THE HIGH T'ANG POET MENG HAO-JAN: 
STUDIES IN BIOGRAPHY AND TEXTUAL HISTORY

by

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We accept this dissertation as conforming
to the required standard

THE UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA

December, 1977

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ABSTRACT

The dissertation consists of two distinct parts. Part I is a study of the text of Meng Hao-jan's collected works. All available editions (32) were collated in full, along with the text of his poems as they appear in thirteen T'ang and Sung dynasty anthologies. The editions are divided into six 'systems' or families, and all texts are further classified as either significant or 'eliminandi'. Two filiation diagrams are presented, one showing in detail the derivation of the eliminandi from the significant texts, and a second showing a tentative filiation of the significant texts themselves. The bulk of Part I consists of a full description of each of the individual texts and of the poems found in anthologies. In the case of the eliminandi, this description lists the peculiar variants and demonstrates the derivation of the text from its antecedent(s). The significant texts are described less fully, since only further research will determine more exactly their interrelationships. Among the conclusions of Part I are the following: (a) the best single edition is probably that of Ku Tao-hung, published in 1576; (b) the edition published by Mao Chin is useful, but marred by confusion and careless errors in its apparatus; (c) the 'Sung' edition reprinted by T'ao Hsiang in 1935 is significant, but is too full of demonstrably erroneous readings to be relied upon exclusively; (d) the source for the text of Meng's works in the Complete T'ang Poems was a manuscript compendium, whose source, in turn, was the T'ang Shih Chi
compiled by Wu Kuan during the Ming dynasty; (e) the apparatus contained in Hsiao Chi-tsung's *Meng Hao-jan Shih Shuo* is highly unreliable, since it is based in large part on that found in a Japanese edition of 1900, rather than on the collation of five old editions that Hsiao claims to have consulted.

Part II is an attempt to reconstruct Meng Hao-jan's biography. It is shown that the standard sources for his life, the biographies in the *Chiu T'ang Shu* and *Hsin T'ang Shu* and the Preface to his poems by Wang Shih-yuan, are misleading and incomplete in many ways. The fuller biography outlined here is based on a detailed analysis of the biographical material found in Meng's poems, writings by his contemporaries, and historical sources of various kinds. These materials show that Meng Hao-jan visited Lo-yang in 718, and both Ch'ang-an and Lo-yang during the years 724-725. From 725 to 728 he travelled extensively in what is now Chekiang, in southeast China. He returned to Ch'ang-an late in 731, probably as a candidate for the *chin-shih* degree. After failing to pass the examination or to obtain a post in the civil service, Meng returned home to Hsiang-yang in 732 after a stay of some months in Lo-yang. He left Hsiang-yang in 736 and travelled in the Yangtse valley until late in 737, when the poet Chang Chiu-ling, a former Chief Minister then in disgrace, summoned him to Chiang-ling. He stayed only a short while with Chang, and then returned to Hsiang-yang early in 738, after further travels in central China. He died at home in 740.

Appended to the dissertation are four appendices: (a) an extensively annotated translation of the Prefaces to Meng's works by Wang
Shih-yuan and Wei T'ao; (b) a translation of all of Meng's poems except those quoted in full in the dissertation proper; (c) translations and discussion of three fragments and eleven spurious or doubtful works; (d) a finding list.

Research Supervisor:

Florence Chia-ying Yeh Chao
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PART I

THE TEXTUAL HISTORY OF THE
COLLECTED POEMS OF MENG HAO-JAN
A. General Remarks

1. Introduction

I did not anticipate, when I began work on this thesis, that much research of a purely textual nature would be involved. I was aware, of course, that there were numerous different editions of Meng Hao-jan's poems in existence, and I expected to consult the more important of them from time to time in order to be sure that they were in agreement at doubtful points. But a sufficient foundation in textual matters seemed to have been laid already. I would base my work on the edition reprinted in the Ssu-pu Ts'ung-k'an, the standard text, and consult the extensive critical apparatus prepared by each of the modern editors of the poems, Prof. Hsiao Chi-tsung of Tung-hai University, and Mr. Yu Hsin-li. Both Hsiao and Yu record variants from a half-dozen representative texts, and it seemed unlikely that much would be gained from duplicating their labours on the chance of turning up a few misprints here and there.

But as my work on Meng Hao-jan's biography progressed, so did my doubts about the text increase. Prof. Hans Frankel kindly called my attention to the importance of consulting the version of Wang Shih-yuan's Preface to the poems in a facsimile of a Sung dynasty edition, and elsewhere pointed out that the SPTK edition was not necessarily the best available. And I began to mistrust the modern editions too. For Yu's book is very carelessly printed, and abounds in typographical errors in both text and notes, while Hsiao's apparatus proved to be not only unsound on theoretical grounds--the sources of his variant readings are
not given individually--but also incomplete, and that in a very odd way. Often he would fail to include variants that I had come across in one or another of the old editions he mentions having collated, while recording others which were not to be found in any of the latter. Meanwhile, I was finding that at a number of crucial points my reasoning about problems concerning Meng's biography depended upon details in the text which were subject to variation.

And so it gradually became clear that nothing less than a thorough textual investigation would suffice, even if this meant postponing work on the purely literary questions which had become my chief interest by that time. I was somewhat reluctant to undertake such a study, since I lacked any real training or background in either bibliography or textual criticism. Moreover, being in Japan at the time, I did not even have access to any of the standard Western works on the subject until after all of the collation and most of the analysis had been done. Nonetheless, it was clear that no firm conclusions could be reached on a host of biographical and literary questions without a much clearer understanding of the textual problems involved, and so I set to work.

My hope was that I could get around my lack of training by relying on a certain amount of common sense and attention to detail, and, in fact, when I was at last able to consult theoretical works on the subject, I found that my procedures had been, after all, essentially those worked out long before by textual scholars studying Western literature. I have adopted terminology and techniques from a number of standard references, the most useful being the works by Fredson Bowers, Vinton A. Dearing, W. W. Greg, Paul Maas, and James Thorpe (see bibliography).
These writers differ considerably in their emphases. Maas and Greg are both concerned with refining the classical traditions of stemmatics founded by Lachmann. Both admit at the outset that the stemmatic approach is helpless before the ubiquitous monster conflation, but attempt to perfect the theory of Lachmannian stemmatics as it might be applied in cases where conflation has not occurred. Greg introduces one concept of great importance, that a 'directionless' preliminary filiation must be constructed before the directionality of individual variants is taken into account (the practical significance of this idea, adopted by Dearing, will be taken up again below). Bowers' book, based on a series of lectures, avoids the systematic treatment of theoretical points in favour of a more general--and often spirited, not to say abrasive--defence of textual criticism and its just claims upon the attention of literary critics in general. James Thorpe offers a fuller survey of the field with a good deal of historical material. He brings up the persistent problems of textual criticism one by one and is often noticeably pessimistic about the chances for their solution.

Thorpe's pervasive--and often persuasive--attitude of sane compromise and resigned acceptance of unsolvable problems is thrown into sharp contrast by the almost simultaneous publication of Dearing. The latter is a visionary, an apostle of a new faith. He proclaims in--literally--apocalyptic language that a new age of textual criticism is dawning and that it is now possible for the textual critic "never to be wrong by rule."

Dearing's approach rests partly on a further development of Greg's quasi-mathematical method, and partly on new theories of his own. He
makes a fundamental distinction between the genealogy of records (i.e., books and manuscripts) and the genealogy of states (the readings found in them). His breakthrough consists of a realisation that in the latter, conflation does not exist. That is, each new record represents a fresh attempt to reproduce the states of the archetype. Whether this consists of a more or less accurate reproduction of the states found in some one already existing record or of a conscious 'harmonising' of two or more, the individual states that it records each have their own individual genealogy.

Having gone this far, Dearing proceeds to devote the greater part of his book to the theoretical and practical aspects of this new calculus. This is, in a sense, a contradiction of his new outlook on the problems of textual criticism, as he distinguishes it from bibliography. That is, having begun—as did Maas, Greg, and others before him—with the admission that conflated readings render logically impossible the construction of a Lachmannian stemma, and having then proceeded to divorce states from records, reserving the interest of the textual analyst for the latter alone, he ends by presenting an elaborate programme for constructing a quasi-Lachmannian stemma in spite of what are commonly called 'conflated readings'. What his calculus does, properly applied, is construct a genealogy of the records showing the primary ancestors of each and their relations one to another. It is, then, a method of cutting all of the Gordian knots in the most logical and even-handed manner conceivable. As such, it is enormously complex and intriguing, but also very time-consuming in application. In answer to a letter of inquiry from me, Prof. Dearing wrote that the body of Meng Hao-juan material which
I had before me (over two thousand variations in the significant texts alone) was considerably in excess of anything that he had actually processed himself, though he saw no new difficulty in analysing it according to his calculus, using a computer.\(^3\) I will confine myself here to a less exhaustive analysis by hand. This, as we shall see, will prove sufficient for the establishment of a fairly certain genealogy for all but the oldest texts.

Here we need to introduce a distinction between two groups of texts. First there are the *eliminandi*, those texts—usually, but not always, late in date—all of whose readings can be accounted for either as reproductions of a single ancestor or as new and independent trivial errors. I will also count as *eliminandi* those texts which include a limited number of conflated readings, *provided* that the source(s) of conflation can be clearly defined. The remaining texts, which I will call 'significant', are those whose readings cannot be so easily derived, either because no apparent ancestor is known or because conflation has taken place so extensively that it is not possible to choose a primary ancestor.

The distinction between these two groups of texts is an important one, for in preparing a critical edition, one will have to treat the variants from them in entirely different ways. The *eliminandi* are, of course, just what the term denotes, 'to be eliminated'. That is, while their peculiar variants may be tabulated separately for the convenience of readers who may use them, they are not to be cited in the apparatus proper, since by definition they cannot have come from the authorial text, and thus the question of their directionality is not open.\(^4\) In
contrast, all readings from the significant texts must be considered individually, because, again by definition, any of them may represent the author's original text.

This distinction is related to another, which has an important effect on our results. The earliest of the narrowly datable texts that I have seen are from the sixteenth century. To be sure, texts supposedly of 'Sung' date are extant, or at least close copies of them, and variant readings from Sung, Yuan, and early Ming dynasty texts are recorded in several later editions. But the fact remains that we are dealing with two problems of essentially very different orders of difficulty and solvability. First, there is the question of how the eliminandi, chiefly of seventeenth-twentieth century date, are related one to another. Then, there is the much more difficult problem of determining how their earliest extant antecedents are related and through what lines of descent. Into this murky eight centuries of textual evolution we can see only occasionally and uncertainly. There are, to be sure, our reputed copies from Sung and other early texts, and there is a modest amount of external evidence of various kinds. But clearly we are dealing with a very different kind of situation here, and must lower our expectations of conclusive results accordingly.

The goal of the present study, then, is first, to identify and fully describe the eliminandi, and second, to determine, at least in general, what relationships exist between the remaining, significant, texts. It should be recognised that even after all the available external and internal evidence has been studied, the establishment of a reliable filiation is no simple affair, for there will of course be
texts that are now lost and others that have not been seen, and about
the nature--sometimes even the existence--of these we can only speculate.
In any case, no single piece of evidence can be taken as absolute. A
text with an early date may actually be a late forgery; one with a late
date may be a reliable copy of an unknown but very old and sound original.
Only the combination of the largest possible number of separate facts
will allow us to set up that filiation which seems to be the simplest
and most probable explanation capable of accounting for the material
available. And even then we may expect that there will be a small number
of inexplicable anomalies.

These caveats being registered, we may proceed to outline the
organisation of the study itself. By far the greater part of this is
devoted to the detailed discussion of the individual texts, but it will
be useful to deal with some more general matters first. To begin with,
there is the filiation itself (see Figures I and II). Since the discus­sion
of individual texts is organised around the proposed filiation, the
latter serves not only as a summary of the discussion, but also as an
index to it. This is preceded by an alphabetically arranged listing of
the sigla, the abbreviations by which each text is referred to. Following
the sigla list and the filiation, there is a discussion of the conventions
followed in collation and analysis and of the various kinds of external
and internal evidence available.

A total of fifty texts have been collated. In the list below,
each is assigned siglum of from one to four letters, one letter sigla
being reserved for anthologies:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Code</th>
<th>Title and Author(s)</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>Wang An-shih, <em>T'ang Pai-chia Shih-hsüan</em></td>
<td>c. 1090</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>Chi Yu-kung, <em>T'ang Shih Chi-shih</em></td>
<td>c. 1140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ch</td>
<td><em>Ch'ien-T'ang Shih-erh Chia Shih</em></td>
<td>1603</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CP</td>
<td>Commercial Press edition (Hong Kong)</td>
<td>1961</td>
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<tr>
<td>CTS</td>
<td><em>Ch'uan T'ang Shih</em></td>
<td>c. 1706</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>Chao Meng-kuei, <em>Fen-men Tsuan-lei T'ang Kê-shih</em></td>
<td>c. 1270?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fr</td>
<td>Wang Li-ming, <em>T'ang Ssu-chia Shih</em> ed.</td>
<td>1695</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fu</td>
<td>Fu Tung-hua, <em>Meng Hao-jan Shih-hsüan</em></td>
<td>c. 1935</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gb</td>
<td>Japanese edition, published during the Genbun period</td>
<td>1734</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gr</td>
<td>Japanese edition, published during the Genroku period</td>
<td>1690 (rpt. 1975)</td>
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<tr>
<td>H</td>
<td>Yin Fan, <em>Hê-yüeh Ying-ling Chi</em></td>
<td>c. 765</td>
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<tr>
<td>HP</td>
<td><em>Hu-pei Hsien-cheng Yi-shu</em> ed., Ming dynasty</td>
<td>rpt. 1923</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hs</td>
<td>Hsiao Chi-tsung, <em>Meng Hao-jan Shih-shuo</em></td>
<td>1969</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hu</td>
<td>Hu Feng-tan, <em>T'ang Ssu-chia Shih-chi</em> ed.</td>
<td>1875</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td><em>Itsumei Tôshishû Zanken</em>, Japanese ms.</td>
<td>c. 900? (rpt.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K</td>
<td>Jui T'ing-chang, <em>Kuo-hsiu Chi</em></td>
<td>c. 760</td>
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<tr>
<td>KCh</td>
<td>'current' edition collated in Ku</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kn</td>
<td>Kondô Gensui, <em>MÔ Jôyô Shû</em></td>
<td>1900</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko</td>
<td>Korean ed., date unknown</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ku</td>
<td>Ku Tao-hung ed.</td>
<td>1576</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ku'u</td>
<td><em>Ssu-k'y Ch'iân-shu</em> ed.</td>
<td>1782</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KY</td>
<td>Yuan ed. collated in Ku</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L</td>
<td>Chao Shih-hsiu, <em>Ch'ung-miao Chi</em></td>
<td>c. 1210</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liu</td>
<td>edition with commentary by Liu Ch'en-weng and Li Meng-yang, published by Ling Meng-ch'u</td>
<td>c. 1550</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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Liub: Pi-lin-lang Kuan rpt. of Liu, 1880

M: Hung Mai, Wan-shou T'ang-jen Chüeh-chü, 1192

Mao: Mao Chin, Chi-ku Kê ed., rpt. in Wu T'ang-jen Chi, c. 1610-1640

Mg: Ming ed., rpt. Ssu-pu Tsung-k' an and elsewhere, c. 1550?

MSg: Sung ed. collated in Mao

MSh: 'contemporary' ed. collated in Mao, c. 1500

MY: Yuan ed. collated in Mao

Nk: ms. ed. in Naikaku Bunko, Tokyo, 1800?

P: ms. discovered at Tun-huang, Pelliot 2567, c. 900?

Pai: Chu Ching, T'ang Pai-chia Shih ed., c. 1540

Paib: early rpt. of Pai, as in Peiping Library Rare Books, etc., c. 1600?

S: Wei Hu, Ts'ai-tiao Chi, c. 925

Sg: facsimile rpt. of a Sung ed., rpt. 1935

Sk: ms. ed. in Sonkeikaku Bunko, Komaba, Tokyo, 1875?

SP: Ssu-pu Pei-yao ed., c. 1935

T: Yao Hsüan, T'ang Wen Ts'ui, c. 1000

Tk: ms. ed. in library of Tokyo University, 1875?

TP: Tung-pi T'u-shu Fu ed., c. 1552

TS: T'ang Shih, working copy of a compendium with notes by Ch'ien Ch'ien-yi and Chi. Chen-yi, 17th century

TSC: Wu Kuan, T'ang Shih Chi ed., c. 1590

Tw: Yang Yi-t'ung, T'ang Shih-erh Chia Shih ed., 1584

Ty: T'ang Erh-shih Chia Shih-chi ed., 1884

W: Li Fang et al., Wen-yuan Ying-hua, c. 975

WM: Yuan Hung-tao, Wei-Meng Ch'üan-chi ed., 1630

Y: Wei Chuang, Yu-hsiuan Chi, c. 900
2. Theoretical Considerations

Although various types of partial collation or sampling are considered sufficient in the case of very long texts, such as novels, Meng's collected poems have here been collated in their entirety, since the text is reasonably short--about 15,000 characters in each complete text, including titles. While all variants were recorded in the process of collation, several large classes have been excluded from consideration in the analysis proper. A brief discussion of the nature of variation should make the reasons for these exclusions clear.

The differences between any particular text and the one from which it was chiefly derived may have arisen from a variety of causes. The simplest, and perhaps the most common, is plain unintentional error. A copyist substitutes one character for another, often because the two are phonetically or graphically similar, but sometimes for no discoverable reason. Intentional variations, on the other hand, may arise in several ways, and the problems that they present are more complicated. An intentional variant is, of course, always thought an improvement by the person who introduces it, but other users of the text may disagree. One type of intentional variant that may be usefully distinguished is that based on conflation with one or more different editions of the text. Some editors, particularly modern ones, tell us in more or less detail (and with more or less candour) what texts they have used and how each has been treated. Earlier editors often limit themselves to a statement that they have 'examined various old editions'. In other
fig. 1: filiation of eliminandi
Fig. II: Tentative Filiation of the Significant Texts
cases, it becomes clear only after collation that conflation has taken place.

Another large body of intentional variants is the result of tex-
tually unsupported emendation. That is, the editor or copyist sees
something that looks wrong to him in his basic text, and so he emends
it to something that seems to make better sense, to be less offensive
to his taste, or whatever. Now, this is a difficult type of variant
about which to make a general value statement. There are clearly places
in Meng's poems where the text is faulty in all of the extant texts.
Several cases will be discussed in the biographical sections of the
present thesis. There we will find that the names of obscure people
have been altered or omitted from the titles of poems in some or all of
the editions but can be restored on the basis of independently surviving
historical materials. Occasionally an obvious allusion or reference
strongly supports an emendation, and certain characters are quite regu-
larly subject to this kind of change.

The words 廣, 九, and 九 are a case in point. Wherever we find a
clear reference to the Han dynasty poet and philosopher Yang 廣 Hsiung,
or to the major city Yang 九 -chou, written with 九 rather than 廣,
we are justified in emending our text, and various previous editors have
done likewise. This kind of variant raises a special problem, one which
really has little to do with the rights or wrongs of correcting mistakes
in a copy text. That is, once it is clear that a particular character
is subject to this kind of alternation, its value as genealogical evi-
dence is greatly reduced. It is important to bear this in mind, for,
as a general principle, we tend to assume that the more readings two
texts have in common, the more closely they are related. In practice, however, a simple comparison of total numbers of like readings will not suffice, and the sort of correction presently under discussion is one of the reasons why. The more obvious the correction, the less value it has as evidence.

To demonstrate this more clearly, Table I gives the readings of all the editions of Meng's poems that have been collated for all the variations in which any of them has either 惟 or 惟. The texts are arranged according to the groupings of the filiation, so that related texts are close together in the table. Inspection of the table will show how commonly closely related texts vary in these particular variations. The columns are numbered according to the location of the variations. Note that here and in what follows a reference such as 27/6 refers to the sixth line in the twenty-seventh poem, following the order of the poems in Mao.

Related to such cases of words particularly subject to error and emendation alike, and similarly inadmissible as genealogical evidence are cases of taboo words and their usual substitutes, since these too are subject to alteration. For, if we find a character in the text that we know to have been a usual substitute for another character which was tabooed sometime between Meng's day and our own, it may either be the substitute, as altered during the period in which the taboo was in force, or it may be the authorial reading itself. If, on the other hand, we find the tabooed character, there are at least three possibilities: (a) it may be an authorial reading which escaped alteration; (b) it may be an authorial reading which was altered at one time due to
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TABLE I: CONFUSION OF 張 (+) AND 難 (=)
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the taboo and subsequently restored; or (c) it may be a mistaken emendation. That is, the authorial reading may have been a character which later became a taboo-substitute; then, after that taboo was no longer in effect, an editor mistook it for a taboo-substitute and 'corrected' it to the once tabooed reading, which had never been in the text before. All this is not to suggest that tabooed characters or their substitutes are entirely valueless. They may indeed prove very useful in dating certain texts or their inferential intermediaries after the preliminary stemmatic diagram has been prepared without reference to them. An example will show how an actual case is treated in the extant editions of Meng's poems. Table II summarises the occurrences in all texts of the three characters 鈥€ (a), 鈥€ (b), and 鈥€ (c). x indicates that some other character occurs.

Of these three characters, 鈥€ was tabooed twice, once in T'ang, during the years 821-906, and again in Sung, during the period 998-1280. During the later period, at least, it was replaced by 鈥€. But 鈥€, in turn, was tabooed for a period at the end of the Ming dynasty, from 1620 to 1644 (or later, for diehard loyalists) and replaced by 鈥€. The two important points to emerge from the table are: (a) in only four cases is there any variation among the three. In all of these but one, it is between a and b, and between the Sung system texts (once including the TSC system as well; for the division of the texts into systems, see below) and the others; and (b) all three characters are found somewhere in each and every text (K'u, which was incompletely collated, does not include a). Table II thus presents a striking contrast to Table I, showing the use of 鈥€ and 鈥€, for here we find
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TABLE II: OCCURRENCE OF \( \frac{1}{2} \), \( \frac{3}{4} \), AND \( \frac{5}{6} \)

All entries indicate the number of occurrences in the text.
that texts show a much closer adherence to the readings of their ancestors and, in fact, little or no actual influence from the tabooing of characters.

In addition to characters such as 揚 and 尋, uncommonly subject to error and emendation, and tabooed characters and their substitutes, I have excluded from consideration a wide variety of graphic variations and characters commonly used interchangeably. It is difficult to give--not to speak of having followed--a simple and completely consistent definition of such characters, but a sampling of pairs (and triplets) actually ignored in analysis should suggest the range involved. All of the examples come from the first twenty or so poems in the Mao edition:

Now, it should be understood that my neglect of these pairs in the analysis of variations is not to be taken as a sign that I consider their members to be in all cases perfect synonyms or historically identical words. It is only that they are treated as interchangeable, even if incorrectly, so often as to make them more likely to introduce irrelevant variations than to provide evidence otherwise unavailable concerning
the genetic relationships of the texts in which they occur. Where they show patterns of variation different from what we would expect on the basis of others, these are probably due to independent variation; where they agree with less problematic pairs, their citation remains superfluous.

3. External Evidence

We have, in general, two different kinds of evidence for establishing the history of a text. One is external, such things as prefaces, colophons, references in library catalogues, bibliographies, and the like. Internal evidence, on the other hand, consists of what we find in the text itself, and this in turn consists of two chief types. One is the order of items in the text, and the other is the variant readings of individual characters. The first of these helps us establish the basic groupings of texts and is of considerable practical aid in early work, but a careful collation of the variants and an analysis of their nature and value will be required before we can set up our filiation in detail. And, of course, we are, as critics, usually more interested in the wording of the text than in the order of its items. It might be added that prefaces and commentaries that are found in the text actually combine internal evidence with external. That is, what they say about the text is external, while the genealogical relationships between different texts of them are internal.

Although it is not quite the earliest reference to Meng Hao-jan's works, we will begin with the notice of them in the bibliographical monograph of the Hsien T'ang Shu (Chung-hua ed., Peking, 1975, 60.1609). Very little attention has been paid to this hitherto, but in fact it is,
for all its brevity, of considerable importance to a number of points to be discussed in more detail later on. It reads:

Collected Poems of Meng Hao-jan, three chüan; arranged by his younger brother Hsien-jan and Wang Shih-yuan, each in three chüan; Shih-yuan separated them into seven categories.

According to this, there were two different editions of Meng's poems in existence almost from the start, but nothing is said about the relationship between them. It is possible, of course, that one edition was based on the other, but it seems unlikely that both would have remained current in that case. Wang Shih-yuan tells us about the preparation of his edition in his Preface:

Hao-jan himself destroyed or discarded all his work once it had been completed, and never collected or recorded it, for he often sighed to himself that his writing did not attain to his ideal. So much has already disappeared; verses and whole poems have been scattered and lost. What I have been able to purchase and collect in his village is not even half. I extended my search in all directions and have found things in place after place. Being without other business, I have put them all in order. . . .

Collected here are 218 poems, divided into three chüan. Those among them that are incomplete or unfinished, but which in form and meaning remain pure and beautiful, as well as those presented to him by other people, are all recorded in their proper place, without any being discarded.

And some more information comes from the Supplementary Preface added by Wei T'ao:

During the T'ien-pao period, I happened to obtain Hao-jan's collected works for which . . . Shih-yuan had written the Preface. . . . The writings were not done in a single hand, and the paper and ink were thin and weak. . . . I have now had it copied out
and have added to its contents. . . . I will respectfully present this volume to the Imperial Library . . . Dated February 13, 750.

Finally, there is a poem by the recluse Liu Shen-hsiu, to whom Meng had addressed two poems, asking a third man's help in collecting Meng's work after the latter's death.

So, at the very least, it is clear that a good deal of work was being done on the collection of Hao-jan's poems at a very early period. What remains uncertain is the extent to which these activities were co-ordinated. Except for Wei T'ao's statement that he had Wang Shih-yuan's edition augmented and recopied, there is no mention of any connection between the various efforts. Thus it is possible that by 750, ten years after Meng's death, there were three, or even four, different collections of Meng's poems in existence: Wang Shih-yuan's original, the one augmented by Wei T'ao, Meng Hsien-jan's, and one put together by Liu Shen-hsü, perhaps with the aid of others. Even if we assume that there were only two, the Wang/Wei and the Hsien-jan--Liu Shen-hsü's effort, if in fact it came to anything, being incorporated into one or both of these--the possible significance of this multiplicity of early texts is considerable, both theoretically and practically. For it means that there may well never have been anything that we could properly call 'the archetype', a single best authorial text from which all others were descended. If, as Wang Shih-yuan says, Meng never collected and edited his own work, then the various early compilers must have been working from odd manuscripts of individual poems or groups of poems. Some of these, at least, probably existed in more than one version. One could, of course, propose a theoretical archetype, the text
as Hao-jan might have settled on it himself had he prepared his collected poems, but our problems are surely complex enough without that sort of thing.

We will return to these T'ang editions again when we take up the more specific problems of the various significant texts. For the moment we will only pause to take note of two miscellaneous points. First, it is interesting that the edition which Wei T'ao discovered was in poor condition and "not done in a single hand." It may thus have been added to or tampered with in some way between the time Wang compiled it and Wei's discovery of it. Its poor condition may also have led to some mistakes in recopying. Once it went into the Imperial Library, it may have remained intact until Sung times, and may have been recopied or drawn upon for anthologies and the like. Second, none of the extant editions matches the description that Wang Shih-yuan gives. Some have less than 218 poems; most have more. A few editions have seven categories but others have ten, and those with seven show, as we shall see later, signs of having been 'cut to fit', though this is not certain. Some texts of the HTS bibliography refer to ten categories and some editions have that many.

Unfortunately, the Sung dynasty bibliographies do not help us a great deal, although they do refer to Meng's works. The Ch'ung-wen Tsung-mu (5.33a) simply lists an edition in three chüan. The Chiin-ch'ài Tu-shu Chih (17.21ab) mentions an edition in one chüan as well as Wang Shih-yuan's in three (this entry is copied into the Wen-hsien T'ung-k'ao (231.1846b). The Chiin-ch'ài Shu-lu Chieh-t'i (19.4a) says that Wang Shih-yuan's edition contained 218 poems, divided into seven classes,
information presumably copied from the Preface itself.

Later bibliographies too are of surprisingly little aid in tracing the textual history of Meng's poems between the Sung and Ch'ing dynasties. Although some of them include his works, they seldom give any information about editions, and sometimes even fail to record the number of chüan. There are scattered references to Sung editions in three chüan, but we simply have no way of knowing from external sources when the first printed editions appeared, how they were prepared, or what their relationship was to later editions. The internal evidence available is, however, surprisingly consistent. Both Mao and Ku include the results of collation with a Sung dynasty printed edition, and the readings recorded from them are generally consistent with those found in Sg, as well as with those recorded in the collation notes added to W during the Southern Sung (of this, more later).

The only bibliographies, earlier than very recent times, to help us at all with information about editions are the T'ien-yi Kê Shu-mu, the Shan-pên Shu-shih Ts'ang-shu Chih, and the Ssu-k'u Chien-ming Mu-lu Piao-chu.

The first of these (Chi-pu, 11b-13a) lists three editions: one in four chüan, probably Mg or a closely related text, one in two chüan with Liu Ch'en-weng's commentary and a preface by one Li Yao-ch'ing dated in the (non-existent) chia-tzu year of the Cheng-te 正德 period (1506-1522), perhaps an ancestor of Liu, and Ku, in three chüan. Ku's Editorial Statement (fan-li) is quoted at length, but the Li Yao-ch'ing Preface is unfortunately only mentioned.
The Shan-pên Shu-shih Ts'ang-shu Chih (24.12b-13b) also describes three editions. The first is a Ming edition in four chüan, probably, as the Shan-pên itself suggests, the same as the one appearing in the T'ien-yi Kê catalogue. The second is our Liu, whose notice by Ling Meng-ch'ü is quoted. The third is again Ku, whose Editorial Statement is also quoted, though considerably—and silently--abridged. In addition, parts of Huang P'eilieh's colophon to Sg (see below) are quoted and Ting Ping 唐, the compiler of Shan-pên, adds that a comparison of these shows that there must have been more than one edition current even in Sung.

The Ssu-k'u Chien-ming Mu-lu Piao-chu of Shao Yi-ch'en 鮭 is not a library catalogue, but rather an annotated bibliography of different editions of titles included in the Ssu-k'u Sh'uan-shu. It lists eleven editions of Meng Hao-jan's poems (p. 652). Eight of these are easily identified with editions collated for the present study: Ku, Mao, Fr, Sg, Liu, Ch, Mg, and HP. The remaining three all include the commentary of Liu Ch'en-weng:

Three chüan edition with notes by Hsü-ch'i 訪 (i.e., Liu Ch'en-weng), divided by form.

Yuan dynasty printed edition with critical remarks by Liu Hsü-ch'i.

Ming movable type edition; the title reads "Meng Hao-jan's Collected Works with Critical Remarks by Master Hsü-ch'i"; this is in three chüan, nine lines per page, nineteen characters per line; divided into the ten [sic] categories, Excursions and Outings, Messages and Replies, Travels and Wanderings, Farewell and Separation, Longing and Contemplation, Fields and Gardens, Beautiful
Women, and Seasons; it is not the usual movable type edition, very rare.

All three of these probably represent Yuan system texts (for a discussion of the various 'systems', see below). The first two could be close to the Korean subsystem. The third is interesting, since the title coincides exactly with that of the Korean subsystem texts, while the description does not, since it includes the "Beautiful Women" and "Seasons" sections which are missing from the Korean subsystem. This text might possibly be descended from an ancestor of the Korean subsystem from which these sections had not yet been deleted.

This is probably the best place to mention the other texts which I have found recorded but have been unable to locate or examine. These are, in addition to the three mentioned by Ting Ping and the one with Li Yao-ch'ing's Preface, the following:

From the Chung-kuo Ts'ung-shu Tsung-lu, vol. 2, p. 1219:

5) a three chüan edition included in the T'ang-jen Chi fühl, an anonymous Ming collection the only copy of which, in China at least, is in the Peking library (the Kanseki Sōsho Shozai Mokuroku, a union list of te'ung-shu in Japanese libraries, lists a copy of this at the Seikadō Bunko in Tokyo, but it is not in fact there, nor have I been able to locate a copy elsewhere in Japan). This might be a Sung or Yuan system text, but my guess is that it is the same as the original of HP, since it is described as a "Ming movable type edition," which is just what is said of the original of HP. This might also be what Piao-chu (above) refers to as "the usual movable type edition."

6) a four chüan edition listed as part of the T'ang-jen Hsiao-ʃ. chi, a
Ch'ing dynasty (1800) collection. The only copy listed is in the Shanghai Library, though fragments, not including Meng's works, are found elsewhere. Here, the chances are that it is a Ming system text, perhaps simply a reprint of Mg, since it is in four ch'üan.

From Maema Kyōsaku's 前 作 bibliography of Korean books found in Japanese libraries, the Kōsen Satsufu 古鮮 書目 (Tokyo, 1944-57), pp. 1812-1813:
7) a 板, recorded from the Kosho Kankokai Kosho Mokuroku; this is said to be in four ch'üan.
8) an edition described as being in two ch'üan, bound in one ts'e, the edition printed by Chang Hsün-yeh of the Ming dynasty; this would be equivalent to TP. Both these and Ko are listed by Maema as "reprints of Chinese editions."

A union list of microfilms in Japanese libraries lists:
9) a copy of Meng's works on microfilm in the Tōyō Bunko. The staff of the library there were unable to locate any reference to such a film having been in their collection, and suggested that it may simply have been stored on the premises temporarily during the immediate post-war period.

Two other miscellaneous editions that I have not see are:
10) a ms. copy of a Ming printed edition (Kiangsu Provincial Sinological Library Catalogue, 31.20a).
11) a Ming movable type edition also related to the original of HP? (Rare Books Catalogue of the Peking Library, 6.9a).

At least some of these would probably turn out to be identical to editions already seen, could they be located. There were a number of
other apparently differing editions listed in various library catalogues which, when located, proved to be duplicates. The "ten-line Sung edition" listed in the catalogue of the National Central Library is in fact the same as Mg, as is a miniature edition in the library of the University of Hong Kong.

I might also add here a text which I saw briefly at Taiwan Normal University but was unable to examine in detail, an unpublished M.A. thesis, *Meng Hao-jan Shih Chiao-chu* by Chang Hsüeh-p'o (1967). Chang takes Mg as his copy text, and collates Ku, Sg, CTS, HP, K, H, W, and the P'ei-wen Yün-fu (!) against it. I was unable to form any definite impression of the value of his work compared to Yu, but since both were done in the same year and under the same director, and only Yu's was chosen for publication, I tend to assume that his was, at least in general, the better of the two.

There remain a number of external sources to be considered, but since these help us chiefly with more specialised questions, we will take them up one by one later, wherever they are most useful. They include Huang P'ei-lieh's colophon to Sg, Ku Tao-hung's Editorial Statement in Ku, a colophon, dated 1445, found in Sk and Nk, Mao Chin's note on the compilation of Mao, and the remarks of Li Ch'ung-ssu and Ling Meng-ch'ü in Liu (and Liub).

4. Internal Evidence

We turn now to internal evidence, which can be considered under four heads. By far the most important is the variations in the text of the poems as they are found in the various editions of Meng's works. In fact, all other evidence of whatever kind is really only a supplement to
this. Then, as mentioned previously, there is the order of the poems in different editions. Third, also mentioned above, is the textual history of materials appended to the main text, the Prefaces by Wang Shih-yuan and Wei T'ao, and the commentaries of Liu Ch'ên-weng and Li Meng-yang. And finally, there is the text of Meng's poems as they appear in various anthologies. In discussing these sources, we will take them up in the reverse of the order in which they have just been introduced.

First, then, the text of the poems as they appear in anthologies. Of course, there is no end to the making of anthologies, least of all in China, and it is neither possible nor necessary for us to examine every such work which has included one or more poems by Meng from his own day down to ours. We are probably safe in assuming that most of those compiled after, say, 1600 are based on texts that are still extant themselves and which have been consulted in the preparation of our collation. We will, on the other hand, want to pay close attention to anthologies of T'ang, Sung, Yuan, and early Ming date—though the number and relative inaccessibility of Ming collections has made it unfeasible to consult them all—for their importance is at least twofold. First, they may give us valuable clues as to the readings that were available in the tradition at the time they were compiled; second, they may have served as sources for conflation in the preparation of later editions of the collected poems. The first of these considerations is most important in the case of early manuscript sources (see our I and P) which have not been reworked since the date of their first preparation. The second is more important in the case of the better known anthologies,
such as K, H, W, and A, which were drawn upon heavily in several cases, especially in the TSC system, as sources for variant readings. A detailed discussion of the thirteen anthologies consulted will be found at the end of the chapter, following the description of individual editions of the collected poems.

We have already considered Wang Shih-yuan and Wei T'ao's Prefaces as external evidence, but it remains to be seen what they, and Liu and Li's commentaries, can tell us about the filiation of the texts to which they are appended. For they have a semi-independent existence of their own. In the simplest case, they are simply transmitted from one text to its descendant, like the Hapsburg nose. But sometimes they jump, like fleas, and when we find this happening we are alerted to the possibility that some conflated readings in the text may have jumped with them. In practice, of course, we are aware of the conflated readings first, even if we remain unsure of their source. We then turn to the genealogy of the Preface and commentary texts in the hope that their much simpler filiations may shed some light on the doubtful points concerning the transmission of the text.

A complete translation of both Prefaces is to be found in Appendix A, with a textual apparatus supplied in the notes. Wang's Preface is found in Sg, Ko, Sk, Nk, Mao, Liu, Mg, and HP, among the significant texts, in Kn, Hs, Liub, K'u, CP, SP, and WM among the eliminandi, and, among the anthologies, in C and the Ch'üan T'ang Wen (CTW). Wei's Additional Preface is found in Sg, Ku, and Mg, among the significant texts, in KCh, Hs, K'u, and SP among the eliminandi, and in CTW. The filiation in both cases follows that of the poems in most respects, at
least in so far as that can be reconstructed. There is little to dis-
cuss in the case of Wei's Preface, since there are fewer than ten
variations, all due to peculiar variants (in Sg, Ku, Hs, and CTW),
except for two in which Sg and Ku agree against the other texts.

The following points of interest arise out of the 179 variations
that occur in Wang's Preface: (1) there seem to be four basic systems
within the Preface tradition: (a) Sg, Mao, and C; (b) Liu, Liub, and Kn;
(c) Ko, Sk, and Nk; and (d) Mg, K'u, SP, CP, WM, Hs, HP, and CTW; (2) Hs
and HP are both virtually identical to the Ming system texts, and the
chances are that Hsiao adopted his text of the Preface directly from Mg
without reference to Kn, his source for the poem text (see below for
this), and that the Preface as found in HP was added to that edition
late in its history; (3) Mao reproduces what appears to be the Sg text
of the Preface, but in so cursive a script as to be of little value for
collation. The most that can be said is that Mao does not differ clearly
from Sg at any point; (4) both C and Ko are incomplete, the latter
because of a missing leaf in the only available edition; and (5) within
the Ming system (of the Preface), the WM and CTW texts diverge from the
others in a few cases.

The commentaries of Liu Ch'en-weng and Li Meng-yang are not of
much intrinsic interest, as Hsiao Chi-tsung rarely misses an opportunity
to point out, and it would be a tedious and pointless exercise to trans-
late them. We find the former in Ku, Ko, Sk, Nk, Gr, and Liu, among the
significant texts, and in Kn, Hs, Tk, Liub, Yu, and WM among the elimi-
andís, and the latter only in Kn, Hs, Liu, Liub, and, very occasionally,
in Yu. The line of descent is very clear in the case of Li's commentary:
Liu → Liub → Kn → Hs → (Yu)

just as we would expect from the filiation of the poems, once conflated readings in the latter are taken into account. The texts of Liu's commentary fall into four groups: (a) Ko, Sk, Nk, Gr, and Tk; (b) Liu, Liub, Kn, Hs, and Yu; (c) Ku; and (d) WM. Within the first group, Tk is clearly descended from Gr, as is the case with the text of the poems. Although Ku and WM are independent, Ku is generally closer to Ko et cetera and WM to Liu et cetera. Since Ku Tao-hung tells us that KY included Liu's commentary, his text of it gives us a valuable third significant text which makes it generally possible to reconstruct the archetype of Liu's remarks (should anyone want such a thing), there being little evidence of conflation within the commentary tradition, except where Yu occasionally adds from Ku an entry missing from Hs.

This brings us to the consideration of the order of the poems in different editions. This turns out to be a surprisingly complex situation to explain, and many details remain unsolved, and perhaps unsolvable. Its importance is mostly practical, in any case. The working assumption is simply that editions which order the poems in the same or similar sequences are probably more closely related to one another than any of them are to other editions which show a different sequence. Faced with so large a number of texts to compare as we have here, it proves a matter of great convenience to be able to group them in this way.

However, two qualifications need to be registered here. The first is the more obvious. Order of items is clearly a less reliable index of genealogical proximity than the readings of the text. It is a much
simpler matter to duplicate the order of all the poems than to duplicate all the words of the text. As we shall find in the case of Mao, a text may actually adopt the sequence of one source while relying for most of its readings on another.

There is a second point as well, one which is both more important and easier to neglect. It must be strongly emphasised that this preliminary division of the texts into systems based on the order of the poems in each is adopted only as a matter of temporary convenience, and is not to be thought of as an a priori assumption about their genetic relationship. If one is not careful, this kind of working division of texts is likely to transform itself into just such an assumption, so that one ends by treating, for example, six texts, three of which (a,b,c) belong to one system and three (x,y,z) to another, as though the system division must have preceded all other variants in some way, as in one of the following trees:

```
M
  N
  a b c
  x
  y z
```

or the like, when in fact the relationship might equally well have been more like one of these:

```
M
  a
  b
  c
  N
  x
  y z
```

```
M
  a
  b
  c
  N
  x
  y
  z
```
or something else, with the rearrangement of the text taking place at
the point indicated by the tilde. So long as one is not looking for
an archetype, of course, the point is irrelevant, at least in theory,
because the preliminary diagram will still be in a form that does not
imply direction. For example, the tree on the right would be in the
form:

```
  a
   |  
  N ——— M ——— O —— v — P ——— y ——— z 
   |  |  
   b   c     x
```

The danger lies in working on the assumption that the archetype will
surely prove in the end to be located between 0 and P (that is, between
the systems) and excluding what appear to be anomalous variations on
that account.

With these precautionary notes in mind, let us see what the order
of the poems can tell us. There are six basic groups of texts to be
distinguished on this basis. We will be (and have been) calling these
groups 'systems', regardless of the number of individual texts included
in each. They will be referred to as the Sung (2 texts), TSC (6), Yuan
(8), Liu (2), Ming (12), and Hu-pei (1) systems. The members of each
are as follows (two systems are further divided into subsystems; these
are separated by a semi-colon):

- **Sung**: Sg, Ku
- **TSC**: TSC, TS, CTS, Hu, Kn, Hs
- **Yuan**: Ko, Sk, Nk, Gr, Tk; Pai, Paib; Mao
- **Liu**: Liu, Liub
Ming:  Mg, K' u, SP, Yu, CP; Fr, Ty; TP, Ch; Tw, Gb, WM  
Hu-pei: HP  

Now, the Sung and Yuan systems are arranged according to theme (e.g., poems of separation and farewell), the others by form (e.g., five-word regulated verse). In the case of the Yuan system the division by theme is explicit. The Sung system actually follows almost exactly the same order of thematic groups, but the "fields and gardens" and "beautiful women" sections are reversed. Moreover, the contents of each section differ to some extent, as does the sequence of the poems in each, and in the Sung system the division is only implicit and is ignored in the division of the text into ch'üan.

It appears that Han Yu was the first poet whose collected works were classified according to form. Thus, the four systems of Meng Hao-jan texts organised in this way must have been rearranged later than his time. One is certainly tempted to suppose that the two remaining systems, Sung and Yuan, correspond somehow to the two 'original' editions described in the Hsin T'ang Shu bibliography (see above). Only one of those, the one edited by Wang Shih-yuan, is said to have been divided by theme, and that into ten or seven different groups, just as we find in the various Yuan system texts (see below). So we might propose, as a working hypothesis, that the Sung system texts are derived from the edition of Meng Hsien-jan and the Yuan system texts from that of Wang Shih-yuan. But it must be borne in mind that there is no real proof that this was the case. It is quite possible that an unknown editor may at some time have made a 'new' edition tailored to fit what is said by Wang Shih-yuan and the HTS bibliography, no doubt in the belief that he
was helping to restore the original form of the text. In the end we shall have to rely on an analysis of the actual variations to tell us how these texts are related to the others.

As for the Yuan system itself, there are three subsystems within it. The texts of the Korean subsystem (Ko, Sk, Nk, Gr, and Tk) contain 209 poems divided into seven thematic categories: Excursions and Outings (yu-lan, 57 poems), Messages and Replies (tseng-ta, 31 poems), Travels and Wanderings (lü-hsing, 30 poems), Farewell and Separation (sung-pieh, 40 poems), Feasts and Celebrations (yen-le, 17 poems), Longing and Contemplation (huai-ssu, 15 poems), and Fields and Gardens (t'ien-yuan, 19 poems). The first two groups form one chüan, the second two one, and the third chüan is made up of the last three groups.

The Pai-chia subsystem (Pai, Paib) differs from the Korean in several respects. First of all, there are more poems, a total of 234. Then, there are additional thematic groups as well, with Beautiful Women (mei-jen, 7 poems), Seasons (shih-ling, 3 poems), and Supplemental (shih-yi, 3 poems) sections being added at the end of chüan three. The remaining twelve additional poems are found in a block in the Messages and Replies section (between poems 73 and 74 in the Korean subsystem order, or 73 and 86 in the Pai-chia and Mao order).

It would appear at first glance as if the Korean subsystem were the older, perhaps even the original, and the Yuan a later, augmented (by Wei T'ao?) edition. But there seem to be at least two points that suggest that this interpretation is unlikely. First, there is something suspicious about the 'added' poems in the Pai-chia subsystem (or, if one prefers, the 'missing' poems in the Korean). There is nothing about
their appearance in the other systems to suggest that they are somehow extraneous to the basic collection. Many of them are found mixed in with other poems in the Sung system texts, the other possibly 'original' collection. It rather looks as though someone wanted to cut a Pai-chia subsystem text back down to its 'original' size and looked around for some 'expendable' poems, settling on the last three thematic categories (just as well not to think of recluse Meng as the author of "beautiful women" poems anyway) and a block of not particularly interesting epistolary verses as the best (or worst) ones to sacrifice.

Another, more decisive, point concerns Liu Ch'en-weng's commentary, which includes remarks on these poems as well as on the others included in Korean subsystem texts. This means that, at the very least, Liu didn't add his commentary to a Korean subsystem text (it appears that his copy was in the Pai-chia subsystem, see below) and that either whoever did add it later to the Korean subsystem texts (or, more likely, to their common ancestor) simply dropped the portion covering the missing poems, or else--and I think this much more likely--poems and commentary were dropped at the same time by someone deliberately cutting back the text.

The Mao text presents another variant of the Yuan system pattern. There are three points of difference:

1) Three poems are added in the body of the text (Mao #s 128, 177, 209). Poem 177 is closely associated with 178 (they were written at the same party as part of a poem matching game) and the two are adjacent to one another in the TSC, Ming, and Hu-pei systems. Poem 209 follows 208 in the Sung system. In the case of these two poems, Mao Chin says in a
headnote that they have been added. There is no such note in the case of poem 128, and neither does there appear to be any reason for it to have been inserted at the particular place in which it is found.

2) There is a sequence of six poems (Mao #s 148-153; Pai-chia 147-152; Korean 135-140) whose sequence is shuffled in Mao. The Mao-numbered poems in the Pai-chia and Korean order run 150, 153, 152, 151, 149, 148. There appears to be no reason for the shift in order, and it is unknown whether it originated in Mao's own text or was adopted from a lost source, MY.

3) Mao adds a further supplement of 34 poems, including one each by Wang Wei and Wang Chiung, and two by Chang Tzu-jung. There is no apparent reason for the order in which they are added, although one (237) is inserted into the Supplement already present in the Pai-chia subsystem, following another poem with the same title, and Mao's poems 247-265 have in common the fact, as Mao says in his headnote to the first of them, that they were to be found only in MSh, being absent from MSg and MY.

Of the four systems arranged by form, only the Liu has been done in a sequence that can be explained, at least in general, as derived from the order found in some other system. The Liu sequence is clearly based on the Yuan system (evidently on the Pai-chia subsystem), and in a very mechanical way. Someone simply went through the Yuan text from beginning to end, copying down first all the five-word, old-style poems, then all the five-word, regulated (including extended regulated) poems, and so forth. In the case of the five-word quatrains, the compiler did not even turn back to the beginning of the copy text, but simply worked
backwards, that is, from back to front. But, as we have seen, the Pai-chia subsystem lacks thirty-odd poems, and these have been added at the end of each section following the order of one of the Ming system texts. Even here, however, there are sequences of poems which have been shifted from the position that one would expect, and a fair number of poems whose placement defies explanation.

As it happens, the Liu system is the only one for which we have any external evidence concerning the way in which the rearrangement was carried out. This consists of one note by Li Ch'ung-ssu and two by Ling Meng-ch'u who edited the Liu edition for publication. These read:

I obtained a copy of Meng's poems long ago from my fellow townsman Mr. Liu of the Department of State. This copy was not arranged by form but rather according to categories of subject, though this was not made explicit. When I was serving as an Inspector in Kiangsi, my fellow official Mr. Li of Kuan-chung told me that it was correct to arrange the poems by form. So, I arranged them by form and had them printed this way as an offering for all those who understand Meng's poems.

Li Ch'ung-ssu

Among collections of the poems of Hsiang-yang [Meng Hao-jan], the one annotated by Hsu-ch'i [Liu Ch'en-weng] is the most complete. Recently I obtained in addition one published by the family of my friend P'an Ching-sheng which has further comments by Li K'ung-t'ung [Meng-yang]. There are disagreements and contradictions between the two, and also some things have been omitted. Now, Li towered aloft from Kuan-chung and cast a bold look over a thousand ages. He was constantly deeply investigating forms and styles and may thus be considered a standard among those who discuss poetry. For the sake of completeness, I have followed the Liu edition, but for the order
of the poems I have followed the Li edition. This is because Li often discusses several poems under one head. If one were to follow the order of the Liu edition, Li's comments would not fit. As for the poem [103] "The Last Night of the Year" ("I grow slowly distant from my own flesh and blood;/ And turn instead to servants and menials for friendship."), it is Ts'ui T'u's work, but all of the old printed editions of Meng's works include it, since in sound and feeling they seem to be rather similar. The Preface by Wang Shih-yuan of the T'ang dynasty says that there were 218 poems, while all current editions exceed this number. Thus in the course of transmission over time, mistakes and confusion can hardly have been avoided. No one but Yi Ya could distinguish the Sheng from the Tzu!  

Noted by Ling Meng-ch'u of Wu-hsing

And Ling is presumably the author of the third note as well:

The twenty-one regulated and extended regulated poems from "On the Eighth Day of the Last Month . . ." to this one are included in the Liu edition but lacking in the Li edition. On examining Liu's edition, one finds that his comments and emphases on them are very sparse and slight, which is why Li omitted them. The appearance of the extended regulated poems among the regulated verse is also in accordance with the Li edition. Li's comments are often linked to one another, so I have followed his edition exactly, without separating them further.

From this it would appear that Li Ch'ung-ssu originally had a Pai-chia subsystem text from which he rearranged the poems into his 'short Liu' edition, which Li Meng-yang (the friend from Kuan-chung who suggested the rearrangement) subsequently commented on, the reverse order of their colophons in Liu apparently being due to a decision by Ling Meng-ch'u to group the two commentators' colophons together. In order to preserve the sequence of Li's comments, Ling followed the
Li Ch'ung-ssu/Li Meng-yang edition, adding at the end of each section additional poems taken from another text which had Liu Ch'en-weng's notes combined with a text of the poems in the order of the Ming system. No such edition is known to me (except, of course, for WM). Note that Ling calls the Liu edition "the most complete," additional evidence that it was a Ming system text. It is interesting that he suggests the difference in number of poems to be due to omission by Li Meng-yang rather than to additions to the text (or its ancestor) from which he took the comments of Liu Ch'en-weng. Note too that Li Ch'ung-ssu (and Li Meng-yang) could not have based their work on a Korean subsystem text, at least not on one in its present shortened form (see above), for there are comments by Li on a number of poems missing from that subsystem. It is unfortunate that Liu Ch'en-weng said nothing about the text to which he added his commentary. His two general comments are devoted to a contrast between Meng's style and that of Wei Ying-wu. The colophon by Li Meng-yang is even shorter, and tends to confirm one's impression that his 'commentary' is simply a series of random jottings.

The other three systems that are arranged by form (TSC, Ming, Hu-pei) present a much more complicated problem, and one which I have not yet solved. HP has many extended sequences in which the poems are in the same order as in the TSC system, and others in which the order is identical to that of the Ming system. The principle according to which this was done, however, remains a mystery. Various hypotheses have been tested, such as that the poems might be arranged by rhyme categories, tonal pattern, season, chronology, or some other criterion, but so far none has shown any sign of being the key to a better understanding of
the problem.

TSC goes the farthest toward an evidently rational reordering of the poems. The thematic categories in TSC, within each form, are not identical to those in the Yuan and Sung systems, but they are similar—they are, after all, built around the same poems. The fullest order is 'matching', 賜 'presented to', 寄 (贈) 'sent', 懷 'contemplation', 送, 留別 'separation, farewell', 禮 'feasting', 遊, 登, 游 et cetera 'excursions', 寺, 觀, 藝岩, 遊人 'excursions to temples, retreats, et cetera' (the distinction between this and the preceding and following is not always clear), 寻, 訪 'visits', and three thematic groups with no common word in their titles, 'travel', 'seasonal poems', and 'beautiful women'. The categories seem more arbitrarily defined than those in the Sung and Yuan systems, being based less on the content of the poems than on certain key words in the title, except for the last three groups (which is perhaps why they are last).

There is a considerable tendency within the thematic groups in TSC for the poems to follow the order in which they are found in HP, allowing for the reshuffling involved in setting up the TSC groups. That is, a TSC thematic group may consist of poems which are widely scattered in HP, but they will be in the same order as in HP, only with the gaps between them 'closed up', as it were. There are also a few strikingly long sequences in TSC and HP in which the poems are found in exactly the same sequence, the longest being TSC 95-120 (= HP 140-165), all on the theme of separation and farewell.

The various parallel sequences in any pair of texts do not seem to have any corresponding existence in the texts proper. That is, the
poems in the HP system, for example, that appear in a sequence of poems also found in the same order in the TSC system do not show, in their individual readings, any tendency to share TSC system readings to a greater extent than do poems that are not part of such a sequence.

There are no subsystems in the TSC, Liu, and HP systems. The latter, of course, consists of only one text. Liub is clearly derived directly from Liu without any conflation having taken place in the process. This is stated in the front matter to Liub and confirmed by collation. The TSC system includes more texts, but their relationship is one of simple straight-line descent, albeit with conflation taking place at most stages, and only two of the five steps in this process are not explicitly confirmed by external evidence.

The Ming system is a little more complicated than this, for there are a total of twelve texts, divided into four subsystems. Seven texts (Mg, K'u, SP, CP, Yu, Fr, and Ty) have the 'extended regulated' poems coming immediately after the seven-word old-style poems and before the regulated verse (this is also the order reported for KCh). The other five (TP, Ch, Tw, Gb, and WM) have the extended regulated poems after the seven-word regulated verse and before the quatrains. Now, each of these two groups of texts is subdivided in turn. In the first place, Fr and Ty, although they share the same order of poems as the others in the first group, occasionally agree in their readings with the smaller group instead, suggesting that they may constitute an intermediate subsystem. Fr, which dates from 1695, also varies a number of times from Mg in ways that it shares with other systems, chiefly the Sung and TSC, and it is followed by Ty (in which further conflation occurred,
see below). My first guess would be that Fr is based on Mg or a related
text, with some conflation having taken place, but it is just possible
that something more complicated has happened, and so I am continuing to
count Fr as a significant text for the time being at least.

A more important division turns up in the smaller group of Ming
system texts. Here, in addition to many variant readings for individual
characters (in which cases TP and Ch often agree with the other seven
texts against Tw, Gb, and WM), there is a slight but definite difference
in the order of the poems. In Tw, one five-word regulated poem was
'missed' in preparing the text, and so it is appended at the very end,
after the quatrains, with a note explaining what had happened. In Gb
and WM, both of which collation shows to have been based on Tw, this
poem is moved up to the end of the five-word regulated section, but not
replaced in its 'original' position.

B. A Description of the Extant Texts

We turn now, at last, to the largest and most specifically inform­
ative body of evidence available to us, that derived from the collation
of the texts themselves. In the case of the eliminandi, we will iden­
tify the ancestor, list the peculiar variants, and discuss any conflation
that has taken place. Our discussion of the significant texts will be
much less conclusive. The available evidence will be reviewed, but only
occasionally will hypotheses be ventured about the genetic relationships
between one significant text and another.

We shall take up the texts one at a time, following their grouping
into systems and subsystems. As we shall see, collation shows that the
six systems are further related in three 'super-systems', Sung + TSC, Yuan + Liu, and Hu-pei + Ming. With this in mind, the order of discussion will be Sung, TSC, Yuan, Liu, Hu-pei, and Ming. At the end will be found a discussion of the thirteen anthologies included in this study.

1. Sung System

The Sung system consists of only two extant texts, Sg and Ku. We will have occasion later to compare with them two reported texts which are apparently no longer in existence, MSg and Wvar, the latter a Sung edition which Chou Pi-ta 卜 必 大 collated against W. The relationship between Sg and Ku themselves is less clear than would at first seem to be the case, so we shall defer our discussion of it until after the texts have been considered individually.

Sg: Meng Hao- jan Shih-chi; Tientsin: T'ao Hsiang 湘 , 1935 rpt.; 1, 3, 4, 15, 12, 11 pp.; 12 columns/page, 21 characters/column; copy from the library of the Faculty of Letters, Kyoto University.

This is a facsimile reproduction of an edition discovered about 1800 by the noted bibliophile Huang P'ei- lieh 黃 歪 烈 , whose colophon, dated 1801, is reprinted with it (see below). Huang's enthusiasm for the text has been echoed in modern times by no less a scholar than Hans Frankel, but in fact collation shows it to be riddled with careless errors. However old it may be, it seems to be an inferior copy after a text similar to the one used by Ku Tao-hung as his copy text for Ku. Its peculiar variants are by far the most numerous of any of the significant texts:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Chinese</th>
<th>Pinyin</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>11/7</td>
<td>枚 for 枝</td>
<td>58/t  雨 for 赠 (or 饮)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14/11</td>
<td>路 for 终 (or 终)</td>
<td>60/t  行 for 大</td>
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<td>14/14</td>
<td>二 for 三</td>
<td>63/t  門 for 门</td>
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<tr>
<td>16/12</td>
<td>旋 for 棍 (or 棍, 棍)</td>
<td>64/t  髮 for 帽 (or 帽)</td>
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<tr>
<td>16/16</td>
<td>船 for 船</td>
<td>64/t  大 for 大</td>
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<tr>
<td>18/4</td>
<td>法 for 河</td>
<td>66/11  道 for 尊, 妙法</td>
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<td>24/12</td>
<td>燒 for 焚</td>
<td>66/14  杉 for 林</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25/5</td>
<td>風 for 岚 (cf. MSg 岚)</td>
<td>66/16  韜 for 得</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26/4</td>
<td>漁 for 鱼</td>
<td>68/t  魚 for 香</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28/10</td>
<td>曬 for 晾</td>
<td>68/t  過 for 过</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29/6</td>
<td>行 for 千 (or 千)</td>
<td>69/t  泓 ... for 江 ...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29/6</td>
<td>退 for 柱</td>
<td>70/7  可 for 己</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30/9</td>
<td>門 for 門</td>
<td>71/t  桃 for 胡</td>
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<tr>
<td>33/t</td>
<td>迎 for 迎</td>
<td>71/10  淚 for 淋 (or 淋)</td>
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<tr>
<td>34/t</td>
<td>逝 for 途</td>
<td>71/15  露 for 法</td>
</tr>
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<td>34/3</td>
<td>春 for 青</td>
<td>75/9  淵 for 靜</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34/16</td>
<td>艘 for 船</td>
<td>76/t  同 for 口</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38/t</td>
<td>湘 for 湖</td>
<td>76/4  收 for 捕</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38/t</td>
<td>句 for 包</td>
<td>78/t  亡 for 产</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38/t</td>
<td>行 for 行</td>
<td>78/1  經 for 黄</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39/t</td>
<td>行 for 歌</td>
<td>79/6  面 for 間</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41/3</td>
<td>平 for 来</td>
<td>81/t  行 for 行</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45/1</td>
<td>高 for 亭</td>
<td>82/4  果 for 草 (cf. MSh 草)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45/7</td>
<td>天 for 未</td>
<td>83/18  刺 for 刺</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45/8</td>
<td>郎 for 荼</td>
<td>85/2  忽 for 句</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58/t</td>
<td>答 for 答 (cf. W 答)</td>
<td>85/4  眷 for 疑</td>
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</table>
96/15 仲 for 仲
97/t 重 for 重
98/8 葫 for 葫
99/13 乘 for 乘
92/8 使 for 使
93/7 便 for 便
95/t 話 for 話 (or 會)
95/t 心 for 王心
95/9 門 for 門
98/t 六 for 六
99/14 還 for 還
99/15 園 for 園
100/6 擇 for 擇
102/7 久 for 久
105/t 送 for 送
107/7 楊 for 楊
109/4 間 for 間
114/t 作 for 作 (or 宅)
120/5 何 for 何
121/11 日 for 日
122/6 鷹 for 鷹
123/7 皇 for 皇
124/t 南 for 南
127/4 聲 for 聲
128/7 鳥 for 鳥
129/t 由 for 由
132/t 瓜 for 瓜
134/t 送 for 送
137/t 留 for 留
140/7 尺 for 尺
143/6 張 for 張
144/3 獨 for 獨 (or 久 or 亦)
145/5 上流 for 上流 (or 頂或)
146/9 部 for 部
148/t 申 for 申
149/4 相 for 相
150/t 向 for 向
150/2 返 for 返 (from 来 ?)
151/8 往 for 往
153/t 由 for 由
155/7 畢 for 畢
156/t 會 for 會
158/2 昔 for 昔
160/4 鳥 for 鳥
160/5 由 for 日
160/6 由 for 由
160/6 由 for 由
160/11 位 for 位 (or 位)
160/11 來 for 來
161/t 一 for 一
162/t 省 for 省
162/t 由 for 由
Huang P'ei-lieh's account of this edition and how he happened to discover it is found both in the text itself and in his collected colo-
At the end of the fifth month I returned from Tu-men and, hearing that books that had belonged to the Chin family at T'ung-hsiang were dispersed about the neighborhood, I made inquiries and found some at Yu-shan Hall. There were five in all, the Sung editions being Meng Hao-jan's collected poems, Ch'ien Kao-chih's Li-sao Chi-chuan, and the Yin-chuang Ssu-liu Yu-hua, and the facsimiles of Sung manuscripts a Yueh print of the Hsiao Ching and Lü Hsia-ching's T'ang Shu Chih-pi Hsin-li. He was asking 64 strings of cash, so I returned the books immediately and began haggling over the price. I backed him into a corner time and again, but he wouldn't come down. So I ended up trading a capital edition of the P'e-i-wen Yin-fu and throwing in 14 taels of silver as well before I could clinch the deal. This Meng Hao-jan Shih-chi is the finest of the five, and I would not be willing to part with it for anything. Previously a book-collector friend brought a copy of it over to show me, and I collated it myself against a Yuan print of the edition with Liu Ch'en-weng's commentary that I had had for a long time. Once I had gone through and collated them myself, their respective good and bad points appeared as far apart as heaven and earth. The worst fault is that its divisions into categories is not the same as the original order of the three chüan [text]. Moreover, it omits what should not be omitted, such as "Returning to the Southern Hills at Year's End." According to the Hsin T'ang Shu, this was a poem that Hao-jan chanted himself. Among the poems that are missing from the Yuan edition, it [Sg] includes what should not be included, such as "Feelings at Night at the End of the Year." This, as is well known, is included in the Chung-miao Chi as a poem by Ts'ui T'u. One really wonders upon what basis poems were included or omitted! Now that I have seen the Sung edition, it is like brushing aside the clouds to see the blue sky! This print was published early in the Southern Sung. There are several dozen printed texts of T'ang writers' works printed in a similar format. Among those in my collection are Liu
Chang-ch'ing and Liu Yü-hsi. Ones that I have seen include Yao Ho and Han Yü. They are all stamped with the rectangular seal of the "Han-lin History Office Library." They are, in addition, all damaged and incomplete, with more than half of the text missing. They really cannot be compared to this volume, which is a perfect gem. The day I got this book, I was beside myself with joy, and wrote this as a record of its history. ... Written on the ninth day of the first month of winter, in the Hsin-yu year of the Chia-ch'ing period (November 14, 1801) below the T'ai-po Pavilion, by Huang P'ei-lieh

Several points in Huang's colophon require further comment. First of all, the poem "Returning to the Southern Hills at Year's End" is not missing from Sg—or from any other edition, for that matter—but is to be found clearly printed in the centre of page 8b of the final chüan. The 'original' text to which Huang refers could be either a Pai-chia subsystem text, or simply the description of Wang Shih-yuan's edition. Finally, it is hard, considering the nature of many of the peculiar variants listed above, to understand Huang's enthusiasm, unless it was based—as is quite possible—chiefly on the antiquity of the copy rather than upon its readings.

Ku: Meng Hao-jan Shih-chi, three chüan; "edition collated and printed in the fourth year of (Ming) Wan-li [1576] by Ku Tao-hung of Chü-wu; appended, supplement in one chüan, Hsiang-yang Wai-pien, one chüan"; 1, 2, 3, 22, 2, 16, 2, 15, 2, 11, 1, 2, 3, 17 pp.; 10 columns/page, 18 characters/column; copy from the Rare Books Collection of the National Central Library, Taipei.

One might as well begin by declaring that this is the single most valuable edition of Meng Hao-jan's works in existence. It was carefully
edited and printed on the basis of three sources, representing the Sung, Yuan, and Ming systems. It includes Liu Ch'en-weng's commentary, Wei T'ao's Preface (Wang Shih-yuan's Preface is missing from my copy, apparently because of missing pages), and an extensive collection of material relating to Meng.

There are only a very few peculiar variants:

- 23/3 帝 for 帝 (or 帝, 帝)
- 158/替 for 替
- 52/1 城 for 城
- 205/8 麻 for 麻
- 61/1 桂 for 桂

Ku Tao-hung's Editorial Statement is a model of clarity and usefulness:

There are three editions of Meng Hao-jan's poems in my family's collection. One is a Sung print, one a Yuan print (the one annotated by Liu Hsu-ch'i), and one a print made at Wu-hsia during our dynasty (one of the twelve poets, e.g. Kao [Shih], Ts'en [Shen], Wang [Wei], Meng [Hao-jan], et cetera). On days of leisure I got them together and perused them at a table by my window. Collating them against each other, I have discovered many discrepancies. Since the Sung edition is nearest the original and likely to be rarely mistaken, I have taken it as my copy text. Wherever there are variant words or lines, transpositions, or even whole poems that are different, I have made a note within the text of the Sung edition, saying, "the Yuan text reads ...," "the current text reads ...," or "both texts read ...," such comments following the material to which they refer. I have also copied in Liu Ch'en-weng's comments as an additional aid to reading. These seem, however, to have been simply collected without being examined in detail, and thus the older they have gotten, the more they have become confused and contradictory. Whether the words therein are knowing or foolish, whether the lines are outstanding or inferior, this is not something that a humble person such as myself can
understand. I have simply corrected them according to the comments of Mr. Ssu Ts'u-tsung.

Item: The present collection follows the Sung edition in being divided into three chüan; shang, chung, and hsia, with the table of contents dispersed with each chüan. It is compiled according to thematic categories, but these are not explicitly named in the original. The first chüan includes 85 poems, the second 63, and the third 62, for a total of 210. It includes in addition two poems by Chang Tzu-jung and the "Returning Song" by "Master White Clouds" which are lacking in the other two editions. These I have entered into the appended poems of remembrance by well-known poets.

Item: The Yuan edition, the one annotated by Liu Ch'en-weng, has the same number of chüan as the Sung edition, but there are differences in the order of the poems. The categories are explicitly set out, ten in all, as follows: Excursions and Outings (57 poems), Messages and Replies (43), Travels and Wanderings (30), Separation and Farewell (40), Feasts and Celebrations (16), Longing and Contemplation (15), Fields and Gardens (19), Beautiful Women (7), and Seasons and a Supplement (3 each). There are 233 poems in all, 23 more than in the Sung edition. At the end, Ch'en-weng has added two critical paragraphs, here included in the supplement of critical comments.

Item: The current edition is part of the "Twelve Poets of the High T'ang." It is arranged according to form and divided into four chüan, with a total of 68 five- and seven-word old-style poems, 37 extended regulated verse, 133 five- and seven-word regulated verse, and 25 five- and seven-word quatrains, 263 poems in all.

Item: The Yuan edition has 23 poems more than the Sung, and the current edition has then 30 more than the Yuan, or a total of 53 more than the Sung. I have added a Supplement and also two poems from the Kuo-hsiu Chi and one from the Wen-yuan Ying-hua, all of which are lacking in all the other editions. This I call
the Appendix, and with the Supplement, it forms one chüan.

Item: Hao-jan's renowned genius and honoured freedom surpass all ages, and writings old and new sympathetic to him are to be found in a host of various writings. On this account I have prepared an 'outer collection' (wai-pien) which records first his official biographical notices from the "Garden of Letters [sections of the T'ang Histories], followed by the entry in the Hsiang-yang Ch'i-chiu Chuan ("Old-Timers of Hsiang-yang"), and four other miscellaneous prose pieces, a Preface, a Note, an Appreciation of his Portrait, and a Colophon. In addition, there are 26 poems from all ages, presented to him, in remembrance of him, et cetera. Furthermore, I have gathered various scattered references from poetry criticism and the like, 28 items in all, and have made them into an addition to his collected works. I am really a man of little learning, and have not managed to peruse very many volumes of records, so it is unlikely that there are no omissions to be repaired. I only hope that some wise and well-known person of broad cultivation will prepare a fuller and more complete continuation.

Sketchily recorded at the Ts'ao-han Studio by Ku Tao-hung, the Mountain Man of Liang-yuan

We will defer the detailed examination of KY and KCh until after we have discussed the texts collated by Mao Chin, MSg, MY, and MSh (see below). One clue to the nature of KY and KCh comes from the readings that appear as Ku's basic text in the Supplement, that is, the poems lacking in Sg. There are 53 of these, as Ku points out. They are all entered in the order of the Ming system (Mg subsystem) texts, and include 142 variations. At first we might expect that Liu was the chief source, since it agrees most often with Ku, 113 times. But there is no simple way of accounting for Ku's reading in the remaining 29 variations, nor can the text with the second highest number of agreements (Mao, with
have supplied the basic text in combination with only one other. In three cases, however, Ku's basic text agrees only with Pai:

\[
\begin{align*}
&131/1 \text{ 武 for 五 or 巴} \quad 238/6 \text{ 腦 for 擰} \\
&231/t \text{ 晴 for 情}
\end{align*}
\]

And it turns out that in all 47 of the variations in which Ku does not agree with Pai (including 23 in which Pai lacks the poem concerned), it does agree with Mg. In general, this means with Fr, TP, and Tw as well, but in two cases Mg is the only Ming system text of sufficiently early date which agrees with Ku:

\[
\begin{align*}
&56/4 \text{ 北 for 匠} \quad 259/4 \text{ 遠 for 追}
\end{align*}
\]

A much more difficult problem is posed by the variations in which Sg and Ku differ, excluding of course the many in which this is due to peculiar variants in Sg (see above). These can be approached from several different angles. Perhaps Ku represents the original Sung system and the differences are due to conflation in Sg; or perhaps the opposite is the case. We shall consider the latter possibility first. One's first guess is that it would have been Pai and Mg (i.e., KY and KCh) with which conflation took place, since, as we have seen, they must have been consulted in the preparation of the apparatus. But this cannot in fact be the whole explanation, since no less than six variations show Ku disagreeing with both Pai and Mg as well as with Sg:

\[
\begin{align*}
&14/7 \text{ 松 for 槊 (also Mao)} \quad 154/3 \text{ 改 for 感 (also TSCvar, MSg)} \\
&93/7 \text{ 近 for 靜 (also MSg)} \quad 159/t \text{ 中 for 下 (also TSC)} \\
&152/6 \text{ 再 for 餒 (也; also Mao)} \quad 209/7 \text{ 外 for 海 (also Mao, TSC)}
\end{align*}
\]

Now, note that Ku agrees twice with MSg, three times with Mao (in variations in which Mao cites other readings from MY or MSh, showing
that he was aware of the variation and was following his MSg text, see
below), and once only with TSC, which we will find to have been based
in general on a Sung system text. This strongly suggests that it is Ku
that is agreeing within the Sung system in these variations, and Sg that
is adopting conflated readings from other systems. In fact, among
variations for which Sg and Ku differ, there are only two cases in which
Sg agrees with Mao and TSC while Ku agrees with other texts (Pai in both
cases, also the Korean subsystem texts in the second) and both of these
can be explained as independent variants:

99/8 場 for 場
186/5 逢 for 縫

It thus appears that it is Sg that is anomalous within the Sung
system in the case of these variations. However, a search for the
source of the conflated readings leads to much less clear-cut results
than was the case with Ku, for Sg is found agreeing with a very hetero­
geneous selection of texts, and often with only one of them at a time.
For example, there are six variations in which Sg agrees only with W or
Wvar:

38/9 門 for 般
44/3 顧 for 聊
44/4 破 for 解

five in which it agrees only with MSh:

46/3 門 for 行
62/8 欲 for 益

one agreement with Pai only:

61/2 晚 for 晞

one with C only:

61/14 上 for 下

and one with A only:

39/t 位 for 位
Now, one might be inclined to dismiss at least the last three of these as independent variants, but this does not really help us much, for there remain no fewer than twenty variations in which Sg disagrees with Ku, W, and MSh and yet agrees with some other text(s). Excluding the two variations (in 99/8 and 186/5) in which the Ku reading is possibly an independent error (see above) and three others (in 154/3, 175/6, and 220/8) in which Sg agrees with Mao—which in turn presumably agreed with MSh, since no variant is recorded in Mao's apparatus—there remain fifteen apparently anomalous variations:

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>TSC</th>
<th>Ko</th>
<th>Gr</th>
<th>Sk</th>
<th>Nk</th>
<th>Pai</th>
<th>Liu</th>
<th>HP</th>
<th>Mao</th>
<th>Mg</th>
<th>Fr</th>
<th>TP</th>
<th>Tw</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>Mao</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>61/2</td>
<td>晩</td>
<td>for</td>
<td>晩</td>
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<tr>
<td>61/8</td>
<td>久</td>
<td>for</td>
<td>晩</td>
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<tr>
<td>61/14</td>
<td>上</td>
<td>for</td>
<td>上</td>
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<tr>
<td>62/3</td>
<td>土</td>
<td>for</td>
<td>上</td>
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<tr>
<td>86/9</td>
<td>蕃</td>
<td>for</td>
<td>柳</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>86/14</td>
<td>肥</td>
<td>for</td>
<td>鰲</td>
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<td>89/t</td>
<td>付</td>
<td>for</td>
<td>賞</td>
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<td>(MY)</td>
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<tr>
<td>112/7</td>
<td>亜</td>
<td>for</td>
<td>榜</td>
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<tr>
<td>147/7</td>
<td>出</td>
<td>for</td>
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<td>148/t</td>
<td>付</td>
<td>for</td>
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<td>(MY)</td>
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<td>150/6</td>
<td>余</td>
<td>for</td>
<td>余</td>
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<td>156/t</td>
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<td>(MY)</td>
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<tr>
<td>156/t</td>
<td>付</td>
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<td>161/6</td>
<td>付</td>
<td>for</td>
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<td>197/t</td>
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In twelve of these variations, Sg agrees with Pai, the other three being possibly independent variants, since one must suppose at least two additional sources (Gr and C) to account for them. There seems, in short, to be no easy way of accounting for the disagreements between Ku and Sg as the result of conflation in Sg. A third explanation thus remains possible, that the reason for Ku's usual agreement with TSC and MSg, where it disagrees with Sg, is that it, or its ancestor, is intermediate between an ancestor of Sg and the others. One of the Sg readings just listed, the in 81/t, shared only by W, is demonstrably correct, and the alternate reading can hardly have been Meng's original, and most of the others are at least possible (the one clear exception, for in 61/2, agreeing with Pai, is probably an independent error). We might thus tentatively propose a tree beginning something like this:

```
A
/|\ /
Sg MSh Ku
/ \ /
/  \\
Ming system, etc. TSC system, etc.
```

Of course we cannot adopt this as our general hypothesis without much more evidence from other texts, but to propose it as a possible solution provides a good example of the importance of keeping the working division into systems independent of one's attempts to build up a filiation for the individual texts.

2. TSC System

TSC: Wu Kuan ed., T'ang Shih Chi 唐詩紀, prefaces dated 1585, 170 chüan, of which 17-20 include Meng Hao-juan's complete
There is, as the Ssu-k'u editors noted (T'i-yao, p. 4287), some doubt as to just who compiled the TSC. The Prefaces, dated 1585, give the compiler's name as Fang Hang 方 河. The sections including Meng's poems were 'compiled' by Fang Yi-yuan 一 元 and 'read' 重 訂 by Fang T'ien-ch'üan 天 輔 (chüan 17-18 and 20) and Fang Chan 深 (chüan 19) respectively. Each of the four Fangs is recorded as having a different native place, so we are unsure if or how they were related.

Whoever was responsible for the work as we have it now, a great deal of labour must have gone into it. The prefaces describe the compilation as being based on rare Sung editions, supplemented by other sources. So large an effort was, as one might expect, cumulative in nature and built upon earlier incomplete works, beginning with a sixteen chüan collection of Early T'ang poetry by Huang Hê-shui 黄 河 水 (his tsu, Ch'ing-fu 清 父, is given as 清 南 in the T'i-yao). Wu Kuan had collated an earlier compendium of pre-T'ang poetry, Feng Wei-na's 汾 奉 興 Ku-shih Ch'i 興 纂 and perhaps this inspired him to compile a further work on T'ang poetry along the same lines. The existing 170 chüan work is actually less than was compiled, since the huge size of the original meant that only the portion covering Early and High T'ang could be printed as a unit.

Although there are a good number of readings which TSC shares with one or more anthologies, there are also thirty-one that are peculiar to it alone:
The most valuable single kind of clue we have to the ancestor(s) of TSC is the variations in which it cites a variant to its basic text. Texts in all the systems arranged by form testify directly to at least limited conflation by including a certain number of recorded variants, though they rarely, if ever, specify the source. These are useful all the same, in that we can compare them with other texts, looking for one that will agree with either the basic text or the variant in each such variation. TSC records variants in no fewer than 344 variations, by far the largest number of any of the significant texts arranged by form. In all but two of these variations, one of the readings, either the basic
text or the recorded variant, agrees with Ku's basic text, and thus
generally with Sg and MSg:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>TSC Text</th>
<th>TSC Variant</th>
<th>Ku Reads</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>8/t</td>
<td>望洞庭</td>
<td>臨洞庭</td>
<td>岳陽</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>155/7</td>
<td>皆</td>
<td>皆</td>
<td>崗</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Of the remaining 342 variations, most of the readings not in Sung system texts can be found in Pai or Mg or both (and both text and variant can be so found for those poems lacking in the Sung system), but there remain fully forty-nine exceptions. Nine of these are peculiar (see above, the variants recorded from 11/20, 24/11, 84/5, 104/1, 117/2, 120/10, 134/8, 207/8, and 265/6). Eleven are found only in W or its recorded variants:

14/11 畝 for 旒 (cf. Sg路) 113/12 於 for 會
43/7 乘 for 謀玄
43/7 了 for 己
102/8 浪 for 洲
113/12 常 for 每
113/12 要 for 與

Eleven in only one other text:

9/t 春中喜王九相尋 for 見春 (only A)
28/9 爐巖 for 香爐 (only F)
30/3 相 for 付 (only C)
117/4 過 for 經 (only HP; Ming system,逗)
122/4 遍 for 滿 (only MSh)
134/8 李 for 李 (only Liu)
172/t 功 for 土 (only A)
198/1 初 for 南 (only C)
198/3 江 for 襄 or 湘 (only C)
204/t 潛上人室 for 願正弘林師
     or 過景空寺故 融古蘭衣 (only HP)
208/5 軒 for 道 (only Tw)

And all but one of the remaining eighteen are found agreeing with some combination of the above:

3/7 餘 for 余 (MY, KY)
6/3 欲知昨夜風 for 夜來風雨聲 (W, MSh)
6/4 無 for 至 (W, MSh)
11/2 為 for 在 (W, MSh)
43/7 晚 for 晚 (W, I)
45/6 助 for 善 (K, Liu)
102/8 誰 for 何 (W, A)
106/7 家 for 嘉 (MSh, A)
172/t 功 for 功 (A, H)
187/t 武 for 武 (W, MSh, K)

The diversity of possible sources for these TSC readings suggests either that the TSC text shows the results of a good deal of conflation, very likely involving several stages of editing, or--and this is possible but much less likely--that it is essentially a 'pure' descendant of some text which was extensively used for conflation by others. Even among the readings for which TSC does not record variants, there are a
number, all in titles, that are found elsewhere only in anthologies:

5/t 作 for 亀 (also A)

8/t 湖贈張丞相 for 亀 (also W, with 上 for 賜)

45/t 大水亭 for 亀人 別業 (also W)

61/t 望 for 亀 (also A)

126/t 舟中 for 亀 (also H)

168/t 送杜晃進士之東還 for 送杜十四 (also A)

Since it is unlikely that the anthologies were all based on the same source, the ancestor of TSC, it is probable that in these cases, at least, conflation is indicated in TSC. Actually it was our first discovery about TSC that is most important: that almost without exception one member of each text/variant pair agrees with a Sung system text. This suggests very strongly that such a text served as the basis, if not for TSC itself, then at least for the ancestor of the TSC system.

TS: Ch'ien Ch'ien-yi 錢謙益 and Chi Chen-yi 仇振宣 eds., T'ang Shih 唐詩 ; late Ming to early Ch'ing; (2, 3, 2), 19, 13, 18, 18 pp.; 9 columns/page, 19 characters/column; copy from National Central Library, Taipei.

This text is not so much a separate edition as it is a fascinating insight into the way in which large Chinese poetry compendia were put together. It is literally a 'scissors and paste' affair, with pages from various other books combined, unwanted headings and the like snipped away, and the remaining materials joined, paste being used to hold together the loose edges. The basic text of the poems is that of TSC, but it has been very extensively worked over. Seven leaves of heavily edited front matter have been added, using bits from the T'ang
Shih Chi-shih, the Hsin T'ang Shu, and the Wang Shih-yuan and Wei T'ao Prefaces taken from Mg. The chüan headings have been removed, but the indications of form (e.g., five-word regulated, et cetera) remain. The odd spaces left between chüan have been filled in by hand with 'uncollected poems', which are added to the blank lines. In between what had been chüan 18 and 19 of TSC, a poem is added ("Rain") which is nowhere else attributed to Meng, but to Chiao-jan in W and the Chi-Heiu'an Chi 極玄集.

The text itself is covered with handwritten indications of various kinds. Where TSC already offered variant readings, these are often either cancelled, or else the basic text of TSC is cancelled, with the TSC variant being indicated as the new basic text. Interlinear notes frequently give additional variant readings, and occasionally a reading that appeared without a variant in TSC will be cancelled and a replacement indicated. Then, some of the interlinear variants are cancelled in their turn, showing that the text as we have it now is the result of more than one period of work. And in fact, this is what we would expect from what is known about the compilers, who were not contemporaries. Unfortunately, it is often impossible to tell, at least from photographic copies, the order in which various annotations were made. Nor do we know which are by Ch'ien, which by Chi, and which by other hands, perhaps the compilers of CTS (see below). This is, however, not really essential to our present problem, which is simply to determine the sources of the text as we have it now, no matter when or in what order they were consulted. This does not turn out to be a particularly difficult task, since the abbreviated titles of such early anthologies as W,
C, H, and K are added under the titles of all the poems to be found in them. And collation shows that, in fact, the great majority of the added readings come from the anthologies cited. But there remain a considerable number of readings which further collation shows may all have been derived from Pai:

| 3/2 | 坐 for 滿 | 45/t | 悠人別業 for 大水亭 |
| 17/5 | 淚 for 林 | 53/5 | 間過 for 過間 |
| 18/9 | 吟 for 凝 | 64/t | 重 for 梓 |
| 19/11 | 話 for 才子 | 64/4 | 柱 for 任 |
| 21/t | 以 for 大有半 | 66/23 | 意対減 for 明減意 |
| 21/1 | 寂 for 處 | 69/7 | 事 for 會 |
| 21/2 | 字 for 構 | 70/t | 嘗着 for 求洗然前進士舉 |
| 23/1 | 望 for 目 | 77/1 | 去何處 for 何處去 |
| 24/9 | 喜相 for 相喜 | 78/1 | 河 for 府 |
| 24/15 | 聽 for 音 | 78/5 | 其子 for 書余 |
| 25/t | 懇台友 for 事侍御 | 78/6 | 話 for 過 |
| 25/t | 以 for 樑居 | 78/7 | 君 for 時 |
| 25/1 | 善 for 友 | 78/8 | 懶欲 for 欲懶 |
| 25/6 | 相 for 树 | 78/8 | 飛 for 歸 |
| 27/1 | 愛 for 友 | 79/4 | 武 for 五 |
| 28/3 | 知 for 侯 | 79/5 | 掉 for 帆 |
| 28/13 | 恨 for 限 | 79/7 | 在何處 for 何處是 |
| 29/9-10 (omission of two lines) | 85/t | 口號 for 一挐 |
| 31/6 | 說 for 證 | 86/9 | 稻 for 柳 |
| 34/22 | 群 for 候 | 98/5 | 色 for 得 |
| 37/4 | 知 for 如 | 99/t | 遊 for 領 |
| 45/t | 以 for 夏日 |
61

99/t 龍 for 露
99/t 寺 for 山
100/t 趟 for 張
100/1 美 for 是
100/6 成 for 隻
104/t 川 for 任事
105/t 川 for 所
106/1 疑 for 知
109/7 滄 for 潮
117/t 湖 for 明
117/4 經 for 至
120/10 川 for 湯
124/12 邑 for 君
126/t 子 for 人
126/2 刃 for 月
131/1 武 for 巴
134/2 賀 for 北
143/2 戀 for 慈
145/8 達 for 自
147/t 錫六,軍 for 吳宜,事
148/8 還 for 雲
154/8 看 for 着
156/t 三 for 1)
160/t 遊 for 之
161/4 近 for 競
161/5 郵 for 澤
161/6 布 for 根
161/10 征 for 羅
161/13 漸日 for 日漸
164/t 遠 for 遠
170/7 關 for 國
173/1 在 for 佳
179/3 書 for 言
180/4 愛 for 連
183/4 入 for 我
186/6 池 for 流
190/6 深 for 声
192/6 渤 for 合
194/7 飛揚 for 飛揚
194/8 媒 for 謀
195/8 衣 for 書
197/7 蓬 for 莊
201/4 葉落 for 落葉
206/t 終 for 1)
208/7 至 for 到
212/t 林 for 1)
212/2 林園 for 園林
212/6 田 for 山
221/3 親 for 體
221/8 上 for 上國
223/1 歸間 for 開歸
There are also a modest number of readings unknown from any other text:

16/16 興 for 興 興
39/1 鐘 鳴 for 鳴 鐘
40/1 彈 for 彈 (cf. Wvarb 陵)
42/4 當 for 當 (shift from Wvarb?)
55/1 當 for 頭 (poem not in TSC)
57/1 角 for 花
65/t 九月九日卮 for 秋登蘭
65/t 子宫 for 肠
75/5 開 for 開 (cf. W 開)
84/9 詐 for 詐 (cf. W 詐)
113/13 去 for 往

Some of the above, as noted, may be peculiar errors which arose in the process of borrowing readings from W. There are also a half-dozen more additional readings that are found in other texts, but not in Pai:

105/t 官卿 for 官 (also W)
131/t 前 for 前 (also Ku, Liuvar, Ming system, A)
169/t 越中送人 for 送新安張 (also M)
169/1 斬 for 斬 (also M)
193/7 多 for 多 (also Wvarb)
193/7 酒 for 酒 (also Wvarb)

Then, there are four corrections of peculiar TSC readings:

138/12 資 for 資
203/3 懷 for 懷
229/1 夕 for 夕
242/t 飽 for 飽
and eight readings, found in poems which are not included in Pai, that agree with both Liu and Mg:

- 209/t  行  for  以
- 209/3  旅  for  遠旅
- 242/t  山  for  亭
- 248/t  作  for  中

And finally, two anomalous readings:

- 55/2  溪  for  水  (also Sg, Ku, Liuvar, HP, Ming system, KCh, W, M)
- 131/1  五  for  巴  (also Mao, Korean subsystem).


CTS is usually said to have been compiled on the basis of a mammoth late-Ming compendium, the T‘ang-yin T‘ung-ch‘ien (唐音統說), of Hu Chen-hsiang 胡震亨. Only the last section of this work was ever printed, and most of the rest is no longer extant. Since the part that survives covers only the very late T‘ang and early Five Dynasties, there is no longer any way of verifying the role that it played in the editing of Meng’s poems for inclusion in CTS.20 The Ssu-k‘u editors, who were in a position to know, say that the T‘ung-ch‘ien was the chief source, but that reference was also made to a "complete collection of T‘ang poems"金唐詩集 kept in the palace library. Perhaps this was TS.21 In any case, collation shows very clearly that TS was in fact the chief ancestor of the CTS text of Meng’s works. Even those variants in TS that I have been unable to locate in any other text are, for the most part, copied into CTS, including several demonstrable copying
errors that can hardly have come from anywhere else (e.g., 開 for 間 in 75/5 and 許 for 許 in 84/9)!

Of the relatively small number of variants that are not found in TS, almost all can be traced to the Ming system. The largest number of these in turn are found in Ch (those of particular interest in isolating Ch as the source are starred in the list below):

*1/t 來公 for 業師 (not in Tw etc.)
*2/3 泓澄 for 澄明 (not in Tw etc.)
2/7 末 for 似
4/t 會 for 作
10/6 路 for 湖
13/18 效 for 功
14/13 壁 for 明
19/t 嶽山 for 山
20/4 查 for 携
22/8 携 for 回
24/t 宿 for 題
*24/t 会 for 空上人房 (not in Tw etc.)
28/2 中 for 子
28/7 凝薰 for 容霞
28/8 曦 for 曦
30/t 懷古 for 懷
32/t,7 晚 for 晃
33/8 連 for 聖
39/3 岸 for 路
41/t 得青字 for 青

45/t 勝 for 陳
52/2 嘆 for 澀
52/6 嫩 for 騎
54/t 本 for 來
57/t 古 for 故人
59/t 會 for 秋日
61/t 襄陽 for 湖中
64/t 還 for 迴
71/1 速 for 前
72/t 林 for 會
75/7 同 for 周
82/5 將盡 for 陸述
82/12 感 for 歌
82/13 感 for 歌
83/4 紹 for 富
84/12 在 for 照
89/7 舞庭 for 綺筵
90/2 棲 for 素
96/3 閒臥 for 醉坐
99/11 行 for 廣
Of the very few readings found neither in TS nor in Ch, most are clearly misprints, and one, in 77/t, seems to be a pseudo-correction, since it turns an otherwise unknown person into the famous poet Wang Wei. It is, in any case, found in no other text that I have seen:

11/8 鞭 for 鞭
13/18 知誰 for 誰知
59/7 雲 for 雪
71/9 真 for 壁 (shift from TS)
The remaining four variants alone are anomalous:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Liu</th>
<th>Mg</th>
<th>Fr</th>
<th>TP</th>
<th>Tw</th>
<th>MSh</th>
<th>KCh</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>C</th>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>赴</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Hu: Meng Hsiang-yang Chi, apud Hu Feng-tan 胡鳳丹 ed., T'ang Ssu-chia Shih-chi, 1875; 1, 15, 18, 43 pp.; 10 columns/page, 18 characters/column; copy from Tōyō Bunko, Tokyo.

Hu explains in his introduction to the entire collection that he took the CTS text as his base, and then added the results of his own collation. There is no evidence at all of any additional collation to be found in his text of Meng's poems, but this may have been included in his T'ang Ssu-chia Shih-chi Pien-è K'ao-yi 辨 譯 考 略, which is missing from the only specimen of the edition which I have seen.

There are just a few changes introduced in this text:

- 26/5-6, 11-12 (variant omissions of lines omitted)
- 43/t (variant 虽 for 鐵 omitted)
- 82/8 膈 for 膈
- 83/16 然 for 能
- 128/5, 6 雲, 空 for 空, 雲
- 132/1 去 for 上
- 147/7 丘 for 丘 (emendation?)
- 209/1 侍御 for 御史
Kondō's Preface gives a brief, but clear and helpful account of his edition.

... As for Meng's works, I do not know of any [Japanese] reprints. There are very few types. I have taken Hu [Feng-tan's] edition as my base, and have compared it with Liu Ch'en-weng's edition and with the Complete T'ang Poems [CTS]. The Liu edition [Kondō is referring to Liub] is printed together with critical comments by Li Meng-yang of the Ming dynasty. This book has recently come [to Japan] by boat. Thus I have copied the two men's annotation. As for others, ... I have only kept their essence ... 

Twelfth Month, Thirty-second Year of Meiji (1899)

As front and back matter, Kondō has added Wang Shih-yuan's Preface, the Hsin T'ang Shu biography, and a helpful collection of critical comments. The commentaries of Liu Ch'en-weng and Li Meng-yang are added in the upper margin, together with occasional remarks by Kondō himself. Most of his additional collation (additional, that is, to that inherited from Hu) is also printed in the upper margin, and it is of considerable interest in itself. For the great majority of his added readings, Kondō gives no sources other than "one text reads" — 作. In sixteen cases he cites the Liu text (Liub), in eighteen, the Lei-yuan (i.e., T'ang Shih Lei-yuan 唐詩類苑, a Ming anthology compiled by Chang Chih-hsiang 張之象), in thirteen, the Shih Chūn (i.e., the Shih Chūn Lei-han 詩藏類匯, another Ming anthology, edited by Yü An-ch'i 郭安期), and once, the T'ang anthology Te'ai-t'iao Chi (our S). In fact,
all but a handful of Kondō's three hundred twenty-odd additional variants can be accounted for by collation against only two other texts, Liub, to which Kondō himself refers, and Pai.\textsuperscript{22} There are over two hundred and fifty readings that can be found in one or both of these texts:

1/t 冰 for 大
5/t 凡 for 作
5/4 歡 for 挂
7/2 没 for 無
11/8 鞭 for 鞭
12/t 曛燭燃 for 鄭山
12/8 坐 for 坐
13/t 同兼八住 for 雲門寺西 五六里外
13/12 俱 for 都
14/t 凡 for 天台
14/t 沖 for 行
15/9 疑 for 款
16/t 凡 for 冬至後
16/1 依 for 依
16/3 林 for 廬
16/4 木 for 竹
16/24 事 for 似
18/t 凡 for 江東泊浪客
21/t 凡 for 大禹寺
22/t 凡 for 白鷺岩
23/t 凡 for 杭州
23/t 凡 for 響州
23/3 凡 for 拆
24/3 凡 for 關
26/t 凡 for 初春
28/t 凡 for 彭蠡
28/10 長 for 成
29/4 凡 for 寺
31/t 凡 for 题
31/t 凡 for 西山
31/1-2 饒石林，礦翠疑崩成
33/t 凡 for 遊南紀城，
33/5 凡 for 公
34/t 凡 for 途
34/11 近 for 上
34/15 波 for 水
34/20 羣 for 衣
37/t 涉北津 for 北津泛舟
38/t 凡 for 興與雀二十一
水 for 物
子 for 上
鳴 鐘 for 鐘 嘹
陪 姚 使 君
無 知 for 知 無
日 for 月
腐 for 秋
何 for 何 如
浮 for 浮
 日 for 日
題觀主
 臺 for 樂
見 for 聞
栽 for 成
賀 侍 郎
豪 for 擴
雲 for 雲
有 虛
防 for 防
重，見 贊
岐 嶂 for 山 嶂
山 險
園 輔
垠 京
上 巴
園 輔
穿 禄 for 造 洗 然 借 进 士 環
灘 for 潤
遙 for 搖
林 for 树
自 蘭 縣 還
及 浪 波 成 主 劉 藩
侍 御，以 投
訪 for 邁
得 for 得
子 舌 for 罪
園 林 for 林 園
台 for 儀
理 for 體
楚 for 不
因 for 兼
楊 柳 for 柳 林
應 for 和
闊 for 逼
敬 for 撒
差 for 靈
遁 for 達
白 雲 先 生
潤 州 長 山
處 for 隱
石 登 for 登
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<td>へ for 自澤陽</td>
<td>117/79 自澤陽 for へ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>118/1</td>
<td>二 for 三</td>
<td>118/82 三 for 二</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>119/4</td>
<td>村 for 開</td>
<td>119/85 開 for 村</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>119/4</td>
<td>我 for 伐</td>
<td>119/88 伐 for 我</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>120/5</td>
<td>尚 for 何</td>
<td>120/91 何 for 尚</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>120/11</td>
<td>湯 for 雲</td>
<td>120/94 雲 for 湯</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>120/16</td>
<td>踏 for 徑</td>
<td>120/97 徑 for 踏</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>120/22</td>
<td>此 for 絲</td>
<td>120/100 絲 for 此</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>123/1</td>
<td>洛 for 許</td>
<td>123/103 許 for 洛</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>124/t</td>
<td>洛 for 越</td>
<td>124/106 越 for 洛</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>124/t</td>
<td>へ for 會稽贺少府</td>
<td>124/109 會稽贺少府 for へ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>124/7</td>
<td>面 for 雨</td>
<td>124/112 雨 for 面</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>125/1</td>
<td>滄 for 愛</td>
<td>125/115 愛 for 滄</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>126/t</td>
<td>子 for 人</td>
<td>126/118 人 for 子</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>128/1</td>
<td>雷聲 for 閻雷</td>
<td>128/121 閻雷 for 雷聲</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>128/3</td>
<td>返 for 連</td>
<td>128/124 連 for 返</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>129/t</td>
<td>へ for 作</td>
<td>129/127 作 for へ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>130/t</td>
<td>下潮江 for 初下浙江府中口號</td>
<td>130/130 初下浙江府中口號 for 下潮江</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>130/1</td>
<td>日 for 月</td>
<td>130/133 月 for 日</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>131/t</td>
<td>へ for 遇</td>
<td>131/136 遇 for へ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>132/t</td>
<td>王 for 張</td>
<td>132/139 張 for 王</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>132/t</td>
<td>於 for 使</td>
<td>132/142 使 for 於</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>132/1</td>
<td>上 for 去</td>
<td>132/145 去 for 上</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>132/3</td>
<td>供 for 公</td>
<td>132/148 公 for 供</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>134/t</td>
<td>へ for 永嘉</td>
<td>134/151 永嘉 for へ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>134/2</td>
<td>吟 for 北</td>
<td>134/154 北 for 吟</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>134/2</td>
<td>正 for 征</td>
<td>134/157 征 for 正</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>134/5</td>
<td>夜 for 夕</td>
<td>134/160 夕 for 夜</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>134/8</td>
<td>子 féng for 子鶯</td>
<td>134/163 子鶯 for 子 féng</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>135/t</td>
<td>へ for 侍御</td>
<td>135/166 侍御 for へ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
136/t 因 for 皆
136/t 归 for 为
138/t 因 for 将通天写, 至安
138/3 日 for 首
138/5 遇 for 事, 贞
141/t 因 for 赴
141/5 陵 for 林
144/t 因 for 之, 墙
145/t 翔 for 为
145/1 隐 for 隐
146/t 欺 for 除
146/t 因 for 部曹
146/4 颇 for 赖
146/7 策 for 椎
148/t 因 for 部下, 之
149/3 邪 for 相
150/t 因 for 占东少府
150/6 适 for 余
151/t 城为 for 成
151/3 附 for 楚
152/t 朱 for 张
153/t 因 for 氏
153/t 外 for 父
153/t 因 for 僚, 及 遂
155/t 因 for 事, 灭
155/5 水 for 石
156/t 因 for 赤南
156/2 日 for 贝
156/3 翼 for 翼
156/6 固 for 炎
159/2 要 for 要
159/5 者 for 久
160/8 衣 for 罗
161/13 激日 for 日 激
165/t 因 for 入
166/1 五 for 武
167/t 入 for 人之
169/t 因 for 新安, 中
169/3 青 for 月
169/4 他 for 人
170/t 因 for 异
171/t 使 for 之
171/7 迷 for 幽
172/7 余 for 公
173/15 问 for 间
174/t 因 for 乐明府素使君
174/18 欲 for 未
174/19 车 for 马
175/5 正 for 盛
176/9 君 for 生
179/t 海亭 for 先生
179/11 佳 for 秋
180/5 席 for 夕
181/6 辰 for 針
181/8 己 for 起
182/2 過 for 多
182/4 多 for 過
182/9 弦 for 調
182/11 宜 for 者
183/t 以 for 清明日
183/5 金 for 亘
184/t (shift of 宴)
186/t 以 for 岳上人
187/7 丁 for 公
188/t 進 for 來
188/6 曉 for 曉
189/t 以 for 夜
189/10 傾 for 頻
190/t 以 for 秋宵
190/5 寅 for 槐
190/6 深 for 聲
190/6 憂 for 望
195/t 以 for 人日, 南陽
195/t 以 for 門
196/t 以 for 初年樂城館中, 作
196/5 月 for 月
196/8 鳥 for 鶴
198/t 旅 for 有
199/t 子 for 今
202/t 主人 for 觀王
203/t 归 for 上巳日湖南園...諸公
203/9 客 for 北
204/t 归 for 空寺
204/5 理 for 敬
205/t 归 for 南山下
209/4 归思 for 思歸
210/t 归 for 城雨
212/t 归 for 卧疾
212/1 潜 for 家
212/2 圓林 for 林園
213/t 归 for 闕若
220/t 归 for 殿故上人
220/2 營 for 產
221/t 归 for 仲夏
222/t 舊遊 for 畢太祝耀
222/5 水 for 冰
222/6 失 for 安
222/9 竟 for 京
226/5 窮 for 窮
231/3 情 for 歡
234/4 看 for 有
235/t 归 for 同張明府
Then there are nine new readings, all apparently misprints:

- 5/2 遊 for 益
- 36/8 島 for 鳥
- 66/8 推 for 推
- 66/20 溶 for 落
- 84/10 際 for 除

seven readings in which the Hu text is reversed, or in which Hu's text and variant change places:

- 36/4 合轉 for 轉合
- 39/1 鳴鐘 for 鐘鳴
- 39/8 自 for 夜
- 65/4 飛雁 for 雁飛

and a large number (42) of readings that Kondō cites, generally from an unidentified source, but that I have found nowhere else:

- 16/11 堂 for 堂
- 16/14 作 for 所
- 16/21 熱 for 雁
- 28/10 成 for 噴 (shift?)
- 33/7 乘 for 張
- 33/11 留 for 居
- 38/t 介 for 窮包賀二公
- 41/3 歸 for 覓
- 47/7 所處 for 處所
This leaves seven anomalous variations in which Kn agrees with other texts, but not with any of the three that I suppose Kondō Gensui to have consulted:

16/12 拦 for 蘭 (also W)
23/t 驛 for 樓 (also TSCvar, Liuvar, Ming system, KCh)
45/t → for 浮舟 (also K)
55/4 棲 for 泉 (also Sung system, Wvar, H)
196/t 病 for 疾 (also HP)
221/10 待 for 倨 (also Sk, Gb, WM)
228/8 勤 for 柴 (also Sg, TSCvar, Mao, S)

The only one of these for which Kondō names a source is the last, for which he cites S.

Hsiao's edition, which is distinguished by the insight and erudition displayed in his commentaries on individual poems, offers an extensive textual apparatus as well. The latter, however, is certainly the least satisfactory feature of the book, due both to the principles according to which it is said to be prepared and to the dishonesty with which the principles themselves are described. In a note appearing at the head of the poems, Prof. Hsiao tells us that he collated the Mao, Liu (identified by the name of the publisher, Min Chai-chi 門齋 ), HP ("published by the Lu clan of Mien-yang"), Mg ("copy of a ten column edition in the Han-fen Lou"), and Hu editions. Having done this much, however, he says that he decided not to actually specify in his apparatus the edition from which each variant actually came, instead homogenizing all the variants under the rubric "also reads" — 因 , "because if a textual apparatus is too elaborate, it makes peoples' eyes swim."

Now, this is a retrograde step which would in any case seriously diminish the value of his textual notes. The reader who knows that Hu is simply a copy from the CTS and thus a fourth generation text in the TSC system will want to be told which variants were drawn from it, for such readings are somewhat less likely to be genuinely old ones than those taken from the four Ming dynasty texts examined, even though they include many (unmarked) variants added from T'ang and Sung anthologies and from the Ming system by the compilers of TS and CTS.

Even so, a collation done along these lines would include specimens from five of the six systems that we have described (excluding only the Sung, partly represented in Mao's collation and in the TSC text) and, if carefully carried out, would at least give readers access to a fairly
complete range of variants. In the event, however, it seems clear that something much less satisfactory has been done.

To begin with, it is apparent that Hsiao has used at least one additional edition, Kn, for he quotes Kondô Gensui's critical remarks (with respect to poems 236-237 and 250). Moreover, Hsiao cites four interesting variants (see below) in his apparatus that are actually misprints from Liub, the edition that we know to have been used in the preparation of Kn. Hsiao Chi-tsung could not have found these readings in 'his' Liu system text, Liu, because they do not occur there. One is forced to conclude that he found them either in Liub itself or in Kn. Since he quotes Kn elsewhere, that seems the more likely source, and in fact a detailed comparison of his text and variants with those of Kn shows that the latter was indeed his chief source. The fact that the great majority of Hsiao's readings can be found in Kn does not, of course, prove this in itself. The Kn text comes at a late stage in the history of the TSC system, a system marked by acknowledged and unacknowledged conflation on a large scale. We should not be surprised then to find that most of the variants that Hsiao's announced collation of Hu, Mao, Liu, HP, and Mg would have gathered are to be found in Kn. It is rather a combination of two kinds of evidence that makes us suspect Kn to have been the primary source of Hs. The lack, in Hsiao's apparatus, of any trace of variants peculiar to his declared sources is one of these. To be sure, one can hardly expect an editor to catch every single variant reading in a text of some 15,000 words, and one would scarcely fault the compiler of what is essentially intended, after all, to be a reading text with interpretations for the general public rather than a
critical variorum edition were he to omit some readings found in only one of his five sources and apparently inessential in themselves. But when he claims at the outset to have examined, for example, HP and Liu, and then fails to include a single reading peculiar to either, and when we find him citing a number of readings (see below) which can only have come from Kn, we can hardly escape the conclusion that Prof. Hsiao has actually done rather less than he has claimed.

All the same, there are over a hundred readings in Hs, both in the text and in the apparatus, which cannot have come from Kn, and they will provide us with further clues to the nature of Hsiao's handling of the text. To begin with, there are 39 peculiar readings. These are simply trivial errors which may have crept in during editing or printing:

1/4 而 for 永 137/6 船 for 月
12/1 數 for 几 140/1 離土 for 厚離
13/3 交結 for 紹交 151/7 城 for 市
14/6 計 for 討 161/1 菲當 for 當苦
18/5 岸 for 洗 161/10 分草 for 春露
33/5 數 for 几 173/7 廚 for 樹
34/19 皆 for 欲 193/8 疆 for 疆
36/11-12 (shifted two lines forward) 198/4 山 for 端 (shift) (in Kn)
38/7 轉 for 特 204/2 鶴 for 馬
58/2 漢江 for 江漢 206/6 隔 for 逼
59/3 節 for 業 208/7 到得 for 待到
85/3-4 及早,縷 for 早去,縷 212/7,8 白, 被 for 白, 濟
94/4 泌 for 裏 213/5 樹 for 森
131/1 深 for 瞎 216/13 邁 for 聲
Most of the remaining readings not in Kn, 64 in number, are apparently from a Ming system text. Most of them are found throughout the Ming system, some of them elsewhere as well, but since four of them are lacking from the Fr, TP, or Tw subsystems, it seems probable that either Mg or SP served as Hsiao's source for all of these:

11/9 向 for 護
22/1 伴 for 半
25/t 諸 for 共
33/9 歲 for 順
34/t 詩 for 寺 (Mg & TP sub. only)
36/t 上人 for 公
39/t 亢 for 山
42/t 亢 for 禽
57/2 灌 for 跡 (not in Tw sub.)
61/t 亢 for 防
61/3 門 for 雲
65/10 穴 for 舟

216/26 靈 for 丹
220/t 輕 for 干
220/2 虎 for 素 (shift) (in Kn)
222/10 胡 for 班
223/t 亢 for 王
229/3 竞 for 匝

247/t 軍 for 剑
252/4 城 for 村
256/7 激憤 for 激激
264/6 湍 for 赤
264/7 不能 for 能不
To assume that Prof. Hsiao himself actually consulted only Mg and Kn thus accounts for all but a handful (10) of his readings, and these can be found in just four other texts:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Variation</th>
<th>Sg</th>
<th>Mao</th>
<th>Tw</th>
<th>W</th>
<th>Others</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>15/3</td>
<td>晴 for 明</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(MSh)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16/24</td>
<td>可 for 它</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29/7-10</td>
<td>(omission of four lines)</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>(MSg)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>I, Ku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55/4</td>
<td>鍾 for 株</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55/4</td>
<td>连 for 長</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>82/6</td>
<td>污 for 淨</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
<td>(MY)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>122/6</td>
<td>鷹 for 鳥</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>146/1</td>
<td>德 for 職</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>(MSh)</td>
<td>x(varb)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Yuan system, KY, KCh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>182/2</td>
<td>車 for 車</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>(MSg)</td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
<td>Ku, Yuan system</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>208/5</td>
<td>車 for 車</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is, of course, possible that Hsiao Chi-tsung did consult these four texts (or perhaps Gb or WM in place of Tw) but it seems unlikely, since he cites none of the other variants peculiar to them. The conclusion proposed here, then, is that Hsiao's text and apparatus, far from being the result of a careful collation of the five editions that he claims to have examined, are in fact based in large part on those of Kondō Gensui, with the addition of sixty-five readings taken from Mg or SP, presumably as the result of collation, and ten additional variants deriving from, at the very most, four other texts, only one of which is mentioned by him as a source. The latter, moreover, could also be explained as additions supplied from memory on the basis of a casual acquaintance with the four texts.
What of the possibility that the reverse is the case, that, however much the lack of unique readings from Mao, Liu, and HP suggest it to be unlikely, Hsiao's text can be derived from the five texts that he lists, or the five that I suggest may have supplied readings not in Kondō, or even a combination of these groups? That is, is it possible that Hsiao used only the two critical comments from Kondō and, ignoring the textual apparatus in Knd, derived his own collation from Sg, Hu, Liu, Mao, HP, Mg, Tw, and W, or from some combination thereof? The following collection of variants very strongly suggests that it is not, for all of them are found in Hs and Knd, and none are in any of the other editions just listed (in the following list, 'Yuan system' excludes Mao):

| 5/2 | 魄 for 益 (Knd misprint) | 75/9 | 陰 for 靜 |
| 16/4 | 木 for 竹 (Liu & Knd only) | 79/t | 大 for 太 (& Pai) |
| 16/11 | 巖 for 堂 | 84/7 | 潤 for 潤 |
| 16/14 | 作 for 所 (from 唐?) | 84/8 | 難 for 関 |
| 16/22 | 無 for 雁 | 86/5 | 観 for 観 |
| 33/4 | 長 for 張 | 86/15 | 至 for 召 |
| 33/15 | 留 for 居 | 89/t | 作 for 賞答 |
| 36/8 | 鳥 for 老 (Knd misprint) | 89/2 | 合 for 賞 |
| 38/t | 以 for 與 崔 二十一 | 89/16 | 蛾 for 蛾 |
| 54/8 | 賢 for 藥 (Liu & Knd only) | 92/4 | 畳 for 通 (& Pai) |
| 56/3 | 見 for 間 (& Yuan system, KY) | 97/t | 亜 for 亜 |
| 57/1 | 截 for 成 (& Pai) | 110/1 | 昼 for 晟 (& Yuan system) |
| 66/6 | 女 for 支 | 118/5 | 河 for 湖 |
| 66/20 | 濱 for 藥 (Knd misprint) | 119/4 | 我 for 佐 (& Pai) |
| 67/2 | 奇 for 京 (& Pai) | 120/11 | 淮 for 疊 (& Yuan system) |
In other words, if one is to believe Prof. Hsiao's claim about the extent of his collation, one must assume first, that most of these fifty-odd variants arose spontaneously and independently in both Kn and Hs (including five of Kn's nine misprints!), with a few deriving from a collation against Liub and Pai that he modestly refrained from mentioning, and second, that all the variants peculiar to Mao, Liu, and HP were omitted from the apparatus intentionally. One can hardly avoid the melancholy conclusion that the first pair of eyes to be spared "a swim" by the method of textual presentation here adopted were those of Prof. Hsiao himself!
A further drawback to Hsiao's treatment of textual problems concerns his selection of preferable readings where variants occur. Having begun by treating all available variants as equally valid on purely textual grounds, he makes his choice among them solely on an impressionistic basis. One is grateful to have his judgement on such questions, for he is clearly an intelligent, learned and imaginative reader, but the method obviously has its dangers, for his materials are of widely varying reliability, ranging from variants that are listed as such in TSC and derive, in fact, from genuinely old and significant texts, down to those that are simply trivial printing errors introduced in Kn or copied there from Liub or from some unidentified anthology and are unknown in any significant text. By and large, Hsiao's instincts are good (not infrequently, they are those of Kondō Gensui), but he does adopt three of the readings listed above as his basic text (in 134/2, 167/t, and 194/4). The first of these is clearly a fairly old variant, since it is found in the Yuan system texts and reported as well from KY, and Hsiao makes a case for its adoption that I find quite convincing. The second case involves a reading also originally from the Pai-chia subsystem, one that works no real change in the meaning of the text. In the third case, however, Hsiao adopts a variant that is known only from Kondō Gensui's apparatus, with no source given or discoverable, and considerably changes the sense of the line in which it occurs. It may be true that the inclusion of the remaining fifty-odd readings as rejected variants does little harm (though of course they are not treated in the apparatus as being in any way exceptionally problematic), but one bristles at the spurious and misleading impression of comprehen-
siveness thus conveyed, especially when four of the variants (in poems 16, 54, 155, and 222) are second-hand misprints introduced in Liub, a nineteenth century re-edition of one of the genuinely old and significant texts that Hsiao claims to have collated, though it is now perfectly clear that he did no such thing.

3. Yuan System

Ko: (Hsü-ch'i Hsien-sheng P'ı-tien) Meng Hao-pan Chi, undated
Korean edition; 2, 23, 16, 13 pp.; 10 columns/page, 16 characters/column; copy from the Kokkai Toshokan (Diet Library), Tokyo, missing the 12th leaf of chüan B.

The copy of Ko available to me is in poor condition and badly printed, so that I have often had to assume that an only partially legible, or even totally illegible mark was in fact intended to be the character due at that place on the page. There are, at any rate, only two legible variants:

163/9 甲 for 甲
173/12 二 for 三

The Korean subsystem as a whole exhibits a number of striking peculiarities. The coincidental fact that it is known to me only through texts produced outside of China proper is perhaps not of great significance. As has been mentioned, one or more of the texts that are recorded but that I have not seen may be closely related to the Korean subsystem. We have also discussed already the question of how these texts may have come to include the relatively small number of poems that they do. There are numerous variants that are peculiar to the subsystem as a whole:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Characters</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2/8</td>
<td>知 for 得</td>
<td>42/3 晚 for 晚</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7/2</td>
<td>何 for 多</td>
<td>46/8 强 for 江</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10/1</td>
<td>生 for 光</td>
<td>47/3 说 for 見</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10/3</td>
<td>漢 for 漁</td>
<td>48/t 现 for 立</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10/12</td>
<td>清 for 晴</td>
<td>53/t 館 for 为</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13/13</td>
<td>真合知 for 今真知</td>
<td>55/4 得 for 聽</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14/3</td>
<td>思 for 寻</td>
<td>58/t 晴 for 赠</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14/9</td>
<td>涛 for 晴</td>
<td>58/10 北 for 北</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15/3</td>
<td>泉 for 川</td>
<td>60/4 江 for 湖</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17/6</td>
<td>阻 for 江</td>
<td>71/1 昨五 for 昨五</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18/2</td>
<td>命 for 命</td>
<td>71/3 曾否 for 曾否</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20/4</td>
<td>沙 for 沙</td>
<td>71/10 漂 for 漂</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22/1</td>
<td>畔 for 半</td>
<td>71/17 行 for 未</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24/3</td>
<td>睡 for 宿</td>
<td>72/2 武 for 虎</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24/10</td>
<td>景 for 景</td>
<td>73/7 得 for 将</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28/5</td>
<td>亘 for 亘</td>
<td>89/1 開 for 開</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30/4</td>
<td>水 for 水</td>
<td>92/t 人 for 張</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30/17</td>
<td>出 for 去</td>
<td>92/2 雲嘉 for 恩嘉</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34/t</td>
<td>祭 for 祭</td>
<td>94/5 呆 for 呆</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34/2</td>
<td>齊 for 齊</td>
<td>96/7 言 for 言</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34/12</td>
<td>割微 for 割微</td>
<td>97/7 小 for 少</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35/6</td>
<td>全 for 全</td>
<td>98/3 饥 for 饥</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36/14</td>
<td>武 for 虎</td>
<td>98/5 光 for 生</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37/5</td>
<td>懷 for 依 or 依</td>
<td>101/1 激 for 島</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38/2</td>
<td>底見 for 見底</td>
<td>101/7 殺 for 割</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40/8</td>
<td>歌 for 波</td>
<td>101/8 泊 for 泊</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Kitamura's Preface to Gr stresses the need for 'complete works' editions, as well as anthologies. He says little about the text he used as the source for his edition, except that he "relied on old editions" where the text was doubtful or mistaken. The text is supplied with *kambun* punctuation. The following variants are peculiar to Gr and Tk:

| 13/5 | 劃 for 画 | 70/6 | 夕 for 多 |
| 14/18 | 蕈 for 雲 | 87/8 | □ for 致 |
| 24/t | 今 for 烏 | 92/8 | 燕 for 鴻 |
| 24/6 | 絹 for 妙 | 105/5 | 解 for 廊 |
| 35/t | 今 for 山 | 132/4 | 湯 for 潘 |
| 38/t | 鏡 for 鏡 | 149/3 | 陵武 for 武陵 |
This text was apparently copied from Gr, whose readings it follows exactly, except for the following peculiar variants:

8/4 兵 for 岳  
9/2 丁 for 家  
15/8 齃 for 亜  
27/7 丁 for 丁  
33/5 丁 for 丁  
34/5 丁 for 丁  
38/5 丁 for 丁  
65/6 興 for 興  
66/17 黑 for 墨  
87/5 丁 for 丁  
89/6 丁 for 丁  
97/6 丁 for 丁  
112/8 難難 for 難  
121/6 棋 for 棋  

124/12 郷 for 廠  
(also Pai, independent?)

There are two reasons for supposing that Sk and Nk may share a common ancestor distinct from Ko and Gr. One of these is the fact that they share a colophon which occurs in no other text.23

In the K'uei-hai year (1443), as my father had passed away, I returned to stay at home in Nan-yuan village. The next year, chia-tsu, I met Mr. Chao Yuan-fu 趙元福, who was assisting in the administration of Hu-nan. He was still in possession of scrolls left by the second duke, Yi-(Hsuan-?)hua 宜(宣)化, 24
and brought out one day several parts of the *Collected Poems of Meng Hao-Jan*, a treasure of his family's collection. To read them makes one feel utterly cleansed. His words are fresh without being loose, serious without being churlish. They come entirely from his own nature, and he is surely one of the master craftsmen among poets.

Now, it is a hardship for scholars when precious books are not easily obtainable. I told Governor Han Shih about this, and he supplied brushes and ink, entrusting the copy to his subordinates Liu Han-sheng and Yuan Tzu-ch'iao. He then set me to composing a colophon to go at the end of the scroll in order to record this sequence of events. I am but a student, and feel very uneasy about putting my name down amid all the classics, but these three gentlemen's desire for a text is like the wind ornamenting the wild swan's nest. It is done, completed. How could I have dared to refuse, setting my face and grasping my brush I did not shirk it.

Respectfully dated this first day of the fourth month of the *yi-ch'ou* year of Cheng-t'ung (= May 7, 1445); colophon by Tzu-ch'iao, a descendent of Kao-yang.

This is interesting chiefly for its relatively early date. We have no way of knowing whether it was added to a common ancestor of the entire Korean subsystem and later dropped from Ko and Gr, or whether the latter or their ancestors had already formed a separate line of descent. The reference to "several parts" may have some connection with the incompleteness of the Korean subsystem texts, but it could also simply refer to parts which Chao Yuan-fu originally showed the writer.

There are also a few variants peculiar to Sk and Nk:

66/24 鳥 for 鷹  
136/5 欣 for 欽
71/20 書 for 書  
(cf. Ko, Gr, 倫)
174/11 章 for 載
179/1 斛 for 鉢

Sk: (Heü-ch'i Heien-sheng P'i-tien) Meng Hao-jan Chi; undated ms.

This is the most clearly copied of the three Japanese mss. and is,
in the opinion of a Sonkeikaku staff member, probably no older than
Meiji or Taisho (1867-1925) in date. There are a fair number of peculiar
readings, as follows:

13/8 任 for 住
15/8 尊 for 尊
18/5 请 for 情
26/10 遂 for 遂
30/15 賞 for 尚
36/4 密 for 密
38/5 棲 for 棲
51/3 透遲 for 透遞
64/2 申 for 由
70/4 場 for 聚
71/20 畫 for 演
95/t 三 for 王
95/4 密 for 密
96/6 鳥 for 鳥
101/2 間 for 間
104/5 则 for 手
105/5 字 for 字
113/18 類 for 類
123/6 務 for 歸
125/2 容 for 容
125/3 住 for 住
138/5 情 for 情
141/7 請 for 請
148/6 有 for 在
152/3 材 for 材
155/1 渐 for 渐
156/8 之 for 選
157/1 日 for 旦
160/3 透遶 for 透遞
160/9 金 for 金
161/2 乃 for 家
161/8 沖沖 for 暖

(Ko illeg.; Nk 仕)
(cf. Ko, Nk 京)
162/5 鳥 for 鳥
162/6 綢 for 綢
163/8 魁 for 魁
170/7-8 (omission of two lines)
174/17 霹 for 霹
175/7 馀 for 馀
181/4 餘 for 餘
182/8 透 for 透
185/3 漆 for 漆

197/t 三 for 王
201/t 藪 for 藪
203/t 三 for 王
205/2 比 for 北
208/3 村 for 村
221/10 停 for 停
221/13 庭 for 庭
223/9 庭 for 庭

Nk: Meng Hao-juan Shih-chih (on cover; title in text same as in Sk); undated ms. in the Naikaku Bunko, Tokyo, #312/178; 3 chüan, 55 unnumbered pages, plus one rejected leaf added at the end of the volume.

This text is much less clearly copied than Sk, but appears to derive from the same source. The Naikaku Library catalogue dates it in the Edo period. The most interesting about the text itself is that it has been extensively collated against another edition. The few peculiar variants still visible are:

3/3 正 for 衫
8/5 業 for 業
22/t 顏 for 容顏
108/3 刺 for 針
108/5 緋 for 緋

112/8 忘 for 忘
118/4 京 for 京
155/1 浙 for 浙
156/8 達 for 達 (Sk: 之)

There may in fact have been others whose correction has been too complete for them to be detectable in the photographic copies that I used in collation. The corrections are very numerous, and it is unnecessary to list them all. In every case they can be traced to Gb, so I list
here only the few which could have come only from Gb:

34/4 有 for 事 事 有 139/4 下 for 
86/9 焰 for 焰 207/8 無 for 無
105/6 馬 for 場 213/4 開 for 開
108/7 唯 for 誰 222/9 拙 for 拙

Pai: Meng Hao-jan Chi, apud Chu Ching ed., T'ang Pai-chia

Shih 唐百家詩; c. 1540; 3 chüan in 53 pp. numbered consecutively;
10 columns/page, 18 characters/column; copy from Sonkeikaku Bunko, Tokyo.

The postface to Pai is chiefly devoted to praise of the T'ang Shih P'in, but it does claim that the poems included were taken from "various Sung editions." The variants peculiar to the Pai-chia subsystem are fairly numerous, but fewer than was the case in the Korean subsystem.

As we shall see later, both MY and KY seem to have been very close to Pai, if not identical with it. The peculiar variants are as follows:

7/2 没 for 無 (also MY, KY) 43/7 時 for 時
28/3 知 for 知 54/9 網 for 網
28/17 奇 for 奇 57/1 止 for 成
29/2 盡望 for 望盡 60/7 入 for 入
30/11 有 for 餌 64/4 枝 for 想 (also MSh)
30/11 水 for 水 65/8 涉 for 沙
34/t 夫 for 夫 66/1 幼 for 幼
37/5 依 for 伊 (also MY, KY) 66/9 從 for 从
37/10 北 for 百 66/20 樂 for 樂
40/t 人 for 土 67/2 拳 for 亾
40/5 似 for 似 68/6 漠 for 萬 (also MY, KY)
41/8 思 for 思
| Page | 120/16 | 120/18 | 124/7 | 140/4 | 144/7 | 147/5 | 148/1 | 150/3 | 155/3 | 158/4 | 158/7 | 167/t | 180/1 | 182/6 | 182/9 | 182/12 | 183/3 | 184/5 | 186/1 | 187/2 | 189/3 | 193/1 |
|------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|
| 71/3 | 會 | for | 當 | (cf. Liu 曾) | 踏 | for | 竈 |
| 78/t | 會 | for | 白 | (also MY) | 將 | for | 邊 |
| 78/5 | 女子 | for | 萬合 | (also MY, KY) | 西 | for | 雨 |
| 78/8 | 飛 | for | 归 | (also MY, KY) | (cf. Kor sub., HP 回) |
| 79/1 | 近 | for | 海 |
| 80/4 | 侍 | for | 得 |
| 81/5 | 撫 | for | 郡 |
| 81/8 | 自 | for | 見 |
| 85/2 | 物 | for | 句 |
| 91/4 | 障 | for | 峰 |
| 92/4 | 關 | for | 過 |
| 94/5 | 台 | for | 坐 |
| 98/5 | 色 | for | 得 |
| 99/13 | 嫌 | for | 滞 |
| 100/6 | 經 | for | 津 |
| 100/7 | 蘭徑 | for | 徑 | 蘭 |
| 100/17 | 晴 | for | 情 |
| 100/20 | 江 | for | 清 |
| 111/12 | 畫 | for | 畫 |
| 111/15 | 浸 | for | 剛 | 浸 |
| 112/10 | 日 | for | 目 | (also MY, KY) | (cf. Kor sub. 暖) |
| 114/8 | 年 | for | 春 |
| 119/1 | 登 | for | 經 |
| 119/4 | 我 | for | 伐 |
| 120/1 | 言 | for | 諫 |

(emended in Paib)
This edition is an old and rare book in its own right, and a copy of it was among the rare books evacuated from China to the United States during World War II. It is, however, inferior as a text to the earlier version, as the following peculiar errors, the only readings (except for an emendation in 182/6, see above) in which it deviates from Pai, should illustrate:

- 54/7 端 for 端
- 61/11 香 for 香
- 64/6 觀 for 歓
- 92/7 何 for 可
- 113/4 處 for 遠
- 113/10 府 for 俯
- 113/15 門 for 闆
- 113/19 末 for 永
- 124/12 鄉 for 卿 (also Tk, independent)
- 130/2 尋 for 㵁 (also Mg, TP)

Paib: Meng Hao-jan Chi; undated re-edition of Pai in same format; copy from a photograph in the Jimbun Kagakui Kenkyūjo, Kyoto.
Mao: Meng Hsiang-yang Chi, ed. Mao Chin 毛, c. 1610-1640, rpt. in Wu T'ang-jen Chi; 3 chüan, 6, 4, 28, 3, 18, 4, 25 pp.; 9 columns/page, 19 characters/column; from the library of the Faculty of Letters, Kyoto University.

Mao Chin's note, found at the end of Mao, reads:

The most reliable editions of Hsiang-yang's poems that I possess are three:

1) A Sung print in three chüan; the sections are arranged according to theme, but they are not marked as such in the table of contents. It contains a total of 210 poems.

2) A Yuan print annotated by Liu Hsü-ch'i, also in three chüan; there are ten thematic groups in all [same list as previously given], for a total of 233 poems.

3) A Kuan-chung edition from the Hung-chih period (1488-1505). The number of chüan is the same as in the Sung and Yuan editions, but the order of the poems is different. It includes 216 poems. In recent times there have been such editions as the "Twelve T'ang Poets" [Tw? TP?] and the "Wang-Meng Combined Edition" [Liu], some being in one chüan, others in two or four. In these, the order and number of poems varies and there are mistakes and forgeries. I have based myself on the Sung print, and have added from the Yuan and Kuan-chung editions to make a supplement. In all, there are 266 poems. Where there are variant words, or lines, or reversed sequences, I have made a note, e.g., "The Yuan edition has such-and-such," "the current edition has such-and-such," without daring to alter the reading of the text.

Noted by Mao Chin of Hu-nan

Mao's description of the Sung and Yuan texts that he used agrees quite closely in general with the extant Sg and Pai editions, but his
"contemporary" text ("Kuan-chung") or "current" in the note, but "con­
temporary"  in the apparatus) MSh, is clearly unlike anything that I have actually seen. Although collation shows its readings to be generally quite close to the Ming system, whose members come in one, two, and four chüan arrangements, Mao says explicitly that this one was in the same number (three) as his Sung and Yuan texts. Moreover, the number of poems given is quite small. It is possible that there is a misprint here, since in fact he points out only a few poems as being missing from MSh. It is interesting that he claims to have followed the Sung text throughout, "not daring to alter the readings," for even the most cursory examination of Mao shows that something else was the case. For one thing, there are the 176 variants recorded from MSg, whose existence shows that at these points at least Mao Chin must have departed from his Sung text and chosen his basic text from somewhere else. Even more puzzling is the fact that, in addition to recording variants which occur singly in MSg, MY, and MSh, Mao also records five variants as common to MSg and MY, and another thirty-seven as common to MY and MSh. Furthermore, there are 121 variants that he records as "all the printed editions [read]." This is very interesting, for it would seem to suggest that there must have been a fourth text in Mao's hands, the one which he was following as his basic text while he was recording variants from the other three. What could this text have been? Collation shows that it is identical with Sg and Ku. But they, of course, are the very texts, as we shall see, that agree with virtually all of the recorded MSg readings and which are also in agreement with Mao whenever he records variants from MY and MSh in
the same variation. In other words, Mao's "all editions" is really synonymous with his "the Yuan and Contemporary texts," and his "basic text" is a phantom, a congeries of readings drawn from the three texts that he was collating. It is important to stress this, because it would otherwise appear, from his note, as though he had followed a procedure more like that of Ku Tao-hung, sticking to one text for all his lemmas, and recording variants from the others.

Now that it is clear that only three texts were involved, we may proceed to describe these in more detail. It should be noted, however, that there is a special problem presented by the collation texts that Mao and Ku cite, for here we have no opportunity to compare with the originals. Thus, if we find that all the readings reported from one of them agree with some extant text, what are we to make of the variations in which the latter disagrees with Mao or Ku, without any disagreement being noted in their apparatus? Is this evidence of their carelessness in collation or of the existence of an ancestor to the extant text, one in which the unrecorded variants had not yet arisen? We shall have to examine any cases of this kind as they arise, but in general we shall be inclined to assume that the collation is incomplete.

So far as the variants recorded by Mao are concerned, it will be best to take them up in groups. There are a fair number of apparent errors in the apparatus, in that there are inconsistencies for which error on the part of Mao Chin or his printing staff is a simpler explanation than the existence of a series of hitherto unknown and very eccentrically conflated texts. Error in Mao is probably also the explanation for the following readings, which are peculiar to his basic
text and for which he offers no alternative in his apparatus:

- 78/6 萬 for 某
- 110/1 漢 for 病
- 127/4 春 for 清
- 138/2 醜 for 貌
- 158/2 踏 for 跑 or 道 or 跑
- 206/5 推 for 催
- 214/3 灾 for 景 (cf. Pai 深)
- 214/7 豫 for 閒
- 246/12 鳥 for 豬

There are 176 variants that Mao records only from MSg, of which 165 agree with both Sg and Ku, and four more with Ku only:

- 93/7 近 for 靜 (only Ku and MSg)
- 154/3 改 for 感 (only Ku, MSg, and TSCvar)
- 160/11 令 for 行 (only Ku and MSg; Sg has 子, peculiar)
- 175/7 初 for 歸 (only Ku and MSg; Sg has 浴, peculiar)

Of the remaining seven variants, most, if not all, seem to involve errors in Mao's apparatus:

- 4/8 凝 for 沾 (only in MSg and F; 'MSg' may be an error for 'MSh')
- 108/6 登 for 臨 (all texts except Ku, Sg, TSC, and Mao have 临; 'MSg' is probably an error)
- 112/9 没 for 深 (probably a misprint for 深, as in Sg, Ku, and TSC)
- 114/3 如 for 知 (probably a misprint within the recorded variant; Ku and Sg have 何知 for 如何; MSg is possibly a successful restoration of an authorial reading, being midway between the others)
There are 272 variants recorded from MY, and the great majority of them agree with some or all of the extant Yuan system texts. Those that do not are either peculiar variants, whose nature is to be determined individually, if at all, or cases in which Mao's apparatus seems to be in error, usually a misprint of 'MY' for 'MSG' or 'MSh'. There are seven of the former:

- 17/1 走 for 步 (title of 145 cited)
- 30/5 過 for 到
- 65/8 頭 for 渡 (shift?)
- 120/11 渴 for 童 (shift)

and eleven of the latter:

- 34/16 船 for 舟 (also Ku and Wvar; Sg has 船, peculiar; 'MY' probably an error for 'MSG')
- 39/5 烟 for 雪 (only in H; some other variants peculiar to H are cited from MSh, so perhaps this 'MY' is an error for 'MSh')
- 80/3 窗 for 廟 (only in Sg, Ku, and TSC; 'MY' probably an error for 'MSG')
- 86/16 列 for 後 (only in Sg, Ku, and TSC; 'MY' probably an error for 'MSG')
135/7 索 for 索 (only in Sg, Ku, TSC, and W; 'MY' probably an error for 'MSg')

145/4 索 for 索 (only in Ming system; 'MY' probably an error for 'MSh')

147/t 索 for 索 (only in Sg and Ku; 'MY' probably an error for 'MSg')

163/2 索 for 索 (only in Sg, Ku, and TSCvar; 'MY' probably an error for 'MSg')

194/7 索 for 索 (only in Yuan system, Mao, and KY does 索 occur; perhaps Mao has mistakenly reversed his text and variant)

194/7 索 for 索 (only in Sg, Ku, TSC, Liu, and Fr; 'MY' perhaps an error for 'MSg')

233/1 初九 for 九 (only in Sg, Ku, and TSC; 'MY' probably an error for 'MSg')

And what of the remaining 254 variants? They all agree with at least one of the Yuan system texts, and naturally the number of agreements with each of the latter will help us determine the place of MY within the Yuan system. The closest agreement is with Pai, which differs only four times from MY (excluding, of course, the eighteen peculiar or anomalous variants just listed). These four variants are the following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>MY</th>
<th>Pai</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>11/14</td>
<td>多</td>
<td>奇</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65/t</td>
<td>重</td>
<td>校 (all other texts)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80/4</td>
<td>待 (also Liu, HP, Tw; not in Ko)</td>
<td>件 (peculiar)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>219/6</td>
<td>薛 (also KY, TSC)</td>
<td>薛 (all other texts)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The Korean subsystem texts share twelve disagreements with MY:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>MY &amp; Pai</th>
<th>Korean Subsystem</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>7/2</td>
<td>沒 (also KY)</td>
<td>復 (also Liu, HP, Ming sub., W, M)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32/t</td>
<td>曉 (also KY, TSC, Liu, F)</td>
<td>晚 (all other texts)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32/7</td>
<td>曉 (also KY, Liu, F)</td>
<td>晚 (all other texts)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34/20</td>
<td>群 (also KY, Wvar, Liu)</td>
<td>矢 (all other texts)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37/5</td>
<td>依 (also KY)</td>
<td>依</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42/7</td>
<td>月 (also KY, Liu)</td>
<td>月 (all other texts)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>68/6</td>
<td>月 (also KY)</td>
<td>月 (all other texts)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>109/t</td>
<td>月 (also KY)</td>
<td>月 (all other texts)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>125/1</td>
<td>晷 (also KY, Liu, HP, A)</td>
<td>晷 (all other texts but W)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>126/2</td>
<td>船 (also KY, Liu)</td>
<td>船</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>156/t</td>
<td>三 (also Liu, Sg)</td>
<td>三</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>264/8</td>
<td>邊 (also KY, Liu)</td>
<td>邊 (all other texts)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

And there is one additional case in which only Sk and Nk agree with MY, plus two further disagreements between MY (and the other Yuan system texts) and Gr:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>MY, Sk, Nk:</th>
<th>others:</th>
<th>independent?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>115/3</td>
<td>洞</td>
<td>洞 (also Sg, Ku, TSCvar, HP, Mao, Ming system, W)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11/14</td>
<td>all but Gr: 洞</td>
<td>洞 (also Sg, Ku, TSCvar, HP, Mao, Ming system, W)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

And then there are three variations in which MY agrees with KY, but not with any extant Yuan system text:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>MY, Sk, Nk:</th>
<th>others:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3/7</td>
<td>餘 for 余 (also TSCvar)</td>
<td>餘 for 余</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>82/6</td>
<td>盡 for 淨</td>
<td>盡 for 淨</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
MY thus appears to be virtually identical to Pai, though it may in fact have been only a closely related text.

Finally, we come to MSh, certainly the most difficult to classify of Mao's collation texts. There are 335 variants recorded only from MSh, of which no fewer than forty-three are peculiar:

| 13/3 | 迢 for 交 | 102/5 | 過 for 適 |
| 13/11 | 斯 for 上 | 121/6 | 軒開 for 實惟 |
| 14/6 | 幽 for 擇 or 窮 | 128/1 | 聲 for 震 (shift; |
| 15/3 | 瞅 for 清 (also Hs; independent?) | cf. Liu, HP, Ming system, |
| 18/8 | 亡 for 機 | 133/3 | 處 for 安 |
| 18/14 | 淹夜 for 激楚 | 133/5 | 辦 for 中 |
| 22/3 | 前 for 庭 | 135/2 | 飢 for 朝 |
| 23/1 | 登 one for 登一 | 135/2 | 日 for 白 |
| 25/5 | 崖 for 崖 (cf. Sg 周) | 136/2 | 閏 for 瞿 |
| 36/9 | 徑 for 房 | 136/8 | 那 for 誰 |
| 67/7 | 乘 for 舟 | 144/1 | 諱 for 涵 |
| 70/t | 聲 for 声 | 154/4 | 日 for 眉 |
| 71/t | 恐 for 口 | 155/4 | 成 for 為 |
| 71/5 | 劍 for 湖 | 158/6 | 陽雲 for 下陽 |
| 71/14 | 路 for 景 | 163/6 | 香 for 郞 |
| 71/17 | 闕 for 閣 | 164/1 | 亭 for 來 |
| 82/4 | 萍 for 草 (cf. Sg 里) | 172/5 | 饌 for 具 |
| 84/12 | 秋 for 澄 | 180/5 | 日 for 夕 or 席 |
| 88/2 | 矢蘭 for 蘭芝 | 186/6 | 地 for 拌 |
| 95/5 | 龍 for 人 | 192/6 | 峯 for 山 or 坐 |
| 95/11 | 雁 for 鹿 |
Of the remaining 295 variants, the largest number of agreements with any extant text is 231, with Mg and TP, with Tw agreeing in 218 variations. This seems to place MSh well within the Ming system, since the next largest number of agreements with an extant text—there are 165 with KCh—is 156, with HP. There remain, however, the sixty-two variations, about one-fifth of all the non-peculiar variants, in which MSh does not agree with any of the Ming system texts. These form an extremely heterogeneous group indeed, but they can be at least roughly classified under a manageable number of headings.

First, there are those that seem to be due to errors in Mao. There are six variants reported from 'MSh' that appear to be from 'MSg' instead:

11/10 深 for 靜
16/13 廬 for 林 (also W)
22/4 & for 林

And ten more which apparently should have been recorded as 'MY', since they agree with all the Yuan system texts:

10/t 早 for 萬
23/1 見 for 聚 (also Liu, HP) (also KY, Liu, HP)
89/2 必 for 應 (also Liu, HP, Sg) 书 for 書
143/2 懷 for 想 (also Ku, Liu, HP)
176/12 允 for 同 (also Liu, Sg, Wvar)
180/4 儀 for 連
188/6 曉 for 曉 (also Liu, HP) (also Ku, Liu, TSCvar)
In addition to these, there are a few more which agree only with some of the Yuan system texts, but not with any of those from the Ming system. They too are probably errors for 'MY':

- 64/4 柱 for 想 or 佳 (only Pai)
- 161/4 水 for 影 (only Korean)
- 223/6 央 for 東 (all Yuan system texts except Gr, anomalous)

And finally, one case in which Mao seems to have mistakenly reversed text and variant:

- 169/2 春 (MSh and other texts) for 更 (only Mao and Ming system)

The next large group of variants are those which are cited from MSh, but which are found elsewhere only in anthologies. These suggest that MSh may have incorporated a number of conflated readings derived from these anthologies or, alternatively, that they and MSh shared a common ancestor:

The largest number of such variants agree with W:

- 6/3 欲知昨夜風 for 夜來風雨聲 (also TSCvar)
- 6/4 無 for 知 (also TSCvar and Wvar 'one reads')
- 10/1 光 for 明 16/13 遠 for 遠
- 11/2 春 for 在 (also TSCvar) 62/3 山 for 上 or 土

Another group agrees only with K:

- 126/2 归 for 輕
- 198/4 山 for 雲 (also TSCvar)
- 198/6 外 for 際 (also TSCvar)

The four readings found only in F are interesting, since F is so fragmentary a remainder of a once very large compendium. In fact, it is possible that F was the source for all five of the otherwise peculiar variants in MSg and MSh in these poems. One can only suppose that, had
more of F survived, we might have a much clearer picture of the text from which MSh, in particular, was derived:

28/9 for 初上
28/17 for 出楼

30/14 for 纏繫事事攀 (Fvar)

(Fvar)

35/7 始 for 試

In two more variations, MSh agrees with H:

193/2 雅 for 無 (also TSCvar) 206/t 故園作 for (終)南山 (also TSCvar)

and in one with A:

106/7 家 for 嘉

and one with I, interesting because MSh could not possibly have derived directly from I, a Japanese manuscript of the Heian period:

29/5 for （most texts have門）

Last in this group are two variations in which MSh agrees with two different anthologies:

187/t for 二 (also W, K, TSC; independent?)
193/3 for 不可 (W, H, TSCvar)

The third group of MSh variants not found in the Ming system texts are those which agree with one or more editions of Meng's poems, but not in such a way that they can be treated as errors in Mao's apparatus. The three editions with which MSh agrees more than once are Liu, Sg, and TSC. First, there are six variants found only in MSh and Liu:

23/t for 條 (Liuvar) 103/7 堪 for 堪
45/t for 人 (Liuvar) 111/7 峽 for 峽 (Liuvar)
58/3 for 田 or 代 (Liuvar) 192/t 寻 for 寻 (Liuvar)

then, five that agree with Sg:

46/3 门 for 行 66/17 今 for 古
62/8 欲 for 益 66/19 禅 for 禅
and, three with TSC:

38/3 過 for (also KY) 122/4 滿 for 滿 (TSCvar)
79/5 帆 for 檳

There are also two found in Msh and two of the above:

25/6 柏 for (TSC, Liu) 42/6 春晚 for 舊春 (Sg, Liuvar)

Finally, there is just one variant found only in MSh and HP:

124/3 翎 for 翎

Intermediate between the last two large groups are two variations in which MSh agrees only with Sg and one anthology:

60/t 於 for (also C) 107/8 陽 for 樓 (also Wvar)

Then, there is one reading which MSh shares with KCh, but not with any known extant text:

50/7 相 for 常 or 恆

And finally again, two positively anomalous and difficult variations:

31/1-2 飭石林, 磐翠疑 削成 for 多奇狀, 秀 出 偉 (or 偉) 前 樓 (the latter also in KChvar[!], I[!], Mgvar, Liuvar, HPvar)
243/7 逢 for 期 (also KCh, Sg, TSC)

The first of these is odd in that it is never given as a basic text—except in I, the Heian manuscript—but is so widely cited as a variant, even in HP, which cites only four double readings in all of Meng's works, and Mg, which cites only seven. The second variation might be explained as a coincidental double error: Mao having 'MSg' for 'MSg' by mistake, Ku exchanging his variant for his basic text.
Now, from the variations in which Mao cites a given variant from only one text, we move on to those in which he cites the same variant from two or three of his sources. With the five variants cited from both MSg and MY there is no problem, as the variant cited is found in each case in both the Sung and Yuan systems, while Mao's basic text agrees with the Ming system:

14/16 彼 for 此
29/9-10 (omission of two lines) 112/9 惜 for 遠
61/3 雲 for 門

Most of the forty-two variations in which Mao cites the same variant from both MY and MSh are equally straightforward, the cited reading being common to both the Yuan and Ming systems, and, except as noted, found in HP and Liu as well:

11/t 湛 for 堯
11/14 探 for 求
12/t 香燭峯 for 廬山
13/11 閻 for 閻

26/5-6 (addition of two lines; there is an additional variation within these lines, in which MSh agrees only with KY)

26/9-10 (shift of lines) 40/t 亡 for 張逸人 (not in HP)
26/11-12 (addition of two lines) 42/t 遠 for 永
34/15 遊 for 遊
34/16 遠 for 極

66/7-10 (addition of four lines; three additional variations within these lines, in which MSh agrees with Ming system texts)
The remaining six variations are all anomalous in one way or another. In four cases, the cited variant is actually found only in the Yuan system. In all four cases, Mao is dealing with nested variations, which may have made error on his part more likely to occur:

- 16/11 漁 for 曹
- 70/t 寄近 for 送洗然後進士舉 (also Sg)
- 82/5 陳 for 鄧 (also Liu and HP)
- 181/t 行 for 夏日 (Mao error in citing abbreviated title?)

In one case, Mao's MY+MSh reading is found in the Ming system texts, but not in the Yuan system or in HP or Liu:

- 152/t 大 for 行

And in the sixth, the cited reading is in fact found only in Sg and Ku, Mao apparently having reversed text and variant:

- 13/6 后怪 for 怪后
The exceptions are an even smaller percentage in the variations for which Mao's apparatus reads "all texts have." In such cases, his variant is almost invariably found in all the Yuan and Ming system texts, while his basic text agrees with Sg and Ku. Aside from those involving peculiar variants in individual texts, the only exceptions are the following:

31/2 亠 for 僵 (only in Ming system, KY, and KCh; this variation is nested within the anomalous one discussed on p. 106 above, in which Mao cites the eight character reading from MSh, which thus could not possibly also have this variant, as it refers only to the original lemma; the same problem arises in Ku's apparatus)

41/8 不 for 未 (not in the Korean subsystem texts; this tends to confirm that Pai is closest to MY of the extant texts)

58/3 逵 for 遏 (not in Yuan system texts; part of a nested variation)

64/6 于 for 故 (not in Pai or HP)

113/16 作 for 當 (not in Gr)

137/4 安 for 安 (Ming system and HP have 安)

155/2 恨 for 恨 (not in Pai; Gr, Sk, and Nk have 恨; Ko missing this page; Liu has 恨)

207/1 就 for 说 (not in Fr)

We are now in a position to describe Mao Chin's editorial procedure in more detail. Working with three texts, a Sung edition close to, if not identical with, the one used as copy text by Ku Tao-hung, a
Yuan edition virtually identical to Pai, and an early Ming edition related to the Ming system, but incorporating a wide variety of conflated readings, Mao created his own "ideal" text, generally following whichever reading appeared in two of his three sources and recording the "minority" variant in his apparatus. He clearly had his favourites among his sources. He never, for example, records a variant as common to both MSg and MSh, which would mean that he was following MY instead. Moreover, when he does record a variant from MSg, he almost invariably (173 times out of 176) agrees with Mg and TP (and thus, presumably, with MSh) in his basic text. In other words, he followed his Sung text most of the time, but where he felt that it was less satisfactory, he followed his MSh instead. In only five cases did he follow MSh against both MSg and MY, and never openly MY against MSg and MSh. The two unanswered questions that remain are relatively minor ones: why did he make the irrelevant and misleading distinction between "MY and MSh read" and "all texts read," and why did he, while never following MY against MSg and MSh, adopt the sequence of poems found in the Yuan system texts? The former can only be explained as an editorial inconsistency, and the latter as perhaps the result of a desire to maintain the arrangement of the poems--three chüan with explicit thematic divisions--recorded to have been that of at least one of the T'ang editions.

It comes as a great relief, on turning—as promised earlier—to the apparatus contained in Ku, to find that its Yuan edition, KY, and its 'current' edition, KCh, are both somewhat more consistently, if—and perhaps because—less fully described.
There are 155 variants recorded from KY. Two of these are peculiar:

22/4 魚 for 魚
111/t 木 for 木

All but two of the rest are found in at least one Yuan system text:

3/7 餐 for 餐 (also MY, TSCvar) 136/5 聲 for 聲 (also MY)

Only four of the remaining 149 are not to be found in Pai:

11/14 多 for 多
65/8 領 for 頭 (only Korean subsystem texts and Liu var; MY has peculiar error)
82/6 靜 for 靜 (also MY; Korean subsystem texts lack this poem)
219/6 蘇 for 蘇

And eleven others are not found in the Korean subsystem texts:

7/2 沒 for 沒 (only MY, KY, Pai; Korean subsystem texts have 沒)
32/t 曉 for 晚 (also Pai, MY, TSC, Liu, F)
32/7 曉 for 晚 (also Pai, MY, Liu, F)
34/20 倉 for 倉 (also Pai, MY, Liu, Wvar)
37/5 依 for 依 (also Pai and MY; Korean subsystem texts read 依)
42/7 日 for 月 (also Pai, MY, Liu)
68/6 漢 for 漢 (also Pai, MY)
112/10 日 for 日 (also Pai, MY)
125/1 滄 for 滄 (also Pai, MY, Liu, HP, A)
126/2 船 for 船 (also Pai, MY, Liu; Korean subsystem texts read 船)
204/8 邊 for 邊 (also Pai, MY, Liu)

Two others are missing only from Gr:

11/14 多 for 靈 (see above; Pai, Liu, TSCvar read 靈)
109/t 洛 for 錢 (Gr reads 錢)
It is evident from the above that all of these variants but the two peculiar ones are also recorded in MY. In fact, the great majority of KY readings are also found in MY, there being only eighteen exceptions:

10/t  → for 早 (also MSh; error for MY?)
30/5  → for 到 (MY has 遠, peculiar)
55/2  水 for 池 (Mao reads 水 and records no variant)
56/3  見 for 門 (Mao omits variant)
56/4  此 for 北 (this is an anomalous variation; 北 in Ku, TSC, HP, Mg, M)
65/8  貴 for 頭 (see above)
112/3  凌凌 for 造造 (Mao also reads 凈浄 and records no variant)
112/9 弥 for 深 (Mao also reads 弥; records 没, peculiar, from MSg)
120/11 聲 for 聲 (Mao omits variant)
134/2 正 for 征 (Mao omits variant)
172/7  月 for 月 (Mao omits variant)
173/11 義 for 義 (Mao omits variant)
173/15  聲 for 聲 (Mao omits variant)
188/3 如何 for 何如 (Mao omits variant)
194/7 擇 for 擇 (Mao reads 擇, records 擇 from MY; text and variant reversed?)
194/7  迟 for 擇 (Mao reads 迟, records 擇 from MY; text and variant reversed?)
203/9 容 for 北 (Mao omits variant)
226/5 宋 for 宋 (only Pai and TSCvar)

The fact that all of these differences seem to be due to errors on Mao's part is likely to give a somewhat unfair picture of the relative quality of Mao and Ku's apparatus. Mao does, after all, record some 270-odd MY variants, while Ku records only 155 from KY. A more balanced judgement would be that Mao is more thorough, while Ku is more careful in editing and printing. The same is true of a comparison between the readings recorded from MSh and those from KCh. Again, KCh records only 219 variants to MSh's 336, but KCh has only three peculiar variants, compared to 43 in MSh:

138/3 反 for 常 246/3 卜 for 卐
231/3 開 for 慈 (from 開? shift?)

Of course in this case the unusually large number of peculiar variants in MSh seems to be due at least in part to the nature of that text itself.

Of the remaining 216 KCh variants, only four are not found in Mg:

33/8 貿 for 连 (only MSh, TSC)
50/1 相 for 常 (or 恒)
99/14 帥 for 去 (only in Tw; Mg, MSh, etc. read 呷)
243/7 懲 for 期 (see above)

And only twelve are not also recorded in MSh, not counting the forty or so variations in which Mao's basic text is the same as KCh, with no variant recorded, implying that MSh shared the reading:

54/t 本 for 来 123/t 北 for 归 (probably an error in Mao's apparatus)
99/14 帥 for 去 (see above)
103/t 懷 for 有
As one would expect, agreement is general between KY, KCh, and the extant Yuan and Ming system texts where the same variants are reported from both of the former. There are only ten exceptions out of 294 such variations:

26/5 往來 for 來往 (also MY, MSh, Yuan system texts; both editors seem to have erred in not noticing the difference between the Yuan and Ming system texts while recording this two-line passage missing from the Sung system texts)

31/2 備 for 傩 (only in Ming system; Mao has "all editions"—see above—and KY, KCh)

59/t 賀 for 陪 (peculiar, evidently an error for 和 , as in Yuan and Ming system texts)

66/9 茲 for 適 (only Ming system)

66/10 示 for 誠 (only Ming system)

91/6 湛湛 for 明明 (only in Ming system, Liu, HP, and Mao; Yuan system has  安安 )
To sum up, it appears that Ku Tao-hung was much more careful in producing his apparatus than was Mao Chin; although he does not include so many variants as does Mao, his outright errors are extremely few.

Of the five "reported texts," MSg, MY, MSh, KY, and KCh, we can, having detailed the various errors and inconsistencies that they include, conclude that only MSh represents a text markedly different from those extant. MSg seems to be practically identical with the basic text of Ku; MY and KY are almost the same as Pai, and KCh differs from Mg, Fr, and TP only in the slightest degree.

Fu: Fu Tung-hua 傅東華 ed., Meng Hao-jan Shih Heüan, rpt.
Hong Kong: Ta-Kuang, 1959; 6, 89 pp; personal copy.

A selection of poems with a limited number of sometimes mistaken or misleading annotations. This edition was originally included in the Wan-yu Wen-k'u collection, and has been reprinted many times. Textually, it is interesting for only two reasons. One is its close adherence to the basic text of Mao, from which it differs only occasionally. The following variants are adopted from Mao's apparatus:

24/9 喜 相  for 相善
42/5 居  for 良
49/1 本  for 魚
58/12 莊  for 履

75/3 留  for 空
75/5 前  for 窗 裏
106/7 家  for 嘉
110/2 没  for 復
In the majority of these, Fu has adopted a reading which is recorded in Mao's "all texts read" (see above), but in some cases he has chosen a reading found only in one of the collation texts. Of the ten variants entirely absent from Mao (see below), three are deleted parentheses in titles (specifying assigned rhymes, etc.), one is an accidental reversal of two characters, one a trivial misplacement of a reading taken from all three Mao collation texts, two are readings found in all texts but Mao, evidently errors in the latter, and three readings are also found, apparently independently, in certain other editions:

49/2 近 for 對 (shift from adjacent 近 for 對, as in many other texts)
107/t 沂 for 沂 (only Mao, Mg, Fr, and TP have 沂)
109/3 濰浦 for 濰浦
110/6 汨 for 汨 (also TSC, Fr, Tw)
158/t 得 for 得陽毫雲 (also Yuan system; deletion of parenthesis)
177/t 汰 for 汰 (also Liu, Ming system; deletion of parenthesis)
179/t 汰 for 汰 (also HP, Ming system; deletion of parenthesis)
196/8 閔 for 閔 (also Liu)
206/5 催 for 推 (Mao error, see above)
The other point about the Fu edition is perhaps only a coincidence, but it happens that, with only one exception (Mao 103), all poems omitted from Sg are also left out of Fu, who omits all the poems included in Mao's 'supplement' as well.

4. Liu System

Liu: Meng Hao-juan Shih-ch'i, apud Ling Meng-ch'ü 凌濱初, ed., Wang-Meng Shih-ch'i 王孟詩集; undated, late Ming; 2 chüan, 3, 2, 7, 30, 11, 46 pp.; 8 columns/page, 19 characters/column; copy from Tôyô Bunko, Tokyo.

The arrangement of Liu has already been discussed in some detail above. This shows that it was based on a Yuan system text, from which Li Meng-yang's commentary was taken, and a Ming system text with the notes of Liu Ch'en-weng.

Liu records variants in 177 variations. With fourteen exceptions, one of the two readings is identical with that found in Pai. When it comes to the source of the alternate readings, the Ming system is clearly indicated in the great majority of cases. The actual source is probably not among the extant texts, but the closest of the latter are Mg and TP, which agree in 149 variations with the reading not in Pai. Of the fifty variations in which Pai and Mg are insufficient to explain both Liu's basic text and its variant, twelve involve peculiar readings:

53/t for 题 95/t 遗 for 赠 (or 財, as in Pai)
78/t 投以 for 以投 99/9 青 for 晴
87/t 因 for 集 111/t 竹 for 竹
111/10 卷 for 繼 (or 營, as in Yuan and Ming systems)
159/2 與 for 共 (or 愛, as in Pai)
195/t 加 for 門
198/t 旅 for 有

Eighteen agree with TSC (and usually with Sg, Ku, and Mao as well):
12/t 廬山 for 香爐峰
25/t 禪居 for 亮
26/t 春初 for 春初
57/t 伴 for 伴
64/t 重 for 重 (also Ko, Gr)
99/t 题 for 题
99/t 山 for 山
100/t 赞 for 于 (or 足, as in Pai)
111/t 出...東山望 for 望 (also Wvar)
120/10 虞端 for 此川
123/t 北 for 北

Nine agree with MSh:
23/t 了 for 了
42/t 春晚 for 晚春 (also Sg)
45/t 人 for 人
57/t 淵溪 for 淵溪
58/3 代 for 代

Five agree with Ko and Gr:
55/3 下 for 下山 (also W) 65/8 頭 for 頭 (also KY)
64/t 見 for 見
65/t 秋 for 秋 (also MY)
Three agree with Tw:

65/t 立 for 立
182/11 茗 for 茗
187/5 携 for 携 (also TP; cf. Mao, Mg, Fr, KCh)

One agrees only with W:

159/2 便 for 便

One only with A:

65/t 僕 for 僕

and one only with Sg (probably independent):

132/t 乏 for 園

Two points remain to be made about these variations. One is that a strikingly high percentage of them occur in titles, which seem to have been collated with more care than the text itself. The other is that the variants which agree with Sung system readings are, in the Liu apparatus, sometimes in opposition to readings agreeing with Pai and sometimes with readings agreeing with Mg, but three readings are never given where all three systems differ.

There are also a number of peculiar variants in Liu to which no alternative is given in the apparatus:

16/24 事 for 似
38/1 水 for 物
56/4 如何 for 何知
71/3 未曾 for 未尝

(cf. Korean system 曾未 )

72/6 牀 for 林
93/5 家 for 色
96/7 與 for 言 or 言
130/t 湖 for 浙
132/3 供 for 公 or 分
153/t 仲 for 仲
155/2 畢 for 毕 (see above)
162/t 見省 for 願省
171/t 使 for 之
177/8 深 for 新 or 高 or 清
180/5 便 for 便 or 日
181/8 鼓 for 廠
188/t 過 for 來
This is a careful imitation of the older, Ming dynasty, Liu text, to the extent of reproducing the exact layout of the characters on each page and including the commentary printed in red in the upper margin. The style of the characters, however, is obviously different, and every leaf is clearly marked "recut." There are, moreover, slight differences in the location of some of the front matter, and there is an additional colophon explaining the reprinting. The new peculiar variants which arise in this text are as follows:

14/6 麦 for 稿
16/4 木 for 竹
22/t 隐合 for 顏處士
54/8 难 for 著
94/4 纱 for 薄

103/5 月 for 肉
117/2 水 for 成水
149/3 容 for 容
205/2 間 for 間
228/1 畫 for 畫

5. Hu-peǐ System


There are twenty-eight variants peculiar to HP:

31/6 諾 for 謬 or 謹
58/t 即 for 郎

71/81 情 for 星
77/1 志 for 去
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>105/t</th>
<th>浦上 for 上浦</th>
<th>197/t</th>
<th>林 for 旅</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>117/t</td>
<td>潮 for 明</td>
<td>203/1</td>
<td>接 for 搭</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>132/t</td>
<td>愿 for 於 or 丁</td>
<td>212/3</td>
<td>折 for 扭</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>135/1</td>
<td>事 for 待</td>
<td>221/t</td>
<td>激 for 谷</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>142/t</td>
<td>官 for 公 or 友 (also A)</td>
<td>221/3</td>
<td>目 for 日</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>148/t</td>
<td>歸 for 來</td>
<td>223/6</td>
<td>采 for 采 or 采</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>148/2</td>
<td>旋 for 歸</td>
<td>250/t</td>
<td>花 for 花</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>158/4</td>
<td>條 for 價</td>
<td>255/6</td>
<td>歡 for 歡</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>161/3</td>
<td>目 for 自 or 日</td>
<td>260/6</td>
<td>己 for 日</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>177/3</td>
<td>春 for 普</td>
<td>262/t</td>
<td>炳 for 證</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>187/t</td>
<td>埠 for 池</td>
<td>264/t</td>
<td>大 for 大</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>196/t</td>
<td>病 for 疾</td>
<td>265/7</td>
<td>迴 for 為</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is certainly worth calling attention to the surprisingly small number of peculiar readings, to the fact that many occur in titles, and to the appearance in two readings (132/t and 262/t) of personal names in their correct forms, or at least less seriously corrupted than in all other texts. The curious midway position that this edition occupies—between Yuan, Ming and TSC systems in readings, and between Ming and TSC in order of poems—suggests that it may have become an independent system quite early and that, once in something like its present form, it suffered less from corruption and conflation than most of the other texts.

6. Ming System

By way of transition from the Hu-pei system to the Ming, we may consider now the very few instances of alternative readings cited in them. Seven are recorded in Mg, and some of these are also found in TP, Tw, and HP. It is a point of some interest that the readings found in
Pai and MSh are, with perhaps one exception, complementary in these seven variations:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>A (MSh)</th>
<th>B (Pai)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>13/9-10</td>
<td>宗蔭天路旁, 清泉流舍下</td>
<td>宗蔭天路隅, 天空落階下</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26/1</td>
<td>羊入嵐山下</td>
<td>溟舟逝何處</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31/1-2</td>
<td>水在林, 磨翠疑削成</td>
<td>多奇狀, 秀出倚前欄</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57/4</td>
<td>武陵送</td>
<td>洞中栖</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>75/5</td>
<td>開窗裏 (Mao, B in MY)</td>
<td>破窗前</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>184/7-8</td>
<td>厭 acest 覺醉, 結路時夢生</td>
<td>醉來方欲臥, 不覺曉雞啼</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>187/1</td>
<td>般地金張宅 (Mao - 刻作)</td>
<td>甲骨開金穴</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Mg var</th>
<th>TP var</th>
<th>Tw var</th>
<th>HP var</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>13/9-10</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>B</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26/1</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>B</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31/1-2</td>
<td>B</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>B</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57/4</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>B</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>75/5</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>B</td>
<td>B</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>184/7-8</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>B</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>187/1</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>B</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The differing treatment of the variants in each text tends to confirm one's impression that HP is closest to the Yuan system, followed by Tw, TP, and Mg, in that order. It also raises the possibility that it might be possible to account for all the readings in the Ming system.
texts by assuming the conflation of MSh and Pai. In fact, however, it is not, for there are many variations in which Mγ disagrees with both. Even when some of these are eliminated as anomalous, due to errors in Mao's apparatus, or as variants peculiar to the extant Ming system texts, their number remains sufficient to disallow so simple an interpretation.

Mγ: Meng Hao-jan Chi, apud Chang Yuan-chi 張 元 濟 et al. eds., Ssu-pu Ts'ing-k'an; 1919 rpt. of undated Ming dynasty edition; 4 chüan, 3, 17, 12, 16, 16 pp.; 10 columns/page, 18 characters/column; copy from the library of the Faculty of Letters, Kyoto University.

This edition is the one most commonly encountered. It has been reprinted several times, and can be found variously in SPTK, the T'ang-jen Ssu-chia Shih (published in 1884 by the T'ung-wen 丁文 Book Co.), as a "Ming facsimile of a Sung edition" at the National Central Library in Taipei, and in a reduced format, as in the copy in the library of the University of Hong Kong. There are no variants peculiar to it or to the subsystem whose ancestor it so clearly is, but we may list here the peculiar variants of the Ming system as a whole, including those recorded from MSh, KCh, and anthologies as well:

| 1/t  | 期 for 侍 (MSh, W, A) | 33/4  | 只 for 偏 (MSh, KCh) |
| 1/t  | 大 for 大 (MSh, KCh, W) | 33/9  | 作 for 作 (MSh) |
| 11/9 | 聽 for 聽 (MSh) | 59/7  | 聽 for 聽 (MSh, KCh, W) |
| 24/t | 爲 for 隆 (MSh, KCh, A) | 60/t  | 作 for 作 (MSh, C) |
| 27/t | 作 for 作 (MSh, KCh, F) | 69/4  | 福 for 福 (MSh) |
| 28/2 | 作 for 作 (MSh) | 82/t  | 病 for 病 (MSh) |
| 33/3 | 景臨 for 景登 (MSh, KCh) | 91/7  | 詩 for 詩 |
This list does not include the many variants that the Ming system texts share with HP or those that are found in Mao, Liu, or TSC, presumably as the result of collation.

Mg is the direct ancestor of a number of more recent texts, all of which follow it closely:

K'u: Meng Hao-jan Chi, apud Chi Yun, et al., eds., Ssu-k'u Ch'üan-shu; 1782; 4 chüan, 2, 3, 18, 13, 10 (+ ...) pp.; 8 columns/page, 21 characters/column; partial copy from the library of the Palace Museum, Wai-shuang-ch'i, Taiwan.
I lacked the time to collate this text during my brief visit to Taiwan, and the authorities at the Palace Museum Library refused to allow the copying of more than two-thirds of it, so my remarks, brief as they are, refer only to the first portion of the text. It is not of great interest in any case, being a close copy of Mg. In the portion available to me, there are only five possibly significant variants, one of them peculiar:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Ku</th>
<th>TSC</th>
<th>Tk</th>
<th>Sk</th>
<th>Nk</th>
<th>Mao</th>
<th>Liu</th>
<th>HP</th>
<th>Fr</th>
<th>TP</th>
<th>Tw</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>C</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>38/9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>120/5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>137/4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>175/2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>258/6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All but the last of these are probably emendations, perhaps made on the spot from memory by a collator, since they cannot all be derived from just one other text.

SP: Meng Hao-jan Chi, apud Ssu-pu Pei-yao, 1936; rpt. Taipei: Chung-hua, 1966; 4 chüan, 2, 1, 13, 9, 13, 12 pp.; personal copy.

This text is also simply a copy of Mg. Although it is a movable type edition, the printing seems to have been very carefully carried out, and there are only three peculiar errors:

53/1 忘 for 謀
53/8 謀 for 忘 (reversal of above)
152/8 村 for 林
This is a very compact typeset and punctuated edition without notes. It follows Mg very closely, there being only a small handful of peculiar variants, beyond a few graphic variants:

70/15 食 for 食  112/7 托 for 拖
80/9 揍 for 揍  226/t 代 for 下


Yu follows Mg very closely too, his basic text being explicitly intended to match the SPTK version. Unfortunately, a considerable number of peculiar errors occurred in printing, as listed here:

14/6 計 for 討 (also Hs, conflated?)
34/10 近 for 迎
52/6 灘 for 洲
66/21 頗 for 現
74/t 中途 for 途中
75/10 清 for 深
89/13 樂 for 樂
90/8 顧 for 顧
100/11 收 for 牧
101/4 正 for 止
112/9 遠 for 遠
121/6 賽 for 賽
135/1 寂 for 寂
135/1 時 for 待
151/8 愚感 for 愚夢
156/5 日 for 白
165/8 一 for 二
178/t 郑 for 十
178/8 樂 for 露
181/5 無 for 舞
190/4 人 for 入
192/7 今 for 今
201/2 遠 for 遠
There is also one variant, apparently of the same kind, but also occurring in Fr, probably independently:

34/11  for  

The other special characteristic of Yu is that it includes an extensive textual apparatus, variants being recorded from the following: Sg, Ku, CTS, Pai, and HP. Unfortunately, this is also marred by many, many omissions and typographical errors, as well as by the lack of any reference to such important editions as TSC, Ko, Mao, Liu, and Tw.


The possibility that Fr and Ty have an ancestor distinct from Mg or Mg's immediate ancestor has already been mentioned. The few variations in which Fr and Ty disagree with the other Ming system texts are as follows:

31/t  for  翼
110/t  暝 for  昏 (also Sg; independent?)
133/2  植植  for  植植 (all but Ku, HP, other Ming)
176/7  蝴蝶  for  蝴蝶
Then there is a group of variations in which the Fr and Tw sub-systems agree against the Mg and TP:

- 34/t 詩 for 詩 (all but HP, Mg, TP)
- 100/18 遠 for 遠 (also Mg, TP, MSh, KCh)
- 110/6 汝 for 汝 (also TSC)
- 112/5 潛 for 潛
- 122/t 命 for 命 (all but Mg and TP)
- 147/5 高 for 高 (all but Mg, TP, MSh, KCh)
- 185/7 它 for 它
- 197/2 麗 for 麗 (all but HP, Mg, TP)

Note that HP, MSh, and KCh generally agree with Mg and TP in these variations.

Finally, there are a few peculiar variants in Fr which have been emended in Ty:

- 34/11 宮 for 宮 (also Yu, independent?)
- 155/5 海 for 海
- 173/1 佳 for 佳
- 174/12 鞏 for 鞏
- 190/7 佳 for 佳 (also Ch, independent?)
Ty: Meng Heiang-yang Shih-chi, apud T'ang Erh-shih-chia

Shih-chi; Sui-ning Shu-chü, 1884; 2 chüan, 1, 24, 24 pp.; 10 columns/page, 22 characters/column; copy from the Tōyō Bunko, Tokyo.

This is a somewhat puzzling text. It clearly belongs within the Ming system and the Fr subsystem, but there are numerous emendations, all clearly traceable to the TSC system, apparently to CTS in particular, though one, perhaps an independent correction, is found only in Hu, which was published less than ten years earlier. Aside from corrections of peculiar errors in Fr, noted above, the following readings are different from Fr. In all but the two cases specially noted, Ty agrees with CTS:

12/8 但 for 空  89/9 秩 for 射
21/4 未 for 木  95/9 返 for 早
31/2 借 for 借  96/t 什 for 以
33/t 南紀 for 紀南  99/14 職 for 竭
33/3 彩 for 畫  107/t 汲 for 淹
33/8 妻 for 連  108/2 益 for 又
33/9 順 for 虧  117/4 過 for 過
46/6 擬 for 擬  124/t 贈 for 贈
51/11 遠 for 滿  134/8 李 for 李
54/t 來 for 本  147/7 彝 for 彝 (also Hu)
57/1 伴 for 半  166/6 業別 for 别恨
57/2 躍 for 澤  173/11 笑 for 天
61/7 亭 for 亭  175/7 日 for 月
67/7-8 此何 地即 for 同月 容何 (peculiar)
75/5 開 for 閘 or 逾  182/12 歳月 for 年月
84/1 流如 for 如流  184/t 夜 for 食
119/7 乘 for 乘
135/1 無 for 何

130

TP: Meng Hao-jan Chi, edited by Chang Hsun-yeh 張遼業, printed by Huang Chun 黃埜, apud [Tung-pi T'u-shu Fu 東壁圖書府]

T'ang-jen Chi Ssu-chung; 1552; 2 chüan, 20, 46 pp.; 9 columns/page, 19 characters/column; copy from the library of the Faculty of Letters, Kyoto University, leaf 26 of chüan B supplied from a copy in the U.B.C. library.

This is presumably the same text as that listed in the Chung-kuo Ts'ung-shu Tsung-lu (p. 1219) as part of Chang Hsun-yeh's T'ang Shih-erh Chia Shih, though it may in fact be a reprint of that text. The potential for confusion is compounded by the fact that Tw is listed in the Tsung-lu as part of the T'ang Shih-erh Ming-chia Shih, while the copy of this collection that I have seen lacks the word ming 名 in the title, making it (the title) identical with that given in the Tsung-lu for Chang's collection. We may be seeing reprints in both cases (see also below), but this is, to invoke Vinton Dearing's distinction, a matter of bibliography rather than of textual analysis.

Except in the matter of the location of the extended regulated poems relative to the others, the TP subsystem texts are much closer to Mg than to Tw, and in fact there is only one peculiar variant to the subsystem:

124/2 倦 for 倦

In several other variations, TP agrees with Tw against Mg:
But these are considerably outnumbered, as we shall see, by those in which it agrees with Mg against Tw. There are also several variants peculiar to TP alone:

157/2 比 for 北
172/3 他 for 池
174/12 輒 for 輒
182/4 村 for 村
198/2 比 for 北
237/1 畢 for 方

It appears from these, and from the even more numerous variants peculiar to Ch that the two texts are descendants of a common ancestor, but that neither is an ancestor of the other.

Ch: Meng Hao-jan Chi; apud Hsü Tzu-ch'ang 許自昌 ed., [Hsin-k'æ] Ch'ien 前 -T'ang Shih-erh Chia Shih; 1603; 2 chián, 20, 46 pp.; 9 columns/page, 19 characters/column; copy in the library of the Faculty of Letters, Kyoto University; leaf 30, chián B, from a copy in the Naikaku Bunko, Tokyo.

This edition, collated by one Cheng Neng 鄭能, is closely related to TP (see above). It does have a number of peculiar variants:

29/3 沂 for 渝
36/11 八 for 入
45/4 妻 for 妻
55/1 拢 for 拢
68/1 十 for 卜
106/8 看 for 着
109/t 着 for 着
111/12 畫 for 書 (also Pai; independent?)
One point of interest about this edition is that it seems to have served as a collation text in the preparation of CTS (see above).

Tw: Meng Hao-jan Chi, apud Yang Yi-t'ung 慶原一統 ed., T'ang Shih-erh Chia Shih; prefaces dated 1584; 1 chüan, 10, 52 pp.; 9 columns/page, 20 characters/column; copy from the Naikaku Bunko, Tokyo.

The various prefaces to Tw are of interest only in that they comment on the difficulty of finding reliable texts and stress that careful checking by a team of editors ensures the quality of theirs. The chief editor was Yang Yi-t'ung, and the collator of Meng's poems was Sun Chung-yi 孫仲逸. Both men's Prefaces to the whole collection are dated 1584 (Wan-li chia-shen). The third Preface, by one Huang Tao-jih 黃道日, praises Yang's careful work. It should be noted that the prefaces are to a "recut" 重刊 edition of the T'ang Shih-erh Chia Shih (this was, it will be recalled, the title both of a collection related to TP and the source of KCh, according to Ku Tao-hung's Editorial Statement).

We have already noted several variations in which Tw and other HP and Ming system texts record alternate readings. There are two additional lines in the problematic poem 187 in which Tw alone does so:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Text</th>
<th>Variant</th>
<th>Agree with Text</th>
<th>Agree with Variant</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>187/5</td>
<td>引</td>
<td>飲 (all other texts)</td>
<td>(peculiar)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>187/5</td>
<td>輔</td>
<td>携 (TP, TSCvar, Liuvar)</td>
<td>(all but Mao, Mg, Fr, KCh)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>187/6</td>
<td>輯</td>
<td>輯 (Ming sys., KCh, TSCvar, Liuvar)</td>
<td>(all other texts)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>187/6</td>
<td>容</td>
<td>洗 (Ming sys., MSh, TSCvar)</td>
<td>(all other texts)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In addition, there are a few variants peculiar to the Tw subsystem:

1/t 業 for 業 or 來 or 超 210/7 業 for 業
3/8 俗 for 俗 (emended in Gb)  (emended in WM and Gb)
15/6 之 for 紹 215/5 蘇 for 蘇
16/3 三 for 三 217/4 明 for 明
27/3 頂 for 桌 221/2 桌 for 桌
68/t 十 for 十九 241/5 桌 for 桌
93/4 即 for 邁 (emended in WM and Gb)
157/t 十 for 之越 (emended in WM)
160/8 羅 for 羅 or 衣 (emended in Gb)
180/2 快 for 晚 253/1 奇 for 其
200/4 總 for 準 265/2 船 for 船 (emended in WM)
201/4 捉 for 微

And others in which Tw agrees only with texts outside the Ming system:

1/t 齒 for 公 (all but Ming, MSh, KCh)
2/3 況 for 況 (all but Ming, MSh, KCh)
15/6 徐 for 餅 (also TSC)
21/t 題 for 題 (all but Ming, Mao, HP, KCh)
27/1 愛 for 友 (also Yuan system, Liu, HP, MY, KY)
28/11 向 for 尚 (also Sg)
62/3 只 for 只 (also Ku, TSC, Yuan system, HP, Wvar, H)
65/t 之 for 五 (also Liuvar; emended in WM)
65/4 飛 for 飛 (also TSC, Yuan system, Liu, HP, MY)
72/5 番 for 番 (also Mao, Ku)
80/4 待 for 待 (also Liu, HP, MY)
107/t 派 for 派 (all but Mao, other Ming; emended in WM; also Ty)
120/5 向 for 尚 (also Ku; cf. Sg 何, peculiar)
130/2 脩 for 寻 (all but other Ming)
152/4 野 for 山 (also Korean subsystem)
168/t 之江南 for 之 (also TSC, Yuan system, Liu, HP, MY, KY, M, S)
168/3 何處向 for 超何處 (also Yuan system, Liu, HP)
175/6 潇 for 蕭 (all but Sg, Mao, Ming)
182/11 容 for 若 (also Liu)
183/4 入 for 我 (also Yuan system, Liu, MY, KY)
194/7 迟 for 適 (also Yuan system, Mao, KY)
201/4 落× for 落 (also Sung system, TSC, Korean subsystem, Liu)
208/5 轸 for 適 (also TSCvar)
222/7 住 for 駐 (also Korean subsystem)
245/1 端 for 端 (all but other Ming; also Ty; emended in Gb)

The variety of texts with which Tw agrees in individual variations, together with the lack of a single text which always agrees with it in those variations in which it disagrees with Mg, poses a difficult problem, similar to those encountered in the cases of MSh and TSC. One can at this stage only offer the obvious remark that a high percentage of these readings agree with Yuan system texts.

WM: Meng Hsiang-yang Chi, apud Yuan Hung-tao 袁宏道, ed., Wei-Meng Ch'üan-cti 韦孟全集; Preface dated 1630; 2 chüan, 3, 2, 3, 16, 23, 52 pp.; 9 columns/page, 19 characters/column; copy from the Naikaku Bunko, Tokyo.

The interesting thing about Yuan Hung-tao's Preface to the Wei-Ming Ch'üan-cti is that it is not included in his collected works, which suggests at least the possibility that it might be a forgery. This is all
the more possible given the known readiness with which printing establishments added famous names to spurious works during the late Ming period. On the other hand, the edition has been prepared with considerable care, so we are far from being able to dismiss it as a forgery.

The text, which in general follows Tw quite closely, has several points of interest. One of these is the commentary which Yuan (?) has added, along with Liu Ch'en-weng's notes (see above). The other is the limited number of cases in which WM deviates from Tw. A third is the addition of several poems not included in other texts, though these appear to be spurious. Some of the new variants in WM are simply peculiar errors which have crept into the text:

| 83/1 | 是 for 自 |
| 105/5 | 師 for 廳 |
| 163/7 | 病 for 病 |
| 173/11 | 譚 for 講 |

Much more interesting are a few variations that suggest that at least a minimum of conflation may have taken place:

| 11/10 | 深 for 森 | x x x | x |
| 54/t | 未 for 末 | x x x x x x | (x)(x)(x) |
| 65/t | 正 for 正 | x x x x x x x x x x x (x)(x)(x)(x)(x)(x)(x) |
| 82/t | 病 for 疾 | x x x | x x x | (x)(x)(x)(x) |
| 107/t | 汰 for 淘 | x x (x)(x)(x) |
| 157/t | 越 for 越 | x x x x x x x x x x x (x)(x)(x)(x)(x)(x) |
| 158/2 | 踏 for 跡 | x | (x)(x)(x) |
| 184/t | 夜 for 食 | x | x |
| 221/10 | 待 for 待 | (also Sk, Gb, Kn, independent?) |
One can come to no final conclusion about the source of these readings. Seven of the nine can be found in Mao, but one, at least, of the remaining two is unlikely to have been an independent variant. Also, the date of Mao is unknown, but it is at best approximately contemporary with WM. The TSC shares only six of the nine readings, but the three remaining are all troublesome pairs which seem to occur independently as graphic variants. In addition, TSC definitely predates WM, so one is inclined to think of it as the most likely source for conflation among the extant texts.

Gb: Mō Kōnen Shishū, Kyoto, 1743 (Genbun 4); 2 chüan, 2, 82 pp.; 8 columns/page, 14 characters/column; copy from Seikadō Bunko, Tokyo.

This edition, whose preface is dated late in 1733, is based on Tw, but with a considerable number of differences. The easiest to account for of these are the peculiar variants that have arisen out of phonetic or graphic confusion:

| 15/3 | 月 for 日 | 124/8 | 見 for 間 |
| 16/18 | 篆 for 璧 | 128/6 | 石 for 湖 |
| 25/3 | 别 for 到 | 139/4 | 下 for 十 |
| 34/4 | 有事 for 事有 | 156/1 | 開 for 間 |
| 57/t | 士 for 古 | 160/4 | 鶴 for 鴻 |
| 58/10 | 胡 for 湘 | 177/5 | 鳥 for 島 |
| 86/9 | 燧 for 營 | 179/8 | 起 for 趣 |
| 102/6 | 得 for 待 | 188/6 | 暮 for 曙 |
| 105/6 | 燕 for 島 | 188/8 | 明 for 朋 |
| 108/7 | 唯 for 離 | 207/8 | 無 for 無 |
| 108/8 | 斗 for 牛 | 209/t | 丨 for 泛 |
Then, there is an interesting group of variants that agree with
the Korean subsystem texts, suggesting that conflation took place, per­
haps outside of China:

And finally, there are five variants that are not found in all the
Korean subsystem texts:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>16/19</th>
<th>138/3</th>
<th>157/1</th>
<th>173/2</th>
<th>197/7</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sg</td>
<td>Ku</td>
<td>TSC</td>
<td>Gr</td>
<td>Tk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>月 for 日</td>
<td>(x) x x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Three of these would seem to suggest that it was Tk that was the source of conflation, but since Tk was probably not in existence so early, one is inclined to look to Gr or some lost ancestor as the source. The other two variants are probably best explained as independent errors.

7. The Anthologies

This brings us at last to the anthologies. There are thirteen of these to be considered, all from the T'ang and Sung dynasties. In addition to dealing with any special points of interest, our discussion will list the peculiar variants in each anthology and also the number of agreements that it has with certain other of the significant editions of the complete poems. However, it is only rarely possible (C is a case) to show that a particular anthology is especially close to just one text or system of the collected poems, since almost all of the latter are several centuries later than any of the former. These figures do suggest that certain systems—TSC in particular—were probably heavily conflated with at least the more important of the anthologies.

K: Jui T'ing-chang ed., Kuo-heiu Chi, apud T'ang-jen Heüan T'ang Shih (Shih Chung) (hereafter THTS), Hong Kong: Chung-hua, 1958. Contains the following poems by Meng Hao-jan: 181, 187, 198, 45, 126, and two additional apparently misattributed poems, one of which is elsewhere attributed to Ting Hsien-chih.

There is an important study of this collection by a Japanese scholar, Nakazawa Mareo, his "Kokushushû Kō" (hereafter TKK) (hereafter THTS), Hong Kong: Chung-hua, 1958. Contains the following poems by Meng Hao-jan: 181, 187, 198, 45, 126, and two additional apparently misattributed poems, one of which is elsewhere attributed to Ting Hsien-chih.

In this, Nakazawa establishes that the Kuo-heiu Chi was compiled, not in...
744, as is usually supposed, but later, during the period 758-765. His hypothesis is that it was intended as a retrospective selection of "elegant and musical" verse from the peaceful era between early K'ai-yuan and the outbreak of the An Lu-shan Rebellion. He suggests further that a much smaller anthology compiled at about the same time by the poet Yuan Chieh 元載, the Ch'ieh-chung Chi 元載集, was intended to collect work of an opposing 'classicist' school, and wonders if there may not have been some connection between the two, since a patron of Yuan Chieh was one of the two men who had earlier suggested to Jui T'ing-chang that he compile K. Whatever the origin of the collection, it is, as Nakazawa shows quite convincingly, a genuine production of the period and one which has remained in comparatively sound textual condition, probably due to the fact that it was generally unknown and neglected until the Sung dynasty. Nakazawa also turns his attention to the official titles given along with the poets' names in the table of contents. His conclusion is that they were a part of the original collection, but that a few of them were subsequently altered. They do seem to testify to a fairly long period of compilation and, while there are exceptions, they generally correspond to the latest rank that a writer had held.

There are only two peculiar variants in K: 45/t for 深為 198/t 恩歸 for 有懷

Of the remaining forty variations for which K supplies variants, the largest number of agreements found with any one significant text is 33, with TSC: Sg: 9; Ku: 19; TSC: 33; Ko: 17; Pai: 18; Liu: 22; HP: 24; Mg: 21; Tw: 24; MSh: 25. The twenty-three agreements with W are interesting too, since there are only twenty-six variations in common between
K and W.

H: Yin Fan 葛王羲 ed., Hê-yüeh Ying-ling Chi 楯墨英霽集, apud THTS; contains the following poems by Meng Hao-jan: 204, 59, 172, 193, 206, 39, and, attributed in H to Ts'ui Kuo-fu, 62, 116, and 126.

Nakazawa Mareo has also contributed a useful study of this anthology. He points out, as he did in the case of K, that the dates in the Preface refer to the period covered by the anthology, not to the date of compilation, which he shows must have been somewhat later. He also shows that the text has suffered some loss and rearrangement since its compilation.

There are five peculiar variants among the sixty-seven variations represented in H:

1. 55/2 越 for 水 or 海
2. 55/4 聯 for 連 or 縁
3. 172/t 見 for 尋 or 訪

Again, it is TSC that agrees most frequently with H: Sg: 39; Ku: 43; TSC: 50; Ko: 34; Pai: 36; Liu: 39; HP: 37; Mg: 35; Tw: 36; MSh: 35.

Also significant is the fact that I (see below) matches eight out of nine readings in poem 204, the only poem they have in common (the exception is the peculiar variant 204/5).

P: anon., [T'ang Hsieh-pên T'ang-jen Hsüan T'ang Shih]唐寫本唐人選唐詩, apud THTS, pp. 3-24; includes poems 8, 37, 46, 47, 72, 90, 174, 188, and 224, on pp. 7-9.

This title refers not to a book, but rather to a manuscript (Pelliot 2567) discovered at Tun-huang. ¹⁴ Meng Hao-jan's name does not
appear on it, but the poems listed above follow a group by Wang Ch'ang-ling—with the result that they were at first thought to be newly discovered poems by Wang.

As one would expect from a rough manuscript, P has a high percentage of peculiar variants, twenty out of sixty-seven variations:

8/5-8 (omission of four lines) 174/t 马 = for 马
37/t 不 for 劾
46/6 金 傅 for 金 傅
47/t 亭 金 傅 浪 西 for 1
47/1 而 for 且
47/7 往 for 再
47/8 虽 for 渔
90/t 是 for 趣
90/2-3 荒 for 荒 or 素
174/t 奉 和 for
174/17 菁 for 如
188/t 寂 食 眠 疾 父 for 1
188/t 见 寻 for 再 来
188/1 冠 for 聚
188/3 知 for 如
188/6 歌 for 歌
224/t (omission of title)
224/1 家 for 人

Once again it is TSC that agrees most often with the non-peculiar variants: Sg: 30; Ku: 29; TSC: 37; Ko: 21; Pai: 23; Liu: 29; HP: 33; Mg: 34; Tw: 33; MSh: 32.

Y: Wei Chuang ed., Yu-hsüan Chi yu hsien, 3 chüan; apud THTS, pp. 347-442; includes Meng Hao-jan poems 172 and 204, plus a poem by Li Po misattributed to Meng, all on p. 375, and, on p. 381, a poem (206) by Hao-jan, misattributed to Meng Chiao.

Y was long lost in China, but survived in Japan, where a printed edition was published during the Edo period.
Of the twenty-seven variants available from Y, seven are peculiar:

172/t 喜 for etypes
172/t 曾 for 灰
204/t 粤 for 故融
204/t 树 for 寂 or 想
204/t 回 for 林

Most of Y's other readings are duplicated in the other editions most of the time: Sg: 15; Ku: 15; TSC: 18; Ko: 15; Pai: 15; Liu: 19; HP: 15; Mg: 18; Tw: 18; MSh: 14.

I: *Itsumei Toshishu Zanken* 佚名唐詩集成卷, published facsimile (Tokyo, 1958) of a manuscript in the collection of Mr. Sakai Ukichi, with an explanatory colophon by Kanda Kiichirō 神田喜一郎. Includes Meng Hao-jan poems 21, 29, 31, 43, and 204.

This manuscript consists of a few scattered pages apparently from a copy--early Heian is the suggested date--of a collection of T'ang poems relating to Buddhist temples. The opening and closing sections are lost, and there is a gap of unknown extent between the third and fourth of the six surviving pages. With five poems (one of them repeated), Meng Hao-jan is the most fully represented poet in the surviving sections. According to Kanda's colophon, several of the poets are unknown, but the others are all from the High and Early Middle T'ang periods. In two of the poems, there are examples of the 'new characters' introduced in the time of Empress Wu, which suggests that the manuscript is based on an original not too much later than that.

In the forty-seven variations in these poems, I has seven peculiar variants:

29/1 米 for 未
29/3 水 for 川
Except, as mentioned above, for H, no one edition agrees most of the time with I: Sg: 25; Ku: 27; TSC: 32; Ko: 21; Pai: 20; Liu: 26; HP: 24; Mg: 26; Tw: 25; MSh: 27.

S: Wei Hu 蕭穎, Te'ai-tiao Chi 才調集, 10 chüan; apud THTS, pp. 443-686; includes Meng Hao-jan poems 168 and 228 (chüan 1, p. 465).

Of the nine variations in these two poems, there is only one peculiar variant in S: 228/5 逸 豐色 for 順色逸.

TSC agrees with all the remaining variants: Sg: 2; Ku: 3; TSC: 8; Ko: 5; Pai: 7; Liu: 7; HP: 7; Mg: 6; Tw: 6; MSh: 7.


The Peking edition is based on two old wood-block texts, one from the Southern Sung, and one from the Ming. The Sung print is used wherever it is extant, and the rest, by far the greater part, is from the Ming print. The following poems are from the Sung portion: 1, 7, 10, 12-13, 22, 34, 36, 41, 43, 75, 101, 105, 107, 111, 116, 118-119, 125-126, 200, 239. The rest, of course, comes from the Ming. The 'Editorial Statement' to this edition presents a useful summary of the background of the
compilation and transmission of the text of W. The most important piece of information for our purposes is probably that the textual notes included in W are themselves of Southern Sung date.

There is a much fuller discussion of the compilation and early textual history of W in an important article by Hanabusa Hideki 世樹. Hanabusa shows that W was probably compiled from individual collected works rather than from earlier anthologies, such as S. He further suggests—a hypothesis ignored in the Peking introduction—that the present text goes back to that prepared during the Northern Sung, rather than to an inferior copy based on this—all that was available, according to the Peking editors, after the Chin conquest of the north.

Of almost equal importance to the basic text of W itself are the collation notes added by Chou Pi-ta 仲必大. At least so far as Meng Hao-ji's poems are concerned, these are of two kinds. Some read "the collected works reads," and the others have "one [text] reads." Now, generally speaking, the 'collected works' readings so cited agree with the Sung system texts, especially with Sg. There are almost two hundred such variants given, of which only seven, all from the portion reprinted from the Ming printing of W, are peculiar:

38/11 從 for 後  173/15 華 for 華
65/1 比 for 北  180/t 諸 for 影
92/3 締 for 下  211/8 童 for 望
152/t 公 for 去

The following seven are not in Sg or Ku, though they are found in various other editions of Meng's works:

13/8 佳 for 佳  34/15 逝 for 遊
The following agree with Sg but not with Ku:

16/12 伐 for 欽  107/8 陽 for 樓
36/2 送 for 敵  114/t 宅 for 作
38/9 守 for 廟  119/7 上 for 土
65/10 洲 for 舟  176/12 同 for 共
90/6 間 for 漫

And the following agree with Ku, but not with Sg:

123/7 港 for 皇  173/6 極 for 杯

All of this suggests that the 'collected works' which Chou Pi-ta consulted was very closely related to Sg, if not identical to it.

The "one text reads" variants are not nearly so numerous; they total only a little over fifty, of which twenty-one, all but four from the Ming portion of the reprinted text, are peculiar:

11/10 逃逃 for 翬遴  153/3 世 for 露
13/1 遊 for 迷  168/2 江樹 for 春江
13/12 皆 for 俱  177/2 野狎 for 已狎
23/3 帝 for 帝  183/4 金 for 家
36/8 烏 for 烏  193/3 香 for 不
40/1 陵 for 彭  193/7 名 for 多
42/4 閘 for 關  193/7 醉 for 酒
83/6 攻 for 工  200/3 酒 for 纜
84/5 鼎 for 羽  202/8 憐 for 令
153/3 偏早 for 兇早  206/4 歎 for 多
No one text comes close to agreeing with all the other thirty-two "one reads" variants: Sg: 13; Ku: 14; TSC: 24; Ko: 20; Pai: 19; Liu: 18; HP: 19; Mg: 17; Tw: 17; MSh: 18.

In the few cases in which "one reads" agrees with only one or two other texts, the agreeing text is different each time, and there are in addition several cases in which agreement is only with Sung system texts, others where it is only with Yuan system texts, and still others in which it is Ming system texts alone that agree. It seems obvious that Chou Pi-ta was either using a very peculiar text which has since been lost or, much more likely, that "one text reads" is simply a catch-all heading—it claims, after all, to be no more—under which miscellaneous variants from a variety of sources were collected.

Turning to the basic text of W, we find again a large number of peculiar variants, no fewer than 147. These, however, are to be divided into two groups. Those to which Chou Pi-ta cites an alternative in his notes may either be readings derived from the original sources used by the compilers of W, or else be errors that had crept into the text in the process of compilation or during its transmission down to Chou's own time. Those peculiar variants to which he does not offer alternatives may be variants of either of the foregoing types that he failed to notice, or else they may be additional errors that arose in the transmission of the text subsequent to Chou's collation. The first group consists of the following:

1/6 磚 for 墻
1/8 窗 for 墭
1/3 洽意 for 洽
1/4 ild for ild
1/2 ild for ild
10/1 晨 for 东
10/2 似 for 自
10/7 然 for 起
10/10 常 for 时
11/20 未 for 兩
12/1 帆 for 翰
13/8 往 for 往 or 關
13/11 間 for 間 or 閣
13/12 部 for 個 or 皆
13/18 願 for 知 or 能
13/18 散 for 效 or 効
14/14 纎 for 蹤
15/12 械 for 構
16/19 初 for 殘
22/t 臣 for 空
22/t 隱 for 頭
22/2 舊 for 隱
22/6 餅 for 頭
22/8 枝 for 迎
34/t 礼 for 礼
34/11 堂 for 宮
34/14 乾 華 計 未 成
for 先 聞 嘉 言 名
34/15-18 (omission of four lines)
36/7 染 for 渠
36/8 鳥 for 子
38/3 棄 鰓 for 鱸 魚
38/4 見 for 識
39/2 喧 for 渡
39/3 道 for 路
39/6 辨 for 到
39/7 草 for 棟
42/t 祐 for 遠 or 永
43/t 宫 山 主 for 领
43/1 地 for 開
43/4 總 for 映
55/4 鍾 for 棟
58/5 匡 for 堅
58/9 墜 for 堕
62/7 旦 for 日
65/7 村 人 賢 人 for 歸 村 人
74/2 園 for 園
75/9 榜 for 賢
84/9 許 for 誠
90/6 厲 for 謀
101/t 旅行 欲 for 夜
101/t 洲 for 城
101/12 江 for 沙
107/4 许 for 力
111/16 烏 for 翡
113/18 勝 境 for 華 頂
114/t 來 for 樂 成
And the second group consists of:

1/7 手 for 宿
5/4 吼 for 挂 歽
11/3 氣 for 氛
13/13 造 for 往 陸
16/12 棚 for 蘭
16/24 可 for 何

34/t 謡 for 廳
34/7 鹿 for 陸
38/t 子 for 公
39/t 山 for 廳 or 寺
39/7 寳 for 寮
55/4 連 for 戀 or 聯
Again, there is no clear indication that the basic text of W is especially close to any one extant text: Sg: 430; Ku: 452; TSC: 546; Ko: 305; Pai: 358; Liu: 469; HP: 488; Mg: 487; Tw: 478; MSh: 464 (out of 687 non-peculiar variants).
The striking predominance of the Ming print over the Sung as a source of peculiar 'collected works' and 'one text' variants, as well as of readings peculiar to the basic text of W where Chou Pi-ta offers no alternative, strongly suggests the inferiority of the Ming print. While this considerably lessens the chances of any particular one of these readings being authorial, it does not allow us to rule them out as a group.


The *T'ang Wen Ts'ui* is a large compendium of T'ang writings in both prose and verse. There are only ten variations in these two poems, and most of the editions of Meng's works agree with T in all of them (there are no peculiar variants): Sg: 5; Ku: 7; TSC: 6; Ko: 10; Pai: 10; Liu: 10; HP: 10; Mg: 10; Tw: 10; MSh: 9.


There is a good deal of uncertainty surrounding the text of this anthology, its compiler, and its original form. Of the 231 variations to which A contributes readings, it has a peculiar variant in the following twenty-six:

\[1/2 \text{iant for 築 or 蓬 or 碟} \quad 12/2 \text{善 for 山} \]
\[1/t \text{鳳進士 for 大 or 公} \quad 18/t \text{入自 for } \rightarrow \]
\[1/8 \text{書 for 孤} \quad 18/t \text{作 for } \rightarrow \]
\[5/2 \text{自 for 益 or 者} \quad 18/9 \text{氣 for 物} \]
In a way, one's uncertainty about the text of A would be relieved if its readings were generally obviously erroneous. They are instead generally at least acceptable alternatives to those found elsewhere in the tradition. Noticeable among them is the large proportion found in titles of poems. Reading 落 进士, for example, actually agrees with the little that can be discovered about Meng's friend Ting. One is reminded of the peculiar variants in HP, many of which occur in titles and seem to transmit authorial readings, or at least readings less corrupt than are found in other texts.

No other text comes close to agreeing with all the 205 non-peculiar variants in A: Sg: 115; Ku: 130; TSC: 168; Ko: 104; Pai: 118; Liu: 154; HP: 151; Mg: 156; Tw: 156; MSh: 142.

C: Chi Yu-kung 許有功, T'ang Shih Chi-shih 唐詩紀事, 81 chüan; rpt. Taipei: Chung-hua, 1970; includes poems 8, 20, 30, 105, 125, 172, 198, and 206.
Very little is known of Chi Yu-kung, but he seems to have been active early in the Southern Sung. His book is a voluminous compendium of material concerning T'ang poets. He cites couplets, poems, prefaces, earlier critical comments, in short, anything he seems to have been able to find. There are only six peculiar variants in the seventy-nine variations in these eight poems:

8/t 岳 for 洞庭 or 岳陽樓  172/1 嘉 for 鴻
8/7 徒 for 坐  172/2 義 for 家 or 嘉
20/5-8 (omission of four lines)  206/t (omission of title)

There are also three variants which are found elsewhere only as cited variants in TSC:

30/3 相 for 初 or 初  198/3 江 for 嘉 or 湘
198/1 初 for 南

The peculiar variant in 172/2 is striking because, while 嘉 and 嘉 could be a graphic variation, and 嘉 and 家 a phonetic confusion, the peculiar reading in C stands between the two forms found in all the other texts. Since 嘉 嘉 makes very poor sense compared to 嘉 or 嘉 , it seems that it is an error in Sg and Ku.

In general, however, C agrees more often with Sung system texts than with those from the Yuan and Ming systems. Aside from the nine variants just cited, there are only eight variations in which C disagrees with both Sg and Ku:

8/t 岳上作 for 岳陽樓 (this is the sum of a complex set of five variations)
8/7 假 for 見
8/7 假 for 見
What all this suggests is that C's ancestor was very close to, if not identical with, that of Sg and Ku: Sg: 45; Ku: 47; TSC: 44; Ko: 29; Pai: 31; Liu: 34; HP: 30; Mg: 34; Tw: 35; MSh: 26.


This anthology no longer contains the 10,000 poems promised by its title, though it did in its original state, according to the Ssu-k'u editors. (T'i-yao, p. 4149). They record criticisms levelled against it, but conclude that it is a valuable work all the same.

Of the sixty-seven variants available from M, seven are peculiar:

49/t => for 吳東口  169/3 去 for 去
129/t => for 同張十十  247/t => for 同張將
169/t 人 for 新安張少府  250/t 爾 for 不過
169/1 場 for 场

Note that five of the seven are simply abbreviations of titles. The largest number of agreements is with Liu: Sg: 32; Ku: 45; TSC: 41; Ko: 39; Pai: 41; Liu: 46; HP: 43; Mg: 44; Tw: 43; MSh: 42. Twelve of the remaining fourteen variants that do not agree with Liu do so with Ku, and eleven with Mao and Mg. The two variants that do not, and are also not peculiar are:

127/t => for 質 or 题  169/4 他 for 瓜

Both of these agree with the Yuan system texts.
L: Chao Shih-hsiu 趙師秀 ed., Chung-miao Chi 宴妙集, 1 chüan, apud Shih-Ts'u Tsa-tsu 詩詞雜集 (PP 23/1); includes poems 8, 116, 206, and 208.

This anthology, which includes only five-and seven-word regulated verse, was compiled by one of the 'Four Lings', a group of minor, late Southern Sung poets who took T'ang poetry as their standard. The four Meng Hao-jan poems included are among his best known works. There are only two peculiar variants, both in poem 8:

8/6 安 for 端 8/7 看 for 觀

Of the thirty-three non-peculiar variants in these four poems, most agree with a considerable number of other texts: Sg: 24; Ku: 25; TSC: 28; Ko: 22; Pai: 24; Liu: 24; HP: 23; Mg: 26; Tw: 25; MSh: 22.

Two interesting variants are the following, the first of which agrees only with P (the Tun-huang manuscript) and the second only with Sg and Ku:

8/t 了 for 間 or 望 206/t 晚 for 曬

In fact, with the exception of the two peculiar variants and the one shared only with P, which is quite probably independent, all the readings in L agree with either W or Ku or both (in one case, Sg differs from Ku, having a peculiar variant of its own). What we are seeing here is apparently a close relationship with a text ancestral or related to Sg and Ku.

These 11 chüan are all that has survived of what was once a huge compendium of T'ang poetry arranged by theme. There are only three peculiar variants in the sixty-one variations in these seven poems, the first two being in what F records as a variant to its basic text:

28/7 然 for 麗

110/8 子 for 余

28/9 高 for 廬

The interesting relationship between F and the Mao collation texts MSg and MSh has been remarked upon above. Once again, TSC agrees more often with F than does any other edition of Meng's works: Sg: 27; Ku: 30; TSC: 43; Ko: 32; Pai: 36; Liu: 40; HP: 39; Mg: 37; Tw: 33; MSh: 38.
Notes

1 For details concerning these editions, see the discussion of individual texts that follows.

2 Letter of May 7, 1973. See also his *Biographies of Meng Hao-jan*, p. 20.

3 Letter of October 3, 1976. Note that I adopt Dearing's usage for the terms 'variant' and 'variation'. A variation is an instance of difference between two or more texts; a variant is any one of the individual readings that goes to make up a variation. I chose, as a matter of convenience, Mao as my base text for collation, treating its readings as lemmas and contrasting readings as variants. This latter distinction has no place in the analysis proper and will not be discussed further. Note also that if the use of Dearing's calculus is to be successful, complex or nested variations must be correctly analysed. See Dearing, pp. 25-34.

4 An exception to this principle may occur in the case of a stemma whose archetype is not extant. Here an editor may note, in proposing an emendation of a presumed corruption common to the significant texts, that the emendation has previously been made in one or more of the eliminandi.


6 I derive my information on taboos and their substitutes from Ch'en Yuan, *Shih-hui Chi-lì*.

7 There is an interesting question concerning the possible substitution, which would presumably have been authorial, of $\frac{\pi}{2}$ for $\frac{\pi}{2}$ -- a T'ang taboo--but this does not affect the genealogy of the texts. See Part II, note 162.
8See Appendix A for fully annotated translations of the Prefaces. Note that the figure given for the number of chüan and poems differ in various texts of the Preface.

9"Sent to Chiang T'ao  with a Request for Surviving Works of Meng Liu [Hao-jan]" (K. 13356) -- poems included in the Ch'üan T'ang Shih are numbered according to the listing found in the Kyôto Tôdai no Shihei. For Liu Shen-hsü, see Part II, note 50.

10There was a chia-tsu year in 1504. Li Yao-ch'ing is not identified, but he may well have been related to Li Kuan , whose tsu was Yi-ch'ing — and who passed the chin-shih during the Cheng-te period.

11See Ogawa Tamaki, Tôshî Gaisetsu, p. 94.

12For Li Ch'ung-ssu, see Ming Shih, KM 201.7566.3. He passed the chin-shih examination in 1487, and had a successful career as an official, remaining active until his death in 1528.

13Ling Meng-ch'u is better known as a dramatist and as the editor of two series of short stories, the P'ai-an Ching-ch'i.

14P'an Chih-heng was an official and writer acquainted with both Ling Meng-ch'u and Yuan Hung-tao.

15The Mencius (Meng-tzu Yin-te, VI/A/7) refers to Yi Ya, who is elsewhere said to have had a palate so sensitive that he could distinguish by taste between the waters of the Sheng and Tzu Rivers.

16.. The emphasis was supplied by dotting alongside choice couplets. I have elsewhere translated this term simply as 'commentary'.

17The possibility that P'an Chih-heng was involved with both the Liu and WM texts is interesting. Note that he supplied the 'short' edition with Li Meng-yang's commentary to Ling Meng-ch'u, but was also
a friend of Yuan Hung-tao, who apparently published in WM a 'long' Ming system text with Liu Ch'en-weng's notes only.

18 The personal name of "Master White Clouds," Wang Chiung {\textsuperscript{1817}} (see Part II) has been corrupted to {\textsuperscript{1818}} 'return'.

19 See Part II, note 148.

20 For an early and inconclusive study of the forerunners of CTS, see Hu Huai-ch'en, "Ch'\u0143\u0109an T'ang Shih te Pien-chi-che chi Ch'i Ch'ien-hou," in Yi-ching XVIII (1936), 950-952. Hu analyses the preface to CTS and other sources, and concludes that there was an earlier "Ch'\u0143\u0109an T'ang Shih," on which the compilers drew very heavily. He also mentions various other possible precursors, including the T'ang-yin T'ung-ch'ien, but stops short once he has formulated the unsolved problems: what was the nature of the lost original? who compiled it? and when?

21 Chiang Fu-tsung referred to this collection (TS) as "the unacknowledged basis of the Imperial edition of Complete T'ang Poetry" ("The Minor Poets of the Southern Sung Dynasty," Philobiblon II/l [1947], 3).

22 In fact, a sampling of readings from a copy of the T'ang Shih Lei-yuan, which became available to me only at the end of my work on the eliminandi, shows that its text is very close to Pai. So, in fact it, rather than Pai may have been the source of many of these variants.

23 This colophon presents a number of difficulties and my translation is only tentative in places. None of the people mentioned in it can be identified. I am indebted to Mr. Ōta Shōjirō, Chief Librarian of the Sonkeikaku Library, for calling my attention to the existence of Ko and for suggesting that it might actually have been an ancestor of Sk (undated letter postmarked May 11, 1975). He also suggested that the colophon was first added to a Korean edition. It is lacking from Ko, but since the latter is missing several leaves the colophon may have disappeared from it because of this.
The texts vary here, Nk having  and Sk  

Sk gives this name as Han Chen (or T'ien) .

There must be an allusion here, but it has defeated all my efforts to unravel it.

Nk reads  for  . I have been unable to identify the writer or determine the particular significance of "Kao-yang." One is tempted to identify the writer with the Yuan Tzu-ch'iao referred to in the colophon, but the form of the reference makes this appear unlikely.

There are, however, five variations in which Mao's text agrees with Yuan system readings against those found in the Sung and Ming systems, without this being so described in the apparatus. Two of these are due to the errors in the apparatus itself at 194/7 (see above). The other three are: 55/2 水 for 溪; 112/3 浮浮 for 浮浮; 196/8 丁 for 丁交.

See Part II, notes 101 and 152.

Nihon Chūgoku Gakkaihō III (1951), 85-91. A much more ambitious contribution is Nakazawa's "Tōjin Sen Toshi Kō" (Gunma Daigaku Kyōiku Gakubu Kiyō, XXII [1972], 73-101). This incorporates material from his earlier articles, including those on K and H cited here and below, but its scope is much broader, taking in all known T'ang and Five Dynasties anthologies of T'ang poetry, whether lost or extant, and presenting as full a description as possible of each, dealing with date, compiler, contents, references in early bibliographies, editions, and so forth. The sections which directly concern us here are those treating K (pp. 82-84), H (pp. 86-90), P (pp. 85-86), Y (pp. 98-99), and S (p. 100), but the entire article is a mine of information.

There is also a brief survey by Ogawa Shōichi, "Tōjin Sen Tōshi ni Tsuite" (Shibun, N.S. 28 [1960], 31-38), which tabulates the contents of nine extant T'ang anthologies according to theme and poet, calling
attention to some interesting points about them which such a tabulation reveals—neglect of Tu Fu, scarcity of references to the western frontiers, et cetera.

31 For the importance of this list, see Part II, note 101.

32 There are also extensive selections from K, H, Y, S, and T, and other T'ang anthologies contained in Wang Shih-chen's Shih-chung T'ang Shih-hsüan. The text of Meng's poems found in this collection (39, 55, 116, 126, 172, and 206 from H, 45, 126, and 198 from K, 168 and 228 from S, and 39 from T) occasionally differs from that found in THTS. Where such differences occur—and they are not especially numerous, eleven in the thirteen poems—the Wang edition is generally closer to editions of Meng's collected works. Several peculiar readings disappear in Wang. The poems attributed to Ts'ui Kuo-fu in the THTS edition of H are entered under Meng's name in the Wang edition. It is difficult to be sure whether Wang's closer approximation of the standard text is due to his having based his selection on older or more reliable editions of the anthologies to begin with, or whether it is a sign that he collated his text against some edition of Meng's collected works. In favour of the former is the existence of peculiar readings in the THTS edition, but not in the Wang edition.

33 Gumma Daigaku Kiyō I (1951), 67-80.

34 Yang Ch'eng-tsu retranscribes the entire manuscript and collates each poem in it against extant texts where these exist in his "Tun-huang T'ang Hsieh-pên T'ang-jen Hsüan T'ang Shih Chiao-chi" 校 記 , Nan-yang Ta-hsüeh Hsüeh-pao, Inaugural Volume (1967), pp. 41-68. The T'ang poems found on this and other Tun-huang manuscripts (but not including the poems of Wang Fan-chih) are collected by Wang Chung-min in his "Pu Ch'üan T'ang Shih" (rpt. in Chou K'ang-hsieh ed., T'ang Shih Yen-chiu Lun-chi, pp. 217-262, from Chung-hua Wen Shih Lun-te'ung, III, 301-346).

PART II

THE LIFE OF MENG HAO-JAN
1. Introduction

Despite a number of conscientious attempts, an adequate biography of Meng Hao-jan has yet to be written, though he is generally considered to be one of the major poets of the High T'ang, the greatest age of Chinese verse.¹ The reasons for this are many and various. Meng suffers, for one thing, from having been the near contemporary of such giants as Tu Fu, Li Po, and Wang Wei, and he remains somewhat in their shadows. Those who have attempted an account of his life have encountered a number of specific difficulties. His poems are not numerous, compared to those of most of the better-known poets, and no prose writings of his have survived, so that the amount of first-person material available is less than one would wish for the purpose. Then, too, Meng was an obscure person in his own day. He never passed an official examination, and never held a proper government post, if we exclude a few months spent, near the end of his life, as a kind of companion and assistant to a former Chief Minister then in disgrace in the provinces. "Alas," lamented Wang Shih-yuan 王士源, his first biographer, "if a man does not receive an official's salary during his lifetime, the historians need not write of him." As a result, we have little in the way of external sources for his life. Of his biographies in the two official histories of the T'ang dynasty, one is less than two lines long, and the other is really little more, though it has been very extensively padded out with anecdotes of dubious authenticity and a good deal of posthumous material of virtually no value for our understanding of his life.² The only extensive account of Meng by a contemporary is the Preface to his collected poems written by Wang Shih-yuan, the biographer quoted just above.
Parts of the Preface, which was composed within a decade of Meng's death in 740, are very valuable indeed, but it falls far short of being the rounded and reliable account for which we would wish. It seems, in fact, that Wang was not really well acquainted with Meng at all, and his description of Hao-jan's life and character is marred by gross omissions and one-sided interpretations. We would not, for instance, suspect from the Preface that Meng had spent many years travelling through much of China, or that he had devoted a good deal of his life to fruitless attempts to obtain a post in the civil service.\(^3\)

In short, the Preface and the two official biographies are entirely inadequate, both in extent and in reliability, as sources for a full account of Meng's life. Unfortunately, modern attempts to reconstruct Meng's biography have adopted these three texts as their basis and have then set about supplementing them from other sources, chiefly Meng's own poems. The results have varied in quality, but even the best of them have been impaired by their dependence on these texts, and they suffer badly as soon as they are tested in detail against contemporary historical materials. This essay will attempt a different approach, to begin with the poems and with 'neutral' historical sources, and then to test the standard accounts against these. The result is a much more detailed life, but one which is necessarily based on a good deal of speculation, interpretation, and deduction. Its reliability thus varies considerably from paragraph to paragraph--sometimes, indeed, almost from word to word--and this has required extensive annotation, in which various alternatives, pieces of conflicting evidence, and supplementary materials are discussed in detail.
2. Ancestry and Youth

Meng Hao-jan was born in 689, probably in the vicinity of the modern city of Hsiang-yang, in Hu-pei Province. We know nothing of his parents beyond the fact that at least one of them, probably his mother, lived to see Hao-jan reach maturity. One younger brother, Hsien-jan, an editor of Hao-jan's works, appears several times in the poems, and there were other brothers as well. It seems likely, though, that Hao-jan was the eldest.

We can do little more than conjecture about Meng's childhood and adolescence. His family, if undistinguished, was comfortable enough that Hao-jan and his brothers could spend much of their time receiving an education. His poems show a ready familiarity with the Confucian classics and the dynastic histories, as well as with the Ch'u Tz'u, the Chuang Tzu and Lieh Tzu, and the literary works included in the Wen Hsuan. He does not, however, seem to have been a bookish man by nature. When he refers back in later years to the studies of his youth, it is generally with the implication that his labours in the fields of learning deserved a better reward than he has yet received. He opens a poem of disappointed reproach that he addressed to two highly placed government officials in 724—we shall return to it later—with the couplet,

Devoted to study for all of thirty years,
I barred my gate south of Yangtse and Han.

"During Heavy Rains in Ch'in..." [58]

This was study with a purpose, to prepare for a possible career in the civil service. Unlike such contemporary poets as Tu Fu and Ts'en Shen, whose forbears had been well-known writers and statesmen, Meng had no ancestors of any fame whatever. His family
cannot have been among the most prominent even of Hsiang-yang, for the local history mentions no one with the surname Meng except for Hao-jan himself.\textsuperscript{10} Meng says that his forefathers were "from Tsou and Lu,"\textsuperscript{11} but he mentions no names, and one is tempted to surmise that the reason is simply that he had none to mention, at least none that he could expect his readers to recognise. The lack of family connections meant that whatever success he might look forward to in his official career would depend on his own talents and the aid of such influential patrons as he might be able to attract. This is not to say that he had reason to lose hope; his friends Li Po and Chang Chiu-ling would have notable, if very different, careers based on talent and patronage.\textsuperscript{12} But it does mean that when Meng refers to "those in power" or to "the Chins and Changs"\textsuperscript{13}--as he does occasionally, and with signs of envy later in his life--he is speaking of a group to which he did not have automatic entry by reason of his birth.

Nonetheless, it may have seemed to the young Hao-jan, or at least to his family, that birth had begun to count for less than in earlier days. Empress Wu, who usurped the throne shortly before Meng was born, placed great emphasis on competitive examinations as the gateway to government service. Whether or not this was done in order to create a loyal counterforce to the old northern aristocracy that opposed her and had supplied most of the higher-level bureaucrats during the earlier years of the T'ang,\textsuperscript{14} it must have given some encouragement to talented and ambitious young men of less than aristocratic origin.

Meng never refers to Empress Wu or to the events of her rule, and virtually never even to the political atmosphere of his own time. So,
it is quite possible that he was at most only dimly aware of the tensions existing at the capital during his youth. But one event can scarcely have escaped his attention. Late in 704, an elderly native of Hsiang-yang named Chang Chien-chih 张 之 was appointed Chief Minister on the recommendation of Yao Ch'ung 姚策, an outgoing Minister who had fallen into disfavour. 15 A few months later, as the aged Empress' health was deteriorating rapidly and it was feared that her favourites might resort to a coup in order to retain power, a group of high officials, led by Chang and aided by Yao Ch'ung, seized the vital Hsüan-wu Gate, beheaded the unhappy favourites, and forced the Empress to abdicate in favour of her son Chung Tsung, whose throne she had usurped so many years before. Chang Chien-chih was created Prince of Han-yang as a reward for his part in the coup and stayed on as Chief Minister for some months afterward, but he soon began to feel his age and asked for permission to resign and return home. This was granted, and he was made Prefect of Hsiang-chou (whose administrative centre was Hsiang-yang), though without any obligation to attend to local government business. Unhappily, the situation in the capital was still unstable, and power soon came into the hands of Chung Tsung's wife (Empress Wei) and Wu San-ssu 武思, a nephew of the now deceased former Empress Wu. They were anxious to be rid of the successful plotters, who might be expected to oppose their own hopes for a new usurpation. Wu San-ssu, moreover, bore an understandable grudge against Chang Chien-chih, who had not only deposed his aunt, but had also warmly urged Chung Tsung at the time to execute all the members of the Wu family, including San-ssu himself. After less than a year at home, Chien-chih was accused of plotting
rebellion and banished to a low-ranking post in a frontier district, where he died soon after of old age and chagrin.\(^\text{16}\)

The struggle for power at court continued until 713, when the young Emperor Hsüan Tsung, a grandson of the Empress Wu—and a nephew of Chung Tsung—consolidated his position by eliminating the last of his rivals. Known in history as Ming Huang, the "Brilliant Emperor," he was to rule for the rest of Meng's life, a symbol of one of China's greatest ages, and eventually of one of its most catastrophic collapses.

We cannot tell how much Meng knew of these later events at court, or what he thought about what he did know. It does seem clear that he was in no hurry at all to put his years of study to use by seeking an official post during this period. Several explanations have been offered for this, one of the most likely being that he simply did not want to become involved in the sordid struggles going on in the capital.\(^\text{17}\) It would be even simpler to suppose that he was happy enough where he was, and didn't feel like exerting the effort required to make a success of official life. It is, at any rate, often difficult enough to determine Meng's intentions and motives even during later periods of his life for which we have some datable materials; the most that we can say with any assurance of his young manhood is that there is no evidence at all that he even left Hsiang-yang until he was about thirty. That he was the world-shy recluse of later tradition we can neither prove nor disprove.

The earliest of Meng's datable poems is one addressed to his friend Chang Tzu-jung \(^\text{18}\). This was written toward the end of 711—Meng was 22—as Chang left for the capital to sit for the chin-shih examination:
In evening twilight, as the glow on the hills fades away,
I see a wanderer out through my brushwood gate.
Sad and solemn, our parting here in the fields,
Earnest and intense, our words, once drunk.
I remain at rest in a shady grove,
While you soar aloft into the stately trees.
Do not cause the 'valley wind' to censure;
We must always try to preserve the way of friendship.

"Saying Farewell to Chang Tzu-jung, Who
Goes to Take the Chin-shih Examination"
[141]

This is, to be sure, an occasional poem, and it would be surprising
to find sentiments markedly different from these expressed in it. The
allusions to the Songs are proper, but their very propriety makes them
useless as a guide to Meng's true feelings on seeing his friend Chang
"soaring aloft into the stately trees." What we do know is only that
Chang did in fact succeed in the examinations, being among the thirty-
seven men to pass the chin-shih degree in the last examination before
the accession of Hsüan Tsung.19

3. The First Trip North

Chang Tzu-jung's later career is obscure, though we shall encounter
him several times again in Meng's life. The question that suggests itself
here is, why wasn't Meng going up to take the examination at the same
time? It is possible that he had taken, but failed, the preliminary
examination at the local level. Or perhaps he simply did not feel ready
in 712. While a few young men of exceptional brilliance took and passed
the chin-shih examination while still in their late teens, the average
age was considerably greater, and it was not unusual for a man to delay
until after his thirtieth year before making the attempt. In Meng's
case there is a degree of uncertainty about the age at which he finally
went up for the exam. The biographies, to be sure, agree on forty, but references in the poems suggest that he travelled to the capital and suffered some setback in his career around the age of thirty.\textsuperscript{20}

It is unlikely that he was an examination candidate at this time, since we have no direct evidence that he was, and since his destination was Lo-yang, while the examinations were held only in Ch'ang-an. In any case, the great majority of lower-ranking bureaucratic jobs were filled by men without degrees, and Meng may simply have been seeking such a position for himself. Moreover, he seems to have made his journey in the early spring, too late for an official candidate.\textsuperscript{21} There are two poems that may have been written on the way:\textsuperscript{22}

In the places that I have climbed since morning,
It does not seem the season of beguiling warmth.
In a strange district there are different sights and customs;
In a traveller's longings is much to occupy his mind.
I cut flowers, amazed that the year is early;
Look at willows, surprised that spring delays.
Southward flying geese have not yet come;
If I composed a letter, with whom could I send it?

"On Climbing the Gate Tower of the Post-station at Nan-yang on the Day of Man and Thinking of my Friends on the Han River"
[195]

Weary of travelling, I give my team a rest,
And all unchanged behold the shores of the Ju.
The River Lo is just now free of snow;
On the crest of Mt. Sung remain traces of cloud.
Trailing out half across the empty void,
Rolling and surging, the five colours distinct.
And now I will write on the inspiration of this moment,
And send it off to Lu the Summoned Gentleman.

"Sent to the Summoned Gentleman Lu on Reaching Ju-fên on my Journey" [91]

At some period in his life, Meng had some very good times in Lo-yang. Unfortunately, it is rather in the nature of good times that they are hard to date.\textsuperscript{23} One occasion, though, produced a poem that helps us to under-
stand why Meng had chosen to go to Lo-yang, when he went, and what he was doing there:

Our host has a new private mansion;
As Chief Minister his old terraces and pools.
This hall was founded to summon the worthy;
Now a pavilion is opened for instruction in dancing.
The people in covered carriages have now dispersed;
Here comes a phoenix, to the notes of flutes and fifes.
This very day below your dragon gate,
Who recognises the talent of young K'ung Jung?

"At Retired Chief Minister Yao's 'Mountain Pool'" [224]

Now, Yao was none other than Yao Ch'ung, the man who had recommended Chang Chien-chih for the Chief Ministership and who had subsequently played an active role in the coup that overthrew Empress Wu. Yao served for a while as Chief Minister again under Jui Tsung, and was recalled to a third term in this office by Hsüan Tsung in 713. Early in 717, however, he incurred the displeasure of the Emperor and was retired, though he was granted high honours and continued to take part in policy discussions until his death in 721. In addition to his mansions in Ch'ang-an and Lo-yang, Yao had a property called the "Mountain Pool Hall", near the latter city, and it was here that Meng wrote his poem. The poem makes it clear—through the allusion to K'ung Jung—who as a mere lad had presented himself before the great statesman Li Ying—who—that Meng had managed an entry to some social function at Yao Ch'ung's mansion and was making a bid for recognition.

This was by no means an improper thing for him to do. A young man of our day who took advantage of his presence at a reception given by the Prime Minister to present the latter with a poem in which he compared himself to Jean Talon would probably find his prospects for immediate
employment by the government to be very slight indeed. In T'ang China, however, even candidates for the civil service examinations found it essential to bring themselves to the attention of important government figures in order to better their chances. So much the more was this necessary for a young man who was neither a candidate nor a member of an important family. Li Po and Chang Chiu-ling both used similar means to attract the attention and patronage of prominent men. Meng may very well have made similar overtures to other high-ranking officials. It would be strange, in fact, if he had confined his attention to Yao, whose prejudices were strongly in favour of the long-established aristocratic clans. We may only suppose that if more of Meng's early work had survived we would know more about this first attempt to make a career for himself.

But the effort was a failure. As the end of the year approached, he abandoned his search for a patron and set out for home. In fact, he had probably fared no worse than most ambitious young unconnected provincials in any civilization who make a similar attempt to 'break in' at the capital. He had had some good times, met some interesting people—even a few important ones—stayed on until his money ran out, and then returned home with little to show for his effort but disappointment and some fond memories. Disappointment prevailed on the homeward road:

A traveller on the road is saddened by the setting sun,
His longing for home presses him all the harder.
So much the more beyond unfamiliar mountains,
As the heavens turn cold and evening birds come home.
Where snow lies deep I miss the road to Ying;
As clouds grow dim, lose sight of Sunny Terrace.
To be lamented, a wanderer weary and forlorn,
At his madman's songs with no one to recommend him.

"Looking Homeward While on the Road" [194]
and deepened:

My progress held up in the districts of Yuan and Hsü,
As the sun sets I gaze toward Ching and Yü.
The broad wasteland is tangled, vast and endless;
In which direction lie the hills of home?
A wisp of smoke rises at the edge of a village;
Returning geese fly to the heavens' edge.
Drifting snow covers the level shores;
A starving hawk claws at a cold hare.
In my youth I toyed with letters and ink,
Arranging my themes in paragraphs and lines.
After ten failures, ashamed to return to my family,
I linger here, keeping to my homeward road.

"Blocked by Snow North of Nan-yang" [123]

Two other poems, written as he approached home, show less bitterness and more haste to be back. 32

We have no way of knowing how Meng's failure was received at home.
The really puzzling question is how Meng himself felt, for we possess two poems written soon after his return, and the attitudes that they express, if not exactly contradictory, do at least reflect a certain ambivalence about his situation and his future:

My forefathers being from the lands of Tsou and Lu,
Our family has always respected the Confucian Way.
In poetry and ritual continuing inherited principles,
I hastened across the courtyard to take up the thread.
Day and night, urging myself on,
My poetic brush achieved a measure of success.
By the age of thirty, 'my feet were firmly planted';
But alas, my fate has been failure and defeat.
My loving parents are growing old and weak,
A source of comfort and dread in my inmost heart.
Mornings we lack for things sweet and tasty;
Evenings our bowls and gourds are often empty.
I honour the Master, willing to hold a whip,
Feel affection for Mao Yi, presenting his summons.
Deeply stirred, I brush off my cap;
How can I manage to be 'firm in adversity'?
I explain this to one in power who understands me;
Not sending in my name just to seek his favour.
Ch'in and Ch'u are distant and unlike places;
When will we ever go soaring high together?

"Expressing my Feelings: to Send to a Friend in the Capital" [83]
My humble dwelling is remote from dust and clamour;
My first concern is to nurture peace and simplicity.
I chose a neighbourhood close to three paths,
Planted fruit-bearing trees to the number of a thousand.
Now I have let the seasons pass me by;
Thirty years old and still I am unknown.
With books and swordsmanship the hour is growing late;
In hills and gardens the day ends for nothing.
Arising at dawn my longings increase;
Sitting through the day I am rarely alive to the Way.
I envy the great swans ascending to the heavens,
Am ashamed to squabble over scraps with geese and hens.
My hopes of the Golden Horse Gate are gone;
I labour at my songs on a woodcutter's path.
In village and hamlet there is none to understand me;
The ranks at court are bare of relatives or friends.
Who is able, for the sake of Yang Hsiung,
To recommend my Sweet Spring Rhapsody?

"Written in a Country House" [246]

Now, both of these poems must have been written at about the same time, but their tones are very different. In the first, Meng is an earnest young man anxious for a responsible job and very much concerned to present a picture of himself as a serious scholar and filial son. In the second, he is disappointed, and much less positive about his chances of rising above a life of retirement on his farm. The dissimilarity of the poems goes farther than simply content; the intent of each seems different. The first is a 'public' poem, one whose purpose would have been apparent immediately to a contemporary reader: 'situation wanted, reliable, hard-working young man ...'. The second is much more candid. It seems to be not so much an appeal for employment as a plea for sympathy. It is also not the sort of thing that Meng would have shown around in the hope of establishing a reputation as a high-minded recluse of the kind (Lu Hung-yi is a case) occasionally called to court. He says, in effect, that he would very much have liked a job, but he didn't have any luck—no influential friends in high places—and now he's
back on the farm, where he will try to make the best of it. 

4. Hsiang-yang Traditions

Between Meng's return home from this first journey to Lo-yang in 718 and his next firmly datable appearance, in 723, there yawns a biographical chasm of some five years' breadth. It seems very likely that Meng passed at least part of the period 719-723 at home in Hsiang-yang. We can date very few of the many poems that he wrote in his native town itself. Only three or four can be shown to be early works, but many of the others may be. Taken as a whole, they show that Meng had "travelled much in Hsiang-yang." As Wen Yi-to has eloquently demonstrated, Meng was a man of strong local attachments. In part this was because, unlike his more successful contemporaries, he was not being forever shifted from one official post to another.

Meng's poems written in Hsiang-yang are full of allusions to famous local people and places. Many of these are recorded in a book called the Hsiang-yang Ch'i-chiu Chi, or Records of the Old-Timers of Hsiang-yang. This work, which exists today only in fragments and scattered quotations, was compiled during the Eastern Chin dynasty by Hsi Tso-ch'ih, a man of no little importance himself in local annals. Not only does Meng often allude to passages from this work, he is also identified with its author by his contemporaries. Tu Fu's short memorial poem alludes both to the book's title and to a story in it (about the short-necked bream) to which Meng had referred in his own poems. And Meng's friend Chang Tzu-jung even addressed him once with these words:
Hsiang-yang and Vicinity
And now I meet with Hsi Tso-ch'ih,
And our talk is of the shores of the River Han.

Chang Tzu-jung, "Presented to Meng Hao-juan" [K. 5545]

Modern maps do not include by name many of the places to which Meng refers, but their locations can generally be deduced from a comparison of available modern maps with the county gazetteer and with his poems. Meng is often associated with Deer Gate Hill in particular, since both of his official biographies say that he lived there as a recluse. It seems, however, that his actual residence was across the river from Deer Gate along a stream south of the town. In fact, it is far from certain that he ever really moved to Deer Gate at all, for only once does he write as though it were his actual residence. Perhaps the biographies reflect a feeling that, as a latter-day P'ang Te-kung, Meng must have made his retreat there as well.

5. Travels in Central China

Now, to return to our biographical lacuna of 719-728, it is entirely possible to assume that Meng was staying in Hsia-yang during these years, writing poetry and perhaps preparing for his attempt at the official examinations. But instead, we shall propose that, some time after returning home from his first trip to Lo-yang, he set out on an extensive tour of the Yangtse valley, with side trips into Hunan and Kiangsi, and perhaps a roundabout return through eastern Szechwan. This trip is in many ways a fiction. It simply happens that many of the poems written in these regions cannot be fitted into other periods of his life. Nor do they contain any clues which allow them to be dated at some particular earlier time. Allowance must be made for them somewhere,
Central China
and it further happens that they can be arranged in a geographically and seasonally credible sequence occupying almost exactly two years. There is no proof that this is how they were written; perhaps they come from two, three, or more separate trips taken at intervals. If they do in fact come from a single journey, then it was probably taken at this time, since there is no suitable two-year gap at any later period into which such a trip might be inserted. Thus I shall use this hypothetical journey to account for all the poems simply on the principle of economy, and it will henceforth be assumed as fact, doubts, exceptions, and alternatives being kept so far as possible to the notes.

Meng seems to have gone first to Wu-ling (modern Ch'ang-te, in Hunan), site of the legendary "Peach Blossom Spring" of T'ao Ch'ien's fable. An old friend whom he had known years before in the capital was living there, either in retirement or with a minor local post. The poems:

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Pushing upstream is no easy routine;
Wind and waves exhaust me with bitter cares.
Suddenly I hear the birds stir from their glen,
Coming to tell me of spring in Wu-ling.
North of the Ranges, my roving oar has returned;
In Pa-tung I look for an old friend.
"Where is the land of the Peach Blossom Spring?
A wayfaring man has just missed the ford."

"To Send from my Boat to Sacrifice Officer Yuan, While Returning from the South" [79]
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There is a pronounced difference to be noted between the Meng of the capital poems, intent on his reputation and his relationship to other men, and Meng the traveller, distinguished by a love of nature, a 'recluse spirit', and more than a slight acquaintance with Buddhism. The other two poems which we have from this first springtime visit to Wu-ling are good examples of the latter style, the one for which he is
best known: 47

The river roads of Wu-ling are narrow;
My foresweep enters the blossoming grove.
No one has fathomed that within this secluded spring
Families of immortals live so deeply concealed.
The river curves and merges blue hilltops;
Clouds pass over and shade the green glens.
I listen enrapt to the idle gibbons' cries,
Ever more clear, my 'mind beyond the dust'.

"Floating in a Boat near Wu-ling" [214]

The river dims, the evening sun is gone;
And then my solitary boat ties up by the bank.
Mountain gibbons cry to one another;
Reflections in the pool seem to float in a void.
Going to bed, I snuff out bright candles,
Tapping on their boats, hear the night fishermen.
A rooster crows, and I wonder where I am ...
Here the people are relics of the age of Ch'in.

"Written While Spending the Night at Wu-ling" [104]

By late spring, Meng was on his way down the Yangtse toward Hsün-yang (modern Kiukiang, in Kiangsi). I am inclined to think that he stopped over for a while, perhaps for most of the summer, near Lu-shan. This peak, or rather, mass of peaks, towers thousands of feet above the valley of the Yangtse to the north and Lake Po-yang (P'eng-li to Meng) to the east and south. It had acquired a reputation as an unworldly place quite early, but it became a major Buddhist centre after the great teacher Hui-yuan (334-416 or 417) founded Tung-lin ("Eastern Grove") Temple on its slopes. By Meng's day it was synonymous with the tranquil life of religious contemplation. 48 His own feelings about the place are shown in one of the poems that he wrote there. This may have been composed on the journey under discussion or at some other time: 49

My sail has been set for almost a thousand leagues,
But still has not come to a single great mountain.
Mooring my boat on the outskirts of Hsün-yang,
I finally see Incense Burner Peak.
I read once the life of Master Hui-yuan,
Have always longed for his footsteps beyond the dust.
The monastery of Eastern Grove is near,
But now as the sun sets, I hear only the bell.

"Mooring in the Evening at Hsün-yang and
Gazing Toward Mt. Lu-shan" [12]

Meng may have remained in the area around Lu-shan for some time. Eventually, however, he continued on, heading south through Lake Po-yang and far up the Kan River into southern Kiangsi. Of the upward trip we have no testimony, but evidently he enjoyed the ride back down.50

The rapids of the Kan are three hundred leagues long;
This way and that between a thousand peaks.
The roar of the torrent makes a constant rumble,
As the thrust of the cataracts surges and flows.
Fish and dragons sport in the splash and spray;
Gibbons and monkeys climb into the trailing vines.
Boatmen are harassed by landslides from the peaks;
But I am lost to danger and hardship.
Riding with the current fills my heart with joy;
Boarding a boat sets my eyes to rest.
Where will my dim sails be moored this evening?
Far away they point to the Bay of the Fallen Star.

"On Descending the Rapids of the Kan River" [112]

By late autumn he was down almost to Lake Po-yang again:

Dragon Sands lies to the north of Yü-chang;
Sail set, I pass by it on the Ninth Day.
Traditional customs appear in accordance with the season;
In lakes and mountains I find much of interest.
Who will send me wine while I am sojourning?
The sound of my sweep makes up a song of its own.
When the song is over, I ride away on the current.
Going where the evening ripples take me on their ample flow.

"Written at Dragon Sands on the Ninth Day:
to Send to Liu Shen-hsü" [60]

From Yü-chang, Meng regained the channel of the Yangtse and continued on his way downstream:51

From Western Gate I come down the river isles,
In Nan-ling inquire about post-house pavilions.
The lake calms, fords and crossings are broad;
The wind stills, and wandering sails are furled.  
On and on, longing for former coves;  
Rootless and lost, drifting on the evening stream.  
Rocks: I encounter the Reef of Rakshasas;  
Hills: moor in the seclusion of Ching-t'ing.  
Fires blaze at Plum Root Forge;  
Mist blurs over Willow Leaf Island.  
Far from home, and lodging upon the River,  
For companions I must make do with gulls.  

"Mooring for the Night in the District of Hsüan-ch'eng" [101]

By winter, Meng had reached Jun-chou, where he climbed the Ten Thousand Years Pavilion, a local landmark:  

Gazing toward my old home from atop the Ten Thousand Years Pavilion  
Only makes my homesick longing grow more vast and overwhelming. 
The heavens are cold; wild geese fly over as I let my tears roll down;  
The sun sets and gibbons' cries are about to break my heart.  
Looking down on the frozen cove, I follow the curves of an old embankment;  
The distant shore is off to one side with withered willows nearby.  
Just this morning I chanced to meet an old and bosom friend,  
Delighted too to send this eight-line letter home with him.  

"Climbing the Ten Thousand Years Pavilion" [191]

Meng was still feeling homesick a few months later, as he said farewell to a younger relative who was returning to Hsiang-yang:  

We brothers, elder and younger, have wandered in Wu,  
But we long for our parents' hearth in the land of Ch'u.  
Greatly moved already by the turn of the year,  
The more as we feast our 'white eyebrows' on his return.  
Homeward you sail the waters of the Western Yangtse;  
Our farewell party is held on Pei-ku Hill.  
If you would send me a gift from our village garden,  
Try for the first plucking of plums and willows.  

"Early Spring in Jun-chou: Saying Farewell to my Younger Cousin on his Return Home" [154]

I am inclined to believe that Meng went on to nearby Kuang-ling (modern Chiang-tu in Kiangsu, also called Yang-chou in Meng's day) after this, and spent several months there. In any case, there is nothing to
suggest that he went on to Yüeh at this time, and the poem just quoted makes it clear that he had no intention of going home. At some point he must have returned upstream, back up the Yangtse. It is entirely possible to suppose that he returned home directly, but for the purpose of our reconstruction of his travels we shall assume that instead he continued up the Yangtse, arriving back in southern Hupei by early autumn:

In a strange district I pass the Seventh Night;
In a travellers' inn the sorrows of wayfaring well up.
I cannot see the girls threading needles;
In vain I long for the pavilions of my own land.
With a trace of wind, the heat begins to subside;
A new moon brings the first of autumn.
Who could bear to peer into the Heavenly River,
And far far away inquire of the Dipper and the Ox?

"In a Strange District on the Seventh Night" [108]

Perhaps this poem was written near E-chou. In any event, it seems that Meng may have spent the entire autumn moving slowly up the Yangtse:

Trees shed their leaves; geese make their southward crossing;
The north wind is cold upon the River.
My home is on a curve of the River Hsiang,
Far away beyond the end of these clouds of Ch'u.
Homesick tears have I worn out in wayfaring;
A lonely sail I see on the heavens' edge.
Having missed the ford, I wish to ask the way;
The calm waters in the evening are broad and flowing.

"I am Moved at the Onset of Cold Weather, on the River" [198]

It seems like only yesterday I left my land,
But in a twinkling the end of autumn has passed.
Hsien-shan Hill cannot be seen;
This landscape only makes one sorrow.
Who is picking chrysanthemums below the hedge?
Is anyone idling in the tower above the pool?
In Yi-ch'eng town there is fine wine in plenty;
I shall return to join Kê Ch'i-ang in roaming.

"Longing for Hsiang-yang on the Ninth Day" [193]
Meng's homesickness was still acute as he reached at last the entrance of the Yangtse gorges leading up to Shu (modern Szechuan):

Long ago, I joined with all of you,
And we recited our lessons within gates ever barred.
   Never had we tasted the dangers of rushing torrents;
   How could we heed a warning not to 'sit beneath the eaves'?
Since then I have crossed so many lakes and rivers,
I could never tell you all my bitter hardships.
Back and forth wander wayfarers in distress,
Through channels cut as remains of the labours of Yu.
The walls stand of a thousand towering peaks;
The currents join of a million cascading streams.
I have halted for many nights since first I came here;
Never an evening the gibbons could not be heard.
   Here on a cove stirs my yearning to return;
   Aboard a boat I lose my dreaming soul.
My tears dampen Moonlight Gorge;
My heart breaks for the 'wagtails on the plain'.
   So vast a distance the stars could never meet ...
   Autumn deepens; now the dew lies thick.
Since a man is going down to the south of Ch'u,
I write these words to be shown in my native garden.

"Sent to my Younger Brothers on Entering the Gorges" [71]

Having left the rains of Pa-ling behind,
I meet with mud on the slopes of Shu.
The heavens open and slanting sunlight is everywhere;
Mountains emerge from hovering evening clouds.
The last moisture still dampens the grass;
Dwindling rills drain yet into the stream.
Tonight there will be a bright moon shining;
My heart keens with distant homesick longing.

"The Weather Clears While I am on the Road" [131]

Long and distant are the roads of the Pa districts;
I travel through peril for ten thousand leagues.
Jumbled mountains in a night of remnant snow;
A single lamp, myself in a strange land.
I grow slowly distant from my own flesh and blood,
And turn instead to menials and servants for friendship.
I cannot bear just to drift from place to place ...
Tomorrow brings the blooming of a new year.

"Longing Thoughts on the Last Night of the Year" [103]
All of these poems seem to have been written at points in the Yangtse Gorges or in Shu, but none of them can be identified with any specific place. Here, again, it is possible that Meng simply turned back early in the new year, descended the gorges, and returned to Hsiang-yang. There are, at any rate, no poems that could be used as conclusive evidence that Meng ever visited Shu proper, that is, the area around Ch'eng-tu and the western Szechwan basin. All the same, to assume that he did leave the Yangtse, perhaps at Yü-chou (modern Ch'ung-ch'ing) and travel northward, either along the Chia-ling River or the Chü, will help us to deal with two otherwise very puzzling poems. For in one of them we find Meng arriving overland at a point evidently far up toward the headwaters of the Han River:

This strange district is not my land,
Ranged hills grown over with green bamboo.
Few, the level fields emerging from outer walls;
Long, curving slopes that reach into the clouds.
A million ravines drain into the River Han;
A thousand peaks etch the azure heavens.
Cries of gibbons riot in the gorges of Ch'u;
The people's speech has a trace of the tongue of Pa.
Over the rocks grow thickets of pepper trees;
Among the vines are nurtured honey nests.
Snow remains, for spring has not turned warm;
Mist dissolves with the day's first touch of sunlight.
My sojourning horse is weary of climbing and descent;
My homeward sail in love with the vast expanse.
Unmindful I enjoy the ride down on the current;
In one more night I shall see the trees of home.

"Written on Reaching the Han River" [111]

Whether or not it was actually possible for Meng to reach Hsiang-yang so quickly, he appears to have stopped along the way to relax:

Along the south side of the county town flows the River Han;
River and crags open and form the south of the old land of Yung.
Fine young men take advantage of springtime to ride out and see the sights;
A group of gentlemen enjoy a day of leisure and dispel their troubles. Towers and terraces gleam at sunset of a suburb in the blue hills; Silk and damask, proud in the sunlight on an isle in the green river. Toward evening in gentle ripples the bright moon shimmers, Making me wonder if fairy maids have come out to play with their pearls.

"On Climbing a Tower on the Walls of An-yang"

Since Meng mentions the Han River in the first line, we know that his An-yang is not the famous one in Ho-nan where the Shang oracle bones were found, but rather the old Han dynasty county town far upriver near what is now Ch'eng-ku, in southern Shensi. From there it is still about 700 kilometres back down to Hsiang-yang, but this distance might have been covered fairly rapidly by boat downstream. So, we may suppose that Meng arrived back home before summer was really underway, having been gone for a little more than two years and having covered several thousand miles.

6. The Second Trip North

Whether or not this long journey actually took place as we have described it, we do know with certainty that Meng did set out for Ch'ang-an in the winter of 723. He seems to have begun this trip with considerable reluctance, to judge from the gloomy tone of a poem that he wrote while on the way. Once again he set out in winter, but this time directly for Ch'ang-an:

Long and distant is the road to the capital in Ch'in; Vast and hoary the sky at the end of the year. Utter gloom stretches from first day to last; Drifting snow fills the mountains and rivers. Straggling geese stray among sandy islets; Starving ravens caw in the fallow fields.
A traveller mourns, can only stand and wait,
For nowhere does the smoke of men appear.

"On my Way to the Capital, I Encounter
Snow on the Road" [122]

After he had reached Ch'ang-an, however, Meng's spirits seem to have picked up, and he began making friends and enjoying himself. His major preoccupation continued to be the search for some kind of official post. He must have spent much of the spring and summer seeking introductions to important people, presenting them with copies of his work, writing versified encomia, and so forth. By autumn, however, he was faced with complete failure once again, and began to think of returning home: 61

I have always wanted to lie down on a single knoll,
Pained that I lack the means for my three paths.
A northern land is not what I desire;
In the Eastern Wood I long for my old teacher.
My gold has all gone for burning cassia;
My youthful ambitions, weakened with the years.
As the sun sets, a cool wind rises;
Hearing the cicada only makes me grieve the more.

"Autumn Feelings in Ch'in: to Send to Master Yuan" [62]

I gave up long ago my fields by the southern hills,
Presuming to attend on the wise men of the Eastern Hall.
I should like to follow the departure of Chang Heng,
But I have not yet submitted my 'Sweet Spring Ode';
Pillow and mat are covered with books and lute;
Screens and curtains joined to distant crags.
It seems like only yesterday I came here;
Suddenly droning cicadas fill the courtyard trees.
Crickets' chirring startles a chilly maid;
An autumn wind reminds me of the aging year.
'Handing out clothes' takes place in the ninth month;
Lacking thick clothing, will no one take pity after all?

"Written on the Wall of my Host in Ch'ang-an"
[121]

But the full force of Meng's disappointment and bitterness was reserved for a poem which he sent to Yuan Jen-ching and Ho Chih-chang,
two highly placed members of the bureaucracy.\textsuperscript{62}

Devoted to study for all of thirty years,
I barred my gate south of Yangtse and Han.
Brilliantly arising to encounter a sage era,
My wandering sojourn coincides with the autumn downpours.
Not only suffering bewilderment and confusion,
Even submerged by power and influence.
My grey hairs push on toward a white head;
My hundred ounces of gold are utterly spent.
Tears of remembrance fall on Hsien-shan Hill;
Sorrowful longing as deep as the River Hsiang.
Master Hsieh piled up his drawn-out grief;
Chuang Hsi sang his songs to no avail.
Spurring on horses is no affair of mine;
Befriending gulls is what suits my heart.
I send this word to those who hold the reins:
I am gone for good to the crests of the Northern Hills.

"During Heavy Rains in Ch'in I Think of Returning Home: Sent to Left Associate Chief Minister Yuan and Vice-Minister Ho"
[58]

Meng may have known Yuan as a fellow native of Hsiang-yang; Ho was a poet of some reputation—he contributed to the development of the freer and more personal verse characteristic of the High T'ang. Why they were chosen to receive this desperate outpouring we can only guess. They may have offered encouragement to Meng at some point, or they may on the other hand have done less for him than he felt they ought to have. I am inclined toward the latter interpretation. Hopes shattered, Meng says, in effect, you had your chance to help a worthy young man, you have done nothing, and now the chance is gone. He never addressed either man again, so far as we know, although Ho remained active in government until long after Meng's death, and Yuan was serving as Prefect of Hang-chou just a year or two later, when Meng passed through there several times while travelling in Yüeh.\textsuperscript{63}
One must take into account the form of this poem to be fully moved by it, for it is written in the p'ai-lü ('extended regulated') style. Meng wrote about three dozen of these which have survived, and all but a handful are entirely consistent with the aims of the form as it was generally used in his day. They are social poems, records of parties and farewell ceremonies, elaborate compliments presented to officials and hosts. He must have written dozens more during his visits to the capitals, for they offered excellent opportunities to demonstrate one's mastery of the rules of versification and one's acquaintance with the classical texts. Now, disappointed in his hopes, he took up the form again--almost, it would seem, by habit--complete with its repeated antithetical couplets, its neatly balanced allusions, its unfailing adherence to the strictest rules of regulated verse. These he had mastered by long practice. But the form presents an additional challenge. It is made for posing. One wrote in this form as a Fervent Admirer, a Delighted Guest, an Earnest Scholar, or a Saddened Friend. Meng's pose here is an old and time-honoured one, the Gentleman Leaving the Dusty World Behind--witness the allusion to the Lieh-tzu and the closing lines. But his anger and disappointment are so galling to him that he barely manages to get the pose in at the end of the poem: there are thirteen lines of bitterness and three of retirement. The violence which he does to the expectations of his readers is the measure of his chagrin; one can see Yuan and Ho wince across twelve hundred fifty years.

And yet Meng lingered in the north instead of returning home. In fact, he would not see Hsiang-yang again for several years. Evidently he was still thinking of leaving as winter came, but perhaps the illness
he refers to in this next poem—one of his best known, for reasons both good and bad—delayed his departure:

I submit no more petitions to the Northern Palace,
Return to my humble lodge in the southern hills.
Being untalented, I am rejected by our discerning ruler;
Often ill, neglected by old friends.
White hairs hasten on my increasing age,
As green warmth drives the year to its end.
Long pensive, sorrowful, I cannot sleep ...
The moon in the pines empty in my window at night.

"Returning to the Southern Hills at Year's End" [206]

In any event, he moved on to Lo-yang eventually, probably not long after the court did. Of his stay there we can say very little, but it appears that while there he began to think of going, not home to Hsiang-yang, but on another extended journey, this time to the southeast of China:

To a watered land without border or limit,
You set out by boat along with a favourable wind.
I envy you your departure now from here;
Morning and evening to see your native land.
I too have been long away from home,
Sorry not to be returning southward with you.
If there should be news or a letter to send me,
It might find me somewhere on the River.

"In Lo-yang, Saying Farewell to Hsi San on His Return to Yang-chou" [159]

7. Travels in Wu and Yueh

Tu Fu, after his own embarrassing examination failure, went on a long tour of eastern China, perhaps to broaden his horizons, perhaps to nurse a bruised ego, perhaps both. We are probably right in assuming that such a trip presented itself to Meng as a happy escape from his failure to advance his career. He seems to have decided that the best thing would be to put his ambitions and his disappointment firmly behind
Wu and Yüeh
him and to seek happiness in the pleasures of travel.\textsuperscript{67}

Unsettled and unsure I have lived for thirty years, 
At books and swords alike without success. 
Hills and streams I seek in Wu and Yuhe; 
Of worldly affairs I weary in the Eastern Capital. 
In my narrow skiff I sail the lakes and seas, 
With a low bow take leave of nobility and officials. 
Best to find pleasure in 'the thing in the cup'; 
Who cares about having a name in the world!

"On Leaving Lo-yang, Going to Yuhe" [118]

Meng set out by boat down the Pien Canal, the waterway used for transporting grain from the southeast to the capitals. The precise alignment of the canal in T'ang times is still a matter of some dispute, but it is clear from Meng's poems that it passed through Lin-huan (modern Po-hsien, Anhwei), where he made a brief stop after a quick trip from Lo-yang. There he attended a party given by the local magistrate and met several old friends.\textsuperscript{68}

At the edge of a willow wood in a river district, 
My boat moors in the evening by the river bridge. 
I presume to attend a meeting of distinguished writers, 
Delighted to join an old friend now in office. 
With laughter and talk we share this evening together, 
But the light and the sleek differ from bygone years. 
In the morning wind I will ready my homeward oars; 
In Wu, as in Ch'u, each goes on as before.

"Meeting Chang Shih-yi and Fang Liu at a Banquet Given by Magistrate Pei of Lin-huan" [180]

I set forth in the morning on the flow of the Pien Canal, 
And reached by evening the district of Ch'iao-hsien. 
Good luck, because a westerly breeze was blowing, 
I was able to meet with my old friends again. 
You emulate the seclusion of Mei Fu, 
While I follow the wanderings of Liang Hung. 
Once we have parted, I will surely think of you, 
When the floating clouds are over Wu and Kuei.

"On my Way to Yuhe: Taking Leave of Registrar Chang and Superintendent Shen-t'u of Ch'iao-hsien" [150]
There seems to be a conscious attempt in these poems to put dis­appointment out of mind, in the hope that it will be forgotten with less effort as time passes.

Apparent­ly Meng ran into a spell of bad weather as he proceeded further south, and this may even have delayed his crossing to the south bank of the Yangtse: 69

As evening approaches, I question my boatman,
"This next stretch doesn't last much longer;
There's a good mooring up at the head of the bay.
We've had our share of wind and waves on the Huai!"

"Questioning the Boatman" [7]

Pei-ku Hill looks down on Ching-k'ou;
Yi-shan Knoll is near the ocean shore.
A wind over the river raises white waves;
Breaking the heart of a man at the ferry landing.

"Looking Toward Ching-k'ou from the Yang-tzu Ferry" [49]

It is hard to say how long Meng stayed in the area of the Yangtse River. He seems at any rate to have spent the early part of the fall there. Even before crossing the Yangtse he may have stayed a while in Kuang-ling, since he refers later to his friends there. There is also reason to suppose that he spent some time in this region with a certain Censor Ts'ao, and even perhaps with Li Po: 70

Autumn comes into the inspiration of poets;
Few are those to echo your Song from Pa.
Sailing the lakes, we moor for the night together,
And our poetry party is devoted to homeward thoughts.
In vain my name was put forward on a white slip;
I had already brushed off my robes for the Isle of Ts'ang.
Far into the distance, away to the cloudy sea;
Who would not envy the wild swan in his flight?

"To Go with 'Sailing on the Lakes on my Return to Yüeh' by Censor Ts'ao San" [209]

Oddly, none of Meng's extant poems refer to Su-chou (modern Wu­hsien), which even in his day was a major centre of the Wu region. 71 It
seems, in fact, as though Meng proceeded to Hang-chou by a roundabout, if very scenic, route. From Jun-chou (Chen-chiang) or Sheng-chou (Nanking), perhaps after visiting Li-yang with Li Po, Meng travelled via Hsüan-chou up into the hills of southern Anhwei, to the upper reaches of the Hsin-an River. From there, he went by boat down the Hsin-an to Chien-te, where it joins the Lan River to form the Che, sometimes called the T'ung-lu or the Fu-ch'un.

I shift my boat to moor by a misty islet;  
As day turns to dusk a wanderer's sadness comes anew.  
The moors are broad; the heavens hover over the trees;  
The river is clear and the moon draws close.  
"Mooring for the Night on the Chien-tê River" [125]

Mountains grow dim; I hear the gibbons grieve;  
The dark river rushes through the night.  
The wind sighs in the trees along both shores,  
And the moon shines down on a solitary boat.  
Chien-tê is not my land;  
In Wei-yang I remember old friends.  
Still I have two streams of tears  
To send far away to the sea's westward reach.  
"Mooring on the T'ung-lu River: to Send to my Old Friends in Kuang-ling" [73]

From Chien-te, Meng continued downstream toward Hang-chou, passing by Seven-League Rapids, a stretch of rough water about which Hsieh Ling-yün had written a well-known poem as he passed by on his way into exile. Nearby was the 'fishing rock', where Yen Kuang had angled after refusing to join the court of a former schoolmate, Emperor Kuang-wu of the Later Han Dynasty:  

I pay heed to the warnings not to 'sit beneath the eaves';  
A thousand coins are not to be taken lightly.  
Taking great pleasure in hills and streams,  
I have made many journeys, drifting in boats.
On the Five Mountains I seek Shang Tzu-p'ing,
By the Three Hsiang mourn for Ch'ü Yuan.
Lakes I pass as broad as Tung-t'ing,
Enter streams as clear as the Hsin-an.

And now I hear the rapids of Yen Kuang,
For they lie on the course of this very stream.
Through layered ranges for hundreds of leagues,
Back and forth with no constant direction.
Verdure and raven-black swirl and billow together;
In parted streams tumbling and rushing in confusion.
The fishing rock is level enough for a seat,
But the mossy steps are slippery and hard to walk.
Monkeys drink from a pool below the stone,
And birds return to the sun-rimmed trees.
I gaze on this wonder and regret that I came so late;
Lean on my oar and lament that darkness comes.
Stirring my hands, I dally with the swift-moving waters,
Washed clean henceforth of all dusty cares.

"Passing Seven-League Rapids" [120]

By mid-autumn, Meng had arrived in Yüeh, the area around Hang-chou and Kuei-chi (modern Shao-hsing, in Chekiang), where he was to remain for more than two years. It would seem that he went first to Kuei-chi, where he spent the rest of the fall and early winter. By the end of the year, however, we find him setting off by sea for Yung-chia, in southern Chekiang. His purpose was to spend the New Year's days with his old friend from Hsiang-yang, Chang Tzu-jung. Chang had gotten into some kind of trouble—we don't know of what sort—and had been banished to the humble post of Superintendent in Lo-ch'eng, an obscure coastal town not far from Yung-chia.

The sea voyage was a pleasant one, to judge from Meng's relaxed poem written at sea:

Confucius is departed, long long ago;
I too am going drifting out to sea.
In twilight I see the Dipper's handle turned,
And notice that the Year Star has changed houses.
My empty boat goes wherever it will;
My dangling hook awaits no catch.
And so I ask the man who rode the raft,
Where the Isle of Ts'ang is, after all.

"Written at Sea at the Year's End" [102]

Ts'ui Kuo-fu, a man whom Meng had met during his stay in Kuei-chi, had been sent up to the capital as an examination candidate shortly before Meng's departure, and Ts'ui was in his thoughts as the boat, evidently at least semi-public, worked its way up the estuary of the Yung-chia River toward its destination:

I have travelled to the end of the river regions,  
While you have been sent away to the busy capital.  
With every day a thousand leagues more distant,  
Lonely sails at each corner of the earth.  
I lie down hearing the ocean tide come in,  
Arise to see the river moon incline.  
I ask a fellow traveller on this boat,  
"How soon will we arrive in Yung-chia?"

"Spending the Night on the Yung-chia River:  
Sent to Superintendent Ts'ui Kuo-fu of Shan-yin" [67]

One poem suggests that Chang Tzu-jung may have come to Yung-chia to meet Meng on his arrival from Kuei-chi:

In a travellers' inn, the place where we meet,  
In a river village, at the hour of day's end.  
Ranges of hills in the distance face our wine;  
On a solitary islet we join in writing poems.  
The public offices verge on dragons' chambers;  
And smoke of men reaches the island tribes.  
From our homeland gardens gone thousands of leagues,  
Having lost the way, we grieve for one another.

"Meeting Chang Tzu-jung at the Harbour Lodge in Yung-chia" [105]

From Yung-chia, they went on together to Lo-ch'eng. They must have had much to talk about, for much had happened to both of them since the day, more than ten years before, when they had said farewell on Chang's departure for what both men no doubt had hoped would be an examination success and a brilliant career in the government. Chang may well have
wished that he could have suffered Meng's brand of misfortune rather than his own. In his poems, however, Chang is less downcast than Meng, and even shows a kind of modest contentment with his exile life:

On the cloudy sea I visit Ou and Min,
By wind and tide moor on this island shore.
How could I know that on the last night of the year,
I would get to meet a kinsman from my own village.
I am that traveller who boarded the raft,
And you are a man who has lost the way.
In all our lives, how often may we meet?
Each parting goes on for ten springs and more.

"Meeting Superintendent Chang on the Last Night of the Year in Lo-ch'eng" [114]

Long ago, enjoying the bond between our houses,
We knew each other as though nothing lay between us.
To keep our light going we burn bright candles,
Watching the year out on long joined mats.
We have sung the old Song of Plum Blossoms,
And kept the custom of New Year's cypress wine.
A wanderer takes his pleasure where he finds it;
Never seeing how he has passed year after year.

"Meeting Superintendent Chang on the Last Night of the Year in Lo-ch'eng" [115]

A distant traveller from Hsiang-yang district
Has come to visit this sea-coast house.
We open a flask of cypress-leaf wine;
Candles blossom on nine-branched holders.
For beautiful music, the 'Song of Miss Lu';
For lofty talent, our own Meng Chia.
We wander on Eastern Hill to take our pleasure,
Not in order to compete in extravagance.

Chang Tzu-jung, "Meeting Meng Hao-jan in Lo-ch'eng on the Last Day of the Year"
[K. 5541]

The earth may come to an end in Ou and Yüeh,
But the beauty of nature begins with the Dipper in Yin.
We affix a peach twig to dispel the local fevers,
Transplant bamboo along the steps and landings.
Half of this agrees with the customs of Wu;
The rest follows the seasonal events of Ch'ü.
And now I meet with Hsi Tso-ch'i, And our talk is of the shores of the River Han.

Chang Tzu-jung, "Presented to Meng Hao-jan at Lo-ch'eng on the First Day of the Year" [K. 5545]
One would suppose, given the warm friendship and pleasant companionship that these poems reflect, that Meng intended to spend some time with Chang in the area around Yung-chia. However, he seems to have become at least mildly ill with some unspecified complaint soon after arriving. The inactivity which this caused no doubt exacerbated the restlessness that had kept him on the move for the preceding two years. Within a few weeks of his arrival, Meng longed to be on the road again:

To a strange district in a remote corner of the world,
My lonely sail has followed the ocean shore.
The come and go of letters home is broken,
And lingering here, my wayfarer’s sorrow grows.
In the last month I heard peals of thunder rumble;
A spring wind moves me with the warmth of the year.
Reviving insects quicken in their dens and holes;
Nesting magpies are spied in the courtyard branches.
For nothing I face a cup of fragrant wine;
How can it help me, buried in my pillow?
I shall return; I ready my boat and oars,
For now the rivers and the sea are calm.

"Lying Ill in an Inn at Lo-ch'eng at the Beginning of the Year and Longing to Return Home" [196]

Chang Tzu-jung accompanied Meng back as far as Yung-chia, where they parted once again, Meng returning northward by sea as he had come:

For me the return to Ch'u and my old home,
To you the new year brings the official celebrations.
I set my sail, saddened by the ocean road;
Parting hands, we suffer from the love of friends.
Day and night, I think of my old garden,
And of tiny islets where the spring grass grows.
When shall I, with a single cup of wine
Join again in pouring for Li Ying?

"Parting from Chang Tzu-jung at Yung-chia" [134]

Here in the east of Yüeh we met,
By the western pavilion we part at the ford.
To wind and tide I see you cast off your lines;
Over a cloudy sea a sorrowing man departs.
Our village is on a peach-grown shore,
Where hills are linked by maples in the spring.
I am filled with longing at the thought of my old garden,
And of returning to live by my neighbour Meng.

Chang Tzu-jung, "Saying Farewell to Meng Hao-jan, Who is Returning to Hsiang-yang"
[K. 5547]

Now, all three of these last poems make it clear that Meng was intending to return directly home. Once again, however, he seems to have changed his mind and decided to linger a while. We find him soon on a pleasant excursion near Hang-chou:

Dawn spreads an early light in the east;
Birds on the islets have begun to shriek with excitement.
Lying down, I listen at the mouth of Yü-p'u Cove,
To the sound of paddles splashing dimly by.
As the sun comes up and the misty view opens,
I begin to make out the breadth of this river road.
A beautiful woman who often arises late,
Her bright reflection playing in the rushing stream.
I am wary of alarming the monkeys who drink at the river;
Sometimes I see an otter 'sacrificing' fish.
Roaming by boat is easy and carefree in itself,
All the more amid the unfolding of this sunlit scene.

"Starting Early from Yü-p'u Cove" [10]

Meng may have returned to Kuei-chi during the spring, but it was from Hang-chou that he departed for Mt. T'ien-t'ai in early summer, taking a boat across the Che River estuary by night. From there, Meng set out by sea once again, having said farewell to two friends who had probably accompanied him as far as Yü-p'u:

You are still nesting in twigs and brambles;
Am I to be hung up just like a bitter gourd?
I think of our parting now at summer's onset,
As I drift the waves, heading for the fiery south.
I have not given up my wanderings on streams and lakes,
Among gardens and fields I abandon my plans to return.
I set out early from Ting-shan Hill,
And crossed over Yü-p'u Cove by night.
Sailing, sailing, I follow the rushing waves;
On and on, trusting to hull and oars.
My old woods grow more distant day by day;
All the trees must now be filled out in leaf.  
The Winged Men are on the Hill of Cinnabar;  
And now I too will proceed from here to there.

"On Setting Out for T'ien-t'ai: Taking  
Leave of Registrar Li of Lin-an" [138]

Sail set, I gaze toward the southeast;  
Blue hills and a realm of water in the distance.  
Bows and sterns race to profit by the crossing;  
Coming and going, they trust to wind and tide.  
You ask me, "Where are you bound today?"  
"T'ien-t'ai, to see the Stone Bridge."  
And so we watch the fiery sunset colours  
That seem to be the guidepost of Red Wall Peak.

"Gazing at the Sunset from a Boat" [32]

We cannot be certain about the route which Meng followed to get to  
T'ien-t'ai on this trip. It is clear from most of the poems that some  
combination of sea and land travel was involved. He may have sailed only  
as far as the mouth of the Ts'ao-ê*e River, near Kuei-chi, and then  
proceeded by boat and horseback up the river valley, at whose head stands  
Mt. T'ien-t'ai. It seems more likely, however, that he rounded Cape  
Ch'i-t'ou*Ai, as he had on his way to Yung-chia, and then went  
ashore at one of the bays along the coast east of the mountain: T'ai-chou  
£±", San-men 3门", or even Hsiang-shan U-j. This would have  
been a longer way round, but if Meng enjoyed sailing as much as his poem  
written the previous winter suggests, he might very well have chosen it  
by preference.

How I love Master T'ai-yi Tzu,  
Who dines on rosy clouds and sleeps on Red Wall Peak.  
About to go in search of Mt. Hua-ting,  
I do not fear the name of Evil Creek.  
I unsaddle my horse, and make the clouds my lodging place;  
Hoist my sail and go cutting across the sea.  
High, high, among the dark slopes,  
Far away I see the span of the Stone Bridge.

"Written While on my Way to Mt. T'ien-t'ai"  
[27]
Over the seas, an immortal-seeking wanderer,
At the Three Mountains gazing many an hour.
Burning incense, I lodge on Flowery Summit;
Wet with dew, gather mystic mushrooms.
Again I tread the slippery lichens and moss,
About to make a date with the Vast Intangible.
Perhaps I shall go away with Master Red Fir,
Long from the world of men to take my leave.

"Sent to a Taoist on Mt. T'ien-t'ai" [94]

Wandering the sea, I follow my wind-filled sails,
Lodge just for the night on this island in the clouds.
From a distance I follow my delight in the Isle of Ts'ang;
Here I love the beauty of Red Wall Peak.
Grasping vines and treading upon the moss,
I ship oars and explore to my heart's content.
Stopping in the shade, I rest at T'ung-po Temple,
Plucking blossoms and seeking mystic mushrooms.
A heron cries, and clear dew hangs in droplets;
A cock crows on the hour of morning tide.
I would like to cast off all worldly ties
And henceforth be rid of troubled thoughts.
With lofty steps I cross Ssu-ming Mountain,
And find the dark footsteps of the Three Elders.
Many are my thoughts of far-off wandering;
I rejoice in their tao of longevity.
As the sun sets I gaze toward the Three Mountains;
For nothing the cloud surf is vast and mighty.

"Spending the Night at T'ung-po Taoist Temple on Mt. T'ien-t'ai" [14]

T'ien-t'ai had been a major religious centre since the great Buddhist teacher Chih-yü 華首 settled there in the sixth century, and in fact the sect that he founded is known as the T'ien-t'ai School. Meng's poems show a very lively awareness of the religious importance of the place, but as a Taoist centre rather than a Buddhist one. This is no doubt due to the influence of a man named Ssu-ma Ch'eng-chen 魏承 禮, a Taoist master who had made a great impression on Emperor Jui Tsung in 711 and then had been called back to visit the court by Hsüan Tsung in 721. He had built, with imperial encouragement, a temple on Mt. T'ien-t'ai, and was probably still there in 726. Although Meng does
not mention him by name, his presence must have been felt as adding to the other-worldly aura of the region.\textsuperscript{82} It is quite possible that Meng's friend T'ai-yi had some connection with Ssu-ma Ch'eng-chen, and Meng probably met other Taoist masters during his visit.\textsuperscript{83}

It is possible that Meng returned to Hang-chou by mid-autumn the way he had come, but it seems more likely that he went down by land to Kuei-chi instead. This would appear to be suggested by a poem that he wrote on meeting T'ai-yi Tzu later in Yüeh:\textsuperscript{84}

\begin{quote}
By a spirit grotto I meet a winged man;  
Halting my skiff, come forward and bow. 
He inquires of my crossings of wind and water,  
For what purpose I make such distant voyages.  
Climbing the land, I seek Mt. T'ien-t'ai;  
Riding with the current, go down into Wu and Kuei.  
This mountain I have revered from my earliest days,  
But how could I get to hear of its spiritual mysteries?  
\quad It rises to press the heights of the azure sky,  
\quad Crouches down to look out over the breadth of the dark sea. 
As a rooster crows I see the sun emerge;  
Often I join in meetings of spirits and immortals.  
Coming and going in the midst of Red Wall Peak,  
Free and easy beyond the white clouds.  
The moss and lichen differ from the world of men;  
Cascading cataracts form a realm in the void.  
Of happy lands where no one ever dies,  
Hua-ting has always been praised as highest.  
I have ever longed to go roving from here;  
When may I cross to its ultimate point?
\end{quote}

"Meeting Master T'ai-yi of T'ien-t'ai in Yüeh" [113]

We have only one poem that appears to date from the following winter. It may have been written while Meng was on an excursion up from Kuei-chi, or even as he returned from Mt. T'ien-t'ai, though it seems unlikely that he would have stayed on the mountain for most of the winter:

Stone walls disclose a metal image,
The Fragrant Peaks girt round by the Iron Circuit.
There is Maitreya, born on earth,
And my whole heart turns again to Him.
Bamboo and cypress are ancient in the meditation courtyard;
Such towers and terraces are rare in the world outside.
Mist on the hills adds to the evening scene;
Remnant sunshine casts a glowing light.
The lecture rostrum summons speakers' staves;
In the springhouse, ablution robes are dispensed.
I hope to receive the Waters of Merit and Virtue;
And to cleanse myself henceforth of worldly artifice.

"Worshipping at Stone Wall Temple in Shan-hsien on the Eighth Day of the Twelfth Month" [239]

Meng seems to have spent the following spring and summer in and around Kuei-chi. It is even possible that he considered buying land and settling down there:

Peasant families set to work on spring tasks;
Young and able-bodied are off to the eastern slope.
Deep, deep, the rolling thunder sounds;
Heavy, heavy, the last rain trails down.
As the sky clears, a rainbow appears over the sea;
Willows by the river begin to stir in the dampness,
My thoughts are taken up with ploughing and trenching,
And so I ask you about suitable crops.

"Meeting with Rain on the Eastern Slope:
Dashed Off to Send to Mr. Hsieh of Southern Pool" [210]

Whether or not Meng actually considered taking up farming, this poem suggests that he might not have made too great a success of it, as Hsiao Chi-tsung has acutely remarked. He points out that Meng opens very directly with the farmers at work, but in the second couplet he has begun to turn away already to look at the scenery. By lines 5-6, the toiling peasants are nowhere to be seen, and the abrupt return to business in the closing couplet only serves to emphasize how far away his thoughts had wandered. The return to Hsiang-yang, at any rate, seems to have been forgotten.
As I go on my travels through the land of Yüeh,
Asleep in dreams I yearn for what I am fond of.
For long I have resisted my desire to roam alone,
But now I have come to wander to my heart's content.
On Mt. T'ai-ling I tread the stony steps;
On Jo-yeh Stream ascend the woodland torrents.
Leaving my boat, I enter a 'fragrant region';
Climbing a pavilion, rest in the scent of sandalwood.
The sunlit hills of Gazing-at-Ch'in are near;
Spring floods swell the waters of Mirror Pool.
With far-away longing I wait to meet you here;
In vain I have laboured for contentment in humble stations.
White clouds linger as the sun sets;
I gaze at the Dark Sea's ebb and flow.
My own home is far beyond the sky's frontier;
My closest friends away in posts at court.
I wait for you to go walking hand in hand;
When will you finally hang up your caps at last?

"Visiting Yün-men Temple: Sent to Revenue Officer Pao and Recorder Hsü at Yüeh-fu"

We look into the waters of Mirror Pool,
Clear in midstream to the very bottom.
Unacquainted with the taste of sliced carp,
We recognise the feelings of seagulls.
Our sail is blown along by a 'woodcutters' wind';
In spring we find clear weather after 'seedling rains'.
We are going to explore the cavern of Emperor Yü,
And turn away for a while from the walls of the King of Yüeh.
Mr. Pao is on the staff of the government offices;
Master Ho is renowned for his fine writings.
Once drunk, we sing on the Ts'ang-lang,
And then send off these rhymes to you kindred spirits.

"Sent to Messrs Pao and Ho While on an Outing to Mirror Pool with Ts'ui Erh-shih-yi" [38]

Meng's mood during these days in the southeast seems to have been much more relaxed and contented than it had been earlier in the capitals. An example is the following poem, written either at this time, or during the following year: 

The sun is setting, and in the last clear glow,
My light paddle dallies among the islets.
I love the living things in the clear depths,
How idly I linger, drifting about on the river!
An old white-headed man with pole and hook,
A newly adorned maiden washing silk:
I look and look, seem to recognise them,
'Gazing, gazing, but never able to speak'.
"Boating on Jo-yeh Stream" [2]

Other Kuei-chi poems show a continued interest in Buddhism,
expressed at times with considerably more conviction than is often the case in Meng's 'Buddhist' poems: 88

Thinking that I alone had lost the way,
I met you, also in the waste lands.
Joining in friendship, we point to the pines and cypress;
In search of the Law, we set out for a Buddhist retreat.
The tiny stream will barely hold a boat;
Time and again our horses shy at the weird rocks.
The dwelling place is most secluded and remote;
Those who live there are of the Tranquil, every one.
Dense bamboo lines the narrow path;
A clear brook flows below the lodge.
What is it that the Master has heard?
All dusty concerns are long since laid aside.
Four Stages of Meditation unite with Eternal Truth;
All else is but the Empty and the Illusory.
Gladly we accept the moisture of Sweet Dew;
Rejoice to be cleansed by this gracious breeze.
We will stop where we are at this temple gate;
For who is able to imitate Confucius?

"Hearing of the Extreme Seculusion of Master Fu's Retreat, Some Six or Seven Leagues West of Yün-men Temple, I Go There with Hsüeh Pa" [13]

Meng probably spent the summer in Kuei-chi as well, but as the end of his second year in the region approached, he began to feel that he was not making any progress toward the fulfilment of his old ambitions: 89

"Ch'en P'ing had no means of livelihood";
Confucious wearied of wandering hither and yon.
'In a mean neighbourhood' was once called 'hidden';
'Asking about the ford' is now simply 'lost'.
Unable to forget the tall palace towers,
I have lingered for nothing but the hills of Yüeh.
Twice I have watched the summer clouds arise;
Again I hear the songs of springtime birds.
I remember immortals in the town of Mei Fu,
Visit antiquity on Jo-yeh Stream.
Our sage ruler treasures worthy men;  
Why then do you hide away in seclusion?  
"Sent to Mr. Hsieh of Southern Pool and  
Superintendent Ho at Kuei-chi, During a  
Long Delay in Yüeh" [124]  

It was perhaps in the autumn of 727 that Meng was in Hang-chou, to see the famous tidal bore of Hang-chou Bay:  

For a hundred leagues we hear the thunder rumble;  
Briefly you still the strumming of your singing strings.  
From the government offices we ride out in a body together;  
Above the river we wait for a view of the tide.  
Bright with sunlight the autumn clouds are high;  
Floating the heavens the Po-hsieh Sea is broad.  
Frightened waves advance like falling snow,  
All who watch ashiver with biting cold.  
"Written on Climbing the Camphor Tree  
Pavilion to Watch the Tidal Bore with  
Magistrate Yen of Ch'ien-t'ang" [128]  

The poems written in Hang-chou are very few, and this suggests that Meng did not spend much time there, although it was an important scenic and cultural centre, through which he must have passed several times. In any event, we find him on his way back to Kuei-chi soon after the tide-viewing party:  

I have done with viewing the eighth-month waves;  
Crossed the sea in search of the Three Rivers.  
I look back along the road to the 'towers of Wei',  
Renewing for nothing the heart of Prince Mou.  
"On First Descending to the Che River:  
Extemporised in my Boat" [130]  

The tide has fallen, the river is smooth, the wind still calm,  
And together we are crossing, you and I, in the same narrow boat.  
Time after time, I crane my neck and gaze to the heavens' end;  
Which among those green hills lies in the land of Yüeh?  
"Questioning my Boatman While Crossing the River" [126]  

And we know that he was back in Kuei-chi by late autumn, from a rather dull poem (176) that he wrote after his return.
Meng's stay in Yüeh was at last drawing to a close. We find him late in the year at Fu-yang, a little way upstream from Hang-chou, saying farewell to two friends as he leaves on a trip up the River Che. Apparently he wanted to see the sights of the valley, through which he had hurried two years previous on his way down into Yüeh:

Westward I ascend the western reaches of the Che,
Looking out on its flow, sorry to be parting hands.
A thousand peaks pile up to form the ranges;
A myriad streams unite to make the river.
Over stony shallows it is hard to oppose the current;
Long vines make it easy to climb the cliffs.
Who would take pity on a stranger who seeks the ford,
Lost here in this place at the end of the year?
"Going Westward up the River, I Part from Superintendents P'ei and Liu of Fu-yang"
[155]

Meng's second trip on the Che was probably not very extensive. In all likelihood he returned soon to Hang-chou and then headed north to the Yangtse once again. It is possible that he was travelling with his Kuei-chi friend Hsüeh Pa, for we find the two men temporarily separated at Ox Island, near Tang-t'ü (in Anhwei):

Stars appear, and evening comes to Bull Isle;
The wind dies away, and my heron boat slows.
On inlets and bays we have often lodged together;
Now mist and waves come suddenly between us.
Oarsmen's songs are lost in the void;
Galley fires grow uncertain in my gaze.
At the break of dawn we sail the boundless lakes;
Where in those vast expanses will we meet?
"Mooring for the Night at Bull Isle, I Try to Catch up to the Boat of Hsüeh Pa, but I Cannot Reach It" [109]

We may presume that they found each other after this, and then separated again for good farther upstream. Their parting poem has the title "Parting from Hsüeh Pa in Kuang-ling" in Ming and Hu-pei system texts, but this is confusing when set beside the poem just quoted. In
fact, the Yuan system texts give a different title (the poem is not found in Sung system texts), and this makes it appear that they may have said farewell farther upstream:  

Scholars there are whose ambitions remain unachieved;  
Unsettled and restless between Wu and Ch'ü.  
Since we chanced to meet in Kuang-ling,  
We have returned to P'eng-li, drifting by boat.  
Masts emerge from the trees along the river;  
Waves reach to the hills beside the sea.  
Your wind-laden sails will be far away tomorrow;  
Where will I ever catch up to you once again?  

"Saying Farewell to a Friend Who Returns to the East" [133]

Meng must have left Yüeh early in the season, for in one poem he remembers his friend Ts'ui Kuo-fu and regrets that they could not be together for the 'Purification Festival' early in the third month:  

Willows blossom along the spring banks;  
I remember my promise to meet an old friend.  
Meadows and woods have no wills of their own,  
And yet there are seasons of bloom and decay.  
How far away is Shan-yin now?  
On the river I think of you day after day.  
Too late for the party at the Orchid Pavilion,  
I can only chant a 'Purification Ode'.  

"On the River: to Send to Superintendent Ts'ui Kuo-fu at Shan-yin" [69]

Both men would have been sorry to be unable to spend the festival day together in Shan-yin, for it was associated with the famous 'Meeting at the Orchid Pavilion', which had taken place nearby in 353. On the shang-ssu day, the third of the third month, the great calligrapher Wang Hsi-chih had joined with a group of friends to celebrate the Purification with a party at his 'Orchid Pavilion'. They all had a good deal to drink and wrote poems. Wang himself composed a preface to go with the poems, lamenting the perishability of all things and finding consolation in the
capacity of literature to express men's feelings in permanent form. Meng and Ts'ui together in Shan-yin almost four hundred years later would certainly have made it the occasion of a good party and some memorable poems.

But Meng was on his way home at last, and looking forward to being back. It was still spring when he reached Wu-ch'ang (near modern E-ch'eng), not far from where the Han River joins the Yangtse:

My old home is beside Lake Tung;
With the New Year, thoughts of return push me on.
For nothing a wanderer's heart quickens his steps;
Bitter to him the turnings of rivers and roads.
The last ice is broken up by the winds,
New plums blossom with the passing of the twelfth month.
Moving on, I behold the willows of Wu-ch'ang,
Hazily shading its towers and terraces.

"Travelling Upstream, I Arrive at Wu-ch'ang"
[107]

And soon he was in Ying-chou, less than a hundred miles downstream from home:

On distant travels passing seas and crags,
My returning oar comes back to a fold in the hills.
As the sun sets I see the lofty trees;
My native district must now lie close at hand.
Spent is my sorrow at following rivers and roads;
With what great joy I enter the gate of Ying.
To left and right I see the mulberry fields,
All none other than they were before.

"On Reaching Ying on my Return Trip" [119]

Within a few days at most after composing this poem, Meng would have been back home again, after an absence of over three years.

All was not as he had left it. One friend, at least, had died while he was gone:

When I was young, I studied writing and swordsmanship;
Many the years I passed in Ch'in and Wu.
Now I return and climb up high to gaze:
Hills and valleys are as they always were. I never thought that a stranger who breathed the glow of dawn would ever be the first to swiftly follow the morning dew. Because of this I ask around the villages, how many of those I once took by the arm survive.

"Mourning for the Abbot of 'Beyond the Clouds' Temple on Hsien-shan Hill" [202]

8. Hsiang-yang Friends

The next few years are again difficult ones for Meng's biographer. The official versions, to be sure, count 728 as one of the very few solid dates in his life, the year in which he took the chin-shih examination. As soon as we realise that this did not happen until 732, we are left with a period of more than three years for which there is very little in the way of solid biographical material. It is certainly possible that some of the Yangtse valley poems included in his hypothetical two-year tour (see above) were written at this time, but there is no particular reason to suppose that they were. In any event, the entire trip can hardly be fitted in at this time unless we suppose that Meng was travelling from the spring of 729 to the summer of 731, and then set out again in the fall of 731 after only a few months at home.

It seems more likely that he spent most of this period with his friends in Hsiang-yang, and this is perhaps a good place to introduce a few of them. With the exception of Chang Tzu-jung, already encountered, and Chang Yuan, to whom we will return shortly, their official careers were undistinguished and thus we know virtually nothing about them except what we can learn from the poems that Meng addressed to them. In only two cases is this enough to give even a sketchy picture of their characters.
Meng addressed no fewer than ten poems to a man named Wang Chiung 王迥, though we have no other testimony that he even existed, save a rather graceless six-line poem that he himself addressed to Meng. The two men were probably about the same age; in any event, they seem to have been friends from quite early until the end of Meng's life. Wang was apparently a congenial 'retired gentleman' of neither great ambitions nor notable achievements. He may have adopted the name 'Master White Clouds' from a poem by T'ao Hung-ching 塔呂 常生; in any event, it was quite a common hao for men with recluse aspirations. Wang's easy-going nature and Meng's affection for him appear in most of the poems:

Returning to idleness, I have nothing at all to do,  
And lie down in the clouds all day without arising.  
A guest comes to knock at my brushwood gate,  
Calling himself after the Nest Father.  
Living at leisure, fond of blossoms and trees,  
He gathers herbs and comes to the city market.  
   His home is located on Deer Gate Hill;  
   Often he roams the waters of streams and marshes.  
   Holding in his hand a fan of white feathers,  
   And wearing on his feet sandals of green reeds.  
I have heard that, receiving a 'crane letter' of summons,  
He went down to the stream and washed out his ears.  
"A Visit from 'Master White Clouds', Wang Chiung" [223]

Emerging from the valley, it was still well before noon;  
Arriving at home, day has turned to dusk.  
I look back along the path below the hills,  
But all I can see is herds of cattle and sheep.  
Woodsmen disappear from view in the darkness;  
Meadow insects cannot be heard in the chill.  
My rude gate has still not been shut;  
I stand here waiting for my friend.  
"Returning from a Visit to Ching-ssu Temple,  
with 'White Clouds' Wang Behind" [211]

The waters of the lake are clear in the second month;  
From house to house spring birds are singing.  
Forest blossoms are swept away, but yet they fall;  
Pathway grass is tread but goes on growing.
A drinking companion has come to ask me
To open a jug and we'll clear our heads together.
Now that the cups are in our hands,
Let the music of singing girls never stop!
"In Spring, Happy that Wang Chiung has
Come to See Me" [9]

Resting in evening in the chamber of Master Chih,
I meet an old friend, the 'General of the Right'.
In a verandah window we avoid the blazing heat;
With brush and ink produce new poems.
Bamboo screens us from the sun, beyond the eaves;
Rain follows the clouds, beneath the steps.
We wander together through clear shade far and near,
Lie down singing in the glow of the setting sun.
The river is still as oarmen's songs die away;
The valley deep where the voices of woodsmen are heard.
We cannot bear to take our homeward road;
Hand in hand, enraptured with the pure fragrance.
"To Go with Wang Chiung's 'Inscribed at
Master Chiu's Mountain Lodge'" [75]

Another of Meng's Hsiang-yang friends was Hsin Chih-ê, about whom we know slightly more, though there are fewer extant poems addressed to him than to Wang Chiung. He and Meng seem to have been congenial drinking friends. Hsin shared Meng's desire for an official career, but he actually succeeded in obtaining a minor post after he presented a copy of a book that he had written, apparently a collection of moral precepts for the young, to the court in 729. The following two poems may refer to Hsin's departure and absence from Hsiang-yang:

I came to say farewell, but I did not see you;
As the day ends, I have only my troubled regret.
For nothing I pace back and forth above the river,
Uncertain where you are on the far horizon.
You will pass through the regions of Fan and Têng;
Over cloudy hills reach Sung Mountain and the Ju.
As rush-wound wheels move slowly into the distance,
I linger here in vain on a stony path.
"I Am Not in Time to Say Farewell to
Hsin Chih-ê" [144]
The mountain glow fades suddenly in the west;
The moon over a pond rises slowly in the east.
I loosen my hair to enjoy the cool of evening,
And opening my windows, lie down in peaceful ease.
A breeze over the lotus brings a fragrant aroma;
And dew from the bamboo drips in clear tones.
I would like to take up my singing lute and play,
Regret the lack of a knowing ear to enjoy it.
Moved by this I long for an old friend,
Far into the night in troubled dreaming thoughts.

"Thinking of Hsin Chih-ê on a Summer Day
in the Southern Pavilion" [199]

Finally, there is a man named Chang Yuan 张, a grandson of
Chang Chien-chih, the Chief Minister who had played so important a role
in the transfer of power back to the Imperial House at the end of
Empress Wu's reign. He and Meng seem to have been well acquainted
earlier, before Meng's second trip to the capital. In the fall of some
year, perhaps 731, perhaps earlier, he returned home for a rest from his
current post as Magistrate of Feng-hsien (modern P'uu-ch'eng in
Shensi), a county located very close to Ch'ang-an, and he and Meng were
able to spend several months together partying and writing poetry:

Since you went away to govern in the capital precincts,
I too have been away, on the Huai and the Yangtse.
Over ten thousand leagues, all news and letters were cut off;
For several years kept apart by clouds and rain.
You come back home for a day of official rest,
And at last we achieve the concord of admiring hearts.
Although you value the favour of a scarlet apron,
You have always been fond of the mood of Ts'ang-chou Isle.
Trees overhang the new dancing pavilion;
Hills stand in face of the old library studio.
With what might I express the inspiration of autumn?
The cool insects singing by evening steps.

"Magistrate Chang of Feng-hsien Comes Home on
Leave and We Gather for a Banquet in the Sea
Pavilion: I Have Drawn the Rhyme Word 'Steps'"
[179]
From this Sea Pavilion we gaze on an autumn day,
See the hills and streams curve and meander.
We dip our brushes to write poems on the walls;
Tip the wine jugs and break out in smiles.
Happily I have met a 'Magistrate of P'eng-tse',
Come home to enjoy his old garden.
I too take up lute and annals,
And we enjoy our leisure together, relaxing at ease.

  "In Autumn, on Climbing the Sea Pavilion
  of Magistrate Chang" [44]

The auspicious snow is already a foot in depth,
Before the middle watch of this cold night.
Arranging mats, you summon your friends in wine;
Notch candles to limit the time for completing poems.
Incense coals are warm in the golden censer;
Seductive strings clear beneath jade fingers.
Peaceful, peaceful, unaware that we are drunk ...
On our homeward road the glow of dawn is born.

  "A Party at the Residence of Magistrate
  Chang on a Cold Night" [184]

In your country place we hear your new creations;
Many are the friends who respond with matching poems.
Then we read the reply from Jade Glen,
With no regret for the songs of Green Pearl.
Here you have a girl from Sunny Terrace,
Who visits every morning, to gather kingfisher plumes.
Her dancing mat is spread with brocade and damask,
Her makeup window screened by vines and tendrils.
Your term fulfilled, you have a day for rest;
At the end of spring, scenic views are pleasant.
This fairy duckling makes a good companion;
Gossamer stockings cross the waves together.
On a separate island, seeking herbs and blossoms;
By a curved pond, plucking lotus and water-chestnuts.
But still more lovely, the sun's slanting glow
On rouge and powder adorning a tender maid.

  "To Go with Magistrate Chang's 'Presented
  in Reply to Jade Glen'" [89]

9. The Third Trip North

Chang stayed, as the last of these poems shows, at least until the
following spring. In the meanwhile, other thoughts were occupying Meng's
mind: [102]
Last night the Dipper returned to the north;
This morning a new year rises in the east.
My years have made me now 'ripe for service';
Without a salary, I am still concerned with farming.
Old rustics go to take up their ploughing;
Shouldering my hoe, I follow after herdboys.
Farmers take auguries for weather and season,
And everyone speaks of a fruitful harvest.

"In the Country on the First Day of the Year" [218]

On the face of it, of course, it would seem that Meng is concerned only with the prospects for a good harvest of the crops that he is planting. In fact, though, whether or not he ever did any farming, even at second hand, he may have in mind here a different sort of success. His long journeys, however enjoyable, even educational, had not advanced him at all in his career. He was already over forty, and it was time for him to make another serious attempt at breaking into the official hierarchy. His previous attempts to gain an official post had apparently been limited to the search for an influential patron who would recommend him on the basis of his character and literary gifts. This approach had failed entirely, and now at the age of forty, Meng had to give thought to a different method, to take the official examinations and hope for success there. First it was necessary to pass a local test and be sent up to the capital by the prefectural authorities. We have no knowledge of Meng's local examination, nor is there any direct evidence to tell us in what year he took the chin-shih test itself. Indirect evidence, however, puts him in the capitals in 731 and 732, so he probably spent the period leading up to this trip at home in Hsiang-yang preparing for the examinations, which required not only literary gifts, but also a thorough knowledge of the Confucian Classics. Meng may have felt the
need for some review. It was probably in the fall of 731 that he set out once again for his last attempt at a respectable career.  

Once in Ch'ang-an, Meng evidently made many new friends, and perhaps encountered some old ones as well. He attended at least one party during the autumn, at which he scored a great success. Wang Shih-yuan describes the occasion:

His five-word poems are praised throughout the Empire for their perfect beauty. He was relaxing once in the Imperial Library just as the autumn moon reappeared in a clearing sky. A group of very eminent gentlemen had gathered for a poetry writing party, [and when it came Hao-jan's turn], his couplet ran,

Light clouds dim the Milky Way;
Drizzling rain makes the paulownia drip.

All present heaved a sigh of admiration at such perfect purity, and not a brush in the hall could continue it.

Wang goes on to list seven men with whom Meng was on the best of terms. Two of them, P'ei Tsung and Cheng Ch'ien-chih, are virtually unknown. Three more, P'ei Fei, Lu Chuan, and Tu-ku Ts'e, we will encounter later. The remaining two are the poet and painter Wang Wei, and Chang Chiu-ling, an important poet and a protegé of an eminent former Chief Minister, Chang Yüeh. Chiu-ling had just been recalled from a provincial post. It is possible that he and Meng had met during one of Meng's previous visits to the capital, since Chang was holding metropolitan posts at both times. Within the space of a few years, he would be elevated to the Chief Ministership himself, to become a principal in one of the most crucial political struggles in the history of the T'ang. In 731, however, he was no doubt just getting readjusted to life in the
capital after an absence of several years, and he would have been interested in meeting gifted young men, and even one not so young. Wang Wei had lost his wife during the preceding year, as Chang has lost his mentor, Chang Yüeh. Wang would have been hoping for a second start in his career, which had been sidetracked after a brilliant beginning ten years before. And in fact, Chang Chiu-ling would "pluck" Wang out of obscurity just three years later, by recommending him for office. It was probably also at this time that Meng met Wang Ch'ang-ling, a poet of nearly equal stature and also a man almost equally unlucky in his career. Wang had passed his chin-shih earlier, in 727, and had just been appointed a Collator in the Imperial Library in 731, after passing an additional examination. One of Wang's fellow Collators at the time was the poet Ch'i-mu Ch'ien whose acquaintance Meng also made.

At last, in the first month of 732, Meng took the chin-shih examination himself. We know very little about examinations that year. Since the results were not posted until the second month, Meng must have passed some anxious days, waiting in Ch'ang-an:

Our keeper of the gate is the Eastern Well itself; Walls and moats hold the Northern Polestar aloft. In concert we sing of these days of great peace; Together rejoice in spring with the Handle in Yin. Snow has vanished from the trees on the blue hills; Ice breaks up on the banks of the Black River. Grass welcomes horses on the Golden Circuit; Blossoms companion girls from jade towers. Stately the wild swans appear without number; Oriole songs are heard more and more often. When will I succeed in plucking the laurel, Returning home while willow shoots are still new?

"Early Spring in Ch'ang-an" [232]
Meng's name was not among those of the successful candidates; he had failed. There was little to do in Ch'ang-an, since the court had already gone to Lo-yang the winter preceding. Nonetheless, Meng stayed on for a while, probably just relaxing with his friends. It was perhaps about this time that he paid a visit to a famous temple in the hills south of Ch'ang-an:

Dark Slope is within the Chung-nan Hills;  
Perfect after rain, in the glow of the setting sun.  
I have long been secluded behind my closed gate;  
Leaning on my staff, I climb up for a look into the distance. 
Thus I come to the chambers of a solitary man, 
And begin to understand the transcendence of the Tranquil. Though Confucian and Taoist have different doctrines, 
Both are fully attuned to clouds and groves. Two hearts delighted to have found each other, Together we talk and laugh until the light fades. Returning in twilight to sleep beneath my high window, At times I catch sight of fiery distant mountains. I think with longing of the guidepost of Red Wall, And remember all the more the peaks near Lin-hai. Wind and running water have their own pure sound; What need is there for the whistling at Su-men?

"Inscribed on the Wall of Master K'ung at 
Dark Slope Temple in the Chung-nan Hills"
[24]

Meng can hardly help but have remembered his happy days with the Taoists on Mt. T'ien-t'ai and contrasted them with his repeated disappointments in Ch'ang-an. It is possible that he left the capital in the direction of Shu at some time about now, but this remains uncertain, since it is attested only by one somewhat questionable piece of prose by a poet named T'ao Han, who was probably in Ch'ang-an at this time.

Finally, apparently toward the end of summer, Meng left for Lo-yang himself, saying farewell to a few friends at Hsin-feng, a few miles east of Ch'ang-an. He sent another poem back to Wang Ch'ang-ling after he
had travelled part way. Wang's post as a Collator would presumably have kept him in Ch'ang-an even after the rest of the court had left for Lo-yang:

Knowing little of where my way may take me,  
In a light carriage I continue toward the east.  
Our host opens up the old hall;  
And inviting some guests gets them drunk on Hsin-feng wine.  
Trees wrap the hot springs in green;  
Dust shades the evening sun with red.  
Brushing off my clothes, I will depart from here,  
And with lofty steps tread Mt. Hua and Mt. Sung.

"Returning from the Capital, I Say Farewell to my Friends at Hsin-feng" [142]

Toward evening, mist rises from the cypress trees,  
Lush and green at dusk by the hall beside the pool.  
On the road there is no one I might sit down with;  
Beyond the passes I regret having left my fellows.  
As candles are brought, the glow of fireflies fades;  
The lotus are withered and I hear the sound of raindrops.  
Endlessly I long for my friend in the Artemisia Hall,  
Lingering forgotten and alone like Yang Hsiung.

"On First Going Out Through the Passes:  
Sitting Up at Night in the Pavilion of My Inn and Thinking of Collator Wang" [197]

Life in Lo-yang seems to have been quite enjoyable. From one poem we learn that Meng had made the acquaintance of Ch'u Kuang-hsi, often considered, together with Meng and Wang Wei, to be one of the three major 'nature' poets of the High T'ang. Another was sent back to Ch'ang-an, to Ch'i-mu Ch'ien:111

An elegant lad with shot made of pearl,  
A wandering cavalier with a golden bridle ...  
Merry with wine as bright day turns to dusk,  
They run their horses on through the red dust.

"To Go With 'The Roads of Lo-yang' by Ch'u Kuang-hsi" [129]

I have heard of the place where you rest in the shade,  
In the eastern suburbs amid groves of willows.  
To left and right the Rivers Ch'an and Chien;  
Your entrance court is Hou-shih Hill.
Embracing my lute, I came to get drunk with you;  
Dangling my hook, just enjoying idleness.  
Do not await the wanderer's return;  
In search of the source he may even not come home.

"Inscribed at the Estate of Li Shih-ssu:  
Also to be Sent to Collator Ch'i-mu" [87]

We have no poems from the winter of 732, at least none that we can identify. Early in the spring following, another friend of Meng's, Yuan Kuan --also a friend of Chang Tzu-jung and Ch'u Kuang-hsi-- was sent to the south, presumably to a provincial appointment:¹¹²

I go to visit a young genius of Lo-yang;  
He is in exile now beyond the River and the Ranges.  
I have heard that plum trees blossom earlier there,  
But what is that to spring in this northern land?

"In Lo-yang: Going to Visit Omissioner Yuan,  
but Finding Him Gone" [56]

Toward the end of spring, Meng was taken sick once again, and spent some time recuperating, perhaps at the same estate from which he had sent his poem back to Ch'i-mu Ch'ien:¹¹³

I love the mood of T'ao Yuan-ming,  
In grove and garden, with no common feelings.  
Spring thunder, and all the plant seeds burst;  
At 'cold food', it is clear in every direction.  
Buried in my pillow, I sigh for Liu Chen;  
Returning to his fields, envy Hsiang Ch'ang.  
Year after year, a stranger staying in Pai-shê,  
I linger for nothing by the walls of Lo-yang.

"Lying Ill in the Garden of the Li Family"  
[212]

The reference to T'ao Ch'ien suggests that Meng was turning toward the recluse ideal.¹¹⁴ Meng probably made some further attempts to find a patron among the court officials, but these came to nothing once again. There was nothing for it but to return home. He said a disappointed farewell to Wang Wei, who had seen him not long before the sensation of the autumn poetry party in Ch'ang-an:
Forlorn and lonely, with nothing to wait for after all,
Day after day, only to return alone.
I will soon go away to seek fragrant herbs,
Sorry to leave an old friend behind.
Among those in power, on whom might I depend?
'A knowing ear is rare in this world'.
All I can do is preserve my rustic solitude,
And just shut the gate of my old garden.

"Parting from Censor Wang Wei" [135]

To block up your gate and not to emerge again,
Forever estranged from joining in worldly affairs.
I take this to be an excellent purpose,
And urge your return to your former hut.
To drink and sing with country wine,
Laughing and reading from ancient books.
Here is something fit for your life's work,
Rather than labouring to present a Sir Fantasy.

Wang Wei, "Saying Farewell to Meng Hao-jan,
Who Returns to Hsiang-yang" [K. 5951]

The contrast in tone between these two poems is suggestive. While they clearly seem to have been written on the same occasion, Meng expresses his disappointment in almost every line, while Wang picks up various of his thoughts and smooths them into a rustic idyll very reminiscent of T'ao Ch'ien. It is hard to be sure what thoughts were in the mind of each man at the time, but one cannot help feeling that Meng may have been a little uncomfortable at having his reluctant withdrawal from public life accepted so enthusiastically.

We do not know how Meng parted from Chang Chiu-ling. It is possible, though, that Chang was the friend to whom Meng addressed the following poem soon after he arrived home: 115

I have read the Lives of High-minded Men,
And think T'ao Ch'ien the finest of them all.
Seeing every day delight in fields and gardens,
Calling himself a man from the age of Fu-hsi.
But as for me, what am I going to do,
As I perch here and there, asking about the ford in vain?
In middle age I gave up my knolls and canyons,
Through ten attempts sojourned in wind and dust.
From loyalty I wanted to serve our illustrious ruler;
In filial love thought of caring for my aged parents.
I have come back now to face the summer's heat,
To ploughing and sowing that should have been done in spring.
With fan and pillow I lie in my northern window;
Pluck herbs on the shore of the southern stream.
So, with this message I take leave of those at court,
Honour the integrity shown on the north side of the Ying.

"Sent to my Old Friends in the Capital on Returning in Mid-summer to my Southern Garden" [221]

It is worthwhile to compare this poem with the optimistic one written a few years earlier, on New Year's day. It comes, for one thing, closer to the image of Meng in his official biographies than do most of the poems. And it suggests that Meng might at last have found a respectable image for himself in Chinese tradition.

10. Hsiang-yang Society

It was in the summer of 733, about the time that Meng returned to Hsiang-yang, that Chang Chiu-ling was made an Honorary Vice-President of the Secretariat, a sign that Chang was rising rapidly in the official hierarchy. We are entirely in the dark about any moves that Meng may have made to remind Chang of his desire for an official post at this time. In any event, Chang's mother died toward the end of the year, and he resigned and returned home, only to be recalled to the capital and the Chief Ministership early in 734. He was then clearly in a position to help deserving friends. Wang Wei was 'plucked' up to be an Omissioner some time in 734; Meng's friend Pao Jung was similarly recommended by Chang, as were other talented younger men. It is hard to believe that Meng would not have availed himself of such an opportunity; frustrating to have no evidence that he did. We do know that he sent his
friend Ting Feng 

，another native of Hsiang-yang, up to the capital bearing Meng's own recommendation to Chang, but what came of this, if anything, is unknown: 

I have perused your 'Ode on the Wren';
You possess the talent to be of aid to a ruler.
Alas, lacking the influence of Chins and Changs,
From ten attempts you have come back empty-handed.
Abandoned and left to grow old in a rustic garden,
Feathers and wings urge you to soaring flight.
An old friend is now in a high position;
Do not pause or falter at the crossroads! 

"On Seeing Ting Feng Off to the Chin-shih Examination, with a Recommendation to Chang Chiu-ling" [139]

At the same time, Meng's social life in Hsiang-yang had taken an interesting turn. By the winter of 733, his old friend Chang Yuan had returned home after a term as Secretary of the Bureau of Official Mounts and Carriages. Early in the following year, the Prefect of Hsiang-yang, Yuan Yen-chung 元彦冲, left for Kuei-chi, to be replaced by Han Chao-tsung 韓朝宗. This was good news for Meng, for Han was not only a congenial man, but also an admirer of literature and an official who believed in helping talented friends. In fact, this very trait caused him several setbacks in his own career, when those he recommended or employed got into trouble. Han was greatly respected by the literati, many of whom were aided in their careers by his recommendation. Ts'ui Tsung-chih 徐宗之, whom we will meet soon, and Yen Wu 武, later a friend of Tu Fu, are two examples.

Han was additionally welcome in Hsiang-yang since his father, Han Ssu-fu 韓思復, had served there as Prefect twice before, and was well remembered by the local people. Chao-tsung himself won some additional renown by addressing a vigorous letter to the spirit of a
poisonous well in the vicinity, which henceforth began to yield sweet water.

Meng may well have given up all hope of an official career by this time. And yet when he says as much—very indirectly, to be sure—it rings less than true:120

A Prefect clears off the seat of Ch'en Fan;
From among the groves he summons the talents of Ch'u.
On hills and streams the prayed-for rain is over;
All things rejoice in the clearing sky.
Treating them as equals, he honours robed Confucians;
On the edge of the pool, bows to 'Crossing-in-a-Cup'.
We are only here to pluck the plums of Chu Chung;
Will someone be sponsored to season the broth with cherries?
With brushes and ink we create by following our feelings;
Lofty and profound, write according to our themes.
When the mood of Ts'ang-chou Isle is not far off,
Who need even ask about P'eng-lai!

"Meeting with Master Yüeh and Various Scholars in the Eastern Studio of Prefect Han" [186]

There is a well-known anecdote—it is recorded in Wang Shih-yuan's Preface—concerning Meng and Han. According to Wang, Han was so impressed with Meng's character and literary gifts that he undertook to present him at court. They travelled to the capital together, but on the appointed day, Meng met some old friends and went off drinking with them. As the hour of his appointment with Han approached, someone reminded Meng of it, but he only snorted and replied that he was quite happy where he was and didn't intend to let himself be bothered by anything else. Han, who—according to the story—had already made preparations for Meng's presentation that day, was understandably angered, but Hao-jan had no regrets.121 It is quite possible that Han intended to recommend Meng, or offered to do so, and that Meng may have passed up a meeting or said that he preferred drinking with his friends to being
presented at court. It is very much to be doubted, though, that he actually alienated Han to such an extent as the story suggests. For, as we shall see shortly, his farewell poem to Han, as well as another written to him later, shows no sign of such an estrangement.

Han's presence in Hsiang-yang attracted another poet in search of a job, Li Po. Li had written a letter to Han some time previously, and in 734 he came up to Hsiang-yang to visit him in person. He had no luck in getting an official post, but while in town he must have taken time to renew his friendship with Meng.

Part of the reason why Han Chao-tsung did nothing to help Meng and Li Po find jobs at this time may lie in his own situation, for he was not in the best graces of the court himself and would soon be sent much further south than Hsiang-yang. One would not guess from Meng's farewell poem, however, or from the one that he sent to Chao-tsung later, that Han was being transferred in disgrace:

Reporting to your post, you comforted Ching and Heng;
Parting a tally, inherited favour and glory.
Going and coming we have seen the relay surrounded;
Then and now depending on the ruler of the town.
Unharmed, the sweetpear tree is still to be seen;
The ripples are clear and the water more pure than before.
Praised again for your governing of Chiang and Han,
You are transferred shortly to carry on at Yü-chang.
Father Shao left much love behind him;
Lord Yang is famed for his governorship.
Caps and robes are arrayed at the farewell feast;
Old worthies surround your leading pennants.
A morning breeze bids farewell from the crest of Hsien-shan;
Evening fires will welcome you in Chiang-ling.
Lacking in talent, I am shamed by Hsü Shih;
A thousand leagues away, embarrassed before my friend.

"Saying Farewell to Prefect Han, Who Has Been Reassigned to Hung-fu as Protector-General" [146]
Lord Han saw beauty in the land of Hsiang;  
Daylong he enjoyed the peaks west of the city walls.  
In form and construction its theme is not shallow;  
The charm of the crests and pools profound indeed.  
Once the 'bright flowers' were moved to compose,  
How many songs were intoned in the region of Ching!  
By the old path the orchids have not been cut;  
On the new dyke the willows begin to give shade.  
Beside the steps there are still strange rocks;  
And idle birds upon the sandy shores.  
Since you went to govern in Yü-chang district,  
I can only gaze toward the maple woods.  
My answering song is based on the flowing river;  
The finest listening depends on a knowing ear.  
The old timers are too far away to reach;  
Nowhere can Ts'ui and Hsü be sought.  
It is natural to value that which is distant;  
But surely men of worth are not lacking today.  
I wait for you at evening by the long river,  
Whose clear purity wholly cleanses my mind.  

"To Match 'On Climbing the Pavilion on Wan-shan Hill' by Assistant Chang: to be Sent to Protector-General Han at Hung-fu" [100]

The first of these poems is a little confusing if one does not know that it refers both to Han Chao-tsung and to his father Ssu-fu. It was no doubt the presence of Chao-tsung in Hsiang-yang which led to the speedy completion of a memorial inscription in honour of his father's good government. The text, now lost, was composed by Meng Hao-juan and the current Magistrate of Hsiang-yang, the poet Lu Chuan. Lu and Meng seem to have gotten on very well together, and Meng wrote a number of poems in the other man's company. The first of the surviving examples may be the following:  

We return from a spring journey of a hundred leagues;  
Many, our random joys on the pure current.  
Heron-bow boats follow the geese to their moorings;  
Fires on the water join in starry array.  
You have relieved already a drought among the farmers;  
Still you are concerned for the elevation of public morality.  
In literary writings you encourage the younger generation;  
In poetic culture stir up the stagnant waves.
High banks are seen as knolls and glens;
New songs fill our oarsmen's chants.
You even take pity on a man of no talent,
Who has grown white-headed without an examination pass.

"Written While Accompanying Magistrate Lu
Back to Hsien-shan Hill by Boat" [19]

It was probably in the same spring that two gentlemen of considerable distinction—their fathers had both been Chief Ministers—passed through Hsiang-yang. They were Fang Kuan 阮籍, who was later to be propelled, almost accidentally, and certainly disastrously, into the Chief Ministership himself, and Ts'ui Tsung-chih, who had recently been serving in the capital—where Meng may have met him—as Undersecretary of the Bureau of Rites. Meng's poem on the occasion reflects a certain awe, which need not have been purely a matter of politeness: 124

All their lives the great and humble are kept apart,
But on this day arrive canopied carriages.
Once we have met, it is springtime green and warm;
Clouds and fog open wide and clear.
Caps and robes are arrayed for the farewell feast;
Posterns and outriders hurry us at the parting pavilion.
Now we have agreed to gather on the Ninth Day;
Awaiting until then the return of two stars.

"A Farewell Party on Hsien-shan Hill for Fang Kuan and Ts'ui Tsung-chih" [242]

We have several poems which commemorate parties and social occasions in the fall of 735, all of them involving Lu Chuan. One of them led Meng to refer once again to his own failures: 125

In ancient times for scenic views, a place to climb and look,
Now for official caps and robes, a feast to say farewell.
Drunken I sit, pouring myself some P'eng-tse wine,
Thinking of return and gazing long at white clouds in the sky.

Over Lake Tung-t'ing a single leaf shocks me with autumn's haste;
Useless and discarded I sigh for nothing, lingering on river isles.
I send this word to those who hold high places in the court:  
When the day I shall see again the avenues of Ch'ang-an?

"To Match 'Saying Farewell to Cheng Shih-san on His Way to the Capital' by Magistrate Lu:  
this Poem to be Sent to Him" [96]

A happier occasion was a party at the residence of Chang Yuan, his 'Sea Pavilion'. Rhyme words were drawn by lot for a poetry-writing competition. Lu Chuan drew 'autumn', and Meng answered Lu's poem with one of his own: 126

In his district a man who governs with strings and song,  
A soaring phoenix who tames the wild seagulls.  
Cordially talking with a comrade from the Flowery Bureau,  
He detains for a while a friend from seaside pools.  
Clustered isles are hidden in thick bamboo;  
The stream in front lies across from a dancing pavilion.  
And now we hear his poem on this occasion,  
Its clouds and portents those of this new autumn.

"[Magistrate Lu's] On the Occasion of a Party in Early Autumn at the Sea Garden of Secretary Chang: I Have Drawn the Rhyme Word 'Autumn'" [177]

I have heard it said that you govern with strings and song;  
In culture and learning a disciple of Tzu-yu and Tzu-hsia.  
In your old garden you delight in admiring the bamboo;  
In governing you rejoice in coming to relieve the people.  
Fellow workers once in the Flowery Bureau,  
You are together in company again in a mystic boat.  
If you wonder now how long you have been sailing,  
The dew on the lotus has slowly formed in pearls.

"To Go With Magistrate Lu's 'A Party in Early Autumn at the Sea Pavilion of Secretary Chang'" [178]

The biggest occasion of the autumn, though, was a party given on the 'Ninth Day' by Lu Chuan for Chang Yuan, Ts'ui Tsung-chih, who had come back as agreed previously, and an unidentified Prefect Yuan, presumably Han Chao-tsung's successor at Hsiang-chou: 127

Who was it that first created time and space,  
The rivers and mountains so vast and unchanging here?  
Climbing up to gaze is a practice of past and present,
Customs and manners observed by years and seasons.
In terrain and government a part of Ching-chou,
The horizon as broad as the frontiers of Ch'u.
A present governor of a hundred cities,
A former Secretary in the Flowery Bureau,
Together find beauty in the Double Nine Festival,
Longing alike for the joys of toppling caps.
We summon wine to be brought from P'eng-tse,
Still the strumming of a lute in the walled town of Wu.
Wishing long life, we first set chrysanthemums afloat;
In search of serenity even spread out orchids.
With mists and rainbows we array exceptional writings,
On pines and bamboo hang up our caps and robes.
The spirit of Yang Hu seems to be here still;
The pleasures of Old Lord Shan are almost spent.
Hearing the tale of how he went riding while drunk,
We set out for the Pond of the Hsis to have a look.

"Magistrate Lu Gives a Party for Prefect Yuan,
Secretary Chang, and Undersecretary Ts'ui on
Hsien-shan Hill on the Ninth Day" [174]

Not too long after this, Chang Yuan received a new appointment.
The twenty-fourth son of Hsüan Tsung, Li P'in was created Prince Yi
in 735, and Chang was appointed Deputy Administrator of his court. [128]
There was, of course, a farewell banquet, held at Chang's 'Sea Pavilion',
and both Lu Chuan and Meng wrote poems on the occasion, though only
Meng's has survived:

A region of hills and streams is carved out in the capital;
A wise prince establishes an official residence.
Our old friend leaves to take up a different post;
Magistrate P'an comes to show favour on his departure.
Caps and carriages proceed to the Garden of Liang;
The Chiang and Hsiang are losing a great talent of Ch'u.
Already we sorrow as carriage and riders set out,
And friends and guests disperse from pools and terraces.

"Written at the Sea Garden to Go With 'During a Farewell Party for Secretary Chang Yuan,
who has been Appointed Deputy Administrator of the Court of Prince Yi' by Magistrate Lu"
[132]

Meng also wrote a personal farewell poem, at the party or
We have often applauded Jade Glen together;  
You are suddenly promoted to the glory of a scarlet mansion.  
Even now I feel my longing for you,  
Hearing the music that plays above your lute.

"Saying Farewell to Secretary Chang, who has been Transferred to the Capital" [249]

Several friends from Meng's most recent visit to the capitals also visited Hsiang-yang after Meng's return home. One of these was P'ai Fei --yet another on Wang Shih-yuan's list of friends. When Meng first met him, P'ai had just taken a special examination for Collators in 730. Sometime afterward, he was sent out to Hsiang-yang to the very minor post of Merit Officer, having been a Censor in the meanwhile. He and another officer came to call on Meng one day, and Meng recorded the incident in a poem:

Two office colleagues get to pay me a visit;  
I open another new bottle of home-made brew.  
The sun sets on our drinking beside the pond;  
A pure breeze comes in beneath the pines.  
The kitchen help prepare some chicken and millet;  
My young son is picking arbutus berries.  
Who says that Old Lord Shan is drunk?  
He is still able to ride home on horseback!

"A Visit from Works Officer P'ai and Revenue Officer Yün" [172]

Another Ch'ang-an friend who passed through Hsiang-yang during this period was Wang Ch'ang-ling, who evidently stopped by on his way home for a visit. Again we have Meng's farewell poem, but not Wang's:

The Yang makes its way down from Po-chung;  
Flowing to the east it becomes the River Han ...  
The mulberries of home are constantly in your thoughts;  
As you cast off your moorings I hold a farewell party.  
As clouds and rain, parted after this farewell;  
At the forest's edge, my feelings are vast and boundless.  
I know you will not begrudge to send me a letter;  
I will ever be looking for the fish that bears it.

"Saying Farewell to Collator Wang Ch'ang-ling" [264]
11. Return to Central China

By early 736, perhaps even late 735, Han Chao-tsung and Chang Yuan had already left Hsiang-yang. Lu Chuan may have been gone by this time as well. Chang Chiu-ling had been Chief Minister for some time, but no call had come for Meng to join his government. Meng was ready for another journey to the south, and was soon on his way. In the late spring or early summer of 736, Meng set off down the Han River. It seems likely that he was accompanied by his friend Wang Chiung, or else that he met Wang at Ė-chou, where the Han joins the Yangtse. Here the two friends parted company, as Wang continued downriver toward Wu:

Long ago I climbed Yellow Crane Tower above the River,  
And admired the distant Parrot Island in the river's midst.  
The island stretches far and wide, wrapped in the jade-like flow;  
Mandarin ducks and mallards cover the sandy banks.

Along the banks the sun sets beyond the long sandbars;  
The glitter and twinkle of golden sand in the shimmering light.  
Boatmen haul on embroidered cables;  
Washer-girls tie up gossamer skirts.  
In the bright moonlight, I see all over the white of rush-flowers;  
As the wind rises, scent in the distance the fragrance of sweet pollia.

As you travel to gather them, do not forget me!  
"At Parrot Island: Saying Farewell to Wang Chiung, who is Going on a Trip to the South" [160]

Meng's destination was to the southwest, Lake Tung-t'ing. We find him in the area while the pollia was still fragrant:

A wandering traveller, anxious to benefit from the crossing,  
Late at night I ferry the River Hsiang.  
On the dew-laden air I scent the fragrant pollia,  
From hearing their songs know the gatherers of lotus.  
Boatmen steer for the fires upon the shore;  
Fishermen spend the night on misty pools.  
Fellow travellers ask from time to time,  
"Which way to get to Ts'en-yang?"

"Crossing the Hsiang River at Night" [116]
It is unclear why Meng would have been going to Ts'en-yang, a town to the northwest of the lake. He was still on Tung-t'ing in the autumn, having perhaps been up to Ch'ang-sha in the meanwhile to visit a friend named Yen Fang. From the lake he addressed poems to Yen and to Chang Chiu-ling, both of which suggest that he had not yet left the world entirely behind:

The waters of the lake are calm in the eighth month,  
An empty gulf merging with Heaven above.  
Steaming mist rises from Yün-meng Marsh;  
Waves lap the walls of Yüeh-yang Town.  
I would like to cross over, but have neither boat nor oar;  
Living at ease, I am ashamed before our Wise Sage.  
I watch the people who are dangling their hooks,  
But all I feel is envy for their catch.

"Looking Out over Lake Tung-t'ing: to Send to Chief Minister Chang" [8]

Tung-t'ing in autumn is at its very widest;  
I am about to sail away in my homeward boat.  
Unable to distinguish where Ching ends and Wu begins,  
There is only the water merging with the heavens.  
So vast and broad, the river trees are lost;  
One to another the lakes and seas join.  
Some day you will be made a 'boat and oar',  
And together we shall fare across the mighty rivers.

"Sent to Yen Fang from Lake Tung-t'ing" [265]

The first of these poems was clearly a suggestion that he would like a job. There was, apparently, no positive reaction from Chang Chiu-ling, who was by this time encountering serious difficulties in maintaining his own position, as Li Lin-fu sharpened his efforts to oust him. Yen Fang had apparently been sent to Ch'ang-sha—at least we know he was there about a year and a half later—renowned as the place to which the brilliant young Han poet Chia Yi had been sent on an unpleasant assignment. One might even speculate that Yen himself had run afoul of Li Lin-fu, though there is no evidence to directly suggest this. In any
event, assignment to Ch'ang-sha involved political disgrace and even, perhaps--and as poem 61 suggests--physical danger. The poem does not actually say that Yen is in exile, but the allusion in the final couplet hints at a kind of encouragement which would only be appropriate if addressed to someone in a relatively obscure position.

It is unclear where Meng spent the year following. We do find him back in E-chou late in the spring of 737, saying farewell to Li Po, who presented him with a well-known poem: 136

An old friend takes leave of the west from Yellow Crane Tower, Through the blossoms and the mist of May down to Yang-chou. The far away reflection of a single sail vanishes in the azure void; I see only the Long River flowing to the horizon.

Li Po, "On Yellow Crane Tower, I Say Farewell to Meng Hao-jan, Who is Going to Kuang-ling" [K. 8352]

In the meanwhile, the political horizons were darkening rapidly. By midwinter of 736, Chang Chiu-ling had been forced to step down from the Chief Ministership. This news would have taken some time to reach Meng, but by the spring of 737 he must have realised that, if he had ever had a chance for a government appointment through Chang, the chance was gone. I suspect that he had already given up the idea.

12. With Chang Chiu-ling in Chiang-ling

Early in the summer of 737, Chang Chiu-ling was appointed Chief Administrator of the Grand Government General of Ching-chou, which had its headquarters in Chiang-ling, not far from the mouth of the Yangtse Gorges. For the student of Chinese history, this appointment is important as a sign that Li Lin-fu's rise to power had been completed. 137 Li's dictatorship, which lasted until his death in 752, was to prove a
crucial and, in the end, a disastrous period in T'ang history. But for Meng Hao-jan the significance of Chang's fall was personal and twofold. Chang was an old acquaintance and a respected senior poet; he was also a potential patron and employer.

By the early fall of 737, Chang would have reached his place of exile. It would have taken him some time to get settled in, become familiar with his new subordinates and with local conditions, and so forth. After a while, though, he must have begun to wish for some good literary companionship to take his mind off of his political disgrace. With this in mind, he sent to Meng with an offer of a small post as his assistant in Chiang-ling.

The offer must have aroused mixed feelings on Meng's part. After all his striving for a post, with total failure time after time and his best potential patron now in exile and disgrace, he had given up the effort and floated away down the Yangtse to Yang-chou, only to have a job, an official offer of employment, track him down there. At the same time, it was such a small job. It must have been clear to Meng--one so hopes that he understood--that he was really being taken on as a congenial companion rather than as a serious administrative appointee. He must have asked himself, as we must, why Chang had not helped him earlier. The most likely explanation is probably that Meng simply was not good official material, that he seemed likely to get himself, and perhaps his sponsor as well, into trouble while in office. And such fears were by no means idle, for the desperate struggle with the ascendant Li Lin-fu which had marked Chang Chiu-ling's ministry ended in defeat for Chang when a censor whom he had recommended was beaten to
death for a foolish remark and Chang himself sent out to Chiang-ling.

Once in exile, Chang may have felt freer to employ a possibly unreliable poet like Meng.

In any case, Meng must have sent word of his acceptance, and set off upriver toward Chiang-ling. As the end of the year approaches, we find him on Lake P'eng-li, evidently taking a slight detour:

A lunar halo is born in the Great Void;
My boatman understands the winds of heaven.
He sets his sail and awaits the break of dawn,
Gazing out over the vast smooth lake.
From midstream we see the Mount of K'uang,
Whose virile might looms over Nine Rivers.
Its darkness is frozen dense as inky brows;
Towering aloft it faces the dawning void.
Incense-burner Peak is first to be touched by the sun;
The spray from its waterfalls spews out into rainbows.
Long I have wanted to seek out Shang Tzu-p'ing,
All the more, I cherish Master Hui-yuan.
My coming now is bound by duty,
No leisure yet to rest my frail body.
Half-way only along the Huai-hai Road,
In year-star and frost the year draws to an end.
I send this word to one who dwells among the cliffs:
"When my business is done I will surely come to join you."

"On Lake P'eng-li, Gazing Toward Lu-shan Mountain" [28]

We have a fair number of poems written by Meng during his stay with Chang Chiu-ling. Two of the earliest may be these:

For the public weal despatched to the land of Ching,
You summon the worthy, embarrassed by the 'talents of Ch'u'.
The Duke of Shao's manner is further extended;
The Chief Minister's Study opened anew.
Once we met, I took pleasure in your 'brows and lashes';
You have plucked a wild weed out from its eddy.
I sit on the couch reserved for Hsü Chih;
Often accept a cup from Li Ying.
Consoled at first by willows where cicadas cried,
I look up now to plum blossoms in the snow.
Through the four seasons the year draws to a close;
Over a thousand leagues a traveller hastens along the stages.
In the capital they look for returning wings;
On sandy banks you are weary of 'wounded gills'.
We wait to hear a summons to the Hsüan-shih Palace,
The image of the stars regaining the Central Terrace.

"Presented to Chief Minister Chang at Ching-men" [86]

Where is he now, the man who walked alone?
The old tower stands here in Tang-yang.
As the year grows cold, we ask after the worthy elders;
Touring the district, are welcomed by the local officials.
Forest wilderness as far as the eye can see;
The Chü and the Chang flow toward their meeting in the east.
In the midst of my wanderings I have met a man who understands me,
And feel no more my sorrow at being far from home.

"On Climbing the Tang-yang Tower with Chief Minister Chang" [17]

Meng has more to say here of his own feelings--gratitude, modesty,
commiseration, and hope that Chang will soon be able to return to Ch'ang-an
--than in the other poems, probably written later, which describe social
occasions enjoyed in Chang's company. Almost all the poems, however,
are revealing as a mirror of Chang Chiu-ling's own feelings about his fate.
Chiu-ling's poems written at this time, while expressing his sadness at being exiled,
are very restrained and generalised in a way which Meng's are not. [141]
The first of the poems above, for instance, ends with references to the palace to which Chia Yi was summoned on his return from Ch'ang-sha, and to the 'Central Terrace', both a constellation in Chinese astronomy and a way of referring to the office of Chief Minister. The second poem encourages one to compare Chang with Wang Ts'an, who fled south to escape the violence and anarchy which engulfed the capital in the wake of the rebellion of Tung Cho, when "tigers and wolves stalked the streets." [142]

Now, this sort of thing quite possibly made Chang Chiu-ling distinctly uneasy. Within a few years, rivals degraded by Li Lin-fu would
be routinely overtaken in exile, if not on the road, by orders for their execution or suicide. Chang may very well have seen the danger of this in his own case. In any event, it would hardly have done him any good for it to be known in the capital that his provincial subordinates were openly looking forward to his early return to power, an event which could take place only at great cost to Li Lin-fu. As it was, he was still a very conspicuous figure, and the object of much respect and sympathy among the literati. Wang Wei and Wang Ch'ang-ling, for example, both addressed poems to him in Chiang-ling, expressing their regret at his misfortune.

Most of the other poems that Meng wrote while with Chang Chiu-ling are more innocuous, simply recording outings or other social occasions. Even they, however, often allude either to the darkness of the political situation or to Chang's own uncertainty about his future:

The Gate of Chi is on the sky's northern edge;  
The Bronze Pillars at the end of 'South-of-the-Sun'. 
Going out to govern, your fame spreads even farther,  
Cast away in the wilderness by a law without lenience. 
Inclining toward you we can only lean and gaze;  
We cannot share the pleasure of joining hands. 
A white gem is without the slightest flaw;  
A green pine remains as the year grows cold ... 
In the district capital is the Chief Minister's Study;  
Up the river lie 'Prefect's Rapids'. 
Inspiration spent, we turn back our boats and go;  
For now we know the 'hardship of weary roads'.

"On Accompanying Chief Minister Chang up a Tower on the Walls of Ching-chou: to Send to Prefect Chang at Chi-chou and Frontier Commander Liu at Lang-po" [76]

Casting off, we drift down the Sung-tzu Stream;  
Boarding our boat, give orders to the oarsmen. 
You can hardly neglect your days of ministering to the state;  
Nor do you weary in the season of bitter cold. 
Are caps at an angle a thing of the past alone?
This is just the place to wash out your hat-strings.
When government is perfected, the people order themselves;
When artifice is laid aside, the birds are without mistrust.
Cloudy mists engulf a lonely islet;
We make out the hills and streams of all directions.
As evening comes, the wind quickens slightly;
At winter solstice, the sun's progress slows.
Sounds of hunting startled Yün-meng;
Fishermen's songs are shrill and excited verses.
Where is the site of the Island Palace though?
As the river dims, where should we go?

"On Accompanying Chief Minister Chang Eastward
from the Sung-tzu River to a Mooring by the
Island Palace" [18]

Offerings in sequence manifest the Royal Will;
Purified hearts set forth at the appointed moment.
In their blue robes, young scholars are arrayed;
Local officials are among the staff in attendance.
The governor's team seeks a homeward road;
Paired Groves point a way to the Walls of Transformation.
Our hearts are reflected in the purity of Jade Spring.
Carriage awnings rest close beneath the pines;
Monks in black greet us, holding their ringed staves.
This heavenly palace draws near to Tushita Heaven;
This sandgrain world opens into a blinding radiance.
We are close to deciding to end our days herein,
And hear with respect the name of the Wise One.
Men follow with sighs an unceasing stream
Whose waves dash and break against Capsized Boat.
I call up an image, as though it were before my eyes,
Of a circling flow of vainly repeated attachment.
Even Lord Hsieh would like to retire,
But to whom could he commit his care for the common people?

"On Accompanying Chief Minister Chang to the
Sacrifices on Purple Awning Mountain and
Passing Jade Spring Temple on the Way" [34]

13. Wandering in the South

On the basis of Meng's biographies alone, one would feel justified
in assuming that he remained with Chang Chiu-ling from 737 until early
in 740, when Chang resigned and went home. In fact, however, Meng left
Chiang-ling early in the spring of 738, after only months, weeks perhaps,
'in office'. In a way, his early retirement seems almost as improbable as do the circumstances under which he had been offered the post in the first place. After all, he had wanted a job all these years, and now he had one, and as the chosen companion of a widely respected former Chief Minister who was also certainly the most important poet older than Meng himself then living. Once it is understood that he did in fact leave so soon, the question why becomes intriguing.

There seems to be no suggestion anywhere that the two men parted on bad terms. As a younger man, Meng had been quick enough to grumble over the lack of help forthcoming from his 'friends at court', but, as we shall see, everything points to his having remained on good terms with Chang Chiu-ling even after he left Chiang-ling. There may have been some disagreement over the nature of Meng's post. Perhaps Chang expected Meng to put in more time at his desk than Meng liked; on the other hand, perhaps Meng was inclined to take the job too seriously, while what Chang really wanted was above all a person with whom he could write poetry. There may also have been some lack of agreement in temperament. Meng's tendency to take up a public cudgel on Chang's behalf, as seen in poems 17 and 86 especially, may have alarmed the older man, whose memory of Li Lin-fu's unscrupulous tactics was no doubt very lively. Perhaps too, Chang was simply too downcast over the turn of events to put his heart into much light-hearted relaxation. A man as discouraged, and at the same time as conscientious at his post, as Chang was may have proven a dull companion for Meng, whom long years of unemployment had at least inured to parties, travel, and good times. It may even be significant that there are no works addressed to Meng included in Chang's works,
although there are many pieces extant from his years at Chiang-ling. However, most of Chang's poems from this period are solitary meditations in any case, and it would have been Meng's place to 'match' Chang, not vice-versa.

Above all, we must take into account Meng's own restlessness. With the exception of his two years at home with Chang Yuan, Lu Chuan, and Han Chao-tsung from 733 to 735, and the years just before going up to the capital as an examination candidate in 731, Meng had been away from home and on the move almost constantly since late in 723, a period of almost fifteen years. Except for the trips to the capitals, there seems to be no real necessity for all this hectic wandering, except for Meng's own inner compulsion to be moving. We have seen poems written in Ch'ang-an, and in Yüeh as well, expressing his frustration at remaining too long in one place. The two years that he spent in Yüeh seem to have been taken up in large part with his various trips to T'ien-t'ai, Hang-chou, the Che valley, and Lo-ch'eng. In the latter place, where he might presumably have enjoyed the hospitality and companionship of his old friend Chang Tzu-jung for an indefinite period, he remained only a matter of weeks before returning to Hang-chou. Once there he decided not to go home; yet he was off for T'ien-t'ai not long after, and so forth throughout his travels. It may have been a recognition of this aspect of his personality which made even his friends reluctant to offer him a respectable job. And if this were the case, Chang Chiu-ling's experience would have confirmed their doubts. Meng seems to have been enjoying himself very much in Chiang-ling, just as he had in Lo-ch'eng, Kuei-chi, and Hsiang-yang itself; and yet, within weeks he was off again
on fresh travels.

Whatever the cause of his departure, Meng left Chiang-ling, not for home, but instead for E-chou and Lake P'eng-li. At E-chou he presented a poem to Commissioner Sung Ting, who had been Chiu-ling's predecessor at Ching-chou:

Your wish to go back to your plough still unfulfilled,  
As the sun sets we climb at a corner of the wall,  
Who can say that hills and forests are nearby,  
While you sit entangled in papers and official tallies?  
The graceful spire has not been altered or replaced,  
But panels and railings are made to a new design.  
The distant stream comes from Mt. Po-chung;  
Far away clouds engulf Lake Chü-chü.  
I would like to follow the river swallows with my greetings,  
Ashamed to chase along with the office staff.  
If you would know this madly singing stranger,  
A single callow scholar of knolls and gardens.

"To Match 'The New Pavilion at the Northern Tower' by Commissioner Sung" [81]

Meng must have paused only briefly at E-chou, for we find him back on Lake P'eng-li before spring was too far advanced. He may have stopped over at Hsün-yang to see the friend to whom he had written a few months earlier, while on his way up to Chiang-ling. From there he went by boat out onto the lake itself:

The Great River divides in nine streams;  
Vast and boundless they form this watered land.  
Boatmen take advantage of the favourable crossing,  
Back and forth, they stop over in Hsün-yang.  
And so I am going to sail the Five Lakes,  
On flowing waves, cruise the Three Rivers Hsiang.  
I look at the surge and admire Mei's 'Incitements';  
Mourn for Ch'ü and ache for his drowning in the Hsiang.  
In my mind, the palace towers are always there;  
A summons to the Golden Gate I cannot forget.  
I long from afar for the geese over the Royal Grove,  
Winging homeward as soon as the ice breaks up.

"Going by Boat from Hsün-yang Across the Great Lake" [117]
Now, Hsiao Chi-tsung has offered what seems to be a very shrewd interpretation of this poem, that it was intended for Chang Chiu-ling. If this is so, it suggests that Chang and Meng did in fact part on good terms, and on an 'I'll let you know if I have anything for you' basis. The references to Ch'ü Yuan, who drowned himself in despair at the decline in political morality, would be flattering—and sincerely so—to Chang. The poem is, then, very much like the ones which Meng had been writing while he was still in Chiang-ling.

From P'eng-li, Meng seems to have gone west, crossing the low mountains between Kiangsi and Hunan by way of the Hsiu River and the Mi-lo, the latter the very one in which Ch'ü Yuan had drowned himself. The poem which Meng wrote on the way shows how much he had Ch'ü on his mind:

Feverish vapours billow and swirl at dawn;  
The southern hills are covered by rain-filled clouds.  
The roc in flight we see for the first time;  
Though the fall of birds we heard of long ago.  
This land reaches to near Ch'ang-sha;  
The streams branch off from islands of the Mi-lo.  
Master Chia once mourned for Ch'ü Yuan here,  
And I too ache for such culture.

"Entering the Southern Hills at Dawn" [110]

The tone of this poem is oppressively gloomy, combining noxious vapours, falling birds, the misfortunes of Chia Yi, and the disgrace and suicide of Ch'ü Yuan all in eight lines. It is quite possible that Chia and Ch'ü stand for Yen Fang and Chang Chiu-ling.

The Mi-lo River discharges into Lake Tung-t'ing very near where the Hsiang River, flowing down from Ch'ang-sha, also enters the lake. For some reason, Meng decided not to go upstream, but he did send off a mournful poem to Yen Fang, who was still there:
The River Kuei gives access to all of Yüeh;
My narrow boat is set to leave at dawn.

Clouds of Ching cover the three districts of Pa;
Gazing in the evening I cannot see my home.
   King Hsiang dreamed of driving rains;
   A young genius was banished to Ch'ang-sha.

Ch'ang-sha is wrapped in malarial miasmas;
Why do you insist on remaining there so long?
Long apart, I think of our meeting face to face;
Accepting favour, I long to join my sleeve with yours.

That joining sleeves is what we may never compass,
Only adds to my sorrow at this mooring.
I cannot bear to hear the gibbons' clear cries,
And skirting the moon descend with the flow of the Hsiang.

"Mooring on the Lake: to Send to Revenue Officer Yen Fang" [61]

14. Last Years in Hsiang-yang

And so Meng returned home for the last time. None of the poems of his last journey refer to his having been sick, so we may assume that his fatal illness had not yet struck. He was to spend about two more years at home, and many of the best of his Hsiang-yang poems may date from this period. It may even be that it was only now that he moved across the Han to his hermitage on Deer Gate Hill.

Certainly he was still as ready for a party as ever. He seems to have been on particularly good terms with Tu-ku Ts'e--another of the seven friends listed by Wang Shih-yuan--who was Prefect of Hsiang-yang at this time. They were joined by a third man, the calligrapher Hsiao Ch'eng, Chief Administrator at nearby Nan-yang, and concurrently an Undersecretary in the central government:

Once a Secretary in the Flowery Bureau,
Ordered by the Emperor to share his troubles.
The land of Hsiang was suffering a heavy drought;
Rain fell again, following your carriage.
The shade of clouds comes from Southern Ch'u;
The river's moisture reaches to eastern Chou.
In the district office you approve the clearing sky;
In peasant households they rejoice that the harvest will be good.
In among the bamboo comes a dying glow;
Above the ponds floats the evening sun.
We send our regrets to the 'Governor of Tung-yang';
For how can the 'Pavilion of Eight Verses' compare with this?

"To Go With 'Written in the Eastern Studio' by Prefect Tu-ku" [258]

Wan-shan Hill is a curving green crest;
With a thousand horsemen, the Prefect goes roaming.
Spirit maidens make their rings and pendants sing;
Immortal gentlemen accept the proffered cups.
We behold on all sides the wilds of Yün-meng,
And thus admire this tower on the river wall.
Why among those who have governed the southeast,
Do they only record Lord Shen 'the Obscure'?

"On Climbing the Pavilion on Wan-shan Hill in the Company of Prefect Tu-ku Ts'e and Undersecretary Hsiao Ch'eng" [262]

Hsien-shan Hill is on a curve of the river's bank;
The river to Ying in front of the outer gate.
From ancient times a place to climb and gaze;
Not today alone this soul-destroying darkness.
Pavilions and towers are bright in the setting sunlight;
Hamlets and villages bloom by the river's course.
Bamboo by the creek gives birth to solitary delight;
The wind in the woods joins in with flutes and strings.
Flying again, the great P'eng bird lashes the water;
In a single ascent, a crane mounts to the heavens.
Standing still, the governor of San-ching,
To see your team of horses coming back.

"On Hsien-shan Hill, Saying Farewell to Undersecretary Hsiao, Who is Going to Ching-chou" [171]

Another poem that may have been written about this time is one addressed to Wang Chiung, from whom Meng had parted in Ė-chou two years before. Wang was apparently still away travelling.
Far and wide, the clear river water;  
The water subsides and sandy islets emerge.  
   An eddying pool, deep below the boulders,  
   Green bamboo dense along the shores.  
Mermaids submerge and will not appear;  
An old fisherman sings of his self-content.  
I remember the hour when we parted from one another,  
Your drifting boat, as though it were only yesterday.  
The evening sun begins to glow in reflection;  
Sitting amid this my inspiration is without measure.  
Southward I gaze to Deer Gate Hill,  
And returning home regret that I have lost you.

"On Climbing a Solitary Islet in the River:  
to Send to Master White Clouds, Wang Chiung"  
[95]

It was probably also at about this time that Meng addressed a long poem to Zen Master Chan, one which suggests much more strongly than his other 'Buddhist' poems that he was taking a serious interest in Buddhism, perhaps as a refuge from his disappointments: [154]

I heard while still young the doctrine of birthlessness,  
And had a constant wish to contemplate this flesh.  
But desire and deeds go rarely along in concert;  
My rugged way ran often through the dust.  
Late in life I return to my former valley,  
And chance to have for my neighbour Master Chih.  
   Gladly I receive his instruction below the trees;  
Together we praise the treasures on the mat.  
I ponder this drifting on a Sea of Pain;  
The examples and precepts that guide us in confusion at the ford.  
He leads me by these subtle and abstruse doctrines,  
Combined into a pure and tranquil yield.  
Petty troubling concerns I discard abruptly;  
My love of mountain groves grows ever stronger.  
Mornings I come to inquire into doubtful points;  
In evening talk we achieve the pure and genuine.  
His calligraphy is splendid, praised as unequalled since antiquity;  
The elegance of his words takes worldly people by surprise.  
His meditation cell shuts in vacuity and calm;  
Blossoms and herbs link winter to spring.  
On a level stone lute and inkslab are arrayed;  
A cascading brook sprinkles robe and cap.  
If you would comprehend the meaning of brightness and extinction,  
Morning and evening the gulls show no fear.

"Sent to Zen Master Chan, on Returning to the Hills" [66]
In the autumn, Wang Ch'ang-ling arrived in Hsiang-yang on his way into exile in the far south. In his farewell poem, Meng refers to his "illness and anxiety," and it may be that his health was already beginning to fail at this time: \[155\]

How far away from here is Lake Tung-t'ing,
Where maple leaves are already aroused by autumn.
On top of Hsien-shan, the love of Lord Yang;
Away in Ch'ang-sha, the grief of Chia Yi ...
Among native produce we lack plain silk and grass-cloth,
But of local dishes we have raft-weir bream.
Long wrapped in grave and heavy illness,
Now I am given worry over ghosts and banshees.
For many years we have shared brushes and inkstone;
Tonight we shall sleep under separate blankets.
Where is it that my spirit goes now?
Thinking of you I gaze at the Dipper and the Ox.

"Saying Farewell to Wang Ch'ang-ling, Who is Going to Ling-nan" \[163\]

We have only a few poems which seem likely to have been written in 739. One of these suggests that Wang Chiung may have returned home by the spring of the year, but we cannot be sure of the date of it. If it was written in 739, it is the last poem in which Meng has no complaint about his health:\[156\]

Early in youth you climbed the Dragon Gate;
In recent times we are delighted to meet again.
How does it happen that, 'handsome as spring willows',
You still remember a 'pine when the year turns cold'?
A smoky fire before the 'cold food day',
Flutes and singing until the daybreak bell.
Hubbub and rumpus are heard in the cock-fighting lane;
How I envy my friends as they go to celebrate!

"Superintendent Li Comes Again with Wang Chiung" \[188\]

The Superintendent Li of this poem may be--must be, if the poem is to be dated in this year--Li Hao \[李 Boris\], a distant relative of Li Po. Po himself, having spent several years in eastern China, returned up the
Yangtse this year. In Pa-ling he met Wang Ch'ang-ling, who presented a poem to him. Wang had been overtaken by an amnesty, and was making his way leisurely back north. He no doubt told Li Po of his recent visit with Meng, and may even have expressed concern over the elder poet's health. Li Po was, as usual, somewhat at loose ends at the time, so he himself headed for Hsiang-yang, perhaps to see Meng, perhaps to pay a call on Li Hao (whose generosity he hoped to enjoy). While he was there, he wrote two poems to Meng, one of which is one of the most engaging portraits of Hao-jan that exists:

How I love Master Meng,
Whose refinement of spirit is known to all the world.
Ruddy cheeked, he rejected carriage and cap;
White haired, he lies down among clouds and pines.
Drunken in the moonlight, he is often 'with the Holy Man';
Rapt with flowers, he serves no prince.
How can the summit of so lofty a peak be seen?
From here I can only honour its refreshing fragrance.

Li Po, "Presented to Meng Hao-jan" [K. 8153]

By the end of the year, Meng was evidently quite ill, and facing the prospect of a failed life. He was cheered somewhat by the arrival of Pi Yao, a younger man whom he had apparently met years earlier in Lo-yang:

Buried in my pillow, I am far from friends of long ago;
Pipes and singing trouble my dreaming thoughts.
All my life I have valued the ties of friendship;
But coming to this is enough to make me doubt.
My icy room is without a breath of warmth;
Fiery clouds glow scarlet to no avail.
The 'colt through the crack' will not halt for an instant;
Daily I hear the grieving of a cold cicada.
My youthful plans, I lament, did not succeed;
With streaks of grey, I regret my failing strength.
But now you have come from the south of Ch'u,
Remembering a far away date set near Sung and the Ju.
You have some regard for my poor thatch hut,
And even offer me precious gifts as well.
   I give up the rite of 'hastening across the courtyard',
   But exert myself to fulfil the 'Hewing Wood' Ode.
I unfasten the harness in front of your carriage,
And set out some simple greens from my garden.
A pint of wine is what this cold occasion calls for;
"Tomorrow we may never hold another."

"Sacrifice Officer Pi Yao Comes to Visit
   While I am Lying Ill in my Garden" [222]

It is painfully evident in this poem how brief a respite Pi Yao's visit must have been in this winter of despair. These last poems are almost obsessed with the effort to make some sense out of a life which must have seemed a complete failure to any person of ordinary aspirations. Even a slight social poem sent to Li Hao shortly afterward shows Meng struggling with his fate:

I nurse an illness inside my poor hut;
All this time my boundless spirit has been true.
The Five Elements approach Extinguishing Fires;
Within ten steps I seek spring as I wish.
What I finally reverence are mulberry and catalpa;
My greatest pleasure is found in good friends.
Looking back at the colours last to fade,
Bamboo and pine remain a lustrous green.

"Replying Again to a Poem Sent by
   Superintendent Li" [64]

As Hsiao Chi-tsung has commented, this poem is a poor specimen of Meng's craft. The allusions do not fit properly; the parallelism is strained; and some words seem to have been used just to fill out the rhymes. It is the work of a sick man, and one whose heart is no longer in such occasional pieces. His real concerns show through in awkward references to constancy. In such a mood it must have been especially painful that his old friend Chang Tzu-jung was far away. Having finally been relieved from his post at Lo-ch'eng, Chang had been appointed Superintendent at Chin-ling (modern Wu-chin, in Kiangsu). Late in
the spring of 740, Meng addressed a long poem to him, quite possibly the last of the extant works: 161

In the southern lane, spring draws to an end;
In my northern window I lie still ill.
For long I have not wandered in woods and gardens,
And now, how the flowers and the trees have bloomed!
Blossoms are piled in confusion on narrow paths;
Bamboo are swept clean in the idle courtyards.
"Kingfisher wings sport among orchids and bellflowers";
Scarlet scales stir the lotus stems.
I think of one I have been fond of all my life,
In a river district far away, attending to government.
Clouds and mountains obstruct my dreaming thoughts;
With pillow and blanket I labour over heartfelt songs.

Ah, but what good are heartfelt songs?
Shared hearts are grieved by farewell and separation.
All in this world are busy making friends;
Few in the common way can understand me.
Chia Yi's genius excelled for nothing;
An-jen's temples would turn grey.
As soon as my distant longing rushes eastward,
The hurried sundial hastens toward the west.
My constant fear is to fill a ditch or gully,
Without a chance to shake my wings in the sacred dance.
If success and failure are matters that fate decides,
I will go and pursue them in the depths of a treatise.

"Lying Ill in Late Spring: to Send to Chang Tzu-jung" [82]

Not long afterward, Wang Ch'ang-ling returned to Hsiang-yang, still on his way back from exile. Here was an old friend with whom Meng might forget his troubles. He was feeling better than he had been, and joined Wang in a last carouse. Wang Shih-yuan describes the end: 162

In the twenty-eighth year of the K'ai-yuan period (740), Wang Ch'ang-ling came on a visit to Hsiang-yang. Hao-jan had just recovered from an abscess on his back, and was delighted to see him. They feasted and made merry to their hearts' content, but Meng suffered a relapse of his illness after eating some seafood and died in the Southern Garden near the prefectural town at the age of fifty-two.
Another old acquaintance was too late for a last farewell. Wang Wei had been serving in the capital all this time, having survived the fall of Chang Chiu-ling, even though he owed his appointment to him. Finally in 740 he was reassigned to a post in the south, and Hsiang-yang lay on the road to it. Wang and Meng had not been the closest of friends, but Wang would have remembered the older man, whose brief moment of celebrity at the autumn poetry party had been so soon followed by his failure in the examinations. Wang had no doubt heard from his friend P'ei Ti that Meng had been for a while with Chang Chiu-ling in Chiang-ling, as P'ei had been too. Wang and Meng would have spent a few days at least together in Hsiang-yang, reminiscing about Chang Chiu-ling and the old days in Ch'ang-an, and lamenting the rapid eclipse of the literati under Li Lin-fu.

But Meng died before Wang reached Hsiang-yang. There was nothing to do there; Wang wrote a brief poem of mourning and continued on his way downstream:

My old friend is nowhere to be seen;  
The River Han flows eastward day after day.  
I ask around among the old men of Hsiang-yang,  
But river and hills are empty by the Isle of Ts'ai Mao.  

Wang Wei, "Mourning for Meng Hao-juan" [K. 6122]

Further down the river, Wang stopped long enough to paint a portrait of Meng on the wall of a pavilion in the prefect's compound at Ying-chou.

Early in 740, while Meng was still alive in Hsiang-yang, Chang Chiu-ling had resigned his post at Chiang-ling and returned home to Kuang-tung, where he died in the fifth month, soon after his arrival. Thus in the space of a few months passed at once the last literatus
statesman to have been in a position to oppose Li Lin-fu on equal terms, and the two elder poets of the High T'ang period, the most celebrated age of Chinese verse. Several of the greatest names of the period, Li Po, Wang Wei, and Wang Ch'ang-ling, had known Meng. A younger man, Tu Fu, had never met him. Many years later, Tu would make space in two sets of miscellaneous poems for tributes to Meng:

I think with longing of Meng Hao-jan,  
Who went into the long night still in commoners' garb.  
His poems had no need to be many in number;  
How often he surpassed Pao Chao and Hsieh T'iao!  
In the clear river his old fish abide;  
In spring rains, the last of his sugar cane.  
Whenever I look toward the clouds in the southeast,  
It makes me cry out for sorrow again and again.

Tu Fu, "Amusing Myself" (fifth of five poems) [K. 10616]

Again I remember Meng Hao-jan of Hsiang-yang,  
Every line of whose pure verse was worthy to be handed on;  
For now the old-timers have nothing new to say,  
And fish in vain for his 'pug-necked raft-weir bream'.

Tu Fu, "Expressing My Concerns" (sixth of twelve poems) [K. 11575]

Tu Fu's gesture is the more moving for the close acquaintance that it shows with Meng's work, its unobtrusive incorporation of allusions not only to two of the poems which refer to the special bream of Hsiang-yang, but even to Meng's source, the "Records of the Old-timers of Hsiang-yang," by Hsi Tso-ch'ih. Tu's poems show as well that Hao-jan's image in history was already being established. Meng was seen as a man whose lot had been disappointment but who from a love of nature and sympathy with his environment had created poems to be prized for their purity and naturalness.
We know little more of Meng's descendants than we do of his ancestors. His son Yi-fu appears only in Wang Shih-yuan's Preface. There are a few references in the ninth century to descendants of Hao-jan, or to the lack of them, but these are vague and contradictory. What is clear is that Meng's family relapsed after his death into the same anonymous obscurity that had preceded his birth and above which, in fact, Hao-jan himself rose only in the realm of poetry.
Notes

1 Sources frequently referred to in these notes are cited only by author's name or title, generally abbreviated, plus chapter and page number. See the bibliography, sections A and B, for a key to the abbreviations and full bibliographic details.

2 CTShu, ch. 190c, PN, p. 2b, CH, p. 5050; and HTShu, ch. 203, PN, pp. 3a-b, CH, 5779-80; also Frankel.

3 Wang's Preface (see Appendix A) is almost our only source for his own life. From it we learn that he travelled widely studying Taoism for much of his youth. His K'ang-ts'ang Tsu 𓝚 Assignable was done in accordance with an inquiry from Hsüan Tsung in 741 (see HTShu Bib 3/6a, where his native place is given as Hsiang-yang). This must have been not long before he composed the Preface. The most valuable parts of the Preface itself are Wang's circumstantial account of Meng's death, perhaps narrated to him by some member of the immediate family, and the description of his own efforts to collect and edit Meng's surviving writings. The autobiographical passage is of interest chiefly because it fully supports the assumption that Wang was not a close friend of Meng's, especially when he admits that he first learned of the latter's death five years after it occurred! The rest of the material in the Preface is second-hand at best and is selective in so arbitrary a way as to strongly suggest that it came from a variety of sources whose only common virtue was that they happened to be on hand at the moment of composition. The description of Meng's character is heavily weighted toward his interest in reclusion. This is understandable in a eulogistic work, wherein it would be better to praise a man for his small successes than to call attention to his failures. Perhaps the most curious omission of all is the lack of any mention of Meng's service with Chang Chiu-ling. It is hard to believe that Wang was unaware of this. He may have omitted it because it fitted poorly with the image of the unworldly hermit that he was trying to depict. It is also possible that either Wang or Meng's family was anxious to underplay Hao-jan's association with an old
opponent of Li Lin-fu, who was still in power when the Preface was written. It is also interesting that Meng's brother Hsien-jan is nowhere mentioned, since he is given in HTShu Bib. as the compiler of one edition of Meng's works. Modern scholars have differed in the evaluation of the Preface. Wen Yi-to (p. 31), Chen Yixin (II, p. 46), Lao Ssu-kuang (p. 20), and Suzuki Shōji (p. 77) all consider it a 'basic source'. Suzuki in particular calls it the most reliable source available. Later in his article, Lao (pp. 22-23) attacks Wang's distortion of Meng's personality and sets out to demonstrate that the K'ang-te'ang Tsu was an out and out forgery, not just the gathering of scattered old materials sometimes thought (for a collection of comments on the authenticity of the book, see Chang Hsin-ch'eng, Wei-shu T'ung-k'ao, pp. 856-860). Taguchi likewise comments on Wang's heavy bias (p. 32, nn. 8, 10).

We do not learn a great deal more from Wei T'ao's Additional Preface. It does give us a terminus ante quem for Wang's Preface, though, since the latter must have been written earlier than the date of Wei's essay, February 13, 750. The Ssu-k'u editors give 745 as the date of the Preface, but this is not necessarily correct. It was in 745 that Wang learned of Meng's death; no date is attached to the Preface itself, and in fact one would expect the collection and editing of the poems to have taken some time. Wei T'ao was the son of Wei Shu-hsia (HTShu Tab, 74a/18b, CH, p. 3091), an expert on ritual who served briefly as Vice Minister of Rites at the end of Empress Wu's reign (Yen, p. 105). T'ao continued his father's scholarly preoccupations, while serving in various metropolitan offices connected with ritual and literary work. His biography (HTShu ch. 122, PN, pp. 10b-13b, CH, p. 4355-60) is chiefly devoted to his pronouncements on questions of ritual, as are most of his surviving works (Sambun K. 6715-19, 21135-36, 22621), and it is odd that he should have happened to write a preface to Meng's poems.

4 This is by far the most likely date. It is based on Wang's Preface, which says, "In the twenty-eighth year of the K'ai-yuan period (740), . . . Meng suffered a relapse of his illness and died at the age of fifty-two. He left a son named Yi-fu." As Prof. Frankel has pointed out to me (letter of May 7, 1973), the last two phrases may also
be punctuated so as to read, "... at the age of fifty. He left two sons, named Yi and Fu." While this reading is possible, I prefer the former for several reasons. First, the characters Yi and Fu share no common feature, as was common in the names of family members of a single generation (cf. Hao-jan's own name and that of his brother Hsien-jan). In addition, the name Yi-fu is found elsewhere as a personal name (see DKJ 1172/102 for five examples). It perhaps derives from the man called Yi-fu (Ch'un-ch'iu Ching-chuan Yin-te 1/2/2). The latter ruled a small statelet in the vicinity of Tsou and Lu. Finally, it seems likely that if there had been two sons, our text would read 若子曰臂曰甫. Chen Yixin complicates matters needlessly by reading "two sons" on p. 46, and "aged 52, ... one son" on p. 51.

The whole question of Meng's birthdate is further troubled by a textual variant, since the Sg text gives his age in 740 as fifty. Now, this text is not (as Frankel believed) the best, only one of the oldest extant, and its readings are not to be adopted uncritically, as we have seen (see Part I). Actually, the best argument in favour of the later date, 691, is the fact that it was in 731 (not 728, as usually supposed) that Meng went up to the capital (at the age of forty, according to his CTShu biography) to sit for the chin-shih examination (see below, note 103). On the other hand, "forty" can here, as Frankel pointed out (p. 7, speaking of the "fifty" in the account of Meng's death) mean somewhat over forty. Moreover, as we shall see (below, note 31) Meng suffered an early disappointment in Lo-yang in 718, or perhaps 717, and he referred to this as a "failure at thirty." All in all, then, it seems best to stay with 689 as the year of his birth.

Meng's parents appear in his poems only as the faceless respect-objects of Confucian filial piety. In poem 83, Meng adduces his anxiety over their support in old age as the reason for giving up his recluse life and making an attempt at the official examinations. See below, note 33, for evidence that it was his mother who lived to see him reach middle years. Chen Yixin (p. 46) gathers the various references to Meng's family.
Nothing further is known of Hsien-jan beyond what we can gather from the two poems addressed to him (70, 259), that he also attempted the official examinations at least once. The opening couplets of poems 70 and 71 suggest that there were several younger brothers.

The name Hao-jan, of course, comes from the famous passage in the Mencius, "I am good at cultivating my 'flood-like' (hao-jan) spirit" (Meng-tsu Yin-te 11/2A/2; cf. D. C. Lau, Mencius, p. 77). In all probability, it was this name that was given first, since it has so well-known a source, and then followed by others such as Hsien-jan. Hsiao also suggests (pp. 39-40) that Meng was the eldest. Ts'en (pp. 67-68) shows that extant sources refer to Hao-jan as "eldest" 六, "sixth" 六, and "eighth" 八. Pointing out that these characters are all easily mistaken for one another, he suggests that "sixth" is correct. I accept the pointer, but reject the suggestion. A later occurrence of the name, with Hao as ming and Hao-jan as tsu, is to be rejected, see Frankel, pp. 10-11, and Suzuki, p. 79.

See also poems 71 and 83 for similar references.

Tu Fu's grandfather, Tu Shen-yen (fl. 700) was a major poet and one of the most important literary figures at the court of Empress Wu. Ts'en Shen's great-grandfather Ts'en Wen-pen (595-645) held a number of important posts in the central government, including that of Chief Minister, during the early years of the T'ang dynasty.

See HYHC, especially chüan 6 (rpt. pp. 645-1154). Nor is a Hsiang-yang branch included among the Meng families listed in the extant fragments of the Yuan-ho Hsing-tsu (see YHHT, ch. 9, pp. 850-853), though this is hardly conclusive in itself, given the extreme paucity of the surviving material. Liu Chia-hua (p. 17) notes the obscurity of Meng's family. One intriguing possibility, suggested to me by Prof. Shimizu Shigeru (personal communication, April 21, 1976), is that Meng may have been a merchant. This would help explain not only his lack of success in obtaining employment, but also the extensive travels that he
undertook. A similar proposal has been made recently about Li Po by Elling Eide ("On Li Po," in PT, p. 389) and Prof. Shimizu adduces the example of Su Hsün 蘇洵, the father of Su Shih 蘇軾 and Su Ch'e 蘇轡. I don't think that we are in a position to do much more than raise the possibility, but that much is certainly worth the effort. It is by no means a conclusive argument that there is no contemporary reference to Meng's having had such an occupation. It no doubt would have been quite rude to refer to it directly. There is no explicit reference to any commercial activity in Meng's work, unless the odd recurrence of the expression "profit by the crossing" 利涉 be counted such, and I am not prepared to argue seriously that it should be. I think that we are certainly safe in supposing that Meng came of comparatively humble stock, and that commerce simply remains a possibility.

11 In poem 71. It is hard to know whether this statement has some basis in fact, or is simply a handle with which to grasp an allusion to the Chuang Tzu which comes in the following line. Mencius, the most famous of all Mengs, was from Tsou.

12 For Li Po, see Chan Ying, Waley, and Elling Eide, "On Li Po"; for Chang Chiu-ling, Yang Ch'eng-tsu. Both men were born on or beyond the most distant frontiers of the Chinese empire, and neither had any connection with people of importance. Chang was started on his career by a chance meeting with the elder statesman Chang Yüeh. Li Po spent much of his life in search of similar good fortune, but with only occasional and temporary success. Hans Frankel has noted that, of ninety-six literati with official careers whose biographies are included in the "Garden of Letters" section of CTShu, twenty-one were initially recommended by a patron, and forty-three passed an official examination (there is some overlap between the two groups). See his "T'ang Literati, a Composite Biography," in Wright and Twitchett, eds., Confucian Person­alities, pp. 67-68.

13 An allusion to two families of great influence during the Former Han dynasty, see the Han Shu biography of Ke K'uan-jao 葛寬 資, of
whom it was said that he, "lacked the adherence of the Hsü's and Shihs above and the support of the Chins and Changs below" (ch. 77; CH, p. 3247; Fu Tung-hua [p. 61] identifies Hsü Po and Shih Kao, relatives of the Imperial house by marriage).

14 Such is the hypothesis of Ch'en Yin-k'e. See his T'ang-tai Cheng-shih Shih Shu-lun Kao. It has been much discussed ever since its appearance, but Denis Twitchett has commented recently that, "in general, however, Ch'en's basic theory of a polarization between aristocracy and the new bureaucrats has remained unchallenged" (in his Bibliographical Note to "The Composition of the T'ang Ruling Class: New Evidence from Tun-huang," in PT, p. 84). An essay by Howard J. Wechsler in the same volume, "Factionalism in Early T'ang Government" (pp. 87-120) includes a critical review of various aspects of Ch'en's theories.

15 My summary of these events is based on TCTC, ch. 207-208, pp. 6573-74, 6578-81, 6594, and 6603.

16 A detail concerning Chang Chien-chih's final posting helps us to settle a moot point about one of Meng's poems. It is sometimes suggested that poem 3, "On Hearing Cheng Yin  演 the Lute," was addressed to a historical person of this name, and a very unattractive character at that. Cheng passed the chin-shih examination at the exceptionally early age of seventeen (this does not appear in TKCK). He advanced his career thereafter by attaching himself to a series of Imperial favourites, including those eventually executed by Chang Chien-chih, and later to Wu San-ssu (for various extracts relative to Cheng, see Lao II, ch. 1, pp. 1b-2a). He reached the position of Vice Minister of Civil Office in the years 708-709 (Yen, pp. 108, 563-564), but was sent out to the provinces because of his mismanagement of the selection examinations (Feng Shih 3/17, and Examene, p. 253). Recalled to the capital, he was again sent out to a provincial post in 710. On the way to his new assignment, he stopped in Lo-yang and became involved in a coup attempt being plotted by an Imperial prince, Li Ch'ung-fu, and one Chang Ling-ch'un. The plot was foiled, largely
through the quick thinking and prompt action of Li Yung and Ts'ui Jih-chih, two officials who happened to be on the scene, the prince drowned in an irrigation ditch while trying to evade capture, but Chang Ling-chün was seized alive, as was Cheng Yin. The latter (a very ugly man, and a hairy one besides, the sources say), had shaved his face, dressed as a woman, and hidden in a carriage. Captured nonetheless, he was brought before Chang Ling-chün in this condition. Chang gave him one contemptuous look and then remarked with great coolness, "For associ­ating with such a man, I deserved to fail!" Both were beheaded (for this revolt, see TCTC, ch. 209, pp. 6653-55). Cheng wrote poetry, mostly 'offered to match' compositions to present to his betters (there are four such poems addressed to Shang-kuan Chao-jung, a palace lady of considerable political influence and poetic talent herself), and pieces on standard topics (Shijin, K. 5294-5322, and C, ch. 11, pp. 157-159). One personal poem, written as he was going into exile, is workmanlike enough, but not particularly inspired. Lute-playing may have been among his accomplishments as well, but his general unsavouriness leads Chen Yixin (p. 51) to doubt that he was the man that Meng knew and to add that if he were linked in some way with Meng, it might explain the latter's later difficulty (or disinclination) in finding an official post. Ts'en Chung-mien (p. 163) suggests the possibility that Meng's friend was the historical Cheng Yin, and both Hsiao (p. 17) and Yu (p. 18) make the identification without qualification. Now, there is no suggestion that Meng visited the capital or that Cheng Yin came to Hsiang-yang before 710 (when Cheng was executed and Meng was only 22), but we don't know enough about the activities of either man to entirely rule out the possibility. Meng's comparison of Cheng with Juan Chi hardly seems appropriate to a court favourite, but teenaged poets have been known to write inappropriate poems before. I think that the strongest point against the identification is the fact that it was Cheng Yin who, on behalf of Wu San-ssu, denounced Chang Chien-chih and his colleagues in 705.

17 This is the hypothesis of Suzuki Shōji (pp. 88-90), which he suggests was influenced by the Confucian maxim, "When the Way prevails under heaven, then show yourself; when it does not prevail, then hide" (Lun-yü
Two less credible theories about Meng's youth have been offered by Yu and Hsiao. Yu (p. 249) suggests that Meng felt an antipathy toward government service throughout his life because he had been born under the rule of the usurping Empress Wu. This is clearly mistaken. In the first place, Meng consistently displayed a very lively interest in an official career, as we shall see. In the second, he seems to have had no qualms whatever about associating with men like Chang Chiu-ling, Yao Ch'ung, and Ho Chih-chang, who had begun their careers during Wu's reign. Hsiao's argument (pp. 129-130) is much more complicated. He suggests that Meng may have spent his early years as a hsia (‘knight-errant', 'cavalier') and that he may even have been involved in some sort of 'loyalist' plot aimed at restoring the T'ang. His theory is based on an elaborate interpretation of one poem, but there are some suggestions along the same lines to be derived from other sources, and we shall look at these first, before taking up Hsiao's thesis. Wang's Preface, a document whose shortcomings have already been mentioned, in describing Meng's character, says that he "helped people in distress and solved their difficulties." This is echoed in his HTShu biography, which says, "already in his youth, he loved steadfastness and righteousness, and liked to help people in distress" (Frankel, p. 4; Frankel also points out the derivation from Wang Shih-yuan, p. 11). Now, this could cover a wide range of activities, from distributing food to needy families to "running his sword through quite a number of people," to use Waley's phrase, based on Wei Hao, descriptive of Li Po in his hsia phase (Waley, p. 6; cf. Sambun K. 7884, ch. 373, p. 21b /4801/). Of course, we have no evidence that Meng carried his helping and relieving to such extremes--and Chen Yixin (p. 66) notes a reference in poem 33 that suggests that martial recreations had little appeal for Meng in later years--but Liu Kaiyang (p. 38) cites evidence of Meng's hsia spirit from several passages in the poems:

Unsettled and unsure I have lived for thirty years,  
At books and swords alike without success.  
"On Leaving Lo-yang, Going to Yüeh" [118]

Who is aware of this man of books and blades,  
His years and years of nothing but disappointment?  
"A Party at the Residence of Recorder Chang" [182]
When I was young, I studied writing and swordsmanship;  
Many the years I passed in Ch'in and Wu.  
"Mourning for the Abbot ... ." [202]

Now I have let the seasons pass me by;  
Thirty years old and still I am unknown.  
With books and swordsmanship the hour is growing late;  
In hills and gardens the day ends for nothing.  
"Written in a Country House" [246]

In addition, there are two short poems in which Meng uses the word hsia, perhaps in reference to himself:

All within the seas value a man of his word;  
I have heard before of 'White Eyebrows Ma'.  
To the city of Ch'in comes a wandering cavalier,  
And we have a half-drunken hour together.  
"Sent to Ma Ssu After Drinking" [80]

An elegant lad with shot made of pearl,  
A wandering cavalier with a golden bridle ...  
Merry with wine as bright day turns to dusk,  
They run their horses on through the red dust.  
"To Go With 'The Roads of Lo-yang' by Ch'u Kuang-hsi" [129]

Now, of course the phrase (variously translated as 'books and swords', 'books and blades', 'writing and swordsmanship', and 'books and swordsmanship') is a literary allusion to the Shih Chi biography of Hsiang Yü (ch. 7, CH, p. 295), but the simple fact that an allusion is used need not disqualify it as a possible source for Meng's biography.

Let us now examine Hsiao's reading of poem 145. The poem itself has the innocuous title "Saying Farewell to Chang Hsiang, Who is Going to Fang-ling":

As my home lies at the southern end of the ferry,  
I have grown accustomed to the boats of rustic men.  
In the evening sun I dabble in the clear shallows,  
On woodland torrents, ascend to the upper reaches.  
Mountains and rivers depend on the excellence of terrain;  
Heaven and earth give birth to valiant heroes.  
Your mind is set upon a successful crossing,  
As a knowing ear awaits a cast in the dark.

Now, Hsiao admits that we have no certain knowledge of who Chang Hsiang was (he is not mentioned in any contemporary source) or why he was going to Fang-ling, a remote place in the mountains about
one hundred miles northwest of Hsiang-yang. However, he points out that Fang-ling was the town to which Empress Wu had exiled Emperor Chung Tsung after she seized power, and reminds us that the coup which finally restored the former Emperor was led by Meng's fellow Hsiang-yangese, Chang Chien-chih. He includes references to an abortive uprising against the Empress that was snuffed out shortly after Chung Tsung was sent to Fang-ling. Hsiao ends by painting a picture of all the loyalist bravos who must have been on the roads linking Hsiang-yang, Fang-ling, and the capital in preparation for Chang's coup and suggesting very strongly that Chang Hsiang was somehow connected with Chang Chien-chih and that his going to Fang-ling was linked to this in some way. Now, the poem itself is without doubt somewhat cryptic--such phrases as "mountains and rivers," "heaven and earth," and "ascend the torrents" all being associated with the empire itself or with brave ambitions--and it grows increasingly cloak-and-dagger in its closing lines. In order to properly evaluate Hsiao's thesis, though, we need to supply some dates for the events to which it refers. Chung Tsung was deposed in 684 and sent to Fang-chou in the following year. The abortive rebellion--led by a man named Yang Ch'u-ch'eng --in support of the exiled Emperor broke out two years later, in 687 (TCTC, ch. 204, p. 6445). Meng Hao-jan was born in 689, and the Empress officially changed the dynastic title from T'ang to Chou in the following year. In 698, while Meng was in his tenth year, the former Emperor was brought back to Lo-yang from Fang-ling and installed in the Eastern Palace as Heir Apparent. Chang Chien-chih became Chief Minister in 704 and the coup which finally unseated the Empress and restored Chung Tsung and the T'ang took place in the following year, when Meng was all of sixteen years old.

Now, if the poem was written while the Emperor was in Fang-ling, then: (a) it cannot have been written by Meng; (b) it probably has nothing to do with Chang Chien-chih. If it really is connected with Chang's coup, then: (a) the reference to Fang-ling is unexplained, since the Emperor himself had not been there for seven years; (b) it probably wasn't written by Meng, who was still quite young at the time. If the poem was written by Meng, then it may or may not refer to the Emperor's exile or Chang Chien-chih's part in his restoration, but it is not contemporaneous
with those events.

The whole problem boils down in the end to a question of authenticity. On the one hand, the poem may not be by Meng at all. This, of course, neatly removes the difficulty about his age when it was written, but we have no particular reason to doubt the authenticity of the poem itself. In fact, a number of things actually support Meng's authorship. To begin with, the description of his house fits in with what we know from other sources (though not with the traditional account, see below, note 44). Then the expression 瓶 "successful crossing"--an allusion to the Changes, where it occurs several times, the first being 5/5/chuan, cf. Chou-yi Yin-te--is a common one in Meng's verse (see also poems 32, 116, 117) but is rather rare elsewhere (neither Li Po, with four times as many extant poems, nor Wang Wei, with half again as many, use it at all). And finally, nothing in the textual history of Meng's collected poems suggests that this one is in any way exceptional. On the other hand, if Meng did write the poem, then it seems most likely that he simply intended it for an ambitious young friend who was going to Fang-ling for some reason, and that if he alluded in it to the earlier exile of the Emperor (if this is indeed the point of some of the obscurities) this was simply done in order to be saying something poetic about his friend's destination, as was common in farewell poems. Hsiao specifically rejects this explanation, but in fact it seems preferable to the alternatives of either considering the poem itself a spurious attribution or accepting his anachronism-riddled daydream. Although Fang-ling was a favourite place to send out-of-favour members of the Imperial House (e.g., Prince Yen 弘, the eldest son of Kao Tsung, see his CTShu biography, ch. 86, PN, pp. 1a-2a, CH, p. 2823-25; Prince Hsiang 鞘, fourth son of Chung Tsung and favoured by Empress Wei to succeed, rather than Hsüan Tsung, CTShu, 86, PN, p. 10b, CH, p. 2839 and TCTC, ch. 211, p. 6703; and Prince Yung 螅, who did rebel later, see Fang-hsien Chih, ch. 6, pp. 9b-10a), there is no suggestion anywhere that any of them engaged in any subversive activity while they were there. Quite the contrary, they were kept under very close watch and lived in a state of acute and perpetual anxiety. Prince Yen, for instance, took to receiving visitors dressed as a woman, perhaps to discourage any action on his
behalf at court.

18 For Chang's examination, see TKCK, ch. 5, p. 4b /300/, which gives the year as 712, correcting C, ch. 23, p. 345 and TTTC, ch. 1, p. 14, both of which have 713. Since examinations were held in the spring, candidates proceeded to the capital late in the preceding year (Exams., pp. 38-39). There was an official farewell banquet for them in their native place, but Meng's poem seems to come from a private occasion. Suzuki (p. 81) points out that Meng expresses no envy of Chang's anticipated success. All poems quoted in Part II are numbered according to their sequence in Mao. In order to conserve space, no annotation is provided except where necessary in order to demonstrate the biographical significance of the poem. Textual variations are similarly not discussed except in cases where they bear on biographical problems. The translations are based on a combination of the significant texts.

19 The only two other recorded graduates of this year were a man named Ch'ang , who placed first, and the poet Wang Wan . For Wang, see C, ch. 15, pp. 219-221.

20 It is somewhat difficult to date this first trip exactly, but easy to do so within a reasonably narrow range. For one thing, the references (in poems 83 and 246) to a failure around the age of thirty suggest a year close to 718, Meng's thirtieth (by Chinese reckoning). Moreover, the fact that he visited the residence of Yao Ch'ung after the latter's retirement from the Chief Ministership requires a date between the retirement, in 717, and Yao's death, in 721. Then, since Meng visited specifically Yao's "Mountain Pool" (see below, note 25), he must have gone to Lo-yang; Yao would have been there with the court during the years 717 and 718 only. Details will be taken up in other notes below, but it may be useful to anticipate a little here by outlining the proposed dates for all three of Meng's trips to the capitals. The first trip was to Lo-yang only, and lasted from the beginning to the end of one Chinese calendar year, 718 being the most likely date. In 724, Meng went up to Ch'ang-an at the beginning of the year, stayed on until some-
time in the fall or winter, went on to Lo-yang, stayed there until the summer of the next year (725), and then left on an extended trip to southeastern China, from which he did not return until early in 728 (see below, notes 59 and 67). Finally, in the latter part of 731, Meng went up to Ch'ang-an, perhaps as an examination candidate, remained there until at least the following spring, moved on to Lo-yang later in the year, and remained there until the next summer (733), after which he returned home to Hsiang-yang (see below, note 103).

According to des Rotours, examination candidates were in the capital by the tenth month, in order to take part in the annual assembly of prefects, when they were presented along with other local tribute. But he adds that some decrees suggest that the farewell banquet was held in the twelfth month (Examen, p. 39). In the latter case, candidates would have had to remain in the capital for more than a year, but it appears that Meng returned home the following winter.

Poem 195 was written in Nan-yang on the "Day of the Man" 人曰, the seventh day of the year. It does not refer explicitly to any trip to the capital, but this is probably to be inferred, since, though Nan-yang is quite close to Hsiang-yang, Meng speaks as though he expects to be gone from home a long time. So, he was probably going away to the north, the most likely destination in that direction being the capital. He presumably left shortly after the New Year, which he would have spent at home if at all possible. Poem 91 was written at Ju-fen 池垠, not far from Lo-yang on the way from Hsiang-yang, while travelling. Its content unfortunately gives no hint as to Meng's direction or situation, but we can narrow down the possible dates for its composition through its reference to early spring. This agrees with the first trip up to Lo-yang, but not with the return, which took place late in the year. It also cannot be referred to the return journeys from Meng's other trips, since the third return took place in summer, and the second way by way of the south and did not pass through this area (Hsiao, p. 109, is wrong on this point). Further, if the last of these subsequent trips was taken as an examination candidate, the trip up to the capital would have been
in the fall or early winter. This would leave the trip to the capital in 724 as the only alternative. An attempt to date the poem through its recipient, "Mr. Lu, the Summoned Gentleman" 卢徵君, could support either date. Lu himself is not positively identified, but not for lack of evidence. Hsiao (p. 109) suggests that he may have been an uncle of the poet Lu Hsiang 卢家 (sometimes, but incorrectly, identified with the "Magistrate Lu" of Meng's poems, see below, note 122). Lu Hsiang wrote two poems titled "My Uncle the Summoned Gentleman's Grass Hut at East Creek" (Shi jin K. 5713-14), which describe a charming retreat. 

Yu (pp. 202-203) quotes Hsiao, and then adds that another recluse poet, Lu Hung 卢濤 (his name is given as Hung-yi 鴻一 in the oldest source, but clearly the same man is meant) should be considered as well. Yu does not adduce any evidence to confirm this, but in fact it seems very probable that Hung-yi is the man addressed. He was celebrated as a 'Summoned Gentleman', that is, a man who had been sought by the Emperor for a post in the government but had refused (see Hsüan Tsung's edicts of summons, Sambun K. 953, 973, ch. 27, pp. 9b-10a /367/ and 17a-b /371/; his subsequent edict allowing Lu to remain in retirement and conferring presents on him is K. 745, ch. 21, pp. 20b-21a /294-295/). Hung-yi lived as a recluse on Mt. Sung, near Lo-yang; his only extant poems are a set of ten describing his retreat (Shi jin K. 5740-49), one of which is titled "The Grass Hut," as in Lu Hsiang's poem to his uncle. Li Po addressed two poems to Hung-yi (Shi jin K. 8189, 8194, LTPCC. ch. 9, pp. 24a, 28a) admiring his character. Chan Ying guesses that both of Li's poems were written around 744 (p. 43), but his conclusion is only tentative, and plagued by variant readings. He doubts that Lu Hung-yi was summoned so late—but cannot supply any range of possible dates narrower than Hsüan Tsung's reign itself—and thus that he is the man referred to by Li. P'i Jih-hsiu 皮日休—who praised Meng elsewhere—also honoured Hung-yi with a long posthumous poem (Shi jin K. 33473) and another late T'ang writer, Hsü Yin 俆寅, composed a 互 on the subject (Sambun K. 21864, T'ang wen Shih-yi, ch. 45, pp. 2a-3a). One of Li Po's poems refers to brothers, but the connection with Lu Hsiang remains only plausible—the poem by Tsu Yung 祖詠 (Shi jin K. 6259) cited by Hsiao is irrelevant, since it only shows that Tsu was returning
to Ju-fên. Chuang (p. 13) says that Meng addressed this poem to Lu Hsiang himself, but he gives no evidence. In fact, this may be simply a slip of the pen, for later in the same work (pp. 113-116) he discusses Lu Hung-yi at some length, dating his summons 717 and his refusal 718, and adding that he was Hsiang's uncle. Chuang has published elsewhere a thorough study of Lu Hung-yi (Chung-kuo Hua-shih Yen-chiu Hsii-chi, pp. 111-212) in which he cites Lu's biographies in CTShu (ch. 192; PN, pp. 3b-4a; CH, pp. 5119-21) and HTShu (ch. 196; PN, pp. 6a-b; CH, pp. 5603-04) for the dates. Hsüan Tsung made in 717 his first progress to Lo-yang since coming to the throne, and apparently took the opportunity to summon Lu as a local worthy. On this basis we can suppose that Meng either addressed this poem to Lu in 718, shortly after the elder man had been honoured by the Emperor, or else that he had met Lu in Lo-yang in 718 and then addressed poem 91 to him as an old acquaintance while on his way back to the capital in 724.

Of the poems explicitly written in Lo-yang, 118 and 159 refer to Meng's intention to travel toward the Yangtse River region, and thus probably date from his second trip, in 725; 56, 87, and 129 refer to persons who can only have been in Lo-yang with the titles by which they were addressed in 732, at the time of Meng's third visit. 212 says that he has been away from home "year after year," is ill, and wants to return. Since it was written in spring, it should probably also be referred to the 732 trip. This leaves only two poems that may possibly come from this first trip. One is 68, written in early spring and sent back to Meng's Hsiang-yang friend Wang Chiung. Here again, no firm date is possible, but the light-hearted tone suggests that Meng had perhaps not yet settled down to the frustrating task of job-hunting, and thus, that the first trip is the best choice. The other poem is 175, written in summer at a party given by the poet Pao Jung 包融. This poem is impossible to date with any certainty, since Meng was in Lo-yang during the summer on all three of his trips, and since the earliest datable event in Pao Jung's life takes place after the last of them. Sometime before this he must have been living at leisure in Lo-yang, giving summer parties to which young literati came. The tone of Meng's poem
suggests to me that it could very well have been written on the first trip, but this is by no means certain. Chen (pp. 72-73) deals with all the Lo-yang poems together.

24 See Examens, p. 254, n. 3.

25 For Yao Ch'ung's residence in Ch'ang-an, see T'ang Liang-ching Ch'eng-fang K'ao, ch. 3, p. 27b; for that in Lo-yang, ch. 5, p. 25a and the Ho-nan Chih, ch. 1, p. 11a. The latter was in the Tzu-hui Ward 惠坊, near the centre of the city and close to the Lo River. The "Mountain Pool Hall" was located in the adjoining ward to the east, Hsün-shan 山南, see Ho-nan Chih, ch. 4, p. 13a.

26 K'ung Jung 孔融 was a lad of ten when he came to the capital with his father. Hearing of the eminence of the statesman Li Ying 李膺, he presented himself at the entrance to the latter's mansion, known as the 'Dragon Gate'; see K'ung's biography in the Hou Han Shu (ch. 100; PN, pp. 5ab; CH, p. 2261).

27 For two cases in which this method utterly failed, see Waley's account (pp. 64-65) of Jen Hua, and E. G. Pulleyblank, "Liu K'o, a Forgotten Rival of Han Yü," Asia Major VII (1959), 145-160.

28 He might, for instance, have approached Sung Ching 孫jść, then a Chief Minister and, as an examination graduate from a relatively obscure family, perhaps more likely than Yao Ch'ung to appreciate a talented young provincial.

29 See Background, p. 208, for this characterization of Yao's bias. That Meng chose to introduce himself to Yao could be a mark of Yao's openness, Men's naiveté, or various other circumstances. In general, it is interesting that as a young man Meng chose to seek preferment through personal connections rather than directly through the examination system. One would normally expect just the opposite from a person with the background that he appears to have had.
Poem 135 fits Meng's departure homeward on this trip except for the fact that it is addressed to Wang Wei, who was less than twenty years old at this time.

These poems cannot have been written on Meng's return from either of his later visits to the capital, for reasons cited already (see above, note 22). A winter return from the first trip, substantiated by these poems, is thus proposed here by the process of elimination. The second of the two has already attracted no less than three erroneous conclusions. Chen Yixin (p. 53) supposes that it was written as Meng returned home from his examination failure (but see above and note 103 below); Yang Yin-shen (p. 54) thinks that it was written while Meng was on his way to Yüeh, an absurdity; equal perspicacity is displayed by Liu Chia-hua (p. 17) who takes this poem as literal evidence of ten (count them!) trips to Lo-yang, ignoring its origin as an allusion to a story about Su Ch'in in the Chan-kuo Ts'e. The relevant passage reads, "Ten times Su Ch'in sent his persuasions to the king of Ch'in who acted on none. His sable cloak worn bare, his coffer emptied and his purse exhausted, Su Ch'in turned homewards with bandaged feet in grass sandals." See the Chan-kuo Ts'e, ch. 3, p. 31a, and J. L. Crump Jr., Chan-Kuo Ts'e, p. 57.

These are 252, "Sent to Prefect Yang . . ." and 106, "Stopping for the Night . . ." written about two and one day's travel respectively from Hsiang-yang. Although they are not quite on a straight-line path from Nan-yang to Hsiang-yang, it seems reasonable to assign them to this trip, since 252 mentions frost, while 106 was written one stage closer to home and reflects the same desire to get back as soon as possible.

This poem contains several allusions and turns of phrase that suggest, when compared with their sources, that it was Meng's mother who was still living at this time and about whom he was concerned:

(a) It was P'an Yüeh's mother whom he described as "growing old and weak" in his fu, "The Idle Life"; see Wen Hsüan, ch. 16,
p. 3a, translation in Burton Watson, Chinese Rhyme Prose, p. 66.

(b) Nieh Cheng, in the Chan-kuo Ts'e, said that he had become a dog butcher in order to earn enough to provide his aged mother with "sweet and tasty" 甘 肆  food; see Chan-kuo Ts'e, ch. 8, p. 208a, and the translation in J. L. Crump Jr., Chan-Kuo Ts'e, p. 456.

(c) Mao Yi, who, according to his Hou Han Shu biography, betrayed unseemly joy at being named to an official post, retired to go into mourning when his mother died, and it was later understood that he had wanted a post only in order to be able to care for her properly; see Hou Han Shu, ch. 39; PN, pp. 2ab; CH, p. 1294.

(d) Yen Yen-chih says that T'ao Ch'ien accepted his official job at P'eng-tse only because his mother was old and he was moved by the example of Mao Yi; see Yen's "Eulogy for T'ao Yuan-ming" in Wen Hsüan, ch. 57, p. 16b. Chen Yixin (pp. 45-46) notices the relevance of the Mao Yi story here.

This sort of extended application of allusions is a characteristic of Meng's style. Chen (p. 64) supposes that this poem was addressed to Chang Chiu-ling. This is just possible, since Chang was in office in the capital at the time (Yang, pp. 32-34), but not particularly likely, since there is no other reason to suppose that Chang and Meng became acquainted so early. Liu Kaiyang (pp. 30-31) supposes that it was written while Meng was living at Deer Gate, which leaves him free to charge Meng with gross hypocrisy, a possibility he exploits with unseemly alacrity.

34 Another poem that might date from the same time, provided one does not adopt the reading 'Wang Wei' in the title, in place of the usual Chang Wei 張維  (or 'Huai' 晓), is 77, but it might also follow Meng's third trip to the capital. See the discussion of peculiar variants in CTS, in Part I.

35 For Meng datable in 723, see below, note 59.

36 In addition to the poem to Chang Tzu-jung, already discussed (see note 18), there are 254 and 255, both addressed to one Registrar Chia
Pien APPED (the name is also written $ and 'Sheng'). There are brief entries on Chia Sheng in the Yuan-ho Heing-tsuan (ch. 7, p. 688) and in Lao II (ch. 2, p. 51b) that tell us only that he was at some time a Palace Censor and Secretary of the Bureau of Waterways. Ts'en Chung-mien (YHHT, ch. 7, p. 688) suggests that the name might be Pien, and support for the identity of the names comes from the entry on one P'ei Kuan $ in Lao I, ch. 11, p. 12b. This records that after P'ei had been Civil Governor of Ching-chou (which included Hsiang-yang), a memorial inscription to his administration was erected on Hsien-shan Hill. The text was composed by Chia Sheng $ and written out by a monk named Chan-jan, perhaps the Master Chan of Meng's poems 11 and 66. The inscription was put up in 720, and presumably written not too long before. Since one of Meng's two poems to Chia was written as the latter departed for the "headquarters of Ching," Chia may have been one of P'ei Kuan's subordinates. In any event, the poems probably date from within a few years of 720, more likely before than after. Aside from these poems, Chen (p. 47) has proposed that poem 82 "Lying Ill in Late Spring: to Send to Chang Tzu-jung" may date from about this time, on the ground that the allusions to P'an Yu'eh and Chia Yi are most appropriate if we assume that Meng was thirty-two, the age at which P'an found his own hair turning grey (see P'an's fu "Autumn Thoughts," Wen Hsüan, ch. 13, p. 66), and that Chang was already exiled to Lo-ch'eng or some other remote southern post (for Chang's exile, see below, note 67a). This is certainly plausible, given Meng's tendency, just mentioned, to use allusions with precise applicability. But, I prefer in this case to place the poem near the end of Meng's life, with Chang away in Chin-ling (see below, note 161). Another likely candidate is poem 30, which at least predates Meng's closer association with Deer Gate Hill.

It was the American writer Henry Thoreau who said that he had "travelled much in Concord," his home town. A comparison of the two men would be worth pursuing. Both of them had in common not only a love for nature and travel, but also lofty ambitions, in which they were disappointed, and both found some solace in a life of retirement in their rather provincial native places. Neither was ever entirely reconciled
to his lack of recognition during his lifetime. This interpretation of Thoreau is not universally held, but see Perry Miller, *Consciousness in Concord*.

38 See Wen Yi-to, p. 32.

39 These include Yang Hu, the able and philosophical governor (see poems 4, 26, 146, 163), Shan Chien, the great drinker (16, 161, 172, 174, 187, 260), the tasty short-necked bream that people caught in raft weirs after an Emperor forbade angling for them (16, 20, 163), P'ang Te-kung, the recluse who had "taken his wife and children off to Deer Gate Hill and never returned" (30, 39, 207, 217; see also Yang Yin-shen, pp. 38-39), and Cheng Chiao-fu, who met two fairy maidens while walking beside the Han River (5, 26, 52, 243, 262). Even more common are references to the geography of the Hsiang-yang area, Hsien-shan Hill (26, 30, 58, 146, 152, 163, 193, 202, 242, 243, 245, 253, 255; perhaps also 77, 121, 205, 206), Wan-shan Hill (5, 65, 100, 262), Deer Gate Hill (30, 39, 95, 98, 223), Mt. 'Gazing-at-Ch'u' (35), Fishers' Weir Bank (4, 39), Sandalwood Creek (16, 57), Kao-yang (or Hsi Family) Pool (16, 161, 174), and such local temples as Ching-ssu (53, 211), Feng-ling ('Phoenix Grove'; 42), Ching-k'ung (204, 213), and Lung-hsing (51); temples of this name were established in all the prefectures of the Empire after the overthrow of Empress Wu. Since Meng's poem does not specify a location, it was not necessarily written in Hsinag-yang. In fact, the poem has been claimed by a number of other towns for their Lung-hsing Temples [e.g., Tang-yang Hsien Chih, ch. 18, p. 2a]). Meng even refers often to Yuan-meng Marsh, in the neighbouring district of An-lu (8, 18, 33, 35, 152, 262; Meng's reference is perhaps meant less specifically).

40 For Hsi Tso-ch'ih, see his biography in the *Chin Shu*, ch. 82, PN, pp. 9b-13a, CH, pp. 2152-58. He is perhaps best known today for his acquaintance with the great Buddhist teacher Tao-an; see, for instance, Zürcher, esp. pp. 190 and 390, n. 58. The title of his book sometimes lacks the words 'ch'i-chiu' and sometimes chuan 'biographies' 亙
appears in place of Chi. Early bibliographical references all list it as having 5 chüan. The fullest edition available today is that of the Hsin-chai Shih Chung, in 3 chüan, which appears to simply lack the two concluding chüan. The editor of this edition, Jen Chao-lin, points out in his preface, dated 1788, that the original work was said to have included sections, now lacking, on geographical features. Many, many uncollected quotations are also to be found in various later works, such as encyclopedias, and in the earlier commentaries to various historical works and others. Some of these are collected in Wang Mo's Han T'ang Ti-li Shu-ch'ao (pp. 349-351), and some were gathered also by Wang Jen-chün for his supplement to the Yü-han Shan-fang Chi-yi, but the latter work exists only in a manuscript inaccessible in China. There are also versions in which the book is extended as far as the T'ang dynasty, for instance the manuscript edition in the Seikadō Bunko in Tōkyō.

41 Shijin K. 5545. For Tu Fu's poem, K. 11575, see Tu Shih Yin-te 478/47F.

42 [United States] Army Map Service (AMS) NH49-3, Tzu-chung, and NI49-15, Lao-hu-k'ou. In general, the newer edition of these maps is a great improvement over the earlier one, which dates back to World War II. However, the less cluttered format of the earlier maps makes them worth consulting still, especially for physical features. The scale of both is 1:250,000.

43 See note 10; the geography of Hsiang-yang is the subject of ch. 1, see esp. rpt. pp. 91-126. There are two maps among the front matter.

44 Chen (pp. 41-45) has a full discussion of the problem of Meng's residence. Although Meng's biographies both say that he lived on Deer Gate Hill, it is clear that for much of his life he was living in a place that he called his "southern garden." This residence was adjacent to the "northern stream" to which he occasionally refers. Chen concludes that this "southern garden" was probably on the west side of the Han,
south of Hsien-shan Hill, and that it was here that Meng died. Some of
Chen's evidence is less impressive than the rest—for instance, the two
poems addressed to Wang Chiung that he cites (95 and 223) establish only
that Wang lived on Deer Gate; they don't prove that Meng didn't live
there at all—but the point is still solidly made. One might also cite
in this connection a poem by the Chin dynasty poet Li Chün-min
(Chuang-ching Hsien-sheng Yi-chi, ch. 6, p. 7b; Yuan Shih-hsüan ed.,
p. 19a), to which is appended a note saying that Meng's residence was
10 li south of the town, just where Chen suggests. Li alludes to Meng's
poem 206, and to Tu Fu's memorial verse, but also refers to Meng as a
poet of the T'ien-pao period, a common error.

45 See T'ao Yuan-ming Chüan, p. 338; Hightower, The Poetry of T'ao
Ch'ien, pp. 254-258.

46 This is a difficult poem to date. I am reading the title as
"Returning to the South," which fits in with Meng's early departure
after no more than a year at home. The opening couplet hardly reads
like the words of a man enthusiastically beginning a new journey. If one
reads "from the South," one can work the poem in at the end of Meng's
last trip, in the spring of 738. This encourages the identification of
Meng's friend Yuan with the Assistant Magistrate Yuan whom Wang Ch'ang-
ing visited in Wu-ling in 739 (see below, note 112), this being much
easier if one adopts a late date for the poem. On the other hand, the
route Chiang-ling--É-chou--P'eng-li--Mi-lo--Wu-ling for this later trip
seems rather hurried if it is all to be fitted into one spring. Moreover,
it creates problems with the phrase "north of the ranges . . .," suggest-
ing that he was on his way north from the deep south, Kuang-tung, which
we can be sure was not the case. An alternative possibility is to take
the fifth line as a reference to Sacrifice Officer Yuan, who would thus
be on his way back north, perhaps—even presumably—having been recalled
from exile. If he is the same man as the "other Yuan" of note 112, then
this poem would have to be shifted to the later journey.
Poem 214 mentions a "blossoming grove," which leads me to suppose that it was written in spring. If it were to be objected that he mentions the grove only because it alludes to T'ao Ch'ien's essay and is thus literarily appropriate, I could only reply that Meng would probably have chosen the most literarily appropriate time to make his visit.

48 For Lu-shan's early reputation, see Zürcher, p. 208; for Hui-yuan, Zürcher, pp. 204-239.

Another poem perhaps written at the same time is 72.

50 The evidence for including these poems in this trip is of the slimmest kind, simply that they can be fitted in without doing violence to geography or to the natural sequence of the seasons. The chief difficulty attendant on this early a date is the address of the second one to Liu Shen-hsü (see Ts'en, p. 153, for the identification). The available facts about Liu's life are rather few and scattered. His biography in TTTC (ch., p. 16) dates his chin-shih pass in 723, but Lo Chi-tsu, on uncertain grounds, corrects this to 733 ("Teng-k'ê Chi K'ao P'u," p. 101/2053/). There is some confusion about his name, which is sometimes given as , using the newer form of the first character. It is even conceivable that there were two men, since the note on him in Chung-kuo Jen-ming Ta Ts'U-tien p. 1461.1) has little in common with the other sources. He was acquainted with Meng, Wang Ch'ang-ling, Yen Fang, Kao Shih, and other literary figures of his day. After holding a couple of minor provincial posts, he retired to Lu-shan. If Liu did pass the chin-shih in 723, Meng might possibly have met him in Ch'ang-an the following year. Otherwise, perhaps they met as Meng was going upstream. Liu's TTTC biography says that he was a child prodigy and passed the "boys' examination" (for which, see Examens, p. 34). Since the next line takes up his chin-shih pass, one is tempted to assume that this also took place while he was quite young. The simplest disposition of this material might be to suppose that Liu did not in fact pass the chin-shih until some years later, and that in the meanwhile he was living in various places in the south (Meng addressed another poem to him, probably
in 725, when Meng was on his way to Yüeh and Liu was living in Jun-chou. It seems in any case—to return to the question of assigning these poems to this trip—that the light-hearted ease shown here is inconsistent both with the homesick haste of the return from Yüeh and the shadowed gloom of the last journey. The best alternative to the present trip would be 736, while Meng was roaming the south prior to joining Chang Chiu-ling.

51 This poem could equally well be related to Meng's later trip down the Yangtse in 736-37, for both direction and mood suit that trip as well as this one. Hsiao (pp. 12-13, 181) believes that Meng went all the way to Yüeh after writing this poem, as we shall see (below, notes 67, 72). Now, as Hsiao points out, there were several different places called 'Western Gate'. There was also a 'Rakshasa Reef' in Yüeh, as well as the one near Hsüan-ch'eng to which Meng is in fact referring here (see T'ai-p'ing Huan-yü Chi, ch. 105, p. 10a). Rakshasas are evil spirits in Buddhist demonology. Hsiao uses these geographical uncertainties to make an argument for this poem having been written as Meng travelled overland. In fact, however, all the places mentioned can be found within a reasonably small area along the middle Yangtse, so his argument is unnecessary, at the very least. Chen (p. 70) includes this poem on his proposed trip to Yang-chou earlier than the trip to Yüeh.

52 Other poems were written there by Wang Ch'ang-ling (Shijin K. 6759; Wang Ch'ang-ling Shih Chiao-chu, p. 125), Liu Chang-ch'ing (K. 7436, Liu Sui-chou Chi, ch. 9, p. 8b), and Li Shen (K. 25578). Gibbons' cries are often associated with the Yangtse gorges, where Meng would be at this time the following year (see below), but I find no record of such a pavilion in that area.

53 Hsiao (p. 131) thinks that this may be an early work.

54 I quote the poem that follows at this point since it seems better placed here than anywhere else. The allusion in the third line comes from the Ch'ing-Ch'u Sui-shih Chi, a record of customs
in the Hupei-Hunan area. The season fits with Meng's arrival in the lower Yangtse gorges by mid-autumn. One would like to be able to cite other poems written on the way upriver, but most of those written in the area cannot have been done on this trip. Poem 107, for example, written at Wu-ch'ang, comes at the wrong season and, like 119, says explicitly that Meng is on his way home; 119 also refers, at least obliquely, to the trip to Yüeh. The one possible exception is 160, addressed to Meng's friend Wang Chiung, both men being in E-chou. This was written in summer or early autumn and Meng refers to his having been there before. Here, though, one would have to assume that Meng and Wang contrived a rendezvous at E-chou, each man coming from a different direction, so I am inclined to date this poem later, see note 133. The Hsüeh Pa poems (109 and 133) are most conveniently linked to the return from Yüeh, since Meng met Hsüeh there first, and 69, to Ts'ui Kuo-fu, likewise seems better on the later trip, though at least possible here.

Again, assigning these poems to the present trip is largely a matter of convenience. They fit in quite well enough, but perhaps they could be made to fit in elsewhere just as well. Another possible poem is 59, written to match one by an unidentified Censor Li on the Sung-tzu River. This poem could also pertain to Meng's visit to the Sung-tzu with Chang Chiu-ling, see below, note 145.

Hsiao (p. 49) doubts that Meng ever went anywhere near Shu. Of the three poems that appear to be from such a trip (71, 103, 131), he doubts the authenticity of 71 and 103, both of them on stylistic grounds, and 103 also because it is attributed to the Late T'ang poet Ts'ui T'u in W (ch. 295, p. 6a /1504/). The third poem, 131, he assigns to Meng's return from Lake Tung-t'ing via Ying chou, which he feels is not the Ying-chou of T'ang times, on the Han River (see below, note 97), but rather the old capital of the Kingdom of Ch'u, near Chiang-ling, on the Yangtse. Chen (p. 73) accepts all three poems on the grounds that, taken together, they do substantiate a trip at least part way up the gorges and that "style is difficult evidence." Poem 131 seems to me to be reasonably explicit evidence for the journey itself, and I have no
reservations about 71; 103 fits well enough into the itinerary, but its authenticity is probably best settled on textual grounds rather than on the basis of subjective impressions of style. It is one of many poems missing from the Sung system, but it is included in all the Yuan and Ming system editions. Mao Chin has added a note to the title pointing out the attribution to Ts'ui T'u, which he traces only as far back as L, the Southern Sung anthology. If, as I think likely, the Yuan and Ming system texts are based upon one that goes back to the T'ien-pao period, then it would comfortably antedate Ts'ui T'u. If not, the problem remains open, and we must consider the possibility of a trip up the gorges substantiated by only two poems.

57 In fact, most of the area traversed by this route lay within the T'ang province of Shan-nan East (whose administrative centre was Hsiangyang) rather than in Chien-nan proper, the province which included the Szechwan basin. Some of the references to "Pa" in the three poems just discussed might conceivably refer to this area, especially since the Pa-chou of Meng's day (modern Pa-chung) was located within it. For the province of Shan-nan, established in 627, see des Rotours, "Les Grands Fonctionnaires des Provinces en Chine Sous la Dynastie des T'ang," T'oung Pao XXV (1927), 224-225.

58 The geography of this poem has been a problem for the commentators, and textual uncertainty has compounded the difficulties involved. I have followed the Ming system texts in reading the title as 行至漢川作. The Sung system reads 行出竹東山望漢川, "Emerging from Chu-tung Mountain on my Route, I Gaze at the Han River," and the Yuan system texts read 行東山出漢川 "Travelling through the Eastern Hills I Emerge on the Hsiao River." Now, Chu-tung Mountain is unidentified (I suspect corruption in the text), but the Hsiao River is far away in southern Hunan, remote from the Han River area. Among the commentators, Hsiao in particular (p. 188) has great difficulties here, mostly of his own making. He assumes to begin with that 漢川 "Han River" must mean the county of that name, Han-ch'uan, a few miles up the Han River from Wu-han. This, though, is impossible here, as he himself
recognizes, for one could not reach Hsiang-yang by going downstream from Han-ch'uan; in fact, the reverse would be the case. So, Hsiao considers the Yuan system variant, finds it even more impossible, and ends by proposing his own emendation of the text, Hsi-ch'uan, a town and river about 100 miles northwest of Hsiang-yang, on a tributary of the Han. Hsi-ch'uan would be on the way back from Ch'ang-an, but Meng's return from the capitals in 718 was made from Lo-yang via Nan-yang during the winter (see above) rather than in early spring directly over the mountains. In any case, two days' travel downstream from there would indeed bring one to Hsiang-yang, but before we adopt an entirely unsupported emendation, we should be very certain that there is no reasonable alternative to it, and we have such an alternative in this return from Pa. Now, Chen (p. 74) shares Hsiao's identification of Han-ch'uan, but has a somewhat more plausible explanation for it. Adopting a variant of the Sung system title, "Emerging at Eastern Hill on my Travels, I Gaze Toward Han-ch'uan," as in TSC and Liu, he attaches the poem to Meng's visit to the Yangtse Gorges, reading "sea" in line 5 instead of "Han" as do the Sung system texts. According to Chen, the first part of the poem describes Meng's course down through the gorges, the latter part his emergence into the Pa and Ch'u area. But the 'downstream' problem still remains unsolved, and the division of the poem is not so clear as Chen would like. In fact, Yu (p. 131) has the best and simplest solution, or at least part of it. 'Han Ch'uan' means 'Han River'; that is, Meng has reached the upper part of the Han and anticipates a quick trip downstream to Hsiang-yang. The season fits with the three poems from 'Pa'--though it does so as well if one adopts Chen's hypothesis--but I think that the crucial passages are lines 3-8 and the "downstream" in the penultimate line. The latter we have already examined; although it is decisive in the end, let us look too at the earlier lines. The description of the landscape in lines 3-6 fits the precipitous topography of the upper Han much better than it does the rolling hills and flat river bottoms of southern Hupei. Meng regularly refers to Hsiang-yang as part of Ch'u, and if he says that he feels only two days from home, he can be excused for hearing a similarity to his native accent. Pa he had just come from, evidently on horseback across one of the passes through the
The evidence for dating this second trip to the capitals, this time to both Ch'ang-an and Lo-yang, is slight but sufficient. There is, of course, the somewhat more broadly based evidence for dating Meng's trip to Yüeh, which followed immediately after this sojourn in the capitals (see below, note 67). In addition, there is poem 58, "During Heavy Rains in Ch'in [i.e., Ch'ang-an] I Think of Returning Home: Sent to Assistant on the Left Yuan and Vice-Minister Ho." The identification of Yuan and Ho with Yuan Jen-ching and Ho Chih-chang, made by Yen Keng-wang (p. 422) is to be accepted. Yuan, whose native place was Hsiang-yang, is not well known. Yen quotes the Yuan-ho Hsing-teuan (YHHT, ch. 4, p. 335) to show that he was in fact from Hsiang-yang. He passed a special examination in 697 (TKCK, ch. 4, p. 16a; Su T'ing is also listed as passing this examination, but in Background this is referred to 705 [p. 197], apparently a misreading of 神功 as 神龍). Yen reasons that Yuan was serving as "Assistant on the Left" in 725 or 726 because Meng's poem links him with Ho Chih-chang, who is known from his biography to have been appointed Vice-Minister during those years (there is a problem here, see below). According to the HTShu biography of Hsü Ching-hsien, Yuan was appointed Prefect of Hang-chou in 725 (ch. 128, PN, p. 5b; CH, p. 4465; see also Lao I, ch. 3, p. 20a; ch. 8, p. 4a; ch. 16, p. 5a; and ch. 18, p. 4a, and the Hsien-ch'un Lin-an Chih, ch. 45, p. 11a), so Meng must have written his poem between Ho's appointment as a Vice-Minister and Yuan's demotion to Prefect. Thus, from the title of the poem, we are to understand that Meng was in Ch'ang-an in the fall of 725. As we shall see, however, we have very good reasons for believing that he was in fact already well on his way to the south by this time. Moreover, there are two additional problems with this date. In the first place, the court had already gone to Lo-yang during the preceding winter. It therefore seems odd that Meng himself should be in Ch'ang-an, unless he had just gone up for a visit. A greater difficulty arises when we look carefully at the details surrounding the appointments and transfers of Yuan and Ho. As we have seen, Yuan left his post as Assistant in 725, when he was sent
out, along with a group of other high officials, to serve in the provinces. But, according to Yen Keng-wang (p. 854), Ho Chih-chang's predecessor as Vice-Minister of Rites was one Cheng Wen-ch'i who was sent out to be a Prefect in the second month of 725, at the same time as Yuan Jen-ching. That is, Ho would attain the office by which he is addressed by Meng at the same time that his fellow addressee lost that by which he is named. If there were no other complicating factors to take into account, we might readily assume that Meng is merely addressing Yuan as "Assistant" out of courtesy, a common practice. But in fact the difficulties with the court being in Lo-yang and the very high probability that Meng was in the south by 725 must be considered, as well as the fact that the poem itself does have the tone of a work addressed to two men currently in power. Much as one dislikes tampering with a historical text, it does seem that in this case it would be better to emend the text of Ho's biographies to read "twelfth year of K'ai-yuan" in place of "thirteenth year." This means that Ho's tenure would fall between that of Han Hsiu, who left this office in the sixth month of 724, and that of Cheng Wen-ch'i.

Ho (659?-744?) passed the chin-shih examination in 695 (TKCK, ch. 4, p. 2b) and embarked on a long official career, helped by a recommendation from a relative, Lu Hsiang-hsien. In 722 he was recommended by Chang Yüeh for a post in the Imperial Library, where he assisted in the compilation of the Liu-tien. After being briefly Vice-Minister of Rites in 724 (see above), he served as Vice-Minister of Works in 726 (Yen, p. 1070). Ho became, in his later years, celebrated as a great drinker (he is one of Tu Fu's "Eight Immortals of the Wine-cup," see Shijin K. 10520) and as an eccentric with a sharp tongue. He served for a long time as Director of the Imperial Library, and when Chang Chiu-ling was dismissed from the Chief Ministership in 736, he apologized to Ho, then 78, for having been so preoccupied with other duties that he had neglected to promote him while in office. "But, Mr. Chief Minister, I have benefitted a great deal from your protection!" "What do you mean, 'protection'"? "Why, Mr. Chief Minister, while you were in court, no one dared call me insulting names. But now that you are no longer Chief Minister, those little 'hey you's are already creeping
back!" Chang felt very ashamed at this reply (Feng Shih 10/3).
Finally, in 743, when he was well over 80, Ho fell ill and lay in a coma for several days. After he awoke, he petitioned the court to retire and become a Taoist. This was granted, along with a piece of land (smaller than he had requested) near Mirror Pool in Yüeh (see below). Ho was seen off with a party attended by many of the most illustrious figures of the day (poems written on the occasion by Li Po, Li Lin-fu, Hsüan Tsung himself, and others are extant, see KCTYTC, ch. 2, pp. 4b-14a). Li Po also wrote a personal farewell poem (Shijin K. 8395) and two poems later, remembering Ho after he had died (K. 8688, 8787). It was Ho who had given Li the famous nickname "the Banished Immortal." Ho was also renowned as a calligrapher, and there are tributes to his work in both prose (by Ch'üan Te-yü, Wu Jung, and Hsü Hsüan, Sambun K. 10150, 16608, 21965) and verse (by Liü Yü-hsi and Wen T'ing-yün, Shijin K. 18945, 32016). See also Ho's own poems (Shijin K. 5430-5448) and prose (Sambun K. 6604-6605, 21111-21114), and his biographies (CTShu, ch. 190b, PN, pp. 14b-15b, CH, pp. 5033-5035 and HTShu, ch. 196, PN, pp. 76-8b, CH, pp. 5606-5607, also TTTC, ch. 3, pp. 38-39, and C, ch. 17, pp. 246-247); there are brief comments in English in Waley (pp. 19-20) and Hung (pp. 50-51).

As was the case with Meng's poems written in Lo-yang, most of his social poems written in Ch'ang-an cannot be dated. The following might reasonably be assigned to either of Meng's stays there:

(a) 29: "Climbing the Pagoda of Tsung-ch'ih Temple"; this temple, located in the Yung-yang ward at the southwest corner of the city, was founded either during the Northern Ch'i (Pei-Ch'i Shu, ch. 7, PN, p. 4a, CH, p. 91; the date given is 563) or the Sui (see the T'ang Liiang-ch'ing Ch'eng-fang K'ao, ch. 4, p. 27b, with the date 607). The latter source says that the name was changed to Tsung-ch'ih in 618, the year of the establishment of the T'ang dynasty.

(b) 80: "Sent to Ma Ssu After Drinking"; Ma is unidentifiable and the poem undatable, but it seems to have been written in Ch'ang-an. Note that one of the two men, apparently Meng, is referred to as a hsia.
(c) 127: "Presented in Fun to my Host"; the host here is perhaps the same man as in poem 121.

(d) 236-237: "Liang-chou Songs"; Liang-chou is modern Wu-wei in Kansu. It was very much a frontier area in Meng's day, and often the scene of warfare between Chinese armies and the nomad peoples of the region. A piece of local 'barbarian' music was presented at court by Kuo Chih-yün 知運, a Protector-General, early in the K'ai-yuan period, and soon became very popular (see DKJ 17606.34). Meng probably wrote these poems while he was in the capital during the 'craze'. One would like to make this on his first trip, since this took place only a few years after Kuo's return to court. But in fact, similar poems were still being written years later by such poets as Wang Han 王翰, Wang Chih-huan 王之涣, and Keng Wei 董 暨, (Shijin K. 7557-58, 13286-87, 13962). And of course there is no reason to suppose that Meng himself was ever anywhere near Liang-chou.

(e) (Shijin K. 7660): "The Palace of Eternal Joy"; this poem was attributed to Meng in K, but it is not included in his collected poems and may be a spurious work. It describes a palace which once stood in the Han capital Hsien-yang, near Ch'ang-an. If it is genuine, Meng may have written it at some kind of social gathering in the capital.

(f) 42: "Late Spring in the Southern Pavilion of Master Yuan"; there is no reference to Ch'ang-an in this poem, which is very different in tone from any of the others in this list. I include it here only because Master Yuan is presumably the same man addressed in poem 62, which was written in Ch'ang-an. Even that poem was "sent" to Yuan, so it is possible that he lived somewhere else, in Hsiang-yang, or even on Lu-shan, where the original Eastern Wood Temple was located, and that this poem, 42, was written there as well. It is also possible that Yuan is the same man to whom Ch'ien Ch'i 錢超 addressed a poem (Shijin K. 12208).

Two other poems that may have been written on this trip are 84 and 93. These are both twelve-line p'ai-lü addressed, in terms of extravagant praise, to officials who may, on grounds of greatly different reliability, be thought to have been at their posts at this time.
(g) 93: "Presented to Mr. Chang of the Ministry of Civil Office"; this is the more probable of the two, though it certainly looks improbable enough to begin with. "This poem has been included by mistake," says Hsiao (p. 200), "it is completely unlike Meng in style, and lacks an ending besides." It is the only poem in Meng's collected works that is not included under his name in CTS. However, as Ts'en Chung-mien has pointed out (Tu Ch'uan T'ang Shih Cha-chi, p. 215), it is to be found there among the poems of Wang Wei's friend Lu Hsiang, the nephew, perhaps, of Lu Hung-yi (see above, note 22), under the title "Presented to Undersecretary Chang Chün 張値 " (Shijin K. 5726; this attribution is derived from H, ch. 3, p. 112). Moreover, the Lu text has an additional four lines at the end, thus seeming to confirm both of Hsiao's observations. The additional lines might be translated:

We regard the favours received in former days;
Without recording the pain of later times.
On and on, marked for the distant south;
Your fine talent will not be forgotten in adversity.

These lines and the altered title seem to show the poem in an entirely new light. For, Chang Chün, eldest son of the statesman and poet Chang Yüeh (Chang Chiu-ling's patron), collaborated with An Lu-shan to the extent of accepting the office of President of the Secretariat in the latter's short-lived court. For this, Chang was banished to Ho-p'u in the far south after the rebellion had been suppressed. Now, there is another poem in Meng's works (178) that is also attributed to Lu Hsiang (see below, note 122, for a discussion of the problems surrounding this poem). Since Chang Chün's collaboration and banishment took place years after Meng's death and the collection of his poems by Wang Shih-yuan (this poem is found in all editions of Meng's works) the longer version of the poem could not have been written by Meng. However, as the compilation of H, which includes the poem with the extra lines as Lu's, took place later, after the rebellion (see Part I), it appears that perhaps Lu Hsiang added the extra lines some time between Chang Chün's exile and the compilation of H. In any case, we can date the earlier part of the poem, and when this is done it proves possible that Meng wrote it, and while on this trip to the capital. A Chang Chün 張値 is listed among the men who held the office of Undersecretary of Civil Office during the
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T'ang dynasty, and it has been suggested that this 鈞 should be 均 (Lao I, ch. 4, p. 12a, where a note--quoted from THY, ch. 74, p. 1339--to an edict dated 725 gives the name 鈞 as well). Ts'en Chung-mien (in "Han-lin Hsüeh-shih Pi-chieh Chu-pu," CYYY, XV [1948], 205-206) discusses this material and concludes that Lao Ko was right in identifying the names. So, we know that Chang Chün was Undersecretary by 725 (actually, early in 726, i.e., K'ai-yuan, thirteenth year, twelfth month). The date of his appointment to this post is unknown, but since he was appointed a few years earlier as one of Yü-wen Jung's 特助 special assistants (p'an-kuan) for enforcing household registration, his tenure as Undersecretary must have begun after that. The edict in which he is mentioned as Assistant is clearly dated 721 in THY (ch. 85, p. 1562, quoted in Lao I, ch. 2, p. 7a), but both Pulleyblank (Background, p. 30) and Twitchett (Financial Administration Under the T'ang Dynasty, pp. 14, 233-234) give the date as 723. Though they do not say so, the THY would seem to be a compressed account of the affair, with the date of one proposal and the content of another.

(h) 84: "Presented to Superintendent Hsiao"; this poem is, if anything, even more lavish in its praise of the addressee than was 93. By way of identification and dating, one can only cite the slender fact that a man named Hsiao Liang 郏.Cursor, whose brother Ch'eng 騎Cursor was later a friend of Meng's in Hsiang-yang (see below, note 152), took a special examination early in 727, while serving as Superintendent at Lan-t'ien, close by Ch'ang-an (Lao I, ch. 6, p. 9b, quoting from Te'-fu Yuan-kuei, ch. 643, p. 12b). As it turned out, the Emperor had called the test with the aim of uncovering "unknown genius languishing among the commons." A post in the aristocratic suburb of Lan-t'ien could hardly have been considered languishing—it transpired that the other examinees were likewise office-holders in the area around the capital—and the disappointed monarch dismissed all of those tested except for the one man who had failed. At any rate, it is just possible that Hsiao was already at Lan-t'ien by 724 or 725, and that Meng made his acquaintance then, being drawn perhaps to whatever qualities in him later made a friend of his brother.
For these poems, see note 60, above, (c) and (f). Chen (p. 53) squeezes a fair amount of biography out of poem 62, but most of it is mistaken. It cannot have been written after Meng's examination failure, for instance, since he left Ch'ang-an before autumn on that occasion.

The problems of the exact date of this poem and the identification of Yuan and Ho have already been taken up above (see note 59), but we may consider here a few other points about it. First, the first line refers to thirty years of study, not the age of thirty—there is a similar reference in poem 118, soon to be discussed. Line four refers to rains during Meng's stay in Ch'ang-an, not on his way there. This poem has attracted a good deal of attention among modern Chinese students of Meng's life and poetry, but their comments are only speculative, as are mine in the passage following.

Of course he may have, and the poems been lost subsequently. There may be an oblique reference to Ho in one of the Yüeh poems, see below, note 88.

Dating this poem is a matter of considerable difficulty. The references to age and illness and the apparent finality of Meng's withdrawal from worldly affairs all suggest a late date, preferably after his final trip to the capital and his consequent failure in the official examinations. But on that occasion, as we will see, he left Ch'ang-an in midsummer, spent a year in Lo-yang, and returned to Hsiang-yang the following summer. So it must be from one of the earlier trips. One's first impulse is to ascribe it to the first trip, since we know that Meng returned from this in winter. But several considerations lead me to link it instead with this second sojourn. The illness, and so forth, mentioned above would suggest the later date, as would the sombre mood. Moreover, as I have said, the illness itself could be the reason why the very clear intention—expressed here and in poems 58 and 62—to return home was not carried out. I suspect that the court's move to Lo-yang in the winter of 724 may have suggested to Meng that he might have some chance there. If this were the case, he might have gone on to the Eastern Capital as
soon as health and weather permitted, staying on several months there, long enough to get no further with his career, but also long enough to decide on a new trip to the south. A different explanation is proposed by Hans Frankel. He suggests (p. 14) that the poem was actually written after Meng returned home, following his examination failure. If the poem was written after Meng returned, then one must suppose a six-month delay between return and composition. Frankel's argument that the anecdote concerning Meng and Hsüan Tsung (see below) contradicts the report of Meng's examination in his HTShu biography seems unfounded to me. In fact, an examination failure would be just the sort of thing that could have inspired line three of the poem. The point here is that Hsiao and Chen are more likely correct when they suppose that the poem was written while Meng was still in Ch'ang-an and hoping to leave for home soon. In this case, it must pertain to the earlier trip.

Now, what are we to make of the anecdote in which Meng meets Emperor Hsüan Tsung, recites this poem, and is sent home by the latter, who is offended by the second couplet? The story is certainly the aspect of Meng's life most likely to be familiar to Western readers (cf. Hung, p. 44, and Waley, pp. 10-11). At the same time, it is one of the few to have been really carefully and thoroughly considered by several different scholars; see Hsiao (pp. 70-72), Chen (pp. 53), Frankel (pp. 12-14, nn. 18-19), P'eng Kuo-tung (pp. 243-248), and Liu Chia-hua (pp. 21-22). Since they are virtually unanimous in rejecting it—though Yang Yin-shen (pp. 49-50) accepts it without question, and neither Lao Ssu-kuang (pp. 20-21) nor Liu Kaiyang (pp. 32) seems disposed to question it strongly—we will not dwell on all the details. The story exists in a number of forms, distinguished chiefly by their disagreement on the question of who was responsible for introducing Meng to the Emperor. The Pei-meng So-yen version names Li Po, an anachronism (Hsiao, P'eng); C has Chang Yüeh, apparently likewise, since Chang died in 730, before Meng could really complain of old age (Hsiao)—further, as we shall see later, in note 135, Meng probably never knew Chang Yüeh; the Ku-chin Shih-hua credits a "Chief Minister Li" , see my discussion below, note 109; Meng's HTShu biography names Wang Wei, probably based on the T'ang Chih-yen (Frankel); P'eng supposes the origin to be the
Pei-meng So-yen, a mistake). This last is the best-known version, and the only one which has some chance of being possible (Hsiao). That is, Meng and Wang were acquainted at a time when Meng was trying to get an official post, but was already old enough to be concerned about his age. In fact, however, all five scholars reject it for various reasons--Liu and Chen (and Suzuki Shōji, pp. 92-93) because the poem was written after Meng decided to go home; Frankel, because it was written after he returned to Hsiang-yang (see above); Hsiao, for this reason and because of Meng's supposed indifference to worldly ambitions; and Liu and P'eng, both because it is unmentioned in T'ang sources, such as Wang Shih-yuan's Preface and the Pen-shih Shih, and, following earlier Chinese commentators, because if Meng had actually entered the Palace without permission, he was lucky to have escaped with his head, to say nothing of not receiving a civil service appointment or being invited to recite his poetry. These are mostly good reasons (but Meng was interested in a job, as Liu points out, and T'ang regulations may not have been so strict as those of later times, especially if Meng had only entered the central government offices), and I have only one more of my own to add. Wang Wei was certainly acquainted with Meng and probably would have been happy to help him had it lain within his power (see Hsiao and P'eng, who rebut earlier suggestions that Wang saw in Meng a dangerous rival, and tried to sabotage his chances). But he was in no position to help anyone meet the Emperor in 718, when he was a teenager, in 724 when he was away from the capital, or in 732, when he himself was also awaiting a chance for employment.

For poems which might have been written in Lo-yang, see above, note 23.

For these travels, see Tu Fu Nien-p'u, pp. 11a-14b, and Hung, pp. 27-31. These disagree on various points, beginning with the year of Tu's examination failure. The nien-p'u gives this as 735, and Hung as 736. I have not looked into the question myself, but it does seem that Hung's arguments are the stronger.
Evidence for the dating of this journey consists of four items, each slight enough in itself, but altogether constituting a reasonable basis for the date 725-728.

(a) Poem 150 is addressed to two men, Registrar Chang and Superintendent Shen-t'u, officials at Ch'iao-hsien 朝廷 . This poem was written at the same place as 180, although the latter gives the location as Lin-huan 林夫人 . In fact, it is not surprising that there is some confusion here. Lin-huan town was the centre of a county of the same name early in the T'ang dynasty. In 643, however, when Ch'iao-chou Prefecture was abolished, the administrative centre of Lin-huan county was transferred to the former centre of Ch'iao-chou (this is modern Po 北 -hsien; the earlier Lin-huan is some miles southwest of Su 蘇 -hsien), where it remained until early in the ninth century (see *Tu-shih Fang-yü Chi-yao*, ch. 21, pp. 1006, 1019-1020). It is important to point out that the two names referred to only one county in Meng's day, because this allows us to identify "Superintendent Shen-t'u of Ch'iao-hsien" with one Shen-t'u Yi 申屬 涯 . As it happens, we know only one thing about Shen-t'u Yi, and that is that he was Superintendent at Lin-huan in 724 (see the biographical notice accompanying his only extant piece of prose, *Sambun K*, 7135, ch. 329, p. 16a /4220/; also *Kuang-hsü Feng-yang Fu Chih* 光緒鳳陽府志, ch. 6a, p. 42a; the original source for this information has not been traced). Thus Meng could only have written this poem within a few years of 724, say during the period 721-727.

(b) Chan Ying (p. 6) has suggested that Li Po and Meng may have been travelling together near Li-yang 漢陽 (near the modern place of the same name in Kiangsu) in the fall of 726. There are variants in the title of the poem by Li on which the suggestion is based, so Chan does not insist on the point. The fact that it is entirely possible, given what we do know of both Meng's and Li's lives, tends to add some weight to it, however, and I cite it here in support of my proposed itinerary for Meng. I would suggest, though, that it be moved back one year, to 725, for reasons that will soon become apparent. This does less violence to Chan's reconstruction of Li Po's life than might at first appear, since his sequence and timing of Li's poems for this period is still
tentative.

(c) One of the side-trips which Meng made while he was in Yüeh was to Lo-ch'eng (modern Lo-ch'ing, on the coast of Chekiang near Yung-chia), where he visited his old friend and fellow townsman Chang Tzu-jung. Chang was languishing in banishment at the time, and our problem is one of dating his stay in Lo-ch'eng. This proves to be somewhat difficult, for the biographical information given in the usual references to Chang is very scant. It would appear at first that his banishment followed soon after his chin-shih pass in 712 (see above, note 18). But Meng's poem written on saying farewell to him in Lo-ch'eng (186) suggests that it had been more than a decade since they had seen each other, and it is unlikely that Chang was banished for so long as this—though it must have been for a substantial term since more than half of his extant poems (Shijin K. 5538-5556) were written in Lo-ch'eng. Most of these, unfortunately, contain no clue to the problem of dating his stay. One of them does, however, give us something to work on. This is a poem (K. 5554) addressed to a Secretary Hsiao of the Bureau of Honorific Titles. The poem tells us that Hsiao was Secretary at the same time that his father was Chief Minister. It is a longish work (24 lines), whose final third might be translated as follows:

Long ago I was cast away in a wild place,
Where my lonely cooking smoke looks out on the island barbarians.
Flocks of seagulls draw close at end of day;
Falling leaves have grieved me for many years.
A Fisherman leaves his songs with me;
The River Fairy comes into my enraptured words.
I make an offering to one who understands me,
Whose feelings will not betray me.

This clearly refers to Chang's stay in Lo-ch'eng—Meng also uses the term "island barbarians" in one of his Lo-ch'eng poems (105)—and suggests that he had been there some years when it was written. And we can identify its recipient, for only two men surnamed Hsiao are recorded as having held the office in question during the T'ang dynasty (see Lao I, ch. 7). One of them, Hsiao Chih (p. 32b), is rather late, and his father—none other than Hsiao Liang, see above, note 60(h)—was never Chief Minister. The other is our man, Hsiao Hua (p. 7b),
son of Hsiao Sung, Chief Minister 728-734 (see Background, pp. 199-200). We are given no dates for Hua's tenure as Secretary, but we do know that he was the sixth person to hold the post after one Liu Huang, who was in office in 723 (p. 6b) and that he himself was promoted to Chancellery Secretary in 733. Since his father was appointed only at the end of 728 (early 729 by western reckoning), this leaves the years 729-733 for Chang to have written his poem. Its congratulatory tone suggests that it was written soon after Hsiao Hua became Secretary, but we cannot be sure that this was at the same time as his father's promotion. So far as Meng's trip is concerned, this poem makes it all but certain that Chang was in Lo-ch'eng already by 725 or so, and that he remained there until almost 730, if not longer. At the same time, it suggests that he is very unlikely to have been there since soon after 712.

(d) Meng addressed one poem (67) to a friend named Ts'ui Kuo-fu, a poet of some note, while he (Meng) was on the Yung-chia River, near Lo-ch'eng. The first couplet of this poem goes (67):

I have travelled to the end of the river regions,
While you have been sent away to the busy capital.

In the title of the poem, Ts'ui is addressed as "Superintendent of Shan-yin" (near modern Shao-hsing, in Chekiang; note that the Shan-yin Hsien Chih, ch. 18, p. 6b, lists Ts'ui as Superintendent, see also ch. 9, p. 3b). Though we will encounter Ts'ui again later, and will need to discuss his biography in more detail then, we must begin now to outline what little we know of his early career. Kuo-fu belonged to a minor branch of the Ts'ui family--it produced no Chief Minister until a distant relative of his was propelled into the office almost by chance during the early stages of the An Lu-shan rebellion. Kuo-fu was connected by marriage both with the Imperial clan (his elder sister married a great-great-grandson of Li Shih-min's youngest brother, see the memorial inscription for her husband, Li Meng-ch'ou, Sambun K. 7840, ch. 371, p. 11a /4768/) and also with the financial innovator Wang Hung, a connection for which Ts'ui ended by paying dearly, as we shall see later. He passed the chin-shih examination in 726 (TKCK, ch. 7, p. 19a /455/), the same year as two other poets and later acquaintances of
Meng's, Ch'i-mu Ch'ien and Ch'u Kuang-hsi. According to TTTC (ch. 2, pp. 20-21), he was then appointed Magistrate of Hsü-ch'ang (the modern place of the same name in Honan), southeast of Lo-yang. But a second examination is recorded in 735 (TKCK, ch. 8, p. 13a /511/), intended specifically for selecting local governing officials, and Hsü Sung concludes that it was after this second examination that he received the appointment to Hsü-ch'ang. If he had been Superintendent at Shan-yin before his chin-shih pass, he would have left there as a candidate late in 725, not long, in other words, after Meng arrived—as we shall see, Meng's Lo-ch'eng trip coincided with the turning of the year. There are some difficulties with this, however. For one, it requires Meng to be in Kuei-chi (which adjoined Shan-yin) by late fall in 725, in order to get to know Ts'ui before the latter was sent up to the capital. This tends to support our proposal to date Ho Chih-chang's Vice-Ministership a year earlier, and with it poem 58 (see above), but it puts some strain on Li Po's travels, since Chan Ying would allow Li until some time in 726 to reach Li-yang. For another, one can always suppose that Ts'ui might have been called away to the capital for some other purpose in another year.

Neither of these, however, seems too serious a problem; in general, while none of the four pieces of evidence given above is safe from challenge, the way in which they tend to support one another (with the possible exception of the meeting with Li Po, which could be abandoned without serious loss) suggests that we may reasonably propose that Meng made his trip from Lo-yang during the summer or autumn of 725, reaching the Yangtse by early autumn. He was probably in Hang-chou by mid-autumn (see below, note 90) and in Shan-yin soon after. Toward the end of 725, he went to Lo-ch'eng to see Chang Tzu-jung. Before we accept this hypothesis, however, we should consider the other proposals already made by Hsiao, Yu and Chen. None of them considers any of the four points raised above, but each has some reason for what he proposes. Hsiao and Yu both assign the trip to Meng's thirties—ample leeway certainly—simply because they feel that it should come sometime between his failures at thirty and at forty. Chen's reconstruction of Meng's travels during the years 727-733 is as follows: in the winter of 727 he went to Ch'ang-an;
he failed the examination early in the following year, stayed on until the end of the year, and returned home, writing the 'winter return' poems on the way. In the summer of 729 he went to Lo-yang, remained there for one year, and then in 730 proceeded to Yüeh, where he remained until the spring of 733. He then returned up the Yangtse, detouring into Lakes P'eng-li and Tung-t'ing, and finally arrived back in Hsiang-yang in the summer of 733, when he wrote poem 221. Now, all this seems plausible enough, but there is in fact very little evidence to back it up. It depends on the literal accuracy of the CTShu biography and on one piece of evidence from the Yüeh poems themselves, Chen's interpretation of a line in poem 99 referring to "friends at court" (p. 55). This, he feels, can only be a reference to the friends mentioned in Wang's Preface, Chang Chiu-ling, Wang Wei, et al. But, as we shall see (below, note 103) they were together in Ch'ang-an only from the fall of 731 on, so Meng could not have met them there before that. (My own hunch, and it is no more than that, is that Superintendent Ho is Ho Ch'ao--see below, note 86--and that the friend in court is Ch'ao's friend Ho Chih-chang.) That is, there is against Chen's hypothesis not only the evidence already adduced that Meng's trip to Yüeh took place in 725-727 (see also below, note 75) but also the fact that Meng's examination trip to the capital cannot have been in 728, but rather in 731-732 (note 103). Hsiao proposes a second trip in the years 738-739, during which Meng went to Mt. T'ien-t'ai and visited Chang Tzu-jung in Lo-ch'eng(!). In fact, although Meng did do some travelling about this time (see below, notes 148-151), the trip as Hsiao describes it is highly unlikely. We have already discussed the dating of Chang's stay in Lo-ch'eng. This (and subsequent remarks on Chang, see below, note 101) leaves little likelihood that he was still there in 739. Hsiao's other two pieces of evidence are flimsy in the extreme. In the first place, he takes the line, "Again I [or we] come, just at the end of autumn" (poem 176, line 5) to mean that Meng has come a second time to Kuei-chi from outside Wu and Yüeh. Now, this is the least likely of three possible interpretations. Most probably, this line means no more than that Meng has returned to the residence of K'ung Po-chao again. Or, it could refer to Meng's return to Kuei-chi from somewhere else in the Yüeh region--my suggestion
being Mt. T'ien-t'ai. Neither of these possibilities requires Chang Tzu-jung to remain in Lo-ch'eng for close to fifteen years. Hsiao's second piece of evidence is his interpretation of the line "I would like to cast off all worldly ties" (poem 14, line 11), which he takes to refer to Meng's brief period of employment under Chang Chiu-ling at Chiang-ling in 737-738 (p. 5). No such excessively literal reading is in fact called for, and it conflicts moreover with Hsiao's own interpretation of poem 24 (p. 8), written near Ch'ang-an, which he says was written after Meng's visit to T'ien-t'ai (Hsiao does not propose any trip to T'ien-t'ai during the first sojourn in Yüeh). He is almost certainly correct on this point (see note 109 below, for Chen's conflicting interpretation), but to combine a second trip to Yüeh with a return to Ch'ang-an creates a very tight itinerary for Meng's last year, one which is thoroughly confounded by other evidence relating to this period of his life (see below, notes 147-151). It is unfortunate that neither Hsiao nor Yu offers much concrete evidence to substantiate their projected trips undertaken during Meng's thirties, since in fact this is just the trip that can be shown to have taken place.

68 For the importance of the second of these poems (150) in dating Meng's trip, see the preceding note, (a). The reference to "homeward oars" in the first (180) is a little puzzling, since Meng could hardly be said to be returning anywhere at this time, and there is nothing to suggest that he was near Lin-huan more than once. It is possible that Meng is thinking of Hsiang-yang in his reference to Ch'u.

69 Two poems that might also have been written at this time are 97 and K. 7783. Poem 97 is addressed to Liu Shen-hsiu (see above, note 50), and there is nothing to prevent our assigning it to this trip. It is equally possible, however, to date it around 736, when Meng returned to Yang-chou for the last time. The other poem is not included in most editions of Meng's works, but it is attributed to him in K (p. 167) and TS. The latter also includes it among the works of Meng's contemporary Ting Hsien-chih (Shijin K. 5474), though I have not yet found an earlier attribution to Ting. Whoever wrote the poem, the
chances are against Meng's having written it on this trip, since it refers to late autumn, while we know that Meng was already in Hang-chou by mid-autumn. Alternatively, if we assume that Meng went to Hang-chou in the following autumn, we are in a better position to accept this poem here. However, poem 130 seems to contradict this.

70 We have no clues to the identity of Censor Ts'ao, since no one with that surname is listed in Lao II. Strictly speaking, of course, since Meng's poem is only "to go with," it could have been written almost anywhere and anytime, but the chances are good that Meng did in fact compose it while the two men were in the neighbourhood of Wu (southern Kiangsu). For Meng's possible meeting with Li Po, see above, note 67(b).

71 Chen Yixin (p. 55) remarks on this. He points out that, while Meng visited the Yang-chou area more than once, he seems to have proceeded on south of the Yangtse only this one time, and without lingering in Wu.

72 Hsiao proposes a route something like this for Meng's 'second trip' to Yüeh, except that he has him coming down the Yangtse as far as Hsüan-ch'eng from Hsiang-yang, and then crossing to Yüeh via the Hsin-an. Now, as we have seen, the 'second trip' cannot have occurred as he has reconstructed it (note 67). The suggested route, however, can be adapted to this trip, where it helps to explain three otherwise troubling poems (73, 120, and 125). The other Che River poem, 155, was written more than a year later, see below, notes 75 and 93. None of the three poems written at this time gives any suggestion about the season, but the varied moods of all three seem consistent with Meng's progress toward Yüeh. The friend or friends addressed in 73 would have been still fresh in Meng's memory at this time. One even wonders if Li Po could be meant.

73 Lines 4-8 of this poem are the best support for the theory that Meng came down the Che before ascending it later. Oddly, Hsiao fails to cite this point in his discussion of the Che River poems (pp. 33-34,

For the pronunciation of $^\text{19}$ as 'Kuei', see J. D. Frodsham, *The Murmuring Stream*, vol. 2, 2, n. 12.

Meng's numerous poems written in Yüeh fall into four geographical divisions: (1) Kuei-chi and its environs; (2) the area around Mt. T'ien-t'ai; (3) Yung-chia and Lo-ch'eng, where Chang Tzu-jung was serving; and (4) the valley of the Che River, to the southwest of Hang-chou. Meng remained in Yüeh for some time, and the problem of finding a sequence for his visits to these four areas is not an easy one to solve. Chen (pp. 56-62) supposes that Meng went up the Che River from Hang-chou, then turned eastward to Mt. T'ien-t'ai, passing through Wu-chou on the way. From T'ien-t'ai, according to Chen, Meng proceeded down to Kuei-chi, where he stayed for a while. Later, he took a trip to Yung-chia by sea, returned to Kuei-chi, and then finally went via Hang-chou back to the Yangtse River and home. Yu Hsin-li (pp. 299-300) supposes the same general sequence of visits, but connects them differently. He has Meng make an excursion up the Che River and back to Hang-chou, a later one to T'ien-t'ai and back from Kuei-chi, and then the trip to Yung-chia. Hsiao (pp. 9-10, 12-13), who thinks in terms of two visits to Yüeh, has a very different itinerary. He believes that, coming from Lo-yang, Meng travelled directly to Kuei-chi, where he remained for some time before returning home. Later, Hsiao thinks, he made a second trip, coming down the Yangtse as far as Hsüan-chou and then proceeding overland to Chien-te, on the Che River. After descending the Che, Meng then went to Kuei-chi, from which he made trips to T'ien-t'ai and Lo-ch'eng. Once this proposed second trip has been discarded (see above), the problem becomes one of fitting all of the Yüeh poems into one stay. One part, at least, of Chen's itinerary needs to be reviewed first. He simply asserts (pp. 56-57) that poems 10 and 32 both refer to the beginning of a trip up the Che whose final destination was Mt. T'ien-t'ai. There is, in fact, nothing whatever in either of the poems which requires such an interpretation. Poem 10 may indeed pertain to the beginning of a trip up the
Che, but T'ien-t'ai is not implied as the destination of it. Moreover, it is obvious that poem 32, which mentions clouds in the southeast looking like Red Wall Mountain (a peak near T'ien-t'ai), must refer to a crossing of the estuary of the Che near Hang-chou in the direction of Kuei-chi (see also note 81). Aside from this, there is nothing positively objectionable about the itineraries proposed by Chen and Yu, but once again we may be able to improve our understanding of the situation by re-examining the evidence. There are really two different questions to be asked at the outset. First, how long did Meng stay in the southeast? And second, what was the sequence of his travels in the region? For the first of these, we have only two clues, or rather, one clue and one general principle, that he must have stayed long enough to accomplish whatever peregrinations we discover in answering our second question, but probably not too much longer than that. The clue is found in poem 124, whose middle couplets read:

Unable to forget the tall palace towers,
I have lingered for nothing by the hills of Yüeh.
Twice I have watched the summer clouds arise;
Again I hear the songs of springtime birds.

Now, as Chen Yixin points out (p. 59), this poem must have been written during Meng's third (calendar) year in Yüeh. This means that it dates from some time after the summer of 727. Since, as we shall see, Meng returned to Hsiang-yang from Yüeh in the spring, this return could have taken place no earlier than 728. If possible, then, we will want to fit all the Yüeh poems into the period from the autumn of 725 to the spring of 728. And this proves, in fact, to be quite feasible. Our second question, about the sequence of Meng's side-trips in Yüeh, is considerably more complex. Perhaps the best way to approach it is to set aside the poems written at Lo-ch'eng over the new year and those that give no hint as to the season in which they were written, and to deal with the 'seasoned' poems first. There are four spring poems, all written in Kuei-chi: 38, 99, 169, and 210. Of these, 99 refers to a previous visit to Mt. T'ien-t'ai. The summer poems are only two: 138, written near Hang-chou at the beginning of a trip to T'ien-t'ai, and 181, written in Kuei-chi. For autumn, there are four poems: 29 and 128, written in Hang-chou while viewing the tidal bore in the eighth month, 130, written
on the way from Hang-chou to Kuei-chi after viewing the bore, and 176
(the "come again" poem that led Hsiao Chi-tsung so far astray), written
after returning to Kuei-chi late in the season from an unspecified loca-
tion. The winter poems are the real problem, though there are only three
of them. The first (102) is titled "Written at Sea at the Year's End";
it refers to the changing of the year star (Jupiter), but gives no hint
as to where Meng is going or whence he has come. Then, there is poem
239, written on the eighth day of the twelfth month at a temple in the
old Buddhist centre of Shan-hsien (modern Sheng-hsien, up the Ts'ao-ê
River to the southeast of Kuei-chi); this poem likewise tells us nothing
of direction or destination. And finally, there is poem 155. Thère is
some textual uncertainty in the title (see below, note 93), but it
appears very likely that the correct reading is "Going Westward up the
Che River: Parting from Superintendents P'ei and Liu at Fu-yang." This
poem at least tells us that Meng is going upstream, and at the end of
the year. And then there are the Lo-ch'eng poems, several written right
at the turning of the year, and two referring to an anticipated departure
in early spring. Now, as we have seen (above, note 61), it was in the
winter of 725 that Meng visited Lo-ch'eng. Aside from this (and the
possibility that 181 could not have been written in 726, see below, note
86), none of the poems can be positively attached to any one particular
year. As a result, any number of plausible sequences may be constructed,
especially since the distances between the places in which the poems
were written are not great. The itinerary followed in the text seems to
me to be the simplest way of accounting for the evidence available, but
its very simplicity, given the length of Meng's stay in the region and
the close proximity of the places visited, makes it highly improbable
that it corresponds exactly to Meng's actual movements. The proposed
itinerary is:

autumn 725: arrival in Yüeh by way of the Che River
winter 725: trip to Yung-chia and Lo-ch'eng by sea, to visit Chang
           Tzu-jung
spring 726: return to Hang-chou or Kuei-chi
summer 726: departure from Hang-chou by boat for Mt. T'ien-t'ai
autumn 726: return to Kuei-chi (from T'ien-t'’ai?) late in season, or continued stay in T'ien-t'’ai
winter 726: excursion to Shan-hsien from Kuei-chi (or while returning from T'ien-t'’ai)
spring 727: in Kuei-chi
summer 727: in Kuei-chi (also trip to T'ien-t'’ai?)
autumn 727: in Hang-chou to see tidal bore; return to Kuei-chi
winter 727: trip up Che River
spring 728: return to Hsiang-yang along Yangtse River.

76 For Chang's posting in Lo-ch'eng, see above, note 67(a). Also the Wan-li Wen-chou Fu Chih, ch. 7, p. 51a, and Lo-ch'eng Hsien Chih, ch. 2, p. 51b (neither furnishes a date). The latter (ch. 2b, p. 51b) also mentions Chang's house in Lo-ch'eng (quoting Meng), but does not suggest that it was still standing. Yang Yin-shen (p. 46) and Fu Tung-hua (p. 57) both identify Lo-ch'eng with modern Ch'ang-lo, near Fu-chou in Fukien, a mistake.

77 Of course, the poem must actually have been written at least a few days before the end of the year, since Meng was with Chang in Lo-ch'eng on the last day of 725.

78 See above, note 67(d), for a discussion of the biographical significance of this poem.

79 Both of these poems make it clear that Meng was returning by sea. There is a textual problem, though. In the second line of Meng's poem, the Sung and Ming systems have 北征 "northward journey" rather than 正 "official celebrations," which I have adopted from the Yuan system at the suggestion of Hsiao. Hsiao reasons that if Chang were also about to go north, the two friends would no doubt have travelled together. Chen (p. 61) ignores this point, and this weakens his treatment of the problem. There is a second farewell poem attributed to Chang (Shijin K. 5548), but some sources say that it is by Wang Wei, and in fact the latter attribution seems more satisfactory, see below.
This is an uncommonly difficult poem to date with any conclusiveness. Yü-p'u is a bay on the south side of the Che estuary, where it is joined by the P'u-yang River. Poem 10 (and 138, see below) shows a close acquaintance with Hsieh Ling-yün's "The Island Off Fu-ch'ün," which begins with the lines:

By night we sailed across the Yü-p'u Deep,
At dawn we came abreast of Fu-ch'ün town.
Far off, Mount Ting was wrapped in clouds and mists,
The Red Pavilion gave no anchorage.

(Wen Hsüan, ch. 26, p. 25a, J. D. Frodsham, The Murmuring Stream, vol. 1, 119). The season was evidently early spring, since the otters of poem 10 are said, in the "Monthly Commands" chapter of the Li Chi (ch. 5, pp. 1a-b; cf. James Legge, The Li Ki, p. 251) to "sacrifice" fish in the first month of the year, early spring in the Chinese calendar. While the poem could have been written at any of these times, I am inclined to place it here for the following reasons: (a) it seems that Hang-chou may have been the place from which boats travelled to other points on the coast—see poem 138, in which Meng leaves Hang-chou for T'ien-t'ai, even though Kuei-chi was much closer to his destination; (b) we will find Meng in Kuei-chi in a number of spring poems, one of which refers to his having been to Mt. T'ien-t'ai; (c) neither this poem nor the Kuei-chi spring poems refer to any anticipated return to Hsiang-yang. Thus it seems most economical to assign the spring of 726 to Hang-chou and that of 727 to Kuei-chi.

Chen's perverse determination to take poem 32 as descriptive of a river journey approaching T'ien-t'ai from the west (p. 58) is contradicted in almost every line of the poem. One would not sail up the narrow hill streams of Chekiang, one would row or be towed; one would not see a "realm of water" in the distance, only the hills close at hand; one would not be crossing, but ascending against the current; it is unlikely that there would be a large number of boats competing for advantage; there would be no tides; and, of course, T'ien-t'ai and Red Wall Peaks would be to the northeast, not the southeast. The prosecution rests; see also the preceding note.
For Chih-yi and the T'ien-t'ai School, see Kenneth Chen, *Buddhism in China*, pp. 303-313. For Ssu-ma Ch'eng-chen, see his CTShu biography (ch. 192, PN, pp. 7b-8b; CH, pp. 5127-5129, the HTShu biography is condensed from this). Chen Yixin (pp. 58-59) discusses him briefly and suggests that the T'ung-po Temple which Meng visited (see below, poem 14) may have been founded by Ch'eng-chen. In 727, Ssu-ma was again summoned to court by Hsüan Tsung, who gave him a site for a new temple on Wang-wu Mountain in southern Shansi. He was presumably still at T'ien-t'ai until this time, and it is interesting to speculate whether Meng may have met him there.

Chen (p. 59) suggests the possibility of a link between T'ai-yi and Ssu-ma Ch'eng-chen, whose religious name is given as Cheng-yi or Chen-yi. For other T'ien-t'ai Taoists, including Li Po's friend Wu Yün, see the Kuang-hsu T'ai-ohou Fu Chih, ch. 100, pp. 11a-20a.

The reference in the title "in Yüeh" is tantalizingly vague, and could refer either to Kuei-chi itself, or to any place in the general area. Perhaps the most important thing about it is that it implies 'not on Mt. T'ien-t'ai'.

This is the suggestion of Chen Yixin (p. 60). The mention of the sea in this poem helps confirm that it was written in Yüeh.

These two poems raise a number of different points, as follows:
(a) The men to whom they are addressed cannot be positively identified. The most likely case is that Mr. Ho, the Superintendent of poem 124, is a minor poet named Ho Chao, whose official title is given as Superintendent at Kuei-chi in the Table of Contents to K. His name is given incorrectly as Ho Chao-wan in the brief biographical notice on him in CTShu (ch. 190b, PN, p. 15b, CH, p. 5035; see Ts'en Chung-mien, *T'ang Shih Yu-shen*, p. 111 for the correction). The same notice says that he was associated with Ho Chih-chang in Yüeh during the Shen-lung period (705-706), together with several other poets. It also
says that he reached the post of Superintendent at Shan-yin. The notice on Ho Chao in the Ch'üan T'ang Wen (ch. 408, p. 32a /5284/) also gives Shan-yin, but says that he held this office during the T'ien-pao period (742-755). A few of his poems are preserved (Shijin K. 5563-5570) but fully five of them are of questioned authenticity and none gives us any help with his biography in any case. While it is tempting to identify him with Meng's friend in Kuei-chi, the slight and conflicting information that we have about him from other sources is hardly sufficient to confirm this. Much the same, but less, can be said of identifying Mr. Pao with Pao Jung (see above, note 23), who is listed as a Yüeh friend of Ho Chih-chang in the same passage as Ho Chao. Ho Chih-chang, at any rate, was himself not in Kuei-chi at this time, but still in office in Ch'ang-an.

(b) The "good friend" of poem 99, line 16 could be Ho Chih-chang, or perhaps Ts'ui Kuo-fu. The Mr. Ts'ui of poem 38, actually "Ts'ui the Twenty-first," cannot be positively identified. Ts'en does not do so (p. 107), but Hsiao (p. 175) says that he is Ts'ui Kuo-fu and Chen (p. 60), in discussing poem 181, wonders if they might not be the same person. Yang Yin-shen (p. 46) also suggests this possibility. In the latter case, a summer poem written in an unspecified place, Ts'ui is referred to as having been to the capital. After passing the ch'in-shih early in 726, Ts'ui Kuo-fu may well have returned to Kuei-chi, although normally one would expect him to have stayed in the capital to take up an official post. Moreover, since Kuo-fu may have been a native of the area, Ts'ui "Twenty-first" could as well be an unnamed cousin or brother, especially since we have no reason to suppose that Meng should suddenly stop calling Ts'ui Kuo-fu 'Superintendent'. If we do assume that Kuo-fu is meant in these poems, then 38 can be assigned to the spring of 727 and 181 to the summer of the same year, or possibly to 726.

(c) It is noteworthy that, while Meng seems to have been on good terms with a fair number of local officials in Yüeh, he never refers to the then Prefect of Yüeh-fu, one Cheng Hsiu-yuan 鄭休遠. Cheng was probably of advanced age by this time, since he was an uncle of Shang-kuan Chao-jung, the palace lady who had perished at the time of the fall of Empress Wei (for Cheng, see Lao I, ch. 22, p. 3b, and Chia-t'ai
(d) Another poem that dates from about the same time is 169, addressed to a "Superintendent Chang." Chen (p. 61), who sometimes gives the impression that he would identify Meng's "Chief Minister Chang" with Chang Tzu-jung if he thought there were any chance of making it stick, assumes that his man is here again. This raises the problem, with which Chen struggles manfully, if unconvincingly, of how they could say fare­well once in Yung-chia and then again a few months later in Kuei-chi. The Sung system texts give a fuller version of Chang's title, "Super­intendent at Hsin-an," which makes Chen's identification even less likely.

For a poem written at a Buddhist temple, see the following note. Two additional poems that may have been written near Kuei-chi are 162 and 187. The former mentions ocean shores, which suggests that it was written in Yüeh. The latter is included in KCTYTC (ch. 15, p. 3a) as having been written in Kuei-chi, though no basis for this is given.

Another poem written in a temple, in an unspecified season, is 21.

See above, note 75, for this poem as a contribution to our under­standing of the length of Meng's stay in Yüeh. Hsiao (p. 189) wonders if Hsiah "Nan-ch'ih" ("Southern Pool") might not be a native of Hsiang-yang. The chances seem better that his name refers to a 'southern pool', actually a pair of pools, that once existed about 26 li southwest of Shan-yin (see Shan-yin Hsien Chih, ch. 5, pp. 3b-4a).

The other poem written here is 29. Neither Magistrate Yen nor the Revenue Officer Hsiieh of the latter poem is identified, though the Ch'ien-t'ang Hsien Chih (ch. 9, p. 3b) dutifully records, on the basis of Meng's poem, a "Magistrate Yen, name unknown." One would like to be able to link Hsiieh with Meng's friend Hsiieh Pa, but there is no evidence to support this.
For all their brevity, these two poems are subject to various doubts, mostly textual. Chen (p. 38) thinks poem 130 to have been written on the upper reaches of the Che as Meng proceeded toward T'ien-t'ai. It seems to me that he may be simply "going down to" the river in order to cross over it on his way to Yüeh (see also the discussion of poem 32 above, note 81). The authorship of poem 126 is in dispute, since two T'ang anthologies differ in their attribution. H (p. 95) attributes it to Meng's friend Ts'ui Kuo-fu, while K (p. 167) includes it as Meng's work. Both texts specify that the poet is crossing the Che River. However, the Che is not named in any edition of Meng's poems except TSC and its descendants, a system that shows a great deal of conflation, especially from the early anthologies. This suggests that perhaps Meng wrote the poem while crossing the Yangtse--Chen (p. 55) assumes this. Since no season is mentioned, shifting the location would not materially affect our reconstruction of Meng's travels in any case.

Poem 181, discussed above in note 86, was written in the fifth month. No location is specified, but the mention of Ts'ui "Twenty-first" suggests Kuei-chi. Poem 176, written in late autumn in Kuei-chi, could also have been composed the preceding year, soon after Meng's arrival in Yüeh. The "again I come," though, suggests the later date.

It could be that this poem marks the beginning of Meng's homeward trip. That is, that he returned to the Yangtse valley the same way that he came, via the Hsin-an River. Nothing in the poem itself suggests this, however, and it seems more satisfactory to suppose that he was just going on an excursion back up the Che to revisit scenes that he had enjoyed earlier. Note that there is some textual confusion surrounding Meng's destination. My translation is based on the Ming system text here. The Sung system reads 遨 for 浙 both in the title and in the first line of the poem. The Yuan system texts omit the location from the title and agree with the Ming system in the first line. Now, since the character 遨 has variant forms 遨 and 遊, I suspect that a graphic confusion has occurred. The agreement of the Yuan and Ming system texts in the first line and a feeling that the corruption of 浙 to 遨 is more
likely than the reverse have determined my choice. If one were to adopt the reading 之, then it could be supposed that Meng might have returned to Hsiang-yang by way of Kiangsi, writing poem 112 on the way. But the latter seems better linked to the autumn poem 60 (see above, note 50). This difficulty with poem 112, and the lack of any reference in poem 155 to a return home are probably a stronger argument against the 之 reading than the loss of poems 109 and 133 from Meng's return trip would be. The latter poems might also be shifted to one of Meng's two later trips on the Yangtse without causing serious difficulties.

Another poem perhaps written about this time is 41, composed at the lodge of one Master Hui. He may be the same man that T'ao Han saw off with a 'preface' (Sambun K. 7219, ch. 334, pp. 8a-b /4278/) as Hui returned to Ch'ien-t'ang. According to T'ao, Hui was honoured by Wang Wei and P'ei Tsung (for whom, see below, note 104). The title that Wang is given is, however, one that he never held, Censor in Attendance 御史, so we are unable to date T'ao's essay from this. One might date this poem late in 731, when Wang, T'ao, Meng, and presumably P'ei were together in Ch'ang-an (see below, notes 103, 104), but the tone seems more appropriate to the Yüeh trip, when Meng could have visited Hui before the latter went to the capital.

94 This poem is missing from the Sung system texts. We encountered the first of the three Hsüeh Pa poems above, soon after Meng's arrival in Kuei-chi. The other two--this one and 109--are rather more difficult to date. My suggestion is that we should adopt the title as given in the Yuan system texts, "Seeing Off a Friend on his Return East," which suggests that it could have been written after 109, as the two friends parted for good somewhere upstream from Tang-t'u. Chiang-chou is one possibility; E-chou is another, since from there Hsüeh could return east to Lake P'eng-li while Meng turned up the Han River to go back home. Chen's discussion of the Hsüeh Pa poems (p. 62) is weakened by his failure to consider this variant. See also above, note 54, for the possibility of assigning these Hsüeh Pa poems to a later trip. They might, for that matter, even belong to Meng's last trip down to Kuang-ling in 737. If the Yuan system reading for the title is adopted for poem 133, as I suggest, then it is no
longer essential that it refer to Hsüeh Pa, but this does not greatly alter the problem of dating it.

95. There has been some uncertainty about the location of this poem. Yang Yin-shen (p. 46), Hsiao (pp. 13, 102), Yu (p. 300), and Chen (p. 60) all assume that it was written at about the same time as poem 67, or at least while Meng was still in Yung-chia. In fact, it is clear that Meng returned from Yung-chia earlier in the year than the third month. Moreover, in the absence of a specific name, 江 seems better understood as referring to the Yangtse. See also note 54.

96. Chen (p. 70), who believes that Meng returned from Yüeh by way of Lakes P'eng-li and Tung-t'ing, places this poem on the return from an earlier trip to Yang-chou.

97. Ying 鄉 in this poem could have one of several meanings: the old one of Chiang-ling, once capital of the Kingdom of Ch'u, or perhaps the Ying-chou of T'ang times, corresponding to modern Chung-hsiang Hsien, about 75 miles southeast of Hsiang-yang. If it refers to Chiang-ling, then of course the poem would have to pertain to a different trip, "Seas and crags," however, does suggest the return from Yüeh.

98. The second line suggests dating poem 202 at this time. It is possible that Abbot "Beyond the Clouds" is the same Taoist as the "Lord of the Clouds" of poem 216.

99. See poems 9, 68, 75, 85, 95, 160, 188, 203, 211, and 223. Wang's poem is Shijin K. 10491. There are no other references to him whatever. Hsiao's surmise that he might be the same man as Wang Shih-yuan is unsupported by any evidence, and unlikely in view of the considerable ignorance that Shih-yuan shows about Meng in the Preface. For his identification with Wang "Ninth," see Ts'en, pp. 11-12, 16; and with "Recluse Wang" 率 (poem 203), Chen (p. 41), Hsiao (p. 196), and Yu (p. 141). The light-hearted air of poem 68, written in spring in Lo-yang, suggests that it may date from Meng's first trip there, while poem 188 was
probably written only months before Meng died.

The identification of Hsin Chih-§ requires a somewhat round-about approach. To begin with, there is a seemingly minor variant in the title of poem 144--Hsiao does not even mention it--that merits our attention. The title reads, in the Ming system texts, "I am not in Time to Say Farewell to Hsin Eldest, Who is Going to the Isle of E." This seems clear enough; the Isle of E, to which Meng saw off another friend with poem 243, is a known place name, in the Yangtse near E-chou, and even appears in the Ch'u Tzu'u, one of Meng's favourite sources. So, Hsiao would seem to be justified in omitting reference to the fact that the Sung and Yuan system texts lack the words "Going to the Isle of E. But Yu Hsin-li is troubled, for he compares the title with lines 5-6 and discovers that they show Hsin to be travelling north, from Hsiang-yang toward Lo-yang, rather than south toward the Yangtse. Clearly, he feels, the three words should be omitted. Now, Hsin "Eldest" has not been identified hitherto. Ts'en (p. 65) can only cite the four poems addressed to him by Meng (148, 199, 260, and this one) and conclude, "his name is unknown." But further investigation will reflect on our variant. Two of Meng's poems, cited by Ts'en (199 and 260), simply say Hsin "Eldest"; the third (148) reads, following Ts'en's interpretation, "At the Capital, Saying Farewell to Hsin 'Eldest', Who is Going to E" . But, if we were unaware of poem 144 and the fact that E is also a geographical name, we should surely be inclined to read "...Hsin Chih-§, Eldest (in his generation) " . Now, there is one other poem by Meng addressed to a person with the surname Hsin (15), and this refers to one Hsin § . Could Hsin E and Hsin "Eldest" Chih-§ be related in some way? It certainly appears that they are, for § and § are not only homonyms today, they also were in Meng's time (EMC ngak) and in fact, § is simply a variant form of § (see DKJ 35713/2). Now, Feng Shih records a Hsin Chih-§ § who was appointed a Superintendent in 729, after presenting a copy of some of his writings to the court (3/12; see also HTShu Bib., ch. 59, PN, p. 10a, CH, p. 1536, and TKCK, ch. 7, p. 29a, /435/). So far as the identification problem is
concerned, I think that a process of multiple corruption has affected our text. Here in poem 144,  Numero sign has changed to Numero sign and then, or simultaneously, to Numero sign, by analogy with the well-known place name. In poem 15, where no such misunderstanding was possible, Numero sign has simply dropped out. Aside from the two poems quoted, 15, and 260 were both apparently written near Hsiang-yang, and 148 as Meng saw Hsin off on his return home from the capital. This latter poem presumably dates either from 718 or from 724-725, since Meng says that Hsin has had no success yet in his search for a career. As for the book, long since lost, that Hsin presented, its title was Numero sign "A Sequence of Precepts." It is included among the "Miscellaneous Philosophers" section of the T'ang bibliography. A colophon by the Sung writer Hung Mai, quoted in P'ei-wen Yin-fu, p. 2911.3, explains this as a kind of book of "Family Instructions," like the celebrated ones by the Northern Ch'i Confucian Yen Chhi-t'ui, in which younger generations are shown the virtue of the family ancestors and enjoined to behave with similar rectitude.

The preceding sentences are likely to come as a considerable surprise to anyone familiar with Meng's poems and with the secondary literature concerning him, for no such person as "Chang Yuan" has ever been mentioned therein. Nonetheless, I am sure that a very good case can be made for identifying him with the "Magistrate Chang" and the "Secretary Chang" who figure so often in the poems. Now, this runs directly counter to one of Chen Yixin's most interesting and original suggestions, that all of the 'Magistrate' poems (44, 89, 98, 179, 184, 235) and all of the 'Secretary' poems (132, 174, 177, 178, 248, 249) were actually meant for Meng's old friend Chang Tzu-jung, whom Chen believes to have left Lo-ch'eng at about the same time that Meng did, in order to take up an appointment as Magistrate in Feng-hsien. Briefly, Chen reasons as follows: poem 179, "Magistrate Chang of Feng-hsien Returns Home for a Rest and Gives a Party in the Sea Pavilion" establishes that a Magistrate Chang was serving in Feng-hsien, that he had returned to his old home, where he had once lived in retirement, that he was an old friend of Meng's, and that the two men had been separated for some time, during which he had been called to his Feng-hsien post and
Meng had travelled in the region of the Huai and Yangtse Rivers. Poems 177 and 178 give the proprietor of the "Sea Pavilion" as Secretary Chang, thus Magistrate and Secretary are the same person (a less important piece of evidence to support this conclusion is discussed below). Poem 174 records a party on Hsien-shan Hill at which Secretary Chang was present, so the home to which he had returned must have been Hsiang-yang. Chen goes on to show that Chang left Hsiang-yang some time in the second half of 735, or in 736, on being promoted from Secretary to Deputy Administrator of the Court of Prince Yi (poem 132). Chen adds that the presence of a Miss "Jade Glen" in both 'Magistrate' poems (89, 235) and a 'Secretary' poem (249) supports the identity of the two. Now, Meng's only known Hsiang-yang friend surnamed Chang was Tzu-jung, and we are certainly somewhat in the dark concerning his career after his exile in Lo-ch'eng (Chen is even more so, since he cannot be sure that poem 245 was addressed to Chang, see below, note 160). Chen makes an attempt to consider Wang Wei's friend Chang Yin, another Hsiang-yang Chang (pp. 46-47), but he himself is not convinced, and Chuang Shen turns the possibility down flat (p. 56, n. 52). The hypothesis that, by elimination, Chang Tzu-jung should be identified with Magistrate/Secretary Chang seems plausible enough, and Chen is quick to buttress it with additional considerations. For example, the poet Yen Yen-chih (early fifth century) once built his own 'Sea Pavilion' at Yung-chia, close by Chang's place of exile. Moreover, both the Magistrate/Secretary poems and those written with Tzu-jung at Lo-ch'eng depict a man who enjoyed having a good time--references to wine, women, and song being common. Chen further suggests that the "old studio" of poem 179 is probably the retreat on White Crane Cliff of poem 22; the "new dancing pavilion" was that on "Sleeping Dragon Hill," which faced White Crane Cliff from the opposite side of the Hsi Family Pool.

Now to properly evaluate so elaborate and apparently well-supported a thesis as this will require extensive discussion, much of which concerns periods of Meng's life slightly later than the one with which we are presently concerned. Nonetheless, we will take up the whole question at this point.
Our first concern will be to break Chen's hypothesis into two parts. That is: (1) Magistrate and Secretary Chang are the same person; and (2) either or both is to be identified with Chang Tzu-jung. The first of these I am quite prepared to accept. Some of Chen's evidence is less compelling than the rest—Miss Jade Glen, for example, could have been a leading singing girl of Hsiang-yang, likely to be summoned to any high-class party, rather than Chang's concubine, as Chen supposes. All the same, he has established a high order of probability that both officials are in fact the same man, at different points in his career. Hsiao also suggests this identity (p. 209). The second part of Chen's hypothesis is rather a different matter. Here we should proceed in three stages. First, we must consider more carefully just how probable the identification of Magistrate/Secretary Chang with Tzu-jung—as opposed to the identity of Magistrate and Secretary—really is. Then we must see if there is any evidence that would actually suggest that Tzu-jung should not be identified here. And finally, we should look for evidence that seems to suggest an alternative identity for Secretary and Magistrate Chang.

Now, some of Chen's evidence concerning Chang Tzu-jung is very weak. We have already considered the question of the two farewells, one in Yung-chia and another in Yüeh, which he proposes and about which he is mistaken (see above, notes 79 and 86[d]), supposing that Tzu-jung was then on his way north to take up a post in Feng-hsien. In fact, as we have seen, Chang was still in Yung-chia as late as 729, if not later, when he addressed Hsiao Hua. The 'Sea Pavilion' of Yen Yen-chih is an enviable trouvaille, but in fact less impressive than it might at first appear. Chen wonders if there might not be some connection with a 'Gazing-at-the-Sea' Pavilion recorded in HYHC (ch. 1, p. 12b, /166/) as standing on 'Sleeping Dragon Hill'. There is no suggestion in the Chih that it was anything particularly old. Another pavilion of exactly the same name stood in Kuei-chi during the Sung dynasty (see Chao Pien, Ch'ing-hsien Chi, ch. 5, p. 26a), and there were probably others in various places at times. In other words, the really hard evidence for making an identification with Tzu-jung here is limited to the facts that his surname was Chang, that he was a native of Hsiang-yang,
and that he was a good friend of Meng's. Any additional evidence—we have referred to some already—that he was not Magistrate/Secretary Chang would badly damage Chen's hypothesis. Moreover, the discovery of a person who fulfilled the three minimum requirements above as well as Tzu-jung does and could additionally be shown to have been either Magistrate of Feng-hsien, Secretary of one of the Bureaus in the Department of State Affairs, or Deputy Administrator of the Court of Prince Yi, would lead us to abandon it entirely. Now, the standard sources tell us so little about Chang Tzu-jung's life after his exile to Lo-ch'eng—and some of it demonstrably mistaken at that—that they by no means rule out later promotions such as Chen assumes. Of course, one would expect it to have been mentioned if he had held a Secretaryship, but an argument from silence cannot be conclusive in an area where silence so massively outweighs evidence as it does here. According to TTTC, Chang eventually gave up his post in Lo-ch'eng, travelled around "the south" for a while, and finally returned home to live in retirement in Hsiang-yang. This much is rendered somewhat dubious by the further statement that he remained in Lo-ch'eng until "after the rebellion," that is, the Rebellion of An Lu-shan, which broke out in 755 and was not entirely put down until 762, over twenty years after Meng died. This is based upon a poem that is found in CTShu, not among the poems of Chang Tzu-jung, but rather among those of Liu Chang-ch'ing (Shijin K. 7394; Liu Sui-chou Chi, ch. 9. p. lb), where it no doubt belongs. The best argument against Tzu-jung's having held posts as a Magistrate or Secretary, at least during Meng's lifetime, comes from the Table of Contents of K. This table gives Chang's official title as "Superintendent of Chin-ling" (p. 128). This supports the identification of Tzu-jung with the recipient of poem 245 (see also Ch'ang-chou Fu Chih, ch. 9b, p. 4b, and Wu-chin Yang-hu Ho-chih, ch. 15, p. 28a, both of which list a "Superintendent Chang" on the basis of Meng's poem, but omit this personal name). Now, there are occasional anachronisms in the K table; Wang Wei, for example, is given a title that he did not hold until years after the period covered by K. One would expect, however, that these would apply only to better known figures and that any others that might be discovered would be, like Wang's, 'promotions'. Thus K strongly suggests that Tzu-jung
did not attain even a Magistracy, not to speak of a Secretaryship.

To approach the question from another angle, is there anyone else who would fit our three minimum criteria, met by Chang Tzu-jung (surname, residence, acquaintance), and who is also known to have held at least one of the three posts in question? Nothing is known of the composition of Prince Yi's staff. Only one Chang is listed among the T'ang dynasty Magistrates of Feng-hsien in the local histories (*P'u-ch'eng Hsien Chih*, ch. 6, p. 1a; *P'u-ch'eng Hsien Hsin Chih*, ch. 8, p. 1b (these lists are extremely incomplete)) and this is one Chang Tun. Tun appears, from the very sketchy information available (*Chung-kuo Jen-ming Ta Ts'u-tien*, p. 955.3; I have not found a source for this), to have lived somewhat later than Meng--there is a reference to his suppressing pirates near Hang-chou, though this was done too by one P'ei Tun-fu (see below, note 107) as early as 744 (*Background*, pp. 87, 163). Chang Tun's native place was also not Hsiang-yang. When we turn to possible Secretaries Chang, we encounter a problem of a different kind, for Chang is a very common surname, after all. There are two or three dozen Secretaries Chang during Meng's active years listed in Lao I, and that covers only three of the six Ministries in the Department of State Affairs. None of them, however, is said to have been a native of Hsiang-yang or to have been Magistrate of Feng-hsien or Deputy Administrator for Prince Yi. Lao I does give one Secretary of the Bureau of Revenue with the name Chang ... -jung, but this appears to be much earlier, during the reign of Empress Wu (ch. 11, p. 3a); Ts'en Chung-mien emends the name to Chung-jung (*Lang-kuan Shih-chu T'i-ming Hsin Chu-lu,* CYYY 8/1 [1939], 49).

Our man, Chang Yuan, turns up not in Lao I, but in the *T'ang-wen Shih-yi*, which includes the memorial inscription that he wrote for his younger brother Tien, who died at the age of seventeen (ch. 18, p. 19b, *Sambun* K. 21118). In this inscription, dated in the tenth month of 733, Chang Yuan gives his own title as "Secretary of the Bureau of Official Mounts and Carriages." This is only about two years before 'Secretary Chang' was appointed to the court of Prince Yi, and also a time when we know that Meng was in Hsiang-yang. The memorial inscription for Yuan's son Hsin (T'ang-wen Shih-yi, ch. 26, p. 12b, *Sambun*...
K. 21343) summarizes Yuan's career, mentioning his Secretaryship and two of eleven places in which he subsequently served as Prefect. It gives no office prior to Secretary, nor does it mention any post with Prince Yi, but the account is so incomplete that it can hardly be said to cast any doubt on our assumption that Chang Yuan is the man we seek. He was a Chang and a native of Hsiang-yang--various memorial inscriptions for descendants of Chien-chih make it clear that the family actually resided in the town. But how do we know that he was a friend of Meng's? In fact, we don't. It does, however, seem likely that he was. We know that Meng was on good terms with at least some of Chang Chien-chih's family, since poem 182 is addressed to a "Recorder Chang"--unidentified--whose "ancestor was enfeoffed at Han-yang," a reference to Chien-chih's honorific title (see above). According to the Hsiang-yang Fu Chih (ch. 30, p. 2b; the same source gives Meng's residence as Deer Gate, which does not affect our argument here), Chang Chien-chih's garden was located 5 li south of the town, not far from Meng's "southern garden," which was about 5 li further south. Meng's friend Ting Feng (see poems 1 and 139) wrote a memorial inscription for one Chang Chen, another grandson of Chien-chih (T'ang Wen Shih-yi, ch. 21, p. 5a; Sambun K. 21168). (For a discussion of the genealogy of Chang's family, correcting many errors in HTShu Tab, see Ts'en Chung-mien, "Chen Shih Cheng Shih," in CYYY 8/4, 520-522.) Moreover, in the title of poem 132, HP actually gives the name , which can hardly have crept into the text from nowhere.

We thus seem to be reasonably safe in identifying Magistrate/Secretary Chang with Chang Yuan, and in dating the 'Secretary' poems around the years 733-735. Dating the 'Magistrate' poems is rather less certain. Feng-hsien only became a capital district in 716, so the poem must be later than that (des Rotours [Fonctionnaires, p. 730] gives the date of this change as 729; I follow the "Monograph on Administrative Geography" in HTShu, ch. 37, PN, p. 4a, CH, p. 965). If des Rotours is correct, then 730 is really the only possible date. Otherwise, 728 would be best, taking the mention of Meng's travels in the second line of poem 179 as a reference to his trip to Yüeh. It is odd that he does not mention Yüeh specifically, but this would have required some
rewriting to work it into the prescribed tonal pattern of the poem.

102 This poem is one of two (the other is 221, see below, note 115) that help us date Meng's final trip to the capitals in search of success. "Prime" in line 3 is somewhat more explicit in the original; 强仕 "strong (enough for government) service." Its occurrence in the Li Chi, "At the age of forty, one is strong and serves" (ch. 1, p. 3a; cf. James Legge, pp. 65-66) has given it the meaning "forty years of age." Hsiao (p. 76) and Chen (p. 51) both take this with scrupulous literalness to mean the first day of the sixteenth year of the K'ai-yuan period (February 15, 728). In fact, one could delay it for a few years without stretching the sense of the poem. Likewise, the references in Meng's biographies to his examination failure "at forty" could also be spread out a few years. As we shall see (below, note 103), other evidence helps us to date Meng's trip with more accuracy. One might also choose to date the poem on the first day of 728 and to assume that Meng went off on his travels in spite of it.

103 Chen Yixin, following the HTShu biography, assumes that Meng went up to the capital in 728. The one piece of supporting evidence that he cites is poem 170, in which Meng says farewell to a friend named Ch'en "Seventh," who is "going off to join the Western Army," adding that he himself is going up to the capital. Chen points out that the "Western Armies" were engaged in fighting off T'u-fan incursions at just this time (p. 46; see also TCTC, ch. 213, p. 6782). This is quite true, but it is subject to some reservations. In the first place, there was conflict on some scale almost continually on the frontiers, so we need not restrict ourselves to the few large victories and defeats recorded in TCTC. More importantly, Meng's poem has a social purpose rather than a historical one. Even if Ch'en were leaving for the army during a period of calm on the frontier--assuming accurate and up-to-date information about conditions on the front to have been available to Meng in Hsiangyang, which it probably was not--Meng would no doubt still have referred to the heroism of a young man going there (see also poems 147, 153, 251, written on similar occasions). More important still is evidence which
puts Meng in the capitals rather later than 728, for it is hard to see him staying on for all of four years there. The details and references will be given later (see below, notes 104, 105, and 111); the essential points are as follows: (1) Poem 197 is addressed to "Collator Wang Ch'ang-ling" and was written as Meng was leaving Ch'ang-an going east. Wang was not appointed Collator until 731; (2) Poem 129 was written, presumably in Lo-yang, to go with a set that Ch'u Kuang-hsi had addressed to an official named Lü Hsiang. Lü was in office in 732; (3) Wang Shih-yuan gives a list of seven men with whom Meng was closely associated, apparently simultaneously and in the capital. Four of the men we cannot date, but a fifth, Cheng Ch'ien-chih, was in office in the capital in 731. The two remaining men on Wang's list are very well known, and independent biographical studies have been made of them. Wang Wei had been sent out to a provincial post as a young man, soon after passing the chin-shih examination in 721 (Chuang Shen, p. 59, dates Wang's provincial posting in 722-723) and did not return to Ch'ang-an until around 726 (p. 65). So, he would have been still a teenager in 718, unlikely to have met Meng, and gone from the capital in 724-725. Chang Chiu-ling left Ch'ang-an for the south early in 727, and returned only in mid-731, probably some time in the summer (Yang, p. 64). Both men would thus have been in Ch'ang-an together only from then on. The poetry meeting at which Meng made such an impression took place in the fall, and this could only have been the fall of 731 or later. It is not entirely certain whether Meng had just arrived or had already been in the capital for almost a year. I am inclined to think the former, since the whole affair sounds like the kind of thing more likely to be told about a promising candidate than an already failed one. Chen (p. 52) thinks the party came after the examination failure; he also simply revises the biographical dates for Chang Chiu-ling and Wang Wei in order to make them match Meng's HTShu biography!

There is also the possibility, to which, in the interest of simplicity, I have avoided referring elsewhere, that in fact Meng never was a candidate for the examinations. As Frankel has pointed out (p. 2), the CTShu biography is the only extant source to refer to his chin-shih failure, and perhaps it is not coincidental that the HTShu biography
omits this in favour of the anecdote about Meng's meeting with the Emperor, considering the latter, in Frankel's words (p. 14, n. 19), "a satisfactory explanation of Meng Hao-jan's lack of an official career." It should be realized, however, that it is clear Meng was in the capitals at this time, even if not to take the examinations.

Almost nothing is known of P'ei Tsung (mentioned above in passing, see note 93). Wang Shih-yuan gives his official title as Judicial Investigator; HTShu Tab (71a/16a) as Secretary to the Heir Apparent. He may also be the man mentioned with Lu Hsiang, in a poem by Tsu Yung (Shijin K. 6265), but there the name is written 儀. Wang Shih-yuan refers to Cheng Ch'ien-chih as "Grand Prefect of Hua-yin", but such an office came into existence only in 742, when the title 'Prefect' was altered for a few years. In other words, it reflects Cheng's rank at the time Wang was composing his preface. In 731, Cheng was Secretary of the Bureau of the Army (see the memorial inscription for his father, Cheng Hsiao-pên 舒僑怦, written by Sun Ti, Sambun K. 6933, ch. 313, p. 13b /4023/, cited in Lao I, ch. 1, p. 7b, from W, ch. 95, p. 3a /5001/).

The best available account of Wang Ch'ang-ling's life is the article by Tan Youxue (pinyin), "Wang Ch'ang-ling Hsing-nien K'ao" (Wen-hsueh Yi-ch' an Tseng-k'an XII [1963], 174-192). For the identification of Ch'ang-ling with Wang 'Eldest' (as in poems 197, 264), see Ts'en, p. 7. Wang travelled out to the far west while in his twenties, before his chin-shih pass (for which, and his later examinations, see TKCK, ch. 7, pp. 25b, 32b, and ch. 8, p. 4b /468, 482, 494/). He served as a Superintendent not far from Lo-yang, and then returned to Ch'ang-an for his second exam. After this, he remained in Ch'ang-an until 738, when he was banished to the far south (see also below, note 155). One poem that Meng may have addressed to Wang soon after his arrival in the vicinity of Ch'ang-an is 185, written at a party with him and a Taoist Master Huang. There is some doubt about this poem for several reasons. First, there is considerable variation in the test of the title; the Sung system texts give "Wang Eleventh" as the person whom Ch'ang-ling
and Hao-jan joined for their party. In the Ming system texts he becomes "Huang Eleventh," and in the Yuan system, "Taoist Huang." The Sung reading may be preferable, if only because it saves us from a second difficulty. For, among Wang's poems there is one addressed to a Taoist Huang while both men were in Wu-ling (Shijin K. 6816, Wang Ch'ang-ling Shih Chiao-chu, p. 154). Now, Meng returned to Wu-ling later himself, only a year or so before Wang was there on his way into banishment, and they may have had a friend in common there (see below, note 155, and above, note 46). Finally, poem 185 is puzzling in itself, for it is hard to decide where it was written. If in Ch'ang-an, the first couplet is difficult; if in Hsiang-yang, the second. Perhaps it was composed somewhere in the suburbs of the capital.

106. Ts'en (p. 144) and Chen (p. 73) both identify the "Collator Ch'i-mu" of poem 87, see below, with Ch'ien, a poet now best known for his "Boating in Spring on Jo-yeh Stream" (Shijin K. 6417), which is included in the T'ang Shih San-pai-shou. This very poem also helps us to confirm that he was a Collator (the post is mentioned in only one of his biographical notices, TTTC, ch. 2, p. 21), for Ch'u Kuang-hsi wrote a poem (Shijin K. 6502) after receiving one about Jo-yeh Stream from a "Collator Ch'i-mu." Ch'ien passed the chin-shih in 726 (along with Ts'ui Kuo-fu and Ch'u Kuang-hsi, TKCK, ch. 7, p. 19a /455/). His first post was apparently that of Superintendent at Yi-shou (modern Chou-chih, almost 50 miles west of Ch'ang-an). He later served as Academician in Attendance, Omissioner on the Right, and Redactor. His service as Collator is not dated, but was presumably early in his career, like that of Wang Ch'ang-ling. Ch'i-mu was acquainted with many of the important literati of his day, including Wang Wei, Lu Hsiang, Li Ch'i, Ts'ui Hao, Ch'u Kuang-hsi, Wang Ch'ang-ling, and Wei Ying-wu. HTShu Bib lists his Poems in 1 chüan (4/15b, CH, p. 1609), but only 26 of them are extant today (Shijin K. 6416-6441).

107. The name of only one of the twenty-four successful candidates is recorded, one Hsien-yü Hsieh, who was almost as old as Meng, and said to have been illiterate until he was past his twentieth year.
The Chief Examiner was one P'ei Tun-fu, who many years later was to be a victim of Li Lin-fu (see Background, p. 163, n. 23). One spurious detail concerning Meng's examination should be dealt with here. CTShu, quoting the Tan-yang Chi 丹陽集, includes a two-line fragment from a poem written on the topic "the neigh of a brave steed," assigned as part of an official examination (a 省試), examination held by the Department of State Affairs, see Examen, pp. 171-172 and DKJ 23179.58). I can find no such incident in the Tan-yang Chi and, moreover, the two lines in question actually come from an examination poem (Shijin K. 27034) composed in 819 by one Chang Hsiao-piao (see TKCK, ch. 18, pp. 23a-b, 26a /1185-1186, 1191/, citing W, ch. 185, pp. 4b-5a /906-907/).

This poem is attributed also to Meng's friend Chang Tzu-jung in W (ch. 181, pp. 9a-b /889/, see also Shijin K. 5553), with many variant readings. Hsiao (p. 200) believes it to be a work of Chang's which accidentally became mixed up with Meng's poems. His reasons for doubting Meng's authorship are two: line 6 refers to the "Black River" 黑水, far from anywhere that Meng is ever known to have been, and line 11 refers to the author's desire to "pluck the laurel," that is, to pass the chin-shih, a sentiment inconsistent with Meng's nature. Now, the first argument is a difficult one to evaluate, for there are two Black Rivers, both mentioned in the Documents (Shang-shu T'ung-chien, 06528, 06596; Bernhard Karlgren, The Book of Documents, p. 15; James Legge, The Shoo King, pp. 119, 123), and both of indeterminate location. One of them was somewhere in Kansu, the other in Szechwan. It is possible, though certainly not necessarily correct, to identify the former with the northward flowing section of the Yellow River, close enough to Ch'ang-an to satisfy a poet in need of a parallel to the "blue hills" of the preceding line and geographically flexible enough to include an allusion to Lo-yang (the "Golden Circuit") in the following line. There was also a 'Black River' Army stationed in the far west, see Fonctionnaires, p. 804. Now, no matter what one makes of the location of the 'Black River' in this poem, it tells us nothing whatsoever about authorship, because the poem was clearly written in Ch'ang-an, where both Chang and Meng had been.
If the reference is a blunder, then whoever wrote it was blundering, nothing more. Hsiao's second argument, that Meng was not interested in such mundane things as examination successes, falls of its own weight; only consider the context to which this note refers. Yu deals with the authenticity issue succinctly in his preface (pp. 1-2).

Hsiao (p. 6) and Chen (p. 55, n. 2) differ widely in their interpretation of the penultimate couplet of this poem. Hsiao feels that it is a genuine reminiscence of Meng's travels to T'ien-t'ai—though elsewhere (p. 13) he assumes that Meng's T'ien-t'ai trip took place after his last visit to the capital (see note 67)—and has high praise for the 'stream-of-consciousness' technique that moves Meng in his thoughts over thousands of miles and many years to a kind of time-less position from which the concluding couplet comes. Chen's view is much more down to earth. He points out that each line is built on an allusion to a well-known writer, and that neither proves that Meng had ever been to T'ien-t'ai himself. Chen is, of course, quite right as far as he goes—his interpretation is forced on him though by his belief that Meng went to Yüeh after his last visit to the capitals—but then Meng would probably have used the same allusions if he were writing on the summit of T'ien-t'ai itself, so it is just as reasonable—and certainly does more justice to the poetry—to accept Hsiao's interpretation here, at least so far as the place of composition is concerned. Two other poems that may possibly date from this same period are:

90: Addressed to an unidentified "Emender Chao," this poem could equally well have been written on either of Meng's earlier trips to the capital, but the tone of 'advice from one who knows the ways of the world' suggests this later date.

A poem not included in Meng's collected works, but only in an anecdote included in the Shih-hua Tsung-kuei (ch. 29, p. 4a /635/). The same anecdote and poem are attached to one P'ing Tseng in the T'ang Chih-yen (ch. 10, p. 106) and C (ch. 65, p. 985), and the poem is included among P'ing's three extant works in CTS (Shijin K. 27148). It is difficult to decide which is the more likely attribution, but P'ing Tseng's case is perhaps slightly stronger because: if Meng wrote
the poem, it would have been addressed to Li Yuan-hung, a native of Hua-chou, who was Chief Minister during the years 726-729, and who died in 733, when Meng was forty-four. He was no doubt considerably older than Meng, and it is unlikely that the latter would have called himself an 'old man' in addressing him—this in spite of the convention, common in Chinese verse, of referring to oneself as a greybeard. P'ing, on the other hand, is described as a man of the reign of Mu Tsung (r. 821-825), while the Chief Minister Li that he would have been addressing was Li Ku-yen, who lived on at least until the reign of Hsüan Tsung (r. 847-860). So P'ing was probably at least somewhat older than Li, who served for a while as Prefect of Hua-chou. Moreover, since anecdotes tend to attach themselves more readily to well-known people than to nobodies, the attribution to Meng is suspect, the more so since the more circumstantial account concerning P'ing Tseng comes from a tenth century compilation, while the Shih-hua Tsung-kuei is a Southern Sung work, even if it does include earlier materials. If Meng did write the poem, it must have been on this trip, between Li Yuan-hung's term as Chief Minister and his death.

This is T'ao's 'Preface', "On Saying Farewell to Meng 'Eldest' Hao-jan on his Departure for Shu" (Sanbun K. 7218, ch. 334, pp. 7b-8a /4278/). Taguchi (pp. 31-32, n. 7) uses T'ao's essay to date Meng's trip to Shu, in conjunction with poems 71, 103, and 131 (see above, note 56), and makes the additional point that if Meng left Ch'ang-an for Shu (assuming that he came out through the Yangtse Gorges), his trip to Yüeh must have been after a different visit to the capitals. As we have seen, the poems suggest rather a trip up the gorges and then north to the headwaters of the Han. But this does not rule out a second departure for Shu from the other direction. And it is in this connection that we must reconsider T'ao Han and his essay here.

Little is known of T'ao's life. He passed the chin-shih examination in 730 and in 731 the newly instituted 'Examination of Broad Learning and Extensive Composition' (TTTC, ch. 2, p. 24; TKCK, ch. 7, pp. 29b, 32b /476-482/; for the examination, see Examens, p. 221). Wang Ch'ang-ling passed this second examination at the same time, and it may have
been through him that Meng and T'ao became acquainted. One of T'ao's examination pieces was a fu "The Ice-jug" (Sambun K. 7205, ch. 334, pp. 1a-b /4275/) which proved a great success. We know little of his subsequent career, except that he eventually reached the post of Under-secretary of Rites (C, ch. 20, pp. 291-293, and Lao I, ch. 2, pp. 4a-b). About twenty of his poems are extant (Shijin K. 6943-6959) and a similar number of prose pieces (Sambun K. 7205-7224), the remains of his collected works, which probably disappeared early as a unit, since HTShu Bib (4/12b, CH, p. 1603) cannot say how many chüan were in it. T'ao addressed works to a number of people who appear also in Meng's poetry: Master Hui, Chu Ta (Ch'ü-fei), Wang Ch'ang-ling, and Ts'ui 'Twenty-first', but some of these are almost as difficult to reconcile with their subjects as his Preface addressed to Meng. There are at least three problems with this essay, though none of them is unsurmountable. In the first place, Meng is referred to in the title as Meng "Eldest." This actually agrees with our proposal that Meng was the eldest, at least in his immediate family (see above, note 7). Ts'en Chung-mien (pp. 67-68) rejects "eldest" here as a scribal error. Scribal error of some sort, however, may be the only possible explanation for the howler that occurs near the beginning, "In the T'ien-pao period, he . . ." Because Meng was roughly contemporary with Li Po and Wang Wei, there has always been a certain tendency to assume that he lived on into the T'ien-pao period just as they did. One may suppose that T'ao's text was at some time edited in conformity with this misunderstanding. All the same, there is a curiously posthumous air about the opening sentences of the essay, as though it were an explanatory passage interpolated later. But this is only an impression. The reference to this being Meng's "first trip" is also disturbing, since one would expect T'ao to know that Meng had been to Ch'ang-an before, in 724. The geography of the essay is also imprecise, to say the least. It directs Meng to Mt. Ê-mei, "3000 li west of Kuang-han." Now, Kuang-han can be identified roughly with places in northern and central Szechwan, none of them even 1000 li east of Mt. Ê-mei. The point is not to fault T'ao's geography so much as to show that it tells us little about Meng's itinerary. Wen Yi-to (p. 31) accepts T'ao's essay without question.
Ts'ên (p. 182) and Chen (p. 73.) both identify the Ch'ü 'Twelfth' of this poem with Ch'ü Kuang-hsi. Ch'ü was one of the more important poets of the High T'ang. He was a prolific writer, leaving behind works amounting to 70 chüan (see HTShu Bib 4/12b, Ch. p. 1603, and Ku K'uang's Preface to his works, Sambun K. 10584, ch. 528, pp. 13a-b /6805/), as well as other writings. Perhaps because of his later collaboration with the brief regime of An Lu-shan, his writings have mostly disappeared, but over 200 poems are still extant (Shijin K. 6442-6668). Ch'ü passed the chin-shih examination in 726, the same year as Ch'i-mu Ch'ien and Ts'ui Kuo-fu. Not too long afterward, he was appointed Sacrifice Officer, see his two poems (Shijin K. 6497-6498) sent to "Vice-Minister Su" on the occasion; Su is probably Su Chin (伍器), who, as Vice-Minister of Civil Office from 726-731 (Yen, pp. 118-119, 574-575) would have had something to do with his appointment. Meng's poem was written to match one or more of a set of five short poems "On the Roads of Lo-yang" (Shijin K. 6642-6646; the title is an old yüeh-fu title, see DKJ 17383.67; James Miller's "On the Lo-yang Circuit" and elaborate explanatory note is ingenious but entirely mistaken, p. 190) that Ch'ü presented to a "Secretary Lü Fourth." Ts'ên (p. 28) identifies this person as Lü Hsiang (呂師哲), and Lao I (ch. 25, p. 6b) quotes a passage from the CTShu account of the T'u-chüeh (Turks) that mentions Lü as a Secretary in 732. Lü composed one of the six standard commentaries on the Wen Hsiian.

The identification of Yuan Kuan here is really a double problem. We have first to show that Meng's "Omissioner Yuan" is Yuan Kuan; and then we should consider whether or not he may also be the "Sacrifice Officer Yuan" of poems 79 and 149. Of the first there seems to be little doubt (see Ts'en Chung-mien, YHHT, ch. 4, p. 335, and "Tu Ch'üan T'ang Shih Cha-chi," p. 215). Very little is known about Yuan Kuan himself. Two poems by him are extant (Shijin K. 5691-5692), one a yüeh-fu ballad, the other a poem of mourning for a younger brother of Emperor Hsüan Tsung, Prince Fan (范), who died in 726. In addition, there is a poem addressed to him by Meng's friend Chang Tzu-jung (K. 5544), written while Chang was in Yung-chia and Yuan was Superintendent at Kan-hsien, in southern Kiangsi. Finally, there is a long poem by Ch'ü Kuang-hsi addressed to an
"Omissioner Yuan Third" on the occasion of his exile (K. 6583). Since we know that Ch'u was in Lo-yang at this time (see preceding note), it is very probable that this poem is addressed to the same man as Meng's. Unfortunately, neither poem gives us any definite lead concerning where Yuan was being sent, only that it was somewhere "south of the River." Kan-hsien is of course a possibility, if Chang Tzu-jung was still in Lo-ch'eng in 732 or later.

Now, for the further question of "Sacrifice Officer Yuan," who appears in poems 79 and 149. The first of these was written near Wu-ling as Meng approached from the north (see above, note 46), or perhaps much later, at the end of his last trip early in 738. Yuan is addressed as an old friend and it is possible that he is returning from exile in the south. The other poem refers to Yuan as a "visitor" from Wu-ling, and tells us that both men were in the capital and that Yuan had just been appointed Superintendent in Yu-chang, in Kiangsi. We might also bear in mind here a poem written by Wang Ch'ang-ling, as he passed through Wu-ling on his way into exile late in 738 (Shijin K. 6702). This is addressed to an "Assistant Magistrate Yuan of Wu-ling." Unfortunately, the very incomplete list of T'ang local officials in the Wu-ling Hsien Chih (ch. 28, pp. 6a-8a) includes no one with the surname Yuan. Taking the 'Sacrifice Officer' material alone, the simplest thing is to suppose that Meng met Yuan on one of his first two trips to the capital, saw him off when he left for Yu-chang, and then met him again some years later when he went to Wu-ling, Yuan having in the meanwhile completed his term in Yu-chang and returned home. Meng addressed him as "Sacrifice Officer" still out of courtesy, much as later he would address Chang Chiu-ling as Chief Minister even after Chang had been sent out to Ching-chou. Later, perhaps, this Yuan may have secured a local appointment as Assistant Magistrate, and been so addressed by Wang Ch'ang-ling. This is considerably more likely if Meng's poem 79 was actually written late, as I continue to doubt it was.

This much being said, what is there to the possibility that these two Yuans are the same man? More than anything else, this is encouraged by the principle of economy. If one hears his friends Bob and Max, themselves good friends, refer separately to a friend named Sam, one
assumes, lacking evidence to the contrary, that they are both referring to the same person. The same tendency of mind wants to make the most of this case, and looks for anything which might support it. The poem about Prince Fan by Yuan Kuan is intriguing, for Fan had a liking for literature and the company of writers, and this led him to assemble a small coterie of literati officials, with whom he met often in the capital for artistic and social relaxation. To Hsüan Tsung, who had survived a good deal of deadly struggle for power within the Imperial House--not a little of it self-instigated--this looked suspicious. Officials closely linked to another member of the Imperial family might possibly develop an interest in an early change of monarch. With this in mind, Hsüan Tsung ordered the officials among Prince Fan's group banished in 720, all of them being sent out to minor posts in distant regions (see TCTC, ch. 212, p. 6741, and Background, p. 43). Put all of this into one pot and stir, and it makes a rather heady brew, especially if one adds the question of Chang Tzu-jung's otherwise unexplained long-term exile to Lo-ch'eng.

It is, however, troublesome at various points. It does seem out of the question that Chang Tzu-jung's fall could have had anything to do with Prince Fan. Were this the case, then Meng would surely have met Chang in the capital when he was there in 718, and would not then have referred to a separation of over ten years when they met again in Yung-chia late in 725. Next, Yuan Kuan's native place is given in YHHT (loc. cit.), and it is Sung-chou, not Wu-ling. This is not terribly serious, since it was common for people to have been born and to spend much of their lives in a place far from the official seat of the family. As for Yuan Kuan and Prince Fan, we know the names of several people who were banished in connection with the dispersal of his salon, and Yuan Kuan is not among them. Lists of this sort are often quoted incompletely, but one of the people named was also a Sacrifice Officer (there were six of these at a time), so Yuan would not have been left off simply because his rank was lower than the others. The fact that Yuan wrote a mourning poem for the prince, one which suggests some familiarity with his character, is quite interesting, but it hardly requires the interpretation suggested. The only other such poems extant (Shijin K. 4674-4675) were composed by Chang Yüeh, who had been Chief Minister until just a few
months earlier, and there is no suggestion that he had been improperly involved with the Prince. Moreover, a man under banishment would no doubt have thought twice before reminding the government of his offence in such a noticeable way.

In fact, as soon as one tries to fit all the material together, it begins to look increasingly implausible. To begin with, if the two men were one, Meng would not have addressed him as "Sacrifice Officer" on visiting him in Wu-ling in 738; it would have been 'Omissioner', the higher ranked and more recently held title. It seems unlikely that an obscure person in a provincial post would take it upon himself to write a mourning poem for a member of the Imperial House, so Yuan Kuan was probably in the capital in 726, later in Kan-hsien, and then back in the capital as Omissioner by 731. In the meanwhile, if he is to be Sacrifice Officer as well, he must be in Wu-ling early in 728, or possibly before 723. The best one can do for the two men as one is this: in 718, in Lo-yang, sent out to Yü-chang, later home to Wu-ling, to the capital by 726, thence to Kan-hsien, back as Omissioner by 732, and then somewhere in the south, possibly back in Wu-ling as Assistant Magistrate late in 738, but probably not.

113 Line 7 need not refer to many successive years. Rather, it may simply mean the preceding fall (cf. poem 197) and the present year, or, alternatively, the times that Meng spent in Lo-yang during his previous trips.

114 Taguchi (pp. 22-23, 25-31) discusses the image of T'ao Ch'ien in Meng's works at some length, stressing its importance to Meng's image of himself.

115 This poem is datable through the expression "middle age," which refers to one's forties or fifties rather than earlier. The clear reference to a return home in midsummer has helped us earlier in placing the winter travel poems with the first visits to the capitals. Chen (p. 63) places this poem after a return from Yüeh. Taken alone, the poem does not seem to suggest this interpretation, and other evidence (see above,
notes 67 and 103) is against it.

116 See Yang, p. 147, for a list of those recommended by Chang.

117 For Ting, see also poem 1. His only extant work is a memorial inscription for one of Chang Chien-chih's descendants (T'ang Wen Shih-yi, ch. 21, p. 5a; Sambun K. 21168).

118 For Yuan's transfer away from Hsiang-chou, see KCTYTC, ch. 18, p. 12a; also YHHT, ch. 4, p. 308 and Lao I, ch. 3, pp. 25b-26a. Yuan was originally sent out to Hsiang-chou after being involved in a minor scandal in the capital in 732.

119 Han Chao-tsung passed a literary examination in 711 and must have been appointed Left Omissioner almost immediately, since he held that office in the following year when he remonstrated (unsuccessfully) against the abdication of Jui Tsung. It is difficult to trace his career after this, for both his official biography (HTShu 118) and the memorial inscription by Wang Wei (Sambun K. 7102, ch. 327, pp. 7b-10a /4194-4195/) considerably shorten the list of offices that he held (see Yen, pp. 575-576, for details). Yen gives the fixed landmarks: not long after 723, he was Secretary of Honorific Titles; around 730 or 731, he was Vice-Minister of Civil Office; and by 734 he himself was Prefect of Hsiang-chou, for in that year he was made concurrently Inspector of the Eastern Shannan Circuit, which had its headquarters in Hsiang-yang. In addition, Chan Ying (p. 11) shows that Han must have been Chief Administrator of Ching-chou just before this, because it is as "Han of Ching-chou" that Li Po addressed a letter to him, asking for help in getting an official post (see Waley, pp. 10-11). Not long afterward, Han was sent much further south, to Hung-chou, because of an offence committed by one of his subordinates (see the edict of reassignment by Chang Chiu-ling, Sambun K. 6241, ch. 283, pp. 13a-b /3637/). For his later career, see Background, pp. 207-208.
Neither Hsiao (p. 194) nor Chen (p. 66) can decide whether it is Han Chao-tsung or his father Ssu-fu for whom this poem was written. The meaning of the fourth couplet in the context of the whole poem is not immediately clear. I am inclined to paraphrase, "I have just come to enjoy the pleasures of good company and literary amusements as excellent as those rare Fang-ling cherries. Why, nothing could be further from my mind that that you might see fit to recommend me for some responsible position in the government."

A slightly different version of this anecdote appears in Meng's HTShu biography (see Frankel, pp. 4-5, and 15, n. 22). Chen (p. 65) assumes that Meng never left Hsiang-yang, and that it was only the departure for the capital that Meng missed, because he was drinking with friends. Chen is able to show that Han was in Hsiang-yang from not long before the second month of 734 (when he was made concurrently Inspector of East Shan-nan) until not long before the eleventh month of 736 (when Chang Chiu-ling was dismissed). It might be added that, since Yuan Yenchung was transferred to Yüeh-chou some time during 734, Han must have replaced him very early in the year. Chen also shows that there was a special call for Prefects to recommend worthy people to the court early in 735, and it would have been this which occasioned Han's attempt to introduce Meng at court. Chen then points out that it was just at this time that 'Secretary Chang' was in Hsiang-yang, and comes to the conclusion that it was possibly he with whom Meng was so happily drinking! Substituting Chang Yuan for Chen's Chang Tzu-jung, this is possible, but Chang Yuan, at least, had probably not just returned home in early 735. It seems simplest to assume that he was in Hsiang-yang late in 733, when he wrote the memorial inscription for his younger brother Tien (see above, note 101). There is no particular reason to suppose that he was gone from Hsiang-yang between that time and his appointment to the court of Prince Yi in 735 or 736.

For Lu and Meng as co-authors of the inscription for Han Ssu-fu, see Han's HTShu biography, ch. 118, PN, p. 7b, CH. p. 4273. Lu Chuan's dates are only roughly ascertainable. According to his brief 'biography'
(HTShu, ch. 200, PN, p. 6b, CH, p. 5705), he had an elder brother in office during the reign of Chung Tsung (705-710). Moreover, he himself wrote two poems in 741 on the occasion of an Imperial bereavement (Shijin K. 5168-5169), so he was at least approximately Meng's contemporary. His biography records that he was successively Superintendent at Wen-hsi 屬 (southwestern Shansi), a Scholar, and Undersecretary of the Bureau of Civil Office. According to HTShu Tab--he was distantly, to our thinking, related to Lu Huai-shen 魯懷深, a rather lacklustre Chief Minister, in office 714-716--he reached the position of Deputy Prefect of Ju-chou (73a/36a). In addition to his poetry, of which only fourteen pieces are extant (Shijin K. 5166-5179), he composed a book of "Family Instructions," the Lu Shih Chia-wei, in one chuan, listed in HTShu Bib (3/19b, CH, p. 1540), but apparently no longer extant. Wang Shih-yuan includes Lu in his list of seven friends, in a way that suggests that he was a Secretary--this is not the only possible interpretation, but it is the one adopted in Lao I (ch. 4, p. 17b). We know that Lu was Magistrate of Hsiang-yang because an inscription was also erected in honour of his administration--see Lao I, ch. 4, p. 18a and HYHC, ch. 1, p. 27b /196/). It seems quite clear that he is in fact the 'Magistrate Lu' of Meng's poems 19, 96, 132, 174, 177, and 178; close conjunction with 'Secretary Chang' Yuan, in town 733-736, and his involvement in the inscription for Han Ssu-fu support this. The only other candidate who has been suggested is Lu Hsiang, poet, friend of Wang Wei, and nephew of the 'Summoned Gentleman', Lu Hung-yi (see above, note 22). This is Chen's opinion (p. 49) and Hsiao's as well (p. 160), based on some confusion surrounding poems 177 and 178. The situation is this: the two poems were clearly composed on the same occasion, and 178 was in fact written "to go with" 177. The title of the latter can, and ought to, be read "Magistrate Lu's 'On the Occasion of a Party . . .'" Wang says in his Preface that he included poems written to Meng in his edition of the poems, and this is clearly an example, one that has been mistakenly treated as though it were by Meng himself. Now, the problem is that this poem is included twice in CTS, once as Meng's work, and once among the poems, not of Lu Chuan, but of Lu Hsiang (Shijin K. 5739). Hence, Chen and Hsiao can hardly be blamed for coming to the conclusion that Hsiang was the Magis-
trate involved, especially since we know that he was one of the people promoted on the recommendation of Chang Chiu-ling. However, we know that it was Lu Chuan who was Magistrate of Hsiang-yang at this time, while no source links Hsiang with Meng's hometown in any way (see Lao I, ch. 8, pp. 19a-b for references). Moreover, if Chang Chiu-ling recommended Lu for three successive posts in the capital (see Liu Yü-hsi's Preface to Lu's works, quoted by Chen) during the years that he was in power (733-736), then surely Lu would have been holding them rather than an unattested Magistracy in Hsiang-yang during the years that Chang Yuan was at home as an ex-Secretary (733-736)! So few of both men's poems have survived that this one's absence from the works of Lu Chuan is proof of nothing whatever. And since there is an additional case of confusion between Lu Hsiang's works and Meng's (see above, note 60[g], the poem to Chang Chün), it seems better to see the double attribution as a textual problem rather than as a biographical one.

Of the six poems addressed to or mentioning "Magistrate Lu," this one was written in spring, 96, 174, 177, and 178 in fall, and 132 whenever Chang Yuan returned to the capital. The somewhat more formal tone of 19 leads me to place it first, though this is by no means a certainty. We shall, in any case, want to have Meng gone from Hsiang-yang early in 736, see below, note 135. Note in this poem the reference to Meng's failure to pass the chin-shih examination (or to have taken it).

Fang Kuan (698-763) was the son of Fang Jung, who had been Chief Minister for a while under Empress Wu before being executed. As a young man, Kuan studied in retirement in the hills southwest of Lo-yang. Later, by family privilege, he joined the Hung-wen Academy, and in 724 came to the attention of Chang Yüeh, then Chief Minister, through his writings. He subsequently served in a succession of metropolitan and provincial posts. Left behind in Ch'ang-an, with the rest of the government, as Hsüan Tsung fled the approaching armies of An Lu-shan in 755, Fang managed to make his way to Szechwan, where he was warmly received by the defeated Emperor. Hsüan Tsung sent him on to join the court of the newly enthroned Su Tsung, who was then assembling
a government with which to carry on the fight against the rebels, and Su Tsung in turn made Fang his Chief Minister. Unhappily for everyone involved, Fang also asked for and was granted permission to take personal command of the military campaign against An Lu-shan, although he had had no military experience whatever. Basing himself on battle descriptions found in the *Tso Chuan*, he fought the battle of Ch'en-t'ao with a force of two thousand ox-drawn war chariots surrounded by infantry. The rebels succeeded in stampeding the oxen, and the loyalist army was routed, suffering thousands of casualties. A similar defeat was ensured by the further use of the same tactics a few days later. Fang was relieved of his command, and spent the rest of his career in positions less liable to allow him an opportunity to make war along lines laid out in canonical texts. Being the son of a Chief Minister, he enjoyed considerable prestige as a young man, which helps explain Meng's very deferential attitude. (See Fang's biographies, CTShu 111 and HTShu 139, Su Tsung's edict of dismissal, *Sambun* K. 1641, ch. 42, pp. 21a-22a /567/, the inscriptions by Li Hua, K. 6992, ch. 318, pp. 7a-b /4078/, Tu Fu, K. 7631, ch. 360, pp. 21a-22b /4631/, and Liu Tsung-yuan, K. 11632, ch. 588, pp. 1a-2a /7545/, and poems by Wang Wei, *Shijin* K. 5790, and Tu Fu, K 11308, 11375, and 11377. For his disastrous military tactics and their effect, see David McMullen, "Historical and Literary Theory in the Mid-Eighth Century," in *PT*, pp. 316, 320, and E. G. Pulleyblank, "Neo-Confucianism and Neo-Legalism in T'ang Intellectual Life 755-805," in Wright and Twitchett, *The Confucian Persuasion*, pp. 77-114.

Ts'ui Tsung-chih was the son of another former Chief Minister, Ts'ui Jih-yung , and a nephew of Ts'ui Jih-chih, who, with Li Yung, had helped foil the attempted coup in which Cheng Yin was involved, see note 16. The Preface to Jih-jung's collected works, by Ts'ui Yu-fu, says that Tsung-chih served first as an Annalist (*Sambun* K. 8666, ch. 409, p. 9a /5293/). According to the biography of Han Chao-tsung, Ts'ui got his start through Han's recommendation, and this is confirmed by Li Po's letter to Han, which can be dated in the years 732-734 (Chen, p. 65, and notes 119 and 121 above). By 731, at any rate, it would have been clear that the recommendation had been worthwhile, for in that year Ts'ui was already serving as Undersecretary of Rites, as we know from an
account of an inscription that he composed in that year (Feng Shih 4/30). He later became a Secretary and a good friend of Li Po. Li addressed many poems to him, all but one of which Chan Ying dates after 740. The exception is a poem (Shijin K. 8293, LTPCC, ch. 13, pp. 9b-10a) addressed to "Undersecretary Ts'ui Tsung-chih," that Chan (p. 21) dates 739, while Li Po was in Hsiang-yang. Eight years seems a long time for Ts'ui to have kept the same post, but there seems no reason to doubt that he was Undersecretary of Rites in 739 also, since the CTSShu Monograph on Rites (quoted in Lao I, ch. 19, pp. 4a-b) records him in that position then. It may be that Ts'ui held the Undersecretaryship twice, or else that there is an error in the text of one of the two sources. At any rate, Li's rather slighting reference to Ts'ui in his letter to Han suggests that they were not, in the early thirties, the good friends that they were later to become. So, perhaps Meng's poem refers to Ts'ui's first term, and Li's to his second. The assumption that the two men passed through Hsiang-yang at this time is based on Ts'ui's reappearance in the fall--see the discussion of poem 174 below. (For references to Ts'ui, see the remarks appended to his father's biography, CTSShu 99 and HTShu 121, Shijin K. 13478 and Tu Fu's poem, "The Eight Immortals of the Wine-cup," Tu Shih Yin-te 22/2/9, Hung, p. 52.)

In poem 242, the Mao and Liu texts have the name Ts'ui Hsing-tsung instead of Tsung-chih, which they give as a variant. Ts'ui Hsing-tsung was a good friend and brother-in-law of Wang Wei, who wrote many poems to him. He was also close to P'ei Ti and Lu Hsiang. He seems to have avoided office for most of his life, but the C (ch. 16, p. 243) says that he was Remembrancer on the Right, and HTShu Tab (72a/51a) records him as Deputy Prefect of Jao-chou. It is very possible that he may have known Meng, but, as Hsiao points out (p. 131), it is unlikely that he is the "celestial figure" of this poem. Moreover, as the younger brother of Wang Wei's wife, he would probably have been at least fifteen years or so younger than Meng.

One is free to suppose that Cheng "shih-san" ("thirteenth") may be Cheng Ch'ien-chih, the man on Wang's list of seven friends (see above, note 104), since several others on the list were in Hsiang-yang around
this time, Lu Chuan and P'ei Fei, at least. One may also suppose that "those who hold high places in the court" included Chang Chiu-ling.

126 For these poems, see above, note 122. According to Chen (p. 49), the first couplet of poem 177 refers to Chang, who had been Magistrate at Feng-hsien. It is hard to see to whom it could refer otherwise, but it is odd that Lu refers to Chang's old post, rather than to his much more prestigious--and more recent--Secretaryship. Things would be easier if the poem were by Chang, since the compliments are directed at the Magistrate rather than the Secretary.

127 The identification of Ts'ui Tsung-chih here--Meng's text says only "Undersecretary Ts'ui"--calls for some discussion. It is rendered plausible, at least, by the agreement to meet again mentioned in poem 242, assuming that Fang Kuan was not able to return on Double Nine, but that Ts'ui was. If one were to reject Tsung-chih here, the other likely candidate would seem to be Meng's Kuei-chi friend, Ts'ui Kuo-fu, who also served as Undersecretary of Rites (see Lao I, ch. 20, p. 3a; the fact that the entry on Kuo-fu immediately precedes that on Tsung-chih tells us nothing about the sequence in which they held office, for this chüan of Lao I is a 'supplement', compiled from literary materials only, without any stone tablets to refer to for information on the sequence of office-holders). A close look at Kuo-fu's biography, however, shows that he is probably not the person referred to here. His life after the examination pass of 735 (see above, note 67[d])--unlikely to have propelled him at once to an Undersecretaryship--is obscure. By the spring of 752, he was a Scholar in the Hall of Assembled Worthies (one of the three Imperial Academies), since Tu Fu, writing then after a disappointing attempt to further his own career, addresses him by this title (Shijin K. 10966, Tu Shih Yin-te 293/1, dated in Hung, p. 70, and Tu Fu Nien-p'u, p. 27a). He must have been promoted to Undersecretary very soon afterwards, because it was from this post that he was banished in connection with the fall of Wang Hung in the summer of the same year. Unfortunately, we do not know just what Ts'ui's relationship with Hung was. Hung's wife was a Hsüeh (see his biography, CTShu 105), so perhaps Ts'ui had married
a relative of Wang's. In any event, Ts'ui could not have been too closely allied with Hung, since all the immediate male relatives of the latter died at the time of his fall, while Ts'ui was merely banished. Li Po addressed a very sympathetic poem to Kuo-fu's son Tu at the time (Shijin K. 8410, LTPCC, ch. 7, p. 11b, dated by Chan, pp. 84-85). The relevance of all this to Meng Hao-juan's life is simply that poem 174 refers to a party at which an "Undersecretary Ts'ui" was present. Our knowledge of Ts'ui Kuo-fu's later life suggests that he may be excluded as a possibility here, since he was an Undersecretary for only a few weeks in 752. This correspondingly increases the chances that Ts'ui Tsung-chih is meant. Of course, it is conceivable that, like Tsung-chih, Kuo-fu held the same post twice, but this remains only a slight possibility.

128 Chen (p. 50) discusses the conflicting evidence regarding Li P'in, and concludes that 735 is the likeliest date. He suggests that Chang was appointed in the second half of either 735 or 736. In fact, 735 is clearly preferable, since Meng was in the south in the fall of 736 (see below, note 135).

129 One other poem probably composed about this time is 248. Chen (p. 51) points out that 梅 'plum' in the title of this poem is probably a mistake for 海 'sea', as in the Sea Pavilion of Chang Yuan.

130 The identification of P'ei Fei--or K'u, depending on whether one reads 樂 as having the 'moon' radical or the 'flesh' radical--in this poem is only tentative, based on the fact that he will soon (see below, poem 78) be transferred from 'Revenue Officer' at Hsiang-yang to another post. This latter poem must have been written while Meng was away from Hsiang-yang, and his trip to the south in 736-738 (see below, note 147) seems preferable to his stay in the capitals as an occasion. P'ei's title is given as Revenue Officer even in this poem in the text of H. P'ei's examination in 730 is mentioned by Tu-ku Chi in an inscription in memory of one Ch'üan Ch'e (Samhun K. 8224, ch. 390, p. 20b /5020/), cited in Lao I, ch. 19, p. 4b. The rest of his career is only
imperfectly known. According to the biographical note on P'ei which accompanies his sole surviving piece of prose (K. 8343, ch. 347, p. 1b /5115/), he was a Provost and a Censor. HTShu Bib (2/19ab) gives his title as Provost of Huai-chou and lists a Continued Biographies of Literary Gentlemen in 10 chüan, but this is no longer extant. In 740 he was serving as Undersecretary of Rites. He was promoted to Secretary of the Bureau soon afterward (HTShu Tab gives his post as Secretary, 71a/4a, while Wang Shih-yuan calls him a 'Minister'). He was one of the examiners who was sent south to Kuangtung in disgrace after An Lu-shan challenged the results of the Selection Examinations of 744, serious favoritism having been discovered in the results (see Lao I, ch. 19, pp. 4b-5a, quoting THY, ch. 74, p. 1346; see also TCTC, ch. 215, p. 6857, and Baokground, p. 84 and p. 162, n. 13, for additional references for this incident and a discussion of its correct date). P'ei was apparently a Censor, at least for a short time, some time during the years 730-736 (see Lao II, ch. 2, p. 52b), so his appointment to Hsiang-yang was also probably something in the way of disfavour. It is just possible that two poems to a "Censor P'ei" written by Li Ch'i (Shijin K. 6396, p. 6401) are also meant for Fei, but the man in Li Po's poems is one P'ei Yin, according to Chan Ying (p. 137).

The title says only Wang "Eldest"; see above, note 55 for the identification. Tan Youxue (p. 181) mentions this poem, but does not try to date it with any exactness. Since he believes that Wang stayed in Ch'ang-an from 727 to 738 without a break, it seems unlikely that he read it with much care. The question of Wang's native place is open to discussion. Chen Yixin (p. 69) reviews the evidence, concludes that he was from Chiang-ning (modern Nanking), and supposes that he was leaving Hsiang-yang to return home when this poem was written. Chen also suggests (pp. 69079) the interesting possibility that Wang might have been serving as a local official near Hsiang-yang previous to the writing of this poem. In this case, though, he would probably have been addressed by some other title than 'Collator', only a few local posts being lower ranked than this. Hsiao's impression (p. 140) is that Wang (unidentified) was from Ch'ien, and not a good friend of Meng's.
The dating—indeed, the very occurrence—of this trip rests upon the interpretation of poems 8 and 28, see notes 135 and 139 below.

Including this poem on this trip is at least in part merely a matter of convenience and elimination. It is a late supper or early autumn poem because "pollia" is a summer flower (see DKJ 14477.143), while reed flowers indicate autumn. On Meng's return home from Yüeh, he passed through E-chou, but much earlier in the year (see above). In 737, he left E-chou in late spring, as we know from Li Po's poem to him (see below, note 136). And in 738, he would pass through E-chou a fourth time, but again in spring (see below, note 148). This makes the present trip first choice, but the early trip on the Yangtse, the one I have proposed for some time in the period 719-723, is also a possibility. Chen (p. 46, n. 2) mentions a misattribution of this poem to Meng Chiao in the Ku-chin T' u-shu Chi-ch' eng, ch. 1125.

Note that I adopt the variant "Ts'en-yang" from H and W in the last line, rather than the "Hsün-yang" of all the other texts. Ts'en-yang certainly makes better sense here, as it is a nearby place, between Lake Tung-t'ing and modern Kung-an, near the Hupei-Hunan border. Chen (p. 72) sticks with Hsün-yang, which contributes to his difficulties in linking this poem to Meng's biography. The real argument against reading Hsün-yang is that, even if he were asking the way there, he would ask a local fisherman rather for the way to Yüeh-yang, at the mouth of Lake Tung-t'ing, leading to the Yangtse, which in turn leads to Hsün-yang (modern Kiukiang, in Kiangsi, at the foot of Lu-shan). A long-distance driver does not pull into a filling station in Langley and ask the way to Trois Rivières; he asks rather how to get onto the Trans-Canada Highway.

The first of these poems has long been recognized as a barely disguised appeal for a job. There are two related questions to be dealt with regarding it. The first concerns the identity of "Chief Minister Chang"; the second, the date at which it was written.
No fewer than eight of Meng's poems (8, 17, 18, 33, 34, 76, 86, and 92) are addressed to a "Chief Minister Chang." The editors of the Ssu-k'u Ch'uan-shu (T'i-yao, ch. 148, pp. 3128-3129) commented on his identity, and Hsiao (p. 165) likewise discusses the point at some length. The Ssu-k'u editors' conclusion was that, since Wang Shih-yuan's Preface refers to "Chief Minister Chang Chiu-ling of Fan-yang," while Chang was actually from Kuang-tung, then Meng's five [sic] poems addressed to Chang cannot refer to Chiu-ling, but rather to his mentor, Chang Yüeh, who was once appointed Provost at Yüeh-yang (at the mouth of Lake Tung-t'ing, a point whose significance, such as it is, will become apparent later). Their logic--Preface is mistaken, therefore poems refer to someone else--was in fact no better than their arithmetic. Chen (p. 52) thinks that 'Fan-yang' (modern Peking) was simply a mistake, but Yang (pp. 2-3) is able to demonstrate that Chang Chiu-ling's ancestors were from Fan-yang, so even the basis of the Ssu-k'u editors' conclusion is mistaken. Hsiao lists all eight poems, and decides that 8, 17, 33, and 92 were written for Yüeh, and 18, 34, 76, and 86 for Chiu-ling. Unfortunately, he nowhere cites any evidence for this judgement, but he seems in fact to have awarded to Yüeh all the poems that do not link Chang very definitely with the post at Ching-chou that Chiu-ling held. Chen (pp. 66-68) discusses the poems in considerable detail, but does not even mention the possibility that they could refer to anyone but Chiu-ling. He is, however, the first to show that the text of the title of poem 17 is corrupt, and should read 'Tang-yang' instead of "Sung-yang", which means that it too belongs among the Ching-chou poems (pp. 66-67; Yu has arrived independently at the same conclusion). The corrupt text has misled Chan Ying in dating the poem, as Chen points out, and perhaps also led Hsiao to conclude that Chang Yüeh was meant here. Yu Hsin-li identifies several individual poems that refer to Chiu-ling, but elsewhere quotes the Ssu-k'u editors' judgement without comment.

Now, six of the poems can be assigned to the period while Chang Chiu-ling was in Chiang-ling. It is true that Chang Yüeh was also once appointed to the same post, but this appointment was very soon changed, perhaps even before he arrived there, so there is little chance that he can be intended here (see Ts'en Chung-mien, T'ang Shih Yü-shen, pp. 81-
The seventh poem, 92, is a composition to 'match' one of Chang's. Chen (p. 68) has pointed out that it evidently matches Chang Chiu-ling's "Getting Up on the First Day of Spring and Facing the Deep Snow" (Shijing K. 3014; Ch'ü-chiang Chi, ch. 3, p. 14a). As for the last poem, it is the one with which we began, the one written on Lake Tung-t'ing. In this case, Chang Yüeh might seem to be at least a possibility. Yu quotes the Yüeh-yang Feng-t'u Chi, "The Yüeh-yang Tower is the tower of the west gate to the city. When the T'ang Chief Minister Chang Yüeh was sent out to govern this prefecture, he often climbed this tower to write poems with gentlemen of talent, some of them famous works." This may be what underlies Hsiao's association of this poem with Yüeh (p. 68), in which he is followed by Suzuki Shūji (pp. 84-86, 94). Given the already evident acquaintance between Meng and Chang Chiu-ling, though, Yüeh would seem preferable here only if it remains plausible that Meng wrote this poem while Yüeh was in Yüeh-yang. Now, the date of Chang Yüeh's service there is not precisely known, but it must have fallen some time during the period 714-718 (see Background, p. 154, n. 20), while Meng was in his twenties. While we know that Chang passed through Hsiang-yang after leaving Yüeh-chou (see his poem, Shijing K. 4824, which was written in Hsiang-yang on the 'Cold Food' day and refers to his having been "by the waves of Tung-t'ing" at the same time the previous year) and may have stayed there a brief while (at least long enough to address a poem, Shijing K. 4544, to the Master Jung who also figures in several of Meng's poems, 43, 55, and 204), there is no evidence to suggest that Meng travelled to Tung-t'ing at this time. And this brings us to the second question about the poem: when was it written? Surely only at a time when its recipient was actually in power in the capital. Anecdotes about Meng tend to stress his lack of a certain social finesse, but surely even he would have had more tact than to address a poem to a man just banished from the highest official post in the Empire, while referring in it to the present "glorious age." Moreover, a man so banished would no longer be in a very good position to dispense desirable jobs. So, the poem must date from a time when Chief Minister Chang was actually in power (reference to Chang in the title is lacking in some editions, but it is found in W, and is thus not the Ming invention that
the Ssu-k'u editors presumed it to be. Yang Yin-shen (p. 63) doubts that Meng would have visited Tung-t'ing a second time after his trip to the capital, and is thus in favour of dropping the reference to Chang in the title). Chang Chiu-ling remains the best choice once all direct connection with Yüeh-chou is discarded, so the poem would have been written during the years 733-736. Meng was in Hsiang-yang until late 735 at least, therefore the poem was written in 736. Chen (p. 68) also suggests the possibility that Meng was near Lake Tung-t'ing just before Chang was banished.

The other poem, the one addressed to Yen Fang, was probably written at about the same time (Chen [p. 71], who assumes that both Yen Fang poems were written together, says that they were not written at the same time as 8). Sources for Yen's biography are meagre; the Preface to the biographical chapters on writers in HTShu (ch. 201, PN, p. 1a, CH, p. 5726) includes him in a list of men who "still have extant writings of various kinds. But the historians have neglected their conduct and affairs, so that we can tell nothing about them." Yen did pass the chin-shih examination in 734 (TTTC, ch. 2, p. 28; TKCK, ch. 8, p. 4a /493/) and impressed Yen Chen-ch'ing 亀彌, who passed in the same year. Chen-ch'ing wanted to recommend Fang at court, but the latter would not agree. According to C (ch. 26, pp. 390-391), he was banished to Ch'ang-sha at some time. From Meng's poems to him (this one and 61) it is clear that his banishment followed soon after his chin-shih pass. It is quite possible that he met Meng as he passed through Hsiang-yang on his way to Ch'ang-sha--one of his five extant poems (Shijin K. 13293) was written on Deer Gate Hill, but it does not read like the work of a man going into exile. Meng may have visited him just before these poems were written. Yen later lived in retirement in various temples near Ch'ang-an, and was acquainted with such poets as Ts'ên Shen, Hsüeh Chü, Liu Shen-hsü, and Wei Ying-wu.

On the basis of these two poems, Yang Yin-shen (p. 41) concluded that Tung-t'ing did not suit Meng. (!)
out by Chan Ying, who has Li in An-lu only during the years 727-734, and then not back in the neighbourhood of E-chou until late in 739 (pp. 8-11). Chan (p. 9, followed by Chen Yixin, p. 70) believes that Li's farewell poem to Meng must date from before 728, since he takes the CTShu literally in dating Meng's examination failure in that year. Since (see above, note 103) Meng did not go up to the capital until 731, the years 728-730 still remain open. Now, Li was in the Yangtse valley before 727, but Meng was in the capitals and then in Yueh at that time, and may, in fact, have met Li not far from Nanking at that time in 725, as we have already seen. Meng returned home in the spring of 728. In 731 he must have been preparing for the local examination to become a candidate for the chin-shih, in 732 he was in Ch'ang-an, and in 733-734 he was back in Hsiang-yang, where he met Li again in 734. This leaves the years 729-730 only. But, if we are to accept the hypothesis of a continuous two-year trip down the Yangtse and then back up through eastern Szechwan, then only the year 729 remains.

However, Huang Hsi-kuei, who believed that Li Po was in An-lu for most of the thirties, decided on the year 737, which would fit in very well with what we can reconstruct of Meng's life at that time (Li T'ai-p'ai Nien-p'u, p. 10). If one were to adopt this, then the present trip would lose its only mooring, and might be shifted to an earlier time, perhaps between Meng's 718 visit to Lo-yang and his return to the capitals in 723. In such a case, one would probably want to make some minor adjustments, such as transferring poem 160 to this trip. Elling Eide writes, "I see nothing compelling about Chan Ying's dating here, and would as soon go with Huang Hsi-kuei" (letter of April 6, 1976). I have stayed with Chan Ying only because his work is later and more detailed, but it is possible that further research may reverse this decision.

137 For a succinct account of Chang's ministry and the events that led to his dismissal, see Background, pp. 54-59.

138 Frankel (pp. 9-10) suggests that Meng's position at Ching-chou was "comparable in rank and importance to the Censors of the Court of
General Affairs." This would have made him, in terms of the grades of
the T'ang civil service system, only one step lower than an Undersecre­
tary of a Bureau in the Department of State Affairs. Frankel's reading
of the text, taken in isolation, is certainly unexceptionable in itself,
as is M. des Rotours' discussion of the title "su-chü te'ung-shih \(\text{func}
\, \text{tionnaires, p. 675, n. 2). Nonetheless, I find it very}
hard to believe that Chang Chiu-ling was in a position to work at one
stroke so signal an improvement in the status of a man, verging on middle
age, who had neither held office nor passed a major examination previously.
Even as Chief Minister he had not raised Wang Wei to such a high-ranking posi­tion, even in several steps, although Wang came from a prominent
family, had passed the \(\text{chih-shih}\) at an early age, and had previously
served in several posts, albeit minor ones. Nor is Chang recorded to
have done so well by any other previously low-ranked person among those
he recommended. One has, I think, to take the expression \(\text{jiu}\) in
Meng's biography in a less literal way, and to assume that in this con­
text it means something more like 'personal assistant'.

The dating of this poem really hangs on the interpretation of
line 13, "I have come here limited by my mission." The word \(\text{task}\) "mission" strongly suggests 'duty', 'official', and the like. The only time that
Meng could ever have felt constrained by his 'duty' was when Chang Chiu-
ling had called him to Chiang-ling. Of course it is true, as Liu Chia-
hua has pointed out (p. 18) that Meng almost invariably presents his
clerical hosts with a polite excuse for not joining them permanently
when he leaves a Buddhist temple, but I think that we have two good
reasons for taking him seriously here. The first is the simple force of
the word "mission," just mentioned, the other is the fact that he is
addressing a private person in this poem, and not just the personnel of
a monastic institution. It is line 15, "I am only half way along the
Huai-hai Road," that leads me--frail reed though it may be--to suppose
that Meng was in Yang-chou, or nearby, when the summons came from Chang
Chiu-ling. 'Huai-hai', since the Documents, has been a synonym for
Yang-chou. It is interesting to note, incidentally, that Chang Chiu-ling
also uses the word 'mission' in a poem (Shijin K. 3058) written on Lake
P'eng-li. Chen (p. 72) raises the possibility that this poem may have been written as Meng returned from his trip far up the Kan River.

One might, without stretching it a great deal, take poem 86 as sent to Chang while Meng was still on his way upriver. This creates some problems with lines 5-8, which read more easily in the present, but it does allow us to see Meng himself as the traveller in line 12. Of course, one can still do so by considering that one line to be in the past, but this is rather clumsy. My alternative, interpreting the traveller as an official messenger bearing the hoped-for summons for Chang to return, as hinted in lines 15-16, is not entirely satisfactory. There is also something to be said for Chen's interpretation (p. 66), which is that line 9 of the poem, written in winter, refers to Meng's having joined Chang in late summer or early fall. This, while possible in itself, would conflict with the interpretation of poem 28 just proposed. Liu Chia-hua (pp. 18-19) makes a guess, not all that far off, that Meng, depressed over his examination failure, travelled south to Tung-t'ing, Wu-ling, and then up into the Yangtse Gorges. On his return, he met Chang Chiu-lung in Chiang-ling, and took up his job there.

Most of Chang's poems written at Ching-chou are listed by Yang, pp. 95-97. Chen (pp. 67-68) discusses Chang's state of mind there.

It is worthy of note, as Chen (p. 67) has pointed out, that the last line of poem 17 is almost identical to the last line of a long poem by Chang Chiu-lung, "The Post-station Tower at Shih-t'ou," two of whose relevant couplets Chen quotes, "Since I have kept to Ch'en Fan's seat, I have climbed Wang Ts'an's tower . . . I rest in the shade by a fragrant tree, Feeling for nothing my sorrow at being far from home" (Ch'ü-chiang Chi, ch. 2, p. 14a). For the location of Wang Ts'an's Tower, see Tang-yang Hsien Chih, ch. 2, pp. 14a-b.

For the fate of Li Lin-fu's opponents in later years, see Background, ch. 7.
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Shijin K. 5915 and 6743, respectively. Note that Li Po's poem (K. 8485) to a "Chief Minister Chang" sent out to be Chief Minister in Ching-chou was addressed to Chang Hao, a benefactor of both Li and Tu Fu. Chan Ying (pp. 127-128) dates this poem in 758. Suzuki Shōji (p. 91) stresses Chiu-ling's reputation as a 'clean' statesman and the respect accorded him by the literati.

We know that Chang Chiu-ling went to Jade Spring Temple at least twice, from his two poems written there (*Ch'i-čhang Chi*, ch. 3, pp. 13a-b); Meng wrote this poem while accompanying him at winter solstice of 737, on Chang's first visit (see Chen, p. 67). Three other poems that may date from this period are: (1) 33, written while on a hunting trip with Chang; (2) 92, written to match Chang's 'snow poem' (see above, note 135). Yang (p. 94) assumes that the poem must have been written at this time, but in fact it is conceivable that it comes from one of Meng's visits to the capital when Chang was there; (3) 59, written, like 18, on the Sung-tzu River, not far from Chiang-ling. The chances are that it was written at the same time, but it might also date from an earlier trip through the area.

We will find Meng home in Hsiang-yang with Wang Ch'ang-ling by the fall of 738. If he spent the spring of the year travelling in Kiangsi and Hunan, as we shall see that he did, he must have left Chiang-ling quite early in the year. See below, notes 148-151. Chen (p. 67) points out that Meng must have left by the second month, since he seems not to have accompanied Chang Chiu-ling on the latter's second visit to Jade Spring Temple.

One additional poem that may have been written at Chiang-ling is 78, addressed to Meng's friend P'ei Fei (see above, note 130). Chen (p. 53) believes this poem to have been written in Ch'ang-an, on the basis of lines 4 and 8. But this is not necessarily so, for line 4 tells us nothing about Meng's location, and line 8 only that he is away from Hsiang-yang. Since he probably met P'ei on his last trip to the capital, it must have been on this last journey around the south that
the poem was written, and Chiang-ling seems the most likely place, since word of official changes at Hsiang-yang would have come there readily.

148 We know that Sung was in Han-yang (É-chou) from a poem that he addressed to Chang Chiu-ling after the latter had relieved him at Ching-chou (Shijin K. 5451). On a subsequent tour of inspection, he stopped at Chiang-ling to visit Chang and the two men exchanged poems (Sung's is lost, but two by Chang are Shijin K. 3102-3103, Ch'ü-chiang Chi, ch. 2, pp. 9b, 11a). Meng may have met him then; in fact, perhaps lines 9-10 of this poem refer to his attitude while Sung was in Chiang-ling. It is difficult to tell just what offices Sung was holding at this time. He says himself that he had retained his Commissionership—this is why he came back on a tour of inspection—but he seems to have been concurrently Prefect of Hsiang-chou in absentia, his headquarters being in Han-yang. Meng addresses him as Commissioner 大使 (this is the reading of W and the Sung system texts. Other editions of Meng's poems give the title as 大 "Director of the Imperial Library," but this is an anachronism, since this title was only in use during the years 662-670, see Fonctionnaires, p. 205). For various extracts relative to Sung, see Lao I, ch. 4, pp. 12a-13a. (Note that he is not the same man as the Sung Ting who was active on the southern frontier at a later time, see CTShu 197, HTShu 222c, Sambun K. 19992). Yen (pp. 465, 945) has documented his career in the higher levels of the Department of State Affairs, but this commences only after 740; he was, in our terms, a distant relative of Sung Ching, Chief Minister 717-720 (HTShu Tab. 75a/47a, giving his title as 'Secretary').

It is just possible that this poem was written as Meng came upriver towards Chiang-ling the preceding winter, but one tends to doubt that he would have paused so long in É-chou. The description of the geographical surroundings, at any rate, fits Han-yang perfectly.

One other poem written at É-chou is 137, composed on saying farewell to a man who had been banished. It could have been written any time Meng passed through this area, but I mention it here, just because the tempo of exiles seems to pick up under Li Lin-fu.
149 The dating of this poem is not an easy task. I have relied primarily on the final four lines, which seem to refer to Chang Chiu-ling in Chiang-ling (see text). The mention of Wu and Tung-t'ing areas, in lines 5-8, I take as referring to Meng's travels in the previous year, before he went to Chiang-ling. At any rate, the reference to the season in the final couplet shows that this poem cannot have been written at the same time as 28.

150 The "southern hills" are not specified, nor is the exact route that Meng was following. Chen (p. 62), who assigns poem 117 to Meng's return from Yüeh, supposes that he travelled overland from P'eng-li to Tung-t'ing then, but this seems unlikely, since Meng was apparently in a great hurry to get home from that trip (see text). The route via the Hsiu and the Mi-lo seems preferable to the more southerly crossing, the route of the modern railway between Nan-ch'ang and Ch'ang-sha, for two reasons. First, the poem strongly implies that Meng was travelling along the Mi-lo itself; second, the Mi-lo route does not pass through Ch'ang-sha, a necessary condition for a proper understanding of poem 61 (see following note).

151 The location of poem 61 is a problem. There is a great deal of geography in it, and Hsiao (pp. 19-20) and Chen (pp. 70-71) are considerably exercised to account for it all. Hsiao believes that Meng is in the far south, in northeastern Kwangsi, and that some of the more distant places are simply being mentioned in a rather loose sense. Chen proposes that Meng is on Lake Tung-t'ing and is planning to set out up the Hsiang --which joins the Kuei in its upper reaches. My interpretation is that each man is partly right. That is, Meng is on Lake Tung-t'ing (this is also the opinion of Fu Tung-hua, p. 12), having just come down the Mi-lo on his way from P'eng-li, and he is also treating geography a little loosely. Let us begin with the most important questions: where is Meng? where is Yen Fang? and is Meng going toward Yen or away from him?

Meng is on Lake Tung-t'ing, the only lake associated with the Hsiang River. Yen Fang is in Ch'ang-sha, some seventy-five miles southward up the Hsiang. This we know both from this poem and from other
sources about Yen (see above, note 135). And it seems quite clear that
Meng is not expecting to see Yen in Ch'ang-sha, but is rather going
downstream to the north. All of this would seem to make the first coup­
let puzzling. That is, why a reference to the Kuei River, some 300
miles further southwest from Ch'ang-sha, if Meng is neither coming from
nor going there? I think that the explanation is as follows: Meng is
looking southward from Lake Tung-t'ing in the direction which, for what­
ever reason, he will not be going, thinking of his friend Yen, and saying
to himself, in effect, if only I were going south, why, I could visit Yen
Fang and even go all the way up to the Kuei River and "all of Yüeh"
(literally, the "hundred Yüeh [tribes]," modern Kwangtung and Kwangsi).
At the same time, he looks northwest toward his home in Hsiang-yang, but
cannot see it because of the "clouds of Ching," Ching being the area
around Chiang-ling, Pa the region of the lower Yangtse Gorges, roughly
in the same direction as seen from Tung-t'ing; both areas lie directly
between Tung-t'ing and Hsiang-yang. The other much-discussed line, the
last one, I think means just what it says. It is true that ‘' can mean
'going downstream' in some contexts, including various places in Meng's
poems (see poem 79, for example). It also means 'going along side'--as
here and in the similar line in poem 5, "Skirting the moon my rowing
song comes home"--when followed by an object not a waterway. The fact
that Meng is going downstream comes from the word 『 "descend" (Chen,
p. 71, emends this to 『 , a reading found only in Sg) and from his state­
ment that he won't be meeting Yen; it has nothing to do with 『 . Hsiao
believes that Meng is following the moon; that is, going from east to
west, but at the same time he is going northeast, down the flow of the
Hsiang, toward Ch'ang-sha, where Yen Fang, whom he cannot meet, is!
No, Meng is going toward the Yangtse from Lake Tung-t'ing, and passing
along the reflected image of the moon in the water as he does so, just
as in poem 5.

152 The identification of Tu-ku Ts'e and Hsiao Ch'eng requires some
discussion, since neither man is mentioned by name in the text of Meng's
poems as they now exist. In fact, both names have been affected by
textual corruption in the title of poem 262. There, the names are given
as Tu-ku T'ung  and Hsiao Cheng  . Now, HYHC (ch. 1, pp. 27b-28a /196-197/) discusses an inscription erected in recognition of the good government of a Prefect named Tu-ku Ts'e in Wang Shih-yuan's Preface, though in all but the Sung system texts this is written . The confusion evidently arose because the words are homonyms and have been ever since Meng's day (EMC tsr'ek). Lao I adds that the name is given "Jan" in the Yuan-ho Hsing-tswan (see YHHT, ch. 10, p. 930). According to HTShu Tab, Ts'e reached the position of Secretary of the Bureau of Revenue (75b/30a; see also Lao I, loc. cit.; this is the post that Meng refers to in the first line of poem 258). As a young man, he had been a Superintendent at Yung-ch'ang (a suburb west of Lo-yang) during which time he was treated to a party by a certain Censor Yuan, the occasion being recorded in a Preface by no less a writer than Sung Chih-wen (Sambun K. 5473). The mistake in Tu-ku's name should alert us to the possibility that something may be wrong as well with the name 'Hsiao Cheng'. Since we can be sure that Ch'eng was in the neighbourhood of Hsiang-yang at this time and that he was acquainted with Tu-ku Ts'e (he gave his title as Army Administrator at Ching-fu in an inscription done in his calligraphy, dated 732, see Lao I, ch. 8, p. 17a; a later edict drafted by Li Yung, of whom more shortly, transferred him from Administrator at Nan-yang—the San-ching of poem 171—and concurrently Undersecretary, to Assistant Prefect at Hung-nung; this edict would have been written during the years 733-739, see Background, p. 121, n. 70; Li Yung was also the author of the inscription in honour of Tu-ku Ts'e, while it was Hsiao Ch'eng who wrote it out), it seems clear the 'Cheng' is simply a corruption that has arisen from the following word in the title, "climb" . Since Ch'eng's post as Army Administrator in 732 was quite low in rank, it was probably somewhat later that he was at Nan-yang, and evidently toward the end of the possible period 733-739 that he was transferred to Hung-nung. I am thus inclined to assign these poems to the years 738-740, after Meng's final return to Hsiang-yang.
There is an anecdote that illustrates the more-or-less friendly rivalry between Hsiao and Li Yung (who, incidentally, was involved in the suppression of the abortive rebellion in which Cheng Yin had played a role, see above, note 16) as well as the qualities in him that may have attracted Meng. Hsiao was sorely galled when Li dismissed his calligraphy as 'uninteresting', and set out to get his revenge. With great labour, he created a forgery of some calligraphy by Wang Hsi-chih, that gave every appearance of being hundreds of years old. He then let Li Yung know that he had this treasure, but at the same time carried out an elaborate series of delays and mishaps (even at one point pretending that it had been stolen) to prevent Yung from seeing it, until the older man was beside himself with anticipation. At length the piece was brought out and set before him. "Genuine!" cried Li, "I have not seen its equal in all my life!" Everyone present agreed with Li's judgement and admired the forgery warmly. Hsiao let a few days pass, and then confronted Li with the truth in the presence of many of his guests, saying, "You could never find anything good to say about my calligraphy before; yet, when I brought out a few pages the other day that I did when I was quite young, saying that they were by Wang Hsi-chih, you declared that they were genuine antiques! Just how good is your judgement, anyway?" Yung was very much taken aback, and asked if he might see them again. After a brief glance, he tossed them on the couch and said, "Now that I've taken a good look, they're not really so good, after all" (Feng Shih, 10/1).

This poem could have been written at any time during these two years, but earlier seems better, since it appears that Wang did return before Meng died (see below, note 156). Chen (p. 45) believes that Wang had just gone home to Deer Gate for the day.

Master Chan may be the same man whose calligraphy--praised in this poem--had graced the inscription by Chia Sheng some twenty years before, see above, note 36. He also appears in poem 11.
The geographical confusion in this poem—Lake Tung-t'ing, Hsiang-yang, and Ch'ang-sha—is more apparent than real, being based on literary allusions appropriate to season and occasion and intended to refer to Wang's itinerary. Chan Ying (p. 22) and Chen (p. 69) both date this poem in 739 rather than 738; I follow Tan Youxue (p. 184).

Dating this poem depends on identifying "Superintendent Li" with Li Hao, as in poem 64. See following note.

This trip is proposed by Chan Ying (p. 23), but it is not really conclusively documented. Two poems written to Meng by Li seem particularly apt at this time, and another to Li Hao (Shijin K. 8154) fits in as well. The little that we know of Li Hao is gathered by Chan Ying in his Li Po Shih Lun-ts'ung, p. 16.

Chan Ying (p. 23) dates this poem in 739. However, Chan is influenced by a corruption in the text and title of poem 17 (see note 135), and supposes that Meng was not in Hsiang-yang until the winter of 734 (p. 11). It is apparently this that leads him to assume that this poem couldn't have been written then, while Li Po was in Hsiang-yang visiting Han Chao-tsung. Another poem that could have been written at either time is 263, addressed to a Taoist named Ts'an-liao. Ts'an-liao seems to have been either a native of a long-time resident of Hsiang-yang, since Li Po mentions meeting him on Hsien-shan Hill, in a poem (Shijin K. 8182, LTPCC, ch. 9, p. 18b) that Chan dates 744 (p. 49). Liu K'aiyang (p. 29) is at least convinced that Li wrote his poem after Meng's examination failure; I myself wonder if it could refer in any way to some incident that lies behind the anecdote regarding Han Chao-tsung trying to introduce Meng at court.

What little we know of Pi Yao—that he was a Censor during the T'ien-pao period (CTShu, ch. 186b, PN, p. 7a, CH, p. 4861; HTShu Tab 75b/21a; he is not listed in Lao II) and that he was acquainted with Tu Fu (Shijin K. 10566, 11015, 11096) and Tu-ku Chi (K. 12840, 12845)—seems to confirm our tendency to regard Meng's poem to him as a late
work. Meng must have met him during his last visit to Lo-yang, after which Pi became a Sacrifice Officer and later travelled to the south.

160 We know from the Table of Contents to K that "Superintendent at Chin-ling" was the highest office that Chang Tzu-jung had held. There is also Meng's poem 245, addressed to a Superintendent Chang at Chin-ling, which must also date from Meng's last years. Chen (p. 47) suggests that Meng's trip to Yang-chou may have been connected with a visit to Chang in Chin-ling. Allowing for a change of date to 737, this is quite possible.

161 Chen (p. 47) assigns this poem to the period around 720, since that is when Meng was the same age as P'an Yüeh and had been when he noticed his hair turning white. To me, however, it seems preferable to assign a very late date, given the content of the poem.

162 Where I have translated 'prefectural town' (implying 城, literally 'forge wall', or 'smelter town'). Chen (pp. 42-43) discusses this term (which occurs also in Meng's poem 31) at some length. After carefully considering a variety of possible 'smelter towns', he concludes that the chances are that Meng meant 城. This, however, was a T'ang taboo, so he wrote 火 instead, rather than the usual substitute 鍪. Liu Chia-hua (p. 16) declares that Meng drank himself to death in despair over his lack of success in life.

163 This is Chen's suggestion (p. 66) based on poem 33.

164 For this poem, see Chuang, p. 5. Chuang considers it to be entirely lacking in deep feeling. Suzuki Shūji, on the other hand, considers it deeply felt (p. 124). The nature of Meng's relationship with Wang seems to have been a sore point with later commentators. P'eng Kuo-tung is at pains to disprove the theory that Wang sabotaged Meng's career out of jealousy of his talent. This does seem a little reminiscent, for example, of the old legend that Salieri poisoned Mozart, and unlikely to be true for the same reasons. And moreover, as we have
pointed out, Wang was not in a position to do much about Meng's career for better or worse.

165 This painting, referred to in P'i Jih-hsiu's "Record of the Meng Pavilion," and Meng's HTShu biography, is probably not the same one as the portrait of Meng riding on a horse discussed by Chuang Shen (pp. 184-186). Hsiang-yang also claims the 'Meng Pavilion', see HYHC, ch. 2, pp. 33b-34a /208-209/.

166 Suzuki Shūji (pp. 78, 135-136) emphasizes Meng's importance as the 'elder' poet of the High T'ang. He also discusses in particular Meng's influence on Wang Ch'ang-ling (pp. 125-129), Li Po (pp. 129-133), and Tu Fu (pp. 133-136).

167 Liu Kaiyang (pp. 39-40) comments on the bream in both Meng and Tu. Failing to realize that an old literary source lies behind both usages, he gives Meng some credit for using "the language of the people" in his poems.

168 Chen (p. 46) cites two poems from later in the T'ang dynasty. The earlier of them, Chu Ch'ing-yü's "Passing by the Old Residence of Meng Hao-jan" (Shijin K. 27753), includes the couplet:

Trees grow beside the grave to no avail;
No that he is gone, no son remains.

Chu took the chin-shih examination in 826, almost ninety years after Meng's death, so he would have little to rely on except local tradition. Possibly Yi-fu died young and left no children, or else simply left Hsiang-yang and was forgotten.

The second poem is later, in the second half of the century. T'ang Yen-ch'ien's "Presented to Meng Te-mao" (Shijin K. 37065). The note that accompanies this poem in CTShu reads "son of Hao-jan." Now, if Te-mao had been born in the last year of Meng's life (740), he would have been at least 120 years old by the time that T'ang made his attempt at the chin-shih examination during the Hsien-t'ung period (860-874). If we assume that T'ang waited until he was forty, and then took the examination
in 860, and that he visited Hsiang-yang when he was twenty, then Te-mao would still, if a son of Hao-jan's, have been at least 100 years old. Now, as Chen points out, while people do very occasionally live to be that old, a Chinese poet presenting a poem to one of them, no matter who his father had been, would surely say something complimentary about the old fellow's longevity. Chen goes on to suggest two possible explanations: either the poem is actually by an earlier poet, or else the note is mistaken. I favour the latter, or at least a variant of it. Perhaps Te-mao was simply a descendant of Meng in a later generation. If Hao-jan still had any descendants in Hsiang-yang in T'ang Yen-ch'ien's day, one would expect there to have been some there when Chu Ch'ing-yü passed through some decades earlier. Perhaps Chu did not look very hard for any, while T'ang, who lived for some time there, had a better opportunity.
BIBLIOGRAPHY

This bibliography is divided into three sections. Section A consists of an annotated list of modern studies concerning various aspects of Meng Hao-jan and his works. Section B lists works that are so frequently cited in text and notes that they have been assigned an abbreviation. And Section C provides a list of other works cited.

A. STUDIES OF MENG HAO-JAN


Ch'en Hsiu-ch'ing 陳秀清. "Meng Hao-jan te P'ing-chuan chi Ch'i Shih" 的評傳及其詩. Yi-shu Hsueh-pao II (1967), 1-14. Contains nothing new whatever, unless one counts the two quotations from President Chiang.

Chen Yixin 陳蟬心. "T'an 談 Meng Hao-jan te Yin-yi" 的隱逸. T'ang Shih Yen-chiu Lun-wen Chi. Peking: Jen-min Wen-hsüeh, 1959, pp. 46-52. Cited as Chen II. Discusses Meng's life as a 'recluse' and concludes that he retired out of disappointment after he failed to obtain the civil service post for which he had hoped.

Chen Yixin. "Meng Hao-jan Shih-chi K'ao-pien" 事跡考辨. Wen-shih IV (1965), 41-75. This is without doubt the best and fullest study of Meng's life to appear hitherto. Chen's use of historical and geographical materials in particular goes far beyond anything attempted by Hsiao or Yu. He does not essay a strictly chronological account, but rather deals with a variety of important issues, primarily concerning Meng's travels and circle of friends, for which there is solid evidence available. Chen does occasionally go astray, however,
for he tends to accept the official biographies uncritically (particularly as regards the date of Meng's chin-shih attempt), is unfortunately weak on textual problems, and occasionally accepts new proposals of his own without searching carefully enough for conflicting evidence.


A translation of Meng's biographies from CTShu and HTShu with copious notes and bibliography. Limited only by its narrow scope.


A brief study of the meaning of the phrase 知多少 in Meng's famous quatrain "Spring Dawn" [6].

Hsiao Chi-tsung. *Meng Hao-jan Shih Shuo.*

See Part I. Hsiao is probably the closest and most resourceful reader of the poems, and contributes a number of valuable insights that go far beyond the obvious. However, his handling of textual problems is careless, to say the very least, and he is, moreover, prone to challenge the authenticity of biographically difficult poems on entirely subjective grounds, neglecting to explore evidence that might support an interpretation different from his own.


A general discussion of Meng's life and poetry marked by a conscious attempt to re-examine received interpretations.


A brief appreciation of one of Meng's better known 'field and garden poems'[208].


A general discussion of Meng that offers a number of interesting
insights, along with a few wild guesses.

Sharpest of various modern attacks on Meng as 'recluse'. Vigorously argued, but containing little not previously put forward by Lao Ssu-kuang and Liu Chia-hua. Seriously flawed as well by biographical ignorance, insensitivity to literary values, and even failure to discover in the poems some relevant evidence that could support the positions taken.

A study of Meng's poetry from a comparative viewpoint. The nature of Chinese pastoral poetry is discussed and comparisons made with selected Western poets. The brief biographical sketch (pp. 16-20) is chiefly adopted from Hsiao Chi-tsung, but this seems to be the first study in which the date of Meng's trip to Ch'ang-an as a chin-shih candidate is correctly given as 731.

A handy collection of source materials, with a few comments and arguments concerning a few problems in Meng's biography.

Marred by occasional misunderstandings, misplaced trust in the annotation of Fu Tung-hua, and some breathtakingly ingenuous interpretations (e.g., that Meng's few poems in the 'boudoir lament' tradition are literal descriptions of his own wife), but showing a good deal of sympathetic understanding of Meng the man.

An extended discussion of Meng's life and poetry, emphasizing his relationships with Wang Ch'ang-ling, Li Po, and Tu Fu. Some new
insights, as well as old ones (and errors) borrowed from Hsiao Chi-tsung.

Taguchi Nobuo 田口 洋雄. "Mō Kōnen ni Okeru Tō Emmei no Zō" (新 ける陶淵明の像. Chūgoku Koten Kenkyū XX (1975), 22-32. Chiefly concerned with the role of 'images' of T'ao Ch'ien and others in the poetry of Meng and his contemporaries; several acute biographical points are made in the notes.

Taniguchi Akio 玉口 明夫. "Mō Kōnen Jiseki Kō" 道跡考: Jōkyō Ōshi o Megutte 上京応試友参で. Chūgoku Chūsei Bungaku Kenkyū XI (1976), 48-65. This article appeared too late for me to make use of it. It is a very careful and thorough study of Meng's trips to the capital. Taniguchi's conclusions differ from mine at several points—he holds to the year 728 for the examination trip—and only further research will be able to resolve the contradictions between our findings.

Wen Yi-to 文一多. "Meng Hao-jan." T'ang Shih Tsa-lun. Peking: Ku-chi, 1956, pp. 31-35. The last attempt to defend the old orthodox view of Meng as a 'pure' recluse. Out of date in places, palpably mistaken in others, but still showing a great deal of sympathetic insight of a kind lacking in some more recent studies.


Yu Hsin-li. Meng Hao-jan Shih Chien-chu. See Part I. Yu is much more cautious than Hsiao, and thus lacks the kind of exciting breakthroughs that the latter occasionally offers. Where Yu explicitly differs: from Hsiao, though, he is
often more careful and clear-sighted, and his conclusions in such cases are usually to be preferred.

B. FREQUENTLY CITED WORKS


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Sambun. Hiraoka Takeo et al. Tōdai no Sambun Sakka. Kyoto: Jimbun Kagaku Kenkyūjo, 1954. T'ang prose works are numbered here as in this volume and its companion, Tōdai no Sambun Sakuhin, with page references to the Wen-yu rpt. ed. of the Ch'üan T'ang Wen; the original pagination is given first, followed by the reprint page number between solidi.


C. OTHER WORKS CITED


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Hou Han Shu 後漢書. comp. Fan Yeh 范曆. PN, and CH (Shanghai, 1965).

Hsiang-yang Fu Chih 襄陽府志, 51 ch. edition of 1584.


Li Chi 徐記. SPTK.


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Ming Shih 明史. Comp. Chang T'ing-yü 張廷玉 et al. PN.


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APPENDIX A

THE PREFACES OF WANG SHIH-YUAN AND WEI T'AO

Preface to the Collected Works of Meng Hao-jan

Wang Shih-yuan

Meng Hao-jan, styled Hao-jan, was a native of Hsiang-yang. In physical appearance he was bright and clear, and in his manner, relaxed and serene. By helping people in distress and solving their difficulties, he established a reputation for fairness; by watering plants and cultivating bamboo, he perfected his loftiness of spirit. On social occasions, he was quite free and easy, even on slight acquaintance, and did not conceal his quick wit. He did not study in order to become a Confucian literatus, but devoted himself instead to 'gathering reeds, flowers and duckweed'. In his writing he did not rely on ancient models; it was rather his inventive mind which was so truly splendid.

His five-word poems are praised throughout the Empire for their perfect beauty. He was relaxing once in the Imperial Library just as the autumn moon reappeared in a clearing sky. A group of very eminent gentlemen had gathered for a poetry-writing party [and when it came Hao-jan's turn], his couplet ran:

Light clouds dim the Milky Way;
Drizzling rain makes the paulownia drip.

All present heaved a sigh of admiration at such perfect purity, and not a brush in the hall could continue it.

Chief Minister Chang Chiu-ling of Fan-yang, Censor Wang Wei of the Capital District, Vice-Minister P'ei Fei of Ho-tung, Lu Chuan of
Fan-yang, Judicial Investigator P'ei Tsung of Ho-tung, Grand Prefect of Hua-yin Cheng Ch'ien-chih, and Prefect Tu-ku Ts'e of Ho-nan all associated with Hao-jan in free and open friendship.

Han Chao-tsung of Ch'ang-li, the Imperial Commissioner of Shan-nan and Prefect of this district, called Hao-jan an example of purity such as was not to be met with in every age, and said that if he were placed in the ranks of Chou he would doubtless compose hymns of great refinement. Consequently, they travelled to Ch'in together.

Han had previously praised Meng in court, and it was agreed that a day be selected for him to be brought for an audience. When the time came, Hao-jan was with some old friends, and the verse, conversation, and wine were all very much to his liking. Someone said, "You have a previous engagement with Mr. Han; surely you are not going to neglect it?" Hao-jan snorted and said, "I have already begun to drink; I am doing what I enjoy; why should I concern myself with anything else?" And so he remained to the end of the banquet without going. From this time on, he gave up all attempts at attaining office, but even so he had no regrets, such was his love of pleasure and lack of concern for reputation.

I once wrote in praise of him,

Guiding the River Yang, and projecting its spirit,

Truly this man is a flower of Ch'u.

'Boundless and overflowing' ('hao-jan') his purity appears,

And therefrom he takes his personal name.

In the 28th year of the K'ai-yuan period (740), Wang Ch'ang-ling came on a visit to Hsiang-yang. Hao-jan had just recovered from an abcess on his back, and was delighted to see him. They feasted and
made merry to their hearts' content, but Meng suffered a relapse of his illness after eating some seafood and died in the Southern Garden near the prefectural town at the age of fifty-two. He left a son named Yi-fu.

Hao-jan's writings were not done in order to attain official rank, and he waited until he was inspired before composing, so he was perhaps dilatory. He did not act for the sake of appearances, but rather sought what was true and appropriate; thus he seems unconventional. His travels were not undertaken for the sake of profit, but were intended only to give free rein to his character; thus he was often poor. His name was not among those found in the examination bureau, and all his savings would not have filled a peck measure. Although 'often empty' and not given support, he remained the same as ever.

Since my youth I have loved great mountains, and I set out on my travels at the age of eighteen. I began by climbing mountains, and my steps took me to Mt. Heng-shan, where I sought out Master T'ung-hsüan ('Familiar with the Recondite'). I then went on to Su-men Mountain, where I inquired about the Tao from the recluse Yuan Chih-yün. I plucked the herb of immortality on Mt. T'ai-hang, and visited Hsiao-yu Grotto on Mt. Wang-wu and Mt. T'ai-pai. I practised secret mysteries in the Chung-nan Hills, and compiled the K'ang-te'ang Tsu in nine chapters. In the fourth year of the T'ien-pao period (745), in the last month of summer, an Imperial edict summoned me to the capital to debate with the eight great ministers. The scholars of forests and hills all arrived, and it was then that I first learned that Hao-jan was no more.
Alas! If a man does not receive an official salary in his day, the historians need not write of him. But how could we allow his wise remains and wonderful rhymes to be lost henceforth? I have on this account made careful inquiries among men of culture and have set down what they told me, but not one-tenth of his virtuous deeds and fine reputation have been recorded. Hao-jan himself destroyed or discarded all his work once it had been completed, and never collected or recorded it, for he often sighed to himself that his writing did not attain to his ideal. So much has already disappeared, verses and whole poems being scattered or lost. What I have been able to purchase and collect in his village was not even half. I extended my search in all directions, and have found things in place after place. Being without other business, I have put them all in order. For if, when high officials or gentlemen in retirement from throughout the Empire passed through Hsiang-yang, they wished to peruse his writings and were unable to see them all, what a pity it would be!

Collected here are 218 poems, divided into four books. Those among them which are incomplete or unfinished, but which in form and meaning remain pure and beautiful, as well as those presented to him by other people, are all recorded in their proper place, without any being discarded.
Wang Shih-yuan of Yi-ch'eng was a man of elegant thought, pure and remote, who examined profoundly the principles of writing. He was always wandering in the hills and on the rivers, and was not to be found in human society. He wrote the *K'ang-ts'ang Tzu* in several chapters and transmitted it to the world. Long ago, when I was among the Assembled Savants, I often heard various scholars declare that he was a man who could not be met with. During the *T'ien-pao* period, I happened unexpectedly to obtain Hao-jan's collected writings, for which none other than Shih-yuan had written the preface and biography. Their use of words was so unusually fine that I chanted them without ever growing tired.

The writings were not done in a single hand, and the paper and ink were thin and weak. Now, in olden times, on the slope above Yü, an outstanding steed was worked alongside worn-out nags, in a stove in Wu, a single piece of paulownia wood was burned along with the kindling. It was only when they encountered Po Lè and Po-chieh that their true worth became known to a thousand generations. If these poems had not encountered Master Wang, they would have been no more than a dozen sheets of old paper. This being the case, then Wang's clear perception is surely no less than that of Sun and Ts'ai!

I have now had it copied out, and have added to its contents, and further, out of respect for the pure genius of Shih-yuan, I have dared to add these words of mine at the head of the roll. I will respectfully present this volume to the Imperial Library, where it will remain safe for many ages, its fragrance being transmitted without
loss. 113

Dated this 3rd day of the 1st month of the 9th year of T'ien-pao (February 13, 750), preface by Wei T'ao, President of the Court of Imperial Sacrifices, holding Upper Second Rank, Commissioner of Rites and Ceremonies, Compiler in the Academy of Assembled Savants, Grand Pillar of the State, Founding Duke of the Commandary of P'ei, etc.
As Prof. Frankel has noted (Biographies, p. 18), the text of Wang's Preface "varies considerably in different editions." My translation is based, with a few exceptions explained in the notes, on the Mg text. I have collated the text using the following editions, all those available to me up to the present time (for abbreviations, see Part I): Sg, Ko, Nk, Sk, Liu, Liub, Mao, Mg, K'u, S, CP, WM, Kn, Hs, and HP, as well as the Ch'üan T'ang Wen (CTW) and the T'ang Shih Chi-shih (C). Of these, Ko and C are incomplete. The only copy of Ku to which I have access lacks Wang's Preface. Since it does include Wei T'ao's Additional Preface, it seems likely that the omission is simply due to pages missing from the copy I have in hand. I hope in the future to consult a different copy of the Ku text, and to check the text of the Preface in it. For C, I have used a Taiwan reprint (Chung-hua) of what appears to be a recent typeset and punctuated edition published in China. It is based on the edition of Wang Hsi £ (1224), a Ming edition based on Wang (1545), and Mao Chin's edition (1632), based in turn on the latter. I refer to the first and last of these in my notes, relying on the apparatus furnished by the Taiwan edition.

The texts collated fall into four very distinct groups: (1) Sg, Mao, and C; (2) Ko, Nk, and Sk; (3) Mg, K'u, SP, CP, WM, Hs, HP, and CTW; and (4) Liu, Liub, and Kn. The first two of these groups have numerous points in common, and the second two are in even closer agreement. The relationship between the texts generally follows that found for the poems. Two exceptions are to be noted, however. First, the HP text is identical to that of the Ming system. Second, since none of the earlier texts in the TSC system included the Preface, Kondo copied it from Liub, one of his secondary sources for the poems. Then Hs, who follows Kn for the poems, with reference to Mg, here follows Mg, referring only once to a variant from Kn. In my notes, I will treat the Mg and Liu texts as representative of groups 3 and 4, citing the others only when they diverge from these. For group 2, I will cite the Ko text until it breaks off (because of one or more missing pages), and from there on the Sk, to which reference will also be made in the many cases where Ko is illegible.
For group 1, I will cite Sg and C. The Mao text of the Preface is apparently reproduced from a very cursive hand copy of the Sg text. In any case, it cannot be used with any certainty as a source for collation.

In revising this translation and notes, I have benefited from reference to the recent Japanese translation, with extensive annotation, by Prof. Tsuru Haruo of Kyoto University (in Ogawa Tamaki, ed., Todai no Shijin: Sono Denki, pp. 172-183). I am also grateful to Prof. Howard Goldblatt, who kindly sent me a copy of his unpublished translation of the Preface, from which I have taken several apt renderings and an improved understanding of a number of passages.

2 For what little we know of Wang Shih-yuan, see Part II, note 3.

3 Ko and Liu omit 皣.

4 This phrase is omitted in Sg and C. For the significance of Meng's name and comments on the unusual identity of his ming and tsu, see Frankel, Biographies, pp. 7, 10-11.

5 Equivalent to the modern city of Hsiang-fan in Hupei. There has been a hsien located there continuously from Han times to the present day.

6 Ko reverses 穢 鑼 . This expression is found in the Ch'u Ts'u, see Soshi Sakuin, p. 455; David Hawkes, Ch'u Ts'u, p. 139, 'spotless purity'.

7 祯 is not an easy expression to translate. Prof. Jan Walls suggests 'dispelling anxieties'; Howard Goldblatt, 'settling their disputes'. Tsuru translates the whole four-word phrase 'settling hardships and complications' (nangi ya isakosa o torisabaite).

8 This sentence could be interpreted as evidence that Meng subscribed to the ideal of the hsia 俠 or 'righter of wrongs', for which there are bits of evidence in the poems. Tsuru seems to read it in this light (see Part II, note 17). Ko has 立 for 立; Liu has 義 for 義;
Sg and C omit 表.

9 For 'plants' 落 and 'bamboo' 竹, Sg and C have 园 and 园 respectively. C omits 落 in the Wang edition, replaced by Mao Chin.

10 Sg omits 尚.

11 K reads 友 for 友.

12 Sg reads 悦 for 舒.

13 For 為, C reads 攻 and Sg,故. Tsuru comments on the difficulty of construing the latter reading.

14 That is, to beautiful composition for its own sake. Sg and C read 莹 for 莹.

15 This statement is only relatively true, at best. Meng's poems are full of allusions and references, his favourite sources being the Ch'ü Tzu, the Wen Hsüan, and the first three dynastic histories.

16 For 美矣, Sg and C read simply 善. For 盡美矣, Ko reads 步.

17 For 廬 'clearing sky', Liu and Liub have 廬 'studio'; this is corrected in Kn.

18 For 諸英華賦詩作會浩然句日 (which I punctuate 7+4), Sg and C have 諸英聯詩次當浩然日. This I would punctuate 4+4+1, and my translation of the phrase in brackets reflects this reading.

19 The proper translation of this couplet has attracted the attention of several Western scholars. See among others, Frankel's translation (Biographies, p. 12) and comments on it by Achilles Fang ("The

19 For 嘉陽, Sg and C have 以之為, 嘉 being corrected to 嘉 in the Mao edition of C. For 繼, Sg reads 繼.

21 Ko omits 重陽. For the disputed place of origin of Chang Chiu-ling, see Part II, note 135.

22 Ko omits 京兆.

23 For P'ei Fei, see Part II, note 130. Ko omits 侍郎 河東.

24 For Lu Chuan, see Part II, note 122. Ko omits 河陽 and the following character is illegible; Sk leaves a blank space.

25 For P'ei Tsung, see Part II, note 104. Ko omits 河東.

26 For Cheng Ch'ien-chih, see Part II, note 104. Ko omits 隱; Sg replaces it with 濟, and C with 陽, changed to 隱 in the Mao ed. Sg and C also insert 濟陽, apparently Cheng's place of origin, between 太守 and his name.

27 Sg and Ko supply an apparently missing 太 before 中 and read 南 for 傳. Ko, in addition, reverses 太守 and 河東. Sg reads 冊 for 賢 --the two words are (and were already in Meng's day) homonyms. For Tu-ku Ts'e, see Part II, note 152, where the likelihood that the Tu-ku T'ung 用 of poem 262 is the same man is discussed.

28 Ko and C omit 之.

29 For Han Chao-tsung, see Part II, note 119. Sg and C read 太 for 本郡 and omit 韓. For 靡草, Ko reads 蕭. Liu reads 之 for 使.
My translation of  is tentative. For 誼, Sk reads 誼, Ko and Nk are illegible. For  the Mao ed. of C has  "was broad and profound in [his mastery of] poetic prosody." Sg reads  

The expression 同行 occurs in the Songs, and Wang's phrase is clearly a reference to the line 寶之同行 (Mao Shih Yin-te i/3/1). Now, this simply means "to place it along the road of Chou (= highway)," see the translations of Bernhard Karlgren (The Book of Odes, p. 3, "I place it here on the road of Chou") and Arthur Waley (The Book of Songs, p. 45, "I laid it there on the road"); see also Wang Ching-chih 王靜之, Shih-ching T'ung-shih 詩經通釋, pp. 40-41. Wang Shih-yuan, however, has in mind an old traditional interpretation (it occurs in the Tso Chuan: Ch'un-ch'iu Ching-chuan Yin-te 282/15; James Legge, The Ch'un Ts'ew, p. 469, "who can be placed in all the offices"). See Shih-san Ching Chu-shu, Shih 1.9a, and Karlgren, Glosses on the Book of Odes, p. 89.

also occurs in the Songs (Mao Shih Yin-te 71/260/8; Bernhard Karlgren, The Book of Odes, p. 230, "Stately is the pure(-sounding) air"); Arthur Waley, The Book of Songs, p. 143, "Gentle as a clean breeze").

For , C, Mao, Sk, Liu, Liub, Kn, and CTW all read , which would give, in translation, "Consequently, when [Han] went in [to court] to report."

For 楫, all editions except Mg and SP have 楫, which is correct. Sg and C omit 與; Ko omits 朝與.

Sg and C read 後 for 及.

Ko reads 調 for 與.

Sg and C omit the passage from "Hao-jan was with . . ." to this
point.

38 Sg has a blank space for 菲然 吾曰 傑已 飲, due apparently to damage to the copy from which it was reproduced. C reads 業 for 傑.

39 Sk omits 耳.

40 For 燕 'banquet', C has 燕 'drinking', Ko has 塔 'evening', and Sg has 久 'long time'. Sg is probably derived from the Ko reading by graphic variation, and the Ko reading is (and was in Meng's day, EMC siāk) homophonous with the text as translated.

41 For 之, Sg, Sk, and C have 之, which would translate "no more was heard [of his being recommended for office]."

42 C omits 既而 and 色; Sg only 色. Ko omits 既而 菲然 and 也. Liu reads 知 for 之, giving the unlikely sense "he didn't know [enough] to regret it."

43 For 連 'pleasure', Sg and C read 子 'study'.

44 Ko reads 爲 "I" for 源 "I, Shih-yuan," and omits 筆. C adds the surname 王, and Sg reads 也 for 他.

45 This line alludes to the "Tribute of Yü" in the Documents (Shang-shu T'ung-chien 06/860; Bernhard Karlgren, The Book of Documents, p. 17: "From Po-chung he travelled along the Yang River, it flows eastwards and becomes the Han"). The reference is to Meng's native place, Hsiangyang, which was on the Han itself. Sg and Ko read 道 for 導; Sk reads 德 for 景, Ko and Nk being illegible; C reads 為 for 拾.

46 Or, with Tsuru, "Truly gave birth to the blossoms of Ch'u."
This line, of course, plays on Hao-jan's name, by using it as a modifying phrase.

Sg, C, and CTW read 見其名 for 見其名.

For Wang Ch'ang-ling, see Part II, notes 105 and 131.

Ko omits 時 and 疾, and reads 目 for 目 and 疾 for 疾; Sg and the Wang ed. of C also omit 疾.

For 相 得 歎 與, Ko reads 相遊謙 飲; Sg reads 得 相 得 歎 飲; C also reads 飲 for 舉.

For 陳 情, Sg and the Wang ed. of C read 浩然.

For 鮮, Liu reads 鮮.

Ko omits 於; Ko and the Wang ed. of C read 國 for 國. Sg and C omit 治的. For 治, Ko and Liu, as well as SP and WM, and CTW read 治. For a discussion of this variant—治 is correct—and its implications, see Part II, note 162.

Ko omits 有; Sg and C (Wang ed.) omit 二.

Sg, C, and Ko omit 日. For the question, raised by Hans Frankel, of whether Meng had one son or two, see Part II, note 4.

For 文不為仕, Sg and C have 自為詩.

Ko omits 柴; Sg adds 柴 after 造. C (Wang ed.) reverses 政作.

Sg, C, and Ko read 動求甚 適; Liu reads 貝 for 貝. The former variant has influenced my translation.
Ko omits 似 for it.  

Sg and C (Wang ed.) omit 為.  

Ko, Sg, and C read 情 for 性.  

Ko omits 常.  

Sg, C (Wang ed.) and Ko read 力 for 不; for 繼, Sg and C read 繼, and Ko reads 勻. Sk also reads 力 for 勻, Ko and Nk being illegible. Liu reads 勻 for 力.  

For 於 撼石, Sg reads 擡空. A 石 is, of course, much more than a 'peck'.  

Ko omits 履空; Sg and C omit 而. The C text ends with this phrase. It was Confucius' favourite disciple Yen Hui who was 'often empty' (Lun-yü Yin-te 21/11/18; Arthur Waley, The Analects of Confucius, p. 157).  

Ko reads 余 for 壽, as before; Sg inserts 履 between 力和 好.  

I have translated 階 as though it were 凌, being unable to locate a reference to a mountain with this name. Ko actually reads 凌 here, but in the context of a shift of ten characters, see below, note 73.  

Heng-shan, in northeastern Shansi, was the northernmost of the sacred mountains of China. Sg omits 止; Nk reads 止 for 止.  

Sg and Ko read 彻 for 水; CTW, in accordance with a Ch'ing taboo, reads 元 for 元. It is, of course, possible that the phrase is not a proper name, but should be read '... masters familiar ...'. However, Wu Chün wrote a poem about a man of this name (Shijin K. 46810)
and, though it is clear that the same man is not meant here, it seems better to take the phrase as a personal name.

Ko and Sg omit 丘. Su-men Mountain is located in the south-eastern corner of Shansi, near the Hopei border. Juan Chi was said to have been snubbed by a high-minded recluse there.

Sk reads 比 for 隱者. Sg and Ko read 灿 for 元.

All of this phrase except 天白 is omitted in Sg and shifted up in Ko to appear between 事 and 外. Within the shifted phrase, Ko inserts 去 between 興 and 經. 行 is inserted after 遷 and the next word is read 太 rather than 太. Nk also reads 太 for 太 before 行. The Ko text would thus yield, in translation, "At the age of eighteen I first devoted myself to plucking herbs on T'ai-hang. Then I went to visit Hsiao-yu Grotto on Mt. Wang-wu. I crossed overland, my steps coming to a halt on Heng-shan, where I followed the arts of Master T'ung-hsüan. I then went on to Su-men Mountain, where I enquired about the Tao from the recluse Yuan Chih-yün. I travelled to Mt. T'ai-pai and practised secret mysteries..." The T'ai-hang Range, of which Su-men is a southern branch, forms the eastern border of most of Shansi. Mt. Wang-wu is also at the southern end of the T'ai-hang. On its southeastern slope was located the Hsiao-yu Grotto, one of the most important centres of Taoist practice during the T'ang dynasty. Mt. T'ai-pai is in southern Shensi, in the Chin-ling Range west of Ch'ang-an. The Ko text seems to provide the more convenient itinerary.

The Chung-nan Hills lay south of Ch'ang-an, not far from Mt. T'ai-pai. Sk leaves a blank for 丙; Nk is illegible.

Sg omits 丙. Ko and Nk are illegible for 之 之, Sk reading 凡, followed by a blank space. Wang Shih-yuan has been regarded as the 'forger' of the K'ang-ts'ang Tzu, but the book is not really a forgery so much as it is a collection of materials linked to K'ang-ts'ang (or Keng-sang-ch'u 唐桑楚), a legendary contemporary of Lao Tzu about whom
there is not a particularly interesting anecdote in the Chuang Tzu (Chuang Tzu Yin-te, pp. 61-62, Burton Watson, The Complete Works of Chuang Tzu, pp. 248-254). For the book itself, see Ssu-k'u Ch'üan-shu Tsung-mu T'i-yao, pp. 3052-3053, and the Pu-cheng of Hu Yü-chin, pp. 1159-1160. The fullest collection of comments on its non-authenticity is in Wei-shu T'ung-k'ao, pp. 856-860. The text of the K'ang-ts'ang Tzu is included in various ts'ung-shu, including the Tsu Hui (PP 10/1), TSCC, vol. 560, and the Tao Tzang (T'ung-shen pu, Pên-wen lei, ts'e chen shang). There is also an edition with a commentary by Ho Ts'an of the Sung dynasty, in the third series of the SPTK.

76 Ko omits 了.

77 Ko and Nk omit 書 ; Sg, Nk, and Sk read 詩 for 和. For 民, Sg and Ko read 民府.

78 For 輝, Sg and Ko read 輝 with. For 爲, Sg reads 爲; for 臣, Ko and Nk read 臣 and Sk reads 直. SP reads 八 for 八. The 'eight great ministers' included the Left and Right p'u-ye ('Chief Minister') and the Ministers of Civil Office, Revenue, Rites, War, Justice, and Public Works. Wang is apparently speaking approximately, since there were not eight different men actually holding these posts at the time, Li Lin-fu being concurrently Chief Minister of the Left and Minister of Civil Office, and the office of Chief Minister of the Right being vacant. Hsi Yü was Minister of Rites and Li Shih-chih Minister of War; Li Ching-jung may have been Minister of Public Works. It is uncertain whether the posts of Minister of Revenue and Justice were filled at this time or not; see Yen Keng-wang, esp. pp. 42, 126, 259. I have not discovered any other record of the summons itself.

79 Sg reads 丘 for 丘; Liu reads 偏 for 傾.

80 The Ko text breaks off here.

81 Sk omits 余; Nk is illegible.
82 Sk reads 之出 for 必書.

83 For 撇, Sk leaves a blank and Nk is illegible. Sg reads 從 for 跟. I take 可 as a full verb, 'to allow', governing the eight words which follow.

84 Sg omits 故; for 之, Sg reads 使, Sk 前, and Nk is illegible. None of the readings gives a very satisfactory sense, as Tsuru also remarks.

85 Sg reads 所述論美行一不記一. Sk omits 行 and reads 絕 for 紀; the latter reading is not shared with Nk. Liu (only) reads 紀 for 紀.

86 Sk reads 輔 for 輔.

87 Sg omits 復; Sk omits 復編.

88 Sk reads 慫 for 適意. It is possible to read this whole sentence without taking Hao-jan as the subject, and Howard Goldblatt does so: all his work has been thrown away and I (Wang) often sign at being unequal to the task of recollecting it.

89 Sk reads 風流 for 流没.

90 Sk reads 為 for 篇; it alone also omits 散.

91 Sg and CTW read 構 for 購.

92 Sk alone omits 散.

93 Sg and Sk read 士 for 事. For 傳, Sk reads 傳, Liu and Liub 傳, and Nk is illegible.
Sk inserts 清達 between 内 and 夜. For 此，Sk omits it and Nk has 夜. For 據，Sg, Sk, Liub, K'u, WM, Kn, and CTW have 稱，apparently a free variant.

Sk reads 為 for 有 and 至 for 去. It also leaves a blank for 偏, where Nk is illegible. Sg omits 去.

For this phrase, Sk reads 今德其三百二十九首; Nk is the same except that it reads 得 in place of 德. WM and CTW insert 有 between 其 and 試, and HP reads 二 in place of 三, a change which presumably reflects the actual number of chüan in the text. For 分為 四卷, Sg reads 別為士類分上下卷, in which, as Tsuru suggests, 七 is probably a mistake for 五. Neither description fits any extant edition exactly, so far as the number of poems is concerned. The number of chüan and poems in the various systems and subsystems is as follows: Sung 3/215; Mao 3/264; Pai 3/234; Korean 3/209; Liu 2/262; Ming 4/263; TSC 4/263; and Hu-pei 3/261.

Sk omits 詩; Sg omits 色.

Sg omits 他.

Sk and Nk omit 人; Sk alone leaves a blank space for 天州.

Sg omits 錄. Sk and Liu omit 次. Sg and Sk read 也 for 耳.

The following editions of Wei T'ao's Additional Preface were collated: Ku, Sg, Mg, KCh, SP, K'u, Hs, and CTW. Variants are very few.

For Wei T'ao, see Part II, note 3.

Translating 在 集賢 . That is, the Academy of Assembled Savants.

Sg inserts 擄 between 源 and 為.
This translation of is only tentative.

This alludes to a story to be found in the *Chan-kuo Ts'e*. The famous horse-trainer Po Lè, also known as Sun Yang, was passing along the road up the T'ai-hang Range when he encountered a horse that had foundered while pulling a salt cart up the mountain. The horse was, in fact, none other than the great stallion Chi, which had grown old and been turned out to work. Being an expert judge of horses, Po Lè recognized it at once. He covered it with his cloak and wept while cradling its head in his arms. Whereupon Chi neighed until the sky sounded (*Chan-kuo Ts'e*, 17.17b-8a; James Crump, *Chan Kuo Ts'e*, pp. 273-274). There may be another version of this story verbally closer to Wei's text, but I have not found one yet.

This alludes to the following incident, recorded in the biography of Ts'ai Yung, styled Po-chieh, a courtier and musician of the Later Han dynasty. "There was among the men of Wu one who was burning paulownia as fuel. Yung could tell, by listening to the sound of the blaze, that it was good wood. He then requested it and made it into a lute (*ch'in*) which indeed had a beautiful tone, though there were still signs of scorching on its bridge" (*Hou Han Shu*, KM, 90B.834.3).

Hs reverses  to  .

Ku has a blank space for .

Ku and Sg omit .

Hs omits ; Ku and Sg read instead.

Sg leaves two blank spaces between and . Ku replaces with .

The CTW text ends at this point.

Hs omits .
APPENDIX B

THE POEMS OF MENG HAO-JAN

Appended here are translations of all of the poems by Meng Hao-jan that are not cited in full in the body of the text or in the notes. The translation is based on readings found in the significant texts, but no one of these has been followed exclusively. Limitations of space have precluded the annotation of the translations; most allusions will be found identified in the notes supplied by Hsiao Chi-tsung and Yu Hsin-li in their editions of the poems.

Spending the Night at the Hillside Lodge of Master Yeh and Waiting for my Friend Ting, Who Has Not Come [1]

The setting sun crosses the western ranges;
All the valleys have grown dim in a moment.
Pines and moonlight give birth to the cool of evening;
A breeze and running water fill my clear hearing.
Soon the woodsmen will all have gone home;
Now misty birds find their roosts in the trees.
It was he that agreed to come and spend the night;
My lonely lute waits by the vine-grown lane.

On Hearing Cheng Yin Play the Lute [3]

Juan Chi became famous for his drinking;
A pure breeze filled the bamboo grove ...
Slightly drunk, he lowers his wide sleeves
And brushes the dust from a dragon-lipped lute.
For each cup he plays another piece,
Unaware that the evening sun is sinking.
My thoughts are with the mountains and the rivers;
To hear him accords with my inmost heart.
On Climbing Hsien-shan Hill with my Friends [4]

The affairs of men have their natural succession;
Coming and going they become the old and the new.
Hills and streams retain the traces of past greatness,
And so we too have come to climb and gaze.
The river falls, running shallow by Fishers' Weir;
The heavens turn cold over Meng Marsh, and deep.
The memorial to Governor Yang is still to be seen;
Tears stain our robes when we have chanted the inscription through.

Written at the Pool on Wan-shan Hill [5]

I dangle my hook, sitting on a great boulder;
The water is clear and my heart even more idle.
Fish swim beneath the poolside trees;
Monkeys swing among the island vines.
Wandering girls undid their ornaments long ago,
And people say it was here on this very hill.
I look for them, but they are nowhere to be found ...
Skirting the moon, my rowing song comes home.

Spring Morning [6]

Asleep in spring, dawn passed unnoticed;
I hear birds singing everywhere.
All night, the sound of wind and rain;
How many flowers must have fallen!

Seeking Out Master Chan on Incense Mountain [11]

On a morning ramble I visit a great mountain,
The mountain far away in the empty azure.
Billowing mist spreads over a hundred leagues;
As the sun goes down I reach my goal at last.
At the valley's mouth I hear a bell sound;
By the wood's edge scent a breath of incense.
Leaning on my staff I seek an old friend;
Having loosened the saddle, give my mount a rest.
The stone gate is hard by a chasm's brink;
A bamboo-lined path winds through the forest depths.
I enjoy meeting with a 'Companion in the Law';
In 'Pure Talk' we stay up until dawn.  
(no stanza break)
All my life I have respected true reclusion,
For days on end sought spiritual mysteries.
An old rustic goes to his fields at dawn;
A mountain monk returns to his temple in the evening.
There are many pure notes in pines and streams;
These moss-grown walls are wrapped in a feeling of antiquity.

How I would like to retire to this very mountain,
'Casting off both self and world alike'.

'Seeking Hsin Chih-e in the Western Hills' [15]

In a tossing boat I take advantage of the river,
On my way to visit an old friend's lodge.
The setting sun rests in the clear river;
Who says I am here only to admire the fish?
   I peer into the pellucid depths of stony pools,
   Pass through twists and turns between sandy banks.
I see a hook dangling from a bamboo-grown islet,
Hear chanting from a book in a thatched studio.
   In our idle words, we forget the fall of night;
   This feeling of purity is due to the evening cool.
Ah, Hui! with his simple drinking gourd,
Such a sage, always satisfied, no matter what.

'Stopping in After Winter Solstice at the Country Homes of Messrs Wu and Chang by Sandalwood Creek' [16]

In divining for a site one follows that is natural;
Sandalwood Creek needs no further channelling.
The gardens and groves of my two friends adjoin;
Water and bamboo link several households together.
You only wish to face the southern hills,
Without regard for any arbitrary preference.
(In divining for a neighborhood, one follows Mother Meng;
Sharing a well, one yields to Wang Ts'an.
Once I heard singing of the Three Sources of Delight;
Still I hear the chanting of the Five Poems.)
You sun yourselves often by your thatch huts;
Daily your orchid sweeps roam all around.
Keeping all outside attachments at a distance,
In midstream you follow your own bent.
Idly fishing with T'ai-kung's hook,
Inspired to set out in Tzu-yu's boat.
I too am one who dwells in seclusion,
And come by to visit out of sincere respect.
(no stanza break)
Plum blossoms wither with the last month of the year;  
The look of the willows shows spring is halfway here.  
Birds are resting, sun-following geese;  
Fish take cover, pug-necked bream.  
I put down my cup and ask Shan Chien  
If this is like the shores of Hsi's Pond.

Written at Hsien Pool [20]

By a rocky pool whose shores are curved and winding,  
I clamber up the sandy bank at dawn.  
I try dangling my bamboo pole and hook,  
And finally catch a raft-weir bream.  
A lovely girl wields a gold-chased knife;  
With slender hands she slices the pink flesh up.  
And so I turn down Secretary Lu,  
Whose lily-pad stew seems hardly worth passing on.

To Inscribe on the Meditation Chamber of  
Master Yi at the Temple of Yü the Great [21]

Master Yi is practiced in the silence of meditation;  
He has built his shelter close by the empty wood.  
Outside his door a single peak emerges;  
Before his steps the many valleys are deep.  
Evening sunlight links the last raindrops;  
Empty darkness falls in the courtyard shade.  
Observe the purity of a lotus blossom;  
Then you will know an unstained heart.

Visiting the Retreat of Chang Tzu-jung  
at White Crane Cliff [22]

By the green edge of White Crane Cliff,  
A solitary man has a secluded retreat.  
For steps and courtyard there are only streams and stones;  
Woodsmen and fishermen are gone from groves and valleys.  
Years and months age the green firs;  
Wind and frost thin the tough bamboo.  
Seeing this, I remember old concerns,  
And leaning on my staff, turn back toward my own hut.
Written on Climbing the Tower of
the Camphor Pavilion with Revenue
Officer Hsüeh of Hang-chou [23]

Once we climb up to gaze from this tower by the river,
We are higher by half than the green woods.
Eminent officials relax behind the curtains;
A humble guest intrudes among the fragrant mats.
Hills conceal the grotto of Emperor Yü;
The walls loom over the waves of Wu Tzu-hsü.
Today as we watch the swelling tide,
We dangle our lines and hope to hook a giant turtle.

Accompanying Censor Li on a Visit to
Zen Master Ts'ung [25]

Gladly I meet a friend from the Cypress Terrace,
And together we go to call on Master Ts'ung.
A stone cell where no one ever comes;
A hammock in which we see a tiger doze.
The shaded bank is always wrapped in snow;
In the pine-grown glen there is a living brook.
Though each of us comes from a different place,
Our common joy is the sermon mats of the Law.

Sailing on the Han River in Early Spring [26]

Old Lord Yang below Hsien-shan Hill,
Fairy maidens on a bend of the Han meadows ...
Snow gone, ice breaking up as well,
Spring pools stretch green for a thousand yards.
Our light boat wanders freely back and forth,
Exploring and dallying, we never grow tired.
Ripples reflect swaying courtesan hairpins;
A glow on the sand arrests everyone's eyes.
We tip our cups and fish and birds grow drunk,
Link verses which orioles and blossoms take up.
So perfect a day will be hard to find again;
When the sun goes down, we should take up torches!
Climbing the Pagoda at Tsung-ch'ih Temple [29]

Up in mid-air I climb the precious pagoda,
Gaze out on the whole of our great capital under a
clear sky.
Bamboo lines the length of the River Wei;
Hills merge with the slopes of the Imperial Park.
Four gates open on the Emperor's Palace'
Raised paths look down on the people's houses.
(I seek the Land of Joy from one storey to the next,
Remembering the sandpiles of my childhood days.
One look, and virtuous merit appears;
How greatly the way grows in my heart!)
I realise now how near the heavens are;
A fragrance of Emptiness speeds the falling blossoms.

On Climbing Deer Gate Hill [30]

Inspired to come in the clear dawn,
I ride the current past river and bluffs.
Birds on the sandbanks just near enough to see,
Trees in the coves too far to distinguish.
Slowly I come to Deer Gate Hill,
The hillsides bright, the blue slopes pale ... 
There are many curves and meanders to these cliff-lined pools;
Time and again my rudder turns.
Ages ago I heard of Master P'ang,
Who went off to gather herbs and never returned.
By a golden brook he lived on mystic mushrooms;
On a stone bed, lay down on moss and lichen.
Deeply moved by the thought of this worthy elder,
I make fast the lines and scramble up with hands and feet.
The trace of his retreat remains here to this day;
His noble ways are far beyond recall.
When was it that the white clouds left?
The scarlet cassias tower aloft for nothing.
My interest in exploring far from exhausted,
I turn back my skiff in the fading evening light.

Visiting the Temple of Zen Master Ming in
the Western Hills [31]

The Western Hills take many strange forms,
Jutting up like the pillars of a facade.
At high noon they withdraw into shades of green;
In the evening sun shine clear and distinct.
(no stanza break)
Down below them is where my master lives;  
Sitting in meditation, he testifies to birthlessness.  
He has built his hut next to the crags and caverns,  
And trimmed bamboo to make a path to reach it.  
Discussing Emptiness, he faces old woodcutters,  
Confers the Law on mountain spirits.  
As the sun fades I finally take my leave,  
Returning through fields and gardens to the prefectural town.

Sent in Jest to P'ei Ti and Officer Chang  
While on a Hunting Trip to Nan-chi Ch'eng  
with Chief Minister Chang [33]

Tracking game is no pleasure of mine;  
I have no love for the Yün-meng hunt.  
At year's end, climbing the wall to gaze  
Only makes homesickness weigh on my heart.  
Local officers so many and various,  
How the ranks of horsemen fly back and forth!  
    Hereditary dignitaries rich as the Chins and Changs,  
    Officials and assistants wise in council tents.  
In accord with the season, a spirit of killing moves;  
Flying blades race to slice up the game.  
Lodging for the guests goes on for many miles;  
Summoned musicians crowd the singing girls' mats.  
    The setting sun returns to the high crests;  
    Over level meadows hangs a fragrant mist.  
How is it that a madly singing stranger  
Is also among those in attendance on His Honour?

On Climbing the Highest Peak of Mt. 'Gazing-at-Ch'u' [35]

In the fine shapes of its hills and streams,  
Hsiang-yang is more beautiful than Kuei-chi.  
Its highest point is Mt. 'Gazing-at-Ch'u',  
Which I have yet to climb all the way to the top.  
A stone scarp, as though sliced off with an axe;  
The surrounding hills all shrink beside it.  
On a bright sunny day I go up for a climb;  
There is no end to how far my eyes can see.  
Yün-meng is small enough to fit in the palm of my hand;  
I grow lost where the blossoms of Wu-ling bloom.  
In the dusk I return, riding down on my homeward horse;  
A vine-screened moon shines in the deep valleys.
Recovered from my Illness, I Pass by
Dragon Spring Retreat and Visit
Master Yi and Master Yeh [36]

At the midday hour I hear a mountain bell,
Arise and go out to dispel my cares and ills.
I go looking for a grove to gather mushrooms,
A meandering valley where firs and vines are dense.
Off to one side I see an open temple,
In the long halls, the monks finished with their meal.
Stone channels flow with melted snow;
Golden fruit glows on frost-touched orange trees.
In a bamboo chamber, thinking of old companions,
My brief rest lasts through the entire day.
I enter the cavern to look at stony stalactites,
Skirt the cliffs to gather wild honey.
At the end of day, I take leave of Master Yuan,
Who comes out to Tiger Creek to see me off.

Sailing at North Ford with Censor Huang [37]
The ford is untroubled by serpents or dragons,
Flowing steady and gentle as the sun sets.
At first I wanted to avoid your piebald horses;
Little knowing we would share a heron boat.
I am hardly relying on today's good fortune only,
For we are old comrades from years ago.
Rather than play the crane among lutes,
We follow instead the gulls across the waves.
Dykes line the outskirts of many villages;
Hills face the towers of a hundred towns.
I think of myself as one who ploughs alone;
Though no equal in talent to Kuan Chung or Yüeh Yi.
I have heard of your abundant generosity,
But I shall sail from here for Ts'ang-chou.

Returning in the Evening to Deer Gate Hill [39]
The bell of a mountain temple sounds; day has turned to dusk;
From the ferry landing at Fishers' Weir comes a clamour for the ferry.
People are walking along the sandy shore toward a river village,
And I too am taking a boat, returning to Deer Gate Hill.

On Deer Gate Hill the moon is shining, lighting up the misty trees ...
Suddenly I come to the old hermitage where P'ang Te-kung retired.
The pine-grown path by his craggy gate has long been still and lonely,
With none but a recluse passing back and forth along it.
Visiting Mei the Taoist and Chang the Recluse [40]

Willows of a gentleman of P'eng-tse,
Cranes of a Taoist Master of Shan-yin ...
I come in search of those I admire,
Halting my staff where summer shade is thick.
I value the pleasure of watching the fish,
And answer with a song, drumming on my oars.
Traces of Ts'ui Chou-p'ing and Hsü Shu-yuan have not decayed;
A thousand years after, I bow to these pure ripples.

Written in the Company of Prefect Yao, to
Inscribe on the Lodge of Master Hui
(I Have Drawn the Rhyme Word 'Green') [41]

Wrapped in snow, plum trees begin to warm;
Held in mist, willows are still green.
We come to peruse the \textit{g\textasciitilde{a}thas} of the acolytes,
And to hear the sutras of the Lord of the Law.
Encountering these doctrines, I realise the Without Self;
Contemplating the Empty, tire of the Having Form.
A misguided heart responds to the awakening of enlightenment;
A wanderer's thoughts, not yet in restful ease.

Late Spring, in the Southern Pavilion
of Master Yuan [42]

To the Garden of Jetavana Chih-tun retires;
Vacant and alone, he nurtures his idle contentment.
As spring grows late, all the thickets bloom;
'Kwan-kwan' cry the yellow birds.
He rests in a grove of recluse bamboo,
Raises in his pond the cranes; of Wang Hsi-chih.
A warm moon sets in the northern window;
In the pure breeze I promise to come again.

Inscribed on the Retreat of Master Jung [43]

Your spiritual retreat is open, paid for in gold;
A flowing stream winds around the stepping stones.
Lotus and caltrop scent the sermon mats;
Fir and cypress shade the incense platform.
Rain of the Law flies even in sunshine;
Heavenly blossoms fall down in the daylight.
Our discussion of the mysteries has hardly come to an end,
As evening sunlight hastens my homeward ride.
Floating in a Boat on a Summer Day,
I Pass the Country Place of Recluse
Ch'en [45]

Many are the cool breezes in this river pavilion;
My idle oar comes passing by in the evening.
Reflected in the stream I see vines and bamboo;
In the fragrance of the pools scent lotus and caltrop.
Country lads support me in a drunken dance;
Mountain birds laugh with my tipsy song.
Alas, before my solitary delight is complete ...
What can I do at sunset, in the misty light?

A Visit to Ch'i-shê Temple with Militia
General Chang [46]

Monks as eminent a 'Heaven-Broad' Tao-an,
A general as brilliant as 'Arsenal' Tu ...
You have done with adventures north of the frontier,
And come to walk alone, south of the Han.
On pattra leaves the golden sayings are transmitted;
Mountain cherries blossom for our poetry party.
Now that you have dashed off a splendid draft,
How heroic the spirit of Ch'u and the Yangtse!

The River Pavilion of Taoist Mei [47]

This haughty clerk is no ordinary clerk;
His eminent companions are but companions of the Tao.
He lives in retirement where he cannot be seen;
His discourse so lofty that none can match him.
The river passes near to an Immortal Spring;
The hills conceal the seclusion of Ghostly Glen.
Coming again, I grow confused, lose my way,
And ask at a fisherman's boat beneath the blossoms.

Spending the Night at Master Li's [48]

When Chih-tun first sought the Way,
Lord Shen laughed at his purchase of a mountain.
What could compare with this feeling for boulders and cliffs
That comes in of itself around gates and courtyards?
In a mossy glen the brook flows full in springtime;
In a vine-grown arbour the moon idles in evening.
You are able to command Hsü Hsün,
Who lies down singing and forgets to go home.
Sailing a Boat on North Brook [50]

The stream in North Brook is always full;
Sailing in a boat you can go anywhere you want.
Upstream and down is a pleasure in itself;
Who needs to be on the Five Lakes!

On Climbing the Pavilion at Dragon Glory Temple [51]

Covered walkways emerge to span the void;
At breaks in the walls a distant view opens.
I see the twisting and meandering of the river's course,
With arriving travellers coming upstream and down.
How rich and full this district is!
And the distant peaks how many and various!
Verdant and green, all the plants and trees,
With towers and terraces scattered everywhere.
A sudden shower clears with the first sunlight,
And voyaging ships come from the four seas.
As birds come home, my last delights are far away;
Gazing around I linger, pacing back and forth.

Inscribed on the Abbot's Lodge While Visiting
Ching-ssu Temple [53]

I entered by mistake this Peach Blossom Spring,
Charmed at once by the depth of its bamboo path.
Now I know where the home of an immortal is,
A place that worldly men have never sought.
Dancing cranes idly cross the stepping stones;
Gliding monkeys whistle in the dense woods.
Gradually versed in subtle and wondrous doctrines,
Profoundly I attain a mind that 'sits and forgets'.

Written in the New Pavilion of Superior Lai [54]

The Eight Releases are the eminence of this meditation grove;
Three Understandings the genius of this Garden of Jetavana.
The site is remote, a distant fragrant region;
Minds are pure as the river pavilion opens.
Flanked by a precipice the jagged mountains stand;
In search of seclusion a stony path winds about.
Splendid blossoms bloom and fall of themselves;
There is no need to cultivate these unearthly herbs.
(no stanza break)
An emerald netting joins the scarlet trees;  
A clear brook is lined with green moss.  
Sporting fish gather to hear the Law;  
Idle birds come to chant the sutras.  
Discarding appearances, I must awaken to the abstruse;  
Forgetting the words, adopt these doctrines.  
What do I attain in this state of calm?  
Even my poems are chanted in vain.

Visiting the Retreat of Master Jung [55]

On a mountaintop a meditation cell and a monk's robes hanging up;  
Outside the window—there is no one there—canyon birds are flying ...  
Yellow dusk half here on the path down the mountain;  
But still I hear the murmur of a brook and long for the dark slopes.

Looking for a Friend at Sandalwood Creek [57]

Half the flowers have gone to dragon bamboo;  
The pond is a branch of Leaping Horse Creek.  
In fields and garden there is no one to be seen;  
No doubt he has gone straying toward Wu-ling.

To Match "Crossing the Sung-tsu River"  
by Censor in Attendance Li [59]

Broad is the western river of these southern marches;  
Bright as flowers the valour of this government censor.  
Cutting the current, he need rely on no oar;  
Hanging up his mat sail in itself gives birth to a breeze.  
Officials and scribes race to scramble aboard his heron boat;  
Fish and dragons alike avoid his piebald horses.  
Now we hear a 'Song of the White Snow',  
As it soars into the midst of the oarsmen's chants.

A 'Great Dyke Song': to Send to Wan Ch'i [63]

The Great Dyke is a place for seeking pleasure;  
Horses and carriages go rushing past each other.  
Year after year the spring grass grows;  
In the second and third months we 'tread the green'.  
Young noblemen clasp their pearl-trimmed bows;  
Wandering girls are careful of their gossamer slippers.  
You and I cannot go hand in hand today;  
On whose account do the river blossoms bloom?
On Climbing Orchid Hill in the Autumn:
to Send to Chang Wu [65]

The northern peak lies in white clouds,
And there a hermit finds his solitary delight.
Gazing toward him I begin to climb the heights,
My heart follows the flying swans as they vanish.
Sorrow arises, moved by pale dusk;
I feel inspired by this clear autumn season.
At times I see villagers coming home,
Resting on the level sand by the ferry landing.
The trees are shepherds-purse away on the horizon;
Islets like the moon along the river shores.
When will you come and bring along some wine,
To get drunk with me on the Autumn Festival?

In Lo-yang on the Third Day of the Third Month: to Send to Wang Chiung [68]

They divined at Lo for the site of Ch'eng-chou;
We set cups afloat at a Purification feast.
With cock-fighting after the Cold Food Banquet,
And horse-racing before the Archers' Hall.
Solid embankments merge in weeping willows;
Raven curtains join on the level sand.
I wonder now where Wang Hsi-chih
Is gathering with all his worthy friends today.

On Saying Farewell to my Younger Brother
Hsien-jan, Who is Sent up for the Chin-shih Examination [70]

To offer counsel you are off to the Golden Gate;
Accepting favour you leave your coloured robes behind.
Because I am somewhat older than you are,
I think of you as the scattered stars frow faint.
Settling in evening calls for warming the mat;
The cold deepens without a grant of winter clothing.
As soon as you have plucked the laurel twig,
Follow soon the southward flying geese.
While Moored for the Night on the River near Lu-shan, I Hear that an Old Friend is at Tung-lin Temple and Send Him this Poem [72]

The river road passes by Lu-shan Peak;
Pine Tree Gate is the entrance to Tiger Glen.
I hear that you are seeking solitary joy,
Lodging for this clear night in a secluded cloister.
Mountain spirits are tamed in the Stone Mirror;
A frightened dove comes to roost in a meditation grove.
A single lamp like enlightenment
Serves to brighten the doubts in a wandering heart.

To Match "Encountering Snow on the Road While Returning from Jang-hsien" by Chang Erh [74]

Wind blows snow from the Sea of Sand,
As it turns for a while to a garden of willows in spring.
Gentle and compliant, following a scented rider;
Graceful and delicate, companion to a girl of jade.
Songs modelled on those of the visitor in Ying;
Bearing to match the Goddess of the River Lo.
Though you return southward now to Ch'u,
It seems as though you are flying together into Ch'in.

Sent to Chang Wei on Returning from the Capital [77]

Brushing off my robes, where shall I go?
To live in leisure south of the Southern Hills.
I would like to earn my 'five pecks of rice',
But what about the 'seven unbearable things'?
Morning court keeps me from sleeping in;
Tying the belt differs from taking out cap-pins.
So I am inclined toward the words of the wise:
A wandering fish remembers its old pond.

Sent to Censor P'ei Fei, on Hearing that He has been Transferred from Hsiang-chou to Yü-chou, While Remaining Revenue Officer [78]

On the staff of the Government of Ching, my friend,
You still retained the power of the Cypress Terrace.
Your duty is shifted away from Fan and the Mien,
For your good name is known in the Imperial Domain.  
(no stanza break)
Long ago, as I lazed by a forest path,
You came bringing wine to my brushwood gate.
With you not there to enjoy the pines and chrysanthemums,
I am slow to go home to my village garden.

Presented to Superintendent Hsiao [84]

The highest virtue resembles flowing water;
The way of steady goodness is like a mountain.
I have heard that you hold to lofty principles,
Able thus to present a pure countenance.
Swans in order raise their wings for the sacred dance;
Ox-cleavers are arrayed in the lower places.
Settled in richness, you are able to remain unstained;
Residing in activity, your person is always at ease.
You banish deceit and flattery vanishes from the people;
Expel evil, and bailiffs give up their wickedness.
How can one know your purity and your uprightness?
The bright moon shining in a clear cove.

Extemporised to Present to Wang Chiung [85]

At day's end your farm is far away;
Do not linger long, deep in the hills.
A man going home should set out early;
Your young son is waiting for T'ao Ch'ien.

To Show to Meng Chiao [88]

Rank grass covers the widest wastelands;
A fragrant orchid takes root in solitude.
How numerous all the musicians were;
Po Ya alone was not obtrusive.
In those days, his profound and lofty themes
Were discerned by no one in the world at large.
As soon as Chung Tzu-ch'i had met him,
Hills and streams were heard for a thousand autumns.
You must preserve your calm and self-control,
Whatever lightheaded common people say.
Sent to Emender Chao [90]

An emender of books in the Rue-scented Hall,
A man secluded in the Garden of Silk and Bamboo
All that has passed seems only yesterday,
Returning now to rest and sleep away from tumult.
A lofty bird can choose its own perch,
A goat butts in vain against the hedge.
Now I have seen that this is the way of the world,
Henceforth I intend to 'forget the words'.

To Match "Facing Snow on a Spring Morning"
by Chief Minister Chang [92]

Welcoming the Season comes with the start of spring;
Receiving favour, we rejoice that snow has come.
Moisture descends, down from the Heavenly River;
Flowers bloom at the urging of Effulgent Light.
Without seeing this omen of a year of plenty,
No one would know your skill at harmony and regulation.
If scattered salt is to be my figure here,
I will blend it with cherries to perfect the broth.

Presented to Mr. Chang of the Ministry of
Civil Office [93]

Your family tradition an unbroken line of greatness,
As a young man of genius you top P'ei K'ai and Wang Jung.
You emerged from the mansion of Lord P'ing-ching,
Returned as a Secretary of Civil Office.
You have the look and manner of a spirit or an immortal;
Move with the glowing light of the constellated stars.
Night duty is quiet in the Southern Palace,
Morning attendance prolonged in the Northern within.
The men of our day peer into a faultless mirror;
Our illustrious ruler confers robes and clothing.
The Garden of Letters sends parrots flying;
The Pool of Heaven awaits its phoenix.

Moored by the Ferry at Yang-tzu: to Send to
Recluse Liu at Long Hill in Jun-chou [97]

You that I long for appear in my dreaming sleep;
I should like to come, but the great river is deep.
As the sun sets, I gaze toward Ching-k'ou;
Mist and waves bring sorrow to my heart.
(no stanza break)
My heart races to the cave on Mao-shan Hill;  
My eyes reach to the grove of maple trees.  
But I cannot see the Recluse Stars;  
In starlight and frost I labour at this evening song.

To Match "Written on Climbing Deer Gate Hill"  
by Magistrate Chang [98]

Suddenly you show me your poem on climbing the heights,  
Which ably unfolds your feelings in this temporary abode.  
With strings and singing have many leisure hours passed;  
Thoughts of hills and streams grow more pure.  
Grass billows first before a wind;  
Rainbows form after, because of rain.  
Presuming to accept this 'Song from Pa' to match,  
I hardly dare to respond with notes in kind.

Stopping for the Night in an Inn in  
Ts'ai-yang [106]

As evening falls, my horse's pace quickens;  
The city walls are in ruins and houses are few.  
Listening to the songs, I think I am nearing Ch'u;  
Lodging in this inn, it suddenly seems like home.  
Broad are the ploughed fields of Lu-yen;  
Faded, the royal air of Chang-ling.  
Tomorrow I pay my respects to my parents,  
And should dress in the garments of Lao-lai Tzu.

Presented in Fun to my Host [127]

The guest has not stirred from his drunken sleep;  
The host calls out to sober him up.  
First he says that chicken and millet are done,  
Then adding, the new 'overnight' wine is clear.

Saying Farewell to my Cousin Yung, Who is  
Returning to Kuei-chi after Failing to  
Pass the Examinations [136]

A brisk wind blows voyaging sails;  
In a moment you have vanished into the void.  
A thousand leagues gone in just a twinkling,  
On the three rivers you are far beyond reach.  
(no stanza break)
For some time now we have shared pleasure and joy;
As the sunlight fades we become as Ch'u and Yüeh.
Drooping wings fly their separate ways again ...
Whom would this not make wince in his very bones?

On the River: Parting from a Man under Banishment [137]

Being myself a stranger far from home,
I have met you, sent out to live in exile.
We fly our separate ways from the Yellow Crane Tower;
Outcast and adrift in the wilds of Ts'ang-wu.
Transport officials ride away on the clouds;
A wandering sail drifts down with the stream.
Who knows when, after this farewell,
I shall again take hold of your returning sleeve.

Saying Farewell to Wu Yüeh, Who is
Taking a Trip to Shao-yang [140]

This many-coloured adorable young phoenix
Flies to the south, going to join the partridges.
The men of Ch'u do not recognise his worth;
Where can he find a paulownia to roost upon?
On and on, a thousand leagues a day,
Away to a corner of the vast boundless sky.
How could he be like the little quails,
Resolving to rise up only so high as the elms?

Saying Farewell to Chang Ts'an, Who is Going up to
Compete in the Classical Examination and to Visit
his Father in Ching-chou [143]

At fifteen, an age for dressing in coloured robes,
You accept favour before your loving mother.
Obedient and righteous, sent up with the year-end tribute;
Cherishing oranges, setting out toward the river of Ch'in.
All sitting in attendance praise K'ung Jung;
Secretary Ts'ai approves of Wang Ts'an.
As you set sail, we say farewell on the river;
None but gazes upward toward this godlike immortal.
Saying Farewell to Adjutant Wu Hsüan [147]

You have a genius for strategy in the tents;
How can you lack for glory on the frontier?
The arms of Han are about to vanquish the Huns,
As Wang Ts'an first goes to join the army.
Flags and pennants are off to frontier towns;
Mountains and rivers mark off the veins of the earth.
For the rest of your life, a spoon-handled dagger
I present with overflowing heart, my friend.

In the Capital, Saying Farewell to Hsin Chih-ê [148]

Hsin, a retired gentleman from a southern land,
Goes back to his bamboo grove of long ago.
He has found no chance to help 'season the broth';
In vain his heart was set on 'crossing the river'.
I too am one who has left artifice behind;
My fields and garden on the shady side of the Han.
Because you are going, back to your home,
I send you from afar this song on 'Oh, to Return'.

Saying Farewell to Sacrifice Officer Yuan,
Who is Going to Yü-chang as Superintendent [149]

Fortunate as I am to live in this brilliant age,
I came up to the capital to 'contemplate the light'.
There I met a visitor from Wu-ling,
Only to say farewell as he goes to Yü-chang.
Following orders, you tug on the yellow cords;
Apart from your fellows, meet with Squire Ink.
'South of the River is a lovely enchanting land',
Its hills and streams have ever been indescribable.

Saying Farewell to Huan-tzu, Who is Going to Ying to Celebrate his Marriage [151]

I hear that you are galloping a caparisoned mount,
Travelling about in the direction of Ching and Heng.
In order to knot the friendship of P'ans and Yangs,
You pass by the cities of Yen and Ying.
The 'falling plums' poems have now been sent;
Next to carry out the rites of goose and goat.
This very night an immortal spirit maid
Will surely come to move your dreamed-of love.
At Hsien-shan Hill, Saying Farewell to Chu Ch'ü-fei, Who is Going on a Trip to Pa-tung [152]

Hsien-shan Hill is beyond the southern outskirts; While saying farewell we always climb up for a look. Sandy banks draw near to a river village; A pine tree gate leads deep into a mountain temple. It is I that have a single word to offer, You who go to visit the Three Gorges. At the farewell feast we have wine from Yi-ch'eng; Your journey leads through the woods of Yün-meng. Disillusion and disappointment are the feelings of a wanderer; Filled with longing is the heart of his old friend. You are gone! Do not linger overlong In Pa-tung where gibbons howl in the night.

Saying Farewell to my Nephew from the Mo Clan, Who, with his Brothers, is Going Away to the Western Army with Provost Han [153]

I remember how you studied the Songs and the Rites; Never before have you left your home behind. Early in your life you were left exposed and alone; Ten-thousand leagues away, even more lonely and forlorn. About to discard the 'work of three winters', You examine now the lines of the Eight Formations. With decorated baggage you take leave of your native village; With plans and stratagems head for a frontier outpost. With manly ambitions imbibed from the mighty swans, From far away your heart is companion to the wagtails. The man whom you follow combines the civil and the martial, And peace is concluded even without a battle.

Saying Farewell to Yuan Shih, Who is Going to Ling-nan in Search of his Younger Brother [156]

Long ago I heard your 'Bull Isle' songs, And now I see your heart is with the wagtails. Your helping wings, alas, are torn and tattered; With grieving cries you leave your native groves. The white clouds of Ts'ang-wu are far away; The empty waters of Lake Tung-t'ing are deep. You fly away alone over ten thousand leagues; On the southern wind I wait to hear your call.
Saying Farewell to Recorder Hsieh as He Leaves for Yüeh [157]

On a clear morning, the river sky is far away;
A cool wind blows from the northwest.
White clouds move toward Wu and Kuei;
Voyaging sails too follow after.
I think of your arrival at Jo-yeh Stream,
You must explore the wonders of King Yü's Cave.
If you should have an 'immortal's letter' to send me,
I shall be on the slopes of the northern hills.

Saying Farewell to Wang Ch'i as He Leaves to Become Superintendent at Sung-tzu: I Have Drawn the Theme "Clouds of Sunny Terrace" [158]

Have you not seen the fairy Goddess of Shamanka Mountain making the driving clouds?
Vaporous pink and rich black, they billow up at dawn.
Charming and seductive, she glides into the dreams of King Hsiang;
Then in a twinkling she leaves again, following the drizzling rain.

Up in the void she flies away, then comes flying back;
Morning after morning and evening after evening descending to Sunny Terrace.
We sorrow that you leave us now to become an Immortal Official,
Chasing after the drifting clouds, never to return.

Saying Farewell to Chu Erh at Kao-yang Pond [161]

Back in the days when Hsiang-yang was at the height of its glory,
Old Lord Shan was often drunk by the pond of the House of Hsi.
Every day along the pond came fisher-girls one by one;
Makeup done, they tusselled to get a look at their glimmering reflections.
On the clear ripples, pale and delicate, hibiscus flowers bloomed;
Over green banks in long tresses weeping willows trailed.

All this was changed in a single day, the people vanished too;
Chill and overgrown on all sides, few houses to be seen.
Where does the rich and glorious aura of those years still reside?
For nothing remains the dew-wet grass to dampen gossamer gowns.

On this site for ages past have been feasted departing travellers;
But now instead they only tend to wayfaring horses here.
Wayfaring horses fly their separate ways as the sun sets slowly;
To see this makes us sigh, but to no avail.
You are determined to pay a visit on the road to Peach Blossom Spring;
I too am coming home, to the house of Master Red Fir.
Saying Farewell to my Cousin Wang Wu,
Who is Going to Visit his Parents [162]

You, from love of your parents' hearth,
To farewell songs cross over the ocean shores.
Taking to the river you travel by boat and oar;
Parents long for Lao-lai's return.
Setting sunlight urges on the black birds;
The clear river reflects your coloured robes.
All your life quickened by the thought of hardship,
You look up toward the distant wagtails in flight.

Saying Farewell to Ts'ui È [164]

With a slip of jade I come to brag of Ch'u;
An aide to the Prefect plays the part of host.
Rivers and hills add to their verdant sheen;
Poetic writings move the warm spring.
Detached halls face a vast expanse;
Our feelings at parting are allowed to find expression.
With poems from friends in both the capitals,
Who remembers one lying on the banks of the Chang?

Saying Farewell to Superintendent Lu,
Who is Sent to Ch'in [165]

From the passes of Ch'u we gaze toward the land of Ch'in,
Away from here more than a thousand leagues.
In county and prefecture you toil at our sovereign's business;
Among hills and streams you drive your commissioner's carriage.
The farewell feast is laid out above the river;
Our sorrow at separation appears in our parting poems.
If you want to enjoy the fragrance of the year in time,
Enchanting orioles begin in the second month.

Saying Farewell to Chu Ta, Who is
Going to Ch'in [166]

A wayfaring man going to the Five Tombs,
A fine sword worth a thousand pieces of gold ...
I offer it as a gift to you as we part hands,
For all our lives who share a single heart.
Saying Farewell to a Friend Who is Going to the Capital [167]

You are going away to mount the dark clouds;  
I return home, gazing toward the dark hills.  
Clouds and hills will part after this farewell,  
Tears dampen our rough hempen clothing.

Saying Farewell to Tu Shih-ssu, Who is Going to the South [168]

Where Ching and Wu join is a well watered country;  
You depart as the spring rivers are at their most broad and vast.  
Where will your sojourning sail be moored at the end of day?  
Just to gaze toward the heavens' edge is enough to break one's heart.

In Yüeh, Saying Farewell to Superintendent Chang of Hsin-an on his Return to Ch'in [169]

Take a climb up the ranges of Ch'in and gaze toward the river of Ch'in;  
Remembering in the distance how beautiful Green Gate was in springtime.  
In the mid-season month we say farewell as you depart from here;  
By melon time you will surely have arrived among the fields of Shao P'ing.

Saying Farewell to Ch'en Ch'i, Who is Going Off to Join the Western Army [170]

I look on a man of extraordinary worth,  
With nothing before him but common toiling.  
You turn your back on the ambitions of wild swans;  
For years of books and swordsmanship have slipped away.  
Once you heard that frontier beacons were stirring,  
You raced over ten thousand leagues to be among the first.  
I too am going, to the capital of our realm;  
When shall I present a song of victory for your return?

Drinking at the Official Residence in Hsiang-yang [173]

Beautiful, the evening sunlight remote and calm;  
Fine, the colours of spring so lush and verdant.  
When I wish to seek out a place to linger long,  
I need go no further than these narrow slanting roads.  
For figured mats we roll up 'dragon-whiskers';  
For fragrant cups, set 'horses-brain' afloat ...

(no stanza break)
In the northern woods are gathered lofty trees;
In the southern pool is born a detached island.
Hands gather blossoms gold and glossy;
Hearts go astray amid the jadewort grass.
Talking casually, shedding light on the 'Six Methods',
Broaching our topics, clearing up the 'Three Upsets'...
Seated, I am not so startling as Ch'en Tsun;
In the gate I am still at the sweeping of Wei Po.
Glory and disgrace should not be kept apart;
Joy and pleasure we ought to keep in company together.

A Party at the House of Pao Jung [175]

Living at ease, pillowed by the clear River Lo,
To the left and right adjoining great and humble...
In your courtyard there wait no undistinguished guests,
But many the carriage tracks left by people of means.
And now the season is just at the height of summer;
The sights and attractions are naturally pure and limpid.
On the fifth day you come home to bathe and rest,
Taking my hand below the bamboo grove.
Loosening our collars we enjoy ourselves in earnest;
Facing our drinks we cannot call a halt.
In misty dusk the nesting birds return,
And I too am about to go home, back to Pai-shê.

On Climbing the Southern Pavilion of K'ung
Po-chao at Night During a Party at which
Shen T'ai-ch'ing and Chu Sheng were Present
[176]

Whose is the house that lacks for wind and moonlight?
Here in this place there are found lutes and flagons.
For hills and streams, the district of Kuei-chi,
In the Songs and Documents, the house of the family K'ung.
Again I come, just at the end of autumn,
To a tall pavilion where at night no clamour is heard.
As candle blossoms retire their burning wax,
Clear strings begin to sound the 'Great Fowl'.
Master Shen is a scion of Lord 'Obscure';
Mr. Chu a descendant of Chu Mai-ch'en.
Their affection for me is no shallow matter,
And we climb up here to talk and chat together.
Joining Mr. Ts'ui on a Summer Day at the Residence of Magistrate Wei [181]

In order to avoid the great heat of summer,
Pool and pavilions are opened in the fifth month.
Delighted to meet a guest from the Golden Horse Court,
We drink together from the cups of a man of jade.
Dancing cranes arrive aboard their carriages;
Roving fishes come to take the hook.
We remain at our seats without ever getting up;
Do not let the flutes and fifes compel us.

A Party at the Residence of Recorder Chang [182]

Your appointed estate is a hall for the Chins and Changs;
Many the riders and carriages in the entrance courtyard.
Your house is enfeoffed with the Commandery of Han-yang;
The talents of Ch'ü attend your literary gatherings.
We drink from goblets that float among curving isles,
Chant poems that enter the hills before us.
Flowers by the singing girls' hall bloom brightly;
Willows by the library den trail and sway.
Jade fingers adjust mandolin pegs;
Golden stain adorns dancing gossamer.
Who is aware of this man of books and blades,
His years and years of nothing but disappointment?

A Feast at the Lodge of Taoist Mei
on the Ch'ing-ming Day [183]

Lying down in a grove, I sorrow that spring is over;
Opening a window, gaze out at the beauty of the world.
Suddenly I encounter black messenger birds,
Who invite me away to the house of Master Red Fir.
Now in a golden smelter the fire is kindled;
Just as the magic peach trees begin to blossom.
If our childlike faces could only be retained,
We needn't regret getting drunk on cloud-drift wine!

Wang Ch'ang-ling and I Have a Party
with Wang Shih-yi [185]

I have returned to lie down in the green hills,
But often in dreams I roam the Pure City.
'In the Lacquer Garden there is a proud official',
Who shows favour and friendship by calls and invitations.

(no stanza break)
His curtains are inscribed with the registers of immortal spirits;  
Screens painted with scenes from the *Hills and Seas*.  
Pouring dawn-glow and facing these as well,  
It is just as though we have gone to P'eng-lai or Fang-hu.

A Party at the Pond Pavilion of Recluse Jung [187]

Opening a golden grotto for his appointed residence,  
The joys of Jung Ch'i-ch'i are naturally many.  
In his stables nicker the steeds of Master Chih-tun;  
In his ponds are nurtured the cranes of Wang Hsi-chih.  
Bamboos entice our entrance, lute in hand;  
Blossoms invite our visit, bringing wine.  
Old Man Shan comes in to tie one on,  
Singing at times his tumbling turban song.

Watching Singing Girls at Night at a Party  
in the Residence of Magistrate Ts'ui [189]

In a painted hall we watch these marvellous girls;  
Through a long night made for keeping guests.  
Candles exude the richness of lotus flowers;  
Rouge makes a springtime of peach and plum blossoms.  
Coiled hairknots hang down over the dancing mats;  
Tunic sleeves veil singing lips.  
Moisture of perspiration goes well with their powder;  
Gossamer so light can scarcely be worn.  
The mode changes and lute pegs are tightened;  
Cups of wine are frequent at this happy party.  
If Prince Ts'ao Chih could only see them,  
He would surely be envious for his Goddess of the Lo.

I am Moved as the Moon Sets on an Autumn Night [190]

A bright moon hangs in the autumn void;  
Light glistens on the damp dew droplets.  
Excited magpies have not settled on their perches;  
Gliding fireflies come in through rolled-up screens.  
The cold shadows on courtyard sophora trees grow sparse,  
At night the sound of nearby mallets hurried.  
How remote in the distance our happy reunion is!  
Gazing, gazing, I can only stand and wait.
Looking for the Former Home of Hermit Ch'en [192]

Human affairs vanish in a single morning ...
Overgrown and abandoned, the three paths fade.
First I heard he was resting by a cove on the Chang;
Next he had gone to wander on Mt. T'ai-tsung.
There is still ink mixed with the water of your pool;
Mountain clouds have already fallen into autumn.
This evening, down on the brook in the glen,
Where might one search for your hidden boat?

I am Moved on the Last Night of the Year [200]

By the fifth watch, clock and clepsydra are hastening me on;
The four seasons withdraw and succeed, going and returning again.
Within my curtains, spent candles have just begun to flicker;
Inside the censer, incense coals are completely turned to ashes.
Gradually I see that spring is forcing me to my hibiscus pillow;
And then I feel the cold dispel my cup of 'Bamboo Leaf'.
In every house as they watch the year out, no one should go to bed;
How is it that longing thoughts have brought back my dreaming soul?

Thinking of Su-tzu While Relaxing in my Garden [201]

Though in grove and garden I have few concerns,
Solitude and seclusion do leave many things behind.
As evening nears, I open my screens and sit;
In my shaded courtyard the dwindling light grows faint.
Birds come to roost in the misty trees;
Fireflies glide past the river windows.
I am moved to remember one of my fondest friends,
Gone away to the busy capital and not returned.

On the Third Day of the Third Month, I Await
Wang the Recluse, Ch'en Ch'i, and Other Friends
in my Garden, South-of-the-Glen, but They do
not Come [203]

I launch my skiff and await the break of dawn;
By a flowery pool, idle in late spring.
Up in the hills I long for Ch'i-li Chi;
On the edges of the Han, remember Hsun and Ch'en.
We agreed to meet for the Purification Feast,
Floating our cups to enjoy the hundred days.
I sit and sing, but my wait is to no avail;
I enjoy myself, but regret that my friends are not here.
(no stanza break)
The day grows late, north of the Orchid Pavilion;  
Mist clears over the meandering river banks.  
I encounter lovely maidens, washing their silkworms,  
Meet men in seclusion gathering caltrops.  
A stony cliff just right for inscribing an essay,  
A stony stretch fit for loosening your belt ...  
I wait for you all, but you do not come;  
Thrown away for nothing, this fragrant morning.

Passing by the Former Retreat of Master Jung  
at Ching-k'ung Temple [204]

Above the pool is an arbour of green lotus;  
Among the groves is White Horse Brook.  
My former friend has taken a different form;  
A passing traveller is alone with his streaming tears.  
I have performed the rites by the new pine grave,  
And now I visit the old stone mat.  
The bamboo staff that he used all his life  
Still hangs in front of his rude thatched hut.

Setting a Date with an Old Gardener to  
Plant Melons Below the Southern Hills [205]

Woodcutters and herdboys come close to the southern hills;  
Groves and hamlets are far from the northern outskirts.  
My forebears left me this modest property,  
With an old gardener for my nearest neighbour.  
I will not plant a thousand orange trees.  
But rely instead on five-coloured melons.  
So that Shao P'ing may be able to reach me,  
I have cleared a path and trimmed the gorse and hemp.

Written on Visiting Chang Wu and Returning to  
the Garden at Night [207]

I hear you have achieved the hermitage of Master P'ang,  
And moved your home to be near Lake Tung.  
Inspired to come and make these bamboo your grove,  
You return to rest in this valley called 'Foolish'.  
Setting your sail, you go with a woodcutters' wind;  
Open a window, alone with lute and moonlight.  
As the year grows cold, in what will you find your enjoyment?  
Frost forming on the weeds in your ancient garden.
Stopping at a Friend's Farm [208]

My old friend prepares some chicken and millet,
And invites me to come to his home in the fields.
Green trees enclose the country village;
Blue hills slope upward from beyond the outskirts.
Beginning our meal, we face fields and garden;
Wine in hand, talk of mulberry and hemp.
Wait until the Autumn Festival comes again;
I shall return in time for chrysanthemum blossoms.

A Visit to the Retreat at Ching-k'ung Temple [213]

I travel past the paths of dragons and elephants;
Cross over stony passes at the mountains' waist.
Again and again I go astray where the blue crests join;
Time after time admire the tangled green vines.
I relax at ease beneath a flowering grove,
Hold elevated converse among bamboo-grown islets.
Remote and secluded, cut off from dusty concerns,
Perhaps I have reached here Rooster Peak.

A Summer Day in the Thatched Hut of
Master Pien-yü [215]

On a summer day within this thatched hut,
We are cool where we sit, even without a breeze.
The new shoots are growing, deep in the bamboo grove;
Lengthening stalks are guided by wicker frames.
Swallows search for nesting places;
Bees are coming to build their hives.
Everything we see is perfectly delightful;
Blossoms are fragrant all the year round.

In the Hills I Meet the Taoist Master 'Lord of the Clouds'
[216]

At the end of spring, when grass and foliage are dense,
Ploughing and sowing occupy fields and gardens.
I pour a drink and try to keep up my spirits,
For how can I get to talk with the farmers?
Suddenly I hear a master from the Ching-shan Hills
Has emerged for a while from Peach Blossom Spring.
Gathering firewood, he passes the northern valley;
Selling his herbs, comes to the western village.

(stanza break)
In the village smoke, day turns to dusk;  
On the hazel-lined road a traveller is homeward bound.  
Leaning on our staves, we meet face to face,  
Just the same as in days long ago.  
Delighted to have met in this chance and unlooked-for way,  
We describe with excitement all that has happened since we parted.  
He tells me that I should whip up a whirlwind,  
Rise lightly up, beating strong wings.  
How can I bear to live in this glorious age,  
Only to find myself left in a grass-grown marsh?  
But I have laughed at the madman Chieh-yü,  
Even as I am touched by the distress of Confucius.  
The nature of the world tends toward power and profit;  
My way is to value leisure and solitude.  
I rest at ease below the western hills,  
Few traces of men in my gateway courtyard.  
Some day I will come back to Pure Glen,  
To refine the cinnabar elixir along with you.

To Inscribe on the Garden Hut of Hermit Chang [217]

Your garden hut is close beside mine;  
Our modest ideals are very much the same.  
Ploughing and angling are just what set you free;  
Not for nothing your delight in jug and goblet.  
The horses of common gentlemen do not come to your gate,  
But you yourself have the air of high antiquity.  
Where among the lives of former worthies  
Do we find such praise of P'ang Te-kung?

Gathering Firewood [219]

Gathering firewood, I go into the deep hills;  
The hills are deep, the streams repeated in tiers.  
Where the bridge is down I cling to a grounded raft;  
Where the path is steep, grasp the hanging vines.  
As the sun falls, my fellows begin to grow few;  
A mountain breeze ruffles my hempen robe.  
With a long song I shoulder my light staff  
And return toward the smoke in sight beyond the level fields.
In My Garden South of the Stream:
to Send to Monk Chiao [220]

My lowly hut lies beyond the outskirts;
My simple livelihood comes only from fields and garden.
To left and right the woods and wasteland are broad;
The bustle of town and market is never heard.
Pole and hook dangle in the northern brook;
A woodman's singing comes through my southern window.
I write down these matters concerning seclusion and retirement,
Intending to visit a man of tranquility to discuss them.

A Beautiful Woman Apportioning Perfume [225]

Her sensuous charms enough to overturn a city,
Even more fetching while apportioning perfume.
Hairknot hanging, about to come undone;
Shadowed eyebrows brushed on ever so lightly.
Her dancing copies the gestures of P'ing-yang;
Her songs renew the music of Midnight.
A spring breeze in the narrow slanting roads,
With a smile on her face she waits to offer welcome.

In the Women's Chambers [226]

Seasons of heat and cold have passed since our parting,
And now I have forgotten the measure of your garments.
I cut and stitch with nothing to fix the pattern,
Ponder love and my calculations in my mind.
I am careful of the width, for perhaps they will be too tight;
To keep out the cold I sew them extra thick.
With a stifled sob, I seal the parcel up,
Wondering by whom I will ever be able to send it.

Written on the Theme: "Fair, Fair, the
Girl in the Tower" [227]

Long ago her husband went away;
In a green tower she awaits his return in vain.
Makeup done, she sits by her rolled-up curtains;
With sorrowing thoughts, works idly at her sewing.
Tiny swallows come into every house;
Willow down flies everywhere.
'It is hard alone to keep an empty bed';
On whose account does she take up her Golden Fret?
Spring Discontent

A beautiful woman is practised in painting her eyebrows; 
Her makeup completed, she emerges from curtains and screens. 
Reflected in the water, she idly admires herself; 
Breaks off a spray of flowers to send to someone. 
Spring emotions add to her elegance and charm; 
Spring thoughts redouble her affectionate love. 
A sorrowing heart reaches out to the willow trees, 
Once moved, as tangled as loose floss.

A Cold Night

At evening in her boudoir, damask windows shut, 
And a beautiful woman finishes her needlework. 
Putting away her lute, she opens a precious case; 
Going to bed, lies down within layered curtains. 
The night is long, the candle blossoms fall; 
Fragrance from the incense frame grows faint. 
With layers of embroidered coverlets to keep her warm, 
Who cares if the frost of morning flies!

Early Plum Blossoms

In the garden the early blossoming plums 
Open to brave the cold each year. 
Young women tussle to bend and break them off, 
Taking them back to fix on their mirror stands, 
As though to say they cannot see enough, 
And even want to trim them with a pair of shears.

Spring Feelings

In a green tower dawn sunlight shines on beaded screens; 
Pink powder and spring rouge vie in a precious mirror. 
United already in shared rapture, longing for pillow and mat, 
Arm in arm they dally and play around the ponds and terraces. 
When she sits, her gown and sash are entwined with slender fronds; 
Walking, her skirt and train sweep up the fallen blossoming plums. 
Now she says that for tomorrow, "let's do something different," 
And makes a date to come and bring some flutes and strings along.
On the Ninth Day: I Have Drawn the Rhyme Word "New" [233]

The Ninth Day comes before the week is out; Double Yang falls on this very morning. We climb up high to listen to old stories, Take along wine to visit a man in seclusion. With toppling caps we drink to our hearts' content; Handing out clothes, try on our new ones together. The dogwood is just right for making decorations; Breaking some off, we send it to beloved relatives.

Early Autumn [234]

Early autumn comes unnoticed as nights grow slowly longer; The clear breeze soughs and sighs ever cooler than before. The fiery heat of summer withdraws; my reed study is still; Below the steps, in clumps of stargrass, I see the glimmer of dew.

To Go With "Sighing Over a Clear Mirror" by Magistrate Chang [235]

I have a mirror with a coiled dragon on it; Its pure radiance once shone forth in daylight. But for some time it has gathered dust and grit, And so it looks like the moon seen through mist. When sorrow comes I try to catch its reflection; How I sigh over hair that turns to white. I send a message to a man away on the frontier: 'Why must we remain so long apart'?

Liang-chou Songs (two poems) [236-237]

I.
Entirely formed of red sandalwood with gold-tooled inlay, Made into a p’i-pa guitar whose tones reach to the clouds ... To a nomad land far far away, a hundred thousand leagues, Who could bear to send Ming-chün riding off on horseback?

II.
The music of other lands makes one grieve; Do not play on nomad flutes and barbarian reeds ... Fixing their gaze tonight on the moon above high mountains, Longing pains the wayfaring cavalier lads in frontier towns.
Courtyard Oranges [238]

As dawn breaks I behold all around me,
How dense and shady the ten thousand trees!
Hard frost turns to water little by little;
Courtyard oranges seem like pendant gold.
Our girl companions scramble up to pluck them,
Pluck them peering deep into the hindering leaves.
Growing side by side, they share a single stem;
As this is shown, we are touched and sympathetic.
Twigs snag red gauze coverlets;
Fragrance clings to kingfisher feather hairpins.
As carried in held in a jade basin,
They wholly surpass their secluded grove.

An Outing on the River with Magistrate Pai [240]

An old friend comes from far away,
And to take up the supervision of our district at that.
Clasping hands, we were sorry to say farewell;
Sharing a boat, we are never of differing mind.
Downstream and back the course of banks and islets;
We float adrift to the sound of strings and song.
Who is aware of one who ploughs alone,
Year after year to his 'Liang-fu' Song?

Watching Singing Girls at Night at the
Residence of Magistrate Ts'ui [241]

Bright daylight has now turned to evening;
Pink faces already flushed and red.
In a painted hall we begin to light the lamps;
Golden curtains of gauze hang half-way down.
Long sleeves in ballads from P'ing-yang,
New melodies to Songs by Midnight.
You have long been accustomed to guests staying on;
On whose account have so many come tonight?

Saying Farewell to Master Yuan, Who is Going
to the Isle of Ê in Search of Abbot 'Phoenix-
Harnessing' Chang [243]

Peach blossoms springtime rivers swell,
And a wanderer suddenly sets off on their flow.
Below Hsien-shan Hill you take leaven of Kraken Cove;
Along the river inquire about Yellow Crane Tower.
(no stanza break)
I present you with a bamboo staff,  
As we say farewell on a white duckweed islet.  
You must be one of the immortal spirits,  
Keeping a date to wander in the Vast Intangible.

On Climbing the Pavilion on Hsien-shan Hill: 
to Send to Superintendent Chang at Chin-ling  
[245]

Wind rushes over the crest of Hsien-shan Hill;  
Clouds sail by like flying birds.  
I lean on the balcony and ponder a single question:  
'Is Chang Han about to come back home'?

To Go With General Chang's "Looking at  
the Lamps at the Gate of Chi" [247]

These unfamiliar customs are not those of my homeland;  
As a new year replaces the year past.  
At the Gate of Chi I watch the burning trees,  
Thinking how much like the Torch Dragon they are.

Written in the Plum Garden of Secretary Chang [248]

On brocade mats you spread orchids and angelica,  
In a mother-of-pearl bowl enjoy lotus and water chestnuts ...  
In your old garden you cannot long remain;  
For you must follow your devotion to strings and song.

I Visit the Master of Chrysanthemum Pool,  
but Do Not Find Him In [250]

My ramble brings me to Chrysanthemum Pool;  
The sun is already low to the west of the village;  
The master has gone off to climb the heights;  
Only the chickens and the dog remain at home.

Saying Farewell to Kao Pa, Who is  
Going to Join the Army [251]

When one has got a bit of young lad's spirit,  
What is the need for five cartloads of books!  
Your feats of physical daring surpass me with ease;  
Your many talents are readily one up on mine.  
(no stanza break)
Plotting strategy you will enter the tents;  
To nurture my ineptness I take up an idle life.  
I will be waiting for news of your well-earned glory,  
To follow you then in succeeding to the tutors Shu.

Sent to Prefect Yang as I Set Out Early  
from the Inn at T'ang-ch'eng [252]

Braving the frost, I hasten on my way at dawn;  
For many leagues, see T'ang-ch'eng Hill.  
My homeward heart drove me from the inn;  
A traveller's longing wells up by these rustic villages.  
I leave word behind for one whom I tried to see;  
Spurring on my nag, set out on the road before me.  
If you would know the heartbreak of our separation,  
Listen to the cries of wild geese in the deep sky.

Saying Farewell to Hsi Ta [253]

I am sorry that you are 'concealing your treasure',  
Weary of wandering, 'letting your country go astray'.  
By rivers and hills you have been through all of Ch'u;  
On the Yellow and the Lo you have gone beyond Ch'eng-chou.  
On highways and roads, exhausted by a thousand leagues;  
In village and garden, growing old on a single knoll.  
I understand your fate in being still unknown;  
We share the same illness and the same concerns.

Saying Farewell to Registrar Chia Sheng, Who is  
Going to the Government Offices at Ching-chou [254]

In appointing commissioners they promote men of ability;  
In your efforts for our sovereign, you take not the  
slightest leisure.  
Regarding the mores, you follow a Civil Governor;  
Astride your mount, cross over the passes of Ching.  
Where is it that we climb to say farewell?  
A feast is spread on ancient Hsien-shan Hill.  
Your travelling carriage will be far away tomorrow;  
I can only gaze through the Gate of Ying.
To Match "Climbing Hsien-shan Hill on the Ninth Day" by Registrar Chia Sheng [255]

Double Nine in Ch'u is the greatest of days;
A crowd of gentlemen has come to celebrate the feast.
Together we turn this day of leisure to account;
All drunk alike from chrysanthemum blossom cups.
Untrammeled thoughts emerge at the height of autumn;
Joyous feelings urged on by the fading sunlight.
Among all in the land there are few good at 'matching';
I am ashamed from afar before a 'genius of Lo-yang'.

A Party in the New Studio of Vice-Prefect Chang [256]

Your inherited patrimony one of sashes and sceptres,
In a river town you serve as limbs to the state.
To a lofty study you summon learned scholars;
Though the hollow and the thin are reckless to be first inside.
In discourse and discussion you fellow the wise philosophers;
With literate writings achieve lasting friendships.
P'ang Shih-yuan often rewards and invites me;
In illness and infirmity I regret my lack of talent.

At the Seat of Hsi Tso-ch'ih: to Send to the Recluses of Shan-nan [257]

There is a relic seat of old Lord Hsi
High up on a slope in the white clouds.
Woodcutters do not know it when they see it;
Mountain monks discern it with enjoyment.
Because it is a place of which I would be fond,
They lead me by the hand to come for a look.
From bamboo drips the idle evening dew;
Through the pines blows a clear daylight breeze.
I have always embraced my own ideals;
Even more am I moved by former standards.
Now, though, having no extraordinary strategems,
What can I do for the common people?

In the Bamboo Pavilion of my Younger Brother, Hsien-jan [259]

'I and you few gentlemen'
Are knotted in fast friendship for all our lives.
All of us cherish the ambitions of wild swans;
Together we keep 'the wagtails' in our hearts.
(no stanza break)
Unhindered spirits make use of fine brushes;
A pure breeze remains in the bamboo grove.
Remote is the delight to be found in wine,
And the random tones that rise from our lutes.

Written While Drunk in the Southern Pavilion
with Chang Ch'i and Hsin Ta, Who Came to Visit
[260]

Master Shan is good at drinking wine;
A recluse scholar fond of strumming his lute.
They first became acquainted beyond the world;
Their bond has grown firm within a grove.
Taking the cool as a breeze comes rustling in,
Escaping the heat as the sun begins to decline.
Thus they arrive inside the southern pavilion,
Ready to clear their heads with the remaining cups.

A Ramble on the Western Ridge at Phoenix
Grove Temple [261]

Enjoying together our fortune in the flowering of the year,
We come to roam among the stones and streams.
A misty view opens on distant trees;
The look of spring fills the secluded hills.
A jug of wine unites us in happy friendship;
With lutes and song we idle in rustic delight.
Do not sorrow that the homeward road grows dim;
We will summon the moon to join us as we return.

Presented to the Taoist Ts'an-liao [263]

A lute from Shu has long lain untouched;
Fine dust gathers on its jade case.
The silk is brittle, the strings about to break;
But still on the golden frets there remains a glow.
The knowing ear can only feel saddened,
For the deaf crowd looks lightly upon it.
Had it not come into the hearing of Chung Tzu-ch'i,
Who would have recognised the phoenix' song?
APPENDIX C

FRAGMENTS AND SPURIOUS AND DOUBTFUL POEMS

It is clear from Wang Shih-yuan's Preface that he was unable to collect all of Meng Hao-yan's poetry. Wei T'ao refers to his own addition of some material beyond that which Wang had gathered. In any event, there must have been considerable additions to the corpus before it attained the present total of 264 poems. There remain, however, a few scattered fragments, and also a number of poems that have been attributed to Meng in one or two sources without ever having become part of his collected works. These fragments and doubtful works are assembled and translated here, together with brief notes on the questions surrounding them.

A. FRAGMENTS

1. Light clouds dim the Heavenly River;
   Drizzling rain makes the paulownia drip.

This is the celebrated couplet recited by Meng at the poetry party in the capital; see Wang Shih-yuan's Preface.

2. Anxious and depressed, longing for a brave rider;
   Forlorn and lonely, remembering a happy neigh.

For this couplet, actually from an examination poem by Chang Hsiao-piao, see Part II, note 107.

3. Only for the sake of a dream within a Sunny Terrace Dream
   She comes down and consents to act as a fairy maid guest.

Ku Tao-hung (Ku, wai-pien, p. 14a) quotes this couplet as addressed by
Meng to a singing girl named Han Hsiang-k'ê.

B. SPURIOUS AND DOUBTFUL POEMS

1. The Palace of Lasting Joy

The walls of Ch'in have been praised from olden days as remote and beautiful;
And so the House of Han had many places for 'changing clothes'.
The rouge and powder that attracted princes, where has it gone to now?
In blue towers through bitter nights, the long hard wait for dawn.

Into the Palace of Lasting Joy comes the dim tolling of a bell;
Accustomed to encouragement from enchanting songs and dances.
Here where there was pleasure and sport, now it is still and lonely,
Nothing left but the grief of tomb trees, year after long year.

This poem is attributed to Meng Hao-jan in K, but only TSC and its descendants include it among Meng's collected poems. I have not found it attributed to anyone else in other sources.

2. Crossing the River at Yang-tzu

From my cassia oars in midstream I gaze into the distance;
Both shores are bright beyond the vacant waves.
A grove discloses the post-house at Yang-tzu;
Hills emerge from the walls of Jun-chou.
The sea is dark and still to its very edge;
The river is cold as a boreal wind arises.
And now I hear the maple leaves falling,
The gentle sighing sound of autumn passing.

This poem was also attributed to Meng Hao-jan in K and included in TSC. It is crossed out in TS, but restored in CTS. The latter also includes it among the works of Meng's contemporary Ting Hsien-chih (K. 5474), apparently on the authority of the T'ang anthology Tan-yang Chi (pp. 8ab).
3. Saying Farewell to Secretary Chang,
   Who is Going to Chiang-tung

Chang Han leaves for Chiang-tung
Just at the season of autumn winds.
The sky is clear, with a single swan in the distance;
The sea is broad where lingers a solitary sail.
The bright sun in its course approaches evening;
Hard for us to meet far away on the blue waves ...
When you see the moon over an isle in Wu,
Send me your love from a thousand leagues away.

This poem is attributed to Meng Hao-jan only in Y. Elsewhere and in
general it is included among the works of Li Po (see *Shijin* K. 8364;
LTPCC, ch. 16, pp. lab).

4. Green: an Examination Poem

Mist opens and the light of heaven is far away;
Spring returns and the sun's path looks down.
Lustrous grass colours the river banks;
Laced sophoras shade the roadsides.
About to shine on the Annals of the Empire,
It first strikes the collar of a young student.
If I could only pass these Classical Examinations,
It would just send my heart beyond the clouds!

This poem follows nine others by Meng Hao-jan in P, the Tun-huang manu-
script. No author's name is given, and Wang Chung-min assumes that it
is to be attributed to Meng Hao-jan as well ("Pu Ch'üan T'ang Shih,"
p. 327). In fact, as Yang Ch'eng-tsu has also recognised ("Tun-huang
T'ang Hsieh-pên T'ang-jen Hsüan T'ang Shih Chiao-chi," p. 44), the poem
is by one Ching Tung-ch'ien, to whom it is attributed in K
(p. 173) and CTS (*Shijin* K. 9952). It is Ching's only surviving work.
5. To Inscribe on the Mountain Lodge of Provost Ch'en at Wu-chou

In a southern land there is no frost or sleet;  
From year to year a flowering world appears.  
Green woods change their leaves in secret;  
Scarlet buds open into blossoms without cease.  
Spring departs and we hear the mountain birds;  
Autumn comes and the sea-borne raft appears.  
Though we can rejoice in this flow of fragrance,  
At times we find ourselves weeping for Ch'ang-sha.

This poem is attributed to Meng Hao-jan in W (ch. 317, p. 5a /1635/),  
but to the Early T'ang poet Sung Chih-wen 宋之問 in Y (p. 368). It  
was added to TS. Yu Hsin-li, Hsiao Chi-tsung, and Chen Yixin (p. 71)  
are unanimous in supporting Sung's authorship.

6. Presented to Chief Minister Li

I stood, an old man, three days before your door,  
But silver screens and beaded curtains were closed from dawn to dusk,  
I drop my roll of poems back into my sack of books,  
Just as though I had come only to enjoy Hua-shan.

For a discussion of the authorship of this poem, apparently by the early  
ninth century poet P'ing Tseng 平曾, see Part II, note 109.

7. Saying Farewell to Hsing Chi of T'ai-chou

A magic isle across the sea is part of your province,  
The Stone Bridge and Jasper Trees we have so long heard of ...  
Some day, painted over a round white fan,  
I would like to have a single cloud from Mt. T'ien-t'ai.

This poem is attributed to Meng Hao-jan only in WM (ch. 2, p. 52b), to  
which it was added for unknown reasons. In CTS, it appears among the  
works of the monk-poet and critic Chiao-jan 皎然 (Shijin K. 44673),  
and this seems to be correct.
8. On the Day of Ch'ing-ming

All in the realm value Ch'ing-ming,  
As men's minds turn to sorrowful thoughts.  
Sounds of carriages merge on the highroad;  
Willows turn dark on the eastern wall.  
Blossoms fall, the grass grows evenly;  
Warblers are flying and butterflies sport in pairs.  
In the empty hall I can only think of you,  
Pouring tea instead of getting drunk.

This poem is attributed to Meng Hao-jan in TS (ch. [17], p. 17b). No source is given there, and I have nowhere found it attributed either to Meng or to anyone else. Hsiao Chi-tsung (p. 59) doubts the authenticity of the poem, and I am inclined to agree.

9. Rain

A bit of rain brushes eaves and pillars;  
Uneasy minds are purified in this gathering.  
Faint and gentle it passes the grain-grown slopes;  
Chill and forlorn follows the sand-grass walls.  
Calmly I admire it falling with the flowers,  
In seclusion, hear the sound of it entering the bamboo.  
In this morning view my delight is endless;  
To a lofty poem I convey my idle feelings.

This poem too is attributed to Meng Hao-jan in TS (ch. [19], p. 1a) but in this case the poem is not retained among Meng's works in CTS and its descendants. The poem is attributed to Chiao-jan in the Chi-hsüan Chi (ch. 2, p. 343) and is found among Chiao-jan's works also in CTS (Shijin K. 44805). Since there is no evidence to support the TS attribution to Meng, it seems better to conclude that it is by Chiao-jan.
10. Spending the Night Alone on Top of Hsien-shan Hill, I Remember an Old Friend who is in Ch'ang-an

The moon is bright, leaving nothing in the shade;
Again it is autumn along the great river.
From the river town and from sandbank hamlets,
People's voices sigh and murmur on the wind.
This is just the season for the Hsien-shan Pavilion,
But my old friend is not here to wander with me.
For an old friend away in Ch'ang-an,
Surely I may go searching in my dreams.

11. Presented to CensorYu of Hsiang-yang

Green are the hilly outskirts of Hsiang-yang,
White, the solid dykes of the River Han.
With Master Hsieh governing this country,
The hills and streams are without dust or mud.
His armoured horse: ten thousand frosty snows;
Scarlet pennants: a thousand arching rainbows.
Through wind and waves we sail the choppy waters;
On stone slabs climb level upon level.
The tears of old will never fall again;
New delights remain unchanged.
Returned to your plough, you reach the level fields;
Retiring in old age, you take me by the hand.
The look of things grows more dim and hazy;
Their cold fragrance more keen and chill.
To profound purity there is a distant way,
No short path to such lofty conduct.
Now this rich hoary azure
Naturally invites me to stop and rest.
Of old companions I cherish my memories,
Though closest friends remain far away.
I would like to follow your unhindered reins,
On an idle day, beyond the clear stream.

These poems are both attributed to Meng Hao-jan in the Hsiang-yang Fu Chih (ch. 45, pp. 7b, 59b-60a). They are found in CTS among the works of Meng Chiao (Shijin K. 19841, 19877) and in early editions of Chiao's works as well. It seems simplest to suppose that the compilers of the Hsiang-yang Fu Chih made an error in assuming that poems written in
Hsiang-yang by a T'ang dynasty man surnamed Meng must have been the work of Hao-yan. Stephen Owen writes that he is "sure they are both by Meng Chiao" (letter of January 17, 1976).
APPENDIX D

FINDING LIST

In the following list, the poems follow the sequence of Mao. Each line of the list consists of the serial order numbers of one poem in each of the subsystems. At the right end of each line will be found the sigla of the anthologies, if any, in which the poem is found. Various irregularities within the subsystems are treated in notes.

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</table>

1Poeems 1-215 in Ku follow the order of Sg. Poems 216-267 in Ku form the supplement (πú-yì) and are added in the order in which they occur in Ming system texts. The Ku numbers of these additional poems are here enclosed in brackets.

2Four additional poems are added in TS and TSC.

3Only the eleventh couplet of this poem is quoted in C.

4The copy of Ku available to me lacks leaf 19 of chüan 1. I give the numbers on the basis of Sg.

5This is the poem that was missed in compiling Tw and added at the very end of the collection. In Gb and WM it is shifted up to the end of the five-word regulated poems.

6This poem, the one written at the same party as 177, is omitted from Sg and added as a footnote to poem 177 in Ku.