "Qianxi" 前溪 (titles of

> Southern Dynasties yuefu) traversed the realms of the marvelous. Even Tang poets constantly imitated these pieces. But these were still yuefu style pieces, they were not Tang style jueju. After the move to the South (zuofang 左方), however, one finds a number of pieces which in style and tone were very much like Tang jueju (Hu Yinglin then quotes a number of Six Dynasties quatrains by literati poets such as Bao Zhao 鮑照 [ca. 414-466], Jiang Zong 江總 [519-594], and Emperor Yang of the Sui 煬帝 [569-618], which he feels are "no different than Tang jueju").[1]

One can find a number of similar accounts of the rise of the jueju in the works of other traditional critics. We have already seen that Xu Xueyi began his description of the development of the jueju with the quatrains of the Han (see above, pp. 19-20).[2] Modern studies also are in agreement with this general outline. Most recently, for example , Shuen-fu Lin followed this line in his study of the quatrain from the Late Han to the High Tang.

Critics attempting to trace the earliest origins of the jueju have usually pointed to the Han quatrains because it is in these pieces that we see the most basic formal features of the jueju. Quatrains can be found in various guises as early as the Shi jing, but it was during the Han

that the five-syllable meter quatrain (together with the seven-syllable line one of the two standard meters) first appears.[3] Another mark of a basic maturity of form is the development of the ABCB or AABA rhyme patterns which eventually become the standard schemes. These rhyme schemes are an advance over patterns such as AAAA or AABB in which every line rhymes. This is not to say that such patterns immediately disappeared, but as the quatrain developed---as it was transformed from song and ditty to literary genre---they were usually avoided as too "sing-song." Eventually of course when the jueju matured these patterns were dropped altogether.

We see then that there are basic formal features that have led scholars to trace the origins of the jueju to certain Han quatrains. Just as important however, though not usually specifically pointed out or explained, is that there is a similarity of organization and approach shared by the crude Han quatrains, the popular songs of the Southern Dynasties, and literati verse. As poems they share a basic, common structure, and operate in fundamentally similar ways. Critics have recognized this instinctively, and in addition to the obvious formal features it is their awareness of the shared structure and quality of these different types of verse that has led critics to suggest that they are linked in a line of development.

The term quatrain simply means a four line unit of

verse. There are any number of types of quatrains which may vary in their meter, function and structure. When we look to the early Chinese tradition we see that the quatrain was, at the most basic level, a fundamental unit of verse which appears in a variety of roles and forms. The predominant stanza found in the lyrics of the Shi jing is a four-syllable quatrain. Several of the pieces in the Chu ci are organized in quatrain units. Many early ditties, rhymes and even riddles appear in quatrains of a variety of meters. In this chapter I will survey these different uses of the quatrain from the earliest times through the Han. My intent is not to attempt to push back the date of the ultimate origins of the jueju. Scholars of the jueju are correct in pointing to Han yuefu and gushi quatrains as the beginnings of the line of development that eventually resulted in the jueju. But I would like to examine the various ways that quatrains were used and the different forms they took in the earliest periods. In this way we will be able to distinguish the specific type of quatrain that lies at the heart of the jueju and the environment from which it first arose.

The Jueju Type Quatrain

As a first step towards identifying the specific type

of quatrain that characterizes the jueju I would like to examine two sharply contrasting poems both of which take the quatrain form, a Greek epigram and a Southern Dynasty yuefu.

> Let everyone, whether townsman or stranger from abroad, before he pass, mourn Tettichus, valorous man who died in battle, and yielded up his tender youth: lamenting this, proceed to worthy tasks.[4]

The Greek epigram, from the six century B.C., is a sepulchral inscription made up of two distichs. It is in the classic Greek tradition and is characterized by its simple, clear dignity and nobility. The ancient Greek epigram was a short inscription of dedicatory or memorial function and the ordinarily serious, solemn purpose and occasion of the inscription determined its characteristic tone and style. Not knowing Greek I am unable to discuss, in a concrete way, the structure of this epigram. It is clear however, even in translation (which is fairly literal), that the particular nature of the epigram is reflected in the style and character of the composition. In this piece we see quiet, simple yet noble lines stated plainly and directly. It is difficult to detect any sign of "art" or technique in the verse, in part because this is a prose translation, but also because one senses that this is a genre in which art, technique and personal voice, at least in their most obvious

manifestations are to be avoided. All that is called for is plain, direct statements in a verse largely guided by convention and occasion.

> It is true that the mere statement of the purpose and meaning of the object,---for example, in a sacred offering, the person who gave it, the god to whom it was dedicated, and the subject which it represented---was much prized, if made with conciseness and elegance; and epigrams of this kind were often ascribed to renowned poets, in which there is no excellence besides the brevity and completeness of these statements, and the perfect adaptation of the metrical form to the thought. Nevertheless, in general, the object of the Greek epigram is to ennoble a subject by elevation of thought and beauty of language. The unexpected turn of the thought and the pointedness of expression, which the moderns consider as the essence of this species of composition, were not required in the ancient Greek epigram; in which nothing more is requisite than that the entire thought should be conveyed within the limits of a few distiches...[5]

The early classic Greek epigram often consisted of a single

distich or couplet. This particular example, a quatrain, appears to be a simple expansion or enlargement upon the more typical single distich style. Paul Friedlander comments that the first couplet may well have been an independent epigram, "But as there was more to be said about him [Tettichus] a second distich was needed."[6] It is clear that though this piece can be considered a quatrain, the four lines are not functioning as an organic form.

The following Southern Dynasties yuefu was chosen because it is an example of a jueju type quatrain composed during a period when the art and potential of the quatrain were first being deliberately exploited. The technique is exaggerated and uninhibited, hence the structure and operation of this type of quatrain are especially clear and illustrative.

Incise the shoulder, drink the pure blood,
Take sheep and oxen and offer them to Heaven;
Though I should die and turn to dust,
My love will never end.

"Huan wen Variation" ("Huan wen biange" 歡聞變歌 ; Lu Qinli, p.1050)[7]

With her song, the singer deliberately attempts to startle, puzzle, and move her audience. At first it is difficult to make sense of her words. In the opening

couplet we are directly confronted with a series of violent actions and images. The listener then realizes that she is describing a ritual of oath and alliance, yet one remains puzzled. One knows that this is to be a love song, and thus why does it use these images that suggest two kingdoms concluding an alliance or former enemies swearing a solemn oath? With the second couplet the singer shifts the focus of the lyric. The third line turns from the opening images of the ritual, to a declaration, yet it too is violent and calculated to startle. The listener is still not clear of the intent of these images and outbursts (there are no personal pronouns in the original Chinese). It is only in the fourth line that the singer reveals herself. The lines and images suddenly come together and we understand it is all an expression and declaration of her love.

Ordinarily one would not expect to see the imagery of a ritual oath in a Chinese love poem.* The literati tradition at least has tended to be dominated by a set of conventions and cliches far more sentimental and genteel in nature. It is clear that it is this anonymous singer's deliberate intention to shock and surprise. She has used all her wit and imagination to find fresh, striking images that can convey her love and move her listener. It was the ritual of an oath that offered her images violent and powerful enough to express her passion, and at the same time provided her a vehicle to swear her love.

For our study, what is significant is the way in which she has used the quatrain form to express her feelings. She only has four lines yet they have such strength, force and passion. It is clear that it is not enough for her to plainly state her sentiments. Though her message is direct and uninhibited, the organization of her lines and her manipulation of the imagery are the result of a deliberate art and technique. One can almost sense her playing with the lines and form as she startles, puzzles and then finally reveals and resolves. When we analyze her lyric, the structure of the poem and the way in which it is organized and operates become clear. It consists of a pair of couplets which form two distinct units between which there exists a complex relationship. On the one hand there is a wide "gap" between the two couplets; they are of very different qualities and contrast to one another. On the other hand, neither couplet is an independent statement that can stand on its own. They each have functions that are interdependent and must operate together to form a whole. The lines within the couplets also have their own distinct roles and character. The first and second lines are relatively similar in quality with the second line continuing in the direction of the first. Together they present us with images and situation. The third line, the beginning of the new couplet then shifts away from the opening scene. A gap arises, and there is a tension as we

are confronted with a sudden turn and disparate elements. All is resolved by the fourth line which explains and unites the previous lines and images.

The organization of this poem fits very closely the traditional analysis of the jueju structure in which the roles of the individual four lines are described as "opening" (qi 起), "continuation" (cheng 承), "turn" (zhuan 轉) and "resolution" (he 合). In this analysis the importance of the third line is always stressed.

> Generally speaking, the first two lines are of course difficult, but all that is required is that the first line be a straightforward opening, and the second line a loose, relaxed continuation--- these are best. When it comes to the subtle transformation all skill is concentrated on the third line. If at this point you "turn" (zhuanbian 轉變) successfully, then the fourth line will follow like a boat going down a stream.[9]

The traditional description of the organization of a jueju, is not to be taken as an absolute formula or law. It does not account for all jueju; occasionally one does find poems which appear deliberately to violate this pattern. It is also true that some critics have disagreed with it or at least have tried to modify parts of it.[10] The Qing critic,

Pan Deyu 潘德輿 (1785-1839), for example, objects to the emphasis placed upon the third and fourth lines. He feels that it slights the roles of the first and second lines.[11] Shuen-fu Lin, in an insightful study, traces the quatrain from the Han to the Tang and shows how its basic nature and structure essentially remained constant. His analysis of this structure however differs from tradition.

> Although each of the above quatrains is made up of four complete grammatical sentences, it actually consists of two separate couplets. Each couplet contains one integral set of ideas, descriptions or experiences, complete within itself and separate from the couplet next to it. The couplet is the basic unit in the progression of a poem in most shih poetry, the quatrain is no exception. It is therefore misleading to try to approach the quatrain as if it entails the progression from the opening (ch'i 起), to the continuation (ch'eng 承), to the turning point (chuan 轉), and then finally to the conclusion (ho 合). Rather, the structural integrity of the quatrain depends upon the dynamic complementation of two juxtaposed couplets.[12]

Such criticisms often are valid to a degree. They are

valuable in that they remind us that the traditional analysis cannot be taken as an absolute formula and that there are different ways to look at the structure of the quatrain . But I do not think that they succeed in disproving or overthrowing the traditional analysis. Shuen-fu Lin's analysis, for example, correctly stresses the couplet structure of the jueju quatrain and the dynamic relationship between the couplets. But it does not account for the individual role of each line. Moreover, the point that Shuen-fu Lin wants to stress---the dynamic juxtaposition of the two couplets---is accounted for in the traditional analysis by the recognition that the third line of the quatrain functions as a crucial turn. An objection I would raise against the traditional analysis is that it seems to downplay the importance of the last line. It often appears that the last line functions as a kind of "punch line," and that it is at this juncture that the "point" of the poem is actually made. In defense of the traditional analysis however, I recognize that usually it is the third line that has actually set up the fourth line, and that the idea or point of the fourth line was conceived during the turn at the third line. In a sense my focus on the fourth line is simply a difference of emphasis, the phenomenon we are describing however is still the same. As long as one realizes that the traditional analysis is a sort of basic description which can be modified and is not a rigid

formula, one will find that it is basically accurate and offers real insight into the organic structure of the jueju quatrain.

By contrasting a Greek epigram and a Southern Dynasties yuefu I wanted to show how there are different ways to use four lines of verse. In this case the nature of each poem is dictated in large part by the occasion and purpose of each genre. One is a memorial inscription carved on stone, the other a lyric which may well have been sung to a lover whom the singer wanted to startle and move. The former is characterized by the plain directness and simplicity of its lines, the latter by a deliberate search for "The unexpected turn of thought and the pointedness of expression..." We have also seen how the four lines of the Southern Dynasties yuefu operate together as a whole and correspond to the pattern described by the traditional analysis of the structure of the jueju. The type of quatrain which characterizes the jueju has a distinct character which can be seen in sophisticated poems and popular lyrics. As one surveys the development of the jueju one realizes that despite all the refinements and variations the jueju will undergo, the basic principles of its quatrain form will remain constant. This type of quatrain has an almost natural, organic quality. Its structure was not "created" or prescribed by rules in the way, for example, that the lüshi was. It seems to occur almost naturally and is not

limited to the Chinese tradition. For example, in the "Introduction" (see pp. 1, 2) several examples of English and American children's rhymes were cited that begin with the couplet, "Roses are red/ Violets are blue." Such pieces also show a structure identical to that of the jueju quatrain. Though one may describe the opening couplet of these rhymes as a "nonsense couplet"---it exists primarily to complete the sound pattern and rhyme---one does see that the first and second lines are straightforward in quality and that the second line simply follows the lead of the first. There is a distinct gap and contrast between the two couplets, with a major turn at the third line followed by a fourth line that serves as a sort of punch line that gives the ditty its point. One may thus point out, in answer to Pan Deyu, that simpler, more primitive examples of the jueju type quatrain often give clear evidence that the second couplet is, in fact, more important than the first as it is in the second couplet that all the invention occurs. In this case the opening couplet is a simple little jingle repeated again and again in different versions of the rhyme while the second couplet varies with each new improvisation. A similar pattern can be seen in Southern Dynasties yuefu where one finds a number of pieces opening with formulaic style couplets, with the burden of improvisation all on the last two lines. This corresponds with the traditional jueju analysis that tends to stress the importance of the third

and fourth lines over the opening couplet. Thus, in their basic structure and operation at least, there is essentially little difference between certain children's rhymes, popular song lyrics and *jueju*. It turns out that the traditional analysis of the *jueju* can be seen as a description of a distinct type of quatrain pattern that occurs naturally in various guises and is not limited to a single literary genre such as the *jueju*.

The Quatrain as a Unit of Verse

Hirano Hikojirō, in his study of the *jueju*, attempts to trace its origins as far back as the *Shi jing*.[13] What he is referring to of course is the predominance of the quatrain stanza in this ancient collection of lyrics. He points, in particular, to the "Guo feng" 國風 section of the *Shi jing* in which the concentration of folk songs is highest and the quatrain stanza is typical. Hirano Hikojirō's suggestion can be objected to on a number of grounds: the lyrics of the *Shi jing* are primarily in four-syllable meter; the quatrain stanza does not occur independently, but as part of a series of stanzas;[14] perhaps more important however is the structure and character of the quatrain stanzas typical of the *Shi jing*. As has been seen above, the four lines of a quatrain can be used in different ways. The quatrain which

is typical of the jueju is a distinct type and differs from the quatrain stanzas found in the Shi jing as will be shown below.

Attempts to trace the jueju to the Shi jing are clearly misguided. Nevertheless, the predominance of the quatrain stanza in the earliest anthology of Chinese verse is striking and suggestive. In the Shi jing it is the fundamental unit of verse. Stanzas of longer length are often simply expansions upon the basic quatrain unit, for example, a six-line stanza may consist of a quatrain plus two-line refrain; an eight-line stanza of a quatrain plus four-line chorus.[15] According to C.H. Wang almost three-quarters of the stanzas in the Shi jing are quatrains or simple expansions upon the quatrain.[16] But though it is in the lyrics of the Shi jing, with their stanzaic structure, that the quatrain unit is most conspicuous, when we survey the later poetic tradition we find quatrain units of verse appearing again and again in a number of very different genres of verse. In the Chinese poetic tradition it appears as if the quatrain, for reasons not always very well understood, is a fundamental unit of verse; a unit which not only eventually developed into a literary genre of its own, but functioned as a basic building block for a variety of other types of verse.

The fundamental importance of the quatrain unit in Chinese verse is of great significance in the study of the

jueju. It is from the different types of quatrains in their various functions and roles that we will need to identify the quatrain that evolved into the jueju. The ubiquity of the quatrain unit in the tradition may also help to explain why it was possible for such a basic and simple form to evolve into an important literary genre. Zhou Xiaotian has made some brief but important observations in an attempt show how and why the quatrain formed such a fundamental unit. He points to the Shi jing as evidence of the role of the quatrain as a basic stanza (but wisely does not attempt to directly link it to jueju). He also notes that the quatrain stanza is very common in the folk music of other countries and points out a link between music and the quatrain form. Zhou also explains that certain features of Chinese prosody have determined that the quatrain be a fundamental unit. For example, in the shi 詩 tradition of poetry, the practice was to rhyme the even lines of verse; consequently four lines was the minimum length required to complete a rhyme.[17] In this section I will add to such observations by briefly surveying the role of the quatrain unit in various types of verse beginning with the Shi jing.

The Shi jing is a collection of 305 lyrics of a variety of styles and types ranging from folk songs to dynastic hymns. The lyrics originate from different regions of China, over an extensive period of time (from about the 12th to 7th centuries B.C.), and reflect a wide cross section of

social levels and functions. The "Guo feng" section contains most of the folk songs and it is here that the quatrain stanza is most common. Despite the wide variety of lyrics to be found and the prevalence of the quatrain unit, however, there do not appear to be any examples of pure jueju type quatrains in the Shi jing. There is an obvious reason why this should be so. The songs of the Shi jing are generally made up of a series of stanzas, with the individual stanzas generally functioning as parts of a whole. In contrast, the jueju type quatrain works as an independent form. As we have seen it has a tight, organic structure and ends with a strong final point or effect. There is a completeness and finality about its form that ordinarily would preclude its being used as part of a whole. Apart from this general observation one could also point to the specific character of the Shi jing lyrics themselves. They actually encompass a wide variety of types of songs that is reflected in the different styles and structures of their stanzas. Shi jing no. 8, for example, appears to be a sort of work or gathering song.

Thick grows the plantain;
Here we go plucking it.
Thick grows the plantain;
Here we go gathering it.

Thick grows the plantain;
Here we hold it between the fingers.
Thick grows the plantain;
Here we are with handfuls of it.

Thick grows the plantain;
Here we have our aprons full of it.
Thick grows the plantain;
Now apronfuls are tucked in at our belts.[1e]

Here we see an example of an extremely simple quatrain stanza repeated with the slightest variation three times. The individual quatrains themselves consist of a series of simple, repetitive statements without any organic order or progression. Assuming that this song originated as a work song, the reasons for its particular form and style are clear. The repetitive quality was an aid to the task of gathering. When sung while working it would have given the gatherers a steady rhythm to ease and guide their work. Compare the style of this lyric to the following negro longshoremen's work song.

Pay me or go to jail,
Pay me my money down,
Pay me or go to jail,
Pay me my money down.

Chorus:

Pay me, O pay me,

Pay me my money down,

Pay me, O pay me,

Pay me my money down.

Pay me, mister stevedore,

Pay me my money down,

Pay me, mister stevedore,

Pay me my money down. (chorus)[19]

The pieces above are examples of a quatrain stanza that is very different from the quatrain of the jueju. The structure of the stanzas clearly reflects the function and occasion of the type of song they make up. A number of other kinds and styles of songs are found in the Shi jing; in each case one will find various types of quatrains with different approaches toward using and organizing their four lines. There are songs that are semi-narrative in character in which each quatrain stanza forms an "episode" in the narration, expressing a distinct idea, scene or event (see Shi jing no. 31, for example). One of the most characteristic features of the Shi jing lyrics is the special type of comparison known as xing 興 , in which an image is introduced as an unstated comparison or contrast to the following subject. In a quatrain stanza the image will

occupy the first couplet, the subject the last couplet. This is perhaps the most common type of quatrain pattern to be found in the Shi jing. There are however no obvious examples of independent jueju type quatrains.

When we compare the folksongs of the Shi jing to the folk songs of the Anglo-American tradition one finds some striking parallels. The English ballad is organized as a series of stanzas, primarily of quatrains (unless they are expansions upon the quatrain such as in the Shi jing). One also finds that the quatrain is the basic stanza length of a variety of other types of folk and popular songs. Alan Lomax's classic anthology of American folk songs, The Folk Songs of North America, along with ballads, contains spirituals, work songs, reels and blues. Among all these types of songs the quatrain is by far the most popular stanza length. As in the Shi jing the type and style of song helps to determine the character and shape of the quatrain used. As we have seen above the shape of an American work song can be very similar to that of an ancient Chinese gathering song. As in the Shi jing there are no single stanza songs in Lomax's collection.[20]

The parallels between the Shi jing lyrics and the Anglo-American folk song tradition are also valuable in helping us to understand the link between the quatrain stanza and music. Since the music for the Shi jing lyrics has long been lost, one has to guess about the nature of the

tunes and the way in which the songs were song. The shape of the lyrics---such features as the high degree of incremental repetition, and the stanzaic construction---enable us to make some fairly safe guesses. In most cases it is clear that each stanza of a particular Shi jing lyric must have been sung to a tune that was repeated as many times as there were stanzas. This is precisely what takes place in Anglo-American folk songs, which confirms our guess about the Shi jing lyrics which are very similar in shape. A closer look at the Anglo-American folk-song may help us to further understand the relationship between Shi jing lyric and music. In an Anglo-American folk song one finds a close correspondence between music and lyric. As has been mentioned a stanza is in a sense equivalent to the tune of the song. But the interdependence of lyric and tune goes much further. Generally a line of stanza is matched to a phrase of music. Thus a folk song with a quatrain stanza will have a tune of four musical phrases. In addition the meter of the lyric and the tune also closely correspond. In most folk verse there are four feet or stresses per line. The stresses of the lyric correspond to the beats of the music.[21] How closely this may correspond to the lyrics of the Shi jing and the tunes they were sung to we can only guess. It is clear that a stanza is equal to a tune, and it does seem very possible, if not likely that the other units of text and tune may also match. Very interesting and

suggestive is the fact that the basic (though not only) meter of the Shi jing lyric is the four-syllable line which seems to parallel the four-stress line in Anglo-American folk verse.[22]

The quatrain stanza is the predominant stanza length in the lyrics of the Shi jing and in Anglo-American tradition of folksongs. That it should be so popular in the earliest and simplest of lyric traditions suggests that it is in some way a kind of fundamental unit of length. Why this should be is not very clear. The interdependence of lyric and music, however brings up some interesting problems. Is the four-line stanza with its four-syllable\stress line a fundamental unit to which a tune accords? Or is it the tune with its four four-beat phrases that is the fundamental unit to which lyrics are composed? I do not know if this question can ultimately be answered. Perhaps these units of words and music are both expressions of some natural, primal notions of rhythm and length, and we ought not attempt to assign primacy of one over the other.

The link between the quatrain and music continued throughout the Chinese lyric tradition and this phenomenon eventually became a major factor in the rise of the jueju. In the case of the yuefu lyrics of the Han and Wei, the situation is complex. These songs do not have the simple, obvious stanzaic structure seen in the Shi jing. We see a number of innovations in meter and style that would seem to

show a growing sophistication and complexity of lyric and music. It is also clear however that the quatrain stanza still played a major and fundamental role as a unit of text. Among the lyrics of the Han and Wei we see some of the earliest examples of single-quatrain, five-syllable songs---the ancestors of the jueju. In addition a number of longer yuefu are clearly organized in quatrain units. For example, the sixteen line "Song of the Snow-white Heads" ("Baitou yin" 白頭吟) consists of four quatrains.[23] Admittedly the relationship between these four line units and the original music is not very clear. We cannot say for sure if the singer is singing the four quatrains to a simple four-phrase tune or if the tune is longer and more complex. It is clear however that the singer has built the lyrics of her song out of quatrain blocks. This type of yuefu lyric construction is very obvious in early literati shi poetry. It is especially visible in Cao Cao's 曹操 (155-220) verse, for example. The influence of the yuefu upon his poetry was particularly strong (all of his surviving pieces were composed to yuefu titles); moreover, Cao Cao's verse tends to be rather wooden so that the structure and organization are very obvious. His thirty-two line "Short Song" ("Duange xing" 短歌行) is made up of eight distinct quatrain blocks. A later performance version of this lyric omitted eight lines (two of the quatrains) of the original poem, but did label the remaining six quatrains as

individual stanzas (jie 解).[24] In the previous chapter we saw how several modern scholars observing the popularity of the quatrain stanza have gone so far as to suggest that the term jueju came to designate a quatrain because a jie so often consisted of four lines.

The new popular music of the Six Dynasties which replaced the yuefu of the Han and Wei had a crucial role in the rise of the jueju. The vast majority of these songs consists of single, five-syllable quatrains and were the direct models and inspiration for the literati who eventually transformed these song lyrics into a literary genre. But even after the maturation of quatrain into jueju, the link to music continued and played an important role in shaping the fate of the jueju during the Tang. One of the major reasons that the jueju became such a popular genre was they were easily adapted as lyrics and set to music (see above, p. 10). Moreover during the Tang one sees poets going back to the popular song tradition for inspiration. Liu Yuxi 劉禹錫 (772-842) is an example of a major poet whose jueju were heavily influenced by contemporary folk songs.[25] The link between jueju and the early ci is another well known phenomenon that shows how naturally quatrain and music were combined. The vast majority of early literati ci from the Tang were in the quatrain form.[26] There are a number of different reasons why the literati poets insisted on composing jueju style ci

in contrast to the contemporary popular tradition in which there was a much greater variety of forms and meters. It was the form that they knew and it had great prestige. Perhaps a tradition that linked quatrain and love song (which originated with the Southern Dynasty yuefu and Six Dynasties literati imitations) was also a factor. The early literati ci were dominated by love songs in the traditional "palace style" (gongti 宮體). But aside from these factors the most basic reason must have been that the jueju, being a quatrain, was the genre that was most easily adaptable to the new tunes that made up the ci.

I have tried to show how fundamental the quatrain is by demonstrating its close links to music and the way it functions as the most basic and fundamental of stanzas. Since all Chinese poems are either actual lyrics or have their origins in lyric forms, it is only natural that the quatrain plays such an important role as a unit of verse in Chinese poetry. But perhaps we should not stress the role of music too much. As has been noted above we cannot say that music is ultimately more fundamental and determines the shape of the words or vice-versa. Again perhaps in terms of notions of rhythm, length, and meter---music and poetry at the most basic levels may share common values. One often finds that in poetry that seems fairly far removed from music the quatrain often still continues to play an important role as a unit of verse. In the Chu ci, for

example, a number of the poems are made up of or organized by quatrains. The most obvious example is the "Tian wen" 天問("Heavenly Questions") which consists of a series of questions and riddles in quatrain form. But even the "Li sao" 離騷 ("Encountering Sorrow") proceeds in quatrain units. Qu Yuan 屈原 is clearly composing in four line blocks, each block expressing a distinct idea or statement and marked off with an ABCB rhyme pattern, usually (but not always) employing a rhyme different from the adjacent blocks.[27] There seems to have been a general tendency among Chinese poets to compose in quatrain blocks.[28] This was not a strict rule, but more on the line of a loose tendency that could be modified as the situation demanded. A common pattern was to compose a poem in a series of quatrain blocks but then conclude with a couplet.[29]

In conclusion, I would like to point out one last example of the ubiquity of the quatrain unit. When the laws of tonal prosody were finally perfected during the Tang, they ended up shaping themselves around the quatrain. That is to say, the various rules were organized to govern the lines of a quatrain. In longer forms such as the lüshi the quatrain pattern of rules was simply repeated. In terms of prosody, a lüshi is the equivalent of two quatrains.[30]

Ditties, Riddles and Songs

With one or two exceptions, there are no single quatrain poems in the Shi jing or Chu ci. However when we turn away from these two "orthodox" collections of ancient verse to the mass of miscellaneous songs, ditties, proverbs, riddles, and sayings that still survive from the pre-Han period, one finds a plethora of independent quatrains. Though the quatrain is only one of a number of lengths or forms to be found among these pieces, overall it appears to be the single most popular unit of verse. These quatrains come in all shapes and sizes; one finds examples in two-syllable meter, three-syllable meter, Chu-song type meter, and in lines of varied length. The four-syllable meter however is still most common. As one would expect at this early stage there are no examples of five-syllable quatrains.[31]

The variety of types of verse to be found among these minor, miscellaneous rhymes is striking. Though it is true that many of these pieces are very primitive and can be considered poetry only in the most basic sense they do add considerably to our picture of pre-Han verse. In certain instances one can see that they are important in helping us to understand the development of later poetry. In this study of the origins of the jueju they are especially important. There is a very large gulf in terms of time and style between the lyrics of the Shi jing and the five-

syllable quatrains of the Han, the acknowledged ancestors of the jueju. There do not appear to be any direct links or line of descent between these two points. If we are to understand the nature of the Han quatrain we must go to the mass of early, primitive, minor songs and rhymes . Several of the features of the Han dynasty five-syllable quatrains can clearly be traced back to certain types of these earlier quatrains. In a number of respects they differ from their pre-Han precursors only in meter.

The pre-Han quatrains that are extant come from a variety of sources and represent a multiplicity of "genres." Anything that can be versified will often be put into quatrain form. For example, when we look to the first juan of Shen Deqian's anthology, Gushi yuan 古詩源 , which consists of about one hundred works purported to be earlier than the Han we find that of the first five works included four are quatrains.[32] They consist of a children's ditty overheard by the ancient emperor Yao 堯 ("Kangqu yao" 康衢謠 "Street ditty"); a sacrificial prayer by the ancient emperor, Yi Qi 伊耆 ("Yi Qi shi la ci" 伊耆氏蜡辭 "Words for the La sacrifice by Yi Qi")[33]; an admonition which sounds like a rhymed proverb, also by Yao ("Yao jie" 堯戒 "An Admonition by Yao") and a song sung by the ancient emperor Shun 舜 to his ministers ("Qing yun ge" 卿雲歌 "Song of the Auspicious Clouds"). Of course the authenticity of these attributions should not be taken too

seriously. All the figures mentioned above belong to the legendary past. We have little idea when these pieces were actually composed. Some of the sources of these pieces are Han dynasty or possibly even later. Nevertheless they still can serve as examples of how prevalent the quatrain form was in ancient Chinese verse. That the quatrain was such a popular length among this variety of different pieces should be no surprise. It is simply a reflection of how basic and fundamental a unit of length the quatrain was in Chinese verse. If one wanted to put a thought or statement into verse---give it rhythm and rhyme---the quatrain was a very basic, natural form to cast it in.

Given the variety of purposes and occasions for which these miscellaneous rhymes were composed, the many shapes, structures and styles of quatrains to be found in their midst is not surprising. Some examples are extremely simple. Yi Qi's prayer consists of four "requests."

Earth return to your place,
Waters go back to your gullies,
Insects and reptiles disappear,
Grasses, trees revert to the marshes.
(Lu Qinli, p. 47)

Occasionally one will find pieces which work in ways that remind one of <u>jueju</u>. The people of Zheng 鄭 who at first

resisted the reforms of Zichan 子產 (Gongsun Qiao 公孫僑 [6th century B.C.]) sang a song about him.

He takes our clothes and stores them,
He takes our fields and taxes them;
Who will kill this Zichan?
We'll help him.[34]
(Lu Qinli, p. 41)

This is a very simple piece, no more than a ditty, but still one can see the basic features that characterize the type of quatrain that typifies the jueju: the opening couplet made of two similar lines, the turn at the third line which in this case consists of a striking question and then the equally striking answer in the fourth line which resolves the other lines. We see that this piece despite its simplicity is a product of a sort of art and wit. A straightforward prose statement would simply say something like "Zi Chan has done such and such...we must do something about him." The quatrain verse has been organized for maximum rhetorical effect. Again, however, one should emphasize that the type of quatrain seen in this song is not the result of a sophisticated, advanced technique. It is simply an example of a very basic and natural pattern that is made use of both in children's rhymes and the jueju of the literati. In early Chinese verse this pattern was only

one of a variety of styles to be found among the quatrains that occur in different kinds of verse ranging from the Shi jing to ditty.

The type of quatrain that we saw in the above piece, the type that would come to typify the jueju, has a distinct character. There is an art and wit that is inherent in its structure that give it a unique force and charm. When one wants to make a point in a sharp, striking manner it is a natural pattern to use. The brevity of the quatrain in general plus the natural liveliness of this particular type of quatrain are an invitation to invention, surprise and wit. The basic sense of play may be turned to serious purpose, but very often, and especially in its early stages, one sees that the quatrain is the favorite form for riddles, and various other word games. Though such light and trivial rhymes may seem insignificant, they are in fact an important element in the early quatrain and will continue to be a factor later as it develops into literary genre.

Scholars of the riddle attempting to trace its origins have suggested that several early rhymes can be seen as examples of proto-riddles. One of the pieces frequently pointed out, the "Dan ge" 彈歌 ("Slingshot song"), is a two-syllable quatrain song whose traditional attribution (it is supposed to date from the age of the legendary Yellow Emperor) would make it one of the earliest specimens of all Chinese verse.

Cut the bamboo,
Join the bamboo,
Let fly the earth,
Pursue the meat.
(Lu Qinli, p. 1)[35]

The song is describing in a very terse, riddle-like way, the steps in the creation and use of a slingshot. The bamboo is cut and then joined together to form the slingshot; a pellet of clay is fired from it; one pursues the game. This piece is not considered a true riddle because there is no formally prescribed question and answer (the answer and clue are to found in the title). Nevertheless one sees one of the basic characteristics of the riddle---the description of an object that both hints at and disguises the object.

The riddle-style approach to description is not limited to the quatrain, but the quatrain is its favorite form. Aside from the kind of "disguised" description that we saw above, riddle-type pieces also make use of other types of word games such as puns and anagrams. These word puzzles occur over and over in various types of verse and have had a small but not insignificant place in the development of the jueju. Dongfang Shuo 東方朔 (154 B.C.-93 B.C.) was extremely fond of creating and solving puzzles and riddles, and his riddles and answers often came in the quatrain form.

While playing shefu 射覆 , a game in which one attempted to guess what was under an overturned bowl, he phrased his answer in the following rhyme.

I thought it was a dragon yet it has no horns,
I thought it was a snake yet it has legs;
Gazing, crawling about, it climbs the walls with ease,
If it's not a wall lizard it's a gecko.[36]

Dongfang Shuo's rhyme is very important in that it is one of the earliest extant examples of a seven-syllable quatrain; in fact, it is one of the earliest examples of any type of seven-syllable verse.[37] We see him also using the typical jueju type quatrain structure.

The use of word games in verse does not necessarily mean humor and lightness. Various types of omens and prophecies often consist of rhymed puzzles and riddles. Children's rhymes, traditionally regarded as a mantic medium, often made use of such word games. The following rhyme was supposed to have been in circulation in the capitol at the beginning of the reign of Emperor Xian 獻帝 (r. 190-220).

A thousand li of grass,
Oh how green;

A ten day forecast,
Will not live.
(Lu Qinli, p. 225)[38]

This ditty is supposed to predict the fall of the rebel, Dong Zhuo 董卓 (?- A.D. 192). The characters that make up the first and third lines of the ditty combine to form his surname and given name. The first couplet describes Dong Zhuo's present power; the second line his soon to come fall. A number of such pieces survive, preserved in the "Wuxing zhi" 五行志 ("Treatises on the Five Elements") chapters of the dynastic histories. Some of these pieces may be true children's rhymes twisted to reveal hidden political meanings and omens.[39] In some instances they clearly were manufactured to support a political action.[40]

Another type of a both playful and serious use of word games is to be found in love poetry. One of the "Four Ancient jueju" ("Gu jueju sishou" 古絕句四首), the group of five-syllable quatrains generally considered to be among the earliest prototypes of the jueju, is in fact a riddle made up of a series of puns, plays on the graphs of characters, and word associations. A literal translation runs as follows:

Mat and chopping block, where are they now?
Over the hills there are more hills.

And the large dagger head, when oh when?
When the broken mirror mounts the sky.
(Lu Qinli, p. 343)

Mat and chopping block are instruments of the execution ground. Together they are intended to suggest an axe (fu 鈇), with axe being a pun on the word for husband (fu 夫). The graph for hill (shan 山), when placed over itself combines to form the graph for leave (chu 出). The head of the dagger is meant to suggest a jade ring (huan 環), which is often attached to a knife. This is a pun on the word for return (huan 還). The mirror is a symbol for the moon so that the broken mirror means a half of a month.[41] The girl is saying "Where is my husband? He has gone far away. When will he return? In half a month." The strong, jagged imagery---the broken mirror, the dagger, the executioner's tools---are deliberate and combine to reflect her emotions. The poem in this sense is reminiscent of the Southern Dynasty yuefu that was discussed above (see pp. 103-104). As will be seen later puns continued to be a favorite form of expression in the Southern Dynasty yuefu, a group of popular songs that consist primarily of love songs in the quatrain form. That such word games were so popular in love poetry is not surprising. Lovers, inspired by their serious and playful passions, seem naturally to resort to such devices to hint, to tease and to give shape to their

extreme and often paradoxical emotions. Shakespeare's sonnets are full of such word play.

The use of the quatrain for various types of word games and amusements continued among the literati and at the popular level as the quatrain was developing and long after it matured into a literary genre. Bao Zhao's collecton of verse includes three "Graph Riddles" ("Zimi" 字謎) two of which are four-syllable quatrains.[42] During the Song Dynasty, which was a golden age for riddles, one sees poets such as Wang Anshi 王安石 (1021-1086) and Su Shi 蘇軾 (1037-1101) composing quatrain riddles in a variety of meters.[43] In fact if a riddle was composed in verse it most often took the quatrain form.[44]

Traditional critics have noted the place of word games in jueju.

> Among the Tang masterpieces which were commonly sung and recited, jueju were especially popular. Among them were lihe 離合 (anagram) and diezi 疊字 (reduplicative compound) type pieces which were very close to being children's games. The ancients however have always had these styles and it ought to be acknowledged.[45]

The Qing critic Guan Shiming 管世銘 (1738-1798) cites examples of word play in the jueju of the Tang poets, Liu

Yuxi 劉禹錫 (772-842), Wen Tingyun 温庭筠 (ca. 812-ca.870) and Li Shangyin 李商隱 (812-858), and traces the ancestry of these poems back to the "Ancient jueju" that was discussed just above.[46] Wang Fuzhi even criticizes an early Tang jueju, Yu Jizi's 于季子 (jinshi between 670-674) "On Emperor Gaozu of the Han" ("Yong Han Gaozu" 咏漢高祖), saying it is too much like a riddle.[47]

In many of the pieces discussed immediately above we saw examples of various types of word play set to verse. It is in their approach to description however that we see that riddles and certain kinds of poetry share fundamental qualities. In both one sees lines that hint yet hide, images that suggest but does not directly reveal; a deliberate use of wit and imagination in the search for the striking and the paradoxical. We have seen something of this in the Southern Dynasties yuefu. Later in the yongwu 詠物 (poetry on objects) quatrains of the later Six Dynasties one also often finds poems that resemble riddles in their approach.[48] Yongwu poetry of course has a very long tradition in Chinese verse and involves several different genres and styles. A fu, for example, would evoke or capture its subject by exhaustively describing its every aspect and detail. However during the late Six Dynasties, in particular in "Palace-style verse" (gongti 宮體), the quatrain became a favorite form for yongwu verse. The quatrain form obviously required a very different kind of

approach. These pieces were usually very slight verse, sometimes extemporized as a game or amusement. They often demanded wit, imagination, and an indirect suggestiveness.

They touch you, strange they aren't hot,
They gather among the grass, its funny there is
no smoke;
They come forward and grow dim in the light of the
lamp,
Then they turn back to burn brightly in the rain.
(Lu Qinli, p. 2057)

This is a yongwu poem by Emperor Jianwen 簡文帝 (r. 550-552) of the Liang dynasty. As one can see it is composed very much in the spirit of a riddle. The object is not named, only suggested by a series of striking, paradoxical statements. The title of the piece, "On the Firefly" ("Yong yinghuo" 詠螢火) provides us with our clue to the poem and functions like the answer to a riddle. Though pieces such as this are very slight as poetry, they are significant. They are one of the media through which the literati learned to use the quatrain form and were an important step in the development of the jueju. To later scholars they show the quatrain at a stage when it lies between game and poetry and reveal the common ground between what would at first seem to be two distinct phenomena. The

link between riddles and poetry has been finely described by the Iona and Peter Opie.

> Children who ask each other rhyming riddles may well be reciting in the playground pieces of poetry as worthwhile as any they are made to recite in the classroom. The descriptions these riddles give of their solutions (for nearly all rhyming riddles are true riddles) are usually phrased highly imaginatively in terms of something else. Thus a candle is seen as a little girl in a white petticoat, a cabbage is thought of as made of numerous patches set on top of each other, and a ring is described as a bottomless vessel to put flesh and blood in. Such images are, perhaps, the fittest introduction to poetry that a child can have.[49]

The Quatrains of the Han Dynasty

It is during the Han that the five-syllable quatrain first emerges. Almost all scholars, traditional and modern, have looked for the beginnings of the jueju in these pieces. Quatrains in the new meter were, however, still relatively rare, appearing haphazardly in a variety of sources which

more often than not are several centuries later than the Han. The great majority of Han quatrains continued in the vein that has been described above, making up a large body of miscellaneous rhymes and songs that included the usual children's ditties, proverbs, and popular protest jingles. Again there was a wide variety of meters and styles with the four-syllable line being most common and the five-syllable line being a rare exception. In fact the four-syllable line would continue to be a very popular meter for such minor, miscellaneous pieces throughout the Six Dynasties even as the five and seven-syllable line developed and made inroads into all types of verse.

When we look at most of the five-syllable verse that was emerging during the Han the sharpness of the break from the past is clear and striking. The Han yuefu and "Nineteen Old Poems" ("Gushi shijiu shou" 古詩十九首), for example, are very different from the four-syllable verse and Chu-song type lyrics which prevailed during much of the Han especially in higher society among the literati and aristocracy. In the case of the five-syllable quatrain however the picture is more complex. Though the use of the five-syllable meter with quatrains marks an important advance in the development of the form, it is also clear that the five-syllable quatrain was in many instances still a very minor vehicle that continued to be employed for the lesser, more primitive types of verse that have been

described above. Among the extant examples one finds a children's ditty, some proverb-like rhymes, a riddle (the "Ancient jueju" discussed above) and several rhymes praising or criticizing the government or certain officials,

> Where are we to look for the corpses of our sons?
> At the square of young men east of the pillars.
> While they lived they were reckless,
> Now where shall we bury their withered bones?
> (Lu Qinli, p. 123)[50]

Ditties and rhymes with political or topical concerns were among the most common types quatrains of the early period. We saw several examples of such pieces earlier. This example, in the new five-syllable meter, was sung by the people of Chang-an during the Former Han dynasty. Yin Shang 尹賞 whose official biography is found among the "Biographies of the Cruel Officials" ("Ku li zhuan" 酷吏傳)[51] was given charge of restoring order to the capital during a troubled period. His solution was to gather hundreds of the young rowdies and delinquents and place them in a pit which was covered with a huge stone. After they were dead they were taken out and buried. One hundred days later their families were ordered to retrieve their remains. The people of Chang-an then made up this song.

This piece is probably the earliest extant example of a

five-syllable quatrain. It would also appear to be one of the earliest datable examples of any type of five-syllable verse.[52] It is illustrative of the traditional, sub-literary use of the quatrain, but also hints at advances possible with the new meter. Although it is a simple song with the anonymous, communal flavor typical of such pieces, one feels that it has begun to move beyond the doggerel quality that ordinarily characterizes these rhymes.

In addition to the typical sub-literary rhymes there are several Han quatrains which despite their simplicity and brevity show a clear advance over the more usual rhymes; in such pieces one sees the quatrain turning from ditty and doggerel to true lyric. It is to these works that scholars have referred to again and again when discussing the origins of the jueju. The most famous of these pieces are the "Four Ancient jueju."

The sun goes down, the autumn clouds darken,
The River's waters are deep and clear;
What shall I use to convey my message?
Lotus flowers and a tortoise shell pin.

The dodder drifts pulled by strong winds,
Yet the grip of root and vine will not break;
Things without feelings refuse to part,
How can those in love bear to separate?

On Southern Hill there is a cassia,
Above its boughs a pair of ducks;
For a thousand years they've twined their necks,
A happiness and love not to be forgotten.
(no. 2, 3 and 4, respectively; no. 1 was translated above; Lu Qinli, p. 343)[53]

This set of lyrics has long attracted the attention of _jueju_ scholars. The very title of these pieces is striking. They appear to be the earliest examples of quatrains actually titled _jueju_. They were first recorded in the _Yutai xinyong_ where they head the important collection of Han and Six Dynasty quatrains that makes up all of _juan_ 10 of this anthology. Thus these pieces have always had a very high visibility. Scholars have long been suspicious of the title and are in agreement that it must have been attached to these pieces much later. Almost all scholars have felt that these pieces are most probably from the Later Han dynasty, a time during which the term _jueju_ cannot have existed; moreover, the very nature of the title indicates it is a later addition. No one would name contemporary pieces "Ancient _jueju_." The dating of these lyrics presents an interesting problem. No specific period is given, but the title of these pieces and their place at the head of the collection of quatrains in the _Yutai xinyong_ suggests that

Xu Ling, the compiler of this anthology, thought these pieces were from the Han. During the late Six Dynasties the term gu 古 ("old, ancient") when applied to verse ordinarily refers to the Han, for later periods the specific dynasty would be named. Another example of a group of Han poems with the label gu attached to their title are the "Nineteen Old Poems" which were first grouped together and anthologized in the Wen xuan by Xiao Tong 蕭統 (501-531), a contemporary of Xu Ling.[54]

Later scholars have almost invariably followed Xu Ling's lead. Hu Yinglin refers several times to these pieces as being Han; Shen Deqian has included two of them among the Han poems in his anthology, Gushi yuan.[55] Xu Xueyi, however, has an interesting dissenting opinion that will be discussed below. The assumption by most traditional scholars that these are from the Han was not a matter of simply following tradition. They were also guided by their sense of literary style and history. No doubt these pieces "felt" like Han poems to them and so they did not feel a need to explain their thinking. The modern scholar, Lo Genze, has examined the language of these pieces and has identified a sort of formula, which suggests a Han date. He notes the presence of the "question and answer" type phrases seen in several of the "Four Ancient jueju" and compares them to similar phrases found in Han literati poems. For example, Po Qin's 繁欽 (?-218) "Stilling Passion" ("Ding

qing shi" 定情詩) is filled with a series of couplets such as "How shall I convey my affection?/ With a pair of silver rings." (何以道殷勤, 約指一雙銀). The phrasing is virtually identical to the second couplet of the second of the "Ancient jueju."[56] The Han yuefu, "There Is One I Love" ("You suo si" 有所思) has a couplet that is even more similar, "What shall I send my love?/ A tortoise shell pin with a pair of pearls." (何用問遺君, 雙珠玳瑁簪).[57] Such evidence is not definitive in itself, but is one more clue that suggests to scholars the Han date and helps to clarify the thinking of the traditional scholars. My own feeling, and I think this is how others have reasoned, is that since these pieces cannot be earlier than Han, in fact bear some similarities to other Han verse, and since they differ from the subsequent folk and popular quatrains that make up the Southern Dynasties yuefu (the earliest examples of which are probably from the Jin dynasty), it is difficult to fit them anywhere else but the Han. In addition, given the very primitive state of the five-syllable meter during the Former Han (the only examples that can be positively dated are several rhymes and ditties), one would guess that the "Four Ancient jueju" are from the Latter Han.

Apart from their significance as being among the earliest examples of five-syllable quatrains, the "Four Ancient jueju" are important because in these pieces we

first see the independent quatrain used for true lyric verse. As has been mentioned above, most of the other extant five-syllable quatrains of the Han are still akin to ditties and are employed in various traditional roles. In the "Ancient jueju" the anonymous, communal voice of the ditty disappears. We enter a different world in which we first hear an individual voice expressing personal emotion using the art of poetry. It is true that in the first of these pieces the poet has relied almost solely upon the more primitive art of riddle and word play, but in the other pieces (no. 2 and no. 3 in particular) we see simple, but sure handling of imagery and metaphor, one even finds brief but relatively sharp and advanced description of landscape and scene.

It is important to note that the "Ancient jueju" are all love songs. Of course, since these pieces were first gathered together in the Yutai xinyong this is to be expected. Nevertheless, it is significant that the best and most advanced of the Han quatrains, the quatrains which are first used for poetry, are love songs. Love is the emotion that raises the quatrain from ditty to lyric. With love the quatrain has finally found a worthy theme, a theme that is lyrical, personal, serious (and at times playful) and drives the poet to explore the art of verse and the potential of the quatrain form. Love poem and quatrain will continue to be linked throughout the Six Dynasties and it would be no

exaggeration to say that without the passion of this theme the jueju would not have come into being.

In addition to the usual ditties and the love poems one finds other interesting Han quatrains.

Pick the mallow but don't hurt the roots,
If you hurt the roots it will never grow back;
When you choose a friend do not shun the poor,
If you shun the poor friendship will never
succeed.

"Old Poem" no. 1 ("Gu shi" 古詩 ; Lu Qinli, p. 342)

If you plant wheat on a high field,
It will never flourish and bear grain;
A young man in a strange land,
How could he not but wither and waste?

"Old Song" ("Gu ge" 古歌 ; Lu Qinli, p. 297)

Both these pieces are simple folk lyrics. Though they are more advanced than the doggerel verse we have seen in most early quatrains they clearly are simpler than the "Four Ancient jueju." The anonymous folk flavor is very strong, they almost sound like proverbs; they do not have the sharp, individualized voice of the love songs. Later we will see that such pieces bear some resemblance to certain quatrain

songs found in the yuefu of the Northern Dynasties. In general however such pieces, though they did make up a certain type or style of lyric, had a very minor role in the development of the jueju. Again it was the love songs as first seen in the "Four Ancient jueju" and then later in the Southern Dynasties yuefu that exploited the potential of the quatrain and pointed the way to its future.

Above it was mentioned that Xu Xueyi questioned the assumption that the "Four Ancient jueju" dated from the Han dynasty. What he specifically maintains is that the "Old Poem" quoted above and the fourth of the "Ancient jueju" are true examples of Han quatrains and he praises these pieces for their "lofty, ancient quality" and their "naturalness" (see above, p. 19). He then adds however that the second and third of the "Ancient jueju" are actually works of the Six Dynasties.[58] Xu Xueyi's suggestion is very interesting because he has recognized that there are different styles and levels of verse to be found among the quatrains that are usually assumed to be Han. He even differentiates between the two pieces that he thinks are from the Six Dynasties, saying that the second piece is a shi and the third piece is a yuefu. I essentially agree with Xu Xueyi's distinctions. Above it was pointed out that there was a difference between the "Ancient jueju" and other Han quatrains such as the "Old Poem." It is also appears that the second and third of the "Ancient jueju" may be more sophisticated than the fourth

which is based upon an old folk motif and does not seem to have as sharp an individual voice as the other two pieces. The second and third of these pieces do have the individual lyric voice and thus seem more advanced, the third piece however opens with a traditional image of a vine clinging to a tree, whereas the second piece opens with a more sophisticated, literary description of landscape and scene, this is probably the distinction that Xu Xueyi was making when he described one as a "poem" and the other as a "popular lyric." Although I agree with Xu Xueyi's distinctions, I differ with him in that I do not feel that the differences between these pieces can necessarily be taken as evidence for dating. Xu Xueyi again may be a bit too schematic and idealistic in his approach. He wants the beginnings to be simple, natural and lofty and so when he encounters a more sophisticated approach or style he automatically decides that it is representative of a later stage. The flaw with his reasoning is that differences in levels and styles do not automatically correspond to a linear timetable, there are other factors involved. The kind of person who is composing, their social class, the occasion all may affect the levels of styles to be found in these pieces. So while I very much respect Xu Xueyi's critical sensitivity and agree that some pieces are more sophisticated than others and that certain pieces may be reminiscent of and even seem to point to later verse, the

fact that these pieces on the whole are different from later examples of quatrains such as the Southern Dynasties yuefu and at times show clear ties to Han verse suggests that a Han date is still the most likely possibility for the "Four Ancient jueju."

Summary

Since this chapter has wandered over a wide variety of topics I would like to briefly review what has been discussed. In Chinese poetry, the quatrain is a fundamental unit of verse. The couplet of course is the shortest unit; it is the equivalent of a single sentence or statement. As we have seen however, the couplet tends to group in pairs to form quatrains and much Chinese verse is composed in blocks of quatrains. One sees quatrain organization in the Shi jing, Chu ci, yuefu, and even in the literati shi tradition. In many instances the quatrain unit is linked to music, but while music has clearly played a large role in encouraging the quatrain unit it is difficult to say if text or music is primary, they both may be reflections of deep, fundamental notions of rhythm and length. The result is that the quatrain is ingrained in the Chinese poetic mind as unit of thought, of meter, and of music. The Chinese poet and singer is instinctively encouraged to organize his verse in

quatrains. This may help explain why the single quatrain was able to eventually develop into an important literary genre.

The quatrain unit is ubiquitous in Chinese verse; however, it takes different forms and shapes in accordance with its purpose and environment. In this chapter I have tried to show that the quatrain that is characteristic of the jueju is a distinct type. Traditional scholars have described this particular kind of quatrain in their analysis of the structure of the jueju. But we have also seen that this type of quatrain is not limited to a single literary genre. It is a basic, naturally occurring pattern that can be found in children's rhymes, folk songs, and riddles---East and West. This pattern operates as an organic unit. It encourages wit and imagination. When one wants to make a sharp point---serious or humorous---this is the pattern to use. In China lovers were especially fond of this form and it was their use of it that encouraged its development into a literary genre.

Before the Han the independent quatrain was used for a variety of sub-literary functions. The quatrain was a favorite form for riddles, omens and a variety of other ditties and songs. During the Han there was the important step of the use of the five-syllable meter, but in many cases the quatrains in the new five-syllable meter continued in the minor traditions of the past. One should not ignore

these lowly ancestors of the jueju. They continued to flourish even as the quatrain was developing into literary genre. Riddles and various word games in particular played a small but definite role in the development of the jueju.

The use of the new five-syllable meter was a major step in the development of the quatrain, but just as important is the fact that during the Han we see the quatrain first used for true poetry. Such pieces make up only a minority of the quatrains that date from the Han and in the context of Han poetry as a whole they are not very significant. During the Former Han the shi tradition was dominated by verse in the traditional four-syllable meter and Chu-song style verse. The rise of the Han yuefu was the major development during the Han and by the Later Han we see the literati learning from and imitating this popular tradition. The independent five-syllable quatrain however had practically no role in these events. It was still a lowly, minor form not to be touched by the literati; in fact, it would take centuries before it would be fully accepted as a respectable genre. The few true poems that are to be found among the Han quatrains are the quiet, anonymous beginnings of a long process that would not flower until the Tang.

Notes to Chapter II

1. Hu Yinglin, Shi sou, "Neipian," juan 6.112-113.

2. One of the earliest critics to trace the origins of the jueju to the quatrains of the Han and Wei dynasties was Gao Bing 高棅 (1350-1423). See his brief comment in his Tangshi pinhui 唐詩品彙 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1982), juan 38.388.

3. The development of the seven-syllable quatrain is to be distinguished from that of the five-syllable quatrain. It will be dealt with separately in later sections.

4. Paul Friedlander, Epigrammata (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1948), p. 124-125.

5. K. O. Müller, Literature of Ancient Greece, trans. by George Cornwall Lewis (London: Robert Baldwin, 1847), p. 126-127.

6. Friedlander, Epigrammata, p. 125.

7. See also Yuefu shi ji, juan 45.657.

8. In the Tang chuanqi 傳奇 , "Sun Ke" 孫恪 , the hero attempts to allay the anger of his lover by offering to "drink blood and swear an oath" (yin xue wei meng 飲血為盟). Whether this was an actual practice among lovers or simply a figure of speech is not clear. Pei Xing's 裴鉶 (825-880) story was recorded in the Taiping guang ji 太平廣記 (juan 445). A readily accessible version is included in Wang Bijiang 王辟疆 , comp., Tangren xiaoshuo 唐人小說 (1936; Taibei: Wenguang tushu youxian gongsi, rpt. 1983), pp. 279-82. For the phrase cited above, see p. 281.

9. Yang Zai 楊載 (1271-1323), Shifa jiashu, juan 1.8a-8b.

10. I am not sure when the traditional description of the jueju took its final form. One sees parts of the analysis appearing as early as the Song. Zhou Bi 周弼 , the editor of the anthology, San ti Tangshi 三體唐詩 (compiled in 1250), in his discussion of the seven-syllable jueju

stressed the importance of the third line as the turn. See Zhou Bi 周弼 (Song), San ti Tangshi 三體唐詩, Siku chuanshu zhenben qiji, "Xuan li" 選例, 1a. In the passage quoted above by the Yuan critic, Yang Zai 楊載 (1271-1323), the theory is practically complete, though he does not actually name the last two lines "turn" and "resolution."

11. Pan Deyu 潘德輿 (1785-1839), Yangyizhai shihua 養一齋詩話 quoted in "Tangren jueju jiping," p. 1031.

12. Shuen-fu Lin, "The Nature of the Quatrain from the Late Han to the High T'ang," p. 104.

13. Hirano Hikojirō, "Zekku ni tsuite," pp. 68-69.

14. According to Arthur Waley there is only one example of a piece that consists of a single quatrain (aside from some fragmentary dynastic hymns). He does not name the piece, but I assume he is referring to no. 122. See Arthur Waley, The Book of Songs (1937; New York: Grove Press, 1960), p. 18.

15. See Shi jing no.19 and no.9.

16. See C. H. Wang, The Bell and Drum (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1974), pp. 36-37.

17. Zhou Xiaotian, Tang jueju shi, pp. 1-5.

18. Translated by Arthur Waley, The Book of Songs, p. 91.

19. In Alan Lomax, The Folksongs of North America (Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Co., 1960), p. 530.

20. In contrast to the Shi jing, however, one will occasionally discover stanzas that are close to simple jueju type quatrains. Below is a selection of stanzas from several different songs.

> Apples in the summertime
> Peaches in the fall,
> If I can't have my Cindy gal
> I won't take none at all. (Chorus)
> from "Cindy"

> Hardest work I ever done,
> Workin' on the farm,
> Easiest work I ever done,
> Swingin' my true love's arm. (Chorus)
> from "Jubilee"

> Snakes in the ocean,
> And fish in the sea,

And the blonde-headed women
Make a monkey out of me. (Chorus)
from "Wand'rin'"

In these stanzas we see a number of the features that distinguish the jueju type quatrain in its simplest and most basic form: opening nonsense couplets, the turn at the third line and the "punch line"-like concluding line. It is difficult to say for sure why we see such quatrains in American folksongs, but not in the Shi jing. One feature of the songs in Lomax's collection is the strong element of humor and wit which at times is combined with the lyricism. At such times it is natural to use the jueju type quatrain. The songs in which such quatrains appear tend to be much looser in construction. Often there is not much connection between the individual stanzas and they appear to have been improvised at random and are only loosely linked together by a certain theme and\or a common chorus. The absence of this type of humor and wit in the Shi jing may explain why the jueju type quatrain is not seen in the Chinese lyrics. One wonders though if this particular difference between the American and ancient Chinese folk song is due to differences in culture or to the taste and standards of the compilers of the Shi jing who shaped this collection. See Alan Lomax, Folk Songs of North America, p. 233, p. 237, p. 419, respectively.

21. The meter of a ballad may vary with the second and fourth lines being made up of three stresses (the "missing" stresses are made up for by pauses). See Roger D. Abrahams and George Foss, Anglo-American Folksong Style (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1968), pp. 139-140.

22. It has actually been suggested that "...practically all Chinese poetry is made up of rhythmic combinations of four-beat units." Glen William Baxter discusses Aoki Masaru's ideas about the four-beat unit in his study on the ci 詞 . See Glen William Baxter, "Metrical Origins of the Tz'u," in Studies in Chinese Literature, edited by John L. Bishop (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1965), pp. 213-215. It should also be noted that the four-syllable clause was a very common and basic unit in Chinese prose, "...Chinese scholars have often commented on the rhythm of prose. The basic unit of prose is generally accepted to be a four-word (or four-graph) phrase or sentence." See William H. Nienhauser, Jr., ed. and comp., The Indiana Companion to Traditional Chinese Literature (1986; Taipei: Southern Materials Center, Inc., 2nd rev. ed., 1988), p. 95.

23. The song has traditionally attributed to Zhuo Wenjun 卓文君 (first century B.C.); but it is most probably a popular song of the late Han. The earliest source is the Yutai xinyong.

24. The performance version is the version found in the Song shu, "Yue zhi" 樂志 . Both versions can be found in Lu Qinli, p. 349.

25. See Shao Zufen, Tangren qijueshi qianshi, pp. 30-31 and Zhou Xiaotian, Tang jueju shi, pp. 159-175.

26. See Glen William Baxter, "Metrical Origins of the Tz'u," pp. 198-203; Kang-i Sun Chang, The Evolution of Chinese Tz'u Poetry: From Late T'ang to Northern Sung (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980), pp. 25-30.

27. Wang Li divides the "Li sao" into quatrain units and identifies the rhymes. See Wang Li 王力 , Chu ci yundu 楚辭韻讀 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji, 1980), pp. 1-12. A.C. Graham has also noted the quatrain divisions in the "Li sao," "In the Li sao, although not in all later verse of this form, the rhymes are in pairs, so that the couplets fall into quatrains." See "The Prosody of the Sao 騷 Poems in the Ch'u Tz'u," Asia Major, vol. X, part 2 (1963), p. 121 (pp. 119-51). David Hawkes arranges his translation of this poem in eight-line stanzas. He has grouped the quatrains into pairs on thematic grounds. It is still clear however that the eight-line stanzas are made up of quatrain units. See David Hawkes, The Songs of the South (Harmondsworth, Middlesex, England: Penguin Books, 1985), pp. 68-78.

28. Note also that in Chinese translations of Buddhist verse the quatrain was the basic unit of organization. "Chinese Buddhist 'gathas' are written in blank vese with four, five or seven characters to a line. They are usually divisible into quatrains, though groups of six or eight lines also occur." See Richard Robinson, trans., Chinese Buddhist Verse (London: John Murray Ltd, 1954), xi. I do not know if this reflects the original texts or is a reorganization by the translators.

29. Jonathan Pease points out that of Guo Pu's 郭璞 (276-324) ten complete "Youxian" 遊仙 ("Roaming in the Immortal") poems five are in a fourteen-line "sonnet" form (made up of three quatrains and a couplet). See Jonathan Pease, "Kuo P'u's Life and Five-colored Rhymes (M.A. thesis, University of Washington, 1980), p. 194, 215. Kūkai's 空海 (774-835) Bunkyō hifuron 文鏡秘府論 notes the primacy of the couplet and quatrain units in the composition of poetry:

> In every poem of forty syllables (eight lines), every ten syllables (a couplet) comprises a unit which expresses its own meaning. The first twenty syllables (quatrain) can also comprise a unit. In a poem of sixty, seventy, or a hundred syllables, each twenty syllables will comprise a unit and express an idea.
>
> Every two lines of a poem should round off an idea. They should function as bottoms and tops which support each other in alternation. Each four lines should complete an idea and then proceed.

In the second citation, Kūkai is citing Wang Changling's 王昌齡 (ca. 698-ca. 756) Shi ge 詩格 (preserved in the Bunkyō hifuron); the first citation may also be by Wang Changling. The translations are by Richard Bodman (I added material in parenthesis). See Richard Wainwright Bodman, "Poetics and Prosody in Early Mediaevel China: A Study and Translation of Kūkai's Bunkyō hifuron" (Ph.D. diss, Cornell University, 1978), p. 181 and 381, respectively. For Chinese texts and commentary, see Kōbō Daishi 弘法大師 (Kūkai's posthumous title), Wenjing mifulun jiao zhu 文鏡秘府論校注, ed. and comm. by Wang Liqi 王利器 (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 1983), pp. 36-37 (in the "Diao sheng" 調聲 section) and p. 292 (in the "Lun wen yi" 論文意 section), respectively.

30. I suspect that a lüshi was essentially made up of two quatrains (rather than four couplets) and that the rule of the two parallel middle couplets arose out of the need to unite the two quatrains. Otherwise there would have been a tendency for a two quatrain poem to split into two halves.

31. As far as is known, five-syllable meter was a development of the Han dynasty. I am aware of one example of a five-syllable quatrain that is purported to be from the Qin dynasty, a folk song protesting the building of the Great Wall, but the source is late (Yang Quan's 楊泉 [fl. mid-third century] Wuli lun 物理論 as cited in Li Daoyuan's 酈道元 [?-527] Shui jing zhu 水經注) and it would seem doubtful that the song was originally composed in five-syllable meter. See Li Daoyuan 酈道元 (?-527), Shui jing zhu 水經注 (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1933), juan 3.44. See also Lu Qinli, p.32.

32. Shen Deqian 沈德潛(1673-1769), Gushi yuan 古詩源 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1963), juan 1.1-2.

33. The identity of Yi Qi is not clear. Two suggestions are Shen Nong 神農 or Yao.

34. See Zuo zhuan zhengyi 左傳正義, commentary by Du Yu 杜預 and Kong Yingda 孔穎達 (Taibei: Guangwen shuju, 1971), "Duke Xiang, Thirtieth Year," juan 40.304. In the second line I have followed Yang Bojun's 楊伯峻 commentary and have taken wu 伍 to be a loan for fu 賦. See Yang Bojun 楊伯峻, ed., Chunqiu Zuozhuan zhu 春秋左傳注, 4 vols. (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1981), III, 1182.

35. This song was first recorded in Zhao Ye's 趙曄 (Later Han) Wu Yue chunqiu 吳越春秋, Sbby, juan 9.6b (translation follows version in Lu Qinli). In this text it is recited during an episode that supposedly took place during the Spring and Autumn period. Liu Xie 劉勰 (ca. 465-ca. 520), for reasons not clear to us (the peculiar two-syllable meter?), attributed this piece to the period of the Yellow Emperor. See Liu Xie 劉勰 (ca. 465-ca. 520), Wenxin diaolong zhushi 文心雕龍注釋, commentary by Zhou Zhenfu 周振甫 (Taibei: Liren shuju, 1984), "Tongbian" 通變, juan 29.569 and "Zhang ju" 章句, juan 34.648. It is possible to think of this piece as a four-syllable couplet. Liu Xie, however, specifically points out that it is in two-syllable meter. For a discussion of this piece as an early riddle see Zhao Lian 趙濂, Miyu qianshuo 謎語淺說 (Beijing: Zhishi chubanshe, 1985), pp. 2-3.

36. This rhyme (and many others) is found in Dongfang Shuo's official biography. See Han shu 漢書 (Ban Gu 班固 [32-92], comp., Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1962), juan 65.2843.

37. Shen Zufen points out the significance of this piece, but also notes that this and other early examples of seven-syllable quatrains rhyme every line and thus are still immature. This particular piece rhymes AABB. See Shen Zufen, Tangren jijueshi qianshi, p. 4.

38. Originally recorded in the Hou-Han shu 後漢書. See Hou-Han shu 後漢書 (Fan Ye 范曄 [398-445], comp., Beijing: Zhonghua, 1965), "Zhi" 志, juan 13.3285.

39. Anne Birrell discusses and translates several examples of "politicized" Han ditties. See Anne Birrell, Popular Songs and Ballads of Han China (London: Unwin Hyman, 1988), pp. 100-115. In England there once were similar attempts to interpret nursery rhymes topically and discover their "true, hidden" meaning. "Much ingenuity has been exercised to show that certain nursery rhymes have had greater significance than is now apparent. They have been vested with mystic symbolism, linked with social and political events, and numerous attempts have been made to identify the nursery characters with real persons. It should be stated

straightway that the bulk of these speculations are worthless." See Peter and Iona Opie, The Oxford Dictionary of Nursery Rhymes, p. 27 (pp.27-30 contain a general discussion of this phenomenon).

40. The Tang poet, Luo Binwang 駱賓王 (ca. 640-?), is said to have manufactured a ditty (which he then taught children to sing) in order to encourage a revolt against the Empress Wu 武后 (r. 684-701). See Zhao Lian, Miyu qianshuo, p. 22. The incident is recorded in the Taiping guangji 太平廣記 where the original source is given as Zhang Zhuo's 張鷟 (jinshi, A.D. 679), Chaoyeh qianzai 朝野僉載 (it is not included in the present version of this text). See Li Fang 李昉 , et al., eds., Taiping Guangji 太平廣記 , 5 vols. (Taibei: Wen shi zhe chubanshe, 1987), III, juan 288.2295 (this edition is based upon the Renmin chubanshe [Beijing, 1959] version, pagination is identical).

41. I am following the explanation provided by Yu Guanying 余冠英 . See Yu Guanying, Han Wei Liuchao shi xuan, pp. 79-80. For a brief summary of the history of the interpretation of this piece see Zhao Lian, Miyu qianshuo, pp. 11-12.

42. See Lu Qinli, p. 1312.

43. See Zhao Lian, Miyu qianshuo, p. 15.

44. See Zhao Lian, Miyu qianshuo, pp. 79, 81.

45. Qian Liangze 錢良擇 (Qing), Tangyin shenti 唐音審體 , in Qing shihua, II, 784.

46. See Guan Shiming 管世銘 (1738-1798), Duxueshanfang Tangshi fanli 讀雪山房唐詩鈔凡例 , Suxiangshi congshu, juan 1.26a-26b.

47. Wang Fuzhi, Jiangzhai shihua, juan 2.136.

48. Several recent scholars have noted the resemblances between yongwu verse and riddles. See Stephen Owen, The Poetry of the Early T'ang, (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1977), p. 285; Chou Chao-ming, "Hsieh T'iao and the Transformation of Five-character Poetry" (Ph.D. dissertation, Princeton, 1986), pp. 94-96.

49. Peter and Iona Opie, The Lore and Language of School Children, p. 76. This work has an excellent introduction to riddles, see pp. 73-86.

50. Originally recorded in the Han shu. See Han shu, juan 90.3674.

51. Yin Shang's biography is in Han shu, juan 90.3673-74.

52. James Hightower has pointed out that the earliest examples of five-syllable meter are to be found in sayings and rhymes found in the Han shu. See James Hightower, Topics in Chinese Literature (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1965), p. 61.

53. I have followed the version of these poems found in Yutai xinyong jianzhu, juan 10.469.

54. For a brief explanation of the usage of the term gu during the Six Dynasties, see Yu Guanying, Han Wei Liuchao shi xuan, p. 54, note 1. See also Anne Birrel's explanation of Shen Yue's use of gu in Popular Songs and Ballads of Han China, p. 11.

55. See Hu Yinglin, Shi sou, "Neipian," juan 6.105, 108; Shen Deqian (1673-1769), Gushi yuan (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1963), juan 4.95.

56. See Lo Genze, "Jueju sanyuan," pp. 31-32. Po Qin's poem can be found in Lu Qinli, p. 385.

57. Lu Qinli, p. 159.

58. See Shiyuan bianti, juan 3.59.

CHAPTER III

THE QUATRAIN DURING THE EARLY SIX DYNASTIES

Introduction

The use of the term "early Six Dynasties" is not intended to refer to a specific historical period. Here I simply mean to point out two distinct stages in the development of the Six Dynasties quatrain---the quatrain before the rise of the Southern Dynasties yuefu and the quatrain after it began to reflect the crucial influence of these songs. The Southern Dynasties yuefu first began to flourish during the Jin dynasty (265-420). Because of their importance they will be studied separately in the following chapter. This chapter will be devoted primarily to the study of the quatrain up to the end of the Jin dynasty excluding the Southern Dynasties yuefu. It is later, during the Song dynasty (420-479), that we see the first significant signs of the influence of the Southern Dynasties yuefu on literati poetry; an advance that would mark a new stage in the history of the quatrain.

The development of the quatrain during the early Six

Dynasties is difficult to study and describe. Through this stretch of approximately two hundred years one can find many examples of independent quatrains; moreover, a number of them were composed by known, upper-class figures. They continue, however, to be characterized by the humble, heterogeneous quality that we saw in the Han and pre-Han quatrains. One finds a variety of occasions and styles; some are consistent with earlier trends, and others represent new developments. The first steps toward literary verse, however, still had yet to be taken, and so in this period it is difficult to trace in any systematic, chronological manner, the lines of development that would eventually lead to the jueju. In this chapter I will also be discussing several problems and topics that I have neglected up until now, and that need to be addressed at this point of the study. This chapter will include sections on the Chu song (Chu ge 楚歌) and its relation to the quatrain, certain problems of methodology involved in the study of the quatrain, and the rise of the seven-syllable quatrain. For these reasons much of this chapter will be organized according to separate topics and issues. It is too early to form a united, consistent picture depicting the rise of the jueju. For the most part, we will still be engaged in searching for and gathering together the various pieces of a puzzle.

When we turn to traditional and modern scholars to see

what they have to say about this period we see that it has usually been ignored (with the exception, of course, of the Southern Dynasty yuefu). Moreover, in the few instances in which the critics have touched upon the quatrains of this period they have made some very questionable assumptions and statements. There are valid reasons why the critics have ignored the quatrains that will be discussed in this chapter. As was hinted above, it is difficult to find any direct link between most of these minor, miscellaneous quatrains and the rise of the jueju. Hu Yinglin's outline of the development of the jueju in which he traces its origins to the Han, notes its occasional appearance during the Wei, and then skips to the Southern Dynasties yuefu (see above, pp. 97-98) and the post-Southern Dynasties quatrain, is a fairly typical and I think, for the most part, a justified approach. Li Changlu's study of the Han and Six Dynasties quatrain only mentions the yuefu lyrics of this period; Shuen-fu Lin's study also goes directly from the Han quatrain to the Southern Dynasties yuefu.[1] Nevertheless, aside from the Southern Dynasties yuefu lyrics that emerge during the Jin, one can identify a number of interesting quatrains and occasions belonging to this period that hint at the directions that the quatrain will be taking. In some cases, the actual role of certain quatrains (those to be found in the translations of the Buddhist sutras, for example) in the development of the jueju may be unclear and

most probably negligible, yet identifying them helps to provide us a more complete picture of the events and environment from which the quatrain eventually emerged to develop into a literary genre.

Problems in the Study of the Quatrain

Our understanding of the early history of the quatrain is hampered by several factors that should be identified and confronted before beginning a careful, detailed study. The most crucial and difficult problem a scholar of the jueju has to deal with is trying to determine which of the many quatrains that have survived from this period are true, independent quatrains and which are actually fragments from longer pieces. Two other troublesome problems are determining the dates and authenticity of certain pieces and attempting to account for the possibility that our view of the early periods may be distorted by gaps in the surviving data. In this section I will review these problems and explain how they have been dealt with.

The few scholars who have touched upon the post-Han, pre-Song quatrains have made some striking statements which, however, are based upon assumptions that need to be carefully examined. The weaknesses of their arguments touch directly upon the problems listed above. Xu Xueyi in his

outline of the development of the quatrain, after beginning with the quatrains of the Han, proceeds to identify quatrains by Cao Zhi 曹植 (192-232) and Zhang Zai 張載 (fl. end of third century) as representative of progressive stages in the development of the quatrain (see above, pp. 19-20). Lo Genze also mentions a number of pieces by literati from this period as early examples of quatrains. He lists a number of pieces by Fu Xuan 傅玄 (217-278), a piece by Zhang Hua 張華 (232-300) and the numerous five-syllable quatrains that were composed at the famous gathering of 353 at the Eupatorium Pavilion (Lanting 蘭亭).[2] If Xu Xueyi and Lo Genze are correct in their citations, it would have important consequences for our understanding of the development of the quatrain. Such pieces would show that the quatrain was being utilized by well known literati before and independent of the influence of the Southern Dynasties yuefu. Actually, this in itself would not be too surprising. We do have clear examples of early quatrains composed by well known figures. For the most part however these pieces are of a non-literary character and are made up of simple songs and rhymes. The implication of the evidence presented by Xu Xueyi and Luo Genze is that literati were using the quatrain for literary verse. For example, the piece by Zhang Hua cited by Luo Genze is a "Zhao Yin" 招隱 ("Seeking Reclusion") poem, a title that had become very popular among the Taikang 太康

poets.[3] It is extremely unlikely, however, that the quatrain form would be used for such a title during this period and it is certainly a fragment. Zuo Si's 左思 (ca. 250- ca. 305) "Zhao yin" poems, whose completeness we can be sure of because of their inclusion in the sixth century anthology, the Wen xuan 文選 , consist of two sixteen-line poems. The earliest source of Zhang Hua's piece is the Tang encyclopedia (leishu 類書), the Yiwen leiju 藝文類聚.[4] Such works are generally made up of extracts from original pieces and one must always be suspicious of the completeness of a piece whose earliest source is a leishu.

The completeness of the other quatrains mentioned by Xu Xueyi and Luo Genze is also very doubtful. The earliest source of the poems by Cao Zhi and Zhang Zai is the Yiwen leiju (see "Introduction," note 25). The pieces by Fu Xuan also can be traced back to various leishu. The poems composed at the Eupatorium Pavilion however present a more complex problem and will be treated separately below. The problem of determining if a quatrain was originally an independent, complete quatrain or a fragment is not always easy to solve, and one comes to sympathize with Luo Genze's apparent mistakes. When I first started to gather material for this study by going through Ding Fubao's compilation of pre-Tang verse, I was amazed by the number of "quatrains" composed by early literati poets such as Fu Xuan and Lu Ji.[5] Ding Fubao, whose collection was the source Luo Genze

utilized, ordinarily did not list the original sources of the poems. Knowing little about the history of the quatrain at this point, and unaware of the origins of these early "quatrains," I tended to assume that they were complete, independent pieces. It was not until I reviewed these pieces in Lu Qinli's collection that I realized the source of many early quatrains were leishu or other compilations of extracts, and that I would have to revise my earlier assumptions about the quatrain during the early Six Dynasties.[6] It became clear that the apparent increase in quatrains that occurs between the Han and Song dynasties is, to a large degree, simply a reflection of the growth of shi poetry and the increasing amount of extraction of passages from these shi by the leishu.

One might think that it would be easy to tell if a poem was complete or not simply by reading it. In fact, most of the time it is fairly clear. For example, if one comes across a quatrain that merely consists of two parallel descriptive couplets one can usually assume that it is an extract from a longer poem (but even these pieces can be difficult to deal with). In other instances, however, it is not so obvious. In "Chapter II" it was explained that songs and poems tended to be composed in quatrain blocks and that they often represented a complete thought, scene, or idea. It is precisely for this reason that the leishu often tended to extract in quatrain blocks. For example, in the Tang

encyclopedia, Chuxue ji 初學記, in the shidui 事對 (matters paralleled) section of the "Parting" (libie 離別) entry, forty-six poems are cited. Of these citations, thirty-eight are quatrains.[7] The difficulty of determining if a quatrain is a complete and independent work is also illustrated by the fact that we know of several instances in which extracted quatrains came to function as patterns for independent poems. The example of "Zi jun zhi chu yi" 自君之出矣 ("Ever Since You Left") has been discussed above (see pp. 3-4). Even the unusual "Si shi" 四時 ("The Four Seasons"), a quatrain extracted from a longer poem by Gu Kaizhi (ca. 345- ca. 406), but sometimes attributed to Tao Yuanming (365-427) (see above, p. 39) seems to have become a set quatrain title and theme. Liu Jun 劉駿 (430-464; Emperor Xiaowu of the Song), for example, composed a "Four Seasons" quatrain in the same peculiar pattern and style of the earlier piece.[8]

At this early stage in the development of the quatrain, attempting to identify independent quatrains by looking for the structure and patterns that are characteristic of the juejiu type quatrain is not always very helpful. At this point it is only one of a number of possible patterns, moreover this type of quatrain had yet to be refined and consciously exploited. The scholar of the early quatrain thus often finds himself in a dilemma. Is the quatrain he is examining a primitive example of an independent quatrain-

--a quatrain that is intact but does not clearly reveal the jueju type structure because the form had not yet evolved to an advanced stage? Or is the primitiveness of the quatrain, and the lack of jueju type structure a reflection of the fact that it is an extract? In these early stages of the history of the quatrain, the question is often difficult to answer.

Xu Xueyi and Luo Genze have been liberal in their judgments. I perhaps have, on occasion, been too cautious. However, I feel it is necessary to be strict in the determination of the integrity of a quatrain; otherwise we would have to deal with a whole flood of quatrains the vast majority of which are clearly extracts. In trying to determine the integrity of a quatrain I have followed certain general principles and rules. First, one must look at the poem itself, does it appear complete? Next, one should check the source. If it is from a leishu, commentary, or other such source, it is immediately under suspicion of being an extract. Finally, one must look at the piece in the context of literary history. For example, to my mind at least, it is practically inconceivable that a Taikang poet such as Zhang Hua could have composed a "Zhao yin" poem in the quatrain form. It simply does not fit in with what we know about Taikang poetry and the "Zhao yin" tradition. The fact that the earliest source for Zhang Hua's poem is a leishu confirms this feeling.

I have also been very cautious in accepting the attributions of authorship and dates of certain quatrains that are said to be early, yet appear to be suspiciously advanced. Again the nature of the source is important in deciding whether to accept the authenticity of the piece. In "Chapter II," it was noted that a five-syllable quatrain said to be a protest song from the Qin dynasty, but from a much later source, was probably a later composition or had undergone editing (see "Chapter II," note 31). Another very interesting example is the five-syllable quatrain said to have been sung by Xiang Yu's 項羽 (232-202 B.C.) concubine in reply to his famous "Song of Gaixia" ("Gaixia ge" 垓下歌). In the Shi ji 史記, after Xiang Yu's song is quoted, we are told that his concubine then replied and matched his song (he zhi 和之; the phrase is ambiguous, she may have simply joined in with his song). Unfortunately the Shi ji does not record her song. However, a Tang commentary to the Shi ji, Zhang Shoujie's 張守節 Shi ji zhengyi 史記正義, quoting from the Chu Han chunqiu 楚漢春秋, cites a five-syllable quatrain that was her supposed reply.[9] The Chu Han chunqiu, written by Lu Jia 陸賈 (228-ca. 140 B.C.), was one of the sources of the Shi ji.[10] If this piece is an actual quatrain from the Former Han it would alter our views of the history of five-syllable meter and the quatrain. It would be an example of a piece, earlier and more advanced than any other that we know of.

Up until now the earliest five-syllable quatrains whose authenticity we can be relatively sure of are simple ditties from the later part of the Former Han (see above, pp. 138-39). There are, however, several reasons to doubt the authenticity of this quatrain. It comes to us in a roundabout way. Although the Chu Han chungiu citation is very exciting, the actual source is much later. It is suspicious that the piece is not included in the Shi ji. The relatively mature use of the five-syllable meter is also very striking. Xiang Yu's original song was in Chu-style meter which we know was one of the meters typical for this period. It would be strange for five-syllable meter to appear at this point. Although there is a slight possibility that this piece is authentic, a literary historian, though he should take careful note of this piece and its possible implications, would not be justified in using it for evidence.[11]

I have discussed the above problems not only to illustrate the difficulties involved in tracing the history of the quatrain, but to explain how I have approached the data that exist for the early periods. Why, for example, I have examined certain poems and have passed over others. I also want to emphasize that there are limitations to our knowledge. Though I feel that I have taken the best, most careful approach possible, given the data that now exist, we have to acknowledge that only a small fraction of the poetry

of these early periods survives, and that there is the possibility that the picture offered by this extant data has been distorted by gaps in the evidence. I bring this possibility up not out of an exaggerated sense of caution, but because of an unsettling passage that occurs in the Qi shu 齊書, in the biography of Xiao Ye 蕭曄 (Prince Zhao of Wuling 武陵昭王 (467-494), son of Emperor Gao of the Qi 高帝 [r. 479-483]):

> Xiao Ye was an upright, outstanding figure. He excelled at chess. [On a certain occasion] he composed short verse (duanju 短句 i.e., quatrains) together with the other princes. His verse was modeled after the style of Xie Lingyun. He presented his poem to the emperor. The emperor replied, "I have seen your twenty characters; among the works of my sons, yours was the best. But Kangle's 康樂 (Xie Lingyun 謝靈運 [385-433]) verse is unrestrained, one cannot distinguish beginning and end in his compositions. It is Anren 安仁 (Pan Yue 潘岳 [247-300]) and Shiheng 士衡 (Lu Ji 陸機 [261-303]) who are to be most deeply admired. Yan Yanzhi 顏延之 (384-456) follows them in rank.[12]

Emperor Gao's statement seems to imply that poets such

as Yan Yanzhi, Xie Lingyun, Pan Yue, and Lu Ji were well practiced in the art of the quatrain. If this is what he is actually saying, it would very much alter our views of the development of the quatrain. Yan Yanzhi and Xie Lingyun are not known for their quatrains. There are no extant examples of quatrains by Yan Yanzhi (there is one fragment from a leishu). We do have several quatrains by Xie Lingyun, but they are minor, exeptional pieces, and do not indicate that the quatrain formed a significant part of his corpus.[13] Nevertheless, one could accept the possibility that Yan Yanzhi and Xie Lingyun may have devoted much more effort to the quatrain than has been previously supposed. We know that it is about this time that the quatrain is beginning to make inroads among the literati. The reference to Lu Ji and Pan Yue, however, is extremely troublesome. It may imply the existence of an entire sub-genre that has disappeared and of which we are completely unaware. The quatrains that can be found in their collections can all be traced back to works such as commentaries and leishu, and would appear to be fragments.[14] There is, moreover, no reason to suppose that literati poets were taking the quatrain form seriously at such an early period. Emperor Gao's statement is the only hint of this possibility. It may be that Emperor Gao was only referring to the overall styles of Yan Yanzhi, Xie Lingyun, Lu Ji and Pan Yue and not to any specific quatrains. This certainly would make matters easier. It

would be strange, however, of Emperor Gao to bring in these poets when discussing Xiao Ye's quatrain. In either case, the statement is puzzling and striking, and I admit that I do not have a good explanation for it.[15] I would simply note the existence of this statement, and the questions and possibilities that it raises. Without any other evidence, however, it is difficult to deal with, and I have not attempted to account for it in this study.[16]

The Eupatorium Pavilion Poems

In 353, at the Eupatorium Pavilion (Lanting 蘭亭) in Guiji 會稽 (Eastern Zhejiang), a number of the most illustrious figures of Eastern Jin society gathered together to celebrate the Lustration Festival (a spring festival held on the third day of the third month). Here they drank wine, composed poetry and enjoyed the company of friends and the beauty of nature. This event became one of the most famous occasions in Chinese literary history. It was at this gathering that Wang Xizhi 王羲之 (321-379; alt. 303-361) composed his great preface to the poems written on this day, the "Preface to the Third Day, Third Month Eupatorium Pavilion Poems" ("San yue san ri Lanting shi xu" 三月三日 蘭亭詩序).[17] Wang Xizhi, considered the greatest calligrapher in Chinese history, wrote out the preface and

the poems in his own hand, and the fame of the preface as an example of Wang Xizhi's calligraphy was equal to, perhaps has even overshadowed, its excellence as a landscape essay.[18]

Although the preface to the Eupatorium Pavilion poems has been the object of much study and controversy both as a work of literature and calligraphy, the poems themselves have received far less attention. It is generally recognized that the quality of the poems is not exceptional. The importance of these pieces, however, as early examples of Chinese landscape verse has often been pointed out, and is the primary reason that the poems have received the attention that they have. But in the eyes of a scholar attempting to trace the development of the jueju, this group of poems appears to represent an extraordinary event in the history of the genre. Among the thirty-seven poems composed by the twenty-six poets, who represented the cream of the Eastern Jin literati (a number of figures were unable to come up with poems), were seven four-syllable quatrains and fifteen five-syllable quatrains. If these pieces actually are intact, independent quatrains, they would be among the earliest examples of the quatrain used by the literati to compose serious, literary verse.

I gaze at the cliffs and yearn for the untrammeled
Xu You,

I look upon the current and think of the
extraordinary Zhuang Zhou;
Who says the aura of the Perfected Ones is cut
off?
A thousand years later we draw on their lingering
fragrance.
(Lu Qinli, p. 908)[19]

This five-syllable quatrain, contributed by Sun Si 孫嗣 (n.d.), is a good example of the verse that was composed at the Eupatorium Pavilion. It is not an especially fine poem, but when we compare it to the quatrains that we have examined up to this point it is a striking work. It is not a ditty, a riddle, a children's rhyme or a folk lyric. Though the structure of the verse is very simple, the diction, style and content are sophisticated. We simply have not seen the quatrain used for literary verse before. These quatrains would seem to represent a landmark event in the development of the jueju. There remains, however, the all important question of the integrity of these poems. Looking at the poems themselves, we run into the kind of problems that have been discussed above. It can be difficult to decide if a piece is a fragment or intact. The piece quoted above, for example, could concievably stand on its own. It expresses a single complete thought. It even has a sort of jueju type structure, with a parallel opening

couplet and the second couplet consisting of an interrogative sentence and then its answer. Like the other poems composed at this gathering it is not a particularly fine work. But given the circumstances---the poems were composed as a traditional amusement and accompanied by drinking---the overall quality of the verse is understandable. As we have seen, Luo Genze assumed that these pieces were intact and suggested that they were early examples of quatrains. J. D. Frodsham, in his discussion of these poems, never questions their integrity. When we look beyond the poems themselves, however, to their sources and the history of their transmission, the evidence clearly suggests that almost all the extant poems (not only the quatrains) from this gathering have been edited and condensed. Obi Kōichi's study of the Eupatorium Pavilion poems has carefully addressed the problem of the integrity of these works.[20] Below I will review the evidence he has presented as well as additional evidence presented by other scholars that indicates that the poems have been edited.

The history of these poems is even more mysterious than that of the celebrated preface. The preface is said to have been passed down among the descendants of Wang Xizhi's family until the Tang when it was finally acquired by Emperor Taizong 太宗 (r. 627-650).[21] Until the Tang, access to the preface appears to have been very limited. It has even been suggested that the preface was not included in

the important sixth century anthology, the Wen xuan, simply because it was not available to the compiler, Xiao Tong 蕭統 (501-531).[22] I stress that at this point we are referring to the preface only. Even in the early Tang when we first see the preface reappearing, it appears to have been separated from the poems. The earliest account of the preface, the "Lanting ji" 蘭亭記 (dated 714), clearly refers to the preface only (specifically noting it consists of 28 lines).[23] The early history of the poems is extremely obscure and there are a number of puzzling problems that await explanation. To begin with, the major Tang leishu, the Beitang shuchao 北堂書鈔 (compiled by Yu Shinan 虞世南 [558-638]), Yiwen leiju 藝文類聚 (compiled by Ouyang Xun 歐陽詢 [557-641]), and Chuxue ji 初學記 (compiled by Xu Jian 徐堅 [659-729]), do not seem to have recorded any of the Eupatorium Pavilion poems. Looking at the entries in the sections of these leishu on the Third Day, Third Month Festival, one can see a number of Six Dynasties poems cited that were composed on the occasion of this festival, both before and after the poems of 353, but there is no hint of the Lanting poems. If the compilers knew of these poems they surely would have cited them. What makes this silence even more curious is the fact that Yu Shinan and Ouyang Xun were two of the most famous calligraphers of the early Tang. They were very much respected by Emperor Taizong (a connoisseur of calligraphy

with a particular love of the works of Wang Xizhi) and had access to the imperial collection. Ouyang Xun is known to have made a copy of the preface.[24] If the poems were readily available, they would have known of them.

The earliest reference that I know of to the Lanting poems is found in the oldest catalogue of Wang Xizhi's calligraphy, the Jin youjun Wang Xizhi shumu 晉右軍王羲之書目 (a catalogue of pieces in the Imperial Collection), compiled by Chu Suiliang 褚遂良 (596-658). It is a curious entry that sheds important light on the problem of the intactness of the poems. The description runs as follows:

> No. 1, "The ninth year of Yonghe" (28 lines; "Lanting Preface"). "Tangled in Profit and Harm" (22 lines).[25]

The "Ninth year of Yonghe" ("Yonghe jiu nian" 永和九年) are the opening words of the "Lanting Preface." Chu Suiliang uses the first few characters to identify the composition in question. The phrase "Tangled in Profit and Harm" ("Chan li hai" 纏利害) is, at first, very puzzling. It is not until we turn to the Zhang Yanyuan's 張彥遠 (fl. mid-ninth century) "Youjun shu ji" 右軍書記 that we find the explanation to this phrase. In this work Zhang Yanyuan records the texts of Wang Xizhi's works of

calligraphy. He apparently has seen the work listed above; among his transcriptions is the text of a piece that begins with the preface and then continues with a series of poems, the first piece of which begins with the phrase "tangled in profit and harm." The poems are not specifically identified, but they are numbered. There are five poems, all in five-syllable meter, that apparently make up a series. The first poem is clearly a fragment. It consists of the three-character phrase cited above plus a couplet. The remaining four poems are made up of either ten or twelve lines.[26] The fragmentary quality of the opening poem tells us that there was a gap between the preface and the poems, and of course the series of five five-syllable pieces represents only a fraction of the poems that were composed at the gathering.

When we compare this text to the Lanting prefaces and poems recorded in Sang Shichang's 桑世昌 (13th century) Lanting kao 蘭亭考, we see a number of striking and suggestive contrasts. In the first juan of this work Sang Shichang records the text of these pieces as they were "collected and copied out" (ji xie 集寫) by the monk Huairen 懷仁 in the Qiandao 乾道 reign period (1165-1174).[27] This text begins with the preface, is followed by the poems and ends with a postface by Sun Chuo 孫綽. In this text the poems are arranged by poet, with the poets who composed poems in both five and four-syllable meter

(beginning with Wang Xizhi) grouped first, followed by the poets who only composed a single poem. This text is the earliest extant "complete" record of the Lanting poems that I am aware of. The versions of the Lanting poems in this text are basically identical with those seen in later collections such as the Gushi ji 古詩記 (compiled by Feng Weine 馮惟訥 [1512-1572]) and the Quan Han Sanguo Jin Nanbeichao shi 全漢三國晉南北朝詩 (compiled by Ding Fubao; 1916). In these versions all the poems are made up of either four or eight lines. Wang Xizhi's two poems consist of a four-syllable piece and five-syllable piece in eight lines. It turns out that Wang Xizhi's five-syllable poem consists of the last eight lines of the second poem (in ten lines) in the series of five pieces recorded in the "Youjun shu ji." This is clear evidence that the poems have been edited and condensed.

There is another version of the Lanting poems recorded in the Xihongtang tie 戲鴻堂帖 that provides further light on the Wang Xizhi poems. This work is a collection of calligraphy specimens compiled by Dong Qichang 董其昌 (1555-1636). I do not have access to this work, and thus do not know the shape and order in which the poems were recorded. More importantly, I do not know the source and date of Dong Qichang's copy of these works. I have only seen the text of the poems as recorded in Lu Qinli's collection of pre-Tang verse. It appears that this version

of the Lanting poems is largely identical with the versions mentioned above, with the exception of Wang Xizhi's five-syllable poem. In addition to Wang Xizhi's eight-line four-syllable poem, it records the five poem series of five-syllable verse first seen in the "Youjun shuji", moreover, it gives the complete version of the first poem of the series.[28]

At least in the case of Wang Xizhi it is clear that poems (or perhaps we should say the "stanzas" of a series) have both been eliminated and reduced in length. It is curious, however, that while the Xihongtang tie records a long version of Wang Xizhi's five syllable verse, the rest of the poems are basically identical with the other versions, in which all the poems are made up of four and eight lines. Other evidence, however, clearly suggests that all the poems have been edited, though by whom and when is not clear.

At end of Sun Chuo's "Postface" to the Lanting poems there are the following lines:

> The text (wen 文 ; this would seem to refer to the prose "Postface" and "Preface") is long and has not been [completely] recorded, but the general outline is as such. The poems that were composed, have also been cut and then put together as can be seen in the above four and five-syllable poems.[29]

Whether or not this last line is actually part of Sun Chuo's postface is not clear. Obi Kōichi raises the possibility that it is a later addition, but still feels it is Sun Chuo's concluding line.[30] I suspect that it is a later note by a copyist. Wang Xizhi's preface mentions nothing about editing of the text. In addition, the earliest versions of this postface do not have this line.[31] In any case, it is clear that the poems have been edited. We have one example of what this editing consisted of and can see that it was very severe. It appears that all the poems, be they four or eight lines, may have been drastically reduced from longer pieces.[32] This helps explain one of the minor questions that has surrounded these poems. We know that a number of the participants at the gathering at the Eupatorium Pavilion were unable to come up with their required poems. This has always seemed a little strange---one wondered why so many illustrious figures could not come up with at least a simple quatrain like the others. Now it seems clear that the poets were expected to compose much longer works, and we ought to be more careful about criticizing the ancients.

All evidence strongly suggests that the poets at the gathering at the Eupatorium Pavilion did not compose poems in the quatrain form. If the extant quatrains were actually independent poems, it would have been a very striking and exciting event. But even when we leave aside the direct

evidence and consider these poems in the context of literary history one has to admit that it would have been extremely unlikely for the Lanting poets to have used the quatrain form. There simply was no precedent for such a possibility. Up to this point the independent quatrain was used for a variety of non-literary verse. For the cream of literary society to suddenly take it up and use it to compose some of the most advanced verse of the age would run counter to general patterns of literary history. Forms, genres, even meters, have ancestries and histories. They are often associated with distinct occasions, themes and styles and it takes time and effort for them to evolve from and to different levels and stages of development.[33]

Buddhist Verse

It has been stressed that during the early Six Dynasties the quatrain form had primarily been used for sub-literary verse. There is, however, a major exception to this general rule. During the late Han the massive task of translating the Buddhist scriptures first began. This task, crucial to the introduction of the foreign religion, continued throughout the Six Dynasties. The result was the creation of a large body of literature in translation that was distinct and usually very different from the native

literary tradition. This literature is of interest to our study because much of it occurs in verse form, and one wonders what, if any, significance this verse may have had in the development of the quatrain. Unfortunately, the study of these Buddhist scriptures as literature has long remained at the beginning stages. My own knowledge of this field is very slight and with only limited help from secondary sources---I know of no thorough studies of Buddhist verse---I will not be able to answer this question in a definitive way. At the present I am limited to pointing out some interesting phenomena, raising questions, and offering tentative conclusions.

Though my acquaintance with the sutras is very slight I have been struck by the many examples of independent quatrains to be found within the scriptures I have encountered. The quatrain is only one of a number of lengths of verse, but it is still very interesting that in a number of early translations, at a time when the quatrain was primarily used for non-literary purposes, the quatrain should appear with such consistency. The quatrain is also the basic building block of longer examples of verse as well (see "Chapter II," note 28). A number of questions immediately arise. Why was the quatrain form so popular? Did the use of the quatrain accurately reflect the form of the verse in the original language or was it an adaptation by the translators? What was the nature of these quatrains,

and how did they compare to the use of the quatrain in the native tradition? Even if the quatrain was a popular verse form in Buddhist translations, did such verse necessarily play a role in the development of the jueju?

These questions are difficult to answer. The question of the form of the verse in the original language is important because it could help us understand the nature of the use of the quatrain by the translator. If, for example, the use of the quatrain in the translations is primarily a Chinese adaptation, it would show that the independent quatrain form was very familiar to the translators, and easily turned to even though it was a form still ignored by the literati poets. To answer this question one would need to compare the verse in the original language to the translation. As far as I know, however, detailed studies of this nature have not been attempted.[34] As for the other questions, I can only attempt tentative answers.

There is a wide variety of verse to be found in the sutras. It is used in different ways and appears in an assortment of meters and lengths. There are examples of sutras that are entirely in verse, but the most common pattern is for verse and prose to be mixed together.[35] In the sutras I am familiar with, the prose and verse are of a distinct style, very different from the literary styles that dominated the Six Dynasties. They often are composed in a simple style with a strong colloquial flavor, yet one could

not say they are purely colloquial, and for the most part they do not seem to directly draw upon popular, native traditions of literature. The translation of the sutras resulted in the creation of new, unique types and styles of writing that evolved from a combination of different elements and needs.

Within these sutras, quatrains often appear in both five and seven-syllable meter. From the standpoint of chronology it appears possible that such quatrains may have had a role in the development of the jueju. But after examining the place of these quatrains in the sutras and considering the overall influence that such translations had upon secular literature during the period of the formative stages of the jueju, it would seem unlikely that such verse had a role in the make-up of the jueju. The quatrains that occur in the sutras and those in the secular world that eventually developed into the jueju belong to two very different worlds that rarely crossed. Environment, occasion, content and style all strongly contrast. To begin with, although independent quatrains often occur in the sutras, they are after all still part of a larger unit---the sutra itself---and they usually function in ways that reflect their role as part of a whole. In some instances, for example, the verse is used to recapitulate events that have already been narrated in prose. The jueju and the quatrains from which this genre developed are basically

lyric poems and as such have little in common with the quatrain as it is used in the sutras. The crucial stage in the development of the jueju is when the literati begin to use the quatrain as a literary form. The quatrain as it appears in the sutras, however, offered little in the way of a model for the typical literati. The plain, simple, even vulgar style; the religious content; the function of the verse and the environment in which it appears, were foreign to the world of the literati. When we look to the quatrain after it had been taken up by the literati it does not appear to have any features or elements that can be traced back to quatrains that are found in the sutras. This is consistent with the overall lack of influence of the Buddhist sutras as literature upon the literati during the Six Dynasties.[36] Of course Buddhism as a religion and philosophy became a strong influence upon the literati beginning with the Eastern Jin, and one sees a number of later Six Dynasties poets composing Buddhist verse. But in general the style they employed was in the native, literati tradition. It is not until the early Tang that one first finds a major example of a poet showing the influence of colloquial flavored, Buddhist style verse upon his work.[37]

Although it appears that the quatrain as found in the early translations of the sutras had little or no role in the development of the jueju, there are some extremely interesting quatrains to be found in the sutras that are

worth examining. Among the sutras one can find stories and fables with a strong popular flavor and the use of verse in this type of sutra may reflect folk practices and styles. The Sheng jing 生經 (T.154; translated by Dharmarakṣa [ca. 230- after 308]), for example, is a collection of short sutras in which one can find a number of examples of verse used in dialogue form.[38] The verse of one of these sutras, the "Fenwei biqiu jing" 分衛比丘經 , consists entirely of five and seven-syllable quatrains (primarily seven-syllable) which are recited back and forth between the two protagonists.[39] In this story a licentious monk has designs on a fallen woman whom he encounters while begging for food. His flirtation and her witty rebuffs take the form of a dialogue in quatrains.

There is a fine girl of tender age and the
purity of a child,
Her appearance is pleasing, she has a special
beauty;
I have looked at others one by one, but there is
none that is her match.
My desire and hope is that we should be as one.

(there is a short prose passage followed by the girl's answer)

Food and drink you should have brought,
Fragrant flowers and fine clothes;
If you could provide me with such things,
Then I would go with you.

I have no worldly goods,
You have seen the life I lead,
I earn my living through my begging,
But what I get I will give to you.

If you have no worldly goods,
Why do you desire what you have no means to
obtain?
You act as if you have no sense of shame,
Hurry, be gone, get out of my house.[40]

Verse such as this is very striking because it bears a strong resemblance to a tradition of courtship verse that has had a long history in China.[41] In this tradition lovers talk and flirt with each other in verse, the favorite form being the quatrain. The Southern Dynasties yuefu, which were beginning to flourish at about the time that the above poems were translated, are important examples of this tradition. As has been mentioned above, the Southern Dynasties yuefu had the crucial role in the development of the jueju. One is thus tempted to ask what part quatrains

such as those cited above may have had in the process in which the quatrain develops from yuefu to jueju. Again the answer would seem to be that they do not play a significant role in this process. At best one might be able to say that they simply reflect a popular tradition of which the Southern Dynasties yuefu are the finest and most influential examples. But even this is unclear. These pieces are, after all, translations. It is difficult to judge the degree to which they reflect the traditions of the original language and culture that produced them, and the degree to which they reflect the native traditions of the translators. They possibly are representative of a courtship tradition of the original culture which was parallel and similar to the tradition of courtship verse found in China.

In closing, I would like to briefly point out two other aspects of these quatrains that are rather striking. We ordinarily think of quatrain courtship verse as being a Southern tradition. Southern Dynasties yuefu are of course a product of the South. The later, well known mountain songs (shan ge 山歌) were local, popular songs of Wu 吳. Dharmarakṣa, the translator of the above verses, however, was a Northerner. He was born in Dunhuang 燉煌 and all his translation activities were carried out in Northern China (primarily Chang-an 長安) during the Western Jin.[43] If the verses cited above are a simple reflection of the original text, their Northern origins would pose no

problems. However, if Dharmarakṣa (and/or his collaborators) drew upon native styles, forms and traditions, this would raise some interesting, but, for the present, probably unanswerable questions. Was there a tradition of courtship verse in the North that also utilized the quatrain form? Or was the Southern tradition of courtship verse, as early as the Western Jin, already at a stage of development that it had an influence in the North?

It was noted above that most of the verse found in "Fenwei biqiu jing" consisted of seven-syllable quatrains. To see the seven-syllable meter used so extensively for any form of verse at this time is remarkable. It was very rarely used by the literati during the Han and early Six Dynasties. Even in the folk tradition it seldom appears except occasionally for minor, sub-literary verse. According to V. Hrdličková there are examples of seven-syllable verse in the translations of the Buddhist sutras as early as the Han.[43] As far as I know the use of seven-syllable verse in the translations of the Buddhist scriptures has not been thoroughly explored by scholars who have investigated the problem of the origins of the seven-syllable meter.[44] Such verse may shed important light on this matter. For example, some scholars have suggested that the seven-syllable meter evolved from Chu-style meter. It is difficult to imagine, however, that the seven-syllable meter employed by the sutras goes back to Chu-style verse,

and the situation may be far more complex than is usually thought.

The Seven-syllable Quatrain

In the previous chapter we traced the origins of the jueju to the Han dynasty. It should be pointed out, however, that the early history of the quatrain is primarily a history of the five-syllable quatrain. The seven-syllable quatrain, which by the middle and late Tang would become the most popular form of the jueju, developed along different paths, and one must distinguish between the two forms. Xu Xueyi divided his description of the evolution of the jueju into separate accounts of the five and seven-syllable meter quatrain. Other scholars such as Hu Yinglin have also carefully separated the histories of the two forms.

> Five and seven-syllable jueju evolved from five-syllable old-style short poems (duangu 短古) and seven-syllable short songs (duange 短歌). Innumerable examples of five-syllable old-style short poems occur throughout the Han and the Wei, and herein lie the origins of the Tang jueju. Seven-syllable short songs begin with the "Gaixia ge" 垓下歌 ("Song of Gaixia", by Xiang Yu 項羽

[232-202 B.C.]); during the Liang (502-557) and Chen (557-589) dynasties they start to appear in numbers.

Hu Yinglin[45]

Five-syllable jueju originated in the small poems (xiaoshi 小詩) of the Han and flourished during the Qi (479-502) and Liang dynasties. Seven-syllable jueju arose between the Qi and Liang, but it was not until the Four Masters of the Early Tang that they began to mature.

Hu Zhenheng 胡震亨 (1569-1644)[46]

The seven-syllable jueju originated in the songs and ditties (ge yao 歌謠) of the Wei, Jin and Six Dynasties; they appear occasionally throughout this period. However, the styles vary; sometimes all four lines rhyme, but there also are pieces in which the rhyme shifts after two lines. Thus, through the ages, most have categorized such pieces as ancient-style verse (guti 古體). These actually are the beginnings of the seven-syllable jueju.

Dong Wenhuan 董文煥 (Qing)[47]

Though scholars are in agreement in distinguishing

between the origins of five and seven-syllable jueju, there is little consensus on when the seven-syllable quatrain actually begins to take form. The situation is very different from that of the five-syllable quatrain. The five-syllable quatrain appears in relatively large numbers during the Han, and include several well known examples, such as the "Four Ancient jueju." Thus, most scholars have agreed that the origins of the five-syllable form lie in the Han. The seven-syllable quatrain, on the other hand, was very rare throughout the Han, Wei and most of the Six Dynasties. It began to appear more regularly only toward the end of Six Dynasties, but even then it was not a common form, and was far outnumbered by the five-syllable quatrain. The origins of the seven-syllable jueju are thus very obscure. Though we can identify examples of seven-syllable quatrains from at least as early as the Han, the line of development has never been satisfactorily explained. In fact, it is not even clear if there was a line of development such as has been identified in the case of the five-syllable quatrain. The confusion that surrounds the origins of the seven-syllable quatrain, is reflected by the very different accounts that have been suggested by various scholars. The critics cited above proposed that the beginnings of the seven-syllable jueju could be traced to a Chu-style song from the Han, to songs and ditties from the Wei and later dynasties, and to the Qi and Liang dynasties.

Xu Xueyi, who began his account of the development of the five-syllable quatrain with folk pieces from the Han, started his description of the seven-syllable quatrain with the Song (420-479) poet, Bao Zhao 鮑照 (ca. 414-466).

> There is a seven-syllable quatrain by Mingyuan 明遠 (Bao Zhao's zi), his "Ye ting ji" 夜聽妓 ("Listening to a Singing Girl in the Night"). The language is completely florid and sensual but sound and tones are all irregular (sheng diao quan guai 聲調全乖), nevertheless, it is the true beginning of the seven-syllable jueju. {down to the seven-syllable quatrains of Liu Xiaowei 劉孝威 (ca. 496-549)} Thus, Yuanrui 元瑞 (Hu Yinglin's zi) was mistaken when he said, "The origins of the seven-syllable jueju clearly are to be found in the Liang."[48]

The same uncertainties about the origins of the seven-syllable jueju can be seen in modern studies as well. According to Shen Zufen the earliest examples of seven-syllable quatrains are found in the Yi Zhou shu 逸周書, a pre-Han text. She then proceeds to list other examples of early seven-syllable quatrains such as a rhyming riddle by Dongfang shuo 東方朔 (see above, pp. 129-30), and several anonymous rhymes that date from around the Wei and Jin

dynasties.[49] Zhou Xiaotian mentions the "Gaixia ge," but discounts it because it is actually in Chu-style song meter. He then names the titles of certain seven-syllable quatrains that can be found among the Northern and Southern Dynasties yuefu (only the Northern Dynasties pieces are actual popular songs, the Southern Dynasties titles are by Liang emperors), but notes that since they rhyme every line they differ from the standard jueju pattern.[50] The earliest examples of seven-syllable quatrains that rhyme every other line are literati pieces from the fifth and sixth centuries: Bao Zhao's "Ye ting ji," Tang Huixiu's 湯惠休 (n.d.) "Qiu si yin" 秋思引 ("Song of Autumn Longings") and Wei Shou's 魏收 (506-572) "Xie qin ge" 挾琴歌 ("Song of the Cradled Zither").[51]

The difficulty of trying to trace the origins of the seven-syllable jueju lies in the fact that there are so few pieces from the early periods. There is only a handful of examples from the earliest times until the late Six Dynasties. Just as important, the vast majority of the seven-syllable quatrains up to about the Song dynasty consisted of anonymous ditties and songs. Compared to five-syllable quatrains from similar periods they remained comparatively undeveloped both in number and quality. Of course, many of five-syllable quatrains were still very primitive, but during the Han one does see pieces such as the "Four Ancient jueju," and it was during the Jin that the

Southern Dynasties yuefu, which consist primarily of five-syllable quatrains, first arose. It is difficult to detect any equivalent developments occurring among the few extant seven-syllable quatrains. Thus, one sees scholars casting wildly about in their search, and because there are no points to focus on---at least until the Song---their answers have widely varied. One wonders if it is possible to identify the origins of the seven-syllable quatrain based upon the extant data. Xu Xueyi's suggestion, as striking as it may seem, that the seven-syllable jueju had its origins in a poem by a fifth century literati may have a certain validity. Even though we can identify much older examples of seven-syllable quatrains, it cannot be demonstrated that they are part of a direct line of development that leads to the seven-syllable quatrains of the fifth and sixth century literati and eventually to the jueju. The quatrains that are found in the Yi Zhou shu, for example, are series of very primitive proverb-like pieces that would barely seem to qualify as quatrains. They are composed in a plain, prosaic seven-syllable line.

Now those who would cross the water must not be
lax,
Observe the sages, and treasure your time,
It is when the rocks contain jade that the
mountain is harmed,

For all people, disaster lies in one's words.[52]

Dongfang Shuo's riddle-rhyme is in a doggerel style also very far removed from poetic verse (see above, pp. 129-30). The few other examples of seven-syllable quatrains from the Han are all primitive, anonymous rhymes, ditties and sayings, and are not too different from similar types of pieces which employ four and five-syllable lines and other meters. In the period after the Han up until the Song, there does not appear to be any sort of substantial development in the seven-syllable quatrain. They continue to be extremely rare, and then almost always are used for anonymous, sub-literary verse (Buddhist verse being the major exception). One sees a couple of pieces occurring in zhiguai 志怪 fiction. In the Soushen houji 搜神後記, for example, a crane (the incarnation of an immortal) recites a seven-syllable quatrain.

There's a bird, there's a bird, it's Ding Lingwei,
A thousand years ago it left home and today it returns;
The city walls are as of old, the people are not,
Why not study immortality?---The tombs are piling up higher and higher.

(Lu Qinli, p. 1125)[53]

Though this piece may be more "advanced" than the example from the Yi Zhou shu, it is still basically doggerel. With the exception of one unusual piece (to be discussed below), I know of no examples of a pre-Song dynasty seven-syllable quatrain that approaches regular poetic verse, that reflects a personal, lyric voice. How and why literati poets such as Bao Zhao and Tang Huixiu came to use the seven-syllable quatrain to compose the earliest, relatively mature examples of this form has yet to be explained. It is a problem that we will need to return to later.

As we have seen, although the seven-syllable quatrain first appears at least as early as the five-syllable quatrain, it developed at a much later date and at a far slower rate. There are some obvious reasons for this. To begin with, the slow development of the seven-syllable quatrain paralleled the pace of the development of seven-syllable verse in general. Although one does see examples of literati seven-syllable verse as early the Wei, Cao Pi's 曹丕 (187-226) "Yan ge xing"燕歌行 , for example, are often cited as early examples of a seven-syllable poems, such pieces are rare, and there was no sustained effort to develop this meter until much later. Significantly, it was not until Bao Zhao that the next major step in the development of seven-syllable verse was taken. Bao Zhao's yuefu series, "Xing lu nan" 行路難 ("Troubles On the Road") was a landmark because it contains some of the

earliest examples of seven-syllable verse in which the rhymes occur every other line.[54] As we have seen, Bao Zhao's "Ye ting ji" is often singled out as one of the earliest examples of a jueju type seven-syllable quatrain, in part, because of its advanced rhyme scheme.

Aside from the general observation that seven-syllable verse was, on the whole, very limited and undeveloped throughout most of the Six Dynasties, there are more specific reasons why the seven-syllable quatrain, in particular, remained so backward for so long. Wang Yunxi, in an important study of the development of seven-syllable verse, has analyzed the rhyme patterns, length and sound values of the seven-syllable line and has shown that in fundamental ways it was inimical to the quatrain unit.[55] In the previous chapter I attempted to show how fundamental a unit the quatrain was, and the importance of this fact in the development of the jueju. It appears, however, that in the early stages at least, the basic unit of seven-syllable verse was the couplet. As Wang Yunxi explains, a seven-syllable line, in terms of metrical length, was the equivalent of two four or five-syllable lines, and thus a seven-syllable couplet was the equivalent to a quatrain that was in four or five-syllable meter. The evidence that suggests that the early Six Dynasties actually thought in terms of such values is very strong. Above, it was shown that the basic yuefu stanza was the quatrain, but this holds

true primarily for four and five-syllable verse---which, of course, constituted the vast majority of verse. When we look to poems in seven-syllable meter the situation changes. The Jin 晉 performance versions of Cao Pi's two "Yan ge xing" included in the Song shu, "Treatise On Music" ("Yue zhi"樂志) are marked into stanzas (jie 解) that primarily consist of couplets. The first piece (fifteen lines) is divided into six two-line stanzas, plus a concluding three-line stanza. The second piece is divided into four two-line stanzas, one four-line stanza and a concluding three-line stanza.[56] The Northern and Southern Dynasties yuefu consist primarily of five-syllable quatrains. There are, however, a few titles that are in seven-syllable verse. The Southern Dynasties pieces all consist of couplets.[57] Of the Northern Dynasties yuefu, however, two titles consist of couplets and two titles are quatrains. These two titles are the only examples of early, anonymous, seven-syllable yuefu quatrains that I am aware of.[58]

That the seven-syllable line was metrically equivalent to two shorter lines is also suggested by the fact that at times one sees seven-syllable lines divided into lines of four and three-syllables. In the Song shu, Miao Xi's 繆襲 (186-245) six-line verse "Jiu bang"舊邦 (one of the titles included in his "Wei guchui qu ci"魏鼓吹曲辭) is described as consisting of twelve lines of four and three

syllables.[59] The rhyme schemes that occur in early seven-syllable verse are also very suggestive. As has been mentioned, the early standard practice was to rhyme every line. It may be that to the early ear an attempt to rhyme every other line would have been the equivalent of attempting to rhyme every fourth line in five-syllable verse. Note also, that in certain types of seven-syllable verse the fourth and seventh syllables rhyme. This is another indication of the strong break between the fourth and fifth syllables and shows that the seven-syllable line could be thought of as consisting of two parts of four and three syllables.[60]

The above analysis of the seven-syllable line clearly helps to explain why the seven-syllable quatrain was so rare and why it was so slow to develop. Although the quatrain was a basic unit of verse for four and five-syllable verse, this was not true for early seven-syllable verse. In the case of the seven-syllable line, a single line could be the equivalent of a couplet and could even function as a complete piece, as is seen in the many one-line ditties and sayings that appear in the Han and Six Dynasties. For most seven-syllable verse, the couplet appears to have been the most basic unit and functioned as the equivalent of the quatrain in the case of five-syllable verse. Of course there was no rule against the seven-syllable quatrain, and they do occasionally appear, but overall one is struck by

the scarcity of such pieces. And it is now clear that it is not a simple matter of the overall backwardness of seven-syllable verse, but of the basic character of the early seven-syllable line.

The evidence supplied by the literati and yuefu poems cited above is paralleled by the use of the seven-syllable line at the most basic and popular levels. While I was searching through the various minor songs, ditties, and sayings of the Han and Jin dynasties, it appeared that at least at primitive, popular levels, the seven-syllable line was fairly prevalent. Yet even at this level, where the seven-syllable line was relatively common, the lack of seven-syllable quatrains was striking. In the case of the Han dynasty this scarcity was, at first, not so conspicuous. The five-syllable quatrain was not very common either (though one did see a number of three and four-syllable quatrains). By the Eastern Jin, however, it was clear that the five-syllable quatrain was becoming a more popular form for such pieces. What was striking, however, was that there did not appear to be any corresponding growth in the number of seven-syllable quatrains, even though there were many examples of seven-syllable verse. The vast majority of the seven-syllable ditties and rhymes of the Jin continued to consist of single lines and couplets.[51] It appeared as if the quatrain form was advancing, while leaving the seven-syllable meter behind. Why the quatrain form was not used

more often was not clear. Now it appears that as in the case of early seven-syllable literati verse and yuefu, the answer is to be found in the nature of the metrical values of the seven-syllable line.

For the seven-syllable quatrain to advance, certain basic aspects of the seven-syllable would have to be transformed. The seven-syllable line would need to be thought of as a single indivisible line and the couplet would need to be replaced by the quatrain. We know this eventually took place. How and why it came about is not clear. The great driving force in the development of the five-syllable quatrain were the Southern Dynasty yuefu. There does not appear to be any equivalent force for the seven-syllable quatrain. The few examples of seven-syllable Southern Dynasty yuefu were couplets. There are a handful of seven-syllable Northern Dynasty yuefu, but when these pieces were actually composed and what if any influence such pieces may have had on the Southern Dynasty poets is not clear. The situation as we see it today is a puzzling one. It appears as if for a very long period the seven-syllable quatrain was, for certain fundamental reasons, basically ignored as a form. There is little hint of any sort of literary development as late as the Eastern Jin. Then suddenly we see two literati poets of the Song make use of the seven-syllable quatrain, and transform it in fundamental ways. It is as if they had single-handedly "invented" the

form. This would be a very unusual phenomenon in literary history; ordinarily we are accustomed to seeing folk and popular sources playing highly visible, crucial roles in the development of new forms and styles of verse. That this does not seem to have occurred in the case of the seven-syllable quatrain is a problem that we will have to return to in a later chapter.

The Role of the Chu Song in the Rise of the Quatrain

Hu Yinglin suggested that the origins of the seven-syllable quatrain were to be found in Xiang Yu's "Gaixia ge." Though this song does consist of a quatrain with lines of seven syllables, the meter is actually in the Chu song (Chu ge 楚歌) style, in which the interjectory particle xi 兮 is inserted between the two halves of each line. Hu Yinglin was possibly thinking of the role that the meters associated with Chu verse (of which the Chú song is one variation) had in the evolution of the seven-syllable line.[62] Nevertheless, it is still too speculative to point to this single example and maintain that it is the beginnings of the seven-syllable quatrain. Again one cannot show any sort of direct line of development from this song to later examples of seven-syllable quatrains.

A more important and fruitful question is the role of

the Chu song tradition as a whole in the evolution of the quatrain. It appears that this tradition may have been a small but important element in stimulating the advance of the quatrain from its lowly beginnings as primitive song and ditty to a form that could be used on serious, elevated occasions. The Chu song did not have a direct influence in terms of form or meter. The significance of these songs lay in the fact that they established a rich, serious tradition of verse that the five and seven-syllable quatrain was able to inherit and evolve into. The occasions, themes, and tone that defined the Chu song eventually came to characterize a certain type of quatrain verse when gradually, as the Chu song style verse declined after the Han, poets and singers turned to the five-syllable quatrain (the seven-syllable quatrain was still very rare) in situations they once would have sung a Chu song.

The Chu song flourished during the Han dynasty. Some of the best poems of the Han were Chu songs sung by the most illustrious figures of the dynasty. The tragic figure, Xiang Yu, Emperor Gao (Han Gaodi 漢高帝, r. 206-194 B.C.) and Emperor Wu (Han Wudi 漢武帝, r. 140-86 B.C.), the captured general Li Ling 李陵 (?- ca. 74 B.C.), all composed well known pieces.[63] This verse is distinguished by the use of a type of Chu style meter, but more important are the occasions upon which such pieces are composed, the way in which they are composed, and the style and tone which

characterized these pieces. We must remember these pieces were songs, improvised at moments when the poets were overwhelmed by their feelings. They are strong, powerful, direct works, often composed at times of crisis, when there is little to be done but turn to song. Many are full of the heroic frustration and despair that is described by the Chinese term, kangkai 慷慨. These songs were usually preserved in the dynastic histories and so we often know the circumstances of their composition.

> Xiang Yu's army set up camp at Gaixia 垓下 (in present day Anhui). They were short of weapons and their food supplies were exhausted. The Han army and the troops of the various Lords surrounded them several times around. At night, from all directions, they heard the sound of the Han army singing Chu songs. Xiang Yu became very alarmed, and said, "Could Han already have captured all of Chu? Why else would there be so many men of Chu [singing]?" Xiang Yu arose in the middle of the night and drank in his tent. Now there was a Beauty named Yu 虞 whom he favored and who was in constant attendance, and he had a magnificent horse called Piebald (Zhui 騅) that he always rode. And so when Xiang Yu then sang in sorrow of his frustration (bei ge kangkai 悲歌

慷慨) he made up the verse:

My might rooted up mountains, my spirit was
unsurpassed in this world,
But the times were not right, and Piebald can go
no further,
Piebald can go no further---now what is to be
done?
Oh Yu! Oh Yu! What is to be done about you?

He sang it several times, then the Beauty Yu joined him.[64] Streams of tears flowed down Xiang Yu's face. Everyone else wept also; no one could lift their gaze.[65]

After Liu Xijun 劉細君 (n.d.), the daughter of a Han prince, was married off to a foreign king she composed a Chu song.[66] The parting song that Li Ling 李陵 performed when Su Wu 蘇武 went back to China was a Chu song.[67] When Liu Dan's 劉旦 (the King of Yan 燕王 [d. 80 B.C.]) plan to usurp the throne was discovered, he realized he was lost. He gathered together his followers and ladies and held a drinking banquet at which he sang a Chu song. After he finished, his consort then rose to dance and sang a song in reply, "...and all those around wept."[68] Not all songs and occasions were purely tragic. But the mood and style are

always powerful and full of strong feelings. Emperor Gao's 高帝 "Da feng ge" 大風歌("Song of the Great Wind"), for example, was recited when he visited his hometown. He had succeeded in uniting the empire and establishing the Han dynasty but now worried about its future fate and expressed his fears in his song.[69]

The Chu song was primarily a product of the Han dynasty. Though one does find later examples they are rare. Occasionally, however, in the post-Han dynastic histories, in situations one might have expected a Chu song, one finds quatrains in five-syllable meter (seven-syllable quatrains are very rare on these occasions).

> [Liu] Chang 劉昶 (436-497) saw the situation was not going well. In the night he opened the gates and fled to Wei, abandoning his mother and his wife. He only took a single concubine, who was dressed in men's clothing and followed him on horseback. On the road, full of frustration and disappointment, he composed a duanju (kangkai wei duanju 慷慨既為斷句):
>
> White clouds mount to engulf the fort,
> Yellow dust rises half way up the skies;
> On all sides cut off by the mountains of the pass,
> My home how many thousands of li away?

> He then took the hand of his concubine, faced southward, then mourned and wept. All those about him sorrowed and could not speak.[70]

Liu Chang was a Song prince who had led a failed rebellion. The resemblance of this account to some of the accounts of the singing of the Chu songs of the Han is striking and also a little bit suspicious. In a number of incidents one sees at least one or two examples of certain common elements that reoccur over and over again like a set of literary motifs: the tragic figure (often a general, prince or emperor), his lover, the shedding of tears, kangkai, drinking, and the performance of a dance. One wonders if such stories are actually legends reworked over and over again---perhaps another example of one of the standardized motifs and patterns that reoccur in the dynastic histories---or if they are actual events? One is inclined to assume there is a mixture of fiction and fact. When they are true historical accounts, one wonders what was taking place in the minds of these historical figures. Were they subconsciously reenacting a role in a traditional drama that had been played out many times before?

There are number of other examples of Six Dynasties five-syllable quatrains composed in the Chu song tradition. Xie Lingyun (385-433) composed a quatrain after he attempted to revolt.[71] Xie Hui 謝晦 (390-426) led an unsuccessful

rebellion against the Song. Just before he was executed, Xie Hui and his follower, Xie Shiji 謝世基 (?-426) composed a matching pair of quatrains (see above, pp. 72-73). Several of the Liang emperors also are known to have composed quatrains of this type.

> While being held captive he (Xiao Yi 蕭繹, Emperor Yuan 元帝, r. 552-555) asked for wine. He drank, and then composed poems in four jue 絕. The first went....[72]

Most examples of quatrains composed in the Chu song tradition date from the Song dynasty and later. This should not be too surprising since it was around the Song dynasty that the quatrain first began to make important inroads into literati verse. But even before the Song one can find a couple of early examples of quatrains that appear to be part of this tradition. In earlier sections of this chapter I had repeatedly stressed how primitive most quatrains were during this early period (again excepting the Southern Dynasties yuefu), and how it was ignored by the pre-Song literati when composing serious verse. The few early examples of quatrains in the Chu song tradition are important exceptions to this general pattern. They are significant because they suggest that quatrains gradually and naturally joined in the Chu song tradition in a

continuous process until it finally inherited the role of the Chu song.

Zhou Chu 周處 (236-297), the composer of the quatrain that will be discussed below, was originally from Wu 吳.[73] After the defeat of Wu, he went north and served the Jin. He proved to be a strong and upright official, and, as so often happens, this earned him the enmity of his colleagues and his superiors. When Qi Wannian 齊萬年, a Di 氐 leader, rebelled, it was seen as a good opportunity of getting rid of Zhou Chu who was sent on the expedition against Qi Wannian. It was clear to everyone, including Zhou Chu, that he would not return. He was ordered to attack Qi Wannian's force of 70,000 with a force of five thousand.

> It was just before battle, and Zhou Chu's troops had not eaten. Sima Rong 司馬肜 (Prince of Liang 梁王) pressed Zhou Chu, ordering him to rapidly advance, and then cut off his rear support. Zhou Chu knew that defeat was inevitable and composed a poem:
>
> Go, go, the affairs of this world will soon be over,
> Whip your horse and gaze at the Rong of the West;

Pigweed and bean leaves are sweeter than
millet,
Look forward to dying with a noble name.

As soon as he had finished reciting his verse they went to battle. The fighting lasted from dawn to dusk; the slain numbered in the tens of thousands. The strings of their bows were all broken; their arrows were exhausted. Neither Lu Bo 盧搏 nor Xie Xi 解系 (two other Jin leaders) went to their aid.[74]

The exact way in which the image of the third line is working is not clear. It was directly inspired by the circumstances---Zhou Chu and his troops had not eaten before being ordered into battle. From this concrete fact he comes up with the contrasting images of pigweed and bean leaves (li huo 藜藿), and millet (liang shu 梁黍 , actually two varieties of millet). Pigweed and bean leaves is a common way of referring to poor food, and is a symbol of a pure, humble life.[75] Here he seems to be saying that he would willingly suffer a noble death rather than live dishonorably. Perhaps he is thinking in terms of an analogy loosely similar to that seen in the story of Boyi 伯夷 and Shuqi 叔齊 , who, rather than eat the grain of Zhou (Zhou li 周粟), picked bracken (cai wei 采薇) and eventually

starved to death.[76] There may also be a pun involved; liang (millet) possibly refers to Rong, the Prince of Liang (the commander who pressed them into battle). Thus Zhou Chu is saying they will not eat the millet (shu) of the Prince of Liang.

The following quatrain is a seven-syllable quatrain by Xiong Fu 熊甫 (n.d.), who served as an adjutant (canjun 參軍) to Wang Dun 王敦 (266-324). Xiong Fu knew that Wang Dun was ambitious and planned to seize power. He attempted to dissuade him by criticizing an official whom he knew would encourage and abet Wang Dun's ambitions, but Wang Dun would not listen, and Xiong Fu decided to leave his office.

> Just before he parted with Wang Dun, he sang a song:
>
> Swift winds rise violently, engulfing the mountains and hills,
> A dark fog obscures the sun, both gems and stones will perish;
> The past we shared in now gone, and is to be long lamented,
> I think of our parting and sorrow of the difficulty of meeting again.

Wang Dun knew that he was trying to persuade him

(feng 諷), but he did not accept his criticism.[77]

In the first line, Xiong Fu hints at the disaster that he sees coming. In the second line he first criticizes Wang Dun for employing the kind of men who would delude him, and then explains his reason for leaving. The phrase "yu shi fen" 玉石焚 , "gems and stones will be burnt" (translated as "gems and stones will perish"), means that in times of disaster both the good and the bad are destroyed.[78] Xiong Fu is telling Wang Dun that he will not stay to be caught up in the events that he sees taking place.[79]

These verses by Zhou Chu and Xiong Fu are landmarks in the evolution of the quatrain. They are important examples of upper-class figures using the quatrain form to compose serious, substantial verse. Xiong Fu's use of the seven-syllable meter is especially striking since it was far less developed than five-syllable verse during this period.[80] But the use of any quatrain, be it five or seven-syllable for serious verse is remarkable at this time. Up until the Song Dynasty, the vast majority of independent quatrains were made up of a mass of anonymous sub-literary ditties, children's rhymes, and riddles. There are a few examples of folk-song style lyrics from the Han, and then later during the Jin we see the Southern Dynasties yuefu beginning to flourish, but again these are popular, anonymous verse. As

we will see below, there are a few examples of other quatrains composed by upper-class figures from this period, but they are primarily still primitive, ditty type pieces. Thus, the existence of the pieces by Zhou Chu and Xiong Fu is extremely striking. At first one might even be inclined to doubt their authenticity. It was argued above that it would have been extremely unlikely for the poets at the Lanting gathering (who composed their poems after Zhou Chu and Xiong Fu) to have composed quatrains, in part, because it did not fit the pattern of literary history. One could raise the possibility that these pieces may have been extracts. It should also be pointed out that the source of both these pieces is the Jin shu, a history that was compiled during the early Tang. Nevertheless, despite these possibilities, it appears that these pieces are authentic and complete. As I have tried to show above, they seem to fit into a distinct literary tradition that can be traced from the Han through the late Six Dynasties. This literary tradition explains why Zhou Chu and Xiong Fu could have turned to the quatrain form for their verse, despite the fact it was ordinarily ignored by the upper-class for serious, literary verse.

The existence of these pieces is extremely significant. Besides furnishing important evidence on the evolution of the quatrain, they offer us valuable insights into the nature and principles of literary change in general. The

history of the Chu song tradition and its connection with the rise of the quatrain is a revealing illustration of processes that occur as forms and genres rise and fall.

By the Six Dynasties the Chu song had largely declined. One does see occasional examples through the Six Dynasties, and to a certain degree it survived as a "mode" that could be drawn upon by a poet who wanted to evoke its tragic aura and tradition. For example, Li Bo's 李白 (701-762) great "Nearing the Path Song" ("Lin lu ge" 臨路歌), his death-bed poem, was written in the Chu song style. As a vital verse form, however, the Chu song had practically disappeared. During the Six Dynasties, five-syllable verse became the dominant verse form, and this explains, at least in part, the decline of the Chu song. As we have seen, however, literary traditions do not completely vanish and disappear. After all, the occasions, the themes, all the conditions that combined to make up the Chu song, continued to exist. There also were the traditions and voices that it had engendered which later poets would look back to, emulate, and draw upon. So that although the form that was characteristic of the Chu song declined, its "spirit" continued to exist and was taken up by a new form. It was the quatrain that eventually came to inherit much of this tradition. As we have seen there are a number of instances in the Six Dynasties of princes and emperors reciting five-syllable quatrains in situations his Han counterpart would

have sung a Chu song. At first it may seem a little surprising that the lowly quatrain would be called upon to replace the Chu song, but when we look closer at the situation, it becomes very understandable. We need to remember that the Chu songs were not literary poems, but songs that were improvised in response to events of the moment. Although they varied in length, they tended to be short. Emperor Gao's "Da feng ge" was made up of three lines. Xiang Yu's song was a quatrain, and in fact this was a very popular length. The language of these songs was generally very simple and direct, with little literary embellishment. All these features that characterized the Chu song were very well suited to the quatrain. The quatrain was short and easily improvised. In its early history it was basically an oral form, primarily consisting of simple lyrics, rhymes and ditties. Thus the quatrain was a natural choice to join in the tradition of the Chu song. When we look at the examples of quatrains in the Chu song tradition from the Six Dynasties we can see that they were improvisations and usually oral in nature. The situation was very different from that of the Lanting poets, who were literati poets composing pure literary verse. An interesting example of the link between the Chu song and the quatrain is illustrated by the poem that the Beauty Yu is said to have responded with after Xiang Yu improvised his Chu song. It was a five-syllable quatrain. Although this

piece is almost certainly a later invention (see above, p. 167), it does show that whoever composed this piece felt it was natural to respond to a Chu song with a five-syllable quatrain.

By joining and continuing the tradition established by the Chu song, the quatrain took a small but very important step in its own development. The lowly, humble quatrain suddenly found itself part of a great tradition that furnished it with a ready-made set of occasions and themes, and that provided its first entry into new worlds that had previously been closed to it. We now see it used by a higher, literate class of poets for serious verse. The quatrains by Zhou Chu and Xiong Fu are among the most advanced of this early period. Even in later periods, some of the quatrains in the Chu song tradition were among the best quatrains of their day. Many of the early literati quatrains were imitation yuefu and palace-style verse---minor verse that often was of limited value as poetry. The Chu song tradition continued to elevate the quatrain by providing the occasions, themes, and voice that encouraged a more serious and substantial type of verse.

Although the Chu song tradition provided an important opportunity for the quatrain to advance, its role in the evolution of the quatrain should not be over-estimated. It was only one of several elements that promoted the growth and development of the quatrain. In terms of numbers, Chu

song type quatrains made up only a tiny fraction of the quatrains composed during the Six Dynasties. It is clear that the factors that made up the Chu song and elevated the quatrains that were composed in this tradition, also help to explain its limitations. Chu song verse was restricted to a limited set of occasions and themes. They were usually composed by emperors, princes, and generals after defeats, before executions and other momentous, once in a life time occasions. They thus formed a distinct tradition that was set off from ordinary literary trends and fashions. It was not the type of poetry that the average literati poet was going to have much opportunity to practice. Although the Chu song style of quatrain was crucial in elevating the quatrain and showing that it could be used for serious, personal verse, it would be left to other types of quatrain verse to accomplish the task of introducing the quatrain into the palaces and salons. It was here that the quatrain was eventually popularized among the ordinary aristocracy and literati.

Southern Rhymes and Other Miscellaneous Quatrains

Much of this chapter has been devoted to identifying and then eliminating many of the quatrains and influences that may appear to have had a role in the early history of

the jueju. The Lanting poems, the translations of the Buddhist sutras, and the many "quatrains" by literati poets that usually prove to be extracts from leishu, have all been discounted as possible factors in the development of the jueju. The major event of the early Six Dynasties, the rise of the Southern Dynasties yuefu, will be treated separately in the following chapter. Aside from these all important lyrics, however, there are other quatrains from this period that rise above the mass of lowly rhymes and ditties, and appear to offer clues to the development of the jueju. In the section above we examined two relatively advanced examples of quatrains that appear to have links to the Chu song tradition. In this section we will continue to look for certain individual verses and trends that appear significant in the early history of the jueju.

The jueju was, to a significant degree, a product of the South. Of course much of the early history of the five-syllable shi tradition took place during the Six Dynasties, but there are a number reasons to particularly emphasize the role of Southern culture and traditions in the formation of the jueju. Although the quatrain as a pure form has a long history that can not be linked to any distinct traditions or regions, its beginnings as a literary genre primarily occur in the South during the Six Dynasties. The Southern Dynasties yuefu were, of course, local folk and popular songs. Just as important was the distinctively Southern

literary milieu and society that welcomed the influence of these songs. It was largely in the court society and salons of the Southern Dynasties that the quatrain was transformed into a literary genre.

Even before the flourishing of the Southern yuefu and their subsequent influence on the aristocracy and literati, one sees evidence that the independent quatrain, in various guises, had distinct functions in the South. In the Sanguo zhi 三國志 and its commentary (compiled by Chen Shou 陳壽 [233-297], commentary by Pei Songzhi 裴松之 [372-451]), there are recorded a number of incidents in which four-syllable quatrains are recited by upper-class figures. All the incidents that I am aware of take place in the South, in Wu 吳 (one of the pieces is recited by an envoy from Shu 蜀). It is true that they basically consist of simple improvisations recited in jest (usually consisting of rude put downs and retorts), or as a sort of game. But they are important as examples of quatrains composed by upper-class figures at social gatherings.

> [Sun] Quan 孫權 (182--252) once held a banquet for Fei Yi 費禕 (d. 253), an envoy from Shu 蜀. Before the banquet he told his retainers, "When the envoy comes just bow your heads and eat, don't get up." When [Fei] Yi arrived only [Sun] Quan stopped eating. No one

else stood up. Fei [Yi] teased them and said:

When a phoenix comes a soaring,
The unicorn spits out its food;
But asses don't know any better,
And heads bowed go on with their feeding.[81]
(Lu Qinli, p. 531)

Zhuge Ke 諸葛恪 (203-253) retorted:

A wutong tree was planted,
In wait for the coming of a phoenix,
What sort of puny bird is this,
That says it "comes a soaring?"
Why don't we take a few shots at it,
And send it on its way home.[82]
(Lu Qinli, p. 536)

[Fei] Yi stopped eating his noodles, took up his brush and composed a fu on wheat. [Zhuge] Que then asked for his brush and composed a fu on the millstone (mo 磨).[83]

There is another incident in which we see an envoy from Shu attempting to match wits with Xue Zong 薛綜 (?-243) of Wu. Xue Zong replies with quatrain graph riddles with which he

insults Shu and praises Wu.[84]

A very interesting case of extemporized quatrains can be seen in the following story.

> Zhang Dun's 張惇 (n.d.) son, Chun 純 (n.d.), Zhang Yan 張儼 (d. ca. 266), and [Zhu] Yi 朱異 (d. after 256) were all still very young when they went to pay a visit to the Cavalry General, Zhu Ju 朱據 (196-250). [Zhu] Ju had heard that the three of them were very gifted. Wanting to test them, he announced, "This humble old man knows of your fame, and has desperately hungered to meet you. Now, the merit of an outstanding horse (yaoniao 驃鳥) lies in the speed of its gallop, and the excellence of hawk and falcon (ying zhun 鷹隼) lie in their agility and quickness. Could you each poeticize on an object (fu yi wu 賦一物)?---then you may be seated....

The three boys each composed a four-syllable quatrain on a different object. Zhang Chun's piece was on a mat:

> Mats are spread out in winter,
> Bamboo ones are laid out in summer;
> To bow and yield, and then sit,

This is the way of a gentleman.

...Each of them had improvised on the object that their gazes had chanced to fall upon. After they had completed their verses they sat down. [Zhu] Ju was extremely delighted.[85]

The quatrains mentioned above do not amount to much in the way of poetry. As can be seen, they are not very different from various anonymous ditties, rhymes and riddles that made up the majority of the quatrains of the Han. They are significant because they are by the members of the upper, literate class and they offer us a clear glimpse of how and when the quatrain was used in upper society. We see them used in games and displays of wit at several social occasions. The examples in the last story are especially interesting and suggestive. Though they are very primitive, the verses composed by the three boys are among the earliest extant examples of yongwu type quatrains. This is significant because yongwu quatrains would become a favorite type of sub-genre in the palace-style verse of the later Six Dynasties.

Another important example of an Southern quatrain occurs in an anecdote in the Shishuo xinyu 世說新語 .

(After the conquest of Wu in 280) Emperor Wu of

the Jin (Sima Yan 司馬炎 , r. 265-290) asked the last Wu ruler, Sun Hao (r. 264-280), "I hear you southerners like to sing 'you-your' songs (er-ru ge). Could you sing one for us?"

Hao was just in the midst of drinking , and therefore raised his cup to pledge a toast to the emperor, singing,

"Formerly your (ru) neighbor,
Now your minister.
To you (ru) a cup of wine;
May you live a myriad springs!"
(Lu Qinli, pp. 537-38)

The emperor regretted having asked him.[86]

Sun Hao has used what originally was a courtship song (thus the use of the intimate pronoun ru 汝) and addressed it to Emperor Wu (hence his embarrassment). The importance of this anecdote as early evidence of the Southern courtship quatrain will be discussed in the next chapter. Here I simply want to point out that this is another early instance of a Southerner improvising a quatrain (this piece is in the five-syllable meter) and that it again is an exercise of wit with a barbed point.

One of the interesting aspects of the quatrains above

is that they are all by Southerners (excepting the piece by the envoy from Shu). In the case of Sun Hao, we know he was drawing upon a local Southern tradition, but with the other poets it is not so clear. It may simply be an accident of transmission. But it is striking that the very few examples of Southern verse that survive from the period of the Three Kingdoms should so often prove to be quatrains (the above quatrains form about half of the extant corpus of Wu 吳 verse). The vast majority of verse from this period was a product of Wei 魏, in the North. But though our knowledge of Wei is far greater than that of Wu, and though virtually all of the extant verse from the period of the Three Kingdoms is from Wei, there is little evidence to suggest that there was a similar use of the quatrain in the North. If, in fact, these quatrains are indicative of certain early Southern traditions and practices, it would help to explain why the quatrain eventually came to be so readily accepted in the later Six Dynasties. In the chapter on the Han quatrain it was pointed out that even the minor, sub-literary types of independent quatrains had definite roles in the evolution of the jueju. Riddles, yongwu, and various other literary games, which very often were in the quatrain form, all had a place in court-style verse. The Han and pre-Han precedents for this type of verse generally were anonymous pieces. In the case of these piece from Wu, however, we catch a valuable glimpse of the quatrain used by

literati at various social occasions. They are extremely minor pieces, but we must also remember that one of the important developments of the late Six Dynasties was the rise of a new approach and attitude toward poetry within the courts and salons---a willingness to de-elevate poetry, to use it for games and amusement, to play with verse---and it was these developments that had a major role in transforming the quatrain form into a literary genre.

It has been mentioned above that there is little evidence of the literati composing quatrains (for whatever purposes) during the Wei. The same can be said for the Western Jin (265-317). There is the important example by Zhou Chu, but it is an isolated piece, and cannot be said to represent any sort of contemporary trend or movement. Curiously enough, Zhou Chu was a Southerner, who, after the defeat of Wu, went north to serve the Jin. Whether his Southern ancestry was a factor in his use of the quatrain is difficult say for sure. His verse appears to be in the Chu song tradition, a genre that we associate with the Han, but it should also be remembered that this genre had its origins in the South and may have still survived there after the Han.[87] In the collections of the Taikang poets one can see a number of quatrains (see Lu Ji's collection in particular), but the vast majority are clearly fragments. Although there are few interesting pieces that could possibly stand on their own, there is no evidence to assure

us that they originally were independent quatrains.

During the Eastern Jin (and occasionally in the North during the corresponding period) one can detect a quiet increase in the number of independent quatrains composed by the upper, literate classes of society. What precisely is taking place is not clear. One does see the beginnings of the influence of the Southern Dynasties upon the literati, but these make up only a part of the increasing number quatrains by literati figures (they will be discussed in the following chapter). What makes the increase so difficult to define is that the quatrain is still basically a sub-literary form, used in a variety of minor, miscellaneous roles. Moreover, one would not want to exaggerate this increase, it is relative to what had appeared before. The quatrain still lies outside the mainstream of proper literature. The gradual increase cannot be explained by any literary trends or movements. Perhaps it is simply the accumulation of a variety of factors difficult to analyze and quantify. Aside from the influence of the Southern Dynasties yuefu, one might point to the shift to the South and the overall influence of Southern traditions such as have been described above; to the general expansion of the shi tradition; and to a greater interest in subjects that may have led to the composition of verse of a minor nature, i.e. Buddhism, Taoism and early types of fiction.

Among these miscellaneous pieces are: a ditty that Xi

Zuochi 習鑿齒 (d. ca. 383) improvised to taunt Dao An 道安 (d. 385) (see note 83); a pair of quatrains that Zhao Zheng 趙整 (n.d.) sang in order to criticize and sway the Northern ruler, Fu Jian 苻堅 (338-385);[88] a number of songs and ditties found in the various zhi guai collections that began to flourish during this period (see above, p. 196, for example); occasional Buddhist and Daoist rhymes;[89] and a series of quatrains with which Xie Hun 謝混 (d. 412) criticized and encouraged young members of the Xie clan.[90] As can be seen, these quatrains continue to be characterized by their miscellaneous, non-literary character. Most are simple, oral improvisations. It is difficult to find any true poetry among such pieces. Again it is the few quatrains that follow in the Chu song tradition that strike one as being among the most advanced quatrains of this period.

Although the quatrains by the literati of this period are still very primitive, it should be pointed out that the "miscellaneous" quality shown by these quatrains will continue to characterize this form. This quality will be an important element in shaping the jueju as a genre. One of the great features of the jueju was the ease with which it could be applied to almost any occasion and theme, no matter how seemingly minor and trivial. Once the jueju matured, it could turn the slightest thought, the most casual, prosaic moment or observation into a poem. The origins of this

potential can be seen in the varied, miscellaneous occasions during which we see singers and writers resorting to the quatrain. Xie Hun's series of quatrains, for example, are not poetry, but the way in which he used the quatrain was not very different from the way that Du Fu used the jueju in his "Six Jueju Written in Jest" ("Xi wei liu jueju"戲為六絕後), a series of jueju in which Du Fu praised the poets of the past, criticized contemporary critics, and advised his audience on the proper approach to the poetry and poets of the past. Du Fu talks, scolds, and harangues, but although his words are not "poetic" they are still fine poetry. It is the kind of verse that only the jueju could handle.

A good example of the casual, simple quality of the quatrain can be seen in the following piece composed by Wu Yinzhi 吳隱之 (d. 413). On his way to a post in Guang Province (Guangzhou 廣州 [Guangdong-Guangxi]) in the far south, he passed by a spring called Greedy Spring (Tanquan 貪泉). It was said that whoever drank from it would have unsatiable desires.

> ...reaching the spring, he drew some water and drank, and then composed a poem:
>
> Men of old have said of these waters,
> One drink and you'll hunger for a thousand

pieces of gold;
But let Boyi and Shuqi take a sip,
Their hearts would never change.[91]
(Lu Qinli, p. 936-37)

Wu Yinzhi's quatrain is a very simple piece, but it has the flavor of a jueju. It has a casual, deceptive ease that belies its seriousness. Richard Mather has pointed out that the officials who served in Guang (which had a rich pearl industry) were notoriously corrupt.[92] Wu Yinzhi, who was appointed governor in order to clean up the corruption, is reminding himself of the dangers and responsibilities of his post.

The features that make up this incident---a poet on a journey, the passing of a local landmark, a quick improvised verse (often inscribed at the landmark) that records a brief, simple, yet deeply felt thought or inspiration---are all elements of a situation that will occur over and over again and produce a number of fine jueju. In Wu Yinzhi's quatrain, despite its plainness and simplicity (but also because of its informal, unembellished, talking style), one can see a fine hint of the mature jueju and its future.

Summary

In this chapter we left aside the Southern Dynasties yuefu and attempted to survey all other types of early Six Dynasties verse in which the quatrain form played a role. The process of analyzing these quatrains was not easy. The major problem in the study of this period is determining which quatrains can actually be taken as valid evidence. As has been explained above, I have tended to be very cautious and have rejected a number of quatrains that I feel are fragments. There are a number of interesting pieces that may be independent quatrains, but unless I could be reasonably sure of their intactness and authenticity they were ignored. My decisions have shaped my account of the early Six Dynasties quatrain in fundamental ways. If one were to apply different standards, as Xu Xueyi did, for example, the result would be a very different picture of this period.

After eliminating the quatrains that appear to be fragments, and discounting the possible influence of the quatrains that are found in the translations of the Buddhist sutras, one discovers that there are very few independent quatrains to be found in this period. There were, of course, many anonymous rhymes and ditties similar to those we saw in the Han, but among the literate, upper-class it was still very much an ignored and undeveloped form. With a few important exceptions, it was used only for minor, sub-literary purposes. Looking at the poetry composed by the

literati during this period, the neglect of the quatrain form was to be expected. There simply was no place for it in the literary developments and fashions that were taking place during this period. The Jian'an 建安 , Zhengshi 正始 , and Taikang 太康 poets, and the philosophical and early landscape poets of the Eastern Jin were all engaged in advancing the shi verse tradition---they deepened it, explored its craft and technique, expanded its content---all the while their approach was sophisticated, serious and literary. Ordinarily, there was no rationale for the literati to turn to the humble quatrain. It was only later after the potential of the quatrain was explored by the singers of the Southern yuefu, and new attitudes and approaches to poetry began to evolve that the quatrain gradually was introduced to the world of the literati.

Despite the general neglect of the quatrain during this period, one can detect some important developments. There is a slight, but definite increase in the number of quatrains by literate, upper-class figures. They are not literary pieces. For the most part they consist of oral improvisations on a variety of miscellaneous themes and occasions. They are simple verses, often very lowly, but in a handful of cases one can find true poetry. In these pieces we see elements and patterns that hint of future developments in the jueju. In Wu we saw an early example of literati using the four-syllable quatrain for yongwu style

verse. In the improvisations of Zhou Chu and Xiong Fu we see the five and seven-syllable quatrain first used for serious verse. Wu Yinzhi's quatrain, slight yet thoughtful, has the flavor of a mature jueju. Such pieces during this period are few and far between. They are not part of any deliberate movements or fashions; they are more in the way of isolated examples that still lie at the edges of ordinary, literary verse. But they are important; they show the quatrain advancing, however slowly, and they help identify certain distinctive, varied elements that will help to shape and define the jueju as a genre---the occasions on which it is composed, the themes which it can deal with, the voices with which it can speak. Already there are indications of the great variety and range that was one of the most remarkable and basic features of the genre. We have seen it used for repartee and amusement, but also to express the kangkai of a doomed general.

Notes to Chapter III

1. See Li Changlu, "Han Wei Jin Nanbei chao jueju tanyuan," pp. 31-33; Shuen-fu Lin, "The Nature of the Quatrain from the Late Han to the High T'ang," pp. 303-306.

2. See Luo Genze, "Jueju san yuan," p. 47.

3. One finds "Zhao yin" poems in the collections of Zuo Si 左思 (ca. 250- ca. 305), Lu Ji 陸機 (261-303) and Zhang Zai 張載, among others.

4. See Lu Qinli, p. 623, which gives the text and earliest source of this piece.

5. Ding Fubao 丁福保 (1874-1952), ed., Quan Han Sanguo Jin Nanbeichao shi 全漢三國晉南北朝詩, 3 vols. (1916; rpt. Taibei: Yiwen yinshuguan, 1975).

6. Lu Qinli emphasizes the importance of examining the source of poem to determine if it is intact or a fragment. He points out the general rule that if the earliest source is a leishu the poem is probably a fragment. See the "Post-face" in Lu Qinli, pp. 2791-2792.

7. See Xu Jian 徐堅 (ca. 659-729), et al, ed., Chuxue ji 初學記, 3 vols. (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1962), juan 18.448-450.

8. See Lu Qinli, p. 1223.

9. See Sima Qian 司馬遷 (ca. 145-ca. 87 B.C.), comp., Shi ji 史記 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1959), juan 7.333. The Shi ji zhengyi 史記正義 citation from the Chu Han chungiu is found in note 4. See also Lu Qinli, pp. 88.

10. The Chu Han chungiu is no longer extant. Only a few fragments survive cited in other works.

11. For a summary of the debate over the authenticity of this piece, see Zhang Xiurong 張修蓉, Han Tang guizu yu cainu shige yanjiu 漢唐貴族與才女詩歌研究 (Taibei: Wen shi zhe chubanshe, 1985), pp. 21-22. Zhang

Xiurong thinks that the piece is authentic. I feel, however, that even if the Beauty Yu had composed a song on this occassion, there is little guarantee that the version that appears in the Tang is identical with the original. It may have been "polished" into a five-syllable quatrain. We have already noted a probable example of such editing in the case of a Qin protest song, see above, "Chapter II," note 31. Li Yannian's 李延年 (?-ca. 87 B.C.) "Beifang you jiaren" 北方有佳人 ("In the North There is a Beauty") is another example of a piece being polished and regularized. In the Han shu, it consists of five five-syllable lines and an eight-syllable line. The Yutai xinyong version is entirely in five-syllable meter. See Lu Qinli, p. 102.

12. Qi shu, juan 35.624-625.

13. See Xie Lingyun, "Dongyangxi zhong zeng da er shou" 東陽溪中贈答詩二首 ("Two Poems, Presentation and Answer at Dongyang Creek") and "Shi" 詩 ("Poem") in Lu Qinli, p. 1185. The Yan Yanzhi fragment can be found in Lu Qinli, p. 1237.

14. See their collections in Lu Qinli.

15. I first came across this statement in Sun Kaidi's article, "Jueju shi zenyang qilaide," p. 456. Sun Kaidi suggests that this statement is important evidence of the early use of the quatrain form. I do not know of any other attempts to interpret and explain this statement.

16. Emperor Gao's statement is reminiscent of Xu Xueyi's account of the development of the quatrain. Remember that in his description he went from Cao Zhi to Zhang Zai to Xie Lingyun and Yan Yanzhi (see above, pp. 20-22). Xu Xueyi's account, however, cannot be used to corroborate or explain Emperor Gao's statement. Xu Xueyi was a Ming scholar. By the Ming dynasty the corpus of Six Dynasties verse was fixed. There is no reason to suppose that Xu Xueyi had access to poems that we are unaware of today. The quatrains that Xu Xueyi cites as the works of Cao Zhi, Zhang Zai, Xie Lingyun, and Yan Yanzhi can all be traced back to various leishu and are most probably fragments. The reasons for the weaknesses of Xu Xueyi's account have been discussed above. I now wonder if Xu Xueyi was aware of the passage in the Qi shu, and if it may have shaped his ideas about the history of the quatrain.

17. The preface is known under a variety of titles. The title cited is the one given in Quan Jin wen 全晉文 , in Yan Kejun 嚴可均 (1762-1843), comp., Quan shanggu Sandai Qin Han Sanguo Liuchao wen 全上古三代秦漢三國六朝

文 (1815; rpt. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1959), juan 26.1609.

18. The literature on the Lanting gathering and Wang Xizhi's preface, both traditional and modern, is voluminous. Two convenient discussions can be found in J.D. Frodsham, "The Origins of Chinese Nature Poetry," Asia Major, n.s. 8 (1960), pp. 88-93; Lothar Ledderose, Mi Fu and the Classical Tradition of Chinese Calligraphy, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979), pp. 12-28. These two works are especially valuable because they cite the major works of scholarship on this subject and thus can serve as an introductory bibliography. The vast majority of literature has focused on the preface, for example, problems of its authenticity and its significance as a work of calligraphy. The poems, however, have not received much attention. The most extensive study of the Eupatorium Pavilion poems is to be found in Obi Kōichi 小尾郊一, Chūgoku bungaku ni arawareta shizen to shizenkan 中國文學に現われた自然と自然觀 (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1962), pp. 192-222.

19. Zhuang Zhou 莊周 is, of course, the famous Daoist philosopher. Xu You 許由 is the legendary recluse who washed his ears after being offered the empire.

20. See Obi Kōichi, Chūgoku bungaku ni arawareta shizen to shizenkan, pp. 205-209.

21. See He Yanzhi 何延之 "Lanting ji" 蘭亭記 (dated 714), juan 3.55a, in Zhang Yanyuan 張彥遠 (fl. mid-ninth century), Fashu yaolu 法書要錄, Congshu jicheng; Lothar Ledderose, Mi Fu..., pp. 19-22.

22. See David R. Knechtges, Wen xuan, Vol. I (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982), p. 42.

23. See He Yanzhi, "Lanting ji," juan 3.54b-55a.

24. For an account of the relationship between Yu Shinan, Ouyang Xun and Emperor Taizong and their role in the establishment of the Wang Xizhi tradition, see Lothar Ledderose, Mi Fu.... pp. 24-28.

25. See Chu Suiliang 褚遂良 (596-658), Jin youjun Wang Xizhi shumu 晉右軍王羲之書目, juan 3.38b, in Zhang Yanyuan, Fashu yaolu.

26. See Zhang Yanyuan, "Youjun shu ji" 右軍書記, juan 10.173b-174b, in Zhang Yanyuan, Fashu yaolu, congshu jicheng.

27. See Sang Shichang 桑世昌 (13th century), Lanting kao 蘭亭考, congshu jicheng, juan 1.1-8.

28. See Lu Qinli, pp. 895-896. A complete version of Wang Xizhi's five-piece series can also be found in the Lanting kao, not, however, in juan 1 together with the other Lanting poems, but quoted recorded separately. See Sang Shichang, Lanting kao, juan 10.81.

29. See Sun Chuo 孫綽, "Hou xu" 後序, juan 1.7, as recorded in Sang Shichang, Lanting kao.

30. See Obi Kōichi, Chūgoku bungaku ni arawareta shizen to shizenkan, pp. 208-209.

31. See, for example, the version of this piece as recorded in Yan Kejun, Quan Jin wen, juan 61.1808, in Quan shanggu Sandai Qin Han Sanguo Liuchao wen. This version is based upon the text as recorded in the Yiwen leiju and Chuxue ji. Of course the absence of the last lines from these early versions is not strong evidence in itself. Again, the tendency of the leishu is to extract. Note that here the piece is simply described as a xu 序, not houxu 後序.

32. There is other striking and interesting evidence of the editing of the Lanting poems. I have not discussed it above because I do not have direct access to it and am a bit puzzled about its actual nature. Several mainland scholars involved in the debate over the authenticity of the "Lanting preface" have mentioned a version of the Lanting poems copied out by Liu Gongquan 柳公權 (778-865), a well known Tang calligrapher. They do not give references, and the nature of the text they are referring to is not clear (I wonder if this may be the version of the poems in the Xihongtang tie). Lu Qinli quotes Liu Gongquan (?):

> Wang Xizhi composed the preface for the four-syllable poems. Since this preface has circulated for generations, I will not include it here. The text of the poems is very long so they cannot be recorded in their entirety. I will only write out the best lines; the principle is similar to that of the ancients who also extracted (duan zhang 斷章).

See Lu Qinli, "'Lanting xu' shi Wang Xizhi zuode, bu shi Wang Xizhi xiede" 蘭亭序是王羲之作的不是王羲之寫的, p. 441, in Lu Qinli, Han Wei Liuchao wenxue lun ji 漢魏六朝文學論集 (Xi-an: Shanxi renmin, 1984), pp. 435-446. Li Changlu, apparently on the authority of the Liu Gongquan text, says that the poems may have been edited by Wang Xianzhi 王獻之 (344-386), one of the participants at the gathering! See Li Changlu 李長路, "'Lanting xu tie' bian wang juli" 蘭亭序帖辯妄舉例, p. 98, in

Lanting lun bian 蘭亭辯論, compiled by Wenwu chubanshe 文物出版社 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1973), pp. 94-107.

33. The evidence that has been presented suggests that all the Lanting poems, the eight-line as well as the four-line pieces, have been edited. Again this appears to be in agreement with literary history. At this time the eight-line poem was still quite rare, usually only used for formal pieces that consisted of series of eight-line stanzas. The independent eight-line form does not begin to flourish until the Qi dynasty when it was encouraged by the demands of salon culture.

34. A study of this nature would of course be very difficult to undertake. Many sutras survive only in the Chinese translations. In addition, styles and standards of translation vary from period to period and translator to translator. The translations could at times be quite free. According to Chen Yinke 陳寅恪, Kumārijīva (344-413), on occasion, would translate prose passages into verse and vice versa. See Chen Yinke's description of Kumārijīva's method of translation, quoted in Hu Shi 胡適, Baihua wenxue shi 白話文學史 (Taibei: Letian chubanshe, rpt. 1970), pp. 134-135.

35. For good introductory discussions of the early translations of Buddhist sutras and their importance for literature, see Hu Shi, Baihua wenxue shi, pp. 115-154; V. Hrdličková, "The First Translations of Buddhist Sutras in Chinese Literature and Their Place in the Development of Storytelling," Archiv Orientalni, 26 (1968), pp. 114-144.

36. Hu Shi, after describing the general influence of Buddhism and Buddhist literature on Chinese literature, points out that this influence was a slow and gradual development and that in the early stages this influence was virtually non-existent. "When we look at the period when the translation of the sutras was at its most flourishing (300-500) we see that the forms and styles of Chinese literature did not reflect in the slightest the influence of the literature in translation. Moreover, the literature composed by Buddhist monks, aside from the translations, was in imitation of the parallel styles (pianou wenti 駢偶文體) of the literati." See Baihua wenxue shi, p. 146.

37. See, for example, the poetry of Wang Fanzhi 王梵志 (n.d., early Tang). Zhou Xiaotian discusses Wang Fanzhi's quatrains and points out the influence of Buddhist verse upon his work, see Tang jueju shi, pp. 24-26.

38. Sheng jing 生經 (T. 154), translated by Dharmarakṣa (Zhu Fahu 竺法護 [ca. 230- after 308), in Taishō shinshū daizōkyō 大正新修大藏經 , ed. by Takakusu Junjirō 高南順次郎 and Watanabe Kaikyoku 渡邊海旭 , 55 vols. (Tokyo: Taishō issaikyo kanko kwai, 1924-32), III, 70-108.

39. "Fenwei biqiu jing" 分衛比丘經 , in Sheng jing, in Taishō shinshū daizōkyō, III, 70-71.

40. "Fenwei biqiu jing", in Sheng jing, in Taishō shinshū daizōkyō, III, 71.

41. Several scholars looking at similar examples of verse found in another sutra within the Sheng jing have commented on their resemblance to courtship verse. Chang Renxia 常任俠 compares them to the "Ziye ge" 子夜歌 and modern love songs found in Huainan, see Chang Renxia 常任俠 Fojing wenxue gushi xuan 佛經文學故事選 (1958; Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, rpt. 1987 [an expanded edition]), p. 17, n. 1. Sun Changwu 孫昌武 compares them to mountain songs (shan ge 山歌), the popular love songs that were native to Wu 吳 , see Fojiao yu Zhongguo wenxue 佛教與中國文學 (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 1988), p. 249.

42. For an account of Dharmarakṣa's life and his translation activities, see E. Zürcher, The Buddhist Conquest of China, 2 vols. (1959; Leiden: E.J. Brill, rpt. 1972), pp. 65-70.

43. See V. Hrdličková, "The First Translations of Buddhist Sutras in Chinese Literature and Their Place in the Development of Storytelling," pp. 119, 120.

44. Wang Yunxi 王運熙 mentions that he discovered three Budhhist poems by Xie Lingyun (385-433) and Wang Rong (467-493) in the Shi suo 詩所 , a rare anthology (?) compiled by Zang Maoxun 臧懋循 (jinshi 1580). They are in seven-syllable meter and rhyme every other line (Lu Qinli notes that Wang Rong's two poems are recorded in the Tang leishu, Chuxue ji (juan 23); see Lu Qinli, pp. 1399-1400). Bao Zhao 鮑照 (c. 414-466) is usually regarded as the first poet to use this this rhyme scheme with the seven-syllable meter. Xie Lingyun's poem would, of course, predate Bao Zhao's work and may suggest the influence of Buddhist verse. See Wang Yunxi 王運熙 , "Qiyanshi xingshi de fazhan he wancheng" 七言詩形式的發展和完成 , p. 176, in Yuefu shi luncong 樂府詩論叢 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1962).

45. Hu Yinglin, Shi sou, "Nei pian," juan 6.105.

46. Hu Zhenheng 胡震亨 (1569-1644), Tangyin guiqian 唐音癸籤, quoted in Huang Suqiu 黃肅秋 and Chen Xin 陳新 eds., Tangren jueju xuan 唐人絕句選 (Beijing: Zhonghua, 1982), "Preface," p. 2.

47. Dong Wenhuan 董文煥 (Qing), Shengdiao si pu tu shuo 聲調四譜圖說, cited in Fu Shousun and Liu Baishan, eds., "Tangren jueju jiping," p. 952.

48. Xu Xueyi, Shiyuan bianti, juan 7.118.

49. Shen Zufen, Tangren qijueshi qianshi, pp. 3-5.

50. In contrast, we find five-syllable quatrains rhyming every other line as early as the Han. The "Gu jueju si shou," for example, use this rhyme scheme.

51. Zhou Xiaotian, Tang jueju shi, pp. 30-31.

52. Yi Zhou shu jixun jiaoshi 逸周書集訓校釋 (Zhu Youceng 朱右曾 [19th century] ed., Taibei: Yiwen yinshuguan, 1960?), juan 9.212.

53. For the original story and poem, see Tao Qian 陶潛 (?), Soushen houji 搜神後記, ed. by Wang Shaoying 汪紹楹 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1981), juan 1.1. The actual date and authorship of the text is unknown. The traditional attribution to Tao Qian is apparently without any basis, though the text is from the Six Dynasties. For a history of the Soushen houji text, see Richard VanNess Simmons, "The Soushen houji Attributed to Tao Yuanming (365-427)" (M.A. thesis, University of Washington, 1986), pp. 1-24.

54. Xie Lingyun (385-433) may have composed a Buddhist poem in seven-syllable meter using the new, advanced rhyme scheme. See above, note 44.

55. See Wang Yunxi, "Qiyan shi xingshi de fazhan he wancheng," pp. 158-176.

56. Song shu, juan 21.609-10.

57. For example, the "Qing zong bai ma" 青驄白馬, "Gong xi le" 共戲樂, and "Nü er zi" 女兒子, see Yuefu shi ji, juan 49.711-13. I am referring only to the anonymous lyrics; there are seven-syllable quatrains to be found in later literati works.

58. See the "Ge gu ge" 隔谷歌 and "Zhuo nuo ge" 捉搦歌, Yuefu shi ji, juan 25.368-69.

59. See Song shu, juan 22.645. Wang Yunxi lists a number of other similar examples, see "Qiyan shi xingshi de fazhan he wancheng," p. 160-61.

60. This kind of rhyming occurs only in a special type of seven-syllable verse that usually consists of a sort of epitaph in which the first four-syllable half describes the qualities of a certain figure, and the second half consists of his name. Many such pieces consist of a single line, though longer pieces also occur. Rhymes of this type can be found in the Han and throughout much of the Six Dynasties. See Wang Yunxi, "Qiyan shi xingshi de fazhan he wancheng," p. 158-159.

61. The following table lists the numbers of five and seven-syllable Jin songs and ditties according to their length. The statistics are based upon the pieces contained in the "Miscellaneous Songs and Ditties" ("Za ge yao ci" 雜歌謠辭) sections in Lu Qinli, see "Jin shi" 晉詩, juan 9.777-808, juan 18.1015-38.

Table 1

Numbers and Lengths of Jin Songs and Ditties

Seven-syllable Songs and Ditties

Number of Lines:	1	2	3	4	Over 4
Number of Pieces:	12	23	5	3	2

Five-syllable Songs and Ditties

Number of Lines:	1	2	3	4	Over 4
Number of Pieces:	1	10	0	16	2

62. See Lu Qinli 逯欽立, "Han shi bie lu" 漢詩別錄, in his Han Wei Liuchao wenxue lunji 漢魏六朝文學論集, ed. by Wu Yun 吳云 (Xian: Shanxi renmin chubanshe, 1984), pp. 69-83.

63. Suzuki Shūji 鈴木修次 discusses many of the most important Chu songs of the Han, see Kan Gi shi no kenkyū 漢魏詩の研究 (Tokyo: Daishūkan shoten, 1967), pp. 11-43.

64. It is not clear if she joined in singing Xiang Yu's verse or if she composed a verse in response. There is a tradition that she composed a five-syllable quatrain in

answer to Xiang Yu, see above, pp. 167-68.

65. Shi ji, juan 7.333.

66. Han shu, juan 96b.3903.

67. See Han shu, juan 54. 2466.

68. Han shu, juan 63.2757.

69. Shi ji, juan 8.389.

70. Nan shi, juan 14.403.

71. Xie Lingyun is, of course, known primarily for his long, intricate landscape verse. This was one of the very few examples of him using the quatrain form. See Song shu, juan 67.1777; Lu Qinli, p. 1185.

72. Nan shi, juan 8.245.

73. His biography is in the Jin shu 晉書 (Fang Xuanling 房玄齡 (Tang), et al., comp., Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1974), juan 58.1569-71. Richard Mather has included a brief biographical notice on Zhou Chu in his translation of the Shishuo xinyu, see Richard Mather, trans., Shih-shuo Hsin-yü: A New Account of Tales of the World (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1976), p. 511.

74. Jin shu, 58.1570-71; Lu Qinli, p. 625.

75. Cf. Ruan Ji's 阮籍 (210-263) "Yong huai" 咏懷 no. 59 (Lu Qinli, p. 507), "He thought delicious the provender of pigweed and bean leaves,/ Delighted in the weedy, humble hut." For a discussion and translation of this poem, see Donald Holzman, Poetry and Politics: The Life and Works of Juan Chi A.D. 210-263 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976), pp. 115-116. Holzman notes that Ruan Ji's couplet alludes to the Zhuang zi .

76. See Shi ji, juan 61.2123.

77. Jin shu, juan 98.2566-67; Lu Qinli, p. 859.

78. Cf. Shang shu, "Yin zheng"胤征 , "When the fire blazes over the ridge of Kwan, gems and stones are burned together;" (huo yan Kun gang yu shi ju fen 火炎崑岡玉石俱焚). Translation by James Legge, see James Legge, trans., The Shoo King, The Chinese Classics, vol. 3 (1865; rpt. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1960), p. 168.

79. The rhymes of this verse are curious. Karlgren's Ancient Chinese reconstructions of the last character of each line are listed below (as given in Chou Fakao 周法高, chief ed., Hanzi gu jin yin hui 漢字古今音彙, [Hong Kong: Xianggang Zhongwen Daxue, 1973]).

Line 1 --- ling 陵, liəng (in the zheng 蒸 rhyme group; all four characters are ping sheng 平聲).

Line 2 --- fen 焚, b'iuən (in the wen 文 rhyme group).

Line 3 --- tan 歎, t'ân (in the han 寒 rhyme group).

Line 4 --- nan 難, nân (in the han 寒 rhyme group).

The end words of the last couplet clearly rhyme. In the first couplet, however, Xiong Fu appears to be using assonance rather than true rhyme. Ting Pang-hsin does not list any examples of contacts between the zheng and wen rhyme groups. See Ting Pang-hsin, Chinese Phonology of the Wei-Chin Period: Reconstruction of the Finals as Reflected in Poetry, Special Publications, No. 65 (Taibei: Institute of History and Philology Academia Sinica, 1974). The rhyming of ling and fen may reflect dialect usage. According to Marilyn Evans there was a considerable amount of inter-rhyming among certain nasal finals in the Southern Dynasty yuefu. See Marilyn Evans, "Popular Songs of the Southern Dynasties: A Study in Chinese Poetic Style" (Ph.D. Diss., Yale University, 1966).

80. The use of seven-syllable meter in this song appears to appears to hint at the ultimate link between a piece such as this and the Chu song tradition. The Chu style meters were one of the major sources of the seven-syllable meter.

81. In line two, qilin 麒麟 has been translated loosely as unicorn. Spitting out one's food (tu bu 吐哺)---interrupting one's meal---was a common image symbolizing respect and hospitality. Cf. Shi ji, juan 33.1518, "...yet while bathing I will take my hair in hand three times, while eating I will spit out my food three times, and rise up to greet a gentleman...."

82. In line three, yan que 燕雀 (swallow and sparrow) is loosely translated as "puny bird."

83. Pei Songzhi quotes this incident from a separate biography of Zhuge Ke 諸葛恪 (Biezhuan 別傳). See Sanguo zhi 三國志 (Chen Shou 陳壽 [233-297], comp.; Pei Songzhi 裴松之 [372-451], comm.; Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1962), juan 64.1430. Note that a similar incident and rhyme has been recorded that involves the famous

Buddhist figure, Dao An 道安 (d. 385) and Xi Zuochi 習鑿齒 (d. ca. 383). In this instance, Xi Zuochi visits Dao An while he and a number of other monks are at their meal. Everyone else stops eating except Dao An. Xi Zuochi improvises a rhyme:

> A Great Roc comes from the South,
> The flock of birds all fold their wings;
> But who is this frozen, old owl,
> Who nods his head and eats, gobble, gobble.

Dao An replies:

> A fierce tiger eating by the road,
> Is unaware of arriving mosquitoes and flies.

Both these pieces are in five-syllable meter. Dao An's reply appears to be a fragment since the couplet does not rhyme (in Xi Zuochi's piece the second and fourth lines rhyme). The two pieces occur in separate sections of the Taiping yulan 太平御覽, which is quoting a Jin shu 晉書. See Li Fang 李昉 (925-926), et al, ed., Taiping yulan 太平御覽, 4 vols. (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1960), juan 927.4119, juan 945.4195; Lu Qinli, pp. 922-923, p. 1085. While examining the Chu song tradition we saw how certain incidents and patterns tended to be repeated through history (see above, p. 208). Here we see another example of this phenomenon.

84. See Sanguo zhi, juan 53.1250-51.

85. The story is quoted in Pei Songzhi's commentary. The source cited is a Wenshi zhuan 文士傳. See Sanguo zhi, juan 56.1316.

86. The translation is by Richard Mather. I have only changed the romanization and omitted a footnote. See Richard Mather, Shih-shuo Hsin-yü: A New Account of Tales of the World, p. 402; Liu Yiqing 劉義慶 (403-444), comp., Shishuo xinyu jiaojian 世說新語校箋, ed. by Yang Yong 楊勇 (1969; rpt. Tainan: Pingping chubanshe, 1974), "Pai diao" 排調, p. 588.

87. Zhang Han 張翰 (n.d., Western Jin), a native of Wu, composed a Chu song (made up of four lines in traditional Chu song meter) just before quitting his post in the North and returning to his home in Wu. This song is not included in his Jin shu biography (Jin shu 92.2384). Lu Qinli's earliest source is the Suihua jili 歲華紀麗. See Lu Qinli, p. 738; Han E 韓鄂 (Tang), Suihua jili 歲華紀麗, Congshu jicheng, juan 3.73.

88. See Lu Qinli, p. 926.

89. Zürcher traces the history of an interesting Buddhist quatrain (not part of translated sutra). One of the versions quoted runs as follows:

> "Why have I been born so late?
> How early has the Buddha appeared!
> (Since I do not see Sakyamuni
> My heart is constantly afflicted).
> (translated by Zürcher)

What is striking about this piece is that it appears to show the influence of a folk courtship tradition. If, in the last couplet (bu jian Shijiawen / xin zhong chang aonao 不見釋迦文, 心中常懊惱), we substituted the name of a beloved for Sakyamuni, we would have a typical couplet from a love song. Cf. Shi jing 詩經 , no. 14, "I had not yet seen my lord, / My heart was hurt and distressed" (wei jian junzi / Wo xin shang bei 未見君子, 我心傷悲). See Zürcher, The Buddhist Conquest of China, pp. 291-97.

90. See Song shu, juan 58.1591; Lu Qinli, p. 935.

91. See Jin shu, juan 90.2341-42. Boyi 伯夷 and Shuqi 叔齊 are the legendary loyalist hermits, see above, pp. 211-212.

92. The Shishuo xinyu contains a slightly different version of this poem. See Richard Mather's translation for commentary and notes on Wu Yinzhi and this incident, Shih-shuo Hsin-yü: A New Account of Tales of the World, pp. 23-24.

CHAPTER IV

THE YUEFU OF THE SIX DYNASTIES

Introduction

In the "Qingshang qu ci" 清商曲辭 section of the Yuefu shi ji 樂府詩集, Guo Maoqian 郭茂倩 (Song) gathered together the lyrics to many of the popular songs of the Southern Dynasties.[1] Of the several categories of songs within the "Qingshang qu ci," the Wu songs (Wusheng gequ 吳聲歌曲) and the Western Songs (Xiqu ge 西曲歌) are the most important. They contain the anonymous songs that were popular in southern China throughout much of the Six Dynasties.[2] The Wu songs are so named because they originated in the part of China traditionally known as Wu (in present day Jiangsu and Zhejiang). In lyrics that survive, Yangzhou 楊州 and places in its environs are frequently mentioned (the Yangzhou of the Six Dynasties is not the famous Yangzhou of the Tang, but the Southern Dynasties capital, Jianye 建業, present day Nanjing). The Western Songs originated in the "west" (central China on the map, but west in relation to the capital, which is

ordinarily the de facto center of China). The city of Jiangling 江陵 is often mentioned in these songs, as well as a number of other places located along the Yangzi and Han River regions in present day Hunan and Hubei. The Wu songs began to flourish during the Jin dynasty, and seemed to have peaked in popularity during the Song. The Western songs are slightly later. They were popular through the Song into the Qi and Liang dynasties. That is to say, this is when these songs spread to and became popular among the upper classes and the court.[3]

These songs were a major element in the culture of the Six Dynasties. Music was the single most important kind of entertainment during this period. The new Southern Dynasties yuefu had replaced the old yuefu of the Han and Wei dynasties, and we see evidence of their immense popularity at every level of Six Dynasties society. It has always been the case in traditional China that folk and popular song lyrics have had substantial and direct roles in the formation of the literary poetic tradition. The yuefu of the Southern Dynasties are no exception. They had a strong influence on the poets of the Six Dynasties and played a crucial role in the development of the jueju. It is in the Southern Dynasties yuefu that we first see the quatrain form used extensively. Almost five hundred Wu and Western songs survive from the Six Dynasties. Although they include a variety of lengths and meters, the most popular

form by far is the five-syllable quatrain. As one traces the prevalence and influence of these songs it becomes clear that they were the primary factor in the rise of the five-syllable quatrain. Though originally derived from folk and popular traditions, one can see the upper classes---the aristocracy and the literati---themselves composing and imitating these songs. Some of the evidence is strikingly early.

As has been seen in the earlier chapters, up until the end of the fourth century the quatrain (excepting the Southern Dynasties yuefu) was, for the most part, still at a very primitive stage. With the rise of the Southern yuefu the situation changes. It is not simply a case of the quatrain form appearing in greater numbers. Rather, it is now that we see the form beginning to emerge as a true genre. There is an awareness of the potential of the form and a conscious exploration of technique and language. Certain topics and occasions are being defined that will continue to shape the jueju even as it matures during the Tang. Though these yuefu are song lyrics we can observe their potential being developed, and trace the beginnings of their evolution from lyric to literary verse.

The lyrics of the Wu and Western songs were in themselves very fine poetry. It should be no surprise that they inspired so much enthusiasm and proved to have such an important influence on the verse of the Six Dynasties. Hu

Yinglin admired these lyrics very much, going so far to say that "...there were men of the Tang who, try as they might, could not follow in their footsteps" (see above, p. 14). The songs even celebrate themselves. In the lyrics quoted below we see testimony to the popularity of these songs and brilliant descriptions of the essence of their charm.

> There are hundreds and hundreds of songs and ditties,
> But "Zi ye" is the loveliest of them all;[4]
> Clear sounds flowing full of feeling,
> Brilliant twists straight from nature.
>
> From strings and reeds the sounds of a song,
> Clear notes raised with the help of tools;
> Don't they know that the magic of a song,
> Lies in the sounds that come through the mouth and the heart?
>
> "Da zi ye ge" 大子夜歌 no. 1 and 2[5]

These lyrics were sung in praise of the "Zi ye ge," one of the most famous titles of the Wu songs. Originally, the Wu songs were performed without instrumental accompaniment, hence the praise of the human voice.[6] Though the descriptions are of the songs as a whole---the performance and the music---they also capture perfectly the quality of the lyrics (the only part of the songs that have survived);

their naturalness, their grace and clarity, and their pure, direct feeling.

The importance of the Southern Dynasties yuefu in the development of the jueju has been pointed out by both traditional and modern scholars. In his account of the origins of the five-syllable jueju, Hu Yinglin noted the role of these songs:

> Five-syllable jueju originated during the period of the Two Capitals (the Han dynasty). During the Wei dynasty one sees occasional examples, but it was during the Jin and Song dynasties that they truly flourished. Pieces such as "Zi ye"子夜 and "Qianxi"前溪 traversed the realms of the marvelous. Even Tang poets constantly imitated these pieces.[7]

Several critics have gone so far as to say that the origins of the five-syllable jueju go directly back to the Southern Dynasties yuefu.

> Five syllable jueju are the result of the Early Tang transforming "Zi ye" style verse.
>
> Yang Shihong楊士弘(Yuan)[8]

The five-syllable jueju originated in the "Zi ye

ge." There is no artifice involved (bie wu miu qiao 別無謬巧) other than to draw upon its naturalness. The twenty characters should be like releasing the pellet of a slingshot; then they are marvelous. Li Bo, Wang Wei, and Cui Guofu 崔國輔 (jinshi 726) excelled [at the five-syllable jueju]. Those who were skilled all adhered to this.

Li Chonghua 李重華 (1682-1754)[9]

Most scholars of the jueju have traced its origins to the Han dynasty. Thus, the statements above are at first rather striking (note that traditional scholars often refer to the Southern Dynasties yuefu simply as "Zi ye" songs; this was the most famous of the titles and the first title in the Yuefu shi ji). Essentially, however, they are correct. It is true that we find examples of five-syllable quatrains as early as the Han, but it is in the Southern Dynasties yuefu that the art of the quatrain was consciously exploited, developed and popularized. Moreover, as the critics cited above have been careful to point out, the links to the literary tradition are direct. It is not a mere matter of the borrowing of a form, but the embracing of a rich, developed tradition and all that it includes; its form, its art, its occasions and its themes. Eventually, of course, literary poets would refine and expand this

tradition. But it is very difficult to imagine the development of the jueju without the foundation established by the Southern Dynasties yuefu, and in this sense one can speak of the jueju originating with the these songs.

Modern scholars of the jueju and the Southern Dynasties yuefu have also been quick to recognize the connection between the two traditions.

> Their (Southern Dynasties yuefu) contribution to the development of new-style poetry and ultimately to the emergence of the most quintessential lyric form of Chinese poetry, the chüeh-chü, is now generally recognized by literary historians.[10]

Because of the importance of these lyrics this chapter will be devoted entirely to analyzing the precise role of the Six Dynasties yuefu in the development of the jueju. I will not attempt to examine every aspect of these songs. They present a rich, complex topic of study in themselves, and have been the subject of several masterful studies.[11] The focus will be on subjects and issues that relate directly to the role of these lyrics in the evolution of the jueju. Thus, the question of the music of the Wu and Western songs will, for the most part, be ignored. The differences between the two types of songs will also be glossed over.[12] It is true that they consist of two

distinct local traditions, and that there are significant differences between them. But from the point of view of their form, art, and their influence on the development of the *jueju*, we can provisionally treat them as forming a single tradition. Problems that will be considered in detail include the nature and origin of the Southern Dynasties *yuefu*, the process of their development and rise into the upper levels of society, the form and art of these songs, and the various ways in which they determined the subsequent development of the *jueju*, for example, the topics and occasions that were established by these songs and then later followed by literati poets. The chapter will also include a brief section on the *yuefu* of the Northern Dynasties. These songs also often took the form of quatrains, but they represent a tradition far less developed than that of the Southern Dynasties, and their influence was relatively minor.

Nature and Origins

Though it has often been noted that the Southern dynasties *yuefu* made extensive use of the quatrain form, and thus must have had an important role in the evolution of the *jueju*, there has been little attempt to explain why the quatrain form was so popular among these songs. The problem

is a difficult and complex one. It is doubtful that there is a single, simple answer, and any solution will remain, to a degree, hypothetical. The question, however, is crucial in our search for the origins of the jueju. In order to answer this question we must look to the nature and origins of the Southern Dynasties yuefu. It is only then that we can begin to understand the reasons for their use of the quatrain form, and just as important, why they were able to develop its art and structure to such an advanced degree.

The efforts of scholars to explain the origins and nature of the Southern Dynasties yuefu have been limited in scope. Wang Yunxi's research into the origins of the Wu and Western songs primarily consists of scattered attempts to find precedents for the features that are characteristic of these songs, and then trying to link them to these precedents. The results are mixed and unfocused.[13] For example, after noting the popularity of the quatrain form in the Southern Dynasties yuefu, he points to earlier quatrain rhymes that are similar in form, such as children's ditties and prophetic rhymes (of the type discussed in Chapters II and III), and concludes there must have been a musical links or similarities between the two; he even goes so far as to say that the tunes to many of these songs may have been based on these types of folk pieces.[14] Although I acknowledge that there is evidence that the folk ditty did have a minor role in the Southern yuefu tradition, this

suggestion strikes me as being exaggerated and extremely speculative at best. More significant is Wang Yunxi's explanation of the relationship between musical traditions and verse forms. He points out that the quatrain was a basic stanza unit in the yuefu of the Han and Wei (citing evidence of the type we have reviewed in "Chapter II"), and that a jie 解 was thus equivalent to a single Southern yuefu song. Adding evidence of similarities of instrumentation, he concludes that musically the Southern yuefu inherited much from the Han and Wei yuefu (specifically, the xianghe ge 相和歌), and that this is evidenced by its form.[15] Wang Yunxi's observations are important. In "Chapter II," the significance of the quatrain as a musical stanza was stressed; clearly it was an important element in the popularity of the form and the rise of the jueju. But though I acknowledge that musical factors may have played a role in determining the forms of the Southern Dynasties yuefu, these factors still do not explain why it was the Wu and Western songs that first utilized the independent quatrain in significant numbers, or why it was in these songs that the structure and art of the jueju type quatrain was exploited and developed. In order to determine the origins and nature of the Southern Dynasties yuefu we must, of course, examine the songs themselves and the rich body of contemporary evidence that still survives. In addition, we should also attempt to reconstruct the

earliest history of these songs.

The Southern Dynasties yuefu, as we know them today, represent a popular song tradition that had evolved over a long period of time. Though they must have originated in folk traditions, it is clear that during the Six Dynasties they had made their way up through various social strata, and that they represent the climax of a long process of development. Many of the surviving lyrics are clearly the product of the urban and court culture of the Southern Dynasties, and had reached a high level of sophistication and development. We know the approximate dates of this body of lyrics as a whole, and prefaces to individual titles in the Yuefu shi ji sometimes even tell us the names of the composers of the songs. Much of the scholarship on these songs has been devoted to tracing their origins by studying the prefaces of the individual titles and other contemporary accounts of these songs.[16] Again though such evidence is extremely valuable, it primarily tells us about the tradition at a late, advanced stage. In this section I will attempt to trace the Southern Dynasties yuefu to their earliest, folk origins. This is the key to understanding the reasons for the form and art of the songs as we observe them in their later, popular stage. Admittedly, much of what I have to say will be a hypothetical reconstruction of a process for which we have very little direct, concrete evidence. We will need to go back into the past, beyond the

contemporary accounts and evidence. What the circumstantial evidence, however, appears to tell us about the origins of these songs is striking and significant.

It appears that the Southern Dynasties yuefu represent a special development from an ancient, yet very vital folk tradition of courtship singing. The vast majority of the Southern Dynasties yuefu are love songs. They have often been criticized for their limited subject matter, but the predominance of the theme of love in the Southern yuefu may point to their original nature as courtship songs. A courtship song is, of course, a kind of love song. I am not making an absolute distinction between these two terms. I simply want to identify what may have been the original, very practical role and function of the Southern Dynasties song tradition. Originally, they were not songs composed in boudoirs, or songs sung for entertainment in courts or brothels. They probably began as the songs that boys and girls sang to each other in the courtship process. This special function of singing is rooted in ancient folk custom, and has had a long history in China. In the following pages I will first describe the practice of courtship singing, and then examine the evidence that suggests a link to the Wu and Western songs. There is some interesting circumstantial evidence that strongly hints at such a link. For our purposes, what is most interesting and significant is that many of the features and characteristics

of the extant Southern Dynasties yuefu such as their form, structure and technique (in addition to their content) are best understood as having been inherited from an earlier courtship song tradition.

Courtship singing has a long and rich history in China. There is evidence for it in the earliest collection of Chinese verse, the Shi jing 詩經 , and even today among the national minority tribes in southern China it is still a living tradition.[17] Marcel Granet, in his pioneering study, Festivals and Songs of Ancient China, suggested that many of the love songs in the Shi jing were courtship songs.[18] According to Granet, there were, in ancient China, certain festivals (primarily in spring, but also in fall) which were the occasion of mating rites. During these festivals, groups of boys and girls from different villages would gather at streams, exchange flowers, engage in games and sing extemporized songs to one another. Two songs from the Zheng 鄭 section of the Shi jing (traditionally known for the "licentiousness" of its songs) provide the strongest evidence for these ancient courtship practices:

The Zhen and the Wei are at full-flow, hey!
Men and ladies are holding thoroughwort, hey!
A lady says, "Shall we have a look?"
A man answers, "I've already gone."
"Then let us go again,

Beyond the Wei, it is truly open and delightful."
These men and ladies, how they play,
The peonies are exchanged.

Shi jing no. 95 (first stanza)[19]

This song may have been sung at a spring festival. It is clearly a description of courtship at such a festival. The following song is an example of a lyric that may actually have been exchanged at a festival. It is easy to imagine a girl singing this song to a boy on the other side of a stream:

Think tenderly of me,
And I will lift my skirt and cross the Zhen;
But if you do not think of me,
Are there no other men?

Think tenderly of me,
And I will lift my skirt and cross the Wei;
But if you do not think of me,
Are there no other men?

Shi jing no. 87

The lyrics cited above are important because they depict the type of occasion during which courtship songs may have been sung. As evidence for the actual practice of

courtship singing, however, their value is limited. The difficulty of using the evidence of the Shi jing is that while it provides us with lyrics, it tells us little about concrete circumstances or how the songs were sung. Whether or not the examples cited above were actual courtship songs in the strict sense of the term is difficult to say for certain. Because of these inherent limitations, Granet was sometimes forced to speculate beyond what the evidence would bear, and this is one of the major weaknesses of his study. Arthur Waley, while acknowledging the importance of Granet's work, feels that Granet explained too many of the Shi jing songs as connected with the festivals of courtship.[20] Though one cannot but help admire the brilliance of his ideas and discoveries, at times one feels that his reconstruction of the songs and their past is too single-minded.

Aside from the limited evidence offered by the texts of the lyrics themselves, what clearly inspired Granet's ideas about the love songs in the Shi jing was the anthropological evidence offered by other later, better understood examples of courtship singing found in China and in other cultures. In his study, Granet cites a number of very striking and important accounts of courtship singing. Below I will quote a number of passages from these descriptions, as well as from a more recent book on festivals in China:

A particular custom deserving of mention is the uta-gaki "line of song," or kagai "alternate songs." Two groups gathered in the public square and drawn up facing each other, sang alternately; the choruses were punctuated with improvisations. One singer stepped forward and improvised a song to which a member of the opposite group extemporized a response in the same manner. The youths used this means of declaring their love or paying court to her whom they had chosen. She replied in song. (Japan)[21]

(The wedding) "ends in a grand feast and in joint songs executed alternately by maidens and youths; he who is found wanting when his turn comes to improvise his distich or quatrain is made to pay a forfeit." (Tibet)[22]

About the time of the new year the young men and the young women assemble in order to celebrate a festival similar to that among the Miao of Kuangsi, as recorded by M. Colquhoun, and described under the name of `Festival of youth among the Thos" by Dr. A. Billet, in his interesting study of the region about Cao-bang. Dressed in their finest clothes and wearing

jewels, the young folk of both sexes assemble at some agreed spot. The young men and women, holding hands and standing face to face in two rows, dance to the sound of the small drum and the lou-sen (pan-pipes). Each side having challenged the other, the couples consider themselves betrothed, subject to the approval of both families. (the Miao)[23]

The Song Festival (Ge Xu) is a literal translation of the Han name for this gala occasion. More informative, the original Zhuang name actually means "songs for singing in the fields."

As the name suggests, songs, mostly in the form of chorus and antiphony, dominate the three days of revelries. Participants usually improvise as they go along. Similar to Han folksongs, Zhuang songs are largely five- or seven-character quatrains.

The occasion takes place on the third day of the third moon in the Chinese traditional calendar among the Zhuang communities in Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region.[24]

I have quoted so extensively because these are actual

descriptions of courtship singing. These accounts are invaluable because they show the circumstances during which the songs were sung, and how the nature and character of the courtship songs are determined by these circumstances. We learn that they were usually sung on certain special public occasions; that they could be quite short---in the passages above, distiches and quatrains are mentioned; that they were orally improvised; and that they were sung as dialogues in a spirit of contest and play. Shi jing no. 139 seems to refer to the play-like repartee and singing that was characteristic of traditional courtship:

> The pond by the eastern gate
> Is good for steeping hemp.
> That beautiful Shu Chi
> Is good at capping songs.
>
> The pond by the eastern gate
> Is good for steeping cloth-grass.
> That beautiful Shu Chi
> Is good at capping proverbs.
>
> The pond by the eastern gate
> Is good for steeping rushes.
> That beautiful Shu Chi
> Is good at capping stories.[25]

Arthur Waley's version of this song has been quoted because of the way he has translated the last line of each stanza. For example, in the first stanza, wu ge 晤歌 ("capping songs") literally means, "to sing face to face." Waley's interpretation is an excellent one; it would appear to be a direct reference to the kind of song matching that we saw described in the various accounts above. But again, though Shi jing no. 139 seems to refer to courtship singing, there is not enough evidence to say that it is a courtship song. It is Shi jing no. 89 that provides us with an example of what most probably is a pair of matching courtship songs. The first stanza would be sung by a boy, with the girl answering in the second:

> At the pond near the eastern gate
> The madder grows on the banks;
> Your home is near,
> But your person is distant.
>
> By the chestnut trees near the eastern gate
> There are houses lined row upon row;
> How can you say I'm not thinking of you,
> It is you who have not come to me.

This duet is unique among the lyrics of the Shi jing. It

consists of two matching quatrains (in four-syllable meter) that were clearly to be sung as a kind of dialogue between boy and girl. They literally are the words of two people addressing one another. It is remarkable how closely this pair of songs corresponds to the picture of courtship singing we have received from the descriptions above. They are short, direct dialogues, and originally seem to have been improvised and exchanged in a spirit of play. One suspects that songs such as these may have been typical of the courtship songs sung in ancient China. Their apparent uniqueness may simply be due to the fact that other examples have not survived.

In the Shi jing we have seen evidence of courtship practices in ancient China and the role played by the exchange of songs in this tradition. Descriptions of this practice from other times and places have helped us to better understand the nature of these songs and how they were sung. The example of Shi jing no. 89 is especially important because it appears to be a clear example of a courtship duet which conforms closely to features that have been described of courtship songs in other cultures. Although Granet's explanation of the love songs of the Shi jing may, at times, have been exaggerated and too single-minded (though several songs describe courtship or courtship singing and may have been derived from this tradition, strictly speaking, it appears that there may be only one

clear example of a courtship duet that can be identified on the basis of its, form, voice and style), his discoveries and ideas were crucial in helping to illuminate important aspects of ancient Chinese society and culture as they were reflected in the lyrics of the Shi jing. Later scholars, following in Granet's path, have confirmed and expanded on his researches. Derk Bodde has studied the nature and history of the Lustration Festival (during the Han celebrated on the first si 巳 day of the third month, later shifted to the third day of the third month, hence it was referred to as "shangsi" 上巳 and "sanyue sanri" 三月三日), the spring festival that in ancient times was one of the most important occasions for the mating rites and courtship singing described by Granet.[26] Wolfram Eberhard has also done important work on this festival and courtship songs (Eberhard uses the term, "alternating songs").[27] Bodde's study of the Lustration Festival focuses upon the period of the Han dynasty. Eberhard's study is "ahistorical," and cites a wealth of material from both modern and early sources. His evidence is especially valuable because it demonstrates the long history of many of the customs and practices that Granet identified in the Shi jing. Above we saw that even today the Zhuang people of Guangxi still practice courtship singing during the third day of the third month (see above, p. 262).

Knowing that the festivals and customs associated with

traditional courtship continued to survive after the Zhou dynasty, we may ask if they may be linked in any way to the songs that flourished in the south during the Six Dynasties. May these songs, in fact, have originated in traditional courtship practices? The concrete evidence is slight and tenuous, but suggestive. Admittedly, there is little clear, direct evidence to tell us that the extant Southern Dynasties yuefu were the product of the kind of courtship rituals and festivals that have been described above. There are, for example, no obvious descriptions of or allusions to the festivals mentioned in the Shi jing. This absence of direct evidence is not surprising. The extant Wu and Western songs are primarily the products of cities and courts. As has been suggested, they are popular songs that probably represent the later stages of the development of a folk tradition. The songs in the Shi jing noted by Granet, as well as the courtship songs described in other accounts, are the products of traditional, essentially rural culture. The ancient spring festival, which Granet suggested was an important occasion and source of the Zhou period courtship songs, had, by the Six Dynasties, declined considerably in stature and significance:

> It is abundantly evident that after the Han---and quite probably already beginning in the Han as well---the Lustration Festival had lost most of

its religious connotations. (In the same way, but at some earlier undefined point, it had no doubt lost much of its sexual significance.) After the Han it more and more became simply an occasion for springtime picnicking and merrymaking either beside or on the water.[28]

One would not expect to find in a collection of popular lyrics from the Six Dynasties, songs that reflect ancient, traditional practices. Nevertheless, the festival continued to exist, if in different forms, and I suspect that several examples of the Southern Dynasties may have been composed on this occasion. We have some literary accounts of the Han celebration of a festival that has been identified as the autumnal counterpart of the spring Lustration festival.[29] I will quote from a description of this festival, Du Du's 杜篤 (d. A.D. 78) "Rhapsody on Purgation and Lustration" ("Fu xi fu" 祓禊賦); it may describe an occasion during which Southern Dynasties yuefu were composed:

From princes and princesses,
To wealthy merchants,
All are engaged in activities by the Yi and Luo,[30]
Their tents and canopies richly colored.
And then: Fine wines and rich meats,
Are laid out in abundance.[31]

Floating jujubes turn the waters red,[32]
Libations transform streams into wine.
And then there are the lovely ladies,
The beautiful attendants and lovely maids,
Kingfisher ornaments drape their heads,
From their ears glowing pearls dangle.
Their trains trailing,
They stand by the riverbanks,
A gentle breeze brushes the earth,
And their delicate silks lift and curl,
Wafting the fragrance of eupatorium and perilla,
These things excite a man's longings, they move his soul.
And then there are the hermits and the retired,
The great scholars and the learned literati,
Wearing high caps,
Trailing long gowns,
They sit on banks of sand,
Discuss the classics.
They chant the deeds of Yi and Lü,[33]
And sing of Yao and Shun.[34]

This description contrasts sharply with the ancient festivals portrayed by Granet. Essentially it portrays the festivities as they were celebrated by city dwellers, in particular, the wealthy and the upper class. It still,

however, seems to have furnished an opportunity for the sexes to parade and intermingle. Some of the Southern Dynasties yuefu may have been composed on such occasions. Not a few songs appear to have been composed during spring outings:

> I am wearing my gauze skirt and sleeves of pleated red,
> A jade hairpin and earrings of bright moon pearls;
> Through the spring dew I wander,
> Longingly searching for a man with whom I can share my heart.
>
> "Zi ye si shi ge, chun" 子夜四時歌,春 no. 9[35]

> In bright spring, in the second and third months,
> The plants and waters share one color;
> On a path I met a young man roaming,
> How I regret I did not know him sooner.
>
> "Meng Zhu" 孟珠 no. 5[36]

In fact, spring and love are often mentioned together in the Southern Dynasty yuefu. The first line of the second lyric cited above consists of one of the most common opening formulas found in these songs.[37] If the lyrics above or others like them were composed during spring festivals, festivals which we can assume were similar to the autumn festival (?) described above, then they might very well

represent later examples of a folk tradition that we have also seen reflected in the Shi jing.[38] This, of course, would provide us with a link to the courtship tradition. Unfortunately, we have no way of determining exactly when and under what circumstances these examples were composed, and we cannot press the point too far. When we look at the Southern Dynasties yuefu as a whole, we see that they were composed and performed on a variety of different occasions. There are, however, other types of evidence, in themselves slight, but which taken together clearly suggest a link to courtship traditions.

Although it appears that the spring Lustration festival had declined and lost much of its traditional significance by the Six Dynasties, it continued to survive in some form throughout Chinese history. We saw a later, Han version of the festival as celebrated by the upper class and the wealthy in Du Du's fu. Earlier in "Chapter III" we saw how it was celebrated by a group of fourth century literati at the Eupatorium Pavilion.[39] But though the festival was transformed in the upper-strata of society, one cannot conclude that the festival had undergone a similar transformation at the lower, folk level. As has been seen, vestiges of the traditional practices still survive today. Thus it is very possible that the Southern Dynasties yuefu drew upon old, folk traditions that were still very much alive during the Han and Six Dynasties. Though it is true

that many of the lyrics reflect a more sophisticated background and authorship, there are lyrics that seem to hint at older, more traditional origins. For example, a number of lyrics mentions singing, dancing and the playing of games during spring:

> In bright spring, in the second and third months,
> Together we tread on the hundred grasses and sprouts;[40]
> Meeting someone we stop and look,
> Then all raise their voices and shout "good!"
> "Jiangling yue" 江陵樂 no. 3[41]

> In bright spring, the hundred blossoms flower,
> I pick some to put before my hair;
> Curving my fingers I step to "Forget Sorrow,"[42]
> Together we spend the springtide of our lives.
> "Shicheng yue" 石城樂 no. 2[43]

> Everyone says that Yangzhou is delightful,
> And truly Yangzhou is delightful;
> As youths still in their horn-locks,[44]
> Sing and dance and pursue one another.
> "Yi yue" 翳樂 no. 3[45]

Although the exact occasions and circumstances these songs refer to are not clear, they are strongly reminiscent of the

accounts of courtship activities described by Granet and others. Though they do not necessarily refer directly to a spring Lustration festival, the combination of playing, singing and dancing, and spring does seem to based upon traditional courtship practices.

Aside from the spring festivals there are other occasions and activities that traditionally have been associated with courtship. Sericulture, in particular, the gathering of mulberry leaves, provided many opportunities for courtship. In fact, according to Eberhard, because of the proximity of the season, sericulture would become an element of the Lustration festival.[46] The Southern Dynasties yuefu include several lyrics that describe or allude to the raising of silkworms:

> In the spring months when we pick the mulberry,
> Then together we shall be beneath a grove;
> But if I am not able to raise enough silkworms,[47]
> How will you ever get a silk embroidered shirt?
>
> "Cai sang du" 採桑度 no. 5[48]

In the pages above I have pointed out direct, material evidence that suggests that the Southern Dynasties yuefu may have originated in courtship singing that was originally associated with spring festivals and other traditional occasions. Admittedly this type of evidence is slight, and

in itself not conclusive, but it is very suggestive. There are other types of evidence, however, and when we consider this evidence together with what has been cited above, the link to courtship singing is practically certain.

If we were simply given descriptions of courtship singing, for example, Granet's reconstruction and the various accounts that have been cited above, and then asked to try and imagine what the songs may actually have been like, we very likely would come up with songs that closely resemble the Southern Dynasties yuefu. Accounts of traditional courtship singing describe the brevity of the songs (distichs and quatrains are mentioned), the fact that they were exchanged back and forth between boy and girl, that they were improvised, and that they were sung in a playful manner. The most popular form among the Southern Dynasties yuefu is the quatrain, but one also finds couplets and three-line verses; many of the yuefu clearly were clearly sung as duets or dialogues between lovers---a number of pairs of lyrics can be identified; many of the songs must have been improvised, aside from their brevity, one can point to the many formulaic phrases that recur in the lyrics as well as to some contemporary accounts of singing; and the Southern Dynasties yuefu are characterized by their sense of play and wit (though often employed for serious purposes), and this approach and attitude towards verse is reflected in the technique and structure of their verse.

Thus the very character of the Southern Dynasties yuefu appears to reflect their origins in traditional courtship singing.

Though many of the Southern Dynasties yuefu are relatively sophisticated and refined in language and setting, there are also lyrics that are simpler and have a more folk-like quality. Such songs appear to be very close to the courtship tradition.

As the sun sets I go out the front gate,
I look and search, then see you pass;
Your look is enchanting, your hair is lovely,
A sweet fragrance fills the lane.

That sweet fragrance is the perfume not I,
"Enchanting looks" is a compliment I dare not accept;
But Heaven does not deny men their wishes,
And so has brought me to you.

"Zi ye ge" 子夜歌 no. 1 and 2[49]

This pair of lyrics is remarkably similar to the pair of quatrains we saw in Shi jing no. 89 (see above, pp. 264-65). They are not the words of a parting merchant or a woman of the court languishing in her boudoir. They are the songs of a boy and girl "talking." They meet outside at dusk, and proceed to play and flirt. He compliments her; she parries

and then counters, "But Heaven does not deny men their wishes,/ And so has brought me to you." She will not admit outright that she is fond of him---she says that it is Heaven's doing---but neither will she deny it. She leaves the boy hanging, which, of course, is part of the game. The ending is reminiscent of Shi jing no. 89, when after the boy complains of the girl's "distance," she simply replies that he hasn't come around, which again is a sort of ambiguous invitation.

The above "Zi ye ge" are important because they reflect what the Southern Dynasties yuefu may have been like at a simpler, earlier stage when they were closer to the courtship tradition, and had yet to be influenced by urban and court culture and transformed into popular songs. Like Shi jing no. 89, they exhibit many of the features that would seem to be characteristic of courtship songs at their most basic. They are simple, playful little dialogues in which a bantering wit is more important than any elegance or prettiness. There are other examples of Southern Dynasties yuefu that talk of courtship, but this pair is the clearest example we have of actual matching courtship style pieces. They are important clues to the origins of the genre. In their directness, simplicity and conversational tone, they contrast strongly with some of the more sophisticated yuefu which often are the songs of more urbane lovers for whom marriage does not seem to have been the ultimate goal. Many

of the Southern Dynasties yuefu were probably composed by sing-song girls and palace ladies. Their passion and desire, the reflection and lyricism that one hears in their songs, and the sophistication of their art seem worlds apart from the simple, innocent banter of these two "Zi ye ge."

It is clear that the traditions of courtship singing must have played a fundamental role in the origins of the Southern Dynasty yuefu. I do not want to leave the impression, however, that it was the only element involved in the make up of popular songs of the Six Dynasties. There is actually a greater variety of lyrics to be found among the Wu and Western songs than is usually thought. The following lyric, for example, may be a simple boatman's song:

> From Jiangling to Yangzhou,
> It's three thousand three hundred li;
> We've gone one thousand three hundred li,
> Still two thousand left to go.
>
> "Aonong ge" 懊儂歌 no. 3[50]

Other Southern dynasties yuefu consist of adaptations of other earlier lyrics and poems. "Nü er zi" 女兒子 no. 1 (a seven-syllable couplet) is a version of the famous fisherman's song, "Badong Sanxia ge" 巴東三峽歌 .[51] "Zi ye si shi ge, dong ge" 子夜四時歌, 冬歌 no. 14

consists of two couplets taken from the first of Zuo Si's 左思 (ca. 250-ca. 305) "Seeking Reclusion" poems ("Zhao yin" 招隱).[52] In addition, one can also see a variety of developments within the Southern Dynasties yuefu as they penetrated the upper levels of society. For example, there are a number of examples of lyrics that consist of political eulogies (to be discussed in the following chapter). It is clear that a number of different elements eventually came together to make up the Southern Dynasties yuefu. Liu Dajie 劉達傑 has even gone so far as to suggest that our view of the Southern yuefu has been distorted by upper class taste and selection, and that there originally must have been a greater variety of songs than now survives.[53] There may be some truth to Liu Dajie's statement when we consider the state of Six Dynasties folk and popular song as a whole. No doubt many songs failed to survive because they were not included in the yuefu repertory. But in the particular local traditions of the Wu and Western songs, love songs must have always been predominant since, as I have tried to show, they almost certainly originated in courtship traditions. That the Wu and Western songs eventually came to include other types of songs was a later development. As these songs became more popular they absorbed other traditions and expanded into new areas of development. The music to these songs must have been the crucial unifying factor in these later developments. The music of the Wu and

Western songs was what was new and fashionable, and there was probably a desire to fit lyrics from different and older traditions to this music. Although this music originally must have been associated with a certain type of tradition and lyric, it could easily absorb lyrics from other different sources, though of course it would have to modify the shape of these lyrics for them to fit the new music.

Many of the distinct features and characteristics of the Southern Dynasties yuefu are best explained as having originated from a courtship singing tradition. A love song may, after all, take any number of different forms and styles. The qualities of the Southern yuefu, however, are very consistent and show striking parallels with the descriptions of courtship singing we have seen above. Why these songs continued so consistently to adhere to the models first defined by the courtship tradition is a complicated question. Again, music must have played a role in determining the forms and meters. To a degree, the songs must have simply been following the successful patterns and formulas established by tradition. It has also been noted that the courtship tradition was probably still very much alive during the Six Dynasties, and no doubt continued to have some influence on the Southern Dynasties yuefu. But it should also be pointed out that the conditions and environment that first shaped the form and character of the courtship songs were, in a sense, repeated, albeit in

different forms, during the Six Dynasties. The courtship song tradition originated as the songs exchanged by boys and girls looking for mates; the Southern Dynasties yuefu, in large part, were the songs that were exchanged between lovers. The participants, settings, and occasions may have been different, the feelings more sophisticated, but the courtesan or palace lady singing her song to a lover was playing the same sort of game with the same sort of devices as her ancient, folk counterparts.

Music was the most important form of entertainment in traditional China. Singing and the composing of verses, in certain circles, was a favorite activity between the sexes, having a place somewhat akin to dancing in the West. One assumes that this practice may have evolved from ancient traditional courtship singing. We have a number of accounts of such singing and verse composition from even the highest levels of society from various periods in history. In the "Zhao hun" 招魂 , one of the summons poems in the Chu ci 楚辭 , a shaman attempts to summon the soul of a Chu king with the following description of a party:

> Men and women now sit together, mingling freely without distinction;
> Hat-strings and fastenings come untied: the revel turns to wild disorder.
> The singing girls of Zheng and Wei come to take their

places among the guests;
But the dancers of the Whirling Chu find favour over all the others....
...Day and night are swallowed up in continuous merriment of wine.
Bright candles of orchid-perfumed fat burn in stands of delicate tracery.
The guests compose snatches to express their thoughts as the orchid fragrance steals over them;
And those with some object of their affections lovingly tell their verses to each other.[54]

A more intimate account of the place of music and singing in the relations between men and women is described in the "Meiren fu" 美人賦 ("Rhapsody On a Beautiful Women"), a piece traditionally attributed to Sima Xiangru 司馬相如 (179-117 B.C.).[55] In this piece the author relates an encounter with a mysterious girl on a winter evening:

She prepared excellent wine and took out a lute. I struck the strings and played the tunes `Dark Orchid' (Yu-lan) and `White Snow' (Po-hsüeh). The girl sang the song:
All alone in the bedroom, it seems unbearably lonely,
Thinking of a handsome man, my emotions hurt me.

Why did this charming person tarry in coming?
Time runs out fast, the flower will wither---
I entrust my body to you, for eternal love.
She stuck one of her hairpins in the hair under my cap, her silk sleeves brushed past my robe. Then the sun was setting in the west, and darkness filled the room with its shadows.[56]

There are several descriptions in the Southern Dynasties yuefu of the singing that took place between lovers:

A charcoal brazier drives away the cold of the night,
Upon the covers we sit in each other's arms;
Face to face, upon a flowered bed,
Strumming and singing, we hold a fragrant candle.
"Zi ye si shi ge, dong" 子夜四時歌,冬 no. 8[57]

When you played the "Shang sheng" song,
You tightened the bridge, and the song turned sad;
Like the rush of the autumn wind
It hit and tore my heart.
"Shang sheng ge" 上聲歌 no. 2[58]

The air is clear, the moon is bright,
Together we amuse ourselves into the night;

You sing songs of lovely intention,
And I too pour forth delicious lines.
"Zi ye ge" no. 31[59]

A number of the extant Southern Dynasties yuefu (in particular, the Wu songs) are matched pairs, clearly intended to be sung as duets. A modern scholar has suggested that far more of the Wu songs are halves of duets than the extant corpus would indicate, and that many of the original pairings have been lost in the process of collection and transmission.[60] It was suggested above that these duets originated in traditional courtship singing; it is now clear that the tradition of alternating songs continued because singing remained a popular activity between the sexes at various levels of society. Not a few of the extent Southern Dynasties yuefu are direct products of the singing of lovers. The songs themselves mention this singing, but we also have a few contemporary descriptions of how these songs were sung. Most of these accounts are of the performance of the songs among the upper classes as entertainment:

Whenever Houzhu 後主 (Chen Houzhu 陳後主, the last emperor of the Chen dynasty, [r. 583-587]) summoned guests for parties with the Honored Consort Zhang 張貴妃 and others, he would have the various Worthy Ladies (guiren 貴人) and Lady

> Scholars (nüxueshi 女學士) together with his favored guests (xiake 狎客), compose and recite new poems that they would exchange with each other. The especially beautiful verses would be selected, made into tunes and then set to music. Thousands of the most beautiful court ladies would be picked to rehearse and perform these pieces which they sung in groups, one coming after the other. This is how they amused themselves. The tunes included, "Yushu houting hua" 玉樹後庭花 and "Lin chun yue" 臨春樂 among others.[61]

This is a very late account of how popular songs were sung in the court. Though the song titles mentioned are not original Wu or Western song titles, they do appear to represent late offshoots from the Wu song tradition. "Yushu houting hua" was composed by Chen Houzhu, and was included among the Wu songs in the Yuefu shi ji.[62] Though the lyrics produced on such occasions may not be true love songs sung between lovers, we see that the tradition of verse exchanged between male and female was still an important part of these songs.[63]

Aside from brief descriptions in a few lyrics, reliable, detailed accounts of how lovers may have ordinarily sung these songs is scarce. Of course, one would not expect such accounts to have been included in the

dynastic histories. One interesting, if somewhat dubious contemporary source of information about how these songs may have been sung are zhiguai 志怪 type stories:

> Yang Chounu 楊醜奴 of Henan 河南 (a commandery that included part of the territory of the modern province; also the name of a xian 縣 near present day Luoyang) once went to Lake Zhang'an 章安湖 (in present day Zhejiang) to pick rushes. It was getting dark when he spotted a young girl. Her clothes were not especially clean, but she was very pretty. She was in boat loaded with water mallow, and came toward Chounu.[64] Her home was at the end of the lake. Since it was almost dark and she couldn't make it back she decided stop for the night. She borrowed some utensils from Chounu for her meal. He noticed that her plate was filled with dried fish and raw vegetables. After they finished eating they joked around and laughed. When Chounu sang a song teasing her, she sang in reply:
>
> My home is at the end of Western Lake,
> The sun went down, the light of day faded;
> I took refuge with a fine gentleman,
> Little did I know he would ease my fears.
>
> They soon extinguished the fire and together they

> went to bed. Chounu became aware of a sort of gamey odor; he also noticed that her fingers were extremely short, and began to suspect she was a demon (mei 魅). The creature, able to read the thoughts of men, suddenly went out the door, changed into an otter, and rushed straight for the water.[65]

It should be noted that traditionally the gathering of water-plants was a popular occasion for courtship. In the Southern Dynasties yuefu, lotus (lian 蓮) are often mentioned. For example, five of the twenty extant "Zi ye si shi ge, xia ge" 子夜四時歌,夏歌 mention lotus or the gathering of lotus. In large part this is due to the fact that lian 蓮 (lotus) was a pun for lian 憐 (love) and ou 藕 (lotus root) was a pun for ou 偶 (match, pair). But it also reflects the traditional association of lotus gathering with courtship.[66]

There are many other stories from the Six Dynasties about love affairs between men and spirits that describe the place of singing in the affair. There are also several instances of ghosts singing known Southern yuefu titles such as "Zi ye ge" and "Aonong ge."[67] Such stories show how popular such songs were during this period. They are also evidence of how these songs may have actually been sung between lovers. Though they are zhiguai stories, the

descriptions they provide correspond to what we know of courtship singing and singing between lovers from other sources, including the Southern Dynasties yuefu themselves.

Rise and Development

In this section we will be examining the paths by which the Wu and Western songs evolved from local popular songs to their eventual entry into the world of the literati. It is the literati, of course, who would complete the transformation of these lyrics into true literary verse, but a tremendous amount of activity took place before the literati fully embraced these lyrics. During the Six Dynasties the Southern Dynasties yuefu would become immensely popular at every level of society. It is important to understand the different steps and levels through which the Southern yuefu would progress. The various stages and environments would each leave their own mark on the Southern yuefu and eventually on the jueju. In the Southern yuefu we see a wonderful blend of elements that would help define the jueju, and that goes very far in explaining its unique voice and appeal.

Many modern critics in their discussions of the Southern Dynasties yuefu have commented on the narrow focus of these songs. They will contrast the Southern yuefu,

which are mostly love songs, to Han yuefu or the yuefu of the Northern Dynasties which have a greater variety of content. Yet within their "narrow" sphere there is a striking range of verse to be found within the Southern yuefu. When we look at the technique and art of these lyrics as well as at the nature and qualities of the emotions that are expressed, we can see a considerable range of sophistication. Some lyrics are plain and direct, even primitive; others are considerably more refined and have clearly been influenced by literary verse. Contrast, for example, the following two lyrics:

Azi oh Azi,
I'm thinking of your fine looks;
You've got "style" like few others in this world,
A loveliness that no one else can match.
"Azi ge" 阿子歌 no. 1[68]

Spring breezes move a spring heart,
Roaming eyes take in the hills and groves;
Hills and groves full of lovely colors,
And springtime birds pouring out clear notes.
"Zi ye si shi ge, chun" no. 1[69]

The first lyric consists of straight, artless statements. The opening line is especially interesting.

The pattern it uses of repeating a name was a common formula in ditties and children's rhymes. For example, a third century children's rhyme opens with the line, "Atong oh Atong" (Atong fu Atong 阿童復阿童).[70] Several examples of ditty-like Northern Dynasties yuefu open with the line "Langye oh Langye" (Langye fu Langye 琅琊復琅琊). In these songs the opening couplets appear to be little more than nonsense couplets very similar to "Roses are red,/ Violets are blue."[71] Clearly the pattern of repeating a name was favored for its rhythmic, jingle-like effects. The appearance of this pattern in the Southern Dynasty yuefu shows that these songs drew upon very primitive sources. In fact there are several instances in which the preface to a title actually tells us that the song originated in a folk song or children's rhyme.[72]

The second lyric is the product of a very different world. Although it is rooted in the Southern yuefu tradition, the celebration of spring is as much a nature poem as a love poem. The influence of current literary developments is clearly visible. During the Eastern Jin landscape or nature poetry began to take major steps in its development, and I think we can see echoes of this tradition in this lyric. For example, the second line of this piece is reminiscent of several lines in the nature poems composed during the gathering at the Eupatorium Pavilion. In the latter poems there are several instances in which the poets

refer to the eyes and sight and their role as the medium for the enjoyment and understanding of nature. Compare the first two couplets of Xie Wan's 謝萬 (320-361) four-syllable poem:

> My gaze wanders about the towering slopes,
> My eyes pass over the lofty forests,
> Green creepers cover the mountain caves,[73]
> Tall bamboo crown the peaks.[74]

Nature will often appear in the Southern Dynasties yuefu, but ordinarily it remains part of the backdrop or setting. In the yuefu lyric cited above we see the landscape elements coming to the forefront and what should have been central elements---the actions and emotions of love---receding to the background. Such a development is important evidence for the evolution of the Southern Dynasties yuefu and the jueju. We see the popular tradition beginning to mature and advance as it absorbs the influence of literary verse. Although this piece retains the simplicity and freshness of the popular lyric tradition, its style is more refined and subtle than most other yuefu. One can detect a blend of elements working harmoniously. Thus while one sees true lyric style diction in the musical repetition of words and sounds ("spring" is repeated twice in the first line; the last phrase of the second line, "hills and groves," opens

the third line), the lyric ends with a parallel descriptive couplet, a clear indicator of literary influence. One would guess that this piece must have been composed by a someone in the upper class, or at least in the position to directly receive the influence of current literary developments. A description of how lyrics were composed in the court during the Chen dynasty was quoted above (pp. 283-284); perhaps this lyric was composed in a similar setting. We should also remember that this lyric is a spring poem. It is possible that it may have been composed during a spring outing during the Lustration festival, and that the strong nature elements are the result of the influence of the current literati verse that was composed on this occasion (as seen in the Eupatorium Pavilion verse, for example).

The two lyrics above were cited as examples of the wide range of development and sophistication to be found within the Southern Dynasties <u>yuefu</u>. One can find traces of links to primitive rhymes and ditties as well as evidence of the influence of current literary trends. This should not be at all surprising. We must remember that the extant lyrics date from a period over two hundred years in length, and that the early origins and tradition of these songs go back much further in time. Moreover, these songs eventually became popular at every level of society. The varying levels of sophistication of these songs thus represent different stages of development that are linked to both

chronology and social strata. In general, we can assume that the songs grew more refined and sophisticated and changed in style as time progressed and they moved up through various social levels. However, one must be careful about concluding that these two processes were exactly parallel. Folk and simpler popular traditions must have flourished throughout the Six Dynasties period and probably continued to play a part in the Southern Dynasties yuefu even as they were growing more sophisticated and entered the worlds of the aristocracy and literati. It is difficult to trace precisely the steps of this development. The vast majority of surviving lyrics are anonymous, popular works. The crucial data---dates and authorship of the individual lyrics---are lacking. And as has been suggested, levels of sophistication may not necessarily be indicative of chronological development. For example, the most sophisticated group of Southern yuefu, the "Zi ye si shi ge" 子夜四時歌 , are Wu songs, songs which as a whole flourished earlier than the Western songs. The most likely explanation for this is that since the Wu songs were a local tradition that arose in the environs of Jiankang, the capital of the Southern Dynasties, they received the stimulation and influence of the most advanced court and literati culture. But despite the problems of authorship and chronology, there is relative wealth of other types of evidence, and we can form a rough, but fairly reliable

picture of the evolution of these songs.

Although the Southern Dynasties yuefu reached the height of their popularity during the middle and late periods of the Six Dynasties, there is evidence of a tradition of indigenous popular music flourishing in the area of Wu long before this time. As early as the period of the Three Kingdoms the fame of the southern songs had even spread to the north. After Sun Hao 孫皓, the ruler of Wu 吳 (r. 264-271), surrendered to Emperor Wu of the Jin 晉武帝 (r. 265-290), he was asked to sing an er ru ge 儂汝歌 ('you your' song):

> "I hear that you southerners are fond of making up 'er ru' songs could you sing one for us?" Sun Hao was just in the middle of drinking; he raised his goblet, and toasted the emperor saying:
>
> Once I was your (ru 汝) neighbor,
> Now I am your (ru) minister;
> To you (ru) I raise this glass of wine,
> May you (ru) live 10,000 years.
>
> The emperor regretted his request.[75]

What exactly an 'er ru' song refers to is not clear. It is not a title that occurs in the Wu or Western songs, but it appears to refer to love or courtship songs in the Southern Dynasties tradition.[76] Er and ru are informal, intimate

third person pronouns that one would ordinarily not use to address an emperor. One could use them to address one's lover, and ru occasionally appears in the Southern yuefu. Thus the term 'er ru' song may simply be a way of referring to the popular love songs of the south. This should explain the emperor's "regret". He was embarrassed by the improvised quatrain with which Sun Hao addressed him as he would a lover. Perhaps a genuine song would have opened with a couplet something like, "Once I was your neighbor,/ Now I am your wife." To wish the emperor long life was, of course, a common gesture for a minister or official, but one also sees it occurring in love verse in which a woman addresses her lover or mate.[77] Sun Hao's song clearly appears to be part of the tradition that would eventually develop into the Southern Dynasties yuefu. It is an improvised five-syllable quatrain that originally, at least, was meant to be sung directly to one's lover. The style of the verse is plain and direct, and not yet very lyrical much less literary. This suggests that though the southern song tradition had progressed from the earliest folk traditions and was known in the north, it still had yet to develop into the more refined, mature lyrical style that we see in the Southern Dynasties.

There are several other early indications of the popularity of the southern song tradition. Fu Xuan 傅玄 (217-278) mentioned the fame of the singers of Wu:

> Neither the extraordinary skills of Bo Ya 伯牙 , nor the wondrous sounds of the singing girls of Wu could add anything when Zhang Zou 張奏 strummed his zither or Hao Su 郝素 plucked his zheng 箏 (a type of zither).[78]

One of the surviving lyrics to the "Aonong ge" 懊儂歌 , a Wu song title, has been attributed to the Western Jin figure, Shi Chong 石崇 (249-300) or one of his favorite concubines, Lüzhu 綠珠 (Green Pearl, a female entertainer known for her flute playing [d. 300]). The Yuefu shi ji preface to this title is very interesting:

> The Gujin yuelu 古今樂錄 says, "Of the "Aonong ge," only the piece "The silk cloth is rough and difficult to sew" is by Shi Chong and Lüzhu of the Jin. Later pieces were all folk corruptions and ditties (minjian e yao 民間訛謠) from the beginning of the Longan 隆安 period (397-402). Emperor Shao of the Song 宋少帝 (r. 423-424) then created thirty-six new pieces. Taizu 太祖 of the Song (Emperor Wen 文帝 [r. 424-454]) referred to it as the "Zhongchao qu" 中朝曲 ("Song of the Central Dynasty").[79] In the eleventh year of the Liang reign period Tianjian

天監 (A.D.512), Emperor Wu 武帝 (r. 502-550) ordered Fayun 法雲 (467-529) to change it into the "Xiangsi qu" 相思曲 ("Love Song")."[80]

The attribution in the Yuefu shi ji version of the Gujin yuelu is ambiguous. Wang Yunxi has pointed out that the text is corrupt, and that earlier citations of the passage clearly state that the lyric mentioned was composed by Shi Chong for Lüzhu.[81] The lyric mentioned (it is the first lyric recorded under the "Aonong ge" title in the Yuefu shi ji) thus appears to be the earliest extant example of a Southern Dynasty yuefu. Although the attribution of the lyric to Shi Chong has been questioned (presumably because it seems very early), Wang Yunxi has convincingly argued that it was very likely to have been composed by Shi Chong. He points out that the "Zhongchao" 中朝 of the secondary title of this tune is a term that was used to refer to the Western Jin and thus the tune appears to go back to this period; that Shi Chong during his career served in regions close to the south and thus had opportunities to be exposed to the southern songs (in addition, we have already seen that the southern songs were known in the north); and that a place name mentioned in the lyric, Mengjin 孟津 (a ford in Henan located south of modern Meng 孟 county) was situated in the north.[82] That Shi Chong composed a lyric to a southern style tune is extremely

striking and important. Again it is early evidence of the popularity of this tradition even in the north. Just as important, it is a very early example of an upper class, literati figure composing in a popular song style. The lyric itself is puzzling:

> The silk cloth is rough and difficult to sew,
> My fingers have all been worn down;
> In a little calf cart drawn by a yellow ox,
> We roam and play out from Mengjin.
>
> "Aonong ge" no. 1[83]

The sense of the lyric is not clear. It is difficult to see how the two couplets fit together, and I wonder if the piece may be corrupt. Nevertheless, the style of the lyric is very interesting. One sees definite links to the mature Southern Dynasties yuefu, but there also are some unfamiliar features. Zhu Ziqing has suggested that the first line consists of a series of puns in which "Si bu se nan feng" 絲布澀難縫 stands for "Si fu shi nan feng 思夫實難逢 ("I think of my man, how hard it is to meet him").[84] Punning is one of the most characteristic features of the Southern Dynasties yuefu. Thus, at first glance this line would seem typical of a Southern Dynasties lyric. However, the punning that is found in these songs ordinarily adheres to certain patterns and formulae, and one

tends to see the same puns repeated again and again. Most of the puns found in Shi Chong's lyric are not typical of Southern Dynasties yuefu.[85] Moreover, the length and elaborateness of the punning is very unusual (four out of five of the characters consist of puns), and in fact is reminiscent of Han punning as seen in "Ancient jueju" no. 1. In this respect Shi Chong's lyric seems to both contrast with and share similarities with later Southern lyrics. On the other hand, the third line of the lyric "Huang niu xi du che" 黃牛細犢車 is very similar to the third line of "Yangpaner" 楊叛兒 no. 4 (a Western song), "Huang niu xi du er" 黃牛細犢兒("A yellow ox and a little calf"), and this points to a direct link to later Southern yuefu.[86] This mix of elements fits with what we have been told about the authorship and rough dates of the lyric. The lyric appears to represent a stage of development of the Southern yuefu that is more advanced than that of Sun Hao's song, but that had still yet to mature into the typical style seen in the later Six Dynasties pieces.

That Shi Chong, an upper class literatus should compose a popular lyric at such an early stage is very striking. As we will see, initially there was much resistance among the literati to these songs. It was not until the fifth century that we begin to see them beginning to win some acceptance at this level of society, and the literati composing lyrics in this style. Shi Chong's lyric was certainly exceptional;

and can probably be explained by the nature of the man. Shi Chong, of course, is a figure famous for his wealth and profligacy. The Shishuo xinyu is filled with incredible stories and anecdotes about him, and he is known to have owned many female slaves and concubines. Such women were important conduits of popular music and culture, and must have been one of primary media by which the Southern Dynasties yuefu gained popularity at even the highest levels of society. As we have seen, Lüzhu was a concubine and musician, and Shi Chong's lyric was composed for her.[87] No doubt he had heard her sing many similar songs. Shi Chong's lyric is in a pure popular style. He has not attempted to adapt it to literati taste and purpose or refine the language. His wealth and his lifestyle let him accept and acknowledge popular songs for what they were. Shi Chong was an exceptional figure for his time, but in his composition of this lyric we can detect patterns and processes that must have been repeated throughout the Six Dynasties, and that are crucial in helping us to understand the rise of the Southern Dynasties yuefu.

Other information provided by the preface to the "Aonong ge" is also very instructive. We are told that during the Eastern Jin the "Aonong ge" was made up of folk lyrics; that by the Song an emperor was composing a series of new lyrics to this tune; and that during the Liang dynasty an emperor had ordered a well known Buddhist figure

to revise the song.[88] This preface is by no means unusual. There are several similar accounts of other songs. In these individual descriptions one can trace the steps by which these songs evolved and advanced. They serve to provide a history of the Southern Dynasties yuefu in miniature.

Although the local southern songs had achieved a degree of fame and popularity as early as the Three Kingdoms period, they did not begin to fully flourish until the Eastern Jin. The Yuefu shi ji specifically mentions that the Wu songs began to increase and develop during the Eastern Jin and after, when the capital was moved to the south.[89] It is clear that the shift of the capital and all that this meant was a crucial event in the advance of the Southern Dynasties yuefu. Without this shift the songs would, no doubt, have remained a minor local tradition and eventually been forgotten.

The defeat of the Jin in the north at the beginning of the fourth century and the consequent retreat to the south where the new capital was established at Jiankang was one of the landmark events in Chinese history. The cultural, political and economic center of China was suddenly uprooted from its traditional site in the north and situated in the south, a region that up to this time was "foreign" and backward. The move would have important consequences on the development of Chinese culture. The local southern songs were strongly effected and stimulated by these events. The

economy in the south would develop, and the wealth and prosperity that resulted provided the economic conditions necessary for the flourishing of the Southern Dynasties yuefu. Many of the songs are products of the urban, commercial culture that developed in the south. Modern scholars have often noted that the Western songs in particular often reflect the bustle of trade and travel that took place on the waterways of this region.[90] One of the Western songs is actually titled "Merchants Song" ("Guke yue" 估客樂). According to its preface, the "Sanzhou ge" 三洲歌(also a Western song) was created by traders.[91] Not a few songs mirror the lives and thoughts of the merchants and minor officials (or rather their women, who, more often than not, were not their wives) who continually went back and forth along the various rivers, especially the Yangzi:

I heard your were going down to Yangzhou,
And I went with you as far as Jiangjin Bend;[92]
I wished that the oars and poles would break,
That the boat would turn and bring you back.

If the pole should break we'd find another,
If the oar should snap we'd have it fixed;
We are, after all, officials,
How could I turn round and come back?

"Nahe tan" 那呵灘 no. 4 and 5[93]

But the most important result of the move south for the Southern Dynasties yuefu was the meeting of the local popular song tradition with the high culture that had now been transferred south. The court played a crucial role in the promotion of these songs, and eventually even the literati would come to accept them. The local songs could not help but be shaped by these new influences, and the aristocracy and literati in turn were strongly impressed by these songs. They offered a new form, themes and voices that eventually would be transformed into the jueju.

The primary reason for the popularity of the Southern yuefu and the route by which they gained entry into upper society lay in their function as entertainment. We have mentioned how important music and singing were as entertainment in traditional China. During the Six Dynasties the Southern Dynasties yuefu became the most fashionable and popular type of music at every level of society. By the beginning of the Six Dynasties the old Han and Wei yuefu were old and passe. They had blossomed and been transformed into literary verse. What was left were old songs that were no longer contemporary, that no longer entertained and fewer and fewer people listened to. The songs that once had been known as the "new music" (xinsheng 新聲) had become traditional "refined music" (yasheng 雅聲). The decline of the old yuefu was made final with the

transfer of the capital to Jianye in the south. The local southern songs would soon develop, become the new "new music," and fill the vacuum left by the old yuefu.[94]

There are a number of accounts of the popularity of music and dancing during this period and the important place they had in life at various levels of society:

> In villages of a hundred households, in any town with a marketplace, everywhere you would meet with a profusion of singing and dancing. This was the Song during its heyday.[95]

> During the days of Yongming (483-494), for a period of about ten years, the common people were not alarmed by the sound of cocks crowing or dogs barking. Cities and towns flourished and gentlemen and ladies lived lives of prosperity and ease. Amidst peach blossoms and green waters, beneath autumn moons and among spring breezes, there were sounds of singing and dancing and the sight of richly colored clothing and beautiful make-up. The crowds would number in the hundreds.[96]

In courts, palaces, and the homes of the wealthy, the aristocracy and the nobility promoted and patronized the new

popular music by keeping large stables of singing girls (jì 妓) and frequenting the entertainment houses:

> Emperors would make gifts of jì 妓 to those in their favour. The bureaucrats followed the fashion of keeping jì and became decadent. Princes, generals and ministers kept as many singing girls as their chambers would accommodate. Rich merchants and enterprising traders owned hoards of dancing girls. They bragged to each other of their possessions, and competed for the girls with all the possible avidity. Prohibitory laws were to no avail. This was what corrupted public morals.[97]

Emperor Wu of the Liang 梁武帝 (r. 502-550), attempting to console a favorite minister, presented him singing girls who specialized in the Wu and Western songs:

> At the end of the Putong 普通 reign period (520-527), Emperor Wu personally selected a group of Wu song performers and a group of Western song performers from the rear palace, all of whom were young and beautiful, and presented them to Xu Mian 許勉 (fl. early 6th century). Because of this he became very fond of music and wine.[98]

By the Liang dynasty, even private individuals were known to have kept singing girls and concubines numbering in the hundreds.[99]

Women, the most important performers of these songs, played a major role as conduits of the popular song tradition. Singing girls came from the lower rungs of society, in fact, in status they often were little more than slaves.[100] As women and as entertainers, however, they had entry to the highest levels of society and brought their art that was rooted in folk and popular traditions with them. It was through them that the popular and high traditions were able to meet, and that we get the blend of elements that were to shape and define many of the most advanced examples of the Southern yuefu. A singing girl who was attached to the court or part of a wealthy noble's household was bound to modify and refine her art in response to the new environment and the influence of upper class patrons and their culture. The nobility and literati in turn, impressed by the art of the singing girl, would imitate her lyrics and eventually adopt them for their own literary purposes.

The results of this mixture of low and high elements is visible in a number of lyrics. In these lyrics one can find the direct feeling and freshness of a folk or popular song, but also a refinement and a sharpness that shows an awareness of the art of words. We have already examined one

such example that shows the influence of the nature poetry that was being developed during this period by the literati poets (see above, pp. 288-91). The Wu songs are especially rich in these more sophisticated pieces that show the fusing together of the popular and literary tradition at its best:

> The heat is at its height, still, not a puff of breeze,
> Summer clouds now rise with evening's slow approach;
> Together, hand-in-hand, under leaves dense and dark,
> Beside floating melons and cooling crimson pears.
>
> "Zi ye si shi ge, xia" 夏 no. 9[101]

This lyric is about love, but we are long way from the banter of courtship. Nothing is directly stated. The composer of this lyric was content to evoke a scene. The extraordinarily rich, sensual imagery captures an individual moment and its mood, and this is enough. The composer's approach to the lyric is far more subtle and refined than what we have seen before. The very conception of what a lyric can be has greatly evolved; there is a faith in the craft of words and the effects of pure description.[102]

The most sophisticated and advanced lyrics to be found among the Southern yuefu are the group of lyrics to the "Zi ye si shi ge" (the piece discussed immediately above, the piece fashioned out of one of Zuo Si's poems, and the piece showing the influence of landscape verse [see above, p. 288]

all were sung to this title). Altogether there are seventy-five lyrics set to the four different categories of tunes (divided according to the seasons). It is largely due to these pieces that the style and quality of the Wu song lyrics have often been contrasted to that of the Western songs:

> Though the distinctions in style are apt to be quite fine, it could be said that the Hsi-ch'ü tend to be a bit more straightforward in their diction and a little less apt to draw upon complex figurative language than the Wu-sheng, which may simply indicate that the latter, closely associated with the capital area, were subject to a greater degree of literary reworking than the more provincial songs.[103]

These overall impressions are generally correct, but they need to be explained and qualified. We must remember that there is range of levels and styles to be found in both the Wu and Western songs. In each group, however, there do seem to be lyrics that reflect their specific environs. The Western songs are often singled out as reflecting the lives of the merchants who traveled the Yangzi. The Wu songs, flourishing primarily in the regions surrounding the capital, in some examples at least, show the influence of

the court and the upper classes in the refinement and sophistication of their style. The "Zi ye si shi ge" in particular seem to be products of courts and or wealthy, aristocratic homes. The settings that are reflected in these pieces, as well as the literary influences upon their style and language make this clear. It has been speculated that these songs have been reworked:

> ...because of what critics feel to be a somewhat more ornate and less natural style, they are usually considered to be the product of extensive literary editing.[104]

As we have seen there are valid reasons for such opinions; however, I do not feel that this is a necessary conclusion. Again, we need to keep in mind the process of intermixing that was taking place between popular and high culture and the crucial role that women played as intermediaries.[105] Although the majority of Southern yuefu lyrics are anonymous, I think we can assume that many of them were composed by singing girls and courtesans (and occasionally by the men who were the objects of their affections). Much of the range of sophistication that we see in their songs must be a direct reflection of their specific environment and its influences. The style and qualities of the "Zi ye si shi ge" are probably best explained as the product of

talented singing girls, professional musicians and concubines who were inspired and influenced by the high culture that they were exposed to in courts and wealthy households. I do not deny that there may have been some editing of the Southern Dynasties yuefu. In fact, we know of one clear instance of a Buddhist modifying the lyrics to a Western song.[106] But the essential qualities and character of the "Zi ye si shi ge" cannot be fully explained as the result of literary reworking. One reason I feel so certain about this is that when we look to examples of Southern yuefu by the nobility and the literati, one does not find the kind of verse we have seen in the "Zi ye si shi ge." In some cases the lyrics will be strictly imitative and preserve a more traditional, folksy quality. In other cases one can see the influence of gongti 宮體 verse (palace style verse) in which the author will often describe a singing girl, rather than sing of his own feelings. There also are other developments, but I do not know of any cases in which a literatus or aristocrat has attained the qualities that we have seen in the "Zi ye si shi ge." Thus it is difficult for me to imagine that they had any direct, major role in the composition of these particular songs.

Up until now I have been speaking of the upper classes---the nobility and the literati---as a single entity. However, when it comes to the roles that these two groups played in the development of the Southern Dynasties yuefu

this may be a bit misleading, and they should be distinguished. This is not to say that there is an absolute division to be made between these two classes. But in many cases, and especially during the early periods, the Southern Dynasties yuefu were often received differently by the two classes. The nobility, on the whole, were more receptive to them. They were among the major patrons and promoters of the new music. The literati, on the other hand, tended to be more conservative, and much of the initial resistance to the Southern yuefu came from this class. The literati were Confucians, guardians of tradition, the class responsible for governing. It was only natural that the more conservative among them would criticize the "licentious" new music:

> Daozi (Sima Daozi 司馬道子, Prince of Kuaiji 會稽王 [364-402]) once gathered together the court officials, and set out wine in the Eastern Offices. The Director of the Imperial Secretariat, Xie Shi 謝石 (327-388) got drunk and started singing an "alley song" (wei xiang zhi ge 委巷之歌). Wang Gong 王恭 (c. 398), his demeanor severe, said, "You occupy the important position of Director of the Secretariat, and you are gathered here in the residence of a Prince, yet you let forth with these lascivious songs (yin

sheng 淫聲). What kind of example is this for the commoners!"[107]

The term "alley song" should refer to the Southern Dynasties yuefu.[108] Shen Yue 沈約 (441-513), one of the most important literary figures of his day, specifically criticized the lyrics of the Western Songs as "lewd, sensual and improper" (yin wa bu dianzheng 淫哇不典正).[109] Tang Huixiu 湯惠休 (n.d. Song), a pioneering poet known for his yuefu verse and quatrains was criticized by his contemporary, Yan Yanzhi 顏延之 (384-456), one of the most famous poets of the day:

> Yan Yanzhi always belittled Tang Huixiu's verse. He would tell people, "Huixiu's compositions are no more than songs and ditties from the alleys (wei xiang zhong ge yao 委巷中歌謠). They are sure to lead the young generation astray."[110]

Such attitudes were very common throughout much of the Six Dynasties.[111] Nevertheless, one does not want to exaggerate the resistance of the literati to these songs. A number of them had no hesitation about enjoying and composing these songs, but it would take a while before the literati would fully embrace them as their own and compose lyrics and verse in their style. And there would always

remain some degree of feeling that these songs and the verse that they inspired were not proper literature. Xu Ling 徐陵 (507-583) would include an entire chapter of quatrains including Wu and Western songs in his anthology of love poems, the Yutai xinyong, but Xiao Tong 蕭統 (501-531) in his more orthodox anthology, the Wen xuan, ignored such verse. Xiao Tong's conservatism and sense of propriety are reflected in the following incident:

> Once while they were boating on the rear pond, Gui the Marquis of Panyu (in Guangdong) 番禺侯軌 (d. 556) exclaimed that this would be a perfect occasion for singing girls to perform. The Crown Prince did not answer, but chanted a couplet from Zuo Si's "Zhao yin shi" 招隱詩, "What need is their for strings and winds,/ Hills and waters have their own clear sounds." The Marquis was embarrassed, and desisted. In the over twenty years since leaving the palace Xiao Tong never kept singers and musicians.[112] When he was young the emperor granted him a troupe of imperial singers, but he showed no fondness for them at all.[113]

Xiao Tong's behavior and attitudes were noted because they were remarkable and exceptional. Most of the nobility

seem to have had few reservations about singing girls and their songs. In fact it was their enthusiasm and patronage that was largely responsible for the flourishing of the Southern yuefu. The tastes of the nobility during the Six Dynasties were tremendously influential. Through their courts and salons they dictated literary taste and fashions, and if they enjoyed popular songs so would the rest of society. We have already seen one instance of an Emperor encouraging his court ladies and courtiers to exchange verse which he would then have set to modern, popular music (see above, pp. 283-84). There are several factors we should keep in mind when we consider the nobility's enthusiasm for these songs. To begin with, it is important to realize that during the Six Dynasties the nobility did not consist of a stable, traditional, hereditary aristocracy with a strong, conservative sense of values. The Six Dynasties was a period notorious for its political struggles and rapid shifts of power. Emperors and princes often struggled up from relatively humble strata of society. They were not from the great aristocratic clans that were so prominent during much of this period.[114] These men brought their humbler tastes to the court, and in them the Southern yuefu found an enthusiastic audience unencumbered by traditional Confucian ideals and values and literati prejudices. Another important factor in explaining the patronage of the nobility is simply the nature of their position and its

life-style. Their privilege, wealth and power provided them many opportunities to enjoy women and music, and indulge in a luxurious, decadent life-style.

Not only were the nobility an important audience for the Southern yuefu, they soon began to adapt and compose their own song titles and lyrics. They are said to have had roles in the composition of a number of the extant Wu and Western song titles:

> It is said in Gujin yuelu: "'Xiangyang yue' was created by Liu Dan 劉誕 (433-459), the Prince of Sui 隋王, in the Song dynasty. Liu Dan in his early career was once the governor of the Xiangyang commandery (of which the capital is the modern Xiangyang, Hubei). In the twenty-sixth year of Yuanjia (449), he was made military governor of Yongzhou 雍州刺史 (of which Xiangyang was the capital). Once at night, he heard some girls singing. Thereupon he made this song.[115]

The exact nature of the "authorship" of the songs is often not very clear. Ordinarily it appears to refer to the creation of the tunes, but even then it is not clear if they are simply recording and adapting songs that they have heard rather than actually composing them. There are only a few

cases in which it appears that the earliest extant lyrics may have come from the "composers" of the tunes. Whatever the case may be, there are a number of other similar accounts of song titles that mention the roles of emperors and princes in their composition and development. In the preface to the "Aonong ge" we are told that Emperor Shao of the Song 宋少帝 (r. 423-424) composed thirty-six new pieces for this tune, and that Emperor Wen of the Song 文帝 (r. 424-454) and Emperor Wu of the Liang 武帝 (r. 502-550) also had roles in the later development of this song (see above, p. 295-96). Liu Yiqing 劉義慶 (403-444), the Prince of Linchuan 臨川王 , was said to have created "Wu ye ti" 烏夜啼 .[116]

Emperor Wu of Qi 齊武帝 (440-493) provides a classic example of the role the nobility played in the rise of these songs. He is credited with creating the Western song, "Guke yue" 估客樂 :

> Thus it is said in the Gujin yuelu, "Guke yue is the creation of the Qi Emperor Wu 武帝 (440-493). When he was still a commoner, the emperor once travelled to Fan and Deng. After he had come to the throne, he reminisced on the past and made this song. He then ordered Liu Yao 劉瑤 , the Prefect of the Music Bureau, to arrange it for playing on strings and winds. But this was not

> successful. Then he was told of a Buddhist monk Baoyue 寶月 (fl. 480), who was very proficient in music. So he asked this monk to arrange the song for performance. In ten days' time, the song was at last played harmoniously. The Emperor then gave orders to the singers that they should always repeat the words "gan yi" 常重為感憶之聲. The song is still in circulation in the present day. Baoyue later submitted two more lyrics to the Emperor.[117]

Emperor Wu's fondness for popular songs is well documented:

> Emperor Wu of Qi once visited Fenghuolou 烽火樓 with his ministers and princes. The building was at Shitou 石頭 (in Nanjing). There he asked the Prince of Changsha 長沙王, Xiao Huang 蕭晃, to sing him the songs of Ziye 子夜. At the end of each song, he was so moved that he hit the couch with a ruyi 如意 sceptre (which was made of rhinoceros horn), till it broke into pieces. That day he broke several scepters.[118]

In Emperor Wu we see an example of a Six Dynasties emperor who loved the popular songs of the south, was knowledgeable about music, and composed his own songs in

this style.[119] "Guke yue" appears to have originated with Emperor Wu (although he did receive help arranging the music), and he actually appears to be the author of the first lyric to the title. It is an important piece because it is an early example of the songs beginning to evolve from the limitations of their traditional tone and subject matter:

> Once I was on service to Fan and Deng,
> When I was blocked by the tides at Meigen Islet;
> Moved by my memories as I pursue the past,
> Thoughts fill my mind but the words won't come.[120]

It is a striking work, unusual for its time. It is not a southern style love song or an imitation of a love song (as Baoyue's pieces to this title are). Instead, Emperor Wu has used a popular song to compose a very personal and lyrical poem. It is a daring and advanced work that an ordinary literati poet would not have attempted. Although Emperor Wu's verse is a bit rough and clumsy, it almost seems to work in the lyric's favor. The large gap between the two couplets is very abrupt, but it is strangely effective. Emperor Wu first mentions an event from the past then describes his feelings as he recalls it, but does not attempt to explain the connection between the event and his feelings. The effect is almost as if we have the opening

and closing of a poem with the middle omitted. So much is left unsaid and to be imagined. Eventually this will become one of the basic aesthetic principles of the jueju. Though one wonders if in this case it was by design or if Emperor Wu stumbled on to it, hampered by the limits of length.

Although it is a bit awkward, it is a fine poem. Emperor Wu has used the song-style lyric to express strong, open emotions with a directness and simplicity impossible in literary verse. It is in a piece such as this that we can see the upper-class beginning to realize the potential of the quatrain lyric for poetry and adapting it for their own purposes. This, of course, was the next crucial step in the development of the jueju.

Although it is not until the fifth century that we find well known literati poets paying serious attention to the Southern yuefu, there are several examples of famous figures composing southern style lyrics prior to this time. Shi Chong (249-300) may have composed the earliest extant lyric to the "Aonong ge" (see above, pp. 295-99). Sun Chuo 孫綽 (314-371) is the supposed author of two "Biyu ge" 碧玉歌.[121] Wang Xianzhi 王獻之 (344-386) is said to have composed the "Taoye ge" 桃葉歌 for a favorite concubine, Taoye 桃葉 (Peach Leaf).[122] There is a set of lyrics under the title "Tuanshan ge" 團扇歌 that are said to be her reply.[123] It is true that these attributions are all very uncertain, but the consistency of the accounts of authorship

and the qualities of the lyrics are interesting. We see well known literati figures composing lyrics for or to favorite concubines. The lyrics themselves are in a simple, popular style; one does not see any attempts to refine them or adapt them to a more personal or literary style. One of the lyrics attributed to Wang Xianzhi is an interesting example:

> Peach Leaf oh Peach Leaf,
> Peach Leaf joined with a peach tree root;
> Together in love, each delighted,
> Only you can make me feel this way.[124]

In the opening lines we see the pattern of repeating a name, a common formula in folk and popular rhymes and songs (see above, pp. 288-89). The lyrics attributed to Shi Chong, and Sun Chuo are not any more sophisticated. If these pieces are by literati, one can see they do not view them as poetry. They are simply imitating the popular style, no doubt following the example of the songs that their concubines and singing girls had sung. Thus, although there may be occasional examples of literati poets composing southern style quatrain lyrics during the fourth century, they are rare, and were not used for serious literary, personal verse.

There may be an exception to this general observation.

The Yuefu shi ji contains a lyric attributed to Xie Shang 謝尚 (308-357) entitled "Da dao qu" 大道曲. Although it is not included among the Wu or Western songs, it is clearly linked to the southern lyric tradition. The source of this song was the Yuefu guangti 樂府廣題 (by Shen Jian 沈建 [Tang]), which also describes the circumstances of its composition:

> When Xie Shang was serving as General Governing the West, he once put on a purple silk jacket, then reclining on a foreign-style sofa, he played his lute (pipa 琵琶) in the middle of the market at the top of the Foguo Gate Tower 佛國門樓.[125] He performed the "Da dao qu." The people of the market were unaware that it was a great minister who was playing.
>
> In verdant spring, in the second and third months,
> The willows are green, the peach blossoms red;
> I do not recognize the horses and carriages,
> My song floats down into the yellow dust.[126]

Though the source and attribution are late, the lyric may very well be by Xie Shang. Xie Shang was considered a prodigy when he was young, and was known as a gifted musician and dancer.[127] One might not expect an ordinary

literatus to be practiced in these songs at this early stage, but for a talented musician interested in the arts it would have been very natural. The style and content of the lyric are also very striking and suggestive. The opening couplet is similar to that of a Southern yuefu. We have seen that beginning a lyric with the announcement of spring was a common formula in the Southern yuefu (see pp. 270, 272). Xie Shang's opening lines are clearly based on this motif. His line, "Qing yang er san yue" 青陽二三月 is almost identical with a line that occurs a number of times in the popular songs, "Yang chun er san yue" 陽春二三月. However, with the second couplet, he breaks from the traditional content. Like Emperor Wen, Xie Shang's song is a personal, reflective lyric. In this lyric we see a direct link to the popular southern song tradition, but we also see this tradition adopted by a literatus to express what were new and different thoughts and feelings for this genre.

Xie Shang's lyric was an exceptional work by an exceptional figure. Even if other early pieces by well known literati are genuine, they are clearly imitative and show little awareness of the potential of the form and style of the Southern yuefu. Xie Shang's piece, on the other hand, is a very fine early example of the meeting of the popular and high tradition. Perhaps it took gifted and receptive minds such as his to make the first breakthroughs. Like the more advanced anonymous Southern yuefu and Emperor

Wen's "Guke yue," it reveals the potential of the quatrain and hints at future developments and maturity. History has given us much concrete evidence of the rise of the Southern yuefu from its folk origins to the upper strata of society, but even without this evidence we could guess at this process from the nature of the changes and advances within the lyrics themselves.

Art, Technique and Influence

Modern scholars have carefully studied various aspects of the art and style of the Southern Dynasties yuefu. Their use of punning, formulas, imagery, and their language and diction have been the subject of much attention.[128] In this section I will not attempt to describe all of the different features that characterize the verse of these songs, but will focus only on those aspects that proved crucial in the future development of the songs as they evolved into the jueju. Punning, for example, is one of the most famous characteristics of the Southern yuefu. As the songs matured into literary poetry however, this device was abandoned (unless, of course, the poet was deliberately imitating the folk song style). It was not a significant factor in the rise of the jueju, and will only be treated in so far as it may help explain the structure of the Southern yuefu and

jueju. The form and structure of the Southern yuefu will be a primary focus of this section. Clearly this is one of the most important and visible links between these songs and the jueju. Just as important perhaps is what may roughly be called the "voice" of the Southern yuefu. Individual forms or genres have distinct "voices." They are difficult to define exactly, but they are the result of a combination of elements---tone, attitude, diction, style, degree of formality---that come to typify a genre. In its own way the range of "voices" that characterizes the Southern yuefu was just as crucial to the makeup of the jueju as its form. In this section I will try to define and analyze this aspect of these songs.

In addition to the elements of form and structure and poetic voice, the influence of the Southern Dynasties yuefu upon the jueju can be seen in the areas of themes and occasions. The traditions and parameters that were first established by these songs continued to shape the quatrain long after it had matured into a literary genre. In order to understand the ways in which the jueju was used as a genre----why, for example, it is employed for certain topics, or on certain occasions---it is often necessary to identify early traditions and precedents that were first set by the Southern Dynasties yuefu. For example, during the Tang the jueju was often used to compose "boudoir-sentiments" (guiqing 閨情) verse. It was also an

extremely popular genre for parting poems. These uses can clearly be traced back to traditions that were first established by the Southern yuefu. Examining the formation and evolution of the individual traditions of the various topics and occasions is a difficult but important task in the study of the jueju. Rather than attempt to survey the problem in this section, individual aspects of this question will be treated separately in later chapters as we encounter the traditions developing.

In their search for the origins of the jueju, scholars have often noted the crucial role played by the Southern Dynasties yuefu. It is in these popular songs that we first see the quatrain form used extensively, and from them we can directly trace the development of the quatrain into the jueju. As has been earlier discussed however, the term quatrain in its most basic sense simply refers to a unit of verse of four lines, and these four lines can take any number of shapes. In the jueju, however, we find a distinct type of structure used consistently. Traditional critics have recognized and described this structure in their analysis of the functions of the individual lines of the jueju and their stress upon the importance of the "turn" that takes place in the third line of the jueju. Although this traditional analysis cannot be taken as absolute formula or law---individual poems will follow this pattern to greater and lesser degrees, and at times may even

deliberately break from it---as a general description it works very well. I have referred to the quatrain found in the jueju as the jueju-type quatrain, but have also pointed out that this type of quatrain is not a prescribed literary form, rather it is a natural, organic type of pattern that can also be seen in the simplest of rhymes, ditties and riddles. It is a very lively structure; a perfect vehicle for the exercise of wit, and is especially favored when one wants to make a sharp point be it critical or amusing. Children use it to tease other children. Riddles are often cast in this form.

The question arises of how this very simple and basic type of quatrain became the basis for one of the most important and popular of poetic genres. And herein lies the true significance of the role of the Southern Dynasties yuefu in the rise of the jueju. What is important is not so much that these songs employed the quatrain form, but the type of quatrain they used and the way they were able to develop its potential. They took what had originally been a simple, primitive pattern and showed that it could be turned into true verse. We have seen a few earlier examples of the quatrain form used for more mature lyrics, for example, the "Ancient jueju" and several works that were composed in the Chu song tradition, but these are isolated examples. It was in the Southern Dynasties yuefu that the art and potential of the jueju-type quatrain was first explored and developed

in a significant way. It was largely because of the achievements of these songs that the quatrain could be taken seriously as a form and evolve into the jueju.

The key to understanding why the Southern yuefu were able to develop the quatrain into such an important form lies in the nature of these songs. That is why we have devoted so much attention to tracing their origins and their history. These songs began as dialogues, as exchanges that were a part of the courtship process between boys and girls. The jueju-type quatrain was the perfect vehicle for their flirtations. It was short, easily improvised, and could carry a point. The exercise of wit, the banter, and the play that went on between lovers could best be cast in this form. In "Zi ye ge" no. 1 and 2, we saw an example of a courtship exchange in its simplest and most innocent form (see above, p. 275). But love and the other emotions that accompany it take many other different forms and moods. In these songs one also finds jealousy, passion, despair, loneliness, and disappointment. It would be the deep and often painful emotions of the lover that would drive the singers to explore the potential of what had been a simple form as they looked for ways to best express their emotions:

The yellow creeper flourishes thick and tangled,
As it grows along the banks of Luo Creek;

But as its blossoms fall they will follow the
the currents,
Could they ever return upstream?
And even if they should return, they will never be new
and fresh again.

The yellow creeper grows in wild profusion,
Who could ever cut its roots;
I would rather cut off the milk from my child,
Than be cut off from the tenderness you have shown to
me.

"Qianxi ge" 前溪歌 no. 6 and 7[129]

Two lovers are breaking up. The exact situation is not clear, but it appears as if the girl has been unwillingly married off by her family, and will soon be going away.[130] Her lover has acquiesced to the situation and in his song he has depicted her leaving with the image of the flowers of the wild creeper (the image of the twining, clinging creeper was commonly used to invoke love and lovers) drifting downstream, unable to return. Even if she could return she would no longer be the same person. The girl, however, protests. In her first couplet she takes up the metaphor used by her lover, but she contradicts him. Her love is as strong as ever and cannot be cut off. In the second half of her quatrain she searches for a way to express the strength

and depth of her feeling to her lover. In her third line she comes up with an image as striking and startling as can be found in Chinese poetry. One can read it over and over again and still marvel at and be chilled by the violence, frankness and daring of her expression. In pure terms of technique her third line is a perfect example of the "turn" that critics of the jueju have stressed again and again as the crux of the juejù. The shift from the first couplet is sudden, and decisive; it has introduced a new world that is striking, for a moment puzzling, and that waits to be resolved. With the fourth line she "explains" her image and ties the four lines together.

As one reads through the Southern yuefu similar patterns of structure appear again and again. Sometimes we literally sense ourselves being "set-up," and we begin waiting for the "punch-lines" that will explain images that are deliberately intended to startle and puzzle the listener. No doubt the development of this approach to verse arose out of a desire to plead, arouse and move one's lover. One only had a few lines; it was often necessary to speak as strongly and directly as possible. Another impressive example of this approach was seen in a piece that was discussed in an earlier chapter; it opened with the line "Incise the shoulder, drink the pure blood" (see above, p. 103).

One of the most famous features of the Southern

Dynasties yuefu (the Wu songs in particular) is their use of puns. I will not attempt to describe all the aspects of this art. For our study what is most interesting is how the technique of punning as used by the singers of the Southern yuefu reveals their understanding and use of the structure of the jueju-type quatrain. Traditional critics from as early as the Tang dynasty have noted and analyzed the particular style of punning that is found in these songs:

> What Emperor Jianwen of the Liang 梁簡文帝 calls fengren 風人 ([verse of the] folksong makers?) are called Wu songs (Wu ge 吳歌) by Jiang Zong 江總 (519-594) of the Chen. Their words consist entirely of the intimate feelings of the boudoir (weibo 帷薄, literally, "within the curtains"). The first line will make a statement, then the next line will explain and thus complete it. An example of this can be seen in the lines:
>
> Playing chess I burn and destroy the jacket,
> I make a move, it's still as it was before.
>
> Wu Jing 吳兢 (670-749)[121]

> In the fengren 風人 [style] the first line will make a statement then the second line will explain its significance. Songs such as the old "Ziye ge" and "Duqu ge" 讀曲歌 (a Wu song title) often

make use of this style.

Yan Yu 嚴羽 (fl. 1265)[132]

The punning in the couplet cited by Wu Jing is relatively elaborate. The implied, inner meaning is something like:

> You have not showed up for our meeting. I will burn and destroy the jacket (she is making for him?). Yet still I think of you as the clothes are burning (her love burns as ever).

"Playing chess" (weiqi 圍棋) is a pun for "fail to show up for a meeting" (wei qi 違期). "Move a chess piece" (zhu zi 著子) can also mean "think of you." "As it was before" (gu yi ran 故依然) is a pun for "old clothes burning" (gu yi ran 故衣然). The image of chess playing often occurs in the Southern yuefu. It was a game that men and women played together, and the singers saw in chess an image of the battle and play between the sexes.[133] Moreover, the word for chess could be used as a pun for "meeting."

The example that Wu Jing has cited is far more elaborate than the usual style of punning found in the Southern yuefu, though the puns themselves are similar to those found in these songs. Wang Yunxi suggests that the couplet cited was not taken from a genuine yuefu, but may

have come from a later yuefu-style piece by Emperor Jianwen of the Liang.[134] Below is a more typical example of Wu song punning:

> At first I wanted to get to know you,
> I wished our hearts could be as one;
> Feeding silk onto a broken loom---
> Little did I know it would not turn to cloth.
>
> "Zi ye ge" no. 7[135]

"Silk" (si 絲) is a pun for "love" (si 思); "Cloth" (pi 匹), literally, "a bolt of cloth") also means "match." The girl is saying that though she was in love it did not work out and they were not able to make a pair.

The structure of the punning and the way it fits into the quatrain form is very revealing. The first couplet is a straightforward statement. The second couplet contains the pun. The singer opens with a puzzling, enigmatic image, which is then explained by the concluding line. As the traditional critics have described, the punning usually consists of two lines. In most cases these two lines will make up the second half of the quatrain. We see then that the technique of punning has been adapted to fit the natural structure of the jueju-type quatrain with its stress upon the striking turn at the third line and the resolution in the fourth line. According to Wang Yunxi this type of

punning in which the second line of couplet explains the first line was not perfected until the Six Dynasties.[136] The rise of this type of pattern would seem to have largely been the result of adapting punning to the structure of the jueju-type quatrain.

The term fengren is usually thought to refer to the particular type of punning found in the Southern yuefu. Wu Jing, the earliest critic to discuss this term, illustrated it with an example of punning. However, it is not clear if it is restricted only to punning. Hong Mai 洪邁 (1123-1202), for example, discussing the use of figurative language (yinyu 引喻) in yuefu verse, describes it in terms very similar to that found in the descriptions of fengren:

> During the Qi and Liang dynasties when poets composed yuefu such as the "Zi ye si shi ge," they would always use bi and xing figures (bi xing yinyu 比興引喻) in the first lines, then in the following lines they would use concrete words to substantiate them.[137]

Although Hong Mai's description does not appear to be limited to punning, almost all his examples involve punning (in a few cases I am not sure).[138] Whatever the case may be, it is clear that singers of the Southern dynasty yuefu

consistently used patterns of expression that reflect their keen awareness of the structure of the quatrain and its potential. They "played" with this structure, explored its possibilities, and their efforts and techniques were recognized by poets and critics as early as the Six Dynasties and Tang.

In the few pages above we have looked at some of the techniques and patterns of composition that were developed in response to the inherent nature of the quatrain form. Much more effort could be devoted to this subject. Moreover, one could approach the analysis of the structure of the _jueju_-type quatrain from a variety of angles. For example, we have tended to emphasize the importance of the turn at the third line, but one could argue that the conclusion which acts as a sort of "punch-line" is just as important. And, in fact, there are lyrics in which it appears that the last line has been given a greater weight and force. As I have discussed earlier, however, the phenomenon itself remains consistent. Though the critic or poet may give an extra emphasis to the third or fourth line, the two lines are basically two parts of a single idea or conception, and the one was conceived with the other in mind (see above, pp. 105-109). But however one may look at the structures and patterns of composition to be found in the Southern Dynasties _yuefu_, it is obvious that they were passed on to the _jueju_ where they were refined and became

the basis of the art of this literary genre. For example, Stephen Owen, in his analysis of the different types of poetic closure in Tang poetry notes that for the quatrain there were two main ways to close a poem.[139] The later and eventually dominant style is described as the "open-ended, suggestive variety." It often used a single image or descriptive image to close the quatrain. The earlier type of closing relied upon the witty twist, and gave the quatrain an epigrammatic flavor. For the Tang jueju one of the direct antecedents for this style of closing were quatrains in the court-style that was so dominant during the late Six Dynasties and early Tang. But it is also clear that the court-style quatrains were directly influenced by the Southern Dynasties yuefu (in many cases, court-style quatrains were actually upper class off-shoots of the popular songs), and that their witty endings were very much inspired by the type of patterns and structures that have been described above. In the Southern yuefu the last line often served as a sort of "punch-line," just as it had in early ditties and riddles, and as it would continue to do in many jueju.

Up until now I have been concentrating on some of the more visible aspects of the art and technique of the Southern yuefu. By examining the use of puns, startling images, "punch-lines," and witty endings, we can best see the structure of the quatrain and how it was utilized by the

singers of these songs. In many lyrics, however, the tone is quieter and more refined; the technique far more subtle. As the songs developed, styles and modes evolved that differed from the initial bantering, flirting style that characterized these lyrics when they were courtship songs exchanged between boys and girls. In some pieces one can find a more poetic, lyrical approach to verse. The songs no longer sound as if they are directly addressed to a lover; rather they have turned inward, are more reflective, and thus do not need to be so "loud."

> The light of day has sunk and gone,
> Homing birds flit back and forth;
> Pacing I gaze at the drifting clouds,
> I linger and wait for your return.
>
> "Duqu ge" no.36[140]

Although this piece is in the traditional style---the girl is addressing her lover---one can sense important shifts in tone and approach. The singer has concentrated upon portraying the scene and conveying her personal mood. We focus upon her and her setting in a way that is rare for this type of verse. There is a unique sense of moment and individuality that is foreign to earlier and more obvious works.

The emergence of a lyric such as this was, I think, a

sort of natural progression given the historical developments and circumstances that took place during the Six Dynasties. With time, and as these songs progressed through the various levels of society, the verse matured. As we have seen there are a number of instances in which we can observe the Southern yuefu advancing as it received the influence and stimulus of upper-class, literary culture. But I do not want to be too "mechanistic" in my explanations. It is not a simple matter of adding up factor A and B to get C. One needs the poets, an individual with the sensitivity, gifts, and outlook to go beyond the limits of tradition and convention. One feels that such a person composed this lyric. She follows the natural structure of the quatrain in her composition, but there is a delicacy and sophistication in her verse that is unusual. The opening couplet is made up of two straightforward lines as is characteristic of the form, but in these lines there is an attention to setting, mood and description that is far more advanced than that of the typical popular song. The third line consists of a turn that is quieter and more subtle than that of many of the pieces we have examined. It does not clash with the opening couplet, in fact, it blends in with and continues the mood and tone, but the shift is unmistakable. Whereas the opening couplet had described nature and the outside world, the third line shifts the focus to herself, and this indirectly colors the opening

lines. The last line is a simple, direct, but effective statement that successfully draws together the other parts of the lyric and turns it into a whole. In the harmonious and balanced workings of this lyric, and in its more subtle, reflective tone, one can see hints of the future mature _jueju_.

Poets are limited and directed in what they can say and the ways they can say it by the forms, genres and traditions that are available to them. The rise of a new genre is an important event in a poetic tradition. It is like giving a poet a new voice. It opens up whole worlds for him to explore, worlds which he never would have entered without the guidance and direction of the genre. In the Southern Dynasties _yuefu_ we can see such a new voice beginning to develop and take shape. Although it would require a long period of development before the literati poets would fully accept and master this voice, we have seen that the interaction between the high and low traditions of culture began at a relatively early stage, and in fact was an important factor in shaping the Southern _yuefu_.

The importance of the rise of this genre becomes clear when we consider the historical setting and environment of its development. The _shi_ tradition of verse, the tradition that would dominate throughout the Six Dynasties and Tang, originated in the _yuefu_ of the Han dynasty. In its early stages, _shi_ poetry was still very much in debt to its

musical tradition. Topics, themes, language and diction all reflected a debt to the folk and popular song traditions that were inherited from the early yuefu. But since the early stages, the shi tradition had steadily advanced and grew increasingly more literary and less song-like in style. In concrete terms this tended to mean that poetry had become denser, allusive, and more technically sophisticated. Parallelism, in particular, was developed to great heights. These were all important and necessary developments, and there was a climax of sorts during the Song Dynasty in the great landscape verse of Xie Lingyun (385-433). During the Song dynasty the two most famous poets of the day were Xie Lingyun and Yan Yanzhi (384-456), a poet who wrote in a similar style. Their verse, which was characterized by its great length, difficulty, and technical sophistication, was the dominant style in the literati poetic tradition during this period. In Xie Lingyun's verse, in particular, the shi tradition had reached its most advanced stage yet. As the shi tradition progressed however, it also lost many of its earlier qualities. Simplicity, directness, a more natural lyricism were forgotten as poetry became more sophisticated and mannered. One of the great contributions of the Southern yuefu was that it showed that other types of verse were possible. It would offer an alternative to the current literary styles and trends, and help balance the extremes that had developed in the high literati tradition. The

Southern yuefu, in fact, began to flourish about the time that the great landscape tradition was reaching its peak during the Song. And although it would be a while before it and the verse that it inspired entered the literati tradition, we have seen examples as early as the Jin and Song dynasties of poets using Southern yuefu-style to compose personal lyrics.

I have spoken of the Southern yuefu as offering an alternative to literary verse, as providing a new voice for poets. I would like to briefly explain what this actually means. What essentially occurred is that the literati poets were able to adapt features of the Southern yuefu and incorporate them into their own tradition. For example, no verse had ever spoken as directly, had literally "talked," as had the Southern yuefu. These songs had, after all, originated as exchanges directly addressed between lovers. From the songs of these lovers literati poets would learn to speak openly and directly, to talk with their verse. The jueju would thus become one of the most intimate and informal of genres, a genre with which friends could casually address and converse with each other, in large part because this is what the singers of the Southern yuefu did with their songs. Bo Juyi 白居易 (772-846), in a famous letter to Yuan Zhen 元稹 (779-831), spoke about the place that poetry had in their friendship, and recalled an occasion when they exchanged "short regulated poems" (xiaolü

, a Tang term used to refer to jueju):

> For example, this year while we were on a spring outing (chun you 春遊) south of the city, you and I amused ourselves by reciting new love quatrains (xin yan xiaolü 新豔小律) while we rode on horseback. We didn't mix in any other poems. For twenty li, all the way from Huangzi Ridge 皇子陂 (south of Chang-an) until we returned to Zhaoguo Lane 昭國里 (where Bo Juyi lived), the two of us took turns chanting our songs without a break. Fan 樊 and Li 李 couldn't get a word in edgewise.[141]

For Chinese poets, friendship was a more important emotion and theme than love. It was natural for them to adopt the quatrain for occasions of intimacy and friendship. Remember also that one of the most famous series of jueju, Wang Wei's 王維 (701-761) "Wang River Collection" ("Wangchuan ji" 輞川集) began as quatrains exchanged between two friends (though friendship is not the actual subject of the poems). Incidently, the exchange of love songs between Yuan Zhen and Bo Juyi supports the hypothesis that was made earlier in this chapter that the Southern yuefu developed out of courtship rites that took place during the spring. Spring excursions and outings are frequently mentioned in the Wu

and Western Songs, and now we see Yuan Zhen and Bo Juyi composing their quatrains while on a spring outing, apparently in imitation of a traditional but still current custom. Moreover, it is likely that Fan and Li were singing girls who had accompanied the friends.[142]

One could say that through the quatrain poets learned to talk like lovers and singing girls; to compose verse in the voices that lovers used in their lyrics to each other and that singing girls used for their patrons and customers. In the songs of the singing girls poets found poetry that was simple, natural, and direct, but still capable of a wide range of styles, tones and emotions. These songs could be playful and witty; uninhibited and full of passion. At times the violence of their emotions is startling, but they could also be lyrical, tender and reflective. The styles and emotions found in these songs were not always directly adopted by literati poets; there was a tendency for the louder, more excessive aspects of these songs to be refined and toned down as they were adapted by the literati and fit into their own world. Nevertheless, one can trace many of the qualities that characterize the basic voice of the quatrains and jueju of the literati back to their origins in the Southern yuefu. Though in some cases the links may be more direct and obvious than others, the influence is often strikingly clear. When in one of his quatrains Yu Xin 庾信 (513-581) talks of "shedding tears in a thousand streams" he

is speaking in a voice he learned from the singing girls and their lyrics. The uninhibited expression of emotion, the exaggeration and wild imagination of lovers and singing girls would also prove to be a crucial influence on Li Bo, one of the greatest poets in the Chinese tradition and the acknowledged master of the _jueju_:

> My white locks---three thousand yards!
> It is my sorrows that have made them so long;
> Into the bright mirror I gaze unknowing,
> From where did I get this autumn frost?
>
> "Qiupu ge" 秋浦歌 no. 15[143]

The influence of the Southern _yuefu_ upon Li Bo is well known. He wrote many pieces in _yuefu_ style or in styles directly descended from these songs. A poem such as the one above, however, is especially revealing because it is not directly modeled upon the typical popular love song or palace-style quatrain (_gongti_). Instead we see Li Bo speaking in a voice that ultimately goes back to that of the singers of the Southern Dynasties _yuefu_, but that he has used for his own personal verse. In this chapter we have seen a number of examples of the wild, exaggerated, uninhibited expression to be found in these songs. The singers (almost always women) would let their imaginations run free in their efforts to portray their love and impress

their lovers:

> My love, you want to gaze at lotus?[144]
> Then I will move a lake and set it in your room;
> Their blossoms will flourish around your bed,
> And in your sleep you may lay embracing their fruit.
>
> "Yangpaner" no. 5[145]

Li Bo was famous for his brilliant, uninhibited, verse. He ignored rules of decorum and the limitations of tradition, and astounded his fellow poets. To describe one's hair as three-thousand yards long would have been inconceivable to anyone but Li Bo. As one reads through the Southern Dynasties yuefu, however, one is struck by the degree to which he was in debt to these lyrics. It was not a matter of his imitating their style; rather they served as examples of the different approaches and voices one could assume in composing poetry. They showed Li Bo that one need not be confined to the styles and conventions established by the literati tradition, and that other kinds of poetry were possible when you spoke directly and out loud, and gave free rein to your passions, words and imagination. The voices of the singers and lovers in the Southern yuefu, the ways in which they sang and talked, helped Li Bo find his own voice (or rather, one of his voices). It was through their lyrics that he learned to talk in the "speech of an immortal."

The Northern Dynasties Yuefu

In juan 25 of the Yuefu shi ji there is a group of lyrics known as the "Liang gu jiao hengchui qu" 梁鼓角橫吹曲 ("Songs Accompanied By Drums, Horns, and Horizontal Flutes of the Liang"). The "Hengchui qu" have a history that goes back as far as the Han dynasty. They are said to have originated from foreign military music. This particular group of songs, however, was first gathered together by the Music Bureau (yuefu 樂府) of the Liang dynasty, hence their name.[146] Very little is known about these pieces. They consist of songs that originated in the north, but the processes by which they came south and how they came to be included in the Liang yuefu repertory are not clear.[147] Altogether there are over sixty lyrics set to over twenty song titles (only anonymous pieces have been counted). Like the Southern Dynasties yuefu, the Northern yuefu are very brief (the one exception is the famous ballad, "Mulan shi" 木蘭詩). There is a variety of meters and lengths, but the majority of lyrics are quatrains. Most of these quatrains are in the five-syllable meter, but there are a number of examples in four-syllable meter and even a few seven-syllable quatrains. The extensive use of the quatrain form in these songs is, of course, of great

interest to scholars of the *jueju*. It appears, however, that their role in the development of the *jueju* was a relatively minor and probably late phenomenon. One need only look to the *Yuefu shi ji* to find graphic evidence of the difference between the Northern and Southern *yuefu* in this respect. The compiler of the *Yuefu shi ji*, Guo Maoqian, included later literati "imitations" of the anonymous *yuefu* he had collected in his anthology. For example, in addition to the group of anonymous popular lyrics to the "Zi ye ge" and its variations, we also find a total of thirty-three lyrics by eight Six Dynasties and Tang poets ranging from Emperor Wu of the Liang to Li Bo. In contrast, for the entire category of "Liang gu jiao hengchui qu" songs there is a total of only nine lyrics by six poets. Of these lyrics only four where composed during the Six Dynasties (three by southern poets, one by a northern poet). The Northern Dynasties *yuefu* clearly did not have the kind of broad-based popularity and influence that was enjoyed by the Southern Dynasties *yuefu* during the Six Dynasties, and they would appear to have only had a minor role at best in the evolution of the *jueju* at this crucial formative stage. For this reason these songs will not be treated in the depth and detail with which the southern songs have been examined. In this section I will only briefly describe and characterize the Northern *yuefu* and attempt to explain why their influence remained comparatively minor.

As one reads through the lyrics to the Northern Dynasty yuefu one is struck by the many ways in which they sharply differ from the Southern yuefu. Although there are examples of poems that are somewhat similar in quality, in most respects they appear to be opposite sides of a coin. Critics are often fond of contrasting the two traditions, and say that the Northern and Southern yuefu faithfully reflect the different environments and peoples that produced them. In fact we know that a number of the Northern Dynasties yuefu were originally foreign songs that were sung by the various northern peoples who invaded and ruled northern China during this period. Their attitudes and concerns were very different than those of the Chinese living in the south, and it is reflected in their songs. The northern songs often sing of masculine concerns. They talk of war, bravery and being a man; subjects that are almost never found in the southern songs:

A new sword five feet long,
Hangs from a rafter in the middle of the room;
In a single day I caress it again and again,
It's better than a girl of fifteen.

"Langye wang geci" 琅琊王歌辭 no. 3[148]

Although there are also love songs to be found in Northern yuefu, on the whole they are different from those

found in the south. It is true that some pieces are somewhat similar to the simpler, more folk-like pieces in Southern yuefu, but one does not find the passionate, sophisticated lovers' songs that characterize the Wu and Western songs. In the northern songs, one usually feels that marriage and family are an ever present part of the background, whereas many of the southern songs were the products of singing girls, courtesans, and concubines. In the Northern yuefu there are several songs about marriage and family that have nothing to do with love at all:

> In front of the gate grows a jujube tree,
> It knows nothing of the years as they pass one by one;
> If a mother fails to marry off her daughter,
> How will she ever hold a grandchild?
>
> "Zhe yangliu zhi ge" 折楊柳枝歌 no. 2[149]

Spinsters or older women who married young men were favorite objects of the crude, vulgar humor that sometimes appears in this songs:

> Drive the sheep into the valley,
> Let the white ones go in front;[150]
> An old maid who will never marry,
> Stamps her feet and cries to Heaven.
>
> "Digu ge yue ci" 地驅歌樂辭 no. 2[151]

Spinsters, aging mothers and grandchildren never appear in the Southern yuefu. There was no place for them in the songs of young lovers.

As can be seen, the contents and themes of the northern and southern songs are very different. Moreover, the narrowness of content of the southern songs become glaring when they are placed next to the Northern yuefu which display far more variety. The northern songs, like the Southern yuefu, also include love songs, but they also treat many other themes. Aside from the examples that have been touched upon above, one also finds parting songs, drinking songs, and travel songs. One might expect that this variety and breadth of content would have had an important influence upon the development of the quatrain. It would seem to offer new directions for poets to explore and expand the range of the this form. This does not appear to have happened, or rather this influence was comparatively minor and came late. A number of traditional critics have noted the important role played by the Southern yuefu in the evolution of the jueju, but the Northern yuefu are never mentioned.

The minor role played by the Northern yuefu can be explained in a number of ways. To begin with, what has been described as the greater breadth and variety of the Northern yuefu might better be described as their mixed,

miscellaneous quality. This quality is just as much a sign of the primitivism of this tradition as it is of its strengths. I have no doubt that we could find a greater of variety of songs in the south than are contained in the Southern yuefu. The Southern yuefu, however, consist primarily of certain distinct local song traditions with individual characters and histories. These songs then became popular, and developed and evolved becoming evermore sophisticated and refined. The Northern yuefu, in contrast, often sound like a sort of grab-bag of songs and rhymes that were floating about in the north and happened to make their way south. They have a humble, folksy quality about them, and never fully succeeded in developing beyond a limited stage. A number of the lyrics are strongly reminiscent of Han style folk verse. In fact one group of lyrics ("Zi liuma ge ci" 紫騮馬歌辭 no. 3-6) actually consists of a well known Han yuefu, "Shiwu cong junzheng" 十五從軍征 , divided into four quatrains. The use of four-syllable meter is another indication of the simple, folk verse quality to be found in these songs.

The primitive style of the Northern yuefu is also reflected in their use of the quatrain form. Although they generally utilize the basic structure of the jueju type quatrain, one ordinarily does not see the refinement and exploration of the form that occurs in the Southern yuefu. There are a number of examples of quatrains that open with

"nonsense" couplets. We have seen one example of this type of opening in the "Diqu ge yue ci" translated above (see p. 347). As has been discussed in earlier chapters, "nonsense" couplets do not contribute any meaning to the lyric. They function primarily for their metrical and rhythmic value. The use of such openings is characteristic of the jueju-type quatrain at its most primitive, and is often seen in the rhymes and ditties of children. In fact, a number of the Northern yuefu probably originated in children's rhymes and songs.

Sometimes the Northern yuefu do not even use the regular quatrain structure, and it appears we are listening to some sort of chant:

> Front row look at the back row,
> Their breastplates evenly worn.
> Front section look at the back section,
> Their humou evenly worn.[152]
>
> "Qiyu ge ci" 企喻歌辭 no. 3[153]

This piece simply consists of two almost identical couplets that have been repeated. It appears to be some sort of martial song that was sung or chanted while marching.

It is striking that these two very different traditions should both rely so strongly on the quatrain form. Part of the explanation may lie in the fact that the extant northern

songs have passed through southern hands. As part of the repertory of the Liang yuefu they may have been edited and possibly even translated by southern musicians who were very familiar with the quatrain. However, it is clear that this could only serve as a partial explanation. We have seen the simple, even primitive folk quality that characterizes many of these songs. That they drew upon the most basic and fundamental of forms was only natural.

The Northern and Southern yuefu are the products of two very different worlds. Although they both relied heavily upon the quatrain form, there was a wide gap in the development of this form. The northern songs remained simple folk songs. The southern songs developed into popular songs and eventually became fundamental elements in several of the important literary movements that took place in the second half of the Six Dynasties. Clearly one of the most obvious and basic reasons for the two different histories of these traditions is their geographic location. The south was the cultural center of China during this period. It was only in the south that a folk tradition could be exposed to the forces and influences, and undergo the various processes that shaped and encouraged the development of the Southern Dynasties yuefu. But even when the northern songs made their way south, their initial impact appears to have been minimal. While they were included in the repertory of the Liang yuefu, there are only

a few instances in which it appears that they may have begun to develop beyond their humble origins, and as we have seen there are only a handful examples of Six Dynasties poets composing northern style yuefu. Even in these few cases the relationship to the Northern yuefu tradition is problematic since the titles are not identical to those used by the surviving anonymous pieces. The northern songs simply do not seem to have fit into the literary milieu that had developed in the south. Though they may have been occasionally performed, they probably were regarded as a sort of exotica and had little impact in the palaces, salons, and singing houses where literary trends and tastes were fashioned.

In the pages above I stressed that the influence of the Northern yuefu was relatively slight during the Six Dynasties, and have attempted to explain the reasons for this. In doing so I have emphasized how primitive and folk-like these songs are. I do not want to leave the impression that these songs were without value or influence. They did have contributions to make. Perhaps the most striking feature of the Northern yuefu is their use of the masculine, male voice. The voice of the Southern yuefu was essentially a feminine voice. There were exceptions of course, but generally it is in the Northern yuefu that we first see the quatrain used extensively to talk about male concerns. In these songs we can hear men talking about war, how to be a

man, complaining about the injustices of life, cynically commenting on the need for connections and money, and singing about the pain of wandering and separation:

> Up up on the mountain there is a tree,
> The wind blows, its leaves flutter down;
> In one swoop they are a thousand li away,
> How can they ever return to their former home?
>
> "Zi liuma ge ci" no. 2[154]

The use of the quatrain for such themes was important. Eventually, during the Tang when the jueju matured as a genre it would become commonplace. Compare the poem above to the following work by the early Tang poet, Wang Bo 王勃 (649-676; alt. 647-675, 650-676), an early master of the jueju:

> By the Yangzi my sorrows lie heavy,
> Through ten-thousand li I have longed for a day of return;
> How much more so on this high windy evening,
> When in mountain after mountain the yellow leaves fly.
>
> "Shan zhong" 山中 ("In the Mountains")[155]

Wang Bo's poem is one of the most famous jueju of the early Tang. It is a more complex, mature work, and has a strong

personal voice. It is a true poem rather than an anonymous lyric. The image it is built around, however, is very similar to that seen in the Northern yuefu. Whether there is any kind of influence, direct or indirect, is unclear, but these two works at least appear to show some similarities in approach that may indicate a common ground distinct from the Southern yuefu tradition.

It is very difficult to measure the influence of the Northern Dynasty yuefu upon the evolution of the jueju. As has been discussed, their initial impact was limited. The Southern Dynasties were far more receptive to the feminine voices of the Wu and Western songs. Though occasionally certain aspects of the northern songs appear related to developments that will take place as the jueju mature, it is not easy to trace these developments directly back to the Northern Dynasty yuefu as we know them. Several modern critics have suggested that the use of the jueju for biansai 邊塞 (frontier or border poetry) verse, an important sub-genre for Tang jueju, can be traced back to the influence of the Northern Dynasty yuefu.[154] This is a reasonable and likely suggestion, and there may be some degree of truth to it, but it is actually very difficult to prove. And I wonder if in fact many of the masculine, northern elements that we find in the Tang jueju may in large part be due to the influence of later northern song and literary traditions that was exerted during the Tang

when the capital had shifted back to the north, and northern and often foreign cultural influences had become dominant and southern influences had receded. The Northern yuefu represent a part of this northern tradition, but it may be a mistake to suggest that this specific group of songs that formed part of the Liang yuefu repertory had a strong, direct impact on the evolution of the jueju. The picture is admittedly still not very clear.

Conclusion

At the beginning of this chapter it was noted that several traditional scholars had gone so far as to say the jueju originated directly from the Southern Dynasties yuefu. I think it has been shown that in a very fundamental sense they are correct. The quatrain form has a much longer history, of course, and as early as the Han dynasty we can occasionally find it used for true verse. It was the Southern Dynasties yuefu, however, that first utilized the form in a significant way. It was not a simple matter of employing a form, but the ways in which they revealed the potential of the form, and developed it. A literary genre is complex phenomenon; it has an individual personality and character that is made up of the themes and occasions it is associated with, the voices with which it can speak, and the

various other traditions and precedents that have shaped it. The Wu and Western songs played the fundamental role in establishing the quatrain as a genre. They first defined it and established the base from which many later developments would proceed. And they would continue to directly influence the jueju into the Tang.

In earlier chapters I had occasionally cited examples of quatrains from the western tradition. We have seen it used for a children's rhyme, a grave epitaph, and as a verse unit in folk songs. My purpose was to show how fundamental and universal the quatrain form was in different types of verse from a variety of cultures. In fact the quatrain is the most common of all verse forms in the Western tradition.[157] In its most basic aspects as a unit of verse it essentially is identical with the quatrain that occurs in the Chinese tradition. There is one major difference, however, between the two traditions. In the Chinese tradition the quatrain evolved into a true literary genre. No parallel development took place in the West. Though the quatrain was used for independent verse, it was, for example, a favorite form for the epigram, it never developed its own independent character, and was generally limited to minor verse. Why a literary genre such as the jueju would develop in one tradition and not in another is a complicated question that involves fundamental questions of the conceptions and functions of poetry in individual cultures.

We can begin to answer this question by looking to the Southern Dynasties yuefu. In these songs we can see two essential phenomena that combined to establish the basis for the development of the quatrain into a major genre. There are, of course, the songs themselves. The courtship tradition and the following popular song traditions showed the potential of the quatrain as verse. In these traditions we can see how love imbued the lowly quatrain with a an emotional depth, passion, and lyricism that was very rare up until this time. Just as important, however, is the particular nature of the relationship between music and verse in the Chinese poetic tradition. Music and song were always the major forms of entertainment in traditional China, and they had a crucial role in shaping Chinese verse. The upper-classes drew directly upon popular lyric forms and styles for their own verse. Throughout Chinese history we can see the literati going back to folk and popular songs to revitalize the literary poetic tradition. The first anthology of Chinese verse was basically a collection of folk and popular verse. The shi tradition of verse began with the yuefu of the Han. Later the ci 詞 and qu 曲 of the Tang, Song and Yuan would evolve directly from folk and popular lyrics. That the jueju should have originated in ancient folk practices and popular song is characteristic of a literary poetic tradition whose direct reliance upon folk and popular traditions has always been one of it most

distinctive features. The particular magic of the jueju is how it managed to combine the popular and literary traditions while preserving the best features of both traditions. It could be simple and direct like a song without being rustic; it could keep its strength and vitality as it became ever more refined and sophisticated.

Notes to Chapter IV

1. Yuefu shi ji, juan 44-51.

2. The "Qingshang qu ci" also include a group of songs known as the "Shen xian ge" 神弦歌 . A number of these pieces appear to be sacrificial songs to local deities. They have been compared to the "Nine Songs" ("Jiu ge" 九歌), the group of songs in the Chu ci 楚辭 that depict shaman ritual performances. See Wang Yunxi 王運熙 , Liuchao yuefu yu minge 六朝樂府與民歌 (Shanghai: Shanghai wenyi lianhe, 1955), pp. 167-181. In addition the "Qingshang qu ci" include groups of songs that consist entirely of court and literati titles such as the "Jiangnan nong" 江南弄 . The Western songs and Wu songs also include court and literati compositions of known authorship, as well as later pieces written in yuefu style (for example, pieces by Li Bo). Guo Maoqian has placed them after the anonymous lyrics.

3. See Wang Yunxi 王運熙 , Liuchao yuefu yu minge, pp. 3-22.

4. It is possible to interpret this line as "But those by Ziye are the loveliest of them all" (suggested as a possiblity by Dr. David R. Knectges of the University of Washington). There is a tradition that Ziye is the name of a singing girl who first sang these songs (see, for example, Jin shu, juan 23.716). Modern scholars, however, generally believe that originally zi ye was not the name of a person, but was probably derived from the refrain of the song, "Zi ye lai" 子夜來 ("Come in the night"). See Hans H. Frankel, "Six Dynasties Yüeh-fu and Their Singers," Journal of the Chinese Teachers Association, vol. 13, no. 3 (Oct. 1978), p. 190; Wang Yunxi, Liuchao yuefu yu minge, pp. 54-62. Of course, it is still possible that this lyric is based upon the later tradition of a singing girl named Ziye, but I still tend to think that it is the actual song title that is being referred to (though the lyricist may have had the later tradition in mind). The praising and championing of individual songs was a very common motif among popular lyrics. Cf. Wang Zisheng's 温子昇 (495-547) "Dunhuang yue" 燉煌樂 (Lu Qinli, p. 2221), "Afterall, we have the

"Dunhuang Air,"/ And it is just as fine as the "Anling Tune." This motif can also be seen in American popular songs. The lyrics to Jelly Roll Morton's (ca. 1885-1941) "Jelly Roll Blues," contain the following two couplets:

> Don't you know that strain?
> That's the Jelly Roll Blues.
>
> Play it soft--don't abuse.
> Play them Jelly Roll Blues.

Jelly Roll Morton had a friend and rival named Tony Jackson who composed a song called "Pretty Baby."

> We were very, very good friends and whenever he spotted me coming in the door, he would sing a song he knew I liked--Pretty Baby, one of Tony's great tunes....
> You can talk about your jelly roll,
> But none of them compare with pretty baby,
> With pretty baby of mine.

Tony Jackson's lyrics have their basic, literal meaning, but he also appears to be teasing Jelly Roll Morton and praising his own song. See Alan Lomax, Mister Jelly Roll (New York: Dwell, Sloan and Pearce, 1950), pp. 151-3 and p. 45, respectively.

5. Yuefu shi ji, juan 45.654. Translations of the Six Dynasties yuefu are based upon the texts in the Yuefu shi ji rather than Lu Qinli. I have numbered the lyrics to the tunes according to their order in the Yuefu shi ji (Beijing: Zhonghua, 1979).

6. "Originally they all began as tuge 徒歌 (acappella songs), then they were set to strings and winds." See Jin shu 晉書, juan 23.717. This passage is also cited in the Yuefu shi ji, juan 44.639-640 (in an edited version).

7. Hu Yinglin, Shi sou, "Neipian," juan 6.112.

8. Yang Shihong 楊士弘 (zi Boqian 伯謙, n.d.) is quoted by Zhao Yi 趙翼 (1727-1814) in his Gaiyu congkao 陔餘叢考 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1963), juan 23.457. See also Fu Shousun and Liu Baishan, "Tangren jueju jiping," p. 957.

9. Li Chonghua 李重華, Zhenyizhai shishuo 貞一齋詩說, p. 925, in Qing shihua.

10. See Marilyn Evans, "Popular Songs of the Southern Dynasties: A Study in Chinese Poetic Style" (Ph.D. diss., Yale, 1966), p. 7. Most recently, Shuen-fu Lin has devoted a substantial part of his study of the jueju to the Six Dynasties yuefu. He concludes, "One cannot ignore the importance of Wu-sheng-ko and Hsi-ch'ü-ko in the evolution of the chüeh-chü." See "The Nature of the Quatrain from the Late Han to the High T'ang," p. 311.

11. The two most important studies are Wang Yunxi, Liuchao yuefu yu minge, and Chan Man Sing, "The Western Songs (Xiqu) of the Southern Dynasties (420-589) - A Critical Study" (Ph.D. diss., Australian National University, 1984). Chang Man Sing, pp. 11-18, reviews the history of the scholarship on these songs. Marilyn Evan's dissertation (see note 10) provides a helpful general introduction in English.

12. Guo Maoqian (apparently citing Zhijiang's 智匠 Gujin yuelu 古今樂錄 [compiled 568]) tells us that the music of these two types of songs was very different. See Yuefu shi ji, juan 47.689. Modern scholars have also pointed out differing qualities and characteristics of their lyrics. For example, in the Wu songs there is more punning and more instances of duets (pairs of lyrics sung and then responded to). Much of Chan Man Sing's study is devoted to identifying the distinctions, musical and literary, between the two traditions.

13. Wang Yunxi, Liuchao yuefu yu minge (henceforth, Liuchao), pp. 33-46.

14. Wang Yunxi, Liuchao, pp. 33-34.

15. Wang Yunxi, Liuchao, pp. 37-42.

16. See Wang Yunxi, Liuchao, pp. 46-101; Chan Man Sing, "The Western Songs of the Southern Dynasties (420-589) - A Critical Study" (henceforth, "The Western Songs"), pp. 23-79.

17. Marie-Luise Latsch briefly describes several festivals celebrated by minorities that include courtship singing. See Chinese Traditional Festivals (Beijing: New World Press, 1984), pp. 99-107.

18. Marcel Granet, Festivals and Songs of Ancient China, trans. by E. D. Edwards (New York: Dutton, 1932). This is an translation of "Fêtes et chansons anciennes de la Chine," Bibliothèque de L'Ecole des Hautes Etudes, Sciences religienses, 34 (1920), pp. 1-301. I should note that the term, "courtship song," is my own and not Granet's.

19. In the second line the flower, jian 蕳 , is probably synonymous with lan 蘭 (Eupatorium chinense, common name thoroughwort). See Derk Bodde, Festivals in Classical China: New Year and Other Annual Observances During the Han Dynasty, 206 B.C.-A.D. 220 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1975), pp. 274-275.

20. See Arthur Waley, The Book of Songs (1937; New York: Grove Press, rpt. 1978), p. 29. For Waley's explanation of the importance of Granet's contributions, see p. 337.

21. R. Karl Florenz, La Poésie archaïque du Japon, quoted in Marcel Granet, Festivals and Songs of Ancient China (henceforth, Festivals), pp. 259-260.

22. Grenard in Dutreuil de Rhins, Mission scientifique dans la Haute Asie, quoted in Granet, Festivals, p. 261.

23. Deblenne, in Mission lyonnaise (Récits de voyage), quoted in Granet, Festivals, p. 263.

24. Marie-Luise Latsch, Chinese Traditional Festivals, p. 99.

25. Arthur Waley, The Book of Songs, p. 30.

26. Derk Bodde, Festivals in Classical China, pp. 273-288.

27. Wolfram Eberhard, The Local Cultures of South East China, trans. by Alide Eberhard (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1968), pp. 33-42 (on the Festival of the Third Day of the Third Moon), pp. 118-134 (on love songs). This work is a revised and translated version of Lokalkulturen im Alten China, vol. II (published as Monograph vol. 3 of Monumenta Serica, Peking, 1943).

28. Derk Bodde, Festivals in Classical China, p. 281.

29. See Derk Bodde, Festivals in Classical China, pp. 285-288, for an explanation and description of this festival.

30. The Yi 伊 and Luo 洛 Rivers near Luoyang.

31. Bodde translates more literally, "fill a ten-cubit square," and points out that the image comes from Mengzi 孟子. See Bodde, Festivals in Classical China, p. 286. I have relied heavily upon Bodde's translation and his notes.

32. Bodde points out that the jujube (zao 棗 , Zizyphus vulgaris) ripens and turns red during the seventh lunar month, and suggests that this fu must thus be describing a fall Lustration Festival. See Bodde, Festivals, pp. 286-288. There are, however, some questions about his

arguments, see below, note 38.

33. Yi Yin 伊尹 and Lü Shang 呂尚 , advisors to the founders of the Shang and Zhou dynasties respectively.

34. In Yan Kejun, Quan Hou-Han wen, juan 28.1a. Only fragments of Du Du's fu survive. Aside from the passage translated, only a single other line survives.

35. Yuefu shi ji, juan 44.645.

36. Yuefu shi ji, juan 49.714.

37. Chan Man Sing, "Western Songs," p. 221, lists five Western songs that open with this formula.

38. As was mentioned above in note 32, Bodde suggests that Du Du's fu describes a fall Lustration Festival because of the description of the red jujubes. However, Bodde (p. 288) also points out that the fu mentions thoroughwort, a plant associated with the spring Lustration Festival and unlikely to be in bloom in the seventh month. He then suggests that it is an anachronism for literary purposes. The issue, however, is still not clear. My fellow classmate, Su Ruilong, has pointed out that Yu Jianwu 庾肩吾 (c. 487-551) wrote a poem on the occasion of the Third Month Third Day Festival that also mentions red jujubes; see his "Poem Written While on Attendance at the Banquet at the Curved Stream by the Eupatorium Pavilion on the Third Day" ("San ri shi Lanting Qushui yan shi" 三日侍蘭亭曲水宴詩 ; Lu Qinli, p. 1984-85). It thus appears that Du Du's fu may actually be a description of the spring Lustration Festival, though it is still not clear why jujubes are mentioned. Perhaps there may have been some sort of custom involving dried jujubes. If the description is of a fall Lustration festival a possible solution for the problem of the thoroughwort may be that it (as well as the perilla) may actually refer to fragrances made from these plants rather than to the plants themselves.

39. Originally, when I assumed that the Eupatorium Pavilion poems were quatrains, I had suspected that they owed their form to traditions of courtship singing. It is clear now that those quatrains were extracts from longer poems, but I still suspect that the literati custom of composing poetry during the Lustration Festival may actually go back to ancient traditions of courtship singing. From Du Du's fu we learn that as early as the Han it was the custom among the literati to recite verse (see above, pp. 268-69) during this occasion. This practice may represent an upper class, Confucian transformation of the folk tradition. During the Six Dynasties the Lustration festival was a popular occasion

to compose verse. No other holiday or festival rivals it in this respect. Clearly it was a traditional practice associated with the festival. Poems composed on this occasion ordinarily will include the phrases sanyue sanri or shangsi in their titles.

40. The meaning of ta bai cao 踏百草 is not entirely clear. According to Chan Man Sing it involved a game called dou bai cao 鬥百草, in which the participants would collect different kinds of plants and compete in variety and rarity. Chan cites a number of traditional sources beginning with Zong Lin's 宗懍 (d. ca. 563) Jing Chu suishi ji 荊楚歲時記, see Chan Man Sing, "The Western Songs," p. 177 and n. 86. It is not clear to me, however, that the two activities are one and the same. Perhaps dou bai cao was one of the games played while "stepping on the hundred grasses and sprouts." The term ta bai cao may be similar in meaning to ta qing 踏青 (stepping on green) which is used to describe the outings and activities associated with spring holidays. Eberhard briefly mentions the term ta qing and its association with spring festivals, and cites several early examples of its occurrence, see Eberhard, The Local Cultures of South and East China, p. 119.

41. Yuefu shi ji, juan 49.710.

42. "Wang chou" 忘愁 possibly refers to the Western song, "Mo chou yue" 莫愁樂. See Chan Man Sing, "The Western Songs," p. 32.

43. Yuefu shi ji, juan 47.689.

44. "Horn-locks" (zongjiao 總角), the style of hair worn by the young both male and female.

45. Yuefu shi ji, juan 49.715.

46. Eberhard, The Local Cultures of South and East China, pp. 34-35.

47. Literally, "If the silkworms don't make up a hundred." Probably some sort of unit or measure is understood, rather than one hundred silkworms. See Zhang Yaxin 張亞新, Liuchao yuefu shi xuan 六朝樂府詩選 (Henan: Zhongzhou guji chubanshe, 1986), p. 62. She is, of course, warning that if they are too busy making love she won't be able to pick enough mulberry leaves for the silkworms.

48. Yuefu shi ji, juan 48.709.

49. Yuefu shi ji, juan 41.641.

50. Yuefu shi ji, juan 46.667.

51. Yuefu shi ji, juan 49.713. The "Badong Sanxia ge" was first recorded in Li Daoyuan's 酈道元(?-527) Shui jing zhu 水經注. See Lu Qinli, pp. 1021-22. Lu Qinli has recorded the two lyrics in the Shui jing zhu as well as another version from Yuan Shansong's 袁山松 (?-401) Yidu shan chuan ji 宜都山川記.

52. Yuefu shi ji, juan 44.649. For Zuo Si's poem, see Lu Qinli, p. 734. Another similar example is "Lailuo ge" 來羅歌 no. 2 which consists of four lines from "Junzi xing"君子行 a yuefu that has been attributed to Cao Zhi. See Yuefu shi ji, juan 49.713. For Cao Zhi's poem, see Lu Qinli, p. 263.

53. Liu Dajie劉逖傑 , Zhongguo wenxue fazhan shi 中國文學發展史, vol. 1 (rev. ed.; Shanghai: Shanghai renmin, 1973), p. 358.

54. Translation by David Hawkes, see David Hawkes, trans., The Songs of the South: An Anthology of Ancient Chinese Poems by Qu Yuan and Other Poets (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1985), p. 229.

55. Traditionally attributed to Sima Xiangru, but very unlikely to be by him. Sections of it are very similar to an "apocryphal" fu about Song Yu 宋玉 (fl. 3rd century B.C.), the "Deng tuzi hao se fu" 登徒子好色賦.

56. Translation by R.H. Van Gulik, see Sexual Life in Ancient China (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1961), p. 68-69. Van Gulik paraphrases a portion of the fu and translates a section. The Chinese text can be found in Yan Kejun, Quan Han wen 全漢文 , juan 22.1a-b.

57. Yuefu shi ji, juan 44.648.

58. Yuefu shi ji, juan 45.655.

59. Yuefu shi ji, juan 44.643.

60. See Yu Guanying 余冠英 , "Wu sheng ge qu li de nan nu zeng da" 吳聲歌曲裏的男女贈答 , in Han Wei Liuchao shi luncong 漢魏六朝詩論叢 (Shanghai: Tangdi chubanshe, 1953), pp. 60-69.

61. Nan shi, juan 20.348.

62. Yuefu shi ji, juan 47.680-81.

63. In the passage quoted the term used for "exchange" was zeng da 贈答 (present and reply). In another description of the performance of Chen Houzhu's music we are told that "men and women sang in alternation" (nan nü chang he 男女唱和). See Yuefu shi ji, juan 47.680.

64. "Water mallow" is a rough translation for chun 蓴 (Brasenia peltata), an edible water plant. It is also called shuikui 水葵 (water mallow).

65. See Dai Zuo 戴祚 (Jin), Zhen yi zhuan 甄異傳 , quoted in Taiping guang ji, juan 468.3861. See also, Li Jianguo 李劍國 , Tang qian zhiguai xiaoshuo ji shi 唐前志怪小說輯釋 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1986), pp. 406-408. Li Jianguo has gathered several other versions of this story and other stories with women-otters.

66. See Zhu Ziqing 朱自清 , Zhongguo geyao 中國歌謠 (Hong Kong: Zhonghua shuju, 1976), pp. 86-87.

67. Wang Yunxi has gathered a number of such anecdotes from Six Dynasties zhiguai collections. See Liuchao yuefu yu minge, pp. 54-57.

68. Yuefu shi ji, juan 45.658.

69. Yuefu shi ji, juan 44.644.

70. See Song shu, juan 31.914. It is recorded in the "Wu xing zhi" 五行志 chapter as a prophetic ditty that appeared during the Tianji 天紀 reign period (277-300) of Sun Hao 孫皓 . See also, Lu Qinli, pp. 540-541; Lu Qinli lists other sources for the ditty.

71. See "Langye wang geci" 琅琊王邪王歌辭 no. 2, 4, 6, in Yuefu shi ji, juan 25.364.

72. For example, the preface to "Yangpaner" 楊叛兒 in the Yuefu shi ji (quoting the Tang shu 唐書) states that the song was originally a children's ditty, and then explains how it originated. See Yuefu shi ji, juan 49.720. Chan Man Sing translates and discusses the preface in "The Western Songs," pp. 58-60. See also, Wang Yunxi, Liuchao, pp. 98-101.

73. I am not sure what kind of plant is being referred to by luo 蘿 . The translation, "creeper," is only a rough guess from the context.

74. Lu Qinli, pp. 906-907.

75. Liu Yiqing 劉義慶 (403-444) comp., Shishuo xinyu jiaojian 世說新語校箋, commentary by Yang Yong 楊勇 (Tainan: Pingping chubanshe, 1974), "Paidiao pian" 排調篇 (no. 5), p. 588. For a translation and discussion of the entire entry, see Richard Mather, Shih-shuo Hsin-yü: A New Account of Tales of the World (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1976), p. 402.

76. This song has been discussed by several scholars of the Southern Dynasties yuefu. See for example, Zhu Ziqing, Zhongguo geyao, p. 83.

77. For example, "Du qu ge" 讀曲歌 no. 14, see Yuefu shi ji, juan 46.672.

78. Fu Xuan 傅玄, Fuzi 傅子, quoted in the Beitang shuchao, juan 110.2a. Bo Ya 伯牙 was a figure traditionally known for his qin 琴 (zither) playing. I have not been able to identify Zhang Zou 張奏 and Hao Su 郝素.

79. The Yuefu shi ji citation of the Gujin yuelu has "Taizu of the Qi." Wang Yunxi has shown that "Qi" is a mistake for "Song," see Liuchao, p. 81.

80. Yuefu shi ji, juan 46.667. Wang Yunxi has carefully studied this song title and its preface, see Liuchao, pp. 81-83.

81. See Wang Yunxi, Liuchao, p. 81.

82. See Wang Yunxi, Liuchao, 82.pp. 81-83.

83. Yuefu shi ji, juan 46.667.

84. Zhu Ziqing, Zhongguo geyao, p. 83.

85. Wang Yunxi has carefully identified and studied the puns in the Southern Dynasties yuefu. Of the four puns in Shi Chong's lyric, only si 絲 (silk) for si 思 (love) can be found in other lyrics. Note, however, that Wang Yunxi does not list the other puns. It is not clear if he was unaware of these examples, or if he did not feel they were actual cases of punning. See Liuchao, pp. 121-66.

86. Yuefu shi ji, juan 49.721.

87. Lüzhu is mentioned together with Shi Chong in a story recorded in the Shishuo xinyu. Additional information is cited in the traditional commentary. See Liu Yiqing, Shishuo xinyu jiaojian, "Chou xi" 仇隙 (no. 1), pp. 692-693. See also Shi Chong's biography in the Jin shu 晉書,

juan 33.1008.

88. Fayun also appears in the preface to the "Sanzhou ge" 三洲歌 (a Western song). Here we are told how he came to revise the lyrics to the song. See Yuefu shi ji, juan 48.707. Chan Man Sing has translated and discussed this preface, see "The Western Songs," pp. 38-40.

89. Yuefu shi ji, juan 44.639-40. The Yuefu shi ji statement is partially based upon the Jin shu, "Yue zhi" 樂志. See Jin shu, juan 23.716.

90. See, for example, Zhu Ziqing, Zhongguo geyao, pp. 88-90.

91. Yuefu shi ji, juan 48.707. Translated and discussed by Chan Man Sing, "The Western Songs," pp. 38-40.

92. Near modern Jiangling 江陵 county, Hubei.

93. Yuefu shi ji, juan 49.714.

94. For an account of the rise and fall of the Han Wei and Southern yuefu traditions, see Wang Yunxi, "Qingyue kao lue" 清樂考略, in Yuefu shi luncong 樂府詩論叢 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1962), pp. 11-38.

95. Song shu, juan 52.2261. Shen Yue is describing the peace and prosperity of the early part of the Song Dynasty.

96. Nan Qi shu, juan 53.913.

97. Pei Ziye 裴子野 (467-528), Song lue 宋略 cited in Du You 杜佑 (735-812), comp., Tong dian 通典 (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1935), juan 141.736. Translated by Chan Man Sing, "The Western Songs," p. 291, n. 80. The original Chinese text (as cited in the Tong dian) for the line, "Prohibitory laws were to no avail," contains the phrase chu ling 楚令 (Chu ordinance). This does not make any sense. The citation of this passage in Yan Kejun, Quan Liang wen, juan 53.21b (p. 3265), has jin ling 禁令. This should be correct. Chan Man Sing presumably consulted this source also for his translation.

98. Nan shi, juan 60.1485.

99. Cao Jingzong 曹景宗 (457-458) and Xiahou Kui 夏侯夔 (483-538) were known to have kept hundreds of singing girls and concubines. See their biographies in Yao Silian 姚思廉 (557-637), comp., Liang shu 梁書 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1973), juan 9.181 and juan 28.422, respectively. Chan Man Sing has a very good discussion on the performers and

performance of the Southern yuefu. He has collected a wealth of material, and I have relied heavily upon his efforts. See Chan Man Sing, "The Western Songs," pp. 129-44.

100. See Chan Man Sing, "The Western Songs," pp. 132-34.

101. Yuefu shi ji, juan 44.646.

102. Wang Rubi has suggested that the last line of this lyric may have originated in a pair of lines by Cao Pi (187-226), "We floated sweet melons in clear springs; submerged red plums in icy waters" ("Fou gan gua yu qing quan, chen zhu li yu han shui" 浮甘瓜于清泉，沉朱李于寒水). See "Yu Wu Zhi shu" 與吳質書, in Yan Kejun, ed., Quan Sanguo wen 全三國文, juan 7.5a (p. 1089). This does not mean that the composer of this lyric necessarily had direct knowledge of Cao Pi's piece---the lines became a well known phrase---but it does indicate that she has some acquaintance with the literary tradition. This fits in with our overall impressions of the more sophisticated style and quality of the lyric. See Wang Rubi 王汝弼, "Wu sheng ge qu" 吳聲歌曲, p. 127, in Yuefu san lun 樂府散論 (Xi'an: Shanxi renmin chubanshe, 1984), pp. 121-138.

103. Marilyn Evans, "Popular Songs of the Southern Dynasties: A Study in Chinese Poetic Style" (henceforth, "Popular Songs"), p. 18. In her review of the general differences in the styles of the Wu and Western songs, Evans cites the similar impressions of other modern scholars such as Zheng Zhenduo 鄭振鐸 and Liu Dajie 劉達傑, see pp. 16-27.

104. Marilyn Evans, "Popular Songs," p. 20.

105. Hans Frankel has briefly noted the role of professional singers as intermediaries between the culture of the top and bottom layers of society. See Hans Frankel, "The Six Dynasties Yüeh-fu and Their Singers," Journal of the Chinese Teachers Association vol. 13, no. 3 (Oct. 1978), pp. 189-196.

106. See above, note 88.

107. Jin shu, juan 84.2184. Cited and discussed by Wang Yunxi, see Liuchao, pp. 15-16.

108. See Wang Yunxi, Liuchao, pp. 15-16.

109. Song shu, juan 19.552.

110. Nan shi, juan 34.881.

111. For other examples of criticism of the Southern yuefu see Chan Man Sing, "The Western Songs," pp.71-72, 114.

112. This presumably refers to when Xiao Tong, at the age of five, left the imperial palace to take up residence in the Eastern Palace, the official domicile of the crown prince.

113. Liang shu, juan 8.168.

114. Zhao Yi 趙翼 (1727-1814) notes, "Beginning with the Eastern Jin the various emperors all came from commoner clans (su zu 素族)." He then looks at the background of various emperors. See Zhao Yi 趙翼 , Nianer shi zhaji 廿二史劄記 , 2 vols. (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1963), juan 12.230.

115. Translation by Chan Man Sing, "The Western Songs," pp. 36-37 (from Yuefu shi ji, juan 48.703). Chan Man Sing and Wang Yunxi suggest that Liu Dan composed his song on the basis of the local song. See Wang Yunxi, Liuchao, pp. 93-95.

116. See Yuefu shi ji, juan 47.690. The authorship of this title is actually very confused. There are differing accounts of its origins, for example, one source says it was composed by one of his singing girls. See Chan Man Sing for a translation of the preface and a discussion of the problem of authorship, "The Western Songs," pp. 25-30.

117. Yuefu shi ji, juan 48.699. The translation is by Chan Man Sing, "The Western Songs," p. 32. There are a few minor changes; pinyin has been corrected and a note omitted. Chan Man Sing's discussion of the preface is very good, and I have relied heavily on his efforts.

118. See Xiao Yi 蕭繹 (508-554), Jin lou zi 金樓子 , in vol. 11 of Zhongguo sixiang mingzhu 中國思想名著 , ed. by Yang Jialuo 楊家駱 (Taibei: Shijie shuju, 1959), juan 1.25b. Translation by Chan Man Sing, "The Western Songs," p. 34. Xiao Yi has recorded another incident that illustrates Emperor Wen's love of the Wu songs:

> When his much beloved concubine the Beauty He 何美人 died, Emperor Wu of Qi was deeply sorrowful. Later, while hunting pheasants, it happened that he climbed up some rocks and saw her tomb. Thereupon, he gave orders to have the mats spread for a musical performance, and asked the singer Chen Shang 陳尚 to sing. Chen sang some popular Wu songs. The Emperor, on hearing the songs, covered his face with both hands and sighed for a

long while. He then bestowed on the performers thirty thousand coins and twenty rolls of silk.

See Jin lou zi, juan 1.26a; translation Chan Man Sing, p. 34.

119. Another early example of an emperor who loved the southern songs and had an important role in their promotion is Emperor Xiaowu of the Song 孝武帝 (Liu Jun 劉駿, r. 454-457). He composed the earliest extant example of "Zi jun zhi chu yi" 自君之出矣 (see above, p. 3), and two lyrics to "Ding duhu" 丁督護 have been attributed to him (see Yutai xinyong jianzhu, juan 10.474). See Wang Yunxi, Liuchao, pp. 16-17. Emperor Shao of the Song 宋少帝 (r. 423-424) is another classic case, see Liuchao, pp. 53-54.

120. Yuefu shi ji, juan 48.699. Fan 樊 and Deng 鄧 were located north of Xiangyang 襄陽 near the border between Hubei and Henan. Meigen 梅根 would appear to refer to a place near modern Guichi 貴池 in Anhui, but this is some distance from Fan and Deng. The route and itinerary of Emperor Wen's travels are not clear.

121. The attribution is very uncertain. The Yutai xinyong includes two pieces which it attributes to Sun Chuo (juan 10.470), but the Yuefu shi ji (juan 45.663-64) includes three more lyrics, and has not listed authors for any of the pieces. Moreover, in the preface the origins of the song are traced to a Prince of Runan 汝南王 of the Jin (the text says of the Song, but the editors of the Yuefu shi ji point out there was no Prince of Runan during the Song, but their was such a prince during the Jin; see also the note in Yutai xinyong jiaozhu, 10.470) and a favorite concubine, Biyu.

122. See Yuefu shi ji, juan 45.664.

123. Actual authorship is unclear. The Yutai xinyong includes three lyrics which it attributes to Taoye (juan 10.472), but the Yuefu shi ji includes these same lyrics in a larger group of lyrics without listing an author. The preface however cites an incident involving Wang Min 王珉 (361-388) and a maidservant, Xie Fangzi 謝方子, and their role in the creation of this title (juan 45.660). For a discussion of the problem of the origins of this song, see Wang Yunxi, Liuchao, pp. 76-79.

124. Yutai xinyong jianzhu, juan 10.472; Yuefu shi ji, juan 45.665. In the second line Yuefu shi ji has taoshu 桃樹 (peach tree) for taoye 桃葉 (peach leaf).

125. Have not been able to identify.

126. Yuefu shi ji, juan 75.1061

127. See his biography, Jin shu, juan 79.2069-72.

128. Wang Yunxi's Liuchao yuefu yu minge is primarily a historical study of these songs, with less attention devoted to literary qualities and style. It does contain, however, an extensive survey of punning in Chinese verse. Chan Man Sing ("The Western Songs") and Marilyn Evans ("Popular Songs") in particular, have focused more of their efforts on the literary features of the Southern Dynasties yuefu.

129. Yuefu shi ji, juan 45.658.

130. Following the explanation of Zhang Yaxin, Liuchao yuefu shi xuan, pp. 25-26.

131. This passage is cited in Wang Rui's 王叡 (fl. ninth century) Zhiguzi zalu 炙轂子雜錄. According to Wang Rui it was taken from a work he refers to as the Yuefu tijie 樂府題解. This appears to refer to Wu Jing's 吳兢 (670-749) Yuefu guti yaojie 樂府古題要解, though the passage does not appear in current editions of this work. See Wang Rui 王叡, Zhiguzi zalu 炙轂子雜錄, 8a-b, in Tao Zongyi 陶宗儀 (1316-1403), comp., Shuofu 說郛, 8 vols. (Taibei: Taiwan shangwu yinshuguan, 1972), juan 43.8a-b (pp. 2811-2812; the Shuofu mistakenly attributes this work to a Wang Xian 王賢). Both Wang Yunxi (Liuchao, pp. 123-25) and Chan Man Sing ("The Western Songs, pp. 237-38 and note 59) have cited and discussed this passage and its source. I have followed Wang Yunxi's suggestion and emended the kan 看 in the second half of the cited couplet to zhuo 著.

132. See Yan Yu 嚴羽 (fl. 1265), Canglang shihua 滄浪詩話, p. 14b (p. 448), in Lidai shihua.

133. See, for example, "Zi ye ge" no. 9; Yuefu shi ji, juan 44.642.

134. See Wang Yunxi, Liuchao, pp. 124-125.

135. Yuefu shi ji, juan 44.641.

136. Wang Yunxi, Liuchao, pp. 125-126.

137. See Hong Mai 洪邁 (1123-1202), Rongzhai suibi 容齋隨筆, 2 vols. (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe), "Sanbi" 三筆, juan 16.609.

138. Marilyn Evans does not feel that the term fengren shi is limited to punning, but that it has a wider relevance, see "Popular Songs of the Southern Dynasties," pp. 132-33 and n. 20.

139. See Stephen Owen, The Poetry of the Early Tang (New Haven: Yale, 1977), pp. 127-33.

140. Yuefu shi ji, juan 46.673.

141. Bo Juyi 白居易 , "Yu Yuan Jiu shu" 與元九書 , juan 28.11b, in Baishi changqing ji 白氏長慶集 , Sibu congkan, juan 28.2a-13a. For a partial translation of this piece, see Eugene Feifel, "Biography of Po Chü-i," Monumenta Serica 17 (1958), pp. 255-311.

142. Eugene Feifel notes that the identities of this two figures are unclear, but that they most likely are singing girls. See "Biography of Po Chü-i," p. 291, n.15.

143. Li Bo, Li Taibo quanji, juan 8.423.

144. "Lotus" (lian 蓮) is a pun for "love" (lian 憐); in the last line, "fruit" (lianzi 蓮子 , literally, "lotus seed") is a pun for "lover" (lianzi 憐子).

145. Yuefu shi ji, juan 49.721.

146. The Northern Dynasties yuefu have yet to be studied in detail. For good, but brief introductions, see Sun Kaidi, "Liang gu jiao hengchui qu yong beige jie" 梁鼓角橫吹曲用北歌解 , in Cangzhou ji, pp. 485-490; Wang Yunxi, "Nan Bei chao yuefu zhong de minge" 南北朝樂府中的民歌 , pp. 115-22, in Yuefu shi luncong; Wang Yunxi, Han Wei Liuchao yuefu shi 漢魏六朝樂府詩 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1986), pp. 120-131.

147. Sun Kaidi has suggested that many of the songs entered the south on occasions when the southern armies defeated the north and took back northern music and musicians, see "Liang gu jiao hengchui qu yong beige jie," p. 490. We know that this is one of the ways the Wu and Western songs entered the north (for a specific instance, see Wei Shou 魏收(506-572), Wei shu 魏書 (Beijing: Zhonghua, 1972), juan 109.2843; Chan Man Sing, "The Western Songs," p. 113). Sun Kaidi's suggestion is a reasonable one, and may very well be correct, but there is little detailed, concrete evidence to support it. Aside from such exceptional circumstances, there were a number of other paths of cultural exchange, including diplomatic missions, hostages, and rebels who fled across the borders after being defeated or discovered.

148. Yuefu shi ji, juan 25.364.

149. Yuefu shi ji, juan 25.370.

150. I have followed the suggestion of Zhang Yaxin and emended zi 自 (from) to bai 白 (white). See Zhang Yaxin, Liuchao yuefu shi xuan, p. 89.

151. Yuefu shi ji, juan 25.366.

152. The meaning of humou 金豆鉾 is not clear. It appears to be some sort of military garb. See Zhang Yaxin, Liuchao yuefu shi xuan, pp. 82-83.

153. Yuefu shi ji, juan 25.363.

154. Yuefu shi ji, juan 25.365.

155. Quan Tang shi, juan 56.682-683.

156. See, for example, Wang Yunxi, "Yuefu minge he zuojia zuopin de guanxi" 樂府民歌和作家作品的關係 (1957) pp. 15-16, rpt. in Han Wei Liuchao Tangdai wenxue luncong 漢魏六朝唐代文學論叢 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1981), pp. 12-17.

157. "The quatrain is the most common of all stanza forms in European poetry and it is often used in songs, including traditional ballads." See Ron Padgett, ed., The Teachers and Writers Handbook of Poetic Forms (New York: Teachers and Writers Collaborative, 1987), p. 153.

CHAPTER V

THE RISE OF THE LITERARY QUATRAIN

Introduction

By the fifth century, the stage was set for the rise of the quatrain as a true literary form. The Southern Dynasties yuefu had shown that fine poetry was possible within the limits of the four lines of a quatrain. And as early as the fourth century we can see evidence of the influence of these songs upon all levels of society. The upper classes were beginning to compose their own music and lyrics, while the anonymous, popular lyrics of the Southern yuefu often show a sophistication, refinement, and even literary qualities that reflect their advance into the circles of the nobility and literati. Nevertheless, the quatrain at this stage was still primarily a pure lyric form. When Shi Chong, Wang Xianzhi or Xie Shang composed their lyrics they were improvising songs rather than creating literary verse. There was still a very wide gulf between song lyric and poem, and unless it could be bridged the quatrain would remain a minor form. Up until the fifth

century it was a case of certain exceptional members of the literate classes "descending" to the world of popular song. The transformation of the quatrain into a literary genre could only occur when the literati brought the quatrain back into their own world, and introduced into it various elements from the heritage of the literary tradition.

In this chapter we will be examining the progress of the quatrain during the Song (420-479) and Qi (479-502) dynasties. It is during the fifth century that we see the crucial beginning stages of the transformation of the quatrain into a literary form. A number of major poets begin to turn their attention to the quatrain at this time. During the early part of the century we see Xie Lingyun (385-433) making a few tentative attempts at composing quatrains. In the middle of the century Bao Zhao (?-466) was beginning to work seriously with the form, and by the end of the century Xie Tiao (464-499) was composing quatrains that later critics would describe as being Tang-like in their maturity and refinement. The advance of the quatrain was not an easy or automatic process. The quatrain was primarily associated with the Southern yuefu, and there was resistance to admitting these popular lyrics or lyrics composed in this style to the elevated world of belles-lettres. Even though we will find some very fine examples of literati quatrains composed during this period, in the overall context of the literary scene they still played a

relatively minor and limited role. Despite the resistance in some quarters, however, it is clear that the quatrain was progressing in its development during this period, and that this development was not haphazard or accidental. Poetry was undergoing radical changes during the fifth century. With the magnificent, complex verse of Xie Lingyun, the early part of the century saw the culmination of the landscape tradition that had begun during the Jin dynasty. By the end of the century we see the rise of a very different type of verse nurtured and promoted by courts and salons that would be known as Yongming style verse (Yongming ti 永明體, named after the Yongming period [483-493] in which it flourished). The quatrain was closely linked to the new literary fashions and movements that occurred during this period. It is evident that in addition to the qualities and potential that were inherent in the quatrain and demonstrated by the Southern yuefu, the transformation of the quatrain into a literary genre was made possible by the newly emerging standards, sensibilities and conceptions of poetry. The poetry of the late Six Dynasties has traditionally been criticized as frivolous, decadent and empty. This criticism, while not without some basis, is of course unfair and one-sided. It does reflect, however, the changes that were occurring in literature. It was precisely the "lowering of standards" and the lighter, freer, uninhibited approach to poetry that allowed and encouraged

the development of innovations such as the use of the quatrain for literary verse.

In this chapter I will attempt to identify the major steps and movements by which the quatrain advanced during this period. The organization of the chapter will primarily be historical. In addition, however, there will be several sections in which individual aspects of the quatrain such as newly emerging patterns of prosody and technique will be discussed. There will also be digressions to identify and explain the various occasions and themes that are beginning to become associated with the quatrain form. Although the jueju would eventually become the most versatile of genres during the Tang, at this early stage the quatrain was very limited in scope. At first it was largely defined by the traditions of the Southern yuefu, and this background would continue to be the single most important influence upon the development of the quatrain throughout the Six Dynasties. But even during this early period one sees various other distinct occasions and themes beginning to develop as the literati and nobility began to adapt this form. The quatrain will begin to break away from its folk and popular song heritage, and some of the new occasions and themes would form the foundation of the subgenres that would make up the jueju. The quatrain could not immediately be absorbed into the literati tradition. There were clearly limits on the occasions it was suitable for and the themes

it could treat. Gradually however, one sees points of contact developing at which the popular and literati traditions could meet and the popular tradition could be easily absorbed and adapted. Such points became the gateways through which the quatrain entered the literary tradition and eventually was transformed into a true genre.

The Early Song Dynasty

By the Song dynasty, the Southern yuefu, in particular the Wu songs, flourished at the highest levels of society. In the previous chapter we saw how popular these songs were at the courts. A number of Song emperors and princes are known to have had a hand in the composition of these songs. Emperor Shao (r. 423-424) is said to have composed thirty-six lyrics for the "Aonong ge," and Emperor Wen (r. 424-453) renamed the title of this song (see above, p. 295). Liu Yiqing (403-444), the Prince of Linchuan, reputedly created the title "Wu ye ti" (see above, p. 315), and Liu Dan (433-459), the Prince of Sui, is associated with "Xiangyang yue" (see above, p. 314). In a following section we will examine the important role of Emperor Xiaowu 孝武帝 (r. 454-464) in promoting the new music and the verse that was associated with it. It is clear that members of the Song imperial house were instrumental figures in raising the Southern

yuefu and thus the quatrain into the upper levels of society. Despite the popularity of these songs, however, when we turn to the works of the major poets of the early Song, it can be seen that these songs had made only the slightest of impressions on the literary tradition. It is as if there were two different currents flowing at separate levels with only an occasional and often indirect mixing of the two. On the one hand there were popular songs that served as entertainment and diversion; on the other hand there was the traditional literary verse that made up "true" serious poetry. During the early Song both traditions, for a brief period, flourished separately. Eventually, however, they would converge, and even in such a traditional poet as Xie Lingyun there is evidence of the influence of the new song forms.

There are two basic reasons why the Southern yuefu were at first slow to have an influence on the literary verse tradition despite their popularity. There was of course their popular, vulgar style, and the inherent nature and content of the songs that were about love, and were inevitably linked to singing girls and courtesans. As was seen in the previous chapter, these songs were naturally resisted by the more conservative, Confucian figures. Yan Yanzhi (384-456), who along with Xie Lingyun was one of the most famous and influential poets of his day, severely criticized Tang Huixiu (fl. 464), one of the early poets who

specialized in the new style of verse heavily influenced by popular songs. He went so far as to say that Tang Huixiu's "alley songs" would lead future generations astray (see above, p. 311). As far as is known, Yan Yanzhi never attempted to compose any such verse himself. In addition to such "moral" objections, it is also clear that the quatrain was at first ignored as a literary form simply because it did not fit into the literary trends that were dominant during the early Song. It was during this period that landscape verse, after undergoing a long period of evolution, climaxed in the poetry of Xie Lingyun. Xie Lingyun's landscape verse was characterized by a length, intricacy, detail, and a deliberate sense of method that were previously unknown in the Chinese poetic tradition. Xie Lingyun was the most famous poet of his day, and his influence would continue to be felt throughout the remainder of the Six Dynasties. The quatrain, of course, had no place in such verse. But it was not just landscape verse for which the quatrain was unsuited. The entire poetic tradition was limited by parameters that had evolved over centuries. Such parameters tended to define the occasions, themes and styles that were available to a poet, and at this early stage the quatrain did not fit into this tradition. For example, when we examine Xie Lingyun's corpus we see, in addition to his landscape verse, a wide variety of genres that he shared in common with his fellow literati poets:

there are a number of formal social poems to friends and associates, poems written to command while accompanying a superior, traditional yuefu titles, and imitation verse. To greater and lesser degrees the styles and forms appropriate for each genre were guided by distinct traditions. A typical social poem addressed to a friend or acquaintance was a very formal composition offered in the spirit of respect and praise. Many consist of a series of eight-line stanzas (zhang 章) composed in a stiff, allusive, elaborate style that often utilized four-syllable meter. Verse written to command was also composed in a very formal literary style. Yuefu poetry (ordinarily consisting of traditional Han and Wei titles) offered a greater degree of freedom ranging from an older traditional style close to the folk ballad to a more sophisticated literary style. In each case, however, it is clear that the quatrain, whose character and voice was to a large degree determined by the songs of courtesans, popular musicians and lovers, could have hardly fit into these established genres. The high literary poetic tradition that had evolved to this point would have to undergo various changes before the quatrain could make its mark.

Although Xie Lingyun's corpus is representative of the high poetic tradition in its most literary and advanced state, it also contains early signs of the emergence of the quatrain into this tradition. In his collection there are

several examples of quatrains. They are slight works that ordinarily would be passed over when evaluating Xie Lingyun's accomplishments as a poet, and could not be said to be representative of his basic style. They are, however, very interesting and significant in the way that they reflect the early beginnings of the quatrain as a literary form. Aside from a number of fragments, there are two (possibly three) titles that utilize the quatrain form, and both follow in established quatrain traditions. "Two Pieces, Presented and Answered at Dongyang Creek" ("Dongyang xi zhong zeng da er shou" 東陽溪中贈答二首) consists of a pair of matching courtship quatrains:

Oh so lovely, whose woman is that,
Following the currents, washing her bare white feet?
A bright moon amongst the clouds,
So far away cannot be reached.

Oh so lovely, whose man is that,
Following the currents riding a plain white boat?
You wonder about how I feel---just ask,
The moon will sink down from behind the clouds.

(Lu Qinli, p. 1185)[1]

Although these quatrains are not yuefu titles, they clearly belong to the courtship tradition from which the Southern

lyrics arose. Unfortunately we do not know the circumstances in which Xie Lingyun composed these pieces. May there have been an actual encounter at Dongyang Creek (south of Jinhua County 金華縣 in Zhejiang), or was Xie Lingyun simply imitating the popular songs that were now becoming popular? It is difficult to say for certain. Even the attribution is slightly suspicious. They were first recorded in the Yutai xinyong, a notoriously uncritical source. It is even possible that the pieces are from an anecdote about Xie Lingyun. In his commentary, Wu Zhaoyi (Qing) cites a zhiguai type incident recorded in the Kuocang zhi 拈蒼志 involving Xie Lingyun and two girls washing silk.[2] He flirts with them by reciting a quatrain, and when they refuse to answer he recites another. Finally they reply with a quatrain in which they hint they are carp (ji 鯽) and suddenly disappear.[3]

Towards the end of his life Xie Lingyun composed another poem using the quatrain form. Although he was already out of favor and in exile in Linchuan 臨川 (west of modern Linchuan in Jiangxi), Xie Lingyun refused to temper his provocative behavior. When the authorities moved to arrest him he attempted to raise a revolt, and composed the following piece:

When the state of Han fell, Zi Fang was aroused,
When Qin triumphed, Lu Lian felt ashamed;

I am a man of rivers and lakes,
But loyalty and right will move a gentleman.
(Lu Qinli, p. 1185)[4]

Zi Fang 子房 (the zi of Zhang Liang 張良 [d. 187 B.C.]) and Lu Lian 魯連 (Lu Zhonglian 魯仲連 [third century B.C.]) had both resisted the Qin Dynasty. Xie Lingyun is identifying his revolt against the Song with their efforts. He maintains that he would prefer a life of reclusion (he is "a man of rivers and lakes"), but that he has been stirred to revolt.[5]

Xie Lingyun's poem should remind us of the Chu song style quatrains that were discussed in "Chapter III" (see above pp. 203-18). It was composed in a classic Chu song situation, and is full of the feelings of kangkai typical of such pieces. We have seen that the use of the five-syllable quatrain on these occasions has a long history going back as early as the Western Jin, and that it would continue to be used on such occasions throughout the Six Dynasties. It was towards the end of the Eastern Jin and during the Song that these pieces began to increase in number. Xie Hui (390-426) and his follower, Xie Shiji (?-426) composed a pair of lianju quatrains in the Chu song tradition (see above, pp. 72-73). Wang Xin 王歆 (d. 397?) composed a series of three Chu song quatrains. One suspects that the increase of these quatrains may be related to the flourishing of the Southern

yuefu. It was just about this time that the popular songs first penetrated the upper levels of society on a large scale, and their use of the quatrain form must have encouraged the use of the quatrain for other types of lyrics and verse. This is clearly suggested by the circumstantial evidence. The quatrains of Xie Hui and Xie Shiji were lianju, or a matched pair. They may have been following the practice of matching lyrics that is so often seen in the Southern yuefu. Even more striking is the fact that Wang Xin's quatrains were composed to a Southern yuefu title, "Changshi bian ge" 長史變歌. According to the Song shu, "Yue zhi," Wang Xin composed this song just before his defeat (lin bai suo zhi 臨敗所製):[6]

Leaving through our Wuchang Gate,[7]
The pure waters were a turquoise green;
I walk back and forth amongst the war horses,
I tried to halt, but it couldn't be done.

My voice blends with the wild blowing winds,
My heart is steadfast in its pure virtue;
The vermillion gates display the glory of former generations,
May they signify loyalty and honor for a thousand years.

The red cinnamon tree sets its steadfast roots,
Its fragrance overflowing the imperial courtyard;
It suffers the frost without changing color,
The glory of its branches and leaves never ending.[8]

Wang Xin was from an illustrious family, his grandfather, Wang Dao 王導 (276-339), was one of the founders of the Eastern Jin. Thus Wang Xin's emphasis upon the family tradition in his lyrics.

Although the Chu-style quatrain formed a tradition distinct from that of the Southern yuefu, it appears that we see the two traditions blending. The new popular tradition, in large part because of the pervasiveness of the new music, was able to embrace and encourage different kinds of songs. Though the popular tradition may have originated in courtship songs, the music for these songs could be used for a variety of lyrics, and one can find a variety of subject matter within the Southern yuefu. Of course tradition and the music would shape the form of the new songs, and since the Southern yuefu were predominately quatrains, so were the new lyrics.

There is one more quatrain by Xie Lingyun that I would like to discuss. It is a poem entitled "In Answer to Xie Huilian" ("Da Xie Huilian" 答謝惠連). The source of this piece is the Yiwen leiju, thus there is a possibility that it is a fragment.[9] There are several reasons, however,

that suggest that it may be an intact piece. If it is complete, it would be an important illustration of the new directions that the quatrain would be taking.

> I think of you traveling a thousand li away,
> My thoughts have been troubled through a hundred days;
> When you left the blossoms where at their brightest,
> Since you've been gone the leaves have turned thick and full.
>
> (Lu Qinli, p. 1176)

The friendship between Xie Lingyun and his younger cousin Xie Huilian (407-433) is well known. Xie Huilian is supposed to have inspired Xie Lingyun in his dreams, and he was one of the few persons Xie Lingyun is said to have praised.[10] The closeness of their relationship, the deep affection that the two cousins shared, helps to explain the tone and character of the above verse. There are a number of other poems in Xie Lingyun's corpus that were "presented to" (zeng 贈) or "in answer to" (da 答) various relations and acquaintances. They are for the most part very formal, elevated pieces composed in a series of eight-line stanzas. In fact Xie Lingyun uses the orthodox four-syllable meter for these pieces. This type of composition was not very conducive to the expression of intimate feelings and thoughts. There does survive, however, a pair

of poems that Xie Huilian and Xie Lingyun wrote to each other after a parting that has a very different quality. Although "Meeting With Winds at Xiling, Sent to Xie Kangle" ("Xiling yu feng xian Xie Kangle" 西陵遇風獻謝康樂) and "In Reply to My Younger Cousin Huilian" ("Chou congdi Huilian" 酬從弟惠連.) were composed in eight-line stanzas, the style and tone of these pieces contrasts strongly with the usual formal type of zeng da verse.[11] Instead of the orthodox four-syllable meter the two cousins used five-syllable meter, and composed in a lighter, more lyrical style that was unusual for this period, and that contrasts strongly with Xie Lingyun's heavily crafted, dense landscape verse. Their verses, in fact, are very similar in tone, mood and composition to the series of verses that Cao Zhi (192-232) wrote to his brother, Cao Biao 曹彪 (195-251), the Prince of Boma 白馬王, when they were forced to part.[12] It is certain that they had these two figures in mind when they composed their own verse, and drew upon Cao Zhi's style and tone. Xie Lingyun even uses the device of beginning the following stanzas with a phrase from the concluding line of the previous stanza. I mention these two poems because they illustrate how Xie Lingyun and Xie Huilian went outside the prevailing genres and styles in search of a medium that could adequately express their feelings and their affection.

One suspects that the quatrain that Xie Lingyun

composed in answer to Xie Huilian (Huilian's original poem does not survive) is another example of this search for a fitting way to express his affection. Xie Lingyun's use of the quatrain form and the simple lyric style are very unusual for this period, and again strongly contrast with his usual style. He has drawn directly upon the popular tradition so as to speak in the voice of a lover. In this way he felt he could convey the deepness of their affections and his emotions. Xie Lingyun's borrowing of the lover's form and voice to express friendship is an important example of how the popular tradition was transferred to the literary tradition. We have mentioned how important an emotion friendship was for the literatus poet. It was, for the most part, a far more important subject for poetry than love. The literati poets would, however, often come to draw upon the lover's form and art to express their affections and feelings with their friends and colleagues.

It was mentioned above that the earliest source of Xie Lingyun's quatrain is a <u>leishu</u>. For this reason it is difficult to say for certain that it is not a fragment. But the style of the piece---the language is close to that of a folk or popular song and the voice is feminine---combined with the fact that it was about this time that the Southern popular songs were beginning to have an influence upon the verse of the upper classes (as we have seen, Xie Lingyun himself composed a pair of courtship quatrains), suggests

that it very likely is an intact piece.[13] Note, for example, the use of numbers in Xie Lingyun's opening couplet. This seems to be a stylistic motif derived from the Southern yuefu tradition. We have seen how one of the "Aonong ge" is almost made up entirely of numbers (see above, p. 277); Yu Xin spoke of "a thousand streams of tears" and Li Bo of hair "three thousand yards" long.[14] The parallelism of the quatrain is slightly suspicious, but as will be shown in a later section, this was a stylistic habit that the literati often brought to the quatrain from their other more literary, elevated styles of writing and genres. Fan Yun 范雲 (451-503) ended a lianju quatrain to He Xun 何遜 (?-ca.518) with a couplet very similar in style to Xie Lingyun's closing couplet, "Long ago when you left the snow was like the blossoms,/ Now you come and the blossoms are like snow."[15] It is known for certain that Fan Yun's piece is complete, and so it would appear is Xie Lingyun's quatrain. They both are perhaps based on a folk or popular lyric rhetorical motif.

Perhaps the finest example of an early literati quatrain from this period is a poem sent by Lu Kai 陸凱 (n.d.) to Fan Ye 范曄 (398-445) sometime around 416-418. It was first recorded in the Jingzhou ji 荊州記 (by Sheng Hongzhi 盛弘之 [fl. early fifth century]) which also describes the circumstances under which it was composed:

> Lu Kai and Fan Ye were very good friends. [Lu Kai] sent a sprig of plum blossoms from the South (Jiangnan 江南) [to Fan Ye]. [When the courier (?)] arrived in Chang-an, he gave it to Fan Ye, and also presented a poem:
>
> I was breaking off blossoms when I met with a courier,
> So I sent them off to this man of Longtou;
> There is nothing else here in the South,
> I thought I would send you this sprig of spring.[16]

Fan Ye had gone north with the campaign of 416-418 led by Liu Yu 劉裕 (356-422), the future founder of the Song.[17] During this campaign the southern forces had succeeded in briefly capturing Chang-an, so it must have been around this time that Lu Kai sent his poem. Lu Kai, who is in the south, sends the blossoms to Fan Ye because spring arrives later in the north. It appears to be a gesture of a close, intimate friendship. The giving of flowers seems to have been practiced among lovers. For example, one of Xiao Yan's 蕭衍 (Emperor Wu of the Liang) "Zi ye si shi ge" 子夜四時歌 ends with the couplet, "I break off a spray of plum and wait for the lovely one,/ Together we will greet the spring moon."[18] It is not clear why Lu Kai refers to Fan Ye as a "man of Longtou" (Longtou ren 隴頭人), but it appears to be a way of alluding to the fact that Fan Ye is

on a northern campaign.[19]

Lu Kai's poem is a remarkably advanced example of a quatrain for this period. Xie Lingyun's quatrain to Xie Huilian still had a distinct yuefu lyric flavor to it. The language, the images, and the voice were directly derived from the popular song tradition. In Lu Kai's quatrain this flavor is still detectable, but it lies in the background. The simplicity and clarity of the language cannot have come from the literary tradition. It ultimately should be traced back to the lyric tradition, or was at least inspired by it. What is remarkable is how Lu Kai was able to adapt the simple language and form for his own purposes. There is little obvious outward sign of the love song tradition, but the qualities of the poem---the intimacy, the directness, the simple naturalness of expression---reflect properties of the quatrain that had been explored and developed by the Southern yuefu.

Lu Kai's poem is a landmark in the development of the jueju. It is a very fine work that shows how the achievements of the lyric tradition are beginning to be adapted and transformed by the literati. We can see how a style and form created for the expression of love was easily taken up to express the emotions of friendship. There were, of course, obvious limitations to the quatrain. There are things one could only express or narrate in a longer form. But the quatrain would excel in the direct, intimate,

informal expression of pure and true emotions. It would add a new voice to the poetic vocabulary, and play an important role in the expansion and maturing of the literary tradition.

Bao Zhao and the Later Song

The quatrains of Xie Lingyun and Lu Kai were unusual, special works that had an intimate and personal quality. They were, however, exceptional, and by themselves could not have lifted the quatrain into the everyday practices of the literary world. It would be the nobility and their courts and salons that would be a major force in promoting the quatrain. Although we usually associate the influence of the courts and salons upon literature with the Qi and Liang dynasties, there are signs of this influence during the Song. As we have seen, the Song nobility were enthusiastic patrons and practitioners of the Southern yuefu. The trend of using the quatrain as a literary form that begins to develop by the middle of the Song dynasty appears to be the direct result of their enthusiasm.

Although a number of the Song nobility are known to have enjoyed the new music and composed Southern yuefu, it was Emperor Xiaowu 孝武帝 (Liu Jun 劉駿; r.454-464) who appears to have played a pivotal role in promoting the new

lyric verse.[20] In addition to his own quatrains, there are a number of other lyric style quatrains by poets from this period that seem to have links, direct or indirect, to Liu Jun. During the middle of the Song, major developments occured in the literary tradition. The traditional, orthodox, style of poetry represented by Xie Lingyun and Yan Yanzhi, began to give way to newer styles and developments by poets such as Bao Zhao and Tang Huixiu. This is not to say that the verse of Xie Lingyun and Yan Yanzhi was overthrown or rejected. It continued to represent the dominant, orthodox tradition and would continue to be very influential. The verse of Bao Zhao and Tang Huixiu was criticized and resisted. One does find, however, in some of their verse the beginnings of developments that would be continued during the Qi and the Liang dynasties, including the increased use of the quatrain. Both these poets can be linked to Liu Jun, and he may very well have encouraged them in their efforts.

Liu Jun was himself an accomplished poet. Liu Xie 劉勰 (ca. 465-ca. 520), in the Wenxin diaolong 文心雕龍, described him as "...a man of great gifts, the brilliance of his writings was like gathered clouds" (Xiaowu duo cai, ying cai yun gou 孝武多才, 英采雲構).[21] Looking through his extant corpus, one can see a wide variety of titles. Although one does find traditional themes and occasions, for example, there are a number of

landscape poems in the collection, what is striking are the new titles and themes to be found. The form, the content, and the style of such pieces as "Listening to Singing Girls at Night" ("Ye ting ji" 夜聽妓), "Ever Since You Left" ("Zi jun zhi chu yi" 自君之出矣), "The Four Seasons" ("Si shi" 四時), and the Southern yuefu title "Ding duhu ge" 丁督護歌 are evidence of the new developments in poetry. The influence of the new popular music was clearly a major factor in these changes. Many of the new titles are in the quatrain form, with one of the titles actually being a Southern yuefu. Wang Yunxi has suggested that Liu Jun played a major role in the promotion of the new yuefu, and this is reflected in his verse.[22] According to the Nan Qi shu it was during the Daming 大明 period (457-464 [the second of Liu Jun's two reign periods]) that singers and musicians became proficient at the songs of Zheng 鄭 and Wei 衛 (the traditional way to refer to decadent, licentious music; here it refers to the new popular music) and neglected the traditional proper, refined music.[23]

There are a number of indications that suggest that Liu Jun's modern tastes had an influence on the current literary scene. Liu Jun is known to have composed a lyric quatrain to the title "Ever since you left," a title based upon one of the quatrains in a longer poem by Xu Gan 徐幹 (170-217) (see above, pp. 3-4). As far as is known this title was first introduced during the Song. In addition to Liu Jun,

Liu Yigong 劉義恭, the Prince of Jiangxia 江夏王 (413-465) and Yan Shibo 顏師伯 (419-465), both of whom were talented musicians, also composed lyrics to this title. Although we cannot determine who first created this title, the fact that Liu Yigong and Yan Shibo both served under Liu Jun suggests that they may have been following the lead of Liu Jun.[24] Another interesting title is Liu Jun's "Listening to Singing Girls at Night." It is not a yuefu title or a quatrain. Such a work does, however, reflect the changing standards and tastes of the time. The subject matter ordinarily would not have been a fit topic in the orthodox literary tradition. Its appearance points to future developments when poetry was heavily influenced by the salons and courts during the Qi and Liang dynasties. For example, a number of Yongming and gongti poets composed poems with this title. During the Song, Bao Zhao is also known to have composed two pieces to this title (one of which is seven-syllable quatrain). Again we cannot be sure who composed their works first, but one would suspect that Bao Zhao, who served under Liu Jun, was following the example of Liu Jun. In any case we are seeing that new titles, themes, and forms are beginning to appear among certain poets who are known to have links to Liu Jun, and that there must have been some sort of contact and mutual influence amongst them.

Among the extant twenty-one titles attributed to Liu

Jun, three utilize the quatrain form. These may amount to as many as eight quatrains. They include "Ever Since You Left", "The Four Seasons," and a group of lyrics to the Southern yuefu title, "Ding duhu ge." "The Four Seasons" appears to be modeled upon the quatrain attributed to Tao Yuanming (365-427) that was extracted from a longer piece by Gu Kaizhi (ca. 345-ca. 406) (see above, pp. 39-40). The fashion of using each of the individual lines of a quatrain to describe or allude to one of the four seasons (or a series of four other phenomena) as a sort of literary game first appears during the Song. There are a number of examples of such verse from the Qi and Liang.[25]

The most important and interesting quatrains that have been attributed to Liu Jun are the six lyrics to the title "Ding Duhu ge." The problem of the authorship of these lyrics is extremely confused and uncertain. I have followed Wang Yunxi's suggestion that they are most probably by Liu Jun, though certain pieces may have been adapted from folk songs.[26] What is striking about these lyrics is their shift in content. Scenes and concerns not found in the usual Southern yuefu suddenly appear:

> The commander has left on the northern campaign,
> He is in the vanguard, nothing stands in his way;
> Under vermillion gates dip tall-canopied chariots,
> For ages long they shall proclaim his deeds and fame.

"Ding Duhu ge" no. 1 (Lu Qinli, p. 1219)

The mention of war and the commemoration of glory and fame were foreign to the original Southern yuefu tradition. These concerns were brought in by the nobility and generals as the songs became more popular at this level of society. The other five lyrics are all parting songs:

> I heard my love was going on the northern campaign,
> I escorted him as far as the landing at Dupu;[27]
> Now only tears can come forth,
> There are no emotions left to pour out.
>
> "Ding duhu ge" no. 4 (Lu Qinli, p. 1219)

Parting was one of the most common themes in the Southern yuefu. The lyric above has the style and feeling of a true popular song. The opening couplet, for example, uses a common formula found in the Southern yuefu in which the singer declares that she has heard that her lover is going to place X, and that she has sent him off at place Y.[28] The specific occasion of the parting in this group of lyrics, however, is very unusual. The mentioning of a northern campaign or northern place names that occurs in all of the lyrics introduces an unusual note to the pieces. Ordinarily the singers of the Southern yuefu are concerned only with herself and her lover. Their world is a very closed one,

and the intrusion of the outside world in these pieces is striking. The theme of man and wife separated by war was common in the older, traditional style yuefu, but it was not a scene ordinarily found in the Southern yuefu. Again, I think we are seeing an example of the adoption of new concerns and topics that emerges as the songs move through different levels of society.[29] Note also that the martial aspects of these songs are expressed in terms similar to those seen in Wang Xin's "Changshi bian ge" (see above, pp. 385-87). The last couplet in "Ding duhu ge" no. 1, "Under vermillion gates dip tall-canopied chariots,/ For ages long they shall proclaim his deeds and fame," is very similar to the last couplet in "Changshi biange" no. 2, "The vermillion gates display the glory of former generations,/ May they signify loyalty and honor for a thousand years." The line "I walk back and forth amongst the war horses" ("Changshi bian ge" no. 1) is similar to the line "It is difficult and bitter among the war horses" ("Ding duhu ge" no. 2). It appears that a set of conventions and formula were developed to treat these new themes and concerns.

The two Song poets, Tang Huixiu and Bao Zhao, played crucial roles in adapting the new lyric tradition to the literary tradition. Both of these figures served under Liu Jun. They are also known to have been good friends.[30] Again we see evidence of contemporaries encouraging and influencing each other's work.[31] Very little is known

about the life of Tang Huixiu, though the few facts available are very interesting.[32] Originally Tang Huixiu was a monk, but later he was summoned by Liu Jun when he became emperor. Tang Huixiu left the order and served as an official under Liu Jun.[33] He was known for his literary talents, and this presumably is why he was summoned by Liu Jun.[34] Most significantly, he was particularly skilled in the new lyric style poetry that was beginning to emerge at this time. This is clearly revealed by the few extant examples of Tang Huixiu's work. Of the seven titles that survive, six are yuefu. Although they are not to known Wu or Western song titles, they are representative of the new lyric style. Three of the titles (a total of five pieces) are quatrains, and all of the yuefu can be described as love songs. I use the term "love song" very loosely. One could say that the Southern yuefu are true love songs, but in Tang Huixiu's lyrics one sees the assortment of approaches that the literatus tended to rely on when coming to the subject of women and love. There is the imitation of the style of genuine yuefu, descriptions of singers and dancers, the assuming of the persona of a woman, and standard themes such as separation. The literatus ordinarily would avoid writing a true love song that expressed his own individual emotions (at least it is not the type of verse that would be revealed to the public and handed down). These literati approaches are in part very traditional, but Tang Huixiu's exclusive

devotion to this type of verse, and his use of new forms and more ornate, sensual styles are indicative of the recent changes that were taking place in poetry. His poetry is very reminiscent of the gongti verse that would eventually prove so popular during the Liang. Since his quatrains are all of a similar character (with the exception of a seven-syllable quatrain that will be discussed later), I will only quote one example of his quatrain verse:

> Below the deep embankments grows the grass,
> Up above the towering walls reach into the clouds;
> For a spring person longing grows in the heart,
> A longing heart, always because of you.
>
> "Yang hua qu" no. 3 (Lu Qinli, p. 1244)

Tang Huixiu's lyric, composed in the persona of a female lover, is in the Southern yuefu tradition. Yet it does not quite feel like a true popular song. It is made up of a somewhat awkward blend of literati and popular elements. The parallelism of the opening couplet reflects the influence of the literary tradition. It is rather strained, and does not comfortably fit in with the poem as a whole. Tang Huixiu's attempts to imitate the language of popular lyric are also labored. The manner in which he repeats "grow" (sheng 生) in the first and third lines and "heart" (xin 心) and "longing" (si 思) in the third and

fourth lines is modeled after a style of lyric diction often seen in the Southern yuefu. Compare, for example, the following lyric:

> Spring breezes move a spring heart,
> Roaming eyes take in the hills and groves;
> Hills and groves full of lovely colors,
> And springtime birds pouring out clear notes.
>
> "Zi ye si shi ge, chun" no. 1 (see above, p. 288)

The use of repetition in this piece is smooth and natural. In Tang Huixiu's piece it is at best a slightly clever, and not very successful device.

The awkwardness of Tang Huixiu's lyric is illustrative of the kinds of problems the literati and nobility would encounter as they attempted to imitate and adapt from the popular love song tradition. The direct imitation of the Southern yuefu tradition, and later developments and variations of this approach would constitute one of the most popular and visible types of quatrains throughout the Six Dynasties. It was, however, extremely difficult for the literati to compose such verse successfully. There were the problems of language and style such as we have seen in Tang Huixiu's verse. The literati and nobility could not continue simply to imitate the language of popular and folk lyric. The most fundamental problem, however, was that the

literati, as a rule, were not composing true love songs. They did not sing with the true feelings and passions of a lover. The emotions that drove the singers of the popular songs are missing in the "love songs" of the literati. Though the literati and nobility would eventually develop their own characteristic approaches to the love song, the lack of genuine personal emotions often tended to limit their efforts.

It may at first seem surprising that Tang Huixiu, a former Buddhist monk, should have been an accomplished and influential poet in the modern lyrical style verse, a type of verse that was centered around the erotic and sensual side of life. Strangely enough this was a rather common phenomenon during the Six Dynasties. We have already seen several other Buddhist figures in our examination of the Southern yuefu. Emperor Wu of the Qi (440-493) asked a Buddhist monk, Shi Baoyue 釋寶月 (fl. 480), to arrange a song he had composed after the Prefect of the Music Bureau was unsuccessful (Baoyue later submitted his own lyrics to this title, they were all in the Southern yuefu style; see above, pp. 315-16); Emperor Wu of the Liang (r. 502-550) ordered Fayun 法雲 (467-429) to rework a Southern yuefu title (see pp. 295-96); and the Gu jin yuelu 古今樂錄, the important yuefu collection that provides us much of our knowledge about the Southern yuefu (as cited in the Yuefu shiji), was compiled by the Buddhist monk, Zhijiang 智匠

(fl. 568). Buddhists often had musical expertise, and were very knowledgeable of popular musical traditions. This knowledge was a part of the skills they developed as preachers and reciters of chants and sutras. In "Chapter III" (pp. 181-90) it was tentatively concluded that the quatrains found in the sutras probably did not have any direct influence in shaping the quatrain tradition that eventually developed into the juejiu. It does appear, however, that Buddhist musicians had a not unimportant role in helping to develop the new musical and lyric traditions that shaped the current literary trends.[35]

Bao Zhao was the first major Six Dynasties poet to make extensive use of the quatrain form. More importantly, he treated the form seriously, and helped it to develop beyond the popular lyric tradition and the limited range of the "love songs" we have seen in Liu Jun and Tang Huixiu. There are over thirty quatrains in his collection, including several pieces composed in four-syllable and seven-syllable meter. The range of topics and styles to be found in his quatrains is striking. In addition to a number of relatively slight pieces that were composed in accordance with current fashion, Bao Zhao also used the quatrain for serious, personal themes and topics that hitherto had been closed off from the quatrain. At one extreme one sees the quatrain used for word games, and gongti style love songs, but one also sees the quatrain used for imperial eulogy,

yong shi 詠史 verse (poems on history---a serious, traditional theme), several allegorical series, and personal mood pieces that are Tang-like in their approach and tone.

Bao Zhao's uninhibited acceptance of the quatrain form can be explained in several ways. In part it was simply a matter of following the newly developing literary fashions. As has been seen, Liu Jun and Tang Huixiu, poets with whom Bao Zhao was well acquainted, worked extensively with the form. Bao Zhao's relatively humble background may have also been a factor in his acceptance of the form that was associated with popular music.[36] Most important, however, was Bao Zhao's basic character as a writer and poet. Bao Zhao excelled at all types of writing be it parallel prose, rhapsodies (fu 賦) or shi poetry. As a poet he was a pivotal figure who besides being practiced in the traditional, orthodox traditions and styles exemplified by Xie Lingyun and Yan Yanzhi, also drew heavily both upon the past and the most modern and advanced developments. Looking through his corpus one sees a poet exploring a variety of paths in his search for means of poetic expression. The variety of titles, genres, and the range of styles in which he composed was unprecedented. Many of Bao Zhao's innovations lead directly to later developments in Six Dynasties verse, and some of his experiments were so advanced that they would not be matched until the Tang dynasty. For example, Bao Zhao's use of seven-syllable

meter helped initiate the gradual development of this meter during the Six Dynasties, but his most experimental and advanced use of the seven-syllable and mixed-line meters for powerful, uninhibited, colloquial flavored, personal verse (e.g. the "Xing lu nan" 行路難 series) remained at the edge of the main currents of literary fashion and would not be equaled until the Tang. Bao Zhao's innovative use of the quatrain thus should be of no surprise. It was part of his nature to explore the potential of the new forms and styles that were beginning to emerge at this turning point of the poetic tradition. And again, while one can see him working in current styles with his quatrains, there are also developments that will only be fully taken up much later during the Tang.

We will not be able to examine each of Bao Zhao's quatrains, although almost all of them are important and worth studying. The pieces that will be discussed will hopefully prove sufficient to provide an accurate picture of developments in the quatrain, and Bao Zhao's unique and crucial contributions to the advance of this form. The first group of quatrains we will examine is the set of lyrics to the title "Zhongxing ge" 中興歌 ("Songs of Restoration").[37] This is a series of imperial eulogies that were almost certainly dedicated to Liu Jun after he had become emperor, or shortly before he took the throne.[38] The series contains a strange blend of panegyric and love song

that is illustrative of how far the Southern yuefu had advanced, but also of how uninhibited the courts had become, and of how standards and traditions had fallen. Ordinarily one would expect the most formal and traditional of styles and titles for such an occasion and topic. That new, popular song forms should be used for imperial eulogies is indicative of the very radical changes that were talking place in society and the literary milieu. A few examples from the series will illustrate the contrasting tones and content:

> For a thousand winters we have waited for a spring,
> After ten-thousand nights we see the morning sun;
> In our lifetime we have met with the Restoration,
> Our joy rises and all our troubles cease.
>
> "Zhongxing ge" no. 1 (Lu Qinli, p. 1271)[39]

During the Song, the term "Restoration" (zhongxing 中興) was used in several instances to refer to the accession to the throne and reign of Liu Jun (see above, note 38). In this first lyric Bao Zhao is celebrating Liu Jun's rule in the typical flattering, eulogistic tones demanded of such pieces. It is typical of a number of the other lyrics in the series. Other lyrics, however, are in the Southern yuefu and love song traditions that we have become familiar with:

A brilliant sun shines through the front window,
Glittering amidst delicate silken hangings;
A beauty hides behind her fragile fan,
Full of longing she sings of the spring breeze.
"Zhongxing ge" no. 4 (Lu Qinli, p. 1271)

This lyric is a very fine example of the gongti style yuefu quatrain that would become so popular during the Qi and Liang and eventually form one of the major sub-genres of the jueju. In the lyrics of Liu Jun and Tang Huixiu we saw that early attempts to compose verse in the Southern yuefu style tended to directly imitate the popular songs. The poets composed in the persona of a female lover, and the style was heavily influenced by the diction and rhetoric of popular verse. Bao Zhao's lyric, on the other hand, is purely descriptive. Although the language is in a light lyrical style, there is a clarity and crispness in the diction and the imagery that tells us that it has come from the hand of a gifted poet. The imagery of the opening couplet is especially fine. It is reminiscent of the closing image of a famous gongti style jueju by Li Bo, "She draws down crystal curtains,/ And gazes at the glittering autumn moon" (que xia shuijing lian,/ linglong wang qiu yue 卻下水晶簾，玲瓏望秋月).[40] I think that Li Bo must have known Bao Zhao's piece. Though the settings are different,

the brilliance and clarity they imbue into their scenes through their depictions of the quality of light and its effects are very similar. Bao Zhao is known to have had a great influence upon Li Bo, though we usually think in terms of Bao Zhao's seven-syllable and mixed-line yuefu such as "Xing lu nan" 行路難 . Here we see another aspect of this influence.[41]

The blend of imperial eulogy and gongti style verse is interwoven throughout the series. Though it is an odd combination, the lyrics do appear to be a single series. Perhaps the lyrics form a suite that was originally intended to be performed at a court banquet or celebration, and was thus meant to serve both as eulogy and entertainment (see below, note 47). As we have seen, Liu Jun was very fond of the new music, and Bao Zhao may have been deliberately playing to his tastes. Nakamori Kenji has even suggested that it was this series of lyrics that convinced Liu Jun to promote Bao Zhao.[42] It was during the reign of Liu Jun that Bao Zhao first took office in the central government.[43] It appears that Bao Zhao was promoted because of his literary talent, and his skill at the new style verse may have been one of reasons for his promotion.[44] Remember that Bao Zhao's friend, Tang Huixiu, was also first summoned by Liu Jun. The last lyric in the series is an appeal by Bao Zhao to Liu Jun:

The beauty of the plum blossom is of a single season,
The color of the bamboo leaves is for a thousand years;
I wish that my lord's heart to be like cypress and pine,
Strong hued and shining without end.

"Zhongxing ge" no. 10 (Lu Qinli, p. 1272)[45]

This lyric is close to the popular style. It is in the persona of a girl, and the language and imagery come from the love song tradition. Bao Zhao, however, is not simply imitating a folk song. The portrayal of the relationship of minister and lord as that of man and wife had a long tradition in China. Bao Zhao has assumed the persona of a female lover so as to ask for the favor of his lord, Liu Jun. The fourth line contains a pun that states Bao Zhao's wishes. The word cai 采 (color) is a pun for cai 採 (pick, grasp) and zhao 照 (shine) stands for Bao Zhao. Bao Zhao is hoping that Liu Jun will select him for office.[46]

In the poems above we can see the new popular lyric style verse moving up into more "elevated" realms, albeit in rather striking and unusual ways. The use of popular song for imperial eulogy is as much a sign of the "fall" of traditional norms and standards as it is of the rise of a popular tradition. Bao Zhao may have been the first to initiate this use of the Southern yuefu tradition.[47] There are a number of other similar lyrics from the Song through

the Qi and Liang, though as far as I know Bao Zhao's pieces are the earliest datable examples. They include anonymous pieces set to actual Southern yuefu titles, as well as pieces by well known literati poets such as Xie Tiao (464-499) and Wang Rong 王融 (467-493).[48]

The "Songs of Restoration" were "public" poems in which Bao Zhao worked within current trends, and helped to advance mainstream developments from the popular lyric tradition. In addition to such works, Bao Zhao also explored the potential of the quatrain lyric in original, creative ways for his own serious, personal verse. Some of his efforts were far ahead of their time---one could almost say daring in their willingness to regard the quatrain as seriously as any other form or genre---and would lie outside the mainstream of current developments until the Tang. Bao Zhao composed two major series of quatrains in addition to the "Songs of Restoration" that show him exploring and struggling with the new form in unprecedented ways. Here we will examine a set of seven lyrics he composed to the title of "Caltrop Gathering Songs" ("Cai ling ge" 採菱歌). As far as is known this title was created by Bao Zhao. In the Yuefu shi ji it is found in the "Qingshang quci" section, the same section in which we find the Wu and Western Songs.[49] Bao Zhao's lyrics are clearly rooted in the Southern yuefu tradition. We have noted how the gathering of water plants and mulberry leaves were occasions

for courtship often reflected in popular songs.[50] Qian Zhonglian's commentary specifically mentions that in the regions of Wu 吳 and Chu 楚, the gathering of caltrops was an occasion for singing and courtship.[51] Bao Zhao composed his series of lyrics in the persona of a wandering figure gathering caltrops and searching for his or her lover. The title of the series may also be an allusion to Qu Yuan 屈原 and the Chuci 楚辭. "Cai ling" 採菱 is the title of a song mentioned in the "Zhao hun" 招魂.[52] In view of the strong flavor of the Chuci in Bao Zhao's lyrics, it appears that with his choice of title he intended to link his lyrics to this tradition, and hint at their significance:

I race my boat swiftly along the cassia shores,
I rest my oars to lay beside pepper tree pools;
The lays of a flute purify the regions north of the Xiang,
Caltrop songs cleanse the regions south of the Han.[53]

I stop my boat to pick sprouts of sweet clover,
Halt my song to weave pollia and melilotus;
Full of sorrow I discard the spring's watery blossoms,
Entangled in thoughts, I reach for budded petals in the clouds.[54]

Since we parted I have greeted the warmth of a new

spring,
But it is with sadness and disappointment that I
encounter the lovely flowers;
My autumn heart could not be moved,
My spring thoughts are as tangled as rinsing hemp.

I arranged to meet the lovely one amidst a pair of
isles,
I watch for the beautiful one between two strands;
Gently, gently blows the wind up from the banks,
The sun shimmers as it sets into the hills.[55]

In mist and darkness, the peaks of Yue run deep,
LIke a speeding arrow, the rush of the River in Chu;
In vain I harbor the grief within a lute,
I can only gaze with tears at the "closest pass."[56]

Holding in my sighs I cross the pearl depths,
Drawing in my sorrow I mount the metal dike;
The blossoms of spring will soon be exhausted and
withered,
And yet this man cannot match them.[57]

Thinking of the present, I yearn with recent memories,
Looking to the past, I yearn with distant remembrances;
Yearning for the past, yearning for the present,

Always yearning, there is no end.

"Cai ling ge" nos. 1-7 (Lu Qinli, p. 1270)[58]

In Bao Zhao's lyrics there are worlds never seen before in the quatrain. Into the frame of popular song he has placed the world of Qu Yuan and the Chuci to create an allegorical portrayal of his deepest fears and frustrations. Throughout the series Bao Zhao has taken phrases, motifs, and images from the Chuci and woven them into his lines. That Bao Zhao chose to express himself by drawing upon the aura of Qu Yuan, shows the seriousness and magnitude of his purpose. Even Bao Zhao's decision to use a popular lyric form was modeled upon the figure of Qu Yuan. As Qu Yuan drew upon shaman songs and the motif of the failed love affair between shaman and spirit to express his failure and frustration, Bao Zhao drew upon the courtship song, and the image of the searching lover. He blended these two traditions to create a series of lyrical, allegorical images, full of yearning, frustration and disappointment.

It is not clear what specific events, situations or persons Bao Zhao may be referring to in these pieces. His writing is intentionally cryptic and evocative, and at times the meaning of his lines, images and allusions is not clear. We know that Bao Zhao's life was full of frustration and disappointment. The bitterness he experienced as a an unsuccessful official is one of the major themes of his

writings. Qu Yuan, of course, was a sort of patron saint of the frustrated, misunderstood scholar-official, thus Bao Zhao's turn to the earlier poet in this series. The single clue to a possible topical significance in the series occurs in the last line of the fifth lyric. The phrase "closest pass" (jin guan 近關) is an allusion to a story in the Zuo zhuan 左傳. When Sun Wenzi 孫文子 was planning to lead a rebellion against Duke Xian of Wei 衛獻公 he first sounded out Qu Boyu 蘧伯玉. Qu Boyu diplomatically replied it might not be a good idea, then sensing trouble left through the nearest pass.[59] Bao Zhao had served under the Prince of Shixing 始興王 (Liu Jun 劉濬; 429-453) beginning in 447. In 453, the Prince of Shixing and a brother led a rebellion against Emperor Wen. It appears that Bao Zhao may have suspected the rebellion and managed to retire from his position around 452, before it broke out.[60] Bao Zhao may have been referring to these events with his allusion. Thus some scholars have suggested that this series was composed around 452-453.[61] It should also be remembered, however, that Bao Zhao later served on the staff of Liu Zixu 劉子頊 (457-466), Prince of Linhai 臨海王. This prince would also revolt and involve Bao Zhao in a rebel regime. The "Cai ling ge" could just as well have been composed at this period. The Prince of Linhai was serving as the governor of Jingzhou 荊州 (roughly modern Hubei) at this time, and Bao Zhao may have been referring to

this region in the first lyric. Moreover, the last sentence of the fifth lyric, "I can only gaze with tears at the closest pass," seems to be saying that in this case he was unable to free himself from involvement in the rebellion that would eventually claim his life, and could only gaze at the "closest pass." The last few lyrics are strongly elegiac in mood and tone, and would seem to fit these events of his late years.

As Bao Zhao brought to the quatrain lyric concerns that would previously have been treated only in literary poems, he also introduced elements of the literati voice into the quatrain. The style, language, and diction that we find in these lyrics owe much to traditional literary verse. As one reads through Bao Zhao's verse one feels a strength, depth and solidness to his lines that was not part of the popular song tradition. It is as if Bao Zhao had opened the door to poetic history and traditions that had developed over centuries. Ordinarily the quatrain would have been shut off from this world, but now it suddenly finds itself heir to these traditions and one senses the quatrain beginning to mature and enter the world of belles-lettres. The tradition that Bao Zhao drew upon most heavily for these pieces was that of Qu Yuan and the Chuci. As has been mentioned, many of the phrases, motifs, and images come directly from the Chuci. In addition, much of the diction and technique is derived from the current, orthodox literary tradition. This

can be seen most clearly in Bao Zhao's extensive use of parallelism. The first five lyrics are composed entirely of parallel couplets, while the last two lyrics open with parallel couplets. This extensive use of parallelism was not part of the song lyric style. That Bao Zhao relied upon it so heavily can be explained in two ways. To begin with, we must remember that the use of parallelism in poetry actually reached a sort of peak during the Song. It was a major component of the orthodox literary style, and was developed to new heights by poets such as Xie Lingyun and Yan Yanzhi. It was only natural that Bao Zhao should have drawn upon this literary technique now that he was taking the quatrain seriously and using it to express concerns and themes that had been limited to literary verse. In addition, it should be noted that these seven lyrics were composed as a series. Each lyric was conceived as a part of a whole, and was not meant to stand on its own. Ordinarily, in the lyric style quatrain, two parallel couplets would be avoided. The opening couplet might be parallel, but to also conclude with a parallel couplet would threaten the natural flow and structure of the quatrain form. In a series, however, each individual piece need not have the sense of completeness and finality of an independent quatrain, and the extensive use of parallelism presents few problems. Note that in the last two pieces of the series Bao Zhao avoids using parallelism in the second couplets. This is

because he is drawing to a close and is imparting the sense of conclusion.

In these pieces one can observe the quatrain maturing as Bao Zhao blends the lyric and literary traditions. Suddenly there is a new feel and sound to the form. There is an added resonance and depth, and one begins to think of these pieces as poems rather than lyrics. The great critic Wang Fuzhi 王夫之 (1619-1692) has made several interesting comments about these pieces that illustrate how the quatrain can now be discussed as poetry. He makes the following observation about the first lyric:

> [It] illustrates that in the case of the finest short poems (xiao shi 小詩, i.e. quatrains), the more "level" (ping 平) the poem the more far reaching it is.[62]

In the typical Southern yuefu, singers relied upon wit. They attempted to startle and move their listeners with striking images, twists and punch lines, and much of the art of the jueju was derived from their approach. In order for the quatrain to mature, however, it would have to be toned down and refined. Here Wang Fuzhi is pointing out that Bao Zhao's piece has avoided such techniques. It is made up of two parallel couplets that proceed evenly and quietly, and thus has a greater, more far reaching resonance. The

following comment is on the fourth lyric:

> The inner veins of the language (yu mai 語脈) are like a light haze curling through an empty sky; a chill radiance permeates throughout. Wang Jiangning 王江寧 (Wang Changling 王昌齡; ca. 698-ca. 756) strove to his utmost to achieve these [qualities], yet one still feels that his verse is unbalanced and constricted.[63]

Series such as the "Cai ling ge" were exceptional poems by an exceptional poet. They are far more advanced than the quatrains of Bao Zhao's contemporaries. And in fact the use of quatrains for a unified poetic series would not be fully taken up until the Tang. It should also be recognized, however, that in certain respects the approach to the quatrain seen in this series ran counter to or a least was at the periphery of basic trends of development. Bao Zhao's extensive use of parallelism, for example, was encouraged by the fact that he was composing a series. For independent quatrains which were based upon the jueju type structure, this style of composition was generally avoided. It is true that during the late Six Dynasties as the literati turned increasingly to the quatrain and brought with them traditional literary habits, they often experimented with parallelism. But by the Tang a jueju composed of two

parallel couplets would have been very unusual, and it would take exceptional poets such Du Fu to explore the possibilities of this structure. It was largely because of these efforts that Du Fu's jueju were so often criticized. To many critics they seemed to violate the basic aesthetic principles of the genre (see "Introduction," note 13).

Bao Zhao's use of the quatrain for a series of very personal, serious poems was the most ambitious use of the form up to this time.[64] A number of his other quatrains are also very remarkable, advanced examples of this form. His collection includes several private, lyrical, mood pieces:

> I left home, I didn't realize how far away I would be,
> Now my joys are few and my troubles ever mount;
> What is there to soothe this autumn gaze of mine?
> In the clear light of a candle I watch as the night turns into dawn.
>
> "Ye ting sheng" 夜聽聲 ("Listening At Night")[65]
> (Lu Qinli, p. 1311)

A verse such as this is remarkable for this period. It is not a yuefu, a love song, or a poem to a friend. It was not composed for any of the typical occasions or on any of themes that we have seen developing in the Song. It is a simple, private poem in which Bao Zhao records his mood at a certain moment. Eventually the quatrain would excel for

such verse in which the poet could express his feelings, simply, directly and naturally. During the Tang thousands of jueju would be written in a similar spirit and mood. That Bao Zhao could turn to the quatrain at such a moment to record his mood shows his remarkable perception of the qualities and potential of the form, and is an important signal of the transformation of the quatrain from song to poem. In this area also Bao Zhao was far ahead of his time, and it would be several generations later before other poets would begin to follow his lead.

There are other quatrains by Bao Zhao that would be worth discussing if time permitted. The examples above, however, should be sufficient to show the important role Bao Zhao played in the development of the quatrain, and the remarkable advances the form underwent once a major poet regarded it seriously. Some of his quatrains were composed in the current fashion of the time. They were clearly encouraged by the same literary milieu that produced the quatrains of poets such as Liu Jun and Tang Huixiu. Such pieces were directly linked to the popular lyric tradition and formed trends that would continue to be developed in the courts and salons of the Qi and Liang. But Bao Zhao also brought a unique, personal approach to the quatrain which enabled him to explore the potential of the form in ways never attempted before. This will be a continuing pattern in the development of the jueju. On the one hand the

quatrain will be closely linked to the new styles of poetry such as Yongming and gongti verse. On the other hand we will also see a number of poets beginning to explore the use of the quatrain for a variety of new, personal uses distinct from the public fashions and trends of the day. Both phenomena would prove important to the development of the jueju. Yongming and gongti verse would help to popularize the form, and would also shape the development of certain important sub-genres of the jueju. The efforts of more original poets would deepen and expand the potential of the form and help it break away from the limitations of its early heritage.

The Quatrain During the Qi Dynasty

During the Qi dynasty (479-502) salons and courts would come to shape and dominate poetry to an extent unprecedented in the Chinese tradition. We have seen evidence of the beginnings of this process in the late Song. By the Qi and Liang (502-557), salons and courts would be at the center of all the major literary fashions and innovations of the late Six Dynasties.[66] Although the poetry of this period has often been denounced by both traditional and modern critics, it should be recognized that this was an extremely rich, innovative, and important era in the history of Chinese

verse. It was, after all, during the late Six Dynasties that the foundations for the Tang, the "golden age" of Chinese poetry, were set.

The importance of the rise of salon and court lay in the fact that it introduced new approaches and attitudes toward literature that directly influenced and changed the nature and quality of poetry. Poetry became less elevated and serious. It often came to be seen as a game, as amusement, and as entertainment. It is true that this approach tended to limit the depth and range of the verse composed, and that one often finds a frivolity and preciosity that critics would focus on when they condemned such verse. On the other hand, the sense of "play," and competition, the idea that composing poetry was a kind of social intercourse to be practiced among friend and colleagues, would lead directly to a series of rules and innovations that would shape the form, diction and prosody of new styles and genres of verse. The following incident is an example of how such poetry was composed during this period:

> One evening the Prince of Jingling 竟陵王, Xiao Ziliang 蕭子良 (460-494), gathered together a group of scholars. They composed poetry by marking a candle, stipulating an inch (cun 寸) for four rhymes (eight lines). Xiao Wenyan 蕭文

> 琰 said, "What is so difficult about composing a four rhyme poem in the time it takes a candle to burn an inch?" Then he together with Qiu Lingkai 丘令楷, Jiang Hong 江洪 and others set the rhyme, struck a bronze bowl, and completed their poems before the sound had died out. The poems were all worth reading.[67]

A number of other similar descriptions from the Qi and Liang illustrate that poetry was often a very public, social activity and that it was conducted according to certain conventions and rules.[68]

The changes brought about by the influence of the salons and courts can be simply and graphically demonstrated by comparing the titles of the verse that was being composed at this time to those of an earlier poet such as Xie Lingyun. Xie Lingyun's corpus was composed primarily of landscape verse, but also included formal occasional verse, and literary yuefu composed to traditional yuefu titles. The collections of Yongming poets such as Wang Rong and Xie Tiao also include such works, but in addition we see a plethora of new titles, occasions and sub-genres that indicate the shifts and changes in the literary world that were taking place during the Qi dynasty. Among their works we find a number of poems whose titles show they were composed on a variety of social occasions. They include

phrases such as ying jiao 應教 (composed to the instructions of), ying zhao 應詔 (composed to imperial command), feng he 奉和 (respectfully matching the verse of), he 和 (matching the verse of), tong 同 (composed together with), zeng 贈 (presented to), da 答 (in answer to), and lianju 連句 (linked verse). There were several types of occasions that were favored for verse composition, and in the titles one often sees the words bie 別 (parting), jian 餞 (parting banquet), yan 宴 (banquet), ji 集 (gathering), and you 遊 (to go on an outing). That poetry was often literally composed as a sort of game can be seen by some of the topics seen in these poems. There are pieces in which the poet was required to use alliterative syllables (shuangsheng shi 雙聲詩), the names of stars (xing ming 星名), place names (jun xian ming 郡縣名) or herbs (yao ming 藥名); one also finds palindromes (huiwen 迴文) and anagram verse (lihe 離合). The most important of these "games" was yongwu 詠物 verse (poems on things), in which the poet would attempt to describe an object using a refined, delicate, clever style.

The types of verse mentioned above were not purely the product of the late Six Dynasties. To greater and lesser degrees poetry had always been a social activity in the Chinese tradition, and one can find parting poems, banquet poems, linked verse, yongwu poems and the like being composed from very early on. However, never do we see such

verse flourishing as it did during the Qi and Liang dynasties. For example, almost half of Xie Tiao's corpus of over 140 poems consists of works composed to, with, or for other persons.[69] More importantly it is only now that we see such verse at the center of the current literary activity and at the forefront of the newest and most advanced developments in poetry. This is not to say that the new developments and trends promoted by the salons and courts were always welcomed. They were resisted and criticized by a number of important figures, and even the best of poets who worked with the new trends realized their limitations.[70] Xie Tiao, for example, the greatest of the Yongming poets, and a leading figure of the new style and innovations, went back to the past and drew directly upon the heritage of landscape verse left by the Xie Lingyun to compose some of his most serious and personal poems. Nevertheless, it is clear that while the new verse was in some respects limited in depth and range, the innovations and developments that came about through this verse would eventually prove crucial in advancing the Chinese poetic tradition.

The quatrain fit in very comfortably with the new literary milieu that was centered around the tastes and fashions of salon and court. Although during the Qi dynasty its role was still relatively minor and limited, one can see it beginning to become established as a literary form to

which poets could turn to compose the newest and most fashionable verse. The very nature of salon verse encouraged shorter, fixed length forms. As we have seen, poetry was often improvised to a set of rules and conventions limiting time, and length. Many of the new style poems consisted of four, eight, and ten lines. This preference for shorter length verse was a recent development, and would have significant consequences for the future. The two most important and popular poetic genres of the Tang owe much to the innovations of this period. The origins of the eight-line regulated poem (lüshi 律詩) can be directly traced to the eight-line verse of the Qi. And while the jueju has a much longer history, this period was crucial in helping to establish it as a true genre with a set place and role in the literary tradition. In essence, the very slightness, and sense of play and experimentation that characterizes much of salon verse helped to open the way for a form such as the quatrain which otherwise would have been hard pressed in its efforts to find a place in a more serious, elevated literary tradition. The quatrain was well suited for the various verse games that have been mentioned above, and it would eventually become a favorite form for yongwu verse. Salon verse was also characterized by a growing sense of freedom and uninhibitedness that led it away from many of the more traditional and conservative standards and ideals of the past. We have seen that already

in the Song dynasty the popular song tradition was beginning to influence the form and content of the verse of the nobility and literati. In the salons and courts of the Qi and Liang this trend continued to develop and mature, and some of the best quatrains of the Six Dynasties arose from this tradition.

In the pages above I have tended to speak of the Qi and Liang as a single period. Literary history, in fact, usually groups the two dynasties together as Qi-Liang to refer to the late Six Dynasties. And much of the verse of the two dynasties is closely linked in spirit and style. Both were dominated by fashions and styles centered around court and salon, and in a very direct way Liang verse grew out of the verse of the Qi. The Qi was a very short lived dynasty, and many of the major poets of the Qi lived well into the Liang. In this section, however, I will be focusing upon the quatrains of the Qi dynasty. This division is primarily one of convenience, but there are other reasons that may suggest such a division. To begin with, even though much of the court and salon verse of the Liang was related to and sometimes resembled that of the Qi, it often differed significantly in quality and focus. Secondly, although the salons and courts were the central forces in the literary activity of the Qi and Liang, they were by no means identical in their tastes and positions; moreover, they were not as dominant as is sometimes assumed.

There was much resistance to the new styles of verse that came to be known as Yongming Style and Palace Style verse, and there was a significant amount of literary activity that lay outside the fashions and currents of the salons and courts. During the Liang, for example, the quatrain was a favorite salon form and continued many of the developments that originated in the Qi, but one also sees the quatrain taken up by poets for occasions and themes that lay outside the salon. It is in this respect that the Liang quatrain shows its greatest advances over the quatrains of the Qi. A significant part of the history of the quatrain lays outside the major movements and fashions of the day.

Xie Tiao and the Yongming Poets

During the Qi dynasty the salons of such figures as Emperor Wu of the Qi 齊武帝 (Xiao Ze 蕭賾 ; r. 483-493), the Prince of Sui 隋王 (Xiao Zilong 蕭子隆; 474-494), and the Prince of Jingling 竟陵王 (Xiao Ziliang; 460-494) became the centers of the most fashionable and advanced literary activity. The salon of Xiao Ziliang was particularly important. It was here that the finest poets of the age composed poetry and introduced new styles and innovations that would come to be called the Yongming style after the Yongming period (483-493) during which it

flourished. Although the Yongming style is known primarily for the establishing of rules for the use of tones and rhyme, this is only one aspect of the many changes and innovations that occurred in the poetry of this age. As we have noted above, the salon introduced a new environment and approach to verse which were directly reflected in the forms, themes and occasions of poetry. The quatrain had a definite, if still limited role in the new verse. In this section we will be examining the quatrains of some of the foremost poets of this era. I will focus primarily on the work of Wang Rong (467-493) and Xie Tiao (464-499). They were the two leading poets of the age, moreover, both flourished in the Qi dynasty. Another important Yongming poet, Shen Yue 沈約 (441-513), lived well into the Liang and it is not always clear which era a particular piece may be the product of.

In the verse of the Yongming poets the quatrain tended to be used for two main types of verse. It was used for new, modern-style yuefu that developed out of the Southern yuefu tradition; it was also a favorite form for the various literary games that were composed for amusement in the salon environment. The most important of these games was yongwu verse. Leaving aside his lianju verse, Xie Tiao's collection includes sixteen quatrains.[71] Fifteen of the quatrains are yuefu (six titles; one title is a series of ten quatrains); the remaining quatrain is a yongwu. Wang

Rong's collection includes thirty-one quatrains. Sixteen are to yuefu titles (seven titles; one title is a series of ten quatrains). The remaining quatrains are all very slight pieces that are clearly products of salon composition. They include four yongwu (including an anagram poem), two pieces in the style of "Zi jun zhi chu yi" entitled "Feng he dai Xu" 奉和代徐 ("Respectfully Matching Verse Modeled After Xu [Gan 幹]"), several pieces in imitation of the "Gu jueju si shou," a quatrain on four colors, "Si se shi" 四色詩, and other minor amusements.[72]

It can be seen that Xie Tiao's and Wang Rong's use of the quatrain for yuefu style verse was very similar, but that Wang Rong has far more examples of quatrains used for minor games. It is not clear why there is this difference in their collections. Perhaps Xie Tiao was simply the more serious poet and did not indulge in this type of verse to the extent that Wang Rong did. It should also be noted that while Xie Tiao's extant poems may reflect relatively accurately his original collection, much of Wang Rong's verse has been gathered from a variety of sources including leishu.[73] In several cases it is not clear if his quatrains are fragments or complete poems. Despite these differences and problems, however, the quatrains of Wang Rong and Xie Tiao taken together appear reliably to mirror the general use of the quatrain in the salons during the Qi.

In their use of the quatrain for yuefu-style verse,

Yongming poets such as Xie Tiao and Wang Rong are clearly following developments that emerged during the Song dynasty when poets such as Liu Jun, Bao Zhao, and Tang Huixiu began imitating and adapting popular lyrics to compose their own yuefu. For example, we saw how Bao Zhao composed a series of ten quatrain lyrics to the title, "Zhongxing ge," for Liu Jun, an emperor known to have a fondness for popular songs. During the Qi a number of well known poets including Xie Tiao, Wang Rong, and Shen Yue composed a series of celebratory lyrics for Emperor Wu of the Qi, another emperor who was very fond of popular music (see above, pp. 315-17):

> The "Yongping[ming] le ge" 永平[明]樂歌 were created and presented by Xiao Ziliang, the Prince of Jingling, together with various other scholars. Each person composed ten lyrics. The language of the pieces by the Buddhist, Shi Baoyue 釋寶月 was especially beautiful. His Highness (Emperor Wu) had them set to music, though they were not included in [the repertoire] of the music bureau (bu lie yu yue guan 不列於樂官).[74]

The Nan Qi shu records the title of this piece as "Yongping le ge," but ping 平 is certainly a mistake for ming 明 . Yongming is the title of Emperor Wu's reign period, and a number of lyrics still survive to the title "Yongming le".[75]

The ten lyrics of both Wang Rong and Xie Tiao, and one lyric by Shen Yue are still extent.[76] The content and style of the lyrics are similar to Bao Zhao's songs. There is the same mix of imperial eulogy and lush, sensual lyric description of a court gathering. The songs clearly were inspired by Bao Zhao's lyrics.

The finest of the yuefu lyrics, however, are to be found among the works that are more directly tied to the original love song tradition. We saw that during the Song the nobility and literati approached the popular love song in different ways. Sometimes they simply imitated them, and attempted to capture the tone and style of a true popular lyric. More important, however, were their attempts to adapt these lyrics to their own traditions, tastes and purposes. The quatrain became a form that was often used to describe and talk about women and love, and in the case of Bao Zhao we even see a poet assuming the persona and voice of a lover to express allegorically his personal frustrations and disappointments. The yuefu lyrics of Xie Tiao and Wang Rong continued to develop a number of the traditions we see beginning to evolve during the Song, and were important in establishing what would eventually become one of the major sub-genres of the Tang jueju. Most, but not all of the yuefu quatrains by Xie Tiao and Wang Rong are "love songs" (again I use this term in the broadest sense) that are rooted in the song lyric tradition, though a number

of advances and developments show that the quatrain had matured far beyond its simple lyric stage. Xie Tiao's yuefu, in particular, have been highly praised, and are often compared to the jueju of the Tang. Because they are the finest and most advanced quatrains of the era, I will focus on examining his works.

A glimpse of the continuing changes and advances in the yuefu quatrain can be had by examining the names of the five titles that Xie Tiao composed in addition to his "Yongming le".[77] None of the pieces are to Southern yuefu titles, moreover, they illustrate the trend that was seen in Bao Zhao of bringing elements and themes from the literary tradition into the quatrain lyric. "Tong Wang Zhubo 'You suo si'" 同王主簿有所思 ("'You suo si' Composed Together With Recorder Wang [Wang Jizhe 王季哲]") was written to the traditional yuefu title "You suo si."[78] "Tong que bei" 銅雀悲 ("The Sorrow of Bronze Bird Tower") is based upon a historical incident, and alludes to Cao Cao's 曹操 (155-220) building of the Bronze Bird Tower (Tongquetai 銅雀台).[79] The title of "Yu jie yuan" 玉階怨 ("Jade Staircase Lament") alludes to a line in a fu composed by Ban Jieyu 班婕伃 (Imperial Concubine Ban; ca. 48-c.a. 6 B.C.).[80] "Jin gu ju" 金谷聚 ("The Gathering at Golden Valley") alludes to the gathering held at Shi Chong's 石崇 (249-300) estate at Jingu (northwest of Loyang).[81] The title of "Wang sun you" 王孫遊 ("A Prince Went

Wandering") is taken from a line in a poem from the Chu ci.[82] It is as if Xie Tiao, though willing to draw upon the popular song tradition, deliberately avoided pure imitation or direct contact with it. He often approached it through established literary and historical traditions, and thereby helped to elevate it.

"Tong Wang Zhubu `You suo si'" is an excellent example of Xie Tiao composing in a style close to the Southern yuefu, but also subtly refining and adapting it:

> She waits for that fine day, waits but he still does not return,
> Hoping, longing, she turns from the humming loom;
> Back and forth she walks along the eastern path,
> As the moon rises, the passers-by are few.
> (Lu Qinli, p. 1420)[83]

I have translated Xie Tiao's poem in the third person. I would have avoided any indication of person if it was possible in English. The Chinese is "ambiguous," and I think that this may illustrate one of the strengths of the poem. In a Southern yuefu lyric the voice of the first-person is usually clear and strong. In Xie Tiao's poem there seems to be a "blend" of voices that combine to create an abstract "poetic" voice. Xie Tiao is not a totally objective observer or narrator, but neither has he fully

assumed the voice and persona of the subject of his poem. The first couplet of the poem could conceivably be in the first person, but the last couplet ends with an image that draws us back and lets us observe the scene. It is difficult to imagine hearing this last line in the voice of the girl. The most common pattern in the poetic tradition would be to open with the scene (jing 景) and then close with a statement or description of the individual's emotions (qing 情). This is the order followed in the Southern yuefu quoted below. Zhang Yugu 張玉穀 (Qing), in the Gushi shang xi 古詩賞析 , comments on the effectiveness of Xie Tiao's reversal of this pattern:

> First he describes the emotions, then he describes the scene. In this way no aspect of the scene is not imbued with the emotions. The poetic world (shi jing 詩境) is very fine.[84]

Compare Xie Tiao's poem to a Southern yuefu lyric that has been discussed earlier:

> The light of day has sunk and gone,
> Homing birds flit back and forth;
> Pacing I gaze at the drifting clouds,
> I linger and wait for your return.
>
> (see above, pp. 335-37)

This is an especially fine example of a Southern yuefu. The way in which the lyricist has focused on portraying the mood and scene, especially in the first couplet, is very advanced. In the last couplet, however, the first person voice emerges distinct and clear. The lyric is by a certain individual to her lover. In Xie Tiao's poem we hear both the girl and Xie Tiao; the voice of the subject and that of the narrator are difficult to distinguish. The result is a mode that exists only in the world of poetry. It is a mode that Li Bo made use of in some of his finest yuefu quatrains:

> On jade steps grows white dew,
> The night is long, gauze stockings chilled through;
> Now the crystal curtains are lowered,
> Glittering, tinkling; she gazes at the autumn moon.
>
> "Yu jie yuan" 玉階怨 [85]

Li Bo's poem is a far greater work than Xie Tiao's. Xie Tiao's work depicts a single persona. Li Bo's is universal. The aura created by the blend of coldness, brilliance, and loneliness points to a world that any person may have at some time known, and goes far beyond the concerns of a disappointed lover. It is as if Li Bo had simply seen in a certain figure a feeling that conceivably could be expressed

in other ways. He wrote of a similar mood and feeling in the following poem:

> I sat drinking and did not notice the dusk,
> Till falling petals filled the folds of my dress.
> Drunken I rose and walked to the moonlit stream;
> The birds were gone, and men also few.
>
> "Zi qian" 自遣 [86]

I suspect Li Bo knew Xie Tiao's poem, and that the lines, "Back and forth she walks along the eastern path,/ As the moon rises the passers-by are few," were in his mind when he composed his own lyric.

Xie Tiao's poem draws heavily upon the Southern yuefu tradition both for its subject matter and style, but we can also see that it goes beyond it, and begins to create a new poetic voice or mode by combining the voice of the first person lyric with that of the narrator or observer. This was an important step in the development of the yuefu style quatrain. One could not always simply imitate the style and voice of the Southern lyrics. To stand back, and objectively observe and describe also had its limits. This new approach was one way in which the poet was able to expand the range and depth of the lyric. It was a step that eventually enabled Li Bo to show in a single moment and image the loneliness of a disappointed lover and his own

loneliness as facets of a world which we all at some time may have glimpsed. It is one more example of how the adopting of a new form opens new possibilities for a poet.

Another way in which Xie Tiao helped to broaden and deepen the yuefu style lyric was to draw in literary and historical traditions and themes that were previously foreign to the popular tradition. We have seen above how the titles of Xie Tiao's pieces are indicative of these developments. Here I would like look at the example of Xie Tiao's "Tong que bei":

> A sinking sun above a lofty wall,
> Its remaining light glowing through curtains of fine hemp;
> Lonely and silent the deep pines at dusk,
> What could they know of the zithers' sorrow?
> (Lu Qinli, pp. 1420)

In the year 210, Cao Cao 曹操 (155-220) constructed a huge tower in the city of Ye 鄴 (modern Henan). It contained one hundred and twenty rooms, and at the top was mounted a huge bronze bird. Before his death Cao Cao instructed his sons that he was to be buried in the hills west of Ye. It was not necessary to bury any gold or jewels in his grave, or present offerings. He did order, however, that his concubines and singing girls be ensconced in the Bronze Bird

Tower. In the tower a six foot bier (chuang 牀) was to be set up with a curtain of fine hemp, and on the first and fifteenth of each month music was to be performed before the curtain. He also urged that his family frequently ascend the tower and gaze toward his tomb in the western hills.[87] In Xie Tiao's poem the hemp curtains (sui wei 繐帷) are the bier curtains surrounding the bier in the Bronze Bird Tower; the pines are the trees in the hills beside his tomb; and the zithers (qin 琴 and se 瑟) are the instruments played by his singing girls and concubines.

"Tong que bei" could be classified as a yong gu 詠古 poem (poem on antiquity), though its subject matter also follows the "feminine" tradition that was established by the Southern yuefu. It is a very fine early example of the quatrain evolving into more serious and elevated realms of history and literature.

The impressive advances we see in Xie Tiao's quatrains were not purely the results of a single individual's vision and effort. Although we do not know the precise circumstances of when and how Xie Tiao came to compose his quatrains, a number of clues indicate that they were composed in a salon environment together with friends. The example of Xie Tiao's "You suo si" (composed together with Wang Jize) is, of course very clear, and the other quatrains were probably composed in a similar manner. The story of Cao Cao and the Bronze Bird Tower first became a popular

topic for verse during the Qi. Xie Tiao composed an eight-line poem on this theme together with Xie Ziyi 謝諮議.[88] Wang Rong composed a quatrain to the title "Wangsun you," and Yu Yan 虞炎 (n.d.), another friend of Xie Tiao's, composed a quatrain to the title "Yujie yuan."[89] It appears then that at least five of Xie Tiao's six yuefu quatrains (including his "Yongming le") were composed together with other poets. This is important because it suggests how certain advances in the quatrain came about. It appears that certain set topics and themes were established together with the form, and that this laid the foundation for the kind of advances we see taking place in Xie Tiao's quatrains. The topics introduced new literary and historical themes, while the form, the quatrain, determined how these themes were to be approached and treated. This process was different from what we saw in the case of Bao Zhao. Many of his most advanced quatrains were the result of an intense search for ways to express serious, personal concerns. Xie Tiao's poems appear to be products of the salon environment or at least of some sort of social intercourse, and in a sense were still "games." It was precisely this fresh approach and combination of elements made possible by the changing literary milieu that enabled a great poet such as Xie Tiao to create a new and advanced type of verse.

Bao Zhao and Xie Tiao are both important figures in the

development of the quatrain. They drew upon the same heritage, and in many respects their quatrains (and those of others from this period) inevitably shared similar qualities. At certain points, however, their paths diverge. Some of Bao Zhao's quatrains were personal lyrics, and we see him introducing into the quatrain elements and approaches that were ambitious and unique for their time in his search to adapt the form to his personal themes. His use of the series, of allegory, and of parallelism, however, to certain degrees lay outside the mainstream of prevailing literary currents, and in a sense even ran counter to the traditions of the quatrain lyric. Xie Tiao's importance lies in the way in which he worked within certain guidelines of the quatrain tradition but also broadened them. He drew upon the song lyric tradition, but deepened and refined it, and helped blend the lyric tradition with the literary tradition. A good example of the contrast between Bao Zhao and Xie Tiao can be seen in their style and diction. We saw how in one of his series Bao Zhao's quatrains consisted almost entirely of parallel couplets. The introduction of this literary technique to the lyric quatrain would eventually prove to be an important element in its art, but to use it so extensively ran counter to the basic nature of the lyric quatrain. Xie Tiao, on the other hand, explored and refined the potential of the inherent structure and character of the quatrain as it was established by the lyric

tradition. For example, in the five yuefu quatrains mentioned above there is only one instance of Xie Tiao using a parallel couplet, and this was for the opening of the poem (the ordinary and natural position for a parallel couplet if it was used in a lyric). Xie Tiao also had a very fine command of the basic structure of the lyric quatrain. In "Tong que bei," the turn at the third line from the opening couplet is masterful. We are suddenly taken from the setting sun and its glow in the tower to silent pine trees in the dusk. The sudden shift and contrast are brilliantly resolved in the last line as it connects the two very different scenes and images. Note also that he ends the quatrain with an interrogative sentence. This was a very common rhetorical device in the early quatrain.[90] Xie Tiao's language and diction are also remarkable. His lines are simple, clear and direct; he draws upon the lyric diction of popular song. In addition, however, there is an added refinement, crispness and fluidity that is usually absent from the work of his contemporaries whose verse, in comparison, often seems primitive, gaudy, or imitative. Xie Tiao's quatrains have often been singled out and praised by traditional critics. In the following passage Shen Deqian comments on Xie Tiao's "Yu jie yuan":

> It is just like a Tang jueju. If placed among the works of the Tang poets it would be in the first

rank.[91]

Xie Tiao's style has always been admired in whatever genre he was writing. The clarity and naturalness of his lines has often prompted critics to compare his style to that of the Tang, and the basic qualities of his verse are as present in his quatrains as they are in his other poetry.[92]

Almost all of Xie Tiao's quatrains are to yuefu titles. This shaped the character of his quatrains in basic ways. The themes he wrote about, and the style and diction he used, were determined and influenced by certain traditions established by the lyric quatrain. In order for the quatrain to expand, however, it would need to break away from these traditions and absorb other elements and utilize other approaches. We have noted that in the salon environment the quatrain was a favorite form for various types of literary games, and that Wang Rong's collection contains a number of examples of such verse. At first glance it would not seem that such poetry could have had much literary value. And in fact we can ignore much of the verse that resulted from these games. Yongwu style verse, however, could often be an important exception. This is not to say that yongwu verse was necessarily fine poetry in a purely literary sense. It also could be a slight and frivolous amusement. The importance of yongwu verse, however, lay not in its themes or topics, but that it

introduced into the quatrain some of the sharpest and most advanced styles of writing of the current style. A yongwu poem, a poem about an object, could be approached in several ways. For example, allusions often played an important role in composing a yongwu poem. A yongwu poem could also be a serious work with an allegorical theme.[93] For our purposes, however, we are interested in the simpler, slighter works. They often best exhibit one of the most important aspects of the yongwu poem---the exploration of the technique of description. It is in yongwu that one sometimes finds the purest, freshest examples of descriptive writing. The very slightness of the sub-genre could encourage a sort of purity of style. You were given an object or scene to describe, and then unhampered by any message or themes you would try to describe it in striking, clever, vivid, precise lines. Below is an example by Wang Rong entitled "A Poem on Pear Blossoms Upon the Pond" ("Yong chishang li hua" 詠池上梨花):

They tumble over stairs immersing the delicate
grass,
They collect upon the water interspersed with the
sparse duckweed;
In fragrant spring they shine amongst the drifting
snow,
Deep in the night they glitter together with the

profusion of stars.

(Lu Qinli, p. 1403)[94]

Wang Rong's piece is slight and without significance. It is the type of verse that critics would condemn as "ornate and gaudy" (li mi 麗靡) and that would eventually give the late Six Dynasties a poor reputation.[95] But the style is exquisite and delicious. Crisp, imaginative, fresh; reading these lines is pure, sensual pleasure. It is as if nature and the outside world have been introduced directly into the quatrain unencumbered by any message, theme, or feelings, and that the poet sees all the more clearly, precisely, and innocently because of this "emptiness". The topic of Wang Rong's piece is pear blossoms in early spring. With his lines he tries to capture as vividly and wittily as possible the beauty and qualities of the subject and scene. In his first lines he emphasizes the earliness of the spring with the delicacy of the grass and the sparseness of the duckweed. The fineness of the grass is evoked by noting that the blades are immersed (mo 沒) by the slight blossoms. Much of the description is subtle and indirect. This in fact is one of the principles of the genre. Wang Rong says nothing of the blowing spring breeze but implies it by the tumbling of the blossoms; their bright whiteness is evoked by uniting them with the snow; he does not mention their fragrance, but refers to it by noting the fragrance of

spring. The structure of the poem is very simple. It consists of two descriptive parallel couplets. Wang Rong does, however, show that even in this type of pattern there are possibilities of composition and order. He concludes the poem with the most striking and magical of images; with the pear blossoms floating on the darkness of night waters, described as shining on and being shone upon by the stars, as well as compared to the stars in the sky and their reflections on the waters.

Wang Rong's description is extremely delicate and advanced. It is an example of one of the new approaches to writing introduced by the salon. Although much of this verse was inevitably slight and frivolous, it would teach later poets to observe and describe the world in new, more subtle and precise ways. For the quatrain, it added one more ingredient to the repertoire for poets to draw upon. Eventually they would learn to incorporate such description into their personal lyrics. The striking visual qualities we find in much of Tang poetry can often be traced back to this type of verse. For example, the last couplet of the following <u>jueju</u> by Meng Haoran 孟浩然 (689-740) owes much to these earlier attempts to visualize and capture the outside world:

We shift the boat and moor at a misty isle,
As the sun goes down a traveler's sorrow is renewed;

When the wilds are vast the sky presses on the trees,
When the river is clear the moon is close to men.
"Su Jiande Jiang" 宿建德江 ("Spending the Night on the Jiande River")[46]

Reflections of images in water were a favorite motif for salon and court style description. We saw how Wang Rong brought pear blossoms and stars together with this motif. In Meng Haoran's poem man and moon are coupled as the poet gazes at his and the moon's reflections in the river.

Although we have seen a number of very striking and important advances in the quatrains of Yongming poets such as Xie Tiao and Wang Rong, it should recognized that the quatrain was still a limited and minor form. Neither Xie Tiao or Wang Rong used it for serious personal verse, and the range of topics and occasions for which it could be used was still very narrow. During the Qi, poetry was composed for a number of social occasions, but it is clear that the quatrain ordinarily was not considered appropriate on these occasions. Earlier we saw that the quatrain was sometimes used for parting poems of a particularly private and intimate nature (Xie Lingyun's poem to Xie Huilian, for example), but such verse was exceptional. Instead during the Qi we see the rise in popularity of poems of lengths of between eight and twelve lines for use for a variety of social occasions. The eight-line poem, in particular, began

to flourish at this time. It was characterized by a balance of formality and lightness that gave it a grace and versatility that the quatrain lacked. About one-third of Xie Tiao's poems are in the eight-line form, and we see Xie Tiao using it for a variety of occasions and topics---ranging from yongwu verse to parting poems to landscape poetry---that shows how limited the quatrain was in comparison. It is true that for his most serious and personal verse Xie Tiao tended to compose longer poems in more traditional styles. But given the fact that the eight-line length had only very recently become popular, the rapidity with which it was developed, and the trust and the burden that Xie Tiao and other Yongming poets placed upon the form are remarkable. Eventually the range of the quatrain would expand, but the natural character and limits of the form as well as its heritage would continue to define and shape its roles. The quatrain, for example, would eventually become a favorite form for parting poetry, but it would still tend to be used for a more intimate, informal tone, whereas the eight-line form would be more appropriate for more typical, "public" occasions that still required some degree of decorum.

Other Quatrains of the Qi

In the section above we examined the use of the quatrain form by Xie Tiao and Wang Rong, two of the finest poets of the Qi. Both of these figures were leading representatives of the new style of verse that was being developed in the salons of this period. Their quatrains directly reflect the influence of this environment. On the one hand, some of their quatrains are the most advanced and refined examples of the form that had been composed to date. On the other hand, salon taste and fashions confined the quatrain to a very limited range of topics and occasions. It should be recognized, however, that other types of literary activity were taking place outside the leading salons, and that in some cases the poetry composed outside these salons would prove very important in the development of the quatrain.

Although Yongming poetry would eventually be grouped together with the verse of the Liang and criticized for its emptiness and frivolousness, in some respects it maintained certain standards of decorum and refinement. The verse of the salons of the Qi had yet to "degenerate" into the Palace Style (gongti 宮體) that would flourish during the Liang. One can still observe among the leading Yongming poets such as Xie Tiao, Wang Rong, and Shen Yue, a sense of tradition and propriety. This is one reason why there appears to be a certain conservativeness in their use of the quatrain form. Although we see them composing a number of yuefu style

quatrains, on the whole, their works have a distinct literary flavor with only a few exceptional pieces possibly having been intended actually to serve as lyrics. One senses a desire to avoid direct contact with popular lyric tradition. In the previous chapter we saw that there was a strong resistance to the Southern yuefu in more conservative circles, and I think we see some reflection of this attitude among the leading literati poets. For example, none of the yuefu titles in the collections of Xie Tiao or Wang Rong are actual Southern yuefu titles. Examining the quatrains of other leading poets of the age one can observe a similar reserve, and it would appear that the literati poets while occasionally drawing upon the popular lyric tradition had developed beyond it. When we turn to other figures, however, there is strong evidence that the flourishing popular lyric tradition continued to influence the verse of the Qi in very direct ways. One can find a number of Qi quatrains that were composed as lyrics and are part of the yuefu tradition. We have seen that Emperor Wu was extremely fond of the Southern yuefu. His lyrics to the title "Guke yue" are a very fine example of the lyric style:

Once I was on service to Fan and Deng,
When I was blocked by the tides at Meigen Islet;
Moved by my memories as I pursue the past,
Thoughts fill my mind but the words won't come.

This piece has been discussed in the previous chapter (pp. 315-18). I have quoted it again to contrast it to the quatrains we have just examined by Xie Tiao and Wang Rong. Although the language and style of this piece is not as sophisticated and advanced as the quatrains of Xie Tiao and Wang Rong, it is in its own way just as significant a work. We see Emperor Wu using the quatrain for a personal lyric, something that most literati poets of this period would not have considered. It is true that Emperor Wu's lyric is exceptional. Most yuefu lyrics from this period---Shi Baoyue's lyrics to this tune, for example---are very close to the love song tradition in both their style and content.*7 In either case, however, we see that the quatrain form continued to be used in areas that lay outside the "high" literary tradition, and that is some cases the verse that resulted was significant and influential.

Another area of development that lay outside the more advanced literary currents was the use of the quatrain for various types of minor, miscellaneous verse. Because of its brevity and informality, the quatrain would occasionally be turned to when one wanted to improvise a few lines or compose a simple note. We have seen several examples of such verse earlier. Wu Yinzhi (d. 413) improvised a quatrain when he passed by Greedy Springs (see above, pp. 229-30); Lu Kai sent a quatrain to Fan Ye together with a

sprig of blossoms while he was in Chang-an. A very striking example of the quatrain used for a note is the following piece composed by Tao Hongjing-陶弘景 (456-536) in answer to a query by Emperor Gao of the Qi 齊高帝 (Xiao Daocheng 蕭道成 ; r. 479-482); it is entitled "In Response to the Imperial Inquiry, 'What Is in the Mountains?,' I Compose A Poem in Reply" ("Zhao wen, 'Shanzhong he suo you?,' fu shi yi da" 詔問,山中何所有賦詩以答):

'What is in the mountains?,'---
White clouds piled above mountain peaks;
But here they are only for me to enjoy,
They cannot be taken and sent to my lord.
(Lu Qinli, p. 1814)

Tao Hongjing was a very famous Daoist of the late Six Dynasties.** Perhaps only a figure such as Tao Hongjing would have dared to address a quatrain to an Emperor and assume the kind of informal, casual tone that we hear in this poem. In a very literal way he is simply talking. One might not think that this is the stuff of poetry, but the conversational tone and style would eventually become an important feature of Chinese verse. As poetry evolved and grew to include almost every topic and occasion no matter how seemingly minor and slight, the quatrain would become

increasingly important precisely because it could be used to speak so simply, directly and casually. Li Bo certainly had Tao Hongjing's quatrain in mind with its casual bravado when he composed the following poem, "In the Mountains, A Question and an Answer" ("Shanzhong wen da" 山中問答):

> You ask me why I lodge in these blue hills,
> I smile, not answering, there is a calm in my heart;
> Peach blossoms and running waters flow far far away,
> Between Heaven and Earth there are worlds that are not of men.[88]

In the third line Li Bo is, of course, alluding to the famous mythical utopia, Peach Blossom Springs (Taohua Yuan 桃花源) immortalized in Tao Yuanming's "Taohua yuan ji" 桃花源記. Here, however, Li Bo is not a man of the vulgar world who traces peach blossoms flowing downstream from this utopia. He is already there and the blossoms are floating away from him down to the world of men.

In the previous chapter we discussed how there were varying attitudes to the new Southern yuefu. Conservative Confucian literati condemned them as licentious and corrupting, whereas many members of the nobility had a special fondness for them and actively promoted them. During the Qi there continued to be a similar mix of attitudes toward the quatrain both as lyric and literary

form. Some of the most adventurous and advanced of the literati writers, encouraged by the salon environment, adopted the quatrain as a literary form. In their works we see some of the finest, most sophisticated quatrains composed up to this time. Their use of the form, however, was still very limited in its range of topics and occasions. The heritage and the limitations of the form still worked against its full acceptance. In fact, a number of literary figures still avoided it. For example, a more conservative poet such as Jiang Yan 江淹 (444-505) who was famous for his imitations of traditional verse did not compose any quatrains at all. At another extreme we have figures such as Emperor Wu of the Qi, the Buddhist Shi Baoyue, and the Daoist Tao Hongjing. Closer to the popular traditions, they were unhampered by traditional literary and Confucian inhibitions and standards, and fully embraced the new form to compose verse that lay outside the more fashionable and advanced literary currents. Of Tao Hongjing's six extant poems, for example, three are in the quatrain form. In addition to the piece quoted above, they include a prophetic ditty inscribed on a wall and a quatrain composed to match the poem of a Buddhist friend.[100] The verse of such "outsiders" was, of course, not as sophisticated and refined as that seen in Yongming poets such as Xie Tiao and Wang Rong. But in their own way the quatrains that they composed would prove crucial to the development of the <u>jueju</u>. They

would add a broader range of topics, occasions and voices and thus encourage the quatrain to develop beyond certain initial traditions and limitations.

The Rise of Tonal Prosody

Yongming Style verse is known above all for the developments that took place in the area of prosody. It is during the Qi that one sees for the first time rules stated governing the use of tones, alliteration and rhymes in poetry. To attempt to cover in depth the origins and development of this new tonal prosody would go beyond the scope of this study. In this section I will only give a brief introduction to the new prosody, focusing upon the consequences it had for the development of the quatrain.[101]

The jueju together with the eight-line lüshi were the two most important regulated genres of the Tang Dynasty. The essential feature of regulated verse were the rules and principles that governed the use of tones and rhymes. These rules were first perfected and fixed during the Tang, though their origins can be traced back to developments that took place during the Qi, especially among the Yongming poets. In the case of the quatrain, most critics and scholars, traditional and modern, feel that the fixing of these rules marked the final development of the quatrain---that it was

at this point that one can begin to speak of poems that feel and sound like true jueju:

> Coming to the masters of the Tang there was a transformation. The sounds and tones became harmonious, the patterns of the lines steady and smooth.
>
> Hu Yinglin (see above, p. 12)

As was seen in "Chapter I," some scholars mistakenly suggested that a jueju was a cut lüshi, and thus assumed that the tonal rules that governed the jueju (or rather some jueju) were derived from the lüshi. Other scholars, however, have recognized that the quatrain was to a degree influenced by early principles of tonal prosody during the later stages of the Six Dynasties, and have pointed out pre-Tang quatrains that are essentially regulated. According to Xu Xueyi:

> With the five-syllable quatrains of Mingyuan 明遠 (Bao Zhao), the tones (sheng 聲) gradually begin to become regulated (ru lü 入律)...
>
> With the five-syllable quatrains of He Xun 何遜 (?-ca. 518), the tones become completely regulated (sheng jin ru lü 聲盡入律)...

> The origins of the five-syllable quatrain go back extremely far. Coming to the works of Wang (Wang Bo 王勃 ; 649-676), Yang (Yang Jiong 楊炯 ; 650-ca.695), Lu (Lu Zhaolin 盧照鄰 ; ca.636-ca.689), and Luo (Luo Binwang 駱賓王 ; ca.640-?), although the rules were not yet perfected, the language was refined and orthodox. In the cases in which the tonal rules were completely perfect, the works could be considered the orthodox line of the <u>jueju</u> (<u>jueju zhi zheng zong</u> 絕句之正宗)...[102]

Xu Xueyi's statements are somewhat undefined and ambiguous. It is not clear precisely what rules he is referring to. Moreover the degree and extent to which the quatrains of the poets mentioned above are regulated is also vague. Is he referring to single examples or their collections as a whole? What does he mean by the term 'regulated' (<u>lü</u> 律)? Nevertheless, Xu Xueyi has correctly pointed out that as early as the Song Dynasty there are signs that the quatrain was beginning to be influenced by newly developing principles of tonal prosody that were maturing in the period from the late Six Dynasties into the Tang.[103]

Before turning to the early rules of tonal prosody and their link to the quatrain I would first like to review the

rules as they were perfected and fixed in Tang poetry. Although the rules that were formed during the Six Dynasties furnished the basis for the development of the regulations of the Tang, they were not identical. By identifying the Tang tonal patterns we can obtain an idea of the directions and goals that lay within the earlier rules. A number of schemes and explanations have been devised for these patterns.[104] I personally feel that it is simplest to memorize two basic sentence patterns and then generate the individual patterns for the quatrain and eight-line lüshi by following several basic rules and principles. To begin with it should be noted that each syllable in the language may be in one of four tones, and that these tones were divided for prosodic purposes into two categories. The ping 平 tone (level tone) formed a category in itself that was simply termed ping. The remaining three tones, shang 上 (rising), qu 去 (departing), and ru 入 (entering) combined to form the ze 仄 (deflected) category. Tang rules of tonal prosody were based upon the arrangement of these two categories of tones. At the level of the sentence we can start with two basic patterns ("-" = ping; "\" = ze):

A	B
- - - \ \	\ \ - - \

The basic principle of the sentence pattern is for the tones

to alternate in blocks. To generate the couplet patterns simply reverse the pattern of the first lines:

A					B				
-	-	-	\	\	\	\	-	-	\
\	\	\	-	-	-	-	\	\	-

The basic principle of the couplet pattern is for the tones of the two lines to contrast. The Chinese term for this principle is dui 對 (antithesis). To generate the quatrain patterns combine the two couplet patterns (A+B and B+A):

A					B				
-	-	-	\	\	\	\	-	-	\
\	\	\	-	-	-	-	\	\	-
\	\	-	-	\	-	-	-	\	\
-	-	\	\	-	\	\	\	-	-

The principle of this joining of the two couplet patterns to form quatrains is that the last line of the first couplet and the first line of the second couplet should be "linked." It can be seen that at the all important second and fourth syllables (as well as at the first syllable) of these two lines, the required tones are identical. The Chinese term for this principle is nian 黏 (link).

The two quatrains above are the basis for the various

tonal patterns of the jueju and the lüshi. For the jueju there are four basic patterns. In addition to the two patterns above, it is also possible for the opening line to rhyme with the second and fourth lines (as a general rule, regulated verse will rhyme the even number lines in the ping tone). Simply eliminate the first lines of the two quatrain patterns A and B and replace them with their last lines. The four patterns for a seven-syllable quatrain can be generated by adding to the beginning of each five-syllable line a two syllable block that contrasts tonally with the opening block of that line. The tonal patterns of the eight-line lüshi are generated by simply repeating the quatrain patterns A or B twice (A+A or B+B, they are not to be mixed), with another two patterns made possible by rhyming the first line with the rest of the even number lines.

It should be stressed that the patterns we have described function as basic patterns only, and represent "idealized" models. In actual practice the poet has a number of ways to vary and adjust the patterns. For example, the tone of the opening syllable of each line is optional in three of the four possible sentence patterns of a quatrain. In addition these basic patterns only matured and become fixed well into the Tang dynasty. Before this time there was quite a bit of variation in the basic patterns. For example, in a quatrain a poet might repeat

identical couplet patterns and thus ignore the principle of nian, or in an eight-line poem the poet might mix the A and B quatrain patterns. In fact the chronology of the development of the principles of tonal prosody appears roughly to match the order in which we have described them above, with the principles of line and couplet being worked out first, followed by that of the quatrain and eight-line verse.[105] With regard to the jueju it is important to note that unlike the eight-line lüshi, only a portion of jueju are actually regulated. Although the majority of Tang jueju did follow these rules of tonal prosody, a number of jueju continued to be composed in the "old style" (guti 古體), and they include some of the most famous pieces of the Tang.[106] In addition, there was a wide range of "semi-regular" and "irregular" jueju that adhered to rules of tonal prosody to varying degrees.

The tonal patterns described above represent Tang refinements of a process that began during the Qi Dynasty. Several of the most famous of the Yongming poets are recognized as the pioneers in the development of tonal prosody:

> The final years of the Yung-ming era (483-493) were a flourishing time for literature. Shen Yüeh of Wu-hsing, Hsieh T'iao of Ch'en-liu, and Wang Jung of Lang-yeh, being of like temperament, all

> encouraged and promoted each other's work. Chou Yung of Ju-nan was skilled in discerning tones and rhymes. Shen Yüeh and the others all utilized the musical notes kung and shang in their poetry and designated four tones, "level," "rising," "departing," and "entering," as means of regulating their rhymes. There were taboos against "flat head," "raised tails," "wasp's waists," and "cranes's knees." In a line of five syllables the initials and finals had all to be unique, and between the two lines of a couplet the notes chüeh and chih had all to be in contrast. No exceptions were permitted. The world called it the "Yung-ming Style." [107]

The principles and rules mentioned in this passage eventually became known as the "four tones and eight maladies" (si sheng ba bing 四聲八病). Shen Yue is traditionally regarded as the "discoverer" or "inventor" of these rules, though it is necessary to go to information preserved in the Japanese monk Kūkai's 空海 (774-835) Bunkyō hifuron 文鏡秘府論 for their explanation.[108] The actual rules, the "eight maladies," are a series of prohibitions, the first four of which are concerned with tones, with the last four dealing with the occurrence of rhyme and alliteration. One is to avoid the following

combinations:

1. A "level head" (pingtou 平頭) occurs in a couplet when either or both of the first two syllables of the first line are in one of the same four tones as the corresponding syllable in the second line. The second syllable is crucial; there is more leeway with the first syllable.

2. A "raised tail" (shangwei 上尾) occurs when the tones of the final syllables of a couplet are identical. The only exception is when the two lines of a couplet rhyme.

3. A "wasp's waist" (fengyao 蜂腰) occurs when the second and fifth syllables of a five-syllable line are in the same tone.

4. A "crane's knee" (hexi 鶴膝) occurs when the last syllables of the odd-number (non-rhyming) lines in a sequence are in the same tone.

5. A "major rhyme" (dayun 大韻) occurs when one of the syllables within a couplet rhymes with the end rhyme of the even lines.

6. A "minor rhyme" (xiaoyun 小韻) occurs when one of the syllables of a couplet rhymes with another syllable (apart from the end rhyme). Rhyming binomes are excepted.

7. A "collateral tie" (pangniu 傍紐) occurs in a couplet when syllables share the same initial. The most severe violation is when it occurs in a single line. Alliterative binomes are excepted.

8. A "direct tie" (zhengniu 正紐) occurs when homophones syllables appear within a couplet.[109]

Looking at the first four of the "maladies," we can see that they served as the foundation of the tonal patterns that were developed during the Tang. It is true that at this time the two categories of ping and ze had yet to be articulated, and that certain other principles had yet to be developed, but the rules of the Yongming poets, for the most part, mesh with those of regulated verse. The prohibitions against "level head" and "raised tail" correspond to the principle of dui within the couplet. "Crane's knees" continued to be avoided by the Tang poets.[110] The prohibition against "wasp's waists" is rather puzzling since in Tang regulated verse the emphasis is upon contrasting the second and fourth syllables of a five-syllable line (rather than the second and fifth syllables), and in fact, certain Tang line patterns clearly violate this prohibition. Moreover, it appears that by the middle of the sixth century most poets were careful about contrasting the second and fourth syllables.[111]

Although we see a precise and careful awareness of tonal prosody in these rules it is also clear that principles for joining couplets, quatrains, and even sentences had yet to be refined. This was a process that continued to evolve gradually even through much of the Tang.

Wang Li observes:

> ...before the High Tang the rules of dui and nian were not strictly observed, moreover, when we compare the two, the importance of nian was still secondary.[112]

According to Chou Chao-ming, Xie Tiao and Shen Yue usually observed tonal rules in the composition of individual lines; one also finds regulated couplets becoming more common in their verse. After examining Xie Tiao's yongwu poems in particular, he concludes that "...Hsieh T'iao was highly aware of regulated lines, tended to realize the tui, but was vague about the nien."[113]

An important question that has yet to be fully addressed is how the rules of tonal prosody during this period may have been variously applied to different styles and genres of poetry. During the Tang, guti verse flourished alongside regulated verse. Whether there were similar distinctions in the use of tonal prosody among the poets of the Six Dynasties is not clear. After all, the rules were still in their infancy, and the various poets themselves had different attitudes to the very concept of tones and prosody. The few scattered remarks I have come across regarding the practices of poets such as Xie Tiao and Shen Yue, however, suggest that while the application of

tonal prosody seems to have been very broad, there probably was some degree of variation in strictness based on style and genre. Chou Chao-ming has statistically examined Xie Tiao's use of tones in his yongwu verse, and shown that the vast majority of individual lines are regular. He also comments that Xie Tiao primarily used regulated lines in his landscape verse, but does not provide statistics to compare the two genres.[114] Richard Mather, after citing a number of violations that occur in Shen Yue's verse, points out that nearly all of his examples come from Shen Yue's yuefu poems, and that there is a considerably greater conformity to the rules in his non-yuefu verse.[115] This is what one might expect. Yuefu usually, but not always, are written in an older more traditional lyric styled language. Yongwu on the other hand were at the heart of salon verse, and were usually composed in the most modern and advanced styles. Thus one would anticipate a greater conformity to the newly developing rules.

The problem of the influence of prosodic rules on the quatrain appears to be a complex one. It is clear that the literati had no hesitation about applying prosodic principles to verse composed in the quatrain form. Xu Xueyi has pointed out that as early as Bao Zhao one finds evidence of the quatrain beginning to become regulated. There is even an example of a piece by Bao Zhao that would be considered practically regular by Tang standards (see above,

note 103). The question, however, is where does the quatrain fit on the scale of relatively strictly regulated verse versus relatively non-restricted verse. On the one hand, the quatrain was a modern literary form that was beginning to be taken up by the very literati who were developing the new prosody. This suggests that the quatrain was easily receptive to these prosodic rules. On the other hand much of the heritage and character of the quatrain was derived from its Southern yuefu background. This suggests that in some cases and to certain degrees the quatrain may have resisted the new prosody. That the quatrain did indeed have a dual attitude toward the new rules is born out by the fact that even during the Tang the jueju continued to occur in both regulated and non-regulated forms. It differed from the eight-line lüshi which was practically invented in the salons of the Qi, had no other earlier heritage, and thus from the beginning was a highly receptive to the new rules.

The degrees to which the quatrain both welcomed the new prosody and maintained its independence during the Six Dynasties is very difficult to judge. The data necessary to fully understand the situation still does not exist. Ideally one would need to analyze the patterns of the tones of every poem from this period. I think we can conclude however, that the quatrain was able to resist becoming completely regulated, at least in part, because of its yuefu heritage. The language of the Southern yuefu was popular

and in the song lyric style. One might not want to go so far as to say that the original singers of these songs completely ignored the tones of the syllables, but it is clear that at least originally there was no link to the purely literary rules of prosody that were being developed by the modern poets.[116] This is not to say that a poet could not apply these rules to their yuefu style verse. This is in fact what happened. For example, the two quatrains by Xie Tiao that were discussed above exhibit the influence of tonal prosody ("p"= ping tone; "s"= shang tone; "q"= qu tone; "r"= ru tone):

落	日	高	城	上
\(r)	\(r)	-(p)	-(p)	\(q)
餘	光	入	總	帷
-(p)	-(p)	\(r)	\(q)	-(p)
寂	寂	深	松	晚
\(r)	\(r)	-(p)	-(p)	\(s)
寧	知	琴	瑟	悲
-(p)	-(p)	-(p)	\(r)	-(p)

"Tongque bei"

佳	期	期	未	歸
-(p)	-(p)	-(p)	\(q)	-(p)
望	望	下	鳴	機
\(q)	\(q)	\(q)	-(p)	-(p)
徘	徊	東	陌	上
-(p)	-(p)	-(p)	\(r)	\(q)
月	出	行	人	稀
\(r)	\(r)	-(p)	-(p)	-(p)

"Tong Wang Zhubu 'You suo si'"

Both of these quatrains could be considered "regulated" by the standards of Yongming prosody. There are several examples of "wasp's waists," but these probably should not be regarded as serious. Moreover, while Xie Tiao has not contrasted all of the second and fifth syllables, all of the second and fourth syllables contrast and this eventually became the Tang practice. In the first line of the second piece the ping syllable at the end of the line at first appears to be a problem, but this is a case of rhyming the first line with the even lines, thus the prohibitions against "raised tails" and "crane's knees" would not apply. Even by Tang standards these two pieces are remarkably correct. Though he does not apply the principle of nian, he has adhered to the idea of dui, and the patterns of ping and ze are for the most part identical to the standard Tang patterns.

It is clear that Xie Tiao did not hesitate to apply rules of tonal prosody to his yuefu style quatrains. It should be remembered, however, that these quatrains were almost certainly pure literary compositions, and not actual lyrics. The following quatrain by Shi Baoyue, a true lyric, provides an interesting contrast to Xie Tiao's pieces:

If you take a trip of ten li,
I will send you off for nine li;

I'll take the hair clip off my head,

And give it to you for traveling money.

"Guke yue" 估客樂 no.1 (Lu Qinli, p. 1479-80)[117]

郎	作	十	里	行
-(p)	\(r)	\(r)	\(s)	-(p)
儂	作	九	里	送
-(p)	\(r)	\(s)	\(s)	\(q)
投	儂	頭	上	釵
\(r)	-(p)	-(p)	\(q)	-(p)
與	郎	資	路	用
\(s)	-(p)	-(p)	\(q)	\(q)

Shi Baoyue's lyric basically ignores the rules and principles of tonal prosody. He does avoid the "raised tail," but this may have been a principle with early precedents, or simply coincidence. She Baoyue is writing in a very simple lyric style that is clearly imitative of Southern yuefu diction. What is interesting is that this lyric style in some ways encourages the violation of certain of the literary rules of prosody that were being developed. We have mentioned that one of the features of lyric style diction was its use of repetition. In Shi Baoyue's quatrain, four of the syllables are repeated twice. Such repetition would seem to violate prohibitions against the use of homophones. In addition, two of the syllables, zuo 作 and li 里, occupy both of the second and fourth positions of the two lines of a couplet and thus of necessity violate the most basic principles of pingtou and

dui. It could be suggested that true yuefu lyrics have their own styles of rhetoric and diction that in some instances may actually run counter to the rules of literary tonal prosody.

It is difficult to draw any precise conclusions on the basis of these few examples, but in them I think we can see the basis for the Tang division of the jueju into non-regulated forms and regulated forms. In Xie Tiao's pieces we see the origins of the regulated-style jueju. Although still not fully developed, there was a steady progression from these beginnings, and by the middle of the sixth century one begins to find a growing number of "proto-jueju," that is to say, quatrains that could be considered regulated by Tang standards.[112a] On the other hand, the lyric tradition continued to directly influence the quatrain to varying degrees even during the Tang. Because this tradition was not originally linked to rules of prosody, and in some ways even ran counter to it, non-regulated or semi-regulated quatrains continued to remain an important alternative for the poets of the Tang. I realize that the situation is far more complex than I have presented it. Individual poets had different approaches and attitudes toward the quatrain and tonal prosody. It is not a simple matter of the yuefu tradition being the single force in preserving non-regulated forms. Moreover, yuefu style quatrains could be composed while adhering to rules of tonal

prosody. Nevertheless, I still suspect that yuefu were probably the major force in the encouraging of non-regulated styles. Yuefu had a rich and distinct heritage and style that poets could turn to as an alternative to regulated styles. The following guti style jueju by Li Bo, for example, while not a traditional yuefu title (see below, note 119), does draw upon features of rhetoric and style that were characteristic of yuefu:

> Before the bed, the light of the brilliant moon,
> I thought it was frost covering the ground;
> Raising my head I gazed at the brilliant moon,
> Then lowered my head and thought of home.
>
> "Jing ye si" 靜夜思 [119]

床 前 明 月 光
- - - \ -
疑 是 地 上 霜
- \ \ \ -
舉 頭 望 明 月
\ - \ - \
低 頭 思 故 鄉
- - - \ -

Li Bo's jueju is one of the most famous in the tradition. The style of the piece, however, is rather unusual. His use of repetition is particularly striking. In my translation it merely sounds clumsy and awkward, and that actually was

the tightrope Li Bo was walking when he composed the piece. It is difficult to imagine any other poet attempting it in quite the way that Li Bo did yet still pulling it off. I think he was, in part, inspired by older, yuefu style rhetoric and diction. We see the same type of repetition and consequent "violations" of tonal principles that were seen in Shi Baoyue's lyric. The poem would not have been possible in a regulated style. The repetitions and "violations" of prosody that are essential features of Li Bo's poem simply would not have been allowed. Regulated and non-regulated verse have their own distinct sounds, rhythms and diction. It was the recognition of these distinctions that allowed and encouraged the two different styles of jueju to coexist.

Notes to Chapter V

1. First recorded in the Yutai xinyong. See Yutai xinyong jian zhu, 10.473.

2. The Kuocang zhi 括蒼志 appears to be the title of a local gazetteer. Kuocang was the name of present day Lishui 麗水 county in Zhejiang. Which gazetteer Wu Zhaoyi may have been citing is not clear. Kuocang is also the name of a mountain in Zhejiang, and this work could conceivably be a collection of lore about the mountain.

3. See Yutai xinyong jian zhu, juan 10.473.

4. Recorded in Xie Lingyun's biography. See Song shu, juan 67.1777. The poem is translated, and the surrounding events discussed by J.D. Frodsham. See The Murmuring Stream: The Life and Works of the Chinese Nature Poet Hsieh Ling-yun (385-433) Duke of K'ang-lo, 2 vols. (Kuala Lumpur: University of Malaya Press, 1967), vol. 1, p. 76.

5. Xie Lingyun's problem was that he could never decide if he wanted to serve or retire. It was a perpetual conflict of which he himself was very conscious. In the third line of his poem he is alluding to a passage in Zhuangzi 莊子, "My person is located among the rivers and lakes, but my mind dwells besides the towers of Wei" (shen zai jiang hai zhi shang, xin ju yu Wei que zhi xia 身在江海之上，心居于魏闕之下 ; see Zhuangzi yinde 莊子引得 [Beijing: Harvard-Yenjing Institute, 1947], "Chapter 28: Rang wang," p. 79, line 56). In his poem, Xie Lingyun appears to simply be saying that he is a man of reclusion, but the second half of the couplet must have also been in the back of his mind.

6. See Song shu, juan 19.550. The Song shu passage is also cited in the Yuefu shi ji (juan 45.662), the earliest source of the Wang Xin's lyrics. Wang Xin's biographical notice in the Jin shu (juan 65.1760) explains the circumstances of Wang Xin's defeat (another rebellion) but does not mention any songs.

7. The Wuchang Gate 吳昌門, or the Chang Gate of Wu, appears to refer to a gate first built in the kingdom of Wu during the Chunqiu period.

8. Yuefu shi ji, juan 45.662. For a brief discussion of this title, see Wang Yunxi, Liuchao yuefu yu minge, pp. 79-80.

9. See Yiwen leiju 藝文類聚 , comp. by Ouyang Xun 歐陽詢 (557-641), 4 vols. (Taibei: Xinxing shuju, 1969), juan 29.799.

10. J.D. Frodsham has gathered some of the anecdotes descriptive of their relationship, see The Murmuring Stream, vol. 1, p. 36.

11. For the texts of these poems, see Lu Qinli, p. 1175 (Xie Lingyun) and p. 1193 (Xie Huilian). Both pieces have been translated by J. D. Frodsham, see The Murmuring Stream, vol. 1, pp. 149-150 and pp. 184-187.

12. See "Presented to the Prince of Boma, Biao" ("Zeng Boma Wang Biao" 贈白馬王彪), in Lu Qinli, pp. 452-454.

13. As far as I know, scholars have not questioned the integrity of the piece. Ge Jie 葛傑 and Cang Yangqing 倉陽卿 have included it in their recent anthology, Qian jia jueju 千家絕句 (Shijiazhuang [Hebei]: Huashan wenyi chubanshe, 1984), p. 8. In his commentary, Huang Jie 黃節 quotes a Chen Yinqian 陳胤倩 (haven't been able to identify; Huang Jie does not name the text) who describes it as, "In the style of a five-syllable jueju; full of deep feeling." See Xie Lingyun, Xie Kangle shi zhu 謝康樂詩注 , commentary by Huang Jie 黃節 (Taibei: Yiwen yinshuguan, 1975), juan 3.140.

14. Zhou Xiaotian discusses Du Mu's 杜牧 (803-852) use of numbers in his quatrains, and traces it back to the Southern Dynasties yuefu. See Tang jueju shi, pp. 199-200.

15. See "Fan Guangzhou zhai lianju" 范廣州宅聯句 ; Lu Qinli, p. 1711.

16. Lu Qinli, p. 1204. Lu Qinli lists Han E's 韓鄂 (Tang) Suihua ji li 歲華紀麗 as his earliest source. This text cites the passage and poem quoted, but does not list the source. See Han E 韓鄂 (Tang), Suihua ji li 歲華紀麗 , Congshu jicheng chubian, juan 1.4. Lu Qinlin also notes that the citation occurs several times in the Taiping yulan. Here the source is identified as the Jingzhou ji 荊州記. See, for example, juan 19.5b.

17. See Fan Ye's biography, Song shu, juan 69.1819; here it is stated that he served under Tan Daoji 檀道濟 (d. 436), one of Liu Yu's generals.

18. See "Chun ge" 春歌 no. 3; Lu Qinli, p. 1516. This piece has also been attributed to Wang Jinzhu 王金珠 .

19. Longtou 隴頭 refers to the Longshan 隴山 range of mountains that runs in Gansu and Shenxi (or the waters [the Longtou shui 隴頭水] that flow from it, see Yuefu shi ji, juan 21.311). Longtou figures in the title of several yuefu tunes, including the Northern yuefu title "Longtou ge ci" 隴頭歌辭 (see Yuefu shiji, juan 25.371). There are also several titles in the "Heng chui qu ci" section of the Yuefu shiji that include the name Longtou (see Yuefu shiji, juan 21.311-16). The surviving lyrics to this latter group of titles are relatively late literati pieces from the late Six Dynasties and Tang. They are all "frontier" poems (biansai 邊塞). It thus appears that Longtou was a name and place associated with the north and fighting, and that this is why Lu Kai brought it into his poem. It should also be noted that Fan Ye was a gifted musician with a talent for the "new music" (xinsheng 新聲 ; see Song shu, juan 69.1819,1820). He may have been exposed to northern music during the campaign, and included Longtou in a poem or some other writings that were sent to Lu Kai. Perhaps Lu Kai was alluding to this in his quatrain.

20. His biographies are located in the Song shu (juan 6.109-39) and Nan shi (juan 2.55-76).

21. Liu Xie 劉勰 (ca. 465- ca. 520), Wenxin diaolong zhushi 文心雕龍注釋 , commentary by Zhou Zhenfu 周振甫 (Taibei: Liren shuju, 1984), "Chapter 45: Shi xu" 時序 , p. 816.

22. See Wang Yunxi, Liuchao yuefu yu minge, pp. 16-17.

23. See Nan Qi shu, juan 46.811. Cited in Wang Yunxi, Liuchao yuefu yu minge, p. 17.

24. All three lyrics are included in the Yuefu shi ji, juan 69.987-988. Liu Jun's piece was first recorded in the Yutai xinyong. It was translated and discussed in the "Introduction," pp. 3-4. Liu Yigong's biography is located in Song shu, juan 61.1640-1652; Yan Shibo's biography is located in Song shu, juan 77.1992-1995. Yan Shibo is known to have been one of a group of Liu Jun's favored officials, see Song shu, juan 76.1975.

25. Liu Jun's piece was first recorded in the Song shu, juan 76.1975 (Lu Qinli, p. 1223). A very similar piece, but with the title "Si qi shi" 四時氣 ("The Four Ethers") is attributed to Wang Wei 王微 (415-453) (Lu Qinli, p. 1200). One must have known of the other's poem.

26. The problem is that a variety of sources including the Tong dian 通典 , Yutai xinyong, Yuefu shi ji, and Jiu Tang shu, have attributed various examples from the group of six lyrics to three different authors. Wang Yunxi sorts out the evidence and concludes that Liu Jun was the most likely composer. See Wang Yunxi, Liuchao yuefu yu minge, pp. 83-86. The entire group of six lyrics can be found in the Yuefu shi ji (juan 45.659) where the first five lyrics are attributed to Emperor Wu of the Song 宋武帝 (Liu Yu 劉裕 ; r.420-423), and the sixth lyric is attributed to Wang Jinzhu 王金珠 (Liang). In Lu Qinli (p. 1219) they are all attributed to Liu Jun.

27. I am not sure where Dupu 瀆浦 is located. Dupu could also mean the banks of the Du. There is a Du River (Dushui 瀆水) that originates in Sichuan.

28. Cf. "Nahe tan" 哪呵灘 no. 4 (Yuefu shi ji, juan 49.714), "I heard you were going down Yangzhou,/ I escorted you to the bend at Jiangjin." Liu Jun also uses this formula in "Ding duhu ge" no. 3 (Lu Qinli, p. 1219).

29. This same mix of war, glory and love can be found in the lyrics of Shen Yue 沈約 (441-506) and Emperor Wu of the Liang 梁武帝 (Xiao Yan 蕭衍 [464-549]) to the Western Song title, "Xiangyang baitongti" 襄陽白銅蹄 (Yuefu shi ji, juan 48.708). Chan Man Sing has translated a number of these pieces. See "The Western Songs," pp. 165-67.

30. Several of the poems that they sent to each other still survive. See Lu Qinli, pp. 1245, 1287.

31. Nakamori Kenji 中森健二 has carefully examined the relationship between Bao Zhao and Liu Jun and Bao Zhao and Tang Huixiu. See "Hō Shō no bungaku" 鮑照の文學, Ritsu meikan, no. 364, 365, 366 (1975), pp. 119-164.

32. Nakamori Kenji briefly reviews what little is known about Tang Huixiu and the sources of our information. See "Hō Shō no bungaku," pp. 148.

33. See Song shu 71.1847.

34. Nakamori Kenji suggests that in addition to their literary gifts, Liu Jun employed such men as Tang Huixiu and Bao Zhao with definite political motives in mind. Both men were from the lower gentry (hanmen 寒門), and their promotion could be considered a way of lessening the power and influence of the aristocracy. See "Hō Shō no bungaku," pp. 148-151.

35. Chan Man Sing has examined the relationship between Buddhist musicians and the popular music of the Southern Dynasties. See "The Western Songs," pp. 207-208. He suggests that the use of quatrains in Buddhist chants reflects the influence of the Southern yuefu upon Buddhist practices.

36. Biographical sources tell us of Bao Zhao's relatively humble background. He seems to have come from a poor gentry family. Bao Zhao's lack of status and the problems and frustrations it brought him is a thread that runs throughout his writings. The biographical materials on Bao Zhao are meager. The most important early sources are the brief notices in the Song shu (juan 51.1477-80) and Nan shi (juan 13.360), and Yu Yan's 虞炎 (fl. 483-493) preface to Bao Zhao's collected works. Good, concise, modern biographical sketches can be found in David R. Knechtges, trans. and annotator, Wen xuan Or Selections of Refined Literature, vol. 2 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987), pp. 354-356, and in the entry on Bao Zhao in Lü Huijuan 呂慧鵑, et al, ed., Zhongguo lidai zhuming wenxuejia pingzhuan 中國歷代著名文學家評傳, 6 vols. (Jinan: Shandong jiaoyu chubanshe, 1983), 1:459-482.

37. This was not a standard yuefu title. It must have been created by Bao Zhao. In the Yuefu shi ji (juan 86. 1205) it is classified as a "Zage yao ci" 雜歌謠辭 ("Lyrics to Miscellaneous Songs and Ditties").

38. The Qian Zhonglian 錢仲聯 commentary (actually a collection of commentaries together with his own notes) suggests that Bao Zhao's lyrics were dedicated to Emperor Wen 文帝 (r.424-453). See Bao Zhao 鮑照, Bao Canjun ji zhu 鮑參軍集注, commentary by Qian Zhonglian 錢仲聯 (rpt. Taibei: Muduo chubanshe, 1982), juan 4.213. Several recent scholars, however, have convincingly argued that the lyrics were dedicated to Emperor Xiaowu. They have shown that the term zhongxing 中興 (restoration) was used in a number instances in connection with the accession of Liu Jun, and have cited other internal evidence in the lyrics that supports this conclusion. The most detailed study of these pieces is by Nakamori Kenji, see "Hō Shō no bungaku," pp. 135-144. See also, Cao Daoheng 曹道衡, "Bao Zhao ji pian shi wen de xiezuo shijian" 鮑照幾篇詩文的寫作時間, Wen shi 16 (1982), pp. 189-202 (see p. 202).

39. The series is found in Bao Canjun jizhu, juan 4.213-216.

40. From Li Bo's "Yu jie yuan" 玉階怨 ("Jade Stair Plaint"). See Li Taibo quan ji, juan 5.293.

41. It is possible that this influence was indirect. During the later Six Dynasties one sees the motif of the depiction of light through curtains in several quatrains. Cf. Xie Tiao's "Tong que bei" 銅雀悲 ; see below, pp. 440-41.

42. See Nakamori Kenji, "Hō Shō no bungaku," pp. 135-144.

43. The Nan shi (juan 13.360) says he served under Emperor Wen, but this is clearly a mistake. Both Yu Yan's preface to Bao Zhao's works and the Song Shu (juan 51.1477-80) state that he served under Emperor Xiaowu. See also, Nakamori Kenji, "Hō Shō no bungaku," p. 144, note 2.

44. The Nan Qi shu (juan 56.972) specifically mentions that it during the reign of Emperor Xiaowu that men such as Bao Zhao became employed on the basis of their literary talents.

45. I have followed the text in Bao Canjun jizhu (juan 4.216). In the third line it has cai 采 (color, hue), whereas Lu Qinli has cai 採 (pick, grasp).

46. Nakamori Kenji has also suggested that Bao Zhao is punning in the third line. See "Hō Shō no bungaku," p. 143. For another example of punning on a name in a quatrain, see Jiang Congjian's 江從簡 (Liang) "Cai lian feng" 採蓮諷 ("Picking Lotus Satire"). In this satirical piece, Jiang Congjian puns on he 荷 (lotus) and he 何 , the surname of the person who was the object of his criticism (Lu Qinli, p. 1889).

47. Bao Zhao may have been inspired to blend political eulogy and more sensual matters by the example of the lyrics to certain dance songs. One of the anonymous lyrics to a "Jin bai zhu wu ge" 晉白紵舞歌 (in seven-syllable meter) is a long sensual description of dancers at a court banquet(?) that manages to throw in a line of eulogy for the Jin dynasty. See Yuefu shi ji, juan 55.798. It is because of the example of pieces such as this that were clearly meant to be performed that I suggested that the "Zhongxing ge" were of a similar nature, hence the apparently strange blend of elements in Bao Zhao's set of lyrics.

48. For example, several of the "Zi ye si shi ge" eulogize the Taishi 泰始 reign period (Grand Beginning; 465-471) of Emperor Ming of the Song 宋明帝 . See "Qiu ge" 秋歌 nos. 5 and 10, and "Dong ge" 冬歌 no. 5, Yuefu shi ji, juan 44.647-48. Both Wang Rong and Xie Tiao wrote lyric series (of ten pieces) in celebration of the Yongming 永明 reign period (483-493) of the Qi dynasty. See their lyrics to "Yongming le" 永明樂 , Yuefu shi ji, juan 75.1062-1064.

Both Wang Yunxi and Chan Man Sing have discussed the theme of political eulogy in the Southern yuefu, see Wang Yunxi, Liuchao yuefu yu minge, pp. 67-69; Chan Man Sing, "The Western Songs," pp. 52-53, 74-76, 174-76.

49. Yuefu shi ji, juan 51.739.

50. See above, pp. 273, 286.

51. See Bao Canjun jizhu, juan 4.207-8. The commentary cites the Erya yi 爾雅翼, by Luo Yuan 羅願 (1136-1184).

52. "They set up the bells and fasten the drums and sing the latest songs: / "Crossing the River," "Gathering the Caltrops" and "The Sunny Bank." See David Hawkes, The Songs of the South, p. 228.

53. This and the following lyrics are filled with phrases, images and motifs from the Chuci. It would be tedious to attempt to list them all. The reader can easily identify them by going to Qian Zhonglian's commentary. I will only be making a few, brief comments. Lines 3 and 4: The Han and the Xiang are the two well known rivers in Hubei and Hunan. South of the Han and north of the Xiang is a way of referring to Qu Yuan country. In line 4, "Ling ge" 菱歌 may be referring to his own lyrics.

54. The gathering of fragrant plants and herbs is a common motif from the Chuci. Line 3: The phrase quan hua 泉花 (spring flower) presumably refers to the caltrop, the aquatic plant that was being gathered. Line 4: It is not clear what yun e 雲萼 (cloud calyx) refers to. It appears to be part of a metaphorical image in which Bao Zhao expresses his search for a pure, but unsubstantial ideal.

55. Bao Zhao is using a classic motif from the Chuci of waiting for the goddess. Originally the motif was derived from the love affair that took place between shaman and god or goddess, and always ended in failure. It was then used allegorically by poets to express their disappointments and failures. I do not think that Bao Zhao had any specific person in mind. Again, the image simply seems to be of waiting and hoping for an ideal that has failed.

56. The allusion to the "closest pass" (jin guan 近關) is discussed below.

57. Lines 1 and 2: I am not sure what Bao Zhao is referring to when he talks of zhu yuan 珠淵 (pearl pools) and jin ti 金堤 (metal dike). The Qian Zhonglian commentary has identified possible sources for the phrases, but what if any

significance they have for Bao Zhao's poem (Bao Canjun jizhu, juan 4.210) is not clear. Line 4: "This man" (shi ren 是人) presumably refers to Bao Zhao, but again it is not clear.

58. My translations are based upon the text in Bao Canjun jizhu, juan 4.207-210. In several instances it differs from Lu Qinli's text. Qian Zhonglian's commentary notes the textual variants.

59. See Zuo zhuan zheng yi, "Xiang Gong 襄公 , Year Fourteen," juan 32.249.

60. See the Bao Zhao entry in Lü Huijuan, et al, eds. Zhongguo lidai zhuming wenxuejia pingzhuan, pp. 462-463.

61. See the Bao Zhao entry in Lu Hüijuan, et al, eds. Zhongguo lidai zhuming wenxuejia pingzhuan, pp. 462-463.

62. Quoted in the Qian Zhonglian commentary. See Bao Canjun jizhu, juan 4.208. Qian is citing from Wang Fuzhi's Gushi ping xuan 古詩評選 . See Wang Fuzhi 王夫之 Gushi ping xuan 古詩評選 , juan 3.3a, in Chuanshan yi shu 船山遺書 . ed. by Ouyang Zhaoxiong 歐陽兆熊 , et al. (Shanghai: Taiping yang shudian, 1933).

63. Quoted in Bao Canjun jizhu, juan 4.209. Original source is Wang Fuzhi's Gushi ping xuan, juan 3.3a-b.

64. In addition to the "Cai ling ge," Bao Zhao composed a very similar series of five quatrains to the title "You lan" 幽蘭 . See Lu Qinli, p. 1271.

65. The title of this piece is puzzling. Literally it should be translated, "At Night Listening to Sounds," but it is not clear what sounds he is referring to. In the poem he only makes reference to watching. I wonder if he is listening to music, and hoping this will sooth his mood.

66. Two major studies of the poetry of the late Six Dynasties focus upon the influence of the salons and courts. Ami Yūji's 網祐次 work concentrates upon the Yongming style verse of the Qi, see Chūgoku chūsei bungaku kenkyū: Nan Sei Eimei jidai o chūshin to shite 中國中世文學研究 南齊永明時代を中心として (Tokyo: Shinjusha, 1960); Morino Shigeo's 森野繁夫 work covers the entire Six Dynasties, but focuses on the verse of the Qi, Liang, and Chen Dynasties, see Rikuchō shi no kenkyū 六朝詩の研究 (Tokyo: Daiichi gakushusha, 1976). In English, several studies of poets from these periods offer comparatively brief, but informative introductions to the role of salons

in the literary milieu of the Qi dynasty. See Cynthia Chennault, "The Poetry of Hsieh T'iao (A.D. 464-499)" (Ph.D. Diss., Stanford, 1979); Chou Chao-ming, "Hsieh T'iao and the Transformation of Five-character Poetry" (Ph.D. Diss., Princeton, 1986); Richard Mather, The Poet Shen Yüeh (441-513): The Reticent Marquis (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988), pp. 37-84; Kang-i Sun Chang, Six Dynasties Poetry (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986), pp. 112-145. Also helpful is David Knechtges, trans., Wen xuan Or Selections of Refined Literature, Volume One: Rhapsodies On Metropolises and Capitals (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982), pp. 11-21.

67. Nan shi, juan 59.1463.

68. Morino Shigeo has gathered together a number of descriptions of poetry composition in the salons and courts of the late Six Dynasties. See Rikuchō shi no kenkyū, pp. 251-253, pp. 263-264.

69. See Chennault, "The Poetry of Hsieh T'iao," pp. 142-143.

70. David Knecthges' description of the literary milieu of the Liang includes a concise discussion of the various reactions to the new trends in literature. See Wen xuan, vol. 1, pp. 13-21.

71. In "Chapter I" (pp. 47-49, 68-76) the nature of lianju verse, and the role it may have played in the formation of the term jueju was discussed at some length. In this study I will not attempt to treat the lianju as a distinct type or style of quatrain. Lianju simply means linked verse, that is to say, verse that was composed in turns with a friend or group of friends. There were not any inherent restrictions on the meter or length of verse. It is true that during the middle and late Six Dynasties we see a sharp rise in the amount of lianju being composed, with the vast majority of it consisting of series of five-syllable quatrains. For example, in Tao Yuanming's collection there is one example of a quatrain lianju series; in Bao Zhao's collection there are three lianju, two of which are in five-syllable quatrains, the other of which is in chu-style meter; in Xie Tiao's collection there are seven lianju series, all of which are five-syllable quatrains. But since there are no distinct styles of writing or topics that are associated with lianju I have not attempted to treat it as a distinct sub-genre. In addition, the character of the individual quatrains of a lianju series varies considerably. At times they may function independently; in many other instances, however, they clearly are parts of a single longer work. It does not appear that lianju as a type of verse played any

kind of distinct role in the evolution of the quatrain. The steady rise in lianju composition is clearly a result of the emerging salon and court environment and the increasingly social nature of poetry. Why the quatrain became the predominant form for linked verse is not precisely clear, but it would seem to be at least partly related to the rise of the Southern yuefu lyrics and the general increase in the use of the quatrain form. Remember that the Southern yuefu arose out of a courtship tradition in which songs were exchanged and thus were a sort of linked-verse themselves.

72. It should be noted that some of the titles of Wang Rong's quatrains vary, and that authorship is not always clear. I have followed the attributions and titles as given in Lu Qinli. Wang Rong's yuefu quatrains can be found in Lu Qinli, pp. 1392-1393; the remaining quatrains can be found on pp. 1403-1406.

73. Xie Tiao's present collection of poetry is in five juan. The earliest listing of his collection in the Sui shu 隋書, "Jingji zhi" 經籍志, notes that it was comprised of twelve juan. But these twelve juan included both his prose and verse. His prose works which made up about half of his collection were lost. His poetry, however, appears to have survived relatively intact. For an account of the transmission and editing of Xie Tiao's collection see Hong Shunlong 洪順隆, ed., Xie Xuancheng ji jiaozhu 謝宣城集校注 (Taibei: Taiwan Zhonghua shuju, 1969), pp. 34-35.

74. Nan Qi shu, juan 11.196.

75. Ami Yūji discusses the problem of the title, and concludes that it is mistakenly recorded in the Nan Qi shu. See Chūgoku chūsei bungaku kenkyū, p. 128.

76. See respectively, Lu Qinli, p. 1393, p. 1419, p. 1624.

77. The texts of Xie Tiao's five quatrains yuefu can be found in Lu Qinli, p. 1420. All five pieces have been translated by Chou Chao-ming, see "Hsieh T'iao and the Transformation of Five-character Poetry," pp. 163-178.

78. "You suo si" is one of the Han "Naoge"鐃歌 titles. For the original lyrics see Yuefu shi ji, juan 16.230.

79. Chou Chao-ming has translated this work. He also cites the relevant historical sources and explains the background. See "Hsieh T'iao and the Transformation of Five-character Poetry," pp. 168-169; see also, Kang-yi Sun Chang, Six Dynasties Poetry, pp. 142-143.

80. Chou Chao-ming translates the line from her "Zi diao fu" 自悼賦 ("A fu Lamenting Myself"), "The gorgeous palace is covered with dust and the jade staircases grow moss," (hua dian chen xi yu jie tai 華殿塵兮玉階苔). See "Hsieh T'iao and the Transformation of Five-syllable Poetry," pp. 170. For the original text of Ban Jieyu's fu, see Yan Kejun, ed., Quan Han wen, in Quan shanggu..., juan 11.6b-7b.

81. Shi Chong's preface to a group of poems composed at a gathering at his estate in 296 is still extant. See Yan Kejun, ed., Quan Jin wen, in Chuan shanggu..., juan 33.13a.

82. See the "Zhao yin shi" 招隱士, "A prince went wandering / And did not return / In spring the grass grows / Lush and green." Translation by David Hawkes, Songs of the South, p. 244.

83. For Xie Tiao's works I have also consulted the texts and annotations found in Hong Shunlong, Xie Xuancheng ji jiaozhu and Li Zhifang 李直方 , ed., Xie Xuancheng shi zhu 謝宣城詩注 (Hong Kong: Longmen shudian, 1968).

84. Cited in Li Zhifang, Xie Xuancheng shi zhu, p. 134.

85. Li Bo, Li Taibo quan ji, juan 5.293.

86. Translation by Arthur Waley, see "Introduction," p. 1 and note 2.

87. See the Yuefu shi ji preface to the title "Tong que tai" 銅雀臺 (juan 31.454). It explains the historical backdrop, quoting from the Yedu gushi 鄴都故事 and Lu Chi's 陸機 (261-303) "Diao Wei Wudi wen" 弔魏武帝文 (complete text can be found in Wen xuan, juan 60). See also the translations and discussions in Chou Chao-ming, "Hsieh T'iao...," pp. 168-69, and Kang-i Sun Chang, Six Dynasties Poetry, pp. 142-143.

88. See "Tong Xie Ziyi yong Tongque Tai" 同謝諮議詠銅雀臺 (Lu Qinli, pp. 1418-1419). For other verse on this theme see Yuefu shi ji, juan 31.454-461.

89. For Wang Rong's poem see Lu Qinli, p. 1392. For Yu Yan's poem see Lu Qinli, p. 1459. It should be pointed out that both works have alternate titles, and that they have been noted by Lu Qinli.

90. For example, three of the "Gu jueju si shou" contain interrogative sentences in their final couplets. Shuen-fu Lin has noted the use of interrogative sentence in the early quatrain, see "The Nature of the Quatrain From the Late Han

to the High Tang," p. 304.

91. Shen Deqian 沈德潛, Gushi yuan 古詩源 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1963), juan 12.273.

92. Cynthia Chennault and Chou Chao-ming both have devoted chapters to gathering and discussing the comments of traditional critics on Xie Tiao. Again and again one hears praise of his style and comparisons to the Tang. See Chennault, "The Poetry of Hsieh Tiao," pp. 221-243; Chou Chao-ming "Hsieh T'iao...," pp. 244-250.

93. Studies of yongwu poetry can be found in Ami Yūji, Chūgoku chūsei bungaku kenkyū, pp. 150-246, 449-483; Morino Shigeo, Rikuchō shi no kenkyū, pp. 271-303; and Chou Chao-ming, "Hsieh T'iao," pp. 179-243.

94. Liu Hui 劉繪 (458-502) wrote a quatrain matching Wang Rong's piece. See Lu Qinli, p. 1469.

95. See Liang shu 梁書 , ed. by Yao Silian 姚思廉 (557-637), (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1973), juan 46.690. David Knechtges has translated and discussed the passage in which this phrase occurs. See Wen xuan, Volume One, pp. 11-12.

96. See Meng Haoran 孟浩然 (689-740), Meng Haoran ji jiaozhu 孟浩然集校注, ed. by Xu Peng 徐鵬 (Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 1989), juan 4.282. The Jiande 建德 River (now known as the Xin'an River 新安) is located in Anhui.

97. See Yuefu shi ji, juan 48.699-700.

98. His biography can be found in Nan shi, juan 76.1897-1900; Liang shu, juan 51.742-743.

99. For the text of the poem, see Li Bo 李白 , Li Taibo quan ji 李太白全集, ed. by Wang Qi 王琦 (Qing), 3 Vols. (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1977), juan 19.874.

100. See Lu Qinli, pp. 1814-15.

101. Two works that furnish helpful introductions to the development of tonal prosody during the Yongming period are Richard Mather's The Poet Shen Yüeh (pp. 37-84) and Richard Wainwright Bodman, "Poetics and Prosody In Early Medieval China: A Study and Translation of Kūkai's Bunkyō Hifuron" (Ph.D. Diss., Cornell, 1978).

102. See Xu Xueyi, Shiyuan bianti, juan 7.117, 9.126, 12.141, respectively.

103. In his survey of the development of the five-syllable quatrain, Xu Xueyi singles out the quatrains of Bao Zhao as first showing signs of tonal patterns. This is a striking statement since we ordinarily think of the Yongming poets as the first poets to consciously apply rules of tonal prosody to their verse. It appears, however, that Xu Xueyi's observation was very astute. Among Bao Zhao's quatrains is a piece that can be described as practically regulated ("Cai ling ge" no. 1; translated above, p. 413) according to Tang patterns of prosody. The text of the poem together with the category of each syllable (a level tone [ping 平] is indicated with the "-" symbol; a deflected tone [ze 仄] is indicated with a "\" symbol) is given below:

鶩 舲 馳 桂 浦
\ - - \ \
息 棹 徊 桂 潭
\ \ \ - -
蕭 弄 澄 湘 北
- \ - - \
菱 歌 清 漢 南
- - - \ -

The first two lines are a perfect example of a regulated couplet. There is a "violation" in the third syllable of the last line of the second couplet, but it is relatively minor. In a five syllable line it is the tonal categories of the second, fourth and fifth syllables that are crucial. How Bao Zhao came to compose such an prosodically advanced quatrain is not clear. We should remember, however, that while it was during the Yongming period that the first major discussions and developments of tonal prosody took place, one can see the beginnings of such developments during the Song. Perhaps the ideas of contemporaries such as Fan Ye (398-445), Xie Zhuang 謝莊 (421-466) and Zhou Yong 周顒 (?- 485), figures known to have had an interest in tones and literature, influenced Bao Zhao. It should be noted, however, that Li Changlu, whose article points out the tonal pattern of the piece cited above, also remarks that this piece is not typical of Bao Zhao's verse. See "Han Wei Jin Nanbei chao jueju tanyuan," p. 34.

104. For a review of these explanations, see Richard Bodman, "Poetics and Prosody...," pp. 102-10.

105. See Richard Bodman, "Poetics and Prosody," pp. 151-157.

106. For example, Li Bo's "Jing ye si" 靜夜思 ("Thoughts of a Quiet Night"), Meng Haoran's "Chun xiao" 春曉 ("Spring Dawn") and Liu Zongyuan's "Jiang xue" 江雪 ("River Snow"), three of the most famous of Tang jueju, are not regulated.

107. Nan shi, juan 48.1195. Translation by Richard Mather, The Poet Shen Yüeh, p. 37.

108. Richard Mather briefly describes the attribution of these ideas to Shen Yue, see The Poet Shen Yüeh, p. 57.

109. Richard Bodman has translated the sections on the "eight maladies" in the Bunkyō Hifuron, see "Poetics and Prosody," pp. 271-321. For helpful discussions, examples and explanations, see also Richard Mather, The Poet Shen Yüeh, pp. 57-60; "Poetics and Prosody," pp. 133-140.

110. See Richard Bodman, "Poetics and Prosody," p. 148.

111. See Richard Bodman, "Poetics and Prosody," p. 146.

112. See Wang Li, Hanyu shilü xue, p. 112.

113. See Chou Chao-ming, "Hsieh T'iao," pp. 215-16. Chou apparently is applying Tang standards of prosody to Xie Tiao's verse.

114. See Chou Chao-ming, "Hsieh T'iao," pp. 215-216. Other sources of general statistics on the observation of prosodic rules during the Six Dynasties are Cynthia Chennault, "The Poetry of Hsieh T'iao," pp. 231-32 (for Xie Tiao) and Richard Bodman, "Poetics and Prosody," pp. 143-49. The two studies which Chennault and Bodman relied heavily upon for their information are Lu Zhiwei 陸志韋, "Shi lun Du Fu lüshi de gelü" 試論杜甫律詩的格律, Wenxue pinglun, no. 4 (1962), pp. 13-35 (I have not seen); Takagi Masakazu 高木正一, "Liuchao lüshi zhi xingcheng" 六朝律詩之形成, trans. by Zheng Qingmao 鄭清茂, Dalu zazhi, vol. 13, no. 9; no. 10, pp. 24-32 (1956).

115. Richard Mather, The Poet Shen Yüeh, p. 60.

116. In his study of the Western Songs, Chan Man Sing concludes that, "Unlike the sung poetry of later ages such as ci 詞 and qu 曲, there seems to be no tonal regulations governing the Western lyrics so as to accommodate the verbal music to the tune. See "The Western Songs," p. 309, n. 2.

117. For the background of this lyric, see above, pp. 315-16.

118. The progressive development of tonal rules in the quatrain can be traced back to at least the Qi dynasty. This clearly demonstrates that the *jueju* did not derive its prosody from the eight-line *lüshi*. Some modern scholars, while acknowledging this, suggest that the maturation of the eight-line *lüshi* during the Tang eventually acted to stimulate and reinforce the development of the regulated *jueju*. See Shen Zufen, *Tang ren qijueshi qian shi*, pp. 9-10. This is an interesting and reasonable conjecture, but one would like to see concrete explanations and evidence for how this may have occurred.

119. Guo Maoqian classified this piece as a "New *yuefu*" ("Xin yuefu"). The title was created by Li Bo. See *Yuefu shi ji*, *juan* 90.1274; Li Bo, *Li Taibo quan ji*, *juan* 6.346.

CHAPTER VI

THE QUATRAIN IN THE LATE SIX DYNASTIES

Introduction

In this final chapter we will be examining the the development of the literary quatrain during the sixth and early seventh centuries. The advances that took place during this period in the Liang 梁 (502-557) and Chen 陳 (557-589) dynasties in the south, the corresponding Northern Dynasties, and finally the Sui 隋 dynasty (581-618), first established the quatrain as a vital, respected literary genre. Although the quatrain could by no means be considered mature by the end of this period---overall it was still a minor form with a limited range---the basic foundation for its eventual refinement and flourishing during the Tang was laid at this time. As one of the favorite forms of the palace-style verse that flourished during this century, the quatrain gained a greater and greater popularity among the literati. It is true that such verse was often of limited value as poetry, but it was decisive in advancing the quatrain. It was through palace-

style poetry that most sixth century poets became acquainted with the practice and art of composing literary quatrains. Once this occurred on a large enough scale it would only be a matter of time before more serious and adventurous poets began to use the form for personal, lyrical verse. This in fact begins to take place during the sixth century. Prior to this century the use of the quatrain by the literati for personal verse was a rare and isolated event. Although during this period it was still the exception, we do see several major poets such as He Xun 何遜 (?-ca. 518), Wu Jun 吳均 (469-520) and most notably, Yu Xin 庾信 (513-581) turning to the quatrain form to compose some of their finest and most personal verse. It should be remembered that the two outstanding poets of the Yongming period, Xie Tiao and Wang Rong, while composing some very fine, advanced quatrains, did not use the form for personal lyrics. The acceptance of the quatrain form by at least a few major poets during the sixth century as a vehicle for serious verse is an important sign of the maturing of the form.

The advance of the quatrain through the promotion of palace-style verse, and the beginnings of the use of the form for personal verse are the two major developments of this period. In this chapter palace-style verse and the quatrain will be treated in a single section. The use of the quatrain for personal lyrics will be divided into two sections. In the first section we will focus primarily upon

works by He Xun and Wu Jun, and certain important developments that are beginning to take shape in their work, for example, the rise of the quatrain as a form for parting poetry, and the use of parallelism in the quatrain. In the next section we will focus upon the quatrains of Yu Xin, a poet whose reliance upon this form was unprecedented. Yu Xin was the greatest poet of the sixth century, thus his example would demonstrate most fully to later poets the potential of the quatrain. In following sections, we will also examine the early beginnings of the seven-syllable quatrain, and the question of northern influence and elements in the make-up of the quatrain. By the end of this chapter we hope to have established a relatively thorough and accurate portrayal of the literary quatrain on the eve of the Tang dynasty as it stood poised to mature into the jueju.

Palace-style Verse and the Quatrain

Gongti 宮體, or palace-style verse, was the dominant fashion in poetry during the sixth century.[1] Emperor Jianwen of the Liang 簡文 (Xiao Gang 蕭綱 [503-551]) was the great patron of this style of poetry and one of its leading practitioners. Palace-style verse reached its height in the Eastern Palace of Xiao Gang, while

he was Crown Prince (531-549). The first half of the sixth century was a period of relative peace and prosperity in the south, and Xiao Gang and the members of his literary salon were free to indulge in their light, sensual, playful verse. Among Xiao Gang's literary associates were a number of the most outstanding writers of the age. They included Xu Chi 徐摛 (474-551), who served as Xiao Gang's tutor, and is often cited as the originator of the palace-style;[2] his son Xu Ling 徐陵 (507-583), the compiler of the great anthology of palace-style verse, the Yutai xinyong; Yu Jianwu 庾肩吾 (ca. 487-551); and his son Yu Xin, a writer who would eventually become one of the greatest poets of the Six Dynasties. The patronage of Xiao Gang and the exploration of this verse by many of the leading literary figures of the age insured the flourishing of the palace-style. It became the dominant fashion, and practically every writer of this period was influenced by it in some way. Most poets composed in this style to varying degrees. Though several important figures did resist and criticize its excesses, no other styles or schools could successfully compete with its popularity and influence. The success of palace-style verse would have important consequences for the development of the quatrain. The quatrain was a favorite form of palace-style verse. As was the case with Yongming verse in the late fifth century, the development of the quatrain was greatly promoted and encouraged by its being taken up by current

literary fashions.

We often associate palace-style verse with love poetry and sensual, sentimental descriptions of women. Such feminine topics were, in fact, the predominant subject matter of this type of verse. However, it also included other topics and subgenres such as poems on various aspects of palace life, occasional verse and yongwu verse.[3] Such verse was characterized by its light, delicate, sensual approach and mood. Like the salon verse of the fifth century, palace-style verse was ordinarily composed for entertainment. It was one of the amusements that made up part of the life-style of the upper classes. Palace-style verse can, in fact, be seen as the climax of a trend that had begun during the Song Dynasty. Much of the verse of Liu Jun and Tang Huixiu, and a number of pieces by Bao Zhao are virtually identical in quality to palace-style verse; and the salon verse of the Qi was the direct antecedent of palace-style verse. We see many of the same topics and subgenres, and the same light, social approach to verse. A number of titles appear consistently throughout the corpus of fifth and sixth century verse, and clearly belong to the same tradition. Palace-style verse was distinguished from its predecessors primarily by its success---it flourished and dominated the literary scene to unprecedented degrees---and by its excesses---there was an increasingly narrow focus on palace life and its environs, and a growing uninhibited

sensuality and frankness. During the Song dynasty a poet such as Bao Zhao composed poems similar to palace-style verse, but they were only a minor aspect of his total corpus. Later in the Qi, Xie Tiao would also compose poems that were in the palace-style tradition. In the previous chapter we saw him favoring the yuefu quatrain for such verse, but we also saw Xie Tiao guided by a sense of restraint and an underlying sense of tradition that gave his works a greater depth and seriousness compared to other love lyrics. Poets such as Bao Zhao and Xie Tiao were still very much grounded in tradition, and this guided and restrained their verse. By the time of Xiao Gang, however, ties to the traditions of the past were breaking down. The following statement by Xiao Gang is in strikingly open and direct conflict with the traditional, utilitarian, Confucian approach to literature:

> The principles underlying development of personal character and those governing literary composition are quite different. One establishes oneself first by being circumspect and serious. Literature, on the other hand, should be the uninhibited expression of sentiment.[4]

The results of such an attitude are graphically reflected by some of the poems that Xiao Gang would come to compose. In

his collection we see such titles as "The Catamite" ("Luan tong" 孌童), "On a Lady Sleeping During the Day" ("Yong neiren zhou mian" 詠內人晝眠), and "Beauty Observing a Painting" ("Yong meiren kan hua" 詠美人看畫).[5] This, of course, was not the type of poetry a future emperor should have been composing. But as we have seen it was the nobility, at their courts and salons, who again and again were at the forefront in promoting the latest and most uninhibited verse, and the quatrain would again play a major role in the composition of such verse. As was the case in the salon verse of the Qi, the palace-style drew heavily upon the quatrain form because of its associations with love, women and the feminine voice, and because it was suited for the literary amusements and other extemporized verse that made up much of the current poetry.

The flourishing of palace-style verse is usually linked to Xiao Gang and the poets centered around him. When we look to the poetry that survives from this period, however, it appears that Emperor Wu of the Liang 武帝 (Xiao Yan 蕭衍 [464-549]) played an important early role in the advance of palace-style verse, and one can perhaps think of him as the first great palace-style poet. Although Xiao Yan was one of the "Eight Friends of the Prince of Jinling" and thus an associate of poets such as Xie Tiao and Wang Rong, one senses a distinct difference in their approaches to poetry and the quality of their verse. In Xiao Yan's poetry the

sensual, ornate, delicate qualities that are most fully developed in palace-style verse are very much in evidence, and provide clear and direct antecedents to the verse that flourished in the salon of his son. The number of poems by Xiao Yan included in the great repository of palace-style verse, the Yutai xinyong, was only exceeded by those of his son Xiao Gang.

Xiao Yan's extant corpus includes a tremendous number quatrains, over forty pieces, the largest collection of quatrains up to his time. The vast majority of these quatrains are yuefu lyrics, with a smaller number of pieces consisting of yongwu poems and several pieces extemporized and presented at banquets. Earlier we saw that the quatrains of the Qi salon poets also fell largely into the two major categories of yuefu lyrics and yongwu. Palace-style quatrains would largely continue to follow the parameters established by these two categories. Nevertheless, in Xiao Yan's quatrains we can clearly see the shift in quality and approach that marks the rise of the pure palace-style.[6] Xiao Yan's yuefu quatrains, for example, contrast strongly with those of Xie Tiao. To begin with there is the sheer difference in numbers. Xiao Yan's yuefu quatrains occupy a far greater proportion of his corpus than those of Xie Tiao's. Yuefu was a favorite sub-genre of palace-style verse since it was a traditional vehicle for the topics of love and women. Xiao Yan's

increased attention to the yuefu quatrain is indicative of the shift toward topics and styles of verse that would characterize palace-style poetry. In the previous chapter it was noted that while Xie Tiao worked with the yuefu quatrain, one can detect a certain relative sense of conservatism and restraint in his lyric style quatrains. His titles tended to be traditional or have historical associations, rather than be actual Southern yuefu titles. A piece such as "Tong que bei" (see above, pp. 440-41) has the solid strength and flavor of "poem on history" (yong shi shi 詠史詩). Almost all of Xiao Yan's yuefu quatrains, on the other hand, were composed to known Southern yuefu titles. Many are directly imitative of the Southern yuefu style, but generally lack the freshness, vigor and true feeling of genuine yuefu lyrics. In addition, Xiao Yan often used the quatrain to describe women and girls of the palace:

> Counting on his love she wants to advance,
> Still harboring a shyness she dares not go forward;
> From her crimson lips comes an amorous song,
> Her jade fingers work the charming strings.
>
> "Zi ye ge" no. 1 (Lu Qinli, p. 1516)

In the Yuefu shiji this piece is included among the set of anonymous lyrics to the title "Zi ye ge." However, it (and

the piece immediately following it) clearly differ in quality from the other forty lyrics to this title. In the Yutai xinyong it is attributed to Xiao Yan, and this surely is correct.[7] This piece does not sound like a popular song, instead it is a classic example of a palace-style poem. The lyric is an objective description rather than in the first person. The author is not expressing his own emotions, imitating a popular lyric, or assuming the persona of the girl. He is describing a scene that he has actually observed. Lin Wenyue has pointed out that one of the distinguishing features of palace-style verse was the new sense of realism and objectivity (xieshi keguan 寫實客觀) that was cultivated in its descriptions of palace life and its objects.[8] This approach to poetry is clearly visible in Xiao Yan's lyric. The vision of this developing realism and objectivity was very narrow. It generally was limited to certain objects and activities within the confines of the palace life style and environs. Moreover, it was a vision colored by an emphasis on the sensual and the ornate, and in the case of descriptions of girls, an underlying sentimentality. In Xiao Yan's piece, for example, lips are crimson (zhu 朱), fingers are jade (yu 玉), strings are charming (jiao 嬌), and the song is amorous (yan 豔). The approach and style of verse we see in this poem would become increasingly popular as palace-style advanced. It was a difficult type of verse to work

with in the sense that it was all too easy to fall into cliches and sentimentality. One quickly tires of reading innumerable descriptions of lovely, charming dancers and singers and sad, pining palace ladies. One comes to appreciate more the lyrics of Xie Tiao. Although he was working in the same tradition that eventually developed into the palace-style, there is a world of difference between the singers in his "Tong que bei" and the girl in Xiao Yan's lyric.

The new advances in palace-style verse that we saw taking place in Xiao Yan's poetry are fully developed in the verse of Xiao Gang, the palace-style poet par excellence. Of his approximately three hundred surviving poems, over sixty take the quatrain form.[9] As one would expect, most of these pieces fall into the two basic categories of yuefu lyric and yongwu verse, and they follow in and further develop the quatrain traditions we have seen evolving since the late Song. Like his father, Xiao Gang was fond of yuefu quatrains as they were a ready vehicle for palace-style verse, but the majority of his quatrains are yongwu style pieces describing various aspects of palace life. When describing the women of the palace such pieces are virtually identical to the type of yuefu we have seen Xiao Yan compose. Thus among Xiao Gang's quatrains we see a number of works describing dancers, singers and women in their boudoirs. In addition, however, in Xiao Gang's verse one

often sees advances in the palace-style in the increasing sophistication and delicacy of the writing, and in the greater focus on the description of various aspects of palace life and of nature as seen through the eyes of a courtier. There are quatrains on the moon, clouds, various types of plants and birds, fans, lamps, drinking, and music. The following piece is a typical example:

> A lovely cloud comes forth,
> For a moment full, then thin again;
> If you want to cause King Xiang to dream,
> You must head over White Emperor City.
>
> "Floating Clouds" ("Fou yun" 浮雲 ; Lu Qinli, p. 1972)

King Xiang of Chu 楚襄王 (r. 298-265 B.C.) is the king to whom Song Yu 宋玉 told the story of the Lady of Wu Mountain (Wushan zhi nü 巫山之女), the goddess who at dawn took the form of morning clouds, and once appeared to an early Chu king in a dream and spent the night with him.[10] Wu Mountain is located near the Yangtze gorges between Sichuan and Hubei, and White Emperor City was located on the Yangtze just east of Wu Mountain. In his opening couplet Xiao Gang appears to be simply describing a cloud as it appears before him. Its changes remind him of the transformation of the clouds and goddess of Wu mountain

and he introduces this idea in the second couplet when he addresses the cloud. Xiao Gang's quatrain is typical of the palace-style which usually strives to introduce a sensual or erotic flavor into its lines be it through ornate, lush language or through allusions to this type of subject matter. It often attempts to conclude with a clever twist or insight. Although Xiao Gang's piece is a relatively successful example of a typical palace-style yongwu, the limitations of this type of verse are easily imagined. Endless descriptions of dancing, silk flowers, dust on curtains, beauties staring into mirrors, preparing for bed, birds that have lost their mates, reflections in waters etc. quickly wear thin. There was a tendency to resort to stereotypes and cliches, and an absence of deep and genuine emotion. Again, in most cases such pieces were probably improvised for amusement and various social gatherings. Poets who composed in the palace-style would themselves deprecate such verse. Xu Ling, for example, in the preface to the Yutai xinyong declared:

> One has here recorded love songs to make ten scrolls. They are not fit to put alongside the Odes and hymns, nor are they the overflow from the Bards; it is rather like the waters of the Ching and Wei, (which flow in the same channel without commingling).[11]

Despite the obvious weaknesses and limited range of palace-style verse, the rise of this style of poetry was instrumental in advancing the quatrain. As has been noted above, palace-style verse relied heavily upon the quatrain. It encouraged literati poets to use this form, and it was through the medium of palace-style verse that most late Six Dynasties poets learned the intricacies and art of the quatrain. The vast majority of sixth century quatrains were composed in the palace style, and this fundamentally shaped the future development of the quatrain in terms of both content and style.

Palace-style poetry reached its heyday under the patronage of Xiao Gang during the first half of the sixth century, but continued to be a major force throughout the Six Dynasties. Its influence was felt in the north as well. And later Emperor Yang of the Sui 煬帝 (Yang Guang 楊廣 [569-618]) would be an enthusiastic composer of this southern style verse. Palace-style poetry would continue to flourish into the early Tang. Although it eventually declined as a literary fashion, its legacy continued to be very rich and visible in the shaping of the <u>jueju</u>. Palace-style quatrains gradually matured and evolved into what would become one of the major sub-genres of the Tang <u>jueju</u>, the large category of <u>jueju</u> that would be described as "boudoir laments" (<u>gui yuan</u> 閨怨) and "palace laments"

(gong yuan 宮怨). We have seen one example of this type of jueju by Li Bo (his "Yu jie yuan," see above, p. 438). The Tang poets were able to refine and transform the palace-style quatrain into serious verse, and this type of jueju proved to be extremely popular throughout the Tang. Much of Wang Changling's (c. 690-c.756) fame as a poet was based upon his women's laments in the jueju form (together with his biansai jueju). The category of boudoir and palace laments was not limited to the jueju, but the jueju proved to be the most popular form at least in part because of the antecedents of the Six Dynasties traditions of the Southern yuefu and the palace-style use of the quatrain. Ronald Miao devotes a section of his study of palace-style verse to the Tang tradition, and all of his examples are jueju.[12] It should also be remembered that the quatrain continued to be a vital and popular song lyric form during the Tang Dynasty, and that this form continued to be used by women and was associated with women and feminine themes. During the mid-Tang several tremendous jueju series of gong yuan verse appear. The most important was Wang Jian's 王建 (jinshi 775) one-hundred "Palace Lyrics" ("Gong ci" 宮詞), an influential series that inspired a number of later efforts including a series of one-hundred "Palace Lyrics" by the Five Dynasties (907-960) poetess, Consort Huarui 花蕊夫人 (ca.883-926).[13]

Palace-style verse was clearly limited in its range and

depth. Large amounts of overly ornate, shallow, frivolous, cliched verse was written in this style. The overall low quality of palace-style verse together with its content has aroused the scorn of traditional and modern critics. There was strong resistance to the palace-style during the sixth century itself, and Tang poets often condemned this verse in their struggle to create their own identity. One should not deny, however, the important contributions of palace-style verse to the development of the poetic tradition. In the case of the jueju we have noted its promotion of the use of the quatrain form and its influence with respect to the content of the jueju. Just as is important is how palace-style verse encouraged and shaped the development of the art and technique of the quatrain. Palace-style verse was an excellent medium for training poets in the craft of poetry, and as the quatrain evolved beyond the limitations of palace-style verse it would continue to draw upon the lessons learned at this stage of its evolution.

In "Chapter V" we discussed how in the Qi salons, yongwu verse, despite its slightness, often encouraged the purest and most advanced writing of the time (see above, pp. 445-49). This trend continued to develop in the Liang. As has been noted above, the majority of Xiao Gang's quatrains are yongwu. Too often such verse was hampered by the usual limitations of palace-style verse---the emphasis on the ornate and sensual, a weak delicacy and a reliance on facile

cleverness---yet one can still observe a fresh and healthy fascination with the phenomena of the physical world and a devotion to the problem of capturing these phenomena in verse. The following example is by Yu Jianwu:

> Before the wind the fine dust soars,
> Within the moon the black smoke rises;[14]
> As the flames spring forth I watch the towering trees,
> In the invading glow I make out distant city walls.
>
> "Gazing At a Distant Fire" ("Yuan kan fang huo" 遠看放火; Lu Qinli, p. 2003)

Yu Jianwu's poem is nothing more than a brief description of watching a fire at night. It is not Yu Jianwu's intention to express a feeling or message. Unhampered by other considerations, all his effort is devoted to capturing in words the extraordinary scene before his eyes. His lines are so sharp, the images so real and startling that the reader is transported. The pure, physical description, in two parallel couplets, is simply guided by his eyes and his wit in his search for the most striking images and their most effective combination. Yu Jianwu's poem is a slight work, without a hint of deeper feeling or meaning, but at its own level it is very fine writing. It offers the reader a simple, but pure and delicious pleasure; nothing more was intended. In Yu Jianwu's lines we see palace-style verse at

its best.

The limitations of palace-style verse could at times also be its strength. When poetry was little more than a game or entertainment it freed poets to play and experiment with their verse unhampered by the traditional responsibilities and considerations of literature. Yongwu verse in particular taught poets to directly observe nature and the world around them, and compose sharp, clear, purely physical descriptive verse. It helped them to develop their eyes, exercise their wit, and develop their craft. Gradually, as poetry matured, poets could drawn upon the lessons that were learned through the play of palace-style verse, and apply them to their more serious, personal poems. In the previous chapter we examined a yongwu poem by Wang Rong, and noted that it explored possibilities that eventually would be taken up by Tang poets. A jueju by Meng Haoran was cited that like Wang Rong's poem played on the motif of images reflected in water (see above, pp. 448-49). This motif was, in fact, a favorite of palace-style verse, and one can observe it consistently turned to by sixth century poets. The following lyric by Emperor Yang of the Sui dynasty is a very fine example, and illustrates the consistent progression from the salon verse of the Qi to the palace-style of the sixth century to the eventual adaptation and transformation of the tradition in the Tang:

The evening river lies calm and still,
Spring blossoms opening are at their height;
On go the flowing waves carrying away the moon,
While tidal waters arrive bringing up the stars.

"Spring River, Blossoms, Moon, Night" ("Chunjiang hua yue ye" 春江花月夜 ; Lu Qinli, p. 2663).

Much of the most advanced and sophisticated writing in palace-style verse is found in descriptions of nature. The quatrain was an especially demanding form because of its brevity, but this sometimes pressed the poets to some of their most inspired verse as they sought to find the most striking combination of lines and images. Descriptions of people and various human activities were very popular in palace-style verse, but such subjects tended to be more difficult to treat effectively. As we have mentioned, the range of such verse was very narrow. One finds poem after poem about dancers, singers and palace ladies, and it was all to easy to fall into cliched images and sentiments. Nevertheless, one does find on occasion short, lively descriptions that are very effective in capturing brief moments and events:

The long mat is too wide, he can't get close to her,
And the honored guest finds it difficult to approach

her proud beauty;
She passes the wine without bothering to glance at
him,
Then turns around---her expression proper and prim.

"On the Winemaid" ("Yong zhuo jiu ren" 詠酌酒人; Lu Qinli, p. 1542)[15]

Pieces such as this provided fine training for palace-style poets. In these slight descriptions they learned to catch the essence of a moment or scene in brief portrayals and vignettes. This use of the quatrain was very influential upon the Tang poets. As Stephen Owen has pointed out, the Tang quatrain vignette was the result of the legacy of palace-style verse being perfected by the Tang masters.[16] They learned easily to toss off these sketch-like pieces, and this type of jueju became very popular. The following example is by Li Bo:

The waters of Mirror Lake are like the moon,
The girl of Ruoye Creek is like snow;
Newly made up, bobbing on fresh waves,
The light and reflection of girl and water---superb![17]

"The Girls of Yue" no. 5 ("Yue nü ci" 越女詞)[18]

The debt of Li Bo's jueju to the Six Dynasties is obvious.

The subject matter, the simple but colorful language, the sensual, physical feel, and the striking wit of the ending imagery can all be traced back to the Southern yuefu and its interpretation by palace-style verse.

The Quatrain and The Personal Lyric

Although Yongming and palace-style verse were the dominant literary trends during the late fifth and sixth century, they were strongly criticized and resisted by a number of prominent poet-critics throughout this period. Figures such as Zhong Rong 鍾嶸 (?-518), Pei Ziye 裴子野 (469-530), Liu Xie 劉勰 (ca. 465-ca. 520) and Xiao Tong 蕭統 (501-531) resisted the new developments to varying degrees, and advocated and practiced more traditional, orthodox approaches to verse.[19] No other single school or style was able successfully to challenge the modern fashions, but their protests and reactions do hint at the vitality and variety of verse that can be found in the sixth century. Though the palace-style was by far the most prominent of trends, once one looks past this fashion one discovers a plethora of styles and approaches as poets resisted, reacted to, adapted, and modified the palace-style. The powerful literary tradition and Confucian heritage would not let the palace-style flourish unchecked.

Throughout this period one can detect certain poets searching for alternatives. Even the most prominent palace-style poets recognized its limitations. Most poets were able to compose in a variety of styles and traditions as befit the topic and occasion.

The different reactions to the palace-style had important consequences for the quatrain. As we have seen above, the palace-style tended to promote the use of this form. The Yutai xinyong, for example, devotes an entire chapter to the five-syllable quatrain. The same factors that encouraged the use of the quatrain for palace-style verse, however, tended to discourage its use by more proper, conservative poets who disapproved of love lyrics and palace-style amusements such as yongwu. Such poets did not take the quatrain form seriously. For example, Xiao Tong's more refined and orthodox anthology, the Wen xuan, ignored quatrain verse. Between the palace-style enthusiast and the more extreme conservatives such as Jiang Yan 江淹 (444-505) and Pei Ziye there were certain poets who were able to draw upon the latest fashions and advances as well as upon the traditional heritage. By bringing together the modern and the traditional they were able to develop new approaches and styles that would help the poetic tradition mature and have important consequences for the future. The efforts of such poets were crucial in the development of the quatrain. Although Yongming verse and palace-style verse greatly

encouraged the use of the quatrain, there were inherent limitations to quatrains composed in these styles. The most basic weakness was that the quatrain ordinarily was not used for serious, personal verse. Poets such as Wang Rong, Xie Tiao, Xiao Yan and Xiao Gang used the quatrain for yuefu style lyrics, yongwu and other types of literary games. Although they produced some very fine poems and writing, the literary quatrain could never fully mature until it was used for personal verse. Earlier we saw a few instances of the quatrain used for more serious poems, for example, for parting poems and for Chu song-type lyrics, but such efforts tended to be haphazard and isolated. The great exception was Bao Zhao who was far ahead of his time in his exploration of the quatrain. It not until the early sixth century that we start to see certain poets such as He Xun (ca. 466-ca. 519) and Wu Jun (469-520) beginning consistently to use the quatrain for more personal verse, although such poets and poems continued to be the exception rather than the rule.

In the personal quatrains of poets such as He Xun, Wu Jun, and then Yu Xin, we see the next major step in the development of the jueju. The significance of such poets lay in the fact that they were not isolated or peripheral figures who happened upon the quatrain form, and drew upon it only for unusual or exceptional personal occasions (as, for example, Xie Lingyun and Tao Hongjing). They were very

talented and advanced poets who had a thorough acquaintance with the latest and most advanced styles and forms, but did not slavishly follow fashion. Instead, they brought to the new style verse a more serious and traditional attitude and approach to poetry. Rather than ignore or reject the use of the quatrain for their more personal verse they began to adapt it, using it for more important occasions and topics, and exploring its art and techniques.

The two most important early sixth century poets to use the quatrain for personal lyrics were He Xun and Wu Jun. About thirty of He Xun's approximately one-hundred twenty surviving poems are quatrains. The titles of these works are very instructive. They include a number of palace-style pieces with titles such as "Boudoir Lament" ("Gui yuan" 閨怨), "Spying a Beauty in the Garden" ("Yuan zhong jian meiren" 苑中見美人), and various yongwu pieces such as "On the Spring Wind" ("Yong chun feng" 詠春風). A large number of these quatrains were composed as lianju. In addition, however, we also find a number of parting quatrains, most of which were composed as lianju, and several unusual titles such as "Bordertown Thoughts" ("Biancheng si" 邊城思) and "Mourning For Recorder Xu" ("Shang Xu zhubu" 傷徐主簿) that show the quatrain advancing beyond its typical salon and palace-style parameters.[20] Wu Jun's collection of quatrains show a similar mix. About twenty of his approximately one-hundred

forty extant poems are quatrains. They include a number of yuefu lyrics in the typical salon and palace styles as well as several yongwu poems, but one also finds a parting poem, a poem of mourning for a friend, and a series of quatrains with a landscape-eremitic theme. In addition, one of Wu Jun's yongwu quatrains is not a palace-style yongwu, but a serious allegorical piece in which he expresses his feelings about the frustrations in his career.[21] The mix of styles and topics found in the quatrains of these two poets is very revealing. We see poets who were well practiced in the salon and court style quatrain, but who were not restricted by it; poets who felt the limitations of the current literary fashion, but who were open enough to draw upon lessons learned from the new verse and adapt and refine its styles and forms for more serious, personal poetry.

Poets such as He Xun and Wu Jun were somewhat exceptional figures, but one can detect certain consistent patterns and reasons that help to explain why they were able to break through the limitations of salon and palace-style verse. Morino Shigeo in his study of Six Dynasties poetry describes poets such as He Xun and Wu Jun as composers of "personal literature" (kojin no bungaku 個人の文學) as opposed to composers of the "group literature" (shūdan no bungaku 集団の文學) that was practiced in the courts and salons.[22] As he points out, both of these poets came from relatively low backgrounds, were often frustrated in

their careers, and thus their poetry took on a different flavor and focus from that of more typical court and salon poets. Though one should be careful about generalizing and oversimplifying the relationship between biography and literature, Morino's points are helpful, and basically correct. When we look to the biographies of He Xun and Wu Jun as well as their poetry one does see that they were figures who stood somewhat apart from the elite of society, and that they were conscious of and frustrated by the barriers that separated them from complete success.[23] In one of Wu Jun's yongwu quatrains we see a clear expression of his disappointment:

> Its roots lie twisted by stone,
> Its branches shattered by strong winds;
> But its heart is virtuous and pure,
> In the end it will surpass this generation of grass.
>
> "The Pine On the Stone of Cimu Cliff" ("Yong Cimuji shi shang song" 詠慈姥磯石上松 ; Lu Qinli, pp. 1752)[24]

This is a striking poem for this period. One very rarely sees this kind of strength and personal feeling in the quatrain. It was clearly intended as an allegory with the pine standing for Wu Jun and the grass for the slight but now successful figures in society. The pine tree was a

traditional symbol of loyalty and strength in adversity, and was a favorite image in Wu Jun's verse.[25] Wu Jun's poetry was known for its "ancient flavor" (guqi 古氣), and there was even a style of poetry known as "Wu Jun style" (Wu Jun ti 吳均體).[26] Here we see the results of Wu Jun's ability and willingness to bring his more personal, traditional approach to what ordinarily was a slight modern form.

The backgrounds of He Xun and Wu Jun and the ways in which it affected their verse are reminiscent of Bao Zhao. In each case we see men from relatively low families who were highly respected and prized for their literary abilities, but who were ultimately disappointed in their careers. He Xun and Wu Jun were praised by the leading literary figures of the day, and for a while even enjoyed the favor of the emperor, Xiao Yan.[27] In their collections one can see them composing in the current fashion, and it is clear that they, to a degree, were active participants in the court and salon literary scenes. Despite their apparent successes, however, in their verse they continually express their frustration and disappointment with their lives. Wu Jun's biography specifically tells us that he was of lowly origins (hanjian 寒賤), and as we have seen above, the difficulties this brought him was a theme of his poetry. He Xun came from a traditional scholar-official family with a rich tradition, but he still was very conscious of his

relative inferiority when compared to members of the aristocratic clans. Again it was a theme that was often returned to in his poetry, and it provoked the disapproval of some of his contemporaries:

> He Xun's verse is truly pure and skillful, and full of fine descriptions, but the critics of Yangdu 揚都 (i.e. Jianye 建業, the southern capital) disliked his constant complaints about his difficulties, and the air of poverty and lowliness in his verse. They felt he fell short of the dignity and calm found in Liu Xiaochuo 劉孝綽 (481-539).
>
> Yan Zhitui 顏之推 (531-591)[28]

It was, however, precisely this pain and frustration that often motivated the verse of He Xun and Wu Jun. It helped to keep them from comfortably falling in with and being submerged by the current literary fashion, and drove them to explore the possibilities of the new style verse for personal expression. Much of He Xun's career was spent in a series of minor posts. The sorrows of travel and separation, and the frustrations of his career are a major theme in his verse. While He Xun did use the quatrain for light, fashionable verse in the current style (he has a number of fine examples of palace-style quatrains), he also

used it for more personal lyrics:

> The willows are turning yellow, their leaves not yet emerged,
> The waters are green, half covered by moss;
> At a border town when the colors of spring go into motion,
> Then to a traveler come the thoughts of home.
>
> "Border Town Thoughts" ("Biancheng si" 邊城思; Lu Qinli, p. 1708).[29]

As in Wu Jun's piece above, one sees the quatrain maturing as it advanced in new directions away from the fashions and trends that dominated during the sixth century. When poets such as He Xun and Wu Jun took the quatrain away from the setting of salon and court and its typical topics and concerns, and added their own individual voices to more personal occasions and themes, the quatrain became richer, deeper, and stronger. The combination of the new form together with a more serious and traditional literary approach resulted in verse that was reminiscent of the Tang:

> ....of the Six Dynasties <u>jueju</u> that come close to the Tang, there is none like those of Zhongyan 仲言 (He Xun's <u>zi</u>). Hong Jinglu 洪景盧 (Hong Mai 洪邁 [1123-1202]) even mistakenly included

them in his Tang jue 唐絶 (i.e. Wan shou Tangren jueju 萬首唐人絶句). Indeed, the sounds and tones are very much like [those of the Tang], and so it resulted in a matter later generations would laugh over.

Hu Yinglin[30]

He Xun's most famous quatrain is a parting poem:

The traveler's heart is already filled with a
hundred worries,
On this lonely journey still another thousand li to go;
The river darkens, with the rains soon to follow,
The waves turn white as the winds begin to rise.

"Parting Poem" ("Xiang song" 相送 ; Lu Qinli, p. 1710).

He Xun's poem is an exciting and strikingly effective blend of personal lyric together with the most advanced and modern diction and technique. In the first couplet, which is loosely parallel, we see a hint of the influence of the Southern yuefu lyric style in the use of the "number motif" (see above, p. 391). He Xun, however, has fully adopted it into a simple but strong personal voice that goes beyond the feminine yuefu style. The concluding lines consist of a strictly parallel descriptive couplet composed in a

sophisticated literary style. We have discussed above how the court and salon style (in particular, yongwu style verse) encouraged the development of sharp, detailed descriptive language. He Xun excelled at this style, and Yan Zhitui especially praised his descriptive powers (see above, p. 518). Now, however, instead of merely being practiced as an exercise or for entertainment at a court or salon, we see He Xun utilizing his highly developed eye and descriptive powers for true lyric verse. The image that he closes with is extremely fine; the skill with which he uses the parallelism to contrast and blend the different elements of the scene is especially masterful---the river is ever darker and somber because of the whiteness of the wind stirred waves; the whiteness of the waves takes on a rich opaqueness because of the darkness of the river and the impending rain. Most important, however, is that the description is now more than just a series of witty, wonderful pictures. The images are imbued with the feelings of the poet and have taken on a power, a solidness and a depth impossible in a purely palace-style yongwu quatrain. The result is a striking blend of scene (jing 景) and emotion (qing 情) that was such a prized quality in the Chinese poetic tradition.

The vast majority of He Xun's personal lyrics in the quatrain form are parting poems. Many were composed as lianju, and we can see He Xun exchanging quatrains with

friends and acquaintances as they sent one another off:

Time, however brief, is always to be prized,
When parting comes, one feels double the sorrow in his heart;
You look to the waters reaching to edge of the sky,
While I gaze at the dust that fills the road.

Wei An 韋黯 (?-549)

We mourn together at the fork in the road,
Old friends soon to become ever more distant;
One morning each suddenly off on thousand li journeys,
Tears flowing in the third month of spring.

He Xun, "Parting Lianju" no. 1 ("Xiangsong lianju" 相送聯句 ; Lu Qinli, p. 1711)

The sending off of friends at parting banquets and other such gatherings was a traditional occasion for music and the composing of poetry. Such times eventually became popular for the composing of quatrains during the late Six Dynasties and the Tang. The long tradition of parting verse had important consequences for the development of the jueju since this was one of the main venues by which the quatrain form was able to enter the world of the literati. The parting poem was a vehicle by which the quatrain came to be

used to express personal feelings as well as become part of a regular, established literary tradition. Earlier we saw how the quatrain joined the tradition of the Chu song. Such quatrains were an important early use of the form for serious, personal lyrics, but the very nature of the sub-genre determined that they were composed only on the most exceptional and extraordinary of circumstances. Parting verse, however, was a very common sub-genre, and an important part of the poetic tradition. It provided an occasion and theme which the quatrain could very easily and naturally fit in with. Xie Lingyun is an early example of a literati poet who used the quatrain form for a parting poem (see above, p. 388). There are other occasional examples by literati poets during the fifth century, but it is not until He Xun that we see the quatrain used so consistently and extensively for parting verse.

The literati use of the quatrain for parting verse can be traced back to the tradition of the Southern yuefu. The themes of parting and separation were extremely common in these songs, though of course the lyrics were between lovers rather than friends and colleagues. The distance between love and friendship in the Chinese poetic tradition, however, was not very great, and it was a simple and natural process to transform the voice of lovers into that of friendship. Parting was an important occasion for the composing and performing of the Southern yuefu (for an

example of a lover's parting duet, see above, p. 301), and was a practice that was parallel to the literati tradition of parting poetry. One of the most common formulas found in the Southern yuefu, "I heard you were going to place X,/ I sent you off at place Y," (for an example, see above, p. 301) was a parting formula. These songs were not always the private, intimate songs of two lovers. Music and singing were important in parting banquets, and courtesans and singers often performed as part of the entertainment.[31] In descriptions of parting banquets one even sees the Southern yuefu mentioned. The following four lines are from a poem by Yu Jianwu:

> The horses are leaving, the boats can delay no longer,
> The "Song of Cawing Crows" is not yet finished;[32]
> Full of feelings we now take our leave,
> Carriages and horses scattering east and west.
>
> "Meeting While Seeing Off a Friend at Jianxing Garden" ("Songbie yu Jianxingyuan xiang feng" 送別於建興苑相逢; Lu Qinli, p. 1993).

One of He Xun's quatrains describes the performance of a singing girl at a parting gathering:

> Partings are always full of emotion,
> And now the harmony of the zithers has turned to

sadness;
In her look one sees the beauty's resentment,
Again her long brows are furrowed in sorrow.

"Evening Parting, Listening to the Zither" ("Li ye ting qin" 離夜聽琴; Lu Qinli, p. 1710).

With the example of the fine poetry created by the Southern yuefu singers, as well as the performance of these popular songs at their parting banquets, it was only natural for the literati to be influenced by this tradition. Early attempts were tentative and exceptional. There was a long tradition of literati parting verse, and an ordinary poet would have hesitated to use the feminine voice of the popular song form to address a colleague or friend. It appears that at first the quatrain was only resorted to in unusual cases in which the poet deliberately wanted to draw upon the lover's voice to convey the depth and intimacy of his feelings (for example, Xie Lingyun's quatrain to Xie Huilian). Gradually, however, the parting quatrain increased in numbers as it was adopted and transformed by the literati and became a part of their own tradition of parting verse. It should be noted, however, that the use of the quatrain for parting verse could still not be described as common during the sixth century. The eight-line poem, a form that was making rapid advances during this period, was a far more versatile and popular form, and was especially favored for parting verse.

The quatrain, still strongly flavored by its yuefu origins, tended to be used for more informal, personal or intimate verse. Emperor Yuan of the Liang 元帝 (Xiao Yi 蕭繹 [508-554]) used this form to compose a parting poem to his young son, Xiao Fanglue 蕭方略, whom he had to send to the north in an attempt to cultivate relations with the Wei:

> ...Fanglue was only several years old when he was sent off through the passes. Emperor Yuan personally accompanied him up near the border, holding his hand and sobbing. After turning the carriage to return he thought of him and composed a poem:
>
> What else could be done my young son?
> Barely old enough for your clothes yet
> already we are parted;
> There could be no gladness these ten days,
> While I accompanied you these thousand li to the border.[33]

Again we see the quatrain turned to in special circumstances to express thoughts in ways for which it was uniquely suited. If one wanted to be open and emotional, if one was directly addressing the person one was parting from, the quatrain was an ideal form. It enabled one talk with the tenderness and intimacy with which lovers sang their songs.

In many of He Xun's parting lianju the tone with which he and his friends spoke is only a short step away from the Southern yuefu. He Xun concludes one of his lianju with the following couplet:

> With these tears I shed while I leave my home,
> I wet the garments of the one who sends me off.
> "Parting Lianju" no. 3 (Lu Qinli, p. 1711)

It is difficult to imagine these lines occurring in a form other than the quatrain.

The basic voice and structure of the literati quatrain was heavily influenced by the Southern yuefu. The language, based upon a popular lyric style, was relatively simple and direct, and as was discussed earlier, the structure of the jueju was a natural pattern found in the quatrain that was refined and explored in the Southern yuefu. As the form grew more popular among the literati, however, poets began to introduce elements of the literary poetic tradition to the lyric tradition of the quatrain. The key contribution of the literati was the introduction of the sophisticated parallelism that was the foundation of Six Dynasties literary style for both verse and prose composition. The use of literary parallelism in what was once a purely lyric form would have important consequences for the development of the quatrain. Parallelism was the primary rhetorical

vehicle through which the literati would bring in their style and approach to verse to the quatrain. The diction, technique, and even the structure of the quatrain was to varying degrees enriched and modified by this device.

The most advanced and sophisticated descriptive writing in Chinese poetry was ordinarily composed in parallel couplets. Parallelism offered a poet opportunities to blend and contrast scenes and images in extremely sophisticated and striking ways. It was during the Six Dynasties that parallelism was developed into a sophisticated art, and it was only natural that literary poets would apply this device to their quatrains. It was in yongwu verse, in particular, that parallelism was first extensively applied to the quatrain. Earlier we saw very fine examples of yongwu descriptions by Wang Rong and Yu Jianwu that were comprised entirely of parallel couplets. In the following quatrain by Wu Jun we see the style and approach of the descriptive yongwu taken from the environment of the salon, then applied to describing nature as seen through the traditional eyes of a literatus, and imbued with feelings of reclusion:

At the edges of the mountains one spies arriving
  mists,
Within the bamboo, glimpses of the setting sun;
Birds fly up above the rafters,
Clouds emerge from within the windows.

"In the Mountains" no. 1 ("Shan zhong" 山中 ; Lu Qinli, p. 1752)

Wu Jun's poem is extremely simple, but very fresh and striking. The shift in environment from the court gives the work an added strength and resonance. Wu Jun was probably recalling the following couplet by Guo Pu 郭璞 (276-324) when he compcsed his poem:

Clouds are born amongst rafters and beams,
Winds rush out through the windows and doors.

From "Poems of Roaming in Transcendency" no. 2 ("Youxian shi" 遊仙詩 ; Lu Qinli, p. 865)

As poets began to use parallelism in more lyrical or personal quatrains they discovered some very fine effects. Parallelism enabled them to advance beyond the relatively simple lyric diction of the Southern yuefu, and tone down and modify the typical jueju structure in which so much emphasis was placed upon clever, punch line-like endings. In He Xun's "Parting Poem" (see above, p. 520) we saw a striking example of the use of parallelism in a personal quatrain. He Xun's opening couplet was a simple, loosely parallel statement that owed much to the style of the yuefu lyric. He ends the poem with a striking picture of the scene that could only have been drawn using the precise,

detailed parallel descriptive couplet that was introduced from the literary tradition. Also to be noted is the order of He Xun's couplets. Instead of the typical pattern of scene, and then the expression of feeling or a meditation to serve as a conclusion, he ends the poem with the images of the scene. Wang Fuzhi has briefly commented on this poem and its structure:

> Is this not the beginnings of the "reverse method [of composition]" (daozhuang fa 倒裝法)?[34]

This approach to composition was not uncommon in the literati quatrain. Earlier we saw an example of a similar structure in a quatrain by Xie Tiao (see above, pp. 436-38). The example of certain descriptive type yongwu quatrains probably played a major role in inspiring this type of composition. A number of these yongwu ended with parallel couplets, and this must have hinted at the possibilities of ending other types of quatrains with images evoked with parallel couplets. By closing with an image, poets discovered one method with which they could "prolong" the effects of their lines and overcome the limitations of the brevity of the form. The purely physical, sensual effect of a picture that was imbued with the lyricism of the moment could often serve as a conclusion of subtle, understated, but lasting and powerful effect. This, of course, was only

one of the possible alternatives available to a poet, but it was a very important one which later poets continued to develop during the Tang.

Stephen Owen, in a discussion of poetic closure and the early Tang quatrain, noted that during this period the quatrain was dominated by witty twists and punch line type endings. According to Owen, Wang Bo 王勃 (647-675; alt. 649?-676, 650-676) was one of the first poets to develop the art of "open-ended" closure with images or descriptive lines, which because it left the quatrain "open and suggestive" became a dominant form of closure during the eighth and ninth centuries.[35] Witty twists and punch lines were, of course, fundamental features of the quatrain form, and a basic source of its appeal for riddles, courtship songs, literary games, as well as for literary verse. Quatrains that utilized this quality continued to be popular in the Tang. But as Owen points out, as the quatrain matured these types of endings were toned down and more subtle endings were developed. It should be added, however, that while Wang Bo was one of the first Tang poets to perfect this type of closing, the development of "open-ended" quatrains was a long process that can be traced back, at least in part, to certain types of salon and court quatrains that were practiced during the Six Dynasties, and that fine poets such as Xie Tiao and He Xun were making important advances in this direction. In the following poem

we can see how Wang Bo built upon the foundations laid by the poets of the Six Dynasties:

> By the Yangzi my sorrows lie heavy,
> Through ten-thousand li I have longed for a day of return;
> How much more so on this high windy evening,
> When in mountain after mountain the yellow leaves fly.
> "In the Mountains" ("Shan zhong" 山中)[36]

Wang Bo, like He Xun in his "Parting Poem," begins his quatrain with a direct statement of his emotions, then closes with a description of the scene and the image of the flying leaves. He differs from He Xun, however, in his avoidance of closing with a parallel couplet. By closing with a parallel couplet one ran the risk of imparting a somewhat awkward, stiff quality to the concluding lines, and by the Tang it is a practice most poets would tend to avoid. Nevertheless, one can see that the basic principles of composition of these two poems are largely identical. Wang Bo's poem draws upon the patterns seen in He Xun's quatrain, but he has refined and smoothed them out so that there is a greater fluidity and continuity in his lines.

The Quatrains of Yu Xin

Yu Xin (513-581), the greatest poet of the sixth century, played a pivotal role in the advance of the quatrain. About one fourth of his over two hundred extant poems utilized this form. More important than these impressive numbers, however, is the nature and quality of his quatrains. Yu Xin had a profound understanding of the potential of the form, and drew heavily upon earlier advances and the example of poets such as He Xun and Wu Jun. He did not hesitate to use this form for some of his finest and most personal verse. His collection of quatrains represent the climax of the development of the literati quatrain during the Six Dynasties.

There is an immense variety of styles, occasions, and topics to be found in Yu Xin's quatrains (as there was in his verse as a whole). As was the case with He Xun, his parting poems were among his most important works. They form the most impressive group of works both in terms of quality and numbers. In addition, one sees almost every other type of poem for which the quatrain had been utilized: different varieties of palace-style verse including yongwu, feminine laments, and various literary games; political eulogies; and a number of private lyrics and allegorical laments. The sub-genre conspicuous in its absence is the yuefu quatrain. Yuefu verse appears to have played a relatively minor role in his corpus as a whole, though it is

not clear if this is a reflection of Yu Xin's own taste or the vagaries of transmission. Most of Yu Xin's extant verse was composed while he was in the north.[37] The breadth of Yu Xin's corpus is a reflection of the complexities of his life and times, and his deliberate, personal efforts to explore all available means of poetic expression. As in the case of He Xun and Wu Jun, one sees a rough division of quatrains composed in more public, fashionable styles and modes together with a large group of more personal, private poems. In the section above we noted that the use of the quatrain for personal verse was an exceptional undertaking, and that one could identify certain consistent patterns and reasons for a poet to turn to the quatrain for such verse. The life and career of Yu Xin was at first in direct contrast to those of poets such as He Xun and Wu Jun, but eventually the extraordinary events of the times and their effect upon Yu Xin drove him to follow their efforts, and explore the quatrain with an even greater rigor and depth.

Yu Xin's life can be divided into two periods: his life in the south during the Liang up until 554; and that in the north under the Western Wei and Northern Zhou.[38] Traditional and modern critics have always stressed the contrasts between these two periods in Yu Xin's life, and the differences between the poetry he composed in the south and in the north. The first part of Yu Xin's life was spent in the south during the heyday of the Liang, a period which

constituted one of the longest stretches of relative peace and prosperity of the Six Dynasties. Yu Xin was in a unique position to benefit from the times. He was an immensely gifted writer in an age when literary talent was a key to prestige and success. Just as important, he had the proper background to insure this success.. The Yu clan had a long and respected history, and Yu Jianwu, Yu Xin's father, was one of the most important literary figures of the day. Much of Yu Jianwu's career was spent in the service of future emperors, Xiao Gang and Xiao Yi. As the son of Yu Jianwen, Yu Xin had entry to the highest society and was given the finest education. Yu Jianwu and Yu Xin, along with Xu Chi 徐摛(474-551) and his son, Xu Ling, at one time served together in the Eastern Palace. Here they enjoyed the patronage of Xiao Gang and were at the forefront of the palace-style:

> His father, Jianwu, served as Palace Cadet (zhong shuzi 中庶子) to the Liang Crown Prince, and was put in charge of recording (zhang guanji 掌管記). Xu Chi of Donghai 東海 (near present day Tancheng 郯城, Shandong) served as General of the Right Defense Guard (you weishuai 右衛率). Chi's son, Ling, and Xin served together as Compilers (chaozhuan xueshi 抄撰學士). While serving in the Eastern Palace, fathers and

> sons had access to the inner palace; no one else was shown the same degree of favor and respect. The style of their writing was ornate and sensual (qi yan 綺豔), and came to be known as the "Xu Yu style" (Xu Yu ti 徐庾體). The young, up coming generation (houjin 後進) strove to emulate their example. Each time a composition was completed, all those in the capital region would circulate and recite it.[39]

Yu Xin's fame as a writer was immense. He was well known even in the north, and in 547 he was sent as an envoy to the Eastern Wei. This appointment is testimony to his reputation. The northern courts looked to the south as a source of culture (literature, in particular), and valued these missions as a way of maintaining cultural exchanges; the south was just as eager to impress the north, and so such positions were often filled largely on the basis of literary talent and fame.[40] As far as is known, during this period, Yu Xin was admired primarily for his writings in the current, fashionable styles. This would include, of course, palace-style verse (or "Xu Yu style" verse), but also a variety of other modes that a highly accomplished writer who moved in high circles would be expected to have mastered, for example, the elaborate formal verse that was composed on various social occasions.

In 548, Hou Jing 侯景 (d. 552), an Eastern Wei general, initiated a rebellion that led to the destruction of the Liang.[41] Although he was eventually defeated, the subsequent civil war and invasion from the north insured the final fall of the dynasty in 557. In 554, with the dynasty in a weakened state, Yu Xin had been sent as an envoy to Chang'an, the capital of the Western Wei. It appears that his mission was to prevent an invasion by the Western Wei, but soon after his arrival the Western Wei forces went south. Yu Xin was detained in the north where he was to spend the rest of life. As a famous literary figure, Yu Xin was highly respected, and was considered a valuable prize by the northern court. He was treated very generously, and even served in a series of prestigious positions. The fall of the dynasty, and the strange, tragic effects this event had upon Yu Xin's life became the great theme of Yu Xin's later works. He was haunted by the failure of his mission, but also by feelings of guilt for his service to the Western Wei and later the Northern Zhou dynasties. All this was expressed in a poetry that was transformed by these events.

Many critics have noted the contrast between Yu Xin's southern and northern periods, and pointed out that it was the experiences of his later life that turned a very fine and gifted writer into a great poet. Du Fu's famous couplet, composed as he thought of the parallels with his own life and verse, is a classic statement of this

observation:

> The life of Yu Xin was most desolate and bleak,
> In his late years his verse stirred the rivers and passes.
>
> From "Thoughts on Ancient Sites" no. 1 ("Yong huai guji" 詠懷古跡)[42]

There has been, perhaps, a tendency to oversimplify and generalize about the links between Yu Xin's verse and his life, but the traditional conclusion is correct.[43] It is true that Yu Xin continued to compose southern palace-style verse while in the north, but one must remember the complexity of Yu Xin's life in the north and the varying roles and positions he was forced to assume. In his mind he was an exile in the north, in mourning for himself and his dynasty; all the while, however, he was also a courtier, a court ornament, and an official who was treated graciously and respected by his hosts. Yu Xin thus continued to compose the type of poetry that environment and occasion demanded and expected. In many cases it was no different from the verse he composed in the south.

The "double life" that Yu Xin led in the north was very much reflected in his quatrains, most of which were clearly composed while in the north.[44] On the one hand, we see him composing examples of pure palace-style verse and occasional

court verse, including such titles as "Matching the Prince of Zhao's 'Watching the Singer'" ("He Zhao wang 'Kan ji'" 和趙王看妓 ; the Prince of Zhao was the Northern Zhou prince, Yuwen Zhao 宇文招),[45] and even a piece celebrating the Northern Zhou victory over the Northern Qi (in 577), "To Command, Respectfully Matching 'Pacifying Ye'" ("Feng he 'Ping Ye' ying zhao" 奉和平鄴應詔). On the other hand, Yu Xin also used the quatrain to compose verse that reflected his inner turmoil. Like He Xun and Wu Jun, he took a minor form from a style of which he was master, and adapted it for his own personal verse. One finds allegorical verse, parting poems, and private lyrics marked with a character and flavor that would not have been possible in his earlier days.

Yu Xin's most interesting and revealing use of the quatrain was his direct adaptation of traditional palace-style topics and themes to portray the helplessness and guilt he felt while he served the north:

> Round flowers open on the shiny mirror,[46]
> In the empty room old sorrows grow;
> How many years will they keep the Weaver Girl?
> They ought to let her cross the River.
>
> "Boudoir Lament" ("Gui yuan" 閨怨 : Lu Qinli, p. 2404)

On first reading, Yu Xin's poem appears to be a simple palace-style poem. The image of the lonely women and her mirror, and the allusion to the story of the Weaver Girl (Zhinü 織女) and Herd Boy (Niulang 牛郎), two lovers separated by the Silver River (Milky Way), were well-worn motifs in "boudoir lament" type verse. This lyric, however, is certainly allegorical. Yu Xin often mourned his detainment in the north, and images of bridges and rivers---symbols of separation---often occur in his later verse. Here he laments his own situation by comparing himself to the Weaver Girl. Yu Xin often portrayed himself in the persona of a girl, and this is one reason that he drew upon the images and themes of palace-style verse, and the feminine voice so often in his later poetry. The following quatrain is another example with a similar style and feeling:

> I have a bright mirror as bright as the moon,
> But it is always kept in its case;
> What need is there to reflect my temple locks?
> In the end only a single autumn tumbleweed.
>
> "The Dusty Mirror" ("Chen jing"塵鏡; Lu Qinli, p. 2406)

Yu Xin again uses the boudoir motif of the woman and her mirror. The first part of the poem appears to be a typical

portrayal of a girl separated from her lover and lamenting the passing years, but then Yu Xin, with a masterful stroke in the fourth line, introduces the image of the autumn tumbleweed. It is an image with a double function. We are meant to see an aging face with wild, unkempt, faded locks; the autumn tumbleweed is also a classic symbol of uprootedness and wandering. The great poet Cao Zhi 曹植 (192-232) often turned to this image in his later poems; now Yu Xin uses it to portray his separation from his home.

There is a long tradition in Chinese poetry of poets assuming a female persona to express their political frustrations. The relationship between minister and ruler was portrayed in terms of the relationship between man and woman, and a frustrated, disappointed official often thought of himself as a woman who had lost the favor of her lord. Yu Xin draws upon the motif of assuming a female persona, but gives it his own unique, personal character. It occurs constantly in his verse, and is meant to express his situation in the north. Although Yu Xin was respected and treated with great favor, he was essentially a literary ornament, and so he compared himself to a singing girl or palace lady, valued and kept for his appearance and performing talents. He felt a great helplessness and frustration in the role he was forced to assume, and he often turned to the persona of a female to portray his weakness and his guilt at having to abandon his country and

serve another ruler. The quatrain, with its feminine voice, thus was a form that Yu Xin often used to express his feelings and allude to his situation. Earlier we saw Bao Zhao turning to the quatrain lyric to assume a feminine persona and blending it with the tradition of Qu Yuan for personal, allegorical verse (see above, pp. 412-17).

Yu Xin attempted to convey his feelings of weakness and guilt through his use of the feminine persona and voice. Together with these feelings, however, there co-existed an inner strength and resistance. Though he was forced by circumstances to play the part of a courtesan or palace lady, it was not a role he accepted in his heart. In his poetry we often see him alternating between helplessness and resolve:

> At Yu Pass all letters and news has been cut off,[47]
> The Han messengers have not passed through;
> From Tartar flutes descend tearful airs,
> From Tibetan pipes come wounding songs;
> A slender waist reduced to a bundle of silk,
> Tears of parting have marred fair eyes;
> Sorrowful thoughts never ceasing,
> No longer will the complexion shine red;
> Withered branches expecting to fill the ocean;
> A green mountain hoping to block the River.
>
> "In the Style of 'Songs of Sorrow'" no. 7 ("Ni

'Yong huai shi'" 擬詠懷詩 ; Lu Qinli, p. 2367)

In the first part of the poem, Yu Xin again assumes a feminine persona. This time he is in the guise of beauty who has been captured by Northern barbarians, or sent to the North in an attempt to appease them. This type of female figure, rooted in historical fact and practice, became an important figure in legend and literature as seen in such heroines as Wang Zhaojun 王昭君 (Western Han) and Cai Yan 蔡琰 (Eastern Han). Yu Xin saw a parallel between their situations and his being detained in the north---he after all was also sent as a sort of tribute, and eventually was forced to serve a new lord---and so he again assumes another variation of a weak, helpless feminine persona.[48] In the last couplet, however, he reverses the image he has built up and expresses his refusal to capitulate. In the opening line of the couplet, Yu Xin alludes to the daughter of the Fiery Emperor (Yan di 炎帝 , i.e. Shen Nong 神農) who after she was drowned in the Eastern Sea was transformed into a bird that attempted to fill the sea with sticks and stones.[49] In the last line, Yu Xin seems to be referring to a legend which explained that Mount Hua (Huashan 華山) originally blocked the course of the Yellow River until it was split by the God of the River.[50] Now he would like to block and cut the river that separates

him from the south. In each case Yu Xin realizes the futility of his hopes but he refuses to give up. The syntax of the two lines is significant. They are both subject-verb-object constructions. The translation is literal, and attempts to preserve the deliberate effect of Yu Xin's lines. In the lines above this last couplet he described himself as a wasting beauty; now he has transformed himself into a withered tree branch and green mountain---from a weak, helpless female he turns into defiant, resisting, objects of nature.[51] I mention this poem because I do not want to leave a one-sided impression of Yu Xin. The quatrain portrayals are primarily feminine in flavor. This was an inherent part of the form and genre. In his longer poems and, of course, in his great rhapsody, the "The Lament for the South" ("Ai Jiangnan fu" 哀江南賦) we find a fuller, more balanced self-portrait.

Among Yu Xin's finest and most important quatrains are the many parting poems and poems of separation that he composed in this form. As we have seen, this was a sub-genre that had been developing slowly but consistently over a long period of time. But although we do see a major poet such as He Xun making extensive use of the quatrain for parting verse during the early part of the century, this use of the form was the exception rather than the rule. Yu Xin's parting quatrains and poems of separation also have a distinct character, and tended to be composed under

exceptional circumstances. Almost all of this group of over ten quatrains (with one, possibly two exceptions) were composed to fellow southerners while Yu Xin was in the north. There are poems sending off southern envoys in the north, poems to southern captives allowed to return home, and notes to friends and acquaintances in the south:

> The road to Yu Pass is very far,
> Messengers from Jinling are rare;[52]
> Alone I shed tears in a thousand streams,
> As I opened your letter from ten thousand li.
>
> "To Wang Lin" ("Ji Wang Lin" 寄王林 ; Lu Qinli, p. 2401)

Wang Lin 王林 was a loyal Liang general who led a number of campaigns in defense of the dynasty.[53] He was defeated and killed resisting the Chen dynasty in 557, so Yu Xin's poem in response to Wang Lin's letter was composed some time between 554 and 557. Yu Xin's debt to the yuefu lyric style is obvious, in fact, he has turned to the quatrain precisely to draw upon its characteristic feminine voice. We again see the common lyric motif of paired numbers. The figure of "tears in a thousand streams" (qian hang lei 千行淚) was commonly used to describe the sorrow of a woman. Compare the following Tang jueju sent by a wife to her husband:

My husband is stationed at a border pass, while I am
here in Wu,
When the west wind blows upon me, its you I worry over;
For every line of your letter, I shed a thousand lines
of tears,
I know the cold has reached the border, have the
clothes I sent arrived too?
"To My Husband" ("Ji fu" 寄夫)

The poem above was composed by Chen Yulan 陳玉蘭 (n.d.), the wife of the late Tang poet, Wang Jia 王駕 (Jinshi 890).[54] One actually wonders if she knew Yu Xin's piece, but it is clear from other examples of Six Dynasties verse that the figure of "tears in a thousand streams" was fairly common:

We haven't yet finished our wine,
And already my tears flow in a thousand streams.[55]

She opens [the box] and looks, but can't bear to try it
on,
A single glance and she sheds a thousand streams of
tears.[56]

Both of these examples are by literati poets, but one

suspects that the figure may have originated in folk or popular verse. In the first example, the poet was composing in the persona of a woman sending off her lover (or husband); the second example describes a woman. In any case it is clear that when Yu Xin composed his quatrain to Wang Lin he deliberately used the feminine associations and qualities of the quatrain. One also suspects that to a certain degree he may have been continuing to play the role of the helpless, lonely female. However, we also see Yu Xin transforming this feminine voice. The setting and historical circumstances give the poem an added strength and vigor. The feminine voice is present, but retreating to the background while leaving its basic features for literati poets to adopt and add to their own variety of voices and modes. Yu Xin wanted to speak intimately, directly, and emotionally to his fellow southerner, and so he chose the quatrain form, but he has added the force of history, circumstance, and his own inner strength and feeling.

I have stressed the fact that almost all of Yu Xin's parting and separation quatrains are to fellow southerners. This shows that the quatrain form, in certain circumstances, continued to be characterized by an exceptional intimacy and informality. As Xie Lingyun composed a quatrain to Xie Huilian, Yu Xin composed quatrains to other southerners. With the quatrain he could talk openly about his hopes and fears in the north. There is an example of a quatrain note

sent to Xu Ling, as well as a quatrain composed for Xu Ling when he came north on a mission:

> A single meeting then you returned a thousand li away,
> How could I express my longings for you?
> Though I might search once more, we won't meet again,
> Just like Peach Blossom Springs.
>
> "Envoy Xu Arrives, But I Am Only Able to See Him Once" ("Xu baoshi lai, zhi de yi xiang jian" 徐報使來止得一相見; Lu Qinli, p. 2402)[57]

In the story of Peach Blossom Springs a man discovers a utopia. After returning to the real world he attempts to go back but discovers he can no longer find the way. Yu Xin uses the allusion to express the impossibility of his going back to the past, to the south, to the days of his friendship with Xu Ling. Xu Ling was, of course, an old and close friend, and we again see Yu Xin assuming a feminine voice to express his feelings. The term translated as "longings" (xiangsi 相思) was ordinarily used to express the love between men and women. One receives the impression that for Yu Xin almost any Southerner was automatically an intimate, someone he could open up to and talk about home:

> You turn around and gaze at the dikes of the River,

In grief we sigh at this final separation;
Who could have thought that men from a bygone kingdom,
Would be parting here in a foreign land?

"Three Stanzas (jue 絶) Matching the Verse of Master Kan" no. 3 ("He Kan fashi san jue" 和侃法師三絶; Lu Qinli; p. 2402)

The identity of Master Kan is unclear. It has been suggested that he was one of a group of southerners allowed to return south around 575, and that this set of poems were composed by Yu Xin to send him off.[58] An alternate title of this piece is "Matching a Parting Poem by Master Kan" ("He Kan fashi bieshi" 和侃法師別詩). A number of Yu Xin's parting poems were composed as matching poems or lianju; one can imagine the southerners gathering and exchanging quatrains, drawn together while in the foreign north. One is reminded of a famous jueju by Du Fu composed in his late years (in 770) while in the south. The Tang dynasty had been shaken by civil war and a series of rebellions, and a number of men had fled south from the north. One day Du Fu met the famous musician, Li Shengnian 李龜年, and composed the following poem in which he recalled past days in Chang-an:

We often met at the Prince of Qi's,
And I heard you several times at the hall at Cui

Nine's;
And now South of the River on this wonderful day,
In the season of falling blossoms, we meet again.

"Meeting Li Shengnian South of the River"
("Jiangnan feng Li Shengnian" 江南逢李繩年)[59]

Most quatrains during the Six Dynasties tended to fall into several major sub-genres including yuefu lyrics, different varieties of palace-style verse, and parting poems. The use of the quatrain for purely private lyrics was still relatively rare. Bao Zhao composed a number of such pieces, but he was an exceptional figure. Both He Xun and Wu Jun composed several examples (e.g. Wu Jun's "In the Mountains," see above, pp. 528-29), but it is not until Yu Xin that we see another major poet consistently exploring this use of the quatrain. It is difficult to date such pieces, but the topics and themes, or sometimes simply the mood and tone of the poems clearly suggest they were composed when Yu Xin was in the north. They are often tinged with melancholy and one senses a man weary and in retreat from the outside world:

In this vastness I gaze at the setting sun,
As a traveler I face bleak autumn;
Fortunately there are the chrysanthemums of the

southern garden,
Their fading blossoms enough to assuage my sorrow.

"Autumn Day" ("Qiu ri" 秋日 ; Lu Qinli, p. 2406)

Yu Xin was thinking of Tao Qian, the recluse poet, when he composed this piece. Tao Qian's verse often refers to drinking and chrysanthemums. Chrysanthemums were used to flavor wine, and as autumn blooming flowers were symbols of steadfastness in the face of hardship.[60] Tao Qian, wine, and chrysanthemums became linked in the literati mind. In the final line of his poem, the last of the chrysanthemums are those that will flavor the wine that will give him comfort. It should also be noted that when Yu Xin describes himself as a traveler, he is surely speaking figuratively, and referring to his situation in the north.

Along with wine, nature became an important escape; and like Tao Qian he sometimes combined the two. In some of his poems one senses Yu Xin trying to lose himself in nature and the landscape:

The shadows of the rocks angle over the waters,
Mountain clouds half encircle the peaks;
I am thinking of the little inn far in the mountains,
I am sure the spring wine will be full and thick.

"Mountain Retreat" ("Shan zhai" 山齋 ; Lu Qinli, p. 2404)

Coming across a spring I water my horse,
Encountering some blossoms I raise my glass;
I look as the city towers grow gradually distant,
Then turn to see the coming of wind and clouds.

"A Walk in the Country" ("Ye bu" 野步 ; Lu Qinli, p. 2404)

The closing image of the second poem would ordinarily be ominous, but one feels that Yu Xin half welcomes the wind and clouds. Wandering through the landscape, encountering the forces of nature, he leaves behind the city towers, and for a moment is able to escape the haunted, artificial life that he must lead in the world of men.

Up until now most quatrains were to varying degrees social poems, works that were composed with or to friends, be they salon verse or parting poems. But Yu Xin, forced to retreat from the outside world into himself, used the quatrain for intensely private, reflective works. The result was a number of very fine poems with a unique quality and flavor. They are simple pieces, but pure and lyrical, and with an emotional richness rarely seen in the quatrain at this time. We hear Yu Xin thinking to himself, about matters that the quatrain had not touched upon before. In these works one sees the quatrain entering yet another new realm, and taking one more important step in its evolution.

The Six Dynasties quatrain reached a climax in the works of Yu Xin. No other poet used the form as extensively and in such an advanced manner. Yu Xin was well-practiced in the current literary fashions that encouraged the use of this form, but like He Xun and Wu Jun he was driven by special circumstances to explore new and more serious uses of the quatrain. The events of history and their effect upon his life drove him to search for new forms of expression for his new emotions and thoughts, and his use of the quatrain was in its own way as striking and significant as his use of the fu, the genre with which he composed his great masterpiece, "Lament for the South" ("Ai Jiangnan fu"). Yu Xin was very much aware of the history of the quatrain and its potential; one senses him drawing upon the efforts of earlier poets such as Bao Zhao, He Xun, and Wu Jun, as well as the lyric and palace-style traditions, but he also added his own contributions and took the form into new areas of development. Aside from the advances in the poetry itself, Yu Xin's greatest contribution to the evolution of the genre was the example he provided of a great poet using what had been a minor and limited form to compose some of his finest and most personal verse. Yu Xin was a master of the difficult, intricate genres of parallel prose and the rhapsody, and much of his shi poetry was among the densest, most advanced and sophisticated verse yet composed. Yet Yu Xin recognized the potential of the

simplest and most direct of all forms, and it became as legitimate a voice as any of his other styles and genres. Yu Xin found that this form let him talk in certain ways about certain matters that was impossible in any other form, and by exploring the use of the quatrain for his personal and private verse he helped establish a new voice for future poets to draw upon. It should be noted, however, that for the immediate present, Yu Xin's use of the quatrain continued to be exceptional. His quatrains were the products of a great poet responding to exceptional circumstances. The examples discussed above show how closely linked his use of the quatrain was to historical events, and to his experiences in the north. Very fine quatrains continued to be composed during the remainder of the Six Dynasties and the Sui, but there were no major poets to push through any significant breakthroughs and advances. In fact, there appears to have been a sort of brief hiatus in the development of the form during the last several decades before the Tang. This was a period of great turmoil, and literature in general was in a confused state. Poets were not sure how to proceed. Palace-style verse, the great vehicle for the quatrain form was in decline, and so there was no major force to encourage the wholesale use of the form. Although the quatrain was very much alive, it was not until the early Tang and the appearance of poets such as Wang Ji 王績 (585-644) and Wang Bo that we see

significant new developments in the evolution of the jueju.

"Northern Influence"

During the Tang dynasty, one of the more important sub-genres of the jueju was biansai 邊塞 (border or frontier) verse. This was verse in which the poet wrote of events and experiences at the northern frontiers of the country, a perpetual site of conflict between the Chinese and various northern peoples. Some poets wrote of their own experiences in these regions (often gained when they served on the staffs of frontier generals), but other poets wrote purely from their imagination. Biansai verse, especially as a type of yuefu verse, had a long history, and it provided established themes and topics in the literary tradition which writers were free to draw upon. During the Tang it was very common to compose such poetry in the jueju form, and a number of Tang poets such as Wang Changling 王昌齡 (c.698-c.756) and Li Yi 李益 (c.748-c.829) gained much of their fame from their biansai jueju.[81]

Some scholars have suggested that the presence of biansai themes in Tang jueju, and in fact the stronger more masculine qualities to be found in the Tang jueju can be traced to early, pre-Tang northern elements and influences. This at first seems to be a reasonable, logical suggestion.

As we have seen, the southern, Six Dynasties quatrain was predominantly feminine in character, and thus one expects the existence of other forces and influences at work that introduced the more masculine qualities that we see in at least some types of Tang jueju. However, when we look to the pre-Tang period for examples of northern influences upon the quatrain, one finds that the concrete evidence is remarkably slight. In our earlier examination of the Northern yuefu we saw that there was in fact a northern lyric tradition that made use of the quatrain form, but that it was minor and primitive. More importantly, it seems to have exercised only the slightest of influences upon the literati, and attempts to link this tradition to biansai themes found in Tang jueju are very tenuous (see above, pp. 344-55). This is not to say that there was no northern influence during the pre-Tang period, but based upon the evidence that exists at present, it appears to have been relatively slight. The appearance of northern elements in the Tang jueju seems to be a phenomenon that primarily occurred during the Tang. This, after all, was a period when the capital was shifted back to the north, and the renewed prosperity and expansion of the empire increased northern contacts.

During the late Six Dynasties one occasionally finds examples of quatrains in the south that might be considered biansai verse. It is not clear, however, that they always

actually represent the true influence of northern traditions. Yuefu verse, both traditional and modern, was very popular during this period. It was a favorite genre in palace-style verse, and since biansai themes were common in traditional yuefu one occasionally finds biansai poems in collections of palace style verse. Only rarely, however, do such poems take the quatrain form, and even in these cases the feminine flavor is often emphasized. The following example is by Xiao Yan:

> The autumn moon rises into the sky,
> It shines impartially near and far;
> Together we share its brilliant glow,
> Each separately harboring the pain of parting.
>
> "Border Guard" ("Bian shu" 邊戍 ; Lu Qinli, p. 1536)

There were a variety of topics and themes to be found in biansai verse. In this case we can see that Xiao Yan has typically used the quatrain to write on the separation of man and wife caused by war. It essentially is a love poem with a biansai flavor, and was originally recorded in the Yutai xinyong. Occasionally one finds examples of more masculine themes and topics in the southern quatrains. Earlier, for example, we saw instances of war and northern campaigns mentioned in several southern yuefu style lyrics

(see above, pp. 386-87, 398-400), but these were exceptional, isolated pieces of a relatively early date, and there is little evidence that these themes were seriously pursued during the later Six Dynasties.

One might expect that there would be more evidence of a northern quatrain tradition in the Northern Dynasties, but with a few interesting exceptions, this does not seem to be the case. The literary situation in the north during much of this period was complex and confused. On the one hand it tended to be conservative, traditional and backward in character; on the other hand there was also a desire to learn and imitate the latest literary developments and fashions from the south. Both forces coexisted with the precise balance of the elements varying with the times. For example, the first Sui Emperor, Yang Jian 楊堅 (r. 581-605), initiated literary reforms in an attempt to suppress southern style literature, whereas his son, Emperor Yang 煬帝 (Yang Guang 楊廣 ; r. 605-617), embraced, and thus encouraged the southern style. The welcoming of southern style verse meant that palace-style quatrains were composed in the north. But the traditional, conservative elements in the north did not necessarily encourage the development of a northern quatrain tradition. The quatrain did not originally belong to the older literary tradition, and there appears to have been little incentive or reason for a more traditional poet to attempt adopt this form. We saw that

the Southern yuefu were the key to the rise of the quatrain in the south. In the north, however, the literary influence of the far more primitive Northern yuefu appears to have been extremely slight (remember that it was the South that preserved the Northern yuefu). There are, however, some interesting exceptions to this general observation. The Northern Wei poet, Wen Zisheng 溫子昇 (495-547),[62] composed several yuefu quatrains with a northern flavor to northern sounding titles such as "Dunhuang Air" ("Dunhuang yue" 燉煌樂) and "Liangzhou Songs" ("Liangzhou yue ge" 涼州樂歌):

> The road stretches out from Yumen Pass,
> The walls reach the slopes of Longcheng;[63]
> Busy yourself with the music of strings and songs,
> Who then will speak of the distance of hills and streams?
>
> "Liangzhou Songs" no. 2 (Lu Qinli, pp. 2221)

Wen Zisheng's use of the quatrain for northern flavored yuefu lyrics may actually have been inspired by southern models. He is known to have been heavily influenced by southern style verse, and even his yuefu quatrains often show the influence of southern styles:

> A traveler comes from afar,

We accompany him with songs and laughter;
After all, we have the "Dunhuang Air,"
And it is just as fine as the "Anling Tune."[64]
"Dunhuang Air" (Lu Qinli, p. 2221)

In the Southern yuefu one often sees singers boasting of their particular song titles (see "Chapter IV," p. 249 and note 4), and one suspects that Wen Zisheng may have been imitating this motif. Several of his other lyrics also seem to show that Wen Zisheng was blending northern and southern elements in his quatrains. One can find other examples of northern flavored literati quatrains in the pre-Tang period, but again they are relatively rare, and can hardly account for the popularity of biansai jueju during the Tang.

Some critics have suggested that Yu Xin's quatrains show evidence of the influence of northern songs, and that there was a blend of southern and northern elements in his work:

His works have a sorrowful, tragic air; this is related to the difficulties and troubles he met with in life, and the influence of the northern songs.[65]

Zhou Xiaotian's statement is interesting, but almost certainly incorrect. In the case of his quatrain verse, if

there was any northern song influence on Yu Xin it was minimal. Almost all of his surviving quatrains are deeply rooted in the southern traditions from which he came. As has been shown above, Yu Xin often deliberately turned to the quatrain because of its southern flavor and voice. It is true that Yu Xin transformed the southern tradition and gave the quatrain a greater seriousness, strength and depth, but this was not due to the influence of any indigenous northern verse traditions. It was the result of historical events and his personal experiences in the north as guilt-ridden captive who witnessed the destruction of his country. Similar transformations of verse can be seen in other southern poets in the north such as Wang Bao 王褒 (c. 513-576), and again, at least in the case of the quatrain form, the maturing of their poetry cannot be directly traced to the influence of any northern type of verse.

The quatrain up to the Tang (and to a certain degree even during the Tang) was still very much a southern form of verse. One does see it maturing and gaining a greater strength and depth during the late Six Dynasties, but it often continued to retain its southern, often feminine flavor and associations. Even during the "northern" Sui dynasty which saw attempts to "reform" literature and eradicate southern style literary fashions, quatrains in the southern palace-style continued to be composed by no less a figure than Emperor Yang. Perhaps the finest poet of the

age, Emperor Yang was enamored with southern culture and verse, and the quatrain was a favorite form.[66] His famous lyric, "Spring River, Blossoms, Moon, Night," was quoted above as an example of late palace-style verse (see above, pp. 508-509). The southern flavor is also very pronounced in his other quatrains. A number of other Sui quatrains were composed by southerners who had come north. In not a few cases it appears they were patronized by Emperor Yang for their literary talents. For example, Zhuge Ying 諸葛潁 (539-615), a favorite of the Emperor who had originally served the Liang, is known to have composed a lyric to "Spring River, Blossoms, Moon, Night" to match Emperor Yang's verse.[67] The association of the quatrain with the south continued into the Tang. Steven Owen has suggested that in the early eighth century, poets from the southeast such as He Zhizhang 賀知章 (659-744) may have been known for and gained much of their fame from their quatrains.[68] The southern heritage of the quatrain was fundamental in the make up of the jueju, and it appears that at least up until the Tang, northern influences, while not entirely absent, were remarkably slight. A search for the origins of northern elements and biansai verse in the Tang jueju could not ignore these pre-Tang precedents, but it would also need to consider the great influx of foreign culture and music from the north that took place during the Tang, and the strengthening and expansion of the empire---

processes which brought many Tang poets into direct contact with northern peoples, cultures and landscape, and the hardships of war.

Seven-syllable Quatrains

About three-quarters of the ten-thousand poems recorded in Hong Mai's comprehensive collection of Tang jueju were composed in seven-syllable meter.[69] Although the seven-syllable quatrain was still relatively uncommon during the early Tang, it grew steadily and rapidly in popularity. By the late Tang it outnumbered the five-syllable quatrain by a ratio of over five to one, and in fact became nearly as popular as five and seven-syllable regulated verse (eight-line form).[70] The prevalence of the seven-syllable jueju during the Tang is in marked contrast to the relative scarcity of the seven-syllable quatrain during the Six Dynasties. In "Chapter III" (see above, pp. 190-203) it was shown that although the seven-syllable quatrain had a history at least as old as the five-syllable quatrain, it remained long ignored and undeveloped. Of course, the seven-syllable meter in general was uncommon during this period, but there were also reasons specific to the quatrain that help to explain the slow development of this particular form. In terms of metrical values, the seven-syllable

couplet (which was equivalent to a four or five-syllable quatrain) seems to have been a more natural and basic unit of verse than the quatrain. In the Northern and Southern Dynasties yuefu, the seven-syllable meter was extremely rare, and in the few cases in which it was employed the couplet stanza was more popular than the quatrain. The foundations for the development of the five-syllable quatrain were largely established by the great Southern Dynasties yuefu tradition. There was no equivalent force to advance the seven-syllable quatrain during this period.

Although it is clear from the statistics that the seven-syllable quatrain did not begin to truly flourish and develop until well into the Tang, important early steps in the development of the form were being taken towards the latter part of the Six Dynasties. Critics have argued about the earliest examples of the form, and some have even pointed to certain Han and even pre-Han precedents, but most have acknowledged that the origins of the literary seven-syllable quatrain are to be traced to early examples by Song poets such as Bao Zhao and Tang Huixiu and subsequent examples by Liang poets such as Xiao Yan and Xiao Gang (see above, pp. 190-94). Two pieces by Bao Zhao and Tang Huixiu are often singled out because they are the earliest extant examples to use the advanced AABA rhyme scheme:[71]

The lan scented oil burns away and the night turns

late,
We sit scattered amongst a chaos of mats, as they
renew their string accompanied songs;
Following the rhythms they pour out their feelings, how
could they not feel bitter?
It is just because they are in their prime that they
grieve for their beauty.

"Listening to Singing Girls at Night" no. 2 ("Ye ting ji" 夜聽妓; Lu Qinli, p. 1305)

In the chill of autumn, lingering, the wind
crosses the river,
White dew, rustling, the waves of Dongting Lake;
I long for you, last of the glow, a glow now
extinguished,
A distant, far away, mournful gaze, my longings what
now?

"Song of Autumn Longings" ("Qiu si yin" 秋思引; Lu Qinli, p. 1245)

Ordinarily seven-syllable verse rhymed every line. The use of the AABA rhyme pattern, the most popular pattern for the seven-syllable <u>jueju</u> by the Tang (the ABCB pattern was another alternative), thus marks an important step in the development of this form. The new rhyme pattern is one indication that poets are thinking of the seven-syllable

line in different ways. In the earlier standard pattern of rhyming each line it appears as if the couplet formed a natural unit; in the new AABA and ABCB patterns four lines were required to complete the rhyme pattern, and this helped to encourage the emergence of the quatrain unit. It should be noted however that the old pattern of rhyming every line continued to be practiced, and a number of late Six Dynasties seven-syllable quatrains were composed in the AAAA and AABB patterns.

In "Chapter III" the question was raised of how Bao Zhao and Tang Huixiu came to compose these new, advanced quatrains. The most curious and striking aspect of this development is that there do not seem to be any earlier precedents to be found in the popular lyric tradition, a tradition in which seven-syllable verse was rhymed every line and in which the quatrain was extremely rare. There are no clear answers to this problem, and it may very well be that these poets "invented" the form themselves. We saw earlier that both Bao Zhao and Tang Huixiu were pioneers in the development of the five-syllable quatrain; perhaps this inspired them to experiment with the seven-syllable meter. Wang Yunxi, noting that Bao Zhao was one of the first poets to compose longer seven-syllable poems in the new rhyme pattern (seen in sections of his "Xing lu nan" 行路難 yuefu poems), has suggested that the new seven-syllable quatrain may have evolved out of the example of such longer

repeated in the third and fourth lines. Even more striking is the manner in which he uses the reduplicative binomes in the first and second lines. My translation of these lines is tentative and deliberately ambiguous. It is not clear to me what effects the binomes are actually intended to evoke or what objects they precisely referring to. The binome, xiaoxiao 蕭蕭 (in the second line), for example, is ordinarily used to describe certain sounds such as the soughing of the wind, the rustling or falling of leaves, or even the neighing of horses; it can also be used to describe the quality of sparseness (of hair, for example). Is Tang Huixiu attempting to describe the waves on the lake or is his use of the binome an attempt to evoke the objects it is associated with such as the wind or falling leaves, or is he perhaps simply attempting to create a mood? It is difficult to answer with any certainty. There is another apparent case of ambiguity in the third line, it is not clear what "glow" refers to---perhaps it is the light of a candle, a sunset, the moon or even the image of her lover? One cannot help but feel that such "ambiguity" is a deliberate technique. Combined with the lush, musical, sounds of the lines, Tang Huixiu is attempting to create a soft, moody, languid, sensual quality that would have been difficult if not impossible to achieve in five-syllable meter.

During the Six Dynasties, the seven-syllable meter was primarily utilized for its lushness and sensuality. Its

style seems to have been based on diction found in popular lyrics, but often given an added ornateness. This is not to say there were no other styles and modes possible. Bao Zhao himself helped to create a new and very important style of seven-syllable verse with the "Xing lu nan" series, but ordinarily this meter tended to be used for occasions and topics that demanded an ornate, sensual treatment. For example, lyrics to certain dance tunes often utilized the seven-syllable meter, and later literati lyrics to these tunes as well as other poems descriptive of dancers continued to use the seven-syllable meter.[74] One of the most important group of titles was the series of yuefu known as "Bai zhu wu ge" 白紵舞歌 (categorized among the "Wuqu geci" 舞曲歌辭 ; there are variations on the tune and title) that go back as early as the Jin.[75] The early examples of this lyric are anonymous and do not have a set length. The following example is section from a Jin lyric:

Her light figure rises slowly, how stately and
graceful,
She lifts high her two arms, a white swan soaring,
Like a coiling dragon suddenly dipping then rising,
She freezes, stops, casts a fine glance, her manner
lovely and bright,
She edges forward, pulls back, hesitates then proceeds,

Changing in accord with the generations, truly there is no set pattern,[76]
She exhausts her soul with her dance, how could one ever forget her?
The era of the Jin is at its height, happiness without end...

"Bai zhu wu ge" no. 3 (Lu Qinli; p. 847)[77]

Although this is an early anonymous lyric, it clearly is not a folk song. It describes a dance performance at a court, and one suspects that it may have been composed by a court musician. During the Song, both Tang Huixiu and Bao Zhao composed seven-syllable lyrics to this title. They are among the earliest examples by literati poets. By the Liang Dynasty we see several quatrains composed to this title, including a pair of lyrics by Xiao Yan:

Crimson strings and jade stops arrayed on ivory mats,
Flying flutes quicken the rhythms for the young dancer;
'Short song,' she casts a glance, but dares not go forward,
Harboring a smile she turns, then sorrows over herself.

"Bai zhu ci" 白紵辭 no. 1 (Lu Qinli, p. 1520)[78]

Xiao Yan's lyric is very weak, but it is a typical example

of a Six Dynasties seven-syllable quatrain, and continues in the mode we have seen in Bao Zhao's and Tang Huixiu's works. Again we see the emphasis on a sensuality and ornateness that the seven-syllable meter was uniquely capable of. In this case, Xiao Yan has utilized a common technique of listing strings of ornate, colorful objects.

Throughout much of the Six Dynasties the seven-syllable quatrain was closely tied to a very narrow range of topics and modes such as we have seen above. This extremely limited range, in addition to the comparative rareness of this form, helps to explain why the seven-syllable quatrain remained undeveloped over such a long period. That Bao Zhao and Tang Huixiu should have been the poets to pioneer the development of this form should come as no surprise. As we have seen, both poets were strongly influenced by popular traditions and were remarkably adventurous and uninhibited in their approach to new style verse. Their efforts, however, appear to have been largely ignored by the Qi poets. We have noted that many of the most outstanding of the Yongming poets such as Wang Rong and Xie Tiao preserved a sense of tradition and decorum that restrained their poetry, and thus it is to be expected that these two poets would have avoided the seven-syllable quatrain.[79] During the Liang dynasty we see a much greater interest in the seven-syllable quatrain. Palace poets such as Xiao Yan, Xiao Gang, and Xiao Yi enjoyed this form for obvious

reasons, and we see seven-syllable quatrains begin to increase in numbers and broaden slightly in range, but overall it continued to be hampered by its limited set of tones and topics. Xu Xueyi's notes on the seven-syllable quatrain during the Six Dynasties, though very brief, sum up the general quality of the form. Xu Xueyi begins his account of the evolution of the seven-syllable quatrain with Bao Zhao's "Ye ting ji." After describing this piece as the beginnings of the seven-syllable quatrain, he comments "the language is completely florid and sensual" (yu jie qi yan 語皆綺艷; see above, p. 193). As he proceeds to the stages represented by various Six Dynasties poets such as Liu Xiaowei 劉孝威 (c. 496-549), Xiao Gang, Yu Xin, and Jiang Zong 江總 (519-594), his comments continue in the same vein. Liu Xiaowei's quatrains are described as "even more florid and sensual," and those of the later poets are all "still florid and sensual."[90] It is not until the early Tang that Xu Xueyi detects a change in the nature of the seven-syllable quatrain and the beginnings of its maturity.[91]

The "florid and sensual" qualities of the seven-syllable quatrain were well matched to palace-style verse. Thus it was during the Liang that we begin to see a greater interest in this form. Xiao Yan composed two pieces, Xiao Gang nine pieces, Xiao Yi ten pieces, and Yu Xin three pieces using the seven-syllable quatrain. As might be

expected, Xiao Gang and Xiao Yi, the great exponents of palace-style verse, were the most prolific users of this form during the Six Dynasties. Nevertheless, while there was a clear increase in the use of this form, when we consider the number of five-syllable quatrains these four poets composed we can see that the seven-syllable form was still comparatively rare. Moreover, serious poets such He Xun and Wu Jun who made such important contributions to the development of the five-syllable quatrain continued to ignore the seven-syllable quatrain completely. In fact, like Xie Tiao and Wang Rong, both these poets almost completely avoided the seven-syllable meter in any form. It appears that the styles and topics that were identified with the seven-syllable quatrain were so narrow and fixed that there was little leeway for experimentation and development. Almost all of the examples by Xiao Yan, Xiao Gang, Xiao Yi, and Yu Xin continued in the styles and modes we have seen above. One of the most popular titles associated with the seven-syllable quatrain is a Western Song title known as "Wu qi qu" 烏棲曲("Song of Roosting Crows"). All of the surviving lyrics to this title are by known poets, with almost all of the pieces consisting of seven-syllable quatrains.[82] Little is known about this title, and it is not clear if it originally was a folk or popular piece. In the Yuefu shi ji it is classified as a "Qing shang qu ci," and placed next to the "Wu ye ti" 烏夜啼 ("Song of Crows

Cawing at Night"). The preface to the "Wu ye ti" quotes the Yuefu jieti 樂府解題 which notes the existence of the title "Wu qi qu," and comments that it is not known if the two titles actually refer to a single tune.[83] The earliest extant pieces are from the Liang. Xiao Gang, Xiao Yi, Xu Ling, and Chen Shubao 陳叔寶 (the Last Emperor of the Chen 陳後主 [553-604]), among others, all composed seven-syllable quatrains to this title. The following example is by Xu Ling:

> An embroidered canopy, gauze curtains, hide the lamps and candles,
> A single night only, when even a thousand years could not suffice;
> Oh how I hate those shiftless Runan cocks,[84]
> The Heavenly River has yet to sink, yet already they compete with their crowing.
>
> "Wu qi qu" no. 2 (Lu Qinli, p. 2527)[85]

The style of Xu Ling's piece is typical. It clearly has roots in a popular lyric style, but it also has an overlay of palace-style ornateness. Xu Ling's lyric is particularly interesting as an example of an alba or "morning song." The theme of lovers pressed by the shortness of the night, and the motif of cursing a rooster are found universally in folk and popular songs.[86] The puzzling question is why of

all the Southern Dynasty yuefu that have survived, only pieces such as these composed by the literati and aristocracy use the seven-syllable quatrain form. One wonders if it was merely the vagaries of transmission or if certain Liang poets had experimented, and adopted the seven-syllable meter for Southern yuefu style quatrain verse.

In the pages above I have tended to emphasize the limitations of the pre-Tang seven-syllable quatrain. Comparing this form to the five-syllable quatrain, we find that in terms of numbers, range, and depth its potential had yet to be developed. Nevertheless, the achievements of the Six Dynasties should be recognized. Important beginning steps were taken in the development of the form, and while the range and styles were limited they did continue to play a role in shaping the seven-syllable jueju. Earlier we had noted that even after the five-syllable quatrain had evolved from its yuefu and palace-style origins, the styles and topics found in these earlier quatrains remained an important part of the repertoire of the Tang jueju, and this was also true of the seven-syllable quatrain. Hu Yinglin, for example, praised the delicacy, beauty, and skill of Xiao Gang's "Wu qi qu," and pointed out their later influence on poets such as Wang Bo and Li Bo.[87] In addition, during the late Six Dynasties, one does see the beginnings of an expansion of the range and depth of the seven-syllable quatrain in certain poems, though such examples are few in

number, and it is difficult to identify any distinct trends or patterns in them. Yu Xin, again, was at the forefront of such developments:

> Golden Valley Garden was once a myriad of trees,
> Long ago the city of Luoyang was filled with varied blossoms;[88]
> Of old these places were sites of singing and dancing,
> Today one gazes at a land overgrown without a path in sight.
>
> "On Behalf of Someone Mourning the Past" no. 2 ("Dai ren shang wang" 代人傷往 ; Lu Qinli, p. 2410)[89]

The circumstances of the composition of this piece are not clear. The poem reads like a personal lyric; as if it were langu 覽古 poem (a poem composed while gazing at an ancient site) written on a visit to Luoyang. And in fact, Yu Xin was appointed Regional Inspector (cishi 刺史) of the prefecture of Luozhou 洛州 (the capital of which was Luoyang) in 577, the year in which the Northern Zhou defeated the Northern Qi.[90] The title of the poem, however, is very puzzling. It seems to indicate that Yu Xin was composing this poem for another person.[91] Whatever the case may be, we can see that while Yu Xin's poem still preserves some of the traditional aura and flavor of the seven-

syllable quatrain, it has gone beyond the usual parameters of the form. It is only a short step from Yu Xin's poem to the following langu 覽古 poem by Li Bo:

> When Gou Jian, the King of Yue, defeated Wu and returned,
> His valiant warriors arrived at their homes clothed in brocades of glory,
> Palace ladies, pretty as flowers, filled the springtime halls,
> Today all that is left are the flutterings of the partridge.
>
> "At Yue, Gazing at an Ancient Site" ("Yue zhong langu" 越中覽古)[92]

Perhaps the most famous seven-syllable quatrain of the pre-Tang is an anonymous Sui parting lyric:

> The willow trees, green, green, their branches hang to the ground,
> The willow catkins, full and spreading, trace the sky as they fly;
> The willow branches have all been snapped, the catkins flown away,[93]
> May I ask the traveler, "Will you or won't you return?"
>
> "Parting Poem" ("Songbie shi" 送別詩 ; Lu

Qinli, p. 2753)[94]

This piece has often been singled out as Tang-like in its maturity:

> Yu Zishan's 庾子山 (Yu Xin) three "On Behalf of Someone Mourning the Past" are close to the jueju style, but the tones are not harmonious, and the language is still stiff and inhibited (bu chang 不暢).[95] It is only when we come to the late Sui anonymous piece (which Hu Yinglin quotes) that one finds a piece in which each character is in harmony with the prosodic rules of the seven-syllable quatrain. The language also has the flavor of the Tang.[96]

Hu Yinglin is correct in pointing out that the tones of this Sui poem are in accord with the patterns of regulated verse.[97] The language is full, smooth, and relaxed, and has a Tang flavor. Also important is the topic or occasion of the poem. It is not the typical palace-style poem. On the other hand, the yuefu lyric style is still very visible, and one can see that the seven-syllable quatrain has still yet to mature. Although the style and language seen in this piece will continue to be seen in Tang jueju, a number of developments and changes will take place during the Tang

that have not even been hinted at in the pre-Tang period. As we have noted above, the seven-syllable jueju would eventually far outstrip the five-syllable jueju in popularity. This could only happen after the seven-syllable meter had been transformed and matured. This was a very long and complex process, but the meter that had been primarily characterized by its sensual, lush and popular flavor would eventually become extremely versatile, and capable of a variety of modes and styles. It could be very dense and sophisticated, but it was also the meter that could closest approximate the flavor and rhythm of speech, and so if one wanted to compose in a simple, colloquial flavored style, seven-syllable meter was often called upon. During the Tang, the seven-syllable quatrain would become the favorite verse form for song lyrics. Later as the Tang dynasty progressed, the range and variety of poetry steadily expanded so that sometimes it seemed as if any topic or occasion was could be turned into verse. It was under these conditions that the seven-syllable quatrain rapidly increased in popularity, and became one of the most versatile and favored of all poetic forms.

Notes to Chapter VI

1. Helpful introductions to palace-style verse can be found in Lin Wenyue 林文月, "Nanchao gongti shi yanjiu" 南朝宮體詩研究, Wen shi zhe xuebao 15 (August 1966), pp. 407-458; John Marney, Liang Chien-wen Ti, (Boston: Twayne, 1976), pp. 60-117; Ronald C. Miao, "Palace-Style Poetry: The Courtly Treatment of Glamor and Love," in Studies in Chinese Poetry and Poetics, ed. Ronald C. Miao, vol. 1 (San Francisco: Chinese Materials Center, 1978), pp. 1-42.

2. Xu Chi's biography is in Liang shu, juan 30.446-448; Nan shi 62.1521-1522. His biography mentions that the term gongti first arose to describe the verse that Xu Chi composed and inspired while serving Xiao Gang (Liang shu 30.447).

3. For a description of the content of palace-style verse, see Lin Wenyue, "Nanchao gongti shi yanjiu," pp. 423-433.

4. From Xiao Gang's "Jie Dangyang gong Daxin shu" 誡當陽公大心書. See Yan Kejun, ed., Quan Liang wen 全梁文 in Quan shanggu..., juan 11.1a. Translation by John Marney, Liang Chien-wen Ti, p. 95.

5. See Lu Qinli, pp. 1941, 1940 and 1953, respectively.

6. The dating and evaluating of Xiao Yan's corpus is a difficult problem. Xiao Yan life stretched over a long period of time, and saw the rise and fall of a variety of literary movements and fashions. I would guess that most of his yuefu and palace-style quatrains were probably composed in the first half of his life, perhaps during the Qi and the early years of the Liang. Xiao Yan's collection contains several eight-line yuefu titles that were most probably composed during the Qi (the titles and lengths of pieces such as "Fang shu" 芳樹, "You suosi" 有所思, and "Lin gaotai" 臨高臺 are identical to pieces found in the collections of a number of Yongming poets). One can detect in these pieces a fondness for yuefu lyric diction and a style that hints at gongti verse. These works differ in quality from corresponding works by poets such as Xie Tiao and Wang Rong. On the other hand, there is some evidence that Xiao Yan may have become more conservative as he grew older. For example, when he was emperor, Xiao Yan grew very

angry when he learned that Xu Chi 徐摛, the tutor of the heir-apparent, Xiao Gang, was a poet who composed in the palace-style. He calmed down only after Xu Chi demonstrated his knowledge of the classics, history, philosophy, and Buddhism (see Liang shu, juan 30.447).

7. This lyric is one of two pieces to the title "Zi ye ge" attributed to Xiao Yan in the Yutai xinyong (juan 10.506). In the Yuefu shi ji (juan 44.644) they are included with the set of anonymous lyrics to this title. The modern editors suggest that these two lyrics (nos. 41 and 42) were later additions to Guo Maoqian's original group of forty lyrics. See juan 44.644, n. 1.

8. See Lin Wenyue, "Nanchao gongti shi yanjiu," pp. 420-421.

9. Xiao Gang's collection can be found in Lu Qinli, pp. 1901-1980. Although a number of Xiao Gang's quatrains are most probably fragments, most are complete, with many pieces having been preserved in the Yutai xinyong.

10. See the "Kaotang fu" 高唐賦, a rhapsody traditionally attributed to Song Yu, included in the Wen xuan (juan 19).

11. Translation by James Hightower. See "Some Characteristics of Parallel Prose," in Studies in Chinese Literature, ed. Cyril Birch (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1965), p. 133. I have not quoted Hightower's notes. I will only briefly summarize: the "Odes and hymns" refer to the Shi jing; the "Bards" are the composers of the "Feng" 風 poems in the Shi jing; the Ching and Wei are rivers whose clear and muddy waters flow along side each other without intermingling, and so Xu Ling suggests the lesser tradition of love poetry may likewise coexist without contaminating the classical tradition. For Chinese text see Yutai xinyong jianzhu, p. 13.

12. See Ronald Miao, "Palace-style Poetry," pp. 32-42.

13. There were two Five Dynasties poetesses with this title, one surnamed Xu 徐 and the other Fei 費, thus the authorship of this series is not entirely clear. Their given names are unknown. According to the Zhongguo wenxuejia cidian, the Consort Huarui (her hao) surnamed Xu was the author of the series. See Zhongguo wenxuejia cidian, gudai 中國文學家辭典，古代, ed. Beijing Yuyan Xueyuan Zhongguo wenxuejia cidian Bianweihui 北京語言學院中國文學家辭典編委會, vol. 2 (Chengdu: Sichuan renmin chubanshe, 1983), p. 498.

14. Yu Jianwu is apparently describing the smoke from the fire as it passes between his line of vision and the moon. The smoke seems to rise from within the moon as it suddenly appears illuminated from behind by the whiteness of the moon.

15. By Gao Shuang 高爽 (n.d.). My translation is based upon the Japanese translation in Ishikawa Tadahisa 石川忠久, trans., Gyokudai shin'ei 玉台新詠, Chūgoku no koten, No. 25 and supplement (Tokyo: Gakushū kenkyūsha, 1986), juan 10.697.

16. See Stephen Owen, The Great Age of Chinese Poetry: The High T'ang (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981), pp. 69-70.

17. Mirror Lake (Jinghu 鏡湖) is located in Zhejiang near Shaoxing. Ruoye Creek (若耶溪; abbreviated to Ye Creek in the text) empties into Mirror Lake.

18. Li Bo, Li Taibo chuanji, juan 25.1195.

19. For a review of these views, see David R. Knechtges, Wen xuan, vol. 1, pp. 13-17; Marney, Liang Chien-wen Ti, pp. 76-97.

20. He Xun's collection can be found in Lu Qinli, pp. 1678-1714. Lu Qinli has recorded "Mourning For Recorder Xu," as a single twelve line poem (p. 1659), but this title which was originally preserved in the Bunkyō hifuron, would seem to be a series of three quatrains. See, for example, Li Boqi 李伯齊, ed., He Xun ji jiaozhu 何遜集校注 (Jinan: Qi Lu shushe, 1989), pp. 337.

21. Wu Jun's collection can be found in Lu Qinli, pp. 1719-1754.

22. Morino Shigeo has devoted a chapter of his Rikuchō shi no kenkyū to the "personal literature" of poets such as He Xun and Wu Jun, see pp. 424-534.

23. He Xun's biography is in Liang shu, juan 49.693; Nan shi, juan 33.871. Wu Jun's biography is in Liang shu, juan 49.689; Nan shi, juan 72.1780-81. Morino Shigeo has sections on them in Rikuchō shi no kenkyū, see pp. 427-66, 466-500, respectively. A good introduction to He Xun's life and poetry can be found in Li Boqi, ed., He Xun ji jiaozhu, pp. 7-17.

24. Cimu Crag is presumably located on Cimu Mountain on the border of Jiangsu and Anhui.

25. See Morino Shigeo, Rikuchō shi no kenkyū, pp. 497-98.

26. See Liang shu, juan 49.698.

27. See their official biographies (note 23).

28. Yan Zhitui 顏之推 (531-591), Yanshi jiaxun 顏氏家訓, "Wenzhang" 文章, Sbby, juan 4.15b. For another translation of this passage, see Teng Ssu-yu, trans., Family Instructions for the Yen Clan, Monographs Du T'oung Pao, volume 4 (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1968), p. 106.

29. Li Boqi notes that during the Qi dynasty there was an actual town known as Bordertown (in modern Henan) near what was then the northern border, and suggests that the poem is probably not a description of He Xun's personal experience. See Li Boqi, He Xun ji jiaozhu, p. 310. I find it difficult to determine for certain, but even if He Xun's piece is not a description of an actual event, he certainly drew upon his personal experiences and feelings as a traveler. The theme, tone and feeling of the piece would have been unusual for typical salon or court style quatrain, but were very common in his verse.

30. See Hu Yinglin, Shi sou, "Waibian," juan 2.155. Hong Mai included a number of He Xun's quatrains in his anthology of Tang jueju under the author, He Zhongyan. In the later Zhao Huanguang, Huang Xiyuan edition of this anthology these quatrains can be found in juan 9.170-71.

31. Chan Man Sing discusses the performance of the Southern yuefu at parting banquets and the theme of parting and separation in these lyrics, see "The Western Songs," pp. 140-41, 163-72.

32. The "Song of Cawing Crows" ("Ti wu qu" 啼烏曲) refers to the Western Song title, "Wu ye ti" 烏夜啼, see Yuefu shi ji, juan 47.690-94.

33. See Nan shi, juan 54.1347. Lu Qinli has mistakenly attributed this poem to Xiao Yan, see Lu Qinli, p. 1538.

34. Wang Fuzhi, Gushi ping xuan, juan 3.7b.

35. Stephen Owen, The Poetry of the Early T'ang, pp. 127-29.

36. Quan Tang shi, juan 56.682-683.

37. In his preface to his collection of Yu Xin's works (the collection is no longer extant), Yuwen You 宇文逌 (?-580), Yu Xin's friend and editor, specifically mentions that his writings composed while in the south had been lost. See Yu Zishan ji zhu 庾子山集注, comm. by Ni Fan 倪璠

(Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1980), p. 66. Current editions, however, which are reconstructions from earlier sources such as encyclopedias do contain earlier works composed during the Liang, though they are relatively rare. For a brief note on editions and commentaries, see William T. Graham, Jr., trans., The Lament for the South: Yü Hsin's "Ai Chiang-nan Fu" (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), pp. 170-72.

38. Yu Xin's biography is in Zhou shu, juan 41.733-42; Bei shi, juan 83.2793-94. William Graham, Jr. discusses these and other important sources for Yu Xin's biography, see The Lament for the South, pp. 163-65. Helpful introductions to Yu Xin's life and times can be found in The Lament for the South, pp. 4-20, 166-69; Peter Michael Bear, "The Lyric Poetry of Yü Hsin," Ph.D. dissertation, Yale, 1969.

39. See Bei shi, juan 83.2793; also, Zhou shu 周書, compiled by Linghu Defen 令狐德棻 (583-666), et al. (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1971), juan 41.733.

40. See Bear, "The Lyric Poetry of Yü Hsin," pp. 11-13, 211; Graham, The Lament for the South, pp. 7-8.

41. Graham gives a succinct account of the last years of the Liang, Yu Xin's part in these events, and his subsequent life and career in the north, see The Lament for the South, pp. 8-20.

42. Du Fu 杜甫, Du shi xiang zhu 杜詩詳注, comm. by Qiu Zhaoao 仇兆鰲 (1638-1713 or after), 5 vols. (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1979), juan 17.1499.

43. Peter Bear discusses traditional and modern evaluations of Yu Xin's poetry. He points out that almost all critics have stressed the close link between Yu Xin's life and the development of his verse, a link that he attempts to refute. Bear's position is extremely weak, and hardly needs to be considered. His discussion is valuable, however, in pointing out the tendency of some critics to over simplify, and as a survey of critical opinions on Yu Xin. See Bear, "The Lyric Poetry of Yü Xin," pp. 14-23, 187-205.

44. For a study of Yu Xin's quatrains, see Yajima Tetsusuke 矢島轍輔, "Yu Shin no zekkutai shi ni okeru bungaku ishiki no tenkan" 庾信の絶句体詩における文学意識の転換, Bungaku kenkyū (Kyūshū University), no. 65? (1968), pp. 127-51, rpt. in Chūgoku kankei ronsetsu shiryō, no. 10, pt. 2 (1968), pp. 333-45.

45. Yuwen Zhao (d. 580) was a friend and admirer of Yu Xin, "He loved to write, and studied the style of Yu Xin. His verse was mostly frivolous and ornate." See Zhou shu, juan 13.202.

46. It is not clear what the term "round flowers" (yuan hua 圓花) refers to.

47. Yu Pass (Yuguan 榆關 , identified with Shanhaiguan 山海關) was located at the eastern end of the Great Wall in Hebei. Graham and Hightower point out that this location does not seem to fit, and suggest that Yuguan may refer to Yulinsai 榆林塞 , which was located to the far north of Chang-an, see William T. Graham, Jr. and James R. Hightower, "Yü Hsin's `Songs of Sorrow'," HJAS 43, no.1 (1983), pp. 22-23.

48. Yu Xin composed several yuefu on Wang Zhaojun. See his "Wang Zhaojun" and "Zhaojun ci ying zhao" ("Zhaojun Lyrics, To Command" 昭君辭應詔); Lu Qinli, p. 2348. It appears that Yu Xin was writing about or at least thinking of himself when he composed these pieces, but it is difficult to determine for sure. We do not know when they were written, and the theme of Wang Zhaojun was relatively common during the late Six Dynasties.

49. Graham and Hightower explain the story as it is narrated in the Shanhai jing 山海經 (Sbck, A.44a-b). See "Yü Hsin's `Songs of Sorrow'," p. 23.

50. Graham and Hightower discuss the allusion, citing the Shui jing zhu 水經注 (Sbck, juan 4.11a). See "Yü Hsin's `Songs of Sorrow'," p. 24.

51. I wonder if Yu Xin's "green mountain" (qing shan 青山) was inspired by the "green mound" (qing zhong 青冢) of Wang Zhaojun. According to legend, after Wang Zhaojun was buried, the grass on her tomb remained green in contrast to the white grass of the north. It is not clear, however, when this legend was first attached to the story of Wang Zhaojun. The earliest literary allusions to this story that I am aware of are from the Tang (see, for example, Li Bo's lyrics to the yuefu, "Wang Zhaojun" no. 1 [Yuefu shi ji, juan 29.430]), but these allusions should be based on older folk traditions. Yu Xin's use of the image of the green mountain is complex. As a symbol of life and strength it contrasts to the "withered branch" of the opening line of the couplet; but it may also allude to Wang Zhaojun and his recognition that he may be buried in the north. One also wonders if "green" (qing 青) may also be a pun for "feelings" (qing 情); Yu Xin may be describing himself as a "mountain of feeling."

52. Yu Pass (Yuguan 玉關) is Yumenguan 玉門關 in Gansu. Yu Xin is not literally indicating his location. It is simply a way of saying the distant north. Jinling was another name for the Liang capital, Jiankang.

53. Wang Lin's biography is in Nan shi, juan 64.1559-65.

54. The poem is recorded in Quan Tang shi, juan 799.8990-91. It should be noted, however, that the piece has also been attributed to Wang Jia himself with the title "Gu yi" 古意 ("In the Ancient Mode"). See note in Quan Tang shi.

55. See Fan Yun's 范雲 (451-503) "Parting Poem" ("Song bie" 送別); Lu Qinli, p. 1549.

56. See Jiang Boyao's 江伯瑤 (sixth century) "Matching the Marquis of Dingxiang's Eight Jue, 'Chu-Yue Blouse,' One Verse" ("He Dingxiang hou ba jue, Chu Yue shan yi shou"); Lu Qinli, p. 2122. The translation of the first line of the couplet follows the variants noted by Lu Qinli.

57. The commentator, Ni Fan, identifies Envoy Xu as Xu Ling. See Yu Zishan ji zhu, juan 4.371. Although Xu Ling's biography (Nan shi, juan 62.1522-25; Chen shu, juan 26.325-51) records that Xu Ling served as an envoy to the Northern Qi in 556, there is no mention of him visiting the Western Wei or Northern Zhou, thus it is not clear when Yu Xin and Xu Ling may have met.

58. Peter Bear cites the annotations of Tan Zhengbi 譚正璧 (see Tan Zhengbi and Ji Fuhua 紀馥華 , eds. Yu Xin shi fu xuan 庾信詩賦選 [Shanghai, Gudian wenxue chubanshe, 1958], pp. 182-183). See "The Lyric Poetry of Yu Hsin," pp. 106-7 n. 17.

59. Du Fu, Du shi xiang zhu, juan 23.2060-61.

60. Peter Bear translates Yu Xin's quatrain and discusses the image of the chrysanthemum in his verse. See "The Lyric Poetry of Yü Hsin," pp. 89, 113 n.36.

61. Wang Changling and Li Yi specialized in both frontier verse and feminine laments. For brief surveys of their jueju verse, see Zhou Xiaotian, Tang jueju shi, pp. 69-74, 111-115, respectively.

62. Wen Zisheng's biography is in Wei shi 85.1874-77; Bei shi, juan 83.2783-86.

63. Yumen Pass (Yumenguan 玉門關) is located in Gansu near Dunhuang. Longcheng 龍城 seems to refer the district of Longcheng located in present day Chaoyang in Liaoning.

64. The Yuefu shi ji does not include any lyrics to this title. Anling 安陵 was the name of district near present day Wuqiao 吳橋 in Hebei.

65. See Zhou Xiaotian, Tang jueju shi, p. 21.

66. For a discussion of the attempts at literary reform during the Sui and the poetry of Emperor Yang, see Stephen Owen, The Poetry of the Early T'ang, pp.14-26.

67. His biography is in Sui shu 隋書 , compiled by Wei Zheng 魏徵 (580-643) and Linghu Defen 令狐德棻 (583-666), et al. (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1973), juan 76.1734; Bei shi, juan 83.2810. For his "Spring River, Blossoms, Moon, Night," see Lu Qinli, p. 2705.

68. See Stephen Owen, The Great Age of Chinese Poetry, pp. 15-16.

69. "While editing the jueju of the Tang, I found 7500 seven-syllable pieces and 2500 five-syllable pieces for a total of 10,000...." See Hong Mai, Rongzhai sanbi 容齋三筆 , cited in Fu Shousun and Liu Baishan, eds., "Tangren jueju jiping," p. 971.

70. Figures are based upon the table (copied out below) in Shao Zufen, Tangren qijueshi qian shi, p. 20. Shao Zufen's table is a copy of a table compiled by Shi Ziyu 施子瑜 ("Tangdai keju zhidu yu wuyanshi de guanxi" 唐代科舉制度與五言詩的關係 , Dongfang zazhi (vol. 40, no. 8 [1944], 37-40). Shi Ziyu's statistics are based upon the collections of poets of at least one juan in the Quan Tang shi.

Table 2

Distribution of Verse Forms During the Tang

	Early Tang	High	Middle	Late
Five-syllable old-style verse	663	1795	2447	561
Seven-syllable old-style verse	58	521	1006	193

Table 2 (cont.)

Five-syllable regulated verse	823	1651	3233	3864
Seven-syllable regulated verse	72	300	1848	3683
Five-syllable extended regulated verse	188	329	807	610
Seven-syllable extended regulated verse	0	8	36	26
Five-syllable jueju	172	279	1015	674
Seven-syllable jueju	77	472	2930	3591

71. Xu Xueyi singled out Bao Zhao's "Ye ting ji" as signaling the beginning of the seven-syllable quatrain (see above, p. 193); Hu Yinglin points to Tang Huixiu's "Qiu si yin" (see Shi sou, "Neipian," juan 6.107-8); Wang Yunxi focuses upon these two quatrains in his description of the origins of the seven-syllable quatrain (see "Qiyan shi xingshi de fazhan he wancheng," pp. 166-67, 169-71).

72. See Wang Yunxi, "Qiyan shi xingshi de fazhan he wancheng," pp. 170-71. Wang Yunxi, noting that "Xing lu nan" was a yuefu title, has hypothesized that Bao Zhao's use of the new seven-syllable rhyme pattern for sections of his lyrics to this title may have been based upon a pattern found in the original popular lyrics (which, unfortunately, do not survive). See pp. 166-67.

73. See "Chapter III," note 44.

74. Wang Yunxi points out the association of seven-syllable meter and certain dance tunes. As examples he cites two Western Song titles, "Qing zong bai ma" 青總白馬 and "Gong xi yue" 公戲樂, that are categorized as dance pieces and are made up of seven-syllable couplets (see Yuefu shi ji, juan 49.711-12), and the various "Baizhu wu" 白紵舞 titles (categorized as "Wu qu geci" 舞曲歌辭) that go back as early as the Jin (see Yuefu shi ji, juan 55.797-808. See Liuchao yuefu yu minge, pp. 42-43.

75. See Yuefu shi ji, juan 55.797-808.

76. The text as it stands seems awkward, presumably it is the dance that changes through the generations(?) But I wonder if shi 世 (generations) is a mistake for shi 時 (time) or shi 勢 (conditions, situation), in which case the line would describe the dancer changing and shifting in accord with the moment.

77. See also Yuefu shi ji, juan 55.797-78.

78. See also, Yuefu shi ji, juan 55.800.

79. Xie Tiao, in fact, ignored seven-syllable meter in any form, as did Wang Rong with the exception of two Buddhist poems. See "Chapter III," note 44.

80. For Xu Xueyi's comments on the development of the pre-Tang seven-syllable quatrain, see Shi yuan bian ti, juan 7.118, 9.126, 9.129, 10.132, 10.133, 12.143. These comments are also gathered together in Fu Shousun and Liu Baishan, "Tangren jueju ji ping," pp. 953-954.

81. See Xu Xueyi, Shi yuan bian ti, juan 12.143, 13.149; also in Fu Shousun and Liu Baishan, "Tangren jueju jiping," p. 954.

82. See Yuefu shi ji, juan 48.695-698.

83. See Yuefu shi ji, juan 47.690.

84. The roosters of Runan 汝南 were apparently famous for their crowing. They are mentioned in the anonymous lyrics to the yuefu, "Ji ming ge" 雞鳴歌. See also the preface to this title, Yuefu shi ji, juan 83.1173-74 (see also Lu Qinli, p. 291). The yuefu lyric may be as early as the Han, thus the Runan mentioned in this piece (and presumably in Xu Ling's poem) should refer to the commandery established during the Han that was located in present day Runan county in Henan (during the Eastern Jin another Runan commandery was established in Hubei).

85. See also Yuefu shi ji, juan 48.696.

86. For a study of "morning verse," see Arthur Thomas Hatto, Eos: An Enquiry into the Theme of Lovers' Meetings and Partings at Dawn in Poetry (London: Mouton, 1965). The section on the Chinese tradition (by Arthur Waley) can be found in pp. 107-113.

87. See Shi sou, "Neipian," juan 6.107.

88. Yu Xin is thinking of Luoyang's glory days as the capital of the Eastern Han and Western Jin. Golden Valley Garden is the name of Shi Chong's 石崇 (249-300) garden and villa. Located northwest of Luoyang, it was a site for his famous parties.

89. For helpful annotations to this piece, see Tan Zhengbi and Ji Fuhua, eds., Yu Xin shi fu xuan (Shanghai: Gudian wenxue chubanshe, 1958), p. 189.

90. See William T. Graham, Jr., The Lament for the South, p. 20, 169.

91. The term dai used in the title of a poem can mean "in the style of" or "in imitation of," especially when it comes before a yuefu title. But it can also mean "for, on behalf of," and this would seem to be the sense of the term in Yu Xin's title. Yu Xin's other poem under this title appears to be a typical love poem, and does not shed any light on the composition of the second piece.

92. Wang Qi, comm., Li Taibo quan ji, juan 22.1030.

93. Breaking off willow branches was a custom at farewells. There was a pun on the words for "willow" (liu 柳) and "stay, remain" (liu 留).

94. There is a topical interpretation of this poem that explains it as a protest against the Sui Emperor Yang's constant imperial tours. Lu Qinli quotes the explanation in Cui Qiong's 崔瓊 Dongxu ji 東虛記 (I have not been able to identify the text or author). Lu Qinli's source for this poem is Zhang Zhixiang's 張之象 (Ming) Gushi leiyuan 古詩類苑 (I do not have access to this text), and presumably this text was the source of the citation from the Dongxu ji. It is not necessary to take this interpretation seriously. Earlier we saw that anonymous songs and ditties were often interpreted as omens or given allegorical or topical meanings.

95. It is not clear why Hu Yinglin speaks of three pieces to this title. In the present edition, Yu Xin's collection contains three seven-syllable quatrains, but they are to two titles.

96. Hu Yinglin, Shi sou, "Neipian," juan 6.108.

97. Li Changlu notes that several other late Six Dynasties pieces by poets such as Jiang Zong ([519-594]; see his two "Yuan ge" 怨歌) and Yuwen Zhao 宇文招 ([d. 580]; see his "Cong jun xing" 從軍行) are close to regulated verse, but the anonymous Sui poem is virtually regulated.

See "Han Wei Jin Nanbei chao jueju tanyuan," pp. 38-39.

CONCLUSION

This study has been an attempt to discover the origins and development of the jueju. By investigating the early history of this genre it was thought that the basis and reasons for its immense popularity and importance in the Chinese tradition could be better understood. The jueju is, after all, a quatrain, and it is at first very striking that such a brief and apparently minor form would play such an important role in the rich Chinese literary tradition. This study has shown, however, that the jueju consists of far more than its brief, simple form. The quatrain form provided the physical frame or structure for the jueju, but the genre itself was the result of a long, distinct process during which a basic structure was utilized and gradually filled in, developed, and shaped. Throughout the evolution of the jueju one can observe a bare form taking on specific traits, one might even say developing a personality. And in fact, as the study progressed, I came to feel that it was taking on the dimensions of a "biography." The mature jueju has a certain character---a distinct set of voices, styles, topics and occasions---and understanding the nature of this literary genre by tracing its early history can be likened

to attempting to understand a person's accomplishments and character by looking to the formative years of his childhood and youth. The jueju too has a past, and the degree to which this genre has so often been revealed to be a product of its past is often uncanny.

At the beginning of this study, I attempted to convey the awe and enthusiasm that traditional critics have felt for the jueju. They spoke of jueju as the "essence of poetry;" of it possessing the "purity of the voice of nature;" of a verse that made no display of "learning or effort," yet embodied the "true nature and feeling of poetry" and was "perfectly good and perfectly beautiful;" they marveled at its longevity and vitality, as Hu Yinglin commented, it was a genre "that would not alter through a hundred generations." I hope that after reading this study the reader will have a greater appreciation of such statements, and, just as important, will now understand how and why such statements came to be made. After all, the jueju took as its basis the most basic and fundamental of verse forms---the quatrain---and utilized a distinct, but natural structural pattern to develop its art. The form and structure of the jueju of the Tang masters was fundamentally identical to that of the quatrain rhymes and ditties that have been chanted by children East and West. It should also be remembered that the great force in the early development of the jueju were the lover's songs found in the yuefu of

the Southern Dynasties. These songs originated in ancient courtship practices, and often consisted of duets in which lovers literally "talked" to one another. As the nobility and literati adopted this most fundamental of forms, and imitated and refined the style and voices of the lover, the quatrain became deeper, and more sophisticated, yet it retained much of its original character, and it would remain the most natural, direct, and intimate of poetic genres. It is no wonder that the critics spoke of it as they did.

One of the most fascinating and important lessons to be learned from the early history of the jueju is how it reveals the various patterns and principles that govern change and development in the Chinese literary tradition. The jueju is one more example of the "high" literary tradition drawing upon the "low" folk and popular tradition. As one traces the rise of the quatrain, one can see patterns developing and paths taken that have often been repeated, and that show that literary history operates according to identifiable patterns and principles. The jueju did not develop haphazardly; it was not a form to be quickly taken up and transformed into a genre. It was the result of specific steps and stages that took place gradually over a long period of time. In some quarters there was resistance, but in other quarters it was welcomed, and in each case we can explain how and why the jueju followed the paths and steps that it did. We have seen, for example, how

conservative literati at first avoided the quatrain because of its associations with the "licentious" Southern yuefu, but other poets such as Xie Lingyun first turned to the quatrain precisely for its intimacy and tenderness. Eventually the jueju became a favorite genre for parting poetry. Each step and stage added to the make-up of the jueju. Even the slight, frivolous gongti quatrains composed for fun and amusement, played an important role in the development of the jueju. New occasions, topics, prosodic rules, and techniques accumulated and blended over a period of centuries until during the Tang the genre was finally perfected. In the evolution of the jueju we see the great role of tradition in Chinese literature. Each generation, each strata of society added its contributions, with the later generations continually and directly drawing upon the past to a degree that would be difficult for those in many other traditions to conceive. To understand the poetry of the Tang we must go back to the Six Dynasties, the Han and earlier. In the case of the jueju the evidence offered by even the earliest and simplest types of verse in the Chinese tradition has helped us to understand the origins and nature of this genre.

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