

Yang Weizhen's Iron Style Poems on History

LAI Hing Fong Camilla

PhD Thesis

School of Oriental and African Studies

University of London

2010

ProQuest Number: 10673048

All rights reserved

INFORMATION TO ALL USERS

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.



ProQuest 10673048

Published by ProQuest LLC (2017). Copyright of the Dissertation is held by the Author.

All rights reserved.

This work is protected against unauthorized copying under Title 17, United States Code
Microform Edition © ProQuest LLC.

ProQuest LLC.
789 East Eisenhower Parkway
P.O. Box 1346
Ann Arbor, MI 48106 – 1346

Acknowledgements

This thesis is the fruit of several years' hard work and was initially suggested and subsequently enriched by my supervisor, Dr. Andrew Lo, who has sent me inspiring and relevant materials several times over the past few years. I acknowledge the efforts he paid in helping me to complete the thesis.

I would like to acknowledge my gratitude to several professors, including Professor Daiyun Yue of Peking University, and Professor P.H. Kenneth Ho of Hong Kong University, who recommended me to study for a PhD in SOAS. I also thank Professor Huang Kunyao of the Chinese University of Hong Kong who answered my inquiries related to this thesis.

During this long period of study, I have received generous help from my friends and family members, especially my twin sister, Miss Sandy Lai, who visited me twice in London. Many thanks to my eldest sister, Amelia Lai, who checked my *pinyin* spellings, appendixes and bibliography. I offer sincere thanks to the following great friends who helped me a lot in my research:

Miss Kitty Leung, who gave me a lot of support and help in my preliminary research work; Miss Teresa Tong and Mr. Bradley Hale who proofread my chapters and encouraged me in my study; Ms Julie Forrester who has always quickly proofread my conference papers over the past few years; and Ms. Katherine Griffis-Greenberg who proofread the final version of my whole thesis. I thank, in particular, Mr James Walsh who proofread my whole thesis twice. He not only corrected my English but also gave me useful comments regarding how to make improvements.

Abstract

This thesis is the first in-depth research on Yang Weizhen's Iron Style poems on history. It argues that Yang's poems are a product of his life experience, his imitation of other poets' work and his own creativity. Yang's poems are imbued with the poet's complicated personality, his interest in music and drama, and his unique views and feelings about history. It is divided into six chapters, in addition to an introductory chapter on Yang and the research topic itself.

Chapter One concentrates on how Yang's political and social background facilitated the emergence of his Iron Style, and investigates the composition dates. Chapter Two explores Yang's Iron Style poems on history in the context of the overall development of poetry on history. Chapter Three looks at different definitions of "Tie ti" (Iron Style/Form), also "Tieya ti" (Iron Cliff Style/Form). It tries to clarify these confusing definitions and settle the controversy by arguing that "Tie ti" is a poetic style, the unique style of Yang.

Chapter Four explores the main constituents of Yang's Iron Style poetry on history. It shows that in a single poem there is more than one writing style. Chapter Five investigates the presentation techniques used in Yang's Iron Style poetry on history, which again reflect his personality and interests. Chapter Six probes the core and essence of Yang's Iron Style poems on history and reveals how the poet thought. His poetry on history is a reflection of his historical opinions and his philosophy on life.

INTRODUCTION	8
I REASONS FOR CHOOSING YANG WEIZHEN	8
II REASONS FOR SELECTING YANG'S POEMS ON HISTORY	15
<i>i. It is significant in terms of quality and quantity</i>	<i>15</i>
<i>ii. Modern scholars' appreciation of poems on history</i>	<i>19</i>
<i>iii. Significance of this thesis</i>	<i>23</i>
III BIOGRAPHY OF YANG WEIZHEN	25
<i>i. His family</i>	<i>26</i>
<i>ii. His education</i>	<i>27</i>
<i>iii. His official career</i>	<i>28</i>
<i>iv. His retirement</i>	<i>31</i>
<i>v. His writings</i>	<i>32</i>
IV MAIN RESEARCH ON YANG WEIZHEN	35
<i>i. Research on Yang's life</i>	<i>35</i>
<i>ii. Research on Yang Weizhen in the Yuan poetry arena</i>	<i>36</i>
<i>iii. Research on Yang's poetry</i>	<i>38</i>
<i>iv. Other research on Yang Weizhen</i>	<i>41</i>
<i>v. Research on Chinese poetry on history</i>	<i>42</i>
CHAPTER ONE: THE EMERGENCE OF IRON STYLE POETRY ON HISTORY: POLITICAL AND SOCIAL BACKGROUND	49
1.1. POLITICAL BACKGROUND AND YANG'S POEMS ON HISTORY	49
1.2. SOCIAL BACKGROUND AND YANG'S POEMS ON HISTORY	60
1.3. COMPOSITION DATES OF YANG'S IRON STYLE POEMS ON HISTORY	78
<i>1.3.1 The earliest collection compiled in 1346</i>	<i>79</i>
<i>1.3.2 Poems on history first composed between 1330 and 1341</i>	<i>80</i>
<i>1.3.3 Composition in idle periods from 1341 to 1370</i>	<i>82</i>
<i>1.3.4 Composition of poems between 1341 and 1367</i>	<i>85</i>
<i>1.3.5 Possible composition of poems after 1367</i>	<i>87</i>
CHAPTER TWO: YANG'S POEMS IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF POETRY ON HISTORY: CONTENT AND FORM	90
2.1 YANG'S POEMS IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF POETRY ON HISTORY	90
2.2 THE FORMS OF YANG'S POEMS ON HISTORY	113
2.3 THE CONTENT OF YANG'S POEMS ON HISTORY	118
<i>2.3.1 Do Yang's poems cover the entire history of China?</i>	<i>124</i>
<i>2.3.2 Focus more on historical figures than on historical events</i>	<i>126</i>

2.3.3	<i>Extensive coverage of the upper class rather than the lower class</i>	130
2.3.4	<i>Poems on the paintings of historical figures</i>	133
CHAPTER THREE: THE DEFINITION OF ‘TIEYA TI’ (IRON STYLE/FORM) :		
CONTROVERSY AND CLARIFICATION		137
3.1	VARIOUS DEFINITIONS OF ‘TIEYA TI’ (IRON CLIFF STYLE/FORM)	138
3.1.1	<i>Confusion in definition</i>	138
3.1.2	<i>Definition in the late Yuan dynasty</i>	143
3.1.3	<i>Perceptions of the Ming and Qing Critics</i>	145
3.1.4	<i>Implication of more than one particular poetic style</i>	146
3.1.5	<i>Correspondence to the style of Yang’s students and followers</i>	148
3.2	IRON STYLE REFLECTED BY YANG’S STUDENTS AND FOLLOWERS	152
3.2.1	<i>‘Tieya ti’ (Iron Style) as presented by Yang’s students</i>	153
3.2.2	<i>‘Tieya ti’ (Iron Style) as presented by Yang’s followers</i>	159
CHAPTER FOUR: THE CONSTITUENTS OF IRON STYLE POETRY ON HISTORY:		
IMITATION AND CREATION		169
4.1	STRANGENESS (QI) MODELLED ON LI HE’S POETRY	176
4.2	POTENCY (XIONG) INFLUENCED BY DU FU	187
4.3	ELEGANCE (YA) RESEMBLES LI SHANGYIN’S STYLE	197
4.4	STRAIGHTFORWARDNESS INFLUENCED BY YUAN ZHEN AND BAI JUYI	202
4.5	RESPLENDENCE (LI) SIMILAR TO WEN TINGYUN AND LI SHANGYIN’S WORK	208
4.6	UNTRAMMELLED STYLE (YI) RESEMBLES LI BAI	219
CHAPTER FIVE: THE PRESENTATION OF YANG’S IRON STYLE POETRY ON HISTORY: ILLUSTRATION OF HIS PERSONALITY AND INTERESTS		
5.1 EXPRESSION OF HISTORICAL VIEWPOINTS THROUGH CLOSE INTERRELATIONSHIPS		233
5.1.1	<i>Relationship between poems and the historical texts</i>	234
5.1.2	<i>Interweaving between poems and prefaces</i>	241
5.1.3	<i>Development of a new thematic line</i>	248
5.1.4	<i>Interrelation between different poems</i>	256
5.2	PURSUIT OF MUSICAL FUNCTION AND RHYMING FREEDOM	261
5.2.1	<i>Pursuit of a carefree rhyming pattern</i>	263
5.2.2	<i>Pursuit of musical function by using irregular line length</i>	287
5.2.3	<i>Reduplications for songs and modelling on Shijing</i>	291
5.3	INTEREST IN DRAMA, AND DRAMATISATION OF POEMS	297
5.3.1	<i>In the voice of characters to express private sentiments</i>	297
5.3.2	<i>Skilful selection of historical episodes for limited space</i>	303

5.3.3	<i>Imaginary facts for dramatic effect and to highlight themes</i>	307
5.3.4	<i>Dramatic content structure for dramatic effect</i>	313
CHAPTER SIX: THE ESSENCE OF IRON STYLE POETRY ON HISTORY: THE POET'S		
MIND		
6.1.	YANG'S VIEWS OF HISTORY	322
6.1.1	<i>Views on orthodox and legitimate rule</i>	330
6.1.2	<i>Understanding of historical events in a wider context</i>	336
6.1.3	<i>Judging historical figures by their virtue rather than achievements</i>	340
6.1.4	<i>Viewing historical figures as imperfectly human</i>	346
6.2.	YANG'S PERSONAL SENTIMENTS AND LIFE PHILOSOPHY	350
6.2.1	<i>Sentiments towards official life</i>	351
6.2.2	<i>Philosophy on life reflected in poetry</i>	361
6.2.3	<i>Direct advocacy of Confucian virtues</i>	368
6.2.4	<i>Indirect advocacy of Confucian morality</i>	373
CONCLUSION		
APPENDIX 1A: DATABASES USED FOR SEARCHING ARTICLES ABOUT YANG AND		
POETRY ON HISTORY		
APPENDIX 1B: TEN BOOKS COMPILING SELECTED POEMS ON HISTORY		
THROUGHOUT THE AGES		
APPENDIX 2: TABLES COMPARING YANG'S POEMS WITH THOSE OF PREVIOUS		
POETS		
APPENDIX 3: TOTAL NUMBER OF POEMS ON HISTORY COMPOSED BY THE		
FAMOUS POETS		
APPENDIX 4: THE TOTAL NUMBER OF YANG'S POEMS ON HISTORY IN HIS		
COLLECTIONS		
APPENDIX 5: YANG'S SIXTY-SEVEN POEMS ABOUT THE TANG DYNASTY		
APPENDIX 6: LIST OF POEMS ON HISTORY BY YANG'S STUDENTS AND		
FOLLOWERS		
APPENDIX 7: QUOTATIONS		
GLOSSARY: CHINESE NAMES CITED IN THE THESIS		
BIBLIOGRAPHY		

Introduction

I Reasons for choosing Yang Weizhen

When selecting this research topic, I discovered that there was not much literature about the Yuan poets.¹ The literature that was available indicated that there were four major Yuan poets,² of whom Zhang Zhu 張翥³ (1287-1368) was considered the major contributor. Scholars had conducted little research on other poets. However, more recently the Yuan poet, Yang Weizhen 楊維禎 (1296-1370), has become a focus for modern academics. Yang was a major literary figure during the late Yuan dynasty. He also had a penchant for history, calligraphy, painting and music.

Six books have been published about Yang, but only one of these by Liu Weihua, is about his poetry. The other five books concentrate on Yang's life, his calligraphy, and his position in late-Yuan and early-Ming literary thoughts.⁴

¹ For the histories of Yuan literature, see Yang Lian, *Yuanshi shi*, pp.1-750; Liu Mingjin, *Liao Jin Yuan wenxue shi'an*, pp.97-423; Guo Yuheng, main ed., *Zhongguo gudai wenxue shi chanbian: Yuan Ming Qing juan*, pp.3-279.

² They are Yu Ji 虞集 (1272-1348), Yang Zai 楊載 (1271-1323), Fan Peng 範梈 (1272-1330) and Jie Xisi 揭傒斯 (1274-1344). Selected poems of the four have been annotated by Fu Yi in a book entitled *Yuandai sidajia shixuan* 元代四大家詩選 (Selected poems of the four poets of the Yuan dynasty). Nanchang: Jiangxi renmin chubanshe, 1995, 178 pages.

³ Zhang Zhu is especially famous for his Ci poetry, and most scholarship concentrates more on his Ci poems, such as the 281-page thesis entitled "Zhang Zhu ji qici yanjiu" 張翥及其詞研究 (A study of Zhang Zhu, 1287-1368, and his Ci poems) by Ho Mee-po. (Hong Kong: The University of Hong Kong, M.Phil thesis, 1988.)

⁴ There is also a complete collection of Yang Weizhen's poetry entitled *Yang Weizhen shiji* (which

There are two master theses⁵ on Yang Weizhen's poetry, but no influential or in-depth arguments have been made. Also, there are more than four hundred poems on history by Yang that remain to be studied.

In addition to these books, there are at least forty-nine short articles on Yang Weizhen written between 1994 and 2009, with articles written by Chinese scholars about Yang increasing every year. However, many of these articles duplicate information from already published books, while others are too short to be of significance.⁶ This is one of the reasons for my desire to learn more about Yang and to conduct a research into his poetry. Apart from this, there are other reasons why I wanted to make him the subject of my thesis.

Firstly, Yang is thought to have been the most influential poet of the late-Yuan period. Yang Lian 楊鐮 believes it is controversial to say that Yang Weizhen was the most accomplished poet of the Yuan dynasty, but he thinks that he was undoubtedly the most influential poet.⁷ Although Hu Yinglin 胡應麟 (1551-1602) criticised Yang, he was unable to deny Yang's pre-eminence in the poetry arena. "Yang Lianfu was well-known for leading the [literary arena in the] late Yuan dynasty." (楊廉夫勝國末領袖一時。)⁸

Liu Mingjin 劉明今 says that Yang Weizhen in fact was the leader in the

is hereafter abbreviated as *YWZSJ*), 672 pages, which is edited by Zou Zhifang. It serves as a primary reference for the study of Yang Weizhen's poems. This book has been edited with references to seven editions of Yang's collections, and has collected important commentaries from the Yuan, Ming and Qing dynasties.

⁵ See Section IV (ii) of this introduction chapter.

⁶ I find these short articles on the databases listed on Appendix 1A.

⁷ Yang Lian, *Yuanshi shi*, p.507.

⁸ Hu Yinglin, *Shisou*, p.241.

literary world of the South-eastern region [of China].⁹ Another scholar Huang Rensheng 黃仁生 evaluates Yang highly, saying he was the poet who had the greatest achievements, and was the rhymed prose (*fu*) master of the Yuan dynasty.

10

Ming scholars and modern scholars alike all believe that Yang was a leader in the late Yuan literary arena and the most influential poet of that period. Yang's attraction can be proven by the fact that his *zhuzhi ci* 竹枝詞 (bamboo twig songs) were resonated (*changhe* 唱和) by more than one hundred scholars.

[Composition of] 'Bamboo twig songs at the West Lake' was initiated by Yang Lianfu. Starting from Yu Baisheng [Yu Ji, 1272-1348], a total number of one hundred twenty-two known scholars from the North and the South wrote poems using the same rhyme sequence as Yang's.

西湖竹枝詞，楊廉夫為倡，南北名士屬和者，虞伯生[虞集]而下凡一百二十二人。¹¹

The preface to *Xihu zhuzhi ciji* (Collection of bamboo twig songs at the West Lake) dated 1459, states that Yang's nine 'Bamboo twig songs' attracted several hundred followers,

[He] composed the 'bamboo twig songs at the West Lake', and there were several hundred people who followed [him] and wrote poems using the same rhyme sequence [as his] at that time.

[楊維禎]賦西湖竹枝詞，一時從而和者數百家。¹²

Zou Zhifang noted that there were 120 poets who wrote poems using the same

⁹ Liu Mingjin, *Liao Jin Yuan wenxue shi'an*, p.394.

¹⁰ Huang Rensheng, *Yang Weizhen yu Yuanmo Mingchu wenxue sichao* (which is hereafter abbreviated as *YWZYMMCWXSC*), p.9.

¹¹ Lu Rong, *Shuyuan zayi*, p.161.

¹² Preface to Yang Weizhen's *Xihu zhuzhi ci*, in *Zhongguo fengtu zhi congkan*, vol. 51, p.3.

rhyme sequence as Yang.¹³ However, my calculation shows that there were only 116 followers.¹⁴ These included Li Xiaoguang 李孝光 (1297-1348), Zhang Yu 張雨 (1283-1350), Yuan Hua 袁華 (1316-1391), Ni Zan 倪瓚 (1301-1374), Qian Weishan 錢惟善 (ca.1294-ca.1379) and the female poet, Cao Miaoqing 曹妙清 (14th c.).

Yang's influence is thus demonstrated by the large number of poets who composed poems that resonated with his. Deng Shaoji 鄧紹基 states that Yang's poetry is called 'Iron Elegant poetry' or 'Iron Style', and had a very great influence in the late Yuan period.¹⁵

Yang also had more than a hundred students, who supported him. He once said, "There are more than a hundred from the North and the South in my Iron Door who claim to be able to compose poems." (吾鐵門稱能詩者，南北百餘人).¹⁶ This suggests that he was an influential poet in the late Yuan dynasty. John Timothy Wixted also says,

[Yang] he was very popular in his own time; in his work and in his persona he seems to have united a combination of traits that were greatly favored.¹⁷

Apart from being popular, Yang was also a good friend to many other influential poets and scholars of the late Yuan period. Yang's friends included seven

¹³ See Appendix 7A; Zou Zhifang, ed., *YWZSJ*, p.525.

¹⁴ This calculation is based on Yang Weizhen's *Xihu zhuzi ciji*, in *Zhongguo fengtu zhi congkan*, vol. 51, pp.9-85.

¹⁵ Deng Shaoji, ed., *Yuandai wenxue shi*, p.501.

¹⁶ Yuan Hua, *Kechuan ji*, in *Yingyin wenyuan ge siku quanshu* (which is hereafter abbreviated as *SKQS*), vol.1232, p.362.

¹⁷ John Timothy Wixted, "Poetry of the Fourteenth Century", in Mair, Victor. H., ed., *The Columbia History of Chinese Literature*, p.393.

famous Yuan poets: Li Xiaoguang, Xiang Jiong 項炯 (1278-1338), Ding Fu 丁復 (14th c.), Chen Qiao 陳樵 (1278-1365), Ni Zan, Zhang Yu and the monk Jue'en 覺恩 (14th c.).¹⁸ Also, Yang's student Yang Ji 楊基 (1326-1378?), was regarded as one of the 'Four Talents' by Zhu Yizun 朱彝尊 (1629-1709),¹⁹ and was one of the most influential poets of the early Ming dynasty. Gu Ying 顧瑛 (1310-1369), an important poet in the Jingjie poetry arena, regarded Yang Weizhen very highly.²⁰

Secondly, Yang was an interesting person with a complicated personality and philosophy. Yang drew my attention as a subject for research because of his controversial and complex character. He locked himself up for five years in the Iron Cliff Hill library where he studied history for the civil service examinations.²¹ Although he passed, his official career was not smooth. After his retirement, he focused on teaching, writing about history, composing poems and attending social gatherings. Basically, his thought was grounded in Confucianism,²² but he started to wear a Taoist robe, probably at around the age of fifty.²³ The Taoist robe symbolised his withdrawal from the civil service, and his life demonstrated

¹⁸ See Sun Xiaoli, *Yang Weizhen nianpu* (which is hereafter abbreviated as *YWZNP*), pp.53 &105.

¹⁹ Yang Ji, *Meian ji*, p.397.

²⁰ Yang Lian, *Yuanshi shi*, p.522.

²¹ Sun Xiaoli, *YWZNP*, p.46.

²² Yang is listed as one of the Confucian scholars in the stream of Cheng Hao 程顥 (1032-1085), Cheng Yi 程頤 (1033-1107). For more details, see the section on 'Yang's biography' in this chapter.

²³ The year Yang put on a Taoist robe is reckoned to have been around 1345 when he was his fifty *sui*. According to his 'Tiedi daoren zizhuan' 鐵笛道人自傳 (The biography of the Iron Flute Taoist by myself), he gave up his official title and put on a 'loose and brown' robe and travelled with his wife. He held an Iron flute and called himself the 'Iron Flute Taoist' (Tiedi daoren 鐵笛道人). See Li Xiusheng, main ed., *Quan Yuanwen*, vol. 42, p. 199. The year he started to carry an Iron flute and call himself 'Iron Flute Taoist' is 1345. See Sun Xiaoli, *YWZNP*, p.99.

his adherence to Confucianism. The following traits attest to this:

- (1) *His appreciation of chastity.* Yang appreciated his clan sister, Ms. Yang (14th c.) who committed suicide because her mother imposed remarriage on her.²⁴ Her chastity was glorified by Yang who described her as ‘nüzhen’女貞 (chaste girl).²⁵
- (2) *His strict observance of Confucian etiquette.* The parents of Yang’s fiancée Ms. Qian requested a cancellation of their daughter’s marriage pledge due to her suffering a foul disease. Yang strictly observed the marriage rites and Ms. Qian miraculously recovered after marriage.²⁶
- (3) *His filial piety.* Yang was devoted to his father, even when he was relegated to Saltern Commander in Qianqing (modern Qianqing town in Shaoxing county of Zhejiang province). His father asked him to stand up and fight for the workers, so Yang made an appeal to the provincial government for a tax reduction, thereby risking his official position and career opportunities.²⁷

Obviously, Yang’s morality was rooted in Confucianism, and this can be seen in some of his poetry. For instance, his poem ‘Gufen’古憤²⁸ (Ancient anger) is about a woman’s chastity and chasteness, and ‘Maosi ci’貿絲詞 (Song of selling silk) advocates the observance of rites. Two lines in the latter poem read, “If the great rites [of marriage] are violated, then [proper] marriage will not last until the end of the couple’s lives.” (大禮如一失，結髮不終身。)²⁹ His inner Confucian

²⁴ Zou Zhifang, ed., *YWZSJ*, p.397.

²⁵ See Appendix 7B; Lou Buchan, ed., *Tieya yibian zhu*, pp.686-687.

²⁶ Sun Xiaoli, *YWZNP*, p.23.

²⁷ Sun Xiaoli, *YWZNP*, pp.66-67.

²⁸ Zou Zhifang, ed., *YWZSJ*, p.47.

²⁹ Zou Zhifang, ed., *YWZSJ*, p.47.

sentiment conflicted with his outward Taoist appearance in his later years. His reclusive lifestyle was also at odds with his desire to be a competent official. These kinds of contradictions apparently caused him anxiety. For instance, he remonstrated that men of great talents were unsuccessful in their careers (on reading Huang Jie's 黃玠 (14th c.) poems in 1345.)³⁰ He grieved at not being acknowledged in official circles and was further depressed at his perceived failure to contribute to society.

Thirdly, Yang inherited some of the poetic characteristics of the famous Tang poets while creating his own unique poetic style. His 'Iron Cliff style' (*Tieya ti* 鐵崖體) [or 'Iron style' (*Tie ti* 鐵體)] *yuefu* (Music Bureau)³¹ poetry was well-known and earned him a fame during his life.³²

Most critics, such as Feng Ban 馮班 (1602-1671), believed that Yang's poetry was based on that of Li Bai 李白 (701-762), Li He 李賀 (790-816), and Du Fu 杜甫 (712-770). Feng said, "Yang's *yuefu* poems originated from the two Li [Li Bai and Li He] and Du Ling [Du Fu]." (其源出於二李、杜陵。)³³ Similarly, He Liangjun 何良俊 (1506-1573) also believed that Yang's poetic style was simply an imitation of Li He and Li Bai's but it was slightly unorthodox.³⁴ Yang's modelling on these Tang poets is undeniable.

Yang's comparison by scholars to the Tang poets provides insights into his poetic significance, and his Iron Style seems to be a combination based on modelling the styles of various Tang poets. For instance, Yang's 'Hongmen hui'

³⁰ Sun Xiaoli, *YWZNP*, p.103.

³¹ For detailed definition of 'Music Bureau Poetry', see Hans H. Frankel, "Yüeh-fü Poetry", in Cyril Birch, ed., *Studies in Chinese Literary Genres*, pp.69-70.

³² Zhang Tingyu et al., eds., *Ershisi shi quanyi. Mingshi*, vol.9, p.5815.

³³ Feng Ban, *Dunyin zalu*, in *Qing shihua*, vol. 1, p.39.

³⁴ He Liangjun, *Siyouzhai congshuo*, in *Xuxiu siku quanshu* (which is hereafter abbreviated as *XXSKQS*), vol. 1125, p.696.

鴻門會 (The meeting at Hong Gate)³⁵ is a typical example of his Iron Style. Liu Mingjiu says that his style is born of a combination of Li Bai's potent energetic spirit and Li He's strangeness and oddness.³⁶ He also implied that Yang's modelling on Tang poetry also gave rise to his own special poetic style.

Fourthly, Yang was a prolific poet; he has more than a thousand extant poems. This fact consolidates his position as an influential poet in the late Yuan dynasty. According to Huang Rensheng's calculation, Yang wrote around 1,443 poems, including 1,227 *yuefu* poems, and 216 regulated verse (*lüshi* 律詩), and he influenced more than a hundred students and followers.³⁷

For these reasons, Yang Weizhen has been selected as the topic for this research thesis. Readers may ask why I choose his poems on history as a research topic. The following section provides an explanation for this choice.

II Reasons for selecting Yang's poems on history

i. It is significant in terms of quality and quantity

According to Huang Rensheng, Yang's poetry encompasses different genres, such as:

- a、*qincao* 琴操 (songs of the *qin* zither), seventeen extant poems;³⁸
- b、*zhuzhi ci* 竹枝詞 (bamboo twig songs), which are also known as 'folk songs of Bayu'巴渝 (an area in modern Chongqing 重慶 on the Changjiang 長江 river), twenty extant poems;³⁹
- c、*xianglian ci* 香奩詞 (poetry on the boudoir), twenty-eight extant poems;⁴⁰

³⁵ Zou Zhifang, ed., *YWZSJ*, p.10-11.

³⁶ Liu Mingjiu, *Liao Jin Yuan wenxue shi'an*, p.396.

³⁷ Huang Rensheng, *YWZYMMCWXSC*, pp.225, 229.

³⁸ Huang Rensheng, *YWZYMMCWXSC*, pp.230-231.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p.231.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, pp.231-232.

- d、 *gongci* 宮詞 (poetry on the imperial palace), twelve extant poems;⁴¹
- e、 *tihua shi* 題畫詩 (poetry on painting), more than two hundred extant poems;⁴²
- f、 *yongji shi* 詠伎詩 (poetry on courtesans), more than forty extant poems,⁴³
- g、 *yongshi shi* 詠史詩 (poetry on history) four hundred and fifty two extant poems,⁴⁴
- h、 *youxian shi* 遊仙詩 (poetry on the roaming immortals) more than sixty extant poems.⁴⁵

Of all the genres, Yang's poetry on history contains the largest number of poems. Also, Deng Shaoji says that Yang's *yuefu* style poems are his most famous, and one of the features of these *yuefu* poems is their themes of historical events and stories.⁴⁶

The definition of 'poetry on history' in this thesis

This work endeavours to define the concept of 'poetry on history'. Xu Gang notes that 'history' (*shi* 史) may mean: "(1) all the events and actions that make up the human past, or (2) the accounts of that past."⁴⁷ Also, he defines 'poetry on history' (*yongshi shi*) as "a distinct genre of classical Chinese literature" that "consists of poems written on historical events and personages".⁴⁸

Similarly, 'poetry on history', according to Yu Zhiyuan 于植元, refers to

⁴¹ Huang Rensheng, *YWZYMMCWXS*, p.232.

⁴² *Ibid.*, p.233.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p.233.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p.234. But my calculation of Yang's poems on history is 447. See Chapter 2.3.1 for details.

⁴⁵ Huang Rensheng, *YWZYMMCWXS*, p.235.

⁴⁶ Deng Shaoji, main ed., *Yuandai wenxue shi*, p.496-497.

⁴⁷ Xu Gang, "The Past Is Eternal: Chinese Pan-Historicism as Manifested in Poetry on History", p.1.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p.6.

poems with content based on historical events or historical figures.⁴⁹ Therefore, Yu also views poems on paintings of historical figures or historical events as poems on history. In his collection of poems on history, Yu includes Yang Weizhen's poems on paintings, such as 'Tang Xuanzong anyue tu' 唐玄宗按樂圖 (The painting of the Tang Emperor Xuanzong playing music) and 'Minghuang anyue tu' 明皇按樂圖 (The painting of Emperor Ming playing music).⁵⁰ (For Yang's poems on paintings, see Section 1.2)

Yu's definition is consistent with that of Huang Rensheng. In calculating the total number of Yang's poems on history, Huang also includes poems on paintings of historical figures, like 'Wang tieqiang xiang' 王鐵槍像 (The painting of Iron Spear Wang).⁵¹ As modern scholars generally view poems on paintings of historical figures and events as 'poems on history', this thesis will also include those poems for examination.

My definition of Yang's 'poetry on history' refers to poems of which more than half of the content is on history, running from the Pre-Qin period (before 221 B.C.) to the Southern Song dynasty (1127-1279). Hence, poems stimulated by paintings or journeys with more than a half of their content on history are included.

The Qing scholar Feng Yunzhong 馮允中 (dates unknown) confirmed the popularity of Yang's *yuefu* poems, "His old *yuefu* style poems on history have already been published in the world, and are circulated and recited among people.'

⁴⁹ Yu Zhiyuan et al., main eds. *Zhonghua shishi yongshi shi benshi*, preface, p.2.

⁵⁰ *Zhonghua shishi yongshi shi benshi*, pp.644-645.

⁵¹ Huang Rensheng, *YWZYMMCWXS*, pp.265-268. This poem is probably refers to 'Wang tieqiang' 王鐵槍 (Iron Spear Wang).

(其詠史古樂府，世已粹行，傳誦於人)⁵² But Lou Buchan 樓卜瀾 (fl.1774) stated that Yang's poetry aimed to satirise and reflect society, in the same way as *Shijing* (Book of Poetry).

This collection is written with its content on history, but in its aims it resembles the *Book of Poetry*.

是集也，其事則史，其旨則經。⁵³

Lou strongly believed that Yang's achievements were no less important than those of the Tang poets.⁵⁴ This compliment may be a slight exaggeration. Xu Yingrong 許應鑾 (1820-1891) made a general commentary on Yang's historical talent.

His historical talent can be seen in his works, 'Discussion on the orthodox line of succession' and is scattered throughout his *yuefu* poetry. He related incidents to his feelings, with uprightness and vehemence, and honestly they are not works of moaning without being ill.

其史才，見於所為《正統辨》，而即散見於樂府中，隨事寄託，激昂慷慨，誠非無病而無呻者。⁵⁵

Xu's comments stress the value of Yang's *yuefu* poetry on history. In particular, Xu appreciated Yang's rich knowledge of history, saying he had a 'thorough understanding and broad knowledge of classics and history, but his talent was not recognised' (博通經史，懷才不遇).⁵⁶ Yang's talent for history contributed to the

⁵² Feng Yunzhong 馮允中, preface to *Yang Tiewa wenji* 楊鐵崖文集, see *Yang Weizhen shiji*, p.502.

Yang Tiewa xiansheng wenji 楊鐵崖先生文集 (Ming Wanli jian [1573-1620] keben 明萬曆間刻本) does not have this preface.

⁵³ Lou Buchan, ed., *Tiewa yongshi zhu*, in *XXSKQS*, vol. 1325, p.528.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p.529.

⁵⁵ Zou Zhifang, ed., *YWZSJ*, p.515.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p.515.

success of his poetry on history and drew the attention of scholars. Li Xiaoguang greatly complimented Yang's poems on history, describing them as "superior" (*shang shou* 上手).⁵⁷ All these positive comments stimulated my desire to further investigate Yang's poetry on history.

ii. Modern scholars' appreciation of poems on history

Yang's poems on history have drawn much positive comment from modern scholars. Huang Rensheng says that Yang's *yuefu* poems whose content is mainly on history, most clearly demonstrate his Iron styles.⁵⁸ Zhang Qiong 張瓊 believes that Yang Weizhen, with his rich and broad historical knowledge and poetic talent, had opened up a 'new page' for the poetry on history.⁵⁹

Firstly, Yang is the first poet to have composed such a large number of poems on history. Huang pointed out that Yang was the only poet who composed so many poems on history and that no other poet came close to him in terms of quantity.⁶⁰ In the Jin dynasty, Zuo Si 左思 (ca.250-ca.305) wrote eight poems entitled 'On history'⁶¹ and Yan Yannian 顏延年 (384-456) wrote five entitled 'Wujun yong' 五君詠 (Poems on the five gentlemen).⁶² Nonetheless, two of the most productive poets for poems on history are from the late Tang dynasty, namely Hu Zeng 胡曾 (9th c.) with 150 poems⁶³, and Zhou Tan 周曇 (dates

⁵⁷ See Yang Weizhen: *Yang Tiewa xiansheng wenji*, Zhang Mou's 章懋 (1436-1522) 'Preface to *Yang Tiewa xiansheng yongshi gu yuefu*', p.1.

⁵⁸ Huang Rensheng, *YWZYMMCWXSC*, p.238.

⁵⁹ Zhang Qiong, "Yeshou Yang Weihzhen de yongshi shi", in *Inner Mongolia Social Sciences*, vol.13.5, p.60.

⁶⁰ Huang Rensheng, *YWZYMMCWXSC*, p.234.

⁶¹ See Xiao Tong, comp., *Liuchen zhu wenxuan*, vol.1.2, pp.387-390.

⁶² *Wenxuan* contains 21 poems on history, most poets only have one poem on history. See Xiao Tong, comp., *Liuchen zhu wenxuan*, vol.1, pp.386-402.

⁶³ Zhao Wangqin and Pan Xiaoling, *Hu Zeng yongshi shi yan jiu*, pp.14, 33-45.

unknown) with 195 poems.⁶⁴ However, they cannot be compared with Yang in terms of quantity. Huang Rensheng says,

Yang Weizhen is also a master poet on history, and was not only complimented as ‘a superior poet for composing poems on history’ in the Yuan dynasty.

楊維禎也是一位詠史大家，不僅在元代堪稱「詠史上手」。⁶⁵

Also, Yang was the first poet to compose many poems on history in *yuefu* form. Xu Gang wrote, “poetry on history consists of poems written in pentasyllabic verse, heptasyllabic verse”, the regulated verse or quatrain forms.⁶⁶ Yang’s *yuefu* poems opened a new world for the development of poetry on history. (See Chapter 2.2.) Nevertheless, some modern scholars have not paid much attention to the field of Yuan literature, and mistakenly thought that there were only a few poems on history in that period.⁶⁷ This is largely because Yang’s more than four hundred poems on history still remained unresearched. I have therefore chosen Yang’s poems on history as a research topic.

Secondly, in terms of poetic content, Liu Qian 劉倩 noticed that Yang’s poems on history have a rich poetic content with diverse themes. Yang demonstrates diversity in two ways: in his presentation of important historical incidents and significant events; and in his portraits of figures ranging across all social classes.

⁶⁴ Qiu Liangren, “Lun yongshi shi”, in *Journal of Huaqiao University*, vol.1995.2, p.116.

⁶⁵ Huang Rensheng, “Yang Weizhen yongshi kaoshu”, in *Zhongguo wenxue yangjiu*, vol. 34, p.56.

⁶⁶ Xu Gang, “The Past Is Eternal: Chinese Pan-Historicism as Manifested in Poetry on History”, p.6.

⁶⁷ Zeng Xianrong et al., “Woguo lidai yongshi shi tanlie”, in *Qiongzhou daxue xuebao*, vol.1994.2, p.92.

The themes of Yang Weizhen's poems on history are very broad. From the Spring and Autumn and Warring States Periods to the end of the Song dynasty, important events and important figures are described in his poems.

楊維禎詠史詩的題材範圍非常廣泛，從春秋戰國一直至宋末的重大事件和重要人物，在他詩中都多有表現。⁶⁸

Is this correct? This thesis looks into this theme in details. Liu also stated that Yang's poems on history cover the elite people from the higher echelons of society, such as kings, dukes, prime ministers, chief generals, and high-ranked officers, as well as commoners from the lower divisions of society, such as hawkers and porters.⁶⁹ Is this true? This thesis explores this area, too. I will also look at whether or not Yang portrays all historical figures, regardless of their bad and good nature, or their evilness and upright deeds.⁷⁰ Quite interestingly, the answer to Liu's contention is the affirmative.

Thirdly, Yang wrote his poems on history for specific purposes. Zhang Qiong believes that in addition to expressing his feelings, Yang wanted to admonish the world and make people aware of the lessons of history. Zhang writes:

Yang Weizhen set much store on the social value of his poems on history. He wrote these poems not only to express his frustrations and grievances that his talents had not been recognised, but also to waken and alert the people of the world that they should learn from history.

楊維禎非常重視詠史詩的社會作用，他寫詠史詩，不僅僅是為了寄託自己的失意哀愁、懷才不遇，更是為了警醒世人，從歷史中吸取

⁶⁸ Liu Qian, "Yang Weizhen shige de duoyangxing", in *Journal of Fuyang Teachers College (Social Science)*, vol. 2007.3, p.26.

⁶⁹ Liu Qian, "Yang Weizhen shige de duoyangxing", in *Journal of Fuyang Teachers College (Social Science)*, vol. 2007.3, p.26.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p.26.

However, what type of lessons did Yang want people to learn? Is there any poem on history that reflects his grievances or setbacks? Zhang also noticed that Yang composed poems in chronological order to create a sense of continuity.⁷² Zhang also referred to the fact that Yang covered almost all the main historical events and historical figures for each dynasty. Is this in fact true?

Judging by the evaluation of modern scholars, Yang's poetry on history seemed to have played a significant role in the poetry arena. He is probably the first poet who have composed more than four hundred poems on history that had a specific aim and purpose. Yang's poetry on history is far superior to his work in other genres, and this earned him a greater reputation and elicited more positive comments from critics. This is another reason why I have selected Yang's poetry on history as the research topic of this thesis.

Yang's poetry seems to integrate his different ideas and the facets of his personality, and his Iron Cliff style poetry expresses natural temperament (*xingqing* 性情).⁷³ Do Yang's poems on history have these characteristics? Also, many Ming and Qing critics commented on Yang's poetry on history, but were these comments subjective or fair? Many questions such as these mentioned above await further research and investigation.

⁷¹ Zhang Qiong, "Yeshuo Yang Weizhen de yongshi shi", in *Inner Mongolia Social Sciences*, vol.23.5(2002), p. 61.

⁷² *Ibid.*, p.60.

⁷³ Huang Rensheng, "Yang Weizhen de wenxue guan", in *Fudan xuebao (shehui kexue ban)*, vol.4 (1997), pp.83-85.

iii. Significance of this thesis

This thesis aims to investigate a number of these themes so as to lay the groundwork for future scholarship, and stimulate further research on related topics.

Yang's poetic name is 'Tieya'鐵崖 (Iron Cliff), and his poetry is also regarded as '*Tieya ti*' 鐵崖體 (Iron Cliff style/form) or '*Tie ti*' 鐵體 (Iron style/form).⁷⁴ Zhang Jing 張晶 believes that of all Yang's poems, the genre that best represents the characteristics of his '*Tieya ti*' is undoubtedly his ancient *yuefu*.⁷⁵ As most of his ancient *yuefu* poetry is on history, a study of Yang's poems on history must therefore also consider '*Tieya ti*'. However, both modern scholars and intellectuals of the Ming and Qing dynasties are inconclusive in their definitions of '*Tieya ti*' or '*Tie ti*'. Before looking into Yang's poems on history, it is necessary to clarify the definitions of '*Tieya ti*' or '*Tie ti*'. Is it a style or a form of poetry?

Also, other questions still remain unresolved:

Q1: When and where did Yang compose his poems on history?

Q3: What are their poetic characteristics?

Q2: What is the main content of those poems?

Q4: What are the messages that Yang would like to convey through his poems?

This thesis will investigate these questions. However, the length of this thesis is limited; its main focus will be on the constituent elements and features of Yang's Iron Style poems on history. On the whole, this thesis argues that Yang's

⁷⁴ Deng Shaoji, main ed., *Yuandai wenxue shi*, p.501.

⁷⁵ Zhang Jing, "Tieya ti: Yuandai houqi shifeng de shenke bianyi", in *Shehui kexu jikan*, vol. 1994.2, p.151.

Iron Style poetry on history is a product of his life experience (including his political career and rich social life), his modelling on the Tang poets, and his own creativity. It is also the product of a combination of Yang's complex personality, interest in art and music, and his special views on history.⁷⁶ Yang's Iron Style poetry on history is in fact a reflection of the poet's personality, as emphasised by Yang himself.⁷⁷

Because of this, this thesis is divided into six chapters, in addition to an introductory chapter on Yang and the research topic itself.

Chapter One concentrates on how Yang's political and social background facilitated the emergence of his Iron Style, and investigates the composition dates. When composing his poems on history, Yang was stimulated not only by the political environment but also by his rich social life. The composition dates for some of his poems are confirmed as being between 1341 and 1346, but for others there is no certainty.

Chapter Two looks into Yang's Iron Style poems on history in the context of the development of poetry on history. It examines Yang's poems in general, compares them to some of the earlier poems, and tries to give a brief picture of his poems on history. These poems cover episodes in the history of imperial China, from the pre-Qin to the late Song periods.

Chapter Three looks at different definitions of '*Tie ti*' [Iron Style/Form] (also *Tieya ti* [Iron Cliff Style/Form]). The Ming and Qing critics provide differing definitions of '*Tie ti*', which are interpreted either as a 'form' or a 'style' by the modern scholars. This chapter tries to clarify these confusing definitions and settle the controversy by arguing that '*Tie ti*' is a poetic style, a unique style of

⁷⁶ With reference to Liu Mingjin, "Lun Tieya tie", in *Xueshu yuekan*, vol.3 (1985), p.73.

⁷⁷ Guo Yuheng, main ed., *Zhongguo gudai wenxue shichan: Yuan Ming Qing juan*, p.273.

Yang.

Chapter Four is a continuation of Chapter Three. It explores the main constituents of Yang's Iron Style poetry on history, namely strangeness, potency, straightforwardness, resplendence and an untrammelled style. This examination will show that in a single poem there is more than one writing style. It also suggests that all these styles are the result of Yang's imitation of the Tang poets, as well as expressions of his own creativity.

Chapter Five investigates the presentation of Yang's Iron Style poetry on history, which is a reflection of his personality and interests. There is a close relationship between his poems, the prefaces, and the historical texts. His poems also illustrate his strong interest in drama and a desire to pursue freedom in term of musical function.

Chapter Six probes the essence of Yang's Iron Style poems on history as an insight into the poet's mind. His poetry on history is a reflection of his historical opinions and philosophy of life. Yang had some particular historical views, such as his ideas about political orthodoxy and legitimacy, and these are reflected in his poems. His philosophy of life was rooted in Confucianism and affected by his experience of being thwarted in his official career.

III Biography of Yang Weizhen

The Yuan dynasty was short-lived, covering approximately one century from 1271 to 1368. Yang's life⁷⁸ covered most of the Yuan period.

⁷⁸ My main sources are based on: Sun Xiaoli, *YWZNP*; Zhang Tingyu et al., eds. *Ershisi shi*

i. His family

Yang was born in Zhuji 諸暨 (Kuaji 會稽) in 1296. He had at least thirty-one poetic names,⁷⁹ including *Tiexin daoren* 鐵心道人 (Taoist of Iron Heart), *Baoyi daoren* 抱遺道人 (The Taoist who holds regret), to name but two. His poetic names changed according to his ideas, self-image, sentiments and life experiences. Plum blossoms⁸⁰, which were Yang's favourite flowers in Tieya Hill during his twenties, made up five⁸¹ of his poetic names. These included *Meihua daoren* 梅花道人 (The Taoist of Plum Blossoms).

His family had a great influence on the development of his ideas and poetic style. His father, Yang Hong 楊宏 (d.1339), was a generous and righteous man respected by most of the people in his local area. He gave land to his neighbours even though they were occupying it illegally. He always kept his promises in business even if there was an enticement of greater profit for breaking them.⁸² His mother, a fourth generation granddaughter of the prime minister Song Zongmian 宋宗勉 (dates unknown), was well educated.⁸³ His elder uncle,

quanyi. Mingshi, vol.9, pp.5814-5815, 5832; and Goodrich, Luther Carrington, main ed., *The Dictionary of Ming Biography 1368-1644*, vol.2, pp.1547-1552.

⁷⁹ For details, see Sun Xiaoli, *YWZNP*, p.1.

⁸⁰ Plum blossoms had symbolized nobility, hermits and virtuous personalities since the Song dynasty. For details, see my book, *Nan Song yongmei ci yanjiu* 南宋詠梅詞研究. Taipei: Taiwan xuesheng shuju, 2003, pp.53-113.

⁸¹ The five poetic names are *Meihua daoren* 梅花道人 (The Taoist of Plum Blossoms), *Yang bianmei* 楊邊梅 (Border Plum [Blossoms] Surnamed Yang), *Meihua meng* 梅花夢 (The Dream of Plum Blossoms) and *Bianshang mei* 邊上梅 (The Plum [Blossoms] on the Border). See Sun Xiaoli, *YWZNP*, p.1-3.

⁸² Sun Xiaoli, *YWZNP*, p.6.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, p.6.

Song Shi 宋實 (14th c.) was Inspector of Huiji.⁸⁴ Yang grew up in a rich scholarly family, his father built him a library in Tieya (Iron Cliff) Hill for his study.⁸⁵

ii. His education

Yang's interest in history and love of the Chinese classics was most likely cultivated by his father and young uncle Song He 宋賀 (14th c.), who were both enthusiastic about history.⁸⁶ Yang started learning classical texts at a young age and in particular he was taught the *Chunqiu* 春秋 (*Spring and Autumn Annals*).⁸⁷ So while his interest in history was encouraged by his family, his upright character was an outcome of being well educated.

During the Yuan dynasty under the reign of Emperor Renzong 仁宗 (1311-1320), the first civil service examination began in 1315. Yang's interest regarding history may have been heightened by his ambition to become an official. Through his studies of history, Yang was able to achieve the *jinsi* 進士 title which would launch his official life. His dream to become a righteous official stimulated him to sit for the civil service examination. In 1326, when Yang was thirty-one *sui*, he renamed himself 'Tieya' (Iron Cliff) after passing the provincial examination,⁸⁸ with a speciality in the historical classic *Spring and Autumn Annals* (*Chunqiu*).⁸⁹

Yang was a disciple of Ni Yuan 倪淵 (14th c.) who was especially interested

⁸⁴ Ibid., p.7.

⁸⁵ Sun Xiaoli, *YWZNP*, p.46.

⁸⁶ Sun Xiaoli, *YWZNP*, p.7.

⁸⁷ Ibid., p.46.

⁸⁸ Ibid., p.51.

⁸⁹ Ibid., p.49.

in *Yijing* 易經 (Classic of Changes). Both of them were Confucian scholars of Genzhai 艮齋 School, one of the Neo-Confucian schools listed in the *Song Yuan xue'an* 宋元學案 (Records of schools in the Song and Yuan dynasties). Genzhai is a poetic name of Xue Jixuan 薛季宣 (1134-1173) who worked for Yuan Daojie 袁道潔 (12th c.). Yuan used to study under the famous Neo-Confucian scholars, Cheng Hao 程顥 (1032-1085) and Cheng Yi 程頤 (1033-1107). Xue Genzhai authored more than nine books, including *Shi xingqing shuo* 詩性情說 (Poetry is for temperament), and *Chunqiu jingjie zhiyao* 春秋經解指要 (Essentials of the annotation to Spring and Autumn Annals).⁹⁰ Yang quite clearly inherited the theories of Genzhai School, which stressed that poetry is an expression of temperament. On the other hand, his great interest in *Chunqiu* may have been inspired by Xue Genzhai's book.

iii. His official career

In 1327, when thirty-two *sui* years of age, Yang successfully passed the *jinshi* examination and was appointed to County Magistrate (rank 7a)⁹¹ in Tiantai prefecture (in modern Zhejiang Province).⁹² Three years of official life did not provide him with much opportunity to contribute to society. He was removed from office after severely punishing a number of powerful bullies in 1330.⁹³ Four years later, he was demoted to Saltern Commander (rank 7b) in Qianqing, close to Hangzhou. This demotion upset Yang. He started drinking and

⁹⁰ Huang Zongxi et al., eds. *Chongbian Song Yuan xue'an*, pp.569, 572-573.

⁹¹ All the official titles mentioned in this thesis are based on Charles O. Hucker, *A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China*, pp.1-676.

⁹² Sun Xiaoli, *YWZNP*, p.52.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, p.62.

composing poems to express his grievances.⁹⁴ That year, he made an appeal to the provincial government, on behalf of workers who were suffering from a heavy salt tax and by threatening to resign, and successfully gained a tax reduction.⁹⁵

In 1339, Yang's father died. Following a period of mourning, Yang was not assigned to any position for a period of over ten years (1339-1350).⁹⁶ During this time, he led a relatively carefree life concentrating on teaching, writing and social activities. This lifestyle was somewhat at odds with his idea of becoming a competent officer.

In 1344, after the completion of *Liao shi* 遼史 (History of the Liao), there were disagreements on the *zhengtong* (orthodox line of succession) issue.⁹⁷ The chief editor Tuotuo 脫脫 (1313-1355), decided that none of the Liao, Jin and Southern Song dynasties would have sole legitimacy but would, instead, keep their reign names. Yang was dissatisfied and wrote an essay entitled '*Zhengtong bian*' 正統辯, also '*Sanshi zhengtong bian*' 三史正統辯⁹⁸ (Discussion on the orthodox line of succession regarding the histories of the three dynasties), in which he affirmed the Southern Song dynasty's sole legitimacy based on Zhu Xi's 朱熹 (1130-1200) concepts of *daotong* 道統 (moral line of succession) and *zhengtong* 政統 (political line of succession).⁹⁹ His essay¹⁰⁰ was greatly appreciated by the Hanlin Academician, Naonao 嚶嚶 (?-1345)¹⁰¹ and the Grand

⁹⁴ Ibid., p.66.

⁹⁵ Ibid., p.66.

⁹⁶ Ibid., p.70.

⁹⁷ Sun Xiaoli, *YWZNP*, p.86.

⁹⁸ See Li Xiusheng, main ed., *Quan Yuanwen*, vol.42, p.485-490.

⁹⁹ For in-depth discussion, see Wang Wenxue, *Zhengtong lun: faxian dongfang zhengzhi zhihui*, pp.15-50, 274-275.

¹⁰⁰ Its importance is discussed in Luther Carrington Goodrich, ed., *The Dictionary of Ming Biography 1368-1644*, vol. 2, p.1549

¹⁰¹ Sun Xiaoli, *YWZNP*, p.95.

Minister of Education, Ouyang Xuan 歐陽玄 (1283-1357). Ouyang recommended Yang for an official position, but this was unsuccessful. He then asked Yang to write *Songshi gangmu* 宋史綱目 (A general outline of Song history).¹⁰²

Scholars highly respected Yang as a poet. Following his fiftieth birthday (1345), Yang became a distinguished leader in the poetry arena. During his visit to the seven famous poets,¹⁰³ he compiled and promoted Zhejiang poetry. In 1346, he taught in the wealthy Jiang family¹⁰⁴, which provided him with a comfortable lifestyle. Yang frequently went out with guests and courtesans, and journeyed to nearby mountains and lakes. In the summer of 1347, he decadently used a courtesan's small shoe to hold a wine cup and called it '*jinlian bei*' (golden lotus cup)¹⁰⁵, where '*jinlian*' refers to the female's small bound feet. Tao Zongyi 陶宗儀 (fl.1360-1368) said that,

Yang Tieya [Yang Weizhen] was indulgently fond of songs and women. Every time, he saw a singer or dancer with small bound feet at a banquet, he would take her shoe to hold a wine cup and served the wine to guests, and he called it the 'golden lotus cup'.

楊鐵崖耽好聲色，每於筵間見歌兒舞女有纏足纖小者，則脫其鞵載盞以行酒，謂之「金蓮杯」。¹⁰⁶

In 1350, Yang was recommended for the position of *Siwu tiju* 四務提舉 (Supervisor for Four Affairs) of Hangzhou.¹⁰⁷ He was appointed as Jiande's (in

¹⁰² Sun Xiaoli, *YWZNP*, p.100.

¹⁰³ The seven poets are Li Xiaoguang, Xiang Jiong, Ding Fu, Chen Qiao, Ni Zan, Zhang Yu, the monk Jue'en. See Sun Xiaoli. *YWZNP*, pp.53,105.

¹⁰⁴ Liu Ji, *Feixue lu*, p.4.

¹⁰⁵ Tao Zongyi, *Nancun chuogeng lu*, p.279.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, p.279.

¹⁰⁷ Sun Xiaoli, *YWZNP*, p.177.

modern Zhejiang province) *Zongguan fu liguan* 總管府理官¹⁰⁸ (Subordinate Official in Route Command) in 1356, the year that Zhang Shicheng 張士誠 (1321-1367) captured Hangzhou. In the third month of 1358, when Jiande was occupied by Hu Daihai 胡大海 (?-1362), Yang fled to Fuchun Mountain (in the general vicinity of Hangzhou).¹⁰⁹ At the end of that year, he was promoted to *Ruxue tiju* 儒學提舉 (Supervisor for Confucian Schools) (rank 5b). Unfortunately he was unable to assume this position due to the Jiangxi rebellion¹¹⁰ led by Chen Youliang 陳友諒 (1320-1363), who declared himself 'King of Han'.¹¹¹

iv. His retirement

In the second month of 1359, Yang returned to Qiantang 錢塘. In the summer, he composed poems showing his appreciation of Zhang Shicheng and Zhang Shixin 張士信 (14th c.) and had written contact with their official Cai Yanwen 蔡彥文 (14th c.). In the tenth month of 1359, he started full retirement in Songjiang (in modern Shanghai) and rejected an invitation to become Zhang's retainer by writing a satirical poem. In the twelfth month, Zhu Yuanzhang 朱元璋 (1328-1398) invaded Hangzhou; and Zhang Shicheng made himself 'King of Wu' 吳, but failed to capture other provinces, such as Jiande.¹¹² In Songjiang, Yang concentrated on his teaching and attending social gatherings, as well as

¹⁰⁸ See Sun Xiaoli, *YWZNP*, pp.211, 213. However, Huang Rensheng said it was 'tuiguan' 推官 (judicial official). See *YWZYMMCWXS*, p.192. But Goodrich said that Yang was appointed as "judicial official in the prefectural government". See *The Dictionary of Ming Biography 1368-1644*, vol. 2, p.1550.

¹⁰⁹ Sun Xiaoli, *YWZNP*, p.223.

¹¹⁰ Sun Xiaoli, *YWZNP*, p.226, and Zhang Tingyu et.al, ed., *Mingshi*, vol.12, p.3687.

¹¹¹ For details, see Zhang Tingyu et.al, ed., *Mingshi*, vol.12, p.3688-3689.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, p.3694-3895.

travelling around and composing poems with his students and followers.

In the fourth month of 1363, Yang once again expressed his unwillingness to end his retirement to serve Zhang Shicheng.¹¹³ In 1366, 'Baoyi daoren' (The Taoist who holds regret) appeared as his poetic name in his writings for the first time.¹¹⁴ At that time he had already started to wear a Taoist robe, which possibly signified regret for his unrecognised talent and unfulfilled dreams.

The Yuan dynasty was marked by chaos and rivalry. The dynasty came to an end in 1368 when Zhu Yuanzhang expelled all the Mongolians from the capital Dadu. In 1369, Yang was summoned twice to the new capital, Jinling (Nanjing) by the new emperor Zhu Yuanzhang.¹¹⁵ Although he turned these invitations down, he finally started his journey to the capital, in the twelfth month of that year, to edit the Chinese classics.¹¹⁶ In the fourth month of 1370, he returned home. After a short time at home, he died of pulmonary tuberculosis at the age of seventy-five. Yang's death was mourned by many of his students.¹¹⁷

v. His writings

As one of the most prolific poets of the Yuan period, modern scholars¹¹⁸ have undertaken much research on the different editions of his writings, so this thesis will not repeat much of this work. The following are several

¹¹³ Sun Xiaoli, *YWZNP*, p.269.

¹¹⁴ See preface to *Xuelu ji* 雪廬集, in Jin Yuan, comp., *Yang Weizhen xuwen ji*, p.176.

¹¹⁵ For details, see Qian Qianyi, *Liechao shiji xiaozhuan*, in *Mingdai zhuanji congkan*, vol 11, pp.59-60.

¹¹⁶ Sun Xiaoli, *YWZNP*, p.305.

¹¹⁷ Sun Xiaoli, *YWZNP*, p.311.

¹¹⁸ For example, Sun Xiaoli, *YWZNP*, pp.14-22; and Huang Resheng, *YWZYMMCWXS*, pp.107, 219-225,375-382.

representative versions of these editions:

- A. *Tieya xiansheng gu yuefu* 鐵崖先生古樂府 (Mr. Iron Cliff's ancient *yuefu* poetry), sixteen *juan*, published in 1469, which has different editions in the Ming dynasty. It consists of *Gu yuefu* 古樂府 (Ancient *yuefu* poetry), ten *juan*, edited by his student Wu Fu 吳復 (1300-1348) and *Fugu shiji* 復古詩集 (Poetry collection of returning to the past), six *juan*, edited by another student Zhang Wan 章琬 (14th c.). However, Lou Buchan 樓卜瀾 (fl. 1774, from same area, Zhuji, as Yang Weizhen) collected all the different versions and then compiled them as *Tieya gu yuefu* 鐵崖古樂府 (Iron Cliff's ancient *yuefu* poetry). This included the *Tieya Yuefu* 鐵崖樂府 (Iron Cliff's *yuefu* poetry), ten *juan*; *Tieya yongshi* 鐵崖詠史 (Iron Cliff's poetry on history), eight *juan*; and *Tieya yibian* 鐵崖逸編 (Iron Cliff's anecdoted poetry), eight *juan*.¹¹⁹
- B. *Dongweizi ji* 東維子集 (Collected works of Dong Weizi), thirty *juan* with one extra *juan* attached, published in 1589 has 441 items including prefaces, postscripts, records, inscriptions and biographies, sixty *shi* poems and *ci* lyrics. The extra *juan* is poetry by his students and friends.¹²⁰
- C. *Tieya wenji* 鐵崖文集 (Mr. Iron Cliff's written works), five *juan*, consists of Yang's 137 articles. However, fifty-two are duplicated in *Dongweizi ji*.¹²¹
- D. *Lize yiyin* 麗則遺音 (The beautiful and elegant vestigial sound), four

¹¹⁹ They have been reprinted in *XXSKQS*, vol.1325, pp.433-527; 528-615; 616-695, respectively.

¹²⁰ See Yang Weizhen, *Dongweizi ji*. Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1929 (?), vol.1-6; *Dongwei zi wenji*, 30 *juans*, 1 extra *juan*; in *SKQS*, vol.1221.

¹²¹ There is an edition of *Tieya wenji* dated 1501 and found in the Shanghai Library.

- juan*, compiled by Yang's student Chen Cunli 陳存禮 (14th c.) is a collection of Yang's thirty-two rhymed prose (*fu*) poems.¹²²
- E. *Tieya fugao* 鐵崖賦稿 (Draft of Iron Cliff's rhymed prose), two *juan* edited by Lao Ge 勞格 (1820-1864) contains fifty *fu* prose poems.¹²³
- F. *Tieya mangao* 鐵崖漫稿 (Casual draft of Iron Cliff's written works), five *juan*, manuscript copy by Zhang Jinwu 張金吾 (1787-1829) consists of 249 prose pieces.¹²⁴
- G. *Shiyi shiyi* 史義拾遺 (Supplementary to omissions in the historical annotations), two *juan*, editing by Yang's student, Zhang Mu 章木 (14th c.), was published by Chen Yujing 陳於京 (17th c.) from Zhuji in the late Ming dynasty. It records Yang's commentaries on historical events and his criticism of social and political affairs, and has a preface by Lu Song 陸淞 (16th c.) dated 1502.¹²⁵ Lu highly appreciated Yang's writings, and stated that these writings select the ancient historical episodes, which frankly judged honestly based on righteousness; they condemned wicked persons and warn the next generation.¹²⁶ Lu's preface indicates that Yang's *Shiyi shiyi* is a serious rather than a playful piece of writing.
- H. The essay '*Zhengtong bian*' (Discussion on the orthodox line of succession) is contained in Tao Zongyi's *Nancun chuogeng lu* 南村輟耕錄 (Records of cultivation halt in the south village).¹²⁷

¹²² The extant edition in *Siku quanshu* is based on the *Jigu ge* 汲古閣 edition in the late Ming dynasty. See Chen Cunli: *Lize yiyin*, 4 *juan*; in *SKQS*, vol.1222, pp.145-180.

¹²³ This has been reprinted in *XXSKQS*, vol. 1325. pp.390-431.

¹²⁴ This manuscript copy is in the Nanjing Library.

¹²⁵ This edition is in the Shanghai Library. It has been reprinted in *Siku quanshu cunmu congshu. Shibu*, vol.281, pp.1-57.

¹²⁶ Yang Weizhen, *Shiyi shiyi*, in *Siku quanshu cunmu congshu*, vol. 281, p.2.

¹²⁷ This essay is about 2,600 words. See Tao Zongyi, *Nancun chuogeng lu*, pp.32-38.

- I. *Chunqiu hetu zhushuo* 春秋合題著說 (Discussion of combined questions on the *Spring and Autumn Annals*) three *juan*, which seems to be Yang's commentaries on the *Chunqiu* (Spring and Autumn Annals). It was written as a preparation work for his civil examination.¹²⁸

Despite Yang's large collection of literary works, no one has yet conducted in-depth research on the entirety. The research on Yang Weizhen up to date is described in the section below.

IV Main research on Yang Weizhen

There is scarcely any Western research on Yang Weizhen, but there are a few scattered articles in books. Chinese scholars have produced comparatively more research works on Yang Weizhen.

i. Research on Yang's life

An early article in English on Yang's life is in *The dictionary of Ming biography 1368-1644*, published in 1976.¹²⁹ It provides a brief introduction to Yang's life and his well-known *Tieyati* 鐵崖體 (Iron Cliff style) *yuefu* poetry. A similar article on Yang, written by Stephen Owen, can also be found in *The Indiana Companion to Traditional Chinese Literature*¹³⁰ and in *The Columbia History of Chinese Literature* by John Timothy Wixted.¹³¹ A chronological look

¹²⁸ This book does not seem to be extant, but it is listed in Yong Rong et al., ed., *Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao*, vol.1, p.606.

¹²⁹ This article is written by Edmund H. Worthy. See L.C. Goodrich, ed., *The Dictionary of Ming Biography 1368-1644*, vol. 2, pp.1547-1552.

¹³⁰ W.H.Nienhauser, et al. eds., *The Indiana Companion to Traditional Chinese Literature*, pp.917-918.

¹³¹ Timothy John Wixted, "Poetry of the Fourteenth Century", in Mair, Victor. H., ed., *The Columbia History of Chinese Literature*, pp.392-394.

at Yang's life and his poetry is also available in Sun Xiaoli's *Yang Weizhen nianpu* 楊維禎年譜 (The chronological biography of Yang Weizhen),¹³² which establishes a good foundation for further investigation of Yang's life and poetry. Also, Ge Huanbiao 葛煥標 and Luo Yanmin's 駱焉名 book entitled *Yang Weizhen* 楊維禎¹³³ provides a general description of Yang's life with an introduction to his poetry, calligraphy, students and critical comments of his work.

Apart from these books, there are nine short articles on Yang's life, covering his birthplace, poetic names and political attitude. One interesting article¹³⁴ about Yang's name and birthplace mentioned that he intentionally changed his first name from 'Zhen 禎' to 'Zhen 楨' in 1359. The first Zhen means 'auspicious' and indicated Yang's wish to succeed in life, while the second Zhen means 'hardwood', implying that he had a virtuous heart of wood. This name revision reflects a possible change in his character.

These biographical articles and books on Yang's life provide a good foundation for research on his composition of poetry, and explaining his temperament and literary thought, all of which are useful when exploring the content of his poetry.

ii. Research on Yang Weizhen in the Yuan poetry arena

Two recent books, Deng Shaoji's *Yuandai wenxue shi* 元代文學史 (Literary history of the Yuan dynasty)¹³⁵ and Yang Lian's *Yuanshi shi* 元詩史 (Poetic

¹³² Sun Xiaoli, *YWZNP*, 321 pages.

¹³³ Ge Huanbiao, Luo Yanmin, *Yang Weizhen*, 184 pages.

¹³⁴ Qiao Guanghui, "Wang Weizhen zhi 'Zhen' zi kao", in *Wenjiao zijiao*, vol.1 (1999), pp.99-101.

¹³⁵ Deng Shaoji, main ed., *Yuandai wenxue shi*, pp.494-501.

history of the Yuan dynasty)¹³⁶ look at Yuan poetry in general. Both include an introduction to Yang Weizhen's life and describe his importance in the history of Yuan poetry. Yoshikawa Kōjirō (1904-1980) has written one chapter¹³⁷ on Yuan poetry, and he also discusses the significant role played by Yang in the literary arena.

Further evidence supporting Yang's influence is presented in Wang Zhongge's 王忠閣 *Yuanmo Wuzhong shipai lunkao* 元末吳中詩派論考¹³⁸ (Discussion and Examination of the Poetic Groups of Suzhou Area in the Late Yuan Period), which mentions different poetic groups in Jiangsu province¹³⁹ and describes Yang's prominent poetic status. Bao Gendi's 包根弟 *Yuanshi yanjiu* 元詩研究¹⁴⁰ (Research on the Yuan poetry) gives an account of the stages of development and a background of Yuan poetry. It lists Yang as one of the three representative poets of the late Yuan poetry arena, and gives a brief introduction to his *Tieya* poems. Also, Xiao Lihua's 蕭麗華 *Yuanshi zhi shehuixing yu yishuxing yanjiu* 元詩之社會性與藝術性研究¹⁴¹ (Research on the social and artistic nature of Yuan poetry) mainly gives an account of the special social and artistic functions of Yuan poetry. Those functions are described as being

¹³⁶ Yang Lian, *Yuanshi shi*, pp.507-513.

¹³⁷ This chapter is entitled "Jūyon seiki zenhan: genshi no seijuku" 十四世紀前半:元詩の成熟 (The first half of the fourteenth century: the prosperity of Yuan poetry), see Yoshikawa Kōjirō, *Yoshikawa Kōjirō zenshū*, vol. 15, pp.433-457. In which, there is a section introducing Yang Weizhen. See pp.434-440.

¹³⁸ Wang Zhongge, *Yuanmo Wuzhong shipai lunkao*, pp.47-74.

¹³⁹ Wuzhong 吳中: refers to modern districts around Lake Tai and Pingyuan 平原 with Suzhou as the centre in Jiangsu province. See Wei Songshan, main ed., *Zhongguo gudian shici diming cidian* (which is hereafter abbreviated as *ZGGDSCDMCD*), p.380.

¹⁴⁰ Bao Gendi, *Yuanshi yanjiu*, pp.112-115.

¹⁴¹ There is no particular section on Yang Weizhen, just a few scattered lines on him. See Xiao Lihua. *Yuanshi zhi shehuixing yu yishuxing yanjiu*, pp.123-124, 336-337.

inherited from the Tang and Song dynasties, and also as working to galvanise the development of poetry after the Yuan dynasty.

There is also a masters thesis on the literary activities of scholars in Wuzhong District, entitled *Yuanmo Mingchu Wuzhong wenren yanjiu* 元末明初吳中文人研究 (Suzhou literati of the late Yuan to the early Ming dynasties). The author, He Chungeng 何春根, wrote a section discussing Yang's literary activities, literary thoughts, as well as his Iron style poetry.¹⁴² In summary, these publications provide an understanding of Yang's poetry and highlight the significant contribution he made to Yuan poetry in general.

iii. Research on Yang's poetry

The first important modern research on Yang appeared in 1983. Liu Meihua's 劉美華 book, *Yang Weizhen shixue yanjiu* 楊維禎詩學研究 (Research on Yang Weizhen's poetics), outlines Yang's general poetic content and main writing techniques. It explores the origins of his literary thought and gives an introduction to his poetic content and writing techniques. Despite Liu's good explanation of Yang's writing techniques, many areas were not explored. These included the characteristics of Yang's Iron Cliff style poetry, its influence on his students, and the relationship between Yang's life and his poetic style.

In 2005, Huang Rensheng's book entitled *Yang Weizhen yu Yuanmo Mingchu wenxue sichao* 楊維禎與元末明初文學思潮 (Yang Weizhen and the literary currents of the late Yuan and early Ming dynasties) was published. It provides a general study of Yang Weizhen's literary thought, political attitude, and life philosophy and social activities, as well as of his *fu* poems (rhymed prose) and *qu*

¹⁴² He Chungeng, "Yuanmo minchu Wuzhong wenren yanjiu", pp.30-38.

song-lyrics poetic styles. This book consists of six chapters.¹⁴³ However, it has only two chapters on Yang's poetry (Chapters Four and Five), in which Huang discusses Yang's 'Ancient *Yuefu* Poetry Movement' and the history of *yuefu* poetry. In addition, Yang's poetry content and his associates Li Xiaoguang (1285-1350) and Gu Ying (1310-1369) are only briefly mentioned.

Huang's book covers many areas, but it does not analyse Yang's poetry in detail, and does not cover his different themes and diverse writing styles. It gives only a cursory discussion of Yang's poems on history. Despite this, Huang's work is pioneering in its research on Yang.

There are two master theses of fifty and fifty-two pages respectively on Yang's poetry. The first one is Yang Lijing's 楊麗靜 "Cong Yang Weizhen kan Yuandai Daojiao yu Yuandai shi" 從楊維楨看元代道教與元代詩 (From Yang Weizhen, a look into Taoism and poetry in the Yuan dynasty), which has as its main focus the relationship between Taoism and Yuan poetry. Only about two pages of this thesis discuss Yang's pursuit of Taoism.¹⁴⁴ The second one is Feng Ruizhen's 馮瑞珍 "Lun Yang Weizhen de yuefu shi" 論楊維楨的樂府詩 (Discussion of Yang Weizhen's *yuefu* poetry), which provides a very brief discussion of Yang's *yuefu* poems, including his literary thoughts, and the content and characteristics of various categories of poems.¹⁴⁵

¹⁴³ Chapter One explores Yang's political attitude, philosophy and literary ideas; Chapter Two studies his *fu* prose poems and the development of rhymed prose (*fu*) in the Yuan dynasty; Chapter Three examines his commentaries on *qu* song lyrics and fiction; Chapter Four discusses Yang's 'movement of ancient *yuefu* poetry'; Chapter Five briefly introduces Yang's poetry content and also his two friends Li Xiaoguang (1285-1350) and Gu Ying (1310-1369); Chapter Six examines Yang's influence on the Ming literary world and outlines critical remarks on Yang during the Qing period.

¹⁴⁴ Yang Lijing, "Cong Yang Weizhen kan Yuandai Daojiao yu Yuandai shi", pp.18-19.

¹⁴⁵ Feng Ruizhen, "Lun Yang Weizhen de yuefu shi", pp.1-45.

There are also a number of articles on Yang Weizhen which can be categorised in the following way.

Group one includes eighteen articles that discuss Yang's *shi* poetry, *ci* lyrics and *yuefu* poetry, and *zhuzhi ci* poems. His poem, 'Laoke fu yao' 老客婦謠 (Ballad of an old visiting woman), is believed to reflect his determination to give up official life. Scholars also discuss Yang's poetic style and his influence on Ming poetry. Only two articles are on his poems on history.

Group two has six articles that discuss Yang's relationships and social activities with his friends and members of the Iron Style Poetry Group. Within these articles, I discovered that his social activities also stimulated his composition of some poems on history.

Group three consists of eight articles that discuss Yang's philosophy and literary ideas. Ha Jiaying 哈嘉瑩 believes that Yang Weizhen stressed the importance of one's temperament (*xingqing*)¹⁴⁶, and that he adopted a straightforward poetic style rather than an ornate poetic style. However, I will argue that his poetic style is a combination of various approaches, including straightforwardness, elegance and resplendence. These styles make up his Iron Style and are reflected in his poems on history. Maeno Naoaki argues that Yang's literary thoughts of 'poetry is for temperament' was a precursor to the Ming poets, such as Li Mengyang 李夢陽 (1472-1529) and Ho Jingming 何景明 (1483-1521).¹⁴⁷

¹⁴⁶ See Ha Jiaying, "Yang Weizhen shige sixiang pianlun", in *Chengde Minzu Shizhuan xuebao*, vol.1 (1997), p.20; Ha Jiaying, "Tan Yang Weizhen de shiben xingqing", in *Guangming Ribao*, 2005 July 29, p.006. The same idea is also found in Zhang Jing, "Tieya ti: Yuandai houqi shifeng de shenke bianyi", in *Shehui kexu jikan*, vol.1994.2, p.155.

¹⁴⁷ See Maeno Naoaki, "Mei shichishi no sensei --Yō Itei no bungakukan ni tsuite", in *The Journal of Chinese Literature*, vol.5, (1956), pp. ii (abstract), 41-42.

The articles mentioned are generally short and do not contain detailed discussion. However, they do provide some useful information on Yang Weizhen.

iv. Other research on Yang Weizhen

Yang was a talented calligrapher. Chen Hailiang's 陳海良 *Luanshi qicai: Yang Weizhen de shengping ji qi yishu* 亂世奇才：楊維禎的生平及其藝術¹⁴⁸ (A rare talent in the chaotic world: Yang Weizhen's biography and artwork) and Hua Ning's 華寧 book entitled *Yang Weizhen* 楊維禎¹⁴⁹ discuss Yang's artistic ideas and his calligraphy, and how they changed during his life. Chen mentions that all of Yang's extant works of calligraphy have their own styles, such as 'Zhou Shangqing mu zhiming' 周上卿墓誌銘 (Funeral epitaph on Zhou Shangqing) (1359), 'Zhenjing an muyuan shu juan' 真鏡庵募緣疏卷 (Scroll of solicitation of contribution to the Real Mirror Nunnery), 'Chengnan changhe shi' 城南唱和詩 (Collection of poems written in the same rhymes at the southern city) (1362) and 'Mengyou Haitang shi juan' (Roll of enjoying begonia in dreams) 夢遊海棠詩卷 (1369). They were completed after 1359 during his retirement in Songjiang.¹⁵⁰

Ge Huanbiao and Luo Yanmin's *Yang Weizhen* 楊維禎 provide general information on Yang Weizhen's life, calligraphy and his literary influence.¹⁵¹ In addition to these, there are six articles studying Yang's calligraphy, and three on his fictional criticism and prefaces to drama.

¹⁴⁸ Chen Hailiang, *Luanshi qicai: Yang Weizhen de shengping ji qi yishu*. Shanghai: Shanghai shuhua chubanshe, 2005, 77 pages.

¹⁴⁹ Hua Ning, *Yang Weizhen*, Taipei: Shitou chuban gufan youxian gongsi, 2006, 32 pages.

¹⁵⁰ Chen Hailiang, *Luanshi qicai: Yang Weizhen de shengping ji qi yishu*, 2005, pp.39-45.

¹⁵¹ For details, see Ge Huanbiao, Luo Yanmin. *Yang Weizhen*, pp.1-114.

v. Research on Chinese poetry on history

From 1985 to 2009, there were at least ten major books (see Appendix 1B) that have been published which provide annotations to selected poems on history. These books have selected poems on history throughout the historical periods for brief annotation and analysis. However, only a few of Yang's poems have been selected. These books demonstrate well the huge number of poems on history and provide a basic background for studying these poems. Moreover, there are several in-depth pieces of research about poetry on history. These are described in the following.

In 1997, *Yongshi shi yu Zhongguo fan lishi zhuyi* 詠史詩與中國泛歷史主義¹⁵² (Poetry on history and Chinese pan-historicism) was authored by Xu Gang 許鋼. This work is the first book to contain an in-depth analysis of the origin, development and genres of poetry on history with examples from different dynasties. This book is translated from a doctoral thesis entitled "The Past Is Eternal: Chinese Pan-historicism as Manifested in Poetry on History". It has four chapters which discuss Confucianism, moralisation, symbolisation, spatialisation, eternalisation, aestheticisation and religonisation in poetry on history.¹⁵³ The second publication on historical poems was *Nan Song yongshi shi yanjiu* 南宋詠史詩研究¹⁵⁴ (Poetry on history in the Southern Song dynasty)

¹⁵² Xu Gang, *Yongshi shi yu Zhongguo fan lishi zhuyi*. Taipei: Shuiniu chubanshe, 1997, 189 pages.

¹⁵³ Xu Gang, "The Past Is Eternal: Chinese Pan-Historicism as Manifested in Poetry on History". The Ohio State University, PhD thesis, 1996, 249 pages.

¹⁵⁴ Ji Minghua, *Nan Song yongshi shi yanjiu*. Taipei: Wenjin chubanshe, 1997, 275 pages.

by Ji Minghua 季明華, who conducted research into poems on history from the Southern Song dynasty. The book consists of six chapters, which investigate the development of poetry on history before and during the Southern Song dynasty. The author pointed out that most of the poems on history throughout the ages are based on historical figures.¹⁵⁵ In Chapter Four, Ji also points out the five main themes of the Southern Song poems on history: loneliness for unrecognised talent, lament for the country's weaknesses, the longing for a reclusive life, deep concern about the future of the country, and admiration for ideal historical figures. All these themes reflected the poets' mind.

However, modern scholars' main focus still remains upon the Tang dynasty. In 2002, *Wan Tang yongshi shi yu pinghua yanyi zhi guanxi* 晚唐詠史詩與平話演義之關係¹⁵⁶ (Relationship between the late Tang poems on history and *pinghua* fiction and historical novels) by Li Yiya 李宜涯 was published. This book defines 'poetry on history', and explores the origins and development of poetry on history before the late-Tang dynasty. The author focuses on the works of eight late Tang poets, namely Du Mu 杜牧 (803-852), Li Shangyin 李商隱 (813-858), Wen Tingyun 溫庭筠 (812-ca.870), Hu Zeng, Wang Zun 汪遵 (*jinsi* title 866), Zhou Tan, Sun Yuanyan 孫元晏 (dates unknown) and Luo Yin 羅隱 (833-909). Of these poets, Hu Zeng is the main focus. Hu's poems on history are believed to have been used by many story-tellers. The author explores the relationship between Hu Zeng's poetry and the vernacular stories of the Song dynasty, as well as historical stories in the Ming and Qing dynasties. He stated that those stories were not written to illustrate poems on history, but that poems on

¹⁵⁵ Ji Minghua, *Nan Song yongshi shi yanjiu*, pp.94-96.

¹⁵⁶ Li Yiya, *Wan Tang yongshi shi yu pinghua yanyi zhi guanxi*. Taipei: Wenshizhe chubanshe, 2002, 375 pages.

history enriched the content of the stories.

In addition to Li Yiya, another scholar, Zhao Wangqin 趙望秦, also showed a great interest in Tang poetry on history. He published three books about Tang poetry on history, in 2003, 2005 and 2008. The first book, entitled *Tangdai yongshi zushi kaolun* 唐代詠史組詩考論 (An investigation and discussion of various series of poems on history of the Tang dynasty),¹⁵⁷ studies various series of poems on history. It also explores several Tang poets, namely Wu Yun 吳筠 (d.778), Hu Gu 胡皞 (ca.815-ca.852), Hu Zeng, Wang Zun, Zhou Tan and Sun Yuanyan. It argues that Wang Ji 王績 (585-644) was the first Tang poet to have composed poetry on history, but that Lu Zhaolin 盧照鄰 (ca.635-ca.689) was the first to have written a series of poems on history, entitled 'On history'. This book also mentions that the mid- and late-Tang periods were a golden era for the emergence of poems on history.

The second book, entitled *Songben Zhou Tan Yongshi shi yanjiu* 宋本周曇詠史詩研究¹⁵⁸ (Research on the Song edition of Zhou Tan's *Poems on history*), was published in 2005. Its preface briefly introduces the historical development of poems on history in the Tang dynasty. As well as examining the Song version of Zhou Tan's poetry (three *juan*), it also investigates Zhou's literary thought and the significance of his poems on history. However, much of this publication provides only a very brief annotation to each of Zhou's poems on history. Zhou used names of historical figures as poem titles and divided his poems chronologically into eleven categories by dynasty, including the Spring and Autumn Warring States periods, and the Qin, Western Han and Eastern Han

¹⁵⁷ Zhao Wangqin, *Tangdai yongshi zushi kaolun*. Xi'an: Sanqin chubanshe, 2003, 228 pages.

¹⁵⁸ Zhao Wangqin, *Songben Zhou Tan yongshi shi yanjiu*. Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 2005, 235 pages.

dynasties. His poems praise virtuous kings and queens, as well as capable officials, while satirising the evil ones. These poems were used as teaching materials for the officials.¹⁵⁹

The third book entitled *Hu Zheng Yongshi shi yanjiu* 胡曾詠史詩研究¹⁶⁰ (Research on Hu Zheng's *Poems on history*) was published in 2008. It is an in-depth discussion of 150 poems on history, which are all seven-character quatrain. About a quarter of this book discusses different versions of Hu's poems on history, as well as Hu's historical views and literary achievements. It also looks into the relationship between Hu's poems on history and historical fiction and elementary education. The authors, Zhao and Pan Xiaoling 潘曉玲 believe that Hu's straightforward expressions and plain poetic style were helpful to children learning history through poems. That is why Hu's poems were used as the basic texts for elementary education after the late Tang dynasty.¹⁶¹ Hu judged historical figures based on Confucian values and his aim was to satirise the contemporary world.¹⁶²

In 2005, the scholar Lai Yushu 賴玉樹 drew our attention to the aesthetic field of poems on history in the late Tang period and during the Five Dynasties. His book *Wan Tang Wudai yongshi shi zhi meixue yishi* 晚唐五代詠史詩之美學意識¹⁶³ (The aesthetic ideas of poems on history of the late Tang and the Five Dynasties periods) consists of six chapters. Apart from the introduction, the book has one chapter which looks into the origins of poetry on history and its

¹⁵⁹ Zhao Wangqin, *Songben Zhou Tan Yongshi shi yanjiu*, p.37.

¹⁶⁰ Zhao Wangqin, Pan Xiaoling, *Hu Zheng yongshi shi yanjiu*. Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 2008, 408 pages.

¹⁶¹ Zhao Wangqin, Pan Xiaoling, *Hu Zheng yongshi shi yanjiu*, p.75-76.

¹⁶² *Ibid.*, p.117-124.

¹⁶³ Lai Yushu, *Wan Tang Wudai yongshi shi zhi meixue yishi*. Taipei: Xiuwei zixun keji gufen youxian gongsi, 2005, 305 pages.

popularity during those periods. The author believes that aesthetic features and historical viewpoints are the two most important elements of the poetry on history. Therefore, his book has three chapters exploring aesthetic features, poetic styles and writing techniques, including the use of different images, tones and rhymes and the presentation of space and time. Lai also accounts for the emergence of poetry on history. He believes that poets might have longed for the past as the result of feeling upset by their own life experiences or by the state of contemporary society. So, their feelings were attributed to the historical figures or events which inspired them, emerging as words in the form of a poem on history.

While modern scholars clearly paid more attention to the Tang poems, they sometimes shifted their attention to those of other dynasties. Li Han 李翰 whose *Han Wei shengTang yongshi shi yanjiu: yanzhi zhi shixue zhuantong ji shiren sixiang de kaocha*. 漢魏盛唐詠史詩研究:言志之詩學傳統及士人思想的考察¹⁶⁴ (Study of poems on history in the Han Wei and high Tang periods: an investigation into the poetic tradition and literati's thoughts in poems that express poet's intent) (2006) discussed the Han, Wei and high Tang periods. However, one half of its content is about poems of the Tang dynasty. This book consists of four chapters, with the first chapter defining 'poems on history'. The second chapter looks into the Han poet, Ban Gu, and his poems on history, while exploring the two functions of poetry of history. The author posits that poems on history convey the poet's wishes and expresses his feelings. The third chapter examines the poems on history by Zuo Si and Tao Yuanming 陶淵明 (372?-427). The last two chapters are on such famous Tang poets as Chen Zi'ang 陳子昂

¹⁶⁴ Li Han, *Han Wei shengTang yongshi shi yanjiu: "yanzhi" zhi shixue zhuantong ji shiren sixiang de kaocha*. Guilin: Guangxi shifan daxue chubanshe, 2006, 183 pages.

(661-702) and Li Bai.

Continuing with modern scholarly works concentration on the Tang dynasty, Chen Jianhua's 陳建華 *Tangdai yongshi huaigu shi lungao* 唐代詠史懷古詩論稿¹⁶⁵ (Discussion drafts on the Tang poems on history and on the past) published in 2008, and Zhang Runjing's 張潤靜 *Tangdai yongshi huaigu shi yanjiu* 唐代詠史懷古詩研究¹⁶⁶ (Study on the Tang poems on history and on the past), published in 2009, are representative examples. Both of these publications examine the historical development and the main features of poems on history and on the past from the early- to the late- Tang.

Chen's book has four chapters that discuss poems on history in the early Tang, high Tang, mid-Tang and late Tang periods. Its focus is on Li Bai, Du Fu, Han Yu 韓愈 (768-824), Liu Zongyuan 柳宗元 (773-819), Bai Juyi 白居易 (772-846), Liu Yuxi 劉禹錫 (772-842), Xu Hun 許渾 (791-858), Du Mu and Li Shangyin. The author argues that poets started to think historically from as early as the period of the *Book of Poetry* and *Songs of the South*.¹⁶⁷ The second book, by Zhang, accounts for the popularity of poems on history in the Tang dynasty. It divides the development of Tang poems on history into four stages: preparation, development, maturity and popularity. This work also analyses the common themes of the poems giving examples from six famous Tang poets, namely Li Bai, Du Fu, Liu Yuxi, Xu Hu, Du Mu and Li Shangyin.

As can be seen from the above examples, academic research on Yuan poetry

¹⁶⁵ Chen Jianhua, *Tangdai yongshi huaigushi lungao*. Huazhong keji daxue chubanshe, 2008, 192 pages.

¹⁶⁶ Zhang Runjing, *Tangdai yongshi huaigushi yanjiu*. Shanghai:Shanghai sanlian shudian,2009, 293 pages.

¹⁶⁷ Chen Jianhua, *Tangdai yongshi huaigu shi lungao*, pp.13-15.

is sparse. Most research work studies either the Han Wei periods, or the Tang and Song dynasties. The academic articles about poetry on history also show this tendency.

From 1979 to 2009, there are around two hundred articles¹⁶⁸ on topics related to poems on history. Of these, more than sixty articles provide a general discussion on the characteristics of poems on history and how they should be appreciated. There are also thirty short articles that provide brief discussions on poems on history, and the other articles are mainly on individual famous poets. For instance, twenty nine articles explore poems on history by Zuo Si. More than sixty articles are on the popular poets of the Tang dynasty.¹⁶⁹ Also, there are also eight articles about poems on history by Wang Anshi 王安石 (1021-1086). Modern scholars clearly pay more attention to Tang poems while occasionally shifting their attention to those of other dynasties.

The books and articles discussed above provide good reference material for this thesis on Yang's poetry and its significance. The recent increase in the number of articles by modern scholars on Yang Weizhen indicates his importance as a late Yuan poet.

¹⁶⁸ My calculation is based on the databases listed in Appendix 1A.

¹⁶⁹ There are five articles on Li Bai (701-762); seven on Du Fu (712-770); twenty on Liu Yuxi (772-842); four on Bai Juyi (772-846); four on Du Mu (803-853?) and twenty-one on Li Shangyin based on my calculation.

Chapter One: The Emergence of Iron Style Poetry on History: Political and Social Background

Yang's 'Iron Cliff style' (*Tieya ti*) [or 'Iron style' (*Tie ti*)] poems on history were composed during the period of Mongolian rule (Yuan dynasty, 1271-1368). It is important to inquire whether the special political and social background of the period had any bearing on the creation and actual content of Yang's poems on history. We will find that the poetic content and themes reflect the poet's reaction to the political and social environments of the time and the poetic styles mirror his complicated character.

1.1. Political background and Yang's poems on history

In 1271, Kublai Khan (1215?-1294) conquered the Southern Song and established his new kingdom, the Yuan dynasty, with Dadu (modern Beijing) as its capital. However, thousands of people were sacrificed in the struggle for power. As Hansen noted, "It took over fifty years for the Mongols to conquer all of China, and the destruction and causality, especially in the north, took a great toll."¹⁷⁰ The populations of two provinces, Shandong and Hebei, decreased dramatically, for example,

The household figure of 3.3 million in 1207 implies a total population of

¹⁷⁰ Valerie Hansen, *The Open Empire: a History of China to 1600*, p.335.

17 million to 20 million persons. Roughly one-third of that number were registered in 1290 in those two provinces [Hebei and Shandong].¹⁷¹

Although the Mongols carried out many reforms, the Yuan dynasty was troubled by chaos and rebellion. In 1276, there were rebellions both in Shaozhou (modern Shaoguan City) and in Guangzhou Circuit.¹⁷² In 1279, Guangzhou was captured by the Yuan army, marking the onset of the new empire. Continuing from this earlier period, the Yuan dynasty remained turbulent throughout its short life.

Yang Weizhen himself witnessed several rebellions and the collapse of the large but short-lived empire. From his birth in 1296 to his flight to Hangzhou in 1358, the political leadership was embroiled in numerous civil wars. Imperial power struggles for the throne were intense and most of the emperors were killed in the process. The fifth emperor, Shidebala (Gegeen Khan, Emperor Yingzong of Yuan, 1303-1323) reigned for only a few years (r.1320-1323) until his assassination at the age of twenty in 1323.¹⁷³ Yesün Temür (Emperor Taiding, r.1323-1328) enthroned himself one month after the death of Shidebala. In order to boost his legitimacy, he executed his allies, including Tegshi (d.1323) and exiled five princes. Subsequently, Tugh Temür (r.1328, 1329-1332) 'seized the throne from Yesün Temür's son in 1328.'¹⁷⁴ After several successions of

¹⁷¹ Denis Twitchett and John K. Fairbank, et.al., eds. *The Cambridge History of China*, vol.6, p.621.

¹⁷² See Appendix 7C; Song Lian et al., eds. *Ershisi shi quanyi: Yuan shi*, vol. 2, p.1188.

¹⁷³ "Late that night [14 September 1323], Tegshi, the censor in chief, assisted by the Asud Guard (A-su wei) under his command, stormed the imperial camp, killing both the Khaghan [Gegee Khan] and Baiju [grand councillor of the left, 1298-1323]." See Denis Twitchett, John K. Fairbank et.al., ed., *The Cambridge history of China*, vol.6, p.532.

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p.536.

emperors,¹⁷⁵ finally, Tugh Temür's elder brother, Toghon Temür (Toghun Temür, Emperor Huizong, 1320-1370), succeeded to the throne in 1333 and reigned for thirty-five years.¹⁷⁶

In addition to the civil wars resulting from these power struggles, there were also rebellions led by Zhang Shicheng (1321-1367) and Chen Youliang (1320-1363). These rebellions are the reason why Yang retired to Songjiang in 1359, to seek a safe shelter from war and chaos.¹⁷⁷

In these chaotic political conditions, Yang's concern for the people and his country moved him to compose poetry. For instance, when Zhang Shicheng conquered Hangzhou in 1356, Yang was furious at their invasion and angry with their immoral behaviour. He composed the poem, '*Shu Qiantang qiyue niansan ri shi*' 書錢塘七月廿三日事 (Recording the issue of the twenty-third of the seventh month) to lambast them. Some of its lines read,

- | | | |
|----|---|----------|
| L1 | Children on the tenth day reported an
eclipse of the reddish moon, | 兒童十日報日鬥， |
| L2 | And evil toads one following another
lighted up the beacon fires. | 前後妖蟆生燧光。 |
| L3 | The Miao army was about to swallow the
earthen jar-like Zhaweng, | 瓠子勢方吞鮓甕， |
| L4 | While the blood of Qizhou flooded into
the Qiantang riverbanks. | 蕪州血已到錢塘。 |
| L5 | The loach-like fire burned a thousand- <i>xun</i>
¹⁷⁸ long lock in the East | 火鯁東掣千尋鎖， |

¹⁷⁵ Tugh Temür's eldest son, Aratnadara (d.1331), died one month after being nominated as heir. Khoshila Khan (Khutughtu Khan, Emperor Mingzong of Yuan, r.1329) second son of Irinjibal (Rinchinbal, Emperor Ningzong of Yuan, d.1332), became Emperor Ningzong, but died after less than two months on the throne. *Ibid.*, pp.527-561.

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, pp.527-561.

¹⁷⁷ Wang Zhongge, *Yuan mo Wuzhong shipai lunkao*, pp.48-49.

¹⁷⁸ Xun 尋: one *xun* was equal to eight *chi* 尺 in ancient measurements. See *Kangxi zidian*,

L6 The crack troops ran to the West holding 鐵馬西馳半段槍。
the half spear.

In his postscript to this poem, Lou Buchan points out that the aims of the poem are to satirise Zhang. Lou wrote, “In autumn, the seventh month of the sixteenth year of Zhizheng reign (1356), Zhang Shicheng sent a troop to invade Hangzhou.” (至正十六年秋七月，張士誠遣兵破杭州。) ¹⁷⁹ The first line is a description of the lunar eclipse, a harbinger of disaster. Lou annotated the poem as follows, “At night of the tenth day, the moon was eclipsed and was as red as copper” (十日夜月食紅如銅). ¹⁸⁰ ‘Yaoma’ 妖蟆 (evil toad) in L2 is derived from a poem entitled ‘Zhongqiu’ 中秋 (Mid-autumn) by Li Pu 李樸 (1063-1127). In a legend, an evil toad ate the spirit of the moon, ¹⁸¹ a metaphor for Zhang Shicheng, who invaded Hangzhou and waged war upon its inhabitants.

L3 describes the military strength of the Yuan army. ‘Zhaweng’ 鮚甕 was in modern Zigui 秭歸 county of Hubei province. ¹⁸² According to Lou Buchan, ‘Huzi’ 瓠子 (gourd seeds) refers to the Miao 苗 people. ¹⁸³ However, I think this term refers to Yang Wanzhe 楊完者 (?-1358), a Yuan general from the Mou ethnic group who prevented the invasion led by Zhang Shicheng and Zhang Shide 張士德 (14th c.). ¹⁸⁴ L4 depicts the spread of wars and chaos from Qizhou 蕪州 (in modern Qichun 蘄春 county of Hubei Province) to Hangzhou in Zhejiang

p.234. One *chi* is 24.2 cm, and was used before and during the Jin dynasty (122 B.C-20 A.D.). See Lou Zhufeng, main ed., *Hanyu da cidian. Suoyinben* (which is hereafter abbreviated as *HYDCD.SYB*), vol.3, p.7761. Therefore, one thousand *xun* is the equivalent of 1,936 metres.

¹⁷⁹ See Lou Buchan, ed., *Tieya yibian zhu*, in *XXSKQS*, vol.1325, p.676.

¹⁸⁰ Lou Buchan, ed., *Tieya yibian*, p.676.

¹⁸¹ See Li Zongwei, *Qianjia shi yizhu*, pp.173-174.

¹⁸² Wei Songshan, main ed., *Zhongguo gudian shici diming cidian*, p.823.

¹⁸³ Lou Buchan, ed., *Tieya yibian*, p.676.

¹⁸⁴ Zhang Tingyu et al., *Mingshi*, vol.12, p. 3693.

Province (Qianang River). Chen Youliang joined Xu Shouhui 徐壽輝 (?-1360) in setting up a rebellion in Hubei province. They once occupied Hangzhou for a time in 1352, but were soon defeated by the Yuan army. Then in 1356, Zhang Shicheng invaded Hangzhou.¹⁸⁵

L5 refers to a historical episode from the Jin dynasty. The Jin general Wang Jun 王濬 (206-286) led troops to conquer the Kingdom of Wu. Wu people laid a lock in the sea to block his battleships, but Wang ordered his soldiers to construct a loach of more than ten-*zhang*¹⁸⁶ in order to burn it.¹⁸⁷ ‘The half spear’ in L6 refers to the Tang general, Geshu Han 哥舒翰 (?-757), who wielded one half of a spear and defeated three rows of the Tibetan (*tubo* 吐蕃).¹⁸⁸ In other words, L5 and L6 appear to be a metaphor for the resistance of the Hangzhou people.

In this poem, Yang refers to Zhang Shicheng and his brother, Zhang Shide, as ‘evil toads’. He believed that their invasion was immoral, as it challenged orthodox and legitimate rule, as well as causing much suffering. Tao Zongyi records this,

[Zhang] Shide and [Wang] Yujing led the troops and entered Hangzhou. Their weapons were quite strong; the Hangzhou army collected the sharp weapons but were no match. The prime minister of Hangzhou escaped to Xiao Mountain, and the army of Shide greedily looted valuable items and abducted people.

[張]士德與[王]與敬提兵入杭州。軍器甚銳。杭州大軍，斂鋒不敵。

¹⁸⁵ For more details, see Zhang Tingyu et al., eds. *Mingshi*, vol.12, pp.3687-3693.

¹⁸⁶ Zhang 丈: one *zhang* from the Western Jin dynasty is the equivalent of 242cm. See Lou Zhufeng, main ed., *HYDCD.SYB*, vol.3, p.7762.

¹⁸⁷ For more details of the episode, see *Junshu*, vol.4, p.1209. A-thousand-*xun* loach first appears in a poem by Liu Yuxi (772-842), entitled ‘Xisai Shan huaigu’ 西塞山懷古 (On the past in Mount Xisai). Mount Xisai is in modern Huangshi 黃石 city, Hubei Province. For the poem, see Peng Dingqiu et al., eds. *Quan Tangshi*, vol.11, p.4058.

¹⁸⁸ For more details, see Liu Xu et al., *Jiu Tangshu*, vol.10, p.3212.

丞相退避蕭山，士德軍檢刮虜掠。¹⁸⁹

Zhang's invasion galvanised Yang into supporting the legitimate rule and fanned his hatred of the rebels. This may explain why almost all of Yang's historical poems about rebels describe only their failures.

Furthermore, Yang's poems on specific historic events, such as his exhilarating 'Hongmen hui',¹⁹⁰ (The meeting at Hong Gate) may have been a reflection of the chaotic political situation and the warlords' scramble for power. In this poem, the powerful hero, Fan Kuai 樊噲 (fl.206-189B.C.), saved the life of Liu Bang 劉邦 (247-195B.C.) who had been endowed with the aura of the Son of Heaven. Yang demonstrates his pro-Liu attitude and shows his respect for the legitimate rulers. This poem may indicate Yang's support for the Yuan rule.

On the other hand, he also praised a heroic girl who killed a 'red shawl rebel'¹⁹¹ in his poem entitled, 'Puzhou niang' 濮州娘 (The lady of Puzhou) in 1357.¹⁹² Yang's preface reads,

A courtesan in Puzhou, née Xue, who was about to be killed, drank once more with the rebel in a sacrificial ceremony. The rebel was gluttonously drunk and carried her away to sleep. She seized the opportunity while he was in a rapturous slumber, drew out his sword and stabbed him. She escaped and rode on horseback to the official barracks. Thus, the other rebels were arrested.

濮州花娘薛氏者，瀕殺，復與裸飲，飲婪酣，抱花娘臥，乖酣睡，抽佩刀刺之，遁出，馳馬抵官兵營，遂擒其眾。¹⁹³

Yang's poems on heroic persons of his time were inspired by the political

¹⁸⁹ Tao Zongyi, *Nancun chuogeng lu*, p.358.

¹⁹⁰ Zou Zhifang, ed., *YWZSJ*, p. 570.

¹⁹¹ For details, see Song Lian et al. eds., *Ershisi shi quanyi: Yuanshi*, pp.746-747, 786.

¹⁹² Sun Xiaoli, *YWZNP*, p.215.

¹⁹³ Lou Buchan, ed., *Tiyea yibian zhu*, , in *XXSKQS*, vol.1325, p.635.

conditions of the Yuan dynasty. His poems promoted loyalty to the country and refusal to surrender to the rebels. Yang praised those historical figures who had, under similar circumstances, loyally resisted rebels and refused to surrender.

Yang himself also demonstrated loyalty to the short-lived Yuan dynasty after it came to an end in 1368. Zhu Yuanzhang, the Emperor of the new Ming dynasty, summoned him twice for official appointment in 1369 to the new capital Jingling (Nanjing), but he composed the poem, 'Laoke fu yao' (Ballad of an old visiting woman), to express his unwillingness to accept the offer.¹⁹⁴ In this poem, Yang's use of 'visiting' (ke) implies that he did not consider himself to be a subject of the new empire. *Mingshi* (History of the Ming dynasty) records the details of his reaction to the new Emperor's decree,

[The second year of the Hongwu reign (1369)] Weizhen refused and said, 'How could an old woman almost ready to lie in a coffin consider getting married again?' The following year, [the Emperor] sent an official again to urge him [to accept the official appointment]. He offered a poem entitled 'Song of an old visiting woman' to His Majesty. [洪武二年] 維楨謝曰：「豈有老婦將就木，而再理嫁者邪？」明年，復遣有司敦促，賦《老客婦謠》一章進御。¹⁹⁵

Although the Yuan dynasty had collapsed and the new Ming dynasty was already established, Yang was still loyal to his old rulers and turned down all new offers. He showed his loyalty to the Yuan dynasty in the poem below,

Quite clearly I have married at a young age, 少年嫁夫甚分明，

¹⁹⁴ Lou Buchan in the annotation to this poem says, "Soon after Emperor Taizu of the Ming dynasty ascended the throne, he sent the Hanlin scholar Zhan Tong carrying tributes to summon Weizhen, who then composed this poem." (明太祖初即位，遣翰林詹同奉幣徵維楨。維楨賦此詩。) See Lou Buchan, ed., *Tieya yibian zhu*, in *XXSKQS*, vol.1325, p.639.

¹⁹⁵ Zhang Tingyu et al., eds. *Ershisi shi quanyi: Ming shi*, vol. 9, p.5814.

<p>I still perform my wifely duties although my husband has died.</p> <p>A sister in the southern mountain and an auntie in the northern mountain,</p> <p>Urged me to re-marry but I strongly declined.</p>	<p>夫死猶存舊箕帚。</p> <p>南山阿妹北山姨，</p> <p>勸我再嫁我力辭。¹⁹⁶</p>
---	---

Once he had served (been married to) the Yuan dynasty (the husband), Yang could not serve any others (marry again). Even though the Yuan dynasty had collapsed (her husband had died), he would continue to carry out his scholarly duties as before.

Moreover, Yang loved the Chinese classics, and he set off on a journey to Jingling in the twelfth month of 1369. He stayed there for about four months to edit the classics. Stephen Owen believes that,

Yang's unwillingness to serve two dynasties was a moral position of convenience: his fame in the mid-fourteenth century was such that he led a better (and safer) life as a private citizen, teaching, writing poetry, and enjoying the hedonistic pursuits for which the Lower Yangtze Region was famous.¹⁹⁷

It is undeniable that Yang was famous at that time and led a relatively carefree life. However, it is a little unfair to dismiss his unwillingness as simply a 'moral position of convenience.' I believe that the main reasons were his loyalty to the former rulers and soaring feelings for the people, compounded with his previous frustrations in political life and his strong Confucian values.

Despite being in favour of the Yuan rule and against rebellion, Yang was nevertheless dissatisfied with some policies issued by the Yuan ruling class. For instance, in 1337, there was a widespread rumour that the imperial palace was

¹⁹⁶ Lou Buchan, ed., *Tieya yibian zhu*, in *XXSKQS*, vol.1325, p.639.

¹⁹⁷ W.H.Nienhauser et al., eds., *The Indiana Companion to Traditional Chinese Literature*, p. 917.

looking for young boys and girls to become court attendants or slaves.¹⁹⁸ The prospect of this wretched fate made families eager to quickly marry off their sons and daughters.¹⁹⁹ Yang's poem 'Lu gunü' 廬孤女 (Orphaned girl in the Lu family)²⁰⁰ was composed in reaction to this rumour. Yang expressed his sorrow for the suffering of the boys and girls.

His creativity was also galvanised by the ruling classes' failure to recognise talented officials. When he was relegated to Saltern Commander in Qianqing in 1334, he composed 'Hong Jiuge' 紅酒歌 (Song of red wine) to express his personal grievances. Lou Buchan's annotation reads,

The original biography of Mr. Yang reads, '[He] originally appointed as the County Magistrate [rank 7a] in Tiantai prefecture, was later relegated to a Saltern Commander [rank 7b] in Qianqing salt field. That is why he said, 'Demoted, I suddenly descended onto the coast of the Eastern Sea'.

先生本傳：以天臺尹，改錢清場鹽司令，所謂：「左官忽落東海邊也」。²⁰¹

Yang's setbacks in his official career were due to the ruling classes' inability to recognise talented officials. In fact, the Mongolians were quite reluctant to place Chinese scholars in high official positions: "by 1333, only two percent of the officials serving the Mongols, some 550 men, had received their positions after passing the civil service examinations."²⁰² Even if they did hold a position,

¹⁹⁸ For details, see Tao Zongyi, *Nancun chuogeng lu*, pp.112-113.

¹⁹⁹ Boys and girls aged twelve, thirteen or more were married off. See Chen Quanzhi, *Peng chuang rilu*, p.370.

²⁰⁰ Lou Buchan, ed., *Tieya yuefu zhu*, in *XXSKQS*, vol.1325, p.482; and Sun Xiaoli, *YWZNP*, p.68.

²⁰¹ Lou Buchan, ed., *Tieya yibian zhu*, in *XXSKQS*, vol.1325, p.652.

²⁰² Valerie Hansen, *The Open Empire: a History of China to 1600*, p.358.

however, many of them “served in the Mongol administration, often in a lower capacity as a clerk.”²⁰³ The Mongols were not eager to select men of talent through the civil service examinations.

...by the end of the dynasty only 1,139 degrees had been awarded (of a possible 1,600). A much smaller proportion of officials than during either the Jin or the Song dynasty, this figure shows that most Chinese scholars could not hope to pass the examinations in the Yuan dynasty.
204

Because of setbacks in his career, Yang’s poems on the historical beauties who had been neglected by the Emperors in the past can be interpreted as a vicarious expression of his own grievance. Poems such as ‘Ban Jieyu’ 班婕妤 (The Jieyu Concubine née Ban)²⁰⁵ or ‘Changmen yuan’ 長門怨 (Lament in the Long Gate)²⁰⁶ may have been composed at the time of Yang’s demotion.

The changeable political background provided Yang with a very favourable environment in which to compose his poems on history. Royalists, wicked officials, valiant persons, and heroes, all had historical antecedents. Through the poems on past events, Yang was able to express his viewpoints and sentiments in subtle and indirect ways. (Chapter Six of this thesis will look into his historical viewpoints and sentiments.) His intense interest in the political conditions of his time was typical of a Confucian intellectual, who valued the importance of contributing to the country. *Lun yu* 論語 (The Analects of Confucius) reads,

²⁰³ Ibid., p.359.

²⁰⁴ Ibid., p.358.

²⁰⁵ Zou Zhifang ed., *YWZSJ*, p.395.

²⁰⁶ Ibid., p.167-168.

It is the benevolent man alone, who is capable of liking or disliking other men.²⁰⁷

唯仁者，能好人，能惡人。²⁰⁸

Confucian scholars like Yang²⁰⁹ were disposed to bear the responsibility to bringing peace and security to the people. For instance, the poem 'Xishang zuo' 席上作²¹⁰ (Composed in the feast), reflects Yang's sadness about the wars in Jiangnan that had been started by the warlord, Zhang Shicheng.²¹¹ Confucian teachings state that a gentleman is a person who 'cultivates himself and thereby brings peace and security to his fellow men'²¹² (修己以安百姓).²¹³ Yang's poems on history were inspired by these Confucian values, and also by the turbulent political conditions in which he lived. In other words, his Confucian values and the chaotic political conditions were the foundations for the emergence of his poems on history.

Apart from Confucianism, Yang's creativity was also inspired by his love of his country and by the environment that surrounded him. *The Literary Mind and the Carving of Dragons* encapsulates the fact that a poet's mind is easily moved by a slight change in his environment,

Spring and autumn roll around, succeeding one another, and the *yin*

²⁰⁷ Lau, D. C., *Confucius: The Analects*, p.51.

²⁰⁸ Zhu Xi, ed., *Lunyu jizhu*, p.31.

²⁰⁹ Huang Rensheng said that Yang's philosophy was rooted in Confucianism for his whole life. See Huang Rensheng. *YWZYMMCWXS*, p.39.

²¹⁰ Zhou Zhifang, *Yang Weizhen shiji*, p.413.

²¹¹ Du Mu, *Naohao shihua*, in Zhou Weide, ed., *Quan Ming shihua*, vol.1, pp.517-518.

²¹² Lau, D. C., *Confucius: The Analects*, pp.273, 275.

²¹³ Zhu Xi, ed., *Lunyu jizhu*, p.152.

[female] and *yang* [male] principles alternatively darken and brighten. When objects in the physical world change, our minds are also affected...Excellent jade inspires the mind of the intelligent, and glorious flowers shower splendor upon the soul that is pure. All things exert influence on one another. Who is there that can rest unmoved?

214

A poet's mind will inevitably be affected by the world around him, not only by the changing of the seasons but also what happens in the world at large. In Yang's case, it is my contention that his poems on history are as much about his reaction to the political environment of his time as they are a reflection of his interest in history.

1.2. Social background and Yang's poems on history

Excluding recluses in mountain caves and marshes, the Yuan dynasty included 13,196,206 households in 1367. The national population of 18,834,711²¹⁵ was mainly concentrated in the cities, which were centres not only of population but also of commerce and culture. The cities were large and important districts of the empire. In populated cities like Suzhou, Hangzhou²¹⁶ and Songjiang²¹⁷, Yang led a marvellous social life, surrounded by many rich

²¹⁴ Liu Hsieh [Liu Xie] ; Shih, Vincent Yu-chung, trans., *The literary mind and the carving of dragons: a study of thought and pattern in Chinese literature*, p.245; (1983), pp.476-479.

²¹⁵ Song Lian et al., eds. *Ershisi shi quanyi: Yuan shi*, vol. 2, juan 58, p.1071.

²¹⁶ The Hangzhou Circuit had almost three percent of the total national population. *Yuanshi* (The history of the Yuan) reads, 'This Circuit had 360,850 households, and had a population of 1,834,710.' (本路戶三十六萬八百五十，口一百八十三萬四千七百一十。) See Song Lian et al., eds., *Ershisi shi quanyi: Yuan shi*, vol. 2, p.1171.

²¹⁷ Songjiang prefecture made up more than one percent of the total national population. *Yuanshi* reads, '[Songjiang Prefecture] had 163, 931 households.' (松江府]戶一十六萬三千九百三十

families, intellectuals, courtesans and artists. His social activities included literary gatherings, boat trips, journeys, poetry recitals, home visits, as well as opportunities to enjoy music, paintings and calligraphy. These activities became the major footing for the emergence of his Iron Style poetry, and allowed him to showcase his leading position in the literary world.

Literary gatherings and poetic societies

Yang held frequent literary gatherings and poetic discussions with intellectuals. These gatherings took different forms and were held at different venues. Sometimes they would take place outside during a trip; other times they would be inside at someone's private residence. For instance, in 1350, Yang was invited to be a master of ceremonies at the Jugui Wenhui 聚桂文會 (Literary Gathering of Assembling Cassia), which was held in a home school (at the residence of a wealthy family and mainly for the purpose of educating the young generation of that family). More than five hundred intellectuals submitted papers for this gathering.²¹⁸ Yang was highly respected and often elected as a leader to preside over these literary events. John Timothy Wixted believes that Yang enjoyed these poetic gatherings,

Dressed in unusual garb, his iron flute always in hand, Yang Wei-chen [zhen] travelled back and forth throughout the lower Yangtze area, visiting the various poetry societies that he headed.²¹⁹

It was under these circumstances that Yang formed his 'Iron Style Poetry Group'

— ◦) See Song Lian et al., eds., *Ershisi shi quanyi*: Yuan shi, vol. 2, p.1174.

²¹⁸ Jin Yuan, comp., *Yang Weizhen xuwen ji*, p. 24.

²¹⁹ John Timothy Wixted, "Poetry of the fourteenth century", in Mair, Victor H., ed., *The Columbia history of Chinese literature*, p. 393.

and gathered more than one hundred disciples. Yang wanted to create a poetic group for the mass production of poems and also for the promotion of Zhejiang poetry.²²⁰ To a certain extent, he was quite successful; some of his students, such as Yang Ji,²²¹ had their own poetry collections.

Yang kept in frequent contact with Qu and Yunjian Poetry Society members after his acquaintance with Qu Shiheng 瞿士衡 (fl.1359) and Lin Yunhan 凌雲翰 (14th c.) in 1359.²²² They composed *xianglian* (boudoir) poems which reflected their shared interest in the boudoir.²²³ During the time of these gatherings, Yang also composed his famous eight *xianglian* poems, which resembled the poems of Wen Tingyun and Li Shangyin in terms of poetic style. These poems contain detailed descriptions of women's physical appearances and their activities in ornate boudoirs. They would let out languishing sighs, wash their hair, sleep, bathe, write letters, play the *qin* zither and even dye their nails. These poems reflect Yang's interest in women, an interest also evident in his poems on history. Zhang Zhenglang 張政煒 believes that Yang wrote eighteen poems on historical

²²⁰ In 1327, Yang discussed the poetry of Fujian and Zhejiang with his fellow *jinshi* degree holders Huang Qinglao 黃清老 (14th c.), Yu Zhuo 俞焯 (14th c.) and Zhang Yining 張以寧 (1301-1370). Yang was angered by Huang's criticism that there was no poetry in Zhejiang. For this reason, Yang was strongly motivated to form a poetry group with famous poets from his province. See Sun Xiaoli, *YWZNP*, p.53.

²²¹ Yang Ji had a corpus entitled *Meian ji* 眉庵集, and wrote around one thousand *shi* poems and seventy *ci* poems, as noted by Yang Shiming. See *Meian ji*, preface, p.6.

²²² Qiao Guanghui, "Yang Weizhen yu Qu Shiheng jiazuo jiaoyou kaobian", in *Journal of Southeast University*, vol.3.3 (2001), p.102.

²²³ "The 'Eight boudoir topics' of the Yunjian Poetry Society usually baffle those without licentious experience and talent." (雲間詩社《香奩八題》, 無春芳才情者, 多為題所困。) See Zou Zhifang, ed., *YWZSJ*, p.390.

female figures.²²⁴ However, my calculations indicate that he wrote sixty.

Most of these poems are about famous historical ladies, such as the poem 'Lüzhu xing' 綠珠行 which concerns the famous beauty, Lüzhu 綠珠 (3rd c.), of the Jin dynasty (266-420), and the poem 'Wang Qiang' 王嬙 which is about Wang Zhaojun 王昭君 (fl. 48-33B.C.) of the Han dynasty. Some are about female members of royalty, for example 'Changmen yuan' (Lament in the Long Gate), which is about Empress Chen (Ajiao 阿嬌, 2nd c. B.C.), and 'Yuxue qu' 雨雪曲 (The song of rain and snow), which is about Empress Wu Zetian 武則天 (624-705, r.683-705). It is hard to tell whether the Yujian Poetry Society gatherings sparked Yang's interest in using women as a subject for poetry, or whether his interest in women preceded these gatherings. Yang only praised those ladies who sacrificed themselves to safeguard their chastity or for the sake of the country.

In many different ways, then, Yang's poetic creativity was undeniably ignited and inspired by his social activities. Even some of his poems on historical topics are inspired by these social gatherings. For example, his 'Xie Yuedi wangtou ge' 些月氏王頭歌 (Song of exclamation on the head of the King of the Yuezhi tribe) is the result of his meeting with his student, Li Fei (dates unknown). Its preface reads,

I read [Li] Fei's poem, and beat the small table and sang. Fei really was a fox-spirit, and I was again eager to show my talent, and hence composed this 'Song of exclamation on the head of the King of the Yuedi tribe'. I asked Fei to compose another one using the same rhymes. He refused and said, 'My energy is used up already.'

余讀[李]費辭，為之擊幾而歌。費真狐精也。余復伎[技]癢，作「些月氏頭歌」，令費和之。費謝曰：「某氣竭矣。」²²⁵

²²⁴ Zhang Zhenlang, *Zhang Zhenglang wenshi lunji*, p.160.

²²⁵ Zou Zhifang, ed., *YWZSJ*, p.167.

He composed this poem on history simply because he had been inspired by Li Fei and wanted to demonstrate his own poetic ability and historical knowledge.

Art Appreciation

As well as these literary gatherings, Yang also made frequent contact with famous painters. He showed his appreciation of art and composed poems on paintings. Qiao Guanghui writes:

During the Yuan period, three of the four landscape painting masters, namely Huang Gongwang, Ni Zan and Wang Meng, had close and frequent contact with Yang Weizhen.

元際山水四家有三家與楊維禎交往甚密：黃公望、倪瓚、王蒙。²²⁶

Huang Gongwang (1269-1358) was the eldest of the four, while Wang Meng (1308-1385) was a grandson of the great painter, Zhao Mengfu 趙孟頫 (1254-1322). Ni Zan loved both art and poetry.²²⁷ Yang himself was a painter and a great calligrapher, and he believed, 'scholar-officials who are good at painting must be good at calligraphy. Their painting techniques are where their calligraphy techniques lie.' (士大夫工畫者必工書，其畫法即書法所在。)²²⁸ Painters and calligraphers were usually also knowledgeable intellectuals, and so

²²⁶ Qiao Guanghui, Fan Hua, "Shilun Yang Weizhen de jiaoyou yu chuanguo", in *Yancheng Shizhuan Xuebao*, vol. 2 (1997), p.15.

²²⁷ Hansen says, "After Ni Zan inherited the family fortune, he lavished great sums on books, paintings, and calligraphy." See Valerie Hansen, *The Open Empire: a History of China to 1600*, p.363.

²²⁸ Collector Xia Wenyan 夏文彥 (14th c.) asked Yang to write a preface for a book entitled *Tuhui baojian* 圖繪寶鑑 (A Precious Collection of Paintings). See Jin Yuan, comp., *Yang Weizhen xuwen ji*, p.197.

social gatherings of painters, calligraphers and intellectuals were common.

Yang was inspired by contact with painters and their paintings, and has more than fifty poems²²⁹ on paintings in his collections. Among these, there are more than ten poems on history (on paintings of historical figures), including ‘Yuanming fu song tu’ 淵明撫松圖 (The painting of Yuanming’s fondling a palm tree), ‘Tang Xuanzong anyue tu’ (The painting of Emperor Tang Xuanzong playing a musical instrument), ‘Ti Yangfei chunshui tu’ 題楊妃春睡圖 (The painting of Imperial Consort Yang sleeping in spring) and ‘Ti Su Wu muyang tu’ 題蘇武牧羊圖 (The painting of Su Wu herding rams).²³⁰

In the Yuan dynasty, painters would compose poems for their own or others’ paintings. Yang dedicated ‘Ziti Tiedi Daoren xiang’ 自題鐵笛道人像 (I myself write on the portrait of the Taoist of the Iron Flute)²³¹ to his own portrait. Yang also composed five²³² poems for Gu Ying’s (1310-1369) collection of paintings. Of these five, four are on historical figures. The preface of one of these entitled ‘Liren xing’ 麗人行 (Song of beauties) reads,

²²⁹ My calculation is based on Zou Zhifang, ed., *Yang Weizhen shij*, pp. 1-470.

²³⁰ For these poems, see Zou Zhifang, ed., *YWZSJ*, pp.348-352, 360.

²³¹ Zou Zhifang, ed., *YWZSJ*, p.347.

²³² In addition to the ‘Song of beauties’, ‘Shangyuan furen’ 上元夫人 (The Lady of the Lantern Festival) has the preface, “The painting [of the Lady of Lantern Festival] by Zhang Wo for [Gu]Yushan.” (為玉山題張渥畫); ‘Neiren qinruan tu’ 內人琴阮[咸]圖 (The painting of the imperial courtesan playing the ancient musical instrument *ruan-xian*) has the preface, “The painting by Zhao Qianli for Gu Ying” (為顧瑛題趙千里所畫); ‘Neiren chuidi ci’ 內人吹笛詞 (Poem on the imperial courtesan playing the flute) and ‘Neiren pougua ci’ 內人剖瓜詞 (Poem on the imperial courtesan cutting a melon) both has the preface “The painting by Sheng Zizhao for Gu Ying” (為顧瑛題盛子昭畫) See Lou Buchan, ed., *Tieya yuefu zhu*, pp. 446, 450-451, 456; Zou Zhifang, ed., *YWZSJ*, pp.27-28, 35.

On Zhou Fang's painted scroll collected by [Gu] Yushan.
題玉山所藏周坊畫卷²³³

Yang composed some of his poems at the request of Gu Ying. However, the fact that he loved paintings himself is no doubt another reason why he wrote poems on painting.²³⁴ Yang's extant works of calligraphy²³⁵ were completed after 1359 during his retirement in Songjiang.²³⁶ Composing poems on paintings, appreciating art and writing calligraphy were all essential facets of Yang's social life. This artistic social life, especially the appreciation of paintings on historical figures, provided him with some inspiration to compose poems on history.

Journeys and trips to mountains and lakes

Stephen Owen believes that in the process of composing poems, "*what the poet awaits is 'inspiration' xing 興*".²³⁷ Yang's 'inspiration' also came from trips and journeys he made to mountains and lakes, trips which also included stimulating entertainment including music, poetry and wine. It would be no

²³³ Lou Buchan, ed., *Tieya yuefu zhu*, p.446; Zou Zhifang, ed., *YWZSJ*, p.20.

²³⁴ "[Yang] showed immense interest in painting, writing many poems on paintings." John Timothy Wixted, "Poetry of the Fourteenth Century", in Victor H. Mair, ed., *The Columbia History of Chinese Literature*, p.393.

²³⁵ Yang's extant works such as 'Zhou Shangqing mu zhiming' 周上卿墓誌銘 (Funeral epitaph for Zhou Shangqing) (1359); 'Zhenjing an muyuan shu juan' 真鏡庵募緣疏卷 (Scroll of solicitation of contribution to the Real Mirror Nunnery); 'Chengnan changhe shi' 城南唱和詩 (Collection of writing poems in the same rhymes at the southern city) (1362); and 'Mengyou Haitang shi juan' (Scroll of poems on enjoying begonia in a dream) 夢遊海棠詩卷 (1369) all have their own calligraphic styles. For details, see Chen Hailiang. *Luanshi qicai: Yang Weizhen de shengping ji qi yishu*, pp.39-45.

²³⁶ Chen Hailiang, *Luanshi qicai: Yang Weizhen de shengping ji qi yishu*, p.39.

²³⁷ Stephen Owen, *The End of the Chinese Middle Ages: Essays in Mid-Tang Literary Culture*, p.112.

exaggeration to say that Yang's boat trips were also literary gatherings centred around music and poetry.

On these trips, Yang was often accompanied by a number of students and intellectuals. In 1346, for example, Yang took six people, including his student Wu Fu to visit Zhang Gongdong 張公洞 (Lord Zhang's Cave) in Yixing 宜興 (in modern Jiangsu province).²³⁸ Also, Yang was invited by Zhang Jingyun 張景雲 (14th c.) in Suzhou to take a boat trip in 1347, and he came accompanied by ten intellectuals, including Shi Jueyuan 釋覺元 (14th c.).²³⁹ In 1348, Gu Ying even bought a boat, which he named 'Hundred Flowers' (*baihua* 百花), so as to be able to travel comfortably.²⁴⁰ This is recorded in Yang's preface to his poem entitled 'Po shantang qiao' 泊山塘橋 (Mooring by a bridge of River Shantang).²⁴¹

All these trips inspired Yang to compose poems on various topics. For instance, in a 1344 Spring boat trip on Qiantang River, Yang composed five *Xichunti* 嬉春體 (Poems of Playing in Spring), which imitated the style of Du Fu. In 1348, Yang went with Gu Ying and Zhang Yu on a journey to the mountains around Stone Lake in Suzhou, where every poet composed a poem about courtesans. And in the third month of the same year, Yang went to Huqiu with Gu Ying, Ni Zan and Zhang Jian 張簡 (fl.1367). There, they all composed

²³⁸ Sun says, "On the eighth day of the first month, he brought six persons including Wu Fu on a trip to the Cave of Lord Zhang in Yixing county. Each of them were given a rhyme and asked to compose a poem." (正月八日·攜吳復等六人遊宜興張公洞·分韻賦詩。) See Sun Xiaoli, *YWZNP*, p.107.

²³⁹ "[They] went about in a boat drifting on water. The sky was blue and there was a pleasant breeze. They enjoyed poetry, wine, songs and music and went back the next day." (泛舟橫澤·天朗風和, 詩酒歌樂·翌日方歸。) See Sun Xiaoli, *YWZNP*, p.115.

²⁴⁰ Sun Xiaoli, *YWZNP*, p.130.

²⁴¹ Lou Buchan, ed., *Tietya yibian zhu*; in *XXSKQS*, vol. 1325, p.646.

poems, and Ni presented Yang with a kite.²⁴²

These trips also encouraged Yang's composition of poems on history, and some of the poems written during these trips relate to historical figures. For instance, no. 2 and no. 3 of his four five-character quatrain poems entitled 'Hushang ganshi' 湖上感事²⁴³ (Feelings sparked on the lake) tell the stories of Chang Hong 萇弘 (ca.575-492B.C.) and Su Wu 蘇武 (140B.C.-60B.C.) respectively. No.2 reads,

The water of the lake is brighter than a mirror,	湖水明於鏡，
The mud of the lake is as muddy as the River Jing.	湖泥濁似涇。
It must be the blood of [Chang] Hong	只應萇血在，
That made the water pure and clear.	染得水華清。 ²⁴⁴

This poem is a description of the beauty of the lake water that inspired Yang to write about the historical figure, Chang Hong. Chang was slandered by villains and committed suicide in the State of Lu. His blood was kept by the Lu people who mourned his death, and appreciated his loyalty and good character. It was said that his blood magically turned into green jade after three years.²⁴⁵ Here, Yang only cited the historical figure, Chang Hong, as an allusion to describe the water as clear and green as a jade, so it cannot strictly be regarded as a poem on history.

However, it is very similar in content to a poem on history entitled 'Qiyun lou' 齊雲樓 (A tower level with the clouds),²⁴⁶ which was compiled by Lou

²⁴² Sun Xiaoli, *YWZNP*, p.135.

²⁴³ Zou Zhifang, ed., *YWZSJ*, p.364.

²⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p.364.

²⁴⁵ See Guo Qingfan, ed., *Zhuangzi jishi*, vol.3, pp.920-921.

²⁴⁶ Lou Buchan, ed., *Tieya yongshi*, p.598.

Buchan in *Tieya yongshi zhu* (Annotation to Iron Cliff's poems on history). This latter poem is a description of Qiyun Tower, which Emperor Zhaozong 昭宗 of the Tang (Li Ye 李晔, 867-904, r.888-904) had climbed up and gazed at the capital, Chang'an, far away. Zhaozong composed three poems to express his longing to return to his palace in the capital, which had been occupied by rebels.²⁴⁷ The tower that Zhaozong climbed up is in modern Hua 華 county of Shanxi province,²⁴⁸ but there are two other towers also called 'Qiyun' located in modern Suzhou and Taizhou cities in Jiangsu province.²⁴⁹ This poem was most likely composed at the time when Yang was travelling in the area near this tower during his sojourn in Suzhou from 1346 to 1350.²⁵⁰ Yang's creativity was therefore stirred by the natural scenes and historical relics that he saw while on his trips, as well as his personal reflections afterward. In other words, his journeys to mountains and lakes moved him to create poetry on a wide range of topics, especially on history.

Music and songs

Yang was a music lover. He played the flute from an early age, and in 1345 when he was fifty *sui*, he even changed his name to 'Iron Flute Taoist'.²⁵¹

Records indicate that he once made a flute from a sword,

He then moved to Songjiang. He journeyed in the mountains and lakes,
and found a broken sword which he forged into a flute.

²⁴⁷ For details, see Ouyang Xiu, *Xin Wudaishi*, vol.2, pp.434-435.

²⁴⁸ Luo Zhufeng, main ed., *HYDCD.SYB*, vol.3, p.7723.

²⁴⁹ Wei Songshan, main ed., *Zhongguo gudian shici diming cidian*, p.322.

²⁵⁰ Yang moved to Gusu 姑蘇 (modern Suzhou) to become a teacher to the wealthy Jiang family.

See Liu Ji, *Feixue lu*, p.4.

²⁵¹ Sun Xiaoli, *YWZNP*, p.99.

[楊]乃徙松江。周遊山水，獲斷劍，鍊為笛。²⁵²

Yang's love of music clearly influenced his choice of poetic form. *Yuefu*, a singable form of poetry, fitted well with Yang's interest in singing and playing the flute. In addition, its relatively free style was the means of expression by which he could pursue freedom. Yang's interest in music not only affected his poetic style, but also inspired him to create graceful poems.

Apart from the seventeen *qincao* poems extant,²⁵³ Yang wrote eleven poems about different musical instruments, such as *pipa* and *guzheng* (Chinese plucked zither). Some of them were written for the musicians he knew. For instance, his '*Hongyaban ge*' 紅牙板歌 (Song of red castanets) was composed after his friend gave him a set of castanets.²⁵⁴ His poem '*Li Qing pipa yin*' 李卿琵琶引 (Song of Li Qing's *pipa*) was written at a social gathering held for the famous musician, Li Qing 李卿 (14th c.),²⁵⁵ while his '*Zhang Xingxing huqin yin*' 張猩猩胡琴引 (Song of Zhang Xingxing's *huqin* stringed instrument) was written for Zhang Xingxing 張猩猩 (14th c.), who was famous for playing stringed instruments.²⁵⁶ Even among his poems on boudoir, he composed one poem entitled '*Xue qin*' 學琴 (Learning to play the *qin* zither).²⁵⁷ It seems, then, that Yang had frequent contact with musicians, and was enthusiastic about music.

Yang's favourite musical pursuits were singing and playing the flute, which he did while he was travelling around with friends, such as on his 1343 trip to

²⁵² Chen Yusheng, and Jiang Hongzao, eds. *Guangxu Zhuji xianzhi*, in *Zhongguo difang zhi jicheng*, vol. 41, p.834.

²⁵³ Based on Huang Rensheng's calculation. See *YWZYMMCWXS*, p.231.

²⁵⁴ Zou Zhifang, ed., *YWZSJ*, p.29.

²⁵⁵ Zou Zhifang, ed., *YWZSJ*, p.31.

²⁵⁶ Zou Zhifang, ed., *YWZSJ*, p.33; Sun Xiaoli. *YWZNP*, p.137.

²⁵⁷ Zou Zhifang, ed., *YWZSJ*, p.402.

Fuchun with Feng Shiyi 馮士頤 (14th c.),²⁵⁸ and on his drinking boat trip with Gu Ying in 1348.²⁵⁹ These musical gatherings inspired him to create poetry. For instance, in the ninth month of 1341, Yang composed the eleven *qincao* 琴操 (Songs of the *qin* zither) while he was enjoying drinking and singing with his friend, Li Xiaoguang.²⁶⁰ Yang wrote in praise of Li,

If he is good enough to compose 'songs of the *qin* zither', then he is able to write old *yuefu* poetry. Li Jihe [Li Xiaoguang] is the best among all those persons, who wrote in the same rhymes as my songs of the *qin* zither.

善作琴操，然後能作古樂府。和余操者，李季和[李孝光]為最。²⁶¹

Yang's composed poetry which could be sung. For instance, of a trip with friends to Zhenze (in modern Jiangsu province) in 1345, he wrote:

In the boat, each of us composed a poem. I composed one with twenty rhymes and sang it first.

舟中各賦詩。餘賦二十韻，為首唱。²⁶²

Because of his love of music, Yang made even his poems on history suitable for singing. He would sing some of these poems himself. One example is 'Hongmen hui' (The meeting at Hong Gate) which tells of the fatal meeting between Xiang Yu 項羽 (232-202B.C.) and Liu Bang. He usually sang this poem after becoming drunk.²⁶³ As a teacher, Yang might not have been rich

²⁵⁸ Sun Xiaoli, *YWZNP*, p.83.

²⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p.135.

²⁶⁰ Zhang Wan, comp., *Tieya xiansheng fugu shiji*, p.110.

²⁶¹ Lai Liang, ed., *Daya ji*, pp.2-3.

²⁶² Zou Zhifang, ed., *YWZSJ*, p.335.

²⁶³ "The gentleman always sang this poem while rapturously drunk." (先生酒酣時，常自歌是詩。)

enough to afford a luxurious lifestyle; however, he and his four concubines were all good musicians and were warmly welcomed by the rich families in Songjiang.

Yang Lianfu lived in Songjiang in his old age. He had four concubines: Zhuzhi [Bamboo Twig], Taohua, [Peach Blossom], Liuzhi [Willow Twig], Xinghua [Almond Blossom] and they could all play music and sing. They travelled in a big pleasure boat and went wherever they pleased. The rich and powerful families fought to receive them as guests.

楊廉夫晚年居松江，有四妾：竹枝、桃花、柳枝、杏花，皆能聲樂。乘大畫舫，恣意所之。豪門巨室，爭相迎致。²⁶⁴

Yang clearly enjoyed playing music and singing with his concubines, which may explain his inclination to create poems suitable for singing regardless of topic.

Interest in drama

Yang is known to have been a critic of Yuan drama.²⁶⁵ Qiao Guanghui argues that one of the poetic styles of Yang, the drama lover, is similar to that of *qu* song lyrics, and that the spirit of his Iron Cliff style derives from the famous playwright, Guan Hanqing 關漢卿 (ca.1241-1320). In one of his *qu* song lyrics, Guan used the term ‘copper pea’ (銅豌豆)²⁶⁶ to refer to his own spirit, and Qiao notes that this may be similar to Yang’s use of the word ‘iron’ to symbolise

Wu Fu et al., comp., *Tieya xiansheng gu yuefu*, p.7.

²⁶⁴ Qu You, *Guitian shihua*, in *XXSKQS*, vol.1694, p.622.

²⁶⁵ Qiao Guanghui, “Shilun Yang Weizhen shige de *qu* hua”, in *Journal of Huaihai Teachers College*, vol. 18.6 (1999), p.49.

²⁶⁶ Wu Guoqin, ed., *Guan Hanqing quanji*, p.605.

himself.²⁶⁷ 'Tie' (Iron) is Yang's favourite word and occurs in fifteen of his poetic names. Modern scholars believe his use of 'tie' reflects his ideals of safeguarding justice and fairness as an 'iron historian'.²⁶⁸

Guan's plays were very popular in the Yuan dynasty. But how far and in what way did his works affect Yang's Iron Cliff style poetry? Hu Yinglin (1551-1602), pointed out that Yang's poem 'Xianglian bati' (Eight topics on the boudoir) uses the diction of *qu* songs. Hu said if his poetic lines were irregular in length, they would fall into the same category as work by the playwrights, Guan Hanqing and Wang Shifu 王實甫 (fl.1295-1307).²⁶⁹

What is the situation in the case of Yang's poetry on history? Some of his poems on history - for example, 'Fonian'er' 佛念兒²⁷⁰ (The Son named Fonian) and 'Duanshe gui' 斷舌鬼 (The Ghost with a broken tongue)²⁷¹ -are as lucid as Guan's scripts.²⁷² However, it is difficult to tell if this is because of Yang's deliberate imitation of Guan or simply a coincidence. Nevertheless, Guan did have a great influence on Yang. Yang once alluded to Guan's play, 'Dou E yuan' 竇娥冤 (Injustice to Dou E) when advising his colleague, Chan Hou 陳侯 (13th c.),

I used to read the historical classics and secretly appreciate [Yu] Dingguo's [fair] judgement on court cases. If there is no injustice [to the prisoners], your descendants will be blessed [by] and benefit [from

²⁶⁷ Qiao Guanghui, "Shilun Yang Weizhen shige de *qu* hua", p.52.

²⁶⁸ Huang Rensheng, *YWZYMMCWXS*, p.50.

²⁶⁹ Hu Yinglin, *Shishou (waipian)*, p.234.

²⁷⁰ Zou Zhifang, *YWZSJ*, p.200.

²⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p.203.

²⁷² For Guan's lucid writing style, see Xu Zifang, *Guan Hanqing yanjiu*, pp.367-385.

your justice]. The scholar of Yan[jing] city [Guan Hanqing]²⁷³ urged Heaven to snow in the sixth month; and [injustice to] the filial daughter-in-law of the East Sea [caused] a great drought for three successive years. All these changes [in climate] are closely related to the political leaders' [injustice].

余嘗讀史，竊嘆於定國之治獄，無冤則福流子孫。而燕士呼天，六月飛霜；東海孝婦，三年大旱，其變係於國者如是。²⁷⁴

'Snow in the six month' refers to a plot in Guan's play, 'Injustice to Dou E'.²⁷⁵

This allusion demonstrates Yang's great interest in drama. Yang presented his poems on history in a dramatic style. He wrote in the voice of characters who narrated historical episodes tactfully, highlighted dramatic effect by the use of imaginary facts, and created content that was dramatic. (See Chapter 5.3) These forms of presentation define Yang's unique Iron Style poems on history.

Visits to friends

In addition to attending literary gathering, going on trips to mountains and lakes, enjoying music, paintings and calligraphy as well as his interest in drama. Yang would have also made frequent visits to his friends as part of his social activities. These visits would have given him a chance to compose and showcase his Iron Style poems on history.

Of the scholars whom Yang and other intellectuals wished to visit, Gu Ying was probably the most popular. Gu's talents and interests, and his happy life in

²⁷³ According to Qiao Guanghui, "scholar of the Yan[jing]" refers to Gan Hanqing, who was from Dadou (also named Yanjing, which is modern Beijing), the capital of the Yuan dynasty. See Qiao Guanghui, "Shilun Yang Weizhen shige de qu hua", in *Journal of Huaihai Teachers College*, vol. 18.6 (1999), p.50.

²⁷⁴ Li Xiusheng, main ed., *Quan Yuanwen*, vol. 41, p.211.

²⁷⁵ For the whole story, see Ma Xinlai, comp. *Guan Hanqing ji*, pp.3-27.

Yushan attracted many people who went there to visit him.²⁷⁶ His house, Yushan Place, seemed have been a very popular venue among those intellectuals.²⁷⁷ Yang Weizhen made his first visit there in 1348, and the special reception Gu extended to him elevated his position and fame. Gu let Yang stay in the residence with the most beautiful scenery to give him inspiration.²⁷⁸ He also provided him with financial support and bought him a concubine.²⁷⁹ As Huang Rensheng noted, Yang's literary pre-eminence shone forth at these gatherings.²⁸⁰

In return for Gu's cordial reception, Yang composed more than ten poems for him,²⁸¹ including those on paintings mentioned previously. Huang Rensheng states that Yang not only wrote a series of poems and essays on Yushan Jiachu (The Beautiful Places of the Jade Mountain), and his two collections of poetry, entitled *Xihu zhuzhi ci* 西湖竹枝詞 (Bamboo twig songs at the West Lake) and *Tieya xiansheng gu yuefu* 鐵崖先生古樂府 (Mr. Tieya's ancient yuefu poetry) were both finally edited and published there in 1348.²⁸²

In summary, it appears that all of Yang's social activities and interests

²⁷⁶ Shi Li et al., trans. "Zhongguo huajia yu zanzhuren", in *Rong Baozhai*, vol. 5 (2003), p.237.

²⁷⁷ "In Li Qi's [1333 *jinshi*] preface to the *Collection of the Famous Places of the Jade Mountain*, he claimed that Yushan was a place that every intellectual would stay at while travelling in the Wu area." (李祁為《玉山名勝集》寫序時，他將玉山稱作是任何一位文人在游歷吳地的必留之地。) Shi Li et al., trans. "Zhongguo huajia yu zanzhuren", in *Rongbao zhai*, vol. 2003.5, p.237.

²⁷⁸ Yang Weizhen, *Dongweizi ji*, in *Wenyuan ge Sike quanshu*, vol.1221, p.569.

²⁷⁹ Sun Xiaoli, *YWZNP*, p.144.

²⁸⁰ See Appendix 7D; Huang Rensheng, "Lun Gu Ying zai Yuanmo wentan de zuowei yu gongxian" in *Journal of Hunan University of Arts and Science*, vol. 30.1 (2005), p.35.

²⁸¹ Those poems are scattered throughout Gu Ying's and Yang's collections of poetry. See Sun Xiaoli. *YWZNP*, p.144.

²⁸² Huang Rensheng, "Lun Gu Ying zai Yuanmo wentan de zuowei yu gongxian", in *Journal of Hunan University of Arts and Science*, vol. 30.1 (2005), p.33.

stimulated him to compose his poems on history. However, these ostentatious social activities were, at the same time, a mask that covered up Yang's sadness and sense of insecurity amid the unstable political environment. That Yang harboured sadness and regret may have been the real reason for his carefree social life,

From Yang Weizhen's dissolute and rebellious life and thoughts in his old age, we can see the desperation and fear of Yang Weizhen and the intellectuals at that time, which was brought about by the social turmoil of the late Yuan.

從楊維禎晚年的放縱、叛逆的生活與思想中，我們也可以看出元末社會動蕩給他及當時士人們所帶來的災難和恐懼。²⁸³

In other words, apart from stimulating his poetic creativity, Yang's social life can also be seen as a mask, by which he covered up his deep-seated fear and sadness.

Concluding remarks

The political and social background to Yang's life facilitated the emergence of his Iron Style poems on history.

The political situation during Yang's life stimulated him to compose poems on history in an effort to satirise the rulers and make the people of his time more politically and morally aware. However, the composition dates of his poems on history are not clear, an issue which will be explored in the next section. Therefore, it is quite difficult to correlate the historical events described in his poems with the specific political conditions of the time.

Regarding Yang's social life, it is believed that from 1348 to 1360, he took part in more than seventy social gatherings at Gu's house, and made more than ten

²⁸³ Chen Hailiang, *Luanshi qicai: Yang Weizhen de shengping ji qi yishu*, p.34.

journeys starting from Gu's house to the mountains and lakes of Hangzhou. In total, more than one hundred and sixty intellectuals were involved in these activities,²⁸⁴ which were to eventually lay the foundation stone of Yang's pre-eminence in the literary arena, and also made Gu's name well-known in intellectual circles.²⁸⁵ Social activities, then, not only stimulated Yang to create poetry but also made him famous, something which he had failed to achieve in his political life.

Nevertheless, if Yang's wonderful social activities were also a mask to cover up his inward pain, then, his poems on history were a channel of release. His pain mainly originated from two sources: first, the social and political instability of his time; second, the setbacks in his official career.

Yang's first setback was when he was removed from office in 1330, and relegated to Saltern Commander in Qianqing in 1334. Furthermore, his heels had been cooled for ten years (1339-1350) following the death of his parents in 1339. This probably explains why he seemed to have had a heavy heart in 1345,

In reading the Bianshan Hermit Huang Jie's (14th c.) poems, he [Yang] was quite stirred, and he composed a long poem to lament those with talent who were not successful in their careers.

讀弁山隱者黃玠詩鈔，感觸良多。賦長詩，悲嘆懷不世才者不得志。

²⁸⁶

Yang made a similar lament in 1348 when he was fifty-three years old.²⁸⁷ After

²⁸⁴ Huang Rensheng, "Lun Gu Ying zai Yuanmo wentan de zuowei yu gongxian", in *Journal of Hunan University of Arts and Science*, vol. 30.1 (2005), p.34.

²⁸⁵ Huang says, "It was only after he had cemented his acquaintance and friendship with Yang Weizhen, that Gu Ying really shone in the literary arena." See Huang Rensheng. "Lun Gu Ying zai Yuanmo wentan de zuowei yu gongxian", p.33.

²⁸⁶ Sun Xiaoli, *YWZNP*, p.103.

²⁸⁷ Sun Xiaoli, *YWZNP*, p.130.

the death of his parents,²⁸⁸ he mainly spent his time teaching, writing, drinking or taking part in various social activities. He led a relatively carefree and even decadent life, which was somewhat at odds with his dream of being a competent official. In 1366, Yang probably started using 'Baoyi daoren' (The Taoist who holds regret) as his poetic name²⁸⁹ and donning a Taoist robe, by which he demonstrated his regret for his unrecognised talent and unfulfilled dreams. This poetic name, which he kept until his death, also signifies that he felt pain because he had not been valued in office.

Having discussed how Yang was inspired by the social and political background of his time, we will now look at the issue of dates, and specifically the dates when Yang composed his poems on history.

1.3. Composition dates of Yang's Iron Style poems on history

In exploring Yang's poems on history, one of the key questions to consider is, 'When did he compose his poems on history?'

A composition date is important because it gives to us a clue as to the poet's motivations or psychological status at the time he wrote a particular poem. It also helps us to understand the poetic content even more. However, there are no existing records of the composition dates of any of Yang's poems on history. The following section therefore will look at possible dates of his compositions.

²⁸⁸ Sun Xiaoli, *YWZNP*, p.71.

²⁸⁹ Preface to *Xuelu ji* 雪廬集, in Jin Yuan, comp., *Yang Weizhen xuwen ji*, p.176.

1.3.1 The earliest collection compiled in 1346

To investigate Yang's composition dates, we can find some clues in the compilation dates of his collections.

Yang's earliest extant poetry collection is the *Tieya xiansheng gu yuefu* 鐵崖先生古樂府 (Mr. Tieya's ancient *yuefu* poetry), which was compiled by his student, Wu Fu (1300-1348). It consists of 122 extant poems on history.²⁹⁰ Wu's preface hints at the compilation dates,

Yang's disciple, Wu Fu, from Fuchun, humbly wrote these in the early part of the auspicious third month in the bingshu spring of the sixth year of the Zhizheng reign [1346].

至正六年丙戌春三月初吉，門生富春吳復謹拜手書。²⁹¹

'The sixth year of Zhizheng reign' refers to 1346, when Wu wrote the preface. This means that the 122 poems on history were composed before 1346. In the same preface, Wu wrote:

Now the extant poems are said to be the work of the Gentleman [Yang] during his stay in the districts of the River Qiantong [Hangzhou], Lake Tai and Lake Dongting.

今所存者皆先生在錢塘太湖洞庭間之所得者云。²⁹²

Yang began his stay in the Hangzhou, Suzhou or Dongting districts after 1341, when he left his home town, Kuaiji.²⁹³ We can therefore, surmise that these 122

²⁹⁰ Huang Rensheng, "Yang Weizhen yongshi shi kaoshu", in *Zhongguo wenxue yanjiu*, vol.34.3 (1994), p.58.

²⁹¹ Lou Buchan, ed., *Tieya yuefu zhu*, in *XXSKQS*, vol.1325, p.435.

²⁹² *Ibid.*, p.435.

²⁹³ Sun Xiaoli, *YWZNP*, p.75.

poems on history were composed between 1341 and 1346. John Timothy Wixted also notes that more than four hundred of Yang's *yuefu* poems had appeared by the time he was fifty (1346).

Yang We-chen's collection of more than four hundred *yüef-fu* ballads appeared when he was fifty. ...But his boldest work appeared when he was seventy. Many treat the theme of a young woman's sensuality.²⁹⁴

Wixted does not mention Yang's poems on history, but Lou Buchan states that more than half of Yang's collection, *Gu yuefu* (Ancient *yuefu* poems), published in Wanli 萬曆 years (1573-1620) are poems on history.²⁹⁵ This means more than two hundred of Yang's poems on history were most likely composed before 1346. Also, Wixted believes that Yang wrote his *yuefu* poems before he was fifty and his poems on boudoir, which take the theme of women's sensuality, at an older age before he was seventy.

However, we now come to a specific issue: when did Yang first start to compose his poems on history? The following section investigates this question.

1.3.2 Poems on history first composed between 1330 and 1341

Yang's poems on history are most likely to have first been composed between 1330 and 1341. His student, Wu Fu, in a preface to *Tieya yongshi* (Iron Cliff's Poems on history), says,

During our teacher's [Yang's] stay in Kuaiji, he composed a poem everyday as work by reading and citing historical biographies, he

²⁹⁴ John Timothy Wixted, "Poetry of the Fourteenth Century", in Mair, Victor H., ed., *The Columbia History of Chinese Literature*, p.393.

²⁹⁵ These poems together with some others were compiled by Lou Buchan in *Tieya yongshi zhu*. Lou said that none of these poems (245 in total) were duplicated in the compilation by Wu Fu. Lou Buchan, ed., *Tieya yongshi zhu*, in *XXSKQS*, vol.1325, p.528.

accumulated more than a thousand poems.

先生在會稽時，日課詩一首，出入史傳，積至千餘篇。²⁹⁶

It seems, then, that Yang composed more than a thousand poems on history when he was in Kuaiji. What years did he stay there?

There are three periods that Yang stayed in Kuaiji. The first period was 1296-1327, from his birth until the time of his studies for the civil examination. The second period was from his 1330 dismissal until his departure for Qianqing in 1334. The third was from when he returned to Kuaiji to mourn his parents in 1339 until his removal to Hangzhou in 1341. Sun Xiaoli has also tried to work out the composition dates of these poems,

In the Yuan system, the civil examination does not require poetry composition. Hence, [the date that Yang] Lianfu, had free time and a carefree mood to compose poems every day, of not to be earlier than [the date of] his removal from office and his return to his hometown.

元制，科考不賦詩。故廉夫有此閒情日日吟詩，當不早於休官還鄉時。²⁹⁷

Sun believes that the period during which Yang was free to compose poems on history on a daily basis could not have been earlier than his dismissal from office in 1330.

The most plausible date therefore falls into the second period (1330-1334). The third period (1339-1341) is also possible, but the death of his parents in 1339²⁹⁸ must surely have distracted him from composing poetry. Hence, the period from 1330 to 1334 is the most likely time during which Yang could have

²⁹⁶ See Wu Fu, comp., *Tieya xiansheng gu yuefu*, p.2.

²⁹⁷ Sun Xiaoli, *YWZNP*, p.63.

²⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, p.70.

composed such a large volume of poems on history. Unfortunately, Yang burnt all of these poems on history when he was old,

In his old age, Yang took those poems and read them. He suddenly smiled, 'How could these be regarded as poems?' He immediately asked a serving boy to burn all of them, leaving not even one scrap.
晚年取而讀之，忽自笑曰：此豈詩哉？亟呼童焚之，不遺一篇。²⁹⁹

Not a single poem was left out of the one thousand he had written in that period. In other words, none of the four hundred plus extant poems were written in the periods from 1330 to 1334 and from 1339 to 1341.

1.3.3 Composition in idle periods from 1341 to 1370

If all the poems he had composed during his younger days were burnt, when did Yang start composing poems on history? Clues as to the composition dates come from Lou Buchan. His preface to *Tieya yongshi zhu* (Annotation to Iron Cliff's poems on history) reads,

The Gentleman [Yang] started from the status of unconventional official, and ended up living a free life. He wrote 'A discussion on the orthodox line of succession regarding the histories of the three dynasties'³⁰⁰ in his mind and settled [history] by a just and fair arbitration. He judged history throughout the ages with a great sense of justice. Therefore, although [his writing] is about the history of a thousand years ago, [he is] still able to demonstrate his clear and fine judgment. The substance of this collection is about history, but the main ideas are from the classics.

先生始以散員，終以閒曠。心擬《三史統辯》[三史正統辯]，定以

²⁹⁹ See Wu Fu, comp., *Tieya xiansheng gu yuefu*, p.2.

³⁰⁰ For in-depth discussion, see Wang Wenxue: *Zhengtong lun: faxian dongfang zhengzhi zhihui*, pp.15-190.

公論。歷代史鑑，斷以大義。故史在千古，亦不失述者之明。是集也，其事則史，其旨則經。³⁰¹

Lou, who was from the same county as Yang, possibly had conducted a study on Yang, and went through some of Yang's materials in order to compile this corpus *Tieya Yongshi zhu* (Annotation to Iron Cliff's poems on history). He seemed to believe that Yang wrote his essays and composed his poems on history at the time when he was an 'unconventional official' (*sanyuan* 散員). This moniker can also be interpreted as 'idle official', that is an official who did not hold any title or have any duties. This was the time when Yang was waiting for a new appointment and was free from official work (*xian-kuang* 閒曠). Lou's conjecture is reasonable, as Yang would have been free to compose poetry at this time.

However, when, in fact, was Yang an 'unconventional official'? There were three periods when Yang was waiting for an official assignment:

The first period was from 1330 to 1334, after he had been removed from his position as County Magistrate of Tiantai prefecture, but before he was demoted to Saltern Commander of Qianqing. As discussed above, Yang probably composed a copious amount of poetry on history during this time. Unfortunately, he burnt all of these poems in his old age. Therefore, there are no poems extant from that period.

The second period was from 1339 to 1350, when Yang mourned his parents and was subsequently unable to resume his work for ten years. However, as mentioned above, he was mourning for his parents between 1339 and 1341, he might not have been in the mood to compose poems on history. Therefore,

³⁰¹ Lou Buchan, ed., *Tieya yongshi zhu*, in *XXSKQS*, vol.1325, p.528.

rather than being between 1339 and 1350, the second period probably have been between 1341 and 1350, when he moved to Hangzhou with his family.

The third period was from 1358 to 1370, from his retirement until his death. Yang decided to embark on his reclusive lifestyle from 1358³⁰² and his status therefore changed from 'unconventional official' to that of a hermit living a free life.

Of these three periods, the second and the third are the periods in which Yang most likely composed his poems on history. However, more evidence is needed to pin down the composition dates conclusively. Lou's preface only points us in the right direction, but does not confirm any dates.

Although the composition dates for Yang's poems on history remain unconfirmed, the dates of his essays are known more precisely.

On a certain day in the fifth month of the third year of the Zhizheng reign [1343], I humbly read the imperial decree.... During the next year [1344], the books on history were completed, but the [matter of] orthodox rule still remained inconclusive. Your official, Weizhen, has therefore sincerely written his 'Discussion on the orthodox line of succession regarding the histories of the three dynasties', which is more than two thousand and six hundred words.

至正三年五月日，伏觀皇帝詔旨.....越明年，史有成書，而正統未有所歸，臣維楨謹撰《三史正統辨》，凡二千六百餘言。³⁰³

Yang received the imperial decree on 'a certain day in the fifth month of the third year of the Zhizheng reign', which would have been late May or early June of 1343. He then wrote his essay the following year. This year, 1344, falls within the second period when he was an 'unconventional official'. If Yang composed

³⁰² See Sun Xiaoli, *YWZNP*, p.223.

³⁰³ Li Xiusheng, *Quan Yuan wen*, vol. 42, p.485.

his poems on history at more or less the same time as he wrote this essay, then the composition date for these poems would be around 1344. This conjecture is based on the assumption that being free to research historical texts, he would have used the results of this research to write both essays and poems.

However, Lou only suggested that Yang composed poems and essays when he was an ‘unconventional official’. He did not make the assumption that they were written at the same time. Therefore, the most we can say is that the composition dates for Yang’s poems on history are likely to be during the second period (1341-1350), when he was an ‘unconventional official, and the third period (1358-1370), when he lived a free life.

1.3.4 Composition of poems between 1341 and 1367

As discussed in section 1.3.1, half of Yang’s poems on history were probably composed before 1346. To find out when the rest were written, an investigation of Yang’s poetic names provides some additional clues. For instance, when Yang was studying in his library at Tieya Hill, he called himself ‘Meihua daoren’ 梅花道人 (The Taoist of Plum Blossom), and renamed himself ‘Tieya’ 鐵崖 (Iron Cliff) in 1326, after passing the provincial examination.

Yang’s friends, Zhang Yu and Li Xiaoguang, enthusiastically praised his poetry. They described it as ‘Tieya’鐵雅 (Iron Elegance) during a literary gathering at Qiantang River.³⁰⁴ It is very likely that soon after this, Yang started to use ‘Iron Elegance’ as his poetic name. What year was this? Sun Xiaoli has proposed that this gathering took place in 1344.³⁰⁵ However, Yang’s *qincao*

³⁰⁴ Preface to *Lengzhai shiji* 冷齋詩集, in Jin Yuan, comp., *Yang Weizhen xuwen ji*, p. 175.

³⁰⁵ Sun Xiaoli, *YWZNP*, p.98.

poems (songs of the *qin* zither) were also labeled 'Iron Elegance' as early as in 1341 by Li Ji 李璣 (14th c.).³⁰⁶ Therefore, Yang's other genres of poetry, including his poems on history, were most likely described as 'Iron Elegance' after 1341. Guo Zizhang 郭子章 (1542-1618) wrote:

It is said that *Tieya yuefu* (Iron Cliff's *yuefu* poetry), compiled by Wu Fu and Zhang Wan, was called 'Tieya' (Iron Elegance), and (Yang's) poems on history were also called 'Tieshi' (Iron History).

鐵崖樂府，自吳復、章琬所編者，名曰鐵雅，而詠史詩又名為鐵史云。³⁰⁷

The *yuefu* poems compiled by Wu Fu in 1346 were called '*Tieya*' (Iron Elegance). As mentioned previously, the compilation date of Yang's poetry collection, *Tieya xiansheng gu yuefu* 鐵崖先生古樂府 (Mr. Iron Cliff's ancient *yuefu* poetry), would have been around 1346 when Wu, the compiler, wrote the preface. This collection, consisting of 122 of Yang's poems on history, would have thus been composed after 1341 but before 1346.

However, the date that Zhang compiled the collection entitled *Tieya xiansheng fugu shiji* 鐵雅先生復古詩集 (Mr. Iron Elegance's poetry collection of returning to the past) is unclear. This is because the preface to this collection was written in the twenty-fourth year of the Zhizheng reign (1364), but Yang's preface to his poems on boudoir in this collection was dated the spring and summer of 'bingwu 丙午 stem-branch of the Zhizheng reign',³⁰⁸ that is between February 1366 and January 1367. Therefore, the compilation date of this collection would have been between 1364 and 1367, and the twenty-seven poems

³⁰⁶ Sun Xiaoli, *YWZNP*, p.74.

³⁰⁷ Zeng Zaozhuang, main ed., *ZHDD. WXD.SLJYWXFD*, vol.5, p.1011.

³⁰⁸ Zhang Wan, comp., *Tieya xiansheng fugu shiji*, pp.115, 135.

on history in the collection were composed before 1367. As Yang's works prior to 1346 would have been in Wu's compilation, those poems compiled by Zhang would therefore have been written between 1346 and 1367.

1.3.5 Possible composition of poems after 1367

We have proposed that 122 of Yang's extant poems on history were composed between 1341 and 1346, and twenty-seven between 1346 and 1367. What can we say about the remainder?

Based on an undated quotation of Yang that was recorded by Zhang Wan between February 1366 and January 1367, the total number of Yang's poems on history composed before 1366 was 540.

The Gentleman said himself, 'I use three forms to compose poems on history. I composed three hundred poems using seven-character quatrain verse, two hundred poems using the ancient yuefu form, and forty poems using ancient yuefu small quatrain [five-character quatrain] verses.

先生自言：予用三體詠史。用七言絕句體者三百首，古樂府體者二百首，古樂府小絕句體者四十首。³⁰⁹

Yang wrote three hundred seven-character quatrain verses on history. Of these over twenty have been discovered, and the remaining 270 are lost.³¹⁰ Also, the number of extant ancient *yuefu*-form poems on history is more than two hundred as Yang claimed. Huang Rensheng believes that, in order to make up the more than four hundred extant poems on history (mainly *yuefu* poems), Yang must have

³⁰⁹ Ibid., p.115.

³¹⁰ Huang Rensheng, "Yang Weizhen yongshi shi kaoshu", in *Zhongguo wenxue yanjiu*, vol. 34.3 (1994), p.60.

continued composing poems into his old age.³¹¹ This conjecture is feasible, and indeed it is consistent with Lou Buchan's assumption that Yang composed poems from the time he was an 'unconventional official' and lived a free life. The remainder of the poems therefore falls into the third period (1358-1370) when he was an idle official, as mentioned before.

However, there are still some doubts as to whether Yang could have composed many poems on history late in life. He was already seventy-two *sui* in 1367, which is most likely the year that Zhang Wan compiled *Tieya xiansheng fugu shiji* (Mr. Iron Elegance's poetry collection of returning to the past). Zhang would surely not have failed to include any of Yang's poems composed before this year.

Furthermore, based on Sun Xiaoli's records, Yang's attention was diverted toward actresses and dramas from 1366.³¹² His preface to poems on boudoir (*xianglian*) was also written in that year.³¹³ Was he, then, still interested in composing poems on history in his old age? If Huang is right, the only possible composition dates are between 1367 and 1369. Yang was engaged in editing historical classics from 1369 and suffered from illness until his death in 1370.³¹⁴

Concluding remarks

In summary, Yang started to compose poems on history systematically in Kuaiji from 1330 to 1334, while he had free time after his dismissals from official

³¹¹ Huang Rensheng, "Yang Weizhen yongshi shi kaoshu", p.60.

³¹² Sun Xiaoli, *YWZNP*, p.285.

³¹³ Zhang Wan, comp., *Tieya xiansheng fugu shiji*, p.135.

³¹⁴ Sun Xiaoli, *YWZNP*, pp.305-310.

life. He may also have composed poems on history from 1339 to 1341 when he was mourning for his parents in Kuaiji. Nevertheless, in his old age he burned every single one of the more than one thousand poems that he had composed in Kuaiji during these periods. Lou Buchan postulated that Yang composed poetry while he had the status of an idle official and also when he was living a free life. This implies composition periods of between 1341 and 1350 when he was free from office, and between 1358 and 1370 during his retirement.

Of Yang's extant poems on history, 122 were compiled by his student, Wu Fu, in 1346 and another twenty-seven by Zhang Wan between 1364 and 1367. This means that these poems on history would have been composed before 1346 and before 1367 respectively. Also, these poems they compiled carry the term 'Iron Elegance', which is used to describe Yang's poetry after 1341. This suggests that Yang probably composed these works between 1341 and 1367. This hypothesis is consistent with Wu Fu's preface, in which he stated that they were poems written when Yang lived in the districts of the River Qiantang, Lake Tai and Lake Dongting after 1341.

These poems were composed during Yang's idle periods at the times that he suffered setbacks in his career, and it is therefore easy to understand why he thought that human relationships were hollow and that official life was unpredictable. When Yang wrote these poems, he was leading a carefree, safe and peaceful life as a recluse in Qiantong. Thus some of his poems on history convey his longing to be a hermit, and reflect the sense of safety he felt living the life of a hermit. (See Chapter 6.2)

Chapter Two: Yang's Poems in the Development of Poetry on History: Content and Form

2.1 Yang's poems in the development of poetry on history

By gaining an understanding of the development of poetry on history, the reader will appreciate what Yang both inherited from the past and created anew when he wrote his poems on history. However, it is beyond the scope of this thesis to deal with the development of poetry history in its entirety, and the following section thus gives a brief summary. I will examine Yang's poems on history in the context of this development and compare some of his poems with those in the past.

The Han dynasty - the first poem on history and historical biography (*shi zhuan*)

Some modern scholars, such as Yu Zhiyuan, insist that the first poem on history appeared as early as the pre-Qin period. However, I am not convinced by their position that 'Wen wang' 文王³¹⁵ (King Wen) in *Shijing* and Xiang Yu's 'Gaixia ge' 垓下歌 (Song of Gaixia)³¹⁶ were also poems on history. The former poem was composed for glorification of King Wen of Zhou 周文王

³¹⁵ Zhu Xi, ed., *Shi jizhuan*, p.175.

³¹⁶ See Sima Qian, *Shiji*, vol.1, p.333.

(1152-1056B.C.) and of court entertainment (*huizhao zhi le* 會朝之樂).³¹⁷ The latter is more likely a poem based on personal sentiments derived from military defeat in battle and should be regarded as a poem on contemporary events rather than a poem on history.

Poems on history are basically a poet's subjective reconstruction of historical events or his subjective portrait of historical figures. These types of poetry started with the late Han poets, and attracted the attention of poets in the Wei Jin periods and the Southern and Northern Dynasties. They subsequently became popular during the late-Tang and Song dynasties.

Many scholars, such as Huang Yun 黃筠 and Huang Rensheng, believe the first Chinese poem on history is 'Yongshi' 詠史 (Poem on history), composed by Ban Gu 班固 (32-92).³¹⁸ It narrates the tale of a devoted daughter called Chunyu Tiying 淳於緹縈 (fl.167B.C.) whose physician father, the Country Magistrate of Taicang (in modern Jiangsu province), offended a patient and was sent to the Capital, Changan, to receive corporal punishment in 167B.C. Tiying, the youngest daughter, followed her father to the Capital and submitted a request to Emperor Wen of Han 漢文帝 (180-157B.C., r.202-157B.C.), saying that she was willing to be sold as a slave to commute her father's sentence. The emperor was moved by her filial piety and abolished corporal punishment by decree.³¹⁹ Zhong Rong 鍾嶸 (fl.502-519) believed that Ban composed this poem to channel a sense of sorrow:

Mengjian's [Ban Gu's] talent is like the current [of a river] and he knew

³¹⁷ Zhu Xi, ed., *Shi jizhuan*, p.99.

³¹⁸ For details, see Huang Yun, "Zhongguo yongshi shi de fazhan yu pingjia", in *Zhongguo wenhua yanjiu*, vol.6 (1994), p.35; and Huang Rensheng, *YWZYMMWCXSC*, p.234.

³¹⁹ Sima Qian, *Shiji*, vol.9, p.2795.

a lot of old stories about history and cultural traditions. [I] read his ‘poem on history’ and discovered expressions of regrets.

孟堅[班固]才流，而老於掌故。觀其詠史，有感歎之詞。³²⁰

As well as praising Tiying’s filial piety and Emperor Wen’s virtue, Ban composed this poem to express his sorrow. Ban was in a similar predicament to that of Chunyu Yi. He was imprisoned, where he waited for mercy and salvation.

In this poem, he expressed his grievances by identifying himself with Chunyu Yi 淳於意 (205-150B.C.), who was saved by his daughter:

- | | | |
|-----|--|--------|
| L1 | Virtue has become weaker since the three ancient kings, ³²¹ | 三王德彌薄， |
| L2 | Only recently have people applied corporal penalties. | 惟後用肉刑。 |
| L3 | The Country Magistrate of Taicang was declared guilty, | 太蒼令有罪， |
| L4 | And was sent under escorts to Changan City. | 就遞長安城。 |
| L5 | He lamented with regret that he did not have a son, | 自恨身無子， |
| L6 | And felt lonely and helpless in his time of difficulty. | 困急獨惘惘。 |
| L7 | His youngest daughter was pained to hear her father’s sorrow, | 小女痛父言， |
| L8 | Knowing the dead cannot be alive again. | 死者不可生。 |
| L9 | She submitted a request to the imperial palace, | 上書詣闕下， |
| L10 | While reminiscing about the ancient song entitled ‘The Cock’s Crow’ | 思古歌雞鳴。 |
| L11 | Her sorrow tortured her and tore her heart apart, | 憂心摧折裂， |
| L12 | Singing her song of the ‘Morning Breeze’ in a touching tone, | 晨風揚激聲。 |
| L13 | The Virtuous Saint and Filial Emperor Wen of | 聖漢孝文帝， |

³²⁰ Lü Deshen, ed., *Zhong Rong Shipin jiaoshi*, p.167.

³²¹ Three ancient kings probably refer to Fu Xi 伏羲, Shennong 神農, Huangdi 黃帝 (Yellow Emperor). See Sima Qian, *Shiji*, p.1. (annotation).

- the Han dynasty
- L14 Sympathetically moved by her most genuine feelings. 惻然感至情。
- L15 How befuddled were the hundred men! 百男何憤憤！
- L16 They were no match for only one Tiyang. 不如一緹縈。³²²

Ban channelled his sorrow through the last two lines (L15-L16) and criticised his 'hundred men' (his hundred sons and servants). He had been captured because his sons had violated the law and his servants had misbehaved. Eventually, he was tortured to death in prison.³²³ His poem on history is not purely a description of a historical event or figure, rather it is an expression of his own emotions. He described a historical event and figures that resonated with his own situation in order to channel and express his regrets.

Cai Zhongdao 蔡忠道 has suggested that Ban's poem represents the start of *shi zhuan* 史傳 (historical biography), which is characterised by direct narration of one event and the expression of regrets.³²⁴ Cai noted that very few poets composed this type of poem after the Tang and Song dynasties.³²⁵

Yang adopted this biographic style of poetry on history from Ban Gu and made his own modifications. His poem, 'Tianshe weng' 田舍翁 (Old man from a farmhouse) is a good example. It subtly shows Yang's envy of Guan Zhong 管仲 (725-645B.C.) and Wei Zheng 魏徵 (580-643) because they had met bright political leaders. The former had met Duke Huan of Qi 齊桓公 (?-643B.C.), while the latter had met Emperor Taizong 太宗 of Tang (r.626-649). Their talents were appreciated by these leaders and they were both made prime

³²² See annotation in Sima Qian, *Shiji*, vol.9, pp.2795-2796.

³²³ For details, see Fan Ye, *Hou Hanshu*, vol.5, pp.1386.

³²⁴ Cai Zhongdao, "Wang Anshi yongshi shi shishi", in *Gaoxiong shida xuebao*, vol.11 (2000), p.81.

³²⁵ *Ibid.*, p.81.

ministers. Their luck in having their talent recognised contrasts with Yang's misfortune and sadness at becoming an idle official.

But Yang's poems are more complicated than that of Ban Gu in terms of content (see Appendix 2A). He not only narrates the story of particular historical figures, but also links these figures to further historical figures with similar experiences. Yang was able to relate a historical episode to another similar episode through the speech of a particular figure. This makes his poems richer in content, but more difficult to understand. However, it must be noted that a few of Yang's poems, like 'Ji Mo nü' 即墨女 (The daughter of Ji Mo) and 'Zhong Lichun' 鐵離春 (Zhong Lichun)³²⁶ are also historical biographies, and are simpler in terms of content.

The late Han period - poems on history for the expression of historical viewpoints (*shi lun*)

In the late Han period, the historical biography developed from Ban Gu's initial poem, and it became a tool for poets to express their viewpoints that were not necessarily related to their own life experiences.

Poetry on history that was used to express personal viewpoints about history was called '*shi lun*' 史論 (expression of historical viewpoints). The eulogistic (贊) nature of historical biography changed and became more argumentative and critical. Poets delivered novel viewpoints on the historical events and figures in these poems.³²⁷ This type of poetry seems to have been initiated by poets of the late Han dynasty. Wang Can's 王粲 (177-217) poetry is a good example. Wang composed '*Yongshi shi*' 詠史詩 (Poem on history) around

³²⁶ For these two poems, see Zou Zhifang, ed., *YWZSJ*, p.16-17.

³²⁷ Cai Zhongdao, "Wang Anshi yongshi shi shishi", p.82.

211B.C. to convey his viewpoints that were inspired when he passed by the tombs of three virtuous men.

L1	There has been no burial alive since the ancient time,	自古無殉死，
L2	This is well known by all wise men.	達人共所知。
L3	The Duke Mu of Qin killed three virtuous officials,	秦穆殺三良，
L4	It is a pity that his deed was useless.	惜哉空爾為。
L5	Three men served their bright master since their twenties,	結髮事明君，
L6	Received favours that cannot be counted exactly.	受恩良不訾。
L7	The Duke's request of their burial on his death,	臨歿要之死，
L8	How could they refuse and not follow?	焉得不相隨？
L9	Their wives wept in front of the main doors,	妻子當門泣，
L10	Their brothers cried along the roads.	兄弟哭路垂。
L11	They cried out to Heaven while approaching the tomb,	臨穴呼蒼天，
L12	Their tears falling non-stop like a tied rope.	涕下如綆縻。
L13	Different people have different desires in their lives,	人生各有志，
L14	They were not moved by their brothers and wives.	終不為此移。
L15	They also knew that being buried alive would make them suffer,	同知埋身劇，
L16	But their hearts were devoted to their master.	心亦有所施。
L17	They outstripped a hundred men to be heroes while alive,	生為百夫雄，
L18	And set up models for swordsmen after death.	死為壯士規。
L19	People composed the sad song 'Yellow birds' for them,	黃鳥作悲詩，
L20	Which is still recited today.	至今聲不虧。 ³²⁸

In this poem, Wang tries to judge a historical event objectively and shows his sympathy for the men who were buried on the death of Duke Mu of Qin 秦穆公 (r. 659-621B.C.). *Shiji* records this event,

In the thirty-ninth year [621 B.C.], The Duke of [Qin] Miao [Mu] died and was buried in Yong (modern Fengxian county in Shaanxi province)

³²⁸ Xiao Tong, comp., *Liu chen zhu wenxuan*, vol.2, pp.386-387.

One hundred and seventy-seven people followed him in his death, and three good officials of Qin with the surname Ziyu and named Yanxi, Zhongxing and Zhenhu, were on the list. The Qin people were sorrowful for them and composed the song 'Yellow bird' for them.

三十九年，繆[穆]公卒。從死者百七十七人，秦之良臣子輿氏三人，名曰奄息、仲行、鍼虎，亦在從死之中。秦人哀之，為作歌黃鳥³²⁹之詩。³³⁰

In addition to expressing sympathy, Wang conveyed a strong revulsion at the burial alive of the young men. He criticised the Duke's request, but he also understood that the three men had accepted it, and that their virtue in keeping their promise was rewarded by a hundred years' praise.

Obviously, the connection with Wang's personal experience is weak, but the poem acts as a vehicle for the poet to express his views. This poem contributed to the broadening of the function of poetry on history in the late Han dynasty. Instead of simply being a historical biography, it became a channel for poets to express their opinions on historical issues or figures (*shi lun*).

Many of Yang's poems on history inherit the tradition of Wang Can's work in the sense that they convey his viewpoints on particular historical events or figures. However, Yang's comments about history are more specific and direct than Wang's (see Appendix 2B). For instance, his preface to 'Fangu lang' 反顧狼 (The wolf who looked back) reads,

[Cao] Cao once said to [Cao] Pi, 'Sima Yi will not be an official; he definitely will interfere in your home affairs.' Cao apparently knew of

³²⁹ Huangniao 黃鳥 (Yellow birds): "refers to the documented burial of Duke Mu of Qin in 621B.C., during which three noblemen were buried alive with him, and is therefore one of the few datable poems in the anthology." See Yu, Pauline. *The Readings of Imagery in the Chinese Poetic Tradition*, p.77.

³³⁰ Sima Qian, *Shiji*, vol.1, pp.194-195.

Yi's cunningness, but was not able to do anything about it for [his son] Pi. Why? [Because] Usurper will be followed by usurper. Is this destiny?

操嘗謂丕曰：「司馬懿非人臣也，必預汝家事。」操明知懿奸，而不能為丕謀，何也？以篡繼篡，果天數乎？

Yang cast his judgment on the usurper, Cao Cao 曹操 (155-220), saying it was retribution that Cao's kingdom would be taken away by another usurper. He severely criticised Cao Cao for seizing the throne from the Han emperor.

- | | | |
|----|---|-----------------------------|
| L1 | Aman [Cao Cao] relied on his cleverness, | 阿滿挾智數， |
| L2 | He won a hundred battles to open up Jin Zhang, | 百戰開金漳。 |
| L3 | He could kill Thousand-mile Grass [Dong Zhuo] | 能殺千里草， |
| L4 | But did not kill the wolf [Sima Yi] who looked
back. | 不殺反顧狼。 |
| L5 | The wolf who looked back | 反顧狼， |
| L6 | Will destroy your family and sit on your bed. | 破汝家室坐汝
床。 ³³¹ |

'The wolf who looked back' refers to Sima Yi 司馬懿 (179-251) whose ambition was noticed by Cao Cao. Cao had heard that Sima Yi resembled a wolf when he looked back. He confirmed this by asking Sima Yi to walk in front of him and look back.³³² 'Jin Zhang' 金漳 in L2 refers to two huge projects: the construction of the Golden (Jin) Tiger Terrace (in modern Linzhang 臨漳 county of Hebei province) and a canal connected to River Zhang. They symbolised the establishment of the Wei kingdom as recorded in *Sanguo zhi* (Records of Three Kingdoms). It reads,

³³¹ Zou Zhifang, ed., *YWZSJ*, p. 188.

³³² See Fang Xuanling et al., *Jinshu*, vol.1, p.120.

In autumn, the seventh month, [they] began to build the royal ancestral shrine of the Wei kingdom. ...In the ninth month, [they] constructed the Golden Tiger Terrace, dug a canal to divert the water from the River Zhang³³³ and filled in the River Baigou for water transport.

秋七月，始建魏社稷宗廟。……九月，作金虎台，鑿渠引漳水入白溝以通河。³³⁴

Hence, L2 implies that Cao Cao successfully built up the Kingdom of Wei after a hundred battles. But Yang judged that, despite being able to win numerous battles Cao Cao was not clever enough to see that he needed to kill Sima Yi. This poem seems, therefore, to be an expression of Yang's historical opinions. His direct criticism of Cao Cao is different from the critical comments of Wang Can. This poem demonstrates Yang's very unswerving personality, a consequence of which, his poems stand out as being also very blunt. This is one of the particular features of his Iron Style.

The Wei Jin Periods- poetry on history for the expression of sentiment **(yonghuai)**

Even though some poems on history can be found in the Han dynasty, Huang Rensheng believes that poetry on history was genuinely 'formed' (*xingcheng* 形成) in the Wei, Jin and Southern and Northern dynasties.³³⁵ Li Han believes that during those periods poets started to express their own feelings through poems on history.³³⁶ These poems are categorised as 'yong huai' 詠懷 (expression of

³³³ River Zhang 漳: Its source is Mount Jing 荆 in modern Nanzhang 南漳 county of Hubei province. See Wei Songshan, main ed., *Zhongguo gudian shici diming cidian*, p.852.

³³⁴ See Chen Shou: *Sanguo zhi*, vol.1, p.42.

³³⁵ Huang Rensheng, *YWZYMMCWXS*, p.234.

³³⁶ Xing Han, "shuoshuo yongshi shi zhongde fanan shi", in *Zhonghua shici*, vol. 2005.2, p.59.

sentiment).³³⁷ Cai Zhongdao thinks that Zuo Si's eight poems entitled 'Yongshi' 詠史 (On history) are the first poems on history that were written by a poet to express his feelings.³³⁸ This opinion echoes that of Li Han, who states that one of Zuo's major contributions to the development of poetry on history is '[his] making use of [poems on] history to channel his own sentiment' (借史詠懷).³³⁹

In fact, in terms of length, approximately one third of most of Zuo's eight poems on history are dedicated to the expression of the poet's sentiments. For instance, in the poem 'On history' no. 6, seven lines (L1-L7) are related to Jing Ke (d.227 B.C.) and five lines contain expressions of the poet's own feelings (L8-12),

L1	Jing Ke drinks in the city of the state of Yan,	荆軻飲燕市，
L2	He enjoys the wine and his spirit is high.	酒酣氣益振。
L3	He sings a sad song to echo with [Gao] Jianli,	哀歌和漸離，
L4	Seems to see nobody around him.	謂若傍無人。
L5	He does not have the swordsman's integrity,	雖無壯士節，
L6	But he is different from the people of the world.	與世亦殊倫。
L7	He stares loftily and despises the four seas,	高眄邈四海，
L8	Not to mention the rich and powerful people.	豪右何足陳？
L9	Although the nobles see themselves as nobles,	貴者雖自貴，
L10	He see them as [worthless as] dust.	視之若埃塵。
L11	Although the lowly see themselves as lowly,	賤者雖自賤，
L12	He weighs them as [much as] a thousand <i>jun</i> . ³⁴⁰	重之若千鈞。 ³⁴¹

The last four lines not only describe the dignity of Jing Ke, but also express the poet's feelings about society. As these lines have no subject, 'he' can be

³³⁷ Cai Zhongdao, "Wang Anshi yongshi shi shixi", pp.81-82.

³³⁸ Ibid., p.81.

³³⁹ Li Han, *Han Wei sheng Tang yongshi shi yanjiu*, p.67.

³⁴⁰ In the Jin dynasty one *jun* was equal to 30 catties, and one catty is 220g. Therefore, one *jun* is equal to 6,600g; one thousand *jun* is 6,600kg. See Lou Zhufeng, main ed., *HYDCD.SYB*, vol.3, pp.7023,7775; or Jiang Daren et al., ed., *Yongshi shi zhuxi*, p.93.

³⁴¹ Xiao Tong, comp., *Liuchen zhu wenxuan*, vol. 2, p.389.

interpreted as 'I'. Through Jing Ke, the poet conveys a strong belief that one's value is not decided by one's social status. He treasured the virtues of the common people, over those simply born as nobles. As a consequence, he did not flatter those in power or with wealth, nor did he denigrate those in poverty or of lowly status.

Poems on history simply for the expression of sentiment (*yong huai*) are not common among Yang's collections. Only one or two lines of each poem seem to subtly expose his own feelings. For instance, a few lines of his 'Jingtai yinshi' 荆臺隱士 (The hermit at Jingtai) read,

I only wish to be called a hermit,	但願稱隱士，
And return to Tuzhou ³⁴²	歸土州，
And put on a crane-down cloak and ride an ox.	醉披鶴氅騎黃牛。 ³⁴³

Yang spoke in the voice of Liang Zhen 梁震 (9th c.) in order to express his longing to be a hermit. Also, a line of his poem 'Tuan shan ge' 團扇歌 (Song of the silk round fan) reads, 'Hiding and revealing both have their time,' (隱顯各有時).³⁴⁴ This line describes Concubine Ban's feelings of being at first favoured and then abandoned. However, it also expresses the poet's feelings about the ups and downs in his official career. (For details, see Chapter 6.2) Yang thus hides his feelings in the words of the historical figures he portrays. Also, Yang

³⁴² See Ye Shan, *Ye Babai yizhuan*, in *SKQS*, vol.32, p.813. 'Tuzhou' 土州 cannot be found in *Zhongguo gujin diming da cidian* 中國古今地名大詞典 (Shanghai: Shanghai cishu chubanshe, 2005) 3 vols.; *Zhongguo lishi diming da cidian* 中國歷史地名大辭典 (Tokyo: Ryōun Shobō, 1980) 6 vols.; *Zhongguo diming cidian* 中國地名詞典 (Shanghai: Shanghai cishu chubanshe, 1990), 1 vol.

³⁴³ Zou Zhifang, ed., *YWZSJ*, p.262.

³⁴⁴ Zou Zhifang, ed., *YWZSJ*, p.129.

dedicates a much smaller portion of his poems to the 'expression of feelings' than does Zuo Si (see Appendix 2C).

Evidently, Yang's Iron style poems inherit elements of the three types of poetry on history that developed in the Han and Jin dynasties: (a) historical biographies (*shi zhuan*); (b) poems for expression of feelings (*yong huai*); and (c) poems for conveyance of historical viewpoints (*shi lun*). But, Yang has considerably fewer poems for expression of feelings than poems for conveyance of historical viewpoints.

The Northern and Southern Dynasties - poetry on history starts to become important

Poetry on history during the Northern and Southern Dynasties (420-589) was still in its development stage. However, a category of poetry entitled 'On history' first appeared in the Liang dynasty (502-557). Crown Prince Zhaoming 昭明 (Xiao Tong 蕭統, 501-531) compiled twenty-one poems and categorised them as 'On history'.³⁴⁵ These poems are works by poets from the late-Han period to the Northern and Southern Dynasties, and are mainly about specific events or particular historical figures. One poem describes a single event.³⁴⁶ Each poem consists of the poet's commentary and generally provides a satirical look at the event being described.³⁴⁷ Poetry on history thus started to become more important in the poetry arena.

This presentation style of these twenty-one poems was not fully adopted by Yang. Most of his short poems on history are about one event or a single

³⁴⁵ Xiao Tong, comp., *Liuchen zhu wenxuan*, vol.2, pp.386-402.

³⁴⁶ Hu Dalei, "Yongshi: geti shuqing zai shijian shang de kuotai- zhonggu yongshi shi shuqing fenxi", in *Journal of Guangxi Normal University*, vol. 33.1(1997.3), p.37.

³⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p.33.

historical figure, but his long poems usually describe one or two related events or figures in addition to events. For instance, his poem, ‘Mudi qu’ 牧羝曲³⁴⁸ (Song of herding rams) is mainly about Su Wu, but contains comparisons with Li Ling 李陵 (d.74B.C.); his ‘Yishui ge’ 易水歌³⁴⁹ (Song of Yi River) is about Jing Ke’s assassination, but it also describes two other failed assassinations and the death of Emperor Shihuang. All these related events and figures serve as points of comparison or contrast to the main one. Yang’s work, in other words, is more complicated, and it can be said that he opened a new world for poetry on history.

The Tang dynasty - the golden period for poetry on history

Poetry on history flourished in the Tang and Song dynasties. In the Tang dynasty, almost all the well-known poets, such as Li Bai, Gao Shi 高適 (706-765), Du Fu, Bai Juyi, and Li Shangyin composed poems on history. They integrated a historical narrative, a lyrical expression of their personal sentiments and a presentation of their arguments into each poem.³⁵⁰ For instance, Gao Shi’s poem entitled ‘Yongshi’ 詠史 (On history) is a five-character quatrain.

- | | | |
|----|--|-----------------------|
| L1 | [Xu Jia] Still had a rough silk gown to give out, | 尚有絺袍贈， |
| L2 | He pitied Fan Shu’s [Ju] poverty. | 應憐范叔寒。 |
| L3 | Not knowing he was now a known person throughout
the world, | 不知天下士， |
| L4 | He still viewed him as a cloth-gown commoner. | 猶作布衣看。 ³⁵¹ |

The poem tells the bitter story of Fan Ju 范雎 (d.255 B.C.), who was mistakenly

³⁴⁸ Zou Zhifang, ed., *YWZSJ*, p.166.

³⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p.14.

³⁵⁰ Zeng Xianyong, et al., “Woguo lidai yongshi shi lüetan”, in *Qiongzhou daxue xuebao*, vol.1994.2, p.91.

³⁵¹ Peng Dingiu et al., eds., *Quan Tangshi*, vol. 6, p.2241.

thought by Xu Jia 須賈 (3rd c. B.C.) as a betrayer. Fan was severely beaten and thrown into a toilet. Suffering from broken ribs and teeth, he changed his name into Zhang Lu 張祿 and secretly fled to the state of Qin, where he became prime minister. When Xu went on a mission to Qin, Fan pretended to be just a poor worker. Xu, shocked at his poverty, gave him a rough silk gown, but later discovered he was in fact the respected Prime Minister, Zhang Lu.³⁵²

In addition to the historical narration, this poem is also an expression of the poet's sentiment. Tang Ruxun 唐汝詢 (fl.1624), believed that Gao had composed this poem while he was young and still largely ignored.

[Gao Shi] Dafu was once down-and-out in his younger years but started his rise to a high official rank in his later years. I suspect there must have been people who ignored him, so he channelled [his frustration] through the ancients' story.

達夫少嘗落魄，晚年始貴，疑當時必有輕之者，故借古人以詠之。³⁵³

Gao seems to have had a similarly bitter experience to Fan Ju. Like Ban Gu's poem, Gao's poem relates personal experiences to a relevant historical story as a way for the poet to express his sentiments. But the poet did not use overt emotional expressions, he only suggested his sympathy by using indirect phrases like 'still had' (*shang you* 尚有), 'pitied' (*yinglian* 應憐) and 'still viewed' (*youzuo* 猶作). The last two lines are a mixture of the poet's feelings and opinions. Influenced by the Tang poets, Yang's poems on history also tend to be a mixture of sentiments, opinions and historical narrative. For example, his 'Yishui ge' (Song of Yi River)³⁵⁴ is at once a poetic presentation of Jing Ke's story, a clear

³⁵² Sima Qian, *Shiji*, vol.7, pp.2401-2402, 2413.

³⁵³ Tang Ruxun, ed., *Tangshi jie*, vol.1, p.513.

³⁵⁴ Zou Zhifang, ed., *YWZSJ*, p.14.

exposition of his opinions about Jing Ke's virtue and a subtle expression of his feelings of admiration for Jing Ke.

On the other hand, Gao's selection of a particular episode rather than a whole story to narrate set a precedent for the followers, like Yang. In 'Song of Yi River', Yang selected two episodes (the farewell and the assassination), to set out Jing Ke's biography. However, Yang expressed his feelings and opinions much more directly and overtly through the use of exclamations, such as 'alas!' (嗚呼), and 'haven't you seen' (君不見)³⁵⁵ (see Appendix 2D).

Li Han believes that the poets of the high Tang period generally made use of history to express their sentiments and that this was inherited from Zuo Si of the Jin dynasty.³⁵⁶ Yang, who was fond of the Tang poets, also used some of his poems on history to express his own feelings in subtle ways. For instance, some of his poems are full of praise for these hermits who had relinquished power. These poems subtly reflect Yang's sentiments and betray his longing for a peaceful life. (See Chapter 6.2.1)

The best-known of the Tang poets who composed poems on history was Du Fu. Xu Jianhua 許建華 points out that Du Fu's poems on history were aimed at satirizing his own times.³⁵⁷ Li Han believes that Du Fu's 'Qiuxing' 秋興 (Autumn inspiration) no. 7 uses the history of the Han dynasty as a metaphor for current affairs in the Tang dynasty.³⁵⁸ Also, Xu Jianhua points out that Du Fu's

³⁵⁵ Lou Buchan, ed., *Tieya yuefu zhu*, p.442.

³⁵⁶ Li Han. *Han Wei sheng Tang yongshi shi yanjiu*, p.135.

³⁵⁷ Xu Jianhua, "Du Fu Li Shangyin yongshi shi zhi bijiao", in *Du Fu Yanjiu xuekan*, vol.1(1999), p.42.

³⁵⁸ Li Han, *Han Wei sheng Tang yongshi shi yanjiu*, p.134.

five poems entitled 'Yonghuai guji' 詠懷古跡 (On ancient vestiges for expression of sentiments) present an image of the poet himself. Du made use of the historical figures, Yu Xin, Song Yu, Wang Zhaojun, Liu Bei 劉備 (161-223) and Zhuge Liang 諸葛亮 (181-234) as a metaphor to describe himself and his own situation.³⁵⁹

Du Fu's poems obviously inspired Yang, whose poems on history also satirised his contemporary world through allusion to the past. However, the dates of Yang's compositions are not clear, and it is therefore very difficult to precisely correlate the content of his poems with the historical events of his time. Also, Yang hid his own persona in his poems on history. It is difficult to see the poet himself through his descriptions of the historical figures. He seldom mentioned himself or his life experiences in his poems, and instead concentrated on giving his historical viewpoints. He usually placed himself in the roles of the historical figures he described, and he expressed their feelings, which sometimes coincided with his own.

In the late-Tang period, the most prolific poets were Hu Zeng and Zhou Tan. Hu composed 150 poems on history in a simple and direct language, and used historical places as titles.³⁶⁰ Zhou classified his 195 poems on history into ten categories according to the dynasty, from the Pre-Qin periods, the Qin, Han, Three kingdoms, Jin, and Six Dynasties, up to the Sui dynasty.³⁶¹ Zhang Zhenlang says that poetry on history flourished in the late Tang period, and that poets composed

³⁵⁹ Xu Jianhua, "Du Fu Li Shangyin yongshi shi zhi bijiao", p.44.

³⁶⁰ Qiu Liangren, "Lun yongshi shi", in *Journal of Huaqiao University*, vol.1995.2, p.116.

³⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p.116.

seven-character quatrain poems which often exceeded one hundred lines.³⁶²

Zhang believes that the two poets, Hu Zeng and Zhou Xian, represent two schools of poetry on history in the Tang dynasty. Hu's poems have regional names as titles, but are not arranged in chronological order, while Zhou used the names of historical figures as titles and categorised his poems chronologically, by dynasty.³⁶³ This chronological arrangement was also adopted by Yang in his poems on history. But Yang generally used nicknames rather than the real names of historical figures as titles. For example, 'Hu Yanda' 胡眼大³⁶⁴ (The Hun with big eyes) refers to An Lushan 安祿山 (703-757) and 'Lanmian gui' 藍面鬼³⁶⁵ (The ghost with a blue face) refers to Lu Qi 盧杞 (?-785). Yang's playful personality is illustrated by these humorous titles. He broke with the traditional convention of using formal names in the titles, instead creating interesting ones that had links to the historical texts. For example, 'The ghost with a blue face' is derived from two sentences in the texts, "[Lu Qi's] face was ugly and its colour seemed blue; all people saw him as a ghost." ([盧]杞貌陋而色如藍，人皆鬼視之).³⁶⁶

Jiang Changdong 蔣長棟 states that the content of the late-Tang poems on history, generally lamented the downfall of the dynasty, and satirised political corruption, and iron rule, while advocating honesty and rectitude. The poets longed for the prosperity and a united country and hated chaos and civil wars.³⁶⁷ These poems served as a very good reference for Yang, who was born in the late

³⁶² Zhang Zhenlang, *Zhangzhenglang wenshi lunji*, p.130.

³⁶³ *Ibid.*, p.144.

³⁶⁴ Zou Zhifang, ed., *YWZSJ*, p.228.

³⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, pp.239-240.

³⁶⁶ Liu Xu et al., *Jiu Tangshu*, vol.11, p.3713.

³⁶⁷ Jiang Changdong, "Wan Tang shehui yu wan Tang yongshi shi de zhuti", in *Zhongguo yunwen xuekan*, vol.1989.1, pp.46-50.

Yuan period, a time of similar political strife.

The Song dynasty - Poetry on history presents new historical viewpoints,
'shi zan' (historical supplement)

Li Han noted that, after the mid-Tang period, poets tended to compose poems based on reason more than emotion.³⁶⁸ This was a transitional period, when the emphasis of poetry on history shifted from the expression of personal feelings to the conveyance of historical opinions, a process that was complete by the Song dynasty.

In the Song dynasty, poets such as Wang Anshi, Su Shi 蘇軾 (1037-1101), Fan Chengda 范成大 (1126-1193), and Lu You 陸游 (1125-1210) composed poems on history. In addition, poets like Wang Shipeng 王十朋 (1112-1171) and Liu Kezhuang 劉克莊 (1187-1269) and Chen Pu 陳普 (1244-1315) each wrote one hundred to three hundred poems on history (see Appendix 3).

Why was poetry on history so well developed in the Song dynasty, especially in the Southern Song period? The modern scholar, Zhang Gaoping 張高評, held that the growth of the publishing industry and a massive undertaking of historical studies are the main reasons. The growth of the publishing industry boosted the circulation of books and the conveyance of knowledge, which was propitious for the composition of poems on history.³⁶⁹ At the same time, the historical studies encouraged the poets' interest in presenting new ideas.

Poets in the Song dynasty concentrated more on scholarly discussion, and

³⁶⁸ See Li Han, *Han Wei sheng Tang yongshi shi yanjiu*, p.40.

³⁶⁹ Zhang Gaoping, "Yinshua chuanmei yu Songdai yongshi shi zhi xinbian: yi yimin Chen Pu yongshi zushi wei li", in *Wen yu zhe*, vol.11 (2007), pp.320-321.

their poems presented new perspectives on history.³⁷⁰ Supporting this view, the modern scholar, Ji Minghua, states that one of the most significant characteristics of the Song poetry on history is that it subverted orthodox historical viewpoints and created various new perspectives on history.³⁷¹ The Song poets' presentation of subversive and unorthodox opinions in their poems on history demonstrates their talents. Fei Gun 費袞 (fl.1190-1194) said,

The most difficult thing for a poet in composing a poem on history is to create a [new] topic that the historians have missed or not touched. It is like [a person] judging a court case without being cheated by the petty officers, and he can present the original story using only one or two words. [It] Makes people of the later generations [realise that] it is a historical supplement while they are reading it. If [a poet is] not wise enough, he cannot achieve this. From the Tang dynasty until now, it is the poets of our dynasty who are the most skilful at composing this kind of poem.

詩人詠史最難，須要在作史者不到處別生眼目。正如斷案，不為胥吏所欺，一兩語中，須能說出本情。使後人看之，便是一篇史贊，此非具眼者不能。自唐以來，本朝詩人最工為之。³⁷²

Here, Fei points out that the Song poets were good at composing poems that appear to be historical supplements (*shi zan*) containing eulogies and criticism. Writing a poem that looked like '*shi zan*' was an indication of a poet's great ability and historical knowledge.

The modern scholar, Zhang Xiaoli 張小麗, listed four methods that the Song poets used to present their novel views. The first method was affirmation. Wang Anshi's poem, 'Mingfei qu' 明妃曲 (Song of Princess Ming) is an

³⁷⁰ Zeng Xianrong et al., "Woguo lidai yongshi shi lüetan", in *Qiongzhou daxue xuebao*, vol. 1994.2, p.92.

³⁷¹ Ji Minghua, *Nan Song yongshi shi yanjiu*, p.58.

³⁷² Fei Gun, *Liangxi manzhi*, p.75.

example of this. The poet affirms the stunning beauty of Wang Zhaojun, and says it is difficult to portray a beauty's spirit and manner. Two lines read, 'Spirit and manner can never be presented by a painting, It was an injustice to kill Mao Yanshou at that time.' (意態由來畫不成, 當時枉殺毛延壽。)³⁷³ Hence, the poet argues it was a mistake to kill the painter, Mao Yansou (?-33B.C.).

The second is hypothesis. For instance, Zheng Qiao's 鄭樵 (1101-1162) poem, 'Zhaojun ci' 昭君詞 (Song of Zhaojun) reads, 'If [Mao] Yanshou had painted a genuine painting with his brush, Who in later generations would know [Wang] Zhaojun'. (延壽若為公道筆, 後人誰識一昭君。)³⁷⁴ Zheng hypothesises that if Mao had painted honestly, Zhaojun might have been merely a concubine of the emperor and might not have married the Huns for peace. If so, her virtue and name would not have been known throughout the ages.

The third is counter-question. Ouyang Xiu 歐陽修 (1007-1072) in his poem entitled 'Mingfei qu' 明妃曲 (Song of Princess Ming) raises a counter-question to challenge the emperor's blaming of the painter. 'Even though [the emperor] could have killed the painter, Would it have been helpful in this situation? (雖能殺畫工, 於事竟何益?)³⁷⁵ This questioning retort carries the implication that it would have been meaningless to kill the painter, and contradicts the general belief that the painter should have been killed for receiving a bribe to paint Wang Zhaojun dishonestly.

The final method is negation. Cao Xun's 曹勳 (1098-1174) poem entitled 'Zhaojun' 昭君怨 (Grievance of Zhaojun) no. 2 reads, 'On the day [she] left the emperor with her hands covering [the tears on] her face, she started to regret that

³⁷³ Yu Zhiyuan et al., main eds., *Zhonghua shishi yongshi shi benshi*, p.499-500.

³⁷⁴ Zheng Qiao, *Jiaji yigao*, in *Yingyin wen yuan siku quanshu*, vol.1141, p.507.

³⁷⁵ Yu Zhiyuan et al., main eds., *Zhonghua shishi yongshi shi benshi*, p.501.

she did not have gold to bribe the painter.’ (一朝掩面辭君去，始悔無金買畫工。)³⁷⁶ This negates Zhaojun’s willingness to marry the Huns for peace, and her rectitude in rejecting bribery in the palace.

Yang adopted these four methods to convey his special viewpoints through his poems on history. He used affirmative subversion. Two lines of his poem, ‘Dong yangzi’ 董養子 (Dong’s foster son) read, ‘Killing the rebel by imperial decree, Is killing a rebel not an adopted father.’ (有詔殺賊臣，殺賊非殺父。)³⁷⁷ Yang affirmed that it was right to kill the rebel, Dong Zhuo 董卓 (138-192), and subverted the viewpoint that Lǚ Bu was immoral to kill his adopted father.

He also applied counter-question to his poems. For instance, the last line of his poem ‘Gong Laoren’ 龔老人 (The old man Gong) reads, ‘Where in the world could the righteousness of the old man be found?’ (老人之節世安有?)³⁷⁸ Here, Yang was highlighting the virtue of Gong Sheng 龔勝³⁷⁹ (68-11B.C.) rather than expressing a subversive viewpoint.

Yang sometimes used hypothesis to convey his special historical views. For instance, the last three lines of his ‘Zougou yao’ 走狗謠 (Ballad of the despicable hound) reads, ‘Why did [you] not save the dog [Han Xin]? It helps to control the pheasant [Lǚ Zhi]. [You] Killed the dog instead and left the pheasant crowing.’ (如何不存狗，制雉雞，反殺走狗聽雞啼。)³⁸⁰ Yang’s hypothesis was that if Han Xin 韓信 (?-196B.C.) had not been killed, Lǚ Zhi 呂雉 (241-180B.C.)

³⁷⁶ Cao Xun, *Songyin ji*, in *SKQS*, vol.1129, p.349.

³⁷⁷ Zou Zhifang, ed., *YWZSJ*, p.178.

³⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p.170.

³⁷⁹ Gong refused to serve Wang Mang 王莽 (45B.C.-23A.D.) and starved himself to death at the age of seventy-nine *sui*. For details, see Ban Gu, *Hanshu*, vol.10, p.3085.

³⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p.160.

would not have been able to rise to power quickly, and to dominate the imperial palace and later the whole country.³⁸¹ He implies that Liu Bang was foolish in allowing Lü Zhi to kill Han Xin.

Yang also applied negation. For example in his poem 'Fan Jiangjun' 樊將軍 (General Fan), he severely criticised Tian Guang 田光 (?-227B.C.). Its last two lines read, "The swordsman misled people to their death; among those who were misled to their death I sympathise most with General Fan" (壯士誤人死，誤死重痛樊將軍).³⁸² He completely negates the upright image of Tian Guang who killed himself to keep Prince Dan's assassination plan a secret. Instead, Yang argues that Tian misled many people, who died as a result. In his poems, Yang therefore uses the same methods of subversion as the Song scholars in order to present his unique historical views.

Jin 金 and Yuan dynasties - Poetry on history in Yang's time

According to the calculation of Fu Xiaojian 付曉劍 in the Jin dynasty, 109 poets composed poems on history and on the past, and they wrote a total number of 420 poems.³⁸³ Four of these poets, Wang Ji 王寂 (ca.1127-ca.1193), Zhao Bingwen 趙秉文 (1159-1232), Li Junmin 李俊民 (*jìnshi* title 1200), and Yuan Haowen 元好問 (1190-1257) appear to have been the most important. They composed thirty-three, forty-one, ninety-one and fifty-nine poems on history and on the past, respectively. The poetic diction in their work is generally potent and natural. Also, sixty-seven poems are about paintings of historical figures,³⁸⁴ which demonstrate the popularity of art appreciation at that time.

³⁸¹ See Ban Gu, *Hanshu*, vol.12, pp.3937-3938.

³⁸² Zou Zhifang, ed., *YWZSJ*, p.158.

³⁸³ Fu Xiaojian, "Liao Jin yongshi huaig shi yanjiu", pp.49-59.

³⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, pp.35-36.

In the early Yuan period, poets adopted the poetic tradition of the Song dynasty.³⁸⁵ In the mid-Yuan and late-Yuan periods, poets tended to promote poetic elegance and uprightness (*yazheng* 雅正), and the restoration of ancient styles. Some of them, like Yu Ji adopted elements of Neo-Confucianism from Chen Hao, Cheng Yi and Zhu Xi and advocated the orthodoxy of poetry - *yazheng*.³⁸⁶ However, research in this area is still minimal, and poetry on history by the Yuan poets awaits further exploration.

Generally speaking, Yang absorbed major features of the poetry of the Tang and Song dynasties to create his own novel Iron Style poetry on history. Through his poems on history, he expressed his sentiments while at the same time presenting his own special perspectives. Furthermore, the total number of his poems on history surpasses those of all the other famous poets throughout the ages (see Appendix 3).

Yang's poems on history are scattered throughout the different versions of his poetry collections (see Appendix 4). According to Huang, the total number of Yang's poems on history after accounting for duplications is 452³⁸⁷ But my findings based on the book compiled by Zou Zhifang, and entitled '*Yang Weizhen shiji*' 楊維楨詩集 (The poetry collection of Yang Weizhen), indicates that the total number is 447. This number matches the findings in the three books compiled by Lou Puchan's (fl. 1774).³⁸⁸

³⁸⁵ Huang Baohua, Wen Shihua. *Zhongguo shixue shi. Song Jin Yuan juan*, pp.364-365.

³⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, pp.370-371.

³⁸⁷ Huang Rensheng, ed., *YWZYMMCWXSC*, pp.414-419.

³⁸⁸ Lou collated all the different versions and compiled them in *Tieya gu yuefu*, including the *Tieya Yuefu*, 10 juan; *Tieya yongshi*, 8 juan; and *Tieya yibian*, 8 juan. See *XXSKQS*, vol.1325, pp.433-527; 528-615; 616-695.

2.2 The forms of Yang's poems on history

During the Han dynasty, Ban Gu composed the first poem on history in five-character ancient-style form. In the Tang dynasty, poets such as Wei Zheng, Wang Wei 王維 (701-761) and Gao Shi started to compose poems on history using five-character regulated and quatrain verses. However, the poets generally used seven-character quatrain or regulated verse to compose poems on history. In the late Tang periods, Hu Zeng used the seven-character quatrain to compose 150 poems on history.³⁸⁹ Zhang Runjing has identified a trend in the use of the seven-character quatrain instead of regulated verse for poetry on history at that time.³⁹⁰

Also, Zhang Gaoping points out that poems on history from the Northern Song dynasty are relatively long in length. Poets of that period tended to compose poems in an ancient style and in seven-character.³⁹¹ For instance, Ji Minghua notes that Wang Anshi and Ouyang Xiu liked to use the seven-character style to facilitate the expression of their arguments, and to distinguish their poems from the lyrical five-character poems.³⁹² Their preference for longer lines and clearer expression of arguments suggests why Yang also chose to adopt long lines in most of his *yuefu* poems on history.

Yang tended to present historical opinions and arguments in addition to

³⁸⁹ Qiu Liangren, "Lun yongshi shi", in *Journal of Huaqiao University*, vol.1995.2, p.116.

³⁹⁰ Zhang Runjing, *Tangdai yongshi huaigushi yanjiu*, p.99.

³⁹¹ Zhang Gaoping, "Shishu zhi chuanbo yu Nan Song yongshi shi zhi fankui. Yi Yang Wanli, Fan Chengda, Lu You shi wei li", in *Zhongzheng daxue zhongwen xueshu niankan*, vol.10 (2007.2), p.128.

³⁹² Ji Minghua, *Nan Song yongshi shi yanjiu*, p.58.

expressing his personal feelings. Hence, he used the *yuefu* form characterised by irregular lines to compose his several hundred poems on history. Qiu Liangren 丘良任 states that the Tang poets usually composed poems on history in the form of the seven-character quatrain, but that Yang's poems on history used the *yuefu* form, which can be viewed as a new development.³⁹³ This is why Yang's poetry on history is significant in terms not only of quantity (more than four hundred) but also of form (*yuefu* form). However, Yang was not the first poet to compose poems on history in *yuefu* form. Shi Chong 石崇 (249-300) composed a *yuefu* poem about the wife of King Zhuang of Chu 楚莊王 (r.631-591B.C.) entitled 'Chufei yuan' 楚妃怨 (Grievance of the imperial concubine of Chu).³⁹⁴ Also, in the Southern and Northern dynasties, Liu Yun 柳惲 (465-517) wrote a *yuefu* poem on history entitled 'Changmen yuan' 長門怨 (Lament of the Long Gate).³⁹⁵ Nonetheless, Yang was the only poet to have composed such a large number of poems on history in *yuefu* form.

But how many poems on history did Yang write that are extant, and how many of those poems are in ancient *yuefu* form? What other forms did Yang use in his poems on history?

According to Huang Rensheng's calculation, more than 390 poems on history are in ancient *yuefu* form, almost forty poems are in small *yuefu* form (five-character quatrain verse), and slightly more than twenty are in seven-character quatrain verses.³⁹⁶ Yang's ancient *yuefu* form is relatively free

³⁹³ Qiu Liangren, "Lun yongshi shi", p.117.

³⁹⁴ For details, see Guo Maoqian, comp., *Yuefu shiji*, vol.2, pp.435-436.

³⁹⁵ See Guo Maoqian, comp., *Yuefu shiji*, vol. 2, pp.621-622.

³⁹⁶ Huang Rensheng, "Yang Weizhen yongshi shi kaoshu", in *Zhongguo wenxue yanjiu*, vol. 34.3 (1994), p.60.

and consists of three main features:

- a. Irregular poetic lines;
- b. Five-character or seven-character quatrain;
- c. Five-character and seven-character ancient form.³⁹⁷

All these poetic forms can be found in Yang's *yuefu* poems on history. In other words, Yang's definition of the 'yuefu form' is broad and includes quatrain and ancient poetic forms. Also, irregular lines are more common than regular lines in Yang's poems on history. The modern scholar, Guo Yuheng, notes Yang's choice of these forms,

When he composed poems on history, [Yang] Tiewa usually used the *yuefu* form or five-character and seven-character regulated quatrain, which was very different from the common practice of the 鐵崖詠史多用樂府歌行或五七言絕，不同於時人喜用五七言律詩的ated 習慣。³⁹⁸

鐵崖詠史多用樂府歌行或五七言絕，不同於時人喜用五七言律詩的 習慣。³⁹⁸

The 'five-character and seven-character quatrain' is regarded as a type of ancient *yuefu* forms by Huang Rensheng, as mentioned above.

Although almost four hundred of Yang's poems on history are in *yuefu* form, most of them have new titles. Comparing all the titles of Yang's *yuefu* poems on history with the two thousand *yuefu* titles³⁹⁹ listed in Guo Maoqian's 郭茂倩 (fl. 1264-1269) *Yuefu shiji* 樂府詩集 (The Corpus of *Yuefu* Poetry), very few are the

³⁹⁷ Huang Rensheng, *YWZYMMCWXSC*, p.178.

³⁹⁸ Guo Yuheng, main ed., *Zhongguo gudai wenxue shichan. Yuan Ming Qing juan*, p.272.

³⁹⁹ The calculation of the number of old *yuefu* titles is based on Guo's book. Guo compiled all the *yuefu* poems from the Han dynasty up to the Five dynasties. See Guo Maoqian, comp., *Yuefu shiji*. 4 vols., Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, (1979) 2003.

same.⁴⁰⁰ For example, Yang only used sixteen old titles in his collection *Tieya yuefu* (Iron Cliff's *yuefu* poetry),⁴⁰¹ and six in his *Tieya yongshi* (Iron Cliff's poetry on history). Therefore, Yang used the *yuefu* format only as a means to create his own *yuefu* poems with new titles. This practice ultimately opened a new page in the world of poetry.

Why did Yang favour the *yuefu* form for most of his poems on history?

As a song-orientated poetic genre, *yuefu* poetry fitted Yang's interest in music, in particular singing and playing the flute, and had a relatively free style that allowed him to have more freedom in composition. The modern scholar, Zhang Jing, believes the reason that Yang composed many *yuefu* poems was that the genre has a free style with few constraints. That made it easier for Yang to convey his sentiment.⁴⁰²

His love of the *yuefu* form was probably behind his inaugurating the 'Ancient *Yuefu* Poetry Movement', whose aim was to make up for the poetic shortcomings of the late Yuan period and create a new poetic world.⁴⁰³ As the leaders of the 'Ancient *Yuefu* Poetry Movement' in the late Yuan dynasty,⁴⁰⁴ Yang and his friend,

⁴⁰⁰ According to my comparison of the two, *Tieya yongshi zhu*, which consists of 245 poems on history, has only 6 titles that are the same as the ancient *yuefu* titles, and 5 that are similar to those listed in Guo Maoqian's *Yuefu shiji*; *Tieya yuefu zhu* has only 16 titles that are the same and 11 titles that are similar; and *Tieya yibian zhu* has 6 that are the same and 5 that are similar.

⁴⁰¹ This calculation is based on Yang's *yuefu* poems compiled by Zou Zhifang, ed., *YWZSJ*, pp.1-147.

⁴⁰² Zhang Jing, "Tieya ti: Yuandai houqi shifeng de shenke bianyi", in *Shehui kexue jikan*, vol.1994.2, p.153.

⁴⁰³ Huang Rensheng, *YWZYMMCWXS*, p.156.

⁴⁰⁴ Until now, little research has been conducted on Yang's promotion of the *yuefu* movement, but

Li Xiaoguang (1297-1348), aimed to improve Yuan poetry by restoring the poetic traditions of “expression of temperament” (*yinyong xingqing* 吟詠性情)⁴⁰⁵ and eliminating rigid constraints of form and rhyme.⁴⁰⁶ Yang said that Li Xiaoguang also followed him to compose ancient *yuefu* poems.⁴⁰⁷ Sun Xiaoli notes that Yang changed the poetic style of the Taiding 泰定 reign (1324-1328) through his *yuefu* poetry.⁴⁰⁸

In an attempt to achieve these aims, Yang advocated relatively free poetic forms and followed the Han and Tang poetic models.⁴⁰⁹ To show his support for the *yuefu* form, he composed 1,227 of his 1,443 extant poems in *yuefu* form,⁴¹⁰ and more than four hundred of these are on history.

His *yuefu* poetry, especially poetry on history, attracted compliments from Ming and Qing scholars, like Yang Shiqi 楊士奇 (1365-1444) and Wang Shizhen 王士禎 (1634-1711). It also drew the attention of modern scholars. John Timothy Wixted praises his imitation of *yuefu* dialects and the Tang poets,

Equally, his poetry went off in an unfettered direction - one rich in imagination and beautiful in language - being modelled on verse that

Huang's book has a chapter on this topic. See Huang Rensheng, *YWZYMMCWXSC*, pp.155-214. However, Huang's belief that Yang promoted *yuefu* poetry is based on three points: first, Yang composed many poems in *yuefu* form; second, Yang advocated the use of poems to reflect the poet's temperament; third, Yang established the Iron School where more than one hundred students followed his poetic ideas.

⁴⁰⁵ Huang Rensheng, “Yang Weizhen de wenxue guan”, in *Fudan xuebao*, vol. 4 (1997), pp.83-85.

⁴⁰⁶ Huang Rensheng, *YWZYMMCWXSC*, p.173.

⁴⁰⁷ Preface to *Xiaoxiang ji* 瀟湘集, see *Quan Yuanwen*, vol.41, pp.310-311.

⁴⁰⁸ Sun Xiaoli, *YWZNP*, p.286.

⁴⁰⁹ Preface to ‘*Wusheng shiyi*’ 無聲詩意, in Jin Yuan, comp., *Yang Weizhen xuwen ji*, p.197.

⁴¹⁰ It is based on Huang Rensheng's calculation. See Huang Rensheng, *YWZYMMCWXSC*, p.229.

had been largely ignored since Northern Sung [Song] times: yüeh-fu [yuefu] ballads of the Han and Six Dynasties, and the late T'ang poetry of Li Ho[He], Li Shangyin and Han Wo.⁴¹¹

Yang liked *yuefu* poetry because of its free form which gave his imagination free reign and sparked his creativity. The relatively free *yuefu* form also suited his requirements to compose new poetic songs for singing. Therefore, Yang chose *yuefu* as the main form for his poems on history because it enabled him to convey his feelings and reveal his temperament, as well as making the poems easy to sing. (See Chapter 5.2 for more details.)

2.3 The content of Yang's poems on history

What content did Yang convey through this free *yuefu* form?

Leading scholars, Huang Rensheng and Liu Meihua, both have a section on Yang's poems on history in their books. They briefly analyse the content of Yang's poems on history, and categorise his poems to help the reader better understand the general content.

Yang wrote several hundred poems endorsing historical heroes and virtuous persons, and criticising villains and wicked officials. His descriptions of cunning officers from history can be seen as a satirical attack on the officials of his time. The Ming scholar, Zhang Mao 章懋 (1436-1522) confirmed this,

[Yang's poetry on history] contains endorsement and satire, and it describes justice and righteousness by discussing the facts. His poetry

⁴¹¹ John Timothy Wixted, "Poetry of the Fourteenth Century", in Victor H. Mair, ed., *The Columbia History of Chinese Literature*, p.393.

is gentle and subtle as it explores around two thousand years' history of peace and chaos, prosperity and collapse.

有美有刺，陳義論事，婉而微章，上下二千年間理亂興亡之故。⁴¹²

Zhang Mao noticed that Yang's poetic content contained praise as well as satire, and covered two thousand years of history. Huang Rensheng classified Yang's poems on history into three main categories:

- A. 'narration of history to warn the contemporary world' (*shushi jianjin* 述史鑒今).
- B. 'judgment of history to satirise the society' (*duanshi fengshi* 斷史諷世);
- C. 'expression of sentiments through history' (*jiegu shuhuai* 借古抒懷).⁴¹³

Huang's classification comprises the main functions of poems on history: historical narrative, reasoned judgment and sentimental expression. This classification is applicable to all poems on history.

Category A, 'narration of past history to warn the contemporary world' can be attributed to all written works on history, as all history itself serves as an warning to contemporary society to avoid making mistakes similar to those that led to past tragedies.

In relations to category B, Huang cites two poems entitled 'Zhaojun qu' 昭君曲 (Song of Zhaojun) as examples. Those poems appear to be expressions of sentiment rather than judgment. The last two lines confirm this,

When would we go to capture Rouge Mountain? 何時去奪胭脂山？

Alas! When would we go to capture Rouge 嗚呼！何時去奪胭脂

⁴¹² Zhang Mao, *Fengshan ji*, in *Yinyin wenyuan ge Siku quanshu*, vol. 1254, p.109.

⁴¹³ Huang Rensheng, *YWZYMMCWXS*, pp.264-275.

Mountain!

山！⁴¹⁴

These lines are purely sentimental and express the wish to conquer the Huns (*Xiongnu* 匈奴, the Mongolian tribes residing in northeast China and Mongolia) and capture Rouge Mountain (in the southeast of modern Shandong Country, Gansu Province). However, the reasons for this kind of expression in this poem are unclear. Did Yang wish to express a desire to fight against the Huns, or did he want to save the beauty, Wang Zhaojun? There is no judgement contained. Therefore, it seems quite inappropriate to put it into category B 'judgment on history to satirise the society'. It should rather be in category C, 'expression of sentiment'.

Regarding category C, Huang cites the poem, 'Fengjia nü' 馮家女 (A daughter from the Feng family), which is a biography of Feng Fang's 馮方 (2nd c.) beautiful daughter. She was most favoured by Yuan Shu 袁術 (?-199), the late Han warlord, and as a result she was secretly hung to death by Yuan's jealous wives.⁴¹⁵ The entire poem is a historical narrative (category A), and the last two lines are very similar to those of 'Song of Zhaojun' in category B.

How could a thousand years of solitary 千年孤憤何由伸？
indignation be redressed?

Alas! How could a thousand years of solitary 嗚呼！千年孤憤何由
indignation be redressed! 伸！⁴¹⁶

These lines reveal Yang's judgment (category B) on the girl's death, exclaiming that justice is required. They are also expressions of his sympathy for her death

⁴¹⁴ Zou Zhifang, ed., *YWZSJ*, p.19.

⁴¹⁵ Chen Shou, *Sanguo zhi*, vol.1, p.210.

⁴¹⁶ Zou Zhifang, ed., *YWZSJ*, p.18.

(category C). This poem serves as a warning to contemporary society, alerting men to avoid tragedy by paying more attention to their wives. It is also a warning to all the beautiful and chaste women in the world to guard against jealousy and to be astute when taking advice (category A).

All these examples show that Yang's poems on history are quite difficult to classify precisely into the three categories A, B or C devised by Huang; each poem may consist of elements from all three categories at the same time. Nonetheless, Huang's classification is useful as it provides insight into Yang's poems on history, and in particular highlights the fact that they consist of three main elements: narration of history to provide warnings, judgment on history for the sake of satire, and expression of sentiments to 'convey a poet's mind' (*chuan xin* 傳心).⁴¹⁷

Liu Meihua on the other hand, classified Yang's poems on history into four types:

- (a) poems on 'historical events' (*lishi shijian* 歷史事件);
- (b) poems on 'historical figures' (*lishi renwu* 歷史人物);
- (c) poems on 'historical relics and historical things' (*shiji shiwu* 史蹟史物);
- (d) poems 'showing [the poet's] historical arguments' (*biaoxian shilun* 表現史論).⁴¹⁸

Liu's classification is more clear and direct, because it is based on the main focus of the poetic content.

Nevertheless, Yang's poems are not clearly defined by historical figures and historical events. Most of his poems narrate historical episodes by portraying

⁴¹⁷ Huang Rensheng, *YWZYMMCWXS*, p.271.

⁴¹⁸ Liu Meihua, *Yang Weizhen shixue yanjiu*, pp.47-58.

historical figures. For instance, Liu gave the example of Lüzhū xing' 綠珠行⁴¹⁹ (The Song of Lüzhū) as a 'poem on a historical figure'. However, it is also 'a poem on historical events'. It includes the offer of marriage to Lüzhū, Shi Chong's capture, and also the implications of Lüzhū's suicide by jumping. These events can be traced in the official chronicles:

Chong had a courtesan named Lüzhū, who was beautiful and bewitching, and was good at playing the flute. Sun Xiu sent a person to ask for her [...] Chong was just having a banquet upstairs in the tower; the guards appeared at the entrance. Chong said to Lüzhū, 'Because of you, I have offended them.' Lüzhū cried and said, 'Now I will die in front of these officers.' So she jumped from the tower to her death.

[石]崇有妓曰綠珠，美而豔，善吹笛。孫秀使人求之。[.....]崇正宴於樓上，介士到門。崇謂綠珠曰：「我今為爾得罪。」綠珠泣曰：「當效死於官前。」因自投于樓下而死。⁴²⁰

Also, Liu's category of 'poems on historical relics and things' may cause confusion as to what constitutes a genuine description of historical 'relics' and 'things'. For instance, Liu classified 'Dilu ma' 的盧馬 (Dilu Horse)⁴²¹ as a 'poem on historical things' based on its poetic title. However, the poem is not only about a Dilu horse but also about a historical figure, Liu Bei 劉備 (161-223). It narrates his successful escape from Tanxi 檀溪 (in modern Xiangyang 襄陽 city of Hubei province) riding a Dilu horse. Yang's narration is mainly from the perspective of Liu Bei. Furthermore, Yang's historical arguments can be found throughout almost all of his poems on history. There is no poem that is aimed solely at delivering a historical argument.

⁴¹⁹ Zou Zhifang, ed., *YWZSJ*, p.199.

⁴²⁰ Fang Xuangling et al., *Jinshu*, vol.4, p.1008.

⁴²¹ Zou Zhifang, ed., *YWZSJ*, p.182.

By contrast to Huang, Liu Meihua does not classify Yang's poems on the paintings of historical figures and historical events as poems of history. How should these poems be categorised? It seems difficult to classify them into any of the four groups created by Liu. Nonetheless, her classification system is pioneering and has given scholars a clearer picture of Yang's work.

Although Huang Rensheng and Liu Meihua's classification systems both have some deficiencies, they give a general picture of Yang's poetic content on history. In fact, it is quite difficult to classify Yang's poems on history. He usually combines the description of a historical figure with that of an event or vice versa. For instance, his poem 'Hu yanda' 胡眼大 (The Hun with big eyes)⁴²² is about a figure, An Lushan, but it is also about an event, the Tianbao Rebellion (also called the An [Lushan] Shi [Shiming] Rebellion, 775-763). 'Yishui ge' (Song of Yi River)⁴²³ is about the shocking attempted assassination of Emperor Shihuang of Qin 秦始皇 (259-210B.C.), but it is also a portrayal of Jing Ke. In order to enable simple and clear classification, I divide Yang's poems on history into three main categories.

Category	No. of poems
Mainly on historical figures	362
Mainly on historical events	60
Mainly on other historical elements, such as animals, things, relics or ruins	25

⁴²² Ibid., p.228.

⁴²³ Ibid., p.14.

This classification is based on both the poem's title and the main focus of its content. The following section will look into the content in more details and attempts to address a number of questions:

- (1) Do Yang's poems cover the entire history of China as mentioned by the scholars?
- (2) Why are there more poems on historical figures than on historical events?
- (3) Do the poems describe historical figures from different social classes?

These three questions have been neglected by Huang and Liu.

2.3.1 Do Yang's poems cover the entire history of China?

In total, Yang composed 447 extant poems on history⁴²⁴, which are scattered throughout the following collections.

Table 1: Yang's poems on history in his collections

Collection	Poems on history
<i>Tieya Yongshi</i> (Iron Cliff's poetry on history)	245
<i>Tieya yuefu</i> (Iron Cliff's <i>yuefu</i> poetry)	130
<i>Tieya yibian</i> (Anecdotes to Iron Cliff's poetry)	51
<i>Tieya bubian</i> (Supplementary to Iron Cliff's poetry)	21

Only '*Tieya yongshi*' (Iron Cliff's poems on history) is arranged chronologically. Poems in the other corpuses are scattered randomly. Of all Yang's poems on

⁴²⁴ The calculation is based on Zou Zhifang, ed., *YWZSJ*. This total number is close to Huang's estimate that Yang has 452 extant poems on history.

history, more than half are about historical figures or events during the Han and Tang dynasties. Taking the 245 poems on history compiled in *Tieya yongshi zhu* (Iron Cliff's poetry on history) as a sample, the table below shows the number of poems that narrate the main events and historical figures of a particular period from Pre-Qin to the Song dynasties:

Table 2: Yang's poems narrate different dynasties

14 poems	69 poems	39 poems	73 poems	25 poems	25 poems
Spring and Autumn Period and Warring State Period [14]	Dynasties of Qin [1], Han [43] and the Three Kingdoms [25]	Periods of Wei[6], Jin [11], Southern and Northern Dynasties[22]	Sui [6] and Tang [67]	The Five Dynasties and Ten Kingdoms [25]	Liaó [2] and Song [23] (with Northern Song[7] and Southern Song [16])

As illustrated by the table, Yang tried to include the whole of Chinese history, from the Spring and Autumn and Warring States periods up to the late Song dynasty, in his poems on history. He particularly focused on the Han and Tang dynasties. Qing scholar, Yu Wenyi 余文儀 (d.1782), points out the general features of Yang's poems on history.

Yang's *yuefu* poetry [on history] is tailored to include the entire history.
[詠史]古樂府櫟括全史⁴²⁵

In other words, Yang selected his themes carefully to cover the main historical events of each dynasty.

The modern scholar Liu Qian says that Yang's poems on history are an

⁴²⁵ Yu Wenyi's preface to *Yang Tieya yongshi gu yuefu* 楊鐵崖詠史古樂府. See Zou Zhifang ed., *YWZSJ*, pp.505-506.

all-encompassing narrative of important events and important figures from the periods of the Spring and Autumn and Warring States to the late Song dynasty are generally described in his poems.⁴²⁶ In order to test whether these statements are correct, one must look into a single dynasty to see if important events and figures were recorded by Yang.

As Yang wrote more poems on the Tang dynasty (618-907) than on any other, I will take this dynasty as an example. He wrote a total of sixty-seven poems on the Tang history (see Appendix 5), most of which cover historical figures rather than historical events. He wrote three poems on the early Tang period (618-712), twenty-five poems on the high Tang period (712-765), twenty-two poems on the middle Tang period (776-835) and seventeen poems on the late Tang period (836-907). The following analysis of these poems illustrates features related to the content of Yang's poems on history.

2.3.2 Focus more on historical figures than on historical events

(a) Yang describes historical events indirectly through historical figures

In his poems on history, Yang focuses more on historical figures than on historical events. However, he describes major historical events indirectly through those historical figures. For instance, the Xuanwu Gate Incident is mentioned in his description of Yuchi Jingde 尉遲敬德 (also known as Yuchi Gong 尉遲恭, fl.597-648). His poem on Yuchi entitled 'E'guo gong' 鄂國公 (The Duke of E State) has a preface that reads,

⁴²⁶ Liu Qian, "Yang Weizhen shige de duoyangxing", in *Journal of Fuyang Teachers College*, vol. 2007.3, p.26.

The Xuanwu [Gate] Incident had a bearing on the very survival of the Tang dynasty, and it [was a close-run event that] allowed not even one-second break.

玄武之變，唐之存亡，間不容髮。⁴²⁷

A portion of the poem reads,

- L3 [In revenge]The wine in the Eastern Palace 春宮酒吐血一升，
made him throw up one *sheng*⁴²⁸ of blood,
L4 The hidden soldiers arose at the main 玄武門前伏兵起。
entrance of Xuanwu Gate.
L5 A pair of flying geese were shot down in 長林射落雙飛雁，
Long Forest,
L6 And the General's single arrow made a great 將軍一箭回天功。⁴²⁹
contribution to saving the world.

In his description of Yuchi's contribution, Yang made reference to the Xuanwu Gate incident of 626 A.D. Crown Prince Li Jiancheng 李建成 (589-626), tried to murder his younger brother Li Shimin 李世民 (597-649) with poisoned wine.⁴³⁰ On the suggestion of his subordinates, Shimin then gathered soldiers at Xuanwu Gate with the aim of killing his elder brother. Fleeing to Long Forest, Shimin became entangled in the branches of a tree and was almost killed, this time by his younger brother, Li Yuanji 李元吉 (603-626). Yuchi arrived just in time to save Shimin, and together they killed both the Crown Prince and Li

⁴²⁷ Zou Zhifang, ed., *YWZSJ*, p.216.

⁴²⁸ One *sheng* (升) is one-tenth of a *dou* (鬥). In the Tang dynasty, one large *sheng* was the equivalent to 6,000 ml, and one small *sheng* was 2,000 ml. See Luo Zhufeng, main ed., *HYDCD.SYB*, vol.3, p.7770.

⁴²⁹ Zou Zhifang, ed., *YWZSJ*, p.216.

⁴³⁰ For details of this incident, see Liu Xu et al., *Jiu Tangshu*, vol.7, p.2417.

Yuanji.⁴³¹

Yang did not intend to write a poem explicitly on the Xuanwu Gate Incident, but referred to it indirectly in his description of Yuchi. Similarly, the Tianbao Rebellion is also mentioned in his poem 'Hu yanda' 胡眼大 (The Hun with big eyes). The following four lines describe the rebellion.

L25	Tongguan collapsed,	潼關覆，
L26	Hedong was in trouble,	河東蹙，
L27	The young dragon marched north,	小龍北行，
L28	The old mule entered the Shu region.	老驢入蜀。 ⁴³²

These lines narrate the Tianbao Rebellion of 756 A.D. when An Lushan captured Tongguan 潼關 (in Shaanxi province), and shocked the capital, Chang'an [modern Xi'an], of the Tang dynasty. The army in Hedong 河東 had to prepare to fight against the rebels. The third prince, Li Heng 李亨 (711-762) became the new emperor in Lingwu 靈武 (in modern Ningxia 寧夏 region) after his father, Emperor Xuanzong, had fled to the State of Shu (modern Sichuan province).⁴³³ In his description of historical figures, Yang made mention of related historical events. Nonetheless, his focus was on the figures rather than the events.

All these historical figures and related events that Yang wrote about can be found in *Jiu Tangshu* 舊唐書 (Old history of the Tang), *Xin Tangshu* 新唐書 (New history of the Tang), or *Zizhi tongjian* 資治通鑑 (The comprehensive mirror to aid in government). Their inclusion in these texts is a testimony to

⁴³¹ For details, see Sima Guang et al., eds., *Zizhi tongjian*, vol.13, pp.6010-6011.

⁴³² Zou Zhifang, ed., *YWZSJ*, p.228.

⁴³³ For details, see Ouyang Xiu et al., comps., *Xin Tangshu*, vol.1, pp.150-153; vol.20, pp. 6419-6421.

Yang's rich knowledge of history. Nevertheless, Yang did not narrate every major historical event. Important incidents, such as the coronation of Emperor Suzong of Tang 唐肅宗 (r.756-762) during the Tianbao Rebellion; the suppression of rebels in Gaoli (modern Korea) and Tufan (in modern Tibet)⁴³⁴ by Xue Rengui 薛仁貴 (614-683); and the successful reign of Emperor Taizong were not mentioned.

The fact that Yang wrote a large number of poems on the Tang dynasty implies that he had a keen interest in that period. The Tang dynasty was a rich and glorious period, in the history of imperial China. Yang appreciated this and showed a profound longing for this glorious and united period. However, as stated above, his main focus was on historical figures rather than events, and the poems therefore generally celebrate the personal virtues of historical figures rather than their achievements.

(b) He portrays lesser figures to reveal historical reality and convey hidden messages

Yang also used some less important historical figures to convey his opinions and to describe significant historical events. For example, he chose two cruel executioners, Zhou Xing 周興 (7th c.) and Lai Junchen 來俊臣 (651-697),⁴³⁵ to illustrate the cruelties of Empress Wu Zetian whose rule was infamous for its torture and cruel penalties. Yang's narration of the killing of Kong Chaofu 孔巢父 (d.784)⁴³⁶ during a period of rebellion reflected his conviction that being a

⁴³⁴ The rebellions occurred in 670-671 A.D. For details see *Xin Tangshu*, vol.13, pp.4142-4143.

⁴³⁵ See poem entitled 'Xiong ru weng' 兄入甕 (The elder brother enters an urn). Zou Zhifang, ed., *YWZSJ*, p.223.

⁴³⁶ See poem entitled 'Kong Chaofu' 孔巢父. Zou Zhifang, ed., *YWZSJ*, p.241.

hermit was much safer than being an official.

Yang even used little-known historical figures to convey messages about morality. Most figures he portrayed were active during periods of chaos, war or rebellion, and he was interested in linking this with the chaotic period of the late-Yuan dynasty. One example is his description of Nan Jiyun 南霁雲 (d.757),⁴³⁷ who preferred death to surrender. Here, Yang was advocating the virtues of loyalty and righteousness. *Xin Tangshu* (New history of the Tang) identifies Nan Jiyun as a loyal and righteous man. However, his biography, only a hundred words long,⁴³⁸ records him as a relatively insignificant figure. Despite this lack of acclaim, Yang appreciated Nan's moral stance and presented it to the world through poetry.

Sometimes, Yang depicted an animal in lieu of a historical figure. For instance, he did not write a single word on important early-Tang figures, such as Li Jing 李靖 (571-649) or Fang Xuanling 房玄齡 (579-648). Instead, he provided a detailed description of a horse that the Crown Prince, Li Jiancheng, gave to Li Shimin. Through this narrative, Yang illustrated the internal struggle for the throne between the two brothers.

2.3.3 Extensive coverage of the upper class rather than the lower class

Liu Qian claimed that Yang's poems on history covered people from the top

⁴³⁷ See poem entitled 'Nan ba'er' 南八兒 (The eighth son surnamed Nan). Zou Zhifang, ed., *YWZSJ*, p.232.

⁴³⁸ Ouyang Xiu et al., comps., *Xin Tangshu*, vol.18, pp.5542-5543.

to the bottom of society, and included accounts of commoners such as hawkers and porters.⁴³⁹ However, a review of the collection *Tieya yongshi* (Iron Cliff's poems on history) reveals that, of the 215 poems on historical figures, only nine portrayed commoners. These included servants, physicians, artists, guards and commoners without any named occupation. Therefore, the claim that Yang's poems cover historical figures of all social classes appears to be misleading. In fact, Yang mainly focused on the upper classes, as shown in the table below.

Table 4: *Tieya yongshi* mainly cover on the nobility and officials

126 poems on	39 poems on	26 poems on	4 poems on	11 poems on	9 poems on
Upper Class (nobility such as Emperors, Kings, Queens, relatives of the royal family), Prime Ministers, and other high-ranking officials.	Middle-class officials	Officials in junior positions and petty officers without rank	Beautiful girls and handsome men [who were members of powerful or rich families]	Hermits [who were well-educated scholars]	People without official titles or named occupations

More than half of Yang's poems on history concern royal families or high-ranking officials, and one-third are about officials of middle or lower ranks.

Also, taking Yang's poems on the Tang dynasty (Appendix 5) as examples, there are more about royalty and officials than about people without official titles. Most of the historical figures in those poems are either from the upper classes or

⁴³⁹ Liu Qian, "Yang Weizhen shige de duoyangxing", in *Journal of Fuyang Teachers College*, vol. 2007.3, p.26.

have some kind of official position. The exceptions are physician, Chen Xianfu 陳仙甫 (fl.786), scholar Wen Tingku 溫庭酷 (8th c.) and commoner Xun Mo 鄒模 (fl.762-779). Liu Qian's claims may therefore mislead the reader into thinking that Yang's poems on history focused evenly on historical figures from different classes. This is not the case. Well-known, higher-class figures are the main subjects of Yang's poems on history.

There are several reasons why Yang focused his attention on the higher end of society. Firstly, politics is usually dominated and controlled by those in power. Commentary on the political situation at a particular time will inevitably involve a description of the arbiters of power at the top of society. Secondly, Yang longed to make his own contribution to society as an official, and he craved a high position like the historical figures he described. He therefore paid attention to the officials whom he wished to emulate. Thirdly, the historical texts that Yang referenced to compose his poems would have contained much more detailed records on these higher officials than on commoners.

One important question that needs to be addressed is why Yang focused on historical figures.

Yang's poems on historical figures are part of an age-long tradition of poetry on history. Ji Minghua, notes that poems on historical figures traditionally outnumbered those on historical events. He proposes three reasons to explain this phenomenon. Firstly, the restricted length of the poetic form allows for only one main focus. Secondly, the historical classics with their vivid descriptions of historical figures set a model for many poets. Thirdly, the poets had similar life experiences and modes of thinking to many historical figures, and they could therefore gain some consolation in their own lives by empathising with those

figures.⁴⁴⁰

Ji's analysis can be applied to Yang's selection of historical figures as the main topics for his poems. As a scholar who had a great interest in history, and had studied *Chunqiu* (Spring and Autumn Annals), Yang was naturally influenced by the historical classics. Also, some of the historical figures that he described, especially the hermits, had similar life experiences to him. (See Chapter 6.2.1)

Ultimately, it is not easy to make a direct comparison of Yang's accounts of history with those in the official historical records. His focus was on figures rather than events, and the way he mixed arguments and opinion with his own feelings means that his writing is more subjective. After all, to him, poetry on history is a literary work of art, not a historical record.

2.3.4 Poems on the paintings of historical figures

Yang wrote nine poems on the paintings of historical figures. Five poems are on Tang figures, including Emperor Xuanzong and Imperial Consort Yang; two are on Tao Qian; one is on Tao Hongjing 陶宏景 (452-536); and the last one is on the two beautiful girls neé Qiao of the Periods of the Three Kingdoms. Some of these poems reflect his interpretations of the paintings and combined these with a description of lives of the historical figures themselves and an expression of his own feelings. For instance, 'Yuanming fu song tu' 淵明撫松圖 (Painting on Tao Yuanming's fondling the pine tree) reads,

L1 I planted the lone pine myself,

孤鬆手自植，

L2 To preserve its chastity and straightness.

保此貞且固。

⁴⁴⁰ For more details, see Ji Minghua, *Nan Song yongshi shi yanjiu*, pp.94-96.

- L3 A young tree which remains steadfast in winter, 微微歲寒心，
 L4 Who would be there to enjoy it with me in my old age? 孰樂我遲暮？
 L5 The Marquess of Liu avenged the [termination of the State of] Han, 留侯報韓仇，
 L6 He went in search of the [Immortal] Red Pine. 還尋赤松去。
 L7 [I who was born in] A later generation have the same mind as he. 後生同一心，
 L8 Viewing success or failure as what comes naturally in life. 成敗顧隨遇。
 L9 I return home and fondle the lone pine, 歸來撫孤松，
 L10 It is still a [pine] tree of the Jin dynasty. 猶是晉時樹。

From the title of the poem, one would surmise that the painting depicts Tao Qian fondling a pine tree. While fondling the pine, Tao thought of Zhang Liang 張良 (?-186 B.C.), who had chosen to become a hermit after helping Liu Bang to establish the Han 漢 dynasty and take over from the Qin dynasty. Zhang took his revenge when the Qin dynasty, which had destroyed his country, the State of Han 韓, eventually collapsed. Tao had the same desire to lead the life of a recluse as Zhang. He fondled the pine and remembered that he lived in the time of Jin rather than the Liu Song dynasty (420-479). The action of fondling the pine tree of the Jin dynasty illustrates Tao's loyalty.

This poem also shows how Yang incorporated history and personal sentiment as well as his interpretation of the painting's content into a poem. The cold winter is metaphor for the hardship caused by the unfavourable political and social conditions. Yang used the pine's straightness and its resistance to the cold as a metaphor for the integrity of Tao Qian, who would not bend his own nature by becoming an official in such a chaotic political environment. Yang also linked the pine to the story of Zhang Liang, who relinquished power and wealth as

a marquees in order to follow the Immortal Red Pine.⁴⁴¹ In this poem, Yang expresses his philosophy on life - to view success or failure in life as something that comes naturally. “[I who was born in] A later generation have the same mind as he” (L7), refers to the fact that Tao had the same desire as Zhang. But it also implies that Yang himself, as part of the ‘young generation’, also had the same ambition as both Zhang and Tao to live as a recluse.

Yang’s poems on the paintings of historical figures are no different from his other poems on history. He tried to relate the history implied in the painting to other stories and used them, ultimately, to express his own opinions. For instance, his poem ‘Er Qiao guanshu tu’ (On the painting of two Qiao girls’ reading books)⁴⁴² concerns two beautiful girls neé Qiao, and their husbands, Sun Ce 孫策 (175-200) and Zhou Yu 周瑜 (175-210). It also discusses Cao Cao and Cai Wenji 蔡文姬 (ca.177-ca.239). At the end of the poem, Yang made an exclamation which appears to be a comment on his own life experience. It reads, “Where can one’s talents, eloquence and wide knowledge be used?” (博學才辯何所施).⁴⁴³

Concluding remarks

Yang’s poems on history were composed mainly in *yuefu* form, which helps to distinguish them from the other poems in the same genre. Nevertheless, it is

⁴⁴¹ Sima Qian, *Shiji*, vol.6, p.2048.

⁴⁴² Zou Zhifang, ed., *YWZSJ*, p.348.

⁴⁴³ *Ibid.*, p.348.

difficult to neatly classify his poems on history. The categories created by the modern scholars, Wang Meihua and Huang Rensheng, illustrate this difficulty. My classification is based on the main focus of Yang's poems: (a) on historical figures; (b) on historical events; and (c) on other historical elements.

Yang's poetry on history covers the main events of the history of imperial China from the pre-Qin periods to the late Song dynasty. However, like other poems on history, his work focuses more on historical figures than events, and more on the upper than the lower classes. Also, Yang exhibited a great interest in the Tang dynasty and wrote sixty-seven poems about it.

Having studied the general content of Yang's Iron Style poems on history, in the next chapter I will explore the definition of '*Tieya ti*' (Iron Cliff style/form) and '*Tie ti*' (Iron style/form). Clarification of these definitions is necessary because Yang's more than four hundred poems on history form a large part of his '*Tieya ti*' (Iron Cliff style/form).

Chapter Three: The Definition of ‘Tieya ti’ (Iron Style/Form) : Controversy and Clarification

Yang’s poems on history are called ‘*Tieya ti*’ 鐵崖體 (Iron Cliff style), and *Tie ti* 鐵體 (Iron style). Yuan Xingpei 袁行霈 wrote:

[Yang] created the unique *Tieya ti* (Iron Style/form) in the Yuan poetry arena. And what best demonstrates the features of ‘*Tieya ti*’ is his *yuefu* poems. These poems are mainly on history and imitate ancient poetry, their content and themes are not that new. However, their artistic style presents something new to people.

[楊維禎]創造了元代詩壇上獨一無二的鐵崖體。最能體現‘鐵崖體’特色的，是他的樂府詩。這些詩多半是詠史、擬古之作，題材內容並不很新鮮，但在藝術風格上卻使人耳目一新。⁴⁴⁴

Huang Rensheng finds it difficult to define ‘*Tieya ti*’ from this statement.⁴⁴⁵

However, Yuan raises several points here: first, that Yang created a special ‘*Tieya ti*’; second, that his *yuefu* poems best illustrated his ‘*Tieya ti*’; and third, that these *yuefu* poems are mainly on history. Hence, he implies that Yang’s poems on history (especially those in *yuefu* form) best illustrate his special ‘*Tieya ti*’. Deng Shaoji also says that of Yang’s poems, his *yuefu* poetry is the most renowned, and that this is characterised by the content of historical stories.⁴⁴⁶

⁴⁴⁴ Yuan Xingpei, main ed., *Zhongguo wenxue shi*, vol.3, p.397.

⁴⁴⁵ Huang Rensheng, *YWZYMMCWXS*, p. 238.

⁴⁴⁶ Deng Shaoji, main ed., *Yuandai wenxue shi*, pp.496-497.

However, what is ‘*Tieya ti*’ (Iron Cliff style) ? In order to understand how Yang’s poems on history illustrate his ‘*Tieya ti*’, the definition of ‘*Tieya ti*’ should be clearly outlined.

3.1 Various definitions of ‘*Tieya ti*’ (Iron Cliff style/form)

3.1.1 Confusion in definition

The definition of ‘*Tieya ti*’ (Iron Cliff style/form) [or ‘*Tie ti*’ (Iron style/form)] was not clarified in the Ming and Qing dynasties. *Mingshi* 明史 (History of the Ming dynasty) states,

Yang Weizhen’s poetry, well-known for a time, was called the Iron Cliff Style.

楊維禎詩名擅一時，號鐵崖體。⁴⁴⁷

This equating of ‘*Tie ti*’ (Iron style/form) to Yang’s poetry is supported by Lou Buchan,

[Yang] was outstanding and he alone became a master and people regarded [his poetry] as *Tie ti* [Iron style/form].

[楊維禎]傑然獨自成家，人稱鐵體。⁴⁴⁸

Both statements imply that ‘*Tie ti*’ (Iron style/form) relate to Yang’s poetry, but at the same time they also imply that it is his unique poetic style.

⁴⁴⁷ Zhang Tingyu, et al., eds., *Ershisi shi quanyi. Mingshi*, vol.9, p.5815.

⁴⁴⁸ Lou Buchan, ed., *Tieya yuefu zhu*, in *XXSKQS*, vol.1325, p.433.

Modern scholars are also unable to define ‘*Tieya ti*’ clearly. Huang Rensheng lists seven commentaries by Ming and Qing critics⁴⁴⁹ and comes up with three definitions: Firstly, it is a substitute term for all of Yang poetry. Secondly, it specifically refers to Yang’s *yuefu* poetry,⁴⁵⁰ and manifests the unique characteristics of Yang’s *yuefu* poetry and its influence in literary history. Thirdly, it refers to all of Yang’s *yuefu* poems and those echoed by his friends and imitated by his followers. This last definition confirms Yang’s influence in the late-Yuan poetry arena. Huang did not reach a conclusion himself, but he believed these three definitions were used on different occasions.

Some modern scholars are rather confused about the meanings of ‘*Tieya ti*’. For instance, *Zhongguo wenxue shi* 中國文學史 (The history of Chinese literature) reads,

Yang Weizhen’s ‘*Tieya ti*’ uses free and untrammelled old *yuefu* poetry as the main form, which itself signifies a change in [the Yuan] poetic style.

楊維禎的鐵崖體以自由奔放的古樂府為主要體式，這本身就標誌了詩風的變化。⁴⁵¹

⁴⁴⁹ Huang Rensheng, *YWZYMMCWXS*, pp.235-236, 238.

⁴⁵⁰ Yang’s *yuefu* poetry includes poems with lines of uneven length, and five-character or seven-character quatrain (*jueju* 絕句). His ‘*Bamboo twig song*’ (*zhuzhi* 竹枝詞) and ‘*Palace*’ style poetry (*gongci* 宮詞) are examples of the seven character quatrain form. See Zou Zhifang. *YWZSJ*, pp.133-134, pp.400-401. It also includes ancient style poems (*gushi* 古詩) but excludes eight-lined regulated verse (*lushi* 律詩) and multi-lined regulated verse (*pailü* 排律).

⁴⁵¹ Zhang Peiheng et al., eds., *Zhongguo wenxue shi*, vol.3, p.110.

Scholars seem to interpret 'Tieya ti' as Yang's *yuefu* poetry as a form, but then they also say it 'signifies a change in poetic style', implying that it is a poetic style.

Modern scholars are inconclusive on the definition of 'Tie ti' or 'Tieya ti'. There are two main viewpoints: firstly, it is a poetic form referring to Yang's poetry, especially his *yuefu* poetry; and secondly, it is a poetic style, which includes the work of both Yang and his students. The first viewpoint is led by Deng Shaoji, who writes:

For the so-called 'Tie ti' or 'Tieya ti', modern people have different explanations. Based on related records, it should refer to or mainly refer to [Yang's] ancient *yuefu* poetic form.

所謂“鐵體”或“鐵崖體”，今人解釋不同，從有關記載看，當指或者主要指古樂府體。⁴⁵²

Unfortunately, Deng does not discuss this in depth, but he clearly mentions that 'Tieya ti' mainly refers to Yang's *yuefu* poetry. Yan Xuanjun 晏選軍, in his article, also has the same opinion.⁴⁵³

The second viewpoint is that of Zhang Jing, who argues that 'Tieya ti' is a poetic style and is best illustrated by Yang's *yuefu* poetry.⁴⁵⁴ Zhang's argument is backed up by Yuan Xingpei,

He [Yang] tried hard to break through the mid-Yuan poetic style that

⁴⁵² Deng Shaoji, "Lüetan Yang Weizhen shige de tedian", in *Wubei daxue xuebao*, vol.1989.4, p.40.

⁴⁵³ For details, see Yan Xuanjun. "Tieya ti shifeng qiantan", in *Zhongguo yunwen xuekan*, vol.1999.1, pp.9-16.

⁴⁵⁴ Zhang Jing, "Tieya ti: Yuandai houqi shifeng de shenke bianyi", in *Shehui kexue jikan*, 1994.2, p.151.

lacked vitality and had the same countenance [pattern] ...and he then created the Iron Cliff Style, which was unique in the Yuan poetry arena. His *yuefu* poetry best demonstrates the characteristics of his Iron Cliff style/form.

他力圖打破元代中期缺乏生氣，面目雷同的詩風.....從而創造了元代詩壇上獨一無二的“鐵崖體”，最能體現“鐵崖體”特色的，是他的樂府詩。⁴⁵⁵

These differing definitions of ‘*Tieya ti*’ may be due to the ambiguous nature of the term, ‘*ti*’ 體, which can mean ‘form’ or ‘style’ According to *Hanyu da cidian* 漢語大詞典 (Great dictionary of the Chinese language), ‘*ti*’ can mean either “*tica*” 體裁 (form of writing) or “*shige fengge*” 詩歌風格⁴⁵⁶ (poetic style). Therefore, controversy arises as to whether scholars’ comments refer to a style or a form.

The following section tries to elucidate the meanings of ‘*Tie ti*’. Is it a poetic form or a poetic style? If it is a poetic form, does it refer to Yang’s *yuefu* poetry only or all of his poetry? If it is a poetic style, does it mean only Yang’s poetic style or the common style of Yang, and his students and followers?

Is ‘*Tie ti*’ a poetic form?

According to Huang Rensheng, Yang has 1,443 extant poems, of which 1,227 are *yuefu* poems, and 216 are regulated verse (*liushi* 律詩).⁴⁵⁷ Huang’s calculation includes around 240 poems in *Fugu shiji* (Poetry collection of

⁴⁵⁵ Yuan Xingpei, main ed., *Zhongguo wenxue shi*, vol.3, p.397.

⁴⁵⁶ Luo Zhufeng, main ed., *HYDCD.SYB*, vol.3, p.7290. The eighth explanation of ‘*ti*’體.

⁴⁵⁷ Huang Rensheng, *YWZYMMCWXS*, p.229.

returning to the past) compiled by Zhang Wan,⁴⁵⁸ and 338 poems in *Gu yuefu* 古樂府 (Ancient *yuefu* poetry) collected by Wu Fu.⁴⁵⁹ Are all these poems to be regarded as ‘*Tie ti*’ (Iron form) [or ‘*Tieya ti*’ (Iron Cliff form)]? Does it refer to one particular poetic form? In fact, it refers to Yang’s *yuefu* poetry. The Ming scholar Guo Zizhang 郭子章 (1542-1618) wrote:

[From the poems] edited by Wu Fu and Zhang Wan, *Tieya yuefu* [Yang’s *yuefu* poetry] was called ‘*Tieya*’ [Iron Elegance], and [his] poems on history were also called ‘*Tieshi*’ [Iron History].

鐵崖樂府，自吳復章琬所編者，名曰鐵雅，而詠史詩又名為鐵史云。
460

Yang’s *yuefu* poetry is thus called ‘*Tieya*’ (Iron Elegance). ‘*Tieya ti*’ (Iron Elegance form) or ‘*Tieya ti*’ (Iron Cliff form) seems to refer to a form related to his *yuefu* poetry.

Is ‘*Tie ti*’ a poetic style?

How can we distinguish the poetry of one poet from that of another? For instance, why do we call Huang Tingjian’s 黃庭堅 (1045-1105) poetry ‘*Shangu ti*’ 山谷體⁴⁶¹ (Shangu style) and not ‘*Tie ti*’ (Iron style)?

Unquestionably, poetic style makes a difference. Even if Yang and other poets wrote on the same subject with the same title, theme and poetic form, their

⁴⁵⁸ See Zhang Wan, *Fugu shiji*, in *SKQS*, vol.1222, pp.123-143.

⁴⁵⁹ Zhang Wan, comp., *Fugu shiji*, in *SKQS*, vol.1222, p.124.

⁴⁶⁰ Zeng Zaozhuang, main ed., *ZHDD.WXD.SLJYWXFD*, vol.5, p.1011.

⁴⁶¹ ‘Shangu’ 山谷 is a poetic name of Huang Tingjian. His unique poetic style is called, ‘*Shangu ti*’ 山谷詩體 (Shangu’s Poetic Style) by scholars such as Wei Qingzhi 魏慶之 (fl.1240-1244). See Wei Qingzhi, *Shiren yuxie*, vol.1 p.17.

poems would be very different. Therefore, when critics call Yang's poetry '*Tie ti*' (Iron Style), they are also implying that his poetry is unique. This uniqueness is mainly due to his writing style, rather than his poetic content. This style distinguishes his poetry from that of others, and thus, it is labelled '*Tieya ti*' (Iron Cliff style) or '*Tie ti*' (Iron style), meaning 'the style of Yang Weizhen'.

In order to examine if '*Tieya ti*' (Iron Cliff Style) [or '*Tie ti*' (Iron Style)] really is a poetic style, in the following section, I now investigate its definition in the late Yuan dynasty and the comments made by the Ming and Qing critics.

3.1.2 Definition in the late Yuan dynasty

The label '*Tieya ti*' (Iron Cliff Style) most likely came about as a result of the observations of Yang's friends. In their literary gathering at Qiantang River in 1344, Zhang Yu (1283-1350) and Li Xiaoguang (1297-1328) called his poetry '*Tieya*' (Iron Elegance).⁴⁶² They showed their appreciation of his poetic elegance by labelling his poetry '*Tieya*' (Iron Elegance). But the first time when Yang's poetry was regarded as '*Tieya*' (Iron Elegance) by Li Ji was probably in 1341.⁴⁶³ Yang's use of '*Tieya*' (Iron Elegance) as a poetic name was most likely after this year.

In 1352, Yang called his own poetic style '*Tielong ti*' (Iron Dragon style) in his preface to '*Shenshi jin yuefu*' 沈氏今樂府 (Shen's modern *yuefu* poetry). This is because '*Tielong daoren*' 鐵龍道人 (Iron Dragon Taoist) was one of his poetic names.

⁴⁶² Preface to *Lengzhai shiji* 冷齋詩集, in Jin Yuan, comp., *Yang Weizhen xuwen ji*, p.175.

⁴⁶³ Sun Xiaoli, *YWZNP*, p.74.

I remember several years ago, I was a guest at Tai Lake, [where] I composed a poem ‘Tielong yin’ [Song of Iron Dragon]. Then [Shen] Zihou composed four poems with the same rhymes as mine in succession. All these imitated the Iron Dragon Style and were lofty like a sky with changing clouds. I was surprised by this.

記余數年前客太湖上賦《鐵龍引》一章，[沈]子厚連和余四章，皆效鐵龍體，飄飄然有變雲氣，心已異之。⁴⁶⁴

Yang’s comment that Shen’s *yuefu* poetry was “lofty like a sky with changing clouds” is similar to Wu Fu’s comments about Yang’s “untrammelled and lofty spirit” (逸氣飄飄然).⁴⁶⁵ Thus, ‘*Tie ti*’ (Iron Style) or ‘*Tieya ti*’ (Iron Cliff Style), which were other words for ‘*Tieya*’ (Iron Elegance) style and ‘*Tielong ti*’ (Iron Dragon style) are terms for Yang’s unique poetry style. This is confirmed by his student Yang Ji, who said,

Not only do I compose the *Tiedi ge* (Song of Iron Flute)⁴⁶⁶ [for you], I also closely imitate the ‘*Laotie ti*’ (Old Iron Style).

不惟為作《鐵笛歌》，尤且切效老鐵體。⁴⁶⁷

‘*Laotie*’老鐵 (Old Iron) is another of Yang’s poetic names⁴⁶⁸, and ‘*Laotie ti*’ 老鐵體 (Old Iron style) refers to Yang’s writing style.

[Yang] Ji sat in his seat and composed the ‘Song of Iron flute’. [Yang] Weizhen was surprised and happy, and went east with him. He said to his fellow travellers, ‘I have got another Iron from the Suzhou area. If

⁴⁶⁴ Jin Yuan, comp., *Yang Weizhen xuwen ji*, p.193.

⁴⁶⁵ Zeng Zaozhuang, main ed., *ZHDD.WXD.SLJYWXFD*, vol.5, p.995.

⁴⁶⁶ This poem is found in Yang Ji’s poetry corpus. Its first line, “The Taoist of Iron Cliff plays the iron flute.” (鐵崖道人吹鐵笛) reveals Yang’s poetic name and musical interests. See Yang Ji, *Meian ji*, pp.97-98.

⁴⁶⁷ Zhang Xi, “*Meian ji hou zhi*”, in Yang Ji. *Meian ji*, p.408.

⁴⁶⁸ Yang has around thirty-one poetic names. See Sun Xiaoli, *YWZNP*, p.1.

you all learn from him, it will be better than studying with me, the Old Iron.’

[楊]基於座上賦《鐵笛歌》，維楨驚喜，與俱東，語從遊者曰：“吾在吳，又得一鐵矣。若曹就之學，優於老鐵學也。”⁴⁶⁹

Rather than a poetic form, ‘*Tie ti*’ (Iron Style) clearly referred to Yang’s poetic style from the late-Yuan dynasty. Did this definition change in the Ming and Qing dynasties?

3.1.3 Perceptions of the Ming and Qing Critics

Scholars of the Ming and Qing dynasties did not define ‘*Tieya ti*’ (Iron Cliff Style) or ‘*Tie ti*’ (Iron Style), but their observations provide an insight into its meaning. The first comment on ‘*Tie ti*’ was by the Ming scholar, Qian Qianyi 錢謙益 (1582-1664). Qian severely criticised the poetry of Yang’s followers,

...those disciples who followed and inherited [his style] were [composing] obscure poetry of uneven length [which they] called ‘*Tie ti*’ (Iron Style), and which, in its effeminate way became a fashion.

承學之徒，流傳沿襲，槎牙鉤棘，號為鐵體，靡靡成風。⁴⁷⁰

‘Obscure poetry of uneven-length’ was Qian’s way of criticising the poor quality of the followers’ poetry, but at the same time, it revealed the features of ‘*Tie ti*’ (Iron style) - uneven length and obscure content as a result of a relatively free poetic form (*yuefu*) and strange diction. Qian did not like the followers’ writing of obscure poetry by imitating the so-called ‘*Tie ti*’ (Iron style). His criticism

⁴⁶⁹ Zhang Tingyu et al., eds., *Ershisi shi quanyi. Mingshi*, vol.9, p.5832.

⁴⁷⁰ Qian Qianyi, *Liechao shiji xiaozhuan*, in *Mingdai zhuanji congkan*, vol 11, p.60.

implied that Yang's style was also obscure and odd.

It is Yang's special diction that made his poetry strange and difficult. That is probably why Wu Qiao 吳喬 (1611-1695) criticised it as odd.⁴⁷¹ So, what is 'Tie ti' (Iron style)? Quite clearly, it is Yang's unique poetic style. But what was it exactly that his followers imitated? Hints are provided by Feng Ban,

His [Yang's] language is naturally an Iron Style, but somewhat regrettably it is strange.

其文字自是鐵體，頗傷於怪。⁴⁷²

It is Yang's strange language that made up the 'Tie ti' poetic style; and the followers' exaggerated imitation resulted in their obscure poetry. However, 'Tie ti' (Iron Style) which featured odd language brought Yang fame in the Yuan poetry arena.

3.1.4 Implication of more than one particular poetic style

As discussed above, 'Tie ti' refers to Yang's special poetic style. However, is it only one poetic style? The answer is clearly negative. 'Tie ti' (Iron Style)⁴⁷³ does not refer to one particular poetic style of Yang.

...critics said *Tie ti* was soft and effeminate, and recklessly censured and satirised it.

議者謂鐵體靡靡，妄肆譏彈。⁴⁷⁴

⁴⁷¹ Wu Qiao, *Weilu shihua*, in *XXSKQS*, vol. 1697, p.597.

⁴⁷² Feng Ban, *Dunyin zalu*, in *Qing shihua*, vol. 1, p.39.

⁴⁷³ 'Tieya ti' (Iron Cliff Style) or 'Tie ti' (Iron Style) includes different poetic styles. For easy understanding, here I call it 'Style'.

⁴⁷⁴ Gu Sili, *Hanting shihua*, in Wang Fuzhi et al., eds. *Qing shihua: 43 zhong*, vol.1, p.84.

To some critics, Iron Style is a “soft and effeminate” poetic style. Moreover, as discussed previously, Qian Qianyi thought it was ‘obscure poetry of uneven-length’, implying that it was an odd and strange style. These criticisms indicate that Yang used more than one poetic style; and therefore that, ‘*Tie ti*’ (Iron style) does not refer to a particular style. Critics’ comments reveal at least three different styles in Yang’s poetry: resplendent, potent and strange. For example, Hu Yinglin (1551-1602) criticised Yang’s *yuefu* poetry for being “resplendent and bewitching” (穠麗妖冶)⁴⁷⁵ and “soft and effeminate” (綺靡).⁴⁷⁶ But he acknowledged some poems as being “potent and undifferentiated, smooth and resplendent” (雄渾流麗).⁴⁷⁷ The Qing critic Shang Rong 尚鏞 (1785-?) believed that Yang’s *yuefu* poetry triumphed through “remarkable beauty” (奇麗),⁴⁷⁸ while Yan Junshou 延君壽 (dates unknown) applied “strange and startling” (奇險)⁴⁷⁹ to Yang’s poem ‘Shahu xing’ 殺虎行 (The song of killing the tiger).⁴⁸⁰

These poetic styles may have been modelled on different poets from the past, but critics are divided as to whom Yang imitated. Most critics, such as Zhang Yu,⁴⁸¹ Feng Ban,⁴⁸² Wu Qiao⁴⁸³ and Lu Ying 陸瑩 (1775-1850)⁴⁸⁴ are of the

⁴⁷⁵ Hu Yinglin, *Shisou*, p.56.

⁴⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p.238.

⁴⁷⁷ Hu Yinglin, *Shisou*, p.222.

⁴⁷⁸ Shang Rong, *Sanjia shihua*, in Guo Shaoyu et al., eds. *Qing shihua xubian*, vol.2, p.1921.

⁴⁷⁹ Yan Junshou, *Laosheng changtan*, in Guo Shaoyu et al., eds. *Qing shihua xubian*, vol.2, p.1808.

⁴⁸⁰ Zou Zhifang, *Yang Weizhen shiji*, p.101.

⁴⁸¹ Zeng Zaozhuang, main ed., *Zhonghua dadian. Wenxue dian. Song Liao Jin Yuan wenxue fendian (ZHDD.WXD.SLJYWXFD)*, vol.5, p.983.

⁴⁸² Feng Ban, *Dunyin zalu*, in *Qing shihua*, vol.1, p.39.

⁴⁸³ Wu Qiao, *Weilu shihua*, in *XXSKQS*, vol.1697, p.597.

⁴⁸⁴ Lü Ying, *Wenhua lou shihua*, in Guo Shaoyu et al., eds. *Qing shihua xubian*, vol.2, p.2308.

view that Yang's *yuefu* poetry owed a debt to Du Fu, Li Bai and Li He. Ming critics like Yang Shiqi argued that Yang's *qincao* (songs of the *qin* zither) was comparable to that of Han Yu, while his *gongci* 宮詞 (poetry on the imperial palace) was as great as Wang Jian's 王建 (*jinshi* title 775).⁴⁸⁵ *Siku quanshu tiyao* 四庫全書提要 (Summary of the Collectanea of the four treasuries) reads,

[Yang's] (Composed) poetry was the best of his generation by its strangeness and uprightness, [and] the imitators called it '*Tie ti*' (Iron Style).

[楊維禎]所作詩歌，以奇譎兀稟凌躒一世，效之者號為鐵體。⁴⁸⁶

'*Tie ti*' is described as an upright and strange poetic style. As critics had such different opinions of Yang's '*Tie ti*', it is therefore unlikely that the poetry referred to any one poetic style.

3.1.5 Correspondence to the style of Yang's students and followers

Qian Qianyi, noted that the students and followers in the late Yuan dynasty imitated Yang's style and composed 'obscure poetry of uneven-length', which they called 'Iron style' 鐵體.⁴⁸⁷

Modern scholars, like Huang Rensheng, make use of Qian's comments and define '*Tie ti*', to include all the poetry of Yang and his followers, implying that it is the collective poetic style of the Iron Elegance poetry school.⁴⁸⁸ Huang's definition is echoed by Richard John Lynn, who says,

⁴⁸⁵ Zeng Zaozhuang, main ed., *ZHDD.WXD.SLJYWXFD*, vol.5, p.986.

⁴⁸⁶ Abstract to *Yong'an ji*, in *SKQS*, vol. 1222, p.395.

⁴⁸⁷ Qian Qianyi, *Liezhao shiji*, in *Mingdai zhuanji congkan*, vol.11, p.60.

⁴⁸⁸ Huang Rensheng, *YWZYMMCWXS*, p.50.

Yang Wei-chen's [Weizhen's] sobriquet (hao) was Tieh-ya [Tieya] (Iron Cliff), so his followers constituted a tradition of poetry called the "iron style" (tieh-t'i) [*Tie ti*].⁴⁸⁹

Clearly then, '*Tie ti*' seems also to refer to the poetic style of Yang's followers.

Gu Sili 顧嗣立 (*jinshi* title 1712) stated that Yang Ji and Yuan Kai 袁凱 (fl.1370), Yang's disciples,⁴⁹⁰ were the two leading poets of the early Ming dynasty but "commentators said that their *Tie ti* (Iron Style) was soft and effeminate" (議者謂鐵體靡靡).⁴⁹¹ Here, 'Iron Style' is an effeminate poetic style created by Yang and imitated by his followers. However, Gu himself disagreed with the comments that Iron Style was soft and effeminate. His opinion was similar to that of some modern scholars', namely that '*Tie ti*' (Iron Style) is a collective poetic style. For instance, the modern scholar Yang Lian writes:

Only Zhang Xian is truly the key person for '*Tieya ti*' (Iron Style).
惟有張憲確實是 '鐵崖體'的中堅[份子]。⁴⁹²

This implies that the 'Iron Style' is a poetic style of Yang and his students. Zhang Xian 張憲 (14th c.) was the only student who closely inherited Yang's poetic style. Other students learnt from Yang but were incapable of continuing his unique poetic style. Zhang Xian wrote about 109 poems on history,⁴⁹³ and

⁴⁸⁹ Richard John Lynn, "Mongol-Yuan Classical Verse (Shih)", in *The Columbia History of Chinese Literature*, p.387.

⁴⁹⁰ Gu Sili, ed., *Yuanshi xuan (chuj)*, vol.3, p.1976.

⁴⁹¹ Gu Sili, *Hanting shihua*, in Wang Fuzhi et al., eds. *Qing shihua: 43 zhong*, vol.1, p.84.

⁴⁹² Yang Lian, *Yuanshi shi*, p.512.

⁴⁹³ Based on my calculation of the number of poems categorized as 'poetry on history' in his collection entitled *Yusi ji* 玉筍集. 10 *juan*; in *Yingyin Wenyu ge shiku quanshu*, vol. 1217, pp.365-389.

many of them use the same titles as Yang's, for example, 'Lanmian gui' 藍面鬼 (The ghost with a blue face) and 'Hongmen hui' (The meeting at Hong Gate). Some of Zhang's poems also have long prefaces, in which he expresses his viewpoints or explains the backgrounds to the historical events.

Yang called his students '*Tiemen*' 鐵門 (Iron Door [meaning Iron School])⁴⁹⁴, and Wu Fu and Zhang Wan called themselves respectively '*[Tie]men shang*' [鐵]門生⁴⁹⁵ ([Iron] Door Student) and '*[Tie]men ren*' [鐵]門人⁴⁹⁶ ([Iron] Door Person) in their prefaces to *Gu yuefu* 古樂府 (Ancient *yuefu* poetry) and *Fugu shiji* (Poetry collection of returning to the past). Pan Deyu 潘德輿 (1785-1839), called Yang's students '*Tieya tu*' 鐵崖徒⁴⁹⁷ (Iron Cliff disciples). These disciples seldom regarded their own poetry or poetic style as '*Tie ti*' but claimed that they were 'imitating *Tie ti*'. For instance, Yang Ji said he "closely imitated the 'Laotie ti' (Old Iron style)" (切效老鐵體).⁴⁹⁸ However, very few students were able to imitate Yang's poetic style. In one line of a poem, Jin Yu 金虞 (dates unknown) wrote, "weak sons imitated *Tie ti* (Iron style)" (纖兒效鐵體)⁴⁹⁹ criticising Yang's incapable followers and students.

Yang had more than a hundred students, but only seventy-eight of them could compose poetry, and only forty-eight have extant poems.⁵⁰⁰ Of all these disciples, Zhang Xian was the strongest,

⁴⁹⁴ Zou Zhifang, ed., *YWZSJ*, p.549.

⁴⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, p.494.

⁴⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, p.496.

⁴⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, p.572.

⁴⁹⁸ Yang Ji, *Meian ji*, p.408.

⁴⁹⁹ This is the third line of a poem entitled '*Ti Tieya shiji hou*' 題鐵崖詩集後 (Inscription after *Tieya poetry collection*). See Zou Zhifang, ed., *YWZSJ*, p.608.

⁵⁰⁰ Huang Rensheng, *YWZYMMCWXS*, p.405.

Of the several hundred disciples, Zhang Silian [Zhang Xian] was the only person to be admitted to the sanctum [of Yang].

門下數百人，入其室者惟張思廉[張憲]一人而已。⁵⁰¹

Even Yang himself was disappointed that fewer than ten in a hundred of his students were as competent as Zhang Xian, or Yuan Hua from the Wuxia district (the southern area of Changjiang in modern Jiangsu province).

Inside my Iron Door, there are more than a hundred disciples from the north and south claiming to be capable of composing poetry. But, [when I] look for someone like [Zhang] Xian and Yuan Hua of Wuxia, there are less than ten people.

吾鐵門稱能詩者，南北凡百餘人。求其似憲及吳下袁華輩者，不能十人。⁵⁰²

This is why Huang Rensheng only chose ten disciples⁵⁰³ as Yang's representatives.

Yang used to describe himself and his followers as 'my Iron Elegance School' (吾鐵雅派),⁵⁰⁴ with the implication that they constituted a school of poets with the same poetic style. However, Huang included all those who learnt from or imitated Yang, as well as those who echoed with his poems, as members of 'Tieya pai' 鐵雅派 (Iron Elegance School).⁵⁰⁵

⁵⁰¹ Gu Sili, *Hanting shihua*, in Wang Fuzhi et al., eds. *Qing shihua: 43 zhong*, vol.1, p.84.

⁵⁰² Yuan Hua, *Kechuan ji*, in *YYWYGSKQS*, vol.1232, p.362.

⁵⁰³ Guo Yi 郭翼 (1305-1364), Zhang Mu, Song Xi 宋熹 (fl.1368-1398), Zhang Xian, Yuan Hua 袁華 (1316-1391), Lü Cheng 呂誠 (1323-ca.1395), Wu Fu, Yang Ji, Jing Xin 金信 (14th c.), Bei Qiong 貝瓊 (1314-?). See Huang Rensheng, *YWZYMMCWXS*, p.406-408.

⁵⁰⁴ Preface to *You ji* 一漚集, in Jin Yuan, comp., *Yang Weizhen xuwen ji*, p.177.

⁵⁰⁵ Huang Rensheng reckons there was a total of 98 members of 'Tieya pai' 鐵雅派 (Iron Elegance school), including Yang. Of these, 19 were Yang's friends who wrote poems with

Huang's inclusion of all these followers appears to be too broad; some of them were simply Yang's friends, and might not have used the same poetic style as Yang. For example, there is the case of Qian Weishan and Li Xiaoguang,

[They] were rare persons who were of the same mind as Yang Weizhen but different in their poetic styles.

....是很少見的與楊維禎聲氣相通，但詩風並不一致的人。⁵⁰⁶

Their poetic styles were different from that of Yang's, so in what sense could they be counted as members of Yang's school? Huang gives no explanation. He nevertheless, implies that 'Iron style' includes poetry composed by Yang's friends, students and followers imitating Yang's poetic style.

Although some critics referred to '*Tie ti*' or '*Tieya ti*' as a poetic form, most considered it to be a poetic style. Based on my analysis of comments from Yuan, Ming and Qing scholars, I therefore believe that *Tieya ti* (*Tie ti*) is a term for Yang's poetic style.

3.2 Iron style reflected by Yang's students and followers

As mentioned in section 3.1.5, the term *Tieya ti* (Iron Style) is also applied to

him, and 78 were students. See Huang Rensheng, *YWZYMMCWXSC*, p.408. However, in an earlier article, Huang calculates the total members to be 91 with 71 disciples. See Huang Rensheng, "Tieya Shipai chengyuan kao", in *Zhongguo wenxue yanjiu*, vol.1998.2, p.52.

⁵⁰⁶ Yang Lian, *Yuanshi shi*, p.513.

the poetry of Yang's students and followers, and so an exploration of their styles can give a deeper understanding of it. This section investigates the core style found in the poems on history written by Yang's students and followers. Yang's poetry was called as 'Iron Elegance', and he also described his followers as 'my Iron Elegance School'. Does this mean that the core component of *Tieya ti* is elegance?

After researching a total of nineteen of their collections, I have discovered that there are more than one hundred poems composed by Yang's students and followers (see Appendix 6) in addition to Zhang Xian's 109 poems on history. As Zhang Xian's poems contain various poetic styles, such as potency and straightforwardness, it is difficult to identify the core style of *Tieya ti* from his poems alone. The following section thus focuses on poems by Yang's other students and followers.

3.2.1 *'Tieya ti'* (Iron Style) as presented by Yang's students

Although Yang had more than a hundred students, only a few could compose poems. Of the ten great students listed by the modern scholar, Huang Rensheng, only a select few have poems on history that are extant. Almost all of these poems are on individual historical figures rather than historical events.

These students all had similar writing styles and some exhibited strangeness and oddness in their work. For instance, Song Xi's 宋禧 (fl.1368-1398) poem entitled 'Yangfei jüge' 楊妃菊歌 (Song of chrysanthemum named Imperial Consort Yang) is in a strange style and has odd diction. The poet used diction in a similar way to Yang, including elements such as 'roaming soul' (*youhun* 遊魂), 'blood' (*xue* 血), 'dirt' (*wu* 汙), and 'ugly/ugliness' (*chou* 醜). He also used iron

image, such as ‘iron cavalry’ (*tieqi* 鐵騎).⁵⁰⁷

However, elegance seems to be the main essence of the Iron Style presented by Yang’s students. For example, Song Xi’s other poems which are not on history adopt an elegant style rather than strangeness or oddness. In fact, most of Song Xi’s poems fall into the category: elegance and grace. *Siku quanshu tiyue* (Summary of the Collectanea of the four treasures) has a comment on his natural style,

[Song] Xi’s knowledge originated from Yang Weizhen...But Xi’s poetry is freshly plaintive and gracefully tactful, and he alone venerates nature. [宋]禧學問源出楊維禎。……而禧詩乃清和婉轉，獨以自然為宗。⁵⁰⁸

Another student, Lü Cheng, also demonstrated poetic elegance rather than oddness or strangeness. He applied fresh rather than odd or strange diction. Gu Ying also noticed Lü’s careful choice of fresh and graceful diction, writing that his poetic themes were fresh and new, and avoided the application of stale diction.⁵⁰⁹ Gu implies Lü’s fresh and elegant poetic style.

Lü’s poetry had an elegant style as did that of Yang’s beloved student, Yuan Hua. Gu also noted Yuan Hua’s elegant poetic style,

He usually can compose a song or poem, which is purely elegant in nature, and especially praiseworthy. 輒有吟詠，德性純雅，尤可稱焉。⁵¹⁰

⁵⁰⁷ Song Xi, *Yong’an ji*, in *SKQS*, vol. 1222, p.405.

⁵⁰⁸ Preface to *Yong’an ji*, in *SKQS*, vol. 1222, p.1-2.

⁵⁰⁹ Gu Ying, ed., *Caotang yaji*, see *SKQS*, vol. 1369, p.358.

⁵¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p.455.

Unfortunately, Yuan's poetry corpus entitled *Kechuan ji* 可傳集 (Collection possibly worth passing on) does not contain a single poem on history.⁵¹¹ However, his other poems are generally straightforward and elegant, like Yang's *zhuzhi ci* poems.

The poems on history of Yang's talented student, Guo Yi, are also in an elegant style. His 'Jieyu yuan' 婕妤怨 (Grievance of the Jieyu Concubine) reads,

- | | | |
|----|---|--------|
| L1 | The clouds of the palace hang over the well-decorated door, | 宮雲貫珠戶， |
| L2 | While the [reflection of the] moon in the Milky Way falls onto the golden palm-shape plate. | 漢月下金掌。 |
| L3 | Dew on flowers generates the surrounding mist; | 露華生外氣， |
| L4 | Insects in the shadow disturb the sound of autumn. | 陰蟲亂秋響。 |
| L5 | His Majesty did not use the silk round fan, | 紈扇君不禦， |
| L6 | Leaving [her] alone in frustration on an autumn night. | 獨夜秋怳怳。 |
| L7 | This beautiful person cannot be found again, | 佳人難再得， |
| L8 | Abandoned, one thinks of her in vain. | 棄捐空懷想。 |

512

The poet uses the images of 'cloud', 'moon', 'dew', and 'sound' to describe a lonely night in autumn. He skilfully embellishes these images by 'cloud of the palace' (*gongyun*), 'moon in the Milky Way' (*hanyue*), 'dew on flowers' (*luhua*) and 'sound of autumn' (*qiuxiang*) to portray a beautiful but lonely night scene. Guo does not use odd or strange diction, nor did he create thrilling or breathless atmosphere. He presents a quiet and lonely night, and subtly describes Ban Jieyu's sorrow in L6 and L8 by the use of some symbolic diction: 'alone' (*du*)

⁵¹¹ Based on my checking in his collection, *Kechuan ji*, in *SKQS*, vol. 1232, pp.361-382.

⁵¹² Gu Ying, ed., *Caotang yuji*, see *SKQS*, vol. 1369, p.352.

‘frustration’ (*huanghuang*) and ‘abandoned’ (*qijuan*). Ban had been abandoned by the emperor and felt lonely and frustrated on an autumn night. The poem beautifully portrays Ban’s tragic status through the use of elegant natural imagery.

The poems on history written by Yang’s students thus demonstrate poetic elegance, which seem to be the essence of ‘Iron Style’. The Ming and Qing scholars’ criticisms on Yang’s students’ (or Iron Door’s) soft and effeminate or odd and strange poetic styles, therefore, seem to be merely their subjective opinions.

The ‘Iron Style’ poems of Yang’s students are generally elegant. However, why were they criticised as being odd and strange? Is this also at the core of Iron Style (*Tieya ti*)?

Yang Ji, one of the four famous poets of the early Ming dynasty, wrote poems on history that demonstrate similar characteristics to those of Yang’s poetry. His poetic style provides hints about the nature of the core of Yang’s ‘Iron Style’. His poem ‘Cike’ 刺客 (Assassins) no.1 reads,

- | | | |
|----|---|-----------------------|
| L1 | In autumn, he cried for the soul of Nie Zheng | 秋啼聶政魂， |
| L2 | In the coldness, he soaked up Jing Ke’s blood. | 寒漬荊軻血。 |
| L3 | For revenge and for repaying a debt of gratitude, | 報仇兼報恩， |
| L4 | He stabbed someone and then killed himself. | 刺人還自殺。 ⁵¹³ |

Yang Ji’s poems on history apply odd and strange diction. Words such as ‘soul’ (*hun*), ‘blood’ (*xie*), ‘soak’ (*zi*) and ‘kill’ (*sha*) create a sense of violence and bloodiness. Yang Ji liked to use thrilling diction just as his teacher did. However, the relatively poetic descriptions and application of images of nature, such as ‘autumn’ (*qiu*) and ‘coldness’ (*han*), save this poem from being too odd.

⁵¹³ Yang Ji, *Meian ji*, p.263. The subtitle of this poem is ‘bishou’ 匕首 (dagger).

Yang Ji also utilised symbols to glorify the two famous assassins, Nie Zheng (?-397B.C.)⁵¹⁴ and Jing Ke. In a metaphor, Ji says that ‘in the coldness, he soaked up Jing Ke’s blood’ symbolising his (the assassin’s) brave spirit and sacrificing virtue were transplanted from Jing Ke. This kind of symbolism enriches the poetic content and provides more room for imagination.

However, the Iron Style presented by Yang Ji is not simply odd. It also has a tendency towards straightforwardness. His ‘Cike’ no. 2 reads,

- L1 Playing [the *zhu*] in the morning, there is no sound 朝擊無秦聲，
music from Qin,
L2 Playing [the *zhu*] in the evening, there are all 暮擊皆死曲。
melodies of death.
L3 Who would have known the lead inside the body 誰知腹中鉛，
[of *zhu* used to assassinate the Emperor],
L4 Was a main reason why the great hero’s eyes were 矐卻壯士目。
blinded? 515

Despite using images of ‘death’ (*si*) and ‘blindness’ (*huo*), this poem is not that violent and bloody. Using subtle descriptions, Yang Ji reveals the reason for Gao Jianli’s 高漸離 (fl.221BC-210B.C.) blindness. Gao was an official for the State of Yan, which was terminated by Emperor Shihuang of Qin. He played a Yan melody only to show his loyalty to his state. Gao intended to assassinate Emperor Shihuang and therefore agreed to be his musician. To protect Emperor Shihuang, Gao was made blind by Qin court attendants; and the only tool he could use for assassination was the lead he hid inside his stringed musical instrument,

⁵¹⁴ For Nie Zheng’s biography, see Sima Qian, *Shiji*, vol.8, p.2522-2526.

⁵¹⁵ Yang Ji, *Meian ji*, p.263. The subtitle of this poem is ‘Zhu’築 (Stringed musical instrument *zhu*).

the *zhu* 築.⁵¹⁶ That is why the poet says it was the lead that blinded Gao's eyes. The 'lead' symbolises Gao's resolve to assassinate the emperor, and thus the ultimate reason for his blindness.

Although Yang Ji tended to develop a straightforward style, his poems on history generally demonstrate strangeness. They are full of odd diction while being straightforward in terms of narration. Yang Ji was even able to earn the title of 'Little Yang', which meant he was comparable to Yang Weizhen, the 'Old Yang'.

In Kuaiji, [Yang Ji] met Yang Lianfu, who playfully asked Ji to compose a poem using his poetic name 'Iron Flute' as a title. Ji replied, 'Not only can I compose poems, I can also imitate the Old Iron Style.' The next day, he wrote a poem that was very similar to Yang's in style. ...Thereby, they were addressed as 'Old Yang' and 'Little Yang' at that time.

會稽楊廉夫相見，戲以所號鐵笛為題，使其賦歌。對曰：「不惟能歌，尤切效老鐵體。」翌日，誠似。...故當時有「老楊」、「小楊」之稱。
517

If Yang Ji was the best imitator of Yang, then it is possible to say that his strange poetic style represented the core of 'Iron Style'. Nevertheless, Qing critics generally believed that Yang Ji, one of the 'Four Talents'⁵¹⁸ of the early Ming dynasty, closely imitated the resplendent and effeminate style of the late Yuan period.⁵¹⁹ Zhu Yizun thought that the effeminate style that Yang Ji had inherited from the Yuan poets was the reason that he was appreciated by Yang.

⁵¹⁶ For details, see Sima Qian. *Shiij*, vol.8, pp.2536-2537.

⁵¹⁷ Yang Ji, *Meian ji*, p.404.

⁵¹⁸ The other three talents are Gao Qi 高啓 (1336-1374), Zhang Yu 張羽 (14th c.) and Xu Bi 徐賁 (?-1379?). See Yang Ji, *Meian ji*, p.410.

⁵¹⁹ Yang Ji, *Meian ji*, p.410.

Mengzai [Yang Ji] had still not rid himself of the practice of the Yuan poets, therefore *Tieya* [Yang Weizhen] highly appreciated him.
孟載猶未洗元人之習，故鐵崖極稱之。⁵²⁰

Zhu Yizun implied that the ‘Iron Style’, demonstrated by Yang Ji, was effeminate. However, his comments run quite contrary to my findings. As evidenced by the poems above, Yang Ji’s poetic style was relatively strange and straightforward, but not effeminate. If Yang Ji is one of the best presenters of Iron style, it is no exaggeration to say that strangeness and oddness are the core styles of ‘*Tieya tie*’ (Iron style).

Therefore, ‘*Tieya Ti*’ demonstrated by Yang’s students includes diverse writing styles. In order to have a clearer picture, the next section investigates ‘*Tieya ti*’ as presented by Yang’s followers.

3.2.2 ‘*Tieya ti*’ (Iron Style) as presented by Yang’s followers

‘Iron style’ influenced poets in the late Yuan dynasty, especially those who were influenced by Yang while attending social or literary gatherings. Examining their poems helps to clarify the core style of ‘*Tieya ti*’.

For example, Xiang Jiong was one of the poets whom Yang had visited and invited to compose poems in order to promote Zhejiang poetry.⁵²¹ Xiang is on the list in Gu Ying’s collection entitled, *Caotang yaji* 草堂雅集 (Elegant collection of thatch hall). The style of his poem on history, the ‘Wu gongyuan’ 吳宮怨 (Grievance of Wu palace), is similar to Yang’s in terms of diction.

L1 The embroidered crossbeams were powdered with 繡楣酒黃粉，

⁵²⁰ Yang Ji, *Meian ji*, p.397.

⁵²¹ See Sun Xiaoli, *YWZNP*, p.105.

- wine-like yellow,
- L2 While the pepper-red imperial walls⁵²² stretched 椒壁張紅青；
out in dark-green;
- L3 Leaning by eaves, the trees looked like ghosts, 倚簷樹如鬼，
L4 The snakes called out at night in the deep grass; 深草蛇夜鳴；
L5 The skeletons had no more tears, 觸體已無淚，
L6 [As] The ancient grievance lay buried under the 古恨埋石肩。
stone door. 523

In this poem, Xiang applies odd diction and strong colours which may be another of the unique features of *Tieya ti* (Iron Style). Diction in words ‘skeleton’ (*dulou*), ‘ghost’ (*gui*) and ‘snake’ (*she*) create a sense of tragedy and a mysterious atmosphere. Strong and sensational colours like ‘wine-like yellow’ (*jiuhuang*) and ‘dark-green’ (*hongqing*, also called *ganqing* 紺青), symbolise the downfall of a country, while ‘pepper-red imperial wall’ and ‘embroidered crossbeam’ reminded one of its resplendent palaces and periods of prosperity.

Is Iron Style characterised by the use of such sensational colours? As these strong colours are similar to those used by Yang, the answer appears to be in the affirmative. Unfortunately, Xiang has only one poem on history for examination despite Gu Ying saying that Xiang had great knowledge.⁵²⁴

Another poet, Zhang Wo 張渥 (fl.1356), who had close connections with Yang⁵²⁵ was also influenced by Yang’s poetry. His ‘Ti Zhaojun chusai tu’ 題昭

⁵²² Pepper-red imperial walls (Jiao-bi 椒壁): The wall painted by the mixed materials of red peppers and clay. This generally refers to the chambers and houses where the queen and imperial concubines dwelt, or the imperial palace. See Lou Zhufeng, main ed., *HYDCD.SYB*, vol.1, p.2613.

⁵²³ Gu Ying, *Caotang yaji*, see *YYWYGSKQS*, vol. 1369, p.338.

⁵²⁴ *Ibid.*, p.337.

⁵²⁵ Qiao Guanghui, Fan Hua, “Shilun Yang Weizhen de jiaoyou yu chuanguo”, in *Yancheng Shizhuan Xuebao*, vol. 1997.2, p.15.

君出塞圖 (On the painting of Zhaojun's leaving beyond the frontier) exhibits a potent style similar to Yang's. This poem reads,

- | | | |
|-----|--|----------|
| L1 | [The land covered with] yellow sand was like a boundless sea under high-hanging gloomy clouds, | 黃沙漫海幽雲高， |
| L2 | Where stood the Yan Mountains without a single plant growing in Spring, just icy snow. | 燕山雪凍春不毛。 |
| L3 | People grew up as ferocious as an owl, | 其人生長獍如梟， |
| L4 | Eating meat on carpets with heroic courage. | 氈處肉食膽氣豪。 |
| L5 | With horn-shaped bows and feather-decorated arrows and striped knives, | 角弓羽箭花紋刀， |
| L6 | [They] jumped onto and rode fast horses that leaped and ran in flying steps. | 踴躍快馬騰飛揉。 |
| L7 | Their black flags set up beneath the sun, one was startled by the whirling frost, | 玄旗樹日驚霜颺， |
| L8 | Saying the messengers had come to the Han dynasty. | 云是使者來漢朝。 |
| L9 | A beautiful girl in the Han palace had a seductive countenance, | 漢宮佳人顏色嬌， |
| L10 | Her moth-like pretty eyebrows showed her worries and her hair was not creamed, | 蛾眉顛頰髮無膏。 |
| L11 | Her hands stroke the <i>pipa</i> guitar and its sound echoed inside the sandalwood. | 手揮琵琶響檀檀， |
| L12 | Each sound whimpered to express her anguish. | 聲聲嗚咽寫鬱陶。 |
| L13 | The Mongolian tent was not warm and she kept dreaming of her home town, | 穹廬不暖鄉夢勞， |
| L14 | The moon always shone on the border but it was not a good night. | 邊月長照非良宵。 |
| L15 | The weather was cold and a grey mink was granted to her | 天寒賜著灰色貂， |
| L16 | The grape wine brimming in the two pots was poured out. | 雙壺灑灑傾蒲桃。 |
| L17 | Inside the golden door and the jade palace, a heart was [shaking] like a waving flag. | 金門玉殿心旌搖， |

- | | | |
|-----|---|-------------------------------|
| L18 | One thought of the mist and water far away
in Chang'an. | 長安煙水空迢遙。 |
| L19 | They danced and sang inside the Mongolian
tents and called to the dogs and mastiffs. | 穹廬蹋歌嗾犬獒， |
| L20 | She pitied herself for being unable to hear
the harmonious sound of the flute again. | 自憐耳絕聞簫韶。 |
| L21 | The painter who received bribes was unable
to escape death, | 畫工受賂死莫逃， |
| L22 | As his brushes transformed the beauty into
ugliness by a slight move. | 筆底妍醜移分毫。 |
| L23 | The old friends in the palace did not receive
love and favour [from the emperor] | 掖庭舊好恩不交， |
| L24 | Although she lamented being in the North,
she was most favoured. | 在北雖恨寵可要。 |
| L25 | The strategy of marriage to the Huns for
peace failed, which made them arrogant, | 和蕃計失令之驕， |
| L26 | Wars thousand miles away, and the Huns
were up to all kinds of troubles. | 干戈萬里紛擲跳。 |
| L27 | The old generals in the court wore the
embroidered robes of Shu, | 廟堂老將蜀錦袍， |
| L28 | Inside the jade tent sat the nobility
surrounded by pennants and red flags, | 玉帳坐爵麾赤旌。 |
| L29 | The minorities' music and the blue-eyed
tribes were all around the countryside, | 兜離碧眼滿近郊， |
| L30 | On the tomb of the phoenix, snakes and
dragons coiled. | 鳳凰之穴蟠蛇蛟。 |
| L31 | The North wind moved the earth and blew
to the tangle heads grass, | 北風動地吹黃茅， |
| L32 | Left alone in her dark tomb, the foxes called
out. | 獨留青塚狐狸號。 |
| L33 | Her spirit wandered for a thousand years,
who could beckon it? | 流魂千載誰能招， |
| L34 | Alas! Her spirit wandered for a thousand
years, who could beckon it? | 嗚呼流魂千載誰能
招。 ⁵²⁶ |

The powerful description creates a tense scene (L3-L7) and the narration of these

⁵²⁶ Gu Ying, ed., *Caotang yaji*, see *Yingyin wenyuan siku quanshu*, vol. 1369, p.325.

portentous historical events (L21-L26) gives the poem its potency. The presentation - duplicated poetic lines and reduplicated compounds - is exactly the same as in Yang's work. Again, the poet applied odd diction to portray strange images in the same way that Yang's students did. Images like 'snake', 'dragon', 'fox', 'mink', 'owl', dogs' and 'mastiffs' rarely appear in poems on beauty. There are examples of strange description, such as "Her moth-like pretty eyebrows showed her worries and her hair was not creamed" (L10) to portray her sadness at leaving her home country, and "Left alone in her dark tomb, the foxes called out." (L32), which describes the loneliness of her death. These descriptions appear to be very fresh and new to portray the respectable beauty Wang Zhaojun. However this strange style also looks very much like Yang's.

Also, the poem is potent because of its rich content and deep-seated meanings.⁵²⁷ Sikong Tu 司空圖 (837-908) described this category as 'xiong-hun' 雄渾 (potent, undifferentiated),

Reverting to the empty brings one into the undifferentiated;	返虛入渾，
Accumulating sturdiness produces the potent.	積建為雄。
It contains the full complement of all things.	備具萬物，
Stretching all the way across the void. ⁵²⁸	橫絕太空。 ⁵²⁹

Stephen Owen states that this style "can be manifest only in the impression of energy."⁵³⁰

The poem on Wang Zhaojun shows "the impression of energy" by its

⁵²⁷ Cao Lengquan, ed., *Shipin tongshi*, p.2-6.

⁵²⁸ Stephen Owen, *Reading in Chinese Literary Thought*, p.303.

⁵²⁹ Cao Lengquan, ed., *Shipin tongshi*, p.1.

⁵³⁰ Stephen Owen, *Readings in Chinese Literary Thought*, p.306.

powerful descriptions and rich content with that embraces the “full complement of all things”. The powerful descriptions of the Huns’ arrogance (L3-L8), Wang Zhaojun’s sadness at leaving her country (L9-L14), and the various wars started by the Huns (L25-29) all contribute to the poem’s potency.

In addition, the poem has a deep theme which comes through especially in the last few lines, in which, the poet laments the empty sacrifice of Wang Zhujun. The repeated lines, “Her spirit wandered for a thousand years, who could beckon it?” (L33, L34), are an expression of the poet’s strong sympathy for Wang Zhaojun, whose marriage to the tribal chief for the sake of peace was in vain. The Huns were still stirring up trouble and the old generals of the Han dynasty found it necessary to defend the country again.

In his choice of diction, Zhang used many duplicated compounds. Examples of these are ‘*tan-tan*’ 檀檀 (sound echoed inside sandalwood), ‘*sheng-sheng*’ 聲聲 (each sound) and ‘*yan-yan*’ 灑灑 (brimming). Yang’s poetry also contains the same kind of duplicated compounds and duplicated poetic lines (See chapter 5.2.3).

As well as their similar poetic styles, Zhang Wo and Yang had experienced similar setbacks in their lives. Yang’s talent was not recognised in his official career, while Zhang’s scholarship was not recognised and he failed the civil examinations several times.⁵³¹ It seems that ‘*Tieya ti*’ was a suitable style for those scholars who had experienced grievances or setbacks in their lives, as the adoption of oddness and strangeness in their poems served as a means of verbal protest in the face of life’s unfairness.

In addition to Zhang, Liu Ji’s 劉基 (1311-1375) poems also demonstrate a

⁵³¹ Gu Ying, ed., *Caotang yaji*, see *Yingyin wenyuan siku quanshu*, vol. 1369, p.324.

very strange style in terms of the choice of odd diction. Examples are words such as ‘poison’ (*du* 毒), ‘die’ (*si* 死), ‘drown’ (*ni* 溺), ‘perish’ (*mie* 滅), ‘deform’ (*can* 殘), ‘body’ (*quti* 軀體) and ‘stumble’ (*zhi* 躓), which appear in his poem *Yongshi* 詠史 (On history) no. 6,⁵³² and evoke a sense of ugliness rather than beauty.

Lin Jiali 林家驪 believes that Liu Ji has a ‘strange and odd, resplendent and beautiful’ (*qijue meili* 奇譎瑰麗) style.⁵³³ His comment suggests that Liu Ji used diverse poetic styles. Furthermore, Huang Rensheng believed that Liu Ji’s ancient *yuefu* poetry was influenced by Yang’s work.⁵³⁴ As he was a follower of ‘*Tieya ti*’, Liu’s diverse styles also illustrated the variety of poetic styles contained in ‘*Tieya ti*’.

Some Yuan poets imitated the way that Yang narrated in the voices of historical characters, which may be another of the special features of Iron Style. For example, Ma Lin 馬磨 (fl.1354) wrote two poems entitled ‘*Ti Zhaojun chusai tu*’ 題昭君出塞圖 (On the painting of Zhaojun’s leaving beyond the frontier), which was composed in the voice of Wang Zhaojun, thus giving the reader an in-depth understanding of her feelings of bitterness on leaving her home country. The first poem reads,

- L1 The grass is yellow, the sand is white, the 草黃沙白馬如雲，
horses are as numerous as clouds,
L2 The sorrowful sound of a reed-whistle can be 落日悲笳處處聞；
heard everywhere when the sun is setting;
L3 This departure finally allows my heart’s full 此去妾心終許國，
devotion to the country,

⁵³² Song Xi, *Yong'an ji*, in *SKQS*, vol. 1222, pp.431-432.

⁵³³ Liu Ji, *Liu Ji ji*, preface p.8.

⁵³⁴ Huang Rensheng, *YWZYMMCWXS*, p.211.

L4 There is no need for the three divisions of the 不勞辛苦漢三軍。
Han army to toil. 535

Ma Lin put himself in the position of Wang Zhaojun and narrated her sadness at leaving her country for good.

Gu Ying never commented on Ma's poetic style but simply said, '[Ma] loved literature and favoured elegance in order to enhance his family's prestige' (好文尚雅，以華其家聲).⁵³⁶ That Ma favoured elegance may also explain his tendency to compose graceful rather than odd and strange poems. Ma was a relative of Gu Ying,⁵³⁷ and he is believed to have been an active participant in the social and literary gatherings held at Gu's place. Ma probably met Yang occasionally and was influenced by his Iron Style. Ma's use of in-voice narration suggests that this is probably another of the unique features of Iron Style. His straightforward poetic style, characterised by direct narration, plain description and simple diction, reconfirms the fact that '*Tieya ti*' has diverse characteristics. The core of '*Tieya ti*' (Iron Style) is not simply poetic elegance; it also incorporates strangeness and potency.

However, not all poets of the late Yuan and early Ming periods were strongly influenced by Yang Weizhen. Poets believed to have been Yang's followers actually wrote very few poems on history. Liu Bing 劉炳 (14th c.), Qian Weishan⁵³⁸, and Guan Shimin 管時敏⁵³⁹ (14th c.) had only have two to three

⁵³⁵ Gu Ying, *Caotang yaji*, in *SKQS*, vol. 1369, p.408.

⁵³⁶ *Ibid.*, p.407.

⁵³⁷ *Ibid.*, p.407.

⁵³⁸ Liu Bing and Qian Weishan are on the list of members of the Iron Elegance Group. See Huang Rensheng, *YWZYMMCWXS*, pp.393, 395.

⁵³⁹ Guan Shimin is believed to have been one of Yang's disciples. See Huang Rensheng,

poems in their collections, which are entitled *Liu Yanbing ji* 劉彥昂集 (Collection of Liu Yanbing), *Jianyue songfeng ji* 江月松風集⁵⁴⁰ (Poetry collection: moonlight on the lake and breeze among pine trees), *Yinqiao ji* 蚓竅集⁵⁴¹ (Poetry collection: the sound of earthworm's aperture) respectively.

Concluding Remarks

It seems that 'Tieya ti' is a diverse poetic style as demonstrated by Yang's students and followers. It consists of different poetic writing styles presented in special ways including, for example, narration in the voice of historical figures, and the usage of reduplicated compounds. If these features form the core of 'Tieya ti' (Iron Style), it follows that they should also be found in Yang's poems on history as well.

Moreover, Yang's 'Tieya ti' (Iron Style) was an influence on the poetry arena of his time. The first four lines of Zhang Jian's poem entitled 'Ciyun ji tieya' 次韻寄鐵崖 (Poem sent to Iron Cliff using the same rhymes) read,

- | | | |
|----|---|----------|
| L1 | Mr. Iron Cliff becomes more abstruse when getting old, | 鐵笛先生老更迂， |
| L2 | His <i>fu</i> poetry resembles Xiangru's and reaches the sky; | 摩空有賦擬相如； |
| L3 | Once his extraordinary writing changes, the people of the Wu ⁵⁴² area imitate him, | 奇文一變中吳學， |

YWZYMMCWXSC, p.404.

⁵⁴⁰ For poems, see Qian Weishan's *Jianyue songfeng ji* (12 juan) in *SKQS*, vol.1217.

⁵⁴¹ For poems, see Guan Shimi's, *Yinqiao ji* (10 juan) in *SKQS*, vol.1231.

⁵⁴² 'Wu' 吳 refers to the southern part of modern Jiangsu province and the northern part of modern Zhejiang province. Lou Zhufeng, main ed., *HYDCD.SYB*, vol.1,p.1521, explanation

L4 And his big brush writes and edits books for the next generations. 大筆猶編後世書。
543

This poem is an evidence of Yang's great literary achievements and important position among the Yuan scholars. The third line reveals the uniqueness of Yang's poetic and writing style, which changed the literary arena in the Wu districts. Zhang's description of Yang as "more abstruse" in the first line implies that his poetry is esoteric and ambiguous, which is probably due to the peculiar features of his unique Iron Style.

no.4.

⁵⁴³ Gu Ying, *Caotang yaji*, in *Siku quanshu*, vol.1369, p.417.

Chapter Four: The Constituents of Iron Style Poetry on History: Imitation and Creation

This chapter explores the constituents - the various styles of Yang's poems on history. Yang's poetry consists of different poetic styles, a fact that drew praise from Ming and Qing scholars. For instance, Yang Shiqi applauded Yang's *xianglian* poetry. He appreciated its 'graceful and resplendent, rich and untrammelled' (娟麗俊逸) language, which he likened to the words of an immortal.⁵⁴⁴ However, Lu Rong 陸容 (1436-1494) was critical, stating that all Yang's poems on the boudoir used 'lewd and indecent' (淫褻) diction.⁵⁴⁵ Yang's poetry seems to have been greatly appreciated by one critic, while disparaged by another.

Hu Yinglin declared Yang's five-character quatrain *yuefu* poetry and *xianglian* style poetry to be "beautiful and untrammelled, deep and straightforward" (俊逸濃爽).⁵⁴⁶ Hu is one of the scholars who applauded some of Yang's poetic strengths, while at the same time pointing out his weaknesses.

Gu Qilun 顧起綸 (fl.1666) appreciated Yang's "outstandingly resplendent diction" (詞雋而麗) and "regretful and sorrowful tone" (調悽而惋), and noted that Yang was especially good at *yuefu* poetry.⁵⁴⁷ However, Li Tiaoyuan 李調元

⁵⁴⁴ Postscript to *Fugu shiji*, in Zhang Wan, comp., *Tieya xiansheng fugu shiji*, p.1 (after p.142).

⁵⁴⁵ Lu Rong, *Shuyuan zayi*, p.113.

⁵⁴⁶ Hu Yinglin, *Shisou*, p.241.

⁵⁴⁷ Gu Qilun, *Guo ya pin*, in *Mingdai zhuanji congan*, p.142.

(1734-1803) disliked Yang's "startling and odd" (險怪)⁵⁴⁸ language.

While the comments of these critics are varied, they all imply that Yang's poetry could be graceful, resplendent, untrammelled, lewd, straightforward, potent, undifferentiated, effeminate, eccentric, strange and startling, all at the same time. These comments facilitate our understanding of Yang's diverse styles, however, it must be remembered that most of them refer to only some, but not all, of his poems.

Since Yang's Iron Style consists of various poetic styles, and it is not possible to explore all of them, this thesis will concentrate on six main styles: *qi* 奇 (strange), *xiong* 雄 (potent), *bai* 白 (straightforward), *ya* 雅 (elegant), *li* 麗 (resplendent) and *yi* 逸 (untrammelled). Of these, strangeness, potency, elegance, and straightforwardness are most commonly found in Yang's poems on history, and the resplendent and untrammelled styles are more popular in his other poetic genres. More specifically, resplendence is found in his poems on boudoirs while the untrammelled style appears mainly in his poems on mountains and lakes, and those concerning immortals.

(a) Consequence of his personality: a reflection of his mind and personality

In fact, all the poetic styles mentioned above may be regarded as a reflection of Yang's mind and personality. In the section on 'style and nature' in *The Literary Mind and the Carving of Dragons*, Liu Xie 劉勰 (ca.465-ca.522) wrote:

When the emotions are moved, they express themselves in words; and

⁵⁴⁸ Wu Xiqui, *Li Tiaoyun shihua pingzhu*, p.192.

when reason is born, it emerges in a pattern. However, people differ in talent, in physical vitality, in scholarship, and in manner... All these are partly the outcome of temperature and nature, and partly the result of a process of training. ...and in style and form, he is destined to be either graceful or vulgar, and few can be what is contrary to their training.⁵⁴⁹

Literary works such as poems are verbal expressions stimulated by emotions and reason. And their writing styles and patterns are reflections of the writer's temperament and nature, and a consequence of his training. Therefore, different writing styles depend on the different temperament and nature of the writer. Poetry is thus an artistic presentation of personality. Joseph R. Allen said,

For both Li [Bai] and Du [Fu], the writing of poetry was the veritable creation of the individual personality in art, rather than art as a social, philosophic or aesthetic exercise.⁵⁵⁰

This statement could also be applied to Yang, who not only imitated Li Bai and Du Fu, but also insisted that poetry was a reflection of temperament and based on personality.⁵⁵¹ Yang's poetry, regardless of the different poetic content or themes, was also an artistic creation of his personality. Different poetic contents and themes show his various interests, while different writing styles on the same poetic theme illustrate his different personalities: a combination of his temperament and nature, and the consequence of his training.

Even though Yang's poetry on history is largely restricted to historical figures and events, it exhibits various writing styles, and reflects different facets of his personality. For instance, his untrammelled style originated from his pursuit of

⁵⁴⁹ Liu Xie, [Shih, Vicent Yu-chung, trans.] *The Literary Mind and the Carving of Dragons: a Study of Thought and Pattern in Chinese Literature*, p.307.

⁵⁵⁰ Joseph R. Allen, *In the Voice of Others: Chinese Music Bureau Poetry*, p. 166.

⁵⁵¹ Huang Rensheng, "Yang Weizhen de wenxue guan", in *Fudan xuebao*, vol.1997.4, pp.83-85.

freedom, his love of travel around mountains and lakes, and his dream to be a roaming immortal. His strange style not only betrayed his imitation of Li He, but also showed his appreciation of wildness and strangeness. It also reflected his sometimes wild behaviour, such as once using a courtesan's small shoe to hold a wine cup.⁵⁵² His wildness can be put down to the fact that he wilfully ignored traditional etiquette at the time of his setbacks.

Yang had a complicated personality. He strictly observed the teachings of Confucianism but also exhibited wild behaviour; his thoughts were rooted in Confucian morality, but he also longed for immortality. He wished to become an official, but his talent was not recognised. He fought for the people and workers, but was made an 'unconventional official'. Perhaps due to these kinds of contradictions, his Iron Style is also a mixture of various styles, earning him a good reputation as well as criticism.

(b) Result of modelling on various Tang poets

Apart from a reflection of his complex mental state, Yang's Iron Style is also the result of his modelling his poems on the work of different Tang poets. *Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao* 四庫全書總目提要 (Summary of all books in the Collectanea of the four treasuries) notes Yang's imitation of the Tang poets,

Yang loomed over a generation with his talent. He took advantage of its [Yuan poetic] shortcomings and strived vigorously to correct them. His [poetry is] rooted in Qinglian [Li Bai] and Changgu [Li He]. It is powerful, vigorous and potent [in style], and he was able to create his own literary world. His best [poems] perhaps surpass those of the ancient poets, but his worst [ones] descend into a demonic taste. Therefore, his poetic charm shone for a time, but those who criticised

⁵⁵² Zou Zhifang, ed., *YWZSJ*, p.587.

him also appeared everywhere.

維楨以橫絕一世之才，乘其弊而力矯之，根柢青蓮、昌谷，縱橫排
募，自闢町畦。其高者或突過古人，其下者亦多墮入魔趣，故文采
照映一時，而彈射者亦復四起然。⁵⁵³

This passage indicates that Yang inherited much from Li Bai and Li He, but that he was also able to develop his own poetic style. Some of his poems compare favourably with those of the ancient poets, others do not.

Yoshikawa Kōjirō believed that Yang's resplendent, liberal and imaginative poetry was modelled on the writing techniques of Du Fu, Li Bai and Li He, as well as the *yuefu* poetry of the Han, Wei and Six Dynasties.⁵⁵⁴ Similarly, the Yuan poet, Zhang Yu, believed that Yang's Iron Style was a model of the style of poets from the Han and Wei periods, and resulted from his imitating the styles of Du Fu, Li Bai and Li He. Zhang said,

Lianfu [Yang Weizhen] demonstrated his talent in this area, and imitated [the style of poets in the] Han and Wei periods; and he made [his style] a cross between [that of] Shaoling [Du Fu] and the two Lis [Li Bai and Li He].

廉夫又縱橫其間，上法漢魏，而出於少陵[杜甫]、二李[李白、李賀]之間。⁵⁵⁵

In fact, as noted above, Yang did imitate several major Tang poets in basing his poetry not only on history but also on other topics. For instance, he wrote five poems entitled, 'Xichun ti' 嬉春體⁵⁵⁶ (Enjoying Spring) that imitate Du Fu's

⁵⁵³ Yong Rong et al., eds., *Qinding siku quanshu zongmu tiyao*, vol.4, p.448.

⁵⁵⁴ Yoshikawa Kōjirō, "jūyon seiki zenhan: genshi no seijuku" (The first half of the fourteenth century: the prosperity of Yuan poetry), *Yoshikawa Kōjirō zenshū*, vol.15, p.435.

⁵⁵⁵ Preface to *Tieya xiangsheng gu yuefu*, see *YYWYGSKQS*, vol. 1222, p.3.

⁵⁵⁶ Zou Zhifang, ed., *YWZSJ*, p.379.

style,⁵⁵⁷ and another four ‘Wuti’ 無題⁵⁵⁸ (Untitled) poems that imitate Li Shangyin’s. The preface to these poems reads, ‘Four untitled poems imitating Li Shangyin’ (無題效李商隱體四首).⁵⁵⁹

Critics have not explained why they thought Yang’s poems were modelled on Han Yu’s work. However, David Hinton wrote, “Han [Yu] favored narrative structure and prosaic language. His poems tended to be long, with extended descriptive passages and great attention to detail.”⁵⁶⁰ Some of these features can be found in Yang’s poems on history. The application of strange and odd diction is another similarity between Han Yu and Yang.

Scholars were in disagreement about whose style Yang’s poetry derived from. But they generally agreed that his poetry was mainly rooted in the work of the three Tang poets, Du Fu, Li Bai and Li He. Scholars have implied that the Tang poets’ influence accounts for Yang’s diverse poetic styles and helped him to nurture his own Iron Style. John Timothy Wixted believes that Yang was modelled his work on the Tang poets of the ninth-century.

Yang Weichen [Weizhen] wrote series of poems on history, women, immortals, filial piety, and other diverse topics. As a poet so indebted to ninth-century models that were considered decadent, Yang was himself criticised for being a ‘literary devil [goblin]’ (*wenyao*) by his contemporary, Wang Wei [Wang Yi] (1323-1374).⁵⁶¹

Modern scholars agree with the Ming and Qing scholars that Yang imitated the

⁵⁵⁷ Sun Xiaoli, *YWZNP*, p.85; and Lou Buchan, ed., *Tiya yibian zhu*, p.673

⁵⁵⁸ Zou Zhifang, ed., *YWZSJ*, p.381.

⁵⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p.381.

⁵⁶⁰ David Hinton, ed., *Classical Chinese Poetry: An Anthology*, p.252.

⁵⁶¹ John Timothy Wixted, “Poetry of the Fourteenth Century”, in Victor H. Mair, ed., *The Columbia History of Chinese Literature*, p.393.

late Tang poets. Richard John Lynn quoted Wang Shizhen's comments on Yang's close imitation of "Fei-ch'ing [Wen T'ing-yün] and Ch'ang-chi [Li Ho (790-816)]",⁵⁶² with whom he is in agreement. Also, Zhang Jing believed that the powerful expressions and fabulous imagination in Yang's poetry were all imitations of Li Bai, Li He and some other Tang poets, aside from his modelling on the *yuefu* poetry of the Han Wei periods.⁵⁶³ Zhang's position is supported by Yan Xuanjun.⁵⁶⁴

In short, the work of Li Bai was a model for Yang's untrammelled style, Du Fu inspired his poetic potency; Li He's poetry influenced his poetic strangeness; and the works of Li Shangyin and were models for his resplendence.

(c) Combination of special traits in *Shijing* and *yuefu* poetry

Yang's various writing styles also were a combination of special traits in *Shijing* (Book of Poetry) and *yuefu* poetry (Chapter 5.2 has more details). Yan Xuanjun says that Yang's simple and genuine, fresh and potent poetic style was due to the influence of *yuefu* poetry.⁵⁶⁵ Yan refers to the style of Yang's *yuefu* poems in general, not specifically to his poems on history. In the West, scholars such as Richard John Lynn believe that Yang emulated *yuefu* poems of the Han and Wei dynasties, noting:

Yang is known for his success at emulating the ancient ballad form (*yüeh-fu*) of the Han and Wei eras and for his brilliant adaptations of the

⁵⁶² Richard John Lynn, "Tradition and the Individual Ming and Ching views of Yuan Poetry", in *Studies in Chinese Poetry and Poetics*, vol. 1, p.354.

⁵⁶³ Zhang Jing, "Tieya ti: Yuandai houqi shifeng de shenke bianyi", in *Shehui Kexu Jikan*, vol.1994.2, p.151.

⁵⁶⁴ Yan Xuanjun, "Tieyati shifeng qiantan", in *Zhongguo yunwen xuekan*, vol. 1999.1, p.11.

⁵⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p.12.

styles of the T'ang poets Tu[Du] Fu, Li Po[Bai], Li Ho[He], and Wen T'ing-yün [Tingyun].⁵⁶⁶

Lynn here suggests that Yang's special style is an imitation of *yuefu* poetry as well as an adaptation of the styles of the four famous Tang poets.

However, the creation of a certain style depends on several factors. As Liu Mingjin believes, a style is formed by writers' personalities, their hatreds and loves, the content and themes they intended to convey, the general aesthetic interest at the time they were alive, and the trends in literary development.⁵⁶⁷

Liu's analysis is echoed by Wang Lianqi, who believes that Yang's poetic and calligraphic style is a mixture of his personalities, personal interests, life experiences as well as the influence of the social environment at that time.⁵⁶⁸

However, both Liu and Wang overlook the fact that a poet's style can be modelled on those of others, as Yang's Iron Style was indeed modelled on other styles.

The following section explores the constituent elements of Iron Style - the diverse writing styles - in Yang's poems on history and traces their formation.

4.1 Strangeness (*qi*) modelled on Li He's Poetry

Yang's poetic strangeness was mainly modelled on Li He's work, although some critics have different views. His strangeness is similar to the idea of '*qi*' 奇 expounded by the Tang scholar, Sikong Tu. Sikong explained the poetic

⁵⁶⁶ Richard John Lynn, "Mongol-Yuan Classical Verse (Shih)", in *The Columbia History of Chinese Literature*, p.387.

⁵⁶⁷ Liu Mingjin, "Lun Tieya tie", in *Xueshu yuekan*, vol.3 (1985), p.73.

⁵⁶⁸ Wang Lianqi, "Yuan Zhang Yu, Yang Weizhen, Wen Xin shiwen juan ji xiangguan wenti kaolie", p.99.

style, 'qing-qi' 清奇 (lucid and wondrous) in two lines,

The spirit gives forth ancient marvels,
So limpid if cannot be held back.⁵⁶⁹

神出古異，
淡不可收。⁵⁷⁰

Owen believes that this style is associated with “a surprising freshness”,⁵⁷¹ while Cao Lengquan affirms that it refers to 'qi-yi' 奇異 (wondrous and abnormal). However, what is 'qi'? I agree with Zu Baoquan 祖保泉 that new poetic themes or fresh poetic diction that give the reader a sense of wondrous freshness are the main features of 'qi'.⁵⁷²

Siku quanshu zongmu states that Yang's strange and vigorous *yuefu* poetic style came from the work of Bao Zhao 鮑照 (405-466); its changeability resembled that of Li Bai, and its secluded beauty and strangeness was from Li He.⁵⁷³ Yan Junshou suggests that Yang's *yuefu* poetic strangeness and oddness were comparable to Li He's.⁵⁷⁴ Yang Lian notes that Yang's poetic strangeness shows an imprint of Li He and Li Shangyin,⁵⁷⁵ while Deng Shaoji opines that Yang imitated Li He's poetic style.⁵⁷⁶ Scholars basically believe that Yang's strange poetic style was modelled mainly on the poetry of Li He, which is classified as strange.⁵⁷⁷ J. D. Frodsham writes:

⁵⁶⁹ Stephen Owen, *Readings in Chinese Literary Thought*, p.338.

⁵⁷⁰ Cao Lengquan, ed., *Shipin tongshi*, p.58-59.

⁵⁷¹ Stephen Owen, *Readings in Chinese Literary Thought*, p.339.

⁵⁷² Zu Baoquan, *Sikong Tu shipin jieshuo*, p.73.

⁵⁷³ Abstract to *Tieya gu yuefu*, in *Yingyin Wenyuange siku quanshu*, vol.1222, p.2.

⁵⁷⁴ Yan Junshou, *Laosheng changtiao*, in Guo Shaoyu et al., eds. *Qing shihua xubian*, vol.2, p.1808.

⁵⁷⁵ Yang Lian, *Yuanshi shi*, p.508.

⁵⁷⁶ Deng Shaoji, *Yuandai wenzue shi*, p.494.

⁵⁷⁷ Xin Wenfang, Fu Xuancong, main ed., *Tang caizi zhuan jiaojian*, vol.1, p.289.

[Li] He's unique style, bearing a strangeness of tone which led an eleventh-century critic to dub him 'the demon-poet'. 'Weird', 'astonishing' and 'demonic' are all adjectives frequently applied to his verse.⁵⁷⁸

Yang's strangeness had more or less the same characteristics. He created a strange tone by his strange but vivid descriptions, odd metaphors, and thrilling and eccentric diction, which all imitate Li He's work and provide readers with a sense of wonder. This style is best illustrated by the *yuefu* poem 'Hongmen hui' (The meeting at Hong Gate).⁵⁷⁹

L1	In Heaven, the pass was in mist,	天迷關，
L2	On Earth, the gate was in mist;	地迷戶，
L3	The Eastern Dragon delivered sunshine while the Western Dragon rained.	東龍白日西龍雨。
L4	Listening to music and drinking wine in the roaring ocean of sorrow;	撞鍾飲酒愁海翻，
L5	Blowing green fire to the bird-nest were the two <i>yayu</i> monsters.	碧火吹巢雙猊獅。
L6	There are not two crows [suns] shining in the sky eternally;	照天萬古無二鳥，
L7	The remaining stars and a broken moon opened up the rest of the sky.	殘星破月開天餘。
L8	There sat a guest endowed with the aura of the Son of Heaven,	座中有客天子氣，
L9	Whose left thigh had seventy-two dark spots arranged in a chain of pearls.	左股七十二子連明珠。
L10	The roar of an army of one hundred thousand men shook the roof tiles;	軍聲十萬振屋瓦，
L11	Someone drew his sword in front of the	拔劍當人面如赭。

⁵⁷⁸ J.D.Frodsham, *Goddesses, ghosts, and demons: the collected poems of Li He (Li Chang-ji, 790-816)*, p.xxxi.

⁵⁷⁹ Yan Junshou compares this poem to Li He's. See Yan Junshou, *Laosheng changtan*, in Guo Shaoyu et al., eds. *Qing shihua xubian*, vol.2, p.1808.

people and his face was raging red.

- L12 The general dismounted and had the strength to move mountains; 將軍下馬力排山，
L13 His heroic spirit rolled up the Yellow River and flowed out from his wine. 氣捲黃河酒中瀉。
L14 The light of his sword reached the sky and chilled the dying comet, 劍光上天寒彗殘，
L15 To draw a line dividing the mountains and rivers the following morning. 明朝劃地分河山。
L16 The general yelled for his dragon-horse [and] took the guest away, 將軍呼龍將客走，
L17 And the jade wine cups were smashed, as stones crashed from Heaven.⁵⁸⁰ 石破青天撞玉斗。⁵⁸¹

The feast at Hong Gate celebrates the famous meeting between Xiang Yu and Liu Bang. Xiang Yu resented Liu Bang, who threatened his leadership and secretly wished to kill him. During the feast, Xiang Yu's advisor, Fan Zeng 范增 (277-204 B.C.), gave several signals to Xiang to kill Liu, but Xiang hesitated. Fan Zeng then summoned Xiang Zhuang 項莊 (2nd c. B.C.) to entertain the guests with a sword dance and stab Liu to death. Xiang Zhuang's uncle, Xiang Bo 項伯 (?-192 B.C.), saw through their ruse and started a sword dance to block Xiang Zhang. Liu's strategist, Zhang Liang, realised Liu's perilous situation and summoned Liu's chief guard, Fan Kuai, to help.

Fan Kuai rushed into the feast tent in full armour and stopped the dance. Xiang Yu was impressed by his bravado and gave him an urn of wine and a shoulder of pork. Fan then praised Liu's devotion and reminded Xiang of his promise to allow the first person who successfully conquered Xianyang, the heartland of Qin, to become king. Later, Liu, using the excuse of going to the

⁵⁸⁰ For details, see Sima Qian, *Shiji*, vol.1, pp.314-315.

⁵⁸¹ Zou Zhifang, ed., *YWZSJ*, p.10.

latrine, escaped from the tent in Fan's company. After they had gone, Zhang Liang returned to the tent to apologise for Liu's early departure, and offered Xiang and Fan Zeng a pair of white jade discs and a pair of jade wine cups, respectively, on behalf of Liu. Xiang was pleased, but Fan Zeng smashed the cups on the ground in anger. Fan Zeng predicted that the unsuccessful assassination would only lead to Xiang's failure in the future.⁵⁸² His prediction turned out to be true. Yan Junshou compares Yang's poem to Li He's,

The meeting at Hong Gate' etc...can unashamedly be compared to Changji's [Li He's] works.

〈鴻門會〉等作.....直追長吉而無愧色。⁵⁸³

He points out the similarities between Yang's and Li He's poetry, showing his great appreciation.

The poem's strangeness comes from Yang's choice of odd diction and strange metaphors with symbolic meaning. He uses 'yayu' 猘豸⁵⁸⁴ (monsters) to symbolise Fan Zeng and Xiang Zhuang, implying they were evil; 'Eastern Dragon' and 'crow of sun' allude to Liu Bang's orthodoxy, while 'Western Dragon' and 'comet' to refer to Xiang Yu's unorthodox leadership and his future failure.

By applying the terms 'aura of the Son of Heaven' to Liu and 'comet' to

⁵⁸² For details, see Sima Qian, *Shiji*, vol.1, pp.312-315; and William H. Nienhauser, trans. *The Grand Scribe's Records*, vol.1, pp.190-194.

⁵⁸³ Yan Junshou, *Laosheng changtan*, in Guo Shaoyu et al., eds. *Qing shihua xubian*, vol.2, p.1808.

⁵⁸⁴ *Yayu* 猘豸: It was believed to be the largest of all the animals. It has a dragon's head, horse's tail and a tiger's claws. Its body was said to be 400-*chi* [feet] in length. See Ren Fang, *Shuyi ji*, in *SKQS*, vol. 1047, pp. 618-619.

Xiang, Yang discloses his pro-Liu attitude,⁵⁸⁵ as comets symbolised disaster and failure. Comet “is in charge of cleaning, removing the old and putting on the new” (主掃除，除舊布新).⁵⁸⁶ There was a belief that the appearance of a comet portend the downfall of a country, as noted by Duke Jing of Qin 秦景公 (547-490 B.C.)⁵⁸⁷ It was also said a comet would point to the west in the morning (when they met at Hong Gate) and to the east at night.⁵⁸⁸ This belief corresponds with Yang’s intention to ascribe the comet to Xiang (Western Dragon).

Yang was also implying Liu’s superiority to Xiang by his comet imagery, as “the body of a comet does not have light, it relies on the sun and shines.” (彗體無光，傳日而為光).⁵⁸⁹ In other words, the light [power] of a comet is not real, but the light of the sun is eternal. This is an allusion to Liu Bang rather than Xiang Yu as being the legitimate ruler.

Yang also used other metaphors like “In Heaven, the pass was in mist” and “On Earth, the gate was in mist” to describe the warfare of the late Qin dynasty, and “remaining stars and broken moon” to imply that there were severe power struggles between heroes other than Xiang Yu and Liu Ban. Yang successfully created the image of a powerful hero, General Fan, while evoking the tense atmosphere and dangerous situation at Hong Gate. For this reason, Chen Quanzhi 陳全之 (*jinsi* title 1604) says that this poem is comparable to Li He’s

⁵⁸⁵ This kind of attitude is also apparent in the tenth line of this poem, which describes only Liu’s potent army. Although Liu had an army of a hundred thousand men, Xiang had four times as many, four hundred thousand. See William H. Nienhauser, trans. *The Grand Scribe’s Records*, vol.1, p.190. However, Yang did not mention this.

⁵⁸⁶ Fang Xuanling, *Jinshu*, vol.2, p.323.

⁵⁸⁷ See Appendix 7E; Yan Ying, *Yanzi chunqiu*, in *Siku jiacang*, vol. 69. p.399.

⁵⁸⁸ Fang Xuanling, *Jinshu*, vol.2, p.323.

⁵⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, p.323.

poem on the same topic (*lizhui Li He* 力追李賀).⁵⁹⁰ J. D. Frodsham believes that,

[Li He's] painstaking craftsmanship, his determination to make his language fresh and novel, seems to indicate the influence of Tu Fu [Du Fu].⁵⁹¹

Frodsham makes two points here. First, he says that Li's language is 'fresh and novel' which affirms the strangeness of Li's poetry; second, he points out that Li was influenced by Du Fu. The first point is also applicable to Yang, whose poetic style was an imitation of Li He's; the second point indicates the origin of both Yang's and Li He's poetic styles – Du Fu.

Imitation of Li He's poetic lines

In addition to the style, Yang's imitation of Li He is obvious in the following ways. The first few lines (L1, L2 and L5) of this poem are inspired by Li's poems, "The Heaven is dazing dark, the earth is completely lost"⁵⁹² (天迷迷, 地密密)⁵⁹³, and "The sound of laughter and green fire rise from the nest" (笑聲碧火

⁵⁹⁰ See Chen Quanzhi, *Peng chuang rilu*, p.400. The poem entitled 'Hongmen hui' (The meeting at Hong Gate) is neither found in Li He's collection nor in *Quan Tangshi*. Scholars probably refer this to Li's 'Gong mowu ge' 公莫舞歌 (Song of a gentleman not dancing), which focused on the sword dance at Hong Gate. See *Quan Tangshi*, vol.12, p.4409. J.D. Frodsham has an explanation on this poem. See his book, *Goddesses, Ghosts, and Demons—the Collected Poems of Li He*, pp.247-248.

⁵⁹¹ J.D.Frodsham, *The Poems of Li Ho (791-817)*, p.xliv (introduction).

⁵⁹² Cheung Suk-hong translated these line as "The earth is completely close up". See "A Grammar of the T'ang Poetic Journey", Harvard University, PhD thesis, 1991, p.45. But, 'mi mi' (密密) in this poem means 'the appearance of being lost and confused' (迷茫貌). See Lou Zhufeng, main ed., *HYDCD.SYB*, vol.2, p.2093, explanation no.5. Therefore, I believe it means: the earth was covered with thick mist or fog which made it appear lost.

⁵⁹³ See poem, 'Gong wu chumen' 公無出門 (Gentleman do not go out), in *Quan Tangshi*, vol.12, p.4429.

吹巢起).⁵⁹⁴ The image of the ‘*yayu*’ monster is also found in Li’s poem.⁵⁹⁵ Even the last line (L17) is an imitation of Li’s “Stones break, the sky startles and autumn rains stops” (石破天驚逗秋雨).⁵⁹⁶ Yang’s student, Wu Fu said,

This poem basically uses Li He’s poetic style but the energy surpasses it.
此詩本用賀體而氣則過之。⁵⁹⁷

Like Li He, Yang also preferred “a lyric free from the exacting rules of parallelism and tonality.”⁵⁹⁸ He got rid of *tonal constraints* and tonal patterns of regulated verse by using the relatively free *yuefu* form. As a result, this poem has short and long lines. L1 and L2 has three Chinese characters, while L9 has nine.

Another of Yang’s poems, ‘Shahu xing’ (The song of killing the tiger), resembles Li He’s poetic style and is considered by Yan Junshou to be “strange and dangerous.”⁵⁹⁹ The description of the danger involved in killing a tiger is breathtaking,

L1	My husband joined the army,	夫從軍，
L2	I followed my husband.	妾從夫，
L3	Even in dreams I feel pain for my husband’s old scars from swords and arrows,	夢魂猶痛刀箭瘢，
L4	Not to mention [the pain of] seeing his whole body feeding the wolves and tigers.	況乃全軀飼豺虎。
L5	I draw my sword and swear to Heaven, and	拔刀誓天天為怒，

⁵⁹⁴ See poem, ‘*Shenxian qu*’神弦曲 (Song of the divine string), in *Quan Tangshi*, vol.12, p.4433.

⁵⁹⁵ See poem, ‘*Gong wu chumen*’ (Gentleman do not go out), in *Quan Tangshi*, vol.12, p.4429.

⁵⁹⁶ A line of a poem entitled ‘*Li Ping konghou yin*’ 李憑箏篋引 (Song of Li Ping playing the Konghou harp), in *Quan Tangshi*, vol.12, p. 4392.

⁵⁹⁷ Wu Fu et al., comps., *Tieya xiansheng gu yuefu*, p.7.

⁵⁹⁸ Pauline Chen, “Du Fu, Li Ho and Li Shangyin: The Development of a Dictive Voice in Late Tang Lyric Poetry”, p.66.

⁵⁹⁹ Zeng Zaozhuang, main ed., *ZHDD.WXD.SLJYWXFD*, vol.5, p.990.

- Heaven [sympathetically] roars,
- L6 In my eyes, the tiger is smaller than a rat. 眼中於菟小於鼠。
- L7 The ghost of the tiger gives a bloody yell 血號虎鬼冤魂語，
and there is a sound from the suffering soul
[of the husband];
- L8 Moonlight shines in the night and pierces 精光夜貫新阡土。
the earth of the new mound.
- L9 Pitifully, she [the woman in Mount Tai] did 可憐三世不復仇，
not avenge her family for three generations.
- L10 The woman in Mount Tai is not worth a 泰山之婦何足數。
mention. 600

This poem describes Liu Ping's 劉平 wife, neé Wu, who killed a tiger to avenge her husband's death.⁶⁰¹ This event happened in 1270 during the Southern Song dynasty and was recounted in *Yuanshi* 元史 (History of the Yuan dynasty).⁶⁰²

Yang composed this poem in a powerful and wondrous style. The fifth line, "I draw my sword and swear to Heaven, and Heaven sympathetically roars" vividly describes Wu's anger and strong determination to seek revenge; the sixth line, "In my eyes, the tiger is smaller than a rat" evokes her strength and bravery in killing the tiger. It is apparent that Yang very much appreciates the bravery and heroics of the tiger-killer, and contrasts it with the weakness of the lady in Mount Tai. This lady's father-in-law, husband and son were all killed by tigers. However, unable to avenge these three generations of men, she simply cried in front of their graves.⁶⁰³

However, Yang often used more than one poetic style in a single poem. He

⁶⁰⁰ Zou Zhifang, ed., *YWZSJ*, p.101.

⁶⁰¹ See Appendix 7F, Yang's preface to this poem.

⁶⁰² For details, see Song Lian et al., eds., *Ershisi shi quanyi. Yuanshi*, vol. 6, pp.3624-3625.

⁶⁰³ Wang Meng'ou, *Daxiao Daiji xuanzhu*, pp.307-308.

combined strangeness and potency. Poems such as ‘The meeting at Hong Gate’ and ‘The song of killing the tiger’ are written in a strange style, but also have potency in their powerful descriptions. For instance, in ‘The meeting at Hong Gate’, Yang describes the sharpness of the general’s sword by saying its light reached the sky and threatened the dying comet. Also, he depicts the general’s strength by claiming his heroic spirit rolled up the Yellow River. These powerful descriptions and Yang’s terrific conveyance of the tense atmosphere of the encounter contribute to the poem’s potency.

Similarly, in ‘The song of killing the tiger’, Yang equates the ‘tiger’ to a ‘rat’. He describes the lady’s anger and determination to exact revenge by saying ‘the Heaven [sympathetically] roars’. This powerfully conveys the strong feelings of the lady. Coherent poetic development accounts for the poem’s smoothness, while the powerful descriptions account for its potent style.

The strange poetic style is also the result of the poem’s odd diction. By using a thrilling diction, such as ‘blood’, ‘ghost’, ‘wolves and tigers’, ‘scars’ and ‘suffering soul’, Yang creates a remarkably mysterious atmosphere. Liu Meihua points out that Yang liked to use spooky words, such as ‘blood’, ‘bone’ and ‘ghost’⁶⁰⁴ Her observation tempers Li Tiaoyuan’s comment that the poetry is “too dangerous and strange” (太險怪),⁶⁰⁵ and Wu Qiao’s charge that Yang’s diction is creative but odd.⁶⁰⁶

Yang’s choice of diction is similar to that of Li He, and for this reason, the

⁶⁰⁴ For details, see Liu Meihua. *Yang Weizhen shixue yanjiu*, pp.104-150.

⁶⁰⁵ Wu Xigui, ed., *Li Tiaoyuan shihua pingzhu*, p.192.

⁶⁰⁶ Wu Qiao, *Weilu shihua*, in *XXSKQS*, vol. 1697, p.597.

Ming scholar, He Liangjun, said that was simply an imitation of Li He.⁶⁰⁷ Even if Yang did imitate Li He, he also created his own strange style. Yan Junshou says,

I especially love to read his [poem] ‘The song of killing the tiger’, which gives the feeling of excitement when fighting with short weapons. It really is very strange and startling, and definitely good enough to inspire talent and deep reflection.

余尤愛讀其《殺虎行》一首，大有短兵相接之勢，奇險非常，尤足發人才思。⁶⁰⁸

Yan Junshou described the poem as “extremely strange and startling” in that it conveyed the sense of breathless danger involved in killing the tiger. He noticed the strangeness created by Yang.

However, not everybody appreciated Yang’s imitation of Li He’s style. Qian Qianyi said that Yang’s imitation made his poetry stiff and inflexible.⁶⁰⁹ Lu Jiugao 魯九皋 (1732-1794) even declared Yang’s ‘eccentric and strange’ (怪僻詭異) style to be an ‘evil obstruction’ (魔障) in the poetry arena.⁶¹⁰ Similarly, Their comments are not as radical as those of Wang Yi 王彝 (fl.1368-1398), who severely criticised Yang’s ‘obscene’ and ‘strange’ poetic language,

[Yang] makes use of obscene diction and strange words to rip up [destroy] benevolence and righteousness, to subvert name and reality, and to muddy the sages’ teachings.

以淫辭怪語裂仁義，反名實，濁亂聖人之道。⁶¹¹

⁶⁰⁷ He Liangjun, *Siyoushai congshuo*, in *XXSKQS*, vol. 1125, p.696.

⁶⁰⁸ Zeng Zaozhuang, main ed., *ZHDD.WXD.SLJYWXFD*, vol.5, p.990.

⁶⁰⁹ Qian Qianyi, *Liechao shiji xiaozhuan*, in *Mingdai zhuanji congkan*, vol.11, p.60.

⁶¹⁰ Lu Jiugao, *Shixue yuanyuan kao*, in Guo Shaoyu ed., *Qing shihua xubian*, vol.2, p.1357.

⁶¹¹ Zeng Zaozhuang, main ed., *ZHDD.WXD.SLJYWXFD*, vol.5, p.985.

Wang even regarded Yang's writings as bewitching like a fox, and called him a 'literary goblin' (文妖),⁶¹² a criticism echoed by Pan Deyu. These scholars' remarks seem exaggerated, for not all of Yang's poems are odd and strange. By contrast, Yan Junshou greatly praised Yang's poems,

Reading Yang Tieya's poems can stimulate a person's intellect and enhance his spiritual intelligence. There is a need for such kind of poetry after [Li] Changji.

楊鐵崖詩，讀之能開人聰明，長人神智，長吉後不可無此之繼也。⁶¹³

Yan here implies the similarity between the two poetic works, as well as Yang's inheritance of Li He's special style.

4.2 Potency (*xiong*) influenced by Du Fu

Yang's potency comes from his smooth and powerful descriptions, which are illustrated mainly in his *yuefu* poetry, and especially in his poems on history.⁶¹⁴

Wang Shizhen commented,

The air [energy] of Iron Cliff *yuefu* poetry is smooth and powerful.

鐵崖樂府氣淋漓。⁶¹⁵

Smooth and powerful descriptions are facilitated by the use of short and long lines, and different tones and rhythms (see Chapter 5.2.1), such as those seen in 'The

⁶¹² Ibid., p.985.

⁶¹³ Ibid., p.990.

⁶¹⁴ 'Poetry on history' in Yang's case is considered to be type of *yuefu* poetry.

⁶¹⁵ Wang Shizhen, *Yuyang jinghua lu jishi*, p.339.

meeting at Hong Gate' and 'The song of killing the tiger'. However, Yang's potency can be seen even in poems with regular lines, for example 'Xiake ci' 俠客詞 (Poem on a knight-errant). Gu Qilun (fl.1666), wrote:

His 'Poem on a knight-errant'...[shows] how magnificent and magnanimous it is! 至《俠客》詞...何其雄偉豪邁邪！⁶¹⁶

Gu did not, however, explain why this poem is potent. The poem reads,

L1	In order not to let my comrades die,	未許同交死，
L2	I plan to avenge my kingdom by death.	全身報國仇。
L3	The Tai'e sword flies out from its sheath,	太阿飛出匣，
L4	Aiming at Jia Chong's head.	欲取賈充頭。 ⁶¹⁷

During the Three Kingdoms period, Jia Chong 賈充 (217-282), the treacherous marquee, killed the fourth emperor of the Wei kingdom, Cao Mao, for Sima Zhao 司馬昭 (211-264) and helped Sima's son to establish the Jin empire. Also, Jia's daughter, Empress Jia Nanfeng 賈南風 (257-300), planned to kill the Crown Prince, Sima Yu 司馬懿 (278-300), to secure monarchical power, but she failed. This led to the execution of Nanfeng herself and the innocent Zhang Hua 張華 (232-300), the Tai'e Sword owner.⁶¹⁸ Jia Chong did not directly cause the death of Zhang, so why was the Tai'e sword aimed at him? Who does the knight-errant represent? These questions remain a mystery.

While the theme of the poem is obscure, its style is potent in the sense that it powerfully describes an upright knight-errant who planned to sacrifice himself for

⁶¹⁶ Gu Qilun, *Guoya pin*, in *Mingdai zhuanji congkan*, vol. 16, p.143.

⁶¹⁷ Zou Zhifang, ed., *YWZSJ*, p.114.

⁶¹⁸ Fang Xuanling, *Jinshu*, vol.4, pp.963-964, 1069-1077.

the country. It also describes the legendary sharp sword “flying out from the sheath” (L3). The Tai’e sword symbolises the knight-errant’s fearlessness and chivalrousness, which evokes a feeling of heroic potency.

Another poem, ‘Jianke pian’ 劍客篇 (Writing on a swordsman), is very similar to the ‘Poem on a knight-errant’,

L1	Last night, he went on a western expedition,	昨夜西征去，
L2	And the western soldiers all surrendered.	西兵盡倒戈。
L3	If a man studies swordsmanship,	丈夫學劍術，
L4	He has no need to imitate Jing Ke.	何用學荊軻。 ⁶¹⁹

The poetic theme is not clear but the description in the first two lines is powerful. This poem seems to glorify the Han general, Han Xin, who marched to the west and conquered the state of Zhao in 205B.C.⁶²⁰ His strength and potency are illustrated by the powerful narrative tone. He started the ‘western expedition’ and was able to make all the enemy soldiers surrender overnight. Yang’s powerful and exaggerated description renders this poem potent.

Poems like ‘The meeting at Hong Gate’ and ‘The song of killing the tiger’ also contain powerful descriptions. Yang created this potent style by a combination of his powerful descriptions of grand historical scenes and exciting historical events with his use of rising and falling rhythms. Xu Yingrong commented on Yang’s poetic potency,

⁶¹⁹ Zou Zhifang, ed., *YWZSJ*, p.114.

⁶²⁰ For details, see Ban Gu. *Han shu*, vol.7, pp.1866-1868.

His poetry is full of energy and rhythm, and it has the potency of a swan flying beyond the clouds in the sky.

其為詩，縱橫跌宕，有黃鸝一舉凌雲霄之慨。⁶²¹

Imitation of Du Fu and Li Bai

Yang's potent poetic style can be seen as an imitation of Du Fu's poetry, as they both have the same characteristics of smooth and powerful vitality.

Yuan Haowen said that Du's poems were potent in style, with a smooth and powerful vitality; rich in content like an expansive and endless ocean; and variable in expression like changeable cloud and sunlight.⁶²² Modelled on Du Fu's work, Yang's poems on history are also rich in content and changeable in style. Song Qi 宋祁 (998-1061) had the same opinion as Yuan; he said that Du Fu's poetry had "potent and powerful content, in one thousand vocabularies and ten thousand expressions". (渾涵汪洋，千彙萬狀)⁶²³ Yang's poetry may not be as powerful as Du Fu's, but some of his poems are close to it in terms of their potency.

Yang's imitation of Du Fu is quite obvious. Hu Yinglin said Yang's 'xingman' 興漫 (Poetry of sudden inspiration) is an imitation of Du Fu's work.⁶²⁴ However, Weng Fanggang 翁方綱 (1733-1818) mocked Yang's failure to imitate well.⁶²⁵ Yang's poetic potency is thus the result of his modelling on Du Fu's poem. One of Du Fu's poems on history, 'Bazhen tu' 八陣圖 (Eight military formations), reads,

⁶²¹ Xu Yingrong's 許應鑠 preface to *Tieya shiji sanzong* 鐵崖詩集三種. See Zou Zhifang, ed., *YWZSJ*, p.515.

⁶²² See Appendix 7G; Yang Lun, ed., *Dushi jingquan*, p.1154.

⁶²³ Ouyang Xin et al., *Xin Tangshu*, vol. 18, p.5738; Yang Lun, ed., *Dushi jingquan*, p.1136.

⁶²⁴ Hu Yinglin, *Shisou*, p.238.

⁶²⁵ Weng Fanggang, *Shizhou shihua*, pp.234-235.

- | | | |
|----|--|--------|
| L1 | His achievement was the highest in [the formation of] the three kingdoms, | 功蓋三分國， |
| L2 | His fame was heightened when he designed the eight military formations. | 名高八陣圖。 |
| L3 | A river flows but a stone does not move. | 江流石不轉， |
| L4 | His only regret was missing the chance to swallow [capture] the kingdom of Wu. | 遺恨失吞吳。 |
- 626

The powerful description and potent narrative tone of this poem set a model for Yang. This five-character quatrain powerfully and vividly describes the achievement of Zhuge Liang. L3 alludes to the fact that although dynasties change like the flow of a river, Zhuge's achievement is like a rock that does not move. Du Fu uses 'tun' 吞 (swallow/ capture) to portray Zhuge's ambitious plan, and 'shi' 失 (miss/missing) to describe his greatest regret.

Scholars believe that Du's poems are a reflection of the social and cultural conditions of his period as well as of his response to these conditions.⁶²⁷ For instance, McCraw notes, "He [Du Fu] recorded the almost-fatal fall of a dynasty, the despoil of her cities, and the near collapse of high civilization in war and barbarism."⁶²⁸ However, their comments apply more to Du Fu's poems on the contemporary events of his time than to his poems on history. This poem, like another poem, 'Shu xiang' 蜀相 (The chancellor of Shu) composed in 760 A.D,⁶²⁹ is a passionate description of Zhuge Liang; however, apart from his admiration

⁶²⁶ Peng Dingqiu et al., eds., *Quan Tangshi*, vol.7, p.2504.

⁶²⁷ Owen writes, "For Tu [Du] Fu's reader the poem is not a fiction: it is a unique, factual account of an experience in historical time, a human consciousness encountering, interpreting, and responding to the world." Stephen Owen, *Traditional Chinese Poetry and Poetics: Omen of the World*, p.15.

⁶²⁸ David R. McCraw, *Du Fu's Laments from the South*, p.14.

⁶²⁹ For more details of this poem, see David Hawkes, *A little Primer of Tu Fu*, pp.103-105.

for Zhuge Liang, Du's sentiments are not that clear. The social conditions and culture of the Tang dynasty are hardly found in these poems.

Du Fu's poems on history, such as 'Ye xianzhu miao' 謁先主廟 (Pay a visit to the shrine of the late emperor), garnered praise,

His feelings are magnanimous and passionate, tender and touching; its [the poem's] air [energy of expression] is strong and powerful as it is full of energy; its diction is firm and rhythmic; its tone is inspiring and vigorous like the sound of bells. ...[Du] composed poems simply by argument and discussion, and others did not have this kind of great capability.

其意則慷慨纏綿，其氣則縱橫排宕，其詞則沉鬱頓挫，其音則激壯鏗鉤……純以議論成章，他人無此深厚力量。⁶³⁰

This comment clearly states the elements that constitute Du Fu's potency: magnanimous feelings, powerful expression, firm and melancholy diction and vigorous tone. Yang imitates Du's powerful expression and vigorous tone.

However, not every scholar has noted the fact that Yang's potent style was also influenced by Li Bai's poetry. Li Bai used imaginative description and exaggerated metaphors to convey the strength and potency of historical figures. 'Xiake xing' 俠客行 (Song of Swordsman) is a good example of this. It is the description of a swordsman in the State of Zhao.

L1 The guest of the State of Zhao wore the plain-silk 趙客纓胡纓，
hat ribbon,

L2 His sharp sword, Wugou,⁶³¹ shone like frost and 吳鉤霜雪明。

⁶³⁰ Yang Lun, ed., *Dushi jingquan*, p.599.

⁶³¹ Gou 鉤 (hook) is a kind of tool that looks like a sword but is curved. 'Wugou' 吳鉤 (Wu's hook) was made by an artisan in the State of Wu during the Spring and Autumn Warring

snow.

- L3 His silver saddle reflected the colour of his white horse, 銀鞍照白馬，
L4 Which ran as quickly as a shooting meteor, 颯還如流星。
L5 He could kill a person in ten steps [by superb swordsmanship] 十步殺一人，
L6 [People amassed along] a thousand miles [of road] could not prevent him from leaving. 千里不留行。
L7 He shook his clothes and left abruptly after the dispute had been settled, 事了拂衣去，
L8 Hiding his body and concealing his identity. 深藏身與名。
L9 He went to drink at the residence of the Lord of Xinling in his free time, 閑過信陵飲，
L10 Taking off his sword and placing it horizontally in front of his knees. 脫劍膝前橫。
L11 He offered broiled meat and let Zhu Hai eat, 將炙啖朱亥，
L12 And held a wine cup urging Hou Ying to drink. 持觴勸侯嬴。
L13 After three cups he made a promise, 三杯吐然諾，
L14 Which made the Five Great Mountains⁶³² seem lighter. 五嶽倒爲輕。
L15 After his eyes were blurred and his ears were flushed with drink, 眼花耳熱後，
L16 His impulsive will could induce the birth of a white rainbow. 意氣素霓生。
L17 He brandished his golden chained ball to save the State of Zhao, 救趙揮金錘，
L18 This shocked Handan City [Capital Of Zhao] at the very beginning. 邯鄲先震驚。
L19 These two heroes for the past thousand years, 千秋二壯士，
L20 With their reputation shining in Daliang City 烜赫大梁城。

Periods, who was very famous for casting hooks. Wugou, later generally refers to a sharp sword. For details, see Lou Zhufeng, main ed., *HYDCD.SYB*, vol.1, p.1523.

⁶³² The Five Great Mountains, also known as the 'Five Sacred Mountains', are Mount Tai 泰 in Shandong province, Mount Heng 衡 in Hunan province, Mount Hua 華 in Shenxi province, Mount Heng 恆 in Hebei province and Mount Sung 嵩 in Henan province. See Luo Zhufeng, main ed., *HYDCD.SYB*, vol.1, p.166; and Wei Songshan, main ed., *Zhongguo gudian shici diming cidian*, p.99.

[Capital of Wei].

- L21 Their fragrant chivalrousness lingered on, even 縱死俠骨香，
after they had died,
L22 They matched outstanding heroes in this world! 不慚世上英。
L23 Who could write [their contributions] in a 誰能書閣下，
pavilion?
L24 It is the one⁶³³ who wrote the Canon of Supreme 白首太玄經。
Mystery until his hair turned white. ⁶³⁴

Exaggerated metaphors are used here to portray the swordsman's potency: his ability to kill a person within ten steps and the inability of a thousand enemies to stop him moving. Also, his chivalry is exhibited by the fact that he kept his promise, something that weighted more heavily than the Five Great Mountains. These metaphors exhibit the potency of the swordsman. Furthermore, his ability is underscored by the fact that he rescued the state of Zhao, shocking the people and earning an excellent reputation in the state of Wei.⁶³⁵ In this poem, Li Bai's description draws on imagination rather than historical facts, thus creating a sense of potency.

Who is this swordsman? The poem has given rise to discussion regarding the identity of the historical figure whom Li Bai was aiming to describe. Some modern scholars, such as Su Zhongxiang 蘇仲翔, believe that Li Bai was glorifying Zhu Hai 朱亥 (3rd c. B.C.) and Hou Ying 侯嬴 (?-257B.C.),⁶³⁶ arguing that the swordsman is in fact Zhu Hai. However, the swordsman's appearance described in this poem does not match that of Zhu Hai in the historical

⁶³³ Yang Xiong 揚雄 (53 B.C.–18A.D.), who wrote a book on philosophy, *Taixuan jing* 太玄經 (*Canon of Supreme Mystery*) in his old age. See Ban Gu, *Hanshu*, vol.11, p.3566, 3584.

⁶³⁴ See Peng Dingju et al., eds., *Quan Tangshi*, vol.5, p.1688.

⁶³⁵ See Sima Qian, *Shiji*, vol.7, pp.2381-2382.

⁶³⁶ Su Zhongxiang, *Li Du shixuan*, pp.127-128.

records.⁶³⁷

This kind of ambiguity can be found in some of Yang's work, such as his 'Poem on a knight-errant'. It is impossible for the readers to discern exactly who it is that the poet is writing about. His 'Poem on a swordsman' is also ambiguous; the identity of the hero described cannot be confirmed.

Furthermore, Li Bai's powerful and imaginative descriptions may have also been a template for Yang. For instance, Li Bai uses 'frost and snow' to describe the sharpness of the sword, *Wugou*, and 'shooting meteor' as a metaphor for the speed of the white horse. His powerful imagination is demonstrated by his ability to describe humanity, using metaphors from nature. Yang displays the same powerful and imaginative types of descriptions in his poem 'Yu meiren xing' 虞美人行 (Song of the Beauty Yu). This poem contains similar examples of the use of exaggerated metaphor to describe the potency of a historical figure.

- L1 The General with the power to move mountains 拔山將軍氣如虎，
was haughty like a tiger;
- L2 His divine horse stepped on the world like a 神驄如龍躡天下。
dragon.
- L3 The General sang the song of the State of Chu 將軍戰敗歌楚歌，
after defeat,
- L4 The Beauty could promise herself a death. 美人一死能自許。
- L5 She hurriedly slew herself by a sword to thank 倉皇伏劍答危主，
her precarious master;
- L6 Unwilling to be like the Wild Pheasant and to 不為野雉隨仇虜，
serve as a slave to the enemy.
- L7 Her love-blood on the riverbanks was blown 江邊碧血吹青雨
away by [the wind in] the black rain
- L8 To become the fragrant flowers of Spring, and to 化作春芳悲漢土
moan [for her master] in the territory of the Han ⁶³⁸

⁶³⁷ For details, see Sima Qian, *Shiji*, vol.7, pp.2378-2381.

⁶³⁸ Zou Zhifang, ed., *YWZSJ*, p.20; Lou Buchan, ed., *Tieya yuefu zhu*, p.446.

dynasty.

The poem vividly depicts the potency of Xiang Yu (232-202B.C.) through its use of exaggerated similes. In other words, his vitality was as strong as a tiger's, and his strength was able to move mountains. His divine horse stepping all over the world signifies the numerous battleships that gave Xiang success at sea. However, Yang switched to an elegant poetic style when he described how Consort Yu 虞 (also known as Beauty Yu, 222BC-202B.C.), Xiang's beloved concubine, killed herself.⁶³⁹ To avoid being captured as a slave by Liu Bang, as Lü Zhi had been enslaved by Xiang Yu,⁶⁴⁰ and to avoid possible insult, Consort Yu chose to die in front of her lover. Yang called Lü Zhi ('Zhi' literally means 'pheasant') a 'Wild Pheasant' to express her wildness and cruelty.⁶⁴¹

Consort Yu proved her loyalty to, and deep love for, Xiang Yu by dying. The poet again uses exaggerated metaphor in the last two lines, with the imagery of Consort Yu's 'blood of love' being carried by the wind and black rain falling into the soil. This blood then nurtured the flowers, which blossomed in the spring and lamented Consort Yu's lover in the territory of the Han dynasty. The

⁶³⁹ There is no historical record of Yuji's suicide, but her decision to choose her death is obvious from a song she composed in response to Xiangyu. See annotation in Sima Qian, *Shiji*, vol.1.p.334.

⁶⁴⁰ Sima Qian, *Shiji*, vol.2, p.571; and Ban Gu, *Hanshu*, vol.7, p.1812.

⁶⁴¹ She tortured her husband's beloved concubine, Lady Qi to death by chopping off her limbs and blinding and deafening her before dumping her into a toilet. She also murdered two princes and directly caused the deaths of other princes. More specifically, she killed her husband's third son, Liu Ruyi 劉如意(208-194B.C.), Prince of Zhao, and starved the sixth son, Liu You 劉友(d.181B.C.), also Prince of Zhao, to death. For details, see Sima Qian, *Shiji*, vol.2, pp.397, 402-404.

powerful portrait of Xiang Yu's energy and the magnificent description of Consort Yu's heroic death for loyalty are good illustrations of Yang's potency, one of the constituents of his Iron Cliff Style.

Yu Wenyi 余文儀 (1687?-1782?), states that Yang's *yuefu* poetry on history covers history throughout the ages.

[Yang's] *Ancient-style yuefu poetry* presents a summary of the complete history [of China], with its in-depth and far-reaching content, which is created from his beliefs and embellished by the arguments in his prefaces. These are all vigorous and vehement, and strength overflows from each poetic line. On reading his poems, the reader is stimulated and can visualise his characters.

《古樂府》櫛括全史，汗瀾卓蹕，悉以意容煉，中綴為序論，率皆慷慨激烈，磅礴行間，使人誦其篇章，慨然想見其為人。⁶⁴²

Yu states that Yang's *yuefu* poems on history are potent, have deep and far-reaching content, and contain vigorous and vehement arguments. However, these comments apply to only some of Yang's poems on history. The following section explores those of Yang's poems on history that are not "vigorous and vehement", but elegant and untrammelled.

4.3 Elegance (*ya*) resembles Li Shangyin's style

Sikong Tu's *Shipin* 詩品 (Commentary on poetry) does not mention elegance specifically. However, it has a category called 'dianya' 典雅 (decorous and dignified), which corresponds to the 'elegance' that I describe in this section. The first four lines of this category reads,

⁶⁴² Yu Wenyi, Preface to *Yang Tiejia yongshi gu yuefu*. See Zou Zhifang, ed., *YWZSJ*, p.506.

L1	With a jade pot he purchases spring [wine],	玉壺買春。
L2	Appreciates rain under a roof of thatch.	賞雨萌屋。
L3	Fine scholars are his guests,	坐中佳士。
L4	All around him, fine bamboo. ⁶⁴³	左右修竹。 ⁶⁴⁴

The second and the fourth line are examples of ‘elegance’. Stephen Owen writes:

Ch’iao [Qiao] Li [喬力] interprets the first four lines as an alternation between *tien* [dian] (“decorous”) and *ya* (“dignified”). He characterises the first line as ‘*tien-mei*’ [dian-mei] 典美, “decorously beautiful”, the second line as ‘*feng-ya*’ 風雅 a “poetic dignity”; the third line as ‘*tien-tse*’ 典則 [dian-ze], “decorously normative”, the fourth line as ‘*ya-jun*’ [ya-run] 雅潤, “gentle and generous dignity”.⁶⁴⁵

Poetic elegance contains elements of dignity and beauty. Did Yang’s poems on history show these kinds of quality? Considering that Yang’s poetry was also described as ‘Iron Elegance’, it seems natural that elegance is an important constituent of his Iron Style.

Yang’s poetic elegance is well illustrated in the poems, ‘Chunxia zaci’ 春俠雜詞 (Poetry on a knight-errant in spring). In this work, Yang demonstrates the same poetic characteristics as are found in Li Shangyin’s poetry: the “diction is lucid and beautiful” (語言清麗),⁶⁴⁶ and the expression is “tactful and circuitous” (委婉曲折).⁶⁴⁷ These may be the reasons why Hu Yinglin (1551-1602) appreciated the ten poems of ‘Poetry on a knight-errant in spring’, declaring their

⁶⁴³ Stephen Owen, *Reading in Chinese Literary Thought*, p.315.

⁶⁴⁴ See Appendix 7H; Cao Lengquan, ed., *Shipin tongshi*, p.25.

⁶⁴⁵ Stephen Owen, *Reading in Chinese Literary Thought*, p.316.

⁶⁴⁶ Zhongguo shehui kexue yuan wenxue yanjiusuo, ed., *Tangdai wenxue shi*, vol.2, p.386.

⁶⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p.390.

superiority to the work of Wen Tingyun and Han Wo,⁶⁴⁸ and specifically mentioning their elegance. Hu Yinglin stated that Yang's 'Poetry on a knight-errant in spring' was so good that even if famous poets like Li Bai, Han Wo and Wan Tingyun lowered their level to write on the same topic, Yang may not lose to them.⁶⁴⁹

Does Yang's poetic elegance also apply to his poems on history? A number of Ming and Qing scholars did not mention any elegance in Yang's poems on history; they only talked about strangeness or potency. However, I have discovered poetic elegance in Yang's poems on history. The following section explores this.

Poetic elegance typically fills the reader with a sense of refinement through the use of beautiful diction, which creates an elegant poetic scene. This sort of poetic elegance is commonly found in Li Shangyin's poems on history, such as 'Sui gong' 隋宮 (The Sui Palace) and 'Guo Chu gong' 過楚宮 (Passing the Chu Palace).⁶⁵⁰ Yang's specialty was his ability to adopt this poetic style in his poems on history, which are normally supposed to be constrained by historical facts. His poem entitled 'Li furen' 李夫人 (Lady Li), which portrays the stunning concubine of Emperor Wu of Han 漢武帝 (r.141-87B.C.), best demonstrates his elegant style. It reads,

L1 Never in other generations was there such a 絕代一佳人，

⁶⁴⁸ Zou Zhifang, ed., *YWZSJ*, p.533.

⁶⁴⁹ See Appendix 7I; Hu Yinglin, *Shisou*, p.242.

⁶⁵⁰ See Peng Dingqiu et al., eds., *Quan Tangshi*, vol. 16, pp.6161, 6195. For analysis of these two poems, see Stephen Owen, *The Late Tang: Chinese Poetry of the Mid-Ninth Century (827-860)*, pp.427-430.

- beautiful person,
- L2 Her gorgeous countenance resembled the Goddess of the River Luo. 美色如洛妃。
- L3 The [curved] spring moon was the cross bow of her eyebrows, 春月為作眉上彀，
- L4 The [clear] autumn water was the whiteness of her eyes. 秋水為作眼中波。
- L5 Her song was [as beautiful as] jade-like blossoms, 歌瓊蕊，
- L6 Her dance was [as attractive as] jade-like branches. 舞玉枝。
- L7 In love, the emperor could not restrain himself. 君王有情不自持。
- L8 The jade-like branches were trampled overnight, 玉枝一夜摧，
- L9 The jade-like blossoms withered in the morning, 瓊蕊一朝落，
- L10 How could the emperor's heart be filled with joy? 君王之心何以樂？
- L11 It looked like the person was here but in reality she was not, 若有人兮有若無，
- L12 She came slowly in an elegant manner but left in a hurry. 來遲遲兮去促促。
- L13 Pure dew condensed on the lotus leaves, 芙蓉葉上清露結，
- L14 The sunlight was reflected while the golden rainbow vanished. 晴光倒射金虹滅。
- L15 The mountain was covered by rain, 山為雨，
- L16 The sea was covered by rain, 海為雨，
- L17 How could her whisper in a dream be clearly heard? 何得分明夢中語？
- L18 The reflection of the setting moon disappeared in the Hundred-sons Pond, 落娥影滅百子池，
- L19 While the spiritual breeze blew making the colourful clouds fly. 靈風一陣彩雲飛。⁶⁵¹

Yang portrays Lady Li's beauty through elegant images and beautiful diction. 'Goddess of River Luo', 'spring moon', 'autumn water', 'jade-like blossoms' and 'jade-like branches' are all beautiful images that create a sense of dignity,

⁶⁵¹ Zou Zhifang, ed., *YWZSJ*, pp.41-42.

reflecting the natural endowments of Lady Li. They are also elegant metaphors that describe her stunning beauty. Meanwhile, examples of beautiful diction, such as 'lotus', 'pure dew', 'sunlight' and 'golden rainbow' in L13 and L14, make the scene more like a painting than a historical narrative.

Yang also creates roundabout expressions by using symbolic diction and portraying elegant scenes. For instance, he evokes the brevity of life through his imagery of 'pure dew' on the 'lotus', and the disappearance of a 'golden-rainbow' due to the reflection of 'sunlight'. Also, L18 alludes to the love story of Emperor Gaozu of Han 漢高祖 (Liu Bang, r. 202-195B.C.) and Lady Qi 戚(2nd c. B.C.).⁶⁵² The lonely reflection of the moon in the Hundred-sons Pond, where Gaozu and Lady Qi used to celebrate the Chinese Valentine's day (on the seventh day of the seventh month of the Lunar calendar), symbolises the separation of Emperor Wu and Lady Li by death. In addition, L19 hints at the disappearance of Lady Li, leaving only clouds hanging in sky. Such indirect expressions make the meaning of the poem deeper, and the content richer.

Beautiful poetic scenes and indirect expressions create elegance in Yang's poetry. That is probably why Zhang Yu and Li Xiaoguang in appreciation labelled Yang's poetry '*Tieya*' (Iron Elegance) during their literary gathering at Qiantang River in 1344.⁶⁵³ It is clear, then, that Yang's elegant poetic style also applies to his poetry on history.

Despite being restricted to the historical facts, Yang was able to compose elegant poems on history. This is illustrated in 'Luoye ci' 落葉辭 (Poem on

⁶⁵² For details, see Ge Hong. *Xijing zaji*, in *Siku jiacang*, vol. 93, p.206.

⁶⁵³ Preface to *Lengzhai shiji* 冷齋詩集, in Jin Yuan, comp., *Yang Weizhen xuwen ji*, p.175.

falling leaves), which indirectly describes the licentiousness of Wang Chang 王昶 (Wang Jipeng 王繼鵬, d.939) through the imagery of beautiful natural scenes.⁶⁵⁴ For example, L6 reads, “But one leaf fell on the wind and fluttered” (一葉落兮隨風飄) symbolises the demotion of the Grand Tutor, Ye Qiao 葉翹 (10th c.). “Wind” is a symbol of the power of nature, and refers to the divine right. Ye was demoted by imperial decree issued by the King who enjoyed this divine right. ‘Fell’ represents ‘demotion’, while ‘leaf’ refers to Ye Qiao (‘Ye’ literary means ‘leaf’). Meanwhile, L9 “The spring swallow on the top tower flew into the Lingxiao Palace” (樓頭春燕飛凌霄) is an metaphor for Chang sleeping with his father’s maid, Li Chunyan 李春燕 (10th c.).

This poem avoids erotic and effeminate descriptions. It is simply a depiction of natural scenes, and uses trees, roots, leaves, the wind, the sun and the spring swallow to symbolise historical episodes. These beautiful natural images create an atmosphere of quiet elegance and purvey a sense of poetic dignity. Elegance is thus another of Yang’s diverse writing styles and another constituents of his Iron Style (*Tie ti*).

4.4 Straightforwardness influenced by Yuan Zhen and Bai Juyi

Yang’s poetry also inherited the characteristic of straightforwardness and the use of simple expressions. These came from folk songs: songs that reflected the lives and customs of people. Qiao Yi 喬億 (b. 1692) commented that Yang’s

⁶⁵⁴ For the whole poem and detailed analysis, see Chapter 5.2.1 and Chapter 6.2.4

yuefu poetry was modelled on that of Yuan Zhen 元稹 (779-831), Bai Juyi, Zhang Ji 張籍 (ca.765-ca.830) and Wang Jian, but that his creativity was much lower than theirs and was on the bottom rank.⁶⁵⁵ Qiao here was implying that Yang's poetic style was simple and straightforward like that of these Tang poets. Examining Yang's poetry, one finds that many of them contain simple and straightforward descriptions. This is especially true of his *zhuzhi ci* (Bamboo twig song) poems.

The straightforward style is most noticeable in Yang's *zhuzhi ci* poems

Yang's straightforward poetic style as characterised by clear poetic themes, direct portrayals and simple diction is particularly apparent in his twenty *zhuzhi ci* (Bamboo twig song) poems. 'Xihu zhuzhi ci' 西湖竹枝詞 (Bamboo twig song of the West Lake) no. 4 reads,

- | | | |
|----|---|-------------------------|
| L1 | I urge you not to climb up the south peak; | 勸郎莫上南高峰， |
| L2 | I urge you not to climb up the north peak. | 勸郎莫上北高峰。 |
| L3 | There are clouds around the south peak, and
rain at the north peak; ⁶⁵⁶ | 南高峰雲北高雨， |
| L4 | The clouds and rain both hasten my sorrow. | 雲雨相催愁殺儂。 ⁶⁵⁷ |

The theme of this poem is clear: it factually describes a girl who misses her lover. She believes her lover is equally lovesick, so she urges him not to climb up to the

⁶⁵⁵ Zou Zhifang, ed., *YWZSJ*, p.562.

⁶⁵⁶ Here 'clouds and rains' is an allusion to 'sexual desire'. It originates from the romantic story of King Xiang of Chu 楚襄王(298-263B.C.) and the goddess of Mao Mountain, who commanded the clouds and rains. For details, see Song Yu's 宋玉 (fl. 290-223 B.C.) *Shennü fu* 神女賦 (Fu prose poem of the goddess), in Xiao Tong, comp., *Liuchen zhu wenxuan*, vol. 1, pp.349-351.

⁶⁵⁷ Zou Zhifang, ed., *YWZSJ*, p.133.

high mountains, where the clouds and rain will only remind him of their intimacy. Such implications of sexual desire in a female voice are not rare in Yang's poems. Simple diction and direct portrayal are illustrated in the content of the first three lines by the repetition and restructuring of several words: *quan* 勸 (urge or persuade), *lang* 郎 (you), *mo* 莫 (not), *shang* 上 (climb up), *gao* 高 (high), *feng* 峰 (mountain), *nan* 南 (South), *bei* 北 (North), *yun* 雲 (clouds), *yu* 雨 (rains). Hu Yinglin said that this poem is as 'wanli' 婉麗 (tactful and beautiful) as Liu Yuxi's work.⁶⁵⁸ However, the poetic structure of this poem is very similar to that of the anonymous poet's *yuefu* poem entitled 'Jiangnan' 江南 (South of the river).⁶⁵⁹ It reveals the influence of *yuefu* poetry on Yang.

Some of Yang's poems on history do demonstrate a straightforward poetic style. One example is 'Maiqie yan' 買妾言⁶⁶⁰ (A speech on buying a concubine), which is regarded as a poem on history by Hu Yinglin.⁶⁶¹ Using simple and straightforward diction, it describes a woman's dignity in refusing to be bribed. The identity of the woman that Yang portrays in this poem is unknown. However, the 'Song of white hair' in L4, was composed by Zhuo Wenjun 卓文君 (150-115 B.C.), who tried to persuade her husband, Sima Xiangru 司馬相如 (179-117B.C.) not to marry a concubine. Xiangru was touched by the poem and gave up his plan.⁶⁶² From the narrator's tone, it looks as if Yang may have been speaking in the voice of the girl whom Sima Xiangru intended to marry.

⁶⁵⁸ Hu Yinglin, *Shisou*, p.242.

⁶⁵⁹ Guo Maoqian, comp., *Yuefu shiji*, vol.2, pp.384.

⁶⁶⁰ Zou Zhifang, ed., *YWZSJ*, p.124.

⁶⁶¹ Hu Yinglin, *Shisou*, p.230.

⁶⁶² Ge Hong, *Xijing zaji*, in Ji Xianlin et al., main ed., *Siku jiacang*, vol. 93, p.207.

- | | | |
|----|---|-----------------------|
| L1 | Buying me with a thousand taels of gold, | 買妾千黃金， |
| L2 | I promise you my body but not my heart. | 許身不許心。 |
| L3 | I hear that the gentleman has a wife, | 使君聞有婦， |
| L4 | She sings the 'Song of white hair' every night. | 夜夜白頭吟。 ⁶⁶³ |

In a straightforward way, this poem reveals Yang's Confucian morals: it describes the girl's ('my') dignity and kind-heartedness in persuading 'the gentleman' to love his wife. Adopting the voice of the heroine, Yang says her body can be bought by a thousand taels of gold, but her heart is not for sale. Based on this poem, Gu Qilun compares Yang's morality to that of Tao Qian, saying explicitly that both of them exhibited similar qualities of virtue and dignity.⁶⁶⁴ Dorey J. Levy notes, "the presence of straightforward personal references is a distinctive feature of the poems of the *Shih Ching* [*Shijing*], and of *yüeh-fu* (*yuefu*) as well."⁶⁶⁵ This poem is obviously influenced by the straightforward expression found in *Shijing* and *yuefu*, but here Yang hides his own identity in that of the heroine.

Wu Fu is of the view that Yang applied satire to his poems.⁶⁶⁶ His comment can be applied to 'Sangyin qu' 桑陰曲 (Song of the shady mulberry).

- | | | |
|----|---|-----------------------|
| L1 | Since my husband left to guard the frontier, | 妾自夫君戍， |
| L2 | The way to the shady mulberry is blocked. | 桑陰路不通。 |
| L3 | Though the general [my husband] roars like a tiger, | 將軍哮似虎， |
| L4 | Your young wife [I] can't help seducing Qin | 少婦竊秦宮。 ⁶⁶⁷ |

⁶⁶³ Zou Zhifang, ed., *YWZSJ*, p.124.

⁶⁶⁴ Zou Zhifang, ed., *YWZSJ*, p.542.

⁶⁶⁵ Dore J. Levy, *Chinese Narrative Poetry: The Late Han Through T'ang Dynasties*, p.60.

⁶⁶⁶ See Lou Buchan, ed., *Tieya yuefu zhu*, p.435, 491.

⁶⁶⁷ Zou Zhifang, ed., *YWZSJ*, p.115.

Gong.

Yang mocked the wicked general, Liang Ji 梁冀 (?-159) and ridiculed the lewdness of his wife, Sun Shou 孫壽 (2nd c.). While her husband was away, they were no longer able to visit the mulberry field, a favourite rendezvous for lovers (and probably used here as a metaphor for physical intimacy). As a result, Sun Shou had an adulterous affair. The phrase ‘roars like a tiger’ refers to Liang’s great power in the Eastern Han dynasty (25-220), in spite of which his wife had an affair with his favourite official, Qin Gong 秦宮 (2nd c.).⁶⁶⁸ Yang obviously wanted to satirise Liang and Sun. The poem’s content is based on history, but its poetic style is as straightforward as a folk song. Yang’s long poems tend to be strange, potent and elegant, while his short poems (quatrain) appear to be more direct and simple. However, his short poems on powerful swordsmen or knights-errant are an exception to this.

Yang’s poetic straightforwardness is also illustrated in other poems, such as ‘Changmen yuan’ (Lament in the Long Gate), and ‘Yinping nü’ 銀瓶女 (The girl with a silver jar), which describe the sadness of Ajiao, and the death of Yinping (12th c.) respectively. This poem ‘Baitou yin’ 白頭吟 (Song of White Hair) also demonstrates Yang’s poetic straightforwardness, while its content is similar to that of *Shijing* (Book of Poetry). It reads,

- | | | |
|----|---|--------|
| L1 | Reciting the Song of White Hair on a long night, | 長夜白頭吟， |
| L2 | [Knowing] New strings will be put on an old zither. | 新絲理故琴。 |
| L3 | Do not use [a string of] one-day love | 莫將一日意， |

⁶⁶⁸ Fan Ye, *Hou Hanshu*, vol.5, pp.1180-1181.

L4 To mistakenly tie a hundred-year vow [of love]. 誤結百年心。⁶⁶⁹

This poem appears to be composed in the voice of Zhao Wenjun, who tried to prevent her husband's marriage.⁶⁷⁰ It seems to be describing the night when Zhao composed 'Song of white hair' for her husband. She instinctively knew that 'new strings' (a new girl) would replace her (old string) and become Xiangru's wife (put on the zither). However, she urged her husband not to make the mistake of believing that his one-day love for the girl would turn out to be a long-term relationship like that between a husband and wife. This poem resembles a folk song with simple diction and a direct message, and it is believed to have been modelled on *Shijing* (Book of Poetry). *Tieya gu yuefu tiyao* 鐵崖古樂府提要 (Summary of Iron Cliff's ancient poetry) states,

Is 'Song of White Hair'...any different from the aim and idea written by poets in the Book of Poetry?

白頭吟一篇.....與三百篇風人之旨何異？⁶⁷¹

This proves that Yang closely imitated *Shijing* (Book of Poetry). Not only is his writing style modelled on it, but also his subtle means of persuasion and the Confucian teachings of 'gentleness and tenderness, honesty and sincerity' (溫柔敦厚) are both traditions in the *Book of Poetry*.⁶⁷² His student, Wu Fu, believed Yang's poetry "reserved kind remonstrance" (美刺存) and "delivered exhortation" (勸戒彰).⁶⁷³ A number of scholars noticed that Yang modelled his way of expression and his straightforward poetic style on *Shijing*.

⁶⁶⁹ Zou Zhifang, ed., *Yang Weizhen shiji*, p.129.

⁶⁷⁰ Ge Hong, *Xijing zaji*, in Ji Xianlin et al., main ed., *Siku jiacang*, vol. 93, p.207.

⁶⁷¹ Yong Rong et al., eds., *Qinding siku quanshu zongmu tiyao*, vol.4, p.448.

⁶⁷² Zheng Xuan et al., ed., *Liji zhushu*, in *Yingyin Wenyuange siku quanshu*, vol.116, p.309.

⁶⁷³ Lou Buchan, ed., *Tieya yuefu zhu*, in *XXSKQS*, vol. 1325, p. 435.

Hu Yinglin appreciated Yang's five-character quatrain poems on history, especially short ones, such as the 'Song of white hair', and 'Jiao Zhongqing qi' 焦仲卿妻 (The wife of Jiao Zhongqing). Hu said these poems demonstrate that Yang was an artistic person.⁶⁷⁴ However, Hu did not appreciate those poems that contained long arguments. For him, Yang's arguments do not enhance the attractiveness of his work, rather, they detract from it.⁶⁷⁵

Hu's comments affirm my previous statement, that Yang tended to use more direct and straightforward expressions in his short poems, while his long poems tend to be strange and potent. Hu distinguished the difference in content between the two: the long poems contain more arguments, but the shorter ones focus on historical description and the expression of personal sentiments. Finally, Hu's comments about Yang's long poems being inferior do not apply in every case. Long poems such as 'The meeting at Hong Gate', which are comparable to Li He's work, are unmistakably not inferior.

4.5 Resplendence (*li*) similar to Wen Tingyun and Li Shangyin's work

Lu Jiugao (1732-1794) commented that Yang especially liked to imitate Li He and Wen Tingyun.⁶⁷⁶ He also believed that Yang's resplendent style was the result of his imitation of Wen Tingyu and Li Shangyin (813-858), rather than Li

⁶⁷⁴ See Appendix 7J; Hu Yinglin, *Shisou*, p.238.

⁶⁷⁵ See Appendix 7K; *Ibid.*, p.238.

⁶⁷⁶ Zou Zhifang, ed., *YWZSJ*, p.562.

He.

[Wen's] characteristic poetic style is dense and beautiful, rich but restrained. And it is similar to the poetic styles of Li Shangyin and Duan Chengshi [ca.803-863].

[溫庭蘊]其表代詩風是密麗蘊藉。因與李商隱、段成式之作風格相近。⁶⁷⁷

The Qing scholar, Shang Rong, said that Yang's poetry was 'strange and resplendent'.⁶⁷⁸ He noticed that Yang combined more than one poetic style. Yang's imitation of Li He's strangeness and Wen's beauty results in his own strange and resplendent poetic style. This element of strangeness has already been discussed. The following section will focus on Yang's poetic resplendence.

Yang's resplendent poetic style can be seen in his *youxian shi* 遊仙詩 (Poetry on the roaming immortals).⁶⁷⁹ This view is supported by Weng Fanggang (1733-1818), who commented that these poems contained "strange sentiments" (奇情) and were "splendidly colourful" (艷彩).⁶⁸⁰ Yang seems to have favoured the use of different colours in his diction. Liu Meihua, says that Yang's poetry employs more than thirty different colours,⁶⁸¹ including red, yellow, green, gold, silver and purple. Gu Qilun comments that Yang's *yuefu* poetry has extremely resplendent diction, but is written in a 'tone of regret and sorrow' (調淒而惋).⁶⁸² This criticism is not always true, as the tone of some of his *yuefu* poems on history is quite playful and lively.

⁶⁷⁷ Zhongguo shehui kexue yuan wenxue yanjiusuo, ed., *Tangdai wenxue shi*, vol.2, p.650.

⁶⁷⁸ Zou Zhifang, ed., *YWZSJ*, p.571.

⁶⁷⁹ Colourful imagery is found in Yang's twenty 'Quatrains on the roaming immortals'. See Zou Zhifang, ed., *YWZSJ*, p.144-146.

⁶⁸⁰ Weng Fanggang, *Shizhou shihua*, p.236.

⁶⁸¹ Liu Meihua, *Yang Weizhen shixue yanjiu*, p.105-114.

⁶⁸² Gu Qilun, *Guo ya pin*, in *Mingdai zhuanji congkan*, vol. 16, p.142.

So, is this resplendent style also to be found in Yang's poems on history? Hints are provided in the comments of Ming and Qing scholars. Hu Yinglin wrote that Yang's *yuefu* poetry is overly 'resplendent and bewitching'⁶⁸³ and 'soft and effeminate'.⁶⁸⁴ As Yang's poems on history are mainly in *yuefu* form, Hu's comments thus imply that these poems are resplendent and effeminate. Is this criticism justified?

Packed images and colourful diction

Although it is unfair to say that all Yang's poems are 'soft and effeminate', it is possible to observe a resplendent poetic style in his poems on history. These poems are packed with colourful diction, allusions and metaphors, all of which make them resplendent and also account for their similarity to the poems of Li Shangyin and Wen Tingyun. Paul F. Rouzer comments that Wen's poem, 'Jiming dai ge' 雞鳴埭歌 (Song: cockcrow dike),⁶⁸⁵ "outlines the rise and fall of the Southern Court through the superimposition of images."⁶⁸⁶ Likewise, four lines (L3 to L6) of Yang's poem 'Jingzhen ci' 警枕辭 (Song of the warning pillow) are densely packed with fabulous imagery.

L1	The sleepless dragon,	不睡龍，
L2	Awake after awakening.	醒後醒。

⁶⁸³ Hu Yinglin, *Shisou*, p.56.

⁶⁸⁴ Hu also said Yang's ancient-style poems were too argumentative and that his five-character and seven-character regulated lines were just average. See Hu Yinglin. *Shisou*, p.238.

⁶⁸⁵ See Peng Dingqiu et al., eds., *Quan Tangshi*, vol.17, p. 6694. For detailed analysis of this poem, see Paul F. Rouzer, *Writing Another's Dream: The Poetry of Wen Tingyun*, pp.118-122.

⁶⁸⁶ Paul F. Rouzer, *Writing Another's Dream: The Poetry of Wen Tingyun*, p.119; for detailed analysis of this poem, see pp.118-122.

L3	Corals and round-wood were shaking the golden bell.	珊瑚圓木搖金鈴。
L4	The five-flower precious bamboo mat and a lotus screen,	五花寶簟芙蓉屏，
L5	Copper plate had a snow-white powder that released a fresh and faint fragrance.	銅盤雪粉香淺清。
L6	The copper balls flew onto the tower wall like crashing thunder,	樓墻銅彈飛霹靂，
L7	To warn and awaken the garrison guards at midnight.	夜半更奴起辟易。
L8	Thereby [the Kingdom of] Wuyue set up its domain and opened up the flatland,	吳越封疆平地闢，
L9	And [his] four generations and three kings were able to have a good sleep on their sleeping mats.	四世三王安衽席。 687

This poem describes the founder of the Kingdom of Wuyue, Qian Liu 錢鏐 (852-932), who was extremely cautious at night. He stayed awake most of the time when he was leading his troops in battle. ‘Four generations’ refers to the reigns of his two sons, Qian Yuanguan 錢元瓘 (r.932-941) and Qian Hongzuo 錢弘佐 (r.941-947), and his two grandsons, Qian Hongzong 錢弘侗 (947-948) and Qian Hongchu 錢弘俶 (r.948-978). ‘Three kings’ probably refers to the three rulers with posthumous names, ‘Zhongxian wang’ 忠獻王 (The Loyal and Devoted King), ‘Zhongxun wang’ 忠遜王 (The Loyal and Humble King), ‘Zhongyi wang’ 忠懿王 (The Loyal and Virtuous King), respectively.⁶⁸⁸ Together, they kept the Kingdom of Wuyue in existence for seventy years (907-978).

Some of the lines in this poem are reminiscent of Yang’s boudoir poetry. The diction chosen (for L3-L5, and L9), for example, is similar to that in Yang’s

⁶⁸⁷ Zou Zhifang, ed., *YWZSJ*, p.261.

⁶⁸⁸ For details, see Ouyang Xiu, *Xin Wudai shi*, vol.3, pp.835-844.

‘Xianglian bati’ 香奩八題 (Eight topics on the boudoir). In this poem, the images of ‘coral’ (珊瑚), ‘golden bells’ (金鈴), ‘five-flowers’ (五花), ‘precious bamboo mat’ (寶簟), ‘lotus screen’ (芙蓉屏), ‘copper plate’ (銅盤), ‘snow-white powder’ (雪粉), ‘faint fragrance’ (香淺) and ‘sleeping mats’ (衽席) are common elements of the boudoirs.

This imagery with its colourful diction, including ‘gold’, ‘snow-white’ and ‘copper’, creates Yang’s resplendent poetic style, a style that is close to that of Wen Tingyun. Yang’s poetry was compared to ‘a courtesan with heavy make-up’ (如倡女艷妝)⁶⁸⁹ by Zhu Tingzhen 朱庭珍 (1841-1903). However, he was probably referring only to Yang’s poems on boudoir, not all his *yuefu* poems. This resplendent style is very similar to Wen Tingyun’s.⁶⁹⁰

Yang’s resplendent style can be observed in other poems, such as ‘Wuwang qiuge’ 五王毬歌⁶⁹¹ (The song of five princes playing woollen balls),

- L1 The Milky Way washed the jade [stars and 天河洗玉通銀浦，
makes them drift] to the silver bank,
L2 [Where] Cloud mists became dragons or tigers. 雲氣成龍或成虎。
L3 [When] the golden thread of the Yellow Platform 金絲剪斷黃臺瓜，
cucumbers was cut off,
L4 The five stems of green calyxes grew to five 萼綠五枝生五花。
flowers.

⁶⁸⁹ Zhu Tingzhen, *Xiaoyuan shihua*, in *XXSKQS*, vol. 1708, p.4.

⁶⁹⁰ Zhou Ji 周濟 (1781-1839) once described Wen Tingyun’s *ci* poetry as ‘formal attire’ (嚴妝), implying a resplendence through dense and colourful imagery. Zhou Ji, *Jiecun zhai lunci zazhu*, in *Cihua congbian*, vol.2, p.1633. Wen’s *ci* poetry has the same style as some of his *shi* poems.

⁶⁹¹ Zou Zhifang, ed., *YWZSJ*, p.229.

- L5 Emperor Rang was not in the [region that had] southern barbarian customs, 讓皇不在荆蠻⁶⁹² 俗，
- L6 As the Li brothers had a close blood relationship. 李家兄弟真骨肉。
- L7 When they were wondering where to play woollen balls after drinking, 醉歸何處戲毬場，
- L8 The Heavenly person [Emperor Xuanzong] in a yellow dress was the third brother [among five of them]. 黃衣天人是三郎。
- L9 In shock, the ten *fu*⁶⁹³ bed quilts were split into floss-silks, 十幅大衾驚裂縵，
- L10 And the west wind blew [at night] into the screen imprinted with golden cocks. 西風夜入金雞障。
- L11 Among the five horses was a dragon, but the dragon became a pig [while sleeping]. 五馬一龍龍化豬，
- L12 While the big wrapped infant⁶⁹⁴ was in the golden carriage, 大繡兒在黃金輿，
- L13 The black mule took [the Emperor] on a thousand-mile journey along the road to the Cancong⁶⁹⁵ area. 青驢萬里蠶叢路，
- L14 Would the male fox still be able to carry away 雄狐尚復將雌去。

⁶⁹² Jing-man 荆蠻: 'Jing' 荆 refers to the State of Chu, which was in modern Hubei Province. See Lou Zhufeng, main ed., *HYDCD.SYB*, vol.1, p.1029. 'Man' 蠻 refers to a deserted area without political and legal systems, while 'manren' 蠻人 refers to the uncivilized minorities in the South. See *HYDCD.SYB*, vol.2, pp.5152-5153.

⁶⁹³ *Fu* 幅: One *fu* was equal to 2 *chi* (feet) and 2 *cun* (inches) in the time of the Zhou dynasty. *Hanshu* reads, "[A piece of] Cloth or silk of 2 *chi* (feet) and 2 *cun* (inches) are called *fu*" (布帛廣二尺二寸為幅) See Ban Gu, *Hanshu*, vol.4, p.1149. One *chi* in the Warring States Period is the equivalent of 23.1cm and 1 *cun* is 2.31cm. See Luo Zhufeng, main ed., *HYDCD.SYB*, vol.3, p.7761. Therefore, one *fu* is the equivalent of 50.82 cm (23.1cm×2 + 2.31cm×2), and ten *fu* is therefore 5.082m.

⁶⁹⁴ This refers to An Lushan who used to address the Imperial Consort Yang (Yang Yuhuan 楊玉環, 719-756), as 'mother' and was wrapped up as a big infant by her to celebrate his birthday in 751A.D. For more details, see Sima Guang et al., eds., *Zizhi tongjian*, vol.15, p.6903.

⁶⁹⁵ Cancong 蠶叢 is believed to be the name of the first ruler of the Shu State, who invented sericulture. Therefore, Cancong Road refers to the Shu region, which is in modern Sichuan Province. See Lou Zhufeng, main ed., *HYDCD.SYB*, vol.2, p.5152.

- the female fox?
- L15 What could be done when the Liangzhou Song 涼州曲破可奈
had broken? 何?
- L16 Up until now that Prince Ning [Li Xian] is 至今玉笛憶寧
remembered by the jade flute. 哥。⁶⁹⁶

Almost every line of this poem contains allusions to historical episodes. For example, ‘Yellow Platform cucumbers’ in L3 relates to Empress Wu Zetian’s ambition to become the female emperor. This ambition drove her to poison her eldest son, Li Hong 李弘 (652-675), the Crown Prince, at the age of twenty-four *sui*, despite his filial and kind-hearted nature. Her second son Li Xian 李賢 (654-684) was clever enough to realise he might become the next victim, and he composed the ‘Huanggua ci’ 黃瓜詞 (Song of cucumbers) for the court musicians to sing. Through the song, he tried to persuade his mother not to kill her four sons. Eventually, however, he was forced to commit suicide at the age of thirty-two *sui*.⁶⁹⁷

Wu Zetian’s cruelty to her sons contrasts with Emperor Xuanzong’s kindness to his brothers. ‘Green calyxes’ in L4 refers to the Hua’e xianghui lou 花萼相輝樓 (Tower of Flowers and Calyxes that Shine on Each Other) built by Xuanzong. This tower was open to the five princes and Xuanzong often invited them for feasts there.⁶⁹⁸ ‘Five stems’ and ‘five flowers’ symbolise the five princes, namely Li Xian 李憲 (679-742), Li Hui 李璣 (ca.684-724), Li Fan 李範 (?-726), Li Ye 李業 (?-734), and Li Longti 李隆悌 (ca.692-?).⁶⁹⁹ Yang tried to portray the close relationship of the brothers.

⁶⁹⁶ Zou Zhifang, ed., *YWZSJ*, p.229.

⁶⁹⁷ See Liu Xu et al., *Jiu Tangshu*, vol.3, p. 2828-2832; and Sima Guang et al., eds., *Zhizhi tongjian*, vol 15, p.7037.

⁶⁹⁸ Liu Xu et al., *Jiu Tangshu*, vol.9, p.3011.

⁶⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, p.3009.

‘Rang wang’ 讓皇 (Emperor Rang) in L5 literally means ‘the emperor who yielded’, and refers to the Crown Prince, Li Xian. Xian yielded his position to his younger brother, Li Longji 李隆基 (685-762), the third son of Emperor Ruizong of Tang 唐睿宗 (662-716). When Longji became Emperor Xuanzhong, he made Xian Prince Ning instead of demoting and exiling him to the barbarian lands (L5).⁷⁰⁰ Emperor Xuanzong had such a close relationship with his brothers that he even had made a big bed quilt so he could sleep with them,⁷⁰¹ hence the reference to ‘ten *fu* bed quilts’ in L9.

The last two lines describe Xuanzong’s pain. The ‘Liangzhou Song’ (L14) was written by his lover, Imperial Consort Yang, which was performed at the palace.⁷⁰² The ‘Jade flute’ (L15) reminded him of the happy times he had spent with Imperial Consort Yang and his eldest brother, Prince Ning. Three of them used to play musical instruments together: Prince Ning played the jade flute, Imperial Consort Yang played *pipa* and Xuanzong played the *Jie* 羯 drum.⁷⁰³ After the Tianbao Rebellion, Xuanzong played the song again on his jade flute in remembrance of his lover and his eldest brother.⁷⁰⁴

Like Wen Tingyun’s work,⁷⁰⁵ this poem is densely packed with imagery, such as ‘jade’ (玉), ‘silver bank’ (銀浦), ‘Yellow Platform’ (黃臺), ‘golden thread’ (金絲), ‘big bed quilts’ (大衾), ‘floss-silk’ (纈), ‘yellow dress’ (黃衣),

⁷⁰⁰ For the details of this historical event, see Ouyang Xiu et al., comps., *Xin Tangshu*, vol.12, p.3596-3598.

⁷⁰¹ Liu Xu et al., *Jiu Tangshu*, vol.9, p.3010.

⁷⁰² Yue Shi, *Yang Taizhen waizhuan*, p.77.

⁷⁰³ *Ibid.*, p.54.

⁷⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, p.82.

⁷⁰⁵ For more details about Wen’s life and poetry, see Hauichuan Mou, *Rediscovering Wen Tingyun: A Historical Key to a Poetic Labyrinth*, p.220.

'golden-cock screen' (金雞障), 'golden carriage' (黃金輿), and 'jade flute' (玉笛) creates the image of a rich royal family. 'Huang' 黃 (yellow) has the same pronunciation as 'huang' 皇 (royal), and thus the colours yellow and gold represent the royal family, especially the emperor (*huangdi* 皇帝). Furthermore, all the emperor's carriages and dresses were yellow,⁷⁰⁶ and therefore 'yellow dress' in L8 also refers to the emperor.

Wang Guowei 王國維 (1877-1927) commented on the splendour of Wen's *ci* poetic style, describing it as "a golden partridge on the painted screen" (畫屏金鷓鴣).⁷⁰⁷ Yang shows a similar degree of splendour in this poem, with his choice of colourful diction, particularly silver, yellow, and golden. It is no wonder that scholars compare his resplendent poetic style to that of Wen Tingyun.

However, Li Shangyin's poetry is also well known for its ambiguous poetic expressions. *Tang Caizi Chuan* 唐才子傳 (Biography of the Tang talents) reads,

Shangyin was skilful at composing poetry which is resplendent and potent [in diction], and strange and ancient [in style]; its diction is complex and its meanings are hidden.

商隱工詩，為文瑰邁奇古，辭難事隱。⁷⁰⁸

Because of Shangyin's complex diction and hidden meanings, his poetic content appears ambiguous.⁷⁰⁹

⁷⁰⁶ For details, see Liu Xu et al., *Jiu Tangshu*, vol.6, p.1932-1938.

⁷⁰⁷ 'A golden partridge on the painted screen' (畫屏金鷓鴣) is a line from Wen Tingyun's *ci* poem entitled 'Genglou zi' 更漏子 (The water clock) See Peng Dinqiu et al., eds., *Quan Tangshi*, vol.25, p.10066. However, Wang Guowei used it to describe the style of Wen's *ci* poems in general. See Wang Guowei. *Renjian cihua*, in *Cihua congbian*, vol.4, p.4241.

⁷⁰⁸ Xin Wenfang, Fu Xuancong, main ed., *Tang caizi zhuan jiaojian*, vol.3, p.277.

⁷⁰⁹ Liu says, "Li Shang-yin's poetry is especially noted for its ambiguity of reference." See Wan Liu, "Poetics of allusion: Tu Fu, Li Shang-yin, Ezra Pound, and T.S. Eliot", p. 98.

Yang demonstrates similar ambiguity in his poems. He subtly mocks Xuanzhong and An Lushan in L11 and L14. ‘Dragon-pig’ in L11 is an allusion to An Lushan. In legend, An Lushan was transformed into a pig with a dragon’s head while he was sleeping and he was called as ‘dragon-pig’⁷¹⁰ by Emperor Xuanzong. In L11, ‘dragon’ and ‘horses’ are metaphors for the ‘emperor’ and ‘five princes’ respectively, while ‘pig’ seems to refer to An Lushan. But, the metaphor “dragon became a pig”, can also be viewed as a satirical description of Emperor Xuanzong (dragon), who was too foolish in his old age to see through An’s ambition. Xuanzong (the dragon) became a ‘pig’ [target for slaughter] in An’s rebellion, and to escape from slaughter he fled to Sichuan.

In L14, ‘*Xionghu*’ 雄狐 (male fox) refers to Yang Guozhong 楊國忠 (d.756) who had an illicit relationship with his cousin, the Lady of the State of Guo 虢 (d.756).⁷¹¹ However, this may also be a satirical description of An Lushan, who indirectly took the life of a stunning beauty, Yang Yuhuan. ‘Hu’ 狐 (fox) has the same pronunciation as ‘hu’ 胡 (Northern barbarian), while ‘ci’ 雌 (female) appears to refer to Yang Yuanhuan, who is believed by some historians to have had a special relationship with An Lushan.⁷¹²

However, this poem is an ambiguous narrative that has hidden layers. The metaphor, ‘male fox’, first appears in the poem ‘Nanshan’ 南山 (South Mountain)⁷¹³ in the *Shijing* (Book of Poetry). Here it is a satire on Duke Xiang

⁷¹⁰ An Lushan became a pig with a dragon’s head while in a drunken sleep, and was named ‘dragon-pig’ by Emperor Xuanzhong. See Yue Shi, *Yang Taizhen waizhuan*, p. 69; Li Fang et al., ed., *Taiping guangji*, vol.5, pp.1702-1703.

⁷¹¹ Ouyang Xiu et al., comps., *Xin Tangshu*, vol.11, p.3495.

⁷¹² An Lushan was able to enter the palace freely. He ate with Imperial Consort Yang and sometimes stayed overnight. Their special relationship was known by people outside the palace. For details, see Sima Guang et al., eds., *Zizhi tongjian*, vol.15, p.6903-6904.

⁷¹³ See Zhu Xi, ed., *Shi jizhuan*, p.60.

of Qi 齊襄公 (r.686-697B.C.), who had an affair with his beautiful step-sister, Wenjiang 文姜 (7th c. B.C.), the wife of Duke Huan of Lu 魯桓公 (r.711-694B.C.). Duke Xiang was finally killed after he had assassinated Huan.⁷¹⁴

Coincidentally, Duke Xiang's incestuous affair appears to parallel that of Emperor Xuanzhong, who took his daughter-in-law, Yang Yuhuan, to be his imperial concubine, and whose addiction to her encouraged An Lushan to rush to power. The Tianbao Rebellion caused him to flee to Sichuan and made him unwilling to order the death of Yang Yuhuan ('ci'雌).⁷¹⁵

Yang's ambiguous expressions leave more freedom for the readers' imagination and curiosity, in the same way that Li Shangyin's poems *Wuti* 無題 (Untitled)⁷¹⁶ have been subject to diverse interpretations and explanations throughout the ages.

But Yang also tended to model his poetry on that of other Tang poets, such as Li Bai and Li He, and made allusions to their work as well. Those allusions enrich his poetic content and give him his unique style. For instance, L2 of this poem, "Cloud mists became dragons or tigers." seems to be inspired by Li Bai's poetic line, 'The cloud dragon and wind tiger all return reciprocally.' (雲龍風虎盡交回).⁷¹⁷ However, Li Bai may have gained his inspiration in turn from a line in *Yijing* 易經 (Book of Changes), 'clouds (the breath of heaven) follow the dragon; wind (the breath of earth) follows the tiger.' (雲從龍。風從虎).⁷¹⁸ L1 of this

⁷¹⁴ For details, see Sima Qian. *Shiji*, vol.5, pp.1483-1484.

⁷¹⁵ For details, see Ouyang Xiu et al., *Xin Tangshu*, vol.11, p.3495.

⁷¹⁶ Peng Dingqiu et al., eds., *Quan Tangshi*, vol.16, pp.6163, 6168-6169.

⁷¹⁷ The poem entitled 'Hu wuren' 胡無人, in *Quan Tangshi*, vol.5, 1688.

⁷¹⁸ Li Dingzuo, *Zhouyi jijie*, p.14; Sima Qian. *Shiji*, vol.7, p.2127.

poem, “The Milky Way washed the jade [stars and makes them drift] to the silver bank” is an allusion to Li He’s poetic line,

The Milky Way moves at night where the stars drift 天河夜轉漂迴星，
back,
While the clouds floating along the silver bank 銀浦流雲學水聲。⁷¹⁹
imitate the sound of water ’

Yang not only uses the same diction as Li He, but also imitates him in depicting the Milky Way. Therefore, even though Yang’s resplendent poetic style is mainly an imitation of Wen Tingyun’s and Li Shangyin’s styles, the influence of Li He cannot be ignored. Lu Jiuguo’s comment that Yang’s resplendence is modelled on Li He proves, to a certain extent, to be correct.

Finally, this poem ‘Five princes playing woollen balls’ is yet more evidence that Yang’s Iron style is a mixture of different poetic styles. This poem is resplendent, but it also appears to be strange. This is exhibited by such expressions as “the dragon became a pig” (L11) and “big wrapped infant” (L12). These phrases refer to historical facts, but do so in a humorous and satirical way.

4.6 Untrammelled style (*yi*) resembles Li Bai

Yang Shiqi lauded the ‘graceful and resplendent; beautiful and untrammelled’ (*juanli junyi* 娟麗俊逸) language of Yang’s *xianglian* poetry (poetry on the

⁷¹⁹ The poem entitled ‘Tianshang yao’ 天上謠 (Song of the Heaven), in *Quan Tangshi*, vol.12, p.4399.

boudoir),⁷²⁰ which he thought came from a fairyland.⁷²¹ Shiqi did not elaborate on this comment, nor did he cite any examples. His comment is the direct opposite of Lu Rong's criticism that Yang used 'merely lewd and indecent diction' (淫褻之詞).⁷²² Based on my research, Yang's boudoir poems appear to be in an effeminate and resplendent style, resembling the styles of Wen Tingyun and Li Shangyin. However, Shiqi's comment indicates that an untrammelled style is another one of the constituents of Yang's Iron Style.

What is an untrammelled style? It is similar to Siku Tu's poetic category of 'Piaoyi' (drifting aloof)⁷²³, and is characterised by freedom from constraint, and the natural expression of a far-reaching mind.⁷²⁴ Owen says,

Its primary characteristics need little comment: it moves with things but has no attachments, no signs of care.⁷²⁵

But Zu Baoquan believes that when a poet uses exaggerated diction to reflect his 'potent and far-reaching dream' (豪邁的、杳遠的理想), it creates a poetic style that gives a sense of drifting aloof.⁷²⁶ In other words, a use of 'exaggerated diction' implies that the poet has a great imagination.

Looking at Yang's poems, it is not difficult to see that his untrammelled style is probably the result of his pursuit of freedom and his unbounded spirit, as well

⁷²⁰ It includes eight poems named 'Xianglian bati' 香奩八題 (Eight topics on the boudoir), and twenty poems entitled 'Xuxiang ji' 續奩集 (Collection of supplement to poems on the boudoir). See Zou Zhifang, ed., *YWZSJ*, pp. 390-392, 402-405.

⁷²¹ Yang Shiqi's 'Postscript to *Fugu shiji*', in Zhang Wan, comp., *Tieya xiansheng fugu shiji*, p.1 (the page after p.142).

⁷²² Lu Rong, *Shuyuan zayi*, p.113.

⁷²³ Stephen Owen, *Readings in Chinese Literary Thought*, p.348.

⁷²⁴ Cao Lengquan, ed., *Shipin tongshi*, pp.77,79.

⁷²⁵ Stephen Owen, *Readings in Chinese Literary Thought*, p.349.

⁷²⁶ Zu Baoquan, *Sikong Tu shipin jieshou*, p.90.

as his imitation of Li Bai. An example of his pursuit of freedom is the fact that he loathed to be tied to the use of couplet parallelism and rhythms at the end of almost every other line. His longing to be a roaming immortal and an unbounded person are demonstrated by his constant travels and his propensity to dress as a Taoist. His modelling on Li Bai is evident in the imitation of Li's poetic lines.

Wang Anshi commented that Li Bai's poetry is "potent and unrestrained, elegant and graceful" (豪宕飄逸).⁷²⁷ Wang Shizhen clearly distinguished the poetic styles of Li Bai and Du Fu. He said that the poems which make us feel like a fairy in the clouds are by Li Bai, but those which make us sigh are by Du Fu.⁷²⁸ The former was elegant and untrammelled, while the latter was outstanding and potent. Wu Qiao (1611-1695) and Feng Ban (1602-1671) both believed that, "It [Yang's *yuefu* poetic style] originated from the two Li's (Li Bai, Li He) and Du [Shao]Ling (Du Fu)" (其源出於二李、杜[少]陵),⁷²⁹ but "he [Yang] established his own [style of] poetry after Tai Bai" (太白之後，亦是一家).⁷³⁰ Chen Shanxue 陳善學 believed that Yang's changeable poetic style was definitely a reflection of Li Bai's influence.⁷³¹ They noted that Yang's potency imitates that of Du Fu, while his untrammelled style is modelled on Li Bai's style.

Yang's untrammelled style, characterised by his vivid imagination and exaggerated diction, is obvious in his poems about mountains and lakes. His great imagination surprises his readers, and is similar to that of Li Bai's style.

⁷²⁷ See Yang Lun, ed., *Dushi jingquan*, p.1153.

⁷²⁸ See Appendix 7L; Yang Lun, ed., *Dushi jingquan*, p.1155.

⁷²⁹ Wu Qiao, *Weilu shihua*, in *XXSKQS*, vol. 1697 p.597; Feng Ban, *Dunyin zalu*, in *Qing shihua*, vol. 1, p.39.

⁷³⁰ *Ibid.*

⁷³¹ Yang Weizhen. *Yang Tieya xiansheng wenji*, Chen Shanxue's 'preface to *Yang Tieya xiansheng ji*', p.5.

For example, Yang's poem *Lushan pubu yao* 廬山瀑布謠 (Ballad of the Lu Mountain waterfall) captures the beauty of nature and tells an episode from the history of the Han dynasty. Yang composed this poem during his trip to Jiangxi 江西 province with Guan Yunshi 貫雲石 (1286-1324), the famous *qu* song lyric writer, in 1344.⁷³²

The Milky Way suddenly cracks like the Huzi ⁷³³	銀河忽如瓠子決，
dyke,	
Water rushing to the front of the Five Elders Peak.	瀉諸五老之峰前。
I suspect it is an immortal weaving plain silk,	我疑天仙織素練，
The silk has slipped from the axle of the loom and	素練脫軸垂青天。
hangs down from the blue sky.	
I plan to take a pair of Bingzhou ⁷³⁴ scissors,	便欲手把并州剪，
To cut out a painting of glassy vapour.	剪取一幅玻璃煙。
I meet with Yunshi zi [Guan Yunshi] ⁷³⁵	相逢雲石子，
Who looks like the immortal that catches the moon.	有似捉月仙。
His throat is so thirsty for wine at night;	酒喉無耐夜渴甚，
He rides on a whale and drinks up the ocean which	騎鯨吸海枯桑田。
dries and turns into mulberry fields.	
Then it [the water] unexpectedly changes into one	居然化作十萬丈，
hundred thousand <i>zhang</i> ⁷³⁶ of	
[A white] jade rainbow hanging upside down from a	玉虹倒掛清冷

⁷³² Sun Xiaoli, *YWZNP*, p.90.

⁷³³ This is the name of a dyke in modern Puyang 濮陽 county in Henan Province, and it is believed that the Yellow River flowed through its cracks during the Han dynasty. See Sima Qian, *Shiji*, vol.1, p.183; vol.2. pp.493-497.

⁷³⁴ In the southwest of modern Taiyuan 太原 in Shanxi Province [See Wei Songshan, main ed., *Zhongguo gudian shici diming cidian*, p.334], which is famous for producing scissors of good quality. See the explanations for the 'Bingzhou knife' (并州刀) and 'Bingzhou scissors' (并州剪), in Lou Zhufeng, main ed., *HYDCD.SYB*, vol.1, pp.772-773.

⁷³⁵ Yang's friend, Guan Yunshi, was good at writing *sanqu* dramatic lyrics. See Wang Deyi et al., eds., *Yuanren zhuanji ziliao suoyin*, vol.2, p.1239. This poem makes fun of his friend in a playful and lively tone. It evidences that not all of Yang's poems are in a sorrowful tone.

⁷³⁶ *Zhang* 丈: one *zhang* in the Song and Yuan dynasties is the equivalent of 3.12 metre. Lou Zhufeng, main ed., *HYDCD.SYB*, vol.3, p.7764. One hundred thousand *zhang* is therefore 312,000 metres.

clear and cool abyss.

淵。⁷³⁷

This poem clearly shows Yang's great imagination. He is astonished at the beauty and potency of the waterfall, and believes that it has been created by an immortal. He compares the appearance of the waterfall to an immortal's woven silk, which has slipped down from Heaven; and its height of a million feet to a jade rainbow hanging upside down from an abyss. He vividly depicts the power of flowing water saying that it cracked the Huzi dyke. At the same time, this poem shows Yang's great interest in, and knowledge of, history. The cracking of the Huzi dyke occurred only once: during the Yuanguang 元光 reign (134-129B.C.) of the Emperor Wu in the Han dynasty.⁷³⁸ Despite its insignificance, Yang knew about this event and used it in his poem.

Also, he portrays the beauty of the water by likening it to the Milky Way. His use of diction in creating this fabulous scene is beautiful. Examples of diction such as "plain silk", "a painting of glassy vapour", "[white] jade rainbow hanging upside down" show a high degree of creativity and imagination. Yang's tremendous imagination was obviously inspired not only by Li Bai but also by Du Fu. Two of Du's poetic lines read,

How could I get a pair of sharp Bingzhou scissors, 焉得并州快剪刀，
To cut out the Wusong River and obtain one half 剪取吴淞半江水。
of it? ⁷³⁹

⁷³⁷ Zou Zhifang, ed., *YWZSJ*, p.45.

⁷³⁸ For details, see Ban Gu. *Hanshu*, vol.6, pp.1679-1685.

⁷³⁹ Peng Dingiu et al., eds., *Quan Tangshi*, vol.7, p.2305.

However, these two lines are believed to have originated from the Jin poet, Suo Jing 索靖 (239-303), who praised Gu Kaizhi's 顧愷之 (344-405) painting on water and mountain,⁷⁴⁰ saying,

I regret that I have not brought the Bingzhou 恨不帶并州快剪刀來，
scissors,
To cut one half of the patterned silk of the 剪松江半幅紋練歸去。
River Song and bring it back. 741

Inspired by these lines, Yang created the beautiful image of cutting out 'a painting of glassy vapour'. Moreover, Yang's untrammelled style is mainly modelled on that of Li Bai whose *Wang Lushan pubu shui* 望廬山瀑布水 (Watching the water of the Lu Mountain waterfall) contains a vivid depiction of the same spot that Yang is describing,

Water flies straight down three thousand feet, 飛流直下三千尺，
I suspect it is the Milky Way falling down from 疑是銀河落九天。⁷⁴²
the ninth layer of Heaven.

Li Bai imbues the waterfall with vitality, creating an exquisite scene through comparison with the Milky Way. This imaginative description seems to have inspired Yang, who not only imitated Li Bai's poetic style but also his generous spirit. Yang's 'Wuhu you' 五湖遊 (Roaming on the five lakes) demonstrates this kind of spirit as well as a care-free manner. A portion of it reads,

The double-deck pleasure boat does not need to 樓船不須到蓬邱，

⁷⁴⁰ Xiao Difei et al., *Tangshi jianshang cidian*, p.510.

⁷⁴¹ Ibid., p.510.

⁷⁴² Peng Dingju et al., eds., *Quan Tangshi*, vol.6, p.1837.

go to the Peng Hill Fairyland⁷⁴³,
 The beauties, Xishi and Zheng Dan, sit at both 西施鄭旦坐兩頭。
 ends.
 The Taoist lies on the boat and plays his iron 道人臥舟吹鐵笛，
 flute
 And looks up to the blue sky [and the clouds] 仰看青天天倒流。⁷⁴⁴
 which flow backwards.

Yang's fantasy of having two historical beauties, Xishi (506 B.C.-?) and Zheng Dan (6th c. B.C.) sitting with him demonstrates his wildness, while the fact that he is reclining on the boat reveals a debonair personality.

This style can also be seen in Yang's poems on the roaming immortals, such as *Xiao youxian* 小遊仙 (Quatrains on the roaming immortals), which demonstrates his lofty sentiments and incredible imagination. Wu Fu described these poems as having "lofty and far-reaching sentiments" 高情遠致.⁷⁴⁵ Here, we take 'Quatrains on the roaming immortals' no. 10 as an example.

It is now the three hundredth autumn since I left, 別來已及三百秋，
 Having roamed through the universe and reached 遊遍乾坤第十洲。
 the tenth continent,
 I do not know which generation my family 不識家人今幾世，
 members belong to now,
 Tomorrow morning I plan to ride on a crane over 明朝騎鶴過山頭。⁷⁴⁶
 the peak.

This poem illustrates Yang's carefree attitude towards a worldly life and his desire

⁷⁴³ 'Penglai shan' 蓬萊山 (Mount Penglai) is also called 'Penqiu' 蓬邱[丘] (Peng Hill), which was believed to be located in somewhere opposite to the northeastern shore of the East Sea. See Dongfang Shuo, *Hainei shizhou ji*, in *SKQS*, vol.1042, p.279.

⁷⁴⁴ Zou Zhifang, ed., *YWZSJ*, p.43.

⁷⁴⁵ See Lou Buchan, ed., *Tieya yuefu zhu*, p.455.

⁷⁴⁶ Zou Zhifang, ed., *YWZSJ*, p.145.

to pursue a free life like that of the immortal, Wang Qiao 王喬. There are three immortals named Wang Qiao,⁷⁴⁷ but Yang is referring here to the eldest son of King Ling of Zhou 周靈王 (?-545 B.C.), the Crown Prince Ji Jin 姬晉 (565-546B.C.).⁷⁴⁸ Among the three, he was the only one who rode on a crane and flew to the Heaven. Therefore, Lu Buchan said, 'Wang Qiao, the eldest son of King Ling of Zhou, named Jin.' (王喬，周靈王太子晉也。)⁷⁴⁹ This carries symbolic meaning as there are similarities between Ji Jin and Yang. Firstly, both loved music. Ji Jin was good at playing the reed pipe, while Yang was famous for playing the flute. Secondly, both pursued freedom. Ji Jin chose freedom rather than a princely life and was indifferent to fame and wealth, while Yang chose the life of a recluse over an official career. Yang longed to be free from the trappings of life, and live like an immortal.

The portrait of Ji Jin reflects Yang's 'far-reaching dream' to pursue freedom and live the life of a hermit. These poems on the roaming immortals clearly demonstrate an untrammelled style. However, can this style also be found in Yang's poetry on history? The following section explores this.

A sense of freedom and far-reaching dream

Yang's untrammelled style, suitable for the description of nature and panoramic vistas, and a free life of immortals, was greatly restricted by the factual nature of history. Despite this, however, Yang tried to incorporate this style into his poems on history.

⁷⁴⁷ They are the Crown Prince, Wang Zijin; the county magistrate of Ye 葉 prefecture in the Han dynasty, Wang Qiao; and Wang Qiao of Wuyang 武陽 in Qi State. See Ying Shao, Wang Liqi, ed., *Fengsu tongyi jiaozhu*, pp.81-82.

⁷⁴⁸ See Liu Xiang, *Liexian zhuan*, in Ji Xianlin, ed., *Siku jiacang*, vol. 93, p.346.

⁷⁴⁹ Lou Buchan, ed., *Tiya yuefu zhu*, p.525.

Here, we take Yang's 'Yuxue qu' 雨雪曲 (The song of rain and snow) as an example. The untrammelled style of this poem comes from a sense of freedom evoked by the spacious earth and sky, and the wildness of an unbounded world. Some of the lines, such as, 'the sky is endless blue' (天蒼蒼) and 'the earth is endless white' (地茫茫), are derived from the *yuefu* poem entitled 'Chile ge' 敕勒歌 (Song of Chile).⁷⁵⁰ The poem describes a panoramic vista of nature consisting of the endless blue sky, endless white earth and heavy snow.

The sky is endless blue,	天蒼蒼，
The earth is endless white,	地茫茫，
The snow falls heavily in the second and the third month.	二月三月雪滂滂。
The rain falls on me in Yellow Bamboo and wets my clothes,	雨我黃竹濕衣裳，
The Heavenly Son is not in the Yellow Bamboo countryside.	天子不在黃竹鄉。
The sky is endless blue,	天蒼蒼，
The earth is endless white,	地茫茫，
The girl called Wu Zhao	武曩兒，
Occupies the court grandly with her tall crown and big shoes,	高冠大履據堂皇。
Officials of the Tang household believe it was an auspicious omen to have snow in the third month.	唐家臣子三月以為祥。 751

Yang cleverly connects the snow in the Tang dynasty to that in the ancient Zhou dynasty (1046-256B.C.). He aims here to satirise Empress Wu Zetian 武則天 (624-705). The Heavenly Son, King Muwang of Zhou 周穆王 (976-922B.C.), went hunting in Pingze 苹澤 at Yellow Bamboo, a legendary place. As it was

⁷⁵⁰ For details, see Guo Maoqian, comp., *Yuefu shiji*, vol.4, pp.1212-1213.

⁷⁵¹ Zou Zhifang, ed., *YWZSJ*, pp.223-224.

snowing heavily and very windy, he stayed there. He composed a poem to show his sympathy for the commoners who were suffering because of the heavy snow.⁷⁵² The first two lines of the poem read, “When I went to Yellow Bamboo and [?] people were feeling an oppressive cold.” (我徂黃竹，□員闕寒)⁷⁵³

Snow in the third month of the eighteenth Sisheng 嗣聖 year (701A.D.) was regarded as auspicious by the supporters of Empress Wu Zetian. She mounted the throne and established her own Zhou dynasty (690-705) in the tenth month of that year.⁷⁵⁴ By juxtaposing the resplendent imperial dress of Wu Zetian with the months of snow, Yang indirectly satirises her indifference towards the plight of civilians. In other words, Yang satirizes Wu Zetian by comparing her, the Empress of the Zhou dynasty, with King Muwang, Emperor of the ancient Zhou dynasty. At the same time, this poem also reveals Yang’s far-reaching dream of having a political leader who is deeply concerned with the livelihood and suffering of common people. The poem’s sense of freedom is illustrated well by the two lines, “The sky is in its endless blue, The earth is in its endless white.” To Yang, the world had no boundaries.

This sense of freedom is also found in Yang’s poem ‘Lüzhu xing’ 綠珠行 (Song of Lüzhu). Four lines of this poem read,

At the top of the tower was a banquet that had not 樓頭侍宴宴未徹，
ended,
When the shine of the armour turned the top of 甲光一片樓頭雪。
the tower into snow.
A tiny Sacred Pearl threw herself from the 神珠一點擲畫欄，
painted railings,

⁷⁵² See Guo Pu, ed., *Mu tianzi zhuan*, in *YYWYGSKQS*, vol.1042, p.260.

⁷⁵³ Guo Maoqian, comp., *Yuefu shiji*, vol.2, p.357.

⁷⁵⁴ See Sima Guang et al., eds., *Zizhi tongjian*, vol.14, pp.6554-6557.

To become a shooting star with an eternal flame. 化作流星光不滅。⁷⁵⁵

With his great imagination, Yang made the soldiers' shining armour become "a strip of snow", thus implying the sudden arrival of many soldiers. As a strip of snow, they froze the warm atmosphere of the banquet on the top of the tower. Yang beautifies a chaotic and thrilling scene by use of his fabulous imagination.

He also expands the restricted space of the tower so that it encompasses the natural world and even the universe, and this provides a sense of freedom. However, Yang hints that this freedom may be achieved through death by using the imagery of a "shooting star with an eternal flame" to symbolise Lüzhū's death, which earned her a star-like, eternal fame [eternal flame] in history. This imagery expands the dimensions of the story from the tower to the universe, and from the present to the future. Lüzhū's suicide by jumping to her death for her beloved master, Shi Chong, in the present, was to be glorified throughout the ages (into the future). Yang cleverly shows his admiration by calling Lüzhū (literally means 'green pearl') a 'sacred pearl' because of her sacred qualities.

The capture of Shi Chong was most likely an unpleasant scene, with guests and servants screaming in shock and running around, and Lüzhū jumping to her death. However, Yang uses his impressive imagination to create a beautiful but sad story with a far-reaching implication.

Untrammelled style is more applicable to other genres

The untrammelled style is not as common in Yang's poetry on history as it is in his poetry on mountains and lakes. This style, distinguished by great imagination and sense of freedom, is more suited to his poems that contain

⁷⁵⁵ Zou Zhifang, ed., *YWZSJ*, p.199.

descriptions of scenery, such as ‘Ballad of Lu Mountain waterfall’ and ‘Roaming on five lakes’.

Kūkai 空海 (774-835), in his book *Wenjing mifu lun* 文鏡秘府論 (Discussion on the secret rules mirrored by literature),⁷⁵⁶ explains why an untrammelled poetic style is generally suited to poems on mountain and lakes,

After a journey by boat, one need to have a good sleep right away; when one has slept sufficiently, one will see many clear scenes, and mountains and rivers fill one’s mind. These merge together to become an inspiration. At that time, one has to sweep away all works, and devote oneself entirely to one’s feelings and inspiration. In this way, if one produces any [poetic] work, it will be remarkable and untrammelled.⁷⁵⁷

舟行之後，即須安眠。眠足之後，固多清景，江山滿懷，合而生興，須屏絕事務，專任情興。因此，若有製作，皆奇逸。⁷⁵⁸

Greatly restricted by complicated historical facts and complex biographies, poems on history provide poets with less space for imagination, and less freedom for ‘drifting aloof’. This explains why the untrammelled poetic style is not common in Yang’s poems on history.

Concluding remarks

‘*Tieya ti*’ (Iron Style) does not refer specifically to one particular poetic style, but consists of different poetic styles: potent, strange, elegant, straightforward, resplendent and untrammelled, to name the important ones. All these diverse

⁷⁵⁶ *Wenjing mifu lun* 文鏡秘府論: The original Japanese title is ‘Bunkyō hifuron’ (ぶんきょうひふろん).

⁷⁵⁷ Stephen Owen, *The End of the Chinese Middle Ages: Essays in Mid-Tang Literary Culture*, p.112.

⁷⁵⁸ Wang Liqi, ed., *Wenjing mifu lun jiaozhu*, p.306.

styles make up Yang's special Iron Style, which is best represented by his *yuefu* poetry. Poems on history, which are mainly in *yuefu* form, also illustrate his Iron Style well. This chapter has shown that these styles appear in Yang's poetry on history. Interestingly, one single poem on history can contain a combination of diverse poetic styles. For instance, Yang's 'Hongmen hui' (The meeting at Hong Gate) is dominated by strangeness but also has elements of potency, while 'Jianke pian' (Writing on a swordsman) is potent but also straightforward in style.

These different poetic styles, the main constituents of Iron Style, are generally believed to be modelled on the work of the Tang poets, and Yang's Iron Style, thus, integrates their various styles. More specifically, the poetic strangeness is modelled on Li He's style; the potent and untrammelled styles are from Du Fu and Li Bai, the resplendent and elegant poetic styles are similar to those of Wen Tingyun and Li Shangyin; and Yang's straightforwardness is mainly influenced by *Shijing* and Liu Yuxi's 'Bamboo twig songs'.

Lou Buchan praised Yang's ability to create his own unique Iron style after other poetic styles had already been established by other poets.⁷⁵⁹ Yang's poems on history gained a good reputation during his lifetime. Yang Shiqi stated that Yang's literary contribution was 'representative of a generation' (*yidai renbiao* — 代人表),⁷⁶⁰ while some critics pointed out that Yang's ancient style *yuefu* poetry was 'superior throughout the ages'. (*guan jue gu jin* 冠絕古今).⁷⁶¹

⁷⁵⁹ See Appendix 7M; Lou Buchan, ed., *Tieya yuefu zhu*, in *XXSKQS*, vol. 1325, p.433.

⁷⁶⁰ Zou Zhifang, ed., *YWZSJ*, p.498.

⁷⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p.498.

Chapter Five: The Presentation of Yang's Iron Style Poetry on History: Illustration of His Personality and Interests

In this chapter, I investigate the presentation techniques seen in Yang's Iron Style poetry on history and explore the main features of his Iron Style in these poems. These features are the fruits of Yang's personality as well as his interest in history and drama. They make Yang's poems on history quite different from traditional poetry of this genre and contribute to his unique Iron Style.

Firstly, Yang's poems have a very close relationship with his prefaces, and the official historical texts. Of Yang's 447 poems on history, 102 have prefaces. Of these, ninety seven are long prefaces, while five are short ones. The aims of these prefaces are mainly: (a) to challenge official opinion, for example the preface to 'Song zhongchen' 宋忠臣⁷⁶² (The loyal official of the Liu Song dynasty); (b) to make up for the omissions in the records, such as the preface to his poem 'Pinji xiong' 牝雞雄⁷⁶³ (Potent female fowl); and (c) to explain his novel views, such as the preface to 'Fan Jiangjun' (General Fan).⁷⁶⁴ To understand Yang's poems properly, one needs knowledge of the historical events or figures described, particularly, he often created connection between poems by relating them to the same historical events.

⁷⁶² Zou Zhifang, ed., *YWZSJ*, p.202.

⁷⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 152.

⁷⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p.158.

Secondly, Yang's poems reveal his great interest in music and songs. Also, his use of the Tang mutual rhyming system shows his admiration of the Tang poets and their work. However, he did not compose regulated verses based on the rigid rhyming rules of the Tang era because his carefree nature gave him a preference for a freer rhyming system.

Thirdly, his interest in drama can also be seen in his poems on history. He not only took on the roles of historical characters in his voices, but he also presented his poems in the form of dramatic development. All these features make up Yang's special Iron Style, and provide insight into his personality and interests.

5.1 Expression of historical viewpoints through close interrelationships

To read Yang's poetry on history in depth, the reader should also study his prefaces and the historical texts. Lin Shuenfu comments on the relationship between the prefaces and *ci* poems in the work of Jiang Kui's 姜夔⁷⁶⁵ (1155-1235?). Although *ci* 詞 and *shi* 詩 poems are very different, Lin's comment acts as a good reference. He says,

The structural value of a song preface lies in its referential function, by which I mean that a preface refers the lyrics of a song to concrete

⁷⁶⁵ For an annotation of Jiang Kui's *ci* poems, see Huang Zhaohan 黃兆漢 et al., eds., *Jiang Baishi ci xiangzhu* 姜白石詞詳註. Taipei: Taiwan xuesheng shudian, 1998, 718 pages. I contributed nine articles on the subject of annotating Jiang Kui's *ci* poems on plum blossoms and willows.

objects in the poets experiential world.⁷⁶⁶

In Yang's case, it is difficult to discern the poet's experiences in the world, as each of the prefaces to his poems on history is mainly a discussion on the historical events or figures. These cannot easily be related to the poet's own life. Nonetheless, his prefaces can serve as references for the readers to better understand both the content of the poetry and Yang's historical perceptions. The relationship between Yang's poems, on the one hand, and his prefaces or the historical texts, on the other, can be explained using Joseph Allen's categories.⁷⁶⁷

Allen classifies the *yuefu* genre according to the process of intratextuality writing,⁷⁶⁸ listing six categories: continuation, amplification, ornamentation, extension, transformation and negation. Allen refers to these categories in reference between one *yuefu* poem and a former *yuefu* poem on the same topic, but I will make use of these categories to analyse the close relationships between Yang's poems, prefaces, and the historical texts. Analysing these close relationships helps us to fully understand Yang's views on history.

5.1.1 Relationship between poems and the historical texts

By applying Allen's categories to the analysis, it is easier to see how Yang incorporated the historical records into his own poems.

Transformation

⁷⁶⁶ Shuenfu Lin, *The Transformation of the Chinese Lyrical Tradition: Chiang K'uei and Southern Sung Tz'u Poetry*, p.65.

⁷⁶⁷ Joseph R. Allen, *In the Voice of Others: Chinese Music Bureau Poetry*, p.223.

⁷⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p.209.

Allen defines ‘transformation’ as an ‘intratext turned on itself to undo itself’, and he says it ‘has an appropriate poetic pedigree related to its subversive quality’.⁷⁶⁹ Allen takes the example of Xiao Hui’s (fl. 500) version of Luofu’s poem to explain transformation. In the poem, Luofu is transferred from a chaste lady who rejected the governor’s courtship, to a lady who accepted and ‘toasted the governor’.⁷⁷⁰ In Xiao’s version, Luofu’s image is subverted. We can say that, if Luofu story is AA, after transformation it becomes BB.

Similar examples of transformation can be found in Yang’s poems on history. He tried to transform the negative image of a particular historical figure to a positive one. His poem, ‘Nucai bian’ 奴才篇 (Poem on mediocre minions) is a good example,

L1	The sons of the Guo family,	郭家兒，
L2	Were all mediocre minions.	皆奴才。
L3	Fortunately [Guo] Yao was filial and reverent,	孝謹幸有曜，
L4	He was so different from his other plump and wealthy siblings,	獨異膏梁胎。
L5	The son of the wet-nurse	乳母子，
L6	Was arrogant and extravagant.	驕且侈。
L7	The Commandant of Justice in the Army killed him at Changan market.	都虞侯杖殺長安市。
L8	The young Minister [Guo Xi] stationed his troops in Bin Prefecture,	邠州留後小尚書，
L9	And let his tiger-and-monster-like soldiers kill people during the daytime.	白日殺人縱虎羆。
L10	The sons of the Guo Family	郭家子，
L11	Were indeed not mediocre minions	才非奴，
L12	He [Guo Xi] listened to Commandant Duan the next day.	明朝受教段都虞。 ⁷⁷¹

⁷⁶⁹ Joseph R. Allen, *In the Voice of Others: Chinese Music Bureau Poetry*, p.219.

⁷⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p.220.

⁷⁷¹ Lou Buchan, ed., *Tiya yongshi zhu*, p.587.

The poem title, ‘*nucai*’ (mediocre minions), and L2 are based on the negative comments made by Guo Ziyi 郭子儀 (697-781) about his sons.

My sons are all mediocre minions. They do not appreciate their father’s Commandant, but pity the son of their mother’s wet-nurse. What are they if not mediocre minions!

子儀諸子，皆奴才也。不賞父之都虞候而惜母之乳母子，非奴才而何！⁷⁷²

Guo’s criticised his sons because of an incident that occurred in 768 A.D. when his sons complained about the Commandant’s arbitrarily killing the son of their mother’s wet-nurse, who had violated a prohibition in the barracks.⁷⁷³

Using transformation, Yang converts Guo’s negative comments (L2) into positive ones. L10 and L11, ‘The sons of the Guo Family, Were indeed not mediocre minions’ (郭家子，才非奴), reverse the negative image of “mediocre minions” into a positive image. Yang’s also makes positive comments in L3 and L4, saying that Guo Yao 郭曜 (8th c.) was “filial and reverent”. Yang praises Yao, saying, “He was so different from the other plump and wealthy siblings”. Here, Yang is summarising the historical record on Yao,

He has a quiet personality, a great appearance and a handsome countenance... When [Guo] Ziyi concentrated on military expeditions, Yao stayed at home to take care of the household affairs, and he received not a single criticism from his juniors and seniors. All his younger brothers embellished their ponds and houses, rode in luxurious carriages and wore resplendent dresses, while Yao was alone in leading a simple and unadorned life.

⁷⁷² Sima Guang et al., eds., *Zizhi tongjian*, vol.15, p.7198.

⁷⁷³ See Appendix 7N; Sima Guang et al., eds., *Zizhi tongjian*, vol.15, p.7198.

性沉靜，資貌瑰傑。.... [郭]子儀專征伐，曜留治家事，少長無閑言。諸弟或飾池館，盛車服，曜獨以樸簡自處。⁷⁷⁴

“Filial” refers to Yao’s willingness to take care of the household affairs for his father; while “reverent” (L3) refers to his cautious speech and the care he took when handling household matters. Yao led a simple life in sharp contrast to the extravagance of his younger brothers’.

Also, L12 provides evidence to support the transformation in L10 and L11. Guo Ziyi’s younger son Guo Xi 郭晞 (8th c.) did not have proper control over his soldiers, who robbed and killed people in Bin Prefecture (in modern Shaanxi Province). Commandant Duan Xiushi 段秀實 (718-783) punished those soldiers by death, and went to visit Guo Xi, accompanied only by one old soldier. Guo Xi’s armed soldiers showed their hatred of Duan, but Duan made Xi aware of the serious consequences of his soldiers’ violent deeds. As the head, Xi would be held responsible for their misbehaviours, and would thus ruin his father’s reputation. Xi took Duan’s advice and thenceforth exercised strict control over his soldiers.⁷⁷⁵

Yang thus transformed Guo Ziyi’s comments from negative to positive and supported this with two pieces of evidence. His positive comments illustrate that he had a rich and sophisticated knowledge of history, and thoroughly understood the historical records concerning Guo’s sons. This kind of transformation gives the reader a complete picture of the historical figures described, and at the same time, Yang’s novel perceptions attracted the attention of scholars. Sometimes Yang overturned not only the viewpoints of historians but also those of the historical figures themselves. This poem is an example. Yang appears to have

⁷⁷⁴ For details, see Ouyang Xiu et al., *Xin Tangshu*, vol.15, pp.4609-4610.

⁷⁷⁵ For details, see Ouyang Xiu et al., *Xin Tangshu*, vol.16, p.4849.

been trying to attract the attention of scholars with his novel and subversive views.

In addition to the transformations, Yang also summarised the historical event in his poetic lines (L5-L7). By abbreviation, these lines link up the historical texts and Yang's poem. Yang thus shows the reader that poems on history need not simply be works of literature, but can be closely connected to the historical texts through the use of counterargument and different perceptions, or even transform the image of a particular historical figure. Yang was trying to show readers the power of poetry, and used this power to convey his views and demonstrate his knowledge as a historian. He hoped that his talents would be recognised, particularly as he was an idle official at that time and had no opportunity to demonstrate his talents in his official life.

Negation

In Allen's definition, 'negation' refers to texts 'which negate another word to which they are actually or implicitly attached.' It refers to the 'non-existence of a given intratext.'⁷⁷⁶ Allen gives the example of Yin Mou's (fl.575) version of Luofu's story. In his poem, Yin is 'avoiding an engagement of the Luofu theme'.⁷⁷⁷ In other words, in Yin Mou's version, the theme of Luofu is not clear as description or mention of Luofu has been negated. The only clue to Luofu's existence is in the phrase 'a lovely beauty comes out from the Qin house'.⁷⁷⁸ It is not easy for readers to identify if the poem is about Luofu or not. If Luofu story is AA, this represents a change from AA to A□ by negation.

⁷⁷⁶ Joseph R. Allen, *In the Voice of Others: Chinese Music Bureau Poetry*, p.220.

⁷⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p.221.

⁷⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p.221.

Yang also demonstrates this kind of negation in his poems on history, for instance, his ‘Tuan shan ge’ 團扇歌 (Song of the silk round fan). There is no mention of Concubine Ban in the poem,

- | | | |
|----|---|-----------------------|
| L1 | A silk round fan is still a silk round fan, | 團扇復團扇， |
| L2 | [We]Did not see it in the autumn wind, | 秋風不相見， |
| L3 | Hiding and revealing both have their time, | 隱顯各有時， |
| L4 | Dancing in [the household of the Master of] | 陽阿舞雙燕。 ⁷⁷⁹ |
- Yang’a were the two swallows.

Except for the diction of ‘silk round fan’ and ‘two swallows’, which allude to the sorrow of Concubine Ban (48-2B.C.), the poem does not provide any other historical reference to Ban or even mention her name. Ban was the imperial concubine of Emperor Cheng of Han 漢成帝 (r.33-7B.C.) and carried the title of ‘Jieyu’,

In the early reign of the emperor, she was selected for the imperial palace. At the very beginning, she was not summoned often, but soon became greatly favoured by the emperor and granted the title of ‘Jieyu’ [Imperial Concubine of Handsome and Fair].

帝初即位選入後宮。始為少使，蛾而大幸，為婕妤。⁷⁸⁰

‘Two swallows’ is a metaphor relating to Empress Zhao Feiyan 趙飛燕 (32-1B.C.) and her sister, Zhao Hede 趙合德 (d.7B.C.).⁷⁸¹ ‘Feiyan’ literally means ‘flying swallow’. Both of them were skilful and beautiful dancers in the

⁷⁷⁹ Zou Zhifang, ed., *Yang Weizhe shiji*, p.129.

⁷⁸⁰ Ban Gu, *Hanshu*, vol.12, p.3983.

⁷⁸¹ For more details, please refer to Sima Guang et al., eds., *Zizhi tongjian*, vol.3, pp. 996-997, 1002.

household of Master Yang'a,⁷⁸² and attracted the full attention of the emperor.⁷⁸³

Afterwards, the emperor paid a private visit to the household of Master Yang'a and liked the singing dancer Zhao Feiyan. She was summoned to the palace and was greatly favoured. She had a younger sister [Zhao Hede] who was also summoned....Queen Hui and Jieyu Concubine nee Ban lost the emperor's favour.

其後，上微行過陽阿主家，悅歌舞者趙飛燕，召入宮，大幸；有女弟[趙合德]，復召入.....許皇后、班婕妤皆失寵。⁷⁸⁴

After the sisters had moved to the palace, Ban started to become ignored and composed a poem entitled 'Yuan shi' 怨詩 (Song of grievance),⁷⁸⁵ which is also known as 'Tuan shan ge' (Song of the silk round fan). In that poem, she likened herself to a 'silk round fan', which was once new and beautiful, and always accompanied the emperor in the summer, but was abandoned in the autumn.

Yang's poem 'Tuan shan ge' on Concubine Ban omits most of the important historical facts, including the name of Ban herself. He just uses 'two swallows' as a metaphor for Zhao Feiyan and her sister. The content of the poem shifts from Concubine Ban to the round silken fan. This type of negation blurs the theme, and gives the reader more room for imagination, and space to explore the historical facts behind the poem.

⁷⁸² Yang'a 陽阿 refers to the Master of Yang'a county in Pingyuan. See the annotation by Yan Shigu 顏師古(581-645), in Sima Guang et al., eds., *Zizhi tongjian*, vol.3, p.996. However, it is also the name of a famous dancing courtesan in the ancient period. Later, it becomes the title of a dance song. Luo Zhufeng, main ed., *HYDCD.SYB*, vol.3, p.6957, explanation no.2.

⁷⁸³ For details, please see Ban Gu, *Hanshu*, vol.12, p.3988.

⁷⁸⁴ Sima Guang et al., eds., *Zizhi tongjian*, vol.3, p.996.

⁷⁸⁵ See Appendix 70; Xu Ling, ed., *Yutai xinyong jianzhu*, vol.1, p.26.

5.1.2 Interweaving between poems and prefaces

The relationship between Yang's poems and prefaces can also be explained by Allen's continuation, which usually takes the form of expansion and abbreviation.

Allen uses Fu Xuan's (217-278) version of the Luofu story as example. This version contains "more elaborate language" than the original (expansion), while Fu Zai's (531-585) version is the same story but "drastically reduced" (abbreviation).⁷⁸⁶ Put simply, if the original story of Luofu is AA, the continued version can be A (by abbreviation), or AA++ (by expansion). Here, Allen is referring to the relationship between different *yuefu* poems on the same topic. However, I use the term 'continuation', to discuss the relationships between Yang's poems on history and his prefaces.

Yang started his story-telling or argument in his prefaces and 'continued' them in his poems. His prefaces are in fact part of his poems on history, a channel for his viewpoints and a descriptive narrative of historical events or figures. Traditionally, the poem had been the main content, and the preface was supplementary to it. Yang broke this convention by making his prefaces part of his poems, and closely relating them to his poetic content. Allen notices the intratextuality elements in Yang's poetry. He said,

I have also drawn on the comments of a late *yuefu* poet, Yang Weizhen (1296-1370). Yang, who wrote intratextually and ambitiously in the genre, has a corpus of more than four hundred *yuefu* poems, many of which are prefaced by his own comments. Yang's comments are especially useful since he speaks so self-consciously of the intratextual

⁷⁸⁶ Joseph R. Allen, *In the Voice of Others: Chinese Music Bureau Poetry*, pp.212-213.

nature of a genre.⁷⁸⁷

Yang's poems on history are unique in having both and short prefaces that are closely related to the poem and historical texts. These prefaces serve as a continuation to Yang's poems and the historical texts and enable the poet to express his viewpoints. Yang made use of expansion and abbreviation to continue the stories of, and his comments on, historical figures or historical events.

Continuation by means of 'expansion'

Some of Yang's poems are expansions of his prefaces, which mainly contain his commentary on the historical event. For instance, the preface to the poem, 'Fan Jiangjun' (General Fan), reads,

The gatekeeper of Yi⁷⁸⁸ Gate [Hou Ying] had died but was glorified for ten thousand generations. I thought that [Tian] Guang in his old age was absurd to mislead people. His single death does not deserve sympathy. Instead, the deaths of [Crown Prince] Dan and [General] Fan Yuqi deserve sympathy.

夷門監[侯嬴]一死稱萬世。思[田]光老悖誤人，一死不足憐。可憐者在[太子]丹與[樊]於期耳。⁷⁸⁹

In this preface, Yang criticises Tian Guang, stating that his death did not deserve sympathy, but those of General Fan Yuqi (?-227B.C.) and Crown Prince Dan did.⁷⁹⁰ Yang does not give any reasons for his criticism. He continues the

⁷⁸⁷ Joseph R. Allen, *In the Voice of Others: Chinese Music Bureau Poetry*, p.210.

⁷⁸⁸ Yimen 夷門: The east wall gate of the capital, Daliang 大梁, in the State of Wei (445-225B.C.) during the Warring States Period. See Luo Zhufeng, main ed., *HYDCD.SYB*, vol.1, p.1372.

⁷⁸⁹ Zou Zhifang, ed., *YWZSJ*, p.158.

⁷⁹⁰ For the details, see Sima Qian, *Shiji*, vol.8, 2528-2536.

criticism in his poem, in which he provides more information and justifies his criticism.

- | | | |
|-----|---|----------------------------|
| L1 | [Hou] Ying cut his neck cut his neck [to death], | 羸匆匆， |
| L2 | Had earned everlasting [honour] and
everlasting [success], | 得永永， |
| L3 | By succeeding Lord Xinling; | 成信陵君。 |
| L4 | [Tian] Guang cut his neck cut his neck [to
death] | 光匆匆， |
| L5 | Had caused the loss of the wasted [deserted]
General [Fan] ⁷⁹¹ and wasted [effort]. | 失廢廢， |
| L6 | Leading to the death of the person [Jing Ke]
who played around with drinkers. | 直遊酒人。 |
| L7 | [Cao] Mo should not be allowed to step in the
arena at Ke. | 柯壇不得登沫， |
| L8 | The State of Yan should not be allowed to
offend against Qin. | 燕地不得反秦。 |
| L9 | The swordsman misled people to their death, | 壯士誤人死， |
| L10 | Among those who were misled to their death, I
sympathise most with General Fan. | 誤死重痛樊將軍。
⁷⁹² |

Yang explains his comments in the preface through detailed narration in the poem. The first three lines relate the story of Hou Ying 侯羸 (?-257B.C.), who committed suicide for the sake of Lord Xinling 信陵君 (?-243B.C.) after offering his advice on how to make use of the armies of the State of Wei in order to help the besieged State of Zhao. Lord Xingling then stole a commander's tally from the King of Wei and led an army to help Zhao.⁷⁹³ Hou earned everlasting

⁷⁹¹ Wasted General: This refers to the abandoned general Fan Yuqi 樊於期 (fl. 237-233 B.C.) of the State of Qin, who fled to the State of Yan but whose head was wanted by Emperor Shihuang. See Sima Qian. *Shiji*, vol.8, pp.2532-2533.

⁷⁹² Zou Zhifang, ed., *YWZSJ*, p.158.

⁷⁹³ For details, see Sima Qian, *Shiji*, vol.7, pp.2380-2381.

success and honour after his death for proposing this successful plan to Lord Xingling and then keeping it confidential by committing suicide. These three lines explain Yang's comments in the preface concerning why the gatekeeper was glorified for ten thousand generations.

Also, L4 to L6 explain why Yang states in the preface that Tian Guang did not deserve sympathy. Tian Guang on the grounds of his old age, turned down Dan's request to assassinate Emperor Shihuang, but he recommended Jing Ke, and killed himself to keep the assassination plan confidential. To gain the trust of Emperor Shihuang of Qin, and also to have an opportunity to meet him, Jing Ke asked for the head of Fan Yuqi, the most wanted of the deserted generals of the State of Qin. General Fan then killed himself in order to offer his head to Jing Ke. However, the failed assassination, not only caused Jing Ke to be tortured to death, but also led to the execution of Crown Prince Dan and the termination of the State of Yan.⁷⁹⁴ In effect, General Fan had died in vain.

The last four lines (L7-L9) echo with Yang's preface and are also closely linked to the historical records. Yang cited the successful threat made by Cao Mo 曹沫 (fl.693-662 B.C.), general of the State of Lu, to recapture the cities he had lost to the State of Qi during the Warring States Period.⁷⁹⁵ Yang assumed that

⁷⁹⁴ For details, see Sima Qian, *Shiji*, vol.8, p.2528-36.

⁷⁹⁵ Cao Mo 曹沫, a general of the State of Lu, lost three battles to the State of Qi. Duke Zhuang of Lu 魯莊公 (693-662B.C.) was frightened after his military failures and agreed to sign a treaty of alliance with Duke Huan of Qi 齊桓公 (d.643B.C.). On the day of the signing, Cao Mo stepped into the arena of Ke and threatened Duke Huan of Qi with a dagger to make him return all the cities that Lu had lost to Qi. When Duke Huan agreed, Cao Mo threw away the dagger and stepped down to his original position, greeting him as if nothing had happened. For details, see Sima Qian, *Shiji*, vol.8, pp.2515-2516.

if Cao Mo had not been allowed to step into the arena, Qi would not have lost the three cities. Similarly, he believed that, if the State of Yan had not offended the State of Qin by sending an assassin, a number of deaths and the termination of the State of Yan itself could have been avoided. The poem not only justifies Yang's commentary in the preface, but also demonstrates the strong connections between the preface and the historical texts. Therefore, in terms of content, the poem is an expansion of Yang's preface.

Continuation by means of abbreviation

In addition to justifying and rationalising his comments, Yang used his poems to sum up the historical stories he described in his prefaces. This kind of continuation is achieved by means of abbreviation. The poem entitled 'Song zhongchen' 宋忠臣 (The loyal official of the Liu Song dynasty) is a typical example of this. The preface helps the readers to understand the historical background,

[Yuan] Can guarded the Stone City, and he and his son both sacrificed themselves for it. The commoners grieved over their deaths and composed a folk song for them, 'Stone City chooses to die for Yuan Can rather than survive like Chu Yuan.' The respective loyalty and disloyalty of the Song officials were clearly exposed by this folk song. Death for loyalty is valued in the sacred classics. According to the commentary of Pei Ziye, Yuan Jingqian [Yuan Can] only had the loyalty of an ordinary man. If this were the case, then all the [Liu] Song officials who had died for loyalty would have been neglected. The death of [Yuan] Can made his bones fragrant [respectable] for ten thousand generations. The survivors, such as [Chu] Yuan would only [have the reputation] of a stinking fox and a fusty rat. Even if they lived for a hundred years, what would be their value?

[袁]粲守石頭，父子俱死。百姓哀之，為之謠曰：「石頭城，寧為袁粲死，不作褚淵生。」宋臣子之忠不忠者，白此謠矣！夫死節，聖經所取。裴子野之論，以袁景倩蹈匹夫之節，則宋之死節臣蔑矣。

粲之死，骨香萬代，[褚]淵輩之生，臭狐腐鼠耳，雖壽至頤期，何取哉！⁷⁹⁶

This preface provides a very detailed background to the poetic content, and shows one possible reason for the poem's composition- Yang's admiration for Yuan Can 袁粲 (420-477). Pei Ziyue 裴子野 (fl.464-549) was the grandson of the famous historian, Pei Songzhi 裴松之 (372-451). As a historian himself, Pei criticised Yuan Can for not being wise enough to root out the wicked officials or skilful enough to handle the political changes. He said that Yuan's choice to die for the small city represents the loyalty of just an ordinary man, meaning he had let down the people and ignored his own responsibilities to the country.⁷⁹⁷ Yang completely disagreed with Pei Ziyue and said that Yuan's death was a token of loyalty, which merited his glorification for ten thousand years.

If viewed separately, this preface is a detailed commentary on Yuan Can who chose to die for his kingdom, and on the disloyal official (Chu Yuan 褚淵, 435-482) who served two dynasties. While the preface presents a summary of the historical text, the poem itself is, in turn, a simplified version (or a summary) of the preface. It reads,

- | | | |
|----|--|-----------------------------|
| L1 | The loyal officer of the [Liu] Song dynasty, | 宋忠臣， |
| L2 | The death of Yuan Can [for loyalty], | 袁粲死， |
| L3 | [Became] a folk song of the Stone City. | 石頭謠。 |
| L4 | To be in charge of the rights and wrongs of a country, | 司國是。 |
| L5 | When one writes his biography, there is no need for
the Dirty Historian Shen [Yue]. | 立傳何須沈穢
史。 ⁷⁹⁸ |

⁷⁹⁶ Zou Zhifang, ed., *YWZSJ*, p.202.

⁷⁹⁷ See Pei's annotation in Sima Guang et al., eds., *Zizhi tongjian*, vol.9, pp.4208-4209.

⁷⁹⁸ Zou Zhifang, ed., *YWZSJ*, p.202.

During the Liu Song dynasty, Yuan Can planned to help the royal family to kill the rebellious General-in-chief, Xiao Daocheng 蕭道成 (427-482) with the help of the other officials, but his plan was disclosed by Chu Yuan.⁷⁹⁹ While Yuan was guarding the Stone City, he was accused by Xiao of being a rebel and was killed after the collapse of the Stone City.⁸⁰⁰ Shen Yue 沈約 (441-513), who served three dynasties, the Liu Song (420-479), Southern Qi (479-502) and Southern Liang (502-587), was despised by Yang as a ‘Dirty Historian’ for his disloyalty to the Liu Song. In the last line, Yang implied that Yuan Can’s loyalty would be glorified throughout the ages, and did not need a disloyal historian to record it. This line echoes the preface, in which Yang states that Yuan’s death made him respectable for ten thousand generations.

Yang presents an episode of this story in his preface, so that the reader can easily understand the abbreviated content of the poem. Therefore, the poem is a continuation of the preface by means of abbreviation. It looks like a summary, as all details, such as the identity of Yuan Can, the definition of ‘loyal official’ and the content of the folk song are also recorded in the preface.

Furthermore, the first line of the poem ‘The loyal officer of the [Liu] Song dynasty’ summarises a speech made by the Emperor Wu of the Southern Qi dynasty, Xiao Ze 蕭贛 (440-493), which appears in the *Nan Qi shu* 南齊書 (History of the Southern Qi).

Shizu [temple name of Xiao Ze] said, ‘Yuan Can certainly is a loyal official of the Liu Song Family.

世祖[蕭贛]曰：袁粲自是宋家忠臣。⁸⁰¹

⁷⁹⁹ Sima Guang et al., eds., *Zizhi tongjian*, vol.9, pp.4205-4207.

⁸⁰⁰ Ibid., pp.4205-4207.

⁸⁰¹ Xiao Zixian, *Nan Qi shu*, vol.3, p.896.

Xiao Ze was the eldest son of Xiao Daocheng. Daocheng accused Yuan Can of being a rebel and killed him, but ironically, his son Ze appreciated him as a loyal official for the Liu Song dynasty. Yang used Ze's comment as the first poetic line and the title of this poem to satirise Xiao Daocheng. As can be seen, Yang's prefaces and poems are integral to one another, and are better read as a single unit. The prefaces serve as an abbreviation or expansion of the poetic content and thus create interrelationships.

Yang expanded the limitations of poetry by greatly increasing the length of his prefaces, and enriching their content. He displayed an original presentation technique in which the prefaces play an important role in presenting the historical events or figures, or conveying his own personal viewpoints. Poetry is one way by which a scholar can show his talents, but Yang also wanted to demonstrate his rich knowledge of history as well as his skills in presenting his poetry. He may have also intended to attract the attention of senior officials in the hope of resuming his official life. In summary, by using these continuation texts, Yang was able to express his viewpoints more thoroughly, and differentiated his poems from the work of other poets.

5.1.3 Development of a new thematic line

Yang sometimes developed new thematic lines based on the historical story depicted in his poems or prefaces. This kind of development can be compared to Allen's 'extension'.

Allen defines 'extension' as 'drawing out of a thread from an intratext and developing it into a new thematic line.'⁸⁰² Allen uses the same example of Luofu, and says that her 'feminine charms are extended to merge with those of palace ladies that populate Six Dynasties poetry.'⁸⁰³ Liu Xiyi's version extends the story even further by making Luofu adopt the role of Qiu Hu's wife.⁸⁰⁴ If Luofu's story is AA and the story of Qiu Hu's wife is ZZ, then extended one is AAZ. This kind of extension is common in Yang's poems on history.

Yang intentionally created a strong connection between his poems, his prefaces and the historical texts. For instance, the title of his poem 'Pinji xiong' 牝雞雄 (Potent female fowl) is a quotation from *Hanshu* (History of the Han),

When the female fowl potently crows, the master will not be florious.
牝雞雄鳴，主不榮。⁸⁰⁵

This line implies that the interference of women in politics will lead to the ruler's failure. However, in this poem, Yang uses 'potent female fowl' to express the dignity of the empress dowager of the State of Chu. The preface is a summary of Bo Ying's 伯嬴 (6th c.B.C.) biography as recorded in *Lienü zhuan* 列女傳 (Biographies of women).

Lienü Zhuan (Biographies of Women): Bo Ying was the daughter of Duke Mu of the Qin state, and the mother of King Zhao of the Chu State. After King [Helü] of Wu entered Ying⁸⁰⁶ city, he took as his wife the wife of King Zhao of Chu, and he intended to take Zhao's mother as his wife too. [Bo] Ying [threatened to] kill herself by the sword, and the

⁸⁰² Joseph R. Allen, *In the Voice of Others: Chinese Music Bureau Poetry*, p.217.

⁸⁰³ *Ibid.*, p.218.

⁸⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, pp.218-219.

⁸⁰⁵ Ban Gu, *Hanshu*, vol.2, p.1371.

⁸⁰⁶ Ying 郢: The capital of the State of Chu, which was in modern Jiangling 江陵 county of Hubei province. See Wei Songshan, main ed., *Zhongguo gudian shici diming cidian*, p.558.

King gave up [his plan to take her as his wife] when he knew that she could not be offended. I composed this 'Potent female fowl' now to make up for its absence in *yuefu* poetry.

列女傳：伯嬴，秦穆女，楚昭王之母也。吳王[闔閭]入郢，妻昭王之妻，又欲妻其母嬴。嬴伏劍，不可犯而止。為作牝雞雄，補樂府缺。⁸⁰⁷

This preface clearly sets out the background and thus makes the poem easier to understand. The poem itself describes the fear and loneliness of Bo Ying, and is an extension of the preface.

- | | | |
|----|---|-----------------|
| L1 | The female fowl was potent, | 牝雞雄， |
| L2 | There was a bold, bear-like lady surnamed Qin, | 秦氏熊， |
| L3 | [Seeing] The King of Wu entering the State of Chu and making wives of the imperial harem. | 吳王入楚妻後宮。 |
| L4 | The female fowl was potent, | 牝雞雄。 |
| L5 | To hold the sword tight and let it whistle at night, stirring a tragic wind. | 把劍夜嘯生悲風。 |
| L6 | Who could she follow when her husband had died and her son had fled? | 夫亡子遁誰適從？ |
| L7 | People said the Qin fowl knew how to follow the phoenix, | 人言秦雞解逐鳳， |
| L8 | But they did not know the female fowl was pursuing the lonely flying dragon. | 不知牝逐孤飛龍。
808 |

Line three of this poem is taken from the historical records in *Wu Yue chungiu* 吳越春秋 (Spring and autumn annals of the states of Wu and Yue),

King [Helü] of Wu entered Ying city...[Wu Zixu] immediately let Helü take the wife of King Zhao of Chu, Lady Wang, as his wife, to insult the king and officials of the State of Chu.

吳王[闔閭]入郢。.....[伍子胥]即令闔閭妻昭王夫人，以辱楚之君臣

⁸⁰⁷ Zou Zhifang, ed., *Yang Weizhen shiji*, p.152.

⁸⁰⁸ Ibid., p.152.

也。⁸⁰⁹

This explains why L7 reads, 'People said the Qin fowl knew how to follow the phoenix'. People thought Bo Ying knew how to follow the 'phoenix', the wife of King Zhao, and was forced to sleep with Helü. However, if she were insulted, she actually planned to follow her late husband. *Lienü zhuan* reads,

Helü successfully conquered the state of Chu and entered its capital and palace making the whole imperial harem his wives. Every single imperial courtesan was terribly frightened. Bo Ying protected herself firmly and loyally, and gentlemen praised her for her chasteness.

闔閭勝楚，入厥宮室，盡妻後宮，莫不戰慄，伯嬴自守，堅固專一，君子美之，以為有節。⁸¹⁰

Generally speaking, this poem is an extension of the preface, or to be more accurate, an extension of the historical record in *Wu Yue chunqiu* and *Lienü zhuan*. However, only L3 is directly related to the historical record, and the other lines have been developed into a new theme: the lonely and frightening experience of Bo Ying. Instead of focusing on her chasteness, Yang portrays her loneliness and helplessness. Her husband had died and her son had fled, so she had to hold onto the sword tightly to protect herself.

Yang portrays Bo Ying's toughness and loyalty, describing her resistance to insults and her pursuit of the 'flying dragon'. The 'dragon' is a symbol of the emperor, and 'flying' implies 'going to the heaven.' Hence, 'flying dragon' refers to her late husband, King Ping of Chu 楚平王 (r.528-516B.C.). All these terrible nocturnal feelings ascribed to Bo Ying are a product of Yang's creativity,

⁸⁰⁹ Zhao Ye, *Wu Yue chunqiu*, in *Siku jiacang*, vol. 46, p.19.

⁸¹⁰ For details, see Wang Zhaoyuan. *Lienü zhuan buzhu*; in *Xushu siku quanshu*, vol. 515, pp.700-701.

and the poem serves as an extension to his preface and the historical texts.

Yang linked his poems on history very strongly to the historical facts. He used his great imagination to extend his poems and connect one historical episode to another. For instance his, 'Changmen yuan' (Lament in the Long Gate) reads,

- | | | |
|-----|---|-------------------------|
| L1 | Ajiao had beautiful eyes, | 阿嬌兮美目， |
| L2 | Ajiao was accommodated in a golden house. | 阿嬌貯金屋。 |
| L3 | The jade-like grass of the Golden house was still green like in Spring, | 金屋瑤草春未老， |
| L4 | But Autumn grass had grown overnight in the Long Gate [Palace], | 長門一夜生秋草。 |
| L5 | The talented scholar of Shu, | 蜀才人， |
| L6 | A hundred catties ⁸¹¹ of gold, | 金百斤， |
| L7 | He received my gold and composed the rhymed prose [<i>fu</i> poem], Long Gate, for me. | 受金為我賦長門。 |
| L8 | It told of my sorrow at the passing of spring, | 長門寫春愁， |
| L9 | Making the Emperor feel sad for autumn while reading it. | 君王見之為傷秋。 |
| L10 | The waterway in Linqiong ⁸¹² flows from the east to the west as usual, | 臨邛溝水東西流， |
| L11 | And [he] did not know that a lady there sighed for her white hair. | 不知有婦悲白頭。 ⁸¹³ |

This poem does not have a preface, but it is an extension of a story about Emperor Wu of Han, recorded in *Hanwu gushi* 漢武故事 (The story of Emperor Wu of Han) and *Yiwen leiju* 藝文類聚 (Collection of literature arranged by

⁸¹¹ Catty 斤: One catty in the Western Han dynasty is the equivalent of 248 grams. One hundred catties therefore means 24.8 kilograms. See Luo Zhufeng, main ed., *HYDCD.SYB*, vol.3, p.7776.

⁸¹² Linqiong 臨邛 county is modern Qionglai 邛崃 county in Sichuan province. See Wei Songshan, main ed., *Zhongguo gudian shici diming cidian*, p.550.

⁸¹³ Zou Zhifang ed., *YWZSJ*, p.167-168.

categories).⁸¹⁴ When Emperor Wu was aged four,

[The Eldest Princess] pointed to her daughter [and asked the Emperor], 'Is it alright to have Ajiao [as your wife]?' [The Emperor] smiled and replied, 'If I could have Ajiao as my wife, I would build a golden house to accommodate her.

[長公主]指其女：阿嬌好否？[帝]笑對曰：好！若得阿嬌作婦，當金屋貯之。⁸¹⁵

However, none of the historical texts record Emperor Wu's building a golden house for Ajiao. This is a good example of Yang's poems on history sometimes being based on literature rather than the historical texts.

Yang describes the beautiful eyes of Ajiao (Empress Chen), which are part of her pretty countenance (L1). He also describes the grass around her two abodes: the Golden House of the past and the Long Gate Palace of the present (L3-L4). These two abodes symbolise her first being loved and then rejected by Emperor Wu of Han (156-87B.C.), respectively. According to the historical record, Ajiao stayed at Long Gate Palace till her death.⁸¹⁶ The poem tells of her lament. The last two lines extend Ajiao's story and merge it with the story of Zhuo Wenjun, the beautiful wife of Sima Xiangru. Linqiong is the place where Zhuo Wenjun's family lived. Zhuo Wenjun, the beautiful daughter of the rich Zhuo family, eloped with Xiangru, a poor scholar, after he had seduced her with his *qin* zither music.⁸¹⁷

Sima Xiangru helped Ajiao to win back the Emperor's heart by composing a rhymed prose, but ironically he neglected his wife, Zhuo Wenjun, who composed

⁸¹⁴ Ouyang Xun et al., ed., *Yiwen leiju*, vol.1, p.303.

⁸¹⁵ Anonymous, *Hanwu gushi*, in SKQS, vol.1042, p.284.

⁸¹⁶ Ban Gu, *Hanshu*, vol.12, pp.3938-3949.

⁸¹⁷ Sima Qian, *Shiji*, vol.9, pp.3000-3001.

a poem entitled 'Baitou yin' 白頭吟 (Song of white hair) to prevent him from trying to marry a concubine.⁸¹⁸ The last line, in particular satirises Sima Xiangru for making his wife lament.

Yang links Ajiao's sorrow at being deposed by Emperor Wu of Han to Zhuo Wenjun's sadness at being ignored by her husband. L10 and L11 are both the story of Zhuo Wenjun, and they are an extension of Ajiao's story. Yang extended Ajiao's story to encompass that of Zhuo Wenjun not only because of "the talented scholar of Shu" (the key person to both stories), but also because the two ladies suffered a similar plight - neglect by their husbands. This is an example of the development of a new thematic line by extension.

Except for Ajiao being deposed to the Long Gate, this poem narrates stories from literature, not from the official records. In these stories, Ajiao paid a hundred catties of gold to Sima Xiangru to compose the 'Long Gate rhymed prose', in order to win back the love of Emperor Wu.

Xiangru composed the rhymed prose [*fu* poem] to awaken the Emperor, and Empress [Chen] was able to recapture the Emperor's love.
相如為文以悟主上，[陳]皇后復得幸。⁸¹⁹

Therefore, "Making the Emperor feel sad for autumn while reading it" (L9) is derived from a mixture of stories from literature and the poet's imagination. Strictly speaking, this poem consists of very few historical facts, and is mostly based on legend.

Yang consciously connected his poem to these stories, and extended the story

⁸¹⁸ See Appendix 7P; Ge Hong, *Xijing zaji*, in *Siku jiacang*, vol. 93, p.207.

⁸¹⁹ See preface to 'Changmen fu' (Prose poem on Changmen), in Xiao Tong, comp., *Liuchen zhu wenxuan*, vol.1, pp.293.

of Ajiao by merging it with that of Zhuo Wenjun. Through this extension, Yang shows his special poetic techniques. He was knowledgeable enough to easily link any historical figure he had portrayed to another. For instance, his poem 'Li Furen' 李夫人 (Lady Li) extends the story of Lady Li to that of Li Ling.⁸²⁰ Yang was not only able to discern their similarities and connections, but could also put two different stories in one poem. However, although he was a historian, Yang sometimes blurred stories from literature with the actual historical accounts. Why did he combine them? Was he incapable of realising that some were fictional stories?

To my understanding, Yang had sufficient knowledge to distinguish historical fact from fiction. The reason he combined them is simply because he understood the nature of poems on history. Yu Zhiyuan explains the nature of poetry on history,

They are all on history, but are essentially poems, which are not equivalent to history

所詠皆是史，而作品終究是詩，詩不等於就是歷史。⁸²¹

It is quite obvious that Yang viewed his poems on history as poems rather than as historical accounts. It is difficult to know whether or not his use of stories from literature was motivated by the need to deliver a specific argument.⁸²² The sorrows of Ajiao and Zhuo Wenjun may have reflected the setbacks that Yang experienced in his own official career. As there is no trace of the exact composition date and background to this poem, further exploration of this question is not possible.

⁸²⁰ For his biography, see Ban Gu, *Hanshu*, vol.8, pp.2451-2459.

⁸²¹ Yu Zhiyuan et.al., ed., *Zhonghua shishi yongshi shi benshi*, p.3 (preface)

⁸²² *Ibid.*, p.3 (preface).

Allen uses the different types of intratextuality as a typology to describe the *yuefu* genre.⁸²³ I have made use of his terms, the categories of intratextuality, to explain the relationship between Yang's poems and his prefaces, as well as the ways in which Yang relates these to the historical texts or literary works. Yang is probably the first poet to have really cared about the prefaces to poems on history and to have shown concern about the connections between poems, prefaces and historical texts. To Yang, the preface was an essential part of a poem on history, and it helped to provide enhancement and supplement to the historical text. He challenged the conventional understanding of the poem itself as one single unit.

5.1.4 Interrelation between different poems

In addition to the close interrelationship between Yang's poems, prefaces and the historical texts, there are also strong linkages among his different poems. Some of these combinations of linked poems can be viewed as an integral whole. For example, consider 'Jianke pian' (Writing on a swordsman)

- | | | |
|----|--|-----------------------|
| L1 | Last night, he went on a western expedition, | 昨夜西征去， |
| L2 | And the western soldiers all surrendered. | 西兵盡倒戈。 |
| L3 | If a man studies swordsmanship, | 丈夫學劍術， |
| L4 | He has no need to imitate Jing Ke. | 何用學荊軻。 ⁸²⁴ |

This poem was compiled by Wu Fu. The preface is dated 1346, so the poem was therefore composed before that year. It is about the prowess of Han Xin, who

⁸²³ Joseph R. Allen, *In the Voice of Others: Chinese Music Bureau Poetry*, p.209.

⁸²⁴ Zou Zhifang, ed., *YWZSJ*, p.114.

successfully conquered the State of Zhao.⁸²⁵ Yang also mocked Jing Ke's poor swordsmanship.⁸²⁶

Later, Yang altered L1 of this poem "Last night, he went on a western expedition" to "the guest who had gone on a western expedition" which he included in another poem 'Qiqiao ci' 乞巧詞 (Poem of pleading for skills), whose composition date also precedes 1346. It reads,

- | | | |
|----|--|-----------------------|
| L1 | The stars in the sky meet again, | 天上星重會， |
| L2 | [But] the guest who had gone on a western expedition had not yet returned. | 征西客未歸。 |
| L3 | [I] attentively pleaded for a favour, | 殷勤乞方便， |
| L4 | [Hoping] Supernatural magpies helped me to fly over the [Milky Way]. | 靈鵲度人飛。 ⁸²⁷ |

This poem may have been composed later than 'Jianke pian' (Writing on a swordsman). It is quite difficult to classify it as a poem on history as the content is obscure. Here, Yang has merged the story of Han Xin's expedition with the legend of a cowherd and a weaver girl.⁸²⁸ At the same time, 'Jianke pian' is also closely linked to another poem entitled 'Jianke ci' 劍客詞 (Poem on a swordsman) through the line, "Last night, he went on a western expedition".

- | | | |
|----|---|--------|
| L1 | The man capable of defeating ten thousand enemies | 丈夫萬人敵， |
|----|---|--------|

⁸²⁵ See Lou Buchan's annotation to 'Jianke ci' 劍客詞 (Poem on a swordsman). Lou Buchan, ed., *Tieya yibian shu*, p.665.

⁸²⁶ Sima Qian, *Shiji*, vol.2, p.1109.

⁸²⁷ Zou Zhifang, ed., *YWZSJ*, p.124.

⁸²⁸ For the details of the story of the cowherd and weaver girl. See Feng Yingling: *Yueling guangyi*, in *Siku quanshu cunmu congshu*, vol. 164, p.784.

- L2 Laughed at the stupid stratagem of Jing Ke, 拙計哂荊軻，
 L3 Last night, he went on a western expedition 昨夜西征去，
 L4 And captured Li Zuoju alive. 生擒李左車。⁸²⁹

This poem gives more details on the expedition, but has more or less the same content as ‘Jianke pian’. Li Zuoju 李左車 (2nd c. B.C.) was a famous general of Zhao State, and was highly respected by Han Xin. The King of Zhao did not adopt Li’s strategy and this led to his defeat in battle. Li was captured but treated as a teacher by Han Xin, who humbly asked for his advice on how to conquer the states of Yan and Qi.⁸³⁰

This poem was compiled by Zhang Wan between 1364 and 1367, therefore, it must have been composed later than ‘Jianke pian’. Huang Jin 黃潛 (14th c.) commented, “It is this guest who is a great man.” (此客方是壯夫)⁸³¹ Huang was referring to the one who conquered the west as ‘guest’, which matches Yang’s description of “The guest went on a western expedition” in ‘Qiqiao ci’ (Poem of pleading for skills). These poems are therefore interrelated.

Yang composed ‘Jianke pian’ and then, based on its first poetic line, he composed another poem, ‘Jianke ci’, in which he provided more historical details. Also, he wrote the ‘Qiqiao ci’ in the voice of a woman to narrate the story that the guest had not returned. He intentionally linked his poems one by one building up a puzzle and presenting a full picture of a particular historical event or figure.

Yang’s poems are so interrelated that similar examples can easily be found.

⁸²⁹ Zou Zhifang, ed., *YWZSJ*, p.363.

⁸³⁰ For more details about Li Zuoju, see Sima Qian. *Shiji*, vol.8, pp.2615-2619.

⁸³¹ Wu Fu et al., comp., *Tieya xiansheng gu yuefu*, p.117.

For instance, ‘Jingtai yinshi’ 荆臺隱士⁸³² (The hermit of Jingtai) is linked to another poem ‘Tiezhu xing’ 鐵箸行⁸³³ (Song of Iron chopsticks) through the figure of Song Qiqiu 宋齊丘 (887-959), who was regarded as ‘absurd and loathsome’ after his death.⁸³⁴ In some cases, the preface to poem A can even remind the reader about another poem B. Together A and B provide an entire picture of, and can show the contrast between, two historical figures in similar circumstances. For example, in his preface to the poem ‘Yihu zi’ 義鷗子 (A righteous falcon),⁸³⁵ Yang shows his appreciation for Cao Cao’s generosity in releasing Guan Yu 關羽 (160-220) despite Guan’s refusal to surrender.⁸³⁶ Yang compares Cao’s generosity with Yuan Shao’s 袁紹 (?-202) cruelty. Yuan killed two great men, who had also refused to surrender.⁸³⁷ It reads,

Cao Cao was suspicious and jealous [of people], he killed people just like [trimming] grass and bushes. But he treated [Guan] Yu alone with righteousness, and offered him grants and gifts, and saw him off to the West. His followers wanted to chase [Yu], but Cao Cao said, ‘Every person has his choice of master!’ From this, I knew that Cao would be able to rule powerfully over the central plains, as he was in a class above Yuan Benchu [Yuan Shao]. Benchu killed two valiant men in one day, which made the other swordsmen leave his company. How could he be regarded as a hero?

曹操猜忌，殺人如草莽。其於羽，獨義之，且力賞賜，送其西去。左右欲追之，操曰：「人各為其主耳。」餘以是知操之雄霸中原，非袁本初輩比也。本初一日殺二烈，壯士為之解體，豈英雄也哉！⁸³⁸

⁸³² Zou Zhifang, ed., *YWZSJ*, p.179.

⁸³³ *Ibid.*, p.264.

⁸³⁴ For details about Song Qiqiu, see Quyang Xiu, *Xin Wudaishi*, vol.3, p.776-767,771,777.

⁸³⁵ Zou Zhifang, ed., *YWZSJ*, p.182.

⁸³⁶ Chen Shou, *Sanguo zhi*, vol.4, pp.939-940.

⁸³⁷ See Fan Ye, *Hou Hanshu*, vol.7, pp.1891-1892.

⁸³⁸ Zou Zhifang, ed., *YWZSJ*, p.182.

This preface is applicable to another poem 'Yiri sha erlie' 一日殺二烈 (Killing two valiant men in one day),⁸³⁹ which describes the cruelty of Yuan. Hence, the two poems ('A righteous falcon' and 'Killing two valiant men in one day') can be viewed together. With this technique, Yang was able to present the whole picture of the historical figures he portrayed and to fully convey his opinions as a historian - in this case that Cao Cao was a more suitable ruler than Yuan Shao.

The interrelations between Yang's different poems appear as intertextuality. Durey says, "Intertextuality, or dialogism...is the interplay or interweaving between writers, texts, and other texts."⁸⁴⁰ Durey's definition is derived from Mikhail Mikhaïlovich Bakhtin's 'dialogism', which explains the relationships of a poet's and his created characters through dialogues.⁸⁴¹ Yang's poems are interwoven with each other. Through the interlacing of these intertexts, Yang presents the genuine nature of history that all events were related and historical figures are interrelated.

Considering the close interrelationships between prefaces and poems, and poems and historical texts and also the strong connections between the poems themselves, it is clear that Yang carefully planned the composition of his various poems on history. As he left no clue as to the dates of his compositions, it is difficult to discern any possible hidden meanings in his poems. However, he created a completely new poetic world, in which the poem itself was no longer a

⁸³⁹ Ibid., p.179.

⁸⁴⁰ Jill Felicity Durey, *Realism and Narrative: the Hero and Heroine in Eliot, Tolstoy and Flaubert*, 1993, p.102.

⁸⁴¹ For details, see Mikhail Mikhailovich Bakhtin; Caryl Emerson trans. *Problems of Dostoevsky's Poetics*, pp.40-43, 47-77; and Bakhtin's another book *The dialogic imagination*, pp.275-289.

single entity, but was at the centre of a network that connected a poem to its preface, related historical texts, and other poems.

5.2 Pursuit of musical function and rhyming freedom

Robert Von Hallberg said, 'a song [poem] is a series of both sounds and signs'⁸⁴², indicating the important role of sound in poems. He mentioned T.S. Eliot's (1888-1965) view of his own poetry,

Eliot said that his own poems began not with something to say but with a particular rhythm.⁸⁴³

Von Hallberg's book, *Lyric Powers*, sparked my suspicion that Yang also said something through his poetic musicality. Yang was a music lover and composed about ten poems related to musical instruments.⁸⁴⁴ He was a musician himself and was proficient at playing the flute. Indeed, one of his poetic names was 'Iron Flute'. The most significant characteristic of Yang's *yuefu* poetry is its musicality, which comes from the rhymes he used, his long and short lines and his duplication of compounds and lines. Yang wrote:

I composed ancient *yuefu* poetry, which not only sounded like the bells and musical stones, but also could serve as a persuasion and warning.'
吾為古樂府，非特聲諧金石，可勸可戒。⁸⁴⁵

⁸⁴² Robert Von Hallberg, *Lyric Powers*, p.145.

⁸⁴³ *Ibid.*, p.143.

⁸⁴⁴ Zou Zhifang, ed., *YWZSJ*, p.26-33.

⁸⁴⁵ Zhang Wan, comp., *Tieya xiansheng fugu shiji*, p.109.

That is probably why the Ming scholar, Song Luo 宋輦 (1634-1713) said, “Yang Tieya’s poetry on history has a rising and falling pattern in its rhyming melody.” (楊鐵崖詠史，音節頗具頓挫。) ⁸⁴⁶ Song indentified the musical characteristics of Yang’s poetry on history, which seems to have been composed to be sung. Qian Qianyi alluded to Yang’s use of music and songs in his *yuefu* poems,

He [Yang] was so proud of his own old *yuefu* style [poetry], which he believed had no matching precedent. If we check his lines and songs, we can see that this is no exaggeration.

古樂府其所自負，以為前無古人。徵諸句曲，良非誇大。

Qian noted that Yang’s poems have a close relationship with songs and music. For example, Yang himself always sang his own poem on history, ‘Hongmen hui’ (The meeting at Hong Gate). ⁸⁴⁷

Yang’s poems on history were part of his *yuefu* poetry, and therefore seem to have been closely linked to music and songs. This partially explains why one of the unique traits of Yang’s poetry on history is its musical and lyrical component, as rhyme and line length are important factors in making a poem easy to sing.

Yang demonstrated his own unique style through his line construction. This included the use of lines of irregular length and a relatively free adoption of rhymes for the convenience of singing. The following section explores Yang’s rhyming style and the irregularity of his line length.

⁸⁴⁶ Song Luo, *Mantang shuoshi*, in *Siku quanshu cunmu congshu (jibu)*, vol.421, p.125.

⁸⁴⁷ Wu Fu et al., comp., *Tieya xiansheng gu yuefu*, p.7; also see Chen Yan, ed., *Yuanshi jishi*, p.36.

5.2.1 Pursuit of a carefree rhyming pattern

To examine the rhyming style of Yang's poems on history in context, it is important to look at the rhyme system of the late-Yuan dynasty.

According to Wang Li, the rhymes used in the late-Yuan, and the Ming and Qing dynasties were a modification of those used during the Tang dynasty, which are now known as '*Pingshui yun*' 平水韻 (Rhymes from Pingshui County) or '*Shi yun*' 詩韻 (Rhymes for poetry).⁸⁴⁸ 'Pingshui' is another name for Pingyang 平陽 county (in modern Linfen 臨汾 City in Shanxi Province). Because the rhyme book was published there, it was called 'Pingshui Rhymes'. Pingshui rhymes, in turn were based on the rhyme book entitled *Libu yunlüe* 禮部韻略 (Rhymes for the Ministry of Rites)⁸⁴⁹ authored in 1037, mainly by Ding Du 丁度 (990-1053). Pingshui rhymes contain a total of 106 categories of rhymes. Those categories are divided as follows: fifteen in groups A (upper) and fifteen in group B (lower) of the level tones; twenty-nine in a rising tone; thirty in a departing tone; and seventeen in an entering tone. This book was used in the Yuan dynasty, and it can help us to understand Yang's use of rhymes. As a late Yuan poet, Yang was expected to adopt the Pingshui rhymes.

However, Huang Rensheng believes that Yang intentionally used a rhyme book authored by Wu Yu 吳棫 (poetically named Cailao 才老, *jinshi* title 1124) for his *yuefu* poems,⁸⁵⁰ meaning that Yang adopted ancient rhymes. Huang bases his belief on Zhang Yu's statement,

⁸⁴⁸ Wang Li, *Hanyu shilü xue*, p. 41.

⁸⁴⁹ Luo Zhufeng, main ed., *HYDCD.SYB*, vol.1, p.1129.

⁸⁵⁰ Huang Rensheng, *YWZYMMCWXS*, p.228.

Of this generation, [the persons] good at using Wu Cailao's rhyme book to compose their poetry of ancient words are Li Jihe [Li Xiaoguang] and Yang Lianfu [Yang Weizhen]. Hence they are called [by people of this generation] writers.

今代善用吳才老[吳棫]韻書，以古語駕御之。李季和[李孝光]、楊廉夫逐稱作者。⁸⁵¹

'Wu Cailao's rhyme book' refers to the book entitled *Yunbu* 韻補 (Supplementary to rhymes), which was compiled by Wu Yu in the Song dynasty. This book is a collection of the ancient rhymes used in the literary classics, such as *Shijing* 詩經 (Book of Poetry), *Shangshu* 尚書 (Book of History), *Liji* 禮記 (Classic of Rites), *Shiji* 史記 (Records of the Grand Historian), *Chuci* 楚辭 (Songs of the South), *Zhanguo ce* 戰國策 (Strategies of the Warring States), *Xunzi* 荀子, *Zuoshi chunqiu* 左氏春秋 (Zhuo's Commentary on Spring and Autumn Annals) and *Daode jing* 道德經 (Classic of the Way and its Power). The preface to *Yunbu* reads,

The Song scholar, Wu Cailao, was very knowledgeable and fond of the ancient period. So he collected all the old rhymes found in the ancient classics, biographies, and works of philosophy and history. He divided them into four tones, and explained the pronunciation and meaning of each one. He compiled these in a book which is entitled, 'Supplementary to Rhyme'.

宋儒吳才老博學好古，迺采輯古經傳子史協韻，分為四聲，各釋其音義，彙成一書，名曰韻補。⁸⁵²

For this reason, *Siku quanshu tiyao* reads, 'The promotion of ancient rhymes was

⁸⁵¹ Zhang Yu's preface to *Tieya xiansheng guyuefu*. See Wu Fu et al., comp., *Tieya xiansheng gu yuefu*, p.1 (preface).

⁸⁵² Wu Yu, *Yunbu*, in *SKQS*, vol.237, p.57.

actually started by [Wu] Yu.' (明古音者，實自械始).⁸⁵³ This book contains the rhymes of about fifty ancient classics. These rhymes are divided into 206 categories as follows: twenty eight in group A (lower) and twenty nine in group B (lower) of the level tones; fifty five in a rising tone; sixty in a departing tone; and thirty four in an entering tone.⁸⁵⁴ Many of the categories are mutual to the others.

As Yang was fond of the historical classics, one might consider it natural that he would choose the ancient rhymes for his poems on history. However, I have some doubts about this assumption. Do Yang's poems really use the ancient rhyming system? The following section investigates this assumption and explores the main characteristics of Yang's use of rhymes. The methodology I use for this investigation is divided into a number of steps:

(1) Analyse a random selection of Yang's poems on history for analysis.

For ease of understanding, I will endeavour to choose poems already mentioned elsewhere in this thesis;

(2) Identify the rhymes of the selected poems one by one;

(3) List the different categories of these rhymes according to both the Pingshui rhymes (the rhymes generally used in the Yuan dynasty) and the *Yunbu* (rhymes used in the ancient times);

(4) Identify and tabulate 'mutual rhymes' (*tongyun* 通韻).⁸⁵⁵ Pingshui rhymes and *Yunbu* both have their own mutual rhymes: rhymes in one category which are mutually interchangeable with those in another. For instance, if a poet uses rhymes from category X in a poem, and

⁸⁵³ Ibid., p.56.

⁸⁵⁴ My calculation based on *Yunbu*.

⁸⁵⁵ Wang Li, *Hanyu shilü xue*, p.333.

rhymes in category X are mutually interchangeable with rhymes in category Y, he also can use rhymes from category Y in the same poem;

- (5) Identify the Tang mutual rhymes based on Wang Li's 王力 *Hanyu shilü xue* 漢語詩律學 (The poetic rules of the Chinese language).⁸⁵⁶ I pursue this investigation because I believe that Yang was an aficionado of the Tang dynasty. He liked Tang history and was greatly influenced by Tang poets;
- (6) Tabulate my findings for comparison, and to show at a glance the ways in which Yang used rhymes.

Using this methodology, I will examine the ways in which Yang used rhymes, and also consider whether or not he adopted ancient rhymes.

Due to the limited scope of this thesis, the following section can only examines some of Yang's poems on history. Nonetheless, even in these random samples, it is possible to discern a number of key characteristics of Yang's use of rhymes.

Yang's use of rhymes is mainly based on the relatively free rhyming system found in ancient style poetry (*gufeng* 古風). This is consistent with the facts that Yang favoured ancient style poetry and had a carefree personality. For example, 'Jianke pian' (Writing on a swordsman)⁸⁵⁷ rhymes every alternate line. 'Ge' 戈 and 'ke' 軻 are rhymes from the same category ('ge' 歌 category) in the Pingshui rhymes. And in the ancient rhymes (*Yunbu*), 'ge' 歌 and 'ge' 戈 are mutual categories.

However, Yang's poems have additional rhymes to those occurring every

⁸⁵⁶ Ibid., p.331-334.

⁸⁵⁷ See Zou Zhifang, ed., *YWZSJ*, p.14.

other line making it suitable for singing and recital, as Yang used rhymes based on his own personal taste. He did not like to use rhymes regularly, either every alternate line or every line. Instead he changed the rhyme to suit the poetic content. Some of Yang's poems rhyme almost every line. For instance, his poem, 'Yinping nü' (The Girl with the Silver Jar) has rhythms belonging to the 'geng'庚 tone of the level group B (lower). The poem reads,

L1	The father in the Yue family	岳家父，
L2	Is the fortified city of this country;	國之城。
L3	The despicable person in the Qin family	秦家奴，
L4	Is the cause for the downfall of this country.	國之傾。
L5	Heaven did not grant my wish,	皇天不靈，
L6	So my father and brother were killed.	殺我父與兄。
L7	Alas! I Yinping	嗟我銀瓶，
L8	Could have saved my father like Tiyang ⁸⁵⁸	為我父緹縈。
L9	If I who am alive cannot redeem those in death,	生不贖死，
L10	It would be better not to be alive.	不如無生。
L11	The well of a thousand feet ⁸⁵⁹	千尺井，
L12	[Swallowed] A jar of one foot,	一尺瓶，
L13	And the water in the jar cried like the Jingwei bird.	瓶中之水精衛鳴。 ⁸⁶⁰

(Note: The highlighted lines are not rhymed.)

This poem relates to an episode from history, the death of Yinping 銀瓶 (12th c.), literally means 'silver jar'. She committed suicide after her father, Yue Fei 岳飛 (1103-1142), and brother, Yue Yun 岳雲 (1119-1142), were imprisoned and then killed by Qin Hui 秦檜 (1090-1155) despite their innocence. Yang glorifies

⁸⁵⁸ For the story of Tiyang, see Sima Qian, *Shiji*, vol.2, pp.427-428.

⁸⁵⁹ Chi 尺 (Foot): One foot in the Song and Yuan dynasties was the equivalent of 31.2 cm. 'One thousand feet' is therefore 312 metres. See Luo Zhufeng, main ed., *HYDCD.SYB*, vol.3, p.7764.

⁸⁶⁰ Zou Zhifang, ed., *YWZSJ*, p.280.

Yue Fei and scolds Qin Hui through the voice of Yinping. ‘Jingwei’ 精衛 was the name of a legendary magical bird. It is believed that the young daughter of Emperor Yan 炎帝 (27th c. B.C.) who travelled on the East Sea and was drowned. After her death, she was transformed into this magical bird, which constantly gathered twigs and stones from the West Mountain to fill up the sea.⁸⁶¹

The rhymes in the poem ‘The girl with the silver jar’⁸⁶²

If *Yunbu* rhyming is applied to this poem, only two lines rhyme. On the other hand, if Pingshui rhymes or Tang mutual rhymes are used, only a few lines are out of rhymes.

Line	Word	Rhyme	Yunbu ⁸⁶³		Pingshui rhymes ⁸⁶⁴	Tang mutual rhymes ⁸⁶⁵	Tone	
			Category	Mutual				
L1	3	Fu 父	-	-	Yu 虞	Yu 虞 and Yu 虞 are mutual rhymes	Rising	Oblique
L2	3	Cheng 城	-	-	Geng 庚 Qing 青 and Zheng 蒸 are mutual rhymes		Level	Even
L3	3	Nu 奴	-	-	Yu 虞		Level	Even
L4	3	Qing 傾	Yang 陽	Jiang 江 Tang 唐	Geng 庚	Geng 庚, Qing 青 and	Level	Even
L5	4	Ling 靈	-	-	Qing 青	Geng 梗 are mutual rhymes	Level	Even
L6	5	Xiong 兄	Yang 陽		Geng 庚		Level	Even
L7	4	Ping 瓶	Xian 先		Qing 青		Level	Even

⁸⁶¹ Guo Pu ed., *Shanhai jing*, in *SKQS*, vol.1042, p.27.

⁸⁶² For the whole poem and more about it, see Chapter 4.4.

⁸⁶³ Wu Yu, *Yunbu. 5 juan*; in *SKQS*, vol.237, pp.55-132.

⁸⁶⁴ For the Pingshui rhyme, I use the version edited by Yu Zhao 余照 (fl.1800). See Yu Zhao, comp., *Zengguang shiyun jicheng. 5 juan*.

⁸⁶⁵ To check the mutual rhymes of the Tang period, I use Wang Li's *Hanyu shilü xue* as reference.

L8	5	Ying 榮	-	-	Geng 庚		Level	Even
L9	5	Si 死	Zhi 紙	Zhi 旨 Zhi 止 Wei 尾 Qi 齊 Hui 賄	Zhi 紙		Rising	Oblique
L10	4	Sheng 生	Zhen 震	Zhun 稔 Ying 暎 Zheng 諍 Jing 勁 Jing 徑 Zheng 證 Deng 證	Geng 庚	Geng 庚, Qing 青 and Geng 梗 are mutual rhymes.	Level	Even
L11	3	Jing 井	-	-	Geng 梗		Rising	Oblique
L12	3	Ping 瓶	Xian 先	Xian 仙 Yan 鹽 Yan 嚴	Qing 青 Geng 庚 and Zheng 蒸 are mutual rhymes.		Level	Even
L13	7	Ming 鳴	-	-	Geng 庚		Level	Even

Based on the Pingshui rhymes, this poem has a beautiful rhyming pattern with almost every line rhyming. The only lines that do not rhyme are L1, L3, L9 and L11. If one applies the Tang mutual rhymes to this poem, all lines rhyme except for L1, L3 and L9. Of these three lines, L1 and L3 are mutual rhymes.

Did Yang allow these few lines (L1, L3, L9) to fall out of rhyme accidentally?

Robert Von Hallberg says, “When words cohere musically they allude to significance beyond paraphrase.”⁸⁶⁶ Yang was a musician, and I therefore believe that it was not accidental. One point of interest is that the rhymes changed in these lines, lines which appear to be thematically important.

L1, “The father in the Yue family” referring to Yue Fei, is the subject of the first two lines. L1 is also a pivotal line that connects to the evil deeds of the

⁸⁶⁶ Robert Von Hallberg, *Lyrics Power*, p.143.

villain from the Qin family and the death of Yinping.

L3 “The despicable person in the Qin family” is the subject of L4 to L8. It refers to Qin Hui, who was the cause of the downfall of the country, for the death of Yinping’s father and brother, and for Yinping’s sorrow.

L9 “If I who am alive cannot redeem those in death” is the climax of this poem. Yinping’s decision to commit suicide for her father is lauded by the poet in L11 to L13. The change of rhyme in these three poetic lines shows Yang’s keen concern for both the musical and rhyming structure of his poem. It seems that he deliberately used Tang mutual rhymes in order to highlight key thematic lines. In other words, he changed the rhymes not merely for musical effect, but to match a change in poetic content.

If one applies Pingshui rhymes, L11 does not fit the pattern. However, this line ‘The well of a thousand feet’ does not carry any significance. It just appears at the beginning of the poet’s commentary on Yinping’s death.

Another of Yang’s poems, ‘Luoye ci’ (Poem on falling leaves) also exhibits rhymes almost every line.

Rhymes in ‘Poem on falling leaves’

L1	The fine tree of the late King	後皇嘉樹，
L2	Had its jade-green leaves fully grown.	翠葉翹翹。
L3	It was planted in the eastern wall	植於東垣，
L4	When the sun in spring was extremely bright.	春陽昭昭。
L5	Its roots had not spread nor had it withered by the end of the year,	根未撥兮歲未凋，
L6	But one leaf fell on the wind and fluttered.	一葉落兮隨風飄。
L7	The Imperial Palace of Treasure and August,	寶皇殿，
L8	Was replete with wizards and goblins;	肆巫妖；
L9	The spring swallow on the top tower flew into the Lingxiao Palace,	樓頭春燕飛凌霄，

L10 [Leaving] The leaf to fall into the ditch with its 葉落溝兮水迢迢。⁸⁶⁷
water flowing far away.

All lines of this poem rhyme neatly except for three lines (L1, L3 and L7).

Line	Word	Rhyme	Yunbu		Pingshui rhymes	Tang mutual rhymes	Tone	
			Category	Mutual				
L1	4	Shu 樹	-	-	Yu 虞		Rising	Oblique
L2	4	Qiao 翹	-	-	Xiao 蕭		Level	Even
L3	4	Yuan 垣	-	-	Yuan 元	Yuan 元 and Xian 霰 are mutual rhymes.	Level	Even
L4	4	Shao 韶	-	-	Xiao 蕭		Level	Even
L5	7	Diao 凋	-	-	Xiao 蕭		Level	Even
L6	7	Piao 飄	Xiao 蕭	Xiao 宵 Yao 肴 Hao 豪	Xiao 蕭		Level	Even
L7	3	Dian 殿	-	-	Xian 霰		Departing	Oblique
L8	3	Yao 妖	Yu 語	Yu 虞 Lao 姥	Xiao 蕭		Level	Even
L9	7	Xiao 霄	Xiao 嘯	Xiao 笑 Xiao 效 Hao 號	Xiao 蕭		Level	Even
L10	7	Tiao 迢	-	-	Xiao 蕭		Level	Even

Using the rhymes in *Yunbu* (Supplementary to rhymes), only three lines of this poem rhyme, and they have different rhymes. It cannot therefore be regarded as a 'rhyming' poem. However, if the Pingshui rhymes or Tang mutual rhymes are applied, all rhymes are in the category, 'xiao' 蕭,⁸⁶⁸ the tone of level group B (lower), and the only lines without rhymes are L1, L3 and L7.

⁸⁶⁷ Zou Zhifang, ed., *YWZSJ*, p.266. For more about the whole poem, see Chapter 4.3.

⁸⁶⁸ For details, see Yu Zhao. *Zengguang shiyun jicheng*, pp.69-72.

L1, “The fine tree of the late King”, is a metaphor for the good officer, Ye Qiao (10th c.). During the reign of the ‘Late King’, Wang Yanjun 王延鈞 (r.926-935), Ye was highly respected and well treated.

L3, “It was planted in the Eastern Wall”, alludes to the time when Ye started to serve the Crown Prince, Wang Chang. ‘Eastern Wall’ refers to the ‘Eastern Palace’ where the Crown Prince lived.

L7, “The Imperial Palace of Treasure and August”, is the place of the wizards and goblins who gave advice to Wang Chang. Ye Qiao was demoted and repatriated.

These three lines coincidentally represent the three stages of Ye Qiao’s political life.⁸⁶⁹

Are these three lines out of rhyme by accident? Again, this seems unlikely. The way in which Yang used rhymes seems to be planned rather than accidental. He changed the rhymes depending on the poetic content. Also, if one applies Tang mutual rhymes, L3 and L7 mutually rhymed in different categories.

Adoption of mutual rhymes of the Tang dynasty

Yang adopted the mutual rhyming system of the Tang dynasty, which allowed him more freedom in his use of different rhymes. As shown in the tables, *Yunbu* also contains mutual rhymes in various categories; however, they would not have enabled Yang to make his poem rhythmical.

Yang’s rhyming seems to have been modelled on that of the Tang dynasty. As discussed previously, the poem ‘The girl with the silver jar’ has four lines (L1, L3, L9, L11) that are out of rhymes, using the Pingshui rhyming system.

⁸⁶⁹ For more analysis, see p.287 of this thesis.

However, if one applies the Tang mutual rhymes, there are only three lines (L1, L3, L9) that do not rhyme. The poet's adoption of the Tang mutual rhyming system not only demonstrates his pursuit of freedom in his poetry but more importantly, it fits the fact that *yuefu* poetry was created to be sung.⁸⁷⁰ For example, in the poem, 'Lanmian gui' (The ghost with a blue face), Yang applies Tang mutual rhymes from the categories of 'zhi' 支 (upper level tone), 'zhi' 紙 (rising tone) and 'zhi' 真 (departing tone), to make almost every line of the poem rhyme. These rhyming categories were mutually interchanged in the Tang dynasty.⁸⁷¹

Rhymes 'The ghost with a blue face'

L1	The ghost with a blue face,	藍面鬼，
L2	Was cunning and mysterious.	陰且襪。
L3	The ladies in the Guo family,	郭家姬，
L4	All ran away to avoid him.	群走避，
L5	But the emperor saw him as having special charms.	天子見之殊嫵媚。
L6	The ghost with a blue face,	藍面鬼，
L7	In the rebellion of [Zhu] Ci,	泚操兵。
L8	The ghost sent an ambassador [to his death].	鬼遣使，
L9	The ghost was so scared,	鬼凌兢，
L10	But he was still able to kill Cui Ning with the Sword of Heaven.	尚持天柄殺崔寧。
L11	The general who rescued the Son of Heaven came to pay his respects,	救駕將軍謁天子，
L12	The wicked [ghost] was demoted,	奸一排，
L13	[To a place] several thousand miles away,	數千里。
L14	The ghost with a blue face,	藍面鬼，
L15	Died in Lizhou.	澧州死。 ⁸⁷²

⁸⁷⁰ Hans H. Frankel, "Yüeh-fü Poetry", in Cyril Birch, ed., *Studies in Chinese Literary Genres*, pp.69-70.

⁸⁷¹ Wang Li, *Hanyu shilü xue*, p.332.

⁸⁷² Zou Zhifang, ed., *YWZSJ*, pp.239-240.

If one applies Pingshui rhymes to this poem, the rhyming pattern is a little strange. There are three categories of rhymes: (A) three lines (L1, L6 and L14) have rhymes in the 'Wei' 尾 category, are mutually rhymed with the other four lines (L8, L11, L13 and L15) in 'Zhi' 紙 category; (B) three lines (L3, L4 and L12) rhyme in the 'Zhi' 支 category; (C) another three lines (L7, L9 and L10) rhyme in the Geng '庚'. Two lines (L2 and L5) do not rhyme. The content of each set of lines does not carry any special meanings.

Applying the ancient rhymes in *Yunbu*, this poem appears to be not properly rhymed. There are only four poetic lines (L7, L8, L10, L15) that have rhymes from different categories. Thus, it is doubtful that Yang wanted to use ancient rhymes in his poems.

Line	Word	Rhyme	Yunbu		Pingshui rhymes	Tang mutual rhymes	Tone	
			Category	Mutual				
L1	3	Gui 鬼	-	-	Wei 尾		Rising	Oblique
L2	3	Wa 襪	-	-	Nil		-	-
L3	3	Ji 姬	-	-	Zhi 支	Wei 尾, Zhi 支, Zhi 真, and Zhi 紙 are mutual rhymes.	Level	Even
L4	3	Bi 避	-	-	Wei 微 Qi 齊 Jia 佳 Hui 灰		Departing	Oblique
L5	7	Mei 媚	-	-	Zhi 真 Wei 未 Ji 霽		Departing	Oblique
L6	3	Gui 鬼	-	-	Wei 尾		Rising	Oblique
L7	3	Bing 兵	Yu 魚	Yu 虞 Mo 模	Geng 庚 Qing 青 Zheng 蒸	Qing 青, Geng 庚 are mutual rhymes.	Level	Even
L8	3	Shi 使	Yu 語	Yu 虞 Lao 姥	Zhi 紙 Wei 尾		Rising	Oblique

					Qi 齊 Xie 蟹 Hui 賄			
L9	3	Jing 競	-	-	Zheng 蒸		Level	Even
L10	7	Ning 寧	Zhen 軫	Zhun 準 Wen 吻 Bian 便 Jiong 迥 Zheng 拯 Qin 寢	Qing 青		Level	Even
L11	7	Zi 子	-	-	Zhi 紙		Rising	Oblique
L12	3	Pai 排	-	-	Jia 佳		Level	Even
L13	3	Li 裏	-	-	Zhi 紙		Rising	Oblique
L14	3	Gui 鬼	-	-	Wei 尾		Rising	Oblique
L15	3	Si 死	Zhi 紙	Zhi 旨 Zhi 止 Wei 尾 Qi 齊 Hui 賄	Zhi 紙		Rising	Oblique

If one applies Pingshui rhymes to this poem, there are more lines rhymed, as seven lines (L1, L6, L8, L11, L13, L14 and L15) rhyme in the mutual categories. On the other hand, if the Tang mutual rhymes are applied, rhymes basically appear every poetic line except for five lines (L2, L7, L9, L10 and L12). Of these, L7 and L10 have mutual rhymes in another category, and L2, L9 and L12 are out of rhymes. On investigation, the five lines that are out of rhyme appear to be a brief summary of Lu Qi's life.

L2 contains a precise description of the 'ghost', Lu Qi. It explains why the Guo ladies hid themselves⁸⁷³ and also why the emperor favoured him.⁸⁷⁴ This

⁸⁷³ Ouyang Xiu et al., *Xin Tangshu*, vol.20, p.6354.

⁸⁷⁴ For details, please refer to Ouyang Xiu et al., *Xin Tangshu*, vol. p.6351-6352.

line is the main focus of an introduction (L1-L5) of Lu Qi.

L7, L9 and L10 provide examples of the ghost's evil deeds and demonstrate how 'vicious and mysterious' he was. He slandered Cui Ning 崔寧 (8th c.) in Zhu Ci's 朱泚 (742-784) rebellion⁸⁷⁵ (L7) and misled the emperor to kill Cui (L10). L7 and L10 are related, so they rhyme in another category.

L12 describes the results of his misdemeanours - the end of his official life as a chancellor and his expulsion from the capital. Therefore, it makes more sense to say that Yang is applying the Tang mutual rhyming system in this poem.

Carefree alteration of rhymes

Yang altered his rhymes in a carefree manner. According to Wang Li, this kind of rhyme alternation resembles that of ancient style poetry, and was adopted by some of the Tang poets, such as Li Bai.⁸⁷⁶ There were no restrictions regarding where the rhyme could be changed.⁸⁷⁷

It can be said that it is carefree without any fixed restrictions in terms of the number of lines between each alteration of a rhyme.

就換韻的距離而論，可以說是隨意的，沒有一定的規則。⁸⁷⁸

However, there was also another type of rhyme alteration pattern which did have some regulations regarding the rhyme changes. The aim of this type of alteration was the imitation of ancient style poetry. It mandates alternates rhyme every four lines (but not that rigidly), and uses rhymes of even and oblique tones

⁸⁷⁵ Sima Guang et al., eds., *Zizhi tongjian*, vol.16, pp.7361-7362.

⁸⁷⁶ Wang Li, *Hanyu shilü xue*, p.350.

⁸⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p.351.

⁸⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p.351.

alternately.⁸⁷⁹

Yang's poetry on history resembles ancient style poetry in the sense that it uses rhymes of even and oblique tones alternately. He also alters his rhymes regularly (every a certain number of lines) Let us consider, for instance, the poem 'Qiaojia qie' 喬家妾 (The concubine of the Qiao family). This depicts a beautiful girl, Biyu 碧玉 (?-697) who was taken away against her will by Wu Chengsi 武承嗣 (d.698). She committed suicide by jumping into a well after reading a poem from her lover, Qiao Zhizhi 喬知之 (d.697). The poem reads,

Rhymes in the poem 'The concubine of the Qiao family'

L1	The Shi family has a beauty named Lüzhū,	石家有綠珠，
L2	While the Qiao family has a belle named Biyu	喬家有碧玉。
L3	Whose countenance is like a spring flower,	顏色上春花，
L4	Whose chasteness is like winter hardwood.	節操冬貞木。
L5	The tower of the Golden Valley	金谷樓，
L6	And the Parrot Well,	鸚鵡井，
L7	Buried the reflection of a pair of white jades.	一雙白璧沉倒影。 ⁸⁸⁰

If the ancient rhymes in *Yunbu* are applied to this poem, there are no rhymes in the same category. Also, if Pingshui rhymes are applied, only the last two lines have rhymes from the same category. Only by applying the Tang mutual rhyming system can the reader discern the rhyming pattern of this poem. Every even line rhymes except for L6 (which rhymed with L7 in another category).

Line	Word	Rhyme	Yunbu		Pingshui rhymes	Tang mutual rhymes	Tone	
			Category	Mutual			Level	Even
L1	5	Zhu 珠	-	-	Yu 虞		Level	Even

⁸⁷⁹ Ibid., p.353.

⁸⁸⁰ Zou Zhifang, ed., *YWZSJ*, p. 227.

L2	5	Yu 玉	Zhi 質	Shu 術 Jie 櫛 Wu 勿 Zhi 職 Qi 緝	Wo 沃	Wo 沃 and Wu 屋 are mutual rhymes	Entering	Oblique
L3	5	Hua 花	Ge 歌	Ge 戈 Ge 歌	Ma 麻		Level	Even
L4	5	Mu 木	-	-	Wu 屋		Entering	Oblique
L5	3	Lou 樓	Yu 魚	Yu 虞, Mo 模 Yu 魚	You 尤		Level	Even
L6	3	Jing 井	-	-	Geng 梗		Rising	Oblique
L7	7	Ying 影	Yang 養	Dang 蕩, Jiang 講	Geng 梗 (Hui 迴 was mutual rhyme in ancient times)		Rising	Oblique

The rhyme changes in L6, meaning that the poem is divided into two sections: section one (L1-L4) is a portrait of the beautiful Lüzhū and chaste Biyu; section two (L5-L7) shifts the focus from these two girls to the places where they ended their lives. “A pair of white jades” in L7 is an allusion to their purity and chasteness. ‘Jade’ not only implies beauty, but also signifies a good nature. In five-character ancient style poetry, it was up to the poet whether he rhymed the fifth line or not.⁸⁸¹ This poem illustrates that Yang adopted both Tang mutual rhymes and the rhyming system of ancient style poetry in his *yuefu* poetry on history.

Applying the system in *Yunbu*, there are only four ancient rhymes used in this poem. These rhymes are also from different categories and are not mutually

⁸⁸¹ See Wang Li, *Hanyu shilü xue*, p.366.

interchanged. If Yang had been using ancient rhymes intentionally, the rhyming pattern would not be like this.

Doubts whether Yang used ancient rhymes in *Yunbu*

Yang generally used rhymes in a carefree manner. Contrary to the opinions of some scholars, however, he did not use ancient rhymes. For instance, the rhymes in the poem, ‘The ghost with a blue face’ mentioned above do not seem to follow any model. Almost every line rhymes according to the Tang mutual rhyming system, except for five (L2, L7, L9, L10 and L12), which do not rhyme. Of these five, L7 and L10 are rhymed in other category and their content is related.

If Yang did not use the ancient rhymes, why is it that Zhang Yu said that Yang was good at using Wu’s rhyme book *Yunbu* to create poetry with ancient words? There are two possible explanations.

First, Zhang was referring to Yang’s usage of the ancient words compiled by Wu Cailao in his book rather than the ancient rhyming system itself. Zhang stated that Yang created his poetry “with ancient words” (*guyu* 古語), he did not say he created it “with ancient rhymes” (*guyun* 古韻). Although Huang Rensheng believes that Zhang was referring to Yang’s use of ancient rhymes, he does not actually give any examples of Yang’s *yuefu* poem that use ancient rhymes. Nevertheless, I have discovered that Yang intentionally used ancient words, like *zha* 咤 and *lai* 賴, meaning ‘sigh’ and ‘benefit’ respectively in his poems (see Chapter 6.1 and 6.2.1 for details).

Second, Zhang was referring to Yang’s ability to apply ancient rhymes to his *yuefu* poems. However, Yang used those rhymes only occasionally. There is therefore some doubt whether Yang favoured the use of ancient rhymes.

On the other hand, his carefree use of rhymes can also be viewed as a modification of the rhyming system of ancient style poetry. The poem, ‘An old man from a farmhouse’, is another example that shows how Yang adopted a relatively carefree rhyming pattern. In this poem, he used the rhymes in the categories of ‘Dong’ 冬 and ‘Dong’ 東.

Rhymes in the poem ‘An old man from a farmhouse’.

L1	I was originally a farmer from Shandong,	臣本山東農，
L2	I was truly an old man from a farmhouse,	臣誠田舍翁。
L3	I became an orphan at a young age,	臣少且孤，
L4	And served in the army for the Duke of Hefen, ⁸⁸²	師河汾公，
L5	But I was a teaching assistant in the Eastern Palace. ⁸⁸³	洗馬在東宮。
L6	Your Majesty had overwhelming achievements as well as the celestial abode of an emperor,	陛下功高正宸極，
L7	You forgave my rebellion that was an arrow and hook against you,	忘臣射鉤，
L8	And took me in your strategy-planning tent.	引臣入帷中。
L9	I should have received the death penalty for my sin,	臣罪死受，
L10	But instead I became a voice for Your Majesty	陛下喉舌，
L11	That I had not a single word concealed,	有言不諱，
L12	Nor an imperial decree not followed.	無言不從。
L13	Grinding myself because of your kindness and exerting myself because of your benevolence,	仁磨義勵，
L14	I sent Your Majesty two hundred memoranda,	奏陛下疏二百封。

⁸⁸² Dou Jiande 竇建德 (573-621), warlord in the Sui Dynasty, once occupied Heyang and Fenyang (in modern Shanxi Province). For a detailed biography, see Ouyang Xiu et al., *Xin Tangshu*, vol.12, pp.3696-3703, and Liu Xu et al., *Jiu Tangshu*, vol.7, pp.2234-2243.

⁸⁸³ Donggong 東宮: The palace of the crown prince. Lou Zhufeng, main ed., *HYDCD.SYB*, vol.1, p.2501. Here it refers to the crown prince, Li Jiancheng, the eldest son of Emperor Gaozu of Tang 唐高祖 (r.618-626), Li Yuan 李淵 (565-635). Li Jiancheng was designated crown prince in 618 A.D. See Ouyang Xiu et al., *Xin Tangshu*, vol.1, pp.6-7.

L15	And Your Majesty compared me to a good official.	陛下許臣良臣，
L16	I committed myself to be the capable Ji and Qi ⁸⁸⁴	誓為稷契，
L17	And would not like to be the loyal Bigan ⁸⁸⁵ and Longfeng ⁸⁸⁶ ,	不為比干與龍逢。
L18	Your Majesty acquiring [the world] by military horses,	陛下馬上得，
L19	Should reward the Duke of E ⁸⁸⁷ who made meritorious contributions,	褒鄂功，
L20	But ruling [the country] after alighting my horses	下馬治，
L21	It was my turn to show loyalty.	臣之忠。
L22	One <i>dou</i> -ladle of rice cost only three to four green copper coins,	三四青錢米鬥賤，
L23	And nineteen persons ⁸⁸⁸ were free from injustice, penalties and prison.	一十九人刑圍空。
L24	The dancers danced to celebrate the auspiciousness,	舞慶善，
L25	While the musicians played and sang,	歌樂工，
L26	I, the old official, offered wine as a sacrifice and Heaven smiled.	老臣侍酒天開容，
L27	Would it be silly to kill this old man from a farmhouse?	胡為乎殺此田舍翁？

⁸⁸⁴ Ji 稷 and Qi 契: Two capable administrative officials in the periods of the ancient emperors, Yao 堯 (2357-2255 B.C.) and Shun 舜 (2255-2205 B.C.). See Sima Qian, *Shiji*, vol.2, p.505.

⁸⁸⁵ Bi Gan 比干: A loyal official whose heart was cut out by the tyrant, Zhou 紂 (r.1075BC-1046B.C.), the last emperor of the Shang dynasty. See Sima Qian, *Shiji*, vol.1, p.108.

⁸⁸⁶ Longfeng 龍逢: A loyal officer whose surname was Guan 關. He made earnest remonstrations and was killed by the tyrant Jie 桀 (1728-1675 B.C.), the last emperor of the Xia dynasty. Guo Maoqian, comp., *Yuefu shiji*, juan 37, vol.2 p.547; Sima Qian, *Shiji*, vol.8, p.2569.

⁸⁸⁷ Duke of E'guo: This refers to Yuchi Gong, who saved the life of the Prince of Qin, Li Shimin (later Emperor Taizhong, 599-649), protected Emperor Guozu (566-653) during the Incident at Xuanwu Gate on 2nd July, 626, and was granted the title 'Duke of E' (*E'guo gong*) 鄂國公. See Ouyang Xiu et al., *Xin Tangshu*, vol.12, p.3754; Liu Xu et al., *Jiu Tangshu*, vol.8, pp.2499-2500.

⁸⁸⁸ Nineteen persons: This number is based on the corpus, *Tieya yongshi zhu*, edited by Lou Buchan. See *Tieya yongshi zhu*, p.574. It states 29 in the corpus edited by Zou Zhifang. See *YWZSJ*, p.217. According to *Xin Tangshu*, it was 29 prisoners in 630 A.D., the fourth year of Emperor Taizhong's reign. See Ouyang Xiu et al., *Xin Tangshu*, vol.12, p.3869.

L28	Your Majesty compared me with Zhuge Liang	陛下比臣諸葛亮，
L29	Who was originally a farmer from Nanyang,	諸葛本是南陽農。
L30	The old man from a farmhouse,	田舍翁，
L31	Had his mulberry field,	有桑土，
L32	Which he retired to cultivate.	翁歸耕，
L33	He received a meal from his farmhouse wife.	饁以田舍婦。
L34	And called for his son [to eat with him]	下呼田舍兒，
L35	I was not willing to be far away from my noble master,	不願尚貴主。
L36	But wish Your Majesty's great name be known for ten thousand years.	但願陛下鴻名高萬古，
L37	Do not forget the trembling heart of Prince Xiaobai in the State of Ju [as a political refugee].	無忘小白心在莒。
L38	I also dare not forget	臣亦無敢忘，
L39	Feeding the cows in the State of Qi [like Ning Qi],	飯牛在齊，
L40	And being caught and sent under escort from the State of Lu.	解縛在魯。 ⁸⁸⁹

The table below shows that Yang's use of Pingshui rhymes in this poem is relatively carefree: he applies some rhymes to almost every line (L1-L5, L25-L30), some every other line (L18-L25), and some every third or fourth lines (L6-L12, and L15-L17). This special system of rhyming does not appear to have any rules and seems quite free.

Line	Word	Rhyme	Yunbu		Pingshui rhymes	Tang mutual rhymes	Tone	
			Category	Mutual			Level	Even
L1	5	Nong 農	Yang 陽	Jiang 江	Dong 冬	Dong 冬 and	Level	Even
L2	5	Weng 翁	Yang 陽	Tang 唐	Dong 東	Dong 東 are mutual rhymes	Level	Even
L3	4	Gu 孤	-	-	Yu 虞		Level	Even
L4	4	Gong 公	-	-	Dong 東		Level	Even
L5	5	Gong 宮	Zhen 真	Zhun 諄	Dong 東		Level	Even

⁸⁸⁹ Zou Zhifang, ed., *Yang Weizhen*, pp.217-218.

				Zhen 臻 Yin 殷 Hen 痕 Geng 庚 Geng 耕 Qing 清 Qing 青 Zheng 蒸 Deng 登	(Dong 冬 Jiang 江 mutual rhymes)			
L6	7	Ji 極	-	-	Zhi 職		Entering	Oblique
L7	4	Qou 鈞	-	-	You 尤 You 有 Yang 漾 (mutual rhymes.)		Level	Even
L8	5	Zhong 中	Zhen 真		Dong 東		Level	Even
L9	4	Shou 受	Yu 語	Yu 屢 Lao 姥	You 有		Rising	Oblique
L10	4	She 舌	Xian 銑	Ruan 阮, Xian 獮, Yan 琰, Yan 儼	Xie 屑	Xie 屑, Xian 霰, and Xian 銑 are mutual rhymes	Entering	Oblique
L11	4	Hui 諱	Zhi 支	Zhi 脂 Zhi 之 Wei 微 Qi 齊 Hui 灰	Wei 未		Departing	Oblique
L12	4	Cong 從	Yang 陽	-	Dong 冬		Level	Even
L13	4	Li 勵	-	-	Ji 霽		Departing	Oblique
L14	7	Feng 封	Yang 陽		Dong 冬		Level	Even
L15	6	Chen 臣	Xian 先	Xian 仙, Yan 鹽 Yan 嚴	Zhen 真		Rising	Oblique
L16	4	Qi 契	Zhi 質	Shu 術 Jie 櫛 Wu 勿 Zhi 職	Ji 霽		Departing	Oblique

				Qi 緝				
L17	7	Feng 逢	Yang 陽		Dong 東		Level	Even
L18	5	De 得	Wu 屋	Wo 沃 Zhuo 濁	Zhi 職		Entering	Oblique
L19	3	Gong 功	Yang 陽		Dong 東		Level	Even
L20	3	Zhi 治	-	-	Zhi 支		Level	Even
L21	3	Zhong 忠	Yang 陽		Dong 東		Level	Even
L22	7	Jian 賤	-	-	Xian 霰		Departing	Oblique
L23	7	Kong 空	Yang 陽		Dong 東		Level	Even
L24	3	Shan 善	-	-	Xian 銑		Rising	Oblique
L25	3	Gong 工	-	-	Dong 東		Level	Even
L26	7	Rong 容	Dong 董	Zhong 腫	Dong 冬		Level	Even
L27	8	Weng 翁	Yang 陽		Dong 東		Level	Even
L28	7	Liang 亮	-		Yang 漾		Departing	Oblique
L29	7	Nong 農	Yang 陽		Dong 冬		Level	Even
L30	3	Weng 翁	Yang 陽		Dong 東		Level	Even
L31	3	Tu 土	-		Yu 虞		Level	Even
L32	3	Geng 耕	Geng 耕	Zhen 真	Geng 庚		Level	Even
L33	5	Fu 婦	Yu 禦	Yu 遇 Zhu 著	You 有		Rising	Oblique
L34	5	Er 兒	-	-	Zhi 支		Level	Even
L35	5	Zhu 主	You 有	Hou 厚 You 勳	Yu 虞		Level	Even
L36	9	Gu 古	Yu 禦	-	Yu 虞		Level	Even
L37	7	Ju 莒	-	-	Yu 語		Rising	Oblique
L38	5	Wang 忘	-	-	Yang 漾		Departing	Oblique
L39	4	Qi 齊	Zhi 支	Zhi 脂 Zhi 之 Wei 微 Qi 齊 Hui 灰	Qi 齊		Level	Even
L40	4	Lu 魯	-	-	Yu 虞		Rising	Oblique

The table shows that the ancient rhyming system in *Yunbu* produces few rhymed poetic lines in this poem. The main ancient rhyme category used here is Yang 陽, which is not mutually rhymed with any of the other categories. If Tang mutual

rhymes are applied, however, more lines of the poem rhyme: L7, L9, L28, L33 and L38 rhyme in mutual rhymes of the 'You' 尤 tone.

Yang uses rhymes in the 'Dong' 東 or 'Dong' 冬 categories, when he is mainly narrating the early life (such as L1, L2, L4, L5, L8, L29 and L30) and political achievements (to say L12, L14, L21, L23, L25 and L26) of Wei Zheng. Interestingly, those poetic lines without rhymes, such as L6, L15, L18 and L37, are those that relate to Emperor Taizhong of Tang. Is this simply a coincidence? Von Hallberg says,

The challenge to a poet is to compose a text that is compelling not so much in two separate ways - semantically and sonically - but in one way that draws sign and sound into collaboration. The challenge to a critic is to recognise and then characterise their interaction.⁸⁹⁰

Yang took much care when composing his poems on history. Even the use of allusion in this poem is well planned, so accidental and random use of rhymes seems to be unlikely. For example, he made an allusion to Guan Zhong because he knew that Guan and Wei Zheng - the two great prime ministers in different dynasties - had lived similar lives. As he took so much care, it would seem unlikely that his rhyming patterns were merely random.

Based on Yang's cautious use of allusions and the fact of musical talent, I propose that he was trying to create poetic lines semantically and sonically consistent with the rhyming pattern. In ancient poetry, if a poet changed the rhymes, the poetic meanings might or might not have changed, but in Yang's poems the meanings and rhymes changed altogether.

However, Yang's relatively free rhyming style may best be explained by his

⁸⁹⁰ Robert Von Hallberg, *Lyrics Power*, p.145.

carefree personality and his love of music. There is a possibility that he composed his poems to be sung. Zhu Yizun said,

[Yang] was quite indulgent as regards music, and he usually brought with him singing courtesans whenever he went out.
頗溺於音樂，行輒以歌伎自隨。⁸⁹¹

Also, as language inevitably changes over time, poets sometimes adopt rhymes in their own dialects.⁸⁹² It is possible that Yang used dialect in his rhyming, and this would be difficult to verify using the books of rhymes. Also, some words in his poems that might not sound as if they rhyme may in fact have rhymed in his time.

Wang Li says that ancient style poems which were composed after the Tang and Song dynasties were all influenced by Tang poetry. Poets imitated the rhyming patterns, poetic couplets and sentence structures of Tang poems.⁸⁹³ However, Yang did not utilise these rhyme patterns. Even though Yang adopted Tang 'mutual rhymes', his rhyming system was quite unique. François Cheng, writes "odd lines remain unrhymed" in Tang regulated verse.⁸⁹⁴ In his poems on history, Yang rhymed not only his even lines, but also his odd ones. Cheng also states that "the poet must choose a word with the tone referred to as 'level', the plainest, and longest, of the four tones of old Chinese."⁸⁹⁵ Yang, however, chose not only the level tone, but also the rising, departing and entering tones.

⁸⁹¹ Zhu Yizun, *Baoshu ting ji*, vol.3, p.742.

⁸⁹² Conversation with Professor Huang Kunyao 黃坤堯, the author of *Yinyi chanwei* 音義闡微 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1997), by email dated 29th November, 2007.

⁸⁹³ See Wang Li, *Hanyu shili xue*, p.304.

⁸⁹⁴ François Cheng, *Chinese Poetic Writing with an Anthology of Tang Poetry*, p.47.

⁸⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, p.47.

MacLeish says, 'Tone is always important in any true poem: it is ignored at the reader's peril.'⁸⁹⁶ Yang was aware of the changes of tone in some of his poems, and used these to showcase his musical talent. Moreover, contrary to the belief of some modern scholars, the ancient rhymes compiled by Wu Yu in *Yunbu* (Supplementary to rhymes) do not work in Yang's poems. For this reason, it is doubtful that Yang favoured the use of ancient rhymes.

Yang's rhyming pattern appears to be carefree, as he changed the rhymes wherever he liked, applying rhymes to every line, every alternate line, or every third lines. However, it seems clear that he sometimes planned his rhyming patterns carefully to highlight a few thematic poetic lines. Examples include 'The girl with the silver jar' and 'The ghost with a blue face'. Also using different rhyming categories, he tried to separate his description of one historical figure from that of another. This can be seen in 'An old man from a farmhouse'. This kind of 'carefree rhyming system' can be regarded as Yang's unique style, his Iron Style rhyming system. This is probably a way by which Yang expressed his strong personality via his poetry.

5.2.2 Pursuit of musical function by using irregular line length

Generally, most of Yang's poems on history combine lines with five or seven characters. However, he occasionally inserted lines of different length - three, four, six, eight, nine, ten or eleven characters - so as to allow himself more freedom to be creative and flexible in his compositions. The use of irregular line

⁸⁹⁶ Archibald MacLeish, *Poetry and Experience*, p.97.

lengths shows that Yang was unwilling to be bound by conventional verse regulations.

In addition, a poem with an irregular poetic structure can be more easily set to music and sung. Wu Fu, mentioned that Yang himself regarded his more than five hundred mixed ancient style poems as the 'remaining sound' (*yisheng* 遺聲)⁸⁹⁷ of *yuefu* poetry. The first feature of *yuefu* poetry is its suitability for singing,⁸⁹⁸ and Wu was thus implying Yang's poetry had a musical function.

Wang Li divides the ancient style poetry into seven categories.⁸⁹⁹ Of these, poems of the three-seven-character mixed line and three-five-seven-character mixed line categories are the ones most commonly found in Yang's *yuefu* poetry on history. For instance, 'The ghost with a blue face' is a three-seven-character mixed poem, in which there are many short poetic lines of three characters.

No. of poetic lines	12	3	Total: 15
Characters in each line	3	7	Most lines have 3 characters

Also, Yang added lines of four characters to his poems, such as his 'Poem on falling leaves'.

No. of poetic lines	2	4	4	Total: 10
Characters in each line	3	4	7	Most lines have 4 or 7 characters

Interestingly, Yang incorporated more lines of three characters than of seven

⁸⁹⁷ Wu Fu et al., comp., *Tieya xiansheng gu yuefu*, p.1 (preface).

⁸⁹⁸ Chen Shiping, *Yuefu: yousheng de shipian*, p.5.

⁸⁹⁹ They are four-character line, five-character line, seven-character line, five-seven-character mixed line, three-seven-character mixed line, three-five-seven-character mixed line and multi-character-mixed line. See Wang Li, *Hanyu shili xue*, p.304.

characters. Wang Li states that three-seven-character poems are poems that have lines of mostly seven characters mixed with a few lines of three characters.⁹⁰⁰

However, Yang's poetry contains many lines of three or even four characters.

Most of his poems on history are three-five-seven character poems, such as 'The Concubine of the Qiao family', which has a mixture of lines with three, five and seven characters.

No. of poetic lines	2	4	1	Total: 7
Characters in each line	3	5	7	Most lines have 5 characters

His 'An old man of a farmhouse' also is a three-five-seven character mixed poem, but it contains lines of four, six, eight and nine characters too.

No. of poetic lines	8	9	8	1	8	1	1	Total: 36
Characters in each line	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Most lines have 4-character. But lines with 3, 5 or 7 characters are also common.

'The Girl with a Silver Jar' is also mixed and has a few four-character lines.

No. of poetic lines	6	3	3	1	Total: 13
Characters in each line	3	4	5	7	Most lines have 3 characters

These five examples illustrate that Yang's poems on history usually contain poetic lines with a minimum of three and a maximum of nine characters. In fact, Yang's shortest poetic line is made up of only two characters, while his longest consists of thirteen characters.⁹⁰¹ Irregular line length is a common feature of

⁹⁰⁰ Wang Li, *Hanyu shilü xue*, p.308.

⁹⁰¹ This discovery is based on my research of his more than four hundred poems on history. Examples of these poetic lines can be found in Zou Zhifang, *YWZSJ*, pp.158, 170, 200, 274.

ancient style (*gufeng*) poetry.⁹⁰² However, according to Wang Li, three-five-seven-character mixed ancient style poetry contains mainly in lines of seven characters, with some lines of three or five characters. Also, they are even less likely to have lines of four or six characters.⁹⁰³ An interesting feature of Yang's poetry on history is his incorporation of many lines with four characters. These four-character poetic lines are very common and popular in the *Book of Poetry*, thus confirming its influence on Yang.

Wang regards the seven-character poems that contain lines of two, three, four, five, six, or eleven characters as 'prose that is rhymed', as the changing length of the poetic lines make it more like prose.⁹⁰⁴ This is therefore a good description for Yang's poems on history with their irregular line lengths. So, why did Yang favour the irregular poetic lines? Li Tiaoyuan wrote:

The musical [*yuefu*] poetry must have long lines followed by short lines; the long lines are [composed] for their soft and meandering sound, and the short ones for their fast tone and quick sound.

樂歌必須長短相接，長取其聲之婉轉，短取其聲之促節。⁹⁰⁵

This explains why Yang favoured irregularity in line length in his *yuefu* poetry. The use of long and short lines facilitated the incorporation of his poems in songs.

⁹⁰² Wang Li, *Hanyu shili xue*, pp.304-316.

⁹⁰³ *Ibid.*, p.310.

⁹⁰⁴ See Wang Li, *Hanyu shili xue*, p.17. Zhang Gaoping, has a section discussing the 'prose-style poem'. He points out that the Song poets liked to use a prose style in their poetry because it allowed freedom of creation and presentation. He also says that these prose-style poems can be found in seven-character ancient style poetry, as noted by Wang Li. See Zhang Gaoping, *Songshi zhi xinbian yu daixiong*, pp.172-182.

⁹⁰⁵ Wu Xigui, *Li Tiaoyun shihua pingzhu*, p.30.

5.2.3 Reduplications for songs and modelling on *Shijing*

The use of reduplications of words and poetic lines can help to make a poem more musical. This is because reduplicated lines fit songs with a repeating melody, while reduplicated words are easy to memorise.

Reduplications are commonly found in *Shijing*, the earliest collection of ancient Chinese poetry. For instance, ‘Caiwei’ 采薇 (Picking thorn-ferns) contains the lines,

When I set out in the past,	昔我往矣，
The willows were fresh and green;	楊柳依依。
Now I am returning,	今我來思，
The rain and snow fall heavily.	雨雪霏霏。
Long and tedious is my marching ;	行道遲遲，
I am hungry, I am thirsty. ⁹⁰⁶	載渴載飢。 ⁹⁰⁷

In these six lines, one finds reduplicated compounds like ‘*yi yi*’ 依依, ‘*fei fei*’ 霏霏 and ‘*chi chi*’ 遲遲. ‘*yi yi*’ literally means “supple twigs and tender leaves”, but here it symbolises a feeling of reluctance and sadness at parting; ‘*fei fei*’ refers to heavy rain and snow; ‘*chi chi*’ 遲遲 means ‘long’ or ‘far away’;⁹⁰⁸ it refers to the rough road that made marching slow. Reduplicate compounds in *Shijing* are mainly used as adjectives. Reduplicated adjectives are common in Yang’s poems on history, such as ‘*cang cang*’ 蒼蒼, the endless blue [sky], ‘*mang*

⁹⁰⁶ Translation modified from Bernhard Karlgren, trans., *The Book of Odes*, p.112.

⁹⁰⁷ Zhu Xi, ed., *Shi jizhuan*, p.106.

⁹⁰⁸ Base on Zhu Xi’s annotations. See Zhu Xi, ed., *Shi jizhuan*, p.106.

mang’茫茫, the endless white [earth],⁹⁰⁹ and ‘e e’ 峨峨, straight-up [white hats].

910

Some reduplicated compounds in *Shijing* are onomatopoeic words. The first line of ‘Guan ju’ 關雎 (Guanguan-yelling ospreys) reads, “*Guan guan* yelled the ospreys” (關關雎鳩). ‘*Guan guan*’ 關關 is the sound made by a couple of ospreys.⁹¹¹ Onomatopoeia is very common in *Shijing*. Hans H. Frankel believes that onomatopoeia is also a common feature of the poetry of the Southern and Northern Dynasties.⁹¹²

Yang’s poems on history contain many onomatopoeic words. Examples include ‘*pang pang*’ 滂滂,⁹¹³ the sound of heavy snow, and ‘*xiao xiao*’ 蕭蕭,⁹¹⁴ the sound of wind. This may be regarded as another consequence of the influence on Yang of *Shijing* and the *yuefu* poems of the Southern and Northern Dynasties.

However, although Yang’s poetic construction appears to have been influenced by *Shijing*, some of the reduplicated words found in his poetry on history are different from those in *Shijing*. In *Shijing*, poets used reduplicate compounds mainly as adjectives; but in Yang’s poems, he created duplicated verbs and used duplicated adjectives as nouns. For instance, his poem, ‘Fan Jiangjun’ is a good example.

⁹⁰⁹ Zou Zhifang, ed., *YWZSJ*, p.223-224.

⁹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p.14.

⁹¹¹ Zhu Xi, ed., *Shi jizhan*, p.1.

⁹¹² “Onomatopoeia, however, is less common in the Han ballads than in those of the Southern and Northern Dynasties.” See Hans H. Frankel, “Yüeh-fü Poetry”, in Cyril Birch, ed., *Studies in Chinese Literary Genres*, p.90.

⁹¹³ Zou Zhifang, ed., *YWZSJ*, p.224.

⁹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p.14.

L1	[Hou] Ying cut his neck cut his neck [to death],	羸芻芻，
L2	Had earned everlasting [honour] and everlasting [success],	得永永，
L3	By succeeding Lord Xinling;	成信陵君；
L4	[Tian] Guang cut his neck cut his neck [to death]	光芻芻，
L5	Had caused the loss of the wasted [deserted] General [Fan] and wasted [effort].	失廢廢，
L6	Leading to the death of the person [Jing Ke] who played around with drinkers.	直遊酒人。 ⁹¹⁵

The reduplicated compound ‘*wen wen*’ 芻芻 in L1 and L4 is a verb, which means ‘to cut one’s neck with a sword’ or ‘to cut the neck until one dies’. ‘*Yong yong*’ 永永 in L2 is an adjective meaning ‘everlasting’, but here it is used as a noun: ‘everlasting honour and success’. ‘*Fei fei*’ 廢廢 (literary means ‘waste’) in L4 is an adjective meaning ‘abandoned and wasted’, but in this poem, it is used as noun: ‘abandoned general and wasted effort’.

Apart from being verbs, adjectives or nouns, these kinds of reduplication sometimes appear as the names of the subject of a poem. In the poem ‘Tiexiang ge’ 鐵象歌 (Song of Iron Elephant), for example, ‘Xiang’ (Elephant) refers to ‘Tiexiang’ (Iron Elephant), the name of a noblesteed.

Alas Xiang! Alas Xiang! I will die with you, 象兮象兮吾與汝同死，
Alas Xiang! Alas Xiang! I am dying! 象兮象兮吾逝矣！⁹¹⁶

The poem, ‘Zaishan fu’ 在山虎 (A tiger in the mountains), also has this type of repetition. “Alas Tiger! Alas Tiger! Does it matter even if you have died?” (虎兮虎兮死何傷)⁹¹⁷ In this poem, ‘Tiger’⁹¹⁸ refers to Kong Rong 孔融

⁹¹⁵ Ibid., p.158.

⁹¹⁶ Zou Zhifang, ed., *YWZSJ*, p.278.

⁹¹⁷ Ibid., p.180.

(153-208), who was granted a title as ‘*Hubi zhonglang jiang*’ 虎賁中郎將 (Leader of Court Gentleman as Brave as Tiger). As a political opponent of Cao Cao, he was executed.⁹¹⁹ Reduplication can be found regardless of the type of historical figure portrayed. In summary, another of the special features of Yang’s Iron Style poetry on history is his heavy usage of reduplication. This feature is also evidenced in the poems of Yang’s followers. (See Chapter 3.2.2)

Nevertheless, Yang’s significant features is his creation of ‘illusional reduplicated words’: putting two identical characters side-by-side and creating the illusion of a reduplicated compound, but where the two characters are in fact nouns or words in separate phrases. Let us consider the poem, ‘*Yuezhi wangtou yinqi ge*’ 月氏王頭飲器歌 (Song of the drinking vessel using the head of King Yuezhi), as an example,

The black wind assailed the Hu dike but 黑風吹瓠瓠不流。
[water in] the Hu dike did not flow.
The yellow cloud pressed down the sun and 黃雲壓日日欲頹。⁹²⁰
the sun seemed to fall.

Actually ‘Hu’ 瓠 is the name of the dike and appears in two different phrases, but Yang puts them together to make it look like a reduplication. Similarly, ‘ri ri’ 日日 contains two identical nouns in two separate phrases, which are put together to give the appearance of a reduplicated compound. Actually, this feature is quite common in ancient style poetry. An example is ‘My king loves the people and

⁹¹⁸ Zou Zhifang, ed., *YWZSJ*, p.180 (preface).

⁹¹⁹ For details, see Fan Ye, *Hou Hanshu*, vol.8, pp.2261-2278.

⁹²⁰ *Ibid.*, p.166.

the people don't know' (吾君愛人人不識)⁹²¹ by Bai Juyi. Here, 'ren 人' and 'ren 人' are in two separated phrases but appear as a reduplication. This composition style is commonly found in Yang's *yuefu* poetry, and it is further evidence of his poetic talents and his fondness of ancient style poetry. It also demonstrates that he had quite a playful attitude regarding his compositions.

Frequent usage of reduplication not only creates a beautiful sentence structure, aesthetically pleasing to the eyes, it also has the practical function of making the poem easy to use as song lyrics. The frequent repetition of poetic lines has the same function. In addition, repetition enables the poet to create emphasis. For instance, Yang's poems, 'Yiri sha erlie' (Killing two valiant men in one day), and 'Junma huang' (The gentleman's horse is yellow) both contain lines that are duplicated. The reduplicated poetic lines in the first poem emphasise the cruelty of Yuan Shao, who killed two talented and upright persons, Zang Hong 臧洪 (?-195) and Chen Rong 陳容 (d.195), on the same day,⁹²² dooming to failure his battles with Cao Cao. L1 and L8 are duplicated,

- | | | |
|----|--|-------------------------|
| L1 | Killing two valiant men in one day, | 一日殺二烈， |
| L2 | Making the blue sky rain and the frost flutter | 青天雨飛霜。 |
| | today. | |
| L8 | Killing two valiant men in one day, | 一日殺二烈， |
| L9 | Ten defeats in battle have been decided | 十敗雌雄今已決。 ⁹²³ |
| | today. | |

The second poem is a description of Cao Cao. The reduplication draws the reader's attention to focus on Cao. L5 and L10 are repeated,

⁹²¹ See Peng Dingqiu et al., comp., *Quan Tangshi*, vol.13, p.4700.

⁹²² For details, see Fan Ye, *Hou Hanshu*, vol.7, pp.1891-1892.

⁹²³ Zou Zhifang, ed., *Yang Wuzhen shiji*, p. 179.

L5	The person named Aman,	阿瞞子，
L6	Broke through the siege and fled.	突圍去。
L10	The person named Aman,	阿瞞子，
L11	Had Lü Bu killed.	殺呂布。 ⁹²⁴

By duplicating lines (L5 and L10), Yang not only emphasised his main focus, but he also made the poem easy to remember and suitable to be sung to a repeating melody. This probably explains why he used so many duplicated lines in his poems on history.

Yang thus demonstrated to his readers that poetry on history can be as creative as other genres. Not only can it be musically functional, it can also contain interesting structures and verbal patterns. Also, the content of poems on history may be bound by the historical facts, but poets are nevertheless free to enjoy playing with language.

Duplicated poetic lines are common in the *Shijing*. This poetic style is called *fu ta* 複沓 (connected repeating), in which the second line is almost a duplication of the first with only one or two words changed. *Shijing* often uses this kind of pattern. For instance, ‘*You nü tong ju*’ 有女同車 (There is a girl with me in the carriage) describes the eldest daughter of Prince Qi, Meng Jiang 孟姜.

There is a girl with me in the carriage,	有女同車，
Her face is like a Hibiscus flower,	顏如舜華，
We will roam, we will ramble,	將翱將翔，
Her girdle-gems are Qiong and Ju jades.	佩玉瓊琚。

There is a girl going along with me,	有女同行，
Her face is like a Hibiscus flower,	顏如舜英，

⁹²⁴ Ibid., pp. 177-178.

We will roam, we will ramble,
Her girdle-gems tinkle.⁹²⁵

將翱將翔，
佩玉將將。⁹²⁶

Yang's creation of reduplicated poetic lines derives from the *Shijing*. He took the writing style of the *Shijing* and skilfully applied it to his poetry on history. Poems in *Shijing* are thought to have been composed by scholars and ordinary people for singing, and it is quite clear that Yang intended to make his own poems suitable for singing too.

5.3 Interest in drama, and dramatisation of poems

In addition to the above, another significant feature found in some of Yang's poems on history is his theatrical narration of historical figures and events. Yang's poems on history demonstrate the following four characteristics: (1) Yang narrates in the voice of characters to express their private sentiments; (2) he carefully selects historical episodes to fit the limited space of the poem; (3) he mixes genuine history with imaginary facts to achieve dramatic effects or to highlight certain themes; and (4) he uses a dramatic content structure. The following section explores each of these four features in depth.

5.3.1 In the voice of characters to express private sentiments

One unique feature of Yang's Iron Style poetry on history is the use of different voices in description. He adopts the voices of a narrator as well as the voices of different characters, making them sound like a theatrical script. As

⁹²⁵ See Bernhard Karlgren, trans., *The Book of Odes*, p.55-56.

⁹²⁶ Zhu Xi, ed., *Shi jizhuan*, p.52.

mentioned above, Yang's poems on history exhibit some elements of intratextuality. Joseph R. Allen says,

By writing intratextually the poet chose to write in the voice of the intratext, not in his own. The intratextuality of the *yuefu* genre allowed the poet to experiment in fictional modes, themes, and personae.⁹²⁷

Yang wrote in the voices of different characters when describing a historical event or figure. Shih Chungwen wrote:

In the Yuan drama, where monologues and soliloquies are frequent, actors often find themselves in the position of narrators or lyrical poets speaking directly to the audience.⁹²⁸

This is also found in Yang's poems on history. For example, he adopted the identities of the noble-steed horse and Liu Bei in the poem, 'Dilu ma' 的盧馬 (Dilu noble-steed horse).

L1	Master with big ears,	大耳主，
L2	Yelled Alu.	呼阿盧，
L3	Alu tried hard to lift up my body worth a thousand pieces of gold.	阿盧努力托我千金驅。
L4	Water in the River Tan was too deep to see its bottom,	檀溪水深不見底，
L5	Alu jumped over more than thirty feet.	阿盧一躍三丈餘。
L6	You, sir, did not see him on the Dangyang Bridge, ⁹²⁹	君不見當陽橋，

⁹²⁷ Joseph R. Allen, *In the Voice of Others: Chinese Music Bureau Poetry*, p.224.

⁹²⁸ Shih Chungwen, *The Golden Age of Chinese Drama: Yüan Tsa-chü*, p.27.

⁹²⁹ Liu Bei was chased by Cao Cao's army to Dangyang Bridge, and Zhang Fei together with twenty cavalry soldiers saved him by destroying the bridge and stopping the army in their chase. For details, see Chen Shou, *Sanguo zhi*, vol.4, p.943.

- L7 When crossing the River Mian,⁹³⁰ 沔水渡，
 L8 A pair of [yuyi] wings⁹³¹ was indeed military 一雙羽翼真都護。
 protection.
 L9 How could one know Alu's contribution would 豈知阿廬論功不在
 be no less than those of [Guan] Yu and [Zhang] 關張下。⁹³²
 Fei.

The first two lines are in the voice of the narrator. However, they sound as if they could be in the voice of a *dilu* horse, especially when one compares them with the narrator's voice in lines L6 to L9. 'Master with big ears' (大耳主) refers to Liu Bei, who had ears so large that he could see them when he looked sideways,⁹³³ and who was indeed the master of a noble-steed *dilu* horse.⁹³⁴ 'Alu' 阿廬 refers to the *dilu* horse, it is an imitate form of address between master and servant.

L3 is in the voice of Liu Bei, who is saying 'Alu tried hard to lift up my body worth a thousand pieces of gold' (阿廬努力托我千金驅). L4 and L5 are written in the voice of Liu Bei, but they may also be interpreted as being in the voice of the poet, the narrator. From L6, the voice changes to that of the poet, who compares the contribution of the *dilu* horse with those of Guan Yu and Zhang Fei 張飛 (?- 221). This voice switch is common in the scripts of stage dramas.

⁹³⁰ In the twenty-fourth year, when Liu Bei had crossed over the River Mian and settled down, he sent Huang Zhong 黃忠 (d.220) to defeat Cao's army, which was led by Xiehou Yuan 夏侯淵 (?-219). For details, see Chen Shou, *Sanguo zhi*, vol.4, p.884. Therefore, victory in this battle was not due to the contributions of Guan Yu, but of Huang Zhong.

⁹³¹ 'Yuyi' 羽翼: This literally means 'wings', and alludes two persons, Yu 羽 and Yi 翼. 'Yu' refers to Guan Yu and 'Yi' refers to Zhang Yide 張翼德 (also Yide 益德), the courtesy name of Zhang Fei. For their biographies, see Chen Shou, *Sanguo zhi*, vol.4, pp.939-944.

⁹³² Zou Zhifang, ed., *YWZSJ*, p.182.

⁹³³ Chen Shou, *Sanguo zhi*, vol.4, p.872.

⁹³⁴ *Ibid.*, p.876 (annotation).

The poem appears to be a speech of two characters (Liu Bei and the narrator) even if the first two lines are not in voice of the horse Alu.

Monologues were used extensively in Yuan drama,⁹³⁵ and Yang's poem reflects this. He spoke a monologue in the voice of the character in the poem entitled 'Bu Liang Pi' 補梁毗 (Supplementary to records on Liang Pi). The voice is that of Liang Pi (5th c.), the Chief Minister of the Judicial Review (1a) of the Sui dynasty, who is addressing a piece of gold as if it were a person.

L1	Your gold comes,	汝金來，
L2	But now I bid you farewell	我今與爾辭，
L3	Your edge was not sharp	汝鋒不犀，
L4	But could cut my neck,	能斫我頸，
L5	Your liquid was not poisonous,	汝液不鳩，
L6	But could hurt my skin.	能折我肌。 ⁹³⁶

In Xining 西寧⁹³⁷ prefecture (in modern Qinghai province), the tribal chieftains fought against each other to acquire gold, a symbol of repute. When Liang became a prefect, they tried to give him a gift of gold. Liang, however, refused to accept a single piece. He expressed sorrow at their fighting for gold and concerned that he might be murdered for his own gold.⁹³⁸ In the poem, Yang illustrates Liang's honesty by speaking in Liang's voice about the harmful nature

⁹³⁵ Shih Chungwen, *The Golden Age of Chinese Drama: Yüan Tsa-chü*, p.26.

⁹³⁶ Zou Zhifang, ed., *YWZSJ*, pp.209-210.

⁹³⁷ In Yang's poem, Liang Pi was described as the Prefect of 'Anning' 安寧. This appears to be a mistake as the historical record in *Suishi* states that he was the Prefect of 'Xining' 西寧. The error may have been made by Yang himself, or more likely by an editor who later copied 'Xi 西' as 'An 安'.

⁹³⁸ For details, see Wei Zheng et al., *Suishu*, vol.5, p.1479.

of gold. It is of course interesting that he treats the gold as a human interlocutor. This level of imagination and creativity makes Yang's poems on history stand out from other poets' work.

Yang's use of the voices of characters can also be seen in 'Tianshe weng' 田舍翁⁹³⁹ (Old man from a farmhouse). It is in the voice of Wei Zheng (580-643), who relates his own biographical details. Also, in 'Tiexiang ge',⁹⁴⁰ Yang narrates in the voice of Qu Duan 曲端 (?-1131), who laments his own pending death and that of his fine horse, Iron Elephant.

Because it was composed in the voices of the characters, Yang's poetry is dramatic. The narratives were written from the viewpoints of the characters themselves. This creates a sense of empathy for the historical figures in the mind of the reader, who is able to vicariously experience and feel what they had felt. This kind of presentation prevents the poem from becoming too mired in historical facts, and makes it more interesting to read. It is, after all, easier for a poet to describe in depth the sentiments of the characters in a particular historical situation than to relate the details of the historical event itself.

However, Yang tended to use in-voice presentation only for those historical figures that had a good reputation. He never spoke in the voices of nefarious officials or rebels. Yang may have felt ashamed to associate himself with historical figures of ill repute by speaking in their voices or adopting their identities. Therefore, the use of in-voice presentation for certain historical figures reveals Yang's feelings of admiration and love toward them. For his poems about disloyal or wicked officers, he chose to present their biographical details in the voice of a third person narrator. His poem "The ghost with a blue

⁹³⁹ Zou Zhifang, ed., *YWZSJ*, p. 217-218.

⁹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p.278.

face' is a typical example of this: Yang presented the evil deeds of Lu Qi in the narrator's voice. Lin Shuenfu wrote:

The story in drama and narrative presents a world of interaction between and among men, or between men and their environment... In contrast, a lyric contains only a single voice, which does not speak to present a story, although it is still a direct presentation.⁹⁴¹

Yang's poetry on history is a presentation of historical stories, which are made up of the interactions between historical figures, and between historical figures and their environments. Yang presents the stories in the voices of different characters in different poems. Thus, according to Lin's definition, Yang's poems on history are not lyrics. However, as modern scholars like Zhao Wangqin point out, poems on history are also for the expression of personal feelings (*yi shi yonghuai* 以史詠懷).⁹⁴² Therefore, to a certain extent, they are also lyrical.

The in-voice description in Yang's poetry on history was influenced by *yuefu* poetry and is most likely an inheritance from the *yuefu* poetry of the Han dynasty. The poem 'Moshang sang' 陌上桑 (The roadside mulberries) incorporates the voices of different characters. The last fifteen lines (L21-35) read,

L21	A prefect comes from the south,	使君從南來，
L22	His five horses paw the ground.	五馬立踟躕。
L23	The Prefect sends his sergeant forward:	使君遣吏往，
L24	(Ask:) "Whose is the pretty girl?"	問是誰家姝？
L25	"The Qin clan has a fair daughter,	秦氏有好女，
L26	She is called Luofu."	自名為羅敷。
L27	"Luofu, how old is she?"	羅敷年幾何？
L28	"Not yet quite twenty,	二十尚不足，

⁹⁴¹ Lin Shuenfu, *The Transformation of the Chinese Lyrical Tradition*, p.143.

⁹⁴² Zhao Wangqin, *Tangdai yongshi zushi kaolun*, pp.1-2.

L29	A bit more than fifteen.”	十五頗有餘。
L30	The Prefect invites Luofu,	使君謝羅敷：
L31	“Would you like to ride with me?”	「寧可共載不？」
L32	Luofu comes forward and rejoins:	羅敷前置辭：
L33	“The Prefect is so foolish!”	「使君一何愚？」
L34	The Prefect has his own wife,	使君自有婦，
L35	Luofu has her own husband.” ⁹⁴³	羅敷自有夫！」 ⁹⁴⁴

L21-L23 are in the voice of the narrator, and L25-26 are in the voice of the servant replying to his master's (the Prefect's) inquiry. L24 and L27 are in the voice of the prefect asking about Luofu. L28 and L29 are in the voice of the servant answering his master's question. L30 and L32 are in the voice of the narrator, and L31 is the prefect's voice again. Finally L33-L35 are in the voice of Luofu rejecting the governor's proposal. Yang's narration style was influenced deeply by the *yuefu* poetry of the Han dynasty, but the adoption of this kind of multi-voices narration in his poetry on history is his unique style.

5.3.2 Skilful selection of historical episodes for limited space

Another reason Yang's poetry is dramatic is that he skilfully selected the historical episodes he portrayed. He displays talent in selecting and describing the most significant events - events which best illustrate the nature of the historical figures. For instance, in 'Yishui ge' 易水歌 (Song of the River Yi),⁹⁴⁵ Yang depicts Jing Ke as a tragic hero by carefully selecting two scenes from the historical records that relate to him: his farewell (L1-L5) and his assassination

⁹⁴³ John Minford, and Joseph S.M. Lau, eds., *Classical Chinese Literature: An Anthology of Translations, vol. 1, p.388-389*

⁹⁴⁴ Guo Maoqian, comp., *Yuefu shiji*, vol.2, p.410-411.

⁹⁴⁵ Zou Zhifang, *Yang Weizhen shiji*, p.14.

(L6-L12). His life as a swordsman and the long preparation for his plan to assassinate Emperor Shihuang of Qin are excluded. The farewell scene shows Jing Ke's devotion and willingness to die for Crown Prince Dan and portents a tragic ending.

- | | | |
|----|--|----------|
| L1 | The wind was whistling | 風瀟瀟， |
| L2 | Through the waves of the River Yi. | 易水波， |
| L3 | The white hats of the intelligentsia rose straight up as they saw off the guest. | 高冠送客白峨峨。 |
| L4 | The horse neighed in the capital of the Yan State because it had grown a horn overnight. | 馬嘶燕都夜生角， |
| L5 | The swordsman sorrowfully sang and pulled out his sword [from its sheath]. | 壯士悲歌刀拔削。 |

The selection of these two historical scenes gives the reader a very good impression of Jing Ke. He is trustworthy and keeps his promise, brave in the face of death, and righteous to the extent that he is willing to die for his confidant. Yang also tried to shift the blame for the failure of the assassination to the fact that Jing Ke did not have a capable assistant.

- | | | |
|-----|---|----------|
| L6 | It was a dagger from lady Xu, | 徐娘匕， |
| L7 | That <i>Chiba</i> [flute-like instrument] was indeed sharp. | 尺八銛， |
| L8 | The bright eyes met the point of the dagger in the scroll [of a map]. | 函中目光射匕尖。 |
| L9 | And the gentlemen [standing] on the ground sweated heavily like rain, | 先生地下汗如雨， |
| L10 | The dagger failed to hit [the emperor] but hit the copper pillar. | 匕機一失中銅柱。 |
| L11 | Nothing could be done when the invited guest did not come [for assistance], | 後客不來可奈何， |
| L12 | The thirteen-year-old little boy had a face as | 十三小兒面如土。 |

pale as earth.

‘Gentlemen’ refers to the officials at the court. The ‘thirteen-year-old little boy’ refers to Jing Ke’s assistant, Qin Wuyang 秦舞陽 (240-227B.C.) who shocked the people by becoming a fearless killer at the young age of thirteen.⁹⁴⁶ The assassination scene demonstrates Jing Ke’s bravery, particularly as Yang contrasts to the stunned reaction of the thirteen-year-old boy and the officials at the court, and also describes the tense moment when Jing Ke grabbed the dagger. This careful selection of historical events enables Yang to more easily persuade the reader of Jing Ke’s goodness.

L22	Alas! Although Jing Qing is only a swordsman,	嗚呼荊卿雖俠才，
L23	He died for a swordsman’s righteousness without suspicion in his heart.	俠節之死心無猜。

Yang’s talent for selecting historical scene is one of his strengths. For instance, in ‘Mudi qu’ (Song of herding rams),⁹⁴⁷ Yang selects just two main scenes from all the records on Su Wu: Wu’s detention in a cold northern district to herd rams, and his conversation there with Li Liang (d.74B.C.).⁹⁴⁸ These two scenes amply demonstrate Wu’s loyalty to the emperor, and also explain why his portrait was painted on the Unicorn Pavilion. They also enabled Yang to persuade the reader that the Unicorn Pavilion was not only for officials who contributed to the establishment of the empire, but also for extremely loyal officials, as loyalty was esteemed as a precious virtue. Yang was not able to present the whole story, due

⁹⁴⁶ Sima Qian, *Shiji*, vol.8, p.2533.

⁹⁴⁷ Zou Zhifang, ed., *YWZSJ*, p.166.

⁹⁴⁸ For details, see Ban Gu, *Hanshu*, vol.8, pp.2464-2465.

to the limitations imposed by the medium of poetry, so he selected his favourite historical episodes to present his own impressions of a particular figure.

Yang's careful selection of historical scenes gives an insight into his viewpoints on those political events and historical figures. A typical example is his poem on Han Xin entitled 'Zougou yao' 走狗謠 (Ballad of the despicable hound),⁹⁴⁹ in which Yang selects to narrate only the tragic death of Han Xin, who was executed secretly by Empress Lü Zhi in the Palace of Everlasting Happiness.⁹⁵⁰ Despite Han's great contribution in conquering the world for Liu Bang, Yang chose to narrate only his death. He wanted to present his opinion that Han should have been allowed to live in order to resist the expanding power of Lü Zhi. Yang uses metaphors to show Han's great contribution. An example is "Calling the dog to chase the deer" (呼狗逐鹿), which means 'asking Han to conquer the world'. The description of Han as a 'despicable hound' (running dog) is a satire on Han. However, it seems to be more of an attack on the master of the 'despicable hound', Liu Bang (247-195B.C.), who allowed the 'dog' (Han Xin) to be killed after 'it' had helped him to win the world.⁹⁵¹

If one writes a script for a play, which has to present a story in a limited time and space, it is important to select the scenes for narration carefully and skilfully. Similarly, for a poet, the length of a poem necessarily restricts the amount of historical detail it can contain. Selecting just a few scenes to present a story is not easy, but Yang managed it skilfully.

⁹⁴⁹ Zou Zhifang, ed., *YWZSJ*, p.160.

⁹⁵⁰ For details, see Sima Qian. *Shiji*, vol.8, pp.2628-2629.

⁹⁵¹ For details, see Ban Gu, *Hanshu*, vol.7, p.1861-1878.

5.3.3 Imaginary facts for dramatic effect and to highlight themes

In order to create a dramatic effect and to highlight certain poetic themes, Yang added an extra element, imaginary facts, to his poetic content, which as a result became more than merely the narration of historical facts. These imaginary facts serve as ornamentation and help to make certain themes stand out.

Yu Zhiyuan points out that poets write poems on history to convey certain arguments, which sometime may be at odds with the actual historical events.⁹⁵² Therefore, Yang included imaginary facts in his poetry to convey his viewpoints more clearly and put across his argument more effectively.

In his poems on history, he endeavoured to stick to the historical facts, and was very tactful about how he applied his imagination. Of course, the ‘historical facts’ Yang presented are his own perception of the facts and are therefore wholly subjective. He carefully selected these ‘facts’ to convey a certain message, philosophy, or sentiments to his readers.

Imaginary facts are skilfully integrated with historical facts to provide a dramatic effect and to underline a particular message he wished to convey. Examples of such mixtures of fact and imagination are commonly found in Yang’s poems. For instance, in ‘Mudi qu’ (Song of herding rams), the first four lines narrate historical facts. These facts illustrate Su Wu’s suffering and his supreme loyalty to the country. They are followed by imaginary facts (L5-L6);

- | | | |
|----|--|--------|
| L1 | The young man herding rams, | 牧羝郎， |
| L2 | Endured stars and frosts for nineteen years. | 十有九星霜。 |
| L3 | He hacked the ice for drinks, | 斫冰為飲， |
| L4 | Chewed snow as food. | 嚙雪以為糧。 |

⁹⁵² See Appendix 7Q; Yu Zhiyuan et al., ed., *Zhonghua shishi yongshi shi benshi*, p.3 (preface).

- L5 Granting me the title ‘Left Prince of Virtue’,⁹⁵³ 官我左伊秩，
 L6 Offering me the position ‘Prince Of the 位我丁靈王。
 Dingling⁹⁵⁴ Tribe’，

There are no historical records showing that the Huns planned to grant Su Wu a title, even though Li Ling and Wei Lü 衛律 (1st c. B.C.) gained the titles of ‘Right Prince of Lieutenancy’, and ‘Prince of the Diling Tribe’ respectively after their surrender. The imaginary detail that Su Wu refused to be granted any title is followed by the genuine fact that he preferred death to surrender in order to safeguard the dignity of his country (L7-L8). These imaginary descriptions serve to create a great contrast between Su Wu and the two men who surrendered. They dramatically highlight Su’s righteousness and loyalty.

- L7 But I pledged to die hugging my integrity, 誓有抱節死，
 L8 And to die without being tied for surrender, 死無面縛降，
 L9 And my old friends at home will offer me wine as a 家有故人為我酌
 spring sacrifice. 春酒。
 L10 The setting sun cannot be brought back, 落景不可回，
 L11 While morning dew cannot last long 朝露不可久。
 L12 A captive was caught alive in the frontier [to covey 生口捕雲中，
 the sad news],
 L13 While Su’s news [of survival] was conveyed by the 帛信託歸鴻。
 returning goose.
 L14 He sobbed and wailed until he almost swooned, 烏號號欲絕，

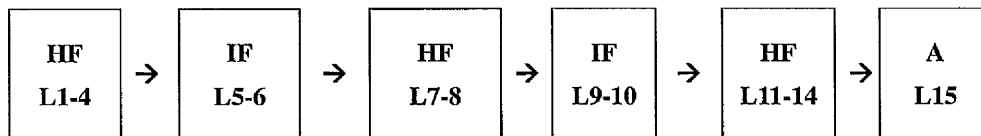
⁹⁵³ Left Prince of Virtue : Zuoyi zhi 左伊秩 probably refers to the title ‘Zuoyi zhizi’ 左伊秩誓 of the Huns, which literally means ‘Zuo xianwang’ 左賢王 (Left Prince of Virtue). However, these titles are not mentioned in *Hanshu*. Li Ling and Wei Lü were made ‘Youxiao wang’ 右校王 (Right Prince of Lieutenancy) and ‘Dingling wang’ 丁靈王 (Prince of the Dingling Tribe) respectively. Ban Gu, *Hanshu*, vol.8, p.2457.

⁹⁵⁴ Dingling 丁靈, also Dingling 丁令, appears to be another tribe of the Huns, according to the annotation by Yan Shigu. Ban Gu, *Hanshu*, vol.8, pp.2463-2464.

L15 Will he be honoured in the Unicorn Pavilion⁹⁵⁵? 麟閣豈論功。⁹⁵⁶

Yang then transforms Li Ling's speech in the official historical record, "Life is like the morning dew, how come you made yourself suffer like that so long" (人生如朝露，何久自苦如此)，⁹⁵⁷ to L11 in his poem, "[While] morning dews cannot last long". Prior to this, Yang adds L10, "The setting sun cannot be brought back", so that Li's actual historical speech is interspersed with Yang's own creative imagination. L10 symbolises the fact that what a person has done cannot be brought back. Su cared about his own deeds because he knew that the life of a human, like the morning dew cannot last long (L11), but one's virtue can.

Finally, L12 to L14 are a narration of historical fact: the capture of a man alive, as well as the news of Emperor Wu's death, which made Su Wu cry in desperation. The last line (L15) is a comment from the poet, 'Will he be honoured in the Unicorn Pavilion?'. The pattern of imaginary facts as ornamentation interspersed with historical facts in this poem is shown below.



(HF: Historical facts IF: Imaginary facts A: Argument)

This poem demonstrates Yang's talent in mixing his imagination with historical

⁹⁵⁵ Unicorn Pavilion (Qilin-ge 麒麟閣), also written as 'Lin-ge' 麟閣 in this poem, was built by Emperor Wu of Han after he had caught a unicorn. The tower was named 'Unicorn Tower' because the picture of a unicorn was painted on it. This tower was later reserved for pictures of officials who made great contributions to the country. See the annotation by Zhang Yan 張晏 (dates unknown), in Ban Gu, *Hanshu*, vol.8, p.2469.

⁹⁵⁶ Zou Zhifang, ed., *YWZSJ*, p.166.

⁹⁵⁷ Ban Gu, *Hanshu*, vol.8, p.2464.

facts. He inserted imaginary facts in three places: in the first place (L5-6), he aims to highlight Su Wu's loyalty and chastity in refusing to be tempted by wealth and power; in the second place (L9), he illustrates Su Wu's determination to die for his country and his readiness to receive a spring sacrifice from his family and friends; and in the third place (L10), he emphasises the brevity of life and muses that what has happened cannot be changed. Yang's insertion of "The setting sun cannot be brought back" not only portrays a beautiful poetic scene, but also echoes Li Ling's sentiment, "life is like the morning dew". Yang contrasts the qualities of Li Ling and Su Wu. Li realised that life is short, so he finally surrendered; Su Wu also realised life is short, but he chose death for his country over surrender for the sake of wealth and power.

Imaginary facts can also be seen in the poem, 'Yishui ge' (Song of the River Yi). This poem narrates a historical episode, in which Jing Ke assassinated Emperor Shihuang. However, Yang skilfully merges the historical facts with figments of his imagination. For instance,

- L5 The swordsman sorrowfully sang and pulled 壯士悲歌刀拔削。
out his sword [from its sheath].
- ...
- L8 The bright eyes met the point of the dagger in 函中目光射匕尖，
the scroll [of a map].
- L9 And the gentlemen [standing] on the ground 先生地下汗如雨。⁹⁵⁸
sweated heavily like rain.

These lines are all imaginary facts created by the poet for dramatic effect. The official historical records only mention Jing Ke singing a valedictory song on the bank of River Yi to all the officials who had come to see him off, but make no

⁹⁵⁸ Zou Zhifang, ed., *YWZSJ*, p.14.

mention of him unsheathing his sword.⁹⁵⁹ L8 and L9 portray the dangerous and tense atmosphere surrounding the assassination: the bright eyes of Emperor Shihuang meeting the point of a dagger; and all the officials standing at the court sweating. These dramatic descriptions enable readers to experience the tension of the moment when Jing Ke attempted to kill Emperor Shihuang.

By restructuring historical facts in this way, Yang wrote his poems on history as poetry, and not as history. Sometimes, Yang rearranged several historical episodes in such a way as to create a new episode. For instance, according to the historical record, Zhang Liang was given a book on military strategy by the Old Man of Yellow Stone,⁹⁶⁰ and he met the Gentlemen of the Blue Sea in the East who recommended a strong man to him. *Shiji* (Records of Grand Historian) reads,

Meeting the Gentleman of the Blue Sea in the East. He found a strong man who made him an iron hammer that weighed one hundred and twenty catties.⁹⁶¹

東見滄海君。得力士，為鐵椎重百二十斤。⁹⁶²

But in this poem, Yang conflates these two by saying, “The Gentleman of the Blue Sea especially bequeathed to him a book on military strategy” (滄海君猶祖遺策).⁹⁶³ It is difficult to say if Yang’s conflation of these two episode was a careless mistake or intentional. It proves, at least, that that poetry on history cannot be seen as objective history, but, rather, is creative writing with a historical

⁹⁵⁹ Sima Qian, *Shiji*, vol.8, p.2534.

⁹⁶⁰ Sima Qian, *Shiji*, vol.8, pp.2034-2035, 2048.

⁹⁶¹ Catty 斤: One catty in the Qin dynasty is 253g, therefore, 120 catties is equal to 30,360g (or 30.36 kg). See Lou Zhufeng, main ed., *HYDCD.SYB*, vol.3, pp.7774.

⁹⁶² Sima Qian, *Shiji*, vol.6 p.2034.

⁹⁶³ Zou Zhifang, *Yang Weizhen shijiji*, p.14.

theme. Yang's poetry on history generally comprises a mixture of historical facts and imagination, and concludes with his main argument.

In fact, the combination of historical facts and imagination is not Yang's invention; it is a traditional writing style found in some other poems on history. For instance, Ban Gu's poem 'Yongshi' 詠史 (On history) also imaginatively portrays Tiyang's sadness and anxiety, and emphasises her filial piety in requesting that she be sold as a slave to mitigate her father's sentence. The imaginary description of Tiyang's deep sorrow (L10-L12)⁹⁶⁴ is in fact a reflection of Ban's own feelings.

In this poem, Ban Gu's imagination focuses on the heroine's feelings, which of course are difficult to verify from the historical record. Yang's imagination, on the other hand, constructed historical details, whose reality can be proved or disproved by close reading of the historical texts. Their incorporation again shows that Yang's poems on history are poems rather than history. Yu Zhiyuan wrote:

What I would like to say is that poetry on history owes its composition to history, but is ultimately poetry, not history...because of this, it allows each generation to compose different poems about the same historical facts or the same historical figures.

要說的詠史詩因史而作詩，但它畢竟是詩不是史。...惟其如此，才使每一時代對同一史實或同一歷史人物都分別寫出不同的詩來。⁹⁶⁵

Yang's poems on history are inspired by history, but are ultimately creative pieces of work. He incorporates not only the historical facts and stories from literature, but also figments of his own imagination as ornamentation. These embellishments help him to push his main arguments and poetic themes. What

⁹⁶⁴ For the whole poem and more about this poem, see Chapter 2.1.

⁹⁶⁵ Yu Zhiyuan et al., main eds., *Zhonghua shishi yongshi shi benshi*, p.4 (preface).

is unique is that Yang's imaginary facts are skilfully integrated with the historical facts to the extent that it is sometimes difficult to distinguish one from the other.

5.3.4 Dramatic content structure for dramatic effect

Yang's poetry on historical events is like a drama in that it has a prelude, a climax, a turning point and an ending. One example is the poem 'Hefei zhan' 合肥戰 (Battle of Hefei). Several battles took place between 208 A.D. and 253 A.D. in the Battle of Hefei (in modern Anhui province),⁹⁶⁶ Yang selected Sun Quan's unsuccessful occupation of Hefei city. In his poem, he focused only on the exciting escape of Sun Quan, and presented him as hero, both because of his successful escape and also his ability to gain the support of the loyal and good officials, Gu Li 谷利 (fl.208-214) and He Qi 賀齊 (?-225).

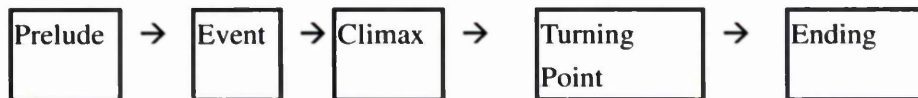
L1	You gentleman have not seen [the hero at] Changban Hill in Dangyang County	君不見當陽阪，
L2	Fighting against his destined enemy,	決死敵，
L3	A million enemies dared not advance.	百萬敵兵不敢邁。
L4	You have also not seen [what happened at] the Xiaoyao Pier,	又不見逍遙津，
L5	With a force of ten thousand men,	萬軍力，
L6	Soldiers at the boundary dared not challenge the man with the purple moustache.	窮兵不敢一戰紫髯郎。
L7	[Running away with] The green halter,	青遊韁，
L8	The shaky bridge had broken boards preventing the horse from galloping ahead,	危橋斷板馬不驤。
L9	The directorate, Gu Li [lending a hand],	監谷利，
L10	Was indeed a good official of the King.	真王良。
L11	[Officials in] The large ship killed a cow to reward the soldiers and addressed His Majesty,	大船椎牛稱萬歲，

⁹⁶⁶ For details, see Chen Sou, *Sanguo zhi*, vol.5, p.1120-1138.

L12 [While the official] He Qi wept [for joy] with 賀齊雙淚啼浪浪。⁹⁶⁷
 a pair of eyes streaming with tears.

The first three lines of the poem are a prelude to the main content. They relate the bravery of the Shu Han general, Zhao Yun 趙雲 (?-229), who rescued Liu Bi's son from the clutches of a thousand enemies in Dangyang County (modern Danyang City in Hubei Province).⁹⁶⁸ The main content is Sun Quan's escape to Xiaoyao Crossing (in modern Hefei City, Anhui Province), where the shaky bridge prevented his horse from galloping ahead, but ten thousand soldiers dared not come forward to challenge him.⁹⁶⁹ This resembles the climax of a dramatic plot - there is no way ahead and enemies are amassing behind. The turning point comes when Guli told Sun to hold his halter tight as he beat the horse's rear to make it jump over the broken bridge. It ends with the happy reunion of Sun and his official, He Qi (?-225), who cried with joy for his King's successful escape. The plot development of this poem is just like a drama or a short story.

Dramatic content structure in Yang's poetry on history



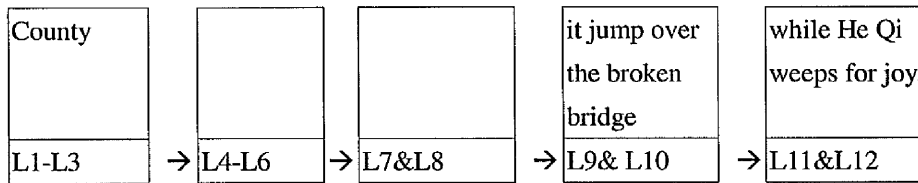
The plot development of 'Battle of Hefei'

<u>Prelude</u>	<u>Event</u>	<u>Climax</u>	<u>Turning Point</u>	<u>Ending</u>
Zhao's bravery and strength in Dangyang	Sun being trapped at Xiaoyao Pier	Shaky bridge in front, the enemy was behind	Gu Li hitting Sun's horse and making	All officials celebrating their King's safe return,

⁹⁶⁷ Lou Buchan, ed., *Tieya yonshi zhu*, p.560; Zhou Zhifang, ed., *YWZSJ*, p.193.

⁹⁶⁸ For details, see Chen Shou, *Sanguo zhi*, vol.4 p.948-949.

⁹⁶⁹ See Chen Shou, *Sanguo zhi*, vol.5, p.1120 (annotation).



This dramatic structure is more common in Yang's poems on historical events than in his poems on historical figures. Let us consider, for instance, the poem "Hongmen hui" (The meeting at Hong Gate).⁹⁷⁰ The first seven poetic lines - from L1, "In Heaven, the pass was in mist, On Earth, the gate was in mist" (天迷關，地迷戶) to L7, "The remaining stars and a broken moon opened up the rest of the sky." (殘星破月開天餘) - describe the sky and the earth. The poet uses the metaphors of two crows [suns] shining in the sky and two dragons, the eastern and western dragons, to represent the intense competition between Xiang Yu (232-202B.C.) and Liu Bang (247-195 B.C.) to conquer the world. These lines also serve as a prelude to the exciting meeting between those two potential rulers of the country.

The plot develops with their meeting at Hong Gate (L8-L10), and reaches a climax with Liu Bang as an assassination target at the Hong Gate. The climax is in L11: "Someone drew his sword in front of the people and his face was raging red" (拔劍當人面如赭). Xiang's advisor, Fan Zeng (277-204 B.C.) summoned Xiang Zhuang (2nd c. B.C.) to perform a sword dance with the aim of stabbing Liu to death. Liu was in grave danger. Xiang Bo also started to perform a sword dance to block Zhuang, as he thought the murder of Liu was immoral. The turning point (L12-L15) comes when the strategist Zhang Liang called to Fan Kuai for help. Fan then rushed into the tent to stop the sword dance.

The ending (L17-L18) is when Fan Kuai took Liu away secretly on

⁹⁷⁰ Zou Zhifang, ed., *YWZSJ*, p.10-11.

horseback, leaving an angry Fan Kuai to smash the jade wine cups given to him by Liu as a present.⁹⁷¹ ‘The meeting at Hong Gate’ is presented in the historical records as a dramatic event. However, in the poem, Yang makes it even more dramatic by the use of flamboyant descriptions and imaginative narrative. Shih Chungwen says, “Political intrigue, a favourite subject of the Chinese, abounds in plays dealing with historical materials.”⁹⁷² The meeting at Hong Gate and the political intrigue surrounding the attempted murder of Liu Bang are given dramatic treatment by Yang through the structure of his poem.

Concluding Remarks

In conclusion, Yang’s Iron Style poems on history have a distinct style of presentation of history, which enables them to be easily identified and classified as ‘Iron Style’. Yang’s unique poetic characteristics can be summarised as follows:

Firstly, Yang’s prefaces are not only there to explain the poet’s reasons for composing the poem or to provide a general background of the poem, they also interconnect with the poems and the historical texts. The relationship between Yang’s poems, prefaces and the historical texts can be categorised by Allen’s terms - abbreviation, expansion, extension, negation and transformation. Through these interrelationships, Yang was able to make a thorough presentation of his viewpoints. Yang presented most of his poems on history as a unit closely linked with their prefaces and the historical records.

In addition, some of Yang’s poems are also strongly interconnected with each

⁹⁷¹ For details, see William H. Nienhauser, trans. *The Grand Scribe's Records*, vol.1, pp.190-194.

⁹⁷² Shih Chungwen, *The Golden Age of Chinese Drama: Yüan Tsa-chü*, p.34.

other and fit together like a puzzle to form a whole. The different descriptions of a particular historical figure or event in different poems enable the reader to view it from different angles and hence gain a full picture.

Secondly, through his poems on history, Yang shows the reader that he had a carefree personality and a love of freedom. He was talented in music and thus pursued more freedom in terms of poetic rhyming. He adopted a carefree rhyming style as well as the Tang mutual rhymes, further illustrating his carefree personality. Yang's poems also have a strong musical feel as they contain repeated lines and reduplicated compounds, making them easier to memorise and sing. However, it is doubtful that Yang favoured the use of ancient rhymes, because with the Tang mutual rhymes he was able to make his poems more rhythmical. This also helped him to highlight important poetic lines and clearly separate sections with different poetic themes. Yang was fond of music and songs and liked to sing his poems at social gatherings or on journeys. There is no doubt that he also tried to make his poems on history suitable for singing.

Thirdly, Yang presented the historical events in his poems as drama. This phenomenon can be explained by his love of drama, and the influence on him of popular plays in the Yuan dynasty. He was adept at presenting theatrical narrative and dramatic scenes by adopting the voices of both the characters themselves and also a subjective narrator. He also skilfully selected his historical episodes in order to convey his own personal message or overall philosophy.

Finally, some of his poems had a dramatic structure consisting of a prelude, an event, a climax, a turning point and an ending. Yang also included imaginary facts for dramatic effects or to highlight certain themes. It is perhaps not surprising that Yang's poetry contains elements of his imagination, as his poems

on history are, after all, poems rather than historical accounts. Nonetheless, Yang demonstrates his abundant knowledge of history by skilfully combining imaginary facts with actual historical ones.

Historical events can be thought of as drama written on the stage of history. Yang's poems on history naturally tend to have a dramatic structure. In addition, the popularity of drama in the Yuan dynasty and Yang's own love of plays also had a bearing on the dramatic nature of his poetic structures.

In summary, Yang's poems on history are a fruit of his personality, his interest in music and drama, as well as his pursuit of freedom. Although his poetic presentation was influenced by *Shijing* and *yuefu* poetry, he was able to open a new poetic world in the literary arena.

Chapter Six: The Essence of Iron Style Poetry on History: The Poet's Mind

Poetry can sometimes be the creation of a poet's mind and, as such, a reflection of his interests, beliefs and philosophy. In short, a poet's mind is at the root of his own styles.

Yang's interest in history stimulated his creativity and enabled him to tolerate dissatisfaction with the development of his career. His love of history is best illustrated by the fact that he used 'Tie' (Iron) in many (fifteen) of his poetic names, and also that he called himself 'Tieshi' 鐵史 (Iron Historian).⁹⁷³ Yang called himself this because he had studied at Iron Cliff Hill, and also because 'iron' symbolised his dream of safeguarding and speaking up for justice and fairness.⁹⁷⁴ Huang Rensheng wrote:

Yang Weizhen called himself 'Iron Historian'...This probably derives from the uprightness and selflessness of the 'Iron Faced Censor', Zhao Yuedao [Zhao Bian 趙抃, 1008-1084], or the uprightness and impartiality of the 'Iron Liver Censor', Tie Yi [11th c.] in the Song dynasty.

楊維禎自號「鐵史」……可能取義於宋代趙閱道作為「鐵面御史」的剛直無私，或鐵顛作為「鐵肝御史」的剛正不阿。⁹⁷⁵

Yang's love of history was also tied up with his dream of becoming a censor in his future career, a dream which he never realised. Paul F. Rouzer writes:

⁹⁷³ Sun Xiaoli, *YWZNP*, p. 1.

⁹⁷⁴ Huang Rensheng, *YWZYMMCWXS*, p.50.

⁹⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p.50.

Most educated Chinese men, products as they were of a Confucian educational system, saw themselves as public figures, concerned with the well-being of nation and empire. To them, history was an essential (perhaps *the* essential) tool for a public career.⁹⁷⁶

This statement is applicable to Yang who wished to become a competent official through the study of history. Yang's love of political history was probably also influenced by his family and upbringing and was no doubt strengthened when he passed the *jinshi* examination. Evidence of his great interest in history can be seen in his *Tieya yongshi* 鐵崖詠史 (Iron Cliff's poetry on history). Stephen Owen writes:

Yang Weichen's [Weizhen] interest in history found poetic expression in another collection, the "*Yung-shih shih*" 詠史詩 (Poems on history).⁹⁷⁷

In 1330, Yang was removed from his post as the Tiantai County Magistrate against his will, and was forced to go back to Kuaiji, where he composed poetry every day, accumulating up to a thousand poems.⁹⁷⁸ Writing poetry was probably the only way he could continue to pursue his interest in history and channel his deep-seated grievances. Undeniably, his great interest in history and the disappointments he had suffered from setbacks in his career motivated his production of poems on history at that time.

Yang's love of history is well illustrated in his preface to the poem 'Qiaojia

⁹⁷⁶ Paul F. Rouzer, *Writing Another's Dream: The Poetry of Wen Tingyun*, p.95.

⁹⁷⁷ William H. Nienhauser, et al. eds., *The Indiana Companion to Traditional Chinese Literature*, p.917.

⁹⁷⁸ Zou Zhifang, ed., *YWZSJ*, p.192; or Wu Fu, comp., *Tieya gu yuefu*, in *Yingyin Wenyuange siku quanshu*, vol.1222, p.3.

xu' 喬家婿 (Son-in-law of Qiao family).⁹⁷⁹ In the preface, Yang laments that there was nobody who was able to capture Cao Cao's head after he had been defeated in Wulin ⁹⁸⁰and his army trapped in deep mud. It illustrates that Yang was keen to express his opinions and feelings about historical events. The poem shows Yang's admiration for Zhou Yu⁹⁸¹ and Lu Su 魯肅 (172-217), who successfully persuaded the King, Sun Quan, to fight against Cao Cao.⁹⁸²

Because of his love of history, Yang composed many poems on the subject. Most of these are compiled in the *Tieya yongshi* (Iron Cliff's poetry on history) and are categorised into eight *juan*. The inspiration for many of his poems on history was born of a great passion for reading historical texts and often disagreeing with the commentaries of historians. For instance, he composed 'Cezhong shu' 廁中鼠 (The rat in the toilet) for Li Si 李斯 (ca.280-208B.C.). In the preface, Yang noted,

I composed 'The rat in the toilet' for Li Si to mourn the fact that he was one of the Three Lords but was not even comparable to a toilet rat. Also, I sighed for this old and absurd person, who followed the traitors and trapped himself in the death penalty.

吾為斯賦廁中鼠，悼斯之為三公，曾廁鼠之不如，又些其老悖從逆而陷於僂也。⁹⁸³

Yang composed this poem to express his criticism of Li Si. He seems to have believed that Li should have cherished his position rather than becoming involved in a rebellion. This preface shows that Yang's composition of poems on history

⁹⁷⁹ See Appendix 7R; Zou Zhifang, ed., *YWZSJ*, p.192.

⁹⁸⁰ Chen Shou, *Sanguo zhi*, vol.5, pp.1283,1293.

⁹⁸¹ For his biography, see Chen Shou, *Sanguo zhi*, vol.5, pp.1259-1267.

⁹⁸² For the historical record, see Chen Shou, *Sanguo zhi*, vol.5 pp.1117-1118, 1262 (annotation).

⁹⁸³ Zou Zhifang, ed., *YWZSJ*, p.157.

was stimulated by historical figures or events that he would have encountered while reading the historical classics.

6.1. Yang's views of history

It is generally understood that most poets compose poems intentionally to record their lives, express their sentiments, channel their grievances, convey their opinions or achieve some specific aims. Owen posited that,

A poet inscribes his identity in a poem just as all humans inscribe identity in lives. This identity is role surrounded by rich echoes of complication, contradiction, and desire, echoes which always remind us that the self is more than its role.⁹⁸⁴

Yang composed poems on history as a way of inscribing his identity. By writing these poems, he was able to continue his historical inquiries and express his views on history.

Zuo zhuan 左傳 (Commentary of Zuo) states that there are three types of achievement that can make a person's name remembered for all time: morality, deeds and words.⁹⁸⁵ Stephen Owen then offers three possible means to reach this end:

Three possibilities are raised: trust a historian; struggle for political power; or give your energies to writing.⁹⁸⁶

⁹⁸⁴ Stephen Owen, "The self's perfect mirror: poetry as autobiography" in Lin Shuenfu and Stephen Owen eds., *The Vitality of the Lyric Voice: Shih Poetry from the Late Han to the Tang*, p.87.

⁹⁸⁵ Du Yu, ed., *Chunqiu Zouzhuan jijie*, vol.3, p.1011.

⁹⁸⁶ Stephen Owen, "The self's perfect mirror: poetry as autobiography" in Lin Shuenfu, *The Vitality of the Lyric Voice: Shih Poetry from the Late Han to the Tang*, p.71.

Whether someone has achieved ‘morality’ in his or her life depends on the judgment of later historians when recording that person’s deeds. It is unlikely that Yang trusted the judgments of future historians, or believed he could be glorified in hindsight because of his morality. On the other hand, Yang was prevented from struggling for political power, and was left idle for a long time. He had no chance of achieving memorable ‘deeds’ in the political arena. Therefore, only the last choice was available to him; to “give his energies to writing” and achieve lasting fame through words.

Yang hoped to be an outstanding commentator and expressed viewpoints that were very different from those of other famous historians and poets. These special views can be found in some of his poems on history.

Firstly, some of Yang’s opinions on historical figures contradict those of the Grand Historian, Sima Qian (ca. 145-90 B.C.).

This can be seen, for example, in the preface to his poem ‘San Zouzi’ 三鄒子 (The three Zou gentlemen),

The Grand Historian (Sima Qian) wrote a biography of Meng Ke stating that he had more knowledge than all the scholars within the gates of the Jixia wall [in the state of Qin]. On reading Sima Qian’s book, I closed it and sighed many times. Ultimately, Meng was appreciated after the Qin and Han dynasties. However, I feel particularly strange about Qian’s commentary on the third Zou gentleman named Yan. He said that Yan had authored a hundred thousand words, which were all broad in content but not orthodox; and he summarised that its main points were certainly humanity and justice, which are the basis for the proper relationship between emperors and officers, and also for the six other relations. How could Yan be worthy of this place? If these words do

not apply to Meng Ke, to whom do they apply?

太史公[司馬遷]傳孟軻，以冠稷下諸儒。讀其書，為之掩書三歎。秦漢後識軻者有人矣。予猶怪其論三鄒曰衍者，著書十萬言，皆宏大不經，而要其歸，必止乎仁義，為君臣六親之施始也。衍惡有此。斯言也，微軻誰屬哉！⁹⁸⁷

Yang disagreed with Sima Qian that Yan's "hundred thousand words" were about "humanity and justice" and were the "basis for the proper relationship between emperor and officers, and also for the six other relations". Yang may have believed that this kind of Confucian teaching could be found in Meng Ke's (Mengzi's) work. When Sima Qian said that the work of Gentleman Yan, the *Yin-yang* philosopher, also contained such kind of themes, Yang thought that this was a criticism of Mengzi.

Yang's poem opposes Qian's respect for the two gentlemen.⁹⁸⁸ Instead, it mocks these two gentlemen, Zou Ji 鄒忌 (3rd c.B.C.) and Zou Yan 鄒衍 (fl.305-240 B.C.) for their wickedness in gaining positions of power. Two lines clearly express Yang's criticism of these gentlemen. They read,

(Zou) Ji as a qin musician cunningly interfered in 忌奸國政曰琴工。
national affairs.

(Zou) Yan introducing [the theory of] 'Beyond the 衍引天外誣瞽聵。⁹⁹⁰
Sky'⁹⁸⁹ to deceive the blind and deaf.

⁹⁸⁷ Zou Zhifang, ed., *YWZSJ*, p.153.

⁹⁸⁸ For details, see Sima Qian, *Shiji*, vol.7, pp.2344-2345.

⁹⁸⁹ In Zou Yan's theory of 'Beyond the sky', he argued that China was simply one of the eighty-one parts of the world that together were called 'Chixian shen zhou 赤縣神州' (Cixian divine continent). China itself was divided into nine states or districts (zhou 州). In addition to China, he believed there were nine other continents (zhou 州) similar in size to China, each of which had its own nine states or districts. See Sima Qian, *Shiji*, vol.7, p.2344.

⁹⁹⁰ Zou Zhifang, ed., *YWZSJ*, p.153.

However, Meng Ke, the third gentleman from Zou State, was not as wicked as them and was unable to climb up the political ladder.

Sometimes, Yang even challenged the comments of the Grand Historian. A typical example is his questioning of Qian's definition of 'great principle' in the records of Lu Zhonglian 魯仲連 (fl.305-245 B.C.).

Lu Zhonglian had a lofty manner and profound viewpoints. He was [the kind of] talented man who can only be found once every thousand years. He was not like the official-scholars from the Warring States Period. The great and virtuous deeds of his life were as bright as the Sun and the Moon. His controversial speech prevented the states of Liang and Zhao from taking Qin as their king. The Grand Historian criticised his [Lu's] intentions and said that they did not fit the great principle. I do not know what the Grand Historian's definitions of 'great principle' and 'not great principle' are?

魯仲連高風遠致，千載一人，非戰國士也。平生大義，與日月爭光者，片言之激，梁趙不得帝秦也。太史公非其指意不合大義。吾不知太史指何為大義不大義耶？⁹⁹¹

To present this viewpoint, Yang composed a poem entitled 'Tianxia shi' 天下士 (The world scholar) to glorify Lu. Yang aimed to demonstrate his own talents and sophisticated views on history by contradicting the respected historian.

Secondly, Yang's comments on historical figures oppose previous comments.

Yang tried to stand out not only by conveying viewpoints that contradicted Sima Qian, but also by offering comments that opposed those given previously by poets or historians. However, this was a common practice among Song scholars, who tended to proffer their special historical views - views that subverted the

⁹⁹¹ Ibid., p.154.

official records (See chapter 2.1).

Yang's harsh criticism of Tian Guang in 'Fan jiangju' is a good example of his contrary stance. After receiving a promise of assistance from Jing Ke, Tian killed himself in order to keep Crown Prince Dan's (?-226 B.C.) plan to assassinate the Emperor Shihuang of Qin a secret. Scholars largely sympathised with and even glorified Tian's death. For example, Chen Zi'ang, in his poem entitled 'Tian Guang xiansheng' 田光先生 (Mr. Tian Guang), showed great respect to Tian,

From the ancient times death is unavoidable there,	自古皆有死，
But dying for righteousness is really quite rare.	徇義良獨稀。
Unavoidably, the Crown Prince of the State of Yan	奈何燕太子，
Still made Tian [Guang worry about] being suspected.	尚使田生疑。
He then killed himself with a sword to show his sincerity.	伏劍誠已矣，
His deeds touchingly make my tears fall onto my clothes.	感我涕沾衣。

992

In his poem, 'Tian Guang' 田光, Liu Kezhuang is similarly respectful to Tian. The first poetic line, 'Facing north to the old gentleman' (北面老先生) demonstrates this respect. The annotation to this line reads,

In ancient times, [a person] 'facing south' was the most respected. Hence, [a person] facing north demonstrated '[his] respect towards that person.'

古者南面為尊。故北面表示對人尊敬。⁹⁹³

Yang, on the other hand, severely criticised Tian arguing that he brought disaster to General Fan Yuqi and Prince Dan, and his death therefore deserved no

⁹⁹² Peng Dingju et al., eds., *Quan Tangshi*, vol.3, p.897.

⁹⁹³ Yu Zhiyuan et al., main eds., *Zhonghua shishi yongshi shi banshi*, p.451.

sympathy. Instead, Yang thought sympathy should be paid to General Fan, who had offered his head to Jing Ke in order to flatter Emperor Shihuang, and also to Prince Dan who had trusted that Jing Ke would be able to carry out a successful assassination. But the failure of Jing Ke's assassination attempt led to the termination of the State of Yan by Emperor Shihuang and the death of Prince Dan. Yang's preface reveals his unorthodox opinions.

Tian Guang was old and muddleheaded and he misled people into trouble. His death did not deserve sympathy. It was [Crown Prince] Dan and [Fan] Yuqi who should be sympathised with.

田光老諄誤人，一死不足憐。可憐者在丹與於期耳。⁹⁹⁴

The last two lines of the poem also criticise Tian Guang's recommendation of Jing Ke. They read, "The swordsman misled people to their death, Among those who were misled to their death I sympathise most with General Fan" (壯士誤人死，誤死重痛樊將軍).⁹⁹⁵ Yang's harsh criticism is diametrically opposed to the great respect showed by Liu Kezhuang in the Song dynasty, and Chen Zi'ang in the Tang dynasty.

Another similar example can be seen in the poem entitled 'Dong yangzi' 董養子 (Dong's foster son), in which Yang overtly mocks Wang Yun 王允 (137-192), and subverts the accepted view that Wang was virtuous by disclosing his cruelty and stubbornness:

Minister of Education Wang himself claimed to 大義自許王司徒。
be someone of great principles.

But we sympathised with the one who sighed 卻憐司徒座中咤，⁹⁹⁶

⁹⁹⁴ Zou Zhifang, ed., *YWZSJ*, p.158.

⁹⁹⁵ Zou Zhifang, ed., *YWZSJ*, p.158.

⁹⁹⁶ 'Zha' 咤 or 吒 meant "sorrowful pity" (*tongxi* 痛惜) in the Han dynasty. See Fu Qian,

among the guests.

[Not] Having his feet cut off and his face 別足黥膚不相赦。⁹⁹⁷
branded [but killed] without mercy.

Wang Yun, who was thought to be very righteousness, killed Cai Yi 蔡邕 (133-192) simply because Cai had been sympathetic to Dong Zhuo. Hoping to write a book on history, Cai asked to have his face branded and his feet cut off instead of being put to death, but Wang Yun refused.⁹⁹⁸ Yang's negative comments about Wang refute the official historical records such as the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書 (History of the later Han dynasty). In the official historical records, Wang Yu is represented as a virtuous person.

When [Wang] Yun was young, he admired great integrity and had a strong desire for great achievement. He always studied and recited the classics and biographies, and tried to practise riding and archery by day and night.

[王]允少好大節，有志於立功，常習誦經傳，朝夕試馳射。⁹⁹⁹

The personality of [Wang] Yun was upright and direct, he abhorred evildoers. In the beginning, he was afraid of Dong Zhuo acting like jackal and wolf, and hence humiliated himself [by serving Dong] while aiming to kill him.

[王]允性剛稜疾惡，初懼董卓豺狼，故折節圖之。¹⁰⁰⁰

Yang's negative description of Wang Yun contradicts these official records

Tongsu wen jijiao, no.51, p.14. Only this meaning matches with the historical records, "[He] unconsciously talked about his [Dong Zhuo's] death and sighed, his face showing his sorrow." [蔡邕]不意言之而歎，有動於色。 See Fan Ye, *Hou Hanshu*, vol.7, p.2006. This may be proof that Yang used ancient words in his poetic compositions.

⁹⁹⁷ Zou Zhifang, ed., *YWZSJ*, p.178.

⁹⁹⁸ For details, see Fan Ye, *Hou Hanshu*, vol.7, p.2006.

⁹⁹⁹ Fan Ye, *Hou Hanshu*, vol.8, p.2172.

¹⁰⁰⁰ Fan Ye, *Hou Hanshu*, vol.8, p.2172.

illustrating his intention to subvert the official interpretation of historical figures and events. These intentions may have been a factor motivating him to compose poetry. However, why did Yang want to be such an iconoclast? There are two possible explanations: first, to channel his grievances at setbacks in his career as an official; second, like most poets in the Song dynasty, to convey the notion that he had a unique insight into history, and thus a special talent. Of these possibilities, the second one sounds more probable. His attempt to demonstrate unique insights into history, however, can also be viewed as a way to gain the attention of the official scholars in the hope of being accepted as a historian in his future career.

How did Yang display his unique historical insights? The only channel for Yang to show his talent was his writing. His main historical opinions are presented in a collection entitled *Shiyi shiyi* (Supplementary to omissions in the historical annotations)¹⁰⁰¹ as well as in his essay ‘Sanshi zhengtong bian’ 三史正統辯 (Discussion on the orthodox line of succession regarding the histories of the three dynasties).¹⁰⁰² Huang Rensheng believes that Yang wrote this essay not only to explain his ideas and have them adopted by official historians, but also as a stepping stone to launch himself into an official position as an editor of historical texts, and make his dream of becoming an eminent official come

¹⁰⁰¹ This collection consists of 120 prose pieces, covering history from the Pre-Qin periods to the Song dynasty. Yang expressed his opinions on various historical figures and events in this collection. Yang Weizhen, *Shiyi shiyi*, in *Siku quanshu cunmu congshu. shibu*, vol. 281, pp.1-58; or Li Xiusheng, main ed., *Quan Yuanwen*, vol.42, pp.363-444.

¹⁰⁰² It is also entitled ‘Zhengtong bian’ 正統辯 (Discussion on the orthodox line of succession). See Li Xiusheng, main ed., *Quan Yuanwen*, vol.42, pp.485-490.

true.¹⁰⁰³

Yang also conveyed his historical viewpoints through his poems, and he therefore took the composition of poems on history extremely seriously. In these poems, he demonstrates his love for history and his rich historical knowledge while expressing unique insights. Just as in his other writing, Yang tended to be controversial in his poems on history. The following section will concentrate on the historical opinions found in his poems and try to relate these to some of his other writing on history. His ideas about orthodox rule and the other historical viewpoints he conveyed make his poems interesting and valuable.

6.1.1 Views on orthodox and legitimate rule

Yang's poems on history reflect his ideas about orthodox rule. Yang expressed, both consciously and subconsciously, his opinions about orthodoxy and legitimacy with respect to three controversial periods.

Firstly, Yang viewed Liu Bei as a legitimate ruler.

In the Period of the Three Kingdoms, Yang favoured Liu Bei of Shu 蜀 over Cao Cao of Wei 魏 and Sun Quan of Wu 吳. This proclivity can be seen in eight poems in his corpus, *Tieya yongshi* (Iron Cliff's poems on history) which are about the Kingdom of Shu. There is only one poem about Sun Quan, and none on the two most important figures of the Wei Kingdom, Cao Pi 曹丕 (187-226) and Cao Zhi 曹植 (192-232).

His views about Cao Cao are all negative, while his comments on Liu Bei are

¹⁰⁰³ Huang Rensheng, *YWZYMMCWXS*, p.51.

all positive. For instance, his poem ‘Chitu’er’ 赤兔兒 (The man with a Red Hare horse) applauds the fact that Liu Bei persuaded Cao Cao to kill Lü Bu 呂布 (?-199).

Alas! The man with big ears	嗚呼，大耳子，
Indeed could be a leader.	真可主。
His is a great man’s judgment,	大人之斷，
His is a great man’s fortitude.	大人之剛。 ¹⁰⁰⁴

In another poem, ‘Dilu ma’ 的盧馬 (Dilu horse), Yang commends Liu Bei describing him as having a ‘body worth a thousand pieces of gold’ (千金驅).¹⁰⁰⁵ However, his evaluation of Cao Cao is the complete opposite. His preface to the poem, ‘Yigu zi’ 義鷂子 (The righteous falcon), reads, “Cao Cao was suspicious and jealous, and killed people as if they were nothing but grass” (曹操猜忌，殺人如草莽).¹⁰⁰⁶ Yang never addresses Cao Cao by his official title, and is nothing but severely critical of his personality. His poems on history show his preference for Liu Bei as the legitimate ruler, and the Shu Kingdom as the orthodox line of rule after the Han dynasty. Also, in his essay, ‘Sanshi zhengtong bian’ (Discussion on the orthodox line of succession regarding the histories of the three dynasties), Yang states that after Han, the ‘orthodox line of rule is in the Shu Kingdom’ (*zhengtong zai Shu* 正統在蜀).¹⁰⁰⁷

Secondly, he denied the legitimacy of Empress Wu Zetian and her short-lived Zhou dynasty.

Yang’s hatred towards Wu Zetian 武則天 (624-705) is very apparent. He

¹⁰⁰⁴ Zou Zhifang, ed., *YWZSJ*, p.178.

¹⁰⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, p.182.

¹⁰⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, p.182.

¹⁰⁰⁷ Li Xiusheng, main ed., *Quan Yuanwen*, vol.42, p.489.

addresses Empress Consort Wu by her surname, Wu, or given name, Wu Zhao 武
曩.¹⁰⁰⁸ In the preface to his poem ‘Changfa ni’ 長髮尼 (Long-haired Buddhist
nun), Yang describes Wu’s rule as a ‘disaster brought by Wu’ (*Wushi zhihuo* 武氏
之禍) and he likens Wu to a ‘catastrophic flood’ (*huoshui* 禍水),

The long-haired Buddhist nun	長髮尼，
Was like a catastrophic flood for the Tang	唐禍水。
[dynasty].	
The official holding a tablet in the court was	殿上乘笏臣獠死，
cursed to be a monster to death by her,	
And the descendents of Daye ¹⁰⁰⁹ almost lost their	大野子孫幾絕祀。 ¹⁰¹⁰
[heirs to hold] ceremonies of sacrifice.	

‘The official’ refers to Chu Suiliang 褚遂良 (596-658), who returned his sceptre
to Emperor Gaozong of Tang 唐高宗 (628-683) when he retired in protest
against the Emperor’s intention to crown Wu as the Empress.¹⁰¹¹ Yang criticised
Wu for trying to kill not only the accomplished officials, but also all the
descendents of Emperor Gaozu of Tang.

Another of his poems, ‘Wushi jianjia ci’ 武氏剪甲詞 (The Song of Wu
cutting her nails) states, ‘Building the [national] temple with seven ancestors for
Zhou, but killing all orphaned descendents of Tang’ (立周七廟，滅唐諸孤).¹⁰¹²
This relates to Wu’s cruel murder of the princes from the Li family (of the Tang
dynasty) for the sake of her own Zhou dynasty. Such historical insight is not

¹⁰⁰⁸ Zou Zhifang, ed., *YWZSJ*, pp. 219, 220.

¹⁰⁰⁹ Daye: Dayeshi 大野氏 is the original surname of the Li family of the Tang dynasty. The
grandfather of Emperor Guozu of Tang was given the surname, ‘Daye’ during the Western Wei
dynasty (535-557). See Liu Xu et al., *Jiu Tangshu*, vol.1, p.1.

¹⁰¹⁰ Zou Zhifang, ed., *YWZSJ*, p.220.

¹⁰¹¹ Ouyang Xiu et al., comps., *Xin Tangshu*, vol.13, p.4029.

¹⁰¹² Zou Zhifang, ed., *YWZSJ*, p.221.

only obvious in Yang's poems, but can also be seen in his prose. Yang criticises Empress Wu calling her a 'Tang thief' (*Tang zei* 唐賊)¹⁰¹³ in *Shiyi shiyi* (Supplementary to omissions in the historical annotations). In this work he completely repudiates her rule by saying that she made the reign of Tang 'empty' (leaderless) for twenty-one years.¹⁰¹⁴

Yang's strict criticisms contrasts with the comments of Liu Xu 劉昫 (887-946) in *Jiu Tangshu* (Old history of the Tang). Liu says that, despite Wu Zetian's many evil or improper deeds, she was cordial towards good officers. She 'respected the calendar for offering sacrifices, and subdued the favoured officials; took loyal advice, and killed cruel officials.' (尊時憲而抑幸臣，聽忠言而誅酷吏).¹⁰¹⁵ Although Ouyang Xiu says that Empress Wu was very lucky not to be condemned to death,¹⁰¹⁶ he still respected her as a genuine ruler, and in *Xin Tangshu* (New history of the Tang), he classified her biography as *benji* 本紀 (principal record), which is the category of biography reserved for emperors.

Nonetheless, Yang's strict criticism is understandable, given that scholars' perceptions of Empress Wu Zetian were greatly affected by the moral percepts of Neo-Confucianism during the Song dynasty. Hu Ji points out that criticism of Wu Zetian tended to be negative especially after the early Song period when Neo-Confucians increasingly emphasised morality and virtue.¹⁰¹⁷ Also a Neo-Confucian scholar, Yang was therefore not alone in meting out strict criticism.

¹⁰¹³ Yang Weizhen, *Shiyi shiyi*, in *Siku quanmu cunmu congshu. Shi bu.*, vol.281, p.40; Li Xiusheng, main ed., *Quan Yuanwen*, vol.42, p.421.

¹⁰¹⁴ Li Xiusheng, main ed., *Quan Yuanwen*, vol.42, p.421.

¹⁰¹⁵ Liu Xu, et al., *Jiu Tangshu*, vol.1, p.133.

¹⁰¹⁶ For details, see Ouyang Xiu et al., comps., *Xin Tangshu*, vol.1, pp.81-105.

¹⁰¹⁷ Hu Ji, *Wu Zetian benzhuàn*, p.155.

Thirdly, Yang viewed the Southern Song dynasty, not Liao and Jin, as the orthodox line of rule.

Yang's view that the Southern Song dynasty was the orthodox line of rule is verified by his sixteen poems that related to this dynasty. He wrote none on the Jin 金, and only two on the Liao 遼. However, these two poems do not focus on the history of Liao. One poem entitled 'Shilang ci' 石郎詞 (Song of Young man *Shi*)¹⁰¹⁸ portrays Shi Jingtang 石敬瑭 (892-942), for whom Yelü Deguang 耶律德光 (902-947, Emperor Taizong of Liao 遼太宗) had helped to found the Later Jin 晉 dynasty (936-946). Another poem entitled, 'Diba xing' 帝羶行 (Song of the Emperor's dried body)¹⁰¹⁹ records Yelü's death after he had helped Shi Jingtang. Liao people put salt into his body to stop it from decaying.¹⁰²⁰ Yang did not touch on much of the history of the Liao dynasty. So quite clearly, he did not view Liao as the orthodox line of rule. Also, this latter poem reveals that Yang was interested not only in rulers and their dynasties, but also in some strange and interesting historical facts, such as Liao's custom of salting their emperor's corpse.

Yang's respect for the Southern Song dynasty that can be seen in his poems is also echoed in his essay '*Sanshi zhengtong bian*' (Discussion on the orthodox line of succession regarding the histories of the three dynasties). In this essay, he emphasises that the legitimacy of the Yuan rule had been transmitted from the

¹⁰¹⁸ See Zou Zhifang, ed., *YWZSJ*, p.270.

¹⁰¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p.272.

¹⁰²⁰ Lou Buchan, ed., *Tiya yongshi*, p.607 (annotation).

Southern Song rather than from the Liao and Jin 金 dynasties.¹⁰²¹ Yang's argument is based on Zhu Xi's concepts of *daotong* 道統 (moral line of succession) and *zhengtong* 政統 (political line of succession).¹⁰²² The essay was greatly acclaimed by the Hanlin Academician, Naonao, and the Grand Minister of Education, Ouyang Xuan. It affirms the Song dynasty's sole legitimacy and is one of Yang's main contributions to the attempt to settle this historical controversy.

Yang's unique but well-reasoned historical viewpoints were commended not only by the scholars of his time, but also by Qing scholars such as Zhu Yizun. Zhu wrote about the significance of Yang's essay,

[Yang] Weizhen's 'Discussion on the orthodox line of succession regarding the histories of the three dynasties' explains that Yuan's legitimacy derives from its conquest of the Song dynasty not from the Liao and Jin dynasties; therefore the legitimate line of succession should follow the Song dynasty rather than the Liao and Jin dynasties. Ouyang Xuan read this and exclaimed, 'The public debate that has lasted for a hundred years is settled here!'

維禎著《三史統論》，謂元之大一統，在乎宋，不在乎遼與金，統宜接宋，不直接遼、金。歐陽玄見之曰：「百年公論，定於此矣！」¹⁰²³

Yang raised two points in support of his argument. First, he pointed out that Emperor Shizu of Yuan 元世祖 (Kublai Khan, 1215-1294) conquered the Song dynasty and not the Liao or Jing dynasties, so his legitimacy derived from the Song dynasty rather than the Jing and Liao dynasties.¹⁰²⁴ Also, he said that the

¹⁰²¹ Li Xiusheng, main ed., *Quan Yuanwen*, vol.42, pp.486, 490.

¹⁰²² Its importance is discussed in Luther Carrington Goodrich, ed., *The Dictionary of Ming Biography 1368-1644*, vol. 2, p.1549.

¹⁰²³ Zou Zhifang, *YWZSJ*, p.488.

¹⁰²⁴ Li Xiusheng, main ed., *Quan Yuanwen*, vol.42, p.486.

date of the Yuan dynasty's unification should be counted from the date when the Song dynasty had been successfully conquered.¹⁰²⁵ Second, Yang stated that the orthodox teachings, from Confucius to Mencius, had been inherited by Zhu Xi of the Southern Song dynasty. The teachings were then passed on to Xu Wenzheng 許文正 (13th c.) of the Yuan dynasty.¹⁰²⁶ Therefore, the orthodox teachings of the Yuan were also inherited from the Song dynasty and not from the Jin or Liao dynasties. It is for these reasons that Yang insisted that the Song dynasty was the orthodox rule before the Yuan. Yang's opinions regarding the orthodox line of ruling dynasties reveal a rich historical knowledge gained through an in-depth study of history throughout the ages.

6.1.2 Understanding of historical events in a wider context

Another feature of Yang's work is that it shows an understanding of the significance of events and figures within a wider historical context. The judgments he made were for the sake of the country as a whole, rather than for his own personal benefit. This makes his historical viewpoints special and differentiates them from those of other commentators. For instance, his poem 'Dong yangzi' 董養子 (Dong's foster son) has two lines,

Killing the rebel by imperial decree,
Is killing a rebel not an adopted father.
有詔殺賊臣，殺賊非殺父。¹⁰²⁷

¹⁰²⁵ Li Xiusheng, main ed., *Quan Yuanwen*, vol.42, p.489.

¹⁰²⁶ Ibid., p.490.

¹⁰²⁷ Zou Zhifang, ed., *YWZSJ*, p.178.

Yang's opinions were at odds with those of other scholars of his time, such as Luo Guanzhong 羅貫中 (ca.1330-ca.1400), who in his novel, *Romance of Three Kingdoms*, portrayed Lü Bu as 'the offspring of a wolf with an ambitious heart' (*langzi yexin* 狼子野心),¹⁰²⁸ a phrase adopted from *Hou Hanshu* by Fan Ye 范曄 (398-445).¹⁰²⁹ Obviously, Yang's opinions differed from those of Fan Ye, the historian of the Liu Song dynasty, who believed that Lü was 'vacillating in attitude and behaviour' (*fanfu* 翻覆)¹⁰³⁰ and could not be trusted. In the late Han period, Liu Bei persuaded Cao Cao to kill Lü because Lü had committed the immoral act of killing his adopted father and master, Dong Zhuo.¹⁰³¹

However, Yang gives his readers a broader perspective in showing that Lü was removing a rebel for the sake of the Han dynasty. Hence, he was not killing his adopted father but a rebel, and his deeds were justified and proper, especially considering the fact that he had an imperial decree to kill Dong. Lou Buchan believed that Yang was an intelligent judge of the rights and wrongs of history, and praised him as 'bright to judge and evaluate' (*mingyu duanzhi* 明於斷制)¹⁰³² Lou's praise is a little flattering, as there is no evidence that Yang's historical insight was accepted by most scholars in this particular case.

Another of Yang's poems 'Wang Qiang' 王嬙 also demonstrates his ability to see history in a wider context. The last two lines are,

The painter's intention [to receive bribery] is preposterous,
The painter's deed [of portraying Wang Qiang] is loyal [to the country].

¹⁰²⁸ Luo Guangzhong, *Sanguo yanyi*, p.143.

¹⁰²⁹ Fan Ye, *Hou Hanshu*, vol.9, p.2449.

¹⁰³⁰ *Ibid.*, p.2452.

¹⁰³¹ Fan Ye, *Hou Hanshu*, vol.9, p.2451.

¹⁰³² Lou Buchan, ed., *Tieya yongshi zhu*, p.529 (preface).

畫工意則繆，畫工事則忠。¹⁰³³

‘Wang Qiang’ refers to the famously stunning beauty Wang Zhaojun, while the ‘painter’ refers to Mao Yanshou 毛延壽 (d.33 B.C.), who smeared Wang’s portrait when she refused to bribe him to produce a better painting.

Traditionally, poets were seriously critical of Mao’s behaviour. For instance, Li Shangyin, in his poem ‘Wang Zhaojun’ 王昭君, criticises Mao’s lack of concern for the prospects of the beauty. He says “Mao Yanshou’s painting [is so skilful that he] attempts to reach the divine, but how could he [be so pitiless to and] neglect people for the sake of gold.” (毛延壽畫欲通神，忍為黃金不顧人。)¹⁰³⁴ Also, in his poem ‘Ming feiqu’ 明妃曲 (Song of Princess Ming), the Song poet, Zeng Gong 曾鞏 (1019-1083), makes a similar criticism of Mao. He wrote, ‘Yanshou, you can, based on your secret loves and hatreds, prevent people from preserving their own beauty and ugliness.’ (延壽爾能私好惡，令人不自保妍媸。)¹⁰³⁵

Although the Song poets showed some sympathy toward Mao, they never fully appreciated or praised his actions. Wang Anshi believed the killing of Mao was unjust because it is impossible to capture beautiful manners and spirit in a portrait,¹⁰³⁶ while Ouyang Xiu said that it was meaningless to kill the painter because the beauty, Wang Zhaojun, had left the country.¹⁰³⁷

Opposing these views, Yang argued that while Mao’s intention to ask for more money and receive bribery was preposterous, his action in painting Wang imperfectly was loyal to the country. His imperfect portrait prevented Emperor

¹⁰³³ Zou Zhifang, ed., *YWZSJ*, p.168.

¹⁰³⁴ Peng Dingiu et al., eds., *Quan Tangshi*, vol.16, p.6209.

¹⁰³⁵ Yu Zhiyuan et al., main eds., *Zhonghua shishi yongshi shi benshi*, p.503-504.

¹⁰³⁶ Yu Zhiyuan et al., main eds., *Zhonghua shishi yongshi shi benshi*, p.499-500.

¹⁰³⁷ See Yu Zhiyuan et al., main eds., *Zhonghua shishi yongshi shi benshi*, p.501.

Yuan of Han 漢元帝 (75-33 B.C.) from meeting the beauty and becoming involved with her. Mao's painting also indirectly encouraged Wang to leave and marry the chief leader of the Huns, thereby helping to cement a peaceful relationship between the two countries. In the poem Yang writes, "[The beautiful girl with] Moth-feeler-like eyebrows went beyond the frontier, while [ugly women with countenances like] Wuyan¹⁰³⁸ remained in the palace." (蛾眉既出塞，無鹽在宮中)¹⁰³⁹ With only ugly women left, the emperor was able to concentrate on his daily routines. Yang made his judgment from the perspective of a wider context which encompassed the fortunes of the country. Yang stated that Mao's deed was a token of loyalty even though he may have had bad intentions. He took into account the propitious results of a deed done for the sake of the country rather than concentrating solely on Mao's selfish intentions.

Lou Buchan described these last two poetic lines as 'skilful in satire and admonishment' (*shanyu fengjian* 善於諷諫)¹⁰⁴⁰ Lou probably thought that Yang intended to satirise the painter and admonish the emperor. However, Yang may have simply wished to convey a unique historical insight.

Other late Yuan poets did not have as broad a perspective as Yang. Yeli Chucai 耶律楚材 (1190-1244), in his poem, 'Guo Qingzhong' 過青塚 (Passing by the green tomb), criticised Mao for cheating of the emperor.¹⁰⁴¹ Yang's

¹⁰³⁸ Wuyan 無鹽, named Zhongli Chun 鍾離春 (fl.319-301) was the wife of the Prince of Huan 宣 of Ji State (350?-301BC, r.319-301B.C.). She was regarded as the ugliest woman in ancient time, and had a fat neck, thin hair, an upward-pointing nose, an Adam's apple and dark skin. She also had strong arms and legs, and was still single at the age of forty. For details, see Wang Zhaoyuan, *Lienü zhuan buzhu*, in *XXSKQS*, vol. 515, p.723.

¹⁰³⁹ Zou Zhifang, ed., *YWZSJ*, p.168.

¹⁰⁴⁰ Lou Buchan, ed., *Tieya yongshi zhu*, p.529 (preface).

¹⁰⁴¹ "Yanshou's painting basically cheated the emperor, and [Wang's] marriage for the sake of peace did not stop the invasion of the Huns" (延壽丹青本誑君，和親猶未斂胡塵). See Yu

judgment was based on whether the actions benefitted the whole country rather than their relevance to individual morality. This kind of judgment may have been influenced by *Zuo zhuan* (Commentary of Zuo), with which Yang was very familiar. *Zuo zhuan* advocates loyalty to one's country. For example, it contains the sentence, "a person facing disaster, who has still not forgotten [to contribute to] his country, this is loyalty" (臨患不忘國，忠也)¹⁰⁴² Yang's writing from the perspective of the country as a whole was most likely influenced by his reading of *Zuo zhuan* (see Chapter 6.2.3 for Yang's advocacy of loyalty).

6.1.3 Judging historical figures by their virtue rather than achievements

Yang did not judge historical figures by their achievements, but by their virtue. Liu Meihua observed that this kind of judgment can be found in Yang's poems,

Jing Ke's assassinating the Emperor [Shihuang] of Qin, Zhang Liang's throwing a hammer [to attack him] at Bolangsha, and Tang Qi's throwing stones which had been hidden in his sleeves at Pa Ba were all unsuccessful actions, and were sneered at by people at the time. But, Yang Weizhen did not judge these people by their successes or failures, and he praised their virtuous deeds as 'righteous indignations that are extraordinary in a thousand years'

荊軻刺秦王、張良博浪沙一椎、唐琦袖石擊髻八，均未能成功，為世人所嗤，然維楨不以成敗論人，讚其美行「義憤千古奇」。¹⁰⁴³

Yang did not judge people by their failures or achievements. He was sure about,

Zhiyuan et al., main eds., *Zhonghua shishi yongshi shi benshi*, p.633.

¹⁰⁴² Zuoqiu Ming; Du Yu, Kong Yingda, eds., *Chunqiu Zuozhuan zhushu*, in *SKQS*, vol.144, p.248.

¹⁰⁴³ Liu Meihua, *Yang Weizhen shixue yanjiu*, p.58.

and quite proud of, his own views on these swordsmen. His poem, 'Tang Qi shi' 唐琦石 (Tang Qi's stone) has several lines that illustrate this,

The three strong men,	三壯兒，
Could not finish their missions	不了事，
Were always being sneered at by people.	永為人所嗤，
I alone sing of these strong men,	我獨歌壯兒，
As having righteous indignations that are	義憤千古奇，
extraordinary in a thousand years '	
I know nothing of judging a person by his success or failure.	成敗論人吾不知。 ¹⁰⁴⁴

Yang states his own personal judgment of these swordsmen in this poem. Another similar example is the preface to the poem, 'Yishui ge' (Song of Yi River), in which, Yang refers to Jing Ke as an 'ancient righteous swordsman'.

[Even]The Confucian five-*chi*¹⁰⁴⁵ tall child feels ashamed to talk about Jing Qing [Jing Ke], whom they regard as a waste of the assassins. But, when I read the story of Wang Chen of the Wei Kingdom, I cannot but put down the scroll in my hand and sigh three times. [If you know that Wang] Chen was cruel and led his master to his death, you will then realise [the preciousness of Jing] Qing's act of committing himself to death for the sake of his confidant. Explicitly, this precious element cannot be missing in the ancient righteous swordsmen. Therefore, [if] the gentlemen trace and discuss the merits of the local customs in the State of Yan, and their righteousness in offering immediate help to other people in need, originated from the uplifting influences left behind by Qing. Most of the ancient and modern poets criticise Qing, but I, especially, appreciate him for this.

儒門五尺童，羞談荊卿，以其刺客之靡也。然予觀魏王沈事，未嘗不廢卷三太息。沈之忍亡其主也。然後知卿之矢死報知己，較然為

¹⁰⁴⁴ Zou Zhifang, ed., *YWZSJ*. p.278.

¹⁰⁴⁵ Five-*chi* 尺 (foot): One foot in the Song and Yuan dynasties was equivalent to 31.2 cm. See Luo Zhufeng, main ed., *HYDCD.SYB*, vol.3, p.7764. Five-*chi* is therefore 156cm.

古義俠不可少也。故君子追論燕俗之長，急人之義，本於卿之遺風。
古今詞人多拙卿，而予猶以是取卿云。¹⁰⁴⁶

Yang mentions his appreciation of Jing Ke despite the negative views of others. His glorification of Jing Ke's uprightness and devotion to his confidant are in evidence in the last few lines of the poem.

Alas! Although Jing Qing has the talent of a 嗚呼荆卿雖俠才，
knight-errant.
He died for a swordsman's integrity without any 俠節之死心無猜。
suspicion in his heart.
Haven't you seen Mr. Wenji sold out his monarch 君不見文籍先生賣
君者，
By leaking the secret plan of Tonggong and 桐宮一泄曹作馬。¹⁰⁴⁷
allowing [Si]ma to replace Cao [as ruler]

Yang commended Jing Ke who was only a swordsman but had virtue. He even contrasted Jing Ke with Mr. Wenji (Wang Chen 王沈, 2nd c.) who had betrayed his master, the Duke of Gaoguixiang 高貴鄉 (Cao Mao 曹髦, 241-260), the ruler of the Kingdom of Wei in the Period of the Three Kingdoms.

In the Yin 殷 dynasty, Emperor Taijia was cruel and tyrannical and violated the principles of virtue. The Prime Minister, Yi Yin 伊尹 (1648-1549 B.C.), sent him to Tonggong for a period of introspection. Tonggong 桐宮 is in modern Yanshi 偃師 county of Henan province.¹⁰⁴⁸ Taijia stayed there for three years and felt regret for his faults, so Yi Yin welcomed him back to the capital.¹⁰⁴⁹

¹⁰⁴⁶ Zou Zhifang, ed., *YWZSJ* p.14.

¹⁰⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p.14.

¹⁰⁴⁸ See Sima Qian, *Shiji*, vol.1, p.99 (annotation); and Wei Songshan, main ed., *Zhongguo gudian shici diming cidian*, p.708.

¹⁰⁴⁹ Sima Qian, *Shiji*, vol.1, p.99.

Later, ‘Tonggong’ came to refer commonly to the place where an emperor or a king was sent to or kept under detention,¹⁰⁵⁰ such as when Cao Mao was placed under the control of Sima Zhao. Cao Mao was a cordial host to Wang Chen until Wang told Sima Zhao about Cao’s secret plan to restore his authority. As a result, Cao was murdered by Sima Zhao’s party at the age of twenty *sui*, and Wang was later made the Duke of Anping 安平.¹⁰⁵¹ Wang’s disloyalty was attacked by many people at the time. *Jinshu* 晉書 (History of the Jin) records, “Chen was disloyal to his master, and was quite criticised by the people for his wrongdoings” (沈既不忠於主，甚為眾論所非).¹⁰⁵² The poem therefore shows that Yang judged historical figures by their virtuous intentions rather than their successes or failures.

Was Yang’s evaluation of Jing Ke so original that there was no precedent? Basically, the answer to this question is the affirmative. However, Yang’s judgment can, in fact, also be seen as an elaboration of Sima Qian’s viewpoint,

The Grand Historian said: As for the five persons, from Cao Mo to Jing Ke, no matter whether the righteous actions undertaken by these five persons were successful or not, their [upright] intentions were explicit and they did not betray their integrity, and their names will be remembered by future generations. My view is surely not absurd!

太史公曰：自曹沫至荊軻五人，此其義或成或不成，然其立意較然，不欺其志，名垂後世，豈妄也哉！¹⁰⁵³

Sima Qian appreciated the integrity and goodness of these assassins, whether or not they had been successful in their assassinations. He believed that their

¹⁰⁵⁰ Luo Zhufeng, main ed., *HYDCD.SYB*, vol.1, p.2558.

¹⁰⁵¹ See *Jinshu*, vol.4, p.1143; and Chen Shou, *Sanguo zhi*, vol.1, p.143, 144 (annotation).

¹⁰⁵² Fang Xuanling et al., *Jinshu*, vol.4, p.1143.

¹⁰⁵³ Sima Qian, *Shiji*, vol.8, p.2538.

names would be passed on to succeeding generations.

In addition to Sima Qian, Yang also probably gained inspiration from Tao Qian. In his poem entitled ‘Yong Jing Ke’ 詠荊軻 (On Jing Ke), which is probably the first poem to evaluate Jing Ke, Tao wrote the line, ‘The gentleman prepared to die for his confidant, And, taking his sword, left the capital of Yan’ (君子死知己，提劍出燕京).¹⁰⁵⁴ By calling Jing Ke ‘junzi’ 君子 (gentleman), which literally means ‘person of noble character and integrity’,¹⁰⁵⁵ the poet reveals his positive evaluation of Jing Ke.

Tao was also full of praise as he narrated Jing Ke’s death for the sake of his confidant and told of his bravery in not refusing to undertake the mission even though he knew he would lose his life. Tao wrote, “He knew in his heart he could not return, But his name would remain for later generations.” (心知去不歸，且有後世名)¹⁰⁵⁶ Tao also commented that Jing’s failure to achieve success was due to a lack of practice in the arts of swordsmanship.

- L27 What a pity his swordsmanship was lacking, 惜哉劍術疏，
L28 And his extraordinary enterprise in the end was 奇功遂不成。
unsuccessful.
L29 Although this person had already passed away, 其人雖已沒，

¹⁰⁵⁴ See Ding Fubao, ed., *Quan Han Sanguo Jin Nan Bei chao shi*, vol 1, p.481.

¹⁰⁵⁵ The image of a gentleman comes from the Confucian teachings. *Lunyu* 論語 no. 29 reads, “Zigong asked about the gentleman. The Master said, ‘He puts into effect his words before allowing them to follow the deed.’ (子貢問君子。子曰：先行其言而後從之。)” Another teaching reads, “The gentleman helps others to effect what is good; he does not help them to effect what is bad. The small man does the opposite.” (君子成人之美，不成人之惡。) See Zhu Xi, *Lunyun jizhu*, pp.14, 152; the English version is from D. C. Lau., *Confucius: The Analects*, pp.21, 25.] *Lunyun* has quite a lot of teachings related to the deeds and thoughts of a gentleman. See Zhu Xi, *Lunyun jizhu*, pp.7, 75, 140, 148, 160, 413.

¹⁰⁵⁶ See Ding, Fubao, ed., *Quan Han Sanguo Jin Nan Bei chao shi*, vol.1, p.481.

L30 Sympathy for him was seen down the ages for a 千載有餘情。¹⁰⁵⁷
thousand years.

Tao also believed that Jing Ke deserved sympathy throughout the ages despite his failure. Yang's judgment of Jing Ke based on his virtue rather than his success, is an elaboration on the views of both the Grand Historian and Tao Qian.

Yang's comments about Liu Bang (247-195B.C.) also clearly demonstrate that he based his judgment on virtue rather than success. Liu's greatest achievement was establishing the Han dynasty and becoming Emperor Gaozu. However, he was berated by Yang as an 'infilial beast' (*jing'er* 獍兒)¹⁰⁵⁸ in the poem 'Beigeng ci' 杯羹辭 (Song of a cup of soup). Yang describes Liu's immorality,

Ah Bang ignored [the life of] his father, 阿邦不顧父，
[Saying:] When you cook my father, called [me] the 烹父呼阿兒。¹⁰⁵⁹
son [to share].

Yang questions Liu's eagerness to gain the world, and neglect his father's life, 'Ah Bang, Ah Bang, for what purpose are you so desperate to have the world?' (阿邦阿邦何急天下為?) Yang even wrote a prose on the same theme in his *Shiyi shiyi* (Supplementary to omissions in the historical annotations) entitled 'Ma Liu Bang' 罵劉邦 (Scolding Liu Bang), in which he lists examples of Liu's immorality and lack of skill. His final comment on Liu is that he is 'a traitor

¹⁰⁵⁷ Ibid., p.481.

¹⁰⁵⁸ Jing 獍 is a mythical beast that looks like a tiger and leopard, and eats its own mother after birth. See Ren Fang, *Shuyi ji*, in *YYWYGSKQS*, vol. 1047, p.616.

¹⁰⁵⁹ Zou Zhifang, ed., *YWZSJ*, p.158.

who destroyed morality' (大逆亡道).¹⁰⁶⁰ This kind of bold and direct judgment makes Yang's poetry unique and distinguishes it from the works of others: it defines it as 'Iron Style'.

6.1.4 Viewing historical figures as imperfectly human

Yang seems to have understood that the historical heroes he described were imperfect human beings, not saints. Therefore, he preferred to stick to describing the realities of human nature - revealing their weaknesses as well as their strengths. For instance, despite his overall positive opinion of Jing Ke, Yang did not cover up the fact that he was a poor swordsman. As Lu Jujian 魯句踐 (3rd c. B.C.), a friend of Jing Ke, said,

Alas! What a pity that he [Jing Ke] did not pay any attention to the techniques of swordsmanship!

嗟乎，惜其不講於刺劍之術也！¹⁰⁶¹

Hence, Yang's 'Jianke pian' (Writing on a swordsman) also mocked Jing's poor swordsmanship.

If a man studies swordsmanship,
He has no need to imitate Jing Ke.

丈夫學劍術，
何用學荊軻。¹⁰⁶²

This poem was composed before 1346 when Yang became fifty years old. His article, 'Ze taizi Dan' 責太子丹 (Blaming the Crown Prince Dan) also directly

¹⁰⁶⁰ Li Xiusheng, main ed., *Quan Yuanwen*, vol.42, p.398.

¹⁰⁶¹ Sima Qian, *Shiji*, vol.2, p.1109.

¹⁰⁶² Lou Buchan, ed., *Tieya yuefu zhu*, p.508.

criticised Jing Ke's poor swordsmanship: 'Not to mention that Jing Ke was clumsy at using a dagger, [His swordsmanship] was ranked the lowest among swordsmen.' (況荆¹⁰⁶³人之拙於匕事，又軼人之下下者也)。¹⁰⁶⁴ This article was probably written when Yang was quite old, as he refers to himself as 'Baoyi laoren' 抱遺老人 (The regretful old man)¹⁰⁶⁵ throughout the collection. The fact that Yang wrote in a similar view on Jing Ke at different periods of his life affirms that Yang's historical opinions did not change with age. He praised Jing Ke's uprightness and loyalty, as has already been mentioned before, but he also revealed his weaknesses - his poor swordsmanship and assassination skills. In other words, Yang showed that Jing Ke was not a saint or an immortal with magic powers.

Another example of this can be seen in the poem, 'Wang Qiang' 王嬙. Wang was famous in the Han dynasty for her beauty and was glorified throughout the ages because she sacrificed herself in marriage for the sake of peace with the Huns. Yang did not portray Wang as a beauty without faults, but as a human being with her own weaknesses. He indicated that her destiny to leave the palace and her country was the consequence of a conceited personality.

The girl from the Wang family,

王家女，

¹⁰⁶³ Jingren 荆人 literally means people from the state of Chu, as 'Jing' 荆 refers to the state of Chu 楚. See Wei Songshan, main ed., *Zhongguo gudian shici diming cidian*, p.527. But here, Yang is referring to Jing Ke, who came from the state of Ji 齊, and stayed in the states of Wei 衛 and Yan 燕 respectively before going to the state of Qin to assassinate Emperor Shihuang. People in Yan called him 'Jing Qing' 荆卿. Sima Qian, *Shiji*, vol.8, p.2526.

¹⁰⁶⁴ Li Xiusheng, main ed., *Quan Yuanwen*, vol.42, p.388; and Yang Weizhen. *Shiyi shiyi*, in *Siku quanshu cunmu congshu*, vol. 281, p.19.

¹⁰⁶⁵ Examples found in *Quan Yuanwen*, vol.42, pp.404-405; and *Shiyi shiyi*, in *Siku quanshu cunmu congshu*, vol.281, pp.28-29.

Relying on her flower-like countenance. 自倚顏如花，
 She was not willing to buy the painting with gold. 黃金不肯買圖畫，
 Her jade-like countenance [on the painting] 玉顏一夜生瑕。¹⁰⁶⁶
 became blemished overnight.

Yang here meant that Wang's inability to meeting the emperor and her subsequent marriage to the Huns were the consequences of her vanity. Similar points of views can also be seen in the Tang dynasty. The Tang poets, Jiao Ran 皎然 (8th c.) and Liu Changqing 劉長卿 (*jinsshi* title 733), convey similar viewpoints to Yang's in their poems entitled 'Zhaojun yuan' 昭君怨 (Grievance of Zhaojun) and 'Wang Zhaojun ge' 王昭君歌 (Song of Wang Zhaojun) respectively. The former poem reads, "She relied on her lovely countenance and looked forward to the emperor's love, But who could know that beauty and ugliness [on the painting] would suddenly be reversed". (自倚嬋娟望主恩，誰知美惡忽相翻。)¹⁰⁶⁷ The latter expresses more or less the same point of view, "Being boastful of her own stunning and seductive beauty, She ignored the [request of the] painter." (自矜嬌艷色，不顧丹青人。)¹⁰⁶⁸ Thus, it seems that Yang's opinion of Wang as someone with a conceited personality was not his original idea, but was inherited from the Tang poets.

Interestingly, the official histories, *Hanshu* (History of the Han) and *Hou Hanshu* (History of the Later Han dynasty), make no mention of Wang's vanity. Even Ge Hong 葛洪 (284-364), in his work, *Xijing zaji* 西京雜記 (Miscellaneous records of the western capital) does not mention it. He simply states,

¹⁰⁶⁶ Zou Zhifang, ed., *YWZSJ*, p.168.

¹⁰⁶⁷ Peng Dingiu et al., eds., *Quan Tangshi*, vol.23, p.9247.

¹⁰⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, vol.5, p.1579.

Emperor Yuan had many concubines, and was not able to see all of them often. So, he asked the painters to portray them, and summoned them to sleep with him on the basis of these paintings. All the concubines bribed the painters: a high price was a hundred thousand cash, and a low price was also no less than fifty thousand cash. Only Wang Qiang was unwilling to pay, and she was therefore unable to see the emperor.

元帝后宮既多，不得常見，乃使畫工圖其形，案圖召幸之。諸宮人皆賂畫工，多者十萬，少者亦不減五萬。獨王嬙不肯。遂不得見。¹⁰⁶⁹

The line “Only Wang Qiang was unwilling to pay” suggests that she refused to offer a bribe. However, the Tang poets interpreted her refusal as being due to her conceitedness concerning her own beauty. The author of *Xijing zaji* also interpreted it in this way. He alluded to her vanity thus, “Zhaojun relied on her countenance, and was the only one unwilling to pay.” (昭君自恃容貌，獨不肯與)¹⁰⁷⁰ Yang’s views were more likely influenced by the poets than by the official historical records. This illustrates that Yang’s poems on history are subjective works of art rather than objective historical records. He viewed Wang as a human being with weaknesses, rather than as a legendary beauty with good qualities, who made great contributions to the country.

Huang Rensheng believes that Yang’s views of history were largely coloured by the moral values of Confucianism.¹⁰⁷¹ However, Huang does not elaborate. The section above shows that Yang’s views were based on his Confucian thinking, his rich historical knowledge, and his own personal sentiments, which included his love and hatred of certain historical figures.

¹⁰⁶⁹ Ge Hong, ed., *Xijing zaji*, in *Siku jiacang*, vol. 93, p.200.

¹⁰⁷⁰ Guo Maoqian, comp., *Yuefu shiji*, vol.2, p.425.

¹⁰⁷¹ Huang Rensheng, *YWZYMMCWXS*, p.33.

6.2. Yang's personal sentiments and life philosophy

Poems on history are about history, but they are essentially poems, not historical accounts.¹⁰⁷² Poets convey their sentiments and thoughts via their verse. It is those sentiments and unique ways of thinking that give a poet's work the stamp of his own style. Yang, too, expressed his sentiments and philosophy in his work, giving his poetry a unique style, known as the 'Iron Style', which differentiates it from the works of the other late Yuan poets.

A poem is a channel for the poet to express his sentiments. Of the different poetic genres, poetry on history provides the best platform for a poet to express his sentiments and channel his grievances. This is because the poet can find stories in history appropriate to his expressive needs. Also, historical stories may arouse a poet's suppressed sentiments, and the historical figures in those stories may have had similar life experiences and thus stimulate feelings of empathy in him. For these reasons, scholars generally agree that poetry on history can be an excellent channel for a poet's sentiments, and that it can also allow him to air his grievances, which may be the result of unrecognised talents or a thwarted official career. The Ming scholar, He Yongshao 何永紹 (17th c.) said,

History does not need to be tied in with poetry, but all poetry can be tied in with history. These poems are places where scholars and talents can lodge their emotions stimulated by issues of their time; [and through poetry,] they aim to channel their grievances at not being recognised in their time.

¹⁰⁷² Yu Zhiyuan et al., main eds., *Zhonghua shishi yongshi shi benshi*, p.3 (preface).

史不必繫之以詩，而詩則皆可繫之以史者。蓋文人才子感時寄興，以憤發其不得志於當世之意。¹⁰⁷³

He believed that scholars were stimulated by the political or social affairs of their time, and composed poetry on history to channel their grievances at having their talents ignored. Poems on history are a natural channel for poets to express these kinds of feelings.

6.2.1 Sentiments towards official life

Through his poems on history, Yang expressed his own feelings in a subtle way; he never included his own life experiences explicitly in his work. Therefore, the reader can only guess his feelings from the poetic themes that he chose. MacLeish said,

The poet of the private world is not observer only but actor in the scene that he observes. And the voice that speaks in his poems is the voice of himself as actor - as sufferer of those feelings, delighter in those delights - as well as his voice as poet.¹⁰⁷⁴

Yang invested his own private sentiments, feelings and desires in the historical figures he portrayed in his poems on history. For instance, some of his poems about historical beauties subtly betray his grievances against the ruling class. His poem, 'Changmen yuan' 長門怨 (Lament in the Long Gate), is a depiction of Ajjiao, who was the wife of Emperor Wu of Han (140-87B.C.). She waited to

¹⁰⁷³ Wang Qi et al., eds., *Li He shige jizhu*, p.378-380.

¹⁰⁷⁴ Archibald MacLeish, *Poetry and Experience*, p.98.

be loved once again by the Emperor but was ultimately neglected. Her bitter experience of neglect echoed the neglect of Yang's talent by his seniors in his official career. This explains why Yang took the role of Ajiao and was able to speak in her voice without artifice.

- L7 He received my gold and composed the rhymed prose [fu poem], Long Gate, for me 受金為我賦長門
 L8 It told of my sorrow at the passing of spring 長門寫春愁¹⁰⁷⁵

Unfortunately, the composition date of 'Lament in the Long Gate' is unknown and, as a result, it is difficult to draw specific parallels with Yang's life. His grievances are not explicitly obvious in most of his poems. However, they can be seen quite clearly in the poem, 'Grand Tutor Yan'.

Yang tried to conceal his own life experiences in his poems on history, but his feelings come through powerfully in some of his lines. In the poem entitled 'Yan taishi' 顏太師 (Grand Tutor Yan), Yang expresses his anger towards villainous persons.

- L1 Alas! 嗚呼!
 L2 The phoenix was not flying, 鳳凰不翔兮,
 L3 While the barn owls and ural owls carried out their violence. 鴟鴞肆其強梁;
 L4 The unicorn was slandered, 麒麟中傷兮,
 L5 How could we say this was different to [being treated like] dogs and sheep? 豈雲異夫犬羊?
 L6 Gentlemen and mean persons 君子之與小人兮,
 L7 Are like water and fire which cannot get along with each other. 水火不相容,
 L8 Endangering our clan, but they do not benefit. 危吾族其無賴兮。¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁷⁵ Zou Zhifang, ed., *YWZSJ*, pp.167-168.

Here, ‘*lai*’ 賴 in L8, a word also found in Wu Cailao’s *Yunbu* (Supplementary to rhymes),¹⁰⁷⁷ would not make sense in its standard meaning of ‘to rely on’ or ‘to blame’.¹⁰⁷⁸ The sentence does however make sense when ‘*lai*’ is annotated as ‘*li* 利’.¹⁰⁷⁹ As ‘*li*’ implies ‘benefit, gain, merit, advantage’, the meaning of L8 is quite clear: endangering our clan, but they do not benefit. Furthermore, ‘*wu lai*’ 無賴 meant ‘fraudulent and crafty’ (*duozha jiaokua* 多詐狡獪),¹⁰⁸⁰ or ‘fraudulent and cunning’ (*duozha er jiaohua* 多詐而狡獪)¹⁰⁸¹ in ancient China. Thereby, L8 can also be interpreted as “Endangering our clan, and they are crafty and cunning”. These examples also demonstrate the fact that Yang favoured the use of ancient words.

Also, Yang uses ‘phoenix’ and ‘unicorn’ to refer to the gentlemen, while the ‘barn owls’ (*chi* 鴟) and ‘ural owls’ (*xiao* 鴞) refer to the wicked villains. This metaphor, which equates large birds to the virtuous and small birds to the villainous, originates from *Chuci* 楚辭 (Songs of the South).¹⁰⁸² Hong Xingzu 洪興祖 (1090-1155) wrote:

The simurgh (*luan* bird), the female phoenix, and so on are all large birds, which symbolise benevolent and intelligent scholars.
鸞[鳥]、皇[凰]以下，皆大鳥，以喻仁智之士。¹⁰⁸³

¹⁰⁷⁶ Lou Buchan, ed., *Tieya yongshi zhu*, p.588.

¹⁰⁷⁷ See Wu Yu, *Yunbu*, in *SKQS*, vol.237, p.109.

¹⁰⁷⁸ See Lou Zhufeng, main ed., *HYDCD.SYB*, vol.3, p.6034.

¹⁰⁷⁹ Yang Kan, *Liang Han bowen*, in *SKQS*, vol. 461, p.36; Sima Qian, *Shiji*, vol.2, p.387.

¹⁰⁸⁰ Yang Kan, *Liang Han bowen*, in *SKQS*, vol. 461, p.36.

¹⁰⁸¹ Shen Zinan, *Yilin huikao*, in *SKQS*, vol.859, p.350.

¹⁰⁸² For English version, see David Hawks, *The Songs of the South*, pp.219-233, ‘Summons of the soul’.

¹⁰⁸³ Annotation to Qu Yuan’s ‘Zhao Hun’ 招魂 (Summons of the Soul), see Hong Xingzu, *Chuci buzhu*, p.224

Yang implies in the poem that good officials (gentlemen) were hurt by cunning and wicked people in the world.

He clearly conveys his belief that gentlemen and villainous persons are like water and fire, and cannot coexist. The villains can only endanger the survival of the gentlemen. For instance, the tragedy of the Grand Tutor, Yan Zhenqing 顏真卿 (709-785), was the result of slander by villains (*xiaoren* 小人) who had scrambled to power. By using the two characters, “our clan” (*wu lei* 吾類), Yang implies that he was also one of the slandered gentlemen himself. His feelings of grievance came from the bitter experience of setbacks in his official career. He suffered two major setbacks because, first, he punished Tiantai prefecture’s strong bullies in 1330; and second, he made an appeal to the provincial government to have sympathy for the salt workers who were suffering under heavy taxation. By these actions, Yang himself did not make any mistakes or commit any misconduct; however, he was demoted and for a long time considered an ‘unconventional official’ (*sanyuan*).

Scholars have also picked up on Yang’s grievances. For instance, the Qing scholar, Xu Yinghen, in his preface to *Tieya shiji sanzong* 鐵崖詩集三種 (Three Types of Tieya Poetry Corpuses), says,

[Yang] Tieya was in the humble position of county magistrate, in which he found himself running against the world. He experienced the change of dynasty, and many of his poems are works, in which he channelled his grievances and anxieties about the world. They were thoughtfully designed to awaken the world’s morality and the hearts of people.

鐵崖則廁身令長，與世多忤。復遭鼎革，多因時感事、憂世憤俗之

作，其為世道人心計者深矣。¹⁰⁸⁴

Here, Xu points out that many of Yang's poems, including those on history, are channels for the grievances that he felt as a result of an uneven career as well as the social and political events he may have witnessed.

The Unpredictability of Official Life

In addition to acting as a channel for his grievances, studying the experiences of historical figures and their turbulent public lives may have enabled Yang to put his own anxieties in perspective. Even if past officials had saved the country or had otherwise made great contributions, they might still be arbitrarily dismissed, demoted or even killed by the Emperor or senior officers. Yang's poem entitled 'Chanyuan xing' 澶淵行¹⁰⁸⁵ (The march to Chanyuan) lauded the contributions of the chancellor, Kou Zhun 寇準 (961-1302). Kou had successfully persuaded Emperor Zhenzong of Song 宋真宗 (986-1022) to boost the morale of the soldiers in Chanzhou 澶州 (modern Puyang 濮陽 city in Henan province) while they were defending the city against the invasion by the Liao in 1004 A.D. Later on, a peace treaty was signed between the Song and Liao dynasties.¹⁰⁸⁶ Yang did not mention what happened to Kou Zhun in his poem, but it is certain that he knew about it from the historical records. Kou was, in fact, demoted to Shaanzhou 陝州 (in modern Henan Province) after being disparaged by the villainous Wang Ruoqin 王若欽 (962-1025).¹⁰⁸⁷

Yue Fei suffered a similar fate, however, this time, Yang hints at the cause of

¹⁰⁸⁴ Preface to *Tieya gu yuefu*. See Zou Zhifang, p.515.

¹⁰⁸⁵ Zou Zhifang, ed., *YWZSJ*, p.225.

¹⁰⁸⁶ Toutou et al., *Songshi*, vol.14, p.9531.

¹⁰⁸⁷ For details, see Toutou et al., *Songshi*, vol.14, pp.9530-9532.

this great hero's death. A few lines of his poem entitled 'Yue'e wang ge' (Song of Yue Fei, Prince of E) reads,

My country had a cunning villain who pushed me out to guard the Great Wall,	國有駟兮推我國長城，
He was skilful at withholding support and hated his good peers.	善寡與兮惡好朋。
Heavy mist covered the sky and the sun was not shining on me.	大霧蔽天兮天日不我 明。 ¹⁰⁸⁸

These three lines reveal the causes of the good officials' (gentlemen's) suffering - they were castigated by villains and suffered deposition, demotion or even death. For instance, Yue Fei was slandered by Qin Hui and killed in prison because he was suspected of committing treason.¹⁰⁸⁹

The line, "He was skilful at withholding support and hated his good peers", describes Qin Hui, but it is also applicable to wicked officials throughout the ages. "Heavy mist covered the sky and the sun was not shining on me" alludes to the emperor (sky) being deluded by Qin Hui and his underlings (heavy mist). It also refers to the fact that the 'favour of the emperor' (sun) was not on the side of Yue Fei. All good officials in different dynasties suffered when their emperors or seniors were duped by villains. These lines are presented in the voice of Yue Fei but also remind the reader of Yang's own official setbacks. Yang never wrote explicitly about his life experiences specifically in his poems on history, but his subtle expressions of his sentiment undeniably arose from his bitter experiences of life.

¹⁰⁸⁸ Zou Zhifang, ed., *YWZSJ*, p.279.

¹⁰⁸⁹ Toutou et al., *Songshi*, vol.17, p.11393-11394.

The peaceful and safe life of a recluse

Since public life was so unpredictable and it was impossible to avoid villains, Yang expressed a desire to lead the peaceful life of a recluse. It seemed to him that life would be safer if he retired from the political arena and lived like a hermit. His poems on history include mention of several which recount filial and virtuous hermits. Examples are Wang Pou in the poem, 'Wang Lu'e'¹⁰⁹⁰ (Smartweed Wang), and Tao Hongjing in 'Wai Bingzi'¹⁰⁹¹ (External military advisor). These figures were both hermits, whose lives had parallels with Yang's. Wang Pou made a living by teaching, and was famous for his filial piety and for eschewing any official position.¹⁰⁹² Yang was also very devoted to his parents and he made his living by teaching. Tao Hongjing advised Emperor Wu of Liang, 梁武帝, Xiao Yan 蕭衍 (464-549, r.502-549), on domestic affairs but did not claim any official titles.¹⁰⁹³ Nonetheless, Yang's poems about these figures do not explicitly confirm his intention to retire from official life.

Yang's desire to be a recluse became clearer only when he started to openly praise those who had tried to avoid political life and to live in solitude. For instance, in 'Chuguo liang xianfu' 楚國兩賢婦 (Two virtuous women in the State of Chu), he praises the wives of Jie Yu 接輿 (dates unknown) and Lao Laizi 老萊子 (fl.489-479) for persuading their husbands to live as recluses. In this poem, Yang speaks in his own voice,

Alas! Men nowadays,
Abandon cultivation and pursue a salary,

嗚呼今丈夫，
棄耕貪祿，

¹⁰⁹⁰ Zou Zhifang, ed., *YWZSJ*, p.196.

¹⁰⁹¹ *Ibid.*, p.204.

¹⁰⁹² For details, see Fang Xuanling et al., *Jinshu*, vol.7, pp.2277-2279.

¹⁰⁹³ Yao Silian, *Liangshu*, vol.3, p.742.

Longing for ten thousand *zhong* [containers] of grain to 粟萬鍾養孥。
 feed their wives and children,
 Their wives and children have not yet been fed, 孥未養，
 But their bodies have [been tortured and] become 身受醢菹。¹⁰⁹⁴
 pickled minced meat.

This poem shows that Yang understood the terrible risks associated with a political life, and preferred the life of a hermit over the pursuit of fortune.

Yang expresses his lack of interest in fortune and wealth, and his longing for a hermetic existence more self-consciously in his poem entitled ‘Jingtai yinshi’ 荆臺隱士 (The hermit at Jingtai). In this poem, Liang Zhen, the late Tang *jinshi*, refused to serve the Jingnan 荆南 Kingdom (924-963) after the downfall of the Tang dynasty. However, he agreed to give his advice on governing the kingdom to the founder, Gao Jichang 高季昌 (also named Gao Jixing 高季興, r.907-928), without coveting any official title.¹⁰⁹⁵ Liang insisted on retiring after Gao Conghui 高從誨 (891-948) had succeeded to his father’s throne.¹⁰⁹⁶ Yang’s poem on Liang Zhen reveals the poet’s own desires,

L1	The guest in white clothes,	白衣客，
L2	Participated in national planning,	參國謀，
L3	How could the military tent of [Prince] Bohai ¹⁰⁹⁷ make me stay behind?	渤海帷幄吾何留？
L4	I only wish to be called a hermit,	但願稱隱士，

¹⁰⁹⁴ Zou Zhifang, ed., *YWZSJ*, p. 152.

¹⁰⁹⁵ For details, see Sima Guang et al, eds., *Zizhi tongjian*, vol.18, pp. 8705-8706.

¹⁰⁹⁶ Sima Guang et al, eds., *Zizhi tongjian*, vol.19, p.9135.

¹⁰⁹⁷ Gao Jichang was granted the title of ‘Prince Bohai’ 渤海王 by Emperor Mo of Later Liang 後梁末帝 (Zhu Youzhen 朱友真, 888-923) in 914. And his eldest son, Gao Conghui was also granted the same title in 932 by Emperor Mingzong of the Later Tang dynasty (Li Siyuan 李源, r.926-933) during the Five Dynasties and Ten Kingdoms Period. See Ouyang Xiu, *Xin Wudai shi*, vol.3, p.856, 858.

- | | | |
|----|--|--------------------------|
| L5 | Return to Tuzhou | 歸土州， |
| L6 | Put on a crane-down cloak and ride a yellow cow. | 醉披鶴氅騎黃牛。 |
| L7 | [Unlike]The gentleman on Jiuhua Mountain who did not return [to his hermit home] | 九華先生不回首， |
| L8 | Bore the name of ‘Absurd and Loathsome’ for an eternity [in the end]. | 千古萬古名繆醜。 ¹⁰⁹⁸ |

As Yang skilfully hid his own sentiment, and so readers have only a few hints by which to guess his feelings. His in-voice narration of Liang Zhen’s wish (L3-L6) provides a clue. These few lines reflect Yang’s longing for a reclusive life, especially when he changes his role from narrator to historical figure, impressing his personal feelings into the voice of the character. With similar life experiences, both Liang and Yang probably had the same desires.

There is another version of L3, “profit and official salary to me are like clouds floating” (利祿於我如雲浮).¹⁰⁹⁹ This line obviously expresses the sentiment of Yang himself. He subtly integrated his own personal feelings into the narrative of this historical hermit.

In this regard, Liang Zhen may actually have been a model for Yang. Following Liang’s footprints, Yang refused to serve the new Ming dynasty in an official capacity, as he was *jinshi* of the Yuan dynasty. However, he agreed to help edit the historical classics in 1369¹¹⁰⁰ to avoid provoking the new political leader. The similarities in the situations and life experiences of Liang Zhen and Yang make it difficult to refute the idea that the poet was expressing his own sentiments through the voice of Liang.

¹⁰⁹⁸ Zou Zhifang, ed., *YWZSJ*, p.262.

¹⁰⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, p.262.

¹¹⁰⁰ Sun Xiaoli, *YWZNP*, p.305-308.

Moreover, in this poem Yang also expresses his belief that a reclusive life is safer than a public life. Song Qiqiu, ‘the gentleman on Jiuhua Mountain’, exemplifies this well; he was attracted by honour and wealth during his life, but was eventually described as ‘absurd and loathsome’ (*chou mou* 醜繆) after his death.¹¹⁰¹

Yang’s longing to live as a hermit life can also be seen in the way he praises the hermit of Mount Hua. In his poem entitled ‘*Huashan yinzhe ge*’ 華山隱者歌¹¹⁰² (Song of the hermit on Mount Hua), he glorifies Chen Tuan 陳搏 (ca.885-989) as ‘the tutor of the Emperor, an immortal among human beings’ (帝者師，人中仙).¹¹⁰³ Chen’s determination not to take up any official position and to return to his life as a hermit is expressed in the poetic line, ‘[I] laughed and left, and did not know what year it was today while I was in the mountains’ (一笑歸去不知山中今日為何年).¹¹⁰⁴ Chen Tuan’s life as a recluse on Mount Hua lasted more than a hundred years. As a result of this, he earned great respect from Emperor Shizong of Later Zhou 後周世宗 (r.954-959), despite refusing to offer the emperor advice about how to achieve perpetual rejuvenation and longevity.¹¹⁰⁵ But does this poetic line also reflect Yang’s own feelings? It not only expresses Yang’s determination to live as a hermit but also his premonition that a reclusive life would be an enjoyable one.

The lives of these hermits, especially Liang Zhen, were similar to Yang’s life as a recluse when he was old. It is possible that they set a positive example for

¹¹⁰¹ For details, see Ouyang Xiu, *Xin Wudaishi*, vol.3, p.771; Sima Guang et al, eds., *Zizhi tongjian*, vol.20, p.9594.

¹¹⁰² Zou Zhifang, ed., *YWZSJ*, p.273.

¹¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, p.274.

¹¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, p.274.

¹¹⁰⁵ For details, see Toutou et al., *Song shi*, vol.19, pp.13420-13421.

Yang, assuring him that living as a hermit was peaceful and safe. Therefore, Yang concentrated on his teaching just like Wang Pou, and refused to accept any official titles from the leaders of the new dynasty. Nonetheless, he offered his assistance to the new ruler when called on just as Liang Zhen had. At the same time, however, Yang's reclusive life was in conflict with his desire to become a competent official. This caused him pain in the same way that, in his later years, his internal Confucian beliefs were at odds with his external appearance as a Taoist. This tension explains why he sighed with regret when, in 1345, he read Huang Jie's poems.¹¹⁰⁶ He exclaimed that the talents of many people, like Huang, were not recognised.

6.2.2 Philosophy on life reflected in poetry

If poetry on history is a reflection of a poet's mind,¹¹⁰⁷ then the reader is able to read a poet's philosophic mind through his poems. Yang's perception on worldly life is unconsciously expressed in his poems on history, which conveys his main philosophy on life.

Hiding and revealing have their time

Before Yang turned fifty in 1346, he composed two poems, namely 'Tuan shan ge' 團扇歌 (Song of the silk round fan), and 'Ban Jieyu' (The Jieyu Concubine née Ban), in which he revealed his sympathy towards Ban, the

¹¹⁰⁶ Sun Xiaoli, *YWZNP*, p.103.

¹¹⁰⁷ Huang Resheng, *YWZYMMCWXS*, p.265

imperial concubine of Emperor Cheng of Han (r.33-7 B.C.), and expressed his general attitude towards life. When Yang composed this poem, he may still have been optimistic regarding the prospects for his official career, even though he had suffered some political setbacks. Hence, he held an emancipative (*huoda* 豁達) philosophy on life. The poem, ‘Song of the silk round fan’, reveals this,

- | | | |
|----|--|------------------------|
| L1 | A silk round fan, a silk round fan, | 團扇復團扇， |
| L2 | [We] Do not see it in the autumn wind, | 秋風不相見， |
| L3 | Hiding and revealing both have their time, | 隱顯各有時， |
| L4 | Dancing in [the household of the Master of] Yang’a are the two swallows. | 陽阿舞雙燕。 ¹¹⁰⁸ |

Line three, ‘Hiding and revealing both have their time,’ describes the fate of the silk fan. The word, ‘yin’ 隱 can mean ‘concealing’ (*cang* 藏), ‘lowly’ (*wei* 微) or ‘go’ (*qu* 去),¹¹⁰⁹ and symbolises a person in an lowly position (*wei*), leaving secretly (*qu*) or hiding himself away as a hermit (*cang*). And ‘xian’ 顯 can mean ‘bright’ (*ming* 明), ‘well-being’ (*da* 達) and ‘famous’ (*zhu* 著),¹¹¹⁰ symbolising those with wealth or those who have risen to power. Hence, this highly nuanced line reveals Yang’s emancipated mind: he believed that everyone has his or her own timing when it comes to achieving high or low social status. He believed that everyone in power would fall from his high social or political position one day, and similarly those without power would gain it.

It seems that Yang’s philosophy may have been stimulated by an old *yuefu* poem entitled ‘Gu duojie ge’ 古咄嗒歌 (Ancient song of sighs), which contains a poetic line that succinctly describes the same philosophy: ‘Flourishing and

¹¹⁰⁸ Zou Zhifang, ed., *YWZSJ*, p.129.

¹¹⁰⁹ Zhang Yushu et al., *Kangxi zidian*, p.1351.

¹¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p.1404.

blossoming have their own time” (榮華各有時).¹¹¹¹ This line literally refers to a date tree, which has its appointed time to blossom and prosper. But ‘*ronghua*’ (榮華) also has the meaning ‘honour and prestige’ (*rongyao* 榮耀)¹¹¹² or ‘famous and powerful’ (*xiangui* 顯貴).¹¹¹³ Both therefore, also describe human well-being, and have a similar meaning to ‘xian’ (顯) above. This is another example of the influence of *yuefu* poetry on Yang.

This kind of ‘a-time’ philosophy resonates with the concept of karma in Buddhism. Walpola Rahula wrote:

The theory of karma is the theory of cause and effect, of action and reaction; it is a natural law, which has nothing to do with the idea of justice or reward and punishment. Every volitional action produces its effects or results. If a good action produces good effects and a bad action bad effects, it is not justice, or reward, or punishment meted out by anybody or any power sitting in judgement on you action, but this is in virtue of its own nature, its own law.¹¹¹⁴

In Buddhist teaching, there is a time for people to be rich, a time to be poor, a time to be in power, and a time to be out of power. Moreover, these burdens and vicissitudes are all the results of one’s volition. It is quite plausible that Yang was influenced by Buddhism as he had more friends who were Buddhist monks than he had Taoist friends.¹¹¹⁵ Zhi Jue’en 釋覺恩 (14th c.), for example, was one of them. In addition, Buddhism enjoyed the highest status of all the religions at that time.¹¹¹⁶

¹¹¹¹ Guo Maoqian, comp., *Yuefu shiji*, vol.3, p.1045.

¹¹¹² Luo Zhufeng, main ed., *HYDCD.SYB*, vol.1, p.2666

¹¹¹³ *Ibid.*, vol.1, p.2666

¹¹¹⁴ Walpola Rahula, *What the Buddha Taught*, p. 32.

¹¹¹⁵ Huang Rensheng, *YWZYMMCWXS*, p.46.

¹¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p.46.

Interestingly, Yang's 'a-time' philosophy has some parallels in the Old Testament of the Bible, which reads, "A time to search and a time to give up; a time to keep and a time to throw away; a time to tear and a time to mend; a time to be silent and a time to speak; a time to love and a time to hate" (Ecclesiastes 3:18).¹¹¹⁷ In other words, the belief that all things have their time is also present in Judaism and Christianity.

Yang's broad and emancipative mind is evidenced in another of his poems 'The Jieyu Concubine né Ban'. In the second line (L2), 'Silk fan' is a metaphor for Concubine Ban, who was at first favoured and then later neglected by the Emperor. She was like a silk fan that is welcomed by people in the hot season but no longer wanted in the cold season. "[The lady in] Changmen" originally related to Empress Chen, who was deposed to Changmen Palace. Here, however, it refers to Concubine Ban, who met a fate similar to Empress Chen, and was abandoned by Emperor Cheng of Han (51 B.C.-7 B.C.). Ban did not hire a poet to help her (to win back the Emperor's love) because she did not think a poem would come to the attention of the Emperor. This was because of the experience of Empress Chan who had hired Sima Xiangru to help her but still lamented in the autumn wind.

- L1 [The lady in] Changmen did not need to hire 長門不用買多才，
a great talent,
- L2 The silk fan for the hot and cold seasons, 紈扇炎涼善自裁；
she was able to make it well herself.
- L3 A word from the [poor scholar who was like 五鬼一言能寤主，
the] five poor ghosts¹¹¹⁸ could enlighten the

¹¹¹⁷ Anonymous. *Holy Bible (Chinese/English)*, p.1085.

¹¹¹⁸ 'Five ghosts' (*wu gui* 五鬼) refers to the five poverty ghosts: of intelligence (*zhi* 智), knowledge (*xue* 學), writing (*wen* 文), fate (*ming* 命) and social activities (*jiao* 交). Han Yu

emperor,

L4 [There would not be] Lament at Siwang 秋飄愁殺思望臺。¹¹²⁰
Tower¹¹¹⁹ in the autumn wind.

This description of Concubine Ban's composure despite losing the love of the Emperor reflects Yang's emancipated mind. Through Concubine Ban, he conveys his calm attitude towards, and optimistic philosophy about, the hardships and vicissitudes of life. In other words, Yang believed that one should learn to be calm and composed despite life's ups and downs, just as (the silk fan) Concubine Ban had been able to settle (itself) herself in times (seasons) of both favour (hot), and abandonment (cold). Yang's emancipative mind and optimistic attitude may have helped him to overcome any sadness he felt as a result of the setbacks in his official career. At the time, Yang was most likely in a somewhat 'lowly' status and was seen as an 'unconventional official', just like a fan in the cold season. However, he was calm, and patiently waited for the hot season, a time in which he would once more be respected in the political arena.

regards them as 'five troubles' (*wu huan* 五患) in his 'Songqiong wen' 送窮文 (Sending away the poverty). See Dong Gao et al., comp., *Quan Tangwen*, vol.4, p.3334. Here, 'the person of five ghosts' seems to refer to Sima Xiangru. Sima Qian, *Shiji*, vol.6, p.1979 (annotation).

¹¹¹⁹ *Siwang Tower* (*Siwang tai* 思望臺), which means 'a tower for looking forward to seeing and longing for [a person]', was built on the lake of the Sizi 思子 (Missing Son) Palace by the Emperor Wu of Han in 90B.C. in memory of his eldest son, Liu Ju 劉據 (128-91B.C.). Emperor Wu was tricked by wicked officials into killing his son. When he found out the truth, he was full of regret. For details, see Sima Guang et al., eds., *Zizhi tongjian*, vol.2, pp.728-733, 737.

¹¹²⁰ Zou Zhifang, ed., *YWZSJ*, p.395.

Human relationships in political life are hollow

Yang also believed that human relationships in political life were hollow. He believed that, in general, people tended to value those in power and neglect those of lowly status, and although they tended to flatter those who held power, they would soon disown them once it had been. The preface to his poem entitled ‘Niutou a’pang’ 牛頭阿旁 (The ox-headed torturers from Hell), clearly expressed this opinion.

The number of underlings in Lu Yan’s party was quite large, but people had not heard that there was one ox-headed torturer, who had escorted Lu when he left to go south. Those people were attached to Lu when he was in power but move away from him once he had lost it. Why would the Prime Minister [Lu] be happy to nurture such people?

夫[路]岩之黨眾矣，南行未聞有一阿旁護送者。得勢則附，失勢則離，宰相亦何樂養此輩哉！¹¹²¹

This preface directly criticises snobbery and laments the hollowness of human relationships in political life. People would flatter those in power and bully those with low social status. However, their flattery changed to indifference once the powerful had lost his power. Yang tried to show the shallowness and insincerity of human relations in the poem itself,

L1	The Emperor of the Xiantong [era]	咸通主，
L2	Played hard and neglected his duties.	嬉於荒。
L3	The Chancellor of the Xiantong [era]	咸通相，
L4	Was unbridled in his ruthlessness.	肆厥狂。
L5	Inside his door were all the fearful ox-headed torturers from Hell,	門下伯什牛頭旁，
L6	Only [Chen Pan]sou of Aizhou county,	愛州叟，
L7	Dared to criticise these ox-headed torturers.	敢論牛頭旁。

¹¹²¹ Zou Zhifang, ed., *YWZSJ*, p.248-249.

- | | | |
|----|--|----------------------------|
| L8 | On his way to Jiannan Circuit the next year, | 明年劍南道， |
| L9 | Rubble [came down] like rain and he did not see the ox-headed torturers from Hell. | 瓦礫如雨不見牛頭旁。 ¹¹²² |

Lu Yan 路岩 (827-874) was chancellor in the Xiantong 咸通 era (860-874) during the reign of the Emperor Yizong of Tang 懿宗 (r.859-873), Li Cui 李漼 (833-873). The Emperor trusted Lu Yan and he therefore demoted the County Magistrate, Chen Pansou 陳蟠叟 (8th c.), to Aizhou¹¹²³ for criticising Lu's underling.¹¹²⁴

The members of Lu's party were called 'Ox-headed torturers from Hell', which gives some idea of their wickedness. Yang explained this in his preface, '[people said] their evil deeds were as scary as the ghosts' (言如鬼陰惡可畏也). In fact, 'Niutou a'pang' 牛頭阿旁 is a term from Buddhism, which literally means 'the ghost messengers in Hell with ox-heads and ox-legs, but human hands.'¹¹²⁵ They tortured evil people in Hell by forking them into a big pot and boiling their flesh to mush.¹¹²⁶ The use of a Buddhist term in the title of a poem illustrates Yang's interest in Buddhism.

When Lu Yan was demoted and sent away to Sichuan in 871A.D., no 'ox-headed torturers' went to see him off. The officer Xue Neng 薛能 (*jinsi* title 846) whom Lu had recommended for promotion, refused to send guards to protect Lu from the stones and broken tiles that were thrown at him.¹¹²⁷ For Yang, human relationships in political life were contrived in the sense that people

¹¹²² Zou Zhifang, ed., *YWZSJ*, p.248-249.

¹¹²³ Aizhou 愛州 is in modern Thanh Hóa province in Vietnam. See Wei Songshan, main ed., *Zhongguo gudian shici diming cidian*, p.643.

¹¹²⁴ Sima Guang et al., eds., *Zizhi tongjian*, vol.17, p.8150.

¹¹²⁵ Luo Zhufeng, main ed., *HYDCD.SYB*, vol.2, p.3481.

¹¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, p.3481.

¹¹²⁷ Sima Guang et al., eds., *Zizhi tongjian*, vol.17, pp.8161-8162.

made a show of being helpful to those who were in power.

Regardless of whether Yang was influenced by Buddhism or Taoism, his philosophy on life was deeply rooted in Confucianism. As mentioned before, he was a Neo-Confucian scholar of Genzhai School. Huang Rensheng writes:

Yang's system of philosophy was rooted in Confucianism for his whole life.

他的思想結構中終其一生都是以儒為本。¹¹²⁸

Yang was an exemplar of Confucian morality throughout his life¹¹²⁹, and this aspect of his character came through in some of his poetry. He wrote:

Evaluating a poem is no different from evaluating [the poet's] character.
評詩之品，無異人品也。¹¹³⁰

His poetry is a reflection of his temperament and moral stature. He was a Neo-Confucian scholar, and his poems therefore focus on historical figures with Confucian virtues. Moreover, the means by which he conveyed his Confucian philosophy can be categorised as either direct or indirect advocacy. Direct advocacy involves the glorification of historical figures' good deeds and virtuous characters. Indirect advocacy involves the derision of villains and wicked officials who violated the moral teachings of Confucianism.

6.2.3 Direct advocacy of Confucian virtues

¹¹²⁸ Huang Rensheng, *YWZYMMCWXS*, p.39.

¹¹²⁹ See Introduction chapter, section one of this thesis.

¹¹³⁰ Preface to 'Zhaoshi shilu 趙氏詩錄', in Jin Yuan, comp., *Yang Weizhen xuwen ji*, p.134.

Yang advocated Confucian virtues by glorifying righteous figures from history. His poems are full of depictions of loyalty, filial piety, chastity and so on. He praised virtuous and wise women in his poem, ‘Two virtuous women in the State of Chu’,¹¹³¹ and wrote a poem on brotherhood entitled ‘Wuwang qiu ge’ 五王毬歌 (Song of five princes in playing ball). He also lavished praise on devout daughters and sons. Poems, such as ‘Wang Xiaozhi’ (Filial son surnamed Wang) and ‘Wang Liao’e’ (Smartweed Wang)¹¹³² laud filial piety and virtuous conduct. Luo Buchan says,

‘Smartweed Wang’ encourages filial piety. ... ‘Song of Five Princes in Playing Ball’ advocates true brotherhood. ... ‘Two Virtuous Women in the State of Chu’ shows the rectitude of being husband and wife.

〈王蓼莪〉，敦孝行也。…… 〈五王球〉，篤友愛也。…… 〈楚國兩賢婦〉，夫婦之正也。¹¹³³

Luo thus notes that Yang aimed to promote Confucian virtues in his poems on history. Irene Edber believes that Confucius admired Boyi 伯夷 (fl.1099-1043B.C.) for his purity and willingness to choose death over a life of a shame.¹¹³⁴ Yang Weizhen did not write any poems on Boyi, but he exhibited similar admiration for a character’s purity by, for example, eulogising a character who chose to die rather than lose her chastity. He praised chaste women in poems such as ‘Jingu buzhang ge’ 金谷步障歌 (Song of the screen in the Golden Valley) and ‘Lüzhu xing’ 綠珠行 (Song of Lüzhu),¹¹³⁵ in which he told the tale

¹¹³¹ Zou Zhifang, ed., *YWZSJ*, p.152.

¹¹³² *Ibid.*, p.197.

¹¹³³ Lou Buchan, ed., *Tieya yongshi zhu*, p.528.

¹¹³⁴ Edber, Irene, ed., *Confucianism: The Dynamics of Tradition*, pp.166-179.

¹¹³⁵ Zou Zhifang, ed., *YWZSJ*, p.198-199.

of the beautiful Lüzhū jumping from a tall tower to protect her chastity.¹¹³⁶

However, of all the virtues, the one that Yang stressed most of all was loyalty. Let us take *Tieya yongshi* (Iron Cliff's poems on history) as an example. In this collection, there are twenty-seven poems about historical figures who committed suicide, died or endured from pain for the sake of their country or master.

Confucian Morality							
Virtuousness	Greatness & Bravery	Filial Piety	Wisdom	Capability	Chastity	Loyalty	Honesty & Chasteness
13	11	5	2	12	3	27	9
No. of poems							

It seems that, for Yang, loyalty to one's country or master is the most fundamental moral virtue. He praises those who committed suicide for their country or masters, and questions those who did not.

Yang glorifies a hero in the poem, 'Chuan sheli' 傳舍吏 (Courier station officer). In this poem, the son of a courier station official at Handan 邯鄲 (in modern Hebei province) named Li Tong 李同 (3rd c. B.C.), together with three thousand volunteer soldiers, sacrificed themselves in battle for Lord Pingyuan 平原, Zhao Sheng 趙勝 (?-253B.C.).¹¹³⁷ Yang also praises loyal officials in the poems such as 'Yan Taishi' 顏太師 (Grand Tutor Yan).¹¹³⁸ In this poem, he portrays the loyalty of Yan Zhenqing (709-785), who refused to surrender to rebels, and was tragically executed by hanging at the age of seventy-five *sui*.¹¹³⁹ However, the poem 'Mudi qu' (Song of herding rams) is the most obvious

¹¹³⁶ Fang Xuanling et al., *Jinshu*, vol.4, p.1008.

¹¹³⁷ Sima Qian, *Shiji*, vol.7, pp.2368-2369.

¹¹³⁸ Zou Zhifang, ed., *YWZSJ*, p.238.

¹¹³⁹ Ouyang Xiu et al., *Xin Tangshu*, vol.16, p.4860.

example of Yang's advocacy of loyalty and chasteness.¹¹⁴⁰

Yang praises Su Wu's loyalty by describing his hard life spent herding rams in the icy northern district. This poem portrays a fragment of the life of Su Wu, who visited the Huns on a diplomatic mission and was detained for nineteen years until he was rescued.

'Su [Wu] was detained by the Huns for nineteen years. He first went there when he was young, but when he returned his beard and hair had already turned white.'

武留匈奴凡十九歲，始以彊壯出，及還，須髮盡白。¹¹⁴¹

Yang depicts the darkest period of Su Wu's life and describes his sufferings during his long detention. According to *Hanshu*, in order to force Wu to surrender, the Huns detained him in a big cellar without food. All Wu had to chew was snow and the feathers from his flag. However, he was miraculously able to survive several days' confinement and was then sent to herd rams by the North Sea (modern Lake Baikal in Russia), from where he would only be permitted to return once his rams had produced milk.¹¹⁴² However, no matter what sufferings he had to endure or what position the Huns gave him (the 'Left Prince of Virtue' or the 'Prince of Dingling Tribe'), he chose to be loyal to his own country - "But I pledged to die by hugging my chastity, And to die without being tied for surrender" (誓有抱節死，死無面縛降). This clearly demonstrates the importance Yang placed on loyalty.

¹¹⁴⁰ Lou Buchan says, "The 'Song of herding rams' illuminates loyalty and chasteness. Is it not about [a person] who exhausted himself to serve his country?" (牧羝曲，昭忠節也，其盡瘁事國之謂乎?) See Lou Buchan, ed., *Tieya yongshi zhu*, p.528.

¹¹⁴¹ Ban Gu, *Hanshu*, vol.8, p.2467.

¹¹⁴² See Ban Gu, *Hanshu*, vol.7, p.2463.

Yang also composed poems to praise women who had died for their country. For instance, the poem 'Shuangzhi cao' 雙雉操 (Song of two pheasants) commends two imperial concubines surnamed Li 李 and Zhu 祝, who chose to be killed for and retain their dignity, rather than beg for survival after their lord, Liu Shouguang 劉守光 (?-914), had been captured in 914 A.D.¹¹⁴³ Yang praises them thus,

Choosing to be two valiant [women] killed by a 寧為兩烈死白刃，
 shining sword,
 Rather than living in a golden cage under a king 不活金籠異姓王。¹¹⁴⁴
 with a different surname.

They preferred to die out of loyalty to their country rather than live as slaves to their enemies. Yang's respect for their loyalty and sympathy for their death reflect his Confucian philosophy.

Yang's emphasis on the importance of loyalty is especially clear in another poem 'Tongque ji' 銅雀妓 (Courtesans on the Bronze Sparrow Terrace), in which he questions why the courtesans did not follow their master, Cao Cao, to their deaths.¹¹⁴⁵

Would like to ask the courtesans in the hall, 試問堂上妓，
 Why didn't you commit suicide like [those in] the 何不殉死如秦丘？
 tomb of [Duke Mu of] Qin? ¹¹⁴⁶

Around 177 people followed Duke Mu of Qin to their deaths in the thirty-ninth year of the reign of Duke Mu of the State of Qin.¹¹⁴⁷ Yang believed that the

¹¹⁴³ For details, see Sima Guang et al., eds., *Zizhi tongjian*, vol.19, pp.8781-8782.

¹¹⁴⁴ Zou Zhifang, ed., *YWZSJ*, p. 252.

¹¹⁴⁵ Zou Zhifang, ed., *YWZSJ*, p.188.

¹¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p.188.

¹¹⁴⁷ Sima Qian, *Shiji* vol.1, pp.194-195.

courtesans should also have shown loyalty by following Cao Cao to their deaths. A woman can show her loyalty to one man through her chastity, and therefore Yang placed great importance on that virtue too. His poem, 'Qiaojia qie' 喬家妾 (Concubine of Qiao family), glorifies Biyu, who committed suicide for her lover and master, Qiao Zhizhi.¹¹⁴⁸ In the poem, Yang praises her and calls her 'Winter hardwood of chastity' (節操冬貞木).¹¹⁴⁹

Many of Yang's poems on history convey Confucian virtues via the stories of historical figures. He selects historical figures with such virtues as loyalty, chastity and filial piety, and by glorifying them he promotes his own sense of morality to the world. This is not empty rhetoric, however: it is completely consistent with Yang's personality that of a morally upright person whose philosophy was deeply rooted in Confucianism.¹¹⁵⁰ He demonstrated this many times, both as a straightforward and honest official in his career, and a virtuous person in his private life. His Confucian morality stimulated him to create poems on history, which in turn enabled him to promote his Confucian values. As channels for him to express his respect and admiration for virtuous historical figures, his poems enables him to project his Confucian philosophy.

6.2.4 Indirect advocacy of Confucian morality

In addition to directly conveying Confucian morality as discussed above, Yang also advocated Confucian morality indirectly by exposing wickedness. Wu Fu

¹¹⁴⁸ See Sima Guang et al., eds., *Zizhi tongjian*, vol.14, p.6518.

¹¹⁴⁹ Zou Zhifang, ed., *YWZSJ*, p.227.

¹¹⁵⁰ Yang is listed as a Confucian scholar in Wang Zicai and Feng Yunhao, eds., *Gaoben Song Yuan xuean buyi*, p.743.

noted this and pointed out that Yang's poems inherited the traditions of *fengya* (airs and odes) of *Shijing* (Book of Poetry), which is one of the *Five Classics* of Confucianism.

Yuefu is generated from a change of *fengya* [airs and odes]. It shows sympathy with contemporary social events and satirises [improper] customs, and presents the goodness and exposes wickedness. Being comparable with *fengya* without violating [its traditions] is the aim of our gentleman's [Yang's] poetry.

夫樂府出風雅之變，而憫時病俗，陳善聞邪，將與風雅並行而不悖，則先生詩旨也。¹¹⁵¹

Yang aimed to demonstrate goodness and expose viciousness in order to alert the world of what was right and wrong. Therefore, his *yuefu* poems on history are extremely critical of bootlickers, cunning officials, rebels, and silky-tongued sycophants and villains. For example, in *Tieya yongshi* (Iron Cliff's poetry on history), many poems satirise imperial family members and officials guilty of wicked deeds, rebels scrambling for power, ersatz hermits and Taoists with hollow and harsh reputations. The seventy four of Yang's poems that cover these types of venal historical figures can be broken down as in the table below.

Immorality					
Evilness of Imperial Palace members	Warlords & Disloyalty	Officials' scrambling for power	Shameless and immoral people	Greedy officers or generals	Hermits or Taoists with hollow reputations
23	17	13	13	4	4
Number of poems					

¹¹⁵¹ Lou Buchan, ed., *Tieya yuefu zhu*, p.435.

‘Luoye ci’ (Poem on falling leaves)¹¹⁵² is a typical example of a poem in the category, ‘Evilness of Imperial Palace members’. By his tactful use of symbols, Yang exposes the licentiousness of Wang Chang, the ruler of the State of Min 閩 in the Five Dynasties and Ten Kingdoms period. Chang killed his sick father, Wang Lin 王鏐 (Wang Yanjun 王延鈞, d.935), and his younger brother, Wang Jitao 王繼韜 (10th c.), in order to make himself king.¹¹⁵³ The official historical documents allude to this evil coup,

The ruler of Min was quite seriously ill, but [his son] Jipeng looked happy.

閩主疾甚，繼鵬有喜色。¹¹⁵⁴

[Wang] Lin’s maid, Chunyan, was beautiful, and his son Jipeng slept with her.

[王]鏐婢春燕有色，其子繼鵬蒸之。¹¹⁵⁵

In the poem, Yang subtly satirises the act of Wang Chang taking his father’s woman and thus violating Confucian etiquette. He also exposes Wang Chang’s superstitious nature and his blind trust in witches and wizards. However, the main focus of the poem is Wang Chang’s wrong-headed decision to expel the good official, Ye Qiao.

Line six, “But one leaf fell on the wind and fluttered” (一葉落兮隨風飄), hints at the demotion of Ye Qiao, who had tried hard to stop Wang Chang’s licentiousness by dressing in a Taoist robe and threatening to resign. Ye was later consoled by Chang and restored to office. However, when Chang became

¹¹⁵² For more about whole poem and more about it, see Chapter 4.4.

¹¹⁵³ Ouyang Xiu et al., *Xin wudai shi*, vol.3, pp.849-850.

¹¹⁵⁴ Sima Guang et al., eds., *Zizhi tongjian*, vol.19, p.9134.

¹¹⁵⁵ Ouyang Xiu et al., *Xin wudai shi*, vol.3, p.849.

infatuated with Li Chunyan, his late father's maid, he ignored his current queen, Lady Li of Liang State. Ye remonstrated and was again relegated.¹¹⁵⁶ Yang exposes Wang Chang's foolishness by saying, "The Imperial Palace of Treasure and August - Was replete with wizards and goblins." (寶皇殿，肆巫妖) These lines allude to the fact that Chang was superstitious and indulged in sorcery and witchcraft in his palace. Official historical records affirm this,

[Wang] Chang was also fond of witchcraft. He granted a Taoist, Tan Zixiao, the title 'Mr. Zhengyi' and made Chen Shouyuan the 'Heavenly Master'; Goblin sorcerer, Lin Xing, was favoured because of his sorcery. Regardless of whether it was important or trivial, [Wang Chang] would use words from [these people in] the Imperial Palace of Treasure and August before acting.

昶亦好巫，拜道士譚紫霄為正一先生，又拜陳守元為天師，而妖人林興以巫見幸，事無大小，興輒以寶皇語命之而後行。¹¹⁵⁷

Wang Chang also committed incest by taking his father's concubine, Li Chunyan, whose first name 'Chunyan' means 'spring swallow'. The line '[And made] The spring swallow on the top tower flew into the Lingxiao Palace' alludes to this impropriety,

[Wang] Chang became even more incestuous by making his father's maid, Chunyan, his Concubine of Refinement and later making her queen.

而昶愈惑亂，立父婢春燕為淑妃，後立以為皇后。¹¹⁵⁸

The last line, '[Leaving] The leaf to fall into the ditch with its water flowing far away' hints at the demotion of the upright official Ye Qiao to his hometown,

¹¹⁵⁶ Sima Guang et al., eds., *Zizhi tongjian*, vol.19, p.9136-9137.

¹¹⁵⁷ Ouyang Xiu et al., *Xin wudai shi*, vol.3, p.851.

¹¹⁵⁸ Ouyang Xiu et al., *Xin wudai shi*, vol.3, p.851.

which was far away from the palace. Yang does not overtly criticise the nefarious king in this poem, but he exposes Wang Chang's immorality, leaving the reader to discern his future failures hidden underneath his wickedness.

By contrast, Yang overtly expresses his opprobrium in another poem on a similar theme, 'Lanmian gui' 藍面鬼 (The ghost with a blue face).¹¹⁵⁹ In this poem, Yang exposes the wickedness of the chancellor, Lu Qi, whose face was blue, and whom everybody regarded as a ghost.¹¹⁶⁰ Guo Ziyi, for example, was very cautious about receiving him as a guest and did not allow the female members of his family to meet him.

His family members asked for the reasons [why they could not see him], and Ziyi said, 'Qi is ugly in appearance and has a vicious heart; our servants will certainly laugh when they see him. If this fellow comes to power, not a single member of our clan will survive.

家人問其故，子儀曰：「杞形陋而心險，左右見之必笑。若此人得權，即吾族無類矣。」¹¹⁶¹

Guo Ziyi understood Lu's wicked nature, but Emperor Dezong of Tang 唐德宗 (r.779-805) innocently trusted him and this led to the death of several capable officials.¹¹⁶² The line "But the emperor saw him as having special charms" alludes to this and satirises the emperor.

Yang first introduces Lu as the 'ghost with a blue face' to emphasise his evil nature. He then describes Lu's folly in not being able to see through Zhu Ci's plan to set up a rebellion.¹¹⁶³ Next, Yang attacks Lu Qi's wickedness (L9-L10), saying

¹¹⁵⁹ For the whole poem and more about it, see Chapter 5.2.1.

¹¹⁶⁰ Liu Xu et al., *Jiu Tangshu*, vol.11, pp.3713.

¹¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*, pp.3713-3714.

¹¹⁶² For details, see Liu Xu et al., *Jiu Tangshu*, vol.11, p.3714.

¹¹⁶³ See Sima Guang et al., eds., *Zizhi tongjian*, vol.16, pp.7358-7360.

‘The ghost was so scared, But he was still able to kill Cui Ning with the Sword of Heaven.’ Qi was afraid of Cui Ning and slandered him, claiming that he had rebelled against the country, and had persuaded the emperor (Son of Heaven) to kill him by a secret decree.¹¹⁶⁴

“The general who rescued the Son of Heaven came to pay his respects,” refers to Li Huaiguang 李懷光 (729-785) who rescued the emperor from rebels.

Huaiguang believed he had made a great contribution by coming from a place a thousand *li*¹¹⁶⁵ [miles] away to save the emperor, but he was prevented from meeting the emperor by the wicked officials. Not being able to channel his disappointment and discontent, he rebelled and disclosed the evil deeds of Qi and Qi’s underlings.

懷光自以千里勤難，有大功，為奸臣沮間，不一見天子，內怏怏無所發，遂謀反，因暴言杞等罪惡。¹¹⁶⁶

Li Huaiguang’s rebellion resulted from the fact that he was not allowed to see the emperor. Lu Qi was finally killed in Lizhou 澧州 (modern Li county of Hunan province) with support from Li Bi 李泌 (722-789).¹¹⁶⁷ The line ‘Died in the Lizhou’ signals the end of this immoral chancellor. Yang exposed Lu’s villainous behaviour by describing his evil deeds, thus warning the reader that this kind of cunning official could only meet a tragic fate. In this way, he aimed to promote morality through his poems. Yang’s moral agenda was noted by Lou Buchen,

A poem on history is history in poetic form, and the gentleman gave

¹¹⁶⁴ For details, see Sima Guang et al., eds., *Zizhi tongjian*, vol.16, pp.7361-7362.

¹¹⁶⁵ *Li* 里 (mile): In ancient time, one *li* was three hundred steps (三百步為一里), and later three hundred and sixty steps (三百六十步為一里). See Zhen Luan ed., *Xiahou Yang suanjing*, in SKQS, vol.797, p.233.

¹¹⁶⁶ Ouyang Xiu et al., *Xin Tangshu*, vol.20 p.6354.

¹¹⁶⁷ For details, please refer to Ouyang Xiu et al., *Xin Tangshu*, vol.20, p.6354.

clear instructions. He said, 'In golden periods, the Yu Courts recorded songs to illustrate harmony between the emperor and his officials in their methods [of ruling the country]; while the five princes [in *Shangshu*, Historical Classic] have written works to demonstrate the virtue of brotherhood. The poem 'Guanju' (Ospreys) brings to the forefront the rectitude of being a husband and wife, and the poem 'Xiaomin' (Mean people in Heaven) illustrates thoroughly the kindness between a father and his sons. These are all teachings in the *Book of Poetry*.

夫詠史，則詩史也，先生有明訓矣。其言曰：「虞廷載歌，君臣之道合；五子有作，兄弟之義彰。關雎首夫婦之正，小旻全父子之恩，詩之教也。」¹¹⁶⁸

Yang hoped to promote Confucian morality through his poems on history, which conveyed the teachings written in the *Book of Poetry*. This hope reflected, and was consistent with, Yang's Confucian philosophy and his upright character. His desire to warn people and political leaders via his poems on history is typical of Confucian scholars. Confucianism teaches that a 'gentleman' is someone who 'cultivates himself and thereby brings peace and security to the people' (修己以安百姓)¹¹⁶⁹ Hence, Yang as a gentleman, hated rebels and wicked officials who caused their people to suffer, and he therefore composed his poems on history in order to make people more aware.

Lunyu states that a benevolent man is able to love and hate.¹¹⁷⁰ Yang's hatred for rebels presupposes his respect for the legitimate and orthodox rule of the Yuan dynasty, and his loyalty to the Yuan government. Also, his concern for the people demonstrates his benevolence. Loyalty and benevolence are Confucian teachings that Yang strictly observed. It seems that, for him, poems

¹¹⁶⁸ Lou Buchan, ed., *Tieya yongshi zhu*, p.528.

¹¹⁶⁹ Zhu Xi, ed., *Lunyu jizhu*, p.152.

¹¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p.31.

on history were important lessons for the edification of the people, and not just songs to entertain or literary works to be appreciated.

Concluding remarks

Yang's poems on history demonstrate Confucian ideas and generally advocate the Confucian virtues. Why did Yang try to advocate these virtues? Certainly, one of the reasons is that his mind was rooted in Confucianism. Another reason is that he wanted to uphold Confucian morality. Huang Yaxin points out the effects of the weakening of Confucianism. She said if the original Confucian standards no longer applied, this would be a blow to scholars who had studied Confucian classics and passed the civil examinations, and it would also be confusing for those who were used to living under Confucian morality.¹¹⁷¹ This probably explains why Yang wanted to advocate Confucianism through his poems on history. If Confucian morality had weakened, it would indeed have been a fatal blow to Yang, who had studied the Confucian classics and had lived under its way for his whole life. Therefore, it is no exaggeration to say Yang's advocacy of Confucianism was not simply a reflection of his sentiments, but was also an attempt to uphold Confucianism for the sake of Confucian scholars and for the stability of society.

In addition to his Confucian philosophy, Yang's special views on history also helped to make his poetic content unique. The views that Yang espoused in his poems on history also reflect his mind and his way of thinking. In order to stick to his concepts of legitimate *zhengtong* (political line of succession) and orthodox

¹¹⁷¹ Huang Yaxin, *Wei Jin yongshi shi yanjiu*, p.46.

daotong (moral line of succession) rule, he praised the legitimate rulers and relegated the illegitimate ones. His essay on orthodox and legitimate rule helped to stop a controversy that had lasted one hundred years and ensured that the Southern Song dynasty was seen as the political and moral line of succession.

Because Yang's historical viewpoints were fundamentally rooted in Confucianism, he saw historical events in a wider context. To him, Mao Yanshu's misbehaviour should have been forgiven as he had saved the emperor from becoming deeply involved with the beauty, Wang Zhaojun. Yang also valued men's virtues more than their achievements. This was also a reflection of his Confucian values, to him, virtue was somehow a great achievement. His poem on Su Wu demonstrates this belief.

Yang's philosophy on life derived from the bitter setbacks he experienced in his career. He saw political life was unpredictable, and longed for peaceful and safe life as a recluse. He believed that everybody had his time at the top or bottom of social or political hierarchies, and that no one could retain power or be at the top forever.

Yang chose to live as a recluse in his old age. This may have been because he saw no chance of returning to his official career, and also because he despised the shallowness of the human relationships he had observed in political life. In summary, Yang's Confucian mind, special views on history and a complicated personality that encompassed a rich diversity of feelings and interests, all contribute to his unique poetic content, creating his own 'Iron Style'.

Conclusion

The aim of this thesis is to explore Yang Weizhen's Iron Style poems on history, and analyse their form and constituent elements. It has shown that Yang's special poetic style was the consequence of his life experience, personal interests and complex personality. Yang loved drama, courtesans, wine, music, travel and various other forms of entertainment. However, he also wanted to become an eminent official and to achieve something in his career. His philosophy was rooted in Confucianism, but he wore a Taoist robe and many of his friends were Buddhist monks.

The first chapter was an attempt to understand more about Yang's Iron Style poetry on history and look into the background of the emergence of this style. I discovered that Yang's poems on history were motivated not only by his interest in history itself, but also by the chaotic political conditions of the time as well as his rich social life. Yang's literary gatherings, an interest in painting, music and drama, as well as a fondness for travelling to places with beautiful lakes and mountains inspired him to compose poetry on history. Interestingly, some of his poems were meant to be sung.

These were the circumstances behind the emergence of Yang's Iron Style poetry on history. This emergence was also influenced by traditional poetry on history. The second chapter therefore summarised the development of poetry on history, which started in the form of historical biography (*shi zhuan*) and developed into a means of expressing historical viewpoints (*shi lun*) in the Han dynasty. Later, in the Wei Jin Periods, poetry on history served as a channel for poets to express their feelings (*yong huai*). By the Tang dynasty, poetry on

history had evolved to become a combination of historical narrative, lyrical expression of sentiment, and presentation of opinion. In the Song dynasty, poets liked especially to express novel historical views, and thus subvert the official records and challenge older perspectives. Yang's poems on history adopt the Tang and Song models; they integrate descriptions of history, expressions of sentiment and the conveyance of special historical viewpoints. As such, they represent a mature stage in the development of poetry on history.

Although Yang was not the first to compose poems on history in *yuefu* form, his nearly four hundred poems on history in *yuefu* form did turn a corner in the development of poetry on history. Also, Yang's poems cover the major events from the Pre-Qin periods to the late Song dynasty, and this breadth of coverage is another reason why it can be said that he opened up a new world of poetry. Most of his poems are on historical figures rather than events. While his main focus was on royalty and the upper classes, he also portrayed quite a lot of less-significant and common people.

In exploring Yang's Iron Style poetry on history, it is pertinent to ask: what exactly is meant by 'Iron Style' (*Tieya ti*)? My third chapter clarified the definition of 'Iron Style' (*Tieya ti*), which is regarded as a 'form' by some scholars and a 'style' by others. '*Tieya ti*' does, in fact, specifically refer to Yang's unique poetic style. However, it also includes the styles of poets who imitated Yang in the late Yuan dynasty. These poets, I have noticed, were influenced by three major elements of Yang's Iron Style: strangeness, elegance and potency.

The constituents of Yang's Iron Style were investigated in detail in the fourth chapter. The six main poetic styles: strangeness, potency, elegance, straightforwardness, resplendence and the untrammelled style are the elements that constitute Yang's Iron Style. Of these six styles, strangeness was modelled

on Li He, potency on Du Fu, while elegance resembles the style of Li Shangyin. These are the most common styles that make up the Iron Style. Interestingly, I discovered that Yang used more than one poetic style in some of his poems on history. That Yang used all these different styles was the result of his mind and heart (his personality), his modelling of various Tang poets, and also a combination of special traits from *Shijing* and *yuefu* poetry.

In order to examine the ways in which Yang's Iron Style poetry on history was a reflection of his personality and interests as well as his modelling of Tang poets, my fifth chapter investigated how Yang presented his poems. I discovered that one of the unique features of Yang's poems on history is the close interrelationship between the poems themselves, the prefaces and the historical texts. This interrelationship can be explained using Joseph Allen's categories, such as 'abbreviation' and 'extension'. Yang's pursuit of musicality and rhyming freedom is evident from his choice of a free rhyming system. I also raise doubts concerning his application of ancient rhymes in this section. It seems that Yang tried to adopt the Tang mutual rhyming system so as to attain a better rhythm. His use of reduplicated compounds and irregular poetic lines also facilitated the musicality of his poems. Yang's great interest in drama is reflected in the way he presented history; he adopted the voice of historical figures to express his own sentiments, and used imaginary facts for dramatic effect. His layout of historical events in a dramatic structure also reflects his interest in drama.

Yang's mind is the essence of his Iron Style poems on history, which in return mirrored his outlook on history and life. Yang settled a hundred year argument by stating that the Southern Song dynasty was the legitimate and orthodox regime prior to the Yuan dynasty. The content of his poems on history also convey that opinion; he wrote many poems on the Southern Song, but almost

none on the Jin 金 and Liao 遼 dynasties. He also viewed Shu Han, rather than Wei and Wu, as the legitimate ruler in the Period of the Three Kingdoms. Like the poets in the Song dynasty, Yang expounded novel viewpoints in order to subvert official ones. He tended to view historical events in a wider context and made moral judgements on the historical figures he portrayed.

Yang's life philosophy was mainly rooted in Confucianism, although he was also possibly influenced by Buddhism and Taoism. As already discussed, he wrote poems during periods of idleness, and tended to hold the belief that official life was unpredictable and that human relationships were hollow. He longed for a peaceful and reclusive life, but also believed that everything had its time [in which it was destined to happen]. Yang expressed these longings in his poems on history, particularly at times that he experienced setbacks in his own career. Also, because Yang was a Neo-Confucian scholar of the Genzhai school, his poems not only reflected his own temperament, but also advocated Confucian virtues both directly and indirectly. For him, upholding Confucianism was important for a society that was in a state of chaotic change. He particularly advocated loyalty to one's country and master. Yang himself was loyal to the Yuan dynasty, so much so that he turned down the offer of an official position from the new emperor of the Ming dynasty. However, he agreed to help the Ming officials to edit the Chinese classics in 1369, just like the historical figure, Liang Zhen, whom he had described in his poem.

All in all, I hope this thesis can contribute to future scholarly research into Yuan poetry and poetry on history, and stimulate people's interest in the lives and work of the late Yuan poets.

Appendix 1A: Databases used for searching articles about Yang and poetry on history

No.	Database	Year
1.	<i>Zhongguo Renmin Daxue shubao ziliao zhongxin fuyin baokan ziliao</i> 中國人民大學書報資料中心複印報刊資料 (Copied information of journal and newspapers from the Information Centre for Social Sciences of the Remin University of China)	1978-2002
2.	<i>Zhongguo qikan quanwen shujuku</i> 中國期刊全文數據庫 (Database of all texts in Chinese journals)	1994-2009
3.	<i>Zhongguo youxiu bo shuoshi xuewei lunwen shujuku</i> 中國優秀博碩士學位論文數據庫 (Database of the merited master and PhD theses in China)	1999-2009
4.	<i>Zhongguo zhongyao baoshi quanwen shujuku</i> 中國重要報紙全文數據庫 (Database of all texts from important Chinese newspapers)	2000-2004
5.	<i>Zhongguo qikan tilu shujuku</i> 中國期刊題錄數據庫 (Database of all titles and quotations in Chinese journals)	-
6.	<i>Zhongguo zhongyao huiyi lunwen quanwen shujuku</i> 中國重要會議論文全文數據庫 (Database of all papers from important academic conferences)	1999-
7.	<i>Zhonghua minguo qikan lunwen suoyin xitong</i> 中華民國期刊論文索引系統 (Index to Chinese Periodical Literature)	1970-2009

Appendix 1B: Ten books compiling selected poems on history throughout the ages

No.	Title	Year
1.	<p>Jiang Daren 降大任 and Zhang Renjian 張仁健, <i>Yongshi shi zhuxi</i> 詠史詩註析 (Annotation to poetry on history) .</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● compiles 193 selected poems on history from the Tang to Qing dynasties ● provides detailed annotation and brief analysis. ● of the eleven poems by the Yuan poets, two are by Yang 	1985 (506 pages)
2.	<p>Chen Jiagen 陳建根, <i>Yongshi shi</i> 詠史詩 (Poetry on history)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● compiles around 100 selected poems on history from the Han dynasty to early modern China. ● provides a simple annotation to each poem. ● of the two poems by the Yuan poets, none are by Yang. 	1989 (121 pages)
3.	<p>Zhang Hui 章回, ed., <i>Lidai yongshi shi xuan</i> 歷代詠史詩選 (Selected poems on history throughout the ages)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● compiles 60 poems from the Wei Kingdom (220-265) to the Qing dynasty ● gives a brief introduction, annotation and analysis ● two poems are from the Yuan dynasty but none are by Yang. 	1989 (190 pages)
4.	<p>Chu Dahong 儲大泓, <i>Lidai yongshi shi xuanzhu</i> 歷代詠史詩選注 (Annotation to selected poems on history throughout the ages) .</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● compiles more than 500 poems from the Han to Qing dynasties and covers 244 poets, excluding Ban Gu. ● has brief introductions to each poet, simple annotation and analysis ● about five poems are by the Yuan poets but none are by Yang. 	1990 (712 pages)

5.	<p>Yue Xiren 岳希仁, <i>Gudai yongshi shi jingxuan dianping</i> 古代詠史詩精選點評 (Brief commentary to carefully selected poems on the history of the ancient periods).</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● compiles 230 poems from the Jin to Qing dynasties. ● eight poems are by the Yuan poets but none are by Yang. ● generally introduction to each poets ● briefly annotates and analyses each poems 	1996 (346 pages).
6.	<p>Li Yang 黎陽, <i>Shuo Tangshi: yongshi huaigu</i> 說唐詩：詠史懷古 (Discussion of the Tang poems: on history and on the past) .</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● simple annotation to 42 poems on history by 18 selected Tang poets, such as Li Bai, Du Fu, Du Mu 杜牧 (803-853?), Xu Hun 許渾 (832 <i>jinshi</i> title), Li Shangyin, etc. ● detailed explanation of the poetic background to each poem 	1997 (174 pages)
7.	<p>Wan Ping 萬萍 and Ye Weigong 葉維恭, main eds., <i>Zhongguo lidai yongshi shi cidian</i> 中國歷代詠史詩辭典 (Dictionary of the poems on history throughout the ages).</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● compiles briefly annotated poems from the Jin dynasty to the early modern China. ● categorises poems by their content and present them chronologically ● covers historical events and figures from ancient times, from the Shang dynasty (1600-1046 B.C.) to the Xinhai 辛亥 Revolution on 10th October, 1911. ● of all these poems, eleven are by Yang. 	1998 (959 pages)

8.	<p>Yu Zhiyuan 於植元, Sun Shaohua 孫紹華 and Guan Jixin 關紀新, main eds., <i>Zhonghua shishi yongshi shi benshi</i> 中華史詩詠史詩本事 (Collection of the Chinese poems on contemporary events and on history)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● a relatively comprehensive collection with more than 1,000 poems selected from the Pre-Qin periods to the Qing dynasty ● includes some poems from the ethnic minorities of China ● the annotation is too brief to enable an understanding of the poetic meanings ● some poems, such as those from <i>Shijing</i> (Book of Poetry), can hardly be regarded as poems on history. ● compiles 14 of Yang's poems 	2000 (1247 pages)
9.	<p>Du Li 杜立, <i>Lichao yongshi huaigu shi</i> 歷朝詠史懷古詩 (Poems on history and on the past throughout the dynasties).</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● compiles poems from the Pre-Qin periods to the end of the Qing dynasty. ● includes two poems from <i>Shijing</i> (Book of Poetry) and <i>yuefu</i> poetry of the Han dynasty. ● has 41 poems from the Liao, Jin and Yuan dynasties, but none are by Yang. ● has brief annotations and introductions to each poet. 	2000 (454 pages)
10.	<p>Zhu Zhifu 朱枝富, <i>Yongshi huaigu</i> 詠史懷古 (Poems on history and on the past).</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Compiles 100 selected seven-character quatrains on the history of China from the Tang dynasty to the early modern period ● has annotation and analysis ● two poems are by the Yuan poets but none are by Yang. 	2001 (346 pages)

Appendix 2: Tables comparing Yang's poems with those of previous poets

2A Ban Gu and Yang - Yang's poetic content is more complicated

Personal experience	Ban Gu (prisoner) In prison due to sons and slaves' misbehaviours	Yang Weizhen (idle official) (talent not recognised by political leaders)
----------------------------	--	--

↓ related to (contrast)

↓ related to (contrast)

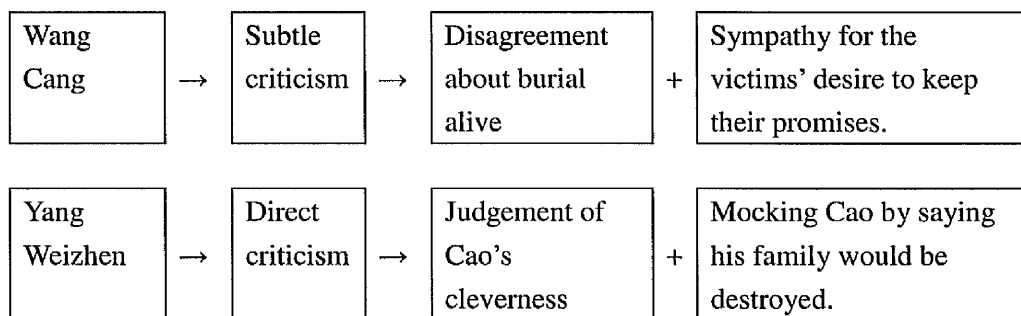
Historical figures described	Chunyu Yi (prisoner) He was saved from prison and torture by his daughter Chuyu Tiying.	Wei Zheng (Prime minister) As a supporter of the Crown Prince, his talent was recognised by the Crown Prince's rival younger brother, Emperor Taizong of Tang.
-------------------------------------	--	---

↓ Wei's life was linked to (similar)

Link to further historical figures	No further link	Guan Zhong (Prime minister) As a supporter of Prince Jiu, his talent was recognised by Prince Jiu's rival younger brother, Lord Huan of Qi.
---	-----------------	--

2B

Wang Cang and Yang – Yang’s criticism is more direct and straightforward



2C

Zuo Si and Yang - Yang’s expression of sentiment is more subtle

Zuo Si	Description of historical figure is clearly followed by expression of sentiments. One third of the poetic length expresses the poet’s feelings
Yang Weizhen	Mixed description of historical figures and feelings (Yang’s feelings are hidden in the figures’) Only a few lines

2D

Gao Shi and Yang – Yang’s poem has more than one episode

	<u>Gao Shi (Tang dynasty)</u>	<u>Yang Weizhen (Yuan dynasty)</u>
Episode	Episode of a historical story	More than one episode of a historical story
Description	Objective narration and subtle expression of feelings and judgments	Dramatic description of history and overt expression of feelings and judgments (See Chapter 5.3)

Appendix 3: Total number of poems on history composed by the famous poets

The following table is based on the modern scholars' books about poems on history.

- (a) Lai Yushu, *Wan Tang Wudai yongshi shi zhi meixue yishi*
- (b) Huang Yaxin, *Wei Jin yongshi shi yanjiu*
- (c) Li Han, *Han Wei sheng Tang yongshi shi yanjiu*
- (d) Zhao Wangqin, *Tangdai yongshi zushi kaolun.*
- (e) Zhang Runjing, *Tangdai yongshi huaigushi yanjiu.*
- (f) Li Yiya, *Wan Tang yongshi shi yu pinghua yanyi zhi guanxi.*
- (g) Jiang Daren, *Yongshi shi zhuxi.*
- (h) Ji Minghua, *Nan Song yongshi shi yanjiu.*
- (i) Zhang Gaoping, "Yinshua chuanmei yu Songdai yongshi shi zhi xinbian: yi yimin Chen Pu yongshi zushi wei li", in *Wen yu zhe*, vol.11 (2007).
- (j) Fu Xiajiano, "Liao Jin yongshi huaigu shi yanjiu".

Dynasty	Poet	Dates	No. of Poems	Reference and note
Han	Ban Gu 班固	32-92A.D.	1	(a) Lai Yushu, p.57.
Han	Wang Can 王粲	177-217	1	(b) Huang Yaxin, p.46.
Jin 晉	Zuo Si 左思	ca.250-ca.305	8	(a) Lai Yushu, p.57.
Jin	Tao Qian 陶潛	371-427	7	(a) Lai Yushu, p.62. Lai states that Tao Qian has only seven poems on history. But Li believes Tao has more than thirty extant poems on history. [See (c) Li Han, p.72.] These different numbers show modern scholars' different definition of poems on history.
Early Tang	Chen Zi'ang 陳子昂	661-702	9	(d) Zhao Wangqin, p.10.

Early Tang	Li Hua 李華	<i>jinsi</i> title 735	11	(d) Zhao Wangqin, p.11.
High Tang	Li Bai 李白	701-762	93	(e) Zhang Runjing, p.176.
High Tang	Gao Shi 高適	707-765	30	(e) Zhang Runjing, p.71
High Tang	Cen Shen 岑參	715-770	18	(e) Zhang Runjing, p.71
High Tang	Du Fu 杜甫	712-770	46	(e) Zhang Runjing, p.197.
High Tang	Wu Yun 吳筠	d.778	50	(d) Zhao Wangqin, p.30.
Mid-Tang	Liu Yuxi 劉禹錫	772-842	55	(e) Zhang Runjing, p.217.
Mid-Tang	Bai Juyi 白居易	772-846	5	(d) Zhao Wangqin, p.14.
Mid-Tang	Du Mu 杜牧	803-852	27	(f) Li Yiya, p.91. Li states Du Mu has 27 poems on history. But, Lai Yushu believes the number should be 37. [See (a) Lai Yushu, pp.260-261.] It shows that scholars' definitions of poetry on history are very different.
Late Tang	Li Shangyin 李商隱	813-858	48	(f) Li Yiya, p.91. Li says Li Shangyin has forty eight poems on history, but Lai Yushu believes he has seventy-two. [See (a) Lai Yushu, pp.261-263.]
Late Tang	Wen Tingyun 溫庭筠	812-ca.870	24	(a) Lai Yushu, p.264.
Late Tang	Hu Gu 胡嘏	Ca.815-ca.852	36	(d) Zhao Wangqin, p.50.
Late Tang	Hu Zeng 胡曾	839- ?	150	(d) Zhao Wangqin, p.77. Most scholars, such as Zhao Wangqin, confirm that Hu Zeng has one hundred and fifty poems on history. But, Jiang Daren points out these poems are only poems about poets' feeling of nostalgia for the ancient time rather than poems on history. [See (g) Jiang Daren, p.489.]
Late Tang	Zhou Tan 周曇	dates	195	(d) Zhao Wangqin,

		unknown		pp.149-157. Zhao calculates the number of poems is 195, but some scholars, such as Li Yiya, say the number shall be 193. [See (f) Li Yiya, p.92.]
Late Tang	Sun Yuanyan 孫元晏	dates unknown	75	(d) Zhao Wangqin, p.190.
Late Tang	Han Wo 韓渥	844-923	5	(a) Lai Yushu, p.274.
Late Tang	Lou Yin 羅隱	833-909	30	(f) Li Yiya, p.92.
Late Tang	Xu Hun 許渾	<i>jinshi</i> title 832	50	(e) Zhang Runjing, p.233. Zhang says Xu Hu has fifty poems on history, but Lai Yushu believes he has seventy-two. [See (a) Lai Yushu, pp.261-263, or pp.266-267.]
Late Tang	Wang Zun 汪遵	<i>jinshi</i> title 866	59	(d) Zhao Wangqin, p.182. Zhao states that Wan Zun has fifty-nine poems on history. But, Li Yiya believes the total number of poems is 61. [See (f) Li Yiya, p.92.]
Late Tang	Pi Rixiu 皮日休	c.834-883	14	(a) Lai Yushu, pp.267-268.
Late Tang	Lu Guimeng 陸龜蒙	9 th cent.	15	(a) Lai Yushu, p.268.
Late Tang	Sikong Tu 司空圖	837-908	12	(a) Lai Yushu, p.268.
Northern Song	Wang Anshi 王安石	1021-1086	70	(h) Ji Minghua, p.58.
Southern Song	Li Qingzhao 李清照	1081-ca.1141	3	(h) Ji Minghua, p.5.
Southern Song	Li Gang 李綱	1083-1140	15	(h) Ji Minghua, pp.4-5.
Southern Song	Zhu Shuzhen 朱淑真	Fl.1095-1131	3	(h) Ji Minghua, p.4.
Southern Song	Lü Benzong 呂本中	<i>jinshi</i> title 1136	15	(h) Ji Minghua, p.5.
Southern Song	Wang Shipeng 王十朋	1112-1171	117	(h) Ji Minghua, p.6.

Southern Song	Lu You 陸游	1125-1210	60	(h) Ji Minghua, p.7.
Southern Song	Fan Chengda 范成大	1126-1193	25	(h) Ji Minghua, p.7.
Southern Song	Yang Wanli 楊萬里	1127-1206	15	(h) Ji Minghua, p.8.
Southern Song	Jiang Kui 姜夔	Ca.1155-1235	1	(h) Ji Minghua, p.8.
Southern Song	Liu Kezhuang 劉克莊	1187-1269	200	(h) Ji Minghua, p.8.
Southern Song	Wen Tianxiang 文天祥	1236-1283	6	(h) Ji Minghua, p.8.
Southern Song	Chen Pu 陳普	1244-1315	362	(i) Zhang Gaoping, p.324.
Jin 金	Yuan Haowen 元好問	1190-1257	59	(j) Fu Xiajiano, p.56.

Appendix 4: The total number of Yang's poems on history in his collections

This table is based on the findings of the modern scholar, Huang Rensheng.

Corpus	Year	No. of Poems
<i>Tieya xiansheng gu yuefu</i> 鐵崖先生古樂府 (Iron Cliff's ancient <i>yuefu</i> poetry)	Published in 1348	122
<i>Tieya xiansheng fugu shiji</i> 鐵崖先生復古詩集 (Mr. Iron Elegance's poetry collection of returning to the past)	Published in 1364	48
<i>Tieya xiansheng shiji</i> 鐵崖先生詩集 (Mr. Iron Cliff's poetry collection)	(Unknown)	83
<i>Yang Tieya yongshi gu yuefu</i> 楊鐵崖詠史古[樂]府 (Iron Cliff Yang's ancient <i>yuefu</i> poetry on history)	Published in 1473-1474	62
<i>Tieya xiansheng gu yuefu bu</i> 鐵崖先生古樂府補 (Supplementary to Mr. Iron Cliff's ancient <i>yuefu</i> poetry [collection])	Published in the late Ming (1573-1644)	39
<i>Yang Tieya xiansheng wenji</i> 楊鐵崖先生文集 (Mr. Iron Cliff's literary works)	Published in 1615	151
<i>Yang Tieya xiansheng Yongshi yuefu</i> 楊鐵崖先生詠史樂府 (Mr. Iron Cliff Yang's <i>yuefu</i> poetry on history)	Published in 1773	270
<i>Tieya yongshi zhu</i> 鐵崖詠史註 (Annotation to Iron Cliff's poetry on history)	Edited in 1774	243
<i>Dong Weizi ji</i> 東維子集 (Collected works of Dong Weizi)	Edited in 1781-1782	0
<i>Sijia yongshi yuefu</i> 四家詠史樂府 (<i>Yuefu</i> poetry on history of the four poets)	Published in 1886	269

The total number of Yang's poems on history after accounting for duplications is 452.

Appendix 5: Yang's sixty-seven poems about the Tang dynasty

HF- historical figures E- historical events O - others

Period	No	Poem	On	Related historical figures	Status	Yang Weizhen shiji
Early Tang Period	1.	“Du longma” 毒龍馬 (The poisonous dragon horse)	O	Li Shimin's 李世 民 (r.597-648) horse	Horse	p.213- 214
	2.	“A shu'er” 阿鼠兒 (A mouse boy)	HF	Yin Ashu 尹阿鼠 (dates unknown)	Father of Concubine of Virtue	p. 215
	3.	“Po yetou” 破野頭 (The broken wild head)	HF	Yuwen Huaji 宇文 文化及 (d.619)	Warlord	p. 215
Golden Tang Period	4.	“E guogong” 鄂國公 (The Duke of E)	HF	Yuchi Jingde 尉 遲敬德 (Yuchi Gong 尉遲恭) (fl.597-648)	Duke	pp.216- 217
	5.	“Tian sheweng” 田舍翁 (An old man from a farm house).	HF	Wei Zhang 魏徵 (580-643)	Chancellor	pp.217- 218
	6.	“Da Jian'er” 大建兒 (A big strong man)	HF	Xie Wanhe 薛 萬徹 (d.652)	General	p.218
	7.	“Tang Jianhu” 唐奸狐 (The villainous fox of the Tang dynasty)	HF	Xu Jingzong 許 敬宗 (592-672)	Chancellor	p.219
	8.	“Xie You tou” 謝祐頭 (The head of Xie You)	E	Li Jun 李俊 (7 th c.) Son of Li Ming 李明 (d.682)	Grandson of Emperor Taizong.	p.219

9.	“Changfa ni”長髮尼 (The Buddhist nun with long hair)	HF	Wu Zetian 武則天 (625-705)	Empress	p.220
10.	“Wushi jianjia ci” 武氏剪甲詞 (The song of Wu cutting her nails)	HF	Wu Zetian	Empress	p.221
11.	“Kuangfu fu” 匡復府 (The Department of Restoration)	E	Xu Jingye 徐敬業 (d.648)	Superior Area Commander of Yangzhou	pp.221-222
12.	“Feng Xiaobao” 馮小寶 (Feng Xiaobao)	HF	Xie Huaiyi 薛懷義 (fl. 685-705)	A court favourite	pp.222
13.	“Xiong ruweng” 兄入甕 (The elder brother enters an urn)	HF	Zhou Xing 周興 Lai Junchen 來俊臣	Torturers	p.223
14.	“Hongba si” 宏霸死 (The death of Hongba)	HF	Guo Hongba 郭宏霸 (7 th c.)	Cruel official	p.223
15.	“Yuxue qu” 雨雪曲 (The song of rain and snow)	E	Wu Zetian	Empress	p.223
16.	“Yingwu zheyi ci” 鸚鵡折翼詞 (The parrot with broken wings)	E	Wu Zetian	Empress	p.224
17.	“Jishang rou” 機上肉 (Meat on the table)	HF	Wu Sansi 武三思 (d.707)	Empress Wu's nephew	p.224-225
18.	“Dianchou lang” 點籌郎 (A man counting tokens)	HF	Emperor Zhongzong 中宗 (705-710)	Emperor	p.225
19.	“Sangtiao Wei” 桑條韋 (Mulberry-strip Wei)	HF	Empress Wei 韋后	Empress	pp.225-226

	20.	“Anle zhu huamei ge” 安樂主畫眉歌 (The song of Princess Anle drawing eyebrows)	HF	Princess Anle 安樂 (684?-710)	Youngest daughter of Emperor Zhongzon g.	pp.226
	21.	“Qiaojia qie” 喬家妾 (The concubine of the Qian family)	HF	Yaoniang 窈娘	Concubin e of Qiao Zhizhi 喬 知之 (d.697)	p.227
	22.	“Banshi xiang” 伴食相 (Prime Minister accompanied for meals)	HF	Lu Huaishen 盧 懷慎 (d.716)	Chancello r	p.227
	23.	“Huyan da” 胡眼大 (The Hun with big eyes)	HF	An Lushan 安祿 山 (703-757)	Military commissi oner	p.228
	24.	“Wuwang qiuge” 五王 毬歌 (The song of five princes playing woollen ball)	E	Emperor Xuanzong and his four brothers	Princes	p.229
	25.	“Yizu kui” 一足夔 (The one-legged kui monster)	HF	Feng Changqing 封常清 (d. 756)	General	pp.229- 230
	26.	“Chentaoxie” 陳濤斜 (Chentaoxie)	HF	Fang Guan 房琯 (696-763)	General	pp.230- 231
	27.	“Nan ba'er” 南八兒 (The eighth son surnamed Nan)	HF	Nan Jiyun 南霽 雲 (d.757)	General	p.232
	28.	“Ligui xie” 厲鬼些 (Exclamation for the abrasive ghost)	HF	Zhang Xun 張巡 (709-757)	General	pp.232- 233
Middle Tang	29.	“Baiyi shanren” 白衣 山人 (The hermit in white clothes)	HF	Li Bi 李泌 (772-789)	Hermit and Prime Minister	pp.233- 234

Period	30.	“Qingyan shanren” 青岩山人 (The hermit of the Green Rock Mountain)	HF	Zhen Ji 甄濟 (?-766)	Hermit	p.234
	31.	“Bai Jiangun” 白將軍 (General Bai)	HF	Bai Xiaode 白孝德 (714-779)	General	p.235
	32.	“Li Wufu” 李五父 (Li Wufu)	HF	Li Fuguo 李輔國 (704-762)	Powerful eunuch	pp.235-236
	33.	“Genu zhong” 哥奴塚 (The tomb of Genu)	HF	Li Linfu 李林甫 (734-752)	Chancellor	p.236
	34.	“Mian zhou xing” 免胄行 (The march without helmets)	HF	Guo Ziyi 郭子儀 (697-781)	General	pp.236-237
	35.	“Nucai pian” 奴材篇 (A chapter on slaves)	HF	Guo Yao 郭曜 and Guo Xi 郭晞 (8 th c.)	Sons of Guo Ziyi	p.237
	36.	“Jinzhou nanzi” 晉州男子 (The man in Jinzhou)	HF	Xun Mo 郇模 (fl.762-779)	Commoner	pp.237-238
	37.	“Ruzhou gong” 汝州公 (The Duke of Ruzhou)	HF	Li Yuanping 李元平 (dates unknown)	Duke	p.238
	38.	“Yan Taishi” 顏太師 (The Grand Tutor Yan)	HF	Yan Zhenqing 顏真卿 (709-785)	Grand tutor	pp.239-240
	39.	“Lanmian gui” 藍面鬼 (The ghost with a blue face)	HF	Lu Qi 盧杞 (-ca.785)	Wicked chancellor	p.240
	40.	“Po tongye” 破桐葉 (Torn leaf of the paulownia)	E	Li Bi 李泌 (722-789)	Marques of Ye county	pp.240-241
	41.	“Kong Chaofu” 孔巢父 (Kong Chaofu)	HF	Kong Chaofu 孔巢父 (d.784)	Censor-in-chief	p.241
	42.	“Chen Yizhe” 陳醫者 (The physican Chan)	HF	Chen Xianfu 陳仙甫 (fl.786)	Physician	p.242
	43.	“Xi que'er” 喜鵲兒 (The joyful magpie)	HF	Dou San 竇參 (fl.779-805)	Evil chancellor	p.242

	44.	“Shilin yuan” 柿林院 (The courtyard of the persimmon forest)	E	Wang Pei 王侁 (dates unknown)	Official	p.242
	45.	“Xingxing Linhe wei” 行行臨賀尉 (Seeing off Commandant of Linhe)	HF	Xu Hui 徐晦 (760-838)	Virtuous official	p.243
	46.	“Shanpeng ke” 山棚客 (The guest in the hill tent)	HF	Li Shidao 李師道 (?-819)	Military commissioner	p.243
	47.	“Xingqiao xing” 興橋行 (The song of Xing Bridge)	E	Li Su 李愬 (773-820)	Brave general	pp.243-244
	48.	“Shi Zhonglie” 石忠烈 (The loyal and vehement Shi)	HF	Shi Xiaozhong 石孝忠 (8 th c.)	General	pp.244-245
	49.	“Han Xuanwei” 韓宣慰 (Pacification Commissioner Han)	HF	Han Yu 韓愈 (768-824)	Official	pp.245-246
	50.	“Ganlu xing” 甘露行 (The song of sweet dew)	E	Li Xun 李訓 (?-835)	Official	p.247
Late Tang Period	51.	“Fengdao xing” 封刀行 (The song of the sealed sword)	E	Emperor Wuzong 武宗 (r.840-846)	Emperor	p.248
	52.	“Jiusi yao” 就死謠 (Ballad of approaching death)	HF	Wen Tingku 溫庭酷 (9 th c.)	Scholar	p.248
	53.	“Niutou apang” 牛頭阿旁 (The ox-headed tortures from Hell)	HF	Lu Yan 路巖 (fl.860-872)	Chancellor	pp.248-249
	54.	“Guangzhou min” 光州民 (The people of Guangzhou)	HF	Guangzhou people	Commoners	p.249
	55.	“Mayi jin” 蠓嶼津 (Mayi Landing)	E	Meng Zhaotu 孟昭圖 (fl.881)	Upright official	p.250

56.	“Tang Kongmu” 唐孔目 (The clerical officer surnamed Tang)	HF	Tang Xi 唐溪 (fl.862-888)	Upright clerical officer	p.250
57.	“Baiyun xiansheng” 白雲先生 (Mr. White Cloud)	HF	Gao Pian 高駢 (821-887)	Military commissioner	pp.251
58.	“Shangyuan yan” 上源宴 (A Shangyuan banquet)	HF	Li Keyong 李克用 (856-908)	Prince of Jin	p.252
59.	“Shuangzhi cao” 雙雉操 (The song of the two pheasants)	HF	Two concubines surnamed Li and Zhu 祝	Imperial concubines	pp.252-253
60.	“Jiamai liangjian ge” 佳麥良繭歌 (The song of nice wheat and good cocoons)	E	Zhang Quanyi 張全義 (852-926)	Prince of Qi	pp.253-254
61.	“Changle ban” 長樂阪 (The Slope of Long Happiness)	HF	Zhang Jun 張浚 (?-902)	Chancellor 887 -891	p.254
62.	“Jinchuang tu” 金床兔 (The rabbit on a golden bed)	HF	Dong Chang 董昌 (?-896)	Warlord	p.254
63.	“Qiyun lou” 齊雲樓 (A tower level with the clouds)	O	Emperor Zhaozong 昭宗 (867-904)	Emperor	p.255
64.	“Wan ke duan” 腕可斷 (Wrists can be cut off)	HF	Han Wo 韓偓 (844-?)	Academic	p.255
65.	“Shouchun yan” 壽春宴 (The banquet in Shouchun Court)	E	Zhu Quanzhong 朱全忠 (852-912)	Warlord	p.256
66.	“Wanguan gu” 王官谷 (Wanguan Valley)	HF	Sikong Tu 司空圖 (837-908)	Drafting of Proclamation	p.256
67.	“Fuguo zei” 負國賊 (A traitor)	HF	Liu Can 柳璨 (?-906)	Chancellor	p.257

Appendix 6: List of poems on history by Yang's students and followers

Poet	Corpus	Title of poem on history	No.
Song Xi 宋禧 (1368-1398)	<i>Yong'an ji</i> 庸庵集 (Collection of Yongan)	Yangfei juge 楊妃菊歌 (Song of the Imperial Consort Yang chrysanthemum)	1
Yuan Kai 袁凱 (fl. 1370)	<i>Haisou ji</i> 海叟集 (Collection of Haisou)	Tongque ji 銅雀妓 (Courtesans on the Bronze Sparrow Terrace)	1
		Fude Lüzhū 賦得綠珠 (Poem on Lüzhū)	1
		Fude Lüzhū de chezi 賦得綠珠得車字 (Poem on Lüzhū using rhythm of 'Ju')	1
		Fude Xishi 賦得西施 (Poem on Xishi)	1
Yang Ji 楊基 (1326-1378?)	<i>Meian ji</i> 眉庵集 (Collection of Meian)	Han jieshi 漢傑士 (An outstanding gentleman of the Han dynasty)	1
		Wugong yiji bayong 吳宮遺跡八詠 (Eight poems on ruins of Wu Palace)	8
		Cike siyong 刺客四詠 (Four poems on assassins)	4
Gu Ying 顧瑛 (1310-1369)	<i>Yushan pu gao</i> 玉山璞稿 (Unpolished draft of Jade Mountain)	Tianbao gongci ci shi'er shou yugan 天寶宮詞十二首寓感 (Twelve poems on Tianbao Palace to express my feelings)	12
		Lu Yu jing 陸羽井 (Lu Yu's well)	1
Liu Ji 劉基 (1311-1375)	<i>Liu Ji ji</i> 劉基集 (Liu Ji's collection)	Chufei tan 楚妃歎 (A lament on the concubine of the Chu State)	1
		Shangqing ci 上清詞 (Song of the supreme Daoist God Shangqing)	1
		Wang Zhaojun 王昭君 (Wang Zhaojun)	1
		Ban Jieyu 班婕妤 (The Jieyu Concubine née Ban)	1
		Yongshi ershiyi shou 詠史二十一首 (Twenty-one poems on history)	21

		Yongshi er shou 詠史二首 (Two poems on history)	2
Wang Feng 王逢 (1319-1388)	Wuxi ji 梧溪集 (Collection of Wuxi)	Fudong xing 婦董行 (Song of the woman née Dong)	1
		Tang Zhaoyi Li Jianrong ci 唐昭儀李漸榮辭 (Poem on Concubine of Beautiful Demeanor Li Jianrong of the Tang Dynasty)	1
		Song Wanrong Wangshi ci 宋婉容王氏辭 (Poem on Concubine of Amiable Appearance surnamed Wang of the Song dynasty)	1
		Gugong yuan si shou 古宮怨四首 (Four poems on grievances of the ancient palaces)	4
Huang Jin 黃潛 (1277-1357)	Caotang yaji 草堂雅集 (Elegant collection of thatch hall)	Li Ling tai 李陵臺 (Li Ling Platform)	1
Zheng Yuanyou 鄭元祐 (1292-1364)	Caotang yaji	Yuezhi wangtou yinqi ge 月氏王頭飲器歌 (Song of the drinking vessel using the head of King Yuezhi)	1
Li Zan 李瓚 (fl.1338)	Caotang yaji	Canglang ting 滄浪亭 (Cang Lang Pavilion)	1
Xiang Jiong 項炯 (fl.1317)	Caotang yaji	Wugong yuan 吳宮怨 (Grievance of Wu Palace)	1
Guo Yi 郭翼 (1305-1364)	Caotang yaji	Jieyu yuan 婕妤怨 (Grievance of the Jieyu Concubine)	1
		Baitou yin 白頭吟 (Song of white hair)	1
		Wangfu shi 望夫石 (Stone of waiting for the husband)	1
		Huainan wang qu 淮南王曲 (Song of the Prince of Huainan)	1
		Jieyu yuan 婕妤怨 (Grievance of the Jieyu Concubine)	1
		Huanwang mu 桓王墓 (The tomb of Prince Huan)	1
Lu Ren 陸仁 (14 th c.)	Caotang yaji	Huanwang mu 桓王墓 (The tomb of Prince Huan)	1
Yuan Hua 袁華	Caotang yaji	Ai Song ji 哀宋姬 (Lament for Concubine)	1

(1316-1391)		Song)	
Qin Yue 秦約 (fl.1368-1371)	<i>Caotang yaji</i>	Ban Jieyu 班婕妤 (The Jieyu Concubine née Ban)	1
		Songji yuan 宋姬怨 (Grievance of Concubine Song)	1
		Huanwang mu 桓王墓 (The tomb of Prince Huan)	1
Deng Ya 鄧雅 (d.1328)	<i>Yusi ji</i> 玉司集 (Collection of Yusi)	Taibai mu 太白墓 (The tomb of [Li] Taibai)	1
Lü Cheng 呂誠 (fl.1354)	<i>Laiheting shiji</i> 來鶴亭詩集 (Collection of Pavilion Awaiting Cranes)	Ti Tao Jingjie 題陶靖節 (On Tao Jingjie [Qian])	1
Liu Yin 劉因 (1249-1293)	<i>Qiankun qingqi</i> 乾坤清氣 (Fresh air of the heaven and earth)	He Tao yong Jing Ke 和陶詠荊軻 (Following the topic of Tao's poem on Jing Ke and using same rhymes)	1
Tan Jianxin 譚見心 (14 th c.)	<i>Qiankun qingqi</i>	Mingfei qu 明妃曲 (Song of Princess Brightness)	1
Zhou Quan 周權 (ca.1295)	<i>Qiankun qingqi</i>	Hongmen yan 鴻門宴 (Feast at Hong Gate)	1
		Mingfei qu 明妃曲 (Song of Princess Brightness)	1
		Wugong yuan 吳宮怨 (Grievance of Wu Palace)	1
Xia Bo 夏薄 (14 th c.)	<i>Qiankun qingqi</i>	Hongmen ge 鴻門歌 (Song of Hong Gate)	1
Li Xiaoguang 李孝光 (1285-1350)	<i>Qiankun qingqi</i>	Liuhou miao 留侯廟 (Temple of Marquis Liu)	1
Chen Qiao 陳樵 (1278-1365)	<i>Lupizi ji</i> 鹿皮子集 (Collection of Lupizi)	Yu meiren cao ci 虞美人草辭 (Poem on the Beauty Yu Plant)	1
Pan Chun 潘純 (b.1292)	<i>Caotang yaji</i> 草堂雅集	Ti Zhou Gongjin mu 題周公瑾墓 (On the tomb of Zhou Gongjin [Yu])	1

	(Elegant collection of thatch hall)	Ti Yue Wumu wang fen er shou 題岳武穆王墳二首 (Two poems on the grave of the Martial and Majestic Prince Yue [Fei])	2
Yao Wenhuan 姚文奐 (14 th c.)	<i>Caotang yaji</i>	Ti Yuewang mu 題岳王墓 (On tomb of Prince Yue)	1
Lu You 陸友 (14 th C.)	<i>Caotang yaji</i>	Wu Huanwang mu 吳桓王墓 (Tomb of Prince Huan of the Wu area)	1
Liu Bing 劉炳 (14 th c.)	<i>Li Yanbing ji</i> 劉彥昂集 (Collection of Li Yanbing)	Mingfei qu 明妃曲 (Song of Princess Brightness)	1
		Yu meiren ci 虞美人詞 (Song of Beauty Yu)	1
		Han zhiji ai gu yushi Yu Gongque shou Shucheng sijie er zuo 漢之季哀故御史餘公闕守舒城死節而作 (Mourning for the past Censor Yu Gongque's death for defending Shu City in the late Han period)	1
		Ti Zhuge Wuhou miao 題諸葛武侯廟 (On the Temple of the Martial Marquis Zhuge [Liang])	1
		Guandi miao 關帝廟 (On the Temple of Emperor Guan)	1
Guan Shimi 管時敏 (14 th c.)	<i>Yinqiao ji</i> 蚓竅集 (Poetry collection: the sound of earthworm's aperture)	Tongque ji 銅爵妓 (Courtesans on the Bronze Sparrow Terrace)	1
		Heyun guo Pengze huai Jingjie xiansheng 和韻過彭澤懷靖節先生 (Using the same rhymes to compose a poem when passing by Pengze and thinking of Mr. [Tao] Jingjie)	1
Chen Ji 陳基 (1314-1370)	<i>Yibai zhai gao</i> 夷白齋稿 (Draft of Yibai Den)	Yongshi 詠史 (On history)	3
		Zhijin pian 織錦篇 (On the painting of weaving an embroidered cloth)	1
		Zhouzhong du Han Wudi ji 舟中讀漢武帝紀 (Reading the chronicle of Emperor Wu of the Han dynasty in a boat)	1
Total number of poems on history			107

Note:

The total number of poems on history by Yang's students and followers will be 216 if including the 109 poems composed by Zhang Xian.

Appendix 7: Quotations

7A:

Originally there are nine poems, [but] one hundred and twenty persons echoed them and [all their poems have been] collected.

原唱九首，和者百二十人集成。

(Zou Zhifang, ed., *YWZSJ*, p.525; see footnote no.13 on p.11.)

7B:

Yi, the young sister of my granduncle, reached the age of fifteen and became engaged to a son of the Lu family. Just one night after their marriage, Lu's son died. Later, a high-ranking official proposed to her, but she pledged not to marry again. Her mother forced her to remarry; she then closed the main doors and committed suicide. I wrote the title 'chaste girl' on her tomb stone.

余從大父女弟名宜，既笄，許陸氏子。娶一夕，陸氏子卒。後達官聘之，宜誓不嫁。母強逼之，遂閉重戶自盡。餘表其墓，曰女貞。

(Lou Buchan, ed., *Tieya yibian zhu*, pp.686-687; see footnote no.25 on p.13.)

7C:

[Shaozhou] In the thirteenth Zhiyuan year [1276], soon after it was subsumed into the empire, the people of Guangzhou people rebelled. In the fifteenth year [1278], the rebellion was suppressed.

[韶州] 至元十三年內附，未幾廣人叛，十五年始定。

[Guangzhou Circuit] In the thirteenth Zhiyuan year [1276], they were subsumed into the empire, but rebelled afterwards.

[廣州路] 至元十三年內附，後又叛。

(Song Lian et al., eds. *Ershisi shi quanyi: Yuan shi*, vol. 2, p.1188; see footnote no. 172 on p.50.)

7D:

Yang Weizhen's leading literary status came to the fore front at these various gatherings and their hospitality details [of receptions].

楊維禎作為文壇領袖的地位也在這種種場合和細節中得以凸顯。

(Huang Rensheng, "Lun Gu Ying zai Yuanmo wentan de zuowei yu gongxian" in *Journal of Hunan University of Arts and Science*, vol. 30.1,

p.35; see footnote no. 280 on p.75.)

7E:

I heard that where a comet appears there will certainly be the downfall of a kingdom. 寡人聞之，有彗星者必有亡國。

(Yan Ying, *Yanzi chunqiu*, in *Siku jiacang*, vol. 69. p.399; see footnote no. 587 on p.181.)

7F:

Liu Ping's wife, née Wu, followed Ping to guard the frontier in Lingyang. Ping was captured by a tiger [on their way] and Wu killed that tiger to free her husband. This was the most chivalrous and righteous deed in a thousand years, and was worth putting into song. Unfortunately, the work of scholars at the time was not potent enough, and I therefore composed this poem.

劉平妻胡氏，從平戍零陽。平為虎擄擒，胡殺虎爭夫。千載義烈，有足歌者。猶恨時之士人夫，其作未雄，故為賦是章。

(Yang's preface to 'The song of killing the tiger'. Zou Zhifang, ed., *YWZSJ*, p.101; see footnote no.601 on p.184.)

7G:

Du Fu's poems are like a smooth and powerful vitality that changes its shapes with things; they are like three rivers and five lakes gathering to become an ocean, which is limitless, expansive and without seashore; they are also like auspicious lights and blessed clouds with myriad changes and shapes indescribable.

子美之詩，如元氣淋漓，隨物賦形；如三江五湖，合而為海，浩浩翰翰，無有涯涘；如祥光慶雲，千變萬化，不可名狀。

(*Yang Lun, ed., Dushi jingquan, p.1154*; see footnote no. 622 on p.190.)

7H:

L1	With a jade pot he purchases spring [wine],	玉壺買春。
L2	Appreciates rain under a roof of thatch.	賞雨茆屋。
L3	Fine scholars are his guests,	坐中佳士。
L4	All around him, fine bamboo.	左右修竹。
L5	White clouds in newly cleared skies,	白雲初晴。
L6	Birds from hidden places follow one another.	幽鳥相逐。
L7	A reclining lute in the green shade,	眠琴綠陰。

L8	And above is a waterfall in flight.	上有飛瀑。
L9	The falling flowers say nothing:	落花無言。
L10	The man, as limpid as the chrysanthemum.	人淡如菊。
L11	He writes down the seasons' splendors-	書之歲華。
L12	May it be, he hopes, worth the reading.	其曰可讀。

(Cao Lengquan, ed., *Shipin tongshi*, p.25; English version: Stephen Owen, *Reading in Chinese Literary Thought*, p.315; see footnote no. 644 on p.198.)

7I:

If Wan [Tingyun] or Han [Wo], or even [Cao] Zijian [Cao Zhi] and [Li] Taibai lower themselves to write [on the same topic], it is still not clear whose works would be better.

無論溫[庭筠]、韓[渥]，即[曹]子建、[李]太白降格揮毫，未知孰勝。

(Hu Yinglin, *Shisou*, p.242; see footnote no. 649 on p.199.)

7J:

There are many such poems, which show he is also an artistic person.

此類甚眾，亦人是伎倆人。

(Hu Yinglin, *Shisou*, p.238; see footnote no. 674 on p.208.)

7K:

As for his other longer poems, the more skilful the arguments, the further the artistic style [from the poetry].

自餘大篇，議論愈工，格調愈遠。

(Hu Yinglin, *Shisou*, p.238; see footnote no. 675 on p.208.)

7L:

Tai Bai's [Li Bai's] poetry has vitality as its core and naturalness as its goal, and his beautiful and untrammelled, lofty and smooth style is most appreciated; Zimei's [Du Fu's] poetry has intent as its core and unique creation as its goal, and his strange, outstanding and potent style is most appreciated. Those poems that make us feel like a fairy in the clouds are by Taibai, and those that make us cry out vehemently and sigh sadly are by Zimei.

[太白詩]以氣為主，以自然為宗，以俊逸高暢為貴；子美以意為主，以獨造為宗，以奇拔沈雄為貴。使人讀之飄飄欲仙者，太白也；使人慷慨激烈歎歎欲絕者，子美也。

(Yang Lun, ed., *Dushi jingquan*, p.1155; see footnote no.728 on p.221.)

7M:

The gentleman Yang Tieya of our prefecture was born at a time when all poets had already emerged and after all the writing styles had already been established, but he was outstanding in creating his own style which people called 'Iron Style', and his disciples labelled 'Iron School.' His ancient *yuefu* poetry collection compiled by his disciple Wu Jianxin is called "Iron Elegance'. Alas! How many poets throughout the ages can be compared to this gentleman [Yang]?

吾邑楊鐵崖先生，生當作者代興，諸體畢備之後，傑然獨自成家，人稱鐵體，及門者稱鐵門。古樂府編自門人吳見心，稱鐵雅。噫，如先生者，古今能幾人！

(Lou Buchan, ed., *Tieya yuefu zhu*, in *XXSKQS*, vol. 1325, p.433; see footnote no.759 on p.231.)

7N:

Guo Ziyi prohibited riding a horse in the barracks without reason. The son of Lady Nanyang's wet-nurse violated this prohibition, and the Commandant of Justice in the Army beat him to death. In tears, Guo's sons made a complaint to Guo Ziyi and criticised the Commandant's arbitrary act. Ziyi scolded them before sending them back.

郭子儀禁無故軍中走馬。南陽夫人乳母之子犯禁，都虞候杖殺之。諸子泣訴子儀，且言都虞候之橫，子儀叱遣之。

(Sima Guang et al., eds., *Zizhi tongjian*, vol.15, p.7198; see footnote no.773 on p.236.)

7O:

In the past, Jieyu Concubine [Ban] lost her love for Emperor Cheng of Han and was stayed in the Palace of Long Trust. She then wrote a fu poem of self-pity and also composed a poem of grief.

昔漢成帝班婕妤失寵，供養於長信宮，乃作賦自傷，並為怨詩一首。

(Xu Ling, ed., *Yutai xinyong jianzhu*, vol.1, p.26; see footnote no.785 on p.240.)

7P:

Later, Xiangru wanted to take a Maoling [in modern Xingping county of Shaanxi province] girl to be his concubine, but stopped when Wenjun composed him the 'Song of White Hair'.

後相如欲娶茂陵[今陝西省興平縣]女為妾，文君賦白頭吟，相如乃止。
(Ge Hong. *Xijing zaji*, in *Siku jiacang*, vol. 93, p.207; see footnote no. 818 on p.254.)

7Q:

Poems on history are all about history, but are basically poetry, which is not the same as history. Readers have to carefully distinguish the difference and should not view them as the same thing. On this point, some great historians who were serious about writing history, through the composition of poems, were sometimes inevitably motivated for certain reasons to put across their arguments, which do not match the historical facts.

詠史所詠皆是史，而作品終究是詩，詩不等於就是歷史，這須研讀者細加區分，不可混同。在這一點上，一些大史學家在寫史時嚴肅認真，而在作詩時卻未免有時因某種因由使他有意另發議論，甚至與史實不符。
(Yu Zhiyuan et al., ed., *Zhonghua shishi yongshi shi benshi*, p.3, preface; see footnote no. 952 on p.307.)

7R:

Concerning victory at the Battle of Wulin, historical essays throughout the ages have praised the king and the officials in Jiangdong (eastern part of the River Yangzi). I am still in sympathy with the King of Jiangdong's pledge not to co-exist with bandits, but none of the generals there were in solidarity with him to fight against the bandits. ...When the bandits were trapped in a large muddy area of land and in a position to be caught, the generals did not seize the chance. An order was issued to capture the head of the bandits [Cao Cao]. Was there not even one person in the army who was able to deliver his head? Reading history books right up until this point, I sighed with regret [for them] and closed the books.

烏林之捷，歷代史論為江東君臣之頌。予猶惜江東之君，志與賊不俱生，而諸將討賊之心猶未一也。.....賊陷大澤中，可擒不擒也。下令購賊首，軍中獨無送首至者耶？讀史至此，為之掩卷懊歎。

(Zou Zhifang, ed., *YWZSJ*, p.192; see footnote no. 979 on p.321.)

Glossary: Chinese names cited in the thesis

	<i>Names in Pinyin</i>	<i>Chinese Characters</i>	<i>Dates</i>
A			
1.	An Lushan	安祿山	703-757
B			
2.	Bai Juyi	白居易	772-846
3.	Ban Gu	班固	32-92
4.	Bao Gendi	包根弟	
5.	Bao Zhao	鮑照	405-466
6.	Bei Qiong	貝瓊	1314-?
7.	Bi Gan	比干	11 th c. B.C.
8.	Biyu	碧玉	?-697
9.	Bo Ying	伯嬴	6 th c.B.C.
C			
10.	Cai Wenji	蔡文姬	ca.177-ca.239
11.	Cai Yanwen	蔡彥文	14 th c..
12.	Cai Yi	蔡邕	133-192
13.	Cai Zhongdao	蔡忠道	
14.	Cao Cao	曹操	155-220
15.	Cao Mao	曹髦	241-260
16.	Cao Miaoqing	曹妙清	14 th c.
17.	Cao Mo	曹沫	fl.693-662 B.C.
18.	Cao Pi	曹丕	187-226
19.	Cao Xun	曹勳	1098-1174
20.	Cao Zhi	曹植	192-232
21.	Chan Hou	陳侯	13 th c.
22.	Chang Hong	萇弘	ca.575-492B.C.
23.	Chen Cunli	陳存禮	14 th c.
24.	Chen Hailiang	陳海良	
25.	Chen Jianhua	陳建華	
26.	Chen Pansou	陳蟠叟	8 th c.
27.	Chen Pu	陳普	1244-1315
28.	Chen Qiao	陳樵	1278-1365

29.	Chen Quanzhi	陳全之	<i>jinshi</i> title 1604
30.	Chen Rong	陳容	d.195
31.	Chen Shanxue	陳善學	
32.	Chen Tuan	陳搏	ca.885-989
33.	Chen Xianfu	陳仙甫	fl.786
34.	Chen Youliang	陳友諒	1320-1363
35.	Chen Yujing	陳於京	17 th c.
36.	Chen Zi'ang	陳子昂	661-702
37.	Cheng Hao	程顥	1032-1085
38.	Cheng Yi	程頤	1033-1107
39.	Chu Suiliang	褚遂良	596-658
40.	Chu Yuan	褚淵	435-482
41.	Chunyu Tiyang	淳於緹縈	fl.167B.C.
42.	Chunyu Yi	淳於意	205-150B.C.
43.	Consort Yu	虞姬	222-202B.C.
44.	Cui Ning	崔寧	8 th c.

D

45.	Deng Shaoji	鄧紹基	
46.	Ding Du	丁度	990-1053
47.	Ding Fu	丁復	14 th c.
48.	Dong Zhuo	董卓	138-192
49.	Dou Jiande	竇建德	573-621
50.	Du Fu (Du Shaoling)	杜甫 (杜少陵)	712-770
51.	Du Mu	杜牧	803-852
52.	Duan Xiushi	段秀實	718-783
53.	Duke Huan of Lu	魯桓公	r.711-694B.C..
54.	Duke Huan of Qi	齊桓公	?-643B.C.
55.	Duke Jing of Qin	秦景公	547-490 B.C.
56.	Duke Mu of Qin	秦穆公	r. 659-621B.C..
57.	Duke of Gaoguixiang	高貴鄉	241-260
58.	Duke Xiang of Qi	齊襄公	r.686- 697B.C.

E

59.	Emperor Cheng of Han	漢成帝	r.33-7B.C.
60.	Emperor Dezong of Tang	唐德宗	r.779-805
61.	Emperor Gaozong of Tang	唐高宗	628-683
62.	Emperor Gaozu of Han	漢高祖	r. 202-195B.C.
63.	Emperor Gaozu of Tang	唐高祖	r.618-626
64.	Emperor Mo of Later Liang	後梁末帝	r.913-923

65.	Emperor Renzong of Yuan	元仁宗	1311-1320
66.	Emperor Ruizong of Tang	唐睿宗	662-716
67.	Emperor Shihuang of Qin	秦始皇	259-210B.C.
68.	Emperor Shizong of Later Zhou	後周世宗	r.954-959
69.	Emperor Shizu of Yuan	元世祖	1215-1294
70.	Emperor Shun	舜帝	2255-2205 B.C.
71.	Emperor Suzong of Tang	唐肅宗	r.756-762
72.	Emperor Taizong of Liao	遼太宗	902-947
73.	Emperor Taizong of Tang	唐太宗	r.626-649
74.	Emperor Wen of Han	漢文帝	180-157B.C.
75.	Emperor Wu of Han	武漢帝	r.141-87B.C.
76.	Emperor Wu of Liang	梁武帝	r.502-549
77.	Emperor Yan	炎帝	27 th c. B.C.
78.	Emperor Yao	堯帝	2357-2255 B.C.
79.	Emperor Yizong of Tang	懿宗	r.859-873
80.	Emperor Yuan of Han	漢元帝	75-33 B.C.
81.	Emperor Zhenzong of Song	宋真宗	986-1022
82.	Empress Chen (Ajiao)	陳阿嬌	2 nd c. B.C.
83.	Empress Wu Zetian	武則天	r.683-705.

F

84.	Fan Chengda	范成大	1126-1193
85.	Fan Ju	范雎	d.255 B.C.
86.	Fan Kuai	樊噲	fl.206-189B.C.
87.	Fan Peng	範柳	1272-1330
88.	Fan Ye	范曄	398-445
89.	Fang Xuanling	房玄齡	579-648
90.	Fei Gun	費袞	fl.1190-1194
91.	Feng Ban	馮班	1602-1671
92.	Feng Fang	馮方	2 nd c.
93.	Feng Ruizhen	馮瑞珍	
94.	Feng Shiyi	馮士頤	14 th c.
95.	Feng Yunzhong	馮允中	dates unknown
96.	Fu Xiaojian	付曉劍	

G

97.	Gao Conghui	高從誨	891-948
98.	Gao Jianli	高漸離	fl.221-210B.C.
99.	Gao Jichang (Gao Jixing)	高季昌 (高季興)	r.907-928
100.	Gao Qi	高啟	1336-1374

101. Gao Shi	高適	706-765
102. Ge Hong	葛洪	284-364
103. Ge Huanbiao	葛煥標	
104. Geshu Han	哥舒翰	?-757
105. Gong Sheng	龔勝	68-11B.C.
106. Gu Kaizhi	顧愷之	344-405
107. Gu Li	谷利	fl.208-214
108. Gu Qilun	顧起綸	fl.1666
109. Gu Sili	顧嗣立	<i>jinshi</i> title 1712
110. Gu Ying	顧瑛	1310-1369
111. Guan Hanqing	關漢卿	ca.1241-1320
112. Guan Longfeng	關龍逢	17 th c. B.C.
113. Guan Shimin	管時敏	14 th c.
114. Guan Yu	關羽	160-220
115. Guan Yunshi	貫雲石	1286-1324
116. Guan Zhong	管仲	725-645B.C.
117. Guo Maoqian	郭茂倩	fl. 1264-1269
118. Guo Xi	郭晞	8 th c.
119. Guo Yao	郭曜	8 th c.
120. Guo Yi	郭翼	1305-1364
121. Guo Ziyi	郭子儀	697-781
122. Guo Zizhang	郭子章	1542-1618

H

123. Ha Jiaying	哈嘉瑩	
124. Han Xin	韓信	?-196B.C.
125. Han Yu	韓愈	768-824
126. He Chungen	何春根	
127. He Liangjun	何良俊	1506-1573
128. He Qi	賀齊	?-225
129. He Yongshao	何永紹	17 th c.
130. Ho Jingming	何景明	1483-1521
131. Hou Ying	侯嬴	?-257B.C.
132. Hu Daihai	胡大海	?-1362
133. Hu Gu	胡嘏	ca.815-ca.852
134. Hu Yinglin	胡應麟	1551-1602
135. Hu Zeng	胡曾	9 th c.
136. Hua Ning	華寧	
137. Huang Gongwang	黃公望	1269-1358

138. Huang Jie	黃玠	14 th c.
139. Huang Jin	黃潛	14 th c.
140. Huang Kunyao	黃坤堯	
141. Huang Qinglao	黃清老	14 th c.
142. Huang Rensheng	黃仁生	
143. Huang Tingjian	黃庭堅	1045-1105
144. Huang Yun	黃筠	
145. Huang Zhaohan	黃兆漢	
146. Huang Zhong	黃忠	d.220

J

147. Ji Jin	姬晉	565-546B.C.
148. Ji Minghua	季明華	
149. Jia Chong	賈充	217-282
150. Jia Nanfeng	賈南風	257-300
151. Jiang Changdong	蔣長棟	
152. Jiang Kui	姜夔	1155-1235?
153. Jiao Ran	皎然	8 th c.
154. Jie	桀	1728-1675 B.C.
155. Jie Xisi	揭傒斯	1274-1344
156. Jie Yu	接輿	dates unknown
157. Jin Yu	金虞	dates unknown
158. Jing Xin	金信	14 th c.
159. Jue'en	覺恩	14 th c.

K

160. King Ling of Zhou	周靈王	?-545 B.C.
161. King Muwang of Zhou	周穆王	976-922B.C.
162. King Ping of Chu	楚平王	r.528-516B.C.
163. King Wen of Zhou	周文王	1152-1056B.C.
164. King Xiang of Chu	楚襄王	298-263B.C.
165. King Zhuang of Chu	楚莊王	r.631-591B.C.
166. Kong Chaofu	孔巢父	d.784
167. Kong Rong	孔融	153-208
168. Kou Zhun	寇準	961-1302

L

169. Lady of the State of Guo	虢國夫人	d.756
170. Lady Qi	戚夫人	2 nd c. B.C.
171. Lai Junchen	來俊臣	651-697
172. Lai Yushu	賴玉樹	

173. Lao Ge	勞格	1820-1864
174. Lao Laizi	老萊子	fl.489-479
175. Li Bai	李白	701-762
176. Li Bi	李泌	722-789
177. Li Chunyan	李春燕	10 th c.
178. Li Cui	李漼	833-873
179. Li Fan	李範	?-726
180. Li Fei	李費	14 th c.
181. Li Han	李翰	
182. Li He	李賀	790-816
183. Li Heng	李亨	711-762
184. Li Hong	李弘	652-675
185. Li Huaiguang	李懷光	729-785
186. Li Hui	李撝	ca.684-724
187. Li Ji	李璠	14 th c.
188. Li Jiancheng	李建成	589-626
189. Li Jing	李靖	571-649
190. Li Junmin	李俊民	<i>jinshi</i> title 1200
191. Li Ling	李陵	d.74B.C.
192. Li Longji	李隆基	685-762
193. Li Longti	李隆悌	ca.692-?
194. Li Mengyang	李夢陽	1472-1529
195. Li Pu	李樸	1063-1127
196. Li Qing	李卿	14 th c.
197. Li Shangyin	李商隱	813-858
198. Li Shimin	李世民	597-649
199. Li Si	李斯	ca.280-208B.C.
200. Li Tiaoyuan	李調元	1734-1803
201. Li Tong	李同	3 rd c. B.C.
202. Li Xian	李賢	654-684
203. Li Xian	李憲	679-742
204. Li Xiaoguang	李孝光	1297-1348
205. Li Ye	李擘	867-904
206. Li Ye	李業	?-734
207. Li Yiya	李宜涯	
208. Li Yuan	李淵	565-635
209. Li Yuanji	李元吉	603-626
210. Li Zuoju	李左車	2 nd c. B.C.

211. Liang Ji	梁冀	?-159
212. Liang Zhen	梁震	9 th c.
213. Lin Jiali	林家驪	
214. Lin Yunhan	凌雲翰	14 th c.
215. Liu Bang	劉邦	247-195B.C.
216. Liu Bei	劉備	161-223
217. Liu Bing	劉炳	14 th c.
218. Liu Changqing	劉長卿	<i>jinshi</i> title 733
219. Liu Ji	劉基	1311-1375
220. Liu Ju	劉據	128-91B.C.
221. Liu Kezhuang	劉克莊	1187-1269
222. Liu Meihua	劉美華	
223. Liu Mingjin	劉明今	
224. Liu Ping	劉平	13 th c.
225. Liu Qian	劉倩	
226. Liu Ruyi	劉如意	208-194B.C.
227. Liu Shouguang	劉守光	?-914
228. Liu Xie	劉勰	ca.465-ca.522
229. Liu Xu	劉昫	887-946
230. Liu You	劉友	d.181B.C.
231. Liu Yun	柳惲	465-517
232. Liu Yuxi	劉禹錫	772-842
233. Liu Zongyuan	柳宗元	773-819
234. Lord Xinling	信陵君	?-243B.C.
235. Lou Buchan	樓卜瀟	fl.1774
236. Lu Jiugao	魯九皋	1732-1794
237. Lu Jujian	魯句踐	3 rd c. B.C.
238. Lu Qi	盧杞	?-785
239. Lu Rong	陸容	1436-1494
240. Lu Song	陸淞	16 th c.
241. Lu Su	魯肅	172-217
242. Lu Yan	路岩	827-874
243. Lu Ying	陸瑩	1775-1850
244. Lu You	陸游	1125-1210
245. Lu Zhaolin	盧照鄰	ca.635-ca.689
246. Lu Zhonglian	魯仲連	fl.305-245 B.C.
247. Lü Bu	呂布	?-199
248. Lü Cheng	呂誠	1323-ca.1395

249. Lü Zhi	呂雉	241-180B.C.
250. Lüzhu	綠珠	3 rd c.
251. Luo Guanzhong	羅貫中	ca.1330-ca.1400
252. Luo Yanmin	駱焉名	
253. Luo Yin	羅隱	833-909

M

254. Ma Lin	馬磨	fl.1354
255. Mao Yanshou	毛延壽	d.33 B.C.

N

256. Nan Jiyun	南霽雲	d.757
257. Naonao	巉巉	?-1345
258. Ni Yuan	倪淵	14 th c.
259. Ni Zan	倪瓚	1301-1374

O

260. Ouyang Xiu	歐陽修	1007-1072
261. Ouyang Xuan	歐陽玄	1283-1357

P

262. Pan Deyu	潘德輿	1785-1839
263. Pan Xiaoling	潘曉玲	
264. Pei Songzhi	裴松之	372-451
265. Pei Ziye	裴子野	fl.464-549

Q

266. Qian Hongchu	錢弘俶	r.948-978
267. Qian Hongzong	錢弘倓	947-948
268. Qian Hongzuo	錢弘佐	r.941-947
269. Qian Liu	錢鏐	852-932
270. Qian Qianyi	錢謙益	1582-1664
271. Qian Weishan	錢惟善	ca.1294-ca.1379
272. Qian Yuanguan	錢元瓘	r.932-941
273. Qiao Yi	喬億	b.1692
274. Qiao Zhizhi	喬知之	d.697
275. Qin Gong	秦宮	2 nd c.
276. Qin Hui	秦檜	1090-1155
277. Qin Wuyang	秦舞陽	240-227B.C.
278. Qiu Liangren	丘良任	
279. Qu Duan	曲端	?-1131
280. Qu Shiheng	瞿士衡	fl.1359

S

281. Shang Rong	尚鎔	1785-?
282. Shen Yue	沈約	441-513
283. Shi Chong	石崇	249-300
284. Shi Jingtang	石敬瑭	892-942
285. Shi Jueyuan	釋覺元	14 th c.
286. Sikong Tu	司空圖	837-908
287. Sima Xiangru	司馬相如	179-117B.C.
288. Sima Yi	司馬懿	179-251
289. Sima Yu	司馬遼	278-300
290. Sima Zhao	司馬昭	211-264
291. Song He	宋賀	14 th c.
292. Song Luo	宋犖	1634-1713
293. Song Qi	宋祁	998-1061
294. Song Qiqiu	宋齊丘	887-959
295. Song Shi	宋實	14 th c.
296. Song Xi	宋熹	fl.1368-1398
297. Song Yu	宋玉	fl.290-223B.C.
298. Song Zongmian	宋宗勉	dates unknown
299. Su Shi	蘇軾	1037-1101
300. Su Wu	蘇武	140-60B.C.
301. Su Zhongxiang	蘇仲翔	
302. Sun Ce	孫策	175-200
303. Sun Quan	孫權	182-252
304. Sun Shou	孫壽	2 nd c.
305. Sun Yuanyan	孫元晏	dates unknown
306. Suo Jing	索靖	239-303

T

307. Tang Ruxun	唐汝詢	fl.1624
308. Tao Hongjing	陶宏景	452-536
309. Tao Yuanming	陶淵明	372?-427
310. Tao Zongyi	陶宗儀	fl.1360-1368
311. Tian Guang	田光	?-227B.C.
312. Tie Yi	鐵顛	11 th c.
313. Tuotuo	脫脫	1313-1355

W

314. Wang Anshi	王安石	1021-1086
315. Wang Can	王粲	177-217
316. Wang Chang (Wang Jipeng)	王昶 (王繼鵬)	d.939

317. Wang Chen	王沈	2 nd c
318. Wang Guowei	王國維	1877-1927
319. Wang Ji	王績	585-644
320. Wang Ji	王寂	ca.1127-ca.1193
321. Wang Jian	王建	<i>jinshi</i> title 775
322. Wang Jitao	王繼韜	10 th c.
323. Wang Jun	王濬	206-286
324. Wang Li	王力	
325. Wang Lin (Wang Yanjun)	王鱗 (王延鈞)	d.935
326. Wang Meng	王蒙	1308-1385
327. Wang Qiao	王喬	
328. Wang Ruoqin	王若欽	962-1025
329. Wang Shifu	王實甫	fl.1295-1307
330. Wang Shipeng	王十朋	1112-1171
331. Wang Shizhen	王士禎	1634-1711
332. Wang Wei	王維	701-761
333. Wang Yi	王彝	fl.1368-1398
334. Wang Yujing	王與敬	14 th c..
335. Wang Yun	王允	137-192
336. Wang Zhaojun	王昭君	fl. 48-33B.C.
337. Wang Zhongge	王忠閣	
338. Wang Zun	汪遵	<i>jinshi</i> title 866
339. Wei Lü	衛律	1 st c. B.C.
340. Wei Zheng	魏徵	580-643
341. Wen Tingku	溫庭酷	8 th c.
342. Wen Tingyun	溫庭筠	812-ca.870
343. Weng Fanggang	翁方綱	1733-1818
344. Wenjiang	文姜	7 th c. B.C.
345. Wu Chengsi	武承嗣	d.698
346. Wu Fu	吳復	1300-1348
347. Wu Qiao	吳喬	1611-1695
348. Wu Yu (Wu Cailao)	吳棫 (才老)	<i>jinshi</i> title 1124
349. Wu Yun	吳筠	d.778
350. Wu Zetian (Wu Zhao)	武則天 (武曌)	624-705

X

351. Xia Wenyan	夏文彥	14 th c..
352. Xiang Bo	項伯	?-192 B.C.
353. Xiang Jiong	項炯	1278-1338

354. Xiang Zhuang	項莊	2 nd c. B.C.
355. Xiang Yu	項羽	232-202B.C.
356. Xiao Daocheng	蕭道成	427-482
357. Xiao Lihua	蕭麗華	
358. Xiao Yan	蕭衍	464-549
359. Xiao Ze	蕭蹟	440-493
360. Xiehou Yuan	夏侯淵	?-219
361. Xu Bi	徐賁	?-1379?
362. Xu Gang	許綱	
363. Xu Hun	許渾	791-858
364. Xu Jia	須賈	3 rd c. B.C.
365. Xu Jianhua	許建華	
366. Xu Shouhui	徐壽輝	?-1360
367. Xu Wenzheng	許文正	13 th c.
368. Xu Yingrong	許應鑠	1820-1891
369. Xue Jixuan	薛季宣	1134-1173
370. Xue Rengui	薛仁貴	614-683
371. Xun Mo	郇模	fl.762-779
Y		
372. Yan Junshou	延君壽	dates unknown
373. Yan Shigu	顏師古	581-645
374. Yan Xuanjun	晏選軍	
375. Yan Yannian	顏延年	384-456
376. Yan Zhenqing	顏真卿	709-785
377. Yang Guozhong	楊國忠	d.756
378. Yang Hong	楊宏	d.1339
379. Yang Ji	楊基	1326-1378?
380. Yang Lian	楊鐮	
381. Yang Lijing	楊麗靜	
382. Yang Shiqi	楊士奇	1365-1444
383. Yang Wanzhe	楊完者	?-1358
384. Yang Weizhen	楊維禎	1296-1370
385. Yang Yuhuan	楊玉環	719-756
386. Yang Zai	楊載	1271-1323
387. Yanmin	駱焉名	
388. Ye Qiao	葉翹	10 th c.
389. Yelü Chucai	耶律楚材	1190-1244
390. Yelü Deguang	耶律德光	902-947

391. Yi Yin	伊尹	1648-1549 B.C.
392. Yinping	銀瓶	12 th c.
393. Yu Ji (Yu Baisheng)	虞集	1272-1348
394. Yu Wenyi	余文儀	1687?-1782?
395. Yu Xin	庾信	513-581
396. Yu Zhao	余照	fl.1800
397. Yu Zhiyuan	于植元	
398. Yu Zhuo	俞焯	14 th c.
399. Yuan Can	袁粲	420-477
400. Yuan Daojie	袁道潔	12 th c.
401. Yuan Haowen	元好問	1190-1257
402. Yuan Hua	袁華	1316-1391
403. Yuan Kai	袁凱	fl.1370
404. Yuan Shao	袁紹	?-202
405. Yuan Shu	袁術	?-199
406. Yuan Xingpei	袁行霈	
407. Yuan Zhen	元稹	779-831
408. Yuchi Gong	尉遲恭	585-658
409. Yuchi Jingde	尉遲敬德	fl.597-648
410. Yue Fei	岳飛	1103-1142
411. Yue Yun	岳雲	1119-1142

Z

412. Zang Hong	臧洪	?-195
413. Zeng Gong	曾鞏	1019-1083
414. Zhang Fei (Zhang Yide)	張飛 (張翼德)	?- 221
415. Zhang Gaoping	張高評	
416. Zhang Hua	張華	232-300
417. Zhang Ji	張籍	Ca.765-ca.830
418. Zhang Jian	張簡	fl.1367
419. Zhang Jing	張晶	
420. Zhang Jingyun	張景雲	14 th c..
421. Zhang Jinwu	張金吾	1787-1829
422. Zhang Liang	張良	?-186 B.C.
423. Zhang Lu	張祿	d.255 B.C.
424. Zhang Mao	章懋	1436-1522
425. Zhang Mu	章木	14 th c.
426. Zhang Qiong	張瓊	
427. Zhang Runjing	張潤靜	

428. Zhang Shicheng	張士誠	1321-1367
429. Zhang Shide	張士德	14 th c.
430. Zhang Shixin	張士信	14 th c..
431. Zhang Wan	章琬	14 th c..
432. Zhang Wo	張渥	fl.1356
433. Zhang Xian	張憲	14 th c.
434. Zhang Xiaoli	張小麗	
435. Zhang Xingxing	張猩猩	14 th c.
436. Zhang Yan	張晏	dates unknown
437. Zhang Yining	張以寧	1301-1370
438. Zhang Yu (Yang's friend)	張雨	1283-1350
439. Zhang Yu (One of the 'Four Talents' in the early Ming)	張羽	14 th c.
440. Zhang Zhenglang	張政烺	
441. Zhang Zhu	張翥	1287-1368
442. Zhao Bian (Yuedao)	趙抃 (闕道)	1008-1084
443. Zhao Bingwen	趙秉文	1159-1232
444. Zhao Feiyan	趙飛燕	32-1B.C.
445. Zhao Hede	趙合德	d.7B.C.
446. Zhao Mengfu	趙孟頫	1254-1322
447. Zhao Sheng	趙勝	?-253B.C.
448. Zhao Wangqin	趙望秦	
449. Zhao Yun	趙雲	?-229
450. Zheng Qiao	鄭樵	1101-1162
451. Zhi Jue'en	釋覺恩	14 th c.
452. Zhong Rong	鍾嶸	fl.502-519
453. Zhongli Chun	鍾離春	fl.319-301
454. Zhonglian	魯仲連	fl.305-245 B.C.
455. Zhou	紂	r.1075-1046B.C.
456. Zhou Ji	周濟	1781-1839
457. Zhou Tan	周曇	dates unknown
458. Zhou Xing	周興	7 th c.
459. Zhou Yu	周瑜	175-210
460. Zhu Ci	朱泚	742-784
461. Zhu Hai	朱亥	3 rd c. B.C.
462. Zhu Tingzhen	朱庭珍	1841-1903
463. Zhu Xi	朱熹	1130-1200

464. Zhu Yizun	朱彝尊	1629-1709
465. Zhu Youzhen	朱友真	888-923
466. Zhu Yuanzhang	朱元璋	1328-1398
467. Zhuge Liang	諸葛亮	181-234
468. Zhuo Wenjun	卓文君	150-115 B.C.
469. Zou Ji	鄒忌	3 rd c. B.C.
470. Zou Yan	鄒衍	fl.305-240 B.C.
471. Zu Baoquan	祖保泉	
472. Zuo Si	左思	ca.250-ca.305

Note: Names without dates are those of modern scholars

Bibliography

Books Cited in English

1. Allen, Joseph R.. *In the Voice of Others: Chinese Music Bureau poetry*. Ann Arbor, Mich: Center for Chinese Studies Publications, University of Michigan, 1992.
2. Anonymous. *Holy Bible* (Chinese/English). Hong Kong: International Bible Society, (1997) 1999.
3. Bakhtin, Mikhail Mikhailovich. *Problems of Dostoevsky's Poetics*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1984.
4. Bakhtin, Mikhail Mikhailovich. [Emerson, Caryl and Holquist, Michael trans.] *The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays*. Austin : University of Texas Press, 1981.
5. Birch, Cyril, ed. *Studies in Chinese Literary Genres*. Berkeley: University of California, 1974.
6. Cheng, François. [Riggs, Donald A., and Seaton, Jerome P., trans.] *Chinese Poetic Writing*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1982.
7. Durey, Jill Felicity. *Realism and Narrative: the Hero and Heroine in Eliot, Tolstoy and Flaubert*. Tübingen: Narr, 1993.
8. Edber, Irene, ed. *Confucianism: the Dynamics of Tradition*. New York: Macmillan Publishing Co., 1986.
9. Frodsham, J.D. *Goddesses, Ghosts, and Demons: the Collected Poems of Li He (Li Chang-ji, 790-816)*. San Francisco: North Point Press, 1983.
10. Frodsham, J.D. *The Poems of Li Ho (791-817)*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970.
11. Goodrich, Luther Carrington. et al., eds. *The Dictionary of Ming Biography*

1368-1644. 2 vols.; New York: Columbia University Press, 1976.

12. Hansen, Valerie. *The Open Empire: a History of China to 1600*. New York: W.W.Norton & Company Inc., 2000.
13. Hawkes, David. *A little Primer of Tu Fu [Du Fu]*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1967; Hong Kong: Chinese University Press, 1987.
14. Hawkes, David. *The Songs of the South: An Ancient Chinese Anthology of Poems by Qu Yuan and Other Poets*. Harmondsworth, New York,: Penguin Books, 1985.
15. Hinton, David. ed., *Classical Chinese Poetry: An Anthology*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2008.
16. Hucker, Charles O. *A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1985.
17. Karlgren, Bernhard, trans. *The Book of Odes*. Stockholm: Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities, 1974.
18. Lau, D. C., trans. *Confucius: The Analects*. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1979; Beijing: Zhonghua shujun, 2008.
19. Levy, Dore Jesse. *Chinese Narrative Poetry: The Late Han Through T'ang Dynasties*. Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1988.
20. Lin, Shuenfu, and Owen, Stephen, eds. *The Vitality of the Lyric Voice: Shih Poetry from the Late Han to the Tang*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1986.
21. Lin, Shuenfu. *The Transformation of the Chinese Lyrical Tradition: Chiang K'uei and Southern Sung T'zu Poetry*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1978.
22. Liu Xie. Shih, Vincent Yu-chung, trans. *The Literary Mind and the Carving of Dragons: a Study of Thought and Pattern in Chinese Literature*. Hong Kong: Chinese University Press, 1983.

23. MacLeish, Archibald. *Poetry and Experience*. Cambridge, Mass: The Riverside Press, 1960.
24. McCraw, David R.. *Du Fu's Laments from the South*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1992.
25. Mair, Victor H., ed. *The Columbia History of Chinese Literature*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2001.
26. Miao, Ronald C., ed. *Studies in Chinese Poetry and Poetics*. San Francisco: Chinese Materials Center, 1978.
27. Minford, John, and Lau, Joseph S.M., eds. *Classical Chinese Literature: An Anthology of Translations*. 2 vols., New York: Columbia University Press ; Hong Kong : Chinese University Press, 2000.
28. Mou, Hauichuan. *Rediscovering Wen Tingyun: A Historical Key to a Poetic Labyrinth*. New York: State University of New York, 2004.
29. Nienhauser, William H., ed. *The Indiana Companion to Traditional Chinese Literature*. 2 vols.; Bloomington : Indiana University Press, 1986.
30. Owen, Stephen. *Readings in Chinese Literary Thought*. Cambridge, Mass: Council of East Asian Studies, Harvard University Press, 1992.
31. Owen, Stephen. *Traditional Chinese Poetry and Poetics: Omen of the World*. London: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1985.
32. Owen, Stephen. *The End of the Chinese: 'Middle Age: Essays in Mid-Tang Literary Culture'*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996.
33. Owen, Stephen. *The Late Tang: Chinese Poetry of the Mid-Ninth Century (827-860)*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Asia Centre, 2006.
34. Rāhula, Walpola. *What the Buddha Taught*. Taipei: The Corporate Body of the Buddha Educational Foundation, (1959) 1978.

35. Rouzer, Paul F. *Writing Another's Dream: The Poetry of Wen Tingyun*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1993.
36. Shih, Chungwen. *The Golden Age of Chinese Drama: Yüan Tsa-chü*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976.
37. Sima, Qian. [Nienhauser, William H., trans.] *The Grand Scribe's Records*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994.
38. Twitchett, Denis Crispin, and Fairbank, John King et al., eds. *The Cambridge History of China: Alien Regimes and Border States 907-1368*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994.
39. Von Hallberg, Robert. *Lyric Powers*. London: The University of Chicago Press, 2008
40. Yu, Pauline. *The Readings of Imagery in the Chinese Poetic Tradition*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1987.
41. Yoshikawa, Kōjirō. [Wixted, John Timothy, trans.] *Five hundred years of Chinese poetry, 1150-1650: the Chin, Yuan, and Ming dynasties*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1992.

Books Cited in Chinese and Japanese

1. Anonymous. *Hanwu gushi* 漢武故事 (The story of Emperor Wu of Han), in *Yingyin Wenyuan ge siku quanshu* 景印文淵閣四庫全書 (Copied Collectanea of the four treasuries of Wenyuan Pavilion). 1500 vols.; Taipei: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1983-1986, vol. 1042.
2. Ban Gu 班固. *Hanshu* 漢書 (History of the Han dynasty). 12 vols.; Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, [1962] 2009.
3. Bao Gendi 包根弟. *Yuanshi yanjiu* 元詩研究 (Research on the Yuan poetry). Taipei: Youshi wenhua shiye gongsi, 1978.
4. Cao Lengquan 曹冷泉, ed. *Shipin tongshi* 詩品通釋 (General annotation to

Commentary on poetry). Xi'an: Sanqin chubanshe, 1989.

5. Chen Cunli 陳存禮, comp. *Lize yiyin* 麗則遺音 (The beautiful and elegant vestigial sound). 4 juan; in *Yingyin Wenyuan ge siku quanshu* 景印文淵閣四庫全書. 1500 vols.; Taipei: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1983-1986, vol.1222.
6. Chen Hailiang 陳海良. *Luanshi qicai: Yang Weizhen de shengping ji qi yishu* 亂世奇才: 楊維禎的生平及其藝術 (A rare talent in the chaotic world: Yang Weizhen's biography and artwork). Shanghai: Shanghai shuhua chubanshe, 2005.
7. Chen Jiagen 陳建根, ed. *Yongshi shi* 詠史詩 (Poetry on history). Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 1989.
8. Chen Jianhua 陳建華. *Tangdai Yongshi huaigushi lungao* 唐代詠史懷古詩論稿 (Discussion drafts on the Tang poems on history and on the past). Huazhong keji daxue chubanshe, 2008..
9. Chen Qiao 陳樵. *Lupizi ji* 鹿皮子集 (Collection of Lupizi). Taipei: Xinwenfeng chuban gufen youxian gongsi, 1984.
10. Chen Quanzhi 陳全之. *Peng chuang rilu* 蓬窗日錄 (Daily record of Grass Window). Shanghai: Shanghai shudian, 2009.
11. Chen Shou 陳壽. Pei Songzhi 裴松之, ed. *Sanguo zhi* 三國志 (Records of the Three Kingdoms). Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, [1959] 1962.
12. Chen Yan 陳衍. *Yuanshi jishi* 元詩紀事 (Records of the Yuan poetry). 24 juan; Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, [1987] 1995.
13. Chen Yusheng 陳遜聲; Jiang Hongzao 蔣鴻藻, eds. *Guangxu Zhuji xianzhi* 光緒諸暨縣志 (Records of Zhuji county in Guangxu reign). 25 juans and 1 supplementary juan, in *Zhongguo difang zhi jicheng* 中國地方誌集成. 56 vols.; Shanghai: Shanghai shudian, 1993, vol. 41.
14. Chu Dahong 儲大泓. *Lidai Yongshi shi xuanzhu* 歷代詠史詩選注 (Annotation to selected poems on history throughout the ages). Xi'an: Shanxi renmin chubanshe, 1990.

15. Deng Shaoji 鄧紹基, main ed. *Yuandai wenxue shi* 元代文學史 (Literary history of the Yuan dynasty). Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, [1991] 1998.
16. Dong Gao 董誥 et al., comp. *Quan Tangwen* 全唐文 (Complete works of the Tang dynasty). 7 vols.; Taiyuan: Shanxi jiaoyu chubanshe, 2002.
17. Dongfang Shuo 東方朔. *Hainei shizhou ji* 海內十洲記 (The ten continents located inside the sea). 1 *juan*; in *Yingyin wenyuan ge siku quanshu* 景印文淵閣四庫全書 (Copied Collectanea of the four treasuries of Wen yuan Pavilion). 1500 vols.; Taipei: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1983-1986, vol.1042.
18. Du Li 杜立. *Lichao Yongshi huaigu shi* 歷朝詠史懷古詩 (Poetry on history and on the past throughout the dynasties). Beijing: Huaxia chubanshe, 2000.
19. Du Mu 都穆. *Duhao shihua* 都濠詩話 (Poetic criticism of Duhao), in Zhou Weide 周維德, ed., *Quan Ming shihua* 全明詩話 (Complete collection of poetic criticism of the Ming dynasty). 6 vols.; Jinan: Jilu shushe, 2005, vol.1.
20. Du Yu 杜預, ed. *Chunqiu Zouzhuan jijie* 春秋左傳集解 (Collective annotations to *Spring and Autumn Annals* and *Zuo's Commentary*). 5 vols.; Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 1977.
21. Fan Ye 範曄. Li Xian 李賢 et al., eds. *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書 (History of the later Han dynasty). Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, [1965] 2006.
22. Fang Xuanling 房玄齡 et al. *Jinshu* 晉書 (History of the Jin). 10 vols; Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1974.
23. Fei Gun 費袞. *Liangxi manzhi* 梁谿漫志 (Drafts of Ravine Liang). Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1985.
24. Feng Ban 馮班. *Dunyin zalu* 鈍吟雜錄 (Miscellaneous records of Dunyin), in 王夫之 Wang Fuzhi et al., eds. *Qing shihua* 清詩話, 2 vols.; Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1978, vol.1.

25. Feng Yingling 馮應京. *Yueling guangyi* 月令廣義 (Broad definitions of months and seasons), in *Siku quanshu cunmu congshu* 四庫全書存目叢書 (Collection of books listed in *Collectanea of the four treasures*). 426 vols.; Tainan: *Zhuangyan wenhua shiye youxian gongsi*, 1996. vols. 164-165.
26. Fu Qian 服虔. Duan Shuwei 段書偉, ed. *Tongsu wen jijiao* 通俗文輯校 (Compilation and edition of *Popular language*). Zhengzhou: Zhongzhou guji chubanshe, 1993.
27. Fu Yi 傅義. *Yuandai sidajia shixuan* 元四大家詩選 (Selected poems of the four major poets in the Yuan dynasty). Nanchang: Jiagxi renmin chubanshe, 1995.
28. Ge Hong 葛洪. *Xijing zaji* 西京雜記 (Miscellaneous records of the Western Capital), in Ji Xianlin 季羨林, and Zhang Dai 張岱, main ed.: *Siku jiacang* 四庫家藏 (Private collection of the *Collectanea of the four treasures*). 150 vols.; Jinan: Shandong huabao chubanshe, 2004, vol. 93.
29. Ge Huanbiao 葛煥標, Luo Yanmin 駱焉名. *Yang Weizhen* 楊維禎 (Yang Weizhen). Hong Kong: Tianma chuban youxian gongsi, 2004.
30. Gu Qilun 顧起綸. *Guo ya pin* 國雅品 (National elegant works). 1 juan, in Zhou Junfu 周駿富, ed. *Mingdai zhuanji congkan* 明代傳記叢刊 (Collection of biographies of the Ming dynasty). 160 vols.; Taibei: Mingwen shuju, 1991, vol. 16.
31. Guan Shimi 管時敏. *Yinqiao ji* 蚓竅集 (Poetry collection: the sound of earthworm's aperture). 10 juan; in *Yingyin wenyuan ge siku quanshu* 景印文淵閣四庫全書 (Copied *Collectanea of the four treasures* of Wenyuan Pavilion). 1500 vols.; Taibei: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1983-1986, vol.1231.
32. Gu Sili 顧嗣立. *Hanting shihua* 寒廳詩話 (The poetic commentaries of Cold Hall), in Wang Fuzhi 王夫之 et al., eds. *Qing shihua: 43 zhong* 清詩話: 43 種 (The Qing poetic criticism: 43 types). 2 vols.; Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1963, vol.1.
33. Gu Sili 顧嗣立. *Yuanshi xuan. chuji* 元詩選·初集 (Selected poems of the Yuan dynasty. First collection). 3 vols.; Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, [1987]

2002.

34. Gu Ying 顧瑛, comp. *Caotang yaji* 草堂雅集 (Elegant collection of thatch hall). 14 juan; in *Yingyin wenyuan ge siku quanshu* 景印文淵閣四庫全書 (Copied *Collectanea of the four treasures* of Wenyuan Pavilion). 1500 vols.; Taipei: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1983-1986, vol.1369.
35. Guo Maoqian 郭茂倩, comp. *Yuefu shiji* 樂府詩集 (The Corpus of Yuefu Poetry). 4 vols.; Beijing : Zhonghua shuju, [1979] 2003.
36. Guo Pu 郭璞, ed. *Mu tianzi zhuan* 穆天子傳 (Biography of the Heavenly son Mu), in *Yingyin wenyuan ge siku quanshu*. 1500 vols.; Taipei: Shangyu yinshuguan, 1985, vol.1042.
37. Guo Pu, 郭璞, ed. *Shanhai jing* 山海經 (Classic of the mountains and the seas), in *Yingyin wenyuan ge siku quanshu* (Copied *Collectanea of the four treasures* of Wenyuan Pavilion). 1500 vols.; Taipei: Shangyu yinshuguan, 1985, vol.1042.
38. Guo Qingfan 郭慶藩, ed. *Zhuangzi jishi* 莊子集釋 (Collection of annotations to *Zhuangzi*). 3 vols; Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, [1961] 2004.
39. Guo Yuheng 郭預衡, main ed. *Zhongguo gudai wenxue shi chanbian: Yuan Ming Qing juan* 中國古代文學史長編:元明清卷 (Detailed edition of ancient Chinese literary history: Yuan, Ming and Qing dynasties). Beijing: Shoudu shifan daixue chubanshe, 2007.
40. He Liangjun 何良俊. *Siyoushai congshuo* 四友齋叢說 (Random talks of the Four Friends Den). 38 juan.; in *Xuxiu siku quanshu* (Continued edition of *Collectanea of the four treasures*). 1714 vols.; Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1995, vol. 1125.
41. Ho Meepo 何美寶. *Zhang Zhu qi qici yanjiu* 張翥及其詞研究 (A study of Zhang Zhu (1287-1368) and his Ci poems) Hong Kong: Hong Kong University, 1988.
42. Hong Xingzu 洪興祖. *Chuci buzhu* 楚辭補註 (Supplemented annotation to the *Songs of the South*). Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1983.

43. Hu Ji 胡戟. *Wu Zetian benzhuàn* 武則天本傳 (The original biography of Wu Zetian). Xi'an: San Qin chubanshe, 1986.
44. Hu Yinglin 胡應麟. *Shisou* 詩藪 (waipian 外篇 6 juan; neipian 內篇 6 juan.; zapián 雜篇 6 juan; xupian 續篇 2 juan) (Poetic Collection. Outer section: 6 chapters; inner section: 6 chapters; miscellaneous section: 6 chapters, sequel section: 2 chapters) Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, [1958] 1979.
45. Hua Ning 華寧. *Yang Weizhen* 楊維禎 (Yang Weizhen). Taipei: Shitou chuban gufan youxian gongsi, 2006.
46. Huang Baohua 黃寶華, Wen Shihua 文師華. *Zhongguo shixue shi. Song Jin Yuan juan* 中國詩學史.宋金元卷. (History of Chinese poetics: the Song, Jin and Yuan dynasties) Xiamen: Lujiang chubanshe, 2002.
47. Huang Rensheng 黃仁生. *Yang Weizhen yu Yuanmo Mingchu wenxue sichao* 楊維禎與元末明初文學思潮 (Yang Weizhen and the literary currents of the late Yuan and early Ming dynasties). Shanghai: Dongfang chuban zhongxin, 2005.
48. Huang Yaxin 黃雅歆. *Wei Jin Yongshi shi yanjiu* 魏晉詠史詩研究 (Study on poetry on history of the Wei and Jin periods). Taipei: Hua mulan wenhua chubanshe, 2008.
49. Huang Zongxi 黃宗羲, Chen Shuliang 陳叔諒, and Li Xinzhuang 李心莊, eds. *Chongbian Song Yuan xue'an* 重編宋元學案 (Revised edition of Records of schools in the Song and Yuan dynasties). Taipei: Guoli bianyiguan, 1954.
50. Ji Minghua 季明華. *Nan Song Yongshi shi yanjiu* 南宋詠史詩研究 (Poetry on history of the Southern Song dynasty). Taipei: Wenjin chubanshe, 1997.
51. Jiang Daren 降大任, and Zhang Renjian 張仁健, eds. *Yongshi shi zhuxi* 詠史詩註析 (Annotation to the poetry on history). Taiyuan: Shanxi renmin chubanshe, 1985.

52. Jin Yuan 金圓, comp. *Yang Weizhen xuwen ji* 楊維禎序文集 (Collected prefaces of Yang Weizhen). Ji'nan: Shandong huabao chubanshe, 2004.
53. Lai Liang 賴良, ed. *Daya ji* 大雅集 (Great elegant collection). Taipei: Taiwan shangwu yinshuguan, 1972.
54. Lai Yushu 賴玉樹. *Wan Tang Wudai Yongshi shi zhi meixue yishi* 晚唐五代詠史詩之美學意識 (The aesthetic consciousness of poems on history of the late Tang and the Five Dynasties periods). Taipei: Xiuwei zixun keji gufen youxian gongsi, 2005.
55. Lao Ge 勞格, ed. *Tieya fugao* 鐵崖賦稿 (Tieya's drafts of rhymed prose). 2 juan; in *Xuxiu siku quanshu* 續修四庫全書 (Sequel edition of *Collectanea of the four treasuries*). 1714 vols.; Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1995, vol. 1325.
56. Li Dingzuo 李鼎祚. *Zhouyi jijie* 周易集解 (Collection of annotations to *Classic of Changes*). 17 juan.; Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1989.
57. Li Fang 李昉 et al., ed. *Taiping guangji* 太平廣記 (Extensive Records of the Taiping Era). [500 juan] 10 vols.; Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, [1963] 2003.
58. Li Han 李翰. *Han Wei sheng Tang Yongshi shi yanjiu: "yanzhi" zhi shixue zhuantong ji shiren sixiang de kaocha*. 漢魏盛唐詠史詩研究:「言志」之詩學傳統及士人思想的考察 (Study of poems on history in the Han Wei and high Tang periods: an investigation into the poetic tradition and literati's thoughts in poems that express poet's intent). Guilin: Guangxi shifan daxue chubanshe, 2006.
59. Li Xiusheng 李修生, main ed. *Quan Yuanwen* 全元文 (Complete collection of the works of Yuan dynasty). 60 vols.; Nanjing: Fenghuang chubanshe, 2004, vol. 41-42.
60. Li Yang 黎陽. *Shuo Tangshi. yongshi huaigu* 說唐詩·詠史懷古 (Talks on Tang poetry: on history and on the past). Hangzhou: Zhejiang renmin chubanshe, 1997.

61. Li Yiya 李宜涯. *Wan Tang Yongshi shi yu pinghua yanyi zhi guanxi* 晚唐詠史詩與平話演義之關係 (Relationship between the late Tang poetry on history and *pinghua* fiction and historical novel). Taibei: Wenshizhe chubanshe, 2002.
62. Li Zongwei 李宗為. *Qianjia shi yizhu* 千家詩譯注 (Intpretation and annotation to poems of one thousand poets). Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1999.
63. Liu Bing 劉炳. *Li Yanbing ji* 劉彥昂集 (Collected works of Li Yanbing). 9 juan; in *Yingyin Wenyuan ge siku quanshu* 景印文淵閣四庫全書 (Copied *Collectanea of the four treasuries* of Wenyuan Pavilion). 1500 vols.; Taibei: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1983-1986, vol.1229.
64. Liu Ji 劉基. *Liu Ji ji* 劉基集 (Collected works of Liu Ji). Hangzhou: Zhejinag guji chubanshe, 1999.
65. Liu Ji 劉績. *Feixue lu* 霏雪錄 (Records of falling snow). Taibei: Xinwenfeng chubanshe, 1984.
66. Liu Meihua 劉美華. *Yang Weizhen shixue yanjiu* 楊維禎詩學研究 (Study on Yang Weizhen's poetics). Taibei: Wenshizhe chubanshe, 1983.
67. Liu Mingjin 劉明今. *Liao Jin Yuan wenxue shi'an* 遼金元文學史案 (Literary history of the Liao, Jin, Yuan dynasties). Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2004
68. Liu Xiang 劉向. *Liexian zhuan* 列仙傳 (Biographies of Immortals), in Ji Xianlin 季羨林 et al., main eds. *Siku jiacang* 四庫家藏 (Private collection of the *Collectanea of the four treasuries*), 150 vols.; Jinan: Shandong huabao chubanshe, 2004, vol. 93.
69. Liu Xu 劉昫 et al. *Jiu Tangshu* 舊唐書 (Old history of the Tang). Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, [1975]1997.
70. Lou Buchan 樓卜瀾, ed. *Tieya yibian zhu* 鐵崖逸編註 (Annotation to Iron Cliff's anecdoted poetry). 8 juan; in *Xuxiu siku quanshu* (續修四庫全書 (Sequel edition of *Collectanea of the four treasuries*). 1714 vols.; Shanghai:

Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1995, vol.1325.

71. Lou Buchan 樓卜瀾, ed. *Tieya yongshi zhu* 鐵崖詠史註 (Annotation to Iron Cliff's poetry on history). 8 *juan*; in *Xuxiu siku quanshu* 續修四庫全書 (Sequel edition of *Collectanea of the four treasures*). 1714 vols.; Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1995, vol.1325.
72. Lou Buchan 樓卜瀾, ed. *Tieya yuefu zhu* 鐵崖樂府註 (Annotation to Iron Cliff's *yuefu* poetry). 10 *juan*; in *Xuxiu siku quanshu* 續修四庫全書 (Sequel edition of *Collectanea of the four treasures*). 1714 vols.; Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1995, vol.1325.
73. Lu Jiugao 魯九皋. *Shixue yuanyuan kao* 詩學淵源考 (An investigation of the origin of politics), in Guo Shaoyu 郭紹虞 et al., eds. *Qing shihua xubian* 清詩話續編 (Continued edition of Qing poetic commentaries), vols. 2; Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, (1983) 1999, vol. 2.
74. Lu Rong 陸容. [Yizhi 佚之, ed.] *Shuyuan zayi* 菽園雜記 (Miscellaneous records of Bean Garden). 15 *juan*; Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1985.
75. Lü Cheng 呂誠. *Laiheting shiji* 來鶴亭詩集 (Collection of Pavilion Awaiting Cranes). 9 *juan*; *buyi* 補遺 (Supplementary). 1 *juan*; in *Yingyin wenyuan ge siku quanshu* 景印文淵閣四庫全書 (Copied *Collectanea of the four treasures* of Wenyuan Pavilion). 1500 vols.; Taipei: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1983-1986, vol.1220.
76. Lü Ying 陸瑩. *Wenhua lou shihua* 問花樓詩話 (Poetic commentary of Wenhua Pavilion). 2 *juan*; in Guo Shaoyu 郭紹虞 et al., eds. *Qing shihua xubian* 清詩話續編 (Sequel edition of Qing poetic commentaries), vols. 2; Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, (1983) 1999, vol.2.
77. Luo Guangzhong 羅貫中. *Sanguo yanyi* 三國演義 (Romance of the Three Kingdoms). Taipei: Sanmin shuju, [1971] 2009.
78. Luo Zhufeng 羅竹風, main ed. *Hanyu da cidian. suoyinben* 漢語大詞典. 縮印本 (Great dictionary of the Chinese language: microform version). 3 vols.; Shanghai: Hanyu da cidian chuban she, 1997.

79. Ma Xinlai 馬欣來, comp. *Guan Hanqing ji* 關漢卿集 (Collected works of Guan Hanqing). Taiyuan: Shanxi renmin chubanshe, 1996.
80. Ou Huan 偶桓, comp. *Qiankun qingqi* 乾坤清氣 (Fresh air of the heaven and earth). 14 juan; in *Yingyin wenyuan ge siku quanshu* 景印文淵閣四庫全書 (Copied *Collectanea of the four treasures of Wenyuan Pavilion*). 1500 vols.; Taipei: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1983-1986, vol.1370.
81. Ouyang Xiu 歐陽詢 et al., eds. *Yiwen leiju* 藝文類聚 (Collection of literature arranged by categories). 4 vols.; Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, [1965]1982.
82. Ouyang Xiu 歐陽修 et al., comps. *Xin Tangshu* 新唐書 (New history of the Tang). 20 vols.; Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, [1975] 1997.
83. Ouyang Xiu 歐陽修. *Xin Wudai shi* 新五代史 (New history of the Five Dynasties). Beijing: Zhonghua shu ju, 1974.
84. Peng Dingqiu 彭定求 et al., eds. *Quan Tangshi* 全唐詩 (Complete poems of the Tang dynasty), 25 vols.; Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, [1960] 2003.
85. Qian Qianyi 錢謙益. *Liechao shiji xiaozhuan* 列朝詩集小傳 (Brief biography of poets from various dynasties). 81 juan; in Zhou Junfu 周駿富, ed. *Mingdai zhuanji congkan* 明代傳記叢刊 (Collection of biographies of the Ming dynasty). 160 vols.; Taipei: Mingwen shuju, 1991, vol. 11.
86. Qian Weishan 錢惟善. *Jiangyue songfeng ji* 江月松風集 (Poetry collection: moonlight on the lake and breeze among pine trees). 12 juan; in *Yingyin wenyuan ge siku quanshu* 景印文淵閣四庫全書 (Copied *Collectanea of the four treasures of Wenyuan Pavilion*). 1500 vols.; Taipei: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1983-1986, vol.1217.
87. Qu You 瞿佑. *Guitian shihua* 歸田詩話 (Poetic commentaries of Returning to the Fields); in *Xuxiu siku quanshu* 續修四庫全書 (Continued edition of *Collectanea of the four treasures*). 1714 vols.; Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1995, vol.1694.
88. Ren Fang 任昉. *Shuyi ji* 述異記 (Records of strangeness). 2 vols.;

Chengdu: Sichuan renmin chubanshe, 1997.

89. Ren Fang 任昉. *Shuyi ji* 述異記 (Records of strangeness). 2 *juan.*; in *Yingyin Wenyuan ge siku quanshu* 景印文淵閣四庫全書 (Copied Collectanea of the four treasuries of Wenyuan Pavilion). 1500 vols.; Taibei: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1983-1986, vol. 1047
90. Shang Rong 尚容. *Sanjia shihua* 三家詩話 (Poetic commentaries of the three critics), in Guo Shaoyu 郭紹虞 et al., eds. *Qing shihua xubian* 清詩話續編 (Continued edition of Qing poetic commentaries), vols. 2; Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, (1983) 1999, vol.2.
91. Shen Zinan 沈自南, *Yilin huikao* 藝林彙考 (Assembly investigation of literary works), 40 *juan.*; in *Yingyin wenyuan ge siku quanshu* 景印文淵閣四庫全書 (Copied Collectanea of the four treasuries of Wenyuan Pavilion). 1500 vols.; Taibei: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1985, vol.859.
92. Sima Guang 司馬光. *Zizhi tongjian* 資治通鑑 (The comprehensive mirror to aid in government). 20 vols.; Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, [1956] 2009.
93. Sima Qian 司馬遷. *Shiji* 史記 (Records of the Grand Historian). Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, [1959]1982.
94. Song Lian 宋濂 et al., eds. *Ershisi shi quanyi: Yuanshi* 二十四史全譯：元史 (Complete translation of the twenty four histories: history of the Yuan dynasty). 6 vols.; Shanghai: Hanyu dacidian chubanshe, 2004, vol. 2.
95. Song Luo 宋瑩. *Mantang shuoshi* 漫堂說詩 (Talks on poetry in Casual Hall). 1 *juan.*; in *Siku quanshu cunmu congshu (jibu)*, 426 vols.; Tainan: Zhuangyan wenhua shiye youxian gongsi, 1997, vol. 421.
96. Song Xi 宋禧. *Yong'an ji* 庸庵集 (Collection of Yong'an). 14 *juan.*; in *Yingyin Wenyuan ge siku quanshu* 景印文淵閣四庫全書 (Copied Collectanea of the four treasuries of Wenyuan Pavilion). 1500 vols.; Taibei: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1983-1986, vol.1222.
97. Su Zhongxiang 蘇仲翔. *Li Du shixuan* 李杜詩選 (Selected poems of Li Bai and Du Fu). Shanghai : Gudian wenxue chubanshe, 1957.

98. Sun Xiaoli 孫小力. *Yang Weizhen nianpu* 楊維禎年譜 (The chronological biography of Yang Weizhen). Shanghai: Fudan daxue chubanshe, 1997.
99. Tang Ruxun 唐汝詢, ed. *Tangshi jie* 唐詩解 (Explanation on Tang poetry). Baoding: Hebei daxue chubanshe, 2001.
100. Tao Zongyi 陶宗儀. *Nancun chuogeng lu* 南村輟耕錄 (Records of cultivation halt in the south village). Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, [1959] 1980.
101. Wan Ping 萬萍, and Ye Weigong 葉維恭, main ed. *Zhongguo lidai Yongshi shi cidian* 中國歷代詠史詩辭典 (Dictionary of Chinese poetry on history throughout the ages). Jiangxi: Jiangxi jiaoyu chubanshe, 1998.
102. Wang Deyi 王德毅, Li Rongcun 李榮村, Pan Bocheng 潘柏澄, eds. *Yuanren zhuanji ziliao suoyin* 元人傳記資料索引 (Reference index of Yuan biographies). 5 vols.; Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1987.
103. Wang Feng 王逢. *Wuxi ji* 梧溪集 (Collection of Wuxi). 7 juan; in *Yingyin wenyuange siku quanshu* 景印文淵閣四庫全書 (Copied Collectanea of the four treasuries of Wenxuan Pavilion). 1500 vols.; Taipei: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1983-1986, vol.1218.
104. Wang Guowei 王國維. *Renjian cihua* 人間詩話 (Poetic commentaries of the human world), in Tang Guizhang 唐圭璋, ed. *Cihua congbian* 詞話叢編, vol., 4.
105. Wang Li 王力. *Hanyu shilü xue* 漢語詩律學 (Chinese prosody). Hong Kong: Zhonghua shuju, 1973.
106. Wang Liqi 王利器, ed. *Wenjing mifu lun jiaozhu* 文鏡秘府論校注 (Annotation to *Discussion on the secret rules mirrored by literature*). Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 1983.
107. Wang Meng'ou 王夢鷗, ed. *Daxiao Daiji xuanzhu* 大小戴記選注 (Annotation to selected works of *Records of the elder and younger Da brothers*). Taipei: Zhengzhong shuju, 1959.

108. Wang Qi 王琦 et al., ed. *Li He shige jizhu* 李賀詩歌集注 (Collection of annotations to Li He's poetry). Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 1977.
109. Wang Shizhen 王士禎. Li Maosu 李毓芙 et al., eds. *Yuyang jinghua lu jishi* 漁洋精華錄集釋 (Collection of annotations to Yuyang's *Essence Records*). Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1999.
110. Wang Wenxue 汪文學. *Zhengtong lun: faxian dongfang zhengzhi zhihui* 正統論:發現東方政治智慧 (Discussion on the orthodox line of succession: discovery of the eastern political wisdom). Xi'an: Shanxi renmin chubanshe, 2002.
111. Wang Zhaoyuan 王照圓. *Lienü zhuan buzhu* 列女傳補注 (Supplemented annotation to *Biographies of women*). 8 juan; in *Xuxiu siku quanshu* 續修四庫全書 (Continued edition of Collectanea of the four treasures). Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1995, vol. 515.
112. Wang Zhongge 王忠閣. *Yuanmo Wuzong shipai lunkao* 元末吳中詩派論考 (Discussion and examination of the poetic groups of Suzhou area in the late Yuan Period). Guilin: Guangxi Shifan Daxue chubanshe, 1998.
113. Wang Zicai 王梓材 and Feng Yunhao 馮雲濠, eds. *Gaoben Song Yuan xuean buyi* 稿本宋元學案補遺 (Manuscript of *Supplementary to Records of schools in the Song and Yuan dynasties*). Beijing: Beijing tushuguan chubanshe, 2002.
114. Wei Qingzhi 魏慶之. *Shiren yuxie* 詩人玉屑 (Poets' jade scraps). 2 vols.; Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, [1959] 1961.
115. Wei Songshan 魏嵩山, main ed. *Zhongguo gudian shici diming cidian* 中國古典詩詞地名辭典 (Dictionary of region names in classical Chinese *shi* and *ci* poetry). Nanchang: Jiangxi jiaoyu chubanshe, [1989]1992.
116. Wei Zheng 魏徵 et al. *Suishu* 隋書 (History of the Sui dynasty). 6 vols.; Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, [1973] 1991.
117. Weng Fanggang 翁方綱. *Shizhou shihua* 石洲詩話 (Poetic commentaries of Shizhou). 8 juan.; Taipei: Guangwen shuju, 1971.

118. Wu Fu 吳復, comp. *Tieya gu yuefu* 鐵崖古樂府 (Iron Cliff's ancient yuefu poetry). 10 juan; *Gu yuefu* 古樂府補. 6 juan; in *Yingyin wenyuan ge siku quanshu* 景印文淵閣四庫全書 (Copied Collectanea of the four treasures of Wenyuan Pavilion). 1500 vols.; Taibei: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1983-1986, vol.1222.
119. Wu Fu 吳復 et al., comp. *Tieya xiansheng gu yuefu* 鐵崖先生古樂府 (Mr. Iron Cliff's ancient yuefu poetry). 16 juan; Taibei: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1973.
120. Wu Guoqin 吳國欽, ed. *Guan Hanqing quanji* 關漢卿全集 (Complete collected works of Quan Hanqing). Guangzhou: Guangdong gaodeng jiaoyu, 1988
121. Wu Qiao 吳喬. *Weilu shihua* 圍爐詩話 (Poetic commentary of sitting around the stove). 6 juan; in *Xuxiu siku quanshu*. 1714 vols.; Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1995, vol. 1697.
122. Wu Xigui 吳熙貴, ed. *Li Tiaoyuan shihua pingzhu* 李調元詩話評注 (Annotation to *Li Tiaoyuan's poetic commentary*). Chongqing: Chongqing chubanshe, 1989.
123. Wu Yu 吳棫. *Yunbu* 韻補 (Supplementary to rhymes). 5 juan; in *Yingyin wenyuan ge siku quanshu*, 1500 vols.; Taibei: Taiwan shangwu yinshuguan, 1983, vol. 237.
124. Xiao Difei 蕭滌非 et al. *Tangshi jianshang cidian* 唐詩鑑賞辭典 (Dictionary of appreciating Tang poems). Shanghai: Shanghai cishu chubanshe, [1983] 2003.
125. Xiao Lihua 蕭麗華. *Yuanshi zhi shehuixing yu yishuxing yanjiu* 元詩之社會性與藝術性研究 (Research on the social and artistic nature of Yuan poetry). Taibei: Guojia chubanshe, 1998.
126. Xiao Tong 蕭統 comp. Li Shan 李善 et al., eds. *Liuchen zhu wenxuan* 六臣注文選 (Six officials' annotations to *Selected literary works*). 3 vols.; Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1987.

127. Xiao Zixian 蕭子顯. *Nan Qi shu* 南齊書 (History of Southern Qi dynasty). Shanghai: Hanyu da cidian chubanshe, 2004.
128. Xin Wenfang 辛文房. Fu Xuancong 傅璿琮, main ed. *Tang caizi zhuan jiaojian* 唐才子傳校箋 (Annotation to Biography of the Tang talents). 5 vols.; Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, [1987] 2002.
129. Xu Gang 許鋼. *Yongshi shi yu Zhongguo fan lishi zhuyi* 詠史詩與中國泛歷史主義 (Poetry on history and Chinese pan-historicism). Taipei: Shuiniu chubanshe, 1997.
130. Xu Ling 徐陵, ed. *Yutai xinyong jianzhu* 玉臺新詠箋注 (Annotation to the New poetry of jade terrace). Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1985.
131. Xu Zifang 徐子方. *Guan Hanqing yanjiu* 關漢卿研究 (Study on Guan Hanqing). Taipei: Wenjin chubanshe, 1994.
132. Yan Junshou 延君壽. *Laosheng changtan* 老生常談 (Old talks by old scholar), in Guo Shaoyu 郭紹虞 et al., eds. *Qing shihua xubian* 清詩話續編 (Continued edition of Qing poetic commentaries), vols. 2; Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, (1983) 1999, vol.2.
133. Yan Ying 晏嬰. *Yanzi chunqiu* 晏子春秋 (Yanzi's spring and autumn annals), in Ji Xianlin 季羨林 et al, main eds. *Siku jiacang* 四庫家藏 (Private collection of the Collectanea of the four treasures) 150 vols.; Jinan: Shandong huabao chubanshe, 2004, vol. 69.
134. Yang Ji 楊基. Yang Shiming 楊世明 and Yang Jun 楊雋, eds. *Meian ji* 眉庵集 (Collection of Meian). Chengda: Bashu shushe, 2005.
135. Yang Kan 楊侃. *Liang Han bowen* 兩漢博聞 (Extensive hearsay of the two Han dynasties), in *Yingyin wenyuange siku quanshu* 景印文淵閣四庫全書 (Copied Collectanea of the four treasures of Wenyuan Pavilion). 1500 vols.; Taipei: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1987, vol. vol.461.
136. Yang Lian 楊鐮. *Yuanshi shi* 元詩史 (Poetic history of the Yuan dynasty). Beijing: Renmin wenzue chubanshe, 2003.

137. Yang Lun 楊倫. *Dushi jingquan* 杜詩鏡詮 (The appreciation and explanation of Du's poetry). Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1998.
138. Yang Weizhen 楊維禎 et al. *Xihu zhuzhi ciji* 西湖竹枝詞集 (Collection of bamboo twig songs at the West Lake), in Zhang Zhi 張智 et al., *Zhongguo fengtu zhi congkan* 中國風土志叢刊 (Collection of records of Chinese local customs). 62 vols.; Yangzhou: Guangling shushe, 2003, vol. 51.
139. Yang Weizhen. *Dongweizi ji* 東維子集 (Collected works of Dong Weizi). 6 vols.; Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1929?.
140. Yang Weizhen. *Dongweizi wenji* 東維子文集 (Collected writings of Dong Weizi). 30 *juan*; 1 extra appendix *juan*; in *Yingyin wenyuan ge siku quanshu* 景印文淵閣四庫全書 (Copied Collectanea of the four treasuries of Wenyuan Pavilion). 1500 vols.; Taipei: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1983-1986, vol.1221.
141. Yang Weizhen. *Shiyi shiyi* 史義拾遺 (Supplementary to omissions in the historical annotations). 2 *juan*; in *Siku quanshu cunmu congshu* 四庫全書存目叢書 (Collection of books listed in *Collectanea of the four treasuries*). 1200 vols., Tainan: Zhuangyan wenhua shiye youxian gongsi, 1996, vol. 281 (*shibu*).
142. Yang Weizhen. *Yang Tieya xiansheng wenji* 楊鐵崖先生文集 (Mr. Iron Cliff's literary works). Ming Wanli jian keben 明萬曆間刻本 (Printing edition of Wanli reign, 1573-1620, of the Ming). Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress Photoduplication Service, 196-? microfilm.
143. Yang Weizhen. *Zhengtong bian* 正統辯 (Discussion on the orthodox line of succession), in Tao Zongyi 陶宗儀: *Nancun chuogeng lu* 南村輟耕錄 (Records of cultivation halt in the south village). Shenyang: Liaoning jiaoyu chubanshe, 1998.
144. Yao Silian 姚思廉. *Liangshu* 梁書 (History of the Liang dynasty). 3 vols.; Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1973.
145. Ye Shan 葉山. *Ye Babai yizhuan* 葉八白易傳 (Ye Babai's *Classic of*

- Changes*), in *Yingyin wenyuan ge siku quanshu* 景印文淵閣四庫全書 (Copied Collectanea of the four treasuries of Wenyuan Pavilion). 1500 vols.; Taipei: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1983-1986, vol.32.
146. Ying Shao 應劭. Wang Liqi 王利器, ed. *Fengsu tongyi jiaozhu* 風俗通義校注 (Annotation to Common explanation on the local customs). Taipei: Hanjing wenhua shiye youxian gongsi, 1983.
147. Yong Rong 永瑤 et al., eds. *Qinding siku quanshu zongmu tiyao* 欽定四庫全書總目提要 (Summary of all books in the Collectanea of the four treasuries by imperial order). 5 vols.; Taipei: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1983.
148. Yoshikawa Kōjirō 吉川幸次郎. *Yoshikawa Kōjirō zenshū* 吉川幸次郎全集 (Complete collected works of Toshikawa). 27 vols.; Tokyo: Chikuma shobo, 1984, vol. 15.
149. Yu Zhao 余照, ed. *Zengguang shiyun jicheng* 增廣詩韻集成 (Extensive collection of rhymes for poetry). Taipei: Wenhua tushu gongsi, 1986.
150. Yu Zhiyuan 於植元, Sun Shaohua 孫紹華, Guan Jixin 關紀新, main eds. *Zhonghua shishi Yongshi shi benshi* 中華史詩詠史詩本事 (Collection of the Chinese poems on contemporary events and on history). Nanning: Guangxi minzu chubanshe, 2000.
151. Yuan Hua 袁華. *Kechuan ji* 可傳集 (Collection possibly worth passing on). 1 *juan*; in *Yingyin wenyuan ge siku quanshu* 景印文淵閣四庫全書 (Copied Collectanea of the four treasuries of Wenyuan Pavilion). 1500 vols.; Taipei: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1983-1986, vol.1232.
152. Yuan Kai 袁凱. *Haisou ji* 海叟集 (Collection of the Old Man of Sea). 4 *juan*; in *Yingyin wenyuan ge siku quanshu* 景印文淵閣四庫全書 (Copied Collectanea of the four treasuries of Wenyuan Pavilion). 1500 vols.; Taipei: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1983-1986, vol.1233.
153. Yuan Xingpei 袁行霽, main ed. *Zhongguo wenxue shi* 中國文學史 (Chinese literary history). 4 vols.; Beijing: Gaodeng jiaoyu chubanshe, 2003.
154. Yue Shi 樂史 et al. *Yang Taizhen wai zhuan* 楊太真外傳 (Unofficial

biography of Yang Taizhen) China: unknown, 198-?

155. Yue Xiren 岳希仁. *Gudai Yongshi shi jingxuan dianping* 古代詠史詩精選點評 (Brief commentary to carefully selected poems on the history of the ancient periods). Guilin: Guangxi shifan daxue chubanshe, 1996.
156. Zeng Zaozhuang 曾棗莊, main ed.: *Zhonghua dadian. Wenxue dian. Song Liao Jin Yuan wenxue fendian* 中華大典·文學典·宋遼金元文學分典 (Chinese grand encyclopedia: on literature: the Song, Liao, Jin and Yuan dynasties). 5 vols.; Nanjing: Jiangsu guji chubanshe, 1999.
157. Zhang Gaoping 張高評. *Songshi zhi xinbian yu daixiong* 宋詩之新變與代雄 (The new change and the preventatives of Song poetry). Taipei: Hongye wenhua shiye youxian gongsi, 1995.
158. Zhang Jing 張晶. *Liao Jin Yuan wenxue lungao* 遼金元文學論稿 (Discussion draft on literature of the Liao, Jin and Yuan dynasties). Beijing: Beijing guangbo xueyuan chubanshe, 2004.
159. Zhang Mao 章懋. *Fengshan ji* 楓山集 (Collection of Maple Hill), in *Yingyin wenyuan ge siku quanshu* 景印文淵閣四庫全書 (Copied Collectanea of the four treasuries of Wenyan Pavilion). 1500 vols.; Taipei: Taiwan shangwu yinshuguan, 1985, vol. 1254.
160. Zhang Peiheng 章培恆 and Luo Yuming 駱玉明, eds. *Zhongguo wenxue shi* 中國文學史 (Chinese literary history). 3 vols.; Shanghai: Fudan daxue chubanshe, [1997], 2000.
161. Zhang Runjing 張潤靜. *Tangdai yongshi huaigushi yanjiu* 唐代詠史懷古詩研究 (Study on the Tang poems on history and on the past). Shanghai: Shanghai sanlian shudian, 2009, 293 pages.
162. Zhang Tingyu 張廷玉 et al., eds. *Ershisi shi quanyi. Mingshi* 二十四史全譯. 明史 (Complete translation of twenty four histories: history of the Ming dynasty). 10 vols.; Shanghai: Hanyu da cidian chubanshe, 2004.
163. Zhang Tingyu 張廷玉 et al., eds. *Mingshi* 明史 (History of the Ming dynasty). 28 vols.; Beijing: Zhonghua shu ju, [1974] 1991.

164. Zhang Wan 章琬, comp. *Fugu shiji* 復古詩集 (Poetry collection of returning to the past). 6 juan; in *Yingyin wenyuan ge siku quanshu* 景印文淵閣四庫全書 (Copied Collectanea of the four treasuries of Wenyuan Pavilion). 1500 vols.; Taipei: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1983-1986, vol.1222.
165. Zhang Wan 章琬, comp. *Tieya xiansheng fugu shiji* 鐵雅先生復古詩集 (Mr. Iron Elegance's poetry collection of returning to the past); 6 juan, in Wu Fu et al., eds. *Tieya xiansheng gu yuefu* (Mr. Iron Cliff's ancient yuefu poetry). Taipei: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1973.
166. Zhang Yushu 張玉書 et al. *Kangxi zidian* 康熙字典 (Dictionary of Kangxi). Shanghai: Hanyu dacidian chubanshe, 2002.
167. Zhang Zhenlang 張政烺. *Zhang Zhenglang wenshi lunji*. 張政烺文史論集 (Collection of Zhang Zhenglang's discussions on literature and history). Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2004.
168. Zhao Wangqin 趙望秦. *Songben Zhou Tan Yongshi shi yanjiu* 宋本周曇詠史詩研究 (Research on the Song edition of Zhou Tan's *Poems on history*). Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 2005.
169. Zhao Wangqin 趙望秦. *Tangdai yongshi zushi kaolun* 唐代詠史組詩考論 (An investigation of various series of poems on history of the Tang dynasty). Xi'an: Sanqin chubanshe, 2003.
170. Zhao Wangqin 趙望秦, Pan Xiaoling 潘曉玲. *Hu Zeng Yongshi shi yanjiu* 胡曾詠史詩研究 (Study on Hu Zheng's *Poems on history*). Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 2008.
171. Zhao Ye 趙曄. *Wu Yue chunqiu* 吳越春秋 (Spring and autumn annals of the states of Wu and Yue), in *Siku jiacang* 四庫家藏 (Private collection of the Collectanea of the four treasuries). Jinan: Shandong huabao chubanshe, 2004, vol. 46.
172. Zhen Luan 甄鸞, ed. *Xiahou Yang suanjing* 夏侯陽算經 (Classic of mathematics by Xiahou Yang). 3 juan; in *Yingyin wenyuan siku quanshu* 景印文淵閣四庫全書 (Copied Collectanea of the four treasuries of Wenyuan

- Pavilion). 1500 vols.; Taibei: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1985, vol.797.
173. Zheng Qiao 鄭樵. *Jiaji yigao* 夾漈遺稿 (Remained drafts of Jiaji). 2 juan; in *Yingyin wenyuan siku quanshu* 景印文淵閣四庫全書 (Copied Collectanea of the four treasuries of Wen Yuan Pavilion). 1500 vols.; Taibei: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1983-1986, vol.1141.
174. Zheng Xuan 鄭玄 et al., ed. *Liji zhushu* 禮記註疏 (Annotation to *Book of Rites*), in *Yingyin wenyuange siku quanshu*, 景印文淵閣四庫全書 (Copied Collectanea of the four treasuries of Wen Yuan Pavilion). 1500 vols.; Taibei: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1983-1986, vol.116.
175. Zhong Rong 鍾嶸. Lü Deshen 呂德申, ed. *Zhong Rong Shipin jiaoshi* 鍾嶸詩品校釋 (Annotation to Zhong Rong's *Commentary on poetry*). Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe, 1986.
176. Zhongguo shehui kexue yuan wenxue yanjiusuo 中國社會科學院文學研究所 ed. *Tangdai wenxue shi* 唐代文學史 (Literary history of the Tang dynasty). 2 vols.; Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 1995, vol.2, p.386.
177. Zhou Ji 周濟. *Jiegun zhai lunci zazhu* 介存齋論詞雜著 (Miscellaneous discussions on *ci* poetry by Jiegun Den), in Tang Guizhang 唐圭璋, ed. *Cihua congbian* 詞話叢編 (Compilation series of *ci* poetic commentaries). 5 vols.; Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, [1986] 1994, vol. 2.
178. Zhu Tingzhen 朱庭珍. *Xiaoyuan shihua* 筱園詩話 (Poetic commentary of the Dwarf Bamboo Garden), in Xuxiu siku quanshu 續修四庫全書 (Continued edition of Collectanea of the four treasuries), 1714 vols.; Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1995, vol. 1708.
179. Zhu Xi 朱熹, ed. *Lunyu jizhu* 論語集注 (Collection of annotation to the *Analects of Confucius*). Jinan: Qilu shushe, [1992] 2006.
180. Zhu Xi 朱熹, ed. *Shi jizhuan* 詩集傳 (Collection of commentaries on the *Book of Poetry*). Hong Kong: Zhonghua shuju, [1961] 1987.
181. Zhu Yizun 朱彝尊, *Baoshu ting ji* 曝書亭集 (Collection of Baoshu Pavilion). 3 vols.; Taibei: Shijie shuju, 1989.

182. Zhu Zhifu 朱枝富. *Yongshi huaigu* 詠史懷古 (Poems on history and on the past). Shijiazhuang: Hebei renmin chubanshe, 2001.
183. Zou Zhifang 鄒志方. *Yang Weizhen shiji* 楊維禎詩集 (The poetry collection of Yang Weizhen). Hangzhou: Zhejiang guji chubanshe, 1994.
184. Zu Baoquan 祖保泉. *Sikong Tu shipin jieshou* 司空圖詩品解說 (Explanation on Sikong Tu's *Commentary on poetry*). Hefei: Anhui renmin chubanshe, 1980.
185. Zuoqiu Ming 左丘明, Li Mengsheng 李夢生, ed. *Zuo zhuan yizhu* 左傳譯注 (Interpretation and annotation to *Zuo's Commentary*). Shanghai : Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1998.

Theses and Dessertations Cited

1. Chen, Pauline. "Du Fu, Li Ho and Li Shangyin: the Development of a Fictive Voice in Late Tang Lyric Poetry". Ann Arbor, Mich.: UMI, Princeton University, PhD thesis, 1996. 218 pages.
2. Cheung, Suk-hong. "A Grammar of the T'ang Poetic Journey". Ann Arbor, Mich.: UMI, Harvard University, PhD thesis, 1991. 416 pages.
3. He Chungeng 何春根. "Yuanmo Mingchu Wuzhong wenren yanjiu" 元末明初吳中文人研究 (Study on the Suzhou literati from the late Yuan to the early Ming dynasties). Nanchang: Jiangxi Normal University, Master thesis, 2003. 69 pages.
4. Feng Ruizhen 馮瑞珍. "Lun Yang Weizhen de yuefu shi" 論楊維禎的樂府詩 (Discussion of Yang Weizhen's *yuefu* poetry). Baoding: Hebei University, Master thesis, 2004. 45 pages.
5. Fu Xiaojian 付曉劍. "Liao Jin yongshi huaigu shi yanjiu" 遼金詠史懷古詩研究 (Study on poetry on history and on the past of the Liao and Jin dynasties). Xi'an: Shaanxi Normal University, Master thesis, 2008. 65 pages.

6. Liu, Wan. "Poetics of Allusion: Tu Fu, Li Shang-yin, Ezra Pound, and T.S. Eliot". Ann Arbor, Mich.: UMI, Princeton University, PhD thesis, 1992. 259 pages.
7. Yang Lijing 楊麗靜. "Cong Yang Weizhen kan Yuandai Daojiao yu Yuanshi" 從楊維禎看元代道教與元詩 (Looking into the Taoism and poetry of Yuan dynasty through Yang Weizhen). Nanjing: Nanjing Normal University, Master thesis, 2003. 50 pages.
8. Xu, Gang. "The Past Is Eternal: Chinese Pan-Historicism as Manifested in Poetry on History". Ann Arbor, Mich.: UMI, The Ohio State University, PhD thesis, 1996. 249 pages.

Articles Cited

1. Cai Zhongdao 蔡忠道. "Wang Anshi yongshi shi shixi" 王安石詠史詩試析 (Analysis on Wang Anshi's poems on history), in *Gaoxiong shifan daxue xuebao* 高雄師範大學學報 (Gaoxiong Normal University Journal), vol.11 (2000), p.79-93.
2. Ha Jiaying 哈嘉瑩. "Tan Yang Weizhen de Shibei Xingqing" 談楊維禎的「詩本性情」 (Discussion on Yang's Weizhen's "poetry is for temperament"), in *Guangming ribao* 光明日報 (Guangming Daily). 2005 July 29, p.006.
3. Ha Jiaying 哈嘉瑩. "Yang Weizhen shige sixiang pianlun" 楊維禎詩歌思想片論 (A fictional discussion on Yang Weizhen's poetic literary thoughts), in *Chengde minzu shizhuan xuebao* 承德民族師專學報 (Journal of Chengde Teachers College for Nationalities), vol. 1(1997), pp.19-21.
4. He Chungeng 何春根. "Lun Yuanmo Mingchu Wuzhong shifeng de xingcheng ji yanbian" 論元末明初吳中詩風的形成及演變 (Discussion on the formation and changes of Suzhou poetic styles from the late Yuan to the early Ming dynasties), in *Journal of Jiujiang University (Philosophy and Social Science)*, vol. 4 (2005), pp.39-41.

5. Hu Dalei 胡大雷. "Yongshi: geti shuqing zai shijian shang de kuodai-zhonggu yongshi shi shuqing fenxi" 詠史: 個體抒情在時間上的擴大——中古詠史詩抒情分析 (On history: one's lyrical expression expands in a time frame - analysis of lyrical expression in poetry on history in medieval period), in *Journal of Guangxi Normal University*, vol. 33.1 (1997.3), pp.31-37.
6. Huang Rensheng 黃仁生. "Yang Weizhen de wenxue guan" 楊維禎的文學觀 (Yang Weizhen's literary perception), in *Fudan xuebao. shehui kexue ban* 復旦學報·社會科學版 (Fudan University Journal of Social Sciences), vol.1997.4, pp.81-155.
7. Huang Rensheng 黃仁生. "Yang Weizhen yongshi shi kaoshu" 楊維禎詠史詩考述 (An investigation of Yang Weizhen's poetry on history), in *Zhongguo wenxue yanjiu* 中國文學研究 (Chinese Literary study), vol. 34.3 (1994), pp.56-60.
8. Huang Rensheng 黃仁生. "Yang Weizhen de zhexue sixiang" 楊維禎的哲學思想 (Yang Weizhen's philosophic thoughts), in *Taizhou shizhuan xuebao* 台州師專學報 (Journal of Taizhou Teachers College), vol.19.1 (1997 Feb.), pp.41-43.
9. Huang Yun 黃筠. "Zhongguo yongshi shi de fazhan yu pingjia" 中國詠史詩的發展與評價 (Development and evaluation of Chinese poetry on history), in *Zhongguo wenhua yanjiu* 中國文化研究 (Chinese cultural studies), vol.6 (1994), pp.35-39.
10. Jiang Changdong 蔣長棟. "Wan Tang shehui yu wan Tang yongshi shi de zhuti" 晚唐社會與晚唐詠史詩的主題 (The late Tang society and the themes of late Tang poetry on history), in *Zhongguo yunwen xuekan* 中國韻文學刊 (Journal of Chinese verses), vol.1989.1, pp.46-50.
11. Liu Mingjin 劉明今. "Lun Tieya tie" 論鐵崖體 (Discussion on *Tieya ti*), in *Xueshu yuekan* 學術月刊 (Academic monthly), vol.3 (1985), pp.68-75.
12. Liu Qian 劉倩. "Lüelun Yang Weizhen shige chuanguo sixiang" 略論楊維禎詩歌創作思想 (A brief discussion on Yang Weizhen's thoughts in poetic writings), in *Journal of Suzhou University*, vol.22.3 (2007), pp.56-60.

13. Liu Qian 劉倩. “Yang Weizhen shige ticai de duoyang xing” 楊維禎詩歌題材的多樣性 (Yang Weizhen's diversified poetic themes), in *Journal of Fuyang Teachers College (Social Science)*, vol.2007.3, pp.25-28.
14. Lynn, Richard John. “Tradition and the Individual Ming and Ching views of Yuan Poetry”, in Miao, Ronald C., ed. *Studies in Chinese Poetry and Poetics*, vol. 1, pp.321-375.
15. Maeno Naoaki 前野直彬. “Mei shichishi no sensei --Yō Itei no bungakukan ni tsuite” 明七子の先聲——楊維禎の文學觀について (Precursor to the Seven Talents of the Ming - about Yang Weizhen's literary thoughts), in *Chūgoku bungaku hō 中國文學報 (The Journal of Chinese Literature)*, vol.5, (1956), pp.41-69.
16. Qiao Guanghui 喬光輝, Fan Hua 樊華. “Shilun Yang Weizhen de jiaoyou yu chuanguo” 試論楊維禎的交遊與創作 (Discussion on Yang Weizhen's social activities and creative writings), in *Yancheng shizhuan xuebao 鹽城師專學報 (Journal of Yancheng Teachers College)*, vol.1997.2, pp.15-17, 23.
17. Qiao Guanghui 喬光輝. “Shilun Yang Weizhen shige de qu hua” 試論楊維禎詩歌的曲化 (The dramatisation of Yang's poetry), in *Journal of Huaihai Teachers College*, vol. 18.6 (1999), pp.49-52.
18. Qiao Guanghui 喬光輝. “Yang Weizhen zhi ‘Zhen’ zi kao” 楊維禎之「禎」字考 (Investigation of the ‘zhen’ character of Yang Weizhen), in *Wenjiao ziliao 文教資料 (Information of literature and education)*, 1999.1, pp.99-101.
19. Qiao Guanghui 喬光輝. “Yang Weizhen yu Qu Shiheng jiaoyou kao ” 楊維禎與瞿士衡交遊考(二) (An investigation of Yang Weizhen and Wu Shiheng's interaction II) , in *Jianghai Xuekan 江海學刊 (Journal of river and sea)*, vol.5 (2001), pp.166.
20. Qiu Liangren 丘良任. “Lun yongshi shi” 論詠史詩 (Discussion on poetry on history), in *Journal of Huaqiao University (Philosophy and Social Sciences)*, vol.1995.2, p.114-122.

21. Shi Li 石莉, and Chen Chuanxi 陳傳席, trans. "Zhongguo huajia yu zanzhuren" 中國畫家與贊助人 (Chinese painters and sponsors), in *Rongbao zhai* 榮寶齋 (Glory and Treasure Den), vol. 2003.5, pp.236-241.

22. Wang Lianqi 王連起. "Yuan Zhang Yu, Yang Weizhen, Wen Xin shiwen juan qi xiangguan wenti kaolie." 元張兩、楊維禎、文信詩文卷及相關問題考略 (Investigation into poetry and writings of Zhang Yu, Yang Weizhen, Wen Cin of the Yuan dynasty and related questions), in *Palace Museum Journal*, vol. 2 (2005), pp.91-160.

23. Xing Han 星漢. "Shuoshuo Yongshi shi zhongde fanan shi" 說說詠史詩中的翻案詩 (A casual talk on the subversive poems in poetry on history), in *Zhonghua shici* 中華詩詞 (Chinese *shi* and *ci* poetry), vol. 2005.2, pp.59-60.

24. Xu Jianhua 許建華. "Du Fu Li Shangyin yongshi shi zhi bijiao" 杜甫李商隱詠史詩之比較 (Comparison between Du Fu and Li Shangyin's poetry on history), in *Du Fu yanjiu xuekan* 杜甫研究學刊 (Journal of Du Fu studies), vol.1 (1999),pp.42-48.

25. Yan Xuanjun 晏選軍. "Tieyati shifeng qiantan" 鐵崖體詩風淺深 (Brief investigation of the poetic style of *Tieya ti*), in *Zhongguo yunwen xuekan* 中國韻文學刊 (Journal of Chinese verses), vol. 1999.1, pp.9-16.

26. Zhang Gaoping 張高評. "Shishu zhi chuanbo yu Nan Song yongshi shi zhi fankui. Yi Yang Wanli, Fan Chengda, Lu You shi wei li." 史書之傳播與南宋詠史詩之反饋: 以楊萬里、范成大、陸遊詩為例 (The spread of historical books and and the feedback from Song poetry on history: using Yang Wanli, Fan Chengda and Lu You as examples), in *Zhongzheng daxue zhongwen xueshu niankan* 中正大學中文學術年刊 (The Chinese annual journal of Zhongzheng University), vol.10 (2007.2), pp.121-150.

27. Zhang Gaoping 張高評. "Yinshua chuanmei yu Songdai yongshi shi zhi xinbian: yi yimin Chen Pu yongshi zushi wei li" 印刷傳媒與宋代詠史詩之新變:以遺民陳普詠史組詩為例 (Printing media and the new change of Song poetry on history: using the surviving adherent, Chen Pu's poetic series on history as examples), in *Wen yu zhe* 文與哲, vol.11 (2007), pp.314-355.

28. Zhang Jing 張晶. "Tieya ti: Yuandai houqi shifeng de shenke bianyi" 鐵崖體: 元代後期詩風的深刻變異 (*Tieya ti: the great change of the late Yuan poetic style*), in *Shehui kexue jikan* 社會科學輯刊 (Social Science Journal), vol.91(1994.2), pp.150-155.
29. Zhang Qiong 張瓊. "Yeshuo Yang Weizhen de yongshi shi" 也說楊維禎的詠史詩 (Also have a say on Yang Weizhen's poetry on history), in *Inner Mongolia Social Sciences*, vol. 23.5 (2002), pp.60-63.
30. Zeng Xianyong 曾憲勇, Xie Ming 謝明, Lin Riju 林日舉. "Woguo lidai yongshi shi tanlüe" 我國歷代詠史詩談略 (Brief discussion on our country's poetry on history throughout the ages), in *Qiongzhou daxue xuebao. zheshe ban* 瓊州大學學報·哲社版 (Journal of Qiongzhou University: philosophy and social sciences), vol.1994.2, pp. 91-94, 71.