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Lin-ch'uan and Fen-ning: Kiangsi Locales and Kiangsi Writers during the Sung

> In this collection, *Poems of the Kiangsi School*, it is the poems that are Kiangsi, but not necessarily the poets. How, and where, can there be a connection between poems that are called "Kiangsi" and poets who are not all "Kiangsi"? The connection is a matter of *flavor*, not *physical form* 以味不以形也.[1]

THE SEARCH FOR A KIANGSI FLAVOR

Critics have claimed that the Sung dynasty's "Kiangsi School of Poetry" 江西詩派 was neither "Kiangsi" nor a "school." It was not a school because its members had not worked together, and were not listed as a group until many of them were already dead. If we consider it a school, then it is so in the sense of being a set of poetic approaches that were believed to have stemmed from the practices of Huang T'ing-chien 黃庭堅 (1045–1105). The "Kiangsi School" was not related to the Kiangsi region except by the accident that Kiangsi was Huang's birthplace. In other words, "Kiangsi poetry" really meant "Huang T'ing-chien poetry." Its "flavor" was not necessarily directly Kiangsi's flavor or specifically Huang's flavor, but a quality that writers believed poets of Huang's calibre and inclinations generally appreciated.

The Kiangsi School was first defined in 1133, twenty-eight years after Huang T'ing-chien's death, by Lü Pen-chung 呂本中 (1084–1145). He did so in a long essay that has since been lost: "A Chart of the Schools and Branches of the Kiangsi Poetic Community" 江西詩社宗派圖. He listed approximately twenty-five poets, each of whom he considered to form a "branch" (*p'ai* 派, or *chia* 家), but all of whom were filiated from Huang T'ing-chien. This grouping became fairly well accepted, and led to printed anthologies of "Kiangsi" poets, with a major collection appearing in 1184.

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[1] Yang Wan-li 楊萬里 (1127–1206), "Preface to Poems of the Kiangsi School" 江西宗派詩序 (ca. 1184), in Fu Hsüan-ts'ung 傅璇琮, comp., *Huang T'ing-chien ho Chiang-hsi shih-p'ai chüan* 黃庭堅和江西詩派卷 (Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1978), p. 447.

(The opening lines of Yang Wan-li's preface to it are quoted above as an epigraph.) "The Kiangsi School of Poetry" is the usual English for "Kiangsi shih p'ai" 江西詩派. This article uses the term "school" for convenience and consistency. However, "school" is not always the right meaning, and *p'ai* is not the only word used to name the Kiangsi poetic phenomenon. *P'ai* was plural at first: Lü Pen-chung mentioned "various schools" (*chu-p'ai* 諸派) of Kiangsi poetry. The chart he made, in its formal title, called them not just schools but "sects" or "orders" (*tsung-p'ai* 宗派), belonging to Kiangsi "poetry societies" or a "poetic community" (*shih-she* 詩社). Later, Lü ruefully claimed that he had made his chart simply as a youthful amusement; had never expected people to take it so seriously, and especially had not anticipated that his choice of words would lead people to think of Kiangsi poetry as a "sect" à la Ch'an Buddhism. But, reportedly, he also said (with tongue in cheek?) that in poetry he had "inherited his robe" 傳衣 from Kiangsi. Lu Chiu-yüan also talked about a Kiangsi "school" or "sect" (*tsung-p'ai*), likening those poets to a "stream" 流, of which T'ao Ch'ien had been a "wellspring" 源. It seems best not to view the Kiangsi movement as a case of Ch'an doctrine mingling with the world of verse. Rather, Ch'an was just one of many sources of metaphor used in writing or describing poetry. And the most basic metaphor underlying the use of *tsung-p'ai* as a term for Kiangsi-school poetry was not strongly religious: it had less to do with describing a kind of truth than it did with identifying the *historical line of transmission* by which the poetry came about.[2]

[2] For a fragment of Lü Pen-chung's essay, see Hu Tzu 胡仔 (fl. 1147–1167), *T'iao-hsi yü-yin ts'ung hua* 苕溪漁隱叢話 (Peking: Jen-min ch'u-pan-she, 1981) 48, p. 327; also Fu, *Huang T'ing-chien*, pp. 445–46. Tentative reconstruction of Lü's diagram is found in Kung P'eng-ch'eng 龔鵬程, *Chiang-hsi shih-she tsung-p'ai yen-chiu* 江西詩社宗派研究 (Taipei: Wen-shih-che, 1983), p. 267. For dates, see ibid., pp. 366, 377; for an expanded roster of "charter" Kiangsi authors, pp. 281–82; for an early history of the movement and its reception, pp. 271–91. For a reconstruction of some of Huang's own literary principles, see Adele Rickett, "Method and Intuition: The Poetic Theories of Huang T'ing-chien," in Adele Rickett, ed., *Chinese Approaches to Literature from Confucius to Liang Ch'i-ch'ao* (Princeton: Princeton U.P., 1978), pp. 97–120. On Lü's choice of terms and his thoughts about the perception of a link between the Kiangsi school and Ch'an, see Fu, *Huang T'ing-chien*, pp. 444–46, and Hu, *T'iao-hsi* 48, p. 327. And on Lu Chiu-yüan's idea of a "stream," see Fu, *Huang T'ing-chien*, p. 450, and n. 3 below.

Chao Yen-wei 趙彥衛 (*c.s.* 1163) continued to use the term "sect", although he felt that Ch'en Shih-tao 陳師道 might have disliked being listed as part of one, and he knew that Hsü Fu 徐俯 had felt displeased at being put on the list, saying, "So must I end up among the ranks, then?" 吾乃居行間乎. (See *Yün-lu man-ch'ao* 雲麓漫鈔, SKCS chen-pen 珍本 edn., [Taipei: Shang-wu yin-shu-kuan, 1980], vol. 172, *ch.* 14, pp. 7a–8a; Fu, *Huang T'ing-chien*, pp. 449–50.) "*P'ai*" was becoming a singular rather than a plural term, as the perception grew of a unified Kiangsi poetics. Chao Ju-hui 趙汝回 (*c.s.* 1214) called Kiangsi poetry a "style" (*t'i* 體), derived from the earlier "Hsi-k'un style" (ibid., p. 453). But the most common terms for this poetry have been *p'ai* and *tsung-p'ai*. *Tsung-p'ai* in particular touches

The Kiangsi School was one of two major Sung poetic phenomena to be given names: the other was the "Hsi-k'un style" 西崑體, which peaked in the dynasty's first century. Except for Huang T'ing-chien and Yang Wan-li 楊萬里 (a native of central Kiangsi, and a Kiangsi-school poet for much of his life), none of the greatest Sung poets belonged to either movement. These would include Mei Yao-ch'en 梅堯臣, Ou-yang Hsiu 歐陽修, Wang An-shih 王安石, Su Shih 蘇軾, Lu Yu 陸游, and the lyricists. Few of the important minor poets belonged to the Hsi-k'un or Kiangsi groups either. In fact, overall mediocre quality may be the main reason that both Kiangsi-school and Hsi-k'un-style poems are now more talked about than read. Nevertheless, the Kiangsi School did gain a large following in its own time, and its influence lasted from the Southern Sung to as late as the nineteenth century.

This influence is curious, because aside from a reverence for Tu Fu and a mannerism resulting from overtaxing a rather closed body of allusions and techniques—both hallmarks of Huang T'ing-chien's work, the Kiangsi style has few concrete characteristics that allow one to describe unequivocally what it was. Both its vagueness and pervasiveness may have come about because it was never an actual group of poets. Unfortunately, the earliest essays that defined the school's existence have disappeared.

I suggest, however, that it is possible to arrive at descriptions of that Kiangsi-school flavor, and it seems that regional ingredients may constitute an important part of the recipe. The Kiangsi native Lu Chiu-yüan 陸九淵 (*t.* Hsiang-shan 象山; 1139–1193) treated Kiangsi-school poetry as a regional product with alacrity and pride. He not only agreed that Huang T'ing-chien was the school's immediate ancestor, but named another Kiangsi man as its ultimate forebear. This person was T'ao Ch'ien 陶潛 (365–427): "... the stream of P'eng-tse 彭澤, which came from the Millet Constellation 天稷, with an appeal different from the general run of poetry. It was bland, flat and amiable 淡泊平夷, enjoyed and indulged in by only a few."[3] Other

on the many-sided relationship between poetry and Ch'an in the T'ang and Sung. Kung P'eng-ch'eng's major argument is that the late T'ang and the Sung were an age of formalized transmissions, branches, and sects, ranging from new searches for orthodoxy in state Confucianism, to the Ch'an "transmissions of the lamp," to the development of craft guilds, and even of poetry societies with formal memberships and meeting places. Kung implies that the "Kiangsi school" became perceived as another such line of transmission or poetic association, because the times encouraged such a perception. It was localized as a Kiangsi group because such groupings were often perceived as locally based. It is those perceptions that have made "Kiangsi school" a valid term even though the "Kiangsi" poets wrote in divergent styles and had not been an actual association. (See Kung, *Chiang-hsi*, pp. 395–96).

[3] Lu Chiu-yüan, letter to commander Ch'eng 程帥, official compiler of the 1184 Kiangsi poetry collection. He thanks Ch'eng for his gift of a copy; in *Lu Chiu-yüan chi* 陸九淵集

commentators also tried to define "Kiangsi poetry" in regional terms; some criticized the concept of the school for not being regional enough.[4] The concept of the Kiangsi School as regional should not be carried too far: Yang Wan-li was right to look for the "Kiangsi" essence in areas more subtle than locale, subject matter, or poets' lineages. But it is still important to include a recognition of Kiangsi the place within any understanding of "Kiangsi" the aesthetic movement. At first thought this may seem an irrelevant notion, akin to investigating Bohemia in order to understand "La Bohème." But in fact it turns out to be important—more analogous to the need to study nineteenth-century Germany for its connections with the Bauhaus school of design. Moreover, Kiangsi's landscape figured in more kinds of literature than just the Kiangsi poetic school. Beginning particularly with the Sung, the "stream of P'eng-tse" not only nourished the canon of Kiangsi poets, but was a legacy for three literary giants, a seminal philosopher, and numerous minor writers, thinkers, and statesmen.[5]

(Peking: Chung-hua, 1980) 7, p. 103. Also Fu, *Huang T'ing-chien*, p. 450. T'ao Ch'ien lived at Kiukiang, but was associated with P'eng-tse, about thirty miles downriver to the east, because he once served as its prefect.

The Millet constellation (*t'ien-chi*) is a group of five stars that represented the Directorate of Agriculture in the astral hierarchy. By extension, it corresponds to Hou Chi 后稷 (Lord Millet, Chou mythical ancestor, who once held that office). The constellation is rarely mentioned in literature, and it is unclear what Lu Chiu-yüan meant by naming it as the source of T'ao Ch'ien's tradition, unless it refers to T'ao's "pastoral" subject matter. It might have to do with T'ao's forebears, among whom were several officials noted for the attention they paid to agriculture. Most famous of them was T'ao K'an 陶侃 (259–334), T'ao Ch'ien's great-grandfather. Originally from Kiukiang, he rose to serve in the Western Chin regime at Loyang. Perhaps the "Millet Constellation" refers to T'ao K'an's service there, because the constellation belongs to the 25th Lunar Mansion, named Seven Stars 七星, which represented Honan commandery, including Lo-yang, according to traditional Regional Divisions astrology (*fen-yeh* 分野). See *Chin shu* 晉書 (Peking: Chung-hua, 1974) 11, pp. 307, 313. See also Ho Peng Yoke, *The Astronomical Chapters of the Chin Shu* (Paris: Mouton, 1966), pp. 95, 104, 119. T'ien-chi (le Millet Céleste) is located south of *alpha* Hydrae; Gustave Schlegel (1840–1903), *Uranographie chinoise* (Leiden: Brill, 1875; rpt. Taipei: Ch'eng-wen, 1967), vol. 1, pp. 462–63. For "Chi" meaning "director of agriculture" 田正: *Ch'un-ch'iu Tso chuan chu* 春秋左傳注, Yang Po-chün 楊伯峻, annot. (Peking: Chung-hua, 1981) (Chao 29.2), p. 1503. For T'ao K'an's devotion to agriculture: *Shih-shuo hsin-yü* 世說新語 III/16, note by Liu Chün 劉峻 (462–521), quoting Sun Sheng 孫盛 (ca. 302–373), *Chin yang-ch'iu* 晉陽秋; trans. Richard Mather, *Shih-shuo hsin-yü: A New Account of Tales of the World* (Minneapolis: Minnesota U.P., 1976), p. 87.

[4] Kung, *Chiang-hsi*, p. 277.

[5] Lu Chiu-yüan listed nine Kiangsi-school writers, of whom eight had strong Kiangsi ties. They were: (1) Ch'en Shih-tao 陳師道 (1053–1101): visited Tseng Kung at age fifteen, and became his student. (2) Hsü Fu 徐俯 (1075–1140): from Fen-ning. (3) Han Chü 韓駒 (?–?): exiled at Fen-ning, died at Fu-chou. (4, 5, 6) The Three Hungs (brothers): Hung P'eng 洪朋, Hung Ch'u 芻 (d. 1126), Hung Yen 炎 (d. after 1128). All were from Nanchang, nephews 甥 to Huang T'ing-chien. (7, 8) The Two Hsiehs (cousins 從兄弟): Hsieh I 謝逸 (1069–1113), and Hsieh K'o 薖, both of Lin-ch'uan. The ninth writer that Lu lists, the only one without an overt Kiangsi connection, is Lü Pen-chung 呂本中 (1084–1145), who formulated the

This article is a preliminary description of northern Kiangsi as a literary realm in the Sung: both the physical realm that its writers saw, and the cultural realm that they inherited and transmitted through literary treatment of local places, history, and people. Because this is a study of perceptions by individuals, most of the information is naturally open to more than one conclusion. Ultimately, a much larger study must follow, one that might look at pictorial representations both of Kiangsi and by Kiangsi natives, as well as prose writings on such subjects as music, philology, and religions.

The present study centers around four authors whose Kiangsi voices have carried especially far since their time. They are the only Sung writers, still commonly recognized as major, who were northern Kiangsi natives and whose works are reasonably intact. The geographical orientation will be that of the two districts of northern Kiangsi which were their homes. ("Kiangsi"in the Sung referred to the Western Kiangnan circuit—Chiang-nan hsi lu 江南西路. "Northern Kiangsi" in this study refers to the P'o-yang basin, the areas surrounding Kiukiang 九江, Nanchang 南昌, and Lin-ch'uan 臨川.)

"Kiangsi school" idea to begin with (*Lu Chiu-yüan chi* 7, p. 104).

Lü Pen-chung's canon of Kiangsi-school poets included those nine, plus sixteen others, at least six of whom had Kiangsi connections. Those six were Jao Chieh 饒節 and Wang Ko 汪革 of Lin-ch'uan; Li P'eng 李彭 of Chien-ch'ang; the monk Shan-ch'üan 善權 of Hung-chou prefecture, the monk Tsu-k'o 祖可, who lived on Mt. Lu, and Hsia Ni 夏倪 from Huai-hsi, who once served at Kiukiang. The other Kiangsi-school poets included four more from Huai-hsi, just north of Kiangsi: P'an Ta-lin 潘大臨, P'an Ta-kuan 大觀, Lin Min-hsiu 林敏修, and Lin Min-kung 敏功. Kao Ho 高荷 came from Ching-nan, west of Kiangsi. There were only three northerners: Ch'ao Ch'ung-chih 晁沖之 (fl. 1094), Chiang Tuan-pen 江端本, and Wang Chih-fang 王直方 (1069–1109). There are no facts about Li Ch'un 李錞 or Yang Fu 楊符. See Kung, *Chiang-hsi*, pp. 266–68; Li E 厲鶚 (1692–1752), *Sung shih chi shih* 宋詩紀事 (Shanghai: Shang-hai ku-chi ch'u-pan-she, 1983), *ch.* 33 and *ch.* 92.

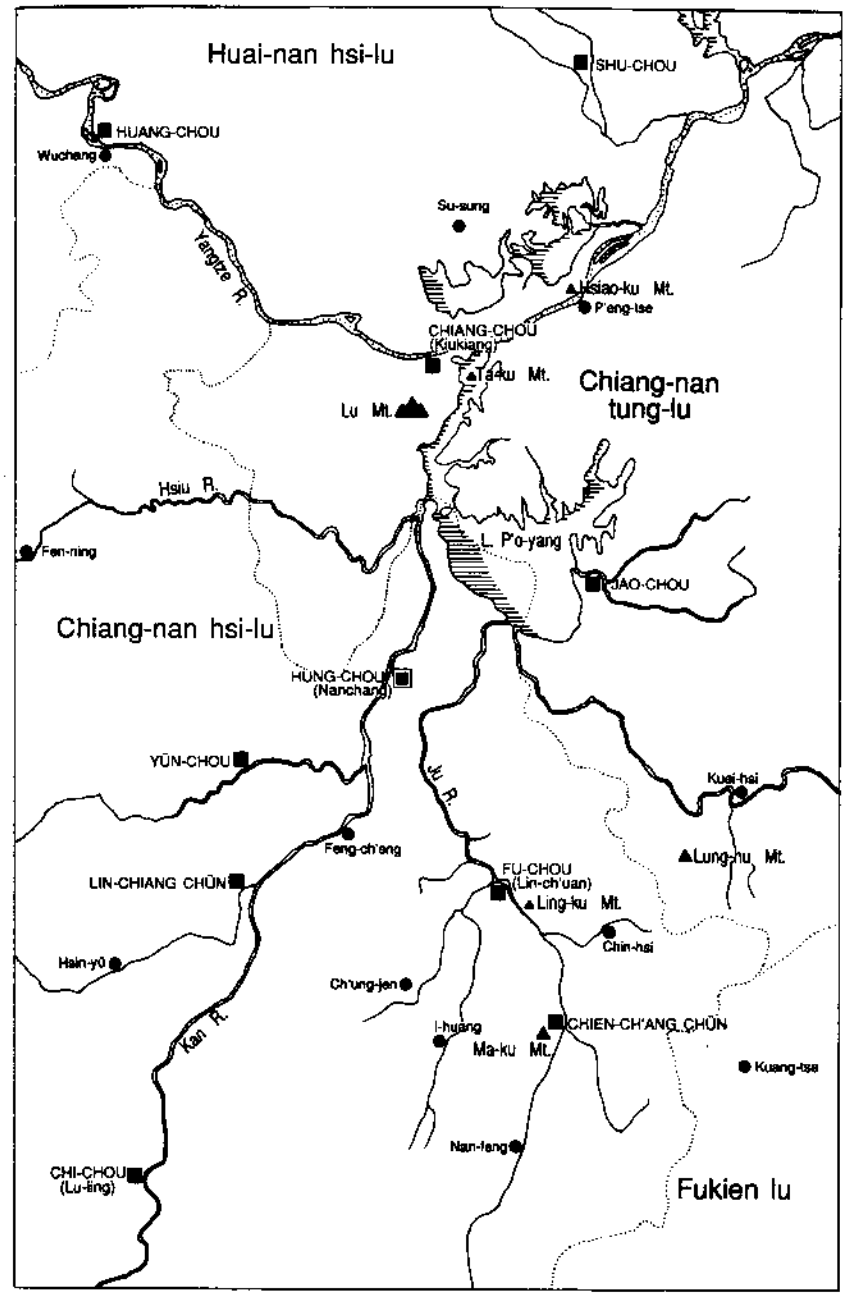
Kiangsi's literary giants included Tseng Kung, Wang An-shih, and Huang T'ing-chien; the philosopher was Lu Chiu-yüan. Ou-yang Hsiu (1007–1072) was descended from a clan of Lu-ling 廬陵 (now Chi-an 吉安) in central Kiangsi, though he did not live there. Yang Wan-li came from Chi-shui 吉水 nearby. The geographer and prose master Yüeh Shih 樂史 (930–1007) was a native of I-huang 宜黃 in Fu-chou. Wang Ch'in-jo 王欽若 (962–1025) and Yen Shu 晏殊 (991–1055), the first southerners to become prime ministers in the Sung, both came from Kiangsi—Wang Ch'in-jo from Hsin-yü 新喻, Yen Shu from Lin-ch'uan. Yen is best known for his lyrics, which are his only surviving literary works. The political thinker Li Kou 李覯 (1009–1059) came from Chien-ch'ang military commandery 建昌軍 (now Nan-ch'eng 南城), near Lin-ch'uan. The brothers Liu Ch'ang 劉敞 (ca. 1008–1069) and Liu Pin 劉攽 (1023–1089) of Lin-ch'uan were distinguished classical scholars and writers. Also from Lin-ch'uan was P'ei Yü 裴煜 (d. 1068?), a friend of Ou-yang Hsiu. Two of Tseng Kung's brothers, Tseng Pu 曾布 (1035–1107) and Tseng Chao 肇 (1047–1107), were controversial statesmen and writers; Wang An-shih's brother Wang An-kuo 王安國 (1028–1074) was a well-known writer in his time; Wang An-li 安禮 (1034–1095) became a high-ranking statesman. The emperor Shen-tsung's general Wang Shao 王韶 (1030–1081) came from the Kiukiang area. I do not claim that Kiangsi produced more famous intellectuals, or better ones, than other regions. I am simply trying to indicate some of the qualities apparent in its features and its natives.

Three of the four authors were born in the Lin-ch'uan area: Tseng Kung 曾鞏 (1019–1083) and Wang An-shih (1021–1086) of the Northern Sung period, and the Southern Sung philosopher Lu Chiu-yüan. Their prefecture was Fu-chou 撫州, whose seat was Lin-ch'uan, fifty miles south of the P'o-yang Lake 鄱陽湖, and over 100 miles south of the Yangtze. The fourth writer, Huang T'ing-chien of the late Northern Sung, came from Fen-ning county 分寧縣 (now called Hsiu-shui 修水) in the far-west corner of Hung-chou prefecture 洪州. Hung-chou's seat was at Nanchang, and Nanchang has always been the heart of the northern Kiangsi region. But Fen-ning was remote from the prefectural center: it stood at the same distance from Kiangsi's major landmarks as did Lin-ch'uan, and the journey from Fen-ning involved rougher terrain.

Exploration of Kiangsi through these people's writings can begin at Lin-ch'uan or Fen-ning, but the literary roots of both places are ultimately clustered close to Lake P'o-yang. Those roots lie thickest at Nanchang to the lake's southwest, and at Mount Lu 廬山 on its northwest shore. (See the accompanying map, "Nanchang and environs.") All four writers helped delineate ways in which those geographical roots were to be remembered.

Using local landmarks to define a region is necessary, but can cause distortions. We should enter into this regional study without becoming shallow tourists; that means we should avoid depending too much on the writings of other tourists and visitors as source material. The writing of outsiders, by its very nature, catches the reader's eye with the unusual—sandstorms, headhunters, ancient ruined capitals, or other sights, and we might too easily assume that the less such features are found in the rest of the world, the more they must typify the region being described. This assumption is not logical: features that are highly distinctive may in fact be just as untypical of their region as they would be anywhere else. They can obscure some of the complex, subdued, ambivalent, or even quite commonplace phenomena that may be more germane to a deep understanding. To meld the landmark-dominated impression of a region into a nuanced, less spectacular picture, containing (one hopes) a true "flavor" instead of a superficial outer form, one should begin with the perceptions of natives and residents.

MAP. Nanchang and environs in the Northern Sung. Place names and circuit borders follow T'an Ch'i-hsiang, *Chung-kuo li-shih ti-t'u chi*, vol. 6 (see n. 22). The Sung dynasty was unique in splitting the Nanchang-Kiukiang area between two circuits, with Kiukiang belonging to an arm of the Kiangtung circuit that extended west. By the Southern Sung, this arm became smaller, so that it still included Mount Lu, but Kiukiang once again belonged administratively to Kiangsi.



THE GEOGRAPHY AND LORE OF NORTHERN KIANGSI

To understand this literary realm, we must draw both topographical and historical maps of northern Kiangsi, a cultural region over two hundred miles square. It was from the lore of this realm that all Kiangsi writers derived voice and identity. Cosmologically—in its mix of mountains and water, wild and tame, peripheral and central—it was a complete, balanced territory.

The region's setting within China was southern and western: northeast down the Yangtze lay Chin-ling 金陵, the former southern capital, which had administered Kiangsi as part of the Yangchow region 揚州刺史部 in the Han and Western Chin, and as the national capital of the Eastern Chin, Southern Dynasties, and Southern T'ang. It was the major stopping point on the way to Kaifeng and Loyang, a route that followed water rather than land. Of all the cities outside the P'o-yang basin, it was with Chin-ling that Kiangsi people identified most closely, and entrusted their cosmopolitan aspirations. Wang An-shih's father, for instance, settled his family in Chin-ling when Wang was sixteen, and the family remained there afterwards; it even became their burial site. Their subsequent stays at Fu-chou seldom lasted more than a few months. It must have been partly those ancient ties, not economics, career, or education alone, that encouraged this transfer to Chin-ling. Conceivably, such ties also prompted Huang T'ing-chien to be schooled at Yangchow, the city that had inherited the southern region's ancient name.[6]

Those cities were balanced westward, upriver, by such strategic and economic centers as Chiang-ling 江陵, Hsiang-yang 襄陽, and Wuchang 武昌 in what had been medieval Ching-chou 荊州 (modern Hupei region): older models for the more adventurous, provincial, and disobedient of Kiangsi natives. There lay Wu-ling 武陵 (near modern Ch'ang-te 常德, Hunan), where T'ao Ch'ien had imagined the utopian Peach Blossom stream. At the

[6] On the Wang family, see Jonathan Pease, "From the Wellsweep to the Shallow Skiff: Life and Poetry of Wang Anshi (1021–1086) (Ph. D. diss., U. of Washington, 1986), pp. 10, 19, 30. On Huang T'ing-chien's schooling, see the chronology in Huang T'ing-chien (1045–1105), *Shan-ku shih chi-chu* 山谷詩集註, Jen Yüan 任淵 (d. after 1144) et al., annots. (1900 edn.; rpt. Taipei: I-wen yin-shu-kuan, 1969), *wai-chi* 外集, p. 2a [1073]. While at Huai-nan (Yangchow), Huang lived with a maternal uncle, the Kiangsi man Li Ch'ang 李常 (1027–1090). Tseng Kung died at Chin-ling, but it is unclear whether he had settled there or was passing through. He was buried at his clan's home district of Nan-feng, Kiangsi; he had grown up in Lin-ch'uan. See tomb inscription by Lin Hsi 林希 (Sung), and stele inscription by Han Wei 韓維 (1017–1098), in *Tseng Kung chi* 曾鞏集 (Peking: Chung-hua, 1984), pp. 800, 803.

center of northern Kiangsi lay Hung-chou, whose main city of Nanchang would take goods from Canton or Annam and funnel them through Kiangsi "up to Ching and down to Yang," as Wang An-shih boasted:

送程公闢守洪州	*Farewell to Ch'eng Shih-meng on his Departure for Hung-chou as Prefect*[7]
畫船插幟搖秋光	His painted ship and pennant poles rocked in the autumn light,
鳴鐃傳鼓水洋洋	Cymbals singing, herald drums, water swelling broad;
豫章太守吳郡郎	Governor of the Camphor Land,[8] once one of Wu's young squires,

[7] The text is found in Li Pi 李壁 (1160–1222), annot., *Chien-chu Wang Ching-wen-kung shih* 箋注王荊文公詩 (1306 edn.; rpt. Taipei: Kuang-wen shu-chü, 1974) 8, p. 7a; Wang An-shih, *Lin-ch'uan hsien-sheng wen-chi* 臨川先生文集 (Peking: Chung-hua, 1959; rpt. Hong Kong, 1971) 6, p. 127; Kao Pu-ying 高步瀛, ed., *T'ang Sung shih chü-yao* 唐宋詩舉要 (Hong Kong: Chung-hua, 1978) 3, p. 329; and Chu Tzu-ch'ing 朱自清 (1898–1948), *Sung wu-chia shih-ch'ao* 宋五家詩鈔 (Shanghai: Ku-chi, 1981), p. 76. Comment in Shen Ch'in-han 沈欽韓 (Ch'ing era), *Wang Ching-kung shih-wen Shen-shih chu* 王荊公詩文沈氏注 (Peking: Chung-hua, 1958; rpt. Hong Kong, 1977) 1, p. 22. The poem was written in 1062, 5th mo., in the capital. Ch'eng Shih-meng 程師孟 (*t.* Kung-pi 公闢) was an administrative assistant in the State Finance Commission 三司判官, along with Wang An-shih; his son may have married one of Wang's nieces. (See Wang, *Wen-chi* 80, p. 843.) Tseng Kung, also serving in the central government, wrote a poem to Ch'eng of similar length, probably on the same occasion (*Tseng Kung chi* 5, p. 65). Wang Kuei 王珪 (1019–1085) has an eight-line poem for the occasion of seeing Ch'eng off to the same post; see Wang Kuei, *Hua-yang chi* 華陽集, SKCS chen-pen edn., vol. 243, *ch.* 4, p. 8a.

This belongs to a subgenre of poems meant to ease an official's misgivings at a provincial assignment by extolling the region's attractions, the job's importance, and the official's unique qualifications. Ch'eng seems to have been a conscientious local administrator, having served a succession of appointments in central and north China. Only two or three years after attaining a capital post, he was now assigned to the provinces again, as prefect of Hung-chou. Even in the Sung this would smack of failure or mild exile; and poems congratulating him might easily ring falsely, striking the reader as commiserating, unctuous, or insincere. Wang's poem has been admired for the way it sidesteps those dangers by deliberately acknowledging the possible disappointment. Having acknowledged this, Wang can counteract it by promoting Hung-chou's wonders. Being a Kiangsi native, Wang cannot inflate Kiangsi's heritage himself, at least not in writing. Instead he creates a mouthpiece: a Hung-chou government clerk, sent all the way to Wu to welcome Ch'eng, who (in Wang's fantasy) is being feted as a hero in his old home, a slight detour on the way to Kiangsi. The clerk's voice and the clanging "*-ang*" rhyme invigorate Wang's language. The framing device of the welcoming banquet at Wu adds a festive note to the actual parting banquet at which the poem was presented. Further sonorities come from references to the famous "Preface to a Poem at the Prince of T'eng's Belvedere" 滕王閣詩序 by Wang Po 王勃 (650–676), and to the standard litany of Kiangsi landmarks. See Wang Po, *Wang Tzu-an chi* 王子安集, Jen-jen wen-k'u t'e-hao 421 (Taipei: Shang-wu, 1976), *ch.* 5, p. 39. Also see comments by Fang Tung-shu 方東樹 (1772–1851), from *Chao-mei chan-yen* 昭昧詹言 12, and by Chu Tzu-ch'ing; both in Chu, *Sung wu-chia*, p. 80.

[8] The Camphor Land is literally Yü-chang, the name of the Hung-chou region and an ancient name for the camphor tree or Catalpa Kaempferi, whose lumber is still cut and worked in the region.

行指斗牛先過鄉	Course set for the Dipper and starry Ox passed by his native ground:[9]
鄉人出郭航酒漿	From out Wu's walls his countrymen came, ferried to him sweet liquor,
炰鱉鱠魚炊稻粱	Roast tortoise, minced carp, rice and millet steamed by fire,
芡頭肥大菱腰長 醽醁喧呼坐滿床	Fat Gorgons' heads, long-waisted caltrops: Libations drained — clamorers filled the floor
怪君三年滯瞿塘	And took him to task: "What kept you stranded three years in the Gorges?
又驅傳馬登太行	"Then spurred you on your Appointed Rounds up the T'ai-hang range?
纓旄脫盡歸大梁	"Back at last to the Imperial Seat, tassels tattered, pinions shed —
翻然出走天南疆	"But now you must face about and travel the horizon's Southern bounds[10]
九江左投貢與章	"Where Nine Streams, fed from the left by Kung and Chang[11]
場瀾吹漂浩無旁 老蛟戲水風助狂	"Raise breakers, gust with foam, rimless, vast — "Hoary monsters[12] gambol in the waters, wind abets their madness,
盤渦忽坼千丈强	"Swirling eddies, split in an instant plunge a good thousand fathoms down!"

[9] The Dipper and Ox constellations represented ancient Yangchow, according to astrological Regional Divisions (see n. 3, above). Yü-chang's division lay in the Dipper (*tou* 斗, eighth Lunar Mansion, *phi* Sagitarii); the present city of Yangchow lay in the Ox (*niu* 牛, ninth Lunar Mansion, *beta* Capricornii). See *Chin shu* 11, pp. 308–10; also Joseph Needham, *Science and Civilisation in China* (Cambridge: Cambridge U.P., 1959) 3, p. 235.

[10] In the end words of the last four lines, Wang has found an *-ang* rhyme to name each location assignment in Ch'eng's career: K'uei-chou circuit 夔路, Ho-tung circuit 河東路, the capital, and now Hung-chou. (See Li, *Chien-chu Wang shih* 8, p. 7a.)

[11] These "nine streams" are the "kiu-kiang" that make up the Kan River, which flows through Hung-chou. The Kan forms at the confluence of the Kung 貢 and Chang 章 rivers in southern Kiangsi: the word "Kan" 贛 is thought to be a graphic merging of the two rivers' names.

[12] Lit.: "old krakens," alligators in Lake P'eng-li. Suggested translations of *chiao* 蛟 range from "dragon" to "kraken" to "shark." See discussion by Paul Kroll, in his review of Jean-Pierre Diény, *Le symbolisme du dragon dans la Chine antique*, in *JAOS* 109.2 (1989), p. 328. "Kraken" is Edward H. Schafer's rendering; "shark" is Kroll's suggestion. Identification of P'eng-li's *chiao* with the Yangtze alligator 揚子鱷 or *t'o* 鼉 (*alligator sinensis*; colloq. Chinese "sow dragon" 豬婆龍) is given in notes to Wang An-shih's "P'eng-li," by Chou Hsi-fu 周錫馥, ed., *Wang An-shih shih-hsüan* 王安石詩選 (Hong Kong: Joint Pub. Co., 1983), p. 146.

君聞此語悲慨慷	Mighty was his sorrow when the Prefect heard those words,
迎吏乃前持一觴	But the officer assigned to greet him strode up, goblet raised:
鄂州歷選多俊良	"Worthy men aplenty from our Hung-chou have been chosen,
鎮撫時有諸侯王	"Among our governors at times have numbered dukes and princes.[13]
拂天高閣朱鳥翔	"Around their towers that brush the sky soar scarlet glistening birds:
西山蟠繞鱗甲蒼	"There coil the Western Hills,[14] blackest green their mane and scales,
下視城塹眞金湯	"Whence, looking down, behold true 'golden ramparts, boiling moat,'[15]
雄樓傑屋鬱相望	"Bold towers, lordly mansions shadily peering face to face.
中戶尙有千金藏	"Clans, even the middling kind, keep gold by the hundreds stored;
潭田種秔出穰穰	"They cultivate late rice in floating fields,[16] thick and strong.
沈檀珠犀雜萬商	"Water-sunk sandalwood, pearls, horns of rhino strewn through a thousand shops;
大舟如山起牙檣 輸漕交廣流荆揚	"Ships like mountains raise ivory masts, "Fan out for Cochin and Canton, stream up to Ching and down to Yang.[17]
輕裾利屣列名倡	"Light-skirted, sharp-slippered songstresses renowned

[13] This probably refers to the Prince of T'eng (son of the T'ang emperor Kao-tsu), who built Nanchang's famous belvedere when he was commander of Hung-chou in 653. See Hsü Chin 徐進, *T'eng Wang Ko shih-hsüan* 滕王閣詩選 (Nanchang: Chiang-hsi jen-min ch'u-pan-she, 1983), p. 1.

[14] These high hills west of Hung-chou form part of the view from the Prince of T'eng's belvedere.

[15] It is possible to elide these phrases as "molten gold," describing the sunlight on the Kan River — Nanchang's "moat" on its west side — seen from the top of the Western Hills. The classical referent, however, is K'uai T'ung's 蒯通 epithet for an impregnable city: "Metal ramparts, boiling moat" 金城湯池; *Han shu* 漢書 (Peking: Chung-hua, 1975) 45, p. 2159.

[16] Kao Pu-ying and Chu Tzu-ch'ing agree that these were floatable wooden frames or booms covered with earth, for planting in swampy or flooded land. (Kao, *T'ang Sung shih* 3, p. 332; Chu, *Sung wu-chia*, pp. 77, 79.)

[17] Lit.: "They haul and stream away to Chiao-chih 交阯 (Hanoi) and Kwangchow; they flow to Ching-chou and Yangchow."

春風蹈謠能斷腸	"Can trip a tune on the spring wind to sunder all your heartstrings.
平湖灣塢煙渺茫	"Level lake, and bend, and pond soft in drifting mist,
樹石珍怪花草香	"Trees and stones, odd and precious, pungent grasses, flowers
幽處往往聞笙簧	"And solitary places where reed pipes play—
地靈人傑古所臧	"'Sensate earth, noble people,'[18] treasured from of old;
勝兵可使酒可嘗	"Its 'soldiers are fit to fight' and win, its 'wine is fit to try.'[19]
十州將吏隋低昂	"We officers of ten districts, following each swoop and rise,
談笑指麾回雨暘	"With a word, a laugh, and the wave of an arm can draw sunlight from rain.
非君才高力方剛	"But without your talent— square, hard, and strong—
豈得跨有此一方	"How could anyone spring to the saddle of this corner of the realm?
無爲聽客欲霑裳	"Let not those other travelers' talk with tears your robes bestain!"
使君謝吏趣治裝	The Imperial Prefect thanked the officer: "Go prepare the traveling train,
我行樂矣未渠央	"For the pleasure I would take tonight has not yet reached its end."

Adjoining Kiangsi to the southeast was the circuit of Fukien, northern Kiangsi's main object of regional rivalry and friction. Likewise remote and mountainous, likewise a burgeoning frontier, Fukien was richer, and the Kiangsi people seem to have viewed its society as slippery, unscrupulous, and needlessly complicated. Witness Wang An-shih's entanglements with "those Fukienese" Lü Hui-ch'ing 呂惠卿 (1032–1111) and Cheng Hsia 鄭俠 (1041–1119).[20] Lu Chiu-yüan also clashed philosophically and sometimes

[18] The two images are a rewording of Wang Po's "Preface"; see n. 7, above.

[19] Lit.: "Its superior soldiers are usable, its wine is fit to taste." Wang is using a line preserved in notes to *Shih-shuo hsin-yü* XI/6, spoken by Huan Wen 桓溫 about the valiant region of Hsü-chou 徐州: "In Ching-k'ou the wine is potable, the winnowing fans usable, and the soldiers deployable" 京口酒可飲箕可用兵可使. Notes by Liu Chün, quoting anon., "Nan Hsü-chou chi" 南徐州記; trans. Mather, *Shih-shuo*, p. 295.

[20] Lü, once Wang An-shih's top assistant during the reform administration, purportedly

personally with the de facto Fukienese Chu Hsi 朱熹 (1130–1200). Chu Hsi criticized Kiangsi intellectuals' contrariness, as we see; in less articulate terms, his complaint is echoed in the northern Fukien epithet "Kiangsi toads" (*Gong-sa ha-ma*).[21]

South of the P'o-yang basin stretched a rich, hilly country that grew more mountainous toward the south, until it reached the high divide beyond which lay Kwangtung and Kwangsi. Here were nurtured two cultural themes in particular: wildness and reclusion. Both themes converge in the region's ancient name, Yü-chang 豫章. Yü-chang has been the official name of four entities, of which the last three were centered at Nanchang. In the Spring and Autumn period, before northern Kiangsi had been settled, Yü-chang referred to modern southern Anhwei, roughly 100–150 miles north of the Nanchang area. Later this became part of Yü-chou 豫州. By the Han, Kiangsi had been gradually settled by Han people: Nanchang became the seat of a new Yü-chang commandery 郡, which essentially consisted of the entire area of modern Kiangsi province. It belonged to the Yangchow region. The kingdom of Wu narrowed Yü-chang commandery down to Nanchang and the area west of it; Lin-ch'uan was partitioned off to become the seat of a new Lin-ch'uan commandery. The T'ang gave Yü-chang commandery the new prefectural name of Hung-chou; "Yü-chang" now referred only to the city of Nanchang; by the Northern Sung, Yü-chang was no longer an official name.[22]

Yü-chang is a huge cedar-like tree, fragrant and straight: stout timber for the emperor's service, well fed by its native soil, but still raw and in need of carving by someone who understands its virtues. Likewise stout and raw, it was assumed, were Yü-chang's people: the land that grew "tall trees" 喬木 also nourished "hidden men" 幽人. Harvesting the trees would let in light to reveal the men; metaphorically, of course, the trees *were* the men.

The following was written by Huang T'ing-chien, in 1092 or 1102 (age forty-seven or fifty-seven) at Nanchang.[23] Tseng Kung had built a shrine in

undermined Wang's power, and thus harmed the reforms. He was also a bitter rival of another Kiangsi man, Tseng Pu, brother of Tseng Kung. Cheng Hsia was once Wang's student, and became the most flamboyant anti-reformer. See Pease, "Wang Anshi," pp. 115–19, 145–47.

[21] The Lu-Chu rivalry is summarized in Huang Tsung-hsi 黃宗羲 (1610–1695), *Sung Yüan hsüeh-an* 宋元學案 (Taipei: Shih-chieh shu-chü, 1973) 58, pp. 1067–69. See also *Lu Chiu-yüan chi* 2, pp. 21–31 (letter to Chu); and 15, p. 194 (letter testily mentioning Chu). I thank Prof. Jerry Norman for information on the Fukienese slogan.

[22] T'an Ch'i-hsiang 譚其驤 et al., *Chung-kuo li-shih ti-t'u chi* 中國歷史地圖集 (Peking: Ti-t'u ch'u-pan-she, 1982–1987), vols. 1–6.

[23] Poem text in Huang, *Shan-ku, wai-chi* 1, p. 16b [1166]. Also in Ch'en Yung-cheng 陳永正, annot., *Huang T'ing-chien shih-hsüan* 黃庭堅詩選 (Hong Kong: Joint Publishing Co.,

1076, when he was prefect at Nanchang and discovered the site where Hsü Ju-tzu 徐孺子 (97–168) once lived.[24] Hsü Ju-tzu's personal name was Hsü Chih 穉. A Later Han recluse and Nanchang native, he plowed his own fields and ate only the fruits of his own labor. Few people recognized him for the sage he was: chief among those who did was Ch'en Fan 陳蕃, the prefect, who kept a seating mat for Hsü's exclusive use. When Ch'en or other men offered Hsü public office, he would avoid accepting, yet never refused in so many words. And he repaid those offers with scrupulous decorum, to the point where he once traveled hundreds of miles to make a sacrifice at the funeral of a man who had offered him a position — yet kept his sacrifice anonymous. This was his way of rigidly excluding all appearance of base motives in his human relations.[25]

In the poem, Huang argues that there are special ways of thought that the world needs, but most people ignore or fail to grasp them. These ways of thought include the aspirations of sages, and the ability to recognize sages and treat them in the correct way for the times. "Traces" of such thought lie hidden on this islet at the lake's south shore, where Hermit Hsü once had his house. The site has nourished a noble grove. But the hermit's tracks and even the trees themselves are covered by ambitious "ivy" — petty men, intent on ignoring the sages' lessons and overrunning the world. The lake waters, like vain tides of fashion, sometimes come in touch with the noble old "traces," but fail to recognize what it is they have found. When mere "tides" are allowed to set society's standards, as they do now, hermits such as Hsü will remain hidden, and even the prefect Ch'ens will fail to find them:

徐孺子祠堂	*Shrine of Hsü Ju-tzu the Recluse*
喬木幽人三畝宅	Tall trees for a hidden man. His homestead, three plots of thirty yards:[26]

1983), p. 1. The *Shan-ku* chronology dates the poem to 1068 (age twenty-three), but that date seems unlikely because the shrine was not yet built; Huang, *Shan-ku, wai-chi mu-lu* 目錄, p. 3a (1075).

[24] *Tseng Kung chi* 19, pp. 311–12.

[25] *Hou Han shu* 後漢書 (Peking: Chung-hua, 1973) 53, p. 1746; *Shih-shuo hsin-yü* I/1; Mather, *Shih-shuo*, pp. 3–4.

[26] "Tall trees" recall two associations, clustering around the idea of finding the right "perch." One involves the idea that men need the friendship of like minds, such as that between Prefect Ch'en and Hermit Hsü. See *Shih-ching*, Ode 165, "Fa mu" 伐木: birds "Come from the hidden canyons / And move to tall trees" 出自幽谷遷于喬木 in search of friends. When there is a Prefect Ch'en to give him friendship, a Hermit Hsü can venture onto a "tall tree"; but if no such prefects appear, all the worthies will stay hid in their separate spots. The other association concerns the "safe perch." Hermit Hsü once explained why he would not take office: "When a great tree is about to fall, it takes more than one rope to keep it straight. Why should I stay nervously perched in an untranquil spot?" 大樹將顚非一繩所維何爲栖栖不遑寧處 (*Hou Han shu* 53, p. 1747; *Tseng Kung chi* 19, p. 312). "Three plots of thirty yards" literally is "a three-*mu* homestead": common kenning for a hermitage.

生芻一束向誰論	To whom will we turn to talk about "a bundle of fresh hay"?[27]
藤蘿得意干雲日	When creeper vines, glad to be winners, poke at clouds and sun,
簫鼓何心進酒尊	What heart have pipes and drums to usher in his sacred chalice?[28]
白屋可能無孺子	Could it be there lives no Ju-tzu now in any white-thatched hut?
黃堂不是欠陳蕃	It is not from lack of Prefect Ch'ens within the golden halls.
古人冷淡今人笑	Those ancients viewed things with indifference; moderns find them funny.
湖水年年到舊痕	But the lake, year in, year out rises to his "bygone traces."

At the region's spiritual center stood a pair of mighty landmarks: Lake P'o-yang, then called P'eng-li 彭蠡, and Mount Lu, three of whose four sides slope into P'eng-li's waters. In the Three Kingdoms period, only the lake's northern arm existed, and it was usually described as a marsh or swamp. But by the T'ang and Sung it had expanded southward, close to its present huge size, China's largest freshwater body. Most people who entered or left Kiangsi from the north, east or west, had to reckon with P'eng-li. They found its scenery awesome, delightful or both, as did Wang An-shih:[29]

一奩寒晶徑千里	. . . That frigid crystal mirror-box, a thousand leagues across:
天低紺滑風靜止	When lowering sky glistens in wine-dark purple, wind calms and stops,

[27] The line means, "Who is there now who can discern worthy men as in Hsü's time?" Kuo T'ai 郭泰 (128–169), a young man who appreciated Hsü, lost his mother. Hsü brought to her funeral a sheaf of fresh hay, which he left at the gate. No one understood the gesture except Kuo, who recognized it as a reference to *Shih-ching*, Ode 186, "Pai chü" 白駒 (about feeding a white pony — metaphor for a worthy friendship): "A sheaf of fresh hay / For one who is like jade" 生芻一束其人如玉. Hsü thus couched his praise of Kuo in a way that only one worthy of the praise could understand.

[28] The "creeper vines" are opportunists, liars, and schemers, who blot out wisdom and block the emperor's view of honest men below. They owe their high place to the "tall trees" (worthy men) on whom they climb, but they stifle those trees even as they borrow their height. Pipes, drum, and chalice are in the shrine. I.e., who will have the motivation to make offerings to a man such as Hsü in a climate like today's?

[29] From "Someone in my Thoughts, Sent to Huang Chi-fu" 有所思寄黃吉甫; Li, *Chien-chu Wang shih* 3, p. 6a.

月澹星浮尤可喜	Moon is diluted, stars drop anchor —sheer delight.
亦復可憐波浪起	But one must love the waves, the way they rise,
琉璃崩嶽湧鼸粟	Glass mountains that shatter into hollows, lay- ered summits swimming to the surface.
萬斛之舟簸一篹	A ship of a thousand tons— bamboo slat from a winnowing sieve
超邑越都如歷指	Traverses towns and cities as if tallying the fingers on a hand.
岸沙雪積山雲委	Beach sand snow-drifted, mountains given over to clouds
雲半飛泉掛龍尾	Where, halfway up those clouds, airborne cascades let fall their dragon tails
跳空散作平地水	Which leap into Nothing, disperse and spread to become lowland waters—
牛乳芳甘那得比	And what sweet milk of cattle can compare with that freshness? . . .

Agricultural images—sieves, milk—nestle here amid the splendor. But the lake dominates. No poet who had seen P'o-yang could ignore it.[30] It boasted a dramatic mountain rim with the customary dragon, tiger, and Taoist population; and in its waters there swam ancient "krakens" or alligators, who in part caused the lake's treacherous weather and other dangers.[31]

Mount Lu, fronting the lake, was originally called K'uang Lu 匡廬, literally the Mountain of K'uang Su's Hut—K'uang Su 匡俗 having been a reclusive adept from the time of King Wu of Chou. He had built his hermitage on the mountain as a spot to cultivate immortalhood.[32] He thus established the region from the start as a kingdom for recluses not activists, for simplifiers not complexifiers, for mystics and self-reliant men of all kinds.

Behind those twin guardians—one liquid, one solid—Kiangsi's untamed treasures lay secure, chief among those treasures being its men: strong as

[30] Tseng, Wang, and Huang alone devoted several poems to the lake. In addition to the one just quoted, Wang has an equally dramatic "P'eng-li" (Li, *Chien-chu Wang shih* 8, p. 8b; trans. Pease, "Wang Anshi," p. 524), and a rather odd piece, "Fallen Star Temple" 落星寺 (Li, *Chien-chu Wang shih* 35, p. 1b). Other poems by Wang mention the lake in passing. See also Tseng Kung, "Sent to Wang An-shih Upon Setting Off from Pine Gate" 發松門寄介甫 (*Tseng Kung chi* 3, p. 41); Huang T'ing-chien's "Four Poems Inscribed at the Fallen Star Temple" 題落星寺四首 (Huang, *Shan-ku, wai-chi* 8, p. 23a [1543]). For a recent prose account of the lake just before modern times, see Kao Tzu-ang 高子昂, "P'o-yang hu chi" 鄱陽湖記, in *Chiang-hsi wen-hsien* 江西文獻 89 (July 2, 1977), pp. 65–67.

[31] About krakens, see n. 12, above.

[32] *Hou Han shu*, treatise 22, p. 3487, n. 3; quoting Hui-yüan 慧遠 (attr.), *Lu-shan chi-lüeh* 廬山紀略.

camphor trees, clever as submerged dragons. Many writers describing the area have conveyed a sense of floating through a blankness that veils a mystery. When Wang Po 王勃 (650–676) visited Hung-chou in the early T'ang, and mounted the Prince of T'eng's Belvedere (T'eng wang ko 滕王閣), P'eng-li's wildness was still with him. When he gazed over the Kan River, he imagined the treasures and perils that lurked on his route beyond it, but could not see them. The way he expressed it, of course, was "Autumn water merges in one color with the stretching sky" 秋水共長天一色, and "Gaze down: there is no land!" 下臨無地.[33] Tseng Kung felt a similar vastness as he watched Lu's peaks vanish in mist, while the boatmen showed him "the blackest part" of the water, where there was "no bottom, and the krakens swim in schools" 黑處無底蛟龍湫.[34] Wang An-shih simply said "there is no earth" around P'eng-li in the spring 春無地.[35] Adding to the lake's communion with the sky, and the sense of standing in a rootless gulf, was the Fallen Star Temple (Lo-hsing ssu 落星寺), perched on a tiny island: "A star from the Southern Pole stands within River and Lake" 南極一星在江湖.[36]

Coloring the geography were human events—legendary or real—that from ancient times have helped form Kiangsi's literary lore. As often happens in regional traditions, the locals acquit themselves as being wiser, tougher, more ethical, or more in tune with the world's true nature than people from outside. In some legends the whole point is to show local men outwitting, out-conjuring, or upstaging non-locals, with all the natural ease of a fox, and thereby earning the outsiders' respect or even acclaim. We find this attitude in Lu Chiu-yüan's smug delight when he discovered an obvious fact that the great monk Ma Tsu 馬祖 (d. 788) had never perceived: that Ma Tsu's mountain looked like an elephant. "Elephant" (*hsiang* 象) also means "the likeness of things." Ma Tsu's Buddhist vision was no match for Lu's common eyes in seeing how things really stood.

Some Kiangsi lore was supernatural. In addition to several ascents into immortalhood, there was the Chin-dynasty incident of the twin swords that radiated a purple beam into the sky from their burial spot. The Sword Pool 劍池 where they had been found, at Feng-ch'eng 豐城 upriver and south of Hung-chou, was a focus for the magical and martial element of local tradition, a complement to the more literary Ink Pools of Wang Hsi-chih 王羲之 and Hsieh Ling-yün 謝靈運 at Lin-ch'uan.[37] The power of swords and

[33] *Wang Tzu-an chi* 5, p. 39.

[34] *Tseng Kung chi* 3, p. 41.

[35] Li, *Chien-chu Wang shih* 8, p. 8b; Pease, "Wang Anshi," p. 524.

[36] Huang T'ing-chien, see n. 30, above.

[37] The swords were called Dragon Fount (Lung-ch'üan 龍泉) and Grand Marge (T'ai-o 太阿), which meant they were famous weapons from the Wu-Yüeh conflict of the 5th c. BC. In the 3d c. AD, Chang Hua 張華 (232–300), preparing a strategy to conquer Wu for the Chin

ink combined further in the stories of local recluses. One of the earliest figures in this tradition was Hsü Ju-tzu, the Han recluse at Hung-chou who contributed so much to Yü-chang's pride.[38] Five hundred years after him, Wang Po had only to say, "It was for Hsü Ju-tzu that Ch'en Fan's mat was brought down" 徐孺下陳蕃之榻, and that was enough to prove that Yü-chang was a land of "noble people and a sensate earth" 人傑地靈.[39]

But perhaps more stimulating to literature than Hsü's story was the interplay between two late-Chin recluses: Hui-yüan the religious outsider (慧遠; 334–416), and T'ao Ch'ien the secular local (365–427). In particular there is the story of how T'ao Ch'ien refused to join Hui-yüan's ashram.

Tseng Kung discusses the story in the following passage. The background concerns Hui-yüan, who had settled with his disciples on Mount Lu, exploring ideas that eventually led to Pure Land Buddhism. His learning encompassed Confucian and Taoist teachings as well, but since his youth he had always felt that compared to Buddhism, "Confucianism, Taoism, and the Nine Schools are no more than chaff and husks" 儒道九流皆糠粃也.[40] While Hui-yüan was on the mountain, back in the Eastern Chin capital Huan Hsüan 桓玄 (369–404) usurped the Chin regime. Huan intended to purge the Buddhist clergy, whose abuse of privilege had been threatening the government's power and wealth. The only Buddhist community he

dynasty, was told of a purple ether radiating between the Dipper and Ox constellations. Those constellations represented Wu (see n. 9, above); it seemed this meant Wu could not be taken. But Chang Hua thought it could, and he succeeded in 280. After Wu came under Chin control, the purple light grew brighter. Chang found a man from Yü-chang who told him it was a sword-ether, and that the swords were in Yü-chang, part of Wu's hinterlands. He then sent the man, Lei Huan 雷煥, to unearth the swords. Lei did so, sent Dragon Fount to Chang Hua, and kept Grand Marge for himself. (See *Chin shu* 36, pp. 1075–76; Li Te-yü 李德裕 [787–849], "Rhapsody on the Sword Pool" 劍池賦, in *Ch'üan T'ang wen* 全唐文 697, pp. 4b–5b; Huang T'ing-chien, "Feng-ch'eng" 豐城, in *Shan-ku, wai-chi* 9, p. 7a [1559].) (Chang Hua identified his sword, Dragon Fount, as Kan-chiang 干將, and assumed that the other was its mate, Mo-yeh 莫耶. *Shih chi* mentions Dragon Spring [Lung-yüan 龍淵] and Grand Marge among several famous swords, as coming from the Murky Mountains 冥山, variously located by later annotators; see *Shih chi* 史記 [Peking: Chung-hua, 1975] 69, p. 2251. Grand Marge is also mentioned in *Han shu* 67, p. 2920, memorial by Mei Fu 梅福. *Wu-Yüeh ch'un-ch'iu* 吳越春秋 [first c. AD?] tells how a swordsmith Kan Chiang and his wife Mo Yeh, both of Wu, made swords for Wu's king, naming them after themselves; see *Wu-Yüeh ch'un-ch'iu*, Jen-jen wen-k'u t'e-hao 615 [Ming edn.; rpt. Taipei: Shang-wu, 1978], *ch.* 2, pp. 41–43, 60. P'ei Yin's 裴駰 5th-c. notes quote another version of this; *Shih chi* 69, p. 2252. For further information, see James Hargett, *On the Road in Twelfth Century China: The Travel Diaries of Fan Chengda (1126–1193)* [Stuttgart: Steiner, 1989], pp. 223–34, n. 163.)

[38] An earlier figure who combined the roles of honest statesman, recluse, loyalist, and immortal was Mei Fu (d. 2 AD) of Kiukiang; biog. in *Han shu* 67, pp. 2917–27.

[39] *Wang Tzu-an chi* 5, p. 39.

[40] Hui-chiao 慧皎 (497–554), *Kao seng chuan ch'u-chi* 高僧傳初集 (Nanking: Chin-ling k'o-ching-ch'u, 1885) 6, p. 1b; T'ang Yung-t'ung 湯用彤, *Han Wei Liang-Chin Nan-pei-ch'ao fo-chiao shih* 漢魏兩晉南北朝佛教史 (1938; rev. edn. Peking: Chung-hua, 1983), p. 244.

agreed to spare was that of Hui-yüan, with whom Huan had visited and corresponded. Probably because of the anti-Buddhist trend among power-holders, Hui-yüan for thirty years did not set foot off Mount Lu: thus it became literally his *lu*, or "hermit's hut."[41] "His shadow never left the mountain, nor did his footprints enter the profane" 影不出山迹不入俗.[42] Tseng Kung, however, found T'ao Ch'ien worthier still:[43]

> Roaming among these sites caused me to think back to Hui-yüan and his eighteen followers, who fled to this mountain from the Chin regime. Truly this is a fine scenic spot. Yet, although those eighteen men knew enough to escape from the Chin and free themselves among mountain and stream, they did not see that they were drowning in an alien learning 異學. This was why prefect T'ao chose not to follow their path. Ever since Kings Wen and Wu, few have been the times when worthy ministers and worthy rulers had the opportunity to gain each others' company; as a result, gentlemen who understand the Way have found it hard to serve in office. But a man such as prefect T'ao took his ease in a polluted age, lived by his own lights according to the Way, kept corruption from touching him when he advanced into society, recognized his proper time to retreat. Yet in reclusion he never left the proper path — those other eighteen could never achieve what he did.
>
> And even though there are such men as I who may be able to discern where T'ao was right, once we have discerned that, how can we ever stand to make a vain show of attaining to his conduct, while all we can really feel is that the mountain scenery gives us pleasure?

Hui-yüan brought further fame and a stronger aura to the mountain, and reinforced Kiangsi's credentials as a haven for recluses loyal to a higher law, to which even warlords would defer. But the Hui-yüan legends also make it clear that he was an outsider, a guest in Kiangsi at the pleasure of the even greater recluse T'ao Ch'ien. As with Ch'ü Yüan's "Fisherman" or Chia I's "Owl," Hui-yüan's story is that of the exile — worthy but not yet wise — being taught an irreplaceable lesson by a local. Hui-yüan's coming to the mountain had indirectly been the work of T'ao Ch'ien's great uncle T'ao

[41] T'ang, *Fo-chiao*, pp. 248–50. [42] *Kao-seng chuan* 6, p. 12a; T'ang, *Fo-chiao*, p. 250.

[43] From "Record of an Excursion on the Mountain" 遊山記, *Tseng Kung chi, chi-i* 補佚, pp. 781–82. The mountain is Lu; the date is unknown. Tseng recorded a four-day trip, where he found peaks, temples, plaques, and statues (he names and counts them), and an intellectual understanding of what T'ao Ch'ien had known and Hui-yüan missed. But Tseng Kung realized he could not yet feel or practice what T'ao Ch'ien had known. The closest he could come to T'ao Ch'ien's wisdom was a physical delight in the scenery. Perhaps that in fact was the wisdom.

Fan 陶範 (fl. ca. 376), the T'ao family having been centered around Kiu-kiang, near the mountain.[44] T'ao Ch'ien knew several of Hui-yüan's reclusive friends, and was a recluse himself for much of his life. He and Hui-yüan should have had much in common. But T'ao's thought was more subtle and harder to classify than Hui-yüan's was, just as his poetry fits no mold. For that reason, by Sung times T'ao was viewed as one of the most singular and profound of all recluses, and certainly the preeminent recluse of the Kiangsi region. By the late T'ang, legends appeared that had Hui-yüan organizing a White Lotus Society 白蓮社 on the mountain, dedicated to rebirth in the Pure Land. When invited to visit the society, T'ao Ch'ien said, "I will visit if you let me drink while I am there." Hui-yüan agreed, and T'ao did pay a call. But when Hui-yüan pressed him to join the group officially, T'ao "walked away with furrowed brow" 攢眉而去.[45]

Hui-yüan stumbled two other times in his progress outside the pale, again in the face of those more supple ways of thought. Once he wrote a poem in exchange for wine to host T'ao Ch'ien, although Hui-yüan usually kept a stringent religious diet. The other incident involved escorting a visitor off the mountain: normally, when saying farewell to visitors, Hui-yüan never walked farther than Tiger Creek 虎溪, regardless of the visitor's rank. But when the local Taoist Lu Hsiu-ching 陸修靜 (406–477) was leaving one day, Hui-yüan became so busy talking with him that he went several hundred steps beyond the creek before realizing where he was. The cathartic laugh that ensued became a celebrated subject for paintings. Again, the catharsis belonged mostly to Hui-yüan: Lu, the local, had caused it.[46]

[44] T'ang, *Fo-chiao*, p. 245; A. R. Davis, *T'ao Yüan-ming: His Works and their Meaning* (Cambridge: Cambridge U.P., 1983), vol. 2, pp. 174–76, 181–82. T'ao Fan's father was probably T'ao K'an, T'ao Ch'ien's great-grandfather; see n. 3.

[45] T'ang Yung-t'ung traces the major sources of the White Lotus legend, none of which date earlier than the middle T'ang (*Fo-chiao*, pp. 260–64). Davis also examines the legend, in *T'ao Yüan-ming*, vol. 2, pp. 173, 185–88. For the legend's outline, see excerpts from *Lien-she kao-hsien chuan* 蓮社高賢傳 (anon.); *Lu-shan chi* 廬山記 (by Ch'en Shun-yü 陳舜俞, d. 1074); and *Lu-fu tsa-chi* 廬阜雜記 (anon.); all in T'ao Ch'ien, *Ching-chieh hsien-sheng chi* 靖節先生集, T'ao Shu 陶澍 (1778–1839), ed. (Hong Kong: Chung-hua, 1973), pp. 13–15. Also see Huang T'ing-chien's poem "Inscribed on Li Kung-lin's Painting of T'ao Ch'ien Under the Pines" 題伯時畫松下淵明 (*Shan-ku, nei-chi* 內集 9, p. 4b [552]). Legend aside, the records show that T'ao Ch'ien knew two of Hui-yüan's lay disciples (Liu I-min 劉遺民 and Chou Hsü-chih 周續之), but there is no written evidence that T'ao had any direct contact with Hui-yüan (T'ao, *[Wen] chi* 2, pp. 12, 21, 22; T'ang, *Fo-chiao*, p. 264). T'ao, Liu I-min, and Chou Hsü-chih came to be known as the "Three Recluses of Hsün-yang" 潯陽三隱; see biography of T'ao by Hsiao T'ung 蕭統 (501–531), in T'ao, *[Wen] chi*, p. 8.

[46] Version from Li Yüan-chung 李元中 (Sung), "Lien-she-t'u chi" 蓮社圖記, quoted in T'ao, *[Wen] chi*, p. 17. The version that usually inspired painters had Hui-yüan escorting both T'ao Ch'ien and Lu Hsiu-ching: all three crossed the stream and laughed together. The painting was dubbed "The Laughing Trio" 三笑圖 (from *Lu-shan chi*, in T'ao, *[Wen] chi*, p.

Somewhat later than the White Lotus stories, Hsieh Ling-yün — another outsider — was brought into the anecdotal tradition about Hui-yüan and the recluses. It was said that while T'ao Ch'ien was indifferent to the White Lotus Society, Hsieh Ling-yün was aching to join it. He even dug the group a lotus pond. But they rejected him because of his "distracted mind" 心亂.[47] That last story puts Yü-chang's poetic landscape into perfect counterpoint: a rustic, sought-after T'ao Ch'ien governing P'eng-tse to the north of the mountain, complemented by the elegant, earnestly-seeking Hsieh Ling-yün who governed Lin-ch'uan to its south. T'ao was voluntarily sinking into his local reclusion; Hsieh had been cast into obscure exile from outside. Almost archetypically opposite when considered separately, together T'ao's and Hsieh's works, limpid and natural, came to encompass the whole range of the serious poetic voice in their age, and especially the voice of those outside the capital. Their linked names became a motif, as in Tu Fu:[48] "How can I find ideas like the handwork of T'ao and Hsieh / Make them "tell," make them "create," roaming here with me" 焉得思如陶謝手令渠述作與同遊?

LIN-CH'UAN: RUSTIC INDEPENDENCE, FOXES, AND TIGERS

Permanent dwellers in a region, unlike tourists, are not as concerned that it be a unique place. What they desire most from their homeland are the same things everyone wants: good soil, few bandits, interesting but safe cities, and a mountain or shoreline to soothe the eye. They will always feel their land is unique, simply because it is home; they write about it much the

15). Su Shih commented on a painting by that title, but did not know who the three men were — perhaps because he was not from Kiangsi. Both Huang T'ing-chien and Li Kou did know the story. Actually, as T'ang Yung-t'ung calculates (*Fo-chiao*, p. 264), there was never any Laughing Trio, because Lu Hsiu-ching was no more than twelve years old when Hui-yüan died. See Su Shih's "Comment on Shih K'o's Painting, 'The Laughing Trio'" 石恪三笑圖贊, and "Colophon 自跋 to My Comment on Shih K'o's 'Laughing Trio,'" in *Su Shih wen chi* 蘇軾文集 (Peking: Chung-hua, 1986) 21, p. 608; appendix 5, p. 2545. See also Huang T'ing-chien's variation on a humorous quatrain about the incident, in *Shan-ku, nei-chi* 17, p. 6b [918]; his comment on a "Laughing Trio" painting, in his *Yü-chang Huang hsien-sheng wen-chi* 豫章黃先生文集 (SPTK edn.) 14, p. 13a; a colophon by Li Kou, in *Li Kou chi* 李覯集 (Peking: Chung-hua, 1981) 35, p. 384.

[47] Li, "Lien-she-t'u chi," in T'ao, *[Wen] chi*, pp. 16–17. Again, this is most likely a fictitious event, because by the time Hsieh Ling-yün was posted to Lin-ch'uan in 431, Hui-yüan had been dead for a decade and a half.

[48] *Tu shih yin-te* 杜詩引得, Harvard-Yenching Index Series, Suppl. 14, (rpt. Shanghai: Ku-chi, 1983) 409/30/7–8. Wang Po linked T'ao and Hsieh more precisely: "The breath of our green bamboos, like the gardens of Sui, shall rise beyond P'eng-tse's goblets; while the radiance of our 'scarlet-blossomed' Stream of Yeh may yet outshine that Lin-ch'uan writing-brush" 睢園綠竹氣凌彭澤之樽鄴水朱華光照臨川之筆; *Wang Tzu-an chi* 5, p. 39.

way anyone writes about one's own home. Dwellers in a region that satisfies those simple desires may find little impetus to describe the place at all. They may take the place for granted, and turn their writings toward universal and personal concerns, whether history, fantasy, or family.

The Lin-ch'uan region during the Sung was that kind of life-supporting, calm homeland. When we cull local works for the region's texture, it reveals itself more slowly and subtly than if it were the war-torn northern border, the exile sites of Liu-chou 柳州 and Huang-chou 黃州, or the capital at Kaifeng, where important things happened. Texture is best created, after all, by roughness or exaggeration: Li Po's jagged Road to Shu; Wang Chih-huan's "single slab of lonely wall by hills of ten thousand feet" 一片孤城萬仞山.[49] Such textures are not found in the Lin-ch'uan area, with its meandering rivers and occasional hills among flat countryside. We must look for subtleties in order to understand the region, doubly so if we would differentiate Lin-ch'uan's character from that of other inland areas, such as Huainan, Changsha, or Han-yang. And as we differentiate we must be willing to accept regional characteristics that were not unique, but typical of other places as well.

It is precisely that placid surface, so closely bound with Sung aesthetics and society, that makes the Lin-ch'uan area an interesting subject for inquiry. The rich data available, particularly the works of Tseng Kung, Wang An-shih, and Lu Chiu-yüan, can yield much information.[50] But this yielding takes place gradually, because their writings are always devoted to specific issues. Not one of the several thousand pages of those three writers' works contains an objective description of their locale. Each poem, essay, or letter is slanted according to its purpose or theme. Complicating these slants is the fact that all three writers spent years of their lives, and did most of their writing, outside Kiangsi, and brought an outside perspective to their views of home. Thus we see Wang An-shih (who lived at Lin-ch'uan mostly as a child, eventually settling in Chin-ling) at age twenty-five waxing nostalgic about his boyhood outings in Lin-ch'uan:[51]

[49] Wang Chih-huan 王之渙 (688–742), "Song of Liang-chou" 涼州詞 (no. 1 of 2), in *Ch'üan T'ang shih* 全唐詩 (Peking: Chung-hua, 1960) 253, p. 2849.

[50] The social history of Fu-chou's Sung elite has already been presented, with thoroughness and balance, by Robert Hymes, in *Statesmen and Gentlemen: The Elite of Fu-chou, Chiang-hsi, in Northern and Southern Sung* (Cambridge: Cambridge U.P., 1986). He has screened data for objectivity, and uses them to trace broad trends among individuals and families, and to explore who Fu-chou's elite were, where they came from, how they maintained status, and how they functioned economically and socially. It is largely the existence of this work that makes it feasible to examine the subjective, emotional side of the northern Kiangsi intellectuals' involvement with their surroundings.

[51] From "Record of the Newly Built Belvedere of Nine Luminaries at the Ta-chung-hsiang-fu Shrine" 大中祥符觀新修九曜閣記, Wang, *Wen-chi* 83, p. 875. Wang An-shih wrote this in 1046, in the capital after his first post at Yangchow ended. His most recent trip to Lin-ch'uan had been two years before; Pease, "Wang Anshi," pp. 18, 21, 30. Written on orders from an uncle, the piece depicts a filial longing for Wang's home town and parents, gratitude for the new building at the shrine, and for the chance to write the record of its construction. The main shrine was named for the Ta-chung-hsiang-fu era in which it was built (1008–1017).

> Within Lin-ch'uan's walls on the east there is a large hill, with a river at its left (the Ju 汝水) which flows northwards, out of the south, to join the Yangtze. It is this river that serves as the city's eastern moat. My house stands on that hill. North from it, then east a hundred paces, is the Ta-chung-hsiang-fu Shrine. The shrine is banked by the river: from it, all the mountains to the southeast are visible, save those blocked by houses.
>
> When I was young, I often went with my elders to visit and enjoy that shrine. River and mountains so superb, it seemed, would bring enjoyment in any prefecture—but especially in my parents' own city, and so close to our own house. Though I went off to serve the state, my heart never left for a moment.

Wang's description, from memory, is concrete but not especially revealing. Later, when he actually revisited Kiangsi, his poetry at local sites described even less what he saw, but tended to extract philosophy from the scenery, just as did the poetry he was writing in Anhwei during the same period.[52] In his sixties, working from memory again, he recalled Lin-ch'uan's groves and ponds as physical scenes, but bathed them in the same benign glow that colored the poems he was composing at Chin-ling where he lived. These late descriptions of Lin-ch'uan are different enough from the early pieces that one almost wonders if he was writing about the same place.

[52] Wang wrote several major poems in his early thirties at Shu-chou 舒州 (now Ch'ien-shan 潛山, Anhwei), in which his meditations on the landscape led him to criticize human shallowness or superstition. One is his "Inscription on the Spring at Stone Ox Grotto, by Canyon Temple in Shu-chou" 題舒州山谷寺石牛洞泉穴 (Li, *Chien-chu Wang shih* 18, p. 6a; trans. Pease, "Wang Anshi," p. 459). Certain phrases in this poem seem to have been distilled from Wang's longer "Stream of Master Pao" 鮑公水, written at Lin-ch'uan (Li, *Chien-chu Wang shih* 19, p. 7a). Two other Shu-chou landscape poems that treat human folly are faintly echoed in a later piece written at a waterfall near Lin-ch'uan (probably 1067, age forty-six). Those two Shu-chou pieces are "Ling-shan Temple" 靈山寺 (ibid. 21, p. 6a; trans. Pease, "Wang Anshi," p. 503) and "The Nine Wells" 九井 (ibid., p. 26o; Li, *Chien-chu Wang shih* 18, p. 4b). "The Nine Wells" was dated by Li Pi to the late 1050s, and placed at Su-sung 宿松; but it now seems likely that it was written in 1051 at Shu-chou, where there are also "Nine Wells." The later piece that echoes the two just mentioned, written at Lin-ch'uan, is "Leaping Horse Falls" 躍馬泉 (ibid. 18, p. 3a); its date is probably that of its companion piece, "Tea-tasting Falls" 試茗泉, which had been carved on stone in 1067 (see Shen, *Wang shih-chu* 2, p. 38). About "Nine Wells," see Wu I-feng 烏以風, *T'ien-chu-shan chih* 天柱山志 (Hofei: An-hui chiao-yü ch'u-pan-she, 1984), pp. 37, 43, 69, 71.

烏塘 *Raven Pond*[55]

烏塘渺渺漾平堤 It stretches off and out, distilled,
level with the dyke,
堤上行人各有攜 That dyke where people stroll,
each with a hand to lead.
試問春風何處好 Might I try to ask
where spring wind blows its best?
辛夷如雪柘岡西 By the lily magnolias[54] that look like snow,
west of Yellowbark Knob.[55]

柘岡 *Yellowbark Knob*[56]

萬事紛紛只偶然 All that happens, happens all by chance.
老來容易得新年 New years come with ease once we grow old.
柘岡西路花如雪 On the road west of Yellowbark Knob
blossoms look like snow.
回首春風最可憐 Turn your head: spring wind
will be the loveliest.

Tseng Kung was probably born at Lin-ch'uan in 1019, and lived there, with intervals of edifying travel, until his *chin-shih* degree in 1057, after which he served in the capital and provinces. His ancestral home was Nan-feng 南豐, fifty miles south of Lin-ch'uan, but he explained that his grandmother preferred Lin-ch'uan, so the family all lived there until her death in about 1046.[57] His prose sometimes describes Kiangsi with vivid flair, but his

[53] This is a quatrain; a regulated verse translated below (see n. 75) uses the same title. Printed in Li, *Chien-chu Wang shih* 44, p. 1b; Wang, *Wen-chi* 30, p. 333. (Li Pi's title 烏塢 is probably a misprint for 烏塘.) For Raven Pond, see n. 75, below. This poem is undatable, but seems like a late piece, judging from the spare language, the hint of nostalgia, and the mention of old age in its companion quatrain, immediately following. If these are late pieces, they were probably written while Wang was retired at Chin-ling (1076–1086), at least ten years after his last visit to Lin-ch'uan, and as many as forty years after his last thorough explorations there; Pease, "Wang Anshi," p. 647.

[54] *Magnolia liliflora* 辛夷 in the south bloom as early as the first lunar month, and have been called "Spring-greeters" 迎春. These trees were a noted sight at Yellowbark Knob (Li, *Chien-chu Wang shih* 30, p. 2b; Shen, *Wang shih chu*, p. 76).

[55] "Yellowbark" 柘 is the three-bristle cudrania (*cudrania tricuspidata*), a thorny tree whose leaves can feed silkworms and whose bark yields a yellow dye. "Yellowbark Knob" (Che-kang): see next poem, and n. 75, below.

[56] The text is in Li, *Chien-chu Wang shih* 44, p. 2a. This is a companion to the previous poem, l. 3 being a variation on the other's l. 4. Yellowbark Knob is not described. Instead, Wang meditates on the speed with which an old man finds the seasons changing. Snowlike blossoms are an old image related to that theme; "turn your head" 回首 also suggests time flashing past. "Happens all by chance" 只偶然 has a Buddhist tinge. Many of Wang's late quatrains show similar images.

[57] *Tseng Kung chi* 15, p. 245; 17, p. 284; appendix, pp. 790–801.

textures are determined by his immediate purpose, whether it be to praise, blame, or cajole.

Lu Chiu-yüan, whose home was in Chin-hsi 金谿, the county of Fu-chou that adjoined Lin-ch'uan to the east, spent much of his life there, or within a two- or three-day journey: he often presents himself as an active, concerned gentry citizen of Fu-chou.[58] We would expect more local spice in his writings. But actually he gives us less than Wang and Tseng do, despite his greater involvement with Fu-chou politics and his retreat at Hsiang-shan 象山 (Elephant Mountain), both of which he recounts minutely. On Hsiang-shan:[59]

> My group lately hiked here into the moutains, joined by a small gathering of like-minded comrades. I wrote you earlier, in a general way, about the mountains' grandeur, but this time we uncovered more secrets, such things as I had never seen before. I have decided to live out my life in association with this place . . .
>
> The mountain faces southeast. Great stacked ridges lie in linked array, the close ones several dozen *li* away, the far ones several hundred; wafting and blue, or rugged and clear, vying for strangeness, contending after loveliness, soaring in a dance that can be viewed entirely from within the eaves. It is impossible to follow all the changes as rain, sun, clouds, and mist appear and vanish, morning and evening. Climbing to rest upon serried summits, looking east at Magic Mountain (Ling-shan 靈山) and Turtle Peak (Kuei-feng 龜峰), we can see how like a painting they thrust up among the others.[60]
>
> The river flows about 400 *li* out of Jade Mountain (Yü-shan 玉山, in the east), emerges from under Turtle Peak, gathers up Noble Creek (Kuei-hsi 貴溪) and flows past the left side of this mountain.
>
> Looking west, one sees far Fairy Peak (Miao-ku feng 藐姑峰), the Stone Drum (Shih-ku 石鼓), and Loquat Lute (P'i-p'a feng 琵琶峰) in a

[58] Recounted and analyzed in Hymes, *Statesmen*, pp. 124–25. Hymes hypothesizes that Lu's high level of local involvement is a Southern Sung gentry trait. For Lu's various posts and residences, see chronology in *Lu Chiu-yüan chi* 36, pp. 479–513.

[59] From a letter to Chu Tzu-yüan 朱子淵, *Lu Chiu-yüan chi* 13, p. 175. This letter is an invitation to visit Lu's *vihara* at Hsiang-shan. To that end, it glowingly describes the mountain, reflecting Lu's enthusiasm for the place and his wonder at nature's creations. See also similar passages in letters to Wang Ch'ien-chung 王謙仲 and Fu Chi-lu 傅季魯 (ibid. 9, pp. 118–19; 11, p. 147); catalogue of Hsiang-shan's waterfalls (9, p. 122; 17, p. 219); the road up to Hsiang-shan (12, p. 167); problems maintaining the retreat, and how his students helped (14, p. 189).

[60] Turtle Peak resembles a turtle with upstretched head and arching back; see *Lu Chiu-yüan chi* 9, p. 120.

towering, compelling cluster that descends from the very sky. Noble Creek flows from the Bright Marshes (Kuang-tse 光澤, in the south) with curves and bends and deep distillations. Between its bends the mountainsides appear like slabs of blue jade, in comparison with which the crags of Dragon and Tiger (Lung-hu shan 龍虎山, the Taoist center to the southwest), Sylph Cliff (Hsien yen 仙巖), and Tower Hill (T'ai shan 臺山, to the north) are but mounds of earth.

The two creeks, eastward and westward, twine supple and slender as a sash. Where they join, though less than a hundred *li* away, the land runs low, flat and broad, and shows too indistinctly for the eye to make out, as it often sinks into a vast, hoary mist. But along the river's clean downward course one can follow boulder beds that bend, split, and rejoin in a thousand designs. Among the miles of tumbling falls and rapids, green shady forests and huge rocks in jumbled mass, at the height of summer you would not even know there was heat. With a book under your arm, you could easily spend a whole day among these sights. So much has the creator given us!

Hsiang-shan is located at Kuei-hsi ("Noble Creek"), east of Lu's home county of Chin-hsi, which was east of Lin-ch'uan.[61] There had been a T'ang monastery on the mountain, founded by the illustrious Ma Tsu. A Northern Sung monastery, Ying-t'ien ssu 應天寺, had long lain in ruins. An acquaintance of Lu's built a cottage at the temple site, and Lu built another cottage nearby. But Lu soon moved his cottage to a more scenic spot that the monkish men had failed to appreciate. It became his *vihara*, the site of his teaching sessions. Lu renamed the mountain as well: it had been the "Mountain of the Ch'an Masters" (Ch'an-shih shan 禪師山); he now dubbed it "Elephant Mountain" (possibly also meaning "Mountain of Images"), because of the huge elephant-shaped peak that smote Lu's vision at the site where he chose to live. The name caught on quickly among local people, he felt, because they had always resented the disgrace of the earlier name's having come from an "alien religion" 異教.[62]

[61] Hsiang-shan was not actually located in Fu-chou, or even in Kiangsi, although it is part of Kiangsi now. It was only a day's journey northeast of Chin-hsi on a direct highway route, across the border in Hsin-chou 信州, part of Kiangtung circuit in the Sung (see map). This was the region where Kiangsi, Kiangtung, and Fukien met; here Lu Chiu-yüan and Chu Hsi spent large parts of their lives. For Sung highway routes, see Chang T'ien-yu 張天佑 et al., *Chiang-hsi kung-lu shih* 江西公路史 (Peking: Jen-min chiao-t'ung ch'u-pan-she, 1989), vol. 1, pp. 6–14. For a late-Ming description of the region's mountains, chasms, and rocky rivers, see Hsü Hung-tsu 徐弘祖 (1584–1641), *Hsü Hsia-k'o yu-chi* 徐霞客遊記 (Shanghai: Shang-wu, 1928; rpt., 1986), *ch.* 3, pp. 14–17.

[62] See *Lu Chiu-yüan chi* 13, p. 175; 9, pp. 118–19; 11, p. 147. Ma Tsu's biography is in Shih

Lu did not describe his everyday home, or write much about his family. This may have been because he was not strictly a writer, but a philosopher and teacher, concerned less with words than with the ideas they could convey. He exercised his mind mainly in a world of long-deceased northern sages, and spent his days exploring their wisdom with living students and visitors. He could have done such things anywhere. The physical texture of his homeland seems to have mattered little in his work, and seldom figures in his writings. When the local landscape does enter his writing, it is in the form of mountains. Perhaps this is because mountains had always been philosophers' territory. But it seems that mountains, knolls, or hills often formed the focus of writing about Kiangsi locales by Fu-chou people, including most of the selections in this article. Perhaps mountains exerted a special pull amid the subtle Fu-chou landscape.

Despite the limitations, some fairly specific depictions of Fu-chou in the Sung do emerge from these pieces, and can be clarified when they are enhanced by objective knowledge of the area. Fu-chou was a mixture of fertile plains and varied high ground, some rocky, some timbered. The entire prefecture was about 120 miles from north to south, and forty miles wide. Lin-ch'uan lay at the bend of the clear and generally placid Ju River (see map, above). Lin-ch'uan county, about forty miles square, may have numbered 250,000 people in the Northern Sung. Chin-hsi, about the same land area, had 180,000. Lin-ch'uan's population had been small until the Sung, when it grew from town to city size.[63] This kind of growth has been associated in the Sung with a "frontier" type of agricultural and economic expansion.

In cultural terms this is misleading: Lin-ch'uan was not a frontier in the New World sense of pristine territory. It had been settled for at least a thousand years: the calligrapher Wang Hsi-chih (321?–379?) had washed his brushes in Lin-ch'uan's pond; the poet Hsieh Ling-yün (385–433) had served as prefect, and so had the statesman Yen Chen-ch'ing 顏眞卿 (709–785). Shrines and inscriptions were maintained for all three men. The tradition about Wang Hsi-chih said that he once served as administrator 內史 of Lin-ch'uan, where he practiced calligraphy by a pool, which turned black from the amounts of ink he mixed.[64] In later centuries the pool often

Tao-yüan 釋道原 (Sung), *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu* 景德傳燈錄 (1944 edn.; rpt. Taipei: Chen-shan-mei ch'u-pan-she, 1973), *ch.* 6, p. 104.

[63] For published maps, see T'an, *Ti-t'u chi*, vol. 6, p. 26; Hymes, *Statesmen*, pp. 14–17. See also Hymes' population analysis, p. 20; population table, p. 251; history of the Ju River, pp. 12–13.

[64] The tradition dates to Hsün Po-tzu 荀伯子 (378–438), who himself administered Lin-

appeared dark, and lizard-like creatures would float to the surface; students at the prefectural school on the site took this as an omen of examination success.[65] Hsieh Ling-yün also served as Lin-ch'uan's administrator for a year or so, around 431. His assignment there was considered a minor exile.[66] He had a shrine and an Ink Pool of his own, outside Lin-ch'uan on Mount Ling-ku 靈谷山 (The Mountain of the Magic Chasm).[67] Yen Chen-ch'ing, the T'ang political hero and calligrapher, was once exiled to Fu-chou as prefect 刺史. Tseng Kung wrote the "Record" for his shrine at Fu-chou.[68] Thus, from the point of view of those three, posting to Lin-ch'uan had been a form of exile; but from Lin-ch'uan's point of view, the fact that such worthies had once lived there was simply one more cause for pride.

By the Northern Sung, Lin-ch'uan's days as an exile outpost were over. It was the birthplace of two Sung prime ministers: Yen Shu 晏殊 (991–1055) and Wang An-shih. Nearby towns also produced famous men. The region seems to have been a wholesome place to spend a childhood, find a spouse, or retire. But it was no Chin-ling or Kaifeng: none of those luminaries, even Lu Chiu-yüan, would have become famous even had they stayed in their birthplace. Most of Kiangsi was a backwater. Only one or two major trade routes crossed the region; it had not seen famous battles except at the P'o-yang Lake's mouth in the north. It was merchants and people on the edge of society—exiles, homesteaders—who traversed Kiangsi regularly, often on their way to the even remoter regions of Kwangtung or Fukien. Nanchang and the lake had traditionally been considered the "hinterlands" of the Wu kingdom, whose centers lay hundreds of miles east down the Yangtze; and Fu-chou was a hinterland beyond that hinterland.[69] We read of narrow valleys that sternly segmented Fu-chou's terrain; people who "lived

ch'uan about a century later. See T'ung Fan-yen 童範儼 et al., *Lin-ch'uan hsien chih* 臨川縣志 (T'ung-chih edn., 1870) 8, pp. 8a–9a.

[65] Recounted by Han Chü 韓駒 (Northern Sung Kiangsi-school writer), in *Lin-ch'uan hsien chih* 8, p. 8b. Tseng Kung immortalized the site with his "Record of the Ink Pool" 墨池記 (*Tseng Kung chi* 17, p. 279; *Lin-ch'uan hsien chih* 8, pp. 8b–9a).

[66] See *Sung shu* 宋書 (Peking: Chung-hua, 1974) 67, pp. 1774–77.

[67] See *Lin-ch'uan hsien chih* 8, p. 8b; also picture section, p. 12a. The mountain is described below.

[68] Built in 1056. See *Tseng Kung chi* 8, pp. 293–94; *Chiu T'ang shu* 舊唐書 (Peking: Chung-hua, 1975) 128, p. 3595; *Hsin T'ang shu* 新唐書 (Peking: Chung-hua, 1975) 153, p. 4859.

[69] *Shang-shu* lists Lake P'eng-li as a reservoir for Yangchow. (Florian Reiter's "Change and Continuity in Historical Geography: Chang Huang's (1527–1608) Reflections on the *Yü-kung*," *AM* 3d ser. 3.1 [1990], pp. 132–37, touches on Sung and late-Ming commentators' historical understanding of P'eng-li.) Tseng Kung recounts the heritage of Hung-chou, northern Kiangsi's center, in his "Record of Hung-chou's East Gate" 洪州東門記. See Ku Chieh-kang 顧頡剛, *Shang-shu t'ung-chien* 尚書通檢 (1936; rpt. Peking: Shu-mu wen-hsien ch'u-pan-she, 1982) 06.0284; *Tseng Kung chi* 19, p. 313.

off the fruits of their own labor, stayed mindful of trouble," and enjoyed simple pleasures.[70] We learn of I-huang county 宜黃縣, which had never operated a public school;[71] of a farmboy prodigy who could write poetry at age four, but who lost his talent as a teenager because the ignorant villagers worshipped him instead of having him educated.[72] We find more accounts of tigers in the hills than of sophistication in the towns, as Wang An-shih demonstrates:

烏塘	*Raven Pond*[73]
地僻居人少	This land lies isolated: dwellers few,
山稠伏獸多	Mountains thick, lurking beasts abound—
怒狸朝搏鴈	Angry foxes pounce on geese at dawn,
嘷虎夜窺騾	Ravenous tigers eye the mules by night.[74]
籬落生孫竹	Bamboo offspring sprout along the fence,
門庭上女蘿	Creeper-ladies climb up gate and hall—
未應悲寂寞	By rights I should not grieve at the loneliness;
六載一經過	In six years, I have passed this place but once.

Raven Pond, or Black Pond (Wu-t'ang), was east of Lin-ch'uan, near one of the houses of the Wu 吳 family, the clan of Wang's mother as well as his wife. There was Wu property at a place called Blackstone Knob (Wu-shih-

[70] Lu Chiu-yüan, speaking of Chin-hsi county in a letter to fiscal commissioner Sung 宋, *Lu Chiu-yüan chi* 8, pp. 106–7. Being a request for tax relief on behalf of the county's farmers, the letter naturally emphasizes the people's diligence and hardships.

[71] "Record of the I-huang County School" 宜黃縣學記, *Tseng Kung chi* 17, p. 281, year 1049. The entire prefecture of Yün-chou 筠州, southwest of Hung-chou, opened its first school as late as 1066; *Tseng Kung chi* 18, p. 301.

[72] The boy was Fang Chung-yung 方仲永 of Chin-hsi county, about Wang's age. See Wang's essay, "Sorrow for Chung-yung" 傷仲永, in his *Wen-chi* 71, p. 754, and further comments by Ts'ai Shang-hsiang 蔡上翔 (fl. 1804), in his *Wang Ching-kung nien-p'u k'ao-lüeh* 王荊公年譜考略 (Peking: Chung-hua, 1959) 2, p. 46. See also Henry R. Williamson, *Wang An-shih, Chinese Statesman and Educationalist of the Sung Dynasty* (London: Probsthain, 1935–1937), vol. 1, p. 15; Pease, "Wang Anshi," pp. 8–9.

[73] This is regulated verse; see the quatrain "Raven Pond," above. In Li, *Chien-chu Wang shih* 23, p. 3b; Wang, *Wen-chi* 15, p. 203. (Li Pi also found this poem in a "Gazetteer of Lin-ch'uan" 臨川志.) The poem may date from the 1040s or 1050s, before Wang turned forty, and when he still visited Fu-chou often enough to speak of six years between visits.

[74] These two lines use an allusion to emphasize the fact that no one at Raven Pond is resisting the evil beings (beasts or human?) in the area; either because of a lack of will, or lack of a strong leader. The phrases are partially inverted from the *Ch'un-ch'iu Kung-yang chuan* 春秋公羊傳 (Chuang 12.8). The evil Sung Wan 宋萬 had killed the duke. The hero Ch'iu Mu 仇牧 drew his sword and cursed Sung Wan; Sung then split Ch'iu's head open. Ch'iu's teeth lodged in the wood of the great gate. Ch'iu's bravery and righteous wrath were likened to "a dog with young lashing at a tiger, or a broody hen striking at the fox" 乳犬攫虎伏雞搏狸. But at Raven Pond, the foxes are the ones who "strike," and no one lashes back at the tigers.

kang 烏石岡), and more property twenty *li* from there, near Yellowbark Knob (Che-kang; see Wang An-shih's quatrain, "Yellowbark Knob," above). Presumably, Raven Pond lay near these two places. The Wu clan is usually described as being based in Chin-hsi county, east of Lin-ch'uan, but several members are listed as being of Lin-ch'uan; family landholdings evidently straddled the county line. Raven Pond was located either in eastern Lin-ch'uan county or western Chin-hsi county.[75]

This somewhat dry, cryptic poem, describing a wilderness where beasts hold sway over sparse settlers, is hard to reconcile with the "Yellowbark Knob" and "Raven Pond" quatrains given above, which depict the same place as a landscape of blossom-lined embankments where people stroll hand-in-hand. The picture in those quatrains seems truer; it certainly better reveals Wang's affection for the area, where he had spent time as a young man with cousins and in-laws. Perhaps the present poem had a message connected with an occasion: there is another rather obscure poem to Wang's uncle Wu Yen-chen 吳彥珍 (who lived at Che-kang), which seems to mention Wu's not having looked at his fields often.[76] Perhaps the present poem was describing Wu Yen-chen's estate as being lonely and unprotected *because its master was constantly away*. In this case, it might be *Master Wu*, not Wang, who has only visited once in six years.

Another of Wang's uncles laid claim to a more dramatic piece of Fu-chou scenery, the Ling-ku-shan or Mountain of the Magic Chasm, which Wang An-shih described:[77]

[75] See Wang, *Wen-chi* 84, p. 881; 98, pp. 1012, 1014; 100, p. 1028; *Tseng Kung chi* 45, p. 610; Li, *Chien-chu Wang shih* 36, p. 9b; 30, p. 2b; Wang Ling (1032–1059), *Wang Ling chi* 王令集, Shen Wen-cho 沈文倬, ed. (Shanghai: Ku-chi, 1980), p. 405; annotated family tree in Pease, "Wang Anshi," pp. 655, 662. Two sources conflict about Wu-shih-kang's location; neither directly mentions the Raven Pond. (1) Li Pi places Wu-shih-kang in Lin-ch'uan county, thirty *li* outside the town of Lin-ch'uan — presumably to the east, near Chin-hsi. He places Che-kang near Wu-shih-kang; Li, *Chien-chu Wang shih* 30, p. 2b; 34, p. 1b. (2) Shen Ch'in-han puts Wu-shih-kang within Chin-hsi county, forty *li* southwest of Chin-hsi, and Che-kang twenty *li* west of that; Wang An-shih's mother's branch of the Wu family lived beneath Che-kang (Shen, *Wang shih chu* 3, p. 76, quoting a *Ming-sheng chih* 名勝志). Li Pi and Shen Ch'in-han cannot both be right about Wu-shih-kang's location, because there are almost 100 *li* between Lin-ch'uan and Chin-hsi: Wu-shih-kang could not have been thirty *li* from one and forty *li* from the other. But if, as Shen says, Wu-shih-kang was in Chin-hsi and Che-kang was twenty *li* west of Wu-shih-kang, then Che-kang could have stood on the Lin-ch'uan/Chin-hsi county line. That would help explain the confusion about whether the Wu family came from Chin-hsi or Lin-ch'uan. A third source supports the idea that Che-kang was on the Lin-ch'uan/Chin-hsi border, probably near Mount Ling-ku: *Ta Ming i-t'ung chih* 大明一統志 noted a "Hall Where Wang An-shih Once Studied" 王安石讀書堂 on top of Che-kang, listed as sixty *li* west of the Chin-hsi county seat. That would place it on the county line; see Li Hsien 李賢 et al., *Ta Ming i-t'ung chih* (1461 edn.; rpt. Taipei: Wen-hai ch'u-pan-she, 1965) 54, p. 4a [3401].

[76] Li, *Chien-chu Wang shih* 30, p. 2b.

[77] From "Preface to the Poems of Master Ling-ku" 靈谷詩序, Wang, *Wen-chi* 84, p. 881;

> Southeast of our prefectural seat stands the Mountain of the Magic Chasm, a famous peak in the south. From such mountains come a Spirit 神 such as that of dragon and serpent; Brilliance 文章 as of tiger, leopard, and pheasant; and Sturdy Competence 材, as that of cypress, cedar, camphor, and arrow-bamboo. Also finding havens here are spirit groves, ghostly tombs, and the caves of sprites and tiger-goblins, or the uncanny shrines of immortals or of Śakyamuni's elect. And there are ethers, benevolently magical, harmonious and clear, that swirl, spread, and collect between Heaven and Earth: of those ethers, that part that the mass of things and creatures cannot obtain is given to human beings.
>
> Surely it was on such a site that our Eremite Master Wu was born. The Eremite Master dwells at the mountain's base, member of a brave and noble clan that graced our prefecture for five or six generations before producing him. Filial, brotherly, loyal, and faithful, he could have made his mark on the times with his learning. But, alas, he has grown old, and will not emerge to be of use in the world as do those tigers, leopards, and pheasants with their Brilliance, or cypress, cedar, and camphor with their Sturdy Competence. Instead he has turned to conceal his rare spirit, sharing this ground in coexistence with the dragons and serpents . . .

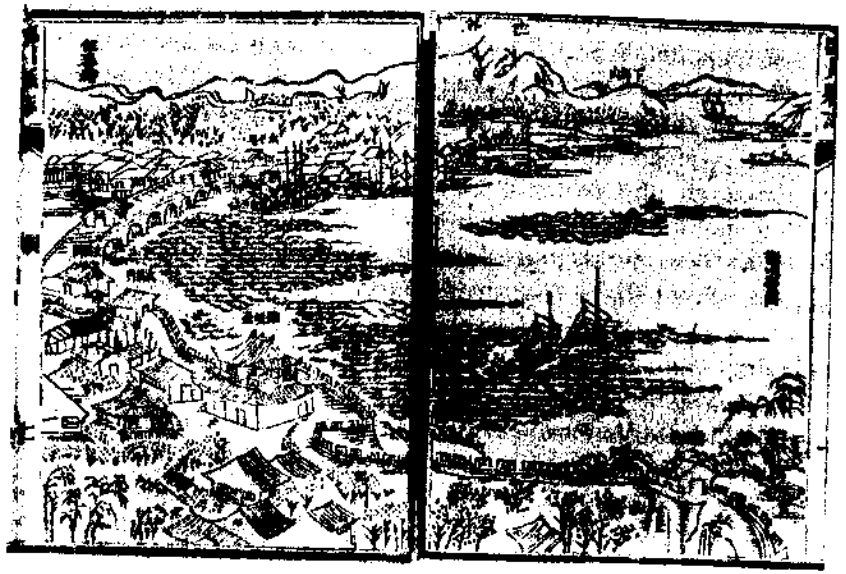
Along with creatures, trees, and Wang An-shih's uncle, the mountain was the site of Hsieh Ling-yün's Ink Pool and shrine. Also, it is said that Wang An-shih himself was reburied there.[78] Standing about ten miles east-southeast of Lin-ch'uan, the mountain was visible from parts of Lin-ch'uan's waterfront.[79] Master Wu, whose exact relationship to Wang is unknown, gave Wang a copy of thirty-two poems he had written, asking for a preface. In that preface (the bulk of which is translated above), Wang praises his uncle's hundreds of poems, saying they were popular in the region. (All are now lost.)

Fu-chou has been called an "upstart prefecture," not important until the Sung. All of its great Sung families, without exception, seem to have traced

undatable, but probably a youthful work.

[78] He was originally interred at Chin-ling where he died, but the remains were transferred to a place behind Mount Ling-ku, on the Chin-hsi side, late in the Southern Sung. Branches of Wang's family, including that of his younger brother Wang An-shang 王安上 at Tung-hsiang 東鄉, remained in Fu-chou; Wang An-shih, who had moved to Chin-ling, had few or no direct descendants. (See information given at Wang An-shih Memorial Hall, Fu-chou.)

[79] According to Wu T'ai's drawing in the accompanying photograph, Ling-ku-shan should be clearly visible from Lin-ch'uan's Mount Hsien Pavilion. See also *Lin-ch'uan hsien chih* 8, p. 8b, and picture section, 11b–12a.



Lin-ch'uan in the late-Ch'ing dynasty, looking southeast across the Ju River, in a foreshortened and simplified view. Upper center: Mt. Ling-ku. Lower left: Mount Hsien Replica Pavilion (Ni Hsien t'ai). Far left, below the page: site of Wang An-shih's family home. There was no bridge in the Northern Sung; the earliest bridge was a floating structure built in 1165, during Lu Chiu-yüan's lifetime. The bridge in the picture, which still stands, dates to 1813. Woodcut from *Lin-ch'uan hsien chih* (see n. 64), picture section, pp. 10b–11a, courtesy of East Asia Library, University of Washington. For bridge data, see Chang T'ien-yu, *Chiang-hsi kung-lu shih*, vol. 1, pp. 48–50 (see n. 61).

their histories to other places; generally they had first settled in the area in the late T'ang or Five Dynasties (Wang's "five or six generations" in the past), having been attracted by its isolation and safety.[80] Being, in that sense, a new region, Fu-chou was not a cultural point of origin. Its more remarkable sights and sounds were inevitably compared with other places: Tseng Kung celebrated Mount Ma-ku 麻姑山 in the style of Li Po's "Tough Road to Shu"; Lu Chiu-yüan, discovering a spectacular peak near his home, wrote how well it rivaled Mount Lu to the north.[81] And on Lin-ch'uan's riverfront we find the "Mount Hsien Replica Pavilion" 擬峴臺, which borrowed for Lin-ch'uan some of the history and charm of Hsiang-yang, the old Han River port far inland from Kiangsi. An aura like Hsiang-yang's does not arise from scenery alone. The real Mount Hsien, which dominates Hsiang-

[80] Hymes analyzes the intricacies of this immigration pattern in *Statesmen*, pp. 65–69.

[81] Tseng's poem is more sedate than Li Po's: *Tseng Kung chi* 4, p. 57. Lu's mountain: "Inscribed on the Wall of the Monastery of Halcyon Clouds" 題翠雲寺壁, *Lu Chiu-yüan chi* 20, pp. 251–52.

yang, was the roaming place of two local governors as early as the Chin; their virtues had become models for local officials everywhere. The beloved, sober, and diplomatically astute governor Yang Hu 羊祜 (221–278) had walked on Mount Hsien to lament life's brevity. After he died, a "Tablet that Makes Tears Fall" 墮淚碑 on the mountain commemorated him. Four decades later, Hsiang-yang's equally beloved, tipsy, "non-action" governor Shan Chien 山簡 (253–312) would take outings and lie drunk among the flowers next to Yang Hu's tablet. Both governors were considered right for their times: Yang Hu for his strategy in winning over for the Chin the still-unconquered state of Wu, which adjoined Hsiang-yang; Shan Chien for his laissez-faire benevolence in a time of drought, famine, and corruption as the dynasty began to collapse.[82]

As soon as Fu-chou's prefect P'ei Ts'ai 裴材 put Mount Hsien's name on a pavilion he built at Lin-ch'uan, Tseng Kung praised his choice of that name, because it called to mind those two benevolent administrators, whose example P'ei presumably would follow.[83] And though Tseng may have overstated the drama of Fu-chou's scenery, and certainly exaggerated its bucolic peace (being peaceful would give it the right to stay free from government meddling), peace and scenery were nonetheless strong ideals, and the pavilion stood into the twentieth century as a monument to them.[84] In Tseng's hidden use of words, prefect P'ei would "follow" 因 Hsiang-yang's worthies and Fu-chou's simple mores, just as wall followed hill, moat followed river, and pavilion followed wall:[85]

> Master P'ei of the old Chin kingdom, vice-director of the Ministry of Portals in the Imperial Secretariat, during his second year as Fu-chou's prefect, used the eastern corner of the city wall to build a pavilion for

[82] *Chin shu* 34, pp. 1013–22; 43, pp. 1228–30.

[83] Tseng even names P'ei's homeland as the old "Chin" kingdom (modern Shansi), possibly in order to emphasize the connection with Hsiang-yang's two Chin-dynasty governors. Prefect P'ei is identified as P'ei Ts'ai by Li (*Chien-chu Wang shih* 35, p. 10b). We know nothing about him.

[84] The pavilion figures prominently in Ch'ing-dynasty depictions of Lin-ch'uan, and apparently still stood in the 1930s, although nothing remains of it now. See Wu T'ai's drawing in the accompanying photograph. For a map of Lin-ch'uan showing the pavilion, see *Lin-ch'uan hsien hsien-cheng kai-k'uang* 臨川縣縣政概況 (Lin-ch'uan: Lin-ch'uan jih-pao she, 1934). Present-day information courtesy of Prof. Chiang Feng-hsien of Fu-chou Teacher's College. I am also grateful to T'ao Chih-yung and T'ao Chih-ch'iang for helpful information.

[85] Abridged version of "Ni Hsien-t'ai chi" 擬峴臺記, *Tseng Kung chi* 18, pp. 291–92. Dated 1057, ninth month, ninth day. See also Wang An-shih's poem for the pavilion: Li, *Chien-chu Wang shih* 35, p. 10b, probably dating to the next year (1058), when Wang passed through Lin-ch'uan; and an interesting six-character *p'ai-lü* poem by the Kiangsi-school Lin-ch'uan poet Hsieh I 謝逸, in his *Hsi-t'ang chi* 溪堂集, SKCS chen-pen edn. (Taipei: Shang-wu, 1975), vol. 293, *ch.* 4, pp. 3b–4a.

outings. He named it "The Mount Hsien Replica Pavilion," saying that the contours of mountain and river amounted to a re-creation of Mount Hsien . . .

Since early times, on the east side of the city, the wall has followed a large hill while its outer ditch parallels the large riverbed. The corner of the wall juts into the river on a landfill. One could sit at this spot and see linked mountains and high hills, wild groves, desolate mounds, and all the other sights that rimmed the city's south and east—whether near or far, high or low, grand, broad, queer or delightful . . . (But it was decayed and overgrown. Prefect P'ei rebuilt it.)

So now prefect P'ei has built a pavilion, in which people can shake off their dust and grime, transcend annoyances, and come into the cloudy air to gaze down at wind and rain. Here, vast shifting gravel bars, distant breeze-music, sounding waves whose rolling surge can batter mountains and uproot trees; those tall masts and tough prows, sandflat birds and water beasts, every rising, dipping, bobbing and sinking thing—all these now show beneath one's shoes. And the mountains' murky blue and dainty cliffs, jutting crags that thrust upward to grasp the light and nudge the constellations; flat knolls and long plateaus where tiger and panther crouch, dragon and serpent walk abroad, barren canyons tumble in heaps, tree shade palls, and wanderers on their journeys appear in broken glimmers—all these can now be seen from a banquet mat. Mist and clouds that drift or join; sun rays that peek out or disappear; the seasons, dawn and dusk, rain and clearing, brightness and shadow; all these things change in ways too varied to describe completely, no matter how one fails to tire of it all, or how clever one might be.

Some come to drench themselves in drink, some sing with frenzied heat, or leisurely step with tranquil gaze, or pace, wander and lean on the rail; so that even though delight has different sources—whether it come through eyes and ears, or through the mind—each person finds the delight that is most fitting.

Fu-chou is not a thoroughfare, nor do the travel routes of grand men and wealthy merchants lead here. Abundant in good soil, the district suffers little from drought, grubs or weevils. Planting and silkworming make the people happy and provide them support; thus cattle and horses that herd in the valleys are not brought in, grain piled in outlying fields is not siloed, yet all abide in peace, and none are acquainted with drummed alarms or orders for induction.[86] This prefect has followed those local ways, governing simply and tranquilly; that is how he can find repose on his day of rest, and take his pleasure here. Gentlemen and gentlewomen of the prefecture, delighting in such peace and order, and further finding beauty in roaming and gazing, do also share his pleasure . . .

The writers in this study seem to have shared certain qualities that suggest Fu-chou's evolution from obscure hinterland to prosperous, powerful hinterland. These qualities were not unique to Fu-chou (and, again, unique qualities may not be the ones that best describe a region); they are also surely oversimplified. And it is questionable what the equivalent Chinese words should be. Still, as an experiment, these qualities might be listed as homespun character, independence, and pragmatism.

Homespun Character

"Homespun" does not mean "rough-hewn." It does imply being sincere even at the risk of appearing contrary or foolish. It also implies being openly acquainted with the details of farming and hunting, and respectful (on paper at least) of those who do such things for a livelihood. Of the writers in this study, none were actual farmers, but all came from families that had been sustained by landholding, both before and after they counted officeholders among them. The region's economy was based on land, both cultivated and tapped as wilderness. Ties to the land involved a genuine, not just symbolic, preoccupation with economic and cultural *roots* 本 rather than *branches* 末, agriculture rather than trade, and artless honesty rather than dissembling urbanity. Tseng Kung comes to mind in this regard. One notes the personal frankness that enlivened his prose and even some of his verse; also the warmth of character that shows in his support for friends and in his accounts of his enormous family: how they all stayed loyally at Lin-ch'uan where their grandmother preferred to live, until she died in her nineties; or how Tseng built himself a study cottage so he could remove himself slightly from family activity, and have some chance to study for a career.[87]

"Homespun" does not fit Wang An-shih quite as well as it does Tseng Kung. But Wang as an official was famous for trying to understand the

[86] For a less rosy estimate of Fu-chou's social calm, specifically related to this passage, see Hymes, *Statesmen*, pp. 11–13.

[87] Poems about family: *Tseng Kung chi* 4, pp. 52–53; self-portrait: 4, p. 54; family mentioned in letter: 15, p. 245; study cottage: 17, p. 284; family tomb inscriptions: 46, p. 636; inscription for Tseng Kung's father: Wang, *Wen-chi* 93, pp. 959–60.

details of productive labor, including farming and water technology. He designed his agricultural and economic reforms to benefit the smallest farmers directly, not gradually through trickle-down measures oriented to the elite. (How well his plans worked is another issue.) Scores of Wang's poems reveal a scrupulous sympathy for country people, based on intimate knowledge. As for his more private qualities, we are reminded that from "homespun" to "homely" is only a short distance, and it is not much farther to "slovenly." Sung raconteurs traversed this distance with ease in Wang's case, as they described and embellished his unwashed face and sloppy habits in story after story. Most of those anecdotes are set in the capital, where his provincialism appeared in bold relief. They gain a bit of credence from the fact that he even made fun of himself, implying once that he was so ugly he must have been a successor to Confucius—another man, reportedly less than handsome, who had maintained simple values in the face of opportunism and corruption.[88]

Independence

It is sometimes tinged with a stubborn shrewdness, and shows in Lu Chiu-yüan, whose philosophy staked a claim outside both Buddhism and intellectualism. Lu's faith in each man's native intuition, his rejection of excessive "investigation" into things, his delight at perceiving obvious phenomena that had escaped the gaze of famous Buddhist masters, and especially the nonchalant way in which he said that the Six Classics could be mere footnotes for him as long as he knew the fundamentals—all are integral to his system of thought. That thought in turn may have some grounding in Fu-chou's self-reliant ways.[89]

[88] The more probable anecdotes include: (1) Not bothering to bathe unless brought to a bath-house; Yeh Meng-te 葉夢得 (1077–1148), *Shih-lin yen-yü* 石林燕語 (Ts'ung-shu chi-ch'eng 叢書集成 edn.) 10, p. 98; also in Shen, *Wang shih chu* 3, p. 81; Pease, "Wang Anshi," p. 41. Less reliable version, Chu Pien 朱弁 (d. 1154), *Ch'ü-yü chiu-wen* 曲洧舊聞 (Ts'ung-shu chi-ch'eng edn.) 10, p. 80. (2) Refusing to wash the grime off his face, because nature had put it there; Shen Kua 沈括 (1030–1094), *Hsin chiao-cheng Meng-hsi pi-t'an* 新校正夢溪筆談 (1957 edn.; rpt. Hong Kong: Chung-hua, 1978) 9, p. 109, no. 168; Pease, "Wang Anshi," p. 42. (3) Wang's sloppiness compared to his wife's fastidiousness; Chu Yü 朱彧 (1075?–after 1119), *P'ing-chou k'o-t'an* 萍州可談 (Ts'ung-shu chi-ch'eng edn.) 3, p. 42; Shen, *Wang shih chu* 1, p. 28; Pease, "Wang Anshi," p. 169. (4) Wang joking about his own face: "To Liu Pin's Rhymes at a Banquet" 和貢父燕集之作, in Li, *Chien-chu Wang shih* 10, p. 8a; Pease, "Wang Anshi," p. 42.

[89] Lu's beliefs are summarized in Wing-tsit Chan, *A Source Book in Chinese Philosophy* (Princeton: Princeton U.P., 1963), pp. 572–87. On Buddhists' being selfish: letter to Wang Shun-po 王順伯, *Lu Chiu-yüan chi* 2, p. 17; Chan, *Source Book*, pp. 583–84. "The Six Classics are my Footnotes," *Lu Chiu-yüan chi* 34, p. 395; Chan, p. 580. Also note Lu's rather Reaganesque demands for tax reductions, analyzed in Hymes, *Statesmen*, pp. 124–26.

Wang An-shih was another independent thinker. Wang's Ming-dynasty nickname, "His Stubbornship" (*Ao hsiang-kung* 拗相公) was based on a doggedness in his nature that has been somewhat exaggerated.[90] But there is no mistaking Wang's life-long disdain for the "tides of mediocrity" 流俗, whether in literature, government, or economic thought; or of the radicalism in his maverick theories of statecraft. He drew these theories from every source that made sense to him, even unorthodox, working-class, or seemingly irrelevant sources.[91] When he reached high office in the capital, he found an intriguing symbol in the mountain shrikes, who had established a perch inside the palace walls but did not realize how incongruous they sounded with their provincial springtime tunes.[92] Su Shih compared Wang, even more aptly, to "an old fox spirit from the moors" 此老野狐精也.[93] The "moors" are the hinterlands 野, where the imperial court banishes wrongdoers against it as well as those whom it has wronged; the birthplace of unmanageable and unpredictable geniuses, whether heroes or rebels; the best place to nourish a wild fox's mind. Su Shih came from a hinterland himself, but his own Szechwan plateau did not suggest fox spirits to him. Lin-ch'uan evidently did. And to Wang himself, the mountains around Lin-ch'uan (including his uncle's hermit retreat) were a realm of leopards, dragons, and other ghostly beings whose existence blended with that of

[90] The nickname (lit. "Obstinate Prime Minister") was made famous in the Ming story "His Stubbornship Drinks a Remorseful Draught at Halfway Hill" 拗相公飲恨半山堂, in Feng Meng-lung 馮夢龍 (1572–1646), *Ching-shih t'ung-yen* 警世通言 (Hong Kong: Chung-hua, 1978), *ch.* 4, pp. 38–50; trans. as "The Stubborn Chancellor," in Richard F. S. Yang, *Eight Colloquial Tales of the Sung* (Taipei: China Post, 1972).

[91] "Reply to Tseng Kung" 答曾子固書, in Wang, *Wen-chi* 73, p. 778; trans. Williamson, *Wang An-shih* 1, p. 367.

[92] "Sunny Spring Weather Behind the Examination Hall" 崇政殿後春晴即事, Li, *Chien-chu Wang shih* 45, p. 5b; trans. Pease, "Wang Anshi," p. 513. Probable date: 1061, age 40.

[93] We have only anecdotal sources for this quotation; traceable to the non-extant *Hsi-ch'ing shih-hua* 西清詩話 (Sung dyn.). See Chiang Shao-yü 江少虞 (*c.s.* ca. 1115, d. after 1145), *Sung-ch'ao shih-shih lei-yüan* 宋朝事實類苑 (Shanghai: Ku-chi, 1981) 39, p. 508; Ts'ai Cheng-sun 蔡正孫 (Sung), *Shih-lin kuang-chi* 詩林廣記 (Peking: Chung-hua, 1982) 2, p. 219; Wang Wen-kao 王文誥 (ca. 1822), annot., *Su Shih shih-chi* 蘇軾詩集 (Peking: Chung-hua, 1982) 27, p. 1449. The above sources all link the comment to a poem by Wang "Inscribed on the Wall of the Western Tabernacle of the Great Unity" 題西太乙宮壁 (Li, *Chien-chu Wang shih* 40, p. 13b; trans. Pease, "Wang Anshi," p. 465). Another source links the comment to a *tz'u* by Wang: "Treasuring Chin-ling's Past, to the Tune 'Kuei-chih hsiang'" 桂枝香金陵懷古 (Wang, *Wen-chi* 37, p. 400; trans. Pease, "Wang Anshi," p. 449). Su Shih, upon reading that *tz'u*, reportedly said, "This venerable man is truly a fox-spirit of the moors!" 此老乃野狐精也. See anon., *Ch'ün-ying ts'ao-t'ang shih-yü* 群英草堂詩餘 (Southern Sung, before 1195; 1343 edn.; rpt. Kyoto, 1980), *ch.* 2A, p. 140. About Kiangsi foxes, see Kao Tzu-ang 高子昂, "T'an hu" 談狐, *Chiang-hsi wen-hsien* 91 (Jan. 2, 1978), pp. 61–62.

men.[94] Chu Hsi, from Fukien, often castigated the ornery side of Kiangsi independence. He specifically disparaged Wang An-shih and Lu Chiu-yüan for sharing in the "Kiangsi gentlemen's trait" of "loving to concoct weird theories. They cringe at the thought of agreeing with other people, so they constantly pose dissenting ideas by which they can come out on top."[95]

Pragmatism

Trust in homely virtues and maverick cunning also entailed a preference for the practical and useful. Among all four writers, Confucianism was generally valued over Buddhism, the teaching's socially compassionate side was valued over its theoretical and introspective sides; while within Confucianism, the innovative, activist schools seem more prominent than those that taught contentment with one's lot.[96] Practicality and activism were fitting for people — even the elite — in a frontier region where the prevailing necessity was to do things, make things, and think things for oneself.

FEN-NING: ELEGANT CLUMSINESS

Fu-chou was only a prefecture, not a discrete cultural entity. Qualities attributed to it should be viewed as part of the larger northern-Kiangsi culture described above. To gain another view of that culture, it is interesting to look at a smaller unit, Fen-ning county, a remote corner of Hung-chou, about 110 miles northwest of Lin-ch'uan as the crow flies, and considerably farther over river and land. Fen-ning seems more tough and wily than Lin-

[94] Szechwan was remote, but had been settled Chinese territory for several centuries longer than Kiangsi had. The Szechwan spirit, subtly different from what we hear about Kiangsi, is well summarized by Tso Ssu 左思 (ca. 250–ca. 305): "A warp of spirit marvels, a weft of human reason" 一經神怪一緯人理; in "Rhapsody on the Capital of Shu" 蜀都賦, *Wen-hsüan* 文選 (Kuo-hsüeh chi-pen ts'ung-shu edn.) 4, p. 92.

[95] Li Ching-te 黎靖德 (Sung), comp., *Chu-tzu yü-lei* 朱子語類 (1473 edn.; rpt. Taipei: Cheng-chung shu-chü, n.d.) 124, p. 3b [4758]. Quoted with several similar statements, in Ch'ien Chung-shu 錢鍾書, *T'an-i lu* 談藝錄, rev. edn. (Peking: Chung-hua, 1984), p. 85.

[96] Lu Chiu-yüan's anti-Buddhist and somewhat anti-intellectual Confucianism has been mentioned. Wang An-shih entered the Buddhist faith gradually, limiting it largely to his personal life. He linked Buddhist philosophy with statecraft only twice on record: once was when he wrote that government bureaucrats could learn about discipline and order by studying how the Buddhists ran their temples (Wang, *Wen-chi* 83, p. 871; Pease, "Wang Anshi," pp. 223–24). The second instance comes from hearsay; it is said that Wang, while debating in the imperial court, compared the ideal Confucian recluse to the Boddhisattva. The reporter of this story was not always scrupulous about truth: it was Wei T'ai 魏泰 (ca. 1050–1110), *Tung-hsüan pi-lu* 東軒筆錄 (Pai-hai ts'ung-shu 稗海叢書 edn.) 9, p. 1a. Wang An-shih's pragmatic moral and economic thought was anticipated by another Fu-chou man, Li Kou. Li was only a dozen years older than Wang, but it is unclear if they ever met each other.

ch'uan, an impression partly derived from a spirited criticism by Tseng Kung:[97]

> People of Fen-ning live diligently and give alms stingily. Their sense of chivalry being rather shallow, they prefer contention; it is the local way. To come to Fen-ning from the prefectural seat [Nanchang] is a journey of 500 *li* into the farthest reaches of a valley. The people work at farming and mulberrying, each family leaving only one member to watch the house and bring food to the fields, while all the others work outside. In those fields, which may be high or low, stony or rich, they plant different grains, the best kind for each spot, never wasting a plot of ground. Daughters and wives work at silkworms and weaving, not a lazy one among them. Tea, salt, honey, paper, bamboo, lumber, rushes, and all things tiny or great made from those materials, they handle through their own labor as much as they can. That is how diligent they are.
>
> Wealthy families, holding land by the thousands of *mu*, store grain and lock away their money for year upon year, withdrawing nothing from the storehouses. To part with one coin, to their view, is tantamount to giving up life itself, and in fact they would rather die than give away anything at all. How can one expect them to contribute to charity? They cannot allow conflicting claims over even a grain of millet: when such claims arise, they square off like chess rivals — father against son, brother against brother, husband versus wife. When even intimates are so intransigent, one can see how shallow their chivalry must be!
>
> When clan elders and youth sit in village lanes, their talk is of the law. A slight clash of opinion will set them accusing and exposing each other, forming factions, deceiving and exaggerating, bribing and worming their way to the officials' eyes and ears. Some go so far as to draw or carve official seals out of metal or wood, and forge documents to deceive the clerks. They stand beneath the county hall, coming out with a thousand lies a day, and do not submit even if they have to court death by beating and caning. Is there another county anywhere that comes close to such a love of litigation?
>
> Diligent though these people are, they do have these habits, which have seeped into their marrow. That is why the better magistrates and governors, enlisting the clerks in a common front, often lament how

[97] Excerpt from "Record of the Yün-feng Temple at Fen-ning County" 分寧縣雲峰院記, *Tseng Kung chi* 12, p. 272. Written at the temple's request, dated 1043, ninth month, twenty-eighth day. Tseng was twenty-four.

hard it is to instill any teachings or cause the people to shift their ways . . .

Tseng's youthful chiding was partly slanted by its purpose to highlight the Yün-feng Temple's achievement at operating with so few alms and donations, and to cajole the people into giving it more. As a potential government officer should, Tseng also made sure he praised the people's diligence even as he advised them of their defects. Huang T'ing-chien, who was born at Fen-ning only two years after Tseng made his assessment, described not only Fen-ning but all of Kiangsi as "a people who keep writing brushes handy at their ears" 珥筆之民, for whom "talent consists of being able to carry a lawsuit through to the end" 以終訟爲能. The only exceptions were the scholarly class ("refined and civilized" 秀而文), and Yün-chou prefecture 筠州 (now Kao-an 高安, southwest of Nanchang). County magistrates in Kiangsi who were not careful would find themselves mostly "presiding at trials and searching for bandits" 聽獄求盜.[98]

Huang, however, despite coming from the scholarly class's most refined stratum, was not entirely free of the traits he criticized. He was sent to Huai-nan for schooling as a teenager, and served for much of his career in the north, but his belligerent, staccato calligraphy suggests that he kept parts of Kiangsi with him. Some of Huang's poetry is simple and serene: he emulated Tu Fu, who could compose in complicated ways but usually kept the effect unforced. But in much of Huang's poetry, his high-strung manner—in which unexpected words are hurled down like a shower of gauntlets from a burning-eyed knight—differs from Tu Fu's style as Eliot's does from Keats's. If Wang An-shih represented stubborn individualism for Fu-chou, Huang T'ing-chien could easily do the same for Hung-chou.

But Huang's work leads us to another aesthetic concept, more specific and important for defining Kiangsi than the general term "individualism": this is the quality of awkwardness (*cho* 拙). "Awkwardness" was specifically valued over "cleverness" (*ch'iao* 巧). Cleverness had been condemned in Chinese aesthetics since Ch'ü Yüan: "How stubborn this Art and Cleverness of the Timely fashion, / That would flout compass and square, and change the plan" 固時俗之工巧兮偭規矩而改錯.[99] "Cleverness" was linked with the

[98] Preface to "Rhapsody on Kiangsi's Temple of the Tao" 江西道院賦, and "Record of the Library at Fen-ning County, Hung-chou" 洪州分寧縣藏書閣記 (Huang, *Wen-chi* 1, p. 4b; 13, p. 5b).

[99] "Li sao" 離騷, l. 89. In *Ch'u-tz'u pu-chu* 楚辭補注 (SPPY edn.) 1, p. 12a; cf. David Hawkes, *The Songs of the South: An Anthology of Ancient Chinese Poems by Qu Yuan and Other Poets* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1985), p. 70.

machinations of liars and manipulators, and by extension with the skill of facile poets whose "worm-carving" masterpieces served no purpose except to encourage princes in their vanity.[100] Poets rejected cleverness not just because it led to an overpolished style, but also because of the perversions that came from overly glib content.

The next logical step beyond condemning cleverness was actually to praise awkwardness. Few poets did this seriously before the Sung. Those who did found a precedent in the forty-fifth section of *Tao-te ching*, which mentions a higher or "Great Cleverness" that "resembles Awkwardness" 大巧若拙, just as "Great Eloquence resembles a stammer" 大辯若訥.[101] The earliest poet to be widely viewed as actually embodying awkwardness in his work (although he did not invent the concept) was T'ao Ch'ien of Kiangsi, whose apparent lack of artifice removed his poetry as far from that of the court as his farming career was from the official's life that he refused to pursue.[102] Huang T'ing-chien—who did serve in office, did not till the land, and lived in safer times—emulated T'ao Ch'ien with an assiduously studied awkwardness, which he hoped could give his verse true elegance (*ya* 雅) and ward off banality (*su* 俗). "It is better for lines to scan amiss than to be weak; better to use words unskillfully if it can keep the language from being banal" 寧律不諧而不使句弱用字不工不使語俗, wrote Huang. And about T'ao Ch'ien, he asked, "How can one explain T'ao Ch'ien's awkwardness and freedom to one who does not comprehend" 淵明之拙與放豈可爲不知者道哉?[103]

Huang was right in saying that awkwardness cannot be explained. It is a flavor, not a quantifiable fact. It also may not be the precise word to describe Huang's writing, since he was too skilled a poet to be clumsy, except as a deliberate act. (When he practiced calligraphy with a cheap chicken-feather brush, it was in order to write in an artistically new way, not to imitate the

[100] "Worm-carving" refers to youthful literature more ornate than useful. In *Yang-tzu fa-yen* 揚子法言 2:2. Discussed in David R. Knechtges, *The Han Rhapsody: A Study of the Fu of Yang Hsiung* (Cambridge: Cambridge U.P., 1976), p. 95.

[101] See also *Tao-te ching* 19: "Renounce Cleverness, eschew Profit, and bandits and thieves shall cease to be" 絕巧棄利盜賊無有.

[102] T'ao wrote of himself: "My nature is hard, my talents awkward, I often clash with the things around me . . ." 性剛才拙與物多忤. And, "Holding onto Awkwardness, I came back to the farm" 守拙歸園田. See "Epistle to My Son T'ao Yen and My Other Sons" 與子儼等疏, in T'ao, *[Wen] chi* 7, p. 2; "Returning to the Farm to Dwell" 歸園田居, no. 1, ibid. 2, p. 7. Cf. Davis, *T'ao Yüan-ming* 1, p. 228 (*cho* rendered as "feeble"); p. 45 (rendered as "rusticity").

[103] "Colophon to I-k'o's Poems" 題意可詩後, in Huang, *Wen-chi* 26, pp. 11b–12a. Quoted in Hu, *T'iao-hsi* 3, p. 20; analyzed in Chang Chien 張健, *Sung Chin ssu-chia wen-hsüeh p'i-p'ing yen-chiu* 宋金四家文學批評研究 (Taipei: Lien-ching ch'u-pan-she, 1975), p. 146.

shortcomings of the brush's normal lower-middle-class users.)[104] His and Wang An-shih's poetry convey another quality, related to awkwardness but harder to name. We might tentatively call it workmanship, for which the closest Chinese word should be *kung* 工, quite different from *ch'iao*. It is the kind of craftsmanship that is intended to make things work well, not to dazzle or impress. Clumsiness may sometimes be a country *trait*, but it is not a country *virtue*. Plainness *is* a country virtue, however, and so is solid workmanship. Farm tools work best if they are made well and simply. The same aesthetic—good workmanship on plain principles—could also apply to provincial poetry.[105] The standard of workmanship would be especially stringent in the poetry of provincial people who were broadly educated, well-traveled, and rose by the proper channels to the nation's highest elite. In the writings of Wang An-shih and Huang T'ing-chien, who were such people, we often find fastidious antithesis, hidden manipulation of allusions, and erudite literary borrowing, yet these mesh into a linguistic surface that is "bland, flat, and amiable," even humdrum at times.[106] Such poems may not dazzle a stranger in the first reading, but a discerning reader can sense how well they "work." This is skill. If it is in fact called awkwardness, it is only in order to distinguish it from the "cleverness" that fashionably poses as sophistication, but is actually corrupt, self-serving, or vain. If we think of Wang's and Huang's poetry as being built with sincere provincial craftsmanship, it ends by differing from T'ao Ch'ien's only in degree, not in kind. His workmanship was based on as much talent as theirs, but was less polished because he did not have their cosmopolitan education or careers. All three poets were workmanlike; and all three could be considered awkward at least in the sense of not being clever. This would fit the Kiangsi traits of rusticity, independence, and practicality mentioned above. These traits seem to have been admired throughout the Sung, and not just in Kiangsi. Perhaps even more significant is the fact that it was the Sung poets who finally elevated T'ao Ch'ien—possessor of such traits—into the highest literary rank.

[104] He mentioned buying such brushes for three coppers and finding them usable; but none of his extant calligraphy can be identified as being written with them. See Weng K'ai-yün 翁闓運, "Lun Huang T'ing-chien ti shu-fa" 論黃庭堅的書法, *Shu-fa* 書法 35 (1984.2), p. 19.

[105] Farm tools come to mind because they were a poetic subject for several Sung writers. Mei Yao-ch'en 梅堯臣 (1002–1060) and Wang An-shih each composed fifteen "Farm Tool Poems" 農具詩 in response to a set by a Sun Tuan-sou 孫端叟. Each poem treats a tool, providing details about its function, and taking the expected ideological stance in favor of workmanship, unstinting labor, and rural purity. Wang also wrote a noted quatrain as prime minister, in favor of labor-saving technology (read: pragmatic ideas), represented by the well-sweep. He was rebutting an earlier poem by former premier Yen Shu that had rejected the well-sweep as a "gimmick": a plain "jug" would be simpler and morally richer, implied Yen (with similar Kiangsi doggedness?). But Wang was viewing the well-sweep and similar equipment as tools, not gimmicks. The "wellsweep" debate goes back to *Chuang-tzu* 14; trans. A. C. Graham, *Chuang-tzu: The Inner Chapters* (London: George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., 1981), pp. 186–87. For Mei's farm-tool poems: Chu Tung-jun 朱東潤, comp., *Mei Yao-ch'en chi pien-nien chiao-chu* 梅堯臣集編年校注 (Shanghai: Ku-chi, 1980) 27, p. 912. Wang's farm-tool series: Li, *Chien-chu Wang shih* 15, p. 7b. Well-sweep poems: ibid. 44, p. 11a; trans. Pease, "Wang Anshi," pp. 297–99.

[106] For more detailed discussion, with examples, see Pease, "Wang Anshi," pp. 233–44. "Workmanship" has been named as the inner trait of Wang's poetry, by the Kiangsi-school poet Ch'en Shih-tao: see his *Hou-shan chi* 後山集 (SPPY edn.) 23, p. 3a. Huang T'ing-chien's poetry was labeled by Ch'en as "strange" 奇; but careful reading shows that Huang's "strangeness" was built on a foundation of "workmanship" just as meticulous as Wang's. On "bland, flat, and amiable," Lu Chiu-yüan's words, see n. 3, above.

WELLSPRINGS

Above are a few features of northern Kiangsi's literary geography, a heritage that every Kiangsi intellectual shared. T'ao Ch'ien's legacy was important above all. P'eng-tse, where he had governed for eighty days before rushing back to his farm in relief, should be considered the place where Kiangsi ended.[107] It is no accident that Tseng Kung, outward bound one year, realized with a shock, "I am a thousand *li* from home!" exactly on the day he sailed out of P'eng-tse.

發彭澤	*Leaving P'eng-tse*[108]
臥聞櫓聲知雨來	Bunked down, I heard the sculls and knew a rain was coming
起見江流與天合	So I arose to watch the river flow to its union with the sky:
山回風吹霧不盡	Mountains curve, wind blows fogs unceasing
帆健船衝浪相沓	The sail strong up, boat plunging at the waves waves slap the boat—
歸雲難乘望空斷	It would be hard to ride those homeward clouds, the very view stops in empty space.
落日乍掩涼可納	Sunset is blocked in an instant: cool air for the taking.

[107] "Come Home, Come Home" 歸去來辭, T'ao, *[Wen] chi* 5, pp. 9–13; trans. Davis, *T'ao Yüan-ming* 1, pp. 191–94. By Ming times, visitors to P'eng-tse could tour yet another "Ink Rinsing Pool," where T'ao Ch'ien had washed his inkstone. Nearby stood his "Moon-Toying Terrace" 翫月臺 (*Ta-Ming i-t'ung chih* 50, p. 20b [3346], 22b [3350]; also mentioned in T'ao, *[Wen] chi*, p. 21). Across the river from P'eng-tse is Hsiao-ku-shan 小孤山 (Little Lonely Island), a pillar of rock on the flat northern bank that makes P'eng-tse feel like a gateway or checkpoint along the Yangtze's course.

[108] *Tseng Kung chi* 3, p. 44; undatable, but the surprise with which his homesickness strikes him suggests a youthful work.

去家今夜一千里　Tonight I am one thousand leagues from home.
誰見愁來坐方榻　Who could have seen these worries coming
seated on the pallet bed?

The use of understated imagery in a regulated form is Sung; water merging with sky is Kiangsi. The homesick gaze tempered by frank enjoyment of cool air is a legacy from Tu Fu's mood mixtures: Tu Fu's mixing was further developed by Sung poets, in verses that calmly treated multiple emotions as natural rather than paradoxical. But the inventor of this way of seeing seems to have been T'ao Ch'ien.

Huang T'ing-chien, who became the quintessential Kiangsi poet, clearly found T'ao Ch'ien not only an inspiration but a poetic and philosophical forebear. Before he discovered Tu Fu, Huang took his local predecessor T'ao's book on outings, as he recounted at age sixteen:

Preface to "A Riverside Chant"[109]

Hills in spring! Birds chirping, rain fell fresh, the sky cleared. Sandbank grass shot up with a wrath, bamboos fast and slender twined their shades. Master Huang, after viewing fishing at the pond, went to seek the season at a Peach Blossom Spring in miniature. With him he took three or four fellows—river people's boys, children, paddy hands; also the tea urn, the wine gourd, and an album of T'ao Ch'ien's poems. And though he issued "nary an order nor a caution," he was unfailingly supplied therefrom by those who were at his side:[110]

> And so we gaze over azure ripples, fingering the white stones, chanting a few of T'ao's verses. The spring breeze airs our clothes for us, friendly birds host our drinking.

And when he grew steeped and empty, tethered to nothing, bound by nothing, yet still lingering fondly among rule and square, inkline and standard—which have their felicitous points as always, it was then that he realized how much meaning in T'ao Ch'ien's verse had escaped the understanding of the White Lotus circle.[111] If T'ao Ch'ien passed a wine-

[109] This is the complete preface to "Hsi-shang yin" 溪上吟, in Huang, *Shan-ku, wai-chi* 1, p. 6a [1145]. Annotations date it to 1061, age seventeen *sui*, when Huang was at school in Yangchow.

[110] "Nary an order nor a caution" 雖不命戒: paraphrase from *Mencius* 3A:2, about a prince whose sincere demeanor alone is enough to let his subordinates know how they must act. Huang and his followers, cooperating like wind and grass, demonstrate how to behave "within the bounds" of the Confucian way.

[111] Hui-yüan and his White Lotus group depended on living and thinking "outside the pale" to achieve understanding. But T'ao Ch'ien knew how to find more substantial truth within a layman's life. (See n. 45, above.)

> house, he would drink, and "without measure" too, yet did not grow overly inebriated. Thus it must be that though he put his store by the same thing as the bibulous Masters Pi Cho 畢卓 and Liu Ling 劉伶, he could yet declare that what he gained from it was of a different order.[112] And who can know if that was not the case? In the *extasie* of wine, when paper came to me I wrote the following, as a "Riverside Chant" . . . (The poem follows, not translated.)

With a light touch reminiscent of T'ao's, though with some schoolboy diction and without T'ao's rough spots or surprises, Huang celebrates T'ao's poetry as indispensable for enjoying a spring day. But his real argument has to do with how to drink; this extends to the question of how to write, and how to conduct oneself in the world. Huang finds in T'ao a model of moderation: how to achieve total "ecstasy," full "inebriation," yet temper it with a well-grounded character that does not stray from the proper path. This Sung picture of T'ao as a man who found freedom within proper bounds—within Confucianism, in fact—is instructive, in view of other assessments that emphasize his plebeian roughness, his factional affiliations, and the contradictions or complications in his thought. From Huang T'ing-chien's treatment of T'ao Ch'ien we can see how simple gentility was also an ingredient in the Kiangsi flavor.

Wang An-shih was another influence on Huang T'ing-chien. How much Wang's poetry affected Huang's cannot be answered without analyzing large numbers of poems. But Huang did feel an emotional link with Wang An-shih that transcended their political and age differences, as well as the likely fact that they had never met. When Huang styled himself "Shan-ku" 山谷 after a canyon where he had been stirred by the same sights that had affected Wang thirty years earlier, and wrote an answer to Wang's poem carved at the site, Huang was linking himself, consciously or not, into a chain of Kiangsi poets: T'ao Ch'ien, Wang An-shih, and now himself.[113] This

[112] Pi Cho and Liu Ling were archetypal drinkers from the century before T'ao Ch'ien's. Liu Ling (d. after 265) was outwardly the most bibulous and uninhibited among the "Seven Worthies of the Bamboo Grove" 竹林七賢. Pi Cho (d. ca. 329), living midway between Liu Ling's time and T'ao Ch'ien's, served as a high official but also belonged to the notorious bohemian band of "Eight Free Spirits" 八達 during the Western Chin's decline. Huang T'ing-chien seems to be criticizing Liu Ling and Pi Cho on the same grounds as were used by their contemporary Yüeh Kuang 樂廣 (252–304): "In the Moral Teaching 名教 itself there are also enjoyable places. Why go to such lengths?" (*Shih-shuo hsin-yü* I/23; trans. Mather, *Shih-shuo*, p. 12). For accounts of Liu Ling, see *Chin shu* 49, p. 1375; *Shih-shuo hsin-yü* IV/69; XIV/13; XXIII/1, 3, 6. For Pi Cho, see *Chin shu* 49, p. 1381; *Shih-shuo hsin-yü* XXIII/21.

[113] The canyon lay just outside Shu-chou, not in Kiangsi. It features a rocky stream with a huge boulder shaped like an ox. Wang An-shih visited in 1051, age thirty, when he was sta-

incident should be sufficient cause to consider Wang An-shih a predecessor of the Kiangsi school, and to continue searching for connections among other writers of the region, no matter how ephemeral those connections seem at first.

Lu Chiu-yüan named nine "Kiangsi-school" writers; eight of them were either natives of Kiangsi or had strong Kiangsi ties. Several had lived there all their lives, whether in Fen-ning, Nanchang, or Lin-ch'uan.[114] With so many Kiangsi writers listed as sharing a single Kiangsi flavor, that flavor is likely to have some origins in the place itself. It is also more than likely that other Kiangsi writers, not listed with the school, shared that flavor. And given the prominence of Kiangsi writers in the Sung—both Kiangsi-school writers and Kiangsi-native writers—it seems likely that some of the strengths and abuses in later Sung literature spring partly from attitudes found in Nanchang, Kiukiang, Lin-ch'uan, or Chin-hsi. These might include:

- acceptance of nature as a rawer, tougher force than it appeared on the West Lake or in Kaifeng's gardens;
- belligerent honesty, diligence, practicality;
- crotchety seriousness, sour slyness, hidden humor;
- thriftiness that treated even written words as treasures, to be invested into poems with full awareness of their pedigree;
- preference for dependable craft—even if it seemed awkward or humdrum—rather than a glib, fashionable semblance of skill;
- finicky attention to origins: intended to deepen the roots of civilization in a land to which it had been newly transplanted, but also to defend the purity of that land's more pristine roots against outside corruption;
- pride in the fact that those Kiangsi traits could command respect, and sometimes sheepish acquiescence, from outsiders. Even the most illustrious outsiders still had things to learn.

tioned there. Huang T'ing-chien visited in 1080, age thirty-five, when Wang was already retired at Chin-ling. The poem Wang left was in response to an inscription by Li Ao 李翱 (d. 844). Huang in turn left a poem responding to Wang's, thereby creating a sense of filiation from Huang back to Wang, then to Li Ao of the T'ang, but ultimately to T'ao Ch'ien, hints of whose style appear in the inscriptions by Wang and Huang. For Wang's original poem, see Li, *Chien-chu Wang shih* 18, p. 6a; for the variant version presently at the site, Wu, *T'ien-chu-shan chih*, p. 282. Huang's poem is in *Shan-ku, nei-chi* 1, p. 10a [155]; Pease, "Wang Anshi," p. 461. About Huang at the grotto: Yin Chi-shan 尹繼善 et al., *Chiang-nan t'ung-chih* 江南通志 (Ch'ien-lung edn., 1736; rpt. Taipei: Hua Wen, n.d.) 34, p. 8a. See also n. 52, above.

[114] The nine were listed in n. 5, above.

All those qualities are overstated and general; none were entirely true of Kiangsi, or entirely untrue of other parts of the Sung empire. The writers whose lives and works suggest those qualities were only a small group within the Sung literary scene, and wove their writings from external as well as local strands. There was never one grand single Kiangsi flavor, any more than there was one for the Sung era; any such flavors fade with time and distance. But in recapturing any aspect of them, we enliven our participation in Sung literature.