A STUDY OF BAO ZHAO AND HIS POETRY:

with

a Complete English Translation of His Poems

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ABSTRACT

In Chinese literature the evaluation of Bao Zhao (409-466) of the Liu Song Dynasty has been an age-old controversy. Biographical accounts and literary criticisms on him are unable to avoid partiality, fragmentation, and insubstantiality. Thus this thesis intends to provide a substantial biographical account of Bao Zhao as a Scholar-official, to delineate the mentality of him as a poet and an intellectual, and to offer an integral account of his position in the history of Chinese literature.

This thesis consists of a biographical study of Bao Zhao, a complete English translation of his poems, and an analytical study of his poetry. The complete translation is to provide spectrum of Bao Zhao's poetry for a better analytical perspective. After elaborating on various controversial issues of Bao Zhao's life, the biographical study asserts that contrary to the traditional view of him as a humble and insignificant official neglected by his contemporaries and discriminated against by historians, Bao Zhao was an imperial favorite courtier entrusted with power and authority throughout Emperor Xiaowu's reign, a popular belletrist, well-received by the elites of his time, and held in high esteem in the History of the Song Dynasty. The literary study confirms generic achievements of Bao Zhao as a great cultivator of Short Stanzas, Poems in Imitation, the Landscape Poems, Poems on Things and the Frontier Poems, an essential reviver and cultivator of Ballad Songs and Critical Realism, and an epitomizer of the Heptasyllabic Poems and Songs. It then delineates Bao Zhao's understanding of the vicissitudes of life, his conviction of the accessibility of Great Harmony under a wise ruler, his belief of one's responsibility to do his best in life, and his aspirations to serve the world. These engender in his allusive, metaphorical, and allegorical poems a group of heroic, indignant and critical sentiments, and a group of sincere, devoted, and transcendental pathos, the integration of which brings forth the characteristics of Bao Zhao's poetry.

The thesis concludes by recognizing Bao Zhao as the most important poet of the Liu Song Dynasty and one of the major poets in the history of Chinese literature.
# CONTENTS

PART ONE: A STUDY OF BAO ZHAO AND HIS POETRY

I. INTRODUCTION ......................................................... 1

II. A BIOGRAPHICAL STUDY OF BAO ZHAO
   A. The Objective .................................................... 4
   B. The Extant Biographical Notes on Bao Zhao ..................... 5
   C. A Biographical Study of Bao Zhao
      i. Bao Zhao's Birth and Death .................................. 10
      ii. Bao Zhao's Birthplace and Native Area ..................... 19
      iii. Bao Zhao's Family and His Social Status ................. 29
      iv. Bao Zhao's Service in Prince Yiqing's Principality ....... 34
      v. Refutation of the Theory that Bao Zhao Served in Prince Yiji's Principality ............................................. 40
      vi. Bao Zhao's Service in Prince Jun of Shixing's Principality ..... 45
      vii. Bao Zhao's Service as Subprefect of the Haiyu County .... 51
      viii. Bao Zhao's Service as Erudite of the National University and Concurrently as Drafter of the Imperial Secretariat ......... 55
      ix. Bao Zhao's Service as Subprefect of the Moling County ..... 62
      x. Bao Zhao's Service as Subprefect of the Yongan County .... 63
      xi. Bao Zhao's Service as a Military Consultant in Prince Zixu's Generalship .................................................. 66
      xii. Bao Zhao's Death ............................................. 70
   D. Bao Zhao's Chronology Summarized .............................. 74
   E. Summary: A Reappraisal ........................................... 79

III. AN ANALYTICAL STUDY OF BAO ZHAO'S POETRY
   A. The Objective .................................................... 92
   B. A Textual Study of Bao Zhao's Poetry
      i. Variant Editions and Versions of the Collected Works of Bao Zhao .............................................................. 94
      ii. Textual Variations of Bao Zhao's Poems ....................... 96
   C. A Generic Study of Bao Zhao's Poetry
      i. A Generic Survey on Bao Zhao's Poems ......................... 100
      ii. Bao Zhao's Short Stanzas and the Origins of the Quatrain and the Regulated Verse
         a. Bao Zhao as a Great Elaborator of Short Stanzas .......... 102
         b. Bao Zhao and the Origins of the Quatrains and the Regulated Verses. 108
### iii. Bao Zhao's Development of the Heptasyllabic Poetry
- a. The Origin of the Heptasyllabic Poetry .................................. 115
- b. Bao Zhao as an Epitomizer of the Heptasyllabic Poetry ............... 123

### iv. Bao Zhao as a Great Reviver of the Ballad Poetry
- a. The Development of the Ballad Poetry Before Bao Zhao ............. 132
- b. Bao Zhao's Ballad Songs in Imitation .................................. 137
- c. The Critical Realism with Fervent Indignation and Unrestrained Spirit in Bao Zhao's Ballad Songs ........................... 147
- d. Bao Zhao as a Great Reviver of the Ballad Poetry .................. 153

### v. Bao Zhao as an Essential Cultivator of Poems Imitating Ancient Verses, the Landscape Poems, and Poems on Things
- a. Bao Zhao's Contribution to Poems Imitating Ancient Verses ........ 158
- b. Bao Zhao's Contribution to the Landscape Poems ...................... 161
- c. Bao Zhao as an Initiator of Poems on Things ......................... 168

### vi. Bao Zhao as an Essential Pioneer of the Frontier Poems
- a. The Development of the Frontier Poems Before Bao Zhao ........... 174
- b. Bao Zhao as an Essential Pioneer of the Frontier Poems ........... 181
- c. The Development of the Frontier Poems After Bao Zhao ............. 185
- d. The Frontier Poems of the Tang Dynasty ............................... 193

### D. A Stylistic Study of Bao Zhao's Poetry
- i. The Diction of Bao Zhao's Poetry ...................................... 198
- ii. The Descriptive Aspect of Bao Zhao's Poetry ......................... 203
- iii. The General Tones and Moods of Bao Zhao's Poetry ............... 209
- iv. The Figurative Aspect of Bao Zhao's Poetry ......................... 216
  - a. An Examination of Wu Zhifu's Allegorical Interpretations of Bao Zhao's Poems ........................................ 217
  - b. An Examination of Chen Hang's Allegorical Interpretations of Bao Zhao's Poems ........................................ 222
  - c. A Reappraisal of Bao Zhao's Allusive, Metaphorical and Allegorical Poems ........................................ 224

### E. A Philosophical Study of Bao Zhao's Poetry
- i. The Objective ............................................................ 235
- ii. Bao Zhao as a Confucian Intellectual ................................ 236
- iii. Bao Zhao's Belief in the Great Harmony Under a Wise Ruler ...... 239
- iv. Bao Zhao's Integrity as a Confucian Intellectual ................... 246
- v. Bao Zhao's Heroic Vehemency and Aspiration to Serve the World .. 252
- vi. Bao Zhao's Indignation, Transcendence and Return ................ 255
- vii. "Imitating 'The Road of Adversity'" as Bao Zhao's Song of Life
  - a. "Imitating 'The Road of Adversity'" as a Set of Poems .......... 262
  - b. "Imitating 'The Road of Adversity'" as Bao Zhao's Song of Life ... 265

### F. Summary ................................................................. 273

### IV. CONCLUSION: INTEGRATION AND REAPPRAISAL
- A. An Integration ......................................................... 279
- B. A Reappraisal .......................................................... 283
1. Plucking Mulberry Leaves 採桑 ........................................ 292
2. Imitating "The Graveyard Song" 代礦里行 ................................ 293
3. Imitating "The Funeral Dirge" 代挽歌 ................................ 294
4. Imitating "The Song of the East Gate" 代東門行 ...................... 295
5. Imitating "The Song Without Restraint" 代放歌行 ...................... 296
6. Imitating Prince of Chensi's "Ballad of Capital Luoyang" 代陳思王京洛篇 ... 297
7. Imitating "There Are Travelers at the Gate" 代門有車馬客行 ............ 298
8. Imitating "The Boat Song" 代權歌行 .................................. 299
9. Imitating "The Song of the Hoary Head" 代白頭吟 ....................... 300
10. Imitating "The Song of Dongwu" 代東武吟 ................................ 301
11. Imitating "The Song of a Stray Crane" 代別鶴操 ....................... 302
12. Imitating "The Song of Departing from the North Gate of Ji" 代出自薊北門行 ...... 303
13. Imitating High Administrator Lu of Pingyuan's "The Song of a Gentleman's Longing" 代陸平原君子有所思 ....................... 304
14. Imitating "The Song of Sorrow" 代悲歌行 ................................ 305
15. Imitating Prince of Chensi's "Ballad of the White Steed" 代陳思王白馬篇 ... 306
16. Imitating "The Song of Ascending to Heaven" 代昇天行 .................. 307
17. Ballad of the Pine and the Cypress 松柏篇井序 ......................... 308
18. Imitating "The Song of Suffering from Heat" 代苦熱行 .................. 309
19. Imitating "The Song of the Bright Moon" 代朗月行 ...................... 310
20. Imitating "The Song of Singing in the Hall" 代堂上歌 ................... 311
21. Imitating "The Song of Juvenile Gallantry" 代結客少年場行 .......... 312
22. The Song of the Swift Wind 扶風歌 ................................... 313
23. Imitating "The Song of the Youth Soon to Turn into Senility" 代少年時至衰老行 .... 314
24. Imitating "The Song of Ascending Mount Jing in the Springtime" 代陽春登荊山行 ...................... 315
25. Imitating "The Song of Anguish in Distress" 代貧賤苦愁行 ............ 316
26. Imitating "The Song of the Frontier Life" 代邊居行 .................... 317
27. Imitating "The Song of Gui Street" 代邽街行 ................................ 318
28. The Song of Xiao Shi 籍史曲 ........................................ 319
29. Wang Zhaojun 王昭君 ................................................ 320
30. The Song of Wu: Three Poems 吳歌三首 .................................. 321
31. The Song of Picking Waterchestnut: Seven Poems 採菱歌七首 ............. 322
32. The Song of the Solitary Orchid: Five Poems 幽蘭五首 .................... 323
33. The Song of the Restoration: Ten Poems 中興歌十首 .................... 324
34. Imitating "The Ballad of the White Linen Dance": Four Poems 代白紛舞歌辭四首 ...................... 325
35. Imitating "The Song of the White Linen": Two Poems 代白紛曲二首 ........ 326
36. Imitating "The Song of a Calling Wild Goose" 代鳴雁行 .................. 327
37. Imitating "The Road of Adversity": Eighteen Poems 擬行路難十八首 320
38. The Plum Blossom's Falling 梅花落 327
39. Imitating "The Prince of Huainan" 代淮南王 328
40. Imitating "The Pheasant Flies in the Morning" 代雉朝飛 329
41. Imitating The Song of "The North Wind Is Chilly" 代北風涼行 330
42. Imitating "A Sparrow on the Deserted City Tower" 代空城雀 331
43. Imitating "Sitting up Chanting at Night" 代夜坐吟 332
44. Imitating "The Song of the Spring Days" 代春日行 333
45. In Attendance at the Banquet on Mount Fuzhou: Two Poems 侍宴覆舟山二首 334
46. Ascending the Capital Hills after Following His Majesty to Worship at the Imperial Mausoleum 從拜陵登京畿 335
47. Poem Composed at Prince Shixing's Command on Mount Suan 赫山被始興王命作 336
48. Ascending Mount Lu 登廬山 337
49. Ascending Mount Lu and Gazing at the Stone Gate 獨廬山望石門 338
50. In Attendance to Ascend Mount Xianglu 從登香爐峰 339
51. Following Superintendent Yu on His Tour to the Cave Room on Mount Yuan 從庚中郎遊園山石室 340
52. Ascending the Steep Fanche Hill 登翻車嶺 341
53. Ascending the Yellow Crane Cliff 登黃鶴樓 342
54. Ascending Jiuli Dam at Yunyang 登雲陽九里壩 343
55. Gazing Eastwards into the Zhen Marshes from Mount Li 自礪山東望震澤 344
56. Outing to the South Park on the Third Day 三日遊南苑 345
57. Six Poems Presented to Old Friend Ma Ziqiao 贈故人馬子喬六首 346
58. Response to a Guest 答客 347
59. Poem to Rhyme with Assistant Director Wang 和王丞 348
60. "Gazing Over the River at the Sunset" Presented to Assistant Director Xun 日落望江贈荀丞 349
61. "The Autumn Day" Shown to Reverend Monk Xiu 秋日望上人 350
62. Response to Reverend Monk Xiu 答上人 351
63. Farewell to Superintendent Yu at Huangpu Pavilion at Wuxing 吳興黃浦亭庾中郎別 352
64. Parting with Executive Officer Wu 與伍侍郎別 353
65. Farewell to Prefect Wang of Xuancheng 送別王宣城 354
66. Farewell to Cousin Daoxiu 送從弟道秀別 355
67. Presented as a Farewell to Officer Fu 贈傅都曹別 356
68. Poem Rhymed with Agriculture Superintendent Fu's "Farewell to Colleague" 和傅大農與僚佐別 357
69. Farewell to Executive Officer Sheng at Jianhou Pavilion 送盛侍郎錢侯亭 358
70. Farewell to Minister Xun 與荀中書別 359
71. Passing the Old Palace in Attendance 從過舊宮 360
72. In Attendance on Prince of Linhai, Setting Out for Jingzhou from Xinzhu 從臨海王子初發新渚 361
73. On My Way Returning to the Capital 還都道中三首 362
74. Leaving for Xunyang on My Way Returning to the Capital 上海陽還都道中 363
75. On My Way Returning to the Capital, I Arrived at Three Mounts and Gazed into the Stone City 還都至三山望石頭城 364
76. An Eulogy on Returning to the Capital 還都詩 365
77. Arriving in Zhuli on My Way to Jingkou 行京口至竹里 366
78. Setting Out from Houzhu 發後渚 ............................. 353
79. Waiting for the Wind at Qiyang 偃陽守風 .................................... 354
80. Caught in the Snow after Leaving Changsong 發長松遇雪 ....
81. Poem on a Historical Figure 詠史 ........................................ 355
82. Poem on the Four Worthies of Shu 蜀四賢詠 .................................. 356
83. Imitating the Ancient Verse: Eight Poems 擬古八首 .................. 357
84. A Sequel to the Ancient Verse: Seven Poems 擬古辭七首 .......... 358
85. Imitating the Old Style Verse 學古 ........................................ 359
86. An Old Style Verse 古辭 ............................................... 360
87. Imitating "The Green, Green Cypress on the Mound" 擬青陵上柏 ..
88. Imitating Liu Gonggan's Style: Five Poems 學劉公幹體五首 ...... 361
89. Imitating the Reverend Mr. Ruan's "Unable to Sleep Late at Night" 擬阮公夜中不能寐 ........................................ 362
90. Imitating Subprefect Tao of Pengze's Style, to Rhyme with Prefect Wang of Yixing's Verse 學陶彭澤體 .......................... 363
91. Poem of Numbers 數詩 ............................................... 364
92. Poem Listing the Temporal Correlates of the Twelve Earthly Branches 建除詩 365
93. The White Clouds 白雲 ............................................... 366
94. Returning to the Home Village after Mourning Ends for the Prince of Linchuan 臨川王服竟還田里 ........................................ 367
95. Walking to Circulate the Medicine's Effect, I Reached the City's East Bridge 行藥至城東橋 ................................. 368
96. A Stroll in the Autumn Garden 園中秋散 .................................. 369
97. Watching the Gardener Planting Flowers 親園人藝植 .................. 370
98. Digging Sealworts When Passing by Mount Tong 遇銅山掘黃精 ... 371
99. I saw a Jade Dealer 見賣玉器者井序 .................................. 372
100. Thinking of Someone Far Away 懷遠人 ................................... 373
101. Dreaming of Returning Home 夢還郷 ..................................... 374
102. Sojourning in Spring 春遊 ............................................. 375
103. Sorrows at the Year's End 歲暮悲 ...................................... 376
104. Lamenting for the Year and Grieving over Old Age in Jiangling 在江陵嘆年傷老 ........................................ 377
105. Listening to a Songstress at Night: Two Poems 夜聽歌妓二首 .... 378
106. Admiring the Moon from the Office by the West City Gate 西城門西門觀中 ........................................ 379
107. Timely Rains 喜雨 .................................................. 380
108. Suffering from Incessant Rains 苦雨 .................................... 381
109. On the White Snow 詠白雪 ........................................... 382
110. The Third Day of Third Month 三日 .................................... 383
111. On Autumn 詠秋 .................................................. 384
112. The Autumn Evening 秋夕 ............................................. 385
113. The Autumn Night: Two Poems 秋夜二首 ................................ 386
114. To Rhyme with Patron General Wang's "The Autumn Evening" 和王諫軍秋夕 ........................................ 387
115. To Rhyme with Prefect Wang of Yixing's "The Seventh Evening of the Seventh Month" 和王義興七夕 .................. 388
116. The Winter Solstice 冬至 ............................................. 389
117. The Winter Day 冬日 .................................................. 390
118. Gazing at the Waters 望水 ............................................. 391
119. Gazing at an Isolated Odd Rock 望孤石 ................................ 392
120. Traveling through the Mountain, I Saw a Solitary Tung Tree
山行見孤桐 .................................................. 385
121. On a Pair of Swallows 西雙燕二首 .................................................. 386
122. After Drinking 酒後 .................................................. 387
123. An Account of the Changes 講易 .................................................. 387
124. Loveliness 可愛 .................................................. 387
125. Listening to the Sound of the Night 夜聽聲 .................................................. 387
126. On Old Age 詠老 .................................................. 387
127. On the Spring 春詠 .................................................. 387
128. Word Riddles: Three Poems 字謎三首 .................................................. 388
129. Poem Presented to Officer Gu 贈顧墨曹 .................................................. 388
130. Joint Stanza with Emissary Zhang and Recluse Li in Jingzhou
在荊州與張使君李居士聯句 .................................................. 389
131. Third Joint Stanza with Minister Xie 與謝尚書茍三聯句 .................................................. 389
132. Joint Stanza: Ascending the Tower under the Moonlight 月下登樓連句 .................................................. 389

NOTES

I. NOTES TO PART ONE
   A. Notes to the Introduction .................................................. 390
   B. Notes to A Biographical Study of Bao Zhao .................................................. 391
   C. Notes to An Analytical Study of Bao Zhao's Poetry .................................................. 402
   D. Notes to the Conclusion .................................................. 415

II. NOTES TO PART TWO
   A. Notes to A Complete English Translation of Bao Zhao's Poems .................................................. 417
   B. Notes to A Compilation of Textual Variations of Bao Zhao's Poems .................................................. 435

BIBLIOGRAPHY .................................................. 446

APPENDIXES

1. The Rise and Fall of the Sixteen Kingdoms, the Eastern Jin, The Song, and the Northern Wei Dynasties 東晉、十六國、宋與北魏興亡表 .................................................. 460
2. A Chart of the Imperial Succession, Regicides and Massacres of the House of Liu of the Song Dynasty 劉宋皇位繼承與皇室誅殺一覽表 .................................................. 461
3. A Chart of Plagues, Floods, Droughts, Famines, Revolts, Banditries, Warfares, and Massacres Before the Taishi Reign of the Liu Song Dynasty 宋朝泰始以前疫病,水災,旱災,飢荒,反亂,寇亂,兵亂,誅戮一覽表 .................................................. 463
4. A Chart of the Officialdom and Bureaucratic Administration of the Liu Song Dynasty 宋朝百官職官一覽表 .................................................. 468
5. A List of Translations of Titles of Hundred Officials and Officers of the Liu Song Dynasty 宋朝百官職官譯名一覽表 .................................................. 474
7. The Chronicle of Bao Zhao 魚熙年表 .................................................. 486
8. A List of Heptasyllabic Writings and Poems Written Before the Tang Dynasty 唐以前七言詩文歌謠一覽表 .................................................. 492
9. A List of the Frontier Poems Written Before the Tang Dynasty 唐以前邊塞詩一覽表 .................................................. 495
PART ONE: A STUDY OF BAO ZHAO AND HIS POETRY

I. INTRODUCTION

In the history of Chinese poetry the evaluation of Bao Zhao 鮑照 of the Liu Song Dynasty (A.D. 420-470) has been an age-old controversy. This controversy dates back to the poet's time, and arises from the discrepancy between the literary popularity he enjoyed and the criticism he received. Bao Zhao's literary talents were well appreciated by the leading members of the social elite of his time such as Wang Sengda 王僧達, Xie Zhuang 謝莊 and Xun Wanqiu 蘇婉秋, by imperial princes such as Prince Yiqing of Linchun 臨川王 義慶 and Prince Jun of Shixing 始興王 涧, and by majestic emperors such as Emperor Wen 文帝 and Emperor Xiaowu 孝武帝. Through the appreciation of the elite Bao Zhao enjoyed a social reception often denied to a person from a family-in-decline in the Scholar and Official Class, and through imperial appreciation he rose to the imperial court, and eventually to the power center of the dynasty. His ballad songs had greatly attracted the general public by the Daming Reign 大明 (457-463) of Emperor Xiaowu of the Song Dynasty. They were even sung by the court ladies and imitated by Empress Dowager Hu 胡太后 of the Northern Wei Dynasty 北魏.

Nevertheless, Yan Yanzhi 顏延之, the conservative literary leader of the time, considered Bao Zhao to be inferior to Tang Huixiu 湯惠休, whom he criticized as having misled the young generations with songs of the slum alleys. This contention continued after Bao Zhao's death, resulting in the contradiction between the critics' extremely high esteem of Bao Zhao's literary achievements and their exclusion of him as a major poet of the Song Dynasty.

Although most of Bao Zhao's literary works were lost after his death in 466 A.D., he remained so popular among people that two decades later Yu Yan 虞炎 of the Qi Dynasty was able to collect almost half of his poems. Meanwhile his rivalry with Yan Yanzhi was continued until the Qi Dynasty by his admirers.
in their battle against Yan's seven faithful followers. In the Song Shu (History of the Song Dynasty) Shen Yue 沈約 of the Liang Dynasty quoted with great admiration Bao Zhao's "Ode to the Clarity of the Yellow River" in its full length of 890 words. This was all inserted in a 109-word biographical account of Bao Zhao. Zhong Hong 鍾嵘 (470-552) recorded in the Shi Pin (Classification of Poetry) that Bao Zhao's poems attracted those who dared to use vulgar language and unrefined poetic forms, and Bao Zhao was held in high esteem by his admirers as "The Primeval Supreme Emperor 義皇上人" in poetry. As well, Xiao Zixian 蕭子顯 (489-537) noted in the treatise on "The Biographies of Men of Letters 文學傳" in the Nan Qi Shu 南齊書 (History of the Southern Qi Dynasty) that the literary styles of Xie Lingyun 謝靈運, Yan Yanzhi, and Bao Zhao had become the three major literary trends of the time.

Nevertheless, in their accounts of the development of Chinese poetry, they all praised Yan Yanzhi and Xie Lingyun as the most essential poets of the Song Dynasty. None of them gave Bao Zhao any overt recognition. And this discrepancy in the evaluation of Bao Zhao's poetry has remained a controversial issue until the present time.

Among literary critics of the Qing Dynasty, for instance, Wang Shizhen 王士禎 maintained that Bao Zhao's poems were as good as, if not better than, those by Xie Lingyun, hence he should be placed in the upper rank 上品; Wang Chuanshan 王船山 accredited Bao Zhao with being "The Patriarch of the Heptasyllabic Poem 七言之祖"; Fang Dongshu 方東樹 considered him an equal to Xie Lingyun; and Xia Jingguan 夏敬觀 praised him as the only poet who kept the strength and spirit of the ballad songs of the Han and Wei Dynasties alive and fresh until the Tang Dynasty. Despite these accolades, Wang Kaiyun 王闇運 criticized his literary quality and style, finding it to be lowly and inferior.

A contradiction still exists in criticisms of Bao Zhao by modern scholars and anthologists. The contradiction is not, however, over the quality of his work. It is rather over Bao Zhao's place in the history of Chinese poetry. Lin Wengeng 林文庚, Hu Guorui 胡國瑞, Feng Yuanjun 馮沅君, and Lu Kanru 陸侃如, for example,
profess that Bao Zhao is not only equal to but also has the momentum to surpass Xie Lingyun; while Zhong Qi 鍾琪, Liu Dajie 劉大杰, and Qian Zhonglian 錢仲聯 advocate that Bao Zhao is beyond doubt the greatest poet of the Song Dynasty and one of the major poets in the historical development of Chinese poetry.

As most of these Chinese traditional literary criticisms were rendered according to each critic's impression or conviction, they are unable to avoid partiality, fragmentation, and insubstantiality. It is, therefore, the intention of this thesis to conduct a thorough biographical study of Bao Zhao and an analytical study of his poetry, in order to develop a better understanding of the mentality of Bao Zhao as a poet and an intellectual, and to offer a more substantial account of his position in the Yuanjia Literature as well as in the history of the development of Chinese literature.
II. A BIOGRAPHICAL STUDY OF BAO ZHAO

A. The Objective

Despite his reputation as one of the three major poets in the Yuanjia Literature 元嘉文学, and despite the fact that his poetry won increasing admiration in subsequent ages and was held in high esteem particularly in recent years, Bao Zhao's identity as a person, as well as an official in the Liu Song Dynasty 劉宋, has never been well presented. The extant biographical notes on Bao Zhao are scanty, compared with the literary comments on his poetry. Accounts of his life can be found in the Song Shu, the Nan Shi 南史 (History of the Southern Dynasties), the Nan Qi Shu, Yu Yan's preface to the Bao Zhao Ji 鮑照集 (Collected Works of Bao Zhao), and Bao Zhao's own statements and memorials, but they are brief and often at odds with one another. Moreover, due to such controversial interpretations or generalized accounts of his life, his social and political status became further obscured and ambiguous. Chronologists on Bao Zhao have tried unsuccessfully to present a more concrete and detailed outline of his life; even the most celebrated ones such as Wu Piji 吳丕績 and Qian Zhongliang have not been able to avoid the pitfalls of arbitrary or hasty presumptions.

Therefore, this biographical study will first examine the extant notes on Bao Zhao's life. Efforts will then be made to clarify such controversial issues as Bao Zhao's birth date, native place, social status, and official posts and offices, in order to present a more substantial and factual outline of his life. Finally, after a reappraisal of his life in its social, financial, and political aspects, a re-evaluation will be made of the conventional account adopted by most literary critics and anthologists who accuse historians of discriminating against Bao Zhao as a man of low social status. Thus, this study attempts to delineate within a historical perspective Bao Zhao's identity as a member of a humble family from the Scholar-official Class, and as an important official and a favorite courtier in the Liu Song Dynasty.
The extant *Song Shu* was compiled and written by Shen Yue. He presented it to Emperor Wu of the Qi Dynasty in the spring of 488. Before Shen Yue, there existed a version of the History of the Song Dynasty. It covered the period from 405 to 464 and was compiled or written by He Chengtian, Shan Qianzhi, Pei Songzhi, Su Baosheng, Liu Jun, and Xu Yuan respectively. Shen Yue revised this existing version and completed a supplement covering the period from 464 to 479, the end of the Song Dynasty.

The biographical account of Bao Zhao in the *Song Shu* was inserted in the "Biography of Liu Yiqing," which was attached to that of Liu Daogui, Prince Liewu (the Valiant Warrior) of Linchuan. Since Liu Yiqing inherited his uncle's title as Prince of Linchuan and was a great vassal of the Yuanjia Period, his biography was most likely written by Su Baosheng, who was said to have composed biographies of most of the eminent officials of the period. Nevertheless, neither Su Baosheng nor Xu Yuan could have written the biographical sketch of Bao Zhao; Bao Zhao was killed in 466, while Su Baosheng was executed in 458 for knowing Gao Du's treason without reporting it. And Xu Yuan, being accused of deceiving the throne with flattery and exiled to Jiaozhou in 467, was able to edit the imperial history only up to the year of 464. Therefore, in all respects it is reasonable to attribute to Shen Yue the composition of the biographical account of Bao Zhao and the inclusion of it in that of Liu Yiqing, Prince of Linchuan.

Shen Yue completed the *Song Shu* 22 years after Bao Zhao's death. He wrote an account of Bao Zhao's life in 109 words. The brevity of this biographical account was traditionally taken as the result of either an intentional simplification due to Bao Zhao's humble origins and social status, or a general negligence due to the social exclusiveness of the elite class against the commoners and the clans of low status and inferior esteem. But the mere
existence of the biographical sketch with a lengthy quotation of 890 words makes it unlikely that there was a direct effect of social discrimination upon the composition of the biography, and is sufficient to refute the possibility of prejudice against Bao Zhao on the part of the historian, though Shen Yue was known to be a stern guardian of the eminent class.

The best explanation for the abbreviated state of this biography was offered by Yu Yan in his preface to the Bao Zhao Ji. Yu Yan's preface consists of a biographical account and an editorial note. The biographical account of Bao Zhao's life provides information on Bao Zhao's courtesy name, native place, social status, literary talent, official career, and approximate age in 131 words. It is much more detailed and chronological than that by Shen Yue. In the editorial note Yu Yan attributed the initiation of the collection to the Heir Apparent, who summoned him to seek and collect Bao Zhao's works. He ended the preface with a note of regret that many of Bao Zhao's works were lost through the devastation of time and at most, only half of them remained. He signed the preface with the title of Gentleman Cavalier Attendant (Sanji-shilang 散騎侍郎).

The biographies of Crown Prince Wenhui 文惠太子 in both the Nan Qi Shu and the Nan Shi record that Prince Changmao of Nanjun 南郡王 長懋 was raised to Heir Apparent in the summer of 482. Before long he became the patron of military genius and literary talents, and among them Yu Yan, Fan Xiu 范岫, Zhou Yong 周顒, and Yuan Kuo 袁廓 soon became the Prince's Counsels. Neither the Nan Qi Shu nor the Nan Shi recorded the official titles of these four men, but they did record that Zhou Yong held the post of Coachman of the Heir Apparent (Taizi-pu 太子僕), a fifth-rank officer in the principality in 485. Since Yu Yan sat on the same council with Zhou Yong, he presumably would have held an office of the same rank, such as Household Provisioner of the Heir Apparent (Taizi-jialing 太子家令), Director of the Watches of the Heir Apparent (Taizi-leigenling 太子刄更令), Palace Cadet of the Heir Apparent (Taizi-zhongshuzi 太子中庶子), or Secretary of the Heir Apparent (Taizi-zhongsheren 太子中舍人).

Thus, the preface presents an apparent contradiction: Gentleman Cavalier Attendant, a fifth-rank officer in the Chancellery Department 門下省, was not an
official title in the administration of the Heir Apparent, and the Prince Imperial did not have the jurisdiction to summon this officer to his service. A logical conjecture is that sometime later, but still during Emperor Wu's reign, Yu Yan was transferred to the Department of Chancellery to serve as a Gentleman Cavalier Attendant, and at his new post he finished editing the collection of Bao Zhao's works and prefaced it as he had been instructed in his former office.

The search for Bao Zhao's works might have started as early as the summer of 482, immediately after Prince Changmao became Heir Apparent. As for the compilation of the collection, though it could have been done in early 483, it was most likely done after the compilation of the Song Shu in 487, since Shen Yue's "Biography of Bao Zhao" is obviously independent of that by Yu Yan.

Judging from the title "the Heir Apparent 储皇" Yu Yan applied to Prince Imperial Changmao in his preface, it is certain that the compilation was done no later than the first month of 493. According to the Nan Qi Shu Prince Imperial Changmao died in the first month of 493 and was given by Emperor Wu the posthumous title of "Wenhui Taizi" 文惠太子 (Wenhui Crown Prince) in the same month. By the ninth month of the same year he was venerated as Emperor Wen, Grand Patriarch 世宗文皇帝, by his son Prince Zhaoye of Yulin 鬱林王 昭業, who succeeded his grandfather Emperor Wu in the seventh month of the year. According to the proprieties of the time, to refer to Prince Imperial Changmao, Yu Yan would have used the term "Wenhui Crown Prince," had he composed the preface after the Prince's death in the spring of 493. He would have used "Emperor Wen, the Grand Patriarch," had he completed the compilation of the collection after the death of Emperor Wu in the fall of that year. At any rate, Yu Yan used "the Heir Apparent" in the preface to refer to Prince Changmao. It is obvious that the search for and the compilation of Bao Zhao's works could have been done any time from 482 to 493, an interval of 16 to 27 years after the poet's death.

Supported by such a strong patron and working only two or three decades after the poet's death, Yu Yan was only able to collect half of Bao Zhao's works. His expressed regret in the end of the preface would certainly justify the
scantiness of the "Biography of Bao Zhao" in the Song Shu by Shen Yue, who could hardly have had any access to the information collected by Yu Yan, such as Bao Zhao's letters, declarations, statements, and long and short memorials.

It is recorded that along with the Song Shu there existed several versions of the History of the Song Dynasty, compiled by Shen Yue's contemporaries such as Sun Yan, Wang Zhishen, Pei Ziye, Wang Yan, and Bao Hengqing. For example, Wang Zhishen edited in 493 a 30-volume history called the Song Ji (Chronicle of the Song Dynasty), while Pei Ziye compiled in 492 a 20-volume book called the Song Lue (Outline of the History of the Song Dynasty). We do not know whether or not these history books contained any records of Bao Zhao, for none of these books exist today.

Some of them might have sunk into oblivion and been lost, while others might have failed to survive the great fire that consumed the Palace and the Imperial Library in 500, the second year of the reign of Marquis Donghun of the Qi Dynasty. The Imperial Library's loss in this fire was recorded in Emperor Wu of the Liang Dynasty's Edict to Collect Records and Books. Drafted by Ren Fang, this edict was a response to a statement sent to the throne by Wang Tai, Assistant to the Chief of the Imperial Library, requesting permission to initiate remedial measures. The edict judged the loss in this fire to be heavier and much more severe than that in the infamous fire in the Qin Dynasty, for silk book-cases and cloth book-covers had all been burned, and green bamboo slips and silk records were reduced to ashes. Although the remedial measures to replace losses by editing remnants, mending fragments, and collecting extant versions according to a surviving library catalogue were issued, their outcome and the extent of the loss both are not known. Hence, the probability that some versions of the History of the Song Dynasty failed to survive the palace fire in 500 is nothing but conjecture.

Textual study shows that it is doubtful that the extant 10-volume version of the Bao Canjun Ji (Collected Works of Military Consultant Bao) was the one recorded in the "Catalogue of Books and Records" in the Sui Shu (History of the Sui Dynasty), for there is no relevant
The issue of whether or not the Liang version was the same as Yu Yan's original collection will remain a mystery. But the possibility that the Bao Canjun Ji was lost in the fire or was not available in the library after the fire will remain in the background as a possible reason for the absence in the Nan Shi of any of Yu Yan's biographical notes on Bao Zhao.

The Nan Shi, approved for release in 659, was compiled by Li Yanshou 李延寿 in an attempt to present a more coherent history of the south. He adopted the separate histories of the southern dynasties but omitted many articles and memorials quoted in their original versions. He also adopted many unofficial records, anecdotes, and miscellaneous notes. Li Yanshou had a 211-word biography of Bao Zhao and also attached it to that of Prince Li Liu of Linchuan. He adopted the whole biographical account of Bao Zhao written by Shen Yue, except the quotation of the "Ode to the Clarity of the Yellow River." In addition, he related a story of how Bao Zhao presented his poetry to the Prince of Linchuan, an anecdote known neither to Shen Yue nor to Yu Yan. Nevertheless, Li Yanshou's rough account and poor chronology of Bao Zhao's political career and official posts tend to lead not only to a strong inference that he did not (or was unable to) consult Yu Yan's preface, but also to a sound conjecture that somehow he did not have the access to Bao Zhao's letters, statements, and memorials which detailed the poet's public life. The lack of reference to previous works, if not due to inaccessibility of materials, may be attributed to the historian's ignorance or intentional negligence.

Although the Jin Lou Zi 金樓子 and the Shi Pin 同心 contain criticism of Bao Zhao's poetry, and the Nan Qi Shu 南齊書 and the Bei Shi 北史 (History of the Northern Dynasties) each have one reference to him, the Song Shu 宋書, the Nan Shi, Yu Yan's Preface, and Bao Zhao's statement and memorials remain the main sources for biographical accounts of Bao Zhao. The biographical study of this thesis also depends on these sources.
C. A Biographical Study of Bao Zhao

i. Bao Zhao's Birth and Death

The Song Shu and the Nan Shi provided neither Bao Zhao's age nor his birth date, but noted he was killed by the rebels at Prince Zixu's defeat. Yu Yan's preface did not record his birth date either, but it noted Bao Zhao was more than 50 years old when he was killed.

Wu Piji in his Bao Zhao Nianpu repeated Yu Yan's estimate and maintained that at his death Bao Zhao was 62 years old, and that the number "five 五" in Yu Yan's preface was a misprint of "six 六." Wu's argument was based on Chen Hang's interpretation of a set of Bao Zhao's poems titled "Imitating the Road of Adversity." Chen Hang, in his Shi Bixing Jian (Notes and Commentaries on Allegories in Poetry), interpreted the seventh and eighth verses of the set as allegorical poems lamenting the dethronement and regicide of Emperor Shao 少帝, and the deposal and subsequent murder of Prince Yizhen of Luling 廈陵王 義真. Chen Hang also noted that this set of poems was written by the poet at the age of 20, for he had written in the last verse: "I am just at the capping age of twenty."

Wu Piji thereupon calculated that since Bao Zhao was 20 years old in 424, the first year of the Yuanjia Reign of Emperor Wen of the Song Dynasty (when both the dethroned Emperor Shao and the deposed Prince Yizhen were murdered), he would be 62 years of age when he was killed in 466, the second year of the Taishi Reign of Emperor Ming 明帝 of the Song Dynasty. He would then have been born in 405, the first year of the Yixi Reign 義熙 of Emperor An 安帝 of the Jin Dynasty. But Wu's acceptance of the seventh poem of "Imitating the Road of Adversity" as a political allegory was presumptuous, as was his conceited note on Yu Yan's estimate as a misprint, for the poem reads:

"Sorrowful thoughts seized me all of a sudden,
So I mounted my horse and rode out of the north gate."
Then as I raise my head to look and gaze,
I see only a cemetery of cypress and conifers,
Which is luxuriant with the thorn and the bramble.
There amidst them a bird by the name of cuckoo dwells,
Which is said to have transformed from the King of Shu's soul.
In endless dirge of sorrow it mourns and wails,
Its plumage moults baldly like the shaven head of a convict.
It flies and hops among trees to feed on worm and insect,
And cannot at all remember its past dignity as the Son of Heaven.
Struck by the vicissitudes of life and death,
My heart is in an anguish of sorrow beyond description.

In this poem the cuckoo bird as a metaphor of an abdicated king is explicitly denoted by the allusion of the transformation of the King of Shu's soul. The image of a cuckoo bird forgetting its past dignity as the Son of Heaven and hopping among trees to feed on worms and insects in a cemetery of cypress and conifers implicitly connotes a metaphor of a dethroned and exiled king, perhaps King Jian of the State of Tian Qi, who was exiled and starved to death among cypress and pines after the downfall of his kingdom. Nevertheless, the image of a dethroned or abdicated king may be just the poet's device to convey his concept of the vicissitudes of things. The words of the poem do not justify application to a specific historical incident in Song history. These words may be equally applicable to the depositions of both Emperor Gong of the Jin Dynasty and the Former Deposed Emperor of the Song Dynasty, both of which the poet witnessed in his life.

Zhu Jutang, for example, maintained that this poem was a lament over Emperor Gong of the Jin Dynasty, who was forced to abdicate his throne to Liu Yu, then was deposed to become Prince of Lingling, and was eventually murdered in 421, the second year of the Yongchu Reign. This interpretation is acceptable, for Zhu Jutang did not proclaim the poem was written immediately after the incident in 421 when the poet was 13 years old at the most.

Chen Hang, on the other hand, strongly advocated that the poem was a lament over the dethronement and murder of Emperor Shao. He understood the last phrase of this poem in the context of that of the fourth poem, and thereupon
interpreted “bu neng yan 不能言” (unable to talk about it) and "bu gan yan 不敢言” (dare not to speak of it) with the same connotation. He subsequently inferred that the poet was writing about the dethronement and regicide of Emperor Shao in 424, for if he could not or dared not talk about it openly, he had to be writing about a current political event. It was logical for Chen Hang to take the deposal of Emperor Shao as a current incident, for the abdication of Emperor Gong of the Jin Dynasty took place when Bao Zhao was very young and the dethronement of the Former Deposed Emperor took place at the end of the poet’s life. Nevertheless, this interpretation presupposes that firstly, the poem was not written after the regicide of the Former Deposed Emperor in 465, and secondly, the poet was restricted to writing only about what he had witnessed. In this respect, Chen Hang fell victim to the danger of interpreting poetry only as historical record.

In addition, Chen Hang’s readings of "bu neng yan" and "bu gan yan" are disputable, for the former can be translated as “cannot describe it” or “beyond words,” and the latter as “dare not to speak out.” Thus the last couplet of the fourth poem could read:

"How can my heart made of no stone or wood be indifferent?心非木石豈無感？
But silently I wander around and dare not to speak out." 吞聲誠竭不敢言.

while the last couplet of the seventh poem could read:

"Struck by the vicissitudes of life and death,念此死生變化非常理。
My heart is in an anguish of sorrow beyond description." 中心惶懸不能言.

The couplets explicitly define the poet’s anxiety about the adversity of life as too strong for description, rather than his indignation over a certain political incident that he dared not talk about.

Following his line of thought, Chen Hang further maintained that the eighth poem was written in lament of Prince Yizhen of Luling, who prior to the dethronement of Emperor Shao was deposed and murdered in 424. The poem reads:

"There are five peach trees growing in the courtyard center,中庭五株桃。
One of them blossoms before the others start to flower." 一株先作花.
In the genial and charming spring light of March and April, its windblown petals fall. It provokes in the pensive wife in the house a woeful lament, And as she beats her breast tears fall on her garment: At first when I bid farewell to my lord at the door, I did not expect he would be detained until the seasons turned. My clear mirror becomes dirty and my mattress is dusty, My slim waist becomes skinny and my hair is untidy. Life does not allow us to be always contented and happy, At midnight I am still lingering around in melancholy.

Chen's advocacy depended entirely on his interpretation of the image of "five peach trees growing in the courtyard center" as a metaphor of the five princes of Emperor Wu. Couplet by couplet he related the poem chronologically to the historical incident. Thus, the image of one peach tree blossoming before the others is a metaphor for Prince Yizhen of Luling, the eldest, of the five and the first to be deposed and murdered; the falling of peach blossoms in the spring light of March and April is paralleled by the murder of Prince Yizhen in February; the pensive wife's woeful lament over the fallen blossoms coincides with the sorrow at the subsequent return of the Prince's hearse to the capital. Finally, the wife's regret and resentment of her husband's detention and her own solitude are correlated with the lament over the deposal and death of Prince Yizhen. Nevertheless, neither on thematic nor on metaphorical levels can one find any apparent analogy between the windblown peach blossom and that of a deposed prince. Furthermore, as Qian Zhonglian argued, Chinese poetic tradition does not suggest the convention of the peach blossom as the symbol of a deposed prince. In this respect, Chen Hang seems to be providing strained interpretations and drawing far-fetched analogies which limit the effectiveness of his commentary.

Another essential key in Chen Hang's interpretation or to Wu Piji's calculation lies in the 18th poem which reads:

"Do not lament over your destitution or poverty, my lords, For wealth and honor are not man's to command; Some gentlemen may fill an office in prime forties, While others will do at the capping age of twenty. Do not say that plants and trees withered in the winter snow, Will certainly come back to life by springtime; But drink wine and write poems with your friends, And entrust to the great Heaven your destitution and destination.
Just wish that the vintage of nine fermentations fills your goblet, but grudge not the hundred coppers in your bedside cabinet; for one should rather live but one year in carefree leisure, than endure a long life of hardship and toilsome labor."

The above reading of the second couplet is adopted according to the Song edition while Chen Hang read it according to the Ming edition collected in the Han Wei Liuchao Bai San Jia Ji 漢魏六朝百三家集 (Anthology of One Hundred and Three Authors from the Han, the Wei, and the Six Dynasties) compiled by Zhang Pu 張溥:

"Men enter an official career in their prime forties, while I am at the capping age of twenty." 

He thereupon maintained that this set of poems was written by the poet at the age of 20. He claimed it should have been written sometime before the poet took his first official post as attendant to Prince Yiqing of Linchuan and after the deposal and murder of Emperor Shao and Prince Yizhen of Luling. He strongly believed that it was written in 424, right after the incident about which the poet was not able to overcome certain misgivings expressed in the last couplets of the fourth and seventh poems.

Structurally speaking, the Ming edition and Chen Hang's reading of the couplet present an awkward sense of discontinuity in tone and meaning within the total context of the poem. The poem consists of three quatrains, each containing one negative imperative and a subsequent explicatory clause or positive imperative. Commands or advice are given in 11 interrogative sentences beginning with "don't you see...君不見...". Even if limited to adopt "yu 余" as "I," the couplet can still be read in a more coherent mood:

"Men usually enter an official career in their prime forties, but I should do that at the capping age of twenty."

In this case, the couplet can hardly be taken as a statement of the poet's current age. Besides, the preference for the Song edition's reading of "yu 余" as "others 餘" is substantially supported by statistics of Bao Zhao's poetic diction. Within 204 poems extant today, Bao Zhao used the word "wo 我" 20 times as nominative case, 17 times as possessive case, and three times as objective case.
He used "wu 吾" once as nominative case and once as possessive case, and he used "nong 鄧" twice as nominative case. Although he used "yu 余" twice in the nominative case in the preface of his "Ballad of the Pine and the Cypress," he did not use it in his poems at all; alone in the set of poems, "Imitating the Road of Adversity," he used "wo 我" seven times in nominative case and eight times in possessive case. Thus, his preference for using "wo 我" as "I, my, and me" and the lack of the use of "yu 余" as "I" in his poetic diction confirm that the Song edition's reading is more appropriate than the Ming edition's reading and thus indications of the poet's age at the time of the poem's writing are less certain than Chen Hang presumed.

In summary, Chen Hang's correlation of this set of poems to the dethronement of Emperor Shao, the deposition of Prince Yizhen, and to the poet's age when the poem was written appears under a closer analysis to be based on presumptuous reasoning, arbitrary analogies, or disputable poetic interpretations. Wu Piji, in adopting all of these unproven presumptions as concrete premises for his inferences, inevitably fell into the pitfall of petitio principii (begging the question). His conclusions on Bao Zhao's birth date and age remain wild conjectures.

On the other hand, in the "Bao Zhao Nianbiao 鮑照年表 (Chronological Chart of Bao Zhao)," Qian Zhonglian accepted Zhu Jutang's interpretation of the seventh poem as a lament over the abdication of the last emperor of the Jin Dynasty and Chen Hang's view that it was a poem of resentment over the dethronement of Emperor Shao. Nevertheless, he refuted Chen Hang's interpretation of the eighth poem as a lament over the deposition of Prince Yizhen. He maintained that poems in this set were not written at the same time or were not originally written as a set, since in the sixth poem the poet wrote:

"I will abandon the official life and give up my post, And return home alone to take a rest."

In this respect, Qian was perfectly correct. It is obvious that the poet could not have written it before 438, the year he first embarked upon an official career, and it is doubtful that this poem was written 15 years earlier in 424,
the year when the seventh poem was supposed to have been written. Thus it becomes clear that the last poem of the set could have been written in a year other than 424. Even if we were to grant that it was written by the poet at the age of 20, it is still presumptuous to correlate his age with the year of 424, since the dates of the composition of these two poems could vary widely. Therefore, the last poem loses its decisive significance as an essential key to the issue of Bao Zhao's age.

Qian Zhonglian adopted his grandfather Qian Zhenlun's initial interpretation of the poem "Lamenting for the Year and Grieving over Old Age in Jiangling"，arguing that since Bao Zhao came into Prince Jun of Shixing's service in the autumn of 462, the sixth year of the Daming Reign of Emperor Xiaowu, when Prince Jun was appointed Governor of Jingzhou, he could have written this poem no earlier than 463, for he was lamenting old age in contrast to the beautiful spring scenery. Then, adopting Qian Zhenlun's assertion that "50" was the age when one became "old," he calculated that since Bao Zhao was 50 in 463, he was born in 414, the 10th year of the Yixi Reign of Emperor An of the Jin and died at the age of 53 in 466.

Qian Zhonglian's inferences are not without shortcomings. They are also based on an arbitrary decision; there is no threshold age for being called "old," and poetic license traditionally permits it to be applied to a man in his 30s. Furthermore, he is too exclusive in restricting the writing of the poem to 463, for the poet could have written it at any time between 463 and 466. In this respect Qian Zhonglian committed the fallacy of begging the question too, though his inference was not far removed from Yu Yan's approximation.

The history books have provided unique information on this matter, and it is more reliable and objective to base inferences on them rather than on poetic intuition. The biographical notes on Bao Zhao in the Nan Shi recorded that Bao Zhao once called on Prince Yiqing but did not find the prince appreciative of his talent. He then wanted to present his poetry to express his aspirations, but the people who dissuaded him from doing so said to him: "Your rank is still petty and..."
...and you should not rashly irritate His Imperial Highness." He nevertheless approached Prince Yiqing and was "soon promoted to be a Princely Attendant (Wangguo-shilang 王國侍郎)." The Song Shu did not record this episode but instead provides the fact that Prince Yiqing "raised" Bao Zhao to a subordinate officer of his principality. This speculation is justified by Bao Zhao's "Statement of Resignation Sent to the Eldest Son of the Prince 通世子自解啓," in which he explained that he had been in attendance on Prince Yiqing for six years. The resignation was presumably submitted after the three-month mourning for Prince Yiqing, who died in the first month of 444. The difference between these two figures indicates that Bao Zhao entered Prince Yiqing's service either in 438 under an actual-amount calculation or in 439 under the nominal-number measurement. And as shown in his "Memorial of Entering Officialdom as an Attendant 解褐謝侍郎表" this was the first time he assumed a public office.

The Song Shu again provides essential information on this issue. It records in the "Biography of Xie Zhuang 謝莊" that in the Yuanjia Reign of Emperor Wen, the earliest age to enter an official career was 30. Such specification is found in the Chronicle of Emperor Wu of the Liang Dynasty. It records: "the Eminent Class can enter the official career at the age of 20, and the lesser family can try to fill an office only by the age of 30." This message may serve as a footnote to the above regulation in Emperor Wen's reign or as a specification for exceptions, such as that of Wang Sengda, who was appointed as a Military Consultant of the General of the Rear Army (Houjun-canjun 後軍參軍) before the age of 20. Thus one may speculate that when Bao Zhao first took a public office in 438 he could have been 20 years of age if he was considered a member of an eminent family, or 30 if he came from a humble family. Since Bao Zhao called himself "a poor man from a humble family 孤門賤生" in his "Memorial of Entering Officialdom as an Attendant," he should have been 30 years old when he first entered the public service. He could not have been younger than 22 or 23, since Yu Yan estimated that he died at an age over "fifty" and his public service spanned 27 or 28 years from 438 or 439 when he first entered the public service to 466, the year...
he died. Thus it is logical to assume that Bao Zhao was born sometime between 408 to 409 and that he died in 466 at an age between 59 and 58.

Fortunately, the history books provide enough information to allow a refinement of these general approximations. The "Biography of Ruan Changzhi 阮長之傳" in the Song Shu records that the claim to the harvest of prefectural emolument land depended on the date of office transition. The land emolument 田祿 would belong to the former official if the office transition took place before the ninth solar term, Mangzhong 芒種 (Grain in Ear), that is about June 6 or 7; otherwise, his successor had the right to it. Before the end of the Yuanjia Reign this guiding date line, according to Han Guopan's 禪國磐 study, was originally the summer solstice, that is about June 21 or 22. The existence of this specific regulation strongly suggests that the actual-amount calculation was adopted for official term measurement in the Song Dynasty, though the nominal-number measurement was used to calculate one's age. It therefore becomes favorable to adopt the actual-amount calculation in dating 438 as the year Bao Zhao took his first six-year term official post, and to adopt "thirty" as the age that he, as a person from a humble family, entered public service.

The following chronology seems inarguable through its accordance with extant records: he was born in 409; he witnessed the abdication of Emperor Gong of the Jin Dynasty at the age of 12 in 420, and the depositions of Emperor Shao and Prince Yizhen at the age of 16 in 424. He was 30 years of age when he first entered upon an official career in 438, was 56 when he lamented old age in Jiangling 江陵 in 464, and 58 years old when he died in 466.
ii. Bao Zhao’s Birthplace and Native Area

The biographical account of Bao Zhao in the *Song Shu* does not record his background or his birthplace, but the "Biography of Prince Yiqing of Linchuan" mentions that "He Changyu 何長瑜 and Bao Zhao of Donghai 東海, both with literary excellence, were appointed subordinate officers of the principality." This is the earliest extant record of Bao Zhao being identified with the place Donghai. Later in the preface to the "Xingchen Zhuan 僑臣傳 (Biographies of the Imperial Favorite Courtiers)" in the *Nan Qi Shu*, he was again referred to as Bao Zhao of Donghai. Then, in his biography in the *Nan Shi*, he was referred to as "a Donghaiian" or "a native of Donghai 東海人," while Yu Yan stated in his preface to the *Bao Zhao Ji* that the poet was "a native of Shangdang or originally came from Shangdang 本上黨人."

Wu Piji and Qian Zhonglian adopted and compromised these conflicting opinions by proclaiming that Bao Zhao "was originally a native of Shangdang but moved to Donghai, hence a Donghaiian." They both agreed that Shangdang should be a refugee subprefecture (僑縣) established in the Prefecture of Huaiyang of Xuzhou 徐州淮陽郡 and Donghai should be the one established in the Prefecture of Donghai of the refugee Province of Qingzhou 僑青州 settled near Ganyu Subprefecture 鄰榆縣. Nevertheless, their theory appears to be sheer conjecture, for neither of them provided any substantial argument or historical evidence.

To shed some light on the controversies and discrepancies of this issue, it is imperative to trace the emigration histories of Shangdang and Donghai Subprefectures, or more specifically, the people from these two subprefectures.

According to the *Song Shu*, in the Qin Dynasty Donghai was originally the Prefecture of Tan 鄣 (which was located southwest of the present Tancheng of Shandong 山東郯城). Later, the founding Emperor of Han Dynasty changed its name to the Prefecture of Donghai. After the Jin Court moved south of the Huai River, Emperor Yuan 晉元帝 in the beginning of his reign (317-323) established a
refugee Prefecture of Donghai in the northern part of the Haiyu Subprefecture of the Prefecture of Wu 吳郡海虞縣，and stationed the prefectural administration in Jingkou 京口. Later in the Yonghe Reign 永和 (345-356) of Emperor Wu 穆帝 its administrative center was moved to Jiankang, the capital.

One essential distinction to be made here is that after the Liu Song Dynasty reclaimed the territory north of the Huai River, this refugee Prefecture of Donghai, south of the river, was called Nan Donghai (the Southern Donghai) to distinguish it from the original Prefecture of Donghai north of the river.

By 431, the eighth year of the Yuanjia Reign, when Emperor Wen divided part of Yangzhou to establish Nan Xuzhou 南徐州 (the Southern Xuzhou) with its administrative station in Jingkou, he included the refugee Prefecture of Donghai in this refugee Province in the south of the Yangzi River and allotted to its prefectural jurisdiction the Dantu Subprefecture 丹徒縣 (for which the present site is southeast to Zhenjiang of Jiangsu 江蘇鎮江). Finally in 471, the seventh year of the Taishi Reign, after he lost the territory north of the Huai River, Emperor Ming established the Donghai Subprefecture (north to the present Lianshui of Jiangsu 江蘇涟水) and placed it under the jurisdiction of the Prefecture of Donghai attached to the refugee Province of Qingzhou established in 466 in the Ganyu Subprefecture (which was north of the present Donghai of Jiangsu 江蘇東海).

As to Shangdang, it was originally a Prefecture of Bingzhou 彬州 in the Qin Dynasty. It was located north of the Yellow River (in the vicinity of the present Luan of Shanxi 山西潞安). According to the Song Shu, in 311 in the Yongjia Upheaval 永嘉之亂 at the end of the Western Jin Dynasty, the refugees from Bingzhou (as well as from Qingzhou, Jizhou 冀州, and Youzhou 幽州) moved southward across the Yellow River, the Huai River, or even the Yangzi River. By 329, the fourth year of the Xianhe Reign 咸和, Emperor Cheng 成帝 of the Eastern Jin Dynasty established various refugee subprefectures and prefectures for them both south and north of the Yangzi River.
The emigrants or refugees from the Prefecture of Shangdang basically formed two groups traveling by two different routes. One group moved southwest of the present Huaiyang of Henan 河南淮陽, and by at least 329 a refugee Shangdang Subprefecture was erected and stationed there. In 411, the seventh year of the Yixi Reign, Emperor An of the Eastern Jin Dynasty established the Prefecture of Huaiyang in this place under the policy of "Re-registering Households According to Place of Residence 土斷" and allotted the Shangdang Subprefecture to its jurisdiction. By 466, after the territory north of the Huai River fell into the Tuoba's hands, the Shangdang Subprefecture was re-established. When Emperor Ming established the refugee Prefecture of Bei Jiyin 北濟陰 (the Northern Jiyin) in Nan Yanzhou 南兗州 (the Southern Yanzhou), with its administration stationed in Guangling 廣陵, the Shangdang Subprefecture was attached to it.

The other group of refugees or emigrants from the Prefecture of Shangdang first moved to the Prefecture of Huainan south of the Huai River, then crossed the Yangzi River. Around 329, a refugee prefecture should have been established and attached to the Wuhu Subprefecture 無湖. In 411, it was reduced from a prefecture to a subprefecture and was put under the jurisdiction of the refugee Prefecture of Huainan, established in 411 in the Yuhu Subprefecture 于湖縣 of Danyang 丹陽, the metropolitan prefecture stationed in Jiankang 建康, the capital. By 432, the ninth year of the Yuanjia Reign of Emperor Wen of the Liu Song Dynasty, it was merged into the Xiangyuan Subprefecture 襄垣縣 of the same prefecture. This rather confusing history of the refugee Shangdang and Donghai Prefectures or Subprefectures is best illustrated in the following chart:
A. 上黨→淮陽→廣陵．
B. 上黨→淮南→無湖→于湖（本丹楊）→無湖．
C. 上黨→淮南→晉陵（本丹徙）
D. 鄭→吳郡→京口→建康→丹徙．
E. 鄭→東海．
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<th>秦漢時代</th>
<th>建武元年</th>
<th>咸和四年</th>
<th>義熙五年</th>
<th>義熙七年</th>
<th>元嘉八年</th>
<th>元嘉九年</th>
<th>泰始二年</th>
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<tr>
<td>秦上黨郡（今山西省臨安縣）</td>
<td>上黨民過河</td>
<td>僑立上黨郡于徐州淮陽（今河南省淮陽縣西南。）</td>
<td>省上黨郡為縣，屬徐州淮陽郡，（依南僑立臨淮陽郡屬徐州。）</td>
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<td>上黨民過河</td>
<td>徙淮南流</td>
<td>民于晉咸陵（今今當塗縣。）</td>
<td>並立淮南郡以司牧之。</td>
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<td>上黨民過江</td>
<td>僑立上黨郡於揚州無湖（今安徽省當塗縣。）</td>
<td>省上黨郡為縣，屬淮南郡（依南僑立淮南郡於揚州丹陽於湖縣境，本丹楊縣。）</td>
<td>併上黨縣于襄垣縣（無湖），屬揚州淮南僑郡。</td>
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<td>晉失淮北東海郡（今山東省郯城縣西南）</td>
<td>晉失淮北東海郡於揚州，僑立（南）東海郡于揚州並割吳郡海虞縣北為境，寄治京口。</td>
<td>(南)東海僑郡寄治京邑（揚州丹陽建康。）</td>
<td>分揚州為南徐州，治京口，以南東海郡屬之，治丹徒（今江蘇省鎮江縣東南之丹徒鎮。）</td>
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<td>晉失淮北</td>
<td>晉失淮北劉裕北伐平齊，收復東海郡（今山東省郯城縣西南。）</td>
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It is noticeable in the above chart that from 409 to 466 the Prefecture of Donghai, north of the Huai River, co-existed with the refugee Prefecture of Donghai or the Southern Prefecture of Donghai, south of the Yangzi River; after 471 the latter co-existed with the newly-established refugee Prefecture of Donghai south of the Huai River. Similarly, before 432, there co-existed the Shangdang Subprefecture in the Prefecture of Huaiyang north of the Huai River and that in the refugee Prefecture of Huainan south of the Yangzi River; from 432 to 466, there was only the Shangdang Subprefecture in the Prefecture of Huaiyang, and after 466 there was only the one newly-established in the refugee Prefecture of Northern Jiwin north of the Yangzi River.

It is in this respect that Qian Zhonglian and Wu Piji's supposition of Bao Zhao's emigration from the refugee Shangdang Subprefecture in the Prefecture of Huaiyang, to the Donghai Subprefecture in the Southern Prefecture of Donghai in the refugee Province of Qingzhou, turns out to be an arbitrary selection from all the possible random combinations of co-existent Shangdang and Donghai Subprefectures. Upon closer analysis, their supposition proves to be false. Firstly, it was not possible for Bao Zhao to emigrate from the former after 466, because the territories north of the Huai River had fallen into the Tuoba's hands; secondly, it was impossible for him to immigrate to the latter during his lifetime because it was not established before 471, five years after his death. As a consequence, Qian and Wu erred in their attempt to correlate the two discrete records of Bao Zhao's birth place by the theory of emigration.

Nevertheless, the extant records do offer a certain correlation and resolution to the problem of Bao Zhao's original residence. Bao Zhao, in his "Memorial to Accept the Appointment of Attendant 拜侍郎上疏," called himself "a declining, feeble vagrant from a northern region 北州衰淪." Geographically speaking, the Prefecture of Donghai was very much an eastern region, and Shangdang would more appropriately be a northern region. In addition, as shown on the above chart, in 411, three years after Bao Zhao was born, both refugee prefectures of Shangdang were reduced to subprefectures and were merged into the jurisdiction of the prefectures they were originally attached to. Therefore, when Yu Yan claimed that
Bao Zhao was "of Shangdang origin," he was apparently referring to the Shangdang Prefecture north of the Yellow River and referred to it as Bao Zhao's ancestral homeland, since the two refugee prefectures of Shangdang ceased to exist after 411. Besides, had Bao Zhao remained resident of either place he would have been referred to as "Bao Zhao of Huaiyang 淮陽鮑照" or "Bao Zhao of Huainan 淮南鮑照," for one of the conventions of personal reference was to identify a person with the prefecture of his ancestral homeland or his native place. Examples such as Jiang Kui of Jiyang 濟陽江敳, Wang Xinzhi of Hedong 河東王敬之, Gu Mai of Wujun 吳郡 顧遇, and Cai You of Jiyang 濟陽蔡祐 in the "Biography of Liu Muzhi 劉穆之傳" are easily found in the Song Shu.

In a similar fashion Bao Zhao is referred to as "Bao Zhao of Donghai" in both the "Biography of Prince Yiqing of Linchuan" of the Song Shu and the "Biographies of Favorite Courtiers" of the Nan Qi Shu. Since both references relate to Bao Zhao's official life, it is proper to presume that "Donghai" most likely referred to his birthplace instead of his ancestral homeland. Although it is not clear when Bao Zhao or his parents moved to this place, when he resigned his office and returned to his home village at the end of the three-month mourning for Prince Yiqing of Linchuan who died in the first month of 444, the 21st year of the Yuanjia Reign, he stated in his poem "Returning to the Home Village After Mourning Ends for the Prince of Linchuan 臨川王服竟還田里": "For almost a decade I abandoned my garden, now I have returned to attend the bean plants. 拈穂將十齡, 還得守場藿." Therefore it is certain that they had been living there at least since 434.

Nevertheless, as shown in the previous chart, throughout Bao Zhao's life from 409 to 466 there co-existed the prefecture of Donghai north of the Huai River and the refugee prefecture of Donghai, or the Southern Prefecture of Donghai, south of the Yangzi River. Either one could contain Bao Zhao's birthplace except that the poet indicates clearly that the latter was his native place. In "Dreaming of Returning Home 憶還鄉," the poet writes:

"In dream the long way home has become much shorter, In awakening I find myself still separated by the great river." 覺後大江遠.

Since "the great river" traditionally refers to the Yangzi River instead of the
Huai River, his place of birth naturally should be in the refugee Prefecture of Donghai south of the great river.

According to the Song Shu, in 431, the eighth year of the Yuanjia Reign, under the policy of "Re-registering Households According to Place of Residence," the refugee Prefecture of Donghai was re-allotted to the newly-established Province of Southern Xuzhou, and the Dantu Subprefecture was allotted to its jurisdiction as the prefecture's administrative center. Therefore, Bao Zhao's birthplace was actually the Dantu Subprefecture of the Southern Prefecture of Donghai.

Qian Zhonglian proclaimed that, as revealed in the "Second Memorial to the Eldest Son of the Prince," Bao Zhao's family dwelled in Jiankang, the capital. The memorial firmly requested discharge from duty and declined the kindness of the Prince's son who wished to detain him in the capital without specific duty in order to let him recuperate his health near the princely palace, "whereat his service in the office and his staying at home were of no difference." Qian Zhonglian further proclaimed that this fact is confirmed in the poem "On my Way Returning to the Capital, I Arrived at Three Mounts and Gazed Into the Stone City":

"I am delighted to visit the capital as a soldier, 但君喜覲國, 但君喜覲國.
But hesitate to go home as a sojourner." 遊子遲見家.

Nevertheless, the prepositional clause in the above memorial can also be read as: "Which made my service in the office no different from staying at home." The poet's hesitation to go home as a sojourner also applies to the Dantu Subprefecture, a little farther from the capital. Thus, Jiankang was unlikely to be Bao Zhao's birthplace. As a matter of fact, it could only be the poet's temporary residence at best, for the poet clearly called the Dantu Subprefecture and its vicinity his "native place." 70

In his poem "Ascending the Capital Hills After Following His Majesty to Worship at the Imperial Mausoleum" Bao Zhao wrote:

"Humble and decrepit, I resign any far-reaching wishes; 貧賤謝遠望;  疲老還舊邦.
Feeble and weary, I have returned to my native place." 疲老還舊邦.
According to the *Yuanhe Gazetteer* 元和志 and the *Song Shu*, most of the imperial mausoleums of the Song were in the vicinity of the Dantu Subprefecture. Furthermore, *Du Shi Fangyu Jiyao* 讀史方興紀要 (Notes on Geography While Reading History) noted that Mount Jingxian 京岘山 (the Capital Hill) was located five li east of the Dantu Subprefecture and was also called the Dantu Hill 丹徒山.

The crucial question here is how Bao Zhao, who called himself a declining, feeble person from "a northern region," the Prefecture of Shangdang, came to call the Dantu Subprefecture of the Southern Prefecture of Donghai his native place. The extant historical records provide no direct evidence of how and when Bao Zhao's grandparents or parents moved from the Prefecture of Shangdang to the Southern Prefecture of Donghai; but the "Gazetteer of Prefectures and Provinces" 九州郡志 of the *Song Shu* suggests two possibilities for this transition.

It can be seen in the above chart that from 411 to 431 the Shangdang Subprefecture in the refugee Prefecture of Huainan and the Southern Prefecture of Donghai were both originally within the boundary of Danyang 丹陽, the metropolitan prefecture. The former, stationed in the Yuhu Subprefecture, was separated from Danyang Subprefecture 丹楊縣 in 281 and allotted to the jurisdiction of the refugee Prefecture of Huainan in 411. The latter was stationed in the Jiankang Subprefecture. Both of these two subprefectures were originally within the boundary of the metropolitan prefecture of Danyang. By 431 the Southern Prefecture of Donghai was reallocated to the refugee Southern Province of Xuzhou newly-established in Jingkou, and was re-stationed in the Dantu Subprefecture, while by 432 the Shangdang Subprefecture was merged into the Xiangyuan Subprefecture of the same refugee prefecture.

These facts suggest a possible transition due to voluntary or involuntary emigration or immigration of the people of Shangdang from the Yuhu Subprefecture to the Dantu Subprefecture, newly-allotted to the Southern Prefecture of Donghai. Examples of voluntary or involuntary emigration and immigration were not unusual under the policy of "Re-registering Households by Place of Residence" reinforced in both 411 and 431. One good example is that late in 449, the 26th year of the Yuanjia Reign, Emperor Wen, after visiting the Dantu Subprefecture to pay homage at
the Imperial mausoleum, issued an imperial edict to solicit voluntary immigrants from various Provinces for the Jingkou Subprefecture (adjoining the Dantu Subprefecture) by means of tax exemption and house allotment. In addition, the striking decline of Shangdang from a refugee prefecture to a diminished subprefecture, and its eventual annihilation under annexation, spurs various thoughts. This decline might explain how and when Bao Zhao's family emigrated from the Prefecture of Shangdang to the southern Prefecture of Donghai and would thereby be called "Donghaiians."

It is equally apparent that during the Yongjia Upheaval in 311, the refugees from the Province of You, Ji, Bing, Yan, and Xu moved southward across the Huai River, some even crossing the Yangzi River to the boundary of the Prefecture of Jinling. By 329 Grand Minister of Works again moved vagrants or refugees from the Prefecture of Huainan to the Prefecture of Jinling and established various refugee prefectures or subprefectures. The Prefecture of Jinling was originally under the jurisdiction of Yangzhou, and remained in the Dantu Subprefecture for 85 years from 329 to 413.

This involuntary immigration suggests a second possible transition: Bao Zhao's great-grandparents or grandparents could have been among the immigrants to the Dantu Subprefecture of the Prefecture of Jinling 102 years before it was allotted to the jurisdiction of the Southern Prefecture of Donghai in 431.

Thus, when Bao Zhao called himself "a declining feeble vagrant from a northern region," he was most logically referring to the Prefecture of Shangdang (in the vicinity of the present Luan of Shanxi), his ancestral homeland north of the Yellow River. In the Yongjia Upheaval his grandparents probably fled with the refugees southward across the Yangzi River. Then, through a course of either voluntary or involuntary emigration, his parents eventually settled in the Dantu Subprefecture, which was allotted to the jurisdiction of the South Prefecture of Donghai in 431. Hence, Bao Zhao was called a Donghaiian, and throughout his life he referred to the Dantu Subprefecture as his hometown or native place, though he might have dwelled in Jiankang or other cities temporarily.
iii. Bao Zhao's Family and His Social Status

Although among extant documents there are no records of Bao Zhao's parents, information gathered from his literary works and official memorials indicate that he himself was married with children, and that his mother and sister Linghui lived with them. He also had a cousin called Daoxiu. His sister and wife died before him, and he was survived by his mother and children. In the absence of any evidence to the contrary, we must presume that his father, grandfather, and great grandfather never obtained any public office or post higher than seventh rank. They most likely were not of the upper class at all.

Wu Piji suspected Bao Zhao was a descendant of the Silifa Tribe of the Xianbei, which dwelt in the Shangdang and Donghai areas and was given the surname "Bao." Nevertheless, Wu Piji neglected known chronology, for though the Silifa Tribe, as well as the other 67 groups or tribes, moved southward into Chinese territory as early as the reign of Emperor Shenyuan, it was not given the Chinese surname "Bao" till 495, the 18th year of the Taihe Reign, under the sinification policy of Emperor Xiaowen of the Northern Wei Dynasty. Therefore, Bao Zhao could not be a descendant of the Silifa Tribe.

In fact, in various memorials Bao Zhao stated again that he was not of "the Xie Clan's class, the eminent clans, but "a declining and feeble vagrant from a northern region," "a poor man from a humble family," or "a humble farmer with a spade on shoulder." And he described his trade and duty as "to tend the path and weed the field, as well as to feed the chicken and rear the hog, so as to provide levies and taxes." Despite such a background, "Young and restless, perverse and reckless, he let down his shoulder load to study the classics and put aside his plow to learn literary composition," and was eventually able to "make it to the official list" and become "a humble groom or a petty lictor." From 438, or perhaps earlier, to 466, in his official career of 28 years (interrupted only by two resignations and two suspensions), he held eight
different offices or posts, though none of them were higher than the seventh or sixth ranks and none of them belonged to the so-called "the pure and the honored category 清官." As immigrants, Bao's family may not have been wealthy, as revealed in his "Request for Leave of Absence 請假啓"; lacking resources, Bao Zhao had to fix the leaking roof and drain the floor dry all by himself. Still, they were far from impoverished, or else the family would not have been able to afford to let Bao Zhao quit farming to study the classics and, against the customs of the time, to educate Bao Zhao's sister, Linghui 令暉 (who became so renowned a poetess in her own right that on one occasion Emperor Xiaowen asked Bao Zhao about her in comparison with Zuo Fen 左芬, the talented poetess in the Jin Dynasty). Thus it is imperative to check these facts against the social classes of the Liu Song Dynasty to understand the Baos' social status.

Generally speaking, the Liu Song society consisted of seven classes: the Imperial Clans 皇族, the Scholar-official Class 士族, the Humble Family and the Commoners 寒門庶族, the Buddhist Clergy 沙門, the Sheltered and Attached Households 賴附戶, the Miscellaneous Bonded Households 雜隸戶, and the Slaves 奴婢; the first three classes were the major ones. The Imperial Clans included the emperor's maternal and marital relatives. The Scholar-official Class was sanctioned by a commonly-accepted notion of social prestige and pedigree which was much defined by its members' ancestral cultural refinement and official rank. They were the elite of society and were often referred to as the great or powerful families, the eminent families, the upper class, and the elite clans. The Wangs and the Xies 王謝 were the most powerful and prestigious of them all.

The Humble Families and the Commoners included the Families-in-decline 後門, the Meritorious Families 助門, and the Corvée-enlisted Families 役門 or the Three-five Families 三五門, which consisted of most of the independent farmers, artisans, and merchants of the kingdom. The Families-in-decline were actually in the lowest stratum of the Scholar-official Class, but due to their degraded social pedigree and political prestige, they were considered by the social elite as commoners, and together with the commoners were often referred to as the Humble Families 寒門, the Humble and Poor 寒素, or the Humble Multitude 寒人.
With their ownership of farm and land, financial independence, the freedom to choose a trade, and cultural refinement and literary skill, the Baos fell into the category of "the Families-in-decline," the lowest stratum of the Scholar-official Class, which Bao Zhao often described as "the humble families" or as "the low-base families." Although he wrote that he was "not of the Xie Clans' class," Bao Zhao's status as a member of the Scholar-official Class is proven by a statement in the preface to the "Biographies of the Imperial Favorite Courtiers" in the Nan Qi Shu.

In tracing the shift of central power from the hands of Director of the Imperial Secretariat (Zhongshu-ling 中書令) to those of Drafters of the Imperial Secretariat (Zhongshu-sheren 中書舍人), and the rise of the humble families to de facto power by dominating the position of Drafter of the Imperial Secretariat, the preface makes an observation on this official post:

"In the Reign of Emperor Wen, Qiu Dang and Zhou Jiu both rose from the Humble Family and the Commoner Class. And since the reign of Emperor Xiaowu, a mixture of members of the Scholar-official and Commoner Classes were selected, for instance, Bao Zhao of Donghai, who was known to the world for his talent and learning; also appointed was Chao Shangzhi of Lujun... By the reign of Emperor Ming it was totally dominated by imperial favorite courtiers and sycophants such as Hu Wuhao and Ruan Dianfu. 据《宋書》, the establishment of this official post had a staff of four drafters and a number of aides and clerks. In the reign of Emperor Wen the four Drafters of the Imperial Secretariat were known to be Qiu Dang, Zhou Jiu, Xu Yuan, and a fourth figure whose name remained a subject of controversy. The Song Shu and the Nan Shi both record anecdotes about how Qiu Dang dared not take a seat in the presence of Wang Tanshou 王囊, and how Zhang Fu 張敷 ordered his servant to move his seat away from his guests when Qiu Dang and Zhou Jiu visited him and took seats before him. The hostile attitude of the social elite toward these imperial favorite courtiers is best explained by Wang Qiu 王球, when he disobeyed Emperor Wen's order to have friendly relations with Xu Yuan by replying that:

"It is the nation's statutes to discriminate between the Scholar and Official Class and the Commoners, and I dare not comply with your Majesty's order."
It is apparent then that these four Drafters of the Imperial Secretariat all came from the Commoner Class.

As Emperor Xiaowu was enthroned, he appointed three Warrant Keepers (Dianqian 典簡) in his former office of Commandant of Court Gentlemen of the South (Nan-Zhonglangjiang 南中郎將) -- namely Dai Faxing 戴法興, Dai Mingbao 戴明寶, and Cai Xian 蔡闓 -- as Attendant Censors (Shijushi 侍御史) and concurrently as Drafters of the Imperial Secretariat. He also appointed Chao Shangzhi 趙尚之, formerly a Reader-in-Waiting (Shidu 侍讀) to Prince Jun of Shixing, as an Attendant to Prince Wei of Donghai 東海王 榮, and concurrently a Drafter of the Imperial Secretariat. Later when Cai Xian died, Bao Zhao was promoted from Subprefect of the Haiyu Subprefecture 海虞令 to Erudite of the National University (Taixue-boshi 太學博士) and concurrently to Drafter of the Imperial Secretariat. All five of these people were Drafters of the Imperial Secretariat in the Reign of Emperor Xiaowu. According to their individual biographical data, Dai Faxing was originally a hemp trader before he entered the public service as clerk apprentice. When Prince Jun of Wuling 武陵王 駿 raised the punitive military campaign against the regicidal Heir Apparent Shao 太子 勋, Dai Faxing, Dai Mingbao, and Cai Xian were Warrant Keepers in his Generalship of Commandant of Court Gentlemen of the South.

Although Dai Mingbao and Cai Xian's origins and initial posts were unknown, the post of "Warrant Keeper" was such a petty and lowly position that members of the Scholar-official Class would take the appointment as a serious humiliation. Therefore, it is proper to put them in the Commoners' Class. As for Chao Shangzhi, it is certain that he belonged to that lowest stratum of the Scholar-official Class called "the Families-in-decline," for the Song Shu 宋書 described him as standing "at the rear of the gentlefolks 人士之末."

Therefore, in referring to the composition of Drafters of the Imperial Secretariat in the reign of Emperor Xiaowu as a "mixed selection from the Scholar-official Class and the Commoners," in contrast to that in the reign of Emperor Wen as a pure selection of mere commoners, the preface to the "Biographies of the Imperial Favorite Courtiers" of the Nan Qi Shu 南齊書 singles out Bao Zhao and Chao Shangzhi as the Scholar-official Class component.
To sum up, Bao Zhao was definitely not a descendant of the Silifa Tribe of the Xianbei. As immigrants in the Dantu Subprefecture, his family might have declined to petty landlord or independent farmer status and hence they were considered by the elite as commoners or a humble family, but they still had the freedom to choose a trade, enjoyed cultural refinement and literary skill, and were distinct from commoners or considered by them to be members of the social elite, though in a "fallen" state or the lowest stratum.
iv. Bao Zhao's Service in Prince Yiqing's Principality

The *Song Shu*, the *Nan Shi*, and Yu Yan's preface all agree that Bao Zhao started his official career in the Principality of Linchuan. The "Biography of Prince Yiqing of Linchuan" in the *Song Shu* notes that Bao Zhao was appointed a subordinate officer of the principality. Yu Yan's preface specifies it to be the post of Shilang (Princely Attendant).

The *Nan Shi* provides details with an anecdote relating that after his first visit to Prince Yiqing, which did not win the Prince's appreciation of his talent, Bao Zhao decided to present his poetry to express his aspirations, but was dissuaded and told that his position was still petty and lowly and he should not recklessly irritate the Imperial Prince. Bao Zhao angrily replied:

"Over the past one thousand years innumerable men of extraordinary talents and outstanding abilities have been buried in oblivion or unheard of. Therefore, how can a true man suppress his intelligence and ability so as to make an orchid look like a mugwort, and keep himself busy all day long with the swallows and sparrows in miscellaneous chores? 大丈夫豈可遂遜智能，使髣髴不辨，終日碌碌，與燕雀相隨乎?"

He thereupon presented his poetry and Prince Yiqing, being amazed, bestowed upon him 20 bolts of cloth as reward. He was soon promoted to the post of Princely Attendant and was very much in Yiqing's favour. Chinese scholars have conventionally maintained that Bao Zhao was made Princely Attendant in 439 when Prince Yiqing was in Jiangzhou 江州, for it was noted in the "Biography of Prince Yiqing of Linchuan":

Defender-in-chief (Taiwei) Yuan Shu was the literary champion of the time and Prince Yiqing in his administration in Jiangzhou invited him to be the Administrative Adviser (Ziyi-canjun) in the administration of General of the Guards (Weijun-Jiangjun); in addition, Lu Zhan of Wujun, He Changyu and Bao Zhao of Donghai, all with literary excellence, were appointed subordinate officers of the principality. 太尉袁淑，文冠當時，義慶在江州，請為衛軍諮議參軍；其餘吳郡陸展，東海何長瑜，鮑照等，並為辭章之秀，引為佐史國臣.

It should be noted that Yuan Shu's title of "Defender-in-chief" (Taiwei 太尉) was in fact a posthumous honor conferred by Emperor Xiaowu. As well, the "Biography of Xie Lingyun 謝靈運傳" in the *Song Shu* records that He Changyu served first as Princely Attendant and later as Military Secretary (Jishi-canjun 記室參軍) in the administration of General Quelling the West (Pingxi-Jiangjun..."
Before he was demoted to become Subprefect of the Zengcheng Subprefecture in the Prefecture of Nanhai in the Province of Guangzhou, since Prince Yiqing was promoted to the post in 432, He Changyu had obviously entered the service as Princely Attendant in the Principality of Linchuan earlier than that year.

Thus, conventional reading of the above quotation by Chinese scholars is disputable, and the time of Yuan Shu's appointment in the above reference does not necessarily precede the appointment of Lu Zhan, He Changyu, and Bao Zhao. Accordingly, the above quotation can not justifiably serve as proof of the time of Bao Zhao's entering service in the Principality of Linchuan.

As a matter of fact, a more reliable source for inferring the date of his first appointment lies hidden in the "Memorial of Resignation Sent to the Eldest Son of the Prince [name]," in which Bao Zhao wrote:

"... Now I am requesting to be discharged from my office and duty and I wish to have your approval with compassion. It has been six years since I entered service in this lofty principality. The times past are gone forever, but the favor and grace remain in my heart. Holding this sheet with my statement, I am choked with sobs and cannot express myself well with words. ..."

Bao Zhao served three princes during his official career: Prince Yiqing of Linchuan; Prince Jun of Shixing; and Prince Zixu of Linhai. Prince Zixu was ordered to commit suicide at the defeat of the Yijia Rebellion against Emperor Ming. He was only 11 years old and obviously did not have any children. Prince Jun and his sons were beheaded, and exposed in the market place as a warning to the public for the high treason of murdering Emperor Wen. Therefore, the memorial could only have been addressed to Prince Yiqing's eldest son, Prince Ye of Ai, who inherited the principality after Prince Yiqing died in 444. It was most likely presented to Prince Ye in the fourth month of 444 after Bao Zhao had observed a three-month mourning for Prince Yiqing. Accordingly, Bao Zhao's six-year official service with Prince Yiqing should have started in 438 under the actual-amount calculation. As his "Memorial of Entering Officialdom as an Attendant" indicated, it was the first public office of his official career. Nevertheless, in the anecdote in the Nan Shi before he was "promoted" or
"raised 擢" to be Princely Attendant, he was urged not to present his poetry because his position was still too petty and lowly; therefore, he might have entered the principality earlier as a clerical apprentice. In fact, he might have entered this apprenticeship as early as 434, for in his poem "Returning to the Home Village After Mourning Ends for the Prince of Linchuan" written in 444, he claimed that he had abandoned his garden for a decade.

At any rate, from 438 on he attended upon Prince Yiqing through various governor posts and military commanding offices. In 438 in Jiangling he served the Prince at his posts as Governor of Jingzhou 荆州刺史, and Military Governor of the seven Provinces of Jingzhou, Yongzhou, Yizhou, Ningzhou, Lingzhou, and the Southern and the Northern Qinzhou (都督荆、雍、益、寧、梁、南北秦七州諸軍事). In 439 he went with the Prince to Xunyang 順陽, to his posts as Governor of Jiangzhou 江州刺史 and Military Governor of Jiangzhou and Prefectures of Xiyang, Jinxi, and Xincai in Yuzhou (都督江州及 豫州之西陽、晉熙和新蔡三郡諸軍事). In 440 he accompanied the Prince to Guangling 廣陵, to his posts as Governor of the Southern Yanzhou 南兗州刺史, and Military Governor of the six Provinces of Nan Yanzhou, Xuzhou, Yanzhou, Qingzhou, Jizhou, and Youzhou (都督南兗、徐、兗、青、冀、幽六州諸軍事). In the spring of 444, upon imperial approval of the Prince's request for release from his commander and the duties of governor, Bao Zhao accompanied the Prince on his return to the capital.

According to the "Records of the Hundred Officials 百官志" in the Song Shu 蘇書, after the Rebellion of Seven Princes, Emperor Jing 景帝 of the Han Dynasty ordered that "princes should not rule over their principalities 諸王不得治國." The "Records of Rites and Rituals 禮志" also noted that "since the Western Jin Dynasty, princes and marquises did not rule over their domains 江左王侯不之國." Instead, the princedom was administered by the Princely Administrator (Neishi 内史) with a prefectural staff instead of the princely staff. It becomes apparent that from 432 to 443 Prince Yiqing had at the same time three different teams of administrative staff for his Principality, Governorship, and Military-Governorship. Nevertheless, throughout his six-year service in the principality, Bao Zhao remained in the princely staff and won Prince Yiqing's appreciation of his talents and abilities. Although the history books do not
note any of Bao Zhao's official transitions in the Principality of Linchuan, his
memorials and statements have provided enough information to suggest that he
served first as Princely Attendant, later as Princely Attendant and concurrently
as Princely Chamberlain for Attendants (Langzhongling 郎中令), and eventually as
Left Princely Attendant-in-ordinary (Zuo-changshi 左常侍).

In the "Memorial to Congratulate the Birth of the Imperial Grandson 皇孫誕育
上表" to the Heir Apparent in the East Palace 東儲, Bao Zhao officially recorded
his name as "the Princely Attendant and concurrently the Princely Chamberlain for
Attendants." This means that the memorial could only have been written either in
his service in the Principality of Linchuan from 438 to 444, or in his service
in the Principality of Shixing from 445 to 451. According to the "Chronicle of
Emperor Wen 文帝紀," Heir Apparent Prince Shao married Yin Chun's 殷淳 daughter
in 438. It is most likely that he had his first son within the following six
years. This likelihood makes it preferable to date Bao Zhao's memorial between
438 and 444, and hence relates his assignment to the concurrent post as Princely
Chamberlain for Attendants to his official term in the Principality of Linchuan.
Although the alternative still exists in the background, it will be rejected
later, as Bao Zhao can be proved to have received no transfer or promotion in the
Principality of Shixing.

Bao Zhao also wrote a memorial to accept a transfer to the post of Princely
Attendant-in-ordinary. He indicated clearly in the memorial that he was to be
transferred to the office of Left Princely Attendant-in-ordinary. Nevertheless,
most chronologists on Bao Zhao have neglected or disregarded this biographical
data, some of them confusing its short form "changshi 常侍 (Princely Attendant-in-
ordinary)" with that of "Sanji-changshi 散騎常侍 (Cavalier Attendant-in-ordinary),"
mistaking it for an imperial post. The confirmation of this error is that, as
indicated in the Song Shu, the Left Princely Attendant-in-ordinary was in the
prince's staff, and it was likely for Bao Zhao to be transferred to this post;
although its position was higher than that of the Princely Attendant, both posts
belonged to the seventh-ranked class. Without great merit or favor, it was
most unlikely for Bao Zhao to be promoted to Cavalier Attendant-in-ordinary, an
honorable third-ranked post, from Erudite of the National University, a sixth-
ranked post, or from Drafter of the Imperial Secretariat, a seventh-ranked post, the two verifiable positions he held in the imperial administration. Besides, of the Drafters of the Imperial Secretariat in Emperor Xiaowu’s reign, even powerful and favorite courtiers such as Dai Faxing and Dai Mingbao were only promoted to Surplus Gentleman Cavalier Attendant (Yuanwai Sanji-shilang 员外散騎侍郎), a fifth-ranked post on the surplus staff.

The assertion that Bao Zhao held the post of Left Princely Attendant-in-ordinary in Prince Yiqing’s Principality is also based on undeniable facts in the "Memorial of Resignation from the Princely Cabinet at the End of Official Term for the Attendant 侍郎報滿辭閣疏." If one compares this memorial with the "Statement of Resignation Sent to the Eldest Son of the Prince 通世子自解啓" and the "Statement in Reply to the Eldest Son of the Prince 重與世子啓," one will first notice that the former contains a prevailing sense of reluctance to leave office, while the latter is marked by a striking insistence to resign office. Hence, they could not have been drafted for the same purpose or occasion. Since it had been proved that the two statements were sent to the eldest son of Prince Yiqing, the memorial could only have been sent to the other of the two principalities Bao Zhao served, that is, Prince Jun’s principality.

Secondly, one will notice that in the former document Bao Zhao called himself "chen 臣" meaning "your humble subject or official," for he was officially and properly addressing the memorial to Prince Jun. In the latter documents he called himself "pu 僕" meaning "your humble servant," for he was addressing Prince Yiqing’s eldest son, who had not yet officially inherited the title and princedom. In this respect, this memorial of resignation again could only be addressed to Prince Jun, for Bao Zhao’s resignation from the Principality of Linchuan was directed, as proved before, to the Prince’s eldest son, to whom Bao Zhao would not call himself a humble official or subject.

The inference derived from these thoughts is that Bao Zhao was not transferred or promoted in Prince Jun’s principality, since in his resignation memorial he still held the position of Princely Attendant. In the final analysis, then, it is only proper to assume, as the two extant documents suggest, that Bao Zhao was
concurrently Princely Chamberlain for Attendant soon after he entered Prince Yiqing’s service as Princely Attendant, and eventually was transferred to the post of Left Princely Attendant-in-ordinary.

In 443, Prince Yiqing requested to be released from his duties as Military Governor and Governor on account of failing health. After this was approved by the emperor, Bao Zhao accompanied the Prince on his return to the capital. The Prince died in the first month of 444.

In his Chronicle of Bao Zhao, Wu Piji cited Wu Zhifu in arguing that Bao Zhao observed a three-year mourning for Prince Yiqing, but Miao Yue in his "Bao Mingyuan Nianpu (Chronicle of Bao Mingyuan)" refuted the theory and insisted the mourning period was three months.

According to the "Records of Rite and Ritual" in the Song Shu, Miao Yue's argument should be correct, for it is recorded that in the Wei Dynasty the mourning period for one's deceased prince was originally three years, but in 268 Emperor Wu of the Jin Dynasty decreed that, in compliance with ancient observation, the mourning for one's deceased prince should be three months. Most ritual observations in the Liu Song Dynasty were inherited from, and identical to, those of the Jin Dynasty. Therefore, Bao Zhao's mourning for Prince Yiqing should have ended in the fourth month of 444. He then sent to the eldest son of Prince Yiqing his statement of resignation and subsequently returned to his home village in the autumn.

In summary, it can be seen that Bao Zhao rejected farming and entered a clerical apprenticeship as early as 434. Later, he entered Prince Yiqing's Principality. By the fourth month of 438, after he presented his poetry which expressed his aspirations to the prince, he was raised from the petty and lowly post of apprentice to that of Princely Attendant. Before long he was concurrently Princely Chamberlain for Attendants, and eventually he was transferred to Left Princely Attendant-in-ordinary. He remained in Prince Yiqing's principality for six years, but resigned his office and returned to his home village in the autumn of 444, after a three-month mourning for Prince Yiqing, who died in the first month of that year.
v. Refutation of the Theory that Bao Zhao Served in Prince Yiji's Principality

Qian Zhenlun was the first of a group of scholars to proclaim that Bao Zhao entered and remained in Prince Yiji of Hengyang's principality 衡陽王 義季 from 445 until the Prince's death in 447. He maintained that since Bao Zhao mentioned "Mount Shangluo 商雒" in the poem "Returning to My Home Village After Mourning Ends for the Prince of Linchuan 臨川王子還里," referred to "the travelers from the Liang and the Zheng regions 梁鄭客" in the poem "Digging Sealworts When Passing by Mount Tong 隆山掘黃精," and spoke of "Entering the Hanyuan Pass from the Luo River 從洛入函穀" in the poem "I Saw a Jade Dealer 見賣玉器者," he had roamed about the basin of River Luo and the regions of the Liang and the Zheng.

Qian Zhenlun then argued that since Bao Zhao stated in his "Memorial on the Establishment of the Principality 論國制啓" that he had seen several volumes of records on the old establishment of the Principality of Pengcheng 彭城, he must have been in Pengcheng and therefore in the staff of Prince Yiji, who was Governor of Xuzhou 徐州 with its administrative center in Pengcheng from 445 to 447. Here Qian Zhenlun implied that only as a staffer in Prince Yiji's principality could Bao Zhao rove about the basin of River Luo and the Liang Prefecture, and read documents of the old establishment of the Principality of Pengcheng. Qian noted that from 445 to 447 Prince Yiji served first as Governor of Nan Yanzhou, then as Grand Expeditionary General to the North (Zhengbei-dajiangjun 征北大將軍) and Military-governor of the six Provinces of Nan Yanzhou, Xuzhou, Yanzhou, Qingzhou, Jizhou, and Youzhou. Later, his commandership was expanded to include the Liang Prefecture of Yuzhou 豫州梁郡, and he was then transferred to the post of Governor of Xuzhou with his administrative office in Pengcheng.

Qian Zhenlun further maintained that since Bao Zhao wrote a "Memorial of Congratulation on the Birth of the Eldest Son of the Prince, Expeditionary General to the North 征北世子誕育表," and since Prince Yiji served as Grand Expeditionary General to the North from 444 till his death in 447, Bao Zhao was apparently writing this memorial on behalf of the staff to congratulate Prince Yiji on this occasion.
Huang Jie modified Qian Zhenlun's theory by adopting the observation of three-year mourning for one's deceased prince and moved Bao Zhao's entry into Prince Yiji's principality from 445 to 447. He quoted a couplet from the poem "Sojourning in Spring":

"I am a horse neighing for reputation in frontier defences, Not just the poems written on papers in my book case."

Huang Jie maintained that this couplet alluded to the deposal of Heir Apparent Prince Minhuai in the Jin Dynasty. According to the "Biography of the Heir Apparent Prince Minhuai" in the Jin Shu, before the deposal of the prince there was a children's folk rhyme:

"You, Colt of the Crown Prince Palace, don't be deaf and vain, For by the twelfth month of the year, you'll entangle your mane."

Before long, Queen Dowager Jia ordered Palace Attendant (Huangmen-shilang) Pan Yue to draft a memorial in cursive hand, difficult for a child to read, had the Prince copy and present it in a hurry, then accused him of its content and deposed him.

Huang Jie believed that the horse image in the couplet alluded to the deposal of Heir Apparent Prince Minhuai, and the allusion implied Bao Zhao's lament for Prince Yikang's deposal in 445. He thereupon inferred that this poem was written in or after 445. He further maintained that according to the "Biography of Dai Yong" in the Song Shu, when Prince Yiji was stationed in Jingkou, Dai Yong often played the zither and composed new melodies or variations for the Prince. In the poem "Sojourning in Spring," when Bao Zhao wrote: "I am writing to entertain your zither, and the new song reminds me of an understanding friend," Huang Jie inferred Bao Zhao was writing to Dai Yong and would therefore be among Prince Yiji's staff.

Qian Zhonglian adopted Qian Zhenlun's theory and discarded Huang Jie's theory of the observation of three-year mourning for one's deceased prince. Thus, his "Chronological Chart of Bao Zhao" also dated the poet's entry into Prince Yiji's principality back to 445.

However, by examining these theories individually, it can be seen that each
must be rejected as contradictory and arbitrary. Huang Jie’s testimony, for
instance, relied on a very ambiguous allusion in “Sojourning in Spring” to date
the composition of the poem. He further assumed that any couplet or stanza on
the zither written in this period of time alluded to nothing else but the musical
assemblies between Dai Yong and Prince Yiji. Even if the above assumptions were
acceptable, Huang Jie’s efforts must still be rejected, for he failed to see that
according to the “Chronicle of Emperor Wen,” it was not between 445 and 447,
but between 432 and 438 (the ninth and 15th years of the Yuanjia Reign) that
Prince Yiji was Governor of Nan Xuzhou. It was in those years that Prince Yiji
was stationed in Jingkou and Dai Yong played the zither for him.

Qian Zhenlun’s theory is similarly negligent and arbitrary. His first
argument, that Bao Zhao roved about the basin of River Luo and the Liang and
Zheng regions because the poet had mentioned all these places in his poems, was
a very broad assumption. Generally speaking, when Bao Zhao wrote: “To retire
from the world just for this is not only limited to Mount Shangluo’s sages,”
he was identifying himself with the recluses of Mount Shangluo, who renounced the
world for the serene beauty of the mountain. Similarly, when Bao Zhao wrote:
“Though I embrace the idea of rafting over the ocean vainly, I do not yearn for
collectors from Liang and Zheng,” he was saying that though he had not yet
fulfilled his aspiration, he would not give up his Confucian ideas and would never
seek for guidance from occult or Taoist sages such as Lie Zi 列子 of Zheng and
Zhuang Zi 莊子 of Meng, which was the Liang region in ancient times.

Qian Zhenlun’s second argument was that Bao Zhao had to be in Prince Yiji’s
staff since Bao Zhao wrote the “Memorial of Congratulation on the Birth of the
Eldest Son to Prince Yiji, Expeditionary General to the North,” and since from
445 to 447, among the princes, only Prince Yiji was appointed Grand Expeditionary
General to the North. This argument also contained an arbitrary premise, for
the memorial was in no way dated and therefore could well have been drafted in
or after 449, when Prince Jun was Expeditionary General to the North and Bao Zhao
was, as is proved later, in his princely staff.

Qian Zhenlun’s third argument was that Bao Zhao had to have been in Pengcheng
since he stated in the "Memorial on the Establishment of the Principality" that he had seen records on the old establishment of the Principality of Pengcheng. This argument logically does not enjoy an exclusive premise either. The memorial does not read as if addressed to a prince, but to the emperor. Bao Zhao suggested that Archivists (Zhanggu 掌故) of the Chamberlain for Ceremonials (Taichang 太常) be ordered to compile and record materials about the old establishments of the Principality of Pengcheng, in order to illustrate the institution of the principality in the imperial code and to estimate the appropriateness of the elaboration of the princely regulations. The Archivist in charge of historical records was a subordinate officer of the Grand Astrologer (Taishi 太史) of the Chamberlain for Ceremonies and naturally would not directly receive orders from a prince. Thus the memorial was obviously not addressed to Prince Yiji.

Again, Bao Zhao took it to be his responsibility as an "officer on duty 直員" to present this memorial. Among the offices Bao Zhao held, the Drafter of the Imperial Secretariat seemed to be the proper office from which to present the memorial, for the Imperial Secretariat Drafter though under the jurisdiction of the Imperial Secretariat was on duty in the council chamber in the palace.

In addition, when Bao Zhao wrote: "It's been more than ten years since Your Majesty presided over this holy land 息躬聖壤十有餘載," he was referring to Pengcheng as the imperial native place, which was usually manned by the Governor of Xuchou. According to the Song Shu, Prince Yiqing was Military-governor of Xuzhou from 440 to 444, and Prince Yiji was Governor of Xuzhou from 445 to 447, but Prince Jun and Prince Zixu were never stationed in this holy city. While Emperor Wen was granted the title of Duke of the Pengcheng County 彭城縣公 in 415, Emperor Xiaowu was appointed Governor of Xuzhou from 448 to 450. Among those princes appointed as Governor or Military-governor of Xuzhou, Prince Yiqing and Prince Yiji did not live longer than 10 years after being stationed in Pengcheng. And 10 years after Emperor Wen became Duke of Pengcheng, Bao Zhao was no older than 18 and had not yet entered public service. In this respect, Emperor Xiaowu would be a logical recipient of this memorial, for 10 years after he was stationed in Pengcheng (between 458 and 460), Bao Zhao was still concurrently a
Drafter of the Imperial Secretariat, who had to be on duty in the council chamber in the palace.

In short, since the memorial cannot be proved to have been drafted between 445 and 447, nor proved to be addressed to Prince Yiji while he was stationed in Pengcheng, it would not be justifiable to say that Bao Zhao had to be in Prince Yiji's staff to read records about the establishment of the Principality of Pengcheng. He could have read them in his service to Prince Yiqing, who was Military-governor of Xuzhou from 440 to 444, or in the archives when he was an Erudite of the National University.

Furthermore, the regulation of the six-year office term in Emperor Wen's reign also suggests the impossibility of Bao Zhao serving in Prince Yiji's principality. Firstly, had Bao Zhao been in Prince Yiji's staff he would have observed the mourning ritual for the Prince, who died in 447, and later would have presented a statement of resignation to the eldest son of the Prince. It goes without saying that had Bao Zhao left Prince Yiji's staff before the Prince's death in 447, he would have also sent in a statement of resignation. Nevertheless, the extant documents and records provide no such evidence. On the contrary, the existing "Memorial of Resignation from the Princely Cabinet at the End of the Official Term for the Attendant" and "Statement of Resignation Sent to the Eldest Son of the Prince" both clearly note the expiration of a six-year term of office.

Secondly, had Bao Zhao been in Prince Yiji's staff from 445 to 447, he would not have been able thereafter to serve Prince Jun for a full six-year term of office, for had he completed the whole tenure of office, he would have been executed for high treason together with Prince Jun at his defeat in 453.

In summary, it is clear from these contradictions and improbabilities that Bao Zhao never served in Prince Yiji's principality.
vi. Bao Zhao's Service in Prince Jun of Shixing's Principality

The "Biography of Bao Zhao" in the Song Shu briefly notes that after his service in Prince Yiqing's principality and before he was killed by the rebels in Jingzhou at his post as a Military Consultant (Canjun 参軍) in the administration of Van General 前將軍 Prince Zixu of Linhai 臨海王子頤, Bao Zhao was appointed to the post of Drafter of the Imperial Secretariat by Emperor Xiaowu. The Nan Shi, on the other hand, records that in due time he was first promoted to the office of Subprefect of the Moling Subprefecture 永嘉令 and then was made a Drafter of the Imperial Secretariat by Emperor Wen.

While both of the above history books fail to record details of Bao Zhao's political life, Yu Yan in his preface succeeded in providing a sketch of Bao Zhao's career in public service during this period. He proclaimed that after Prince Yiqing died, Bao Zhao was invited to be Princely Attendant by Prince Jun of Shixing, and that "at the beginning" of Emperor Xiaowu's reign, he was first appointed to the post of Subprefect of the Haiyu Subprefecture 海虞令, then promoted to the post of Erudite of the National University and concurrently Drafter of the Imperial Secretariat, then sent to be Subprefect of the Moling Subprefecture, and then transferred to be Subprefect of the Yongjia Subprefecture 永嘉令.

Among these three sources there are immediate disagreements as to whether Bao Zhao first became Subprefect of the Moling Subprefecture or Drafter of the Imperial Secretariat, and whether he was appointed as an Imperial Secretariat Drafter by Emperor Wen or Emperor Xiaowu. Fortunately, in his "Memorial of Accepting the Appointment of Subprefect of the Moling Subprefecture 謝秣陵令表," Bao Zhao expressed his reluctance to leave the council chamber of the Department of the Imperial Secretariat. Besides, this memorial in the Song version 宋本 of the Bao Canjun Ji notes clearly that he was "then a Drafter of the Imperial Secretariat 時為中書舍人." This confirms that Bao Zhao was an Imperial Secretariat Drafter before he was appointed Subprefect of the Moling Subprefecture.
Huang Jie's theory that Bao Zhao was appointed an Imperial Secretariat Drafter in 448 and a Princely Attendant in Prince Jun of Shixing's Principality in 449 appears to be a supposition without supporting evidence. The Nan Shi's record that Emperor Wen made Bao Zhao an Imperial Secretariat Drafter from Subprefect of the Moling Subprefecture seems to contain an obvious reversal of historical events. The Nan Shi and scholars of similar opinion also neglect the fact that an office term in the reign of Emperor Wen was six years, but there were only eight years between Bao Zhao's resignation from the Principality of Linchuan and the death of Emperor Wen. It is difficult to accept any hypothesis that during this time Bao Zhao served more than one public office, especially when it is certain that he served a full term in Prince Jun's staff as Princely Attendant, which, as explained earlier, would have expired no later than 451.

Yu Yan's biographical sketch of Bao Zhao in this respect is quite precise and accurate. His claim that Bao Zhao served as Princely Attendant in Prince Jun's principality finds evidence in the fact that he wrote "Poem Composed at Prince Shixing's Command on Mount Suan" and "Imitating the Ballad of the White Linen at Prince Jun of Shixing's Command," and, as explained previously, the "Memorial of Congratulation on the Birth of the Eldest Son to the Prince, Expeditionary General of the North" as well.

While most chronologists of Bao Zhao adopt the theory that Bao Zhao served in the Principality of Shixing, they disagree with one another on the date of his entering Prince Jun's service. Qian Zhenlun and Qian Zhonglian maintained it to be in 447, after a three-year service in Prince Yiji's principality. Huang Jie maintained it to be in 449, after one year of service in Prince Yiji of Hengyang's staff and one year's service as an Imperial Secretariat Drafter in Emperor Wen's court. Wu Piji maintained it to be in 446, after a three-year mourning for Prince Yiqing.

As discussed above, the mourning period for one's deceased Prince was actually three months, and the theory of Bao Zhao's service in the Principality of Hengyang was an arbitrary supposition. As we will see later, the Drafter of the Imperial Secretariat was most unlikely to be an independent post.
Therefore, these above three hypotheses on the date of Bao Zhao's entry into Prince Jun of Shixing's service lack substantial support.

More to the point, Bao Zhao's "Memorial of Resignation from the Princely Cabinet at the End of the Official Term for the Attendant" confirms the fact that he served in the Principality of Shixing for six years, since between the two princes Bao Zhao had served as Princely Attendant, Prince Jun of Shixing was the only logical recipient of this memorial, for Bao Zhao wrote another resignation statement to the eldest son of Prince Yiqing when he resigned from the Principality of Linchuan.

Again, according to the Song Shu, Prince Jun of Shixing was summoned back to the capital for a new appointment in the first month of 453, the 30th year of the Yuanjia Reign. By the end of the second month, however, he was accused of practicing witchcraft in the palace and was told by his mother, Concubine Pan 潘妃, that he would soon be ordered to commit suicide. He then joined Heir Apparent Prince Shao's parricidal and regicidal revolt. They were defeated and executed in the fifth month of 453. Their staffs and officers were either eliminated for opposing the conspiracy, killed in the battle, or executed at the final defeat. Since Bao Zhao lived after the revolt, he was obviously not on the staff of the Principality of Shixing in 453.

In the "Inscription on the Wooden Post on Mount Guabu 瓜步山簡文" Bao Zhao wrote: "The year resides at the dragon division, the month cruises with soaring bird 羽翟騰翔, 月巡鳥張. I, Bao Zhao, having left the Wu district and having been sojourning in the Chu region, am heading towards Yanzhou to return to Yangzhou 辭吳客楚, 指充歸揚."

In the correspondence of the 12 zodiac animals 十二生相 with the 12 earthly branches 十二地支, the cock matches with the "you 酉" branch. And the "you" branch corresponds to the eighth month of the year in the Yuanjia Calendar, which set the "yin" branch as the beginning of a year 以建寅為歲首. Since the cock belongs to the fowl family 雞為鳥屬, "yue xun niao zhang 月巡鳥張" can be interpreted as "the
month cruises to the bird division of the yearly cycle"; that is to say, it is the eighth month of the year.

Nevertheless, as the substitution of the bird (the fowl) with the cock seems an arbitrary imposition, a preferable interpretation is found in the "Book of Astronomy" in Shiji 史記 (Records of the Historian). In enumerating the celestial symbols of the five palaces (parts) of the heavenly body, it says that "the south palace is a red bird (a fire bird) 南宮朱鳥." The "Book of Music Tones and Pitches" in Shiji records that: "It (the solar breath 氣) goes westwards to 'zhang 張,' which means that a myriad of things flourish and thrive. It goes westwards to 'zhu 注,' which means that as the myriad things decline, the yang (positive 阳) breath pours downwards and is thus called 'zhu.' It is the fifth month." The "Commentaries to Shiji" commented: "'zhu' is the bird's beak 嘴. The 'Book of Astronomy' says that 'Liu 柳 (Hydra)' is (resembles) the bird's beak. 'Zhu' is therefore the Liu Star." In this respect, the phrase "yue xun niao zhang" can be well interpreted as "the fifth month of the year."

In the correspondence of the 12 zodiac animals and the 12 earthly branches or divisions, the dragon division matches with the 'chen 辰' branch. In his life Bao Zhao (409-466) encountered five years of the chen branch 辰年: namely, 416, the year of Bing-chen 丙辰; 428, the year of Wu-chen 戊辰; 440, the year of Geng-chen 庚辰; 452, the year of Ren-chen 壬辰; and 464, the year of Jia-chen 甲辰. Bao Zhao was only eight years old in 416, and 20 in 428. He was too young to have written this inscription. He entered service in the Principality of Linchuan (or rather was raised to the post of Princely Attendant from an apprentice in the fourth month of 438 in Jiangling of Jingzhou 荆州江陵), then followed Prince Yiqing to Xunyang of Jiangzhou 江州尋陽 in 439, and then to Guangling of Nan Yanzhou 南兗州廣陵 in the 10th month of 440. Thus, in the fifth month of 440 he should still have been in Xunyang and could not possibly have written the inscription. Similarly, he could not have written it in 464 either for, as to be proved later, he was then a newly-appointed Military Consultant to Prince Zixu of Linhai's administration of the Van General in Jiangling of Jingzhou and would not possibly have been sojourning in the Guabu area on his way home. Thus, the inscription
could only be written by him in the fifth month of 452, the 29th year of the Yuanjia Regn 元嘉二十九年.

According to the Song Shu, in 449 Prince Jun of Shixing 始興王 潞 was appointed Military-governor of the Provinces of Nan Xuzhou and Yanzhou, Governor of Nan Xuzhou and Yanzhou, and Expeditionary General of the North, with his administrative center in Jingkou. In the 12th month of 450 the Tuoba invaded Guabu, a strategic port in the south-north transportation routes, and brought such a serious threat to the capital that Emperor Wen proclaimed martial law. By the first month of 451, the Tuoba withdrew and Prince Jun was ordered to fortify Guabu. The imperial procession arrived in Guabu in the second month. By the third month Prince Jun was dismissed from the duty of Governor of Nan Yanzhou and returned to his post in Jingkou as Governor of Nan Xuzhou. Later in 452 he was summoned to the imperial court, and by the seventh month of the year he was sent back to Jingkou to wait for a new appointment. But his involvement with witchcraft was soon discovered, and Emperor Wen in great rage forbade him to return to the capital. It was not until the second month of 453 that he was permitted to return, and shortly thereafter he joined in Heir Apparent Prince Shao's parricide and regicide.

In this respect, it seems clear that in the fifth month of 452, when Bao Zhao wrote the inscription, he had already left his office. Upon closer analysis, the most logical time for him to resign was in the third month of 451, when Prince Jun was dismissed from his duty as Governor of Nan Yanzhou and his mission to fortify Guabu. Bao Zhao resigned at the expiration of the six-year official term as Princely Attendant and sojourned in Guabu. By the fifth month of 452, on his way to Guangling and return to Dantu, he wrote the inscription.

This inference is also in accordance with the geographical note in the beginning of the inscription. The administrative center of the Governor of Nan Xuzhou was located in Jingkou, in the present Province of Jiangsu, which in ancient times was in the State of Wu of the Three Kingdoms. Guabu 瓜步 was located in the west of the present Province of Jiangsu, which was identified historically
as the Eastern Chu 東楚. Guangling 廣陵 was the administrative center of Nan Yanzhou, while Dantu 丹徒 of the refugee Southern Donghai Prefecture was actually established in the Province of Yangzhou 揚州. Thus, when Bao Zhao wrote: "having left the Wu district and having been sojourning in the Chu region, I am now heading towards Yanzhou to return to Yangzhou," he was saying: "having left Jingkou in the Wu district and having been sojourning in Guabu in the ancient Eastern Chu, I am now heading toward Guangling of Nan Yanzhou to return to Dantu in Yangzhou." This coincides exactly with Bao Zhao's activities from the first month of 451 when he accompanied Prince Jun to Guabu, through the third month when he resigned his office and sojourned in Guabu, to the fifth month of 452 when he headed for Guangling to return home to Dantu.

In the last inference, Bao Zhao's six-year term of office as Princely Attendant in the Principality of Shixing should have therefore started in the third month of 445, the 22nd year of the Yuanjia Reign of Emperor Wen.

We have seen that Bao Zhao's three-month mourning for Prince Yiqing was over in the third month of 444; he returned home to Dantu in the fall of the same year. By the third month of 445, he was invited to be Princely Attendant in the principality of Prince Jun of Shixing, Governor of Yangzhou, with his administrative center in Jianye 建業. In 449, as Prince Jun was promoted to the post of Expeditionary General to the North, Military-governor of the Provinces of Nan Xuzhou and Nan Yanzhou, and Governor of the Provinces of Nan Xuzhou and Yanzhou, Bao Zhao accompanied the Prince to the administrative station in Jingkou. In the first month of 451, as the Tuoba withdrew from Guabu, he attended upon Prince Jun to fortify this strategic port. By the third month of the year, as the Prince was dismissed from his duty as Governor of Nan Yanzhou and returned to his governor post in Jingkou of Nan Xuzhou, Bao Zhao resigned from the principality of Shixing at the expiration of his six-year office term. He sojourned in Guabu until he returned home in the fifth month of 452. Thus he barely escaped the treacherous fate of being eliminated as an opponent to the Prince's conspiracy or executed as an accomplice to the Prince's treason.
vii. Bao Zhao's Service as Subprefect of the Haiyu Subprefecture

According to the *Song Shu*, the Subprefect of the Haiyu Subprefecture was under the jurisdiction of the Prefect of the Wu Prefecture 吳郡, which in turn was under the Governor of Yangzhou. It was a subprefecture with a population of 4,000 households and 35,400 persons on average. The *Song Shu* notes that Danyang 丹陽, Wu 吳, Kuaiji 會稽, and Wuxing 吳興 were all large prefectures. The Haiyu Subprefecture presumably was a large subprefecture and its subprefect would be an official of the sixth rank with a yearly salary of 1,000 piculs of grain.

The *Song Shu* and the *Nan Shi* do not mention Bao Zhao's service as Subprefect of the Haiyu Subprefecture 海虞令, but Yu Yan's preface states clearly that "at the beginning of Emperor Xiaowu," he was appointed Subprefect of the Haiyu Subprefecture. And Wu Piji and Qian Zhonglian assumed it to be in 454, the first year of the Xiaojian Reign of Emperor Xiaowu.

According to the *Song Shu*, when Heir Apparent Prince Shao committed parricide and regicide in the end of the second month of 453, Prince Jun of Wuling 武陵王 駿, Governor of Jiangzhou, and Military-governor of Jiangzhou, Jiangxia Prefecture of Jingzhou, and Xiyang, Jingxi and Xincai Prefectures of Yuzhou (都督江州, 荊州之江夏, 襄州之西陽, 晉熙, 新蔡諸軍事), embarked on a punitive expedition to the Xiyang Tribes 西陽蠻. He immediately marched the expedition army back to the capital as a punitive force against Prince Shao. By the fourth month he arrived and was crowned by the Army of Righteousness in Xin Ting 新亭 (New Pavilion), which was then renamed "Zhongxing Ting 中興亭" (Restoration Pavilion). By the fifth month he defeated the rebel force, restored the capital, and executed Prince Shao 劉, Prince Jun 濬, and their accomplices. Then in the first month of 454, he changed the year-title of the dynasty into the first year of the Xiaojian Reign 孝建元年.

Accordingly, there is a nine-month difference between the time Emperor Xiaowu was crowned and the first year of the Xiaojian Reign. Thus, it is proper to assume that the expression "the beginning of Emperor Xiaowu" implies a time different from
the first year of the Xiaojian Reign, or most appropriately a time after he was enthroned and before he changed the dynasty's year-title. The Song Shu provides the best example of a precise way of recording these chronological differences. It usually refers to the period from the fourth month of 453 to the first month of 454 as "the beginning of Emperor Xiaowu" or as "after Emperor Xiaowu was enthroned." After the Emperor changed the year-title of the dynasty in 454, it specifies the year or refers to it as "the beginning of the Xiaojian Reign." In this respect, Bao Zhao's appointment to Subprefect of the Haiyu Subprefecture indeed could well have occurred sometime after the fifth month of 453, after he composed the "Song of the Restoration" in praise of the resurgence of the country and restoration of the capital from the malefic princes.

Qian Zhenlun and Qian Zhonglian both maintained that the "Song of the Restoration" was written in 447 at the same time as the "Ode to the Clarity of the Yellow River," and that both poems were written to praise the virtuous reign of Emperor Wen. They provided no substantial evidence, however, to prove that the former was written at that time.

In fact, the ninth quatrain of the poem provides a clear statement that it was written in praise of the order and harmony brought by Emperor Xiaowu's victory over Prince Shao:

"Xiangyang is a small humble place, 
Shouyang is not an imperial city. 
Today amidst its joy of celebrating the restoration, 
You fascinate the capital city with charm and elegance." 14

The Song Shu records that before he came to the throne, Prince Jun of Wuling was Governor of Nan Yuzhou with an administrative center in Shouyang from 440 to 444, though for most of this time he was in charge of the Shitou Garrison. From 444 to 447 he was Governor of Yongzhou and Military-governor of the four Provinces of Yongzhou, Liangzhou, Nan Qinzhou and Bei Qinzhou, and the six Prefectures of Xiangyang, Jingling, Nanyang, Shunyang, Xinye, and Sui of Jingzhou (都督雍、梁、南北秦四州，及荆州之襄陽、竟陵、南陽、順陽、新野、隨六郡諸軍事), with his administrative center in Xiangyang.
The ninth quatrain obviously celebrates the rejoicing with a tone of expectancy implying that Prince Jun of Wuling was not destined to be merely a governor stationed in either Xiangyang or Shouyang, but would be the one to restore the dynasty from a regicide Prince and subsequently become a righteous Emperor admired in the capital. The poet starts the song with a quatrain expressing that his anguish and anxiety give way to expectant joy for the restoration:

"One thousand winters wait just for the spring,  
While a myriad nights anticipate the dawning.  
It is fortunate for me to witness the imperial restoration,  
And my many anxieties give way to joy."  

It is indeed most likely that Bao Zhao was appointed Subprefect of the Haiyu Subprefecture after he wrote the "Song of Restoration" in the fifth month of 453.

One should note that by the reign of Emperor Xiaowu, according to the Song Shu, the official term had been changed from six years to three years. Consequently, Bao Zhao's office term as Subprefect of the Haiyu Subprefecture should have ended around or after the fifth month of 456, but under closer study it does not appear to have done so.

In listing the public offices Bao Zhao held in this period, Yu Yan wrote:

"In the beginning of Emperor Xiaowu, he was appointed the Subprefect of the Haiyu Subprefecture; (then) moved to the post of Erudite of the National University and concurrently Drafter of the Imperial Secretariat; (then) sent out to be the Subprefect of the Holing Subprefecture; again then transferred to the post of Subprefect of the Yongjia Subprefecture. In the fifth year of the Daming Reign, he was appointed an Acting Military Consultant in the administration of the Van General. He attended on the Prince of Linhai to guard Jingzhou and superintended or administered His Imperial orders, and was soon moved to the post of Judicial Administrator in the administration of the Van General. 孝武初，除海虞令，遷太學博士，兼中書舍人，出為秣陵令，又轉永嘉令。大明五年，除前軍行參軍，侍臨海王鎮荆州，掌知內命，尋遷前軍刑獄參軍事。"  

Yu Yan provided much useful information here, but he erred in taking the year 461 as the date Bao Zhao was appointed Acting Military Consultant (Xing-canjun 行參軍). According to the Song Shu Prince Zixu of Linhai was promoted to the post of Van General in 464. The Former Deposed Emperor 前廢帝 then appointed him Military-governor of the eight Provinces of Jingzhou, Xiangzhou, Yongzhou, Yizhou, Liangzhou, Ningzhou, Nan Qinzhou, and Bei Qinzhou under the same generalship.
This sentence implies that it was Emperor Xiaowu who promoted him, and therefore this promotion had to be sometime before the fifth month of 464, the time when Emperor Xiaowu died.

It is obvious that had Bao Zhao served a full term in the Haiyu Subprefecture, it would be impossible for him to hold another three full terms of office before the fifth month of 464, for from 453 to 464 there are only 11 years; Bao Zhao held four offices. While the extant documents do not suggest any of these official terms were incomplete, the wording of Yu Yan's preface sheds some light on the truth of this matter. From 464 to 466 the longest time Bao Zhao could have remained at the first post in the administration of the Van General would be two years. Yu Yan uses the word "xun Qian 尋遷" to describe the transition. The word "xun 尋" serves as an adverb here with the meaning of "subsequently," but it also connotes "soon" or "before long." While the word "qian 遷" means "to move" or "to be removed," in this case it meant a removal from one office to the other before the office term was completed. Thus, when Yu Yan used "qian" to note Bao Zhao's official transition from Subprefect of the Haiyu Subprefecture to Erudite of the National University, he might have used it to denote a similar removal prior to the expiration of office term, that is to say, a removal before 456. Nevertheless, the most decisive factor is that Bao Zhao was removed from Subprefect to not only Erudite of the National University but also concurrently to Drafter of the Imperial Secretariat. While this concurrent office had a full allotment of four persons, and Chao Shangzhi 楚尚之 was appointed the fourth Imperial Secretariat Drafter in 454, Bao Zhao naturally could not have been removed to his new post in this year. Consequently, we must infer that it was most likely in 455, the second year of the Xiaojian Reign, that Bao Zhao was removed to the post of Erudite of the National University and concurrently to Drafter of the Imperial Secretariat from Subprefect of the Haiyu Subprefecture.
viii. Bao Zhao's Service as Erudite of the National University and Concurrently as Drafter of the Imperial Secretariat

As stated above, Yu Yan's preface maintained that Bao Zhao was removed from the post of Subprefect of the Haiyu Subprefecture to that of Erudite of the National University, and concurrently to Drafter of the Imperial Secretariat. The Song Shu noted that Shizu 世祖 (the Third Patriarch or Emperor Xiaowu) appointed him an Imperial Secretariat Drafter, but the Nan Shi maintained that Emperor Wen removed him from the post of Princely Attendant of the Principality of Linchuan to that of Subprefect of the Moling Subprefecture and then appointed him an Imperial Secretariat Drafter.

As previously established, there were only eight years from the time Bao Zhao resigned from the Principality of Linchuan in 445 to the year Emperor Wen was murdered in 453, and it was virtually impossible for Bao Zhao to have served more than one full six-year term of office. Furthermore, Bao Zhao's "Memorial of Accepting the Appointment of the Subprefect of the Moling Subprefecture" clearly indicated that when he accepted this appointment he was an Imperial Secretariat Drafter. In addition, the Imperial Secretariat Drafter was not an independent regular post. It was usually a concurrent office. In this respect, the Nan Shi's statement is too disputable to be accepted, but Yu Yan's sketch remains logically and chronologically true. Wu Piji and Qian Zhonglian both maintained, without any supporting evidence, that it was in 456 that Bao Zhao was first removed to the post of Erudite of the National University and concurrently as an Imperial Secretariat Drafter and thereafter sent out to be Subprefect of Moling Subprefecture. In the Liu Song Dynasty, Erudite of the National University under the jurisdiction of Chamberlain for Ceremonials was a sixth-rank official with a yearly salary of 600 piculs of grain, while Drafter of the Imperial Secretariat, under the jurisdiction of the Imperial Secretariat, was a ninth-rank official in the Jin Dynasty, though by the Liu Song Dynasty it might have been raised to the seventh rank. The official duty of this office was to serve the Emperor in the council chamber in drafting imperial edicts, mandates, and proclamations, and to present briefings of various memorials and to sign leaves or to write
rescripts for them. As an Erudite of the National University, Bao Zhao does not seem to have performed his duty in several important national debates, for his name was never mentioned in these debates recorded in the Song Shu. On the other hand, in the "Memorial on the Establishment of the Principality," he clearly indicated that he was on duty in the Emperor's council chamber by 458. In this respect, Bao Zhao seems to have served more as an Imperial Secretariat Drafter than an Erudite of the National University.

The Song Shu notes that the post of Drafter of the Imperial Secretariat had an establishment of four persons. This was basically true in the reign of Emperor Xiaowu. Before Prince Jun of Wuling was crowned, Dong Yuansi, Dai Faxing, Dai Mingbao, and Cai Xian served as Warrant Keepers in his principality and generalship of Commandant of Court Gentlemen of the South (Nan-zhonglangjiang 南中郎將) respectively. As Prince Jun of Wuling was raising a righteous army against the regicidal Prince Shao in 453, Dong Yuansi was killed by the evil Prince Shao; while Dai Faxing, Dai Mingbao, and Cai Xian were appointed Adjutant Protectors (Canjun-duhu 參軍督護). When Prince Jun of Wuling was enthroned, he appointed them Attendant Censors (Shiyushi 侍御史) and concurrently Drafters of the Imperial Secretariat. By 454, the first year of the Xiaojian Reign, Dai Faxing was appointed as a Valor General (Jianwu-jiangjun 建武將軍) and Prefect of Southern Lu Prefecture 南魯郡太守, and left the post of the Imperial Secretariat Drafter to attend upon the Heir Apparent in the East Palace. Meanwhile Chao Shangzhi 巢尚之 was appointed a Princely Attendant of the Principality of Donghai and concurrently a Drafter of the Imperial Secretariat. By 458, Emperor Xiaowu conferred the noble rank of "Nan 男" (Baron) upon Dai Faxing, Dai Mingbao, and Cai Xian to reward their assistance in his enthronement. Dai Faxing was also promoted to the positions of Palace Steward (Jishizhong 給事中), Surplus Gentleman Cavalier Attendant (Yuanwai-sanji-shilang 員外散騎侍郎), and Commandant of Bodyguards of the Heir Apparent (Taizi-luben-zhonglangjiang 太子旅貴中郎將), besides his original post as Prefect of Southern Lu Prefecture. Dai Mingbao was raised to the positions of Palace Steward (Jishizhong), Commandant of Bodyguards of the Heir Apparent (Taizi-luben-zhonglangjiang), and Prefect of Southern Qinghe
As for Cai Xian, he did not have any further appointment since he was deceased by this time.

Neither the Song Shu nor Nan Shi record the date of Cai Xian's death, but the facts that there were already four Imperial Secretariat Drafters in 454 and that Bao Zhao's transfer to the post of Erudite of the National University and the above concurrent post could not be later than 456, while he was already in duty in the imperial council chamber in 458, suggest that Bao Zhao was most likely transferred to this concurrent post in 455. And since there could only have been four Imperial Drafters at any given time, it seems proper to infer that Bao Zhao was transferred to this post to fill the vacancy left by Cai Xian's death. So before 455, the four Imperial Secretariat Drafters were Dai Faxing, Dai Mingbao, Cai Xian, and Chao Shangzhi; after 455, the four Imperial Secretariat Drafters were Dai Faxing, Dai Mingbao, Chao Shangzhi, and Bao Zhao. Similarly, By 464 when Bao Zhao was sent out to be a Military Consultant in the Van General's staff, Xi Xiandu, who became a Surplus Gentleman Cavalier Attendant in the Daming Reign, seems to have filled the vacancy left by Bao Zhao.

The "Biographies of the Imperial Favorite Courtiers" records that Chao Shangzhi served as a Drafter of the Imperial Secretariat throughout Emperor Xiaowu's reign. He was removed from this duty by the Former Deposed Emperor in 465. The concurrent post of the Drafter of the Imperial Secretariat, then, seems to have been a long-term appointment. The "Biography of Dai Faxing" notes that Emperor Xiaowu administered the imperial affairs himself and relied not on high officials but on favorite courtiers and trustworthy agents. Dai Faxing was an imperial favorite courtier, and the imperial grace and trust in him increased even after he was removed to wait upon the Heir Apparent in the East Palace. Emperor Xiaowu consulted with Dai Faxing and Chao Shangzhi about major decisions on official selection, appointment, removal, transfer, punishment, and reward, while he trusted Dai Mingbao with miscellaneous royal affairs. The Emperor accepted and carried out whatever they recommended. Consequently, they became more popular and powerful through such social and institutional affiliations. Thus, although later on they were promoted to official posts such as Prefect, Palace Steward, and Surplus Gentleman Cavalier Attendant, they
essentially performed the duty of Drafters of the Imperial Secretariat. They
dominated the imperial council chamber up until 464, when Prince Ziye 子業,
later known as the Former Deposed Emperor, was enthroned and started to eliminate
the old courtiers from his father's court. Thereupon, Xi Xiandu was executed for
committing all manner of cruelty upon the people; Chao Shangzhi was removed from
the imperial council chamber; and Dai Faxing was ordered to commit suicide after
being removed from office as a result of imperial rage over the roadside rumour
that "Dai Faxing was the actual emperor and the Emperor was but a puppet." This
all adds up to a supposition that although the Drafter of the Imperial Secretariat
was a concurrent post in Emperor Xiaowu's reign and Bao Zhao was transferred
from the post of Erudite of the National University to Subprefect of the Moling
Subprefecture and that of the Yongan Subprefecture respectively, he might have
actually served in the concurrent post in the imperial council chamber from 455
to 464. This inference is based upon the following facts.

Firstly, Bao Zhao was actually serving more at his concurrent post in the
imperial council chamber than at the regular post of Erudite of the National
University.

Secondly, though Bao Zhao indicated that he had to leave the imperial
council chamber upon his new appointment to the post of Subprefect of the Moling
Subprefecture in 458, he would not have any difficulty in carrying on the duty
of the concurrent post, since the subprefecture's administrative office was
actually in the capital. This practice was proved to be true in the following
year in 459, when the whole Province of Yangzhou was designated as Imperial
Domains 王畿, and Attendant Censors of the Imperial Censorate were assigned to
regulate its various prefectures.

Thirdly, Bao Zhao's appointment to the post of Subprefect of the Yongan
Subprefecture was more an official rank and salary compensation than an actual
administrative assignment, for it was a refugee subprefecture under the
jurisdiction of the Southern Hedong Prefecture 南河東郡, a refugee prefecture
attached to Jingzhou. And Bao Zhao as its Subprefect might not have had to
undertake any actual administration.
Besides, the suppositions that in Emperor Xiaowu's reign many appointments or promotions to Drafters of the Imperial Secretariat were but rank and salary compensations or rewards, and that the Imperial Secretariat Drafters might not attend those posts at all, find proof in Chao Shangzhi's case. Chao Shangzhi was appointed Princely Attendant of the Principality of Donghai and concurrently Drafter of the Imperial Secretariat, but his biography indicates clearly that he served in the imperial council chamber from 454 to 464 and never attended his princely post at all.

Fourthly, Bao Zhao wrote the "Memorial of Accepting the Appointment of Grand Cavalry General (Piaoji-jiangjun) 謝驄驍表" for Presiding Minister of the Department of Affairs of State (Shangshu-ling 尚書令) Liu Yuanjing 柳元景. Liu Yuanjing, though a military genius, was not a man of letters at all. As Emperor Xiaowu once ordered Bao Zhao to compose verses for Liu Yuanjing at the imperial banquet, it was indeed natural for Liu Yuanjing to ask Bao Zhao to write this memorial to accept the new appointment.

Wu Piji and Qian Zhongliian both maintained that this memorial was written in 456, for Liu Yuanjing was promoted to the post of Cavalry General and Presiding Minister of the Department of Affairs of State in this year. Nevertheless, in quoting the Song Shu, both Wu and Qian erred. The "Chronicle of Emperor Xiaowu" in the Song Shu recorded in the entry of 456, the third year of the Xiaojian Reign:

「丁未，領軍將軍柳元景加驍騎將軍尚書令建平王，宏加中書監衛將軍撫軍將軍江州刺史東海王 榮進號平南將軍.」

Wu and Qian read the quotation as:

「丁未，領軍將軍柳元景加驍騎將軍，尚書令，建平王宏加中書監......」

While the correct reading should be:

「丁未，領軍將軍柳元景加驍騎將軍，尚書令建平王 宏加中書監，衛將軍，撫軍將軍、江州刺史東海王，榮進號平南將軍.」

Wu and Qian's misreading can be proved by checking Prince Hong of Jianping's appointment to the post of Presiding Minister of the Department of Affairs of State.
According to the Song Shu, General of the Capital Army (Zhongjun-jiangjun 中軍將軍), Prince Hong of Jianping 建平王 宏, was promoted from Chief of the Imperial Secretariat (Zhongshu-jian 中書監) and Left Chief of the Department of Affairs of State (Shangshu-zuopuye 尚書左僕射) to Presiding Minister of the Department of Affairs of State in the 10th month of 455, the second year of the Xiaojian Reign of Emperor Xiaowu. Hence, the record in 456 was clearly a promotion, adding his former office of Chief of the Imperial Secretariat to his control and raising his military rank to that of General of the Guards (Weijun-jiangjun 衛軍將軍). The entry of this record should thereby read: "尚書令建平王宏 加中書監、衛將軍." And it is obvious that General of the Palace Guard (Lingjun-jiangjun 領軍將軍), Liu Yuanjing, was honored with an additional title, Cavalry General. As a matter of fact, it was not until 459 that he was promoted to the post of Presiding Minister of the Department of Affairs of State to succeed Prince Hong, who died in this office in the third month of 458. According to the "Chronicle of Emperor Xiaowu," by the first month of 463, the seventh year of the Daming Reign of Emperor Xiaowu, Liu Yuanjing was raised from this office to that of Grand Cavalry General (Piaojijiangjun 騎騎大將軍), and the office was taken over by Great Steward (Taizai 太宰) Prince Yigong of Jiangxia 江夏王 義恭. Then by the intercalary fifth month 閏五月 of 464, after the enthronement of Crown Prince Ziye, the office was returned to Liu Yuanjing again. Then, in the eighth month of 465, Liu Yuanjing, as Presiding Minister of the Department of Affairs of State and Grand Cavalry General, was executed for high treason. Consequently, it should be in the first month of 463, the seventh year of the Daming Reign, that Bao Zhao wrote this memorial for Presiding Minister of the Department of Affairs of State Liu Yuanjing, in accepting his appointment of Grand Cavalry General.

The significance of this discovery is that it proves that as late as 463 Bao Zhao was actually stationed in the capital, instead of administering the Yongan Subprefecture of the Southern Hedong Prefecture in Jingzhou. The Yongan Subprefecture was 3,500 li 里 away from the capital by water, and had Bao Zhao actually attended the subprefecture administration, he could not possibly have written this memorial for Liu Yuanjing.
Fifthly, the "Biographies of the Imperial Favorite Courtiers 僥臣傳" of the Nan Qi Shu states in the introduction that the appointment of Bao Zhao to the post of Drafter of the Imperial Secretariat in Emperor Xiaowu's reign was the beginning of a mixture of candidates from the Commoner and the Scholar-official Class. Had Bao Zhao served in this office less than one year, as Qian and Wu suggested, it would not be justifiable to call him an imperial favorite courtier.

Finally, the strongest evidence is provided by Bao Zhao in the penultimate quatrain of his poem "In Attendance on Prince of Linhai Setting Out for Jingzhou From Xinzhu 從臨海王上荊初發新渚":

"To leave the capital suburbs the fleet retrieves the hawsers, 收繩辭帝郊，
To depart from the imperial city the fleet pulls the oars, 揚棹發皇京。
My mind is like that of a hare or a fox longing for the old den, 狐兔懷窟志，
My heart is like that of a hound or a horse attached to the lord." 犬馬戀主情。

This quatrain clearly indicates that when Bao Zhao was appointed to the post of Military Consultant in Van General Prince Zixu's administration and ordered to accompany this nine-year-old prince to his new post in Jingzhou, he was in the imperial capital city, instead of 3,500 lis away in the Yongan Subprefecture. His strong longing for his post in the imperial city and his deep attachment to His Imperial Majesty in the two similes of the quatrain strongly suggest that Bao Zhao was still serving as Drafter of the Imperial Secretariat at the time.

To sum up, it seems proper to infer that Bao Zhao served as Drafter of the Imperial Secretariat in Emperor Xiaowu's council chamber from 455 to 464, until he was sent out to be Military Consultant of Prince Zixu of Linhai's administration of the Van General.
ix. Bao Zhao's Service as Subprefect of the Moling Subprefecture

As stated previously, Yu Yan's preface maintaining that Bao Zhao was transferred from the post of Erudite of the National University to the post of Subprefect of the Moling Subprefecture is logically and chronologically true. While Qian Zhonglian and Wu Piji set the date of Bao Zhao's transfer to the post of Erudite of the National University and to the post of Subprefect of the Moling Subprefecture within the single year 456 without any sustaining evidence, it would be safer to assume that Bao Zhao served full terms in both offices and was subsequently transferred to the post of Subprefect of the Moling Subprefecture in 458.

The Moling Subprefecture, under the jurisdiction of the Metropolitan Prefect of Danyang of Yangzhou, was actually the central subprefecture in the capital. It was a subprefecture with an average of 5,100 households and a population of 29,000. It was a large subprefecture in a large prefecture and its subprefect was therefore a sixth-rank official with a yearly salary of 1,000 piculs of grain.

Compared to the 600 piculs' yearly salary of the Erudite of the National University this move was actually a promotion. It might have been carried out as part of the 458 imperial reward in which Emperor Xiaowu conferred noble ranks and honored posts upon the Imperial Drafters who assisted him to the throne. It might have been the first step of the 459 totalitarian policy in which Emperor Xiaowu designated the whole Province of Yangzhou as the Imperial Domains and assigned Attendant Censors of the Imperial Censorate to administer its various Prefectures. Nevertheless, since the Moling Subprefecture was a capital district and since the actual practice or the special nature of the Drafter of the Imperial Secretariat was a long-term concurrent post in Emperor Xiaowen's court, Bao Zhao should still have been serving in the imperial council chamber, though he had to attend the actual subprefecture administration.
Yu Yan's preface maintains that Bao Zhao was transferred to the post of Subprefect of the Yongjia Subprefecture after that of the Moling Subprefecture. Bao Zhao's "Memorial of Accepting Appointment of the Subprefect of the Yongan Subprefecture After the Reinstatement" indicates that he was transferred to Yongan Subprefecture from the Moling Subprefecture. Some chronologists on Bao Zhao, therefore, suspected that he served successively in both offices, for he wrote a joint couplet in his subprefecture post in Jingzhou. This supposition is seemingly true at first glance, but turns out to be quite impossible upon closer examination.

Firstly, in the "Joint Stanzas with Emissary Zhang and Recluse Li in Jingzhou", Bao Zhao wrote:

"The stone bridge resists the carriage wheel, While roadside bamboos brush the light saddle. Though three times a Subprefect I have found no joy, The only pleasure is to hold a fishing pole."

Since this poem was written in Jingzhou, it could only have been written when Bao Zhao was in the principalities of Prince Yiqing, in the military staff of Prince Zixu, or as the Subprefect of the Yongan Subprefecture. Bao Zhao was only an apprentice when Prince Yiqing was stationed in Jingzhou before 439 and could not possibly have written the poem. The poem was not written in the Yongan Subprefecture either, for Bao Zhao presumably did not attend the subprefecture administration. Even if he did he would have specified the rendezvous as Yongan instead of Jingzhou. The poem could therefore have been written only when Bao Zhao was in Prince Zixu's military office. Besides, the presumption that Bao Zhao served successively in both of the Yongjia and Yongan offices does not correspond to the total number of three Subprefectural offices he served and cited in his personal statement in the last two lines of this quatrain.

In addition, without any further evidence it would be arbitrary not to designate to Bao Zhao a full three-year term of office in the Moling Subprefecture from 458 to 461. But if Bao Zhao's Moling Subprefecture office was terminated in
461, he would have had barely enough time for a full term of office before he was appointed a Military Consultant to Prince Zixu's Generalship in 464. It was therefore impossible for Bao Zhao to have served in both of the Yongjia and Yongan Subprefectures from 461 to 464.

Thirdly, according to the Song Shu, in the Yongjia Prefecture under the jurisdiction of Yangzhou (or Dong Yangzhou 東揚州 before 459), there was no subprefecture bearing the same name. The Song Shu usually listed the subprefecture sharing the same name with its prefecture, such as the Linhai Subprefecture of the Linhai Prefecture, or the Pengcheng Subprefecture of the Pengcheng Prefecture. "The Subprefect of the Yongjia Subprefecture 永嘉令" has to be a misprint, or a mistake for either "the Subprefect of the Yongan Subprefecture 永安令" or "the Prefect of the Yongjia Prefecture 永嘉太守." Nevertheless, there are no extant documents suggesting that Bao Zhao ever served as a Prefect. Bao Zhao's own statement of having served three Subprefect offices reinforces the preference for Subprefect of the Yongan Subprefecture.

Furthermore, the title of the "Memorial of Accepting the Appointment of the Subprefect of the Yongan Subprefecture after the Reinstatement" suggests a sense of demotion after a certain dismissal or release from the office. Perhaps the former office term was completely or almost fully served, and the reinstatement in fact became a reappointment or a transfer. According to the Song Shu, the Yongjia Prefecture under the jurisdiction of Yangzhou had 6,200 households and a population of 36,000. It was one of the small prefectures in Yangzhou, but was still quite a large one in comparison to the average prefecture in the kingdom. A transfer to this prefecture would not appear to be a demotion at all. As discussed above, the Yongan Subprefecture in the Southern Hedong Prefecture of Jingzhou was a subprefecture with an average of 600 households and a population of 2,600, a rather small subprefecture. Therefore, the transfer to the Subprefect of the Yongan Subprefecture corresponded more truthfully to a demotion.

Finally, as stated previously, since Bao Zhao wrote "Memorial of Accepting the Appointment of Cavalry General" for Liu Yuanjing, Presiding Minister of the
Department of Affairs of State, in 463, and since Bao Zhao expressed deep attachment to Emperor Xiaowu and strong reluctance to leave the capital city upon the imperial order to accompany Prince Zixu to Jingzhou in 464, he was most likely still serving in the imperial council chamber at the concurrent post of Drafter of the Imperial Secretariat, instead of administering the subprefecture affairs in the Yongan Subprefecture of Jingzhou.
xi. Bao Zhao's Service as a Military Secretary in Prince Zixu's Generalship

The biographical accounts of Bao Zhao in both the Song Shu and the Nan Shi state that "when Prince Zixu of Linhai was Governor of Jingzhou, Bao Zhao served as a Military Consultant of the Van General, and was in charge of secretarial duties." Yu Yan's preface notes that "in the fifth year of the Daming Reign (461), Bao Zhao was appointed as an Acting Military Consultant of the Van General to attend on Prince Zixu to guard Jingzhou and to superintend or administer the imperial orders to the Province, and was soon transferred to be Judicial Administrator of the Van General." The "Biography of Deng Wan" in the Song Shu, in recording the fall of Jingzhou, refers to Bao Zhao as Military Secretary (Jishi-canjun). These notes evoke controversial issues as to when Bao Zhao was appointed Military Secretary, when he was transferred to the post of Judicial Administrator, and whether he died at the post of Military Secretary or Judicial Administrator.

The "Chronicle of Emperor Xiaowu" in the Song Shu records that in the seventh month of 462, the sixth year of the Daming Reign, "the Governor of Guangzhou, Prince Zixu of Linhai, was appointed to the post of Governor of Jingzhou." Thereupon, most of the leading chronologists on Bao Zhao, including Wu Piji and Qian Zhonglian, maintain that it was in this year that Bao Zhao as a Military Consultant accompanied Prince Zixu to Jingzhou upon his new appointment. In this respect, they not only err on the date of Bao Zhao's entering the military service, but also neglect his appointment of Military Secretary as an important factor in his lack of sense of banishment upon leaving the Capital, for his transfer to Judicial Administrator, and for his inevitable death in Jingzhou.

It should be noted that Prince Zixu of Linhai was only seven years old in 462, and Jingzhou was by all means under the administration of the Chief Administrator (Zhangshi) and Warrant Keepers (Dianqian), who were assigned to their posts directly by the Emperor. That is to say, Prince Zixu might not have gone to Jingzhou upon the new appointment, just as he had not gone to his governor's office in Guangzhou in 461. However, the greatest negligence of these chronologists of Bao Zhao is that they failed to note that, according to the "Biography of Prince
Zixu of Linhai 臨海王 子穆傳" in the Song Shu. Prince Zixu was not promoted to Van General until 464, the eighth year of the Daming Reign, and that Bao Zhao's transfer to the post of Acting Military Consultant in the Van General's office consequently would not be earlier than 464.

The "Chronicle of Emperor Xiaowu" in the Song Shu records that the Emperor died in the fifth month of 464, but the "Biography of Prince Zixu of Linhai" notes that upon the enthronement of the Former Deposed Emperor, Prince Zixu was appointed, retaining his rank as Van General and his duty as Governor of Jingzhou, to an additional post as Military Governor of the eight Provinces of Jing, Xiang, Yong, Yi, Liang, Ning, Nan Qin, and Bei Qin. This passage essentially confirms that Prince Zixu was promoted to the post of Van General by Emperor Xiaowu before his death. Bao Zhao's strong longing and deep attachment to His Imperial Majesty expressed in his poem "In Attendance on Prince of Linhai Setting Out for Jingzhou From Xingzhu" suggests that he was bidding farewell to Emperor Xiaowu whom he had served for a long time and was strongly attached to. It is proper to assert that Bao Zhao was appointed as an Acting Military Consultant by Emperor Xiaowu before he died in the fifth month of 464.

The name "Canjun 参軍" is a general suffix in the titles of 18 military consultants or administrators in charge of various sections of aides and clerks in the ducal and military administrations. It indicates the rank but not the individual office and its specific duty. In this respect, the biographical accounts of Bao Zhao in the Song Shu, the Nan Shi, and Yu Yan's preface all fail to identify Bao Zhao's initial office in Jingzhou. Nevertheless, since Bao Zhao's secretarial duty, as specified by Yu Yan, was to administer the Imperial orders to Jingzhou, and since Military Secretary, as defined by the "Biography of Kong Ji 孔疑傳" in the Song Shu, was "a very honorable and important office, of which one should not be in charge if one's writing is not refined and keen with insight 記室之局，實惟華要，自非文行秀敏，莫或居之"; it seems proper to infer that this was the office Emperor Xiaowu assigned to Bao Zhao to assist Prince Zixu in Jingzhou.
This inference also helps to explain a unique situation in the final days of Bao Zhao's life. Bao Zhao was sent to Jingzhou after nine years of service as a Drafter of the Imperial Secretariat. He should have experienced the kind of anguish and anxiety an exiled official would usually express. The sense of banishment was, on the contrary, never present in his poems. It could well be that, as suggested by the nature and prestige of the post of Military Secretary, Bao Zhao was still trusted with authority and responsibility by the Emperor; and that, as suggested by the connotation of the word "xing 行," Bao Zhao's mission to Jingzhou was originally a temporary one and he was probably to return to the imperial court soon. Hence he felt no sense of estrangement over his transfer from Imperial Secretariat Drafter to Military Secretary.

In fact, this transfer explains not only how Bao Zhao escaped the Former Deposed Emperor's prosecution of Emperor Xiaowu's favorite courtiers, but also why his subsequent move to Judicial Administrator was a demotion. There are three possible dates for Bao Zhao's transfer to Judicial Administrator. It could have been in or after the eighth month of 465 when the Former Deposed Emperor started to concentrate his power in or before the fifth month of 464 when Emperor Xiaowu died; or in and after the 12th month of 465 when Emperor Ming was enthroned. Nevertheless, had this transfer been ordered by Emperor Xiaowu, it would have been a terrible disgrace and Bao Zhao would have written poems expressing his anguish and anxiety about it. Similarly it could not have been ordered by Emperor Ming, for Jingzhou joined the rebellion against him upon his enthronement. Thus, the Former Deposed Emperor was logically who to have demoted Bao Zhao to Judicial Administrator.

In 465, one year after his enthronement, the Former Deposed Emperor initiated the process to concentrate his power by eliminating the regent-like Drafters of the Imperial Secretariat from his father's court. He executed Dai Faxing 南渡太守, and removed Chao Shangzhi to the post of Prefect of the Huai Prefecture 淮陵太守 and Administrative Adviser (Ziyi-canjun 諮議參軍) to Prince Ziluan of Xian 新安王 子鸞, General of the Pacification Army. Since Bao Zhao had already been sent out to Jingzhou, he received no other reprimand but
was moved to Judicial Administrator. His new appointment by the Former Deposed Emperor from an acting to a substantial post in the generalship was indeed a denial of his chance to return to the imperial court, and a deprivation of his power and prestige in the Province.

Three months later, the Former Deposed Emperor was murdered by his uncle, Prince Yu of Xiangdong, who ascended the throne and immediately encountered a nationwide revolt by his nephews. It is noticeable that in their rejection of Emperor Ming's appointments, the princes, officers, and officials in the Yijia Regime, as described in the biographies of Deng Wan, Yuan Yi, and Kong Ji in the Song Shu, either restored their official titles and offices appointed by Emperor Xiaowu or accepted new ones from the regime. Thus, it seems proper to infer that it was after the Former Deposed Emperor's death and when Jingzhou joined the revolt against Emperor Ming that Bao Zhao resumed his title and office of Military Secretary originally appointed by Emperor Xiaowu. It was with this title and in this office that he died and was referred to in the Biography of Deng Wan in the Song Shu. And, as will be explained later, it was perhaps due to the prestige and power of this office that his death in the mutiny was inevitable.
Bao Zhao's Death

Heir Apparent Prince Ziye came to the throne in 464 at the age of 15. He had such a great sense of insecurity that one year after he was enthroned, from the eighth month to the 11th month of 465, he ordered five princes to commit suicide and executed six great vassals, namely Great Steward Prince Yigong of Jiangxia 江夏王 義恭, Presiding Minister of the Department of Affairs of State Liu Yuanjing, 左右侍郎, Chamberlain for Law Enforcement 廷尉 Liu Deyuan, and Imperial Secretariat Drafters Dai Faxing and Xi Xianwu.

This young emperor was also haunted by a superstitious prophecy that "the House of the Liu was to be ruled by the third son." Seeing that it had been fulfilled in Emperor Wen and Emperor Xiaowu, he was determined to eliminate his third brother, Prince Zixun of Jinan 晉安王 子勳. It happened that he was infatuated by his aunt, Princess of Xincai 新蔡公主, who was married to General Pacifying the Northern Region (Ningshuo-Jiangjun 懷朔將軍) He Mai 何邁. The Emperor took her into his harem and in order to conceal his wrong-doing announced her death by producing a dead concubine's corpse. He Mai was so furious over this incestuous conduct that he conspired to overthrow the Emperor and to support Prince Zixun, General Stabilizing the Army and Governor of Jiangzhou, to the throne. However, by the 11th month of 465 the conspiracy was discovered. He Mai was executed, while Prince Zixun was accused of being an accomplice and ordered to commit suicide. As the emissary arrived at Xunyang 寻陽 with the poison, Chief Administrator Deng Wan 鄧琬 and most of the military staffers entrusted with Prince Zixun by Emperor Xiaowu, realized that the sentence, based on a false accusation, was actually a vicious attempt to eliminate Prince Zixun and refused to comply with the imperial order. They declared martial law on the 19th day of the 11th month and issued a proclamation to raise an army of justice to march to the capital "to depose the despot and support a sagacious prince to the throne 慶昏立明."

Meanwhile, the Emperor was also very much haunted by the rumour that "an emperor is to rise from the Xiang Province 湘中出天子." He decided to take an
imperial inspection tour of Jingzhou and Xiangzhou, but his suspicious nature led him to decide that before he set out on the journey he had to eliminate his uncles. Among them, Prince Yu of Xiangdong, General of the Guards, being detained in the capital, would naturally be the first one to encounter that miserable fate. Therefore, he and his attendants conspired with the Emperor's attendants. They murdered the Emperor on the 29th day of the 11th month and had the Grand Empress-Dowager issue an edict which deposed him and crowned Prince Yu of Xiangdong.

Prince Yu was enthroned in the 12th month of 465 and was later known as Emperor Ming. He promoted Prince Zixun, Governor of Jiangzhou, from General Stabilizing the Army to General of Chariots; and Prince Zixu, Governor of Jingzhou, first from Van General to General Stabilizing the Army and then to General Quelling the West. Nevertheless, Deng Wan strongly believed all these incidents were parts of the fulfillment of the prophecy that the one to be enthroned should be the third prince, in this case Prince Zixun of Jinan. Therefore, on behalf of Prince Zixun, Deng Wan raised the army in revolt against Emperor Ming. The rebel forces were immediately joined by three other prince-brothers, four prefects, and seven governors. Emperor Ming immediately appointed four of his prince-brothers to be commanders of the east, south, west, and north routes of the punitive expedition. The revolt soon became a nationwide upheaval. The revolt started in the 12th month of 465. By the first month of 466, Prince Zixun was crowned in Xunyang with the year-title of Yijia. This regime was well-accepted in all directions, known far and wide for its military prowess, and tribute-bearers arrived at Xunyang from all over the kingdom that year. But after a series of military defeats the five rebelling Provinces were subjugated. Prince Zixun, Prince Zixu, Prince Zisui, and Prince Ziyuan were ordered to commit suicide in the eighth month of 466. Later, by the 10th month, Emperor Ming ordered the last 10 brothers of Prince Zixun to commit suicide. Altogether he eliminated 16 of his nephews and thus totally terminated Emperor Xiaowu's power and influence. In this respect, the upheaval clearly appeared to be a great power struggle between the uncle generation and the nephew generation.
Just as the revolts of Prince Zixun 子勋 and Prince Zifang 子房 were decided by Chief Administrators Deng Wan and Kong Ji 孔觊 respectively, so was Prince Zixu’s rebellion decided by Chief Administrator Kong Daocun 孔道存. Later, when Kong Daocun became Chancellor 侍中 of the Chancellery Department in the Yijia Regime, the Governorship in Jingzhou and the Generalship of Prince Zixu were under the control of newly-appointed Chief Administrator Liu Daoxian 劉道憲, Warrant Keepers Ruan Daoyu 阮道預 and Shao Zai 邵宰, and Military Secretary Bao Zhao.

The revolt was soon defeated. According to the Song Shu, when news of the defeat of Xunyang reached Jingzhou in the end of the eighth month of 466, public support and military morale diminished; and soldiers and officers became deserters. Disregarding the proposal to escort Prince Zixu to Yizhou 益州 to join forces with Xiao Huikai 蕭惠開, Liu Daoxian, Ruan Daoyu, and Shao Zai dismissed the militiamen, and sent an emissary to Emperor Ming to beg his pardon, for Emperor Ming was offering a special pardon to remit punishment and restore original noble rank to any rebel prince or governor who would give up and pledge allegiance. But before the emissary returned, a mutiny broke out. Zong Jing 宗景, Chief Retainer (Zhizhong-congshishi 治中從事史) in charge of the Province’s resources, rations and records, and Yao Jian 姚犍, a native of Jingzhou, led the imperial soldiers into the city. They killed Liu Daoxian, Ruan Daoyu, and Bao Zhao, plundered the government repository, and took Prince Zixu to surrender to the imperial army.

It is noticeable that Zong Jing was on the staff of Prince Zixu’s administration of Governor of Jingzhou, while Liu Daoxian, Ruan Daoyu, and Bao Zhao were on that of Prince Zixu’s military administration of the Van General. Though it is conjecture, the mutiny seems to suggest a struggle between the two groups to gain custody of Prince Zixu. Though so much is unknown about this tragic episode in Jingzhou, the death of these three people seems to prove again that they were in the power core of Jingzhou and the driving force of the revolt.

The Song Shu clearly records the detailed involvements of these people in the revolt, excepting Bao Zhao. It records nothing about Bao Zhao’s participation
in the rebellion. Nevertheless, the Song Shu seems to suggest that Bao Zhao did not oppose the revolt, for if he did, his name would have been included in the list of officials who opposed the revolt and were executed by the Yijia Regime. As a matter of fact, being a favorite courtier in Emperor Xiaowu's court and being trusted with the mission to administer the imperial orders to Jingzhou, Bao Zhao had no other standing but on Prince Zixu's side. As well, since Bao Zhao did not leave Prince Zixu's military administration after the 12th month in 465, and since the power and prestige of the office of Military Secretary made Bao Zhao one of the decision-makers in provincial affairs, it was inevitable for him to become involved in the event. Thus, though the history books contain scant information about Bao Zhao's role in the revolt, it seems proper to infer that he was not a reluctant participant. His death in the mutiny was probably no accident.
D. Bao Zhao's Chronology Summarized

After the above research and speculation on Bao Zhao's biographical data, his chronology will now be summarized. Since Appendix 7 provides a detailed Chronological Chart of Bao Zhao, only brief chronology is provided here.

Bao Zhao, style Mingyuan 明遠, was most probably born around 409 and died in 466 at the age of 58. His ancestral homeland was located north of the Yellow River in the Prefecture of Shangdang (in the vicinity of the present Luan of Shanxi 山西瀘安). In or after the Yongjia Upheaval in 311, his great-grandparents or grandparents probably fled southward across the Yangzi River in a course of voluntary as well as involuntary emigration until they settled down in the Dantu Subprefecture (southeast of the present Zhenjiang of Jiangsu 江蘇鎮江), which was allotted to the jurisdiction of the Southern Prefecture of Donghai in 431. Thus, Bao Zhao would call himself "a declining feeble vagrant from a northern Province," and refer to the Dantu Subprefecture as the homeland or native place. Hence, he was often referred to as a native of Shangdang or a Donghaiian.

As immigrants in the Dantu Subprefecture of the Southern Donghai Prefecture, Bao Zhao's family might have declined to petty landlord or independent farmer status, but they still had the freedom to choose trades, and enjoyed cultural refinement and literary skill. They were considered by the elite as commoners or a humble family, but were distinct from commoners and considered by them to be members of the Scholar-official Class, though in a "fallen" state or the lowest stratum. Hence, Bao Zhao often said of himself "not of the Xie Clans' class," or "a poor man from a humble family," or "a humble farmer with a spade on shoulder."

Nevertheless, Bao Zhao discarded farming and entered a clerical apprenticeship as early as 434. He later entered Prince Yiqing's civil or military administration as a clerical apprentice or petty officer, and before the fourth month of 438, the 15th year of the Yuanjia Reign, he first presented himself before Prince Yiqing but did not win the Prince's appreciation of his talent. He decided to present his
poetry to the Prince to express his aspiration, but was dissuaded and told not to irritate the Imperial Prince with his petty position. Refusing to suppress his intelligence and ability, he presented his poetry. Prince Yiqing was amazed and bestowed upon him 20 bolts of cloth.

By the fourth month of 438, at the age of 30, Bao Zhao was promoted by Prince Yiqing to the office of Princely Attendant. Later on he was concurrently serving as Princely Chamberlain for Attendants and eventually was transferred to the position of Left Princely Attendant-in-ordinary. He remained in Prince Yiqing's principality for six years and attended upon the prince from his post at Jiangling as Governor of Jingzhou, to his post at Xunyang as Governor of Jiangzhou in 439, and to his post at Guangling as Governor of Nan Yanzhou in 440. In 443, when Prince Yiqing's request for release from his military and civil duties on account of failing health was approved, Bao Zhao accompanied him to return to the capital. Prince Yiqing died in the first month of 444. After a three-month mourning for the Prince, Bao Zhao sent to the eldest son of the Prince two memorials resigning from his office, and returned to his home village in the Dantu Subprefecture in the autumn of 444.

By the third month of 445, the 22nd year of the Yuanjia Reign, Bao Zhao was invited to be Princely Attendant in the principality of Prince Jun of Shixing. As the Yellow River's water had cleared in 447, Bao Zhao wrote and presented his famous "Ode to the Clarity of the Yellow River" to Emperor Wen to praise the Emperor's virtuous reign. He served a full six-year office term and attended Prince Jun of Shixing from his post in Jiankang as Governor of Yangzhou, to his post in Jingkou as Governor of Nan Xuzhou and Yanzhou in 449, and to his post in Guabu when the Prince was ordered to fortify and station this strategic port in 451.

By the third month of 451, when the Prince was dismissed from his duty as Governor of Nan Yanzhou and returned to his governor post in Jingkou of Nan Xuzhou, Bao Zhao resigned from the principality of Shixing at the expiration of his six-year office term. He sojourned in Guabu until he went home in the fifth month of 452. Thus, Bao Zhao barely escaped the treacherous fate of being eliminated as
an opponent or executed as an accomplice of high treason with Prince Jun, who
joined Heir Apparent Prince Shao's parricidal revolt in the second month and was
executed at its defeat in the fifth month of 453.

The parricidal and regicidal rebel force was defeated by Prince Jun of Wuling. He was crowned in the fourth month of 453 by the Army of Righteousness, and restored order and harmony to the capital in the fifth month. Upon this joyous occasion, Bao Zhao wrote the "Song of the Restoration" in praise of the resurgence of the country and the restoration of the capital from the malefic princes. He was appointed Subprefect of the Haiyu Subprefecture sometime after the fourth month of 453 and before the first month of 454, the first year of the Xiaojian Reign. The Haiyu Subprefecture was a large subprefecture under the jurisdiction of the Prefect of the Wu Prefecture of Yangzhou, and its subprefect was a sixth-rank official with a yearly salary of 1,000 piculs of grain.

By 455, the second year of the Xiaojian Reign, Bao Zhao was moved to the post of Erudite of the National University and concurrently Drafter of the Imperial Secretariat. The Imperial Secretariat Drafter under the jurisdiction of the Imperial Secretariat was a seventh-rank official. The Erudite of the National University under the jurisdiction of the Chamberlain for Ceremonials was a sixth-rank official with a yearly salary of 600 piculs of grain. Bao Zhao was most likely appointed to fill the official vacancy left by Imperial Secretariat Drafter Cai Xian's death in 455. As extant documents indicate, Bao Zhao served more as an Imperial Secretariat Drafter than as an Erudite of the National University. Thus after 455, together with Dai Faxing, Dai Mingbao, and Chao Shangzhi, Bao Zhao was in the power core of Emperor Xiaowu's reign, for the Emperor relied not on high officials but on the Imperial Secretariat Drafters.

By 458, the second year of the Daming Reign, Bao Zhao was transferred to the post of Subprefect of the Moling Subprefecture which, under the jurisdiction of the Danyang Metropolitan Prefect of Yangzhou, was actually the central subprefecture in the Capital. It was a large subprefecture and its Subprefect was a sixth-rank official with a yearly salary of 1,000 piculs of grain. Compared to the yearly salary of the Erudite of the National University, this appointment was actually
a promotion. It might have been carried out as part of the 458 imperial reward, in which Emperor Xiaowu conferred noble ranks and honorable posts upon the Imperial Secretariat Drafters, or the first step of the 459 totalitarianism policy, in which Emperor Xiaowu designated Yangzhou as the Imperial Domain and assigned Attendant Censors of the Imperial Censorate to administer its various prefectures. Since the Moling Subprefecture was a capital district and the Drafter of the Imperial Secretariat was a long-term concurrent post in Emperor Xiaowu's reign, Bao Zhao was probably still serving in the imperial council chamber, though he was administering the Subprefecture.

By 461, the fifth year of the Daming Reign, Bao Zhao was appointed Subprefect of the Yongan Subprefecture. The Yongan Subprefecture was 3,500 lǐ away from the capital by water. It was actually a refugee subprefecture under the jurisdiction of the refugee Southern Hedong Prefecture in Jingzhou, and its Subprefect was a seventh-rank official with a yearly salary of 600 piculs of grain. This transfer was probably a move to release Bao Zhao from the actual subprefecture administration in Moling and call him back on duty in the imperial council chamber, for the extant documents indicate that Bao Zhao was serving as a Drafter of the Imperial Secretariat in the capital, instead of administering the subprefecture affairs in Yongan. This situation enabled him to write the "Memorial of Accepting the Appointment of Cavalry General" for Presiding Minister of the Department of Affairs of State Liu Yuanjing in 463.

In 464, before Emperor Xiaowu died in the fifth month, he appointed Bao Zhao an Acting Military Consultant with the office of Military Secretary to Prince Zixu, Van General and Governor of Jingzhou. After serving as an Imperial Secretariat Drafter for nine years, Bao Zhao left the capital and accompanied the Prince to Jingzhou. Nevertheless, he could hope to return to the Imperial Court soon, for his appointment as an Acting Military Consultant was only a temporary one. And as Military Secretary attending upon the nine-year-old prince and administering His Imperial orders to Jingzhou, the threshold of the Imperial Domain, Bao Zhao was still trusted by the Emperor.
By the fifth month of 465, one year after his enthronement, the Former Deposed Emperor started a process to eliminate the regent-like Imperial Secretariat Drafters from his father's court. Bao Zhao was thereupon transferred to the office of Judicial Administrator under a substantial appointment. The new appointment suggested a denial of his returning to the Imperial Court and the transfer meant a deprivation of prestige and power.

In the 11th month of 465, the Former Deposed Emperor was murdered by his uncle Prince Yu of Xiangdong, who one month later ascended the throne and was later known as Emperor Ming. But Prince Zixun’s Chief Administrator Deng Wan believed that Prince Zixun should be the one to be crowned in order to fulfill the prophecy that "the House of the Liu is to be ruled by the third son." He thereupon proclaimed on behalf of the prince that Emperor Ming was an usurper and then raised the army in revolt against him. In the first month of 466, Prince Zixun was crowned in Xunyang with the year-title of Yijia. The Province of Jingzhou, under the leadership of Chief Administrator Kong Daocun, also joined the rebel forces. And Prince Zixu, Governor of Jingzhou, who was 10 years old at the time, was promoted to General of the Guards by the Yijia Regime. It was probably at this time that Bao Zhao resumed the title at the office of Military Secretary, a former appointment by Emperor Xiaowu.

By the end of the eighth month of 466, when the defeat of Xunyang reached Jingzhou, Chief Administrator Liu Daoxian (who replaced Kong Daocun), and Warrant Keepers Ruan Daoyu and Shao Zai, dismissed the militiamen and sent an emissary to Emperor Ming to pledge allegiance and beg for pardon. But before the emissary returned, Zong Jing, Chief Retainer in the governorship of Jingzhou, and Yao Jian, a native of Jingzhou, raised a mutiny, plundered the government repository, and surrendered Prince Zixu to the imperial army after they eliminated the power core of Jingzhou by killing Liu Daoxian, Ruan Daoyu, and Military Secretary Bao Zhao. This tragic incident thus brought an end to Bao Zhao's 28 years of public service at the age of 58.
E. Summary: A Reappraisal

After outlining the Chronicle of Bao Zhao, it is imperative to review the traditional estimate of Bao Zhao's political life and the scanty biographical data on Bao Zhao, and to re-examine his place in the political arena of the Liu Song Dynasty, especially in the court of Emperor Xiaowu.

In the Shi Pin, after praising Bao Zhao's literary excellence, Zhong Hong (470-552) commented with regret that Bao Zhao had fallen into oblivion due to his humble status. Zhong Hong was the first to suggest that Bao Zhao's humble social status and petty official positions were perhaps the major cause of his being neglected in contemporary and following ages. This suggestion has since been generally accepted and become a conventional explanation for the scantiness of Bao Zhao's biographical account in history books. Zhang Pu of the Ming Dynasty, for example, wrote in the foreword to the "Bao Canjun Ji" in the Han, Wei, Liuchao Bai San Jia Ji: "Bao Mingyuan had extraordinary literary talents but a humble status, and the history books did not record his biography. When one seeks to establish the dates of his appointments to various official posts, one can hardly find any evidence. The only thing to rely on is the preface written by Gentleman Cavalier Attendant Yu Yan at the command of His Imperial Highness. 鲍明遠才秀人微，史不立傳。服官年月，考論鮮據，差可憑者，虞散騎奉勸一序耳." Before Zhang Pu, Liu Zhiji 劉知幾 (661-721) of the Tang Dynasty in his Conspectus of History (Shi Tong 史通) also criticized the inadequacy of the history books in their failure to provide a separate biography of Bao Zhao, who was a literary champion of the intellectual world and enjoyed great fame inside and outside the Liu Song Kingdom. He praised Bao Zhao as an equal to both Wang Bao 王褒 and Dongfang Shuo 東方朔, who had individual biographies in the history books for their literary accomplishments. Zhang Pu's regret was actually an echo of Liu Zhiji's indignation, which was in accordance with Zhong Hong's resentment. Bao Zhao's literary excellence was also testified to by Zhong Hong's uncle Zhong Xian 鍾憲 and Xiao Zixian, a contemporary historian of Zhong Hong. Indeed, Zhong Hong's praise of Bao Zhao's extraordinary literary talents was well-founded. Nevertheless, his statement that Bao Zhao's humble status
was a major cause of the poet's eventual oblivion is not free of dispute. The final task of this study is therefore to re-examine Bao Zhao's social and political status and to re-evaluate Shen Yue's biographical sketch of Bao Zhao in the *Song Shu*, in order to shed more light on this traditional view.

In the financial aspect, it is obvious that, as a declining family from the Scholar-official Class and as immigrants in the Dantu Subprefecture, Bao Zhao and his family were not rich. To a certain extent, he was speaking truthfully when he described himself as a humble farmer with a spade on his shoulder. Even after he became an official, for lack of resources he still had to ask for a 30-day leave to fix a leaking roof himself. In his 28-year official career he did not hold positions higher than the sixth rank. From 438 to 451 he held two terms as Princely Attendant for 12 years. It was a seventh-rank post with an annual salary of 600 piculs of grain. The actual salary might have been lower than this number, for it could have been affected by a policy allowing the principality to have only one-third of its revenue at its disposal. Then for the next 13 years between 453 to 466 Bao Zhao held five posts and one long-term concurrent office, of which the annual salaries varied from 600 to 1,000 piculs of grain. Nevertheless, for the first nine years in this period he was on reduced salary, because all officials of the Song Dynasty from 450 to 462 received a one-third cut in their salaries under a budget set to balance the military cost.

Despite the low pay, as a sixth-rank official he was allowed to have three Clothing and Food Retainers and 20 households of Tenants sheltered under his protection, or two Clothing and Food Retainers and 16 households of Tenants attached to him as a seventh-ranked official. Besides a certain amount of field land, as a sixth- or seventh-rank official he was also permitted to claim 13 or nine hectares of mountain or forest respectively. Furthermore, as a Subprefect he had the Emolument Land and approximately 19 hectares of Official Land at his disposal. Thus to a large extent, it is proper to conclude that, for a humbled family in the lowest stratum of the Scholar-official Class, Bao Zhao and his family were far from impoverished, though they might have experienced some material difficulty in the depressing times of war against the Tuoba. And to
a great extent they enjoyed the freedom to choose a trade, and appreciated cultural refinement and literary skill.

Regarding the social aspect, the Liu Song society was accustomed to discriminate between the Commoners and the Scholar-official Class. Bao Zhao, who came from a declining family, however, was surprisingly well-received by the elite families.

Among his occasional poems Bao Zhao wrote the following: "Poem to Rhyme with Assistant to the Chief of the Imperial Library Wang (Sengchuo) 王丞"; "Farewell to Prefect Wang (Sengda) of Xuancheng 送別王宣城"; "Poem to Rhyme with Prefect Wang (Sengda) of Yixing's 'Seventh Evening of the Seventh Month' 和王義興七夕"; "Poem to Rhyme with Protector-general Wang Sengda's 'The Autumn Evening' 和王護軍秋夕"; the "Third Joint Stanza with Minister Xie Zhuang 與謝尚書莊三連句"; "Joint Stanza When Ascending the Tower Under the Moonlight (with Attendant of the Imperial Secretariat Xun Wanqiu) 月下登樓連句(荀中書)"; and "'Gazing Over the River at the Sunset,' Presented to Assistant Director of the Left of the Department of Affairs of State Xun (Wanqiu) 日落望江贈荀丞."

Wang Sengchuo 王僧緯 and Wang Sengda 王僧達 were cousins of the same paternal grandfather Wang Xun 王珣, who was a grandson of Wang Dao 王導, the most famous Counselor-in-chief (Chengxiang 丞相) of the Jin Dynasty. Their family, the Wang Clan of the Linyi Subprefecture of the Langye Prefecture 临沂縣, was the first and foremost of the super elite of the Song Dynasty and the Southern Dynasties as a whole. Xie Zhuang 謝莊 was the only son of Xie Hongwei 謝弘微, who was adopted by Xie Jun 謝峻, his uncle on the paternal side. Xie Jun in turn was the second son of Grand Minister of Works (Sikong 司空) Xie Yan 謝琰 of the Jin Dynasty. This family, the Xie Clan of the Yangxia Subprefecture of the Chen Prefecture 陳郡陽夏, ranked in the list of leading super-elites as third in the Song Dynasty and second in the Southern Dynasties. Similarly, Xun Wanqiu's 范萬秋 family, the Xun Clan of the Yingyin Subprefecture of the Yingchuan Prefecture 灸川縣, was also one of the super-elites of the time.

Besides the fact that Bao Zhao was after all still a member of the gentry, the super-elite's reception of Bao Zhao testified to herein was mostly due to his
literary accomplishment rather than his political power. Stories about the hostile attitudes of the social elites such as Wang Tanshou 王 Teens, Wang Qiu 王球, and Zhang Fu 张敷 toward the imperial favorite courtiers such as Qiu Dang 秋霜, Zhou Jiu 周超, and Xu Yuan 徐爱 rule out the possibility of attributing Bao Zhao's acceptance among them to his access to the throne. At any rate, since literary assemblies and intercommunications were an essential part of the social intercourse among ancient Chinese intellectuals, Bao Zhao's literary relationships with members of the leading elite families exclude the possibility that there was much discrimination against him because he was a member of a declining or humble family.

Regarding the political aspect, it is beyond doubt that Bao Zhao's political career was affected by the conventional restriction of that time on an intellectual's initial and subsequent official ranks and posts according to his social status. Throughout his 28 years of public service, Bao Zhao never held a post higher than the sixth rank. Judging from his talents and abilities, and compared with his colleagues in various posts, Bao Zhao definitely suffered stagnation in his official career. Nevertheless, this immobility should not be taken as a result of the above restriction, but understood in the perspective of the implications and consequences of the following situations.

Firstly, Bao Zhao may not have had strong political alliances since his literary acquaintances, who may have been his political allies, either died young or were somehow repressed by the emperor. Wang Sengchu was involved in the plot to depose Heir Apparent Prince Shao and executed at the age of 31 by this parricidal and regicide prince. For his repeatedly overt resentment or reluctance over official appointments, Wang Sengda was accused of complicity in Gao Du's treason and ordered to commit suicide at the age of 36 by Emperor Xiaowu. As for Xie Zhuang, though he died of natural causes at the age of 46, he was twice appointed to but twice removed from the office of Minister of the Board of Civil Officials (Libu-shangshu 司吏部尚書), and had to share the authority of this office with another minister under Emperor Xiaowu's policy to curb and minimize the power of this office. In this respect, Bao Zhao was frankly telling the truth when he said that he had no assistance or support from the court ranks 無援朝列 in his "Memorial of Gratitude to the Imperial Pardon 謝恩被原疏."
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Secondly, the three princes Bao Zhao served were hardly his political patrons. Bao Zhao's talents were well-appreciated by Prince Yiqing of Linchuan, but unfortunately the prince died early in Bao Zhao's official career. Later, from the principality of Prince Jun of Shixing, who eventually joined Heir Apparent Prince Shao's regicidal plot, Bao Zhao resigned at the expiration of his term of office, just in time to leave the principality and avoid the perils of being involved on either side of the conspiracy. As for Prince Zixu of Linhai, Bao Zhao to him was more a guardian-regent than a subordinate officer under his patronage.

Thirdly, as a courtier, Bao Zhao may not have been flattering or sycophantic and consequently may have often offended his colleagues or superiors. This was perhaps why he described himself as an easy-growing willow tree, which was planted by one person but uprooted by 10 persons offended.

At any rate, these factors may all have contributed to Bao Zhao's official stagnation, which was unlikely to have been the result of sheer political discrimination against his humble social status. Upon a closer re-examination of the significance of his official posts, this stagnation turns out to be a mere retardation of promotion in terms of rank and title, rather than an alienation from actual political participation or bureaucratic administration at a higher level.

Generally speaking, in the reign of Emperor Wen, Bao Zhao held no position higher than subordinate officer of the seventh rank in the principality, but the princes he attended upon, namely Prince Yiqing of Linchuan and Prince Jun of Shixing, were both able governors of major Provinces. It was indeed in the reign of Emperor Xiaowu that Bao Zhao surfaced from the princely and prefectural administrations, and served in the power seat of the Liu Song Dynasty. At least, for nine years after 455, Bao Zhao served in Emperor Xiaowu's court as a Drafter of the Imperial Secretariat. It was Bao Zhao's concurrent office and his major official responsibility. This office was first established in the Jin Dynasty as a ninth-rank post, and though by the Liu Song Dynasty it was raised to approximately the seventh rank, it was still a very petty position. Nevertheless, since the duty of the Imperial Secretariat Drafter was to wait upon the Emperor in
the imperial council chamber, in the course of time the Drafters of the Imperial Secretariat gradually became favorite courtiers and consequently acquired an influential role in the imperial power center.

The historical succession to the throne in the House of the Liu illustrates the Imperial Secretariat Drafters' rise to power. To begin with, in 424 Xing Antai 邢安泰 and Pan Sheng 潘盛 conspired with great vassals such as Xu Xianzhi, Fu Liang, Wang Hong, and Tan Daoji, and played a decisive role as planted agents at the imperial court in the scheme to depose Emperor Shao 少帝. Xing Antai later even carried out the regicidal mission to kill the deposed young emperor in seclusion. Later in the Yuanjia Reign, Qiu Dang, Zhou Jiu, and Xu Yuan received extraordinary imperial grace, evident in the stories relating how Emperor Wen tried to help them to be accepted by the social elite. Emperor Xiaowu trusted no great vassals, but he did trust the Drafters of the Imperial Secretariat. The Xiaojian Reign was dominated by Dai Faxing, Dai Mingbao, Chao Shangzhi, Bao Zhao, and Xi Xiandu. While Emperor Ming's court was manipulated by Imperial Secretariat Drafters such as Yang Yunchang 阮佃夫, Ruan Dianfu 阮佃夫, Wang Daolong 王道隆, and Li Daoer 李道兒, who plotted the Former Deposed Emperor's death and secured the throne for him, the Latter Deposed Emperor 後廢帝 continued to trust Yang Yunchang, Ruan Dianfu, and Wang Daolong.

It was in Emperor Xiaowu and Emperor Ming's reigns that the Drafters of the Imperial Secretariat really came to dominate the imperial court and acquire political power. Generally speaking, this was due to the fact that both emperors came to the throne through their plots and assistance, and that both emperors in their policies to centralize the imperial powers trusted their favorite Drafters of the Imperial Secretariat above the great vassals. Zhao Yi 趙翼 best explained the consequence of this situation in his Nianer Shi Zhaii 廿二史劄記 (Reading Notes on the Twenty-two History Books): "Holding secluded and intimate positions, controlling imperial decisions or verdicts in their hands, or verbally instructing the imperial edicts, these Imperial Secretariat Drafters though humble as people, naturally came to have great authority; and as a result of this great authority all powers and influences yielded to them 地當清切，手持天憲，口衛詔命，則人雖寒，而權自重；權重則利盡歸之." As a result, Zhao Yi concluded, throughout the Southern
Dynasties they dominated the imperial council chambers, manipulated state affairs, plotted the imperial successions, plagued the empire with briberies and corruptions, and hastened the downfall of each individual imperial house.

Zhao Yi's note was very much a summary and an application of Shen Yue's observation on the situation in the Liu Song Dynasty. In the preface to the "Biographies of the Imperial Favorite Courtiers and Sycophants" in the Song Shu, after reciting the political and social accounts of the change in nature of the favorite courtiers from the Han Dynasty to the Wei and Jin Dynasties, Shen Yue summed up his observation on the Drafters of the Imperial Secretariat from the Xiaojian Reign of Emperor Xiaowu to the Taishi Reign of Emperor Ming. He asserted that they were powerful enough to have manipulated imperial orders and to have controlled the state authority to punish or reward; corrupt enough to have accepted bribes from all over the kingdom, and to have decided bureaucratic matters of favors and state affairs over laughter and feasts; and naive and selfish enough to have plotted and eliminated most of, if not all, the imperial princes in order to secure their control over the princelings at the cost of the downfall of the Liu Song Dynasty. To indicate the double nature of the Imperial Secretariat Drafters of the Song Dynasty as both meritorious and deceitful courtiers, and to express a note of his condemnation, Shen Yue combined the titles of the "Charts of Marquis from the Imperial Marital Families and the Merits and Favorites" and the "Biographies of the Imperial Favorite Sycophants" in the Han Shu into the "Biographies of the Imperial Courtiers and Sycophants" as the title of Chapter 54 of "Various Biographies" in the Song Shu, in which he established biographical sketches of most of the Imperial Secretariat Drafters of Emperor Xiaowu and Emperor Ming's courts.

Shen Yue first provided accounts of Dai Faxing, Dai Mingbao, Chao Shangzhi, and Xi Xiandu's rise to power as Imperial Secretariat Drafters in Emperor Xiaowu's court. He noted that Dai Mingbao was entrusted with the domestic affairs of the imperial households and hence became more popular and powerful in social and institutional affiliations. Xi Xiandu was often entrusted with the command of the labor in the imperial service. Dai Faxing and Chao Shangzhi were entrusted with the imperial council on major decisions of official selection, appointment,
removal, transfer, or punishment and reward. He also noted that after the death of Emperor Xiaowu and the enthronement of Prince Ziye, their powers reached a peak with an actual regentship. When this young Emperor was threatened and enraged by the rumour that he was but a puppet, he had Dai Faxing commit suicide, executed Xi Xiandu for his cruelty on the forced labor, and removed Dai Mingbao and Chao Shangzhi from the imperial council chamber. Shen Yue included biographical notes on Dong Yuansi, who was killed by the regicidal Prince Shao upon the rising of Prince Jun of Wuling's punitive army. He also included references to Cai Xian, who died two years after Emperor Xiaowu was enthroned. He did not, however, mention in the "Biographies of the Imperial Favorite Courtiers and Sycophants" a single word about Bao Zhao, who was one of the four Imperial Secretariat Drafters in Emperor Xiaowu's court for nine years from 455 to 464. Shen Yue's intention by this exclusion (which seems to be a deliberate arrangement rather than an accidental choice or coincidence) will be discussed later.

Although the history books have not provided any information on whether or not Bao Zhao was as domineering, imperious, corrupt, and avaricious as the other Imperial Secretariat Drafters were, and although Bao Zhao may have been as humble and dutiful as a seventh-rank official should be, judging from the dominant situation of the Imperial Secretariat Drafters over Emperor Xiaowu's court, it is proper to infer that Bao Zhao certainly attained power and influence to a great extent and consequently must have been treated with respect by his fellow officials or courtiers. This is very different from the traditional view of Bao Zhao as a subordinate officer, humble in social status, petty and lowly in rank and title, and insignificant in power.

Another good example of this underestimation lies in Bao Zhao's appointment to Subprefect of the Moling Subprefecture. It has been taken by historians and scholars of Bao Zhao simply as one of his usual transfers among the subordinate offices between the sixth and seventh ranks. Examined in the context of historical events, however, it appears to have been an extraordinary imperial favor. It was actually a promotion with a yearly salary increased from 600 to 1,000 piculs of grain. Besides, being announced at the same time, it may have been part of the imperial reward in 458 when Emperor Xiaowu conferred noble ranks and honored posts.
on the Imperial Secretariat Drafters who assisted him to the throne. But most important of all is that this appointment demonstrated a great imperial trust in Bao Zhao, for the Moling Subprefecture was the central and major subprefecture in the capital or in the jurisdiction of the Danyang Metropolitan Prefecture, and the appointment was made not long after the removal and imprisonment of the Prefect of Danyang and the Subprefects of Moling, Jiankang, Jiangling, and Hushu Subprefectures as a punishment for allowing Prince Yixuan of Nanjun's children to hide in their districts after Prince Yixuan's rebellion against Emperor Xiaowu was defeated. Most noticeably, it was made on the eve of the totalitarian policy in 459 when Emperor Xiaowu designated the whole Province of Yangzhou as the Imperial Domain and assigned Attendant Censors of the Imperial Censorate to administer its various prefectures. The significance of this post before Emperor Xiaowu's concentration of power was elaborated in the "Autobiography of Shen Yue" in the Song Shu. After relating Emperor Wen's great favor and trust in his father Shen Pu and his uncle Shen Liang, and in emphasizing the emperor's appreciation of their talents and abilities, Shen Yue referred to both of their achievements as Subprefects of the Moling Subprefecture with an elaboration upon the difficulties of bringing peace and order to the subprefecture. He noted that "the two capital subprefectures (namely the Moling and the Jiankang Subprefectures) were said to be the most difficult subprefectures to administer, for it was a flourishing time and the capital was the hub of the universe; hence there existed a concourse of traders, underlings, clerks, vagrants, villains, and gamblers within the center of corruption and conspiracies. It is in this respect that Emperor Xiaowu's favor and trust in Bao Zhao was discernible in appointing him to the decisive post of Subprefect of the Moling Subprefecture at the beginning of his strategic measures to centralize state power. The office of the Subprefect of the Moling Subprefecture in this historical context therefore should not be taken as a usual appointment to an ordinary post.

Similarly, the significance of Bao Zhao's last official post as Military Secretary in the administration of the Van General was obscured by a general misunderstanding of the nature of Military Consultant (Canjun) as a petty
seventh-rank office. A crucially different view is suggested by the perspective of the following facts. Firstly, according to Kong Ji's comment, the Military Secretary was a very honorable and important post and only those whose writing was refined, keen, and insightful could hold this office. In addition, Bao Zhao was most probably still holding the concurrent post as an Imperial Secretariat Drafter, for Emperor Xiaowu only sent him out to Jingzhou as an Acting Military Consultant at the post of Military Secretary. This was probably the reason why the Former Deposed Emperor in his measures to eliminate his father's courtiers demoted Bao Zhao with a substantial appointment to the post of Judicial Administrator. Furthermore, even if Bao Zhao did not hold the concurrent post at this time, his imperial favor and trust had not declined, for Emperor Xiaowu entrusted him with the responsibility to administer the imperial orders to Jingzhou, which was "relied on as the threshold of the Imperial Domain," and together with Yangzhou, were considered as the most important Provinces of the empire. Finally, since the nine-year-old Prince Zixu was too young to administer the provincial affairs, Jingzhou was actually under Emperor Xiaowu's control. As Military Secretary, Bao Zhao was technically inferior to the Chief Administrator, the Assistant Administrator, the Gentleman Retainer, the Administrative Adviser, and the Administrative Supervisor, but his mission to supervise the imperial orders to the Province suggested that he might have surpassed them in power and authority. This kind of bypass was to a certain extent not unusual in the Liu Song Dynasty. Shen Pu, for example, at his appointment to the post of Left Princely Attendant-in-ordinary to Prince of Nanping, was summoned by Emperor Wen and told that "affairs of the principality were all to be entrusted to him." Later when he was appointed to the post of Registrar (Zhubu 主簿) of Yangzhou under the governorship of Prince Jun of Shixing, Emperor Wen again summoned him and told him that although Chief Administrator Fan Ye would superintend the administration, the Province of the Imperial Domain was really to be entrusted to him. Indeed, on both occasions Shen Pu surpassed the power and authority of his superiors either to manipulate in the background or directly control the bureaucratic administration or political situation. Thus, it is proper to assume in the same respect that, as a Military Secretary, Bao Zhao
should have enjoyed to a large extent power and authority, if not a total
domination, in the provincial affairs of Jingzhou. In fact, his predominant
position in Jingzhou was also testified to by the fact that at the defeat of the
Yijia Regime, the mutineers in Jiangling had to kill Bao Zhao as well as Chief
Administrator Liu Daoxian and Warrant Keeper Ruan Daoyu to surrender Jingzhou and
Prince Zixu to Emperor Ming in order to pledge allegiance and beg for pardon.
Indeed, Bao Zhao was no ordinary military adjutant but an influential official
sent from the imperial council chamber to the power core of Jingzhou. He was no
subordinate officer but an imperial favorite courtier, who was first entrusted
with a young prince and Jingzhou as the important threshold of the Imperial Domain,
then involved in the joint forces of the late Emperor Xiaowu's princes against
their usurper-uncle Emperor Ming, and finally was killed by the mutineers before
they surrendered the province and the prince to the imperial army.

In short, from the above re-examination of the financial, social, and
political aspects of Bao Zhao's life, it is very clear that although Bao Zhao
came from the lowest stratum of the Scholar-official Class and never held any
post higher than the sixth rank, he was well-received by the super-elite families,
and greatly entrusted by Emperor Xiaowu with power, authority, and responsibility.
The traditional estimation of Bao Zhao as a petty officer of humble social status
is true only in comparison to a social super-elite, or under a general presumption
of the social and political conventions of the time. In essence, this ignores the
facts that he was a popular belletrist, an old acquaintance of many members of the
Wangs and the Xies, and an imperial favorite courtier throughout Emperor Xiaowu's
reign. For the last 11 years of his life especially, either as an Imperial
Secretariat Drafter or Subprefect of the Moling Subprefecture, or Military
Secretary in Jingzhou, he remained in the imperial council chamber, the powerhouse
and decision-making center of the dynasty.

Consequently, it is imperative to revise the traditional account suggesting
that Bao Zhao's humble status and petty official positions were the cause of his
being neglected by his contemporaries and his being left without a proper biography
in the history books.
As stated above, Bao Zhao's literary fame, rather than his political reputation, had already stirred the public in the Daming and Taishi Reigns. By the Southern Qi Dynasty, his literary style had become one of the three popular trends. His outstanding literary achievement was certainly recognized in the Shi Pin and his poems were widely selected by major anthologists of later ages. Therefore, Zhong Hong's regret over Bao Zhao's falling into oblivion can be accepted only insofar as it refers to the scantiness or the lack of biographical data on him in the history books. This biographical obscurity was very much due to two simple facts. Firstly, his literary works and biographical information might have been destroyed or lost when he was killed in the mutiny. Secondly, as a major decision-maker behind the rebel force of Jingzhou against Emperor Ming, it was only natural that his name could have been discriminated against socially as well as politically in the reigns of Emperor Ming and his successors. Judging from the facts that Emperor Wu of the Qi Dynasty 起武帝 rose to power in the Yijia Rebellion in the Song Dynasty, and that Shen Yue had to ask Emperor Wu's permission to write a biography on Yuan Can 袁粲, this political discrimination might still have existed in Shen Yue's time. Nevertheless, though it could have contributed to the inaccessibility of Bao Zhao's biographical data, it is unlikely to have been so strong as to form a direct obstacle to Bao Zhao's right to have a biographical account in the Song Shu.

As the editor and writer of the final version of the extant Song Shu, Shen Yue showed little or no discrimination against Bao Zhao at all. Since it was not appropriate to include Bao Zhao in the "Biographies of the Recluses 隱逸," or "The Filial and the Righteous 孝義," or the "Dutiful Officials 良吏," the choices for Shen Yue were to include him in the "Biographies of the Imperial Favorite Courtiers and Sycophants" to emphasize his nine-year service as an Imperial Secretariat Drafter; or together with Deng Wan, Yuan Yi, and Kong Ji, to list him in the 44th chapter of "Various Biographies 列傳第四十四" to emphasize his involvement in the Yijia Rebellion; or attach him to Prince Jun of Shixing in the "Biographies of Two Arch Villains 二凶傳" for his service as the Prince's Attendant; or to group him with Prince Yiqing of Linchuan, who appreciated his literary talents and appointed him to his first public office. Shen Yue chose the last one. Thus, he had no
option in establishing a separate biographical account of Bao Zhao but to insert or attach it to that of Prince Yiqing, for the 11th chapter of "Various Biographies列傳第十一" was designated to the Imperial Families宗室. Shen Yue inserted an account of Bao Zhao's life in 109 words and his "Ode to the Clarity of the Yellow River" in 890 words to the "Biography of Prince Yiqing of Linchuan" in 1146 words. The attached biography was only 147 words less than the primary one. While the rest of the choices bear a judgement or reprimand explicit in the forewords or the concluding notes of each individual chapter, Shen Yue's decision and arrangement strongly suggest a personal partiality as well as a literary admiration of Bao Zhao. This is not only sufficient to refute the traditional account of a possible social prejudice or political discrimination against Bao Zhao in the history books, but also clear enough to confirm that he was, on the contrary, highly-esteemed in the Song Shu.

To sum up, after the above study it is proper to conclude that contrary to the traditional view of him as a humble and insignificant official, Bao Zhao was an imperial favorite courtier entrusted with power and authority throughout Emperor Xiaowu's reign. Again, contrary to the conventional account of his neglect by his contemporaries and discrimination by historians, Bao Zhao was a popular belles-lettres of his time, a most-selected poet by anthologies of later ages, well-received by the elites of the Liu Song society, and certainly held in high esteem in the Song Shu. While Bao Zhao's position as an official, subordinate but often powerful and influential, has been depicted as clearly as possible through the above study of his official career as well as the time and circumstances of his life, his true self expressed by his will, ideals, aspiration, and sentiments is yet to be discerned through an analysis of his poetry.
III. AN ANALYTICAL STUDY OF BAO ZHAO'S POETRY

A. The Objective

As stated in the introduction of this thesis, Chinese literary criticism of Bao Zhao's poetry has engendered controversies greater than those over the biographical accounts of his life. Most of the literary critics of Bao Zhao have shown partiality in their interpretations: some have conformed to the literary trend of the time while others have submitted themselves to the state ideologies. His poetry, therefore, has been either overtly neglected as vulgar and unrefined songs, or highly praised as allegorical poems on specific historical events. But in recent years, his poems have been held in high esteem as masterpieces on social injustice and class contradictions. While the above criticisms and interpretations may be true to a certain extent, none of them are adequate to delineate a full perspective or to constitute the main implication of his poetry.

Accordingly, after a summary of variant editions and versions of the Collected Works of Bao Zhao and a study of the general patterns of textual variations of his poems, this thesis will then conduct a generic survey of the forms and themes of his poetry to discern the focus of his poetic creativity. Attention will then be given to studies of Bao Zhao's achievements in and contributions to the development of Chinese poetry in terms of form and theme. These include the Short Stanzas, the Heptasyllabic Poems, the Ballads and Songs, the Landscape Poems, the Frontier Poems, the Poems in Imitation, and the Poems on Things. Then a critical study will analyse Bao Zhao's style in terms of his poetic diction, description, tone, and mood, as well as figurative language. Consequently, an examination will be made on the adequacy of the popular interpretations of Bao Zhao's poems as political allegories, in order to form a broad philosophical comprehension of those poems, or a more general reading of their topical and political comments when it is appropriate.
The generic and the stylistic examinations subsequently will serve as the foundation for a philosophical study of the poetic mentality in Bao Zhao's poetry. Efforts will be made to discern the poet's vision of the role of an individual as a Confucian intellectual, and to analyze his concept of life, which is the essential key to integrate Bao Zhao's social, political, and literary personalities. The final task of this study will be to render a brief summary of Bao Zhao's literary heritage and achievements, and a general speculation upon his influence on later generations. This will bring Bao Zhao's poetry into a more coherent perspective for a better understanding in the conclusion of this thesis in order to re-evaluate Bao Zhao's position in the Yuanjia literature and especially in the history of Chinese literature as a whole.
B. A Textual Study of Bao Zhao's Poetry

i. Variant Editions and Versions of the Collected Works of Bao Zhao

According to Yu Yan's preface to his collection of works by Bao Zhao, the poet's literary works were mostly scattered and lost after his death. Under the patronage of Crown Prince Wenhui of the Qi Dynasty, Yu Yan was able to collect only half of them. Yu Yan's collection was the first compilation of works by Bao Zhao, but its title and number of volumes are not known. Later, the "Catalogue of Books and Records" in the *Sui Shu* and the "Bibliography of Literature" in the *Tang Shu* both recorded a 10-volume collection, the *Collected Works of Bao Zhao* (*Bao Zhao Ji* 鲍照集). The Sui catalogue also noted that it was a six-volume collection in the Liang Dynasty. Nevertheless, since none of them are extant today, we do not know whether they were of different versions or based on Yu Yan's original version surviving the big palace fire which had burned down the Imperial Library in 500. The (Zhao) Song edition of the *Bao Zhao Ji* is also in 10 volumes. It exists in two versions: one was collated by Wang Yi 王伊; the other was the Hanfenlou 涵芬楼 facsimile version collated by Mao Fuji 毛斧季. The Ming edition is also extant in two versions. The one titled the *Collected Works of Military Consultant Bao* (*Bao Canjun Ji* 鲍参军集) is in 10 volumes. It was edited by Du Mu 都穆 and printed by Zhu Yingdeng 朱應登. The other edition, the *Collected Works of Bao Mingyuan* (*Bao Mingyuan Ji* 鲍明远集), is in two volumes. It was collected in the *Anthology of One Hundred and Three Authors from the Han, Wei, and Six Dynasties* (*Han, Wei, Liuchao Bai San Jia Ji* 漢魏六朝百三家集), edited by Zhang Pu 張溥. The Qing edition collected in the *Si Ku Quan Shu* 四庫全書 is based on the Du Mu edition. Again, the relation between the extant editions and the pre-Song editions cannot be determined, except that the former ones are not likely to be identical with the Liang edition, for they do not contain the line: "At high noon public places are crowded日中市朝闐," which was quoted in the *Shi Pin* 詩品. Besides the various editions cited above, some of Bao Zhao's poems were collected in anthologies such as the *Wen Xuan* 文選, the *Yu Tai Xin Yong* 玉臺新詠, the *Yue Fu Shi Ji* 樂府詩集, and the *Gu Shi Xun* 古詩選.
Quotations of verse lines or couplets from his poems can be found in encyclopedias such as the *Yi Wen Lei Ju* 藝文類聚, the *Chu Xue Ji* 初學記, and the *Tai Ping Yu Lan* 太平御覽.

As for commentaries on Bao Zhao's poems, Li Shan 李善, Li Yanji 呂延濟, Liu Liang 劉良, Zhang Xian 張鍾, Li Xiang 呂向, Li Zhouhan 李周翰, Li Yanzuo 呂延祚, and Fang Hui 方回 wrote commentaries on poems collected in the *Wen Xuan*. Poems included in the *Yu Tai Xin Yong* were annotated by Wu Zhaoyi 吳兆宜 and those selected by the *Gu Shi Xuan* were commented on by Wen Rentan 閔人俊. Nevertheless, Qian Zhenlun 錢振倫 was the first scholar to annotate the entire text of the *Bao Canjun Ji* 鮑參軍集. He adopted the two-volume edition compiled by Zhang Pu and collated it against the Qing edition, which was originally the 10-volume Ming edition compiled by Du Mu. He annotated the entire text and completed a six-volume manuscript of commentaries; two on prose and four on poetry. The four volumes of commentaries on poetry were later adopted by Huang Jie 黃節. He collated the text of these four volumes against the Song edition, revised the annotations, and supplied a collection of literary critics' comments on various poems. This was published by the Beijing University, but only had a small circulation. Then Qian Zhonglian 錢仲聯 adopted both Huang Jie's commentaries and Qian Zhenlun's entire manuscript and collated the text against the Song edition, the *Yue Fu Shi Ji*, the *Yi Wen Lei Ju*, the *Chu Xue Ji*, and the *Tai Ping Yu Lan*. He revised the annotations and enlarged the commentaries on both the prose and poetry volumes. This version titled *Bao Canjun Jizhu* 鮑參軍集注 was first published in 1957 by Gudian Wenzue Chubanshe 古典文學出版社 and remains the most popular version. The English translation and the textual study of Bao Zhao's poetry in this thesis are based upon this version.
ii. Textual Variations of Bao Zhao's Poems

Listed in Part Two, Notes II-B are all the textual variations of Bao Zhao's poetry in various editions of the Han Wei Bai San Jia Ji, the Wen Xuan, the Yu Tai Xin Yong, the Yue Fu Shi Ji, the Song edition, the Wen Xuan Wu Chen Ben, the Wen Xuan Liu Chen Ben, the Tai Ping Huan Yu Ji, the Wen Xuan Bi Ji, the Wen Xuan Kao Yi, the Wen Xuan Pang Zheng, and one unidentified source cited by Qian Zhenlun. Although the textual variants are numerous, they do not always impose great difficulty in reading.

It is often easy to recognize the nature of a variation to make a proper selection among the variants. A great number of variant words, for example, are made by the copyists' mistakes on:

a) words of identical forms such as 官-宦, 日-目, 思-恩;
b) homophones with similar forms such as 喧-喧, 組-祖, 凌-陵;
c) homophones with different forms such as 旅-侖, 食-拾, 留-流;
d) words with the same sound and similar meaning such as 闇-闇, 辰-晨, 游-遊; and
e) words in reverse order such as 女工-工女, 無終-終無, 不知-知不.

The alternative variants of these types are often dictated by the meaning of the variant in the context of the verse line or the couplet. There are also a few variant verse lines. These variations are mostly due to a verse line corruption, and proper readings of them can usually be established by the metrical or thematic structure of the poem. For instance, the poem "Imitating 'The Prince of Huainan' 代淮南王" reads:

The Prince of Huainan,
Having a strong craving for longevity,
Studies Taoist classics and practices breathing and alchemy.
He uses crystal bowls, ivory plates,
Golden caldrons and jade spoons to mix up divine elixirs.
To mix up divine elixirs,
To play in the Purple Palace,
In the Purple Palace fairies admire their glittering headgear,
And their phoenix song and dance break his heart:
The vermillion palace has nine gates leading to nine quarters,
And I'd like to follow the moonlight to enter your embrace.
To enter your embrace,
To tie your girdle pendant,
And to blame, to hate, and to rely on your love.
A city wall is expected to be built strong and a sword quick. Forsake me not, after going through the vicissitudes of life.

Nevertheless, the Song edition reads the third couplet as a heptasyllabic line: "Divine elixirs, divine elixirs, to play in the Purple Palace." Judging from the external structure of the poem, the current reading is preferable, for the refrain in this stanza is not only a common feature of ballads and songs but also parallels that in the second stanza.

As to the variant titles, they do not suggest any great difference or contradiction either. They are mostly explanatory in nature, whether noting the "imitative" style of the poem, or providing the "number" of verses in the poem, or indicating the "occasion" of the composition of the poem. Nevertheless, there are three variants suggesting entirely different titles. One unidentified edition reads "Imitating 'The Old Style Verse' 賦古" as "The Northern Wind and Snow 北風雪," "Imitating 'The Song of Gui Street' 代邦街行" as "The Parting Song 去邪行," and "Imitating Prince of Chensi's 'Ballad of Capital Luoyang' 代陳思王京洛篇" as "Imitating 'The Song of Magnificent Capital Luoyang' 代煌煌京洛行." The Prince of Chensi did not write any poem titled "Ballad of Capital Luoyang," but Emperor Wen of the Wei wrote a poem titled "Song of Magnificent Capital Luoyang." The last variant is, therefore, a preferable title. As to the first two variants, since information about them as ballad titles is not available and since they are collected from unidentified editions, their authenticity is very doubtful.

There are cases where an entire poem is missing from one edition or another. The Yue Fu Shi Ji, for example, does not contain the poem "Imitating 'The Song of the Youth Soon to Turn into Senility' 代少年時至衰老行." Similarly, the Song edition does not include the "Song of the Swift Wind 扶風歌," the first poem of the "Song of Wu 吳歌," the "Poem Presented to Officer Gu 贈顧墨曹," "On Old Age 詠老," and "On the Spring 春詠." Since it is natural for a later edition to include newly-discovered poems before their authenticity is proved reliable, the application of these poems as essential grounds for a decisive argument will be restrained in this study.
There are certain intricate problems with identifying the authorship of poems which are also found in the collected works of other poets. The poem "Imitating 'There are Travelers at the Gate' 代門有車馬客行" is also found in the Collected Works of Zhang Maoxian 張茂先集, except it is eight lines shorter. It lacks the third, sixth, ninth, and 10th couplets. This type of literal recurrence of lines and couplets occurs again in the first poem of "A Sequel to the Ancient Verse 紹古辭." The first two couplets of this poem are also recorded under the title of "Poem on Orange 橘詩" in the Collected Works of Zhang Maoxian. Bao Zhao wrote a great number of poems in imitation and Chinese literary critics generally believe that Zhang Hua 張華, style Maoxian, had a strong influence on him. Thus this further minimizes the means of discerning true authorship by linguistic or stylistic analyses. We must be content with the logical inference that instead of writing a poem in imitation, Bao Zhao simply edited and enlarged the one written by Zhang Hua, since adopting verse lines is common practice in imitating a poem, though it is somewhat lengthy and literal in the above two cases.

"The Song of Xiao Shi 謝史曲" is another example of a poem with variant authorship. It is quoted by the Yi Wen Lie Ju as a poem by Zhang Hua; nevertheless, the Yue Fu Shi Ji, the Han Wei Bai San Jia Ji and the Song edition all included it as Bao's poem. Though, the Yi Wen Lei Ju itself has some textual problems, attributing authorship of the "Song of Xiao Shi" to Bao Zhao should still be cautioned. A similar caution should also be held with the second of the "Six Poems Presented to Old Friend Ma Ziqiao 賞故人馬子喬六首." It is found under a different title, "Imitating the Ancient Verse," in the Collected Works of Zhang Maoxian. However, none of the above three editions repudiate Bao Zhao's authorship of it. On the contrary, Bao Zhao's authorship of poems such as "On Old Age" and "On the Spring," which are also found in the Collected Works of Lu Shiheng 陸士衡集, is critical since these are not included in the Song edition at all. The second poem of the "Song of Magnificent Capital Luoyang 納煌京洛行" attributing authorship to Bao Zhao in the Yue Fu Shi Ji is not included in the Song edition or the Han Wei Bai San Jia Ji, but recorded under the title "Ballad of
Capital Luoyang" in the Collected Works of Emperor Jianwen of the Liang Dynasty 梁简文帝集 in the Han Wei Bai San Jia Ji. The Yue Fu Shi Ji's attribution of the poem to Bao Zhao is therefore highly disputable. Thus, the above type of poems with variant authorship will be held in doubt and the application of these poems in essential arguments will likewise be restrained.
C. A Generic Study of Bao Zhao's Poems

i. A Generic Survey of Bao Zhao's Poems

The Collected Works of Military Consultant Bao, revised with supplementary commentaries by Qian Zhonglian, contains 204 poems. According to Yu Yan's preface, this number is likely to be only half of the total of his literary works. In this respect, even if we exclude poems in which his authorship is disputable, Bao Zhao was indeed one of the most prolific writers in the Han, the Wei, the Jin, and the Southern and Northern Dynasties. A simple calculation indicates that among his 204 poems extant today, 115 poems are of shi (詩) style, 86 poems are of ballad and song style, and three poems are of joint stanzas, which may also be classified in the first category.

Metrically speaking, he wrote one poem in trimeter, three poems in tetrameter or tetrameter with variation, 11 poems in heptameter, 21 poems in heptameter with variation, and 168 poems in pentameter or pentameter with variation. Concerning stanzas, he wrote 112 poems in short stanza style, which is usually less than 12 verse lines; and 92 poems in ancient verse style, which is usually more than 12 verse lines.

Thematically speaking, Bao Zhao composed approximately six palace-style poems, seven poems on the frontier, eight poems on immortals, eight poems on historical figures and events, 15 poems on resentment of active service, 29 poems on things, 30 occasional poems, 31 poems on landscapes, 33 poems on partings and nostalgia, 40 poems on vicissitudes of life, 58 poems on maiden feelings and boudoir thoughts, 80 poems in imitation, and 105 poems expressing his feelings.

This generic survey reveals many essential facts about recurring poetic forms and themes in Bao Zhao's poetry, and will serve as a guideline for the direction of this analytical study. Firstly, the ballad and song form certainly appears to be a favorite poetic form of Bao Zhao's. The 86 ballads and songs he wrote not only amount to one-third of the total of his poems extant today, but also stand as the largest body of this poetic sub-genre written by an individual poet in pre-Tang
dynasties. They deserve a central place in this study. Secondly, the composition of 32 poems in heptameter or heptameter with variation is significant in the history of Chinese poetry. This is an essential contribution to the development of the heptasyllabic poetry and therefore should receive further speculative discussion. Thirdly, the 112 poems in short stanza style reflect the poet's efforts with a generic innovation. They form too large a composition to be ignored; this will be detailed further on. Finally, it is imperative to study the major recurrent themes in Bao Zhao's poetry. They include poems on landscapes, poems on the frontier, poems in imitation, poems on boudoir thoughts and maiden feelings, poems on the vicissitudes of life, and poems expressing personal feelings and thoughts.

The poems on landscapes became an independent poetic genre after Xie Lingyun's ingenious cultivation. As a contemporary of Xie and with more than 31 poems on landscapes, Bao Zhao certainly made an imprint on the development of the Landscape Poetry. His extraordinary diction, naturalistic descriptions, and descriptive elaborations in landscape poems may have influenced the descriptive aspect of the Palace Poetry. His unique diction and prevailing indignant or often heroic tone gave distinct character to his frontier poems, which to a great extent read like the prelude of the Frontier Poetry of the Tang Dynasty. Furthermore, Bao Zhao's 80 poems in imitation of ballads, songs, ancient poems, old style verses, or poems by earlier poets cannot be ignored. The nature and implication of this type of mimesis will be explored. Among the extant poems by Bao Zhao, there is no poem titled "Expressing My Feelings," but in a total of 89 poems he repeatedly spoke of his thoughts and feelings, wrote about the vicissitudes of life, and expressed his anxieties and resentments as well as his hopes and aspirations. His sincerity, fervent spirit, and somewhat romantic transcendence are especially clear in the 58 poems on boudoir thoughts and feminine feelings. Summaries of these recurrent sentiments and feelings are therefore required in the analysis of the poet's mentality.
ii. Bao Zhao's Short Stanzas and the Origins of the Quatrain and the Regulated Verse

a. Bao Zhao as a Great Elaborator of Short Stanzas

With 168 poems written in pentameter, it is doubtless that Bao Zhao adopted this metric form most often. His adoption was very much in accordance with the objective tendency of the literary development of the time; therefore, the popularity of this metric form with Bao Zhao and his contemporaries is not of special significance. Nevertheless, one cannot help but notice that 83, or about half, of his pentasyllabic poems consist of less than 12 verse lines. The poems written in this number of verse lines total 112, half of his extant poems, including those in tetrameter and heptameter. Wang Fuzhi 王夫之, in the Gu Shi Ping Xuan 古詩評選, adopted the title of "Xiao Shi 小詩" for that of the predecessors of the Quatrain 絕句 and the title of "Jinti Shi 近體詩" (Modern Style Poem) for that of "Lu Shi 律詩" (Regulated Verse). Wang Kaiyun 王闓運, in the Ba Dai Shi Xuan 八代詩選, adopted "Xinti Shi 新體詩" (New Style Poem) for those pre-Tang poems similar to the Regulated Verse. For simplification, this thesis will adopt the title of "Short Stanza" for the pre-Tang poems consisting of less than 12 verse lines.

The total of 112 short stanzas distinguishes Bao Zhao as the poet who wrote the largest number of poems in this genre in the pre-Tang Dynasty period. Generally speaking, Bao Zhao's short stanzas can be divided into two groups: a group of 38 poems consisting of four verse lines; and the other group of 73 poems consisting of six to 12 verse lines. Of the 38 poems with four verse lines, 34 are in pentameter, three are in tetrameter and one is in heptameter; and of the 73 poems with six to 12 verse lines, 48 are in pentameter, and 24 in heptameter or heptameter with variation. The total number of short stanzas undoubtedly indicates on the poet's part a constant effort for generic renovation rather than whimsical preference. This effort is especially clear with the composition of the four-line stanzas in pentameter, the seven-line stanzas in heptameter, and the eight-line, 10-line and 12-line stanzas in pentameter. The distribution of these short stanzas, to a certain extent, reflects not only the popularity and impending
generic renovation of pentasyllabic poetry, but also the relative novelty of heptasyllabic poetry, of which Bao Zhao was the first major poet.

Bao Zhao's 38 quatrains, or four-line stanzas, can again be divided into one group of 26 ballads, one group of 10 poems and one group of two joint stanzas 聯句. In the ballad group he generally seems to have adopted either the balladry title of the Wu Songs 吳歌 popular in the southern lower reaches of the Yangzi River, or the Western Ditties 西曲 popular in between the Han and the Yangzi Rivers. Guo Maoqian 郭茂倩, in the Yue Fu Shi Ji 樂府詩集 (Anthology of Ballad Songs), collected 326 Wu Songs and 136 Western Ditties. Though they were products of different places, due to the similarities of social conditions and customs in the two areas, these two groups of folksongs are basically similar in terms of poetic style, form, and content. For example, about 85% (or 276 out of 326) of the Wu Songs and 65% (or 89 out of 136) of the Western Ditties are of pentasyllabic four-line stanzas. They are both dominated by this type of short, rhymed stanza. As a poet who wrote 86 ballads and songs, and 78 poems in imitation, Bao Zhao was bound to use this short stanza form or to be influenced by this folksong style. Titles such as "The Song of Wu 吳歌," "The Song of Picking Waterchestnuts 採菱歌," and "The Song of the Restoration 中興歌" are typical examples.

However, it is noticeable that in choosing these stanzaic forms and titles, Bao Zhao adopted neither the sophisticated amorous content of the Wu Songs and the Western Ditties, nor their dictions full of homophonous puns. The poem of "The Song of Wu 吳歌" is a good example:

Along the river banks at Xia Ferry or Fan Port, Or on the tower of Duke Cao's Queyue Fort; Whenever you see the water return, Remember that I shed tears into the river.

People said the Jing River is narrow, But it must be still quite broad. When nothing does the weathercock hear, How can my reputation reach you by wind?
Although this poem is as melodious as the original title suggests, its diction is simpler, its tone is milder, and its emotion is more subtle. The song is about a pensive woman's longing for her beloved one or husband away on active service, but her emotion is expressed only in the last stanza: "Remember it is my tears that flow like a river." Her mood is gentle and graceful, though her longing is constant and far-reaching like the river water which flows through every ferry, port, and fort; her sorrow is similarly vast and incessant. This subtlety of emotional expression in the poem transcends the general content of sophisticated amorousness of the Wu Songs in the Six Dynasties. This emotional sublimation has been demonstrated again in Bao Zhao's short-stanza ballads. The 10th quatrain of "The Song of the Restoration" provides a typical instance:

The plum blossom has an ephemeral beauty,  
While the bamboo leaf has the color of eternity. 
I wish your heart, constant like a pine,  
Will accept and care for me 'til infinity. 

The diction of this poem is simple yet metaphorical. The beauty of youth, conveyed in an image of the plum blossom, is first compared with the integrity of the lord, embodied in the image of evergreen bamboo leaves. The maiden's wish to be accepted and cared for by the lord is thus broadened and intensified. This sincere wish for everlasting favor, as the major theme of the poem, departs from the mainstream of general eroticism in the Wu Songs.

In fact, although it is likely that Bao Zhao adopted the four-line stanza form of the Wu Songs or the Western Ditties for his poems with similar titles, his poetic pathos is integrated within the pentasyllabic ballads in four-line stanzas, such as "Wang Zhaojun" and "The Song of the Solitary Orchid." The Song of the Solitary Orchid provides a typical poetic theme and pathos refined by the individual poet rather than derived from oral tradition. The fifth poem depicts the final action of the virtuous lady in the song, which gives an understanding of all five poems of the song as a whole. In the fourth poem she longs for her beloved one's presence in a beautiful season, and worries about missing the chance to see him, if he ever shows up. She admires the long-legged spider subtly spinning its net of hope in order to catch something.
The tiny long-legged spider subtly spins its web,
The silkworm quietly elaborates silk,
I feel ashamed to have no self confidence,
And I am afraid to have a tryst with you.

The word "wang 網" (net) is a pun for "wang 望" (hope or expectation), and becomes, symbolically, an emotional net to catch someone; the word "si 絲" (silk) is a pun for "si 思" (longing). However, as expressed in the third poem, she finds herself incapable of taking any action in order to tryst with him; the usual way of pledging with one's pendants was too explicit to be proper behavior for her to follow. Also, the legendary Wei Sheng's 无生 way, which was to embrace the bridge pillar to wait for his friend until he was drowned, was too odd to be considered proper conduct for her.

It is just too obvious to pledge with my pendant,
And it is too odd to embrace the bridge post.
The flowers have fallen and I don't know your whereabouts,
But I sit vainly worrying about missing you.

Due to her indecision and lack of self-confidence, instead of making a tryst with him, in the fifth poem she orders her carriage to go to the city's east gate and stop for a while so that she may indulge in an imaginary flight beyond time and space back to the ancient Chen and Zheng's east gates, where dating adolescents usually met each other. Thus, her longing for her beloved one and her wish to see him again are embodied in the physical trip and spiritual flight described in the fifth poem:

The east gates of the Chen and the Zheng states,
Have been famous from ancient times to the present.
Here my long sleeves will linger for a while,
As my carriage and four rest at the fork of the road.

The agonizing futility of her love due to her indecision or lack of self confidence is broadened by a comparison with the amorous and frivolous adolescents of the Chen and the Zheng States.

The above subtle poetic pathos appears to be similarly elaborated in the third type of poem in his pentasyllabic four-line stanzas. It seems that excepting its short stanza form, this poetic type adopts neither the oral tradition of the Wu
Songs and the Western Ditties, nor the titles from the ballad tradition. This is well-demonstrated in the poem "Loveliness 可愛":

A wind-blown curtain of sparkling pearls,  
And a moonlit screen of misty silks;  
Or the Wei maids sewing the autumn dress,  
And the Zhao beauties learning spring songs.

The poem basically enumerates four lovely things: a curtain with strings of pearls, a silk screen, a Wei maid, and a Zhao beauty. On the one hand, it depicts four vivid images, one in each line. On the other hand, it can be taken further as a description of four epiphanies, which arouse in the poet moments of sensation.

A similar emotional momentum is described in "Joint Stanzas with Emissary Zhang and Recluse Li in Jingzhou 在荊州與張使君李居士聯句" (see page 63). The first couplet of this poem depicts moments in his state of being as the poet rides in his carriage over a stone bridge and through a bamboo trail on his way to fish. And the momentum of this event arouses in the poet a temporary sensation which, privately to the poet, in the second couplet leads him to a personal realization that after thrice being a subprefect, he finds his only joy in holding a fishing pole. In general, this type of poetic theme and pathos is very much different from that in the oral tradition of the Wu Songs, the Western Ditties, and the Ballad Songs.

To sum up, although among poets in the Wei, the Jin, and the Southern and Northern Dynasties, Bao Zhao was not the first poet to have written poems in four-line stanza, he had in fact written the largest number of poems of this kind in the pre-Tang period. This group of pentasyllabic short stanzas, though neglected by most Chinese literary critics, is unique and essential in the history of the development of Chinese poetry. With their unique themes and pathos, the poems serve as a major link in the development of Chinese poetry, which has evolved thematically from an expression of one's intention to an explication of one's emotion, to an expression of one's sensation; and descriptively, from the general
to the particular and the specific. The fact that Bao Zhao's short stanzas include poems in the styles of the Wu Songs, the Ballad Songs, the Joint Stanzas, and the Regulated Verses can serve as crucial evidence in the controversial issue about the origin of the Quatrain 绝句 and the Regulated Verse 律詩.
b. Bao Zhao and the Origins of the Quatrain and the Regulated Verse

The origin of the Quatrain has long been a controversial issue. Chinese literary critics and scholars have generally been divided into two schools on this issue. The first school believes that the Quatrain 绝句 derived from the Regulated Verse 律詩. Authors of the Wen Zhang Bian Ti 文章辨體, the Xian Yong Shuo Shi 昔儂說詩, the Shi Zhu Yuan Liu 詩註源流, and the Gai Yu Cong Kao 階餘叢考 are all of this opinion. They advocate that "jue 绝" means "to cut off" or "to sever" and "Jueju 绝句" means "a Quatrain cut off from a Regulated Verse." It usually occurs with the first two or final two couplets, or the first and last couplets, or the middle two couplets of a Regulated Verse. This is also the reason why the Quatrain was classified as a Regulated Verse in the Tang Dynasty. The second school believes that the Quatrain was formed before the Regulated Verse but gradually acquired a regulated form after the appearance of the New Style Poems 近體詩 in the Yongming 永明 period. Authors of the Shi Sou 詩薮, the Jiang Zhai Shi Hua 齊齋詩話, the Zhen Yi Shi Shuo 賢一詩說, and the Sheng Xiao Si Pu 偉調四譜 all reject the theory that the Quatrain derived from the Regulated Verse. As to the hypothesis of the origin of the Quatrain, they again divide into three sub-groups.

The first group maintains that the four-line pentasyllabic short stanza could be found in the short ballad songs of the early Han Dynasty. The song "Kuyu Guo He Qi 枯魚過河泣" (The Dried Fish Weeps While Crossing the River), for example, is a four-line pentasyllabic short stanza. Poets such as Lu Ji 陸機, Guo Pu 郭璞, and Xie Lingyun 謝靈運 of the Jin and the Liu Song Dynasties had written this type of poetry in imitation. This short stanza later became a very popular form for the Wu Songs and the Western Ditties. As stated previously, about 85% of the Wu Songs and 65% of the Western Ditties, both of which originated south and east of the Yangzi River, are in the popular 20-word form of the four-line pentasyllabic short stanza. Poets such as Bao Zhao, Wang Rong 王融, Xie Tiao 謝朓, Wu Jun 吳均, and Xiao Yan 蕭衍 began composing poems in imitation. Some of these poems in imitation were already very similar to the Quatrains of the Tang Dynasty, while poets of the Tang had yet to compose poems in short stanzas with original titles from ballads.
and songs of the Six Dynasties. Furthermore, the four-line heptasyllabic short stanzas could be found in the "Gujiao Hengchui Qu 鼓角横吹曲" and the folksongs of the Northern Dynasties. In the Southern Dynasties, Bao Zhao and Tang Huixiu of the Song had written poems in four-line heptasyllabic short stanzas, and by the Liang Dynasty poets such as Emperor Jianwen and Emperor Yuan had also composed heptasyllabic short stanzas, very similar to the heptasyllabic quatrains of the Tang Dynasty, though still adopting titles from the ballads and songs. Hence, the first group maintains that the Quatrain derived from the ballads and songs of the Han, the Wei, the Jin, and the Southern and Northern Dynasties.

The second group believes that the Quatrain was originally just one of the many "jie (stanzas) of a refrain tune of a ballad song. Sun Kaidi 孙楷第, the leading scholar of this group, advocates that although ballad songs acquired various metrical and stanzaic forms, the pentameter and the four-line stanza prevailed. He conducted a survey on all the Qingshang Tunes 清商曲 in the Ping, the Qing, and the Se Tunes 平清瑟三调, which were recorded in the Records of Music 樂志 of the Song Shu, and found that more than half of them were of the four-line stanza form. This proves that the ballad song had acquired the four-line form as a popular stanza form as early as the end of the Han Dynasty or the beginning of the Wei Dynasty. This popular four-line stanza in pentameter, the dominant metrical form for ballad songs of the Han and the Wei Dynasties, conceived the embryonic form of the Quatrain. The ballad songs in the Han and Wei Dynasties generally consisted of many stanzas, but usually one single stanza from the entire composition was selected and sung. This is called "zhai chang 摘唱" (selected singing) or "zhai bian 摘遍" (selected refrain). This practice is proven by numerous footnotes to the lyrics of "pai ge 俳歌" and "za wu 雜舞" in the "Records of Music 樂志" in the Nan Qi Shu 南齊書 and in the Yue Fu Shi Ji 楊府詩集. In this respect, Sun Kaidi inferred that similar practices should have been applied to the Qingshang Tunes 清商曲 or the Xianghe Songs 相和歌 at the same time, and that through these practices a selected stanza, usually a four-line pentasyllabic stanza, gradually became independent or known separately. With general acceptance and frequent imitation by poets, this selected four-line stanza eventually came to
exist as an independent poetic form. Thus, Sun Kaidi concludes that the Quatrain originated from the four-line stanza taken from a ballad song.

The third group advocates that the Quatrain derived from the Joint Stanza 連句. The earliest joint stanza known in the history of Chinese poetry was "The Poem Composed at the Boliang Terrace 柏梁台詩" composed by Emperor Wu of the Han Dynasty and his courtiers; although each wrote one heptasyllabic line, the authenticity of the authorship of this poem is not entirely without doubt. Later, Jia Chong 賈充 of the Jin Dynasty wrote a joint stanza with his wife (與妻李夫人聯句); each wrote a pentasyllabic couplet. By the end of the Jin Dynasty, when Tao Qian 陶潜 wrote a joint stanza with Yinzhi 恬之 and Xunzhi 潛之, each of them wrote two pentasyllabic couplets, which equalled in form a four-line pentasyllabic short stanza. This practice of each poet participating in the joint stanza to write a four-line pentasyllabic short stanza was widely accepted and eventually became a fixed pattern in the Southern and Northern Dynasties. Scholars of the third group believe that "jue ju 絕句" appeared at the same time as an opposite term to "lian ju 聯句" (or 聯句). Shen Zufen 沈祖棻, a leading scholar of this group, believes that these two terms describe two states of a genre. She found evidence in "The Biography of Tan Chao" in "The Biographies of the Literati" in the 南史 文學傳巻超傳, which quoted Emperor Ming of the Song’s comment on Wu Maiyuan 吳邁遠 as: "This person has (knows) nothing except (but) the lian (the joint) and the ju (the cut, severed, or unjoint) stanzas 此人連絕之外, 無所復有." Thereupon, Shen Zufen concludes that in the Southern and Northern Dynasties, when two or more persons wrote one poem together, each wrote one four-line pentasyllabic stanza, and this poem would be called "lian ju 聯句 or 聯句" (a joint stanza), in the sense that the poem had been joined up. On the other hand, if the first four-line pentasyllabic stanza was not joined up with a second four-line pentasyllabic stanza by another poet, then that four-line pentasyllabic stanza would be called "jue ju 絕句" or "duan ju 斷句" (a severed or unjoint stanza), in the sense that it was let alone, not joined, or not continued. Shen Zufen again found evidence for this hypothesis in "The Biography of Xie Hui 謝晦傳" in the 宋書, which called the poem composed by Xie Shiji 謝世基 before
his execution as "lian ju 連句" (a joint stanza), since it was adjoined or continued 續作 by Xie Hui. "The Various Biographies of the Princes of Emperor Wen of the Song Dynasty 宋文帝諸子列傳" in the Nan Shi classified a poem composed by Prince Chang of Jinxi 晉熙王 越 on his way to flee to the Northern Wei Dynasty as "duan ju 斷句" (a severed or unjoined stanza), since it was not continued or adjoined by anyone else. Based on this theory and the fact that the quatrains of the Tang Dynasty were as unsingable as the joint stanzas or the four-line pentasyllabic unjoint stanzas, Shen Zufen inferred that the Quatrain derived from the Joint Stanza.

Upon analysis, all the above theories on the origin of the Quatrain appear to be not very impartial. The first school disregards the fact that "jue ju" as the name for the four-line pentasyllabic stanza appeared in both pre-Tang history books and literary anthologies. Besides the above-mentioned records, indicating that Wu Maiyuan and Prince Chang of Jinxi had written "jue ju" or "duan ju," the Nan Shi also notes that Emperor Jianwen of the Liang 梁簡文帝, when imprisoned by Hou Jing 侯景, wrote three linking-pearl verses 連珠, four poems and five "jue ju 絕句" (quatrails), and that Emperor Yuan of the Liang 梁元帝 in his imprisonment once asked for wine to drink and composed four quatrains 制詩四絕. One may suspect, though, that since the Nan Shi was published sometime after 659 and since most of these notes were not recorded in the history books of the individual dynasties of the period, the application of the term "jue ju" in the above notes was editor Li Yanshou's 李延壽 personal choice and eventually bore the literary imprint of the Tang Dynasty. Nevertheless, it is irrefutable that Emperor Jianwen of the Liang Dynasty, who wrote the poem "Gazing at the Wheel of Life on the Pagoda at Night 夜望浮圖上相輪絕句," was the first poet to apply the term "jue ju" to a poetic title; and that Xu Ling 徐陵 in the Yu Tai Xin Yong 玉臺新詠 had classified the four-line pentasyllabic ballad songs which probably originated in the Han Dynasty as "gu jue ju 古絕句" (ancient or old quatrains) and the ones composed by Wu Jun 吳均 as "za jue ju 雜絕句" (miscellaneous quatrains). This indicates explicitly that at least by the Liang Dynasty the term "jue ju" was accepted as a poetic genre containing either a singable or an unsingable four-line pentasyllabic short stanza.
The first school's theory assumed the Quatrain derived immediately from the Regulated Verse without precedent prototypes is against the general tendency of the development of a literary genre. This conviction that the quatrains and the four-line pentasyllabic short ballad stanzas are poems of two totally different genres sounds very arbitrary, and its refutation of the possible influence of the latter on the former is equally partial and hasty. The second school is not entirely impartial either. The first group's theory is sufficient to explain the rise of the 20-word short stanzas but fails to explain why this 20-word short stanza is called "jue ju" -- severed, cut off, disjoint, non-continuous, or uncontinued. Subsequently, there is difficulty in explaining the existence of so many unsingable short stanzas with non-ballad titles. The second group not only commits the same fallacy as the first group, but also fails to specify whether or not there was a fixed number of stanzas in a ballad song; and if not, why the short stanzas composed by Emperor Jianwen and Emperor Yuan of the Liang in their imprisonment were called "jue ju" or "quatrails" instead of "ballads." The third group's theory that the Quatrain derived from the Joint Stanza exhibits the same partiality as the first school by neglecting the existence and influence of the short, singable four-line pentasyllabic ballad stanzas. However, it becomes apparent through these arguments and hypotheses that as early as the beginning of the Han Dynasty the four-line stanza, especially in pentameter, had appeared in the short ballad songs. It soon became a fixed form for one of the many singable stanzas of ballad songs in the Han and the Wei Dynasties. And by the Jin and the Song Dynasties, it became a dominant stanza form for the Wu Songs, the Western Ditties, the Joint Stanzas, and Poems in Imitation by individual poets. As Bao Zhao was the poet to have written the greatest number of short stanzas before the Tang Dynasty, his short stanzas which included all the above categories can indeed serve as a solid testimony to this development.

Thus, according to the general process of the formation of a literary genre, a compromise over the controversies of the origin of the Quatrain popular in the Tang Dynasty was imminent and logical. The Quatrains of the Tang Dynasty shared a similar stanzaic form with the Ballads and Songs, the Wu Song, the Western
Ditties, and the Joint Stanzas of the Southern and Northern Dynasties. Therefore it is not only natural but logical for the Quatrain to have derived from or been influenced by them as a whole. Similarly, the regulation of the tonal pattern, rhyme scheme, and the antithesis in the Quatrain were mostly the result of incessant elaborations by poets of the Southern and Northern Dynasties. It could hardly have depended on the Regulated Verse of the Tang Dynasty, for the latter itself undoubtedly derived from or was strongly influenced by the eight-line stanzas, which at the same time and side by side with the four-line stanzas, were developed and nearly perfected by poets of the Southern and Northern Dynasties. In this respect, Bao Zhao's short stanzas again stand as a strong testimony to this parallel development.

Other than the 38 four-line stanzas, Bao Zhao also wrote three six-line stanzas, five seven-line stanzas, 21 eight-line stanzas, one nine-line stanza, 19 10-line stanzas, one 11-line stanza and 23 12-line stanzas. These figures show that though Bao Zhao experimented with every stanzaic form under 12 lines, his efforts were concentrated on the seven-line, eight-line, 10-line, and 12-line forms. The five seven-line stanzas were in heptameter, and though this did not eventually become a fixed stanzaic form, Bao Zhao's effort to create new stanzaic forms for the heptameter was apparent with his composition of six heptasyllabic poems in ancient style, and one four-line, two six-line, five seven-line, five eight-line, one nine-line, five 10-line, one 11-line, and six 12-line heptasyllabic stanzas. While his great accomplishment in the development of the heptameter will be discussed later, his contributions to the eight-line pENTASYLLABIC stanzas, or the Regulated Verse, should be duly recognized here.

Besides 34 four-line pENTASYLLABIC stanzas, Bao Zhao also wrote 16 eight-line stanzas, 15 10-line stanzas and 17 12-line stanzas in pentameter. Although Bao Zhao was not the first poet who wrote poems in eight to 12-line stanzas, he was the first individual poet who wrote the largest group of poems in these short stanzas. The 10-line and 12-line stanza had become fixed stanzaic forms in the Regulated Verse; but the eight-line stanza eventually turned into the standard form of the Regulated Verse in the Tang Dynasty. Nevertheless, from the Song to the end of the
Sui Dynasties, the eight-line, 12-line, or the four-line stanza had for three centuries gone through an elaboration of antithesis in sense, and a strict regulation of tonal patterns and rhyme schemes. Some Chinese scholars accredit the development of the antithesis to Xie Lingyun and Bao Zhao, and that of the tonal and rhyme schemes to He Xun 何遜 and Yin Keng 隱鍾, calling them "the four meritorious poets of the Regulated Verse 律詩四大功臣." Though this tends to be an over-simplified statement, it does convey a general justification. Bao Zhao, as one of the major poets in the very beginning of the Southern and Northern Dynasties, and as the first poet to have written a substantial number of various Short Stanzas in various meters, undoubtedly had an impact which formed the basis of the Quatrain and the Regulated Verse with his elaborations on the four-line as well as the eight-line stanzas.

As a great rhymed-prose writer 賦家 and an essayist of the euphuistical antithetic style 驍憲文, Bao Zhao had generally established the thematic antithesis in poetry. Indeed, his poems are full of antithetical couplets or couplets with words of the same part of speech; especially in his pentasyllabic poems there are more antithetical than non-antithetical couplets. Although the completion of the tonal pattern of the Regulated Verse owed much to incessant elaborations by later poets such as Shen Yue 沈約, Wang Rong 王融, Xie Tiao 謝朓, Fan Yun 范雲, Emperor Jianwen of the Liang 梁簡文帝, He Xun 何遜, Yin Keng 隱鍾, Xu Ling 徐陵, and Yu Xin 禽信; Bao Zhao had already written most of his Short Stanzas in the rhyme scheme of the Regulated Verse, rhyming the even lines in level tones. In short, judging from the content of Bao Zhao's short stanzas, the Quatrain and the Regulated Verse undoubtedly were both derived from the four-line and eight-line short stanzas, whether singable or unsingable ones, which had gone through an elaboration of antithesis in sense, a regulated tonal pattern, and a strict rhyme scheme in the Southern and Northern Dynasties. And with his elaborations on short stanzas, Bao Zhao's meritorious contribution in the development of the Quatrain 絶句 and the Regulated Verse 律詩 is beyond doubt.
iii. Bao Zhao as an Epitomizer of the Heptasyllabic Poetry

a. The Origin of the Heptasyllabic Poetry

As time elapses, the course of history is prolonged. On the one hand, it distances past events and their accessibility; on the other hand, it retrospectively provides an individual with a better perspective of an event in overall historical context. The present evaluation of Bao Zhao's heptasyllabic poems is exactly at this point. Although we have lost the accessibility of a total collection of his works or more detailed first-hand biographical notes, we have the opportunity to evaluate his heptasyllabic songs and verses within the total perspective of the development of the Heptasyllabic Poetry in the history of Chinese literature. It is in this perspective that Bao Zhao's contributions to the Heptasyllabic Poetry appear to deserve much greater recognition.

Wang Fuzhi 王夫之 of the Qing Dynasty was the first literary critic to recognize Bao Zhao's contributions in the development of the Heptasyllabic Poetry and proclaimed Bao Zhao "The Patriarch of the Heptasyllabic Poetry 七言之祖." However, most ancient as well as modern Chinese scholars have not shared his point of view. They have either neglected or been reluctant to accredit Bao Zhao's efforts in developing the Heptasyllabic Poetry. They have usually followed traditional literary theory which credits the initiation of the Heptasyllabic Poetry to Zhang Heng 張衡 of the Eastern Han Dynasty and credits the completion of this genre to Cao Pi, Emperor Wen of the Wei Dynasty 魏文帝曹操. Nevertheless, judging from the extant literary materials, this theory in the final analysis appears to be disputable. To shed some light on this aspect, it is imperative to study the origin of this genre.

The origin of the Heptasyllabic Poetry has been a controversial issue, and Chinese scholars' opinions on this issue can be roughly divided into two schools. The first school believes that the Heptasyllabic Poetry had derived from Chu-Ci 楚辭 (the Songs of Chu) or the Sao-style poems 楚體詩. Scholars of this school
maintain that most of the verse lines in the *Songs of Chu* are basically heptasyllabic or octasyllabic sentences with a particle, which is often not very critical to the meaning of the sentence. They advocate that through the course of time, the verse line in the style of the *Songs of Chu* gradually dropped the use of the particle and eventually turned into straight heptasyllabic lines. They strongly believe that this process is apparent in the decreasing number of particles used in the Sao-style poems chronologically from "The Song of the Autumn Wind" by Emperor Wu of the Han Dynasty, to "The Four Songs on Distress" by Zhang Heng, to the "Songs of Watering My Horse by the Great Wall" by Chen Lin, and finally to the "Song of Yan" by Cao Pi, Emperor Wen of the Wei Dynasty. The second school suspects the adequacy of the first school's view, which supposes that a period of four centuries was necessary for the Sao-style verse lines to eliminate the particles (such as xi, si, zhì, suō, and zhi) in order to become straight heptasyllabic sentences. They argue that the Heptasyllabic Poetry did not derive from the *Songs of Chu* or the Sao-style poems, since heptasyllabic sentences or verse lines were found in writings, poems, ballads, ditties, and proverbs earlier than Cao Pi's "Song of Yan," or Zhang Heng's "Four Poems on Distress," or the *Songs of Chu*. They subsequently speculate that the Heptasyllabic Poetry derived from the heptasyllabic ballads, ditties, and proverbs at the early Han Dynasty, when these types of folksongs and sayings were very popular. These two schools of thought both seem to be somewhat faulty at the first glance, though the first school has been dominant for centuries and the second school has been very observant. Herein, it is necessary to list all the writings and verses with significant heptasyllabic lines, as well as heptasyllabic writings and verses written before the Tang Dynasty, in a chronological chart to provide a better historical and literary perspective. This list attached in Appendix 8 will serve as the focus of discussion.

Judging from the extant literary materials from the pre-Qin period, the first school's argument is partially true. In the *Songs of Chu* or the very early Sao-style verses, especially in the Mountain Spirits, the Spirits of the
Fallen, the Nine Declarations, the Nine Arguments, the Heavenly Questions, and the Summons of the Soul, there are numerous octasyllabic or heptasyllabic verse lines with one particle, and many straight heptasyllabic verse lines as well:

湛湛江水兮上有橧;
目極千里兮傷春心;
夕餐秋菊之落英;
固將怨嗟而終窮;
皎若明月舒其光.

Nevertheless, straight heptasyllabic verse lines and heptasyllabic and octasyllabic verse lines with particles appeared earlier in the Shi Jing (the Book of Poetry):

漢有游女不可求思;
一日不見如三秋兮;
君子有酒旨且多;
交交黃鳥止於桑;
式微式微胡不歸.

In fact, they also appeared in other folksongs or literary writings such as "The Canglang Water," "The Fanniu Song," "The Chengren Song," and "The Chengxiang Song." Although authorship of the first two songs is questionable, authenticity of the last two songs is quite certain. "The Chengren Song" in the Tangong of the Book of Rites and "The Chengxiang Song" by Xun Qing are in essence heptasyllabic:

成人歌: 龜則清而蟹有匡.
成相辭: 愚闇愚闇墬賢良.

In this respect, the first school’s theory is somewhat arbitrary in insisting or inferring without justification that the Heptasyllabic Poetry derived from the Songs of Chu, instead of the Book of Poetry or any other literary writings earlier than or concurrent with the Song of Chu. Scholars of the second school, on the other hand, observe and emphasize influences the Heptasyllabic Poetry received from ballads, ditties, children’s rhymes, and popular proverbs or sayings. Available information tends to suggest that the heptasyllabic songs or proverbs were prevalent since the early Han Dynasty, for many engraved inscriptions.
folksongs, etymology books, proverbs, divination interpretations, and riddles and guesses of the time were often written in heptameter.

The adoption of heptameter by etymology books, such as the Fan Jiang by Sima Xiangru and the Ji Jiu by Shi You, is of extreme significance; primers of this kind usually adopted a popular tune from folksongs to make it easier for children to memorize and recite. Thus, it is proper to infer that at least by the reign of Emperor Wu of the Han Dynasty the heptasyllabic songs prevailed. This inference is further sustained by the heptasyllabic verse lines in the ballad songs of the Nao Song (The Hand Bell Songs) and the Xianghe Songs (The Duets With String and Wind Accompaniments) of the Han, and especially by the heptasyllabic sentences, verses, or essays recorded in the history books or written by prominent writers such as Sima Xiangru, Dongfang Shuo, and Dong Zhongshu in Emperor Wu's court.

Furthermore, Emperor Wu and 25 of his high ministers were said to have composed in 108 A.D. the first straight heptasyllabic poem known as "The Poem Composed at the Boliang Terrace." While the authenticity and date of this joint-stanza have been questioned by some scholars, "The Shangjun Song" at the reign of Emperor Cheng was without doubt the first rustic folksong in straight heptameter. It is a song rhymed in level tone at the end of every line. It is basically a six-line stanza in heptameter, except that the first line is in hexameter, which can be divided into a couplet of three-word lines, and has somehow become a generally-accepted exception for the first line of a heptasyllabic poem in later times. Nevertheless, insisting that the Heptasyllabic Poetry derived from the heptasyllabic folksongs or proverbs of the early Han Dynasty, and discrediting or disregarding the contribution or the influence of the Book of Poetry, the Songs of Chu, and other Sao-style writings on the Heptasyllabic Poetry, the second school has also fallen prey to partiality, for the heptasyllabic verse lines in the Book of Poetry and in the Songs of Chu are too obvious a fact to be ignored. Besides, it is an undeniable fact that most of the heptasyllabic poems by poets of the Han and the Wei Dynasties contain many verse lines with the particle "xi" and a prevailing sense of eternal melancholy or universal solitude. These are
unique characteristics of the Song of Chu and other Sao-style writings. They suggest to a great extent a strong influence by the Songs of Chu and other Sao-style writings. Thus, a compromise seems to be logical and inevitable. It is proper to assume that the Heptasyllabic Poetry derived from the Book of Poetry and the Songs of Chu, and received strong influence from the ballads, ditties, proverbs, and other Sao-style writings of the Han and the Wei Dynasties before its formation was complete.

As for the cultivation and development of the Heptasyllabic Poetry, Chinese scholars for centuries have accredited Zhang Heng with the initiation of the genre and Cao Pi with the completion of the genre. Wang Chuanshan 王船山 of the Qing Dynasty was the first Chinese scholar to criticize this conventional view. He claimed that:

"As to the formation of the Heptasyllabic Poetry, we must accredit Mingyuan as its Patriarch. Why? Because that though there were (heptasyllabic poem) writers before him, they were just like bird footprints in the obscure wilderness. Mingyuan had in fact outlined the framework for ages to come. And heptasyllabic poem writers before him were but as insignificant as weeds and millets. 七言之制，斷以明選為祖，何？前雖有作者，正荒忽中鳥CCA寄耳。明選于此實範圍千古，故七言不自明選來皆冕祿而已。"

His revolutionary criticism, however, did not draw much attention among critics of his time or later ages. Hence, the above general proclamation has prevailed. Not until recent years have some modern scholars come to accredit Bao Zhao's generic contribution with greater recognition. Unfortunately, this recognition is often given by simple generalization without substantial argument, and consequently lacks the power to convince. Judging from the extant heptasyllabic writings or verses before Bao Zhao, evidence against this conventional assumption is nevertheless apparent and sufficient.

It is hardly accurate to say that Zhang Heng initiated the Heptasyllabic Poetry, although his heptasyllabic poem "The Four Songs on Distress" was imitated by a few poets and became a unique theme in the genre. The list of heptasyllabic poems written before the Tang Dynasty in Appendix 8 shows clearly that before Zhang Heng there were quite a few heptasyllabic writings, songs, and poems. "The Chengren Song," "The Chengxiang Song," and the preface to "The Rhapsody on Success
and Failure 幽通赋辞 are typical heptasyllabic writings of the time. "The Song of the Great Wind 大風歌," "The Song of the Autumn Wind 秋風辭," "The Song of the Gourd 鬱子歌," "The Lute Song 琴歌," "The Farewell Song 別歌," "The Song of Lake Lin 林池歌," and "The Song of the Swan 黃鴨歌" were all heptasyllabic Sao-style songs with strong influence from the Book of Poetry and the Songs of Chu. While "The Poem Composed at the Boliang Terrace" is the first straight heptasyllabic joint-stanza, "The Shangjun Song 上郡歌" is the first song in heptameter without any particle "xi 兮." And most important of all is that Zhang Heng was not the first poet who initiated the heptasyllabic poem; it was accredited to "The An Fenghou Poem 安封侯詩" (Poem on the Quest for Nobility) by Cui Yin 崔駰 at Emperor Ming's court in the beginning of the Eastern Han Dynasty.

Similarly, the conventional acclaim awarded to Cao Pi, Emperor Wen of the Wei, for the completion of the Heptasyllabic Poetry is ambiguous and disputable when re-examined within the total perspective of the genre. Chronologically speaking, Chen Lin, who was older and died earlier than Cao Pi, was the first poet to adopt heptameter in the ballad song. He wrote a 28-line ballad song called "Watering My Horse by the Great Wall" in pentameter with a variant of nine lines in heptameter. Then, with Cao Pi's "Song of Yan 燕歌行" a straight heptasyllabic ballad song 七言樂府 was eventually composed:

As autumn wind is soughing, the air grows chilly,  
Grasses wither and tree leaves fall when dew turns to frost;  
As swallows bid farewell and wild geese wing off to the south,  
I think of you detained in journey, my heart fills with anxiety.  
With resent and in nostalgia you have longed to return home,  
Why do you still sojourn in far away places,  
And leave me all alone in this empty chamber?  
As I cannot get rid of anxiety rising from my longing for you,  
Tears slip down and moisten my garment.

I pluck the lute strings to play a serene autumn song,  
But my lyric is too short and my intoning is too weak to last.  
The moon, dazzling bright, shines upon my bed,  
The Milky Way flows westward and the night is young;  
Herd Boy and Weaving Maid gaze at each other across the river,  
What have you done so as to be confined by the river bridge?

The song consists of two stanzas. The first one listed above is of 15 lines, and the second one is of 13 lines. Both stanzas are in straight heptameter with rhymes in either level 平 or oblique 砭 tones at the end of every single line.
In this respect, it is proper to say that Cao Pi completed the first "straight heptasyllabic" ballad song. However, it would be quite misleading to assume that Cao Pi had completed the formation of the Heptasyllabic Ballad Songs, for the Song of Yan 燕歌行 as a Ping Tune 平调曲 in the Xianghe Songs is but one of the many categories of ballad songs. Similarly, it would be misleading to credit Cao Pi with the formation of the Heptasyllabic Poetry, for the heptasyllabic ballad song is in fact only one of the many sub-genre forms of the Heptasyllabic Poetry. The inadequacy of this conventional assumption appears to be obvious when checked against the total sub-generic categories of the Heptasyllabic Poetry. Assuming that the formation of the Heptasyllabic Poetry was completed before the Tang Dynasty, and examining the heptasyllabic writings and poems written in the pre-Tang period, one finds that many sub-generic categories were completed in the Han Dynasty, before Cao Pi, while others were formed after him.

The heptasyllabic Sao-style verses or songs 七言楚体歌 by an individual poet began with "The Song of Gaixia 埋下歌" by Xiang Yu 項羽 and "The Song of the Great Wind 大风歌" by Liu Bang 劉邦. And before the end of the Han Dynasty, the form had gone through a process of reducing the number of particles "xi 兮" in the stanza. This process is most clearly shown in the poems from Emperor Wu's "Song of the Autumn Wind," to Emperor Zhao's "Song of Lake Lin," to Emperor Ling's "Song to Summon the West Wind 招商歌," to Wang Yi's 王逸 "Lute Thoughts in Sao-style Song 琴思楚歌" respectively. Emperor Ling's "Song to Summon the West Wind" in fact had shown a trait influenced by Zhang Heng's "Four Poems on Distress 四愁詩," which was composed a little earlier. They both have only one particle "xi 兮" at the first line of a stanza. Nevertheless, Wang Yi with "Lute Thoughts in Sao-style Song" was the first poet who eliminated the particle "xi 兮" totally from the stanza and composed the first straight heptasyllabic Sao-style song; though the heptasyllabic Sao-style songs hence lost their characteristics and soon merged into the mainstream of the Heptasyllabic Poems. Similarly, the heptasyllabic poems 七言詩 by an individual poet started with Cui Yin 崔鶴 of the Eastern Han. His "Poem on the Quest for Nobility 安封侯詩" is a stanza of four lines, each consisting of six words and one particle "xi 兮." Then, with Zhang Heng's "Four
Poems on Distress 四愁詩,” use of “xi 我” was reduced, appearing once in the first line of a stanza. Not until Dai Liang 戴良 composed “Shifu Lingding 失父零丁” (Solitude with the Bereavement of One’s Father) in the end of the Eastern Han Dynasty was there a straight heptasyllabic "shi" or poem. The heptasyllabic folksongs or rustic ditties 七言歌謠, as stated above, had been very popular since the Western Han Dynasty, and the total repertoire was yet to be greatly enriched by the Wu Songs 吳歌 and the Western Ditties 西曲 of the Southern Dynasties; however, the heptasyllabic stanzaic formation was completed with "The Shangjun Song 上郡歌" at the reign of Emperor Cheng of the Western Han Dynasty.

The heptasyllabic joint-stanzas 七言聯句 started with the "Poem Composed at the Boliang Terrace 柏梁臺詩." It consists of a stanza of 26 heptasyllabic verse lines, each composed by an individual poet. The authorship, attributed to Emperor Wu of the Han and his courtiers, is in doubt. The hypothesis that it was composed during the Western Han Dynasty is disputable; the hypothesis that it was composed during the Eastern Han Dynasty is preferrable. However, it is unquestionable the poem was not composed after the Han Dynasty. As for the heptasyllabic rhapsodic prefaces 賦辭, moral or character comments 品評, proverbial sayings 諺語, inscriptions or epigraphs 銘文, riddles and guesses 射覆, and etymology books 字書, there is little doubt that they were widely adopted and became very popular during the Han Dynasty.

Even within the heptasyllabic ballad song 七言樂府 itself, Cao Pi in fact developed only one of its many categories. His "Song of Yan 燕歌行" completed only the straight heptasyllabic form of the Ping Tunes 平調曲 in the Xianghe Songs 相和歌. A great number of stanzaic forms of other categories of the heptasyllabic ballad songs or the heptasyllabic ballad songs with variant meters 雜言 or with long and short lines 長短句, which were initiated by Chen Lin 陳琳 in his "Song of Watering My Horse by the Great Wall 飲馬長城窟行," were completed by poets after him. Similarly, the heptasyllabic Poems on Things 七言詠物, the heptasyllabic Palace Poems 七言宮體, the heptasyllabic Occasional Poems 七言應制酬和, the heptasyllabic Short Stanzas 七言小詩 to be developed into the heptasyllabic Quatrains 七言絕句, and the heptasyllabic Regulated Verses 七言律詩 to be rhymed
in level 平 tone in the end of every second line, were all developed and completed during the Southern Dynasties. Thus, it is proper to conclude that it is definitely misleading to accredit Cao Pi with the completion of the Heptasyllabic Poetry, since he developed only the straight heptasyllabic metric form of the Ping Tunes 平調曲 in the Xianghe Songs, one of its many sub-generic categories.

The list of heptasyllabic writings and verses written before the Tang Dynasty indicates that a few poets wrote a significant number of heptasyllabic poems. Emperor Wu, Emperor Yuan 元帝, and Shen Yue 沈約 of the Liang Dynasty as well as Jiang Zong 江總 of the Chen Dynasty all wrote a dozen or more of them, while Emperor Jianwen 範文帝 of the Liang penned 21 and Bao Zhao of the Liu Song authored 32 poems in heptameter. Bao Zhao wrote the greatest number of heptasyllabic poems before the Tang Dynasty. More analytical information is needed to bring a better perspective in discerning Bao Zhao's contribution to the development of the Heptasyllabic Poetry.

b. Bao Zhao's Development of the Heptasyllabic Poetry

Generically speaking, the total composition of Bao Zhao's Heptasyllabic Poetry consists of one "shi" or poem, one joint stanza, and 30 ballad songs, which include rustic folksongs and ballad songs as well as songs in the Sao-style. Metrically speaking, his work consists of 11 poems in straight heptameter, 16 poems in heptameter with some variant lines, two poems in trimeter variant with heptameter, and three poems in pentameter variant with heptameter. The variations include three poems with trimeter, seven poems with pentameter, one poem with hexameter, one poem with pentameter and hexameter, one poem with octameter, and three poems with pentameter and nonameter. Stanzaically speaking, the poems include six old-style stanzas and 26 short stanzas: one four-line, two six-line, five seven-line, five eight-line, one nine-line, five 10-line, one 11-line, six 12-line, two 13-line, two 14-line, one 16-line and one 26-line stanzas. The rhyme scheme
includes 14 poems rhymed at the end of every single line and 18 poems rhymed at the end of every second line. While 16 of these poems are in the level tone rhymes, one is in the oblique tone rhyme and 15 are in a mixture of the level and oblique tone rhymes. Furthermore, among the 247 heptasyllabic lines in the total composition, half of them end with the standard feet of the old-style verse: LLL, O00, LOL, and OLO (平平平，仄仄仄，平仄平，仄平平). The other half end with new rhythmic units: LLO, OOL, LOO, and OLL (平仄仄，仄仄平，平仄仄，仄平平)，which later became the standard feet of the Regulated Verse律詩.

In short, Bao Zhao's compositions include all the heptasyllabic verse forms developed before the Liu Song Dynasty and most of those which were completed during the Southern and Northern Dynasties. Firstly, the "Joint Stanza," initiated by "The Poem Composed at the Boliang Terrace," was originally a poem of 26 heptasyllabic verse lines, each composed by one poet. By the end of the Jin Dynasty a general practice developed whereby every participating poet composed a quatrain, or a stanza of four lines in pentameter. In the second stanza of "The Third Joint Stanzas with Minister Xie Zhuang與謝尚書莊三連句," Bao Zhao combined the traditional metric feet with the new stanzaic practice, and made it a stanza of one couplet in heptameter and the other couplet in pentameter. Thus, he actually completed the formation of the heptasyllabic Joint Stanzas七言聯句. While following the tradition of the heptasyllabic "shi 詩" or poems of "Four Poems on Distress四愁詩," "Solitude With the Bereavement of One's Father失父零丁," and "The Bainian Song百年歌" (The Song of a Life of One Hundred Years Long), Bao Zhao composed the second poem of "Listening to a Songstress at Night夜聽妓" in a stanza of four heptasyllabic lines:

The scented oil has been consumed more during the night，
The music resumes as banquet tables and seats are in disorder.
One would not endure the bitter sentimental exhaustion after，
Were it not to cherish one's youthful, pretty countenance.

"The Four Poems on Distress" is a poem of four stanzas each consisting of seven heptasyllabic lines. "The Solitude With the Bereavement of One's Father" is an essay in which Dai Liang戴良 reprimanded himself for neglecting his duty as a son, but it is by all means a mourning song; a straight heptasyllabic song with over 20
verse lines in various rhymes. "The Bainian Song" is a poem of 10 heptasyllabic stanzas ranging from five to seven verse lines. Bao Zhao's "Listening to a Songstress at Night" was therefore the first heptasyllabic four-line poem, which was developed into the Heptasyllabic Quatrain by the Tang Dynasty. This poem, like his other 35 pentasyllabic four-line poems, validates Bao Zhao's contribution as a leading poet of the Quatrains and an initiator of the Heptasyllabic Quatrains.

Thirdly, heptasyllabic verse lines appeared early in the ballad songs of the Western Han Dynasty. They can be found in Lady Tangshan's 唐山夫人 "Fangzhong Siyue 房中祠樂" (Sacrificial Chamber Music) in the Jiaomiao Songs 郊廟歌 (Sacrificial Songs in the Temple to Heaven), and in "Yi Er Zhang 艾如張" (Cutting Down Grasses to Hold Up Nets), "Shang Zhi Hui 上之回" (Emperor's Return), "Zhan Cheng Nan 戰城南" (Battling South of the City Wall), "You Suo Si 有所思" (Longing for Someone), and "Lin Gao Tai 至高臺" (Approaching Terrace) of the Nao Songs in the Guchui Tunes 敲吹曲 (Drum and Wind Tunes). They are also found in "Xie Lu 雞露" (Dews on the Shallots) and "Hao Li 蕨里" (Wormwood Lanes) of the Xianghe Tunes 相和曲, and in "Dong Tao Xing 童行" (Flight from Dong Zhuo) of the Qing Tunes in the Xianghe Songs 相和歌. By the Jianan Period, Chen Lin wrote one poem in pentameter variant with heptameter to the tune of "Watering My Horse by the Great Wall" in the Se Tunes 譽調曲 in the Xianghe Songs; and Cao Pi wrote one poem in straight heptameter to the tune of "Song of Yan" in the Ping Tunes in the Xianghe Songs. Then Miao Xi 閨騄 of the Wei Dynasty adopted "Wong Li 翁離" of the Nao Songs in the Guchui Tunes of the Han into "Jiu Bang 菱邦" in straight heptameter in the Guchui Tunes of the Wei. Then Wei Zhao 韋昭 of the Wu 吳 of the Three Kingdoms adopted "Zhan Cheng Nan 戰城南" of the Nao Songs in the Guchui Tunes of the Han into "Ke Wan Cheng 克皖城" (Conquering Wan City) in straight heptameter in the Guchui Tunes of the Wu, and Fu Xuan 傅玄 of the Jin Dynasty adopted "Wong Li 翁離" of the Nao Songs in the Guchui Tunes of the Han into "Shi Yun Duo Nan 時運多難" (A Distressful Time) in straight heptameter in the Guchui Tunes of the Jin; while Xie Zhuang 謝莊 of the Liu Song Dynasty composed "Ge Chi Ti 歌赤帝" (Praises of the God of Fire) in heptameter as one of the 19 Ming Tang Ge 明堂歌 (Songs of the Hall of Light) in the Jiaomiao Songs.
In fact, the heptasyllabic lines or stanzas were adopted only in the Jiaomiao Songs, the Yanshe Songs (the Banquet Songs), the Guchui Tunes, and the Xianghe Songs—four of Guo Maoqian's 12 categories of the Ballad Songs. Bao Zhao was the poet who composed heptasyllabic stanzas in the remaining categories; namely, the Hengchui Tunes, the Dance Tunes, the Lute Tunes, the Miscellaneous Tunes, the Miscellaneous Folk Songs and Ditties, the Modern Tunes, and the New Ballad Songs. His heptasyllabic ballad songs included:

-- one heptasyllabic poem variant with trimeter, in imitation of "The Prince of Huainan" of the Duster Dance in the Dance Tunes;

-- five straight heptasyllabic poems and one heptasyllabic poem variant with trimeter, all in imitation of "The Ballad of the White Linen Dance" in the Dance Tunes;

-- one heptasyllabic poem variant with pentameter, to the tune of "The Plum Blossom's Falling" of the Flute Melodies in the Hengchui Tunes;

-- one straight heptasyllabic poem in imitation of "The Song of a Calling Wild Goose" in the Miscellaneous Tunes;

-- one heptasyllabic poem variant with trimeter, in imitation of "The Pheasant Flies in the Morning" in the Lute Tunes;

-- 18 heptasyllabic poems, straight or variant with pentameter, or pentameter and hexameter, or pentameter and nonameter, all in imitation of "The Road of Adversity" in the Miscellaneous Folk Songs and Ditties;

-- one poem in the tune of "Sitting up Chanting at Night," which is believed to be Bao Zhao's own creation.

Guo Maoqian's 12 categories include the Qingshan Tunes (mostly folksongs and ditties of the south); Bao Zhao composed 11 of them, but none are in heptameter. Guo Maoqian's Modern Tunes include the new tunes and songs popular from the Sui to the Northern (Zhao) Song Dynasty, and the New Ballad Songs include ballad songs or poems with new subject-titles created by poets since the Tang Dynasty. These are beyond the scope of this study, except the New Ballad Songs should be extended to include new ballad tunes or songs created during the Southern and Northern Dynasties; Bao Zhao's "Sitting up Chanting at Night" is a typical instance.
Guo Maoqian's categorization of the Ballad Songs is a controversial issue. Liang Qichao 梁启超, Lu Kanru 麗侃如, and Luo Genze 罗根泽 all advocate that the Miscellaneous Folk Songs and Ditties were "tu ge 徒歌" (songs without accompaniment; that is, songs not officially adopted). This category, as well as the Modern Tunes 近代曲辭 and the New Ballad Songs 新樂府辭, should hence be excluded from the Ballad Songs, or the Music Bureau Songs. Nevertheless, if the notion of the "Ballad Songs" remains as "folksongs adopted both by the Music Bureau and individual poets," and if the Ballad Songs are not limited to those folksongs adopted in the Han and the Wei Dynasties, then there is no reason to exclude the Modern Tunes 近代曲辭, the New Ballad Songs 新樂府辭, and the Miscellaneous Folk Songs and Ditties. For example, the Miscellaneous Folk Songs and Ditties contain both popular folksongs not officially adopted in the Han and the Wei Dynasties, and individual poets' poems adopted either from popular folksongs of the Han and the Wei or from the Southern and Northern Dynasties. Bao Zhao's 18 poems in imitation of the song of "The Road of Adversity" are typical of this instance. The song of "The Road of Adversity" was believed to be a rustic folksong of the Han Dynasty. Later, Yuan Shansong 袁山松 of the Jin Dynasty adopted and changed its tune then wrote a new lyric for it. However, neither the ancient nor Yuan's lyrics are extant today and there is no way to know which one of the two lyrics Bao Zhao imitated. The song of "The Road of Adversity" 行路難 was imitated by poets of later ages and included in the Miscellaneous Tunes 雜曲歌辭 by Wu Zhaoyi 吳兆宜; nevertheless, it was originally a rustic folksong and should be noted for its resemblance to the Miscellaneous Folk Songs and Ditties 雜歌謠辭. Similarly, both "The Ballad of the White Linen Dance 白紵舞歌辭" and "The Song of the White Linen 白紵曲" were included in the Dance Tunes 舞曲歌辭, but they most likely originated from either the "Pai Songs 俳歌" of the Jin Dynasty or the children's folk rhymes in the Huanglong Reign of the Wu 吳黃龍中童謠 and so should be noted for possible relation to the Miscellaneous Folksongs and Ditties. In any case, with a composition of 32 heptasyllabic ballad songs, Bao Zhao was not only the poet who wrote the greatest number of heptasyllabic poems before the Tang Dynasty, but also the poet who completed the stanzaic formation of the Heptasyllabic Ballad Songs 七言樂府.
Fourthly, the heptasyllabic lines appeared early in folksongs from the reign of Emperor Wu and the straight heptasyllabic stanzaic form was soon adopted in "The Shangjun Song" of the reign of Emperor Cheng of the Western Han Dynasty. Nevertheless, most of the heptasyllabic folksongs such as "The Bingzhou Song," "The Longshang Song," and "The Dafeng Song" popular before the Liu Song Dynasty were all northern Chinese folksongs. It was by the Jin Dynasty and with the three poems of the "Ballad of the White Linen Dance," which had a strong folksong origin, that the southern Chinese rustic ditties adopted the heptasyllabic stanzaic form. And Bao Zhao was the first poet to adopt and elaborate this heptasyllabic song form, which soon became a popular subject-title for later poets. He was also the first poet to adopt heptameter with variation, especially with pentameter, to rustic folksongs. Indeed, his contribution to the stanzaic formation of rustic folksongs should not be neglected.

Moreover, the heptasyllabic ballad songs with "variation" or with "long and short lines" originated early in the Nao Songs of the Guchui Tunes and in the Xianghe Tunes of the Han Dynasty. "Battling South of the City Wall" and "Longing for Someone" in the Nao Songs contain one or two heptasyllabic lines as one of many variant meters. "Dews on the Shallots" and "Wormwood Lanes" in the Xianghe Tunes contain half of their verse lines in heptameter. Chen Lin of the Jianan period was the first poet to write ballad songs in the stanza form with long and short lines. His "Song of Watering My Horse by the Great Wall" was a 28-line pentasyllabic ballad song with a variant of nine lines in heptameter. It is in fact more pentasyllabic than heptasyllabic. Later, Shi Chong of the Jin Dynasty wrote "Si Gui Tan" (The Song of Longing to Return) with half of its verse lines in heptameter, except that it was a Sao-style poem instead of a ballad song. Bao Zhao was, therefore, in a sense the first poet to have written true heptasyllabic songs with variant meters. He wrote 19 heptasyllabic ballad songs variant with different meters: five variant with trimeter, one variant with hexameter separable into trimeters, seven variant with pentameter, one variant with pentameter and one line in hexameter, one variant with pentameter and one line in octameter, and four
variant with pentameter and nonameter. The variation was successful in changing the mode, deepening the emotion, and varying the melodic rhythm of the song. His 18 poems in imitation of "The Road of Adversity 行路難" are a masterpiece of this elaboration, which not only made "The Road of Adversity" a popular subject-title among later poets, but also made the stanzaic form of a ballad song in heptameter with variation, or a ballad song in long and short lines 長短歌行, a unique and popular sub-genre.

Again, in the aspect of Poems on Things 詠物詩 and the Palace Poems 宮體詩 popular during the Qi and Liang Dynasties, Bao Zhao was also the first poet to adopt heptameter in these sub-genres. His vivid description of the jade boudoir of a lady in the third poem of "Imitating 'The Road of Adversity'" is truly seminal in the heptasyllabic Palace Poems 七言宮體; while his description of the golden censer as a token of love and favour in the second poem of "Imitating 'The Road of Adversity,'" his respect for the perseverance of the plum tree against adversity in "The Plum Blossom's Falling," his praise for the royalty of the pheasant in "The Pheasant Flies in the Morning," and his admiration for the faithfulness of the wild goose in "The Song of a Calling Wild Goose" no doubt herald the heptasyllabic Poems on Things 七言詠物. Since Bao Zhao was a favorite imperial courtier in Emperor Xiaowu's court and since he and Emperor Xiaowu were the first two poets to write poems to the tune of "Listening to a Songstress at Night," Bao Zhao was probably writing it to rhyme with that by Emperor Xiaowu. In any case, his second poem of "Listening to a Songstress at Night" in effect was an initial aspect of the heptasyllabic Occasional Poems 七言應制. As to the heptasyllabic Short Stanzas to be developed into the Heptasyllabic Quatrains and the Heptasyllabic Regulated Verses, Bao Zhao had written 26 heptasyllabic poems with 12 or less verse lines: one four-line, two six-line, five seven-line, five eight-line, one nine-line, five 10-line, one 11-line, and six 12-line heptasyllabic poems or heptasyllabic poems with variations. Before Bao Zhao there were no other heptasyllabic short songs except "The Great Wind Ditty 大風詠" in four-line stanza in the Miscellaneous Folk Songs and Ditties of the Jin Dynasty, and there were no heptasyllabic short poems except "Imitating the 'Four Poems on Distress' 懷四愁詩" in eight-line stanza by
Zhang Zai 张载 of the Jin Dynasty. Hence, Bao Zhao was the first poet to elaborate fully the heptasyllabic Short Stanzas 七言小诗. Furthermore, heptasyllabic poems before Bao Zhao usually rhymed at the end of every line; it was with Bao Zhao that the heptasyllabic poems began to rhyme at the end of every second line. He rhymed 18 of his 32 heptasyllabic poems in this way. Besides, he rhymed 16 of his heptasyllabic poems in even tone, and ended 134 of his 276 heptasyllabic verse lines in four new endings: LLO, OOL, LOO, and OLL (平平仄，仄仄平，平仄仄，和 仄平平). These innovations soon became characteristics of the Heptasyllabic Regulated Verses. His efforts and elaborations on the heptasyllabic Short Stanzas, which finally developed into the Heptasyllabic Quatrains 七言绝句 and the Heptasyllabic Regulated Verses 七言律詩, cannot be neglected.

To sum up, under a clearer and more detailed categorization of the heptasyllabic poems and songs as a whole, the conventional assumption that Zhang Heng initiated and Cao Pi completed the formation of the Heptasyllabic Poetry is disputable. Bao Zhao wrote the greatest number of heptasyllabic poems and songs before the Tang Dynasty, completed the stanzaic formation of the heptasyllabic Joint Stanzas 七言联句, and initiated the heptasyllabic Short Stanzas. He adopted heptameter into the Dance Tunes 舞曲歌辞, the Hengchui Tunes 横吹曲, the Miscellaneous Tunes 雜曲歌辞, the Lute Tunes 琴曲歌辞, the Miscellaneous Folk Songs and Ditties 雜歌謠辞, and the New Ballad Songs 新樂府辭; and hence completed the stanzaic formation of the Heptasyllabic Ballad Songs. He was the first poet to adopt heptameter into poems imitating southern Chinese rustic folksongs. He was the first poet writing true heptasyllabic ballad songs with variant meters, which eventually developed into a popular and unique sub-genre. He initiated heptasyllabic Palace Poems, heptasyllabic Poems on Things, and heptasyllabic Occasional Poems. Meanwhile, he elaborated an even tone rhyme at the end of every second line and four new rhythmatic endings, which later became unique characteristics of the Heptasyllabic Regulated Verses. Bao Zhao's elaborations on various sub-genres of the Heptasyllabic Poetry were indeed wide-reaching, and his contribution to the total formation of the genre was absolutely essential. Thus, although Wang Chuanshan’s 王船山 praise of Bao Zhao as the "Patriarch of the
Heptasyllabic Poetry" might be disputable, due to the notion of "patriarch" as "the earliest originator"; it is imperative to accredit Bao Zhao as the poet who completed the formation of the Heptasyllabic Poetry. Since 30 of his 32 heptasyllabic poems are ballad songs, and since he not only completed the formations of the straight heptasyllabic ballad songs and the heptasyllabic ballad songs with variations, but also developed the latter into a very unique sub-genre, it is therefore far more accurate to accredit Bao Zhao as "The Epitomizer of the Heptasyllabic Ballad Songs."
iv. Bao Zhao as a Great Reviver of the Ballad Poetry

a. The Development of Ballad Poetry Before Bao Zhao

The origin of the Ballad Poetry, Yuefu Shi, can be traced back to the popular folksongs or ditties collected and recorded by the Music Bureau of the Han Dynasty, and it is imperative for us to sum up the development of the Ballad Poetry from the Han to the Tang Dynasties in order to evaluate Bao Zhao's achievements and contributions to this genre. The popular folksongs of the Han Dynasty, metrically speaking, had no specific lyric forms, but were short stanzas in miscellaneous or variant meters; and among them the pentameter with variation was the most popular. Stanzaically speaking, these ballads were the general populace's spontaneous, lyrical songs in straightforward and unadorned diction, with sincere and unreserved emotions. In content, these songs were more often descriptive and narrative than expressive. While their descriptions were generally detailed and realistic, their narratives often elaborated a variety of subjects on family affairs and social problems. Indeed, these ballad songs reflected a broad spectrum of the ideology and intrinsic nature of the society in this historic period, and hence embodied a strong spirit of realism.

These ballads or folksongs of the Han Dynasty were spontaneous, vivid, and sincere, and hence were very different from "fu" (rhapsody or rhymed prose) and the orthodox literary forms of "shi" (verse or poem); therefore, by the end of the Han Dynasty or by the beginning of the Jianan Reign, as poets became dissatisfied with the rigidity of the tetrasyllabic verse and the overly-adorned parallelism of the rhapsody, they consequently turned to the ballad songs. They wrote poems imitating ballad songs in form and content. They would either adopt ballad titles and refine or rewrite old lyrics, or adopt ancient tunes and compose lyrics for them. Cao Cao 曹操, Cao Pi 曹丕, Cao Zhi 曹植, Cao Rui 曹叡, Ruan Yu 阮瑀, and Chen Lin 陈琳 were the leading poets of
this type of ballad poems. Together they created an entirely new repertoire of ballad songs. The fundamental difference is that these new ballad songs were composed by individual poets rather than the populace. They were ballad songs by intellectuals. Thus, under the poets' elaborations on rhyme, rhythm, and diction, the lyric form of the ballad songs generally became more orderly. The tetrameter nurtured and cultivated by Cao Cao, Cao Pi and Cao Rui, and the pentameter epitomized by Cao Zhi, eventually became the dominant metric forms of the Ballad Poetry. In diction, these ballad songs by individual poets were very natural and melodic, but they bore strong traits of intellectual elaboration and were more refined, adorned, and allusive than those of the Han Dynasty. As for content, in their realistic narratives on current social affairs and political events, in their substantial descriptions of miseries in the turmoil of wars, and in their profound and compassionate notes of the common people's hardships and sufferings, the intellectual ballad songs of the Jianan Period generally embraced the spirit of realism prevalent in the folk lyrics of the Han Dynasty.

It is beyond doubt that the intellectuals' ballad poems were more expressive and critical than the rustic ditties and folksongs collected by the Music Bureau. This was due to an apparent presence of the poet in the song. Indeed, most of the poets of the Jianan Period directly or indirectly experienced the turmoil of the time, the hardship of life, the separation by war, or even the destitution of a refugee. Consequently, the poets of this troubled time generally had stronger thoughts and feelings about various aspects of life. As a result, a great number of their ballad songs became so self-conscious that they deviated widely from the original themes or even from denotations of the titles adopted. "Dews on the Shallots " for example, was originally a funeral dirge, but Cao Cao adopted it as a lament for the time and the world, and Cao Zhi adopted it to express his own thoughts and feelings. Their imitations were borrowed directly from ballad tunes denoted by the titles. In this respect, they freed the ballad titles from their fixed contents and opened them up for all sorts of themes; the ballad poets from then on enjoyed near total freedom in creation, and together with the stanzaic and metrical renovations, they were able to enrich and broaden the repertoire of
the Ballad Poetry. In fact, poets of the Jianan Period made the ballad song a poetic form suitable not only to describe all sorts of human affairs, but also to express all kinds of thoughts and feelings. Furthermore, as poets of the Jianan Period embodied their profound thoughts and feelings in songs, they created a ballad poetry unique in style. It is a poetry full of the poets' compassion for the sufferings of the people devastated by turmoils and wars, indignation over the current social and moral conditions as well as customs and manners, anguish and anxiety over time, life and career, and lofty sentiments and vehement aspirations of the conscientious intellectual. Indeed, they created a ballad poetry full of fervency, sentiment, aspiration, and indignation. Liu Xie 呂德 in Wen Xin Diao Long 文心雕龍, made an observation concerning this literary phenomenon:

"An examination of literary writings of the time reveals that most writers were fond of expressing vehement, heroic and indignant sentiments. This is simply because they lived in a world marked by disorder and separation by war, at a time when morals declined, and in a society filled with resentment and grievances, while they cherished lofty aspirations and embraced great inspirations; hence they were blunt, fervent, courageous and full of resentful spirit. 故梗慨而多氣也." 

In short, while the above four types of embodiment defined the content of this intellectual ballad poetry, "fervency and indignation 傲慨," as Liu Xie called it, summed up its intrinsic nature. Amid aspiration, vehemency, compassion, anxiety, resentment, indignation and sentiment, a profound literary strength was engendered. Liu Xie called it "feng gu 風骨," Zhong Hong called it "feng li 風力"; while Professor Chia-ying Yeh Chao defines it as "an inspiring power from the depth of the soul." This literary strength was praised as "the disposition and vigor of the Jianan Literature" and became a literary example and a source of inspiration for future poets.

Nonetheless, by the Zhengshi Period 正始 of the Wei Dynasty, an adverse current against this critical realism gradually formed. The philosophy of Lao Zi 老子 and Zhuang Zi 莊子 became the focus of intellectual study, and the Pure Conversation 清談 became a dominant social practice. This countercurrent soon prevailed and bore direct fruit by the end of the Western Jin Dynasty. It brought forth among the intellectuals an enthusiasm for the study
of metaphysics or occultism, a zeal for the composition of metaphysical and mystical poems, and eventually an ardor for writing poems on the immortals. This enthusiasm soon seized the poetic world throughout the Jin Dynasty, even after the imperial court was forced by invading northern tribes to move southward and retain sovereignty over the south of the Yangzi River. Indeed, the emptiness and detachment of the Pure Conversation, the resignation and the negativism of the Taoist philosophy, the mysticism and the transcendentalism of the metaphysical poems, and the fantasy and illusory poems on the immortals were all intrinsically opposed to the nature and content of the literary critical realism prevailing in the ballad songs. The critical realism, therefore, was almost entirely absent from literature of the time, and poetic works in general seldom reflected intense social issues or real problems. Most poets concentrated on the cultivation of rhetoric technique, ornate style, and the elaboration of allusion, quotation, antithesis, and parallelism. As the critical realism withdrew into the background in the Ballad Poetry, the subject-matter of lyrics of the time often became imitative.

Contrary to the Jianan poets' general practice of writing about current issues and personal thoughts with an adopted ballad title, ballad poets of the Jin Dynasty recounted an ancient narrative according to its exact story line, or elaborated a theme according to an available poetic implication in an ancient song or a ballad by an earlier poet. Lu Ji's "Imperial Concubine's Lament" and Shi Chong's "Wang Mingjun's Song" are good examples of the former type; while Lu Ji's "Song of Yan" recounted Emperor Wen of the Wei's original theme, and Fu Xuan's "Love Song" faithfully related the old theme of "Mulberry by the Path." Similarly, the critical realism was also absent from poetic works imitating popular rustic songs of the time. Although some Wu Songs and Western Ditties were adapted into ceremonial songs, since the Jin court had lost most of its sacrificial songs as it moved southward, and although the Wu Songs and the Western Ditties, with singers and dancers, became major part of extravagant entertainments for the imperial, the elite, and the wealthy families of the Eastern Jin Dynasty, most of the Jin poets still took them as "rustic songs of the slum alleys" and disdained to imitate them.
Even if they did, their imitations were limited to the subject of love, which was the dominant theme in the entire repertoire of the Wu Songs and the Western Ditties extant today.

The imitative works of Zhang Hua 張華, Fu Xuan 傅玄, and Lu Ji, the three leading ballad poets of the Jin Dynasty, are the best examples of this development. Huang Ziyun's 黃子雲 comment on Lu Ji could serve as an excellent summary:

"(Lu) Pingyuan's pentasyllabic ballad songs elaborated and expounded on nothing but parallelism and antithesis. Occasionally there were rigid, stiff and jerky sentences. In addition, they followed closely the steps of previous poets and were not able to reveal his true feelings and disposition. Therefore, they were not worthy of admiration and emulation at all. 王、平原五言樂府，一味排比敷衍，間多硬句，且踵前人步伐，不能流露性情，均無足觀." ³

Though this statement appears to be an arbitrary comment on Liu Ji, it can serve as a general summary of the common practice and mode of the Ballad Poetry of the Jin Dynasty. As straight adoptions, elaborative parallelism, intense antithesis, indulgent allusions and quotations filled its repertoire, the Ballad Poetry of the Jin Dynasty lost the spirit and vitality of the critical realism and was for a long time stagnant.

The above aestheticism continued to prevail in poetry of the Liu Song Dynasty and rhetorical skills dominated more than ever the focus of the poet's attention. Poetic creativities elaborated so much on parallelism, antithesis, allusion, quotation, and adoption that the composition of "shi 詩" became a literary annotation or a copying of classics, and the composition of ballad songs turned into a stereotyped imitation. Xie Lingyun and Xie Huilian's ballad poems, which were mostly written in imitation of ballad songs of the Han and Wei Dynasties, were no longer simple and spontaneous; they were elegant and refined. On the contrary, popular folksongs and ditties in the south of the Yangzi River were flourishing. The Statutes and Laws of the Liu Song Dynasty allowed officials and officers at ranks equal to or higher than the Attendant of the Chancellery Department to own private female singers and dancers, and hence imperial households, as well as the high official, the elite, and the wealthy merchant families all retained singers and dancers. They were in constant competition, searching for new songs and dances, for better singers and dancers. As a result, the Liu Song Dynasty reaped
a great harvest of several hundred Wu Songs and Western Ditties. Despite the rejection by orthodox men of letters, many poets began to imitate these southern folksongs and rustic ditties. Emperor Xiaowu’s “Song of Adjutant Ding”, Prince Yiqing of Linchuan’s “Crow Cries at Night”, Prince Dan of Sui’s “Xiangyang Songs”, Emperor Shao’s “Songs of Lament”, Prince Yiqing of Linchuan’s “Crow Cries at Night”, Prince Dan of Sui’s “Xiangyang Songs”, Emperor Shao’s “Songs of Lament”, the Prince of Runan’s “Song of Biyu”, Prince Shuo of Nanping’s “Shouyang Songs”, Shen Youzhi’s “Crow Cries at Night”, and Zang Zhi’s “Shicheng Songs” were good examples. Nevertheless, it was not until Bao Zhao, who provided the genre with new stanzaic and metric forms and restored its true spirit of critical realism, that intellectual ballad poetry enjoyed its second full bloom.

b. Bao Zhao’s Ballad Songs in Imitation

The Ballad Songs as a genre constitute a wide scope of versification in terms of stanza, meter, mode of the tune, category of the song, as well as stylistic and thematic traits. Thus, in this generic study of Bao Zhao’s ballad songs, it is imperative to examine some of the stylistic and philosophical aspects. With 86 ballad songs extant today, Bao Zhao surpassed Cao Zhi of the Wei’s 59 and Emperor Jianwen of the Liang’s 78 ballad poems. Thus, he remains the poet who composed the greatest number of ballad songs before the Tang Dynasty. His ballads covered a wide range both in form and in content, and brought great impact to the ballad songs as a genre. This impact is apparent with a simple statistical analysis of the bulk of his ballads.

Firstly, with the modes of tunes given by the ballad titles, he adopted nine kinds: ge, xing, gexing, yin, qu, ci, pian, cao, and nong—about half of the 21 kinds of ballad modes known today. Metrically speaking, Bao Zhao’s ballads include 55 poems in pentameter and pentameter with variation and 30 poems in heptameter and heptameter with variation. His
elaborations on the heptasyllabic songs entitle him to be called "The Epitomizer of the Heptasyllabic Ballad Poetry." Stanzaically speaking, Bao Zhao virtually exhausted all stanzaic forms of ballad songs, and his status as an eminent poet of the Quatrain and the Regulated Verse is beyond doubt.

Categorically, Bao Zhao's ballad poems covered in nature nine of Guo Maoqian's 12 categories of ballad songs. There are four songs with titles unknown to any of Guo Maoqian's categories. These four poems, namely, "Imitating 'The Song of the Youth Soon to Turn into Senility' 代少年時至衰老行," "Imitating 'The Song of Anguish in Distress' 代貧賤苦愁行," "Imitating 'The Song of Frontier Life' 代邊居行," and "Imitating 'The Song of Ascending Mount Jing in the Springtime' 代陽春登荊山行," all have the word "dai 代" (substitute or to imitate) in the title. They are most likely Bao Zhao's own creation; no precedent for these types can be found in ballad songs before him. Besides, the last two of these four poems doubtless belong to Bao Zhao's unique repertoire of "Frontier and Landscape Poems," the genre developed by Bao Zhao after its initiation by Xie Lingyun. Thus, these four poems, as well as "Imitating 'Sitting up Chanting at Night' 代夜坐吟," in essence cover an extended scope of Guo Maoqian's category of the New Ballad Songs, in which he included ballad songs or poems with new subject-titles created by poets since the Tang Dynasty. Guo Maoqian's Modern Tunes included the new tunes and songs popular from the Sui Dynasty to the Northern Zhao Song Dynasty of his time. Thus, under an extended definition of this category, Bao Zhao's Qingshang Tunes such as "The Wu Songs," "The Song of Picking Waterchestnut 採菱歌," and "The Songs of the Restoration 中興歌," were, if not imitations, either adoptions or modifications of popular folksongs of his time, and in fact covered the categorical scope of the Modern Tunes.

Stylistically speaking, among Bao Zhao's 204 poems extant today, there are 80 poems with the word, or a word in effect of, "imitation" in the titles, and 56 of these poems are ballad songs; thus, 56 of his 86 ballads are in imitation. Nevertheless, Bao Zhao's notion of "imitation" is more than a literary or conventional one. He used "dai 代" in the titles of 37 ballad songs, "ni 擬" in the titles of 19 ballads and 10 poems, "xue 學" in the titles of seven poems and
"shao 續" in the titles of seven poems. The word "xue" denotes "to imitate or to mimic," while the word "ni" denotes "to imitate or to copy." The word "shao" means "to carry on or to continue," hence its extended meaning can well be "to make a sequel" in terms of identical form and theme. The word "dai" means "to substitute for or to replace in the name of or in lieu of"; therefore, it suggests a connotation of "a substitution for or a replacement" of the old lyric of a ballad song with a new one modified from the original. This is sustained first by the fact that among his 56 ballad songs in imitation, some are in imitation of both the title and the meaning, some are in imitation of the title only; while others are just compositions to the tunes of ancient as well as popular folksongs. Indeed, Bao Zhao wrote a great number of ballads in imitation both in titles and in meanings of pre-existing ballads. Nevertheless, even with this type of imitation, there was always something new of his own.

"Imitating 'The Graveyard Song' 代殤里行" and "Imitating 'The Funeral Dirge' 代挽歌," for example, both imitate the funeral song "Hao Li 蠹里" (The Wormwood Lane). This song originated in the Han Dynasty from an elegy for the nobles, the "Xie Lu 薺露" (The Dew on the Shallots). It was usually sung at funerals of the commoners and the intellectuals, as well as the lesser officials 士大夫庶人. Comparing Bao Zhao's dirges with the original elegies of the Han Dynasty, it becomes apparent that although Bao Zhao imitated "The Graveyard Song" in title and in meter, in essence he wrote a lyric more suitable as an elegy for the intellectuals, scholars, and lesser officials. The original graveyard song reads:

Whose land is this wormwood lane?
It amasses souls of wise or foolish.
How hastily Hades presses on us,
Human life is not allowed a moment of hesitation.

It laments the ephemerality and uncertainty of life. It is suitable as a general lament for the ordinary life of a commoner, but is apparently inadequate for an intellectual, a scholar, or a lesser official, who believed in Confucian values and purpose of life, and were oftentimes buried with their ideals and ambitions.
Bao Zhao adopted the title and tune of this simple dirge, extended its lyric into a 16-line stanza, and refined it with sentimental intellectual pathos:

The same end will fall upon men whether humble or noble,
But their different dreams may or may not have come true.
The urging ripples in the clepsydra hasten the long night,
And the drizzling dews press the ephemeral twilight.
I harness the horse to my carriage and ride to the obscure mount,
And depart from this full hall of loved ones and relatives.
My vain image is left behind with my sword and adornment,
While my true appearance is concealed in cap and garment.

How will I be able to drink pitchers of wine again,
And who will address me a lengthy letter now and then?
As soon as the time passes one short while,
My ideals and ambitions will gradually become obscured.
Human life itself has been very painful,
With whom has Providence ever found favor?
I cherish my long-lasting resentment,
And return to become dirt and dust among fox and hare.

This song is a lament of the deceased rather than a dirge sung at a funeral. The dead one laments not death but his unfulfilled dreams. Death is accepted as an inevitable end of life, for Providence spares no one. The deceased, or rather the poet, laments his ideals which are to be buried with him, his incomplete projects, and unfulfilled ambition. His cap and garment, which symbolize his Confucian ideals and non-official status, and are ironically larger than his build, are to be buried with him; while his sword, which symbolizes his ambition as a chivalrous gallant and is ironically referred to as an adornment, is vainly left behind. At his departure from this world to the obscure mount among the animals, the poet regrets not being able to drink like a gallant soldier and to conduct literary discussions as a scholar any more. Also, his soul laments the fact that as time passes, his ideals and ambitions will soon become obscured and eventually be buried in oblivion.

Similarly, with ballads such as "Imitating Prince Chen Si's 'Ballad of the White Steed' Imitating 'The Song of the Hoary Head' and "Plucking Mulberry Leaves" though Bao Zhao adopted their titles and themes from Cao Zhi and Fu Xuan respectively, he elaborated their themes with different pathos. With ballads such as "Imitating 'The Song of the Hoary Head' and "Plucking Mulberry Leaves" he departed from the themes elaborated by poets before him and returned to the original poetry of their ancient lyrics. This type of imitation, which
elaborates on old titles and themes with new pathos, is exactly what Zhu Jutang 朱桓堂 in the Yue Fu Zheng Yi 楯府正義 called "zhuan 轉" -- a shifting or transferring. This "shift" with poetic pathos is to be rendered as "modulating" or "modulation." As for the imitation which elaborates an adopted title with an entirely new theme, Zhu Jutang called it "jie 借," literally "borrowing." Thus, though a lot of Bao Zhao's ballads were written under borrowed titles, they were actually his own creations. "Imitating 'The Song Without Restraint' 代放歌行" and "Imitating 'The Song of Departing From the North Gate of Ji' 代出自薊北門行" are the two best examples of this type of ballad with borrowed titles. Bao Zhao borrowed the title of "The Song Without Restraint 放歌行" from an old ballad originally called "The Song of an Orphan 孤子行" and he adopted the title "Imitating 'The Song of Departing From the North Gate of Ji' 出自薊北門行" from the first line of Cao Zhi's "Love Song 釵行"; nevertheless, the lyrics and themes in these two ballads of Bao Zhao's are absolutely different from the original ones. They are entirely his own creations. The old "Song Without Restraint," or "The Song of an Orphan," is a baleful song of an orphan. The orphan indicated the miseries inflicted upon him by his ill-hearted brother and sister-in-law, and expressed his laments for the death of his parents and his own loneliness. Bao Zhao's "Imitating 'The Song Without Restraint' 代放歌行" did not adopt this theme:

The smartweed bug shuns mallow and violet,  
And does not alight on them for it is used to bitter flavor.  
A petty person is by nature filthy and narrow-minded,  
How can he understand the heart of a man without restraint?  
In Luoyang City as the rooster is crowing,  
The gate of the Forbidden City opens early in the morning.  
Then from everywhere arrive canopies and officers,  
From four directions come carriages and cavaliers.  
Plain girdles and sashes flap in the swift wind,  
While colored tassels and straps are stained with travel dust.  
By high noon the rush still cannot come to an end,  
And by curfew much of the crowd is still detained.  
It's impossible to come across such a peaceful time again,  
In which the wise Emperor truly treasures able men.  
The prudence of His Majesty is from heaven,  
And free from any external suspicious influence.  
Upon a right word one will receive a jade tablet of nobility,  
And with a virtuous deed one can depart from rusticity.  
And the bestowal is not only of pure jades,  
A terrace of gold is to be erected as reward.  
From what then have you been suffering,  
So as to be alone by the roadside lingering?
Instead, Bao Zhao's ballad is a song by a man without restraint. Beyond the comprehension of petty persons, this man without restraint declined the officialdom and became used to the simple but hard life. He witnessed the prosperity of the capital city at a great peaceful time, and praised the Emperor for his prudence in seeking and treasuring able men of virtue. He then inquired of a person lingering alone by the roadside about what sufferings had kept him from going to the capital city. This question can be taken as a self-examination, since the connotation of "kuangshi" (a man free from worries and petty ideas) does not exclude the definition of "a man with greater or loftier ideas or ambitions" different from those of the general populace rushing to the capital city. Thus, although a tone of irony in the "kuangshi" as a lone soul in the political arena at the end of the ballad cannot be avoided, in form and sense the ballad is entirely, except for its title, the poet's own creation.

Similarly, Cao Zhi's "Love Song" was a song by a maiden who sang about the beautiful mulberry trees beside lakes and ponds. It is a typical amorous song of the ballads of "Plucking Mulberry Leaves." Bao Zhao adopted the first line of Cao's "Love Song," "Departing From the North Gate of Ji," as the title of his ballad and gave it a totally different pathos:

An urgent bulletin was issued from the sentry box on the border,
The signal of war by beacon fire had reached Xianyang City.
Transferred to garrison at Guangwu is a cavalry,
As the relieving troops are dispatched to deliver Shuofang County.
Late autumn toughens the arrowwood and the ox-tendon for bowstrings,
And the mounted barbarian troops are formidable and unyielding.
The son of Heaven places his hand on his sword in great anger,
Messengers catch sight of one another in the distance.
Soldiers climb up the rocky road in a row like flying geese,
And cross the single-span bridge in a file like fish.
The memory of the Han prevails with the drums and flutes,
While armour and banners are covered with frontier frost.
A strong gale sweeps up and over the border land,
And blows about in the air the gravel and the sand.
Horsehairs are as stiff as hedgehog spines,
And horn-tipped bows cannot be drawn.
The moral integrity of a vassal surfaces in time of danger,
And the world in chaos recognizes the loyal and the virtuous;
For they will devote their lives to serve the wise ruler,
Or sacrifice themselves for the country like a martyr.

Bao Zhao's ballad apparently is a song by a gallant soldier, one of the fortifying hussars dispatched to the frontier. He sang about the tension of war at the
border, the forced march of the relief troops, the hardship facing the expeditionary force, and finally his own determination to devote his life to the emperor and die for the country. This is apparently a poem about the frontier and active service. It is entirely different from Cao's amorous song of a mulberry girl. So, although its tune might still be the same as the original one, "Imitating 'The Song of Departing From the North Gate of Ji' 代出自北門行" is Bao Zhao's own creation.

Bao Zhao also adopted the above types of modulation in his poems in imitations of folksongs or rustic ditties. In his imitations of popular folksongs, he adopted more modulations, while in imitations of ancient rustic ditties, he often borrowed many aspects. "The Song of Wu 吳歌," "The Song of Picking Waterchestnut 採菱歌," "Imitating 'The Ballad of the White Linen Dance' 代白紬舞歌辭," and "Imitating 'The Song of the White Linen' 代白紬曲," for example, are all ballads imitating or modulating folksongs of Wu and popular Western ditties 吳歌西曲. Although their stanzaic as well as metric forms were more refined and rhetorical than those of the original lyrics, their poetic themes were generally in tune with the original ones. "The Song of Wu 吳歌" is in tune with its love song origin; "The Song of Picking Waterchestnut 採菱歌" is still a maiden's ditty; and "Imitating 'The Ballad of the White Linen Dance' 代白紬舞歌辭" and "Imitating 'The Song of the White Linen' 代白紬曲" remain dance songs. On the other hand, "Imitating 'The Song of Dongwu' 代東武吟" and "Imitating 'The Road of Adversity' 擁行路難" are examples of ballads imitating or borrowing titles from ancient rustic songs or ditties. "Imitating 'The Song of Dongwu' 代東武吟," according to Li Shan's 李善 notes on Zuo Si's "Rhapsody on the Capital of the Qi 左思齊都賦," was a rustic ditty of the Qi region 齊土風, but by Wang Sengqian's 王僧虔 time, perhaps due to the loss of its original lyric or tune, it was not sung any more, and Bao Zhao's lyric is the earliest one known and extant. Although ancient commentaries on the tune suggested that it was a ditty of a gallant soldier from the Qi region, Bao Zhao's "Imitating 'The Song of Dongwu' 代東武吟" was actually a lament of an old soldier, who after a lifetime devotion to the imperial expeditions had been left alone to try to survive on the Dongwu Hills. Though this ballad can still be
classified as a gallant frontier song or a poem of active service like the original ditty, the resentment of the old soldier over the injustice he received has become the main pathos of the ballad and has thus made it a totally new creation.

"Imitating 'The Road of Adversity' 擬行路難," too, is an imitation of an ancient folksong. It was said to be a folksong of the Han Dynasty, and according to Yue Fu Jie Ti 樂府解題, it was a song which began with a rhetorical question "Don't you see 君不見" and sang about the hardship of life and the sorrow of separation and departure. Yuan Shansong 袁山松 of the Jin Dynasty was said to have modulated its tune and written a new lyric for it; nevertheless, both the ancient and Yuan's lyrics were lost and Bao Zhao's lyric was the earliest one known of this ballad. Although it is impossible to compare Bao Zhao's lyric with either the ancient or Yuan's lyrics to decide the degree of modulation, it is nevertheless apparent that with a variety of stanzaic forms and metric combinations, and with a wide range of pathos and themes, Bao Zhao turned his imitation from modulating to borrowing. In the 18 poems of "Imitating 'The Road of Adversity,'" Bao Zhao adopted seven metrical forms ranging from straight heptameter to combinations of heptameter with pentameter, hexameter, octameter, and nonameter. He adopted eight different stanzaic forms ranging from six lines to 26 lines. Thematically speaking, Bao Zhao not only added many new themes but also appealed to a number of new poetic sentiments. Indeed, he freed the ballad from its stanzaic and metric limitations, enriched its thematic applications, and deepened its poetic inspirations. Thus, it is proper to say that Bao Zhao revived or recreated the ballad with new form and sense.

The third type of Bao Zhao's imitations, such as "Imitating 'The Pheasant Flies in the Morning' 飛行朝飛," "Imitating the Song of 'The North Wind Is Chilly' 北風涼行," "Imitating 'The Song of Ascending Mount Jing in the Springtime' 春登荊山行," and "Imitating 'A Sparrow on the Deserted City Tower' 空城雀," is unique in the fact that it is more creative than imitative. It is, of course, a type with borrowed titles, except that these titles were not borrowed from ancient or popular songs, nor from ballads by poets before him, but from general themes of
ballad songs, words or sentences from classics, and names or notes of tunes for musical instruments. "Imitating 'The Pheasant Flies in the Morning' 代雉朝飛," for example, according to the *Yue Fu Shi Ji* 楼府詩集, is adopted from the title of a lute tune; and its theme, according to Qian Zhonglian 錢仲聯, is modulated from the lute tune's prefactory note collected in the *Qin Qing Ying*. "Imitating the Song of 'The North Wind Is Chilly' 代北風涼行," or "The Song of the North Wind 北風行" as recorded in *Yu Tai Xin Yong* 玉臺新詠, adopted its title from the first line: "The north wind is chilly 北風其涼" in "The North Wind" in the Wei Poems in the *Book of Poetry* 詩經衛詩北風, but its theme on "boudoir longing in the stormy north wind" is entirely different from the original theme on "the north wind's devastation on myriad of things just like that of a dictator on people." As for "Imitating 'A Sparrow on the Deserted City Tower' 代空城雀," it is self-evident that the title is taken from the first couplet of the ballad: "A sparrow is raising four fledglings at the corner of the deserted city wall 鳥乳四穎, 空城之阿," while its theme on the contentment of a little sparrow comes from ancient legends as well as philosophical writings. Qian Zhonglian classified "Imitating the Song of 'The North Wind Is Chilly' 代北風涼行" into the Miscellaneous Tunes 雜曲歌辭, and Guo Maoqian classified "Imitating 'A Sparrow on the Deserted City Tower' 代空城雀," "Imitating 'The Song of the Spring Days' 代春日行," "Imitating 'The Song of the Bright Moon' 代朗月行," and "Imitating 'The Song of Sitting in the Hall' 代堂上歌行" into the Miscellaneous Tunes 雜曲歌辭. The creative aspect of the nature of the Miscellaneous Tunes, as well as its categorical attributes, is illustrated by these ballads, as well as by "Imitating 'The Road of Adversity,'" which is fashioned after an ancient tune, and by "Imitating 'The Song of Juvenile Gallantry' 代結客少年場行"—an imitation of Cao Zhi's "Song of Juvenile Gallantry 結客篇," which is in turn an imitation of a rustic song popular among juvenile delinquents in Capital Changan of the Han Dynasty. It is in this respect one may assume that Bao Zhao's ballads such as "Imitating 'The Song of Ascending Mount Jing in the Springtime' 代陽春登荊山行," "Imitating 'The Song of the Frontier Life' 代邊居行," and "Imitating 'The Song of the Youth Soon to Turn into Senility' 代少年時至衰老行," which have no commentary notes on their categorical attributes; and that such as "Imitating 'Sitting up
Chanting at Night' 代夜坐吟," which is taken as Bao Zhao's own creation by Guo Maoqian, are probably ballads written according to existing tunes or adopted from little-known rustic songs. Thus, they may be classified into the Miscellaneous Tunes 雜曲歌辭 and obtain justification for the word "imitation" in their titles.

To sum up, as "imitation" is a poetic tradition in Chinese Ballad Poetry, Bao Zhao wrote a great number of songs as sheer exercises of this tradition. His imitations generally fall into three types. The first type is an imitation of both the title and the theme, which often received a certain degree of modification or modulation on its language and pathos. The second type of imitation is actually only a borrowing of the title from an existing song, while its theme is usually of the poet's own creation. And the third type of imitation borrows its titles from that of a musical tune or adopted from words or phrases of classical writings, while its theme is often new to the repertoire of ballads and songs.

With the notion of imitation thus defined, one inevitable question to answer is why Bao Zhao would write ballads with an "imitation" or "substitution" in the title, while they were virtually his own creations. In the final analysis, Bao Zhao's elaboration may be explained by two possible motivations. Firstly, Bao Zhao may simply have followed the great ballad convention which imitated an existing song and thereby titled his ballad lyrics written after a little-known tune "an imitation." Secondly, in judging the content of the ballad by the poet's social and political backgrounds, it is likely that Bao Zhao intended to use "imitation" as a subterfuge to avoid censure of his criticisms or comments on current social and political affairs. He elaborated on a general historical issue, one common to many dynasties or similar to a past event, and indicated that the ballad was an imitation or a substitution of that of an existing song or tune in the great poetic tradition of Chinese ballad songs. By this means, he may have sought to elude poetic censorship and subsequent persecution of his critical realism. Bao Zhao's ballads were traditionally acclaimed as allegorical; critics such as Chen Hang 陳沆 and Wu Zhifu 吳摯父 claimed 13 of Bao Zhao's ballads allegorized specific political events. Only four of them have proved to be so under examination, yet 26 of his 86 ballads can be generally accredited as
allegories of common situations of his time or of general observations in history. Thus Bao Zhao may be seen as "the poet who had revived the tradition of critical realism of the ballad songs of the Han and the Wei Dynasties." Nevertheless, it could not have been possible for Bao Zhao, as a lesser official in various principalities, counties and the imperial court, to give overt criticism of current social and political issues. It was natural and easier for him to follow the poetic tradition in ballad songs and write in imitation to elude possible consequences. Thus it is most likely that in calling a ballad of his own creation an imitation, Bao Zhao was either following the poetic convention or employing subterfuge in order to avoid censorship. While aspects of allegory and critical realism in Bao Zhao's ballads are issues to be discussed later in the stylistic and philosophical studies of his poetry, it is beyond doubt that given one-third of his ballads elaborate upon comments or criticisms on general social or political issues, Bao Zhao was very much in tune with the critical realism in the ballads of the Han Dynasty, and in harmony with the fervent and indignant spirit of the ballad poets of the Jianan Period.

c. The Critical Realism with Fervent Indignation and Unrestrained Spirit in Bao Zhao's Ballad Songs

In his ballad poems Bao Zhao elaborated on a wide variety of themes covering almost every aspect of human life. As a compassionate, conscientious, and aspiring intellectual, he wrote about the misery of war and turmoil, the heavy burden of levy and active service, the hardship and bitterness of living, social and political injustice, the hope for a wise ruler and great peace, personal anguish, individual ambition and aspiration, and disillusionment. Through descriptions of the lives and fates of men of talent, roaming scholars and knight-errants, detained travellers and officials, soldiers on guard at the frontier, and pensive women, he brought indignant accusation and vehement protest against injustice in the world, and expressed his sincere hope for personal progress, social reform, and political
improvement. His ballad poems were very similar to the Han and the Wei's ballad songs, which were "inspired by emotions and expressed about current events." Indeed, he gave the Ballad Poetry a much wider and deeper scope of social content, restoring in it the true spirit of critical realism which had been stagnant for more than 150 years since the Jin Dynasty. "Imitating 'The Song of Dongwu' 代東武吟," "Imitating 'The Song Without Restraint' 代放歌行," "Imitating 'The Song of Juvenile Gallantry' 代紉客少年場行," "Imitating 'The Song of the East Gate' 代東門行," "Imitating 'The Song of the Hoary Head' 代白頭吟," "Imitating 'The Song of Departing From the North Gate of Ji' 代出自薊北門行," "Imitating 'The Song of Suffering from Heat' 代苦熱行," "Imitating 'The Song of the Bright Moon' 代朗月行," "Imitating 'The Song of Sitting in the Hall' 代堂上歌行," "Imitating 'The Song of Anguish in Distress' 代貧賤苦愁行," "Imitating 'The Song of the Frontier Life' 代邊居行," "Imitating 'There Are Travelers at the Gate' 代門有車馬客行," "Imitating 'The Song of Sorrow' 代悲哉行," "Imitating 'The Boat Song' 代謳歌行," "Imitating Prince Chensi's 'Ballad of the White Steed' 代陳思王白馬篇," "Imitating the Ancient Verse 擬古," and "Imitating 'The Road of Adversity' 擬行路難" are his best poems of critical realism. As the philosophical content of the critical realism in his ballads will be discussed in the philosophical study of Bao Zhao's poetry, the fervent mood of indignation and the vehement tone of critical realism in his ballads should be examined in the stylistic study of Bao Zhao's poetry; however, since critical realism with fervent indignation and unrestrained spirit is the true essence of the Ballad Poetry and inseparable from the genre, it will be discussed here.

To begin with, it is essential to note that the critical realism in Bao Zhao's ballads is different from that in the ballads of the Han and Wei Dynasties. Due to his social status and the objective circumstances of the time, Bao Zhao was not in a position to make explicit statements about any social or political issue; but, as shown by previous study, he found a subtle device in the word "imitation." He adopted an old ballad title to relate an historical event of the past, to elaborate on a general social or political issue of a time, or to expound on a conventional image to give his comment on certain general situations. In so doing, Bao Zhao's
ballads were in danger of losing their individuality, and the temporal and spatial immediacy of critical realism, consequently becoming mere generalizations.

Nevertheless, he was able to find a remedy and turned his self-imposed restraint into an advantageous quality in his ballad poetry. In the 14th poem of "Imitating 'The Road of Adversity,'" for example, Bao Zhao made observations on the general situation of active service at that time:

Don't you see that people who joined the army as young lads
Have not returned home but still wander as hoary heads?
Day and night they get farther away from their native places,
Their whereabouts are further obstructed by rivers and passes.
The desolate north wind hastens the flying white clouds,
The poignant nomad pipes bitterly chill the frontier air.
Listening to the reeds they can't help feeling sad,
Ascending the mount to gaze they can only recall faces from memory.
They might be trampled to death under the nomad hooves,
And may never be able to see their wives and children again.
What can a man say of being born to a life of frustration,
But rise up with deep sighs when ravaged by endless sorrows?

This ballad commences with a general observation on active service; beginning with a rhetorical question, it surprisingly confirms that people who joined the army as youths are still serving at an advanced age. The second couplet describes the soldiers' separation from their native places in time and space, while the third couplet vividly depicts both the hardship of frontier life and the tension of war at the border. The fourth couplet shifts inwardly to describe the emotional torment of homesickness during lifelong separation. And the fifth couplet further describes the horrible fear of being killed in battle, never to see wives and children again. The ballad then ends with a general observation on the emotional aspect of active service. It ends with another rhetorical question, which is in fact a sad resignation; a man born to a life of frustration can do nothing but restrain his endless sorrow and rise up from lamentation.

Indeed, the heavy burden of active service was a major social and political issue common to many dynasties throughout history, and Bao Zhao's ballad was a general observation on this timeless problem. Nevertheless, this burden was heavier and subsequent suffering was greater in the Liu Song Dynasty, with its constant military confrontations with the Northern Wei Dynasty. As this urgent situation substantially intensified the age-old issue, it consequently acquired
a temporal and spacial immediacy, which subsequently transformed Bao Zhao's observations into current prescriptions. Furthermore, although Bao Zhao was writing about the burden of active service as a general issue in Chinese history, his observations on the physical strain, the emotional torment, and the psychological stress of men on active service were so vivid yet subtle that they gave a sense of realistic individuality to this issue. Bao Zhao's comments were reflections comparing the current situation with the traditional Confucian ideal which advocated that the responsibility of a prudent ruler was to eliminate suffering engendered by war, and to bring great peace upon his subjects. The reflection was implicit; the criticism was universally true and applicable. In a word, while Bao Zhao made general observations on common social and political issues in Chinese history, he was able to intensify each issue by individualization. Then, as tension in the general issue was matched by the urgency of current problems, his work thus acquired a temporal and spatial immediacy, rendering his criticism as timely and specific, which completes the exercise of critical realism.

Bao Zhao's second approach in eluding possible censorship or persecution of his social and political criticisms was to elaborate on a similar historical event. "Imitating 'The Song of Dongwu'代東武吟" is a good example of this practice:

Lend me your ears, my lord,
And allow me to sing a word.
I was originally a poor country scholar,
But under the Imperial Han's grace, I entered the public service.
At first I followed Colonel Zhang, an expeditionary commander,
Campaigning against the Huns to the spring of the Yellow River.
Later I rode after Commander Li, the general of the cavalry,
Galloping to the Great Wall to chase out the Huns yonder.
Our short expeditions often extended some ten thousand leagues,
And we received seven missions even in a peaceful year.
I exhausted all my strength on saddle and in armor,
And my heart experienced every kind of human warmth and coldness.
Now the general has descended into the world nether,
Hardly as well have survived the military campaigners.
As soon as time and circumstances became different,
There was no one to estimate our humble achievement.
I left my families when young and vigorous,
But have returned home now old and poor.
With the sickle by my waist I collect wild greens and beans,
While leaning on a staff I pasture pigs and chicks.
Formerly I was like an eagle on the armlet of a falconer,
But now I am much like an ape behind bars.
Conceiving futilely an everlasting bitterness,
I harbour vainly a lifelong resentment.
Longing for your tent like an abandoned mat,
And strongly attached to your high chariot like a jaded steed.
I wish you will confer upon us the Duke Wen of Jin's benevolence,
So you won't feel ashamed before Tutor Tian's compassionate spirit.

This pentasyllabic ballad can be roughly divided into seven quatrains. The first quatrain begins with the usual opening of a sing-along song. It then sets the time in the Han Dynasty and the place at a poor village. The second quatrain proceeds to summarize the singer's life of military expeditions. The third quatrain further defines his active service in terms of time and space, as well as physical and emotional endurances. The fourth quatrain describes how quickly distinguished service was forgotten once the general and most of his fellow soldiers died. The fifth quatrain describes how the forgotten soldier returns home, poor and old, to endure the hardship of surviving alone. The sixth quatrain relates the soldier's past adventures to his current impoverished situation, noting his everlasting regret. In the last quatrain, the soldier expresses his devotion to the emperor with images of a mat abandoned by the majestic imperial tent and a decrepit horse attached to the imperial high chariot. He consequently wishes that the emperor would confer benevolence upon old soldiers by citing the example of Duke Wen of Jin, who discarded no old mats and forsook no old followers, so that he would not feel ashamed before the spirit of Tutor Tian, who had advised Marquis Wen of the Wei State not to forsake an old horse which had done its duty. These two allusions convey not only the soldier's critical reflection of his current situation, but also the poet's comment on the injustice of the soldier's present misery.

Indeed, it is obvious that in this ballad Bao Zhao intended to discuss the soldier's welfare, but instead of directly commenting on the subject, he elaborated, in the name of imitation, on an individual case in the great Han Dynasty. He wrote a life song of one of this glorious dynasty's old soldiers, who after a lifelong active service was abandoned by the state and left alone to survive on the hillside. Bao Zhao's critical message was thus obscured by the remoteness of this historical event. In order to liberate himself from the estrangement of history and to transcend the individuality of a past event, Bao Zhao relied on the affinity of universal images. Bao Zhao typified the old...
soldier's suffering of lifelong military service, his abandonment in old age, his misery and hardship in surviving alone, and his incessant anxiety, so that the universality of these traits would be embodied in the image of the neglected old soldier and thus represent Chinese soldiers of all dynasties. Manipulating temporal and spatial immediacy by this means, the image of the great Han Dynasty soldier was immediately identified with all abandoned soldiers of the Liu Song Dynasty; the issue of the soldier's welfare in the Han Dynasty immediately became a current one in the poet's time, and the spirit of critical realism in this ballad was thereby secured. Since the responsibility of a virtuous ruler and the principles of a benevolent administrator, as depicted by two allusions in the last quatrain, were historically accepted as ultimate exercises of Confucian social and political ideals embraced by Chinese intellectuals of all ages, Bao Zhao's allusive criticism penetrated the depths of history and cast its light on a current situation of similar implications. Thus in his allegorical poems he utilized critical realism to full advantage.

Generally speaking, in a conservative interpretation, 26 of Bao Zhao's ballads and more than 30 of his "shi" poems can be said to contain critical intent. They are all poems in imitation or, to be more exact, poems with the word "imitation" in the title. While most of these poems or songs elaborated on social and political issues, which were common problems to many dynasties in history, but had become very serious in the Liu Song Dynasty; they would also expound on specific events or people in history. In the former case Bao Zhao was usually able to avoid banal historical generalizations and bring forth a temporal or spatial immediacy which paralleled contemporary situations. In the latter case, he was also able to surmount superfluous aspects in elaborating on a past event or person, and to generate a universality which would free the issue or the image from historical limitations and give it contemporary significance. In both cases Bao Zhao brought forth criticism on social and political situations of his time. Nevertheless, it is unlikely that Bao Zhao would write overt comments or explicit allegories of any particular person, event, or issue of his day; thereupon, most of these ballad poems may be taken as simple allegories. Such an interpretation of Bao Zhao's
poems by Chinese traditional allegorists will be examined later in the stylistic study of Bao Zhao's poetry. But it is essential here to note that the allegories in Bao Zhao's poems were rich in meaning and profound; their plural significance, great affinity, and universal appeal became a unique feature of his ballad poetry. Indeed, Bao Zhao's ballad poems of critical realism should be interpreted on the levels of general implication and universal significance. Any attempt to identify his allegorical and metaphorical ballad poems with specific historical events or individuals would inevitably degrade the poems, and compromise their poetic impact and relevance.

d. Bao Zhao as a Great Reviver of the Ballad Poetry

Thus, we may conclude that with a body of 86 ballad poems covering most categories and forms of the Ballad Poetry, 56 poems bearing the word "imitation" in title, 30 poems in heptameter or heptameter with variation, and 26 poems in allegory and critical realism; Bao Zhao not only inherited the spirit of critical realism from the ballad songs of the Han and Wei Dynasties and the vehement indignance of poets of the Jianan Period, but also succeeded in creating pentasyllabic short stanzas that were the precursors of Quatrains and Regulated Verses, in expanding the scope of poetic themes, and in cultivating heptameter, heptameter with variation, or ballads in long and short meters, into mature and effective poetic forms. He engendered a new vitality that was essential in reviving ballad poetry from its century-long stagnancy in the Jin Dynasty. He brought forth the second full bloom of the ballad poems of critical realism. He planted the seeds of the genre which, after a long period of hibernation through the countercurrent in the Southern and Northern Dynasties when Chinese poetry was festooned with sensualism and erotism of the dominant Palace Poetry, finally germinated into the third bloom during the great Tang Dynasty.

However, this second blooming of critical realism in the Ballad Poetry withered after Bao Zhao and it was soon followed by a new artificial blooming of
the Yongming Style Poetry. During the Yongming Reign (483-493) of Emperor Wu of the Qi Dynasty, Shen Yue advocated a theory of tone, rhythm, and rhyme. He emphasized the importance of tones in the Chinese language, the melodic and harmonic perfection, and the eight defects to be avoided in rhythm and rhyme. His view soon became popular and the poetic creativities of intellectuals of the time were subsequently seized by a zeal of formalism, emphasizing only parallelism and antithesis in versification. Wang Chuanshan held Shen Yue responsible for this type of poetry and its degeneration by calling him "The Patriarch of Bad Poems of All Times." Wang's comment was somewhat harsh, but Shen Yue's theory had tremendous influence on poets for many later generations. Consequently, under this literary trend poets of the Liang Dynasty elaborated on nothing but the poetic techniques of formalism; and under the rulers of the House of Xiao and their favorite courtiers, poetic content of poetry of the Liang Dynasty reflected nothing but the limited aspects of court life of the imperial households or the aristocratic life of the elite families. Emperor Jianwen's ballad songs offered a typical example of this type of poetry. His ballad songs contained an overflow of techniques and were full of frivolous and bold descriptions of the sensual beauty of a female body. As a result, to read his ballad songs "one would be bored with sensualities and get fed up with sensations." This style of poetry, called "The Palace Style Poetry" since it was cultivated by rulers and courtiers of the House of Liang, remained dominant during the Chen, Sui, and early Tang Dynasties. While the Latter Emperor of the Chen Dynasty and his favorite courtier Jiang Zong had further deepened "the frivolous and pompous aspects" of the Palace Style Poetry, Emperor Yang of the Sui Dynasty had added to it a strong decadent atmosphere, both reflecting the result of indulgence in luxurious, wanton, and sensual lifestyles. Under the countercurrents of the Yongming and the Palace Styles, the ballad songs of the Qi, Liang, Chen and the Sui Dynasties had, to certain extent, described the elite and the court lifestyles, but they failed to reflect the broader stratum of society. Thus the spirit of critical realism of the Ballad Poetry was again dormant.

It was not until Chen Ziang 陳子昂 of the Tang Dynasty that the spirit of critical realism, which is essential and vital to the Ballad Poetry, reappeared.
Chen Ziang's "Fugu Movement 復古" marked the end of the dominance of the Palace Style Poetry, fostered a strong awareness among poets of the expressive and allegorical aspects of poetry, and kindled a new enthusiasm for ballad poetry of the Han and Wei Dynasties, as spiritual inspiration and creative example. This monophonic romantic appeal soon found a full sonataic response in Li Bo 李白 (701-762) and Du Fu 杜甫 (712-770). Li Bo epitomized and perfected nearly all the stanzaic and metric forms of ballad songs before him. He succeeded in restoring to the genre its simple and natural diction, its spontaneous emotion and sincere sentiment, and its fervent style and vehement spirit. He wrote more than 140 ballad songs, but most of them reflected his individual sentiments, aspirations, and romantic flights more than his observations and criticisms on social and political situations after 100 years of peace and prosperity of the early Tang Dynasty. While Li Bo, to certain extent, cultivated the third bloom of ballad poetry, the full bloom of critical realism was yet to be cultivated by Du Fu 杜甫, Bo Juyi 白居易 (772-846), and Yuan Zhen 元稹 (779-831).

Du Fu was a contemporary of Li Bo but differed from him in personality, temperament, aspiration, and ideology. Du Fu followed the spirit of critical realism of the ballad poems of the Han and Wei Dynasties. He perfected various types of poetic forms of the Ballad Poetry, but he titled a song after the event elaborated. Since most of the events in his ballads were timely issues, his ballad songs thereby found no precedent in the titles of earlier ballads and were consequently called "New Ballad Songs 新樂府." He wrote with deep sincerity and great compassion from his own experiences, criticizing all sorts of political issues and social problems of his time, for he strongly believed the ballad song's didactic and pragmatic function was to reflect society and life as a whole. Indeed, his ballad poems ultimately expressed the spirit of critical realism of the Ballad Poetry, and clearly mirrored his time. They were songs of the suffering populace and became great epics of the age. Thereafter, with the works of Zhang Ji 張籍, Yuan Zhen 元稹, and especially Bo Juyi 白居易, who emphasized the pragmatism of literature and advocated that "literature (literary writings) should be written for the time (age) and poetry should be composed for the
event (issue) 文章合為時而著, 詩歌合為事而作," the New Ballad Songs soon comprised a great symposium of "ballad songs of social allegories 社會諷喻詩," elaborating deeper on social and political issues. These collective cantos of a suffering society, together with Li Bo's vehement and romantic songs of the individual, and Du Fu's fervent and indignant epic of the age, constituted a colorful and magnificent bloom of critical realism of the Ballad Poetry, which was in turn an essential part of the great literary harvest of the Tang Dynasty as well as of Chinese literature.

In conclusion, within the historical development of the Ballad Poetry, Bao Zhao stood between the genre's first bloom in the Han and Wei Dynasties and the third blooms in the Tang Dynasty, and between its major countercurrents in the Jin and the Southern Dynasties. He surmounted the rigid and lifeless antithesis and parallelism in the straight imitative ballad poems of the Jin Dynasty, and inherited the spirit of critical realism of the ballad songs of the Han and Wei Dynasties, and the sentiments of vehemency and indignation of the poets of the Jianan Period. He wrote numerous ballad songs, and his 86 songs extant remain the greatest number of ballads written by an individual poet before the Tang Dynasty. He elaborated on a wide scope of themes and a great variety of stanzaic and metric forms. He cultivated short stanzas, heptameter, and variations of long and short meters into mature and effective poetic forms. He also wrote a great many imitative ballads and poems, which were mostly creations of his own expressing his thoughts and criticisms.

In fact, Bao Zhao not only freed the genre from its prior nature of strict imitation but also liberated it from limitations in form and in content. He brought forth a new vitality to the ballad songs, revived after 150 years of stagnation. Almost single-handedly he cultivated the genre's second bloom, which in turn bore seeds for its next full bloom. These seeds, dormant through 250 years of domination by the erotik and sensualism of the Palace Poetry of the Southern Dynasties, eventually germinated in the Tang Dynasty, cultivated by Li Bo, Du Fu, Yuan Zhen, and Bo Juyi into "The New Ballad Songs 新樂府," the third and last bloom of critical realism in the Ballad Poetry. Bao Zhao's ballad poems constituted a
fundamental part of the repertoire of the Ballad Poetry and were an essential link in its historical development. Thus Bao Zhao's position as the sole reviver and most active cultivator of the Ballad Poetry during 450 years of stagnancy and strong countercurrents was irrefutable in the history of Chinese literature.
v. Bao Zhao as an Essential Cultivator of Poems Imitating Ancient Verses, the Landscape Poems, and Poems on Things

a. Bao Zhao’s Contribution to Poems Imitating Ancient Verses

In the aspect of poetic sub-genres, with the legacies of Poems on Histories 詠史詩, Poems Expressing One’s Thoughts 詠懷詩, Summoning the Recluse 招隱詩, Poems on Metaphysical Thoughts 玄言詩, Poems on Fairies and Immortals 遊仙詩, Poems Imitating Ancient Verses 擬古詩, and Pastoral Poems 田園詩, the (Liu) Song Dynasty 山水詩 is also a literary period which prompted the bloom of the Landscape Poems 山水詩 and the germination of the Palace Poems 宮體詩, the Frontier Poems 邊塞詩, and Poems on Things 詠物詩. Bao Zhao is the poet who made fundamental contributions to the developments of a majority of these sub-genres. “Imitation” has been a time-honored literary tradition, but “Imitating Ancient Verse 擬古” as a poetic title started with He Yan 何晏 of the Cao Wei Dynasty, and it was accepted as a poetic sub-genre as early as the Wen Xuan 文選 (Selection of Refined Literature), which devoted its 30th and 31st volumes to Poems in Miscellaneous Imitations 雜擬詩. The imitations in this sub-genre generally fall into two categories: one is a straight imitation of exemplary poets or ancient verses, and the other is an imitation adopted as a means to express one’s thoughts 詠懷. He Yan of the Cao Wei Dynasty was the first poet to initiate the latter convention. In his poem “A Pair of Cranes Soar Wing to Wing 雙鶴比翼游,” he sang about his anxiety over impending misfortune by means of imitating the ancient verse which described cranes soaring freely; in constant fear of getting caught in a net, they harbored an increasing desire to withdraw from the mundane world into the secluded wilderness. Lu Ji’s 陸機 “Fourteen Poems in Imitating Ancient Verses 擬古十四首” was the first example of the former. This style of imitating ancient verses in a straight way was no more than a literary exercise; while “Imitating Ancient Verses” as a way to express one’s thoughts became the focus of this sub-genre, which over the centuries attracted great creative minds such as, to name but a few, Zhang Hua 張華, Tao Qian 陶潛, Bao Zhao 鮑照, Li Bo 李白, and Wei Yingwu 韋應物.
As discussed above, Bao Zhao had written 80 poems with the word or word to the effect of "imitation" in the title. Among them, 24 poems are pentasyllabic "shi" verses, and 56 poems are either pentasyllabic or heptasyllabic ballads. Although these 80 poems are not under the unifying title of "Imitating Ancient Verses" but rather various words in effect of "imitation," and although a great many of Bao Zhao's "Poems in Miscellaneous Imitation 雜擬詩" are straight literal exercises after exemplary poets' verses or tunes; at least 38 poems (26 ballads and 12 "shi" poems) are allegorical and can be classified into the category of "Imitating Ancient Verses" as a subtle way to express one's thoughts and comments. The thematic contents of Bao Zhao's poems in this sub-genre will be discussed in the philosophical study; it is essential here to note that the bulk of his 80 poems in Miscellaneous Imitation and his 38 poems in imitation as a means to express his thoughts surpassed that of any poet before the Tang Dynasty, and that as a reviver of the Ballad Songs and an epitomizer of the Heptasyllabic Poetry, Bao Zhao in fact cultivated more and freer poetic forms for this sub-genre. It is also noticeable that following the tradition of He Yan 何晏, Zhang Hua 張華, and Tao Qian 陶潛 who wrote "Poem Imitating Ancient Verse 擬古詩" as a means to express one's thoughts, and conceived with the spirit of critical realism of the ballad songs of the Han and Wei Dynasties, Bao Zhao further adopted the sub-genre of "Poems Imitating Ancient Verses 擬古詩" or "Poems in Miscellaneous Imitations 雜擬詩" as a poetic device to bring forth his comment or criticism on social and political issues and as a subterfuge to avoid any literary censorship or persecution. For example, in "Imitating 'The Song Without Restraint' 代放歌行 (see page 141), he satirically described how the people of the Han Dynasty revolved incessantly around the forbidden city in Luoyang 洛陽 to seek for fame and wealth; and then ironically questioned the reason why virtuous and able persons (metaphorically himself and some of his contemporaries) still lingered and suffered by the roadside when the wise emperor possessed divine prudence and treasured able men.
In "Imitating 'The Song of Suffering from Heat' 代苦熱行," he described the epic expedition of soldiers and generals of the Han Dynasty to the southern frontier. He criticized the inadequacy of the honor and reward they received, and allegorically brought the criticism upon similar situations of his time:

Red hot hills in the west stretch forbiddingly across,
Fiery mountains in the south blaze with awesome force.
One suffers from a throbbing headache and burning fever,
While birds above fall and wandering should return.
Hot wells spring out from the lake of vapor,
Scorching smoke arises from rocky cliffs by the water.
It has perpetually obscured moon and sun,
And has never dried from the dew and the rain.
There are red serpents exceeding one hundred feet in length,
And black hornets with a ten-armspan girth.
One's floating reflection is shot by a sand-spitting demon,
One's traveling shadow is diseased with virus-spreading vermin.
One's clothes are soaked with dew on toxic grass at night.
The hungry monkeys do not take it as a feeding ground,
The poisoned Jing River has already killed many a soldier,
Wouldn't the whole army get sick to cross the poisonous Lu River?
They walk alive through the dreadful deadly place,
And ascend bravely into the snares of evil malice,
But the honor conferred on the Spear Boat Commander was little,
And the award bestowed upon the General of Wave Subduer was small.
My lord, if you still stint the peerage so easy for you to offer,
How can you expect from soldiers the hardest thing to render?

In "Imitating 'The Song of Dongwu' 代東武吟," as discussed in the previous chapter, Bao Zhao was writing about the issue of soldier's welfare in the Liu Song Dynasty by elaborating on an individual case of an abandoned old soldier in the great Han Dynasty. In the sixth poem of "Imitating the Ancient Verse 擬古" Bao Zhao turned his attention to a more general social issue:

I gather faggots of firewood in the gloomy bamboo groves,
I mow millet in the shady ravine of the cold torrent.
The north wind is cutting me to the skin,
The wailing birds disturb my longing heart.
I just paid the land tax at the end of the year,
And the annual levy follows soon after.
One sends the field rent to Hangu Pass,
And delivers the animal fodder to the Imperial Park;
The ice has not yet melted over the Wei River,
The snow is still deep and heavy in the northwest frontier.
The official punishes with whipping or flogging,
And the officer scolds, humiliates and intimidates.
Who knows that I, with a high chariot ambition,
Am still now lying in the stable?

As suggested by the historical background and the literary convention of "Shanglin 上林," the Imperial Park, Bao Zhao was basically describing the burden and
suffering of an individual farmer under the heavy tax and levy system in the Han Dynasty. The heavy burden of tax and levy upon farmers was an age-old social and political issue in Chinese history. Though Bao Zhao did not cast this Han farmer into a mold embodying all of the suffering farmers in China, he relied on the universality of the issue to engender a temporal and spatial immediacy, allowing the issue in the poem to be transferred from past to present. By means of the affinity introduced in this immediacy, Bao Zhao was then able to identify the issue in the Han with one current in his time. The bond of this identification is reinforced in the last couplet. It is a rhetorical question of the farmer, but his ambition is such a lofty one that it identifies perfectly with the poet's aspiration; and the spirit of critical realism is thereupon present and realized.

In short, among poets before the Tang Dynasty, Bao Zhao wrote not only the greatest bulk of "Poems in Miscellaneous Imitations" but also the largest number of "Poems Imitating Ancient Verses" as poems expressing one's thoughts. His efforts included elaborating on the sub-genre with new generic and metric forms, and adopting the sub-genre as a poetic device to bring indirect or allegorical criticisms on social and political issues. The importance of his contribution to every conceivable aspect of this sub-genre is undeniable.

b. Bao Zhao's Contribution to the Landscape Poems

As a sub-genre the Landscape Poems fundamentally elaborated on descriptions of mountains and waters. It was epitomized by Xie Lingyun in the beginning of the Liu Song Dynasty, but had its origins in many classics and various poetic sub-genres. Indeed, verse lines or sentences describing mountains and waters could be found in the Book of Poetry, the Songs of Chu, and in the philosophical treatises of Zhuang Zi; nevertheless, they were scanty, casual, and insignificant. Rhapsodies of the Han Dynasty contained more verse lines on mountains and waters, yet most of the scenes they described were not natural sceneries, but products of
the poets' experiences and imaginations. In the Cao Wei Dynasty, Cao Cao's "Watching the Blue Sea 觀濤海" was a ballad on natural scenery, but it was expressive in nature. By the Jin Dynasty, scenic descriptions had tremendously increased in the "Poems Summoning the Recluse 招隱詩," the "Metaphysical Poems 玄言詩," the "Poems on Fairies and Immortals 遊仙詩," and the "Pastoral Poems 田園詩," but they were not the major themes of these sub-genres. The scenic descriptions in the "Poems Summoning the Recluse" were only describing an alluring environment for a desired mental condition. The verse lines on nature in the "Metaphysical Poems" were basically illustrative sentences meant to convey the occult and the principles of Taoism. The fairies and immortal lands in the "Poems on Fairies and Immortals," though modelled after certain natural sceneries, had often lost their reality through metaphorical fantasia. The simple, spontaneous, and natural verse lines in the "Pastoral Poems" come closest to that of the "Landscape Poems," except that those scenes were confined to gardens and fields, conditioned by the mentality of the poet in his total harmony with nature. It was not until Xie Lingyun of the Liu Song Dynasty that natural scenes were accepted as independent subjects for descriptions beyond human sensibility and perception, and subsequently employed as formal and essential poetic themes.

Among poets of the early Song Dynasty, Yan Yanzhi 颜延之, Emperor Xiaowu 孝武帝, and Xie Zhuang 谢庄 all wrote a few poems on landscapes or natural sceneries, but none of them had a greater zeal for this than Xie Lingyun. Xie Lingyun's lifelong venture in searching for and exploring beautiful natural scenes was living proof of his conviction that nature was an inexhaustible object for appreciation. His 33 poems on nature followed Xie Hun 謝混 and Yin Zhongwen's 殷仲文 earlier initiative, which took mountains and waters as subjects for poetic description. They were the direct product of his strong belief that natural sceneries were independent, proper, and suitable poetic subjects. As the natural landscape exists independently from human sensibility and perception, the poet's greatest challenge in composing scenic poems is to present the objectivity of their existence. In order to achieve this objective, poets of this sub-genre relied greatly on vivid images and mimic descriptions. Xie
Lingyun's landscape poems offered the best examples. He adopted a rich and diverse diction of flowery nouns, concise adjectives, condensed adverbs and compact verbs; most were ornate, with vowel rhymes and alliterations, and relied on parallelism and antithesis to create the best mimic description. He commanded a wide range of figures of speech by means of allusion, metaphor, simile, and analogy to create vivid imageries. And by means of mimic descriptions, he tried to record as objectively as possible the natural scenes he witnessed during his lifelong ventures.

Indeed, Xie Lingyun was the first poet in the history of Chinese literature to compose a large body of poems describing various aspects of the natural landscape in terms of shape, form, light, shade, color, and sound. In this respect, it is justifiable to call him the "Patriarch of the Landscape Poems." His mimic descriptions and vivid imageries were criticized on occasion as being over-elaborated; verbose, ornate, and obscure. And the poems Xie Lingyun wrote to describe the objective existence of landscapes beyond human sensibility and perception were often criticized for lack of personal, social, and political contexts. Indeed, as Professor Chia-ying Yeh Chao has observed, Xie Lingyun ended most of his landscape poems with a note of occult, Taoist, or Buddhist principles; often these conveyed no personal sentiment but the usual doctrinal speculations. This ending note was a natural reflection of Xie Lingyun's personal speculation as well as the current trend in thought and literature, and it was an essential key to settle controversies over the interpretation of Liu Xie's 呂巽 statement in the Wen Xin Diao Long 文心雕龍: "宋初文詠，體有因革，莊老告退，而山水方滋." Thematically speaking, the word "yin 因" means "to follow or to continue." The word "ge 革" means "to improve or to innovate." The word "gao 告" means "to ask for or to announce." The word "tui 退" means "to leave or to withdraw." The word "fang 方" means "just then" or "at the time when..." The word "zi 滋" means "to sprout or to grow." The statement, thereupon, can be literally translated as: "In the literature of the early Song Dynasty (the literary) forms contained adoptions and innovations. Lao Zi and Zhuang Zi took leave and withdrew, then Mountains and Waters started to
grow." As statement or criticism on the literary trend in the Liu Song Dynasty, "mountains and waters" undoubtedly referred to the "landscape poems," and its antithesis hence referred to poems on Taoist thoughts, which included Poems Summoning the Recluse, the Metaphysical Poems, and Poems on Fairies and Immortals. While the recession of Taoist thoughts in the above sub-genres appeared to be rather an evolutionary process than a spontaneous mutation, the adverb "fang 方" also suggested an immediate time sequence in between the above two movements. It is therefore proper to render this statement as: "The literature of the early Liu Song Dynasty had either adopted or innovated poetic forms from the past; therefore, as the Metaphysical Poems started declining, the Landscape Poems began flourishing." The Taoist philosophical messages in the end of Xie Lingyun's landscape poems were therefore the best footnotes to the continuation of the evolutionary process of the recession of Taoist thoughts from poetry. They were also important reminders of the fact that Xie Lingyun was not the creator but an epitomizer of the Landscape Poems in a continuous and evolutionary process.

The gradual recession of Taoist thoughts from poetry can be further proved by the comparative statistics in landscape poems by Xie Lingyun and those by Bao Zhao and Xie Tiao 謝眺, as they were the major developers of the Landscape Poems. Xie Lingyun survive a total of 87 poems; he wrote 33 landscape poems and 23 of them contained notes on occult or Taoist principles. Bao Zhao wrote a total of 204 poems; he wrote 31 poems on landscapes or sceneries and eight of them contained Taoist metaphysical notes. Xie Tiao wrote a total of 142 poems; he wrote 34 landscape poems and 11 of them contained metaphysical messages. It is obvious that though the numbers of landscape poems of these three poets were very close, the ratios of each poet's number of landscape poems to the total number of his poems revealed that creative enthusiasm for landscape poems reached its peak in Xie Lingyun, and began to diminish after him. The ratios of each poet's number of landscape poems with metaphysical notes to the total of his poems also revealed that the recession of Taoist thoughts from poetry continued from Xie Lingyun to Xie Tiao, with a decisive diminuption in Bao Zhao's poetry.
Following Xie Lingyun's steps, Bao Zhao also exhibited great creative enthusiasm for descriptive prose or poems on mountains and waters. His "Letter to My Sister, on Ascending the Dalei Bank" and "Inscription on Wooden Post on Mount Guabu" were two masterpieces of the descriptive prose on landscapes. The bulk of his landscape poems, similar to that of Xie Lingyun, also contained vivid images and mimic descriptions in a very rich and colorful diction, except that his phraseology was often more exotic, intriguing, and extraordinary than that of Xie Lingyun. The diction and descriptive aspect of Bao Zhao's landscape poems will be discussed in the stylistic study, but it is necessary here to offer "Ascending Mount Lu and Gazing at the Stone Gate" as a typical example:

I have entered the world and failed to become a recluse,  
Now I am ascending the mountains, but not as a hermit.  
When the day was dawning, I shook my cap and dress,  
And climbed up ridges high above where I rested for the night.  
The high summit almost reaches the firmament,  
And the long precipice lies a thousand miles across.  
Dense mountain clouds ascend to stars and planets,  
While deep torrent waters connect with the River and rivulets.  
Sharp crags look like the Tiger's Teeth,  
And pointed cliffs resemble the Bear's Ears.  
For a hundred years the frozen ice may have been there,  
And secluded trees must have stood hidden for a thousand years.  
The pheasant crows from the clear torrent,  
The gibbons cry admist the white clouds.  
The pure water widely spreads cave after cave,  
And colored rocks rise from peak after peak.  
The water revolves around in different ways,  
While the rocks all look alike, irregular.  
I listen carefully for the music of phoenix callings,  
And look eagerly for the dragon angler.  
Since pines and cassias are everywhere before one's presence,  
Why bear the city's filthiness?

Furthermore, given that only one-quarter of his landscape poems contained certain metaphysical notes, Bao Zhao's poems show a drastic and positive reduction of Taoist or occult principles. Instead of occult or metaphysical speculations, he wrote more about personal sentiments in the end-notes of his landscape poems. And perhaps due to the fact that he was more a Confucian than a Taoist student, his sentiments inspired by landscapes were almost entirely those of a Confucian intellectual. "Arriving in Zhuli on My Way to Jingkou" perfectly demonstrated this positive progress:
Eminent trees stand precipitously and loftily,  
Sharp rocks lie across or slant.  
Repeated torrents obscure the pines’ soughings,  
A succession of cliffs hides the clouds’ color.  
The land is icebound and the cold is in full vigor,  
And as the wind blows birds all tilt down their wings.  
My ambition encounters such a stern winter,  
My solitary journey confronts the nearing dusk.  
I force my advance without resting the horse,  
Nor stopping even for a small meal.  
A princely man cultivates his virtuous reputation,  
While the ordinary person devotes his life to service.  
Don’t you see that in the great Yellow River,  
The muddy and the pure ceaselessly rush down together?

On his journey along an adverse road into the stern season, the poet realizes the principles of incessant movement of the heavenly body and myriad things. And witnessing the examples of the ceaseless flow of muddy and pure currents in the river, as well as the perseverance of birds braving the winter wind, the poet reaches the conclusion that every person should fulfill his duty according to his individual nature and ability. This conclusion is also a personal resolution in a sense. It is explicitly not a Taoist but a Confucian resolution, and it is more a sentimental resolution than a metaphysical speculation. Unlike Xie Lingyun’s metaphysical end-note, which is often irrelevant and separable from the descriptive part of the poem, the sentimental resolutions or end-notes in Bao Zhao’s landscape poems after blend with the descriptive parts so well that it is almost impossible to separate them. In this respect, Bao Zhao set the stage for Xie Tiao. Xie Tiao further blended his sentiments into descriptions of landscapes. In the meantime he also expanded the poetic subjects of the Landscape Poems from mountains and waters to various natural phenomena. With his keen observations and sensitive feelings he composed a bulk of landscape poems very different from those of Xie Lingyun and Bao Zhao. His diction was naive but concise, his imagery vivid and fresh, and he was good at capturing and presenting the vitality and spirit of nature in momentary epiphanies. In fact, he also set the course of the Landscape Poems for He Xun 何遲 of the Liang Dynasty and Yin Keng 陰铿 of the Chen Dynasty to follow. Indeed, it was not until poets of the Palace Poems that the Landscape Poems lost their explicit metaphysical notes or messages; but ironically the Landscape Poems also started to decline drastically in their hands, as their creative enthusiasm for natural poems greatly diminished.
In retrospect, Xie Lingyun epitomized the landscape verses and writings before him and justified "mountains and waters" as proper and independent poetic subjects; Bao Zhao marked a definite recession of the presence of occult or Taoist thoughts by substituting them with his personal sentiments; and Xie Tiao succeeded in capturing vivid and spontaneous natural images and in presenting the vitality and spirit of nature in momentary epiphanies. Given their individual styles and bulk of poems, their contributions in establishing the Landscape Poems as a poetic sub-genre are equally essential. Although Chinese literary critics in the past traditionally praised Xie Lingyun as "The Patriarch of the Landscape Poems," and though they used to refer to Xie Lingyun and Xie Tiao as "the Two Xies 二謝" in praising their achievements in the Landscape Poems; Bao Zhao's position as one of the three essential cultivators of the Landscape Poems is beyond doubt and deserves proper recognition.
c. Bao Zhao as an Initiator of Poems on Things

The root of Poems on Things as a sub-genre can be traced all the way back to poems in the *Book of Poetry*, in their opening couplets or quatrains, which often described stimuli — natural things that evoked specific emotions and inspired poetic interest. It may also have been influenced by the descriptive verse lines on things in this poetic classic, and is apparent from the highly descriptive rhapsodies or rhymed prose of the Han Dynasty. The "Song of the Great Swan" by Emperor Gao of the Han Dynasty, for example, consists of two quatrains: one describes the swan as a stimulus and the other elaborates through allegory that an adult Crown Prince with good counsels is like a full-fledged swan soaring beyond the reach of any arrow. The focal point of the poem is the allegory, but the allegory entirely depends on the image of the soaring swan, and the descriptive part is again about nothing but the stimulus. Later, in the "Song of a Grey Swan" by Emperor Ming and "Cui Niao (Kingfisher) by Cai Yong of the Han Dynasty, descriptions on stimuli were expanded to become major parts of the poems, while the poet's feelings, thoughts, or comments were present only in the last couplets. Thus they can be roughly defined as the initial forms of Poems on Things. However, Liu Zhen of the Cao Wei Dynasty was the first poet who wrote a strict descriptive poem on things. In the "Fighting Gamecock," his description of the ferocious appearance and courageous spirit of the gamecock is extremely vivid and objective. It is without doubt a descriptive poem on things. This poetic practice was closely observed by poets of the Jin Dynasty. "The Lotus" and "The Woodpecker" by Fu Xuan, "The Poem on Lamp" by Xi Zhaochi, "The Bamboo Fan" by Xu Xun, and "The Homing Bird" by Tao Qian are all sheer descriptive poems on things. Unfortunately, this type of poetry is very scanty and those mentioned above constitute the major number of straight descriptive poems on things written before the Liu Song Dynasty. It was not until Bao Zhao kindled a creative enthusiasm for them that Poems on Things as a sub-genre began to germinate and eventually blossom in the hands of Xie Tiao of the Qi Dynasty and Emperor Jianwen of the Liang Dynasty.
Bao Zhao wrote at least 15 poems on things. Some are in ballad songs such as the "Plum Blossom's Falling 梅花落" and "Imitating 'The Song of a Stray Crane' 代别銜湖"; some have exact titles such as "On the White Snow 詠白雪" and "On a Pair of Swallows 詠雙燕," and some are with titles of Occasional Poems such as "Six Poems Presented to Old Friend Ma Ziqiao 購故人馬子喬" and "Traveling Through the Mountain, I Saw a Solitary Tung Tree 山行見孤桐." It is perhaps due to the influence of the Landscape Poems that his Poems on Things are mostly about trees, plants, and birds in the wilderness. With his keen observations and mimic descriptions, Bao Zhao was able to capture the nature of a thing in vivid images and subsequently reveal his sentiments as well as his personal comments or criticisms. For instance, he wrote a number of poems on general human virtues by means of describing the specific nature of things. He wrote about faithfulness, using the image of an estranged crane ceaselessly searching for its mate; on constancy, using the image of a pair of swallows struggling to return to their old nest; and on endurance, using the image of a plum tree blossoming in the frost. There are only a few poems which elaborate only on the straight description of a thing. The fourth poem of "Imitating Liu Gonggan's Style 學劉公幹體" is a good example:

The lotus grows in the clear fountain water,
Its green leaves all lie like full circles.
Under the whirlwind the floating mists dissipate,
Along the stems drop dewy pearls.
It brightens the golden pond magnificently,
And adorns His Majesty's Jade pool brilliantly.
It does not worry if the world ceases to appreciate it,
But fears that your great grace might change.

The first quatrain describes the luxurious existence of the lotus. The second quatrain defines its environment and the innate danger or threat within. The reflection in the last couplet is the poet's subjective speculation, but the fact of the matter is objectively true, and the poet's presence in the poem is therefore not apparent. In the second poem of "Imitating Liu Gonggan's Style" the poet's presence is explicit:

The mist obscures the cold overcast wilderness,
The cypress on Mount Yin is lush and exuberant.
Atop the eminent trees the mist is hovering,
Through the desolate hills the wild wind is rushing.

荷生緣泉中，
碧葉碧如規，
迴風蕩流霧，
珠水逐條垂，
鬱鬱此金蕪，
藻耀君玉池，
不愁世貴絕，
但畏盛明移。

晴晴寒野霧，
蒼蒼陰山柏。
All things fall and wither at the year's end,
For whom do you persevere in solitude?
The tree, relying on its natural endurance,
Does not care if the trail is desolate and obscure.

The first couplet of the second quatrains is a question addressed to the cypress on Mount Yin by the poet as an observer, and the second couplet is the poet's note of relief in realizing that the cypress relies on its natural endurance to persevere in solitude through the winter. The poet's presence in the poem is definite, but he remains an observer. However, in the third of the "Six Poems Presented to Old Friend Ma Ziqiao 賦故人馬子卿六首," the poet himself is emotionally involved:

The pine tree grows on the slope of the mound,
It stands a hundred feet tall without branches near the ground.
It overlooks the end of the Yellow River in the southeast.
And the precipice of Mount Kunlun is in sight in the northwest.
The wind over the field arouses all sorts of mountain sounds.
Separated from one another is a flock of agitated birds.
Although throughout the whole year it is chilly and desolate,
The pine is always so green and luxuriant.
How can one grasp the heart of such a plant,
Which bears no resentment against the seasonal shift?

The description of things now expanded to two quatrains or almost the entire body of the poem, and the expressive part or philosophical speculation was reduced to an end-note. This end-note denotes the poet's sincere wish to become as constant and persevering as the solitary pine tree. It assures a certain degree of the poet's sentimental identification with the pine tree. Indeed, by means of appropriate imagery, poems on things can become very allegorical at the metaphorical level. "Traveling through the Mountain, I Saw a Solitary Tung Tree 山行見孤桐" is a good example:

A tung tree grows among a hill of rocks,
And roots alone in a ground of cold darkness.
Above, it leans against the precipitous cliff,
Below, it bears the depth of the abyss.
The running spring is swift and turbulent in winter,
The misty rains are heavy and incessant in summer.
Before there is any frost leaves have started falling,
And branches and twigs intone without a soughing gale.
From dawn to dusk it gathers bitter feeling,
While day and night mournful birds wail.
It makes an abandoned woman weep and cover her face,
It makes an exiled vassal sigh and beat his breast.
Although it can console the one in solitude and peril,
It cannot bear the dismal desolation.
I wish that it will be cut and carved by chance
To be made into a zither in the lord's hall.
In this poem, the first two quatrains vividly describe the endurance and perseverance of a solitary tung tree in a hostile environment. The third quatrain elaborates on the solitary tung tree's similarity to abandoned women or exiled vassals. And the last quatrain ends the poem with the poet's subjective conclusion and sentimental wish. The poet feels that though the tung tree can console people in solitude and peril, it may not be able to bear dismal desolation, and so he hopes that the tree will be cut and carved into a zither to be presented to the lord's hall. Similar to the consolation that exiled vassals or abandoned women found in this tung tree, the poet's subjective conclusion and sentimental wish reflect a spiritual affinity or emotional identification with the tung tree, rendering it as a metaphor of a man in solitude and peril. And the poet's sentimental wish subsequently suggests an allegorical implication of the tree as the poet himself.

This type of allegorical implication on the metaphorical level is much clearer in the fifth poem of "Imitating Liu Gonggan's Style":

When the bright sun reaches the meridian of heaven,  
The whole world shares its glorious brilliance;  
But there a tiny grass in the north garden  
Is enduring the frost at daylight.  
Since prosperity and adversity are so abrupt and sudden,  
There is no need to attend to one's virtue.  
So I set up the lute and sing for you,  
But before I complete the song, the string breaks.

This poem is a poem on things, but it is undoubtedly allegorical. The first quatrain of the poem is an objective description of the adverse circumstance of the existence of a tiny blade of grass in the northern garden. The second quatrain notes the poet's bitter awareness of the unpredictability of prosperity and adversity as well as the unreliability of one's virtue. Then, with sympathy and indignation, the poet sets up the lute and sings for the tiny blade of grass, but his sentiment and resentment are so strong that the lute string is broken. In this respect, the poet's spiritual and emotional identification with the grass through his observation, speculation, and response are apparent. Thematically speaking, the image of the blade of grass is a metaphor of the poet, and its adverse circumstance is allegorical to that of the poet's situation. This poem on things can in fact be taken as a "Poem Expressing One's Thoughts 詠懷."
In short, with a total of more than 15 poems on things, the greatest number of poems in this sub-genre before Xie Tiao of the Qi Dynasty, Bao Zhao summed up poetic forms of Poems on Things into three basic types. The first type includes straight descriptive poems on things. The second type includes poems on things with an end-note couplet expressing the poet's comments or sentiments evoked by his observation. The third type includes poems on things with strong metaphorical application and rich allegorical implication. The first type illustrates the state of existence of the poet as an onlooker or observer of things. The second type permits the poet a simple speculation on the things described, and the third type indicates an identification of the poet with the thing described. These three types roughly defined the three general poetic modes or forms of "Poems on Things" as a sub-genre. Bao Zhao was in fact an essential initiator and cultivator of Poems on Things.

Immediately after Bao Zhao, this sub-genre was brought to a full blossom by the creative enthusiasms of Xie Tiao of the Qi Dynasty, and Emperor Jianwen and Shen Yue of the Liang Dynasty. Xie Tiao wrote 17 poems on things, Emperor Jianwen wrote 25, and Shen Yue wrote a total of 22 poems in this genre. Indeed, the creative enthusiasm of poems on things reached its height, and the objects of description of this sub-genre were expanded from trees, plants, and birds to natural phenomena such as the wind, smoke, and mist; to insects such as the butterfly, firefly, and bee; to insignificant things such as moss and mushrooms; to domestic objects such as a table, lantern, brush, candle, lute, and flute; and eventually to boudoir and exotic subjects such as the bednet, mirror, eye, singing maiden, and dancing girl. Nevertheless, the poetic modes or forms of the Poems on Things of this period were still closely following those set up by Bao Zhao. By the Chen and Sui Dynasties, creative enthusiasm for this sub-genre had drastically receded and individual poets usually wrote only one or two poems on things. Some poems on things in this period even went astray and degraded into poems of riddles. This decadence stretched into the early Tang Dynasty. Li Qiao wrote 120 poems on things, but most of them were verbose or obscure riddles. His poems on things formed the last great harvest of this
sub-genre and entitled him to be considered the last poet of the degraded Poems on Things. Thereafter, from Luo Binwang 骆宾王, Chen Ziang 陈子昂, Zhang Jiuling 张九龄, and Liu Changqing 劉長卿 to Li Bo 李白 and Du Fu 杜甫, poems on things had developed from the descriptive, the metaphorical, and the allegorical to the extremely expressive. Luo Binwang’s "Poem on Cicada, Written While in Prison" is metaphorically a poem singing of one’s heart or thoughts. Liu Changqing’s "Eight Poems on Miscellaneous Objects" are actually "Poems Presented to Seek for Promotion" in the form of poems on things. Chen Ziang’s 39 poems on "Ganyu 感遇" and Zhang Jiuling’s 12 poems on "Ganyu" are all poems on things. Li Bo had also explicitly titled his poems on things as "Poems of Ancient Style 古風" or "Poems on My Encounters 感遇." Thus, as the focus of poems on things shifted from the descriptive to the expressive, and as this poetic mode and thematical implication became more identical with those of other sub-genres, the identity of poems on things became blurred and the sub-genre hence started declining. In retrospect, then, as the first poet who composed a significant number of poems on things, and as the poet who molded the three basic types of poetic modes or forms for Poems on Things, Bao Zhao’s position as an essential initiator and cultivator of this sub-genre should be duly recognized.
vi. Bao Zhao as an Essential Pioneer of the Frontier Poems

a. The Development of the Frontier Poems Before Bao Zhao

The sub-genre of the Frontier Poems, generally speaking, refers to poems describing frontier landscapes and aspects of frontier life such as livelihood, active service, expedition, and war. To provide a better perspective for discussion, all the frontier poems written before the Tang Dynasty are listed in Appendix 9. Indeed, the origin of this sub-genre, in a broader sense, can be traced back to poems such as "Gathering Thorn-ferns"，"Hauling Out the Wagon"，"In the Sixth Month"，and "Gathering Qi-plants" in the "Lesser Dynastic-hymns 小雅" in the Book of Poetry. "Gathering Thorn-ferns" is a song sung by a soldier returning from a long expedition to the Xianyun Tribe，and describes the sentiments of a homecoming soldier. "Hauling Out the Wagon" is a poem sung by a lesser lord or knight returning victorious from a punitive expedition which，under the commandship of Nan Zhong 南仲，fortified the Far-north Region 朔方，pacified the Xianyun 獻狁 invasions，and captured the chief of this western tribe. "In the Sixth Month" describes how，upon the western tribal invasion and under the King’s command，Yin Jifu 尹吉甫 assembled an army，dispatched it to the punitive expedition，and returned in victory. "Gathering Qi-plants" describes how Fang Shu 方叔 assembled a great punitive army and pacified the Manjing Tribe 蠻荊. These are all poems about punitive expeditions against frontier tribes，and though they lack of descriptions of frontier scenes，they effectively described military formality，and patriotic as well as sentimental pathos，which later became essential parts of the poetic content of the Frontier Poems as a sub-genre.
Among the songs of the Han Dynasty, "The Song by Li Ling 李陵歌" reveals the sorrow of a tragic hero who, in his expedition to Xiongnu 匈奴, was defeated, captured, and surrendered in captivity, thereby leading a lifelong self-exile in the land of Xiongnu. "The Song by Princess to Wusun 烏孫公主歌" depicts the hardship of the nomadic tribal life and her resentment against the Han Dynasty's diplomatic policy to marry imperial princesses to barbarian tribal chiefs to maintain border peace. "The Song of Resentment by Cai Yan 蔡琰悲憤歌" has a detailed and vivid description of frontier scenes and nomadic landscapes, besides a long narration of sorrow and bitterness in living among nomadic people. And "The Song of Xiongnu 匈奴歌" is a simple but forceful song reflecting the nomadic people's anti-war attitude. Although these songs of the Han Dynasty not only provided vivid pictures of frontier life and landscapes, and also revealed the resentful sentiments and negative pathos of the Frontier Poems as a sub-genre; they generally recorded few military scenes and little sentiments of ordinary people and intellectuals. It is in this respect that a possible impact of the patriotic heroism and the description of fierce fighting in "Battling South of the City Wall 戰城南" in the 18 tunes of the Nao Songs of the Han Dynasty 漢铙歌十八曲 upon future Frontier Poems should be recognized, although these ballad songs by definition cannot be included in the sub-genre.

Wang Can 王粲 and Chen Lin 陳琳 of the Cao Wei Dynasty first elaborated the traditional Chinese intellectual's point of view on the themes of this sub-genre and thus set a distinctive landmark in the historical development of the Frontier Poems. In the first two verses of his "Joining the Army 從軍詩," Wang Can wrote about Duke Cao's western expedition and victory in the 20th year of the
Jianan Reign. Wang Can praised the expedition as a timely deliverance and the victory as a universal rejoicing, and his first two verses were naturally more expressive than descriptive. In the remaining three verses of "Joining the Army," Wang Can described his experience in Duke Cao's southeast expedition in the 22nd year of the Jianan Reign. These three verses are more descriptive. Besides depicting the formations and the actions of the task force and the fleet, Wang Can vividly described the natural scenes along the journey, as well as the emotional landscape in his soldier's heart. Furthermore, in a fervent and heroic tone, Wang Can keenly expressed his determination and ambition to devote himself to accomplishing the imperial mission. This fervent voice of heroism and devotion became one of the basic modes of the Frontier Poems for poets as traditional Chinese intellectuals. Then, in "Seven Poems of Lament," Wang Can turned his attention to the negative aspects of war and the burden of active service on ordinary people. With an indignant tone, he wrote of misery, death and destruction brought by war, and sympathetically identified the weariness, the hardship, the nostalgia, and bitterness of soldiers stationed at frontier garrisons for a very long time. Resentment and indignation were also strongly voiced by his contemporary, Chen Lin. In his ballad song "Watering My Horse by the Great Wall," Chen Lin incisively criticized the corvee for building the Great Wall. He condemned it as more disastrous than war, since the death toll in the corvee was greater than that in battle, and the social destruction it brought was wider. He sarcastically noted that since there was not much chance to return alive, the forced laborers consequently urged their pensive wives at home to marry someone else and advised them to raise only girls and no boys, who would definitely all end up dead under the Great Wall. To sum up, Wang Can described the pathos and sentiments of
the general populace, ordinary soldiers, and traditional intellectuals as poetic themes of the Frontier Poems; while Chen Lin elaborated on corvee and boudoir thoughts as aspects of this sub-genre, and his heptasyllabic verse lines in fact heralded the heptasyllabic Frontier Poems, which by the Tang Dynasty became the mainstream of this sub-genre. Indeed, their poems in this respect marked a distinctive stage in the historical development of the Frontier Poems.

Though Emperor Wen 文帝 and Emperor Ming 明帝 of the Wei Dynasty wrote many poems on battles and expeditions, such as those in "The Mulberry by the Path 陌上桑" by Emperor Wen and "The Praising Song 秦宫行" and "Suffering From Cold 苦寒行" by Emperor Ming; none of them were about frontier wars. Instead, most of them emphasized the virtue of their ancestors. Thereupon, these poems should be excluded from the sub-genre. On the contrary, although Miao Xi's 十二曲 十二曲, such as "Conquering Chu 楚之平," "Battling at Yingyang 戎梁陽," "Defeating Guandu 克官渡," "Suppressing Nan Jing 平南荆," "Suppressing Guanzhong 平關中," and "Massacring Liucheng 屠柳城" could not be taken as Frontier Poems; nevertheless, as in the case of "Battling South of the City Wall 戰城南" of the "Eighteen Tunes of the Nao Songs of the Han Dynasty 漢铙歌十八曲," the impact of his vivid and powerful descriptions of battle-fields upon future frontier poems should be properly recognized. It would be incomplete to analyze the influence and legacy of the Jianan Literature upon this sub-genre without discussing the works of Cao Zhi 曹植. Cao Zhi did not write much about the frontier, but his "Song of the White Steed 白馬篇" is an excellent and important poem in the sub-genre. His pentasyllabic ballad sang about a gallant young man, from the You and Bing region, galloping on a white steed northwest to the frontier. It described his excellent horsemanship and marksmanship, his
aspirations to check the barbarian invasions and to pacify the frontier turmoils, his ambition to seek for fame at the border, his immediate response to the frontier military urgency, and his determination to aid in the imperial calamity caused by the aggression of the Xiongnu  and Xianbei tribes. It depicted a firm and fervent devotion, expressed lofty and impassioned sentiments and aspirations, and revealed an unrestrained heroic spirit. Indeed, Cao Zhi furnished the heroism of Wang Can's poems with fervent and indignant spirit and thus put the final touch on the first landmark of the Frontier Poems. He made the "Song of the White Steed" one of the basic modes of the sub-genre.

In the following 150 years, however, the Frontier Poems did not reap a good harvest. This creative meagerness was perhaps due to the fact that poets of the Jin Dynasty were comparatively inexperienced in this aspect of life and were rather indifferent to this poetic subject. The sense of inexperience and indifference was clearly presented in the few frontier poems of the Jin Dynasty. There are about one dozen frontier poems written in the Jin Dynasty, and they can be roughly classified into three types. The first type consists of frontier poems in sacrificial or ceremonial ballad forms such as "Sending Generals on an Expedition" and "Welcoming the Homecoming Army" in the "Songs of Triumph of the Jin Dynasty" by Zhang Hua, and "Song of His Majesty" in the "Dance Songs to Propagate Military Powers of the Jin Dynasty" by Fu Xuan. Zhang Hua praised the virtue and justice of the imperial punitive expedition to the frontier tribes and eulogized the glory of its victory and the timeliness of its deliverance; while Fu Xuan composed odes to weapons as well as admonishments to militarism or any unjust military ventures.
Their voices were reverential but often passionless and indifferent. The second type includes those in imitation of the frontier poems such as "Joining the Army" and "Seven Poems of Lament" and "Watering My Horse by the Great Wall". They were either imitative both in form and in theme, or imitative in form but creative in theme. Lu Ji's "Joining the Army" belongs to the former, while Fu Xuan and Lu Ji's "Watering My Horse by the Great Wall" and Zhang Zai's "Seven Poems of Lament" belong to the latter. Fu Xuan adopted "Watering My Horse by the Great Wall" with buodoir thoughts of a pensive wife for her sojourned husband and has hence disassociated the ballad from the frontier themes. Lu Ji, on the contrary, adopted it with a reverential tone praising a gallant young man's determination to devote his life to frontier peace, and his ambition to build his fame and seek his fortune at the border. Lu Ji succeeded in changing Chen Lin's original negative and resentful tone into a firm and active one, but failed to provide an unrestrained heroic spirit and an impassioned sentiment essential to this type of frontier poetry. Zhang Zai's "Seven Poems of Lament" has few frontier sentiments, since it laments the uncertainty and ephermerality of life, and is in fact in imitation of Ruan Yu's "Seven Poems of Lament", which in turn differs from Wang Can's poem revealing the negative aspects of war and active service upon ordinary people. Lu Ji's "Suffering From Cold" describes the hardship and bitterness of active service. It is a combined imitation of Emperor Wu of the Wei's "Suffering From Cold" which sang about the weariness of travelling, and Emperor Ming of the Wei's "Suffering From Cold", a veneration of the expedition to the east and an ode to the imperial mandate and his ancestral virtues. And Shi Chong's "Song of Wang Mingjun" is also an apparent combined imitation of "The Song of Lament by Wang Zhaojun".
and "The Song by Princess to Wusun 烏孫公主歌"-- two resentful songs protesting the diplomatic policy of the Han Dynasty which married daughters of the imperial family to barbarian chieftains. The third type of the Frontier Poems of the Jin Dynasty are those titled "Miscellaneous Poems 雜詩." They were either imitative or original; this title suggests the impossibility of classification, although their themes may be identified with the basic pathos or sentiments of the Frontier Poems as a sub-genre. While Wang Zan's 王讌 "Miscellaneous Poem (or Untitled Poem) 雜詩" describing the nostalgia and homesickness of frontier guards is a very conventional theme; the poetic theme of the seventh verse of Zhang Xie's 張協 "Miscellaneous Poems 雜詩" is identical with that of Cao Zhi's "Song of the White Steed 白馬篇" -- both describe a gallant young soul's unrestrained heroic spirit to devote himself to the country, his passion to build border peace, and his fervent ambition to seek a good reputation at the frontier.

To sum up, the above poems are the only ones with frontier themes written in the Jin Dynasty. This poetic repertoire on one hand reveals a lack of reflection on the dismal aspects of war and frontier life; on the other hand, the poems also lack sincerity, passion, and unrestrained spirit. This prevailing indifference in the frontier poems and meager productivity of this sub-genre in the Jin Dynasty is in fact a natural outcome of that time, for the basic themes of frontier poems deviated from both the contemporary philosophical trends such as the Pure Talk, the Metaphysical, the Buddhist and Taoist Thoughts, and contemporary literary practices such as Poems on Fairies and Immortals, Poems on Metaphysical Thoughts, and the Pastoral Poems. As a result, poets of the Jin Dynasty left no monumental works in the historical development of the Frontier Poems.
b. Bao Zhao as an Essential Pioneer of the Frontier Poems

It was not until Bao Zhao of the Liu Song Dynasty that the second landmark of the Frontier Poems was established. Bao Zhao wrote a great number of poems relating to military affairs; but only 10 of them dealt specifically with frontier themes. However, this number still makes Bao Zhao the first poet in the history of Chinese literature who wrote a considerable number of frontier poems. Indeed, his "Imitating 'The Song of Departing from the North Gate of Ji' 代出自麟北門行," "Imitating Prince of Chensi's 'Ballad of the White Steed' 代陳思王白馬篇," "Imitating 'The Song of Suffering From Heat' 代苦熱行," "Imitating 'The Song of Dongwu' 代東武吟," "Imitating 'The Song of the Frontier Life' 代邊居行," "Wang Zhaojun 王昭君," the 13th and 14th poems of "Imitating 'The Road of Adversity' 旅途難," the second and third poems of "Imitating the Ancient Verses" 招古," and "Poem Listing the Temporal Correlates of the Twelve Earthly Branches 建除詩" are all excellent frontier poems. In fact, Bao Zhao epitomized all the essential themes elaborated in frontier poems before him. His poem "Imitating 'The Song of the Frontier Life' 代邊居行" describes the delight in withdrawing from the capital to live in solitude in the desolate borderland wilderness, and undoubtedly has the imprint of "Summoning the Recluse 招隱詩" of the Jin Dynasty; it indicates an apparent transition from the Landscape Poems to the Frontier Poems. However, the influence of the Frontier Poems of the Wei Dynasty was dominant in the rest of them. His poems "Imitating 'The Song of Departing From the North Gate of Ji,'" "Imitating Prince of Chensi's 'Ballad of the White Steed,'" and the third verse of "Imitating the Ancient Verses" generally describe the courage, strength, swordsman's skill,
ambition, aspiration, and the devotion of patriotic young men and gallant soldiers in the frontier. Although "Imitating 'The Song of Departing From the North Gate of Ji'" was a totally new adaptation of Cao Zhi's "Love Song," which had nothing to do with frontier sentiments; in the above frontier poems, Bao Zhao apparently adapted frontier themes from Wang Can's "Joining the Army" and Cao Zhi's "Ballad of the White Steed," and his arrogant aspiration, impassioned patriotism, and unrestrained heroism were undoubtedly much stronger than those in Wang and Cao's frontier poems.

In the 13th and 14th poems of "Imitating 'The Road of Adversity'" Bao Zhao writes about the suffering and nostalgia of detained soldiers and border guards. This theme appeared earlier in "Gathering Thorn-ferns" in the Book of Poetry, Wang Can's "Seven Poems of Lament," the eighth of "Miscellaneous Poems" by Zhang Xie, and Wang Zan's "Miscellaneous Poem." It was a rather conventional theme, but Bao Zhao adapted it in heptameter. As heptameter usually creates a stronger rhythmic and emotional flow than pentameter, he consequently created a more intense, resounding, and forceful mode of the themes on homesickness and nostalgia in the frontier poems; and with these two poems he heralded the heptasyllabic frontier poems of the Tang Dynasty. In "Wang Zhaojun," Bao Zhao adapted the popular theme commonly elaborated in "Wang Zhaojun's Song of Resentment," "The Song by Princess to Wusun," and Shi Chong's "Song of Wang Mingjun:"

Past events are left far behind with tumbleweeds,
And along the swan goose route my heart sinks deeper.
The frost-covered war-drums startle me at dawn and dusk,
While reed whistles make one weep at midnight on the frontier.

Instead of elaborating on Wang Zhaojun's life story and sentiments, Bao Zhao masterly depicted her emotional changes along the road to her unknown destiny.
He metaphorically described her emotional states with images at different stations along the journey. As Wang Zhaojun progresses toward her destination, her heart also experiences a bitter realization upon her departure from the capital that the world and the life she knows are also tumbling away. Her sadness deepens as she progresses northward; emotional disturbance is caused by relentless war-drums at the border, and a surging distress is evoked by midnight reeds playing at the frontier. Thus, Bao Zhao successfully achieved in four verse lines a description of Wang Zhaojun's sentimental progress which parallels her physical journey. And the poem became an early herald of the frontier poems in pentasyllabic quatrains.

In "Imitating 'The Song of Suffering From Heat'" and "Imitating 'The Song of Dongwu'," Bao Zhao adopted aspects of criticism from Chen Lin's "Watering My Horse by the Great Wall," but enhanced them with a stronger, more explicit critical realism of the Jianan Literature. Through the use of allegory he criticized grave social and political issues of his time. In "Imitating 'The Song of Dongwu'" he indignantly advocated his conviction that the welfare of an old retired soldier was the responsibility of a benevolent ruler and a righteous state. In "Imitating the Song of 'Suffering From Heat'," he strongly criticized the merits of most expeditionary generals and soldiers which were not duly recognized and rewarded, and he overtly pointed out that this consequence generally reduced the morale of the imperial army.

Although the allegories in the above two poems are implicit, the criticisms are explicit and incisive. Their sentiments are loftier than the personal resentment elaborated in the early frontier poems by Li Ling, Cai Yan, and Princess to Wusun; the perspectives of these criticisms are wider and deeper than those of
Chen Lin's in "Watering My Horse by the Great Wall." Bao Zhao carried forward the fervent and indignant spirit of the Jianan poets. In fact, he completed the essential mode of critical realism in the frontier poems. Generically speaking, Bao Zhao's frontier poems were all written in ballad forms; though they were all titled with the word "imitation," two-thirds of them were, to a great extent, his own creation or his ingenious adaptation from ancient lyrics. Metrically speaking, two of Bao Zhao's frontier poems were in heptameter with variation of pentameter and nonameter, while the rest of them were in pentameter. His "Wang Zhaojun" was the herald of frontier poems in pentasyllabic quatrains; while his poems "Imitating 'The Road of Adversity,'" mostly heptasyllabic with variation and rhymed at the end of every second line, were the herald of frontier poems in heptasyllabic ballads. Thus with a good number of frontier poems epitomizing most of the essential themes of the sub-genre before him, Bao Zhao presented a more vivid description of frontier landscapes, established basic modes of pentasyllabic quatrain and heptasyllabic ballad in the Frontier Poems, rekindled the spirit of impassioned indignation of the Jianan poets, and revived the critical realism once prevalent in ballad songs of the Han and Wei Dynasties. Given the stagnation in frontier poetry of 150 years under the Jin Dynasty, Bao Zhao established the second landmark in the historical development of the Frontier Poems.

Comparing his frontier poems with those by poets of the Southern, Northern and Sui Dynasties, and comparing his contribution with theirs to the sub-genre it seems clear that Bao Zhao's frontier poems are of historical importance in serving as a guiding light or principal example for frontier poets of the Tang
Dynasty, who eventually brought the sub-genre to its fullest bloom. This historical significance becomes more apparent as the frontier poems are examined chronologically from the Liu Song to the Sui Dynasties.

c. The Development of the Frontier Poems After Bao Zhao

According to the Anthology of Poems of the Han, the Three Kingdoms, the Jin, the Southern and the Northern Dynasties, there were 49 other poets besides Bao Zhao in the Liu Song Dynasty. Upon closer examination, among this great number of poets only seven frontier poems were composed: namely, "Expedition to the North" by Emperor Wen and one by Emperor Xiaowu, "Song of Adjutant Ding" by Emperor Xiaowu, "Battling South of the City Wall" and "Joining the Army" by He Chengtian, and the "Hujia Tune" and the "Boat Song" by Wu Maiyuan. Unfortunately, the "Song of Adjutant Ding" by Emperor Xiaowu lost most of the spontaneous simplicity of the folksong, while the two poems on "Expedition to the North" are full of eulogistic pronouncements: He Chengtian and Wu Maiyuan's poems are stuffed with stereotyped sentiments and ornate diction which weaken the strength of their emotional appeals. Thereupon, they could hardly have had any impact on this sub-genre.
The 40 poets of the Qi Dynasty composed no poems specifically on frontier themes. Only 45 frontier poems were composed among 168 poets of the Liang Dynasty. Generically speaking, this number includes 31 ballad songs and 14 "shi" poems. It consists of 32 pentasyllabic poems longer than eight verse lines, eight pentasyllabic regulated-verse, one pentasyllabic quatrains, three heptasyllabic poems with pentasyllabic variations, and one poem in trimeter. With regard to the poetic themes, 32 poems are on lofty aspiration or ambition to devote oneself to the frontier cause, nine poems are about either deep resentment over the hardship of active service and military expeditions, or bitter homesickness and nostalgia for one's homeland or the imperial court, and four poems are concerned with boudoir thoughts or pensive sentiments of loved ones detained at border garrisons. Observing these styles and modes, 12 of 45 frontier poems received obvious influences from the Palace Poetry prevalent in this period concerning diction, themes, and pathos.

This statistical analysis has in fact revealed some essential facts about the general trend of the development of frontier poetry of the Liang Dynasty. It first indicates that the heptasyllabic quatrains and regulated-verse forms were not adopted in frontier poems of the Liang Dynasty, except that heptasyllabic ballads variant with pentameter were kept alive in Emperor Jianwen's "Crossing the Mountain Pass" and Xiao Zixian's "Joining the Army" and Dai Hao's "Crossing the Mountain Pass," and that except in He Xun's "Nostalgia at Frontier Fort" the pentasyllabic quatrains was rarely adopted as a poetic form for frontier poems. Pentasyllabic regulated-verse was the poetic form receiving increasingly wide attention. It was adopted in Shen Yue's "Certain Longings," Wu Jun's "Entering the Pass," "Joining the Army," and "Song"
of 'Desolate Barbarian Region' 胡無人行," and "Crossing River Yi 穩易水,"

Secondly, the above statistics also show that though many frontier poems of this period adopted new titles such as "Crossing the Mountain Pass 度關山," "Crossing River Yi 穩易水," "General of Frontier Fortress 邊城將," "Song of Longing for Return 思歸引," "Going Beyond the Frontier Fortress 出塞," and "The River Source on the Long Range 隨頭水," most of them elaborated on only three conventional categories of frontier sentiments: namely, ambition and aspiration in frontier ventures, the bitter hardships in military expeditions, and boudoir thoughts and feelings about beloved ones in active service. Thus, the entire repertoire of frontier poems of the Liang Dynasty lacks both the themes and sentiments of critical realism. This in turn both directly and indirectly causes the general absence of an impassioned spirit of vehemency and indignation.

Thirdly, the effect of the prevalence of the Palace Poetry over frontier poems in the Liang Dynasty is two-fold. On one hand, the Palace Poetry might have prevailed indirectly over sub-genres whose poetic themes and pathos were in essence different or opposite. The absence of critical realism in frontier poems of this period is probably the result of this phenomenon. On the other hand, the Palace Poetry brought direct and immediate influence upon frontier poems. The effect is clearly manifested in roughly one-quarter of frontier poems of the period with strikingly ornate diction and a plethora of feminine sentiments. Shen Yue's description of Wang Zhaojun's countenance in his "Song of Zhaojun 昭君辭" is a typical example of ornate and metaphorical
descriptions of the physical beauty of a female figure in the Palace Poetry. And Jiang Yan's 江淹 description of a pensive woman's longing for her beloved one in active service is so erotic a boudoir thought that it is distinctively similar to those in the Palace Poetry.

Furthermore, the superficial description of emotion with rhetorical diction often compromises poetic sincerity and weakens its affinity. And the delicacy of feminine sentiments often results in an absence of a fervent heroism with solemn and stirring pathos. Shen Yue's "Certain Longings 有所思," for example, describes the homesickness and nostalgia of a soldier on an expedition to the frontier, but its sentiment is so graceful and delicate that it may easily be mistaken as one on boudoir thought. The most distinctive effect of the Palace Poetry upon frontier poems is shown in a unique ending couplet or quatrain of a frontier poem elaborating lofty ambition or aspiration in frontier ventures. Emperor Jianwen's "Joining the Army," for example, ends with a quatrain of a man fantasizing the joy of his beloved maidens welcoming him upon his victorious return. The quatrain is so abrupt in its great change of diction, tone, and theme that it seriously damages, if not totally discredits, the expeditionary general's fervent and heroic sentiment in the poem. In a similar fashion, Xiao Zixian ends his "Joining the Army" with a couplet expressing his wish to receive an imperial banquet with wines and dancing maidens upon his victory at the frontier, and thus greatly undermines the fundamental heroic sentiment of the poem. Fei Chang 費昶 even goes further to end his "Departing From White Horse 發白馬" with a couplet conveying a gallant soldier's parting message asking his beloved maiden to be faithful even when the spring comes. It entirely discards the traditional intellectual ambition of transcending personal affection to devote oneself to a grand and heroic cause. In short, due to the dominance of the Palace Poetry, frontier poems of the Liang
Dynasty were deeply affected in diction, theme, and sentiment. As a result, frontier poems of the Liang Dynasty contained more ornate dictions, but less sincere emotion. They included more delicate and graceful femininity, and less vehement sentiment and heroic spirit. As these poems express less resentment or no indignation, critical realism certainly disappeared from frontier poems of the Liang Dynasty; and as the Palace Poetry reached its full bloom in the Chen Dynasty, its influence upon frontier poems definitely became stronger than ever and hence brought many negative results.

There were 73 poets in the Chen Dynasty but only 26 frontier poems were composed in this period. Generically speaking, all of these frontier poems are ballads. They include 16 regulated-verses in pentameter, five pentasyllabic quatrains and five pentasyllabic ballads with more than eight verse lines. In regard to poetic themes, 16 of the 23 frontier poems are on frontier scenes and momentary sentiment evoked; five poems are on the hardship of expedition and bitter nostalgia for one's homeland; four poems are of aspirations to devote oneself to the frontier cause; and one poem is on Wang Zhaojun's resentment. Again, the statistics indicate clearly that besides lacking the emotional sincerity, fervent heroism, and unrestrained indignation of critical realism, frontier poems of the Chen Dynasty further suffered a tremendous decrease in the number of poems on "the ambition and aspiration to devote oneself to a grand and heroic cause at the frontier." Indeed, most of the frontier poetry's basic themes and essential sentiments were dormant as the Palace Poetry reached its height. In fact, upon closer analysis, most frontier poets succumbed to this trend; 16 of the 26 frontier poems of this period were immersed in the flowing tide of the Palace Poetry. Chen Shubao 陳叔寶, Latter Emperor of the Chen Dynasty 陳後主, offered a typical example in his "Watering My Horse by the Great Wall." He not only departed from Chen Lin's original theme as a
criticism on the corvee system, but also deviated from Fu Xuan's adoption of the boudoir thought of a pensive wife for her husband in active service, as well as Lu Ji's adoption of a young man's determination to devote his life to an heroic cause and to seek for fame in his frontier venture. Chen Shubao spends the first quatrain describing the beauty and fragrance of a mountain flower under moonlight in the strange frontier land before he ends the poem with an abrupt cliche of sacrificing himself for the country. Xu Ling's "Galloping Piebald Horse 聰馬驄" similarly lacks any fervent heroism for frontier venture, concerning itself only with a sojourned soldier's recollection of and longing for his beloved wife.

The statistics also indicate that as the result of a growing process from the Liang Dynasty, pentasyllabic regulated-verse eventually became a dominant form in frontier poems of the Chen Dynasty and its popularity was heralded in frontier poems of the Tang Dynasty. The most distinctive change in frontier poetry of the Chen Dynasty is that over half of its repertoire comprises poems on frontier scenes and the sentiments evoked. Chen Shubao's "River Source on the Long Range 龍頭水" and "Moon Over the Mountain Pass 關山月," Lu Yuan's 陸漣 "Moon Over the Mountain Pass," Zhang Zhenjian's 張正見 "Crossing the Mountain Pass 度關山," Jiang Zong's 江總 "River Source on the Long Range 龍頭水," and Ruan Zhuo's 阮卓 "Moon Over the Mountain Pass 關山月" were all deeply affected by this new poetic trend. Chen Shubao's poems on "Moon Over the Mountain Pass," for example, are basic descriptions of the autumn moon and moonlit frontier sceneries, except for a final couplet relating to the sojourned soldier's evoked nostalgia. Similarly, Jiang Zong's "River Source on the Long Range" is entirely a description of the desolation at the river source on the Long Range, except for an ending couplet expressing the hardship of expedition and the bitter anxiety of nostalgia. This new poetic trend elaborating
more on frontier scenes almost turned frontier poems into frontier landscape poems. Its impact was so immense that even Zhang Zhengjian 張正見, an upright poet who in his poems bore the least imprint of the Palace Poetry's influence, succumbed to this practice. His "Crossing the Mountain Pass," for instance, is an extemporized verse on frontier scenes, sounds, and sentiments evoked or inspired. Indeed, this type of extemporary description of scenes before one's eyes and spontaneous feelings in one's heart was very much a herald of the Tang Dynasty's best kind of frontier poems in quatrains, which often elaborated on immediate and present scenes, described spontaneous sensations and feelings, and delineated an epiphany with essential meanings.

In the Northern Dynasties, the general modes of folksongs of the north were much bolder and unrestrained than those of the south, but frontier poems of the Northern Dynasties were not only scanty in number but also had no similar ballad modes. Among 71 poets of the Northern Dynasties, only 10 frontier poems were written. No poet of the Northern Wei Dynasty left any poem on a specific frontier theme. In the Northern Qi Dynasty, Zu Ting 祖珽 and Fei Rangzhi 斐詔之 each wrote a poem on "Following the Expedition to the North 從北征"; both poems are rhetorical and lack fervent sentiment or heroic spirit. The remaining frontier poems of the Northern Dynasties were written either by Wang Bao 王褒 or Yu Xin 庾信. They were imperial courtiers of the Liang Dynasty before being detained in the court of the Northern Zhou Dynasty; therefore, their frontier poems bore strong traits of the Palace Poetry. Like many poets of frontier poems in the Chen Dynasty, Wang Bao described more scenes than fervent emotions or heroic sentiments. Yu Xin's frontier poems such as "Wang Zhaojun 王昭君" or "Song of Zhaojun Written Upon His Majesty's Order 昭君辞應詔," which adopted the diction of the Palace Poetry, might have
been composed before his captivity in the north. His "Song of Departing From the North Gate of Ji 出自蓟北門行," which is straight and fervent, may have heralded the new trend of frontier poems in the Sui Dynasty.

There were 92 poets in the Sui Dynasty, but only 13 frontier poems were written among them. They included nine pentasyllabic poems in old-verse style, one pentasyllabic quatrain, one pentasyllabic regulated-verse, one heptasyllabic poem in old-verse style, and one heptasyllabic regulated-verse. Thus, excepting the heptasyllabic poem with pentasyllabic variation, most of the verse forms in frontier poems were adopted in the Sui Dynasty. Generally speaking, frontier poems of the Sui Dynasty revealed a definite new trend, departing from the dominant influence of the Palace Poetry and heading toward the revival in the Tang Dynasty. Firstly, decorative and ornate diction, and the feminine, erotic sentiments of the Palace Poetry drastically, if not totally, receded from almost all the frontier poems of this period. Excepting Chen Ziliang's 錢子良 "Longing for Return on a Spring Day at the North Frontier 於塞北春日思歸,” the remaining frontier poems, including those by such poets as Emperor Yang of the Sui Dynasty 隋煬帝, Yang Su 楊素, Lu Sidao 盧思道, Xue Daoheng 醇道衡, and Lu Shiji 盧世基 had a rather fresh, simple, and straightforward diction. Secondly, although there were more scenic descriptions than emotional expressions, a fervent and indignant sentiment and a grand heroic spirit generally prevailed throughout frontier poems of the time. Thirdly, though imitative and superficial, description of military scenes regained its popularity in frontier poems of the Sui Dynasty.

To sum up, from the Song to the Sui Dynasties, there were about 107 frontier poems written among 495 poets. The creative enthusiasm shown in this ratio was certainly not a great one, but all the verse forms popular in the Tang Dynasty were adopted or developed during this period. And since the essential nature
of the pathos and sentiments of frontier poems were generally in conflict with that of the Palace Poetry, under the prevalence of the Palace Poetry, frontier poetry as a sub-genre was so strongly affected that it lost most of its essential pathos. It lost, especially during the Liang and Chen Dynasties as the Palace Poetry reached its full bloom, its lofty aspiration and grand heroism, its fervent sentiments and indignant pathos, and the spirit of critical realism as well. As a result, frontier poetry was reduced to a poetry full of ornate dictions, feminine voices, mimetic sentiments, and superficial emotions. It did not free itself from the dominant influence of the Palace Poetry until the Sui Dynasty, as poets started to write more about frontier scenes than superficial sentiments. And it was not until the Tang Dynasty that the essential spirit and sentiments of frontier poems were rekindled and restored.

d. The Frontier Poems of the Tang Dynasty

Since the Tang Dynasty adopted the policy of selecting officials by their literary talents in poetry and rhymed prose, poetry hence became the focus of study and literary creation. The Tang Dynasty enjoyed powerful military strength and engaged in a great number of frontier wars to punish or pacify frontier
tribes along its vast border. Poets, as young intellectuals with lofty aspiration and ambition, would rush to join the staff of a military governor, seeking the rare chance to serve in the imperial court or the central government. Consequently, frontier life became a reality to most of the intellectuals, and military activities became part of their daily experience. As poets, this enthusiastic and patriotic generation of intellectuals was thus able to cultivate the most fruitful branch of frontier poetry in Chinese literature.

In a continuous trend to break away from the prevailing influence of the Palace Poetry, Wei Cheng's "Expressing My Thoughts" heralded a return of masculinity to the frontier poems. Yang Jiong's "Joining the Army" indicated a return of heroic fervency in the songs of intellectuals. Then under Chen Ziang's "Movement to Return to Antiquity," frontier poems rose in popularity and had a great harvest. And Chen's advocacy became a common conviction for frontier poets of the High Tang Period. A masculine tone, a heroic spirit, lofty aspiration, and sometimes a tragic sense prevailed in the frontier poems by poets such as Wang Zhihuan, Li Qi, Wang Changling, Wang Han, Wang Wei, Yan Wu, Cen Shen, Gao Shi, Li Bo, and Du Fu. Along with Chen Ziang's "reluctance to let the merits of the generals of the Han Dynasty be inscribed alone on the rock on Mount Yanran," and Wang Changling's "vow to "never return home before the defeat of Loulan," Li Bo's "Song at the Frontier" depicted a strong patriotic enthusiasm. Wang Han in "Song of Liangzhou" accepted death on the battlefield as an imminent fate, and transcended it with a toast after each return from the battlefield. Thus, the poetic pathos became more heroic and tragic, and the devotion became all the more frantic, almost sacred.
with solemn mission. Cen Shen 岑参 in "Song of Luntai 輪臺歌" perceived his time as a special epoch with challenges and achievements greater than those in any other era in Chinese history.

This heroic sentiment and fervent spirit also filled the descriptions of nature in frontier poems. Frontier poems such as Wang Wei's 王維 "On a Mission to the Frontier 使至塞下," Wang Changlin's "Joining the Army 從軍行," and Li Bo's "Moon Over the Mountain Pass 關山月" are all loftier in perspective, more magnificent and spectacular in imagery, more vivid and vital in spirit, and more appreciative in emotion. Cen Shen's 岑参 "Song of the White Snow 白雪歌," "Song of the Hot Lake 熱海行," and "Song of Galloping River 走馬川行" reflect an affinity between the poet and the scenery he surveyed. His attitude is more of an explorer or admirer than a suffering or intimidated traveler. This positive emotional affinity is one of the essential elements which made frontier poems of the Tang Dynasty uniquely different.

Nevertheless, the most essential element responsible for the uniqueness of frontier poems of the period is the "return" of an unrestrained flow of indignant sentiment and a flood of critical realism. Amid deep sincerity and fervent heroism mixed with melancholic sentiment, there also rose an ever-increasing anxiety over current social problems and political issues. These anxieties were often expressed as hopes or wishes in implicit metaphors as well as in allegories. Wang Changling's "Going Beyond the Frontier Fortress 出塞" offers the best demonstration. Within this fervent heroism and sincere anxiety, the spirit of critical realism, which had waned and almost completely disappeared after Bao Zhao and under the influence of the Palace Poetry during the Southern and Northern Dynasties, was inevitably re-kindled and soon became the sustaining essence of the sub-genre again. It was present
in Chen Ziang's 陳子昂 indignation at national neglect of orphans at the borderland. It was implied in Wang Zhihuan's 王之涣 metaphor that "the spring wind has never blown across the Yumen Pass to the borderland 春風不度玉門關." It was suggested in Li Qi's 李頤 cynical satire that year after year soldiers died for no great cause but to supply grapes for the imperial household. It was elaborated in Wang Wei's 王維 sympathy for old soldiers deserted to survive on their own in old age. And it was explicit in Li Bo's 李白 anxious warning that soldiers in three armies were all old and weak.

As the Tang Dynasty headed toward a period of turmoil, the intellectual's anxiety over social and political sentiments became greater, and the poet's critical attitude subsequently changed from implicit to explicit. Gao Shi 高適, for example, protested that "While soldiers of the front army were fighting in between life and death, beautiful maidens were still singing and dancing in the (general's) tent 戰士軍前半生死，美人帳下猶歌舞." The critical spirit of frontier poetry of the Tang Dynasty reached an unprecedented height under Du Fu's "New Ballads 新樂府," which directly described current social events and political issues, and were titled accordingly. Du Fu's poems of critical realism configurated a true poetic chronicle of the time and have been praised as an epic in Chinese literature. This critical realism was soon further elaborated in its social criticism by Yuan Zhen 元稹 and Bo Juyi 白居易 in their "ballads with new titles 新題樂府." They can be credited with bringing critical realism to another full bloom, but frontier poems of fervent heroism and critical realism declined after Du Fu.

To sum up, judging from the historical development of sentiments such as devotion, heroism, indignation, and anxiety in frontier poetry, it becomes clear that Bao Zhao occupied a central position in the history of frontier poetry. It is apparent that Bao Zhao's poetry epitomized the poetic mentalities
of frontier poets of the Han, Wei, and the Jin Dynasties. He was instrumental in cultivating the fundamental pathos of fervent heroism, patriotism, lofty aspiration, and impassioned indignation in frontier poems. He was responsible for developing heptameter and heptameter with variation of pentameter, which later became fundamental poetic forms for frontier poetry of the Tang Dynasty. He further elaborated the essential spirit of critical realism in the frontier poems. His influence on poets of frontier poems of the Tang Dynasty, such as Gao Shi 高適, Cen Shen 岑参, Li Bo 李白, and Du Fu 杜甫, was certainly beyond doubt; and it is proper to recognize the fact that in the 300 years between the Han and Wei Dynasties and the Tang Dynasty, Bao Zhao was one of the first poets who elaborated, cultivated, and preserved critical realism in frontier poetry.
D. A Stylistic Study of Bao Zhao's Poetry

i. The Diction of Bao Zhao's Poetry

After the generic study of Bao Zhao's poetry, it is imperative for this thesis to engage in a stylistic study in terms of diction, description, mood, and figures of speech, for historically Bao Zhao was either criticized or praised by Chinese literary critics for the same stylistic characteristics. To begin with, Bao Zhao's poetic diction was a subject of dispute and a point of criticism for Chinese traditional critics over the centuries.

Yan Yanzhi 颜延之, a contemporary of Bao Zhao and the conservative literary leader of the time, criticized that Bao Zhao's poems were misleading the young generation with rustic songs of slum alleys. Emperor Yuan of the Liang Dynasty 梁元帝 criticized that Bao Zhao, in his "striving for novelty" and in his effort "to get rid of cliches," would use unusual terms, even if they had a thematic problem. He warned that it was what a poet "could not afford not to avoid." Zhong Hong 钟嵘 noted that Bao Zhao avoided no critical oblique tones and thus somehow damaged poetic purity and gracefulness. Xiao Zixian 小子顯 also commented on Bao Zhao's abrupt commencings, urgent and shrill tones, and extremely flowery diction. Wang Kaiyun 王闕運 of the Qing Dynasty went further to denounce Bao Zhao's poems as "nothing but well-selected words and carefully polished phrases.

It is clear that the above critics criticized not only Bao Zhao's ornateness, but also his vulgarity and boldness in using unrefined words, his use of colloquial expressions which intoned ungraceful sentiments, and his adoption of strange verse forms and folk tunes. Nevertheless, as the Wen Xin Diao Long 文心雕龍 noted, the literary trend and the general poetic practice since the early Song Dynasty began to place more emphasis on the elaboration of words, which soon turned into an obsessive ornament:
"Poets strived for thesis and antithesis in some one hundred words in a poem and would prize the unusual qualities of one line. In description, the sentiments must be in perfect affinity with the appearances of things; while in diction, words or expressions must be in full strength to pursue a sense of novelty. These are what poets of the recent age have been striving for. "

Thus, as Zhong Xian 鍾憲 noted, Bao Zhao's belles lettres became extremely popular by the Daming Reign of Emperor Xiaowu of the Song Dynasty. Even Yan Yanzhi, the leading poet of the conservative school at that time, was not free from this trend and its practice either, and Zhong Hong, the patron of orthodox pentameter, could not help but criticize that:

"Yan Yanzhi and Xie Zhuang were especially 'densely elaborate'; therefore, literary writings around the reigns of Daming and Taishi were almost like quotations and copyings from the classics. "

According to the Nan Shi 南史, Bao Zhao had made a similar comment on Yan Yanzhi's overelaborate style. Therefore, in most of the cases, the above critics wrote more on Bao Zhao's unorthodoxy and vulgarity than on his ornate diction.

It is true that Bao Zhao's "boudoir poems" and ballad poems, adopted more directly from folksongs, are very feminine, exotic and ornate; Hu Yinglin 胡應麟 commented on them as "flowery and a little bit overindulgent." This is exactly the reason why Hu Yinglin accredited Bao Zhao with initiating the literary trend or style of the Qi and the Liang dynasties. However, comparing Bao Zhao's "boudoir poems" with the palace poems by emperors and courtiers of the Liang, and considering the fact that both Zhong Hong and Xiao Zixian were courtiers of the imperial patrons of the Palace Poetry and wrote at a time when this poetic school was at its height; one will easily discern the inadequacy of taking Zhong Hong and Xiao Zixian's criticisms as comments on the ornate aspects of Bao Zhao's poems, and hence interpret them as comments on the vulgar and ungraceful aspects of his diction and his bold adoption of unorthodox verse forms. Indeed, throughout history Bao Zhao's poetic diction has been criticized as extravagantly ornate, flowery, and vulgar. Chinese literary critics from Zhong Hong 鍾憲 and Xiao Zixian 謝子顯 to
Wang Fuzhi 王夫之, He Zhuo 何焯, Zhang Huiyan 张惠言, Shen Deqian 沈德潜, and Wang Kaiyun 王闿運 have criticized Bao Zhao’s poems as “overelaborately ornate 雕琢,” and “overelaborately refined 雕琢.” They criticized his poetic diction as “extravagantly overflowing 嵯峨,” “excessively flowery 淫豔,” ”very exotic 瞳邃,” “extremely extravagant 燦華” and “rich in color 色濃” on one hand, and as “venturing with vulgar expressions 險俗,” ”critical in oblique tones 危仄,” “damaging the purity and refinement of the tunes 倬清雅,” and ”songs of slum 隄巷之歌” on the other hand.

Comparing Bao Zhao’s poems with palace poems of the Qi and Liang Dynasties, one can easily detect a few essential differences between the two. Firstly, Bao Zhao’s poems are “flowery and a little bit over-indulgent 麗而稍靡,” but as Qian Zhenlun 錢振倫 noted, they are fortunately ”not excessively elaborate 繁缛未開.” Even the most ornate and feminine of his boudoir poems such as "Plucking Mulberry Leaves 摘桑" and "Imitating ‘The Ballad of the White Linen Dance’ 代白紉舞歌辭," and poems of a decorative nature such as “Poem Listing the Temporal Correlates of the Twelve Earthly Branches 建除詩” and "Poem of Numbers 數詩," have never appeared to be obsessively or overelaborate. In fact, they are very lyrical and often have a natural flow in reading. They usually have a broad description and are full of emotion.

Secondly, although Bao Zhao’s poems are flowery, they fall far short of being "extravagantly flowery 淫豔." As Chen Shidao 陳師道 noted, they are "flowery but not weak 華而不弱." In fact, even his most extravagant songs such as "Imitating ‘The Song of the White Linen Dance,’" the third poem of "Imitating ‘The Road of Adversity’ 擬行路難,” and "Listening to a Songstress at Night 夜聽妓" are full of "free and excellent spirit 逸氣," filled with a range of emotions, and thus are free from the snare of vain formality and extravagance.

Thirdly, although Bao Zhao adopted many colloquial expressions as well as folk ballads and songs, his poems were by no means as vulgar, repulsive, or superficial as street songs. They were in fact "allusive 有典," as Fang Dongshu observed; and "archaic 高古," as Zhang Jie 張戒 suggested. "The Song of Wu 吳歌三首" offers perhaps the best example of this poetic accomplishment (see page 103).
This set of poems was indeed adapted directly from folksongs of the Wu region, for it contained colloquial expressions, and also retained a simple and terse diction common in folksong lyrics. Its tune has retained a folksong style with the second poem as a refrain and the third poem as an ending, and hence a free and spontaneous flow of folk melody integrated all three quatrains as a whole. Its verse form in pentasyllabic quatrain also retained the simplicity of a folk lyric, with one couplet indicating location, and the other elaborating scenic and emotional descriptions. This set of poems adopted a very simple diction with colloquial expressions such as "nong 娇" for the first person pronoun, "wuliang 五兩" for the weathercock, and "fengsheng 風聲" for hearsay or getting wind of something; nevertheless, these colloquialisms are by no means vulgar or superficial. They are, on the contrary, very subtle, allusive and profound. In the first couplet, while maintaining the beautiful simplicity of a folk lyric, Bao Zhao adopts two places and one location full of historical connotation and allusive meaning. In Chinese history, Xiakou 夏口 (Xia Ferry) and Fancheng 樊城 (Fan City) had for centuries been two military strategic checkpoints along the bank of the Han River 漢水, and hence were the sites for many battles since the Han Dynasty. The garrison stations or watchtowers around these strategic checkpoints along the riverbank are referred to as Duke Cao's Queyue Forts, or the Semi-circular Crescent Forts, which were probably established by Duke Cao's army at the tumultuous end of the Han Dynasty. These historical connotations in the above nouns of locality subtly denote that the crescent watchtowers along the riverbank at Xiakou and Fancheng are where the singer's beloved one is stationed and hence are the destination for her worried flights of imagination. In this respect the present and past integrate at the location; the image of the song's singer immediately identifies the pensive wife or anxious maiden longing for her beloved one on active service. And through the sheer historical weight of this re-occurring event, the perspective of the woman's life widens so as to make her a symbol of pensive wives or longing maidens of all ages. And her boudoir sentiments subsequently become an archetype of boudoir thoughts. This simple folksong expressed the sentiments on active service within the first couplet as boudoir thoughts with allusions of universal significance.
Similarly, in describing the singer’s sentiments in the second couplet Bao Zhao subtly adopted a river metaphor, which not only maintained the simplicity of a folk lyric, but also metaphorically enriched its meaning which enabled the couplet’s significance to transcend into a cosmic realm. In the first poem, the river is adopted as a metaphor of the singer. It embodies the flow of her longing and the physical flight of her sentiments. The periodical return of the river water to the watchtowers symbolizes a lifelong separation, detained military service, and incessant longing. In the second poem, the river becomes a metaphor of the singer’s sorrow. The everflowing current embodies her stream of tears, symbolizing her sorrow over lifelong separation from her beloved one. In the third poem, the river symbolizes an insurmountable distance between the singer and her loved one on active service at the guard tower by the bank of the Han River. This distance is more an emotional than a spatial one. Anxious to overcome this gap, she hopes that her reputation will reach him, even without the wind to carry it. Indeed, this river metaphor not only maintains the spontaneous simplicity of a folk lyric, but also deepens the thematic depth, reinforces the emotional impact, embodies the physical flow of longing, and actualizes the constant fluctuation of sorrow. As the river is situated near battlefields or strategic fortresses, its image is transformed into a universal current of longing, an incessant stream of sorrows, and hence there is an insurmountable distance between the two lovers. To sum up, although this set of poems adopts a very simple diction with colloquial expressions, it is neither vulgar nor repulsive. On the contrary, they are metaphors with rich and subtle meaning, which in turn make each poem a spontaneous song of archaic simplicity.
ii. The Descriptive Aspect of Bao Zhao's Poetry

Zhong Hong was the first critic who observed and criticized the descriptive aspect of Bao Zhao's poetry. In the Shi Pin, he commented that "Bao Zhao was good at making words or expressions to depict shapes and forms as well as to describe things善製形容寫物之詞," and that "(Bao Zhao) held high esteem for and strived to achieve subtle vividness貴尚巧似." Zhong Hong's point of view and his statements on the descriptive aspects of various poets were taken as negative criticism by scholars up until modern times. Li E 李詠 of the Sui Dynasty criticized the poetry of his time as writing about nothing more than shapes of the moon and dew月露之形, or forms of wind and snow風雪之狀; and, thereupon, sent a memorial to suggest a literary reform請革文弊書. Bo Juyi 白居易 of the Tang Dynasty in his campaign for "poetry as social allegory社會諷論" also held a similar point of view. He was of the opinion that few poets since the Jin and Song Dynasties had taken "poetry as the expression of the self in an allegory of social criticism." In his "Letter to Yuan Zhen與元九書," he criticized even the greater poets such as Xie Lingyun謝靈運 and Tao Yuanming陶淵明 as either being too indulgent in the Landscape Poems or favoring to excess the Pastoral Poems; poets such as Jiang Yan江淹 and his peers would naturally hold more narrow-minded views on social criticism. He concluded that poetry from the Jin Dynasty to the Chen Dynasty was "no more than non-serious writings such as mockeries on or appreciations of the wind and the snow, the flowers and the grass率不過嘲風雪弄花草而已." This point of view was shared by critics or scholars who took the "descriptive" poetry, especially the Palace Poetry at its height, as a degradation of the traditional "expressive" poetry. Lo Genze羅根澤 of modern times, for example, maintains in A Critical History of the Literature of the Wei, the Jin and the Six Dynasties魏晉六朝文學批評史 that Liu Xie 劉勰 advocated in the Wen Xin Diao Long a creative, expressive, and lyric literature in order to regulate poetry and prevent it from deviating into pure description of the shape and form of things.
However, Liu Xie hardly made any explicit remarks criticizing descriptive poems. But in fact he recognized this change as a trend in the development of Chinese poetry. Liu Xie not only recognized descriptive poetry as an eminent literary trend, but also fully appreciated the literary intention of poets writing descriptive poetry:

"Ever since the recent age, the vividness in description has been so highly emphasized that poets will seek emotional affinities over natural sceneries and elaborate resemblances from among trees and grass. Nevertheless, what their poems express are but great and lofty aspirations, while the objective of their observations upon a thing in its subtlety is to find profound attached meanings. "

Liu Xie's positive understanding of this literary trend was a seemingly common point of view. Zhong Hong, in the Shi Pin, held a similar understanding and appreciation of descriptive poetry:

"The pentameter (pentasyllabic verse form) occupies an essential position in literature. Among various poetic forms it is the one with most savor and has timely come across with the current literary convention. Hasn't it become the most suitable and inclusive form for depicting semblance or appearance to denote meaning or significance of a matter, and for describing things and scenes to exhaust one's sentiments or emotions?"

Zhong Hong not only recognized descriptive poetry as a popular literary convention of his time, but also adopted "vividness in description" as part of the criteria in his Shi Pin 詩品. Among writers of the Jin and Liu Song Dynasties, Zhong Hong praised four of 12 major poets, whom he ranked in the upper and the middle grades, for being "vivid in description." In brief comments on each poet, he praised Zhang Xie 張協 and Xie Lingyun 謝靈運 of the upper rank for "having constructed subtly a diction of mimetic description 巧構形似之言" and for "having highly esteemed and strived for subtle vividness in description 尚巧似" respectively. He also commented on Yan Yanzhi 顔延之 and Bao Zhao of the middle rank 中品 as "having highly esteemed and strived for subtle vividness in description 尚巧似," "having highly treasured and strived for subtle vividness in description 貴巧似," and "being good at making words or expressions to depict shapes and forms as well as to describe things 善製形狀 寫物之詞." One must note the significant fact that among the four major poets..."
of the Song Dynasty, namely Xie Lingyun, Yan Yanzhi, Bao Zhao, and Xie Huilian. Zhong Hong not only credited the first three poets with the art of "subtle vividness," but also praised Xie Huilian for having the talent and ability to inspire Xie Lingyun to create fresh and vivid poetic imageries. It is therefore reasonable to expect a direct influence of this "subtle and vivid description," as a literary trend and practice of the time, upon the Landscape Poetry, of which Xie Lingyun and Bao Zhao were the major poets; upon the Frontier Poems, of which Bao Zhao was an essential cultivator; and upon the Poems on Things and the Palace Poetry, of which Bao Zhao was an early initiator.

Indeed, as Zhong Hong perceived it, Zhang Xie 張協, Xie Lingyun 謝靈運, Yan Yanzhi 顏延之, and Bao Zhao 鮑照 were born at a time when Chinese poetry was developing from the expressive mode into the descriptive one, and were mainly responsible for this transition. In the early Jin Dynasty, Zhang Xie, in his "Ten Miscellaneous Poems 雜詩十首," successfully utilized the picturesque function of Chinese characters to achieve a level of vividness in imagery unknown to previous poets. He described his "sufferings from incessant rains 苦雨" in terms of sounds, lights, colors, shapes, motions, and forces. He thus created many images so realistic that "the paper seemed to have been saturated by rains 紙背已濕" and "the wind seemed to have been blowing from the page 紙上有風." Zhong Hong highly praised Zhang Xie's descriptions of "sufferings from incessant rains 苦雨" as the "soundingboard of the pentasyllabic poems 五言之響弦," the "pearl lake of essays and articles 篇章之珠澤," and the "mythic peach grove of literary writings 文采之鹽林." Although Zhong Hong's comments are somewhat ambiguous and overstated, his awareness and great appreciation of Zhang Xie's efforts in the descriptive aspect of poetry are beyond doubt. Critics of later ages often expressed the same kind of awareness and appreciation. Chen Zuoming 陳祚明 maintained that "Zhang Jingyang's descriptions of scenes or sceneries are vivid and realistic, and his diction is archaic yet profound. There has not been any poem like this since the Wei Dynasty. 景陽之寫景生動而語蒼蔚, 自魏以來未有是也."
Furthermore, Zhong Hong believed that Zhang Xie's work had a strong influence upon the descriptive aspect of Xie Lingyun and Bao Zhao's poems. This point of view was also shared by many critics of later ages. Huang Ziyun advocated that "Zhang Jingyang's scenic descriptions gradually initiated that of Xie Kangle 景陽寫景漸開康樂"; while Liu Xizai 刘熙载 maintained that "Zhang Jingyang's poetry inspired that of Bao Mingyuan 張景陽詩開鮑明遠."

Zhang Xie's contribution to the development of the descriptive aspect of poetry is unquestionable, though his influence upon Xie Lingyun and Bao Zhao might not be a direct inspiration or imitation but more a result from the natural development of a literary trend. After 150 years of development, the descriptive style became a general poetic style of the early Liu Song Dynasty. As Zhong Hong noticed, major poets of the period all wrote in a style which highly esteemed subtle vividness. Yan Yanzhi's descriptive style was said to be "ornamented with various colors and inlaid with gold 錯彩畿金."

His descriptions of scenes or things were often so densely ornate that they eventually lost spontaneity and with it, emotional affinity. Xie Lingyun, on the other hand, was praised for achieving a great sense of spontaneity in his landscape poems. Some Chinese critics maintain that Xie Lingyun indulged himself greatly in writing about landscapes with mountains and waters in order to soothe his feeling of alienation in politics; however, from the perspective of poetic developments as a whole, it is also clear that the time had come for landscape poetry to reach its peak after a long period of germination and cultivation. With keen observation, a profound diction imbued with strong emotional hues, and a subtly vivid description infused with spontaneity and vitality, Xie Lingyun brought the Landscape Poetry into full bloom with its vast repertoire of poems on mountains and waters. While Xie's position as an essential cultivator and a great poet of the Landscape Poetry is indisputable, his contribution to the descriptive aspect of poetry is limited to that of landscape poems, especially poems on large-scale landscapes.

In this respect, Bao Zhao's contribution and its repercussions are more extensive. While Xie Lingyun mostly sketched full-view grand landscapes, Bao
Zhao often wrote about places of smaller scale with more distinctive scenes which detailed the landscape. Whether in his landscape poems, frontier poems, verse lines, or ordinary scenes, Bao Zhao's observations were very keen and his descriptions were quite detailed. In "Ascending Mount Lu and Gazing at the Stone Gate", for example, Bao Zhao vividly describes cliffs and crags as "tiger's teeth and bear's ears," while in "Imitating 'The Song of Departing From the North Gate of Ji'" he describes the temperature by noting "the horse hairs are as stiff as hedgehog spines, and horn-tipped bows cannot be drawn."

As his descriptions became more detailed, Bao Zhao's focus on poetic subject matter subsequently became very specific in describing the moon, the rain, waters, a pair of swallows, a rock, even a solitary tung tree. Indeed, as noted previously in the generic study, Bao Zhao imbued his Poems on Things with a solid foundation in the descriptive perspective. And as his poetic attentions turned from the natural to the domestic, Bao Zhao also wrote many descriptive poems on palaces, banquets, bedchambers, household items, and femininity. In "Imitating 'The Old Style Verse'" for example, he describes his concubines:

Under the north wind of December,
The snow falls like turbans a-flutter.
It is truly a season of depression,
And distressed I recall my dear one's affection.
Recently I got two young concubines,
It happens that they are both women of Luoyang.
They are charming with delicate features,
Their smooth skins are snowy white,
Their complexions are fairylke bright.
A glamorous coquetry is created in a gaze or glance,
While rosy lips send forth seductive utterances.
They wear embroidered silk on thir singlets,
And fine jade on their headdresses.
They tune the string and rise to dance,
And sing for me till it disturbs the beam dust:
"One's purpose in life is to fulfill one's ambition,
And my heart's desires rely on you for realization.
Fortunately it happens to be a severe winter evening,
And the dark night is not yet dawning.
A couple of tidy coverlets have long been prepared,
A pair of horn pillows have already been arranged.
I wish you will go to rest earlier, my lord,
And stay for my songs till it is spring."
In depicting their femininity, he describes their figures, complexions, coquetry, utterances, dresses, and songs. In this highly descriptive style and on this highly specified subject matter Bao Zhao had, to a great extent, anticipated the Palace Poetry in both subject matter and the descriptive perspective.

To sum up, in the descriptive aspect of poetry, Bao Zhao’s observations are generally keen and extensive; his descriptions are often detailed and subtle; and his imagery is profoundly intriguing, often exquisite and astonishing. The images are vivid and spontaneous, being adopted mainly from natural scenes or realistic objects. As his poetic attention with its descriptive focus shifted from panoramic scenes to closer views, from full pictures to specific objects, and from the natural world to the domestic environment, Bao Zhao was beyond doubt cultivating in his subject matter a totally new perspective for both Landscape Poetry and the Frontier Poems, and in the descriptive aspect laid the foundation for Poems on Things and the Palace Poetry.
iii. The General Tones and Moods of Bao Zhao's Poetry

Generally speaking, among comments and criticisms on Bao Zhao's poetry, a great deal of them concern his literary spirit, his poetic bearing and strength, and the voice or tone of his utterances. This is in part because the tone, voice, mood, and emotional traits of Bao Zhao's poems are exceedingly unique and outstanding; and perhaps in part because the textual and generic studies generally lead to a judgement upon a poet's command of poetic forms to express his thoughts and emotions. Upon further analysis, the biographical and philosophical studies usually promote an understanding of a poet's personality and mentality as conditioned by his emotions, sentiments and ideals reflected in his voices, tones, moods, and figures of speech.

Thus, this section of study will confine itself to a summary of Bao Zhao's poetic moods only, and leave thematic explications to the philosophical study in the next chapter.

Comments and criticisms on Bao Zhao's poetic moods have in general delineated five basic traits: sincerity; heroism; indignation; devotion; and transcendency. To begin with, Chen Zuoming pointed out that: "Bao Zhao holds a grand and heroic posture, but also has a deep and sincere disposition. Indeed, it is true that there is a sense of deep sincerity prevailing throughout Bao Zhao's ballad songs, landscape poems, frontier poems, poems on things, and poems on boudoir thoughts. It is best expressed in the affection and understanding between lovers, husband and wife, the official and the emperor, or colleagues and friends. The concubine's song in "Imitating 'The Old Style Verse'" (see page 207) is a typical expression of Bao Zhao's sincerity. Indeed, this is a song of total devotion. The concubine's purpose and ambition is to love and care for her lord, the poet, who has been away from home until that wintry night. Realizing she should not detain him with her deep love and surging desire, she cannot help but feel lucky; her
lord might stay the night since the dawn has not yet arrived. Knowing that she can never stop the poet from leaving, she deeply wishes for him to stay through the severe winter. There is no complaint of her loneliness, only joy in temporary togetherness. There is no reprimand over his neglect; instead her devotion comes with the full understanding that he must seek the fulfillment of his ambition. And there is no resentment over his eventual departure, only a simple wish for his staying the night or the winter. Her utterances constitute the sincere sentiments which are unique in Bao Zhao's poems on boudoir thoughts.

These sentiments in turn form an emotional profundity which transports one beyond worldly limits. This is what Bao Zhao states in "Imitating 'The Pheasant Flies in the Morning' 代雉朝飛": "What is death to me, with a friend (or a beloved one) of the same temperament?" This emotional profundity somehow provides one with the strength to accept the vicissitudes of favor and disfavor. Paralleling this acceptance, a positive attitude is realized, which is typical of Bao Zhao's personality. Thus, in "Plucking Mulberry Leaves" he writes:

"If your magnificence is not likely to come again, For whom should I exhaust my well of sentiment? So, my Lord, just tune the zither, And I'll pour out wine distilled with osmanthus flower."

The poet's positive attitude toward life is clearly reflected in the maiden's decision to enjoy to the fullest every moment she spends with her lord, despite the fact that he will inevitably leave and may not return.

The most profound expression of sincerity is in the third of "Six Poems Presented to Old Friend Ma Ziqiao 贈故人馬子貞六首":

"Although throughout the whole year it is chilly and desolate, The pine is always so green and luxuriant. How can one grasp the heart of such a plant, Which bears no resentment against the seasonal shift?"

The poet's wish to be unaffected by the vicissitudes of life, embodied in the universal image of an evergreen's perseverance over seasonal changes, is futile but his deep sincerity empowers the image with an emotional profundity which transcends his position. This profound emotion somehow makes Bao Zhao's heroic vehemence less
a special providence and more an individual determination. Consequently, his
heroism is less an epic task and more a human aspiration. This emotional
profundity substantiates his great moral integrity and prevents his indignation
from expressing itself in hypocritical statements or cynical resentments. This
emotional profundity further sustains his transcendence with images of rational
detachment and active ascendance, and prevents his flight from turning into sheer
escape or a nihilistic posture. It also engenders enthusiasm and devotion in
order to draw the poet back from his transcendence and facilitate his return to
the world and its adversity.

The second trait of Bao Zhao's poetic moods is an heroic spirit and
unrestrained personality. His admiration for the lofty or heroic cause is
always apparent in his frontier poetry. He praises the heroic spirit in
lofty courses of action taken through all walks of life. In the third poem
of "Imitating the Ancient Verses拟古," Bao Zhao writes with admiration
about a young man's mastery of archery and horsemanship as well as his
heroic decision to answer the call to restore peace at the borderland:

"The Han and the northern barbarians are not yet at peace,
   The borderland is often disturbed by defeat and recapture;
And he said, 'I'll save a white feather arrow,
   In order to seek the bamboo credential of a prefecture.'"

In the second poem of "Imitating the Ancient Verses," he writes about an old
scholar's heroic determination to discard pens and books, and pick up bow and
armor to pacify frontier tribes, facing the unknown:

"I took off jade pendants to put on iron-spiked rhino armor,
   And closed up books to receive with both hands the black bow.
It is beyond my power to reach my initial desire,
   And I do not know my eventual future either."

Then, in "Imitating 'The Song of Departing from the North Gate of Ji' 代出自
北門行," Bao Zhao writes about the heroic spirit of a gallant official's
courageous pledge of devotion to serve the wise ruler and sacrifice his life for
his country. This pledge becomes all the more heroic, as war is inevitable under
tense military confrontation between the imperial forces and the formidable
barbarian troops (see page 142). A spirit of true heroism is also expressed in "Imitating Prince of Chensi's 'Ballad of the White Steed' 代陳思王白馬篇" by the image of a young officer:

This young officer was sent to guard the frontier and defend a strategic mistake at the border. He realizes that it will be a long time before he can return home; hence he accepts his fate and dutifully defends the borderland, with one simple wish that some day the border people will recognize his gallantry. Indeed, the young man's response to the national cause, the old scholar's decision to spend his later years engaged in frontier affairs, the official's pledge to sacrifice his life for the country in times of danger, and the officer's acceptance of his role to defend the borders, are all sustained by individual vehemency. Their heroic battles are all sustained by self-determination instead of a reliance on Providence. As they engage in extraordinary undertakings, their intentions are humanly small, such as "to let the people at the border know that I am truly a gallant soldier," and yet are often bound to be tragic, such as the sincere wish to restore everlasting peace at the border. It is in this respect that their spirits are all the more sincere, sublim, and heroic.

Furthermore, it is noticeable that a great number of Bao Zhao's ballad poems, especially those of critical realism, are full of fervent and indignant sentiments.
But about the injustice inherent in social conventions, political incidents, or historical recurrences, Bao Zhao adopted figures of speech and wrote in a metaphorical or allegorical style to avoid political censorship. However, before we undertake an examination into the figurative aspect of Bao Zhao's poetic style, we should first study the spirit of detachment and the sense of devotion in his poetry.

As we know, Du Fu praised Bao Zhao as "junyi 俊逸," which literally means "exceedingly talented and uniquely free," but since Du Fu was probably referring more to Bao Zhao's literary style than to his literary talent, this comment can be rendered as "unconventionally free and naturally graceful." Upon closer analysis, this poetic bearing is a trait of detachment sustained by the poet's intellectual understanding and rational comprehension, and subsequent tolerance of the adversity of life as a whole. "Imitating 'The Song of Ascending Mount Jing in the Springtime' 代陽春登荊山行" offers a very good example. The first couplet in the final quatrain of this poem reveals an understanding of the nature of human emotion:

"Though things encountered hold delight and interest, They don't release an anxious brooder from worry. Let us together drink the wine for the spring feast, And sing a song while ascending the mountain."

This fundamental aspect of human nature is evidenced by the rational decision to drink wine for the spring feast and promote spiritual transcendence as the poet and his friend are physically ascending the mountain. It is worth noticing that all of Bao Zhao's verse lines on wine goblets are in fact about drinking to unite body and mind, or toasts of acceptance and occasion. Therefore, they should be taken as descriptions of an active approach through positive symbols to spiritual transcendence, instead of physical inertia or spiritual descendence. And it is all too human that on occasion the poet cannot overcome his emotions, even with keen insight and intellectual comprehension. In the sixth poem of "Imitating 'The Road of Adversity' 擬行路難," for example, the poet realizes that since antiquity even virtuous sages have been poor and destitute, let alone he himself who has been honest and without allies, but still he cannot overcome his deep resentment against
the institutional injustice of officialdom. In "Imitating 'The Song of the Hoary Head' 代白頭吟," after all of his observations on human nature, the historical way of the world over honor and dishonor, and a placid endurance of adversity, the poet is still unable to relinquish his resentment of dishonor.

Nevertheless, excepting these few examples, spiritual transcendence prevails on most occasions. "Imitating 'The Graveyard Song' 代荒里行" (see page 140) represents a celebration of ultimate spiritual detachment. Understanding that human life itself was very painful and divine providence never favored anyone, the poet realizes that the same end falls upon men whether humble or noble, the only difference being whether or not their dreams were fulfilled. Consequently, he accepts the fact that someday he will die, becoming dirt and dust among fox and hare; meanwhile, before that day his integrity and indignation will move him to fulfil his dream. This is not a will surrendered, nor a negative resignation from the world. It is Bao Zhao's typical spiritual transcendence, uniquely consisting of a fervent ascendence and rational detachment. Thus, Yan Junping's 严君平 retreat in "Poem on An Historical Figure 詠史" should be understood as an active withdrawal and a positive resignation. As the seasons change from summer to winter, so there are proper times for advancing and retiring. Although splendid flowers will blossom in spring, Yan Junping is still solitary and lonesome, for the cycle of times for advancing and retiring is much longer than the cycle for seasonal changes.

One outcome of this active ascendence is that it seems to have engendered a fervent enthusiasm to enjoy life, an earnest attitude to do one's duty, and a deep devotion to strive to fulfil one's aspiration. It is exactly this active ascendence which prevents the spiritual transcendence from becoming a nihilistic posture. An earnest devotion prevents the spiritual transcendence from turning into sheer escapism. Thus, the young man's retreat in "Imitating 'The Song of the Frontier Life' 代邊居行" is in fact not a negative withdrawal but an active approach to enjoy a fuller life. The last quatrain of "Arriving in Zhuli on My Way to Jingkou 行京口至竹里" (see page 166) perfectly depicts that a young man's lifelong duty as an intellectual is to devote himself to the course of life with
In summary, Bao Zhao's frontier poems are infused with heroic spirit; his ballad songs are full of indignant criticisms; his poems on boudoir thoughts are full of sincerity and devotion; while his poems in general are often filled with rational detachment and active transcendence. Furthermore, these traits in his poetic tones and moods combined to form a special temperament which was totally of Bao Zhao's own making. Thus, in Bao Zhao's poems one can detect a sincerity tinged with graceful understanding and fervent devotion; and that his heroic spirit, rising from self-determination based on total comprehension, is often infused with an enthusiastic devotion, derived from a sense of responsibility or indignation. One can also perceive that Bao Zhao's indignant sentiments cannot be overcome rationally nor tolerated, despite his broad comprehension. While infused with profound sincerity, his criticisms often end in earnest advice or deep anxiety. One can discern that while Bao Zhao's comprehension and tolerance of the world's myriad things promoted a rational detachment constituting a spiritual transcendence, they also cultivated an active ascendance over worldly cares by a fervent devotion to life, which in turn caused a return into the world of adversity. Indeed, by such interfusion, these traits of Bao Zhao's poetic tones and moods form a multi-dimensional crystal which emits a unique spectrum of color and strength. The 18 poems of "Imitating 'the Road of Adversity'" constitute one such crystal. However, before we engage in any discussion over the philosophical study of Bao Zhao's poetry, it is imperative for the thesis to examine the figurative aspect of Bao Zhao's poetry.
iv. The Figurative Aspect of Bao Zhao's Poetry

Generally speaking, the interpretation of poetry as political allegory has prevailed in Chinese poetic criticism since very early times. Political allegory thus constitutes an essential type of Chinese poetic interpretation. The prevalence of allegorical interpretation is generally due to the fact that most Chinese poets traditionally were intellectuals whose lives centred around the public service, whether they were active or retired officials, or exiled from public life. It also owes much to both the long domination of the pragmatic concept of poetry as a means to admonish or praise current political situations, and to the expressive theory of poetry as the embodiment of individual as well as universal sentiments. It has to a great extent become an essential part of Chinese poetics and dominated criticisms on major Chinese poetic works such as the Book of Poetry, the Song of Chu, and the poetry of Ruan Ji. Nevertheless, Chinese scholars or literary critics who applied allegorical criticism often allowed themselves to go far beyond general interpretations by engaging in detailed chronological analyses to assure correlations between a poem and certain historical events, and consequently fell into the habit of treating poetry as sheer historical records. Traditional criticisms of Bao Zhao's poetry similarly are often allegorical interpretations which specifically correlate individual poems with historical events. Some of these interpretations were widely adopted by celebrated chronologists on Bao Zhao as essential evidence supporting their inferences of his birthdate and age. Since these inferences are disproved in the Biographical Study of Bao Zhao in this thesis, it is useful here at the end of this stylistic study to examine the arguments contained in these inferences, and to reappraise Bao Zhao's metaphorical, allusive, and allegorical poems.
a. An Examination of Wu Zhifu's Allegorical Interpretation of Bao Zhao's Poems

Among the celebrated annotators and commentators on Bao Zhao's poetry, Wu Zhifu 吳摯父, Zhu Jutang 朱樹棠, and Chen Hang 陳沆 were well-known for their allegorical interpretations. Their interpretations of some of Bao Zhao's poems as reprimands and lamentations on the abdication of Emperor Gong of the Jin Dynasty 晉恭帝, and the deposition of Prince Yizhen of Luling 盧陵王 義真, as well as the regicide of the Former Deposed Emperor 前廢帝 of the Liu Song Dynasty were widely accepted and cited by Chinese critics as decisive factors in biographical studies on Bao Zhao, and used to substantiate interpretations of his political integrity. Nevertheless, under a closer analysis their interpretations often turn out to be arbitrary assumptions.

Wu Zhifu's allegorical criticisms, for example, often appear to be nothing but free interpretations. His commentary on Bao Zhao's poem "Imitating 'There Are Travelers at the Gate'" is a typical example of this kind of vulnerable interpretation. The poem reads:

There were travelers at the gate, "What village do you come from, sir?"
I hurried out to ask about,
And found an old neighbour.
Anguish spoke with my voice,
Anxiety evoked my native dialect.
Old sorrows arose as we talked about the past,
And there was no delight to speak of the present.
I came early in the morning to extend my regards,
But cannot conclude my visit by the sunset.
We have eagerly explored our joys and sorrows,
And have been chatting and laughing without stop.
But before we ever exhaust our conversation,
The time to depart is suddenly called up.
While earlier grief hasn't yet been overcome,
New sorrow has already arisen again.
Though I find myself hoarse and mute,
My words should still ring in your ears.
While my handwriting will express my heart,
I wish you a happy journey.

As indicated in the study of textual variations, this poem is also found in the Collected Works of Zhang Maoxian 張茂先集, except that the latter lacks the third, sixth, ninth, and 10th couplets. Therefore, before proving Bao Zhao's authorship of this poem, it should be held in doubt and applications of
this poem in essential arguments should be restrained. Wu Zhifu fails to observe this objectiveness. Furthermore, providing neither substantial evidence nor convincing argument, he advocates that "gu bei 故悲" refers to Arch Villain Shao 元凶 and "hou gan 後感" refers to the Former Deposed Emperor 前廢帝.

According to the Song Shu, Heir Apparent Prince Shao murdered his father Emperor Wen in the first month of 453. He was soon defeated by his brother Prince Jun of Wuling 武陵王, who was subsequently enthroned in the fourth month and was later known as Emperor Xiaowu. Emperor Xiaowu died in the fifth month of 464 and was succeeded by his son Prince Ziye 子業, who was a cruel and corrupt tyrant. He was soon murdered in the 11th month of 465 in the deposal conspiracy plotted by his uncle Prince Yu of Xiangdong 湘東王, who was subsequently enthroned in the 12th month of the same year and was later known as Emperor Ming.

In this respect, it is obvious that Wu Zhifu interprets "gu bei" as "the former sorrow" and "hou gan" as "the latter sentiment." This in turn implies that he believed the poem to be written sometime during Emperor Xiaowu's reign, sometime between 453 and 465. Nevertheless, the poem itself neither indicates that it was written sometime in this period, nor suggests that it refers to Emperor Xiaowu's reign as a whole. The only argument possible to justify Wu Zhifu's supposition dating the poem's composition thereupon loses its validity, and Wu Zhifu's allegorical interpretations of the poem inevitably become groundless.

Generally speaking, "There Are Travelers at the Gate" is an ancient ballad, of which the original lyric has long been lost. Before Bao Zhao, three poets wrote poems with this title. Cao Zhi 曹植 of the Wei Dynasty changed the poem into "At the Gate There Are Travelers from Ten Thousand Leagues Away 門有萬里客" and wrote a stanza of five couplets. Zhang Hua 張華 of the Jin Dynasty was accredited with a 12-line stanza in the original title which, as indicated in the textual study of this thesis, was also recorded as part of the poem written by Bao Zhao. Lu Ji 陸機 of the Jin Dynasty wrote a poem with the original title in 20 lines, which could be taken structurally as two stanzas of five couplets, but was thematically an inseparable stanza. Bao Zhao's "There Are Travelers at the Gate" is, on the one hand, an imitation of Lu Ji's 20-line
stanza; on the other hand, it was also adapted from Cao Zhi's 10-line poem as well as Zhang Hua's 12-line stanza, granted that the latter is not an inverse abbreviation out of textual corruption. Thematically speaking, the motif in Bao Zhao's stanza is analogous to those in the stanzas by Cao Zhi and Lu Ji. It simply describes a sojourner's nostalgia and homesickness aroused by encountering an old neighbor or fellow villager. The poem contains no allusions or symbols but has an explicit diction. The two controversial terms "gu bei" and "hou gan" denote nothing more than "old sorrows" as an antithesis to "new delight" and "new sorrow" as an antithesis to "earlier grief." Thus, Wu Zhifu's allegorical interpretation of this poem is inevitably arbitrary.

Similarly, Wu Zhifu drew a lot of farfetched interpretations of Bao Zhao's poems such as "The Graveyard Song," "The Funeral Dirge, The Song of the East Gate," "The Song Without Restraint," and "Plucking Mulberry Leaves". Although he did provide certain historical footnotes in each case, under close analysis they are only strained analogies. His commentary on "Plucking Mulberry Leaves" provides a perfect example of this type of interpretation. The poem reads:

In the last month of spring as plums start falling,  季春梅始落，
Maids are all engaged in sericultural chores. 女工事事處，
I plucked mulberry leaves in between the Qi and the Wei rivers,  織桑淇濟間，
And returned to amuse myself at the pavilion of the Imperial Palace. 還戲上宮閣。
Early cattails have already formed shade,  早蒲時結陰，
Yet late bamboo shoots have just shed sheaths.  晚篁初解箨。
While the boudoir is filled with coy mists,  諧諧幾盈闕，
The curtain is full of warm lights.  蕉蕉滿翠華。
Suckling swallows are chasing grass insects,  婴 chickens 最美的，
And new-born bees are gathering flower calyces.  佳服又新價。
This season is most warm and bright,  尤勝對嬉遊。
And my dress is also new and radiant.  續繡對嬉遊。
Facing the faraway road I sigh softly,  我歌弄琴絃。
And start to sing while fingering bean plants:  抽弦試雅音。
I take out my zither to try to express my longing,  鎮柳果成侶。
And offer my girdle pendant truly to win your troth.  承君京中美，
To receive you, my lord, the magnificent one in Ying Capital,  賦妾久心諾。
Satisfies my heart's long desire to serve righteousness.  衛風古之揚，
The custom of Wei has long been amorous,  鄭伯學浮薄，
And the observances of Zheng used to be frivolous.  魏風從善好。
The spirit of the shaman crossing River Xiang was sorrowful,  魏風存儀指。
The Fu Rhapsody mocks at the Goddess of the Luo River.  盛明難重來，
If your magnificence is not likely to come again,  情意為詎爾？
For whom should I exhaust my well of sentiment?  若其且調絃，
So, my lord, just tune the zither,  季酒妾行酌。
And I'll pour out wine distilled with osmanthus flower.  季酒妾行酌。
The title of the poem, "Plucking Mulberry Leaves," refers to an ancient ballad song, of which the original lyric is lost. Fortunately, six other poems written on this subject by poets before Bao Zhao are extant today. The "Mulberry by the Path 陌上桑" from the Han Dynasty, also known as "The Sun Rises at the Southeastern Corner 日出东南隅行" or "The Love Song of Luofu 鷺歌羅敷行," describes the beauty of Luofu and how she rejects her lord's courtship by singing an affectionate song about her husband.

The three Caos of the Wei Dynasty all wrote poems titled "Mulberry by the Path." Cao Cao 曹操 wrote about ascending to the heavens and roaming about with the immortals; Cao Pi 曹丕 described a weary soldier's nostalgia and homesickness; while Cao Zhi 曹植 expressed his desire to ascend to an immortal realm. Lu Ji and Xie Lingyun both wrote "The Sun Rises at the Southeastern Corner 日出东南隅行." Lu Ji described the beauty of charming maids, their enjoyment of spring excursions, and their sorrows over the ephemeral springtime and the vicissitudes of life. Xie Lingyun described a virtuous and beautiful maiden in a buoardoor warm with spring sunshine. The motif in Bao Zhao's stanza without doubt accords with those in Lu Ji and Xie Lingyun's poems. It is most likely that Bao Zhao found in their poems the source for imitation in his "Plucking Mulberry Leaves."

Thematically speaking, Bao Zhao is describing a beautiful maid's spring excursions on her sericultural chores, her amorous thoughts to win her lord's troth, and her true devotion to him. It naturally falls into the category of the sub-genre of the "Poetry of Boudoir Feeling." Historically, it is recorded in "The Records of Rites 禮志" and "The Chronicle of Emperor Xiaowu 孝武帝紀" that Emperor Xiaowu, who understood the importance of agriculture and sericulture, observed the ancient Imperial Plowing Ritual and the queen performed the Mulberry-leaf-plucking Ritual in 460, the fourth year of the Daming Reign. Bao Zhao was at the time Subprefect of the Moling County and concurrently Drafting and Presenting Official of the Imperial Secretariat. In the case of an extremely specific interpretation, then, the poem can be taken as Bao Zhao's eulogy of this ritual performed by the queen to encourage silk-worm production. Generally speaking, according to a common Chinese poetic tradition, which adopts the relation between husband and
wife as a metaphor of that between the emperor and his officials, this poem can be interpreted allegorically as depicting Bao Zhao's devotion to Emperor Xiaowu. This is the chief implication in the poem on an allegorical level. Any other allegorical interpretations without proper specification or conclusive evidence are hardly justifiable.

Nevertheless, Wu Zhifu maintains that the above poem was written about Emperor Xiaowu's profaned palace chambers and his bewitchment by Concubine Yin. Although it is recorded in the Song Shu that Emperor Xiaowu sometimes offended propriety by staying overnight in his mother's chamber, and that he took his full cousin, a daughter of Prince Yixuan of Nanjun, into his harem and concealed her identity under the title of "Concubine Yin"; the poem itself in no way suggests such a correlation, nor provides any conclusive image or allusion to justify such an association. Wu Zhifu's commentary inevitably becomes a hasty supposition. In fact, his interpretations of Bao Zhao's poems are all done in this fashion. Thus, in the course of study in this thesis, his specific allegorical interpretations or any other criticisms on this basis are rejected.
b. An Examination of Chen Hang's Allegorical Interpretation of Bao Zhao's Poems

Among the allegorical commentators and interpreters on Bao Zhao's poems, Chen Hang was the most influential one. His interpretations on "Imitating 'The Road of Adversity'" were widely accepted, taken as authentic biographical evidence by most chronologists of Bao Zhao. In *Shi Bixing Jian* (Notes and Commentary on Allegories in Poetry), Chen Hang analyzed a series of poems by various poets of different dynasties to illustrate allegorical poetry as unique in Chinese poetic tradition. He interpreted Bao Zhao's "Imitating 'The Road of Adversity'" as political allegories on the dethronement of Emperor Shao 少帝 and the deposal of Prince Yizhen of Luling 盧陵王 義真. Chen Hang's advocacy of political allegory as an essential pathos in Chinese poetry was a sound statement with keen insight, but his approach in linking a poem to an historical event is often disputable. His interpretation of Bao Zhao's "Imitating 'The Road of Adversity'" as allegories of specific political issues is refutable.

As stated in the Biographical Study of Bao Zhao, Chen Hang's entire theory was based on his comprehension of the second couplet of the 18th poem of "Imitating 'The Road of Adversity'" (see page 13). Chen Hang maintained that this poem was written by the poet at the age of 20, before he took his first official post in the principality of Prince Yiqing of Linchuan, who was conferred the princedom in 433. Then, in this line of speculation, he firmly believed that the last couplet of the seventh poem, to a great extent, denoted the poet's reprimand over a political event -- an event the poet could not talk about due to political circumstances. And he insisted that the poet's reluctant submission finally became a somewhat cowardly withdrawal, but was also a prudent surrender to that political taboo indicated in the last couplet of the fourth poem:

*How can my heart made of no stone or wood be indifferent? 心非木石豈無感? But silently I wander around and dare not to speak of it. 吞聲謙謙不敢言.*

Chen Hang read this couplet in the context of the seventh poem, and drew a parallel between this and the last couplet of the seventh poem. He then maintained that the
thing which the poet could not talk about in the seventh poem was that which he dared not to speak of in the fourth poem. Therefore, Chen Hang believed that this political taboo was over a very important issue or event that happened before 433, the latest date this set of poems could have been written. The image of a cuckoo bird as a metaphor for the abdicated King of Shu in the seventh poem clearly denotes that the poem is an allegory of dethronement which, according to the Song Shu, could only be either the abdication of Emperor Gong of the Jin Dynasty in 420 or that of Emperor Shao of the Song Dynasty in 424. He preferred the latter to the former, due to his understanding of the eighth poem (see pages 12-13). Chen Hang maintained that the image of the five peach trees in the courtyard was a metaphor of "the five princes of Emperor Wu," and the image of the one blossoming before the others was a metaphor for Prince Yizhen, the eldest of the five princes and the first one deposed and murdered. Thus, Chen Hang took this poem as an allegory on the deposal of Prince Yizhen of Luling -- a prelude to the dethronement of Emperor Shao. In a word, Chen Hang firmly believed that "The Road of Adversity" was a set of allegorical poems, in which Bao Zhao as a traditional Chinese intellectual expressed his indignation or made reprimands about current political issues.

Nevertheless, as stated in the study of Bao Zhao's Birth and Death (see pages 10-18), the indication of the poet's age and the time he composed this set of poems is less certain than Chen Hang presumed, and his interpretations of the seventh poem as an allegory on Emperor Shao's abdication and the eighth poem as an allegory on Prince Yizhen's deposal remain wild conjectures.

Besides, though it is not impossible, one has difficulty in finding an apparent analogy between the connotation of an early-blossoming peach tree and that of an eldest prince. Chinese poetic tradition does not suggest a usual convention of the fallen peach blossom as the symbol of a deposed prince. The allusion of the cuckoo bird, by the same token, can in no way
be confined to or specified as a metaphor for the abdicated Emperor Shao. And according to the Song Shu, since Emperor Shao was a fatuous, decrepit, licentious, and self-indulgent ruler, one can hardly imagine that Bao Zhao would lament his dethronement, which was plotted by great vassals and high officials of the imperial court.

In summary, to a great extent it is true that Bao Zhao was very prudent and his statement would, as Huang Jie stated, thereupon be very ambiguous. But linking the images in "The Road of Adversity" with the above historical events yields strained interpretations, for Bao Zhao never served under Emperor Shao or Prince Yizhen's patronages, nor provided in the set of poems any further substantial evidence to parallel those events. Thus, Chen Hang's allegorical interpretations of Bao Zhao's poems and any other theories based on his advocacy are consequently rejected in this study.

c. A Reappraisal of Bao Zhao's Allusive, Metaphorical, and Allegorical Poems

After the above refutation of Wu Zhifu and Chen Hang's allegorical interpretations of Bao Zhao's poems, one must examine and reappraise Bao Zhao's figures of speech in order to answer the important question of whether or not his poems are allegorical, and if so, to justify the extent of specific historical interpretation.

To begin with, it is necessary to conduct an investigation of the tropes in Bao Zhao's poetry; and the result of this general survey indicates that Bao Zhao's poetry contains a great profusion of images and allusions. The statistics indicate that in the imagery of his 204 poems there are 104 allusions, based on
49 legends, 30 historic and 15 literary or philosophic themes; while in application, 46 are of people, 23 of places, and 35 of events. It also shows that images of birds and plants prevail over other kinds of images. These images were used as metaphors of universal harmony, delight, distrust or disfavor, alienation, solitude, perseverance, and the historic vicissitudes of life. It is also noticeable in the statistics that metaphors of disfavor, estrangement, solitude, perseverance, and vicissitudes of official life outnumber other kinds of metaphors.

It is clear that Bao Zhao preferred "submerged" rather than "explicit" metaphors. His metaphors were often elaborate and witty. He seldom expressed the analogies or resemblances between the tenors and the vehicles. In some extended elaborations, he even omitted the tenors. Therefore, the poetic turn of meaning in the imagery, whether metaphorical or allegorical, often depends on a comparison or juxtaposition of the image and the poet, or a substitution of one for the other. The successfullness of this process depends greatly on a basic knowledge of imagistic associations or the essential implications of an individual allusion; it also relies heavily on a general understanding of Bao Zhao's position as an imperial favorite courtier and on a fundamental comprehension of the mentality of Chinese poets as Confucian intellectuals.

The fourth poem of "Imitating Liu Gonggan's Style 學劉公幹體" (see page 169) best illustrates a process of the poetic turn of meaning in the imagery through a comparison between the image and the poet. In this poem the harmonious and graceful existence of a lotus presented in the first two couplets is further defined in the third couplet, specifying its place of existence as an imperial golden pond in a jade pool. This environment, though magnificent, is so artificial that it inevitably undermines the graceful lotus and threatens its harmonious existence. Although "jun 君" in the third couplet can be a second person possessive, the magnificence of the place justifies the word to be translated as "imperial" or "His Majesty." While "shengming 盛明," denoting originally "the magnificent brilliance," means "the brilliant sun" essential to the luxuriant existence of the lotus, in the context of the third couplet it can
be taken thematically as a pun for "the great grace" of His Majesty, who in turn
is also responsible for the graceful existence of the lotus. However, the
juxtaposition in the pun evokes an extended comparison. The grace of the
brilliant sun to the lotus is also the favor of His Majesty to an official. Then,
with a general understanding of Bao Zhao's position as an imperial favorite
courtier, fearing imperial disfavor, a substitution of the lotus for the poet is
logically justified and so secures the image's allegorical meaning.

The fifth poem of "Imitating Liu Gonggan's Style" (see page 171), on the
other hand, provides a higher degree of juxtaposition between the image and the
poet. In this poem the poet is not only present but also active. He witnesses
the striking fact that a blade of grass is devastated by frost at high noon
while the whole world enjoys the sun's brilliance. With this ironic contrast he
comes to a bitter realization that there is no need to guard one's virtue since
prosperity and adversity are so sudden. Thereupon, the poet sets up his lute and
sings for the grass, but a string breaks before he completes the song. Although
a direct analogy between the fate of the poet and that of the grass has not been
expressed, the poet's bitter realization does engender a similar empathy. At this
point, the poet and the grass juxtapose, and the poet's song for the blade of
grass in fact becomes a song for himself. It is at this interactive juxtaposition
between the poet and the image that the string consequently breaks from the burden
of sorrow, and the allegorical implication of the poem is justified.

The interaction between poet and image can sometimes be so intense that the
juxtaposition between the two becomes total and complete. The poem "Traveling
Through the Mountain, I Saw a Solitary Tung Tree 山行見孤桐" (see page 170)
provides a good example. This poem provides in the first two quatrains a vivid
picture of a solitary tung tree in a hostile environment. The third quatrain
describes its encounter with exiled vassals and abandoned women, which evokes in
them an almost unbearable sense of solitude. The objective description of the
tung tree's environment is tinged with human experience and emotion in the third
quatrain. As these subjective tints of sadness and desolation in the last quatrain
reach an unbearable extent, the poet wishes that the tung tree might be cut and
carved into a zither in the lord’s hall. It is with this sincere wish that the poet completely identifies with the tung tree; its adversity is his adversity and its solitude is his solitude. The tree thus becomes a perfect substitution for the poet: the wish he made for the tree in fact becomes one for himself.

Sometimes the substitution of the image for the poet takes place in a very subtle way. The poem "Presented As a Farewell to Officer Fu" offers a good example:

A swift swan frolics over rivers and lakes,
A lonely goose alights on the islet sandbank.
By chance the two birds meet and are fond of each other,
And in feeling and in thought they become ever closer.
But as the wind and the rain are apt to go east or west,
Suddenly they are separated, ten thousand leagues apart.
Each recalls the times they perched in the woods or on the waters,
While the other’s voice and countenance fills its mind and ears.
It is getting cold over the river islet by the sunset,
The distressing clouds rise encircling all the firmament.
The one with short shafts cannot soar,
But amid the fog and mists will linger and hover.

It is doubtless that this poem first appears to be a poem describing the happy encounter and sad parting of a swift swan and a lovely goose. It sings about the birds’ increased feeling of togetherness, their distressing recollections after separation, and ends lamenting over the bird that cannot soar away. A theme of separation dominates the poem; there are no overt comparisons or juxtapositions.

The title of the poem draws a parallel between the separation of two men with that of the birds, and further offers a comparison between the poet and the lonely goose. The analogies between animal and human encounters, with their inevitable partings justify a substitution of the lonely goose for the poet and the soaring swan for Officer Fu, and thereby introduces the subtle allegorical implications of the poem. This process is repeated in the sixth of "Six Poems Presented to Old Friend Ma Ziqiao":

A pair of swords are about to bid farewell,
Amid the sword case they first wail.
At dusk the clouds and the rain interlace,
Hence they depart from each one’s presence.
Into a Wu river sinks the female,
And into a Chu city flies the male.
Fathomless, without bottom, is the river water,
Eminent, the bolted city gate tower.
Once separated, apart, like zenith from the nadir,
They suffer the confinement of this and the world nether.
But things of divinity won’t be estranged forever,
They may join together unexpectedly one thousand years later.

This is a poem about a pair of swords. It laments the inevitable parting of the two swords, but reassures their eventual reunion. In this connection, the poem alludes to the story of Zhang Hua and a pair of divine ancient swords:

Zhang Hua had noticed that there were always some purple clouds in between the Big Dipper and the Altair 斗牛, and Lei Huan 雷焕, a learned astrologist, told him that it was caused by some precious sword’s thrusting force. Hua thereupon appointed Huan the Subprefect of Fengcheng, where the thrusting force of the sword was believed to have risen from. As soon as he arrived there, Huan dug by the foundation of the county prison and found a stone box, which contained a pair of most famous ancient swords carved with names: Longquan 龍泉 and Taie 太阿. Huan sent only one to Hua and kept one for himself in secret, but Hua wrote to him: “I thoroughly studied the inscription on the sword and found that it is the famous ancient sword Ganjiang 干將; but then why did its mate Moye 莫邪 not come along? Nevertheless, I am sure that these mysterious divine things will eventually join together again.” Later when Hua was executed for high treason, Ganjiang disappeared. After Huan died, his son, who was a prefectural intendant, one day passed by the Yanping Ford with the sword Moye. It suddenly leaped out from his waist and dropped into the water. He thereupon had someone dive to get it back, but the diver found no sword, only two long dragons coiling with elegant appearance. The diver returned in fear and the sword was thus lost.

This allusion employs the image of these legendary swords to transcend the boundary of private and personal metaphor. Similarly, the title of the poem suggests a parallel between the parting of the two divine swords with that of the two friends, and thereby one may be an effective substitution for the other. Subsequently, the allegorical implication of the future reunion between the two friends becomes as certain as the eventual reunion of the two swords.

It is beyond doubt that Bao Zhao was a master in employing allusion to enrich the associative meaning of an image and to transpose the poem onto metaphorical or allegorical levels. The poem "I Saw a Jade Dealer 見賣玉器者" is a perfect example of this technique:

The Jing River and the Wei River may not be mixed up together,
And the Jade and the stone should be distinguished earlier.
Since you are a visitor to Chu of the ancient state,
You would not have heard of the folklore of ignorance before.
You could hardly understand the jade’s splendid nature,
You could hardly distinguish its soft and bright texture.
I have just passed through the imperial capital,
And entered the Hanyuan Pass from the Luo River.
I have made my beauty known among the ten noble houses,
And spread my fame among the four powerful families.
My outstanding reputation has astonished the court and the city,
My esteemed value is highly admired in the village and country.
How can I argue with you folks,
And distinguish blemish from perfection?

The folklore mentioned in the second couplet refers to the story of "He's Jade
和氏璧":

Bian He 卜和 was a native of the Chu state. He found a piece of jade matrix and presented it to King Huai of Chu 楚懷王. The royal jeweler judged that it was only a common alabaster. The King thereupon ordered that Bian He's left foot be cut off in punishment. In time when King Ping succeeded the throne, Bian He presented the jade matrix again, but got his right foot amputated for suspected deceiving. Then when King Jing 荊王 came to the throne, he wanted to present the matrix very much, but was afraid of the punishment; hence he clasped the matrix to his chest and wailed till blood came out of his eyes. When he was questioned by King Jing's messenger about his wailing, he replied: "I weep not because of my feet being amputated, but because of a jade being dubbed a mere stone and a man of integrity being called deceiver." King Jing then had the matrix cut and found that it was really a precious jade. 173

This allusion first presents an analogue of event and significance between the Bian He incident and the jade dealer episode, achieved by transposition in time and space. The jade dealer is juxtaposed with Bian He, who in turn on an allegorical level is identified with a poet of Confucian intellect. The dealer's supposedly false jade is juxtaposed with Bian He's jade misjudged as alabaster, which obtains the metaphorical implication of one's unappreciated talent and ability. Thereupon, the jade dealer's resentment presupposes Bian He's indignation, which in turn allegorically represents the poet's anguish and anxiety. There is no doubt that Bao Zhao was a great master in employing images and allusions, and his poetry is consequently metaphorical, allusive and allegorical. But did his poems often anticipate or attempt to allegorize problematic current affairs as most Chinese traditional allegorists say? And to what extent is it justifiable to emphasize interpretations of pure historical reference?

To answer these questions, it is imperative to analyze the seventh and the eighth poems of "Imitating 'The Road of Adversity,'" which have evoked the most controversial interpretations. The eighth poem (see pages 12-13) is basically a poem of boudoir lament. This poem consists of three quatrains. In the first quatrain it describes a blossoming peach tree and its windblown petals. The
fallen flowers, in the second quatrains, provoke a woeful lament of the pensive wife, long parted from her detained lord. In the third quatrains, this unbearable separation evokes in her an incessant longing for her lord, causing insomnia and carelessness for dress or make-up; her great anguish has made her thin and pallid. It eventually leads her to accept the realization that life does not always allow for happiness or contentment. But due to her strong emotional attachment, it is a realization without transcendence, and deepens her sleepless melancholy at midnight.

It is obvious that the peach blossom in the first quatrains is no more than a simple image; and the fallen petals are related in the second quatrains to the sorrowful woman in the house to the west, reminding her of her sojourned husband. The fallen petals and her husband are irrelevant without the indirect association provided in the third quatrains. This association first depends on the analogy between the peach blossom and the youth, and then on the compound image of fallen petals as a metaphor of waning youth. The presence of the fallen peach petals serves as a reflection of her decrepit countenance, which she has been avoiding in the mirror. The petals receive her lament and pity but where is her beloved one, who will cherish her fading beauty? Thus, thematically speaking, the poem is an allegory on the ephemerality of youth and beauty, which is analogous to that of the peach blossom, since the image of peach blossoms as a metaphor of youthful beauty was generally accepted as a Chinese poetic convention.

The seventh poem of "Imitating 'the Road of Adversity'" (see pages 10-11) is basically a poem about a cuckoo bird. This poem consists of an opening five-line stanza, a major six-line stanza and a closing couplet. The beginning stanza abruptly introduces a sudden sorrowful thought, which drives the poet to mount his horse and ride out of the north gate of the city, arriving in a trance at the cemetery. In the second stanza the poet finds a cuckoo bird dwelling in the cemetery, said to have been transformed from the King of Shu's soul, and observes that this mournful and weary bird remembers not its past dignity as an emperor but hops among trees to feed on worms and bugs. Struck by the vicissitude of life and death, the poet in the closing couplet falls deeper into an anguish of sorrow beyond description.
The cemetery is conventionally taken as a netherworld, the ultimate destination of worldly things, and a burial ground for the past. In this respect, the dazed ride from the city to the cemetery is a trip from the mundane world to the netherworld, an escape from the current state of anguish and anxiety into the ultimate ending and eternal truth, and above all, a flight from the present to the past. The past as solid fact is suggested by the vivid image of a cemetery of evergreens and luxuriant brambles, while the cuckoo bird actualizes the inseparable duration of the past and the present as a whole.

The poet clearly defines the cuckoo bird as a compound image by specifying its transformation from the King of Shu. This alludes to two legends. One refers to the story of the King of Shu, who taught his people agriculture and was designated King Wang (King of Hope), and abdicated the throne to his Prime Minister Kai Ming, who released the people from a great flood. He then retreated to the western hills in the second month of the year when the wails of the cuckoo were everywhere, and people were saddened by its mournful cries. When he died his soul transformed into a cuckoo bird. The other refers to the story of the King of Shu's love affair with his Prime Minister's wife and his shameful death. His soul was metamorphosed into a cuckoo bird, which was said to cry and shed blood in late spring. The former alludes to a diligent and conscientious ruler, the latter alludes to a constant and amorous king. Nevertheless, these two allusive implications may be ruled out by another legend recorded in "The Genealogy of the State of Qi" in the Shi Ji, which suggested that after the fall of his kingdom King Jian of the Qi State was banished to dwell among the cypress and conifers and subsequently starved to death. The image of a cemetery of evergreen, therefore, indirectly confines the image of the cuckoo bird to the allusive implication of an abdicated king. And the simple image of the balding and wailful cuckoo bird reinforces the motif of "starvation" and further serves as a sharp contrast to its previous existence as a dignified and majestic king.

While the extreme polarities between the image of the cuckoo bird and that of the emperor are integrated by the allusion of King Wang's transformation, the
allusion in turn is reinforced by implications of the two polarities; extended
metaphoric significance connotes the relativity of life and death, rise and
fall, and past and present. It therefore justifies the simple image of the
cuckoo bird as a manifestation coexistent in the past and present, and as an
epiphany of the vicissitudes of life and history.

Thus, the poet's flight from the city to the cemetery is symbolically
a journey from life to death, or from the present to the past. Then his
confrontation with the cuckoo bird is further cast into an eternal world
to witness the truth of life and history. And as he transcends from the
present to the ultimate, his anguish and anxieties over the current situation
are accordingly substituted for an eternal sorrow over life in general and
history as a whole.

It is beyond doubt that this poem is allegorical; nevertheless, neither on
the thematical nor metaphorical levels does the poem provide any substantial
evidence to justify its link with any single historical event. Even to the
extent of an absolutely straight political interpretation, the poem still cannot
allegorize any specific historical incident beyond a general political phenomenon
of the time. Zhao Yi 趙翼 observed these phenomena in his Kai Yu Cong Kao 隋餘叢考
and concluded that ever since the dynastic transition from the Han to the Wei,
the usurpation by a powerful regent usually took place in the form of abdication,
and that it was long a conventional practice for the ministerial officials of a
defeated state or superceded dynasty to become vassals of the new dynasty and
assist the rising ruler. Consequently, throughout the six dynasties, no loyal
ministers of a fallen dynasty ever died with the abdicated emperor or in defence
of their own integrity.

In this respect, it is proper to infer that with the allusive image of
the cuckoo bird, Bao Zhao allegorized not only the vicissitudes of life
and death, but also the flux of history. Although Bao Zhao might have been
criticizing the political integrity of an official, he was in fact commenting
on usurpation in the form of abdication, which since the end of the Han
Dynasty was popular in the repertoire of dynastic transitions. In fact, Bao Zhao witnessed this type of abdication or deposal three times in his life. Nevertheless, he was criticizing no specific individual event, but allegorizing the universal truth underlying these events -- the vicissitudes of history.

In conclusion, under Professor Yeh Chia-ying's criterion on judging the availability of allegorical implication in a literary work by accounts of the author's life, personality and conducts, on the bases of time, circumstance and historical background of the work's composition, and on the sum of tone, mood, and trope revealed in the description and narration of the work; it is undeniable that Bao Zhao's poetry is allusive, metaphorical and allegorical. His poetry contains a profusion of images and allusions, and a great deal of his poems depend upon these for their poetic implications. The imagery in his poetry is mostly of a compound type, in which an image is usually defined by the connotations of an adjective or an allusion that enriches its meanings and associational values. In this respect, Bao Zhao seemed to have preferred submerged metaphors over explicit similes. The metaphors in his poems are rather elaborate and witty; the analogies or resemblances between the tenors and vehicles have scarcely been expressed, and in some allegorical elaborations, the metaphoric tenors have not been expressed. Thus the poetic turn of the imagery's meaning often depends upon a successful juxtaposition or comparision between the image and the poet, or upon a substitution of one for the other. And the success of this juxtaposition or substitution in turn depends greatly on a basic knowledge of the essential implications of each individual allusion, or a general understanding of Bao Zhao's identity as an imperial favorite courtier, and upon a fundamental comprehension of the mentality of Chinese poets as Confucian intellectuals, who took the well-being of the people and the order of the world as their responsibilities.

As to the inner meaning of a metaphor or an allegory, it may be moral, religious, social, or political. Nevertheless, it is noticeable that, contrary to the interpretations of Chinese traditional allegorists, Bao Zhao seldom commented directly on current political issues. He usually appealed
to the general implication or universal significance of an image, a metaphor, or an allusion to allegorize the underlying principles or fundamental phenomena in life, history, and the world. Thus, attempts such as the allegorical interpretations by Chen Hang and Wu Zhifu to identify his allegorical poems with specific social and political events of his time will minimize their general implications, degrade the universality of his poetic sentiments and pathos, debase the great inspiration of his poetic appeal, and consequently paralyze the independent entities of his poetry after creation.
E. A Philosophical Study of Bao Zhao's Poetry

i. The Objective

The biographical study has delineated within an historical perspective Bao Zhao's identity as a member of a humble family from the Scholar-official class and a popular belletrist well received by the super-elite of the time, and his status as a subordinate but influential official and imperial favorite courtier throughout the reigns of Emperor Xiaowu of the Liu Song Dynasty. The stylistic study of Bao Zhao's poetry reflected upon poetic tones and moods, showing his temperament as sincere, heroic, indignant, fervent, and devoted. It is now imperative for the thesis to engage in a philosophical study to examine Bao Zhao's ideals and aspirations, as well as his insight and understanding of the world in order to gain a perspective of Bao Zhao's personality as a whole. Although the traditional Chinese intellectual generally follows either Confucian or Taoist schools, depending on his conviction of their teachings and ideologies; the intellectual's philosophy inevitably forms his fundamental mentality, which fabricates his private and public lives, engenders his social and political conduct, and constitutes his ideals, aspirations, and criticisms. In this respect the current study of this thesis begins with an investigation of Bao Zhao as an intellectual having Confucian integrity and aspiration.
ii. Bao Zhao as a Confucian Intellectual

Generally speaking, the ideology revealed in Bao Zhao's poetry is basically that of a Confucian intellectual, though there are some opposite ideas and sentiments in his poems. Indeed, Bao Zhao's poetry contains proverbs and sayings which sound very much like gems from occult or Taoist teachings; however, at a closer look, they are either words or phrases adopted from classics which were common source-books for both Confucianism and Taoism, or words of wisdom formulated in Chinese culture which were so widely-accepted by Chinese intellectuals throughout the centuries that they hardly retain justification as philosophical specifications. For example, the penultimate couplet in his "Imitating High Administrator Lu of Pingyuan's 'Song of a Gentleman's Longing' 代陸平原君有所思" exhibits Taoist tendencies:

"Better not to overfill a vessel, lest it brim over and upset. Better not to overfeed a thing, lest it die in excess."

This philosophy of prudence was very popular among Chinese people and hence became a fundamental wisdom shared by Taoists and Confucians as well as by intellectuals with other philosophical beliefs. Similarly, in "Rhapsody on the Looper 尺蠖賦," Bao Zhao wrote in a Taoist style. He attributed intelligence and virtues to the looper, and ascribed to the looper's unique "bending to stretch" certain subtle philosophical paradoxes, such as "submission in order to overcome" and "withdrawal in order to advance." Bao Zhao actually offered a further explication for certain ideas he adopted from the Book of Changes 易經 and used the rhapsody to connotate that "a virtuous gentleman should respond according to time and circumstance 君子見機而作," and "his activities should always maintain proper timeliness 動靜不失其時," just like "the looper [who] bends in order to make a stretch or an advance 尺蠖之屈以求伸也." Since the image of the looper and the idea of prudence are both adopted from the Book of Changes, which was a common source-book for Confucians, Taoists, and occultists, this philosophical exposition in the rhapsody does not verify Bao Zhao's inclination to Taoism.
In a similar respect, Bao Zhao's landscape poems and poems on fairies often reveal a nature sentiment, spiritual flight, and a lingering nostalgia after ascendence. The sentiment for nature was certainly the most popular theme for the Poetry of Recluse, but the appreciation of mountains and enjoyment of waters were taken in Confucianism as part of the disposition of a wise and benevolent gentleman. And Bao Zhao's poems on approaching waters or ascending mountains are mostly excursions of his temperament rather than actions of Taoist quest. This is explicated in the last quatrains of "Ascending Mount Lu 登廬山":

"Taking advantage of my natural pleasure in the hill, And again of my natural bend to love to travel far away; I'll now try to ascend the Taoist immortal way, To drift about with mists and clouds forever."

It is also important to notice that Bao Zhao's natural bend to love to "travel afar" is more similar to Qu Yuan's 屈原 sentiment in "Yuan You 遠遊" in the Songs of Chu. His ascendence is a constant attempt to purify his spirit or a temporary transcendence over adversity. It seems that by nature he is not capable of a permanent flight. Even in the poems on fairies, Bao Zhao never allowed his legendary immortals to leave this world for good. In "Imitating 'The Song of Ascending to Heaven' 代昇天行," "The Song of Xiao Shi 蕭史曲" and "The White Clouds 白雲," he often connected the world and the ascending immortals with the sound of their flute music lingering in the ears. This lingering sound of flute music is very similar to Qu Yuan's lingering nostalgia before his flight in the Songs of Chu. It is a lingering sentiment infused with resentment, reluctance, and vehemency, hence it is fundamentally of Confucian mentality.

Furthermore, Bao Zhao not only rejected the occult or mysterious practices of popular Taoism, but also refuted the philosophical ideas of Lao Zi and Zhuang Zi. He clearly denied the possibility of immortality and accepted the inevitability of death in "The Ballad of 'The Pine and the Cypress' 松柏篇." He ridiculed the unreliability of the elixirs of Taoist Alchemy in "Imitating 'The Prince of Huainan' 代淮南王." He proclaimed in "Imitating 'The Song of Gui Street' 代鄰街行" that the aspect of life shifted according to the vicissitudes of things, so there
was no way to anticipate transition or transmutation. In fact, in "Digging Sealworts When Passing by Mount Tong 通銅山掘黃精" he refuted Taoist thoughts in general:

"Though I embrace the idea of rafting over the ocean vainly, I do not yearn for travelers from Liang and Zheng."

At first glance, the identities of the travelers from Liang and Zheng appear to be ambiguous. Nevertheless, "huang jing 黃精," literally the yellow essence, was said to be, according to the Bo Wu Zhi 博物志, a mysterious sun-grass; its herbal essence provided longevity for man. This suggests a Taoist aspect in the poem's subject matter. In addition, as an antithesis to "the idea of rafting over the ocean 江海思," which is a well-known Confucian allusion, "the travelers from Liang and Zheng 梁鄭客" could be a Taoist allusion in versification; hence undoubtedly justified is Qian Zhenlun's 錢振倫 interpretation of "the travelers" as Zhuang Zi 莊子, and Lie Zi 列子, believed to be natives of Meng 蒙 and Zheng 鄭 respectively. These two areas both belonged to the region of Liang 梁地 in the Warring States Period 戰國時期. In short, Bao Zhao not only professed that though he struggled for many years without success, he did not feel sorry in submitting himself to the Way, for no one would hesitate to obtain humanity. He also claimed that given his unfulfilled aspiration, he would not submit to adversity and raft over the ocean as once intended by Confucius in distress, nor would he ever yearn for Taoist or occult guidance. Thus, while renouncing occultism and Taoism, Bao Zhao also expressed his Confucian convictions and sentiments.
iii. Bao Zhao's Belief in the Great Harmony Under a Wise Ruler

The most fundamental mentality of a Chinese Confucian intellectual is undoubtedly the conviction of a world existing in great harmony under a wise ruler. This conviction anticipates a universal peace attainable by a prudent ruler and dutiful officials; it subsequently demands great devotion from the individual as a scholar-official. As a result, it has evoked among Chinese intellectuals over the centuries a common complex. This complex, on one hand, approves gratitude, praise, and devotion to the emperor upon entering officialdom, imperial appreciation and favor, and official advances and promotions; on the other hand it elaborates anxiety, resentment and despair upon destitution or stagnation, disfavor or estrangement, and demotion or exile. It subsequently constitutes either a hope of obtaining appreciation and regained favor from the emperor, or an implicit wish for imperial appreciation in order to fulfill one's aspirations. In portraying this complex between officials and the emperor, Chinese intellectuals as poets often adopted the relation between wife and husband as the best allegorical analogy. Thus, it undoubtedly engendered confusion in the interpretation of "poems on boudoir thoughts," and every poet of poems on boudoir thoughts must be examined individually, for it would be improper to assume that all poems on boudoir thoughts are allegorical. It is in this respect that the thesis will justify an allegorical interpretation of Bao Zhao's poems on boudoir thoughts, before applying his sincerity and devotion in poems on boudoir thoughts to explicate his mentality as a Confucian intellectual.

As we have seen in the biographical study, Bao Zhao's political patrons were basically Prince Yiqing of Linchuan, Prince Jun of Shixing, and Emperor Xiaowu. Prince Yiqing died before giving Bao Zhao any major promotion. Prince Jun of Shixing joined Heir Apparent Prince Shao's revolt and was executed at a young age. Thus, Bao Zhao's essential political patron was actually Emperor Xiaowu. He was entrusted by Emperor Xiaowu with great power, authority, and responsibility. He was Emperor Xiaowu's favorite courtier and
remained in the imperial council chamber for almost 11 years. Emperor Xiaowu's appreciation of and trust in him was obviously enormous and constant, and Bao Zhao's respect, praise, and devotion for the emperor were indeed incessant. "The Song of the Restoration 中興歌," "Plucking Mulberry Leaves 握桑," and "In Attendance on Prince of Linhai, Setting out for Jingzhou From Xinzhu 從臨海王上荊初發新渚" are the three poems marking the beginning, the middle, and the end of Bao Zhao's 11-year service to Emperor Xiaowu in the decision-making center of the Dynasty.

"The Song of the Restoration" is a set of 10 poems in pentasyllabic quatrains. It was written sometime in the fifth month of 453, after Emperor Xiaowu restored the capital from the malefic princes. It was most likely written before Bao Zhao was appointed as Subprefect of the Haiyu Subprefecture, for the song expresses no personal gratitude for imperial favor. It celebrates in the first poem (see page 53) the resurgence of the country, praising the order and harmony brought along by Emperor Xiaowu's victory over the regicidal princes. The poet alludes in this quatrain to the long political night and bleak dynastic winter brought by the parricidal and regicidal princes which fell on the great empire, and the universal expectation for dawn and spring's liberation from chaos and deterioration; upon restoration of the capital city, anguish and anxiety turn to expectant joy. This historical event must have been a very significant influence upon the poet, for in the second poem he took the imperial resurgence as the beginning of a universal harmony:

The restoration is a turn to great harmony; 中興太平運;
The universe is peaceful and the four seas fill with rejoicing. 化清四海樂;
Auspicious sunglow shines upon the Jade Terrace, 祥暉照玉臺;
While purple clouds float about the Phoenix Pavilion. 紫烟遊鳳閣.

The poet believes that the restoration of the dynasty by Emperor Xiaowu is a turn to the Confucian World of Great Harmony 太平, in which universal peace and rejoicing prevail; and that it is accomplished with the Mandate of Heaven as symbolized by the auspicious sunglow and clouds descending upon the imperial palace. The palace, as the poet describes it in the third poem, inhabited by the emperor with the mandate of heaven, is as glorious and bright as the sun and the
moon; while the virtue of the emperor is present everywhere, as the orchid which disperses its fragrance on the wind:

The azure tower receives the moonlight,
While the Purple Palace vies with the morning bright.
The colorful pool disperses musky orchid scent,
And when the wind blows its fragrance is present.

Then from the fourth to the eighth poems the poet describes a beautiful maiden who has spring-sickness; as soon as she realizes her youthful complexion will start to wither like the autumn splendor, she goes out to play by the lake and roam in the imperial park. And as the seasons rotate in due course, she realizes that since universal rejoicing is prevalent, instead of brooding over her resentment she should follow the example of most lovely maids and pursue a groom in the time of imperial restoration. Finally, in the ninth poem (see page 52) the poet reinforces the "mandate of heaven" upon Emperor Xiaowu's enthronement with a sense of fatalism expressing the fact that Emperor Xiaowu was destined to become righteous and fascinate the capital city, instead of being merely a governor or a commanding general in the Xiangyang or Shouyang Fortresses.

In the tenth poem (see page 104), the poet concludes the song with the young maiden's sincere wish to win His Majesty's favor. In the allegorical aspect of this poem, it is clear that the images of evergreen bamboo and pine represents a gentleman with integrity or a virtuous emperor, and the plum blossom represent a maiden with her ephemeral beauty; these are proper and adequate as metaphors of a humble official in Chinese poetic convention. Since the first person pronouns in the song were all omitted, it is hard to tell whether the subject of the poem is the poet or the maiden; this creates an interfusion between the two. Hence, one may adopt an allegorical interpretation of the maiden's spring excursion and pursuit of a groom in the imperial park as the poet's search for a wise Emperor's favor in the imperial restoration. The maiden's beauty symbolizes the poet's talent, and her chastity in seclusion is identified with his virtue in destitution; while her admiration for the Emperor reflects the poet's praise for a wise and virtuous ruler, and her wish to win the imperial lord's incessant love embodies the poet's hope of gaining constant acceptance and favor from the emperor.
Indeed, Bao Zhao apparently praised Emperor Xiaowu as "a wise and decisive emperor 明君" and his reign as heralding "the Confucian great harmony 翁世." In "Imitating 'The Green, Green Cypress on the Mound' 擷青青陵上柏" he referred to his time as an age of enlightenment 昭世. He realized that it was not only fortunate to witness the imperial restoration, but also "impossible to come across again such a peaceful time," which he wrote of in "Imitating 'The Song Without Restraint' 代放歌行": "the wise Emperor truly treasures able men 夷世不可逢，賢君信愛才." In fact, Bao Zhao believed that he was witnessing an imperial restoration from the parricidal and regicidal princes to a world of great harmony and peace initiated in the Yuanjia Reign of Emperor Wen. In the second month of the 24th year of the Yuanjia Reign, the waters of the Yellow and the Ji Rivers all became clear. Upon this phenomenon, Bao Zhao wrote "Ode to the Clarity of the Yellow River 黃河清" which later was presented to Emperor Wen, for the Chinese people conventionally believed it was an auspicious sign appearing once every 1,000 years in response to "a great time of peace and prosperity under the reign of a virtuous and wise ruler." Wang Jia's 王嘉 Shi Yi Ji 拾遺記 had noted: "The Yellow River's water became clear once every one thousand years and the utmost virtuous sage king took it as the greatest propitious omen 黃河千年一清，至聖之君以為瑞." Many philosophers' regret over being unable to witness this auspicious omen or of not living in an age of great harmony can be easily found in classics. Confucius was said in the Lun Yu 論語 to have regretted the inaccessibility of "the golden age of great peace and harmony" and sighed over the fact that "the auspicious phoenix had never again appeared and propitious omen had never again come out of the Yellow River 鳳鳥不至，河不出圖." Hence in the Zuo Zhuan 左傳: "Man's lifespan is too short or ephemeral to wait for the clarity of the Yellow River's water 俟河之清，人壽幾何." Meng Zi 孟子, on the contrary, firmly believed that "the sage king, who would appear once every one thousand years could be accessible in a day if a ruler would cultivate his virtue and understand dialectically the human nature 千年一聖，猶旦暮也." Indeed, in using the image of the clear waters of the Yellow River as a metaphor of a utopian "Golden Age of Great Peace and Prosperity," these
Confucian philosophers accepted the mythic implication of this natural phenomenon as a cosmic omen.

Accepting the mythic implication of this phenomenon, Bao Zhao enumerated numerous auspicious signs and good omens which fell upon the kingdom and reported to the throne during the Yuanjia Reign before the second month of 447. He further compared them to corresponding omens and signs taking place in the past during various ages of great peace and prosperity, such as Great Yao 禹, Great Yu 禹, King Wen 文王, and King Wu 武王 of the Zhou Dynasty, and Emperor Wu 武帝 and Emperor Cheng 成帝 of the Han Dynasty. Finally, taking it as the responsibility of an official under such a ruler to remonstrate or expostulate with the throne, Bao Zhao followed the examples of dutiful officials such as Xisi 喜斯, Jifu 吉甫, Xiangru 相如, and Wang Bao 王褒, in writing and presenting his ode as a report.

It must have been a shock to Bao Zhao as the dynasty and kingdom fell into the hands of regicidal princes. Similarly, it must have been a great joy for him to witness the imperial restoration. At any rate, "The Song of the Restoration 中興歌," written in the very beginning of Emperor Xiaowu's reign, clearly reflected the poet's strong belief that he was witnessing the restoration of an age of great harmony and universal peace under a wise and virtuous ruler, and his subsequent wish to win His Majesty Emperor Xiaowu's appreciation and favor.

The ballad song "Plucking Mulberry Leaves 摘桑" (see page 219), on the other hand, is a poem uniquely indicating the poet's sincere devotion to Emperor Xiaowu while he served as Subprefect of the Moling County and concurrently Drafter of the Imperial Secretariat. It was most likely written to eulogize "The Mulberry-leaf-plucking Ritual" performed by the queen to encourage sericulture in 460. Thematically speaking, the poem itself suggests an allegorical reading. Bao Zhao is describing a beautiful maid's spring excursion to help with silkworm production and to play in the imperial park, her amorous thoughts to win her lord's troth, and her avowed devotion to him. In Chinese poetic tradition, the theme of this poem itself is sufficient to grant an allegorical interpretation of the maiden's sentiments toward her lord as that of the poet toward Emperor Xiaowu, and the maiden's love song is, in a sense, Bao Zhao's song of hearty devotion.
This is a song of admiration, trust, and devotion. The maiden explicitly expresses her ever-increasing amorous feeling for the righteous and magnificent lord, her subsequent desire in life to serve him, and eventually her total devotion to him, though she can only attend upon him for a single night. Thus, even if we should reserve objectivity on the date and the occasion of the composition of the poem, Bao Zhao's sentiments as an intellectual and an official toward the Emperor are discernable in this poem on an allegorical level. His total devotion to the wise ruler was formally expressed in the poem "In Attendence on Prince of Linhai Setting out for Jingzhou from Xinzhu 從臨海王上荊初發新渚":

A traveler's journey contains hardship and happiness,  
It all depends on his destination.  
Mounting a dragon, one waits for no wing to soar,  
Cleaving to a steed one can go beyond this dusty world.  
A Liang jade tablet was conferred upon the Chu Magistrate,  
So fish-hawk billet heads all point to the Jing State.  
Numerous boats cover the river and its branch waters,  
And for a thousand li there extend countless banners.  
The morning gale is perversely forceful,  
While the morning drum is in an uproar.  
To leave the capital suburbs the fleet retrieves the hawsers,  
To depart from the imperial city the fleet pulls the oars.  
My mind is like that of a hare or a fox longing for the old den,  
My heart is like that of a hound or a horse attached to the lord.  
We beat our breasts and sigh together,  
We look at each other and burst into tears.  
Before I set out on the journey in active service,  
My heart is already filled with home-sickness.

This poem was written in 464 when Bao Zhao was removed from the imperial council chamber and ordered to accompany the nine-year-old Prince Zixu to his commandship in Jingzhou. As discussed in the biographical study, there is no sense of banishment or anxiety over exile in the poem. Instead, a strong sense of attachment prevails in the poem. After 10 years' service as a Drafter of the Imperial Secretariat, it was only natural that Bao Zhao's strong yearning for the Emperor and the imperial capital would surge with the call to duty. And upon leaving the capital for Jingzhou, his sincere devotion and strong attachment to the imperial court and the Emperor interfused into an unbearable nostalgia before he set out on the trip, which turned out to be a journey which tragically ended his life.
To sum up, as an imperial favorite courtier for 11 or 12 years until the end of his life, Bao Zhao was entrusted with power and authority by Emperor Xiaowu. His sentiments at the beginning, height, and end of his career in the capital and in the imperial court are clearly expressed in the above three poems. They constitute a faithful subject's admiration, devotion, and attachment to a wise and righteous ruler. As these sentiments were expressed through metaphors of that between a wife and her husband or that between a maiden and her beloved one, there engendered among Bao Zhao's 47 boudoir poems a group of 14 allegorical poems on his admiration and devotion to the Emperor. These poems have formed an essential part of Bao Zhao's boudoir poems and possibly imbued the whole repertoire of his boudoir poems with profound sincerity and affection derived from total admiration and devotion. Together they reveal in the poet the typical mentality of a Confucian intellectual.
iv. Bao Zhao's Integrity as a Confucian Intellectual

As public service was an essential part of Bao Zhao's life, it is imperative to examine his concept of advance and withdrawal from public offices. In "Digging Sealworts When Passing by Mount Tong"，Bao Zhao explicates:

"Though I embrace the idea of rafting over the ocean vainly, I do not yearn for travelers from Liang and Zheng. Just as the ancient sages had no resentment to die for humanity, I do not regret to submit myself to the Way at present."

This quatrain refers to two anecdotes in the Lun Yu. The first anecdote goes like this:

Upon the futile result of his efforts to persuade a king to adopt his ideas and philosophy to rule a country, Confucius sighed and said, "My way (ideals and philosophy) has not yet been (or probably will never be) adopted and carried out, perhaps I should (leave the world and) raft over the ocean! And You probably will be the one to go with me!" While Zilu, who was also called You, felt very happy to hear this, the master continued, "Except that You is indiscreetly bolder than I am and often acts rashly without further consideration or appraisal of circumstances!"

The second anecdote involves the legend of ancient sages Boyi and Shuqi. These two sages were originally the eldest and the youngest of the three princes of the Guzhu Kingdom. On his deathbed, King Guzhu favored and adopted the youngest son Shuqi as Heir Apparent but for love and righteousness, Shuqi declined the throne to his eldest brother Boyi and ran away to live in seclusion on the mountain. Out of love as well as respect for his father's decision, Boyi also declined the throne and ran to join Shuqi on the mountain. Thus, the people of the Guzhu Kingdom had no choice but to have the second prince enthroned. As for the two princes on the mountain, it is said that they later starved to death. With the above legend as background, the second anecdote goes like this:

As Confucius and his disciples sojourned in the State of Wei, it happened that King Zhe of the Wei State forbade his father Kuai Kui, who was in exile in the Jin State, to return home to claim the throne. As some disciples were wondering whether the great master would support the conduct of King Zhe, Zigong went in and asked the master, "What kind of persons were Boyi and Shuqi?" The great master replied, "They were ancient sages!" Zigong continued, "Did they resent what they had done?" The master replied, "They obtain the 'ren' (the perfect virtue of love, benevolence, and humanity) that they had strived for, so what else is there for them to resent?" Upon this answer,
Zigong withdrew. Then, under a simple inference that if the master praised the two brothers who declined the throne to each other as men of virtue, it goes without saying that the master would not call the son and the father, who were fighting for the throne, virtuous; Zigong told the other disciples that the master would not support King Zhe's conduct.

Thematically speaking then, the second couplet in the quatrain serves as a subordinate sentence indicating the reason for the fact expressed in the first couplet, and the second anecdote therefore brings an analogy of the poet's and the ancient sage's strong determination to devote themselves to humanity. It should not be interpreted with any connotation of succession to the throne in order to prompt an allegorical interpretation of the last stanza as the poet's comment on current historical events. Thus, the first anecdote is essential in determining the poet's integrity in public life. In fact, the final note in the first anecdote connoted the sage's true intention. To Confucius, who was known to his contemporary recluses as "one who knows it's impossible yet still does it知其不可而为之者," the idea of rafting over the ocean to leave the world was nothing but a momentary thought upon temporary disappointment of his futile effort to persuade a king to adopt his social and political ideas. Zilu, who once told a recluse that the great master "knew perfectly that his way was not likely to be adopted and carried out道之不行，已知之矣," was nevertheless so eager to join the master that he didn't think twice. Indeed, Zilu's boldness caused him to misunderstand the master's true intention and his recklessness naturally would invite the great master's comment. Thus, in the last quatrain in "Digging Sealworts When Passing by Mount Tong遇銅山掘黃精," Bao Zhao clearly expressed his refusal to withdraw from the world to become a Taoist recluse although his efforts to fulfil his ideals were proved futile. Furthermore, as Confucius once did, he vainly embraced the idea of rafting over the ocean, but he did not feel sorry to submit himself to the Way, like Boyi and Shuqi, who had no resentment over accepting death for the sake of love and humanity.

It is in this respect that the theme of "withdrawal from the world to float across the ocean," though appearing once in a while in Bao Zhao's poems, should be taken only as a momentary reflection of his frustration over the futility having his ideals accepted and carried out. And his "ideals" undoubtedly refer to the
"Way 道", the Confucian Way 儒道, that is, the Confucian social and political ideals. As Bao Zhao indicated in "Poem to Rhyme with Assistant Director Wang 和王丞":

"My heart is in accord with the aspirations of the ancients, 衡協曠古顚, My mind admires the ancient sage's deliberation."

It is obvious that Bao Zhao's ideals were Confucian ideals or the aspirations and deliberations of the ancient sages. And though his ideals and measures were not accepted and perhaps might never be adopted, he would "never renounce his ambition and aspiration, except beyond life and this world" as he vowed in the end of the poem. Bao Zhao's aspiration to serve the world 用世 was never relinquished. Even as he resigned from the princely office and returned home to cultivate his bean garden, he did not doubt that he would soon be invited to return to the public service, but hoped that it would be by a wise prince or a righteous ruler. He ended the poem "Returning to the Home Village After Mourning Ends for the Prince of Linchuan 臨川王服竟還田里" with a comparison:

"To retire from the world just for this, 顧此謝人群, Is not limited to Mount Shangluo's sages." 豈直止商洛.

The Mount Shangluo sages are usually referred to as "the Four Hoary Heads of Mount Shangluo 商山四皓." They were Learned Scholars 博士 of the Qin Dynasty. Upon the upheaval at the end of the Qin Dynasty, they withdrew into Mount Shangluo to live in seclusion. As the First Emperor of the Han Dynasty 漢高祖 united China, he invited them to return to assist him. The sages declined but wrote and sang a song expressing their regrets that they were too old to leave the mountain, and that since Sages Yao and Shun's golden age of Great Harmony seemed to have gone farther away from the world, they had nowhere to return to. Thus, as the content dictates the implication, the comparison in the last couplet of the poem not only suggests an analogy between the poet's and the sages' integrity to retire to farming, but also implies in the poet a wish to be likewise appreciated by a virtuous ruler so as to be able to fulfill his ideals. This is immediately identifiable with the general complex of Chinese intellectuals, and in turn reflects in this poem of withdrawal and retirement a Confucian student's desire to serve the world. As the
The warm weather arouses my heart's anxiety,  
The green willow excites spring thoughts. 
The beauties of the time appreciate flowers and herbs,  
And ascend the terrace to gaze around in clean robes.  
Though I carry my wine vessel to drink in the countryside,  
Still overcast with passionate mists is my mind.  
The white dews stain the spring grass,  
The spring water cleanses the ice-bound moss.  
Twigs moistened by dew hang down softly,  
Trees fluttering with the wind wave gracefully.  
The wild ducklings are pecking water chestnuts and greens,  
The orioles are picking the plum and the cherry.  
I unfasten my collar to appreciate the pleasant scenery.  
And approach the stream to compete in overturning the wine cups.  
Where on earth is the beauty?  
My impulsive heart in vain suffers a self-afflicted agony.  

This poem observes the ancient festival of "Shangsi Fuchu 上巳祓除" (Cleansing on the Third Day of the Third Month). To comply with the ritual to cleanse sins or remove evils by washing off in the eastward rivers, the poet follows the custom of taking a spring excursion on this festival day. At the bank of the stream he takes part in the drinking contest. This custom of drinking wine from cups drifting down on a winding stream 曲水 on the third day of the third month was a great outing for gathering and drinking from the Zhou Dynasty to the poet's day. It was nevertheless a combined legacy of two historical anecdotes. According to Shu Xi 東晉 of the Jin Dynasty, the drifting cup of wine was initiated by the Prince Regent, Grand Duke Dan of the Zhou 周公旦, to celebrate the completion of the construction of Eastern Capital Luoyi 東都洛邑, where the King of the Zhou Dynasty later received and united the feudal princes 大會諸侯; drinking by the winding stream was initiated by King Zhao of the Qin State 秦昭王. It was said that on the third day of the third month as King Zhao was drinking at Hequ 河曲 (the meander of the Yellow River), a golden figure 金人 presented him with the Sword of Water Essence 水心之劍 and say to him that "it would
help him conquer Xixia 西夏 and become Chief of feudal princes 乃霸諸侯.” King Zhao thereafter set a custom to drink at the meander of the River on the third day of the third month. In short, the custom of drinking wine from cups drifting down a winding stream was initiated by Grand Duke Dan of the Zhou Dynasty, a virtuous and wise Prince Regent, and King Zhao of the Qin State, an able and ambitious ruler, both of whom laid an essential foundation for their great dynasties. It is in this respect and in the context of Chinese poetic convention that “the beauty 美人” in the last couplet of the poem can be taken as a metaphor of the virtuous and wise ruler, for whom the poet quested and upon whom the poet relied for the fulfillment of his ideals and aspirations.

Subsequently, the agony arising in the poet’s heart was not anguish over solitude or destitution but an overburdened anxiety of wish-fulfillment. This the poet explained clearly in the first poem of "Imitating the Ancient Verse 擬古":

A visitor from Lu attends on the Chu king as a courtier, 
He holds the golden credential and wears red and white silk. 
He has been receiving the monarch’s grace and favor, 
And is also indebted for the solicitude of the prime minister. 
When he retires from the court session late in the day, 
His carriage and horses will block the thoroughfare. 
To his clansmen and kinsfolk he brings glitter and honor, 
And his guests and servants admire him from afar. 
Wealth and eminence is what people desire, 
And if one obtains it by virtue, what is there to fear? 
But in the south there is a Confucian scholar, 
Who goes astray from the way and lives in solitude and destitution. 
He fells trees by the shores of the clear river, 
And sets up traps to catch the cunning hare.

The poet used the first two quatrains of the poem to describe the wealth and power of an-imperial favorite courtier of the King of the Chu 楚王, before he noted that although these were the things people strive for, there was nothing to fear or worry about as long as one obtained them by virtue. Nevertheless, like the Confucian scholar who strayed from the way of the world to live in solitude and destitution, instead of following the course of the King of the Chu’s favorite courtier, the poet metaphorically expressed his desire to seek for the fulfillment of his ideals and aspirations instead of pursuing wealth and eminence, even in a righteous way.
This self-imposed objective of life was further explicated in "Imitating 'The Song without Restraint' 代放歌行" (see page 144). In this poem the poet first vividly presented a picture of the city of Luoyang, an ancient imperial capital city in conventional ballad poetry. It was the center of power, wealth, and fame, the hub of worldly affairs. Hence it was a city full of able and ambitious men from all directions, seeking opportunity and success. The poet then further explained that the crowd was assembled at the peaceful time of great harmony, in which the prudent ruler treasured able men and rewarded any virtuous deed or valuable suggestion with jade, gold, official post, or noble rank. Then the poet abruptly ended the poem with a contrasting couplet expressed in a question frequently imposed upon him: "From what have you been suffering so as to linger alone by the roadside?" The answer to this question was actually presented in the first quatrains which contains one metaphor and one rhetorical question. The image of the smartweed bug naturally shunning mallow and violet is a metaphor of the poet departing in virtue from the way of worldly practices. And the rhetorical question is a statement of his awareness that the question in the last couplet arose simply because ordinary people could not understand the heart of an unrestrained person, who strives not for personal profit or satisfaction, but to benefit humanity as a whole. Thus, the poet once again expressed his attitude toward public service. His principled desire to serve the virtuous and wise ruler, and his aspiration to serve mankind instead of following the desires of his own heart, reflect the highest ideals and integrity of Confucian intellectuals.
v. Bao Zhao's Heroic Vehemency and Aspiration to Serve the World

It is imperative to point out that Bao Zhao's political integrity throughout his life of public service, and his persistent desire to serve a virtuous and wise ruler in order to benefit mankind instead of his personal interests, do not imply a negative or inactive philosophy of life. His poetry and his 28 years of public service, especially his final 11 years in the imperial court, indicate that instead of Confucian withdrawal or Taoist seclusion, Bao Zhao led a life of active involvement; and as established in the generic and stylistic studies, Bao Zhao wrote numerous poems full of heroic vehemency. It is true that in poems such as "Timely Rains 喜雨" and "Imitating 'The Green, Green Cypress on the Mound' 擬青青陵上柏," Bao Zhao wrote many rhetorical questions, implying that in an age of great peace and prosperity there was no need to look for able and virtuous persons, or a prudent ruler. Nevertheless, they all contain a positive implication that great harmony will prevail on earth if a man without restraint strives to carry out his ideals and fulfill his lofty aspirations. The poet advocated in "Arriving in Zhuli on My Way to Jingkou 行京口至竹里" that a princely man should cultivate his virtuous reputation and an ordinary person should devote his life to public service, with an image of the muddy and the pure currents in the Yellow River rushing down together.

This Confucian virtue of political integrity was expressed mainly in terms of sincere devotion and fervent heroism in Bao Zhao's poetry. The themes in many of his poems on boudoir thoughts were given by metaphors of his great devotion to the emperor, while fervent heroism was reflected in his frontier poems which exhibit a Confucian intellectual's unrestrained enthusiasm and response to the grand cause. This passion is best expressed by the metaphor in "Sojourning in Spring 春遊":

"I am a horse neighing for reputation in frontier defences, 嘶聲名邊堅，
Not just the poems written on papers in my book case."  壟我箱中紙.

For most of his public career, Bao Zhao served as an administrative official. It was not until 464 that he became involved in military affairs, when he was sent to supervise the imperial orders in Jingzhou. The last three couplets in the second
poem of "Imitating 'The Ancient Verse' 擬古" somewhat reflected this drastic change in his life:

Now I direct the whole of my later life to affairs of the world,
And ascend barricades to pacify remote frontier tribes.
I took off jade pendants to put on iron-spiked rhino armor,
And closed up books to receive with both hands the black bow.
It is beyond my power to reach my initial desire,
And I do not know my eventual future either.

The ending couplet reveals the poet's uncertainty of his future as well as his regretted inability to carry out his ideals to benefit mankind. However, his heroic vehemence to serve the grand cause was as strong as his conviction of an age of great harmony, and as deep as his devotion to a virtuous and wise ruler.

This heroic fervency became stronger in the final stage of the poet's public career, after he joined the military staff of Prince Zixu's generalship and governorship. It was even stronger in the poet's frontier poems. The third poem of "Imitating 'The Ancient Verse' 擬古" and the poem "Imitating Prince of Chensi's Ballad of 'The White Horse' 代陳思王白馬篇," for example, reflected the poet's ambition to pacify the turmoil along the border of the Han, to expel the nomad tribes' plunders and invasions, and defend the imperial Han's frontier. The poet explicitly stated in the burlesque "PoemListing the Temporal Correlates of the Twelve Earthly Branches 建除詩":

"Establishing" banners and going out of Dunhuang,
The army is to punish the west vassal state Qiang.
"Excluding" the cavalry and the foot soldier,
There are already ten thousand chariots spreading but in order.
"Filling" up the valley and all over the hill,
They pile up saddles to make acamp wall.
"Extending" over a thousand-league vast plain,
The procession of banners and drummers winds its way in sight.
"Settling" down to rest before the rear guard comes to halt,
The advanced troops are ordered to progress by the patrol.
"Holding" the spear on guard without a moment of pause,
They do not relax the strings of the bend bows.
"Destroying" and exterminating the Xiling State,
They capture Zhizhi Khan of the Huns alive.
"Threatening" rebellion is reduced to peaceful submission,
And a strategic pass is installed at this frontier place.
"Completing" the mission, they enter the Pass of Jade Gate,
To be welcomed by men and women with jars of wine or water.
"Receiving" rewards for merits is but for the present,
The remaining glory is yet to shine upon ages to come.
"Colonizing" territory is rewarded with the red noble sashes,
And the left and right assistants each receive a golden seal.
"Closing" the curtains to draft the Great Occult,
That is too crazy and foolish a conduct.
As the convention of this burlesque, for the first word of every one of the 12 couplets, the poet employs respectively each of the temporal correlates of the Twelve Earthly Branches 十二地支: namely, jian 建 (establishing), chu 除 (excluding), man 滿 (filling), ping 平 (extending), ding 定 (settling), zhi 執 (holding), po 破 (destroying), wei 危 (threatening), cheng 成 (completing), shou 收 (receiving), kai 開 (opening), and bi 閉 (closing). Even under this somewhat mechanic restriction, the poet still managed to express his lofty aspiration as a Confucian intellectual. He described the exemplary life of a Confucian intellectual through images of young officers on a punitive expedition. These courageous young men responded to the heroic call to join the great imperial army and punish some vassal states in the West. The formidable army consequently captured the rebel chieftains and exterminated the revolting states. As the rebellion was subdued the imperial force installed a strategic pass there to maintain future peace and prosperity before returning to celebrate victory and receive rewards. The poet ends the poem with a couplet expressing once again his denouncement of the Taoist and occultist withdrawals, as well as his Confucian intellectual's strong vehemency and great heroism to serve the world.
vi. Bao Zhao's Indignation, Transcendence, and Return

Being a poet with Confucian ideals, Bao Zhao believed in the accessibility of a world in great harmony under a virtuous and wise ruler; and being an official and imperial courtier, he also believed that Emperor Xiaowu was a wise ruler who had restored such an ideal world initiated by Emperor Wen. As proven in the stylistic study and the last chapter, this conviction immediately engenders an unconditional devotion to such a ruler and an unrestrained heroism to serve the world. The former was reflected in a bulk of amorous and sincere boudoir poems, while the latter nurtured a great number of unique frontier poems and ballad songs. However, as objective reality was different from his ideals and aspirations, the general practices of the time were in discrepancy with his ideology, and the way of the world was at odds with the principles of his integrity; this evoked in the poet a great deal of anxiety and indignant sentiments as well as sincere and fervent criticism, and subsequently caused him to compose a unique collection of vehement frontier poems and ballad songs of critical realism.

On the personal level, Bao Zhao shared the Confucian intellectual's common feeling of being neglected by the world. In "The Winter Solstice 冬至," "Imitating 'The Song of the Hoary Head' 代白頭吟," the third poem of "A Sequel to the Ancient Verse 紹古辭," "Poem on the Four Worthies of Shu 蜀四賢詠," and the first and the fifth poems of "Imitating Liu Gonggan's Style 學劉公幹體," the poet repeatedly expressed sentiments of solitude whether due to lack of friends or colleagues with similar ideals and temperament, high officials of integrity and aspiration, or lords of insight and determination. These sentiments undoubtedly reflect Bao Zhao's deep wish to be appreciated and accepted in order to carry out his ideals to serve the world. This wish-fulfillment complex was once again demonstrated in the fifth poem of "Imitating the Ancient Verse 擬古":

I did not go into any trade or business formerly, 伊昔不冶業,
But took the weary journey to visit the five famous cities. 偶遊觀五都.
Brave gallants were numerous between Mount Tai and the sea, 海岱眺壯士.
Learned scholars were many between Mount Meng and River Si. 魏四多宿儒.
They tie up their hair and leap onto horseback, 結髪起騂馬,
While the young and the old sit together to discuss the Classics. 垂白對講書.
They invited me to take the honored upper seat, 呼我升上席,
And set before me a gourd of wine and a horn goblet: 陳脯發瓤壺.
"It's been a long time since Guan Zhong died.
And to the north-west corner there lies his mound;
While the high rocky one at the rear,
Is Duke Huan of Qi's old sepulchre.
You have come too late, Sir,
To witness the beginning of the noble virtue;
So you only see the jade bowl passed down vainly,
For the meaning of friendship has been gradually neglected."

The implication of this poem relies on the allusion of the relationship between Guan Zhong, Bao Shuya, and Duke Huan of the Qi State. Guan Zhong and Bao Shuya were good friends since youth, and Bao Shuya knew that Guan Zhong was talented but poor. So when they went on business in Nanyang, he gave Guan Zhong the larger share. Later on, Guan Zhong went to attend upon Prince Jiu, while Bao Shuya served Duke Huan of the Qi State. After Prince Jiu died, Guan Zhong was imprisoned. Bao Shuya went to his rescue and recommended him to Duke Huan. Duke Huan trusted Guan Zhong, adopted his policies and measurements, and eventually succeeded in establishing his authority to unite China and rule over nobles and chieftains. Thus, it is clear that by means of expressing his thoughts and feelings for Guan Zhong, the poet also delivered his longing for the type of friendship between Guan Zhong and Bao Shuya. Through his admiration for Guan Zhong's monumental epic achievements, the poet also compared his aspiration to that of Guan Zhong, and at the same time delineated his expectation that his talents and ambition would be appreciated by a wise lord or a virtuous ruler like Duke Huan. As established in the biographical study, Bao Zhao was an imperial favorite courtier for more than 11 years; therefore, it should be understood that his expectation of appreciation was aimed not at recognition of officialdom; he sought the trust and appreciation shared by Duke Huan and Guang Zhong. He anticipated an acceptance of his ideals and thereby an execution of his desire to serve the world.

It is in this respect that Bao Zhao would be very critical about narrow-minded persons, striving for nothing but official ranks and positions to generate power, fame, and wealth. And as the intellectual world consisted mainly of these people, the poet was bound to suffer unbearable alienation and subsequently harbor a great sense of indignation. This is reflected in poems such as "The Song Without
Restraint 代放歌行， "Imitating the Ancient Verse，" and "Walking to Circulate the Medicine's Effect, I Reached the City's East Bridge 行藥至城東橋." Regarding the social system at that time, Bao Zhao was even more critical of the elite families dominating almost every aspect of life. He subtly expressed in the "Inscription on Wooden Post on Mount Guabu 瓜步山揭文" his resentment and protest against this social and political injustice which resulted from over a century of practising "Jiuping Zhongzhen 九品中正，" the Nine Categorizations by an Impartial Judge (the classification of the people of a prefecture or a province into nine ranks by a Provincial or a Prefectural Arbiter or Impartial Judge). In the inscription, Bao Zhao subtly but overtly attacked the injustice of this social system. Indeed, it was possibly the first echo of Zuo Si's 左思 protest against members of the elite families' social and political prestige by pedigree after a course of some 150 years:

"It is true as ancients said that with a key of a few inches long one can hold an exceptionally important pass or critical juncture, for it does not rely on one's ability or talent, but depends on the essential strategic physical features of the place. Mount Guabu, similarly, is a small mount standing in the mid-river, but simply because it is far away in and high above the mid-current and just because it seizes the unique precipice to become an impregnable pass, it overrides the river, overlooks afar, monopolizes strategic spectacle, and contains elegant scenic beauty; and these are also all due to the momentum of its physical features. Thereupon, the amount or degree of one's talent and ability is far less essential and critical than that of one's social and political powers. 信哉，古人有數寸之鍵，得千鈞之關；非有其才施，處勢要也。瓜步山者，亦江中眇小山也，徒以因縉為高，據絕作雄，而淺清瞰遠，擅奇含秀，是亦居勢使之然也。故才之多少，不如勢之多少遠矣。"

In a political aspect, a number of Bao Zhao's ballad poems of critical realism dealt with the issues of taxation overburden and levy on the common people, the problem of lifelong active service or long-term expedition and garrison on a frontier station, the negligence of the welfare of retired soldiers, and the inadequacy of military rewards. Regarding the aspect of longevity, the poet fully realized the inaccessibility of immortality in "Lamenting for the Year and Grieving Over Old Age in Jiangling 在江陵歎年僊老，" "Imitating 'The Prince of Huainan' 代淮南王，" and "Imitating 'The Song of Gui Street' 代郢行." Similarly, he wrote on the inevitability of death in "Ballad of the Pine and the Cypress 松柏篇，" and on the vicissitudes of life in "Imitating 'The Graveyard Song' 代墓里行" and "Imitating 'The Funeral Dirge' 代挽歌."
In the historical aspect, having witnessed quite a few deposals, dethronements, and usurpations, the poet concluded that one's ups and downs in officialdom, and the dynastic rises and falls in history were inevitable. As a matter of fact, during the course of 46 years from age 12 to 58, Bao Zhao saw four emperors murdered, and 33 princes and 43 vassals executed. In the seventh poem of "Imitating 'The Road of Adversity'" he skillfully illustrated the vicissitudes of life and death with the image of a bald cuckoo, transformed from the soul of the King of Shu. Bao Zhao subtly demonstrated the inherent nature of dynastic rise and fall in his famous "Rhapsody of the Ruined City". The Song edition of the rhapsody had a footnote indicating that it was written after he ascended the old city of Guangling. This evoked controversy over the implication and date of this rhapsody. Li Zhouhan maintained that it was written in 466 when Prince Zixu joined forces with Prince Zixun's rebellion against Emperor Ming, to satirize the similarity of this rebellion with that of Prince Pi of Wu of the Han. He Zhuo and Lin Shu both believed that Bao Zhao wrote it in 459 to express his thoughts and feelings on the massacre of Guangling City at the defeat of Prince Dan of Jingling's revolt against Emperor Xiaowu. Huang Jie believed that Bao Zhao wrote it to comment on Guangling's destruction, for apart from the massacre of 459, as the aggression force of the Northern Wei reached the outskirt county Guabu in 450, Liu Huaizhi, Prefect of Guangling, burned the city and evacuated its residents to the south of the Yangzi River. Zhang Yunao believed that it was written to sum up the inevitable fate of destruction upon those who revolted against the mandate of Heaven.

Granted that the footnote in the Song edition was written by Bao Zhao himself, the above interpretations still commit one common mistake in taking the rhapsody as political allegory of a specific historical event, for the rhapsody does not include any real evidence; it is equally justifiable to infer the date of its composition to be at any time during the above proposals. Two other dates are possible: one in 440 as Bao Zhao accompanied Prince Yiqing of Linchuan to Guangling to the post of Governor of Nan Yanzhou; and the other in 451 as Bao Zhao accompanied Prince Jun of Shixing to the garrison at Guabu after the
Northern Wei withdrew its forces. As a matter of fact, the date of its composition could be any time after Bao Zhao reached his literary maturity to be able to compose such a masterpiece, since it was a well-known historical fact that early in the Han Dynasty the city of Guangling had already experienced a drastic rise and fall under Prince Pi of Wu 楚, who developed Guangling into a glorious, prosperous city and the hub of the kingdom, but also brought this city to miserable destruction at the defeat of his rebellion. Any specification of the date of composition or the implication of this rhapsody could hardly be certain. It is true that Bao Zhao described "the Ruined City" on the physical basis of Guangling City, but as his description shifted from the Guangling City of his time to the historical one in the Han Dynasty, he substantiated the city with a complete historical content, which enabled its transcendence beyond time and space to become "Guangling of all times," and the ruined city subsequently became the model of all ancient ruined cities. Within the connotation of the norm of "the ruined city," Guangling is then the image of all the cities in the world. Indeed, in this respect Guangling is a cosmic city, in which the poet finds universalities of the vicissitudes of life, dynastic rise and fall, and historical devastation. The poet's thoughts and feelings upon ascending this city are best summed up in his "Song of the Ruined City 艋城之歌":

"As the north wind blows hastily and furiously, the battlements are bleak and desolate; While field-paths and roads have long been destroyed, the dikes and ditches all lie wasted and ruined. For a thousand years and a myriad of generations, You have witnessed the common ends without a word."

This song indeed expressed more of the poet's understanding than his resentment of the way of the world. Using the image of the ruined city Guangling as a cosmic city, the poet transcended the real and imperfect world. Therefore, he accepted the way of the world without resentment. It is imperative to note that it was not a Taoist but a Confucian realization and acceptance, for it brought not negative resignation but enthusiastic anticipation and active participation.

It becomes apparent from the previous studies that although much indignation and criticism are present, Bao Zhao's poetry is surprisingly free of submission,
resignation, reclusion, exile, or banishment. Firstly, this is perhaps due to the fact that in his 28 years of public service Bao Zhao at most had only three very short interruptions. Consequently, he wrote with little or no sentiment about seeking officialdom. Secondly, since he served in the Imperial Court as a favorite courtier and a Drafting and Presenting Official of the Imperial Secretariat for the last 10 years of his life, and since he was in the core of power and authority of Emperor Xiaowu's court, it would not be unusual for his poetry to lack the sentiments of a banished or exiled vassal. Thirdly, since his ultimate goal was to serve the world and humanity, he would naturally decline a withdrawal from public office to live in seclusion.

On the other hand, Bao Zhao's poetry is full of comprehension of the vicissitudes of life and the way of the world. These keen observations often enabled the poet to obtain a rational transcendence by means of a song or a goblet of wine. As we read in the first poem "Listening to a Songstress at Night," it was the way to transcend anxiety over the ephemerality of life:

"The prime of one's life cannot last forever,
Make merry and in time share the happiness.
The banquet will be over by the morning twilight,
So drink away the night as the music takes flight."

It is also the poet's personal reaction and choice, as he sees that the world is in a trance, vainly fighting for worthless trifles and soon to regret the prime of life flying by. Thus we read in "Imitating 'The Song of the Frontier Life'":

"I would rather in my single acre land,
Meet and drink pure wine with friends in a great assembly,
Make merry whenever there is joy,
And waste no time waiting for the twilight."

It was also the way to transcend temporary melancholy or daily anxiety, as the poet wrote in the last couplet of "Imitating 'The Song of Ascending Mount Jing in the Springtime'":

"Let us together drink the wine for the spring feast,
And sing a song while ascending the mountain."
Nevertheless, this does not suggest a preoccupation with pleasure-seeking in the poet, for one can hardly find any hedonism in Bao Zhao’s poetry. In fact, the absence of indulgent actions and the lack of negative sentiments have to a great extent confined the poet’s drinking and singing to poetic rituals for obtaining a spiritual transcendence, instead of an escape into alcoholism or hedonism. This transcendence, when understood within the context of prevailing Confucian convictions in Bao Zhao’s poetry, appears to be a positive spiritual ascendance connected with an enthusiastic return to and participation of the world and its adversity.

This return to the world after transcending the vicissitudes of life is not only possible but, in fact, is the only logical direction for the poet as a Confucian intellectual; the Confucian philosophy, emphasizing man as the center of the universe and the present as the essence of life as a whole, advocates that a man’s responsibility and the purpose of his life is to cultivate his virtue, carry out his earthly and filial duties, and to fulfill his mission of humanity in history and in the universe. Although these ideals are not always explicit in his poems, they often create an emotional profundity or volitional intensity, which in turn reinforce the poet’s conviction and devotion, and strengthen his sentiments and criticism. This is perhaps the essential raison d’être for Bao Zhao’s great emotional vehemency and high spiritual fervence in his poetry. Thus, a return to the mundane world appears to be an essential key in examining the poet’s ideology in "Rhapsody on the Flying Moth 飛蛾賦." He praised the little moth, which in its pursuit of light and brightness would throw itself into the brilliant flame to die without regret. He used this image as a contrast to the image of a leopard, which in order to protect its elegant spots often hid in the cave on South Mountain to avoid mists and clouds. This is also the fundamental key to integrate discrepancies among elements of the poet’s indignant sentiments, rational detachment, active transcendence, and impassioned devotion. This integration consequently presents in sound and sense a unique combination which is best found in the poem "Imitating 'The Road of Adversity' 擬行路難," and becomes the distinctive poetic style and philosophical essence of Bao Zhao’s poetry.
vii. "Imitating 'The Road of Adversity'" as Bao Zhao's Song of Life

a. "Imitating 'The Road of Adversity'" as a Set of Poems

"Imitating 'The Road of Adversity,'" one of Bao Zhao's poems most frequently selected by anthologists, is indeed the best poem to illustrate Bao Zhao's distinctive style in form, sound, and sense. This ballad song was said to consist of 19 poems, but the extant editions record only 18 poems, except for the Yue Fu Shi Ji, which separated the last three couplets of the 13th poem into an independent verse to give the song a total of 19 poems. The Yue Fu Shi Ji's editing is not very convincing. Firstly, it offers no justification to separate the 13th poem into two verses, except for the simple fact that this poem is the longest one in the song. Secondly, granted that the separation of the 13th poem is imperative, the Yue Fu Shi Ji's editing is still disputable, for it created two rather incomplete poems in sense. A separation of the first five couplets into an independent verse, for example, would be a better way to edit the 13th poem into two complete verses: the first one is on sentiments of an old soldier on lifelong active service, and the second one concerns the nostalgia of a sojourned official and the news brought by a passenger about the chaste reputation of his wife living secluded as a widow. However, implications of the hardships endured by an old soldier or a sojourned official are fundamentally no different from that of the original poem. It is proper in this respect to conclude that as their thematic differences become less distinctive, the issue of the 13th poem's separation becomes less significant. However, it is better to separate the first five couplets, instead of the last three couplets, into an independent poem. While the date of the composition of this song is a more controversial issue, and refutations to specifications by Chinese traditional allegorical interpreters have been rendered in the stylistic study of Bao Zhao's poetry, it is sufficient to note that though this song was perhaps not written in a day, or completed at one time, or written to allegorize a specific historical event, it was certain to have been composed as a "Set of Poems 組詩."
Among his extant 204 poems, Bao Zhao wrote 16 sets of poems, ranging from two to 18 poems in a set, for a total of 86 poems — less than half but more than one-third of his extant poetic repertoire. These sets of poems can be roughly divided into two groups: one is a group of nine sets of poems with an apparent central theme and explicit opening and closing poems serving as the introduction and the conclusion; the other is a group of seven sets of poems with no explicit opening or closing poems but a clear central theme or issue. The former includes "The Song of Wu: Three Poems 吳歌三首," "The Song of Picking Waterchestnuts: Seven Poems 採菱歌七首," "The Song of the Solitary Orchid: Five Poems 幽蘭五首," "The Song of the Restoration: Ten Poems 中興歌十首," "On My Way Returning to the Capital: Three Poems 還都道中三首," "Imitating the Ancient Verse: Eight Poems 擬古八首," "Imitating Liu Gonggan's Style: Five Poems 學劉公幹體五首," "Imitating 'The Ballad of the White Linen Dance': Four Poems 代白紗舞歌辭四首," and "Imitating 'The Road of Adversity': Eighteen Poems 擬行路難十八首." The latter includes "Imitating 'The Song of the White Linen': Two Poems 代白紗曲二首," "In Attendance at the Banquet on Mount Fuzhou: Two Poems 侍宴覆舟山二首," "Six Poems Presented to Old Friend Ma Ziqiao 贈故人馬子喬六首," "A Sequel to the Ancient Verse: Seven Poems 紹古辭七首," "Listening to a Songstress at Night: Two Poems 夜聽妓二首," "The Autumn Night: Two Poems 秋夜二首," and "On a Pair of Swallows 詠雙燕二首."

In the former group some sets contain a close sequence in time, emotion, and meaning. "The Songs of the Restoration 中興歌," for example, are integrated by such a sequence. The sequence begins by describing how the imperial restoration will bring rejoicing and end all kinds of anxieties, like the spring after a cold winter and the dawn after a long night (i). This brings universal rejoicing and great harmony upon the imperial city as well as the world (ii). The imperial palace is thereupon bathed in a peaceful and auspicious atmosphere from night to day (iii); happy and beautiful maidens and ladies of the imperial city all embrace spring thoughts in their hearts (iv). They are all in their twenties, the height of youth, which is happy and joyful as springtime, but is passing away as quickly as the autumn splendour (v); thereupon, they go out enjoying excursions of singing and dancing by the lake and in the imperial park (vi). They all prefer to pursue a groom either in spring or on clear autumn days in this imperial restoration (vii).
As rejoicing for the restoration prevails on earth, one should not embrace sorrow or brood over resentment, for failure and success depend upon the decree of fate (viii). And His Imperial Majesty, likewise, is destined to fascinate the capital city with charm and elegance amid joys of celebrating the restoration, for his garrison station Xiangyang is a small and humble place, and Shouyang is not an imperial city (ix). The poet wishes, as every maiden does, that His Majesty, whose heart and grace is constant will accept and care for him eternally (x). Indeed, this set of songs clearly indicated the poet's intent to praise the imperial restoration by Emperor Xiaowu: its poems correlated sentiments and events of this historical time. It certainly provided justification for specification; but in a thematic aspect, it appears to be more expressive than descriptive. Hence it is hardly sufficient to provide a detailed allegorical interpretation.

This is especially true with those sets of songs or poems such as "Imitating 'The Ancient Verse' 擬古八首" and "Imitating 'The Road of Adversity' 擬行路難十八首," which do not correlate sequential events, but contain a central idea or theme which keeps them from being merely a collection of poems under the same title. "Imitating 'The Road of Adversity'" is the best example elaborating various thoughts or sentiments upon specific and general themes. It is noticeable that in this respect poetic application and practice are in fact similar to those in "Poems Singing of One's Hearts 詠懷." Thus, Chen Hang 陳沆 and Zhu Jutang's 朱秬堂 specific allegorical interpretations of this set of songs subsequently become less significant, and to a certain extent, may minimize the poetic application and consequently threaten their independent entity.
b. "Imitating 'The Road of Adversity'" as Bao Zhao's Song of Life

As stated in the generic study, "Imitating 'The Road of Adversity'" was originally a folksong of the Han Dynasty. Yuan Shansong of the Jin Dynasty was said to have modulated its tune and written a new lyric for it. It was essentially a song about the hardship of life and the sorrow of separations and departures. Unfortunately, both the ancient and Yuan's lyrics were lost, hence there is no way to decide the degree of Bao Zhao's modulation. Nevertheless, the statistical analysis indicates that Bao Zhao not only freed the ballad from its stanzaic and metric limitations, but also enriched its thematic applications and deepened its poetic inspiration. Indeed, besides adding to the ballads many new themes, more importantly, Bao Zhao created a new poetic pathos with his imitations.

As a matter of fact, it is noticeable that Bao Zhao's songs imitating "The Road of Adversity," contrary to the conventional interpretation, are not passive or negative songs of resentment at all. This is a set of positive songs concerned with life's adversity. This positive attitude of active expectation must be understood by the content of the first poem:

Presented to you here, my lord, are a gold goblet of vintage wine,
An engraved zither in a case inlaid with hawksbill shell and jade,
A feathered canopy net with a lotus flower in seven-color silk,
And a brocade coverlet embroidered with a nine-flower grapevine.
As the year draws to its close the rosy cheeks are fading away,
And the luminescence is chill and faint at the end of the day.
I wish you were rid of sorrow and ceased your brooding,
And listened to me singing the Road of Adversity at the drum beat.
Don't you see that on the Cypress Beam and Brass Bird Terraces,
You do not hear the serene music of bygone days?

This poem clearly indicated that the poet's intention in presenting a gift of four luxurious items for the pleasure and comfort of life, and in composing and singing "The Road of Adversity," was to encourage the listener to stop brooding and rid himself of sorrow. The status of the listeners, which he called "jun 君" or "zhujun 諸君," was in fact defined by their broodings and sentiments. Their melancholy and resentments in turn were substantiated by the allusions in the last couplet. The Boliang Tai or Cypress Beam Terrace, was built by Emperor Wu of the Han Dynasty. It was the place where this ambitious and
sagacious emperor, who brought one of the great reigns with peace and prosperity in Chinese history, held banquets and composed poetry with his courtiers and vassals. The Tongque Tai 銅雀臺, or Bronze Sparrow Terrace, was built by Cao Cao 曹操, a great and ambitious usurper to the last emperor of the Han Dynasty. It was the place where he resided and banqueted with his beautiful concubines. However, as the poet and his listeners did not hear above the ruins of the terraces any serene music of the past, the extended connotations as well as the physical existence of everything in these two allusions are subsequently denied. The virtuous ruler, his devoted vassals, the ambitious usurper, and famous beauties all came to the same end; and the emperor's ideals and epic achievements, the great vassal's heroic devotion, the usurper's ambition, and the beauty's dazzling charms were inevitably buried. Hence, the glory of the age of prosperity and harmony was lost.

As the rhetorical question introduced by "don't you see 君不見" in the last quatrains implies an affirmative meaning, the quatrains suggest that disillusionment is unavoidable; one shouldn't anguish over illusion. With this understanding one should thereupon rid one's self of sorrow and cease any sentimental broodings. And as the brooder's sentiments concern Confucian illusions and disillusionments, the words "jun 君" and "zhujun 諸君" referred to in the songs consequently denote Confucian intellectuals. The poet's intention in offering Chinese Confucian intellectuals four presents to ease anxiety, and composing the song of the Road of Adversity, was to enumerate all possible types of adversity in life in order to bring to his listeners a certain comprehension of adversity as part of the inherent way of the world, to enable them to transcend earthly sentiments and disillusionments, and to keep moving toward a happier, more positive life. Thus, it is proper to say that the poetic spirit of this set of songs was by no means passive and negative. It positively expects a rational understanding of the nature of things from the reader, and actively anticipates a spiritual transcendence above the world, but maintains an emotional devotion to life and the world. This is indeed the essential guideline in interpreting Bao Zhao's "Imitating 'The Road of Adversity.'"
The poet's positive attitude and active approach toward the adversity of life are restated clearly in the fourth poem:

If one pours water onto a level ground,
It itself will run north, south, east or west.
Man's life is also bound to fate,
And we should not lament at work and brood at rest.
So I pour out some wine to soothe my anxiety,
And raise my goblet to stop singing the Road of Adversity.
How can my heart made of no stone or weed be indifferent?
But silently I wander around and dare not to speak out.

This poem again proves that Bao Zhao's songs of "The Road of Adversity" are not passive songs of lament and resentment over the adversity of life, but on the contrary, attempt to bring rational comprehension of the way of the world and subsequently engender a positive attitude and an active approach to life. In the first quatrain the poet used the water image to suggest that men, once born, are likewise heading toward their own destinies. He then suggested, with an imperative voice, that one should not lament but take charge and fulfill one's duty in life, as defined by the Confucian concept of "ming 命" as one's individual, familial, social, national, historical, and universal responsibilities under the mandate of Heaven. In the second quatrain, the poet further suggested an active approach to transcend life's adversity by means of drinking wine to soothe one's anxieties and eliminate one's sorrows, which are constant and natural states of mind for a man with heart, especially a man in destitution and adversity. It is apparent that the positive attitude, transcendental spirit, and enthusiastic anticipation in this poem and the first, fifth, 10th, 11th, 15th, and 18th poems are different from, as the Yue Fu Jie Ti 楊府解題 indicated, the negative and passive sentimental pathos of the Han or of Yuan Shansong's lyrics. Bao Zhao created a unique pathos which became the essential poetic spirit in "Imitating 'The Road of Adversity'" as well as in his poetry as a whole.

In this respect all of the poems between the opening and the closing verses are best understood as an enumeration of typical aspects of adversity in life, serving not as the content of the song but as a means to reveal the universality of adversity in every aspect of life, and to promote in the audience comprehension and subsequent transcendence. In the individual aspect, the poet elaborated a full
expostulation to "the separation in life," the original and sole theme of the song. In the third, eighth, 12th, 13th, and 14th poems, he described separations between ordinary men and women due to causes of official duty and active service, and wrote of the thoughts and feelings over lifelong separation. It is noticeable that these sentiments on separation reveal strong affection, deep love, and incessant sorrows, but show no great resentment or indignation under a prevailing comprehension that "the vicissitudes of life revolve in endless succession." These sentiments between husbands and wives justify an extended interpretation on the allegorical level as those between an official and the emperor. This allegorical interpretation is more explicit in and applicable to the second and the ninth poems, which described sentiments of a disfavored lady or concubine and an abandoned woman. Their sentiments again contain no resentment or regret but deep love, and sadness upon seeing love-tokens. The strong emotional profundity, affectionate sincerity, and great sense of understanding and devotion in the above sentiments on separation and desertion are very similar to those expressed in boudoir poems. Consequently, it is proper to say that in the individual aspect the poet illustrated the themes of separation and desertion at the lower mode as those between a wife and husband, as well as at the high mode as those between an official and the emperor.

In the social and political aspects, the poet described the destitution and stagnation in one's official career as the typical adversity in a Chinese intellectual's official life:

Sitting at the dining table, unable to eat,  
I draw and strike my sword at the pillar in deep lament.  
How long can a man's life on earth last?  
And how can I keep going about with hanging wings?  
I will abandon the official life and give up my post,  
And return home alone to take a rest,  
So that I can take my leave of my parents in the morning,  
And return to attend upon their wishes by the evening;  
Or amuse myself by playing with children in the bedroom,  
Or watch my wife weaving and spinning on the loom.  
Since antiquity the virtuous sages have been poor and destitute,  
Let us alone, we who have been alone yet honest.

The poet employed the image of a bird walking with hanging wings, to connote a scholar-official's stagnation at a lesser post in the low stratum of officialdom. This stagnation is partly due to disfavor of his integrity and lack of appreciation
of his talents and aspirations, and partly, as observed in the Jiupin Zhongzheng System 九品中正, due to the social convention and political discrimination against his status defined in the second and third quatrains of the poem, as a member of a declined family from the Scholar-official Class. The poet also wrote of the scholar's resentment over a long-due appreciation, and his indignation over social convention and possible political discrimination. The poet described the official's bitter realization that he is unlikely to be able to fulfill his ideals and aspirations to serve the world at his low official post in this ephemeral life, and subsequently depicted the outburst of the official's resentment and indignation against his social and political circumstances. As this kind of stagnation in officialdom was a common fate shared by Chinese intellectuals, especially those who were virtuous, upright, honest, and talented; this scholar-official with high aspirations, unable to restrain himself any longer, could only strike his sword against the pillar in deep lament and great agony.

The poet explicated life's linear nature and ephemerality, as well as the uncertainty and nihilism of afterlife, in the fifth, 10th, and 11th poems. The fifth one is especially typical:

Don't you see that the grass on the banks of the river
Withers in winter but covers the roads in spring?
Don't you see that the sun above the city tower
Is to set in the west tonight,
But will arise in the east tomorrow morning?
When will we ever be able to do this,
Who once dead will perish in the netherworld forever?
Man's life is full of bitterness but little joy.
Only the high spirit of the prime of life does one enjoy.
I wish that you after success will still pay me frequent visits,
And that I'll always have money for wine in my bedside cabinet.
Official merit and historical fame have never been my concern,
Life or death, noble or base, I entrust them all to Heaven.

君不見河邊草，
冬時枯死春滿道？
君不見城上日，
今照没盡去，
明朝復更出？
今我何時當得然，
一去永遠人黃泉？
人生苦多歡樂少，
意氣敷腴在少年，
且爾彝志數相就，
床頭惟有沽酒錢，
功名竹帛非我事，
存亡貴賤付皇天。

Life, as the poet pointed out, is not as cyclical as the succession of day and night, the rotation of seasons, or the regeneration of vegetation. It is linear, heading toward death; an ending point with no return. While life is short and the prime of life is swift, it is often filled with bitterness and hardship. As fame, reputation, heroic merits, and epic achievements are not man's to demand, life, death, poverty, or prosperity are all due to the mandate of Heaven, and the
afterlife is as uncertain and intangible as the air. This would naturally evoke unbearable anxieties, which could only be soothed by good friendship and a goblet of wine. Thereupon, the poet suggested an intellectual should follow his heart's intent while cherishing his ideals and aspirations.

The poet introduced an historical allegory by employing a subtle image of a hungry and bald cuckoo bird, which was said to have been transformed from the soul of the King of Shu, who was forced to abdicate his throne to his Prime Minister. Within the mythic content of this allusion, the imagery denotes an extreme example of fortune's rise and fall. On a metaphorical level, this demonstrates an extreme example of the illusions of wealth, glory, authority, and power. In the 15th poem the poet proceeds to explicate historical disillusionment:

Don't you see that Cypress Beam Terrace
Is now but a ruin covered with vine and weed?
Don't you see that the fabulous Efang Palace
Is but a place for cold mists and swamp pheasants to roost?
Do any of those singers and dancers live today?
On the hill slope there lie high mounds in a great number.
Long-sleeved beauties are contending against one another in vain,
And I have no longer my former precious and charming figure.
So let us indulge ourselves in wine and joy to our content,
Lest we descend into the netherworld with deep lament.

With the images of the Cypress Beam Terrace and the Efang Palace, the poet presented strong contrasts between the current situations of these two historical sites and their past glories under Emperor Wu of the Han Dynasty and Emperor Shihuang of the Qin Dynasty. While these glorious times all deteriorated into the deserted ruins of the Efang Palace and the Cypress Beam Terrace and numerous high mounds on the hill slope; travellers in search of office hustle and bustle, merchants, and common people were busy and hasty, and long-sleeved beauties contended against one another. The poet, thereupon, once again suggested one should live to one's heart's content, lest one die with great regret.

With the aspect of universal time, in the context of the remaining poems the poet concluded that "Time" was the essential devastation of life, especially an individual's life, which headed toward death from the moment of birth; and like a cutting blade, time spared nothing, especially one's youth or prime of life:
Don't you see that the hoarfrost on the ice,
Being inside and out cold with the chill,
Though receiving the morning sunshine,
Will surely find no ease for a single moment?
Such is also the case of the livelihood of the people,
We have to make efforts to recognize who the devastator is.
Year in and year out, time spares nothing, like a blade cut,
And the hoary head is soon too bald to bear a hat.

Don't you see that first when the spring bird arrives,
Hundred of flowers will turn green and bear blooms;
Then as soon as the desolate cold wind arises,
None of them can any longer keep their beautiful blossoms?
The days and months fly by relentlessly without pity,
It provokes me to increasing resentment and swelling anxiety.

It was on this basis that the poet further inferred in the 17th poem that time was the essential arbitrator in the succession of day and night, the seasonal rotation and growth of vegetation, and the life cycle of birth and death:

This set of songs ends with the 18th poem, which appears both in voice and in meaning to be a conclusion (see page 13). In this closing poem the poet offered his advice in negative imperatives. He pointed out that since wealth and honor were not man's to command, one should not lament over poverty or destitution. He advised that since nobility and power were also not controllable, one should not resent one's social and political status. He further advised that since one's fortune in life or the afterlife were not as predictable as vegetational change and seasonal rotation, one's future would rely on a turn of luck as part of the cycle of changes.

In conclusion, then, the poet suggested one should not hoard money, nor seek fame, nor strive for power, but to entrust one's fortune and destiny to the mandate of Heaven; one should live to the full of one's life for a year than lead a toilsome and meaningless life of a hundred years. In the context of the poet's impassioned indignation and fervent devotion, this suggestion is neither a negative resignation from life, nor withdrawal from the world, nor a passive indulgence of hedonism. It is a quest for the quality of life. It is an active suggestion: while one cherishes his aspiration and tries to fulfill his responsibilities in life, one should also live to the full of one's life. This in essence is part of the Confucian concept of life. In fact,
"Imitating 'The Road of Adversity'" reflects Bao Zhao's personal philosophy of life. It enumerates life's adversity and disillusionment while elaborating a rational comprehension, subsequent emotional detachment and spiritual transcendence, and suggests an active return to the world and a more enthusiastic participation in life. It, to a great extent, reflects Bao Zhao's mentality as a Confucian intellectual and offers a typical example of the uniqueness of his poetic style and spirit -- an integration of various fervent and sometimes contradictory sentiments. Indeed, it seems proper for us to call "Imitating 'The Road of Adversity'" Bao Zhao's song of life.
F. Summary

After the above study on Bao Zhao's poetry, a brief summary of his literary achievements and contributions seems appropriate here. To begin with, the issue of his literary origin, like many other issues concerning him, remains controversial. Zhong Hong 鍾嶸 was the first literary critic to maintain that Bao Zhao was strongly influenced by Zhang Jingyan and Zhang Maoxian of the Jin Dynasty. Contrarily, Wang Shizhen 王士禛 and Fang Dongshu 方東樹 strongly refuted Zhong Hong's opinion. Although the study of literary influence involves detailed analysis and comparison of poems by Bao Zhao with those by poets under investigation, the scope of this thesis limits such a lengthy undertaking. However, in the above studies it becomes clear that as a very learned intellectual, a poet with the greatest number of poems in imitation, and an initiator of many poetic subjects, forms, and pathos, Bao Zhao undoubtedly received a wide variety of literary influences. He often quoted from Chinese classics, adopted poems from the Book of Poetry and the Songs of Chu, and imitated a lot of ballads and folksongs as well as poems by poets such as Liu Gonggan 劉公幹, Cao Pi 曹植, Ruan Ji 阮籍, Lu Ji 陸機, Zuo Si 左思, and Tao Qian 陶潛.

As for his literary achievements, Bao Zhao was an elaborator of the Short Stanzas, an epitomizer of the Heptasyllabic Poems and Ballads, a great revivor of the Ballad Songs, a pioneer of Poems Imitating Ancient Verses, and a cultivator of the Landscape Poems, Poems on Things, and the Frontier Poems. His short stanzas, especially the four-line and the eight-line stanzas, stand as a testimony to the formation of Quatrains and Regulated-verses as a continuous development from ballads, regular verses, the Wu Songs, the Western Ditties, and Joint Stanzas; they undoubtedly had an impact which helped to set early and firm roots for the Quatrains 絕句 and the Regulated-verse 律詩. His pentasyllabic short stanzas with their unique themes and pathos serve as an essential link in the development of Chinese poetry, which has evolved in theme from an expression of one's intention to an explication of one's emotion and to an exposition of one's sensation, and in description from the general to the particular and the specific. His contribution to the formations of the Quatrains and the Regulated-verses is beyond doubt.
In the aspect of the Heptasyllabic Poems, Bao Zhao had completed the formation of the Heptasyllabic Joint Stanzas 七言聯句, and initiated the Heptasyllabic Short Stanzas to be developed later into Heptasyllabic Quatrains and Regulated-verses. He had completed the stanzaic formation of the Heptasyllabic Ballad Songs. He initiated Heptasyllabic Palace Poems, Heptasyllabic Poems on Things, and Heptasyllabic Occasional Poems. He was the first poet who wrote true heptasyllabic ballad songs with variant meter, making this a popular and unique sub-genre. He elaborated an even tone rhyme at the end of every second verse line and four new rhythmic endings, which later became three major characteristics of the Heptasyllabic Regulated-verse. Indeed, his elaborations on various sub-genres of heptasyllabic poems and ballads were far and wide-reaching. His contribution to the total formation of heptasyllabic poems was absolutely essential. It is adequate to credit him with completing the formation of heptasyllabic poems, and it is proper to call him "the Epitomizer of the Heptasyllabic Ballad Songs."

In the aspect of balladry, Bao Zhao composed the greatest number of ballad songs ever written by an individual poet before the Tang Dynasty. He adapted virtually all possible stanzaic and metric forms to the Ballad Songs, and exhausted a wide scope of themes and pathos. He not only freed the genre from its previous bondage of straight imitation and liberated the genre from its former limitation in form and content, but also captured the true spirit of critical realism in ballad songs of the Han and Wei Dynasties, and inherited the vehement and indignant sentiments of poets of the Jianan Period. Thus, he brought forth a new vitality to the Ballad Songs and revived the genre from 150 years of stagnation since the Jin Dynasty. While his ballad poems constituted a fundamental part of the second bloom of the genre, and were an essential link in the development of Ballad Poetry, his position as an essential reviver and greatest cultivator of the genre during 450 years of stagnation before the Tang Dynasty is irrefutable in the history of Chinese literature.
Furthermore, Bao Zhao wrote the greatest number of poems in Miscellaneous Imitation and the largest group of poems "Imitating the Ancient Verses" before the Tang Dynasty. He adopted the genre as a poetic device to bring forth his comments on or criticisms of social and political issues, and as a means of subterfuge to avoid any literary censorship or persecution. The number of his poems in imitation with allegorical implication in fact surpassed that of any other poet before the Tang Dynasty. His contribution as an essential cultivator of the genre is undeniable. In the aspect of the Landscape Poems, Bao Zhao wrote 31 poems on sceneries. They contain vivid images and mimic descriptions in a very rich, colorful, and flowery diction. While Xie Lingyun sketched full and wide shots of large-scale landscapes, Bao Zhao depicted sceneries of smaller scale with great distinction. He expressed more personal sentiments than philosophical contemplation in the end-notes of his landscape poems. Indeed, he marked a positive and drastic recession of the occult or Taoist thoughts from Landscape Poetry. His position as one of the three essential cultivators of the genre deserves proper recognition.

Still more, Bao Zhao summed-up three basic types for Poems on Things; namely, straight descriptive poems on things, poems with an end-note couplet expressing the poet's comments or sentiments evoked out of his observations, and poems with strong metaphorical applications and rich allegorical implications. These poetic modes or forms of Poems on Things remained the essential ones for poets until the Tang Dynasty. His position as an initiator and cultivator of this genre is obvious. In the aspect of the Frontier Poems, Bao Zhao was instrumental in and responsible for epitomizing the poetic mentalities of frontier poems of the Han, Wei, and Jin Dynasties; for cultivating the fundamental sentiments and pathos of fervent heroism, vehement patriotism, lofty aspiration and impassioned indignation of frontier poems; for developing heptameter and heptameter with pentasyllabic variation, which later became fundamental poetic forms for Frontier Poems of the Tang Dynasty; and for elaborating the true spirit of critical realism in the Frontier Poems. His influence and inspiration on poets of the Frontier Poems of the Tang Dynasty, such as Guo Shi 高適, Cen Shen 岑參, Li Bo 李白, and Du Fu 杜甫
was beyond doubt. It is proper to recognize the fact that in the 300 years between the Wei and Tang Dynasties, Bao Zhao was a major poet who elaborated, cultivated, and preserved critical realism in the Frontier Poems.

In the stylistic aspect, it is noticeable that Bao Zhao's poems are in general elaborate and rhetorical, but not extravagantly flowery or obsessively exotic. They are very lyrical with a natural and spontaneous flow in reading. He adopted many colloquial expressions but his poems are not vulgar, repulsive, or superficial. Bao Zhao's descriptions are often detailed and subtle, and his imagery is often profoundly abstruse, exquisitely spectacular and extremely vivid and spontaneous. Indeed, as Bao Zhao's descriptive focus shifted from panoramic scenes to closer views, from full pictures to specific objects, and from the natural world to the domestic environment, he undoubtedly cultivated in these subjects a totally new perspective for Landscape Poetry and the Frontier Poems, and in the descriptive aspect laid a good foundation for Poems on Things and the Palace Poetry. As for the poetic tone or mood, one can detect Bao Zhao's sincerity is tinged with graceful understanding and fervent devotion; his heroic spirit is often infused with an enthusiasm of active devotion. One can also perceive that Bao Zhao's indignations are mostly sentiments he can neither overcome nor rationally tolerate. His criticisms, infused with profound sincerity, often end with earnest advice or unsurpassable anxiety. Besides, one can discern that Bao Zhao's comprehension, tolerance, and acceptance of the way of the world and the nature of things not only promoted rational detachment and a spiritual transcendence, but also cultivated an active ascendance over worldly adversity, a subsequent fervent devotion to life as a whole, and an eager, almost romantic, return to the world of adversity. It is true that Bao Zhao's poetry contains a profusion of imagery and allusion, and a great deal of his poems depend upon them for their poetic implications. His poetry is allusive, metaphorical, and allegorical. He usually appealed to the general implication or universal significance of an image, a metaphor, or an allusion to allegorize underlying principles or the fundamental phenomena in life, history, and the world.

Philosophically speaking, Bao Zhao renounced occult and Taoist practices. He professed that he would not succumb to adversity, or raft over the ocean as
once intended by Confucius in distress, or yearn for the Taoist or occult approaches and guidance. As a Confucian intellectual, Bao Zhao held the strong conviction that a world of great harmony would come under a prudent ruler 明君治世; and as an imperial favorite courtier entrusted with power and authority until the end of his life, Bao Zhao elaborated in numerous Boudoir Poems his admiration and devotion to Emperor Xiaowu through metaphors of the sentiments of a wife for her husband or a maiden for her beloved one. These metaphors expressed his strong belief of witnessing the restoration of an age of "Great Harmony and Universal Peace" in the reign of Emperor Xiaowu, and thereupon embodied his sincere wish to be able to carry out and fulfill his aspiration to serve the world. This great aspiration, which reflects the highest ideal and integrity of a Confucian intellectual, is in turn sustained by a strong vehemency and a fervent heroism to serve a grand or lofty cause.

As reality and the general practices of the time were in discrepancy with his ideology, and the way of the world was at odd with principles of his integrity, this evoked various, anxieties, indignant sentiments, and fervent criticism which urged the poet to compose a unique repertoire of vehement and sincere Frontier Poems and Ballad Songs of critical realism. Indeed, Bao Zhao shared the Chinese Confucian intellectual's universal wish to be appreciated and accepted in order to fulfill his ideals to serve the world, as well as the common fate of suffering an unbearable alienation and harboring a great sense of indignation. He often felt pity for those who sought to attain wealth, fame, and official ranks. He subtly criticized the injustice of the Jiupin Zhongzhen System 九品中正, and commented on issues of taxation, levy, corvée, and active service, as well as the welfare of retired soldiers. He denied the attainment of longevity and immortality, and accepted the reality of death. He recognized the inevitability of the vicissitudes of life, the ups and downs of officialdom, and the rise and fall of dynasties throughout history.

Bao Zhao's resentment and indignation subsequently brought forth in him an intellectual comprehension and a spiritual transcendence. Within the poet's mentality his spiritual transcendence embodies not occult hedonism or Taoist
resignation, but enthusiastic Confucian anticipation and active participation. This return to the world after intellectual comprehension and spiritual transcendence is the essential key which provides, among contradictions of his intellectual mentality and poetic sentiments, a fundamental integration which in turn engenders the distinctive style and unique philosophical essence of Bao Zhao's poetry. "Imitating 'The Road of Adversity'" is the best set of poems illustrating Bao Zhao's distinctive poetic form, style, and sense. It is the best of many sets of poems he wrote to express sentiments similar to those of "Poems Singing of My Heart 詠懷." It indicates a strong integration of various contradictory poetic spirits and poetic sentiments. It is indeed Bao Zhao's positive song of life, an epic of his creative spirit and Confucian ideals.

In short, whether as an initiator, cultivator, or epitomizer of many different poetic techniques, themes, pathos, and various generic, stanzaic and metric forms; Bao Zhao was essentially responsible for the formations of the Quatrains, the Regulated-verses, the Heptasyllabic Poems, the Ballad Songs, the Landscape Poems, the Frontier Poems, Poems on Things, Poems Imitating Ancient Verses, and the Palace Poems; he was both an instrumental and fundamental figure in the historical development of Chinese poetry. His poetry, as the work of a passionate intellectual with Confucian ideals, reflects a perfect understanding of the nature of things; his fervent sentiments and poetic pathos revived critical realism and rekindled its spirit in poetry of the Song Dynasty. His work served to extend and connect the main streams of Chinese poetry, as well as to strengthen and preserve part of the essential poetic spirit in Chinese literature from the Han and Wei Dynasties to the Tang Dynasty. Indeed, Bao Zhao's position in the Liu Song Dynasty within the historical development of Chinese poetry should be duly recognized.
IV. CONCLUSION - INTEGRATION AND REAPPRAISAL

A. An Integration

With the above studies, it is proper to integrate the basic biographical facts and essential mentalities of Bao Zhao in order to discern his service as a scholar-official in the perspective of his time and circumstances. In retrospect, the Chronicles of Emperors of the Song Dynasty, and the Biographies of the Imperial Favorite Courtiers and Sycophants in the Song Shu contained an account of the rise of the Drafters of the Imperial Secretariat and their eventual domination in the imperial courts of Emperor Xiaowu and Emperor Ming. As Zhao Yi noted, this marked the beginning of the lengthy process of the rise of humble families, who eventually became social and political equals with the elite families that had flourished since the Han, Wei, and Jin Dynasties. Bao Zhao was born into this period in the Liu Song Dynasty and his life was a typical testimony to the rise of an intellectual from a humble family when elite families still enjoyed absolute social and political domination. The anecdote about Bao Zhao's presenting his poems to Prince Yiqing to express his aspirations reveals a sincere anxiety and enthusiastic struggle to break through social and political limitations. The dissuasion he received upon that occasion indicated it was a reckless and offensive action of a lesser official or young man from a humble family to present himself thus in striving for recognition, appreciation, and promotion; it was considered virtuous for such a person to be content with his political prospects of entering officialdom at the age of 30 and obtaining an official post up to the seventh or the sixth rank. The subsequent promotion by Prince Yiqing commenced Bao Zhao's 28 years of public service, and Emperor Xiaowu's appreciation of him marked the height of his rise to officialdom. Emperor Xiaowu, in his policy to centralize the state powers, trusted no great vassals and confided only in the Drafters of the Imperial Secretariat; for nine years, almost throughout the whole reign of Emperor Xiaowu, Bao Zhao served as an Imperial Drafter waiting upon Emperor Xiaowu in the imperial council chamber. Thus it can be inferred that Bao Zhao undoubtedly played an
influential role in the imperial power center. This inference is further sustained by Emperor Xiaowu's extended trust in appointing Bao Zhao as Subprefect of the Moling Subprefecture, the central and major subprefecture in the imperial capital, on the eve of his policy to centralize the state powers; and later in entrusting him with the responsibility to attend upon the nine-year-old Prince Zixu at his post of Governor of Jingzhou and to administer the imperial orders to this Province as the threshold of the Imperial Domain. Indeed, with his talent, ability, and nine-year service in the imperial power center, Bao Zhao reached the height of his official career, a typical example of a humble scholar's rise to power.

There were stories about the hostile attitudes of the social elites toward imperial favorite courtiers; about the apologetic feeling of Emperor Wen toward Xie Hongwei 謝弘微 and Wang Tanshou 王曇首, who, as members of elite families, were not promoted to dukedoms before the age of 40; and about the sorrow and regret Emperor Xiaowu felt for Wang Sengda 王僧達, executed for his arrogance. These stories indicate that elite families still dominated social and political life of the Liu Song Dynasty. It is clear then that Bao Zhao was fortunate to be born into a time when the imperial house of the Song recruited commoners or scholars from humble families to fill administrative offices or military posts shunned by members of elite families; but it was also unfortunately a time when some social conventions and political sanctions were still so strongly observed that even the emperor would not break them. This is perhaps the essential reason why, as an imperial favorite courtier entrusted with power and authority for nine years, Bao Zhao still held no posts higher than the sixth rank; though he apparently played an influential role in the imperial power center, he likely had no chance to carry out his ideals and aspirations.

Thus, as an intellectual caught between these two enormous facts in his life, Bao Zhao's regret of his humble status, his longing for understanding friends and an appreciative wise ruler, and his aspiration to serve the world, are undoubtedly true and perceivably strong. As Bao Zhao's sentiments become more comprehensible in the context of his mentality as a poet with Confucian ideals, the special time and circumstances of his life definitely contribute to a better understanding of his work. In fact, his sentiments over political stagnation complemented his
Confucian aspiration. Indeed, in his Confucian conviction, Bao Zhao's praise of Emperor Xiaowu as a wise ruler and the Xiaojian and Daming Reigns as the beginning of a great harmonious world, was deeply affected by the Emperor's timely restoration of peace in the kingdom and victory over two malicious and regicidal princes. Bao Zhao was strongly affected by Emperor Xiaowu's appreciation of his talent and ability; hence his earnest wish for the emperor eventually to adopt his measures. Similarly, Bao Zhao's sincere devotion toward the Emperor, expressed in a metaphor of that of a wife toward a husband, was very much entangled with his vehement sentiments and Confucian mentality.

In terms of his Confucian integrity, Bao Zhao's advances and withdrawals in social and political life certainly observed the principle of "timeliness." His advance in office through self-recommendation perfectly reflected the enterprising spirit and ambition of a humble person, as well as the enthusiasm of a Confucian scholar. His withdrawals or resigned attitudes, such as his withdrawals from the principalities of Linchuan and Shixing, as well as his refusal to act like other colleagues in manipulating power for personal ends or accumulating wealth by unfair means, revealed no negative reclusive hedonism, but a conceptual progress and an active defence, which enabled him to escape the danger brought upon him first by Prince Jun of Shixing and later by Emperor Ming. Nevertheless, prudent as Bao Zhao may have been, his passion and integrity would not allow him to ignore social and political injustice nor to neglect his conscience as an intellectual and his responsibility as a poet. Hence he composed a multitude of allusive, metaphorical, and allegorical poems of indignation and critical realism. While his 28-year public career and nine-year service in the imperial council chamber may explain the lack of social-climbing sentiments or a wish to retire from the world in his poems, Bao Zhao's political stagnation throughout his public life engendered regrets of his humble status as well as resentment at being unable to serve a larger humanity, just like "a bird unable to soar with a broken wing."

It is true that his poetry reflected no concerns for wealth and fame, but rather an incessant wish to be accepted in order to fulfil his aspiration to serve the world.
The spiritual transcendence and emotional detachment prevalent in Bao Zhao's poems owe much to his understanding of the nature of things and the way of the world as well as the vicissitudes of life, and this understanding owes much to his life experience as a humble person rising to the imperial power center in the Liu Song Dynasty. Similarly, the Confucian concept of life, accepting the vicissitudes of the world and the impermanence of time and history, and emphasizing the responsibility of an individual to live up to his fullest potential by means of active participation, not only preserved him from negative withdrawal or pessimistic hedonism, but also generated a rational return to the world and an almost romantic reaffirmation of descending back into life. This was subtly expressed in his poems and carried out in his life. His involvement and eventual tragic death in the Yijia rebellion, though attributed to many other reasons, was undoubtedly the direct result of embracing this Confucian concept.

To sum up, as a Confucian intellectual born into a family-in-decline, rising to the imperial power center in a time and society dominated by the elite families, and serving as a subordinate official but entrusted with power and authority by the emperor, Bao Zhao acquired a unique mentality. This is reflected in his poetry by two groups: one group of heroic, resentful, indignant, and critical sentiments, once prevalent in ballad songs of the Han and Wei Dynasties; and the other group of sincere, devoted, understanding, and transcendental pathos elaborated early in the odes in the Book of Poetry as well as in the pentasyllabic poems of the Han and Wei Dynasties. As the integration of these two seemingly contradictory groups brings forth the characteristics of Bao Zhao's poetry, each one of them alone is in perfect accordance with the essential spirit of traditional Chinese poetry. And with his unique mentality, Bao Zhao is very much in the company of great Chinese traditional poets.
B. A Reappraisal

The biographical study of Bao Zhao has shown that his rise to officialdom owed much to his literary excellence, and the super-elite's reception of him was also due more to his literary accomplishment than his political power. His literary talent was first appreciated by Prince Yiqing of Linchuan, who raised him to officialdom. He soon received public acclamation when he presented "Ode to the Clarity of the Yellow River" to Emperor Wen. Later he composed "Song of the Restoration" and was promoted by Emperor Xiaowu to the imperial court for his literary excellence. According to the Shi Pin among the 25 recognized poets of the Liu Song Dynasty, Tao Qian 陶潜, Xie Lingyun 謝靈運, Xie Huilian 謝惠連, Yan Yanzhi 領延之, and Bao Zhao 魏照 were the most popular ones, although some literary critics classified Tao Qian as a poet of the Jin Dynasty. Tao Qian wrote poems of reclusion and died at the age of 63 in 427, the fourth year of the Yuanjia Reign of Emperor Wen, when Bao Zhao was 19 years old. Xie Huilian died at the age of 27 and Xie Lingyun was executed at the age of 49, both in 433 when Bao Zhao was 25 years old. Yan Yanzhi died at the age of 73 in 456, the third year of the Xiaojian Reign of Emperor Xiaowu, when Bao Zhao was 48 years old. This indicates that Tao Qian did not enjoy immediate literary popularity, while Xie Huilian died young and Xie Lingyun died in the prime of life early in the Song Dynasty. Therefore, though Xie Lingyun was the most popular and respected poet of them all, Yan Yanzhi and Bao Zhao were rivals who dominated the literary circle of the Liu Song Dynasty.

As Zhong Hong noted, their influence upon the Liu Song literature became apparent by the Daming Reign of Emperor Xiaowu, as literary writings under the influence of Yan's style became mere book-copyings, and Bao Zhao and Tang Huixiu's 湯惠休 fine literature stirred the public considerably. In fact Bao Zhao even enjoyed great popularity in the court of the north. Most of Bao Zhao's literary works were lost after his death; but Yu Yan 虞炎 of the Qi Dynasty was able to collect about half of them. This proves that Bao Zhao remained popular after death. Indeed, the rivalry between Yan Yanzhi and Bao Zhao, attested by their differences in styles and by anecdotes about their comments on each other's poems, was extended to the Qi Dynasty. Zhong Hong of the Liang Dynasty testified that
some of his contemporaries highly esteemed Bao Zhao as the Primeval Supreme Emperor  


Nevertheless, criticisms of Bao Zhao's literature by critics of various ages have been as controversial as those on biographical accounts of his life. Liu Xie 刘勰 of the Liang Dynasty, in "Time and Observation 時序" of the Wen Xin Diao Long 文心雕龍, elaborated on the correlation between literature and time, from the Great Yao of Taotang 陶唐 to the end of the Qi Dynasty. He did not include Bao Zhao in the list of essential writers of the Liu Song Dynasty; namely, Wang Sengda 王僧達, Yuan Shu 袁淑, Yan Yanzhi 顏延之, Xie Lingyun 謝靈運, He Xun 何遜, Fan Yun 范雲, Zhang Shao 張邵 and Shen Yue 沈約, all from elite families. In an account of the development of Chinese literature from the Zhou to the Liu Song Dynasties, in his comment on "The Biography of Xie Lingyun" in the Song Shu 宋書, Shen Yue summarized the literature of the Song:

"By the time of the (Liu)Song Dynasty, Yan Yanzhi and Xie Lingyun enjoyed unsurpassable reputations. Lingyun's enthusiasm and inspiration were always dense. They both had followed the steps of excellent writers before them and set examples for poets to come. "延至宋氏，顏謝騰聲。靈運之興會標舉，延年之體裁明密，並方軌前秀，垂範後昆。"

Despite the fact that Bao Zhao was a popular belletrist throughout his life and up until the Liang Dynasty, and contrary to his personal preference and literary admiration for Bao Zhao, Shen Yue also remarked in "The Biography of Yan Yanzhi":

"Yan Yanzhi and Xie Lingyun of the Chen Prefecture both enjoyed reputations for their literary excellence. No writers after Pan Yue and Lu Ji were equal to them. They were praised and referred to as 'Yan and Xie' by people to the south of the Yangzi River. "延之與陳郡謝靈運，俱以詞彩齊名，自潘岳陸機之後，文士莫及也。江左稱顏謝焉。"

It is noticeable that Shen Yue did not mention Bao Zhao in either place. This disregard is perhaps due to Bao Zhao's lack of restraint with rhymes and tones, which had been Shen Yue's main criteria of literary comments and evaluation. It is further proven by Zhong Hong's account that "Bao Zhao avoided no critical oblique tones, which would spoil the purity and the gracefulness of a poetic tune."
Nevertheless, Zhong Hong was the first literary critic who gave Bao Zhao full recognition. In the Shi Pin he gave a very complete account of Bao Zhao's poetry:

"The (poetry of) Adjutant Bao Zhao of the (Liu) Song Dynasty originated or descended from poems by the two Zhangs. He was good at making words or expressions to depict shapes and forms and to describe things. He has acquired (Zhang) Jingyang's uniqueness and oddity and obtained (Zhang) Maoxian's extravagance and melodic gracefulness. His poetic strength and moral integrity are stronger than those of Xie Hun, and his literary urge and unrestrained spirit are greater than those of Yan Yanzhi. He has summarized these four literary schools with unsurpassable excellence. It is a pity that though Bao Zhao had extraordinary literary talents, he had a humble status and hence has fallen into oblivion. While he held high esteem for and strived to achieve subtle vividness, he avoided no critical oblique tones, which would somewhat damage the purity and the gracefulness of a tune. Thereupon, most of the people who ventured in vulgarity followed him. As stated above, Bao Zhao's fine literature stirred the public in the Daming and Taishi Reigns, and his literary style became one of three popular trends by the Southern Qi Dynasty. Thus, Zhong Hong's regret of Bao Zhao's falling into oblivion can be accepted only in so far as it refers to the scantiness or the lack of biographical data on him in the history books; otherwise, it would clearly suggest to the critic a submission to the social sanctions of the elite families.

The above account also indicates that Zhong Hong criticized Bao Zhao's vulgarity and lack of refinement, graded his pentasyllabic poems as middle rank and concluded that "as Xie Lingyun was the major hero of the Yuanjia Literature, Yan Yanzhi was the assistant. Nevertheless, he confirmed that Bao Zhao's literary accomplishment exceeded that of the four literary schools and surpassed two generations. He noted that Bao Zhao's songs were very popular in the Song Dynasty, and that they attracted many followers up until the Qi and Liang Dynasties. While Zhong Hong often referred to Bao Zhao for comparison or contrast, his account of Bao Zhao was one of 13 single entries given to 39 major poets of "the middle rank" from the Han to the Liang Dynasty; or one of four separate accounts given to the nine "middle rank" poets of the Liu Song Dynasty. In fact, Zhong Hong's confirmation of Bao Zhao's literary achievements was more than sufficient and adequate for a poet of "the middle rank." Indeed, under a comparison of Zhong Hong's accounts, references, and critical notes on Bao
Zhao and the rest of the middle-rank poets, as well as other poets of the Song Dynasty, it is apparent that Zhong Hong gave Bao Zhao an account with great affirmative recognition.

Xiao Zixian, in "The Treatise on the Biographies of Men of Letters" in the Nan Qi Shu, first summarized the literature of the Song Dynasty as:

"Yan (Yanzhi) and Xie (Lingyun) rose to the literary stage at the same time, but each excelled on his own merits. (Tang Hui) Xiu and Bao (Zhao) came to the literary stage a little later, but both also surpassed the literary world. 頒謝並起，乃各擅奇。休鮑後出，咸亦標世." 15

He then proceeded to outline the literary trend of his time:

"Although there are numerous writers, the literature of the present time can be roughly summed up in three styles. The first one inspires a leisurely and carefree mood and expresses with elegant and unrestrained words. Though it brings about ingenuity and ornate beauty, it eventually piles up unrealistic twists and turns and causes absurdity. It is suitable to present poems of this style at public banquets, but their intrinsic nature is not the standard criterion. While its literary form is loose, sluggish, slow in exposition and obscure in implication, and hence a disease attacking its vitals, its elegant refinement is acceptable but unrelentingly indifferent. This style originated in and descended from Xie Lingyun. The second style enumerates things to draw comparisons and categorizations but gives forth no words without antithesis. It is praiseworthy that it is broadly knowledgeable, but it will, for the same reason, become confined and restrained. It may entirely borrow ancient expressions or quotations to explicate current sentiments, and give a farfetched interpretation by forced twists and distortions, simply to make a parallel exposition. Thus as it only cares about examples and precedents of things, it tends immediately to lose the highlights of their beauty and significance. Fu Xian's poems on the Five Classics and Ying Qu's metaphorical poems with symbols and allusions are examples of this style. Though they are not entirely similar, analogies can be drawn among them. The third style commences songs in a surprisingly abrupt and straight way, and elaborates tunes with astonishingly urgent and shrill tones. It is comprised of an extremely flowery diction, which attracts and bewitches one's heart and soul. It is just like having red and purple among the five colors, and among the eight music tones there are the decadent sounds of the Zheng and the Wei States. And this has been the legacy of the achievements of Bao Zhao. 今之文章，作者雖眾，總而為論，略有三體。一則唫心開譜，詳辭華藻，雖有巧綺，終致迂回。宜登公宴，本非所宜，而疏愧鬱獰，蒼黃之病。典正可採，駑不伏情。此體之源，出靈運而成也。大則婦事比類，非對不發，博物可嘉，職成拘制，或全借古語，用中今情，崎崛牽引，直為僞說。唯事例事，頓失精采，此則傳明天經，應漢指事，雖不全似，可以類從，夫則發唱驚成，操調高急，雕藻淫譔，傾炫心魂。亦猶五色之有紅紫，八音之有鄭衛。斯鮑照之遺烈也." 16

It is noticeable that in summing up the literature of the Liu Song Dynasty, Xiao Zixian was actually declaring that the major literary trends of the time were that of Yan Yanzhi, Xie Lingyun, and Bao Zhao. This is apparent since Tang Huixiu and Bao Zhao were taken to be of the same style in most aspects and Tang
Huixiu was considered subordinate to Bao Zhao by most critics, except Yan Yanzhi, who, as Yang Yaofan 羊曜璠 testified, out of jealousy deliberately elaborated a "criticism of Xiu and Bao 休鮑之論" to discredit Bao Zhao's accomplishments by putting Bao Zhao's name behind Tang Huixiu, whose poems Yan Yanzhi criticized as songs of the slum alleys. However, in outlining the three essential literary trends of his time, Xiao Zixian did not credit the second trend to Yan Yanzhi but gave Ying Qu and Fu Xian as exemplars of this style. Comparing Xiao Zixian's summary of the second trend with Zhong Hong's comments on Ying Qu and Yan Yanzhi, one can easily perceive the analogies and reach the conclusion that Ying Qu, Fu Xian, and Yan Yanzhi were apparently poets of the second trend. Zhong Hong's account of Yan Yanzhi is especially explicit on this point:

"The poetry of Yan Yanzhi, an Imperial Sinecure Minister of the Liu Song Dynasty, originated in that of Lu Ji. It highly esteems and strives for subtle vividness in description. Its literary forms are ornate and dense, its sentiments and metaphors are as deep and profound as an abyss. No turns and alterations are superficial or undisciplined: every single word and sentence contains function and meaning. Furthermore, it likes to adopt allusions from ancient events and hence appears to be confined and constrained. Though it runs counter to elegance and gracefulness, it is a refined scholar's well-composed poetry. Any person, who does not have such refined taste and ability, will stumble and fall into dire straits and difficulty. Tang Huixiu said, 'Xie's poetry is like a lotus blooming over the water and Yan's poetry is like ornamental engravings inlaid with gold'; and Yan Yanzhi hated this comment throughout his life."

Xiao Zixian's account of the three major literary trends of his time and Zhong Hong's comments on Xie Lingyun, Yan Yanzhi, and Bao Zhao are significant statements by two contemporary critics upon the same group of poets and consequently should be read together. Zhong Hong's comments reveal an intriguing fact that though he considered Yan Yanzhi "the assistant" to the literary hero of the Yuanjia Literature, he did not give Yan Yanzhi a comment better than the one he gave to Bao Zhao. Xiao Zixian's account contains two possible explanations for disassociating Yan Yanzhi's name with the second literary trend of his time. Firstly, it is unlikely but possible that the above disassociation is due to Xiao's personal favoritism for Yan Yanzhi, for the popular account of the second style is not very much of a compliment. Secondly, it is most likely that by the
Qi and Liang Dynasties, after his death, Yan Yanzhi was no longer popular and did not enjoy any dominating influence at all. In any case, all these possibilities point to one logical inference: Bao Zhao’s poetry was indeed more popular than that of Yan Yanzhi and his literary accomplishments and influences equalled, if not surpassed, those of Xie Lingyun.

The above three discrepant accounts of Bao Zhao were passed down and existed side by side throughout generations until modern times. Ye Xie 葉燮 and Shen Deqian 沈德潛 of the Qing Dynasty were in accordance with Yan Yu 嚴羽 of the Zhao Song Dynasty 趙宋 in reflecting Zhong Hong’s account of Bao Zhao as inferior to Xie Lingyun but superior to Yan Yanzhi. The second group of critics, such as Chen Yizeng 陳鎔曾, Lu Shiyong 陸時雍, Wang Fuzhi 王夫之, Chen Zuoming 陳祚明, He Zhuo 何焯, Liu Xizai 劉熙載, Wu Rulun 吳汝論, and Xia Jingguan 夏敬觀, are consistent with Liu Zhiji 劉知幾 of the Tang Dynasty in reflecting Xiao Zixian’s account of Bao Zhao as an equal of Xie Lingyun. They each accredited Bao Zhao with certain literary achievements such as "the initiator of an even-line rhyme scheme," "a great cultivator of pentasyllable poems, ballad songs and landscape poems," "the patriarch of heptasyllabic ballad songs, heptasyllabic poems with variation, and the frontier poems," and "the predecessor of Li Bo 李白, Du Fu 杜甫, Han Yu 韓愈, Bo Juyi 白居易, Meng Jiao 孟郊, Gao Shi 高適, Cen Shen 岑參, and Huang Shangu 黃山谷." Thus they have indirectly shown an inclination to believe Bao Zhao superior to Xie Lingyun.

Wang Kaiyun 王闕運, as a representative of the third group of critics, reflected the negative attitude of Liu Xie 劉勰, as he commented in Selected Poems from Eight Dynasties 八代詩選:

"The poetry of Bao Zhao is impetuous in spirit and rich and gaudy in color. It strives by all means for oddity and ingenuity. Its literary quality and style are therefore lowly and inferior. 明選詩氣急色濃, 動追奇險, 其品卑矣." Consequently he added:

"Ignorant and inexperienced persons thought that Bao Zhao’s graceful bearings surmounted those of Yan Yanzhi and Xie Lingyun. Consequently they took him as a phoenix from the Sacred Mount Dan, without knowing that he was actually but a bird of prey in literary circles. 無識者乃以為風範獨出顔謝之上, 是不知翰林之驚, 而以為丹山之鳳也."
Nevertheless, as more critics recognized Bao Zhao's outstanding achievements, this negative account of Bao Zhao seems to have succumbed to his increasing popularity and subsequent affirmative criticism of him. This tendency gradually became a firm and steady trend among modern critics and scholars of literary history. Chen Zhongfan is one of a very few modern scholars who retained a negative account of Bao Zhao as a subordinate and inferior writer to Yan Yanzhi and Xie Lingyun. Hu Guorui, Lin Wengeng, Feng Yuanjun, and Lu Kanru professed that Bao Zhao was not only equal to, but also had the momentum to become superior to Xie Lingyun; moreover, Zhong Qi, Liu Dajie, Qian Zhonglian, and scholars of many anthologies and literary commentaries published recently firmly advocate that Bao Zhao was beyond doubt the greatest poet of the Yuanjia Literature, the most accomplished writer of the Liu Song Dynasty, and one of the most outstanding poets in the historical development of Chinese poetry.

Indeed, literary criticisms of Bao Zhao's poetry prove to be as controversial as accounts of his life. Traditional comments on Bao Zhao were mainly rendered according to the critics' own convictions or impressions of him, and hence were unable to avoid partiality, fragmentation, and insubstantiality. In order to integrate a substantial account of Bao Zhao's literary accomplishments and to bring a better perspective of Bao Zhao's position in the history of Chinese literature, this thesis has conducted thorough studies on the generic, stylistic, and philosophical aspects of his poetry. In retrospect, contrary to a conventional account of Bao Zhao as an insignificant poet of his time, due to a general misinterpretation of Zhong Hong's regret of his falling into oblivion in the history books because of his humble status, Bao Zhao was in fact the most popular poet of his time. His popularity survived and his influence remained after his death, and by the Qi and Liang Dynasties, the styles of Bao Zhao, Yan Yanzhi, and Xie Lingyun were the three major literary trends of the time. Although both Zhong Hong and Xiao Zixian praised Yan Yanzhi and Xie Lingyun as the two essential poets of the Liu Song Dynasty, Xiao Zixian's account indicated that Yan Yanzhi was not very popular and his style could not be taken as the sole exemplar of the second
literary trend of the time; and Zhong Hong's comments revealed that Bao Zhao summarized the literary styles of Zhang Jingyang, Zhang Maoxian, Xie Hun, and Yan Yanzhi with outstanding beauty and elegance, and that his literary urge and unrestrained spirit were greater than those of Yan Yanzhi.

Zhong Hong advocated that Shen Yue modelled himself after Bao Zhao and that people who followed Bao Zhao praised him as "The Primeval Supreme Emperor" in poetry. Zhong Hong resented the fact that Bao Zhao had fallen into oblivion due to his humble status, and that Yan Yanzhi was possibly jealous of Bao Zhao, and thus elaborated the criticism of "Xiu and Bao." And he pointed out that under the influence of Yan Yanzhi's style, literary writing by the Daming and Taishi Reigns became mere book-copying. Thus it is rather apparent that both Zhong Hong and Xiao Zixian in fact believed that Yan Yanzhi's poetry was inferior to that of Bao Zhao, and Bao Zhao's literary achievements and influences were equal, if not superior, to those of Xie Lingyun. As more critics and scholars became aware of Bao Zhao's literary achievements through the testimony of time, accounts of Bao Zhao as the most essential poet of the Liu Song Dynasty became a dominant trend. In short, while Yan Yanzhi's literary popularity did not survive after his death, and Xie Lingyun's literary achievement and influence are limited to landscape poetry, Bao Zhao's many literary accomplishments are of great importance in the history of Chinese literature.

To sum up, Bao Zhao wrote the largest number of Short Stanzas, Ballad Songs, Heptasyllabic Poems, Heptasyllabic Poems with Variant Meters, Poems in Miscellaneous Imitations, Poems Imitating Ancient Verses, and Poems on Things before the Tang Dynasty. He was instrumental in developing the generic and stanzaic formations of Quatrains, Regulated-verses, Heptasyllabic Ballad Songs, Heptasyllabic Songs with Variant Meter, Poems Imitating Ancient Verses, Poems in Miscellaneous Imitations, as well as the Frontier Poems. He was responsible for developing the major poetic modes of Poems on Things and Poems Imitating Ancient Verses, for elaborating the descriptive and emotional aspects of the Landscape Poems, for initiating the even-tone rhyme at the end of every second verse line, for reviving the true spirit of critical realism from
the ballad songs of the Han and Wei Dynasties, and for the fervent and indignant pathos and sentiments of poets of the Jianan Period. And he was recognized by the majority of Chinese critics and scholars as a predecessor of poets such as Li Bo 李白, Du Fu 杜甫, Gao Shi 高适, Cen Shen 岑参, Han Yu 韩愈, Bo Juyi 白居易, Meng Jiao 孟郊 and Huang Shangu 黄山谷, who to a certain extent received influence and inspiration from him.

Thus, comparing Bao Zhao's literary popularity, accomplishments, and influence with those of Xie Lingyun and Yan Yanzhi, one will not have much difficulty in reaching a compromised appraisal: Yan Yanzhi was a popular and well-respected poet of his time and Xie Lingyun has been and will be highly admired and praised for his contributions in Landscape Poetry; however, Bao Zhao was definitely the most important poet of the Liu Song Dynasty and one of the integral poets in the history of the development of Chinese poetry. In conclusion, we can unify Bao Zhao's individual, social, political, and literary lives, and integrate his sincere, fervent, heroic, indignant, transcendental, and devoted sentiments. In his aspiration to serve humanity and to bring about Great Harmony on earth, in his understanding and acceptance of the adversities in the world and the vicissitudes of life, in his conviction that to live life to the fullest was an individual's responsibility on earth, and in his subsequent devotion to participate in and criticize every aspect of life, we clearly perceive in him the manifestation of the essential integrity of a Confucian intellectual and the exemplary mentality of a great Chinese poet.
PART TWO: A COMPLETE ENGLISH TRANSLATION AND A COMPILATION OF TEXTUAL VARIATIONS OF BAO ZHAO’S POETRY

* For notes to the translation, see Notes II-A.
* For notes to textual variations, see Notes II-B.

1. Plucking Mulberry Leaves

In the last month of spring as plums start falling, 
Maids are all engaged in sericultural chores. 
I plucked mulberry leaves in between the Qi and the Wei rivers, 
And returned to amuse myself at the pavilion of the Imperial Palace. 
Early cattails have already formed shade. 
Yet late bamboo shoots have just shed sheaths. 
While the boudoir is filled with cosy mists, 
The curtain is full of warm lights. 
Suckling swallows are chasing grass insects. 
And new-born bees are gathering flower calyces. 
This season is most warm and bright, 
And my dress is also new and radiant. 
Facing the faraway road I sigh softly, 
And start to sing while fingering bean plants; 
I take out my zither to try to express my longing, 
And offer my girdle pendant truly to win your troth.

To receive you, my lord, the magnificent one in Ying Capital, 
Satisfies my heart’s long desire to serve righteousness. 
The custom of Wei has long been amorous, 
And the observances of Zheng used to be frivolous. 
The spirit of the shaman crossing River Xiang was sorrowful, 
The Fu Rhapsody mocks at the Goddess of the Luo River. 
If your magnificence is not likely to come again, 
For whom should I exhaust my well of sentiment? 
So, my lord, just tune the zither, 
And I’ll pour out wine distilled with osmanthus flower.
2. Imitating "The Graveyard Song"

The same end will fall upon men whether humble or noble,
But their different dreams may or may not have come true.
The urging ripples in the clepsydra hasten the long night,
And the drizzling dews press the ephemeral twilight.
I harness the horse to my carriage and ride to the obscure mount,
And depart from this full hall of loved ones and relatives.
My vain image is left behind with my sword and adornment,
While my true appearance is concealed in cap and garment.
How will I be able to drink pitchers of wine again,
And who will address me a lengthy letter now and then?
As soon as the time passes one short while,
My ideals and ambitions will gradually become obscured.
Human life itself has been very painful,
With whom has Providence ever found favor?
I cherish my long-lasting resentment,
And return to become dirt and dust among fox and hare.

3. Imitating "The Funeral Dirge"

Dwelling alone in the obscure netherworld,
I recall the time when I used to ascend tall terraces.
I am proud that throughout my whole life,
I had not once submitted myself to the material world.
The tomb entrance remains shut and filled,
But termites keep coming in one after another.
In life my body was of orchid fragrance,
Now it is plagued by worms.
Black hair no longer roots on my temples,
And my dried skull lies close to the green moss.
I remember that formerly I was so fond of wine,
That I would drink with green plums from a vegetable plate.
Peng Yue, Han Xin, Lin Xiangru and Lian Po, 
Had turned into ash and dust long ago.
These men of resolution had died out,
Where are the rest of them?

4. Imitating “The Song of the East Gate”

A wounded bird abhors terrifying bow-string twangs,
And a weary traveler detests parting voices;
The parting voices sever a traveler's sentiment,
And the guest and the attendants are all in tears.
Both in tears and with broken heart,
They bid farewell time and again;
For soon they will never hear each other again,
Not to mention the farewell in a strange land.
Away and away the carriage goes on the long journey,
When silently and dimly the sun has set.
As the residents shut their boudoir door to go to rest,
The traveler is about to have his midnight snacks.
The wild wind sweeps over trees and grass,
The wanderer's heart is leaden and broken;
Eating the plum one often suffers from the sour taste,
Dressing in linen one is often afflicted with the chill.
A full band of music is in vain,
For a sad person won't feel happy and smile.
Singing along to try to comfort oneself,
One only arouses more incessant resentment.

5. Imitating "The Song Without Restraint"

The smartweed bug shuns mallow and violet,
And does not alight on them for it is used to bitter flavor.
A petty person is by nature filthy and narrow-minded,
How can he understand the heart of a man without restraint?
In Luoyang City as the rooster is crowing,  
The gate of the Forbidden City opens early in the morning.  
Then from everywhere arrive canopies and officers,  
From four directions come carriages and cavaliers.  
Plain girdles and sashes flap in the swift wind,  
While colored tassels and straps are stained with travel dust.  
By high noon the rush still cannot come to an end.  
And by curfew much of the crowd is still detained.  
It's impossible to come across such a peaceful time again,  
In which the wise Emperor truly treasures able men.  
The prudence of His Majesty is from heaven,  
And free from any external suspicious influence.  
Upon a right word one will receive a jade tablet of nobility,  
And with a virtuous deed one can depart from rusticity.  
And the bestowal is not only of pure jades,  
A terrace of gold is to be erected as reward.  
From what then have you been suffering,  
So as to be alone by the roadside lingering?

6. Imitating Prince of Chensi's "Ballad of Capital Luoyang"

The phoenix tower is of twelve stories,  
Four doors and eight gauze windows.  
Rafters are embroidered with golden lotus,  
And jade dragons coil around cassia pillars.  
While pearl screens bear no overnight dews,  
Gauze curtains cannot stand any breeze.  
Precious are the curtains in three thousand rooms,  
All but to entertain you for the day, my lord.  
I scatter incense over the purple smoke from the burner,  
And fasten a colored ribbon down among the cloud of my hair.  
The music of spring beckons the daylight to return,  
The song of autumn frost detains the northern snow geese.
I fear but that once the autumn dust arises,
Your love for me will decline when tumbleweeds wither;
As I sit I will see moss spread,
As I lie down I will find myself alone on a brocade mat.
Lutes and zithers will be scattered in disarray,
And never will be sitched again any dancing raiments.
Since time immemorial women share a fate of estrangement,
It is impossible that your affection for me alone is greater.
I merely see a pair of snow geese
Following each other for a full thousand leagues.

7. Imitating "There Are Travelers at the Gate"

There were travelers at the gate,
"What village do you come from, sir?"
I hurried out to ask about,
And found an old neighbor.
Anguish spoke with my voice,
Anxiety evoked my native dialect.
Old sorrows arose as we talked about the past,
And there was no delight to speak of the present.
I came early in the morning to extend my regards,
But cannot conclude my visit by the sunset.
We have eagerly explored our joys and sorrows,
And have been chatting and laughing without stop.
But before we ever exhaust our conversation,
The time to depart is suddenly called up.
While earlier grief hasn't yet been overcome,
New sorrow has already arisen again.
Though I find myself hoarse and mute,
My words should still ring in your ears.
While my handwriting will express my heart,
I wish you a happy journey.
8. Imitating "The Boat Song"

I have been a traveler entangled in the current of time,
And buffeted about by the winds without any destination.
Last autumn I was a sojourner by the Yangzi River,
And this spring I was a passenger by the Yellow River.
I have previously withdrawn from active service,
But my heart is full of the longings of the Song of Chu.
The white strip fish roam about the lake gracefully,
And the wild geese circle over the islets harmoniously.
The strong wind starts roaring aloft furiously,
And the tall sail is hoisted and sways violently.
Linger ing not on the fearful waves,
The boatman sails without hesitation.

9. Imitating "The Song of the Hoary Head"

Honest and straight like the red silk strings of a zither,
Pure and clear like the ice in a jade jar;
Why should I feel mortified of my long-standing affection?
Though as I sit my jealousy and resentment arouse each other.
Human nature despises beneficial old friendship,
The way of the world fluctuates with honour and disgrace.
Once a hair-line flaw is committed in error,
Even hills and mountains will not be able to endure.
That which devours the seedling is actually the field mouse,
That which stains the whiteness is usually a fly.
The wild duck and goose from afar win admiration,
The old faggots and fodder in storage suffer neglect.
Hence Queen Shen was demoted as Maid Bao won promotion,
And Lady Ban retired when Concubine Zhao rose in station.
The King of Zhou was gradually deluded into obsession,
The Emperor of Han acclaimed ever more in exclamation.
It is yet hard to presume upon a hearty appreciation,
And naturally won't be easy to rely on the courteous veneration.
This has been so since ancient times,
And you are not the only one beating your chest.

10. Imitating "The Song of Dongwu"

Lend me your ears, my lord,
And allow me to sing a word.
I was originally a poor country scholar,
But under the Imperial Han's grace, I entered the public service.
At first I followed Colonel Zhang, an expeditionary commander,
Campaigning against the Huns to the spring of the Yellow River.
Later I rode after Commander Li, the general of the cavalry,
Galloping to the Great Wall to chase out the Huns yonder.
Our short expeditions often extended some ten thousand leagues,
And we received seven missions even in a peaceful year.
I exhausted all my strength on saddle and in armor,
And my heart experienced every kind of human warmth and coldness.
Now the general has descended into the world nether,
Hardly as well have survived the military campaigners.
As soon as time and circumstances became different,
There was no one to estimate our humble achievement.
I left my families when young and vigorous,
But have returned home now old and poor.
With the sickle by my waist I collect wild greens and beans,
While leaning on a staff I pasture pigs and chicks.
Formerly I was like an eagle on the armlet of a falconer,
But now I am much like an ape behind bars.
Conceiving futilely an everlasting bitterness,
I harbour vainly a life-long resentment.
Longing for your tent like an abandoned mat,
And strongly attached to your high chariot like a jaded steed.
I wish you will confer upon us the Duke Wen of Jin’s benevolence,  3
So you won’t feel ashamed before Tutor Tian’s compassionate spirit.  4

11. Imitating "The Song of a Stray Crane"  代別鶴操

When the two cranes took off at first,  a
Over the blue ocean they roamed about.
With great wings spreading like the Milky Way,  b
And light bodies drifting like a cloudlet.
The two secular birds of mystery then became mates,  c
And flew together to rove over the three sacred mounts.
Their arrowy beaks traversed terraces with jasper ornaments,  d
And their reddish crowns collected purplish mist.
But the baleful wind over the sea was swift,  e
And the three sacred mounts were full of clouds and mist,
That they were soon dispersed and lost each other,
Lonely and frightened, one crane kept flying without rest.
Away and away as the days and months flew past,
The voice and countenance of its mate became faint.
It embraces hope but there is no fulfilment,
It lives a separate life without resentment.
Amidst the dense grass the stags bell,
Hidden in high branches the cicadas shrill.
The heart has its own cherished intent,
How can others understand?

12. Imitating "The Song of Departing from the North Gate of Ji"  代出自於北門行

An urgent bulletin was issued from the sentry box on the border,  a
The signal of war by beacon fire had reached Xianyang City.
Transfered to garrison at Guangwu is a cavalry,  b
As the relieving troops are dispatched to deliver Shuofang County.
Late autumn toughens the arrowwood and the ox tendon for bowstring,
And the mounted barbarian troops are formidable and unyielding.
The son of Heaven places his hand on his sword in great anger,
Messengers catch sight of one another in the distance.
Soldiers climb up the rocky road in a row like flying geese,
And cross the single-span bridge in a file like fish.
The memory of the Han prevails with the drums and flutes,
While armour and banners are covered with frontier frost.
A strong gale sweeps up and over the border land,
And blows about in the air the gravel and the sand.
Horsehairs are as stiff as hedgehog spines,
And horn-tipped bows cannot be drawn.
The moral integrity of a vassal surfaces in time of danger,
And the world in chaos recognizes the loyal and the virtuous;
For they will devote their lives to serve the wise ruler,
Or sacrifice themselves for the country like a martyr.

Imitating High Administrator Lu of Pingyuan's "The Song of a Gentleman's Longing"

I ascended the Sparrow Terrace up in the west,
And gazed at the high palace gate down in the east.
Majestic are the storied towers of the imperial palace;
Straight like a shooting arrow is the imperial high street.
Colorful ridgepoles stretch into the rosy sunset,
And jade eaves receive and reflect the moonlight.
In the style of the Peng and the Hu they raised mountains,
After the model of the Ming and the Bo they dug ponds.
Beauties are selected from all over Qi and Dai;
Music is collected throughout Qiong and Yue.
Bells and drums are set to entertain the evening banquet,
And songs and music will last all night 'til twilight.
Though one cannot restore or arrest one's age or youth,
One's body and mind come to understand the rise and fall.
Anthills can cause mountain or river bank to break or collapse; better not to overfill a vessel, lest it brim over and upset, better not to overfeed a thing, lest it die in excess. You, gentlemen of intellect, observe the way and distinguish between the obscure and the apparent.

14. Imitating "The Song of Sorrow"

I am a traveler disturbed by the pure spring season, and hence longing to follow the track home. Shortly after I set out on my journey, trees came to bear fruit and flowers were in bloom. My heart is full of sorrow with the fruition, and my mind finds no delight with the blossom. A glance at nature reminds me of my colleagues, whom I have somehow parted with again. Swiftly and elegantly wild fowl fly in file, happily and lovingly songbirds chirp in arrayal. The soaring birds and the warblers love to have mates or companions, pity that I find myself alone, separated in isolation.

15. Imitating Prince of Chensi's "Ballad of the White Steed"

With a red horn-tipped bow and on a white steed, I crack the whip and gallop into the north wind to check the urgent situation along the strategic frontier. For the nomad barbarians have plundered Yunzhong. The wall defence began last summer, the field evacuation will be continued 'til this winter. My expeditionary outfits are running short or out, and I need to patch my campaign uniform and coat. I have devoted my life to defend the Imperial Han's frontier.
And accepted my fate to guard our border with the barbarian.
The clouds are rising beyond the frontier at sunset,
And over the pines yonder sweep and sough the stormy sands.
In melancholy I gaze afar toward the two capitals,
While songs of Chu arise from the four city walls.
Due to a strategic mistake made by the officials,
Resentfully I have come to expel the frontier tribes.
Abandoning my beloved ones in China,
I have come on a Tartar horse to seek some military achievement.
There is no need to speak of returning home at the present,
Since I am used to the life of the low and the humble;
But I would like to let the people in the border
Know that I am truly a gallant soldier.

16. Imitating "The Song of Ascending to Heaven"

My family has long been dwelling in the suburbs of the metropolis,
Since my youth I have served as an official at the imperial city.
I have heard all the matters about the ten kings,
And learned details of the two capitals of the Han Dynasty.
I was tired to see the vicissitudes of myriads of things,
Or to witness the constant fluctuation of worldly affairs;
For things changed as easily as one turns one's palms,
And the rise and fall were as swift as morning flowers.
So as one regrets lack of planning at the end of a journey,
I cherish at old age the idea of longevity.
Then I followed a master to enter this lofty remote summit,
And joined friends to serve sages of immortality.
The Five Diagrams disclose the secret of alchemy,
And the Nine Chapters conceal the classics of elixirs.
I breathe the breeze while lodging among the pine trees,
And rest on the clouds to roam about the firmament freely.
I ascend the heavenly gay tower with a crown of rosy clouds,
And untie my jade girdle to feast in the pepper divine palace.
A short trip often becomes one of ten thousand leagues,
And a temporary parting may extend to several thousand years.
Though there is no returning vehicle on the Phoenix Terrace,
The sound of flute music still lingers in the ears.
So why should I be back to go with you gentlemen,
To swallow the foul and peck the rotten?

17. Ballad of the Pine and the Cypress

I have been suffering from beriberi for more than forty days. Since I am seriously ill, a good old friend returned to me the Collected Works of Fu Xuan, which he had previously borrowed. I opened the book casing and happened to see the "Ballad of the Tortoise and the Crane." In my critical health, it pained my heart to read that elegiac poem. I have been so ill all this time without getting any better that my breathing has become weary and wheezy. As I raise my eyes, everything looks woeful; therefore, in between moxibustion and medication I wrote this poem in imitation.

The pine and the cypress are imbued with a special nature,
For generations they grow and do not wither;
While the life of men is brittle and rootless,
And swiftly like a mournful sparrow hawk away it flies.
As the eastern sea joins every infusing river,
The western mountain guides the setting sun;
While the southern hill welcomes the short-lived,
The graveyard accepts those eternally returned.
It is likely that my day is about to be over,
So I end up with a hundred complaints;
As a man of determination cherishes his spiritual sword,
I have endured all the sufferings to try to cure the illness.
I have exhausted the family fortune for medical care,
And have suffered the toil of trips to seek treatment;
In vain I undergo the pain of moxibustion,
For one cannot reject one's ultimate destiny.
The longevity of the tortoise is impossible for man to acquire,
And the time to return to the Sacred Mount is imminent;
Even the wise and the sage cannot be spared,
For what benefit to cultivate one’s virtues?
I’ll relinquish my residence in sunshine county here,
And in yonder dwelling in the yellow clay of Hades I’ll rest;
I’ll bid eternal farewell to relatives in nine regions,
And forever part from the sun, the moon, and the stars.
The chance to live is out as silk is applied ere I expire,
And my life’s career is buried when the coffin lid is shut;
The incident makes the living mournfully sad,
While I, the deceased, embrace deep regrets.
Having arranged sacrificial and ceremonial matters,
And having excavated the tomb tunnel and the vault,
My families and clansmen lament side by side,
While together grieve my close and distant relatives.
My cousins and relatives by marriage arrive from far and near,
Their names are announced to the terrace of the dead all night.
Leaving the mortuary with my casket for the great beyond,
I find myself fondly lingering around the house.
There is an end even to the universe,
But my departure is forever without a returning date;
Now the dweller has died,
The human endeavours end.
After the smoke fades, the fire is extinct,
And as the body vanishes, the voice dies out;
Ghosts and spirits come to join me in their own accord,
As I part forever from the living.
The grand dusk is somber and obscure,
While timeless is the long night;
And in the dense darkness of the deep underworld,
The annoyance and the grief are beyond words.
Yielding to solitude while resting in the sepulchre,
I long for the old days in the past:
There in my life's pursuit some bonds are left unfulfilled,
I have not in that time published any of my writings.
And there is not one picul of rice in storage,
My son and daughter, too, are only children,
To renounce the world and to have them abandoned,
My heart conceives ten thousand regrets.
Recalling to mind in retrospect worldly affairs,
I find myself was constrained in self-restraint;
I used to set out at dawn without delight or content,
And return home at dusk with many worries and anxieties.
My front gate and driveway were usually desolate,
As I used to sip to wet my lips instead of feasting;
Now that I know the days in Hades are dreadful indeed,
I regret missing so much former rejoicing.
Far, far from people I reside,
Deep, deep in the burial earth alone I lie;
No trace of human presence can be seen in the graveyard,
Day after day luxuriantly grows the green grass on the mound.
In the desolate forest a pair of cicadas chirp,
While tall pine trees chorus with the baleful wind;
Into the long sleep that knows no awakening hour I slide,
Who comprehends the destitution of the dead?
Friends and associates I had in life were beyond number,
And we used to assemble on adjoining couches with splendid mats;
Oh, how miserable it is to have been dead,
For the crude veneer box is not a good resting place.
On ordinary days in the life I had before,
I lived with my six kin day and night;
Now I have unfortunately been entombed,
There is no proper manner for me to meet them even once.
According to custom, sacrifice and ritual degrade or differ,
And like a chariot across a crack the three-year mourning will fly!
After the Yu sacrifice the altar and oblation will soon be removed,
And house and home will gradually return to their usual order.
The daughter can travel back to her husband a year later,
After the Xiang sacrifice the son can return to his official post:
The family and the world go on as usual.
The dead alone experience acute and drastic changes.
"I wish you will return on time for sacrifices in the year,
Though the cemetery in all four seasons will be quiet."
Over the tombstone my dutiful son weeps aloud,
"Oh, father! Will you remember to come?"
At the point of returning home, he can’t help but linger,
He wants to see me but desperately finds no way.
Beside the desolate mound he stands grievously,
With his contracted heart fallen completely.

18. Imitating "The Song of Suffering from Heat"

Red hot hills in the west stretch forbiddingly across,
Fiery mountains in the south blaze with awesome force.
One suffers from a throbbing headache and burning fever,
While birds above fall and wandering souls return.
Hot wells spring out from the lake of vapor,
Scorching smoke arises from rocky cliffs by the water.
It has perpetually obscured moon and sun,
And has never dried from the dew and the rain.
There are red serpents exceeding one hundred feet in length,
And black hornets with a ten-arm-span girth.
One’s floating reflection is shot by a sand-spitting demon,
One’s traveling shadow is diseased by virus-spreading vermin.
One’s body is fumigated by miasmal vapor in the daylight,
One’s clothes are soaked with dew on toxic grass at night.
The hungry monkeys do not take it as a feeding ground.
The morning birds dare not to flutter or hover around.
The poisoned Jing River has already killed many a soldier,
Wouldn't the whole army get sick to cross the poisonous Lu River?
They walk alive through the dreadful deadly place,
And ascend bravely into the snares of evil malice,
But the honor conferred on the Spear Boat Commander was little,
And the award bestowed upon the General of Wave Subduer was small.
My lord, if you still stint on the peerage so easy for you to offer,
How can you expect from soldiers the hardest thing to render?

19. Imitating "The Song of the Bright Moon"

Over the eastern mount the bright moon rises,
And shines upon my beautiful gauze window.
There are behind the tracery many pretty maids,
All in elegant and bewitching dress.
After putting on makeup, they sit in the bedchamber,
And play string music in front of the lattice.
More lively than that of the Maid of Wei is their full hair,
Lighter than that of Flying Swallow are their coquettish figures.
"Allow me to sing a song for you, my lord,
And regard it as a canto of the Bright Moon Verse.
A toast of wine will relax the expression of the face,
And with a harmonious song the heart will also be unburdened.
I do not esteem gold, even one thousand pieces,
But cherish our mutual feelings."

20. Imitating "The Song of Singing in the Hall"

Everybody, please make no noise for the time being,
But listen to my singing for the gathering in the hall:
Formerly in Capital Luoyang when I served in the government,
Close to the grand river I lived in an eminent gate.
Freely I went in and came out of secluded palace courts,
And made acquaintance with clans of the Caos and the Hes.

Pursuing one another on horseback or in carriages
Were my guests and friends of fine bearing and good features.

Then in the first month of the springtime,
As the twilight was spreading the rosy clouds,
We would chase the fragrant wind with cheerful strides,
And fondle crimson flowers while chatting and laughing.

Clear and bright were the red flushed faces,
Hasty and busy were numerous swift-spinning women.

Though all the maids of the hall were beauties,
The ones that caught my eyes were comparable to River Xiang's goddess.

In the garden pavilion to wait upon the lord's pleasure,
They wore bright make-up and dressed in fine silk garments.

They played the lute and the flute alternately,
And sang in response with high spirit.

After ten thousand tunes the heart could still feel indifferent,
But to arouse one's emotion a single song is sufficient.

And if you would like to know how liberal or stingy the affection is,
Listen to the song once again please!

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21. Imitating "The Song of Juvenile Gallantry"

The piebald horse was adorned with a golden halter,
While the Wu tulwar hung from my embroidered belt.

In a dispute while drinking in a public place,
I drew into my rival the naked blade, dazzling white.

When soldiers came to apprehend me,
I trusted to my sword and took a far journey in flight.

I had been gone thirty years from my native place,
Before I could return to my old hamlet.

Ascending to the height I gaze at the four passes below,
And look down into the city of the imperial state.

The nine highways lie straight and level like water,
While the two palace gate towers soar like cloudlets.
Generals' and ministers' mansions encircle the palace,
Princes and earls dwell along both sides of the road.
By noon the public place has become crowded,
The horse and the chariot are like a flowing stream.
Then as the bell tolls at the time for dinner or feast,
Side by side carriages proceed to various evening banquets.
But what has become of me alone now?
In despair I brood over all sorts of sorrows with regret!

22. The Song of the Swift Wind

I departed from Golden Flower Palace yesterday,
And arrived in Yanmen County today.
I sleep with the spear of Qin in my hand,
And rest with bamboo arrows of Yue in my arms.
Restraining sorrow, I left relatives and acquaintances,
Moving along in tears, I follow the expedition's progress.
The cold mist tries to linger around in vain,
The morning sun after clearing up is soon hazy again.

23. Imitating "The Song of the Youth Soon to Turn into Senility"
Now whenever I recollect these matters,
I realize it is impossible for me to resume these activities.
Hence my message to the hobbledehoy:
Make merry in your adolescence!

24. Imitating "The Song of Ascending Mount Jing in the Springtime" 代陽春登荊山行

At dawn I ascended the hilltop of the Jing Mount,
The path was rugged and difficult for one to roam about.
The morning progress was troubled by dew and frost.
And the moss was too slippery for one to halt.
Gazing over and beyond the clouds,
I look into the imperial city as far as my eyes permit.
Surrounding the capital square lie in array ten thousand families,
And eminent towers the storied city walls encircle.
Gracefully the grand vermillion carriages fly,
Numerous men in plain dress rush in haste.
The water of the mountain river reflects the twilight.
The warm mist is gradually dispersed by the breeze.
Trees in blossom scatter around the prairie,
Mulberries extend along the level fields.
I drag down a branch to appreciate purple stems,
And snap the dewy twig, flowery and soft.
Though things encountered hold delight and interest,
They don't release an anxious brooder from worry.
Let us together drink the wine for the spring feast,
And sing a song while ascending the mountain.

25. Imitating "The Song of Anguish in Distress" 代貧賤苦愁行

Though to perish in oblivion is the tragedy in death,
The hardship of poverty is the true misery in life.
While deep sighs continue from dusk to dawn,
Anguish and anxiety extend day and night.
My youthful look should stay for a longer while,
But hair on my temples has already turned hoary.
My relatives in all four directions become scanty,
And among my friends I do not find the three beneficial kinds.
The empty hall shames the surrounding day-lily,
My medicated cake is an embarrassment to my guests.
In the year of destitution time and date is forgotten,
But my dismal face draws people's compassion.
Though I have ceased social intercourse for just a while,
It is long enough to make me bashful.
Sometimes due to the lack of one coin,
One would suffer a lifelong regret.
The mind elaborates one thousand projects,
But none of them have ever been accomplished.
When the way out is blocked as one's fortune changes,
One would turn over and soon die in the ditch.
And if I have to lead my whole life in such distress,
I would rather return to the long night of death.

26. Imitating "The Song of the Frontier Life"

When still young I left capital Luoyang far behind,
And set out on a ten-thousand league long journey.
Now there are no tracks of people in my rustic alley,
Since my thatched hut bestrides the mountain ridge.
One cannot find any carriage or cart rut,
But the deer's feeding ground.
While eminent pines scatter desolately,
No longer in orderly rows are the field ridges.
There is no tall tree in the borderland,
Yet soughing white aspens are plenty.
The prime of one's life flies night and day,
And ten thousand regrets will arise once it passes away.
But the crowd of the world is in a trance,
Busily fighting for awl-tip trifles.
They do not recall the times in mean poverty,
And once rich and honorable they forget it.
As one can see they are all in vain haste,
And there is no use for me to sigh or lament.
I would rather in my single acre of land,
Meet and drink pure wine with friends in a great assembly.
Make merry whenever there is joy,
And waste no time waiting for the twilight.

27. Imitating "The Song of Gui Street"

Standing at the thoroughfare out of the city,
I gaze afar at the tumbleweed driven by the wind.
Though bare of the fluffy weed, the old roots remain,
But away and away it goes never to return.
It reminds me that I have left my country and folks,
And have long parted with relatives and close friends.
Embracing an everlasting longing passionately,
In melancholy I feel strongly attached to their faces and voices.
The aspect of life shifts according to the vicissitudes of things,
So there is no way to anticipate transition or transmutation.
It is certainly hard to achieve a hundred-year life span,
While anguish and anxiety accelerate waxings and wanings.

28. The Song of Xiao Shi

Xiao Shi had a craving for longevity,
And Maiden Ying cherished her youthful complexion.
They would reject cooked food and discard the grain,
But loved to climb up cloudy or misty mountains.
So when the dragon flew above the Milky Way,
And the phoenix soared over the frontier of Qin;
They ascended with them and have never come back,
But their flutings have since been heard frequently.

29. Wang Zhaojun

Past events are left far behind with tumbleweeds,
And along the swan goose route my heart sinks deeper.
The frost-covered war-drum startles me at dawn and dusk,
While reed whistles make one weep at midnight on the frontier.

30. The Song of Wu: Three Poems

I.

Along the river banks at Xia Ferry or Fan Port,
Or on the tower of Duke Cao's Queyue Fort;
Whenever you see the water return,
Remember that I shed tears into the river.

II.

Along the river banks at Xia Ferry or Fan Port,
Or on the tower of Duke Cao's Queyue Fort;
Whenever you see the water return,
Remember that my tears flow like a river.

III.

People said the Jing River is narrow,
But it must be still quite broad.
When nothing does the weathercock hear,
How can my reputation reach you by wind?
I.
I rush my flying boat to the cassia inlet,
Then lying on my oars I rest on the pepper lake water.
The flute music soothes the north of the Xiang River,
The waterchestnut song purifies the south of the Han River.

II.
I cease rowing to pluck the orchid and the white grass sprout,
I stop singing to knit the fragrant thyme and the turmeric plant.
With sorrow I discard the waterchestnut flowers,
And with anxiety I pick the cloud-like calyxes.

III.
After a long absence the season comes, fresh and genial,
While sad and resentful, I come across graceful flowers.
It is better not to scull to disturb the heart of the fall,
For spring thoughts may arise like flax in a tangle.

IV.
At the pair of islets I have a tryst with a beauty,
And between the two isles I'll be expecting the fairy.
While the wind is blowing through the inlet light and gently,
The sun is pressing on the western hills fast and steadily.

V.
The Yue mountain ridges are deep in obscured mist,
The Chu river currents are swifter than an arrow.
In vain I cherish the plaintive sorrow of the lute,
And in tears I helplessly gaze at the nearest border gate.

VI.
I stifle my sighing and cross the pearl abyss,
I restrain my resentment and ascend the golden dike.
The spring fragrance will soon be lost,
While people here still have not united yet.

VII.
Summoning a recent memory I brood over the present,
Longing for foresight and sagacity I look into the past.
Over the past and the present again and again I contemplate,
Forever without an end, my heart's feeling will last.

32. The Song of the Solitary Orchid: Five Poems

I.
The slanting sunset brings along the gloaming,
My solitary shadow lingers and longs for your presence.
Spring will be over when the plum loses its fragrance,
Time flies by and you never seem to return.

II.
The bamboo door curtain submits to dewdrops with an orchid scent,
The embroidered draperies fill with peach and plum breezes.
I fasten my belt and speak nothing of the past,
But sit to let the fragrant season end.

III.
It is just too obvious to pledge with my pendant,
And it is too odd to embrace the bridge post.
The flowers have fallen and I don't know your whereabouts,
But I sit vainly worrying about missing you.

IV.
The tiny long-legged spider subtly spins his web,
The silkworm quietly elaborates silk.
I feel ashamed to have no self confidence,
And I am afraid to have a tryst with you.
V.
The east gates of the Chen and the Zheng states,
Have been famous from ancient time to the present.
Here my long sleeves will linger for a while,
As my carriage and four rest at the fork of the road.

33. The Song of the Restoration: Ten Poems

I.
One thousand winters wait just for the spring,
While a myriad nights anticipate the dawning.
It is fortunate for me to witness the imperial restoration,
And my many anxieties give way to joy.

II.
The restoration is a turn to great harmony;
The universe is peaceful and the four seas fill with rejoicing.
Auspicious sunglow shines upon the Jade Terrace,
While purple clouds float about the Phoenix Pavilion.

III.
The azure tower receives the moonlight,
While the Purple Palace vies with the morning bright.
The colorful pool disperses musky orchid scent,
And when the wind blows its fragrance is present.

IV.
Outside the window there shines the bright sun,
While inside the splendid silk of the carved lattice,
A beautiful maiden covers her face with a gauze fan,
And sings the song of the spring breeze with passion.

V.
At fifteen youthful complexion-beam is at its height,
And at twenty the beautiful youth starts to wither.
Once the joy of the spring time is over,
Life flies away as fast as the autumn splendour.

VI.
I went out of the north gate to play by the lake,
And have now come back to roam in the imperial park.
Encircling the pines are flying gauzes of fine silk,
While the flute music chases the ripples of the current.

VII.
In September the autumn water is clear and calm,
While in March the spring blossoms are in full bloom.
When lovely maids select the date to pursue a groom,
They all prefer a day in this imperial restoration.

VIII.
Failure or success depends upon the decree of fate,
While life or death falls to one's allotment.
Now that prevalent is the rejoicing for the restoration,
Do not embrace sorrow and brood over your resentment.

IX.
Xiangyang is a small humble place,
Shouyang is not an imperial city.
Today amidst its joy of celebrating the restoration,
You fascinate the capital city with charm and elegance.

X.
The plum blossom has an ephemeral beauty,
While the bamboo leaf has the colour of eternity.
I wish your heart, constant like a pine,
Will accept and care for me 'til infinity.
34. Imitating "The Ballad of the White Linen Dance": Four Poems

代白紵舞歌辭四首

I.
With Wu swords as sidearms and Chu robes as garments,
With light silks and misty gauzes hanging down from their feather camlets,
The maids hum, intone and sing the Song of Morning Dews,
While pearl shoes hurry in dance and silk sleeves float.
Chill winds arise and white clouds whirl around,
Horses and carriages are weary, but guests forget to go home.
Bright candle and fragrant oil assume the night light.

II.
Cedar chambers is Cassia Palace resemble heavenly dwellings,
Silk traceries are concealed in windows carved with red sparrows,
Jasper mats on ivory beds are cooled with rhinoceros pillows,
While engraved screens encircle and draperies unroll.
Qin lutes and Zhao zithers accompany the reeds and pipes,
While the jade steps are full of hanging pendants and earrings.
For whom are you suspending the goblet, waiting without drinking?

III.
The Three Stars are slanting as dews wet through the clothing,
The strings and flutes grieve as the moon is setting,
The moonlight is bleak and chilly and seasonal insects hum urgently.
Concubine of Chu weeps silently as Prince of Jing sighs deeply.
For as time flies swiftly rosy faces scarcely last.
Dazzling beauties are festooned and have long been waiting.
Were it not for you, they wouldn't assemble together willingly.

IV.
The red carp in the pond is spared by the imperial kitchen,
Wishing it mounted by Qingao to soar up to the heavens.
Living in the time of prosperity, I receive excessive favor.
To attend the imperial banquet in silk dress and with gold hairpin.  
Thinking that your grace is as great as a mountain,  
I hope to repay you in old age with pure sincerity in my heart.  
My gratitude would end only when horses grow horns and crows whiten.

35. Imitating "The Song of the White Linen": Two Poems 代白紈曲二首

I.
Red lips move,  
Fair wrists rise,  
Joyous are young men and women of Luoyang and Handan.  
The ancients praised Green Water, now people sing White Linen.  
I'll dance for you, my lord, to the rapid flute and hasty strings.  
In September in late autumn the lotus leaves wither,  
The north wind urges the wild geese to migrate as it frosts.  
A long night with plenty of wine would not exhaust the joy.

II.
Yearnings start surging as the spring breeze gently wafts,  
The sky is clear and the weather is genial and charming.  
The cherry is full of red calyces and the orchid of purple buds,  
The morning sun is brilliant and the garden flower is blooming.  
Drapes and screens are rolled up and jade mats spread,  
The Qi chant and the Qin flute accompany Maid Lu's strings.  
A thousand taels of gold would just buy a maiden's responding smile.

36. Imitating "The Song of a Calling Wild Goose" 代鳴雁行

A wild goose calls harmoniously in the early morning,  
And flies up to the Milky Way with her life mate.  
At midnight they lost each other when the flock was dispersed,  
Unwilling to leave, she lingers and keeps flying about.  
"He knows not your countenance is haggard from grief,  
Why do you, too, endure the bitterness of wind and frost?"
Presented to you here, my lord, are a gold goblet of vintage wine,
An engraved zither in a case inlaid with hawksbill shell and jade,
A feathered canopy net with a lotus flower in seven-colour silk,
And a brocade coverlet embroidered with a nine-flower grapevine.

As the year draws to its close the rosy cheeks are fading away,
And the luminescence is chill and faint at the end of the day.
I wish you were rid of sorrow and ceased your brooding,
And listened to me singing the Road of Adversity at the drum beat.
Don't you see that on the Cypress Beam and Brass Bird Terraces,
You do not hear the serene music of bygone days?

This golden censer is molded after Mount Bo by a Luoyang artisan;
He chiselled a thousand times and carved it myriad times,
And sculpted atop it Maid Qin holding the hand of an immortal.
When I received the joy of your favor in the still of the night,
It was placed inside the bed curtains before the candle light.
It was shining with brazen scales on the outer dragon ornament,
While exhaling from inside a purple smoke with musky scent.
Now that your feeling for me has changed all of a sudden,
I shall throughout my life gaze at it with great lament.

Above the pepper pavilion in the marble court lies a jade boudoir,
Gauze curtains hang by the lattices of this embroidery chamber.
Inside there a lady by the name of Golden Orchid dwells,
Who wears the finest silks but gathers leaves of the sweet pulse.
Spring wind disperses plum blossoms and freely darts the swallow,
She opens the curtains to sunlight and fingers a spring winecup.
Singing softly in tears she falls into a constant sadness:
While life is so short, one should make merry!
And I would rather be one of a pair of wild ducks in the fields
Than a separated lonely crane soaring in the clouds.

IV.
If one pours water onto a level ground,
It itself will run north, south, east or west.
Man's life is also bound to fate,
And we should not lament at work and brood at rest.
So I pour out some wine to soothe my anxiety,
And raise my goblet to stop singing The Road of Adversity.
How can my heart made of no stone or wood be indifferent?
But silently I wander around and dare not to speak out.

V.
Don't you see that the grass on the banks of the river
Withers in winter but covers the roads in spring?
Don't you see that the sun above the city tower
Is to set in the west tonight,
But will arise in the east tomorrow morning?
When will we ever be able to do this,
Who once dead will perish in the netherworld forever?
Man's life is full of bitterness and little joy,
Only the high spirit of the prime of life does one enjoy.
I wish that you after success will still pay me frequent visits,
And that I'll always have money for wine in my bedside cabinet.
Official merit and historical fame have never been my concern,
Life or death, noble or base, I entrust them all to Heaven.

VI.
Sitting at the dining table, unable to eat,
I draw and strike my sword at the pillar in deep lament.
How long can a man's life on earth last?
And how can I keep going about with hanging wings?
I will abandon the official life and give up my post,
And return home alone to take a rest,
So that I can take my leave of my parents in the morning,
And return to attend upon their wishes by the evening;
Or amuse myself by playing with children in the bedroom,
Or watch my wife weaving and spinning on the loom.
Since antiquity the virtuous sages have been poor and destitute,
Let us alone, we who have been alone yet honest.

VII.
Sorrowful thoughts seized me all of a sudden,
So I mounted my horse and rode out of the north gate.
Then as I raise my head to look and gaze,
I see only a cemetery of cypress and conifers,
Which is luxuriant with the thorn and the bramble.
There amidst them a bird by the name of cuckoo dwells,
Which is said to have transformed from the King of Shu's soul.
In endless dirge of sorrow it mourns and wails,
Its plumage moults baldly like the shaven head of a convict.
It flies and hops among trees to feed on worm and insect,
And cannot at all remember its past dignity as the Son of Heaven.
Struck by the vicissitudes of life and death,
My heart is in an anguish of sorrow beyond description.

VIII.
There are five peach trees growing in the courtyard center,
One of them blossoms before the others start to flower.
In the genial and charming spring light of March and April,
Into a house to the west its windblown petals fall.
It provokes in the pensive wife in the house a woeful lament,
And as she beats her breast tears fall on her garment:
At first when I bid farewell to my lord at the door,
I did not expect he would be detained until the seasons turned.

寨置罷官去，
還家自休息，
朝出與親辭，
琵琶在親側；
弄兒牀前戲，
看婦機中織．
自古聖賢盡貧賤，
何況我孤獨且直．

愁思忽而至，
跨馬出北門．
舉頭四顧望，
但見松柏園，
衰枝鳴鶴鶴．
中有一鳥名杜鵑，
言是古時蜀帝魂．
聲音哀苦鳴不息，
羽毛憔悴似人髡，
飛走樹間啄蟲蛾，
豈僕往日天子尊．
念此死生變化非常理，
中心惆悵不能言．

中庭五株桃，
一株先作花．
陽春妖冶二三月，
從風簸搖落西家．
西家思婦見悲憐，
零淚驚衣憐心嘆，
初送我君出戶時，
何言淹留節遙換．
My clear mirror becomes dirty and my mattress is dusty,
My slim waist becomes skinny and my hair is untidy.
Life does not allow us to be always contented and happy,
At midnight I am still lingering around in melancholy.

IX.
I shredded the cork tree's bark to dye the silk yellow,
But tangle it up into a snarl impossible for one to unravel.
Formerly when we first met each other,
Then I believed that I could satisfy your heart.
We knotted our girdles together and took the oath,
That for better or worse we would never part in life or death.
But now seeing my countenance and complexion fade,
You have a changed attitude and become affectionately indifferent.
I'll return to you gold hairpins and clasps made of hawksbill shell,
For I cannot bear the sight of them that increase my sorrow.

X.
Don't you see that the hibiscus flower doesn't last a day long,
But lingers only a little while before it falls to earth?
So are bewitching beauty and vain dandy at the prime of life
Destined to reach the hill of the tomb mounds before long.
Once they are gone there is no date for their return.
And for eternity to come, nothing of them is to be heard.
But among the desolate graves their lonely souls will linger,
And around the tombstones their solitary spirits will wander.
They can only hear the soughing wind and the chirping bird,
But cannot remember the joyful days of youth any longer.
To think of this one will be driven into terrible despair,
And you should try to please yourself to your heart's desire.

XI.
Don't you see that fallen sheaths rustling on steps to the yard
Will never become green again on the old stems or branches?


牀席生塵明鏡垢，
鬚臾寔鬚髮繚亂。
人生不得恆稱意，
惆恨徒倚至夜半。

腱染黃絲，
黃絲歷亂不可治。 
我昔與君始相僾，
爾時自謂可君意。
結帶與君言，
死生好惡不相置。
今日見我顔色衰，
意中繩索與先異。 
還君金釵玳瑁鐲，
不忍見之益愁思。

君不見蓴華不終朝，
須臾華采零落銷？
盛年妖豔浮華轟，
不久亦當誅塚頭。 
一去無還期，
千秋萬歳無音詞。
孤魂哀嘆空幽間，
獨魄徘徊邊坟基。 
但聞風聲野鳥吟，
豈憶平生盛年時。 
為此令人多悲惋，
君當縱意自照怡。

君不見枯籬走階庭，
何時復青著故基？
Don’t you see that spirits of the dead receiving offering
Have never emptied a cup or drained the wine jar?
At the sight of these you would fall into pensive anxieties,
And find no time to contend with your contemporaries.
Life flies as swift as a glimpse of lightning,
How long can one see blooming youth in grand splendor?
So follow your inclination but cherish your integrity,
And we will feast together with vintage wine and fine dainties.
If we hold fast to this from morning to evening,
We might quench all our sorrows and dissipate our fear.
Why do you keep on grieving without end?
It’s hard for me to finish this song which offends you, my lord.

XII.
The flowers will fill the forest in the early spring this year,
The snow will again cover the peaks at the end of next winter.
The seasons and life’s vicissitudes revolve in endless succession,
But my lord alone is still detained to guard the frontier.
It’s been three years since I clung to your sleeves to bid farewell,
And lately I have heard from you no news or information.
The miserable morning grief brings me to tears after all,
The unending evening anxieties make me most sorrowful.
For long I have not worn perfume or hair oil,
Nor have I set any clasp on my temple hair or pin to my tousle.
The flying dust vainly dances around my desolate bedchamber,
And there is nothing left in boxes for eyebrow or toilet powder.
Since I was born I have suffered from a bitter and joyless life.
And my heart has always harboured sorrow and worry.

XIII.
A choir of spring birds chirp harmoniously night and day,
It hurts a virtuous man’s anguished sentiment the most.
When I first bade my family farewell to join the expedition,
High into the sky soared my ardent spirit and lofty ambition.
But in aimless sojourning three years have drifted away,
When suddenly in my hair and moustache I find the hoarfrost.
If I pull out all the white ones by the water this evening,
I'll find them growing again as I look in the mirror in the morning.
I'm afraid to die on my journey and become a wandering ghost,
And a sojourner's brooding over death makes me a lonely spirit.
I often think of my native country place,
And bitter wails arise as I miss my old acquaintance.
Unexpectedly I saw a passerby ask for me.
"Do you possibly know my family in Nancheng?"
He said, "I once stayed in your village,
And was told that you were holding office in this city.
Having left the town and traveled ten thousand leagues,
I am now on my way to a long military expedition;
But before I set out I heard tell of your lady
Who lives secluded like a widow and has a chaste reputation.
I heard that she weeps in her desolate chamber in the morning,
Also that her pensive tears soak her garment in the evening.
Her appearance looks haggard without its former joy,
And she won't adorn her disheveled hair or fading countenance.
The sight of these alone will give one a lingering lament,
And I really wish you won't forget her even for a moment."

XIV.
Don't you see that people who joined the army as young lads
Have not returned home but still wander as hoary heads?
Day and night they get farther away from their native places,
Their whereabouts are further obstructed by rivers and passes.
The desolate north wind hastens the flying white clouds,
The poignant nomad pipes bitterly chill the frontier air.
Listening to the reeds they can't help feeling sad,
Ascending the mount to gaze they can only recall faces from memory.

君不見少壯從軍去，
白首流離不得還？
故鄉官宦日夜隔，
音塵斷絕阻河闕。
朔風蕭條白雲飛，
胡笳哀極邊寒氣。
聽此愁人兮奈何，
登山遠望得留顏。
They might be trampled to death under the nomad hooves,
And may never be able to see their wives and children again.
What can a man say of being born to a life of frustration,
But rise up with deep sighs when ravaged by endless sorrows?

XV.
Don't you see that Cypress Beam Terrace
Is now but a ruin covered with vine and weed?
Don't you see that the fabulous Efang Palace
Is but a place for cold mists and swamp pheasants to roost?
Do any of those singers and dancers live today?
On the hill slope there lie high mounds in a great number.
Long-sleeved beauties are contending against one another in vain,
And I have no longer my former precious and charming figure.
So let us indulge ourselves in wine and joy to our content,
Lest we descend into the netherworld with deep lament.

XVI.
Don't you see that the hoarfrost on the ice,
Being inside and out cold with the chill,
Though receiving the morning sunshine,
Will surely find no ease for a single moment?
Such is also the case of the livelihood of the people,
We have to make efforts to recognize who the devastator is.
Year in and year out, time spares nothing, like a blade cut,
And the hoary head is soon too bald to bear a hat.

XVII.
Don't you see that first when the spring bird arrives,
Hundred of flowers will turn green and bear blooms;
Then as soon as the desolate cold wind arises,
None of them can any longer keep their beautiful blossoms?
The days and months fly by relentlessly without pity,
It provokes me to increasing resentment and swelling anxiety.
XVIII.
Do not lament over your destitution or poverty, my lords.
For wealth and honor are not man's to command;
Some gentlemen may fill an office in prime forties,
While others will do at the capping age of twenty.
Do not say that plants and trees withered in the winter snow
Will certainly come back to life by springtime;
But drink wine and write poems with your friends,
And entrust to the great Heaven your destitution and destination.
Just wish that the vintage of nine fermentations fills your goblet,
And grudge not the hundred coppers in your bedside cabinet;
For one should rather live but one year in carefree leisure,
Than endure a long life of hardship and toilsome labor.

38. The Plum Blossom's Falling

There are all sorts of trees growing in the court,
But I sigh and lament over the plum only.
You ask me why I feel for it particularly?
I suppose it is because the plum can blossom in the frost,
Can bear fruit amid the dews,
And swing in the breeze to enchant the spring light.
I suppose it is because you would wither and fall in a cold blast,
You merely have the frostlike flower but no essence of the frost.

39. Imitating "The Prince of Huainan"

The Prince of Huainan,
Having a strong craving for longevity,
Studies Taoist classics and practices breathing and alchemy.
He uses crystal bowls, ivory plates,
Golden caldrons and jade spoons to mix up divine elixirs.
To mix up divine elixirs,
To play in the Purple Palace,
In the Purple Palace fairies admire their glittering headgear,
And their phoenix song and dance break his heart:
"The vermilion palace has nine gates leading to nine quarters,
And I'd like to follow the moonlight to enter your embrace.
To enter your embrace,
To tie your girdle pendant,
And to blame, to hate, and to rely on your love.
A city wall is expected to be built strong and a sword quick,
Forsake me not, after going through the vicissitudes of life."

40. Imitating "The Pheasant Flies in the Morning"

The pheasant flies in the morning,
It flaps its wings,
It relies on its strength to dominate the female and the ground.
When the decoy has attracted it,
Then close in the stalker comes,
And out shoots a black arrow straight from the hiding bushes.
Its embroidered throat is cut,
Its brocade breast is split,
It dies before you without resentment.
Holding your hand fast,
I raise a goblet to toast,
What is death to me with a friend of the same temperament?

41. Imitating The Song of "The North Wind Is Chilly"

The north wind is chilly,
And the flurry is falling heavily,
While many maidens in Capital Luoyang dress up charmingly.
But alone and sadly in the secluded beautiful chambers,
They sit pondering deeply as if in abstraction.
"Where are you, my lord, and when will you return?
You have let me wait miserably alone in lament?
I worry that the old age is approaching,
I worry that my countenance will wither;
It is easy to revive affection,
But irreversible ever is the regret!"

42. Imitating "A Sparrow on the Deserted City Tower"

A sparrow is raising four fledglings
At the corner of the deserted city wall.
At dawn it feeds on wild millet;
At dusk it drinks at the icy river.
Soaring high it is afraid of the owl and the kite;
Hovering low it fears the net and the snare.
Has it ever complained about toil and suffering?
Though there has been a lot of hardship and peril.
Indeed, its life is no equal to that of the blue bird,
Which feeds on the maize of the distant Mount Jade;
Yet it's better than that of the swallow on the Wu Palace,
Whose nest, though innocent, got burned up in a fire.
One's endowment and allotment can be rich or poor;
What will you get by sighing deeply?

43. Imitating "Sitting up Chanting at Night"

In the quiet winter night you sit up chanting in a low voice,
Before you chant, I have already understood your intention.
The frost enters the chamber curtains,
While the wind blows through the forest.
As the red lantern light fades,
Your rosy face is in quest.
I appreciate your songs
And savour your messages.
I do not treasure your voice,
I cherish your deep affection.

44. Imitating "The Song of the Spring Days"

It is the beginning of a new year,
And I am about to depart.
The spring mountain is luxuriant,
And the spring sun is brilliant.
The garden is full of birds,
All sing beautiful songs.
The plum begins to flower,
And the willow starts to bud.
Afloat is the long boat,
Rapid with oars of united effort.
The music of "Gathering Water Chestnut" is played,
And the ode of "The Belling Deer" is chanted.
The gentle breeze blows,
The light ripple spreads.
The string music disperses,
The wine goblet falls flat.
Through a lily pond the boat sails
To pick some cassia twigs.
So as the scented sleeve waves,
The fragrant leaves are scattering about.
We both miss each other,
But neither one realizes it
45. In Attendance at the Banquet on Mount Fuzhou: Two Poems

I.
The rain stops and the capital suburb is clean and clear,
The clouds part and upon the central district the moon shines.
Beyond the vermillion palace goes the carriage of pleasure,
And around the summer court gather the radiant candles.
The carriage ascends the heights to the soaring palace,
The incessant banquet is served under flickering flames.
The imperial park contains intelligent herds and flocks;
The court on the precipice conceals the vicissitudes of nature.
Upon the magnificent capital the brilliant moon shines,
And the imperial domain is crowned with bright atmosphere.
One's feelings at gazing afar are compact and dense,
And like diffusing wine His grace penetrates everywhere.

II.
Heavy frosts fly over the jade doors of the inner quarters,
The imperial domain is beautified by the lovely atmosphere.
The herald clears and guards the high route of the emperor,
Awaiting the imperial procession the feathered canopy stands.
The divine abode already has much grandeur,
The steep cliff further envelops it on all sides.
The emperor's virtuous demeanor moulds custom and manner,
And the glorious assembly is widely praised in folk ballads.
I feel ashamed to have no transforming and sustaining force,
And am mortified to follow the procession of grace and favour.

Ascending the Capital Hills after Following His Majesty to Worship at the Imperial Mausoleum

46. Majesty to Worship at the Imperial Mausoleum

In the tenth month after the early winter begins,
The air is stern with the passive nature reaching fullness.
The wind is so fierce that there is no unyielding grass,
And it is so cold that some pines have lost their needles.

息雨清上郊，
開雲照中縣。
遊軒越丹居，
暉燦集涼殿。
凌晨御飛樓，
追憤起流宴。
恆苑含靈羣；
恆庭鶴物雙。
a 明輝耀神都，
麗氣冠華甸。
b 目遠幽情周，
醞洽深恩塗。

繁霜飛玉闕，
愛景麗皇州。
清蹕戒駕路，
羽籥伎宣游。
神居既崇盛，
崑嶽信環周。
禮俗陶德聲，
昌會覽民謨。
魁無勝化質，
謹從雲雨遊。

孟冬十月交，
殺盛陰欲終。
風烈無勁草，
寒甚有凋松。
At daylight the well-water in the camp has frozen into ice,
And at night soldiers and horses sleep under double blankets.
At dawn I ascend the top of the capital hills,
The road is still obstructed by frozen snow and frost.
I dismount my horse and climb up along the field ridges,
I lean on my sword and gaze into ridges capped with clouds.
I inspect inside and out its placement as a strategic defence,
And investigate up and down the heavenly order of the place.
Even if the sacred Mount of the East topples into sandstones,
How can there be an exhaustion of the oceans?
It is indeed an everlasting sorrow, alas,
That time flies and never again returns.
Humble and decrepit, I resign any far-reaching wishes;
Feeble and weary, I have returned to my native place.
But how can I ever repay His Majesty's great grace,
That I have let the field and path become a total emptiness?

47. Poem Composed at Prince Shixing's Command on Mount Suan

The frosty north wind is bitterly cold in the late winter,
The spring is frozen and the ground is bound by ice.
The turtle-like God of Hibernation collects the foliage,
As the firebird-like God of Occlusion has left to recuperate.
The imperial grace extends fully to the toiler and the farmer,
Also timely ended are the cart levy and labour service.
As forest bushes match with the luxuriant winter grass,
The splendid carriage in time holds a procession.
But there is not much to see in the park of deer,
And the garden of hare is not worth tarrying long in, either.
The procession ascends the mountain top to see the sunrise,
And to gaze into the fairy island on the brink of the precipice.
There from the divine Jade Hall the clouds arise,
And from the corners of the Silver Terrace the wind disperses.
The island crags are suspended like stars overhanging,
And the island trees look like mists floating.
Indeed the imperial city cleaves to this privileged terrain,
While its gems and pearls glorify the imperial domain.
The bright sun revolvs brilliant peace,
Fragrant flowers harmonize with joy and grace.
The wintry sound of music from the river is irregular,
While the boatman’s songs are shrill and clear.
The virtuous Prince loves music and literature,
His flying brush is as free as scattering jade pearls.
Glorious is that myriad of things in general assembly,
All comply with the ultimate way and follow the principle.

48. Ascending Mount Lu

I hung up my sack to ferry over the water country,
And stop my light journey at a mountain monastery.
Thousands of cliffs reinforce it as a defensive defile,
While a myriad ravines around and around encircle.
The crags look much loftier and mistier then ever,
The ravines are known for their irregularity and disorder.
I look into torrent caves for the earthly veins,
The towering trees conceal the heavenly principles.
The pine paths ascend into the clouds,
The misty caverns descend to the gorge.
The chill ice has in fact frozen in summer,
The brilliant cassia is believed to be lush in winter.
At dawn noisy and clamorous are the warbles of the jungle,
At night the monkey and gibbon’s cries are cold and shrill.
The steep and eminent cliff conceals traces of changes,
The high and abstruse cavern secludes the immortal beings.
Taking advantage of my natural pleasure in the hills,
And again of my natural bend to love to travel far away.
I'll now try to ascend the Taoist immortal way
To drift about with mists and clouds forever.

49. Ascending Mount Lu and Gazing at the Stone Gate 登廬山望石門

I have entered the world and failed to become a recluse,
Now I am ascending the mountains, but not as a hermit.
When the day was dawning, I shook my cap and dress,
And climbed up ridges high above where I rested for the night.
The high summit almost reaches the firmament,
And the long precipice lies a thousand miles across.
Dense mountain clouds ascend to stars and planets,
While deep torrent waters connect with the River and rivulets.
Sharp crags look like the Tiger's Teeth,
And pointed cliffs resemble the Bear's Ears.
For a hundred years the frozen ice may have been there,
And secluded trees must have stood hidden for a thousand years.
The pheasant crows from the clear torrent,
The gibbons cry admist the white clouds.
The pure water widely spreads cave after cave,
And colored rocks rise from peak after peak.
The water revolves around in different ways,
While the rocks all look alike, irregular.
I listen carefully for the music of phoenix callings,
And look eagerly for the dragon angler.
Since pines and cassias are everywhere before one's presence,
Why bear the city's filthiness?
50. In Attendance to Ascend Mount Xianglu

Patriarchs of poetry admired Chu Terrace and Yunmeng Marshes,
And Mount Fu and Yi were praised in the sacrificial odes;
But those places were merely full of fine and stately medlars,
And had never been once the immortal being's abodes.
I was in attendance before the window with warm clouds,
When I was summoned to a retinue by the imperial grace.
The chariot rides on the wind through Lie Zi's itinerary,
And ascends mountain ridges to trace great Yu's journey.
Restraining from roaring and halting at the misty summit,
On which all over spread the extending creepers.
The peak is bluer than trees swaying in the mists,
And it is eminently surpassing the heavenly pillars.
The frosty precipice is bare of any fine earth,
The glittering torrent measures up to the spring source.
The revolving abyss embraces the Milky Way,
The stalactitic cavities connect the blue ocean.
The valley once accommodated the snow goose riders,
While upon the cliff perched the alchemists of elixirs.
The queer and the precious usually exist in things of rarity,
The extraordinary minds lie hidden in books about longevity.
For their voices and countenances had yielded to high ancientry,
Their sentient spirits had withdrawn into fathomless antiquity.
Sad is the soughing of the wind through the desolate hills,
While wonderful is the irregular summit to look in the distance.
Feeling ashamed to have no talent at presenting any kind of poetry,
I'll tend your brush and silk after cleansing my impurity.

Following Superintendent Yu on His
51. Tour to the Cave Room on Mount Yuan

The desolate road leads to the mountain monastery,
Where the sacred cave lies hidden by the cloudy precipice.
Entwining around and around are numerous ridges and torrents.
Rising one higher than another are barriers of dense forests.
The dusky stone path extends deeply,
The lively water of the mountain stream runs rapidly.
For dark corners of the cavern one needs candlelight.
But one can peep at morning sun through the crevice.
Peculiar stone and rock look like a dragon embroidery,
Variegated cave wall resembles a beautiful tapestry.
Lake Dongting is inexhaustibly vast,
And like a leaking well, it will never brim over.
The lake is all quiet without any human voice or trace,
The precipitous cliff makes one sit trembling with fear.
The divine transformation has no fixed way or method,
And of the mysterious phenomenon there isn't any record.
But how extraordinary it is for the ascetic alchemist
To dwell all through his life in this cavernous place.

52. Ascending the Steep Fanche Hill

The mountain rises high above the rainbow and the cloudlet,
The valley sinks deep beyond the reach of the sunlight.
The misty rain falls in the valley day and night,
All winter and summer the summit is frosty white.
The slushy slope is already slippery and steep,
The gravel path is again narrow and winding.
It is this kind of dreadful road that a traveler distrusts,
Lest he topple his luggage, he avoids the old ruts.
I ascended the high peak to look into the vast wilderness,
And gazed into the four quarters to the end of the river or ridge.
The traveler longs for his native village,
The sojourner lingers around the newly-arrived place.
In making new friends the sojourner finds his comfort,
Thinking of old friends the traveler finds but sadness of heart.
53. Ascending the Yellow Crane Cliff

The tree leaves fall as the cold crosses the river,
When the wind hastens the autumn the wild geese return.
As I approach the water my heart is broken by an autumn zither,
When I gaze down at the river I am saddened by a song of the oar.
None of the east-bound carts are to go back to the Ying City,
But there are west-bound boats to return to the Xia County.
The three cliffs are hidden beyond the sunset path,
The nine tributaries attract the blue water.
The tear-stained bamboos remind me of parting by the Xiang River,
The adorable pearls make me think of roving by the Han Meander.
But it's not because the ease of their medical cake
Is able to rid the traveler of his sorrow and anxiety.

54. Ascending Jiuli Dam at Yunyang

My old ambition does no longer return,
Time flies and I am decrepit and beset by illness.
Since I have become estranged like clouds and rain,
My sentiment is truly deep and varies in sadness.
It is futile to recall music from south of the river,
And it is useless to record King of Qi's zither.
For as one restrains oneself from the encircling strings,
One is not going to hear the music lingering in the air.

55. Gazing Eastwards into the Zhen Marshes from Mount Li

The waves and billows in Lake Dongting are brilliant,
The clouds over the ranges and cliffs gather densely.
It is hard to measure the distance of the island under flood tide,
It is difficult to distinguish the nearby ridge and its torrent.
It is sad to see a dense bamboo grove by the dusky twilight.
It is sorrowful to hear a mournful bird calling at night.

-337-
I would like to recuperate at this place from my chronic ailment,
And leave the world to dwell here in concealment.
My pledge doesn't express all of my sentiment,
For my thought cannot be expressed in words.

56. Outing to the South Park on the Third Day

In this spring month we go gathering duckweeds,
According to the festival custom we pursue beautiful clouds,
The exuberant vegetation grows all over the thin forest,
The radiant sun brightens up the mountain ranges.
Around the clear lake we walk on the green grass
And beside flowers that circle the lake like beautiful lace.
The sun sets fast as we have the toast:
We snap flowers to wreath the remaining fragrance.

57. Six Poems Presented to Old Friend Ma Ziaiao

I.
A goat on the city wall lingers and halts,
It climbs onto the nook to eat weeds and plants.
The sun and the moon are all brilliant,
Only the dusk and the dawn flee too fast.
The evening wind wafts the wild bamboo sheath,
While the flying dust covers the long path.
The beloved one will hardly come to chat with me again,
Brooding in sorrow I'll sit and get old in vain.

II.
The dead cold ashes may once again flare,
The evening blossom by dawn looks brighter.
Though the spring ice has now melted into water,
The water will be frozen to solid ice in winter.
The beautiful maid abandoned me,
And I am severed from favor and love forever.
Happiness arises but does not stay a single moment,
While sentimental sadness always lasts a whole year.

III.
The pine tree grows on the slope of the mound,
It stands a hundred feet tall without branches near the ground.
It overlooks the end of the Yellow River in the southeast,
And the precipice of Mount Kunlun is in sight in the northwest.
The wind over the field arouses all sorts of mountain sounds,
Separated from one another is a flock of agitated birds.
Although throughout the whole year it is chilly and desolate,
The pine is always so green and luxuriant.
How can one grasp the heart of such a plant,
Which bears no resentment against the seasonal shift?

IV.
I grow on the southern shore of the pond an orange,
And plant an apricot up by its northern edge.
North of the pond there is little dew,
While south of it, it is again very windy.
The early cold closes in on the late year,
And the autumn scene is full of regretful decaying.
By the shore of River Xiang there is a bird of intelligence,
Which is called the Mourning Swan Goose.
It wails bitterly over the stringed arrow's injury,
And departs for the long journey without its companion.

V.
It is as brilliantly white as the snow goose over the river,
And as radiantly red as the cinnabar in my hand,
There is no one who does not run counter to his ambition,
For clear insight by man since time has been rarely obtained.
I watch the hoary dews by leaning against the pillar,
And sprinkle some wine to cleanse my saddened face.
Although I'll remember my heart's desire forever,
I cannot bear to return till the end of time,
But to pluck the cassia and linger around vainly,
But to wear the orchid and tarry uselessly.

Vi.
A pair of swords are about to bid farewell,
Amid the sword case they first wail.
At dusk the clouds and the rain interlace,
Hence they depart from each one's presence.
Into a Wu river sinks the female,
And into a Chu city flies the male.
Fathomless, without bottom, is the river water,
Eminent, the bolted city gate tower.
Once separated, apart, like zenith from the nadir,
They suffer the confinement of this and the nether world.
But things of divinity won't be estranged forever,
They may join together unexpectedly one thousand years later.

58. Response to a Guest

I have recently become contemplative in my seclusion,
I cherish all the ideas but haven't put them into words.
A guest from outside happens to come to visit,
And asks what I have been contemplating
That I have been alone lost in disconsolate thoughts,
And have long been pondering with silent uncertainty.
I told the guest to settle down at the table for a moment,
Before I would tell him about it.
As a scholar from a family with a wicker fence,
I have declined former privilege and relied on my learning.
In the eccentric and the extreme I take delight,
And indulge myself without restraint.
I seek solely after pleasure in compliance with my nature,
As for fame, I do not plan any date to capture.
I toast myself in happiness,
And write verses in distress.
While my reputation and social activity fade out gradually,
Stronger than ever has grown this sentiment.
This illusory life flees faster than swift lightning.
The way of the world is as treacherous as a thread of string.
I have been wrong to be laden with grief or to be too indifferent,
And contrary to the time has been my retreat or advance.
I wish you would give me some scheme to divine my life,
Lest I should be ridiculed by future worthy men.

59. Poem to Rhyme with Assistant Director Wang

This finite life will submit to its limit,
But everlasting will be my long-cherished sentiment.
Day by day the autumn anxiety fades and grows faint,
In solitude the spring thoughts become endless and incessant.
My heart is in accord with the aspiration of the ancients,
My mind admires the ancient sage's deliberation
To withdraw from the world together to float across the ocean,
Or to retreat to gather herbs together up in the mountain,
To listen to ripples by the rock across the river at night,
Or to gaze at clouds on the cliff by the morning light.
And when you follow and cross the bright torrent,
I'll coil and climb the flying creeping plant.
Our natural bent will enjoy a total fulfillment,
For the obscure traces do not sound absurd or arrogant.
Then beyond life and the world I will renounce my ambition,
And conceal my name in between the lute and the goblet.
"Gazing Over the River at the Sunset"

There is no glee or joy for the traveler,
And my melancholy is deep at the sunset.
As the sun sets the clouds return to the summit,
I stretch my neck to gaze over the southern part of the river.
Rushing into the great ocean is the reckless current,
Encompassing the high forest is the boundless mist.
Deep without an end is the edge of the forest,
Vast with no limit is the cloud's outskirt.
Only one solitary bird is in sight,
Which every thousand leagues raises its voice.
Grasp the bird's responsive sentiment,
And you'll understand the heart of a wanderer.
You live in the city of the Imperial Palace,
Attend noble assemblies, and spend lavishly.
How can you remember the lonely sojourner,
Who in distress feels a strong attachment to the sunset?

"The Autumn Day" Shown to Reverend Monk Xiu

The leaves on a withered mulberry are inclined to fall,
The heart of a weary traveler is apt to take fright.
How early the autumn has come, this year,
That I have already heard chirpings of the cricket.
There died out and blows again the whirlwind,
And here halted awhile and drifts away the tumbleweed.
The bamboo mat is sadly chilly,
The bedchamber is desolately wintry.
The autumn scenes evoke anxiety at night,
The hoary dew devastates the morning flower.
I come to the hall to observe the autumn grass,
I look for the city of Chu by gazing to the west and east.
Myriad things are now desolate and lonely,  
I sit and lament life's vanity.

62. Response to Reverend Monk Xiu

The wine is brewed with rice grains from the wilderness,  
The chrysanthemum grows on the high ridge among grass.  
But it is strange enough that their look and taste  
Can bring your whole-hearted admiration.  
Though you have dinner with a jade bowl,  
I sigh with regret for you this autumn.  
The golden lid covers the ivory plate,  
Why does your heart merely fill with melancholy?

63. Farewell to Superintendent Yu at Huangpu Pavilion at Wuxing

As the wind blows it's cold over the islet,  
When the clouds arise, the sun loses its brilliance.  
The endless ridge is dimmed by the mists,  
The long waves are remote and hard to trust.  
Down to the south there fly the migrant wild geese,  
Back to the west the sojourner has not yet returned.  
I have experienced a separation beyond ocean and river,  
And have long departed from my beloved families.  
The fleeting daylight is soon to set,  
How can I again wave my parting sleeves?  
The joyous toast has become a sorrowful goblet,  
The singing robe has turned into a weeping garment.  
My warm affection for you will never change,  
And I will cherish your magnificent ambition forever.  
As an official in exile I have lots of anxieties,  
Looking ahead, I am ashamed of being unable to soar fast.  
Attaching my naive heart to you going afar,  
I conceal in my girdly your brilliant advice.
64. Parting with Attendant Wu

The people are like deer in the wilderness,
They know no decree but the heart's desires.
They gather together to drink water and chew grass,
And at a sudden fright leap to flee in all directions.
My sentiments for my fellow men are grievous,
As I am touched by the deer's nature to share clover.
The road to Yan and Ying cities is far and endless,
And the way to Huaihai District is vast and boundless.
You have no durable qualities of metal or stone,
While I am ill like an old dog or horse.
Our sorrow and joy are beyond description,
For neither of us can be sure of partings or meetings.
To act with respect and prudence in accord with the times,
And to cultivate one's virtue is of great importance.
Forget not friends of one's humble days,
And remember with sincere respect one's old acquaintances.

65. Farewell to Prefect Wang of Xuancheng

When I left Ying City my longing for Chu started to well up,
As I crossed River Qi my sentiment for Wei was aroused.
It is already the time that the spring is exuberantly lush,
It is also the time that the white clover is flourishing.
The wilderness extends a thousand leagues all around,
The suburbs by the river are fresh at dawning.
I raise my goblet in melancholy and in solitude,
For whom are the song and the music clear and melodious?
South of the Ying your past literary elegance is soaring,
And north of the Huai your former reputation is prevailing.
Waiting along the road to admire your virtuous eminent splendour,
People of Xuancheng stand with sincere wishes.
66. Farewell to Cousin Daoxiu

The bamboo flute arouses a persistent memory,
The stagger flower evokes a parting sentiment.
The parting sentiment attaches to the time and place,
The persistent memory fills up the year end.
The year end is full of frustration and hindrance,
The time and place are short of joy and peace.
My amorous feelings suffer for all these,
Day and night my heart flutters like a flag in suspense.
To see the morning sun I ascend the mountain,
To part with my loved one I wave my hand.
Deeply and boundlessly the morning tide immerses,
Vastly and extensively the overnight clouds grow.
When it is cloudy one dreads to set out ahead,
But for a long journey one usually takes leave earlier.
The verses are for the future mutual memory,
The goblets are for today's toasts without restraint.
We, travelers, suffer from going on active service,
Hope that we will meet again in the near future.

67. Presented as a Farewell to Officer Fu

A swift swan frolics over rivers and lakes,
A lonely goose alights on the islet sandbank.
By chance the two birds meet and are fond of each other,
And in feeling and in thought they become ever closer.
But as the wind and the rain are apt to go east or west,
Suddenly they are separated, ten thousand leagues apart.
Each recalls the times they perched in the woods or on the waters,
While the other's voice and countenance fills its mind and ears.
It is getting cold over the river islet by the sunset,
The distressing clouds rise encircling all the firmament.
The one with short shafts cannot soar,
But amid the fog and mists will linger and hover.

Poem Rhymed with Agriculture

68. Superintendent Fu's "Farewell to Colleague"

Music of high tone will not have slow melodies.
A wild goose with a broken heart will give mournful cries.
Without a fellow official's affectionate intent,
Who can understand the parting sentiment?
Formerly I made the mistake of entering the official service,
Now in cap and gown I have to attend public affairs.
I waft over the river to gaze at the Mount of the South,
And ride on the tideway to peep at the seashore in the north.
Who says that we have little acquaintance and association?
I have long yearned for your splendour with admiration.
The flourishing spring grass is luxuriant,
Joyous are the chirpings of the migrating birds.
Things of the spring are all flushed and brilliant,
But your honour alone is despondent.
Where will you go from here?
While I'll just go back to the old mountain to rest.
How can the lost joy be again restored?
When irretrievable is your magnificent favour.

69. Farewell to Attendant Sheng at Jianhou Pavilion

The soaking frost assails one's cap and belt.
As we urge the carriage out of the city gates and towers.
We approach the road to the frontier in the north,
And we gaze at the ford to our home town in the south.
Around the lofty city wall perches the chilly mist,
From the vast open plain arises the autumn dust.
You are a person to sit in the court,
I am someone to carry bridles and halters.
Our joys and sorrows do not imply an equal inclination,
And our prosperity and adversity are really different.
My tears congeal on the garden grass,
As I lament this spring in mournful distress.

70. *Farewell to Attendant Xun of the Imperial Secretariat*

The weary boat detests the strong waves,
And the ragged banner is tired of the swift wind.
In endless wandering I realize the solitude of my ambition,
And my health is undermined by the long separation.
I have a warm-hearted affection for the parting friend,
And feel a strong attachment at the end of the feast.
I speak rhetorically to soothe the traveler's anxiety,
And utter elegant words to console the sorrowful guest.
When I miss you, I'll chant "Wading the Wei Water,"
And then to comfort myself I'll sing "Crossing the River."
I feel ashamed not to have the wings of yellow cranes,
How can we follow each other forever?
I would like to fulfil the wish of an old friend,
Not to let the old mountain become empty.

71. *Passing the Old Palace in Attendance*

I solemnly dressed up to join the imperial roaming itinerary,
And attend upon the carriage at the end of the procession.
In reverence we visit His Majesty's native place of mulberry,
And tour around His home country of elms in veneration.
The divine mandate is latent in rivers and streams,
While the imperial emblems lie hidden in maps and books.
Great Yu like a tiger with stripes was born at the Knob Rock,
Yellow Emperor ascended on a dragon from the Caldron Lake.
To the dawn of history shine their merit and achievement,
Their virtues are not excelled since the beginning of history.
The palace and the courts have preserved the former establishment,
While songs of remembrance overflow the streets of the city.
In numerous things the remaining auspices manifest,
In fishing and pottery the Great Shun's image exists.
The fountains and streams are truly flushing and transparent,
The field and the plain are flourishing and fragrant.
It was not because King Wen favoured Feng and Hao cities,
But because it is a natural barrier and a land of fertility.
This east region of Qin is the north gate to the imperial city,
Who else can reside here except members of the nobility?
Majestic like the sun and the moon is his famed benevolence,
Diffusing like clouds and rain his favour and grace extends,
The virtues praised in Lu Ling are never at rest,
The morals sung in Tang Feng have long been persistent.
As a humble subject who happens to meet this age of felicity,
Which enjoys sufficient taxes and levies of service,
I fail to live up to your pervading virtue of benevolence,
But pluck a bundle of green grass as my homage sacrifice.

In Attendance on Prince of Linhai,
72. Setting Out for Jingzhou from Xinzhu

A traveller's journey contains hardship and happiness,
It all depends on his destination.
Mounting a dragon, one waits for no wing to soar,
Cleaving to a steed one can go beyond this dusty world.
A Liang jade tablet was conferred upon the Chu Magistrate,
So fish-hawk billet heads all point to the Jing State.
Numerous boats cover the river and its branch waters,
And for a thousand li there extend countless banners.
The morning gale is perversely forceful,
While the morning drum is in an uproar.
To leave the capital suburbs the fleet retrieves the hawsers,
To depart from the imperial city the fleet pulls the oars.
My mind is like that of a hare or a fox longing for the old den,
My heart is like that of a hound or a horse attached to the lord.
We beat our breasts and sigh together.
We look at each other and burst into tears.
Before I set out on the journey in active service,
My heart is already filled with homesickness.

73. On My Way Returning to the Capital

I.
I am glad to fulfil my wish to return to the capital,
And eagerly look forward to the result of my diligent advance.
I go on my journey against the crow of the rooster,
And rest for the night by the evening twilight.
The mounting billows dash out of the swift current,
The whirlwind blows from water edges of the river.
A lonely animal calls for its mate at night,
A lost swan goose cries for its flock in the frost.
My heart is infused with the animal's sadness,
My mind is confused by the mournful call.
I tell my fellow traveler about my melancholy:
That I have not heard anything from my beauty.

II.
We enter a river port as the wind blows strongly
And pack luggage and lower the mast and the sail.
At night I listen to waves dashing over the river,
And gaze a thousand li afar into the distance.
The cold wind disturbs the depth of the mountain trail,
Atop the forest trees arises the bracing atmosphere.
Dimly the sun sets beyond the precipice,
The wind soughs from the valley.
The forest is noisy as birds have returned for the evening,
And the icy water forms an eddy while the tide is rising.
The night time is quite chilly and frosty,
While the distant land provokes sorrow and anxiety.
One harbours in one's heart a rising sadness,
And the sojourner suffers to pass the night in loneliness.

III.
I have long been an official lost in distant waters,
Though I have always been afraid of broad rivers.
We moor the boat by an arbor beside a village gate,
After a journey through dangerous passes.
The distant peak in the corner of the sky stands in obscurity,
And the fog over the river is dimly misty.
Sounds of the cold season blow with one accord,
Waves of flowing water dash forward, quickly advancing.
My sorrow rises with ever-increasing anxiety,
I gaze into the southeast and scratch my head, perplexed.
Amidst the vast boundless wilderness,
All one can see is bleak desolation.
The whirling stream rushes down with the high wind,
While on windswept trees mournful birds alight.
I lament and sigh from evening to twilight,
And only wish to encounter a returning whirlwind.

74. Leaving for Xunyang on My Way Returning to the Capital

I anchored for the night at Nanling,
And entered Luzhou early this morning.
As a journeying traveler I treasure every day and night,
And will not even delay for the furious stormy waters.
On My Way Returning to the Capital, I Arrived at Three Mounts and Gazed into the Stone City

The stream's source at the fountain head flows peacefully,
The long waves at the river end are lucid.
The daylight shines upon fishes in the water,
The morning air rests by the forest corner.
The two rivers wind their ways calmly and glitteringly,
The three mountains stand in a row luxuriantly.
South of the sail one can see the Yue Mountain,
North of the oar one can point out the Qi River.
Strategic passes encircle the district of heaven,
Hills and rivers girdle the majestic imperial domain.
The long city wall is not only precipitous with its deep gully,
It is also steep and forbidding like bramble buds.
Up to the dazzling sun soar towers in a cluster,
While rosy clouds conceal lofty battlements.
I am delighted to visit the capital as an officer,
But hesitate to go home as a sojourner.
To the music of "Prelude to Entering the Capital" I linger,
And to the song of "Nostalgic Home Coming" I stagger.
The further I go the deeper I lament the flight of the day,
The closer I get to home the wearier becomes my way.
Even the robust carter feels this way,
How can I be calm and feel at ease?

76. An Eulogy on Returning to the Capital

The numerous feudal fiefs protect the imperial capital,
The prosperous ranked nobles screen the royal palace.
The official banquets are to extend to the Spring Festival,
The spring report to the imperial court begins at the new year.
At the golden sunset boats take up berths to rest,
Oars are fastened to wait for winds from the west.
First wintry tributes are accompanied by the music of cymbals,
The early winter is trampled by the cavalry guard.
The firmament over the frontier is cloudy and dismal,
The vast expanse over the sea is chilly and deserted.
The sharp frost hastens the returning envoy with no delay,
The gloomy clouds sadden the heavenly countenance.
Drums and banners extend far along the obscure highway,
And boats with fishhawk prows cover the Yangzi's water.
At the capital of the kingdom tarries the prince,
While the traveler thinks of his native place.
The whole world is harmonious under his imperial grace,
While accepted are both my ideas and my presence.
So exert yourself, you, traveler from the Ji River,
And be diligent with your efforts, like ripples and waves.
77. Arriving in Zhuli on My Way to Jingkou

Eminent trees stand precipitously and loftily,
Sharp rocks lie across or slant.
Repeated torrents obscure the pines' soughings,
A succession of cliffs hides the clouds' color.
The land is icebound and the cold is in full vigor,
And as the wind blows birds all tilt down their wings.
My ambition encounters such a stern winter,
My solitary journey confronts the nearing dusk.
I force my advance without resting the horse,
Nor stopping even for a small meal.
A princely man cultivates his virtuous reputation,
While the ordinary person devotes his life to service.
Don't you see that in the great Yellow River,
The muddy and the pure ceaselessly rush down together?

78. Setting Out from Houzhu

It is cold early in the morning over the river,
For it has begun to frost or snow since the mid-autumn.
I am enlisted, though short of clothing and provisions,
I bid farewell to my family in the early winter.
Leaving my home country my heart is sad and lonely,
And I set out from the clear islet sorrowfully.
The cold mist obscures the level river banks,
The raging tide conceals the tall trees.
Like the lonely sun I roam and linger in solitude,
And like the cloudlet I witness the rise and fall vainly.
With each mountain ahead my journey extends further,
With each clouddrift past my thoughts become more tangled.
My youthful ambition is dispersed by the fleeting year,
With the change of seasons my splendid complexion pales.
Three times I rise to sigh and push aside my zither,
It is for you that the music is interrupted.

79. Waiting for the Wind at Qiyang

High aslant still shines the Jade Cord of the Dipper,
As the Jasper Well of Gemini dimly submerges.
The morning clouds lodge over the broad shores of the river,
And the setting moon alights above the precipitous ridges.
Servants and attendants are happy to be harbingers,
For the military command orders we set sail in the morning.
The whirlwind over the distant island is truly wailing,
The mists over the freezing river do not disperse.
The flying clouds race from the east to the west in a day,
To Chu and Yue regions the parting crane is making its way.
Who is going to wash and clean my dusty clothing?
This annoying thought dishevels my glossy hair.

80. Caught in the Snow after Leaving Changsong

The Clay Ox Ritual has been done to send off the chill,
Though the God of the Obscure North gallops still.
As the strong wind devastates the great ground,
The frozen snow covers all twigs and branches.
The river and the ditches become solid land,
The sky and the wilderness have become vast without boundaries.
Drinking the spring water horses are stiff to their bones,
Chopping the freezing ice servants all get chilblains.
It’s not because Kunming Terrace suffers no drought,
But for the Valley of Millet I’d rather have the snow stop.
81. Poem on a Historical Figure

People in the five capital cities all boast wealth and power,
Men along the three rivers all cultivate profit and reputation.
With a hundred gold taels one will never die at the market place,
While well versed in classics a man can obtain a prominent post.
Along the twelve thoroughfares in the Capital,
Flying rafters are ranked or in ordered rows like scales.
Scholars and officials flap their beautiful long tassels.
Travelers and tourists gently give their horses the bridle.
While it is not dawn and the morning star still twinkles,
High carriages like clouds have already flocked in together.
Visitors with attendants are coming hastily in great number,
And so sparkling to light the road are reins and saddles.
There is a due time for the summer and for the winter,
And so in spring all splendid flowers in time blossom.
But only Junping the recluse is solitary and lonesome,
For both he and the world have renounced each other.

82. Poem on the Four Worthies of Shu

As wild ducks were bathing in the Bo’s islet water,
And magpies alighted on Mount Zhong’s rocks of jasper;
The imperial Han was enjoying a great prosperity,
Multitudes of able officials filled the court chamber.
Since the world was at peace, Junping, as a scholar,
Was able to return home to guard his solitary moral integrity;
Letting down the bamboo screens, he annotated the Tao Scripture,
Casting out a trigram, he explained the divine nobility.
As to the meaning of life, Xiangru had a true comprehension,
And was capable of making a good retreat or advance;
As an Imperial Tomb Officer he dealt with no human affairs,
And his brushwork was often free and vigorous.
Far beyond comparison was Wang Bao's disposition.  
He was brilliantly learned and had true literary elegance;  
If the Emperor then would accept his talent and virtue,  
He would have changed his horse bridle into a gold halter.  
Yang Xiong owed much to his itineracy with the divine intelligence,  
For his works could not be accomplished by mere contemplation;  
He did not expect the Scripture of Occultism to be popular,  
But worried that the joy of poetry would bring dissipation.  
Though these worthies' journeys were different or irregular,  
They all entrusted themselves to a far and lofty destination.  
Since one's body has never been the true being's faculty,  
They all tolerated in this world failure and prosperity.

83. Imitating the Ancient Verse: Eight Poems

I.  
A visitor from Lu attends on the Chu king as a courtier,  
He holds the golden credential and wears red and white silk.  
He has been receiving the monarch's grace and favor,  
And is also indebted for the solicitude of the prime minister.  
When he retires from the court session late in the day,  
His carriage and horses will block the thoroughfare.  
To his clansmen and kinsfolk he brings glitter and honor,  
And his guests and servants admire him from afar.  
Wealth and eminence is what people desire,  
And if one obtains it by virtue, what is there to fear?  
But in the south there is a Confucian scholar,  
Who goes astray from the way and lives in solitude and destitution.  
He fells trees by the shores of the clear river,  
And sets up traps to catch the cunning hare.
II.
At fifteen I recited by heart books of history and poetry,
There was nothing about composition I had not mastered.
At the age of twenty I visited the elite and the gentry,
And soon I sped by the Western Palace.
I stood by the side and observed princely men in debate,
And manifested early an ancient deportment in my manner.
My tongue could exhaust any dialectical sophistication,
My pen could defeat any learned man of letters.
But I felt ashamed to seek the jade badge reward,
To have the Liaocheng type of fall credited to my service.
Now I direct the whole of my later life to affairs of the world,
And ascend barricades to pacify remote frontier tribes.
I took off jade pendants to put on iron-spiked rhino armor,
And closed up books to receive with both hands the black bow.
It is beyond my power to reach my initial desire,
And I do not know my eventual future either.

III.
Youzhou and Bingzhou regions value archery and horsemanship,
And the young man there is fond of the horse race and the gallop.
He wears a pair of quivers on felt bands,
And an ivory-tipped crescent in an engraved bow case.
The spring grass is short and the herds are thriving,
He gallops on a swift mount across the vast meadow.
At dawn he trots on the top of the Yanmen Ridge,
At dusk he returns to Loufan County for lodging.
His arrows with power to spare have sunk into a stone bridge,
And left no complete eyes in the frightened sparrow.
The Han and the northern barbarians are not yet at peace,
The border land is often disturbed by defeat and recapture.
And he said, "I will save a white feather arrow,
In order to seek the bamboo credential of a prefecture."
IV.
I drilled a well at the North Hill's bend,
It went down one hundred feet without reaching water.
Means of livelihood are of great number and variety.
And there is no need to devote oneself exclusively to one thing.
I treasured every single minute when I was young and strong,
Now old and feeble instead, I don't cherish even a whole year.
I unharness my horse and rest in Zhaoge,
I carry my wine pot and halt at Zhongshan.
By the evening I ascend one corner of the city tower,
And look around to gaze down at the Luo River.
Frosty weeds accumulate along the street and the thoroughfare,
While over the city and the outer wall cold mists harbor.
Where are past glory and prosperity?
Since palaces have collapsed and been buried with antiquity,
The world has been criticizing Duke Jing of Qi uselessly,
And praising Bo Yi and Shu Qi's virtue vainly.

V.
I did not go into any trade or business formerly,
But took the weary journey to visit the five famous cities.
Brave gallants were numerous between Mount Tai and the sea,
Learned scholars were many between Mount Meng and River Si.
They tie up their hair and leap onto horseback,
While the young and the old sit together to discuss the Classics.
They invited me to take the honored upper seat,
And set before me a gourd of wine and a horn goblet:
"It's been a long time since Guan Zhong died,
And to the north-west corner there lies his mound;
While the high rocky one at the rear,
Is Duke Huan of Qi's old sepulchre.
You have come too late, Sir,
To witness the beginning of the noble virtue;
So you only see the jade bowl passed down vainly,
For the meaning of friendship has been gradually neglected.

VI.
I gather faggots of firewood in the gloomy bamboo groves,
I mow millet in the shady ravine of the cold torrent.
The north wind is cutting me to the skin,
The wailing birds disturb my longing heart.
I just paid the land tax at the end of the year,
And the annual levy follows soon after.
One sends the field rent to Hangu Pass,
And delivers the animal fodder to the Imperial Park;
The ice has not yet melted over the Wei River,
The snow is still deep and heavy in the northwest frontier.
The official punishes with whipping or flogging,
And the officer scolds, humiliates and intimidates.
Who knows that I, with a high chariot ambition,
Am still now lying in the stable?

VII.
Before the grass along the riversides starts to wither,
The geese from the north have already taken wing to soar.
The autumn crickets are chirping by the door,
And a poor woman is weaving through the night.
Last year some men returned from active service,
Bringing word that you were an old acquaintance.
I heard that as you climbed up the Long Range,
With deep sighs you gazed long into the east;
Your clothes and belt hung more loosely than before,
And your face and complexion had become decrepit overnight.
How anxious I am whenever I think of this,
As the night grows old my sorrow increases ever more.
Within the dusty case lies my clear mirror,
While cobwebs spread over my jasper zither.

VIII.
The Sichuan region is full of extraordinary mountains,
Which all look high up into the clouds.
The gloomy northern cliff is capped with snow in the summer,
The sunny southern valley blooms with the autumn flower.
One can see mists and clouds return every morning,
One can hear apes and monkeys cry every evening.
An anxious person is in his heart already sorrowful,
Then as a lonely traveler he more easily becomes sentimental.
I come to the hall and set out jars and goblets of wine,
To offer you a drink and to recall our life-time friendship.
The rock finds in its nature the quality of solidity,
And you should not disregard your usual true sincerity.

84. A Sequel to the Ancient Verse: Seven Poems

I.
The orange grows by the side of the Xiang River,
It is so coarse that people never mention it.
By chance at an imperial banquet at the Golden Flower Palace,
It is presented on the front of the jade stand.
People of the three rivers seek fame and wealth,
And Luoyang Capital is full of coquettes and enchanters.
One can hardly rely long on the glorious imperial grace,
For His great favour fades easily or goes elsewhere.
Looking at the mat, my heart sadly suffers,
And seeing my letter, you will, my Lord, come to tears.
In vain I have embraced a loyal and filial wish,
And have returned once more like a turnip or radish.
II.

Formerly when I bid farewell to you, my Lord,
The silkworm maids were just presenting the raw silk.
Unexpectedly swift are the months of the year,
The silks have been woven and made into winter wear.
But strips of embroidery are mostly abandoned in disorder,
And rolls of cloth have long been covered with filthy dust.
In the prime of life one’s sorrow at separation is stronger,
And my thoughts fly like a fluttering banner.
My heart would not change like the folding mat or rolling rock,
But please don’t fail your virtuous reputation, my Lord.

III.

The wind from the sea is soughing and chilly,
And the forest over the hill is cold and desolate.
As the sorrows of a sojourner overflow in confusion,
The string music of the evening becomes hasty and resentful.
Traveling through mountain routes and seashore roads,
I sing “The Parting Swan” a thousand leagues from home.
As the string breaks, I sigh with vain lament.
There is no one to accept or appreciate my voice and figure.
My toils are different from the ordinary situation,
So my beautiful countenance is no longer jade-bright.
In vain I rear a parrot able to speak,
For it does not understand my innermost sentiment.

IV.

A solitary wild goose, parted from the flock over the island,
Keeps fluttering and roving along the river islet.
It cries hoarsely over Henggui’s river shore,
And flies swiftly to gaze into Heshuo north of the river.
The autumn trees flourish in a cluster,
The winter sunshine is chilly, clear and bright.
I rinse the goblet of joy in front of the shutter,
And sew the dancing robe inside my bedchamber.
As one may hope for the fragrant season,
So I am waiting for your return day and night.

V.
I lean against a column to appreciate the evening moon,
And gaze afar into the clouds coming out of the gorge cavern.
I have lost the way to return to the mountain,
And it's too late to catch up to the flock heading for the ocean.
Around the windings of the clear Huai River I linger,
And admire the vast waterfront of the Yangzi River.
Love will desist when affections or circumstances change;
Since antiquity one hears little of chaste men.
There are lots of young beauties in the three Yue states,
And their coqueteries will surely fascinate you, my lord.

VI.
Painting my eyebrows I look at my countenance,
Sitting by the mirror I think of the distant place.
My lord is on active service to the source of the Yellow River
And has not written me any letters for a whole year.
Across the vast field the spring wind blows,
While dust accumulates on lattice windows.
For whom should I embroider my dress?
As gauze curtains fold up and unroll vainly.
I do not complain about being lonely or solitary,
But brood over the stars fading in the corner of the sky.

VII.
In a warm year seasonal things germinate early,
By the spring a myriad sprouts shoot forth exuberantly.
The spring breeze is gentle and graceful in the evening,
The spring mists are hazy and fair in the morning.
Soft orchid leaves are ready for maids to gather,
Tender mulberry twigs can now be stripped by the finger.
Facing such beautiful scenery I can't help but sob resentfully,
So I remain in the bedchamber and sit alone in melancholy.

Man's anxiety about fate is a natural disposition,
And the life we bear is but a long separation.
Sorrow usually does not come in order,
But is confused like the creeping tendril.

85. Imitating the Old Style Verse

Under the north wind of December,
The snow falls like turbans a-flutter.
It is truly a season of depression,
And distressed I recall my dear one's affection.
Recently I got two young concubines,
It happens that they are both women of Luoyang.
They are charming with delicate features,
They are pretty with beautiful figures.
Their smooth skins are snowy white,
Their complexions are fairylike bright.
A glamorous coquetry is created in a gaze or glance,
While rosy lips send forth seductive utterances.
They wear embroidered silk on their singlets,
And fine jade on their headdresses.
They tune the strings and rise to dance,
And sing for me 'til it disturbs the beam dust:
"One's purpose in life is to fulfill one's ambition,
And my heart's desires rely on you for realization.
Fortunately it happens to be a severe winter evening,
And the dark night is not yet dawning.
A couple of tidy coverlets have long been prepared,
A pair of horn pillows have already been arranged.
I wish you will go to rest earlier, my lord,
And stay for my songs till it is spring."

86. An Old Style Verse

Time does not wait for one's youthful features,
Why do you travel like a wayfarer in the Liang region?
The September coldness joins forces with the dusk,
And the baleful wind will break your heart, my lord.
The woman sighs in the desolate chamber,
While sitting sadly alone in deep contemplation.
Her mind is anxiously set on the faraway road,
And ceaselessly there goes her regret and wistfulness.

87. Imitating "The Green, Green Cypress on the Hound"

The stream at the river's source flows ceaselessly,
The mist over the sea extends endlessly.
I lead a vain life in this age of enlightenment,
And do nothing but lament the loss of my youth.
Fortunately at leisure after our literary writings,
I drink wine and you tune the music strings.
Swift horses fly from the Jing's state roads, ¹
While to the basin of River Qin rush the steeds.
The imperial palace flourishes along the riversides, ²
Houses go all over the hills and the river like fish scales.
The sedan boys sing the song of "Holding Peppers in One's Hands,"
The boat girls chant the Ballad of "Collecting Lotus Seeds."
Celebration spreads over the women's quarters,
And charming are those in front of the phoenix pillars.
To enjoy life is really not a fallacy,
And there's no need to seek after able and virtuous persons.
I.
I want to go into public service but find no royal venture,
I want to pledge loyalty but am estranged from my lord's favour.
Instead of fame, I try to keep together my soul and body,
While useless books fill my curtained study.
In the winter months on the vast expanse of ice,
I gather under the snow the mallows in the garden.
Though beyond the Empire shines his divine sagacity,
I, a petty officer, have long been forgotten.

II.
The mist obscures the cold, overcast wilderness.
The cypress on Mount Yin is lush and exuberant.
Atop the eminent trees the mist is hovering.
Through the desolate hills the wild wind is rushing.
All things fall and wither at the year's end,
For whom do you persevere in solitude?
The tree, relying on its natural endurance,
Does not care if the trail is desolate and obscure.

III.
The north wind blows the snow over the nomad region,
Down a thousand leagues across the Dragon Mountain.
It assembles on the jade terrace of His Majesty,
And dances in front of the two columns.
Though this morning it is truly pretty,
It has to avoid the bright spring days;
For in the beautiful season of peaches and plums,
Its brilliant purity cannot contend with the season's beauty.
IV.
The lotus grows in the clear fountain water,
Its green leaves all lie like full circles.
Under the whirlwind the floating mists dissipate,
Along the stems drop dewy pearls.
It brightens the golden pond magnificently,
And adorns His Majesty's jade pool brilliantly.
It does not worry if the world ceases to appreciate it,
But fears that your great grace might change.

V.
When the bright sun reaches the meridian of heaven,
The whole world shares its glorious brilliance;
But there a tiny grass in the north garden
Is enduring the frost at daylight.
Since prosperity and adversity are so abrupt and sudden.
There is no need to attend to one's virtue.
So I set up the lute and sing for you,
But before I complete the song, the string breaks.

89. Imitating the Reverend Mr. Ruan's "Unable to Sleep Late at Night"

Unable to sleep in the dead of midnight,
I pour wine to dissipate this deep depression.
The gentle breeze is refreshing in the night,
And through cracks and crevices flows in the moonlight.
A calling crane is heard once in a while,
It has been separated from the flock for a thousand leagues.
For whom have you been standing still so long.
Alone, brooding vainly over your distress and troubles?
Great anxiety is not the intent of my life,
And small wishes need not to multiply;
Except that the goblet should always be full of wine,
That friends and acquaintances would often visit one another.
In the autumn wind of July and August,
The cool dew moistens the silk dress of summer.
I sit at the door with a zither,
Sigh deeply and gaze into the Heavenly river.
I would rather keep this peaceful state without turbulence,
Than be detained again by the wind and waves.

91. Poem of Numbers

"One" alone serves as an official west of the Hangu Pass,
While his family clans scatter east of the mountain.
"Two" years he has attended on the imperial chariot,
To fast and sacrifice in the Fresh Spring Palace.
"Three" imperial new-year celebrations are completed,
He takes a leave of absence to return to his native place.
"Four" radiant stallions dash for the long road,
And the light carriage flies like a swift swan.
"Five" marquises throw a banquet to bid him farewell,
And in Xinfeng, the imperial native city, they all assemble.
"Six" musical instruments have been set up before the audience,
The spring breeze flutters curtains and screens with tassels.
"Seven" saucer dancers flap their long sleeves,
And arrayed in the courtyard are the singing bells.
"Eight" kinds of delicacies fill up carved tables,
Rich food and savoury dishes are piled up in extravagance.
"Nine" family clans linger around to pay him reverence,
Guests and friends look up to adore his countenance.
"Ten" years' study does not promise a person achievement,
But a cunning official may in a day enjoy its fulfillment.

92. Poem Listing the Temporal Correlates of the Twelve Earthly Branches

"Establishing" banners and going out of Dunhuang,
The army is to punish the west vassal state Qiang.
"Excluding" the cavalry and the foot soldier,
There are already ten thousand chariots spreading but in order.
"Filling" up the valley and all over the hill,
They pile up saddles to make a camp wall.
"Extending" over a thousand-league vast plain,
The procession of banners and drummers winds its way in sight.
"Settling" down to rest before the rear guard comes to halt,
The advanced troops are ordered to progress by the patrol.
"Holding" the spear on guard without a moment of pause,
They do not relax the strings of the bent bows.
"Destroying" and exterminating the Xiling State,
They capture Zhizhi Khan of the Huns alive.
"Threatening" rebellion is reduced to peaceful submission,
And a strategic pass is installed at this frontier place.
"Completing" the mission, they enter the Pass of Jade Gate,
To be welcome by men and women with jars of wine or water.
"Receiving" rewards for merits is but for the present,
The remaining glory is yet to shine upon ages to come.
"Colonizing" territory is rewarded with the red noble sashes,
And the left and right assistants each receive a golden seal.
"Closing" the curtains to draft the Great Occult,
That is too crazy and foolish a conduct.

93. The White Clouds

Searching for the spiritual he was overjoyed to shed the physical,
Fathoming the supernatural he is able to transcend the world.
With a lofty disposition he does not long for the mundane,
Destroying the worldly he loves to pursue the immortal.
To refine elixirs, he lodges at the Hall of Brightness,
To make the jade powder, he rests by the jasper abyss.

With a singing phoenix he soars over the forest and the palace,
And alights upon the fairy Mount Peng on the dragon vehicle.
To gather the three-colored dew, he climbs over the precipice,
To play with auspicious clouds he mounts a swan goose.
As the bright sun draws near the rosy sunset,
The wind flirts with the swiftly-flowing spring water.
In between the moon and its reflection he proposes to goddesses,
And in between two stars he has a tryst with fairy beauties.

Returning to the Home Village after
94. Mourning Ends for the Prince of Linchuan

The rite observes the end of mourning for the deceased prince,
But I am mortified to serve him in such a contemptuous way.
I put up my court dress and lay aside the official carriage,
My desire is to return to live in the valley village.
I contemplated and found no way to repay his kindness,
I felt ashamed to the divine nobility and gave up my office.
For almost a decade I abandoned my garden,
Now I have returned to attend the bean plants.
The bamboo bookcase is filled with Taoist classics,
And the dusty pavilion is full of agriculture books.
As the sorrowful autumn wind blows,
The woeful cold atmosphere arises.
While the heavy mists brighten up flowers and grass,
The high moon beautifies the clouds and the ranges.
Diligently I cultivate the farm myself in retirement,
And to medicinal fungi and herbs I entrust my ailment.
To retire from the world just for this
Is not only limited to Mount Shangluo's sages.

Walking to Circulate the Medicine's Effect, I Reached the City's East Bridge

The city gate officers arise at the crow of the rooster,
To beat the drum and open the gate for the morning traffic.
I restrain the cart from going into the long country road,
And stretch to gaze down from the city's surrounding dike.
Creeping plants climb over the high battlement corners,
While the broad thoroughfare is lined with tall poplars.
At this very dawn there arises a swift gust,
And the level road is covered with the flying dust.
Travelers in search of office hustle and bustle,
While busy and hasty are the merchant and the common people.
They either seek the nearby profits with gold,
Or bid farewell to their parents to travel afar with a sword.
On the ten-thousand li road they strive to be ahead of others,
Each tries to take care of a life of one hundred years.
Flowers should blossom at the early season in time
Lest the full bloom regret the high light of spring.
Forever dazzling and bright are the worthy and the noble,
Always forgotten and lost are the poor and the humble.
Sitting, I allow my countenance and complexion to wither,
For whom, indeed, do I endure the hardship and suffer?
A Stroll in the Autumn Garden

I have not been well because of an ailment,
Annoyingly thin again is my morning garment.
As the season turns my fleabane gate becomes deserted,
And the frequent wind devastates the garden grass.
The desolate ruin is dusky in the early evening,
The gloomy yard is pitiable in the cold night.
I am first saddened by the moonlit house's stillness,
Then grieved by the night insect's distress.
It is bitter to lie idly in the west wind's soughing,
For to my distress my age and ambition are waning.
I would like to sing a song but do not know the melody,
So with whom should I enjoy my aroused eagerness?
Had I made acquaintances with musical sentiment,
I would not be playing the string alone in retirement.

Watching the Gardener Planting Flowers

A cunning merchant laughs at the fishing and sericulture,
And a witty official slights grazing and agriculture.
They trade afar through all the passes and markets,
To the extremes of the sea and the land to seek for profits.
They ride in a light carriage with a real gold harness,
They wait at the wineshop in real pearl dress.
Without the skill to make a living with ease,
I cannot obtain millet and meat in indolence;
Instead, I receive and enjoy the fortune of my lifetime
To have moderate government decree and friendly officials.
The spring fields had been plowed and planted in time,
And the autumn grounds have been mowed or beaten out early.
The marsh area has been luxuriant and exuberant,
And the mountain crops have become ripe and abundant.
On the dike I have lunch with a spade still in my hand,
For the night I built a thatched hut in the field.
I know only that I love simplicity,
And do not understand the vacillation of the worldly.

98. Digging Sealworts When Passing by Mount Tong

The Classic of the Central secretes the earth essence,
The Scripture of the Internal conceals the water quintessence.
The precious medicated cake prolongs adolescence,
The elixir of life halts failing senility.
To collect some more sentiment for eternity,
Once again in the mists I try to find traces.
The ram-horn-like peak detains the cloudlet,
The bottleneck-like brook files through the rocky pass.
The Copper Stream is dark and deep even in the daylight,
The stalactite drains trickle and drip all night.
The stone steps resemble that of the Wind-gate Mountain,
The precipice is similar to that of the Well of Heaven.
Shivering leaves are falling flickeringly,
Autumn waters are accumulating flushingly.
The pine shades turn darker as the wilderness extends,
The dew under the moonlight becomes hoary on the grass.
Though I embrace the idea of rafting over the ocean vainly,
I do not yearn for travelers from Liang and Zheng.
Just as the ancient sages had no resentment to die for humanity,
I do not regret to submit myself to the Way at present.
I saw a jade dealer reluctant to make a deal with someone who intended to buy but suspected the jade was false, and wrote this poem merely to make a mockery of the buyer. 見賣玉器者，或人欲買，疑其是珉，不肯市。聊作此詩，以戲買者。

The Jing River and the Wei River may not be mixed up together, And the jade and the stone should be distinguished earlier.
Since you are a visitor to Chu of the ancient state, You would not have heard of the folklore of ignorance before.
You could hardly understand the jade's splendid nature, You could hardly distinguish its soft and bright texture.
I have just passed through the imperial capital, And entered the Hanyuan Pass from the Luo River.
I have made my beauty known among the ten noble houses, And spread my fame among the four powerful families.
My outstanding reputation has astonished the court and the city, My esteemed value is highly admired in the village and country.
How can I argue with you folks, And distinguish blemish from perfection?

There is always a reason for grief or joy to emerge, But no cause for parting or meeting to take place.
It is hard to recollect past affairs, For the recollection always falls into a dazed state.
The meeting date is still far beyond the horizon, The future encounter is hardly going to happen.
The swift wind sweeps the road to the far distance, And the evening dust stains my silk socks.
My longing for you has become a torment, And I want to rest but my eyebrows do not relax.
101. Dreaming of Returning Home

Through the outer gate I leave the city in tears,
Trust to my sword I go through deserted thoroughfares.
The sandstorm rises to the sky over the frontier,
Strongly attached to his homeland is the heart of the wayfarer.
At midnight I go to sleep on my pillow of loneliness,
And fall into a dream of returning home in an instant.
My wife, living like a widow, sighs at the door,
While drawing silk from cocoons and reeling it to the spinner.
We talk about our long separation to our hearts' content,
Then retire together to our beautiful bedchamber.
The dripping from the eaves is desolately chilly,
The light in the bedchamber shines cozily and dimly.
The cut orchid contends with her aromatic sweetness,
The plucked chrysanthemum competes with her flushed freshness.
She opens the mirror case to put in her sachets of fragrance,
And stretches hands out of sleeves to untie her lacy garment.
In dreaming the long way home has become much shorter,
In awakening I find myself still separated by the great river.
I rise up and sigh vainly in astonishment,
And my soul soars as I fall into a trance.
The swirling white waters rush ahead,
The high mountains stand out eminently.
The ebb and flow changes the tidal waters,
The wind and frost makes flourishing things wither.
This land is not my homeland,
To whom shall I tell my indignant sentiment?

102. Sojourning in Spring

A traveler laments the long journey,
But felt at ease to leave home for a short trip.
Now there is no way to go back on a festival day,  
For the Huaiyang District is not just a foot away.  
A desire to saunter arises on this spring day,  
And in melancholy I go out irresolutely.  
The cliff is distant and the clouds extend,  
The valley winds its way and the spring meanders.  
When the wind blows, the petals scatter,  
As the dew is heavy the twigs .......

The cliff is distant and the clouds extend,  
The valley winds its way and the spring meanders.  
When the wind blows, the petals scatter,  
As the dew is heavy the twigs .......

The genial and beautiful season is here,  
But I am so depressed with sadness.  
I am a horse neighing for reputation in frontier defences,  
Not just the poems written on papers in my book cases.  
I am writing this poem for your zither,  
And the new song reminds me of an understanding friend.

103. Sorrows at the Year's End

The day and the night revolve in a circuit,  
And today's sorrow is just like that of yesterday.  
The sky is dull and gloomy during the day,  
The bright snow swirls around by night.  
The wild goose braving the frost is clean white,  
The crane surpassing the wind flies swiftly.  
Many scenes are simply miserable in this cold weather,  
When the genial sun sets into the rosy valley.  
My heart is anxious, a thousand miles away,  
As I pass the night alone without any promise.  
The beauty has gone back at the end of the year,  
With whom should I drink this lonely jar?
104. Lamenting for the Year and Grieving over Old Age in Jiangling

It is not easy to eliminate the five kinds of life-calamity,

The three types of fate should be guarded like an abyss.

Only the square pupil eyes can find the pine resin,

While the red hair depends a lot on the stone cinnamon.

The life of toil will by itself come to an end,

For the physical body cannot be kept intact.

I roll up the curtain to see the sunset,

And gaze around at the beautiful scenery.

The swallow flirts flittingly with the wind,

The willow stands by the roadside waving gracefully.

The pond and the ditch are full of duckweeds,

The flowers and grass scatter over the garden and the hedge.

When the ash in the pipe drops, the season will change,

And all will wither and fall into senility.

105. Listening to a Songstress at Night: Two Poems

I.

I have been sitting in the night for many an hour,

As the Milky Way slants and the dewdrop falls.

It enters my cold, clear bedchamber,

And covers the luxuriant garden pulse.

The string and flute are affected by the evening atmosphere,

And there arise around the beams sounds of sadness.

The prime of one's life cannot last forever,

Make merry and in time share the happiness.

The banquet will be over by the morning twilight,

So drink away the night as the music takes flight.

II.

The scented oil has been consumed more during the night.

The music resumes as banquet tables and seats are in disorder.
One would not endure the bitter sentimental exhaustion after,  
Were it not to cherish one's youthful, pretty countenance.  

106. *Admiring the Moon from the Office by the West City Gate*  

As it first appears above the southwest towers,  
It is as slender as a jade hook;  
Then as it shines on the northeast stairs,  
It looks graceful like a maiden eyebrow.  
The maiden eyebrow is concealed by pearl screens,  
The jade hook is blocked out of the lattice window.  
But in the fifteenth or sixteenth evening,  
It shines a thousand leagues on you and me alike.  
As the night advances the Dipper and the Milky Way are slanting,  
Through the curtains of the bedchamber it shimmers.  
The submissive flowers will wither before the dew falls,  
The parting leaves will bid farewell before the wind blows.  
As a sojourner I am weary of the toil of traveling,  
As an official I am tired of the whirling dust.  
Today is a free day of leave for rest,  
A time for idle comfort and feasting.  
The Shu zither plays the Song of White Snow,  
The Ying folksong renders the Melody of Sunny Spring.  
The delicacy is gone but there is no lack of wine,  
And the golden wine jar is ready for the evening drinking.  
I unharness the light carriage but send the coach back,  
And stay to drink and wait for my darling.  

107. *Timely Rains*  

The She Sacrifice has reached the multitude of Yin,  
And the gathering clouds overcast the accumulated Yang.  
The mists soar like a dragon from the well and the river,
The radiant sun withdraws its brilliant glitter.  
The clouds let fly the vernal water.  
The storm prevents birds from taking flight.  
The rising vapor saturates the earth axes,  
The pouring rains drain the starry Milky Way.  
An even rainfall spreads over the sea and the mountain,  
The winding overflow floods the river and the highway.  
The roll of thunder rumbles over the cassia islets,  
The revolving streams flow from the Hall of Jade.  
Precious trees put forth green branches,  
Brilliant plants flush with red blossom.  
The custom and the market are prosperous with nine taxes,  
The capital granary sets up ten thousand storehouses.  
There is no need to thank Yao as the sovereign ruler,  
And it is not necessary to know the Bo Emperor.  

108. Suffering from Incessant Rains

The continuous gloom gathers saturating moisture,  
And then it rains in torrents continuously.  
The gloomy clouds overcast the day and night,  
The sudden rainstorm lingers in the early morning.  
Animals are scarce on the muddy hill road,  
As birds fly quietly through woods rather cold.  
The dense mist obscures the lower mountain brooks,  
The gathering clouds harbour over the higher river banks.  
As the wild sparrows have no place to alight,  
A flock of chickens gather in the empty hall.  
The bridge over the river becomes longer day by day,  
And the one I miss over the waters is getting farther away.  
I vainly pour the wine of mutual rememberance,  
And uselessly urge the music to play through the night.
109. On the White Snow

The white jade tablet by itself is truly white,
But is not as bright as the snow light,
Though the artisan applied force according to its property
To make it round or square according to its potential.
The snow does not impair the jade's pretty countenance,
Nor outshines the white silk's brilliance.
It devotes its heart to guard its persisting integrity,
And withdraws from the world to shun the flourishing season.
But the orchid was burned and the jade broken into pieces,
What is the use of relying on fragrance or solidity?

110. The Third Day of Third Month

The warm weather arouses my heart's anxiety,
The green willow excites spring thoughts.
The beauties of the time appreciate flowers and herbs,
And ascend the terrace to gaze around in clean robes.
Though I carry my wine vessel to drink in the countryside,
Still overcast with passionate mists is my mind.
The white dews stain the spring grass,
The spring water cleanses the ice-bound moss.
Twigs moistened by dew hang down softly,
Trees fluttering with the wind wave gracefully.
The wild ducklings are pecking water chestnuts and greens,
The orioles are picking the plum and the cherry.
I unfasten my collar to appreciate the pleasant scenery,
And approach the stream to compete in overturning the wine cups.
Where on earth is the beauty?
My impulsive heart in vain suffers a self-afflicted agony.
Late in the season the autumn orchid is vainly green,
And the prevailing wind is gradually indifferent to it.
The whirlwind swiftly blows through my doorway curtain,
And disturbs the dust on the beam of this house.
The dark gloom could not last long,
For the graceful sunshine will gradually sink into oblivion.
How can I have a sudden spiritual transcendence,
So that I may see the departed one temporarily?

I embrace with distressful tears my heart’s perception,
And in the silence of night begin a speculative contemplation.
My desolate bedchamber is full of cool wind,
And my quiet yard is filled with clear luminescence.
Flowers of the purple orchid have already lost the fragrance,
Leaves of the tong tree are just getting sparse.
The wind from the sea is bitterly freezing over the Han River,
And the sleet from the north unexpectedly falls over the meander.
As hair becomes grey one realizes the prime of life is over,
As things wither one knows that the year’s end draws near.
At the nightfall, and for my solitude, I sigh and lament.
Appreciating the night scene I resent the estrangement.
The bright moon merely wanders in hesitation,
And I sit in my secluded bedchamber in vexation.

The lamp oil is exhausted, since long has been the night,
At it is dawning, though not yet quite daylight.
After exhaustion comes revolving again my encircling sentiment.
So I rise in the empty bedchamber to do my morning adornment.
Fortunately there comes the return of the heavenly twilight,
And entering my desolate hall is the slanting morning light.
Around the window traceries it lingers,
And like the candlelight around the beams it flickers.
Folding and unfolding in the wind the curtains flutter,
While the dews on the bamboo screens rank in order.
The yearly active service is pressing at the winter's depth,
The life one experiences is full of cold and warmth.
The light silks have been dyed and cleansed in the morning,
And are to be cut and sewed during the long evening.
The winter snow is bound to arrive any day or night,
But the young lord is still short of clothing.
My youthful heart cherishes the withering and the falling,
As well as my glowing countenance and complexion.
I wish you would cut off various distracting thoughts,
And resume our drinking for the time being.

II.
I withdraw from the world to avoid the hustle and bustle,
And to live in solitude to engage in agriculture.
The wild rats run along the desolate trail,
The mountain sparrows flock in the empty hall.
Although I had left far behind earthly pleasure,
I can yet rely on my joy in the flower and the fountain.
I snapped willow twigs to fence the ground and the garden,
And set up rope on a stand to draw water from the deep lake.
I can see the cloudy peak in the fine morning,
And hear the sea crane in the windy evening.
The early cold has reached the banks of the river,
And earlier than the autumn the white dew falls.
The sesame in the high field just starts to curve leaves.
The melon patch is already full of fallen stipels.
The slanting sunlight suddenly sets in the west,
Its reflection reminds me of a splendid curtain.
Fingering the creeper ivy I sit in the mid-hall,
But cannot drink as I raise the wine vessel.
There have been many regrets since time immemorial.
And my grief and indignation will perish with me.

114. To Rhyme with Protecto-general Wang's "The Autumn Evening"

The autumn clouds drift away freely.
The hoary moonlight is desolately chilly.
The whirlwind rises from the northwest suddenly,
A solitary wild goose flies homeward through the evening.
Sitting right in front of the window on the balcony,
I have my zither out and try to play.
I suspend my singing, being unable to keep in harmony,
And long after the melody is over I am still sorrowful.
The autumn air is sternly forbidding,
The exalted sun has feebly declined.
The spring has dried up and the sweet well is drained,
The season changes and the years of fragrance diminish.
Livelihoods vary each in different ways,
Who is to share their ease and hardship with understanding?
My heart is pent up to send this piece of writing
On light silk to the place a thousand miles away.
I wish that after taking care of the orphans and the old people,
You would remember to eat and drink more at meal time.
To Rhyme with Prefect Wang of Yixing's
115. "The Seventh Evening of the Seventh Month"

Upon the closed door leaves descend the evening moonlight,
And the night mists are then just hoary white.
By the lonely spinning wheels the widow laments,
In the desolate hall the traveler comes to tears.
Not destined to have a mate for a whole year,
But every double-seventh evening there is the image of a pair.
Let's submit our hearts to firm friendship just for a moment,
For we will be separated in an instant like rain from clouds.

116. The Winter Solstice

Zhuang Zi mocked at the alteration of the boat's place,
Confucius sighed at the river's rapid flow.
As the season changes the wind starts to alter,
And the shadow of the gnomon turns back at the solstice.
Far, far away is the crane braving the frost,
Clear and bright is the wild goose bearing the clouds.
There ice crystals form on the river,
And tiers of ice look like a bank of jasper.
My countenance is getting old with deep sorrow,
And the sad face grieves at the close of the year.
Seasons pass by in haste,
And meetings and partings are imminent.
The beauty has not returned yet since,
With whom shall I play the zither?

117. The Winter Day

The stern winter wind rises from the irregular ridge,
The white sun is about to return to set in the west.
The dusky mist shrouds the desolate firmament,
The cold earth is obscured by the evening gloom,
The mist envelops all in the haze,
And the sun has lost dazzling brilliance.
The wind blows over the empty wilderness hastily,
The hungry birds desert one another gradually.
All living things share prosperity and adversity,
But has any man of worth acted just for his own advantage?
If the providence of Heaven is completely impartial,
Why has there been such partiality?
The sea at low ebb will have the returning high tide,
But the decrepit face cannot recover its youthful countenance.
But just take it easy and rest now,
And do not worry about imminent old age.

118. Gazing at the Waters

Brushing my temples, I became anxious on the autumn day.
So I ascended the height to gaze at the flood water.
Thousands of torrents arise from the same stream,
Myriads of gullies share the same vastness,
The huge rock makes the swift current swirl,
And surging froth rushes over the swirling water.
The ridge banks are eminently lofty,
The desolate islet is bright and clear.
I can hardly foresee my return to the east,
With whom can I appreciate the water that passes by every day?
Things of the past come to my mind as I approach the river,
And my eyesight fails with age-old anxiety.
The Lord of the River brags about its own greatness,
While the God of the Sea is deeply silent about its vastness.
119. Gazing at an Isolated Odd Rock

There are many warm valleys south of the river,
And various trees on cold summits are luxuriant.
Though the white snow still embraces the red flower,
Sunlit branches in the north wind are luxuriant.
The clam and shellfish flow with the beautiful algae,
Colorful rocks are mistaken as a rainbow in the mist.
The dispersing clouds drift away into boundless vastness,
The swift current rushes to the expanse of water.
I chant and sing as the clear clepsydra runs out,
And linger around when the dawning is about over.
How long will the vagrant and ephemeral life last?
My rejoicing suddenly overflows with sentiment.

120. Traveling through the Mountain. I Saw a Solitary Tung Tree

A tung tree grows among a hill of rocks,
And roots alone in a ground of cold darkness.
Above, it leans against the precipitous cliff,
Below, it bears the depth of the abyss.
The running spring is swift and turbulent in winter,
The misty rains are heavy and incessant in summer.
Before there is any frost, leaves have started falling,
And branches and twigs intone without a soughing gale.
From dawn to dusk it gathers bitter feeling,
While day and night mournful birds wail.
It makes an abandoned woman weep and cover her face,
It makes an exiled vassal sigh and beat his breast.
Although it can console the one in solitude and peril,
It cannot bear the dismal desolation.
I wish that it will be cut and carved by chance
To be made into a zither in the lord's hall.
121. On a Pair of Swallows

I.

Around the cloudy precipice a pair of swallows flutter,
They have just become fully fledged to fly one after the other.
In and out of the south boudoir they flicker,
And over the court by the north hall they hover.
They intend to nest on your curtains,
But tiers of pillars are too much to penetrate.
The fragrant season is getting late as they hesitate,
The beautiful spring shifts while they linger.
Departing their former love with a song of sadness,
They go in tears to seek after a new acquaintance.

II.

Lovely swallows among the clouds
Leave at dawn and return by the evening.
They are aware of the weakness of their feathers,
And do not try to outdo the wild geese flying.
But send their regrets to the soaring geese:
"Go ahead to do justice to your feather robe!
Our petty hearts are shallow and vulgar,
And unable to sustain any disgrace or honor.
The gloomy Mount Yin is full of miserable mist,
And the perilous season is imminent with severe sternness.
And you should try not only to avoid the snow and the frost,
But also to guard against the hunter's cunningness."

122. After Drinking

Both time and season do not delay,
And age and will do not stay together.
Not having drunk to my heart's content,
How can my anxiety as a traveler be soothed?
123. An Account of the Changes

The Yun Marshes are hovered by the fairy immortal.
The slant canopy can summon beneficial friends.
As the garden is not festooned with golden adornments,
Tao is easier to follow if written on the girdle.

124. Loveliness

A wind-blown curtain of sparkling pearls,
And a moonlit screen of misty silks;
Or the Wei maids sewing the autumn dress,
And the Zhao beauties learning spring songs.

125. Listening to the Sound of the Night

One usually leaves home without realizing the distance,
Until there is little joy but encircling sadness.
How can I soothe my autumn expectation,
But observe in candlelight the night shift to daylight?

126. On Old Age

From the fading complexion the rosy bloom disappears,
Among the black temple hair the white flower appears;
Time flies and old age is about to approach,
One can do nothing about it but complain.

127. On the Spring

Both the season and the transition are most lamentable
At no other time than in the spring;
When the gentle breeze is not yet genial,
And the remaining cold is still shivery and bracing.
128. Word Riddles: Three Poems

I.
It has two forms in one body,
And four trunks with eight heads.
Four eights plus one eight,
And upward flow the flying cascades.

II.
Its head resembles a knife,
Its tail looks like a hook.
Its center is broad across,
And it has four horns with six forks;
While it carries two blades on the right
And a pair of cattle on the left.

III.
The one nine in the Heaven trigram
Stands alone without a mate;
While the two sixes in the Earth trigram
Live together like a couple.

129. Poem Presented to Officer Gu

We will be separated far from each other by dusk or dawn,
It is indeed hard to predict parting or meeting.
Our wandering ruts part at the river spring,
The prow leads to the west and the track to the east.
130. Zhang and Recluse Li in Jingzhou

The stone bridge resists the carriage wheel,
While roadside bamboos brush the light saddle.
Though three times a Subprefect I have found no joy,
The only pleasure is to hold a fishing pole.

131. Third Joint Stanza with Minister Xie

The clouds are bright and the torrent is clear,
The sky is serene and the river is limpid.
The breeze is gentle for the peach to flower,
While the dew is too heavy for the orchid to endure.
As fog over the pines shifts, the water's reflection radiates;
When dew on rocks congeals, the mountain mists accumulate.
Things set one another off brilliantly in the morning,
While birds soar one after the other endlessly by the evening.

132. Joint Stanza: Ascending the Tower under the Moonlight

The creeper under the moonlight can be seen dimly,
The bamboos in the hazy mist sway confusedly.
A new found joy disperses the melancholy,
And the reached-for wine relaxes the anxiety.
NOTES

I. NOTES TO PART ONE

A. Notes to the Introduction

1. The super-elite's reception of Bao Zhao has been fully discussed in "A Biographical Study of Bao Zhao" in this thesis, pp.127-129.

2. Bao Zhao's rise to officialdom has been fully discussed in "A Biographical Study of Bao Zhao" in this thesis, pp.73-117.


8. See the biographical note on Bao Zhao in Shen Yue 沈約, Song Shu 宋書 (Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 1974), V.5, pp.1477-1480.


Zhong Qi 鍾祺, Zhongguo Shige Luncong 中古詩歌論叢 (Hong Kong: Shanghai Shuju, 1985), p.95.
Liu Dajie 劉大杰, Zhongguo Wenxue Fada Shi 中國文學發達史 (Taipei: Zhonghua Shuju, 1979), p.311. Also see "Preface" in Qian, op.cit., p.3.
B. Notes to A Biographical Study of Bao Zhao

1. See "Zi Xu 自序" in Shen Yue 沈约, Song Shu 宋書 (Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 1974), V.8, p.2467.

2. See "Zi Xu 自序" in Shen, ibid., V.8, p.2467.

3. See the biographical note on Su Baosheng 蘇寶生 in Shen, ibid., V.8, p.1958.

4. See "Xu Yuan Zhuan 徐爰傳" in Shen, ibid., V.8, pp.2301-2312.
   Also cf. Appendix 5 for the translation of titles of officials and officers of the Liu Song Dynasty.

5. See the biographical note on Bao Zhao in "Yiqing Zhuan 義慶傳" in Shen, ibid., V.5, pp.1477-1480.

   Also see "Zhang Pu 堯頤 cited in Qian Zhonglian 錢仲聯, ed., Biao Canjun Ji Zhu 鞳üssen集注 (Shanghai: Shanghai Guji Chubanshe, 1980), p.vi.


8. The history books provided no biographical sketch of Yu Yan, except that the "Biography of Crown Prince Wenhui" in the Nan Shi 南史 文惠太子傳 recorded that he was once in the Prince's Counsel, and the "Biography of Lu Huixiao" in the Nan Shi 南史 陸慧曉傳 recorded that he was a native of Kuaiji 會稽. It also noted that he and Shen Yue, with their literary talents, found favour with Crown Prince Wenhui, and that he had a title as high as that of Xiaoji-Jiangjun 騎駙將軍.
   See "Wenhui Taizi Zhuan 文惠太子傳" in Li Yanshou 李延壽, II, Nan Shi 南史 (Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 1975), V.4, p.1099.
   Also see the biographical note on Yu Yan 虞炎 in "Lu Huixiao Zhuan 陸慧曉傳" in Li, ibid., V.4, p.1198.

9. See "Yu Yan Xu 虞炎序" in Qian, op.cit., p.v.

10. See "Wenhui Taizi Zhuan 文惠太子傳" in Li, II, op.cit., V.4, p.1099.
    Also see the biographical note on Yu Yan 虞炎 in "Lu Huixiao Zhuan 陸慧曉傳" in Li, ibid., V.4, p.1198.
    Also cf. "Zhou Yong Zhuan 周頤傳" in Xiao, op.cit., V.3, p.730.
    Also cf. "Lu Huixiao Zhuan 陸慧曉傳" in Xiao, ibid., V.3, p.805.

11. See "Wenhui Taizi Zhuan 文惠太子傳" in Li, II, op.cit., V.4, p.1099.

12. See "Bai Guan Zhi 百官志" in Xiao, op.cit., V.2, pp.326-328.
    Also cf. "Bai Guan Zhi 百官志" in Shen, op.cit., V.4, pp.1252-1255.
    Also see the chart of officials in the administration of the Heir Apparent in Appendix 4.


15. See "Yulin Wang Ji 鬱林王紀" in Xiao, ibid., V.1, p.70. See "Wenhui Taizi Zhan 文惠太子傳" in Li, II, op.cit., V.4, p.1101.

16. See the foreword to the publication of the Song Shu in Shen, op.cit., V.1, p.i.


22. See the foreword to the publication of the Nan Shi, in Li, II, op.cit., V.1, pp.vi-viii.

23. See the biographical note on Bao Zhao in Li, II, ibid., V.2, p.360.

24. Ibid., V.2, p.360. Also see the biographical note on Bao Zhao in Shen, op.cit., V.5, pp.1477-1480. Also see "Yu Yan Xu 虞炎序" in Qian, op.cit., p.v. Also cf. Appendix 7. The Chronicle of Bao Zhao Resketched (pp.415-420) according to the result of this study in Part II, D.


26. See Chen Hang's interpretation of the 18th verse of "Imitating the Road of Adversity" in his "Notes and Commentaries on Allegories in Poetry (詩比興箋)," cited by Qian, op.cit., p.244.


28. See notes on the King of Shu 蜀帝 from Huayang Guo Zhi 華陽國志 and Chengdu Ji 成都記, cited by Qian, op.cit., p.233, n.2.
29. See note on King Jian of the State of Tian Qi 田齊王建 from "Qi Shijia 田齊世家" in Shi Ji 史記, cited by Qian, ibid., p.234.


32. See Chen Hang's 陳沆 interpretation, cited by Qian, ibid., p.235.

33. See Chen Hang's 陳沆 interpretation, cited by Qian, ibid., p.244.

34. See Chen Hang's 陳沆 interpretation, cited by Qian, ibid., p.245.

35. Qian, ibid., pp.438-439, n.s.

36. Ibid., pp.438-439, n.s.

37. See the biographical note on Bao Zhao in Li, II, op.cit., V.2, p.360.

38. See "Yiqing Zhuan 義慶傳" in Shen, op.cit., V.5, p.1477.

39. Qian, op.cit., p.78.

40. Ibid., p.55.

41. See "Xie Zhuang Zhuan 謝莊傳" in Li, II, op.cit., V.2, pp.555-556.

42. See "Wu Di Ji 武帝紀" in Yao, op.cit., V.1, p.23.
Also see "Wu Di Ji 武帝紀" in "Liang Ben Ji 梁本紀" in Li, II, op.cit.,
V.1, p.188.


44. See "Ruan Changzhi Zhuan 阮長之傳" in Li, II, op.cit., V.6, p.1703.
Also see "Ruan Changzhi Zhuan 阮長之傳" in Shen, op.cit., V.8, p.2269.
Also see Han Guopan 韓國磐, Nancho Jingji Shitan 南朝經紀試探 (Shanghai:

45. See "Yiqing Zhuan 義慶傳" in Shen, op.cit., V.5, p.1477.

46. See the preface to the Biographies of the Imperial Favorite Courtiers
(袛臣傳) in Xiao, op.cit., V.3, p.972.

47. See the biographical note on Bao Zhao in Li, II, op.cit., V.2, p.360.

48. See "Yu Yan Xu 虞炎序" in Qian, op.cit., p.v.

49. Qian, ibid., p.431.
Also see Wu, op.cit., pp.1-3.

50. Wu, ibid., p.3.
Qian, op.cit., p.438, n.2-3.

51. See "Zhoujun Zhi 州郡志" in Shen, op.cit., V.4, p.1049.

52. Ibid., V.4, p.1038.

53. Ibid.
54. Ibid., V.4, p.1039.
55. Ibid., V.4, p.1049.
57. See "Zhoujun Zhi 州郡志" in Shen, op.cit., V.4, p.1038.
58. Ibid., V.4, p.1050.
59. Ibid., V.4, pp.1053-1054; p.1059.
60. Ibid., V.4, pp.1033-1034.
61. Qian, op.cit., p.60.
63. Ibid., V.5, p.1477.  
Also see the preface to the Biographies of the Imperial Favorite Courtiers (僑臣傳) in Xiao, op.cit., V.3, p.972.
64. See "Yiqing Zhuan 義慶傳" in Shen, op.cit., V.5, p.1480.  
Also see "Wen Di Ji 文帝紀" in Shen, ibid., V.1, p.91.
65. See "Returning to the Home Village After Mourning Ends for the Prince of Linchuan (臨川王服竟還田里)," and "Dreaming of Returning Home (夢還鄉)" in Qian, op.cit., p.370, 384.
66. See "Zhoujun Zhi 州郡志" in Shen, op.cit., V.4, p.1038.
67. Qian, op.cit., p.80, n.5; p.316, n.9.
68. Ibid., p.79.
69. Ibid., p.314.
70. Ibid., p.257.
71. Ibid., p.258.
72. See "Zhoujun Zhi 州郡志" in Shen, op.cit., V.4, p.1034.
73. Ibid., V.4, pp.1029-1030.
Cf. Bielenstein, H., "The Census of China During the Period 2-742 A.D."

75. See "Wen Di Ji 文帝紀" in Shen, op.cit., V.1, p.97.

76. See "Zhoujun Zhi 州郡志" in Shen, ibid., V.4, p.1038.

77. Ibid., V.4, pp.1039-1040.


79. Qian, op.cit., p.75.

80. Ibid., p.60.

81. Ibid., p.56.

82. Ibid., p.53.

83. Ibid., p.62.

84. Ibid., p.53.

85. Ibid., p.80.


87. The Sheltered and the Attached Households included all the legal and illegal Tenants 佃客, Retainers or Clients 門客家客, Disciples 門生, Private Soldiers 部曲, Righteous Followers 義從, Servitors 侍僕, the Sheltered Households 責戶, Buddha Households 佛圖戶, Sangka Households 僧祇戶, and the Attached Temple Households 寺附戶. The Miscellaneous Bonded Households included Government Servitors 吏, the Military Households 軍戶, the Barrack Households 營戶, and the Government Craftsmen 官府工匠. The Slaves included captives of war 生口.

88. See the preface to the Biographies of the Imperial Courtiers (樞臣傳) in Xiao, op.cit., V.3, p.970.

89. See "Cai Xingzong Zhuan 蔡興宗傳" in Shen, op.cit., V.5, p.1584.

90. Li, ibid.

91. See "Zhang Fu Zhuan 張敷傳" in Shen, ibid., V.6, p.1663.
Also cf. his biographical notes in "Zhang Shao Zhuan 張邵傳" in Li, II, op.cit., V.3, p.826.

92. Li, II, ibid., V.2, p.630.

93. See "En Xing Zhuan 恩悻傳" in Shen, op.cit., V.8, pp.2302-2306.

94. See "Yu Yan Xu 處炎序" in Qian, op.cit., p.v.

95. See the biographical notes on Chao Shangzhi 巢尚之 in "Dai Faxing Zhuan 戴法興傳" in Shen, op.cit., V.8, p.2303.

96. See "Yiqing Zhuan 義慶傳" in Shen, ibid., V.5, p.1477.

97. See "Yu Yan Xu 處炎序" in Qian, op.cit., p.v.

98. See "Yiqing Zhuan 義慶傳" in Li, op.cit., V.2, p.360.


100. See "Yuan Shu Zhuan 袁淑傳" in Shen, ibid., V.6, p.1840.

101. See "Xie Lingyun Zhuan 謝靈運傳" in Shen, ibid., V.6, p.1775.

102. Qian, op.cit., p.78.


104. See "Er Xiong Zhuan 二凶傳" in Shen, ibid., V.8, p.2439.

105. Qian, op.cit., p.370.

106. See "Yiqing Zhuan 義慶傳" in Shen, op.cit., V.5, pp.1475-1480.

107. See the Appendixes for the list of the staff in various administrations of the time.

108. See "Li Zhi 禮志" in Shen, op.cit., V.2, p.345.

109. See "Wen Di Ji 文帝紀" in Shen, ibid., V.1, p.85.


111. See "Dai Faxing Zhuan 戴法興傳" in Shen, op.cit., V.8, pp.2303-2305.

112. See "Wen Di Ji 文帝紀" in Shen, ibid., V.1, p.91.

114. See "Li Zhi 禮志" in Shen, op.cit., V.2, p.403.
115. Qian, op.cit., p.58.
117. Qian, op.cit., pp.386-388.
118. Ibid., p.433.
119. Ibid., p.370.
120. Ibid., p.71.
Also cf. the Chart of the Administration of the Chief Minister of Sacrifice in Appendix 4.
121. See "Bai Guan Zhi 百官志" in Shen, op.cit., V.4, pp.1245-1246.
122. See "Wen Di Ji 文帝紀" in Shen, ibid., V.1, p.71.
Also see "Xiaowu Di Ji 孝武帝紀" in Shen, ibid., V.1, p.109.
Also see "Yiqing Zhuan 義慶傳" in Shen, ibid., V.5, p.1477.
Also see "Yiji Zhuan 義季傳" in Shen, ibid., V.6, p.1654.
123. See the biographical note on Bao Zhao in Shen, ibid., V.5, pp.1477-1480.
124. See the biographical note on Bao Zhao in Li, II, op.cit., V.2, p.360.
125. See "Yu Yan Xu 虞炎序" in Qian, op.cit., p.v.
126. Qian, ibid., p.53.
127. Qian, ibid., pp.216, 260.
128. Qian, ibid., p.433.
129. See Huang Jie's 黃節 interpretation in Qian, op.cit., p.388.
131. See "Er Xiong Zhuan 二凶傳" in Shen, op.cit., V.8, pp.2423-2439.
132. Qian, op.cit., p.131.
133. Ibid., p.133, n.2.
134. Ibid., p.134, n.7.
135. Ibid., p.133, n.2.
136. Ibid., p.132, n.1.
137. See "Yiqing Zhuan 義慶傳" in Shen, op.cit., V.5, p.1477.
138. See "Er Xiong Zhuan 二凶傳" in Shen, ibid., V.8, p.2437.
139. See the Entry on Sanchu 三楚 in Shu Xincheng 舒新城, op.cit., p.16.
140. See "Zhoujun Zhi 州郡志" in Shen, op.cit., V.4, pp.1038, 1053.
141. Ibid., V.4, p.1031.
142. See "Bai Guan Zhi 百官志" in Shen, ibid., V.4, p.1258.
143. Ibid., V.4, p.1263.
144. See "Yu Yan Xu 虞炎序" in Qian, op.cit., p.v.
145. Ibid., p.434.
Also see Wu, op.cit., V.4, pp.34-35.
147. See "Dai Faxing Zhuan 戴法興傳" in Shen, ibid., V.8, p.2303.
Also see "Xie Zhuang Zhuan 謝莊傳" in Shen, ibid., V.8, pp.2168-2169.
Also see "Xue Andu Zhuan 薛安都傳" in Shen, ibid., pp.2216-2217.
Also see "Yixuan Zhuan 義宣傳" in Shen, ibid., V.6, p.1799
148. Qian, op.cit., p.98, n.1; p.213, n.1.
149. Ibid., p.215.
151. Qian, op.cit., p.213.
152. See "Xie Zhuang Zhuan 謝莊傳" in Li, II, op.cit., V.2, pp.555-556.
153. See "Yu Yan Xu 虞炎序" in Qian, op.cit., p.v.
155. See "Bai Guan Zhi 百官志" in Shen, op.cit., V.4, p.1288.
156. Tang, op.cit., p.108.
Also see "Bai Guan Zhi 百官志" in Shen, op.cit., V.4, pp.1245-1246.
157. Ibid.
158. See records of the national debates on various observations on rituals and rites from 455 to 458 in "Li Zhi 禮志" in Shen, Ibid., V.2, pp.410, 427, 464, 470, 521, 522, 543.
159. See "Bai Guan Zhi 百官志" in Shen, Ibid., V.4, p.1245.
Also cf. "En Xing Zhuan 恩悻傳" in Shen, ibid., V.8, pp.2302-2318.
160. Ibid., V.8, p.2303.
161. The chronological data suggested that the vacancy of the post of the Imperial Drafter left by Cai Xian's death was most likely filled by Bao Zhao in 455. It also suggested that later when Bao Zhao was transferred
to the post of Military Consultant in Prince Zixu's administration of the Van General in 464, Xi Xiandu might have subsequently filled this vacancy, for his biography noted that in the Daming Reign of Emperor Xiaowu he was promoted to be a Surplus Gentleman Cavalier Attendant, an honorary title as well as a salary increase conventionally bestowed upon a favorite courtier or a Drafter of the Imperial Secretariat by Emperor Xiaowu.

162. Ibid., V.8, pp.2302-2305.
163. Ibid.
164. Ibid., p.2340.
165. See "Zhoujun Zhi 州郡志" in Shen, ibid., V.4, p.1209.
166. It was originally called the Zhi Subprefecture 西縣 in the Western Han Dynasty, but changed into the Yongan Subprefecture in 133 in the Eastern Han Dynasty, and was under the jurisdiction of the Pingyang Prefecture 平陽郡 (it was located in the present Huo Xian of Shanxi 山西霍縣). Later, in the Shu of the Three Kingdoms 三國蜀 the Yufu Subprefecture 魚復縣 (which was located in the present Peng Xian of Sichuan 四川彭縣) was changed into the Yongan Subprefecture. While the Hedong Prefecture 河東郡 was originally established in the Qin Dynasty (in the southwest of Shanxi 山西省西南隅). By the Western Jin Dynasty its administrative center was in Pucheng 蘆城 (southeast to the present Yongji Xian of Shanxi 山西永濟縣东南). As the Eastern Jin Dynasty lost the territory north of the Huai River, a refugee Southern Hedong Prefecture was established in 337 in Jingzhou 襄州 for the immigrants from Sizhou 司州. Thus, the Yongan Subprefecture was basically a refugee subprefecture.

See the entry of "Zhi 羲" in Shu, op.cit., p.507.
See the entry of "Yufu 魚復" in Shu, ibid., p.1524.
See the entry of "Hedong 河東" in Shu, ibid., p.774.
Also see "Zhoujun Zhi 州郡志" in Shen, op.cit., V.4, p.1122.

167. See the biographical notes on Chao Shangzhi 巢尚之 in "Dai Faxing Zhuan 戴法興傳" in Shen, ibid., V.8, pp.2303-2304.
168. Qian, op.cit., p.255.
169. Ibid., p.51, 435.
Also see Wu, op.cit., p.36.
170. Ibid.
Also see Qian, op.cit., p.51.
171. See "Xiaowu Di Ji 孝武帝紀" in Shen, op.cit., V.1, p.117.
Also cf. official transitions of Liu Yuanjing in Appendix 6.
Also see "Xiaowu Di Ji 孝武帝紀" in Shen, ibid., V.1, pp.119, 121, 123.
Also see "Qian Fei Di Ji 前廢帝紀" in Shen, ibid., V.1, p.141, 143, 144.
173. See "Zhoujun Zhi 州郡志" in Shen, ibid., V.4, p.1122.
179. See "Xiaowu Di Ji 孝武帝紀" in Shen, *op.cit.*, V.1, p.129.
   Also see "Xiaowu Shishi Wang Zhuan 孝武十四王傳" in Shen, *ibid.*, V.7, pp.2059-2063.
   Also see "Deng Wan Zhuan 鄧琬傳" in Shen, *ibid.*, V.7, pp.2129-2131.
186. See "Bai Guan Zhi 百官志" in Shen, *ibid.*, V.4, pp.1256-1257.
190. See "Zhang Pu Tici 張溥題辭" in Qian, *op.cit.*, p.vi.
191. See Liu Zhiji's 劉知幾 comment on Bao Zhao, cited by Qian, *op.cit.*, p.444.
194. Han, *op.cit.*, p.52.
197. Ibid.
Also see biographies of Xie Zhuang 謝莊 and Xie Hongwei 謝弘微 in Song Shu

Also see biographies of Xun Wanqiu 范萬秋, Xun Chang 范昶, and Xun Bozi 范伯子 in the Song Shu.

199. See notes: 90, 91, 92.


203. Qian, op.cit., p.66.

204. See "Shao Di Ji 少帝紀" in Shen, op.cit., V.1, p.66.

205. See "Cai Xingzong Zhuan 蔡興宗傳" in Shen, ibid., V.5, p.1584.
Also see "Zhang Fu Zhuan 張敷傳" in Shen, ibid., V.6, p.1663.

206. See "En Xing Zhuan 恩悻傳" in Shen, ibid., V.8, pp.2312-2318.

207. Ibid., V.8, p.2302.


209. See "En Xing Zhuan 恩悻傳" in Shen, op.cit., V.8, p.2302.

Also see "Yan Jun Zhuan 顏竣傳" in Shen, ibid., V.7, p.1960.

211. See "Zi Xu 自序" in Shen, ibid., V.8, pp.2451, 2462.

212. See "He Shangzhi Zhuan 何尚之傳" in Shen, ibid., V.6, pp.1738-1739.

213. See "Zi Xu 自序" in Shen, ibid., V.8, p.2461.

214. See "Deng Wan Zhuan 鄧琬傳" in Shen, ibid., V.7, p.2140.
Also see "Wu Di Ji 武帝紀" in Xiao, op.cit., V.1, pp.43-44.

Also see "Wang Zhishen Zhuan 王智深傳" in Xiao, op.cit., V.3, p.896.

216. See "Yiqing Zhuan 氣慶傳" in Shen, op.cit., V.5, pp.1475-1480.
C. Notes to An Analytical Study of Bao Zhao's Poetry


3. Ibid.

4. Notes on the textual variations of the above poems are cited respectively in Qian, ibid., pp. 150: 152-153; 204: 281; 348.


7. For this type of four-line stanza, which is an objective description of four separate things in two precisely parallel couplets and usually offers no movement from the beginning to the end of the poem, Lin Shuen-fu calls it "rigid" and "static" quatrain. For his discussion of Wu Jun's 吳均 and Du Fu's 杜甫 "static" quatrains, see Shuen-fu Lin, "The Nature of the Quatrain from the Late Han to the High T'ang," in The Vitality of the Lyric Voice: Shi Poetry from the Late Han to the T'ang, ed. Shuen-fu Lin and Stephen Owen (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1986), pp.314-315.

Cf. Hong Weifa 洪為法, Jueju Lun 繼句論 (Shanghai: Shangwu Yinshuguan, 1934).
Also cf. Shuen-fu Lin, "The Nature of the Quatrain from the Late Han to the High T'ang," in Lin and Owen, op.cit., pp.296-303.
For discussions of the classification of quatrains under the category of Regulated-verse by poets of the Mid-Tang period, see Hong, op.cit., pp.32-33.


10. Ibid., p.7.
11. See Li Chunsheng 李純勝, Han, Wei, Nanbei Chao Yuefu 漢魏南北朝樂府 (Taipei: Shangwu Shuju, 1966), pp.77; 144-151.
14. Ding Fubao 丁福保, ed., Quan Han, Sanguo, Jin, Nanbei Chao Shi 全漢三國晉南北朝詩 (Taipei: Yiven Yinchugu, 1975), V.2, pp.1149; 1153.
16. Ibid., pp. 558-559.
Also cf. John Marney, Liang Ch'ien-wen Ti (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1976);
William T. Grahan, tr. The Lament for the South: Yu Hsin's "Ai Chiang-nan Fu" (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1980);
Also cf. Qian, op.cit., p.220.
Also cf. Luo Genze 羅根澤, III, "Qiyanshi Zhi Qiyuan Ji Chengshu 七言詩之起源及成熟," in Shida Yuekan 師大月刊, 2. 1933;
Wang Yunxi 王運熙, "Qiyanshi Xingshi De Fazhan He Wancheng 七言詩形式的發展和完成," in Yuefu Shi Luncong 楊府詩論叢 (Shanghai: Gudian Wenxue Chubanshe, 1958);
Also cf. "Five-word and Seven-word Poetry" in Hightower, I, op.cit., pp.61-64.
Also cf. Shen Zufen, op.cit., pp.6-10.
20. Ibid., pp.127-163.
Also cf. Shen Zufen, op.cit., pp.3-10.
21. Ibid.  
Also cf. Yu, op. cit., pp.142-146; 153-156.

22. Qian, op. cit., p.220.

Cf. Ding, op. cit., V.1, pp.45, 46, 47, 49, 73, 76, 84.

24. Ibid., V.1, pp.45, 49, 54, 67, 84, 87.  

25. Ibid., pp.144, 160.  
Also cf. Ding, op. cit., V.1, p.153.


Also cf. Ding, op. cit., pp.61-64; 99, 122, 127.

29. See Guo Maoqian's note cited by Qian, op. cit., p.252.

Also cf. Lu, op. cit., pp.8-11.

Also cf. Li Chunsheng, op. cit., pp.16, 24.

32. Qian, op. cit., p.225.

33. Ibid., p.221.

Also cf. Chen, op. cit., pp.92-106; 111-115; 139-149; 182-184.  
Also cf. Li Chunsheng, op. cit., pp.5-18.  
See "Ch’u Songs and Yueh-fu" in Hightower, I, op. cit., pp.49-60.  

Also cf. Yu, op. cit., pp.96-98.
Cf. "Zhong Hong Shipin Ping Shi Zhi Lilun Biaozhun Ji Qi Shijian 鍾嵘詩品評詩之理論標準及其實踐," in Yeh Chia-ying 葉嘉瑩, I. Zhongguo Gudian Shike Ping Lun Ji 中國古典詩歌評論集 (Hong Kong: Zhonghua Shuju, 1977), pp.6-9; 12-16.


40. Cf. "Yue Zhi 楯志", "Yan Shi bo Zhuan 燕詩傳", "Xu Zhanzhi Zhuan 徐湛之傳" and "Shen Qingzhi Zhuan 沈慶之傳" in the Song Shu 宋書, as well as "Cui Zusi Zhuan 崔祖思傳" in the Nan Shi 南史.

Also cf. Li Chunsheng, *op.cit.*, pp.18-21.

Also cf. Fang, *op.cit.*, p.51.

43. Qian, *op.cit.*, pp.140-141.
Also cf. Li Chunsheng, *op.cit.*, p.43.

44. Ding, *op.cit.*, p.122.


46. Guo Maoqian's Yue Fu Shi Ji 楯府詩集 recorded Cao Zhi's "Love Song 鴛鴦行": "出自趙北門，遙望胡地桑。枝枝自相値，葉葉自相當."
Cf. Qian, *op.cit.*, pp.146; 165, n.1.
Also cf. Li Chunsheng, *op.cit.*, pp.52-53.

47. Qian, *op.cit.*, pp.159-160.


52. This statistic is based on Chen's various allegorical interpretations attached in Qian's annotations of Bao Zhao's poetry.
Also see Chen Hang 陳沆, *Shi Bixing Jian 詩比興箋* (Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 1959), pp.78-82.
Also cf. Chen, op.cit., p.197.


56. Ibid., pp.182-200.


58. Ibid., pp.80-94.
Also cf. Fang, op.cit., p.52.


61. Ibid., p.105.

62. Ibid.


70. Ibid., p.61.

71. See Qian, op. cit., p.6. Also see Kang-i Sun Chang, op. cit., pp.87-88.


75. Cf. Ding, ibid., V.2, pp.995-1035; 1091-1158.

76. Cf. Fang, op. cit., p.75.
77. Ibid., pp.76-80.

   Also df. He Jipeng 何寄澎, II, Tangdai Biansai Shi Yanjiu 唐代邊塞詩研究

79. Ibid., pp.9-10.
   Also He, I, op.cit., pp.5-7.

80. Ding, op.cit., V.1, pp.254-255.

81. Ibid., V.1, p.256.

82. Ibid., V.1, p.258.

83. Ibid., V.1, pp.192, 201, 204.

84. Ibid., V.1, pp.268-272.


86. Ibid., V.1, pp.361-362, 358.

87. Ibid., V.1, pp.390, 433-435, 519.

88. Ibid., V.1, pp.525, 528.

89. Ibid., V.1, pp.733, 904.

90. This statistic is based on the collection of the poetry of the Liang Dynasty in Ding, ibid.


93. Ibid.
   Also cf. He Jipeng, I, ibid.

94. Ding, op.cit., V.3, p.1419.

95. Ibid., V.5, p.1530.

96. Cf. He Jipeng, I, op.cit., p.10

97. Ding, op.cit., V.3, p.1608.

98. Ibid., V.3, p.1631.

99. Ibid., V.3, p.1654.
100. This statistic is based on the collection of the poetry of the Northern Dynasties in Ding, *ibid.*

101. This statistic is based on the collection of the poetry of the Sui Dynasty in Ding, *ibid.*
Also cf. Appendix 9.


Also He Jipeng, II, *op.cit.*, pp.64-84.


Also cf. He jipeng, I, *op.cit.*, p.43.

Also cf. Fang, *op.cit.*, p.85.


Also cf. Fang, *op.cit.*, p.82.

Also cf Zhou, *op.cit.*, p.56.


Also cf. Fang, *op.cit.*, pp.82-83.
118. Ibid., pp.178, 246.
119. Ibid., p.250.
120. Ibid., p.147-150.
Also cf. Fang, op.cit., pp.83-84.
123. Ibid., pp.86-87.
Also cf. He Jipeng, I, op.cit., pp.47, 50.
125. Ibid., p.12.
Also cf. Fang, op.cit., pp.9-10; 52, 73.
Also cf. Marie Chan, Kao Shi (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1978);
Marie Chan, Cen Shen (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1983);
126. See "Yan Yanzhi Zhuan 顏延之傳" in Li, II, op.cit., V.3, p.881.
131. Liu and Zhong, op.cit., V.1, p.18.
132. Ibid., V.2, p.14.
133. Ibid., V.2, p.4.
134. See "Yan Yanzhi Zhuan 顏延之傳" in Li, II, op.cit., V.3, p.881.
136. Cf. the collection of various criticisms or comments on Bao Zhao's poetry in Qian, op.cit., pp.443-455.
137. Ibid., p.454.
139. Ibid., pp.446, 452.
144. Liu and Zhong, op.cit., V.1, p.18.
145. Ibid., V.1, p.162.
146. Ibid., V.2, p.2.
147. Ibid., V.2, pp.2, 3, 7. Kang-i Sun Chang renders "Xingsi 形似" as "descriptive similitude" or "verisimilitude", and "qiaosi 巧似" as "artistic similitude." See Kang-i Sun Chang, op.cit., pp.47-54.
148. Ibid., V.2, p.5.
150. Cf. Huang Ziyun's 黃子雲 note cited by ibid., p.86.
151. Cf. Liu Xizai's 劉熙載 note cited by ibid., p.84.

158. Cf. Chen Hang, _op. cit._, pp.78-82.
Also Wu Zhifu and Zhu Jutang’s comments collected in Qian, _op. cit._
Also cf. Yeh Chia-ying, I, _op. cit._, pp.178-179.

159. Qian, _op. cit._, p.154.

160. See "Er Xiong Zhuan 二英雄傳" in Shen, _op. cit._, V.8, pp.2423-2435.
Also see "Qian Fei Di Ji 前廢帝紀" in _ibid._, V.1, pp.141-148.


164. Ding, _op. cit._, V.1, p.430: V.2, p.798.

165. See "Xiaowu Di Ji 孝武帝紀" in Shen, _op. cit._, V.1, p.125.
Also see "Li Zhi 禮志" in Shen, _ibid._, V.2, pp.353-358.

166. Qian, _op. cit._, p.140.

167. Chen Hang, _op. cit._, pp.78-82.
Also cf. Qian, _op. cit._, pp.229, 232, 233, 235, 236, 244.

168. _Ibid._, p.244.


170. _Ibid._


173. _Ibid._, p.382, n.3.


175. _Ibid._

176. _Ibid._, p.234.


179. Qian, _op. cit._, p.47, n.2.
181. Qian, op.cit., p.380, n.2.
182. Xie Bingying, op.cit., p.88.
183. Qian, op.cit., p.381, n.9-10.
185. See "Xiaowu Di Ji 孝武帝紀" in Shen, op.cit., V.1, p.110.
186. Qian, op.cit., p.98, n.1; p.108, n.80.
187. Xie Bingying, op.cit., p.130.
Also see Qian, op.cit., p.104, n.41.
188. Ibid., p.96.
189. Ibid., p.106, n.58.
190. Ibid., pp.96-97.
Also see Xie Bingying, op.cit., pp.230, 425.
193. Ibid., pp.111-112.
194. Ibid., p.192.
195. Ibid., p.230.
196. Qian op.cit., p.371, n.9.
197. Ibid., p.399, n.7.
198. Ibid.
199. Ibid., p.366, n.1.
200. Ibid., p.343, n.7.
Also cf. Xie Bingying, op.cit., pp.184-185.
201. Qian, op. cit., pp.131-133.


204. Ibid., p.24.

205. Ibid.

206. See "Yiqing Zhuan 義慶傳" in Shen, op. cit., V.5, pp.1477, 1480. Also see "Er Xiong Zhuan 二凶傳" in ibid., V.8, p.2436.


211. Ibid.

212. Ibid., p.225, n.1.

D. Notes to the Conclusion


2. See "Xing Chen Zhuan 僚臣傳" in Xiao Zixian 十二國譜 (Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 1972), V.3, p.972.


7. Ibid., V.1, p.3.


10. See "Xie Lingyun Zhuan 謝靈運傳" in Shen Yue 沈約, Song Shu 宋書 (Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 1974), V.6, p.1779.


13. Ibid., V.2, p.7.

14. Ibid., V.2, p.3.


16. Ibid.


18. Cf. the collection of various comments on Bao Zhao's poetry in Qian, op.cit., pp.443-455.

19. Ibid.
20. Ibid., p. 454.

21. Ibid.


23. Cf. the above scholars' comments on Bao Zhao in their works on the history of Chinese literature.

24. Cf. the above scholars' comments on Bao Zhao in their works on the history of Chinese literature.

25. Liu and Zhong. *op.cit.*, V. 1, p. 3; V. 2, pp. 4, 9, 14.
II. NOTES TO PART TWO

A. Notes to a Complete English Translation of Bao Zhao's Poems


1-2. Ying 鄢 was a capital of the ancient Chu State 楚.

1-3. Wei 衛 was an ancient feudal state (B.C. 1022-241), occupying the present eastern Henan 河南 and southern Hebei 河北.

1-4. Zheng 郑 was an ancient feudal state (B.C. 774-500), occupying the present Kaifeng開封 area.

1-5. This stanza refers to the sorrowful shamanistic songs in Chu Ci 楚辭 (The Song of Chu), which are about a quest for the Princess of River Xiang (湘君). This river nymph was originally a single deity, but by Han times some sources related her and her lady with E Huang 嫦皇 and Mi Ying 苑英, Emperor Yao's 堉 two daughters, who drowned in the Xiang River (湘水) when their husband, Emperor Shun 舜, died. Cf. David Hawkes, "The Quest of the Goddess," Asian Major V.13 (1967). Also cf. Edward H. Schafer, The Divine Woman: Dragon Ladies and Rain Maidens in T'ang Literature (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1973).

1-6. Fu fu 忒賦, the rhapsody on Consort Fu 忒妃, refers to "The Rhapsody on the Luo Goddess (洛神賦)" by Cao Zhi 曹植, who prefaced his prose poem: "I attended the imperial court and returned to cross the Luo River 洛川. The ancient people said that the goddess of this water was called Consort Fu 忒妃." This water nymph first appeared in "Encountering Sorrow 離騷" of the Song of Chu 楚辭, in which the poet makes a vain attempt to woo her.

3-1. According to their biographies in Shi Ji 史記 (Record of the Historian), Lian Po 廉頗 and Lin Xiangru 鄭袖 were vassals of the Zhao State 趙國 and friends willing to die for each other (刎頸之交); while Peng Yue 彭越 and Han Xin 韓信 were great generals of the Han Dynasty 漢朝.

5-1. Gui 璽, a jade tablet, was the credential of a prefect. See Du Yu’s 杜預 annotation on the bestowal of gui on Sima Niu 司馬牛 in the 14th year of Duke Ai 哀公 in Zuo Zhuan 左傳 (Zuo Commentary), cited by Qian, op.cit., p.148, N.9.

5-2. Huangjin Tai 黃金臺, the Gold Terrace, located 18 leagues southeast to the Yi River (易水), was built by King Zhao of Yan 燕昭王, who then placed 1,000 taels of gold on it to invite able men in the world. See Shanggu Jun Tuging 上谷郡圖經 (Description of Shanggu Commandery) and Shui Jing 水經 (River Classic), cited by ibid., p.148, N.10.
9-1. This stanza refers to the story of Tian Rao 田饶, who served Duke Ai of Lu 鲁哀公 and found no high recognition. He thereupon bid farewell to the duke by relating to the satirical fact that he cooked and ate the roosters, but highly admired the soaring yellow swan. The roosters were elegant with comb, valiant with spur, brave to fight enemies, kind to share food, and trustworthy with time; while the yellow swan had no virtue but fed on fishes and grains in the dukedom. See Han Shi Waizhuan 韓詩外傳 (Exoteric Commentary to the Han Version of the Songs), cited by Qian, op.cit., p.157, N.7.

9-2. Ji An 汲黯 once said to Emperor Wu of the Han Dynasty 漢武帝: "Your Majesty employs ministers and officials in a way similar to the store of faggots - that which comes last is stored on the top." See Shi Ji 史記 (Records of the Historian), cited by ibid., p.157, N.7.

9-3. King You of the Zhou Dynasty 周幽王 made Maid Shen 申女 the Queen, but later demoted her when he got Bao Si 褚姬. See Mao Shi Xu 毛詩序 (Preface of Mao's Version of the Songs), cited by ibid., p.158, N.9.

9-4. Ban Jieyu 班婕妤 (Lady Ban) lost the imperial favour after Emperor Cheng of the Han Dynasty 漢成帝 discovered and brought into his harem Zhao Feiyan 趙飛燕, a dancer from a princess household. See Han Shu 漢書 (History of the Former Han), cited by ibid., p.158, N.9.

10-1. Zhang Xiaowei 張校尉 refers to Zhang Qian 張騫 of the Han Dynasty, who was a colonel (校尉) when he followed the Great General (大將軍) to strike the Huns (匈奴). See Han Shu 漢書 (History of the Former Han), cited by Qian, op.cit., p.160, N.3.

10-2. Li Qingju 李輕車 refers to Li Cai 李蔡 of the Han Dynasty, who was Light Chariot General 輕車將軍 when he led the expedition against the Huns in the Yuanshuo Reign 元朔 of Emperor Wu of the Han Dynasty 漢武帝. See Han Shu 漢書 (History of the Former Han), cited by ibid., p.160, N.4.

10-3. This stanza refers to the story of Duke Wen of Jin 晉文公, who under Jiu Fan's 製父 advice did not discard the old mat or forsake the old followers when he returned to power after 20 years of exile. See Han Zi 韓子 (The Book of Han Zi), cited by ibid., p.162, N.13.

10-4. Tian Zi Fang 田子方, the tutor of Marquis Wen of Wei 魏文侯, once saw an old horse wandering along the road and commented that the benevolent would not forsake an old horse which had done its duty. See Han Shi Waizhuan 韓詩外傳 (Exoteric Commentary to the Han Version of the Songs), cited by ibid., p.162, N.13.

11-1. San Shan 三山 refers to the three sacred mountains, namely: Penglai 延平, Panzhang 方丈 and Yingzhou 瀛洲, which were believed to be in the Bo Sea 渤海. See "Fengshan Shu" in Shi Ji 史記 封禪書 (Essays on the Sacrifices in Records of the Historian), cited by Qian, op.cit., p.184.

12-1. Ji 燕 was the capital of the ancient Yan State 燕.
13-1. Que Tai 雀台, the Oriole Terrace or the Sparrow Terrace, refers to Tong Que Tai 鳥雀台, which I translated as the Terrace of Bronze Sparrow or the Terrace of Brass Bird, built by Cao Cao 曹操, Emperor Wu of the Wei Dynasty 魏武帝 in the 15th year of the Jianan reign period 建安. See "Wu Di Ji 武帝紀" of "Wei Zhi 魏志 (Memoirs of the Wei Dynasty)" in Chen Shou 陳壽, San Guo Zhi 三國志 (Memoirs of the Three Kingdoms) (Taipei: Qiming Shuju, 1961), p.6.

13-2. Fengshan Shu 封禪書 (Essays on the Sacrifices) recorded that the sacred mountains in the Bo Sea 濱海 were Penglai 蓬萊, Fangzhang 方丈, and Yingzhou 涇洲. They were called Penghu 蓬壇, Fanghu 方壇, and Yinghu 涇壇 in Wang Jia's 王嘉 Shi Yi Ji 拾遺記 (Record of Remnants Collected), and Lie Zi 列子 referred to them as five magic islands, namely: Daiyu 大臾, Yuangiao 貞曉, Fanghu 方壇, Yingzhou 涇洲, and Penglai 蓬萊. Sanfu Huangtu 三輔黃圖 (Description of the Three Capital Districts) mentioned the four replicas of them in the artificial Lake Taiye 太液 within the Jianzhang Palace 建章宮 of the Han as Yingzhou 涇洲, Penglai 蓬萊, Fangzhang 方丈, and Huliang 壬梁. In order to parallel with the next stanza, "Penghu 蓬壇" in this stanza is best interpreted as two mountains. See Lie Zi 列子 and Shi Yi Ji 拾遺記, cited by Qian, op. cit., p.34, N.4. Also see Sanfu Huangtu 三輔黃圖, cited by David R. Knechtges, trans., Wen Xuan 文選 (Selection of Refined Literature) (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982), p.132, L.289.

13-3. Ming 濱 refers to the North Sea or the Arctic Sea, which is called Beiming 北溟 in Zhuang Zi 莊子 and Minghai 濱海 is called Bohai 濱海 in Lie Zi 列 and Boxie 司馬相如 in his Zi Xu Fu 司馬相如 (Master Imaginary Rhapsody).

13-4. Qi 齊, the ancient feudal state in the east, Dai 代, a northern commandery, Qiong 邝 a place in western Shu 蜀, and Yue 越, an ancient state in the south, are used here to enumerate all the four directions.

16-1. Wutu 五圖 refers to Wuyue Zhenxing Tu 五嶽真形圖 (Diagrams of the True Forms of the Five Mountains), which was considered one of the most important scriptures by the Taoists. See Bao Pu Zi 抱朴子 (The Master Who Embraces Simplicity), cited by Qian, op. cit., p.176, N.8.

16-2. Hu Shaoying 胡紹煕 maintained that since Shuo Wen 說文 (Analytical Dictionary of Characters) defined Ye 葉 as Yue 翼 and that the common form of 葉 is 葉, "jiuyue 九篇" is therefore best interpreted as "nine chapters" in order to parallel with Wutu 五圖 (the five diagrams). See Hu Shaoying, cited by ibid., p.176, N.8.

16-3. This couplet alludes to the legend of Xiao Shi 蕭史, who was a contemporary of Duke Xiao of Qin 秦穆公. Xiao Shi was good at playing the flute and Duke Xiao's daughter Nongyu 冕玉 was fond of his flutings. The Duke married them. Xiao Shi thence taught Nongyu the flute. A few decades later Nongyu's flutings miming the phoenix callings were so real that phoenixes came to perch on their house. They thereupon built a Phoenix Terrace 鳳臺 and lived on it for several years before they finally ascended on the phoenix's back. See Lie Xian Zhuan 列仙傳 (Biographies of Various Immortals), cited by ibid., p.177, N.12. Also cf. poem 28, the Song of Xiao Shi.
17-1. Shu Kuang refers to the ritual of applying cotton-wool or silks to the mouth or nostrils of the dying to detect the expiration and to prevent insects entering the dead body. See *Li Ji* (Record of Rites) (Taipei: Taiwan Shangwu Yinshuguan, 1907), p.571.

17-2. Hu 柽 is the name of a tree similar to the chaste tree. It has red timber and is often used for arrow shafts. The word is also read as Ku 柽 to mean "coarse and crude vessels." With this connotation, the word in the stanza suggests "a rough casket made of reddish timber," which is proper to the Shi 士 class, for *Li Ji* (Record of Rites) observes that the Shi class uses the casket made of miscellaneous timbers. Ibid., p.596.

17-3. *Li Ji* (Record of Rites) observes that jixi 祭席 (the sacrifice mat), diaoxi 弔席 (the condolence mat), and lianxi 敘席 (the coffin mat) degrade or differ according to time, relation, and status. Ibid., p.583.

17-4. *Li Ji* (Record of Rites) observes that after the Yu 鬼 sacrifice at the end of the first month after the funeral, the tablet for the spirit of dead is to be placed in the shrine of the ancestors under the Fu 鬼 the sacrifice, and the funeral sacrifice thereafter became a sacred ritual. Ibid., p.552.

17-5. *Li Ji* (Record of Rites) observes that in the mourning for one's parents, a woman is to return to her husband's household after the Lian 綠 sacrifice, to be held 13 months after the funeral. Ibid., p.588.

17-6. *Li Ji* (Record of Rites) observes that in the three-year mourning for one's parents, a man is to return to his official post only after the Xiang 相 sacrifice, to be held 25 months after the funeral. Ibid., p.557.

18-1. This stanza refers to the demonic creature Sheying 射影 (Shooting-at-the Shadow), which, according to *Mao Shi Yishu* 毛詩義疏 (Subcommentary to the Mao Version of the Songs), was called Yu 畜. *Zuo Zhuan* 左傳 (Zuo Commentary) refers to Yu as a calamity. *Shuo Wen* 説文 (Analytical Dictionary of Characters) and *Mao Shi Yishu* both described it as a short fox (短狐) While *Shuo Wen* maintained that it shoots at and harms people with its virulent breath, Du Yu's 杜頡 Commentary to *Zuo Zhuan* and Gan Bao's 干寶 *Sou Shen Ji* 搜神記 (Collection of Immortal Stories) claimed that Yu lived by the riverside and would shoot people or shadows passing by with the poisonous sand in its mouth, and it would cause a headache with fever or death in a serious situation. Cf. Qian, op.cit., p.186, N.7. Also cf. Knechtges, op.cit., p.294, L.574.

18-2. Gechuan Jiangjun 戈船將軍 was the title conferred upon commanders of the two expeditions to the south in the Han Dynasty; one expedition was led by Marquis Guyi (歸義侯), the other by Marquis Yue (越侯). See *Han Shu* 漢書 (History of the Former Han) and *Shi Ji* 史記 (Record of the Historian), op.cit., p.187, N.12.

18-3. Fupo Jiangjun 伏波將軍 was possibly referring to Lu Bode 路博德 of the Han Dynasty, who received small rewards for his exploitation of seven new counties. See *Hou Han Shu* 後漢書 (History of the Later Han), cited by Ibid., p.187, N.12.
19-1. Weinü 衛女 refers to Wei Zifu 衛子夫, who was a singer before she was named empress by Emperor Wu of the Han 漢武帝 in 128 B.C. Han Wudi Gushi 漢武帝故事 (Story of Emperor Wu of the Han) and Taiping Yu Lan 太平御覽 (Imperial Reviewed Compendium of the Taiping Period) mention that Emperor Wu was first attracted to her because of her beautiful hair. Zhang Heng's 張衡 Xijing Fu 西京賦 (Western Metropolis Rhapsody) also mentioned the fact that Empress Wei 衛后 rose up with her beautiful hair.

Cf. Qian, op.cit., p.189, N.5.

19-2. Feiyan 飛燕 (Flying Swallow) refers to Zhao Feiyan 趙飛燕, a dancer whom Emperor Cheng of the Han Dynasty 漢成帝 selected as a consort. She first outranked Ban Jieyu 班婕妤 (Lady Ban or Favored Beauty Ban) and was eventually named Empress Zhao Xiaocheng 趙成皇后. She learned dancing and was called "Flying Swallow," for her body was light and swift.

Cf. note 9-4.
See Qian, op.cit., p.189, N.5.
Also Knechtges, op.cit., p.238, L.790.

20-1. Cao 曹 and He 何 refer to the powerful families of Cao Shuang 曹爽 and He Yan 何晏 of the Wei Dynasty. When Cao Shuang was in power, he appointed He Yan, Ding Mi 丁谧 and Deng Yang 鄧飏 ministers of the Department of Ministries 尚書. Together they dominated much of the political scene. See "Cao Shuang Zhuan 曹爽傳 (Biography of Cao Shuang)" in Wei Zhi 魏志 (Memoirs of the Wei Dynasty), cited by Qian, op.cit., p.190, N.4.

20-2. This line is obviously a derivation from a couplet in "The Summons of the Soul 召魂" in the Song of Ch'u 楚辭. The couplet reads: "In your garden pavilion, by the long bed-curtains, they wait your royal pleasure." Therefore, "sui xie 隨軒" should be a textual corruption of "li xie 離軒." For the English translation of the couplet, cf. David Hawkes, Chu's Tz'u (Boston: Beacon Press, 1962), p.106, L.70.

23-1. Qing 靑 is the name of one of the nine divisions (or states) 九州 of China under Yu the Great 大禹. It was situated in the eastern part of the present Shandong 山東. Qi 齊 is the name of the ancient feudal state, occupying the northeast Shandong and part of Zhili 直隸. Qingqi 靑齊 is thus used in reference to eastern China.

23-2. Yan 燕 is the name of the ancient feudal state, occupying the present Hebei 河北, while Zhao 趙 is the name of the ancient feudal state, occupying the southern part of Hebei, the eastern part of Shanxi 山西, and the area north of the Yellow River in Henan 河南. Yanzhao 燕趙 is thus used in reference to northern China.


28-2. Ying 嬴 was the surname of the ruling house in Qin 秦, whose ancestors were the descendents of Zhuan Xu 顓頊 and were later given the surname of Ying. Yingnü 嬴女 (Maid Ying), therefore, refers to Nongyu 弄玉, daughter of Duke Xiao of Qin 秦穆公. See "Qin Benji 秦本記 (Annals of the Qin Dynasty)" in Shi Ji 史記 (Record of the Historian), cited by Qian, op.cit., p.204, N.2.
30-1. Xiakou 夏口 (Xia Ferry) was the name of a city built by Sun Quan 孫權 of Wu 吳 of the Three Kingdom Period 三國. It is located west of Wuchang County 武昌縣 in the present Hubei 湖北.  

30-2. Fancheng 樊城 (Fan City or Fan Port) was the name of a city north of the Han 漢 River 漢水 or Xiangyang County 襄陽縣 in the present Hubei 湖北. It was the outer defence of Xiangyang and had been a strategic check point for centuries.  
Ibid., p.717.

30-3. Cao Gong 曹公 (Duke Cao) refers to Cao Cao 曹操 who was promoted to Wei Gong 魏公 (Duke Wei) in the 18th year of the Jianan 建安 Reign period.  

32-1. This stanza refers to a quest in "Li Sao 離騷 (On Encountering Sorrow)" in which the poet took off his belt as a pledge to woo Consort Fu (宓妃), Goddess of River Luo (洛神).  

32-2. "Bao liang 抱梁 (embracing the pillar of the bridge)" alludes to the story of Wei Sheng 尾生 in Chapter 29, "Dao Zhi 盗跖 (Robber Zhi)," of Zhuang Zi 莊子. Wei Sheng made an engagement to meet a girl under a bridge. The girl failed to show up and the water began to rise. In order to keep his promise, Wei Sheng, instead of leaving, wrapped his arms around the bridge pillar to wait. He was eventually drowned.  

32-3. The east gates 東門 of the Chen 陳 and Zheng 鄭 states were the meeting places of the dating adolescent. See Shi Mao Zhuan 詩毛傳 (Mao’s Commentary to the Songs), cited by Qian op.cit., p.213, N.1.

34-1. Jingchu 荊楚 is a literary name of the ancient feudal state of Chu 楚, occupying the Jing 江 territory (namely Hunan 湖南, Hubei 湖北, and Guizhou 貴州 and extended into Anhui 安徽, Jiangxi 江西, Jiangsu 江蘇, and Henan 河南. Jing Wang 荊王 (Prince of Jing) therefore means Chu Wang 楚王 (Prince of Chu), and the stanza refers to "The Song of Gaixia 女下歌," sung by Xiang Yu 項羽, Prince of Chu 楚王, at his defeat as a farewell to his beloved beautiful Lady Yu 虞姬:  
"I have the strength to uproot a mount,  
I have the might to dominate the age;  
But time and circumstance are not to my advantage,  
And my dappled steed is no longer fleet.  
My dappled steed is no longer fleet,  
But what can I do?  
And Yu, dearest Yu,  
What will become of you?"

34-2. Qin Gao 琴高, a native of Zhao 趙, having sauntered around the Jizhou 冀州 area for more than 200 years, descended into the Jie River 濯水 to quest for the dragon, and later returned on a red carp's back to his disciples
for a month, before he descended into the water again. See *Lie Xian Zhuan* (Biographies of Various Immortals), cited by Qian, op.cit., p.219, N.1.

35-1. *Lu Shui* literally means "the green water" or "the clear water," and among the ancient songs there was one called "Yangchun Lushui" (Clear Water in the Sunny Spring). See *Chu Yue Ji* (Notes for Beginners), cited by Qian, op.cit., p.211, N.4.

35-2. *Lu nu* (Maid Lu) was a maid of honor in the palace of Emperor Wu of the Wei Dynasty. She entered the palace at the age of seven and learned to play the zither. She was good at composing new songs. See *Yuefu Jieti* (Explication of titles of Yuefu Poetry), cited by *ibid.*, p.223, N.6.

37-1. The term "furong" applies to both "shuifurong" and "mufurong." David R. Knechtges translated the former as "the East Indian Lotus" (*Nelumbo Nucifera*) and the latter as "the cotton rose" (*Hibiscus Mutabilis*). *Mufurong* is often taken by translators as *mujin* (木槿), which Knechtges translated as "the morning flower" (*Hibiscus Syriacus*, or Shrubby Althea). In the Chinese poetic tradition before Bao Zhao, the lotus, received much more admiration, while *mufurong*, or the cotton rose, had only been praised by Fu Xuan of the Jin Dynasty in his *Zhaoshi Pian* (The Song of Resentment: At Dawn): "(春榮隨露落，芙蓉生末末) With the dew falls the full spring bloom, while on the tree-top the cotton roses blossom;" and by Wusheng Gequ (The Song of Wu) of the Jin Dynasty in *Ziye Ge* (Songs of Ziye): "(高山種芙蓉，復經黃粱樓) I planted the cotton rose on the mountain peak, and then passed a cork-tree-surrounded village." The poetic diction about furong found combinations such as: *shunhua shunying* (舜華 舜英), *Fuqu 芙蕖* (芙蕖), *handan 蕭蕊*, *furong 芙蓉*, *furong hua 芙蓉花*, *furong chi 芙蓉池*, and *furong hu 芙蓉湖*. Bao Zhao was the first poet to use the lotus flower to describe a bed net, and the stanza "七緑芙蓉之羽帳" is best translated as "a feathered canopy net with a lotus flower in seven-colour silk," for although it is possible to translate "furong" in the stanza as "the cotton rose" or "the serin bird芙蓉鳥" (*Serinus Cannaria*, a songbird of colourful feather), the former is a rarely-used poetic diction, and the latter is within Chinese poetic tradition. As far as the lotus flower on the net is concerned, a net could be painted with a lotus flower, or embroidered with a lotus flower. The net in this line was most unlikely to be dyed with the juice of hibiscus flowers, for the "furong zhang 芙蓉帳" dyed in this way was first made by Meng Chang (孟昶), King of the Later Shu (五代). See *Chengdu Ji* (Record of Chengdu), cited by Knechtges, op.cit., p.1128.

Also cf. Knechtges, op.cit., p.258, L.189; p.474, L.768.

37-2. *Bo Liang Tai* (The Cypress Beam Terrace) was built by Emperor Wu of Han (漢武帝) in the second year of the Yuanding Reign (115 B.C.) and inside the northern watchtower of Changan wall. It was burned down in the first year of the construction of the Jianzhang Palace (建章宮) on the site. See Qian, op.cit., p.228, N.6.

Knechtges, op.cit., p.194, L.220.

Also cf. note 13-1 for Tong Que Tai (The Terrace of Bronze Sparrow or the Terrace of Brass Bird).
Cf. note 16-3 for the legend of Xiao Shi 脩史 and Nongyu 𢄚玉.

37-4. Yu Pian 玉篇 (Jade Glossary) defined "jue 越" as "a bamboo vessel used as liquor container"; nevertheless, "Shi Ming Shi Shoushi 釋名釋首飾" (Explication of Names and Ornaments) defined "jue Chai 剃釧" as "a hairpin with a sparrow pinhead." Wang Xianqian 王先謙 subcommented that jue 越 and que 雀 were interchangeable. Jinling 晉令 (The Statutes of the Jin Dynasty) ruled that officials of and below grade six (六品) wear a "jue chai 剃釧 to hold their dressed hair, and that officials of and above grade three (三品) wear a gold hairpin. Cao Zhi 曹植 had depicted in his "Ballad of Beautiful Girl (美女篇) a beauty with a gold sparrow hairpin on her head. jue chai 剃釧 therefore could be worn either by men or women. It is in this respect that "jue 越" in this stanza may be interpreted as "the sparrow" on the head of the hairpin, in order to parallel with "the swallow" in the couplet; while the traditional poetic diction suggests the conventional interpretation of "chun jue 春釧" as "the spring winecup."
Cf. Qian, op.cit., p.228, N.3.
Also cf. CiHai 講海, op.cit., p.864.

37-5. This couplet alludes to the legend of King of Shu 羅帝 named Du Yu 杜預. He was a descendant of King Yufu 魚虞王. He taught the people of Shu 羅 agricultural cultivation and was designated King Wang 望帝 (King of Hope). Then there came a flood. His Prime Minister Kai Ming 凯明 (Enlightenment) ruptured Mount Yulei 玉霧山 and released the people from the flood. King Wang therefore abdicated the throne to Kai Ming and retreated to the western hills. It was the second month of the year, when the wails of the cuckoo bird were everywhere, and the people of Shu were saddened by its mournful cries. Then when King Wang died, his soul transformed into a bird called Dujuan 杜鳩 or Ziguei 子規 (the cuckoo bird). See Huayang Guo Zhi 華陽國志 (Geographical Treatise on the State South of Mt. Hua) and Chengdu Ji 成都記 (Record of Chengdu), cited by Qian, op.cit., p.233, N.2.
This couplet also alludes to the story that Emperor Wang had a love affair with his Prime Minister's wife and died of shame, and after his death his soul was metamorphosed into the cuckoo, which is said to cry and shed blood in late spring. See Shuo Wen 説文 (An Etymological Dictionary), cited by Ci Hai 講海, op.cit., p.673.

37-6. Efang Gong 阿房宮 (the Efang Palace) was magnificent, fabulous palace built by Qin Shi Huang 秦始皇 (the First Emperor of the Qin Dynasty) and destroyed later by Xiang Yu 項羽.

42-1. Qingniao 青鳥 (the blue bird) was one of the three sacred birds which constantly attended Xi Wang Mu 西王母 (Queen Mother of the West) on the three precipitous peaks of the cosmic Mount Kunlun 峰崠. See Shanhai Jing Tuzan Buzhu II海經圖贄補注 (Subcommentary to the Classic of Mountains and Seas and its Illustrations) (Taipei: Zhonghua Shuju, 1960 duplication), pp.44, 163, 191.
Also cf. Qian, op.cit., p.45, N.20.
42-2. Yu Shan 玉山 (Mount Jade) was another abode of Xi Wang Mu 西王母 (Queen Mother of the West). See "Xi Shan Jing 西山經 (Scriptual of the Western Mountains)" in Shan Hai Jing 山海經 (the Classic of Mountains and Seas), cited by ibid., p.252, N.6.

42-3. Wu Gong 吳宮 (the Palace of Wu) refers to the East Palace 東宮 and the West Palace 西宮 of the state of Wu 吳, which were burned down in the 11th year of Emperor Shi of the Qin 秦始皇 (the First Emperor of Qin) by a palace keeper who held a torch to see the swallow nest at night and accidentally set the fire. See Yue Jue Shu 越絕書 (Book of the Extinct State of Yue), cited by Qian, op.cit., p.252, N.7.

47-1. Xuan Wu 玄武 was the God of Grand Yin 太陰神, with a turtle body: he was also called Xuan Ming 玄冥 (the Latent Profundity and Perserverence in the Occult Chaos), and was also the God of Winter. See "Yueling 月令 (Monthly Ordinances)" and "Quli 曲禮 (Primer of Rites)" in Li Ji 諸子記 (Record of Rites), op.cit., pp.33, 232.
Also cf. "Yuan You 遠遊" in the Songs of the South.
Cf. David Hawkes, op.cit., p.85, L.64; M.4.

47-2. Dan niao 丹鳥 (the red-faced pheasant) usually arrived in Liqiu 立秋 (the Beginning of Autumn) and left at Lidong 立冬 (the Beginning of Winter), while Liqiu and Lidong are the beginnings of occlusion 聚 and hibernation 寢, therefore, in antiquity both the Regulator of Autumn and Winter and the God of Occlusion were identified with this bird.
Cf. the commentary and the subcommentary of the 17th year of Zhao 昭 of Zuo Zhuan 左傳 (Zuo commentary), cited by Ci Hai 赤海, op.cit., p.44.

47-3. Luyuan 麋苑 (the Deer Park) refers to the one in the imperial cemetery of Emperor Hui of the Han Dynasty 漢惠帝. See Sanfu Huantu 三輔皇圖 (Description of the Three Capital Districts), cited by Qian, op.cit., p.261, N.6.

47-4. Tuyuan 兔園 (the Hare Garden) refers to the one built by Prince Xiao of Liang 梁孝王 of the Han Dynasty, See Xijing Zaiji 西京雜記 (Western Capital Miscellany), cited by ibid., p.261, N.6.

47-5. Yutang 玉堂 (the Jade Hill) refers to the abode of Xi Wang Mu 西王母 (Queen Mother of the West) on Mount Kunlun 庫山. See Shi Zhou Ji 十洲記 (Record of Ten Continents), cited by ibid., p.261, N.8.

47-6. Yintai 銀臺 (the Silver Terrace) was also an abode of Xi Wang Mu 西王母 (Queen Mother of the West). See Zhang Heng’s 張衡 Si Xuan Fu 思玄賦 (Rhapsody on Cosmic Contemplation), cited by ibid., p.261, N.8.

49-1. The River refers to the Yangzi River.

49-2. Feng guan 廠管 (the Phoenix fluting) refers both to the flutings of Xiao Shi 蕭史 and Nongyu 洪玉 and that of Wangzi Jin 王子晉 (Prince Jin), Heir Apparent to King Ling of the Zhou Dynasty 周靈王, who had learned the secret of longevity from a Taoist and could play the mouth organ to imitate the call of the phoenix. See Lie Xian Zhuan 列仙傳 (Biographies
of Various Immortals), cited by Qian, op.cit., p.266, N.10.
Also cf. Knechtges, op.cit., p.134, L.305.

49-3. Diaolong Zi 鈞龍子 (Dragon Angler) alludes to the legend of Lingyang Ziming 鱉陽子明, who fished-up a white dragon and in fear released it. Later he hooked a white fish and found in its maw a letter of instruction for taking Taoist pills. He thereupon retreated to Mount Huang 黃山. He gathered five kinds of stalactites and, after boiling them, took them. Three years later the dragon came back and carried him away. See Lie Xian Zhuan 列仙傳 (Biographies of Various Immortals), cited by Qian, op.cit., p.266, N.10.

50-1. Ci zong 師宗 (Masters of the Songs of Chu) such as Qu Yuan 屈原 and Song yu 宋玉 wrote a lot of songs about the Chu Terrace 楚臺 and the Yunmeng Marshes 雲夢 in Jingchu 荊楚.

50-2. This stanza refers to Lu Song 魯頌 (Eulogia of Lu) which praised Marquis of Lu’s 魯侯 efforts to cultivate the territory around Mount Fu 山 and Mount Yi 鎮山. See Mao Shi 毛詩 (Mao Version of the Songs), cited by Qian, op.cit., p.267, N.2.

50-3. Lie 列 refers to Lie Yukou 列御寇 of the Zhou 周, who was a legendary Taoist philosopher and was said to be able to ride on the wind to tour around the world.

50-4. Yu 禹 refers to the legendary ruler of the Xia Dynasty 夏 in the 23rd century B.C. He was said to have traveled through the whole Kingdom before he brought the great deluge under control and divided the kingdom into nine administrative divisions or regions.

53-1. Ying 郧, the capital of the ancient Chu state 楚 in the Warring States Period (戰國時代), was the seat of the prefectural government of Jingzhou 荊州 in the Liu Song Dynasty.

53-2. This stanza refers to the legend of Xiang Furen 湘夫人 (Consorts of Xiang River) who were the two daughters of Yao 堯 and consorts of Shun 舜. When Emperor Shun died, the two of them wailed by River Xiang 湘江, and their tears dropped and stained the bamboos by the river bank. See Bo Wu Zhi 博物志 (Treatise on the Investigation of Things), cited by Qian, op.cit., p.275, N.6.

53-3. This stanza refers to the legend of Jiaofu of Zheng 鄭交甫, who on his way to Chu 楚 in the south came across two playful girls by the Han Weander 漢澤. They were the two Consorts of River Han 漢水. Jiaofu did not know who they were but seduced them with his eyes, and the two nymphs untied and gave their jade (or pearl) girdle pendants to him. But right after they departed, the two girls immediately disappeared with their girdle pendants. See Shen Xian Zhuan 神仙傳 (Biographies of the Immortals) and Han Shi Weizhuan 韓詩外傳 (Exoteric Commentary to the Han Version of the Songs), cited by ibid., p.139, N.9; p.275, N.6.

54-1. This stanza alludes to the story of King Xuan of Qi 齊宣王, who was fond of the se 瑟 music but gave it up under the advice of Kang Qian 康倩. Kang Qian maintained that in a se (a zither-like instrument) the big and the small were in reversed order, and the noble and the humble were
in opposite position, for its big strings produced small sounds and its small strings produced big sounds; a Confucian scholar would not play it just because of its injustice. See Han Fei Zi 蘇非子, cited by ibid., p.277, N.4.

57-1. This poem alludes to the story of Zhang Hua 張華 of the Jin Dynasty 晉 and Ganjiang 干將 and Moye 莫邪, the male and the female of a pair of ancient swords. Zhang Hua had noticed that there were always some purple clouds between the Big Dipper and the Altair 斗牛, and Lei Huan 雷煥 of Yuzhang 謝章, a learned astrologist, said that it was caused by some precious sword's thrusting force or spirit. Hua thereupon appointed Huan Subprefect of Fengcheng 豐城令. As soon as he arrived there, Huan dug by the foundation of the county prison and found a stone box at the depth of 40 feet. It contained a pair of swords carved with names: one read Longquan 龍泉, the other read Taie 太阿. Huan sent only one of them to Hua and kept one for himself in secret, but Huan wrote to him: "I thoroughly studied the inscription on the sword and found that it was the famous ancient sword Ganjiang 干將; but then why did its mate Moye 莫邪 not come along? Nevertheless, I am sure that these mysterious divine things will eventually join together again." Later when Hua was executed for high treason, Ganjiang disappeared. After Huan died, his son, a prefectural intendant, one day passed by the Yanping Ford 延平津 with the sword Moye; it suddenly leaped out of his waist and dropped into the water. He thereupon had someone dive to get it back, but the diver found no sword, only two long dragons coiling with elegant appearance. The diver returned in fear and the sword was thus lost. See "Zhang Hua Zhuan (Biography of Zhang Hua)" in Jin Shu 晉書 (History of the Jin Dynasty) cited by ibid., p.283, N.6. Also cf. Knechtges, op.cit., p.284; p.406, L.481.

65-1. Cf. note 1-2 for Ying 鄭 city.

65-2. Cf. note 1-3 for the Wei 衛 State.

65-3. Yingyin 靳陰 was a county south of the Ying River 濰水, under the administration of Yinchuan Prefecture 靳川郡. When Huang Ba 被霸 was prefect, he made it the best prefecture of the Kingdom of the Han. See Han Shu 漢書 (History of the Former Han), cited by Qian, op.cit., p.295, N.6.

65-4. Huaiyang 淮陽 was a prefecture north of the Huai River 淮河. When Ji An 汲黯 was Prefect of Donghai 東海, he adopted the laissez-faire attitude of Taoism and achieved great order in a year; thereupon he was summoned to administer the Prefecture of Huaiyang with the same policy. See Han Shu 漢書 (History of the Former Han), cited by ibid., p.295, N.6.

70-1. This stanza refers to the verse Qian Shang 襲裳 (Lifting One's Dress) in Zheng Feng 郑風 (Odes of Zheng). It calls for a good friend to wade through the Wei River 濰水 to give the handsome but worthless young man a lesson. See Shi Jing Jin Zhu 詩經今注 (Shanghai: Guji Chubanshe, 1980), p.119.

70-2. This stanza refers to She Jiang 涉江 (Crossing the River) in Jiu Zhang 九章 (the Nine Declarations) of Chu Ci 楚辭 (The Songs of Chu). The poet in the poem used "yu 余" (I) nine times and "wu 吾" (I) eight times.
71-1. Fenyu (Elm Village) was the native place of the founding emperor of the Han Dynasty. See Han Shu (History of the Former Han), cited by Qian, op.cit., p.303, N.3.

71-2. Hu bian 虎變 refers to Gegua 草卦 (The Trigram of Revolution), to which the explanation reads: "(大人虎變) The superior man's revolution is as magnificent as the tiger's stripes." Zhu Xi's 朱熹 commentary reads: "The nine-five is at the center in a solemn position. The superior man bases his revolution on his virtue to change the former king's establishment, to reform the institution and to regulate new legislation. It has grace and refinement with a glorious look like the tiger's splendour of shining stripes." Zhu Xi's 朱熹 subcommentary: "Hu (tiger) is the image of the superior man (大人之象); bian 变 (change, also means stripes) means rare hide 希革 (also means hope for revolution) with beautiful stripes (also connotes splendid refinement)." Thus "虎變" in the stanza connotates "the superior man like a tiger with splendid stripes" or "the superior man with hope of revolution in splendid refinement," which both point to Yu the Great (大禹), who was born at the "knob-rock 石妞" in the present Wenshan county of Sichuan 四川. See "Fenshan Shu 封禪書 (Essay on the Sacrifices)" in Shi Ji (Record of the Historian), cited by Qian, op.cit. p.303, N.3.

Also cf. Song Shu 宋書 (History of the Song Dynasty) (Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 1974), V.3, p.763.

71-3. This stanza alludes to the legend of the ascendence of Huang Di 黃帝 (the Yellow Emperor). He gathered copper from Mount Shou 首山 and cast a huge caldron (tripod) of bronze as a sacrificial vessel at the hill of Mount Jing 鼎山. When it was finished, a dragon stretched down its whisker to receive him. Huang Di and some 70 of his vassals and courtiers mounted the dragon. The dragon ascended to soar away, but its whisker broke down and dropped to the ground, for too many lesser officials had clung to it. Seeing that the Yellow Emperor had ascended into heaven, the people called for him while holding the dragon whisker and his sacred bow, which had dropped down with it. The later generations thereupon called the place the Caldron Lake 鼎湖, and the bow the Black Vail 鳥號. See "Fenshan Shu 封禪書 (Essay on the Sacrifices)" in Shi Ji (Record of the Historian), cited by Qian, op.cit., p.303.

71-4. Feng 種 was the capital of the Zhou Dynasty 周朝 under King Wen 文王 and Hao 革 was the capital under King Wu 武王.

71-5. This stanza refers to the verse Lu Ling 鬼令 of Qi Feng 齊風 (Odes of Qi), which praised a virtuous ruler who was beloved by people. See Shi Jing Jin Zhu 詩經今注, op.cit., p.136.

71-6. This stanza refers to verses in Tang Feng 唐風 (Odes of Tang) of Shi Jing 詩經 (Classic of Songs), which praised the virtuous and diligent customs of Tang 唐, bearing the inspiration of the halcyon days of Yao the Great 禹.

75-1. Li Shan's commentary to Wen Xuan 文獻 noted that in Guchui Qu 鼓吹曲 there was one called Gu Ru Chao Qu 古入朝曲 (The Ancient Song of Entering the Capital). Huang Jie 黄節 suspected the Ru Jing Yin 入京引 (Prelude to Entering the Capital) was Gu Ru Chao Qu. See Qian op.cit., p.316, N.10.
76.1. Huang Jie maintained that since Bao Zhao was a native of Donghai, "Traveler from the Ji River" referred to the poet himself. \textit{Ibid.}, p.318, N.9.

80.1. Li Ji (Record of Rites) observes the ritual of offering the clay ox in the first month of winter to send off the chilliness. See \textit{Li Ji}, cited by \textit{Ibid.}, p.325, N.2.

80.2. Huang Jie maintained that the Song version of the poem reads "冥陵," but it is actually a textual corruption of "冥陵," for the stanza of "冥陵浮行" in Da Zhao (the Great Summons) of Chu Ci (the Songs of Chu). Wang Yi commented: "

80.3. Kunming alludes to both Kunming Chi (Kunming Lake) constructed by Emperor Wu of the Han Dynasty and Kunming Tai (Kunming Terrace) erected by King Ling of the Zhou Dynasty. Gaogeng Zhuan (Biographies of Eminent Reverend Monks) mentions that when Emperor Wu of the Han had Kunming Lake dug out, some black ashes were dug up. He inquired of Dongfang Shuo about this and the latter advised him to ask monks from the west regions. Later when Zhu Falan came, people recalled the matter and questioned him about it. Zhu replied that it was the ashes of inexorable doom, which would burn through the ground in the end of the world. Shi Yi Ji (Collection of Oblivion Stories) offered a different legend. It said that when King Ling of the Zhou completed the construction of Kunming Terrace, he summoned occultists in the Kingdom. And there came two persons on a flying sedan. They took seats and soon were deeply intoxicated by the wine. At that time there was a severe drought and the ground was cracked and trees scorched. One of them said that he could summon the frost and the snow; King Ling thereupon asked him to perform it. The occultist then took a deep breath and blew out the air. Suddenly clouds started rising and snow began falling. All in the banquet were struck with awe. See Gaogeng Zhuan and Shi Yi Ji cited by \textit{Ibid.}, p.326, N.6. Also cf. Knechtges, \textit{op. cit.}, p.112, L.130.

80.4. Shu gu (the valley of broomcorn millet) alludes to a legend about Zou Yan (ca. 350-ca.270 B.C.). This fragmented legend was cited by Li Shan from Liu Xiang's \textit{Bie Lu} (A Separate Catalogue of the Han Imperial Library) in his commentary to Wei Du Fu (Wei Capital Rhapsody) by Zuo Si. It said that when Zou Yan was in the State of Yan, he came across a valley chilly and barren of all five kinds of grain. Master Zou blew the pitch pipes, and the warmth came and the millet grew. Then it was called "Millet Valley." \textit{Ibid.}, p.476, L.800-801.

81.1. Wu du (the five metropolitan cities) in the Han Dynasty were Luoyang, Han dan (Beijing), Linzi, Lu (Ligao), and Chengdu. See \textit{Han Shu} (History of the Former Han), cited by Qian, \textit{op. cit.}, p.327, N.2.

81.2. San Chuan (the three rivers) refers to the basin between the Yellow River, the Luo River, and the Yi River. See Zhan Guo Ce (Intrigues of the Warring States), cited by \textit{Ibid.}, p.327, N.2.
81-3. Junping 蘇平 was the style of the Han Taoist recluse Zhuang Zun 莊遵, who was referred to as Yan Zun 嚴遵 to avoid the taboo on Emperor Ming's 漢明帝 personal name. He made a living as a fortune teller in the Chengdu 成都 marketplace, but he would only receive a few customers a day, and as soon as he had earned enough to sustain himself for the day, he would close the shop and let down the curtains to give lectures on Lao Zi 老子. See Han Shu 漢書 (History of the Former Han), cited by ibid., p.328, N.9. Also cf. Knechtges, ibid., p.368, L.399.

82-1. Cf. note 81-3 for Yan Junping 嚴君平.

82-2. Sima Xiangru 司馬相如, a native of Shu 蜀 and a master of rhapsody of the Han Dynasty, was an Armed Cavalier Attendant 武騎常侍 in Emperor Jing's 景帝 court and later in Emperor Wu's 武帝 court served as Superintendent of the Imperial Mausoleum of Emperor Xiao Wen 孝文帝頃公. See Han Shu 漢書 (History of the Former Han), cited by Qian, op.cit., p.329, N.1.

82-3. Wang Bao 王褒, a native of Shu 蜀 and a rhapsody poet of the Han Dynasty, was a Master of Remonstrance (諫大夫) in Emperor Xuan's 宣帝 court. Later he was in attendance on the Heir Apparent, before he was summoned to offer imperial sacrifice in the Yi State 益州 and died on the journey. See Han Shu 漢書 (History of the Former Han), cited by ibid., p.329, N.1.

82-4. Yang Xiong 揚雄, a native of Shu 蜀 and a rhapsody writer of the Han Dynasty, was a Palace Attendant (給事黃門) in Emperor Cheng's 成帝 court. He was also a philosopher of occultism and the author of The Book of Great Occult (太玄經). See Han Shu 漢書 (History of the Former Han), cited by ibid., p.329, N.1.

83-1. "Liaocheng gong 聊城功 (the credit of Liao City) alludes to the fall of Liaocheng. Tian Dan 田單 of the Qi State 齊 assaulted Liaocheng, but could not capture it. Lu Lian 魯連 (or Lu Zhonglian 魯仲連), one of the most brilliant political and military strategists of the pre-Qin period, thereupon wrote a letter, tied it to an arrow and shot it into Liaocheng (Liao City), the general of the state of Yan 燕 read the letter and committed suicide. Tian Dan massacred the city and returned in triumph. He wanted to confer a noble rank to Lu Lian, but the latter retreated to the seas. Lu Zhonglian's sophistic ability was fully demonstrated when the troops of the State of Qin 秦 seized Handan 涿驅, the capital of the Zhao State 趙. The King of the Wei State 魏 sent General Xinyuan-Yan 辛垣衍 to urge Prince Pingyuan 平原君 of Zhao to recognize King Zhao of Qin 秦昭王 as emperor, in order to free the capital seizure; he rebuked the proposal by delivering an eloquent speech at the Zhao court. As a result the Qin troops withdrew 50 leagues. See Shi Ji 史記 (Record of the Historian), cited by ibid., p.336, N.4. Also cf Knechtges, op.cit., p.88, L.147.

83-2 This stanza alludes to the legend of Duke Jing of Song's 宋景公 fine bow in Kan Zi 閣子, cited by Li Shan 李善 in his commentary to Wen Xuan 文選 (Selections of Refined Literature). Xu Xunxing 許巽行 in Wen Xuan Biji 文選筆記 (Notes on Wen Xuan) suspected that Kan Zi 閣子 in the Yi Wen Zhi 薛文志 (Monograph on Literature) the legend said that Duke Jing had an artisan make a bow and the artisan devoted nine years and all his strength to make it. He presented it to the Duke and died three days later. Duke Jing drew the bow and shot to the east.
The arrow flew over Mount Xishuang 西霜 to the east of Pengcheng 彭城 and sunk into a stone bridge with the remaining force. See Kan Zi 賢子, cited by Qian, op. cit., p. 339, N.5.

83-3. This stanza refers to a legend of Emperor Yi 帝乙 of Youqiong 有窮, who was a famous archer. On an excursion, when Emperor Yi was requested by Wu He 吳賀 to shoot down a sparrow, he asked the latter if he wanted the bird to be alive or dead. Wu told him to shoot its left eye, but Yi shot the bird's right eye by mistake and felt ashamed of it all his life. See Di Wang Shiji 帝王世紀 (Genealogies of Emperors and Kings), cited by ibid., p. 339, N.5.

83-4. Zhaoge 朝歌 was the capital of the Shang Dynasty 商 from Emperor Yi 帝乙 to Emperor Zhou 王周. When King Wu 武王 of the Zhou dynasty 周 overthrew the Shang Dynasty, he conferred the place to his brother Kang Shu as the State of Wei 衛國. Then again in the Warring States period (戰國時代) it fell to the hand of Marquis of Qi 齊侯, when he subjugated the state of Jin 晉. The place was hence known as the Yin Ruins 殞墟 or a fallen state. It was in this context that Mo Zi 墨子 was said to have turned his cart back, when he came across a country name Zhaoge. See Zuo Zhuan 蘇贊 (Zuo Commentary) and Han Shu 漢書 (History of the Former Han), cited by ibid., p. 341, N.4. Also cf. Knechtges, op. cit., p. 434, L.107.

83-5. Zhongshan 中山 was a county in the Zhou Dynasty 周朝 and a state in the Warring States period (戰國時代). It was exterminated by King Wuling of the Zhao State 趙武靈王. Di Xi 狄希, who brewed Qianri Jiu 千日酒 (Thousand-day Wine) was said to be a native of Zhongshan. Cf. Qian, op. cit., p. 341, N.4.

83-6. This couplet refers to a statement in Lun Yu 論語 (The Analects), which commented on the contrast between Duke Jing of the Qi State 齊景公 and Bo Yi 伯夷 and Shu Qi 叔齊. The Duke had 1000 chariot teams of four horses, but upon his death people found no virtue in him to praise. Bo Yi and Shu Qi starved to death under Mount Shouyang 首陽山, but are praised by people to this day. See Lun Yu 論語, cited by ibid., p. 341, N.6.

83-7. Cf. note 81-1 for the five metropolitan cities of the Han Dynasty.

83-8. Guan Zhong 管仲, a brilliant political and military strategist of the Pre-Qin period, was Prime Minister of Duke Huan of the Qi State 齊桓公 in the Spring and Autumn period (春秋時代).

83-9. Duke Huan of the Qi State 齊桓公 was one of the five leading chieftains of the Spring and Autumn period during the 7th century B.C.

83-10. This stanza refers to a legend about Li Shaojun 李少君, who was a favored occultist in the court of Emperor Wu of the Han Dynasty 漢武帝. He once identified one of Emperor Wu's bronze vessels or jade bowls to be the one passed down from the chamber of Duke Huan of Qi 齊桓公. See Feng Shan Shu 封禪書 (Essay on the Sacrifices) in Shi Ji 史記 (Record of the Historian), cited by Qian, op. cit., p. 343, N.7.

83-11. This stanza refers to the friendship between Bao Shu Ya 郭叔牙 and Guan Zhong 管仲 who once said: "It is my parents who gave birth to me, but
it is Bao Shu Ya who understands me." See 

87-1. Qin Chuan 漢川 refers to the basin of River Qing 清水 in the present Gansu Province. The river was called Qin Chuan (the Qin River), after Duke Xiao of the Qin State 秦孝公 moved his capital to it. Cf. Ci Hai 褚海, op.cit., p.991.

87-2. River Wei 魏水 is a large tributary of the Yellow River in Shanxi Province 陜西.

92-1. Jian Chu 建除 is a method by which an occultist decides the good or ill luck of every one of the 12 divisions of a day or a year. According to Tianwen Xun 天文訓 (Comment on Astronomy) in Huainan Zi 淮南子, the correlation is: "寅為建, 卯為除. 辰為滿, 巳為平. 午為定, 未為執. 申為破, 酉為危. 戌為成, 亥為收. 子為閉, 丑為閉."
Cf. Qian, op.cit., p.366, N.1.

92-2. Qiang 羌 were the tribes in west China and a tributary state of the Han Dynasty.

92-3. Xiling 西零, also called Xianling 先零, was a state founded by the Qiang 羌. Cf. Qian, op.cit., p.367, N.7.

92-4. This couplet refers to Yang Xiong 杨雄, a rhapsody poet and a recluse philosopher of the Han Dynasty. He devoted himself to writing The Book of Great Occult 太玄經 instead of seeking after wealth and power. Also cf. note 82-4.

93-1. Yao Yuan 瑤渊 refers to the Jasper Abyss in the divine abode of Xi Wang Mu 西王母 (Queen Mother of the West). See Ci Hai, op.cit., p.899.


93-3. Wangzi Qiao 王子喬, also know as Wang Jin 王晉, was the heir apparent to King Ling of the Zhou Dynasty 周靈王. He was fond of playing sheng 笙, the mouth organ, and was good at miming the phoenix callings. He sauntered between River Luo 洛 and River Yi 伊, and later followed Taoist Master Fuqiu 浮丘公, withdrawing into Mount Songgao 嵩高山 to learn the art of longevity. Thirty years later when his family came for him, he had them wait at the hill and bid them farewell at the peak, and then ascended a crane's back to soar away. See Lie Xian Zhuan 列仙傳 (Biographies of Various Immortals), cited by Qian, op.cit., p.369, N.9. Also cf. Knechtges, op.cit., p.134, L.305.

94-1. This stanza refers to the recluse on Mount Shangluo 商洛, namely "the four Hoary Heads (四皓).

98-1. Zhong Jing 中經 (The Classic of the Central) refers possibly to the Classic of Central Mountains 中山經 in Shan Hai Jing 山海經 (Classic of Mountains and Seas).
98-2. *Nei ce 内策 (Scriptures of the Internal)* refers to those Apocryphal Classics (緋書) about charms, pills, omens, etc., circulating in the later years of the Former Han Dynasty.

99-1. This stanza refers to the story of He's Jade 和氏璧, recorded in many Chinese classics. Bian He 卞和 was a native of the Chu State 楚. He found a piece of jade matrix and presented it to King Huai of Chu 楚懷王. The royal jeweler, Yuezheng Zi 楚景子, judged that it was only a common alabaster. The King thereupon ordered that Bian He's left foot be cut off in punishment. In time when King Ping 楚平王 succeeded the throne, Bian He presented the jade matrix again, but got his right foot amputated for suspected deceiving. Then when King Jing 楚景王 came to the throne, he wanted to present the matrix very much, but was afraid of the punishment; hence he clapsed the matrix to his chest and wailed till blood came out of his eyes. King Jing then had the matrix cut and found that it was really a precious jade. One version said that when Bian He was questioned by King Jing's messenger about his wailings, he replied: "I weep not because of my foot being amputated, but because of a jade being dubbed a mere stone and a man of integrity being called deceiver." See *Qin Cao 琴操 (The Lute Drill)*, cited by Qian, *op.cit.*, p.382, N.3.

Also cf. chapter 13 of *Han Fei Zi 老子*. 

102-1. A textual corruption with two characters missing.

104-1. Wu nan 五難 (five calamities) refers to the five kinds of calamity in life, listed out by Xiang Xiu 向秀 of the Jin Dynasty 晉 in Nan Ji Käng’s Yangsheng Lun 養生論 (Rebuke Ji Kan's Essay on Longevity). They are: fame and profit (名利), pleasure and anger (喜怒), music and colors (聲色), taste and flavour (滋味), and anxiety and worriment (神慮). See Nan Ji Käng’s Yangsheng Lun, cited by Qian, *op.cit.*, p.74, N.2.

104-2. Xiao Jing Yuan Shen Qi 孝經援神契 (Deeds of Spiritual Reinforcement in the Classic of Filial Piety) stated that there were three types of life: that which is blessed and protected by fate, that which is devastated and banished by fate, and that which is driven and urged by fate. See Xiao Jing Yuan Shen Qi, cited by *ibid.*, p.390, N.2.

104-3. This stanza refers to the method of detecting the seasonal transitions. It is to place bamboo pitch-pipes, stuffed with reed ashes, on wooden, inclined stands at the directions corresponding to their pitches, in a triple-walled room with thick curtains. When a certain seasonal vitality arises, the ashes in the corresponding pipe will drop to tell the transition. See Lu Li Zhi 律曆志 (Treatise on Calender and Pitch pipes) in Xu Han Shu 續漢書 (Sequel of Han Shu), cited by *ibid.*, p.390, N.8.

107-1. This stanza refers to Ji Rang Ge 播壤歌 (Song of Plowing), recorded in Di Tang Shi Ji 帝王世紀 (Genealogies of Emperors and Kings) in *Shi Ji 史記 (Record of the Historian)*:

- To work from the sunrise,
- To rest at the sunset,
- To dig a well for water to drink,
- To plow the field for food to eat.

What is the power of Emperor Yao to Me?
107-2. Bao Huang (Emperor Bo) was one of the sage kings of the golden age mentioned by Zhuang Zi. See Zhuang Zi, cited by Qian, *op.cit.*, p.396, N.10.

110-1. This poem refers to the ancient festival of Shansi Fuchu (Cleansing on the Third Day of the Third Month), which observed that people and officials cleansed sins or removed evils by washing off in the eastward rivers on the third day of the third lunar month. See Xu Han Shu (Sequel of Han shu), cited by Qian, *op.cit.*, p.398, N.3.

110-2. This stanza refers to the custom of drinking wine from cups drifting down on a winding stream (曲水) on the third day of the third month.

116-1. This stanza refers to a statement in Da Zong Shi (The Great and Venerable Teacher) in Zhuang Zi, in which the philosopher ridiculed the ignorance of man upon the constancy of things, like the confidence of one who hid his boat in the ravine, but did not know that it had been carried away by a strong man in the middle of the night. Cf. Burton Watson, trans. The Complete Works of Chuang Tzu (New York and London: Columbia University Press, 1968), p.80.

116-2. This stanza refers to Confucius' comment on the swift current of the river: "What passes away is going like this, ceaselessly day and night."

118-1. This couplet refers to Qiu Shui (Autumn Flood) in Zhuang Zi, in which the philosopher mocked man's relatively limited knowledge represented by the arrogant, self-important Lord of River (河伯) at the autumn flood, before he witnessed the vastness of the North Sea and Bowed to God of the North Sea (海若). Cf. Burton Watson, *op.cit.*, p.175.
B. Notes to A Compilation of Textual Variations of Bao Zhao's Poems

HWBSJ: Han Wei Bai San Jia  
OV : One Variation  
SB : Song Ben  
TPHYJ: Taiping Huan Yu Ji  
WX : Wen Xuan  
WXBJ : Wen Xuan Bi Ji  
WXKY : Wen Xuan Kao Yi  
WXLB : Wen Xuan Liu Chen Ben  
WXPZ : Wen Xuan Pang Zheng  
WXWCB : Wen Xuan Wu Chen Ben  
YFSJ : Yue Fu Shi Ji  
YTXY : Yu Tai Xin Yong

1-a. SB reads 採桑 as 詠采桑. YTXY reads it as 采桑詩.
1-b. SB notes that after this stanza, OV has a couplet: 明鏡淨分桂, 光競畢甘芬.
   YFSJ reads 女工 as 工女.
1-c. YFSJ reads 游 as 穀.
1-d. YFSJ notes that OV reads 筇 as 竹.
1-e. OV reads 露 as 雲. SB reads 露 as 超.
1-f. SB and YFSJ both read 落 as 落.
1-g. OV reads 是 as 景. YFSJ reads 喧 as 喧.
1-h. YTXY reads 適 as 回 and 綴 as 繒, while YFSJ reads 綴 as 繒.
1-i. OV reads 抽 as 拽, and YTXY reads 拽 as 侾; while YFSJ reads 拽 as 鉤.
1-j. YTXY reads 爾 as 虚.
1-k. YTXY reads 穴 as 穴, and YFSJ notes that OV reads 瀝 as 景.

2-a. SB reads 伸 as 申.
2-b. YFSJ reads 騞波 as 濃驛.
2-c. YFSJ reads 零露 as 露宿.
2-d. OV reads 結 as 集.
2-e. YFSJ reads 實 as 美.

4-a. SB notes that OV reads 弦驚 as 驚弦.
4-b. WXPZ reads that He Zhou 何焯 said that OV reads 復還 as 還復.
4-c. WX reads 無 as 落.
4-d. SB and WX both read 草 as 秋.

5-a. SB and WXWCB both read 非 as 排, and YFSJ also notes the variation.
5-b. WXLCB reads 信 as 言.

6-a. OV reads the title as 煌煌京洛行.
6-b. SB and YFSJ both reads 高 as 歌.
6-c. YTXY reads 瑟 as 筲.
6-d. YTXY reads 共 as 皆.

7-a. This poem was also collected in Zhang Maoxian Ji 張茂先集 with a lack of couplets 3, 6, 9, and 10.
7-b. YFSJ notes that OV reads 得 as 遇.
7-c. SB reads 理 as 理.
7-d. YFSJ reads 諸 as 諸 and also notes that OV reads it as 謀.
7-e. YFSJ reads 殷 as 殷.
7-f. YFSJ reads 君 as 我.
7-s. SB reads 驚 as 驚.

8-a. YFSJ notes that OV reads 譲 as 今.
8-b. YFSJ reads the stanza as 願令懷永楚.
8-c. SB reads 馨 as 馨.
8-d. YFSJ notes that OV reads 搖曳 as 飄搖.

9-a. SB, WXLCB, YTX, YFSJ all read 端 as 點.
9-b. YFSJ reads 陵 as 陵.
9-c. YFSJ reads 昇 as 升.
9-d YFSJ reads 猶 as 固.

10-a. OV reads the title as 東武吟.
10-b. YFSJ notes that OV reads 隨 as 隨.
10-c. SB, YFSJ, and WXCB all read 占 as 召.
10-d. SB and YFSJ both reads 窮 as 出.
10-e. WXKY notes that He Zhuo 何焯 reads 肌 as 筋.
10-f. SB notes that OV reads 頒 as 偉.
10-g. SB, YFSJ, and WXCB all read 收 as 收. SB, YFSJ, and WXBJ all read 隱 as 蒲.
10-h. WXLCB reads 結 as 積.

11-a. SB and YFSJ both read 始 as 偶.
11-b. YFSJ reads 遊 as 到.
11-c. YFSJ reads 羅 as 羅.
11-d. YFSJ reads 悲 as 悲.
11-e. YFSJ notes that OV reads 遠 as 己.
11-f. SB reads 在 as 屬.
11-g. OV reads 言 as 言.

12-a. SB and YFSJ both read 騎 as 師.
12-b. SB reads 度 as 渡.
12-c. WXKY notes that OV reads 思 as 間.
12-d. WXPZ notes that WXLCB reads 毛 as 步.

13-a. SB and WXLCB both read 上 as 出.
13-b. YFSJ reads 閣 as 閣.
13-c. YFSJ reads 行 as 明.
13-d. YFSJ reads 還 as 留.
13-e. Li Shan 李善 reads 阿 as 河.
13-f. YFSJ reads 味 as 暇.

14-a. YFSJ reads 尚 as 常, and SB reads 僥 as 僥.

15-a. YFSJ reads 徑 as 遊.
15-b. SB reads 墟 as 節, YFSJ also notes the variation.
15-c. YFSJ notes that OV reads 塞 as 雪.
15-d. SB reads 被 as 被.
15-e. SB reads 棣 as 罷.
15-f. YFSJ notes that OV reads 重 as 要.
15-g. SB reads 厝 as 單.

16-a. WXLCB notes that Li Shan 李善 reads 官 as 官. WXPZ notes that OV reads 勝 as 神.
16-b. YFSJ notes that OV reads 顯顯 as 顯顯. YFSJ reads 若 as 類.
16-c. OV reads 重 as 要. WXLCB reads 志 as 至.
16-d. OV reads 圖 as 之.
16-e. YFSJ reads 登 as 金.
16-f. Li Shan reads 少 as 近.
16-g. Li Shan reads 當 as 時, and 汝 as 爾. SB also reads 當 as 時.

17-a. SB reads 乏 as 之.
17-b. OV reads 唐 as 聊.
17-c. SB reads 謀 as 議.
17-d. SB and YFSJ both read 根 as 恨.
17-e. SB and YFSJ both read 中 as 下.
17-f. YFSJ reads 刊 as 形.
17-g. SB and YFSJ both read 擒 as 捨.
17-h. YFSJ reads 已 as 以.
17-i. SB and YFSJ read this verse line as 撒閑閑遼流.
17-j. YFSJ reads this verse line as 虧宴式酒囂, while SB reads it as 虧宴式酒囂.
17-k. YFSJ reads 昨日 as 昨目.
17-l. SB and YFSJ reads 林二 as 床響.
17-m. SB reads 逝 as 遊.
17-n. YFSJ reads 頭 as 捺.
17-o. SB reads 過 as 遙.

18-a. YFSJ reads 坤 as 磚. SB also notes the variation.
18-b. Li Shan reads 蓋 as 常.
18-c. Li Shan reads 病 as 痛.
18-d. SB and YFSJ read 郑 as 病. WXPZ also notes the variation.
18-e. SB reads 茗 as 草.
18-f. Li Shan reads 莫 as 不.
18-g. Li Shan reads 稷 as 肥.
18-h. YFSJ reads 登 as 高.
18-i. Li Shan reads 爵 as 財.

19-a. YTXY reads 奪 as 偉.
19-b. OV reads 當作 as 堂上.

20-a. YFSJ notes that OV reads 莫 as 勿.
20-b. SB reads 友 as 交.
20-c. SB and YFSJ read 相追 as 好相.
20-d. YFSJ reads 心 as 情.

21-a. YFSJ reads 閣 as 塞.
21-b. SB and Li Shan read 衛 as 塞.
21-c. YFSJ reads 焰燬 as 轶燬.

23-a. SB reads 齊 as 琴.
24-a. SB notes that OV reads 荊山 as 京山.
24-b. SB reads 續 as 高.
24-c. SB reads 氣 as 氣.
24-d. SB reads 綿 as 盈.

26-a. SB notes that OV reads 京 as 荊, and 行 as 方.

27-a. OV reads the title as 去邪行.
27-b. SB reads 事 as 時.

28-a. SB and YFSJ read 長 as 少.
28-b. YFSJ reads 翰好 as 好忽.

29-a. SB reads 睇 as 睇.

30-a. SB reads the title as 吳歌二首.
30-b. SB does not include this poem.
30-c. SB reads 曹 as 魯.
30-d. SB reads 達 as 達.

31-a. YFSJ notes that OV reads the couplet as: 弄紛瀰湘北，歌髙清漠南.
31-b. YFSJ reads 割 as 納.
31-c. SB and YFSJ read 捨 as 拾，and 餐 as 榮.
31-d. YFSJ reads 不可Logged as 殊不那.
31-e. YFSJ reads 萧萧 as 梟梟，and 容容 as 沉沉.
31-f. YFSJ reads 瞪 as 喻.
31-g. YFSJ reads 中 as 心，and 近閔 as 絃開.
31-h. SB reads 無終 as 終無.

32-a. YFSJ reads 留思 as 留思.
32-b. SB and YFSJ read 不知 as 知不，and 坐愁 as 愁坐.
32-c. SB reads 畫 as 劃，while YFSJ reads it as 盡.

33-a. SB and YFSJ read 遲 as 遏.
33-b. SB reads 視 as 見.
33-c. SB and YFSJ read 池 as 池.
33-d. SB reads 沒 as 設.
33-e. SB and YFSJ read 治 as 治.

34-a. YFSJ notes that OV reads 慶 as 榮.
34-b. SB reads 紫 as 碧.
34-c. OV reads 帳 as 帳. YFSJ reads 帳 as 銜, while SB reads it as 合.
34-d. YFSJ reads 佩 as 銜.
34-e. SB reads 参差 as 差池.
34-f. SB reads 青 as 綠.
34-g. YFSJ reads 去 as 霧, and SB reads 腾 as 飛.
34-h. OV reads this verse line as 傲命遂福丁溢恩.
34-i. SB reads this verse line as 恩厚德深委如山.

35-a. SB reads 腕 as 袖.
35-b. SB abd YTXY read 年少 as 少童.
35-c. SB and YTXY read 潘 as 潤.
35-d. YTXY reads 倫 as 使.
35-e. SB and YTXY read 濃 as 綠.
35-f. YTXY reads 桃為桃為, and 蓮 as 蓮. YFSJ notes that OV reads 蕭 as 連.
35-g. OV reads 華 as 華.
35-h. YTXY reads 槅 as 槅.
35-i. SB reads 顧 as 顧.

36-a. YFSJ reads 始 as 正.
36-b. YFSJ and SB read 旅 as 侶.
36-c. YFSJ reads 風霜 as 霜雪.

37-i -a. OV reads 底 as 地. YFSJ reads 美酒 as 酒壺, while OV reads it as 旨酒.
-b. YTXY reads 光 as 花.
-c. YTXY reads 渕 as 渕.
37-ii -a. YFSJ reads this verse line as 千秋萬傳.
-b. YFSJ notes that OV reads 歡娛 as 娛樂.
37-iii -a. YTXY reads 遠 as 遠.
-b. YTXY reads 采 as 采.
-c. SB and YTXY read 參差 as 差池.
-d. YTXY reads this verse line as 開帷對影弄禽爵.
-e. OV reads 歌 as 惆. YTXY reads this verse line as 攝淚不能言
-f. YTXY reads 之雙 as 雙飛.
-g. YTXY reads 之別 as 別姬. OV reads 鳥 as 鳥.
37-v -a. OV reads 盡 as 山.
37-vi -a. YFSJ reads 會 as 能, and 露跡 as 昼遊.
-b. YFSJ reads 置 as 傾.
37-vii -a. SB reads 踞跡 as 畢楣. OV reads it as 据桴.
-b. SB reads 啭 as 傾.
-c. SB and YFSJ read 倚側 as 傾側.
37-viii -a. SB and YFSJ read 妖冶 as 妖若. YFSJ also notes that OV reads
二三月 as 二月中.
-b. YTXY reads 悲 as 之.
-c. OV reads 言 as 意.
37-ix -a. OV reads 治 as 染.
-b. YTXY reads 我昔 as 昔我.
-c. OV reads this couplet as: 結帶與君同生死, 好惡不疑相棄置. SB and YTXY read 君 as 我.
-d. YTXY reads 索寞 as 錯謬. YFSJ notes that OV reads it as 錯亂.
-e. YTXY reads 金 as 玉.
-f. SB reads 此 as 此, while YTXY reads 悲 as 悲.
37-x -a. SB and YFSJ read 哀 as 淹.
37-xii -a. SB and YFSJ read 猶 as 猶.
37-xiii -a. YFSJ reads this verse line as 恐難為客, SB reads it as 但恐難為客.
-b. YFSJ reads this verse line without 客.
-c. OV reads 當 as 常.
37-xiv -a. SB and YFSJ read 極 as 急.
-b. SB and YFSJ read 能 as 靡.
37-xviii -a. SB reads 余 as 餘.
-b. YFSJ reads 冬 as 大.
-c. SB reads 須 as 得.
39-a. SB reads the title as 代淮南王二首, and YTXY takes couplets after 朱城九門門九闕 as another poem.
39-b. YTXY reads 作盡 as 薪盡, OV reads it as 作枕; while SB reads it as 薪椀.
39-c. SB reads this verse line as 神丹神丹戲紫房.
39-d. According to Shan Hai Jing 山海經, 風 should be read as 鳳.
39-e. OV reads 朱城九門 as 朱門九重, and YTXY reads 闕 as 閡.

40-a. SB and YFSJ read 朝雉飛 as 雞朝飛.
40-b. SB reads 雛 as 兩.
40-c. SB reads 翳 as 黃.

41-a. YTXY reads the title as 北風行.
41-b. YTXY reads 京洛 as 洛陽; SB reads 新 as 堯.
41-c. YTXY reads 有 as 為.
41-d. YTXY reads 何行 as 前行, while SB reads it as 得行.
41-e. YTXY reads 至 as 去.
41-f. SB reads 復 as 遠.

42-a. OV reads 食 as 拾.

44-a. YFSJ reads this verse line as 獻歲發春.
44-b. SB reads 柳 as 桃.
44-c. SB and YFSJ read this verse line as 風微起; YFSJ also notes that OV reads the couplet as: 微波起, 微風生.
44-d. SB reads 袖 as 神.

45-a. SB reads 輝 as 暢.
45-b. SB reads 遊 as 沢.

47-a. SB reads 鳥 as 鳥.
47-b. SB notes that OV reads 符 as 沢, and 符 as 清.
47-c. SB reads 質 as 質.

48-a. SB combines this poem and 登廬山望石門 as 登廬山二首.
48-b. SB reads 亂 as 純.
48-c. SB reads 潤 as 間.
48-d. OV reads 聲 as 聲.

49-a. SB combines this poem with 登廬山 as 登廬山二首.
49-b. SB reads 氣 as 氣.
49-c. SB reads 悉 as 悉.

50-a. SB reads 散 as 瑟.

51-a. OV reads 靈 as 虛.
51-b. SB reads 壁 as 壁.

52-a. SB reads 新知 as 知新.

53-a. OV reads 還 as 過.
53-b. SB reads 行 as 竹.
54-a. SB notes that OV reads 窗 as 塚.

55-a. SB reads 爾 as 陸.
55-b. SB reads 意 as 書.

56-a. SB reads 順 as 性.
56-b. SB reads 勝 as 勝.
56-c. SB reads 花 as 化.

57-a. YTXY reads the title as 贈故人六首.
57-b. SB reads 寒 as 空.
57-c. SB 冬冰 as 冬水. OV reads 復還 as 還復.
57-d. SB reads 緣 as 縁.

57-e. YTXY reads 日 as 時, and 感物 as 每感.
57-f. This poem was also collected in Zhang Maoxian Ji 張茂先集 with the title of 僡古.
57-g. SB reads 赫如 as 赫似.
57-h. SB reads 留 as 流.
57-i. YTXY reads 離別 as 別離.
57-j. SB reads 遂 as 忽.
57-k. YTXY reads 肱 as 水.
57-l. YTXY reads 關 as 城, while SB reads it as 闢.
57-m. YTXY reads 限 as 阻.

58-a. SB reads 軒 as 偏.
58-b. SB notes that OV reads 鼓交 as 交友.

59-a. OV reads 意 as 憶.
59-b. SB reads 黃 as 横.
59-c. SB reads 子 as 予, and 予 as 子.

61-a. SB reads 易 as 未, and 波 as 疏.

62-a. SB reads 亦 as 復.
62-b. SB reads 慎 as 慎.

64-a. SB reads 惜 as 心.
64-b. SB reads 游 as 遊.

65-a. SB reads 盛 as 獻.
65-b. SB reads 爵 as 職.

66-a. SB reads 悲 as 疑.
66-b. OV reads 盈 as 翹.
66-c. SB reads 游 as 遊.

68-a. OV reads 共 as 異.
68-b. SB reads 游 as 遊.

70-a. SB reads 發謬 as 嚇謬.
70-b. SB reads 咏 as 奇.
71-a. SB reads 仗 as 伏.
71-b. SB notes that OV reads 前 as 昔.

73-a. SB reads 冰 as 水.
73-b. SB reads 朝 as 寓.
73-c. OV reads 楚 as 注.

74-a. WX reads the title as 返都催中作.
74-b. Li Shan reads 晩 as 曉.
74-c. SB reads 望 as 鴨.

77-a. SB reads 斯 as 折.
78-a. SB reads 湖 as 潮.
78-b. SB reads 分 as 委.

79-a. TPHYJ reads the title as 陽岐守風.
79-b. SB reads 躍 as 映.
79-c. TPHYJ reads 週 as 逋.

80-a. SB reads 土牛 as 出牛.
80-b. SB reads 冥陵 as 墓陵.

81-a. OV reads 辰 as 晨.

82-a. SB reads 春山 as 春山.
82-b. SB reads 聞 as 閒.
82-c. SB reads 遊 as 游.
82-d. SB reads 愁散樂 as 散愁樂.
82-e. SB notes that OV reads 任 as 甚.

83-a. Li Shan reads 荷 as 賀.
83-b. WXLCB reads 駑 as 奧.
83-c. Li Shan reads 得 as 德.
83-d. SB notes that OV reads 秦宮 as 紫宮.
83-e. Li Shan reads 符竹 as 虎竹.
83-f. SB reads 及 as 反.
83-g. SB reads 械 as 琚，and 交 as 支.
83-h. OV reads 扶 as 挟.
83-i. YTXY reads 成 as 晨.
83-j. YTXY reads the couplet as: 宿昔衣帶改，旦暮異容色.
83-k. YTXY reads 慾更 as 義向.
83-l. SB and YTXY reads 瑤琴 as 寶琴.
83-m. SB reads 輕 as 聲.

84-a. The first two couplets were also collected in Zhang Maoxian Ji 張茂先集 with the title of 橘詩.
84-b. SB reads 還 as 還.
84-c. SB reads 留 as 留.
84-d. SB reads 錄 as 路.
84-e. SB reads 許心 as 心許.
84-f. SB reads 週 as 逋.
84-g. SB reads 迷 as 遠.
84-h. OV reads 容 as 朝.
84-i. SB reads 賦 as 傳.

85-a. SB notes that OV reads the title as 北風雪
85-b. OV reads 億 as 別.

87-a. SB reads 指 as 入.
87-b. SB reads 閣 as 閣.

88-a. Li Shan reads 上 as 鼓.
88-b. Li Shan reads 晨 as 辰.
88-c. Li Shan reads 天 as 年.

90-a. SB reads 瑟 as 琴.

91-a. SB reads 組 as 祖.
91-b. SB reads 彩 as 雛.

92-a. SB reads 候騎 as 後騎.
92-b. SB reads 戈 as 戟, and 頓 as 傾.

93-a. SB reads 戆 as 淚.

94-a. SB reads 蕪 as 往.
94-b. SB reads 閣 as 閣.

95-a. SB reads 行藥 as 行樂.
95-b. SB reads 合 as 合. Li Shan reads 合綺 as 含采.

96-a. SB notes that OV reads the title as 圓中敘.
96-b. SB reads 夏 as 夜.
96-c. SB reads 絃 as 延, and 情 as 清.

97-a. SB reads 圓 as 圓.
97-b. SB reads 醉 as 深.

98-a. SB reads 遇 as 過.
98-b. SB reads 深沉 as 沉濁; OV reads it as 森沉.
98-c. SB reads 銜 as 愧.

99-a. SB reads 芳 as 光.

100-a. SB reads 起 as 己.
100-b. SB reads 睦 as 穎.

101-a. SB reads 還 as 隨. YTXY reads the title as 夢還詩.
101-b. YTXY reads 空 as 塞.
101-c. YTXY reads 歡 as 笑.
101-d. SB reads 續 as 續.
101-e. YTXY reads 閣 as 際, while OV reads it as 韓.
101-f. YTXY reads 歷歷 as 历歷.
101-g. YTXY reads 幡 as 窗, and 晖 as 輝; SB reads 晖 as 輝.
101-h. YTXY reads 夥 as 集.
101-i. SB and YTXY reads 業 as 廢.
101-j. SB reads 霜 as 雲.
101-k. YTXY reads 告 as 訴.

102-a. SB reads 名 as 召.

103-a. SB reads 絲貫 as 係冒.

105-a. SB reads 謀 as 機.

106-a. YTXY reads the title as 月月城西門, and Li Shan reads 麨 as 解.
106-b. SB and Li Shan reads 出 as 見.
106-c. SB reads 末 as 未.
106-d. Li Shan reads both 娥 as 娥.
106-e. YTXY reads 機 as 廢, and 琥 as 綸.
106-f. YTXY reads 戶 as 幡, while SB reads 帜 as 入.
106-g. YTXY reads 苦辛 as 辛苦.
106-h. YTXY reads 宴 as 晚, and 辰 as 晨.
106-i. OV reads 抽 as 榴.
106-j. YTXY reads 發 as 繡.
106-k. Li Shan reads 闕 as 陘.
106-l. YTXY reads 啓下渕 as 渕夕輪.

107-a. OV reads 屯雲 as 響官.
107-b. SB reads 擇 as 瀦.
107-c. SB reads 皇 as 篱.

108-a. SB reads 淫 as 望.

110-a. SB reads 日 as 心.
110-b. SB reads 愛心 as 心愛.

111-a. SB reads 逐 as 遂.

113-a. SB reads 閣 as 閣, while OV reads it as 閣.
113-b. SB reads 影 as 景.
113-c. SB reads 貰 as 貢.
113-d. SB reads 貞 as 負.
113-e. SB reads 喪 as 捍.

116-a. SB reads 敘 as 難, 霜 as 雪, and 雲 as 霜.

117-a. SB reads 風 as 雲.
117-b. HWBSJ reads 稱 as 敷.
117-c. SB reads 敷 as 歌.

120-a. SB reads 岸 as 峯.
120-b. SB reads 霧 as 淫.
130-a. SB reads 使 as 史.
130-b. SB reads 吾 as 古.
132-a. SB reads 麗 as 拂.
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APPENDIX 1. The Rise and Fall of the Sixteen Kingdoms, the Eastern Jin, the Song, and the Northern Wei Dynasties
### APPENDIX 2. A Chart of the Imperial Succession, Regicides, and Massacres of the House of Liu of the Song Dynasty

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>一</th>
<th>高祖武帝裕</th>
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<th>義恭</th>
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### 統計資料
1. 傳位四代八帝，享國六十年。皇子皇孫共傳六十九人。

2. 八帝中，一帝被弑，三帝崩葬，四帝被廢弑。

3. 餘六十一皇子皇孫中：一出亡北魏，六薨，八出繼，十五夭亡，三十二被誅。

4. 三十二被誅皇子皇孫中：大臣弑一，文帝誅一，孝武帝誅七，前廢帝誅三，明帝誅十七，齊誅三。
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### Appendix 3. A Chart of Plagues, Floods, Droughts, Famines, Revolts, Banditries, Warfares, and Massacres Before the Taishi Reign

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Event</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Event</th>
<th>Year</th>
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**Note:** The table continues with detailed entries for each event year. The text is written in Chinese and provides specific dates and descriptions of various historical events during the Taishi Reign.
<table>
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<td>兵</td>
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<tr>
<td>誓</td>
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具体内容如下：

- **瘟疫**
  - 五月，京邑大灾
  - 六月，丹阳、会稽、吴、豫、梁、彭、广
  - 八月，大水，京邑多船

- **水灾**
  - 五月，江水泛滥，役居民，破青、桂、越、建大水

- **穿荒**
  - 崇州、南、西、王、海

- **反乱**
  - 六月，益州，西陵、益州、南安

- **兵**
  - 九月，武陵、益州、益州、益州

- **誓**
  - 十月，江州，益州，益州
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**備註**

左右相對應的年代月份，均表示該年該月發生了該事件。
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<td>八月京师雨少。</td>
<td>十一月冀州大水，旱以穀豆。</td>
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<td>西河庶民殺食，不害也。</td>
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<td>明帝  (十二月)</td>
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<td>泰始元年</td>
<td>泰始二年</td>
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### Appendix 4. A Chart of the Officialdom and Bureaucratic Administration of the Liu Song Dynasty

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<tr>
<td>公</td>
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<td>府</td>
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<td>太宰 太保 太尉 (丞相)</td>
<td>太常 太府 太守 (丞相)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>司徒 司空 司徒</td>
<td>司空 司馬 大司馬</td>
<td>大將軍</td>
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<td>特進</td>
<td>加大將軍</td>
<td>軍師將軍</td>
<td>衛將軍</td>
<td>二衛 (左, 右)將軍</td>
<td>三將 (虎賁中郎將, 羽林郎將)</td>
<td>二殿 (殿中將軍, 殿中司馬督)</td>
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<td>僥同三司 (職僚同公府)</td>
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<td>加大將軍</td>
<td>軍師將軍</td>
<td>衛將軍</td>
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<td>大都督</td>
<td>鎮黃鉞, 使持節</td>
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<td></td>
<td>都督中外諸軍事, 都督諸軍事, 監諸軍事督諸軍事</td>
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<td>四夷中郎校尉: 平越中郎將, 南蠻校尉, 西戎校尉, 亭蠻校尉, (南夷校尉, 鎮蠻校尉)</td>
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<td>長史 一人(a)．司馬 一人(b)．從事中郎 二人(a,b)．</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
| 八品 | 九品 | 註 
|------|------|------|
| 一 | 一人(b) | a. 出征時以五部營代職領，營有校尉，軍司馬，曲有軍侯； 
| 一 | 一人 | 屯有長，同三司者加御屬，令史。 |
| 七 | 一人 | b. 領兵及持節都督者方置之。 |
| 七 | 一人 | c. 十八曹參軍：錄事，記室，戶，倉，中直兵，外兵，騎兵，長流廵，刑獄廵，城局廵，法，田，水，鐵，車，士，榮，右，戶，墨。 |
| 九 | 一人 | d. 增減各曹：度支，金，理，典兵，賦，運，禁防，典賓，騎士， |
| 三 | 一人 | 與，戎，馬，姚，東，西，蘇，尉，決，營軍，刺史，左，右。 |
| 二 | 一人 | e. 除拜則參軍事，府校則行參軍，又有兼行參軍，參軍督。 |

**特進**

| 將 | (五校尉以下無職領。) | a. 假黃鉞專職節將。 
| 内軍 | 外軍 | b. 使持節殺二千石以下。 
| | (領兵者有職領) | 持節殺無官位之人，軍事殺二千以下。 |
| | (將軍置為征伐) | 假節殺犯軍令者。 |
| | 職領以五部營代。) | |

| 軍 | a. 領護軍將軍職領。 |
| 一 | (a) | b. 二衛將軍職領。 |
| 一 | (a) | c. 聶賀，游擊，四軍，二中郎將，五校尉職領。 |
| 一 | (a) | d. 領護軍將軍出征時加置。 |

| 府 | 一 | a. 將軍為刺史，又都督及儀同三司加準者職領。 |
| 一 | (a) | b. 將軍為刺史，又都督及儀同三司者職領。 |
| 一 | (a) | c. 將軍為都督不儀同三司者職領。 |
| 一 | (a) | d. 軍備以下不置諮議及記室參軍。 |

| 一 | (a) | 知事 | 一 | (b) | a. 將軍為刺史，又都督及儀同三司加準者職領。 |
| 一 | (a) | 令史 | 一 | (a) | b. 將軍為刺史，又都督及儀同三司者職領。 |
| 一 | (a) | 舍人 | 一 | (a) | c. 將軍為都督不儀同三司者職領。 |
| 一 | (a) | 記室 | 一 | (a) | d. 軍備以下不置諮議及記室參軍。 |

<p>| 一 | (a) | a. 將軍為刺史，又都督及儀同三司加準者職領。 |
| 一 | (a) | b. 將軍為刺史，又都督及儀同三司者職領。 |
| 一 | (a) | c. 將軍為都督不儀同三司者職領。 |
| 一 | (a) | d. 軍備以下不置諮議及記室參軍。 |</p>
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<td>中散大夫</td>
<td>廷尉正 一人</td>
<td>廷尉監 一人</td>
<td>廷尉評 一人</td>
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<td>大司農 一人</td>
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| 府   |      |      |      |      |      |
|      | 大長秋 一人 (有后方置) |      |      |      |      |
|      | (今后為號, 有后方置) |      |      |      |      |
|      | (郡府職僚) |      |      |      |      |

| 台   |      |      |      |      |      |
|      | 尚書令 一人 | 尚書侍郎 左, 右各一人 | 尚書 (六部): 吏部, 左民, 謋部, 度支, 五兵, 郡官. | 尚書二丞 | 尚書侍郎 |
|      | (門下省) | (中書省) | (中書省) | 尚書侍郎 | 甘曹 |
|      | 尚書僃尉 左, 右各一人 | 讀書郎 | 讀書郎 | (a, b) |
|      | 尚書 (六部): 吏部, 左民, 謋部, 度支, 五兵, 郡官. |      |      |      |
|      | 御書侍郎 四人 | 司書侍郎 四人 | 司書侍郎 四人 | (無定員) | (無定員) |
|      | 諸書侍郎 | 諸書侍郎 | 諸書侍郎 | (無定員) | (無定員) |
|      | (內台) | (中書省) | (中書省) |      |      |
|      | 散騎常侍 四人 | 散騎侍郎 | 散騎侍郎 | (無定員) | (無定員) |
|      | 常直散騎常侍 四人 | 侍書侍郎 | 侍書侍郎 | (無定員) | (無定員) |
|      | 常直散騎常侍 (無定員) | 法曹侍郎 | 法曹侍郎 | (無定員) | (無定員) |
|      | (中書省) | (秘書省) | (秘書省) |      |      |
|      | 中書令 一人 | 中書監 一人 | 中書侍郎 四人 | | |
|      | 中書侍郎 | 中書侍郎 | (無定員) | | |
|      | (門下省) | (秘書省) | (秘書省) |      |      |
|      | 御史中丞 一人 | 御史中丞 | 御史中丞 | (無定員) | (無定員) |
|      | 御史中丞 | 御史中丞 | 御史中丞 | (無定員) | (無定員) |
|      | 御史中丞 | 御史中丞 | 御史中丞 | (無定員) | (無定員) |

<p>| 省   |      |      |      |      |      |
|      | (御史台) | (南台, 外台, 西台) | (西台, 南台) | (西台, 南台) | (西台, 南台) |
|      | (南台) | (南台, 外台, 西台) | (南台, 外台, 西台) | (南台, 外台, 西台) | (南台, 外台, 西台) |
|      | 郡水使者 一人 | 郡水使者 一人 | 郡水使者 一人 | 郡水使者 一人 | 郡水使者 一人 |
|      | 御史中丞 | 御史中丞 | 御史中丞 | 御史中丞 | 御史中丞 |
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（太子二傅職份）

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（刺史職份）

（州牧）

（刺史職份）

（州牧）

（刺史職份）

（州牧）

（刺史職份）

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（刺史職份）

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a. 州六曹屬：兵、贓、倉、戶、水、墨。
b. 州以下有鄉佐、三老、有秩、廝夫、酒樓各一人，鄉下有亭長，里魁、什長，伍長。

c. 王公侯伯子男。
Appendix 5. A List of Translations of Official Titles of the Liu Song Dynasty


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<th>Office (if any)</th>
<th>Title</th>
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<td>Great Steward</td>
<td>Taizai</td>
<td>太宰 (1)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Grand Mentor</td>
<td>Taifu</td>
<td>太傅 (1)</td>
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<td>Grand Guardian</td>
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<td>太保 (1)</td>
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<td>Defender-in-chief</td>
<td>Taiwei</td>
<td>太尉 (1)</td>
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<td>(Counselor-in-chief)</td>
<td>Chengxiang</td>
<td>丞相 (1)</td>
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<td>Grand Minister of Education</td>
<td>(Da)-situ</td>
<td>(大)司徒 (1)</td>
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<td>Grand Minister of Works</td>
<td>(Da)-sikong</td>
<td>(大)司空 (1)</td>
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<td>Dasima</td>
<td>大司马 (1)</td>
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<td>Dajiangjun</td>
<td>大將軍 (1)</td>
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<td>Zhangshi</td>
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<td>Lushi-canjun</td>
<td>銜命參軍 (7)</td>
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<td>Xingyu-canjun</td>
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<td>Cheqi-jiangjun</td>
<td>車騎將軍 (2)</td>
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<td>Jia-huangyue</td>
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<tr>
<td>Commissioned With Extraordinary Powers</td>
<td>Shi-chijie</td>
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<td>Commissioned With Warrants</td>
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<td>假節 (2)</td>
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<td>General of the Palace Guard</td>
<td>Lingjun-jiangjun</td>
<td>領軍將軍 (3)</td>
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<td>Hujun-jiangjun</td>
<td>護軍將軍 (3)</td>
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<td>Expeditionary General to the East</td>
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<td>西征將軍 (東南西北) (3)</td>
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<td>Zhendong-jiangjun</td>
<td>西鎮將軍 (東南西北) (3)</td>
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<tr>
<td>General of the Capital Army</td>
<td>Zhongjun-jiangjun</td>
<td>中軍將軍 (3)</td>
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△ General Stabilizing the Army  Zhenjun-jiangjun  鎮軍將軍 (3)
△ General of the Pacification Army  Fujun-jiangjun  撫軍將軍 (3)
△ General Pacifying the East  Andong-jiangjun  安東將軍 (東南西北) (3)
△ General Quelling the East  Pingdong-jiangjun  平東將軍 (東南西北) (3)
△ The Left General  Zuo-jiangjun  左將軍 (左前後) (3)
△ Expeditionary General to the Barbarians  Zhenglu-jiangjun  征虜將軍 (3)
△ General Commanding the Troops  Guanjun-jiangjun  冠軍將軍 (3)
△ Bulwark-general of the State  Fuguo-jiangjun  藩國將軍 (3)
△ General of the Light Cavalry  Longxiang-jiangjun  龍騎將軍 (3)
△ Commandant of Court Gentlemen of the East  Si-zhonglangjiang  四中郎將 (東南西北) (4)

△ General of the Left Guard  Zuowei-jiangjun  二衛將軍 (左衛) (4)
△ General of Cavaliers  Xiaoji-jiangjun  晉騎將軍 (4)
△ General of Mobile Cavalry  Youji-jiangjun  游騎將軍 (4)
△ General of the Van Army  Qianjun-jiangjun  齊軍將軍 (左右前後) (4)
△ General of Waterways  Changshui-xiaowei  長水校尉 (4)
△ Colonel of Infantry  Bubing-xiaowei  步兵校尉 (4)
△ Colonel of Shooters  Shesheng-xiaowei  射聲校尉 (4)
△ Colonel of Encamped Cavalry  Tunji-xiaowei  军籍校尉 (4)
△ Colonel of Southern Cavalry  Yueji-xiaowei  越籍校尉 (4)
△ Commandant of Imperial Bodyguards  Huben-zhonglangjiang  紅軍中郎將 (5)
△ Supervisor of the Entourage  Kongcang-ju  冠軍將 (5)
△ Supervisor of Palace Cavalry  Yuling-ju  榮軍將 (5)
△ General of Archers  Jinwu-jian  經武將 (5)
△ General of Crossbowmen  Qianjung-jiangjun  乾軍將軍 (5)
△ General of the Palace  Dianzhong-jiangjun  甸中將軍 (6)
△ Palace Commander  Dianzhong-jiangjun  甸中將軍 (6)
△ Military General  Wuwei-jiangjun  武衛將軍 (6)
△ Military Guard-in-ordinary  Wuwei-changshi  武衛侍衛 (6)
△ Army Overseer  Du-Junshi  都護軍事 (6)
△ Army Supervisor  Jian-Junshi  監軍事 (6)

Nine Chamberlains and Administration 九卿府

Chamberlain for Ceremonials  Taichang  太常 (3)
Chamberlain for Attendants  Guangluxun  光祿卿 (3)
△ Grand Master of Sinecure for Merit  Guanglu-daifu  光祿大夫 (3)
Chamberlain for the Palace Garrison  Weili  偉力 (3)
Chamberlain for Law Enforcement  Tingwei  邑尉 (3)
Chamberlain for the National Treasury  Da-sinong  大司農 (3)
Chamberlain for the Palace Revenues  Shaofu  少府 (3)
Chamberlain for Dependencies  Dehonglu  德宏虞 (3)
Chamberlain for the Imperial Stud  Taiju  太倉 (3)
Chamberlain for the Imperial Clan  Zongzheng  宗正 (3)
Chamberlain for the Palace Buildings  Jiangzuo-daijiang  將作大將 (3)

Erudite of the National University  Taixue-boshi  太學博士 (6)
△ Grand Master Without Portfolio  Zhongsan-daifu  中散大夫 (6)
△ Assistant to Chamberlain for Attendants  Guangluxun-cheng  光祿丞 (7)
△ Assistant to Chamberlain for the Palace Garrison  Weili-cheng  偉力丞 (7)
△ Assistant to Chamberlain for Law Enforcement  Tingwei-cheng  邑尉丞 (7)
△ Assistant to Chamberlain for the National Treasury  Da-sinong-cheng  大司農丞 (7)
△ Assistant to Chamberlain for the Palace Revenues  Shaofu-cheng  少府丞 (7)

The Department of Affairs of State 尚書省

△ Overseer of the Department of Affairs of State  Lu-Shanshushushi  録尚書事 (3)
△ Presiding Minister of the Department of Affairs of State  Shangshu-ling  尚書令 (3)
△ Left Chief of the Department of Affairs of State: Shangshu-zuopuye
△ Right Chief of the Department of Affairs of State: Shangshu-youpuye
△ Minister of the Board of Justice: Xingbu-Shangshu
△ Minister of the Board of Finance: Hubu-Shangshu
△ Minister of the Board of Works: Gongbu-Shangshu
△ Minister of the Board of Civil Officials: Libu-Shangshu
△ Minister of the Board of War: Bingbu-Shangshu
△ Minister of the Board of Public Revenue: Duzhi-Shangshu
△ Assistant Director of the Left of the Dept. of Affairs of State: Shangshu-zuocheng
△ Assistant Director of the Right of the Dept. of Affairs of State: Shangshu-youcheng
△ Assistant to the Boards of the Department of Affairs of State: Shangshu-shilang

△ Department of the Imperial Secretariat 中書省

△ Director of the Imperial Secretariat: Zhongshu-ling
△ Chief of the Imperial Secretariat: Zhongshu-jian
△ Attendant of the Imperial Secretariat: Zhongshu-shilang
△ Drafter of the Imperial Secretariat or Imperial Secretariat Drafter: Zhongshu-sheren
△ Imperial Secretariat Receptionist or Receptionist Imperial Secretariat: Zhongshu-tongshi-sheren

△ Chancellery Department 門下省

△ Chancellor of the Chancellery Department: Shizhong
△ The Palace Attendant of the Chancellery Dept.: Jishi-huangmen-shilang
△ Cavalier Attendant-in-ordinary: Sanji-changshi
△ Cavalier Attendant-in-ordinary for Comprehensive Duty: Tongzhi-sanji-changshi
△ Surplus Cavalier Attendant-in-ordinary Palace Steward: Yuanwei-sanji-changshi
△ Gentleman Cavalier Attendant: Sanji-shilang
△ Gentleman Cavalier Attendant for Comprehensive Duty: Tongzhi-sanji-shilang
△ Surplus Gentleman Cavalier Attendant: Yuanwei-sanji-shilang

Imperial Library 秘書省

△ Chief of the Imperial Library: Mishu-jian
△ Assistant to the Chief of the Imperial Library: Mishu-cheng
△ Librarian of the Imperial Library: Mishu-lang

△ Department of the Imperial Censorate 御史臺

Palace Aide to the Censor-in-chief: Yushi-zhongcheng
Attendant Censor: Shiyushi
Attendant Censor of Credentials: Fujie-shiyushi
Department of Imperial Reception

△ Chief of the Imperial Reception
Receptionist
Yezhe-puye
Yezhe

Office of Waterways 都水署

Commissioner of Waterways Dushui-shizhe 都水使者

The Heir Apparent Administration 太子府

Grand Mentor of the Heir Apparent Taizi-taifu 太子太傅 (3)
Junior Mentor of the Heir Apparent Taizi-shaofu 太子少傅 (3)
Supervisor of the Household of the Heir Apparent Taizi-zhanshi 太子詹事 (3)
Palace Cadet of the Heir Apparent Taizi-zhongshuzi 太子中庶子 (5)
Cadet of the Heir Apparent Taizi-shuzi 太子庶子 (5)
Household Provisioner of the Heir Apparent Taizi-jialing 太子家令 (5)
Director of the Watches of the Heir Apparent Taizi-leigengling 太子率更令 (5)
Coachman of the Heir Apparent Taizi-pu 太子仆 (5)
Defense Guard of the Heir Apparent Taizi-erweishuai 太子二衛率 (5)
Secretary of the Heir Apparent Taizi-zhongsheren 太子中舍人 (7)

Province, Prefecture, and Subprefecture Administration 州郡縣

△ (Province) Zhou 州
△ (Prefecture) Jun 縣
△ (Subprefecture) Xian 县

△ Governor Cishi 刺史 (4)
△ Metropolitan Prefect Danyang-ling (yin) 丹陽令, 尹 (5)
△ Prefect Taishou 太守 (5)
△ Subprefect Xianling (zhang) 縣令, 長 (6-7)

Administration of Princedom (Dukedom, Marquisesate, Earldom, Viscounty, and Baronship) 王(公侯伯子男)國

Princely Administrator Neishi 内史 (5)
Princely Preceptor Shi 師 (6)
Princely Companion You 友 (6)
Princely Instructor Wenxue 文學 (6)
Three Princely Chamberlains Sanqing 三卿:
Chamberlain for Attendants Langzhongling 郎中令, 章 (6)
Commandant-in-ordinary Zhongwei 中尉 (6)
Minister of Agriculture Danong 大農 (6)

△ Left Princey Attendant-in-ordinary Zuo-Changshi 左常侍 (7)
△ Right Princey Attendant-in-ordinary You-Changshi 右常侍 (7)
△ Princey Attendant Shilang 侍郎 (7)

△ Three Adjutants
△ Senior Adjutants Sanjun 三軍:
△ Ordinary Adjutants Shangjun 上軍 (7)
△ Junior Adjutants Zhongjun 中軍 (7)
△ Xiajun 下軍 (7)
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備注：此表為東漢時期的官職列表，包括了從宗廟開始的各官職，以及在位的皇帝和皇后等信息。
### Appendix 7. The Chronicle of Bao Zhao

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#### 註

- 續照生。
- 其先本上憶人，晉永
- 醒亂中渡江，最
- 終定居於丹徒縣，元
- 順八年(431)常並
- 結南東海諸郡，故照
- 又為東海人也。

### 史

- 劉裕北伐平齊，收
- 復東海郡。

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#### 註

- 劉裕使太常福行
- 秀之敬晉視帝，
- 菁陵王薨，葬以
- 稲稷。

- 三  | 公元西元 | 事  | 事  | 事  | 事  | 事  | 事  | 事  | 事  | 事  | 事  | 事  | 事  | 事  | 事  | 事  | 事  | 事  | 事  | 事  |
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#### 註

- 劉裕即皇帝
- 位，封許帝為零
- 陵王，改號始
- 為永初元，立義
- 符為太子。

### 傳

- 二  | 公元西元 | 事  | 事  | 事  | 事  | 事  | 事  | 事  | 事  | 事  | 事  | 事  | 事  | 事  | 事  | 事  | 事  | 事  | 事  | 事  |
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#### 註

- 宋太宗之封康
- 炎，王義真為庶
- 人，徙於新安郡，
- 諡之。

- 四  | 公元西元 | 事  | 事  | 事  | 事  | 事  | 事  | 事  | 事  | 事  | 事  | 事  | 事  | 事  | 事  | 事  | 事  | 事  | 事  | 事  |
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#### 註

- 宋太宗以元嘉
- 年，封康為零
- 陵王，改號始
- 炎，立義符為
- 太子。

- 五  | 公元西元 | 事  | 事  | 事  | 事  | 事  | 事  | 事  | 事  | 事  | 事  | 事  | 事  | 事  | 事  | 事  | 事  | 事  | 事  | 事  |
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#### 註

- 宋文帝永明
- 年，封康為零
- 陵王，改號始
- 炎，立義符為
- 太子。

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- 宋文帝永明
- 年，封康為零
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- 炎，立義符為
- 太子。

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- 宋文帝永明
- 年，封康為零
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- 太子。

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- 宋文帝永明
- 年，封康為零
- 陵王，改號始
- 炎，立義符為
- 太子。

- 五  | 公元西元 | 事  | 事  | 事  | 事  | 事  | 事  | 事  | 事  | 事  | 事  | 事  | 事  | 事  | 事  | 事  | 事  | 事  | 事  | 事  |
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- 宋文帝永明
- 年，封康為零
- 陵王，改號始
- 炎，立義符為
- 太子。
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<th>陶潜卒，年六十三。</th>
<th>麻陽州為南徐州，治京口，以南州海郡屬之，治丹徒。</th>
<th>謝靈運於廣州受刑 красот,年四十九。</th>
<th>三月，司空，江州刺史徐道濟有罪伏誅。</th>
<th>九月，立二皇子穆為始興王，三皇子敬為武陵王。</th>
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</table>
| 1    | 考虑到当前的形势，我们要
        | 确保政策的稳定性和连贯性。 |
| 2    | 在执行政策的过程中，我们
        | 应该注重实效和效率。 |
| 3    | 我们应该
        | 不断优化和完善政策。 |
| 4    | 同时，我们也需要
        | 加强对政策的监督和评估。 |
| 5    | 通过这些努力，我们
        | 相信能够取得更好的效果。 |

注：以上内容为示例，实际内容应根据具体情况进行调整。
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**注：**
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- 表示每月的第三天。
- 表示每月的第六天。
- 表示每月的第九天。
- 表示每月的第十二天。
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</table>
附錄八． 唐以前七言詩文歌謠一覽表

Appendix 8. A List of Heptasyllabic Writings and Poems Written Before the Tang Dynasty

先秦
詩經
楚辭
宋玉
成 ReturnValue
成相貳
（宋威）
（易水歌）

秦
項羽
垓下歌

西漢
高帝
大風歌

唐山夫人
房中祠樂

武帝
司馬相如
琴歌，凡將
（董仲舒）
（七言琴歌二首）
（東方朔）
（七言上下，七言射覆）

史游
急就篇

欒府樂歌
－
又如張，上之回，戰城南。有所思，臨高臺

欒府相和歌
－
董逃行，薤露，蒿里

七言歌謠
－
太初中輯

七言詠詩
－
路溫舒傳，畫地歌

昭帝
昭帝
（劉向）
（七言四句）

歌謠
－
樓護歌，上郡歌，神仙歌
（詠詩，銘鉦，讖緯，賦銘）

東漢
光武帝
歌謠
－
董宣歌，郭憲卿歌

明帝
馬融
七言琴歌，長笛賦讖詠

班固
幽通賦詠

蔡邕
安封侯詠

章和
帝歌詠
－
城上烏

安帝
王安
琴思楚歌

帝良
失父零丁

張衡
四愁詩

詠陳臨歌，黎陽令張公頌

桓帝
詠
－
范史雲歌，小麥膏膏詠，任安二詠

靈帝
少卿
詠
－
招商歌

帝歌
－
悲歌

陳琳
飲馬長城窟行
三國魏
武帝
曹丕
文帝
曹植
明帝
燕歌行

三國吳
魏昭
克皖城

晉
傅玄
擬四愁詩四首，晉故曲燕並兼詩
（謝安所書飛雪詩句）
張軫
燕歌行，百篇歌
陸機
燕歌行
石崇
思歸賦
叢歌讌辭
井州歌，隴上歌，大風謠
晉白紛舞歌詩三首

吳
歌
西曲歌

宋
孝武帝
何承天
宋故曲燕並詩
謝靈運
燕歌行
謝靈運
宋明堂歌－歌赤帝
鮑照
燕歌行
代白紛舞歌詩四首，代白紛曲兩首，代燕歌行，
擬行路難十八首，梅花落，代淮南王，代朝飛揚，
代北風四首，代百年歌
湯惠休
白紛歌二首，秋風歌，秋思引
徐謙
華林北澗

齊
白紛詩（與晉齊同）

梁
武帝
昭明太子
簡文帝
上留田行，烏夜啼，烏棲四首，採菊篇，東飛伯勞歌，
江南弄，和雛子颺春別四首，夜望高飛雁，臨江令，
度關山，擬古，春情
元帝
燕歌行，烏棲四首，（與簡文帝）春別應令四首，別詩二首，
送西歸內人，宴請詩賦作柏梁體
沈約
張協
庾肩吾
五音曲五首，四時白紛歌五首
陸佃
白伶歌九首，長相思
呉均
三日侍宴詠詠詩水中篇影
嶽生
行路難五首
陸機
燕歌行，（從軍行），烏棲曲應令三首，春別四首
（度關山）
王貞
行路難
費諧
（度關山）
朱子諧
呂彥
田識引
沈君攸
桂樹渡河中
梁鼓角横吹曲
鉅鹿公主歌頌，隔谷歌
陳後主
徐陵
江南總
傅縞
岑之敬
徐伯陽
阮卓

北魏
溫子昇

北齊
陸法和

北周
王褒
庾信

隋煬帝
盧思道
薛道衡
辛德源
柳脰
虞世基
陳子良
無名氏

《玉樹後庭花》、《烏棲曲三首》、《東飛伯勞歌》
《烏棲曲二首》、《雜曲》
《怨詩二首》、《烏棲曲》、《芳樹》、《東飛伯勞歌》、《雜曲三首》、《梅花落》、
《宛轉歌》、《秋日新寵美人應令》、《新入姬人應令》、《閨怨篇》、
《內殿賦新詠》、《姬人怨》
《雜曲》
《烏棲曲》
《日出東南隅行》
《賦得黃鵲遠別》

《鵠衣》

《詠詩》

《燕歌行》

《烏夜啼》、《燕歌行》、《楊柳歌》

《江都宮樂歌》、《泛龍舟》、《四時白紛歌二首》
《從軍行》
《豫章行》
《東飛伯勞歌》
《陽春歌》
《四時白紛歌二首》
《於塞北春日思歸》
《送別詩》
《雜歌謠辭》、《長白山歌》
Appendix 9. A List of the Frontier Poems Written Before the Tang Dynasty

先 秦
詩 經 - 采薇，出車，六月，采芑

漢 代
（李陵歌）
（烏孫公主歌）
漢  琡
匈奴歌
漢饒歌十八曲-戰城南

魏
王 驍
陳 琳
魏黃吹曲十二曲-訕之平，戰摟陽，克官渡，平南賁，平閩中，屠柳城
曹 植
白馬篇

晉
張 華
傅 玄
張 亮
陸 機
石 崇
張  協
晉凱歌-命將出征歌，勞還師歌
晉宜武舞歌-聖皇篇，短兵篇，軍鎮篇，窮武篇． 歸馬長城窟行
七哀詩
飲馬長城窟行，苦寒行
王明君辭
雜詩之七
雜詩

宋
文 王
孝武帝
何承天
吳邁遠
高 均
宋 王
梁 沈
北征
丁督護歌，北征
戰城南，從軍行
胡笳曲，櫻歌行
代出自蠻北門行，代陳思王白馬篇，代苦熱行，代遊居行，
王昭君，代賈武，衡古之三，凝行路難之三及四，
建業詩

梁
高 帝
江道嗣
孔稚珪
簡文帝
沈 元
gai歌吟
北戍琅邪城詩
白馬篇二首
從軍行，度關山
陵馬篇
梁鼓吹曲十二首-賛首山，昭君辭，從軍行，飲馬長城窟行，
所思
征怨，雜詩三十首之十五及二十九
白馬篇
戰城南三首，入關，從軍行，胡無人行，渡易水，邊城將四首，
贈別新林
學古三首，邊城思
何  遜
從軍行
王 子 菛
劉  孝 儀
劉  孝 威
徐  悅
劉  峤
廣  舜
戴  愈
從軍行，度關山
贈別新林
白馬篇
出塞
白馬篇
從軍行，度關山
贈別新林
梁鼓角橫吹曲-木華詩三首
陳後主昭君怨
陰陵馬駕，出自蔣北門行，闕山月
徐陵陵，出塞二首，闕山月
陳瓘闕山，從軍行，戰城南，飲馬長城窟行
張正見陵頭水二首，飲馬窟
江總闕山，從軍行，飲馬長城窟行
阮卓闕山月
伏知道從軍五更轉五首

北齊祖珽從北征
斐讓之從北征

北周王褒闕山篇，從軍行二首，飲馬長城窟行，出塞，闕山月
庾信昭君辭應詔，王昭君，出自蔣北門行

隋煬帝飲馬長城窟，示從征群臣，白馬篇
楊素出塞二首
盧思道從軍行
薛道衡出塞二首
盧世基出塞二首
虞世基入關
王胄白馬篇
陳子良於塞北春日思歸
明餘慶從軍行