

LI PO: A BIOGRAPHICAL STUDY

by

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## Abstract

This dissertation is a critical study on the life of the great T'ang poet Li Po (701-62). First, I investigate the controversy about the poet's background and reconstruct a chronology of his life. Then, in the light of the historical reality of his times, I examine the two most important aspects of the poet's life, namely, his political pursuits and his life as a Taoist recluse.

On Li Po's background, I endeavor to demonstrate that the poet was in all probability from obscure origins in modern Szechwan. He may have claimed membership in the Lung-hsi Li clan to promote his social status, and have fabricated the story of his family's long exile in Central Asia to explain why he failed to support his claim with an authoritative pedigree.

The chronology presents a general picture of Li Po's life. Besides adopting or revising the findings of previous scholars, I also make special efforts to illuminate some obscure parts of the poet's life, notably the period 727-40. During that period, the poet kept his family at An-chou and then at Nan-yang, but travelled extensively himself to seek his fortune, including visiting Lo-yang and Ch'ang-an.

A romantic dream predominated in Li Po's political life. Seeing himself as a born savior and a lofty recluse, the poet wished to fulfill his obligation to the empire with a quick political success and then to live in seclusion. He tried almost all avenues available to become prominent. However, he was not endowed with practical wisdom. His two short periods of political involvement both ended in failure.

Li Po's life as a recluse partly resulted from the current idea that the loftiness of the recluse was prized both by society and by the government and, therefore, would lead to eminence. Indeed, romantic as he was, the poet also fervently loved the colorfulness and mysticism of the life of the recluse, which by his time was much blended with the Taoist quest for immortality. When frustrated in his political pursuits, he would turn to Taoist activities for consolation. But he never became a strict Taoist.



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## Introduction

This study aims to be a fully documented critical biography of Li Po. It can be conveniently divided into two parts. The first part, Chapters One and Two, endeavors to explore the basic information of the poet's origins and life. The second part, the remaining two chapters, will investigate, in the light of the political, social, and religious reality of the poet's times, two closely related aspects of Li Po's life which are most essential to the understanding of the poet. These aspects are Li Po's political pursuits and life as a recluse, the latter including his Taoist activities.

The most important primary sources for this study are (1) those works of Li Po which mention persons, places, dates, and incidents closely connected with the poet, (2) some literary writings by Li Po's friends, which mention the poet or were presented to him, and (3) some brief biographical accounts (about a dozen in all) dating from the T'ang and Sung periods, which exist in the forms of prefaces to editions of the poet's works, memorial writings in the poet's honor, or entries in the standard histories of the T'ang dynasty. Most of the sources in the second and third categories are conveniently included as appendices in Wang Ch'i's 王琦 famous annotated edition of Li Po's collected works (first published in 1758).<sup>1</sup> Anecdotes about Li Po, though numerous and colorful, are usually avoided in this study because they are often misleading or even spurious.

As one may expect, such primary sources as just mentioned are mostly very sketchy and vague. In fact, part of them, including some of Li Po's

own words, could even be unreliable.<sup>2</sup> It is, therefore, a tremendously difficult task to draw a clear picture of the poet out of these sources. Without the admirable achievements made by Li Po scholars in the past, my study would certainly be impossible. In the following, in the course of specifying the main efforts I shall make, I would like to describe some of these achievements.

On the problem of Li Po's origins, three works should be specially mentioned. Wang Ch'i's "Li T'ai-po nien-p'u" 李太白年譜 (included in Wang's annotated edition of his works) is the first endeavor to deal with this problem systematically and critically.<sup>3</sup> In a much broader scope, Chan Ying's 詹鐔 "Li Po chia-shih k'ao-i" 李白家世考異 (first published in 1945) is devoted to the same task.<sup>4</sup> As will be shown in due course in Chapter One, Ch'en Yin-k'o's "Li T'ai-po shih-tsu chih i-wen" 李太白氏族之疑問 (1935), though short and probably tentative, proposes a very important view on the problem under discussion.<sup>5</sup> The findings of these works enable me to apply my energy directly to the solution of two most puzzling points, which I shall specify in the following chapter.

The efforts to reconstruct the chronology of Li Po's life can be traced back to the Northern Sung period. During the reign of Shentung 神宗 (1068-85), Sung Min-ch'iu 宋敏求 completed the compilation of what would be the origin of all extant editions of Li Po's collected works. In this edition, Sung divided Li Po's poems into such categories as sung 送 (seeing people off), tseng 贈 (presented to someone) and so forth. Shortly after, the famous writer Tseng Kung 曾鞏 embarked upon a task which pioneered the reconstruction of Li Po's life. He tried to arrange the poems in some of the categories

just mentioned, mainly occasional poems, in chronological order and to indicate the places of their composition. Many of his indications are still kept under the titles of the individual poems in some old editions.<sup>6</sup> Judging from the biography of Li Po included in his post-face to Sung's edition, Tseng seems to have accomplished a fairly reliable outline of Li Po's life.<sup>7</sup> In the Southern Sung period, Hsüeh Chung-yung 薛仲邕 (fl. the shao-hsing 紹興 reign period (1131-62)) completed the first chronology of our poet written in the form of nien-p'u 年譜.<sup>8</sup> However, Hsüeh does not seem to have surpassed Tseng in any way although he utilized the latter's work.<sup>9</sup> His work was forgotten by most people after the publication of Wang Ch'i's new chronology, which I have mentioned above. Based on solid research and sharp analyses, Wang convincingly dated many important events in Li Po's life. Even today his chronology remains a good starting point for students of the subject at issue. On many points, this work is well strengthened by a recent book, Chan Ying's Li Po shih-wen hsi-nien 李白詩文繫年 (1958; research done mainly in the 1940's), a very helpful volume aiming above all to date Li Po's writings.<sup>10</sup> In general, both Wang and Chan are weakest in their descriptions of Li Po's whereabouts between the years when the poet settled down at An-chou 安州 (about 727) and when he was summoned to Hsüan-tsung's court (742). Pai-shan's 裨山 "Li Po liang-ju Ch'ang-an pien" 李白兩入長安辨 (1962) sheds a lot of light on the period 737-41 and thus also paves the way for the exploration of the period 727-37. In Chapter Two, my main task is to try to illuminate some still obscure parts of Li Po's life, including the period just mentioned, and to revise some of Wang's and Chan's arguments on those parts which are

better known to people.

Relatively detailed accounts of Li Po's political involvement are found in most modern biographical studies of the poet written for general readers. These studies, to mention only a few of them, include Arthur Waley's The Poetry and Career of Li Po (1950), Wang Yao's 王瑤 Li Po (1954), and Kuo Mo-jo's 郭沫若 Li Po yü Tu Fu 李白與杜甫 (1971). But so far scholars have concentrated mainly on the two most outstanding events in the poet's political life, which are his service in Hsüan-tsung's court and his participation in the military adventure of the Prince of Yung. In this study, I shall try to cover all the important political activities in the poet's life. More importantly, I shall interpret these activities in the light of the nature and background of the poet's political ambition.

Li Po's life as a recluse has not been so well investigated as the subjects mentioned above. The only important work on this topic I have seen is an article by Ch'en I-hsin 陳貽燦 first published in 1961, which discusses the political implications of the life in question.<sup>11</sup> Besides this, there are only some brief preliminary studies on Li Po's Taoist activities, the main activities in the poet's life in seclusion.<sup>12</sup> On the foundation set by Ch'en, I shall discuss extensively in the beginning of Chapter Four the relationship between Li Po's life as a recluse and his search for political prominence. In the rest of that chapter, I shall examine the formation, development and vacillation of the poet's belief in the Taoist religion.

Several other works, though not dealing specially with Li Po's life, are also of great importance to my study. Wang Ch'i's thorough and

authoritative annotation is undoubtedly a treasure to all students of Li Po. The Kyoto concordance compiled by Hanabusa Hideki 花房英樹 is another invaluable tool of research. Ch'ü T'ui-yüan 瞿蛻園 and Chu Chin-ch'eng's 朱金城 Li Po chi chiao-chu 李白集校注 (1980) adopts the text of Wang Ch'i's edition and lists all the different readings in nine other important early editions (virtually leaving out nothing essential) and eight literary collections that contain Li Po's works. It immensely facilitates the usually painstaking task of textual verification.

Except in some special cases, I shall cite Li Po's works from Wang Ch'i's edition. I have two reasons for this practice. First, as I have just suggested, Wang Ch'i's annotation is often needed for the understanding of Li Po's works. Second, this edition, though not one of the oldest, is arguably one of the best.<sup>13</sup> To minimize the tedium of textual criticism, I shall not indicate the different readings in other editions unless they are outstanding enough to affect the quality of my argument.

Finally, I would like to answer a question which some people might have in their minds. Why burden the readers with a long biography of Li Po, who is important mainly because of his poetry? Li Po's poems are mostly subjective works. They record the poet's career, thoughts and emotions. (This is why they are the main sources of the poet's biography.) However, these poems do not often supply sufficient information of their backgrounds, physical or psychological, for the readers to fully understand them.<sup>14</sup> For example, the poem "Nan-pen shu-huai" 南奔書懷, an admirably successful one, could be almost unintelligible if the reader does not have adequate knowledge of Li Po's involvement in the military

adventure of the Prince of Yung.<sup>15</sup> The meaning of the plain chüeh-chü 絕句 poem "Tsao fa Po-ti-ch'eng" 早發白帝城 will prove much richer if the reader knows that this poem was written when Li Po just returned from the sad journey to his place of exile Yeh-lang 夜郎.<sup>16</sup> Systematic knowledge of Li Po the man is, therefore, often essential to the real appreciation of his poems as such. Moreover, since Li Po's poems reflect his life, the two chapters of this dissertation dealing with the poet's political pursuits and life in seclusion can readily serve as the foundation of the study of two major themes in Li Po's poetry.



## Chapter One: The Enigma of the Origins of Li Po

For centuries even such basic information about Li Po as his birth date, birth place, and ancestry has remained obscure and controversial. The main reason for this is the unreliability rather than the scarcity of related primary sources. There are, in addition to some passages by Li Po himself, at least four works which appear to be and have been traditionally considered as authoritative:

- 1) Li Yang-ping's 李陽冰 "Preface to the Ts'ao-t'ang chi (title of the edition of Li Po's collected works compiled by Yang-ping)" 草堂集序, composed in 762 in accordance with a death-bed request of Li Po. Yang-ping was the poet's last patron.<sup>1</sup>
- 2) Wei Hao's 魏顥 "Preface to the Li Han-lin chi (an edition of Li Po's works, compiled by Wei)" 李翰林集序, composed circa 762. Wei was a personal friend of the poet.<sup>2</sup>
- 3) The memorial composition about Li Po by the famous T'ang writer Li Hua 李華 (c. 715-after c. 774).<sup>3</sup>
- 4) The memorial composition by Fan Ch'uan-cheng 范傳正, who built a new tomb for the poet in 817, composed in the same year, allegedly based on material written by the poet's only son Po-ch'in 伯禽.<sup>4</sup>

Nevertheless, these works provide very little about the subject in question which can be readily believed and yet very much which must be painstakingly clarified or even denied. After the efforts made by leading

Li Po scholars, two problems, no doubt the most intricate and laborious of all, are yet to be solved. These problems are (1) whether Li Po really came from the famous Lung-hsi 隴西 Li clan and was a ninth-generation descendant of one of its most distinguished member Li Kao 李嵩 and (2) whether Li Po's family really lived in exile for generations in the Western Territories (Hsi-yü 西域) before it moved back to Shu 蜀 in early T'ang times, as both Li Yang-ping and Fan Ch'uan-cheng indicate with only slight difference in details. In this chapter, these problems will obviously demand extensive discussion.

It is now generally accepted that Li Po was born in 701.<sup>5</sup> Wang Ch'i first reached this conclusion for two reasons.<sup>6</sup> First, Li Po claimed to be fifty-seven years old in a memorial to Su-tsung 肅宗, which can be dated to 757.<sup>7</sup> Second, according to Li Hua and Li Yang-ping respectively, Li Po died at the age of sixty-two in the year 762.<sup>8</sup> It seems this argument will stand firm despite the existence of one major conflicting statement, which will be discussed later.<sup>9</sup>

All primary sources that ever link any place to Li Po's birth seem basically to agree that he was born in Mien-chou 綿州 of Shu.<sup>10</sup> Wei Hao explicitly says this. Li Yang-ping, Fan Ch'uan-cheng, and the Hsin T'ang shu 新唐書, which gives a version obviously synthesized and abridged from the former two, all describe the poet's birth immediately after mentioning the Li family's move to Shu (Li Yang-ping does not indicate the name of the prefecture) and, therefore, presumably mean the same thing.<sup>11</sup> When people called Li Po a Lung-hsi jen 隴西人 (person from Lung-hsi)--the poet himself maintained this, they were obviously referring to the poet's alleged chün-wang 郡望 ("the prefecture in

which an elite family has its ancestral home").<sup>12</sup> And, as a modern scholar puts it, a man's chün-wang was "not necessarily his place of residence or registry, nor the place where he was born [; it] was instead his claim to membership in a certain descent group."<sup>13</sup> Why the poet was also called a Shan-tung jen 山東人 is, however, less certain. For convenience, sources pertinent to this problem are listed chronologically in Appendix A. The earliest of these sources, the poem which Tu Fu presented to Hsüeh Hua 薛華, was written in Ch'ang-an in about 756.<sup>14</sup> As for the meaning of the expression "Shan-tung Li Po" in this poem, the most convincing explanation comes from Chan Ying.<sup>15</sup> In T'ang times, Chan points out, the term Shan-tung referred to the vast area east of T'ung-kuan 潼關, and was usually used in contrast with Kuan-chung 關中 or Kuan-hsi 關西. Since in his poem he was talking to a friend also living in Ch'ang-an about Li Po, who conversely had left Kuan-chung to live around in the east after 744, Tu Fu used this term.<sup>16</sup> Similarly, Yüan Chen 元稹 later used the expression "Shan-tung jen Li Po" in his tomb inscription on Tu Fu because he was contrasting the places of residence of Li and Tu.<sup>17</sup> It seems the Chiu T'ang shu 舊唐書 has described Li Po as a person virtually from Shan-tung through its misreading of either or both of Tu and Yüan.<sup>18</sup> Equally unreliable is the unique allegation in this source that Li Po's father once served as the sheriff (wei 尉) of Jen-ch'eng 任城 and his family therefore resided there, because that area was only a stop on the poet's extensive travelling which he does not seem to have embarked upon until his early forties.<sup>19</sup> In another way Yang Shen 楊慎 of the Ming dynasty has also misinterpreted this poem of Tu Fu. Quoting

from a work by the Northern Sung scholar Yüeh Shih 樂史 (now not extant), which says Li Po often called himself "Tung-shan" and as a result was called "Tung-shan Li Po" by some contemporaries, Yang holds that Tu Fu's poem should have read "Tung-shan" instead of "Shan-tung."<sup>20</sup> However, it seems certain that Yüeh Shih's is a greatly distorted account based on Li Yang-ping and Wei Hao. Tung-shan, which originally seems to have meant the mountainous area in north-eastern Chekiang and was not a proper name, was the place where the famous Eastern Chin chief minister Hsieh An 謝安 secluded himself before entering officialdom.<sup>21</sup> Since he admired Hsieh greatly, Li Po sometimes tried to follow the life style of Hsieh and frequently talked about "Tung-shan" in his poems.<sup>22</sup> What Li Yang-ping means by the phrase "lù ch'eng Tung-shan" 屢稱東山 is none other than the poet's frequent mention of that place, and even Wei Hao goes only so far as to say that the poet was nicknamed "Li Tung-shan." "Tung-shan Li Po" is simply a misleading Sung dynasty invention.<sup>23</sup>

What most entangles the problem of discovering Li Po's birth place lies in the above-mentioned story about the poet's Western Territories connection. Both Li Yang-ping and Fan Ch'uan-cheng indicate that the Li family did not move back to Shu until "the beginning (shih 始 or ch'u 初, conventionally meaning the first year) of the shen-lung 神龍 reign period," that is, A.D. 705. And it is obvious that of the three assertions (A) Li Po was born in 701, (B) he was born in Shu, and (C) his family did not move to Shu until 705, at least one must be false. Since (A) is concluded from an argument relying mostly on figures, which are by nature relatively definite, it is proper that, as I have

pointed out, scholars in general do not doubt its credibility. About (B) and (C), Wang Ch'i cautiously speculates that shen-lung probably should have read shen-kung 神功 or (B) might be false.<sup>24</sup> But shen-kung was an extremely short reign period, which lasted only from the ninth month of 697 to the third day of the next year.<sup>25</sup> It seems very unlikely that this name could ever have been used together with words like shih or ch'u. On the other hand, Ch'en Yin-k'o, probably unaware of any proof for (B), holds that according to (A) and (C), Li Po was born in the Western Territories.<sup>26</sup> Kuo Mo-jo goes even further. He maintains that Li Po was specifically born in Sui-yeh 碎葉, as indicated by Fan; as to T'iao-chih 條支, the place name given by Li Yang-ping, he incorrectly asserts that it means a broad area including Sui-yeh and therefore does not contradict his view.<sup>27</sup> Ch'en and Kuo have been accepted by many scholars.<sup>28</sup> However, even judged with only the proofs given so far, (B) is more reliable than (C) because besides their common sources in Li and Fan, (B) is also supported by Wei Hao. Moreover, most parts of the story in question have been suspected as unlikely by scholars including Ch'en and Kuo, which suggests that the whole story might have been fabricated.<sup>29</sup> Such being the case, it does not seem reasonable to use (C), a part of the story, to deny (B).

To unravel the above problem, a thorough examination of Li and Fan's story is necessary. I shall first investigate the exact location of the two unfamiliar places Sui-yeh and T'iao-chih and their relationships with China proper. In early sources about the Western Territories of the T'ang, the name Sui-yeh appears rather frequently.<sup>30</sup> According to Chavannes, it is one of the Chinese transliterations of "Suj-ab," the

name of both the river which is now the Chu (or Ču) in Russian Turkestan and the medieval town on the south bank of the river at or near what is now Tokmak.<sup>31</sup> Je Hai 熱海 (Hot Lake) and I-li Ho 伊麗河, two other geographical names concerning the same region that one will encounter later, are none other than the present Issyk Kul and Ili River.<sup>32</sup>

A false and yet eye-catching passage in the Hsin T'ang shu has, however, made some scholars believe that Sui-yeh was in Yen-ch'i 焉耆 (Karashahr), or that there may have been two Sui-yeh's on the Chu and in Yen-ch'i respectively.<sup>33</sup> It says:

The Government-General (tu-tu-fu 都督府) of Yen-ch'i [was] founded in the eighteenth year of the chen-kuan 貞觀 period (644) when the T'ang destroyed [the state of] Yen-ch'i. There was a stronghold (ch'eng 城) there named Sui-yeh. It was built in the first year of the t'iao-lu 調露 period (679) by the Protector [of An-hsi 安西] Wang Fang-i 王方翼 and had four sides and twelve gates.<sup>34</sup>

The mistakes in this passage will become clear in the following survey of the T'ang's expansion toward the Sui-yeh region. In 640, T'ang armies conquered the state of Kao-ch'ang 高昌 (Karakhoja), made it a Chinese prefecture (Hsi-chou 西州), and established there a combined civil and military administration with Chinese civil officials backed by a standing army, that is, the An-hsi Protectorate (tu-hu-fu 都護府).<sup>35</sup> This was the first significant march westward

of the T'ang empire. Then, in 644, since Yen-ch'i, which had begun to pay tribute to the T'ang since 632, allied itself with the Western Turks, the T'ang general Kuo Hsiao-k'o 郭孝恪 set out from Hsi-chou to attack it and captured its king.<sup>36</sup> But this kingdom was again allied with the Turks once the T'ang armies retreated, and was not really brought under T'ang control until A-shih-na She-er 阿史那社爾, the Turkish leader in the service of the T'ang court, conquered it in 648 in an expedition mainly aimed at attacking Ch'iu-tz'u 龜茲 (Kucha).<sup>37</sup> At the end of 648 A-shih-na She-er decisively defeated Ch'iu-tz'u, captured its king Pu-shih-pi 布失畢, and made a brother of his, presumably a T'ang vassel, succeed him. Later on, unceasing turmoil in the kingdom made the T'ang government first decide in 650 to send Pu-shih-pi home to pacify his people and then set out in early 658 to crush the state once and for all. After this conquest, the T'ang court founded there the Government-General of Ch'iu-tz'u and made Su-chi 素稽, son of Pu-shih-pi, who had just died of illness, its governor-general. In the fifth month of the same year, the Chinese government transferred the seat of the An-hsi Protectorate from Hsi-chou to Ch'iu-tz'u.<sup>38</sup> The king of Yü-t'ien 于闐 (Khotan) Fu-shē-hsin 伏闕信 was shocked by the military might of the Chinese after the T'ang's first victory over Ch'iu-tz'u in 648 and was personally intimidated by the T'ang officer Hsüeh Wan-pei 薛萬備. Consequently, he immediately promised to pay allegiance to the rule of the T'ang and followed Hsüeh to the Chinese capital to have an audience with Kao-tsung 高宗.<sup>39</sup> Information about Shu-le 疏勒 (Kashgar) is insufficient. It is only known that it was a T'ang tributary state as early as 635 but was

probably under Turkish control around 646, and that some prefectures or a government-general was probably established there in 658 or 659.<sup>40</sup>

North of what are the present T'ien-shan Mountains 天山, in 648, years after I-p'i-she-kuei 乙毗射匱 Qaghan expelled I-p'i-to-lu 乙毗咄祿 Qaghan to T'u-huo-lo 吐火羅 (Tokhara) and became the new leader of the Western Turks,<sup>41</sup> A-shih-na Ho-lu 阿史那賀魯, originally a yaghu 葉護 under I-p'i-to-lu, led his subordinates to become Chinese subjects.<sup>42</sup> They were arranged to settle down near T'ing-chou 庭州 (north of modern Turfan, on the edge of the Dzungaria), and early in the following year a government-general named Yao-ch'ih 瑤池 was established there with Ho-lu as governor.<sup>43</sup> But Ho-lu gradually broke with the T'ang after T'ai-tsung's death in the summer of 649. In early 651, he finally fled westward, took the title of Sha-po-lo 沙鉢羅 Qaghan, and by and large took over the Turkish tribes under I-p'i-she-kuei and replaced him.<sup>44</sup> At the end of 657, the T'ang government crushed Ho-lu and established two protectorates, named K'un-ling 崑陵 and Meng-ch'ih 濛池, to govern the tribes and states under his control, which ranged from the Altai Mountains in the east to the Talas River in the west.<sup>45</sup> This was the first time T'ang control ever reached the Sui-yeh region.

Naturally, small-scale rebellions broke out from time to time in these newly conquered foreign territories, but the T'ang does not seem to have suffered any great setback until 670.<sup>46</sup> In that year the Tibetans, with the help of the Khotanese king, inflicted a severe defeat upon the Chinese and seized part of Turkestan; the situation became so difficult for the T'ang to maintain its troops there that it had to



withdraw from all of its four most important strongholds, the so-called Four Garrisons (Ssu-chen 四鎮), namely, Ch'iu-tz'u, Yü-t'ien, Shu-le, and Yen-ch'i.<sup>47</sup> There is evidence that the T'ang withdrawal was not necessarily followed by Tibetan dominance, but no doubt the Tibetans had now become a formidable foe of the T'ang in Turkestan.<sup>48</sup> In 676, they raided the whole district, captured Kao-ch'ang, and thrust as far east as the border of present Kan-su.<sup>49</sup>

The event concerning Wang Fang-i and Sui-yeh included in the passage quoted above goes as follows.<sup>50</sup> Since about 677, the Western Turkish qaghan A-shih-na Tu-chih 阿史那都支 and a powerful chieftain under him named Li Che-fu 李遮旬 had gradually rebelled against the T'ang and allied themselves with the Tibetans.<sup>51</sup> To deal with this problem, a delegation headed by P'ei Hsing-chien 裴行儉 set out from the eastern capital Lo-yang in the summer of 679, disguised as an escort to send home the Persian prince Ni-nieh-shih 泥涅師, son of Pei-lu-ssu 卑路斯 (Fīrūz), who had just died in exile in China.<sup>52</sup> Wang Fang-i was, due to P'ei's recommendation, appointed P'ei's assistant with the title of "acting protector of An-hsi". Since he was once a high-ranking official at Hsi-chou, P'ei immediately had more than one thousand men there who would volunteer to accompany him westward. Furthermore, by pretending that he would not proceed until the hot desert weather was completely over and that he was going to enjoy once more the pleasure of hunting in An-hsi, P'ei managed to gather around him ten thousand more young men from the states governed by the An-hsi Protectorate and to organize and train them without alerting Tu-chih. This army then marched west rapidly and in the autumn of that year

easily captured Tu-chih, Li Che-fu and many other chieftains and sent these captives to Sui-yeh. P'ei then returned to the capital with Tu-chih and Li Che-fu and left the Persian prince at Sui-yeh, but the prince is said to have lived in T'u-huo-lo later. On the other hand, Wang Fang-i was left at Sui-yeh to build a stronghold there.

This Sui-yeh was unmistakably the one on the Chu. Firstly, in 682 Wang Fang-i fought A-shih-na Ch'e-po 阿史那車薄 and the Turkish tribes under him at I-li Ho and Je Hai, both near the Chu but far from Yen-ch'i;<sup>53</sup> and there are strong indications that the rebellions of Tu-chih and Ch'e-po took place in the same district.<sup>54</sup> Secondly, if the battlefield had been at Yen-ch'i, Tu-chih must have already advanced across the whole An-hsi region; this would have made it very unlikely for P'ei to collect and train troops there and to launch surprise attacks on him.<sup>55</sup> Thirdly, when there was already a famous town named Sui-yeh on the Chu, it seems unlikely that the T'ang government would have given the same name to a stronghold in Yen-ch'i. Moreover, the Hsin T'ang shu does not mention any stronghold named Sui-yeh at all in two passages describing the out-posts and strongholds near Yen-ch'i,<sup>56</sup> while the stronghold Wang Fang-i built was a very large one (it had "four sides and twelve gates" and rather complicated street design) and was not likely to have been left out.<sup>57</sup> Finally, the main part of the HTS passage containing the quotation in question may be an abridgement of a passage in the T'ang hui-yao 唐會要 concerning the Four Garrisons, judged from the strong resemblance between them in both content and language.<sup>58</sup> In the THY, the event at issue is presented immediately after a note by its original compiler Su Mien, which shows Su was

puzzled by the fact that in documents of different dates, Yen-ch'i and Sui-yeh were respectively described as one of the Four Garrisons. The HTS may have, as a result, mixed up these two places.

The role of Sui-yeh as one of the Four Garrisons is the key to the understanding of the political and military situation there before the beginning of the eighth century, the time when Li Po's family allegedly left Sui-yeh for Shu. To begin with, the Chiu T'ang shu in one place holds that the Four Garrisons (including Sui-yeh) already existed as early as immediately after the T'ang's victory in Ch'iu-tz'u in late 648; similar versions are also found in the Ts'e-fu yüan-kuei 冊府元龜 and the HTS.<sup>59</sup> It is, however, very doubtful that the T'ang could have established a garrison at Sui-yeh long before it defeated A-shih-na Ho-lu in late 657. Moreover, close examination will reveal that these sources, which also contain some other suspicious or even false information,<sup>60</sup> may have presented the above date ultimately through the misunderstanding of a memorial by Ts'ui Jung 崔融.<sup>61</sup> It seems feasible to assume that the Four Garrisons were completed only after the T'ang conquered and very probably even consolidated its control over all four seats of them, that is, after 658. Even by then Sui-yeh does not seem to have been one of these garrisons because we know that when the T'ang withdrew from the Four Garrisons in 670, they included Yen-ch'i, not Sui-yeh.<sup>62</sup> According to one source, Sui-yeh replaced Yen-ch'i in 679.<sup>63</sup> This, if true, presumably followed P'ei Hsing-chien's victory and the building of the stronghold there. And this date is the earliest unquestioned one of the T'ang's firm control over Sui-yeh. In 686, four years after the above-mentioned rebellion led by A-shih-na Ch'e-po, a

Western Turkish rebellion probably instigated by the Tibetans forced the T'ang to once again withdraw from the Four Garrisons. This time Sui-yeh was clearly one of the four.<sup>64</sup> After a fruitless expedition in 687 against the Tibetans in the An-hsi district,<sup>65</sup> the Chinese army under the command of Wang Hsiao-chieh 王孝傑 finally succeeded in late 692 in afflicting a severe blow on them and re-established the Four Garrisons including Sui-yeh.<sup>66</sup> But, as would be expected, turmoils near Sui-yeh were by no means over after that. Around the sheng-li 聖曆 period (698-99), the Turkish chieftain T'u-chi-shih Wu-chih-le 突騎施烏質勒 besieged Sui-yeh for years, occupied a part of it, and made that part his headquarters. The Chinese troops defending the stronghold are said to have almost starved to death.<sup>67</sup> It seems the T'ang could only acquire temporary peace by appeasing Wu-chih-le with a titular position.<sup>68</sup> In 703, since Wu-chih-le quarrelled with some other Turkish tribes and sent troops to cope with them, this district was again in unrest and passage through it was totally blocked.<sup>69</sup> By chance, however, no sources record any turmoil there under the year 705.

The name T'iao-chih which appears in Li Yang-ping's work has long been considered to refer to the Government-General of T'iao-chih of the T'ang.<sup>70</sup> Some hasty attempts on the identification of this government-general have also been made, which conclude that it is the town of Talas (south-west of Sui-yeh and the very place where the Arabs defeated the T'ang army in 751), or, as I have mentioned above, that it is the area around Sui-yeh.<sup>71</sup> All these views are doubtful.

The Government-General of T'iao-chih was established somewhere between 658 and 661. It was one of the numerous governments-general

established when the T'ang, after its decisive victory over the Western Turks in 657, dispatched envoys to seek for a pledge of loyalty from the states in the region from the Talas river southward to central Afghanistan and northern Pakistan.<sup>72</sup> The seat of the government-general was a certain town named Fu-pao-se-tien 伏寶瑟顛 in the state of Ho-ta-lo-chih 訶達羅支,<sup>73</sup> which in some other times during the T'ang period was known as Ts'ao-chü-cha 漕矩吒 or Hsieh-yü 謝颺.<sup>74</sup> From several rather detailed descriptions on Ts'ao-chü-cha and Hsieh-yü, it is certain that, as Chavannes points out, this state was located around the modern Afghan city Ghazni (southwest of Kabūl).<sup>75</sup> Except for occasionally sending tributary missions to the T'ang, receiving official titles conferred by the T'ang court upon its king and some powerful chieftains, and being allied loosely with T'ang in some international affairs, this state does not seem to have had much relationship with the T'ang empire.<sup>76</sup> There is little doubt that the so-called Government-General of T'iao-chih was only a nominal establishment.

On the other hand, a state also named T'iao-chih is recorded in some standard histories concerning the Han dynasty.<sup>77</sup> It was, according to these sources, a place west of An-hsi 安息 (Parthia), bordering a sea named Hsi-hai 西海 ("Western Sea"), and producing lions, peacocks, and "big birds" (ostriches).<sup>78</sup> There has been some controversy about the exact identification of this state. But scholars seem to agree that the so-called Hsi Hai was the present Persian Gulf and T'iao-chih was located near the head of it.<sup>79</sup>

Li Yang-ping does not seem to have referred to the Government-General of T'iao-chih. First, it seems the central Asian states where the

T'ang established governments-general were in general known to the Chinese by the original names of the states, not by the names of the governments-general (e.g., Yü-t'ien and T'u-huo-lo, not P'i-sha Tu-tu-fu and Yüeh-chih 月氏 Tu-tu-fu); and, as far as I know, this is true in the particular case of Ho-ta-lo-chih (in Li Po's times, Hsieh-yü).<sup>80</sup> Therefore, it is not likely that Li Po could have used "T'iao-chih Tu-tu-fu," and even less so that he could have used only "T'iao-chih," to mean the state of Hsieh-yü. Besides, had he been so well informed about the T'ang's military achievements in the west as to know about the establishment of this nominal government-general, Li Po would not have told Li Yang-ping that his ancestors had been banished there in late Sui or even earlier (see the next page).

Li Yang-ping could not have actually referred to T'iao-chih of the Han either, because by his times that state had not been heard of for centuries. It seems he (or Li Po) only used "T'iao-chih" as a vague, poetic reference to the far west, hardly seriously meaning any particular place.<sup>81</sup> For our need, however, I want to point out that, by not using the more familiar name Hsi-yü (or, An-hsi), he must have been thinking of a place farther west than the Western Territories of the T'ang.

For two reasons I shall center my arguments upon Sui-yeh in the following discussion on the probability of the exile of the Li family. One of these two reasons is that Sui-yeh has been widely accepted as the place of the exile in question; the other is that, as far as the final conclusion I shall reach below is concerned, most of these arguments will remain effective with Li Yang-ping's so-called T'iao-chih also taken into account.

Li Yang-ping and Fan Ch'uan-cheng seem to agree that Li Po's ancestors came to the Western Territories because of banishment.<sup>82</sup> According to Li Yang-ping, their banishment was the result of an unjustified conviction of a certain member of the family who originally had been an official.<sup>83</sup> When this event took place is not definite. Fan says it happened during the calamitous period of late Sui 隋 (the period of Sui: 581-617), while Li only gives an extremely vague date: "the middle [of the family's history] (chung-yeh 中葉)." Since the middle-point between the birth dates of Li Po and the generally acknowledged founder of the Lung-hsi Li clan Li Kao (A.D. 701 and A.D. 351) is A.D. 526, what Li means by this expression may but also may not be, as is usually assumed, late Sui.<sup>84</sup> Nevertheless, even if the possible upper limit of the date meant by Li Yang-ping could be reasonably extended backwards for two or three decades, one conclusion can be reached here all the same. This conclusion is that, as Ch'en Yin-k'o suggested, Li Po's ancestors were unlikely to have been banished to Sui-yeh in the times indicated by Li and Fan, because that place was then far beyond the dominance of any regime in China.<sup>85</sup>

Judging from the words they use (Li: "t'ao kuei" 逃歸 ; Fan: "ch'ien huan" 潛還), Li and Fan both suggest that Li Po's family returned unlawfully to China proper in 705. But it seems this could not have been the case. Firstly, there were numerous general amnesties during the T'ang times before 705, which in general excluded only such especially serious crimes as treason, parricide, and the murder of a master by a slave.<sup>86</sup> As is just mentioned, the cause of the banishment of Li Po's ancestors does not seem to have been so grave a crime

as these. Moreover, the Li's who lived around the year 705 were at least the third- or fourth-generation descendants of those who were banished to Sui-yeh. It is, hence, extremely doubtful that, after several decades of T'ang dominance at Sui-yeh, Li Po's family still had to flee back to China proper as unpardoned convicts.

Secondly, as pointed out above, within the twenty years before 705, the Chinese troops were forced to withdraw from Sui-yeh and other garrisons in Turkestan at least once, and long besieged within Sui-yeh by the Western Turks at another time. Obviously, the T'ang had great difficulty even only to maintain its military presence at that politically and militarily turbulent place. Under such circumstances, it seems unlikely that the T'ang government would have detained there some descendants of a certain convict of a certain former regime as Li Po's family were.

Thirdly, in 705, a time when Turkestan was under firm Chinese control, it was also improbable for a family with children to steal from Sui-yeh all the way to Shu (in modern Szechwan). Between the Issyk Kul and central Kansu, there are massive deserts and mountain ranges, so that travelling is possible only by following some fixed routes. Also, it is obvious that the T'ang government established military posts at most oases and mountain passes along these routes.<sup>87</sup> Moreover, there were in T'ang times regulations which demanded all travellers to hold travel permits called kuo-so 過所 if they wished to pass any check point, and regulations against the smuggling of horses, which were categorized as military supplies.<sup>88</sup> As the following examples will demonstrate, these regulations were very strictly enforced in the



western frontiers. When Hsüan-tsang started his journey to India in 627, the western border of China lay in present north-western Kansu. Hsüan-tsang's biography by Hui-li 慧立, which relates his journey in detail, gives a vivid description of how the densely deployed posts in the deserts near the border had worked effectively against an illegal traveller like Hsüan-tsang.<sup>89</sup> The monk was finally able to proceed westward only through the grace of some individual officers who were moved by his extraordinary religious piety.<sup>90</sup> Although stories related by monks in those days are sometimes exaggerated, the present one is well supported by some documents recently excavated. Some kuo-so and the applications for them were found at Turfan, which date from the k'ai-yüan period (713-41), a time very close to 705.<sup>91</sup> These documents confirm that common travellers indeed had to use kuo-so in the whole area governed by the An-hsi Protectorate. A great number of them, which report the existence of horses and donkeys, show that the regulations about horse control were also enforced. More importantly, according to the extant part of a sheet attached to one of the kuo-so, presumably for signing or stamping by inspecting officers, the holder of the kuo-so handed it in to be checked at no less than four shou-cho 守捉 posts near Kua-chou 瓜州 (present An-hsi 安西, Kansu) within only three days--a clear indication of the density and efficiency of T'ang security posts in that area.<sup>92</sup>

Before I proceed to investigate Li Po's connection with the Lung-hsi Li clan, I want to clarify one more point. Some primary sources say that Li Po drafted for Hsüan-tsang's court a letter to a certain barbarian state.<sup>93</sup> This seems to some scholars to suggest that Li Po

knew some foreign language and that his Western Territories connection might therefore be true.<sup>94</sup> In fact, however, the drafts of numerous T'ang diplomatic letters are still extant, and these drafts are all written in Chinese.<sup>95</sup> The one that Li Po composed does not prove anything.

My discussion on the poet's alleged membership in the Lung-hsi Li clan will begin with a brief biographic account of the founder of the clan Li Kao. Li Kao was the founder of Western Liang 涼, one of the so-called Sixteen States (Shih-liu-kuo 十六國) that claimed independence in northern China after the fall of the Western Chin dynasty 西晉. Allegedly, he was descended from the famous Han 漢 general Li Kuang 廣; his chün-wang, though usually said to be Lung-hsi Ch'eng-chi 成紀 since T'ang times, was in fact Lung-hsi Ti-tao 狄道. He was often referred to by his posthumous titles Prince Wu-chao 武昭王 and Emperor Hsing-sheng 興聖皇帝, the latter conferred by Hsüan-tsung in 743.<sup>96</sup> Supported by his subordinates, he claimed independence at Tun-huang in A.D. 400.<sup>97</sup> In 405, he moved his capital eastward to Chiu-ch'üan 酒泉 to cope with Northern Liang 涼, the regime under Chü-ch'ü Meng-hsün 沮渠蒙遜.<sup>98</sup> He died in 417 at the age of sixty-seven.<sup>99</sup> Chü-ch'ü was a Hsiung-nu 匈奴 by origin. He rose in 401 in rebellion against his ruler Tuan Yeh 段業, killed Tuan at Chang-yeh 張掖, and took Tuan's place there. In 412, he seized Ku-tsang 姑臧 (present Wu-wei 武威) and moved his capital there.<sup>100</sup> In the fall of 420, Li Kao's son and successor Hsin 歆 invaded Chang-yeh and was defeated and killed, together with at least two of his brothers, by Chü-ch'ü Meng-hsün. Chü-ch'ü then proceeded to seize Chiu-ch'üan.

In the spring of 421, Chü-ch'ü conquered Western Liang's final base Tun-huang, then under the command of Li Hsün 恂, a younger brother of Hsin's; Hsün committed suicide. Western Liang was thus completely destroyed.<sup>101</sup>

Afterwards, only one branch descended from Li Kao remained illustrious in history. Li Kao's grandson Pao 寶 survived the doom of his family and later became an official in the court of Northern Wei. Pao's descendants soon emerged as a new leading clan in the East-of-the-Mountain (Shan-tung) area when his youngest son Ch'ung 冲 became one of the most influential ministers of Emperor Hsiao-wen 孝文帝 and married a daughter to the emperor and another daughter and a niece to two princes.<sup>102</sup>

Li Po linked himself with Li Kao's clan in two ways. First, he also called himself a person from Lung-hsi (but not Lung-hsi Ch'eng-chi, which both Li Yang-ping and Fan Ch'uan-cheng used) and mentioned Li Kuang as a distant ancestor.<sup>103</sup> Second, he once called himself "an unworthy branch or leaf" of the T'ang imperial clan, which also claimed descent from Li Kao.<sup>104</sup> The account that the poet was a ninth-generation descendant of Kao came down to us first through Li (Yang-ping) and Fan.

This linkage has been seriously doubted by many scholars. Here, in order to assess their arguments, I shall first look into some problems concerning the great chün-wang's in general and the Lung-hsi chün-wang of the Li's in particular. Li Kao's genuine chün-wang is the starting point. From the following evidence, it is almost positive that Li Kao was from Lung-hsi Ti-tao instead of Lung-hsi Ch'eng-chi: (A) The funeral inscriptions for several pre-T'ang descendants of Li Pao are still extant, and they all indicate that the clan was from Ti-tao.<sup>105</sup> (B) The

same account is found in both Li Kao's biography in the Wei shu 魏書 and the "Short History of the State of Western Liang" 西涼錄 in the Shih-liu-kuo ch'un-ch'iu tsuan-lu 十六國春秋纂錄. These two works are, to my knowledge, the only extant histories compiled before T'ang times that ever mention Li Kao's chün-wang.<sup>106</sup> (C) Even in T'ang and post-T'ang sources, members of this clan are still often said to be from Ti-tao.<sup>107</sup>

It is very probable that the so-called Lung-hsi Ch'eng-chi chün-wang of Li Kao was fabricated by some official historians in early T'ang times. To begin with, Kao's biography in the Chin shu (compiled under T'ai-tsung's personal order in 646 and completed in 648) seems to be the earliest detailed and well-known account of the clan's history that gives Lung-hsi Ch'eng-chi as Kao's chün-wang.<sup>108</sup> On the surface this version is well justified seeing that Kao was said to be descended from Kuang, who, according to the Shih chi and the Han shu, came from Lung-hsi Ch'eng-chi.<sup>109</sup> Nevertheless, four of the funeral inscriptions just mentioned indicate that the clan was from "Ch'in-chou Lung-hsi-chün Ti-tao-hsien Tu-hsiang Ho-feng-li" 秦州隴西郡狄道縣都鄉和風里,<sup>110</sup> and this is an administrative division that could not have existed during the Former Han period but most probably existed in Western Chin (265-317).<sup>111</sup> This strongly suggests that the family at issue began to emerge as an eminent clan from Ti-tao no earlier than Western Chin. It seems, therefore, Li Kao's chün-wang was originally not connected with Li Kuang in any way.<sup>112</sup>

In the same passage, seeming to indicate the origin of Li Kao's Ch'eng-chi chün-wang, the Chin shu says that Li Kuang's great grandfather

was killed in battle at Ti-tao, and so Kuang's grandfather went there to bury him and ended up by settling down there. It seems to assume that there was no difference between Ti-tao and Ch'eng-chi. Sometime later, the "Hsü-chuan" 序傳 of the Pei shih 北史 (Biographical Postface; composed during Kao-tsung's reign in or shortly before 659),<sup>113</sup> also a detailed account of the subject in question, even expressly stated that these two places were identical.<sup>114</sup> And it seems this account represented the official view of the origins of the T'ang clan.<sup>115</sup> However, Ti-tao (near what is now Lin-t'ao 臨洮, Kansu) and Ch'eng-chi (near what is now Ch'in-an 秦安, Kansu)<sup>116</sup> seem to have always remained two individual hsien's from Han to T'ang times except in some periods when one or both of them were abolished.<sup>117</sup> To mix them up is groundless. A third version of the point under discussion is found in the "Tsung-shih shih-hsi-piao" 宗室世系表 (Genealogical Tables of the Imperial Clan) of the HTS, which contains some materials very similar to but a little more detailed than those in the "Hsü-chuan" passage.<sup>118</sup> This new version holds that the Li's moved from Ti-tao to Ch'eng-chi after Kuang's father Shang 尚 became the magistrate of Ch'eng-chi.<sup>119</sup> Should this be true, the above difficulty in the Chin shu and the Pei shih would be readily solved. But the Shih chi and the Han shu record only one move of Kuang's family, which was from Huai-li 槐里 (near Ch'ang-an)<sup>120</sup> to Ch'eng-chi, and mention neither Ti-tao nor Li Shang.<sup>121</sup> Other relevant sources prior to the HTS do not mention this so-called father of Li Kuang, either.<sup>122</sup> The "Tsung-shih-piao" version is, therefore, very probably a fake. It also seems that the origin of this version came into existence later than the

"Hsü-chuan", because otherwise it would have been adopted by the "Hsü-chuan" or even by the Chin shu.<sup>123</sup> Since all three sources referred to here are supposed to be authoritative, the above-mentioned mistakes and inconsistencies do not seem to have been produced through negligence. Rather, they suggest that there have been consistent efforts in the three sources to introduce, justify, or revise the same false account of Li Kao's chün-wang. This view is further strengthened by the fact that, on some other points, similar efforts are also more or less manifested.<sup>124</sup>

Furthermore, as Ch'en Yin-k'o pointed out several decades ago, the account about Li Ch'ung-er 重耳 is equally suspect even though it is consistently presented in all closely concerned sources.<sup>125</sup> Ch'ung-er was said to be one of the sons and the would-be successor of Li Hsin 歆, to be a direct ancestor of the T'ang clan, and to have fled to the Liu Sung 劉宋 empire after the collapse of Western Liang. However, nothing about this person can be found in relevant pre-T'ang sources. Moreover, a great part of the career of this person happens to tally with that of a certain historical figure named Li Ch'u-ku-pa 李初古拔, who was a middle-ranking official early in the Northern Wei. Therefore, Ch'en concluded, it is possible that the person named Li Ch'ung-er did not exist at all and the T'ang clan was actually descended from Li Ch'u-ku-pa.

Ch'en's findings indicate that the T'ang imperial claim to descent from the Lung-hsi Li clan may be false, and that some T'ang historians may have attempted to support this claim by mixing up the histories of the two clans. This sheds some light upon the problem about Li Kao's

chün-wang. As will be shown below, the T'ang clan had probably once claimed to be from Lung-hsi Ch'eng-chi long before it founded the T'ang dynasty.<sup>126</sup> It might have, accordingly, also tried to infuse this chün-wang into Li Kao's history when later it decided to fabricate its relationship with Kao.

In fact, the claim of the T'ang clan was strongly challenged as early as T'ai-tsung's time. According to one early T'ang Buddhist source, in 637, in a severe dispute with the T'ang court over a T'ang policy which granted Taoists a higher political status than Buddhists, the monk Fa-lin 法琳 claimed before T'ai-tsung that the imperial family was of Hsien-pei 鮮卑 origin, not descended from Lao-tzu (therefore no need to venerate Taoism) and the Lung-hsi Li clan, and that the Lung-hsi Li clan were actually descendants of some slaves.<sup>127</sup> It is not certain how much one can rely upon Fa-lin because the meaning of some crucial details in his words is not clear today and one key genealogical work he quoted is not extant.<sup>128</sup> But judging from the situation in which he made these extremely offensive charges, the monk must have had some basis for them. Our source seems reliable in saying that even the emperor himself admitted this.<sup>129</sup> And it seems that what it could not conceal from Fa-lin, the T'ang imperial family could not conceal from many other contemporaries, either.<sup>130</sup>

The motivation for this kind of fabrication should be seen in the context of the vigorous campaign first launched by T'ai-tsung to acquire for the imperial clan a social status comparable to its political power. In those days, a group of old, illustrious clans in the East-of-the-Mountain area still held very high social status although

they were not politically powerful in the new dynasty. Among them several extremely eminent clans even overshadowed the imperial clan and its powerful allies of whom most were newly emerged clans from the north-western area formerly ruled by Western Wei and Northern Chou. It is recorded that people from lower clans were often eager to pay more-than-decent dowries only to get linked with these clans through marriage. Probably out of resentful envy and political apprehension, the newly established ruling family seemed determined to suppress these clans. In 632, T'ai-tsung ordered Kao Shih-lien 高士廉 and several other high officials to investigate and revise all pedigrees in the nation. His intention was most clearly shown in the following part of his comments on the first draft Kao presented to him, which displeased him by ranking the T'ang clan under at least one of the great East-of-the-Mountain clans: "In this special ranking of the clans, it has been my wish to honor the officials of this court. . . . You are not to consider former generations, but are simply to make your rankings on the basis of present offices and titles." In 638, the final form of the work, known as the Chen-kuan shih-tsu chih 貞觀氏族志 (Treatise on the Clans of the Chen-kuan Period), was completed and distributed throughout the empire. Moreover, the imperial family avoided letting the princes and princesses marry members of the great East-of-the-Mountain clans. In 659, another revision of the national genealogy was ordered by Kao-tsung. This task is sometimes said to have been instigated by certain officials for some personal reasons. But there seems little doubt that Kao-tsung gave his consent at least partly because the Chen-kuan shih-tsu chih, being limited by the prevailing attitude of its time, ultimately had not gone far enough to meet the imperial wishes in this matter. In



the completed new work, known as the Hsing-shih lu 姓氏錄 (Record of the Clans), the criterion used for the ranking was indeed that people with high offices were ranked high and those with lower offices were ranked lower. Furthermore, in the same year Kao-tsung banned the exorbitant dowries which were being paid to eminent clans by less eminent ones and forbade members of seven of the most prestigious clans of the country to intermarry. Both measures aroused strong resentment and scorn.<sup>131</sup> Compared with these kinds of militant measures, subtly and inoffensively connecting itself with an eminent clan was probably a more attractive means for the T'ang clan to boost its prestige.

Interestingly enough, the T'ang's campaign against the great East-of-the-Mountain clans again to a certain extent betrayed its false relationship with the Lung-hsi Li clan. On one hand, in the campaign the Lung-hsi Li clan--then primarily the branches descended from Li Pao--was one of the several targets that were most severely attacked.<sup>132</sup> This suggests that Li Pao's descendants hardly recognized any tie of blood with the T'ang imperial house. A thaw in the relationship between these two Li clans was to come only as late as in 742.<sup>133</sup> On the other hand, if the T'ang clan had in fact come from a prestigious clan, it would have been treated accordingly in society and would not have been so hostile to the great East-of-the-Mountain clans as it was.

Until recently two major theories concerning the genuine origin of the T'ang imperial family have been proposed. Ch'en Yin-k'o held that this family had come from either an extremely obscure branch or a fake one of the renowned Chao-chün 趙郡 Li clan. On the other hand, some other scholars believed that it was simply of foreign origin. Neither

of these two theories seems to be supported by conclusive evidence.<sup>134</sup>

It is beyond the scope of this study to explore this question fully. Hence, I shall conclude this background information about the Lung-hsi Li clan with some brief discussion on the probable origin of the T'ang clan's Ch'eng-chi chün-wang. It seems that, no matter where it originally came from, the T'ang clan had at least been known as a family from Lung-hsi Ch'eng-chi for sometime before it claimed false relationship with Li Kao, because otherwise it would have adopted Li Kao's Ti-tao chün-wang readily.<sup>135</sup> But the administrative division named Lung-hsi [-chün] Ch'eng-chi [-hsien] seems to have ceased to exist since 114 B.C., and the custom for eminent families to form and emphasize their chün-wang's did not come into existence until the Wei (A.D. 220-265) and Chin periods.<sup>136</sup> Therefore, the T'ang clan's Ch'eng-chi chün-wang could also be a fake. It may have been made up in the Western Wei-Northern Chou 西魏北周 period. The Western Wei-Northern Chou regime was founded by a relatively small group of Northern Wei subjects who were led westward by Yü-wen T'ai 宇文泰. In its early years, this regime adopted a series of drastic measures to consolidate itself. One of these measures is to command that those who had rendered good service to the founding of the regime and had consequently become illustrious under it should abandon their East-of-the-Mountain chün-wang's and adopt new chün-wang's from the prefectures in and near Kuan-chung.<sup>137</sup> (Note that Lung-hsi Ti-tao must have been included in the East-of-the-Mountain chün-wang's because Li Kao's clan had long been an eminent one in that region before Western Wei.)<sup>138</sup> I have found in both T'ang and pre-T'ang sources three (and the only three)

cases in which a clan with high officials in the Western Wei-Northern Chou court is said to have originated from Lung-hsi Ch'eng-chi and yet no link between this clan and that of Li Kao is mentioned.<sup>139</sup> In one case, the clan appeared to be in fact a foreign family which moved to China with the Toba's;<sup>140</sup> in another, the clan was originally from a certain Liao-tung Hsiang-p'ing 遼東襄平 Li clan.<sup>141</sup> It seems the ancient place name Lung-hsi Ch'eng-chi was then rather widely adopted by clans named Li (be they true or false Li's) because of its link with Li Kuang. Kao-tsu's father or grandfather obviously belonged in those who were commanded to change chün-wang's.<sup>142</sup> This clan may have also assumed the Ch'eng-chi chün-wang.

Since the T'ang clan were false Lung-hsi Li's, does Li Po's claim to membership in it not mean that he was also a false Lung-hsi Li? Some scholars seem inclined to answer yes readily.<sup>143</sup> But the actual situation appears to be quite otherwise. Fa-lin, the monk just mentioned, was banished from the capital for "slandering" the imperial house's ancestors even though T'ai-tsung conceded that he had some evidence on his side.<sup>144</sup> This shows that, as would be expected, the true origin of the T'ang clan was then a taboo. Besides, as time went by and the T'ang's rule proved highly successful and its prestige accordingly rose, people would have become more impressed by positions in the T'ang court and less concerned with the imperial clan's probable mediocre origin.<sup>145</sup> Mutual recognition of kinship seems to have gradually become rather common among members of the Chao-chün, Lung-hsi, and imperial Li clans.<sup>146</sup> Moreover, it is recorded that later, in the seventh month of 742, Li Yen-yün 李彥允, a Lung-hsi Li then

serving in the court, and some other officials petitioned to be admitted to the imperial house on the ground that they were also descended from Li Kao. Hsüan-tsung accepted this appeal and decreed that four branches of the Lung-hsi Li clan descended from Li Pao be included in the imperial family. This marked the formal and complete end of the cold relationship that had once existed between the two clans.<sup>147</sup> There is no indication whether Li Yen-yün made this appeal purely on his own initiative. But there is some evidence that the new policy was before long welcomed by some members of the four branches at least.<sup>148</sup> Therefore, after 742, it was legitimate and natural for a Lung-hsi Li to claim membership in the imperial house. The poem in which Li Po made such a claim was composed long after 742.<sup>149</sup>

Similarly, in Li Po's time, the use of the so-called Lung-hsi Ch'eng-chi chün-wang seems no proof of false relationship with the Lung-hsi Li clan, either. I have found three funeral inscriptions for members of this clan, written between 768 and 789, which give Lung-hsi Ch'eng-chi as the chün-wang of these people.<sup>150</sup> This kind of practice may well have begun long before 768 because, as a certain passage in the Shih t'ung 史通 shows, by the time of Liu Chih-chi 劉知幾 (661-721) Lung-hsi Ch'eng-chi had already been widely used in place of Ti-tao.<sup>151</sup>

Some scholars hold that even Li Po's surname is dubious.<sup>152</sup> Their arguments are ultimately all based on their different interpretations of the following parallel words by Li Yang-ping and Fan Ch'uan-cheng: "[After Li Po's family fled back to Shu, Li Po's parents (?)] fu chih li-shu er sheng Po-yang 復指李樹而生伯陽 " (Li) and "On [Li Po's]

birth, his late father pointed at some heavenly branches (t'ien-chih 天枝, usually meaning branches of the imperial family;<sup>153</sup> here meaning branches of a li 李, or plum tree, so phrased because Li was the surname of the then imperial family) and resumed their surname, [which the family had abandoned while living in the Western Territories] (Fan)."<sup>154</sup> There is a legend which says that Lao-tzu, styled Po-yang, was born under a plum tree and, born able to speak, pointed at the tree and said, "Be this my surname."<sup>155</sup> For some unknown reason this legend is not included in the T'ang imperial pedigree now available to us. But it seems to have been in medieval times a popular part of the pedigree of the Li's, who venerated Lao-tzu as one of their most prominent distant ancestors.<sup>156</sup> Thus, Li Yang-ping's words, which appear difficult to understand, may on one hand mean that, as Fan says, the family resumed the surname Li on Li Po's birth, and on the other hand suggest that for the Li's Li Po's birth was as significant as that of Lao-tzu. There is no particular reason for the scholars just mentioned to believe that, in accordance with the above words of Li and Fan, Li Po's family borrowed even its surname.

Indeed, however, Li Po's membership in the Lung-hsi Li clan is doubtful. To begin with, in a period like T'ang times when membership in a decent clan meant a great deal to an individual's social status, false claims of ancestry were undoubtedly very common.<sup>157</sup> The following two citations present a rather vivid picture of the situation. First, Liu Chih-chi said:

Recently, people named Ping 郢 and Hung 弘 all changed their

names into Li, since these words violated national taboos. Then when they wrote about their native places, they all used Lung-hsi or Chao-chün. If even people with false surnames have done this, one knows very well what those with genuine surnames have done.<sup>158</sup>

Second, the biography of Li I-fu 義府, a chief minister in Kao-tsung's reign, in the CTS says:

Li I-fu was from Ying-chou Jao-yang [-hsien] 瀛州饒陽 . . . .  
 After he became illustrious, I-fu claimed to be from Chao-chün and began to claim blood ties with and assume suitable generation positions among (hsü chao-mu 敘昭穆) the Li's. Many unprincipled people . . . humbly recognized him as their elder brother or uncle on the paternal side. The Grand Secretary [of the Department of Imperial Chancellery] (chi-shih-chung 給事中) Li Ch'ung-te 崇德 at first also included him in the same pedigree and recognized a certain generation relationship with him. But after I-fu was relegated as the Prefect of P'u-chou 普州, [Ch'ung-te] eliminated [I-fu's name from the pedigree]. When he heard of this, I-fu cherished hatred in his mind.<sup>159</sup>

Such being the case, it seems that veritable pedigrees were required when on some special occasions members of eminent clans had to seriously claim their membership. This is probably the reason why funeral inscriptions for this kind of people often indicated that they were based upon "national histories and family pedigrees" (kuo-shih chia-tieh

國史家謀 (牒)) or similar authorities.<sup>160</sup> And Li Po just does not seem to have had this kind of authority. In his epitaph for Li Po, Li Hua did not say a word about the poet's origins, totally against both the usual convention of epitaph writing and his own practice.<sup>161</sup> This suggests that Li Hua very probably omitted that part on purpose for the reason that he had not obtained substantial material to justify such an account as presented by Li Yang-ping. Besides, Fan Ch'uan-cheng said:

Since [Li Po] had no heir, I was unable to obtain the genealogy of his family. A granddaughter of his searched a suitcase and found a piece of paper with ten-odd lines written by his late son Po-ch'in. The piece was ragged and many words were missing; so its contents were not complete. To count it roughly, the poet was a ninth-generation descendant of Prince Wu-chao of Liang. During the calamitous period of late Sui, his branch [of the Li clan] was exiled to Sui-yeh, and its members had scattered apart and changed their names ever since. Therefore, since the founding of our national dynasty, [the poet's family has been] left out from the register of the imperial household.<sup>162</sup>

Despite all that he said to create the impression that Li Po originally must have owned a genealogy, Fan finally could not but reveal that he had not found any copy of it. Furthermore, Li Po came to serve in Hsüan-tsung's court right after the 742 decree allowed Li Pao's

descendants to be included in the register of the imperial household.<sup>163</sup> He also became connected with Li Yen-yün by recognizing him as a grand-uncle on the paternal side probably while both of them were still in the capital.<sup>164</sup> This makes it very unlikely that he would have forgotten or failed to get included in the imperial register if he indeed was qualified. But, as one can detect from the final part of Fan's words here quoted, Li Po was not included in that register.

Here it is helpful to examine the nature and reliability of Fan's whole account of Li Po's origins. From the parallel texts given in Appendix B, one can see that Fan's account is simply a differently phrased version of that of Li Yang-ping except for the change of T'iao-chih into Sui-yeh and the inclusion of the following points:

1. his failure to obtain Li Po's pedigree, the reason for this failure, and the source of his account (Section C of Appendix B);
2. the effort to explain why Li Po's family had been left out from the register of the imperial household (Section G and its logical connection with Section F);
3. the nickname of Li Po's father and the reason why he was unknown to people (Section I).

And all these points are doubtful. First, if the poet's granddaughter would still carefully preserve a "rotten" piece of paper, of which the content was similar to that of a pedigree, why would she have allowed a pedigree to be lost even if she was only a female descendant of the poet? Second, is what Fan obtained a standard version of Li Po's



origins ultimately based on the poet himself? If not, why is it so close to Li Yang-ping's preface, which was composed on Li Po's request? And if so, why is there the difference between T'iao-chih and Sui-yeh; why would Li Yang-ping have omitted such an important material as the information of Li Po's father; and how could Li Po have been ignorant of the fact that the Lung-hsi Li's were not admitted into the T'ang imperial house until 742? Third, why, as Fan seems to say, did Po-ch'in mention only his grandfather's nickname but not his real name in something with the nature of a family history? Is it that he simply did not know that name because his father Li Po never mentioned it to him? If so, would this kind of thing be likely in those days? After considering these doubtful points as a whole, I would conjecture that Fan in fact did not find anything written by Po-ch'in, that his account was based on Li Yang-ping, and that he made all changes and additions groundlessly in order to defend the stories of Li Po's origins as known to people through Li Yang-ping, who may have been seriously doubted before Fan's time.<sup>165</sup>

Another argument against Li Po's claim is that Li Po never seriously maintained that he was a ninth-generation descendant of Li Kao, which Li Yang-ping said he was, when associating with members of the T'ang and the Lung-hsi Li clans. This argument was first proposed by Chan Ying and later cited by Kuo Mo-jo.<sup>166</sup> Chan listed a group of Li's with whom Li Po claimed ties of blood and used the "Tsung-shih piao" and the "Tsai-hsiang shih-hsi piao" 宰相世系表 (Genealogical Tables for the Clans of the Chief Ministers) in the HTS to check their generation relationships with Li Kao. Since the reliability of the

tables in the HTS was often doubted in the past, Chan's method was sometimes not well received.<sup>167</sup> But some recent extensive investigations have shown that, except for the accounts of the distant ancestors of the various clans, these tables are, to a very great extent, dependable.<sup>168</sup> And, as Chan argued, although neither the authenticity of Li Po's works nor the identification of the persons mentioned by Li Po with their namesakes on the tables in the HTS could be always beyond question, some persons on his list were too famous to be mistaken and, hence, could provide proof for his argument.<sup>169</sup>

Some of Li Po's words, though rather inconsistent or sketchy, may shed a little light on the probable way in which the poet evolved the stories of his origins. In a letter written around the age of thirty (730), Li Po said:

I originally come from a family in Chin-ling 金陵, which has long been an illustrious clan. Because of the calamity caused by Chü-ch'ü Meng-hsün 沮渠蒙遜, my family was forced to flee to Hsien-Ch'in 咸秦. It then moved around following the official posts [held by its members] 因官寓家. It was in the area of the Yangtze and the Han Rivers that I spent my early years 少長江漢.<sup>170</sup>

These words are very different from the stories given by Li Yang-ping and Fan Ch'uan-cheng. In addition, some points in them (e.g., a family from Chin-ling and the calamity caused by Chü-ch'ü Meng-hsün (see pp. 24-25)) apparently can not be combined smoothly. Therefore, at

least one scholar in the past completely denied its authenticity.<sup>171</sup> But so far no strong evidence of any kind has been found to support this view. Wang Ch'i is more acceptable in only asserting that this passage may contain some textual errors.<sup>172</sup>

Some scholars, including Wang, have tried to interpret or emend this passage in such ways as to make it conforming to Li and Fan.<sup>173</sup> One effort shared by them all is to make Chin-ling, the traditional but not often the official name of what is now Nanking, into a place near Lung-hsi or within what was the territories of the Western Liang. It is suggested that Chin-ling probably should be read as Chin-ch'eng 金城 (at or near present Lan-chou, Kansu),<sup>174</sup> or that it might refer to the Chien-k'ang-chün 建康郡 (near present Kao-t'ai 高臺, Kan-su) established in the Former Liang 前涼 (also one of the Sixteen States) because Chin-ling had been known as Chien-k'ang during the Eastern Chin period.<sup>175</sup> If, however, Li Po intended to introduce himself as a Lung-hsi Li, it is, according to the conventional idea of chün-wang, extremely unlikely for him to say that he originally came from a family in Chin-ch'eng or Chien-k'ang no matter whether some of his ancestors really had lived in those places. Besides, it is doubtful that the Chien-k'ang in Kansu was also known as Chin-ling, and even more so that Li Po would have used so well-known a place name as Chin-ling to refer to a remote obscure former county in the northwest without any further explanation (Chien-k'ang-chün was abolished in the Northern Chou).<sup>176</sup> These speculations are practically untenable. Another suggestion, a boldly imaginative one made by Kuo Mo-jo, is that Hsien-Ch'in 咸秦 may be the corrupt form of Sui-yeh 碎葉.<sup>177</sup>

Admittedly, Hsien-Ch'in (Hsien presumably means Hsien-yang 咸陽, while Ch'in means the Shensi area, which had been the territory of the state of Ch'in) is a rather rare combination, but it is not an impossible one. Also, it is logical that a family that encountered a calamity in what is the present Kan-su area, where Chü-ch'ü's regime was located, might have fled to the present Shensi area. Hence, Li Po's words do not necessarily need emendation here. Besides, even with the change he suggested, Kuo could not make the passage in question compatible with Li and Fan: Li Po said here that his family had "moved around following the official posts [held by its members]," not lived in exile; and a calamity caused by Chü-ch'ü Meng-hsün could not have taken place as late as several generations after Li Kao or even the end of the Sui dynasty.<sup>178</sup>

It seems more appropriate to treat this passage as a somewhat corrupt earlier independent version of the poet's origins.<sup>179</sup> There are, apart from the improper dictation of Li and Fan, some indications that Li Po might already be claiming to be a Lung-hsi Li in this version. First, shortly after, around 734, he clearly made this claim in his famous letter to Han Ch'ao-tsung 韓朝宗.<sup>180</sup> Second, the mention of Chü-ch'ü Meng-hsün, who was not famous in Chinese history, is comparatively unlikely to have been made by an editor or a type-setting or type-cutting worker; and the destiny of the Lung-hsi Li clan was really tremendously affected by Chü-ch'ü. As to the story about Li Po's family being exiled to the Western Territories, it seems the poet had not developed it yet at this stage.

My last point above can be somewhat strengthened by three poems by

Li Po. These poems are: (1) "Sung tsu-ti Wan ts'ung-chün An-hsi"

送族弟綰從軍安西 , (2) "Sung Ch'eng Liu er shih-yü chien

Tu-ku p'an-kuan fu An-hsi mu-fu"送程劉二侍御兼獨孤判官赴安西幕府,

and (3) "Chiang-hsi sung yu-jen chih Lo-fu" 江西送友人之羅浮 .<sup>181</sup>

They are the only extant works by Li Po which mention the Western

Territories and shed light on the poet's attitude toward that district.<sup>182</sup>

Among them only the third, which is composed after Li Po's court life

(742-44), mentions An-hsi as the poet's home district.<sup>183</sup> The other

two, both presented to people departing for An-hsi during either of the

poet's two stays in Ch'ang-an (the first in 737-41 and the second in

742-44), do not show any sign of personal connection with that area at

all.<sup>184</sup> I would, therefore, venture to conjecture that Li Po did not

invent the story about his family's exile until 742 or later. It is

probable that, since he came to serve in Hsüan-tsung's court right

after the Lung-hsi Li's were granted admission to the imperial house,

Li Po found himself engulfed in a stream of newly aroused interest in

the origins of all officials named Li. Without any pedigree, he may

have then found it necessary to invent this story to justify his alleged

status as a Lung-hsi Li. Or, as the story of Li I-fu cited earlier

suggests, Li Po may have been accepted as a Lung-hsi Li as long as he

served in the court, but was under attack and, hence, had to fabricate

the Western Territories connection to defend himself after he lost

Hsüan-tsung's patronage in 744.

In a passage concerning Li Po's birth place Mien-chou, the Sung

dynasty geographer Ou-yang Min 歐陽忞 said that "some of Po's

ancestors had been banished to Sui-chou 雋州 (in present Hsi-ch'ang

西昌 in south-western Szechwan) and their descendants had later moved back" to Mien-chou.<sup>185</sup> This information is unique and can not be confirmed in any way today. But, at any rate, Ou-yang may not be far from the fact. That Li Po, who obviously cared much about his origins, did not mention the official post held by, or even simply the name of, any illustrious close ancestor or close relative demonstrates that he could hardly be from any eminent family. Even the speculation that his family might have by his time become very wealthy from running business is groundless.<sup>186</sup> In all probability, Li Po was from obscure origins in Szechwan.

## Chapter Two: A General Picture of Li Po's Life

As I have indicated in the Introduction, this chapter will present a concise chronology of Li Po's life. Since the process of reconstructing this chronology is often very complicated, the text of the chapter will include only the results of the reconstruction.

The way place-names are to be presented in this chronology needs some explanation. In most times of the T'ang period, the prefectures in the empire were called chou's 州 and their names often remained unchanged. In 742, however, the T'ang government changed the term chou into chün 郡 and changed the names of almost all prefectures. The old designations were not restored until 757.<sup>1</sup> In addition, Li Po frequently used ancient and informal place-names in his works. This variety of place-names would obviously cause great inconvenience. To avoid confusion, I shall, whenever necessary, provide the T'ang names of the chou's and their modern equivalents or approximations. To make it easy for the reader to approach Li Po himself, however, I shall usually keep the names the poet used.

### 1. 701-724: Life in Shu

There is little doubt that Li Po grew up in Shu.<sup>2</sup> Mien-chou, the poet's home prefecture, was located in what is the present Chiang-yu 江油 area in northern Szechwan.<sup>3</sup> The poet began to read broadly and became interested in fencing when he was still very young.<sup>4</sup> According to one poem, he once attempted to visit some Taoist adepts in the nearby Tai-t'ien-shan Mountain 戴天山, but did not meet them.<sup>5</sup>

It is not certain if he indeed, as a certain Sung dynasty source holds, secluded himself in this mountain.<sup>6</sup> In a work composed about the age of thirty, nevertheless, the poet did say that he had lived in seclusion for several years (the figure may have been exaggerated) in his home district with a recluse styled Tung-yen-tzu 東巖子.<sup>7</sup> It has been speculated that Tung-yen-tzu was none other than Chao Jui 趙蕤.<sup>8</sup> Chao was a senior of Li Po's from the neighboring prefecture Tzu-chou 梓州 (around present San-t'ai 三台), and was famous for his extensive knowledge in the arts of ruling by legitimacy or might (wang-pa chih tao 王霸之道). Our poet was obviously very familiar with him while in Shu, be the above speculation correct or not.<sup>9</sup> In or shortly after 720, the poet made a trip to I-chou 益州 (present Ch'eng-tu 成都). There he sent a visiting card to Su T'ing 蘇頌, the Chief Administrator (chang-shih 長史) of the Grand Government-General of I-chou, when Su was once out in the streets. Su, the poet claimed, treated him courteously and warmly praised his literary talent.<sup>10</sup> Some poems show that he visited the renowned O-mei-shan Mountain 峨眉山 on his way out of Shu, eulogized it as the top of the "mountains of the immortals" of Shu, and dreamed about a happy, mystical life in the world of the immortals.<sup>11</sup>

## 2. 724-737: "Trifling Away Ten Years" at An-chou

The poet left Shu and travelled east along the Yangtze River in about the autumn of 724.<sup>12</sup> As he himself indicated, he did not make this journey merely for sight-seeing; he clearly saw it as the beginning of his search for a better career in the more metropolitan areas



of the empire.<sup>13</sup> He travelled as far as Yang-chou 揚州 and Chin-ling 金陵 and seems to have spent about two years in that region.<sup>14</sup> He then travelled back up the river.<sup>15</sup> I suspect that he had spent most of his money and planned to go home now.

But he stopped in what is the present Hupèi in about 727 and before long got married at An-chou 安州 (present An-lu 安陸) to a woman named Hsü 許, who seems to have come from a rather distinguished family in that place.<sup>16</sup> He later said that he had "trifled away ten years" at An-chou.<sup>17</sup> Although he often used numbers very loosely, the following text will show that he may have really kept his family there and lived there intermittently himself until after his mid-thirties.

Soon after his marriage, Li Po made a trip to what he called the Ju-hai 汝海 area (present North Ju-ho 北汝河 area in Honan).<sup>18</sup> He may have made this trip to stay with his intimate Taoism-orientated friend Yüan Tan-ch'iu 元丹丘 at Yüan's retreat in Ying-yang 潁陽 (present hsien in Honan).<sup>19</sup> Around that time, he also passed some short periods of secluded life in some obscure hills at or near An-chou.<sup>20</sup> But he was by no means solely occupied with life in the mountains. By about 730, he had already tried more than once to find a patron in the senior officials of An-chou; only he does not seem to have had any luck.<sup>21</sup>

He then went to Lo-yang to seek his fortune. It is likely that he went there shortly after the arrival of Hsüan-tsung's court in the 11th month of 731, because the presence of the court must have been one of the most appealing things there.<sup>22</sup> At any rate, when early in 732 the T'ang army was sent off on an expedition against the Khitan

under the command of the Prince of Hsin-an Li I 信安王李禕 ,  
 Li Po was already there to write a farewell poem to a certain Mr. Liang  
 Kung-ch'ang 梁公昌 , who would serve in the prince's headquarters.<sup>23</sup>  
 The poet often drank wine and associated with people at taverns near  
 the T'ien-chin-ch'iao Bridge 天津橋 , which led to the imperial  
 palaces.<sup>24</sup> A poem of his clearly shows that he was fascinated by  
 the sight of handsomely dressed officials passing the bridge on horse-  
 back to have audiences with the emperor, although at the end of this  
 poem, still unable to find any avenue to join the ranks of these people,  
 he also said something about the danger of serving the emperor and  
 the merits of an unbound life.<sup>25</sup>

In the tenth month of 732, the T'ang court left Lo-yang for Ch'ang-an  
 by way of Lu-chou 潞州 (present Ch'ang-chih 長治 , Shansi) and  
 T'ai-yüan 太原 , and was not to come back until the first month  
 of 734.<sup>26</sup> Probably because his stay had no meaning after the court  
 had left, Li Po seems to have left Lo-yang in late 732.<sup>27</sup> On his way  
 south, he paid a visit to Yüan Tan-ch'iu at Ying-yang; then he went to  
 Sui-chou 隨州 (present hsien in Hupei) to visit the famous Taoist  
 master Hu Tzu-yang 胡紫陽 . While at Sui-chou, he was joined by  
 a friend named Yüan Yen 元演 , whose acquaintance he made in Lo-yang  
 and who was later to become an official at Ch'iao-chün 譙郡 (Po-chou  
 亳州 ; present Po-hsien in Anhwei). In the winter, Yüan Yen left  
 the poet and went to seclude himself in the nearby Hsien-ch'eng-shan  
 Mountain 仙城山 . He seems to have been joined by the poet in  
 the following spring (733). Then--it is not clear when--the two friends  
 parted. The poet returned to some of his places of seclusion at

An-chou and Yüan headed for his home in Ch'ang-an.

In the spring of 734 or, less probably, 735, Li Po visited Hsiang-yang-襄陽 (prefecture seat of Hsiang-chou). In addition to touring the scenic spots there, the poet first paid a visit and then wrote a letter to Han Ch'ao-tsung 韓朝宗, eagerly seeking for Han's patronage. Han was at that time the Chief Administrator of the Grand Government-General of Ching-chou 荊州 (present Chiang-ling 江陵, Hupei) and Prefect of Hsiang-chou.<sup>28</sup> But again his efforts were of no avail. It seems he stayed at Hsiang-yang until after autumn.<sup>29</sup>

In the fifth month of 735, the poet and Yüan Yen were found toiling on the rugged paths in the T'ai-hang-shan Mountain 太行山 on a journey to Ping-chou 并州 (in 735, the Superior Prefecture of T'ai-yüan). They arrived at their destination in autumn. The poet was so warmly hosted by Yüan and Yüan's father, who was a high official in the prefecture, that, in his own words, he was "drunk and full and did not think of home."<sup>30</sup> He often visited Chin-tz'u 晉祠, a scenic spot in the west of the city of T'ai-yüan, sometimes with sing-song girls.<sup>31</sup> He stayed there until after the spring of 736.

It seems that, on his way home, Li Po came to Lo-yang again, came across Yüan Tan-ch'iu there, and left there for home sometime before the tenth month of that year, when Hsüan-tsung's court left the Eastern Capital. He then seems to have lived with his family for one year or so (to 737). Probably in the autumn of 737, the poet wrote a poem to Yüan Tan-ch'iu, who had recently acquired a retreat near Nan-yang (in Teng-chou 鄧州; present Nan-yang, Honan). In this poem he expressed some desire to seclude himself, too. He soon went to visit

Yüan, maybe even before receiving Yüan's answer. But he only stayed overnight with Yüan in the Mountains.<sup>32</sup> According to some sources, the poet and his family were then living at Nan-yang.<sup>33</sup> This is the earliest indication that Li Po's family had already left An-chou.

### 3. 737-740: First Visit to Ch'ang-an

Before long, the poet travelled west to Ch'ang-an.<sup>34</sup> I would speculate that he arrived in the capital at the turn of 737 and 738.<sup>35</sup> He was to spend more than two whole years in the Kuan-chung area.<sup>36</sup> The purpose of this sojourn was no doubt closely connected with the presence of the T'ang court, which did not move to Lo-yang again after it left there in 736. There are some indications that the poet carried with him at least one fu 賦 to present to the emperor and spent the beginning of his stay in the capital waiting for the outcome.<sup>37</sup> Probably after he became aware that his show-piece of literary talent would not bring about anything, the poet went to live as a recluse in the Chung-nan-shan Mountain 終南山 (south of Ch'ang-an).<sup>38</sup> Some poems show that in the autumn of a certain year (my speculation is it was the year 738), Li Po tried to become a protégé of Princess Yü-chen 玉真公主, who lived in a villa in the Chung-nan-shan Mountain. The princess was a sister of Hsüan-tsung's and was a pious Taoist. The treatment the poet received in her villa was chilly.<sup>39</sup>

Maybe in the summer of 739, Li Po left the capital for a trip to Hsin-p'ing 新平 (Pin-chou 邠州, called Pin-chou 豳州 in early T'ang times and Hsin-p'ing in the Sui; present Pin-hsien 彬縣, north-west of Sian) and Fang-chou 坊州 (around present Huang-ling

黃陵, north of Sian).<sup>40</sup> He spent the summer and autumn at Hsin-p'ing.<sup>41</sup> It seems he then had to leave there because the patronage he had received from a certain local official had waned.<sup>42</sup> He stayed at Fang-chou till about the spring of the following year.<sup>43</sup> Although his sojourn there was short, the poet still managed to associate with some officials and eagerly expressed to them a request for political help.<sup>44</sup> He came back to the Chung-nan-shan Mountain in the same spring.<sup>45</sup> As to his later activities there, very little is known to us now.

#### 4. 740-742: Short Stays in Lu and Hsüan-chou

In 740, the poet left Ch'ang-an for the East-of-the-Mountain area.<sup>46</sup> He may have travelled along the water ways from the capital and arrived at the Liang-yüan Garden 梁園 near Pien-chou 汴州 (around present K'ai-feng 開封, Honan) in the fifth month.<sup>47</sup> Still in the same month, he travelled farther to Tung Lu 東魯 (Yen-chou 兗州, area south of the T'ai-shan Mountain 泰山); he then settled down there for some time.<sup>48</sup> It is likely that during this sojourn he associated in the Ts'u-lai-shan Mountain 徂徠山 with K'ung Ch'ao-fu 孔巢父 and four other hermits, the group of them known as the "Six Hermits at Chu-hsi" 竹溪六逸.<sup>49</sup>

When the poet left Tung Lu is not very clear. From various sources, I have found the following accounts about his whereabouts. First, he did not leave Tung Lu before the spring of 741.<sup>50</sup> Second, he made a tour to the T'ai-shan Mountain in the fourth and fifth months of 742.<sup>51</sup> Third, before he was summoned to the capital in the autumn of

742 (see below), he once made a trip to the Hang-chou 杭州 district and stayed there at least from autumn to spring (or, less probably, the other way round).<sup>52</sup> Fourth, before he set off for the capital in 742, he stopped over at Nan-ling 南陵, Hsüan-chou 宣州 (present Nan-ling, Anhwei) to see his children, whom he obviously had accommodated there earlier (N.B.: the poet's wife Hsü is not mentioned in this account)<sup>53</sup>. Unless one or more of these accounts should prove unreliable, Li Po seems to have visited the Hang-chou region sometime between the springs of 741 and 742 and to have returned to Lu for a little while before coming south again to the lower Yangtze valley in the summer of 742. This itinerary, however, is somewhat puzzling. To be specific, what had caused the poet to make such a short trip back to Lu? He is not likely to have returned there only for sight-seeing. According to Wei Hao, the poet once cohabited with a woman named Liu 劉 and this woman left him before long.<sup>54</sup> A poem by the poet suggests that, before he left Nan-ling for Ch'ang-an, he had just broken with a wife who had scorned him for his obscurity and impractical ambition.<sup>55</sup> Was this wife Liu? (The poet's cohabitation with Liu and his accommodating his children at Nan-ling both suggest that his first wife Hsü had been dead for sometime.) If such is the case, did the poet return to Lu to take his children south because during his sojourn in the Hang-chou region he had found a common-law wife at Nan-ling, who, he thought, could take care of them? We need more information to reach any definite conclusion.

##### 5. 742-744: Service in the Han-lin Academy

Then came the most glorious episode in the poet's life, his service in Hsüan-tsung's court. As usually accepted, he went to Ch'ang-an in the autumn of 742.<sup>56</sup> Some sources say that he impressed the emperor with a fu entitled "In Praise of the Great Undertaking of the T'ang" ("Hsüan T'ang hung yu" 宣唐鴻猷 ).<sup>57</sup> He then became a Han-lin academician in attendance (Han-lin kung-feng 翰林供奉 ).<sup>58</sup> By the winter of that year he had already attended the emperor at banquets, accompanied the emperor to the Hot Spring Palace (Wen-ch'üan-kung 溫泉宮 ), the imperial winter resort north-east of Ch'ang-an, and composed a fu to eulogize an imperial hunting there.<sup>59</sup> By the mid-spring of 743, he had become the poet-laureate of the palace and had been busy composing laudatory verses to entertain the emperor and his concubines on their spring-time merry-making.<sup>60</sup> After he left the court, the poet made it widely known that beyond the entertainment duties just mentioned, he had occasionally participated in the task of drafting decrees.<sup>61</sup>

Sudden success no doubt intoxicated the poet. In a poem, he thus described his glorious life in those days: in the morning he went to the palace to pay respects to the emperor; then he waited there for summons to serve the emperor, usually with complimentary compositions; when the sun set, he proudly flew home on his valuable horse; and at home he enjoyed with his guests wine, feasts, and charming sing-song girls. Life was transitory, he concluded, and it was definitely better to become prominent early than late.<sup>62</sup>

Unfortunately, Li Po's political prominence was far more transitory than his life. Around the autumn of 743, he complained in a poem

presented to the Chi-hsien-yüan 集賢院 academicians that he had been maligned.<sup>63</sup> He kept making the same allegation after he left the capital.<sup>64</sup> In the spring of 744, he was finally "bestowed some gold" and "allowed to return to the mountains."<sup>65</sup>

There will be closer investigation in Chapter Three into the causes of Li Po's sudden political rise and fall as well as the nature of his job in the court. This section will end with some description of the friendship between Li Po and Ho Chih-chang 賀知章. Ho, a romantic Taoism-orientated man-of-letters, held the posts of monitor of the crown prince (t'ai-tzu pin-k'o 太子賓客) and director of the imperial library (mi-shu chien 祕書監) when Li Po came to Ch'ang-an in 742.<sup>66</sup> Probably soon after Li Po's arrival at the capital, Ho came across Li at the Temple of Lao-tzu and, to Li's great satisfaction, praised Li as a "banished immortal" (che hsien-jen 謫仙人) and gave him a hearty treat at a wine shop.<sup>67</sup> Because of age and poor health, Ho resigned his offices and left the capital with full honor in early 744. He died shortly at his home in the Kuei-chi 會稽 region. Later, Li Po wrote several poems sadly lamenting Ho's death and recalling Ho's kindness.<sup>68</sup> The designation "banished immortal" was remembered and prized both by the poet himself and by his admirers.<sup>69</sup>

## 6. 744-755: Long Years of Wanderings

Li Po spent the ten years or so after his second departure from Kuan-chung travelling around in the eastern provinces. He first went south-eastward, passed the Po-lu-yüan Terrace 白鹿原 (i.e., Pa-shang 灊上, located south-east of Ch'ang-an), and arrived at



Shang-chou 商州 (present Shang-hsien, Shensi).<sup>70</sup> At Shang-chou, he visited the tombs of the four famous Han dynasty hermits known as the "Four White-Haired Ones of the Shang-shan Mountain" (Shang-shan ssu-hao 商山四皓).<sup>71</sup>

It is not certain where Li Po travelled next. I suspect that he went to Hsüan-chou, spent the summer there, and then took his children with him to the north.<sup>72</sup> At any rate, in the autumn of that year (744), Li Po was touring in the Liang-Sung 梁宋 region (Liang: Pien-chou, or, Ch'en-liu-chün 陳留郡; Sung: Sung-chou, the present Shang-ch'iu 商邱 area in Honan) with Tu Fu, Kao Shih 高適 and some other people.<sup>73</sup> He had originally come to Ch'en-liu to ask his friend Li Yen-yün, the then Grand Inspector of the Ho-nan tao, to help him acquire a Taoist register (lu 籙) from Kao Ju-kuei 高如貴, a Taoist master in Pei-hai 北海 (Ch'ing-chou 青州, the present Wei-fang 濰坊 area in Shantung). He seems to have received his register in the temple of Lao-tzu in Ch'i-chou 齊州 (present Chi-nan 濟南).<sup>74</sup> It is not clear whether the poet came across Tu and Kao before or after his trip to Ch'i-chou. Tu Fu and Kao Shih were both still obscure then. According to a poem by Tu, the three of them might have begun their friendship in a wine shop in Sung.<sup>75</sup> Together with some others, they toured such historical sites as the Ch'ui-t'ai Tower 吹臺 in Liang and the Ch'in-t'ai Tower 琴臺 at Shan-fu 單父, Sung-chou.<sup>76</sup>

In late autumn, our poets parted. Kao Shih headed for the south-east; judging from some poems by Kao, Li Po and Tu Fu left the Liang-Sung region no later than Kao himself.<sup>77</sup> The friendship between Li

and Kao seems to have ended with their parting. Later, during the events of the Prince of Yung's 永王 rebellion in the turn of 756 and 757, Kao was to become one of the most important figures who brought about the defeat of the prince, while Li Po would join the prince's troops and would be convicted as a traitor.<sup>78</sup> While after the prince's defeat he was imprisoned at Hsün-yang 尋陽, Li Po once wrote a poem to a Mr. Chang 張, who was going to Kuang-ling 廣陵 (Yang-chou) to present some military plans to Kao.<sup>79</sup> He vaguely expressed at the end of this poem some wish for help from Kao, but he did not mention his past connection with Kao at all. Except for this poem, nothing is known to have been composed by these two poets about each other.

It is not clear whether Li Po and Tu Fu travelled on together or separately,<sup>80</sup> but they showed up together in Lu 魯 in the following spring (745).<sup>81</sup> Except for the summer, when he made a trip to Ch'i-chou, Tu Fu lived at a place in Lu named Shih-men 石門, rather close to Li Po's residence. They had some happy times together touring and visiting local hermits.<sup>82</sup> In a poem about their visit to a hermit named Fan, Tu thus described his intimacy with Li Po: "I love him like a brother. / Inebriate, we sleep in the same bed in autumn; / Hand in hand, we walk together daily."<sup>83</sup> They parted in autumn: Li Po stayed in Lu and Tu Fu travelled west to Ch'ang-an.<sup>84</sup> They did not see each other again. Li Po wrote two warm poems to Tu, on and soon after Tu's departure respectively. But it seems he soon forgot his then obscure younger friend.<sup>85</sup> On the contrary, Li Po's poetic talent and personal charm lived in Tu's memory through Tu's life.<sup>86</sup>

There is some indication that Li Po fell ill in Lu for a rather long

period of time and planned to travel to Chiang-tung 江東 (the area east of the Che-chiang River 浙江, including Kuei-chi and Shan-chung 剡中) when he began to recover in the autumn of 746.<sup>87</sup> I would, therefore, speculate that the poet arrived in Chiang-tung in late 746 or 747. According to a poem by Jen Hua 任華, a contemporary admirer of Li Po, the poet had gone there to join his old friend Yüan Tan-ch'iu.<sup>88</sup> Before long, another friend of the poet, K'ung Ch'ao-fu, came to join them from the capital, having grown tired of politics.<sup>89</sup> The three of them also associated with the famous Taoist adept Wu Yün 吳筠.<sup>90</sup> It seems the poet then stayed in the Yangtze Delta region till at least the summer of 749.<sup>91</sup>

The poet left his daughter P'ing-yang 平陽 and son Po-ch'in 伯禽 in Lu when he went to Chiang-tung; they both seem to have hardly entered their teens then. As his sojourn in the south dragged on and on, Li Po missed these children so much that in several poems written to or about them he uttered the deepest paternal feeling ever found in his works.<sup>92</sup> Wei Hao tells us that Li Po once cohabited with a woman from Lu and had with her a son named Po-li 頗黎.<sup>93</sup> It is not certain if Li Po had this common-law wife during his second sojourn in Lu (744-746 or 747) and left P'ing-yang and Po-ch'in there to live with her.

In the autumn of about 749, Li Po visited the Prince of Wu Li Ch'i 吳王李祗, who then was the Prefect of Lu-chiang-chün 廬江郡 (Lu-chou 廬州, around the present Ch'ao-hu Lake 巢湖, Anhwei).<sup>94</sup> He may have gone to Lu-chiang on the way to the Huo-shan 霍山 (in south-west Anhwei) and the Lu-shan 廬山 Mountains.<sup>95</sup> In accordance with a poem he wrote to Yüan Tan-ch'iu, Li Po stayed in these mountains

for "quite a long time" and was accompanied by a wife and a daughter, who were both also interested in the life of the immortals.<sup>96</sup> This wife was probably none other than the poet's second formal wife, a woman named Tsung 宗, a descendant of Tsung Ch'u-k'o 宗楚客, who was a chief minister in the Empress Wu's reign.<sup>97</sup> As for the daughter mentioned here, she must have been P'ing-yang, not a daughter borne by Tsung, since the poet and Tsung do not seem to have been married long.<sup>98</sup> Yüan Tan-ch'iu had secluded himself in the Sung-shan Mountain 嵩山 (south-east of Lo-yang) and had frequently invited Li Po to visit him. The poet promised to take his wife and daughter with him to join Yüan, but it is not known if he really did so.<sup>99</sup> Later, the poet may have made a journey to Ching-chou.<sup>100</sup>

Then, in late 750 or 751, Li Po settled down in Liang, where Tsung seems to have come from.<sup>101</sup> At roughly the same time, he made a trip to Lu, very probably to see his son Po-ch'in.<sup>102</sup> In late 751 or early 752, he set out from Liang on a long journey to Yu-chou 幽州 (present Peking area).<sup>103</sup> He passed Kuang-p'ing-chün 廣平郡 (Ming-chou 洺州, east of modern Han-tan 邯鄲, Hopei) and had a brief stop in Han-tan 邯鄲 (present hsien in Hopei) in the spring of 752.<sup>104</sup> The T'ang army under An Lu-shan had waged a war against the Khitans in the autumn of 751 and had been severely defeated. In the third month of 752, An Lu-shan led his reinforced troops to attack the Khitans again.<sup>105</sup> The poet appears to have seen in Han-tan the starting-off of some troops for this war.<sup>106</sup> He then travelled farther north and arrived in Yu-chou around the 10th month of 752.<sup>107</sup> It seems the poet had gone to Yu-chou with the intention to find a job in the army.<sup>108</sup>

Yu-chou was, however, a region where people were full of a fierce and proud spirit.<sup>109</sup> Therefore, the poet found that his own skill in riding and archery was nothing remarkable there.<sup>110</sup> Probably after the winter of 752-53, the poet left Yu-chou in disappointment.<sup>111</sup>

On his way south, Li Po passed Kuei-hsiang 貴鄉 (in Wei-chou 魏州; around present Ta-ming 大名, Hopei), where Wei Liang-tsai 韋良宰, an old acquaintance of the poet's, happened to be the magistrate. Li Po spent a little while there enjoying Wei's hospitality; then Wei was summoned to the capital for a new appointment.<sup>112</sup>

The poet then returned to Liang. Before long, he obviously decided to travel to the lower Yangtze River region. He first toured east to Ts'ao-nan 曹南 (informal name for Ts'ao-chou; present Ho-tse 荷澤, Shantung). A contemporary who saw him off said that he carried with him sacks of Taoist scriptures and drugs of immortality.<sup>113</sup> I suspect that Li Po had planned to travel via Ts'ao-nan to Lu to see his son before going south.<sup>114</sup> In any case, a poem shows that later the poet was heading for Chiang-nan 江南 from Ts'ao-nan and was saying good-bye to some officials there.<sup>115</sup>

In the autumn of 753, Li Po arrived at Hsüan-chou and lived in the Ching-t'ing-shan Mountain 敬亭山 near the prefecture site Hsüan-ch'eng-hsien 宣城.<sup>116</sup> He soon began to associate with local officials.<sup>117</sup> In late autumn, he left Hsüan-chou for Chin-ling.<sup>118</sup> In the spring of the next year (754), Wei Hao, an enthusiastic admirer of Li Po, travelled across half the empire to visit the ever-travelling poet, and met him in Kuang-ling.<sup>119</sup> Wei was a recluse in the Wang-wu-shan Mountain 王屋山 (on the border of modern Shansi and Honan) and,

according to himself, had the fame of being an unconventional person.<sup>120</sup> Li Po and Wei toured together to Chin-ling (officially, Chiang-ning 江寧); there they were hosted by the poet's new patron, the magistrate of Chiang-ning Yang 楊.<sup>121</sup> When they parted in the summer, the poet and Wei presented long poems to each other.<sup>122</sup> The poet even entrusted to Wei all the manuscripts of his works in his hands, and asked Wei to edit them into a collection.<sup>123</sup> Following is Wei's unique depiction of Li Po's appearance and way of life:

His pupils were sparkling and as huge as those of a hungry tiger. He sometimes wore a belt, and looked really handsome and poised. . . . From time to time, he took his sing-song girls Chao-yang 昭陽 and Chin-ling 金陵 out with him. . . . [He travelled with] his valuable steed and pretty concubines. Whereever he went, prefects came out of the towns to welcome him. He drank several tou's (斗, a liquid measure) of wine [at a time]; when he got drunk, he had his servant Tan-sha 丹砂 perform the Ch'ing-hai-po 青海波 dance.<sup>124</sup>

The poet then went back to Hsüan-chou; there he first lived at Nan-ling (from the summer of 754) and then lived at Ch'iu-p'u 秋浦.<sup>125</sup> It seems he stayed in that region till the tenth month.<sup>126</sup>

## 7. 755-759: Disastrous Involvement in the Military

### Adventure of the Prince of Yung

In the 11th month of 755, An Lu-shan rose in rebellion in Yu-chou. He swiftly conquered the prefectures in what are the present Hopei and northern Shantung, and seized Lo-yang in the 12th month.<sup>127</sup> There is some indication that Li Po then happened to be in what is the present Honan and witnessed the fall of that region into the rebels' hands.<sup>128</sup> I suspect that he had gone north shortly before the outbreak of the rebellion to see his wife Tsung, whom he had left in Liang when he travelled to Hsüan-chou in 753.<sup>129</sup> The couple then seem to have fled south together.<sup>130</sup> The poet's son Po-ch'in was left behind in Lu. Shortly after, Wu O 武謨, a heroic admirer and disciple of the poet, promised to go to Lu to help Po-ch'in flee to the south.<sup>131</sup> For some unknown reasons, nevertheless, Wu's promise was obviously not realized. Po-ch'in was still in Lu when Li Po was imprisoned at Hsün-yang 尋陽 in the spring of 757.<sup>132</sup> As for the poet's daughter P'ing-yang, she seems to have got married and died earlier.<sup>133</sup>

The poet arrived in Hsüan-ch'eng in the spring of 756. While there, he once planned to go to Shan-chung 剡中 to live in seclusion.<sup>134</sup> But now we do not know if he indeed travelled that far; we only know that he travelled around in the Wu 吳 region (modern southern Kiangsu and northern Chekiang) and was leaving Yü-hang 餘杭 (north of Hang-chou) on an early autumn day.<sup>135</sup> By the end of 756, he was settled down in the Lu-shan Mountain with his wife.<sup>136</sup>

As will be presented in greater detail in the following chapter, Li Po soon got involved in the bitter power struggle between the Prince of Yung Li Lin 永王李璘 and Lin's elder brother Su-tsung.<sup>137</sup> In the middle of 756, on his flight to Shu, Hsüan-tsung appointed Lin

to govern the south of the empire. Late in 756, Lin led his fleet from Chiang-ling 江陵 down the Yangtze River. Li Po was recruited into the prince's headquarters when the fleet was halfway to its destination. But soon the fleet was defeated by forces loyal to Su-tsung, the former Crown Prince Li Heng 亨, who arbitrarily ascended the throne at Ling-wu 靈武 (in present Ningsia) in the seventh month of 756. The poet fled in amazement and horror only shortly before the defeat of the prince in early 757.

This brief involvement in politics caused Li Po a long ordeal. Still in the spring of 757, he gave himself up at P'eng-tse 彭澤 (in Chiang-chou 江州, the present Chiu-chiang 九江 area in Kiangsi), and was thrown into prison at Hsün-yang (prefecture site of Chiang-chou). He experienced some extremely unfavorable situations there and was once haunted by the probability of being executed. Fortunately, two friendly officials, first the Grand Comforting Commissioner of Chiang-nan Ts'ui Huan 江南宣慰大使崔渙 and then the Vice-President of the Censorate Sung Jo-ssu 御使中丞宋若思, tried to clear him of guilt on the ground that he had been coerced to join Li Lin's fleet and had fled halfway on the prince's expedition. Sung, who had come to Hsün-yang in the autumn of 757 on a military mission to Ho-nan tao, released Li Po shortly, made the poet an aide in his headquarters, and even sent a memorial to the court to recommend him. But Li Po only went with Sung as far west as Wu-ch'ang 武昌 (in late autumn).<sup>138</sup> In the eighth month, the chief minister Chang Hao 張鎰 was sent out of the court to supervise military deployments in the Ho-nan and Huai-nan regions. The poet was ill living at Su-sung 宿松 (north



of the Po-yang-hu Lake 鄱陽湖 ) when Chang came to the south-east. Still, before the middle of the tenth month, he wrote Chang two poems, in which he showed great enthusiasm for serving in Chang's army.<sup>139</sup>

Unfortunately for the poet, the T'ang court decided not to pardon him. In about early 758, the poet received his verdict: banishment to Yeh-lang 夜郎 (north-west of present Cheng-an 正安 , Kweichow).<sup>140</sup> He headed for his sad destination by way of the Yangtze River, probably starting off at Hsün-yang.<sup>141</sup> Nevertheless, his departure was not lonely. In addition to his wife Tsung and her brother Tsung Ching 宗璟 , some local dignitaries accompanied him for a short way up the river.<sup>142</sup> And his schedule of travel was by no means busy. He arrived at Chiang-hsia 江夏 (present Wu-ch'ang) in the fifth or sixth month of the same year (758).<sup>143</sup> By the eighth month, he was still associating with some officials at a lake in the neighboring prefecture Mien-chou 沔州 (around the present Han-yang 漢陽).<sup>144</sup> He passed the Ch'ü-t'ang-hsia Gorge 瞿塘峽 and ascended what he called the highest peak of the Wu-shan Mountain 巫山 around the second or third month of 759.<sup>145</sup> Soon after, he wrote a letter to his wife, who was then living at Yü-chang 豫章 (Hung-chou 洪州 , present Nan-ch'ang 南昌 , Kiangsi).<sup>146</sup> Judging from the location of Yeh-lang and the mention of the Ming-yüeh-hsia Gorge 明月峽 (east of present Ch'ung-ch'ing 重慶 ) by the poet in a poem talking about this journey, Li Po seems to have planned to go to Yeh-lang along the present Chi-chiang River 綦江 , which runs into the Yangtze River west of Ch'ung-ch'ing.<sup>147</sup> But the poet was pardoned soon after he passed the Ch'ü-t'ang-hsia Gorge.<sup>148</sup>

## 8. 759-762: Epilogue

The poet's return journey, now downstream, was extremely swift.<sup>149</sup> Still in the third month (759), he passed Chiang-ling and arrived at Chiang-hsia.<sup>150</sup> He stayed there till autumn, primarily under the patronage of his old friend Wei Liang-tsai 韋良宰, who was then the prefect of Chiang-hsia, and the magistrate of Han-yang 漢陽 Mr. Wang 王, whose acquaintance he made when passing this area in the summer of 758.<sup>151</sup> His desire for political office did not decline as a result of his recent ordeal. In a long poem presented to Wei, he asked Wei not to forget his ability if Wei became more powerful later.<sup>152</sup> He then travelled to Pa-ling 巴陵 (Yüeh-chou 岳州, present Yüeh-yang 岳陽 in Hunan); there he associated with some officials, including Chia Chih 賈至, who was also a well-known literary man.<sup>153</sup> According to a poem by Chia, Li Po made a tour to Ling-ling 零陵 (Yung-chou 永州, present Ling-ling-hsien in Hunan) in the autumn.<sup>154</sup> He returned to Chiang-hsia around the beginning of 760.<sup>155</sup> Later, he seems to have gone to Yü-chang to live for a while with his wife Tsung and a young child.<sup>156</sup>

In the fifth month of 761, the famous T'ang general Li Kuang-pi 李光弼 was ordered to station his troops at Lin-huai 臨淮 (Ssu-chou 泗州; near present Ssu-hung 泗洪, Kiangsu).<sup>157</sup> When informed of this matter, the poet made a last effort to find an opportunity to use his talents: he tried to go to join General Li's army. Yet, he had to give up his plan halfway because of poor health. On his way back, he came to Chin-ling in the autumn.<sup>158</sup> Before long, he travelled to Hsüan-ch'eng-chün (Hsüan-chou) and lived under the

patronage of Li Yang-ping 李陽冰, the magistrate of Tang-t'u  
當塗.<sup>159</sup> He died of illness at Tang-t'u in late 762.<sup>160</sup> He was  
survived by two sons, including Po-ch'in; it is not known if he was  
also survived by his wife Tsung.<sup>161</sup>

### Chapter Three: The Political Dream and Pursuits of Li Po

As is clear from the previous chapter, Li Po strenuously sought for political prominence throughout his life. This was all too natural in traditional Chinese society, in which political prominence was the sole way of worldly success. Our poet was, nevertheless, far from being merely one of the innumerable ordinary pursuers of power and wealth in history, even though we do not take his poetical achievements into account. The kind of political career he dreamed of and the way he tried to realize that dream together vividly reflect a unique character reacting to the special political and social reality of the High T'ang period.

I shall first expound the poet's ideal political career here. The earliest and also the clearest extant delineation of that career appears in a letter composed in An-chou soon after 727.<sup>1</sup> The poet was then living in seclusion in a hill in An-chou named Shou Shan 壽山, and he said through the mouth of the personified hill:

Recently, the recluse Li Po came here from the O-mei-shan Mountain. He has his appearance from Heaven and his looks from the Way [sic]; he would neither stoop to anything nor seek patronage from anyone--after Ch'ao [-fu] 巢父 and [Hsü] Yu 許由 (famous legendary recluses in the time of the Emperor Yao 堯), he is the only person [that can do this]. . . . [With my help, he has been able to attain the life of the immortals (rough meaning of the passage omitted).] Yet, suddenly Master Li sighed deeply into the sky and said to his friend, "I cannot leave this world. You and I should

try to save the whole world when in success, and to take care of our own moral uplift when in obscurity (note that the poet's emphasis was on the first half of this antithesis). How could I eat your purple mist, rest in the shades of your pine trees, fly your phoenix and cranes, and ride your dragons, and one day ascend into heaven and become just a resident on the Isles of Fang-chang and P'eng-lai? This cannot be!" They then rolled up their elixir manuals, put their jade-decorated zithers back to boxes, and began to engage themselves in such arts to help emperors rule successfully as the teachings of Kuan [Chung] 管仲 and Yen [Ying] 晏嬰. They wish to exert all their wisdom and ability to assist the emperor pacify all quarters in the empire. After they have fulfilled their obligation to serve their ruler and to glorify their parents, [they think,] it will no longer be difficult for them to enjoy a free life on the lakes or water margins (places traditionally considered ideal for life in seclusion) as [Master] T'ao Chu 陶朱 (i.e., Fan Li 范蠡) and the Marquis of Liu 留侯 (i.e., Chang Liang 張良) did.

The same dream as portrayed in these words is also indirectly expressed through the poet's life-long admiration for some historical figures. These figures, to mention only a few of them, include the famous political strategist (tsung-heng-chia 縱橫家) in the Warring States period Lu Chung-lien 魯仲連 and such distinguished scholar-recluses as Lü Shang 呂尚 (also known as Chiang T'ai Kung 姜太公; famous for the service he rendered for the founding of the Chou dynasty), Chu-ko Liang

諸葛亮, Hsieh An 謝安, and the Four White-Haired Ones of the Shang-shan Mountain 商山四皓.<sup>2</sup> Among these people, Lu and Hsieh seem to have been most esteemed by the poet.<sup>3</sup> Therefore, a brief description of their careers (which are representative of the careers of all the people just named) will greatly further our understanding of Li Po's dream.

According to the Shih chi, Lu Chung-lien was from the state of Ch'i 齊 but travelled to other states frequently.<sup>4</sup> Of his life two episodes are especially celebrated. One of them is as follows. Once Lu just happened to be travelling at Han-tan 邯鄲, the capital of the state of Chao 趙, when the city was besieged by the troops of the state of Ch'in. With his extreme eloquence, he managed to undermine the siege and save the city. Yet, when afterwards P'ing-yüan Chün 平原君, the leading official of Chao, offered to reward him with gold or a high position, Lu said:

A person who dedicates himself to the service of the world is valued not only because he is willing to rid people of troubles and difficulties and to solve complicated problems for them, but because he does not accept rewards for his deeds. Accepting rewards is suitable only to businessmen. I cannot bring myself to do that.

He soon bade adieu to P'ing-yüan Chün. The other famous story of Lu took place in Lu's home state Ch'i. The troops of Ch'i once made a long but futile attempt to recover the Liao-ch'eng city 聊城, which was under

the occupation of Yen 燕 . Then, Lu wrote a letter and delivered it into the city with an arrow. It is said that, distressed by this letter, the Yen general in charge of Liao-ch'eng, who had been deeply bothered with political struggles at home, soon committed suicide and left the city in chaos. As a result, Ch'i finally took over this city. This time, too, Lu declined an offer of high official position.

As to the career of Hsieh, the Chin shu has the following to tell us.<sup>5</sup> Originally Hsieh enjoyed a free and leisurely life in the countryside, often touring the scenic spots near his home with his singsong girls, and rejected all offers of governmental offices. However, his reputation grew so high that the court of the Eastern Chin almost continuously urged him to serve the empire. One high official later thus told Hsieh:

When you time and again disobeyed the court's decrees [to draft you to serve in the court] and kept lying at ease in the eastern mountains, people here often said to one another, "Hsieh An is not willing to come out [of his life in seclusion]; what can we do for the common people!"

After he finally became a career politician, Hsieh was quickly promoted to the position of chief minister, and made his mark in history by many accomplishments, including the well-known victory at the Fei-shui River 淝水 over the invasion of the Fu-Ch'in regime. It is said that, even in his high posts in the court, Hsieh never stopped wishing to return to his life in retreat.

Li Po not only admired such heroes as Lu and Hsieh but fancied that

he belonged in their rank. As many poems show, he compared his life in obscurity to that of Hsieh in the so-called "eastern mountains," consciously kept singsong girls after the example of Hsieh, and, of course, always expected to swiftly rise to power and relieve the world of suffering.<sup>6</sup> Also, he often claimed that he had Lu Chung-lien's striking eloquence and heroic bearing, though not yet his good fortune.<sup>7</sup>

Now it is clear that Li Po's political dream had three interrelated facets. First, the poet thought that he could and was obligated to become a savior of the common people and, hence, wished to be put in a position in accordance with the task of a savior. At the same time, he also wanted to be a genuine recluse, totally untied by power and fame. To achieve both goals, he wished to make swift accomplishments and then heroically return to his life in retreat.

Why Li Po had such a romantic dream as this and what this dream may mean in more practical terms need some exploration. I shall begin with the poet's wish to become a savior. It is widely known that Confucianism imposed upon all Chinese intellectuals the responsibility for ruling the state and giving peace to the world. Judging from the above quotation from him, Li Po was strongly influenced by that teaching, though he usually did not give people the impression of being very Confucian. Furthermore, the time in which the poet grew up, that is, Hsüan-tsung's earlier reign, is one of the most peaceful, prosperous, and liberal periods in Chinese history. To many brilliant and ambitious intellectuals of that period, therefore, the role of the savior may have appeared very real. The following lines, from Tu Fu and Kao Shih respectively, are clear indications of this:



I have thought that I am very extraordinary,  
 And should immediately climb to an important position,  
 To assist the emperor to surpass Yao and Shun  
 And to restore the purity of customs.<sup>8</sup>

Even though I cherish plans that can relieve our times of suffering,  
 Who would be interested in them?<sup>9</sup>

Admittedly, our poet may have sometimes mixed the wish in question with his aspiration for political eminence and the worldly benefits that accompanied it. (This point will become clear later.)<sup>10</sup> It would be, however, cynical to suspect that the noble (though unrealistic) side of that wish was simply a sham.

Li Po's interest in the life of the hermit should be understood in the light of his temperament and some social and political trends of his times. For convenience, I shall investigate these trends in the next chapter.<sup>11</sup> Here, I shall use some conclusions of those investigations without elaboration. Our poet was a man easily attracted by heroic and romantic things around him. As is well known and clearly demonstrated in the previous chapter, the poet loved wine, women, and song. A poem shows that he liked rare birds.<sup>12</sup> He also loved fencing, which seems to have been rather popular among his contemporaries, and often carried a sword with him in his travels.<sup>13</sup> He even proudly claimed that, in his earlier years, he actually fought and killed like an ancient knight-errant.<sup>14</sup> The life of the hermit was, in the High T'ang period, often blended with the colorful and immensely popularized Taoist quest for

immortality. There seems little doubt that the romanticism of that life fascinated our poet. On the other hand, it was widely believed in Li Po's times that the role as an outstanding hermit should and might lead to imperial favor. As we shall see, the poet obviously had this belief in mind when living as a recluse. Without this belief, he must have found it very difficult to resolve the contradiction between his aspirations for political success and for a free and colorful life in the mountains.

The poet's desire for swift achievements is a logical continuation of the wishes just discussed. The petty career of the ordinary low official, with all its trivial vicissitudes, is unattractive to anyone with political ambition. It would certainly be much more so to one who has the double self-image of a savior and a recluse. Indeed, the kind of fabulous successes which Li Po's heroes are said to have made are very unlikely in reality. On the surface at least, however, distinguished intellectuals, including hermits, had the opportunity to suddenly win an emperor's favor and become eminent in the poet's times.<sup>15</sup> In the poet's self-dramatization, successes of this kind might very well have appeared close to those of his heroes.

How serious was Li Po's suggestion that he would retire on the fulfillment of what he described as his obligation to serve the ruler? What kinds of achievements in reality would he have considered enough to fulfill that obligation? I have not found any clear indication in the poet's works. However, I would suspect that the poet expressed that wish mainly in order to keep consistent with his status as a hermit. A fairly large portion of Li Po's heroes--e.g., Kuan Chung, Chu-ko Liang, and Hsieh An--did not retreat from their political involvement early. To the poet, who

never managed to make any substantial political success in his life, a so-called glorious retirement could not have been a real concern.

As one may expect, Li Po must have thought that he possessed some significant merits so as to believe that he deserved a brilliant political career. In the memorial to Su-tsung which he wrote in 757 for Sung Jo-ssu to recommend himself, Li Po said:

He (referring to Li Po himself) cherishes the talent to govern and possesses the uprightness of Ch'ao-fu and Hsü Yu. His literary writings can change the customs and his learning can probe into the subtle relationship between heaven and man. The whole world say that it is unjust this person has not been given any appointment.<sup>16</sup>

This passage in fact includes all that the poet thought were his main political assets.

For convenience, I shall first discuss the connection between the poet's literary talent and his political ambition. Judging from such celebrated poems as "O-mei-shan yüeh ko" 峨眉山月歌 (724), "Tu Ching-men sung-pieh" 渡荊門送別 (724), and "Hsiang-yang ko" 襄陽歌 (734), Li Po's poetical talent bloomed very early in his life.<sup>17</sup> The possession of such a talent would, admittedly, more or less improve one's political fortune in those days. It is well known that literary composition occupied an outstanding position in the curriculum of the chin-shih examinations, the most important of the empire's examinations to recruit officials in T'ang times. In fact, literary attainment was

so highly valued in society that its importance lay far beyond the chin-shih examinations. On one hand, it was often a crucial asset for those intellectuals who sought patronage from officials in order to enter officialdom one way or another. On another, from time to time the court would summon some especially famous men of letters to serve as the emperor's literary attendants. (There will be more discussion on these two points later in this chapter.)<sup>18</sup> Although he obviously did not treat his literary talent as a sheer political tool, Li Po did not hesitate to take advantage of that talent. Ever since his effort to win patronage from Su T'ing in or soon after 720, our poet had frequently advertised his literary writings before officials.<sup>19</sup> Following is a vivid example of his advertisement. In 730, in a letter to the chief administrator of An-chou Mr. P'ei, Li Po quoted Su T'ing as saying that he (Li) would someday become another Ssu-ma Hsiang-ju 司馬相如 (famous composer of fu in Han times, also from Shu) if he could broaden his learning.<sup>20</sup> In addition, the poet claimed that a former leading officer at An-chou had also expressed similar compliments to him:

The literary compositions of other people are like mountains without mist and rosy clouds or springs without grass and trees. Li Po's compositions are [, on the contrary,] clear, forceful, and untrammelled. [They are] full of illustrious passages and charming expressions. . . . Every sentence [he writes] is striking.

The poet then finally said in his own name, briefly but self-assuredly,

"I am rather good in literary writings." The repetition here is an unmistakable indication of the tremendous emphasis the poet put on this merit. Unfortunately for the poet, though it often was a stepping-stone in the beginning of a political career, sheer literary attainment ultimately did not weigh much in politics. The best result in politics of Li Po's extraordinary poetical talent was, as will be shown later, a short period of pompous life as Hsüan-tsung's literary attendant. Late in his life (759), in the famous long poem he presented to Wei Liang-tsai, the poet could not help thus mocking himself:

What is the attainment of my literary writings like?

.....

My literary writings have undeservedly made a nation-wide reputation.

[Yet, a] child's [play], this is not worth mentioning.

I had to sigh five times and leave the Western Capital [all the same].<sup>21</sup>

[A note for the quoted lines]:

The last line refers to the poet's 744 political failure; the Western Capital was none other than Ch'ang-an.

What Li Po meant by "the uprightness of Ch'ao-fu and Hsü-yu" was the main virtue of the true hermit, that is, uninterestedness in worldly power. To the poet, this virtue did not mean total retreat from public affairs. It only meant, as cited above, not to "stoop to anything" nor to "seek patronage from anyone" in one's political pursuits.<sup>22</sup> In due

course it will become clear how the poet indeed tried hard to maintain this "virtue" though he could not absolutely behave up to his own standard. Owing to the blending of the lives of the hermits and the Taoists, the poet rather naturally saw his Taoist dedication and attainment as part of his so-called uprightness, too. In this regard, he certainly had something to be proud of. I have pointed out in the previous chapter that, immediately on their acquaintance in 742, Li Po was praised by Ho Chih-chang as a "banished immortal."<sup>24</sup> According to himself, Li Po had enjoyed similar compliments long before 742. In his youth (742?), at Chiang-ling 江陵, the poet once met with Ssu-ma Ch'eng-chen 司馬承禎, one of the patriarchs of Mao Shan Taoism, and was praised by Ssu-ma as a man of "the bearing of an immortal and the physique of a true Taoist" (hsien-feng tao-ku 仙風道骨). Very much pleased, the poet then wrote a fu to commemorate this incident. He compared Ssu-ma to a "rare bird" (hsi-yu niao 希有鳥) in this fu, but compared himself to the transcendent Great Roc (ta-p'eng 大鵬) described in the Chuang-tzu.<sup>25</sup> (This is not the only time the poet compared himself to the Great Roc.)<sup>26</sup> The compliments of Ho and Ssu-ma clearly indicate that Li Po possessed some transmundane bearing which, in the imagination of contemporary devotees to Taoism, was peculiar to the immortals. Based upon our understanding of Li Po's temperament and Wei Hao's description of the poet's appearance and life-style, I would imagine that that bearing was something like a charming blending of poise, untrammelledness, and ethereality.<sup>27</sup> Such merits as discussed here were, superficially, much valued by Hsüan-tsung's court. However, just like literary achievements, their political efficacy was very limited. I shall make this point clear later.<sup>28</sup>

Practical wisdom and administrative ability are undoubtedly much more important for a political career, compared with literary attainment and the virtues of the hermit. Unfortunately, they do not seem to have indeed belonged to Li Po. To begin with, the poet's so-called learning that could "probe into the subtle relationship between heaven and man" (if interpreted as the sagacity to accord political measures with the mandate of Heaven) is insubstantial. The poet admired the "teachings of Kuan Chung and Yen Ying" (these teachings are in fact only works attributed to Kuan and Yen) and knew the stories of the successes of many other statesmen.<sup>29</sup> But there is no sign that he ever digested these things well. Despite the frequently repeated claim that he cherished "good plans" (liang-t'u 良圖) to run the government and to save the world,<sup>30</sup> the poet expressed only one serious political opinion in his extant works. This opinion is seen in "A Memorial Written on Behalf of the Vice-President of the Censorate Sung [Jo-ssu] to Petition [the court] to Transfer the Capital to Chin-ling" 為宗中丞請都金陵表 (autumn of 757), and seems to have been suggested to Sung by Li Po.<sup>31</sup> It held that Su-tsung should abandon the exile capital Fu-feng 扶風 (also known as Feng-hsiang 鳳翔, located to the west of Ch'ang-an, capital from the 2nd month to the 10th month of 757) and transfer his court to Chin-ling, because the latter was easier to defend and its neighboring districts were richer in both natural and human resources (the Yangtze delta region was then the main refuge of the intellectuals who had fled south after the outbreak of the devastating rebellion of An Lu-shan).<sup>32</sup> Since the T'ang exile court was basically stabilized then and the north-west was a crucial front against the rebels, to transfer

the court to the south would have done more harm than good to the empire.<sup>33</sup> The poet's suggestion was by no means laudable. It seems to have been merely a scholar's empty talk if it was not an effort to justify the poet's participation in the Prince of Yung's disastrous adventure to control Yangtze delta region (see below for more about this adventure). Apart from the above proposal, Li Po only made some incidental comments on national affairs. For example, he criticised the self-devastating warfare against the Nan-chao 南詔, which took place late in the t'ien-pao period,<sup>34</sup> and the inhuman actions the T'ang general Ko-shu Han 哥舒翰 adopted in 749 to conquer the Tibetan stronghold Shih-pao-ch'eng 石堡城.<sup>35</sup> In his criticism, he showed more resentment over the lack of able people like himself in the government than genuine political insight and concern with the welfare of the common people.<sup>36</sup> The poet's actual political involvement was not a credit to himself, either. This point will be dealt with later. Here, suffice it to say that the poet's performance in both Hsüan-tsung's court and the fleet of the Prince of Yung demonstrate that he was not practical and prudent enough for political life. Indeed, Li Po seems to have never made a more serious mistake than to fancy that he was born with special political talents.

It should be noted that, while he was sincere and zealous about his political dream, the poet at the same time faltered frequently. He changed his mind when, frequently in his long years of pursuit, he was overcome with resentment, distress, or joy. Mainly, he vacillated in two ways. On the one hand, afflicted with his prolonged failure, his desire for prominence often became so intense that he completely forgot



about or even unreservedly downgraded the life of the hermit. This was especially true with the several gloomy years before the poet was summoned to Ch'ang-an in 742. In a poem written around 737 to a friend who had advised him to live in seclusion instead of struggling for prominence, Li Po said:

A hero sunk in the weeds,

I am disturbed with deep distress.

.....

I am ashamed to follow the example of the man from Lang-ya,

Who had retreated like a coiled dragon and farmed lands himself.

I would enjoy wealth and prominence myself

And make accomplishments while the prime of my life still lasts.<sup>37</sup>

[A note for the quoted lines]:

The man from Lang-ya: Chu-ko Liang.

In another poem, probably composed during his first visit to Lu (740-42), the poet again said, "Do not follow the leisurely life in the East Mountain, / In which Hsieh An gradually turned old."<sup>38</sup> It seems the poet was still haunted by the memory of his past obscurity when, sometime during his court service in 742-44, he wrote the following lines:

Time does not stay

And life is just like the spinning fleabanes.

It is better to become prominent early than late.

I would be ashamed to be compared to the old fisherman.<sup>39</sup>

[A note for the quoted lines]:

The old fisherman: Lü Shang, who is said to have lived in obscurity as a fisherman before his late success finally came.

On the other hand, the same sense of frustration might drive the poet to exactly the opposite direction. He would console himself with the idea that political success was transitory and was frequently followed by disaster and, therefore, it might be worthwhile for him just to enjoy a free and colorful life as a recluse or simply as a hedonist. For example, in the third of the three famous poems entitled "Hard Is My Road" 行路難 (composed during the poet's first visit to Ch'ang-an),<sup>40</sup> the poet enumerated four outstanding historical figures whose political careers had ended in tragedy (Wu Tzu-hsü 伍子胥, Ch'ü Yüan 屈原, Lu Chi 陸機, and Li Ssu 李斯)<sup>41</sup> and then concluded:

Do you not see that Chang Han of Wu was known for understanding life,  
And suddenly thought of home in Chiang-tung when the autumn winds  
blew?

Let me just enjoy a cup of wine in my life time--  
What is the use of a posthumous fame even if it will last  
a thousand years?

[A note for the quoted lines]:

According to Chin shu 92/2384, Chang Han of the Western Chin dynasty often feared that he would be in trouble when he was working under the powerful Prince of Ch'i Ssu-ma Chiung 齊王司馬罔. Once when the autumn winds began to blow, Chang felt

homesick. He then resolutely abandoned his job and went home. He was thus free from disaster when later the prince failed in a rebellion. The 3rd and 4th lines above are paraphrased from some of Chang's words.

In another illustrious poem, "Mount Lady of Heaven Ascended in a Dream" ("Meng yu T'ien-mu yin liu-pieh" 夢遊天姥吟留別, probably written in 746 or 747 when Li Po was leaving Lu for the Wu-Yüeh region), he again said:

Let me tend a white deer among the green cliffs,  
And ride it whenever I need going to visit the renowned mountains.  
How could I furrow my brows and bend my back in service of rank  
and power,  
And deny myself a light heart and a smiling face?<sup>42</sup>

Understandably, the poet's mood for retreat would sometimes be deepened by political tragedies that happened to his contemporaries. In 747, Li Yung 李邕, a widely esteemed official and man of letters with whom Li Po had once associated, and another high official P'ei Tun-fu 裴敦復 were executed through a frame-up by the dictatorial chief minister Li Lin-fu 李林甫.<sup>43</sup> Years later, the poet once deeply mourned over their undeserved death and said:

Since my youth I have wished to go to live in the Five Lakes.  
Having learnt about this [sad event], I am even more uninterested  
in the bells and tripods.<sup>44</sup>

[Notes for the quoted lines]:

Five Lakes: Wu Hu 五湖, the T'ai-hu Lake and four neighboring lakes, where Fan Li 范蠡 secluded himself after he had helped Kou Chien 勾踐, the king of Yüeh 越, destroy the state of Wu 吳.

Bells and tripods: chung-ting 鐘鼎, meaning illustrious achievements or the extravagant life of the eminent and powerful.

When he expressed the wish to withdraw from worldly affairs, Li Po usually kept intact his self-image as a would-be savior. He alleged that in contemporary politics only the unprincipled and the underqualified had prevailed.<sup>45</sup> This made him appear to be a frustrated hero rather than an escapist. However, for a short period after the outbreak of the rebellion of An Lu-shan, the poet did break his usual style by claiming that he was born for a life in seclusion, not for saving this world. For convenience, this most striking deviation from the poet's dream will be investigated later.

Now let us turn from the poet's political dream to the reality of his political pursuits. As is shown in Chapter Two, patronage-seeking was part of Li Po's earliest political activities. To understand this practice, some knowledge of the examination system effective in Li Po's time is essential. In those days, the most popular way for an intellectual to pursue an official career was to participate in one of the several major regular examinations. These included the ming-ching 明經, the tao-chü 道舉 (after 741), and especially the chin-shih 進士 examinations, of which the main contents were Confucian classics, Taoist

classics, and literary composition respectively. Interested individuals could send their applications together with their tieh 牒 (identification documents?) to their local governments. The local governments would then hold preliminary tests and send successful candidates to the capital for the final examinations. (There were public schools for the common people, of which the outstanding students could be selected to attend the final examinations, too. But it seems these schools had greatly lost their appeal by Li Po's time.) In addition to the regular examinations, there were irregular "decree examinations" (chih-chü 制舉), which were held in the court by special orders from the ruler to recruit people of exceptional virtue, administrative ability, literary talent, and so forth. Candidacy for the "decree examinations" were usually based upon the special recommendations of senior officials in the central and the prefectural governments. Success in both the regular and the decree examinations gave the candidate the right to be selected for governmental offices.<sup>46</sup>

Government officials could help the potential candidates in several ways in the above examination system. First, it is clear that those who were directly responsible for presenting candidates to the court (e.g., the prefects) could select their favorites as candidates.<sup>47</sup> Second, an official who was not in the position to do so could still recommend his protégés to one who was. Following is an example. A letter by the poet Ts'ui Hao 崔顥 shows that in about 726 Ts'ui, who was then a post at a sub-prefecture in Hsiang-chou 相州, recommended a person named Fan Heng 樊衡 to the prefect of Hsiang-chou as a candidate for a certain decree examination.<sup>48</sup> According to some other sources, Fan

passed a decree examination in 727; Ts'ui's recommendation must have helped.<sup>49</sup> Third, an official could help boost the reputation of his protégés, thus making it easier for them to succeed later. The biographies of Sun T'i 孫逖 in the CTS and the HTS give us an example.<sup>50</sup> At the age of fifteen, Sun paid a visit to the chief administrator of Yung-chou 雍州長史 Ts'ui Jih-yung 崔日用. (Judging from the career of Ts'ui, this visit seems to have taken place in 710. Yung-chou was none other than the later Capital Prefecture; its chief administrator acted as a prefect.)<sup>51</sup> Though at first slighted by Ts'ui, Sun soon impressed Ts'ui with a quick but beautiful fu, which he had composed at Ts'ui's request. As a result, Sun won the friendship of Ts'ui despite the big difference in their ages and his reputation soared immediately. In 713, very probably not through Ts'ui's recommendation, Sun was able to succeed in a decree examination known as "Wise and Remarkable People Obscured among Butchers and Fishermen" 哲人奇士 隱淪屠釣.<sup>52</sup>

It was also feasible for an official to bypass the examination system and present a person, usually a very renowned one in this case, directly to the court.<sup>53</sup> Li Po's friend Sung Jo-ssu, as we have mentioned before, tried to help the poet in this way in 757.

Since the private support of the officials was so important for those with political ambitions as demonstrated above, patronage-seeking was common in Li Po's times. A memorial presented in 690 or 691 to the Empress Wu by an official named Hsüeh Ch'ien-kuang 薛謙光 gives us the impression that most of the empire's ambitious intellectuals were eagerly seeking for patronage.<sup>54</sup> In addition to Li Po and Sun T'i, such famous men of letters of that period as Li Yung, Tu Fu, Kao Shih, and

Fang Kuan 房琯 are all known to have been engaged in the kind of activity being discussed.<sup>55</sup>

Owing to his special self-image, Li Po seems to have had very high expectations when seeking patronage. There is no indication that the poet ever attended any regular examination in his life. The reason for this is very probably that the poet found it both unattractive and unsuitable to participate in the regular examinations like an ordinary office seeker. He undoubtedly would have preferred to be recommended to the court directly so that he could prove to be really extraordinary. And he seems to have been seeking this kind of patronage when in his letter to Han Ch'ao-tsung (734 or 735) he mentioned Han's having recommended a certain Mr. Yen 嚴 to the court.<sup>56</sup> His second goal would have been to win candidacy for some of the decree examinations held in his times. Superficially at least, the decree examinations were, as I have pointed out, intended exactly to discover and call to office such obscured talents as our poet.<sup>57</sup> The discussion below of Li Po's sudden success in 742 will demonstrate that the poet's efforts did count although he did not achieve his goals promptly.<sup>58</sup>

However, the poet's patronage-seeking must have contradicted his self-claimed unequalled uprightness, which he tried hard to maintain. There is little doubt that while there were numerous favor seekers in the empire, there were fairly few officials who were both powerful and eager to patronize obscure people. Consequently, as Hsüeh Ch'ien-kuang stated in the memorial mentioned above, the patronage-seekers must have hastened into and out of government offices and residences of princes and dukes and have thus "worn themselves out from head to foot." Still, one was

fortunate enough if he was not slighted or even totally ignored by his prospective patrons.<sup>59</sup> To the really able and principled, therefore, patronage-seeking could have been something hardly tolerable. Even Tu Fu, who did not claim to be a follower of Ch'ao-fu and Hsü Yu, said he was ashamed to join the rank of the patronage-seekers.<sup>60</sup> (Of course, what Tu could have done was only not to debase himself when seeking favor.) Could Li Po make his patronage-seeking compatible with his self-image?

The above question can be answered by way of examining Li Po's way of patronage-seeking. The best materials for our examination are the poet's letters to Han Ch'ao-tsung and the chief administrator of An-chou P'ei 裴 (about 730).<sup>61</sup> In addition to some points to be discussed later, the contents of the letter to P'ei can be roughly described as follows. The poet first presented something like a curriculum vitae. This account can be roughly divided into three parts: (1) a probably fabricated story of the poet's "impressive" origins (the spurious nature of this story has been shown in the first chapter);<sup>62</sup> (2) a brief report of his earlier life, and (3) a long description of his merits (which range from generosity, faithfulness to friends, superb literary talent, to uninterestedness in fame and gain) and the praise of some of these merits he had received from some other officials. The poet then complimented P'ei's personal charm, literary gifts, political achievements and, above all, enthusiasm in patronizing talented people. Finally, Li Po expressed his strong desire to become P'ei's protégé and pledged to become P'ei's valuable follower. In content, the letter to Han is basically the same as that to P'ei, except that the poet offered to present his works to Han



if Han would so request and that the section of the poet's curriculum vitae is much briefer and yet much more self-assured. Such contents as these might seem fulsome to some people today. However, the main points Li Po made were fairly common in the works written for the same purpose by the poet's contemporaries, including such honorable men as Tu Fu and Kao Shih, although all these points were not often included in one single work.<sup>63</sup> Indeed, from a sympathetic point of view, showing-off, paying compliments, and pledging of loyalty are simply necessary if one wishes to win the favor of a powerful stranger. In the High T'ang period, since there was the obvious need for an intellectual to seek patronage, the kinds of letters that Li Po wrote were very probably regarded as sheer courtesy and expediency rather than unctuousness. What really challenged Li Po's "uprightness" was something else.

Our poet, despite his talents, was one of those who were often slighted or ignored by their prospective patrons. He complained to P'ei that for a long time he had found it virtually impossible to get close to him. He was also coolly treated at the villa of Yü-chen Princess during his 737-41 stay in Kuan-chung.<sup>64</sup> Moreover, there are no signs that he received better treatment elsewhere before 742. For the poet, therefore, to continue seeking patronage without debasing himself was no easy task.

Usually, the poet presented himself to his prospective patrons as one of those famous able and loyal "patronized guests" (men-k'o 門客) in the Warring-States period who were known to have helped their patrons achieve remarkable successes (e.g., Mao Sui 毛遂, Ching K'o 荊軻, and Feng Huan 馮驩).<sup>65</sup> When slighted, he also complained loudly and

defiantly as some of those ancient "patronized guests" had done.<sup>66</sup>

It seems that even his way of standing out as a patronage-seeker was a result of the same mentality. Following are two interesting examples. Before he presented his letter to Han Ch'ao-tsung, Li Po had already met with Han on a public occasion and had offended Han on that occasion with a ch'ang-i 長揖 salute (to bow with the clasped hands reaching to the knees), which one was supposed to give only to people of equal status. In his letter, the poet then pleaded with Han not to reject him because of this offence.<sup>67</sup> Similarly, in his letter to P'ei, Li Po claimed that there had suddenly been widespread slander against him and asked P'ei to follow the example of the Chin dynasty official Wang Ch'eng 王承, who had pardoned a curfew violator who had forgotten the time while studying with his teacher.<sup>68</sup> This suggests that Li Po also did something insulting to P'ei in order to attract him. There seems little doubt that the poet found in the stories of those "patronized guests" a way of patronage-seeking which was heroic enough to suit his self-image. This kind of conduct probably never brought the poet any favor. (Jen Hua 任華, one of Li Po's most zealous admirers, once asked a certain prefect of the capital to pay a visit to him--also out of the same mentality as Li Po's; his request was, predictably, ignored.)<sup>69</sup> Still, the poet was obviously happy that he had acted in that way, judging from the fact that he was proud to publicize the "ch'ang-i" incident.<sup>70</sup>

Nevertheless, circumstances were sometimes so bad that Li Po almost had to beg humbly. A salient example is seen in a poem presented in late 739 (?) to a chief administrator of Pin-chou named Li Ts'an 李瓘.<sup>71</sup> The poet, as I pointed out earlier, had come to Pin-chou to look for

fortune after his futile political pursuits in Ch'ang-an.<sup>72</sup> In addition to political patronage, he may have desperately needed material help as well. This being the case, in order to regain the short-lived patronage he had received from Li Ts'an, the poet wrote:

The cold lonely ash which I am, who is going to warm it?

Like falling, flying leaves, where can I return?

My brother your merrymaking lasts from sunset to dawn;

Your hall is full of beauties as charming as jade.

.....

They wear fox fur, use animal-coal, and drink rosy wine.

But can a hero's somber song win some compassion there?

Your vacillation has made me bloom at first but wither later.

Why are you reluctant to grant your spare light to a brother?

[Notes for the quoted lines]:

Animal-coal: shou-t'an 獸炭, powdered charcoal molded into animal shapes, used to warm wine; an invention of the extravagant Chin dynasty official Yang Hsiu 羊琇 (Chin shu 93/2411).

Rosy wine: liu-hsia 流霞, wine as beautiful as rosy clouds.

Spare light: yü-kuang 餘光, bounty that costs the owner nothing.

As a Chinese saying puts it, one just cannot help lowering his head when under low eaves. Fortunately enough for him, however, the poet seems to have been too heroically defiant to be obsessed by such humiliating

experience as this.

The presentation of literary works to the emperor, another way to pursue political eminence that Li Po tried (in about 738),<sup>73</sup> is in some sense patronage-seeking at the highest level. It originated from the "chest" institution first introduced in the reign of the Empress Wu. In 686, four chests known as kuei 匳 were installed in the court for people from all quarters of the empire to present four categories of petitions or suggestions directly to the ruler.<sup>74</sup> According to one source, one of these four chests, the Yen-en kuei 延恩 匳 (Chest of Imperial Blessing), was especially open to "those who [cherished] talents and [wished] to become known" 懷才抱器希於聞達者 during Hsüan-tsung's reign (slightly different from the Empress Wu's time).<sup>75</sup> There are indications that this chest was the very channel through which the men of letters presented their works to seek imperial favor.<sup>76</sup>

This road to success could not have been any smoother than those mentioned earlier. As a modern scholar put it, the Yen-en kuei "must have been filled with documents each day and undoubtedly only a few pieces ever reached His Majesty after the critical sorting by the reception officer."<sup>77</sup> To win the favor of the reception officer, one can imagine, personal connection must have been no less important than talent and good fortune. This made it necessary for a person first to seek patronage from the powerful officials in the capital. Just as Li Po himself more than once commented, the emperor was, after all, far from being easily accessible to the ordinary people.<sup>78</sup> Even after his works had finally reached and pleased the emperor, a presenter's

road was still rough. He had to take an examination in the court and, if the result of that examination was satisfactory, to proceed to the Ministry of Civil Office and wait for his turn to be given a job.<sup>79</sup> Moreover, it seems the posts given to successful candidates were not special at all. We have two handy examples here. Fang Kuan was appointed in 724 a revising secretary of the texts in the imperial library (mi-shu-sheng chiao-shu lang 秘書省校書郎, ninth rank) and then soon transferred to a post of sub-prefectural sheriff (ninth rank) in T'ung-chou 同州.<sup>80</sup> Tu Fu, after successfully presenting a fu in 751-52, had to wait three years and present two more fu only finally to be appointed the sheriff of a sub-prefecture (an offer which Tu declined).<sup>81</sup> I would suspect that, on the part of the T'ang court, the Yen-en-kuei chest was simply treated as a symbolic measure to pacify the huge number of ambitious intellectuals that failed to pass any of the national examinations.

Still, the appeal of the Yen-en-kuei chest does not seem to have diminished. In addition to those I have mentioned so far, such famous men of letters as Meng Hao-jan, Ts'en Shen, and Hsü Ching-hsien 許景先 are also known to have utilized this channel, whether successfully or not.<sup>82</sup> The chance to win the favor of the emperor himself, however slim it may have been, was attractive at any rate. It must have been especially attractive to those who believed their talents had been slighted in the provinces, like Li Po in 737.

In a sense, Li Po's life in seclusion was also part of his political efforts. It served to promote the prestige of the poet, which was instrumental to the poet's patronage-seeking. For convenience, this

point will be dealt with fully in the next chapter.

I shall now proceed to investigate the first and only fruition of our poet's political endeavors, that is, his 742 success. The first question I would try to answer is: what exactly brought about this success? In two places at least, the poet indicated that he was summoned to the court as a lofty able man obscured in the mountains and woods:

In the beginning of the t'ien-pao period, the five courts (wu-fu 五府, meaning the highest ranking officials in the central government) simultaneously summoned [me] to serve the government.<sup>83</sup>  
 [This happened] not because [I] had sought to be prominent, but because [I], like Cheng Tzu-chen of Ku-k'ou 谷口鄭子真 (an eminent Han recluse), had earned a stunning fame in the capital [through my loftiness].<sup>84</sup> The Retired Emperor (Hsüan-tsung) heard about [me] and delighted in [me] and summoned [me] into the forbidden palace.<sup>85</sup>

An imperial decree had been issued to search the rivers and seas  
 (places where hermits often secluded themselves).

[Consequently,] I rose from my leisurely life among the clouds and  
 went to the capital Ch'ang-an.<sup>86</sup>

These words, though presumably exaggerated, are basically reliable because the first quotation is from a memorial to the Emperor Su-tsung.<sup>87</sup>

But there are some points that puzzle us. To begin with, did the poet attract the attention of the government completely through the

spread of his fame, or did he in fact still owe his fortune largely to the recommendation of some influential friend or friends? If the latter is the case, who was that friend or those friends? This is a question to which there are almost as many answers as there are early biographical accounts of Li Po. The most widely known stories are (A) that Li Po was recommended to the court by the Taoist adept Wu Yün 吳筠, (B) that he was recommended by Ho Chih-chang, or (C) that he went to Ch'ang-an with Wu but was later recommended by Ho. These stories, despite their popularity, are all highly doubtful.<sup>88</sup> A fairly corrupt passage by Wei Hao seems to hold that Li Po was summoned to Ch'ang-an and became a Han-lin academician through the help of his old friend Yüan Tan-ch'iu and Yüan's friend (?) Yü-chen Princess.<sup>89</sup> According to Chan Ying, Yüan Tan-ch'iu is the calligrapher of an inscription dated 743 and entitled "Yü-chen kung-chu shou-tao ling-t'an hsiang-ying chi" 玉真公主受道靈壇祥應記.<sup>90</sup> If this source can be trusted, Yüan might have indeed been familiar with the princess around 742 (they were both fervent Taoist followers).<sup>91</sup> Still, we need more direct evidence to confirm and illuminate the connection between the princess and Li Po's political fortune. Two other biographical accounts of Li Po, just like the above quotations from Li Po himself, do not mention any personal help to the poet on the matter at issue.<sup>92</sup> Since no mention does not necessarily mean denial, these sources, regrettably, cannot lead to any conclusive assertion, either.

Another point that needs clarification is when and how Li Po won Hsüan-tsung's special favor. Li Yang-ping seems to have told us that Li Po received fabulous treatment immediately upon his arrival at the

court:

In the t'ien-pao period, [the Emperor Hsüan-tsung] decreed to summon [the poet] to the Chin-ma [Gate] (meaning the Han-lin Academy). [The emperor] descended from the imperial carriage and walked to welcome the poet, as if he had seen [the White Haired Ones of Shang Shan] in his presence. He granted the poet a dinner, which was served on a seven-jewel bench (meaning decorated with various jewels), and stirred some soup even for the poet with his own hand. He told the poet, "You are a man without any official rank, but your name has been known to me. Unless you have well nourished your virtue, how can you have achieved this!"<sup>93</sup>

This account, though obviously exaggerated, may not be imaginary. In those times, it was not impossible for a person to receive some warm treatment when summoned to the court.<sup>94</sup> As I shall point out in the following chapter, nevertheless, the whole business of summoning distinguished recluses to the court was largely a political game. The respect paid to those who were summoned was normally temporary and symbolic, even if they were eminent and fortunate enough not to be sent home shortly. Could Li Po have later become a highly favored poet laureate in the court without any other reason? In a poem written to Li Po in 758 or 759, Tu Fu said:

A number of years ago the Singular Man [from Ssu-ming 四明 ]

(i.e., Ho Chih-chang)



Called you an immortal banished to this world.

[He said that (?)] your works were composed with the speed of  
a storm,

And your poetry had power enough to move the spirits.

On this account your fame soared high

And suddenly raised you out of your undeserved obscurity.

Then His Majesty showed special fondness for your works,

Which were indeed unrivaled in the world.

The Imperial barge sailed late just to wait for you;

No other person could win the embroidered robe [from the emperor]  
with you in the contest.<sup>95</sup>

These lines clearly tell us that Ho Chih-chang's praise paved Li Po's way to Hsüan-tsung's favor. It is not known how much of this passage is based on what Tu Fu heard from Li Po himself and how much on what Tu heard elsewhere, particularly in Ch'ang-an. At any rate, however, this account seems fairly likely.<sup>96</sup>

The nature of Li Po's position in the palace--i.e., the Han-lin academician in attendance--also needs some discussion. The Han-lin academy of the T'ang was originally "the place where those who were summoned from all over the empire for special attainment in various forms of art and skill stayed" waiting for orders to serve the emperor.<sup>97</sup> (The so-called "various forms of art and skill" include literary composition, Buddhist and Taoist teachings, medicine and so forth.)<sup>98</sup> Its members were guests in the court rather than formal officials in the government. Besides being called academicians in attendance (Han-lin kung-feng

翰林供奉), they were also known as "people waiting in the Han-lin academy for the emperor's summons" (Han-lin tai-chao 待詔).<sup>99</sup>

In titular designation, however, these people were often mixed up with some other categories of people. Ever since the reign of T'ai-tsung, the emperors had frequently called a very limited number of officials of exceptional ability or officials they trusted most into the inner palace to deal with important national affairs or to participate in banquets and parties. This phenomena still existed in the k'ai-yüan period. In the middle of this period, furthermore, Hsüan-tsung began to call some knowledgeable and literarily talented officials into the Han-lin academy to "attend [his] special orders" (kung-feng pieh-chih 供奉別旨), thinking that the staff of the Imperial Secretariat was overburdened and might not always satisfactorily serve his need.<sup>100</sup> According to some sources, both the names Han-lin kung-feng and Han-lin tai-chao were, in Hsüan-tsung's times at least, also applied to all these officials (only as informal titles indicative of the nature of their duties; these officials did not hold additional offices in the inner palace).<sup>101</sup> On the other hand, beginning in 738, the officials taking care of the emperor's special decrees in the Han-lin academy were designated "hsüeh-shih" 學士, and a new building named "Hsüeh-shih-yüan" 院 was constructed as their office south of the Han-lin academy. It is likely that, as one T'ang author held, these measures were adopted with a view to distinguishing the officials just mentioned from those who stayed in the Han-lin academy waiting to serve the emperor with their art and skill.<sup>102</sup> Confusingly enough, however, it seems both of these categories of people were then for a while usually or occasion-

ally known as Han-lin hsüeh-shih.<sup>103</sup> (As one Sung source suggests, the hsüeh-shih were so called probably because people had to distinguish them from some other officials whose titles also contained the term hsüeh-shih--e.g., Chi-hsien hsüeh-shih 集賢學士 ).<sup>104</sup> Such being the case, it is impossible to know Li Po's real position in the palace merely through his titles (the poet called himself a Han-lin kung-feng and was called a Han-lin hsüeh-shih, a Han-lin, or a Han-lin tai-chao).<sup>105</sup> Fortunately, a work about the history of the Han-lin academy by the T'ang author Wei Chih-i 韋執誼 clearly indicates that Li Po was one of those people who "stayed in the old Han-lin academy (i.e., not the Hsüeh-shih-yüan), had the title [of Han-lin hsüeh-shih], but did not have its office."<sup>106</sup> And this account is supported by the fact that, as I pointed out in Chapter Two, the poet indeed spent most of his time in the palace composing poems to entertain the emperor and his concubines.

It seems that, though he began his career only as a private literary attendant of the emperor, Li Po still had a fairly good opportunity to gain a position in the court. As a favored literary attendant, he had easy access to the emperor, and easy access to the ruler often promises political success. Wei Hao (based upon Li Po himself, presumably) told us that Hsüan-tsung had promised to appoint the poet a secretary in the Imperial Secretariat (chung-shu she-jen 中書舍人, fifth rank, in charge of drawing up decrees; officials summoned into the inner palace to draft decrees originally often held this post).<sup>107</sup> Indeed, what Wei's words reflect may not have been a fact but merely a wish of the poet, because the post of secretary in the Imperial Secretariat seems to have been too important to be given to a person without

any official background. But that office was by no means unapproachable if the poet could have gone through the regular chain of minor offices first. The several occasions on which Li Po was ordered to draft decrees (Ch. Two, p. 53) clearly marked the chance for the poet to ultimately have a part in that important task.

Why, then, did Li Po's political career quickly end up in great failure? The poet, as I indicated in Chapter Two (pp. 53-54), claimed that he had been maligned before Hsüan-tsung. This allegation was echoed by many of the poet's contemporary admirers.<sup>108</sup> Although it seems Li Po never named his enemy in his works, Wei Hao pointed out that the poet's adversary was Chang Chi 張埴. Chang was a son of the famous chief minister in the k'ai-yüan period Chang Yüeh 張說 and a son-in-law of Hsüan-tsung.<sup>109</sup> He was much favored by Hsüan-tsung for his literary talent and was allowed to reside in the inner palace. After the introduction of the post of hsüeh-shih in 738, Chang was one of the several officials who first held that post.<sup>110</sup> He betrayed the empire and became a chief minister of the rebels during the rebellion of An Lu-shan. There are some indications that Chang was interested in associating with men of letters.<sup>111</sup> Recently, one scholar even speculated that Li Po became acquainted with Chang during his 737-40 visit to Kuan-chung.<sup>112</sup> Owing to the lack of evidence, it is unlikely that we will be able to know if there was a poor personal relationship between Li Po and Chang Chi. But, on the other hand, it seems to me that a power struggle between them was very likely. A poem by Tu Fu shows that Chang was very probably still in the post of hsüeh-chih when Li Po came to the court in 742.<sup>113</sup> The number of hsüeh-shih, though indefinite, was very

limited (sometimes as small as only one or two).<sup>114</sup> Under such circumstances, it would not be surprising if Chang Chi viciously tried to prevent Li Po from becoming a threat to his position. It may be, however, groundless to think that the poet was a completely innocent victim of a nasty power struggle, even if the allegation of slander was true. In what may be the first work in which he complained about the slander against him (composed around the early autumn of 743), Li Po said that he had been "a careless person by nature" and had been "frequently blamed for being rash" in the palace.<sup>115</sup> Not only legends but also Li Po's friends and admirers indicated that the poet, even when still enjoying Hsüan-tsung's favor, was given to alcohol.<sup>116</sup> Although it could be beneficial to a poet, too much wine was obviously harmful to an attendant of the ruler, to whom leaking information and neglecting duty were fatal mistakes. Fan Ch'uan-cheng seems convincing when he says:

Hsüan-tsung loved [the poet's] talent very much. [But] there were people who (or, "Hsüan-tsung probably"?) worried that, while he kept going into and out of the forbidden quarter in drunkenness, [Li Po] would inevitably talk about the trees in the Green House Palace (i.e., leak information about affairs in the palace) and would therefore make trouble later. [Consequently, the emperor] consented with regret to [the poet's wish to return to his life in seclusion].<sup>117</sup>

After all, unrealistic and careless as he was, Li Po was not born for politics.

After his departure from Ch'ang-an in 744, Li Po's political activity

discontinued for about eight years (till the turn of 751-52).<sup>118</sup> In part, the reason of this discontinuation was probably that Li Po was then not in the position to show interest in politics. When he complained about the so-called slander against him, the poet fairly naturally but unwisely sang his old tune--that he wished he could soon finish with politics and enjoy his free life again.<sup>119</sup> It is likely that, as one modern scholar suggested, such words as these provided Hsüan-tsung an excellent reason to send the poet out of the capital.<sup>120</sup> In any case, the poet was granted the honor to return to his life in seclusion, as I have mentioned before.<sup>121</sup> Under such circumstances, it was obviously unjustifiable for the poet to be soon involved in politics again. On the other hand, Li Po may have realized that, having just lost the favor of the emperor, he could not find any significant political fortune. As for minor posts, they must have now appeared to the poet much more unattractive than before.<sup>122</sup>

Li Po followed a new road towards prominence when he resumed his political efforts in the turn of 751-52. It is interesting that, just like patronage-seeking and the presentation of writings to the emperor, the chance to become eminent through military service also attracted Li Po and quite a few other contemporary poets. Kao Shih first tried to seek his fortune in the army in his thirties; in his late fifties (late t'ien-pao period), he found a secretarial job in the headquarters of Ko-shu Han. From this modest beginning, Kao managed to acquire a rather successful military-political career.<sup>123</sup> In the Western Territories, Ts'en Shen worked several years under Kao Hsien-chih 高仙芝 and Feng Ch'ang-ch'ing 封常清 ; he became most famous to posterity

for some of the poems he composed there.<sup>124</sup> Even Tu Fu, who tended to hold anti-war views, tried in 754 to find a post under Ko-shu Han.<sup>125</sup> This enthusiasm must have arisen partly from the fact that, in the later years of Hsüan-tsung's reign, the T'ang government vigorously pursued aggressive foreign policies and was lavish in bestowing rewards on officers in the army.<sup>126</sup> In part, it can also be attributed to the forbidding situation the ambitious intellectuals in general faced in their struggles to acquire worthy positions in other branches of the government.<sup>127</sup> (The lives of Kao Shih and Tu Fu, besides that of Li Po, are typical examples.)<sup>128</sup> And Li Po's attempt to join the army shows that, in order to realize his dream, our poet virtually exhausted all available means.

Another point is worth noticing concerning the poet's futile journey to the northern frontiers. It was only three years before An Lu-shan rose in rebellion when the poet visited An's domain. Did the poet notice anything ominous there? In a poem composed in 758, Li Po himself said yes. He also claimed that he had felt distressed for not being in the position to make his views known to the ruler.<sup>129</sup> Nevertheless, in the poems believed to have been written during or soon after the journey in question, I have not found any sign of such insight and concern as the poet claimed to have had.<sup>130</sup> I would believe that Li Po was simply boasting when he wrote those words.<sup>131</sup>

During the rebellion of An Lu-shan, two things brought Li Po's dream to the verge of collapse. One was the poet's growing desire to escape from the troubled world; the other was, as I have already touched upon earlier, the poet's disastrous involvement in the political adventure of the Prince of Yung.

As is shown in the previous chapter (p. 61), Li Po seems to have witnessed the fall of the region of modern Honan into the hands of the rebels. When he arrived in the south, the poet was for a while still much concerned with the calamity going on in the north, and sometimes also expressed his old wish to relieve the masses of their suffering.<sup>132</sup> But even when the poet still had such concern and wish as these, in his mind already lurked the tendency to escape from the troubled world and to justify his escape with the denial of his self-image. The following lines were composed in early 756 at Hsüan-ch'eng, the poet's first stop in the south:

All His Majesty's towns were lost and ruined;

All the world's roads became rough and steep.

.....

The living masses got startled even by falling leaves;

The skeletons were left to mourn over each other.

.....

I, the roc of the dark north ocean, hung down my wings

And will follow the example of the leopard of the South Mountain.<sup>133</sup>

[A note for the cited lines]:

The leopard of the South Mountain: This legendary leopard is said to have hid in the mountain seven days in order to protect its beautiful hair from mist and rain. See Wang Ch'i's annotation in WC 12/638 and Lieh nü chuan pu-chu 列女傳補注 2/32.

The meaning of the double allegory in the last two lines is obvious.



Later, the poet showed the same tendency again in at least two poems. First, in late 756, when he had temporarily settled down in Lu Shan, the poet thus told a friend:

The archrobber seized half of the empire,  
As swiftly as the wind swept the autumn leaves.  
I am not such a man as could deliver the world from suffering;  
So I have secluded myself on Mount P'ing-feng-tieh.<sup>134</sup>

[A note for the cited lines]:

"Seized half of the empire": free translation of "割鴻溝."

The Hung-kou Canal was once used as the boundary line of the domains of Hsiang Yü 項羽 and Liu Pang 劉邦 during the chaotic period following the fall of the Ch'in dynasty.

Probably in early 758, when his most recent optimism, which his participation in the adventure of the Prince of Yung brought about, had long passed and yet the amazing verdict to banish him to Yeh-lang had not reached him yet, the poet wrote:

Liu K'un and Tsu T'i [are well known for]  
Getting up to practise martial skills at cock-crow.  
Although they wished to pacify the world and save the people,  
They were after all also persons who would welcome calamities  
in order to stand out.

I am different from this kind of people:

I would rather dim my light beside the Wan-shui River.<sup>135</sup>

Liu K'un and Tsu T'i were both national heroes of the Eastern Chin dynasty and, therefore, were the kind of people that Li Po usually admired.<sup>136</sup> Even in the lines cited here, the poet could not dismiss their greatness. To downgrade these two people is nothing short of downgrading the poet's whole political dream.

Indeed, Li Po would not have so drastically deviated from his old dream without disturbance and conflicts in his mind. By the outbreak of the rebellion of An Lu-shan, Li Po had already wandered about for more than ten years without seeing any chance to revive his political career. His resentment and disappointment very probably had accumulated to a new overwhelming height. These sentiments, as I have pointed out, were often capable of driving our poet toward deliberate apathy.<sup>137</sup> Furthermore, the poet was obviously amazed by the war. It is likely that, in the mind of the amazed poet, retreat into the mountains turned from a sheer gesture into a real desire. This change of attitude was probably the main reason why the poet finally came to deny his self-image. With his genuine intention to seclude himself, our poet could no longer comfortably see himself as an able and loyal man unjustly excluded from the government, no matter how much political ambition may have still lingered in his mind. He needed some other justification for his decision to escape during a period of national calamity, when he supposedly was most needed by the people. It seems the poet then found his justification in his long years of political obscurity: Did this obscurity not mean that he was only an ordinary man? If he was only an ordinary man without any office, what could he do for the common people? Was it not better for him to find a safe place and enjoy life there? Admittedly, there is no ground for

posterity to disgrace Li Po for not having always worried about the ruler and the nation as Tu Fu had during the war times,<sup>138</sup> because Li Po, unlike Tu Fu, was neither in the sufroundings nor in the position to do so. (Tu fell into the hands of the rebels near Ch'ang-an in 756. He was then sent to the captured capital and spent several months there. He fled to Su-tsung's exile court at Feng-hsiang 鳳翔 in the middle of 757 and was appointed an omissioner of the left shortly after.)<sup>139</sup> Even Li Po's flight to the south was something all too common then and should be free from blame.<sup>140</sup> Nevertheless, the poet's self-image as a would-be savior was the core of his political dream. The breaking of that image by the poet himself, be it the result of resentment or fear or a mixture of both, clearly demonstrates how insubstantial the poet's dream was.

To make clear the nature of Li Po's participation in the disastrous adventure of the Prince of Yung, it is necessary first to investigate the power struggle involved in that event. To begin with, Hsüan-tsung fled Ch'ang-an for Shu on the 13th day of the 6th month of 756,<sup>141</sup> only very shortly before the troops of An Lu-shan captured the capital.<sup>142</sup> When the emperor left Ma-wei-i 馬嵬驛 (at Hsing-p'ing-hsien 興平 west of Ch'ang-an) on the 15th day, the crown prince Li Heng 亨 was left behind to pacify the local people. Heng then decided not to follow the emperor south, his ostensible reason being that the T'ang subjects near the capital needed his leadership to fight the rebels.<sup>143</sup> It is said that Hsüan-tsung offered to bequeath the throne when he heard of this, but Heng declined the offer.<sup>144</sup> Shortly after, however, the crown prince obviously could no longer resist the appeal of power. On the 12th day of the 7th month, even before Hsüan-tsung arrived in Shu, Heng

ascended the throne arbitrarily at Ling-wu 靈武 (in present Ning-hsia 寧夏).<sup>145</sup>

Although the desire for power is nothing special, Li Heng's action can be better understood in the light of the court politics under Hsüan-tsung. The inheritance of the throne was uncertain throughout the T'ang period.<sup>146</sup> It was very much so under Hsüan-tsung's reign. In 736, Hsüan-tsung's first crown prince Li Ying 瑛 was disgraced and soon executed together with two other sons of the emperor through calumnies of the dictatorial chief minister Li Lin-fu and the imperial concubine Wu Hui-fei 武惠妃.<sup>147</sup> Afterwards, Li Lin-fu proposed several times to the emperor to invest Wu Hui-fei's son Li Mao 瑁. As a result, the investment of Li Heng, Hsüan-tsung's own choice, did not take place until the middle of 737. The new crown prince continued suffering from the malignance and conspiracies of Li Lin-fu and others.<sup>148</sup> Indeed, Li Heng was, as he himself said later, very fortunate to have survived these enemies.<sup>149</sup>

On Hsüan-tsung's flight to Shu, a new threat to Li Heng's position came from his brother Lin 璘. On the 15th day of the 7th month of 756, still unaware of what had happened at Ling-wu (Hsüan-tsung was not informed of the ascension until the 12th day of the 8th month),<sup>150</sup> Hsüan-tsung adopted Fang Kuan's suggestion and issued an edict in which he divided the empire into four regions and put a son in charge of each. The division of responsibility is roughly as follows:

- (1) The crown prince: in charge of Shuo-fang 朔方, Ho-tung 河東, Ho-pei 河北, and P'ing-lu 平盧; and responsible for the recovery of Ch'ang-an and Lo-yang.

(2) Li Lin, the Prince of Yung: in charge of Shan-nan-tung-tao

山南東道 , Ling-nan 嶺南 , Ch'ien-chung 黔中 ,  
and Chiang-nan-hsi-tao 江南西道 .

(3) Li Ch'i 琦 : in charge of Chiang-nan-tung-tao, Huai-nan

淮南 , and Ho-nan 河南 .

(4) Li Kung 珙 : in charge of Ho-hsi 河西 , Lung-yu 隴右 ,

An-hsi 安西 and Pei-t'ing 北庭 .

This edict also appointed a number of officials as chief advisors to the princes.<sup>151</sup> But there are indications that, behind this edict, Hsüan-tsung's real intention was only to put Li Lin in charge of the south of the empire. First, when he stayed at Fu-feng 扶風 (west of Ma-wei-i) between the 16th and 19th days of the 6th month, Hsüan-tsung seems to have already ordered Lin, who had been the absentee grand governor-general of Ching-chou 荊州 , to actually head for his office.<sup>152</sup> Second, both Li Ch'i and Li Kung were in fact never sent to their offices.<sup>153</sup> Finally, some sketchy pieces of evidence together show that, after the issue of the edict in question, Li Lin may have been further appointed to some other offices and thus become also in charge of the region originally assigned to Li Ch'i.<sup>154</sup> Whether Hsüan-tsung had acted out of considerations of national security or resentment against Li Heng or both is not clear. But it seems that in any case the effect of his action would have been largely the same. The appointment of Li Lin meant little short of opening to him the way to the throne, given the fact that, with the special service they rendered to the dynasty, both T'ai-tsung and Hsüan-tsung himself had replaced the original heirs apparent.<sup>155</sup> Moreover, at a time when the rebels had

occupied most of North China, the south could have been more essential to the survival of the empire than the small area in the north-west then under Li Heng's control.<sup>156</sup>

The new emperor Su-tsung was soon warned of the potential danger of this situation. In the 10th month (756), Ho-lan Chin-ming 賀蘭進明, a political enemy of Fang Kuan's, once attacked Fang privately before Su-tsung. (Fang had been sent by Hsüan-tsung to serve the new emperor before then.) He said that Fang had been disloyal to Su-tsung because in the edict just described, which Fang had orchestrated, Su-tsung had been appointed an office even inferior to those of other princes.<sup>157</sup> It is not known to me if Su-tsung also received warning from other officials. But, as will become clear from the following text, the emperor obviously lost no time in trying to eliminate the threat from Li Lin.

Li Lin arrived at Hsiang-yang 襄陽 in the 7th month of 756 and proceeded to Chiang-ling 江陵 (Ching-chou) in the 9th month.<sup>158</sup> He soon began to recruit troops there and planned to lead his troops east along the Yangtze River and to build his base in the Yangtze delta region. In the 10th month, Su-tsung ordered Lin to go to Shu and stay there with the Retired Emperor (Hsüan-tsung), but Lin ignored this order.<sup>159</sup> On the 25th day of the 12th month, Lin finally started his expedition to the east, but did not yet reveal his intention to occupy lands.<sup>160</sup> Probably soon after he learned of Lin's refusal to go to Shu, Su-tsung sent two eunuchs to deploy the forces in the Yangtze delta region; these eunuchs, as we shall see immediately, seem to have done a very good job.<sup>161</sup> Furthermore, shortly before Lin started for the east, Su-tsung

sent Kao Shih, who had vocally opposed the appointments of the princes, to the south-east. Kao's mission was to cooperate with some officials in the south to cope with Lin. But when the troops of these officials set out from An-lu on their expedition, it was already the eve of Lin's defeat.<sup>162</sup>

The clashes between Lin's troops and the forces in the Yangtze delta region were touched off by a letter from a local official named Li Hsi-yen 李希言. In this letter, Li Hsi-yen questioned the prince's intention, treated the prince as an official of equal rank, and mentioned his name directly (how boldly disrespectful!). I would believe that this was a tactic worked out by local officials and the eunuchs sent by Su-tsung to compel Lin to use force first and thus become a rebel. The angered prince, unfortunately for him, was not cautious and patient enough. He sent his troops from Tang-t'u (near the border of present Anhwei and Kiangsu); the local governments sent their forces to resist them from Tan-yang 丹陽 (some 40 km south of Yang-chou) and Kuang-ling (Yang-chou).<sup>163</sup> The time must have been the very beginning of 757.<sup>164</sup> After some brief victories, the prince was deserted by most of his subordinates and had to flee south with his family and personal guards. He was killed somewhere in the Ta-yü-ling Mountain 大庾嶺 on the 20th day of the 2nd month.<sup>165</sup> Sometime before his final defeat, probably after the conflicts took place, the prince was demoted to a commoner through a decree from the Retired Emperor.<sup>166</sup>

About Li Po's involvement in this event, the first thing to be discussed here is when and under what circumstances the poet joined the prince's fleet. As mentioned before, the poet was then living in Lu

Shan.<sup>167</sup> In a poem written much later, the poet tells us that he had virtually been kidnapped there: "The fleet [of the prince] arrived at midnight, and the whole of [Hsün-yang] became a mass of military banners. I allowed myself to be deceived by false pretences and was forced by threats to go on board a transport."<sup>168</sup> The same allegation is found in at least one other work.<sup>169</sup> However, these words are certainly not convincing. First, as Arthur Waley pointed out, "it is hard to believe that the gaiety and enthusiasm of the poems written at this time were entirely simulated."<sup>170</sup> (Some of these poems will be cited shortly.) Moreover, there are indications that the poet travelled west from the Lu Shan area to join the fleet and that he probably passed Wu-ch'ang and Hsün-yang with the fleet.<sup>171</sup> The poet must have joined the fleet voluntarily before or immediately after it left Chiang-ling. This was a result of the prince's cordial invitation. After the outbreak of the rebellion of An Lu-shan, many famous intellectuals fled south across the Yangtze River.<sup>172</sup> Before his expedition, the prince obviously tried to recruit some of these intellectuals. We know that Hsiao Ying-shih 蕭穎士 and K'ung Ch'ao-fu were among those summoned by the prince (they both declined the invitations).<sup>173</sup> In two of his works, Li Po said that the prince's summons came to him "three" times (meaning many times, if not used literally) and he finally gave his consent.<sup>174</sup>

There is little doubt that Li Po imagined he again had a good chance to make his mark in history. He drew the rosy picture very vividly in his poems:

The arrows of the barbarians showered on the palaces;



The imperial carriage therefore went on the road.  
 Now the wise Prince has received plans in the court;  
 With a battle-axe in hand, he'll tranquilize the south.<sup>175</sup>

When none of the regional commanders could rescue the Ho-nan area,  
 People would be even more joyful to see the wise Prince come  
 from afar.<sup>176</sup>

Let me borrow the Prince's jade-decorated whip;  
 I'll then put the barbarians under my command while enjoying a  
 feast.

Once the south wind sweeps, it'll silence the Tartar dust;  
 And we'll go west to Ch'ang-an, to the side of the Sun.<sup>177</sup>

He was so overwhelmed and enthusiastic that he told some of his colleagues: "Let's bear a debt of gratitude for the benevolence of the court, and not hesitate to sacrifice our insignificant lives."<sup>178</sup>

The irony is that this time once again the poet could only function as a sort of unofficial Poet-Laureate.<sup>179</sup> The main production of his short-lived job seems to have been the eleven eulogistic poems entitled "Songs of the Prince of Yung's Expedition to the East," of which the last two citations above are good examples. (Not surprisingly, the poet did not forget to boast of his talents at the same time.)

It seems, however, Li Po did not question the meaning of his job until after the fleet began to encounter the forces loyal to Su-tsung. In a letter, the poet told a certain Mr. Chia 賈 that he "only unworthily [stayed] in the headquarters [of the prince] and ultimately [could]

do nothing [significant] at all" and that his "being in charge of some trivial matters [brought] him only apprehension."<sup>180</sup> This is the only thing written in the fleet that shows that Li Po felt unsatisfied with his role in the expedition. The mention of apprehension is a good indication that the poet had been troubled by something ominous. As he recalled later, the poet may have then had some wish to leave the fleet.<sup>181</sup> But he finally stayed in the fleet until its collapse near Tan-yang and then fled in horror.<sup>182</sup> The claim the poet made later that he had fled halfway during the expedition cannot be trusted.<sup>183</sup>

Li Po should not be blamed too much although he, as I suggest above, lied about his role in the prince's expedition on some occasions. Hsüan-tsung did not bestow Su-tsung the authority to overrule his orders when he gave his consent to the latter's arbitrary ascension to the throne.<sup>184</sup> Technically, therefore, Li Lin's expedition was legal until the prince was disgraced by the Retired Emperor. Since the expedition only lasted for a matter of days, it is very likely the Retired Emperor's decree did not reach the Yangtze delta region until after Li Po had taken to flight.<sup>185</sup> Also, there seems little doubt that the public knew nothing about the central government's decision to disown Li Lin when the expedition had just started. How can our poet have known that the prince's grand enterprise would soon be labelled a rebellion? Furthermore, as Wang Ch'i pointed out, Chi Kuang-ch'en 季廣琛, the most powerful general under Li Lin, who left the fleet no earlier than Li Po, not only was free from all charges but obtained a fairly successful career under Su-tsung; and the striking difference between the fortunes of these two people lies mainly in the fact that Chi, with

the troops in his command, could serve Su-tsung's regime better than our poor poet.<sup>186</sup> The poet was indeed a victim of a ruthless power struggle rather than a criminal. Li Po himself was convinced of this and allegorically but strongly expressed his view in some poems.<sup>187</sup> In one of these poems, he seems to have gone so far as to blame Su-tsung for having incited a civil war against his own brother instead of having tried his best to cope with the rebels.<sup>188</sup> Obviously, however, this is not a case which it was appropriate to bring forth to defend Li Po. consequently, it is probable that, in trying to clear the poet of guilt, some of Li Po's politically sophisticated friends advised him to fabricate a story of his part in the expedition. (The first work in which Li Po's false story appears was written as an official document.)<sup>189</sup> Once he had made up a story, the poet could not but try to maintain it for a certain period of time.

Many Chinese scholars, sympathetic to the poet or not, have been prejudiced when commenting on Li Po's role in this event. From a very narrow moralistic point of view, Hung Liang-chi 洪亮吉 of the Ch'ing dynasty sharply criticized the poet for "having compromised his loyalty" (shih-chieh 失節).<sup>190</sup> Some other scholars, on the other hand, chose to defend the poet with his claim that he had been coerced into joining the prince. They either ignored all those works by Li Po that contradict this claim or tried to arbitrarily dismiss those works as spurious.<sup>191</sup> Interestingly enough, Kuo Mo-jo recently proposed a view exactly the reverse. He rightly held that Li Po joined the fleet voluntarily, but argued unconvincingly that, because Li Po was too honest to have lied, all the words about his having been coerced by the fleet either are

spurious or should be interpreted otherwise.<sup>192</sup>

Certainly, the poet may have made a serious political mistake even though he did not commit a crime. As I have indicated, both Hsiao Ying-shih and K'ung Ch'ao-fu declined Li Lin's summons. The reason why they did so is not clear. But it is not unlikely that they somehow foresaw the danger involved in the prince's adventure while Li Po failed to do so.<sup>193</sup> In addition, the poet did not escape immediately even when he was troubled by the first conflicts between the fleet and Su-tsung's forces. This seems undoubtedly a great mistake. But why was the poet, in his own words, so "slow in realizing the true nature of the situation?"<sup>194</sup> Indeed, as I said above, Li Po is not known for such a thing as practical wisdom. This, however, may not have been the sole reason for the mistake just mentioned. The poet may have simply been unable to resist the temptation of the seemingly real chance to realize his dream. In any case, he had to pay a dear price for his mistake. His opportunity to participate in politics virtually ended with the decree to banish him to Yeh-lang.

Li Po's life was near its end when he was pardoned in 759. As if to attest his wild, invincible heroism, however, the poet's dream again emerged despite all his previous failures and vacillations. The following poem, entitled "Towards the End," was the poet's final remark on his political life:

The Great Roc took flight, set out to the ends of the earth;  
But in mid-sky he toppled, his strength did not suffice.  
The stir he has created will last countless generations--

A man whose left sleeve was stuck in the Fu-sang tree.  
 But in days to come just who will shed tears for this,  
 There being no longer a sorrowing Confucius to grieve?<sup>195</sup>

[Notes for the poem]:

Line 4: The image of having a sleeve stuck in the Fu-sang tree (the mythological tree in the extreme east) originates from Yen Chi's 嚴忌 fu "Ai shih ming" 哀時命 . In accordance with Wang I's 王逸 annotation, this image means that one has found this world too small in which to move freely (that is, too small for one to use his talents fully). The expression "shih mei" 石袂 should have read "tso mei" 左袂 (left sleeve). See Wang Ch'i's annotation in WC 8/453 and Ch'u tz'u pu-chu 楚辭補注 14/3b.

Line 6: The poet here compared himself to the holy animal known as ch'i-lin 麒麟 over whose death Confucius sorrowed and wept.

#### Chapter Four: Li Po as a Taoist Recluse

Li Po has been labeled a Taoist by some modern scholars.<sup>1</sup> Indeed, as is touched upon in the second chapter, our poet frequently engaged himself in Taoist activities. From time to time he secluded himself in the mountains; he was interested in drugs which produced longevity and immortality; he even asked a senior Taoist adept to confer a Taoist register (tao-lu 道錄) upon him. It is, however, interesting that Li Po's contemporaries, even though they compliment his ethereality and often mentioned his Taoist activities, never called him a Taoist.<sup>2</sup> Instead, one of them had called the poet a kao-shih 高士 (a high-minded person, usually meaning a hermit).<sup>3</sup> Whether Li Po should be called a Taoist or a hermit or both is in my view not simply a question of titular designation. Rather, it involves the question of how one should interpret the apparently Taoist activities of Li Po. It is natural for people, whose times are separated by more than one thousand years, to understand the same things in very different ways. Therefore, in order to provide a more sympathetic explanation of what the activities under discussion meant to our poet, the body of this chapter will begin with an investigation into the roles and activities of the Taoists and the scholar-recluses in the High T'ang period.

As is well known, Taoism was patronized by the government and developed rapidly in the T'ang period. The Taoists first became connected with the T'ang ruling class by rendering it very good service. This service was in the form of favorable prophecies to the dynasty's

inception. Initially, the T'ang founders may have taken advantage of a prophetic ditty current in north China (probably made by some Taoists in association with the followers of Li Mi 李密), which foretold the coming of a new emperor of China named Li.<sup>4</sup> Further, it was said that in 620 the incarnation of Lao-tzu told a man named Chi Shan-hsing 吉善行 in the Yang-chiao-shan Mountain 羊角山 that the T'ang imperial clan were his descendants and would be emperors for a thousand years. This revelation impressed Kao-tsu so much that he ordered a temple to Lao-tzu be established there.<sup>5</sup> It was also said that Wang Yüan-chih 王遠知, the first T'ang patriarch of the Mao-shan sect of Taoism, "[transmitted] the eschatological prophecies of Taoism in its Mao-shan form" to Li Yüan (Kao-tsu) and told Li Shih-min (T'ai-tsung) that he would become an emperor.<sup>6</sup>

Naturally, people who rendered this kind of service to the T'ang founders were rewarded, usually with gifts and honorary offices.<sup>7</sup> It seems, however, that in the beginning the T'ang government did not intend to give Taoism special patronage. (The T'ang emperors' personal attitudes towards Taoism will only be alluded to in passing, since they are not the main concern and are too far beyond the scope of this study.) During his reign, Kao-tsu's respect for Taoism did not go beyond paying occasional visits to the temple of Lao-tzu in the Chung-nan-shan Mountain and other similar activities.<sup>8</sup> The way the T'ang court intended to treat Taoists can be seen in a 626 decree which aimed to deal with the long and bitter dispute between the followers of Taoism and of Buddhism, a dispute which had broken out in the court in 624. In that quarrel, Fu I 傅奕, an official who had been a Taoist adept, attacked Buddhism

on national, intellectual, economic and even security grounds, and advocated that all Buddhist monks and nuns should be forced to return to lay life.<sup>9</sup> The Buddhists, in their counter-attacks, also made similar accusations against the Taoists.<sup>10</sup> As a result, Kao-tsu issued a decree in the 5th month of 626, which ordered that, except for those who truly and diligently observed their religious teachings, all Buddhist and Taoist monks and nuns must return to laity. In addition, only three Buddhist and two Taoist establishments were to be permitted in the capital and only one establishment of either religion would be permitted in each prefecture.<sup>11</sup> Indeed this decree was far more tolerant to the Taoists than to the Buddhists, because at that time the numbers of Buddhist establishments and the Buddhist clergy were far larger than those of their Taoist counterparts.<sup>12</sup> But it is clear that this decree was intended to suppress Buddhism rather than to patronize Taoism. The T'ang court must have wished to see two strictly controlled and mutually balanced popular religions in the empire. Before the above decree could be carried out, however, Li Shih-min (T'ai-tsung) launched a coup d'état and assumed power. After the coup d'état the T'ang court lifted the prohibitions on Taoism and Buddhism, probably as a part of a general amnesty but also probably out of the fear of causing social instability.<sup>13</sup>

T'ai-tsung nevertheless adopted a symbolic measure to promote Taoism. In 637, he issued a decree concerning the relative status of Buddhists and Taoists. By this decree the emperor first indicated that it was not proper for increasing numbers of common people and officials to revere Buddhism, a foreign religion, to the detriment of the indigenous Taoism.



He then claimed that the imperial clan had emanated from Lao-tzu and that the founding of the dynasty owed much to the blessing of Lao-tzu and his teachings. He therefore demanded that Taoists should take precedence over Buddhists in public religious ceremonies and in the order of the mention of their titles.<sup>14</sup> There seems no doubt that T'ai-tsung did not favor Taoism personally.<sup>15</sup> The decree under discussion must have been issued out of political considerations. As mentioned in Chapter One (pp. 29-31), the claims of a blood tie with Lao-tzu may have been part of a campaign then undertaken by the T'ang clan to promote its social prestige. It is likely that T'ai-tsung also aimed at suppressing Buddhism in a round-about way by using Taoism as a balancing factor. According to the THY, in 634 some common people petitioned T'ai-tsung to invite distinguished Buddhist monks to the court and to pay respect to them every day. The emperor could not help suspecting that there had been Buddhist monks behind the formulation of this petition.<sup>16</sup> This also is a good indication that the T'ang government might have felt a need to curb the influence of Buddhism. Whatever be its motivations, however, this decree began the T'ang tradition of honoring Taoism as the religion founded by the ruling clan's most outstanding ancestor. (T'ai-tsung's claim was reasserted by Kao-tsung in 666 and, after the Wu-Chou period, by Chung-tsung in 708.)<sup>17</sup>

From the reign of Kao-tsung onward, the patronage of Taoism gradually expanded beyond symbolic measures. As far as it pertains to this study, I shall explore three aspects of the development of Taoism under that patronage.<sup>18</sup> These aspects are: (1) the increase in the numbers of the Taoist clergy and Taoist establishments, (2) the popularisation of the

Taoist teachings among the intellectuals, and (3) the veneration of distinguished Taoist adepts by the government.

At the beginning of the T'ang dynasty, the Taoist clergy was numerically very small. The Li-tai ch'ung-tao chi says that only 2,000 people were officially ordained as Taoist priests during the reign of the Emperor Wen-ti of Sui and only 1,100 people joined the clergy during the reign of Yang-ti.<sup>19</sup> According to this account, there must have been at the most only two to three thousand officially ordained Taoists at the beginning of the T'ang period. (However, it is worth remembering that, as Wright indicates, unauthorized self-proclaimed practitioners were common.)<sup>20</sup> It seems that this figure, if not completely accurate, is not likely to be lower than the actual number.<sup>21</sup> Since the Taoist clergy was so small, Taoist establishments were presumably not many.<sup>22</sup> In 666, after the feng-shan ceremony at the T'ai-shan Mountain, Kao-tsung decreed that three Taoist temples be established in Yen-chou 兗州 (the location of the mountain) and one temple in each prefecture in the empire (there were 358 prefectures and capital-prefectures in the empire in 639). The decree also ordered the establishment of the same number of Buddhist temples.<sup>23</sup> At the end of 683, Kao-tsung changed the then reign title yung-ch'un 永淳 to hung-tao 弘道 (magnifying Taoism) in veneration of the teachings of Lao-tzu. He also ordered that three Taoist temples be established in each first-class prefecture, two in each second-class prefecture, and one in each third-class prefecture, and that seven people be ordained to serve in each temple.<sup>24</sup> After a period of mild setback under the reign of the Empress Wu (the empress patronized Buddhism to serve some of her political needs but is not

known to have suppressed Taoism),<sup>25</sup> the rapid expansion of the Taoist clergy and establishments resumed. In 705, Chung-tsung ordered that one Taoist temple (and one Buddhist) be established in each prefecture to celebrate the revival of the T'ang. The temples were all given the name Chung-hsing 中興 (revival).<sup>26</sup> Although we do not have any clear account of the execution of each of these decrees, we have reason to believe that their total effect was tremendous.<sup>27</sup> By the k'ai-yüan period, the number of Taoist establishments in the empire had grown to 1687, with 1137 for Taoist monks and 550 for Taoist nuns, and the Taoist clergy may have become as large as 15,000 people.<sup>28</sup> Admittedly, this figure still fell behind that of the Buddhist clergy, which was composed of 75,524 monks and 50,576 nuns.<sup>29</sup> But when one notices the fact that the number of Buddhists had diminished almost by half between the beginning of the dynasty and the k'ai-yüan period,<sup>30</sup> one can easily recognize the great vitality of Taoism. These Taoist adepts and establishments spread throughout the empire and, as will be shown below, greatly influenced the lives of numerous intellectuals.

Another important development of Taoism was the inclusion of Taoist texts in the examination system. In 674, the Empress Wu memorialized in praise of the sagacity and relevance of Lao-tzu and requested that all the princes and dukes and officials study the Tao-te ching and that this work become part of the contents of the ming-ching examination (which originally contained only Confucian texts). Her request was accepted. In the following year, the Tao-te ching became part of the curriculum of not only the ming-ching but the chin-shih examinations.<sup>31</sup> This measure was stopped in 693, several years after the empress assumed the throne, but was resumed in 705 under Chung-tsung.<sup>32</sup> In 733, Hsüan-

tsung annotated the Tao-te ching and ordered that every family in the empire keep a copy of his work. Further, he increased the emphasis on the Tao-te ching in the examinations.<sup>33</sup> In 741, a decree ordered that one school of Taoist studies, named Ch'ung-hsüan hsüeh, be established in each of the two capitals and in each of the prefectures in the empire. The curriculum of those schools was composed of the Taoist works the Lao-tzu (Tao-te ching), Chuang-tzu, Wen-tzu 文子, and Lieh-tzu 列子; and a new examination called the Tao-chü 道舉, which utilized these works, was established.<sup>34</sup> After 741, it seems that Hsüan-tsung had somewhat scaled down the attempts to popularize the Taoist classics.<sup>35</sup> The measures mentioned above, however, were obviously enough to arouse in the intellectuals enthusiasm for the above works, which were revered as the fount of all Taoist teachings. Later, I shall endeavor to elaborate on this point more fully.

The respect paid by the T'ang emperors to distinguished Taoist adepts was in accord with the patronage the emperors gave to Taoism as a whole. From time to time, some renowned Taoists were invited to the court.<sup>36</sup> There, the emperors would usually place them in the Han-lin Academy and consult them on subjects ranging from alchemy to the Taoist ideal of non-action in politics.<sup>37</sup> When these Taoist adepts asked to be allowed to return to their retreats, gifts, honorary titles and sometimes new residences were bestowed upon them. Li Po's friend Wu Yün and several T'ang patriarchs of the Mao-shan sect of Taoism (Wang Yüan-chih, P'an Shih-cheng 潘師正, Ssu-ma Ch'eng-chen, et cetera) were some of those who received this kind of courteous treatment from the T'ang government.<sup>38</sup>

Distinguished hermits, like distinguished Taoists, also received

courteous treatment from the government. In 680, on a round trip from Lo-yang to a hot spring in Ju-chou 汝州, Kao-tsung visited the famous hermit T'ien Yu-yen 田遊巖 at T'ien's retreat in the Sung-shan Mountain 嵩山. He then had T'ien sent to the capital and appointed T'ien an academician of the Ch'ung-wen-kuan Academy (崇文館學士).<sup>39</sup> Lu Hung-i 盧鴻一, another renowned hermit from the Sung-shan Mountain, was, after several invitations, finally summoned to the Eastern capital Lo-yang by Hsüan-tsung in 718. He was offered the post of chien-i tai-fu 諫議大夫 (a remonstrating office), which he declined, and was later sent back to his place of seclusion with full honor.<sup>40</sup> Although it is not necessary to relate them here, in the "Biographies of the Recluses" in the CTS and the HTS there are more stories of hermits revered by the T'ang government both before and under the reign of Hsüan-tsung. Under Hsüan-tsung, the respect accorded hermits increased in scale and was eventually institutionalized. There is evidence that the government held at least three decree examinations to recruit famous hermits as officials in the late k'ai-yüan and early t'ien-pao periods.<sup>41</sup>

The T'ang government's elevated respect for hermits involved some political motives. As Ch'en I-hsin points out, to live in seclusion in ordinary times often suggested that one was not satisfied with contemporary politics, and, therefore, by recruiting famous hermits to serve the empire, the government could create the impression that it had the full mandate of its people.<sup>42</sup> Furthermore, some distinguished recluses in ancient times had become important ministers of rulers, made their marks in history, and become widely known to

posterity. As a result, renowned hermits in T'ang times often had the reputation of being able and upright also. With the offices it offered to some of these hermits, the government could give the impression that it had tried and would always try its utmost to place all worthy persons in proper governmental positions. That the T'ang government had these intentions is demonstrated in the following accounts of T'ien Yu-yen and Lu Hung-i. When he visited T'ien in 680, Kao-tsung asked T'ien: "You have been cultivating your tao 道 in the mountains; how are things recently?" T'ien answered: "Your subject has been desperately in need of springs and rocks and mist and rosy clouds. I am glad that I am living in a perfect dynasty and, therefore, am able to enjoy a free life." The emperor said, "Now I have obtained you; is this not just like [the Emperor Kao-tsu of] Han obtaining the Four White-Haired Ones?" On hearing this, the Vice-President of the Imperial Chancellery (chung-shu shih-lang) Hsüeh Yüan-ch'ao 薛元超, who accompanied the emperor on the visit, said, "Hsia-huang-kung 夏黃公 and Ch'i-li-chi 綺里季 (two of the Four White-Haired Ones, here mentioned to represent the four as a whole) [had to come] out [of their life in seclusion] because the Emperor Kao-tsu of Han intended to demote the son of his legal wife and to invest a son of a concubine [as crown prince]. How can he be compared to Your Majesty, who reveres those who live in seclusion and personally visits their cliffs and caves?"<sup>43</sup> This conversation suggests very vividly the political implications inherent in the T'ang government's respect for hermits. The decrees Hsüan-tsung issued respectively to offer Lu Hung-i the post of chien-i ta-fu and later to send Lu home reveal those implications more clearly. The former decree states,

"Lu Hung-i has accepted my summons and come [to the court]. [I?] have consulted him on the ultimate truth and have found him [indeed] in possession of pure virtues. I hence would raise this recluse [to a good position] in order to encourage all people under heaven (my emphasis)."<sup>44</sup>

The underlined words come from the sentence "With the hermits raised to proper positions, the hearts of all the people under heaven will be won over" 舉逸民 天下之民歸心焉 in the Confucian Analects.<sup>45</sup>

The same sentence is also cited in the decree to send Lu Hung-i home and two other decrees (the only two I have found) which also concern the recruitment of hermits.<sup>46</sup> It is undoubtedly one major theme in all governmental efforts to venerate hermits.

Since the exaltation of the hermits was to the T'ang government mainly a means of boosting its prestige, the hermits did not play any really significant role in politics. When a hermit was summoned to the court, he was usually offered an office appropriate to the political role that was thought suitable for such a person. Remonstrating offices (e.g., chien-i ta-fu; 4th rank) seem to have been frequently offered by the court.<sup>47</sup> As Ch'en I-hsin indicates, appointments of posts in the palace of the crown prince (e.g., hsien-ma 洗馬 and chung-she-jen 中舍人, both 5th rank) were also common. This situation owed much to the well-known story of the Four White-Haired Ones coming out of their retreat to assist the crown prince in the time of the Emperor Kao-tsu of Han.<sup>48</sup> However, probably because they were indeed more interested in an unadorned, tranquil life or because they knew they had been invited to the capital primarily to participate in a political game, many of the hermits summoned to the capital did not accept the posts offered them. To these

people, the T'ang court spared no words of praise for their attainment as true hermits.<sup>49</sup> As to those who chose to settle at court, their careers usually ended in failure.<sup>50</sup> Under Hsüan-tsung's reign, when less outstanding hermits were sent to the capital in large numbers to take examinations, the treatment they received was, understandably, even worse. It is known that, in one of the three examinations mentioned above, only three candidates were successful. One of them was appointed an omissions officer of the left (tso-shih-i 左拾遺), a remonstrating official of the 8th rank) and the other two were appointed junior administrators in one of the Guards of the Chin-wu Bird (Chin-wu wei 金吾衛).<sup>51</sup> Obviously, these hermits were treated simply on a par with ordinary office-seekers.

Despite the lack of sincerity on the part of the T'ang government, nevertheless, the above developments of Taoism and the veneration of hermits greatly influenced the lives of the intellectuals. Li Po himself is an excellent example for us to demonstrate this point. But before proceeding, I need to clarify the similarity and the differences between Taoists and hermits in the period in question. By definition, a hermit is an intellectual who chooses not to pursue an official career but to live in relative obscurity, often in the countryside or in the mountains. A Taoist can simply be defined as a follower of the Taoist religion. They are thus easily distinguishable. By Li Po's time, however, several factors had blurred the distinction between these two categories.

It is well known that the Mao-shan sect of Taoism was then by far the most popular form of Taoism. As Michel Strickmann points out in "The Mao Shan Revelations: Taoism and the Aristocracy," this particular form of Taoism had been founded and developed in the Southern Dynasties mainly



by some members of the elite "Southern scholars" 南士, the old aristocracy of Wu 吳, who were politically discriminated against by the governments, which were controlled by people from the north. Many of these founding and developing figures of Mao-shan Taoism, though they were devoted and distinguished religious people, were, by the standard of the official historians, designated as hermits. Their religious activities had strong political implications. In Strickmann's words, with their new religion, "they came to occupy a prestigious spiritual status under secular rulers and high officials of Taoist faith and northern origin."<sup>52</sup> The career of T'ao Hung-ching 陶宏景 is a cogent example. T'ao, one of the early patriarchs of this school, is said to have made a contribution to the founding of the Liang dynasty by his favorable prophecies. He is held to have been revered by and from time to time asked to give advice to the Emperor Wu-ti of Liang. As a result, T'ao was called a "chief minister residing in the mountains" (shan-chung tsai-hsiang 山中宰相).<sup>53</sup> This means then that the famous adepts of Mao-shan Taoism also played an important political role which traditionally had been played by famous hermits, that is, to become symbolic mentors of the rulers. In T'ang times, famous Taoist adepts still often had very good social and educational backgrounds.<sup>54</sup> In addition, as mentioned above, they were also treated by the government as mentors to enhance the prestige of the dynasty. It seems that, through the popularity of Mao-shan Taoism in general and of the careers of its famous adepts in particular, many hermits, be they ascetic or casual or even sham, had gradually come to be engaged in various Taoist activities. For example, the famous early T'ang recluse and poet Wang Chi 王績 is said to have associated with a hermit who was interested

in fu-shih 服食 (a Taoist practice aiming to attain longevity and immortality through diet and drugs).<sup>55</sup> Lu Ts'ang-yung 盧藏用, the notorious false hermit in the Empress Wu's time, was also engaged in various Taoist activities.<sup>56</sup> I shall demonstrate shortly that this kind of Taoist-like hermits were even more widespread in Hsüan-tsung's time.

Nevertheless, there are indications that people in those days did distinguish between Taoists and Taoist-like recluses. Firstly, as far as I know, the name tao-shih 道士 (officially ordained Taoist, Taoist adept) was never applied to those hermits who were at the same time self-proclaimed practitioners of Taoism. Instead, these people were known by other designations that will be mentioned below. Secondly, when the T'ang government held examinations for the hermits, it did not do so for the Taoist adepts, who theoretically had devoted their lives completely to their religion. Obviously, at the time in question, when Taoist activities were common among ordinary intellectuals, official ordination became the conventional line between professional Taoists and self-proclaimed practitioners.

Now let us return to the Taoist-like recluses. In writings of or about the period at issue, I have found numerous recluses known by such names as shan-jen 山人, yeh-jen 野人, i-jen 逸人, yin-shih 隱士 (or yin-che 者), ch'u-shih 處士, and cheng-chün 徵君.<sup>57</sup> (Ch'u-shih, yin-shih, and i-jen were traditionally common designations for recluses. "Cheng-chün" originally meant a person who possessed virtues and learning but did not accept summons from the government to serve the empire.) The following points can give us a rough idea of the number of people in this category. First, in Li Po's writings, at least 10

shan-jen's, 6 i-jen's, 6 cheng-chün's, 5 ch'u-shih's, and one yin-che are mentioned.<sup>58</sup> Even in the works of Kao Shih, who was not especially interested in associating with this class of scholars, at least ten recluses are mentioned.<sup>59</sup> Second, in both of the only two decree examinations to recruit famous hermits about which we know some details, candidates were numerous.<sup>60</sup> In one of these examinations (held in late k'ai-yüan period), the number of only those candidates who, on the ground of poor health, did not attend the examination is as large as 16.<sup>61</sup>

Most of these recluses seem to have been more or less engaged in Taoist activities. Wang Hsi-i 王希夷, a very famous ch'u-shih who died in the middle of the k'ai-yüan period, is said to have secluded himself in the Sung-shan Mountain for almost forty years and to have learned the art of internal alchemy from a Taoist adept there. Besides, Wang is said to have had a special liking for the I ching and the Lao-tzu, and to have ingested pine and cypress needles and "powder of miscellaneous flowers" (tso-hua-san 雜花散; this is obviously part of his fu-shih activities).<sup>62</sup> In a poem, Ts'en Shen mentioned a shan-jen named Li Kang 李岡, who lived in a retreat in the Western Summit (Hsi-yüeh 西嶽, that is, the Hua-shan Mountain 華山). This man was adept in the manuals of the elixir (tan-ching 丹經) and ate preparations of a liliaceous plant named huang-ching 黃精 ("deer-bamboo," Poligonatum falcatum).<sup>63</sup> These are only two of the numerous cases available to us.<sup>64</sup>

At the same time, many of the recluses to whom we are referring were obviously interested in political eminence. The above account about the large number of candidates in some decree examinations for hermits is good evidence of this. But we have some more telling examples. In 742, the poet Ts'en Shen wrote a poem to two shan-jen's named Yen 嚴 and

Hsü 許, in which he informed them of the proclamation of a kao-tao chü 高道舉.<sup>65</sup> The ending couplet of this poem, "The common people now have hopes, / [Because] a decree has flown towards the mountains and woods," clearly indicates that Ts'en thought Yen and Hsü would be glad to attend that examination. In a poem presented to a ch'u-shih named Chin 晉, Kao Shih said, "I love you and wish that you will become prominent before me. / Now that His Majesty is searching for able people, present your petition at an early date."<sup>66</sup> (This ch'u-shih was an admirer of Taoism. Kao said that this person held in his hands a Taoist scripture that he had annotated.) A shan-jen named Ts'ai 蔡 is mentioned in another poem by Kao Shih. Ts'ai seems to have just gained an opportunity to go to the capital to seek his political fortune. Kao, who was still obscure at that time, was obviously envious (see final couplet of this poem).<sup>67</sup> According to these poems, it must have been widely recognised that a hermit should be interested in political prominence.

Li Po was one of these Taoist-like recluses. At least on four occasions, he called himself a shan-jen, a i-jen, or a yeh-jen;<sup>68</sup> and he was so known to his contemporaries.<sup>69</sup> He associated with many more recluses than Taoist adepts, judging from the frequency with which these people are mentioned in his writings. (He mentioned only about ten Taoist adepts but, as noted above, as many as about thirty recluses.)<sup>70</sup> Even after he received his Taoist register (744), he still often compared himself to famous recluses of the past.<sup>71</sup> More importantly, Li Po also saw his life as a recluse as a means of obtaining political success. As has been briefly noted in the previous chapter (p. 86), when he was seeking patronage from the chief administrator of An-chou P'ei (about 730), Li Po mentioned

his aloofness from fame and gain as one of his major merits. What the poet told P'ei is as follows:

In the past, I once secluded myself on the sunny side of the Min-shan Mountain with an i-jen named Tung-yen-tzu 東嚴子. I lived in my retreat (ch'ao-chü 巢居, lit., to live in trees) for several years and did not set foot in towns and cities. . . . The prefect of [that region] heard of this and was impressed; he therefore visited our hut to have a look himself. As a result, he recommended us as candidates for an yu-tao 有道 examination (?). But neither of us left our retreat. This could demonstrate how I have endeavored to cultivate my loftiness and how I did not stoop [to fame and gain].<sup>72</sup>

How reliable the details in these words are is not very important here.<sup>73</sup> What is important is that this passage shows that Li Po, by the age of thirty, had already connected the life of the hermit with political success. (Remember that the poet secluded himself in some hills near An-chou around 730.) As noted in Chapter Three (p. 92 and n. 85), in the memorial he wrote in 757 for Sung Jo-ssu to recommend himself to the court, Li Po said that his sudden political success in 742 had been obtained because of his prestige as an outstanding hermit. Towards the end of that memorial, the poet quoted, "It is said that 'with the hermits raised to proper positions, the hearts of all the people under heaven will be won over.'" Is this not the very slogan the T'ang government often used when recruiting hermits?<sup>74</sup>

Many might ask if this means that Li Po was a hypocrite. Indeed there must have been many people who posed as hermits simply in order to boost their reputations and thus finally to acquire political success. As I touched upon earlier, Lu Ts'ang-yung 盧藏用 is a notorious example. According to his biography in the HTS, after he failed to obtain a good office through the regular channels, Lu secluded himself in the Chung-nan-shan Mountain and Mount Shao-shih 少室 (in the famous Sung-shan Mountain south of Lo-yang) for several years during the reign of the Empress Wu. He visited many renowned mountains, learned the art of refining the vital force (lien-ch'i 練氣, a form of internal alchemy), and undertook a diet which excluded even the five cereals (pi-ku 辟穀, a form of fu-shih). Since it became well-known that his life in the mountains was not at all intended to diminish his concern with politics, Lu was nicknamed a "recluse by the emperor's carriage" (sui-chia yin-shih 隨駕隱士). He was later summoned by the court and appointed an omissioner of the left. In the court, Lu once feigningly pointed at the Chung-nan-shan Mountain and told Ssu-ma Ch'eng-chen that there were "quite a lot of marvels on it." On hearing this, the famous Taoist mocked Lu, saying, "In my humble point of view, it is only a short cut to an official career."<sup>75</sup>

It would be wrong, however, to assume that the case of Lu Ts'ang-yung is typical of the hermits of Li Po's time. It is perhaps better to assume that, in trying to attain political success by taking up the life of a hermit, Li Po and many others had been greatly influenced by a special ideological trend. For convenience, I would call this trend "hermit ideology." When recruiting hermits, the T'ang government,

understandably, highly praised their virtues. One of the hermit virtues it emphasized most was their resolve to resist the temptations of power and fame. A good example is found in the following words from the edict which proclaimed the results of a decree examination for the hermits:

The wise rulers in the past had highly valued true hermits. They did so in order to stimulate (by virtuous examples) those who were too eager [for fame and gain] and thus to make the customs pure and simple. Is it not said that "with the hermits raised to proper positions, the hearts of all the people under heaven will be won over?" What these words talk about must be the above efforts to purify customs. I have looked into the lessons handed down from antiquity and intend to magnify the ultimate truth of governing. I believe that in accordance with the tao, serenity and modesty (ching tui 靜退) are the greatest virtues; and that for the government, the most urgent task is to obtain able people. I therefore try to search for able people in the cliffs and marsh-lands.<sup>76</sup>

As is well known, serenity and modesty in the individuals and simple customs in society are major themes in the teachings of Lao-tzu. At least during the reign of Hsüan-tsung, the T'ang court also put immense emphasis on these virtues when advocating Taoist texts.<sup>77</sup> (It is beyond the scope of this study to explore the political motives behind this emphasis. However, I suspect that the extremely intense competition for official posts during Hsüan-tsung's reign was one of the reasons for this kind of ideological campaign.) It seems that, as a result, the

modest life of the hermit in the mountains was regarded as a valuable way of self-cultivation. Li Po's advertisement of his life in seclusion on Min Shan (p. 131) is one example. In addition, Wang Ch'ang-ling, another High T'ang poet, also said in a letter written to seek patronage from a vice-president of the ministry of civil office named Li: "Do I not know that I should live in the green mountains and drink the clear water there and become full of honor and virtues before I visit princes and dukes and other high officials to seek for a big fortune? [I am seeking for political prominence right now because I need to earn a living--the approximate meaning of the words immediately before and after the previous sentence.]"<sup>78</sup> This is one aspect of hermit ideology. As previously indicated, while it advocated the serenity and modesty of the hermit, the T'ang government at the same time wanted hermits to actively participate in a political game. Therefore, hermits were urged to show enthusiasm in the fulfillment of their obligation to serve the empire.<sup>79</sup> It became conventional for recluses to try to present themselves to the government, as is clear from the words of Ts'en Shen and Kao Shih cited above on p. 130. This is the other aspect of hermit ideology. When aware of the existence of such an ideology, one will understand that Li Po was far from being hypocritical. Rather, in believing in an ideology which was mainly rooted in a political game, the poet was naive and romantic.

I have made great efforts to demonstrate the political implications of Li Po's life as a Taoist recluse mainly because they are complicated and have not drawn as much attention as deserved.<sup>80</sup> The poet's Taoist activities and life in seclusion certainly cannot be explained by his



political pursuits alone. To my knowledge, the poet first used the life of a hermit to serve his political purpose after he settled down at An-chou in about 727 (Ch. 2, p. 47). He was a married man then, and obviously felt an urge to establish himself in society. But it is clear from Chapter Two (p. 46) that he had already become enthusiastic about Taoism before 727. Therefore, Li Po's love for the life of the Taoist recluse seems to have been the cause, rather than the effect, of his decision to seek political success with the reputation as a hermit. Even after the political motive entered his mind, this motive did not become the exclusive factor in his entire life as a hermit.

I shall now investigate the way in which Li Po may have first embarked on the life under discussion. In his "T'ang-jen hsi-yeh shan-lin ssu-yüan chih feng-shang" 唐人習業山林寺院之風尚, Yen Keng-wang 嚴耕望 points out that numerous T'ang intellectuals spent part of their early lives in Taoist or Buddhist temples or small self-funded huts in the mountains.<sup>81</sup> As a result of the ideology just mentioned, these young men came to the mountains to prepare themselves for their future careers by studying diligently either alone, with friends, or under famous hermits, and by striving for the reputation of being modest and above mundane.<sup>82</sup> Among Li Po's famous contemporary men of letters, we know that Ts'en Shen at least had followed this trend.<sup>83</sup> According to Yen, this trend was rather popular in Li Po's home district of Shu.<sup>84</sup> According to Tu Fu's poem "Pu-chien: chin wu Li Po hsiao-hsi" 不見: 近無李白消息, Li Po as a youth may have studied in a mountain in Shu named K'uang-shan 匡山.<sup>85</sup> It is not certain if, as some Sung sources say, this mountain was identical with Tai-t'ien-shan Mountain, which I

have mentioned before.<sup>86</sup> As shown above (pp. 121-22), by the time of Li Po's youth, the works of the Taoist philosophers had been highly popularised among the intellectuals. Therefore, the poet very probably had become familiar with these Taoist works at least before he went to study in the mountains. It is obvious that, while living in the mountains, the poet had more opportunities to associate with Taoist adepts (in the tradition of Mao-shan Taoism, Taoist adepts often secluded themselves in mountains) and to get in touch with such technical and mystical aspects of Taoism as alchemy, the cult of the grotto-heavens (tung-t'ien 洞天), and so forth.

The colorfulness and mistiness of the imaginary world of the immortals are among those Taoist teachings which first fascinated the young poet. When he climbed the renowned O-mei-shan Mountain in 724, the poet had already dreamed of joining the ranks of the immortals (Ch. 2, p. 46). This dream remained alive for the rest of his life, except for some sad introspective moments.<sup>87</sup> His poetry is full of references to stories of the immortals from all sources. He mentioned dozens of times the three ancient legendary isles of the immortals in the eastern seas (P'eng-lai 蓬萊, Fang-chang 方丈, and Ying-chou 瀛洲) and the gold and silver palaces on them.<sup>88</sup> He was also attracted to the story of Hsi-wang-mu 西王母, the female immortal in the mystical western mountain K'un-lun 崑崙 who once cordially received the King Mu-wang of the Chou dynasty 周穆王 in her dwelling and once paid a visit to the Emperor Wu-ti of the Han (obviously through such works as the Mu t'ien-tzu chuan 穆天子傳, the Han Wu ku-shih 漢武故事, the Po-wu chih 博物志, and so forth).<sup>89</sup> The tales of many other immortals (some

notable examples: Ch'ih-sung-tzu 赤松子, An Ch'i-sheng 安期生, and the immortal lady Ma-ku 麻姑), which had become popular probably mainly through the Shen-hsien chuan 神仙傳, the Lieh-hsien chuan 列仙傳, and the Pao-p'u-tzu 抱朴子, were also among the poet's favorite stories.<sup>90</sup> As will be shown below, the so-called grotto-heavens charmed our poet, too.<sup>91</sup> There seems little doubt that the immortals and their world were part of the poet's everyday life. Even among such famous contemporary Taoism-orientated poets as Meng Hao-jan, Wei Ying-wu 韋應物, and Liu Chang-ch'ing 劉長卿, one does not find this degree of fervency.<sup>92</sup>

How did the world of the immortals inspire our poet? As one may expect, not every mention of the immortals in Li Po's poetry shows inspiration, since these immortals had become so familiar to the poet that their mention was sometimes a mere cliché. Still, we can imagine that, from time to time, in some quiet moment of the day, after cups of wine, and with his favorite manual of immortality in hand, the poet would dreamily meet an immortal somewhere. Let us look at two examples here. The first is the 10th of the 12 works entitled "In the Manner of Old Poems:"

The immortal rode a colorful phoenix

And descended the Lang-feng Peak yesterday.

Three times the ocean [of P'eng-lai] has dwindled into a clear,

shallow stream;

Only once has the Peach Blossom Spring been sought for.

[He] gave me a green-jade cup

And also a lute of purple gem.

In the cup I will pour beautiful wine;  
 With the lute I can tranquilize my mind.  
 These two do not belong in this world;  
 How can pearls and gold be compared to them!  
 The harp I play with the wind in the pines;  
 The cup I raise to invite the moon in the sky.  
 The wind and the moon are forever there to be my friends;  
 The people of the world, how ephemeral they are!<sup>93</sup>

[Notes for the poem]:

Line 2: Lang-feng is said to be the name of a peak in the K'un-lun-shan Mountain 崑崙山. See Shui ching chu 水經注, "Ho shui" 河水, 1/1 and Hai-nei shih-chou chi 海內十洲記 10b.

Lines 3-4: According to the story of Wang Yüan 王遠 in the Shen-hsien chuan (2/5a), the immortal Ma-ku once told Wang that she had seen the ocean water around P'eng-lai dry into mulberry fields three times. According to T'ao Ch'ien's "T'ao-hua yüan chi" 桃花源記, the utopian Peach Blossom Spring was never found again after a fisherman found it by accident. Line 3 is a typical image of mutability; line 4 may mean that a worldly utopia is difficult to find. Together, these two lines seem to serve as a foil to the value of immortality.

The second example is "Ancient Air, No. 41:"

In the morning I play with [the waves of] the Purple Mud Sea;

At sunset I am wrapped around with rosy clouds.  
 I raise my hand and pluck [a twig from] the Jo-mu Tree  
 To whisk the light of the setting sun.  
 Lying in the clouds I roam to the farthest points of the universe;  
 My jade-bright look has experienced a thousand frosts.  
 Floating, I enter boundless space;  
 I then bow and pray to the god of heaven.  
 He calls me to visit the T'ai-su Palace  
 And grants me heavenly wine in a jade cup.  
 A dinner there lasts for ten thousand years [in the world]:  
 Where is the need to go home?  
 Forever I will go with the swift wind  
 And float beyond heaven to my heart's content.<sup>94</sup>

[Notes for the poem]:

Line 1: The Purple Mud Sea (Tzu-ni-hai 紫泥海) is a mythological sea which the legendary banished immortal Tung-fang Shuo 東方朔 is said to have visited (Pieh-kuo tung-ming chi 別國洞冥記 1/1b).

Lines 3-4: The Jo-mu Tree 若木 is a mythological tree in the most western part of the K'un-lun-shan Mountain, where the sun is said to set (Shan-hai ching chiao-chu 12/437-38, text and Hao I-hsing's 郝懿行 notes). The image of plucking a branch from the Jo-mu Tree is obviously borrowed from the "Li sao" 離騷 (Ch'u tz'u pu-chu 1/21b-22a, text and Wang I's annotations).

Line 9: According to some Taoist sources, T'ai-su 太素 could

be the name of a heavenly palace, a domain under the jurisdiction of a certain Taoist god, or a mountain where a certain heavenly palace is located (WC 2/140, n. 8; Chiao-chu 2/165). I have used the first meaning in the paraphrase.

Line 11: It is a common Taoist belief that the world of the immortals and this world have different systems of time.

Very often, Li Po's reveries were roused at the sight of splendid, mysterious, or awesome mountain scenery. During the extensive travelling in his life, the poet visited numerous mountains of renown. Indeed, the scenery itself of these mountains must have been a great attraction to him, judging from the vividness of his successful scenery poems as exemplified by the following lines:

#### Gazing at the Waterfall of Lu Shan

In sunlight rays the Incense-Burner Peak emits a purple haze;  
Far away I see that waterfall hang in mid air, like a long torrent  
Flying straight down three thousand feet--  
You'd say it is the Milky Way falling from the high heavens.<sup>95</sup>

Sometimes, especially during his later years, the poet may have thought of searching for plants of immortality in the mountains.<sup>96</sup> But the association of the renowned mountains with the immortals fascinated Li Po more, as the poet indicated in his celebrated work "Song of Lu Shan: to Censor in Attendance Lu Hsü-chou": "I have travelled to the Five Holy Mountains in search of the immortals, without a thought of distance.

/ It is a constant habit of my life to visit the mountains of renown."<sup>97</sup>

Not only such famous mountains as O-mei Shan, T'ai Shan, and T'ien-t'ai Shan 天台山 but also some ordinary mountains roused the imagination of our poet.<sup>98</sup> Sometimes, he did not even need to be on a mountain--with only the thought of that mountain, he could create vivid mountain scenes full of the glory and mystery of the immortal world.<sup>99</sup> On such occasions, he wrote some of his most stunning works (e.g., "Ming-kao ko sung Ts'en cheng-chün" 鳴皋歌送岑徵君 and "Meng-yu T'ien-mu yin liu-pieh").<sup>100</sup>

The connection between the mountains and the immortals is obvious and had already had a long tradition in both literary and Taoist works before Li Po.<sup>101</sup> But it seems that Li Po's extraordinary zeal in visiting the mountains is partly connected with the cult of the grotto-heavens. The tales of grotto-heavens came into existence very early. Some of them were already mentioned in the writings of the Western Chin poets Tso Ssu 左思 and Kuo P'u 郭璞.<sup>102</sup> Therefore, it seems obvious that they had their origin in even earlier times.<sup>103</sup> In Kuo's description, there were two sub-terrestrial heavens believed to be located beneath Pa-ling 巴陵 and the Pao-shan Mountain 包(苞)山 in the T'ai-hu Lake. They were mutually linked places of serene mountains covered with gold, jade, and other precious stones, crowned with auspicious clouds, and resided in by immortals and other immortal creatures. In T'ao Hung-ching's synthesis of the Mao Shan revelations and other literature current in his day, the grotto-heavens were one of the seven levels of the other world. They were located beneath the earth, under the rule of the celestial-perfected (a rank of the immortals), but peopled by terrestrial immortals and

postulants for perfection.<sup>104</sup> By T'ang times, the grotto-heavens had become part of a systematic cult of all sacred places in this and the other worlds. In this cult, numerous famous mountains in China were said to be the seats of various kinds of immortal dwellings, which were known as Chung-kuo Wu-yüeh 中國五嶽 (The Five Sacred Mountains in the Middle Kingdom--as contrasted with the five sacred mountains in an imaginary territory), ten grand grotto-heavens, thirty-six grotto-heavens, seventy-two "blessed lands" (fu-ti 福地), and so forth.<sup>105</sup> Judging from the fact that Ssu-ma Ch'eng-chen once especially petitioned Hsüan-tsung to establish shrines (tz'u 祠) for the immortals in charge of the Five Sacred Mountains, this cult seems to have been an important part of Mao Shan teachings in that time.<sup>106</sup> An obvious indication of the influence of this cult on Li Po is the several (at least 5) references to the grotto-heavens in his poetry.<sup>107</sup> The following lines from "Mount Lady of Heaven Ascended in a Dream" are the poet's dramatic version of what those heavens are like:

Dark, dark, the clouds hung on the verge of rain.  
 Rippling, rippling, the waters engender mists.  
 Lightning flashes, thunder roars,  
 Hills and ridges crumble and fall.  
 The stone gates of the Grotto-Heaven  
 Boom and crash and open wide,  
 And reveal a bottomless void of azure  
 Where the sun and moon shine on palaces of gold and silver.  
 Rainbows as clothing, winds as horses,  
 The Lords of Clouds profusely descend.



Tigers playing zithers, phoenixes drawing coaches,  
The immortals are arrayed like a field of hemp.<sup>108</sup>

Moreover, Li Po's enthusiasm in the "mountains of the immortals" seems to have exemplified a trend which had been to a certain extent incited by the cult just mentioned. (The popularity of the life of the hermit may have been a reason for the rising of this trend, too.) Among Li Po's friends, at least Yüan Tan-ch'iu, Wei Hao, Meng Hao-jan, K'ung Ch'ao-fu, and even Tu Fu showed more or less the same kind of enthusiasm as Li Po's.<sup>109</sup> In the splendid mountainous Shan-chung 剡中 region (around present Sheng-hsien 嵊縣, in eastern Chekiang; including T'ien-t'ai Shan, Ssu-ming Shan 四明山, T'ien-mu Shan 天姥山, and Kuei-chi Shan 會稽山), which had been the place of residence of many masters of Mao Shan Taoism and was believed to be abundant in mountains of the immortals, there seem to have been numerous pilgrims from all over the empire.<sup>110</sup> (Li Po and all his friends just mentioned were among those who visited this region.) Our poet may have been one of the most fervent mountain-worshippers in his time, but he certainly was not alone on his pilgrimages.

Certainly, the free and quiet life in the mountains was also a source of joy to Li Po. Let the poet himself speak first:

#### Drinking with a Recluse in the Mountains

The two of us drink together while mountain flowers blossom beside.  
We down one cup after the other

Until I am drunk and sleepy so that you'd better go!  
 Tomorrow if you feel like it come with your lute!<sup>111</sup>

Summer in the Hills

Too lazy to wave my feather fan,  
 Half-naked [I lie] out in the green woods.  
 My hat I hang on a rock  
 To let the wind sighing through the pines gently caress my head.<sup>112</sup>

As the quotation from T'ao Ch'ien 陶潛 ("I am drunk and sleepy so that you'd better go!") suggests, the extremely casual and unpretentious life in the countryside or the mountains was a traditional pleasure especially enjoyed by recluses.<sup>113</sup> This pleasure was more real, though it seems to have been less attractive, than the attainment of immortality.

It appears that Li Po's efforts to achieve immortality were not proportionate to his love for it. There are almost no indications in his works that he seriously practised physiological alchemy (or, internal alchemy, nei-tan 內丹) or sexual hygiene or imposed upon himself any strict diet.<sup>114</sup> Some sources, including a poem by the poet himself, suggest that the poet may have taken herbal drugs, but even then he was not so concerned with these drugs as to mention what they were.<sup>115</sup> The serious efforts Li Po made that are clearly known to us include only his reception of a Taoist register, his occasional engagement in elixir alchemy, and probably some attempts to attain mystical union with the immortals (if the above dreams about the immortals were the results of deliberate efforts). As I have already pointed out, the poet obtained

his Taoist register after his political failure in 744 (Ch. 2, p. 55). Despite the difficulties in dating Li Po's works, it is basically certain that the poet's engagement in elixir alchemy (probably his use of herbal drugs, too) mainly took place after the same event in his career.<sup>116</sup>

It seems there are two main reasons why Li Po had not been much devoted to the arts of immortality before 744. Firstly, as is obvious from the previous chapters, Li Po was then preoccupied with his political ambitions. For the young poet, the remote dream of immortality would have been easily outweighed by the powerful desire to establish himself in this world. He had to confine himself to those Taoist activities which were easily practicable (such as the study of Taoist scriptures, life in seclusion, and the use of easily obtainable drugs), both to fulfill his religious yearnings and to cultivate his reputation as a recluse. Secondly, some Taoist activities were simply too expensive for the poet. This is especially true with elixir alchemy. Although we do not know the exact expenses of the alchemists, there are sufficient indications that the alchemical elixirs were not easily affordable. When he made friends and travelled together with Li Po in 744-45, Tu Fu's fascination with Taoism was at its height.<sup>117</sup> In a poem to Li Po, Tu told the senior poet:

Do I not have the rice of blue essence  
To give myself health and color?  
The trouble is I just don't have the funds to make the grand drug;  
That is why I haven't withdrawn to the mountains and woods.<sup>118</sup>

[Notes for the quoted lines]:

Rice of blue essence: ch'ing-ching fan 青精飯, rice cooked

in a special way with the soup of a certain tree called nan-chu  
南燭, a popular longevity food in those days.<sup>119</sup>

Grand drug: ta-yao 大藥, drug of immortality made through alchemy.

It is said that even Ko Hung 葛洪 and T'ao Hung-ching found it impossible to supply themselves with the materials of elixir alchemy without support by the powerful and wealthy.<sup>120</sup> Before he won the favor of Hsüan-tsung, Li Po's financial situation was obviously not good enough for this enterprise.<sup>121</sup> In a poem presented to a certain sheriff of Hsiang-yang named Li, probably written in the poet's 734 (or 735) visit to Hsiang-chou (Ch. 2, p. 49), the poet told the sheriff that he had no assets at all and his life was rootless, and asked the sheriff for help (that is, to give him some money; a request of this kind seems to have been common, though not creditable, in those days).<sup>122</sup> Also, as previously indicated, Li Po had to humbly ask officials for material help at the end of his first visit to Kuan-chung.<sup>123</sup> I suspect that the poet obtained some money from his moderately-funded parents when leaving Shu in 724 and spent most of that money before getting married in An-chou in 727 or 728. After his marriage, he may have, to a rather great extent, depended on the relatives on his wife's side to maintain his family and his own political pursuits. (Note that he kept his family at An-chou fairly long without any other obvious reason and that after his marriage he does not seem to have kept in close contact with his parents.)<sup>124</sup> As I just suggested, he may have also received some help from various officials. Part of the expenses of his travelling and life in seclusion probably came from his close friends, like Yüan Tan-ch'iu and Yüan Yen

元 演 (Ch. 2, pp. 47-49, 58). The poet himself may have been able to earn a little money only through writing compositions for some Buddhist establishments, officials, or other individuals.<sup>125</sup> Under such circumstances, it is unlikely that Li Po could have managed to become an elixir alchemist, although he could possibly have become acquainted with alchemy while visiting his Taoist friends. I shall demonstrate shortly that the obtaining of Taoist registers, though not so expensive as elixir alchemy, was also far from cheap.

Following his political failure in 744, the poet somehow obtained the means and desire to devote his life further to Taoism. As mentioned previously (Ch. 2, p. 54), he was granted some money by the court and was sent back to his life of seclusion. Although this monetary gift could not have been large,<sup>126</sup> it conferred on him a high reputation as an outstanding recluse and literary man respected by the emperor himself. (Tu Fu's lines "Mr. Li was an honored member of the Golden Court (i.e., the Han-lin Academy), / But he has left it to seek quiet explorations (to be engaged in Taoist activities)" are a good description of that reputation.)<sup>127</sup> Such a reputation obviously made it easier for the poet to win patronage from local officials.<sup>128</sup> Further, as I have pointed out (Ch. 3, p. 100), for a while the poet had been virtually denied the hope of any new political fortune; so it was natural for him to seek compensation in the religion which he loved.<sup>129</sup> In addition, he may have also been aware that further engagement in Taoist activities would help maintain his image as a lofty recluse.

The poet's reception of his Taoist register was a token of his initiation into the Taoist community.<sup>130</sup> A Taoist register was a talisman

composed of esoteric language and diagrams written and drawn on a piece of silk or paper.<sup>131</sup> There were numerous ranks (chieh 階) of Taoist registers, each of which was said to have the power to summon certain spirits (kuei shen 鬼神) or immortals to heal diseases, suppress evils, or even attend the possessor.<sup>132</sup> (This is why Li Po said that his Taoist register would keep catastrophes away from him and would keep some dragons to protect him.)<sup>133</sup> These registers were transmitted to Taoist adepts and lay devotees as confirmations of their different degrees of religious attainment and their affiliations to the Taoist community.<sup>134</sup> First a period of abstinence was enjoined on both master and disciple to prepare for a transmission. Then, accompanied by the pledge of valuables and the use of "contractual agreements" (ch'i 契 and ch'üan 券), an oath to keep the contents of the transmission a secret, to observe the religious commandments, and to fulfill his special religious obligations was taken by the disciple, with the gods and immortals as witnesses.<sup>135</sup> The registers, understandably, had to be prepared with extreme care and piety by Taoists with special qualifications.<sup>136</sup> The register Li Po received was prepared on the poet's request by a person named Ko Huan. 蓋寰.<sup>137</sup> It seems that the poet presented a fairly decent gift to Ko for his service.<sup>138</sup>

In the Mao Shan tradition, scriptures and registers (ching lu 經錄) were the main contents of esoteric transmission. They, being the secret teachings of the immortals, were the bridges between devoted, diligent and gifted followers and the immortals themselves. At the same time, it was emphasized that one would never attain the Tao without the secret instruction of a master, unless one was fortunate enough to come across

the revelations of the immortals.<sup>139</sup> Li Po's interest in the Taoist registers seems to have come from this belief, and, although he often dreamed of meeting with the immortals, he was, nevertheless, aware of the importance of the human masters. In a poem presented to a famous refined master (lien shih 鍊師, a Taoist title) in Sung Shan named Chiao 焦, which I suspect was written before the middle of the poet's thirties, the poet expressed a strong wish to learn the Tao from Chiao.<sup>140</sup> After he received his Taoist register, the poet thus wrote in the farewell poem to his master Kao Ju-kuei:

The Tao is concealed and cannot be seen;  
 The sacred books are hidden in the grotto-heaven.  
 For forty-thousand kalpa's [the secret teachings of] my Master  
 Have been transmitted from one generation to the other.<sup>141</sup>

[Notes for the quoted lines]:

Line 2: In some pre-T'ang sources, both Taoist and secular, there is a legend that the ancient emperor Yü 禹 had hidden some sacred books in the grotto-heaven beneath the Pao-shan Mountain; see above, p. 141 and Ch'en Kuo-fu, Tao-tsang yüan-liu k'ao, pp. 62-64, 456.

Line 3: "My Master" most probably refers to Lao-chün 老君 (deified Lao-tzu).

One can see clearly how the poet had echoed the above Mao Shan belief.

Li Po must have been very much satisfied with the Taoist register he received. Judging from two of his poems, he received a register named

Huo-lo ch'i-yüan fu 豁落七元符, which, according to a modern scholar, was "to be worn while walking the seven stars (ch'i-yüan) of the Dipper."<sup>142</sup> It is said in one Taoist text that this was one of the several talismans that Hsü Hui 許翺 (one of the founders of Mao Shan Taoism) drew and wore upon his person and, in another text, that this was one of the twenty-four ranks of the Shang-ch'ing 上清 registers (these are very high-ranking registers).<sup>143</sup> Obviously, Li Po's Taoist attainments had been ranked very high. It is thus no wonder that in a poem written in 753 the poet still mentioned his register with pride.<sup>144</sup> Was this ranking, however, partly due to his newly obtained fame and the influence of his powerful friend Li Yen-yün?

Since the purpose of elixir alchemy needs no special explanations, we can directly proceed to investigating the kinds of elixirs Li Po produced and took. To my knowledge, the poet explicitly mentioned the names of his elixirs only twice. In one work (c. 760), he said that he had taken the "cyclically-transformed elixir" (huan-tan 還丹); in another (written after 744), he reported to a friend named Liu 柳 about his production of the "ta-huan" 大還 elixir.<sup>145</sup> Apart from these two elixirs, he is likely to have tried to produce the so-called potable gold (chin-yeh 金液) too since he expressed in several poems a strong desire to make it.<sup>146</sup> By the name ta-huan, Li Po may have meant the "grand cyclically-transformed elixir" (ta-huan-tan 大還丹), which appears to be a particular form of the cyclically-transformed elixir.<sup>147</sup> When talking about the making of this elixir, the poet cited extensively certain texts on alchemy (most notably, Wei Po-yang's 魏伯陽 Ts'an t'ung ch'i 參同契), which, as usual, are mysteriously



allegorical.<sup>148</sup> For instance, he described some of the ingredients he used by saying "The elegant girl rides the river chariot; the gold plays the part of the yoke-bar" (the elegant girl = the elegant girl by the riverside 河上婉女 = mercury; the river chariot 河車 = lead) and described part of the process by saying "The vermilion bird spreads its scorching heat, but the white tiger still stays in its residence (vermillion bird 朱鳥, 朱雀 = fire; white tiger 白虎 = lead or mercury)."<sup>149</sup> Unfortunately, there is no way to make clear exactly how the poet had made his elixir. The term huan-tan, which probably first appeared in the Ts'an t'ung ch'i, is a classical one in Chinese elixir alchemy.<sup>150</sup> In the chapter on the elixirs ("Chin tan p'ien" 金丹篇) in the Pao-p'u tzu, the cyclically-transformed elixir is treated as one of the two most important elixirs (the other being potable gold).<sup>151</sup> It seems to refer to "the synthesis of vermilion, mercuric sulphide, by the sublimation of mercury and sulphur."<sup>152</sup> The making of "potable gold" is said to require that "1 catty (lb.) of gold be placed with a number of substances in a container, which is then sealed and left over a period of time until a liquid is formed."<sup>153</sup> The substances used could have been "mercury (or vinegar and wild raspberry juice--my note: in accordance with different interpretations of Ko Hung's words), realgar, leonite (or common salt), iron alum (or copperas), mercury (or magnetite), saltpetre, and cinnabar."<sup>154</sup> What were the supposed effects of these elixirs? The Pao-p'u tzu has the following words to say about "potable gold":

[On taking an ounce of this elixir, you will become an immortal.]

If you do not wish to leave the world as a celestial immortal just yet, but would prefer to be a land or water immortal, merely fast for one hundred days. All who wish to mount to heaven must first dispense with starches for a year, and then take this preparation. By taking one half-ounce you will enjoy Fullness of Life and never die. Not a single harmful thing or poison will be capable of injuring you. You will be able to have a wife and family and hold official position. All your wishes will come true. If later you wish to ascend to heaven, you need only fast, take another ounce, and then soar away as an immortal.<sup>155</sup>

Magical this elixir really is, if Ko Hung is reliable. And the cyclically-transformed elixir is said to be just as magical. However, a modern would believe that Li Po's age (62, fairly enviable in those days) is a good proof that the poet did not take too much of these magical potions after all.

As in the case of his political dream, Li Po did not always stick to his belief in immortality. His attitudes towards the possibility of attaining immortality and the value of the pursuit after it oscillated frequently. To begin with, the sense of mutability can incite in people very strong aspirations for immortality, and this was true in the case of Li Po. The following poem is one example:

The Yellow River runs east into the ocean;

Each day the sun drops down into the western sea.

Waters rush and time flies:

So elusive, they never wait a moment.

My once youthful appearance of spring has vanished;  
 What I have now is thin, grey hair of autumn.  
 A man is not a pine, which does not fear the cold;  
 How can he hold his life and youth through the years?  
 I ought to ride on a dragon to the sky,  
 And inhale the spirit of the sun and moon, and so gain everlasting  
 youth.<sup>156</sup>

Sometimes, he took this sad reality in a rather detached way, as is exemplified by his "Song of the Revolving of the Sun" ("Jih ch'u-ju hsing" 日出入行 ).<sup>157</sup> In this song, he first remarked that human beings were not the primal force (yüan-ch'i 元氣 ) and, hence, could not live on and on together with the ever revolving (sic) sun. Nevertheless, he continued:

The grasses need not thank the spring winds for their growth;  
 Nor can the trees blame autumn for the fall of leaves.  
 Could it be that someone is whipping the four seasons on?  
 The myriad things only rise and decline as Nature dictates.

He then blamed Lu-yang 魯陽 , a mythological figure who is said to have once tried to stop the revolving of the sun, for having behaved against the Tao and concluded that he would merge into the limitless force of nature.<sup>158</sup> This means he recognized that death was one of the laws of nature, with which he ought to live in compliance. As the Ming scholar Hu Chen-heng 胡震亨 pointed out, the Han yüeh-fu poem "Jih ch'u-ju," which may be the model of the present poem by Li Po, ends with a strong

desire to attain immortality, and Li Po may have deliberately advocated a new view in his song.<sup>159</sup> Judging from the language of the lines just cited, the poet borrowed his idea from the Chuang-tzu through the annotation traditionally attributed to Kuo Hsiang 郭象.<sup>160</sup> (The Chuang-tzu, though a sacred work even to the religious Taoists, is not always consistent with the teachings of religious Taoism.) It is likely that, when writing the above song, our poet had just been overwhelmed (though very probably not for the first time) by the magical eloquence of the Chuang-tzu.

Sometimes, the poet would even seriously question the possibility of achieving immortality. He once said:

The bones of the six gigantic sea turtles are already frosty.

Where have the three fairy mountains drifted?

.....

The immortals' silver terraces and gold palaces are always  
like a dream.

The great Ch'in emperor and Wu-ti of Han have aspired after them  
in futility.

The Ching-wei Bird has wasted its wood and rocks;

The bridge of turtles and alligators is sheer empty talk.

Don't you see that, at Li Shan and Mao Ling,

Young shepherds are climbing the emperors' long perished  
mausoleums!<sup>161</sup>

[Notes for the cited lines]:

Lines 1-2: According to the Lieh tzu 列子 ("T'ang-wen" 湯問

chapter), there are five immortal mountains drifting in the ocean east of China. Responding to the complaints of the immortals living on them, the God of Heaven orders Yü-ch'iang 禺疆 to send fifteen gigantic sea turtles (ao 鰲), in three shifts, to stabilize these isles on their heads. A giant from the Kingdom of Lung-po 龍伯, however, captures six of the turtles and takes them home and burns their bones for divination. As a result, Tai-yü 岱輿 and Yüan-chiao 員嶠, two of the five mountains, drift to the extreme north and sink in the ocean. The rest, which Li Po referred to as the "three fairy mountains" (san-shan 三山, i.e., P'eng-lai, Ying-chou and Fang-chang (or, Fang-hu 方壺)), are not said to have drifted. The poet may have memorized this story incorrectly or he may have drawn materials from some other source.

Line 5: Ching-wei 精衛 is the mythological bird transformed from Nü-wa 女娃, the daughter of the legendary emperor Yen-ti 炎帝. It is said that Nü-wa was drowned in the East Sea and, therefore, her spirit took the form of a bird and constantly carried wood and rocks from the West Hill to the East Sea, trying to fill it. See Shan hai ching chiao chu 3/92.

Line 6: According to the Chu-shu chi-nien 竹書紀年 (chüan 8), in a certain expedition, in order to cross the Nine-Stream River (Chiu-chiang 九江, part of the Yangtze River near the present Po-yang Lake 鄱陽湖), The King Mu-wang of the Chou dynasty had a bridge made of live yüan's 鼃 (a kind of sea turtle) and t'uo's 鼃 (Chinese alligator).

As Wang Ch'i (WC 4/224) held, 11. 5-6 here mean that there is

no way to finally approach the immortal mountains in the East sea;  
the poet only kept part of the original meaning of the allusions  
in them.

The failure of the Emperor Shih-huang of the Ch'in and the Emperor Wu-ti of the Han to obtain the drugs of immortality from the three immortal mountains is a classical case against the cult of immortality.<sup>162</sup> So strong is this case that Ko Hung had to spend almost half a chapter of the Pao-p'u tzu trying to convince people that those two emperors had failed because they "had a hollow reputation for wanting [immortality] but [ ] never experienced the reality of cultivating the divine process," because "they never did learn the truly marvelous and profound secrets," and because "they never found a man possessing the divine process, who could concoct the [immortality-] drug on their behalf and administer it to them."<sup>163</sup> I suspect that the Han Wu-ti nei-chuan, which concocts a meeting between some immortals and the Emperor Wu-ti of the Han and attributes the emperor's failure mainly to his lack of strenuous religious cultivation, has also been produced by some Taoist out of the need to refute the above case. In the lines just quoted, Li Po obviously did not accept these Taoist explanations. And these lines are not the only place where the poet cast doubt upon the possibility of attaining immortality.<sup>164</sup>

Very frequently, disappointed in his pursuits after immortality, the poet would turn to things more easily obtainable to soothe his sense of the transitoriness and emptiness of life. He thought of fame and gain occasionally.<sup>165</sup> But merry-making with wine was obviously his favorite pleasure. He said in one poem:

A long rope cannot be found to tie up the sun;  
 Since antiquity men have grieved for this.  
 One would be glad if spring time could be bought  
 With gold piled as high as the Great Dipper.  
 After the striking of the rocks, no spark stays;  
 Just like this are the lives of men.  
 Everything is like a dream even on its very occurrence;  
 Where can I find my same self in the future?  
 Carry your pot and do not say you are poor;  
 Get wine and have fun with your neighbors.  
 The immortals are hardly reachable;  
 They are not so real as drunkenness.<sup>166</sup>

and advocated in some others:

Life is like a bird flying out of one's sight.  
 Why should one restrict himself?  
 .....  
 In the thirty-six thousand days [you might live],  
 Each night you should hold a candle [to continue revelry].<sup>167</sup>  
  
 The pincers of crabs are the potable gold elixir;  
 The pile of dregs is the P'eng-lai Mountain.<sup>168</sup>

These vacillations as such are not special. Ever since the rise of the  
 cult of immortality, many sensitive intellectuals must have had similar

doubts and changes when facing the insoluble problem of life and death. The great poets Ts'ao Chih 曹植 and T'ao Ch'ien are two examples.<sup>169</sup> It is interesting that all the different attitudes expressed in Li Po's works just quoted are concisely and eloquently presented in a single set of three poems by T'ao Ch'ien, that is, "Substance, Shadow, and Spirit" ("Hsing ying shen" 形影神).<sup>170</sup> But, undoubtedly, all these people did not vacillate in the same pattern.

What are the circumstances under which our poet changed his views? Owing to the difficulty in dating relevant materials, it seems impossible to reach any detailed and precise answer to this question.<sup>171</sup> Still, some general assumptions are able to be made mainly in the light of common sense and what this study has demonstrated earlier about the poet's temperament and career. First, it seems that throughout his life the spirit of the poet's Taoist belief remained fundamentally the same: fervent but not strict. For the period after 744, when the poet received his Taoist register, we have the following evidence. In a poem entitled "In Answer to the High Administrator of Hu-chou Mr. Chia-yeh, Who Asked Who I Was" 答湖州迦葉司馬問白是何人, Li Po called himself "the Pious Layman of the Blue Lotus and the Banished Immortal" 青蓮居士謫仙人 (chü-shih = Sanskrit: upāsaka) and said that he was a later incarnation (hou-shen 後身) of the Chin-su Tathāgata 金粟如來 (a name probably invented by the Chinese; in T'ang times, widely believed to be the name of a former incarnation of the famous pious layman Vimalakīrti 維摩詰).<sup>172</sup> He used the name "Pious Layman of the Blue Lotus," one with full Buddhist flavor (ch'ing-lien 青蓮, or 尼羅烏鉢羅華 (Sanskrit: nīlōtpala; Pali: nīla-uppala), is a popular Buddhist



symbol of purity), in at least one more work.<sup>173</sup> In a farewell speech, which was also composed after 744, the poet connected his beloved title "Banished Immortal" with something else, that is, wine.<sup>174</sup> He called himself "the Old Man Who Is a Wine-Loving Immortal" (Chiu-hsien-weng 酒仙翁). Admittedly, a recipient of a Taoist register may not have been obliged to reject all Buddhist teachings or to refrain from drinking.<sup>175</sup> It is, however, unusual by all standards that a pious Taoist layman should also claim to be a pious Buddhist layman and a champion of wine. Obviously, Li Po was too untrammelled to be bound by even such a romantic religion as Taoism. And there is little doubt that the poet's Taoist belief was even less strict before 744. Such being the case, it is not surprising that the poet would have talked like the ancient master Chuang Chou when reading the Chuang-tzu; have talked like a hedonist after a few gallons of wine; and have talked like an illuminated Buddhist when, as the intellectuals in his times often did, he took holidays or stopped over at Buddhist temples.<sup>176</sup>

Indeed, the lack of strict commitment to the Taoist belief may not explain all the vacillations in the poet's attitude towards that religion. As I pointed out previously, the poet's long political frustration before 742 brought him the fear that all his talents would be wasted in obscurity and this fear from time to time made him immensely sensitive to the pressure of his fleeting years.<sup>177</sup> Serious aspirations for immortality must have come to the poet's mind under such circumstances. Owing to the virtual impossibility of attaining immortality, it would have been natural if these aspirations were often transformed into doubts upon the very meaning of his Taoist activities. (There is some indication that the

last two lines of Li Po's poems quoted on p. 157 were written in Ch'ang-an in the years 737-40.)<sup>178</sup> And both the poet's aspirations and doubts presumably increased after 744, particularly in his late years, out of the ever intensifying pressure from his age and from the fruitlessness of both his political and religious pursuits. Nevertheless, to my knowledge, no works by the poet show that he ever came to the point of seriously intending to repudiate his Taoist belief.<sup>179</sup> If he ever had come to this point, it would have been out of character.

(Works are usually cited in abbreviated form. For full citations, see the bibliography.)

Introduction

<sup>1</sup> See Li T'ai-po ch'üan-chi 李太白全集 (Peking: Chung-hua, 1977), chüan 31, 32. This work will be hereafter cited as WC (Wang Ch'i). On the date, see the introduction to this edition and T'ang Ming-min 唐明敏, "Li Po chi ch'i shih chih pan-pen" 李白及其詩之版本, pp. 66-68.

<sup>2</sup> This will become very clear in Ch. 1.

<sup>3</sup> WC 35/1571-74.

<sup>4</sup> Li Po shih lun-ts'ung 李白詩論叢 (hereafter cited as Lun-ts'ung), pp. 14-24 or Wen-shih tsa-chih 文史雜誌, 5, Nos. 1-2 (1945).

<sup>5</sup> Li Po yen-chiu lun-wen-chi 李白研究論文集 (hereafter cited as Lun-wen-chi), pp. 10-12 or Ch'ing-hua hsüeh-pao 清華學報, 10, No. 1 (1935).

<sup>6</sup> See Chan Ying, "Li T'ai-po chi pan-pen hsü-lu" 李太白集版本叙錄, in Lun-ts'ung, pp. 4-6.

<sup>7</sup> For this postface, see WC 31/1478-79. Nan-feng hsien-sheng wen-chi 南豐先生文集 12/1-2 and Yüan-feng lei-kao 元豐類藁 12/1-2 both read "李白詩集二十卷" for the expression "李白集三十卷" in WC.

<sup>8</sup> This chronology, entitled "T'ang han-lin Li T'ai-po nien-p'u"

唐翰林李太白年譜, is included in several editions of Hsiao Shih-yün's 蕭士贊 Fen-lei pu-chu Li T'ai-po shih 分類補註李太白詩 (1291). The version I have used is included in a 1602 ed. proofread by a certain Hsü Tzu-ch'ang 許自昌 (cf. T'ang Ming-min, p. 60). On the personal information of Hsüeh, see WC 35/1614.

<sup>9</sup> See Hsüeh's postface.

<sup>10</sup> The second date is given in Chan's preface to Lun-ts'ung.

<sup>11</sup> "T'ang-tai mou-hsieh chih-shih fen-tzu yin-i ch'iu-hsien te cheng-chih mu-ti" 唐代某些知識份子隱逸求仙的政治目的, in T'ang-shih lun-ts'ung 唐詩論叢, pp. 155-80; or Peking ta-hsüeh hsüeh-pao (jen-wen k'o-hsüeh) 北京大學學報 (人文科學), 1961, No. 3.

<sup>12</sup> See, for example, Waley, pp. 17-18, 30-31, 53-58 and Kuo, pp. 85-98.

<sup>13</sup> See Chan Ying, "Pan-pen hsü-lu", in Lun-ts'ung, pp. 11-12 and T'ang Ming-min, pp. 66-67.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. William Hung, Tu Fu, pp. 4-6.

<sup>15</sup> For this poem, see WC 24/1141; for its date, see Chan, Li Po shih-wen hsi-nien (hereafter cited as HN), pp. 117-18.

<sup>16</sup> For this poem, see WC 22/1022; for its date, see Ch. 2, n. 149.

## Chapter One

<sup>1</sup> See WC 31/1443-47. For some discussion on the date, see n. 8.

<sup>2</sup> For the text of the preface, see WC 31/1447-53. Judging from

its last paragraph, this preface was written no earlier than the end of the shang-yüan 上元 period, that is, the fourth month of 762 (see TCTC 222/7118, Hu San-hsing's 胡三省 annotation to "pao-ying yüan-nien" 寶應元年 ); nor long after Li Po's death in late 762. Cf. n. 8. Wei Hao is also known as Wei Wan 萬 (WC 31/1450).

<sup>3</sup> See "Ku han-lin-hsüeh-shih Li chün mu-chih ping hsü" 故翰林學士李君墓誌并序 in WC 31/1458-59 or, under a slightly different title, in CTW 321/1. The birth and death dates of Li Hua are from Tz'u hai 辭海 (1979 ed.), vol. 2, p. 2889.

<sup>4</sup> See "T'ang tso-shih-i han-lin-hsüeh-shih Li kung hsin-mu-pei" 唐左拾遺翰林學士李公新墓碑, in WC 31/1461-68 or, under a recognizably different title, in WYHY 945/1a-4b. For the origin of the official title tso-shih-i, see n. 8.

<sup>5</sup> See, for example, HN, p. 1; Kuo, p. 3; Huang Hsi-kuei 黃錫珪, Li T'ai-po nien-p'u, p. 2.

<sup>6</sup> WC 35/1573-74, 1st yr. ch'ang-an 長安 and p. 1612, 1st yr. pao-ying.

<sup>7</sup> "Wei Sung chung-ch'eng tzu-chien piao" 為宗中丞自薦表 (A Memorial Written on Behalf of Vice-President [of the Censorate] Sung to Recommend Myself), WC 26/1217. For the dating of this work, see WC 35/1603-06, 2nd yr. chih-te 至德 (757) and HN, p. 121.

<sup>8</sup> In his postface, Tseng Kung gives sixty-four as Li Po's age. Since he obviously bases his figures on Li Yang-ping and the "piao" mentioned in n. 7, Tseng must have, as Wang Ch'i holds (WC 35/1612, 31/1480), proposed the figure 64 through negligence.

Li Yang-ping does not explicitly give Li Po's death date. But his preface is dated "the eleventh month of the first year pao-ying (762)," and judging from the following words in it, Li Po died before its composition: "While I was just about to resign my office, [Li Po]

was terminally ill (chi-chi 疾亟). . . . In his sickbed, he entrusted me his manuscripts and asked me to write a preface." Liu Ch'üan-po 劉全白 ("T'ang ku han-lin-hsüeh-shih Li chün chieh-chi" 唐故翰林學士李君碣記, WC 31/1460, dated 790) and Fan Ch'uan-cheng provide some other proof to this death date. In the beginning of Tai-tsung's 代宗 reign, according to these sources, the emperor appointed Li Po an omissioner of the left (tso-shih-i 左拾遺), but the poet died before (Fan) or right after (Liu) the decree reached him. Since Tai-tsung ascended the throne in the fourth month of 762 (CTS 11/268; HTS 6/167; TCTC 222/7125), and the expression "beginning" (ch'u 初, as is used by Fan; Liu's words being "[immediately after] Tai-tsung ascended the throne" 代宗登極) conventionally means the first year of a reign period or an emperor's reign, Liu and Fan are in consensus with Li Yang-ping.

<sup>9</sup> See p. 10.

<sup>10</sup> Shu referred to the vast region between what are the Chia-ling-chiang River 嘉陵江 and the Ch'ung-lai-shan Mountain 邛崃山. It should not be mixed up with Ch'eng-tu-fu Shu-chün 成都府蜀郡 (around present Ch'eng-tu) or Shu-chou T'ang-an-chün 蜀州唐安郡 (an area south of Ch'eng-tu) of the T'ang. See HTS 42/1079-80; YHCHTC 31/2b.

<sup>11</sup> See Appendix B. Kuang-han 廣漢, the place name used by Fan, is one that in the Han period meant approximately the same area as Mien-chou of T'ang. Pa-hsi 巴西, the name used by the HTS, presumably means Pa-hsi-chün 郡, that is, Mien-chou. See YHCHTC 33/6, "Mien-chou"; HTS 42/1089. Liu Ch'üan-po (WC 31/1460) and Tseng Kung call Li Po a Kuang-han jen or Shu-chün jen (a wrong word for Shu jen? see n. 10) respectively; they can be considered as collateral evidence to Li Po's birth in Shu.

<sup>12</sup> See Li Yang-ping, Wei Hao, Fan Ch'uan-cheng and Li Po's

"Tseng Chang hsiang Hao er-shou ch'i er" 贈張相鎬二首其二 and  
 "Yü Han Ching-chou shu" 與韓荊州書 (WC 11/599, 26/1240).

In a short poem entitled "Ch'u ch'u Chin-men . . . yung pi-shang ying-wu" 初出金門... 詠壁上鸚鵡 (WC 24/1132), which he composed when his service in Hsüan-tsung's court had just ended in failure (HN, p. 49), Li Po thus allegorically wrote about a parrot: "Though capable of speaking, it has finally been forsaken. / Now it is going to fly back to Lung-hsi." Some important early eds. read "隴山" for "隴西" (see Ch'ü and Chu, Li Po chi chiao-chu (hereafter cited as Chiao-chu) 24/1421). According to the following sources, there had been in Li Po's times a long-existing legend which linked parrots to Lung-hsi or the Lung-shan Mountain (saying that this area was the native haunt of parrots): (1) Mi Heng 補衡, "Ying-wu fu" 鸚鵡賦, in Wen hsüan 文選 13/280, esp. the phrase "send officials in charge of the mountains and the wilderness to the Lung Mountain [to get parrots]" 命虞人於隴坻; (2) Ts'en Shen 岑參, "Fu Pei-t'ing tu Lung ssu-chia" 赴北庭度隴思家, CTShih 201/2106; (3) Lo Yüan 羅願, Er ya i 爾雅翼 (a Sung dynasty lexical work) 14/11a. In the poem quoted above, therefore, Lung-hsi is an inseparable part of the parrot allegory and should not be understood as literally providing any personal information about the poet.

The definition of "chün-wang" is borrowed from David G. Johnson, The Medieval Chinese Oligarchy, p. 92. For detailed discussion concerning the Lung-hsi chün-wang, see below, pp. 25-33.

<sup>13</sup> Johnson, pp. 92-93.

<sup>14</sup> See "Su Tuan Hsüeh Fu yen chien Hsüeh Hua tsui-ko" 蘇端薛復筵簡薛華醉歌, TSLCHC 4/21-22. On the date, see Huang Ho's 黃鶴 note to the title of this poem.

<sup>15</sup> "K'ao-i", in Lun-ts'ung, pp. 22-23.

<sup>16</sup> See Ch. 2, p. 54 for the assertion about Li Po's whereabouts after 744.

<sup>17</sup> "T'ang ku kung-pu yüan-wai-lang Tu chün mu-hsi-ming" 唐故工部員外郎杜君墓係銘 , CTW 654/10b.

<sup>18</sup> WC 31/1474 or CTS 190c/5053. Also cf. Chan Ying, "K'ao-i," in Lun-ts'ung, p. 23.

<sup>19</sup> See Ch. 2, p. 51.

<sup>20</sup> See Tan-ch'ien tsung-lu 丹鉛總錄 10/3b, and "Li shih hsüan t'i-tz'u" 李詩選題辭 , WC 33/1513. Yang seems to have taken the term Shan-tung for something close to modern Shantung province. This is, however, not necessarily the main reason for his mistake. He could have followed a very similar though vaguely presented view in the Southern Sung work Chi Yu-kung's 計有功 T'ang-shih chi-shih 唐詩紀事 (18/271). Cf. Hu Chen-heng 胡震亨 , T'ang-yin kuei-ch'ien 唐音癸籤 29/252.

Yang claims he has quoted from Yüeh's preface to a certain "Li Po chi" 李白集 . Wang Ch'i (WC 33/1514, n. 2) suspects that Yang might have quoted from Wei Hao while thinking that he was quoting from Yüeh Shih because the quoted words do not appear in Yüeh's preface. In fact, the only work by Yüeh included in Wang's book (31/1453-58) is his preface to a collection of Li Po's non-poetic works. According to this preface, Yüeh also compiles a collection of Li Po's poetry. I believe it is from Yüeh's preface to the latter work that Yang Shen has quoted.

Cf. Ch'ien Ch'ien-i 錢謙益 , Ch'ien chu Tu shih 錢注杜詩 , vol. 2, pp. 47-48; Ssu-k'u ch'üan-shu tsung-mu t'i-yao 四庫全書總目提要 29/33; and Chan Ying, "K'ao-i," in Lun-ts'ung, p. 23.

<sup>21</sup> Chin shu 晉書 79/2072-73.

<sup>22</sup> See, for example, "Shih Chin-ling-tzu" 示金陵子 , "Liang-yüan yin" 梁園吟 and "I Tung-shan" 憶東山 in WC 25/1196, 7/390, 23/1087. A full list of Li Po's poems that use the word



Tung-shan can be found in Hanabusa, Ri Haku kashi sakuin 李白歌詩索引, p. 334.

<sup>23</sup> It may be helpful to refute two speculations by later scholars here. Ch'ien Ch'ien-i (see n. 20) and Wang Ch'i (35/1572) both think that Li Po was called a Shan-tung jen because he lived very long in that area. It is, nevertheless, extremely unusual in the Chinese tradition to call somebody a person from a certain place only because, as is the case of Li Po, he lives there after he grew up. On the other hand, Ch'en Yin-k'o ("Li T'ai-po shih-tsu," in Lun-wen-chi, pp. 10-12) thinks that Li Po was so called because he pretended to be a nephew of Li Yang-ping's, while Li Yang-ping's chün-wang was Chao-chün 趙郡, a place within the Shan-tung area. This is groundless because Li Po could not have known Li Yang-ping at all until 762, many years after Tu Fu's poem to Hsüeh Hua was composed (see Ch. 2, pp. 64-65).

<sup>24</sup> WC 35/1574, first year ch'ang-an.

<sup>25</sup> HTS 4/98; Ch'en Yüan 陳垣, Er-shih-shih shuo-jun piao 二十史朔閏表, p. 91. TCTC 206/6523, 6525 are not reliable.

<sup>26</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 11.

<sup>27</sup> Li Po yü Tu Fu, pp. 3-5; for the location of T'iao-chih, see below, pp. 18-19.

<sup>28</sup> See, for instance, Wang Yün-hsi 王運熙 and Li Pao-chün 李寶均, Li Po (1979), pp. 1, 6 and Fu-tan ta-hsüeh chung-wen-hsi 復旦大學中文系, Li Po shih-hsüan 詩選, 2nd ed. (1977), p. 1. I suspect that Elling Eide ("On Li Po," in Wright and Twitchett, eds., Perspectives on the T'ang, p. 388) is also influenced by Ch'en and Kuo.

<sup>29</sup> See Kuo, pp. 10-12; Ch'en, "Li T'ai-po shih-tsu," in Lun-wen-chi,

pp. 10-12; and below, pp. 33-35.

<sup>30</sup> See, for example, CTS 194b and HTS 40, 43b, 215b, 221b. The most detailed descriptions are found in HTS 40/1047 and 43b/1149-50, the latter being what Chavannes translates in his book (see the next note).

<sup>31</sup> Documents sur les Tou-kiue (Turks) Occidentaux, suivi des Notes Additionnelles, pp. 8-10, 12-13, 143, 359.

Chavannes pronounces the character 紫 not as \*yeh but as \*she, the pronunciation conventionally used for the character when it means a surname or an ancient place-name; and holds that the whole name 碎紫 is the transliteration of only "Sūj" (Documents, p. 143, n. 5 and p. 359; Professor Pulleyblank has pointed out for me that "āb" means river and is not an inseparable part of "Sūj-āb"). But I suspect that the reading \*she may not apply to a transliteration of a foreign word, and the T'ang pronunciation of Sui-yeh (\**suâi-iäp* ; see Karlgren, Grammata Serica Recensa, 490n, 633d) seems more likely to have been the transliteration of "Sūj-āb" instead of "Sūj" alone.

V. Minorsky, Hydūd al-'Ālam, "The Regions of the World", p. 303, says that some Muslim sources also mention a group of settlements near the Chu and named Sūyāb (Minorsky's spelling for Sūj-āb), which seems to have been slightly away from the Chinese Sui-yeh. He holds that only systematic excavations at the Chu area will bring certainty in identification.

I am indebted to Professor Pulleyblank for some references in this note.

<sup>32</sup> Chavannes, *ibid.*, pp. 10, 13.

<sup>33</sup> See Ch'en Yin-k'o (see n. 29) and Kuo, p. 3.

<sup>34</sup> HTS 43b/1134. Presented as an item in the list of the governments-general under the An-hsi Protectorate, this is no doubt one of

the most conspicuous descriptions about "Sui-yeh."

HTS 43b/1150 also mentions a Sui-yeh when describing the route from Po-huan 撥換 (near Ch'iu-tz'u, or, Kucha) to Shu-le (Kashgar). Chavannes (p. 10) has pointed out that it is an error.

In several places Hu San-hsing has also been troubled by the passage quoted in the text. See TCTC 202/6392, 195/6142, 200/6295.

<sup>35</sup> Chavannes, pp. 101-110; Twitchett, ed., Sui and T'ang China, Part I, pp. 224-6.

CTS 4/69 and TFYK 991/12b both record the establishment of An-hsi Protectorate in the "original territory of Kao-ch'ang" in the 11th month of 651. T'ang liu tien 唐六典 30/23b-24a says that "during the yung-hui 永徽 period (650-655) [the positions of] grand protectors (ta-tu-hu 大都護) of An-nan 安南 and An-hsi were for the first time established." Ts'en Chung-mien 岑仲勉 (Hsi T'u-chüeh shih-liao pu-ch'üeh chi k'ao-cheng 西突厥史料補闕及考證, p. 36) holds that what was established in 640 was a tu-hu-fu, while what was established in 651 was a ta-tu-hu-fu. But on the other hand, after describing the T'ang's victory over A-shih-na Ho-lu in 657 (see below, p. 14), THY 73/1323 (cf. HTS 40/1047) says, "Since Ho-lu was conquered, [the T'ang government] moved An-hsi Protectorate to the original territory of Kao-ch'ang (my emphasis)." I hence suspect that, since Ho-lu plotted to occupy Hsi-chou (Kao-ch'ang) and T'ing-chou 庭州 soon after T'ai-tsung's death in 649 and actually attacked them in the 7th month of 651 (CTS 4/69; HTS 215b/6060; TCTC 199/6273-75), the T'ang might have moved An-hsi Protectorate elsewhere for a short period and restored it at Kao-ch'ang in late 651 after a temporary victory over Ho-lu, which the THY has taken for the decisive victory in 657.

<sup>36</sup> CTS 198/5301; HTS 221a/6229.

<sup>37</sup> CTS 3/56, 198/5302; THY 73/1326; HTS 2/43, 221a/6229; TCTC 197/6211-12, 199/6262.

<sup>38</sup> (a) Sources of the above description about Ch'iu-tz'u: CTS 3/60-62, 4/78, 109/3289, 3293, 198/5303-04; TFYK 964/7b; THY 73/1323; HTS 2/47, 3/58, 110/4115, 221a/6230-32; TCTC 198/6250-51, 199/6262-65, 200/6309.

(b) CTS 198/5303, THY 73/1325, and HTS 43b/1134 all give 646 as the date of the T'ang's first expedition against Ch'iu-tz'u; the THY even indicates that it happened in the intercalary 10th month of that year (貞觀二十年閏十月). In the same place the THY also records that the king of Yü-t'ien (Khotan) Fu-she-hsin paid allegiance to the rule of the T'ang in the intercalary 2nd month of 648 (貞觀二十二年閏二月). In fact, however, there were only the intercalary 3rd month in 646 (CTS 3/58; HTS 2/45; TCTC 198/6236) and the intercalary 12th month in 648 (CTS 3/61; HTS 2/47; TCTC 199/6264). Since the surrender of Yü-t'ien was subsequent to the defeat of Ch'iu-tz'u in the 12th month of 648 (CTS 3/61-62; TCTC 199/6264; cf. TCTC 199/6269 for the date when Fu-she-hsin arrived at the Chinese court), both dates in the THY must be corrupt forms of the intercalary 12th month of 648 (貞觀二十二年閏十二月). The HTS obviously has followed the mistakes of the THY; cf. item (d).

(c) CTS 198/5304 (cf. TFYK 964/7b and HTS 221a/6232) holds that the transfer of An-hsi Protectorate to Ch'iu-tz'u happened after the T'ang's first victory over Ch'iu-tz'u (648). This is not reliable. For detailed discussion, see pp. 16-17 and the notes given there.

(d) TFYK 991/13, HTS 221a/6232 and TCTC 200/6309 give 658 as the date of the establishment of the government-general of Ch'iu-tz'u; CTS 40/1648 and HTS 43b/1134 give 648. The passage in HTS 43b appears to be based on a similar passage in the THY (see p. 16); but it seems to have incorrectly treated three dates in the THY passage for other events concerning Yen-ch'i, Ch'iu-tz'u and Shu-le--one of them unreliable--as the dates for the establishment of governments-general there. Therefore, the date 648 seems not reliable.

<sup>39</sup> CTS 3/61-62, 198/5305; HTS 110/4115, 221a/6235; TCTC 199/6268-69. Also see item (b) of the preceding note.

<sup>40</sup> (a) CTS 198/5305; THY 73/1326; HTS 221a/6233, 43b/1134. HTS 43b/1134 is groundless in holding that T'ang founded the Government-General of Shu-le in the same year. See n. 38, (d) and item (c) of this note. It is not proper either to suggest that Yü-t'ien and Shu-le "submitted voluntarily to Chinese suzerainty" right after they first paid tributes to T'ang (see Sui and T'ang China, Part I, p. 228; according to CTS 198/5305 and HTS 221a/6235, Yü-t'ien first did this in 632). Both Yen-ch'i and Ch'iu-tz'u had been T'ang tributary states long before they were truly subjugated (CTS 198/5301, 5303; HTS 221a/6229, 6230). It seems these states paid tributes to the T'ang only to demonstrate their friendship and admiration.

(b) In 646, I-p'i-she-kuei 乙毗射匱 Qaghan of the Western Turks sent a tribute mission to the T'ang court and requested to marry a T'ang princess. T'ai-tsung acquiesced but asked in return that I-p'i-she-kuei cede to China five oases in the Tarim basin, among them Shu-le. See CTS 194b/5185; HTS 215b/6060; TCTC 199/6236. THY 94/1694 alone gives the 6th month of 645 as the date of this event. It is not clear to what extent I-p'i-she-kuei could control these states (cf. William Samolin's speculation in East Turkistan to the Twelfth Century, p. 59), but T'ai-tsung's demand itself is a strong proof that I-p'i-she-kuei did somehow control them.

(c) TCTC 200/6317 says that in the 9th month of 659 Kao-tsung decreed to have prefectures and governments-general established in many central Asian states, among them Shu-le and such Sogdian states as Shih 石 (Tāshkent), Shih 史 (Kesch), and Mi 米 (Māimargh). But in the notices on these Sogdian states in HTS 221b and THY 99/1771ff., the date given is 658. Cf. the discussion on the establishment of T'iao-chih Tu-tu-fu in pp. 18-19 and n. 72. On the other hand, CTS 40/1648 says that the Government-General of Shu-le was established during the shang-yüan period (674-76). The case may be that in 658 or 659 only prefectures were established in Shu-le, as was the case of Yü-t'ien (CTS, loc. cit.; cf. HTS 43b/1134); otherwise, the CTS may have made mistakes because in the shang-yüan period some other governments-general were established (cf. Ts'en, Hsi T'u-chüeh, p. 56). Also cf. item (a).

<sup>41</sup> I-p'i-she-kuei's decisive victory must have taken place before 646; see the sources given in n. 40, (b).

<sup>42</sup> Sources of the story of Ho-lu: CTS 3/60, 62, 4/68, 76, 78, 194b/5186-88; TFYK 973/12b; THY 73/1322-23; HTS 3/53, 57-58, 43b/1130, 215b/6060-63; TCTC 199/6256-57, 6266, 6273-74, 200/6295-96, 6301, 6305-08. Some points will be discussed in nn. 43, 44.

<sup>43</sup> Very little is known about the nature of Yao-ch'ih Tu-tu-fu. HTS 43b/1130 suggests that it governed Ho-lu's own tribes. And HTS 215b/6062 and 218/6154 (cf. Chavannes, Documents, pp. 62, 98) show that this tu-tu-fu was probably established near T'ing-chou and the tribes of Ch'u-yüeh 處月 and Sha-t'o 沙陀, which were all north of Hsi-chou at the north foot of the present T'ien-shan Mountains (see the map in Chavannes, Documents).

<sup>44</sup> On the date of Ho-lu's open rebellion I have followed CTS 194b/5186, THY 73/1322, HTS 3/53, and TCTC 199/6273. CTS 4/68 records this event under the last month of 650. THY 94/1694 gives the 7th month of 652, which, according to CTS 4/69 and TCTC 199/6274, was the date when Ho-lu attacked T'ing-chou.

<sup>45</sup> The T'ang expedition began in early 657 and ended in the last month of the same year; see HTS 3/57-58 and TCTC 200/6301, 6305-07. CTS 4/78 records the final defeat of Ho-lu and the establishment of the protectorates under the second month of 658; the TCTC K'ao-i (200/6307), based on Kao-tsung shih-lu 高宗實錄 (not extant), rejects this date. THY 73/1322 gives the 11th month of 657.

<sup>46</sup> For the minor events that took place between 658 and 670, see Ts'en Chung-mien, Hsi T'u-chüeh, pp. 51-55.

<sup>47</sup> CTS 5/94, 196a/5224; THY 73/1326; HTS 3/68, 43b/1134, 216a/6076; TCTC 201/6363. According to the most detailed of these sources,

CTS 5/94 and TCTC, the Tibetans conquered only part of the An-hsi district, and the T'ang seems to have been forced to temporarily give up the garrisons, not, as other sources might suggest, directly subjugated there. Cf. the discussion on Ts'ui Jung's 崔融 "Pa Ssu-chen i" 拔四鎮議 in n. 61.

<sup>48</sup> (a) Sometime before the last month of 673, Kung-yüeh 弓月 allied itself with another tribe and the Tibetans to subjugate Shu-le. Then, in the above date, afraid of coming military intervention from the T'ang, the kings of Kung-yüeh and Shu-le came together to the T'ang capital to repledge their loyalty. See CTS 5/98 and TCTC 202/6371-72.

(b) The king of Yü-t'ien had an audience with the T'ang emperor in late 674 and was praised because he had attacked the Tibetans. See CTS 5/99-100 and TCTC 202/6371-72.

<sup>49</sup> Ts'ui Jung, "Pa Ssu-chen i" (WYH 769/9b; CTW 219/15a), says that after Kao-tsung ordered withdrawal from the Four Garrisons in 670, the Tibetans became even more aggressive than before and once invaded the whole Western Territories, "conquered all strongholds west of Yen-ch'i, and even thrust eastward to ravage the fortifications of Kao-ch'ang . . . and threaten Tun-huang 燉煌." He does not give the exact date of this event. But in the "Chronicle" section of the ancient Tibetan documents found in Tun-huang, a Tibetan conquest of Kao-ch'ang is recorded under the year 676. See Wang Yao 王堯, tr., "Tun-huang ku Tsang-wen li-shih wen-shu Han-i ch'u-kao hsüan" 敦煌古藏文歷史文書漢譯初稿選, Li-shih hsüeh 歷史學, 1979, No. 3, p. 89. HTS 221a/6232 also says: "During the i-feng 儀鳳 period (676-78), the Tibetans attacked the area west of Yen-ch'i; the Four Garrisons all fell [into their hands]." It is probable that the T'ang lost the garrisons for the second time in 676.

<sup>50</sup> Sources: Chang Yüeh 張說, "Tseng t'ai-wei P'ei kung shen-tao-pei" 贈太尉裴公神道碑 and "T'ang ku Hsia-chou tu-tu . . . Wang kung shen-tao-pei" 唐故夏州都督王公神道碑, CTW 228/8a-15a, 4b-8a; biographies of P'ei Hsing-chien and Wang Fang-i in

CTS 84/2802-03, 185a/4802-03 and HTS 108/4086-87, 111/4134-36; CTS 5/105, 198/5313; HTS 3/74-75, 215b/6064; TFYK 366/9, 410/11; TCTC 202/6390-92. Some significant differences among them will be discussed in the following notes.

<sup>51</sup> For the date, see Chang Yüeh's "Shen-tao-pei" on P'ei, CTW 228/9b; CTS 84/2802; and HTS 108/4086. CTS here actually gives "the 4th year i-feng" (= the 1st year t'iao-lu=679) instead of 677. But it indicates (p. 2809, n. 5) that all editions against which it checks its text originally read "the 2nd year i-feng," and that it has made the change according to CTS 5/105 and TCTC 202/6390. In fact, CTS 5 and TCTC 202 only show that the last stage of the whole story of Tu-chih happened in 679, and the word "ch'u" 初, which TCTC uses in recording the story, clearly indicates that the story began sometime before 679. Moreover, HTS 216a/6077 says that because the Tibetans and the Western Turks attacked An-hsi together, Li Ching-hsüan 李敬玄 was appointed to lead the Chinese army against them; and according to HTS 3/74, Li's appointment took place in the 1st month of 678. Hence, the change made in CTS 84/2802 seems wrong. Chavannes (Documents, p. 74, n. 1) mentions HTS 216a/6077 and says that the events in question happened in the 3rd year shang-yüan 上元 (676). Ts'en (Hsi T'u-chüeh, pp. 56-57) has convincingly demonstrated that Chavannes may have made a mistake here.

A-shih-na Tu-chih is in some sources named Fu-yen Tu-chih 副延都支 or A-shih-na Fu-yen Tu-chih.

<sup>52</sup> (a) On the date, see CTS 5/105, HTS 3/74, 215b/6064, 221b/6259; TCTC 202/6390-92. Also see the previous note.

(b) The name Ni-nieh-shih comes from HTS 108/4086; in some other sources, some recognizable variants like Ni-yüan-shih 泥洹師 (TCTC 202) and Ni-nieh-shih-shih 泥洹師師 (CTS 84) are used.

(c) CTS 198/5313 says P'ei escorted Pei-lu-ssu (instead of Ni-nieh-shih) westward in 678 but proceeded only as far as Sui-yeh. A similar version from the T'ang Chi 唐紀 is mentioned and rejected



by the TCTC K'ao-i (202/6390).

(d) The T'ang court was then in Lo-yang. See TCTC 202/6388, 1st month of 1st yr. t'iao-lu; CTS 5/104, 105, 4th yr. i-feng and 2nd yr. t'iao-lu.

<sup>53</sup> See Chang Yüeh's "Shen-tao-pei" on Wang Fang-i, CTW 228/6; CTS 5/109, 185a/4803; HTS 111/4135; TCTC 203/6407, 6409. 682 is the 1st year yung-ch'un 永淳. CTS 185a gives the 1st year yung-lung 永隆, but Ts'en Chien-kung 岑建功 (Chiu T'ang shu chiao-k'an-chi 舊唐書校勘記 61/6) indicates that another edition reads "yung-ch'un" not "yung-lung." The character lung could be an error.

<sup>54</sup> Chang Yüeh's "Shen-tao-pei" on Wang Fang-i relates that, when he followed P'ei Hsing-chien westward, Wang was appointed acting protector of An-hsi, while the original protector Tu Huai-pao 杜懷寶 was appointed Prefect of T'ing-chou. But soon after the defeat of Tu-chih and the building of Sui-yeh ch'eng, Wang and Tu were transferred to each other's post, and thus Tu "again governed An-hsi and guarded Sui-yeh" (the Chinese text 更統安西鎮守碎葉 does not show clearly whether the word "again" also modifies the verb "guarded"). Then Chang talks about the reasons and the results of these transfers: "At first the court appointed [Fang-i] to replace [Huai-pao] because the garrison (or garrisons?) had failed to pacify the barbarians. [Later,] in order not to lose the garrison (or garrisons?), it again ordered [Huai-pao] to replace [Fang-i]. And yet one could see that the barbarians began to feel uneasy. Then Ch'e-po ch'uo 啜 (tchour, a Turkish title) first rose in rebellion and other barbarians followed him eagerly." Chang's words about the reason of the second transfer are so evasive that they do not seem to make much sense. But it seems clear from the whole story he relates that Tu-chih and Ch'e-po were both challenges to the Chinese military presence in the Sui-yeh area.

<sup>55</sup> Wu Chen 吳震, in his "Ts'ung T'u-lu-fan ch'u-t'u Fan Te-ta kao-shen t'an T'ang Sui-yeh chen ch'eng" 從吐魯番出土紀德達告身談唐碎葉鎮城 (Wen-wu 文物, 1975, No. 8, p. 14), holds

that P'ei set out from Ch'iu-tz'u to attack Tu-chih. Should this be the case, it would be automatically clear that the Sui-yeh in question should be the one on the Chu. But no sources I know of clearly support Wu's view.

<sup>56</sup> HTS 40/1046, 1048.

<sup>57</sup> Chang Yüeh's "Shen-tao-pei" on Wang Fang-i, CTW 228/6a.

<sup>58</sup> THY 73/1325-26 and HTS 43b/1134. Also see CTS 40/1648, item "P'i-sha tu-tu-fu."

<sup>59</sup> CTS 198/5304; TFYK 964/7b; HTS 221a/6231-32. Cf. Chavannes, Documents, p. 118 and "Notes Additionelles," p. 19.

<sup>60</sup> (a) CTS 198 and TFYK 964 say that the seat of An-hsi Protectorate was moved to Ch'iu-tz'u after the Chinese victory in late 648 and Kuo Hsiao-k'o was then appointed the protector of An-hsi. But this transfer is elsewhere generally said to have taken place in 658 (see p. 13 and n. 38). Moreover, according to TCTC 199/6264 and Kuo's biographies in CTS 83/2774-75 and HTS 111/4132, Kuo died during the expedition; it was A-shih-na She-er that led the Chinese army to its final victory.

(b) CTS 198 does not mention the transfer of the protectorate of An-hsi in 658, while HTS 221a, which obviously is influenced by the former source, actually relates both transfers in the same page. This seems a sign that HTS 221a can not solve the contradiction between the date given in CTS 198 and that given in other places.

<sup>61</sup> I.e., "Pa Ssu-chen i." In addition to its full text in WYYH 769/8b-12a and CTW 219/12b-18a, a slightly adapted version is found in THY 73/1327ff. and some very freely changed excerpts are found in HTS 216a/6079, CTS 198/5304 and TFYK 964/7b. It is a memorial presented to the Empress Wu around the end of the 7th century (Ts'en, Hsi T'u-chüeh, p. 66, note). In this memorial, Ts'ui Jung argued

vigorously against the idea of abandoning the Four Garrisons. After relating Chinese foreign policies of the preceding dynasties, he recalled the T'ang's policy toward Turkestan up to his time: "In the T'ang, the Emperor T'ai-tsung was the first to undertake foreign expeditions. He resumed the tasks of Wu-ti of the Han, and established from Nan-shan 南山 (i.e., Ch'i-lien Shan 祁連山) to Ts'ung-ling 蔥嶺 (the Pamir) [so many] fu's (presumably che-ch'ung-fu 折衝府) and chen's 鎮 (garrisons) [that] the beacons of them could be seen from each other. Kao-tsung ruled the country devotedly. He did not desire to expand territories, but was eager to let the people live in peace. [Seeing that] corvées and garrisoning [of the country] were too frequent and heavy and demanded too much expenditure, he further ordered the officials in charge to withdraw from the Four Garrisons. After that, the Tibetans as expected became even more aggressive. They extensively invaded the Western Territories. . . ." (My emphasis; cf. nn. 49, 65 and p. 18 for the contents of the subsequent passages of Ts'ui's work.) The logic in the Chinese text for the underlined section is not totally clear. But in early T'ang times, chen was the common name for one of the several classes of garrison units in the frontiers (HTS 50/1328), and there seems little doubt that Ts'ui did not identify the chen's established in T'ai-tsung's times with the Four Garrisons abandoned by Kao-tsung in 670. On the other hand, nevertheless, after relating the transfer of An-hsi Protectorate and the appointment of Kuo Hsiao-k'o as its protector after the Chinese victory in Ch'iu-tz'u in 648 (cf. n. 60, item (a)) to govern the Four Garrisons, CTS 198 thus adapts the above underlined words by Ts'ui Jung: "[After] he ascended the throne, Kao-tsung did not desire to expand territories by disturbing the people. He then ordered the officials in charge to abandon the Four Garrisons including Ch'iu-tz'u and so forth." I hence suspect that the CTS (presumably the origin of the slightly different versions in TFYK 964 and HTS 221a) has based itself on its misunderstanding of Ts'ui Jung's words concerning the chen's established in T'ai-tsung's times.

<sup>62</sup> THY 73/1326; TCTC 201/6363.

<sup>63</sup> TFYK 967/11b.

<sup>64</sup> Yün Pan-ch'ien's 員半千 "Shu-chou . . . Ta-hsi chün shen-tao-pei" 蜀州...達悉君神道碑 (CTW 165/5a-8a, esp. 6b) records that in 686 a certain Ta-hsi Ssu-ching 思敬 was appointed an officer in the Chin-ya-tao 金牙道 expeditionary army (hsing-chün 行軍), and proposed some strategies for a withdrawal from the Four Garrisons including Sui-yeh, which were well practised. According to Wu Chen (op. cit., p. 13), a certain Fan Te-ta was conferred a certificate of merit for his outstanding service in the Chin-ya-chün 金牙軍 (=Chin-ya-tao-hsing-chün?) in a Chinese withdrawal from the Four Garrisons also including Sui-yeh. This seems to refer to the 686 withdrawal, too. For one more source, which can not be positively dated, see Ts'en, Hsi T'u-chüeh, pp. 61-62.

<sup>65</sup> Ts'ui Jung, "Pa Ssu-chien i," CTW 219/15a-b; biographies of Wei Tai-chia 韋待價 in CTS 77/2672 and HTS 98/3904.

<sup>66</sup> CTS 6/123, 93/2977, 196a/5225; HTS 4/93; TCTC 205/6487-88. Su Mien's note in THY 73/1326 reads the 2nd yr. ch'ang-shou 長壽 (693); this could be an error.

<sup>67</sup> See TFYK 967/11b; CTS 194b/5190; HTS 215b/6066; and the memorial presented to Chung-tsung around 708 by Kuo Yüan-chen 郭元振 in CTS 97/3046 (for the dating of this memorial, see Ts'en, Hsi T'u-chüeh, pp. 75-76). The date of this event is only shown in the TFYK, but the descriptions by CTS 97 and some other sources in the next note can tally with that date.

<sup>68</sup> TFYK 967/11b indicates that the Empress Wu conferred upon Wu-chih-le the title of "Governor-General of Yao-ch'ih" 瑤池都督 after he moved his headquarters to Sui-yeh. According to TFYK 970/18a and TCTC 206/6540 (cf. the biography of Hsieh Wan 解琬 in CTS 100/3112), in the 8th month of 699 Wu-chih-le sent a son to the T'ang

court and then the T'ang court sent Hsieh Wan to pacify Wu-chih-le and the Western Turks. It is probable that the conferment took place when Hsieh arrived in the Western Territories and the crisis ended consequently.

<sup>69</sup> CTS 93/2979, biography of T'ang Hsiu-ching 唐休璟; also cf. HTS 111/4150 and Ta-T'ang hsin-yü 大唐新語 8/133. Only CTS 93 gives the date of this event: "during the ch'ang-an 長安 reign period (701-04)." Judged from the context of this source, the event took place slightly before T'ang was appointed a chief minister; according to HTS 4/103, that appointment took place in 703. CTS 6/131 says that T'ang Hsiu-ching was executed in the 7th month of 703. This seems to be an error because T'ang's biographies in both CTS 93 and HTS 111 record his life all the way through 712 (1st yr. yen-ho 延和), when he died with honor.

<sup>70</sup> See Ch'en Yin-k'o, "Li T'ai-po shih-tsu," Lun-wen-chi, p. 11; Hu Huai-ch'en 胡懷琛, "Li T'ai-po te kuo-chi wen-t'i" 李太白的國籍問題, in Lun-wen-chi, pp. 14, 16-18; Kuo, p. 4.

<sup>71</sup> See n. 70, Hu and Kuo.

<sup>72</sup> THY 73/1323-25, HTS 43b/1135-37, CTS 40/1649-50, and TCTC 200/6324-25 (the last two sources less detailed) all record that in 661 (1st yr. lung-shuo), Wang Ming-yüan 王名遠, with the title of "T'u-huo-lo-tao Chih-chou-hsien-shih" 吐火羅道置州縣使, established numerous governments-general, prefectures, and sub-prefectures in the region "west of Yü-t'ien and east of Persia" (the numbers of the governments-general and so forth established then are not in agreement among the sources; for some discussion on this, see Ts'en Chung-mien, "T'ang-tai shih-liu-kuo chi-mi fu-chou shu" 唐代十六羈縻府州數, in Hsi T'u-chüeh, pp. 139-41); T'iao-chih Tu-tu-fu is one of the governments-general established then. But the notices on T'u-huo-lo, Fan-yen 帆延 (Bāmyān), and Chi-pin 黠賓

(Kapiśa) in HTS 221b/6252, 6254, 6241 all say that the T'ang established governments-general in these states in 658. CTS 198/5309 (notice on Chi-pin) says a government-general was established in Chi-pin in 658 but the title of governor-general was conferred upon its king in 661. Thus, it seems the whole matter began in 658 and ended in 661. Also cf. THY 73/1323, the note before item "ssu-nien cheng-yüeh" and n. 40, (c) of this chapter.

<sup>73</sup> THY 73/1324; CTS 40/1649; HTS 43b/1136.

<sup>74</sup> HTS 221b/6235.

<sup>75</sup> (a) Sources: HTS 221b/6235; Ta T'ang Hsi-yü chi 大唐西域記 12/279-80; "Ts'ao-chü-cha"; Hui-ch'ao 慧 (or 惠) 超 (a Korean monk living in China, fl. 8th century), Wang wu T'ien-chu-kuo chuan 往五天竺國傳, in Lo Chen-yü 羅振玉, Lo Hsüeh-t'ang hsien-sheng ch'üan-chi 羅雪堂先生全集, 3rd series, vol. 6, Tun-huang shih-shih i-shu 敦煌石室遺書 section, pp. 2090-91, or in Dai Nihon Bukkyō zensho 大日本佛教全書, vol. 73, No. 590, p. 313b.

(b) Based on some scholars before him, Chavannes (Documents, p. 160 text and n. 3; cf. Minorsky, p. 346) identifies this area with Zābulistān and says: "L'identification du pays de Ts'ao-kiu-tch'a avec l'Arokhadj des Arabes (L'Arachosie des Grecs), et celle de sa capitale Ho-si-na (Ho-hsi-na 鶴悉那 --my note) avec la ville afghane de Ghazna sont un des points de géographie historique les plus anciennement et les plus sûrement élucidés." According to Minorsky (p. 112), "Ghaznīn (=Ghazna, usually spelt as Ghaznī in modern atlases--my note) and the districts adjacent to it are all called ZĀBULISTĀN." "Hsieh-yü" 謝颺 was also transliterated as "Hsieh-yüeh" 謝越 (see Hui-lin's 慧琳 annotation to the work of Hui-ch'ao in I-chieh-ching yin-i 一切經音義, vol 3, chüan 100, p. 12). Professor Pulleybland has pointed out for me that the T'ang pronunciations of 謝颺 and 謝越 (謝颺: \*zia-jiuēt; 謝越: \*zia-jiuwt --see Karlgren, op. cit., 807g, 304f, 303e; the syllable \*jiuēt from 汭, a homophone of 颺)

appear to be very accurate transliteration of "Zābul." Chavannes (p. 160, n. 4) says that "Ho-ta-lo-chih" "[peut-être] faut-il lire 達羅訶支 Ta-lo-ho-tche=Tarokhadj, pour Arokhadj." But there is no specific support to his speculation.

(c) For some less important discussion concerning the identification of the place at issue, see Ts'en, Hsi T'u-chüeh, pp. 145-46 and Fujita Toyōhachi's 藤田豊八 annotation to the work of Hui-ch'ao in Dai Nihon Bukkyō zensho, loc. cit.

<sup>76</sup> Chavannes, pp. 161, 293, 295-96.

<sup>77</sup> Shih chi 史記 123/3163-64; Han shu 漢書 96a/3888 (item "Wu-i-shan-li" 烏弋山離); Hou Han shu 後漢書 88/2918.

<sup>78</sup> One of the prefectures under the Government-General of T'iao-chih was named Hsi-hai and another named Chü-ch'üeh 巨雀 (big birds); see the beginning of n. 72 for the sources. These names were obviously given according to the descriptions of the state of T'iao-chih just presented. These names seem a sign much more of the nostalgia of the T'ang rulers than of their mis-identification of the Government-General of T'iao-chih with the state of T'iao-chih. The reason is the designation of the governments-general and prefectures in the whole region south of the Talas River was based upon an atlas produced by the T'ang envoys who actually visited that region, and there were neither seas nor big lakes in central Afghanistan to have been taken for the so-called Western Sea linked to the state of T'iao-chih. See THY 73/1323; also cf. Chavannes, Documents, pp. 274-75.

<sup>79</sup> See Fujita Toyōhachi, "Jō-shi-koku kō" 條支國考, Tōzai kōshō-shi no kenkyū--Seiki-hen oyobi fu-hen 東西交渉史の研究・西域篇及附篇, pp. 211-252; Sōma Takashi 相馬隆, "Jō-shi-koku zakko" 条支國雜考, in Ryūsha Kaisei kobunka ronkō 流沙海西古文化論考, pp. 319-344.

Professor Pulleyblank holds that T'iao-chih may be a transcription of Seleukeia, the name of the Hellenistic Greek kingdom in Mesopotamia;

see "Some Examples of Colloquial Pronunciation from the Southern Liang Dynasty," in W. Bauer, ed., Studia Sino-Mongolica: Festschrift für Herbert Franke, 1979, p. 323.

<sup>80</sup> According to the sources mentioned in nn. 73-76, the name "T'iao-chih Tu-tu-fu" appears only in accounts concerning its establishment. Even in those places it is not used in place of Hsieh-yü or Ho-ta-lo-chih.

<sup>81</sup> Cf. n. 78.

<sup>82</sup> From the expressions fei-tsui 非罪 (see next note for meaning) and che-chü 謫居 (to be banished to live in) used by Li and the expression pei-ts'uan 被竄 (ts'uan: to expel or to banish) used by Fan. Kuo's view (op. cit., pp. 6-7) that Li and Fan may mean Li Po's ancestors took refuge on their own will in the remote barbarian district of Sui-yeh during some time of turmoil is not convincing.

<sup>83</sup> From "非罪" (because of some groundless conviction; see Morohashi Tetsuji 諸橋 轍次, ed., Dai Kan-Wa jiten, vol. 12, p. 133) and "蟬聯珪組世為顯著" ((of a family) to have officials from it and thus become distinguished continuously for generations).

<sup>84</sup> On Li Kao's birth date, see p. 24 and n. 99.

<sup>85</sup> Ch'en Yin-k'o ("Li T'ai-po shih-tsu," in Lun-wen-chi, p. 11) first arrives at a conclusion of this kind; but he has drawn his conclusion from, besides other elements, the shaky assertion that Li Po's ancestors are said to have been banished to a Sui-yeh in Yen-ch'i at the end of Sui (see p. 11).

<sup>86</sup> See the amnesty decrees in TTCLC, chüan 2 and 83, esp. "Shen-yao chi-wei she" 神堯即位赦 (2/5-6), "T'ai-tsung chi-wei she"



(2/6), "Chen-kuan ssu-nien er-yüeh ta-she" 貞觀四年二月大赦 (83/477). Amnesties were promulgated throughout the dynasty on most of such important occasions as the accession to the throne of new emperors, the investiture of crown princes, and the adoption of new designations of reign periods.

87 In early T'ang times, there were in the western frontiers numerous military establishments known as chün 軍 (armies), chen 鎮 (garrisons), ch'eng 城 (forts, strongholds), shou-cho 守捉, etc. and courier stations known as i 驛 or kuan 館. See HTS 50/1328, 40/1040-48; E. G. Pulleyblank, The Background of the Rebellion of An Lu-shan, p. 68; and Hsin-chiang po-wu-kuan 新疆博物館 and Hsi-pei ta-hsüeh k'ao-ku chuan-yeh 西北大學考古專業, "I-chiu-ch'i-san nien T'u-lu-fan A-ssu-t'a-na ku-mu-ch'ün fa-chüeh chien-pao" 1973年吐魯番阿斯塔那古墓群發掘簡報 (Wen-wu, 1975, No. 7, p. 13). The distribution of these military establishments and courier stations can be, to a great extent, seen from the account in HTS 40/1040-48.

88 See T'ang liu tien 30/28, the duty of kuan-ling 關令 (officials in charge of passes); T'ang-lü shu-i 唐律疏議 8/178-84, esp. items "ssu tu kuan" 私度關, "pu ying tu kuan" 不應度關, and "yüeh tu pien-yüan kuan-sai" 越度邊緣關塞.

89 Ta-tz'u-en-ssu san-tsang-fa-shih chuan 大慈恩寺三藏法師傳, in the Taishō Tripitaka, vol. 50, No. 2053, pp. 223-24.

90 Ibid., p. 224a-b.

91 Wang Chung-lo 王仲萍, "Shih-shih . . . chi-chien yu-kuan kuo-so te T'ang-tai wen-shu" 試釋... 幾件有關過所的唐代文書, Wen-wu, 1975, No. 7, pp. 35-42.

92 Ibid., p. 36; cf. n. 87 for the meaning of "shou-cho."

<sup>93</sup> See Fan Ch'uan-cheng and Liu Ch'üan-po (WC 31/1460). Wei Hao says that the poet drafted a "ch'u shih chao" 出師詔 (declaration of war).

<sup>94</sup> See for instance Chan Ying, "K'ao-i," in Lun-ts'ung, p. 23.

<sup>95</sup> See WYYH, chüan 469-71.

<sup>96</sup> For the above account about Li Kao, see SLKCCTL 6/59, "Hsi-liang lu" 西涼錄 (see n. 106 for the nature of this source); Wei shu 99/2202; Chin shu 87/2257, 2267; Pei shih 100/3313-14; HTS 5/143; TTCLC 78/442, "Chui-tsun Hsien-t'ien-t'ai-huang Te-ming Hsing-sheng huang-ti teng chih" 追尊先天太皇德明興聖皇帝等制. The so-called Lung-hsi Ch'eng-chi chün-wang of Li Kao is seen in, e.g., HTS 1/1 and Kao's biography in Chin shu 87/2257. The origin of this chün-wang will be discussed in detail below.

<sup>97</sup> TCTC 111/3515; Chin shu 87/2259; SLKCCTL 6/59; inferior versions in Wei shu 99/2202 and Sung shu 98/2413. Since keng-tzu 庚子, the reign title Li Kao used, tallies with the kan-chih 干支 of the year 400, the slightly different dates given in Pei shih 93/3082 and 100/3316 seem to be errors.

<sup>98</sup> TCTC 114/3587; Chin shu 87/2259; Sung shu 98/2413; Wei shu 99/2202.

<sup>99</sup> See TCTC 118/3699; Chin shu 87/2267; SLKCCTL 6/59-60. Only the last two sources give Li Kao's age, and the SLKCCTL ("Chiao-k'an-chi" 校勘記, p. 148) indicates that another ed. reads "60" for "67".

<sup>100</sup> For the account about Chü-ch'ü, see TCTC 112/3523, 116/3655-56; Wei shu 99/2203; Chin shu 129/3129, 3195, 3199; SLKCCTL 6/61-62; Pei shih 93/3082; Sung shu 98/2412-13. The last source gives A.D. 400 instead of 401; this seems a mistake.

<sup>101</sup> TCTC 119/3736-39; SLKCCTL 6/60; Sung shu 98/2414; Chin shu 87/2270-71, 129/3198. Sung shu 98 and Chin shu 87 give 422 and 423 respectively as the year of the fall of Western Liang. But the Sung shu at the same place says that Chü-ch'ü Meng-hsün sent a son to attack Li Hsün at Tun-huang in as early as the 10th month of 420 (similar to TCTC). It seems more likely that, as the TCTC holds, Li Hsün's defeat took place before long.

<sup>102</sup> Sources of this passage: biographies of Li Pao and Li Ch'ung in Wei shu 39/885ff., 53/1179-89; Pei shih 100/3316-41; TCTC 140/4393-94.

<sup>103</sup> "Tseng Chang hsiang Hao er-shou ch'i er," WC 11/599-60 (cf. Wang's annotations); "Yü Han Ching-chou shu," WC 26/1240; Appendix B.

<sup>104</sup> (a) On the poet's claim, see "Chi shang Wu-wang san-shou ch'i i" 寄上吳王三首其一, WC 14/701. Wang Ch'i (note to the title of this poem) seems right in identifying this Prince of Wu with Li Ch'i 祗. Cf. Li Po's "Wei Wu-wang hsieh tse fu hsing-tsai ch'ih-chih piao" 為吳王謝賁赴行在遲滯表, WC 26/1205ff. and Ch'i's biography in HTS 80/3569.

(b) On the claim of the T'ang clan, see Hsüan-tsung's "Chui tsun Hsien-t'ien-t'ai-huang . . . chih" 追尊先天太皇... 制, and "Hsü Liang Wu-chao-wang . . . ch'ih" 許涼武昭王... 敕 in TTCLC 78/442, 64/356; also see CTS 1/1, TFYK 1/25b-26a and HTS 1/1.

<sup>105</sup> See the following funeral inscriptions in Chao Wan-li 趙萬里, ed., Han Wei Nan-pei-ch'ao mu-chih chi-shih 漢魏南北朝墓誌集釋:

(1) Plate 205, Li Jui 藎, styled Yen-pin 延賓, grandson of Pao. Cf. Wei shu 39/891; Pei shih 100/3325.

(2) Plate 592, Li T'ing 挺, styled Shen-chün 神儔, also grandson of Pao. Cf. Wei shu 39/895-97; Pei shih 100/3328-29.

(3) Plate 186, Li Yüan-hua 媛華, daughter of Li Ch'ung, wife of Prince Hsieh 勰. Cf. TCTC 140/4394; Chao Wan-li's note to this plate in vol. 1, p. 37b.

- (4) Plate 282, Li Chang 彰, grandson of Ch'ung.  
 (5) Plate 578, Li Yen-hua 艷華, daughter of Li Jui.  
 (6) Plate 243, Li Ch'ao 超, styled Ching-sheng 景昇 (not the Li Ch'ao styled Chung-chü 仲舉 mentioned in Pei shih 100/3339). Cf. Chao's note in vol. 1, p. 52b.

All these inscriptions seem to have been excavated in modern Honan (see Chao's notes to them).

<sup>106</sup> See SLKCCTL 6/51 and the biographies of Li Kao, Li Pao, and Li Yen-chih 琰之 (a cousin on the paternal side of Li Shao 韶, who was a grandson of Li Pao; cf. Pei shih 100/3317-18, 3337) in Wei shu 99/2202, 39/885, and 82/1797. The Wei shu was compiled by Wei Shou 魏收 in the Northern Ch'i 齊 (see Sui shu 33/956; Pei shih 56/2030).

According to T'ang Ch'iu 湯球 (Ch'ing Dynasty; see his preface to the SLKCCTL), the one-hundred-chapter Shih-liu-kuo ch'un-ch'iu by Ts'ui Hung 崔鴻 (Northern Wei) mentioned in the "Monograph of Bibliography" of the Sui shu (33/963) seems to have disappeared by the end of the Northern Sung period. However, T'ang says, the "Monograph" also records a shortened version of this work under the title Shih-liu-kuo ch'un-ch'iu tsuan-lu 纂錄 (in fact, the Sui shu only records a work in ten chapters entitled Tsuan-lu immediately after Shih-liu-kuo ch'un-ch'iu and does not even indicate its authorship; but T'ang's interpretation may be correct) and the contents of this shortened work are still preserved in the Han Wei ts'ung-shu 漢魏叢書 (compiled by Ho T'ang 何鏗 of the Ming Dynasty) and the P'ien-pa 偏霸 section of the Hsiu-wen-tien yü-lan 修文殿御覽 (compiled in the Northern Ch'i, not extant today, the contents of the P'ien-pa section believed to be identical with the section under the same title in the T'ai-p'ing yü-lan 太平御覽, which is still extant; see Wu I's 吳翊 postface to the "Chiao-k'an-chi" of the SLKCCTL, chüan 119-127 of the T'ai-p'ing yü-lan and Chang Ti-hua 張滌華, Lei-shu liu-pieh 類書流別, pp. 42-43). T'ang also finds that the Tsuan-lu may be identical with what the TCTC K'ao-i cites as Shih-liu-kuo ch'un-ch'iu ch'ao 鈔.

It is this work that I refer to in this dissertation by the title Shih-liu-kuo ch'un-ch'iu tsuan-lu (abbreviated SLKCCTL).

<sup>107</sup> E.g., CTS 1/1; TFYK 1/25b; the biographies of Li Li-ch'eng 禮成 and Li Ta-liang 大亮 in Sui shu 50/1316 and CTS 62/2386; Liang Su 梁肅, "Ming-chou tz'u-shih Li kung mu-chih-ming" 明州刺史李公墓誌銘, WYYH 951/5b (composed 772).

<sup>108</sup> (a) According to the biography of Fang Hsüan-ling 房玄齡 (the person in charge of the compilation of the Chin shu) in CTS 66/2463, the compilation of this work began in or shortly after 644 and ended in 646 (cf. CTS 73/2598, biography of Ling-hu Te-fen; Lü Ssu-mien 呂思勉, Sui T'ang Wu-tai shih 隋唐五代史, vol. 2, pp. 1322-23). But THY 63/1091 indicates that the compilation began in 646. According to T'ai-tsung's "Hsiu Chin shu chao" in TTCLC 81/467, the THY version seems more reliable. (The first several sentences of this decree show that it was issued after T'ai-tsung's return from his Korean expedition, which took place in 646 (CTS 3/58).) In any case, the Chin shu seems to have been completed before Fang's death in the 7th month of 648 (CTS 66/2463, 3/61; THY 63/1091; TCTC 199/6260), and copies of it seem to have been in circulation as early as the end of the same year (according to THY 63/1092, TCTC 199/6265 and CTS 3/61-62, T'ai-tsung gave a copy of this book as a gift to some envoys from Silla who were in the Chinese capital at that time).

(b) The biography of Li Yü 璵 in Pei Ch'i shu 北齊書 29/396 (cf. Wei shu 39/887 and Pei shih 100/3319; the Pei Ch'i shu was completed in 636, according to THY 63/1091) also gives Lung-hsi Ch'eng-chi. But a source like this is not what people would pay attention to when discussing Li Kao's chün-wang.

<sup>109</sup> Shih chi 109/2867; Han shu 54/2439.

<sup>110</sup> See n. 105, items 1, 3, 4, and 6. The epitaph of Li Ch'ao (item 6) gives "Hua-feng-li" 華風里 instead of "Ho-feng-li", probably from a mistake by its composer. The epitaph of Li Chang

(item 4) adds "Ssu-chou Ho-nan-chün Lo-yang-hsien Ch'eng-feng-hsiang Hsien-te-li ling" 司州河南郡洛陽縣澄風鄉顯德里領 before "Ch'in-chou." This suggests that, after living far from its original base for generations, the clan might have by the time of the composition of this epitaph (1st year t'ai-ch'ang 太昌 of Emperor Hsiao-wu of Northern Wei, that is, A.D. 532) adopted a new chün-wang, although it still kept its old one.

<sup>111</sup> The Former Han government adopted a chün-hsien system instead of a chou-chün system; see Han shu 28. As far as our sources can tell, Ch'in-chou was first established in Wei (of the Three Kingdoms) and was abolished before long (Chin shu 14/435; YHCHTC 39/1b. Cf. TPHYC 150/1b-2a; YTKC 2/6a). It was re-established in 269, abolished again in 282, and established once more in 286 (Chin shu 14/435; cf. YHCHTC 39/1b and read Ch'in-chou for "Ch'in-ch'uan" 秦川 in line 3 of this source). From 286 to sometime during the reign of Hui-ti 惠帝 of Chin (290-306) was the only period when Ti-tao-hsien clearly belonged to Lung-hsi-chün of Ch'in-chou (Chin shu, loc. cit.). After this period, Ti-tao together with several other hsien's became Ti-tao-chün. Later, it became part of Wu-shih-chün 武始郡 and remained so during the Northern Wei period (Chin shu 14/436; Wei shu 106b/2620). Cf. n. 117.

<sup>112</sup> Cf. p. 29.

<sup>113</sup> The Pei shih was initially compiled by Li Ta-shih 大師 and was, after his death, revised and completed by his son Yen-shou 延壽. After its completion, the work was sanctioned by the chief ministers and then, in 659, presented to the court. See THY 63/1092; Pei shih, "Ch'u-pan shuo-ming," pp. 1-2 and 100/3344. The "Hsü-chuan" is the last chapter of Pei shih and is so named because it contains on the one hand an extensive history of the compilers' clan, which was none other than the Lung-hsi Li clan, and on the other a postface-like passage about the history of the work itself (the model is that of Shih chi 130 and Han shu 100).

<sup>114</sup> No official pedigree of the T'ang clan has directly come down to us as such. But a brief and corrupt version of the origins of this clan is found in a funeral inscription composed in 720 by Li Yung 李邕 for a certain member of the clan named Li Ssu-hsün 思訓 and styled Chien 建. See Li Yung, "Ku yün-hui-chiang-chün . . . Li fu-chün shen-tao-pei" 故雲麾將軍...李府君神道碑, CTW 265/8ff.; for Ssu-hsün's membership in the T'ang clan, see also HTS 70a/1990ff., "Hsün-wang fang" 郇王房, esp. p. 1996. This version, despite its inadequacy, still shows part of the framework of the two extremely similar versions in the "Hsü-chuan" of the Pei shih and the "Tsong-shih shih-hsi-piao" of the HTS (see the immediately following text). Besides, since in Kao-tsung's times the struggle of the T'ang clan for high social status was still tense (see below, pp. 30-31), the sensitive account in the "Hsü-chuan" obviously could not have been sanctioned without its contents conforming with the court's claim on its origins. Cf. nn. 118, 122.

<sup>115</sup> Pei shih 100/3313-14 says: "[Li Kuang's great grandfather] Chung-hsiang 仲翔 went to suppress the rebellious Ch'iang's 羌 at Su-ch'ang 素昌, which was also named Ti-tao. Chung-hsiang was killed on the battlefield and was buried at the Ti-tao River. [Therefore his family] settled down there. The 'Biography of General Li [Kuang]' in the Shih chi says that the general's ancestors moved from Huai-li 槐里 (cf. n. 123) to Ch'eng-chi; [their life at Ch'eng-chi] actually began from this time."

<sup>116</sup> See Kuo-li Pei-p'ing yen-chiu-yüan 國立北平研究院, ed., Chung-kuo ti-ming ta-tz'u-tien 中國地名大辭典, pp. 650, 373; Ch'ien Mu 錢穆, Shih chi ti-ming k'ao 史記地名考, pp. 630, 840.

<sup>117</sup> Established in the Ch'in dynasty, Lung-hsi-chün first included the area south of the present Lan-chou 蘭州 and west of the present T'ien-shui 天水. In 114 B.C., the T'ien-shui area was separated

from Lung-hsi and established as T'ien-shui-chün. In 81 B.C., the area around Lan-chou was cut from Lung-hsi and became a part of Chin-ch'eng-chün 金城. Ti-tao-hsien, also first established in the Ch'in period, remained within Lung-hsi-chün even after the changes made in 114 and 81 B.C. (See TT, chou-chün 4, 174/921a-c; Han shu 28b/1610-12.) Its history from Chin to Northern Wei times is shown in n. 111. In the Sui period, it was governed by Chin-ch'eng-chün; in T'ang times, by Lan-chou (Sui shu 29/814; TT 174/921c; HTS 40/1042). On the other hand, Ch'eng-chi-hsien was established in the Han (TT 174/921b). It originally belonged to Lung-hsi-chün, but was included in T'ien-shui-chün after 114 B.C. (Shih chi 109/2867 and Han shu 28b/1612; according to Han shu 28b/1611, Chin shu 14/435, and TT 174/2a, the name of T'ien-shui-chün was changed to Han-yang-chün by Ming-ti 明帝 of the Later Han). In the Chin period, it belonged to Ch'in-chou Tien-shui-chün (Chin shu 14/435). According to Sui shu 29/813, this hsien seems to have been abolished in Northern Wei and was restored in Northern Chou, again as a part of T'ien-shui-chün. It remained so in Sui and T'ang times (Sui shu, loc. cit.; TT 174/2a-b; HTS 40/1040; in T'ang times, T'ien-shui-chün was usually known as Ch'in-chou 秦州 ).

118 The passage referred to here is in HTS 70a/1955-57. The last part of this passage (from the story of Li Kao onwards) obviously contains materials dating from after 743 because it mentions the several branches of Li Pao's descendants who were admitted to the imperial clan in 742 (see below, pp. 33-34), and refers to Li Kao by the title "Emperor Hsing-sheng," which was conferred upon Kao by Hsüan-tsung in 743 (see p. 24). In other parts of the passage, no clear, definite indications of dates exist. There is no evidence that the whole passage is based on one single source. Cf. the dating of the section about the move of the Lung-hsi Li clan to Ch'eng-chi in pp. 27-28.

119 HTS 70a/1956.



<sup>120</sup> See Han shu 28a/1546; Ch'ien Mu, p. 216; Chung-kuo ti-ming ta tz'u-tien, p. 331.

<sup>121</sup> Shih chi 109/2867; Han shu 54/2439.

<sup>122</sup> Besides the several sources already mentioned above (including Li Yung's funeral inscription referred to in n. 114), TFYK 1/25b ff. and Ku-chin hsing-shih-shu pien-cheng 古今姓氏書辨證 21/10a ff. (by Teng Ming-shih 鄧名世, fl. 1131-1162) also give some information of the imperial family's distant ancestors in different degrees of detail. Teng's work, which was compiled later than the HTS, is the only other source that mentions Li Shang.

<sup>123</sup> Cf. n. 118.

<sup>124</sup> The best example is the account of the generation relationship between Li Kuang and Li Kao. Chin shu 87/2257, just like SLKCCTL 6/59, only says that Li Kao was a 16th-generation descendant of Li Kuang and does not show the line of descent. On the contrary, Pei shih 100/3314 displays the line without indicating the generation relationship between these two persons. It is not clear whether, according to the Pei shih, Li Kao was a 15th- or a 16th- generation descendant of Kuang, because there have been more than one ways of counting the number of generations. First, in the Han shu ("Kao-hui Kao-hou Wen kung-ch'en-piao" 高惠高后文功臣表, 16/531-34), when B is said to be A's x-generation descendant, A is counted as the 1st generation. The "Tsung-shih-piao" in the HTS may have followed this rule (see "Ching-huang-ti Pi-wang-fang" 景皇帝畢王房, 70a/1987). But in a decree in TTCLC 78/442 (see n. 96), Hsüan-tsung said Li Kao was his 11th-generation ancestor. Similarly, according to CTS 1/1 and HTS 1/1, Kao-tsu was a 7th-generation descendant of Li Kao. In these three sources, when B is said to be A's x-generation descendant, A's son is counted as the 1st generation (judging from the pedigrees given in CTS 1/1, HTS 1/1, and 70a/1957). Because Li Yung's funeral inscription for Li Ssu-hsün (composed in 720; see n. 114) says that

Li Kao was a 14th-generation descendant of Li Kuang's son Kan 敢 (the character "Kan" is missing in the inscription; here it is filled according to Pei shih 100/3314 and HTS 70a/1956), I suspect that during the High T'ang period people would adopt the second way when counting the number of generations. If such is the case, the pedigree in the Pei shih may have been regarded as erroneous after its publication. This may be the reason why in the pedigree in the "Tsung-shih-piao" (70a/1957) one more generation (Ai 艾) is added between the 10th and 11th generations (Lung 隆 and Yung 雍, according to the 2nd way of counting) of the Pei shih pedigree.

The accounts of the official posts held by some of Li Kao's close ancestors and, interestingly enough, even the numbers and names of Li Kuang's sons show signs of the same kind of efforts. But it would be unnecessary to discuss on them here.

<sup>125</sup> T'ang-tai cheng-chih-shih shu-lun kao 唐代政治史述論稿, pp. 2-6; "Li T'ang shih-tsu chih t'ui-ts'e" 李唐氏族之推測, section E, in Ch'en Yin-k'o hsien-sheng lun-chi 陳寅恪先生論集, pp. 255-56. Although Ch'en's theory of the origins of the T'ang clan has been refuted by some scholars (see n. 134), his argument seems strong as far as the point about Li Ch'ung-er is concerned.

<sup>126</sup> See pp. 32-33.

<sup>127</sup> T'ang hu-fa sha-men Fa-lin pieh-chuan 唐護法沙門法琳別傳, in the Taishō Tripitaka, No. 2051, pp. 203c ff., esp. 203c and 210a-b; read Yen-tsung 彦宗 (fl. early T'ang times) for 彦琮 as the author's name (see Mochizuki Bukkyō daijiten 望月佛教大辭典, p. 974b).

<sup>128</sup> These words of Fa-lin's were first cited by Liu P'an-sui 劉盼遂 ("Li-T'ang wei fan-hsing k'ao" 李唐為蕃姓考, Nü-shih-ta hsüeh-shu chi-k'an 女師大學術季刊, 1, No. 4 (1930), pp. 822-23) as a proof that the T'ang clan was of foreign origin.

Later, part of them was cited from Liu by Ch'en Yin-k'o ("Li-Tang shih-tsu chih t'ui-ts'e," sec. B, p. 250) to show that the T'ang clan was in fact not connected with the Lung-hsi Li's. But no efforts were made by either author even just to make clear the meaning of the words quoted. In his "Po Li-T'ang wei hu-hsing shuo" 駁李唐為胡姓說 (Tung-fang tsa-chih 東方雜誌, 33, No. 15 (1936), pp. 71-73), Chu Hsi-tsu 朱希祖 first cast some doubt on the credibility of part of these words.

The most important part of Fa-lin's words is as follows:

I heard that 拓拔達閣唐言李氏 (meaning unclear, to be discussed below). The Li family of Your Majesty originated right from this, not from Lao-tzu and the Lung-hsi Li clan. . . . Wang Chien's 王儉 Po chia p'u 百家譜 says, "The Li's came from [a certain] descendant of Kao-yao's 皋繇. [This man] served as a li officer (li-kuan 理官, a judge) under the Emperor Shun, and used it (the character li) as family name (shih, 氏). [His descendants (?)] thus came to be known as the Li's 李 [sic]. Then Lao-tzu became a credit to the Li's (loose tr.; the Chinese original 李氏之興起於聃也 is rather vague); he bore the surname Li because he had been born under a li 李 (plum) tree. In the time of Ch'eng-ti 成帝 of the Han, there was a man named Li Yin 隱. Yin was fiery and forthright and once defied the emperor and was executed. His family (tsu 族) was banished to Chang-i 張掖 (west of the Lung-hsi area) and [the leading member of it (?)] died abruptly halfway. His slaves and so on took his official seal and [one of them] fraudulently became an official in Liang 涼 (the Lung-hsi area). The so-called Lung-hsi Li clan originated from this." . . . I humbly think that the Toba's 拓拔 of the Wei were supreme rulers from the Tai 代 area in the north, and Ta-she 達閣 was an eminent clan (or lineage; hsi 系)

of noble origin from the Yin-shan 陰山 Mountains. It is said in the sutras that there are people who exchange gold for brass, silk for coarse cloth, just like giving away a precious woman to have affairs with her maid. Your Majesty is such a person. Abandoning [the connection with] Tai in the north and assuming [false relationship with] the Lung-hsi Li clan, that is what Your Majesty has done.

Here I shall try to answer two questions. First, how much can one believe the contents claimed to have been cited, presumably only roughly, from Wang Chien's work? A genealogical work attributed to Wang (of the Southern Ch'i 齊 dynasty; see Nan Ch'i shu 23/433 ff. and Nan shih 22/590 ff.) and entitled Po-chia chi-p'u 百家集譜 is listed in the monographs of bibliography in Sui shu 33/988, CTS 46/2012, and HTS 58/1499. This could be the work Fa-lin referred to. Besides, except for the part about the origin of the Lung-hsi Li clan and the story of Lao-tzu assuming his surname from a plum tree, the words Fa-lin quoted are basically very close to what Pei shih 100/3313, TFYK 1/25b, and HTS 70a/1955-56 say about the origin of the Li's. (In medieval times, the story of Lao-tzu here mentioned seems to have been a rather popular part in the history of the Li's ; its exclusion from the Pei shih and the other works does not mean that this story is not reliable. See below, p. 35 and n. 156.) They do appear to have come from some genealogical work. Moreover, since he was talking to the emperor, and the source he claimed to have cited would probably be fetched for confirmation, Fa-lin does not seem to have been in the position to say any thing offensive without foundation. Such being the case, it seems one has good reason to believe that Fa-lin indeed had his authority. Nevertheless, it has to be kept in mind that no one knows the degree of reliability of a genealogical work compiled in those days which, as in the case of the Po-chia chi-p'u, is no longer available for thorough investigation.

The second question is: what is the meaning of "拓拔達閣 唐言李氏", and is it true that the T'ang clan came from the so-called

Ta-she tribe of the Hsien-pei's? In the most basic sense, these eight characters could suggest either that the Hsien-pei name Ta-she bore the same literal meaning as the Chinese name Li (plum) and, hence, was changed to Li when the Hsien-pei's in northern China became sinicized; or simply that all the Hsien-pei's who had originally been named Ta-she changed their name into the Chinese name Li. The name Ta-she is not found in other sources. Ch'en Yin-k'o ("Li-T'ang shih-tsu chih t'ui-ts'e," p. 250) read it as "Ta-yeh" 大野 without further explanation; he seems to have treated them as various transliterations of the same Hsien-pei name. Chu Hsi-tsu ("Po Li-T'ang," p. 71) tried to support Ch'en's reading with some traditional phonological arguments. Prof. Pulleyblank has kindly told me that although Chu's arguments may not be convincing, 達闍 and 大野 are sufficiently similar that they might be alternative transcriptions of the same foreign word. But, according to some standard histories, when the ancestor of the T'ang clan Li Hu 虎 was bestowed the surname Ta-yeh in the Western Wei-Northern Chou period for his excellent service to the regime, some other people not named Li were also bestowed the Hsien-pei name Ta-yeh; on the other hand, some people named Li were bestowed Hsien-pei names other than Ta-yeh (see Ch'en, op. cit., sec. D, pp. 254-55). This indicates that the name Ta-yeh does not seem to have had special connection with the name Li. Admittedly, it is possible that Fa-lin had misunderstood the connection between the T'ang clan and the name Ta-yeh. But it is at least as possible that the monk was talking about something totally unknown to us through other sources, and Ch'en's reading, though reasonable, is not true. The T'ang rulers systematically eliminated or tampered with so much information of their clan (no biographies of Kao-tsu's father Ping 昺 or even Ping's father Hu 虎, who was one of the most important officials in the Western Wei (TFYK 1/26a-28a; CTS 1/1), can be found in Pei shih, Chou shu, or Sui shu; the information about them now preserved in the TFYK and the CTS, and HTS 1/1 has obviously been tampered with) that what we today know about the clan's origins is undoubtedly much less than what we do not know. Fa-lin did not refer to any particular source

on this point; he only said, "I heard. . . ." This suggests that what he said might have been something being circulated in society in those days, something that people had found about the ruling class, which had only a few years ago (632) placed itself arbitrarily at the top of all the nation's eminent clans (see the immediately following text).

<sup>129</sup> Fa-lin pieh-chuan, p. 211c.

<sup>130</sup> Yang Shen (Sheng-an ch'üan-chi vol. 4, 50/567) said that "姓氏譜" ranked the Lung-hsi Li clan and the T'ang clan respectively as the first and the third of the thirteen clans named Li. It is not clear whether Yang used "姓氏譜" to mean a genealogical work of that title or simply an ordinary genealogical work. Chan Ying ("Kao-i," Lun-ts'ung, p. 19) read it in the first way and identified it with the Hsing-shih-lu (compiled by Lü Ts'ai 呂才 and others, referred to under the title Hsing-shih-p'u in the monographs of bibliography in CTS 46/2012 and HTS 58/1500; see more information about this work in pp. 30-31). Chan is not convincing because it is completely against the criterion of ranking used in the Hsing-shih-lu to rank the T'ang clan as only the third highest among the numerous Li clans. If what Yang read is a T'ang work, it could be one of the many privately compiled genealogical works that were circulated in T'ang times in defiance of the official efforts to take the ranking of the nations's main clans into government hands (see Mou Jun-sun 牟潤孫, "Tun-huang T'ang hsieh hsing-shih-lu ts'an-chüan k'ao" 敦煌唐寫姓氏錄殘卷考, in Wen-shih-che hsüeh-pao 文史哲學報, No. 3 (1951), pp. 69 ff.; Johnson, pp. 53-54), and its ranking also represents a defiant challenge to the T'ang clan's false claim.

<sup>131</sup> The above description of the T'ang's efforts to suppress the most eminent clans of the East-of-the-Mountain area, including the quotation (originally from CTS 65/2444), is primarily based on Johnson, op. cit., pp. 45-53. See TCTC 195/6135-36 for a clearer account of

the rank of Ts'ui Kan's 崔幹 clan, which was ranked highest in the first draft of the Shih-tsu-chih; and see Kao Shih-lien's biography in HTS 95/3842 for T'ai-tsung's policy not to marry princes or princesses to the great East-of-the-Mountain clans.

<sup>132</sup> See HTS 95/3842, 223a/6341, and CTS 82/2769; also see p. 25. Liu P'an-sui ("Li-T'ang wei fan-hsing san-k'ao" 李唐為蕃姓三考, in Yen-ching hsüeh-pao 燕京學報, No. 15 (1934), pp. 238-39) doubted the credibility of the account in HTS 95 that the Lung-hsi Li clan belonged in the leading East-of-the-Mountain clans in the Northern Wei. However, his three pieces of evidence seem unfounded. First, when the T'ang expert on genealogy Liu Fang 柳芳 enumerated "Wang, Ts'ui, Lu, Li, Cheng" 王崔盧李鄭 (very probably referring to the T'ai-yüan 太原 Wang clan, Ch'ing-ho 清河 Ts'ui clan, Jung-yang 滎陽 Cheng clan, Fan-yang 范陽 Lu clan, and Chao-chün Li clan; see TCTC 140/4393-95 and T'ang kuo-shih pu 唐國史補, p. 21) to represent the great East-of-the-Mountain clans in the Northern and Southern Dynasties period, he obviously was not presenting an exhaustive list of the several most eminent clans as a class (no list of this kind seems to have ever existed). It seems all too natural that a clan not included in the first five great clans (like the Lung-hsi Li clan in this case) could have been included in a list of the first seven clans, like the one given in HTS 95. Hence, Liu Fang's words do not, as Liu P'an-sui thought they did, contradict the account in HTS 95. Second, just contrary to what Liu claimed, TCTC 140/4393-95 does show that Li Pao's clan became very eminent in Northern Wei, though it indeed was a new comer among the old East-of-the-Mountain clans in the Emperor Hsiao-wen's time. Third, the story about the Lung-hsi Li which Liu P'an-sui cited from Chang Cho's 張鷟 Ch'ao-yeh ch'ien-tsai 朝野僉載 (p. 1b) is not reliable. The story goes that when Hsiao-wen-ti of the Northern Wei "set the ssu-hsing" 定四姓, some members of the Lung-hsi Li clan hastened from afar on camel back to the court to ensure the inclusion of their clan in the "ssu-hsing"; but the task of setting the "ssu-hsing" was finished before their arrival. As usually known, Hsiao-wen-ti placed all the elite Chinese

clans under his rule in the so-called ssu-hsing (Four Categories of Clans, labelled chia, i, ping, and ting 甲乙丙丁 ) according to the loftiness of their ancestors' offices (Johnson, op. cit., pp. 27-31). Since Li Pao's son Ch'ung was then one of the most powerful officials in the Northern Wei court, Chang Cho's story is on the whole doubtful. Besides, according to the criterion for the ssu-hsing system (see Liu Fang's words in HTS 199/5678; also cf. Johnson, pp. 28-30), it seems very unlikely that the Lung-hsi Li clan, with its illustrious ancestors such as Li Kao, Li Hsin, and Li Pao, had to worry about its inclusion in the ssu-hsing. A passage in the T'ang kuo-shih pu (see the beginning of this note) shows that by the middle of the T'ang period, "ssu-hsing" seems to have been widely used as the designation of the country's four most illustrious clans. It is likely that Chang Cho (8th century) has even mixed up the two usages of this term.

<sup>133</sup> See pp. 33-34.

<sup>134</sup> Ch'en wrote several works about the origins of the T'ang clan: (1) "Li-T'ang shih-tsu chih t'ui-ts'e" (1932), (2) "Li-T'ang shih-tsu chih t'ui-ts'e hou-chi" 後記 (1933); (3) "San-lun Li-T'ang shih-tsu wen-t'i" 三論李唐氏族問題 (1935), (4) "Li-T'ang Wu-Chou hsien-shih shih-chi tsa-k'ao" 李唐武周先世事蹟雜考 (1936), and (5) Cheng-chih-shih, Part I (1944), which may represent his final view. In these works, he evolved a theory which contains four main points:

(a) The assertion about Li Ch'ung-er as presented in p. 28 of this chapter.

(b) The assertion just mentioned about the T'ang clan's probable Chao-chun origin.

(c) The T'ang clan assumed the Lung-hsi chün-wang during the Western Wei-Northern Chou period when the rulers of this regime commanded many officials of Chinese origin from the East-of-the-Mountain area to adopt Kuan-chung chün-wang's. (Cf. pp. 32-33; I am not so sure as Ch'en that the T'ang clan was of Chinese origin. Ch'en based this view on his very special interpretation of a certain passage from



Sui shu 33/990 and point (b) above, which are both doubtful. Cf.

Chu Hsi-tsu's interpretation of the Sui shu passage ("Tsai po Li-T'ang shih-tsu ch'u yü Li Ch'u-ku-pa chi Chao-chün shuo" 再駁李唐氏族出於李初古拔及趙郡說, Tung-fang tsa-chih 34, No. 9 (1937), pp. 11-12); notice that this interpretation is doubtful, too.)

(d) Judging from the surnames of some of Kao-tsu's close female ancestors, the T'ang clan originally seems to have been of pure Chinese blood; it was only in the times of Kao-tsu's mother or grandmother that foreign blood from the female line began to come into this family. (Unless point (b) should prove true, this point also remains questionable.)

For point (b), which concerns us most, Ch'en's main evidence is as follows: Kao-tsu's great grandfather T'ien-tz'u 天賜 (錫) and T'ien-tz'u's father Hsi 熙 were buried together in Chao-ch'ing-hsien of Chao-chou 趙州昭慶縣 (in the present southern Hopei), which seems to have been their native place. And Chao-ch'ing was close to where an obscure branch of the Chao-chun Li clan lived. It seems clear that this evidence is not conclusive.

On the other hand, Liu P'an-sui ("Li-T'ang wei fan-hsing K'ao" and "San-k'ao") and Kanai Yukitada 金井之忠 ("Li-T'ang yüan-liu ch'u-yü i-ti k'ao" 李唐源流出於夷狄考, in Bunka 文化 2, No. 6; I have not been able to consult this work; this information is cited from Ch'en's "San-lun," p. 342) both tried to prove that the T'ang clan was from foreign descent. Liu proposed up to 17 pieces of evidence to support his view. Most of them are, nevertheless, hardly to the point (e.g., the numerous pieces given to show that some members of the T'ang imperial family had foreign looks or customs or both--remember the fact that there was undoubtedly foreign blood in this clan (Cheng-chih-shih, p. 1) and its ancestors had been exposed very much to foreign ways of life; cf. Chu Hsi-tsu, "Po Li-T'ang," p. 79). Where his evidence might be useful, his arguments were too crude to be satisfactory (e.g., his treatment of Fa-lin's words; see n. 128). Kanai's view that the T'ang clan could have originated from a certain Hsien-pei clan named Ch'ih-li 叱李 (see Ch'en's "San lun," p. 342) appears little more than a sheer speculation. Chu Hsi-tsu's "Po Li-

T'ang" and "Tsai po Li-T'ang" were mainly aimed at refuting Ch'en's views. Since their arguments were often badly organized and inconsistent, these two articles served little more than to expose the weakness of some details in Ch'en's works. It is unfounded to say, as R. W. L. Guisso does (Wu Tse-t'ien and the Politics of Legitimation in T'ang China, p. 242, n. 25), that Liu and Chu have effectively rebutted Ch'en on the points under discussion.

Some less important works on this issue: Wang T'ung-ling 王桐齡, "Yang-Sui Li-T'ang hsien-shih hsi-t'ung k'ao" 楊隋李唐先世系統考, Nü-shih-ta hsüeh-shu chi-k'an 2, No. 2 (1931), pp. 1199-1221; Ts'en Chung-mien, Sui T'ang shih, pp. 91-92; Ch'en Teng-yüan 陳登原, Kuo-shih chiu-wen 國史舊聞, vol. 2, pp. 2-4.

135 Quite a few sources give Lung-hsi Ti-tao as the chün-wang of the T'ang clan (e.g., T'FYK 1/25b and Li Yung's funeral inscription for Li Ssu-hsun (n. 114)). My explanation is that the confusing accounts in the Chin shu and so on took effect gradually and later on people simply used Ch'eng-chi and Ti-tao interchangeably; see also p. 34. The T'ang clan could not have originally claimed to be from Ti-tao; otherwise, its Ch'eng-chi chün-wang would not have come into existence at all.

136 See n. 117.

137 Cheng-chih-shih, pp. 11-17; cf. n. 134.

138 See p. 25.

139 The sources of these three cases are: (1) the biographies of Li Hsien 賢 and his brother Mu 穆 in Pei shih 59/2105-07 and Sui shu 37/1115 ff.; (2) the biographies of Li Pi 弼 (Western Wei-Northern Chou) and his great grandson Mi 密 (Sui-T'ang) in Pei shih 60/2129 ff. and Wei Cheng's 魏徵 "T'ang ku Hsing-kuo-kung Li Mi mu-chih-ming" 唐故邢國公李密墓誌銘 in WYYH 948/9a; (3) the epitaph of Li Hu 虎 (namesake of Kao-tsu's grandfather) in Chang Wei 張維, ed., Lung-yu

chin-shih-lu 隴右金石錄 , vol. 2, pp. 59b-61a.

<sup>140</sup> Li Hsien and Li Mu are said to be descendants of Li Ling 陵 (grandson of Li Kuang). It is also said that after Li Ling surrendered himself to the Hsiung-nu's 匈奴 , his descendants lived in the barbarian districts in the north, but they moved southward later with the Toba's and returned to the Lung-hsi area. However, it is highly unlikely that Li Ling's descendants in the northern barbarian territories (we know nothing about them) would have still claimed to be from Ch'eng-chi through the hundreds of years after Ling's death. Hence, our sources show great reservation by saying that Hsien and Mu "called themselves" (tzu-ch'eng 自稱 ) people from Lung-hsi Ch'eng-chi. It would not be surprising if even their surname Li had been assumed only newly (cf. HTS 72a/2468, the origin of Li Ts'an 黎 and Ch'ang Kun 常袞 , "Hua-chou tz'u-shih Li kung mu-chih-ming" 華州刺史李公墓誌銘 , WYYH 951/3b).

<sup>141</sup> Ch'en (Cheng-chih-shih, p. 16) pointed out that the biographies of Li Pi, Li Mi 密 , and Li Mi 泌 in Chou shu 15/239, CTS 53/2207 and 130/3620 (Mi 泌 was an even later descendant of Pi's) and the "Tsai-hsiang shih-hsi piao" 宰相世系表 in the HTS (72a/2593) all say that Li Pi's clan was from Liao-tung Hsiang-p'ing (a branch of the Chao-chün Li clan, according to HTS 72a/2599). The piao appears to be based on a pedigree of the clan or other materials of similar authority because it also presents a rather detailed description of the clan's origins and development (cf. pp. 39-40 for the reliability of the piao). It seems members of this clan resumed the Liao-tung chün-wang after it was no longer necessary to keep the false Lung-hsi Ch'eng-chi chün-wang.

<sup>142</sup> For the political positions of Kao-tsu's grandfather Hu and father Ping, see the sources given in the end of n. 128.

<sup>143</sup> Wang Yao 王瑤 , Li Po, p. 10, clearly argues this way.

Before Wang, Yang Shen already made a similar assertion in Sheng-an ch'üan-chi 升菴全集, vol. 4, 50/567, item "Li hsing fei i" 李姓非一; his words were adopted by Chan Ying in "K'ao-i," Lun-ts'ung, p. 19.

144 See n. 129.

145 Cf. Johnson, pp. 55-56.

146 This assumption is based on the following account in the T'ang kuo-shih-pu (Part I, p. 20). A decree from Kao-tsung or the Empress Wu made Li Chiao 嶠, a Chao-chün Li (CTS 94/2992; HTS 123/4367, 72a/2546), and Li Chiung-hsiu 迥秀, a Lung-hsi Li (CTS 94/2992, 2386) become brothers. The Prince of Hsin-an Li I 信安王李禕 (died 743; see CTS 76/2651-53) and Li Ling-chang 令璋, a Chao-chün Li, were connected in a similar way. (I failed to find out the exact identity of 西祖令璋 and the meaning of "t'ung-ch'an" 同產 in the sentence 西祖令璋與信安王禕同產. But it seems proper to identify "Hsi-tsu" with the Hsi-tsu branch of the Chao-chün Li clan (HTS 72a/2474, 2584) because only the Chao-chün and the Lung-hsi Li clans are being discussed in the passage cited. The meaning of "t'ung-ch'an" is conjectured from the context.) As a result, the generation relationships among the members of the Chao-chün and the Lung-hsi (here including the imperial clan) Li clans were confused. Sometimes in the same gathering a person might be another's granduncle according to one connection but grandchild according to another.

147 See THY 65/1142; TTCLC 63/356, Hsüan-tsung's "Hsü Liang Wu-chao-wang . . . tzu-sun ju Tsung-cheng chu-chi ch'ih" 許涼武昭王... 子孫入宗正屬籍敕; and Liu Tsung-yüan's work to be mentioned in the next note. In the "Tsung-cheng-ssu" 宗正寺 (Court of Imperial Family Affairs) section of T'ang liu-tien (compiled late in the k'ai-yüan period), no branches of Li Kao's descendants are listed.

148 Ch'ang Kun's "Tsan-shan-tai-fu Li chun mu-chih-ming" 贊善大夫

李君墓誌銘 (WYYH 942/7b-8a, composed 786) and Liu Tsung-yüan's 柳宗元 "Ku Ling-nan . . . Li shih-yü mü-chih" 故嶺南... 李侍御墓誌 (Ho-tung hsien-sheng chi 河東先生集 10/24b, composed 819) are both written for Lung-hsi Li's from the Ku-tsang 姑臧 branch. Both works mention the connections between the imperial house and the persons they write about. Liu's work even refers to the decree of 742 as the reason why the person's family became members of the imperial clan. This suggests that membership in the imperial family had by then become an honor for the Lung-hsi Li's.

149 See HN, p. 72, note on "Chi shang Wu-wang san-shou." Li Po claimed kinship with members of the T'ang clan in many poems. But, as can be inferred from this passage, claiming kinship with the T'ang clan is different from claiming membership in it.

150 See (1) Ch'ang Kun, "Tsan-shan-tai-fu . . ." (see n. 148); (2) Liang Su 梁肅, "Chu-tso-lang . . . Ch'üan kung fu-jen Li shih mu-chih" 著作郎... 權公夫人李氏墓誌 (WYYH 966/2b-3b, composed 789); (3) Liang Su, "Li Ts'an mu-chih" 李儋墓誌 (WYYH 962/4a, composed 777).

151 See Liu's note on the chün-wang of Li I-yen 義琰 in P'u Ch'i-lung 浦起龍, Shih t'ung t'ung-shih 通釋, "I-li ti shih-chiu" 邑里第十九, vol. 1, p. 144. Also, cf. the biographies of Li I-yen in CTS 81/2756 and HTS 105/4033 and the "Tsai-hsiang shih-hsi piao" in HTS 72a/2447.

152 Ch'en Yin-k'o, "Li T'ai-po shih-tsu," in Lun-wen-chi, p. 11; Chan Ying, "K'ao-i" and "Li Po chih sheng-p'ing chi ch'i shih" 李白之生平及其詩, in Lun-ts'ung, pp. 19, 106 (cf. n. 139, (3)); Yü P'ing-po 俞平伯, "Li Po te hsing-shih chi-kuan chung-tsu te wen-t'i" 李白的姓氏籍貫種族的問題, in Lun-wen-chi, p. 256.

153 See WC 31/1643, n. 1.

154 See Appendix B.

155 See Shen-hsien chuan 神仙傳 (attributed to Ko Hung 葛洪 ) 1/2, in Lung-wei mi-shu 龍威秘書, vol. 1. For a similar version cited in Fa-lin pieh-chuan, see n. 128.

156 I make this assumption because this legend is also found in the epitaph of Li Hu (n. 139, (3)) and, according to Fa-lin pieh-chuan, in Wang Chien's genealogical work (n. 128).

157 Johnson, p. 105; HTS 95/3862, biography of Kao Shih-lien.

158 Shih t'ung t'ung-shih, "I-li ti shih-chiu," vol. 1, p. 145.

159 CTS 82/2765, 2768-69; cf. HTS 223a/6339, 6341.

160 See (1) Yang Chiung 楊炯, "Po-mu Tung-p'ing-chün fu-jen Li shih mu-chih-ming" 伯母東平郡夫人李氏墓誌銘, WYYH 964/2b (Lung-hsi Li clan; the authorship of this epitaph, originally not indicated, is identified from the name Chiung 炯 and the date of composition on p. 3b); (2) Po Chü-i 白居易, "Hai-chou tz'u-shih P'ei chün fu-jen Li shih mu-chih-ming" 海州刺史裴君夫人李氏墓誌銘, WYYH 969/4b (Lung-hsi Li clan); (3) Li Chen 軫, "Ssu-chou tz'u-shih Li chün shen-tao-pei" 泗州刺史李君神道碑, WYYH 923/4b (Imperial clan); (4) Mu Yüan 穆員, "Hsing-pu-lang-chung Li fu-chün mu-chih" 刑部郎中李府君墓誌, WYYH 943/1b (Chao-chun Li clan).

161 Li Hua's work is included in CTW, chüan 321. In the same chüan, there are four tomb inscriptions for other people also composed by Li Hua; all of them contain information about the origins of the people being written about. One can see clearly from the numerous tomb inscriptions in WYYH, chüan 935-70 that an inscription without any mention of the origins of the person being written about is really

exceptional in those days.

<sup>162</sup> See Appendix B.

<sup>163</sup> For the date of Li Po's service in the court, see Ch. 2, pp. 53-54.

<sup>164</sup> According to Li Yang-ping, soon after he was sent out of the capital (in 744), Li Po went to visit, probably in order to acquire patronage from, his "granduncle on the paternal side Yen-yün, who was then the Grand-Inspector (ts'ai-fang ta-shih 採訪大使) [of Ho-nan tao]." There seems little doubt that this Li Yen-yün was the one who petitioned to be included in the imperial clan in 742. His official title in 742 was palace censor in attendance (tien-chung shih-yü-shih 殿中侍御史; see the sources given in n. 147); it is not clear when he was appointed the Grand-Inspector of Ho-nan tao and when he left the capital. But the very fact that Li Po went to visit him soon after leaving Ch'ang-an shows that they very probably had become familiar with each other while still in the capital.

<sup>165</sup> I owe this idea to Chan Ying, who first cast doubt upon the reliability of Fan's account ("K'ao-i," in Lun-ts'ung, p. 18).

<sup>166</sup> Chan, *ibid.*, pp. 15-18; Kuo, pp. 11-12. Chan included some members of the Chao-chün Li clan in his list, on the ground that the Lung-hsi and the Chao-chün Li clans both claimed to be descended from Li T'an 曇 of the Ch'in dynasty (HTS 70a/1956, 72a/2473) and, therefore, the generation relationship among their members can be accurately calculated. Besides, he believed that Li Po's alleged ties with members of the Chao-chün Li clan and with even one member of a Li clan which was originally surnamed Ping 兩 (namely, Li Shu 舒) suggested that the poet was not a real Lung-hsi Li. In accordance with an entry in the T'ang kuo-shih pu (Part I, p. 20, "er Li hsü chao-mu" 二李敘昭穆), however, it seems that in Li Po's times members of the Chao-chün and

the Lung-hsi Li clans often claimed kinship with each other and their generation relationships were often very confused. Moreover, I suspect that it was natural for the Lung-hsi Li's to claim kinship with members of the Ping clan since this clan was granted the surname Li by the court (HTS 72a/2468).

<sup>167</sup> Chan was attacked for this reason by Chien-mei 劍梅 ("Li Po te chi-kuan chia-shih yü chung-tsu tien-ti" 李白的籍貫家世與種族點滴, in T'ang-shih yen-chiu lun-wen-chi 唐詩研究論文集, Series 2, Part 2, p. 16). For a brief account of some important traditional views against the reliability of the tables in the HTS, see Patricia Ebrey, The Aristocratic Families of Early Imperial China, "Appendix I; The Reliability of the Genealogical Tables in the Hsin T'ang shu," pp. 157-58.

<sup>168</sup> Ebrey, "Appendix I," esp. pp. 161-62.

<sup>169</sup> The identification of the Prince of Hsü Li Yen-nien 徐王延年 and the Vice-President of the Ministry of Punishments (hsing-pu shih-lang 刑部侍郎) Li Yeh 李晔, both members of the T'ang clan, as an 11th- and a 10th-generation descendant of Li Kao seems very reliable. Yet, Li Po called Yen-nien a cousin and called Yeh an uncle. Sources about Yen-nien: WC 15/720, "Kan-shih liu-pieh tsung-hsiung Hsü-wang Yen-nien tsung-ti Yen-ling" 感時留別從兄徐王延年從弟延陵; HTS 70b/2057, "Hsü-wang fang" 徐王房; and CTS 64/2427, biography of Yen-nien. Sources about Yeh: WC 20/953, "P'ei tsu-shu Hsing-pu-shih-lang Yeh . . ." 陪族叔刑部侍郎晔; HTS 70a/2009, "Ta Cheng-wang fang" 大鄭王房 (Cheng-hsiao-wang 鄭孝王 Liang 亮 was one of Li Hu's sons and, hence, was a 6th-generation descendant of Li Kao); and chiao-chu 20/1194, n. 1.

<sup>170</sup> "Shang An-chou P'ei chang-shih shu" 上安州裴長史書, WC 26/1243. For the dating of this letter, see Ch. 2, n. 12.

<sup>171</sup> See Hu Ying-lin 胡應麟 (Ming Dynasty), Shao-shih-shan-fang



pi-ts'ung 少室山房筆叢 9/124 (hsü-chia-pu 續甲部, "Tan-ch'ien-hsin-lu 丹鉛新錄 5, item "Li hsing fei i" 李姓非一).

172 WC 26/1244, n. 2.

173 WC loc. cit.; CTW 348/13a, compilers' note on this passage; Kuo, p. 5.

174 See n. 173, WC and CTW.

175 See n. 173, CTW and Kuo. For the history and location of Chien-k'ang-chün, see Ku Tsu-yü 顧祖禹, Tu shih fang-yü chi-yao 讀史方輿紀要 63/2715 (Shensi Kansu chen Kan-chou wei) and 3/137; Chung-kuo ku-chin ti-ming ta-tz'u-tien 中國古今地名大辭典, p. 616. Both Kuo and the CTW present some details that are different from what are given in the two sources cited here. I do not know whether they are simply mistaken or are based on other authorities.

176 See the sources of the history of this chün in n. 175.

177 See n. 173, Kuo.

178 Cf. pp. 21, 24-25.

179 I have been inspired by Chan Ying on this point ("K'ao-i," in Lun-ts'ung, pp. 20-21), but I do not agree with his view that the passage in question does not contain textual errors and that the inconsistencies in it were caused because Li Po, still young when writing this letter, was not sophisticated enough.

180 "Yu Han Ching-chou shu," WC 26/1240. This letter was written around 734; see Ch. 2, p. 49.

181 For the poems, see WC 17/814, 800, 18/859. The first two poems are included in the T'ang hsieh-pen T'ang-jen hsüan T'ang-shih (pp. 12-13); hence, there must be little doubt about their authenticity.

182 According to Hanabusa (pp. 197, 476, 51-53, 55, 473, 166), these are the only works by Li Po which mention the name An-hsi. No works mention Hsi-yü or Sui-yeh. T'iao-chih is mentioned once, in "Chan ch'eng-nan" 戰城南 (WC 3/177), which does not show the poet's attitude toward the district at issue.

183 (a) Date: from the line "The emperor released me to a free and careless life" 君王縱疏散. Based on the line "I have reached my old age" 已過黃髮期, Chan Ying (HN, p. 146) held that this poem must have been written in Li Po's late years. Since the poet was often very boastful, nevertheless, this kind of expressions should not be adopted literally as evidence.

(b) Li Po's connection with An-hsi: from lines 3-4 ("My homeland is far away in An-hsi, but whither shall I go on wandering?" 鄉關渺安西. 流浪將何之). Wang Ch'i's suspicion that the name An-hsi in this poem could be an error (WC 18/860, n. 3) is yet to be justified.

184 For Li Po's first stay in Ch'ang-an, see Ch. 2, pp. 50-51. Judging from its mention of the emperor and the P'u-t'ao-kung Palace 蒲桃宮 (a Han dynasty palace in Ch'ang-an; here used to refer to the residence of the T'ang emperors in Ch'ang-an; see WC 17/814, n. 4), "Sung tsu-ti" must have been composed in the capital.

In "Sung Ch'eng Liu," there is similar, though slightly less definite, evidence that the poem was composed in Ch'ang-an (slightly less definite because the expression "chin-ch'eng" 金城, which often means Ch'ang-an (see WC 5/312, "Tung-wu yin," l. 14 and 5/313, n. 9), is read otherwise in T'ang hsieh-pen T'ang-jen hsüan T'ang-shih, p. 13). In addition, according to an account Wang Ch'i cited from CTS 104/3207-08, two of the three persons to whom Li Po presented this poem may have left Ch'ang-an for An-hsi at the end of the k'ai-yüan period or in the beginning of the t'ien-pao period. This account says that two officials in charge of daily routine (p'an-kuan 判官) named Liu T'iao 劉眺 and Tu-ku Chün 獨孤峻 were at the end of the k'ai-yüan period serving under the Grand Military Governor of the

Four Garrisons (Ssu-chen Chieh-tu-shih) Fu-meng Ling-ch'a 夫蒙靈咎 (see also Feng Ch'ang-ch'ing's biography in HTS 135/4579-80 and Kao Hsien-chih's biographies in CTS 104/3203 and HTS 135/4576). It seems these two officials were exactly the Liu shih-yü and Tu-ku p'an-kuan that Li Po mentioned. Chan Ying (HN, p. 45) is groundless in dating this poem to 743 on the assertion that the post of the Grand Military Governor of the Four Garrisons was first established in 742 (see the history of this post in THY 78/1429 and HTS 67/1861-68). But Ts'en Chung-mien (Hsi T'u-chüeh, p. 98) seems right in doubting that Fu-meng Ling-ch'a could have held that post at the end of the k'ai-yüan period. Fu-meng was said to be the Garrison Commander of Shu-le in 739 (see TCTC 214/6838, 6841, CTS 9/211-12 and HTS 5/141; CTS 194b/5192 gives 738), the Deputy Grand Military Governor of the Four Garrisons in 743 (2nd year t'ien-pao; see Chen-yüan shih-chiao-lu 貞元釋教錄, in the Taishō Tripitaka, vol. 55, No. 2157, p. 879a), and the Grand Military Governor in the spring of 744 (TCTC 215/6860; HTS 215b/6069; Ts'en); and at the same time T'ien Jen-wan 田仁晚 was appointed the Protector of An-hsi (hence, also the Grand Military Governor of the Four Garrisons; see HTS 67/1864-67) in 740 (Wu T'ing-hsieh 吳廷燮, T'ang fang-chen nien-piao 唐方鎮年表, Er-shih-wu-shih pu-pien 二十五史補編, vol. 6, p. 7507) and seems to have been still (or, less probably, again) on that post in early 742 (TFYK 24/21a). Therefore, the account in question could be mistaken on the post held by Fu-meng or the date of the event.

<sup>185</sup> YTKC 29/5b (p. 512 according to the new pagination).

<sup>186</sup> See Ch. 4, pp. 146-47 and n. 121.

## Chapter Two

<sup>1</sup> CTS 9/215, 10/250; HTS 5/143, 6/159.

<sup>2</sup> See Chan Ying, "K'ao-i," in Lun-ts'ung, pp. 21-22; also, see Ch. 1, pp. 8-9.

<sup>3</sup> See Tz'u hai (1979 ed.), vol. 2, p. 2709.

<sup>4</sup> (a) In "Shang An-chou P'ei chang-shih shu" (WC 26/1243), Li Po said, "At five, I chanted the sexagenary cycle (liu-chia 六甲 = liu-shih chia-tzu 六十甲子); at ten, I read the works of the one hundred schools (po-chia 百家)." In "Tseng Chang hsiang Hao er-shou ch'i er" (WC 11/599), he said: "At fifteen, I read [various] unusual books; / In the writing of fu 賦, I surpassed [Ssu-ma] Hsiang-ju." Judging from the poet's achievements, these words, though they obviously should not be read literally, must not be far from the truth.

(b) On the poet's love of fencing, see "Yü Han Ching-chou shu," WC 26/1240 and Wang Yao, Li Po, pp. 14-15.

<sup>5</sup> See "Fang Tai-t'ien-shan tao-shih pu yü" 訪戴天山道士不遇, WC 23/1079. This mountain was located in the north of Ch'ang-ming-hsien 昌明 of Mien-chou; see TPHYC 83/5a and Wang Ch'i's note on the title of this poem. Since Li Po does not seem to have ever gone back to Shu after he left there in his mid-twenties (see the following text), all the works he wrote in Shu must have been written before his departure.

<sup>6</sup> See the words from Yang T'ien-hui's 楊天惠 Chang-ming i-shih 彰明逸事 (not extant) cited in T'ang-shih chi-shih 18/271-72. According to Yang himself, Yang was the magistrate of Li Po's home hsien sometime between 1098 and 1100 and heard some stories of Li Po from some local scholars. It seems that many of his accounts are only anecdotes.

<sup>7</sup> See "Shang An-chou P'ei chang-shih shu," WC 26/1246. For the dating of this letter, see below, n. 12. In the poet's own words, the place where he secluded himself was on "the sunny side (yang 陽) of

the Min-shan Mountain 岷山 ." According to YHCHTC 32/7a-b, TPHYC 78/1-4, HTS 42/1084, and Tz'u hai (1979), vol. 2, p. 2063, item "Min-shan" 汶山 , this mountain was located in Min-shan-hsien 汶山 of Mao-chou 茂州 (present Mao-min-hsien 茂汶縣 ), about 400 li's west of Mien-chou. On the other hand, however, the poet said that the prefect of Kuang-han (Kuang-han t'ai-shou 廣漢太守 ) was impressed by his life in seclusion and went to visit him personally (much exaggerated, I suspect); this suggests that he may have actually secluded himself on a certain unknown mountain in his home prefecture, not in the relatively famous Min-shan Mountain (Kuang-han was a prefecture in Han times, which included the area of what was Mien-chou in T'ang times, but not the area of what was Mao-chou (YHCHTC 33/6a; TPHYC 83/1a-b); hence, as Wang Ch'i (WC 26/1247) held, by "Kuang-han t'ai-shou," Li Po seems to have meant the prefect of Mien-chou).

<sup>8</sup> See the words of Yang Shen cited in WC 35/1576. I have not been able to locate these words in Yang's works.

<sup>9</sup> On Li Po's relationship with Chao, see "Huai-nan wo-ping shu-huai chi Shu chung Chao cheng-chün Jui" 淮南臥病書懷寄蜀中趙徵君蕤 , WC 13/648-49. Chan Ying (HN. p. 8) may be right in dating this poem to 726, when Li Po seems to have been living in Yang-chou (see p. 47), the capital city of Huai-nan tao.

On the description about Chao, see the accounts Wang Ch'i (note on the title of "Huai-nan wo-ping") cited from HTS 59/1536-37 and Pei meng so yen 北夢瑣言 5/44.

<sup>10</sup> This event is recorded without a date in "Shang An-chou P'ei chang-shih shu," WC 26-1247. According to his biographies in CTS 88/2881 and HTS 125/4402, Su T'ing was appointed the President of the Ministry of Rites in 720 and was shortly after sent out of the capital to the post in I-chou. I do not know on what grounds Kuo Mo-jo (p. 256) asserts that Su was appointed to the post in question in the winter of 720. Yang Shen (Tan-ch'ien tsung-lu 丹鉛總錄 12/8, item "T'ai-po

huai-hsiang" 太白懷鄉 ) and Chan Ying (HN, p. 8) both cited a work by Su T'ing entitled "Chien Hsi Shu jen-ts'ai shu" 薦西蜀人才疏 , which shows that Su once recommended Li Po to the court. I have, however, failed to find this work.

"Teng Chin-ch'eng San-hua-lou" 登錦城散花樓 (WC 21/967; Chin-ch'eng: informal name of Ch'eng-tu) seems to have been composed during this trip (see n. 5).

<sup>11</sup> This visit is recorded in "Teng O-mei-shan" 登峨眉山, WC 21/968. Two other poems, "Ch'ou Yü-wen shao-fu . . ." 酬宇文少府 (WC 19/872) and "O-mei shan-yüeh ko" 峨眉山月歌 (WC 8/441), show that the poet's tour to this mountain was a pre-planned part of his long journey to the east. Cf. HN, p. 4.

<sup>12</sup> Our knowledge of Li Po's whereabouts from about 724 to 730 is mainly based on the poet's "Shang An-chou P'ei chang-shih shu" (WC 26/1234-50). This letter must have been composed around 730, for the poet said in it that, at the time of its composition, thirty years of his life had passed. From this letter, we know that Li Po married a woman named Hsü at An-chou about three years before he wrote the letter (WC 26/1245) and that he spent about three years visiting various places along the Yangtze River before he got married (for the calculation of the length of the time he spent on these travels, see n. 14). Thus, it can be inferred that Li Po began his journey in about 724.

The season (autumn) is indicated in "O-mei shan-yüeh ko" (see n. 11), esp. its first line.

For the dating of the letter to P'ei, also cf. n. 18.

<sup>13</sup> In "Shang An-chou P'ei chang-shih shu" (WC, p. 1244), the poet said: "I [ ] understood that a real man (ta-chang-fu 大丈夫 ) must have the will to go to all quarters [to establish himself] (ssu-fang chih chih 四方之志 ). Hence, I carried my sword and left my homeland, took leave from my parents and travelled afar." Besides, in "Huai-nan wo-ping shu-huai," written to a friend in Shu one or two

years after his departure (see n. 9), the poet expressed deep regret for being unable to achieve any political success (11. 3-4).

<sup>14</sup> "Shang An-chou P'ei chang-shih shu" (pp. 1244-46) provides the following fragmentary information about this journey:

(a) Li Po travelled as far south as Ts'ang-wu 蒼梧 and as far east as the sea (Ts'ang-wu: ancient name of the area in modern central and southwest Hunan; see Yüan K'o 袁珂, Shan-hai-ching chiao-chu 山海經校注, 18/459 and Li Po's "Yüan pieh li" 遠別離, WC 3/158).

(b) Later he travelled back to the region of what is the present Hupei.

(c) Before he travelled back, he stayed in Yang-chou for "not over one year."

(d) On his journey down the river, Li Po stayed at the Tung-t'ing-hu Lake for a while in a certain summer and then went to Chin-ling.

(e) The poet came to the lake again, presumably on his way to what is the present Hupei, after "several" years.

From these pieces of information, I have reconstructed the following approximate timetable of the poet's travels:

(1) Shortly before the summer of 725: tours to the present central and southern Hunan, presumably along the Hsiang River 湘江.

(2) Summer of 725: at the Tung-t'ing-hu Lake.

(3) From the summer of 725 or slightly later to 727: in the Yangtze Delta region, primarily in Yang-chou and Chin-ling. (If his sojourn in Yang-chou, the place most conspicuously mentioned in the letter to P'ei, lasted for less than one year, the poet is not very likely to have stayed long elsewhere in the Yangtze Delta region. Hence, the word "several" in item (e) does not seem to mean any large number.)

(4) 727: travels up the Yangtze River; arrival at the region of the present Hupei and settling-down at An-chou.

<sup>15</sup> See the previous note.

<sup>16</sup> See n. 12 and Wei Hao, WC 31/1451. The poet said only that his

wife was from "the family of Master Hsü" (Hsü hsiang-kung chia 許相公家) and did not elaborate on which Hsü family it was. This suggests that the family was prominent enough in An-chou to make close identification unnecessary (remember that the poet was talking about this family to the chief administrator of An-chou). Tseng Kung (WC 31/1479) may be right in identifying this family with that of Hsü Yü-shih 許圜師, a chief minister in Kao-tsung's reign, who came from a great clan in An-chou (see the biographies of Hsü Shao 許紹 and his son Yü-shih in CTS 59/2327, 2330). Wang Ch'i (WC 26/1245) was, nevertheless, definitely mistaken in identifying the Master Hsu Li Po mentioned with Hsü Yu-shih himself because Yü-shih died in 679 (see his biography in the CTS).

<sup>17</sup> See "Ch'iu yü Ching-t'ing sung tsung-chih Tuan yu Lu-shan hsü" 秋於敬亭送從姪嵩遊廬山序, WC 27/1266-67.

<sup>18</sup> This trip is recorded in "Shang An-chou Li chang-shih shu," WC 26/1229. On the following grounds, I have dated this letter to 729:

(a) In his letter to P'ei (WC, p. 1247), Li Po said that he had been familiar with a former governor-general (read tu 都 for chün 郡 in "郡督馬公") of An-chou named Ma 馬 and Ma's chief administrator (chang-shih) Li Ching-chih 李京之. Chan Ying (HN, pp. 9-10) held that the Li chang-shih to whom Li Po presented his letter was probably none other than Li Ching-chih. In addition, Chan held that, according to a passage from the Tu shih fang-yü chi-yao (5/251-52), in the k'ai-yüan period, there may not have been any government-general in An-chou until 729; and, therefore, Ma and Li Ching-chih must not have been on their posts at An-chou before 729. I have reservations with regard to the account of the Tu shih fang-yü chi-yao (to my knowledge, it cannot be further confirmed by any other early source and is likely to be denied by some accounts in THY 69/1213; see THY 68/1192-96, TCTC 210/6666, HTS 116/4244-45 and other references in des Rotours, Fonctionnaires, p. 703, n. 2). But the identification of the chief administrator named Li with Li Ching-chih seems reasonable. This being



the case, "Shang An-chou Li chang-shih shu" seems to have been composed before about 730 (see n. 12) and quite a while after the poet's marriage in about 727 (the poet said in the letter that, after his trip to Ju-hai, he had "returned to" An-chou; the expression "returned to" shows that he must have settled down in An-chou for a while before he went to Ju-hai).

(b) As will be shown below, Li Po may have gone to Ju-hai to visit Yüan Tan-ch'iu and there are indications that the poet's visit to Yuan took place no later than the end of 731 (see the following text and n. 19).

"Ju-hai" literally means the massive Ju-shui River 汝水 (WC 13/654, "Ch'iu-yeh su Lung-men . . ." 秋夜宿龍門, n. 1), which ran in the courses of modern North Ju-ho, South Ju-ho, and part of Hung-ho 洪河 (Tz'u hai (1979), vol. 2, p. 2041). But Li Po seems to have consistently used this expression to mean only the north part of the Ju-shui River (According to Hanabusa, p. 217, this expression appears in two works besides the letter to Li, which are "Ch'iu-yeh su Lung-men . . ." and "T'i Yüan Tan-ch'iu Ying-yang shan-chü." In all three cases, it seems to have been used in the way here indicated; see ll. 1-2 of "Ch'iu-yeh," item (b) of this note, and item (a) of n. 19.)

<sup>19</sup> This speculation is based on the following pieces of evidence:

(a) In the preface to his "T'i Yüan Tan-ch'iu Ying-yang shan-chü" 題元丹丘潁陽山居 (WC 25/1147), Li Po said, "Tan-ch'iu has come to settle at Ying-yang (or simply "lives at Ying-yang"? the original being 家於潁陽) and has recently acquired a villa, from which . . . one can see the massive Ju River (Ju-hai) when gazing into the distance . . . . I have come to be associated with him, and this is why I have composed this poem."

(b) According to "Shang An-chou P'ei chang-shih shu" (p. 1248; dated c. 730; see n. 12), the poet and Yüan had been intimate friends before 730. (The poet did not mention the name Yüan Tan-ch'iu, but mentioned an "old friend Yüan Tan" 元丹. Since in "Tung-yeh yü Sui-chou . . . sung . . . Yüan Yen . . . hsü" 冬夜於隨州...送...元演...序 (WC 27/1293), the poet again mentioned Yüan Tan and called him a Taoist

friend, Wang Ch'i (annotation to the hsü) is convincing in holding that Tan and Tan-ch'iu were Yüan's name and style respectively.)

(c) Lines 9-12 of "Wen Tan-ch'iu-tzu yü ch'eng-pei shan ying Shih-men yu-chü . . ." 聞丹丘子於城北山營石門幽居 (WC 13/658; composed in about 737; see n. 32) show that long before 737 Li Po and Yüan Tan-ch'iu had lived together in seclusion at the sunny side of the Sung-shan Mountain 嵩山, where Ying-yang was.

(d) The line "All along we have been intimate friends through [life] of mist and rosy clouds (i.e., life in seclusion)" 素以烟霞親 in "Ying-yang pieh Yüan Tan-ch'iu chih Huai-yang" 潁陽別元丹丘之淮陽 (WC 15/717), which seems to have been composed soon after Li Po left Lo-yang late in 732 (see p. 48 and n. 27, item ( )), shows that the poet and Yuan might have secluded themselves together before the beginning of 732 (Li Po was already in Lo-yang then).

<sup>20</sup> See "An-lu Po-chao-shan T'ao-hua-yen chi Liu shih-yu Wan" 安陸白兆山桃花巖寄劉侍御綰 (WC 13/647), "Tai Shou-shan ta Meng shao-fu i-wen shu" 代壽山答孟少府移文書 ("A Letter Written on Behalf of the Shou-shan Mountain in Answer to the I-wen of Head of Employees Meng," WC 26/1220 ff.), and the brief discussions on these works in WC 35/1581, 18th yr. k'ai-yüan and HN, p. 9. For the location of the Shou-shan Mountain, see Wang Ch'i's annotation in WC 26/1220.

<sup>21</sup> Li Po's letters to Chief Administrators of An-chou P'ei and Li (see nn. 12 and 18) were both written with the intention to seek for preferment; see the discussion about the contents of these two letters in Ch. 3, pp. 86-87. According to the Letter to P'ei (see n. 18 (a)), Li Po obviously also sought patronage from a certain governor-general of An-chou.

<sup>22</sup> CTS 8/197 (read "至" for "至自"); HTS 5/136.

<sup>23</sup> This poem is "Sung Liang Kung-ch'ang ts'ung Hsin-an wang pei-cheng" 送梁公昌從信安王北征 (WC 17/815). For the

expedition, see CTS 8/197, 76/2651-53, TCTC 213/6797-98, and Kao Shih's 高適 "Hsin-an wang ch'u-sai" 信安王出塞 (T'ang hsieh-pen T'ang-jen hsüan T'ang-shih, p. 23; entitled "Hsin-an wang mu-fu shih" 幕府詩 in CTShih 214/2235). From the first line of "Sung Liang Kung-ch'ang," we know that Liang was to serve in the prince's headquarters.

More indications of Li Po's stay in Lo-yang in 732 will be presented in nn. 25 and 27.

<sup>24</sup> See ll. 1-6 of "I chiu-yu chi Ch'iao-chün Yüan ts'an-chün" (WC 13/663) and Chōan to Rakuyō, map 40. For the dating of the events narrated in these lines, see n. 27. Also cf. the next note.

<sup>25</sup> See "Ancient Air, No. 18," WC 2/110-11. Since the T'ang court was never transferred to Lo-yang again after the 10th month of 736 (see Twitchett, Financial Administration under the T'ang Dynasty, p. 315, no. 20), this poem must have been written in the 3rd month (from the 1st line) of at the latest the year 736. The reasons why I date it to 732 will be presented in n. 27.

<sup>26</sup> TCTC 213/6799; CTS 8/198.

<sup>27</sup> The most important source of the following accounts about Li Po's whereabouts between 732 and 737 is the long poem "I chiu-yu chi Ch'iao-chün Yüan ts'an-chün" 憶舊游寄譙郡元參軍 (WC 13/663 ff.). The authenticity of this poem is almost beyond question because it is included in the Ho-yüeh ying-ling chi 河嶽英靈集 (see T'ang-jen hsüan T'ang-shih, pp. 55-56), a collection compiled by Yin Fan 殷璠 during Hsüan-tsung's reign (see Wang Yün-hsi 王運熙, "T'an Li Po te 'Shu-tao nan'" 談李白的蜀道難, in Wen-hsüeh i-ch'an 文學遺產, No. 144 (Feb., 1957); and Ts'en Chung-mien, "T'ang-chi chih-i" 唐集質疑, in T'ang-jen hang-ti lu 唐人行第錄, pp. 480-81). In this note, I shall present the main part of the complicated process of dating the events narrated in this poem.

(I) The following events are recorded in "I chiu-yu" in order of

narration.

(A) Li and Yüan became good friends in the taverns (or, a tavern) near the T'ien-chin-ch'iao Bridge, Lo-yang (ll. 1-8).

(B) Li Po left Lo-yang for Han-tung 漢東; Yüan at first remained in Lo-yang but later also travelled south to join the poet; the two friends visited the Taoist master Hu Tzu-yang 胡紫陽 at Han-tung (ll. 9-29). "Huai-nan" 淮南 (l. 9) refers to Han-tung-chün (Sui-chou 隨州), which was located south of the Huai-ho River 淮河. The poet might have used this vague name because later in the line he would allude to "Welcoming the Recluses" ("Chao yin-shih" 招隱士), a very famous composition attributed to Liu An 劉安, the Prince of Huai-nan of the Han dynasty (Wen hsüan 33). "Lo-pei" (l. 10) refers to Lo-yang (yang literally means the north side of a river); the character pei 北 was obviously chosen to form an antithesis with "Huai-nan" in l. 9. "Ts'an-hsia-lou" 餐霞樓 (l. 21) was the name of Hu Tzu-yang's residence at Sui-chou; see "Han-tung Tzu-yang hsien-sheng pei-ming" 漢東紫陽先生碑銘, WC 30/1428 ff.

(C) Li Po returned to his own place of seclusion (presumably in An-chou) and Yüan returned to his home in Ch'ang-an (ll. 30-31). "Wei-ch'iao" 渭橋 (l. 31), which literally could mean any bridge on the Wei-shui River at Ch'ang-an, seems to especially refer to the Chung-wei-ch'iao Bridge 中渭橋 in T'ang times; see YHCHTC 1/10b-11a, Kua-ti-chih chi-chiao 括地志輯校 1/22, and Chōan to Rakuyō, map 35; also cf. WC 13/664.)

(D) Li and Yüan travelled to Ping-chou 并州 (T'ai-yüan) through the T'ai-hang-shan Mountain 太行山 (ll. 32-51).

(E) The poet made a journey to Ch'ang-an, later met Yüan at the [Chung]-wei-ch'iao Bridge on their way east, and parted with Yüan near Ch'iao-chün 譙郡 (ll. 52-57). "Ts'o-t'ai" 鄴臺 (l. 57) seems to refer to Ts'o-hsien of Ch'iao-chün; cf. TPHYC 12/17a. See more discussion on this journey in nn. 34 (2nd point) and 47.

(II) As Wang Ch'i (WC 35/1582-83) and Chan Ying suggested (HN, pp. 13-14), the journey to Ping-chou (T'ai-yüan) can be approximately

dated to the period from the 5th month of 735 to the spring of 736.

The reasons are:

(A) In a work he composed at T'ai-yüan ("Ch'iu-jih yü T'ai-yüan nan-cha chien . . . Wang . . . Chia . . . Yin . . . hsü" 秋日於太原南柵餞...王...賈...尹...序, WC 27/1271 ff.), Li Po said that, in the spring of the year of its composition, the emperor practised the ceremony of tillage (keng chi-t'ien 耕籍田) and decreed a search for the able people in the empire to serve in the government. According to CTS 8/202 and the decree in TTCLC 74/415-16 (cf. the less detailed versions in CTS 24/913 and TCTC 214/6810), these imperial events seem to have taken place in the spring of 735 (no similar events are known to have taken place in the neighboring years). This shows that Li Po was in T'ai-yüan in the autumn of 735 (the season is indicated in the title of the above work).

(B) Line 34 of "I chiu-yu" says that the poet and Yüan were in the T'ai-hang-shan Mountain in the fifth month, and line 36 ("The year had drawn near its end when we travelled to the Northern Capital" 行來北涼歲月深; read 北京 for 北涼, see Chiao-chu 13/847-48; T'ai-yüan was named the Northern Capital in 742 (CTS 9/215; des Rotours, Fonctionnaires, p. 681); the use of this name indicates that "I chiu-yu" was written in or after 742, not that the events related in it took place then (for the dating of this poem, see the final part of this note)) shows that they seem to have arrived at T'ai-yüan in late autumn.

(C) In describing his visits to Chin-tz'u 晉祠, a resort in the west of T'ai-yüan, Li Po mentioned that "the sedge grass was green" (l. 43) and that "the willow catkins were like snow" (l. 45). This suggests that in the spring of 736 the poet was still in T'ai-yüan.

(III) With the date of the journey to Ping-chou as the datum point, the sojourn in Lo-yang can be dated to 732 on the following grounds:

(A) Judging from the mention of the officials passing the T'ien-chin-ch'iao Bridge to have audiences with emperor in "Ancient Air, No. 18" (see p. 48 and n. 25) and the mention of the "princes

and marquises" in Lo-yang in "I chiu-yu" (l. 4), Li Po must have stayed in the Eastern Capital when the T'ang court was there.

(B) After the beginning of 728 (it is very unlikely that Li Po had visited Lo-yang before this date), the T'ang court was in Lo-yang in only two periods: from the 11th month of 731 through the 10th month of 732 and from the 1st month of 734 through the 10th month of 736 (see Twitchett, Financial Administration, p. 315, n. 20; TCTC 213/6796, 6799, 214/6805, 6822).

(C) The timetable of the travels of Li Po and Yüan between their sojourn in Lo-yang and their journey to T'ai-yüan (see the immediately following discussion in this note; also see n. 28) shows that the poet is not very likely to have been in Lo-yang during the period 734-36.

(D) There is some clear indication that Li Po was in Lo-yang in 732 (see p. 48 and n. 23).

(IV) Li Po's visit to Hu Tzu-yang at Han-tung is mentioned in several works besides "I chiu-yu." These works are: (1) "Ying-yang pieh Yüan Tan-ch'iu chih Huai-yang" 潁陽別元丹丘之淮陽 (WC 15/717), (2) "Tung-yeh yü Sui-chou Tzu-yang hsien-sheng Ts'an-hsia-lou sung Yen-tzu Yüan Yen yin Hsien-ch'eng-shan hsü" 冬夜於隨州紫陽先生食霞樓送烟子元演隱仙城山序 (WC 27/1293), and (3) "T'i Sui-chou Tzu-yang hsien-sheng pi" 題隨州紫陽先生壁 (WC 25/1145).

In work (1), Li Po wrote about the sense of frustration he had experienced in his pursuits after fame and gain (ll. 9-10) and complained that "white clouds [had] floated over the T'ien-chin-ch'iao Bridge" 白雲飛天津, meaning that his way to political prominence had been unjustly obstructed (for the meaning of the floating-cloud image, see Yeh Chia-ying 葉嘉瑩, "I-tsu i-tung er nan-chieh te hao-shih" 一組易懂而難解的好詩, in Chia-ling t'an-shih 迦陵談詩, vol. 1, pp. 36-37; also, see ll. 7-9 of Li Po's "Yüan pieh-li" 遠別離, WC 3/157). This suggests that Li Po made a visit to Yüan Tan-ch'iu at Ying-yang soon after he left Lo-yang (the visit itself is indicated in the title of work (1)). In addition,

the title and ll. 17-18 of this poem indicate that Li Po was leaving Yüan Tan-ch'iu for a visit to Hu Tzu-yang. (The place name "Huai-yang" 淮陽 in the title needs some explanation. In T'ang times, Ch'en-chou 陳州, the area of what is the present Shang-shui 商水 and Shen-ch'iu 沈丘 in Honan, was not named Huai-yang-chün until 742 (see p. 45 and CTS 38/1436-37). But with its reference to Lo-yang as the actual capital, poem (1) must not have been written after 736 (see above, III, B). Hence, I suspect that either the poet had used the old name of Ch'en-chou (this place was called Huai-yang in Sui times; see CTS 38/1436 and TPHYC 10/1) or the name in question should be read as Huai-nan (cf. above, I, B). After comparing ll. 13-29 of "I chiu-yu" with works (2) and (3), one should have little doubt that the person called Yüan ts'an-chün in "I chiu-yu" was identical with Yüan Yen in work (2) and that the poet and Yüan were in Han-tung in the winter (732). According to work (2), Yüan left Hu Tzu-yang's residence for the nearby Hsien-ch'eng-shan Mountain 仙城山 (about 80 li's east of Han-tung; see Chiao-chu 27/1593) in the same winter and Li Po promised to join him in the following spring. Judging from ll. 11-13 of "I chiu-yu," the poet later obviously carried out his promise. (In "I chiu-yu," the poet related their visit to the Hsien-ch'eng-shan Mountain before their stay with Hu Tzu-yang. I do not know whether he did so only in order to achieve some poetical effect, or he and Yuan visited Hu again after their sojourn on the mountain.)

(V) Finally, the poem "I chiu-yu" is dated to the spring of 742 on the following grounds:

(A) The use of the names Ch'iao-chün, Han-tung [-chün], and Pei-ching 北京 (T'ai-yüan) in this poem suggests that the poem was written after the nation-wide changes of place-names took place in the 2nd month of 742 (see n. 1; although the names Ch'iao-chün and Han-tung-chün had been used before T'ang times (TPHYC 144/1; Sui shu 30/836), T'ai-yüan was not given the designation Pei-ching until 742 (see above, II, B)).

(B) The poet did not mention his service in Hsüan-tsung's court;

this suggests that the poem in question was written before the autumn of 742 (see p. 53).

(C) The 5th last line of this poem shows that the poem was written in a spring.

28 The meeting of Li Po and Han Ch'ao-tsung is clearly indicated in "Yü Han Ching-chou shu" (WC 26/1239 ff.), "I Hsiang-yang chiu-yu tseng Ma shao-fu Chü" 憶襄陽舊游贈馬少府巨 (WC 10/520), and Wei Hao's preface (WC 31/1450). As "I Hsiang-yang" shows, the place of this meeting was Hsiang-yang, not Ching-chou (see HN, p. 11).

Han had been the chief administrator of the Grand Government-General of Ching-chou since sometime before 734, and was appointed two more offices in or shortly after the 2nd month of 734, which were the prefect of Hsiang-chou and the inspecting and organizing commissioner of Shan-nan tao 山南道採訪處置等使. (See Han's biography in HTS 118/4273; Chang Chiu-ling's 張九齡 "Pien Han Ch'ao-tsung Hung-chou tz'u-shih chih" 貶韓朝宗洪州刺史制 in CTW 283/13; des Rotours, Fonctionnaires, p. 678, n. 2 and p. 679, n. 1; and Chan Ying, HN, p. 11. Also cf. Ts'en Chung-mien, T'ung-chien Sui T'ang chi pi-shih chih-i 通鑑隋唐紀比事質疑, pp. 190-91 and T'ang-shih yü-shen 唐史餘藩, pp. 102-03.) He seems to have been demoted from these posts before late 736. (In his decree draft, Chang Chiu-ling said that Han was to be demoted partly because he had promoted one of his favorites twice within less than three years after his appointment. At the same time, Chang himself was demoted from the post of chief minister in the 11th month of 736 (CTS 8/203, 99/3099; TCTC 214/6825), and, hence, the decree draft is not likely to have been composed after late 736.) Thus, Li Po could have met Han in Hsiang-chou only between early 734 and late 736. I have dated their meeting to the spring of 734 (or, less probably, 735) for two reasons. First, Li Po was on his journey to T'ai-yüan from the 5th month of 735 to at least the spring of 736. Second, some of the poems Li Po wrote in Hsiang-yang mention spring, directly or indirectly ("Hsiang-yang ko," WC 7/369-71: blossoms, spring wine; "Ta-ti ch'ü" 大堤曲, WC 5/296: blossoms, spring wind),



and, judging from "I Hsiang-yang" (esp. ll. 1-2), these poems were composed during the trip in question.

Finally, some explanation of the name "Han Ching-chou" in Li Po's "Yü Han Ching-chou shu." In Tang times, a surname followed by the name of a prefecture usually meant that the person with that surname who was being referred to was the prefect of that place. Since the post of a grand governor-general was usually only a nominal one held by a certain prince who stayed in the capital, the chief administrator of a government-general in fact acted as a prefect (TT 32/1861; HTS 49b/1310 or des Rotours, *Fonctionnaires*, p. 668). It seems this is why Han was known as Han Ching-chou. (The "Chang Ching-chou" in Wang Ch'ang-ling's 王昌齡 "Feng-tseng Chang Ching-chou" 奉贈張荊州 (CTShih 141/1437) is often believed to have referred to Chang Chiu-ling, who became the chief administrator of Ching-chou in 737; see HN, p. 22 and CTS 9/208, 99/3099.)

<sup>29</sup> In "Hsien-shan huai-ku" 峴山懷古 (WC 22/1034), the poet indicated that he made a tour to the Hsien-shan Mountain in a certain autumn; and Judging from the contents of "I Hsiang-yang . . ." (WC 10/520), the poet seems to have visited this mountain in his 734 (or 735) trip to Hsiang-yang. There is, however, no positive proof that Li Po never visited Hsiang-yang at any other time.

<sup>30</sup> See "I chiu-yu," ll. 37-39, WC 13/664.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid., ll. 40-51.

<sup>32</sup> The above account of Li Po's whereabouts after his departure from T'ai-yüan is mainly based upon two poems besides "I chiu-yu": (A) "Wen Tan-ch'iu tzu yü ch'eng pei shan ying Shih-men yu-chü, chung yu Kao Feng i-chi, p'u li-ch'ün yüan-huai, i yü ch'i-tun chih chih, yin hsü-chiu i chi chih" 聞丹丘子於城北山營石門幽居中有高鳳遺跡僕離羣遠懷亦有棲遁之志因敘舊以寄之 (WC 13/657 ff.) and (B) "Hsün Kao Feng Shih-men-shan chung Yüan Tan-ch'iu" 尋高鳳石門山中元丹丘

(WC 23/1060).

The poem referred to in the text is poem (A). In this poem, Li Po recalled (1) that he had long before lived in seclusion with Yüan Tan-ch'iu at the sunny side of the Sung-shan Mountain 嵩山 (ll. 9-12); (2) that later he had travelled to the Yen-men-kuan Pass 雁門關 (located some 150 km north of T'ai-yüan), while Yüan had visited the O-mei-shan Mountain (ll. 13-18); (3) that on his return trip from the north, he had come across Yüan in the streets of Lo-yang (ll. 19-22); and (4) that, tired of political pursuits, he had finally left the capital (Lo-yang; from the expression "hsieh ch'ao-lieh" 謝朝列) and returned home (ll. 23-26).

There seems little doubt that the 1st of the above episodes refers to Li Po's sojourns at Yüan's retreat at Ying-yang (located south of the Sung-shan Mountain) in about 728 (p. 47), late 732 (p. 48), and probably some other unknown times. The so-called trip to the Yen-men-kuan Pass is, I believe, none other than the poet's 735-36 journey to T'ai-yüan. My reasons: (a) Li Po does not seem to have made any other journey to the T'ai-yüan region in his life (cf. n. 112). (b) As mentioned above (n. 27, III, B), the T'ang court was never transferred to Lo-yang again after the 10th month of 736. Hence, the journey in question must have been made before that date. (c) Whether he had indeed visited the Pass or not (we cannot be certain on this point), Li Po might well have just used the name Yen-men-kuan to represent the T'ai-yüan region for rhetorical reasons.

Point (4) above shows that Li Po left Lo-yang for home before the 10th month of 736. Judging from the line "We have lived apart for over a winter-and-summer" 離居盈寒暑 (han-shu: usu., a year; here also likely to have been used literally), poem (A) must have been composed about one year after Li Po left Lo-yang. Based on l. 10 of poem (B), which was composed shortly after poem (A) (see below), we can further say that both poems (A) and (B) were written in the autumn of 737.

Yüan Tan-ch'iu's retreat in the Shih-men-shan Mountain seems to have been located near Nan-yang, judging from its connection with the Han hermit Kao Feng (Kao was from She-hsien 葉縣 of the Nan-yang

region and was famous for teaching students in the Hsi-t'ang-shan 西唐山, which was in T'ang-chou 唐州 of T'ang, about 40 km south-east of Nan-yang (Hou Han shu 83/2768-69, text and Yen Shih-ku's 顏師古 annotation); see also the next note). Poem (B) records an overnight visit by the poet to this retreat. From ll. 1 and 18 of poem (B) ("I come in search for [Yüan's] retreat without appointment" 尋幽無前期 and "I know only now how unoccupied the quiet one (Yüan) is" 始知靜者閒), we know that this was the poet's first visit there and that the poet went there without invitation.

See also the next note.

<sup>33</sup> (a) As Chiao-chu (23/1327) points out, the overnight visit Li Po paid to Yüan suggests that the poet lived very close to Yüan's retreat.

(b) In "Ch'ou Fang-chou Wang ssu-ma . . ." 酬坊州王司馬 (WC 19/885), a poem written during Li Po's sojourn in the Kuan-chung area in about 737-40 (see pp. 50-51), the poet said, "[I,] a wanderer, have come from the south-east, / From Yüan 宛 (ancient name for Nan-yang) to the capital" 遊子東南來, 自宛適京國.

(c) In "Yeh-chung tseng Wang ta ch'üan ju Kao Feng Shih-men-shan yu-chü" 鄴中贈王大勸入高鳳石門山幽居 (WC 9/500-01), the poet said that he had set out from the Nan-tu 南都 (Southern Capital) to "present [to the court] plans that would give relief to people of the time" (hsien chi-shih ts'e 獻濟時策). There seems little doubt that, by "Nan-tu," Li Po referred to Nan-yang. (Nan-yang had been named Nan-tu in the Later Han period (see Tz'u hai (1979 ed.), vol. 1, p. 310 and Wang Ch'i's annotation). But in T'ang times, this designation was not used until the 9th month of 760 and was then used to mean Ching-chou, not Nan-yang (see TCTC 221/7096, CTS 10/259, and des Rotours, Fonctionnaires, pp. 680-82, n. 2).) Besides, the above description of the poet's situation and plan and the title of the poem show that this poem was written shortly after the autumn of 737 (see the previous note) and before his 737-40 sojourn in Kuan-chung (for this sojourn, see pp. 50-51). (The poem in question had obviously been

presented to a close friend who, judging from its contents, had advised the poet to live in seclusion instead of struggling for political prominence. Its title, which appears to mean that the poet was giving advice to someone otherwise unknown to us, seems to contain some errors. I suspect that the first five characters of this title have been erroneously put here in place of some lost words.)

(d) In a poem about a tour to the Po-shui River 白水 near Nan-yang ("Yu Nan-yang Po-shui teng shih-chi tso" 遊南陽白水登石激作, WC 20/917; shih-chi: weir (see Chiao-chu 20/1149)), Li Po said that he had started off in the morning and returned home after sunset. This clearly shows that the poet had once lived in Nan-yang.

<sup>34</sup> Traditionally, scholars only knew about Li Po's 742-44 visit to Ch'ang-an (for this visit, see pp. 53-54). In his "Li Po liang ju Ch'ang-an pien" ("Arguments for the View that Li Po Visited Ch'ang-an Twice;" in Chung-hua wen-shih lun-ts'ung 中華文史論叢, 2nd series, pp. 125-36), Pai-shan first pointed out the probability that the poet had made another trip to Kuan-chung before 742. Following are some arguments in support of his theory.

(I) First, as Pai-shan (pp. 126-27) demonstrated, many poems Li Po composed in Ch'ang-an or other places in Kuan-chung show the poet as being in obscurity and feeling extremely depressed because no political opportunity was in sight; in some of these poems, which were written during his tours to Pin-chou 邠州 and Fang-chou 坊州 (Kuan-chung), the poet was even humbly seeking for preferment from some middle- or low-ranking provincial officials (\* see below). It is not likely that these poems were written during the poet's 742-44 sojourn in Ch'ang-an, because throughout that period the poet was relatively successful and self-confident. (Even at the end of this sojourn, when he thought he had been slandered and feared he might lose Hsüan-tsung's favor, Li Po was, after all, still a close attendant to the emperor.)

\* These poems are: (1) "Yü-chen kung-chu pieh-kuan k'u yü tseng wei-wei Chang ch'ing er-shou" 玉真公主別館苦雨贈衛尉張卿二首 (WC 9/475 ff., esp. the 1st poem, ll. 5-14; the villa

(pieh-kuan) of the princess was located in the Chung-nan-shan Mountain 終南山 (see Yü Hsien-hao 郁賢皓, "Li Po yü Chang Chi chiao-yu hsien-cheng," Nan-ching shih-yüan hsüeh-pao 南京師院學報, 1978, No. 1, pp. 64-65)); (2) "Tseng Hsin-p'ing shao-nien" 贈新平少年 (WC 9/504; as Pai-shan (p. 131) argued, the use of the name Hsin-p'ing in place of Pin-chou 邠州 is not adequate proof that this poem was written after Pin-chou was named Hsin-p'ing-chün in 742, because the place had been known as Hsin-p'ing before and the poet had frequently used old place-names in his writings; for the location of Pin-chou, see the following text); (3) "Ch'ou Fang-chou Wang ssu-ma . . ." 酬坊州王司馬 (WC 19/885, esp. the last four lines); (4) "Pin ko hsing shang Hsin-p'ing chang-shih hsiung Ts'an" 幽歌行上新平長史兄祭 (WC 7/379, esp. ll. 5-12; the last couplet of this poem refers to the unfavorable change of treatment Li Po received from the local officials of Pin-chou, especially Li Ts'an, to whom this poem was presented (cf. HN, p. 54); for the use of the name Pin 幽 in place of 邠, see the following text); (5) "Tseng P'ei shih-ssu" 贈裴十四 (WC 9/487, esp. the last couplet; there seems little doubt that the name Nan-shan 南山 in l. 6 means the Chung-nan-shan Mountain).

Among these poems, nos. 3-4 were presented to local officials to seek patronage.

(II) Second, it is generally believed that Li Po lived in Tung Lu 東魯 (Yen-chou 兗州) for a certain period of time before he was summoned to Ch'ang-an in 742 (see p. 51). According to "Tseng tsung-ti Lieh" 贈從弟冽, which was composed in Lu in that period, and four lines in "I chiu-yu," the poet had made a fruitless journey to Ch'ang-an before he went to Tung Lu.\*\*

\*\* "Tseng tsung-ti Lieh" is seen in WC 12/627-28. Lines 5-6 and 25-26 of this poem ("It is a long time since I bade adieu to Hsien-yang in the west and came to live north of Ch'i-yüan"

自居漆園北.久別咸陽西 ; "Having not found any avenue to

have an audience with the wise emperor, I wielded my whip and returned to the weeds and bush" 無由謁明主. 杖策還蓬黎 ) show that the poet had visited Ch'ang-an (from "Hsien-yang") and had failed even to have an audience with Hsüan-tsung before he lived in the area north of what he called "Ch'i-yüan" 漆園 . According to the TPHYC (13/14a-b, 128/12b), two places, one in Yüan-ch'ü 冤句 of Ts'ao-chou 曹州 (in modern southern Shantung), the other in Ting-yüan-hsien 定遠縣 of Hao-chou 濠州 (present hsien in Anhwei), were said to have been the place named Ch'i-yüan where Chuang Chou 莊周 had once served as a government clerk. But two T'ang authors have identified Ch'i-yüan with Yüan-ch'ü (see Chang Shou-chieh 張守節 (fl. Hsüan-tsung's reign), Shih chi cheng-i, in Shih chi 63/2144; Chang was based on the early T'ang work Kua ti chih 括地志 ). It seems, therefore, more likely that Li Po referred to Yüan-ch'ü by the name Ch'i-yüan. Since Tung Lu (Yen-chou) was located north-east of Yüan-ch'ü, Li Po must have referred to this place by the expression "north of Ch'i-yüan." (Li Po came to Tung Lu again in 744. But the line "[I did] not [find] any avenue to have an audience with the wise emperor" shows this poem was written before 742.) At the end of "I chiu-yu" (ll. 52-55, WC 13/666), after he had narrated his happy journey to T'ai-yüan (see n. 27, II, A-C), the poet said, "It is hard to have once more the same happy time as we had then. / I travelled west to present my 'Ch'ang-yang fu' (a fu presented to Ch'eng-ti 成帝 of the Han by Yang Hsiung 揚雄 (see below, n. 37), here referring to the fu or fu's the poet was going to present to the court). / [Yet] the Northern Palace (Pei-ch'üeh 北闕 , meaning the court; see Wang Ch'i's annotation) and the grey clouds (lofty positions) were beyond my reach. / I, my hair already turned white then (exaggerated), could only return to the East Hill (i.e., to live in seclusion again)" 此時行樂難再遇. 西游因獻長楊賦. 北闕青雲不可期. 東山白首還歸去 . These lines also seem to refer to a fruitless visit to Ch'ang-an.

I believe that the two visits to Ch'ang-an mentioned in the

above poems are identical, because both visits appeared to have taken place sometime before 741 (remember that "I chiu-yu" was written in early 742; see the final part of n. 27).

(III) Third, in a poem composed as a letter to Yüan Tan-ch'iu ("I shih tai shu ta Yüan Tan-ch'iu" 以詩代書答元丹丘, WC 19/881), Li Po said, "[Since] I lived in Hsien-yang separated from you, / Three times I have seen the grass of Ch'in turn green" 離居在咸陽. 三見秦草綠. This suggests that Li Po once passed at least three springs (within about 3 consecutive years) in Ch'ang-an. As will be shown below (pp. 53-54), Li Po did not stay in the capital so long during his 742-44 sojourn there.

(IV) Fourth, there is some indication that when he left Ch'ang-an in 744, Li Po went south-eastward and passed Shang-chou 商州 (present Shang-hsien, Shensi) see below, pp. 54-55). On the other hand, according to the poem "Liang-yüan yin" 梁園吟, the poet seems to have once left the capital for the eastern provinces via the Yellow River (see the first two lines of this poem in WC 7/390; also, cf. n. 47 and Pai-shan, pp. 130-31, 133).

(V) Based on item (c) of n. 33, n. 46, and the second and third points of this note, I have dated the journey in question to 737-40. Kuo Mo-jo (pp. 17-18; cf. WC 35/1587, 2nd yr. t'ien-pao and William Hung, A Supplementary Volume of Notes for Tu Fu, pp. 37-38) held that Li Po must have visited Ch'ang-an before 734 because, in his "Yin chung pa-hsien ko" 飲中八仙歌 (TSLCHC 2/46-48), Tu Fu depicted an association in Ch'ang-an among eight great drinkers including Li Po, and one of this group, Su Chin 蘇晉, died in 734 (CTS 100/3117). As Chan Ying (HN, pp. 38-39) pointed out, however, this poem of Tu Fu in fact described only eight great drinkers and did not mention any association between them. Besides, Li Yang-ping (WC 31/1446) said that Li Po took part in the association of the eight drinkers in the t'ien-pao period, obviously contradicting the above account about Su Chin's death

date. Since Tu Fu himself came to Ch'ang-an too late to obtain first hand information about many of the heroes he wrote about (the "Pa-hsien ko" was written somewhere between the 4th month and the end of 746, shortly after Tu Fu came to Ch'ang-an (see Hung, Tu Fu, p. 50; Wen I-tuo 聞一多, "Shao-ling hsien-sheng nien-p'u hui-chien" 少陵先生年譜會箋, in Wen I-tuo ch'üan-chi, vol. 3, pp. c62-c63; Hsiao Ti-fei 蕭滌非, Tu Fu yen-chiu 杜甫研究, Part II, p. 10, note to the title "Pa-hsien ko"); by then at least Li Po, Ho Chih-chang 賀知章 and Su Chin had left the capital), I suspect that he (probably Li Yang-ping, too) had based his account about the eight drinkers upon an older legend, of which the contents had never been accurate and definite.

(VI) Chan Ying held that Li Po met Wang Ch'ang-ling 王昌齡 at Pa-ling 巴陵 (present Yüeh-yang 岳陽 by the Tung-t'ing-hu Lake 洞庭湖) in the autumn of 739 (see HN, pp. 22-23; Chan's view was later shared by Fu Hsüan-tsung 傅璇琮 in T'ang-tai shih-jen ts'ung-k'ao 唐代詩人叢考, pp. 121-22). His view is based on two assertions. First, according to some sources, the Li shih-er 十二 in Wang's "Pa-ling pieh Li shih-er" 巴陵別李十二 (T'ang hsieh-pen T'ang-jen hsüan T'ang-shih, p. 6; CTShih 143/1449) seems none other than Li Po (cf. below, n. 153). Second, Wang seems to have been demoted to an office in Ling-nan 嶺南 in 739 and, on his way, to have headed for the Tung-t'ing-hu Lake from Hsiang-yang in the autumn of that year. These two assertions may be right in themselves. It seems, however, clear that, to reach his conclusion, Chan has yet to prove that Wang visited Pa-ling in and only in the autumn of 739. To my knowledge, no biographical studies of Wang Ch'ang-ling provide anything conclusive on this point. See Fu Hsüan-tsung, "Wang Ch'ang-ling shih-chi k'ao-lüeh" 王昌齡事迹考略 and T'an Yu-hsüeh 譚優學, "Wang Ch'ang-ling hsing-nien k'ao" 行年考.

<sup>35</sup> See the final part of n. 37.

<sup>36</sup> See n. 34, III.



<sup>37</sup> As mentioned in n. 34, II, the poem "I chiu-yu" shows that Li Po presented fu (sing. or pl.) to the court during his first visit to Ch'ang-an. The first four lines of "Tseng tsung-ti Lieh" (WC 12/627; "楚人不識鳳. 重價求山雞. 獻主昔云是. 今來方覺迷 ") indicate the same thing. (The story alluded in ll. 1-2 goes that a man in the state of Ch'u bought a pheasant (shan-chi 山雞 ) at a very high price, having taken it for a phoenix. He intended to present the pheasant to the prince of Ch'u, but it died on the way. The prince, nevertheless, was moved by his loyalty and warmly rewarded him all the same (T'ai-p'ing kuang-chi 461/42b). Judging from the context of this poem and the way the same story is used in "Tseng Fan Chin-hsiang er-shou ch'i i" 贈范金鄉二首其一 (WC 9/603), Li Po seems to have used this story only to mean that he himself had presented something he considered valuable to the emperor, but had been slighted.)

There are indications that Li Po's "Ming-t'ang fu" 明堂賦 (WC 1/26-56) was written for this occasion. First, Li Po called himself "your subject Po" (ch'en Po 臣白 ) in the final sentence of the preface to this fu (WC 1/27); this clearly shows that the work had been prepared for presentation to the emperor. Second, in 737 or the 10th month of 738, according to which version one reads (THY 11/281 gives the latter, while TCTC 214/6831, CTS 22/876, and HTS 13/338 all give the former), Hsüan-tsung decreed to have the Ming-t'ang (the Imperial Ceremonial Hall, constructed in Lo-yang during the Empress Wu's reign; see THY 11/271-77 and CTS 22/849-62) completely destroyed. He later changed his mind and consented to a plan to rebuild the hall into an ordinary palace, and the reconstruction plan was carried out in 739 (THY, loc. cit.; TIFYK 14/10b; CTS 9/212; TCTC 214/6839). It is very unlikely that Li Po should have tried to present to the emperor a fu about the magnificence of the Ming-t'ang after he knew about its destiny. Besides, as Chan Ying (HN, p. 15) pointed out, this fu mentions some imperial rituals that seem to have been held in 732 and 735. Hence, I believe this fu was written after Li Po returned from his journey to T'ai-yüan (736) and before the court's decision to abolish the Ming-t'ang became known to the public in 737 or 738. No matter whether

Li Po actually presented this particular fu, the very existence of this work also strongly indicates that the poet had gone to the capital to show off his literary achievements.

In "Ancient Air, N. 8" (WC 2/99), Li Po first depicted some spring-time merry-making scenes of the youth of the wealthy and powerful in the capital and then mourned over the situation of Yang Hsiung 揚雄, saying that "[when] his fu reached [the emperor, Yang] had already been aged" 賦達身已老. In fact, however, Yang presented fu to Ch'eng-ti of the Han after he had been serving as the emperor's literary attendant (Han shu 87a/3522). Hence, I suspect that Li Po's mourning had been uttered for himself and that this poem was written in the spring of 738, when the poet was impatiently waiting for the result of his presentation.

<sup>38</sup> The poem "Ch'un kuei Chung-nan-shan Sung-lung chiu-yin" 春歸終南山松龍舊隱 (WC 23/1065) is a clear indication of Li Po's life in seclusion in the Chung-nan-shan Mountain. It is not known exactly when the poet began to live in this mountain. But, although the above poem must have been written after the poet's tour to Pin-chou and Fang-chou (Pai-shan, p. 130; for the tour, see the following text), its title tells us that the poet had already been living in the Chung-nan-shan Mountain before the tour.

"Hsia Chung-nan-shan kuo Hu-ssu shan-jen su chih chiu" 下終南山過斛斯山人宿置酒 (WC 20/930) and the two poems Li Po wrote at Princess Yü-chen's villa (see n. 34, I) seem to have been written during the poet's life in this mountain.

<sup>39</sup> See the two poems written in the princess's villa cited in n. 34, I. "Yü-chen hsien-jen tz'u" 玉真仙人詞 (WC 8/448-49) may have been written to seek patronage from the princess. For the information about the princess, see her biography in HTS 83/3657 and the funeral inscription in her honor by Wang Chin 王綰, quoted in Chiao-chu 8/578.

<sup>40</sup> There is no clear indication of the date 739; I have made this

speculation according to the poet's itinerary. On the season (summer), see the next note.

<sup>41</sup> Judging from their context, ll. 5-6 of "Pin ko Hsing" ("I remember that when lately I left home and became a visitor here, / The reddish lotus flowers had just come out and the willow branches were dark green" 憶昨去家此為客. 荷花初紅柳條碧 ; WC 7/379) very probably mean that Li Po had left his home in Ch'ang-an and gone to Pin-chou in summer (cf. HN, p. 54; Pai-shan's interpretation (pp. 129-30) that the word chia 家 means Li Po's home at Nan-yang and tz'u 此 means the Kuan-chung region is out of context).

According to ll. 1-2 of "Teng Hsin-p'ing lou" 登新平樓 (WC 21/976), ll. 9-12 of "Tseng Hsin-p'ing shao-nien" (WC 9/504), and the poem "Pin ko hsing," the poet was still in Pin-chou in late autumn of the same year.

<sup>42</sup> See "Pin ko hsing," WC 7/379.

<sup>43</sup> See "Ch'ou Fang-chou Wang ssu-ma" (WC 19/885); notice the mention of snow in the title and l. 15 and the mention of spring in l. 16.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid.

<sup>45</sup> See n. 38.

<sup>46</sup> As mentioned in n. 33, (c) and n. 34, III, Li Po went to Ch'ang-an in late 737 and passed at least three springs (in at least about 3 consecutive years) there. This means the poet most probably left the capital in 740 or 741 (the following discussion will make it clear that we do not have to take the year 742 into account). This calculation is further supported by the following evidence. In "Tseng tsung-ti Lieh" (WC 12/627-28), a poem composed in Tung Lu before Li Po's 742-44 sojourn in Ch'ang-an (see n. 34, II), Li Po said, "It is a long time since I bade adieu to Hsien-yang (meaning Ch'ang-an) in the west and came to live

north of Ch'i-yüan (meaning Tung Lu; see n. 34, II). The wind sweeps away the setting sun (meaning time flies fast); seasons have changed and the orioles are singing. . . . Now that the mulberry leaves are green, the spring silk-worms have kept the women busy in their chambers." These lines suggest that the poet was in Lu in the following spring after his arrival there. From this we can infer that the poet arrived in Tung Lu at the latest in 741, because he left there in 742. I have adopted the date 740 instead of 741 in accordance with the timetable of the poet's activities after his arrival in Tung Lu; see the following text and notes.

<sup>47</sup> See the famous poem "Liang-yüan yin" 梁園吟 (WC 7/390-92; esp. ll. 1-6, 13-14) and the 4th section in n. 34. This work must be reliable because it is included in the T'ang hsieh-pen T'ang-jen hsüan T'ang-shih (p. 13, entitled "Liang-yüan tsui-ko" 醉哥 (歌)). Although Li Po only mentioned the Yellow River, I would speculate that the poet in fact had travelled first along the Wei-ho River, then transferred to the Yellow River at the junction of the two rivers, and finally transferred to the Grand Canal at Ho-yin 河陰 (cf. Twitchett, Financial Administration, pp. 84-85, 184). In "I chiu-yu," the poet said that on his way from Ch'ang-an to the eastern provinces, he met his friend Yüan ts'an-chün at the Chung-wei-ch'iao Bridge and parted with Yüan north of Ts'o-t'ai 鄧臺 in Ch'iao-chün (Po-chou; for this event, see n. 27, I). I suspect that there was a pier at this bridge and that the poet had travelled east together with Yüan as far as Pien-chou (Pien-chou was north-west of Ch'iao-chün).

<sup>48</sup> In lines 5-8 and 15-16 of "Wu-yüeh Tung Lu hsing ta Wen shang weng" 五月東魯行答汶上翁 (WC 19/872-73), Li Po said: "Not yet having any chance to enter officialdom, / I have come to the East-of-the-Mountain area to learn fencing. / I raised my whip and asked about my way ahead, / And was mocked by an old man by the Wen-shui River" 顧余不及仕. 學劍來山東. 舉鞭訪前途. 獲笑汶上翁 and "There is no straight way [for me] to go back to the west. / The setting

sun is paled by a husky rainbow" 西歸去直道。落日昏陰虹。  
 Lines 5-8 suggest that this was the poet's first visit to Tung Lu (the poet came to this region again after his service in the court in 742-44; see below p. 56) and that the poet was still new in the region (cf. WC 35/1583, 23rd yr. k'ai-yüan). Although the expression "ch'ü chih-tao" is rather vague, there seems little doubt that ll. 15-16 allegorically express the poet's complaint about his failure to get close to the emperor (in Chinese poetry, "the sun" often allegorically means the emperor and "the rainbow," just like "floating clouds," often means the vicious people around the emperor; see the discussion on the line "白雲飛天津" in n. 27 and cf. Li Po's "Ancient Air, No. 2," ll. 5-6 (WC 2/89) and Wang Ch'i's annotation there). Hence, these two lines and the name "Shan-tung" in l. 6 suggest that Li Po had just come to Tung Lu from Ch'ang-an (note that the name "Shan-tung" was usually used in contrast with Kuan-chung or Kuan-hsi in those days; see Ch. 1, p. 9).

"Ch'ao Lu ju" 嘲魯儒 (WC 25/1157) and "Tseng Hsia-ch'iu Wang shao-fu" 贈瑕丘王少府 (WC 9/470; Hsia-ch'iu: a hsien in Yen-chou) are likely to have been written shortly after the above poem; see Chan Ying's notes on them in HN, p. 19.

<sup>49</sup> The poet's biographies in CTS 190c/5053 and HTS 202/5762 both record this event before his 742-44 sojourn in Ch'ang-an. The four hermits besides Li Po and K'ung Ch'ao-fu were said to have been Han Chun 韓準, P'ei Cheng 裴政, Chang Shu-ming 張叔明 and T'ao Mien 陶沔. Li Po himself mentioned this event in "Sung Han Chun, P'ei Cheng, K'ung Ch'ao-fu huan-shan" (WC 16/774). Since it does not touch anything about Li Po's court life, this poem may indeed have been written during the poet's first stay in Tung Lu. Cf. K'ung's biography in CTS 154/4095 and the information about K'ung in Hung, Tu Fu, pp. 39-40, 52, 54.

<sup>50</sup> The 6 lines cited in n. 46 from "Tseng tsung-ti Lieh" show that the poet did not leave Tung Lu before the date of the composition of the poem, that is, about the spring of 741.

<sup>51</sup> According to Chiao-chu 20/1155, several editions of Li Po's collected works, including some of the earliest ones still extant, indicate that the set of 6 poems entitled "Yu T'ai-shan" 遊泰山 (WC 20/921-26) has been circulated under another title, "T'ien-pao yüan-nien ssu-yüeh ts'ung ku yü-tao shang T'ai-shan" 天寶元年四月從故御道上泰山 (Ascending the T'ai-shan Mountain by the Former Imperial Road in the Fourth Month of 742). The contents of these poems (esp. 1st poem, ll. 1-2) confirm part of the information given in this title (the month and the route). From the third last line of the fifth poem, we know that the poet was still on the mountain in the fifth month.

<sup>52</sup> According to his biographies in CTS 190c/5053 and HTS 202/5762, Li Po travelled to Kuei-chi 會稽 (present Shao-hsing 紹興, Chekiang) and associated with the famous Taoist adept Wu Yün 吳筠 in the scenic mountains at Shan-chung 剡中 (the area around Shan-hsien, or, the present Sheng-hsien 嵊縣) right before he was summoned to Ch'ang-an. As will be demonstrated below (n. 90), this account does not seem to be reliable. There are, however, indications that Li Po may have indeed made a tour to the present Chekiang shortly before his travel to Ch'ang-an in the autumn of 742. First, Li Po wrote two poems entitled "Yü tsung-chih Hang-chou tz'u-shih Liang yu T'ien-chu-ssu" 與從姪杭州刺史良遊天竺寺 and "Sung chih Liang hsi er chi fu Kuei-chi hsi yu tz'u tseng" 送姪良攜二妓赴會稽戲有此贈 (WC 20/927, 17/802). Chan Ying (HN, p. 26) indicated that, when Li Po visited this area in about 747 (see below, p. 57, for this visit), Li Liang did not seem to be on the post in Hang-chou (Chan cited "Hsia-t'ien-chu-mo-ya shih-k'o Yüan Shao-liang teng t'i-ming" 下天竺摩崖石刻源少良等題名 and "T'ang Kuei-chi t'ai-shou t'i-ming-chi" 唐會稽太守題名記, Kuei-chi to-ying tsung-chi 會稽掇英總集 (both unavailable to me), which respectively say that a certain Chang Shou-hsin 張守信 was the prefect of Hang-chou in the 1st month of 747 and that Chang was appointed the Governor-General of Yüeh-chou 越州 from his post in Hang-chou in 748). Thus, judging from his itinerary, the poet is most likely to have associated with Li Liang sometime shortly before the autumn of 742. Besides, according

to the poem "Tsa-yen chi Li Po" 雜言寄李白 by Jen Hua 任華, a contemporary admirer of Li Po, Li had ascended the T'ien-tai-shan Mountain 天台山 not long before he was summoned to Ch'ang-an (cf. HN, p. 26; for Jen's poem, see WC 32/1491-92 or CTShih 261/2902-03).

Of the above two poems by Li Po, "Sung chih Liang" was written in spring (from l. 2), while "Yu tsung-chih" was written in autumn (l. 6). Chan Ying (HN, pp. 25-26) speculated that "Pieh Ch'u Yung chih Shan-chung" 別儲邕之剡中 (WC 15/725) was written near Kuang-ling 廣陵 (from l. 3 of this poem; Kuang-ling: Yang-chou) on the journey in question. His reasons are that, according to the first four lines of this poem, the poet was unfamiliar with the way to Shan-chung (in the Kuei-chi region; note that on his 747 tour to the same region, Li Po also travelled from Tung Lu) and that according to some other poems (see HN, loc. cit., items "Po-t'ien ma-shang wen-ying" through "Ch'ou Chang ssu-ma tseng mo"), Kuang-ling seems to have been one stop on Li Po's journey from Tung Lu to Shan-chung. According to Chan's speculation, Li Po seems to have, as "Pieh Ch'u Yung" suggests, arrived at the Hang-chou and Kuei-chi region in autumn. Hence, Li Po was more likely to have stayed in the above region from autumn to at least the following spring than the other way round.

<sup>53</sup> See "Nan-ling pieh er-t'ung ju ching" 南陵別兒童入京, WC 15/744. This poem is included in two T'ang collections, the Ho-yüeh ying-ling chi and the Yu hsüan chi 又玄集 (see T'ang-jen hsüan T'ang-shih, pp. 57, 355) and, hence, should be reliable. Regrettably, however, both of the above collections read the title of this poem as "Ku i" 古意 and thus cannot further support the information given in the title "Nan-ling. . . ." According to "Chin-men ta Su hsiu-ts'ai" 金門答蘇秀才 (WC 19/882), Li Po seems to have lived in seclusion at a place called Shih-men right before his 742-44 visit to Ch'ang-an (see more about this point in n. 59). It is likely that this place is identical with its namesake mentioned in "Hsia t'u kuei Shih-men chiu-chü" 下途歸石門舊居 (WC 22/1010-12; "hsia t'u" does not make sense; I suspect that there is some corruption in this title),

which was located in the Heng-wang-shan Mountain 橫望山 near Tang-t'u 當塗 (see the contents of this poem and Wang Ch'i's annotation to the title of the poem; Tang-t'u was very close to Nan-ling; also cf. the discussion about the location of the Shih-men-shan Mountain in n. 32). If such is indeed the case, we can be rather certain that the account about Li Po's stopover at Nan-ling is reliable.

<sup>54</sup> See WC 31/1451. Wei Hao used the word ho 合 to describe the relationship between Li Po and Liu, not the word ch'ü 娶, which he used to describe the formal marital relationship between the poet and the poet's two wives Hsü and Tsung 宗 (see below, p. 58, for the marriage between Li Po and Tsung).

<sup>55</sup> This poem is "Nan-ling pieh er-t'ung ju ching" (see n. 53). In ll. 9-12 of this poem, the poet said: "[It is a pity that] the foolish woman of Kuei-chi should have scorned [Chu] Mai-ch'en; / Now, [like Chu,] I am also bidding farewell to my family for a journey west to Ch'in. / Laughing loud into the sky, I am leaving home. / Could a man like me belong forever in the weeds!" 會稽愚婦輕買臣 余亦辭家西入秦。仰天大笑出門去 我輩豈是蓬蒿人。 The word i 亦 in l. 10 is an indication that in these lines Li po meant he, too, had encountered what Ch Mai-ch'en had experienced before: to be slighted and abandoned by his wife before his late success (for the story of Chu, a famous Han official, see Han shu 64a/2791-93). That in this poem the poet's children do not seem to have been accompanied by any mother (both the title and the contents of the poem show this) also somehow support my assumption. Cf. Kuo, pp. 23-24.

<sup>56</sup> To my knowledge, only Chan Ying (HN, pp. 35-37) seriously cast doubt upon this date; he gave the autumn of 743. But it needs much proof than usually thought necessary to maintain this date. Our primary sources only indicate that this event took place in "the beginning (ch'u 初) of the t'ien-pao period" (e.g., Li Po, "Wei Sung chung-ch'eng tzu chien piao," WC 26/1217; Liu Ch'üan-po, WC 31/1460) or, even



worse, "in the t'ien-pao period" (e.g., Li Yang-ping, WC 31/1445). There is no assurance that the word ch'u was then used exclusively to mean only the 1st year of a reign period. The main reason why Chan adopted the date 743 is as follows. As the CTS and the HTS hold, Li Po associated with the famous Taoist adept Wu Yün in Kuei-chi in "the beginning of the t'ien-pao period" and was summoned to the capital later from that region through the recommendation of Wu, who had won Hsüan-tsung's patronage and left Kuei-chi earlier (see the sources given in the beginning of n. 52). Since Li Po seems to have been in the T'ai-shan Mountain in the 5th month of 742 (see p. 51), it is not likely that, after all the events that were bound to have taken place between his departure from Lu and his starting-off from Nan-ling to the capital (esp. his and Wu's travels), it was only the autumn of 742. I have rejected Chan's view and maintain the date 742 on the following two grounds. First, the above account from the CTS and the HTS is not reliable (see n. 90). Second, it is rather definite that Li Po left Ch'ang-an in 744 (see below, n. 65); and, after taking into account this date and the time the poet spent in the capital (see the immediately following text and notes), Li Po must have arrived in the capital in 742, not 743. The season when the poet started off for the capital (autumn) is indicated in "Nan-ling pieh er-t'ung ju ching."

<sup>57</sup> Liu Ch'üan-po (WC 31/1460) clearly says this. Li Po himself ("Chin-men ta Su hsiu-ts'ai," see n. 59) and Tu-ku Chi 獨孤及 ("Sung Li Po chih Ts'ao-nan hsü" 送李白之曹南序, WC 32/1492 or CTW 388/7a-b; cf. HTS 202/5763) mentioned this event but not the title of the fu, while Jen Hua (see the source given in n. 52) mentioned the title ("Hung-yu wen" 鴻猷文) without indicating the occasion on which the work was composed.

<sup>58</sup> See Li Po, "Wei Sung chung-ch'eng tzu chien piao," WC 26/1217 and Ch. 3, p. 97.

<sup>59</sup> (a) Li Po's "Chin-men ta Su hsiu-ts'ai" 金門答蘇秀才

(WC 19/882) seems to have been written in answer to a message from a friend who had come to the capital together with the poet, but had later gone home alone (see ll. 1-3 and 19-20: "[You said that] the day you returned to Shih-men / The wood to be bored to get fire had just been replaced (meaning the season had just changed--here, from winter into spring; see Wang Ch'i's annotation), / And the spring grasses looked as if they had feelings. . . . / I still stay at the Chin-men Gate (Chin-men: Chin-ma-men 金馬門, a gate in Ch'ang-an of the Former Han, where the Han equivalents of Han-lin academicians in attendance stayed waiting for assignments, here meaning the Han-lin Academy of the T'ang), / While you have gone to live at ease in the red valleys" 君還石門日 朱火始改木 春草如有情 . . . 我留在金門 君去臥丹壑). Judging from the mention of lotus flowers in the poem (l. 34) as one of the several beautiful things at Shih-men that the poet thought his friend was appreciating alone, this poem was written in summer, the season of lotus flowers (743). In this poem, Li Po joyfully told his friend Su that he had presented some literary works to Hsüan-tsung (l. 11; cf. n. 57), attended some imperial feasts (l. 12), and written some songs for the emperor (ll. 13-14).

(b) In several poems Li Po mentioned accompanying Hsuan-tsung on the emperor's tour (or tours?) to the Hot Spring Palace: "Shih-ts'ung yu-su Wen-ch'üan-kung tso" 侍從遊宿溫泉宮作 (WC 20/932), "Wen-ch'üan shih-ts'ung kuei feng ku-jen" 溫泉侍從歸逢故人 (WC 9/486); "Chia ch'ü Wen-ch'üan-kung hou tseng Yang shan-jen" 駕去溫泉宮後贈楊山人 (WC 9/485) and "Tung wu yin" 東武吟 (WC 5/312). According to CTS 9/216-17 and TCTC 215/6856, 6859, Hsuan-tsung took vacations in this palace in the 10th-11th months of both 742 and 743. Judging from the information given in "Chin-mèn ta Su hsiu-ts'ai," at least some of the above poems must have been written in the winter of 742. I would speculate that all of these poems were written then because the poet gradually lost Hsuan-tsung's favor after the autumn of 743 (see the following text).

(c) The writing of the fu mentioned here is recorded in "Wen-ch'üan shih-ts'ung kuei feng ku-jen," "Ch'iu-yeh tu-tso huai ku-shan"

秋夜獨坐懷故山 (WC 23/1080), and "Tung wu yin." Chan Ying (HN, pp. 37-38) held that the work Li Po presented to Hsuan-tsung this time is "Ta lieh fu" 大獵賦 (WC 1/57-84). Chan seems right because Li Po in this fu called himself "your subject" (ch'en) and indicated that the work was about an imperial hunting which took place in a certain 10th month (WC 1/59).

<sup>60</sup> "Shih-ts'ung I-ch'un-yüan feng-chao fu Lung-ch'ih liu-se ch'u ch'ing t'ing hsin-ying po-chuan ko" 侍從宜春苑奉詔賦龍池柳色初青聽新鶯百轉歌 (WC 7/376) and "Kung-chung hsing-lo tz'u pa-shou" 宮中行樂詞八首 (WC 5/296 ff., with the poet's note: "I wrote these five-character poems on the emperor's order" 奉詔作五言 ) have obviously been written on the kind of occasions here indicated. Judging from the mention of the willows newly turned green in "Shih-ts'ung I-ch'un-yüan" and the frequent mention of spring in "Kung-chung hsing-lo tz'u," these poems were undoubtedly composed in spring (of 743, because the poet began to lose Hsuan-tsung's favor in the autumn of 743 and finally left the capital in the spring of 744; see below). Other poems that are also likely to have been written during this period on similar occasions include "Ch'un-jih hsing" 春日行, "Yang-ch'un ko" 陽春歌, and the famous set entitled "Ch'ing-p'ing tiao" 清平調 (WC 3/197, 4/224, 5/304-06). Cf. HN, pp. 41-42.

<sup>61</sup> See "Wei Sung chung-ch'eng tzu chien piao," "Tseng Ts'ui ssu-hu Wen k'un-chi" 贈崔司戶文昆季, and Li Yang-ping's preface in WC 26/1217, 10/538, 31/1446. Also, see Ch. 1, p. 23.

<sup>62</sup> See Li Po's "Ku i" 古意 in T'ang hsieh-pen T'ang-jen hsüan T'ang-shih, p. 11. In all extant eds. of Li Po's collected works, the title of this poem is read as "Hsiao ku" 效古 and ll. 15-16 are missing; see WC 24/1090 and Chiao-chu 24/1370-71.

<sup>63</sup> See "Han-lin tu-shu yen-huai ch'eng Chi-hsien [-yüan nei]

chu hsüeh-shih" 翰林讀書言懷呈集賢[院內]諸學士 (WC 24/1112-13; the words in the brackets are given in most other editions; see Chiao-chu 24/1398). Lines 11 and 13 of this poem say: "It is the time when the clouds and the sky are cool and bright" 雲天屬清朗 and "From time to time the cool breeze comes" 或時清風來. This suggests that the above poem may have been written in early autumn. Since Li Po appears to have been still satisfied with his situation in the summer of 743 (see n. 59, (a)) and to have completely lost Hsüan-tsung's favor in the spring of 744, the above assumption should not be far off.

<sup>64</sup> See "Yü-hu yin" 玉壺吟, "Ta Kao shan-jen chien ch'eng Ch'üan Ku er hou" 答高山人兼呈權顧二侯, and "Wei Sung chung-ch'eng tzu chien piao" in WC 7/377-78, 19/902, 26/1217. Li Yang-ping and Wei Hao (WC 31/1446, 1449) also mention this, obviously based upon the poet's own words.

<sup>65</sup> Tu Fu's "Ch'ien huai" 遣懷 ("昔我遊宋中"), "Hsi yu" 昔遊, and "Tseng Li Po" 贈李白 ("二年客東都") (TSLCHC 16/44, 38, 1/19) clearly mention that Li Po, Tu Fu and Kao Shih made friends with one another and travelled together with some other people in Liang and Sung in a certain autumn (for this episode, see p. 55). This event can be dated to the year 744 from the following works by Kao Shih: (1) "Fu kung Ch'in-t'ai shih san-shou" 宓公琴臺詩三首 (CTShih 212/2208), of which the preface says: "I ascended the Ch'in-t'ai Tower [in memory of Fu] Tzu-chien in the year of chia-shen 甲申 (744)" (Fu Tzu-chien 宓子賤 was a disciple of Confucius's and was once an outstanding magistrate in Shan-fu 單父, where the Ch'in-t'ai Tower was located; see TPHYC 14/13b; in Tu Fu's "Hsi yu," this tower was mentioned as "Shan-fu-t'ai"); (2) "Tung-cheng fu" 東征賦 (CTW 357/5-7), of which the preface says: "In the last month of autumn of the year chia-shen, I, having toured very long in the region of Liang, am about to head for Ch'u 楚;" (3) the 5th poem of "Sung-chung shih-shou" 宋中十首 (CTShih 212/2210), which shows that Kao was

leaving the Liang-Sung region in late autumn while his fellow tourists had already gone; (4) "Sung-chung pieh Chou, Liang, Li san-tzu" 泉中別周梁李三子 (CTShih 211/2198), which shows that Kao was parting with three touring companions in autumn (the Mr. Li mentioned in this poem might have been Li Po). Chan Ying's doubt on this date (HN, p. 59; cf. n. 56) is groundless. Cf. Wen I-tuo, "Shao-ling nien-p'u," pp. c58-c59; Hung, Tu Fu, pp. 35-36; Chou Hsün-ch'u 周勳初, Kao Shih nien-p'u 高適年譜, pp. 40-43.

The season when Li Po left the capital (spring) is indicated in "Ch'un p'ei Shang-chou P'ei shih-chün yu Shih-o-hsi" 春陪商州裴使君遊石娥溪 (WC 20/935, title and l. 18), which seems to have been written shortly after the poet left Ch'ang-an (see below, n. 70). The quotations are from Li Yang-ping and Li Po's "Wei Sung chung-ch'eng tzu chien piao" respectively (see the previous note).

<sup>66</sup> The life of Ho is found in his biographies in CTS 190b/5033-35 and HTS 196/5606-07. Ho was appointed the posts presented here sometime after the investiture of Li Yü 璿 (= Li Heng 亨, future Sutsung 肅宗) as crown prince in 738 (HTS 196/5607; CTS 9/210, 10/239-40; TCTC 214/6833) and held these posts till he left the capital in 744 (CTS 9/217; Li Po, "Sung Ho chien kuei Ssu-ming ying chih" 送賀監歸四明應制, WC 17/797-98). Unless otherwise noted, the following accounts about Ho are based on the sources given here.

<sup>67</sup> This episode is mentioned without a date in Li Po, "Tui chiu i Ho chien er-shou" 對酒憶賀監二首, WC 23/1085-86. Li yang-ping, Wei Hao, Tu Fu ("Chi Li Shih-er Po er-shih yün" 寄李十二白二十韻, TSLCHC 8/70-72), and Fan Ch'uan-cheng also give less clear versions of their own. For some discussion on the date, see Ch. 3, pp. 94-95 and n. 96.

<sup>68</sup> These poems are "Tui chiu i Ho chien" (see the previous note) and "Ch'ung-i i-shou" 重憶一首 (WC 23/1087).

<sup>69</sup> Li Po called himself "che-hsien-jen" in three works besides

"Tui chiu i Ho chien" ("Yü-hu yin" 玉壺吟, WC 7/377-78; "Ta Hu-chou Chia-yeh ssu-ma wen Po shih ho-jen" 答湖州迦葉司馬問白是何人, WC 19/876; "Chin-ling yu chu hsien sung Ch'üan shih-i hsü" 金陵與諸賢送權十一序, WC 27/1263-64). As shown in the sources in n. 67, this designation was already frequently mentioned by the poet's admirers in T'ang times.

<sup>70</sup> See Pai-shan, p. 133. For the poems Pai-shan cited as evidence, "Ta Tu hsiu-ts'ai Wu-sung-shan chien tseng" 答杜秀才五松山見贈, "Pieh Wei shao-fu" 別韋少府, and "Ch'un p'ei Shang-chou P'ei shih-chün yu Shih-o-hsi" 春陪商州裴使君遊石娥溪, see WC 19/904, 15/743, and 20/935. On the location of the Po-lu-yüan Terrace, see YHCHTC 1/3a, "Wan-nien-hsien," TPHYC 25/8b, and Chōan to Rakuyō, map No. 39.

In "Pieh Wei shao-fu," Li Po wrote: "I departed through the Ts'ang-lung-men Gate in the west / And ascended the Po-lu-yüan Terrace in the south" 西出蒼龍門南登白鹿原. According to a work entitled Kuan-chung-chi 關中記 (quoted in Shih chi chi-chieh 史記集解, Shih chi 8/386, which is in turn quoted in WC 15/743), the Ts'ang-lung-men Gate was on the east side of Ch'ang-an of Han. It is not clear which gate of Ch'ang-an of T'ang Li Po referred to by the name Ts'ang-lung-men (the site of the Han capital was located in the northwest of Ch'ang-an of T'ang; see Chōan to Rakuyō, map No. 7) and why Li Po left through a gate on the west side of the capital when he was going to travel southeast.

<sup>71</sup> See "Ta Tu hsiu-ts'ai Wu-sung-shan chien-tseng" (see the previous note), "Kuo Ssu-hao mu" 過四皓墓, "Shang-shan Ssu-hao" 商山四皓, and "Shan-jen ch'üan-chiu" 山人勸酒 (WC 22/1033, 22/1031, 4/227). For the story of the Shang-shan Ssu-hao, see Ch. 3, n. 2, E.

<sup>72</sup> According to Yen Keng-wang 嚴耕望 ("T'ang-tai Ch'ang-an Nan-shan chu ku-tao i-ch'eng shu" 唐代長安南山諸谷道驛程述),

in T'ang-shih yen-chiu ts'ung kao 唐史研究叢稿, pp. 623-25), the road from Ch'ang-an to Shang-chou was the beginning section of a busy route connecting the capital and the southeast of the empire. In "Pieh Wei shao-fu" (WC 15/743), Li Po recorded a long journey along the water ways (from the line "水國遠行邁" ) to Hsüan-chou (from the mention of Kou-hsi 句溪 and Ching-t'ing-shan 敬亭山, both in Hsuan-chou; see Yü-ti chi-sheng 輿地紀勝 19/3b, 5b and TPHYC 103/4a) right after he narrated his departure from Ch'ang-an and the Po-lu-yuan Terrace. In "Ta Tu hsiu-ts'ai Wu-sung-shan chien tseng" (WC 19/904), the poet also recalled a journey to the same region (from the mention of Ch'iu-p'u 秋浦, Wu-sung-shan 五松山, and T'ung-ching-shan 銅井山, all in Hsüan-chou; see HTS 41/1067, "Ch'ih-chou," YHCHTC 28/11a, "Nan-ling-hsien," and Chiao-chu 19/1137, 20/1200) right after he recalled his departure from Ch'ang-an along the Shang-shan road. It seems natural for Li Po to have come to Hsüan-chou, since he left his family there in 742 when he went to Ch'ang-an. "Ta Tu hsiu-ts'ai" (esp. ll. 21-26) seems to suggest that the poet stayed in Hsüan-chou till after summer; this tallies with the poet's immediately following timetable as now known to us (see the following text). Since the poet's children were very likely to have lived with the poet in Lu between late 744 and late 746 or early 747 (see p. 57), I suspect that Li Po took them north with him when he left Hsüan-chou.

The traditional belief that Li Po went to Lo-yang and met Tu Fu there in the 5th month of 744 (see Wen I-tuo, "Shao-ling nien-p'u," pp. c58-c59; HN, pp. 56-58; Kuo, p. 262; WC 35/1594-95) is unreliable because it has been based on doubtful interpretations of both Li Po's "Liang-yüan yin" and Tu Fu's "Tseng Li Po" ("Er-nien k'o Tung-tu"). (As mentioned in n. 47, "Liang-yüan yin" seems to have been composed after Li Po's first departure from Ch'ang-an in 740. As for Tu Fu's "Tseng Li Po," it says only that Tu himself had stayed in Lo-yang before making the acquaintance of Li Po. Besides, there are indications that Tu might have met Li Po in the Liang-Sung region. See below, n. 75 and cf. Hung, Tu Fu, p. 35 and A Supplementary Volume of Notes for Tu Fu, pp. 29-30.)

73 See n. 65.

74 This event is recorded in Li Yang-ping, WC 31/1446 and Li Po, "Feng chien Kao tsun-shih Ju-kuei tao-shih ch'uan tao-lu pi kuei Pei-hai" 奉贈高尊師如貴道士傳道錄畢歸北海, WC 17/821-22. The "genuine register" (chen-lu 真錄) which the Taoist adept Ko Huan 蓋寰 made for Li Po at An-ling 安陵 (in Te-chou 德州, near the present P'ing-yüan-hsien 平原 in Shantung) seems to have been made for this occasion (see "Fang-tao An-ling yü Ko Huan wei yü tsao chen-lu lin-pieh liu-tseng" 訪道安陵遇蓋寰為予造真錄臨別留贈, WC 10/521-22; cf. WC 10/522, Wang Ch'i's annotation to the name "Pei-hai hsien").

My dating of this event is based on the following indications. First, Li Yang-ping narrated this event immediately after the poet's departure from Ch'ang-an. Second, as Chan Ying pointed out (HN, p. 61), Li Yen-yün left the post of inspector of Ho-nan tao before the 7th month of 746 (see THY 41/732, the date of Chang I's 張倚 memorial). Third, in what seems to have been his first poem to Li Po, Tu Fu said: "Mr Li was an honored member of the Golden Court (chin-kuei 金闕, meaning the Chin-ma-men Gate, that is, the office of the Han-lin academicians; see above, n. 59), / But he has left it to seek quiet explorations (yu-t'ao 幽討, meaning Taoist activity). He too is visiting in the Liang and Sung regions, / Let us hope the precious herbs will really be found" (Tu Fu, "Tseng Li Po" ("Er-nien k'o Tung-tu"), TSLCHC 1/19; English rendering borrowed from Hünig, Tu Fu, p. 36 with slight changes in punctuation; the notes in parentheses are my own).

75 "Ch'ien huai" ("Hsi wo yu Sung chung . . .") 昔我遊宋中 ; see n. 65).

76 See the sources in n. 65.

77 See the accounts about Kao Shih's "Tung-cheng fu," "Sung chung shih-shou," and "Sung chung pieh Chou Liang Li san tzu" in n. 65. Cf.



Chou Hsün-ch'u, Kao Shih nien-p'u, pp. 42-43.

<sup>78</sup> See below pp. 61-63, 105-14.

<sup>79</sup> See "Sung Chang hsiu-ts'ai yeh Kao chung-ch'eng ping hsü" 送張秀才謁高中丞并序, WC 18/842. For the identification of the Kao chung-ch'eng in this poem with Kao Shih, see HN, p. 119 and Kao's "Huan ching tz'u Sui-yang . . ." 還京次睢陽 in CTW 357/21.

<sup>80</sup> Cf. Hung, Tu Fu, p. 36.

<sup>81</sup> In his "Chi Li shih-er Po er-shih yün" 寄李十二白二十韻 (TSLCHC 8/70-72; this poem must have been written in 758 or early 759, because at its composition Tu Fu obviously knew about Li Po's banishment verdict but not Li Po's release; for Li Po's banishment to Yeh-lang, see below, pp. 63-64), Tu Fu thus recalled the happy time he had once shared with Li Po: "We drank and danced at night in the Liang-yüan Garden (in Sung-chou, see YHCHTC 7/5a, "Sung-ch'eng-hsien" and TPHYC 12/4b-5a); / We walked and sang along the Ssu-shui River 泗水 in spring (this river ran past Yen-chou 兗州, or, Lu-chün 魯郡; see YHCHTC 10/6b and Li Po's "Lu-chün tung Shih-men sung Tu er Fu" 魯郡東石門送杜二甫, WC 17/794)." Judging from Li Po's timetable, the spring referred to in these lines is most likely to have been that of 745.

<sup>82</sup> Hung, Tu Fu, pp. 36-38; see also the next note.

<sup>83</sup> This poem is "Yü Li shih-er Po t'ung hsün Fan shih yin-chü" 與李十二白同尋范十隱居 (TSLCHC 1/26-27); the English translation of the quoted lines is borrowed from Hung, p. 38 with slight changes in punctuation. Li Po's "Hsün Lu ch'eng pei Fan chü-shih . . ." 尋魯城北范居士 (WC 20/918-19) seems to have been written about the same hermit, though not the same visit.

<sup>84</sup> Hung, p. 39.

<sup>85</sup> These poems are "Lu-chün tung Shih-men sung Tu er Fu" 魯郡東石門送杜二甫 (WC 17/794) and "Sha-ch'iu ch'eng hsia chi Tu Fu" 沙丘城下寄杜甫 (WC 13/656-57). Sha-ch'iu was in Yen-chou and seems to have been the place of Li Po's residence then; see HN, p. 67. Hung (p. 39) seems right in reading "Sha-ch'iu ch'eng hsia" as a poem that Li Po wrote to Tu Fu shortly after Tu had left Lu-chun (Yen-chou); Chan's different interpretation (HN; loc. cit.) seems out of context.

No other mention of Tu Fu is found in extant works by Li Po.

<sup>86</sup> See the poems by Tu cited in WC 32/1483-89. Some of these poems are rendered into English in Hung, pp. 50, 51, 54, 133-34, 149, 188.

<sup>87</sup> See "Lu-chün Yao-tz'u sung Tou ming-fu huan Hsi-ching" 魯郡堯祠送竇明府還西京, WC 16/779. Both the names Lu-chün (Yen-chou) and Hsi-ching (Ch'ang-an) were not used in T'ang times until 742 (for the name Hsi-ching, see HTS 37/961 and des Rotours, Fonctionnaires, pp. 680-81, n. 2). Although these names had been used before T'ang, among the one dozen or so poems by Li Po in which either of these names is mentioned (Hanabusa, pp. 473, 52, 475), none appears to have been composed during Li Po's 1st sojourn in Lu (740-742) but many are definitely or very probably composed during his 2nd sojourn there (see HN, pp. 65-66). Hence, I have dated this poem to the poet's 2nd sojourn in Lu. Line 26 of this poem ("Last night the autumn sough came from the Ch'ang-ho Gate in heaven" 昨夜秋聲闐闐來; wind from the Ch'ang-ho Gate = autumn wind; see Wang Ch'i's annotation in WC, p. 780) shows that the poem was written in autumn (not very likely to have been the autumn of 745, because Li Po was obviously not ill when he wrote poems to Tu Fu at that time). The first three lines and the title of this poem show that the poet had hardly recovered from a long illness; the second last couplet shows that he had planned to go to Chiang-tung.

In "Tui hsüeh feng-chien Jen-ch'eng liu fu chih-man kuei ching"

對雪奉錢任城六父秩滿歸京

(WC 16/777), Li Po

mentioned a master Tou who had hosted a farewell party for the Mr. Li mentioned in the title (the expression "liu fu" suggests that this person's p'ai-hang 排行 was No. 6 and that Li Po had recognized him as an uncle; cf. l. 9 and the last couplet of the poem), who was to leave his post at Jen-ch'eng 任城 (a hsien in Yen-chou, or, Lu-chun). It is likely that this Mr. Tou was identical with Tou Po-hua and was the magistrate (ming-fu) of Jen-ch'eng.

<sup>88</sup> See "Tsa-yen tseng Li Po," CTShih 261/2902-03 or WC 32/1491-92.

"T'i Sung-shan i-jen Yüan Tan-ch'iu shan-chü ping-hsü" 題嵩山逸人元丹丘山居并序 (WC 25/1152), a poem composed several years

later, seems to say that the poet had toured with Yüan to the "Cave of the Emperor Yü" (Yü hsüeh 禹穴) in Kuei-chi 會稽; see below,

n. 96. I suspect that "Hsi-yüeh Yün-t'ai ko sung Tan-ch'iu tzu" 西岳雲臺歌送丹丘子 (WC 7/381-82; Hsi-yüeh = Hua-shan 華山,

in present Shensi; Yün-t'ai: a peak in the northeast of the Hua-shan Mountain. (see WC 7/381, annotation to the title and 7/383, annotation

No. 8)) was written when Yüan Tan-ch'iu was to leave Chiang-tung for the Hua-shan Mountain. (The following line of this poem strongly suggests this: "[You] came east to look for the P'eng-lai Isle; now you will again

return to the west" 東求蓬萊復西歸. The description

of Yüan's life in the Hua-shan Mountain in this poem is only imaginary, just like the description of Hermit Ts'en's life in the Ming-kao-shan

Mountain 鳴皋山 in "Ming-kao ko sung Ts'en cheng-chün" 鳴皋歌送岑徵君, WC 7/393-96.)

<sup>89</sup> See Tu Fu's "Sung K'ung Ch'ao-fu hsieh-ping kuei yu Chiang-tung chien ch'eng Li Po" 送孔巢父謝病歸遊江東兼呈李白

(TSLCHC 1/31-32), which seems to have been written in the spring of 748 (see Hung, pp. 52-53). The expression "hsieh-ping" (asking a leave from

the court for the reason of poor health, usu. only an excuse for voluntary resignation) suggests that K'ung might have been summoned to the capital and have resigned when waiting for an appointment or a dismissal (K'ung

did not seem to have held any official post before this time; see HTS 163/5007 and the sources about K'ung in n. 49). See also Hung, pp. 52-54 and cf. Wu Yün's 吳筠 biography in CTS 192/5129 (for some discussion about this source, see the next note).

<sup>90</sup> As mentioned above (nn. 52, 56), Li Po's biographies in the CTS and the HTS hold that the poet associated with Wu in 742 and, after Wu went to Ch'ang-an and won Hsüan-tsung's patronage, was summoned to the capital through Wu's recommendation. But I suspect that the association between Li and Wu might not have taken place until the date presented here. My reasons: (1) Wu Yün's biographies in CTS 192/5129-30 and HTS 196/5604-05 both say that Wu associated with not only Li Po but also K'ung Ch'ao-fu. (2) Although both biographies narrate this event at the end of Wu's life and seem unable to date it, the HTS makes it very clear that Wu visited the Chiang-tung area ("T'ien-t'ai-shan" 天台山 in the biography) quite long after the beginning of the t'ien-pao period (742) and did not serve in the Han-lin Academy until very late in this reign period. The CTS, though very vague on the date of Wu's sojourn in Chiang-tung, seems to agree with the HTS at the date of Wu's service in the court. (3) As mentioned above (n. 56), the account in Li Po's biographies in the CTS and the HTS cannot fit into the timetable of Li Po's travels.

<sup>91</sup> See the discussion about the poems "Chi Tung-Lu er chih-tzu" and "Sung Hsiao san-shih-i" in the next note.

<sup>92</sup> These poems are: (1) "Sung Yang Yen chih Tung-Lu" 送楊燕之東魯, (2) "Chi Tung-Lu er chih-tzu" 寄東魯二稚子, and (3) "Sung Hsiao san-shih-i chih Lu chung chien wen chih-tzu Po-ch'in" 送蕭三十一之魯中兼問稚子伯禽 in WC 17/826, 13/673, and 17/828. They were written either over one year (poem 1, 3rd last line) or about three years (poem 2, ll. 11-12; poem 3, 3rd last line) after Li Po left Lu. Judging from Li Po's timetable, the latest of these poems, the third, was written in the 6th month (1st line) of most probably the year 749.

All three poems seem to have been composed in the Wu 吳 region (this is clearly indicated in poems 2 and 3; in poem 1, Li Po said that he was living by the Yangtze River). See also n. 98.

<sup>93</sup> WC 31/1451.

<sup>94</sup> This trip is indicated without any date in "Chi shang Wu-wang san-shou" 寄上吳王三首 (WC 14/700-02; the third poem of this set indicates that the prince was then the prefect of Lu-chiang-chün), "Lu-chiang chu-jen fu" 廬江主人婦 (WC 18/848) and "T'ung Wu-wang sung Tu hsiu chih chü ju ching" 同吳王送杜秀芝舉入京 (WC 22/1042; Wang Ch'i seems right in suggesting that the title of this poem should be read as something like 送杜秀才赴舉入京 ; this poem also says that the prince was the prefect of Lu-chiang). Lines 5-6 of the 3rd poem of "Chi shang Wu-wang" show that these poems were written after Li Po's service in the T'ang court; and judging from the career of the prince, they must have been written before the outbreak of the rebellion of An Lu-shan in 755 (see HN, p. 72 and the sources about the prince given in Ch. 1, n. 104). I have dated this trip to 749 in accordance with the timetable of Li Po's travels. The season (autumn) is indicated in "T'ung Wu-wang."

<sup>95</sup> Lu-chiang was halfway between the Wu region and the Huo-shan Mountain.

<sup>96</sup> See "T'i Sung-shan i-jen Yüan Tan-ch'iu shan-chü ping-hsü" 題嵩山逸人元丹丘山居并序 , WC 25/1152. According to ll. 5-8 of this poem, Li Po went to the Huo-shan and the Lu-shan Mountains after his tours to "Min Huang" 閩荒 and "Yü tso" 禹鑿 . As Wang Ch'i (WC 25/1153, n. 4) suggests, the region of the T'ien-t'ai-shan Mountain can be referred to as "Min" (see also Tz'u hai (1979 ed.), vol. 2, p. 2015, "Min-chung" 閩中 ; note that Li Po does not seem to have travelled to what is the present Fukien area). "Yü tso" seems to mean Yü hsüeh 禹穴 (the character tso has obviously been used for rhyming), a historical site in Kuei-chi (see Wang Ch'i's notes to this name in WC 17/824 ("Sung Chi hsiu-ts'ai yü Yüeh" 送紀秀才遊越) and 18/858 ("Sung er chi chih Chiang-tung" 送二季之江東)). Since Li Po was

talking about the tours he had made together with Yüan (from the expression "chien shu kung-yu" 兼書共遊 in the preface to this poem) and he obviously visited the Cave of the Emperor Yü (Yü-hsüeh) during his 746-49 stay in Chiang-tung (see the last couplet of Tu Fu's "Sung K'ung Ch'ao-fu hsieh-ping kuei Chiang-tung chien ch'eng Li Po," TSLCHC 1/32), I believe Li Po's sojourns in the above mountains took place after his departure from Chiang-tung. Here I have closely dated these sojourns in accordance with the timetable of Li Po's travels.

97 According to Wei Hao (WC 31/1451), Li Po's second and last formal wife was named Sung 宋. But Li Po made it very clear that he had a formal wife named Tsung 宗 in his late years and this wife was very probably a descendant of Tsung Ch'u-k'o. See "Ts'uan Yeh-lang yü Wu-chiang liu-pieh Tsung shih-liu Ching" 竄夜郎於烏江留別宗十六環 (written in 758; see n. 142), WC 15/729 ff., esp. title and ll. 1-6, 13-14; "Sung nei hsün Lu-shan nü tao-shih Li T'ung-k'ung er-shou ch'i er" 送內尋廬山女道士李騰空二首其二, WC 25/1191; Wang Ch'i's comments on Wei Hao's account in WC 31/1451; and Tsung Ch'u-k'o's biographies in CTS 92/2971-73 and HTS 109/4101-03. Wang Ch'i (loc. cit.) seems right in holding that the word 宋 in Wei Hao's work should be read as 宗.

According to "Sung nei hsün Lu-shan nü tao-shih," Tsung was enthusiastic in Taoist activity.

98 This is the earliest mention of Tsung in Li Po's works now known to us. It is highly unlikely that Li Po married Tsung before 744 (see p. 52). I would speculate that Li Po married Tsung near the end of his 746-49 sojourn in the Yangtze delta region and P'ing-yang had come south to join the couple around the time of their marriage. This speculation may explain why in the last of the three poems Li Po wrote to his children between 747-49 (see n. 92), Li Po mentioned only Po-ch'in.

99 The evidence Chan Ying (HN, p. 81) used to support his assumption that Li Po visited Yüan in 751 is not reliable; see n. 32.

<sup>100</sup> In "Tseng Wang p'an-kuan shih yü kuei-yin chü Lu-shan P'ing-feng-tieh" 贈王判官時余歸隱居廬山屏風疊 (WC 11/553), a poem composed in 756 (see below, n. 136), Li Po thus recalled the life following his 746-49 sojourn in the Wu-Yüeh region: "Once I came north across the Che-chiang River (i.e., Ch'ien-t'ang-chiang 錢塘江), / For ten years (exaggerated) I lived in drunkenness in the towers of Ch'u. / At Ching-men, I made [the] Ch'ü [Yüan's] and Sung [Yü's] (the famous men of letters there) stoop; / At the Liang-yüan Garden, I stunned the Tsou [Yen's] and Mei [Sheng's]" 一度浙江北十年醉楚臺. 荊門倒屈[原]宋[玉]. 梁苑傾鄒[衍]枚[乘]. This suggests that, before he lived in Liang in about 751 (see below), Li Po had made a tour to the Ching-chou area (Ching-men-shan 荊門山 was a famous hill in this area; see TPHYC 147/4). "Ying-men ch'iu-huai" 荊門秋懷 (WC 22/1016-17) may have been written during this trip (Ying: the site of the capital of the state of Ch'u in Ching-chou; see TPHYC 146/8). If this is the case, Li Po was thinking of leaving Ching-chou in autumn after staying there for three months.

<sup>101</sup> I come to this conclusion from the following points:

(1) Li Po set out from Liang on both his journey to the northern frontiers beginning in the winter of 751-52 and his travel to Hsuan-chou via Ts'ao-chou beginning in the middle of 753 (see the following text).

(2) "Tzu tai nei tseng" 自代內贈 (WC 25/1189), esp. ll. 15-20, shows that Tsung's family lived in Liang. In addition, after Li Po left Liang in 753, his wife remained there for several years (see p. 61).

(3) Two poems show that Li Po once lived in Liang around this period of his life (see "Shu-ch'ing tseng Ts'ai she-jen Hsiung" 書情贈蔡舍人雄, WC 10/516, esp. ll. 13-14 and "Tseng Wang p'an-kuan" (cited in n. 100)).

<sup>102</sup> According to Li Po's "Ch'ung-ming-ssu fo-ting tsun-sheng t'olo-ne ch'uang sung" 崇明寺佛頂尊勝陀羅尼幢頌 (WC 28/1306-16), the poet was in Lu-chün sometime after a certain monk named Tao-tsung 道宗 died there in the 5th month of 749. According to a

poem by Su Yüan-ming 蘇源明 (a contemporary of Li Po; the poem in question is found in CTShih 255/2862; cf. HTS 202/5772) cited by Chan Ying (HN, p. 81), the prefect of Lu-chün Li Fu 李輔, who is mentioned in Li Po's sung, was no longer on the same post in 753. Therefore the sung should have been written before 753. Here I have dated this trip in accordance with the timetable of Li Po. Cf. HN, p. 86.

103 (1) From "Ching luan-li hou t'ien-en liu Yeh-lang i chiu-yu . . ." 經亂離後天恩流夜郎憶舊遊 (WC 11/567-76), esp. ll. 31-80, and "Tseng Hsüan-ch'eng Yü-wen t'ai-shou" 贈宣城宇文太守 (WC 12/609 ff.), esp. ll. 15-32, we know that Li Po made a journey to Yu-chou shortly before he went to Hsüan-chou in 753 (for this date, see p. 57).

(2) From "Liu-pieh Yü shih-i hsiung T'i P'ei shih-san yu sai-yüan" 留別于十一兄述裴十三遊塞垣 (WC 15/711), we know that the poet set out from Liang, very probably in winter (cf. HN, p. 82 and Chiao-chu 15/908).

(3) Chiao-chu (21/1222) holds that Li Po's "Teng Han-tan Hung-po-t'ai chih chiu kuan fa-ping" 登邯鄲洪波臺置酒觀發兵 (WC 21/974) was written during the war between the T'ang and the Khitan in 751-52 (see the following text about this war; Chiao-chu is not right in dating this war to only the year 751). This assumption seems convincing because the above poem, esp. its final couplet, indicates that the T'ang was then engaged in a war against a state to the north-east and, as will be shown in the next note, Han-tan was obviously one stop on Li Po's way to Yu-chou. Since Li Po seems to have arrived at Han-tan in spring (of 752, because the war mentioned here did not begin until autumn of 751), I conclude that the poet set out in the winter of 751.

104 See "Tzu Kuang-p'ing ch'eng tsui tsou-ma liu-shih li chih Han-tan . . ." 自廣平乘醉走馬六十里至邯鄲 and "Teng Han-tan Hung-po-t'ai . . ." in WC 30/1397-98 and 21/974. "Tseng Ch'ing-chang ming-fu chih Yü" 贈清漳明府姪聿, "Tseng Lin-ming hsien-ling Hao ti" 贈臨洛縣令皓弟, and "Han-tan nan-t'ing kuan chi" 邯鄲南亭觀妓 (WC 9/497-98, 499, 20/933) may have



been written this time (Ch'ing-chang and Lin-ming were two hsien's in Kuang-p'ing-chün; I cannot exclude the probability that some of these three poems were written on Li Po's return journey from Yu-chou). Cf. HN, p. 84, note on the poem "Tzu Kuang-p'ing" and Chiao-chu 30/1694, "chiao" to the title.

<sup>105</sup> TCTC 216/6906-07, 08-09, 217/6910, 12-13; CTS 9/225, 199b/5353. Cf. Chiao-chu 21/1222.

<sup>106</sup> See n. 103, item (3).

<sup>107</sup> See HN, p. 84, text and pp. 84-85, note to the poem "Sung Ts'ui Tu huan Wu . . ." 送崔度還吳 (WC 17/818).

<sup>108</sup> See "Tseng Hsüan-ch'eng Yü-wen t'ai-shou . . ." 贈宣城宇文太守 (WC 12/609 ff.; written in 753; see n. 117), 11. 15-32 and "Teng Han-tan Hung-po-t'ai . . ." (see n. 103, (3)).

<sup>109</sup> See Pulleyblank, An Lu-shan, pp. 78-79.

<sup>110</sup> See "Tseng Hsüan-ch'eng Yü-wen t'ai-shou" (cited in n. 108). It is likely that the similar remarks in "Hsing hsing ch'ieh yu-lieh p'ien" 行行且游獵篇 (WC 3/181) were made for the same event. Cf. HN, p. 85.

<sup>111</sup> There is no direct indication of the time Li Po left Yu-chou. My speculation is based on two points:

(1) In "Pei feng hsing" 北風行 (WC 3/215), Li Po depicted a woman in Yu-chou longing for her husband, a soldier in the northern frontiers, in a 12th month. Although "Pei feng hsing" is a traditional song theme (see Yüeh-fu-shih chi 樂府詩集 65/936), the mention of such particular places in Yu-chou as the Yen-shan Mountain 燕山 and the Hsüan-yüan-t'ai Tower 軒轅臺 (see Wang Ch'i's annotations for their locations) may suggest that the above poem was not composed out of

sheer imagination. Besides, the winter was certainly not an ideal season for travelling in that region.

(2) The poet's following schedule shows that he could not have spent too much of the following year (753) in Yu-chou.

<sup>112</sup> See "Ching luan-li hou t'ien-en liu Yeh-lang i chiu-yu" (already cited in n. 103), ll. 47-64.

Influenced by Wang Chi (WC 35/1595), Chan Ying (HN, p. 85) believed that Li Po travelled to the T'ai-yüan area after he left Kuei-hsiang. But his view seems hardly convincing. First, he mistakenly read "西" for "因" in the title "Wei-chün pieh Su ming-fu Yin pei-yu" 魏郡別蘇明府因北游 (this poem is seen in WC 15/714; for my reading of its title, see Chiao-chu 15/912) and consequently held that Li Po travelled north-west after leaving Wei-chün on his return trip from Yu-chou. Second, both Wang and Chan treated "Liu-pieh Hsi-ho Liu shao-fu" 留別西河劉少府 (WC 15/716) as a major proof to their view on the ground that Fen-chou 汾州 (present Fen-yang 汾陽, Shansi) was changed into Hsi-ho-chün in 742 and this poem, with its mention of Li Po's 742-44 sojourn in Ch'ang-an, was obviously written after 742 (remember that Li Po had travelled to T'ai-yüan in 735-36). However, the name Hsi-ho in such an expression as "Hsi-ho Liu shao-fu" (shao-fu = hsien-wei 縣尉) conventionally meant Hsi-ho-hsien, not Hsi-ho-chün; and, as Chiao-chu (15/915) indicates, Hsi-ch'eng-hsien 隰城 of Fen-chou was not named Hsi-ho-hsien until 760 (YHCHTC 13/16a; HTS 39/1004). Chiao-chu is right in suspecting that the present title of this poem contains some corruption (it is rather definite that Li Po did not travel to the region in question after 760; see the text below). Third, according to my reconstruction of the poet's schedule for the rest of the year 753, which both Chan and Wang basically agreed with (WC 35/1598; HN, p. 91), there was hardly time for Li Po to travel to T'ai-yüan.

<sup>113</sup> See Tu-ku Chi 獨孤及, "Sung Li Po chih Ts'ao-nan hsü" 送李白之曹南序, WC 32/1492 or CTW 388/7. The parting of Tu-ku and Li must have taken place after Li Po's trip to Yu-chou as this trip is mentioned in Tu-ku's hsü. This work also indicates that the place of the parting was P'ing-t'ai 平臺, a historical site in Liang (see

Li Po's "Liang-yüan yin," WC 7/390 and Wang Ch'i's annotation to the name P'ing-t'ai in that poem).

It seems Ts'ao-chou was then often informally referred to as Ts'ao-nan (because there was a mountain named Ts'ao-nan in the south of this prefecture?). See Kua-ti-chih chi-chiao 3/163 and YHCHTC 11/1b; see also the title of the poem to be cited in n. 115.

114 Wei Hao said in his "Chin-ling ch'ou Han-lin che-hsien-tzu"  
 金陵酬翰林謫仙子 (WC 16/761): "The banished immortal stayed  
 at the Liang-yüan Garden; / His beloved son lived in Tsou-Lu. / In neither  
 of these places did I see [the poet]. / So, I left without delay and  
 went to Chiang-tung" 謫仙游梁園 愛子在鄒魯 二處一不見  
 拂衣向江東 . These lines seem to suggest that Wei Hao visited  
 Liang soon after Li Po left there, and was advised to go to Lu-chün to  
 look for the poet (Wei finally met Li Po in Kuang-ling in early 744; see  
 the following text). Cf. HN, p. 98.

115 See "Liu-pieh Ts'ao-nan chün kuan chih Chiang-nan" 留別曹南  
 群官之江南 , WC 15/708-09; see also HN, p. 91 and WC 35/1598, 12th  
 yr. t'ien-pao (read "12th yr." for the 2nd "11th yr." in this page).

116 See "Tzu Liang-yüan chih Ching-t'ing-shan chien Hui kung . . ."  
 自梁園之敬亭山見會公 and "Yu Ching-t'ing chi Ts'ui shih-yü"  
 遊敬亭寄崔侍御 (WC 12/620-21, 14/697). On the dates of  
 these two poems, see also WC 35/1598-99, 12th-13th yr. t'ien-pao and n. 117.

117 See "Tseng Hsüan-ch'eng Yü-wen t'ai-shou chien ch'eng Ts'ui  
 shih-yü" 贈宣城宇文太守兼呈崔侍御 (WC 12/609-13;  
 composed in 753, about three months after Li Po's arrival at Hsüan-chou,  
 according to HN, p. 95); "Hsüan-ch'eng chiu-jih wen Ts'ui ssu shih-yü  
 yü Yü-wen t'ai-shou yu Ching-t'ing, yü shih teng Hsiang-shan, pu t'ung  
 tz'u shang . . ." 宣城九日聞崔四侍御與宇文太守遊敬亭  
 余時登響山不同此賞 (WC 14/692-94; "chiu jih": the 9th  
 day of the 9th month); "Yu Ching-t'ing chi Ts'ui shih-yü" 遊敬亭  
 寄崔侍御 (WC 14/697), and "Teng Ching-t'ing pei er hsiao-shan,

yu shih [sung-] k'o feng Ts'ui shih-yü, ping teng tz'u ti" 登敬亭北二小山  
 余時[送]客逢崔侍御並登此地 (WC 21/1001-02; the emendation is after  
 Wang Ch'i).

118 (1) Li Po wrote a poem entitled "Wan-yüeh Chin-ling ch'eng  
 hsi Sun Ch'u chiu-lou . . . jih-wan ch'eng-tsui cho tzu-ch'i-ch'iu . . .  
 yü chiu-k'o shu-jen . . . wang Shih-t'ou [-ch'eng] fang Ts'ui ssu shih-yü"  
 翫月金陵城西孫楚酒樓... 日晚乘醉著紫綺裘... 與酒客數人...  
 往石頭[城]訪崔四侍御 (WC 19/894). The fur coat (ch'iu  
 裘) Li Po wore indicates that this poem was composed in winter or  
 early spring; the visit to the censor in attendance (shih-yü [-shih] 侍御  
 史) Mr. Ts'ui indicates that this poem was composed close to the time  
 of the poems mentioned in the previous note.

(2) Li Po met Wei Hao in the spring of 754 in Kuang-ling.

(3) According to "Chi Ts'ui shih-yü" 寄崔侍御 (WC 14/694-95;  
 cf. HN, p. 95), Li Po left the Ching-t'ing-shan Mountain in autumn.

119 See Li Po's "Sung Wang-wu shan-jen Wei Wan huan Wang-wu"  
 送王屋山人魏萬還王屋 (WC 16/748-61; Wei Wan = Wei Hao;  
 see Ch. 1, n. 2) and Wei Hao's "Chin-ling ch'ou Han-lin che-hsien-tzu"  
 金陵酬翰林謫仙子 (WC 16/761) and preface to Li Po's  
 collected works (WC 31/1450, 52). On the date, see also WC 35/1599,  
 13th yr. t'ien-pao.

120 See Li Po's "Sung Wang-wu shan-jen Wei Wan," esp. its preface,  
 and Wei Hao's preface to Li Po's collected works (WC 31/1451).

121 See ll. 99-110 of Li Po's "Sung Wang-wu shan-jen" and ll. 27-  
 40 of Wei Hao's "Chin-ling ch'ou Han-lin che-hsien-tzu." Wang Ch'i  
 (WC 35/1600, 13th yr. t'ien-pao; cf. HN, p. 97) seems right in identifying  
 this magistrate of Chiang-ning with Yang Li-wu 楊利物 in "Chiang-ning  
 Yang Li-wu hua-tsan" 江寧楊利物畫讚 (WC 28/1329). For some  
 more poems by Li Po about his association with Yang, see HN, pp. 97-98.

122 These poems are already cited in n. 119. According to the

last line of Wei's poem ("I expect to meet you in the mountains of the immortals in autumn" 秋期到仙山), Li and Wei parted before autumn. But since they spent about five months together (see the final line of Li's poem) after they met in spring, Li and Wei do not seem to have parted much earlier than autumn.

123 See Wei's preface, WC 31/1452.

124 Ibid., 31/1450-51. As Wang Ch'i (WC 31/1451) indicated, Chin-ling and Tan-sha are also mentioned in some other works by Li Po ("Shih Chin-ling-tzu" 示金陵子, WC 25/1196 and "Ch'u chi Chin-ling-tzu ch'eng Lu liu ssu-shou, ch'i ssu" 出妓金陵子呈盧六四首其四, WC 25/1197). I have read "wu" 舞 for "fu" 撫 in the expression "撫青海波" after Wang Ch'i (loc. cit.), who based his reading on the line "酣來自作青海舞" (After drinking to my heart's content, I performed the Ch'ing-hai-wu dance myself) in Li Po's "Tung-shan yin" 東山吟 (WC 7/404).

125 (1) In his "Shu-huai tseng Nan-ling Ch'ang tsan-fu" 書懷贈南陵常贊府 (WC 12/643; tsan-fu = hsien-ch'eng 縣丞, deputy magistrate) and "Teng Huang-shan Ling-hsiao-t'ai sung tsu-ti . . ." 登黃山凌歊臺送族弟 (WC 18/867-68, esp. ll. 11-18; the Huang-shan Mountain was located in Tang-t'u 當塗, Hsüan-ch'eng-chün (see Wang Ch'i's annotation to the title and TPHYC 105/35b) and should not be confused with the modern Huang-shan Mountain in southern Anhwei), Li Po mentioned the T'ang's repeated defeats in warfare against the Nan-chao 南詔 in Yün-nan and the continual crop failures and high prices of rice in the capital area as current national affairs that concerned him. From some other sources, we know that draughts and floods caused bad crops and famines in Kuan-chung in 743-44 (TCTC 217/6928; CTS 9/227, 29) and that the T'ang's intermittent warfare against the Nan-chao dragged on from as early as 751 and a very severe defeat was afflicted upon the T'ang army in summer of 754 (TCTC 216/6906-07, 12-13, 18, 217/6926-27; CTS 9/225, 228; and the sources cited in Chou Hsün-ch'u, Kao Shih nien-p'u, p. 77; also, cf. CTS 197/5281 and HTS 222a/6271). This means the

above poems were written in 754, after Li Po left Chiang-ning 江寧 ("Teng Huang-shan" was written in the 5th month (1. 7); "Shu-huai" seems to have been written in autumn (6th last line)). Judging from the existence of the following poems, Li Po must have stayed at Nan-ling for a while: "Yu Wu-sung-shan tseng Nan-ling Ch'ang tsan-fu" 遊五松山贈南陵常贊府 (WC 12/619; Wu-sung-shan was in Nan-ling; see n. 72) and "Yü Nan-ling Ch'ang tsan-fu yu Wu-sung-shan" 與南陵常贊府遊五松山 (WC 20/957).

(2) Judging from the poems Li Po wrote at Ch'iu-p'u to his wife Tsung (to be cited in n. 129), the poet moved to Ch'iu-p'u later. Since some other poems also written at Ch'iu-p'u mention snow ("Ch'iu-p'u Ch'ing-hsi hsüeh-yeh tui chiu . . ." 秋浦清溪雪夜對酒, WC 20/945; "Yu Ch'iu-p'u Po-kan-p'i er shou" 遊秋浦白筭陂二首 WC 20/947), Li Po must have moved there no later than winter of 744-45.

<sup>126</sup> See Chan Ying's comments in HN, p. 105, on the several works by Li Po concerning the prefect of Hsüan-ch'eng-chün Chao Yüeh.

<sup>127</sup> TCTC 217/6934-39.

<sup>128</sup> This view is first proposed in Kuo, pp. 27-28. Kuo cited four poems as evidence: (a) "Pen-wang tao-chung wu-shou ch'i ssu" 奔亡道中五首其四, WC 22/1015; (b) "Fu-feng hao-shih ko" 扶風豪士歌, WC 7/385 (The particular line cited by Kuo, "I, too, fled east to the state of Wu" 我亦東奔向吳國, is read as 我亦來奔漂溪上 in some other eds. (Chiao-chu 7/494). Li-hsi means Li-shui 漂水, a river in the south-west corner of the present Kiangsu; Li Po seems to have stayed there for a while after he fled to the south (see the text below)); (c) "Tseng Wu shih-ch'i o" 贈武十七諤, WC 11/557-58, esp. ll. 7-12; (d) "Meng-hu hsing" 猛虎行, WC 6/360-63. There is a lot of controversy on the authenticity of poem (d). But most parts of it tally very well with what we know about Li Po's whereabouts. We need more evidence to say anything definite on this problem. See Chiao-chu 6/468-70. I find that, besides these poems, "Ching luan-hou Chiang pi-ti Shan-chung . . ." (to be cited in n. 134) also provide strong

proof to Kuo's view.

<sup>129</sup> Several poems ("Ch'iu-p'u chi nei" 秋浦寄內, "Ch'iu-p'u kan chu-jen kuei-yen chi nei" 秋浦感主人歸燕寄內, and "Tzu tai nei tseng" 自代內贈 ("Written on Behalf of My Wife, Presented to Myself") in WC 25/1188, 1190, and 1189) together show that Li Po had left his wife behind in Liang (l. 15 of "Tzu tai nei tseng" and ll. 7-8 of "Ch'iu-p'u chi nei") for about "three years" ("Ch'iu-p'u chi nei") when he was living at Ch'iu-p'u. In the Chinese way, the expression "three years" might very well refer to the period between the autumn of 753 (when Li Po came south from Liang) and sometime in 755. Cf. HN, p. 112-13; also, see the next note.

<sup>130</sup> I make this speculation because Li Po was accompanied by his wife when he lived in seclusion in the Lu-shan Mountain in 756 (see the following text).

<sup>131</sup> See "Tseng Wu shih-ch'i 0" (already cited in n. 128). This poem was written somewhere in the Wu 吳 region (l. 2). Judging from the timetable of Li Po, it seems to have been written in the first half of 756. Cf. HN, p. 109.

<sup>132</sup> See l. 17 of "Wan-fen tz'u t'ou Wei lang-chung" 萬憤詞投魏郎中 (WC 24/1122; written in the spring of 757; see below, n. 138, (b)): "I am worried about my beloved son who lives north of the Mu-ling-kuan Pass" 穆陵關北愁愛子. The Mu-ling-kuan Pass was in I-chou 沂州, a prefecture south-east of Yen-chou (Lu-chün), where Po-ch'in had lived for a long time (for the location of this pass, see HTS 38/996 and Wang Ch'i's annotation in WC 24/1123-24). For Li Po's imprisonment in Hsun-yang, see the text below.

<sup>133</sup> In his preface to Li Po's collected works, Wei Hao said that Li Po's first wife had given birth to a daughter and a son and the daughter had got married and died (WC 31/1451). This daughter of Li Po is no

doubt P'ing-yang. Although Wei's preface was composed around 762 (see p. 7), I suspect that the above information was based on what Li Po told Wei when the two of them were together in 754.

<sup>134</sup> See "Ching luan hou chiang pi-ti Shan-chung liu-tseng Ts'ui Hsüan-ch'eng" 經亂後將避地剡中留贈崔宣城, WC 12/636-37. The calamity mentioned in the title refers to the rebellion of An Lu-shan, which is described in the first 16 lines of the poem. The mention of the willow catkins in the town (l. 23) indicates that this poem was composed in spring. Cf. HN, p. 110.

<sup>135</sup> See Wang Ch'i's comments in WC 35/1601-02, 1st yr. chih-te, on the works "Ch'un yu Ku-shu sung Chao ssu liu yen-fang hsü" 春於姑熟送趙四流炎方序 and "Meng-hu hsing" 猛虎行 (these works are seen in WC 27/1265-66 and 6/360-63; for the latter, see also n. 128) and Chan Ying's comments in HN, pp. 109-11, on the poems "Fu-feng hao-shih ko" 扶風豪士歌, "Tseng Li-yang Sung shao-fu Chih" 贈漂陽宋少府陟, and "Kan-shih liu-pieh tsung-hsiung Hsü-wang Yen-nien tsung-ti Yen-ling" 感時留別從兄徐王延年從弟延陵 (WC 7/385, 10/540, 15/720-24).

<sup>136</sup> From "Wei Sung chung-ch'eng tzu-chien piao" (WC 26/1218), "Tseng Wang p'an-kuan shih yü kuei-yin chü Lu-shan P'ing-feng-tieh" 贈王判官時余歸隱居廬山屏風疊 (WC 11/553) and "Ching luan-li hou t'ien-en liu Yeh-lang i chiu-yu . . ." (WC 11/567-76, esp. ll. 89-92 on p. 572), we know that Li Po lived in seclusion in the Lu-shan Mountain right before he joined the fleet of Li Lin around the turn of 756-57 (on this event, see the following text). As Kuo (p. 28) holds, the set of three poems entitled "Pieh nei fu cheng" 別內赴徵 (WC 25/1187-88) seems to have been composed when Li Po left his wife to join Prince Lin's fleet.

<sup>137</sup> See Ch. 3, pp

<sup>138</sup> (a) Most of the above accounts are mainly based on "Wei Sung



chung-ch'eng tzu-chien piao" (WC 26/1217 ff., esp. 1217-18), "Sung Chang hsiu-ts'ai yeh Kao chung-ch'eng" 送張秀才謁高中丞 (WC 18/842-43, esp. its preface), "Tsai Hsün-yang fei-suo chi nei" 在尋陽非所寄內 (WC 25/1192-93; fei-suo: prison), "Shang Ts'ui hsiang [Huan] pai-yu chang" 上崔相[渙]百憂章 (WC 24/1118-19), "Hsi Hsün-yang [yü] shang Ts'ui hsiang Huan san-shou" 繫尋陽[獄]上崔相渙三首 (WC 11/602-04), and "Chung-ch'eng Sung kung [Jo-ssu] i Wu ping san-ch'ien fu Ho-nan, chün tz'u Hsün-yang, tuo yü chih ch'iu, ts'an-mou mu-fu, yin tseng chih" 中丞宋公[若思]以吳兵三千赴河南軍次尋陽脫余之囚參謀幕府因贈之 (WC 11/561).

(b) For the dangerous situations Li Po experienced, see "Wan-fen tz'u t'ou Wei lang-chung" 萬憤詞投魏郎中 (WC 24/1122; cf. HN, pp. 119-20); the season when Li Po got imprisoned (spring), is indicated in l. 13 of the same poem.

(c) As Wang Ch'i (WC 35/1606, 2nd yr. chih-te) pointed out, Ts'ui Huan, who had formerly been a chief minister, was on the post mentioned here between the 11th month of 756 and the 8th month of 757 (CTS 10/244, 246; TCTC 219/7007, 7028; HTS 62/1693-94). It is not clear exactly when Ts'ui was in charge of Li Po's case.

(d) On the date when Sung released Li Po and kept the poet in his headquarters, see the comments on the works Li Po wrote about Sung in WC 35/1606, 2nd yr. chih-te and HN, p. 121. (Both Wang and Chan give 十月壬子 (8th day) as the date of the recovery of Lo-yang, obviously after the Pen-chi 本紀 of the HTS (6/159). The TCTC K'ao-i (220/7040-41), however, rejects this date and, like the CTS (10/247), gives 壬戌 (18th day).) The memorial Sung sent to recommend Li Po was drafted by the poet himself and was entitled "Wei Sung chung-ch'eng tzu-chien piao." Li Po's presence in Wu-ch'ang with Sung is shown in "P'ei Sung chung-ch'eng Wu-ch'ang yeh yin huai-ku" 陪宋中丞武昌夜飲懷古 (WC 22/1043). As Wang Ch'i (WC 35/1606, 2nd yr. chih-te) pointed out, ll. 5-6 of this poem show that the poem was composed in late autumn.

(e) Tseng Kung (preface to Li Po's collected works, WC 31/1479) and the HTS (202/5763) seem groundless in respectively holding that Li Po

fled to Su-sung 宿松 after Prince Lin's defeat and that he was imprisoned at Hsun-yang after being pardoned from his banishment to Yeh-lang. See the next note, HN, p. 122, and WC 35/1605.

139 For Chang's appointment, see CTS 10/246, 111/3327 and TCTC 219/7029. The poems Li Po wrote to Chang are "Tseng Chang hsiang Hao er-shou" 贈張相鎬二首 (WC 11/594 ff.). Line 37 of the 1st poem says that the poet was then "lying ill in the mountains in Su-sung" 臥病宿松山. (Some eds. read "古松滋" for "宿松山" (Chiao-chu 11/759). According to TPHYC 125/10, Su-sung had been named Sung-tzu 松滋 before T'ang times.) In some other eds., the 2nd of the above poems is given the additional title "Shu-huai ch'ung-chi Chang hsiang-kung" 書懷重寄張相公 (Chiao-chu 11/759). This means the 2nd of these poems was composed after the 1st. In the 2nd poem, the poet showed his wish to make contribution to the conquest of the rebels and the "purification of the water of Lo-yang" (l. 23 ff., quotation from l. 26). This suggests that this poem was composed before the recovery of Lo-yang on the 18th day of the 10th month (see the previous note) or, at least, before the news of this event was known to Li Po (cf. HN, p. 122).

Chan Ying (HN, p. 122) was puzzled by a note attached to the title of the above set of poems in some important eds., which says that these poems were written when Li Po was fleeing from a certain catastrophe (the entire note reads "時逃難病在宿松山作"; see Chiao-chu, loc. cit.). As Chan himself suggested in "Pan-pen hsü-lu" (see Introd., pp. 2-3 and n. 6), however, a note of this kind often comes from Tseng Kung instead of Li Po. This seems true in the case of the particular note mentioned above, judging from the fact that, in his postface to Li Po's collected works, Tseng held that the poet fled to Su-sung after the defeat of the Prince of Yung (see the previous note). In addition, if the poet was indeed trying to escape the trouble caused by his involvement in the prince's rebellion, he would have tried his best to avoid getting into contact with any official.

In holding that Li Po went to Su-sung after the outbreak of the rebellion of An Lu-shan, the compiler of the HTS (202/5763) seems to

have been entrapped by the above note in another way.

<sup>140</sup> The verdict is clearly indicated in most of the poems to be cited in this note. The date of the verdict is inferred as follows:

(1) On the 15th day of the 12th month of 757, a general amnesty and a nation-wide 5-day public feast (pu 醺) were promulgated to celebrate the return of Hsuan-tsung to Ch'ang-an (HTS 6/159; CTS 10/249-50; TCTC 220/7044-46). The title and content of "Liu Yeh-lang wen pu pu-yü" 流夜郎聞醺不預 (WC 25/1163) show that this poem was written on the above occasion. (The expression "liu Yeh-lang" means only that the poet had been so convicted; Li Po never really arrived in Yeh-lang.) Hence, when the above promulgation became effective in Chiang-nan, Li Po had already received his verdict.

(2) In "Tzu Pa-tung chou-hsing ching Ch'ü-t'ang-hsia . . ." 自巴東舟行經瞿塘峽 (WC 22/1021), a poem written in the spring of 759 (see n. 145), Li Po said: "I have travelled along the [Yangtze] River for several thousand li's, and the moon over the waters had turned round for fifteen times" 江行幾千里海月十五圓. This suggests that Li Po had set out on his journey to Yeh-lang (see the following text) very early in 758.

For the location of Yeh-lang, see YHCHTC 30/7b-8a, "Chen-chou" 珍州, HTS 41/1076, "Chen-chou" 溱州, and Tz'u-hai (1979 ed.), vol. 1, p. 804.

Since P'ei Ching's 裴敬 "Han-lin hsüeh-shih Li kung mu-pei" 翰林學士李公墓碑 (WC 31/1469 ff., esp. p. 1470), many sources (see HN, pp. 16-18) have held that Li Po had been pardoned death penalty through the petition of Kuo Tzu-i 郭子儀, whom the poet had once helped in Ping-chou (T'ai-yüan). Chan Ying (HN, loc. cit.) has effectively demonstrated that the story of Li Po helping Kuo in Ping-chou is groundless, and that one can never confirm Kuo's involvement in Li Po's case.

<sup>141</sup> Hsün-yang is the east-most place of this journey shown in Li Po's works. Besides, since Hsün-yang was the place where the poet's case had been taken charge of and the poet was still living near that

place late in 757, it seems very likely that his verdict was put in force there.

<sup>142</sup> See "Liu Yeh-lang, Yung-hua-ssu chi Hsün-yang ch'ün kuan" 流夜郎永華寺寄潯陽羣官 (WC 14/684-85; there is little doubt that the Yung-hua-ssu Temple was near Hsün-yang; see Chiao-chu 14/873) and "Ts'uan Yeh-lang, yü Wu-chiang liu-pieh Tsung shih-liu Ching" 竄夜郎於烏江留別宗十六璟 (WC 15/729 ff.). The Wu-chiang River was located near Hsun-yang; see TPHYC 111/6a, "Te-hua-hsien" of "Chiang-chou" 江州德化縣. Tsung Ching was a younger brother of Li Po's wife (ll. 13-14 and n. 104); he seems to have come from afar to see the poet off (ll. 21-22). The expression "liu-pieh" 留別 indicates that Tsung Ching would not accompany the poet farther west. Lines 19-20 of the 2nd poem show that the poet's wife was then with her husband and her brother. (These two lines are: "拙妻莫邪劍. 及此二龍隨." Mo-yeh 莫邪 was the female one of the famous legendary couple of swords (the male one being Kan-chiang 干將); see the sources cited in WC 15/731, annotation 8. It is said that, after a period of separation, these two swords became two dragons and were reunited; see the biography of Chang Hua 張華 in Chin shu 36/1075-76. Hence, what Li Po said through these lines is something like "Now finally we husband and wife are together.") From the above poem to Tsung Ching, we do not know if Li Po's wife went any farther with him. But a poem Li Po wrote in 759 shows that she seems to have gone to live in Yü-chang before long (see the following text and n. 146).

It should be pointed out that the modern Wu-chiang River, which runs into the Yangtze River at Fu-ling 涪陵, Szechwan, was known as Fu-chiang 涪江, Fu-ling-shui 涪陵水, Nei-chiang 內江, or Ch'ien-chiang 黔江 before Sung times (see TPHYC 120/1, 10b; YTKC 33/5b) and should not be confused with the Wu-chiang River mentioned above.

<sup>143</sup> See "Chang hsiang-kung ch'u-chen Ching-chou, hsün ch'u t'ai-tzu chan-shih, yü shih liu Yeh-lang, hsing chih Chiang-hsia, yü Chang kung

hsiang ch'ü ch'ien-li, kung yin t'ai-fu-ch'eng Wang hsi shih ch'e chi lo-i er-shih, chi wu-yüeh wu-jih tseng yü shih, yü ta i tz'u shih" 張相公出鎮荊州尋除太子詹事余時流夜郎行至江夏與張公相去千里公因太府丞王昔使車寄羅衣=事及五月五日贈余詩余答以此詩 (Wc 19/899; the passage "kung yin . . . er-shih" is not completely clear, but it seems certain that the poet meant Chang had sent some gifts to him through a certain Mr. Wang). The Master Chang referred to in this title is Chang Hao 張鎬. According to CTS 10/252, HTS 62/1694, and TCTC 220/7054, Chang was appointed the chief administrator and defense commissioner (fang-yü-shih 防禦使) of Ching-chou on the 17th day (wu-tzu 戊子) of the 5th month of 758. Chang's appointment as the general intendant of the household of the crown prince (t'ai-tzu chan-shih), which Li Po said had taken place soon (hsün 尋) after the previous appointment, is not known to us through any other source. It is only known that Chang was appointed a monitor of the crown prince (t'ai-tzu pin-k'o 賓客) later (CTS 111/3327, 10/258; HTS 139/4631). But this does not mean that the above title is not reliable, because in accordance with Tu-ku Chi 獨孤友 ("T'ang ku Hung-chou tz'u-shih Chang kung i-ai pei" 唐故洪州刺史張公遺愛碑, CTW 390/8b-9a; see also Wang Ch'i's interpretation of the relevant passage from this work in WC 35/1608, 1st yr. ch'ien-yüan), Chang's appointment as t'ai-tzu pin-k'o did not take place until 759. Chan Ying (HN, pp. 127-28) insisted that the name t'ai-tzu chan-shih in the above title must have been a mistake. His reason is that the number of officials in this office was only one at a time in the T'ang (HTS 49a/1292), and some works by Kao Shih seem to show that Kao held this post between the 5th months of 758 and of 759 ("Huan-ching tz'u Sui-yang chi Chang Hsün, Hsü Yüan wen" 還京次睢陽祭張巡許遠文, "Hsieh shang P'eng-chou tz'u-shih piao" 謝上彭州刺史表, and "T'ung . . . Li shao-yin . . . yeh-yin . . . tso ch'un-chiu ko" 同 . . . 李少尹 . . . 夜飲 . . . 作春酒歌 in CTW 357/21, 8-9 and CTShih 213/2222-23). In fact, however, these works of Kao show that Kao's post was the viceroy one in Lo-yang; they do not contradict the above title.

Lines 11-14 of "Liu Yeh-lang chih Hsi-sai-i chi P'ei Yin" 流夜郎

至西塞驛寄裴隱 (WC 14/685) show that by early summer Li Po had arrived at the Hsi-sai-i currier station, which seems to have been located near Chiang-hsia (see WC 14/685, TPHYC 27/3a, and T'ai-p'ing yü-lan 48/4a).

<sup>144</sup> See "Fan Mien-chou ch'eng nan Lang-kuan-hu" 泛沔州城南郎官湖 (WC 20/950-51) and "Chi Wang Han-yang" 寄王漢陽 (WC 14/683). For the location of this prefecture, see HTS 41/1068-69, "O-chou" 鄂州 and Tz'u-hai (1979 ed.), vol. 2, p. 2046. Han-yang was a hsien in this prefecture.

<sup>145</sup> See "Tzu Pa-tung chou-hsing ching Ch'ü-t'ang-hsia teng Wu-shan tsui-kao-feng wan huan t'i-pi" 自巴東舟行經瞿唐峽登巫山最高峰晚還題壁 (WC 22/1021). Wang Ch'i (annotation to the above title) was right in identifying Pa-tung with Kuei-chou 歸州, which was located in what is the border area of Hupei and Szechwan; see TPHYC 148/7b-12a and HTS 40/1028. CTS 39/1554 and TPHYC 148/8a are not reliable in saying that Po-ti-ch'eng 白帝城 (where the Ch'ü-t'ang-hsia Gorge was) was included in Hsing-shan-hsien 興山縣 of Kuei-chou. Po-ti-ch'eng was far upstream of the Yangtze River from Hsing-shan hsien; see TPHYC 148/12, "chiao-k'an" 校勘 and 148/4, "K'uei-chou" 夔州. It is not clear where what Li Po called the highest peak of the Wu-shan Mountain was located and why the poet did not climb the mountain at the Wu-hsia Gorge 巫峽 (east of the Ch'ü-t'ang-hsia Forge), which was closer to the Wu-shan Mountain (cf. HN, p. 131). Judging from the timetable of Li Po's following travels and the 1st two lines of this poem (see n. 140, (2)), Li Po had arrived at the Ch'ü-t'ang-hsia Gorge around the time presented here.

<sup>146</sup> In "Nan liu Yeh-lang chi nei" 南流夜郎寄內 (WC 25/1193), Li Po said: "It looks the wild geese returning north in spring will all pass soon. / Coming south I have not received any letter from Yü-chang (where the poet's wife then lived)" 北雁春歸看欲盡，南來不得豫章書. The first line quoted here suggests that this poem was

written toward late spring (the 3rd month). Since in the spring of 758 Li Po was still travelling east of Chiang-hsia and, hence, was travelling north-west, this poem must have been written in the spring of 759 when Li Po had passed the Ch'ü-t'ang-hsia Gorge and was travelling south up the Yangtze River.

147 The poem referred to here is "Ts'uan Yeh-lang yü Wu-chiang liu-pieh Tsung shih-liu Ching" (already cited in n. 142). On the location of the Ming-yüeh-hsia Gorge, see TPHYC 136/8, "Pa-hsien" 巴縣 of "Yü-chou" 渝州, and Chung-hua jen-min kung-ho-kuo fen-sheng ti-t'u chi, p. 118.

148 The poem "Liu Yeh-lang pan-tao ch'eng-en fang-huan, chien hsin k'o-fu chih mei shu-huai shih Hsi hsiu-ts'ai" 流夜郎半道承恩放還兼欣剋復之美書懷示息秀才 (WC 11/591, esp. title and 11. 13-14) clearly indicates that the poet was pardoned halfway. In "Tzu Han-yang ping-chiu kuei chi Wang ming-fu" 自漢陽病酒歸寄王明府 (WC 14/686; cf. n. 150), Li Po said: "Last year I was banished to Yeh-lang. . . . / This year a decree set me free south of the Wu-shan Mountain" 去歲左遷夜郎道...今年勅放巫山陽. This shows that the poet was pardoned not very far beyond the Ch'ü-t'ang-hsia Gorge.

There are two poems by Li Po entitled "Tseng tsung-ti Nan-p'ing t'ai-shou Chih-yao er shou" 贈從弟南平太守之遷二首 (WC 11 /586-89; Nan-p'ing-chün = Yü-chou 渝州, modern Ch'ung-ch'ing). According to the 2nd of these poems (contents and the poet's note), Li Chih-yao had then been demoted to a post in Wu-ling 武陵 (modern Ch'ang-te 常德, Hunan) and seems to have been on his way to Wu-ling when this poem was written. Wang Ch'i (annotation to the poem to be cited immediately) held that the name Nan-p'ing in l. 17 of "Chiang-hsia tseng Wei Nan-ling Ping" 江夏贈韋南陵冰 (WC 11/584), a poem written shortly after Li Po was pardoned (see WC 35/1609-10, 2nd yr. ch'ien-yüan), referred to Li Chih-yao (the prefect of Nan-p'ing). What Wang assumed is very likely to have been the case. If so, I would believe that Li Po met Li Chih-yao in Chiang-hsia, the poet's first main stop after he was

pardoned from his exile (see the text below). At any rate, Chan Ying (HN, p. 131) was not convincing in holding that the simple use of the official title "prefect of Nan-p'ing" in the title of the above poems meant Li Chih-yao had not been off his post in Nan-p'ing and Li Po had met him in or near that place when heading for Yeh-lang (Li Po met the Vice-President of the Ministry of Punishments Li Yeh 李晔 after the latter had been demoted from that position, but the poet still mentioned Yeh with this title; see below, n. 153).

There are some lines by Li Po that do appear as if they contradicted the account given here. In "Chiang-shang tseng Tou chang-shih" 江上贈竇長史 (WC 11/580), Li Po said: "I was banished ten thousand li's south to the land of Yeh-lang; / Now, after three years I have returned to Ch'ang-feng-sha" 萬里南遷夜郎國. 三年歸及長風沙. In "I Ch'iu-p'u t'ao-hua chiu-yu, shih ts'uan Yeh-lang" 憶秋浦桃花舊遊. 時竄夜郎 (WC 23/1088), he said: "When after three years I return from Yeh-lang, I shall come here to build up golden bones (Taoist activity)" 三載夜郎還. 於茲鍊金骨. Such words as these sometimes would make people think that Li Po was not pardoned until about three years after his conviction (see Chiao-chu 21/1257, 25/1464). As will be shown in the following text, however, Li Po did not come to the Ch'ang-feng-sha area (in modern Huai-ling 懷寧, Anhwei, along the Yangtze River; see TPHYC 125/5, "Shu-chou" 舒州) after his pardon until 760 or even 761, and the expression "san-nien" in "Chiang-shang" seems to have referred to the period from 758 (when Li Po was convicted) to 760 or 761 (cf. WC 35/1611, 1st yr. shang-yüan and HN, p. 147). As for the lines from "I Ch'iu-p'u t'ao-hua," my explanation is as follows. Li Po used the expression "san-nien" in still other poems concerning his banishment. For example, ll. 5-6 of "Fang hou yü en pu chan" 放後遇恩不霑 (WC 25/1164): "I am alone abandoned to the state of Ch'ang-sha (referring to Yeh-lang; see below), / And for three years shall not be allowed to return" 獨棄長沙國. 三年未許回; and the last couplet of "Tseng-pieh Cheng p'an-kuan" 贈別鄭判官 (WC 15/733): "For three years [I shall] chant [verses] along the meadow. / Laden with sorrow, when can I return?" 三年吟澤畔. 顚顚幾時回



(WC reads " 二 " for " 三 ", but, as Chiao-chu 15/935 indicates, most other major eds. read " 三 ". From the following discussion, it will be clear that " 三 " is the right reading.) These two examples show that Li Po had compared his banishment to the similar situations which Ch'ü Yüan and Chia I 賈誼 had encountered. (In some works attributed to Ch'ü Yüan, it is said that, after he was exiled from the capital of Ch'u 楚, Ch'ü often chanted literary works along the meadows and was not pardoned even after three years; see "Yü-fu" 漁父 and "Pu chü" 卜居 in Wen hsüan 33 and cf. Shih chi 84/2481-86. Chia I was demoted to the state of Ch'ang-sha 長沙國 and, after living there for three years, wrote a fu about his sad situation; see Shih chi 84/2496-2502 and Chia's "Fu-niao fu" 鴈鳥賦 in Wen hsüan 13.) Therefore, the expression "san-nien" in the poems in question should not be understood literally at all.

149 In the famous poem "Tsao fa Po-ti-ch'eng" 早發白帝城 (WC 22/1022), Li Po said: "In the morning I bade adieu to the Po-ti-ch'eng city (in modern Feng-chieh 奉節, Szechwan) in rosy clouds; / In one single day I have returned to Chiang-ling a thousand li's away" 朝辭白帝彩雲間. 千里江陵一日還. (Except for his 724 journey, Li Po seems to have travelled east along the Yangtze River out of Szechwan only once; the word "huan" in the above poem shows that the poem was not written in the 724 journey.) According to some sources cited in Chiao-chu 22/1281, boats did sail down this section of the Yangtze River at extremely high speed, and the above lines by Li Po are not a sheer hyperbole.

150 Judged from its title and contents, "Ching-men fu-chou wang Shu chiang" 荊門浮舟望蜀江 (WC 22/1019) was written on a journey from Szechwan to the east. As Chan Ying (HN, p. 132) pointed out, the last couplet of this poem ("From the lights in the distance, I know Chiang-ling is ahead. / I now must have arrived at the Chu-kung Palace (site of an ancient palace in Chiang-ling)" 江陵識暹火. 應到渚宮城 ) shows that the poem was written on Li Po's return trip from his banishment, because the poet was then obviously

not arriving in Chiang-ling for the first time (see the previous note). Judging from the line "It (the water of the Yangtze River) is exactly the peach-blossom flow" 正是桃花流 (peach-blossom flow: flow from rain and thawing snow in the 2nd or 3rd month, when the peach trees blossom; see Wang Ch'i's annotation and Tz'u yüan (1979 ed.), vol. 2, p. 1569), this poem was written in the 3rd month (759). "Su Wu-shan hsia" 宿巫山下 (WC 22/1045), which mentions the 3rd month and also the peach blossoms, seems to have been written on the same trip.

"Tzu Han-yang ping-chiu kuei chi Wang ming-fu" was written in Chiang-hsia in the spring of 759, after the poet was pardoned (see the lines from this poem cited in n. 148, which indicate the year; the last line of the same poem, which shows the season; and the accounts in the following text concerning Li Po's association with the magistrate of Han-yang Mr. Wang, which indicate the place.

<sup>151</sup> For Li Po's association with Wei, see "Ching luan-li hou, t'ien-en liu Yeh-lang, i chiu-yu shu-huai tseng Chiang-hsia Wei t'ai-shou Liang-tsai" 經亂離後天恩流夜郎憶舊遊書懷贈江夏章太守良宰 (WC 11/567-76), esp. from l. 109 ("一忝青雲客") onwards; see also above, p. 59. For the poet's association with Wang, see "Tzu Han-yang ping-chiu kuei chi Wang ming-fu" (already cited in n. 150). It is likely that "Wang Han-yang liu-se chi Wang tsai" 望漢陽柳色寄王宰 (WC 14/687) was also composed at this time (cf. WC 35/1610, 2nd yr. ch'ien-yüan and HN, p. 141). There seems little doubt that this Mr. Wang was identical with the Mr. Wang mentioned in the poems cited in n. 144, whom Li Po first knew in Han-yang-hsien of Mien-chou in the summer of 758.

"Ta P'ei shih-yü . . . ch'i yüeh-man fan Tung-t'ing" 答裴侍御... 期月滿泛洞庭 (WC 19/901-02), which was composed shortly before Li Po left Chiang-hsia for Pa-ling (see the poem and Chan's comments on it; also see n. 153), shows that Li Po was still in Chiang-hsia in early autumn. According to ll. 109-16 of it, "Ching luan-li hou" was composed in autumn. Cf. WC 35/1609, 2nd yr. ch'ien-yüan and HN, pp. 133-34.

<sup>152</sup> See ll. 155-56 of "Ching luan-li hou" (cited in n. 151).

153 (1) As Wang Ch'i (WC 35/1610, 2nd yr. ch'ien-yüan; read "luan" 亂 for "p'ing" 平 in the title "Ching-chou tsei p'ing . . . ;" for the reason of this reading, see below) pointed out, a rebellion broke out in Hsiang-chou 襄州 in the 8th month of 759 and the rebels seized Ching-chou 荊州 in the 9th month and were not conquered until the 11th month (TCTC 221/7080-81, 88; CTS 10/156-57). Li Po's "Chiu-jih teng Pa-ling chih-chiu wang Tung-t'ing shui-chün" 九日登巴陵置酒望洞庭水軍 (WC 21/993-94) and "Ching-chou tsei luan lin Tung-t'ing yen-huai tso" 荊州賊亂臨洞庭言懷作 (WC 24/1125-26; the contents of this poem clearly show that those eds. which read "平" for "亂" are not reliable; see HN, p. 138 and Chiao-chu 24/1413) obviously mention this rebellion. This is a strong indication that Li Po was in Pa-ling in the 9th month ("chiu-jih" 九日 : the 9th day of the 9th month) of 759.

(2) "P'ei tsu-shu Hsing-pu-shih-lang Yeh chi Chung-shu Chia she-jen Chih yu Tung-t'ing wu-shou" 陪族叔刑部侍郎曄及中書舍人至遊洞庭五首 (WC 20/953-55) and "P'ei shih-lang shu yu Tung-t'ing tsui-hou san-shou" 陪侍郎叔遊洞庭醉後三首 (WC 20/951-52; "shih-lang shu" 侍郎叔 refers to Li Yeh) were all written during this sojourn. (As Wang Ch'i (WC 20/953-54, 35/1610) pointed out, Li Yeh was demoted from the post of vice-president of the ministry of punishments to a position in the Wu-ling 五嶺 (mountains on the border of modern Kiangsi, Hunan and Kwangtung) region in the 4th month of 759 (TCTC 221/7076-77 and biography of Li Hsien 李峴 in CTS 112/3344-45; cf. CTS 10/256 and HTS 6/162). Li Yeh must have travelled to Pa-ling in autumn. Chan Ying (HN, pp. 137-38) pointed out that Chia Chih seems to have come to Pa-ling, where he would be the senior administrator (ssu-ma 司馬), at approximately the same time from his post as prefect in Ju-chou 汝州.) From some poems to the censor in attendance P'ei by Li Po and Chia Chih, we know that P'ei also associated with the three persons mentioned above (see Li Po, "Chih Ya-lan-i shang Po-ma-chi tseng P'ei shih-yü" 至鴨欄驛上白馬磯贈裴侍御 and "Yeh fan Tung-t'ing hsün P'ei shih-yü ch'ing-cho" 夜泛洞庭尋裴侍御清酌' WC 22/1018, 20/953, and Chia Chih, "Ch'u chih Pa-ling

yü Li shih-er Po, P'ei chiu t'ung fan Tung-t'ing-hu san-shou" 初至巴陵  
與李十二白裴九同泛洞庭湖三首 and "Tseng P'ei chiu shih-yü . . ."  
贈裴九侍御 , CTShih 235/2598, 2592).

154 See HN, p. 139 and CTShih 235/2598.

155 First, as Chan Ying pointed out (HN, p. 141), "Tsao-ch'un chi Wang Han-yang" 早春寄王漢陽 (WC 14/689) seems to have been written in Wu-ch'ang (Chiang-hsia) in an early spring after 759. (Some eds. read the name Wu-ch'ang in l. 3 as Wu-yang 武陽 (Chiao-chu 14/878). But the contents of this poem clearly show that the poem was written near Han-yang. Hence, "Wu-ch'ang" must be the right reading.) Second, when he first came back to Chiang-hsia from his banishment in 759, Li Po also associated with a Mr. Fu 輔, who held the post of lu-shih 錄事 (court notary) in Han-yang (see "Chiang-hsia chi Han-yang Fu lu-shih" 江夏寄漢陽輔錄事 , WC 14/688; see also Chan Ying's note on this poem in HN, p. 136). And according to "Tseng Han-yang Fu lu-shih er-shou" 贈漢陽輔錄事二首 (WC 11/582-83), Li Po seems to have, after a period of absence, come back to the same region to find that Fu had been dismissed from his post for some time. In accordance with his time-table, Li Po most probably returned to Chiang-hsia in early 760.

156 In "Yu Hsieh shih shan-t'ing" 遊謝氏山亭 (WC 20/941), Li Po said that he was very old (l. 1), leading an idle life (l. 3), glad that the empire had pacified (l. 2), and satisfied that, when coming home from an outing, he was welcomed by a young child (last couplet). This suggests that the poet once lived with his family when the rebellion of An Lu-shan had been mostly suppressed, that is, toward the end of his life. This poem was composed in early spring (ll. 7 and 10).

As mentioned in p. 63, Li Po's wife Tsung was still living in Yü-chang in early 759; there is no indication whatsoever that she moved to other places afterwards. According to the epitaph Li Hua wrote in Li Po's honor (WC 31/1459), Li Po was survived by two sons, Po-ch'in and T'ien-jan

天然 (Li Hua's words are: "有子曰伯禽天然長能持幼能辯"; Chan Ying (HN, p. 146, note on the poem mentioned above) is very convincing in reading "天然" as a proper name. Much of the quoted passage would be almost nonsense if these two characters are read otherwise; cf. Kuo, p. 33). Before this epitaph, Li Po himself also mentioned in a poem written 757 in the prison of Hsün-yang ("Shang Ts'ui hsiang pai-yu chang" 上崔相百憂章, WC 24/1118-19, esp. 11. 29-30) that he had two children then. Is it that the two children Li Po mentioned in 757 were none other than Po-ch'in and T'ien-jan? (Li Po's daughter P'ing-yang seems to have died before 757; see p. 61.) If so, is T'ien-jan the formal name of Po-li 皮良瑤, the son Li Po had through his common-law wife from Lu? (For information about this son and this wife of Li Po, see p. 57. When mentioning Li Po's sons in his preface (WC 31/1451), Wei Hao gives us only their nicknames: Ming-yüeh-nu 明月奴 (Po-ch'in, the son borne by the poet's first wife Hsü) and Po-li.) Or is he a son borne by Tsung? I am inclined to accept the final assumption although I cannot find any way to prove it. At any rate, the young child mentioned here in the text must have been T'ien-jan.

<sup>157</sup> TCTC 222/7114; CTS 10/261; HTS 6/164. At that time, one of Li Kuang-pi's official titles was t'ai-wei 太尉 (grand commander of the armies). On the location of Lin-huai, see HTS 38/990 and Tz'u hai (1979 ed.), vol. 2, p. 2096.

<sup>158</sup> See "Wen Li t'ai-wei (Li Kuang-pi) ta-chü Ch'in-ping pai-wan ch'u-cheng tung-nan, nuo-fu ch'ing-ying, chi shen i-ko-chih-yung, pan-tao ping-huan, liu-pieh Chin-ling Ts'ui shih-yü shih-chiu yün" 聞李太尉大舉秦兵百萬出征東南懦夫請纓冀申一割之用半道病還留別金陵崔侍御十九韻. This poem was written in the autumn of that year; see HN, p. 149.

<sup>159</sup> According to Wang Ch'i (WC 35/1612; the account cited from the CTS is seen in 10/260), Li Po's "Hsüan-ch'eng sung Liu fu-shih ju Ch'in" 宣城送劉副使入秦 (WC 18/862) was very probably written in the

winter of 761. The poet obviously left Chin-ling for Hsüan-ch'eng before then. Judging from its last 14 lines, Li Po's "Hsien tsung-shu Tang-t'u tsai Yang-ping" 獻從叔當塗宰陽冰 (WC 12/639-42) was written to seek patronage from Ying-ping. The 6th to the 3rd last lines of this poem show that the poem was composed in late autumn or early winter; the mention of the poet's recent trip from Chin-ling to Hsüan-ch'eng means this poem was composed soon after the poet's arrival at Tang-t'u (cf. WC 35/1614 and HN, p. 153). See also Li Yang-ping, WC 31/1446.

<sup>160</sup> On the date of Li Po's death, see Ch. 1, p. 8 and n. 8. According to Li Yang-ping and Liu Ch'üan-po, there seems little doubt that Li Po died of illness. HN, p. 152, quotes P'i Jih-hsiu 皮日休 ("Ch'i ai shih" 七愛詩, 5th poem, "Li Han-lin" 李翰林, CTShih 608/7018) as saying that the poet died of "fu-hsieh chi" 腐脇疾. Kuo (p. 81) speculated that "fu-hsieh chi" could have meant worsened chronic pyothorax (nung-hsiung cheng 膿胸症). On the other hand, the CTS (190c/5054) holds that Li Po died directly from alcoholism. At any rate, the legend that Li Po died from drowning in drunkenness in the Yangtze River (see the sources cited in WC 35/1612-13) is groundless.

<sup>161</sup> See n. 156.

### Chapter Three

<sup>1</sup> See "Tai Shou Shan ta Meng shao-fu i-wen shu" 代壽山答孟少府移文書 ("A Letter Written on Behalf of the Shou-shan Mountain in Answer to the I-Wen of Sheriff Meng;" i-wen, literally meaning proclamation, is in Chinese literature a form of composition written especially to expose false recluses), WC 26/1225. On the date of this work, see Ch. 2, p. 47 and n. 20.

<sup>2</sup> (A) Li Po mentioned Lu Chung-lien in at least 13 poems; see Hanabusa, p. 170 (Lu Lien 魯連 = Lu Chung-lien).

(B) Some of the poems that mention Lü Shang with admiration: "Liang

fu yin" 梁甫吟, esp. ll. 3-10, WC 3/169 (probably composed between 737 and 740, judging from ll. 19-25 of it); "Liu-pieh Yü shih-i hsiung T'i . . .," esp. ll. 1-6, WC 15/711 (written in 751 or 752; see Ch. 2, n. 103).

(C) Some of the poems which mention Chu-ko Liang: "Tu Chu-ko wu-hou chuan shu-huai . . ." 讀諸葛武侯傳書懷, WC 9/482-83 (very probably written between 737 and 740, judging from the title and ll. 15-20 of it) and "Chia ch'u Wen-ch'üan-kung hou tseng Yang shan-jen," esp. l. 3, WC 9/485 (742; see Ch. 2, p. 53 and n. 59; "Kuan Ko" = Kuan Chung and Chu-ko Liang).

(D) For the mention of Hsieh An, see "Liang-yüan yin" 梁園吟, esp. final couplet, WC 7/392 (about 740; see Ch. 2, p. 51 and n. 34, IV); "Yung-wang tung-hsün ko" 永王東巡歌, 2nd poem, WC 8/427 (late 756 or early 757; see below, p. 111); and "Shu-ch'ing tseng Ts'ai she-jen Hsiung" 書情贈蔡舍人雄, WC 10/516-18 (probably written in 751 or 752 after the poet settled down in Liang; see ll. 13-14 of this poem and cf. HN, p. 91). Some other poems, which particularly mention Hsieh An's singsong girls or his life in seclusion in the "eastern mountains," will be cited in n. 6. Cf. Hanabusa, pp. 21, 22.

(E) For the mention of the four White-Haired Ones, see "Tseng Wei mi-shu Tzu-ch'un" 贈韋祕書子春, esp. the 4th last line, WC 9/478 ("Ch'i Li" = Ch'i Li Chi 綺里季, one of the Four White-Haired Ones). According to Shih chi 55/2044-47, these four recluses once helped Liu Ying 劉盈 (Hui-ti 惠帝) maintain his position as crown prince when Ying's father, the Emperor Kao-tsu of the Han, intended to demote him. They left the capital immediately after they had completed their task.

<sup>3</sup> This assumption is made from the extremely high frequency with which Lu and Hsieh are mentioned in Li Po's works; see the previous note, (A) and (D).

<sup>4</sup> Shih chi 83/2459-69.

<sup>5</sup> 79/2072-77, biography of Hsieh. Cf. Shih-shuo hsün-yü 6/198.

<sup>6</sup> (A) For references to Hsieh's life in the "eastern mountains," see, for example, "I chiu-yu chi . . . Yüan ts'an-chün," esp. 11. 54-55, WC 13/666 and "Liang-yüan yin" (see n. 2).

(B) For references to Hsieh's singsong girls, see "Shih Chin-ling-tzu" 示金陵子, WC 25/1196; "Hsi chi teng Liang-wang Ch'i-hsia-shan Meng shih t'ao-yüan chung" 攜妓登梁王樓霞山孟氏桃園中, WC 20/927; and "I Tung Shan er-chou" 憶東山二首, WC 23/1084.

(C) For Li Po's wish to rise to power swiftly, see "Sung P'ei shih-pa T'u-nan . . ." 送裴十八圖南, 2nd poem, WC 17/808 and "Liang-yüan yin" (see n. 2).

<sup>7</sup> See "Wu-yüeh Tung-Lu hsing . . ." 五月東魯行, WC 19/873; "Pen-wang tao-chung wu-shou" 奔亡道中五首, 3rd poem, WC 22/1015; and "Ancient Air, No. 10," WC 2/101.

<sup>8</sup> "Feng-tseng Wei tso-ch'eng chang er-shih-er yün" 奉贈韋左丞丈二十二韻, TSLCHC 1/42.

<sup>9</sup> "Tung-p'ing lu chung yü ta-shui" 東平路中遇大水, CTShih 212/2214.

<sup>10</sup> See below, pp. 79-80.

<sup>11</sup> See pp. 116-34, esp. p. 126 ff.

<sup>12</sup> "Tseng Huang-shan Hu kung ch'iu po-hsien" 贈黃山胡公求白鵲, WC 12/634-35.

<sup>13</sup> (A) See Ch. 2, p. 45 and Wang Yao, Li Po, pp. 14-15.

(B) Some poems by Meng Hao-jan and Kao Shih (see Meng's "Shang Hsien-shan Yün-piao-kuan chu" 傷岷山雲表觀主 in CTShih 160/1656 and Kao's "Jen-jih chi Tu er shih-i" 人日寄杜二拾遺, "Tzu Chi-pei kuei" 自薊北歸, "Pieh Wei ts'an-chün" 別韋參軍, "Sung Ts'ai shan-jen" 送蔡山人, and "Pieh Keng tu-wei" 別耿都尉



in CTShih 213/2218, 2220, 2221, 211/2201, 214/2233) show that both Meng and Kao and some of Kao's friends also learned fencing.

<sup>14</sup> (A) "Hsü-chiu tseng Chiang-yang tsai Lu Tiao" 敘舊贈江陽宰  
陸調 (WC 10/530-31, esp. ll. 13-20) relates a fight in which Li Po took part. This event took place in Lo-yang or Ch'ang-an (?), obviously before the poet became famous in Ch'ang-an in 742.

(B) Wei Hao's "preface" (WC 31/1450) and Li Po's "Tseng tsung-hsiung Hsiang-yang shao-fu Hao" 贈從兄襄陽少府皓 (the Seikado ed., 8/1, ll. 5-6; these lines are missing in WC 9/462 but are, according to Chiao-chu 9/595, kept in most other major eds.) both mention the poet's having killed people. Wei clearly indicates that these killings took place when Li Po was young.

<sup>15</sup> See below, pp. 83, 90, 122-25.

<sup>16</sup> For this memorial, see WC 26/1218. For Li Po's connection with Sung, see Ch. 2, p. 62.

<sup>17</sup> For the dates of these poems, see Ch. 2, n. 11; HN, p. 5 (Chan gave 725 here; I have given 724 according to my own reconstruction); and Ch. 2, n. 28 respectively.

<sup>18</sup> See below, pp. 86-87, 95.

<sup>19</sup> For Li Po's connection with Su, see Ch. 2, p. 46. The poet offered to present his writings to Han Ch'ao-tsung (734 or 735) and a chief administrator of An-chou named Li (729) when seeking their favor (see WC 26/1233; Ch. 2, n. 18; and below, pp. 86-87). In addition, the poem "Yü-chen hsien-jen tz'u" 玉真仙人詞 (WC 8/448) may have been written to seek patronage from Princess Yü-chen (see Ch. 2, p. 50 and n. 39 and cf. below, p. 93).

<sup>20</sup> For some discussion about the letter to P'ei, see Ch. 2, n. 12.

For the information of Ssu-ma, see his biographies in Shih chi 117/2999 and Han shu 57a/2529.

<sup>21</sup> (A) See "Ching luan-li hou t'ien-en liu Yeh-lang . . . ," WC 11/567-68. On the date of this poem, see Ch. 2, p. 64 and n. 151.

(B) The last line cited here partially alludes to the song "Wu i chih ko" 五噫之歌 by the Later Han recluse Liang Hung 梁鴻. According to Hou Han shu 83/2766-67, Liang wrote this song when once passing the capital Lo-yang to expose the striking contrast between the extravagance of the imperial palaces and the poverty of the common people. He repeated the word "i" ("alas!") five times in the song. Li Po may have used this allusion only to mean that he had left the capital in resentment.

<sup>22</sup> See below, p. 66.

<sup>23</sup> See the passage from "Tai Shou Shan" quoted in pp. 66-67 and "Tseng Hsüan-ch'eng Yü-wen t'ai-shou . . . ," WC 12/609, 11. 1-12.

<sup>24</sup> Ch. 2, p. 54.

<sup>25</sup> (A) This incident is related in "Ta p'eng fu," WC 1/1-10, esp. p. 2. Some information of Ssu-ma's life is seen in CTS 192/5127-29, and HTS 196/5605-06. Based on a work by Wei P'ing 衛憑 ("T'ang Wang-wu-shan Chung-yen-t'ai Cheng-i hsien-sheng miao-chieh" 唐王屋山中巖台正一先生廟碣, CTW 306/6a-10a, esp. 8b), Chan Ying (HN, p. 4) pointed out that Ssu-ma died in 735. Moreover, Li Po indicated that the "Ta p'eng fu" was the revised version of his "juvenile work" (shao-tso 少作) "Ta p'eng yü hsi-yu niao fu" 大鵬遇希有鳥賦, which he composed soon after he met with Ssu-ma Ch'eng-chen, abandoned in his "middle years" (chung-nien 中年), and revised even later. This shows that Li Po must have met Ssu-ma very long before his 742-44 stay in Ch'ang-an, because the revised version of the fu in question was already rather popular in that period (see Wei Hao, "Preface," WC 31/1449). Chan Ying (*ibid.*, p. 5) may be right in speculating that Li Po

met Ssu-ma at Chiang-ling on his journey out of Shu in 724 (Chan gave 725; 724 is my dating of that journey).

<sup>26</sup> See, for example, "Shang Li Yung" 上李邕, WC 9/512, and "Lin lu (chung) ko" 臨路(終)歌, WC 8/452.

<sup>27</sup> For Wei's description, see Ch. 2, p. 60.

<sup>28</sup> See below, pp. 123-26.

<sup>29</sup> See p. 67.

<sup>30</sup> See, for example, "Yeh chung tseng Wang ta . . ." 鄴中贈王大, "Ch'ou Ts'ui wu lang-chung" 酬崔五郎中, and "Tseng Li-yang Sung shao-fu Chih" 贈溧陽宋少府陟 in WC 9/501 (l. 7), 19/880 (l. 9) and 10/540 (l. 13).

<sup>31</sup> This memorial is seen in WC 26/1208-17. As will be shown in p. 108, the Prince of Yung planned to seize the Chin-ling region and to use it as his base to recover north China. Li Po may have thought highly of this plan and have recommended it to Sung when serving as Sung's advisor in the autumn of 757 (Ch. 2, p. 62).

<sup>32</sup> For the description of Fu-feng, see CTS 10/243, 245, 248 and TCTC 219/7017, 220/7042.

<sup>33</sup> See TCTC 219/7018-220/7035 (2nd month to 9th month of 757).

<sup>34</sup> See "Ancient Air, No. 34" and "Shu-huai tseng Nan-ling Ch'ang tsan-fu" 書懷贈南陵常贊府 in WC 2/130 and 12/643-44. For some sources concerning this warfare, see Ch. 2, n. 125.

<sup>35</sup> See "Ta Wang shih-er 'Han-yeh tu-chuo yu-huai'" 答王十二寒夜獨酌有懷, WC 19/910-13. The T'ang lost thousands of troops in the war

to seize this Tibetan stronghold, but Ko-shu Han was lavishly rewarded all the same. See TCTC 216/6896 and CTS 104/3212-13.

<sup>36</sup> This can be seen clearly in "Shu-huai" and "Ta Wang shih-er," which have been cited in nn. 34 and 35 respectively.

<sup>37</sup> See "Yeh chung tseng Wang ta, ch'üan ju Kao Feng Shih-men-shan yu-chü" 鄴中贈王大勸入高鳳石門山幽居, WC 9/500-01. For the date of this poem and some discussion on its title, see Ch. 2, pp. 49-50 and n. 33.

<sup>38</sup> See "Sung Liang ssu kuei Tung-p'ing" 送梁四歸東平, WC 18/854. This poem must have been written in Lu, judging from the location of Tung-p'ing (Tung-p'ing-chün = Yün-chou 鄆州, near Yen-chou (Lu)) and the mention of the Wen-shui River 汶水 in the poem. Since the poet appears to have been still obscure at the time of its composition, this poem is more likely to have been written during the poet's first visit to Lu (740-42).

Two more poems that show the same sentiment of the poet: "Nan-ling pieh er-t'ung ju-ching" 南陵別兒童入京 (WC 15/744), composed right before the poet went to Ch'ang-an in 742 (see Ch. 2, nn. 53-55); "Tung-yeh tsui su Lung-men chiao ch'i yen-chih" 冬夜醉宿龍門覺起言志 (WC 23/1065).

<sup>39</sup> See Ch. 2, n. 62.

<sup>40</sup> For this set of poems, see WC 3/189-90. It seems very likely that these poems were composed as an inseparable whole because the theme, mood, and style are consistent in all of them. The 3rd line of the 2nd poem ("I am ashamed to follow the youth in the fairgrounds of Ch'ang-an" 羞逐長安社中兒) indicates that these poems were written in the capital.

<sup>41</sup> For the careers of Wu Tzu-hsü, Li Ssu, and Lu Chi, see Shih chi 66, 87 and Chin shu 54. For the career of Ch'ü Yüan, see Ch. 2, n. 148.

<sup>42</sup> See WC 15/705-08. The Ho-yüeh ying-ling chi reads the title of this poem as "Meng-yu T'ien-mu-shan pieh Tung-Lu chu kung" 夢遊天姥山別東魯諸公. This seems to be a better reading; cf. Chiao-chu 15/899. The cited lines show that this poem is more likely to have been written after than before Li Po's 742-44 stay in Ch'ang-an. Hence, my dating.

<sup>43</sup> See TCTC 215/6874-75 and CTS 9/221. Also see the next note.

<sup>44</sup> See "Ta Wang shih-er," WC 19/910-13. Wang Ch'i (WC, pp. 914-15) is convincing in identifying the "P'ei shang-shu" 裴尚書 in this poem with P'ei Tun-fu, because P'ei was in the post of the president of the ministry of punishments (hsing-pu shang-shu) in 744 (see TCTC 215/6862 and the biography of P'ei K'uan 裴寬 in CTS 100/3130; also, cf. the previous note and Pulleyblank, An Lu-shan, p. 163, n. 23).

<sup>45</sup> See, for example, "Ta Wang shih-er" (cited in n. 35) and "Ming-kao ko sung Ts'en cheng-chün" 鳴皋歌送岑徵君 (WC 7/393-96).

<sup>46</sup> (A) The above account is in general based on HTS 44 (or des Rotours, Examens, pp. 127-212); des Rotours, *ibid.*, pp. 26-42; and Lü Ssu-mien 呂思勉, Sui T'ang Wu-tai shih 隋唐五代史, vol. 2, pp. 1106-24. Cf. Guisso, pp. 87-106.

(B) The date of the introduction of the tao-chü examinations is controversial (see Lu, p. 1121 and des Rotours, pp. 172-73, n. 3); I have given the most widely adopted date here.

(C) For the decline of the public schools, see HTS 44/1164-65 (des Rotours, pp. 174-75).

(D) For the assertion about the recommendation of the candidates for the decree examinations, see the accounts of the 735, 738 and 742 examinations in CTS 8/202, 9/209 and 9/214 and cf. THY 76/1392-93.

<sup>47</sup> See the sources cited in n. 46, (D), esp. CTS 8/202.

<sup>48</sup> This letter is seen in T'ang chih-yen 6/69 and CTW 330/16-17, the second source very probably based on the first. Since it mentions

a recent feng-shan ceremony in the T'ai-shan Mountain, which was obviously the one held in the 11th month of 725 (the only feng-shan ceremony in Hsüan-tsung's time; see HTS 14/352-53, TCTC 212/6766-67, and some other information in THY 8/105-23), this letter is most likely to have been written in 726. Judging from the fact that Ts'ui Hao mentioned Fan as "hsien-jen Fan Heng" 縣人樊衡, Ts'ui must have been on a post in a sub-prefecture; this is consistent with the accounts in two other sources, which respectively say that Ts'ui passed his chin-shih examination in 722 or 723 (see Fu Hsüan-tsung 傅璇琮, "Ts'ui Hao k'ao" 考, in T'ang-tai shih-jen ts'ung-k'ao, p. 69).

Based on the sentence "Moreover, Your Honor has personally held jade and accompanied His Majesty to the Jih-kuan Peak (in the T'ai-shan Mountain)" 君侯復躬自執圭，陪鑾日觀, Fu held that Ts'ui's letter had been written to the chief minister Chang Yüeh 張說, who and some officials in charge of imperial ceremonies were the only few that actually ascended T'ai Shan with Hsüan-tsung (other officials only worshipped at the foot of the mountain; see TCTC 212/6766 and HTS 14/352). However, Ts'ui's letter as a whole appears to have been presented to the prefect of Hsiang-chou. According to the "K'ai-yüan shih-san nien tung-feng she-shu" 開元十三年東封赦書 by Chang Chiu-ling, some prefects seem to have attended the ceremony in question (see TTCLC 66/371-72; this decree mentions the way to reward "those prefects and chief administrators of the four [grand governments-general] who [went to the T'ai-shan Mountain to have] audience with the emperor and served as assistant worshipers in the ceremony" 諸州岳牧四府長史朝覲陪位者). It seems the above sentence by Ts'ui in fact only means that the prefect of Hsiang-chou took part in the 725 feng-shan ceremony.

<sup>49</sup> See the accounts Fu Hsüan-tsung (op. cit., pp. 69-70) cited from THY 76/1388 and from Ch'en Hu's 陳祐 "Shang chung-shu Ch'üan she-jen shu" 上中書權舍人書 (CTW 739/29-30).

<sup>50</sup> CTS 190b/5043; HTS 202/5760.

<sup>51</sup> The CTS (190b/5043) only presents Sun's meeting with Ts'ui as an event before the k'ai-yüan period. According to TCTC 209/6651-52, 6644, 6647, 210/6682 and his biography in CTS 99/3088, Ts'ui was on the post of chief administrator of Yung-chou in the middle of 710 and was sent to several other provincial posts soon after. He came back to Ch'ang-an in 713 from a post in Ching-chou 荊州 and held the post of acting chief administrator of Yung-chou for a short period around the 7th month of the same year.

For the change from Yung-chou into the Capital Prefecture and the authority of its chief administrator, see CTS 8/172 (1st yr. k'ai-yüan) and TCTC 210/6692.

<sup>52</sup> On the date, see CTS 190b/5043 and THY 76/1387. On the name of this examination, I have followed Sun's biography in the HTS; the THY and the CTS respectively give a slightly erroneous and a shortened name. It is not known where Sun won his candidacy. It seems he was not recommended by Ts'ui even if he won his candidacy in Yung-chou, because Ts'ui seems to have been put in charge of Yung-chou in 713 (see the previous note) only for the very short period when the violent purge against T'ai-p'ing Princess and his close followers was being undertaken, very probably not beyond the 7th month (see CTS 99/3088 and TCTC 210/6682-86). At that time, the original chief administrator of Yung-chou, the Prince of Hsin-hsing Li Chin 新興王李晉, was a close follower of the princess (TCTC 210/6682; CTS 8/169) and was very likely to have been purged.

<sup>53</sup> For two examples, see the biography of Shih Te-i 史德義 in CTS 192/5117 and the immediately following account about a certain Mr. Yen.

<sup>54</sup> CTS 101/3138, THY 76/1392, and CTW 281/10b; cf. Guisso, Ch. 7, p. 101 and n. 100.

<sup>55</sup> See (1) Li Yung's biography in HTS 202/5754, (2) Tu Fu's "Tseng Han-lin Chang ssu hsüeh-shih Chi" 贈翰林張四學士均 and

"Feng-tseng Hsien-yü Ching-chao er-shih yün" 奉贈鮮于京兆二十韻  
 in TSLCHC 2/56-57, 78-80, (3) Kao Shih's "Tung-p'ing lu tso san-shou  
 ch'i er" 東平路作三首其二 and "Chen-ting chi-shih feng-tseng Wei  
 shih-chün er-shih-pa yün" 真定即事奉贈韋使君二十八韻  
 in CTShih 212/2214, 214/2236-37, and (4) Fang Kuan's "Shang Chang Yen-  
 kung (Chang Yüeh 說) shu" 上張燕公書 in CTW 332/13-15.

<sup>56</sup> See WC 26/1241. Li Po's words are: "而君侯亦薦一嚴協律  
 入為祕書郎 ." Wang Ch'i (loc. cit.) was not convincing in under-  
 standing "協律" as Yen's official title instead of given name,  
 because hsieh-lü [-lang] 郎 (8th rank, belonging to the T'ai-ch'ang-ssu  
太常寺 ; see HTS 48/1242) was a post in the court and Li Po ob-  
 viously meant that Yen had been recommended to the post of mi-shu-lang  
 (6th rank; see HTS 47/1215) from outside the capital (note the word  
 "ju").

<sup>57</sup> The standards set for the decree examinations do not seem to have  
 been higher than those for other examinations (see Hsüeh Ch'ien-kuang's  
 memorial in CTS 101/3139 and THY 76/1392). In addition, the offices  
 given to successful candidates in these examinations were insignificant.  
 For example, both Sun T'i and Kao Shih were appointed sheriffs (wei 尉 )  
 of sub-prefectures after passing the decree examinations they attended  
 (see Sun's biography in CTS 190b/5043 and Kao's biographies in CTS 111/  
 3328 and HTS 143/4679). For some more relevant discussion, see Ch. 4,  
 pp. 123, 126.

<sup>58</sup> See below, pp. 92-95.

<sup>59</sup> Of the works written to seek patronage that I have found, a  
 fairly large portion show that the authors had been slighted by their  
 prospective patrons. A few examples: Wang Ch'ang-ling, "Shang Li shih-  
 lang shu" 上李侍郎書 , CTW 331/5b-7b; Jen Hua 任華 , "Kao-tz'u  
 ching-yin Chia tai-fu shu" 告辭京尹賈大夫書 , CTW 376/4a-5a;  
 Fu Tsai 符載 , "Shang Wei shang-shu shu" 上韋尚書書 , WYYH 670/  
 9b-10b. See also the following text about Li Po's own experience.



<sup>60</sup> "Tzu ching fu Feng-hsien-hsien yung-huai . . ." 自京赴奉先縣  
詠懷, TSLCHC 4/7 ff., ll. 21-28.

<sup>61</sup> For references to these letters and some discussion on their dates, see n. 56 and Ch. 2, n. 12. An English translation of the letter to Han by J. R. Hightower is included in Cyril Birch, Anthology of Chinese Literature, pp. 233-34.

<sup>62</sup> See pp. 40-42.

<sup>63</sup> This assertion is based on more than a dozen works of this kind which I have found. Following are some details of my findings.

(1) Compliment to the prospective patrons are common to most works. Some good examples: Tu Fu, "Feng-tseng Hsien-yu ching-chao" (see n. 55); Kao Shih, "Tung-p'ing lü-yu feng-tseng Hsüeh t'ai-shou . . ." 東平旅遊  
奉贈薛太守, CTShih 214/2236; Fu Tsai, "Shang Wei shang-shu shu" (see n. 59).

(2) Two good examples of lavish self-praise are found in Tu Fu, "Feng-tseng Wei tso-ch'eng chang er-shih-er yün" (see n. 8) and Jen Hua, "Yü Yü chung-ch'eng shu" 與庾中丞書, CTW 376/2a-3a.

(3) In "Yu ching-chao Tu chung-ch'eng shu" 與京兆杜中丞書 (CTW 376/3a-4a) and "Shang chung-shu Yao ling-kung . . . shu" 上中書姚令  
公...書 (CTW 396/6a-8b) respectively, Jen Hua and Yüan Shen 袁參 tried to win patronage by emphasizing their loyalty and potential value to their prospective patrons.

(4) Interestingly, I have not found any work that tries to make so many points as Li Po did in the letters in question.

<sup>64</sup> See Ch. 2, p. 50.

<sup>65</sup> Li Po compared himself to Mao Sui in the letter to Han, to Ching K'o and Feng Huan in the letter to P'ei, and again to Feng Huan in "Yü-chen kung-chu pieh-kuan k'u-yü . . ." (WC 9/475).

For the lives of these people, see Shih chi 76/2366-68, 86/2526-38, and 75/2359-62.

<sup>66</sup> See the poem cited in n. 65. Feng Huan (alluded to in the last line of this poem) was famous for frequently complaining about the bad treatment he received from Meng-ch'ang-chün 孟嘗君 .

<sup>67</sup> For this event, see, in addition to Li Po's letter to Han, "I Hsiang-yang chiu-yu tseng Ma shao-fu Chü" 憶襄陽舊游贈馬少府 巨 , WC 10/520 and Wei Hao, "Preface," WC 31/1450.

<sup>68</sup> See Wang Ch'i's annotation in WC 26/1250 and Chin shu 75/1960-61.

<sup>69</sup> Jen, "Kao-tz'u ching-yin Chia tai-fu shu" (cited in n. 59).

<sup>70</sup> See the last two works cited in n. 67.

<sup>71</sup> See "Pin ko hsing shang Hsin-p'ing chang-shih hsiung Ts'an" 幽歌行上新平長史兄粲 , WC 7/379. For the date of this poem, see Ch. 2, n. 41.

<sup>72</sup> Ch. 2, p. 50.

<sup>73</sup> Ibid.

<sup>74</sup> Robert des Rotours, Fonctionnaires, pp. 143-46.

<sup>75</sup> T'ang liu tien 9/14b; cf. des Rotours, loc. cit., esp. p. 144. The changes of the T'ang policies on the kuei institution from 686 to the end of Hsuan-tsung's reign are not very clear to us. The account from the T'ang liu tien cited here is the only description known to me of this institution as it probably was in the k'ai-yüan period (the work in question was compiled mainly during the second half of this period; see des Rotours, Examens, pp. 99-101). This account, judging from the next note, also applies to the t'ien-pao period.

<sup>76</sup> Between 751 and 755, Tu Fu presented fu three times through the Yen-en kuei (see Tu's "Chin 'San ta-li fu' piao" 進三大禮賦表 , "Chin 'Feng Hsi-yüeh fu' piao" 進封西岳賦表 , and "Chin 'Tiao

fu' piao" 進鵬賦表, TSLCHC 24/96-97, 124-25, 132-33; also, see Hung, Tu Fu, pp. 67, 79, and 86). A work by a certain Yang T'an 楊譚, entitled "Chin 'Hsiao-wu sung' piao" 進孝烏頌表 (WYYH 610/8-9), shows that Yang also presented a literary work through the Yen-en kuei; Yang seems to have been active at approximately the same time as Tu (see the biographical note on Yang in CTW 377/14b).

<sup>77</sup> Hung, Tu Fu, p. 68. See also Tu Fu's "Tseng hsien-na-shih ch'i-chü T'ien she-jen" 贈獻納使起居田舍人 (TSLCHC 3/112), which the poet wrote in 754 to the then reception officer of the chests (hsien-na-shih, usu. known as li-kuei-shih 理匱使; see THY 55/956-57) to ask for help (see Hung, p. 80).

<sup>78</sup> See Li Po, "I chiu-yu chi Ch'iao-chun Yüan ts'an-chün," last 10th and 9th lines, WC 13/666 and "Tseng tsung-ti Lieh," ll. 25-26, WC 12/628. For the dates of these poems, see Ch. 2, n. 27, V and n. 34, II.

<sup>79</sup> See Feng shih wen-chien chi chiao-cheng 封氏聞見記校證 3/12, T'ang yü lin 唐語林 8/278, and some other sources cited in Wen I-tuo, "Ts'en Chia-chou hsi-nien k'ao-cheng" 岑嘉州繫年考證, Wen I-tuo ch'üan-chi, vol. 3, pp. c110-11; also, see Hung's account of Tu Fu's experience in the presentation of fu (Tu Fu, pp. 68-70, 79-82, 85-87), which is the best example available of the functioning of the kuei institution.

<sup>80</sup> CTS 111/3320; cf. HTS 139/4625. For the rank of the two offices mentioned here, see HTS 47/1215, 49b/1318-19.

<sup>81</sup> See the source about Tu cited in n. 79; see also Wen I-tuo, "Shao-ling nien-p'u," pp. c66-c72.

<sup>82</sup> See (1) Hsü's biography in CTS 190b/5031 (cf. HTS 128/4464), (2) Wen I-tuo, "Ts'en Chia-chou," pp. c110-11 and Ts'en Shen, "Kan chiu fu" 感舊賦, CTW 358/5-7, (3) Ch'en I-hsin 陳貽炊, "Meng Hao-jan shih-chi k'ao-pien" 孟浩然事迹考辨, in T'ang-shih lun-ts'ung, p. 22.

83 This term originally referred to five of the most powerful offices in the Later Han period: t'ai-fu 太傅, t'ai-wei 太尉, ssu-t'u 司徒, ssu-k'ung 司空, and ta-chiang-chün 大將軍. See Wang Ch'i's annotation in WC 26/1218.

84 For the story of Cheng, see the words Wang Ch'i (loc. cit.) cited from the Han shu 72/3056-57.

85 "Wei Sùng chung-ch'eng tzu-chien piao," WC 26/1217.

86 "Ch'iu-yeh tu-tso huai ku-shan" 秋夜獨坐懷故山, WC 23/1080.

87 See Ch. 2, p. 62 and n. 138, d.

88 A is from the biography of Li Po in CTS 190c/5053; B is from Yüeh Shih 樂史, "Li Han-lin pieh-chi hsü" 李翰林別集序, WC 31/1454; C is from Li Po's biography in HTS 202/5762-63.

As demonstrated in Ch. 2, n. 90, A is not reliable.

B is also doubtful because Li Po seems to have been summoned to Ch'ang-an before he knew Ho. Firstly, according to the sources cited in Ch. 2, n. 67, Li Po made the acquaintance of Ho and was praised by Ho as a "banished immortal" in the temple of Lao-tzu in Ch'ang-an. (The temple of Lao-tzu in Ch'ang-an was called Hsüan-yüan huang-ti miao 玄元皇帝廟 before the 9th month of 742, T'ai-shang hsüan-yüan huang-ti kung 太上玄元皇帝宮 from the 9th month of 742 to the 3rd month of 743, and T'ai-ch'ing kung 太清宮 for at least about 10 years after the 3rd month of 743. Tzu-chi kung 紫極宮, which Li Po used, was the name of the temples of Lao-tzu in the prefectures after the 3rd month of 743. (See CTS 9/213, 216, 24/925; THY 50/866; des Rotours, Examens, p. 172, text and n. 3.) Li Po may have used the name Tzu-chi kung because he was not in the capital when writing the works in question.) Secondly, both Wei Hao and Li Yang-ping (WC 31/1449, 1446) held that the above incident took place during the poet's second stay in Ch'ang-an (742-44). It is probable that Yueh Shih has misinterpreted the lines by Tu Fu to be cited below in pp. 94-95. Cf. Pai-shan, p. 134;

HN, pp. 68-69; T'ang chih-yen 7/81.

C seems to be merely a synthesis of A and B and does not need further discussion.

<sup>89</sup> Wei's words are: "白久居峨眉.與[元]丹丘因持盈法師達.白亦因之入翰林." As Ch. 2 shows, however, Li Po seems to have made only a very short trip to the O-mei-shan Mountain (in 724). Besides, the words "與丹丘因持盈法師達" cannot be satisfactorily woven into the context ("Ch'ih-ying fa-shih": a title conferred upon Princess Yü-chen by Hsüan-tsung in 744; see the words Wang Ch'i (WC 31/1449) cited from CTS 9/218 and Chin shih lu 金石錄 27/9b).

<sup>90</sup> See HN, pp. 36-37. This inscription is, as Chan pointed out, included in chüan 3 (p. 115) of the Huan-yü fang-pei-lu 寰宇訪碑錄 Cf. the next note.

<sup>91</sup> I have not seen this work myself; nor have I found any material that would confirm or deny its credibility. Following are two pieces of relevant information. First, according to Li Po's "Han-tung Tzu-yang hsien-sheng pei-ming" 漢東紫陽先生碑銘 (WC 30/1428-34, esp. p. 1432), Yüan Tan-ch'iu seems to have lived a while in the Sung-shan Mountain 嵩山 in the beginning of the t'ien-pao period (742-56). Second, Chin shih lu 7/1b (item No. 1212) lists (without contents) an inscription entitled "T'ang Yü-chen kung-chu shou-tao hsiang-ying chi" 唐玉真公主受道祥應記. This inscription is also dated 743 and has the same authorship as the one Chan Ying mentioned (both by Ts'ai Wei 蔡緯), but is written by a calligrapher named Hsiao Ch'eng-hsing 蕭誠行. The nature of the probable connection between these two inscriptions is not clear.

<sup>92</sup> See Li Yang-ping and Liu Ch'üan-po, WC 31/1445, 1460.

<sup>93</sup> WC 31/1445-46.

<sup>94</sup> See, for example, the biographies of Lu Hung-i 盧鴻一 in

CTS 192 and HTS 196.

<sup>95</sup> "Chi Li shih-er Po er-shih yün" 寄李十白二十韻, TSLCHC 8/70. The English translation is partly based on Hung, Tu Fu, p. 149. On the date, see Ch. 2, n. 81.

<sup>96</sup> Li Yang-ping seems to have said that Ho Chih-chang called Li Po a "banished immortal" when the two of them took part in the so-called association among the eight great drinkers, and that this association took place after Li Po began to lose Hsüan-tsung's favor. But, as I have already indicated, the very existence of the association at issue is doubtful (Ch. 2, n. 34, V) and Li Po also does not seem to have been called a "banished immortal" on an occasion of this kind (Ch. 2, p. 54 and n. 67; also, Wei Hao, WC 31/1449). I suspect that Li Yang-ping has uncritically adopted some gossip anecdotal about Li Po in his work.

Wei Hao mentioned Li Po's "stunning the whole capital" before he related Ho's praise of the poet. But this does not necessarily contradict Tu Fu's words because, by the phrase cited here, Wei may have simply exaggeratively referred to some limited fame Li Po made for himself before knowing Ho.

<sup>97</sup> The earliest and most detailed sources about the early history (down to Hsüan-tsung's reign) of the Han-lin academy and the position of the Han-lin hsüeh-shih are (1) Wei Chih-i 韋執誼, "Han-lin yüan ku-shih" 翰林院故事 (Han-yüan ch'ün-shu 翰苑羣書, part I, pp. 21-24 or CTW 455/10b-13a), dated 786 and (2) Li Chao 李肇, "Han-lin chih" 翰林志. (Han-yüan ch'ün-shu, part I, pp. 1-12), dated 819. These two works are largely consistent with each other. The THY (57/977-78) presents an account abridged mostly from Wei and partly from Li.

There are yet some relevant T'ang sources, which are included in the Han-yüan ch'ün-shu or cited in Sun Kuo-tung 孫國棟, "T'ang-tai san-sheng chih chih fa-chan yen-chiu" 唐代三省制之發展研究, pp. 109-12. Some later accounts are found in CTS 43/1853-54, HTS 46/1183-84, TCTC 217/6923, and Yeh Meng-te 葉夢得 (Sung dynasty),

Shih-lin yen-yü 石林燕語 7/2b-3b.

Unless otherwise noted, the following account is based on Wei Chih-i.

<sup>98</sup> CTS 43/1853.

<sup>99</sup> CTS 43/1853; TCTC 217/6923; and the account below of Li Po's titles.

<sup>100</sup> Li Chao, "Han-lin chih," p. 2a; cf. HTS 46/1183.

<sup>101</sup> Ibid. . . .

<sup>102</sup> Wei Ch'u-hou 韋處厚, "Han-lin hsüeh-shih chi" 記 (Han-yüan ch'ün-shu, part I, pp. 18a-b).

<sup>103</sup> (1) See Tu Fu, "Tseng Han-lin Chang ssu hsüeh-shih Chi" (to be cited in n. 113; as the text below will show, Chang was a hsueh-shih) and the words by Wei Chih-i to be cited in the following text.

(2) Wei (p. 22a) also indicated that those in the "North Han-lin academy" (i.e., the original Han-lin academy) ceased to be called hsüeh-shih after the chih-te 至德 reign period (756-58). Wei's words are "至德以後...北翰林院始無學士之名." Both Li Chao and the THY (57/978) seem to have misread Wei when they said, respectively, that "至德宗已後翰林始兼學士之名" and that "至德已後...翰林院始有學士之名."

<sup>104</sup> Yeh Meng-te, Shih-lin yen-yü 7/2b-3b.

<sup>105</sup> See (1) "Wei Sung chung-ch'eng tzu-chien piao," WC 26/1217 (Han-lin kung-feng); (2) Li Hua and Liu Ch'üan-po (Han-lin hsüeh-shih); (3) Wei Hao (Han-lin); (4) again Liu Ch'üan-po (Han-lin tai-chao).

<sup>106</sup> Wei, op. cit., p. 22a; the same account is also found in THY 57/978.

<sup>107</sup> (A) Wei Hao, "Preface," WC 31/1449.

(B) For the high frequency with which officials in the post of chung-shu she-jen were summoned into the inner palace, see Wei Chih-i, p. 11 and THY 57/977-78.

<sup>108</sup> See Liu Ch'uan-po, Li Yang-ping, Wei Hao and Jen Hua ("Tsa-yen tseng Li Po," CTShih 261/2902-03).

<sup>109</sup> The sources for the following account of Chang Chi are Chang's biographies in CTS 97/3058-59 and HTS 125/4411-12, unless otherwise noted.

<sup>110</sup> See the sources cited in n. 107, B.

<sup>111</sup> Biography of Hsiao Ying-shih 蕭穎士, CTS 190c/5048; Tu Fu, "Tseng Han-lin Chang ssu hsüeh-shih Chi" (see n. 113).

<sup>112</sup> See Yü Hsien-hao 郁賢皓, "Li Po yü Chang Chi chiao-yu hsin-cheng" 李白與張垺交游新證 and "Li Po liang ju Ch'ang-an chi yü-kuan chiao-yu k'ao-pien" 李白兩入長安及有關交游考辨 (Nan-ching shih-yüan hsüeh-pao 南京師院學報, 1978, No. 1, p. 64 ff. and 1978, No. 4, p. 68 ff.).

Yü identified Chang Chi with the wei-wei Chang ch'ing (wei-wei ch'ing: president of the court of imperial guards) in Li Po's "Yü-chen kung-chu pieh-kuan k'u-yü tseng wei-wei Chang ch'ing" (WC 9/475 ff.) "Ch'iu-shan chi wei-wei Chang ch'ing chi Wang cheng-chün" 秋山寄衛尉張卿及王徵君 (WC 13/651). He proposed two pieces of evidence. The first, an epitaph in the honor of Chang Yüeh composed by Chang Chiu-ling 張九齡 ("Ku . . . Yen-kuo-kung . . . Chang kung mu-chih-ming ping hsü" 故燕國公張公墓誌銘並序, CTW 292/13-16), shows that Chang Chi held the offices of fu-ma tu-wei 駙馬都尉 and wei-wei ch'ing in 730. The second, a note to an epitaph in the honor of Tou-lu Chien 豆盧建 composed by Chang Chi (from a work entitled Chi-ku mu-lu 集古目錄 and included in chüan 8 of Pao-k'o ts'ung-pien 寶刻叢編), shows that Chang held the same offices when writing



the epitaph and that the tombstone on which the epitaph was engraved was erected in 744.

Obviously, Yü's first evidence alone is not conclusive, because Chang Chi's offices very probably had changed when Li Po went to Ch'ang-an in 737. Yü's second evidence is not available to me. For two reasons, however, I also have reservations on it. First, as Yü himself conceded, the date of the erection of the tombstone is not necessarily that of the composition of the epitaph. Second, Wei Chih-i (op. cit., p. 22a) and the THY (57/978) both indicate that, when he was appointed a hsüeh-shih in 738, Chang Chi's original post was t'ai-ch'ang shao-ch'ing 太常少卿, not wei-wei ch'ing (fu-ma tu-wei is only an honorary title conferred upon the husbands of the princesses; see des Rotours, Fonctionnaires, pp. 374, 514).

<sup>113</sup> Since Tu Fu went to Ch'ang-an for the first time in about 746 (Hung, p. 50), his "Tseng Han-lin Chang ssu hsüeh-shih Chi" 贈翰林張四學士均 (TSLCHC 3/120-21) suggests that Chang held the position of hsüeh-shih until at least about 746.

<sup>114</sup> In addition to Wei Chih-i, op. cit., p. 22b, see the lists of hsüeh-shih attached to Wei's work and to Ting Chü-hui's 丁居晦 "Ch'ung-hsiu ch'eng-chih hsüeh-shih pi chi" 重修承旨學士壁記 (Han-yüan ch'ün-shu, part I, p. 39b ff.; dated 837). Cf. Lü Ssu-mien, op. cit., vol. 2, p. 1076.

<sup>115</sup> "Han-lin tu-shu yen-huai ch'eng Chi-hsien chu hsüeh-shih" 翰林讀書言懷呈集賢諸學士, WC 24/1112-13. On the date see Ch. 2, n. 63.

<sup>116</sup> See Wei Hao, Fan Ch'uan-cheng, Tu Fu's "Yin chung pa-hsien ko" 飲中八仙歌 (TSLCHC 2/50; as indicated in Ch. 2, n. 34, V, the story told in this poem may have been a legend Tu heard in Ch'ang-an), T'ang kuo-shih pu (part I, p. 16), and WC 35/1588-61, 3rd yr. t'ien-pao.

<sup>117</sup> WC 31/1464. For the meaning of both the term "sheng-chung" 省

中 and the allusion to the Green House Palace of the Han, see Wang Ch'i's annotation (loc. cit.) and the biography of K'ung Kuang in Han shu 81. Cf. n. 121.

<sup>118</sup> See Ch. 2, pp. 54-57. There are no indications that Li Po tried to seek political patronage from the Prince of Wu when he visited the prince in about 749.

<sup>119</sup> See n. 115.

<sup>120</sup> Kuo Mo-jo, p. 38.

<sup>121</sup> Fan Ch'uan-cheng (WC 31/1464) said that Li Po voluntarily resigned his job. I believe that, if Fan is reliable, Li Po's so-called voluntary resignation was either a gesture of displeasure or a requested formality.

<sup>122</sup> Cf. Liu Ch'üan-po and Fan Ch'uan-cheng.

<sup>123</sup> Chou Hsün-ch'u, Kao Shih nien-p'u, pp. 13-17, 77 ff. Also, cf. Kao's biographies in CTS 111/3328-31 and HTS 143/4679-81.

<sup>124</sup> Wen I-tuo, "Ts'en Chia-chou," pp. cl16-cl24.

<sup>125</sup> Hung, Tu Fu, p. 82.

<sup>126</sup> Pulleyblank, An Lu-shan, pp. 70-72.

<sup>127</sup> Cf. Hung, p. 82.

<sup>128</sup> Before 753, Kao only managed to obtain the single appointment as the sheriff (wei) of Feng-ch'iu-hsien (in 749, at the age of 50) through success in a decree examination. Kao soon found this post humiliating and finally abandoned it in 752. See Chou Hsün-ch'u, op. cit., pp. 56-73. Tu Fu had not succeeded even to obtain an appointment when he tried to seek his fortune in the army in 754, at the age of 43. See

n. 125.

<sup>129</sup> See "Ching luan-li hou t'ien-en liu Yeh-lang . . . ," ll. 31-46, WC 11/569; on the date of this poem, see Ch. 2, p. 64 and n. 151.

<sup>130</sup> See Ch. 2, pp. 58-59 and the poems listed in HN, pp. 84-85, 91-105. Chan Ying could not have left out many of the works composed in this period, which are relatively easy to recognize.

<sup>131</sup> Li Po's words are not always reliable. Cf. the poet's doubtful account of the way he joined the fleet of the Prince of Yung in p. 110.

<sup>132</sup> See "Fu-feng hao-shih ko," "Ching luan-li hou Chiang pi-ti Shan-chung . . . ," and "Tseng Li-yang Sung shao-fu Chih" (already cited in Ch. 2, nn. 128, 134, 135).

<sup>133</sup> See the second source cited in n. 132.

<sup>134</sup> See "Tseng Wang p'an-kuan, shih yü kuei-yin chü Lu Shan P'ing-feng-tieh," WC 11/553-54. On the date of this poem, see Ch. 2, n. 136.

<sup>135</sup> See "Pi-ti Ssu-k'ung-yüan yen-huai" 避地司空原言懷, WC 24/1116-17. By "Ssu-k'ung-yüan," Li Po seems to have referred to the Ssu-k'ung-shan Mountain north-east of T'ai-hu-hsien of Shu-chou 舒州太湖縣 (the same hsien in modern Anhwei; see TPHYC 125/11a, HTS 41/1054 and Tz'u hai (1979 ed.), vol. 1, p. 1465). Judging from its ll. 11-12, this poem seems to have been composed in an early spring. Chan Ying (HN, p. 125) may be right in dating it to 758, judging from the poet's whereabouts in the neighboring years (Ch. 2, pp. 61-62). Li Po probably moved to this place from Su-sung 宿松 around the turn of 757-58 (cf. Ch. 2, pp. 62-63; Su-sung was very close to T'ai-hu-hsien).

For the meaning of the expression "welcome calamities" (lo-huo 樂禍), cf. the expression "t'an luan" 貪亂 in the biography of Tsu T'i in Chin shu 62/1700.

- 136 Chin shu 62; pp. 66-67 of this chapter.
- 137 See pp. 80-81.
- 138 For two typical examples of this kind of moralistic criticism, see Lo Ta-ching 羅大經 (Sung dynasty), Ho-lin yü-lu 鶴林玉露 18/7a, item "Li, Tu", and Huang Ch'e 黃徹 (Sung), Kung-hsi shih-hua 碧溪詩話 2/1a (cited in Pai-chung shih-hua lei-pien, vol. 2, p. 1295).
- 139 Hung, Tu Fu, pp. 100-09.
- 140 Pulleyblank, "Neo-Confucianism and Neo-Legalism," p. 83.
- 141 CTS 9/232; TCTC 218/6971; and an inferior version in HTS 5/152.
- 142 TCTC 218/6979, esp. the words from the k'ao-i; HTS 5/153.
- 143 TCTC 218/6975-76; much inferior versions in CTS 10/240 and HTS 6/156.
- 144 TCTC 218/6976.
- 145 CTS 10/242; HTS 6/156; TCTC 218/6982.
- 146 Ch'en Yin-k'o, Cheng-chih-shih, Part II.
- 147 TCTC 214/6823-24, 6828-29; CTS 9/208, 107/3258-60; HTS 5/139, 82/3607-08.
- 148 TCTC 214/6832-33, 215/6870-71, 73-74, 218/6999; CTS 10/240. (The CTS indicates that Yang Kuo-chung also intended to entrap Li Heng.) Also, see Pulleyblank, An Lu-shan, pp. 89-91.
- 149 See the words Su-tsung told Li Mi 泌 in TCTC 218/6999.

150 TCTC 218/6993; CTS 9/234; HTS 5/153.

151 CTS 9/233-34; HTS 5/153; TCTC 218/6983-84; also some less clear information in HTS 82/3611 and THY 5/61. For an unreliable account given in CTS 107/3264, see below, n. 152.

152 (A) For Hsüan-tsung's order, see Lin's biography in HTS 82/3611; for Lin's absentee office in Ching-chou, see also TCTC 217/6940.

(B) For the date of Hsüan-tsung's stay at Fu-feng, see CTS 9/233 and TCTC 218/6976, 6978.

(C) CTS 107/3272 says that Lin was ordered to go to Ching-chou when Hsüan-tsung arrived at Han-chung-chün 漢中郡 and 107/3264 apparently holds that the edict under discussion was issued at Han-chung. The CTS seems unreliable in these cases because Hsüan-tsung does not seem to have passed Han-chung-chün (around present Nan-cheng 南鄭 and Ch'eng-ku 城固 in southern Shensi) at all. According to CTS 9/233, TCTC 218/6978 and HTS 40/1034-35, the route of Hsüan-tsung's journey was: Ma-wei-i → Fu-feng → San-kuan 散關 → Ho-ch'ih-chün 河池郡 (modern Fenghsien 鳳縣 in Shensi) → I-ch'ang-hsien 益昌縣 (near modern Kuang-yüan 廣元 in Szechwan).

153 TCTC 218/6984; CTS 107/3268, 3270; HTS 82/3613-14.

154 (A) According to the biography of Li Po in CTS 190c/5053-54, on his way to Shu, Hsüan-tsung appointed Li Lin "Commander of the Troops in the Region of the Yangtze and Huai Rivers and Grand Military Governor of Yang-chou" 江淮兵馬都督揚州節度大使 (Yang-chou was called Kuang-ling-chün 廣陵郡 in 756; this official title may contain some change made by later historians or some error).

(B) According to the biography of Lin in HTS 82/3612, an important general under Lin named Chi Kuang-ch'en 李廣琛 thus told his subordinates on the verge of the prince's defeat: "The Retired Emperor has moved to a remote and inconvenient place. Among his sons, no one is wiser than Prince [Lin]. If he could lead all the crack troops in the region of the Yangtze and Huai Rivers and head for Ch'ang-an and Lo-yang,

he might make great achievements (my emphasis). But. . . ." This shows that the appointment mentioned in the previous source may not be groundless.

(C) In the edict at issue, Liu Hui 劉翬 was appointed an advisor to Li Ch'i under the title "tutor" (fu 傅). According to CTS 10/245, however, Liu seems to have for a period till the 1st month of 757 held the office of "Tutor of the Prince of Yung."

<sup>155</sup> Ch'en Yin-k'o, Cheng-chih-shih, Part II, pp. 59-65.

<sup>156</sup> Cf. Kuo, pp. 55-56.

<sup>157</sup> TCTC 219/7002-03, 218/6998; Fang's biographies in CTS 111/3322 and HTS 139/4626.

<sup>158</sup> CTS 107/3264.

<sup>159</sup> HTS 6/157, 82/3611; TCTC 219/7007; CTS 107/3264; THY 5/61.

<sup>160</sup> TCTC 219/7009 and CTS 10/244 both give this date clearly. Besides, this date tallies with other dates concerning the event at issue. HTS 6/157, which gives the 10th month, seems to be a sheer error.

<sup>161</sup> CTS 107/3265; THY 5/61. HTS 82/3611 relates the dispatch of the eunuchs under the beginning of the following year (757). This seems not reliable because, according to both the CTS and the HTS, the eunuchs were already in the Yangtze delta region when Lin's troops clashed with local forces there (in the turn of 756-57; see the text below).

<sup>162</sup> See TCTC 219/7007-08, CTS 10/244, and HTS 143/4680. The biography of Kao Shih in CTS 111/3329 could give the impression that Kao was appointed in early 757, but this seems to have been a result of sheer lack of clarity in style.

<sup>163</sup> CTS 107/3265; HTS 82/3611; TCTC 219/7009; THY 5/61.

<sup>164</sup> This is inferred from the following two points: (1) The expedition started from Chiang-ling in the 26th day of the 12th month (756). (2) On his flight south, Li Lin captured Po-yang-chün 鄱陽郡 some-time in the 1st month of 757 (HTS 6/157).

<sup>165</sup> See CTS 107/3265-66, 10/246; HTS 82/3611-12; TCTC 219/7019-20, text and K'ao-i. See also the works by Li Po which will be cited in n. 182.

<sup>166</sup> HTS 82/3612. HTS 5/153 records under the 25th day of the 12th month (756) that "the Prince of Yung rose in rebellion and was demoted as a commoner." But it is unlikely that the prince could have been demoted the very day he left Chiang-ling. Besides, Li Hsi-yen would not have treated Lin as an official of equal rank if the prince had been demoted then.

<sup>167</sup> See Ch. 2, p. 61.

<sup>168</sup> "Ching luan-li hou, t'ien-en liu Yeh-lang . . . ," WC 11/572; English translation by Arthur Waley (The Poetry and Career of Li Po, p. 79), with slight changes by myself.

<sup>169</sup> "Wei Sung chung-ch'eng tzu-chien piao," WC 26/1218.

<sup>170</sup> Op. cit., p. 80.

<sup>171</sup> (1) See "Pieh nei fu cheng san-shou" 別內赴徵三首 , 2nd poem, ll. 1-2 and 3rd poem, last line, WC 25/1187-88; see also Kuo, p. 28.

(2) See "Yung-wang tung-hsün ko" 永王東巡歌 , 3rd poem, WC 8/428.

<sup>172</sup> See n. 140.

173 See Hsiao's biography in HTS 202/5769 and K'ung's biographies in CTS 154/4095 and HTS 163/5007.

174 See "Yü Chia shao-kung shu" 與賈少公書, WC 26/1234 (for the date of this letter, see below, n. 180) and "Pieh nei fu cheng," 1st poem, 1st line, WC 25/1187 (for the interpretation of this line, see Kuo, p. 28 and cf. WC 35/1586, 1st yr. t'ien-pao and HN, pp. 27-28).

175 "Tsai shui-chün yen tseng mu-fu chu shih-yü" 在水軍宴贈幕府諸侍御, WC 11/555.

176 "Yung-wang tung-hsün ko shih-i shou" 永王東巡歌十一首, 5th poem, WC 8/429. In the interpretation of the expression "chu-hou" 諸侯, which obviously does not mean feudal lords in this poem, I have followed Li Po shih-hsüan 詩選, p. 180.

177 "Yung-wang tung-hsün ko," 11th poem, WC 8/433-34.

178 See n. 175.

179 See Waley, p. 79 and "Nan-pen shu-huai" 南奔書懷, 11. 11-12, WC 24/1141 (composed right after the prince's defeat; see HN, pp. 117-18).

180 "Yü Chia shao-kung shu," WC 26/1235. The words quoted here indicate that this letter was composed near the end of the expedition. Cf. WC 35/1603, 1st yr. chih-te and HN, p. 113.

181 In "Nan-pen shu-huai," after he mentioned the nature of his job in the fleet (see n. 179), Li Po said that he "had the wish to go home not because the autumn winds [had begun] to blow." 不因秋風起自有思歸歎. (These words allude to the story of Chang Han, which is already cited in pp. 80-81.) Cf. Wang Ch'i's annotation in WC 24/1144.

182 See "Nan-pen shu-huai" (see n. 179). Also, cf. TCTC K'ao-i 219/7019.



183 "Wei Sung chung-ch'eng tzu-chien piao," WC 26/1218; cf. "Ching luan-li hou t'ien-en liu Yeh-lang," 11. 97-100, WC 11/572.

184 TCTC 218/6993; CTS 9/234.

185 The fleet very probably collapsed no later than the middle of the 1st month of 757; see n. 164.

186 See WC 35/1604, 2nd yr. chih-te. TCTC 220/7062, under the 10th month of 758, mentions Chi's taking part in an important battle against the rebels; CTS 10/260 records that in early 761 Chi was appointed Prefect of Hsuan-chou and Military Governor of Che-chiang-hsi-tao 浙江西道.

187 "Wan-fen tz'u t'ou Wei lang-chung" 萬憤詞投魏郎中, 11. 21-26, WC 24/1122; "Shang Ts'ui hsiang pai yu chang" 上崔相百憂章, 11. 5-6, 13-16, WC 24/1118-19.

188 See "Shang liu t'ien hsing" 上留田行 (including Wang Ch'i's annotation to the title), WC 3/194-95 and the comments on this poem quoted in HN, p. 118. Chan Ying (loc. cit.) speculated that "Shu chung ts'ao" 樹中草 (WC 6/336) had the same underlying meaning. This, though not unlikely, is not very certain.

189 This work is "Wei Sung chung-ch'eng tzu-chien piao" (see Ch. 2, p. 62 and n. 138, (d)).

190 See Ch'iao Hsiang-chung 喬象鍾, "Li Po ts'ung Lin shih pien" 李白從璘事辨, Li Po yen-chiu lun-wen-chi, pp. 327-28.

191 The first category of scholars includes Tseng Kung ("Li T'ai-po wen-chi hou-hsü," WC 31/1479) and Su Shih 蘇軾 ("Li T'ai-po pei-yin chi" 李太白碑陰記, WC 33/1508 or Ching-chin Tung-p'o wen-chi shih-lüeh 經進東坡文集事略 52/843); the second includes Hsiao Shih-yün 蕭士贇 (comments on Li Po's "Nan-pen shu-huai,"

quoted in WC 24/1144) and Hsi Lu-i 奚祿詒 (Li shih t'ung shou-p'i 李詩通手批, quoted in HN, p. 115).

<sup>192</sup> Kuo, pp. 74-76.

<sup>193</sup> Cf. the words from the Ts'ai K'uan-fu shih-hua 蔡寬夫詩話 (by Ts'ai Ch'i 蔡啓 of the Sung dynasty, not extant) cited in Kuo Shao-yü 郭紹虞, Sung shih-hua chi-i 宋詩話輯佚, vol. 2, p. 381.

<sup>194</sup> "Shang Ts'ui hsiang pai-yu chang," l. 25, WC 24/1119.

<sup>195</sup> "Lin lu ko" 臨路歌, WC 8/452-53. As Wang Ch'i pointed out, "lu" should have read "chung" 終 in accordance with the epitaph Li Hua composed for Li Po. The English translation is partly borrowed from Waley (p. 111) and Rewi Alley (p. 172).

#### Chapter Four

<sup>1</sup> See Kuo Mo-jo, Ch. 6 and Li Ch'ang-chih 李長之, Tao-chiao-t'u te shih-jen Li Po chi ch'i t'ung-k'u 道教徒的詩人李白及其痛苦.

<sup>2</sup> See, for example, Li Yang-ping, WC 31/1446 and Tu-ku Chi 獨孤及, "Sung Li Po chih Ts'ao-nan hsü," WC 32/1492 or CTW 388/7.

<sup>3</sup> Li Hua, "Ku Han-lin hsueh-shih Li chün mu-chih," WC 31/1458.

<sup>4</sup> Woodbridge Bingham, The Founding of the T'ang Dynasty, pp. 51-52, 118. Anna K. Seidel ("The Image of the Perfect Ruler in Early Taoist Messianism: Lao-tzu and Li Hung," in History of Religion, 9:2-3 (1969-70), 216-48, esp. 244) holds that there had been a long tradition of Lord Li Messianism before the founding of the T'ang.

<sup>5</sup> See THY 50/865. The year 618 instead of 620 is given in the Taoist works Li-tai ch'ung-tao chi 歷代崇道記 (p. 4) and Yu-lung chuan 猶龍傳 (5/11a). Also, cf. Ts'ui Yüan-ming 崔元明, "Ta-t'ang . . . Lung-chiao-shan Ch'ing-t'ang-kuan . . . sung" 大唐...龍角山慶唐觀...頌, WYYH 779/3-5 (Lung-chiao-shan = Yang-chiao-shan; see Li-tai ch'ung-tao chi, p. 4b and Yu-lung chuan, p. 14a).

<sup>6</sup> See Li Po 李渤 (T'ang dynasty), "Chen hsi" 真系, in Yün-chi ch'i-ch'ien 雲笈七籤 5/29; and CTS 192/5125. See also Schafer, Mao Shan in T'ang Times, pp. 45-46, where the quotation comes from.

<sup>7</sup> According to Li-tai ch'ung-tao chi, pp. 4-5 and Yu-lung chuan 5/12-14, Chi Shan-hsing and Wang Yüan-chih were granted some gifts and the honorary titles of "ch'ao-san tai-fu" 朝散大夫 (Chi) and "ch'ao-ch'ing tai-fu" 朝請大夫 (Wang). For the similar treatment given to some other Taoists, see Hun-yüan sheng-chi 混元聖紀 8/2-3. I believe that these sources, though probably not completely accurate, are basically reliable.

<sup>8</sup> In the pen-chi of the CTS and the HTS, I only find that Kao-tsu worshiped Hua-shan Mountain in 619 (HTS 1/10) and visited the temple of Lao-tzu in Chung-nan Shan (i.e., Lou Kuan 樓觀) in 624 (CTS 1/15; HTS 1/18). In Hun-yüan sheng-chi 8/6, a 619 decree to renovate the Lou Kuan and a 620 visit by Kao-tsu to this temple are also recorded.

<sup>9</sup> Biographies of Fu I in CTS 79/2714-17 and HTS 107/4059-61; THY 47/835-36. Also, cf. Kenneth Ch'en, Buddhism in China, pp. 215-16, 522. It is not clear why Ch'en gives the year 621 instead of 624.

<sup>10</sup> Ming-kai 明鑒, "Chüeh-tui Fu I fei fo-fa-seng shih" 決對傅奕廢佛法僧事, Kuang hung-ming-chi 廣弘明集 12, in the Taishō Tripitaka, vol. 52, pp. 168-75; Fa-lin 法琳, "P'o-hsieh lun" 破邪論, *ibid.*, p. 160 ff.

<sup>11</sup> CTS 1/16-17; less detailed versions in HTS 1/19, TCTC 191/6002-03,

and THY 47/836. I have followed the CTS on the date (wu-yüeh hsin-ssu 辛巳). Both the HTS and the TCTC give ssu-yüeh hsin-ssu, but there does not seem to have been any hsin-ssu in the 4th month (Er-shih shih sho-jun piao, p. 84). The THY gives the 2nd month, which seems a clear mistake.

<sup>12</sup> There were probably no more than two to three thousand officially ordained Taoists in early T'ang times (see below, p. 120). In the Sui dynasty there were 230,000 officially ordained Buddhist monks and nuns (Arthur Wright, The Sui Dynasty, p. 137; cf. Kenneth Ch'en, Buddhism in China, pp. 241-42). Although this number may have somewhat decreased by the beginning of the T'ang (see Ch'en, loc. cit. and below, n. 30), the sharp contrast between the numbers of the Taoist and the Buddhist clergy must have remained by then.

Moreover, this contrast undoubtedly reflected the difference in number between Taoist and Buddhist establishments. See also n. 22.

<sup>13</sup> THY 47/836; HTS 1/19; TCTC 191/6012.

<sup>14</sup> See TTCLC 113/586, THY 49/859, and Yen-tsung 彦琮, "T'ang hu-fa sha-men Fa-lin pieh-chuan," in the Taishō Tripitaka, vol. 52, p. 283c. Also, cf. Guisso, p. 218, n. 29.

<sup>15</sup> According to the Chen-kuan cheng-yao 貞觀政要 ("Shen so-hao" 慎所好 chapter, section 2), in 628 T'ai-tsung told some intimate officials that the failure of the Emperor Shih-huang of Ch'in and the Emperor Wu-ti of Han to attain immortality was a good proof that all stories about the immortals were simply spurious.

<sup>16</sup> THY 47/836.

<sup>17</sup> Guisso, Wu Tse-tien, p. 218, n. 29; CTW 12/13b, 18/8a.

<sup>18</sup> For a brief general account of the development of Taoism between the reigns of Kao-tsung and Hsüan-tsung, see Kubo Noritada 窪德忠,

Dōkyō shi 道教史, pp. 228-34.

<sup>19</sup> Li-tai ch'ung-tao chi, 3b-4a.

<sup>20</sup> The Sui Dynasty, p. 137.

<sup>21</sup> I make this assumption mainly on the ground that works by Taoists are usually inclined to exaggerate the influence and glory of Taoism.

The monk Ming-kai 明鑒, when rebutting Fu I's accusations, said that there were "several tens of thousands" of Taoists in the empire (see the source by Ming-kai cited in n. 10, esp. p. 169c). This figure is obviously unreliable, judging from the number of the Taoist clergy in the k'ai-yüan period, which will be given below in p. 121. Since he had aimed to emphasize the damage Taoists had done to national economy, Ming-kai may have greatly exaggerated the size of the Taoist clergy; otherwise, the monk may have included the self-proclaimed practitioners of Taoism in his counting.

<sup>22</sup> No numbers of the establishments in the whole empire in this period are available. As I have pointed out (n. 12), Arthur Wright said that at the end of the reign of Wen-ti of Sui, there were only 16 Taoist establishments (as contrasted with 120 Buddhist) in the capital Ta-hsing-ch'eng 大興城. (It is strange that he gives the number "10" in Sui and T'ang China, Part 1, p. 78.) Wright did not indicate the sources of his information. According to Li-tai ch'ung-tao chi, pp. 3b-4a, 36 Taoist temples were built in the capital under Wen-ti and 24 were built in Yang-ti's capital Lo-yang. Judging from the sharp contrast between the numbers of the Taoist and the Buddhist clergy in the Sui period (see n. 12), Wright's figure seems more likely.

<sup>23</sup> This event is recorded in CTS 5/89-90 and, very roughly, in THY 48/850. For the number of the prefectures, see CTS 38/1384 and HTS 37/959. The THY says that 27 people would be ordained to serve in each temple in Yen-chou.

<sup>24</sup> "Kai-yüan hung-tao ta-she chao" 改元宏 (=弘)道大赦詔, CTW 13/18a-19a; CTS 5/111.

<sup>25</sup> See Guisso, pp. 26-50, esp. pp. 37-38; and Ch'en Yin-k'o, "Wu Chao yu Fo-chiao" 武曌與佛教, in Ch'en Yin-k'o hsien-sheng lun-chi, pp. 305-15.

<sup>26</sup> CTS 7/137; THY 48/847, "Lung-hsing-ssu" 龍興寺; CTS 7/143; TCTC 208/6610.

<sup>27</sup> Kao-tsung died immediately after the issue of the 683 decree (see the sources cited in n. 24); hence, it is rather likely that this decree was not enforced. From the sources cited in n. 26, we are sure that the 705 decree was implemented. But, according to THY 48/874, a Buddhist temple in Ch'ang-an originally named Chung-hsiang-ssu 眾香寺 was renamed Chung-hsing-ssu 中興寺 in 705. This suggests that the establishment of a temple did not necessarily mean the construction of a new one.

<sup>28</sup> The first three figures are given in the T'ang liu tien (4/23a), which was compiled in the later part of the k'ai-yüan period (see Ch. 3, n. 75).

It is regretable that this work does not give us the number of the Taoist clergy. The HTS (48/1252; des Rotours, Fonctionnaires, p. 383, text and n. 5, seems to have made some mistakes in the figures) says that in the whole empire there were 1687 Taoist monasteries, with 776 Taoist monks and 988 Taoist nuns. As des Rotours indicates, this statement is obviously unreliable (see also T'ang liu tien, loc. cit.). According to the Li-tai ch'ung-tao chi (p. 20a), in the chung-ho 中和 period (881-84; the time of the composition of this work) there were 1900 odd Taoist establishments and 15,000 odd officially ordained Taoists in the empire. Since the author of this work, Tu Kuang-t'ing 杜光庭, was a high-ranking Taoist adept in Ch'ang-an and had written this work for presentation to the court (see end of the work), the figures

given here seem basically reliable. This is the first basis of my estimate. In addition, we know that there could have been as few as only 7 Taoists in an ordinary Taoist temple (see p. 120) though some major temples had more people (e.g., the T'ai-shou-kuan 太受觀 in Mao-shan, which was built for Wang Yüan-chih by T'ai-tsung (CTS 192/5125), and the temples which were established in Yen-chou in 666 on Kao-tsung's order (p. 120 and THY 48/850)).

<sup>29</sup> THY 49/863 and HTS 48/1252. Also, cf. T'ang liu tien 4/24a (read 2113 for 1113 in this source) and CTS 43/1831. As des Rotours (Fonctionnaires, pp. 383-84, n. 6) indicates, these figures seem to reflect the situation of the k'ai-yüan period.

<sup>30</sup> As n. 12 shows, during the Sui dynasty 230,000 monks and nuns were ordained. In a work written during the 624 dispute between Buddhists and Taoists, Fa-lin quoted Fu I as saying that there were then 200,000 Buddhists in the empire ("P'o-hsieh lun" 破邪論, Kuang Hung-ming chi 11, in the Taishō Tripitaka, vol. 52, p. 163b). It seems this figure is basically reliable.

<sup>31</sup> THY 75/1373; CTS 5/99; HTS 44/1163; TCTC 202/6374; TFYK 639/19a. Cf. Guisso, p. 30.

<sup>32</sup> TCTC 205/6490; THY 75/1373; CTS 7/137.

<sup>33</sup> See CTS 8/199, HTS 44/1164, and des Rotours, Examens, pp. 170-71. The expression "加試老子" in the HTS (des Rotours's translation: "[Hiuan-tsong] fit ajouter un examen sur le livre de Lao-tseu") is somewhat misleading. See also Teng-k'o-chi k'ao 8/1a-2b, which contains a decree concerning these orders.

<sup>34</sup> See CTS 9/213, 24/925 and des Rotours, Examens, pp. 172-73, text and notes. It seems that the Tao-chü examination was open exclusively to the students of the Ch'ung-hsüan hsüeh (THY 77/1404).

<sup>35</sup> In 742 he ordered that the Lao-tzu should not remain on the curriculum of the examinations except for the Tao-chü examination (THY 75/1374); in 750, he ordered the removal of the Tao-te ching from the curriculum of the Tao-chü examination and the addition of the I ching (des Rotours, Examens, p. 175).

<sup>36</sup> Unless otherwise noted, the following account is based on the "Biographies of the Recluses" in CTS 191 and HTS 196 and the biographies of Chang Kuo 張果 and Yeh Fa-shan 葉法善 in CTS 191/5106-08.

<sup>37</sup> See p. 95 and the biographies of Wu Yün and Yin Yin 尹愔 in CTS 192/5129 and HTS 200/5703 respectively.

<sup>38</sup> For a concise account of the careers of the patriarchs mentioned here, see Edward Schafer, Mao Shan in T'ang Times, pp. 45-47.

<sup>39</sup> CTS 192/5117; HTS 196/5598-99; TCTC 202/6393.

<sup>40</sup> CTS 192/5119-21; HTS 196/5603-04. The HTS gives Hung 鴻 as Lu's given name.

<sup>41</sup> Two decrees announcing the results of two decree examinations, known as "Ch'u-fen kao-tao pu shih chü-jen ch'ih" 處分高蹈不仕舉人勅 and "Ch'u-fen chih-chü-jen ch'ih" 處分制舉人勅, are to be found in TTCLC 106/549-50 and 541-42 (cf. Teng-k'o-chi k'ao 9/7a-b). Judging from the career of its drafter Sun T'i (CTS 190b/5044), the first decree was issued somewhere in 736-44. The second was, according to TFYK 98/18a-b, issued in 745 (4th yr. t'ien-pao). Further, in accordance with Ts'en Shen's "Su Kuan-hsi k'o-she . . ." (see Ch. 3, p. 29, n. 2), another decree examination on this theme was held in 742.

<sup>42</sup> "T'ang-tai mou-hsieh chih-shih fen-tzu yin-i ch'iu-hsien te cheng-chih mu-ti," in T'ang-shih lun-ts'ung, pp. 168-69.

<sup>43</sup> CTS 192/5117; cf. HTS 196/5599. For the story of the Four White-Haired Ones, see Ch. 3, n. 2, E.



<sup>44</sup> CTS 192/5120.

<sup>45</sup> See the 1st chapter of "Yao yüeh" 堯曰 .

<sup>46</sup> See n. 41.

<sup>47</sup> Besides Lu Hung-i (see p. 11), Shih Te-i 史德義 was also appointed a chien-i ta -fu (in the Empress Wu's time); see T'ai-p'ing yü-lan 506/3b. (CTS 192/5117-18 and HTS 196/5599 both give ch'ao-san ta -fu 朝散大夫 as the position offered to Shih. I have followed the T'ai-p'ing yü-lan because ch'ao-san ta -fu is only "un titre qui ne comporte pas de fonction" (san-kuan 散官 ; see des Rotours, Fonctionnaires, p. 35), not an office, and the CTS indicates at the same time that Shih was appointed a remonstrating official.)

<sup>48</sup> Op. cit., p. 169. T'ien Yu-yen was appointed a t'ai-tzu hsien-ma (TCTC 202/6403); Wang Yu-chen 王友貞 (flo. from the Empress Wu's reign to Hsüan-tsung's reign) was once appointed a t'ai-tzu chung-she-jen (CTS 192/5119).

<sup>49</sup> See, for example, the accounts of Wang Yu-chen, Lu Hung-i, Wang Hsi-i, and Po Lu-chung in CTS 192/5118-21, 5124. Cf. HTS 196/5600-01, 5603-04. Also, cf. Ch'en I-hsin, op. cit., pp. 168-71.

<sup>50</sup> As far as I know, by the time of Li Po's death (762), Li Mi was the only person who had changed from his pursuits as a hermit to a political career and had then played a significant role in politics. However, as Professor Pulleyblank pointed out to me, Li Mi came from an extremely prestigious clan (he was a descendant of Li Pi 弼 and Li Mi 密 ; see Ch. 1, nn. 139, 141) and had been known to and praised by Hsüan-tsung and some powerful officials before he lived as a recluse. Moreover, the most significant thing Li Mi could do during Hsüan-tsung's reign was to serve in the palace of the crown prince (later Su-tsung). If there had not been the rebellion of An Lu-shan and arbitrary accession

of Su-tsung to the throne, Li Mi would not have had the chance to become the mentor of a ruler (Su-tsung). (See Mi's biographies in CTS 130/3620-23 and HTS 139/4631 ff.) Therefore, he can not be considered as a proof that people indeed had the opportunity to play an important political role merely because they were distinguished hermits.

For some examples of the failure of the hermits' political careers, see the biographies of T'ien Yu-yen (see also TCTC 202/6403), Shih Te-i, Hsü Jen-chi 徐仁紀, and Sun Ch'u-hsüan 孫處玄 in CTS 192.

<sup>51</sup> TTCLC 106/541-42; TFYK 98/18a-b.

<sup>52</sup> T'oung Pao, LXIII:I (1977), 1-64, esp. 31-40. The quotation is from p. 35.

<sup>53</sup> T'ao's biographies in Nan shih 76/1898-99 and Liang shu 51/743; Ch'en Kuo-fu, p. 277. Cf. Ch'en I-hsin, "T'ang-tai mou-hsieh chih-shih fen-tzu . . .," in T'ang-shih lun-ts'ung, p. 164.

<sup>54</sup> Some examples: Wang Yüan-chih (CTS 192/5125), Ssu-ma Ch'eng-chen (CTS 192/5127), and Wu Yün (CTS 192/5129; HTS 196/5604).

<sup>55</sup> CTS 192/5116; cf. HTS 196/5594.

<sup>56</sup> See below, p. 132.

<sup>57</sup> Examples: (1) Shan-jen: Ts'en Shen, "Tseng Hsi-yüeh shan-jen Li Kang" 贈西嶽山人李岡, CTShih 199/2059; Liu Chang-ch'ing 劉長卿, "Sung ch'u-shih kuei-chou yin chi Lin shan-jen" 送處士歸州因寄林山人, CTShih 147/1500; Li Po, "Chi Wang-wu shan-jen Meng ta Jung" 寄王屋山人孟大融, WC 13/662.

(2) Yeh-jen: Meng Hao-jan, "T'i Chang yeh-jen yüan-lu" 題張野人園廬, CTShih 160/1650; biography of Wu Yün in CTS 192/5129.

(3) I-jen: Liu Chang-ch'ing, "Hsün Chang i-jen shan-chü" 尋張逸人山居, CTShih 150/1555; Kao Shih, "Tseng-pieh Shen ssu i-jen"

贈別沈四逸人, CTShih 211/2200; Li Po, "Shang An-chou P'ei chang-shih shu," WC 26/1246 ("I-jen Tung-yen-tzu").

(4) Ch'u-shih: biography of Wang Hsi-i, CTS 192/5121; Li Po, "T'i Chin-ling Wang ch'u-shih shui-t'ing" 題金陵王處士水亭, WC 25/1151; Kao Shih, "Tseng-pieh Chin san ch'u-shih" 贈別晉三處士, CTShih 213/2219.

(5) Yin-shih: Ts'en Shen, "Chiang-hsing . . . ssu O-mei yin-che . . ." 江行... 思我眉隱者, CTShih 200/2065; Meng Hao-jan, "Su Yang-tzu chin chi . . . Liu yin-shih" 宿揚子津寄... 劉隱士, CTShih 159/1619; Li Po, "Wang Chung-nan-shan chi Tzu-ko yin-che" 望終南山寄紫閣隱者, WC 13/652.

(6) Cheng-chün: Li Po, "Ch'iu-shan chi . . . Wang cheng-chün" 秋山寄... 王徵君 and "Ming-kao ko sung Ts'en cheng-chün" 鳴皋歌送岑徵君, WC 13/651, 7/393.

<sup>58</sup> Since it is obviously improper to list all the titles of the related works, I shall give only the serial numbers of these works used in Hanabusa's concordance. (1) Shan-jen: 311, 415, 426, 499, 502, 557, 564, 629, 650, 896. (2) I-jen: 511 (see also Ch. 2, n. 49), 677, 914, 1014. (3) Cheng-chün: 221, 325, 330, 404, 414, 416. (4) Ch'u-shih: 290, 301, 486, 509, 913. (5) Yin-che: 417.

<sup>59</sup> "Tseng-pieh Shen ssu i-jen," "Sung-chung yü Lin-lü Yang shih-ch'i shan-jen . . .," "Sung Yang shan-jen kuei Sung-yang," "Tseng-pieh Chin san ch'u-shih," "Sung Ts'ai shan-jen," "Sung Kuo ch'u-shih wang Lai-wu chien chi Kou shan-jen," "Fu te 'Huan-shan yin' sung Shen ssu shan-jen," "Kuang-ling pieh Cheng ch'u-shih," "Tseng-pieh Ch'u shan-jen," "Wu-wei . . . kuo Yang ch'i shan-jen . . .," "T'ung ch'ün-kung t'i Chang ch'u-shih ts'ai-yüan," in CTShih 211/2200, 212/2202, 213/2219, 2220, 2221, 2222, 214/2229, 2231, 2241.

<sup>60</sup> See n. 41.

<sup>61</sup> See the decree drafted by Sun T'i cited in n. 41.

<sup>62</sup> CTS 192/5121; HTS 196/5600.

<sup>63</sup> For the poem, see n. 57, item (1). For the description of huang-ching, see Joseph Needham, Science and Civilisation in China, vol. V:3, pp. 112, 450.

<sup>64</sup> A few more examples: (1) biography of Po Lu-chung (styled Liang-ch'iu-tzu 梁丘子), CTS 192/5124; the Huang-t'ing nei-ching ching 黃庭內景經 (Book of the Inner Effulgences of the Yellow Court), which Po annotated, was the most famous of all the Mao-shan texts (see Michel Strickmann, "On the Alchemy of T'ao Hung-ching," in Facets of Taoism, p. 173), (2) biographies of Li Mi 泌 in HTS 139/4632 and CTS 130/3621, (3) Kao Shih, "Fu te 'Huan-shan yin' sung Shen ssu shan-jen," CTShih 213/2222, (4) Ts'en Shen, "Hsün Shao-shih Chang shan-jen . . .," CTShih 200/2087.

<sup>65</sup> "Su Kuan-hsi k'o-she chi Tung-shan Yen Hsu er shan-jen . . .," CTShih 200/2065.

<sup>66</sup> "Tseng-pieh Chin san ch'u-shih" 贈別晉三處士, CTShih 213/2219.

<sup>67</sup> "Sung Ts'ai shan-jen" 送蔡山人, CTShih 213/2220. It is likely that, as Chou Hsün-ch'u (Kao Shih nien-p'u, p. 40) suggests, Kao wrote this poem in 744 when he and Li Po were travelling together in the Liang-Sung region, and Li Po's poem of the same title (WC 17/827) was presented to the same person.

<sup>68</sup> "Tai Shou-shan ta Meng shao-fu i-wen shu," WC 26/1221, 1225; "Shang An-chou P'ei chang-shih shu," WC 26/1248; "Ta yu-jen tseng wu-sha-mao" 答友人贈烏紗帽, WC 19/874-75.

<sup>69</sup> As mentioned in Ch. 2 (p. 51), Li Po, K'ung Ch'ao-fu and four other recluses were called "Chu-hsi liu-i" 竹溪六逸. The word "i" means none other than i-jen. The expression "kao-shih," which

Li Hua used in the epitaph in Li Po's honor (p. 116), is almost the same in meaning as i-jen and the other expressions that we have been discussing.

<sup>70</sup> He mentioned Taoist adepts in the following works (once again I shall adopt the serial numbers used by Hanabusa): 329 (WC 9/508; Chiao lien-shih 焦鍊師), 335 (WC 10/521; Ko Huan 蓋寰; Ko was very probably a Taoist adept), 427 (WC 13/663; Hu Tzu-yang), 551 (WC 17/821; Kao Ju-kuei), 570 (WC 18/838; a Taoist nun named Ch'u 褚), 818 (WC 23/1076; Yung tsun-shih 雍尊師), 825 (WC 23/1079; unknown Taoist or Taoists in the Tai-t'ien-shan Mountain), 976 (WC 25/1190; Taoist nun Li T'eng-k'ung 李騰空), 279 (WC 8/448; Princess Yü-chen), 1000 (WC 1/1; Ssu-ma Ch'eng-chen), 1115 (WC 30/1432; in this work, Li Po called his friend Yüan Tan-ch'iu a wei-i [-shih] 威儀師).

<sup>71</sup> He compared himself to Cheng Tzu-chen in a work written in 757 (see Ch. 3, p. 92) and to Chieh-yü 接輿 (the so-called "crazy man from the state of Ch'u" 楚狂 whom Confucius once came across in his travels) in a poem probably written in 760 (see "Lu-shan yao . . ." 廬山謠, WC 14/677 and HN, p. 143.)

<sup>72</sup> WC 26/1246.

<sup>73</sup> Cf. Ch. 2, n. 7.

<sup>74</sup> As I indicated in n. 45, this quotation comes from the Confucian Analects (not word for word).

<sup>75</sup> HTS 123/4374-75; cf. CTS 94/3000-01.

<sup>76</sup> TTCLC 106/549. Emphasis on the same virtue can be found in many other decrees. See, for example, TTCLC 106/541-42, CTS 192/5118-19 (biography of Wang Yu-chen), 5119-20 (biography of Lu Hung-i).

<sup>77</sup> See the 741 decree about the establishment of the temples of

Lao-tzu and other matters related to Taoism, which is kept in TFYK 53/18a-b. See also the decree concerning the 733 measures to popularize the Tao-te ching (pp. 121-22), which is kept in an altar in the Lung-hsing-kuan 龍興觀 in Hsing-chou 邢州 and cited in Teng-k'o-chi k'ao 8/1a-2b.

78 "Shang Li shih-lang shu" 上李侍郎書, CTW 331/7b.

79 See, for example, the decree issued by Hsüan-tsung in 717 to summon Lu Hung-i to the capital (CTS 192/5119-20) and the Empress Wu's decree to offer Shih Te-i an office in the court (ibid., 5117-18).

80 See p. 4.

81 T'ang-shih yen-chiu ts'ung-kao 唐史研究叢稿, pp. 367-412.

82 For some examples of students studying with famous hermits, see the accounts about Yang Ch'eng 陽城 (an official in Te-tsung's time) in Yen, p. 384 (read CTS 192 for CTS 912) and the account about Lu Hung [-i] in Yen, pp. 380-81.

83 Ts'en, "Kan-chiu fu" 感舊賦, CTW 358/5-7; cited in Yen, p. 381.

84 Yen, pp. 397-400.

85 TSLCHC 10/33. In Hung's translation, this poem says: "It's long since I have seen Mr. Li. / His feigned waywardness is truly deplorable. / The world would condemn him to death; / I say his genius alone is worthy of esteem. / With such quick brilliance manifest in a thousand poems, / To remain a vagabond just for a cup of wine! / Here are the K'uang Hills where he studied when he was young. / He may very well come back, now that he is old" (Tu Fu, p. 188). Judging from l. 3, this poem must have been written after Li Po's banishment conviction in 758 (see

Ch. 2, p. 63). The final couplet (Chinese original: 匡山讀書處  
頭白好歸來 ) seems to indicate that Tu wrote this poem somewhere near Li Po's home district in Shu (Tu moved to Shu in the turn of 759-60; see Hung, pp. 158, 160), although it may not be conclusive evidence that, as Hung holds (pp. 185-87), the poem was composed in 762 when Tu made a journey to Mien-chou (Li Po's home prefecture). The speculation that K'uang-shan means Lu-shan 廬山, which was also known as K'uang-lu-shan 匡廬山 (see Hung Mai 洪邁, Jung-chai sui-pi, chüan 8, p. 315, item "K'uang-shan tu-shu" and the words of Huang Ho 黃鶴 quoted in TSLCHC 10/34) is not convincing. See also the next note.

<sup>86</sup> See Ch. 2, p. 45 and the words of Yang T'ien-hui 楊天惠, cited in T'ang-shih chi-shih 18/271. Also, see the words from the geographical work Mien-chou t'u-ching (not extant) cited in Yao K'uan 姚寬 (d. 1161), Hsi-hsi ts'ung-yü 西溪叢語, chüan hsia 卷下, p. 21b. It is likely that, just like Yang's words, the T'u-ching is also based on legends circulated in Li Po's home prefecture in Sung times.

<sup>87</sup> See below, pp. 154-58.

<sup>88</sup> These legends were already current in the period of the Warring States. They became extremely popular because the Emperors Shih-huang of Ch'in and Wu-ti of Han were both vigorously engaged in fruitless enterprises to obtain the elixir of immortality from these isles. See Shih chi, "Ch'in shih-huang pen chi," 6/247, 263 and "Feng-shan shu," 28/1369-70; Han shu 25a/1216-17, 1222-24, 27. Poems by Li Po with references to these isles can be traced through Hanabusa's concordance under the items P'eng-lai (or P'eng-ying 瀛, P'eng-hai 海, etc.), Ying-chou, Fang-P'eng 方蓬, chin-ch'ueh 金闕, and chin-yin-t'ai 金銀臺, on pp. 279-80, 189, 3, 422, and 467.

<sup>89</sup> The story of Hsi-wang-mu has a rather long history of evolution. In the Shan-hai-ching 山海經, this immortal is described as a god with human face and animal body; in the Mu t'ien-tzu chuan, she is an

elegant lady; in the Han Wu-ti nei-chuan 漢武帝內傳, she becomes a charming woman about 30 years of age (see Shan-hai-ching chiao-chu 2/50, 12/306, 16/407; Han Wu-ti nei-chuan, p. 3; and the words from the Mu t'ien-tzu chuan cited in Kuo P'u 郭璞, Shan-hai-ching chu 2/42). Details of this story vary in different sources. The reference to the visit of the King Mu-wang of Chou to the dwelling of Hsi-wang-mu in Li Po's "Ancient Air, N. 43" (WC 2/141) seems to have come from the Mu t'ien-tzu chuan or the spurious book Lieh-tzu 列子 (chüan 3). The mention of Tung-fang Shuo 東方朔 together with Hsi-wang-mu in "Tseng Sung-shan Chiao lien-shih" (WC 9/509) may have been based on the Han Wu ku-shih 漢武故事 or the Po-wu chih (end of chüan 8). More poems by Li Po with references to this story can be traced through Hanabusa's concordance under items "Wang-mu" and "Yao-ch'ih" 瑤池, pp. 36, 83.

<sup>90</sup> On Ma-ku, see Shen-hsien chuan 2/2 and 7/3 and Li Po's "Hsi-yüeh Yün-t'ai ko . . ." (WC 7/381) and "Ancient Air, No. 9" (WC 2/100). On An Ch'i-sheng, see Lieh-hsien chuan, chüan shang 卷上, the Pao-p'u tzu (numerous references; see Concordance du Pao-p'ou-tseu Nei-p'ien, p. 256), and Li Po's "Tui chiu hsing" 對酒行 (WC 6/353) and "Ancient Air, No. 7" (WC 2/98). On Ch'ih-sung-tzu, see Lieh-hsien chuan, chüan shang and Li Po's "Ancient Air, No. 20" (WC 2/114) and "Tui chiu hsing." More references by Li Po to the tales in the Shen-hsien chuan and the Lieh-hsien chuan can be found in Ōno Jitsunosuke 大野實之助, Ri Taihaku kenkyū, pp. 491-93, 500-03.

<sup>91</sup> See pp. 141-42.

<sup>92</sup> There are numerous poems in the collected works of Meng, Wei, and Liu which demonstrate their enthusiasm for Taoism. Following are some cogent examples: Meng's "Chi T'ien-t'ai tao-shih" 寄天台道士, CTShih 160/1636; Wei's "Er huang-ching" 餌黃精, CTShih 193/1990; Liu's "Wu-chung wen T'ung-kuan shih-shou . . .", CTShih 149/1545.

<sup>93</sup> "Ni ku shih-er shou ch'i shih," WC 24/1100.



<sup>94</sup> WC 2/139.

<sup>95</sup> "Wang Lu-shan p'u-pu er-shou ch'i er" 望廬山瀑布二首其二 , WC 21/989.

<sup>96</sup> See below, n. 115.

<sup>97</sup> "Lu-shan yao chi Lu shih-yü Hsü-chou" 廬山謠寄盧侍御虛舟 , WC 14/677-78.

<sup>98</sup> See, for example, "Yu T'ai Shan" 遊泰山 , WC 20/921-26; "T'ien-t'ai hsiao wang" 天台曉望 , WC 21/971; "Tsao wang hai-hsia pien" 早望海霞邊 , WC 21/972; "Chiao-shan wang Sung-liao-shan" 焦山望松寥山 , WC 21/973. Sung-liao-shan Mountain is not well-known.

<sup>99</sup> Besides the two poems to be mentioned below, "Hsi-yüeh Yün-t'ai ko sung Tan-ch'iu-tzu" 西岳雲臺歌送丹丘子 , WC 7/381-82, is also a good example.

<sup>100</sup> For these two poems, see WC 7/393-96 and 15/705-08.

<sup>101</sup> Some examples of this association in literature: (1) Ts'ao Ts'ao, "Ch'i ch'u ch'ang" 氣出唱 (Wei Wu-ti shih chu 魏武帝詩注, p. 1); (2) Juan Chi 阮籍, "Yung huai, No. 32" (Donald Holzman, Poetry and Politics, p. 159); (3) Kuo P'u, "Yu hsien shih" 遊仙詩 ("Fei-ts'ui hsi lan-t'iao" 翡翠戲蘭苕, in Wen hsüan 21); Sun Ch'o 孫綽, "Yu T'ien-t'ai-shan fu" 遊天台山賦 (Wen hsüan 11).

Most of the immortals described in the Shen-hsien chuan are said to have attained immortality in the mountains.

<sup>102</sup> See Tso, "Wu-tu fu" 吳都賦, Wen hsüan 5/111 and Kuo, "Chiang fu" 江賦, *ibid.*, 12/261.

<sup>103</sup> Cf. Ch'en Kuo-fu, pp. 62-64. Ch'en quoted a similar story from

the Later Han work Yüeh chüeh shu 越絕書, but I failed to find it.

104 Strickmann, "On the Alchemy of T'ao Hung-ching," pp. 179-80.

105 See Tu Kuang-t'ing 杜光庭 (late T'ang), "Tung-t'ien fu-ti yüeh-tu ming-shan chi" 洞天福地嶽瀆名山記. Tu's sources are not known. But a cult of this kind, probably not so detailed and systematic as Tu put it, must have already existed in Li Po's time, judging from the following two pieces of evidence. First, I-ch'ieh Tao-ching yin-i miao-men yu-ch'i (compiled in the beginning of Hsuan-tsung's reign) cited an earlier Taoist text as saying that "the supreme places of the Three Purities, the Ten Continents, the Five Sacred Mountains and other famous mountains or grotto-heavens, and even space are all ruled by the sages (immortals)." See Yoshioka Yoshitoyo 吉岡義豊, "Sandō hōdo kakai gihan no seiritsu ni tsuite" 三洞奉道科誠儀範の成立について, in Dōkyō kenkyū, vol. 1, pp. 23-30, esp. 23, 29. Second, in a petition to Hsuan-tsung (see the text below), Ssu-ma Ch'eng-chen said that there were grotto-heavens in all of the Five Sacred Mountains, which were ruled by the perfected ones (chen-jen 真人) from the Supreme Purity (shang-ch'ing 上清).

106 See Ssu-ma's biography in CTS 192/5128.

107 See "Sung Wang-wu shan-jen Wei Wan . . ." 送王屋山人魏萬, "Feng-chien Kao tsun-shih . . ." 奉饒高尊師, "Tseng-pieh she-jen ti T'ai-ch'ing . . ." 贈別舍人弟臺卿, and "Yu T'ai-shan liu-shou ch'i i" 遊太山六首其一 in WC 16/752, 17/821, 12/605-06, 20/921-22. See also the following text.

108 "Meng-yu T'ien-mu yin," WC 15/707.

109 According to Li Po, Yüan Tan-ch'iu visited or stayed in at least the following mountains: Sung Shan ("Yüan Tan-ch'iu ko" 歌, WC 7/384), O-mei Shan ("Wen Tan-ch'iu tzu yü ch'eng-pei shan . . ." 聞

丹丘子於城北山 , 1. 16, WC 13/657), Hua Shan ("Hsi-yüeh Yün-t'ai ko . . ." 西岳雲臺歌 , WC 7/384), and the Shan-chung region (see Ch. 2, p. 57).

According to the farewell poems Li Po and Wei Hao presented to each other (see Ch. 2, p. 60; besides the preface Wei wrote for Li Po's works and Li Ch'i's 李頎 "Sung Wei Wan chih ching" 送魏萬之京 (CTShih 134/1362), these are the only materials about Wei that I know of), Wei secluded himself in Wang-wu Shan 王屋山 and visited Sung Shan and the Shan-chung region on his way to look for Li Po.

Meng Hao-jan once spent several years touring the mountains in Shan-chung (see Ch'en I-hsin, "Meng Hao-jan shih-chi k'ao-pien" 孟浩然事迹考辨 , in T'ang-shih lun-ts'ung, pp. 24-37). His interest in the mountains of the immortals is clearly shown in such poems as "Yüeh chung feng T'ien-t'ai T'ai-i tzu" 越中逢天台太乙子 (CTShih 159/1626) and "Su T'ien-t'ai T'ung-po-kuan" 宿天台桐柏觀 (ibid., 159/1623).

K'ung Ch'ao-fu, with whom Li Po once lived together in Ts'u-lai-shan Mountain, made a pilgrimage to Shan-chung in about 747. See Ch. 2, pp. 51, 57.

Tu Fu once visited Wang-wu-shan Mountain, intending to learn the art of immortality from an adept who lived in the famous grotto-heaven there named Hsiao-yu 小有 (Wen I-tuo, "Shao-ling nien-p'u," pp. c59-c60; Tu Kuang-t'ing, "Tung-t'ien fu-ti . . . ," p. 3b). It is not clear how religious Tu's journey to Shan-chung, which took place at his youth, was (for this journey, see Wen, pp. c52-53).

<sup>110</sup> See Strickmann, "The Mao Shan Revelations," p. 31 ff. and the account about Ssu-ma Ch'eng-chen in Schafer, Mao Shan in T'ang Times, p. 46.

The famous mountains in this region were often connected with the immortals in literary works by authors of the Southern Dynasties. (E.g., T'ien-t'ai Shan in Sun Ch'o's "Yu T'ien-t'ai Shan fu" and T'ien-mu Shan in Hsieh Ling-yün's poem "Teng lin-hai chiao . . ." 登臨海嶠 in Wen hsüan 11.) According to Tu Kuang-t'ing ("Tung-t'ien fu-ti . . ."), there were 2 grand grotto-heavens, 6 grotto-heavens, and about 10 fu-ti's in Shan-chung and the closely neighboring areas.

- 111 "Shan-chung yü yü-jen tui-cho" 山中與幽人對酌 ,  
 WC 23/1074; English translation by Rewi Alley (Li Pai: 200 Selected Poems, p. 202), with changes by myself.
- 112 English translation partly by Alley (p. 201).
- 113 The quoted words are from T'ao's biography in Sung shu 93/2288 and Hsiao T'ung 蕭統, "T'ao Ching-chieh chuan" 陶靖節傳, in Liang Chao-ming t'ai-tzu chi 梁昭明太子集 13a-14a.
- 114 "Lu Shan yao . . ." 廬山謠 (WC 14/677-78, esp. 1. 25) is the only poem I have found which seems to suggest that Li Po had practised Taoist yoga.
- 115 Li Po said in "Liu-pieh Kuang-ling chu-kung" 留別廣陵諸公 (WC 15/718; obviously composed after 744, judging from its content) that he had searched "mountains and rivers" for drugs. It seems that herbal drugs were among the main things he looked for in the mountains. Similarly, when, as Tu-ku Chi said, Li Po carried a full sack of drugs of immortality on his 753 journey from Liang to Ts'ao-nan (Ch. 2, p. 59 and n. 113), these drugs very probably also included herbal ones.
- 116 Following are the works I have found which indicate Li Po's alchemic activities: (a) "Ts'ao-ch'uang ta-huan tseng Liu Kuan-ti" 草創大還贈柳官迪 (WC 10/536), written after the poet obtained his Taoist register (see HN, p. 61); (b) "Ch'iu-jih lien-yao yüan nieh po-fa . . ." 秋日鍊藥院鑷白髮 (WC 10/515), probably composed during the poet's forties (the title shows that the poet already had white hair but not much of it; cf. HN, p. 77); (c) "Liu-pieh Ts'ao-nan ch'ün-kuan chih Chiang-nan" 留別曹南群官之江南 (WC 15/708-09), written in 753 (see Ch. 2, p. 59); (d) "Liu Yeh-lang pan-tao ch'eng-en fang-huan . . . shu-huai shih Hsi hsiu-ts'ai" 流夜郎半道承恩放還... 書懷示息秀才 (WC 11/591), written in 759 (HN, p. 132); (e) "Lu Shan yao . . ." (WC 14/677-78), probably written in 760 (HN, p. 143); (f) "Pi-ti Ssu-k'ung yüan yen-huai" 避地司空原言懷

(WC 24/1116-17), probably written in 758 (see Ch. 3, n. 135); (g) "Liu-pieh Kuang-ling chu kung" 留別廣陵諸公 (see n. 115); (h) "Tai Shou-shan ta Meng shao-fu" (WC 26/1220-26, esp. p. 1225). Only the last of these works was written before 744 (for its date, see Ch. 2, p. 47 and n. 20). In this work, Li Po suggested that he had taken ch'iuung-yeh 瓊液 (= chin-yeh 金液, potable gold?) and chin-sha 金砂 (= powder of liquefied gold?). But in "Yu T'ai Shan" 遊泰山 (WC 20/921-26, esp. the 3rd and the 5th poems) and "Ch'iu yü Ching-t'ing sung tsung-chih Tuan . . . hsü" 秋於敬亭送從姪嵩 . . . 序 (WC 27/1266), which were written in 742 and sometime after about 737 respectively (see Ch. 2, n. 51 and the content of the hsü), the poet still said that he had not been engaged in elixir alchemy. I suspect that either the poet's letter (shu) to Meng should not be read literally (in this letter, Li Po tried to convince Meng that he was a genuine recluse; hence, he may have exaggerated his engagement in Taoist activities), or the poet had obtained some elixir from his friends.

For the assumption about Li Po's use of herbal drugs, see n. 115.

117 Wen I-tuo, "Shao-ling nien-p'u," pp. c59-c62. Cf. Kuo, pp. 181-85.

118 TSLCHC 1/19.

119 See Schafer, p. 27; cf. the words from T'ao Hung-chings Teng-chen yin-chüeh 登真隱訣 cited in TSLCHC 1/19. According to the Tz'u hai (1979 ed., vol. 1, pp. 310, 171), the ancient Chinese may have meant wu-fan shu 烏飯樹 (Vaccinium bracteatum) by the name nan-chu.

120 See Pao-p'u-tzu nei-p'ien chiao-shih 抱朴子內篇校釋 4/62 and T'ao's biography in Nan shih 76/1899.

121 There have been several theories about Li Po's financial situations. A popular view is that Li Po's father was a wealthy merchant from the Western Territories and the poet himself or his brothers also ran some businesses. (See Mai Ch'ao-shu 麥朝樞, "Li Po te ching-chi lai-yüan" 李白的經濟來源; Kuo, Li Po yü Tu Fu, pp. 13-14;

also, cf. Lin Keng 林庚, Shih-jen Li Po 詩人李白, section 5.)

This view does not seem to be well-founded. Firstly, Li Po's connection with the Western Territories is, as shown in Ch. 1, very doubtful. Secondly, as Keng Yüan-jui 耿元瑞 ("Li Po shih k'ao ching-shang kuo-huo ma?" 李白是靠經商過活嗎) points out, the assumption that Li Po himself was engaged in business is mainly based on passages quoted out of context. (Kuo's assertion that the poet's brothers had run some businesses is even more groundless.) Keng's idea that Li Po mainly lived on the patronage of other people is more convincing. I shall try to revise his view below.

<sup>122</sup> (1) See "Tseng tsung-hsiung Hsiang-yang shao-fu Hao" 贈從兄襄陽少府皓 (WC 9/462). In this poem, Li Po said that he had just returned from a certain journey (l. 7) and that he had plowed lands "east of Ch'ung-ling 舂陵 (l. 6). According to YHCHTC 21/13a, the site of the ancient city Ch'ung-ling was located 35 li's south-east of Tsao-yang-hsien 棗陽縣, Sui-chou 隨州, which was very close to An-chou. Hence, this poem may have been written in 734 or 735 after Li Po's journey to Lo-yang. A similar account of the poet's poverty is to be found in "Tseng tsung-ti Lieh," WC 12/627-28 (about 741, see Ch. 2, n. 34, II).

(2) See Tu Fu's "Feng-tseng Wei tso-ch'eng chang er-shih-er yün" and "Feng-tseng Hsien-yü ching-chao er-shih yün" (TSLCHC 1/42, 2/78-80). Also, see Ch'eng Ch'ien-fan 程千帆, T'ang-tai chin-shih hsing-chüan yü wen-hsüeh 唐代進士行卷與文學, pp. 31-32.

<sup>123</sup> See Ch. 3, pp. 88-89 and "Tseng Hsin-p'ing shao-nien" 贈新平少年, WC 9/504.

<sup>124</sup> I do not know of any work by Li Po written in the years following his marriage that mentions the poet's parents or any relative in Shu. To my knowledge, Li Po mentioned his parents and brothers in only two works, which are "Ch'iu yü Ching-t'ing sung tsung-chih Tuan yü Lu Shan hsü" 秋於敬亭送從姪嵩遊廬山序 (WC 27/1266; written at least about 10 years after his marriage; see the content of this work)

and "Wan-fen tz'u t'ou Wei lang-chung" 萬憤詞投魏郎中 (WC 24/1122; written in 757; see Ch. 2, n. 138).

<sup>125</sup> This is suggested by the works in WC 28 and 29. Cf. Pulleyblank, "Neo-Confucianism and Neo-Legalism in T'ang Intellectual Life, 755-805," pp. 85-86 and Hung, Tu Fu, p. 33 for the similar experience of Li Hua and Tu Fu.

<sup>126</sup> This is clear from the treatment other famous hermits received. Lu Hung-i was granted some clothes, a hut, and an annual allowance of 100 shih 石 of rice and 50 p'i 匹 of silk (CTS 192/5120-21). This is the most generous grant to a hermit that I know of. Wang Hsi-i was granted only some clothes, 100 p'i of silk, and symbolic seasonal gifts from local governments (ibid., p. 5121).

<sup>127</sup> See Hung, Tu Fu, p. 36.

<sup>128</sup> This is clear from the brief account of the poet's life in Ch. 2.

<sup>129</sup> Li Yang-ping (WC 31/1446) already suggested this. Cf. Liu Ch'üan-po, WC 31/1460. Fan Ch'uan-cheng held that the poet was not really interested in the fascinating life of the immortals, but rather only intended to divert himself from his political failure and consume his later years with something that he knew could not be accomplished (WC 31/1464). The previous discussion on Li Po's love of the world of the immortals shows clearly that Fan is not convincing.

<sup>130</sup> The following account of the transmission of Taoist registers is mainly based on (1) the short article about Taoism in the "Ching-chi chih" 經籍志 of the Sui shu (35/1091-94), (2) Cheng-i hsiu-chen lüeh-i 正一修真略儀, (3) Ch'uan-shou San-tung ching chieh fa lu lüeh-shuo 傳授三洞經戒法錄略說, (4) Cheng-i fa-wen fa lu pu i 正一法文法錄部儀, (5) San-tung hsiu-tao i 三洞修道儀, and (6) Ch'uan-shou ching-chieh i-chu chüeh 傳授

經戒儀注訣 . Works (2)-(6) are all included in the Taoist canon. Work (1) was compiled in early T'ang (see the publication note of this work); Work (3), by Chang Wan-fu 張萬福 in the early reign of Hsüan-tsung; and work (5), by Sun I-chung 孫夷中 of the Five Dynasties (see Ch'en Kuo-fu, p. 359). I would venture to assume that the other works are also produced in or close to T'ang times, the blossoming period of esoteric Taoism (cf. Yoshioka Yoshitoyo, op. cit., pp. 20-23; Ch'en Kuo-fu, p. 309; and Strickmann, "The Mao Shan Revelations," p. 18, n. 36). Probably because of the esoteric nature of Taoism, the above works do not provide a systematic or detailed picture of the subject under discussion. An outline, nevertheless, still can be synthesized from them, and, for the need of this study, an outline is sufficient.

In the several immediately following notes, the above works will be cited only by their numbers.

<sup>131</sup> See the previous note, works (1), p. 1092 and (2), pp. 19a-20b. Also, see Li Po's description of the register he received in "Fang-tao An-ling yü Ko Huan" 訪道安陵遇蓋寰, WC 10/522.

<sup>132</sup> See n. 130, works (1), p. 1092; (2), pp. 1a-4a, 11b-12a, 17b-18b; (3), Part I, pp. 1-19 and Part II, p. 8; (5). Also, see Ch'en Kuo-fu, pp. 351-59 and the poem by Wei Hsia-ch'ing 韋夏卿 which will be cited in n. 134. According to these sources, there seems little doubt that the various ranks of so-called Cheng-i 正一 registers were for the beginners and the Shang-ch'ing 上清 registers were for the most cultivated followers.

<sup>133</sup> See ll. 21-22 (三災蕩璿璣. 蛟龍翼微躬) of the poem cited in n. 131. The expression "hsüan-chi" 璿璣 (= 璇璣) means the four stars in the bowl of the Big Dipper (Tz'u hai (1979 ed.), vol. 1, p. 757); it seems to be a reference to the main diagram in the poet's Taoist register (see below, p. 150).

<sup>134</sup> Some evidence that Taoist registers (and scriptures; see the



immediately following text) were also transmitted to lay devotees:

(1) Work (4) cited in n. 130 records the transmission of a certain talisman (p. 24a). Of the people mentioned there, some are clearly indicated as tao-shih but others are not; one of these people is simply referred to by his official title (Liu san-chi Tao-fu 劉散騎道符 ).

(2) In a poem entitled "Seeing Ku K'uang Off to Mao Shan" ("Sung Ku K'uang kuei Mao Shan" 送顧況歸茅山 , CTShih 272/3057-58), Wei Hsia-ch'ing (Wei passed a decree examination in the ta-li 大曆 reign period (766-779); see his biographies in CTS 165/4297 and HTS 162/4995) wrote two notes under lines 3 and 4 respectively, which are "著作已受上清畢法" (read "法畢" for "畢法") and "夏卿初受正一". The name chu-tso in the first note obviously refers to Ku K'uang, who was demoted from his post as chu-tso-lang 郎 in 789 (Fu Hsüan-tsung, "Ku K'uang k'ao," in op. cit., pp. 393-97). After we compare Wei's poem with two other poems written on the same occasion (Ch'i-wu Ch'eng 綦毋誠 , "T'ung Wei Hsia-ch'ing sung Ku K'uang kuei Mao Shan" 同韋夏卿送顧況歸茅山 , CTShih 272/3058, and Ku K'uang, "Feng-ch'ou Mao Shan tseng-tz'u ping chien Ch'i-wu cheng-tzu" 奉酉州茅山貝曾賜并簡綦毋正字 (entitled "奉酉州韋夏卿送歸茅山并簡..." in one other ed.), CTShih 266/2953), we find that Wei seems to have written this poem when Ku was leaving the capital in 789 (Ku indeed made a journey to the Yangtze Delta region before he went to his new office in Jao-chou 饒州 ; see Fu, loc. cit. and pp. 400-01). Besides, as far as we can judge from Wei's biographies in the CTS and the HTS and Fu's fairly detailed study of Ku K'uang's life, neither Wei nor Ku ever became a Taoist adept. Cf. Schafer's rather unconvincing interpretation of Wei's poem in Mao Shan in T'ang Times, p. 39.

<sup>135</sup> See n. 130, works (3), Part II, pp. 8a-17a; (4); (6), pp. 5b-7b, 9b-10b; (1), p. 1091-94. Also, cf. Strickmann, "The Mao Shan Revelations," pp. 22-30.

<sup>136</sup> See n. 130, works (2), pp. 19a-20b and (6), pp. 7b-8b.

<sup>137</sup> See Ch. 2, n. 74.

138 Lines 25-26 of "Fang-tao An-ling yu Ko Huan . . . ," WC 10/522.

139 See the beginning of Li Po's 李渤 "Chen hsi" in Yün-chi ch'i-ch'ien 5/25c; the preface to works (5), (2), and (6) cited in n. 130; and Fu Ch'in-chia 傅勤家 , Chung-kuo tao-chiao shih 中國道教史 , pp. 142-43.

140 The poem referred to here is "Tseng Sung Shan Chiao lien-shih" 贈嵩山焦鍊師 , WC 9/508-09. Wang Ch'ang-ling also mentioned a lien-shih named Chiao ("Yeh Chiao lien-shih" 謁焦鍊師, CTShih 142/1440). It is not clear if Li and Wang referred to the same person. In this poem, Li Po compared Chiao to Hsi-wang-mu 西王母 (as the poet indicated, Chiao was a woman) and wished that Chiao would transmit some tzu-shu 紫書 (purple books, i.e., Taoist texts) to him.

There are no obvious indications of the date of this poem. However, since it shows that the poet did not have a religious master yet at the time of its composition, the poem must have been written before 744. Again, judging from what we know about the poet's whereabouts, the poet is more likely to have made the visit to Sung Shan under discussion before his 737 journey to Ch'ang-an.

141 "Feng-chien Kao tsun-shih Ju-kuei tao-shih . . ." 奉饒高尊師如貴道士 , WC 17/821.

142 (A) In "Fang-tao An-ling . . ." (already cited in n. 138), Li Po described the register he had as "七元洞豁落" ; in "Liu-pieh Ts'ao-nan ch'ün-kuan chih Chiang-nan" 留別曹南群官之江南 , WC 15/708-09, he said he wore a "Huo-lo diagram" 豁落圖 on his person. See also n. 133.

(B) For the quotation, see Strickmann, "The Mao Shan Revelations," p. 53, n. 116.

143 See Strickmann, loc. cit. and n. 130, work (2), p. 18a. For the ranks of the Shang-ch'ing registers, see n. 132.

144 See "Liu-pieh Ts'ao-nan ch'ün-kuan" (cited in n. 142). For the

date of this poem, see Ch. 2, p. 59 and n. 115.

145 See n. 116, (e) and (a).

146 See, for example, "Chi Wang-wu shan-jen Meng ta Jung" 寄王屋山人孟大融, WC 13/662 (written long after 744; see ll. 5-8); "Ching-hsi nan Lan-shan hsia yu Lo-hsing-t'an . . ." 涇溪南藍山下有落星潭, WC 14/695-96. It is likely that, by the name chin-kao 金膏 ("Kan-shih liu-pieh tsung-hsiung Hsü-wang Yen-nien tsung-ti Yen-ling" 感時留別從兄徐王延年從弟延陵, WC 15/720 ff., esp. p. 723; written in 756), Li Po also referred to "potable gold."

147 This name is mentioned in Mei Piao 梅彪 (T'ang), Shih-yao er-ya 石藥爾雅, chüan hsia 卷下, but even Mei did not know the preparative method of this elixir. See Ch'en Kuo-fu, p. 388.

148 See Wang Ch'i's annotation in WC 10/536 and Arthur Waley, The Poetry and Career of Li Po, pp. 55-56.

149 For the meanings of the alchemic terms, see Needham, Science and Civilisation in China, V:3, pp. 66, 68 and Wang Ch'i's annotation No. 9.

150 See Needham (V:3), pp. 73-74.

151 See James R. Ware, Alchemy, Medicine and Religion in the China of A.D. 320: the Nei P'ien of Ko Hung, pp. 68 (1a), 70 (2b); huan-tan is translated as "reverted cinnabar" there. Also, see Needham, p. 82.

152 Needham (V:3), p. 74. Cf. Ware, p. 72 (3b).

153 Needham (V:3), p. 88.

154 *Ibid.*, p. 89.

155 See Ware, pp. 89-90. I have made some slight changes.

156 "Ancient Air, No. 11," WC 2/102. Some other examples: "Ancient Air, No. 28" (WC 2/124), "Ancient Air, No. 25" (WC 2/122), "Ni ku shih-er shou, ch'i shih" (already quoted in pp. 137-38).

157 WC 3/211.

158 For the story of Lu-yang, see Huai nan tzu 淮南子, "Lan ming hsün" 覽冥訓, 6/1b.

159 (A) Hu's words are seen in Wang Ch'i's annotation to the title of this poem.

(B) For the Han poem referred to here, see Yüeh-fu-shih chi 1/5. As Chan Ying pointed out ("Li Po yüeh-fu t'an-yüan" 李白樂府探源, in Lun-ts'ung, p. 82), Li Po's poem is similar to this Han work not only in theme but, in some places, in language.

160 The first two lines quoted here are very probably based on the following passage by Kuo Hsiang in the "Ta tsung-shih" 大宗師 chapter (Chuang-tzu chi-shih 集釋, p. 232): "故聖人之在天下. 煖焉若春陽之自和. 故蒙澤者不謝. 淒乎若秋霜之自降. 故凋落者不怨也." The line "其始與終古不息" and the expression "大塊" in Li Po's poem may have been borrowed from the text of the same chapter in the Chuang-tzu (ibid., pp. 247, 242). Cf. Chiao-chu 3/268.

161 "Teng kao-ch'iu er wang yüan-hai" 登高丘而望遠海, WC 4/223.

162 For sources about the futile search of these emperors, see n. 88.

163 See the "Lun hsien" 論仙 chapter in Ware, p. 42 ff. The quotations are from pp. 44-45.

164 See "Ancient Air, No. 3" (WC 2/92) and the immediately following

text.

165 See, for example, "Ni ku shih-er shou ch'i ch'i" 擬古十二首  
其七, WC 24/1098 and "Ku i" 古意 (see Ch. 2, n. 62).

166 "Ni ku shih-er shou ch'i san" 其三, WC 24/1094.

167 "Ancient Air, No. 23," WC 2/118-19.

168 The 4th poem of "Yüeh hsia tu cho" 月下獨酌, WC 23/1064.

169 See Ts'ao Chih's "Yu hsien" 遊僊, "Tseng Po-ma wang Piao"  
贈白馬王彪 (esp. ll. 51-56, 69-74), and the 2nd poem of "Sung  
Ying shih shih er-shou" 送應氏詩二首 in Ts'ao Tzu-chien shih chu  
(annotated by Huang Chieh 黃節), 2/14b, 1/26a-31b, and 1/7a; and  
T'ao Chien's "Drinking Alone in the Rainy Season" (see J. R. Hightower,  
The Poetry of T'ao Ch'ien, p. 71) and "Substance, Shadow, and Spirit"  
(Hightower, pp. 42-44).

170 See the end of n. 169.

171 Among the poems concerning the point under discussion which  
have been cited in pp. 152-57, only "Yueh hsia tu cho" is somehow  
datable (see n. 178).

172 (A) For the poem, see WC 19/876. The name "banished immortal"  
indicates that this poem was written after 744; see Ch. 2, p. 54.

(B) For the description of the name Chin-su Tathāgata, see Ch'en  
Yin-k'o, "Tun-huang pen Wei-mo-chieh ching . . . pa" 敦煌本維摩  
詰經 . . . 跋, in Ch'en Yin-k'o hsien-sheng lun-wen chi, pp. 228-  
29 and Mochizuki Bukkyō daijiten, p. 1368a.

173 (A) For the description of the ch'ing-lien flower, see Mochizuki  
Bukkyō daijiten, pp. 2817a, 4144c, and 228a.

(B) Some scholars held that Ch'ing-lien was the name of the hsiang 鄉 where Li Po came from. But, as Wang Ch'i pointed out, this view is not supported by any authoritative sources. Besides, the term ch'ing-lien is used in connection with Buddhism several times in Li Po's collected works (see Hanabusa, p. 326). It is likely that the name Ch'ing-lien-hsiang was in fact fabricated by posterity out of the poet's style Ch'ing-lien chu-shih. See WC 35/1574, 1st yr. ch'ang-an and HN, p. 111.

(C) "Ta tsu-chih seng Chung-fu . . ." 答族姪僧中孚 , WC 19/897, also mentions the style at issue.

174 See "Chin-ling yü chu-hsien sung Ch'üan shih-i hsü" 金陵與諸賢送權十一序 , WC 27/1262-64.

175 I failed to find materials about the taboos and commandments of lay Taoists.

176 For the assertion concerning Buddhism, see, for example, Tu Fu's "Yu Lung-men Feng-hsien-ssu" 遊龍門奉先寺 and "T'i Chung-chou Lung-hsing-ssu so chü yüan pi" 題忠州龍興寺所居院壁 (TSLCHC 1/1, 14/80); Meng Hao-jan's "Yün-men-ssu hsi . . . Fu kung lan-jo tsui yu yü Hsüeh pa t'ung wang" 雲門寺西... 符公若最幽 與薛八同往 and "Yeh po Lu-chiang wen ku-jen tsai Tung-ssu i shih chi chih" 夜泊廬江聞故人在東寺 以詩寄之 (CTShih 159/1623, 160/1635); and Li Po's "Yü Yüan Tan-ch'iu Fang-ch'eng-ssu t'an-hsüan tso" 與元丹丘方城寺談玄作 and "An-chou Po-je-ssu shui-ko na-liang hsi yü Hsüeh yüan-wai I" 安州般若寺水閣納涼喜遇薛員外乂 (WC 23/1059, 1060-61). Also, see Kenneth Ch'en, "The Role of Buddhist Monasteries in T'ang Society," History of Religions 15, pp. 214-219.

177 See pp. 78-80.

178 Line 1 of the 3rd poem under this title (there are 4 poems in all) indicates that the poem was written in Ch'ang-an. The sense of

frustration and loneliness expressed in this poem shows that it is not likely to have been written during the poet's 742-44 stay in the capital. However, it has to be pointed out that there are two other readings of the line in question, and in these two readings there is no mention of the capital. See Chiao-chu 23/1333. Also, cf. HN, p. 44.

<sup>179</sup> Kuo Mo-jo's assertion that Li Po repudiated his Taoist belief shortly before he died (Li Po yü Tu Fu, pp. 94-98) is based on a completely arbitrary interpretation of Li Po's "Hsia t'u kuei Shih-men chiu-chü"  
 下途歸石門舊居 (WC 22/1010-12). Cf. Ch. 2, n. 53.

Appendix A--Sources Relevant to the Term "Shan-tung Li Po"

Author	Work	Content
Tu Fu	"Su Tuan Hsüeh Fu yen chien Hsüeh Hua tsui-ko"	近來海內為長句, <sup>1</sup> 汝與山東李白好。
Li Yang-ping	" <u>Ts'ao-t'ang chi hsü</u> "	公乃浪跡縱酒,以自昏穢。詠歌之際,屢稱東山。
Wei Hao	" <u>Li Han-lin chi hsü</u> "	間攜昭陽、金陵之妓, <sup>2</sup> 迹類謝康樂, <sup>3</sup> 世號為李東山。
Yüan Chen	"T'ang ku kung-pu yüan-wai-lang Tu chün mu-hsi-ming"	詩人以來,未有如子美(杜甫)者。時山東人李白亦以奇文取稱。時人謂之李、杜。
Liu Hsü et al.	Biography of Li Po in the <u>Chiu T'ang shu</u>	李白...山東人....父為任城尉,因家焉。
Yüeh Shih	Unknown; indirectly quoted from Yang Shen's <u>Tan-ch'ien tsung-lu</u> (A) and "Li shih hsüan t'i-tz'u" (B)	(A) 白客遊天下,以聲妓自隨。效謝安石風流,自號東山。時人遂以東山李白稱之。 (B) 李白慕謝安風流,自號東山李白。



## Notes to Appendix A:

- <sup>1</sup> "Ch'ang-chü": seven-word ku-shih 古詩 poetry.
- <sup>2</sup> Chao-yang and Chin-ling are obviously names of Li Po's singsong girls. See WC 31/1451, note to these names.
- <sup>3</sup> K'ang-le was the style of the early Liu-Sung 劉宋 poet Hsieh Ling-yün 謝靈運. Wei Hao may have taken it for the style of Hsieh An, or he may have mistakenly linked Tung-shan to Hsieh Ling-yün.

Appendix B: Textual Comparison of Li Po's Origins

Li Yang-ping	Fan Ch'uan-cheng	Hsin T'ang shu
<p>A. 李白. 字太白.</p> <p>B. 隴西成紀人.</p> <p>D. 涼武昭王暠九世孫.</p> <p>E. 蟬聯珪組.<sup>1</sup> 世為顯著.</p> <p>F. 中葉非罪. 謫居條支. 易姓與名.<sup>2</sup> 然自窮蟬至舜. 五世為庶.<sup>3</sup> 累世不大曜. 亦可嘆焉.</p> <p>H. 神龍之始逃歸於蜀.</p> <p>J. 復指李樹而生伯陽.<sup>4</sup> 驚姜之夕.<sup>5</sup> 長庚入夢.<sup>6</sup> 故生而名白. 以太白字之. 世稱太白之精. 得之矣.</p>	<p>A. 公名白. 字太白.</p> <p>B. 其先隴西成紀人.</p> <p>C. 絕嗣之家. 難求譜牒. 公之孫女. 搜於箱篋中. 得公之亡子伯禽手疏十數行. 紙壞字缺. 不能詳備.</p> <p>D. 約而計之. 涼武昭王九代孫也.</p> <p>F. 隋末多難. 一房被竄於碎葉. 流離散落. 隱易姓名.</p> <p>G. 故自國朝以來. 漏於屬籍.<sup>7</sup></p> <p>H. 神龍初潛還廣漢. 因僑為郡人.</p> <p>I. 父客. 以逋其邑. 遂以客為名. 高臥雲林. 不求祿仕.</p> <p>J. 公之生也. 先府君指天枝<sup>8</sup>以復姓. 先夫人夢長庚而告祥. 名之與字. 咸所取象.</p>	<p>A. 李白. 字太白.</p> <p>D. 興聖皇帝<sup>9</sup> 九世孫.</p> <p>F. 其先隋末以罪徙西域.</p> <p>H. 神龍初遁還. 客巴西.</p> <p>J. 白之生. 母夢長庚星. 因以命之.</p>

\* All texts are continuous.

## Notes to Appendix B:

<sup>1</sup> For the meaning of "ch'an-lien kuei-tsu," see Ch. 1, n. 83.

<sup>2</sup> The Seikado edition (1/1) and the Miao-pen 繆本 (WC 31/1443) both read "為名" for "與名." But "為名" does not seem to make sense.

<sup>3</sup> According to Shih chi 1/31, Ch'iung-ch'an 窮蟬 was the fifth-generation ancestor of the legendary emperor Shun 舜 (the latter not counted as a generation); and from Ch'iung-ch'an through Shun, the family had long been commoners. The Seikado edition (1/1) reads "七世" for "五世." Since the account in the Shih chi says that "虞舜者名重華, 重華父曰瞽叟.... 窮蟬父曰帝顓頊, 顓頊父曰昌意, 以至舜七世矣. 自從窮蟬以至帝舜, 皆微為庶人," it is not impossible that Li Yang-ping originally used "ch'i-shih" through negligence.

<sup>4</sup> For the meaning of this sentence, see pp. 34-35.

<sup>5</sup> Lady Chiang 姜 was the wife of Duke Wu of Cheng 鄭武公 of the Spring-and-Autumn period. She was somehow distressed by her son, later the Duke Chuang of Cheng 莊公, at his birth. See Tso chuan, 1st yr. of Yin-kung 隱公. So, "ching Chiang chih hsi" here means the night of Li Po's birth.

<sup>6</sup> "Ch'ang-keng": Venus, also called T'ai-po Star 太白星.

<sup>7</sup> The Seikado ed. (1/7b) and Hung Mai's 洪邁 Jung-chai sui-pi (8/315, item "K'ang Shan tu shu" 康山讀書) both read "編於" for "漏於." But judging from the context, this reading is not convincing.

<sup>8</sup> For the meaning of "t'ien-chih," see p. 35.

<sup>9</sup> For the origin of Li Kao's title "Hsing-sheng Huang-ti," see p. 24.

## Abbreviations

Chiao-chu: Li Po chi chiao-chu

CTS: Chiu T'ang shu

CTShih: Ch'üan T'ang shih

CTW: Ch'üan T'ang wen

HN: Chan Ying, Li Po shih-wen hsi-nien

HTS: Hsin T'ang shu

Lun-wen-chi: Li Po yen-chiu lun-wen-chi

SLKCCTL: Shih-liu-kuo ch'un-ch'iu tsuan-lu

TCTC: Tzu-chih t'ung-chien

TFYK: Ts'e-fu yüan-kuei

THY: T'ang hui-yao

TPHYC: T'ai-p'ing huan-yü chi

TSLCHC: Tu Shao-ling chi hsiang-chu

TT: T'ung tien

TTCLC: T'ang ta chao-ling chi

WC: Li T'ai-po ch'üan-chi, annotated by Wang Ch'i

WYYH: Wen-yüan ying-hua

YHCHTC: Yüan-ho chün-hsien t'u-chih

YTKC: Yü-ti kuang-chi

List of Works Cited in the Thesis

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753. In T'ang-jen hsüan T'ang-shih 唐人選唐詩. Hong Kong:  
Chung-hua shu-chü, 1958.

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Li Po shih-hsüan 李白詩選. Comp. by Fu-tan ta-hsüeh chung-wen-hsi  
復旦大學中文系. 2nd. ed. Peking: Jen-min wen-hsüeh ch'u-  
pan-she, 1977.

Li T'ai-po ch'üan-chi 李太白全集. Comp. by Wang Ch'i 王琦.  
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