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2023

Claiming China Against North-South Divide: Classical Traditions and Literati Culture in the Jurchen Jin Dynasty (1115–1234)

Xia, Lili

Princeton, NJ : Princeton University

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CLAIMING CHINA AGAINST NORTH-SOUTH DIVIDE: CLASSICAL TRADITIONS AND LITERATI CULTURE IN THE JURCHEN JIN DYNASTY (1115–1234)

Lili Xia

A DISSERTATION

PRESENTED TO THE FACULTY

OF PRINCETON UNIVERSITY

IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE

OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

RECOMMENDED FOR ACCEPTANCE BY

THE DEPARTMENT OF

EAST ASIAN STUDIES

Adviser: Anna M. Shields

March 2023

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Abstract

My dissertation deals with cultural confrontations between the so-called "barbarian/nomadic" North and the "civilized/Sinitic" South in the multi-lateral world of Middle Period China (800–1300). The Jin dynasty (1115–1234), ruled by the Jurchen conquering minority, has received insufficient scholarly attention especially in the *literary* field. It was dismissed in late imperial China as either an illegitimate, alien regime compared to the Han Chinese-ruled Southern Song polity (1127–1279), or a scaled-down and short-lived predecessor of the Mongol Yuan empire (1271–1368). My research, however, fleshes out the overall Jin literary culture and poetic production in particular, and illustrates the burgeoning literati culture in North China under Jurchen rule. By demonstrating a rival narrative of claiming China in the Sino-Jurchen North against the cultural orthodoxy conceptualized in the Han Chinese-ruled South, I argue for the plurality and constructedness of Middle Period China as an intersubjective, transcultural, and border-crossing space.

To envision a comprehensive picture of Jin dynasty poetry and literati culture, my dissertation is organized in a tripartite structure with seven chapters. Chapters 1 to 3 outline the cultural history of Jin literati community. Integrating socio-historical studies and bibliographical research, I examine the origins and developments of Jin literati, including both Jurchens and Han Chinese, as well as their identity negotiation and cultural legitimacy under Jurchen rule. Chapters 4 and 5 compare the contemporary northern and southern literary fashions. In particular, I combine literary analysis and digital tools to map out both discursive force and social networking that shaped the Jin literati group. Chapters 6 and 7 shift from poetry contests in the North-South space to literary traditions of the past – they explore the historical provenances of Jin literati culture, as well as the Jin refashioning of poetic legacies from previous Tang and Northern Song

dynasties. Jin material culture including book history and literati art are also integrated into relevant discussions. In conclusion, I argue that the pluralist topology of Northern Song, Southern Song, and Jurchen Jin literary pasts kept intertwined with and superposed on each other, which always potentially spoke for the *heteroglossia* and constructedness of Middle Period China.

Acknowledgement

The long quest journey I went through in the PhD program of East Asian Studies at Princeton University has opened up numerous possibilities in my academic life. I am most indebted to my advisor, Prof. Anna Shields, who untiringly guided me throughout my PhD training from coursework to dissertation writing. While kindness and generosity are her inborn characters, I remember having serious conversations with Anna about my research and career planning, which in turn encouraged contemplation and motivation to further advance my scholarly work. In this sense, she is also my role model as a mentor. Prof. Michael Fuller, together with Anna, are core readers of my dissertation. In particular, his expertise on Southern Song poetry always sheds new light on my analysis of the Jin poetry in the contemporary North. Our "brush talks" via marginal comments and email correspondences have witnessed how my dissertation chapters took shape step by step. It is indeed thought-provoking to see Anna's handwritten comments spawned Fuller's criticism added in word files, and the precious feedback will be revisited and digested into my book manuscript in near future. I also feel deep gratitude towards Prof. Cheng-hua Wang, who led me into the field of art history. It was an eye-opening experience when I first saw Jurchen Jin painting in her graduate seminar, which I would say was the epiphanic moment that eventually triggered my dissertation project on Jin literary culture. I also learned a lot from her broad knowledge and insightful scholarship of Chinese painting. The other members of my dissertation committee, Prof. Paize Keulemans and Xin Wen, gave me their unflagging encouragement and support in our productive conversations all the way long. Special thanks also go to Prof. He Bian, one of the best teachers I know in my life, and I got the knack of pedagogic skills from her and Prof. Federico Marcon when I was a teaching assistant in the history course "East Asia since 1800." Last but not least, I would like to thank all my teachers in the

Department of East Asian Studies and those from other Humanities disciplines. In the past years, they have provided me with first-rate instructions and most inspiring interdisciplinary conversations. I am especially grateful for attending Prof. Brian Steininger's seminar on "Sinographosphere," which marks out a promising direction of my future research. Grants from the Program of East Asian Studies, Princeton Institute for International and Regional Studies, and fellowships from the Graduate School supported my overseas research and the final stage of dissertation writing.

Sections from chapters 1, 3, 4, 5, 6 and 7 were or will be presented at the annual meetings of the Association for Asian Studies, American Oriental Society (Western Branch), Harvard East Asia Society Conference, the Kitan Network Annual Symposium, the Worst Chinese Poetry Workshop at the University of California, Santa Barbara, and the EAS Lunch Colloquium at Princeton. All the attendees of these events contributed to this dissertation in their own way. In particular, I got incisive and constructive advice from Thomas Mazanec, Ronald Egan, Yunshuang Zhang, Richard Lynn, Stuart Sargent, Scott Gregory, Shoufu Yin, Wanmeng Li, Zijing Fan, Qingfeng Nie, Xiuyuan Mi, Zuoting Wen, Lidan Liu, Yingda Wang, Zhiyi Yang, Ya Zuo, Jue Chen, Zinan Yan, Huaiyu Chen, Wen-Shing Chou, Yinyao Lu, Lance Pursey, IGURO Shinobu, IIYAMA Tomoyasu, and Stephen West. At Princeton, I enjoyed very much the intellectual life on campus, which was made possible by exchanging ideas with my friends, including but not limited to Yingtian He, Shengyu Yang, Antonin Ferré, Hanruo Zhang, Fan Wu, Zihan Guo, Gian Duri Rominger, Filippo Gradi, Yanlin Lu, Meihui Liu, Peter Tsung Kei Wong, Qiran Jin, Tsz-kit Yim, and Soojung Han from EAS, Yang Li, Zheng Guan, and Bingyu Zheng from history, Mengge Cao, Yixu Chen, and Zhuolun Xie from art history, Minhao Zhai and Echo Weng from religion, Yazhe Yang from Slavic languages and literatures, Jue Lü and Xin Zou

from Chinese language program. I would also like to extend a thank-you note to Eliot Feibush and Carolina S. Roe-Raymond in the Princeton Institute for Computational Science and Engineering (PICSciE), who have helped launch our Digital Humanities collaborative project titled “Social Network Analysis of Middle Period Literati in North China.” I also gained fundamental skills from the 2022 Digital China Initiative Summer Workshop held by Peter Bol and Michael Szonyi at the Fairbank Center, Harvard University. The application of the digital toolkit into my own research has yielded rewarding outcomes.

Here allow me to recall the remote but treasured past of my study at Fudan University. My MA advisor Prof. Gang Zhu is my guide who transformed me from a curious but naive undergraduate to a literary scholar equipped with professional skills. His research on Song dynasty literature is par excellence and always thought-provoking with inexhaustible new ideas. Together with other wonderful teachers and smart peer students, my life at Fudan was the best one I could imagine, which in turn shaped who I am today.

Finally, I owe everything to my family back in Shanghai, China. This dissertation is dedicated to them. My parents fully respected my life decisions and tried their best to give me their strongest support in this tough period of anxiety and uncertainties. My husband Yuanzhi is my private career counsellor, the source of my happiness, and the unwavering love in my life. I won’t go thus far without him.

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INTRODUCTION

Heterotopia and *Heteroglossia* of China in the Middle Period, 800–1300

Prelude: Plural "Chronotopes" of Middle Period China

Our customary landscape of Middle Period Chinese literature is predominated by extraordinary figures from Tang (618–907) and Song (960–1279) history, while writers from non-Han Chinese polities remain marginal and mostly out of the public view. For most modern readers of classical Chinese poetry, the latter's works are only mentioned in passing or even disregarded at one stroke as aping their Sinitic model. My dissertation, however, is devoted to the literary culture of the Jurchen Jin dynasty (1115–1234), an alien regime occupying North China in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Dismissed in late imperial China as either an illegitimate state compared to the Han Chinese-ruled Southern Song polity (1127–1279), or a scaled-down predecessor of the Mongol empire (1271–1368), the Jin dynasty, ruled by the Jurchen conquering minority, has received insufficient scholarly attention. While studies of the Jurchen Jin history have been relatively well developed,[1] the literary field of classical poetry – a quintessential form of

[1] An exemplary overview of the Jin dynasty in English can be found in Herbert Franke, "Chin Dynasty," in Franke and Denis Twitchett eds., *The Cambridge History of China. Vol. 6, Alien Regimes and Border States, 907–1368* (Cambridge, UK; New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 215–320. Also see Hoyt Cleveland Tillman, "An Overview of Chin History and Institutions," in Tillman and Stephen H. West eds., *China under Jurchen Rule: Essays on Chin Intellectual and Cultural History* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1995), pp. 23–38. For a thorough bibliographical study on extant Jin historical sources, see Hok-lam Chan 陳學霖, *The Historiography of the Chin Dynasty: Three Studies* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1970). Another comprehensive historical research on the Jurchen regime is Tao Jinsheng 陶晉生, *The Jurchen in Twelfth-Century China: A Study of Sinicization* (Seattle, WA: University of Washington Press, 1976).

For Chinese and Japanese scholarship on Jin history, see, for instance, Shi Guoqi 施國祁, *Jinshi xiangjiao* 金史詳校 (Taipei: Yiwen, 1964); ibid., *Jinyuan zhaji* 金源劄記 (Taipei: Yiwen, 1965); Toyama Gunji 外山軍治, *Kinchō shi kenkyū* 金朝史研究 (Kyoto: Kyōto Daigaku Bungakubu Tōyōshi Kenkyūkai, 1964); Mikami Tsugio 三上次男, *Kinshi kenkyū* 金史研究, 3 vols (Tokyo: Chūō Kōron bijutsu shuppan, 1970–1973); Yao Congwu 姚從吾,

"Chinese" literary expression – written by Jin poets is still largely *terra incognita* in modern scholarship.[2] This is partly due to the miserable condition of insufficient primary sources, as well as appraisal bias entrenched in Chinese studies – most scholars evaluate the Jin literary quality in a negative manner such as "provincialism," "unproductivity" and "intellectual conservatism."[3] To this day, the only English monograph on Jin poetry is John Timothy Wixted's erudite and thorough research on the "Thirty Poems on Poetry" (Lunshi sanshi shou 論詩三十首) composed by a famous Jin poet Yuan Haowen 元好問 (1190–1257).[4] Not only was this book published almost half a century ago, but it focused solely on a set of thirty poems that function as literary criticism instead. Indeed, the few studies on Jin poetry in English, Chinese, and Japanese academia all pivot around this single greatest Jin poet.[5] In contrast, my research strives to draw an overall picture of Jin literati under Jurchen rule in the twelfth- and thirteenth-century North China. For me as a literary scholar, Jin classical poetry is a diamond in the rough awaiting a thorough study almost from scratch.

Jinchao shi 金朝史, in *Yao Congwu xiansheng quanji* 姚從吾先生全集, Vol. 3, *Liao Jin Yuan shi jiangyi* 遼金元史講義 (Taipei: Zhengzhong shuju, 1973); Zhang Boquan 張博泉, *Jinshi jianbian* 金史簡編 (Liaoning: Renmin chubanshe, 1984); Liu Pujiang 劉浦江, *Songmo zhijian: Liao Jin Qidan Nüzhen shi yanjiu* 松漠之間：遼金契丹女真史研究 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2008), etc.

[2] Compared to scholarship on the Jurchen Jin history, literary studies of this alien regime are scarce. And even within the field of Jin literature, much focus has been drawn to the research of northern drama and popular theater. Regarding the very limited English scholarship on Jin classical poetry, see (1) Peter K. Bol, "Seeking Common Ground: Han Literati under Jurchen Rule," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 47.2 (1987): 461–538; (2) Bol, "Chao Ping-wen (1159–1232): Foundation for Literati Learning," in *China under Jurchen Rule*, pp. 115–44; (3) Jin Qicong 金啟孮, "Jurchen Literature under the Chin," ibid., pp. 216–37; (4) Stephen H. West, "Chilly Seas and East-Flowing Rivers: Yüan Hao-wen's Poems of Death and Disorder, 1233–35," ibid., pp. 281–304; (5) Michael A. Fuller, "Elite literature of the Jin dynasty to 1214," in Kang-i Sun Chang and Stephen Owen eds., *The Cambridge History of Chinese Literature: To 1375*, Vol. 1 (Cambridge, UK; New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2010), pp. 507–20; (6) Ronald Egan, "A Han Official Serves the Jurchen: Zhao Bingwen's Poetic Reflections on Rival States and Cultures," in Suoqiao Qian ed., *Cross-cultural Studies: China and the World: A Festschrift in Honor of Professor Zhang Longxi* (Leiden: Brill, 2015), pp. 23–48.

[3] Franke, "Chin Dynasty," p. 305.

[4] Wixted, *Poems on Poetry: Literary Criticism by Yuan Hao-wen, 1190–1257* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1982).

[5] For an exhaustive bibliography of secondary research on Yuan till the twentieth century, see Wixted, "A Finding List for Chinese, Japanese, and Western-Language Annotation and Translation of Yüan Haowen's Poetry," *Bulletin of Sung-Yüan Studies* 17 (1981): 140–85.

By examining all literary collections of northern Jin poets extant to this day, my research argues for a rather advanced, creatively hybrid, and yet underacknowledged Jurchen Jin literary culture. The excellence of Jurchen Jin classical poetry not only deepens our understanding of the northern cultural ecology, but it also introduces an interventionist pattern as being part of medieval Chinese literature, rather than an alienated outsider away from the Sinitic traditions. My dissertation thus puts forward a rival narrative of claiming China in the Sino-Jurchen North as a foil for the mainstream account focused on the Chinese-ruled South. Ultimately, by showcasing its literary accomplishments, I try to exemplify the Jurchen Jin dynasty as the *heterotopia* and *heteroglossia* of China in the Middle Period.

Prior to a thorough survey of Jurchen Jin literature, which will be the task of the following seven chapters, it is necessary to remind my readers of what I call plural "chronotopes" of Middle Period China in historical narratives and literary discourses. The concept "chronotope" is borrowed from Mikhail M. Bakhtin's literary theory.[6] Bearing the literal meaning of the time-space framework, Bakhtin's "chronotope" in the first place refers to the "intrinsic connectedness" or "inseparability" of space and time united in literary representations. Here, I regard the "chronotope" as both a discursive time-space and a living one, being at once rhetoric and reality. The Middle Period China in real world was splintered into territorial conflicts among multiple states with heterogeneous ethnocultural backgrounds. More specifically, the domain of China proper was separated and ruled by opposing polities in North and South – first between Kitan Liao (907–1125) and Northern Song (960–1126), and then Jurchen Jin and Southern Song – whose legitimate quandary is most manifest in the uneasy

[6] See Mikhail M. Bakhtin, "Forms of Time and of the Chronotope in the Novel," trans. Caryl Emerson and Michael Holquist, in Michael Holquist ed., *The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 1981), pp. 84–258.

epoché of "two sons of heaven."[7] At the same time, the northern Jin and Southern Song polities envisioned their "chronotopes" of China in palpable while contradictive ways by discursive representations: As we will see below, the Southern Song rulers justified their political continuum as a Chinese empire chronologically by inheriting dynastic legitimacy from their Northern Song imperial ancestors, whereas the Jurchen Jin claimed China in the sense of cultural geography since they occupied and ruled at the heart of northern "Central Plain" where previous Chinese political centers were located. In this way, the Southern Song and the Jurchen Jin both claimed, in different ways, to possess the Mandate of Heaven.

Despite all these differentiated and sometimes contradictory narratives, "out of the actual chronotopes of our world (which serve as the source of representation) emerge the reflected and *created* chronotopes of the world represented in the work (in the text)."[8] In this sense, literary commemorations and historical records can be regarded as building up chronotopes via a meaning-making process which further sublimates historical reality into poetic images – or in Bakhtin's favored expression, inquiry of "chronotopes" leads to historical poetics. Indeed, the convergence of history and poetry is encapsulated in the pair of expressions as "poetry is written with the historian's brush" (*shi ju shi bi* 詩具史筆) and "history embraces a poetic mind" (*shi yun shi xin* 史蘊詩心).[9] In this sense, I am particularly interested in how Jin classical poetry, along with Jin historical writings and other cultural practices, serves as "performing acts of memory" and opens up a "contested territory" of Middle Period China negotiating and

[7] I borrow this term from Tao Jinsheng, *Two Sons of Heaven: Studies in Sung-Liao Relations* (Tucson, AZ: University of Arizona Press, 1988).
[8] Bakhtin, "Forms of Time and of the Chronotope in the Novel," p. 253.
[9] See Qian Zhongshu 錢鍾書, *Tan yi lu* 談藝錄 (Beijing: Sanlian shudian, 2007), 4.104.

competing with the Sinocentric Tang-Song "chronotope," which in turn pluralizes our understanding of history that resemble the convoluted topology of memory.

While the Southern Song cultural orthodoxy has been a well-articulated narrative, my research tells an alternative story of "Jin the Obscure." Below I lay out the divergent "chronotopes" of Middle Period China in temporal and spatial dimensions respectively, so as to offer the broader historical background where Jin literary culture took root, sprouted up, and came into full bloom.

Two Parallel Chronologies of Middle Period China

Traditional Chinese historiography is arranged in a steadfast narrative mode of dynastic successions, which on the one hand helps to structure an intelligible, constant entity of China, while on the other, obscures rather than reveals the diachronic chasms folded in the social-political and cultural strata.

Against this cyclical pattern, the model of the Tang-Song transition widely known as Naitō Hypothesis hallmarks the "discontinuity," "tipping point," and "watershed" across Chinese macro-history. Formally addressed by Naitō Konan 内藤湖南 (1866–1934) a hundred years ago, this groundbreaking theory laid the foundation for further Song historical research over decades, and remained a remarkable scholarly consensus against which all other opinions, modifications, and oppositions were articulated.[10] By polarizing an array of decisive transformations on the

[10] For the synopsis of the Tang-Song transition theory, see Naitō Konan 内藤湖南, "Gaikatsu-teki Tō-Sō Jidai-kan" 概括的唐宋時代観 (a general view of the Tang and Song periods), *Rekishi to chiri* 歴史と地理 9.5 (1922): 1–12. Miyakawa Hisayuki 宮川尚志 has an introductory article in English, see his "An Outline of the Naitō Hypothesis

social-political level between two Chinese empires of Tang and Song in the Middle Period, this ambitious theory eventually argues for a "breakthrough" from medieval to early modern phases of development, though current scholarship has largely disproved Naitō's use of the term "modern" to Song China.[11] A paradigm shift notwithstanding, this discourse still presumes a substantial existence of "China proper" – a concept with a dynamic geographical scope that ideally coincides with a homogeneous cultural and ecological Sinitic zone – from Tang to Song, accompanied with the rise of cultural consciousness and consolidation of national identity writ large from the eighth to the thirteenth centuries.[12] What is wanting while indispensable here is

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and its Effects on Japanese Studies of China," *The Far Eastern Quarterly* 14.4, Special Number on Chinese History and Society (1955): 533–52.

For the enduring impact as well as ongoing adjustments and problematization of Naitō Hypothesis in recent scholarship on Chinese history, see an exemplary research volume of Paul Jakov Smith and Richard von Glahn eds., *The Song-Yuan-Ming Transition in Chinese History* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2003). See especially von Glahn, "Imagining Pre-modern China," ibid., pp. 35–70. More alternative paradigms are listed below.

[11] Charles Hartman offers a broad-strokes generalization of Tang-Song transition centering on the formation of "modern" Song China in "Sung Government and Politics," in John W. Chaffee and Denis Twitchett eds., *The Cambridge History of China. Vol. 5, Part Two: Sung China, 960–1279* (Cambridge, UK; New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2015), pp. 19–22. Hartman sharply points out that the "(early) modern" notion implanted in Naitō Hypothesis essentially refers to imperial centralism embodied by the Song polity counter to the tendency of "splittist" regionalism, which echoes Chinese government's "One China principle" in its diplomatic rhetoric nowadays. Robert Hymes disaggregates the very notion of "early modernity," and thus questions the comparative study between "early modern" Europe and Naitō's Song period representing China's "modernity"; see his "Sung Society and Social Change," ibid., pp. 661–64. For Naitō's adoption of Marxist terms of historical periodization, see more details in Joshua A. Fogel, *Politics and Sinology: The Case of Naitō Konan (1866–1934)* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1984), pp. 168–210.

[12] For the rise of national consciousness in the Song period, see Rolf Trauzettel, "Sung Patriotism as a First Step toward Chinese Nationalism," in John Winthrop Haeger ed., *Crisis and Prosperity in Sung China* (Tucson, AZ: University of Arizona Press, 1975), pp. 199–213; Hoyt Cleveland Tillman, "Proto-Nationalism in Twelfth-Century China? The Case of Ch'en Liang," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 39.2 (1979): 403–28; Ge Zhaoguang 葛兆光, "Songdai 'Zhongguo' yishi de tuxian" 宋代「中國」意識的突顯, in his *Zhai zi Zhongguo: Chongjian youguan "Zhongguo" de lishi lunshu* 宅茲中國：重建有關「中國」的歷史論述 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2011), pp. 41–65; Nicolas Tackett, *The Origins of the Chinese Nation: Song China and the Forging of an East Asian World Order* (Cambridge, UK; New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2017). While Tackett sees Song China as the origin of a Chinese nation-state, Hilde De Weerdt has some reservations on it and provides an alternative pattern of "a gradual transformation of political imaginaries among an expanding group of cultural elites with an imperial rather than a national mission." See her book review in *H-Nationalism, H-Net Reviews* (2018): https://networks.h-net.org/node/3911/reviews/2245760/de-weerdt-tackett-origins-chinese-nation-song-china-and-forging-east. Finally, Nicola Di Cosmo in his review of Tackett's book throws an insightful question closely related to my concern here: "… whether the process of formation of a Chinese nation was endogenous or exogenous"? Tackett clings to the endogenous factor within Song social changes and intellectual thoughts, whereas Di Cosmo looks the other way round and argues for the role of non-Chinese peoples outside in shaping Song Chinese's self-reflexive notion of their "nation-state." See Di Cosmo's review in *American Historical Review* 124.2 (2019): 636–37.

the significance of *heterotopia* or "otherness" to reconfirm and reinforce this exclusive self-consciousness of Tang-Song China best exemplified in the Sinitic-barbarian dichotomy.[13] *Heterotopia* is a term created by Michel Foucault.[14] For him, it means "counter-sites," the "other"-world representing the otherness of this-world, or the other possible modes of life. Granted by Foucault's claim that "there is probably not a single culture in the world that fails to constitute heterotopias," I appropriate this term to refer to the dichotomy of the civil "Chineseness" and the barbaric "foreignness." While one is the opposite of the other, they are also "mirror images" preconditioned in this selfhood-otherness structure. In this way, the formation of the so-called "China" involves perplexing, ever-changing dynamics of assimilation

[13] For scholarly discourses, sometimes problematization, of the Middle Period Chinese/barbarian dichotomy in both reality and rhetoric, see Naomi Standen, *Unbounded Loyalty: Frontier Crossings in Liao China* (Honolulu, HI: University of Hawai'i Press, 2007); Jonathan Karam Skaff, *Sui-Tang China and Its Turko-Mongol Neighbors: Culture, Power, and Connections, 580–800* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012); Mark C. Elliot, "*Hushuo*: The Northern Other and the Naming of the Han Chinese," in Thomas S. Mullaney, James Leibold, Stéphane Gros, and Eric Vanden Bussche, eds., *Critical Han Studies: The History, Representation, and Identity of China's Majority* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2012), pp. 173–90; Shao-yun Yang 楊劭允, "Fan and Han: The Origins and Uses of a Conceptual Dichotomy in Mid-Imperial China, ca. 500–1200," in Francesca Fiaschetti and Julia Schneider eds., *Political Strategies of Identity-Building in Non-Han Empires in China* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2014), pp. 9–35. Finally, concerning the intellectual history on ethnicity and the interpretation of Chineseness during the Tang-Song transition, see Shao-yun Yang, *The Way of the Barbarians: Redrawing Ethnic Boundaries in Tang and Song China* (Seattle, WA: University of Washington Press, 2019), in which he frames the issue in terms of "ethnicized orthodoxy" and "ethnocentric moralism." In particular, Yang in his study calls for distinctions between national identity, cultural identity, and ethnic identity.

Relevant discussions in Chinese scholarship are underway these days as well. See Fu Lecheng 傅樂成, "Tangdai yixia guannian zhi yanbian" 唐代夷夏觀念之演變, in his *Han Tang shi lunji* 漢唐史論集 (Taipei: Lianjing, 1977), pp. 209–26; Deng Xiaonan 鄧小南, "Shi tan Wudai Song chu 'hu/Han' yujing de xiaojie" 試談五代宋初「胡/漢」語境的消解, in Zhang Xiqing 張希清 et al. eds., *10–13 shiji Zhongguo wenhua de pengzhuang yu ronghe* 10–13 世紀中國文化的碰撞與融合 (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 2006), pp. 114–37; Xu Zhuoyun 許倬雲, *Wozhe yu tazhe – Zhongguo lishi shang de neiwai fenji* 我者與他者——中國歷史上的內外分際 (Taipei: Shibao wenhua, 2009); Ge Zhaoguang, *Zhai zi Zhongguo*; Wei Bing 韋兵, *Wanzheng de tianxia jingyan: Song Liao Xia Jin Yuan zhijian de hudong* 完整的天下經驗：宋遼夏金元之間的互動 (Beijing: Beijing shifan daxue chubanshe, 2019).

[14] See Michel Foucault, "Of Other Spaces," *Diacritics* 16 (1986): 22–27, translated by Jay Miskowiec from the original French piece "Des Espace Autres," *Architecture, Mouvement, Continuité* 5 (1984): 46–49.

Intriguingly, as Zhang Longxi 張隆溪 has pointed out, by quoting Borges's made-up entry taken from a "certain Chinese encyclopedia," Foucault himself sees China as a *utopia* or even *heterotopia* for the West revealed in *The Order of Things*. That is to say, "for the West, then, China as a land in the Far East becomes traditionally the image of the ultimate Other" (p. 110). See Zhang, "The Myth of the Other: China in the Eyes of the West," *Critical Inquiry* 15.1 (1988): 108–31.

and self-distinction, conversation and competition, as well as boundary transgression between these two opposing historical agents. Such interplay that throws the umbrella term "China" into question is thus the starting point of my research.

To make things more complicated, various schemes have been put forward as modifications of the Naitō Hypothesis, with their own opportune and decisive moments in terms of periodization of Middle Period China. (1) The mid-Tang or post-An Lushan Rebellion period in the late eighth and early ninth centuries saw a social and cultural "testing ground" that stirred up innovative, sometimes revolutionary, ideas in the intellectual landscape and led to fundamental changes that demarcated the "end of Middle Ages."[15] (2) Some scholars further advance the mid-Tang paradigm by arguing for the total destruction of aristocracy in the chaos of Huang Chao revolt (874–884) foreboding the finale of Tang dynasty in 907,[16] while others emphasize innovative elements burgeoning in the tenth-century interregnum.[17] (3) What is more, Song historians tend to relocate the watershed between the Northern and Southern Song that witnessed the centrifugal force of localization and the mentality of "turning inward" among intellectuals from the eleventh to thirteenth centuries, along with the rise of *daoxue* 道學 or Neo-

[15] See, for instance, Chen Yinque 陳寅恪, "Lun Han Yu" 論韓愈, *Lishi yanjiu* 2 (1954): 105–14; Stephen Owen, *The End of the Chinese "Middle Ages": Essays in Mid-Tang Literary Culture* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1996).
[16] Nicolas Tackett, *The Destruction of the Medieval Chinese Aristocracy* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2014).
[17] Wang Gungwu 王賡武, *The Structure of Power during the Five Dynasties* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1965); Hugh Clark, *China during the Tang-Song Interregnum, 878–978: New Approaches to the Southern Kingdoms* (London: Routledge, 2021).

Confucianism.[18] (4) Finally, there are also scholars who argue for the Song-Yuan(-Ming) social-historical transformation all the way through the late imperial period.[19]

At the same time, however, the looming reality of non-Chinese foreign power overlaps the Tang-Song transition paradigm as the "absent presence." Scholarship posits a parallel "chronology" of the same period concerning the external "others" alien to the Tang-Song China – they were nomadic rulers from the steppe who established the so-called "conquest dynasties" (*seifuku ōchō* 征服王朝 in Japanese) across Chinese history.[20] The historical lineage of these alien regimes ruled by nomadic conquering minorities that occupied and ruled over part of North China correspond precisely to the aforementioned four versions of periodization. (a) First, starting from the 755 An Lushan Rebellion, North China witnessed an era of division by local warlords, not to mention constant intrusions and even occupations by northwestern nomadic tribes such as Tibetans, Uyghurs, and Shatuo Turks.[21] This overwhelming historical force

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[18] Robert M. Hartwell, "Demographic, Political, and Social Transformations of China, 750–1550," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 42.2 (1982): 365–442; Robert P. Hymes, *Statesmen and Gentlemen: The Elite of Fu-chou, Chiang-hsi, in Northern and Southern Sung* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1986); James T. C. Liu, *China Turning Inward: Intellectual and Political Changes in the Early Twelfth Century* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1988); Christian de Pee, *Urban Life and Intellectual Crisis in Middle-Period China, 800–1100* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2022).

[19] Smith and von Glahn eds., *The Song-Yuan-Ming Transition in Chinese History*. At the same time, Ge Zhaoguang emphasizes the underlying coherence from Song to Ming concerning common knowledge and social values in his "Tang-Song or Song-Ming: The Significance of a Perspective Shift in Chinese Cultural and Intellectual History," trans. Fabien Simonis, *Frontiers of History in China* 1.1 (2006): 61–83.

[20] The term "conquest dynasty" is first proposed in Karl August Wittfogel and Feng Chia-sheng, *History of Chinese Society: Liao (907–1125)* (Philadelphia, PA: The American Philosophical Society, 1949). For other discussions on this issue, see Owen Lattimore, *Inner Asian Frontiers of China* (New York, NY: American Geographical Society, 1940); Nicola Di Cosmo, *Ancient China and Its Enemies: The Rise of Nomadic Power in East Asian History* (Cambridge, UK; New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

This theory is well-received in Japanese scholarship. Exemplary studies include Fujieda Akira 藤枝晃, *Seifuku ōchō* 征服王朝 (Osaka: Akita ya, 1948); Shimada Masao 島田正郎, *Bei Yazhou shi* 北亞洲史 (Taipei: College of Chinese Culture, 1964); Tamura Jitsuzō 田村実造, *Chūgoku seifuku ōcho no kenkyū* 中国征服王朝の研究, 2 vols (Kyoto: Kyoto University, 1964–1971); Otagi Matsuo 愛宕松男, *Ajia no seifuku ōchō* アジアの征服王朝 (Tokyo: Kawabe shobo, 1969); Sugiyama Masa'aki 杉山正明, *Mongoru teikoku to Dai Gen Urusu* モンゴル帝国と大元ウルス (Kyoto: Kyōto daigaku gakujutsu shuppankai, 2004).

[21] See more in Edwin G. Pulleyblank, *The Background of the Rebellion of An Lu-shan* (London; New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1955); Skaff, *Sui-Tang China and Its Turko-Mongol Neighbors*; Sanping Chen 陳三平, *Multicultural China in the Early Middle Ages* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012); Valerie

culminated in (b) the establishment of the Kitan Liao empire (907–1125) across the vast Eurasia in the tenth century.[22] Later on, the Liao state enterprise was succeeded by first (c) the Jurchen (1115–1234) and then (d) the Mongol (1271–1368) empires,[23] which stretched over the whole duration of the Song dynasty. This constitutes an alternative to the Tang-Song transition discourse (Figure 1).[24] It is now clear that every time when a major turning point of Chinese history occurred, an extraneous, foreign *heterotopia* lurked at the corner of history; or vice versa, is it more likely that these alien powers actually contributed to the transitions of China and in turn were also caught up in the process recapped in the age-old aphorism "conquerors being conquered"?[25]

Hansen, "The Synthesis of the Tang Dynasty: The Culmination of China's Contacts and Communication with Eurasia, 310–755," in Nicola Di Cosmo and Michael Maas eds., *Empires and Exchanges in Eurasian Late Antiquity: Rome, China, Iran, and the Steppe, ca. 250–750* (Cambridge, UK; New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2018), pp. 108–22.

[22] Wittfogel and Feng, *History of Chinese Society: Liao (907–1125)*; Tao, *Two Sons of Heaven*. For a series of all-encompassing papers on the study of the Liao appended with a comprehensive bibliography, see Valerie Hansen, François Louis and Daniel Kane eds., *Journal of Song-Yuan Studies* 43, Theme Volume: Perspectives on the Liao (2013).

[23] For Mongol empire's rule over and impact on China, see Igor de Rachewiltz, Hok-Lam Chan, Hsiao Ch'i-ch'ing 蕭啟慶 and Peter W. Geier eds., *In the Service of the Khan: Eminent Personalities of the Early Mongol-Yüan Period (1200–1300)* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 1993); John D. Langlois ed., *China Under Mongol Rule* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2014); Jinping Wang 王錦萍, *In the Wake of the Mongols: The Making of a New Social Order in North China, 1200–1600* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2018); Hok-Lam Chan, *China and the Mongols: History and Legend Under the Yüan and Ming* (Abingdon, Oxon, UK, and New York, NY: Routledge, 2018). For the Mongol conquest across Eurasia, see David M. Robinson, *Empire's Twilight: Northeast Asia Under the Mongols* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2009); Timothy May, *The Mongol Conquests in World History* (London: Reaktion Books, 2012); Morris Rossabi ed., *Eurasian Influences on Yuan China* (Singapore: ISEAS Publishing, 2013).

[24] Chikusa Masaaki 竺沙雅章 already proposes the two parallel historical trends during the Song-Yuan period as the "northern trend" (*hoku ryū* 北流, with the lineage from the Northern Song, Jurchen Jin, to Mongol Yuan) and the "southern trend" (*nan ryū* 南流, with the lineage from the Northern Song, Southern Song, to Mongol Yuan) respectively, though Chikusa doesn't elaborate it in detail. See Chikusa, "Sō Gen jidai no futatsu no chōryū" 宋元時代の二つの潮流, in his *Seifuku ōchō no jidai* 征服王朝の時代 (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1977), pp. 11–12; also see Yao Dali 姚大力, "Yiduan yu 'Tang Song biange' xiang bingxing de gushi" 一段與「唐宋變革」相並行的故事, preface to the Chinese version of Shanshan Zhengming 杉山正明 (Sugiyama Masa'aki), *Jichi de caoyuan zhengfu zhe: Liao, Xixia, Jin, Yuan* 遼、西夏、金、元：疾馳的草原征服者, trans. Wulan 烏蘭 and Wurina 烏日娜 (Guilin: Guangxi shifan daxue chubanshe, 2014), pp. i–xvii. For the original Japanese version, see Masa'aki, *Shikkusuru sōgen no seifukusha: Ryō, Seika, Kin, Gen* 疾駆する草原の征服者―遼· 西夏· 金· 元 (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 2005).

[25] The best known expression is found in the words of Horace (65–8 BC), the leading Roman lyric poet of his time, who perceived the Hellenistic acculturation of the Roman Empire in the way that the conquered Greek culture took possession of Rome the conqueror: "Greece, the captive, made her savage victor captive, and / brought the arts into

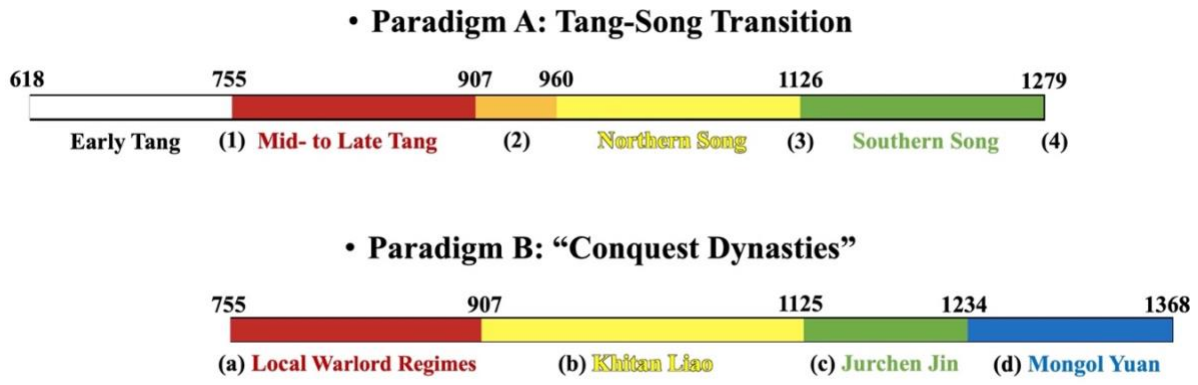


Figure 1: Two parallel historical narratives of Middle Period China

The current parallel narratives illustrated above are not without blind spots. In particular, both patterns overlook potential *interfaces* or *intersubjectivity* across space and agency. Related to this issue, Jonathan Hay puts forward an "intercultural" theory, and according to him, this intercultural reality enables an interstitial space between cultural actors where opposite forces of heterogeneity and uniformity contend with each other.[26] Concerning my research subject, modern scholarship tends to put the Jurchen Jin in a progressive chain of so-called "conquest dynasties" as it succeeded the Kitan Liao dynasty and paved the way for the Mongol Yuan empire. In this way, conquering peoples like the Jurchens are exhibited as centrifugal forces away from the mainstream of Chinese history and further singled out as a separate history of Eurasia with the absence of China. Here I argue that these "conquest dynasties" were not absolutely opposed to or incompatible with the Sinitic mode of civilization, but rather operated with an intertwined or mutually penetrating pattern in which multiple agents played their distinct roles. This works especially well in the Jurchen Jin case, since they not only benefited from the Liao heritage, but also learned from the Northern Song or even the remote – while prestigious –

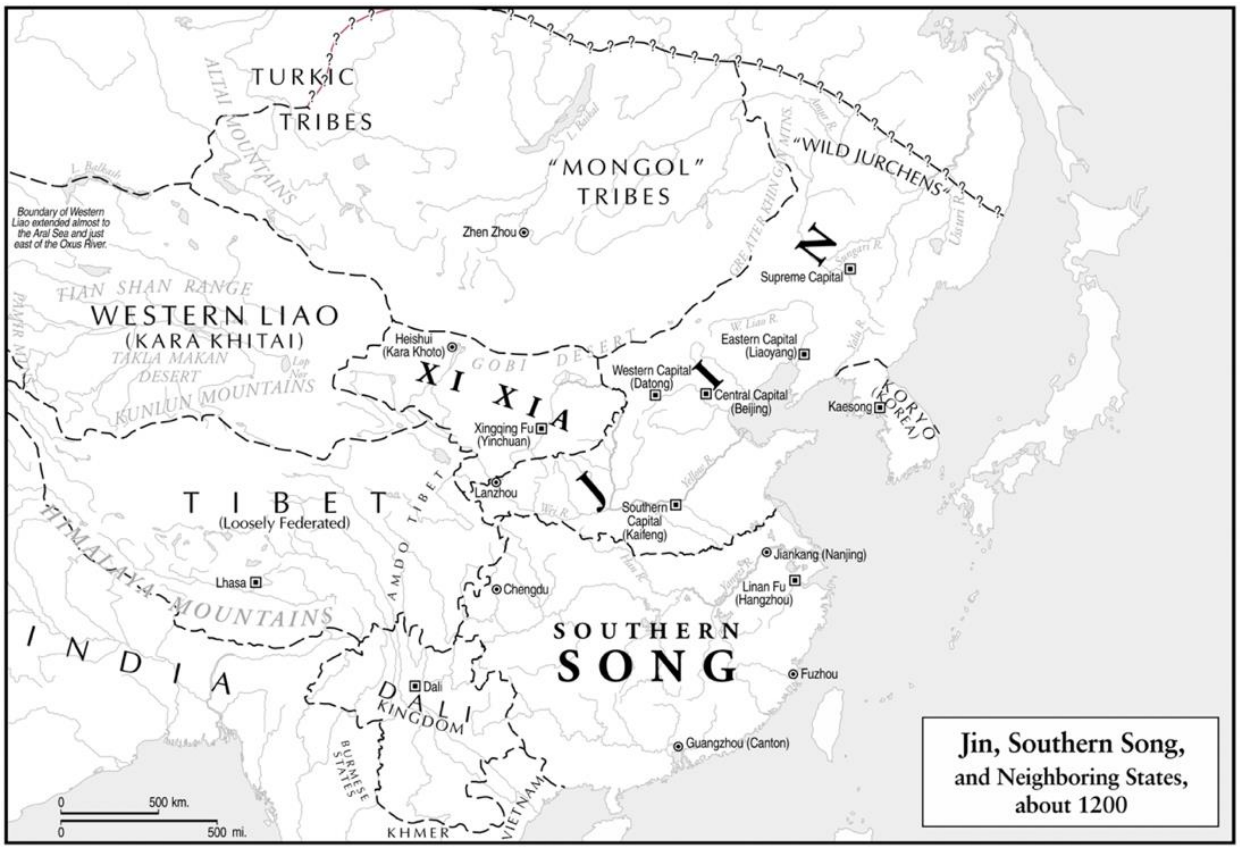
rustic Latium" (*Graecia capta ferum victorem cepit et artis / intulit agresti Latio*). See Horace, Epistles 2.1, *ll.* 156–57, in *Satires. Epistles. The Art of Poetry*, trans. H. Rushton Fairclough, Loeb Classical Library 194 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1926), pp. 408–09.

[26] Jonathan Hay, "Toward a Theory of Intercultural," *RES: Anthropology and Aesthetics* 35 (1999): 5–9.

Tang empire. Indeed, unlike the Mongol conquest that swept China with little empathy for and interest in Sinitic culture, the Jurchen rulers did welcome Chinese elites and adopt Sinitic civil institutions. Thus, I argue for the intersubjectivity between the northern Jin and the Southern Song from the literary perspective which throws China into a problem. We see here the bifurcation of historical courses reified as the Jurchen Jin and the Southern Song on the Chinese soil, or the "northern" and "southern trends" (*hoku ryū* 北流 and *nan ryū* 南流) of Chinese history in the words of Chikusa Masaaki 竺沙雅章.[27] The Song-Jin intersubjectivity, on the one hand, is based on symbiotic contests and co-existence, as well as mutual exchanges of objects and ideas in an overlapping space. At the same time, this term also reflects their uneasy awareness of each other and the counteractive will of self-distinction to maximize their ethnic, political, and cultural diversity. By illustrating the cultural repertoires left by Tang and Northern Song predecessors and shared across the Jurchen Jin and the Southern Song, I contend that the constructedness of China is the "unspoken truth" in the mainstream historical narrative during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. I go on to propose that the Jurchen Jin dynasty plays the roles of both the *heterotopia* and the *heteroglossia* of "China." I borrow the term *heteroglossia* again from Bakhtin,[28] but rather than characterizing polyphonic voices in the literary genre of novel, in my dissertation I refer to alternative discourses to make sense of "China" by stressing its cultural diversity and plural chronotopicity. At the same time, *heteroglossia* transforms the authoritative discourse of "China" into an open-ended question and further acknowledges its reality as a hybrid, intercultural complex, in which assimilation and alienation, acknowledgement and rejection, Chineseness and foreignness are just flip sides of the same coin.

[27] See fn. 24 above.
[28] Bakhtin, "Discourse in the Novel," in *The Dialogic Imagination*, pp. 259–422.

The Multivalent Space of "North China"



Map 1: The northern Jin and the Southern Song, ca. 1200[29]

Already embedded in these two parallel chronologies illustrated above is a multivalent space with blurring boundaries between China proper and nomadic frontiers – in other words, plural "chronotopes" came to light on the map of Middle Period China. It has been well studied among Middle Period historians about the multi-state system from the ninth century when the Tang empire collapsed all the way to the dawn of Mongol conquest in the thirteenth century. Each state is treated as an independent political entity on a par with Song China, and their unique non-Chinese ethnicity is emphasized in the social-political studies. In the volume *China Among Equals*, contributors focus on various kingdoms in this multi-lateral world and their interactions,

[29] F.W. Mote, *The Jin State and Southern Song, 1200*, in *Imperial China, 900–1800* (Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press, 1999), p. 230.

and they further reveal that foreign policies during that period mainly followed principles of realism and pragmatism.[30] Some historians even analogize this multi-state world as the "New Three Kingdoms" or "Song Warring States Period."[31] Particularly illuminating are the dynamics between the tribute system where the universal monarch "under Heaven" predominates at the center, and a counterbalanced "international" relationship among rival polities. It is interesting that, within each political entity itself, the same sovereignty was asserted in view of the Mandate theory, so that "there were numerous rulers who claimed to be the Son of Heaven. No single claimant gained the allegiance of the Chinese people, not to mention the respect of foreign potentates."[32] Another trend of historical research is to enlarge the scope of this East Asian multi-state order into the broader Eurasian history.[33] The tension between ethnocultural and territorial versions of "China" is manifest here, and in turn, my dissertation showcases the

[30] Morris Rossabi ed., *China Among Equals: The Middle Kingdom and its Neighbors, 10th–14th Centuries* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1973). Also see John W. Chaffee, "Song China and the multi-state and commercial world of East Asia," *Crossroads: Studies on the History of Exchange Relations in the East Asian World* 1–2 (2010): 33–54.

Furthermore, this Middle Period multi-state system is absolutely not first seen in premodern Chinese history. The multipolar world order harks back to the Spring and Autumn period (770–476 BC), when China proper fell apart in many feudal states; see Richard Louis Walker, *The Multi-State System of Ancient China* (Hamden, Conn.: The Shoe String Press, 1953). China also experienced political fragmentation in an "Age of Disunion" during the Northern and Southern Dynasties (220–589 CE). For the rivalrous spatial relationship between North and South in this period, see D. Jonathan Felt, *Structures of the Earth: Metageographies of Early Medieval China* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2021).

[31] The term "Song Warring States Period" is first put forward by Tonio Andrade in *The Gunpowder Age: China, Military Innovation, and the Rise of the West in World History* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2016). For the coinage of "New Three Kingdoms," see Soojung Han, "When China was Gone: Identities and States of the Shatuo Turks (895–979)" (Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 2022).

[32] Rossabi, "Introduction," in *China Among Equals*, p. 5. Concerning this issue, also see Tao, *Two Sons of Heaven*; Skaff, "Ideology and Interstate Competition," in *Sui-Tang China and Its Turko-Mongol Neighbors*, pp. 105–33.

[33] See Rossabi ed., *China Among Equals*; Don J. Wyatt ed., *Battlefronts Real and Imagined: War, Border, and Identity in the Chinese Middle Period* (New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008); Endō Satoshi 遠藤総史, Iiyama Tomoyasu 飯山知保, Itō Kazuma 伊藤一馬, Mori Eisuke 毛利英介, "Recent Japanese Scholarship on the Multi-State Order in East Eurasia from the Tenth to Thirteenth Centuries," *Journal of Song-Yuan Studies* 47 (2017–2018): 193–205. For the border-crossing relationship between China and the Steppe in ancient and early medieval periods, see Di Cosmo, *Ancient China and Its Enemies*; Di Cosmo and Maas eds., *Empires and Exchanges in Eurasian Late Antiquity*; Xin Wen, *The King's Road: Diplomacy and the Remaking of the Silk Road* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2023). Finally, for the Chinese and nomadic interactions and conflicts in the *longue durée*, see Thomas Barfield, *The Perilous Frontier: Nomadic Empires and China 221 B.C. to AD 1757* (Cambridge, MA; Oxford, UK: Basil Blackwell, 1989).

Central Plain in North China – or the East Eurasia – occupied by Jurchen rulers in the twelfth- and thirteenth centuries as both *heterotopia* and *heteroglossia* of China *from literary perspectives*. Indeed, while historians studying Middle Period China are "already there," literary scholars haven't followed up yet. Thus, in the same manner as the paradigm shift of historical studies towards a multi-state system at that time, my task is to pluralize our visions of Middle Period Chinese literature.

Map 1 above illustrates the multi-state order that fall into a broader, overlapping time-space frame of Sinosphere during this period. Although most scholars have focused on the "southern trend," the territory and theory of "North" plays a crucial role in the competing discourses of claiming China between the Jurchen Jin and the Southern Song dynasties. We find on both sides the conceptualization of "northernness" so as to metaphorically pin down the ideological centrality and the universality of civil order.[34] The "High Jin" period in the late twelfth century seemed to be ready to proclaim itself as a Chinese Empire on its own merits. At the same time, Southern Song literati responded in a recollective way to enshrine their former territory of North China into "sites of memory" (*lieux de mémoire*).[35] Differentiated shades of

[34] At the same time, a refreshed canonization of *Chuci* 楚辭 (Lyrics of Chu) garnered its momentum in the Southern Song cultural environment, accompanied with an emerging prospect of "southernness." See more details in Fu Su 付蘇, "The Song Reappraisal and Regionalization: *Chuci* as a Heritage of the South," in her dissertation, "When the South Matters: Imagination of Chu and Classification of *Chuci* (Verses of Chu)" (Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 2019). For an overall account of the significance of the South China from past to present, see James A. Anderson and John K. Whitmore eds., *China's Encounters on the South and Southwest: Reforging the Fiery Frontier Over Two Millennia* (Leiden: Brill, 2015). Additionally, Hugh Clark also argues for the overlooked significance of the South in early and medieval Chinese history in his book *The Sinitic Encounter in Southeast China through the First Millennium CE* (Honolulu, HI: University of Hawai'i Press, 2016).

[35] I borrow this concept *lieux de memoire* ("sites of memory") from Pierre Nora, but the close relationship between memory and *topos* [space/place] has been a time-honored theme among writers of classics. Cicero discussed the *memoria technica* in his *De Oratore*, where he generalizes "the power of places to call up memories" and further develops the method of *loci* to build up one's own "mind palace." In a similar vein, Pierre Nora also anchors memory in sites, so that the diachronic span of the multi-layered past is condensed into mnemonic objects *mises en abîme*; in turn, these spatially materialized *topoi* are transformed into media of time. Nora terms *lieux de memoire* ("sites of memory") as the intersection between memory and history: *lieux de memoire* only occurs in the absence of *milieux de memoire* at a tipping point when memory fades through the passage into history. See Pierre Nora, "Between Memory and History: *Les Lieux de Mémoire*," trans. Marc Roudebush, *Representations* 26, Special Issue:

meaning can be discerned when we zoom in on the "North" situated in various intellectual contexts, whose exegetic discrepancies further testify to the plural "chronotopes" of Middle Period China.

North China for Southern Song Chinese: Lost Irridenta and Source of Legitimacy

First of all, an ideological disposition is enveloped in the geocultural concept of "North": Well-known as the fountainhead of Chinese civilization, the "Central Plain" (*zhongyuan* 中原) in today's Henan province bears a symbolic status as it is defined to locate right in the middle of "all under Heaven" (*tianxia* 天下) as both the original *ur-topia* and the ideal *u-topia* of Sinitic civilization with profound ideological and political significance. This self-asserting universal value is also conveyed in the proper noun *zhongguo* 中國 (lit. "Middle Kingdom or Central Country"). This deep-rooted, symbolic dominion that the North China Plain bears almost presumes "the legitimacy of the North and the illegitimacy of the South" in pre-Song intellectual history.[36]

To the dismay of Southern Song Chinese, North China witnessed the invasion and consequent occupation by the alien Jurchen people for over a century. The loss of the northern heartland in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries led to a direct crisis of political legitimation for

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Memory and Counter-Memory (1989): 7–24. Also see Nora, *Realms of Memory: Rethinking the French Past*, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 1996–1998).

Specifically, for Southern Song people's nostalgia for and remembrance of the past Northern Song splendor, see Stephen H. West, "The Interpretation of a Dream: The Sources, Evaluation, and Influence of the *Dongjing Meng Hua Lu*," *T'oung Pao* 71 (1985): 63–108; Hilde De Weerdt, "Maps and Memory: Readings of Cartography in Twelfth- and Thirteenth-Century Song China," *Imago Mundi: International Journal for the History of Cartography* 61.2 (2009): 145–67; Ari Daniel Levine, "Stages of Decline: Cultural Memory, Urban Nostalgia and Political Indignation as Imaginaries of Resistance in Yue Ke's *Pillar Histories* (Ting shi)," *The Medieval History Journal* 17.2 (2014): 337–78.

[36] See debates of Song intellectuals on political legitimacy of Northern and Southern Dynasties (386–589) in Yang, *The Way of the Barbarians*, pp. 147–48, 151–52.

the Song imperial court then relocated in the South. Some southern officials got the opportunity to go back to North China either as envoys or detainees, they composed their travelogues and poems on diplomatic missions (*shi Jin shi* 使金詩) as real witnesses, and their empirical experience was both supplementary to and preconditioned by their textual knowledge of the previous state history. In turn, their accounts became first-hand information for their Southern Song fellows to get acquaintance with their now-lost homeland.[37] Yet, for the Southern Song fellow diasporic literati with access only to hearsay and written documents, North China came to be the *imaginaire* idealized by the intellectual force, or the dreamscape aspired in a poetic mind. In Southern Song texts, we encounter the coinage of eminent terms like the "origins [of the Way] from Yi and Luo Rivers" (*Yi Luo yuanyuan* 伊洛淵源) and the "documentation from the Central Plain" (*zhongyuan wenxian* 中原文獻) manipulated by Neo-Confucians or *daoxue* scholars. Those *daoxue* paragons endowed the North China *topos* – the cradle of Chinese civilization in the figurative sense – with cultural orthodoxy centering on *dao* or the Way.[38] Besides, the reverie

[37] Zhao Yongchun 趙永春 collects a bunch of primary sources on Song-Liao and Song-Jin diplomatic records written by individual scholars, see his *Fengshi Liao Jin xingcheng lu* 奉使遼金行程錄, extended version (Beijing: Shangwu yinshuguan, 2017).

For this specific topic, see Herbert Franke, "Sung Embassies: Some General Observations," in *China Among Equals*, pp. 116–48; Ari Daniel Levine, "Welcome to the Occupation: Collective Memory, Displaced Nostalgia, and Dislocated Knowledge in Southern Song Ambassadors: Travel Records of Jin-dynasty Kaifeng," *T'oung Pao* 99 (2013): 379–444. For Chinese scholarship, see Liu Pujiang 劉浦江, "Songdai shichen yulu kao" 宋代使臣語錄考, in his *Song Liao Jin shi lun ji* 宋遼金史論集 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2017), pp. 223–65; Hu Chuanzhi 胡傳志, "Song Jin waijiao huodong yu wenxue chuangzuo" 宋金外交活動與文學創作, in his *Song Jin wenxue de jiaorong yu yanjin* 宋金文學的交融與演進 (Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe, 2013), pp. 111–41; Li Hui 李輝, *Song Jin jiaopin zhidu yanjiu* 宋金交聘制度研究 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2014).

[38] In an age appreciating cultural lineage and unification like the Song dynasty, Lü Benzhong 呂本中 (1084–1145), whose clan cultivated three grand councilors and preserved a branch of the Learning of the Way school, stood out as the cultural successor of the "documentation from North China Plain" and as an illustrious leader who burdened with reconstruction and canonization of the ancestral culture. Lü's *daoxue* discourse is in conversation with Zhu Xi's 朱熹 (1130–1200) *lixue* 理學 genealogy formulated as the "origins [of the Way] from Yi and Luo Rivers," and they are not without discord and competition. See more in my M.A. thesis "Liang Song zhiji nandu shiren de Bei Song yinxiang — yi Jing Luo zhuiyi wei zhongxin" 兩宋之際南渡士人的北宋印象——以京、洛追憶為中心 (Reminiscence of the Northern Song Dynasty Among Displaced Literati During the Restoration Era) (Fudan University, 2016).

of a mnemonic journey fulfilled by "wandering in the dream" (*woyou* 臥遊) with the vain hope of returning to the North was frequently raised by Southern Song irredentists. This romanticized and nostalgic picture of the Central Plain is further contrasted against the backdrop of deteriorated ecological conditions in the North represented as "pine trees among deserts" (*songmo* 松漠) with endless "winds and sands" (*fengsha* 風沙), metonyms standing for the stereotypical presumption of cultural decline under the rule of northern barbarians.[39] Thus, the Jurchen Jin dynasty in the North was reluctantly recognized in the eyes of Southern Song descendants as a familiar yet foreign *heterotopia* – at once a real physical place where many former Han Chinese subjects still lived under Jurchen rule, and a presumably inferior "barbarian/nomadic" polity beyond knowledge and deprived of civilization.

The Jurchen Jin North: The Heterotopic *and* Heteroglossic *China*

On the other side of the same story, it left the chance for Jurchen rulers who took over the northern territory as its stronghold to declare its sovereignty over the previous Chinese political centers. Occupying the Central Plain with not only geographical but also cultural significance, the Jurchen regime thus regarded itself not so much as the alien *heterotopia* as a potentially *heteroglossic* "China."

In fact, a number of scholars, especially historians, have already touched on the presence of the Jurchen Jin within Chinese "chronotopes" or Sinosphere. Tao Jinsheng's 陶晉生 *The Jurchen in Twelfth-Century China: A Study of Sinicization* well exemplifies "the fusion of

[39] For the formulaic rhetorical language used to depict northern nomads in Northern Song official documents as well as in the travelogues of Southern Song envoys to the Jin court, see more in Tao Jinsheng, "Barbarians or Northerners: Northern Sung Images of the Khitans," in *China Among Equals*, pp. 66–86; Levine, "Welcome to the Occupation."

Chinese and Jurchen cultures and the consequent assimilation of the Jurchen" by adopting Chinese socio-political institutions, though not without problematization and opposition of this assimilationist model of "sinicization."[40] Hok-Lam Chan 陳學霖 in his *Legitimation in Imperial China* discusses the key issue of "legitimate succession" (*zhengtong* 正統) debated at the Jin court from 1194 to 1214 based on the theory of Five Agencies (*wuxing* 五行) as a demonstration of its sinicization policy.[41] Profound studies on the dynamics between state power and cultural authority in non-Chinese polities have also been done by Liu Pujiang 劉浦江.[42] Peter K. Bol points out the Jin intellectual revival drawn from the Northern Song literary tradition since 1190s, while he prefers "civilization" to "sinicization" in face of the political tensions between Jurchen emperors and aristocrats, as well as identity negotiations between Han Chinese and Jurchens, and he emphasizes the autonomous independence of literati derived from their self-cultivation and upholding of the Way.[43] Last but not least, *China under Jurchen Rule* is a discipline-demarcating volume of essays that aim to "set the foundation for the eventual integration of the Chin into Chinese cultural history" from multiple perspectives.[44]

In my dissertation, I want to place the Jurchen Jin and Southern Song dynasties in this trans-chronotopical, comparative context. Above all, I call for a scheme to loosen the tacit "Song

[40] Tao, *The Jurchen in Twelfth-Century China*, p. ix. For the critique of this conceptual framework of acculturation or sinicization, see Ruth Dunnell's review of Tao's book, *Sung Studies Newsletter* 13 (1977): 77–81.
[41] Hok-Lam Chan, *Legitimation in Imperial China: Discussions under the Jurchen-Chin Dynasty* (Seattle, WA: University of Washington Press, 1984). Peter Bol in his book review offers a different reading that highlights the Song-Jin political tensions rather than the "sinicization" scheme. According to Bol, different choices of this arcane genealogy made by scholar-officials did not spell them "nativistic autonomists" or "sinitic autonomists," but instead showed the vacillation between military conquest and internal reconciliation among the Jin officials. See Bol's review article in *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, 47.1 (1987): 285–98.
[42] Liu Pujiang, *Zhengtong yu huayi: Zhongguo chuantong zhengzhi wenhua yanjiu* 正統與華夷：中國傳統政治文化研究 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2017). See especially "Deyun zhi zheng yu Liao Jin wangchao de zhengtong xing wenti" 德運之爭與遼金王朝的正統性問題, ibid., pp. 88–115. Also see Song Dejin 宋德金, "Zhengtong guan yu Jindai wenhua" 正統觀與金代文化, *Lishi yanjiu* 1 (1990): 70–85.
[43] Bol, "Seeking Common Ground."
[44] Tillman and West eds., *China under Jurchen Rule*, p. 12.

China" chronotope and to introduce an alternative time-space frame envisioned by the Jin counterpart. Whether the overexposure of the Southern Song legitimate narrative, or the categorization of the Jin as a "conquest dynasty," both exclude the Jin existence from the Chinese cultural history to a certain degree. On the contrary, I argue for Jin's strong candidacy for succeeding previous Chinese empires settled in the North. In particular, in like manner as Kitan Liao's view of the Tang empire as its immediate predecessor,[45] the Jin cultural memory of the Northern Song and Tang dynasties, to adopt Pierre Bourdieu's field theory, was internalized as their acquired *habitus* and cultural capital that predisposed the "constitution of horizons" for their intellectual activities in the northern Jin space.[46] As such, the Jurchen Jin dynasty was able to antagonize the Southern Song as it strived for the contested territory of Tang-Song Sinitic literary traditions.

First of all, the Jurchen Jin wielded the discursive power on a specific toponym to claim orthodoxy via the mechanism of so-called "rectification of names" (*zhengming* 正名). In order to contend against the discourse of *zhongyuan* 中原 or "Central Plain" dwelt upon by the southern Chinese who justified the North as their lost irridenta to be recovered, northern literati entertained a corresponding conceptual axiom *zhongzhou* 中州 ("Central Terrain") as the Jin counterpart. By employing the methodology of corpus linguistics, I explore how key concepts like *zhongguo* 中國 ("Central Country"), *zhongyuan* 中原 ("Central Plain"), and *zhongzhou* 中

[45] See Denis Twitchett, "The Liao's Changing Perceptions of Its T'ang Heritage," in *The Historian, His Readers, and the Passage of Time: The Fu Ssu-nien Memorial Lectures, 1996* (Taipei: Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica, Taipei, 1997), pp. 31–54.

[46] For Pierre Bourdieu, the field is a structural topology of power relationship that involves agents, *habitus* and capital. And in this social space, the temporal continuum from the past to the future is guaranteed by means of *habitus*, the subjective system of dispositions that acquired perceptual schemata generated from the past experience, so that *habitus* is "a product of history" that "ensures the active presence of past experiences." See Bourdieu, *The Logic of Practice*, trans. Richard Rice (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1990), p. 54. In this way, the Jin *habitus* of Tang and Northern Song culture is fundamental to establish their own Chinese "chronotope."

州 (“Central Terrain”) play their roles in envisioning the aspirations for an ideal, united empire in distinctive contexts – *zhongyuan* becomes the most common term for “China” in the Southern Song materials, whereas the keyword *zhongzhou* is manipulated in a self-styled manner by late Jin literati.[47] These terms all bear the ideological undertones of “centrality” and are confirmed in a rich array of textual evidence from North and South respectively, which inevitably trigger *heteroglossic* definitions of “China” in the contemporary cultural climate. Because of the multivalent discursive potencies of the term “China” (*zhongguo*, *zhongyuan*, *zhongzhou*), in this case, the Jin dynasty as a historical agent serves as the “parallel universe” or “alternate reality” to the Southern Song version of “China.”

Figure 2: Cultural lineage of Jin literati reconstructed from texts (left).
Figures 3, 4: Two models of network analysis and visualization of Jin literati lineage generated by Gephi. Node ranking by degree (middle) and betweenness centrality (right) respectively.

Another way for the Jurchen Jin to claim cultural legitimacy was establishing the “literary school of our own state” (*guochao wenpai* 國朝文派) in North China. As I will elaborate in detail in my dissertation, this literary school took the shape of a successive literati lineage. By reading between the lines in Jin textual sources, I first reconstruct and then reflect on

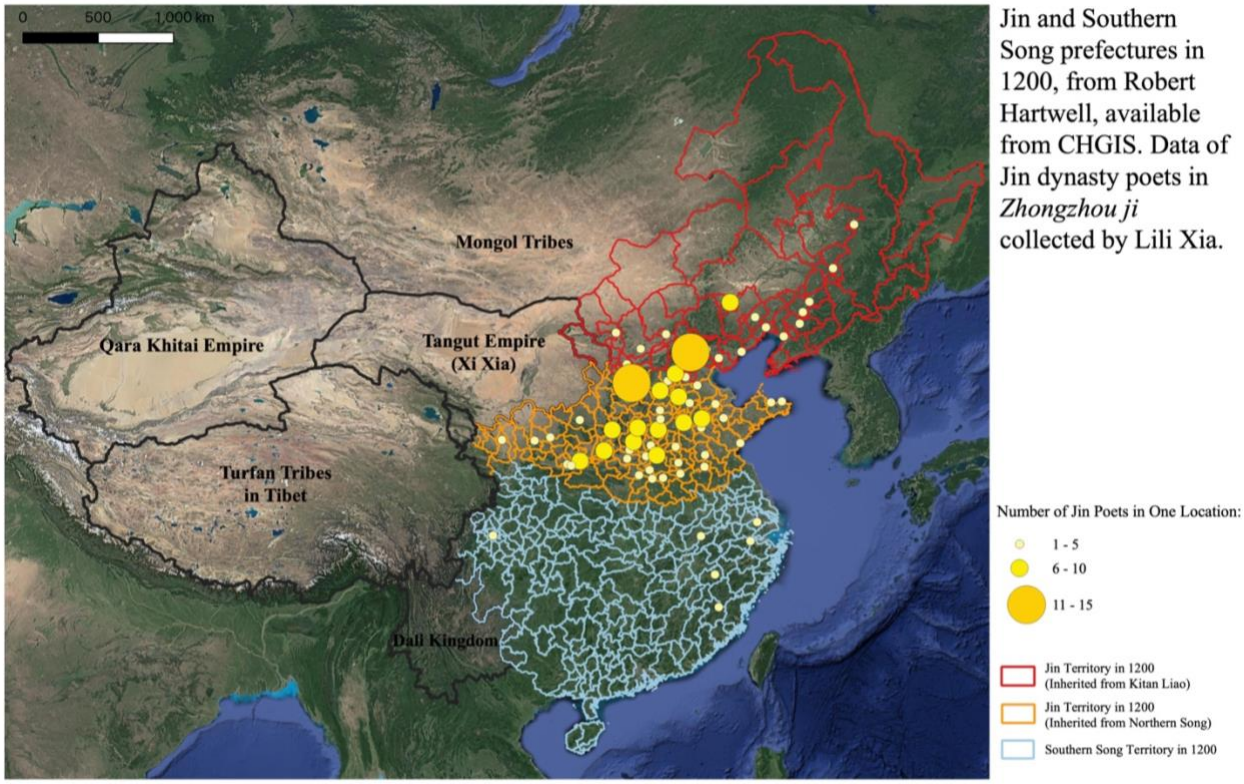
[47] See more in chapter 3.

this neatly formulated genealogy (Figure 2). To counterbalance this teleological discourse developed by Jin literati for their own purposes, I apply Digital Humanities tools to visualize two sets of social network models including key brokers along this orthodox stemma, which tells quite a different story of the "genealogy in motion" (Figures 3, 4). Supplemented by this social network analysis that calibrates the proximity and distance between individual nodes, this artificial and commemorative Jin literati lineage thus bespeaks the Foucauldian genealogy: We could tell who were magnified and who were marginalized otherwise via manipulation of discourse, and who were the hidden masters behind the scenes according to social clustering calculated by algorithm. As such, "a genealogical analysis… reconstructs a whole network of alliances, communications, and points of support" to show its capacity as "a technology of power."[48] This experiment further discloses two dynamic forces of laying out a literary constellation in the Jurchen Jin North China, namely the *discursive* product of a historical genealogy in retrospect, and *social* behaviors of literati networking in a contemporary space.[49]

At last, alongside the *zhongzhou* discourse and the constructive yet artificial force of Jin literary genealogy, the third approach I adopt in my research to foreground the Jurchen Jin literary achievement is topographically locating Jin poets in the space of North China. On the textual level, I find that Jin literati tended to replace the *Sinitic-barbarian* dichotomy with the discourse of *North-South* confrontation, so that the ethnic identity was purposefully downplayed and replaced instead by geocultural superiority of the North in Jin's bidding for a civil state. I further periodize and georeference all Jin poets listed in a major and consequential literary collection *Zhongzhou ji* 中州集 (Collection of the Central Terrain) with the help of GIS tools

[48] Michel Foucault, *Security, Territory, Population: Lectures at the Collège de France, 1977–1978*, ed. Michel Senellart et al., trans. Graham Burchell (New York, NY: Picador, 2009), p. 117.
[49] For the *modus operandi* of this social network analysis of Jin literati community, as well as its inherent disadvantage with the cautious awareness of incompleteness of historical records, see more in chapter 1.

(Map 2). The results are surprising, revelatory, illuminating in the sense that I rediscover the once obscured hotspots of literary activities in the "far north" from the previous Kitan Liao territory (marked with red boundaries on the map). Contrary to the conventional notion that nationwide economic and cultural hubs gravitated toward the South with an accelerating speed in the late imperial period,[50] I find that the Jin political regime to some extent made contributions to cultural prosperity in North China, given the highly engaged historical agency of northern literati under Jurchen rule.



Map 2: Geographical distribution of Jin dynasty poets recorded in *Zhongzhou Ji*
(Georeferencing data visualization with QGIS)[51]

[50] See Paul Jakov Smith's illustration of a "Jiangnan developmental cycle" during the Song-Yuan-Ming transition from the twelfth to the sixteenth centuries, in his "Introduction: Problematizing the Song-Yuan-Ming Transition," in *The Song-Yuan-Ming Transition in Chinese History*, pp. 1–34.

[51] My gratitude to Professors Michael A. Fuller and Peter K. Bol for experimenting CBDB and CHGIS data of Jin historical figures and geography at an initial stage. I basically borrow their visualization format generated by QGIS, and further improve it by demarcating territorial boundaries and applying my own ZZJ dataset.

Eventually, my dissertation project highlights the geographical, socio-political, cultural and conceptual "northernness" in Middle Period China. Though unfairly neglected over the long trajectory of normative Chinese traditions, I argue that the Jurchen Jin dynasty actually constitutes an integral part of the common wealth of "this culture of ours" (*siwen* 斯文). The fringe of possibility where a *heterotopic* and *heteroglossic* China trespasses both geographical and ideological boundaries further opens up plural "chronotopes" which I believe is deep-rooted in the Middle Period Sinosphere.

"Northern" Song as Invented Tradition

To make the story ever more complicated, the "North" in my dissertation also refers to the temporal reconstruction or even imaginary of a so-called "Northern" Song (*Bei Song* 北宋). More significantly, the "Northern" Song not only indicates a historical polity on the temporal level, but it is in the first place a spatial metaphor to mark out the historical horizon. I call it the distantiating or alienating mechanism through the lapse of time as if history can be perceived and even objectivized as space so that latecomers could "place the past" upon the timeline. For Southern Song descendants, their reflections on and anamnesis of the bygone Northern Song glory reveal a traumatic past not only spatially distant but also temporally irremediable. Moreover, the "Northern" Song has to be a back-formation whose *raison d'être* lies in the established fact of a "Southern" Song. Surprisingly, according to Don J. Wyatt, the "Northern" Song or *Bei Song* as a proper noun did not show up in texts until the Qing dynasty (1644–1912), but Wyatt also argues in the same article that a palpable reality predates its nomenclature.[52]

[52] Don J. Wyatt, "The Invention of the *Northern* Song," in Nicola Di Cosmo and Don J. Wyatt eds., *Political Frontiers, Ethnic Boundaries, and Human Geographies in Chinese History* (London; New York: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003), pp. 220–44.

In sharp contrast, the Southern Song (*Nan Song* 南宋) as a proper noun was already well-established in the twelfth- and thirteenth-century historical records – diplomatic documents in particular – but instead of a periodical marker, it was a formal designation in diplomatic parlance and almost exclusively used by non-Chinese polities referring to the southern location of Song China compared to northern dynasties of Liao, Jin, and even Tangut Xi Xia (1038–1227), and thus denoting the North-South tension and diplomatic parity during that period.[53] Contemporary discourses concerning the Song-Jin relations are largely preserved in Xu Mengshen's 徐夢莘 (1126–1207) *Assembled Compilation of Covenants with Northerners in the Three Reigns* [i.e. Song Emperors Huizong 徽宗 (r. 1100–1126), Qinzong 欽宗 (r. 1126–1127) and Gaozong 高宗 (r. 1127–1162)] (*Sanchao beimeng huibian* 三朝北盟會編) and Li Xinchuan's 李心傳 (1167–1244) *Important Records since the Jianyan Reign (1127–1130) Arranged by Year* (*Jianyan yilai xinian yaolu* 建炎以來繫年要錄). In these two Southern Song historiographical sources, *Nan Song* appears 35 and 20 times respectively, and all of them show up in the Jurchen Jin rhetoric to label the Song even in Emperor Huizong's reign. Besides, Li Tao's 李燾 (1115–1184) *Continued*

A preliminary study has been done by Nakajima Satoshi 中嶋敏, "'Hoku Sō/Nan Sō, Zen Sō/Kō Sō' shōko kō" 「北宋・南宋、前宋・後宋」稱呼考 (Philological Investigation of the Terms "Northern/Southern Song" and "Former/Latter Song"), *Kyūko* 汲古 36 (1999): 35–39. Nakajima first points out the absence of *Bei Song*/*Hoku Sō* ("Northern Song") in the official *Song History*, *Jin History* and *Yuan History*. Then he finds that the term *Qian Song*/*Zen Sō* 前宋 ("Former Song") is sometimes applied to refer to what we now call the Northern Song, but more often it stands for the Song dynasty as a whole in retrospect. As for *Nan Song*/*Nan Sō* ("Southern Song"), only one example is found in the *Song History*, while it is widely used in the *Yuan History*, which means it got currency at least in the early Ming. However, I will introduce another meaning of *Nan Song* in the twelfth-century diplomatic rhetoric below. Finally, *Hou Song*/*Kō Sō* 後宋 ("Latter Song") only appears once in the *Yuan History*.

With rough research done by myself, I tend to propose that the proper name *Bei Song* entered into currency around the historical interval between the late Ming (1368–1644) and early Qing (1636–1912). A final conclusion of this thought-provoking issue awaits a thorough investigation in future.

[53] See more about the diplomatic language of equality in the Liao-Song relations in Wang Gungwu, "The Rhetoric of a Lesser Empire: Early Sung Relations with Its Neighbors," and Tao, "Barbarians or Northerners," in *China Among Equals*, pp. 47–65, 66–86. Tao later extends this study into his treatise *Two Sons of Heaven*. For the Song-Jin case, see Herbert Franke, "Treaties between Sung and Chin," in Francoise Aubin ed., *Études Song: In Memoriam Etienne Balazs*, Série I: Histoire et institutions, No. 1 (Paris: Mouton, 1970): 55–84.

Long Draft of the Mirror for Aid in Government (*Xu Zizhitongjian changbian* 續資治通鑒長編), an incomplete Northern Song chronicle from 960 to 1100, also witnesses nine mentions of *Nan Song*, and they are what Kitan Liao and Tangut Xi Xia envoys called their Northern Song ally on the basis of equality. Finally, *Nan Song* shows up in high frequency in the *Da Jin diaofa lu* 大金弔伐錄 (Records of the Great Jin's Consoling [the People] and Punishing [the Evildoers]), a Jurchen Jin "document archive" renowned for its rich preservation of early Jin's political and diplomatic discourses.[54] Now it is clear that a "southern" Song was conceived by contemporaries in the Middle Period based on its geographical relativity to the northern "conquest dynasties" especially in diplomatic contexts, be it what we call Northern or Southern Song today. Moreover, because of the derogatory and illegitimate overtone indicated in the attribute of "South," which I have illustrated above, the term *Nan Song* was most often applied by Song's enemies and protested by Song envoys accordingly.[55]

Interestingly enough, even the term *Nan Song* or "Southern" Song was almost wiped out later in the *Song History* (*Song shi* 宋史) compiled by Mongol Yuan officials.[56] Perhaps this omission is due to the loss of efficacy when the binary rhetoric of a North-South divide was undesirable in a united empire like the Yuan and the Ming (1368–1644), or perhaps the duality of North and South is otherwise suggested in the separate historiographical compilation projects

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[54] But we should also admit that the rhetorical use of *Nan Song* / "Southern" Song was largely restricted to Jin official diplomatic papers. I didn't find this term applied by Jin writers in their individual collections.

[55] See, for example, Li Tao, *Xu Zizhitongjian changbian* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2004), 509.12119–20: 館伴所又言，信使欲改大遼國信所為北朝字，從之。以元祐中，因敵使授生餼劄子欲改大遼為北朝，既降旨從其所請，又令今後卻提空南朝字，彼亦不敢違。館伴所亦難以北朝劄札子內有**南宋**字；信使云西人之語，非本朝所稱。遂已。Also see Wang Gungwu, "The Rhetoric of a Lesser Empire," p. 82.

[56] The only appearance of *Nan Song* in the *Song History* is found in a quotation from a Jurchen Jin soldier under the circumstance of King Hailing Wanyan Liang 完顏亮's (r. 1150–1161) invasion towards the South in the biography of Yu Yunwen 虞允文 (1110–1174), see *Song shi* 宋史 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1985), 383.11794: "A certain Wan Dai said: 'If we kill our youthful master [i.e., Wanyan Liang], sign a peaceful treaty with the **Southern Song** and return homeland, we can thus live.' The assembly responded: 'Agree.'" 有萬戴者曰：「殺郎主，與**南宋**通和歸鄉則生矣。」眾曰：「諾。」 This passage is actually copied from *Jianyan yilai xinian yaolu*, *juan* 194.

of the *Liao History* (*Liao shi* 遼史), the *Jin History* (*Jin shi* 金史) and the *Song History* sponsored by Mongol rulers in the mid-fourteenth century.[57] This arrangement, however, reaffirms official discourses on the Song dynasty as a whole in a continuous, undisrupted lineage over the course of history, and in turn the Jurchen Jin remains as a peripheral outlier in the space of the twelfth- and thirteenth-century Sinosphere.

That said, the term *Nan Song* / "Southern Song" seems to have gradually taken root during the Yuan dynasty referring to the identical historical period we understand today, that is the twelfth- and thirteenth-century Song history after the imperial court moved south in confrontation with the northern Jurchen Jin. "Southern Song" as a concrete historical concept was already well-established by the early Ming period, since the term was taken for granted during the compilation of the official *Yuan History* in 1370.[58] In contrast, so far I haven't found any mention of *Bei Song* / "Northern Song" in Yuan texts, and when fourteenth-century writers meant to refer to the historical reality of what we call Northern Song today, they would simply use the term "Song."[59] According to my preliminary investigation, the proper noun "Northern Song" made its debut in textual sources as late as the Ming-Qing transitional period.

But once the "Northern" Song was invented, it went into wide currency and was readily integrated into the great chain of orthodox Chinese dynastic history. In consequence, much

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[57] For the overall historiographical compilation at the Mongol Yuan court, see Hok-Lam Chan, "Chinese Official Historiography at the Yuan Court: The Composition of the Liao, Chin, and Sung Histories," in *China under Mongol Rule*, ed. John D. Langlois, Jr. (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1981), pp. 56–106. For *Jin shi* in particular, see Chan, "The Compilation and Sources of the *Chin-Shih*," in *The Historiography of the Chin Dynasty*, pp. 1–65; Qiu Jingjia 邱靖嘉, Jin shi *zuanxiu kao* 《金史》纂修考 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2017). Finally, for the compilation of *Liao History* at the Jurchen Jin court, see Miao Runbo 苗潤博, Liao shi *tanyuan* 《遼史》探源 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2020), pp. 21–28.

[58] See Nakajima, "'Hoku Sō/Nan Sō, Zen Sō/Kō Sō' shōko kō."

[59] In my very basic research, I find two examples of Yuan texts that are illuminating here. One is a short manual of "universal history" named *Lidai Tonglüe* 歷代通畧 written by a Yuan scholar Chen Li 陳櫟 (1252–1334), in which *juan* 3 and *juan* 4 are entitled "Song" 宋 and "Southern Song" 南宋 respectively. In the same vein, Tao Zongyi 陶宗儀 (1322–1403) in the "Supplement" (*buyi* 補遺) of his *Shu shi huiyao* 書史會要 also lists calligraphers of the "Song" and "Southern Song" separately.

academic attention has been paid to the cultural continuity in tune with the trajectory from the Northern to the Southern Song.[60] Nevertheless, both the Song and the Jin were drawing on familiar, time-honored cultural traditions from the Northern Song as their regime legitimation strategies. In the northern Jin cultural production field, just like their Southern Song rival, several commemorative agendas were underway such as construction of Song-Jin genealogies, canonization of shared literary texts, apotheosis of Northern Song exemplars, and even wielding of Confucian orthodoxy. For instance, the teleological lineage of Jin literati illustrated above was in effect a product of emulation from its Northern Song prototype,[61] and the alleged "founding fathers" of Jin literature were all former Song scholar-officials who chose to remain in the North and serve the Jurchen court. This historical process was later crystalized in the phrase "borrowing talents from the other dynasty" (*jie cai yi dai* 借才異代).[62] More significant, the popularity of Su Shi 蘇軾 (1037–1101), a Northern Song cultural hero, among Jin literati community led to fervent admiration and emulation in the name of Su's disciples or even his

[60] For a thorough study on Southern Song poetry and its inheritance of and deviation from Northern Song models (especially the Jiangxi School of poetry), see Michael Fuller, *Drifting among Rivers and Lakes: Southern Song Dynasty Poetry and the Problem of Literary History* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2013).

Meanwhile, a massive enterprise of writing official dynastic historiography on their "Northern" Song predecessors was held by the Southern Song court. See Charles Hartman's fundamental study *The Making of Song Dynasty History: Sources and Narratives, 960–1279 CE* (Cambridge, UK; New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2021).

In terms of the genealogical construction of the Learning of the Way school among Southern Song Neo-Confucians, see Hoyt Cleveland Tillman, *Confucian Discourse and Chu Hsi's Ascendancy* (Honolulu, HI: University of Hawai'i Press, 1992); Christian Soffel, "The *Zhongyong* and the *Daotong* during the Southern Song," Part 1 in Soffel and Tillman, *Cultural Authority and Political Culture in China: Exploring Issues with the* Zhongyong *and the* Daotong *during the Song, Jin and Yuan Dynasties* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2012), pp. 33–109.

[61] For the construction of the Northern Song literati lineage, see Wang Shuizhao 王水照, "Bei Song de wenxue jiemeng yu shang 'tong' de shehui sichao" 北宋的文學結盟與尚「統」的社會思潮, in *Wang Shuizhao zixuan ji* 王水照自選集 (Shanghai: Shanghai jiaoyu chubanshe, 2000), pp. 105–30; ibid., *Bei Song san da wenren jituan* 北宋三大文人集團 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2021). For the tail end or afterlife of this literati lineage, see my paper "'Su men,' 'Xu dang' yu wannian Su Zhe – jianlun Bei Song moqi 'Yuanyou dangren' de qunti mianmao" 「蘇門」、「許黨」與晚年蘇轍——兼論北宋末期「元祐黨人」的群體面貌 (Su Zhe's Late Years in Xuchang and the Literati Group Portrait of the "Yuanyou Party Members" in the Late Northern Song Period), *Xin Song xue* 新宋學 (New Studies on Song China) 5 (2016): 69–80.

[62] This issue of "whence Jin literati" will be discussed in detail in chapter 1.

"avatars." Jin elite's learning and becoming of Su Shi further spoke for their inheritance of literary culture that perpetuated from the Northern Song directly to the Jurchen Jin.[63] Concerning the intellectual "lineages" at that time, northern literati from the Jin-Yuan period proposed a contested agenda of claiming Confucian authority against what Zhu Xi's 朱熹 (1130–1200) disciples upheld in the South.[64] Finally, in this line of thought, we come to understand another circumstantial reason for the absence of "Northern" Song in contemporary textual documentation: The Jurchen sovereignty claimed to have eliminated the Song rulership entirely in 1126 during its founding period and thus have inherited its imperial legitimacy directly from the latter, so that the "chronotope" of Middle Period China did not pass through the channel from the "Northern" to "Southern" Song, but rather underwent an unmediated track from Song to Jin.[65] Accordingly, the Song-Jin "chronotope" was also a denial of Southern Song's legitimate stance, which in turn invalidated altogether the necessity of distinguishing a "Northern" Song from the standpoint of the Jurchen Jin polity in North China.

In sum, the term "Northern" Song / *Bei Song* constitutively alludes to and derives from the historical Southern Song / *Nan Song* as the Janus-faced pair. We can construe the back-formation of the "Northern" Song in the sense of historical periodization as both real and imagined, literal and symbolic, substantial and rhetorical. On the one hand, Southern Song descendants refused to apply the North-South dichotomy to demarcate their dynastic history, and

[63] See more in chapter 6 alongside my work-in-progress articles "The Many Lives of Su Shi in Works of Art under Jurchen Rule," and "Reincarnating Banished Immortals: Su Shi as Avatar of Li Bai, and Their Jurchen Jin Avatars."
[64] Hoyt Cleveland Tillman, "The Collision and Amalgamation of Song, Jin, and Yuan Cultural Thinking," Part 2 in Soffel and Tillman, *Cultural Authority and Political Culture in China*, pp. 113–88.
[65] One strong piece of evidence from the Jin side was the Jurchen court discussions of "legitimate succession" based on the theory of Five Agencies in the early thirteenth century. Jin Emperor Zhangzong 金章宗 (r. 1190–1208) made the final judgment that the Jurchen empire adopted the Virtue of Earth that ensued from Song's Virtue of Fire. This not only means that the Jin was the rightful successor of the Song, but it also makes sure that the Song dynasty was brought to a close in the past perfect tense, so that the contemporary Southern Song regime was construed as undesired and illicit accordingly. See more in fns. 41 and 42 above.

were instead headstrong to construe their imperial past and present as an uninterrupted continuum all the way through. On the other, contemporary voices in the Southern Song still betrayed the uneasy self-consciousness of a precipitous and traumatic historical disruption with notable markers like "after moving south" (*nandu hou* 南渡後), "since the Jianyan era (1127–1130)" (*Jianyan yilai* 建炎以來), and above all, the aspirational "resurgence" (*zhongxing* 中興). After all, the Southern Song is the central "site of textual production" to reconstruct a "Northern" Song past available to this day: "There are *lieux de memoire*, sites of memory, because there are no longer *milieux de memoire*, real environments of memory."[66] As such, the holistic chronotope of "Song China" held fast by Song descendants remains an imagined realm for nostalgia, another *heterotopia* conforming to the diffractive projections of the past under the mechanism of cultural memory. Accordingly, "Northern" Song as an invented tradition with its belated appearance among *much* later generations befits Derrida's contingent concept of *trace* as "the mark of the absence of a presence, an always already absent present," whose existence is "under erasure" (*sous rature*) and henceforth could be aspired but never approached.[67]

[66] Nora, "Between Memory and History," 7.

[67] Jacques Derrida, *Of Grammatology*, trans. G. C. Spivak (Baltimore, MD: John Hopkins University Press, 1976), "Translator's Preface," p. xvii. Derrida further explains: "I relate this concept of trace to what is at the center of the latest work of Emmanuel Levinas and his critique of ontology: relationship to the illeity as to the alterity of a past that never was and can never be lived in the originary or modified form of presence" (p. 70). Also see Derrida, "Difference," in his *Speech and Phenomena, and Other Essays on Husserl's Theory of Signs*, trans. David Allison (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 1973): "The trace is not a presence but is rather the simulacrum of a presence that dislocates, displaces, and refers beyond itself. The trace has, properly speaking, no place, for effacement belongs to the very structure of the trace" (p. 156).

From Space to Genealogy

Situating Jurchen Jin and Southern Song in Chinese History

With the help of "archaeology of knowledge," it is now clear that the Northern Song myth, like an effigy of history, lies in the penumbra of reality and fiction. This Foucauldian approach applied to the mytho-historic Northern Song not only reveals manifold layers enwrapped in the concept of "North," but also illuminates rival narratives in the Song-Jin transitional era and further reveals the plural, uneven, and contradictory past. As articulated above, the Jurchen Jin and the Southern Song conjured up their own chronotopic visions of "China" to inherit: With the dreadful displacement of "China" from North to South, the legitimacy of the Southern Song hinged on the retrospective and reconstructive chronicles traced back to a "Northern" Song precedent cradled in *zhongyuan* or the Central Plain, whereas the Jurchen Jin dynasty claimed China by physically occupying *zhongzhou* or the Central Terrain in real politics.

At the same time, both the Jurchen Jin and the Southern Song underwent some sort of identity shifts. On the one hand, the Southern Song suffered a "chronotope-breaking" calamity because of the diaspora. The loss of North China territory was a serious blow to the idea of Chinese superiority, and Southern Song elites tried to remedy this formidable situation by self-reflection on the failure of their state power and self-defensive reaffirmation of political legitimation and cultural authority. This resulted in bolstering up their ethnocentric pride by adopting a moralistic discourse to dichotomize Chineseness versus barbarism.[68] The Jurchen Jin dynasty, on the other hand, not only ruled over North China but also pursued in the "trans-

[68] See Shao-yun Yang, "Chineseness and Barbarism in Early Daoxue Philosophy," in *The Way of the Barbarians*, pp. 119–40.

positioning" or "metalepsis" into Chinese history *in medias res*, which brought out its own time-space framework at once distinct from and intertwined with the chronotope of Song China – as both the successor of the Northern Song and the arch-rival or alternate of the Southern Song. To take one step further, in face of the Mongol conquest in the early thirteenth century, Yuan Haowen, the master poet of the entire Jin period, entrenched the full-fledged Jin literati culture into the geocultural concept *zhongzhou* or the Central Terrain as the earmark of universal civilization under the autonomous sovereign.[69] This exactly echoed what Northern Song literati had done when they were defeated by Jin cavalry and expelled out of North China, but this time the positions are switched, as the Jurchen Jin stood for "Chinese/civilians" and the Mongols the nomadic/barbaric invaders. Here we observe how history rhymes: Ironically, the Jurchen Jin became China exactly when this former conqueror was itself being conquered by another alien other.

This Song-Jin fight over discursive ownership over "China" stands for two contending modalities of history in Michel Foucault's elaboration on *généalogie*: the traditional history or "Antiquarian History" that strives for a pretended continuity by the force of ideology on the one hand, and the *wirkliche Historie* or "effective" history on the other that "corresponds to the acuity of a glance that distinguishes, separates, and disperses."[70] For Foucault, *généalogie* is an examination of the eruptive emergence or "the moment of arising" [*Entstehung*] with the intrusion of extra forces as well as the descents of hybrid origins — in a word, Foucault's *généalogie* stresses the fissures within an unstable, formative history, involving fundamental events such as:

[69] For the rise of national consciousness in the Jurchen Jin case, see Xiong Mingqin 熊鳴琴, *Jinren "Zhongguo" guan yanjiu* 金人「中國」觀研究 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2014).
[70] Michel Foucault, "Nietzsche, Genealogy, History," in Paul Rabinow ed., *The Foucault Reader* (New York, NY: Pantheon Books, 1984), p. 87.

> the reversal of a relationship of forces, the usurpation of power, the appropriation of a vocabulary turned against those who had once used it, a feeble domination that poisons itself as it grows lax, the entry of a masked "other"…[71]

In this light, the Jurchen Jin is exactly the unexpected, extraneous force that disrupted the normative and established course of the Song history, one candidate for the "effective" history that decomposes the monolith of the former historical entity. And yet, the Foucauldian form of history, being entropic, random and dissociative, was against the force of narratology in Chinese historiography even for Jurchen people.[72] After all, the Jin dynasty also made an effort to conjecture its own trans-historical pseudo-chronicle that overarched from the Tang, Kitan Liao, Northern Song, to Jurchen Jin itself as its cultural scheme with the final aim to eventually integrate into the Sinitic "culture of ours." As such, the Jin dynasty serves as one of the alternatives, deviations, and ruptures in the course of the Song-Jin transitional period, exemplifying how "time forks potentially towards innumerable projections of the past."[73] As a result, the Southern Song descendants and the Jurchen Jin "interlopers" provide a two-pronged approach to the Northern Song past, as the centrifugal force of history leads to both *heterotopia* and *heteroglossia* of "China" in the Middle Period.

[71] Ibid., p. 88.
[72] For the human need for narrativity to make history intelligible, see Hayden White, "The Value of Narrativity in the Representation of Reality," in his *The Content of the Form: Narrative Discourse and Historical Representation* (Baltimore, MD: John Hopkins University Press, 1987), pp. 1–25.
[73] This expression is adapted from Jorge Luis Borges, "The Garden of Forking Paths," trans. Donald A. Yates, in Donald A. Yates and James E. Irby eds., *Labyrinths: Selected Stories and Other Writings* (New York, NY: New Directions Publishing, 1964), pp. 31–39. The original sentence is "time forks perpetually towards innumerable futures."

Chapter Outline

The story of Jurchen Jin literary culture is yet to be told, and the major task of my research is to flesh out its nature and poetic production in particular. Whether intentional or inadvertent, the collective amnesia and apathy of Jin literature over time is at once a regrettable fact and an interesting cultural phenomenon worth investigation per se. More than filling in the gap, I argue that a critical study of Jin literature is significant *on its own terms*, because of both its excellence overshadowed by Song exemplars, and the hybrid and heteroglossic capacity it is endowed with to complicate and transform the current academic landscape of Middle Period Chinese literature.

To achieve this goal, my dissertation draws a comprehensive picture of Jin dynasty poetry and literati culture organized in a tripartite structure with seven chapters. Chapters 1 to 3 outline an overall cultural history of the Jin literati community. Integrating socio-historical studies and bibliographical research, I examine the origins and developments of Jin literati, as well as their identity negotiation and cultural legitimacy under Jurchen rule. In chapter 1, I conduct a bibliographical research of extant Jin literary sources, and establish a periodization framework in terms of both dynastic history and Jin literati genealogy. Chapter 2 turns to the historical agents of Jin literati culture, including both Jurchens and Han Chinese, and how they co-existed, cooperated, and competed with each other. In particular, I argue for the "literatization" paradigm in place of the stereotypical "sinicization" to make sense of China under Jurchen rule. Accordingly, besides the Sinitic-barbarian dichotomy, I adopt a pair of *wen* 文 (civil) / *wu* 武 (martial) concepts to reveal the interactive negotiations of Jurchen/Chinese identity. Then in chapter 3, I deal with the geocultural and conceptual anchorage of "northernness" to demonstrate Jurchen Jin's claim for political and cultural legitimacy. On the

one hand, I foreground the far northern literati community from the previous Kitan Liao territory who contributed to the civil culture under Jurchen rule. On the other, I analyze the discursive construct of *zhongzhou* 中州 or "Central Terrain," which marked out the historical agency and subjectivity of Jin literati, as well as their intellectual endeavor to construe their own dynasty as a Chinese empire. These three chapters in Part I together map out the broad historical background where Jin cultural production took place.

Part II compares the twelfth- and thirteenth-century northern and southern literary styles. I notice symbiotic connections and competitions between poets from both sides, not without mutual anxiety of influence. Chapter 4 examines diverse aesthetic trends within the Jin poet society per se. On the one hand, Li Chunfu's 李純甫 (1177–1223) literati circle called for the "aesthetics of the extraordinary" (*qi* 奇) in poetic diction; On the other, the elite group led by Zhao Bingwen 趙秉文 (1159–1232) ran against this fashion and advocated the poetic model of "elegance or dignity" (*ya* 雅) characterized by natural yet noble expression. While both poets vied for leadership among Jin literati, I argue that Li took advantage of his extensive social connections with contemporary poets and gained his reputation as their *spiritus rector*, whereas Zhao deliberately built up a genealogical pantheon for Jin literati in history where he also occupied a position. Chapter 5 uses three case studies – the rhyme-matching poetic practice (*ciyun shi* 次韻詩) typically treated as the Jiangxi style, Wang Ruoxu's radical criticism over Southern Song poets, and the "North-South" discourse embedded in ZZJ – to illustrate both overt oppositions and covet references between northern Jin and Southern Song poet camps. As we will see, the Southern Song turns out as the potential interlocutor in the extant Jin sources – sometimes foregrounded as the arch-rival, sometimes deliberately erased as the "absent presence."

Part III shifts from poetry contests in a contemporary space to literary traditions of the past. The two chapters explore the historical fountainheads of Jin literati culture, as well as the Jin refashioning of poetic legacies from previous Chinese empires. In chapter 6, I discuss the **Northern Song** cultural influence on Jin literary culture in terms of the Song-Jin book history and print culture in North China, Jin's succession of the (Tang-)Song orthodox lineage of "ancient-style prose" in the name of "this culture of ours" (*siwen* 斯文) and "literature in tandem with the Way," and last but not least, the popularity of Su Shi as a Northern Song cultural hero and exemplary literatus among Jin literati, many of whom even modeled on Su's lifestyle and literary fashions. Finally, chapter 7 reveals the phenomenon of prevalent learning from **Tang** poetry among thirteenth-century late Jin poets. Besides close reading of late Jin poetry imitating Tang models, I discuss in detail an important Tang poetry anthology *Drum and Fife Songs of Tang Poetry* (*Tangshi guchui* 唐詩鼓吹) compiled by Yuan Haowen in the mid-thirteenth century. We can see how late Jin poets appreciated and made use of Tang poetry to create their own poetic canons with unique northern Jin features. In sum, both the Tang and Song literary pasts show their imprints in the formation of Jin cultural enterprise, and this in turn betrays the latter's covert yet constitutive convergence into the Chinese cultural history.

In conclusion, I argue for the achievement and significance of Jin classical poetry and literati culture, albeit long forgotten, as a testament to cultural hybridity and intersubjectivity occasioned in the multipolar world of Middle Period China. Furthermore, by demonstrating the Jurchen polity's aptitude for appropriating Chinese claims to their own versions of civilization, my dissertation highlights the constructedness of China as an intersubjective, transcultural, and border-crossing space.

PART I

ENVISIONING JIN LITERATI COMMUNITY IN TWELFTH- AND THIRTEENTH-CENTURY NORTH CHINA

CHAPTER 1

Whence Jin Literati?

Textual Evidence, Periodization, and Genealogical Construction

As I have mentioned for several times, Jin literati culture can be seen as the elephant in the room when we turn to current studies on classical Chinese literature in the Middle Period. Generally speaking, the twelfth- and thirteenth-century poetry and prose, or *wenzhang* 文章 that embodies literati composition and self-identity, are underrepresented in current scholarship, since emphasis has been put on genres like song lyrics in the South as well as dramas in the North, which are considered as the cutting-edge literary developments at that time. On top of that, while relatively more attention has been drawn to Southern Song poets and intellectuals, there remains no single monograph on contemporary Jin dynasty poetry save for several pieces of articles up to date. In this part, however, I argue for a highly creative Jin literati community active in North China at that time, and there is no denying that *wenzhang* and classical poetry, rather than song lyrics or dramas, predominated the cultural life of this literati group. By examining its textual production, historical agency, and cultural issues, I not only try to conceive of a bird's-eye view of northern Jin literature in the Middle Period, but also want to reveal a more open, diverse, and yet integrated literati community in this alien regime compared to their southern rival. Ultimately, all these efforts that northern literary elite put were channeled into the Jin cultural enterprise to claim "China" with legitimate authority.

In chapter 1, I will mainly focus on studying the primary sources of Jin literature in tune with its dynastic periodization. Within this bibliographical investigation, I highlight the significance of *Zhongzhou ji* 中州集 which helps us delineate the genealogical succession of Jin

literati over the course of the entire Jin period. I leave issues of their identity negotiation and legitimate discourses to the following two chapters.

Overview of Extant Jin Literary Sources

To begin my research, it is necessary to first get familiar with textual sources and historical agents of Jin literati culture. Unlike the overwhelming preponderance of extant Southern Song (1127-1279) literature, our overall assessment of Jin literati culture is founded on very limited core texts. As I will argue below, neither Mongol-Yuan (1271-1368) rulers nor the Ming dynasty (1368-1644) cultural elite bothered to preserve the Jurchen Jin literature, as the former disparaged literati culture at one stroke, and the latter put on cultural bias and hostility towards previous non-Han alien regimes of Liao (916-1125), Jin, and Yuan. When the Manchu rulers in the Qing dynasty (1644-1912) "rediscovered" the historical significance and literary legacies of their Jin ancestors in the late seventeenth and eighteenth century, more than four hundred years had worn on, and much had already been lost for long.

Extant Literary Collections by Jin Dynasty Poets

Concerning extant Jin texts on the whole, we should keep in mind this precondition that religious texts especially on Daoism and medical treatises witnessed proliferation and better preservation compared to Jin literary sources. Also, the historical agents who produced these texts were Daoist priests and professional physicians, who were in most cases literate but not necessarily literati. Therefore, Jin literati culture turned out to be only one part of the overall Jin cultural history, as we see knowledge production and intellectual creativity of that era also lied

elsewhere. Returning to Jin literature, especially the aesthetic field of classical poetry, I basically turn to literary collections and anthologies in the Jin dynasty as my primary sources, which I list in Table 1 below. These are the "core texts" in terms of Jin classical literature. Here I exclude genres like intellectual discourses, historical records, jottings and miscellanies written by Jin literati, such as Zhang Xingjian's 張行簡 (1156-1215) treatise on physiognomy called *Rhapsody on Great Universality of Human Relations* (*Renlun datong fu* 人倫大統賦), Li Chunfu's 李純甫 (1177-1223) *Collected Opinions for Propagating the Way* (*Mingdao jishuo* 鳴道集說), Yuan Haowen's 元好問 (1190-1257) *Records of Hearsay Continued* (*Xu yijian zhi* 續夷堅志), Li Zhi's 李治 (1192-1279) *Sea Mirror of Circle Measurements* (*Ce yuan hai jing* 測圓海鏡) and *Commentaries on Ancient and Recent [Books] from the Veneration Studio* (*Jingzhai gujin zhu* 敬齋古今黈), Liu Qi's 劉祁 (1203-1250) *Memoir from Retirement* (*Gui qian zhi* 歸潛志, GQZ hereafter), and Wang E's 王鶚 (1190-1273) *Leftover Anecdotes from Runan* (*Runan yishi* 汝南遺事), etc. Most of these texts belong to the categories of historiographical writing (or *shibu* 史部 in traditional bibliographical classification) and intellectual thoughts (or *zibu* 子部, "texts of masters and philosophers"), and they represent myriad aspects of Jin literati culture besides poetry and prose composition. That said, at times they provide circumstantial accounts and peer reviews concerning Jin literary hot-button issues, especially GQZ, of which I selectively take entries as contemporary paratexts or snapshots to trace the contours the Jin "republic of letters."

Moreover, I mainly focus on source texts done through the hands of contemporary Jin literati, so as to get close to the Jin literary landscape back then, albeit biased and fragmentary. As for those later "complete collections" of Jin literature compiled and edited by Qing dynasty and modern scholars – among which the *Quan Jin shi* 全金詩 (Complete Collection of Jin

Dynasty Poetry), *Jin wen zui* 金文最 (Agglomerate of Jin Dynasty Prose), and *Quan Jin Yuan ci* 全金元詞 (Complete Collection of Song Lyrics in the Jin and Yuan Dynasties) are the most essential, listed as the last three items in the table – I consult them as database-like Jin literary sourcebooks.

Table 1 Extant Anthologies and Collections of Jin Dynasty Literature

Author or Compiler	Collection	Note
Contemporary Sources by Jin Authors, 12th to 13th Centuries		
Cai Songnian 蔡松年 (1107-1159)	*Mingxiu ji* 明秀集 (Collection of the Bright and Talented) [fragmentary]	Collection of Cai's song lyrics (*ci* 詞). Originally 6 *juan*, of which the first 3 *juan* extant. Annotated by a later Jin scholar Wei Daoming 魏道明 (fl. 1200s).
Wang Ji 王寂 (1128-1194)	*Zhuoxuan ji* 拙軒集 (Collection of the Clumsy Veranda) [reconstruct]	Wang's individual collection of poetry in 6 *juan*. Original edition lost; present version extracted from *Yongle dadian* 永樂大典 by Qing dynasty scholars in charge of *Siku quanshu* 四庫全書.
Zhao Bingwen 趙秉文 (1159-1232)	*Xianxian laoren Fushui wenji* 閑閑老人滏水文集 (Literary Collection of Fu River by Elder Xianxian, FSJ hereafter) [complete or fragmentary]	20 *juan* in present edition with rhapsody (1 *juan*), poetry (8 *juan*) and prose (11 *juan*); it is said to have once existed a certain *Fushui waiji* 滏水外集 of 10 *juan* including Zhao's Buddhist and Daoist writings, which is now lost.
Wang Ruoxu 王若虛 (1174-1243)	*Hunan yilao ji* 滹南遺老集 (Collection of the Remnant Elder in the Southern Coast of Hutuo River, HNYLJ hereafter) [complete]	45 *juan* predominated by prose (including *Hunan shihua* 滹南詩話), with only a few poems at the end of last *juan* and an appendix of poetry transcribed from *Zhongzhou ji* 中州集. See more in chapter 5.
Li Junmin 李俊民 (1176-1260)	*Zhuangjing ji* 莊靖集 (Collection of Duke Zhuangjing [lit. Solemn and Composed]) [complete]	10 *juan* with both poetry (7 *juan*) and prose (3 *juan*).
Yang Huan 楊奐 (1186-1255)	*Huanshan yigao* 還山遺稿 (Bequeathed Manuscripts in Mountain Retreat) [reconstruct]	Original edition of Yang's individual collection lost; present version rearranged by a Ming dynasty scholar Song Tingzuo 宋廷佐 (*jinshi* 1511) with 2 *juan* of poetry and prose respectively, attached with an appendix of paratexts about Yang found in other Jin-Yuan collections.

Yang Hongdao 楊宏道 (1189-1271?)	*Xiaoheng ji* 小亨集 (Collection of Minor Attainment) [reconstruct]	Yang's individual collection in 6 *juan* with both poetry (5 *juan*) and prose (1 *juan*). Original edition lost; present version extracted from *Yongle dadian*.
Yuan Haowen 元好問 (1190-1257)	*Yishan xiansheng wenji* 遺山先生文集 (Literary Collection of Master Yishan) [complete]	40 *juan* with both poetry (14 *juan*) and prose (26 *juan*), attached with an appendix.
	Yishan yuefu 遺山樂府 (Song Lyrics of Master Yishan) [complete]	Collection of Yuan's song lyrics; various editions (1 *juan*, 3 *juan*, 4 *juan*, 5 *juan*) extant.
	Zhongzhou ji 中州集, appended with *Zhongzhou yuefu* 中州樂府 (Poetry Collection of the Central Plain Appended with Song Lyrics, ZZJ and ZZYF hereafter) [complete]	Yuan's collection and compilation of Jin dynasty poetry and song lyrics. ZZJ: Jin poetry anthology in 10 *juan*, with altogether 2066 poems by 251 poets; a brief biography is offered under the entry of each poet. ZZYF: 124 pieces of song lyrics by 36 Jin poets; additional biographies are offered if not seen in ZZJ.
Duan Keji 段克己 (1196-1254), Duan Chengji 段成己 (1199-1279)	*Er miao ji* 二妙集 (Collection of the Twin Marvels) [complete]	8 *juan* of poetry (6 *juan*) and song lyrics (2 *juan*) by Duan brothers.
Li Ting 李庭 (1199-1282)	*Yu'an ji* 寓庵集 (Collection of the Lodging Abbey) [fragmentary and full of misattributions]	The most prevailing edition consists of 8 *juan* with poetry and song lyrics (3 *juan*), alongside prose (5 *juan*). Another extant Qing dynasty manuscript has many more poems and fewer prose. Both are not fine editions, incomplete (there are missing pieces found in *Yongle dadian*), and full of misattributions.[1]
"Complete Collections" of Jin Literature Later Compiled by Qing Dynasty and Modern Scholars		
Xue Ruizhao 薛瑞兆 (1947-)	*Xinbian quan Jin shi* 新編全金詩 (Complete Collection of Jin Dynasty Poetry, New Edition, Zhonghua shuju, 2021, XBQJS hereafter)	The most comprehensive collection of Jin poetry up to date, including more than twelve thousand poems by over six hundred poets. Based on previous editions of *Quan Jin shi* compiled by the Qing scholar Guo Yuanyu 郭元釪 published in 1711 (358 poets, 5544 poems), and by modern scholars Xue Ruizhao and Guo Mingzhi 郭明志 (534 poets, 12066 poems; Nankai daxue chubanshe, 1995).

[1] For the bibliographical investigation of this collection, see Sun Haiqiao 孫海橋, "Yuandai liang *Yu'an ji* kao" 元代兩《寓庵集》考, *Tushuguan zazhi* 圖書館雜誌 (Library Journal) 39.8 (2020): 124-30.

Zhang Jinwu 張金吾 (1787-1829)	*Jin wen zui* 金文最 (Agglomerate of Jin Dynasty Prose, JWZ hereafter)[2]	A voluminous collection of Jin dynasty prose in 60 *juan*, organized in order of forty-two literary genres; includes more than 1790 texts of over a hundred writers; finished by Zhang Jinwu in 1822, first published in 1882. A pioneer of this compilation project is *Jin wen ya* 金文雅 (*The Finest of Jin Dynasty Prose*) by Zhuang Zhongfang 莊仲方 (1780-1857), with compositions of both poetry and prose by eighty Jin authors in 16 *juan*.
Tang Guizhang 唐圭璋 (1901-1990)	*Quan Jin Yuan ci* 全金元詞 (Complete Collection of Song Lyrics in the Jin and Yuan Dynasties, Zhonghua shuju, 1979, QJYC hereafter)	A comprehensive collection of 7293 pieces of song lyrics by 282 Jin-Yuan poets in total, among which 3572 pieces were composed by 70 Jin poets, and the rest 3721 pieces by 212 Yuan poets.

Above I enlist the Jin literary sources extant to this day, and several textual qualities can be observed from this table.

First, the most obvious one is the scarcity of relevant materials that have been handed down to us. In face of more than one hundred individual collections from the Northern Song and nearly three hundred from the Southern Song catalogued in the *Siku quanshu* 四庫全書, the less than a dozen contemporary Jin literary materials are next to nothing, not to mention that many of them are corrupt manuscripts or extracted from other encyclopedic sourcebooks. As we can see from the table above, three Jin individual collections, namely Wang Ji's *Zhuoxuan ji*, Yang Huan's *Huanshan yigao*, and Yang Hongdao's *Xiaoheng ji*, are later bibliographical and editorial re-constructs from fifteenth- and sixteenth-century sources.[3] The massive loss of Jin textual

[2] I decide not to use *Quan Liao Jin wen* 全遼金文, ed. Yan Fengwu 閻鳳梧, 3 vols (Taiyuan: Shanxi guji chubanshe, 1999), because of its large overlap with *Jin wen zui* and degenerate quality. See Xue Ruizhao 薛瑞兆, "*Quan Liao Jin wen* jiaoding" 《全遼金文》校訂, *Guji zhengli yanjiu xuekan* 古籍整理研究學刊, 2008.4: 33-38. In addition, the part of Liao dynasty prose in this collection largely transcribes from *Quan Liao wen* 全遼文 compiled by the modern scholar Chen Shu 陳述 (1911-1992) and infringes on plagiarism.

[3] Here I exclude the reconstructed individual collection *Huanghua ji* 黃華集 of Wang Tingyun 王庭筠 (1151-1202) compiled by a modern scholar Jin Yufu 金毓黻 (1887-1962) in 1934 (*Liao hai congshu* 遼海叢書, No. 21). This

sources without question should be attributed to the overall negligence during the following Yuan and Ming dynasties, for the sake of either political rivalry (Mongol vs. Jurchen in the case of Yuan) or cultural superiority (civilized vs. barbarian in the case of Ming). It is not until the Qing dynasty ruled by Manchu people, who traced back their cultural and ethnical origin to Jurchen ancestors living in the Middle Period Manchuria,[4] that Jin cultural legacy or wreckage came into the public view again. We know that full-scale collections of Jin literature such as QJS, *Jin wen ya*, and JWZ were all first launched by Qing scholars in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries – and by then five or even six centuries have already passed. A late eighteenth-century scholar Huang Tingjian 黃廷鑑 in his preface to JWZ thus lamented:

> With respect to the establishment of the Jurchen Jin state, the Mongol Yuan regime was hostile to this predecessor, and Ming dynasty people saw it as alien as distant places between Qin and Yue, so that [Yuan and Ming people] remained unconcerned about the scattering and loss of Jin literature.… Born six and seven hundred years later, [Zhang Jinwu, the compiler of JWZ] had nothing to inherit before, and nothing to reply on around. Only with the mental strength of a single person and hearsay from rural villages, he wanted to seek out [extant Jin prose] nearby and to prove into its remote origin – how difficult this task was!
>
> 夫金之立國，元既相讐，明人又視同秦越，其文一任其散佚。……生六七百年後，前無所承，旁無所藉，而欲以一人之心力、鄉邑之見聞，旁蒐而遠討之，難矣。[5]

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version consists of 8 *juan*, of which the first 3 *juan* include Wang's prose, poetry, and song lyrics respectively, followed by relative historical information in the rest of 5 *juan*. The compiler basically transcribed prose from JWZ, stone inscriptions, and local gazetteers, along with poetry and song lyrics from ZZJ, *Quan Jin shi*, and *Zhongzhou yuefu* 中州樂府. As a result, limited new materials about Wang are offered besides extant Jin literary sources I have listed in the table above, and this collection is more suitable to be taken as a reference book of Wang Tingyun's literature.

For the same reason, I also exclude Yang Tingxiu 楊庭秀 (d. 1215), *Yang Huisou yiji* 楊晦叟遺集, as well as Zhang Jian 張建 (fl. 1900s), *Lanquan laoren yiji* 蘭泉老人遺集, both compiled by a local gentleman in Shaanxi called Zhang Pengyi 張鵬一 (1867-1943) and included in *Congshu jicheng xubian* 叢書集成續編 (Shanghai: Shanghai shudian, 1994), vol. 107, and others of that ilk. Be that as it may, we should acknowledge that the major contributions of these compilers are their recovery of new literary materials culled from dispersive local gazetteers and stone inscriptions.

[4] On this issue, see Pamela Kyle Crossley, "An Introduction to the Qing Foundation Myth," *Late Imperial China* 6.2 (1985):13-24; ibid., "*Manzhou Yuanliu Kao* and the Formalization of the Manchu Heritage," *The Journal of Asian Studies* 46.4 (1987): 761-90.

[5] Huang Tingjian, preface to *Jin wen zui* 金文最, comp. Zhang Jinwu 張金吾 (1787-1829) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1990), pp. 4-5.

The temporal and spatial absence of Jin texts, meaning nearly no legitimate textual transmission from Jin to Qing and no material remains in this world, was the untoward reality in front of the Qing scholars. As such, the Jin textual sources we have today are full of gaps and fissures, so that barring the discovery of new evidence, the entire picture of Jin literature seems to never be approached.

Second, as the quotation above reveals, in tandem with the rarity of Jin literary works is their heterogeneous and disjointed provenance. In a sense, the condition of Jin literature is largely improved thanks to compilation projects of "complete collections" of Jin poetry, prose, and song lyrics initiated by Qing dynasty and modern scholars listed above. The major contribution of later compilers whose work is labeled as "assembling the discarded" (*jiyi* 輯佚) is to add to the overall landscape more details and signposts by extracting piecemeal fragments dotted in miscellaneous sources, especially stone inscriptions and local gazetteers, which is especially the case of JWZ. In particular, Daoist texts portray an overwhelming presence in XBQJS and QJYC: out of 150 *juan* of XBQJS, the last one third of the corpus are all poems by Jin Daoist of Perfect Realization sect (Quanzhen jiao 全真教) starting from *juan* 105; in parallel, two thirds of Jin dynasty song lyrics collected in QJYC are composed by Quanzhen Daoists – without question the voluminous Daoist texts produced in the Jin cultural contexts come from the well-preserved Daoist Canon (*Dao zang* 道藏). In the case of JWZ, however, Zhang Jinwu exclude religious texts save the prefaces. These diverse sources added to these "complete collections" definitely contribute to our prospect of Jin cultural history on the whole, but despite the rich historical, intellectual, and religious information, their literary value is rather limited. In other words, it remains true that, in spite of fragmentary entries culled from referential

sourcebooks and religious texts preserved in canonical repository, the general contours of Jin *literature* are still largely delineated by contemporary Jin literary collections in the first place.

Third, to make this poor preservation of Jin literary works more complicated, the survival of many Jin literary collections seems to be occasioned by sheer chance. That is to say, the extant materials listed here are not necessarily the most significant in their contemporary period, and vice versa, many seminal collections in the Jin cultural contexts have been lost for long instead – the preservation or loss of Jin literary sources is therefore subject to the unruly forces of historical contingency. For example, Cai Songnian, one of the pre-Northern Song scholar-officials who served the Jin court and became the pivotal figure among early Jin literati, left behind a collection of his song lyrics (incomplete and deprived of poetry though), while other early Jin scholar-officials of consequence, such as Yuwen Xuzhong 宇文虛中 (1079-1146) and Wu Ji 吳激 (1090?-1142), left few imprints on Jin literary history. Likewise, we are fortunate enough to have Wang Ji's poetry rescued partially from the remnant corpus of *Yongle dadian*, and yet the leaders of the literati community in Wang's generation were actually Cai Gui 蔡珪 (*jinshi* 1151) and Dang Huaiying 党懷英 (1134-1211), whose collections were regrettably disseminated and perished as early as the late Jin period because of the Jurchen-Mongol warfare.[6] As a minor poet during the Jin-Yuan transitional period, Li Ting remained active in the local region of Shaanxi and never managed to climb to the upper echelon of bureaucracy, and the

[6] For the rarity of Cai Gui's literary composition in the late Jin period, see Liu Qi, *Gui qian zhi* 歸潛志 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1983; GQZ hereafter), 10.118: ……正甫名珪，真定人。……余嘗至欒城，縣署中有一遺愛碑，正甫筆也，餘文不多見。在南京時，李屏山嘗云：「正甫文字全散失不傳。」以是知士大夫貴有良子弟也。

Dang Huaiying's individual collection was also largely demolished during the 1210s Mongol conquest in the Central Plain. See Zhao Bingwen, "Zhuxi xiansheng wenji yin" 竹溪先生文集引, in *Xianxian laoren Fushui wenji* 閑閑老人滏水文集 (FSJ hereafter), 3 vols (CSJC ed.), 15.205: 近歲冦攘．喪亡凡盡．姑裒次遺文．僅成十卷．藏之翰苑云．

unknown provenance and perplexing bibliographical condition of his individual collection bespeak both happenstance and negligence of its survival. And although Zhao Bingwen, Wang Ruoxu, and Yuan Haowen that show up in the table can be said as cultural leaders of northern Jin community in the thirteenth century, substantial writings by many other key figures like Wang Tingyun 王庭筠 (1151-1202)[7] and Li Chunfu at that time are otherwise lost.

Fourth, in addition to its scarcity, heterogeneity, and contingency, the state of Jin textual materials is worsened by the uneven distribution regarding time periods. The majority of Jin literary sources we have today come from the thirteenth century, which correspond to the late Jin and post-Jin periods; by contrast, two small-scale and fragmentary collections of Cai Songnian's song lyrics and Wang Ji's poems are the only literary "wreckage" of the early and mid-Jin periods over three quarters of the twelfth century. As we shall see below, while the "High Jin" period under the rule of Emperors Shizong and Zhangzong bespoke the climax of Jin culture, literary works by contemporary Jin authors, notably Cai Gui and Dang Huaiying, were regrettably minimal. This irrevocable loss was due to widespread devastation that occurred in the 1210s Mongol invasion, whose military force caused a savage blow for Jin civil culture including the wipeout of those literary manuscripts. Hence, the overall picture of Jin literature we modern readers have access to is actually an arbitrary or slanted slice of the thirteenth-century

[7] Discrepancies are found in Wang's birth year. While according to ZZJ and *Jin shi* 金史, Wang was born in 1156 and died in 1202 at the age of 47, Yuan Haowen's tomb stele inscription written for Wang says instead that he was born in 1151 and died at the age of 52. See Wang's biography in Zhang Jing 張靜, *Zhongzhou ji jiaozhu* 中州集校注 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2018; ZZJJZ hereafter), 3.747; *Jin shi* 金史 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1975; JS hereafter), 126.2730-32; Yuan Haowen, "Wang Huanghua mubei" 王黃華墓碑, in *Yuan Haowen quanji* 元好問全集 (YHWQJ hereafter), ed. Yao Dianzhong 姚奠中 and Li Zhengmin 李正民 et al. (Taiyuan: San Jin chubanshe, 2015), 16.340-43.

Considering that ZZJ was finished in 1249 and was most likely the provenance of the records in JS, and that Yuan's inscription was written later in 1253 upon the request of Wang Tingyun's adopted son Wang Wanqing 王萬慶 (fl. 13th c.), I tend to regard the latter record as a more reliable one due to both its later date and the information provided by Wang's family members. Also see Jin Yufu's evidential scholarship in *Huanghua ji*, 8.1.

past narrated by very limited reporters. Judging from the rarity and partiality of Jin texts per se, we should thus beware of the discursive and ideological construct based on circumstantial and piecemeal records of late or post-Jin literati – and in many cases their assertion turns out as the single piece of textual evidence – which does not guarantee the literary reality.

Post-Jin Literary Collections by Thirteenth-Century Northern Literati

For the literary sources listed in Table 1, we should pay attention that most so-called "Jin" authors with their collections extant today survived the Jin-Yuan dynastic transition and lived well into the post-Jin / early Yuan period in North China. In other words, many of their writings were done with the identity of Jin "remnant subjects" under the Mongol rule, and indeed those established Jin scholars never cease to preserve and promote Jin literary culture among their younger disciples in the next generation who would become Yuan officials. This phenomenon raises the question of the blurring boundaries concerning the "end" of Jin literature, which is not synchronous to the dynastic clock with its abrupt termination in the year 1234. I will return to this issue in the end and further argue that the clear-cut Jin-Yuan dynastic division imposed on the contemporary northern poets is a rather forced one, and that Jin literati culture actually survived the Mongol conquest and persisted throughout the thirteenth-century North China.

For this reason, in my dissertation I also include a bunch of post-Jin / early Yuan sources hallmarking the afterlife of Jin literati culture and community in this Jin-Yuan transitional period. Meanwhile, in order to limit the scope, I set the *terminus ante quem* for the dates of authors to the following generation after Yuan Haowen (the latest author I list here is Wei Chu who was born in 1232). And although the last two poetry anthologies in the table below were compiled in the early fourteenth century, the related compositions they entail were done by northern literati

dated back to the Jin-Yuan transitional period. Again, historical records, specialized treatises on medicine and geography, intellectual discourses, epistolary letters, miscellanies, as well as religious texts are out of my consideration here. Instead, I turn to poetry, prose, and song lyrics preserved in the forms of individual collections and poetry anthologies. Thus, I exclude an important correspondence collection *Zhongzhou qizha* 中州啓劄 (Epistolary Writings of the Central Plain) compiled by Wu Hongdao 吳弘道 (fl. 1300s), even if the relevant addressers and recipients were all late and post-Jin literati who maintained an elite network throughout the thirteenth century.[8] Same to a seminal local gazetteer called *Leibian Chang'an zhi* 類編長安志 (Chang'an Records Arranged in Category) finished by a Shaanxi native named Luo Tianxiang 駱天驤 (ca. 1223–ca. 1300) in 1296. Travelogues to Eurasia written by contemporary northern literati such as Yelü Chucai's *Xiyou lu* 西遊錄 (Record of a Journey to the West), Li Zhichang's 李志常 (1193–1256) *Changchun zhenren xiyouji* 長春真人西遊記 (Daoist Master Changchun's [lit. Perfected Transcendent Eternal Spring, i.e., Qiu Chuji 邱處機, 1148–1227] Journey to the West), and Liu Yu's 劉郁 *Xi shi ji* 西使記 (Record of a Diplomatic Mission to the West, written in 1263) are also out of my purview. Writings on moral philosophy by Confucian scholars in contemporary North China like Xu Heng 許衡 (1209-1281) and Liu Yin 劉因 (1249-1293) are not listed here, either.[9] Incidentally, as some scholars have pointed out, the northern literary

[8] Chu Ming Kin 朱銘堅, "Indigenous Elite Networks and Mongol Governance in Thirteenth-century North China," *Bulletin of Jao Tsung-I Academy of Sinology* 5 (2018): 271–314. Another version of this paper in Chinese focuses on Lü Xun's 呂遜 (1209-1273) correspondence; see ibid., "Jin Yuan zhiji de shiren wangluo yu xunxi goutong: yi *Zhongzhou qizha* nei yu Lü Xun de shuxin wei zhongxin" 金元之際的士人網絡與訊息溝通——以《中州啓札》內與呂遜的書信為中心, in *Beida shixue* 北大史學 20 (Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe, 2016), pp. 286-310. In the article, Chu envisions the political ascendence of Han literati after 1260 with the patronage of Khubilai Khan, and further proposes the endurance of post-Jin elite network which echoes my argument here.

[9] Nowadays Xu Heng has left a twelve-*juan* individual collection with two-*juan* appendices called *Xu Wenzheng gong yishu* 許文正公遺書, with only one *juan* of literary works (another *juan* on literary "textbooks"); Liu Yin's collection *Jingxiu xiansheng wenji* 靜修先生文集 has several Yuan print editions (22 *juan* or 30 *juan*) extant

culture was challenged by the rise of Confucianism or the Learning of the Way school (Daoxue 道學) in this Jin-Yuan transitional period, and a fissure between these two camps of so-called Culturalists and Moralists could no longer be bridged henceforth. That the prevailing intellectual atmosphere in North China gravitated from literary culture to Neo-Confucianism partially accelerated the decline of post-Jin literati culture as time wore on.[10]

Table 4 Extant Post-Jin / Early Yuan Anthologies and Collections As Repository of Jin Literati Culture

Author or Compiler	Collection	Note
Yelü Chucai 耶律楚材 (1190-1244)	*Zhanran jushi wenji* 湛然居士文集 (Literary Collection of Recluse Scholar of Tranquility) [complete or fragmentary]	Yelü Chucai's individual collection with 14 *juan* predominated by poetry, prose of various genres only contained in *juan* 8, 13, and 14. The former 9 *juan* were compiled in 1233 and made up of pieces written before that date; the last 5 *juan* were collected later including Yelü's works between 1233-1236. Poetry composed after 1236 was not collected and therefore lost.
Liu Bingzhong 劉秉忠 (1216-1274)	*Cang chun ji* 藏春集 (Collection of Hiding Spring) [fragmentary]	Liu's individual collection in 6 *juan*. Original edition in 10 *juan* lost; earliest print edition dated back to 1461. The current version contains 239 pieces of heptametric regulated verse in the first three *juan*, 151 heptametric quatrains in *juan* 4, song lyrics in *juan* 5, and prose in the last *juan*.
Yelü Zhu 耶律鑄 (1221-1285)	*Shuangxi zuiyin ji* 雙溪醉隱集 (Collection of Drunken Reclusion in Twin Brooks) [reconstruct]	Yelü's (Yelü Chucai's son) individual collection in 6 *juan* with rhapsody (*juan* 1), poetry (*juan* 2-6), song lyrics and miscellaneous writings (*juan* 6). Original edition lost; present version extracted from *Yongle dadian*. See more in chapter 7.

nowadays. Albeit a Confucian scholar in the first place, Liu Yin composed superb poetry that resembles the style of Yuan Haowen. See more in Qian Zhongshu 錢鍾書, *Tan yi lu* 談藝錄 (Beijing: Sanlian shudian, 2007), pp. 416-18.

[10] See relevant discussions in Abe, "Gendai chishikijin to kakyo," 113–52; Bol, "Seeking Common Ground," 531-33; Hoyt Cleveland Tillman, "Confucianism under the Chin and the Impact of Sung Confucian *Tao-hsüeh*," in *China under Jurchen Rule*, pp. 71–114; Liu Chengqun 劉成群, "Zhongzhou wenxian zhi chuan yu Jinyuan wenpai zhi zheng: Jin Yuan 'wentong' rushi zhi yanjiu" 中州文獻之傳與金源文派之正——金元「文統」儒士之研究, *Renwen zazhi* 人文雜誌 2013.10: 19-27.

Hao Jing 郝經 (1223-1275)	*Hao Wenzhong gong Lingchuan wenji* 郝文忠公陵川文集 (Literary Collection of Duke Wenzhong [lit. cultured and loyal] in Lingchuan) [complete]	39 *juan* with rhapsody (1 *juan*), poetry (14 *juan*) and prose (24 *juan*), attached with an appendix.
Bai Pu 白樸 (c. 1226−1306)	*Tianlai ji* 天籟集 (Collection of Heaven's Flute) [fragmentary/reconstruct]	Collection of Bai's song lyrics, with 104 pieces in 2 *juan*. Original Yuan edition lost; current version traced back to a manuscript transcribing a 1377 print edition now preserved in Beijing Library.
Hu Zhiyu 胡祇遹 (1227-1293)	*Zishan daquan ji* 紫山大全集 (Complete Collection of Master Zishan [lit. Purple Mountain]) [reconstruct]	Hu's individual collection in 26 *juan* with rhapsody (part of *juan* 1), poetry (*juan* 1-7), song lyrics (part of *juan* 7), prose and miscellaneous writing (*juan* 8-26). Original edition in 67 *juan* lost; present version extracted from *Yongle dadian*.
Wang Yun 王惲 (1227-1304)	*Qiujian xiansheng daquan wenji* 秋澗先生大全文集 (Complete Literary Collection of Master Qiujian [lit. Autumn Ravine]) [complete]	Wang's individual collection in 100 *juan*. The former 77 *juan* include rhapsody (1 *juan*), poetry (33 *juan*), prose (39 *juan*), and song lyrics (4 *juan*); the latter 23 *juan* consist of Wang's stand-alone works such as *Chenghua shilue* 承華事略 (Resume of Events at Transmitted Florescence [Gate, i.e., Palace of the Prince], 2 *juan*), *Zhongtang shiji* 中堂事記 (Records of the Events in the Central Hall [i.e., Central Secretariat], 3 *juan*), *Yutang jiahua* 玉堂嘉話 (Fine Talks in the Jade Hall, 8 *juan*), etc.
Wei Chu 魏初 (1232-1292)	*Qing ya ji* 青崖集 (Collection of Azure Cliff) [reconstruct]	Wei's individual collection in 5 *juan* with poetry (*juan* 1-2), rhapsody (*juan* 2), song lyrics (*juan* 3), and prose (*juan* 3-5). Original edition in 10 *juan* lost; present version extracted from *Yongle dadian*.
Fang Qi 房祺 (fl. 1300s)	*He Fen zhulao shiji* 河汾諸老詩集 (The Many Elders along the Yellow River and Fen River) [complete]	A poetry anthology of Jin "remnant subjects" compiled in 1301, 8 *juan* with 198 poems in total, each *juan* encompasses works by a single poet. The "He-Fen Elders" refers to Ma Ge 麻革 (fl. 13th c.), Zhang Yu 張宇 (fl. 13th c.), Chen Geng 陳賡 (1190-1274), Chen Yu 陳庾 (1194-1261), Fang Gao 房皐 (1199-after 1281), Duan Keji 段克己 (1196-1254), Duan

		Chengji 段成己 (1199-1279), and Cao Zhiqian 曹之謙 (d. 1265) in sequence. See more in chapter 7.
Du Ben 杜本 (1276-1350)	*Gu yin* 谷音 (Valley Sound) [complete]	A poetry anthology in 2 *juan* including 101 poems by 30 poets (50 poems by 10 poets in the former *juan*, and 51 poems by 15 poets plus 5 anonymous ones in the latter *juan*). They are all "verses of sorrow and indignation by upright noblemen, and those of pure intonation by men who dwell unseen" 節士悲憤、幽人清詠之辭 during the Jin-Yuan and Song-Yuan transitional periods. The first five poets in the former *juan* – Wang Hui 王澮 (d. 1233, 6 poems), Cheng Zixiu 程自修 (fl. 1232, 7 poems), Ran Xiu 冉琇 (d. 1262, 6 poems), Yuan Ji 元吉 (d. 1264, 5 poems), and Meng Geng 孟鯁 (d. 1263, 4 poems) – were ex-Jin subjects in North China.

The bibliography listed here is of course not comprehensive in terms of literature in later thirteenth-century North China. There are quite a few northern poets of significance in that period– Wang E, Yang Guo 楊果 (1195-1269), Du Renjie 杜仁傑 (d. 1282), Wang Pan, and Shang Ting 商挺 (1209-1288), for instance – whose collections did not survive today, and only a small segment of their literary works are now preserved in the modern "complete collections" of Yuan poetry, prose, and song lyrics.[11] Also, I do not continue to list collections by authors who were born after the fall of Jin dynasty, as we know that textual sources saw an exponential surge later on.[12] These are indispensable materials to grasp the general post-Jin / early Yuan poetic

[11] See *Quan Yuan shi* 全元詩, ed. Yang Lian 楊鐮, 68 vols (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2013); *Quan Yuan wen* 全元文, ed. Li Xiusheng 李修聲, 60 vols (Nanjing: Jiangsu guji chubanshe, 1998); *Quan Yuan ci* 全元詞, ed. Yang Lian, 3 vols (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2019).

[12] Besides those of Confucian scholars Xu Heng and Liu Yin mentioned above, other individual collections by northern writers born in the mid-thirteenth century include Wang Xu 王旭 (fl. 13th c.), *Lanxuan ji* 蘭軒集 (16 *juan*, reconstructed from *Yongle dadian*); Yao Sui 姚燧 (1238-1313), *Mu'an ji* 牧庵集 (36 *juan*, reconstructed from *Yongle dadian*); Xiao Ju 蕭剞 (1241-1318), *Qinzhai ji* 勤齋集 (8 *juan*, reconstructed from *Yongle dadian*); Zhang

environs. That said, even within this rather confined scope shown in Table 4, literature by these northern poets was still better preserved than its Jin predecessor, though many were once lost and reconstructed out of the manuscripts of the encyclopedia *Yongle dadian* stored at the Qing court. Occasional accounts about the past Jin cultural memory are spotted in these books. In particular, I make extensive use of Hao Jing's and Wang Yun's collections in my dissertation, both of which remain intact to this day. While the two authors belonged to the post-Jin generation, Jin literary tradition was still present and deeply felt in their writings, due to their engaged allegiance to Yuan Haowen as active disciples.

Concerning the authors of these extant collections, some common characteristics can be drawn here. First of all, most of these early Yuan poets came from previous Jin literati families. The most distinguished one was no doubt Yelü Chucai's father Yelü Lü 耶律履 (1131-1191, somewhere written as Yila Lü 移剌履), a descendent of Kitan aristocrats and a chief court official during Emperor Shizong's reign.[13] When the Jin Central Capital was conquered by the Mongol army in 1215, the Yelü family overturned and served Genghis Khan instead.[14] Many former Jin scholar-officials can also be found if we check the ancestry of others.[15] Based on the

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Zhihan 張之翰 (1243-1296), *Xiyan ji* 西巖集 (20 *juan*, reconstructed from *Yongle dadian*); Liu Minzhong 劉敏中 (1243-1318), *Zhong'an ji* 中庵集 (25 *juan*, Yuan print edition extant).

[13] See Yelü Lü's biography in ZZJJZ, 9.2338-39; also see JS, 95.2099-101.

[14] For the situation of Jin literati who didn't follow the Jin court to Henan and remained in the north of the Yellow River, and how they negotiated with Mongol rulers after 1214, see Wen Zuoting 溫佐廷, chapter 5, "The Ruturn of Yelü Chucai: Northern Literati's Nostalgia for the Fleeing Jin," in his "Born of the North Wind: Northern Chinese Poetry and the Eurasian Steppes, 1206–1260" (Ph.D. diss., Arizona State Univ., 2020), pp. 212-77.

[15] Liu Bingzhong had remote ancestors who were Kitan Liao officials, and his great-grandfather entered the Jin bureaucracy; see Liu's biography in *Yuan shi*, 157.3687. Bai Pu's father Bai Hua 白華 (*jinshi* 1215) was a high official in the late Jin and escorted Emperor Aizong when he took flight out of Kaifeng; see Bai Hua's biography in JS, 114.2503-14. Hu Zhiyu's grandfather Hu Jingsong 胡景崧 (1154-1213) was a high official of the Jin dynasty contemporary with Zhao Bingwen; see Yuan Haowen, "Chaosan dafu tong zhi Dongping fu shi Hu gong shendaobei" 朝散大夫同知東平府事胡公神道碑; YHWQJ, 17.353-56. And Wei Chu's great-uncle Wei Fan 魏璠 (d. 1250), who adopted Wei Chu as his descendent, was a crucial late Jin scholar-official; see combined biographies of Wei Fan and Wei Chu in *Yuan shi*, 164.3856-58. Though ancestors of Hao Jing did not enter the Jin bureaucracy, his grandfather Hao Tianting 郝天挺 (1161-1217) was a renowned scholar and Yuan Haowen was one of his disciples; see the mini-biography of Hao Tianting in ZZJJZ, 9.2299. Finally, Wang Yun's family in Henan gradually

same gentry background, it also turns out that Yuan Haowen was the key broker of this post-Jin northern literati community. We know that Yelü Chucai and Liu Bingzhong had imposed great cultural influence on the Mongol conquers, and Yuan Haowen as the foremost Jin "remnant subject" established a good rapport with them as revealed in their correspondences.[16] Bai Pu was adopted and taken care of by Yuan in the aftermath of Jurchen-Mongol warfare, since the Yuan-Bai families had maintained friendship for generations. Hao Jing, Hu Zhiyu, Wang Yun, and Wei Chu all had opportunities to attend upon Yuan as disciples in their childhood,[17] and it is

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rose under the Jurchen rule, and his father Wang (1202-1257) once served as a scribe in the Jin governmental system. See more in Herbert Franke, "Wang Yün (1227-1304): A Transmitter of Chinese Values," in *Yüan Thought: Chinese Thought and Religion Under the Mongols*, ed. Hok-lam Chan and Wm. Theodore de Bary (New York: Columbia University Press, 1982), p. 156.

[16] There is a correspondence from Yuan Haowen to Liu Bingzhong which is quoted above; see Yuan, "Da Cong shangren shu"; YHWQJ, 39.689-90. Liu also wrote two sets of compositions on reading Yuan's poetry; see Liu, "Du Yishan shi shishou" 讀遺山詩十首, "Xidu Yishan shi"; *Quan Yuan shi*, vol. 3, pp. 180, 214-15.

Yuan also left a famous letter to Yelü Chucai as is translated above; see Yuan, "Ji Zhongshu Yelü gong shu"; YHWQJ, 39.686-87. Yelü Chucai also had a poem written to Yuan now preserved in his collection; see his "He Taiyuan Yuan Daju yun" 和太原元大舉韻, in *Zhanran jushi wenji* 湛然居士文集, ed. Xie Fang 謝方 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1986), 14.320. There are even writings revealing Yuan's acquaintance with Yelü Chucai's son Yelü Zhu; see Yuan, "Shuangxi ji xu" 雙溪集序, "Da Zhongshuling Chengzhong shu" 答中書令成仲書; YHWQJ, 36.650, 39.689. Yelü Zhu, "Song Yuan Yishan xing" 送元遺山行; *Quan Yuan shi*, vol. 4, p. 35. See more in Igor de Rachewiltz, "A Note on Yelü Zhu 耶律鑄 and His Family," *East Asian History* 30 (2006): 65–74. For discussions on Yuan Haowen's interactions with the Yelü clan, see Miao Yue 繆越, "Yelü Chucai yu Yuan Yishan" 耶律楚材父子與元遺山, *Yishi bao wenshi fukan* 益世報文史副刊, June 3rd, 1943; Nakano Miyoko 中野美代子, "Yaritsu ichizoku to Gen Kōmon" 耶律一族と元好問, in *Egami Namio Kyoju koki kinen ronshu* 江上波夫教授古稀記念論集 (Tokyo: Yamakawa, 1977), pp. 253–61; Tokunaga Yosuke 德永洋介, "Gen Kōmon to Yaritsu Ri no ichizoku" 元好問と耶律履の一族, *Toyama Daigaku hitobungaku-bu kiyō* 富山大學人文學部紀要 47 (2007): 1–19.

Also in general, Yuan was on good terms with those Han "Hereditary Vassals," and he even paid a visit to Khubilai Khan in person in 1252 via Zhang Dehui's 張德輝 (1195-1274) recommendation.

[17] Numerous textual evidence can be found in their respective collections, and I only list a few most manifest pieces here.

I have translated above several pieces of Hao Jing that are written for his master Yuan Haowen. See Hao, "Yuan gu shang Yuan xueshi," "Ji Yishan xiansheng wen," "Yishan xiansheng muming"; *Hao Jing ji jiaokan jianzhu* 郝經集校勘箋注, annot. Tian Tongxu 田同旭 (Taiyuan: San Jin chubanshe, 2018; HJJ hereafter), 2.245, 21.1675, 35.2814.

As seen in fn.142, Yuan Haowen wrote a spirit path stele inscription (*shendaobei* 神道碑) for Hu Zhiyu's grandfather Hu Jingsong. In turn, Hu Zhiyu is said to have seen Yuan exerting calligraphy on the spot in family banquets as a child. See Hu, "Ba Yishan moji" 跋遺山墨跡; *Quan Yuan wen*, 149.284: 僕自兒童時，見先生酒間得筆，不擇美惡， 漫不加意，十幅一息，迅若掣電。當時止知喜其神速飄逸，先生胸中自得之妙，則不知也.

Besides Wang Yun's hearse-drawing song ("Zhuiwan Yuan Yishan xiansheng") quoted above, he also composed other literary genres in commemoration of Yuan. For example, see Wang, "Yishan xiansheng kouhui" 遺山先生口誨; WYQJ, 45.2166-67; also see miscellaneous entries recorded in YHWQJ, 55.1099-1102.

interesting that Hao Jing's grandfather Hao Tianting 郝天挺 (1161-1217) was in fact Yuan's private tutor. Most intriguingly, all poets picked up in the *He Fen zhulao shiji* were locals in Shanxi province and acquainted with Yuan Haowen in one way or another (see more in chapter 7). As such, it leaves little question that the lingering Jin cultural tradition was still thick on the ground in North China during the following decades. Though the names mentioned here stand for a small portion of early Yuan northern literati, their collective traits cannot be dismissed as fortuitous considering their identities as the most eminent poets of their time. In a word, these post-Jin / early Yuan poets were along a direct line of descent from historical agents embodying Jin literati culture.

Last but not least, the life trajectories of these northern poets in the early Yuan period generally fall into two categories. Many became Yuan officials in aid of the Mongol conquest.[18] Yelü Chucai and Liu Bingzhong were chief consultants on cultural issues favored by Genghis Khan and Khubilai Khan respectively.[19] In addition, Yelü Chucai's son Yelü Zhu later became a core member of the literati community based in Yanjing, the Great Capital of Yuan dynasty (see more in chapter 7). Most of Yuan's disciples mentioned above later rose to high political status especially under Khubilai's patronage after his ascension to the throne in 1260.[20] As the first

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Wei Chu claimed that "in the *bingchen* year [1256], Master Yuan Yishan arrived in Yan [i.e., Beijing]; I, Chu, attended upon him by holding his staff and shoes day and night" 歲丙辰，遺山元先生入燕，初朝夕奉杖屨. See Wei, preface to "Zeng Gao Daoning" 贈高道凝; *Quan Yuan shi*, vol. 7, p. 380. Also see his "Shu Yuan Yishan mushi hou" 書元遺山墓石後; *Quan Yuan wen*, 265.456.

[18] For detailed discussions of Han literati who served the Mongols, see Igor de Rachewiltz, "Personnel and Personalities in North China in the Early Mongol Period," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 9.1-2 (1966): 88-144; Igor de Rachewiltz et al. eds., *In the Service of the Khan*.

[19] For Yelü Chucai's role in the continuity of the Jin literati tradition under the Mongol rule, see Igor de Rachewiltz, "Yeh-lü Ch'u-tsai (1189–1243): Buddhist idealist and Confucian statesman," in *Confucian Personalities*, ed. Arthur Wright and Denis Twitchett (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1962), pp. 162–216; Wen, chapter 6 "Envisioning the Mongol Empire: The Integration of Jin Literati and Yelü Chucai," in "Born of the North Wind," pp. 278-369. For Liu Bingzhong's cultural influence in the early Yuan period, see more in "Epilogue."

[20] See more on this issue in Hsiao Ch'i-ch'ing 蕭啓慶, "Hubilie 'qiandi jiulu' kao" 忽必烈「潛邸舊侶」考, in his *Yuandai shi xintan* 元代史新探 (Taipei: Xinwenfeng chuban gongsi, 1983), pp. 263–302; Morris Rossabi, *Khubilai Khan: His Life and Times* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1987), pp. 22–52; and Zhao Qi 趙琦, *Jin*

generation under the Mongol regime, these elite no longer felt uneasy to serve the alien rulers like their Jin ancestors, and they actually followed Yuan Haowen's ideal of a literatus who should involve into public matters of real consequence as an outlet of his talent. That said, quite a few northern literati still chose to keep away from political power and lived a frugal life as commoners. Besides those Jin "remnant subjects" registered in the *He Fen zhulao shiji*, Bai Pu is another illustrious example to live as a hermit whose literary works are predominated by genres of song lyrics and farce plays (*zaju* 雜劇) highlighting freedom of emotional expression and vitality of everyday life. In particular, the poetry anthology *Valley Sound* tries to give voice to secluded and obscure songs by hermits which would otherwise remain unheard. And among the five northern poets, besides the philosopher-mentor or Daoist-politician Wang Hui[21] and the worldly-wise hermit Cheng Zixiu, the other three acted like knights errant who showed their loyalty and prowess in that war-ridden period. The eremitic and chivalrous behaviors at the age of trouble were often viewed as a manifesto of integrity and loftiness.[22] But whether an official or a recluse, each of their very existence was one variation of post-Jin literati culture with equal significance.

In particular, among all these primary sources related to Jin literati culture, I want to highlight the significance of ZZJ as a mediated prism for us to descry the earlier twelfth-century Jin literature. Indeed, the uneasy void of textual evidence in the first half of the Jin period is to

Yuan zhiji de rushi yu hanwenhua 金元之際的儒士與漢文化 (Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 2004), pp. 251-97; Ren Hongmin 任紅敏, *Hubilie qiandi rushi yu Yuan dai wenxue fazhan* 忽必烈潛邸儒士與元代文學發展 (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 2016).

[21] For scholarship on this legendary figure, see more in Iwai Hirosato 岩井大慧, "The Source and Meaning of Ta-Chen, the Dynastic Title of P'u-Hsien Wan-Nu," *Memoirs of the Research Department of the Toyo bunko* 9 (1937): 111–61, esp. 138–50; Wang Shenrong 王慎榮, "Guanyu Puxian Wannu he Wang Hui de jige wenti" 關於蒲鮮萬奴和王澮的幾個問題, *Beifang wenwu* 北方文物 1988.2: 46-53.

[22] See more in Frederick W. Mote, "Confucian Eremitism in Yüan Period," in A.F. Wright ed., *The Confucian Persuasion* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1960), pp. 202-40.

some extent alleviated by retrospective account or literary (re)construct in Yuan Haowen's compilation of ZZJ. As my analysis of Jin poets and poems in ZZJ below will show, this anthology delineates an overarching and generational progression of the Jin literary history. Yuan Haowen, the cultural leader in thirteenth-century North China, lived through the fall of Jin dynasty, collected Jin poetry from both contemporary and earlier texts, and organized them in principles of chronology and categorization. Because of its all-encompassing prospect of poets and poems throughout the entire Jin dynasty, it does not go too far to say that ZZJ alone maps out the twelfth-century Jin poetry we know today, so that we can still retrieve some fragmented traces of this past, though a very narrow, sketchy, and arbitrary one.

Periodization of Jin Dynastic History

Given that ZZJ was the single most important source we have about Jin poetry on the whole, below I would like to use this anthology to analyze the successive generations of Jin poets from the very beginning till the breakdown of the dynasty. Yuan Haowen didn't include works of his contemporaries or younger generations into ZZJ, probably due to the ambiguous and shifting identities between Jin loyalists, remnant subjects, lofty eremites, and converts to the Mongol-Yuan regime at that time. Such circumstances made the compiler feel difficult to propose a concluding historical evaluation of the individuals. This again echoes the problem of dynastic divisions entrenched in the Jin-Yuan transitional period.

Periodization of Jin Dynastic History in Accordance with Genealogy of Jin Emperors

Early Jin (1115-1161)	1115-1123: Emperor Taizu 太祖 (Wanyan Min 完顏旻, 1068-1123)
	1123-1135: Emperor Taizong 太宗 (Wanyan Cheng 完顏晟, 1075-1135)
	1135-1150: Emperor Xizong 熙宗 (Wanyan Dan 完顏亶, 1119-1150)
	1150-1161: King Hailing 海陵王 (Wanyan Liang 完顏亮, 1122-1161)
Mid-Jin / "High Jin" (1161-1208)	1161-1189: Emperor Shizong 世宗 (Wanyan Yong 完顏雍, 1123-1189)
	1189-1208: Emperor Zhangzong 章宗 (Wanyan Jing 完顏璟, 1168-1208)
Late Jin (1208-1234)	1208-1213: King Weishao 衛紹王 (Wanyan Yongji 完顏永濟, ?-1213)
	1213-1224: Emperor Xuanzong 宣宗 (Wanyan Xun 完顏珣, 1163-1224)
	1224-1234: Emperor Aizong 哀宗 (Wanyan Shouxu 完顏守緒, 1198-1234)

But if we want to portray a "genealogy" of Jin literati across the whole dynastic span, a prescriptive layout of periodization is necessary in advance to envision the overall trajectory of Jin literary progress and to punctuate the generational successions of Jin poets. Above I schematize a tripartite periodization marked by two historical watershed junctures: one is the so-called "golden age" of High Jin period under the reigns of Emperor Shizong 金世宗 (r. 1161-1189) and Emperor Zhangzong 金章宗 (r. 1190-1208), and the other is the initiation of the

military engine motivated by steppe Mongolian horsemen in 1210s right after this "Belle Époque" of the Jin polity. Accordingly, below I outline the early Jin, mid-Jin or "High Jin," and late Jin periods that line up with the corresponding reigns of Jin emperors. I also adjust the width of each row in proportion so as to precisely reflect Jin emperors' ruling duration. And below I offer the reasons and historical details of parsing the Jin dynastic era in this tripartite scheme.

Early Jin Period (1115–1161): Transition from War to Peace

I designate the opening five decades as the early Jin period that ran across four successive reigns of Emperors Taizu, Taizong, Xizong, and King Hailing. This phase was ridden with the Liao-Jin and Song-Jin warfare, along with a gradual development of civil culture on the Jin territory. Jin invaders overthrew the Liao dynasty completely in 1125 and sacked the Northern Song capital Kaifeng in early 1127, thus annexing the territory of Central Plain in North China. Yet both Song and Jin military troops seesawed in the central area between the Yellow River and the Huai River and recurrently demarcated their borderlines in the following decades. Attempts to unite China under universal emperorship were seen on both sides as either the Jin territorial expansion or the Song revanchism. The protracted military stalemate resulted in a compromised maintenance of *status quo* in the form of North-South confrontation. Two Song-Jin peace treaties were signed in 1142 and 1165 respectively: the former was done in the reign of Emperor Xizong which became the decisive Song-Jin borderline thereafter, and the latter was a diplomatic recovery amended under Emperor Shizong's reign as the result of an interval military advance initiated by King Hailing from the Jin side.[23] Therefore, we can tell that Jurchen rulers during this early Jin period were far from reaching a consensus of co-existence or annihilation of the Southern Song polity.

[23] For the progression of Song-Jin warfare and its historical details, see Herbert Franke, "Chin Dynasty," pp. 220-44.

Besides the ongoing military campaigns, there was also a gradual political reformation within the Jurchen rulership evolving from collective chieftainship to centralized monarchy. One consequence was the move of capitals from the Upper Capital (Shangjing 上京) in northern Manchuria (in modern Heilongjiang) to the Central Capital (Zhongdu 中都 or Yanjing 燕京 in modern Beijing) commanded by King Hailing in 1153.[24] There was also a transition regarding the composites of ruling class. In the inceptive periods of Emperors Taizu and Taizong, Jurchen aristocrats basically welcomed and worked with ex-Liao and ex-Song officials who changed sides and assisted the Jin regime, as the former monopolized military power and the latter constituted the civil bureaucracy. When it came to the following reigns of Emperor Xizong and King Hailing, however, a large number of scholar-officials with the identity as indigenous Jin subjects were selected as scholar-officials from the adopted institution of civil service examinations since 1123, so that a civil order was gradually recuperated in North China under the Jurchen regime by the mid-twelfth century, and in effect preconditioned the lasting "High Jin" prosperity afterwards.

Incidentally, while the mainstream narrative has been that massive warfare during this Song-Jin transitional period caused a devastating blow in North China, I find an alternative account recorded in ZZJ about rebirth in the aftermath of the Song-Jin war. A Luoyang native named Jia Yong 賈泳 in his elongated preface to the poem inscribed on temple walls mentioned the impressively rapid re-establishment and refurbishment of this Buddhist temple in early 1130s:

[24] See relevant discussions in scholarship of Xu Bingyu 徐秉愉, "Cong 'neidi' dao 'bianqu': Jin chu zhi Zhangzong chao Shangjing diwei de bianhua" 從「內地」到「邊區」——金初至章宗朝上京地位的變化, *Taida lishi xuebao* 臺大歷史學報 39 (2007): 185-232; Yu Wei 余蔚, "Wanyan Liang qiandu Yanjing yu Jinchao de beijing weiji - Jindai qiandu suo she zhi zhengzhi dili wenti" 完顏亮遷都燕京與金朝的北境危機——金代遷都所涉之政治地理問題, *Wen shi zhe* 文史哲 2013.5: 124-39.

In the *jiyou* year of the Tianhui era (1129), I once passed by this Buddhist temple together with Wang Huayuan and Li Duanzhong. Shortly after the encounter of wartime misfortunes, the halls and roofs were crumbling, the wall paintings exfoliated, autumn grass and wild tendrils scattering and growing on the stairs. We strolled about all day, and the surroundings were deadly still without a sound. At that time, wind and dust had not settled down [i.e., the Song-Jin war had not ended], so that I personally thought this place would fall into ruin day by day.

Until now, I come to this place with Duanzhong again, and a Buddhist monk called Master Jian lives in this temple. Previously what I saw crumbling have been completely renovated, and the exfoliated become neat and tidy again. Bells and galleries were majestic, stone towers grand, trees in the yard luxuriant – these are all what I have not seen before. Thus I read the old poems inscribed [in this temple] earlier and find that five years have passed.… On the eighth day of the seventh month in the *guichou* year (1133), I inscribe this poem.

天會己酉，余嘗與王化原、李端中同過是寺。屬兵厄甫罹，堂宇頹敝，繪素剝落，秋草野蔓，羅生堦上，盤桓終日間，闃其無聞。時風塵未靜，竊謂此地當日就丘墟。

及今與端中復来，則寺有僧簡師矣。向之所見，頹者已完葺，剝者復嚴潔，鐘閣巍焉，石塔鼸焉，庭樹鬱焉，皆向之所未有者也。因一讀舊題，已經五稔。……癸丑七月八日題。[25]

The otherwise unknown poet in the rest part of his preface lamented his own life vicissitudes that were just as unpredictable as the "rise and fall" (*xingfei* 興廢) of this Buddhist temple, though no historical fact is revealed besides his affective expressions. Rather, we should notice the lively recuperation of the northern society at the very beginning of the Jurchen rule. Less than a decade after Jurchens' overturn of the Northern Song polity, daily life in Luoyang seemed to have come back to normal and even prospered more than before. Already during Jin Emperor Taizong's reign (1124-1135), peace was retrieved in many northern regions under the Jurchen steady control, and life of commoners like this Buddhist monk kept moving on, even though some displaced residents still held the nostalgic memory of the immediate Northern Song past. Indeed, the following few decades witnessed a societal prosperity under the rules of Emperor Xizong and

[25] Jia Yong, preface to "Ti Ansheng seng si" 題安生僧寺; ZZJJZ, 8.2094.

King Hailing, as Yuan Haowen nostalgically recalled from the inscriptions in a Buddhist temple in Hebei during his visit almost a century later in 1254:

皇統貞元見題字	Huangtong (1141-1149, Emperor Xizong's reign title) and Zhenyuan (1153-1156, that of King Hailing) show up in the inscriptions,
良辰美景記昇平	Propitious moments and beautiful scenes [testified by the inscriptions] illuminate the era of Great Tranquility.[26]

Last but not least, when it comes from the early to mid-Jin periods, albeit a violent overturn of rulership, later Jin literati envisioned Emperor Shizong taking over King Hailing's reign as a continuation rather than intervention (and I mark their genealogical transfer by gradual colors in the table). As will be discussed below, the enforcement of civil education and revival of literary activities in the "High Jin" period were already promoted by the early Jin rulers Emperor Xizong and King Hailing. Yuan Haowen, for instance, once commented on the Confucian Temple School (*miaoxue* 廟學) of his hometown in Xinzhou 忻州, Shanxi, which was re-established and renovated successively from early to mid-Jin period:

> Speaking of my hometown, it had an enduring tradition of venerating Confucian Temple School. Lord Fu restored it during the well-being age in [King Hailing's] Tiande reign (1149-1153), and Lord Yao expanded it in the lasting peaceful time of [Emperor Shizong's] Dading reign (1161-1189).
>
> 言念吾州，久崇廟學，傅侯完復於天德小康之際，要公增築於大定承平之時。[27]

The rhetoric like eras of the "well-being" (*xiaokang* 小康) and the "lasting peaceful" (*chengping* 承平) adopted from Confucian political ideology is worth noting. In Yuan's eyes, the northern Chinese society in the latter half of the twelfth century underwent a natural growth rather than

[26] Yuan Haowen, "Jiayin jiu ri, tong Linzhang tiling Wang Mingzhi, Luquan ling Zhang Fengxian, Jia qianhu Lingchun, Li Jinzhi, Ji Hengfu you Longquan si, seng Hao qiu shi er shou" 甲寅九日，同臨漳提領王明之、鹿泉令張奉先、賈千戶令春、李進之、冀衡甫遊龍泉寺，僧顥求詩二首, no. 2; YHWQJ, 10.208.
[27] Yuan Haowen, "Xinzhou xiu xue shu dai Hao hou zuo" 忻州修學疏代郝侯作; ibid., 39.691.

abrupt changes even during intermissions of the throne. Here, albeit occupying a fixed seat in the rogues' gallery of Chinese rulers, King Hailing was envisioned to boost the Jin cultural "soft power" on the upswing, and his reign in effect laid the foundation for the prosperous era normally attributed to Emperor Shizong.

Mid-Jin or "High Jin" Period (1161–1208): The Dading-Mingchang Myth

The next half a century hallmarked the heyday of the entire Jin dynasty under the reigns of Emperor Shizong and his grandson Zhangzong. Not only did the reigns of these two Jurchen emperors bear witness to a "High Jin" golden age, but they were also two longest reigns among all Jin emperors, as manifest in the chronological chart above. Under the rule of Shizong, the pendulum between war and peace temporarily brought to a halt, as the North-South division turned out to be an established fact consented on both sides. On the other hand, the menace of Mongol cavalry in the northwest was yet to be a serious threat for the northern Jurchen regime. This relatively peaceful external environments ensured steady economic growth and cultural development in both North and South. The whole set of socio-political institutional apparatus also improved to keep the Jin government in good function.[28] Most significantly, it is in light of Jin literati culture that I define the five decades as the "High Jin" period. Substantial discussions have been done among historians about the booming and elevated status of the Jin literati community by virtue of the large-scale expansion of civil examination system equipped with state-sponsored provincial schools.[29] Wang Jinping 王錦萍 thereby sees North China in the mid-

[28] For a general study on the political institution of Jurchen Jin dynasty, see Mikami Tsugio 三上次男, *Kinshi kenkyu II: Kindai seiji shakai no kenkyu* 金史研究二：金代政治制度の研究 (Tokyo: Chūō kōron bijutsu shuppan, 1970); *Kinshi kenkyu III: Kindai seiji shakai no kenkyu* 金史研究三：金代政治・社会の研究 (Tokyo: Chūō-kōron bijutsu shuppan, 1973).

[29] See Mikami, "Kin no kakyo seido to sono seiji teki sokumen" 金の科舉制度とその政治的側面, in his *Kinshi kenkyu III*, pp. 268–320; Peter Bol, "Seeking Common Ground," 469-79; Xue Ruizhao 薛瑞兆, *Jindai keju* 金代科

Jin period as "the degree-holder or examination-based society," since literati culture at that time was cultivated by examination education which depended heavily on state resources.[30]

Fundamentally, two respective reigns of Shizong and Zhangzong – Dading 大定 (1161-1189) and Mingchang 明昌 (1190-1196) – were coined into a set-phrase "Dading Mingchang" 大定明昌 which was later referred to as a synonym for the Jin halcyon age of peace and prosperity. In fact, this neologism was already uttered in the mouths of late Jin literati as an idealized "precedent model" (*gushi* 故事) to emulate. This model constituted multi-faceted aspects, involving oral tales and anecdotes of this recent past,[31] empirical rubrics of governance instructed by Emperor Shizong,[32] well-functioning political institutes,[33] as well as perfected paraphernalia of rites and music.[34] In a word, "Dading Mingchang" became a label of ideal sovereignty under the Jurchen regime perfected by exemplary precedents. And among these "Dading Mingchang" myths, the most praiseworthy measure was again the full-fledged

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舉 (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 2004); Iiyama Tomoyasu 飯山知保, *Kin Gen jidai no Kahoku shakai to kakyo seido: mō hitotsu no "shijinsō"* 金元時代の華北社会と科挙制度―もう一つの「士人層」 (Tokyo: Waseda daigaku shuppanbu, 2011).

[30] Wang, *In the Wake of the Mongols*, pp. 28-62.

[31] See, for example, the biography of Wanyan Shu 完顏璹 (1172-1232) in ZZJJZ, 5.1412: 客至，貧不能具酒肴、設蔬飯與之共食，焚香煮茗，盡出藏書商畧之，談**大定、明昌以來故事**，或終日不聽客去。風流蘊藉，有承平時王孫故態，使人樂之而不厭也。

[32] JS, 17.379:（正大四年(1227)八月）己巳，萬年節，同知集賢院史公奕進**《大定遺訓》**，待制呂造進《尚書要略》。

Later on, the Yuan scholar-officials Wang Pan 王磐 (1202-1294), Xu Shilong 徐世龍 (1206-1285), and Wang E 王鶚 (1190-1273) who served the Mongol court excerpted more than 180 entries from the Veritable Records of Emperor Shizong (*Shizong shilu* 世宗實錄) and recompiled them into a book named *Accomplishments of Governance in the Dading Reign* (*Dading zhiji* **大定治績**) in two *juan*. The book was presented to the throne in 1265. See Wang Pan, "*Dading zhiji* xu" 大定治績序; *Quan Yuan wen*, 61.247-48. A translation of this preface is provided in Wen Zuoting 溫佐廷, "Born of the North Wind," p. 406.

[33] JS, 109.2410:（正大）二年(1225)正月，（陳）規及臺諫同奏五事：一，乞尚書省提控樞密院，如**大定、明昌故事**。……

[34] See, for instance, Zhao Bingwen, "Shangshu zuocheng Zhang gong shendaobei" 尚書左丞張公神道碑; FSJ, 12.169: **大定、明昌間**．朝廷清明．天下無事．上方留意稽古禮文之事．於是御史大夫清獻張公（張暐）．釐正國朝儀禮．成一代大典．潤色太平．皇矣唐矣．

Moreover, the treatises of ritual and music recorded in JS also hallmark Dading-Mingchang reigns as the culmination of Jin dynasty court ceremonies. See JS, 28.693, 39.881.

enforcement and expansion of civil service examination system, which prompted the flourish of "official learning" (*guan xue* 官學) and "civil governance" (*wen zhi* 文治) at that time.[35] Thus, on the one hand, civil education took advantage of and was preconditioned by the economic growth and social stability; and on the other, talented *jinshi* degree holders enriched the pool of governmental positions and advanced the civil order the Jin emperors had aspired for. It is said that "during [the peaceful years like] half a century of Dading-Mingchang reigns, both court and countryside were restful and leisured, manifest in harmonious weathers and abundant harvests. As such, councilors assisted and supported the Jin court, and most of their proposals and measures were of benefit to the state – indeed, the civil service examination can be said to live up to the state sponsorship" 如大定、明昌五十餘載，朝野閑暇，時和歲豐，則輔相佐佑，所益居多，科舉亦無負於國家矣.[36] Consequently, Han Confucian scholar-officials elevated their status and exerted more influence at the Jurchen Jin court during that period.

Moreover, we should notice that these relevant accounts of the Jin "golden age" with this Dading-Mingchang label are all *ex post facto* narrative constructs by younger generations of the late Jin or post-Jin period. In other words, this idealized Dading-Mingchang myth was most affectively recalled and passionately defended at precisely the same time as the Jurchen empire was headed toward its demise. Yuan Haowen adopted this newly minted phrase in his memorial celebrating none other than the last Jin ruler, Emperor Aizong's ascension to the throne in 1224, only a decade before the fall of the Jin dynasty:

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[35] Yuan Haowen, "Jiayi dafu Shaanxi dong lu zhuanyunshi Gangmin Wang gong shendaobei ming" 嘉議大夫陝西東路轉運使剛敏王公神道碑銘; YHWQJ, 18.373: 大定、明昌間，**文治**為盛，教養既久，人物輩出。……

Also see Yuan Haowen, "Shanren Bai gong mubiao" 善人白公墓表; YHWQJ, 24.450: 維火山自太平興國中升為軍，雖有學校，而肄業者無幾，宣和末，僅有上舍宋生。歷大定、明昌**官學**之盛，然後公之二子擢巍科，取美仕，邦人築亭，以「榮鄉」名之。

[36] Li Shibi 李世弼 (*jinshi* 1218), "Jin dengke ji xu" 金登科記序, recorded in Wang Yun 王惲 (1227-1304), *Yutang jiahua* 玉堂嘉話 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2006), 5.130.

元好問，擬賀登寶位表	Yuan Haowen, “Memorial Draft for Celebrating [Emperor Aizong’s] Ascension to the Throne”
大定、明昌之治	The good governance of Dading and Mingchang [reigns]
增光宜及於此時	Should radiate its light at this moment;
周宣、夏后之功	The great accomplishment of King Xuan of Zhou [dynasty] and Majesty of Xia [dynasty]
專美豈容於他日	Shouldn’t wait for the other day to monopolize all the its virtue [i.e., Emperor Aizong should reproduce the glory of antiquity right now].[37]

The rhetorical parallelism between the two Jin emperors and those legendary sage kings in High Antiquity is impressive, and here the author’s inflated words invested an improbable vision of Jin political restoration by calling upon both contemporary and antique exemplary models of kingship. Indeed, the halo of the Dading-Mingchang heyday was ardently eulogized while the empire was dimming from paean to dirge.

In the end, after the fall of the Jin regime, this neologism became a literary trope in currency for commemoration among those Jin “remnant subjects.” Infused into the Dading-Mingchang set phrase was the nostalgia of bygone glory intensified by a sense of irrevocable and preordained loss. The most famous piece is again composed by Yuan Haowen in the very last eve of the lunar year 1234, and earlier in the same year the last Jin emperor died in Caizhou 蔡州 (nowadays Runan 汝南, Henan province), south of Kaifeng:

元好問，甲午除夜	Yuan Haowen, “Exorcism Night in the *Jiawu* Year (1234)”
暗中人事忽推遷	Unnoticed, human affairs swiftly passed and changed;
坐守寒灰望復燃	I sit while keeping the cold ashes, hoping the fire will again flare up.[38]

[37] YHWQJ, 15.332.

[38] This line is a double entendre that on the one hand, it literally depicts the poet sitting beside the stove in cold winter night, and on the other it indicates Yuan’s effort in vain as a Jin scholar-official trying to rescue the political calamity at the very end of the hopeless regime.

已恨太官餘麰餅	Already I feel regrettable that Imperial Cooks left behind the round grain malts;[39]
爭教漢水入膠船	How could it be that water from the Han River should have soaked into the boat stuck by glue![40]
神功聖德三千牘	Miraculous feat and sagely virtue in three thousand tablets;
大定明昌五十年	Dading and Mingchang reigns of fifty years.
甲子兩周今日盡	The sexagesimal cycle [of stem-branch years] has revolved twice [for 120 years] – today it comes to an end,[41]
空將衰淚灑吳天	I vainly shed my aged tears toward the sky of the Wu state [in the south].[42]

This deeply felt poem is a retrospective contemplation by an aged survivor. Laden with weighty memory and abstruse metaphors, the verses cover the violent and cruel reality of the fall of Jin dynasty under the thin veil of historical analogies. The second couplet employs stories of previous emperors in Chinese history to refer to the isolated and helpless predicament of the last Jin emperor during the siege of Kaifeng capital and his fleeing to Caizhou in the south. In sharp contrast, the third couplet is an out-of-place flashback of the golden age under the rule of two Jin emperors Shizong and Zhangzong. The high-pitched juxtaposition of the dynastic collapse and its prime personified by Jin emperors best accounts for the "swift change of human affairs" in merely two decades. Having contoured both its zenith and nadir, the poet in the last couplet proposes that the termination of the Jin dynasty was subject to the preordained fate by introducing the sexagesimal cycle in traditional Chinese calendar often interpreted as the will of

[39] This line refers to a historical anecdote about Emperor Min of the Western Jin dynasty 晉愍帝 (r. 313-318). During the siege of Chang'an capital by military opponents, there was a severe shortage of food within the city, and the imperial cooks at court could do nothing but make porridge out of grain malts for the emperor. See *Jin shu* 晉書 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1974), 5.130. Here Yuan flips the story and implicitly criticizes Emperor Aizong's decision of abandoning Kaifeng and fleeing to Caizhou.

[40] Traditional historiography records that King Zhao of the Western Zhou dynasty 周昭王 (r. 977/75–957 BC) lacked kingly virtue, so that he drowned on the Yangtze River during his Southern Inspection Tour. See Sima Qian 司馬遷 (c. 145–c. 86 BC), *Shiji* 史記 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1982), 4.134. The exaggerated detail of "the boat stuck by glue" (*jiao chuan* 膠船) was later added in Huangfu mi's 皇甫謐 (215-282) *Diwang shiji* 帝王世紀 preserved in Zhang Shoujie's 張守節 *Zhengyi* 正義 attached to *Shiji*, 4.135.

[41] Here the poet did the calculation of the Jin dynastic duration of 120 years (or 119 years precisely), ranging from the founding year in 1115, to its ultimate end in 1234 marked by the collapse of the city of Caizhou where Emperor Aizong committed suicide. Also see the entry "Linian zhi chen" 歷年之讖 in Yuan Haowen, *Xu Yijian zhi* 續夷堅志, *juan* 2; YHWQJ, 49.975.

[42] YHWQJ, 8.160. "The sky of the Wu state" here generally refers to Caizhou in the south.

Heaven. Numerical coincidence here bespeaks Yuan's view of heavenly providence in the history of this short-lived dynasty, with all its glory and calamity prophesied and calculated on the calendar ynchronous with "the sexagesimal cycle that revolved twice."

Incidentally, we should beware that while Emperor Shizong only used Dading as his single reign title which lasted twenty-nine years (1161-1189), Emperor Zhangzong in fact adopted multiple reign titles of Mingchang (1190-1196, seven years), Cheng'an 承安 (1196-1200, five years), and Taihe 泰和 (1201-1208, eight years) for the nineteen years of his rule. Therefore, here "the fifty years of Dading and Mingchang [reigns]" in the sixth line is a rhetorical metonym of Shizong's and Zhangzong's eras as a whole, instead of the specific reign period that only covers thirty-five years of the late twelfth century. And later as a literary trope, the Dading-Mingchang coinage is referred to exactly in this broader sense.

Other post-Jin poets followed suit for this poetic commemoration. Yang Hongdao, for instance, analogized the Jin golden age to the utopia suspended in High Antiquity: "Wind of royal ethos, bright and brilliant, blew among imperial subjects; / How cheerful and contented were people in the Dading and Mingchang reigns" 皇風皞皞吹王民，樂哉大定明昌人.[43] A more illustrating case is poetry by Wang Yun 王惲 (1227-1304), a disciple of Yuan Haowen under the Mongol rule. It turns out that Wang exploited the same diction "the fifty years of

[43] Yang Hongdao, "Wang Ziduan xi qiao meng yu tu" 王子端溪橋濛雨圖, in Xue Ruizhao 薛瑞兆, *Xinbian quan Jin shi* 新編全金詩, 5 vols (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2021; XBQJS hereafter), 93.2507. The first line alludes to *Mencius*, 13.13: "Under a chief, leading all the princes, the people look brisk and cheerful. Under a true sovereign, they have an air of deep contentment" 霸者之民，驩虞如也；王者之民，皞皞如也.

Yang Hongdao in another *yuefu* poem "Partridge" (Zhegu 鷓鴣, the name of certain music melody, possible to be related to the song lyric tune title "Partridge Weather" 鷓鴣天) also applies the Dading-Mingchang rhetoric to denote the halcyon days of half a century that arouse a sense of nostalgia. See XBQJS, 93.2502:

……
鷓鴣為樂猶古樂，大定明昌事如昨。
風時雨若屢豐年，五十年來人亦樂。
……

Dading and Mingchang [reigns]" 大定明昌五十年 as many as five times in his poetry, so that this coinage sort of wore out into cliché in his hand.[44] This early Yuan poet time and again praised for the cultural achievements (*wenwu* 文物, lit. "cultural or civil objects") or historical figures (*renwu* 人物) that came up at that crowning moment, so that he in fact was referring to the fruition of Jin literati culture that handed down to him as both materialized remains and cultural memory.

In spite of the parallel nomenclature of Shizong and Zhangzong implied in the Dading-Mingchang set-phrase, essential distinctions of their rulership can be discerned. Because of his sound and benevolent governance (*renzheng* 仁政), Emperor Shizong was further apotheosized on a par with legendary sage kings with the honorific title "Little Yao and Shun" (Xiao Yao Shun 小堯舜). Interestingly, the earliest textual provenance of this designation comes from Southern Song records. It shows up in the recorded sayings of the Neo-Confucian Zhu Xi 朱熹 (1130-1200) under the category of "Barbarians" (*yidi* 夷狄) as a hearsay from the North.[45] Later, the Jin emperor Shizong as the present-day "Little Yao and Shun" became the standard evaluation witnessed in multiple Southern Song historiographies.[46] These accounts by southerners all point

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[44] See Wang Yun, "You Qionghua dao" 游瓊華島, no. 5, "Guo Youxian Li jieshi fen" 過遊僊李節使墳, "Yunxi xiansheng huaxiang" 雲溪先生畫像, "Xuezhou yeyu" 雪舟夜語, "Dingqiang Li shi kunji san ren xi Li Youxian zhi yi tong gui sanjiao zoubi wei fu" 定羌李氏昆季三人係李遊仙之裔同歸三教走筆為賦; *Wang Yun quanji huijiao* 王惲全集彙校 (WYQJ hereafter), ed. Yang Liang 楊亮 and Zhong Yanfei 鍾彥飛 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2013), 24.1165, 26.1277, 1281, 32.1601, 32.1612.

Besides, Wang Yun in the poem "Tong Liu Jingrong xiyuan huaigu" 同劉景融西園懷古 mentions the Dading-Mingchang set-phrase as well. See WYQJ, 17.764.

[45] See Li Jingde 黎靖德, *Zhuzi yulei* 朱子語類 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1986), 133.3196:

先生喟然歎曰：「某要見復中原，今老矣，不及見矣！」或者說：「葛王在位，專行仁政，中原之人呼他為『小堯舜』。」曰：「他能尊行堯舜之道，要做大堯舜也由他。」又曰：「他豈變夷狄之風？恐只是天資高，偶合仁政耳。」（友仁）

This passage is also translated and analyzed in Wen, "Born of the North Wind," p. 400-01.

[46] See, for example, Li Xinchuan 李心傳 (1166-1243), *Jianyan yilai chaoye zaji* 建炎以來朝野雜記 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2000), "Yi ji" 乙集, 19.841: 雍為人仁厚，不用兵，北人謂之「小堯舜」。

out that this elevated appellation attributed to the Jin Emperor Shizong was collectively agreed among northerners in the Central Plain (*zhongyuan ren* 中原人 or *bei ren* 北人), whose good reputation spread as far as the other side of the Huai River. To make things more complicated, this seemingly propagandist title of Shizong *did not* show up in contemporary Jin textual corpus like Zhao Bingwen's and Yuan Haowen's writings. But since it has been recorded in Zhu Xi's sayings and Li Xinchuan's 李心傳 (1166-1243) historiographical miscellanies, its currency to the South in the early thirteenth century is guaranteed. While I currently have no explanation about the absence of this discourse in the North, concerning its circulation in the contemporary South, one conjecture could be that this elevated appellation "Little Yao and Shun" was designated to compare with Emperor Xiaozong of the Southern Song 宋孝宗 (1127-1194, r. 1162-1189), who was not only a coeval with the Jin Emperor Shizong but also said to be the most competent ruler in the Southern Song history. Moreover, when the Jin emperor Shizong died in the early 1189, the Song emperor Xiaozong decided to abdicate the throne to his son. Though Emperor Shizong's death was not the sole reason for Emperor Xiaozong's abdication, we can still get the message that Emperor Xiaozong took Emperor Shizong as his lifetime rival.[47] With similar ages (Emperor Xiaozong was four years younger than Emperor Shizong, and he

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Also see attrib. Yuwen Maozhao 宇文懋昭, "Jingjin *Da Jin guo zhi* biao" 經進大金國志表, in Cui Wenyin 崔文印, *Da Jin guo zhi xiaozheng* 大金國志校證 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1986), p. 1: 獨世宗寬厚，遂得「小堯舜」之稱. Modern scholars have already agreed that this book was a forgery in terms of its later compilation during the Yuan period, probably by an anonymous literate in the later thirteenth century. See Liu Pujiang 劉浦江, "Zai lun *Da Jin guo zhi* de zhenwei – jian ping *Da Jin guo zhi jiaozheng*" 再論《大金國志》的真偽——兼評《〈大金國志〉校證》, in his *Liao Jin shi lun* 遼金史論 (Shenyang: Liaoning daxue chubanshe, 1999), pp. 335-56. In Liu's article, he also points out a few collating mistakes in Cui's *jiaozheng*.

[47] Emperor Xiaozong's sense of competition with Emperor Shizong is shown in a conversation between this Southern Song emperor and an envoy sent to Jin who saw Emperor Shizong in person. See an entry recorded in Li Xinchuan, *Jianyan yilai chaoye zaji*, "Jia ji" 甲集, 8.162:

趙温叔為舍人，使北還，入見，上問：「朕何如葛王？」温叔奏曰：「臣觀葛王，望之不似人君，規模氣象不及陛下萬一，中原不日可復也。臣敢再拜賀。」上大悅。

This passage is translated and analyzed in Wen, "Born of the North Wind," p. 399.

eventually died five years after the latter's death) and overlapping reign periods, both emperors performed well-functioning governance and rejuvenated social vitality in North and South respectively. The "Little Yao and Shun" attached to Emperor Shizong thus might serve as a mirror image of Emperor Xiaozong in the South, and here we see one of the very few cases in which the southerners acknowledged the accomplishment of northern "barbarians." Ultimately, this title made its way into the official historiography of *Jin History* (*Jin shi* 金史, JS hereafter) compiled in 1344 to embellish the encomium of this Jin emperor.[48] The same expression was also borrowed sporadically in later Yuan writings by Su Tianjue 蘇天爵 (1294-1352) and others, so that the popular myth of a golden age in twelfth-century North China largely personified in Emperor Shizong's fair name endured in the memory of later generations.[49]

In comparison, Emperor Zhangzong turned out to be the flip side of Emperor Shizong, given their apparent similarities and yet essentially opposite appraisals in terms of their

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[48] JS, 8.204: 贊曰：……當此之時，群臣守職，上下相安，家給人足，倉廩有餘，刑部歲斷死罪，或十七人，或二十人，號稱「小堯舜」，此其效驗也。 ……

[49] See Su Tianjue, "Jiahe tu zan" 嘉禾圖贊, in *Zixi wengao* 滋溪文稿, ed. Chen Gaohua 陳高華 and Meng Fanqing 孟繁清 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1997), 1.7: 金世宗立國幾三十年，視民如傷，用賢如渴，故中夏蒙昇平之治，黎元無愁嘆之聲。協氣橫流，休徵畢至，遠邇之人共稱為小堯舜，是豈威權聲勢之所致歟。

Su, "Jin jinshi Gai gong muji" 金進士蓋公墓記; ibid., 3.55: 方大定之世，中國富康，年穀豐衍，民至以小堯舜稱其君，則一時治效可覩矣。

Su, "Ti Ge Geng Song Chunxi san nian feng chengwulang zhishi gao" 題葛賡宋淳熙三年封承務郎致仕誥; ibid., 30.513: 時金世宗在中原，專以仁厚為政，民以小堯舜呼之。

Finally, rather than the mythical utopia of High Antiquity, a toned-down version can be found in Wang E's 1265 preface to *The Accomplishments of Governance in the Dading Reign*, in which Emperor Shizong's rule is likened to the peaceful and harmonious ages marked by exemplary emperors in early Chinese history:

> There were altogether nine emperors since Jin took over All-Under-Heaven, lasting a total of 120 years. Amongst all these emperors, Emperor Shizong was the best at maintaining the enterprise. Therefore, during the thirty years of the Dading reign, weathers were harmonious and harvests abundant, and both the population and goods and proliferated and flourished. With crowing of roosters and barking of dogs, smoke from chimneys stretched for a thousand *li*. This era resembled the ethos of the reigns of King Cheng 周成王 (r. 1042–1021 BCE) and King Kang 周康王 (r. 1020–996 BC or 1005–978 BC) of the Western Zhou, as well as that of Emperor Wen 漢文帝 (r. 202–157 BCE) and Emperor Jing 漢景帝 (r. 188–141 BCE) of the Han.
>
> 金有天下凡九帝，共一百二十年。其守成之善者，莫如世宗。故大定三十年間，時和歲豐，民物阜庶。鳴雞吠犬，煙火萬里。有周成康、漢文景之風。

I adopt the translation from Wen, "Born of the North Wind" p. 406, with some modifications.

governance. Zhangzong was the grandson of Shizong, and his father Wanyan Yungong 完顏允恭 (1146-1185) with posthumous title Xianzong 顯宗 was supposed to succeed Shizong's rule but died prematurely even before Shizong. When Emperor Zhangzong ascended to the throne in 1190 after his grandfather's steady rule of thirty years, the power of the Jin dynasty was at its zenith. Nevertheless, rooted in the peak growth of development was its demise, as the generational transition of the Jurchen Rule in late twelfth-century North China touched the tipping point of the historical cycle from rise to fall. Later thirteenth-century historians liked to propose a version of counterfactual history by envisioning the ideal rule by the would-be Emperor Xianzong instead of the fallacious reign of Zhangzong:

> Emperor Shizong was benevolent and magnanimous in nature, good at preserving the achievements of predecessors. He lived a frugal life himself so as to nurture scholar-officials and commoners, which led to the grand peace of almost thirty years in the Dading reign (1161-1189). Most of scholar-officials he appointed were honest, sincere, prudent and generous, so that those grand councilors like Shi Ju (1111-1182) neither caused vexations nor countermanded and reissued policies; they reached a ceasefire [with the Southern Song], and refurbished local schools [in the North]. Critics regarded this period to resemble the ethos of that of Emperor Wen 漢文帝 (r. 202-157 BCE) and Emperor Jing 漢景帝 (r. 188-141 BCE) of the Han. This is why [Emperor Shizong's rule] laid the foundation for the prosperity of later periods of Mingchang (1190-1196) and Cheng'an (1196-1200).
>
> Prince Xuanxiao [i.e., Wanyan Yungong] was most wise and brilliant above the average, and he read books with a bent for *wen*. He aspired to alter barbarian customs and exert Chinese rites and music, modeling after Emperor Xiaowen of the Northern Wei dynasty (r. 467-499). Heaven did not bless the Jin dynasty, and he failed to ascend to the throne and died prematurely.
>
> Emperor Zhangzong was as bright as his father. He composed *wen* in his learning and revered the cultured and genteel, so that at that moment noteworthy celebrities came forth in large numbers. Grand officials often had merit in literary prowess or erudite learning. Competent clergies and upright ministers were all appointed to prominent positions. Political orders were well implemented, civil governance effulgent – the prosperity of the Jin dynasty truly culminated. And yet [Emperor Zhangzong's] learning of *wen* ended with mere literary composition, inattentive to discussing and clarifying classical scholarship and statesmanship as a way to guard his country and subjects and to perpetuate the ruling throne. Furthermore, [Emperor Zhangzong] was rather extravagant to construct grand imperial palaces; petty men and imperial relatives from maternal and consort clans often interfered in political events; plus, he had no aspiration for sagely virtue and conduct, while he covertly preferred barbarian customs

instead. Grand officials knew only flattery and dared not go against his likes – thus the ruling class of high and low all lacked plans to sustain a long-term governance, and indulged themselves in momentary comfort and pleasure. This is why [Emperor Zhangzong's rule] inaugurated the frailty in the periods of Da'an (1209-1211) and Zhenyou (1213-1217).

世宗天資仁厚，善於守成，又躬自儉約以養育士庶，故大定三十年幾致太平。所用多敦樸謹厚之士，故石琚輩為相，不煩擾，不更張，偃息干戈，修崇學校。議者以為有漢文景風。此所以基明昌、承安之盛也。

宣孝太子最高明絕人，讀書喜文。欲變夷狄風俗，行中國禮樂如魏孝文。天不祚金，不即大位早世。

章宗聰慧，有父風，屬文為學，崇尚儒雅，故一時名士輩出。大臣執政，多有文采學問可取，能吏直臣皆得顯用，政令修舉，文治爛然，金朝之盛極矣。然學文止於詞章，不知講明經術為保國保民之道，以圖基祚久長。又頗好浮侈，崇建宮闕，外戚小人多預政，且無志聖賢高躅，陰尚夷風。大臣惟知奉承，不敢逆其所好，故上下皆無維持長世之策，安樂一時，此所以啟大安、貞祐之弱也。[50]

In this synoptic and critical essay by the post-Jin scholar Liu Qi with the reflexive theme "Fathoming the Failure [of Jin Dynasty]" (*bian wang* 辨亡), the overarching tendency between Shizong's and Zhangzong's periods can be drawn from prudence to hubris of the emperors, from imperial non-action to interventionist approach by courtiers, from frugality to luxury in court expenses, from substantial and practical ethos to superficial and ingratiating fashion prevalent among literati. The historical position of the nominal emperor Xianzong in between is an interesting one. This crown prince who never actualized his rulership was taken by Liu Qi as a convenient mouthpiece for what an ideal Jin emperor would be like, and the counterfactual answer Liu entertained here was a sinification agenda transforming from "barbarian customs" to "Chinese rites and music" – the rhetoric was laden with cultural superiority from the standpoint of Han literati (perhaps also as a counteraction to the unfair treatment they received from Jurchen military aristocrats in the last decades of Jin dynasty) and did not practically speak to the reality. By contrast, the historical era of Zhangzong saw a dialectical reversal from substance to

[50] GQZ, 12.136.

appearance, in that the former Emperor Shizong's reign manifested the Grand Peace by its cautious, low-profile, and yet efficacious governance, whereas his successor was doomed to future failure precisely by all of his grandeur and decadence. The same message is conveyed in *The Records of the Great Jin State* (*Da Jin guo zhi* 大金國志), a pseudo-historiography of the Jin dynasty later compiled in the fourteenth century while attributed to an out-of-nowhere ex-Jin subject called Yuwen Maozhao 宇文懋昭.[51] In the fake preface of this book, Emperor Zhangzong was even analogized to those "muddle-headed" rulers in Western Zhou legends so as to stand in sharp relief against Emperor Shizong with his attributed appellation "Little Yao and Shun":

> Emperor Shizong alone [among all Jin emperors] was genuine and magnanimous, so that he earned the title "Little Yao and Shun." On the contrary, [Emperor Zhangzong during] the Taihe period (1201-1208) was seen dissolute and muddle-headed, foreboding one step toward the fault of [evil] King You 周幽王 (r. 781–771 BC) and King Li 周厲王 (r. 877–841 BC) of the Zhou dynasty.
>
> 獨世宗寬厚，遂得「小堯舜」之稱。然泰和荒昏，已階周幽厲之釁。[52]

From the two passages translated above, we also get to know that there is a further dividing line between Mingchang-Cheng'an (1190-1196, 1190-1200) and Taihe (1201-1208) reigns within Zhangzong's rule. A gradual deterioration of Zhangzong's rule was thus sensed at the turn of the thirteenth century, as the privileged ruling class remained irresponsive to looming pitfalls of the country and blinded themselves by indulging in sumptuous and luxurious excess. Liu Qi "once recalled that during the Taihe period, there was Li Chunfu from Yunzhong (nowadays Datong,

[51] For a thorough study on this book, see Liu Pujiang, "Zai lun *Da Jin guo zhi* de zhenwei – jian ping *Da Jin guo zhi jiaozheng*," and "*Qidan guo zhi* yu *Da Jin guo zhi* guanxi shitan" 《契丹國志》與《大金國志》關係試探, in his *Liao Jin shi lun*, pp. 335-56, 357-72. Albeit an apocryphal historiography, as Liu has pointed out, *Da Jin guo zhi* still has its value since it includes miscellaneous historical information that was available during compilation while petered out later on.

[52] Yuwen Maozhao, "Jingjin *Da Jin guo zhi* biao," in *Da Jin guo zhi xiaozheng*, p. 1.

Shanxi) who as a minor official presented a ten-thousand-word memorial to the court, in which he proposed in general that it was the right moment to carry out new measures and make a difference. That said, those in power took Li's memorial as impractical and made fun of it. They situated themselves in complacence, which led to the falling apart [of the Jin empire]" 嘗記泰和間有雲中李純甫，由小官上書萬言，大略以為此政當有為日，而當路以為迂闊，笑之。宴安自處，以至土崩瓦解.[53] Another contemporary poetic verse also betrayed this absorption in the vanity of extravagance and pleasure shadowed by impending doom taken as the Taihe historical temperament:

陰崖何限枯松樹	Why should the shady cliff confine the withered pine trees?
望見屏幛盡牡丹	Yet gazing afar, on the other side of screens, all one can see are mere tree peonies.[54]

Eventually, the Janus-faced quality of Emperor Zhangzong's rulership when culmination and crisis coincided became the concluding remark in later historiography:

> The encomium:
>
> Emperor Zhangzong's reign lasted twenty years. He succeeded Emperor Shizong at a time when governance stabilized over the course of time and subjects enjoyed moderately affluent within their territory. Hence Zhangzong rectified rites and music, amended punishments and laws, pinned down the bureaucratic system; as such, these luminous civil institutions constituted governance principles of an age. The emperor further inquired with his group of officials about the integrated appraisal of [official] title and function during the reign of Emperor Xuan of Han (91-48 BC, r. 74-48 BC), as well as the assessment methods of administrative performance during the Tang dynasty. [Emperor Zhangzong] meant to surpass Liao and Song [civil institution] while match that of Han and Tang, so that he could be said to have the aspiration for ideal governance.
>
> And yet his favored concubine wielded power at court, and the empress's eldest son was not established [as Hair Apparent]; he alienated and suspected the imperial clan, and thus passed the throne to someone inappropriate [i.e., King Weishao]. Those [institutions] that were meant to sustain and reinforce an enduring rule turned out to be mere ornamental literary cover-up, without use of a single day by his descendants in posterity. From then on declined the imperial clan of "Golden Springs"!

[53] GQZ, 12.137.
[54] Zong Duanxiu 宗端修 (1150-1208), "Man shu" 漫書; ZZJJZ, 8.2163.

贊曰：

章宗在位二十年，承世宗治平日久，宇內小康，乃正禮樂，修刑法，定官制，典章文物粲然成一代治規。又數問群臣漢宣綜核名實、唐代考課之法，蓋欲跨遼、宋而比跡于漢、唐，亦可謂有志於治者矣！

然婢寵擅朝，塚嗣未立，疏忌宗室而傳授非人。向之所謂維持鞏固於久遠者，徒為文具，而不得為後世子孫一日之用，金源氏從此衰矣！[55]

The Jin dynasty on the wane during the latter half of Zhangzong's reign thus set the stage of its last two decades, and from then on military conflicts and regional uprisings basically never stopped in North China.

Late Jin Period (1209–1234): The Mongol Conquest and the Fall of the Jin State

It all went back to the end of Emperor Zhangzong's rule. Along with the incipient malfunction of domestic politics, the death of Emperor Zhangzong also coincided with the launch of Mongol conquests. Perhaps taking advantage of the unsteady political power of the newly ascended King Weishao, as well as the enduring natural calamities of floods and famines along the Yellow River in the past few decades,[56] the Mongols decided to invade the Jin territory in 1211. And once the Mongolian military machine was initiated since the Da'an period (1209-1211), situations changed rapidly and there was no turning back for the Jin "golden age" thereafter. The Jurchen army simply could not defend themselves in face of the all-conquering Mongol cavalry led by Genghis Khan (?-1227).[57] Under the shock and awe by Mongol cavalry from the North, Emperor Xuanzong, the successor and usurper of King Weishao, made the consequential decision of

[55] JS, 12.285-86.

[56] See Toyama Gunji 外山軍治, "Shōsō jidai ni okeru Kōga no hanran" 章宗時代における黃河の氾濫, in his *Kinchō shi kenkyū* 金朝史研究, *Tōyōshi kenkyū sōkan* 東洋史研究叢刊 no. 13 (Kyoto, 1964), pp. 565-92. .

[57] Consensus has been reached among modern scholars that the defeat and loss of the best Jurchen troops in Wild Fox Ridge (Yehu ling 野狐嶺) and Bastion on River Hui (Huihe bao 會河堡) – both in nowadays Wanquan 萬全, Hebei province – led by the Jurchen general Wanyan Chengyu 完顏承裕 (d. 1213), marked the decisive failure of Jin dynasty in face of their Mongol enemies, together with the fall of military strategic location Juyong Pass 居庸關 as the gateway to the capital Beijing. See Wanyan Chengyu's biography in JS, 93.2065-67.

moving the capital from Beijing to Kaifeng in 1214, which means giving up the large territories north of the Yellow River. Consequently, history witnessed another Jin version of "Crossing South" (*nandu* 南渡), though compared to the Southern Song whose territory south of the Huai River still held fast, this time the Jin geo-political status was ever more desperate – only Henan and Shaanxi provinces remained as Jin territories, with parts of Shandong and Shanxi frequently exchanged between the Jin army and local warlords in intermittent regional battles. Nevertheless, it sounds a marvel that this impaired and moribund Jurchen regime based in Kaifeng lasted two more decades from 1214 to 1233. Because of the change of battlefield led by Genghis Khan to march westward to conquer Central Asia and Europe, the Jin dynasty won its last breathing space within its narrow domain along the Yellow River, where Jin literati culture came into full bloom despite the ill-fated predicament, which sounds like another miracle or paradox. In 1230, however, Ögedei Khan (c. 1186-1241), the son of Genghis Khan, put the invasion of North China on the agenda again, and the end of Jin dynasty was doomed. This northern regime was eventually annihilated in 1234.

These two catastrophic Mongol invasions, first directed by Genghis Khan in 1210s and then carried on by his son since 1230, bracket the late Jin period defined here. And to a large extent, this periodical division from mid- to late Jin is determined by external military threats of Mongol cavalry rather than an organic growth or governing in crisis from within. It should be noted that the Jurchen warfare with Mongols resulted in massive casualties in thirteenth-century North China. People died in large numbers from either warfare, or plague, or impoverishment, and northern Jin literati were no exception in face of the universality of death. Large-scale massacres in effect happened twice in 1210s and 1230s respectively. Relevant accounts of lost lives in the late Jin warfare are appalling to read. In the first round of Mongol attacks, the

northern invaders made the inhuman rule of killing all the residents of a conquered city if Jin subjects previously chose resistance rather than unconditional surrender.[58] Thus we encounter such savage scenes of exterminating large populations, looting and flattening the whole towns in late Jin *yuefu* poems:

十萬人家靡孑遺	One hundred thousand households without a single survivor;
馬蹏殷染衣冠血	Hooves were deeply soaked in the blood on the attires [of noblemen].
珠玉盈車宮殿焚	Jewel and jade full on the cart, palaces burnt down;
娟娟少女嬪羶葷	Fair maidens became concubines of those with the smell of mutton. (*ll*. 3-6)[59]

Apart from loss of lives in war crimes such as massacres, more commoners died of plague and starvation during their fleeing to the south along with the Jin court in 1210s:

> At that time, the Jin court had already given up Yan and Yun [prefectures, in nowadays northern Hebei and Shanxi], and He-Shuo regions [i.e., nowadays Shanxi, Hebei, and part of Shandong north of the Yellow River] thus could not be secured, so that [the court] moved to the region between Qi and Wei [rivers, in nowadays Henan]. At the beginning of Zhenyou reign (1213-1217), people rushed to cross south and got stuck along the Yellow River. From the triad towns in Heyang [in nowadays Mengzhou 孟州, Henan] to the Huai and Si Rivers, along the shoreline of over one thousand miles amassed several million vagrant refugees. Famines and epidemics recurrently arose, causing deaths of seven to eight out of ten people.

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[58] See, for example, the account of a city in Huaiyang 淮陽, Henan province, recorded in Wang Yun, "Dui jin zhong ji" 堆金塚記; WYQJ, pp. 1888-89: 以州旅拒不即下，悉驅民出泊近甸，無噍類殄殲。……城郭為墟，暴骨如莽。……

Also see Yuan Haowen, "Guangwei jiangjun Guo jun mubiao" 廣威將軍郭君墓表; YHWQJ, 28.515: 貞祐初，中夏被兵。二年之春，兵北歸。既破平陽，取道太原，分軍西六州。……自北兵長驅而南，燕、趙、齊、魏，蕩無完城。

[59] Liang Xunyi 梁詢誼 (1182-1217, later changed his name as Liang Chisheng 梁持勝), "Ai Liaodong" 哀遼東, together with two other pieces illustrating Mongol invasions in Northeast China in 1210s, quoted from a late Southern Song miscellany *Cang yi hua yu* 藏一話腴 by Chen Yu 陳鬱 (1184-1275). See more in Liang Taiji 梁太濟, "Jinchao baiwang licheng de kegui jilu – *Hua yu* 'Duanping jiawu' tiao suo lu Jin shi san shou qian shi" 金朝敗亡歷程的可貴記錄——《話腴》「端平甲午」條所錄金詩三首淺釋, *Wen shi* 文史 2002.3: 186-95.

Stephen West already pointed out that the late Jin *sangluan* 喪亂, or "death and disorder," poetry often took the form of *yuefu* 樂府 ballads; see more in his "Studies in Chin Dynasty (1115–1234) Literature" (Ph.D. diss., The Univ. of Michigan, 1972), pp. 35-38. All the poems West has raised and translated were composed in the aftermath of the first Mongol invasion of North China in 1210s.

時有金既棄燕雲，河朔隨亦不守，遂往來淇衛間。貞祐初，人爭南渡而阨於河，河陽三城至於淮泗，上下千餘里，積流民數百萬，饑疫薦至，死者十七八。[60]

On top of that, numerous literati died in turmoil and disorder with no difference from the wretched death of commoners. Local talents in Shanxi were brutally killed by "wandering cavalry" (*you ji* 遊騎) during Mongol invasion, among whom were Tian Zizhi 田紫芝 (1191-1213) and Wang Wanzhong 王萬鍾 (1190-1216) – Yuan Haowen got to know their life accounts only because they were his acquaintances since childhood, and Yuan's homeland in Shanxi fell into the hands of Mongols thereafter.[61] The abrupt and massive deaths among literati were such a misery, since many of them were promising poets who stood for the overall Jin civil culture.

The late Jin period saw the twilight of civilization in merely two decades before the Mongol cavalry returned to their North China battlefield. And indeed Jin literati culture witnessed its "terminal lucidity" with a dazzling flash of light before the dynasty met its fate. There is no denying that the extant Jin literature clusters in this specific period, and the majority of Jin literary scholarship, including my dissertation, centers on the late Jin determined by and limited to what we have today. But it cannot be emphasized more that this apex of late Jin literary culture was not created out of thin air but rather derived from the mid-Jin / "High Jin" era epitomized by the perfected Dading-Mingchang myth. Those who grew up during the late-twelfth-century prosperous and peaceful northern Jin society later became a group of court officials when the Jin central government relocated in Kaifeng:

[60] Hao Jing, "Xian dafu muming" 先大父墓銘 (1256); HJJ, 36.2960.
[61] See their mini-biographies recorded in ZZJJZ, 7.1968: 貞祐初，（田紫芝）避兵臺山，倉卒為遊騎所馳，遇害，時年二十三，士論惜之; ibid., 7.1973: 明年（貞祐三年，1215）兵復至，兄被害，元卿（王萬鍾）欲收葬之。時游騎充斥，親舊勸勿往，元卿持不可。曰：「兄死不收，留此身欲何用耶！」流涕而去，尋亦被禍。時人甚哀惜之。元卿長予一月，死時年二十七矣。

> When [the Jin court] crossed south in the Zhenyou period, celebrated ministers and talented scholar-officials abounded in the official residence [at court].… Successive generations had cultivated talents [on the Jin soil], and it is during that period that [Jin literati community] reached its crowning moment.
>
> 迄貞祐南渡，名卿材大夫布滿臺閣。……累葉得人，於茲為盛。[62]

These "celebrated ministers and talented scholar-officials" were all *jinshi* degree holders during the reigns of Emperors Shizong and Zhangzong. Elsewhere, Yuan Haowen even enumerated a series of late Jin high officials and called them "paragons or perfect men" (*wanren* 完人) with no fault throughout, including Zhao Bingwen and Yang Yunyi 楊雲翼 (1170-1228).[63] Yuan's idealized recollection of late Jin court ministers thus pitched the highest note of Jin literati culture.

Following the same line of logic, another early Yuan scholar-official Wang Yun further traced back this late Jin literati group to the mystified Dading-Mingchang era:

> The clan of Golden Springs [i.e., the Jin imperial house] followed in the footsteps of conventional institutions of Tang and Song dynasties, so that [the Jin dynasty] selected scholar-officials via civil service examination system known as the orthodox paths toward civil and military official positions. During the Dading-Mingchang period, talents showed up in successive generations, so that heroes under the heaven were all within the shooting range [of the Jin emperors, i.e., being appointed by the Jin emperors]. After crossing south, the Jin dynasty was left with a narrow territory and tough politics. Those who came from the well-spring of [orthodox Confucian learning] seen and heard often bore grave worry and profound contemplation, exerted themselves with loyalty and righteousness, and held the valorous aspiration for defending the country. Their airs and ethos, as well as stout-hearted songs, seem to carry the lingering customs of older gentries.
>
> 金源氏踵唐宋舊制，以舉業取士，號稱文武正科。大定明昌間，人材輩出，天下英雄盡入吾彀中。南渡後，境壤蹙，時事艱。其自淵源見聞中來者，多憂深思遠，忠義奮發，懷赳赳干城之志。其風聲氣習，歌謠慷慨，而有故家遺俗者哉？[64]

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[62] Yuan Haowen, "Neixiang Wenxian Yang gong shendaobeiming" 內相文獻楊公神道碑銘; YHWQJ, 18.363.
[63] See the biography of Zhao Siwen 趙思文 (1165-1232) in ZZJJZ, 8.2201: 南狩以後，趙吏部子文、楊禮部之美、趙禮部周臣、陳司諫正叔，與庭玉皆完人，終始無玷缺者也。
[64] Wang Yun, "Da Yuan gu Mengxuan xiansheng Tian gong muzhiming" 大元故蒙軒先生田公墓誌銘; WYQJ, 49.2334-35.

And we should keep in mind that for these late Jin poets, the "High Jin" period was an immediate and fresh memory when they grew up, and the last two decades of this short-lived northern regime well exemplified the pent-up striving for the persistence of Jin cultural heritage founded before – and well after – the Mongol invasion.

Since 1230, the conflicts between Jurchen and Mongol armies were relaunched and no less cruel than the previous one. Besides continuous defeats and retreats of Jin armies on the battlefield, the siege of capital Bianjing (nowadays Kaifeng) was desperate in particular. We know from those witness accounts that residents in the capital suffered a series of horrifying disasters: there was a severe lack of food to such an extent that people started to eat dead corpses and even their children;[65] to make matters worse, an outbreak of plague arose in that summer and caused almost one million deaths in the city;[66] and even after the capital soldiers surrendered to Mongol troops in 1233, the invaders conducted savage looting of properties, slaves, and women across the city, and in addition, Jin subjects who already surrendered in Kaifeng, especially Jurchen imperial clans and court officials, failed to escape the fate of being executed as many as one million in total.[67] Yuan Haowen was also trapped in Bianjing and saw people dying in

[65] See GQZ, 11.126-27: 二守臣素庸暗無謀，但知閉門自守。百姓食盡，無以自生，米升直銀二兩，貧民往往食人殍，死者相望，官日載數車出城，一夕皆剮食其肉淨盡。縉紳士女多行匄於街，民間有食其子。錦衣、寶器不能易米數升。人朝出不敢夕歸，懼為饑者殺而食。平日親族交舊，以一飯相避於家。又日殺馬牛乘騎自啖，至於箱篋、鞍韉諸皮物，凡可食者皆煮而食之。其貴家第宅與夫市中樓館木材皆撤以爨。城中觸目皆瓦礫廢區，無復向來繁侈矣。朝官士庶往往相結攜妻子突出北歸，眾謂不久當大潰.

Also see JS, 18.394:（天興元年/正大九年(1232)十一月）壬子，京城人相食。癸丑，詔曹門、宋門放士民出就食.

[66] See Yuan Haowen, "Li Gao Piwei lun xu" 李杲脾胃論序; YHWQJ, 37.672: 往者，遭壬辰之變(1232)，五六十日之間，為飲食勞倦所傷而歿者，將百萬人.

Also see JS, 17.387:（天興元年/正大九年(1232)五月）汴京大疫，凡五十日，諸門出死者九十余萬人，貧不能葬者不在是數.

[67] GQZ, 7.68-69: 大梁城南五里號青城，乃金國初尼瑪哈駐軍受宋二帝降處〈案尼瑪哈舊作粘罕今改〉。當時后妃皇族皆詣焉，因盡俘而北。後天興末，末帝東遷，崔立以城降，北兵亦於青城下寨，而后妃內族復詣此地，多僇死，亦可怪也。

droves. Yuan as the best Jin poet still alive at that time composed his "poetic history" with the theme "death and chaos" (*sangluan* 喪亂).[68] In fact, many among Yuan Haowen's own friend circle died prematurely within these two and three years, including his "three true bros" 三知己 – Xin Yuan 辛愿 (d. after 1234), Li Fen 李汾 (1192-ca. 1234), and Li Xianfu 李獻甫 (1195-1234). The poet later woefully recalled the miserable deaths of his beloved friends:

> There were once three persons all under heaven who cherished me most: Li Fen with the style name Changyuan, Xin Yuan with the style name Jingzhi, and Li Xianfu with the style name Qinyong. These three persons all won big fame all under heaven. Yet, Changyuan died [by fasting] with only skin and bones in the prison of West Mountain (nowadays Jingjing 井陘, Hebei province); Jingzhi was captured to the north, frustrated and obstructed by inhuman people, and passed away in Shanyang (nowadays Huixian 輝縣, Henan province); Qinyong died for our country in the west of Huai River [i.e., Caizhou 蔡州]. None of them lived past their forties.
>
> 天下愛予者三人：李汾長源、辛願敬之、李獻甫欽用。是三人者，皆有天下重名。然長源瘦死西山獄中；敬之則被掠而北，為非類所困折，死於山陽；欽用從死淮西，時年未四十也。[69]

Elsewhere Yuan recorded another version of his personal "register of ghosts" (*lu gui bu* 錄鬼簿):

> Back in the capital (Kaifeng), Xiyan [i.e., Lei Yuan 雷淵], Zhongze [i.e., Wang Wo 王渥], Qinshu [i.e., Li Xianneng 李獻能], and Jingfu [i.e., Ji Yuxi 冀禹錫] were in good company with each other. They even ascended the hall and took the oath of sworn brotherhood. Unworthies like me had the fortune to mingle with these lords. Xi[yan] was six years older than me, [Zhong]ze four years older, Qin[shu] and Jing[fu] two years younger than me. Xi[yan] died in the eighth month of the *xinmao* year of Zhengda reign (1231) at the age of forty-eight (1184-1231), [Zhong]ze in the seventh month of the next year (1232) at the age of forty-seven (1186-1232), Qin[shu] in the same year

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Ibid., 11.130:（崔）立又聚皇族皆入宮，俄遣詣青城，皆為北兵所殺，如荊王、梁王輩皆預焉，獨太后、皇后、諸妃嬪宮人北徙。百姓初聞皇族當北往，有竄其間者，亦被誅軍前。又取壬辰諸宰執家屬，治罪殺唐慶事。故相侯摯亦見殺。

Also see JS, 115.2528: 人人竊相謂曰：「攻城之後七八日之中，諸門出葬者開封府計之凡百余萬人，恨不早預其數而值此不幸也。」

[68] See West, "Studies in Chin Dynasty (1115–1234) Literature," pp. 39-45. For an intensive and deeply felt discussion on Yuan's *sangluan* poetry as well as its cultural contexts of the Jurchen-Mongol transitional period, see West, "Chilly Seas and East-Flowing Rivers: Yüan Hao-wen's Poems of Death and Disorder, 1233-35," in Hoyt C. Tillman and Stephen West, eds., *China under Jurchen Rule: Essays on Chin Intellectual and Cultural History* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1995), pp. 281-304.

[69] Yuan Haowen, "Quran zi mujieming" 遽然子墓碣銘; YHWQJ, 24.454.

(1232) at the age of forty-one (1192-1232), and Jing[fu] in the third month of the following year (1233) at the age of forty-two (1192-1233). Within less than two or three years, only the unworthy like me is still alive among these five people. Today I transcribe the poems of these noblemen and recall those days we were together in the past. Without consciousness, I already shed a shower of tears all over my face.

在京師時，希顏、仲澤、欽叔、京父相得甚歡，升堂拜親，有昆弟之義。而不肖徒以文字之故，得幸諸公間。希長予六歲，澤長四歲，欽與京少予二歲。希歿於正大辛卯之八月，年四十八。澤歿於明年之七月，年四十七。欽歿於其年十一月，年四十一歲。京歿於又明年之三月，年四十二。蓋不二三年，而五人者，惟不肖在耳。今日録諸君子詩，感念平昔，不覺流涕之被面也。[70]

This passage is recorded in the brief biography of Ji Yuxi in ZZJ. Enumeration of their ages turns out that these five Jin scholar-officials were all in the same generation as Yuan Haowen and died prematurely within a short time between 1231 and 1233 exactly when the capital was being sieged. Telling the basic facts and numbers is piercing enough. Elsewhere Yuan also wrote a group of commemorative pieces called "Four Laments" (*Si ai shi* 四哀詩) for Li Xianneng, Ji Yuxi, Wang Wo, plus Li Fen to laud their loyalty (*zhong* 忠) to the doomed Jin dynasty.[71] Below are the most imposing verses I find in this series:

其一，李欽叔	No. 1, "Li Qinshu" [i.e., Li Xianneng]
當官避事平生恥	Holding office while evading duties was a lifelong shame;
視死如歸社稷心	Looking upon death as returning home was the heart devoted to altars of soil and grain [i.e., the country]. (*ll*. 3-4)
其二，冀京父	No. 2, "Ji Jingfu" [i.e., Ji Yuxi]
重圍急變紛紛口	Within the layered siege and swift changes there were clamorous mouths;
九地忠魂耿耿胸	The loyal soul in the ninefold underworld was within the resolute chest. (*ll*. 5-6)

[70] See the mini-biography of Ji Yuxi in ZZJJZ, 6.1793-94. A similar account is found in "Neihan Feng gong shendaobeiming" 內翰馮公神道碑銘; YHWQJ, 19.388: 往在京師，渾源雷淵、太原王渥、河中李獻能、龍山冀禹錫從公（馮璧）問學。其人皆天下之選，而好問與焉。自辛卯、壬辰以來，不三四年，而吾五人惟不肖在耳。

[71] Yuan Haowen, "Si ai shi"; YHWQJ, 9.171-72.

其四，王仲澤	No. 4, “Wang Zhongze” [i.e., Wang Wo]
壯志相如頭碎柱	With a vigorous aspiration like [Lin] Xiangru 藺相如 (fl. 3rd c. BC) [Wang] dared to crush his head on the pillar;
赤心嵇紹血沾衣	Like truehearted Ji Shao (253-304) his blood dampened the clothes.
從來聖牘褒忠義	Sacred tablets always applaud the loyal and righteous,
誰為幽魂一發輝	Who will reveal and illuminate for this unseen soul [through writing]? (*ll*. 5-8)

And in the piece on Li Fen, Yuan wrote down this sorrowful verse, echoing what he has said in prose:

其三，李長源	No. 3, “Li Changyuan” [i.e., Li Fen]
同甲四人三橫賣	Among four of us [i.e., Yuan Haowen, Li Fen, Ji Yuxi, Li Xianneng] with the same age, three died a violent death;
此身雖在亦堪驚	This body alone still alive is indeed worth startling. (*ll*. 7-8)

This is the elegy Yuan as the only survivor sang for the massive withering among late Jin literati in the *Götterdämmerung* of the early thirteenth-century North China.

Successive Generations of Jin Literati Recorded in *Zhongzhou Ji*

Having delineated the overall periodization of Jin dynasty, I now apply it to Jin poets recorded in the ZZJ so as to illustrate their generational distribution represented by this seminal literary source. In principle, I group the Jin poets according to the reign periods when they passed the civil service exams and got the *jinshi* degrees, while those who lived an eremitic life or failed the exams were otherwise aligned with his contemporaries. In the early Jin period, I further discern the poets in two groups according to their self-identities, that is, ex-Liao and ex-Song literati on the one hand, and original Jin poets or *jinshi* scholar-officials on the other. Also, because of the

blurring boundaries from mid- to late Jin periods, in the table below I subdivide the mid-Jin / "High Jin" Jin literati into those who survived the first Jurchen-Mongol battles and those who did not survive the fall of the dynasty.

Table 2 Periodical Distribution of Jin Dynasty Poets in ZZJ

- I mark out Jurchen and Kitan poets (including two Jin emperors) with underline.
- I mark out the poets coming from the pre-Liao territory with asterisk (*).
- I mark out those celebrated leaders of the contemporary Jin literati community in bold.

	early Jin period		mid-Jin ("High Jin") period		late Jin period
	ex-Liao and ex-Song literati	Jin poets and *jinshi* officials	poets and officials who died before/in Mongol invasion	poets and officials who survived and moved south	poets and officials after Jin crossing south
ZZJ *shengzhi* 聖製 ("Imperial Composition")			Prince Xianzong 金顯宗 (Wanyan Yungong 完顏允恭) [2], Emperor Zhangzong 金章宗 (Wanyan Jing 完顏璟) [1]		
ZZJ j. 1	**Yuwen Xuzhong 宇文虛中** [50], Wu Ji 吳激 [25], Zhang Hu 張斛 (*) [18], Cai Songnian 蔡松年 [59], Gao Shitan 高士談 [30], Ma Dingguo 馬定國 [31]	**Cai Gui 蔡珪** [46]			
ZZJ j. 2	Zhu Jian 祝簡 [12], Zhang Ziyu 張子羽 [3], Zhu Zhicai 朱之才 [17], Liu Zhu 劉著 [24], Shi Yisheng 施宜生 [4]	Zhu Zimu 朱自牧 [20], Sun Jiuding 孫九鼎 [1], Liu Yu 劉彧 [2], Zhao Ke 趙可 [3], Liu Ji 劉汲 * [11], Liu Zhan 劉瞻 [3], Hao Yu 郝俁 [22], Zhang Gongyao 張公藥 [3], Ren Xun 任詢 (*) [9], Feng Ziyi 馮子翼 * [7], Shi Xu 史旭 [3], Bian Yuanding 邊元鼎 * [42], Li Yan 李晏 [7], Wang Ji 王寂 * [7], Qiao Yi 喬宸 [1]			
ZZJ j. 3		Liu Zhongyin 劉仲尹 * [28]	Liu Ying 劉迎 [76], Xu Anren 許安仁 [6], **Dang Huaiying 党懷英** [65], Wang Tingyun 王庭筠 * [28]	**Zhao Bingwen 趙秉文** [63]	
ZZJ j. 4			Zhou Ang 周昂 [100], Zhao Feng 趙渢 [30], Liu Ang 劉昂 * [11], Wei Tuanxiao 魏摶霄 [3], Wang Jian 王磵 [13], Liu Tao 劉濤 [6], Liu Zhong 劉中 * [2], Lu Duo 路鐸 [26], Shi Tuo 師拓 [12], Li Quan 酈權 [16]	Yang Yunyi 楊雲翼 [21], Li Chunfu 李純甫 * [29]	

ZZJ j. 5			Shi Su 史肅 (*) [30], Wang Liangchen 王良臣 [10], Gao Tingyu 高廷玉 * [4], Gao Xian 高憲 * [8], Wang Teqi 王特起 [7], Liang Chisheng 梁持勝 [1]	Xiao Gong 蕭貢 [32], Shi Gongyi 史公奕 [1], Pang Zhu 龐鑄 * [20], Xu Gu 許古 [4], Li Yu 李遹 [6], Chen Gui 陳規 [2], Feng Yandeng 馮延登 [17], Liu Zuqian 劉祖謙 [3], Li Jing 李經 * [5], Zhao Yuan 趙元 [34], Wanyan Shu 完顏璹 [41]	
ZZJ j. 6				Feng Bi 馮璧 [15], Wang Ruoxu 王若虛 [38]	Ma Jiuchou 麻九疇 (*) [31], Liu Congyi 劉從益 * [33], Song Jiujia 宋九嘉 [11], Lei Yuan 雷淵 * [30], Li Xianneng 李獻能 [20], Wang Wo 王渥 [11], Ji Yuxi 冀禹錫 * [2]
ZZJ j. 7		Wang Yuanjie 王元節 * [3]	Zhang Jian 張建 [23], Zhang Zan 張瓚 [1], Mao Hui 毛麾 [7], Zhu Lan 朱瀾 [3], Wang Zhuo 王琢 [6], Lü Zhongfu 吕中孚 [9], Li Duanfu 李端甫 [1], Yang Tingxiu 楊庭秀 [2], Sun Zhen 孫鎮 [1], Zhang Zhu 張著 * [2], Jing Tan 景覃 [1], Duan Jichang 段繼昌 [5], Yue Xingfu 岳行甫 [2], Zhou Chi 周馳 [2], Tian Zizhi 田紫芝 (*) [3], Wang Wanzhong 王萬鍾 [3]	Liu Duo 劉鐸 [7], Li Jie 李節 [2], Wei Chengqing 衛承慶 [1]	Liu Xun 劉勛 (*) [13], Li Xie 李澥 [4], Qin Lüe 秦略 [13], Zhang Ju 張琚 [2], Ma Tiancai 馬天采 [1], Zhang Ben 張本 [10], Shen Wanquan 申萬全 [2], Cui Zun 崔遵 * [3], Wang Ge 王革 * [1], Liu Angxiao 劉昂霄 [13], Lei Guan 雷琯 [19], Wang Bin 王賓 [3], Li Yi 李夷 [3], Guo Bangyan 郭邦彦 [6], Shi Xue 史學 [8], Hou Ce 侯冊 [5], Wang Yuancui 王元粹 * [33], Wang Yu 王鬱 * [12]
ZZJ j. 8	Wang Jing 王競 [1], Li Zhihan 李之翰 [4], Sanxing jushi 三興居士 [1], Yang Xingzong 楊興宗 [1], Zhao Lianggong 趙亮功 [1]	Xing Juzhan 邢具瞻 * [1], Wang Hui 王繪 [1], Du Quan 杜佺 [1], Bian Yuanxun 邊元勳 * [2], Jia Yong 賈泳 [1], Yuan Rineng 元日能 [1], Fan Chi 范墀 [1], Wang Zhongtong 王仲通 * [1], Han Rujia 韓汝嘉 * [1], Wang Qi 王啓 * [1], Chao Hui 晁會 [1], Wang Zungu 王遵古 * [2], Wang Shu 王璹 [2], Wei Daoming 魏道明 * [2], Lei Si 雷思 * [1], Wang Xiao 王翛 * [1], Song Yi 宋揖 [2], Lu Boda 路伯達 [1], Zhang Dajie 張大節 [1], Zhao Que 趙愨 [3], Guo Changqian 郭長倩 [1], Gao Gongzhen 高公振 [1]	Li Xianke 李獻可 * [2], Gao Youlin 高有鄰 [1], Gao Deyi 高德裔 * [1], Guo Yongzhong 郭用中 [1], Zhao Zhijie 趙之傑 * [3], Zhao Ding 趙鼎 [1], Tian Texiu 田特秀 * [1], Zhao Wenchang 趙文昌 [1], Lu Chen 路忱 * [1], Zhang Gou 張彀 [1], Zong Duanxiu 宗端修 [1], Zhang Han 張翰 [5], Li Haofu 李好復 * [2], Yang Bangji 楊邦基 [1], Zhao Wenchang 趙文昌 [1], Han Yu 韓玉 * [2], Liang Zhongxin 梁仲新 [1], Lu Yuan 盧元 * [1], Wang Zhongyuan 王仲元 [3], Diao Bai 刁白 [3], Mao Duanqing 毛端卿 [1]	Lü Ziyu 吕子羽 * [4], Wang Kuo 王擴 [1], Zhao Bocheng 趙伯成 * [3], Shimo Shiji 石抹世勣 [1], Yuan Zhong 苑中 * [1], Zhao Siwen 趙思文 [6], Li Fang 李芳 * [1], Liu Ang 劉昂 [3], Lu Xun 盧洵 [1], Liu Guangqian 劉光謙 * [1]	Kang Xi 康錫 [1], Zhang Dezhi 張德直 [1], Feng Chen 馮辰 [1], Wang Shichang 王世昌 [2], Li Guoting 李過庭 [1], Tian Xi 田錫 * [2], Zhang Jie 張介 [1], Pang Han 龐漢 [1], Song Jingxiao 宋景簫 [2], Li Tianyi 李天翼 * [3], Zhang Cheng 張澄 * [4], Liu Wei 劉微 [1], Guo Xuandao 郭宣道 [1], Zhang Zhongxuan 張仲宣 [2], Hu Ji 胡汲 [1], Wang Xiuling 王修齡 [1]

ZZJ j. 9	Wang Shu 王樞 * [1], Zhao Hui 趙晦 [1], Liu Yu 劉豫 [7], Du Chong 杜充 [1], Yu Zhongwen 虞仲文 * [1], Zhang Xiaochun 張孝純 [1]	Sang Zhiwei 桑之維 (*) [1], Zhang Rulin 張汝霖 * [1], Liu Changyan 劉長言 [1], Zhang Wangong 張萬公 [1], Dong Shizhong 董師中 [1], Zheng Zidan 鄭子聃 * [1]	Bai Bi 白賁 [1], Wang Shishang 王世賞 [4], Jing Tianmin 靖天民 [1], Shi Shiju 史士舉 [2], Wang Minfu 王敏夫 [2], Sun Yi 孫益 [1], Yelü Lü 耶律履 [1], Sun Duo 孫鐸 [1], Liang Tang 梁瑭 * [1], Meng Zongxian 孟宗獻 [6], Zhao Shu 趙撄 * [1], Zhao Chengyuan 趙承元 [1], Zhang Xingjian 張行簡 [3], Zhang Ji 張機 * [4], Yan Changyan 閻長言 [8], Li Zhu 李著 [1], Wang Zhongli 王中立 [6]	Wang Libin 王利賓 [1], Hao Tianting 郝天挺 [1], Sun Bangjie 孫邦傑 [1], Zhao Dafu 趙達夫 [2], Xing Anguo 邢安國 [2], Zhang Wen 張温 [1], Ma Shunqing 馬舜卿 * [1], Jia Yiqian 賈益謙 [1], Gao Ruli 高汝礪 * [1], Xu Ding 胥鼎 [1], Zhang Xingzhong 張行中 [1], Yang Zao 楊慥 [2], Wang Yuke 王予可 [7], Wang Yu 王彧 [3], Dong Wenfu 董文甫 [8], Xue Jixian 薛繼先 [4]	Lü Dapeng 吕大鵬 [1], Gao Yong 高永 [1]
	Uncertain: Bu Yuanju 步元舉 [1], Feng Wenshu 馮文叔 * [1], Zhang Tingyu 張庭玉 * [1], Zong Dao 宗道 * [1], Xianyu Pu 鮮于溥 [3], Zhang Huan 張瓛 [1], Xu Haowen 徐好問 [1], Cao Yongzhi 曹用之 [1]				
ZZJ j. 10	Sima Pu 司馬朴 [1], Teng Maoshi 滕茂實 [8], He Hongzhong 何宏中 [1], Yao Xiaoxi 姚孝錫 [32], Zhu Bian 朱弁 [39]		Yuan Deming 元德明 [43]	Zhao Zi 趙滋 [1], Yuan Haogu 元好古 [5]	Xin Yuan 辛愿 [20], Li Fen 李汾 [25], Li Xianfu 李獻甫 [13]
Number of poets in ZZJ	27 (2 *)	46 (17 *)	77 (17 *, 3 _)	47 (10 *, 2 _)	46 (10 *)
	Uncertain: 8 (3 *)				
Number of poems in ZZJ	374 (2 *)	253 (112 *)	649 (74 *, 4 _)	406 (66 *, 42 _)	374 (123 *)
	Uncertain: 10 (3 *)				
Zhongzhou yuefu 中州樂府	Deng Qianjiang 鄧千江, Zhang Zhongfu 張中孚		Wanyan Congyu 完顏從郁	Wang Hui 王澮 *, She Yuanli 折元禮	

ZZJ includes altogether 251 poets and 2066 poems (excluding *Zhongzhou yuefu*). But we should remember that Yuan Haowen did not compile the ZZJ single-handedly. He made use of a ready-made manuscript called *Concise Anthology of One Hundred Master Poets of Our Dynasty* (*Guochao baijia shilüe* 國朝百家詩略) compiled by previous Jin poets Wei Daoming 魏道明 (fl. 1200s) and Shang Heng 商衡 (1187-1232), which constitutes an integral part of ZZJ.[72] But it is

[72] There are two hypotheses about the traces of *Concise Anthology of One Hundred Master Poets of Our Dynasty* in ZZJ. The early Qing dynasty scholar Quan Zuwang 全祖望 (1705-1755) suggested that the "one hundred master poets" correspond with those under the category "Restart afresh" (*bie qi* 別起) in *juan* 8 and part of *juan* 9 of ZZJ with precisely one hundred in quantity. A flaw in this theory is that these poets were obscure and couldn't be called "a hundred master poets" (*baijia* 百家). Another possibility is that the former seven *juan* with 109 poets inherit the framework of the *Concise Anthology*, while at the same time the content is greatly enlarged by Yuan Haowen. Starting from *juan* 8 is Yuan's newly added compilation marked by "Restart afresh." The second explanation turns out to be predominant and adopted by *Siku tiyao* 四庫提要. See more discussion on this issue in Hu Chuanzhi 胡傳志, "*Zhongzhou ji* yanjiu" 《中州集》研究, in his *Jin dai wenxue yanjiu* 金代文學研究 (Hebei: Anhui daxue chubanshe, 2000), pp. 122-28.

Yuan who composed the mini-biography for each poet attached to ZZJ (except for the two emperors), which later became a treasure trove of Jin historiographical information. Among these 251 Jin poets in ZZJ, more than 70% were Jin scholar-officials, so that it bespeaks the overall civil service examination culture that constituted a degree-holder society under Jurchen rule. Neither women writer nor religious monk-poet is included in ZZJ. Concerning the overarching structure of ZZJ, besides the exalted imperial poetry by two Jin emperors at the very beginning of this collection, the first six *juan* are basically arranged in chronological order and composed of most major poets in the Jin dynasty (including those "chairs" of the contemporary literati "alliance"), while the latter four *juan* supplement the former part with a large number of minor Jin poets. Also distinct from the chronological order, the last three *juan* of ZZJ are organized in the principle of categorization. *Juan* 8 and 9 in particular consist of the most poets bracketed in the miscellaneous category "restart afresh" (*bie qi* 別起, 100 poets). Oftentimes the poet's biographical accounts spawn a single piece of his poem. As such, Yuan seems to have shifted the focus on the person per se rather than his poetry in *juan* 9 by categorizing some of the poets as "grand councilors" (*zhu xiang* 諸相, 16 poets), "principal *jinshi* graduates" (*zhuangyuan* 狀元, 8 poets), "extraordinary men" (*yi ren* 異人, 4 poets), and "[people of] hidden virtue" (*yin de* 隱德, 1 poet). In other words, poetry is recorded for the sake of preserving biographical sketches of the poet, so that literary quality gives way to historical facts here. Moreover, Yuan sometimes compacts multiple poets into one single entry based on their social relationship, geographical affinity, or common features,[73] not to mention packaging father and son together in one

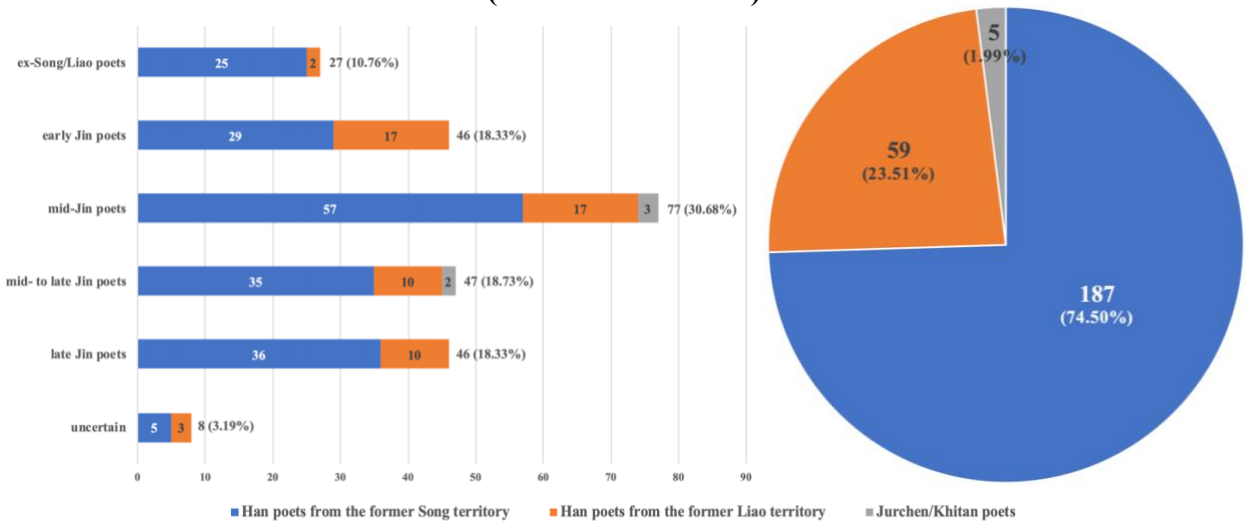
[73] See, for example, the mini-biography of Zhang Ziyu 張子羽 (fl. 1166) in ZZJJZ, 2.280-81, records altogether six friends of Ma Dingguo 馬定國 (fl. 1st half of the 12th c.), and Zhang was one of them.

The biography of Wang Minfu 王敏夫 (fl. early 13th c.) in ZZJJZ, 9.2291-92, records another seven local poets in Yanmen 雁門, Shanxi province. Three of them only left their names without poetry, while the other four are recorded along with their fragmentary couplets thanks to Yuan Haowen's good memory.

biography. Thus, the pool of Jin poets recorded in ZZJ is implicitly bigger than the names listed in the table above. Finally, the last *juan* of ZZJ reveals the subjective aspect of Yuan as the compiler. Besides five pre-Song poets as detainees in early Jin period under the category "the southern capped" (*nanguan* 南冠), Yuan deliberately chooses poetry by his intimate friends – Zhao Zi 趙滋 (1179-1237) along with Yuan's "three true friends" (*san zhiji* 三知己) Xin Yuan, Li Fen, and Li Xianfu mentioned above – as well as those by his birth father Yuan Deming 元德明 (1156-1203) and elder brother Yuan Haogu 元好古 (1186-1214).[74]

Furthermore, I visualize below the distribution of poets and poems in ZZJ into charts according to periodization. In particular, I mark in orange color the number of Jin poets from pre-Liao territory and that of their poems preserved in ZZJ.

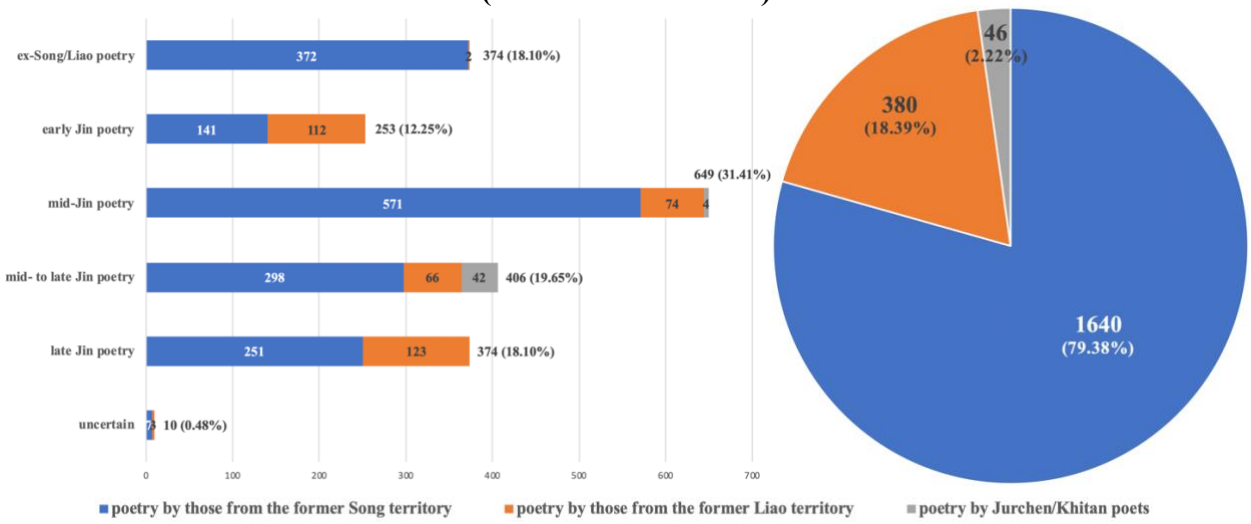
Chart 1 Number of Poets in *Zhongzhou ji* (Total number: 251)



Likewise, under the entry of Xue Jixian 薛繼先 (d. 1232) in ZZJJZ, 9.2447-49, Xue's biography actually includes five other late Jin literati with "hidden virtue" besides Xue himself. The reason for compressing six people into one entry is probably because Yuan had no access to the poetry of the other five.

[74] For other studies on ZZJ as a whole, see Chan Hok-lam, "Yüan Hao-wen (1190-1257) and His *Chung-chou chi*," in *The Historiography of the Chin Dynasty*, pp. 122-65.

Chart 2 Number of Poems in *Zhongzhou ji*
(Total number: 2066)



In light of periodization, we see relatively even distributions of Jin poetry from beginning to end in ZZJ, so that this anthology can be said to epitomize the entire Jin poetic history. Among them, mid-Jin poetry counts most in ZZJ with about 30% in ratio, and even up to 50% if including mid- to late Jin poetry. While ZZJ was compiled between 1233 and 1249 after the end of the Jin dynasty, the majority of this collection represents poetry done one generation before Yuan Haowen, when Jin dynasty culture was said to be at its climax. ZZJ thus served as a retrospective rather than contemporary project of Jin poetic culture. Hu Chuanzhi 胡傳志, the modern scholar on Jin literature, has argued that in the ZZJ project, the rescue of earlier Jin poetry on the brink of being forgotten took priority over contemporary, widely circulated ones in late and post-Jin period. While many obscure mid-Jin poems did survive thanks to ZZJ, one unintended consequence of this compilation strategy was that more famous and perhaps outstanding pieces in Yuan's time were eventually lost because they were not recorded in ZZJ. Late and post-Jin literary sources seem to predominate the Jin textual corpus we have access to today, but in reality, many more have been lost, such as individual collections of celebrated scholars Li Chunfu and Yang Yunyi in the early thirteenth century. Their reputation was equal to that of Zhao

Bingwen in the eyes of Jin contemporaries. It sounds like an irony that Yuan didn't record those widely circulated pieces in this world since he thought they had a better chance to be known to posterity, but eventually they petered out and lost track in history without the help of Yuan's anthologizing program. This phenomenon further reflects the poor condition of Jin texts under the Mongol rule and the lack of successors after Yuan who was wholeheartedly devoted to Jin literati culture.[75] That being said, the contribution of ZZJ is still significant in that, as is argued above, almost none of individual collections of mid-Jin literati are preserved to this day, which sounds paradoxical that when culture prospered to an unprecedented degree, so few textual sources were left behind. As such, what is collected by Yuan Haowen to some extent alleviates the notable absence of "High Jin" poetry, and in fact the overall picture of mid- or "High Jin" poetry we know today is determined by none other than ZZJ.

Another observation highlighting Jin poets with Liao background can be drawn from the charts. In the making of this periodization table, I have marked out ZZJ poets who came from the previous Liao territory, so as to bring to the fore the presence of these far-northern literati. According to the charts above, poets from pre-Liao territory occupy nearly a quarter of all poets in ZZJ, and their compositions constitute about 20% of the whole collection. We should also note that 37 out of 59 poets from pre-Liao territory are recorded in *juan* 8 (25) and *juan* 9 (12), while the numbers are few in the other eight *juan* of ZZJ (there are none in *juan* 1 and *juan* 10). It is another piece of circumstantial evidence that *juan* 8 and 9 took effort to foreground those underrepresented Jin poets. I will leave this issue in chapter 3 when we come to terms with the cultural geography of "far north" and the literary performance of those Kitan Liao descendants.

[75] See Hu, "*Zhongzhou ji* yanjiu," pp. 131-38.

Having done the basic data analysis based on Table 2, I further propose three main arguments below buttressed by Jin textual evidence.

Whence Jin Literati?

The first point I would like to raise is the "creation myth" of Jin literati, which also relates to the previous issue about their Liao or Song provenances. I find the introduction to the "Biographies of Men of Letters" (*wenyi zhuan* 文藝傳) in the JS offers a helpful synopsis of the gradual growth of Jin civil culture *ab ovo*:

> Jin did not have writing in the very beginning.
>
> Since Emperor Shizu (Wanyan Horimbo 完顏劾里鉢, 1039-1092) it gradually established principles and instructions [of governance, probably in oral form].
>
> Once Emperor Taizu arose, he was able to employ former subjects of Liao. When envoys went back and forth, their words were already *wen* (written or ornate).
>
> When Emperor Taizong succeeded to the throne, he implemented the systems for recruiting and appointing officials [i.e., the civil service exam]. When he conquered the [Northern] Song, he took the Classics, books and illustrations from Bian [i.e., the Northern Song capital Kaifeng], and many pre-Song scholar-officials joined him.
>
> Emperor Xizong sincerely paid his respects to the former sage [i.e., Confucius] and faced north in the ritual [manner] of a disciple.
>
> During the eras of Emperors Shizong and Zhangzong, Confucian ethos fundamentally changed, and local schools prospered by the day; literati pursued examination degrees and those who reached the position of great minister followed one upon the other. Confucian scholars at that time did not have specialized studies or celebrated masters, but court documents and letters to neighboring states were brilliant and worth reading.
>
> Jin established the polity by use of *wu* (military means), and in this regard it did not differ from Liao. Nonetheless, it was able to establish dynastic institutions that stood on a par with Tang and Song models. What Liao could not be compared with Jin was *wen* rather than *wu*. The [*Zuo*] *Commentary* says, "If words are not *wen*, they will not go far." Civil governance benefits the families and states of men, but it is not the accomplishment of a single day.
>
> 金初未有文字。
>
> 世祖以來，漸立條教。
>
> 太祖既興，得遼舊人用之，使介往復，其言已文。
>
> 太宗繼統，乃行選舉之法，及伐宋，取汴經籍圖，宋士多歸之。
>
> 熙宗款謁先聖，北面如弟子禮。

世宗、章宗之世，儒風丕變，庠序日盛，士由科第位至宰輔者接踵。當時儒者雖無專門名家之學，然而朝廷典策、鄰國書命，粲然有可觀者矣。

金用武得國，無以異於遼，而一代制作，能自樹立唐、宋之間，有非遼世所及，以文而不以武也。《傳》曰:「言之不文，行之不遠。」文治有補於人之家國，豈一日之效哉。[76]

This succinct account illustrates a swerve of Jurchen rulers transforming from illiterate "barbarians" into emperors applying civil governance endowed with *wen*. Many words are spent to depict the early Jin contribution to Jin literary culture before it reached its climax in the "High Jin" period: Liao officials played a bigger role in Taizu's reign; Taizong then introduced the civil service exam system and recruited Han officials from the pre-Song territory; Xizong followed suit and deepened the Confucian learning; and as we will see below, the unmentioned King Hailing was a key figure as the patron of many literati recorded exactly in this topical part of JS. In the end, the author summarizes that Jin was distinct from Liao and instead comparable to Tang and Song in terms of civil governance (*wen zhi* 文治) fostered by the civil exam system. And we should note that it is the early Jin rulers who decisively set the tone of this *wen* ideal. In other words, the Dading-Mingchang myth would not have come true without the long-term efforts of early Jin rulers, since literary and civil culture "is not the accomplishment of a single day."

While the quotation above focuses on Jin rulership, the same story is retold from the standpoint of Jin officials as well. In this light, scholars have reached the consensus of so-called "borrowing talents from other dynasties" (*jie cai yi dai* 借才異代) to explain the beginning of Jin literati culture. This well-suited encapsulation was first proposed by the Qing scholar Zhuang Zhongfang 莊仲方 (1780-1857) in his preface to *The Finest of Jin Dynasty Prose* (*Jin wen ya xu* 金文雅序), an anthology encompassing both poetry and prose he selected:

[76] JS, 125.2713-14; I adopt the translation from Bol, "Seeking Common Ground," 487, with modification.

> In the beginning of the Jin dynasty, there existed no writing. After Emperor Taizu had the ex-Liao official Han Fang (1082-1149), words were written down for the first time. When Emperor Taizong entered the Northern Song Bianzhou [i.e., the capital Kaifeng], he took classics, books, and illustrations. Ex-Song scholar-officials like Yuwen Xuzhong, Zhang Hu (fl. mid-12th c.), Cai Songnian, and Gao Shitan (d. 1146) paid allegiance [to the Jin dynasty], and then the writing tradition prospered. And yet it remained borrowing talents from other dynasties.
>
> 金初無文字也，自太祖得遼人韓昉，而言始文。太宗入宋汴州，取經籍圖書，宋宇文虛中、張斛、蔡松年、高士談輩，後先歸之，而文字熾興，然猶借才異代也。[77]

We should note that *yi dai* 異代 or "other dynasties" where talents were "borrowed" refer to both Liao and Northern Song, as is made explicit in Zhuang's self-preface. Ex-Liao scholar-officials such as Han Fang, Yu Zhongwen, Zhang Tongku 張通古 (1088-1156), and Zhang Hao 張浩 (1102-1163) were instrumental to introduce elementary literate devices and political infrastructures especially during Emperor Taizu's reign before the Jin conquest of the Northern Song. The active presence and high proportion of far-northern scholar-officials from the pre-Liao territory at the early Jin court lay the foundation of the Jurchen polity before it overturned the Northern Song in the Central Plain.

Be that as it may, at least within Yuan Haowen's ZZJ anthology, these ex-Liao scholar-officials were underrepresented compared to their ex-Northern Song counterparts. As noted above, none of ex-Liao poets were included under the category "ex-Liao and ex-Song literati" in ZZJ except Wang Shu and Yu Zhongwen. By contrast, poetry by those ex-Song scholar-officials in the very beginning of Jin dynasty holds a conspicuous position in the entire collection.

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[77] See *Jin wen ya*, comp. Zhuang Zhongfang, 1891 edition (facsimile, Taipei: Chengwen chubanshe, 1967), p. 3. The textual provenance of *jie cai yi dai* is found in Wu Jing 吳兢 (ca. 669-749), *Zhenguan zhengyao* 貞觀政要, which records Emperor Tang Taizong's 唐太宗 (r. 626-649) saying that "The enlightened kings of former ages employed people like tools [each according to his strengths]; they did not loan talent from some former age, but all selected their officers from the age in which they lived" 前代明王使人如器，皆取士於當時，不借才於異代. I adopt the translation from Wu Jing, *The Essentials of Governance*, ed. and trans. Hilde De Weerdt, Glen Dudbridge, Gabe van Beijeren, et al. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2021), "On Selecting Officials" (*Ze guan* 擇官), p. 73. In this preface Zhuang overturns the original meaning of this term used by Tai Taizong, and judges in positive light that early Jurchen rulers employed worthy officials from previous Liao and Song dynasties.

According to the charts shown above, while the proportion of poetry is often similar to that of poets in each period, the only exception are those ex-Song poets: though this group of ex-Song literati only count for one tenth of the total number, their poems occupy nearly one fifth of the whole ZZJ. This is because Yuan Haowen collected dozens of poems for each pre-Song poet especially in *juan* 1 and 10. It is in a sense astonishing since other Jin poets in the early and mid-twelfth century left so few compositions compared to their Song colleagues. Maybe the literary collections by those pre-Song poets were better preserved in Yuan's time, or it is also possible that Yuan found their poetry of higher quality to be recorded than those early Jin compositions. The compiler's personal bias of Song poets notwithstanding, it might also reflect weighty impact of these pre-Song talents on Jin literary history as a whole.

Though it is true that literary "talents from other dynasties" played a leading role in the incipient stage of Jin literati culture, the other side of the same coin is the swift adoption of civil service examination system by Jurchen rulers, albeit in a largely shrinking scale at first. As a result, this alien regime was able to produce its own *jinshi* scholar-officials as early as 1123, and the literate elite class who remained in North China could attend the civil service exams non-stop in this alien regime. In the ZZJ, aside from those Song loyalists or hermits, we also see plenty of cases where northern elite voluntarily participated in either the Jurchen regime or the puppet state of illegitimate Qi 偽齊 (1130-1137) by becoming Jin dynasty *jinshi* scholar-officials – many of them are recorded in *juan* 2, ZZJ. Among them scholars like Sun Jiuding 孫九鼎 (1080-1165) and Liu Zhan 劉瞻 (*jinshi* 1151) even launched their educational careers by establishing master-disciple networks in the North and helped cultivate the next generation of Jin literati. Furthermore, since 1138 at the beginning of Emperor Xizong's reign, the Jin exams were

organized in northern and southern branches (*nanbei xuan* 南北選) so as to elect literati from both previous Liao and Song territories.

Then in 1151, as the political identity and cultural atmosphere in the Jin territory became more integrated, this North-South division was converged when King Hailing came into power. Another change of the civil exam regulations that year was testing literary composition (*cifu* 詞賦) in place of classical essay (*jingyi* 經義) and policy questions (*celun* 策論).[78] While the early Jin literary culture in the first half of the twelfth century has long been considered as dormant, derivative, and degenerate,[79] I argue that it actually underwent a notable revival under the rule of King Hailing. As a fervent admirer and practitioner of Chinese culture himself, King Hailing made multiple far-reaching measures to "siniticize" the Jurchen polity, including political centralization into autocratic emperorship, moving the capital city from the Upper Capital in Manchuria to the Central Capital in nowadays Beijing, and cultural assimilation enterprises after Tang-Song models.[80] All these measures without question helped the recovery of normal cultural practice in the early Jin North China. This is also reflected in the increase of *jinshi* scholar-officials during King Hailing's reign recorded in ZZJ. Below I calculate the early Jin scholar-officials who passed their *jinshi* exams in Taizong, Xizong, and Hailing reigns respectively, and they all belong to the early "Jin poets and *jinshi* officials" in the second column of the table above:

[78] JS, 51.1135: （天德）三年，併南北選為一，罷經義策試兩科，專以詞賦取士。
[79] Peter Bol argues that it is not until 1190s that a remarkable revival of literati culture was witnessed in North China when it came to the latter half of Jin dynasty; see his "Seeking Common Ground"; also see his "Chao Ping-wen (1159-1232): Foundation for Literati Learning," in *China under Jurchen Rule*, pp. 115-44. Ong Chang Woei 王昌偉 in his case study research on Guanzhong literati concurs with the poor cultural condition in northwestern China during the early Jin period. See his *Men of Letters within the Passes: Guanzhong Literati in Chinese History, 907–1911* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2008), pp. 85-87.
[80] See more in Xiong Mingqin 熊鳴琴, "Jin Hailing Wang de 'Zhongguo' guan" 金海陵王的「中國」觀, in her *Jinren "Zhongguo" guan yanjiu* 金人「中國」觀研究 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2014), pp. 132-45.

Table 3 Early Jin *Jinshi* Scholar-Officials Recorded in ZZJ

	Emperor Taizong	Emperor Xizong	King Hailing
Poets from Pre-Liao Territory	Xing Juzhan 邢具瞻 [1], Bian Yuanxun 邊元勳 [2], Wang Zhongtong 王仲通 [1] [4 poems] (3 people)	Han Rujia 韓汝嘉 [1], Wang Xiao 王翛 [1] [2 poems] (2 people)	Liu Ji 劉汲 [11], Feng Ziyi 馮子翼 [7], Bian Yuanding 邊元鼎 [42], Wang Ji 王寂 [7], Liu Zhongyin 劉仲尹 [28], Wang Yuanjie 王元節 [3], Wang Qi 王啓 [1], Wang Gunzu 王遵古 [2], Lei Si 雷思 [1], Zhang Rulin 張汝霖 [1], Zheng Zidan 鄭子聃 [1] [104 poems] (11 people)
	Uncertain: Wei Daoming 魏道明 [2] (1 people)		
Poets from Pre-Song Territory	Sun Jiuding 孫九鼎 [1], Wang Hui 王繪 [1], Du Quan 杜佺 [1], Zhao Que 趙愨 [3] [6 poems] (4 people)	Zhu Zimu 朱自牧 [20], Liu Yu 劉彧 [2], Li Yan 李晏 [7], Chao Hui 晁會 [1], Wang Shu 王璹 [2], Zhang Dajie 張大節 [1], Guo Changqian 郭長倩 [1], Dong Shizhong 董師中 [1] [35 poems] (8 people)	Cai Gui 蔡珪 [46], Zhao Ke 趙可 [3], Liu Zhan 劉瞻 [3], Hao Yu 郝俁 [22], Ren Xun 任詢 [9], Shi Xu 史旭 [3], Qiao Yi 喬扆 [1], Song Yi 宋揖 [2], Lu Boda 路伯達 [1], Gao Gongzhen 高公振 [1], Wangong 張萬公 [1] [92 poems] (11 people)
	Uncertain: Liu Changyan 劉長言 [1] (1 people)		

It is quite clear from this table that Jin *jinshi* officials from King Hailing's reign take up the majority in the early Jin period in ZZJ, which means Jin literary culture saw its first boom by then. Another interesting finding is that *jinshi* scholar-officials with Liao background multiplied in Hailing's reign as well, even if the ruler revoked the North-South division in the civil service exam system. This is kind of counter-intuitive, since we tend to suppose that Liao scholar-officials might have lost their advantage when they took the same exam and competed with southerners. But at least judging from what is preserved in ZZJ, it is not until King Hailing's reign that the stage was set for the far-northern poets whose literary performance became visible in public. It is especially astonishing that poetry by far-northern *jinshi* poets in Hailing's reign (104 poems) even surpasses those of their southern fellows (92 poems). In fact, poets with Liao

background have the largest proportion in the early Jin period during Emperors Taizu, Taizong, and King Hailing's reigns compared to later periods concerning the entire ZZJ collection (see the charts above).

Besides the data of *jinshi* officials recorded in ZZJ, I find another piece of evidence about the burgeoning literary culture during King Hailing's reign. The first part of the two-*juan* "Biographies of Men of Letters" in JS basically covers the early Jin period, and without surprise, most literary talents recorded here were active under Hailing's rule.[81] Of the fourteen biographees recorded in *juan* 125, besides the ex-Liao/Song officials Han Fang, Wu Ji, and Ma Dingguo 馬定國 (fl. early 12th c.), along with Dang Huaiying belonging to the mid-Jin period, the other ten men of letters all had their political careers under King Hailing's rule: Cai Songnian and Wang Jing 王競 (1101-1164) were advanced ex-Song scholar-officials who served this young ruler; Guo Changqian 郭長倩 (*jinshi* 1146), Hu Li 胡礪 (1107-1167), and Yang Boren 楊伯仁 (?-1185) passed the Jin civil service exams earlier and reached high-ranking positions promoted by Hailing; Xiao Yongqi 蕭永祺 (fl. 1150s) was a Kitan erudite scholar highly valued by the King; finally, Cai Gui, Ren Xun 任詢 (*jinshi* 1157), Zhao Ke 趙可 (*jinshi* 1154), and Zheng Zidan 鄭子聃 (1126-1180) all got their *jinshi* degrees in that period. Moreover, eight out of these ten "literary talents" had the experience of serving at King Hailing's court: Cai Songnian even reached the highest bureaucratic position as the Jin Grand Councilor; Cai Gui, Zhao Ke, Xiao Yongqi, Hu Li, Wang Jing, Yang Boren, and Zheng Zidan entered the Hanlin Academy as drafters of imperial edicts (with the titles of either Hanlin Academician Recipient of Edicts [Hanlin xueshi chengzhi 翰林學士承旨] or Hanlin Redactor-Compiler [Hanlin xiuzhuan 翰林修

[81] JS, 125.2714-27.

撰]) and involved deeply into court politics at that time. Only Ren Xun and Guo Changqian were relatively outliers of King Hailing's power structure, and curiously, their biographies in JS were entirely transcribed from ZZJ,[82] while the accounts of other eight established officials in King Hailing's reign seem to draw from alternative sources, most likely "veritable records" (*shilu* 實錄) along with other historiographical jottings and memoires. In particular, Zhao Ke, Yang Boren, and Zheng Zidan are noted for their literary virtuosity in their biographies. Juicy anecdotes are circulated about their exceptional encounters of King Hailing on the occasion of civil service exam – and again, these stories are found outside ZZJ. GQZ records that Zhao Ke had the liberty to improvise a short piece of popular song lyric on the wall after finishing his civil service exam, which King Hailing incidentally caught sight of.[83] The following two cases are recorded in detail in the official JS: Yang Boren's acute literary taste enabled him to recognize principal *jinshi* graduates twice.[84] Zheng Zidan himself was a principal *jinshi* graduate and even made a bet with King Hailing on the first rank.[85] In sum, the predominance of cultural and political events at King Hailing's court in the first *juan* of the "Biographies of Men of Letters" in JS demonstrates the vibrant growth of literary atmosphere in the mid-twelfth century. Interestingly, King Hailing in this historiographical chapter on Jin literary culture is portrayed in a favorable light who respected and promoted worthy talents in line with his siniticizing agenda. This image of Hailing also casts in sharp relief the vicious and egoist ruler mirrored in the "Basic Annals of King Hailing" 海陵王本紀.[86] And we modern readers should be vigilant about these

[82] Compare ZZJJZ, 2.426-27, and JS, 125.2719; ZZJJZ, 8.2142, and JS, 125.2720.
[83] GQZ, 10.116-17. Zhao's biography in ZZJJZ, 2.380, is sketchy and partly included in JS, 2719-20, but the former has no mention of his role at King Hailing's court.
[84] JS, 125.2723-25; there is no entry of Yang in ZZJ.
[85] Ibid., 125.2725-26; this story is recounted in Zheng's biography in ZZJJZ, 9.2373, while the narrative is different and more concise.
[86] JS, 5.91-118. The most blatant criticism is revealed in the concluding remark by the anonymous historian:

ideological preconceptions or misconceptions manipulated by subsequent victors in extant Jin literary and historical discourses.[87]

King Hailing's radical and ambitious reforms, along with his willful invasions of the Southern Song, ended up with expansive rebellions in North China and the overturn of his reign. Be that as it may, Hailing's political agendas in favor of pervasive acculturation of Tang-Song sinitic models were inherited *de facto* and advanced by his usurper-cum-successor Emperor Shizong and the following Emperor Zhangzong. This encouraging intellectual temper coupled with socio-political institutions on track since the mid-twelfth century preconditioned the burgeoning of Jin literati culture thereafter.

The Construct of Jin Literati Genealogy

While this tripartite periodization helps stratify and formulate successive phases of Jin literary history, a through line can be found across different historical stages in order to grasp a holistic view of Jin poetry. It was a highly artificial and self-reflexive construct of what I call Jin literati genealogy already under way in early thirteenth century.

As I mark the names in bold shown in the table above, one or more Jin literati were identified as leaders in each generation. More interestingly, based on these extraordinary figures in Jin literary historical landscape, a cultural genealogy was built up retrospectively by late and

贊曰：海陵智足以拒諫，言足以飾非。欲爲君則弑其君，欲伐國則弑其母，欲奪人之妻則使之殺其夫。三綱絕矣，何暇他論。至于屠滅宗族，翦刈忠良，婦姑姊妹盡入嬪御。方以三十二總管之兵圖一天下，卒之戾氣感召，身由惡終，使天下後世稱無道主以海陵爲首。可不戒哉！可不戒哉！

[87] Yuan Haowen once made a fair comment via the mouth of a highly esteemed Jin scholar about the biased state history of King Hailing's reign which was compiled under the command of Emperor Shizong; see the mini-biography of Jia Yiqian 賈益謙 (1147-1226) in ZZJJZ, 9.2354: 然我聞海陵被弑，而世宗皇帝立。大定三十年，禁近能暴海陵蟄惡者，得美仕，史官脩實録，誣其淫毒狠鷙，遺臭無窮。自今觀之，百可一信耶？

post-Jin poets. The first testimony I find in Jin sources is addressed by Zhao Bingwen in his funerary epigraph written for Dang Huaiying:

> Over a hundred years of our dynasty, for those who were praised for their *wenzhang* or literary composition, there were Lord Yuwen [Xuzhong 宇文虛中, 1079–1146] during the Huangtong era (1141–1149), Lord Cai Wuke [i.e., Cai Gui] during the Dading era (1161–1189), and Lord Dang during the Mingchang era (1190–1196).
>
> 本朝百餘年間，以文章見稱者，皇統間宇文公，大定間無可蔡公，明昌間則党公。[88]

A similar and more explicit claim is found under the entry of Cai Gui in ZZJ, who was apotheosized as the initiator of "Jin literary orthodoxy." We also realize from this account that it was actually first construed by Zhao's contemporary Xiao Gong 蕭貢 (1158–1223):

> Literati-officials at the beginning of our dynasty such as Grand Academician Yuwen [Xuzhong], Grand Councilor Cai [Songnian], and Prefect Shenzhou Wu [Ji], etc. had to be called heroic and exceptional noblemen. However, they were all Confucian scholars from the Song dynasty, so that it is hard to include them into the "literary lineage of our dynasty."
>
> Therefore, we distinguish Zhengfu [i.e., Cai Gui] as the founding father of our orthodox tradition, followed by Dang Zhuxi [i.e., Dang Huaiying; *zhuxi* 竹溪 literally means "Bamboo Creek"], and then by Lord Xianxian of the Ministry of Rites.
>
> Since Xiao Zhenqing [i.e., Xiao Gong] proclaimed this discourse, till now there has been no dissent under heaven.
>
> 國初文士如宇文大學、蔡丞相、吳深州之等，不可不謂之豪傑之士，然皆宋儒，難以國朝文派論之。
>
> 故斷自正甫為正傳之宗，党竹谿次之，禮部閻閻公又次之。
>
> 自蕭戶部真卿倡此論，天下迄今無異議云。[89]

The claim I translate here pushes forward a genealogical discourse by using the phrase "followed by" (*ci zhi* 次之) so as to chain up these names into a coherent lineage. On top of that, here writers in the next generation added Zhao Bingwen after Dang Huaiying, and Zhao thus became

[88] Zhao Bingwen, "Zhongdafu Hanlin xueshi chengzhi Wenxian Dang gong shendaobei" 中大夫翰林學士承旨文獻党公神道碑; FSJ, 11.164.
[89] This claim is recorded under the entry of Cai Gui in ZZJJZ, 2.170–71.

Dang's successor as the arbiter of Jin literati culture. In essence, the Jin dynasty underwent a fundamental literary development from "borrowing talents from other dynasties" (*jie cai yi dai* 借才異代) to establishing its own cultural self-confidence labeled as the "literary school or lineage of our own state or dynasty" (*guochao wenpai* 國朝文派). The significance of this reformulated conceptual structure is that, by drawing a distinctive line from Song "remnant subjects" like Yuwen Xuzhong, Jin literati managed to establish an independent self-identity of Jin literary orthodoxy so as to rival their Southern Song counterparts. This teleological narrative of Jin literary history gained wide currency thereafter, and has long been discussed among modern scholars.[90] In this part, I will first reconstruct this cultural lineage of Jin literati via close reading of Jin textual sources, and reveal essential attributes of this discursive scheme. Then, I will turn the other way around and argue for a highly artificial or even deceptive mechanism of genealogical construction embedded in this discourse, together with its lingering impact in the post-Jin period.

One major contribution of this lineage construct is pinpointing the invented "beginning" of Jin literati culture. Consensus was reached among later generations of Jin literati that it is Cai Gui and Dang Huaiying who first marked the unique signature of Jin literature. In other words, only during the Cai-Dang generations did northern Jin literati gain real subjectivity in literary history. Their elevated status as "founding fathers" of Jin literati culture was already implicated by Zhao Bingwen's appreciation of their *wen* or prose writing that "among seniors of previous

[90] See Xu Wenyu 許文玉, "Jinyuan de wenyou" 金源的文囿, *Xiaoshuo yuekan* 17 (1923), rpt. in Zheng Zhenduo 鄭振鐸 ed., *Zhongguo wenxue yanjiu* 中國文學研究 (Hong Kong: Zhongguo wenxue yanjiushe, 1963), pp. 677–714; Wu Mei 吳梅, *Liao Jin Yuan wenxue shi* 遼金元文學史 (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1934); Zhan Hanglun 詹杭倫, *Jindai wenxue shi* 金代文學史 (Taipei: Guanya wenhua shiye youxian gongsi, 1993); Zhang Jing 張晶, *Liao Jin shishi* 遼金詩史 (Changchun: Dongbei shifan daxue chubanshe, 1994); Also see Michael A. Fuller, "Elite literature of the Jin dynasty to 1214."

generations, Zhao Xianxian [i.e., Zhao Bingwen] highly praised prose written by Dang Huaiying [style name Shijie] and Cai Gui [style name Zhengfu]" 趙閑閑於前輩中，文則推党世傑懷英、蔡正甫珪.[91] In a similar vein, Yuan Haowen acknowledged Zhao's cultural authority by taking over the leadership from his predecessors Cai and Dang: "[Zhao] humbly withdrew and followed Cai Wuke and Dang Zhuxi, and turned out to be venerated as master of the Jin literary league" 斂避於蔡無可、党竹溪之後，而竟推為斯文之主盟.[92] Later on, Cai and Dang were often brought up together by thirteenth-century poets as epoch-making figures during the "High Jin" period to commemorate and reconstruct the full-fledged Jin literati culture distinct from the previous Liao and Northern Song dynasties:

郝經，閑閑畫像	Hao Jing, "Portrait of Xianxian"
國初學士汴與燕	At the outset of our dynasty, scholar-officials were from Bian [i.e., the Northern Song] and Yan [i.e., the Liao],
世章蔡党方騰騫	Not until [the eras of] Shizong and Zhangzong did Cai and Dang start to gallop and soar.
宣政佻靡快濯湔	Frivolous and grandiose style in the Xuan[he] and Zheng[he] reigns [of Emperor Huizong in the Northern Song 宋徽宗 (1082–1135, r. 1100–1126)] was swiftly purified;
補完大朴無雕鐫	[Cai and Dang] mended the Great Unhewn complete without engraved adornment. (*ll*. 25–28)[93]

According to this early Yuan poet Hao Jing, Cai and Dang were freed from passive reception and imitation from previous models and established the Jin literary subjectivity. This only took place in the mid-Jin period when the northern Jin poetic fashion made a difference from its immediate past of the late Northern Song. In fact, it seems to be Hao Jing who first coined the Cai-Dang

[91] GQZ, 10.119. It also has something to do with the ancient prose (*guwen* 古文) orthodoxy in the Jin cultural contexts; see more in chapter 6.
[92] Yuan Haowen, "Zhao Xianxian zhenzan er shou" 趙閑閑真贊二首, no. 1; YHWQJ, 38.680.
[93] HJJ, 10.855.

appellation and circulated it in textual currency,[94] though he was actually responding to and sustaining a well-established narrative in the generation of Yuan Haowen and Liu Qi as revealed above. Last but not least, these four lines are inscribed on a portrait of Zhao Bingwen, so that this early Yuan poet was again tracing back the historical pedigree of Jin literati traditions which fell squarely on the shoulders of Zhao Bingwen. We will examine Zhao's decisive role in this genealogical scheme closely later in chapter 4.

Nevertheless, this literati lineage in North China did not terminate with Zhao Bingwen, but rather inherited and advocated by Yuan Haowen as Zhao'ssuccessor. Xu Shilong 徐世隆 (1206–1285), a 1227 *jinshi* graduate in the late Jin period who later became a high official at the

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[94] See, for example, Hao Jing, "Yuan gu shang Yuan xueshi" 原古上元學士, "Huangshan caosheng ge" 黃山草聖歌, "Ji Yishan xiansheng wen" 祭遺山先生文; ibid., 2.245, 11.906, 21.1675.
郝經《陵川集》卷二《原古上元學士》：浚發自**蔡党**，高步出遼夐。墨浸天壤深，筆掃風雷勁。絲綸帝載熙，訓誥王言瑩。諸公繼踵作，互執造化柄。
卷十一《黃山草聖歌》：一從**蔡党**闢文源，復有黃山黃華相後先。黃山古雅尤老成，迫**蔡**埒**党**難重輕。
卷二一《祭遺山先生文》：古文之有體，金石之有例，足以肩**蔡党**。

The Cai-Dang/Dang-Cai phrase also shows up in a poem inscribed on the painting entitled "Night Talks in a Snowy Boat" (*Xuezhou yeyu* 雪舟夜語) by another Yuan dynasty poet Wang Yun, who makes the claim that the painting reminds viewers a century later of the dual celebrities as the embodiment of the Dading-Mingchang "golden age":

大定明昌五十年　The Dading-Mingchang reigns of fifty years –
當時文物蔚中天　At that time, civil institutions and cultural objects were luxuriant as bright light of midday.
雪篷夜話無多味　[With the pictorial scene of] night talks under the snow-covered awning of a boat with a plain flavor,
党蔡風流墮眼前　The panache of Dang and Cai falls before my eyes.

See WYQJ, 32.1601. Two possible interpretations can make sense of this quatrain. It could be that the two figures engaging in night talks by the boat in the painting are illusioned by the poet as Dang and Cai. Or the plain and placid style and content of the painting reminds the viewer of the "panache" of Dang and Cai typical of the Dading-Mingchang *zeitgeist*. In either case, this painting was treated by the early Yuan elite as the visual exemplar of the High Jin literati culture.

It is worth noting that Wang's another piece "Yunxi xiansheng huaxiang" 雲溪先生畫像 basically adopts the same poetic diction and structure, so that we can say Wang is replicating his own poems to apply formulaic rhetoric on different occasions. See WYQJ, 26.1281:

大定明昌五十年　The Dading-Mingchang reigns of fifty years –
聲明文物出中天　Renowned and illuminant institutions and cultural objects came out of the bright light of midday.
畫圖一識雲溪老　Through the painting I first get to know the Old Man of Cloudy Creek,
耆舊風流墮眼前　The panache of seniors and elders falls before my eyes.

Mongol Yuan court, wrote a preface to Yuan's individual collection *Yishan ji* in which he pronounced:

> I once ventured to comment on those who attained [entry into] the orthodox literary lineage and took the lead of the [Jin literati] alliance over their ages: in Dading (1161–1189) and Mingchang (1190–1196) reigns, there was Lord Dang [Huaiying] the [Hanlin Academician] Recipient of Edicts; in Zhenyou (1213–1217) through Zhengda (1224–1232) reigns, there was Lord Zhao [Bingwen] the Minister of Rites; after crossing north [in 1233],[95] there was Master Yishan alone.
>
> 竊嘗評金百年以來得文派之正而主盟一時者，大定、明昌則承旨党公，貞祐、正大則禮部趙公，北渡則遺山先生一人而已。[96]

Elsewhere Yuan's disciple Wang Yun also sent the same message in his commemorative verse that "the orthodox transmission of [literary heritage left by] Dang and Zhao still existed and was handed down to our master [i.e., Yuan Haowen]" 党趙正傳公固在.[97] Another of Yuan's disciples, Hao Jing, was particularly obsessed with constructing a Jin literati genealogy, which was in line with his ideological agenda pivoting on the "unifying" force of *Daotong* 道統.[98] He composed poetry as postscripts to the literary collections of Cai Gui and Dang Huaiying, as well as Zhao Bingwen's portrait translated above, in which he expounded his moralistic discourse of Dao / the Way and proclaimed the Jin literary orthodoxy against the Southern Song rival.[99] In his poem "Tracing the Origins of Antiquity, Presented to Academician Yuan [Haowen]" (Yuan gu

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[95] In April of 1233, Mongol troops took over the Jin capital Bianjing and broke into the city. Later in the same year, Yuan Haowen along with other surrendered Jin officials were brought north and taken into custody in Liaocheng 聊城, Shandong province. This historical event was often referred to as "Crossing North" (*bei du* 北渡) in the writings of Jin "remnant subjects."

[96] Xu Shilong, "Yishan xiansheng wenji xu" 遺山先生文集序; YHWQJ, 53.1054.

[97] Wang Yun, "Zhuiwan Yuan Yishan xiansheng" 追挽元遺山先生; WYQJ, 17.756. We should note that the abbreviation Dang-Zhao 党趙 here refers to Dang Huaiying and Zhao Bingwen as successive leaders of Jin literati, rather than Dang Huaiying and Zhao Feng 趙渢 (*jinshi* 1182) as equal contemporaries, which is the case shown below.

[98] For Hao Jing's cultural enterprise of constructing a "unifying" Dao, see Tillman, "The Collision and Amalgamation of Song, Jin, and Yuan Cultural Thinking," in Soffel and Tillman, *Cultural Authority and Political Culture in China*, pp. 170–88.

[99] See Hao Jing, "Du Dang chengzhi ji" 讀党承旨集, "Shu Cai Zhengfu ji hou" 書蔡正甫集後, "Xianxian huaxiang" 閑閑畫像; HJJ, 9.663-64, 670, 10.855-56.

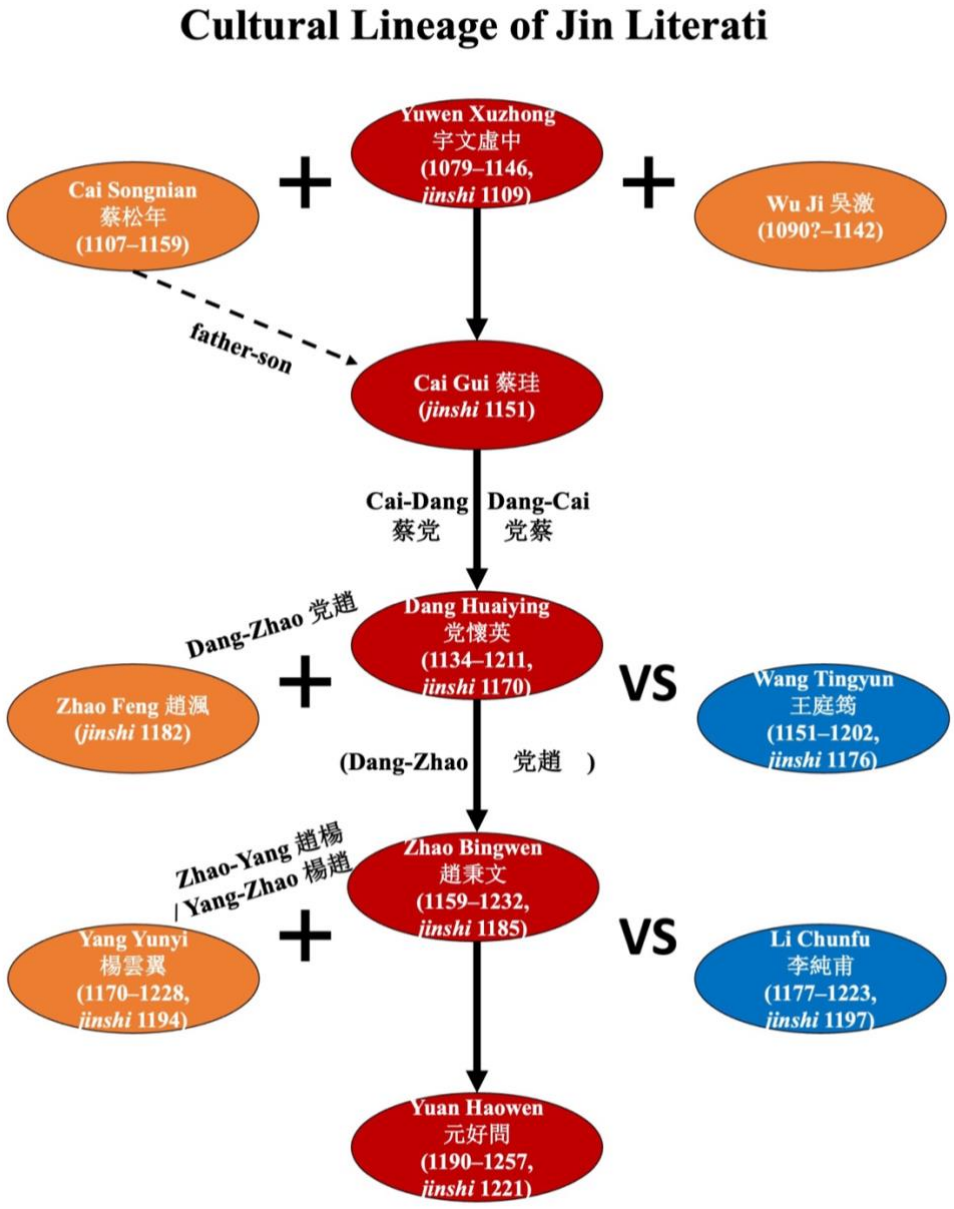
shang Yuan xueshi 原古上元學士), Hao Jing not only reiterated the same register of names, but further proclaimed Yuan Haowen as the next in line: "People revere your *wen* of the entire generation; / Heaven bestows on you the [cultural] flourish of a century" 人宗一代文，天賦百年盛.[100] Almost the entire second half of Hao's piece praised Yuan's promotion of and contribution to Jin literati culture in the post-Jin period. While ardently *recording* this lineage scheme throughout his life, Yuan Haowen also ended up *being recorded* into this diachronic list himself by his disciples, conforming to the genealogical logic of self-generation and self-perpetuation. Then in this poem Hao further claimed his own discipleship to Yuan, implying that he himself was probably second in place after Yuan in this genealogy enterprise as the rightful leader of northern literati community.[101] This is also attested in the commemorative mechanism of composing entombed epitaph inscriptions (*muzhiming* 墓誌銘) for one's master, as Yuan was the writing agent of Zhao's epitaph, and Hao took over the duty for composing Yuan's own epitaph after his death.[102] To take one step further, by imposing the Confucian cultural agenda of "Restoration of Antiquity" upon the Jin literati genealogy, Hao tried to claim China on behalf of the extinct Jin dynasty at least in rhetoric. Here we should stress that this genealogical configuration means much more than ennobling Yuan into the pantheon of celebrated Jin poets, but Yuan's every existence announced the personification of Jin literati culture that endured in the post-Jin period. Fundamentally speaking, the entire construct of Jin literati genealogy serves

[100] HJJ, 2.245.

[101] An interesting fact is that, Yuan Haowen as a teenager was once a disciple of Hao Jing's grandfather, Hao Tianting 郝天挺 (1161–1217). In turn, Yuan became Hao Jing's master and praised for Hao's resemblance to his grandfather. See more in Gou Zongdao 苟宗道 (fl. 13th c.), "Gu Hanlin shidu xueshi guoxinshi Hao gong xingzhuang" 故翰林侍讀學士國信使郝公行狀; HJJ, "fulu" 附錄, p. 3355: 初，遺山元先生學於公之大父，亂後往來燕趙間。一見公，奇之，曰：「吾子狀類先生，才識間出，家世淵源有所積而然也。」遂相與論作詩作文法，復勉公以百世遠大之業。

[102] See Yuan Haowen, "Xianxian gong muming" 閑閑公墓銘; YHWQJ, 17.347–51. Hao Jing, "Yishan xiansheng muming" 遺山先生墓銘; HJJ, 35.2813–15.

as the major through line that threads up the early, mid- and late Jin periods as a constant and uniform whole, and thus the self-conscious Jin literary tradition was in turn established.



While this Yuwen Xuzhong—Cai Gui—Dang Huaiying—Zhao Bingwen—Yuan Haowen lineage loudly predominates in Jin texts, it is by no means unique or exclusive without alternates. These assigned leaders are often mentioned along with other contemporary celebrities either in parallel or in contest. Above is the diagram illustrating the divergent or pluralized lineage(s) of

Jin literati community. And below I list an array of relevant Jin textual accounts out of which I draw this genealogical construct.

To begin with, we already see in Xiao Gong's discourse that Wu Ji and Cai Songnian also stood alongside Yuwen Xuzhong as prominent figures in the early Jin elite community. Wu Ji is said to have outdone Yuwen in an impromptu contest of composing song lyrics in a banquet.[103] Cai Songnian later became a grand councilor at early Jin court and was the father of Cai Gui, the latter the "first" genuine Jin poet of significance and the leader of the inchoate Jin literati group. The plurality of leadership was especially true in the generations of Dang Huaiying and Zhao Bingwen. Right after the paragraph from Zhao's funerary epigraph written for Dang translated above, Zhao went on saying: "At that moment (i.e., during the Mingchang period), Zhao Huangshan [i.e., Zhao Feng 趙渢 (*jinshi* 1182)] and Wang Huanghua [i.e., Wang Tingyun] were both celebrated for their poetry and calligraphy in the world; when it comes to the orthodox lineage [of *wenzhang*] from the ancients, it is still our lord [i.e., Dang Huaiying] who ranked first" 於時趙黃山、王黃華俱以詩翰名世；至論得古人之正脈者，猶以公為稱首.[104] While these three people were near equals in the eyes of their contemporaries, according to Zhao Bingwen, Dang was still superior to the other two because of the genre hierarchy of ancient prose or *wen* over poetry or other forms of belles-lettres. Moreover, as we will see more in chapter 4, Dang Huaiying and Zhao Feng filiated themselves to the same camp and enjoyed the joint appellation Dang-Zhao 党趙 (not Zhao Bingwen but Zhao Feng),[105] whereas Wang Tingyun

[103] This anecdote is recorded in *Zhongzhou yuefu*, in ZZJJZ, p. 680. Also see GQZ, 8.83–84.
[104] Zhao Binwen, "Dang gong shendaobei"; FSJ, 11.164.
[105] The Dang-Zhao compound frequently shows up in ZZJJZ, 4.951, 7.1831, 1881.
《中州集》卷二「黃山趙先生渢」小傳：閑閑趙公云：「黃山正書體兼顏蘇，行草備諸家體，超放又似楊凝式，當處黃魯直、蘇才翁伯仲間。党承旨篆，陽冰以來一人而已，而以黃山配之，至今人謂之**党趙**。」
又，卷七「朱宮教瀾」小傳：歷諸王文學、應奉翰林文字，終於待制。**党、趙**推挽之力為多。
又，同卷「迂齋先生周馳」小傳：至於**党、趙**，又其忘年友也。

to some extent challenged Dang's authority as a potential rival regarding his one-of-a-kind literary talent. In like manner, in the next generation of Dang Huaiying, we see the esteemed pair Zhao Bingwen and Yang Yunyi – again with a coinage of their surnames Zhao-Yang 趙楊 or Yang-Zhao 楊趙 – in light of their upright and prestigious status at the late Jin court.[106] Meanwhile, Zhao Bingwen also met his prime rival Li Chunfu as they both vied for leadership of the literati alliance in early thirteenth-century North China, which again will be one major issue in chapter 4. Nevertheless, we should be vigilant about the historical agency at play here. If we look closely at the textual provenance of these name compounds, we can easily identify Yuan Haowen to be the major contributor of this wordplay. Not only did he create and proliferate the Dang-Zhao and Yang-Zhao compounds in his writings, but more importantly, he did so in order to underpin this cultural lineage of Jin literati in a simplified, formulaic manner for commemorative purpose. This generative process of post-Jin cultural memory was further

[106] Like the Dang-Zhao compound above, the Yang-Zhao/Zhao-Yang compound is propagated by Yuan Haowen in his writings. See ZZJJZ, 4.1093. Also, YHWQJ, 10.214, 18.367, 36.649, 37.660, 39.689, 40.711. In other words, Zhao and Yang were presented as deans of Jin literary critics in the eyes of young Yuan Haowen.
《中州集》卷四「禮部楊公雲翼」小傳：南渡後二十年，與禮部閒閒公代掌文柄，時人號「**楊趙**」。
元好問《遺山集》卷十《存歿（辛老敬之劉兄景玄）》：行間**楊趙**提衡早，老去辛劉入夢頻。
又，卷一八《內相文獻楊公神道碑銘》：文章與閑閑公齊名，世號「**楊趙**」。
又，卷三六《琴辨引》：南渡後，（苗彥實）日從**楊、趙**遊。閑閑嘗有詩推敬，故詩人止以高士目之。
又，卷三七《木庵詩集序》：予為之（釋性英）擊節稱歎，恨**楊、趙**諸公不及見之。
又，卷三九《答聰上人書》：僕自貞祐甲戌南渡河時，犬馬之齒二十有五，遂登**楊、趙**之門。
又，卷四〇《題樗軒九歌遺音大字後》：（完顏璹書法）南渡以後，**楊、趙**諸公無不歎賞，有不待言者。
Meanwhile, the Yang-Zhao coinage turned into wide currency in Yuan's generation, as we occasionally find textual evidence from others' accounts. See, for example, GQZ, 8.80; Li Zhi 李治 (1192-1279), "Yishan xiansheng wenji xu" 遺山先生文集序, YHWQJ, 53.1053; Xu Shilong, "Si xian tang ji" 四賢堂記, preserved in Su Tianjue 蘇天爵 (1294-1352), *Yuan chao mingchen shilüe* 元朝名臣事略, ed. Yao Jing'an 姚景安 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1996), 13.264; Wei Chu, "Dun'an xiansheng shiji xu" 遯齋先生詩集序; *Quan Yuan wen*, 264.449.
劉祁《歸潛志》卷八：南渡後，**趙、楊**諸公為有司，方於策論中取人，故士風稍變，頗加意策論。又於詩賦中亦辨別讀書人才，以是文風稍振。
李治《遺山先生文集序》：興定、正大中，殆與**楊、趙**齊驅。
蘇天爵《元朝名臣事略》卷十三「李治」引太常徐公（徐世隆）撰《四賢堂記》：惟閑閑、文獻以道德文章為一代宗師，昔在禮部、翰林對持文柄，時號**楊、趙**。
魏初《遯齋先生詩集序》：余謂金國百有餘年，以文章名家者，如党竹溪、王黃華、趙黃山，**楊、趙**二禮部，雷、李、王、麻諸公，不啻百數十人，其餘為兵亂磨滅者不可勝計。

fossilized in the next generation of Hao Jing (the one who invented the Cai-Dang compound in parallel) and Wang Yun, while gradually fading away thereafter.

The artificiality and arbitrariness of this cultural lineage is crystal clear if we look into the social relationships of Jin literati clusters in the real world. Below I visualize the correspondences and interactions among these celebrated Jin literati leaders reconstructed from extant textual evidence by applying a social-network-analysis (SNA) model provided by Gephi.

Graph A: Network Analysis and Visualization of Jin Literati Lineage Generated by Gephi. Graph layout: ForceAtlas 2. Node ranking: Degree.

Several features in Graph A require preliminary explanation in the beginning. Each dot or node stands for a Jin literatus. The size of an individual node is determined by degree – that is, the number of connections that the node has. In other words, the bigger a node is, the better connected and more influential the individual is within this network. The lines or edges reflect social connections between two nodes. The thickness of each line/edge, which is called "edge

weight" in SNA, represents how strong the two individual nodes are connected – in my case, it is calculated by the frequency of textual entries mentioning their relationship. Besides, I manually assign the color of nodes in Graph A to distinguish the "orthodox" leaders (red), the affiliates (grey), and the "heterodox" antagonists (white) according to the genealogy I show above. For example, Zhao Bingwen in this network model occupies one of the biggest nodes connected with six others. His edge weight is also the heaviest, and his connections with Yang Yunyi and Yuan Haowen are especially "thick." On top of that, I mark Zhao's node in red color to emphasize his central status within this Jin cultural lineage, which he inherited from Dang Huaiying and transmitted to Yuan Haowen, whose nodes and relevant edges are also shown in red here.

Essential, and sometimes counterintuitive, facts can be deducted from SNA that would be otherwise screened deliberately in the genealogical discourse. First and foremost, we can easily tell from the visualization that there are perceptibly two separate clusters (meaning groups of nodes that are related) within this network. On the top-right corner are four early and mid-Jin literati, drifting away from the majority like an autonomous island, while other nodes belonging to the main "constellation" came from the mid- to late Jin period and pivoted on the "twin stars" Zhao Bingwen and Wang Tingyun. In addition, the density of the overall network is uneven. We see a more close-knit community in later generations of Jin poets, represented by not only more interpersonal edges/links but also heavier edge weights – this partially reflects the condition of surviving primary sources we have access to. In sharp contrast, the clustering of four early/mid-Jin nodes is of a much smaller scale, as existing textual evidence is rather slim – even from the standpoint of late Jin poets like Yuan Haowen, the age of Yuwen Xuzhong and Cai Gui was already a remote past on the brink of oblivion.

In particular, the node of Yuwen Xuzhong is isolated and marginalized in the overall network. His influence is even smaller than that of Cai or Wu (represented by the relative size of their nodes), which is also testified in contemporary records: Wu Ji had literary superiority over him, and Cai Songnian's political status was the most prestigious among Han literati throughout the entire Jin history. Moreover, Wu and Cai had personal interactions with Cai Gui as the literati leader in the next generation which Yuwen Xuzhong lacked. While it is said that "there has been no dissent under heaven since Xiao Gong proclaimed this discourse [i.e., Jin literati genealogy]," the qualitative and quantitative facts analyzed via SNA tool bespeak Yuwen Xuzhong's problematic occupation in this "orthodox" lineage. It is plausible that Yuwen Xuzhong won over Cai and Wu for the central status because he was a Northern Song *jinshi* degree holder while the other two were not. After all, the Jin civil service examination culture was the pillar or shaping force of this Jin literati lineage, and the jinshi status seemed to be the indispensable "legitimate" authentication to get involved in Jin literati discourse.

Some follow-up discoveries also derive from this gap. If we look into the weak joints that bridge the two separate clusters consisting of early Jin and late Jin literati respectively, we will find that NO existing evidence indicates that Cai Gui and Dang Huaiying were interpersonally connected. This fact is quite a surprise given the promotion of the Cai-Dang appellation associated with the lineage illustrated above. Despite the loss of most of their writings, their acquaintance also seems unlikely even if we rehearse the historical scenario: When Cai Gui passed away at a relatively early age as a court official around 1175 to 1176, Dang had just launched his political career as a low-rank colleague in Jin bureaucracy (he passed the *jinshi* exam in 1170), so that Dang by no means had the opportunity to call on the eminent senior official. Rather, it is Wang Tingyun who had sparse correspondences with Cai Gui. According to

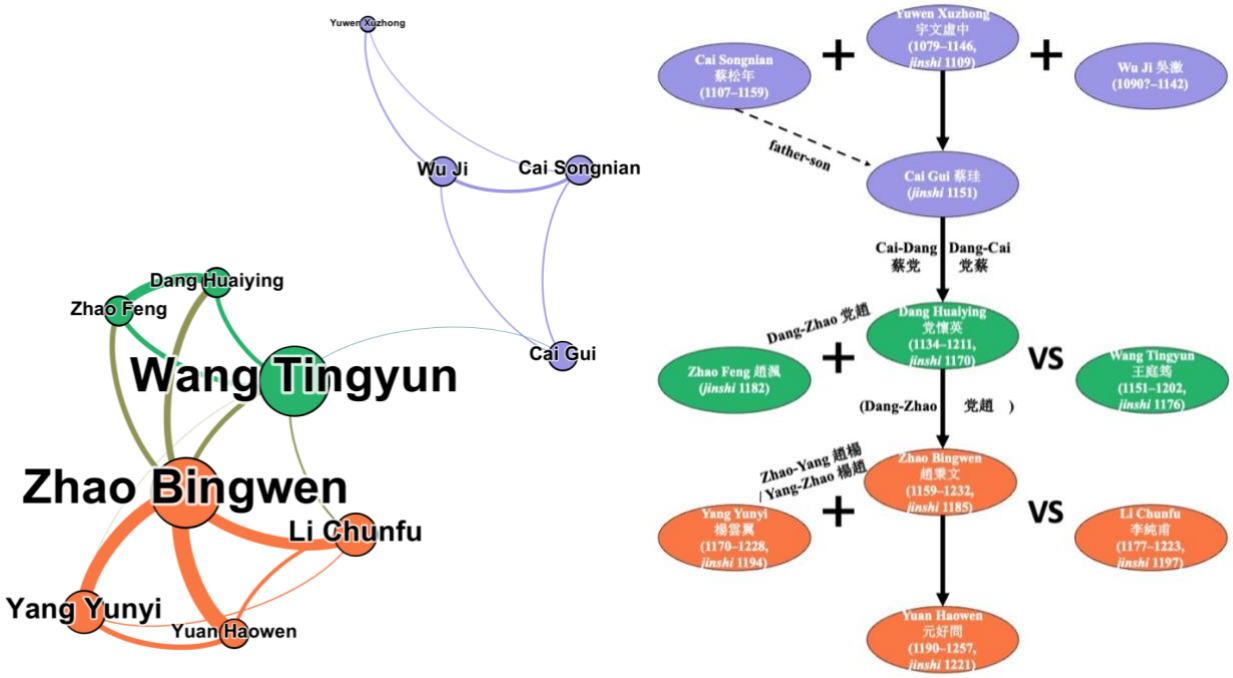
contemporary accounts, a landscape painting is graced by a colophon written by Cai Gui accompanied with two inscribing poems of Wang Tingyun and his father Wang Zungu 王遵古 (*jinshi* 1160).[107] Elsewhere it is said that Cai Gui once inscribed a rhyme-matching poem on the Haiyue Mansion (Haiyue lou 海岳樓, lit. "Mansion of Oceanic Marchmount") built by Wang Zungu in nowadays Xiongyue 熊岳 (lit. "Bear Marchmount"), Liaoning province.[108] Cai Gui went to Liaoning as an assistant commissioner sometime in 1150s after he passed his *jinshi* exam, when the Wang family as a prominent local scholarly gentry there probably had the chance to meet and keep company with Cai.[109] This finding is subversive in nature, since the Cai-Dang appellation embodies the intergenerational transformation of Jin literature which is said to have actualized its distinct and independent subjectivity. And yet the social exchanges between these two generations are rarely spotted in extant Jin texts, and in particular the Cai-Dang agency is totally wanting on this social networking platform. Along this line of thought, Wang Tingyun comes to be a problem or the elephant in the room. If we adhere to the discursive lineage, Wang is supposed to be a heterodox rival or antagonist of the contemporary leader Dang Huaiying (see more in chapter 4). And yet this network graph tells us exactly the opposite: Wang was much better connected than Dang and thus more influential in the Jin literati community. And taking into consideration his personal connections with Cai Gui (while Dang had none), perhaps we have sufficient reasons to replace Dang with Wang Tingyun in this graph as the *de facto* master

[107] See Wang Ji 王寂, *Yajiang xingbu zhi* 鴨江行部志, in Jia Jingyan 賈敬顏, *Wudai Song Jin Yuan ren bianjiang xingji shisan zhong shuzhenggao* 五代宋金元人邊疆行記十三種疏證稿 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2004), pp. 188-89. *Yajiang xingbu zhi* is Wang's travelogue which records his personal experience in Liaodong during the second and third months of the year 1191.
[108] Ibid., pp. 192-95.
[109] Cai Gui's biography in JS says: "When [Cai] passed the *jinshi* exam [in 1151], he did not take up the official post. After a long while, he was appointed as the military assistant commissioner in Chengzhou [nowadays Haicheng 海城 county, Liaoning province]" 中進士第，不求調，久乃除澄州軍事判官. See JS, 125.2717. Wang Qingsheng 王慶生 approximates the duration of Cai's stay in Liaoning to be around 1156 to 1158; see Wang, *Jindai wenxuejia nianpu* 金代文學家年譜 (Nanjing: Fenghuang chubanshe, 2005), p. 74.

of his contemporary literati alliance. Another candidate Li Chunfu as the successor of Wang Tingyun and the co-eval of Zhao Bingwen is also potentially competitive within this network. Here we encounter the discrepancy between a discursive framework and the real, social relationship.

Now we have reached the fatal flaw that lies at the heart of this ready-made construct of Jin literati genealogy. That is, the complexity of this social networking system shown here undermines the very existence of this Jin literati genealogy which is merely a discursive ideal. If we return to the "orthodox" intergenerational lineage which I mark in red color in this graph, we can easily tell how and where it falls apart. The most telling evidence is that red nodes of Yuwen Xuzhong and Cai Gui are *disconnected* from the rest of Dang Huaiying—Zhao Bingwen—Yuan Haowen lineage. This means no direct connection or edge is found either between Yuwen and Cai (though they are intermediated by Wu Ji and Cai Songnian), or between Cai and Dang, which we have discussed in detail above. As such, the construction of Jin literati genealogy whose *raison d'être* claims to envision a holistic Jin literary history doesn't hold water, since so many pieces of the puzzle are still missing in the early and mid-Jin periods, and the retrospective attributions of Yuwen Xuzhong and Cai Gui turn out to be largely subjective and selective. Rather, this cultural lineage of Jin literati was created not *ab ovo* but *in medias res*. We have to acknowledge that there is a gap or leap from Cai Gui's generation to the mid- and late Jin literati cluster, which also brings into question the Cai-Dang appellation. We should keep in mind that this coinage was not seen until the very late and post-Jin periods, so that it may not honestly reflect the historical truth. What the genealogical discourse hides and this social network model discloses, however, are the "undesirable" others like Wang Tingyun and Li Chunfu who turn out to be big players in mid- to late Jin literati community. To an extreme, we have good reasons to

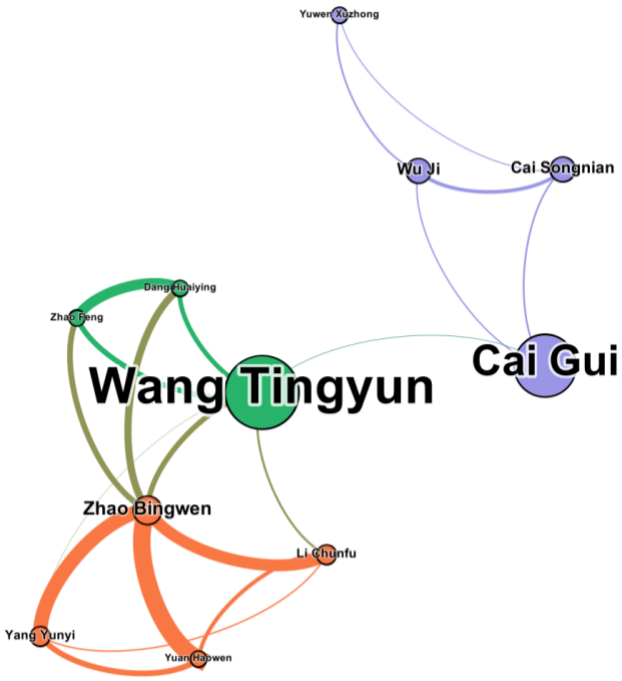
entertain an alternative lineage such as Cai Songnian—Cai Gui—Wang Tingyun—Li Chunfu—Yuan Haowen which even makes more sense based on social network visualization and analysis showcased here.



Left: Graph B: Network Analysis and Visualization of Jin Literati Lineage Generated by Gephi. Graph layout: ForceAtlas 2. Node ranking: Degree. Node color: Modularity class.
Right: Cultural Lineage of Jin Literati. Color adjusted to modularity calculated in Gephi.

Returning to the cultural lineage of Jin literati I map out in the beginning, my criticism above is not an absolute negation of its efficacy and reliability. Despite all these mismatches, much information embedded in this genealogical discourse also accords with the social network model. Graph B is just a case in point. It applies a quantitative measure called modularity in Gephi, through which we can identify distinct communities within a network by calculating which nodes are more densely connected to each other than to the rest of the nodes. As a result, this algorithm figures out three distinct communities or modularity classes in Graph B, and I designate the node color according to the modularity class each node belongs to. Much to my satisfaction, the modularity pattern in this network perfectly speaks to the stratification of the Jin

cultural genealogy (compare the right picture above). As such, while the focal nodes in diversify in these two models, the generational gradation of Jin literati is rather coherent between contemporary/social networking and historical/genealogical recollection. Thanks to the "impersonal," quantitative measurement of SNA, its corresponding outcome shores up the consecutive, linear order of this genealogical discourse.



Graph C: Network Analysis and Visualization of Jin Literati Lineage Generated by Gephi. Graph layout: ForceAtlas 2. Node ranking: Betweenness centrality. Node color: Modularity class.

To make the story ever more twisted, we can adopt various measures in an SNA system like playing with a Rubik's Cube to perceive manifold facets of the same matrix. For example, if we take into account betweenness centrality in our node ranking instead of degree, as shown in Graph C, even the presence of Zhao Bingwen is dwarfed by, unexpectedly, Wang Tingyun and Cai Gui. Unlike the degree of nodes that foreground the local connectivity that a node belongs to, betweenness centrality is a more efficient measure to see how well connected the node is across the entire network. The reason why Cai Gui and Wang Tingyun stand out in Graph C is that they are the only two who bridge the structural gap between early Jin and mid-Jin literati clusters we

have discussed above, even though the evidence of their connection is slim and circumstantial as well. More importantly, this almost empty blank space between these two clusters is called a "structural gap" in SNA. My dataset is totally based on Jin textual corpora, and yet this finding can only be observed via social network visualization. This structural gap is pregnant and enigmatic like a "black hole," since it suggests the absence of primary sources on the one hand, and the potential of in-depth inquiry that may give rise to unexpected findings and spur innovation on the other. As such, Wang and Cai seem to be "puppet masters" across this networking rupture. Rather than the Cai-Dang pair retrospectively configured about one century later, the generational transformation from Cai to Wang may serve as the potential key brokers to redraw the map of early through mid-Jin cultural landscape. And compared to Wang Tingyun, the case of Cai Gui is even more interesting. Unlike the former whose degree is still large enough in this network (as shown in Graphs A and B), Cai Gui trades degree for betweenness centrality as sort of the hidden wirepuller behind the scenes. It also means that Cai plays a decisive role in ensuring the transmission and transformation of Jin literati community, though, much to our regret, we know next to nothing about his literary writings apart from what is preserved in ZZJ. The specter of inadequate data seems destined to haunt this social network model barring any discovery of new evidence.

To sum up in this section, I have demonstrated above how the social network model tells a different or even opposite story against a teleological genealogy. I find the SNA digital tool is not only supplementary to but also indispensable to reflect on this discourse of Jin literati lineage, since they altogether reveal the dynamics between *discursive* exercise and *social* behaviors as two constructive forces of building community and genealogy.[110] Both methods can

[110] My thanks to Prof. Anna Shields for initiating this argument in her comments for me to ponder over.

be artificial and arbitrary in certain aspects – rhetorical discourse can be easily manipulated by privileged authorities and prone to an ideal conception, and SNA is not necessarily more "scientific and objective" since it is susceptible to the fitness of its dataset and the algorithm it applies. After all, a lack of social connections does not result in the breakdown of a lineage, since the latecomer had the right to become a self-proclaimed disciple by private learning and devotion. In turn, the existing social network can always be called into question simply because the majority of historical sources were lost for long. While keeping these in mind, what matters most here is rather the nuanced distinctions between genealogical discourses and digital SNA models concerning the shape – especially those joints and rifts – of this cultural lineage.

Without question, this versatile "topology" of Jin literati genealogy complicates our understanding of the northern cultural landscape in that period and reminds us of the artificial nature of this narrative as a retrospective and ideological construct. It tells part of the truth while concealing other sides of the same story. Most importantly, the shape of this Jin literati genealogy betrays certain patterns of Jin literary tendency invested by those key figures. Though the names of these most celebrated Jin literati are listed here in a skeleton of family tree, most of them will show up again as participants of the Jin poetry enterprise in the following chapters. Also, I will advance my digital analysis of this social network model by including all late Jin poets belonging to the generation of Zhao Bingwen and Li Chunfu, in order to map out the entire and more complex picture of late Jin literati network "galaxy," calculate and visualize the centrality and remoteness of every individual figure within it. Parallel to their social connections, we will also discuss in Part II how these Jin literati claimed leadership and took sides by adopting their respective poetic ideals and leading diverse trends of literary styles against northern Jin cultural contexts.

CHAPTER 2

Identity Negotiation Between Jurchen Aristocrats and Han Scholar-Officials

In chapter 1 I have dealt with the nature and status quo of primary sources concerning Jin literature, and conceived of a generational lineage of Jin literati out of extant Jin texts. Now I want to take a close look at this northern elite community, and try to argue for its cultural significance under the Jurchen rule.

In this chapter, I foreground the historical agency of Jin literati community, while leaving their discourses about Jin cultural legitimacy in chapter 3. I argue that the composition of Jin literati community was hybrid and relatively inclusive, since it involved both Jurchen aristocrats and Han scholar-officials. Compared to their Kitan Liao predecessors, the Jurchen ruling class was certainly more "literatized" and adroit at classical Chinese composition, as manifest in extant literary corpora. Because of this hybrid disposition, Jin literati community got rid of the ethnic or even racist standard to a certain degree. This outlook further throws into question the Sinitic-Barbarian dichotomy and helps us detach Chinese ethnocentrism.

The Jurchen Jin polity evolved over time. As the Jurchen chivalry steadily took over the former Song territory in North China during the first half of the twelfth century, they encountered the universal problem for those "conquest dynasties": In order to solidify their presence and power in the Central Plain, Jurchen people as the ethnic minority had to rule over Han Chinese whose population was overwhelmingly bigger than themselves. Unlike their Kitan Liao predecessor

who drew a rigid line between Kitan and Han peoples in its ruling machine,[1] Jurchen rulers employed a more flexible and integrated strategy by inviting talented Han scholar-officials into their political system while at the same time ensuring the privilege of Jurchen rulership. In consequence, the Jurchen Jin polity evolved from a loose military coalition of Jurchen tribal chieftains to autocratic monarchy modeled on Tang and Song empires enhanced by the support of Han literati against Jurchen military kinsmen.[2] During Emperor Taizong's reign, Jurchen rulers still sought a "buffer zone" by acknowledging a puppet regime with the derogatory name illegitimate Qi (Wei Qi 偽齊) to rule Han Chinese on their behalf.[3] Later on, however, Jin emperors managed to directly recruit and absorb Han subjects as an autonomous state. The Jin policy in favor of using Han Chinese was initiated by Emperor Xizong, later advanced by King Hailing, and eventually stabilized by Emperor Shizong.[4]

This changing landscape of the Jin socio-political history is often labeled as "sinicization," while here I want to emphasize the hybrid nature of the Jurchen Jin polity as well as Jin literati community. According to Jin historians, it is estimated that numbers of Jurchen and Han officials in the mid- to late Jin bureaucracy are more or less equal, meaning that they were politically represented, but not of great significance.[5] On the one hand, there did exist a glass ceiling for Han scholar-officials compared to their Jurchen colleagues, as the former in most

[1] Albeit implementing the civil service exam in a small scope, the Kitan Liao rulers still monopolized their ethnic and political nobility through hereditary or protection privilege (*menyin* 門蔭). See more about Liao political recruitment in Karl A. Wittfogel, "Public Office in the Liao Dynasty and the Chinese Examination System," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 10.1 (1947): 13–40.
[2] See more in Hok-Lam Chan, "From Tribal Chieftain to Sinitic Emperor: Leadership Contests and Succession Crises in the Jurchen-Jin State, 1115–1234," *Journal of Asian History* 33.2 (1999): 105–41.
[3] See James T. C. Liu, "The Jurchen-Sung Cogitation: Some Overlooked Points," in *China under Jurchen Rule*, pp. 39–49.
[4] See more in Mikami, "Kinchō ni okeru Kanjin shihai no sho keitai" 金朝における漢人支配の諸形態, in his *Kinshi kenkyu III*, pp. 321–423.
[5] See data and analysis in Tao, *The Jurchen in Twelfth-Century China*, pp. 54–57; also see Tao, "Political Recruitment in the Chin Dynasty," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 94.1 (1974): 24-34, esp. 25.

cases were not involved in core political decisions at Jin court. On the other, however, Jurchen rulers and kinsmen not only implemented Jurchen civil exams after the Chinese prototype, but also became an integral part of Jin literati culture. In other words, although the dualistic socio-political structure based on ethnicity held strong till the dynastic end, we do see progressive interactions and even mutual assimilation between Jurchen aristocrats and Han elites, which resulted in the transgression of ethnocultural distinctions. One piece of evidence is that, when Mongol invaders overthrew the Jin empire and occupied North China after 1230s, they applied the generic term "Han people" (Hanren 漢人) to refer to all former Jin subjects regardless of their actual ethnicities (Jurchen, Kitan, Han, etc.). Perhaps in the eyes of these Mongol newcomers, distinctions between Jurchen and Han Chinese customs and cultures had become inconsequential or even ceased to be identified.

Eventually, the identity negotiation was a two-way traffic within this multi-ethnic literati community. To some extent, literati culture transformed Jurchen elite life; in turn, Han scholar-officials were also deeply influenced through their engagement in Jurchen politics. As we will see below, Jin poets liked to boast of both scholarly and knightly characters as reflected in their poetry. As a matter of fact, late Jin literati lived in the real world full of "death and chaos," and many of them did join the Jin army against Mongol invaders either voluntarily or compulsorily. In this manner, either the Jurchen-Chinese ethnic dichotomy or the civil-military or scholarly-knightly division ceased to be effective when it comes to the Jin literati community. While historians have elaborated the Jurchen-Chinese dichotomy in terms of political institutions, social organizations, and ethnic identities, my research take up this issue *from the literary perspective*. More importantly, I argue that the collaborative literary activities between Jurchen aristocrats and Han Chinese scholar-officials turned out to be productive and reciprocal.

Privileges of Jurchens over Han Officials in Late Jin Politics

There is no gainsaying the fact that Jurchen people remained ethnically privileged throughout the Jin dynasty. Even when Han Chinese gained more and more weight in its governmental bureaucracy during the mid- and late Jin periods, they never managed to jeopardize the core political power belonging to their Jurchen colleagues. Yuan Haowen once commented on Jin court politics as such:

> As a rule, people holding these positions [as grand councilors] are mostly imperial kinsmen and relatives by marriage, as well as those with military accomplishments and trusted in emperor's secret intrigues. People from the Xi clan along the Huang River [in nowadays Liaoning province] recommended by [Kitan and other ethnic] families of power and influence come second. Then they occasionally appointed [Han] *jinshi* degree holders. The nominal appointment of *jinshi* is only meant to demonstrate fairness and retain popularity among people.
>
> 凡在此位者，內屬外戚與國人有戰伐之功、預腹心之謀者為多；潢霤之人、以門閥見推者次之；參用進士則又次之。其所謂進士者，特以示公道、繫人望焉爾。[6]

Oftentimes Jurchen aristocrats had Han literati under their thumb in the Jin political system. But when we turn to the field of cultural production, the dominant historical trend was that literati culture led by the Han Chinese gradually took root among the Jurchen nobility, and became the irrevocable *fait accompli* already in the late twelfth century.[7] Little words, however, have been said about the power dynamics between Chinese and Jurchen elite in the late Jin period, especially during the reigns of Emperor Xuanzong and his son Emperor Aizong. On the

[6] Yuan Haowen, "Pingzhang zhengshi Shouguo Zhang Wenzhen gong shendaobei" 平章政事壽國張文貞公神道碑; YHWQJ, 16.335.

[7] Both historians and literature scholars have well elaborated the emergence and development of Chinese literary culture that overwhelmed Jurchen elites from the early to High Jin periods – from the primitive and shamanistic Jurchen folk songs chanted by early Jurchen aristocrats, to Emperor Xizong and King Hailing's unreserved advocacy of Chinese literature, to Emperor Shizong's "re-Jurchenization" agenda of elite culture, to the ultimate embrace of and allegiance to Chinese literati culture by Shizong's heir-apparent Xianzong and grandson Zhangzong. See more in Jin Qicong, "Jurchen Literature under the Chin," in *China under Jurchen Rule*, pp. 216–37.

one hand, we do see more Jurchens befriended Chinese elite and became "literatized," while on the other, in an age freighted with external threats of Mongol invasions and the surging number of military affairs, estrangement and misunderstanding between Jurchen and Chinese subjects seemed to be widened again.

The ethnic dynamics between Jurchen and Han Chinese officials were in accord with the changes of political climates in the late Jin period. Again, we turn to Liu Qi's seminal essay "Fathoming the Failure [of Jin Dynasty]" once quoted above:

> Emperor Xuanzong ascended to the throne through the hands of villains.[8] He was by nature coward and incompetent, as well as suspicious in his disposition. Wary of the heavy blows caused by powerful officials, he constantly feared of being toppled by others, so that once grand officials or veteran generals were found guilty, he would get rid of them without demur and tolerance. His decision of moving the capital to Daliang [i.e., Kaifeng] was a stupid misstep. If previously he had guarded Guanzhong (nowadays mid-Shaanxi province), [the Jin polity] could have continued for several generations. Furthermore, after crossing south, he failed to make up his mind and invest extraordinarily painstaking efforts [to revive the country] in the manner like Goujian (r. 496–465 BC), the King of the Yue state, who aspired for revenging the humiliation he suffered in Kuaiji (nowadays Shaoxing, Zhejiang province), but instead he only rested and survived at any cost to elongate his days. After [Shuhu] Gaoqi 朮虎高琪 (d. 1219) took office, he employed lesser functionaries and clerks, and in turn suppressed the upholding of the *qi* spirit of [Han Chinese] scholar-officials. Civil laws were messed up, and no profound stratagem of restoration was carried out. None of the grand officials in place would give up their lives and sacrifice for the country, and even if some did, there was no chance for them to exert themselves. Moreover, [Emperor Xuanzong] also favored his Jurchen kinsmen and estranged Han Chinese subjects, and even Han grand councilors had no access to those confidential plans and plots. A ruler should run his state with absolute impartiality, [and yet Emperor Xuanzong] made such distinctions [between Jurchen and Han Chinese] that it was extremely difficult for all his subjects to do their utmost. In consequence, those in office only knew catering to [the emperor's] intention and observing stiff articles in official files; generals only knew flattering intimate attendants [of the emperor] in order to win over His Majesty's grace and preferments, while they lacked the resolution to die for the country. Favored ministers and noble relatives all occupied crucial positions at that time, while scholar-officials who dared to remonstrate and reform were all demoted to disengaged places. This is

[8] Here it refers to Heshilie Zhizhong 纥石烈執中 (alias Hushahu 胡沙虎, d. 1213), a Jurchen military general who murdered King Weishao and erected Emperor Xuanzong as his figurehead. Later he was slaughtered by his own subordinate Shuhu Gaoqi 朮虎高琪 (d. 1219), who replaced him and became Xuanzong's favorite.

why [Emperor Xuanzong's rule] inaugurated the dynastic fall in the Tianxing period (1232-1234).

The Last Emperor [i.e., Emperor Aizong] take away [the Heir Apparent] from his elder brother and was established out of [Emperor Xuanzong's] personal predilection. Though his was not cruel and harsh, he regarded himself as a wise sage. When he was young, he was taught by the cunning clerk Shi Quan (d. 1222) to appoint officials by strategies. Though showing generosity in appearance to gain reputation, he was licentious and self-indulgent in essence. Furthermore, he eschewed remonstrance of faults and evils, and liked listening to flatteries; he was poor at using people, and he only assigned the long-lasting noble relatives as generals and grand councilors. Though he didn't kill high ministers, willful generals were often so hard to constrain that they remained untamed. Let alone that [Emperor Aizong] was ignorant of the great plan [of governance] and got cold feet and disheartened in face of serious events. This is why once [Emperor Aizong] encountered enemies, he was not able to rescue the country [out of predicament].

宣宗立於賊手，本懦弱無能，性頗猜忌，懲權臣之禍，恒恐為人所搖，故大臣宿將有罪，必除去不貸。其遷都大梁可謂失謀，向使守關中，猶可以數世，況南渡之後，不能苦心刻意如越王勾踐志報會稽之羞，但苟安幸存以延歲月。由高琪執政後，擢用胥吏，抑士大夫之氣不得伸，文法棼然，無興復遠略。大臣在位者，亦無忘身徇國之人，縱有之，亦不得馳騁。又偏私族類，疏外漢人，其機密謀謨，雖漢相不得預。人主以至公治天下，其分別如此，望群下盡力難哉。故當路者惟知迎合其意，謹守簿書而已。為將者，但知奉承近侍以偷榮幸寵，無效死之心。幸臣貴戚，皆據要職於一時，士大夫一有敢言、敢為者，皆投置散地。此所以啟天興之亡也。

末帝奪長而立，出於愛私。雖資不殘酷，然以聖智自處，少為黠吏時全所教，用術取人，雖外示寬宏以取名，而內實淫縱自肆。且諱言過惡，喜聽諛言，又暗於用人，其將相止取從來貴戚。雖不殺大臣，其驕將多難制不馴。況不知大略，臨大事輒退怯自沮，此所以一遇敵而不能振也。[9]

Due to Emperor Xuanzong's own suspicious and coward dispositions, he made several narrow-minded decisions of choosing his trusty councilors by ethnic distinction. First, he prioritized his Jurchen kinsmen and some "fawning favorites" over Han scholar-officials at his court. And second, a great number of obsequious lesser functionaries or pragmatic clerks (*li* 吏 or *xuli* 胥吏) were introduced into the key channels of Jin bureaucracy. Accordingly, Han literati, who were normally of higher rank, stooped to be level with clerks and sometimes mistreated like them or even by them. On top of that, with the lack of upright and competent officials around to

[9] Liu Qi, "Bian wang" 辯亡, GQZ, 12.136–37.

remonstrate the emperor, the Jin court was then absorbed in pleasure and luxury shadowed by impending doom. His son and successor Emperor Aizong, the last ruler of the Jin dynasty, basically followed the steps of his father, so that Jurchen kinsmen stayed at the center of late Jin politics while most talented Han officials were marginalized for the final two decades. Below I will illustrate these two defects of late Jin politics respectively.

Abuse of Power Among Late Jin Jurchen Officials

For the first point, it is said that Emperors Xuanzong and Aizong "favored Jurchen kinsmen and estranged Han Chinese subjects," which is supported by Tao Jinsheng's data statistics of Jin political recruitment. According to Tao, the proportion of Han officials declined from 50% to 45%, while that of Jurchen people rose from 42% to 49% in the early thirteenth century.[10] This is partly due to the Mongol-Jurchen warfare, as Jin emperors naturally turned to their Jurchen kinsmen as trustworthy political and military allies – though historical accounts disprove this assumption time and again.

Today we have a precious epigraphical record reflecting the circumstances of Jurchen officials in the late Jin period. An extant stone stele erected in Kaifeng suburb is written and carved in Jurchen script to commemorate the 1224 Jurchen civil service exam attached with a register of Jurchen *jinshi* degree-holders that year.[11] Intriguingly, the topic designed for Jurchen poetry is to illustrate that "Ministers Serve Their Rules with Loyalty" 臣事君以忠詩. Thus it conveys the message that loyalty became the cardinal virtue of Jurchen *jinshi* officials at the late

[10] Tao, "Political Recruitment in the Chin Dynasty," 25.
[11] For a thorough study on this *Stele of the Names of Jurchen* jinshi *in 1224*, see Xin Wen, "The Road to Literary Culture: Revisiting the Jurchen Language Examination System," *T'oung Pao* 101.1.3 (2015): 157–65. See the translation of Jurchen script on this stele in Jin Qicong 金啟孮 and Jin Guangping 金光平, "'Nüzhen jinshi timing bei' yishi" 《女真進士題名碑》譯釋, in *Nüzhen yuyan wenzi yanjiu* 女真語言文字研究 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1980), appendix 1, pp. 281–320, esp. p. 300.

Jin court. It is ironic, however, that the principal graduate of that exam, whose name is transliterated in Chinese as Boshulu Changge 孛朮魯長哥 in the *Jin History*, later joined the leading traitor Cui Li 崔立 (d. 1234) to be the last straw of overthrowing the Jurchen government during the siege of Kaifeng in 1232.[12] This is a revealing example that Jurchen ethnicity did not necessarily guarantee Jurchen patriotism.

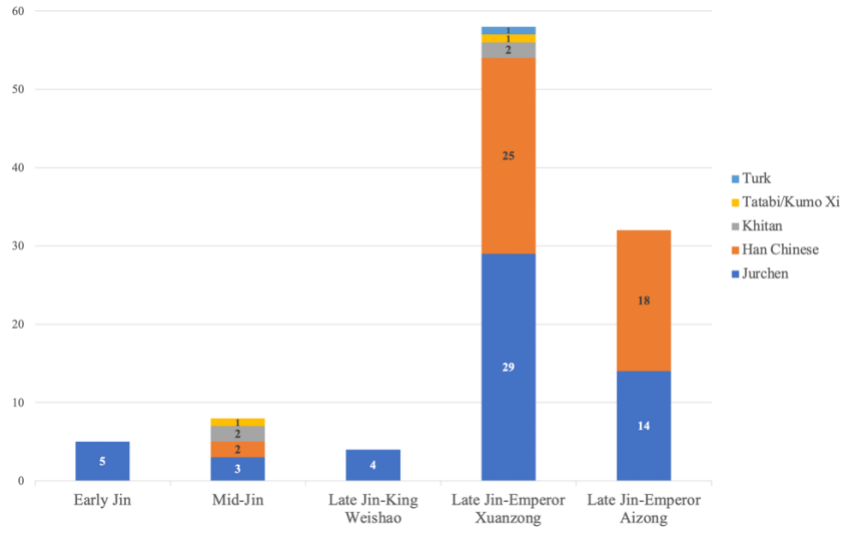
Rubbing of *Stele of the Names of Jurchen* jinshi *in 1224* (Nüzhen jinshi timing bei 女真進士題名碑, Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica, Taipei). Original stele erected in Yantai 宴臺, Kaifeng, 1.9 × 0.6 × 0.22 m.

[12] See JS, 18.396–97, 115.2525–26, 2527.

Another interesting piece of circumstantial evidence is that, in the categorical biographies of "the Loyal and Righteous" (*zhongyi* 忠義) in the *Jin History*, out of the 107 "loyal subjects" there are 55 Jurchen people, 45 Han Chinese, together with few Kitan (4), Tatabi/Kumo Xi (2), and Turk (1) peoples. Therefore, Jurchen loyalists tip over half of the total number, while the presence of Han Chinese was also strongly felt, especially during the last two decades of the Jurchen regime. In terms of periodical distribution, richest records can be found in Emperor Xuanzong's reign (58 people) when the first Jurchen-Mongol warfare took place in 1210s, while in comparison, inadequate information is preserved concerning the last years of the Jin dynasty in 1230s (32 people) due to the absence or loss of historiographical record-keeping.[13] It is also noteworthy that quite a few Han Chinese remained faithful to the Jurchen regime in face of the Mongol invasion, and at least reflected by the statistics, more Chinese than Jurchens died for the country when the Jin eventually collapsed. This late Jin phenomenon is occasionally testified in the *Jin History* not without exaggeration: "At that time, no Jurchens died for the country, and thus Princess Royal said to Emperor Aizong: 'Recently those who made achievements and devoted their lives were mostly peoples of various ethnicities [i.e., non-Jurchens]. In peaceful time, the [Jurchen] imperial family contended to get advantage from within, while in times of trouble, other peoples make every effort [to save the country]. How could our subjects not feel grudging?' The Emperor kept silent" 是時，女直人無死事者，長公主言于哀宗曰：「近來立功效命多諸色人，無事時則自家人爭強，有事則他人盡力，焉得不怨。」上默然.[14] As a mirror image, all the ten "treacherous officials" (*nichen* 逆臣) except two listed in the *Jin*

[13] Another unexpressed explanation, however, could be that there turned out to be fewer loyalists at the end of Jin dynasty compared to those who died in 1210s. Liu Qi attributed it to the deterioration of spirits among Jin officials. See GQZ, 7.73.
[14] JS, 124.2705.

History were Jurchens who participated in the plots of conducting regicide of Jin emperors.[15] On the one hand, Jurchen subjects were preferred and assumed to be loyalists due to their ethnic privilege, while on the other, Jurchen kinsmen were most likely to topple over the court because of their closeness to the center of power.



Periodical and Ethnical Distribution in the *Jin History*, *juan* 121–24, the "Biographies of the Loyal and Righteous" (*zhongyi zhuan* 忠義傳).

The appointment of Jurchen aristocrats and warlords further poisoned the overall political climate in the late Jin period. It was again during Zhangzong's and Xuanzong's reigns when the two most recalcitrant Jurchen ministers Heshilie Hushahu 紇石烈胡沙虎 (also named Heshilie Zhizhong 紇石烈執中, d. 1213) and Shuhu Gaoqi undermined the civil order and introduced military and perfunctory administration:

> Since Hushahu and Gaoqi held office in the Jin, customs and ethos transformed all at once. The imperial court exerted harsh scrutinization in place of tolerant and generous governance. Yet the execution was not firm and resolute, but instead encouraged flippancy. Military generals disregarded the cultured and scholarly atmosphere, and liked to behave in a crude and brash manner. Yet their appointments were inappropriate, which resulted in their recalcitrance.
>
> 金自胡沙虎、高琪用事，風俗一變，朝廷矯寬厚之政，好為苛察，然為之不果，反成姑息。將帥鄙儒雅之風，好為粗豪，然用非其宜，終至跋扈。[16]

[15] Ibid., 132.2817–41.
[16] JS, 111.2461.

Bahu 跋扈 or recalcitrance was exactly the common feature of these Jurchen officials and generals.[17] Another illustrative example is a Jurchen general named Heshilie Yawuta 纥石烈牙吾塔 (d. 1231). Emboldened by his military success on the battlefield against the Southern Song armies during 1216–1219, he dared humiliate grand councilors at the Jin court without being punished, and it is said that he "disliked literati so much that if his staff wore long lappets of robe [like Confucian scholars], he would grab his sword and cut them off" 尤不喜文士，僚屬有長裾者，輒取刀截去.[18] Indeed, this sort of conducts not only reveal the unequal status between Jurchen and Han subjects, but also have something to do with priority of military power over civil order in late Jin politics. During the mid-Jin period, the central military institution Inner Privy of Military Affairs (shumiyuan 樞密院) was under the control of Jin grand councilors in the Department of State Affairs (shangshusheng 尚書省), which later became the Jin legislative "ancestral precedent" (*zuzong gushi* 祖宗故事). However, this rule was broken after the Mongol invasion. Emperors Xuanzong and Aizong set free the military decisions and commissions out of the civil supervision of court officials. Yang Yunyi, a revered Han scholar-official at Emperor Aizong's court, unveiled this institutional tension within the civil versus military discourse in 1225: "The Inner Privy of Military Affairs monopolizes administration of armed forces, and thus looks down upon the Department of State Affairs. The Department of State Affairs is where political decisions are issued. No matter how big or small the political event is, [The Department of State Affairs] should give a summary of it and then carry out [the policy] outside the court. Now grand councilors have no access to hearing about military events, and how can it be

[17] Also see GQZ, 10.114–15: 纥石烈執中……跋扈之臣。……高琪既爲相，復跋扈擅權，南渡政事自己出，宣宗甚憚之。……
[18] GQZ, 6.64; JS, 111.2460.

possible to make a balanced computation of profit and damage between military and civil problems?" 樞密院專制軍政，蔑視尚書省。尚書，出政之地，政無大小，當總其綱領，付外施行。今軍旅之事，宰相或不得預聞，欲使軍民利病兩不相蔽，得乎？[19] The overextension of military power bestowed on those Jurchen generals was the natural outgrowth of the "structural defects" concerning the Jurchen-Chinese ethnic inequality.

While more Jurchen officials were trusted in late Jin politics (and many failed the emperors' expectation and turned out to be incompetent or even treacherous), their Han colleagues on the contrary were largely frustrated in this suppressive political atmosphere. Worse still, vicious crimes were conducted towards Han Chinese officials in the extreme of wartime. The tension and conflicts between Chinese scholar-officials and Jurchen military officers escalated exactly in the beginning of Emperor Xuanzong's reign. Unlike his precursor King Weishao who firmly defended the Central Capital Yanjing in 1211 and 1212, Emperor Xuanzong surrendered to Mongol troops during the siege of the capital in 1213. In the next year, Xuanzong adopted an escapist attitude and decided to move the capital southward from Yanjing to Bianjing, with only a few generals left behind before the Central Capital was eventually sacked in 1215. In the course of this momentous event, a number of Han scholar-officials meant to save Yanjing from outside by leading local military forces to "help out the emperor" (*qinwang* 勤王), but instead were framed up as plotting treason against the Jurchen regime and persecuted to death.

Gao Tingyu 高庭玉 (d. 1214?) was the spokesman of Han literati at that time and a local official in Luoyang. His generosity and big-heartedness attracted many "extraordinary literati" (*qi shi* 奇士), so that his friend circle was also called the "Dragon Gate of men of letters" (*yiguan*

[19] These words are quoted from Yuan Haowen, "Neixiang Wenxian Yang gong shendaobei ming" 內相文獻楊公神道碑銘; YHWQJ, 18.365.

longmen 衣冠龍門).[20] At the same time, however, he was on bad terms with his Jurchen military chief Wendihan Fuxing 溫迪罕福興 (fl. 13th c.). This Jurchen general's hostility toward Han colleagues was manifest when the Central Capital was in danger during the Mongol invasion. The whole story was recounted in GQZ:

> At that time, northern armies [i.e., Mongol cavalry] besieged the Yan Capital [i.e., Beijing]. The circumstance was already urgent, and yet there was no troop coming to rescue the emperor from all directions. Only our lord was impassioned to go and depart for the capital, so he provoked Fuxing by words for several times. Fuxing got cold feet, so that he falsely accused that [Gao] had subversive intentions and imprisoned him in an instant. Celebrated literati like Pang Caiqing [i.e., Pang Zhu 龐鑄 (*jinshi* 1194)], Lei Xiyan [i.e., Lei Yuan], and Xin Jingzhi [i.e., Xin Yuan] were all corelated and incriminated, tortured during interrogation with groundless charges. In the end, our lord was constricted by Fuxing and died in prison.
>
> 是時，北兵圍燕都，事已迫，四方無勤王師，公獨慨然有赴援意，屢以言激福興，福興憚之，因誣以有異志，輒收赴獄。名士如龐才卿、雷希顏、辛敬之，皆連係，考掠，無實。然公竟為福興所困，死獄中。[21]

Elsewhere the false charge was said to be "colluding with his protégés in his administrative domain and planning to rebel by taking control of [regions along] the [Yellow] River" 治中結客，將據河以反.[22]

A similar tragedy also happened in the Shaanxi area around the same time. Another Han scholar-official, Han Yu 韓玉 (*jinshi* 1194), previously defeated the Tangut army from the Xi Xia in 1211 along the Shaanxi borderline. Yet because of his strong appeal in local military forces, Han was envied by senior Jurchen officials and closely supervised by Jurchen attendants sent from the court. Then when the Central Capital was sieged in 1214, Han Yu, among other Han literati in Shaanxi, meant to organize a local militia with a self-anointed title "area commandery

[20] Yuan Haowen, "Sun Boying muming" 孫伯英墓銘; YHWQJ, 31.548. Also see Gao Tingyun's mini-biography in ZZJJZ, 5.1300: 為人豪爽，尚氣節，一時名士多歸之。
[21] GQZ, 4.33.
[22] Yuan Haowen, "Sun Boying muming"; YHWQJ, 31.548.

of loyal and righteous imperial escort" (Zhongyi hujia dutong fu 忠義扈駕都統府) to rescue the capital.[23] Incidentally, the two pro-war Han officials Gao Tingyu and Han Yu both came from northeastern China in the pre-Liao territory – Gao from Enzhou 恩州 (nowadays south of Chifeng 赤峰, Inner Mongolia), and Han from Yanjing – so that they had strong motivation to rescue the Central Capital Yanjing from the Mongols and restore their homeland. In Han Yu' case, he even wrote a passionate military dispatch (*xiwen* 檄文) to rally the Jin troops, which is quoted in ZZJ:

> Orders haven't come, and what shall we make do about our [besieged] capital? Longing and longing, [people in the capital are waiting for] troops gathered from all directions; pending after pending, half a year has passed. Who as human being does not have to die? There are cases of necessity [to die for the country] as a subject. Things have come to such a pass, and how could we have the heart not to look back upon our emperor and dear ones [and rescue them]? There is no need to talk about our afterlives one hundred years later, as the hollow fame entirely depends on historians; we should only think of current events right in front of us, and what attitude should we take to live in this human world?
>
> 命令不至，京師奈何？盼盼四集之師，懸懸半歲之上。人誰無死，有臣子之當然；事至于今，忍君親之弗顧。勿謂百年身後，虛名一聽史臣；只如今日目前，何顏以居人世？[24]

Yet this patriotic harangue didn't persuade Jurchen rulers to fully trust them. It is said that they killed the unruly Jurchen generals and escaping deserters along the way according to military laws, which in turn became the criminal charges against them.[25] Also, another version of Han's military dispatch recorded in GQZ has a concluding remark missing in ZZJ that reads: "Do kings, marquises, generals and ministers have species? Wealth, nobility, deed and fame should be achieved by oneself" 王侯將相寧有種乎？富貴功名當自致耳.[26] The historical allusion applied

[23] See JS, 14.308.
[24] ZZJJZ, 8.2182.
[25] Ibid.
[26] GQZ, 5.48.

here is problematic, because it is the well-known dictum of Liu Bang 劉邦 (256/247–195 BC) reflecting his ambition to overturn the rule of the Qin dynasty (221–206 BC) and replace the First Emperor of Qin 秦始皇 (r. 221–210 BC). As such, this heroic advocacy for a pro-war campaign turned out to be a convenient excuse for the charge of plotting a rebellion. In the end, all of related Han officials were directly executed on the spot. And as we know, the Jin attempt to reconquer the lost territory in northeastern China eventually failed in 1215, soon after these Han loyalists were wrongly killed by Jurchen rulers.

Both Gao Tingyu and Han Yu left deathbed poems in which they denounced the unfair treatment with wronged and vengeful spirits. Han composed two swansongs in the form of pentametric verse and inscribed them on the wall. They read like his appeal for his innocence and loyalty, as part of the first piece claims:

白骨將為土	White bones will soon become dust;
青蠅且在樊	Blue flies still rest on the hedge.[27]
仰呼天外恨	I look up and cry out my resentment beyond heaven;
沉思地中冤	And then bow my head and brood over the wrongs underground. (*ll*. 5–8)[28]

Gao's poem applies the expressive genre of *yuefu* poetry and refers to historical allusions of those well accomplished generals in the past who were wronged and executed unfairly:

[27] "Blue flies on the hedge" is a typical allegory of slanderers in power. See its *locus classicus* in 《詩・小雅・青蠅》：營營青蠅，止于樊。豈弟君子，無信讒言。
[28] Han Yu, "Linzhong er shi" 臨終二詩, No. 1; ZZJJZ, 8.2184.

一朝乃與獄吏對	How come that one day I shall confront clerks at prison;[29]
惜無千金書牘背	What a pity I don't have a thousand taels of gold to [get exempted by asking the clerk to] write [excuses] on the back of tablets.[30]
手把屬鏤口銜須	Holding the Zhulou sword in the hand,[31] clenching beard in the mouth;
號天者三我何辜	Crying out to heaven for three times – what kind of guilt do I have! (*ll*. 3–6)[32]

Through the straightforward and impassioned first-person voice, interweaved with overlapping tragedies of famous figures in history as explained in footnotes, Gao Tingyu used poetry to write an open and loud testimony of his integrity and agony to the public.

These are outright exclamations to clarify their innocence against the malicious accusation of treachery. Han ethnicity turned out to be an "original sin," even if the Chinese officials behaved more like courageous loyalists than those wimpish Jurchen aristocrats. This mismatching between fidelity and ethnicity in the late Jin period stimulated a sense of crisis among Jurchen kinsmen who felt offended by those Han "patriots." And in turn, these astounding tragedies must have been a heavy blow to the spirits of Han literati. Some of Gao Tingyu's disciples were disheartened for pursuing a political career,[33] and Han Yu's son swore never to take office in the Jin dynasty because of the injustice imposed on his late father.[34]

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[29] This line refers to the miserable imprisonment of the famous Han dynasty general Li Guang 李廣 (d. 119 BC), which led to his suicide in his sixties. See 《史記・李將軍列傳》：「且廣年六十餘矣，終不能復對刀筆之吏。」遂引刀自剄。

[30] Here Gao Tingyun quotes the story of another Han dynasty general Zhou Bo 周勃 (d. 169 BC) who managed to be discharged from prison by bribing the prison clerks. See 《史記・絳侯周勃世家》. This historical allusion is reversed in Gao's case, since he, just like the tragic Li Guang, had no way to buy off the clerks.

[31] The Zhulou sword alludes to an anecdote in the Spring and Autumn period that the loyal Wu Zixu 伍子胥 (559 – 484 BC) was forced to commit suicide with the Zhulou sword commanded by his ruler Fuchai 夫差 (d. 473 BC), the King of the Wu State. See 《左傳・魯哀公十一年》.

[32] Gao Tingyu, "Feishan yuan" 飛山怨; ZZJJZ, 5.1306. In the latter part of the same poem, Gao Tingyu mentions two other ancient generals Tan Daoji 檀道濟 (d. 436) and 白起 (d. 257 BC) who were also killed unfairly despite their military achievements.

[33] See, for example, Wang Quan's 王權 (*jinshi* 1209) biography in GQZ, 2.13–14.

[34] ZZJJZ, 8.2182.

It is also noteworthy that the biography of Gao Tingyu is not included in the *Jin History*, and Han Yu's entry in the *Jin History* is almost transcribed word by word from his mini-biography in ZZJ. Indeed, most historical information we know about these three Han loyalists under the Jurchen regime comes from ZZJ, supplemented by biographical entries of Gao Tingyu and Han Yu in Liu Qi's GQZ. That is to say, their loyal and courageous conducts, as well as the miserable death and injustice they suffered, would have been wiped out completely in history, were it not for retrospective accounts by Yuan Haowen and Liu Qi. Liu once lamented for the untimely preservation of Gao Tingyu's life accounts. The historical traces of this remarkable Jin scholar-official in this world soon fell into oblivion after his contemporary witnesses like Li Chunfu and Lei Yuan passed away.[35] These Han loyalists in the late Jin period were suppressed not only by their contemporary Jurchen rulers, but also by historical bias in later ages that tended to overlook the effort of Han literati during the thirteenth-century Jurchen-Mongol warfare.

The "Clericalization" of Late Jin Political System

The second feature of late Jin politics is the increasing employment of lesser functionaries (*xuli* 胥吏) and intimate attendants (*jinshi* 近侍). Above we already see in Gao Tingyu's poem how civil officials were humiliated and mistreated by harsh clerks in prison. Historical records mention in high frequency the rise of power among clerks (*liquan* 吏權) and intimate attendants of the emperor (*jinshi zhi quan* 近侍之權, *jinxi zhi quan* 近習之權) in the late Jin period, as they were preferred and appointed by Jurchen aristocrats and emperors especially Xuanzong as a

[35] See Gao Tingyu's entry in GQZ, 4.33: ……屏山以詩哭之甚哀，雷希顏又爲文以祭，述其事，爲時所稱。屏山又將文其碑，未著，死，後其子屬之雷公。雷公以其仇人猶在也，亦未著，死。迄今事狀不詳，惜哉。公詩亦高，余家有數十篇，遭亂，失去。

counterbalance of Han Chinese scholar-officials.[36] Here I argue that this measure was in fact compliant with the political elevation of Jurchen elites illustrated above, since both reinforced the privileges of Jurchen kinship and the emperor's "private rights," whereas the political status of Han Chinese scholar-officials at the Jin court was undermined accordingly. Compared to the more autonomous and self-restrained Han literati, clerks and court attendants behaved like the "eyes and ears" of their Jurchen masters with little subjectivity. As such, those from the clerical service became the ideal instrument to exert Jurchens' imperial and ethnic privilege and to supervise or even depose civil bureaucrats and military officers at their will. Even in the cases concerning imperial interests and policymaking, those intimate attendants (usually with the background of Jurchen aristocracy) were on a par with or even exceeded the authority of grand councilors.[37] Liu Qi thus commented on the court institution called Palace Attendance Service (*jinshi ju* 近侍局), a court institution whose provenance can be traced back to Kitan Liao and whose impact persisted till the Mongol Yuan regimes:

> During the Jin dynasty, the power of intimate attendants was weighty. [The Jurchen emperors] installed the Palace Attendance Service, and while their official titles only counted as the fifth rank, their crucial and confidential status was equal to that of grand councilors and analogous to the Councilor of the Imperial Secretariat. Therefore, most of these positions were occupied by imperial relatives, hereditary clans, and those in favor by the emperor, with no sharing with scholar-officials. After crossing south, the Jin rulers replied ever more heavily [on intimate attendants]. In general, [Jin rulers] regarded [Han Chinese] grand councilors, together with censors and officials from the six ministries [of the Department of State Affairs], as outsiders, whereas they called attendants in this Service his henchmen. Under the header of this Service, the so-called chief stewards and stewards were initially assigned to transmit imperial edicts and

[36] The seventh *juan* of GQZ records many comments on the defects of the late Jin clerical service. See Tillman, "An Overview of Chin History and Institutions," p. 37. Also see an overall study of Jin dynasty clerks in Wang Lei 王雷, "Liyuan jituan yu Jindai zhengzhi guanxi chulun" 吏員集團與金代政治關係芻論, *Journal of Inner Mongolia University for Nationalities (Social Sciences)* 內蒙古民族大學學報（社會科學版） 43.3 (2017): 40–49. We should note that court attendants belonged to the clerical system as well, see ibid., 42–43.

[37] See JS, 114.2516. Incidentally, it is said that the status of Jin court attendants is analogous to eunuchs in other dynasties, and because of the intimacy of these court attendants to Jin imperial power, the importance of eunuchs in the Jin politics declined accordingly. See JS, 131.2807.

render ordering services, and yet Jin rulers put trust in them and bestowed them with even more power than scholar-officials… Nonetheless, these people were all scions from well-fed families, who did nothing but boast about their dressings and physical appearances. They put on makeup on their faces, trimmed their beard, renewed and tidied their clothes and saddles on their horsebacks. They attended the emperors day and night, catered to and flattered their masters. They seduced rulers to take rest in comfort and pleasure, undermined [the political status of] righteous officials, and took bribes to conduct illegal affairs. As for demotions of high ministers and convictions of myriad officials, most of them were decided within the Palace Attendance Service, so that the power of censors was inferior instead.

金朝近習之權甚重，置近侍局于宮中，職雖五品，其要密與宰相等，如舊日中書，故多以貴戚、世家、恩倖者居其職，士大夫不預焉。南渡後，人主尤委任，大抵視宰執臺部官皆若外人，而所謂心腹則此局也。其局官以下，所謂奉御、奉職輩，本以傳詔旨、供使令，而人主委信，反在士大夫右。……然此曹皆膏粱子弟，惟以妝飾體樣相夸，膏面鑷鬚，鞍馬、衣服鮮整，朝夕侍上，迎合諂媚。以逸樂導人主安其身，又沮壞正人、招賄賂爲不法。至于大臣退黜，百官得罪，多自局中，御史之權反在其下矣。……[38]

Not only did Liu Qi criticize the political intervention by these intimate attendants and the impotence of Han officials, but he also showed that these Jurchen aristocrats was indulged in luxury of urban life after moving the capital to Kaifeng, which turned out to be a common phenomenon among imperial families.[39]

Corresponding to the predominance of lesser functionaries and flattery servants at the Jin court, another feature of Emperor Xuanzong's rulership is his heavy reliance on punishments and laws. The closing remark of this emperor in the *Jin History* also reflects the general view of contemporary zeitgeist: "[Xuanzong's] temperament was suspicious in nature. He promoted and unduly trusted intimate attendants, rewarded and appointed lesser functionaries, so that vicious and harsh [governance] became the norm" 性本猜忌，崇信嬖御，奬用吏胥，苛刻成風.[40] Yet elsewhere historians also excused Xuanzong's cruel rulership by taking into consideration perils

[38] GQZ, 7.78–79.
[39] See a historical record depicting the life of luxury at Emperor Xuanzong's court in GQZ, 7.69–70. Upright officials, including both Jurchens and Han Chinese, also remonstrated with Emperor Xuanzong to live a frugal life; see JS, 47.2411, 100.2214.
[40] JS, 16.370. Also see GQZ, 7.69: 宣宗喜刑法，政尚威嚴。故南渡之在位者，多苛刻。

in the late Jin historical contexts: "Since Xuanzong crossed south, clerical customs grew by the day, and vicious and harsh [governance] became the norm. This was probably also because Jin was undergoing an eventful and turbulent period, and [Jin rulers] were hasty in making immediate achievements and had no choice but behave as such" 宣宗南渡，吏習日盛，苛刻成風，殆亦多故之秋，急於事功，不免爾歟.[41] But whatever is the case, the malpractice of "clerical administration" in Emperor Xuanzong's reign ran against the civil governance nurtured by literati culture in the mid-Jin period.

The ruthless administration and the abuse of penalty carried out by functionaries went so far as to exert public floggings of Han court officials – and even as revered as Zhao Bingwen was once humiliated by forty lashes of flogging for the sake of failed military takes under the command of the Jurchen grand councilor Shuhu Gaoqi.[42] This is diametrically opposite to the Confucian prescription that "physical punishments are not applied to grandees" 刑不上大夫, and instead Jurchen rulers treated Han literati in the same manner as their base servants without courtesy or respect.[43] A late Jin literatus Yuan Zhong 苑中 (fl. 13th c.) even composed a satiric poem on it:

> During the Zhenyou period, Gaoqi was in power at court, and he exerted exclusively dreadful punishment to terrify subjects. Scholar-officials who were framed up were humiliated by flogging with no difference from servants. Physicians used alcohol to wash down the Power of Earth Dragon (a kind of Chinese materia medica, "earth dragon" is a euphuistic term meaning earthworm), which were made into wax-wrapped pills to be swallowed down. Those who suffered flogging thus lost their sense

[41] JS, 51.1130.
[42] See GQZ, 8.89–90. For Shuhu Gaoqi's abuse of physical punishments exerted on scholar officials, also see Yuan Haowen, "Neihan Feng gong shendaobei ming" 內翰馮公神道碑銘; YHWQJ, 19.387: "Since the reign of King Weishao, the clerical administration was preferred. This was followed by Gaoqi when he was in power, so that few court officials were not subdued and humiliated [by physical punishment]" 自衛紹王專尚吏道，繼以高琪當國，朝士鮮有不被其折辱者.
[43] See the memorial by Xu Gu 許古 (1157–1230) presented to Emperor Xuanzong preserved in JS, 109.2414–15. The idiom is initially quoted from the Confucian *Classic of Rites* (*Liji* 禮記).

of pain, so that this prescription became popular at that time. Jizhi [i.e., Yuan Zhong] had [a poem] in jest:

貞祐中，高琪當國，專以威刑肅物，士大夫被捃摭者，笞辱與徒隸等。醫家以酒下地龍散，投以蠟丸，則受杖者失痛覺，此方大行於時。極之有戲云：

嚼蠟誰知味最長　　Who knows the flavor of chewing wax lasts the longest?[44]
一杯卯酒地龍香　　A cup of morning alcohol makes [the Powder of] Earth Dragon savory.
年來紙價長安貴　　Over the last years the paper price in Chang'an surged up – [45]
不重新詩重藥方　　But the reason was that people treasured not new poetry but medical prescription.

This piece was transmitted among contemporaries as a joke.
時人傳以為笑。[46]

Besides the misfortune of court officials who suffered from physical penalty, local clerks in the late Jin period even ill-treated poor literati without scruple. For instance, famous late Jin poets Zhao Yuan 趙元 (fl. 1220s) and Xin Yuan 辛愿 (fl. 1220s) were both castigated by clerks for not paying tax on time.[47] In the worst case, cruel clerks even put to death some civil scholar-officials. Wang Quan 王權 (*jinshi* 1209), a late Jin "exceptional literatus" (*qishi* 奇士) well known for his "wildness and genuineness" (*kuangzhen* 狂真), couldn't bear the humiliation from county clerks and became so depressed and resentful that he died of illness before long.[48] Lü Ziyu 呂子羽 (*jinshi* 1191), a Jin scholar-official from a prominent elite family, committed suicide in jail after being framed by a "harsh clerk" for a military misdemeanor in 1223.[49] That

[44] The term "chewing wax" (*juela* 嚼蠟) literally refers to the wax-wrapped pills mentioned above. However, Yuan Zhong also employs an equivoque here, since there is a set phrase *wei tong juela* 味同嚼蠟, "it tastes like chewing wax," which comments on boring and insipid literary compositions.
[45] In this line Yuan Zhong borrows another set phrase *Luoyang zhi gui* 洛陽紙貴, "Paper in Luoyang became expensive," which originally means that a renowned composition caused paper shortage. Chang'an here is an antonomasia for the late Jin capital Kaifeng.
[46] ZZJJZ, 8.2198–99.
[47] This miserable and chaotic phenomenon of exploiting taxes from commoners in the late Jin local administration is discussed in Stephen West's analysis of "poetry of death and disorder" (*sangluan shi* 喪亂詩) written by Zhao Yuan and Xin Yuan; see West, "Studies in Chin Dynasty (1115–1234) Literature," pp. 35–38. For Zhao Yuan's case, also see Wang, *In the Wake of the Mongols*, pp. 55–56.
[48] GQZ, 2.13.
[49] ZZJJZ, 8.2173–74.

Chinese scholar-officials were constantly disgraced by lesser functionaries within the Jin administrative system also testifies that the socio-political environment became more and more unfriendly to Han literati throughout the late Jin period.

That said, the "clerical hegemony" the rise of clerical power was not a unique phenomenon in the late Jin period, but rather prevailing throughout the Jin dynasty in general. What is more, the impact of "clerical administration" even made its way into the community of Han scholar-officials. A high official Yila Lü 移剌履 (1131–1191, elsewhere written as Yelü Lü 耶律履) at Emperor Shizong's court once commented that "once the *jinshi* candidates passed the civil exam, they only acquainted themselves with clerical affairs at the expense of reading books. Only until recently have they started endeavoring to learn" 進士擢第後止習吏事，更不復讀書，近日始知為學矣.[50] I call this overall atmosphere of down-to-earth functionality and pragmatism the "clericalization" of Jin politics. While many Han Chinese scholar-officials (such as Zhao Bingwen)[51] were fooled around by cunning tricks of the clerks, others were actually adroit at dealing with clerical affairs. Indeed, many Jin dynasty high officials were at the same time familiar with and talented in clerical administration, among whom Xiao Gong and Yang Yunyi were the most famous.[52] One of the most revealing exemplifications is that Han *jinshi* degree holders could choose to take positions of departmental clerks at court. Since Emperor Xizong, the Jurchen rulers made it a rule that the appointment of Departmental Clerks of State Affairs (*shangshusheng lingshi* 尚書省令史), a clerical position dealing with executive

[50] JS, 125.2727.
[51] It is said that "Zhao Xianxian was well-known for his literary talent while poor at clerical administration" 趙閑閑以文學名一世，於吏事非所長; GQZ, 8.89.
[52] See Xiao Gong's biography in JS, 105.2320: 舊例，（省令史）試補兩月，乃補用。貢至數日，執政以為能，即用之. For Yang Yunyi's case, see GQZ, 4.33–34: 先擢詞賦第，又經義魁。入仕能官，練達吏事，通材也. Multiple examples of "civil officials well versed in clerical administration" can also be found in ZZJ, GQZ, and JS, so that it turned out to be sort of a normal routine or expectation for Jin officials to take charge of clerical work.

documents at Jin court, should be selected from the pool of *jinshi* degree holders.[53] This type of *jinshi* bureaucrats in charge of clerical affairs were called "clerks from the civil service" (*wenzi lingshi* 文資令史) so as to be distinguished from Jurchen aristocrats, those appointed by hereditary privilege as sons of high officials, as well as those who originally came from the clerical or military service.[54] In other words, the bureaucratic channel of low-ranking Han scholar-officials turning into court clerks was regularized and actually welcomed, and I call this phenomenon the institutionalized clericalization of Jin literati.

There were both merits and disadvantages lying ahead of this political career. The appointment of court clerks could be rewarding because they could ride an escalator in their political promotions compared to the normal official track.[55] Yuan Haowen himself was first a Departmental Clerk in 1231 and then promoted as the Cabinet Overseer for the Left Office of State Affairs (*zuosi dushi* 左司都事) in 1232 at a very fast pace, though the Jin capital Kaifang soon fell into the hands of Mongol invaders. But the dark side of the story was that these Han scholar-officials were more likely to be treated like servants with little respect. Public floggings of departmental clerks were occasionally seen in contemporary historical records.[56] It is again Liu Qi who pointed out these two aspects of literati clericalization:

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[53] For a general introduction of departmental clerks in the Jin dynasty, see Meng Fanqing 孟繁清, "Jindai de lingshi zhidu" 金代的令史制度, in *Song Liao Jin shi luncong* 宋遼金史論叢, Vol. 2 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1991), pp. 339–50. See more details in Guo Xiaodong 郭曉東, "Jindai shangshu sheng lingshi xuanren zhidu kaolun" 金代尚書省令史選任制度考論, *Journal of Minzu University of China (Philosophy and Social Sciences Edition)* 中央民族大學學報（哲學社會科學版） 47.2 (2020): 102–10.

[54] See more in JS, 52.1168: "There are four paths of selection concerning the positions of departmental clerks: [Han Chinese *jinshi*] from the civil service, Jurchen *jinshi*, those from the military service, and sons of grand councilors. Their approaches of taking up the positions are varied" 省令史選之門有四：曰文資，曰女直進士，曰右職，曰宰執子，其出仕之制各異.

[55] See Meng, "Jindai de lingshi zhidu," pp. 347–48; Guo, "Jindai shangshu sheng lingshi xuanren zhidu kaolun," pp. 108–09.

[56] See, for instance, JS 104.2289.

In the previous dynasty [i.e., the Northern Song dynasty], departmental clerks [of State Affairs] were only selected from those in the clerical service, and they were called "officials behind the Hall." In the beginning of Dading reign of the Jin dynasty, Grand Preceptor Zhang Hao (1102–1163) made the law that besides distant relatives of the imperial family and offspring of grand councilors, *jinshi* degree holders could also be appointed [as departmental clerks]… Those engaged in a political career treated this path as a short cut. If they did not take the position of departmental clerks, they had to comply with the sequence of seniority and rank, and it was protracted to rise up to the fifth-rank official positions. Therefore, it was said that:

節察令推何日了　　Administrative assistant to military and surveillance commissioners, county magistrate and judge – when shall these days [as seventh-rank officials] come to an end?

鹽度户勾幾時休　　Administrative assistant for the salt-iron monopoly and general revenue, tax assistant and record keeper to fiscal commissioners – how long shall I finish [the term of these junior sixth-rank official positions]?[57]

When [Zhang] Hao first settled the law, he said to others: "The court of the Department of State Affairs is the outlook all under heaven. If lesser functionaries are appointed, they will certainly take bribes from the goods and mess up the account-books; if *jinshi* degree holders are appointed, the source [of corruption] can be uprooted from scratch. Moreover, *jinshi* taking bribes are like women from the decent family committing adultery; lesser functionaries who are impartial and incorruptible are analogous to prostitutes who preserve chastity." People agreed with Zhang's comment, and Pingshan [i.e., Li Chunfu] once told me this anecdote.

Nevertheless, the ritual manner, caps and belts of departmental clerks, as well as their looks of holding documents and fussing around, have no difference from other administrative clerks. Once they make mistakes, they will be punished in public floggings immediately. What a pity that scholar-officials all under heaven are treated like lesser functionaries! For this reason, scholar-officials with lofty spirit often refused to take that position, such as Hanlin academicians Lei Xiyan [i.e., Lei Yuan], Wei Bangyan [i.e., Wei Fan 魏璠 (*jinshi* 1215)], Song Feiqing [i.e., Song Jiujia 宋九嘉 (1184–1233)], as well as my late father. Some of them were reluctant to fill a vacant position when summoned, others only took the job temporarily and resigned before long. None of them finished their terms on that position.

省吏，前朝止用胥吏，號「堂後官」。金朝大定初，張太師浩制皇家袒免親、宰執子試補外，雜用進士。……仕進者以此途爲捷徑。如不爲省令史，即循資級，得五品甚遲，故有「節察令推何日了，鹽度户勾幾時休」之語。

浩初定制時，語人曰：「省庭天下儀表，如用胥吏，定行貨賂混淆；用進士，清源也。且進士受賕，如良家女子犯姦也；胥吏公廉，如娼女守節也。」議者皆以爲當，屏山嘗爲余言之。

[57] According to Tao Jinsheng's study on Jin political recruitment, it is Emperor Shizong who took Zhang Hao's advice and made the first appointment of a *jinshi* degree-holder as either a departmental clerk or an agent in a local administration. The former position seemed faster in promotion, whereas "for a magistrate (most like a Chinese), it took more than 25 years to reach the rank of prefect (fifth grade)." See more in Tao, "Political Recruitment in the Chin Dynasty," 29, 32.

然省令史儀禮冠帶，抱書進趨，與掾史不殊，有過，輒決杖。惜乎，以胥吏待天下士也！故士大夫有氣概者往往不就，如雷翰林希顏、魏翰林邦彥、宋翰林飛卿及余先子，或召補不願，或暫爲，遽告出，皆不能終其任也。[58]

From the words of the mid-Jin grand councilor Zhang Hao, we know that Jurchen rulers encouraged scholar-officials to replace clerks for their moral integrity. Nevertheless, the situation was reversed in the late Jin period, as more and more proto-scholars became political opportunists and chose to apply for clerical service in the first place: "Even the offspring from scholarly families who learned to read often dropped out without finishing the study, and they were ordered instead to try for court clerks in Censorate and Six Ministries. Once these offspring got familiar with clerical service, they became hostile to *jinshi* degree holders. Their behaviors and manners totally emulated clerks, and some of them even juggled with the law and took more bribes than typical clerks" 雖士大夫家有子弟讀書，往往不終輒輟，令改試臺部令史。其子弟輩既習此業，便與進士爲讎，其趨進舉止，全學吏曹，至有舞文納賂甚于吏輩者.[59] Elsewhere, Liu Qi further dichotomized *jinshi* scholars (*jinshi* 進士) and lesser functionaries (*xuli* 胥吏) so as to blame clericalization for the degradation of "guts of scholar-officials" (*shiqi* 士氣) and lack of loyalty.[60] To take one step further, the Jin court politics was also clericalized, as grand councilors with rich experience of clerical service were appointed so as to obey whatever the emperor commanded, while the supreme statecraft of governing the empire was wanting.[61]

[58] GQZ, 7.76–77.
[59] Ibid., 7.72.
[60] Ibid., 7.73.
[61] Ibid., 7.77.

So far, we have discussed two major malfunctions in late Jin politics: the privileges of Jurchen aristocrats and generals over Han civil officials, together with the transgressive power of "clerical administration" on behalf of imperial interests. Correspondingly, these two measures led to the dwarfed political presence of Han literati and the degradation of their moral ethos in the late Jin period. The core issue lying here is the ethnic distinction in Jurchen rulers' mind, as Liu Qi has articulated as the dichotomy between "barbarian customs" and "Chinese principles":

> Generally speaking, Jin politics was integrated with Liao and Song [conventions] instead of applying their indigenous laws alone. This is why [the Jin dynasty] persisted for a century. That said, [Jurchen rulers] still made distinctions between barbarian and Han people, and they didn't change their political organization based on imperial kinship, which lost the support of [Han] scholar-officials. This is why [the Jin dynasty] failed to exist for long.
>
> 大抵金國之政，雜遼宋非全用本國法，所以支持百年。然其分別蕃漢人，且不變家政，不得士大夫心，此所以不能長久。[62]

While Liu Qi drew a rather negative picture at the late Jin court in his GQZ, we shall remember that the early thirteenth-century also hallmarked the apex of Jin literati culture. In our previous discussion of dynastic periodization, I have quoted Yuan Haowen's unreserved compliment of celebrated Han scholar-officials at late Jin court, most of whom grew up in the golden age of previous "High Jin" period. Notably, reputable leaders of Han literati like Zhao Bingwen and Yang Yunyi held long-term offices at Emperor Xuanzong's court. Here we should admit the ambiguity and inner tensions embedded in historical narratives, which also bespeaks the complexity among Han literati community itself in late Jin politics.

Though the ethnic distinction between Jurchen and Han Chinese is a key to Jin socio-political life, mutual assimilation across these two ethnic groups can also be found. I will show below the dynamics of military and literary prowess that constantly eventually blurred the

[62] Ibid. 12.137.

boundary of Jurchen/Chinese identities. Perhaps to the surprise of southern cultural elites, many Jin literati in North China turned out to be scholars-cum-warriors against Mongol invaders. This chivalrous or masculine spirits was further imprinted in their poetic forms and contents. In the meantime, we see the "literatization" of a once nomadic people, as more and more Jurchen aristocrats participated in the enterprise of Jin literati culture as both sponsors, connoisseurs and producers. As such, the parallel of civil (*wen* 文) and military (*wu* 武) arts shared by both Jurchen and Chinese elites can better reveal the essence of their identity negotiation.

"Carrying Books Along with My Sword": Literary and Military Prowess of Jin Poets

Jurchen horsemen and Chinese peasants were the presumed occupations assigned by a stereotyped view of ethnicity. In really, however, the incipient Jurchen regime in the mid-twelfth century already experienced a gradual process of getting down their mounts and unloading their weapons in order to live a sedentary and "civil" life. They sought to settle down and were eventually integrated into an agrarian society. This transformation was recorded by the ex-Song poet Yuwen Xuzhong, who converted to the Jurchen rulers and served as one of their chief ministers. For many times he used the metaphors "sword" (*jian* 劍) and "farming" (*nong* 農) to illustrate tensions between Jurchen/nomadic and Sinitic/sedentary ways of life, such as "It will soon be time to remold you [i.e., sword] into farming implements, / Since one sword can do no better than several lines of writing" 會當鑄汝為農器，一劍不如書數行;[63] "Swords and

[63] Yuwen Xuzhong, "Gujian xing" 古劍行; ZZJJZ, 1.12.

halberds gradually erode, farming implements come up; / Households know only officers who promote farming" 劍戟漸銷農器出，人家只識勸農官.[64] Yet the overindulgence in comfort over the course of a peaceful era also unexpectedly resulted in the general decline of combat effectiveness among Jurchens.[65] Quite the contrary, Chinese subjects who remained in North China under Jurchen rule were later "militarized." They not only joined the army as consultants or generals, but they also recorded their borderland journeys or battlefield experience and exerted heroic styles in their poetry. This trend was especially manifest when it came to the last two decades of the Jin polity when they faced the menace of the Mongol invasion. These Chinese poets shed blood and died for the Jin state while composing poetry of "death and chaos" in violent military campaigns.[66]

In the last section, we have seen victims of Chinese scholar-officials who were wrongly accused of treachery by trespassing on the control of military forces. Be that as it may, contemporary records also testify that many Jurchen generals and Han scholar-officials fought side by side as compatriots on the battlefield. GQZ records a number of Jurchen and Kitan aristocratic commanders who recruited Han literati into their military headquarters.[67] Notably, Two Jurchen cousins named Wanyan Xielie 完顏斜烈 and Wanyan Chenheshang 完顏陳和尚 who both served as late Jin generals and indeed died for their country. They later adopted sinicized names as Wanyan Ding 完顏鼎 (lit. "tripod") with the style name 國器 (lit. "state vessel or insignia"), and Wanyan Yi 完顏彝 (generic term for sacred vessels used for ritual

[64] Yuwen Xuzhong, "Deng bei" 燈碑, No. 3; ibid., 1.11.
[65] See, for example, Shi Xu 史旭, "Zao fa tuotuo peng" 早發驒馳堋; ZZJJZ, 2.448–49. Also see GQZ, 6.18.
[66] Chinese subjects were often enlisted in the army by force, and even scholar-officials failed to be exempt from conscription. See GQZ, 7.77–78.
[67] See the cases of Wanyan Chenheshang 完顏陳和尚, Wanyan Xielie 完顏斜烈, Yila Mainu 移剌買奴, and Yila Nianhe 移剌粘合; GQZ, 6.62–63.

libations in ancestral shrine) with the style name Liangzuo 良佐 (lit. "superb assistance") – by analogizing their public service to sacrificial vessels of the state they highlighted their patriotism.[68] These two cousins were also sponsors of Han literati and recruited them as their consultants, and it is likely that their Sinitic names were advised by their literati friends.[69] There was even a Kitan aristocratic general who "read books of history and was stout-hearted with righteous airs; he loved to befriend scholar-officials and treated his fellow Jurchens like slaves instead" 讀史書，慷慨有氣義。喜交士大夫，視女直同列諸人奴隸也.[70]

In turn, among the Han Chinese consultants in the Jurchen army, Wang Wo 王渥 (1186–1232) turned out to be their favorite. After passing the *jinshi* exam in 1218, he successively stayed in military quarters of three Jurchen and Kitan generals, who treated him and other Han literati with respect and courtesy.[71] A scholar-official notwithstanding, Wang Wo was bestowed with bold spirits and vehement eloquence typical of northerners.[72] The dual personas of Han literatus and military officer at times struggled with each other in his poem: "Composing poetry on horseback disgraces genuine appreciation [of landscape]; / Carrying wine among woods and springs blocks superb excursions" 賦詩鞍馬慙真賞，載酒林泉阻勝游.[73] Though a slice of reluctance can be detected between the lines, his gesture of "composing poetry on horseback" not only reveals Wang's gallantry, but is also the proof of his quick-witted poetic inspiration. His

[68] See their life accounts recorded in "Biographies of the Loyal and Righteous" (*zhongyi zhuan* 忠義傳); JS, 123.2680–83.
[69] See GQZ, 6.62.
[70] See the entry of Yila Mainu, ibid. 6.63.
[71] See Wang Wo's biography in ZZJJZ, 6.1765.
[72] ZZJ features Wang Wo as a "heroic gentleman from the Central Terrain" 中州豪士 and "one of the three expansive literati all under heaven" 天下談士三人之一; see ibid.
[73] Wang Wo, "You Danxia xiayuan tong Yuzhi, Dingyu fende liu zi" 遊丹霞下院同裕之鼎玉分得留字; ZZJJZ, 6.1785.

military career ended along with the inexorable Mongol conquest over the Jurchen Jin regime in 1232.

Besides Wang Wo, other Han literati also voluntarily sought after military service. In their poetic compositions, we find a recurrent poetic trope of "carrying books along with my sword" (*shu jian* 書劍) to foreground their civil/martial duality. One manifest case is a quatrain written by the late Jin poet Li Fen 李汾 (1192–1234?) when he failed the civil exam:

學劍攻書漫自奇	Learning to sway a sword and delve into books – I vainly felt self-assured to be extraordinary;
回頭三十六年非	Looking back, I realize my past thirty-six years of life have been wrong.
春風萬里衡門下	Spring breeze of ten thousand miles, below the barred gate –
依舊并州一布衣	I am still a commoner from Bingzhou.[74]

Li Fen came from Bingzhou, nowadays Taiyuan in Shanxi province, and boasted of his self-claimed ancestry of Li Keyong 李克用 (856–908), a late Tang general of Shatuo Turkic ethnicity well known for his military prowess and loyalty of the fallen Tang empire. Elsewhere he designated himself as a "bold hero from Bingzhou" 并州豪傑, whose militant spirits bespeaks the geocultural feature of northwest China.[75] It is also noteworthy that the poet voluntarily renamed himself as Li Fen with the style name Changyuan 長源: Fen stands for the Fen River as Taiyuan's landmark, and Changyuan literally means "perennial fountainhead," so that this poet in effect inscribed the Shanxi geonym into his self-identity. Li Fen's undaunted manner was accompanied with his aspiration for success and fame. He decided to join the army as a

[74] Li Fen, "Xia di" 下第; ZZJJZ, 10.2512.
[75] Li Fen, "Shaanzhou" 陝州; ibid., 10.2494: 李白形骸雖放浪，并州豪傑未凋零。

consultant in search for victory and fame, but he died instead in an infighting among the Jurchen armies.[76]

Similar circumstances can be found in the life of another late Jin literatus Wang Yu 王鬱, who was also famous for his poetic talent infused with unbridled heroism, frustrated in the civil service exam, and accidentally killed as a military consultant in 1233. It is said that "the master enjoyed discussions and comments in his daily life, exalted vital force (*qi*), and regarded himself as a knight among Confucian scholars" 先生平日好議論，尚氣，自以為儒中俠.[77] His friend once praised for Wang's literary and military prowess in a poetic couplet: "No sooner does [Wang Yu] disclose his valiant composition that even surpasses the *Lyrics of Chu* / Than he climbs up the long-winded path wearing a Wu-style hooked sword" 始露雄文陵楚些，又登長陌佩吳鈎.[78] It also turns out that within Wang Yu's friend circle there were full of Jin poets of similar bold and masculine bent. Li Yi 李洟, for example, was good at marital skills, and became a military officer by taking martial exams after failing to pass civil exams of both literary compositions (*cifu* 詞賦) and classical essays (*jingyi* 經義). He even changed his name as Li Wu 李伾 with the style name Jiwu 季武 to prioritize his military character.[79] Their intimate friend Hou Ce 侯冊/侯策 is also said that "he had no interest in learning in his youth, but instead enjoyed cockfighting and dog walking to lead his county fellows. After crossing south, he was impassioned and aspired to learning. He went along with celebrated scholars at that time and totally stopped engaging in his youthful recreations" 少不喜學，鬬鷄走狗雄鄉里。南渡後，

[76] See ZZJJZ, 10.2487–89; GQZ, 2.18–19.
[77] GQZ, 3.24.
[78] Wanyan Shu 完顏璹 (1172–1232), "Wang sheng yi qiusao jianshi fu yi ci xie zhi" 王生以秋騷見示復以此謝之; ZZJZJ, 5.1423.
[79] GQZ, 2.20.

慨然有爲學心，與一時名士游，盡絶少年事.[80] Albeit "militarized," Wang Yu, Li Yi, and Li Wu all composed well crafted poetry that qualifies them to be coronated in ZZJ.[81]

A group portrait can thus be drawn from these late Jin poets. The poets I illustrate above all put on the persona of "bold heroes" or "knight among Confucians," so that we often encounter poetic images of carrying books in tandem with swords. The common character of high-spirited boldness reflected in their poetry may due in no small measure to their northern birthplace. Both Wang Wo and Li Fen came from Taiyuan, Shanxi province, not far away from Yuan Haowen's hometown Xinzhou 忻州 in Shanxi, the location that marked the previous Northern Song-Kitan Liao borderland; Wang Yu grew up in an affluent family in Beijing belonging to the former Liao territory. In spite of their primary identity as Han literati, they did not resist embracing a military career as a path toward fame and success. And finally, they all died with their boots on in their military service at the very end of the Jurchen regime, which was the same fate of many of their contemporaries.

Indeed, quite a lot of celebrated Jin scholar-officials were killed at their posts in military troops during Jurchen-Mongol battles. Some Jin *jinshi* literati even volunteered to lead the military army as Jin generals and died for their country. Other Jin loyalists refused to cooperate with Mongol enemies and rebel leaders and committed suicide. It is quite astonishing that so many Jin literati were drawn into military services, which is unseen in the Song tradition. In particular, many of them were promising and first-rate youthful poets, so that their involvement in warfare which took their lives was a tremendous loss of Jin literati culture in general. It is said that the abovementioned Liang Chisheng "was a man of majestic bearing, who was known for

[80] Ibid., 3.21.
[81] See ZZJJZ, 7.2003–08, 2027–33, 2060–73.

literary aspirations and military guts" 為人儀觀雄偉，以文武志膽見稱.[82] He not only passed the 1206 *jinshi* exam but was also "selected in the polymath exam of 'broad learning and extensive words'" 宏辭亦中選, a proof of his one-of-a-kind excellency in erudition and literary writing. I have translated several couplets of his "Lamenting Liaodong" *yuefu* above, whose style emulates the Tang poet Wei Zhuang's 韋莊 (836?–910?) folksong-ish "Lament of the Lady of Qin" (Qin fu yin 秦婦吟) symbolizing a catastrophe of the northern civil order. When Puxian Wannu 蒲鮮萬奴 (d. 1233) rebelled against the Jurchen polity and separated the Liaodong peninsula from the Jin territory, Liang refused to write the official document proclaiming its legitimacy and was therefore executed. Likewise, Zhou Siming 周嗣明 (d. 1211) was a young genius putting on "an air of ancient noble knights" 古俠士風 with no poem left today. A principal graduate notwithstanding, Zhou Siming died in the most crucial campaign against Mongols at the early stage in 1211 together with his uncle, another famous Jin poet Zhou Ang 周昂 (1159–1211). Zhou Siming also had a specific bent for Confucian philosophy besides literary composition. The contemporary leader of Jin literati community Li Chunfu thus lamented for the untimely death of this junior poet whose talent was nipped in the bud.[83]

On top of that, perhaps much to Song loyalists' surprise, these northern literati, many of whom were Han Chinese, turned out to be Jin patriots and died with integrity (*yi jie si* 以節死) in face of the invincible Mongol enemies.[84] The most idiosyncratic representative is probably Wang Hui 王晦 (1153–1214). A *jinshi* degree holder in 1191 notwithstanding, Wang Hui was said to be "stout-hearted and knightly when he was still a commoner" 自布衣時慷慨以俠聞, and had the

[82] ZZJJZ, 5.1369.
[83] Ibid., 4.864.
[84] See, for example, Hao Jing, "Jinyuan shi jieshi ge" 金源十節士歌; HJJ, 11.935–69.

unusual brutal experience of "killing a monk by his own hand and writing poetry with blood" 手刃奸髡血寫詩.[85] In the year 1214, Wang volunteered to guard the doomed Central Capital Yanjing and died without surrendering when the city eventually fell under the siege of Mongols. For this sake, Wang Hui was bestowed with the posthumous appellation of "stern loyalty" (*gangzhong* 剛忠). Shi Su 史肅 (*jinshi* 1191), a fellow *jinshi* examinee of Wang, composed a commemorative poem to honor his friend's "loyalty and integrity" (*zhongyi* 忠義) as a scholar-cum-general. Below are the opening and closing four couplets:

八月風高胡馬壯	In the eighth month, the wind was blowing high and barbaric horses growing strong;
胡兒彎弓向南望	Barbaric lads bent their bows and look towards the south.
鐵門不守犯孤城	The iron gate failed to protect the lonely city from invasion,
失我堂堂仁勇將	So that we lost our humane and brave general of dignity.
將軍之起本儒臣	The general was initially appointed as a Confucian official,
緯武經文才過人	He coped with martial and civil affairs with talent beyond average.
墨磨楯鼻埽千字	He rubbed down the ink while handling the shield, and swiped down a thousand words;
箭射戟牙驚六軍	He shot an arrow through a halberd, astonishing the Six Armies [i.e., royal troops of Mongols].
……	……
將軍雖死尚如生	Albeit dead, our general still lives on –
萬里遙傳忠義名	Across ten thousand miles was circulated his reputation of loyalty and righteousness.
昔聞陝右段忠烈	Previously I heard of Duan [Xiushi 段秀實 (719–783)] from Shaanxi with the posthumous title of "loyal resoluteness";
今見常山顏杲卿	Today I see another Yan Gaoqing (692–756) in Changshan [nowadays Shijiazhuang, Hebei].
棟折榱崩人短氣	With pillars of the state broken and collapsed [i.e., the death of Wang Hui], Jin people were dispirited,
平生況切同年義	Not to mention that we are fellow *jinshi* examinees in our lives.

[85] GQZ, 10.118. The verse is quoted from Hao Jing, "Wang Ziming" 王子明 in "Jinyuan shi jieshi ge"; HJJ, 11.937.

試歌慷慨一篇詞　　I try to chant a stout-hearted piece of *yuefu*,
定灑英雄千古淚　　Which would surely make a hero shed tears of numerous ages. (*ll*. 1–8, 29–36)[86]

The whole piece delineates the masculine image of Wang Hui as a Confucian general on the battlefield. In particular, the poet refers to historical figures from the Tang dynasty who refused to surrender and fought till death when threatened by enemies. The apt use of poetic allusions from past and present serves as earmarks of the *yuefu* song that may sound familiar to readers or listeners who are adroit at recognizing those literary analogies and historical anecdotes.

Military capacity thus came to be this scholar-official's distinct hallmark.[87] It was not uncommon during the late Jin period that some Han *jinshi* scholar-officials volunteered to hold the posts of deputy generals in a time of danger and urgency. Zhao Bingwen in the poem "Ballad of Joining the Army to Send off Tian Zhuo [with the Style Name] Qizhi" 從軍行送田琢器之 enumerated exemplary literati with military talent, including Tian Zhuo 田琢 (*jinshi* 1194–d. 1219), Li Ying 李英 (*jinshi* 1194–d. 1215), Hou Zhi 侯摯 (*jinshi* 1191–d. 1233), and the abovementioned Wang Hui, who just achieved victories in regional campaigns against Mongols:

……　　……
田侯落落奇男子　　Lord Tian [i.e., Tian Zhuo] is an extraordinary man with an open and liberal mind,
主辱臣生不如死　　If the ruler is humiliated, the living official would rather die.
殿前畫地作山西　　At court, he draws on the ground to map out [war situations in] Shanxi,
請以義軍相表裏　　And pledges to lead the volunteer armies to cooperate [with Shanxi armies] both from inside and outside.
恨我不得學李英　　I regret not following Li Ying [to join the army],
愛君不減侯莘卿　　Who is devoted to our emperor no less than Hou Shenqing [i.e., Hou Zhi].

[86] Shi Su, "Ai Wang Dan" 哀王旦; See Liang Taiji, "Jinchao baiwang licheng de kegui," 186–95.
[87] According to official historiography, "someone recommended [Wang] Hui for his talent of military leadership, so that he was allowed to recruit armies as a general, and got more than ten thousand soldiers ready to die for their country under his command" 或舉晦有將帥才，俾募人自將，得死士萬餘統之. See JS, 121.2653.

子明又請當一面	Ziming [i.e., Wang Hui] also pleads to take charge at one of the fronts,
禁中頗牧皆書生	In the Forbidden Palace, great generals like [ancient] [Lian] Po 廉頗 (327–243 BC) and [Li] Mu 李牧 (d. 229 BC) all turn out to be scholars.
橫遮俘尸三十萬	Screening three hundred thousand captives and corpses –
潼關大笑哥舒翰	Tong Pass must have laughed out loud at Geshu Han.[88]
三書慷慨請長纓	Writing thrice, [Tian Zhuo] makes an impassioned plea for a long cord [from the emperor to lead the army],
臨風鍛翮空三嘆	Lest he has his wings sheared off and sighs thrice against the wind. (*ll*. 21–32)[89]

It is noteworthy that the *yuefu* genre was preferred among northern literati when dealing with wartime affairs, just like this piece, Liang Chisheng's "Lamenting Liaodong," and Shi Su's piece in commemoration of Wang Hui which I have selectively translated above. The *yuefu* form, compared to other traditional Chinese poetic genres, is most akin to the narrative trait of "epic poetry," and Jin poets made full use of this feature to recount wartime events at length. The seemly unmediated and unhewn register of language in *yuefu* poetry also befits the grave content involving severe hardships and casualties in a disguised form of "intensified oral speech" devoid of delicate embellishment and allusion. The looser restraints on poetic regulations also unwind the vibrant and impulsive emotions typical of the northern style. In a certain degree, Zhao Bingwen adapts the time-honored *yuefu* title "Ballad of Joining the Army" to be a harangue for military recruitment among Han literati.

In addition, the most impressive commonality among these four literati heroes mentioned in this poem is their civil status as *jinshi* degree holders attained during Emperor Zhangzong's Mingchang reign. Wang Hui and Hou Zhi passed the *jinshi* exam in 1191, while Tian Zhuo and Li Ying were fellows in the 1194 civil exam. Moreover, the latter two both came from the

[88] This couplet might allude to Geshu Han's strategic error of not taking the initiative in the warfare against An Lushan's rebellion troops and enclosing two hundred thousand soldiers within the Tong Pass. Here, the Jin poet might indicate his advocacy of fighting against Mongols actively.
[89] Zhao Bingwen, "Congjun xing song Tian Zhuo Qizhi" 從軍行送田琢器之; FSJ, 4.50. Also see GQZ, 7.73.

previous Kitan Liao territory, so that their volition to recover their homeland must have been earnest. Three of them lost their lives during the first round of Jurchen-Mongol battles in early 1210s, while Hou Zhi survived the campaigns and was elevated as high as Grand Councilor at the Jin court. He was eventually killed by Mongols immediately after the capital Kaifeng fell. More significantly, later historians even translated the civil culture and scholarly cultivation as the prerequisite of the merit of loyalty on the battlefield. They reached the conclusion that those who adhered to their integrity and died for the fallen Jin state were all previous *jinshi* degree-holders.[90]

Above we focus on exemplary Han literati with military prowess, reflected in both wartime history and poetry. We should keep in mind, however, that this phenomenon was also a byproduct of the prevalent abuse of violence in Jin bureaucracy at that time:

[90] See GQZ, 7.73: "Guts of scholar-officials have to be fostered in daily life. For instance, during Mingchang and Taihe reigns, *wen* was exalted and scholar-officials well treated, so that scholar-officials at that time vied for speaking out and taken actions. By the time of the Da'an era (1209–1211), northern military forces [of Mongols] invaded the Jin territory, and [those scholar-officials] often died with integrity. (Liu Qi mentioned an array of Jin scholar-officials who participated in warfare and died for the country, including Wang Hui, Gao Shouyue 高守約 [*jinshi* 1188], Liang Chisheng, Hou Zhi, Li Ying, and Tian Zhuo.)… After crossing south, Emperor Xuanzong rewarded and appointed lesser functionaries on the one hand, and suppressed scholar-officials on the other. Those who dared speak out and take actions were often demoted and exiled. Therefore most scholar-officials in service at that time only hoped to be exempt from punishment and sought to muddle along. By the time of the upheaval in the Tianxing era (1232–1234), none of the scholar-officials died for the Jin rulers. Isn't it not without reason? In this line of thought, guts of scholar-officials have to be fostered on a daily basis" 士氣不可不素養。如明昌、泰和間崇文養士，故一時士大夫爭以敢言、敢爲相尚。迨大安中，北兵入境，往往以節死，如王晦、高子杓、梁詢誼諸人皆有名。而侯摯、李瑛、田琢輩皆由下位自奮于兵間，雖功業不成，其志氣有可嘉者。南渡後，宣宗獎用胥吏，抑士大夫，凡有敢爲、敢言者，多被斥逐。故一時在位者多委靡，惟求免罪，罟苟容。迨天興之變，士大夫無一人死節者，豈非有以致之歟？由是言之，士氣不可不素養也。

Also see Wang Yun, "Ba Yutian Fushi jiazhuan hou" 跋玉田傅氏家傳後; WYQJ, 73.3074: "The Jin state lasted over a century. It selected its scholar-officials by the civil exam on literary composition alone. Whether civil ministers or military generals, most made their way through the exam system.… When the demise of the Jin polity approached, those who kept their integrity and died for righteousness were all previous *jinshi* degree-holders…" 金有國餘百年，專以詞科取士，曰相曰將，多出此途。議者以「學涉剽竊，不明義理」爲言，然不可一概厚誣。事至於弊，秖能拘限常流，通人何所凝滯？及金祚垂亡，其伏節死義者皆前日之進士也。吾於北地得三人焉：順州刺史剛忠王者，行部傅公父子是也。嗚呼，其爲烈盛矣哉！

> Previously, Emperor Xuanzong preferred legal penalty, and court officials were often flogged, and there were even cases of officials being killed by swords or sticks. When Gaoqi was in office, he employed intimidating punishment for his own gratification. Thus after [the Jurchen court] crossed south, people were so accustomed [to using fierce penalty] that even scholar-officials were influenced by this practice. For instance, the assistant director of the right [in the Department of State Affairs] Tudan Sizhong (d. 1162) liked to beat people with a hemp hammer, which won him the epithet "grand councilor of hemp hammer." Fiscal commissioner Li Teli (fl. 13th c.) was nicknamed "half-sword" to indicate his sharpness albeit a short man. The Hanlin academician Feng Bi was called "Feng the headsman." When Lei Yuan acted as a censor, he caught perfidious magnates in Caizhou (nowadays Runan 汝南, Henan province) and flogged five hundred people to death, and for this reason he was called "Lei the Half a Thousand." There was another one named Wanyan Majinchu who was also known for cruelty. Others like [Pucha] Hezhu 蒲察合住, Wang Ali, and Li Huan were particularly wily and harsh among perfunctory clerks.
>
> 初，宣宗喜刑罰，朝士往往被笞楚，至用刀杖決殺言者。高琪用事，威刑自恣。南渡之後，習以成風，雖士大夫亦為所移。如徒單右丞思忠好用麻椎擊人，號「麻椎相公」。李運使特立號「半截劍」，言其短小鋒利也。馮內翰璧號「馮劊」。雷淵為御史，至蔡州得奸豪，杖殺五百人，號曰「雷半千」。又有完顏麻斤出，皆以酷聞。而合住、王阿裹、李渙之徒，胥吏中尤狡刻者也。[91]

Alongside those cruel, wily and harsh court attendants and perfunctory clergies, the similar depiction applied to Han scholar-officials – and many of them were of high status – was sort of striking and unexpected. And it is against this social milieu that we can fully make sense of the "militarization" of Han literati under Jurchen rule especially during the late Jin period. Among these names Feng Bi and Lei Yuan catch my attention, since they were among the most celebrated Jin poets in their generation. According to historical records, both of them applied the extreme penalty of "flogging to death" (*zhangsha* 杖殺) to intractable local soldiers.[92] A literatus

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[91] JS, 129.2778–79; original text transcribed from GQZ, 7.69, with typos.

[92] See Yuan Haowen, "Neihan Feng gong shendaobei ming," "Lei Xiyan muming" 雷希顏墓銘; YHWQJ, 19.385, 21.418. For a general study of the practice of "flogging to death" in Jin bureaucratic administration, see Chen Zhaoyang 陳昭揚, "Jindai defang guanli zhong de zhangsha" 金代地方管理中的杖殺, *Taiwan shida lishi xuebao* 臺灣師大歷史學報 44 (2010): 97-132.

元好問《內翰馮公神道碑銘》：山東、河朔軍六十餘萬口，率不逞輩竄名其間，詔公攝監察御史，汰逐之。公與同官立式：軍戶僑寓民家者，主人具丁口上之官，冒增偽代，主客同坐。總領撒各門冒券四百餘口，劾案以聞，詔杖殺之。故使節所至爭自首，減幾及於半。

元好問《雷希顏墓銘》：蔡下一兵與權貴有連，脫役遁田間，時以藥毒殺民家馬牛，而以小直脅取之。希顏捕得，數以前後罪，立杖殺之，老幼聚觀，萬口稱快，馬為不得行，然亦坐是失官。

well versed in belles-lettres and a cold-blooded officer who executed a large number of criminals without hesitation seem incompatible with each other. How are these two personas simultaneously combined in one single Han literatus?

For the case of Feng Bi, it is said that when he was appointed as the chief justice at court, he carried out strict penal regulations against privileged aristocrats and domineering generals without demur and tolerance.[93] Yuan Haowen employed such poetic metaphors as "the white brush once raised, thunder and wind speeds up; / With piercing eyes of a tiger, he wears daunting hair; / Flee the malevolent spirits and howl the foxes." 白筆一奮雷風馳，眈眈虎如毛髮威，奔走魑魅號狐狸.[94] While regarding the self-portrait crafted in his poetic compositions, Feng Bi changed to be a senior recluse-scholar devoted to an ideal aesthetic life, while rarely mentioning those down-to-earth trifles in bureaucratic administration. Thus, Feng Bi made a clear-cut distinction between his official duty and literary activity in general.

Compared to Feng, Lei Yuan had a more outsized personality. He was recommended by the *jinshi* general Hou Zhi, and was capable of regulating military officers with fierce measures. This is how Yuan Haowen portrayed Lei's one-of-a-kind image with an iconic character of a northerner:

> [Lei Yuan] as a person was robust and strong in body shape. His beard stretched out and his mouth kept chattering. His complexion was glossy and reddish, and his eyes far-sighted. When he encountered something unfair, his aversion to the evil would be put on the face, and sometimes he would grind his teeth and keep condemning nonstop. Even if he himself was badly hurt, not even in a second would he change his mind. His appetite was equal to the amount of three to four persons, and he would not get drunk even after several cups [of alcohol]. With uninhibited consumption of alcohol, jokes and banters would arise intermittently.

[93] See biographies of Feng Bi in ZZJJZ, 6.1459; GQZ, 5.53; JS, 110.2431–32.
[94] Yuan Haowen, "Neihan Feng gong shendaobei ming"; YHWQJ, 19.388.

> His utterance was sophistically eloquent, like wandering scholars [persuaders] in the Warring States period; his chants were strong-hearted, like heroes inside the Passes [i.e., the central Shaanxi plain]; his could predict success and failure as precisely as like a veteran general; he could detect petty men's gathering base as sharply as an ancient competent clerk; he kept his heart under a sense of peril and uses deep precautions against calamity, which was also akin to the so-called desolate minister and remnant son.
>
> 為人軀幹雄偉，髯張口哆，顏渥丹，眼如望羊。遇不平，則疾惡之氣見於顏間，或嚼齒大罵不休，雖痛自摧折，猝亦不能變也。食兼三四人，飲至數斗不亂。杯酒淋漓，談謔間作。
>
> 辭氣縱橫，如戰國遊士；歌謠慷慨，如關中豪傑；料事成敗，如宿將；能得小人根株窟穴，如古能吏；其操心危，慮患深，則又似夫所謂孤臣孽子者。[95]

The image of a stutterer open to expansive debates while devouring slices of meat is quite impressive. This demeanor, along with his frightful and angry looks, resulted in Lei's unusual deterrent effects on those unlawful soldiers, albeit a mere civil scholar-official. It is even said that local commoners treated Lei as a divine deity and hung his portraits in their households to exorcise evil spirits or bandits.[96] Last but not least, unlike Feng Bi, Lei Yuan outpoured his muscular character into his poetic compositions, as one of his couplets reads: "Dehaired brushes [because of overuse] are mounted as a hill – is it of any use after all? / One who bides his time should actually hone a Wu-style hooked sword" 退筆成丘竟何益，乘時真欲礪吳鈎.[97]

All the Jin poets and their verses I mention above embody the trope "carrying books along with my sword." Some Jin literati even went so far as to disparage the useless life of a poet and strove for a military career with honor and grandeur, as the ancient-style verse of Li Chunfu goes:

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[95] Yuan Haowen, "Lei Xiyan muming"; YHWQJ, 21.418. The last sentence alludes to *Mencius* 7A18: "They are the friendless minister and concubine's son, who keep their hearts under a sense of peril, and use deep precautions against calamity. On this account they become distinguished for their intelligence" 獨孤臣孽子，其操心也危，其慮患也深，故達.

[96] Ibid.

[97] Lei Yuan, "Taoshi yan" 洮石硯; ZZJJZ, 6.1714.

……	……
肝腸作祟耿無寐	In my liver and intestines afflictions are stirred up, so that I remain fitful and restless without sleep;
試把往事閑追窮	I try to trace back and exhaust the past events idly.
男兒生須銜枚卷甲臂琱弓	Men are born to clench sticks in their mouths, roll up armors, and handle ornamented bows in their arms
徑投虎穴策奇功	So as to straightforwardly throw themselves into tigers' cave and intrigue for extraordinary accomplishments.
不然羊羔酒漲玻璃鍾	Otherwise, [men should serve themselves with] lamb and glass goblets tipped with wine;
侍兒醉臉潮春紅	Young [female] attendants put on their inebriated faces with tides of vernal reddishness.
誰能蹇驢馳着灞陵東	Who can bear riding on a lame donkey and passing through the east of Mound Ba,
骨相酸寒愁煞儂	With wretched countenance in skeletal physiognomy, which greatly worries me?
屏山正吐黃薤氣	I, Pingshan, right now is exhaling air full of the smell of yellowish pickled vegetables,
笑倒坐間亡是公	Which greatly amuses the Lord No-such in my company roaring with laughter. (*ll*. 17–26)[98]

In this poem, Li Chunfu conjures up three sets of poetic images concerning the possible livelihoods of men in North China. More specifically, the two images of military officers on the battlefield and free-spirited masters at banquet cast in sharp relief the donkey rider in snowy weather referring to the stock image of a poverty-stricken poet.[99] However, Li Chunfu's depreciation of a beggarly poet of no good is not without a tinge of irony and self-mockery, since the last couplet reveals that Li himself also lived an impoverished life and he could do but empty talk.

In another poem dedicated to Gao Xian 高憲 (d. 1212), a nobleman from the Liaodong peninsula who later died of the campaign against Mongols in his homeland, Li Chunfu also

[98] Li Chunfu, "Xue hou" 雪後; ZZJJZ, 4.1123. Lord No-such is a character in Sima Xiangru's 司馬相如 (179?–117 BC) "Rhapsody of Sir Vacuous" (Zixu fu 子虛賦).
[99] See more in Peter C. Sturman, "The Donkey Rider as Icon: Li Cheng and Early Chinese Landscape Painting," *Artibus Asiae* 55.1/2 (1995): 43–97.

juxtaposes his literary achievement with martial capacity: "Under his brush three thousand tablets are written; / Within his chest one million soldiers are ranked" 筆下三千牘，胸中百萬兵.[100] In addition, one of Li Chunfu's disciples Gao Yong 高永 (d. 1232) from a local gentry in Yuyang 漁陽 (nowadays Tianjin) was said to prefer practical military strategies to belles-lettres, but his heroic and extraordinary poetry was also featured in ZZJ, and Yuan Haowen complimented him to be endowed with both "literary aspirations and military guts" 文武志膽.[101]

One last thing to highlight here is the far northern provenance of many of Jin poets exemplified here. Li Chunfu, Gao Xian, Gao Yong, and Lei Yuan all came from the previous Kitan Liao territory in Hebei, Liaodong, Tianjin, and Shanxi respectively. To boot, they were all members of Li Chunfu's friend circle. We will return to Li's operation of his social network associated with a featured poetic agenda in chapter 3, but here we already sense the geocultural undertone behind this "masculinizing" phenomenon witnessed in Han literati's personality and poetry. As such, thirteenth-century southerners admitted the quality of northern poetry as having "the unsophisticated and substantive airs in the north of the Yellow River and the You-Yan region [i.e., northeast China and Manchuria]" 河朔幽燕渾厚之氣.[102] Apart from those mentioned

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[100] Li Chunfu, "Zeng Gao Zhongchang" 贈高仲常; ZZJJZ, 4.1137.

[101] Yuan Haowen, "Song Gao Xinqing" 送高信卿; YHWQJ, 5.87. It is noteworthy that "literary aspirations and military guts" or *wen wu zhi dan* 文武志膽 seems to be Yuan Haowen's personalized set phrase to refer to Jin officials with both literary and military prowess. See YHWQJ, 27.487, 502, 33.592; ZZJJZ, 5.1369.
《遺山集》卷五《送高信卿》：平生結交王與李，（夏按：李汾/李純甫與王權？）袖中頗有魚麗圖，**文武志膽**誰不如？
又，卷二七《龍虎衛上將軍珠赫公神道碑》（术虎筠壽）：君**文武志膽**，用無不可，徒以一言忤旨，不得久居中，何泰和封殖之難，而貞祐摧折之暴也。彼以假儒衣冠，生死利祿，碌碌無補，蘇而復上，六經掃地，沒世不復，反以武弁待公。
又，同卷，《故金尚書右丞耶律公神道碑》（據四部叢刊影印元至正本《元文類》補）：
公資通敏，善辭令，胸懷倜儻，有**文武志膽**。酬酢事變，若迎刃而解。
又，卷三三《順天府營建記》：予來河朔，雅聞侯名（賈輔），人謂其**文武志膽**可為當代侯伯之冠。
《中州集》卷五：經甫泰和六年進士，制策優等，宏辭亦中選。為人儀觀雄偉，以**文武志膽**見稱。

[102] See Liang Taiji, "*Hua yu* 'Duanping jiawu' tiao," 188.

above, there are numerous other Jin "militant poets" from northern frontiers or borderlands whose poetry constitutes similar motifs. Indeed, compared to their Southern Song contemporaries, the Han literati under Jurchen rule were more masculine in terms of their behaviors, characters, and poetic styles. Specifically, their heroic élan is fairly bursting forth in poetry which also bespeaks the overflow of violence during the wartime "death and chaos."

"Sinicization" or "Literatization"? Jurchens' Role in Jin Literati Culture

Above I illustrate how northern Chinese poets called for the martial spirit, which was unheard of in the verses of most Southern Song poets. Parallel to the "masculinization" of Han literati was the "literatization" of some Jurchen aristocrats. Despite the ethnic hierarchy exerted on the political level, the Jurchen attitude towards literati culture was not at all monolithic. In reality, quite a few Jurchen aristocrats turned out to be talented poets well connected into the Chinese poet society. I will show below how they ardently participated in and contributed to Jin literati culture.

Here I adopt the concept of "literatization" first proposed by the historian Xiao Qiqing 蕭啟慶 in his studies of well-educated scholar-officials of minor ethnicities in the Mongol Yuan empire. Xiao argues that the concept "literatization" fits better in the political contexts of alien regimes compared to "sinicization," and makes distinctions between them in two aspects. First, while "sinicization" bears an all-around connotation from intellectual thoughts to secular lifestyle assimilated to Han Chinese traditions, "literatization" puts emphasis instead on literati culture that demarcates a discernible social stratum of elite class rather than a specific ethnic identity. And second, unlike "sinicized" people who downplayed their original ethnic

background in order to identify with Han Chinese, "literatized" non-Chinese people chose *not* to abandon their ethnic identities and political privileges, which we can tell from their foreign names and non-Han marriage relationships, while in the meantime taking literati culture as their cultural capital.[103]

The same principle of "literatization" also applies to the historical trajectory of the Jin dynasty.[104] Heralded by preferential policies carried out by Emperor Xizong and King Hailing, it is during Emperor Shizong's High-Jin period when "literatization" accomplished its full-fledged form. One piece of evidence is an aesthetic bent for literature and art among Shizong's children and grandchildren. At the very beginning of ZZJ, Yuan Haowen made an unusual arrangement to top this Jin poetry collection with poems composed by Prince Xianzong 顯宗 (Wanyan Yungong 完顏允恭, 1146–1185) and Emperor Zhangzong, who were Emperor Shizong's son and grandson.[105] In a similar vein, Liu Qi in his GQZ also listed five imperial members – they were again Emperor Shizong's sons (Prince Xianzong, Wanyan Yongcheng 完顏永成 [d. 1204]) and grandsons (Emperor Zhangzong, Wanyan Shu 完顏璹 [1172–1232]) except King Hailing – for their literary talent.[106] Besides literary virtuosity, contemporary records also testify works of art produced by Shizong's descendants, especially King Hailing, Prince Xianzong, and Wanyan Shu.[107] Perhaps the most revealing case is Emperor Zhangzong's emulation or even "copycat" of

[103] See Hsiao Ch'i-ch'ing, "Lun Yuandai Menggu Semuren de hanhua yu shirenhua" 論元代蒙古色目人的漢化與士人化, in *Yuandai de zuqun wenhua yu keju* 元代的族群文化與科舉 (Taipei: Lianjing chuban gongsi, 2008), pp. 55–84, esp. pp. 57–58.
[104] For an exceptional case of learning Song culture during the foundation period of the Jurchen regime, see Winston W. Lo, "Wan-yen Tsung-han: Jurchen General as Sinologist," *Journal of Song-Yuan Studies* 26 (1996): 87–112.
[105] ZZJJZ, *juan shou* 卷首, pp. 1–4.
[106] GQZ, 1.3–5.
[107] See Xia Wenyan 夏文彥, *Tuhui baojian* 圖繪寶鑒 (preface dated to 1365); Jinteng Xiushi 近藤秀實 (Kondō Hidemi) and He Qingxian 何慶先, Tuhui baojian *jiaokan yu yanjiu* 圖繪寶鑒校勘與研究 (Nanjing: Jiangsu guji chubanshe, 1997), 4.58a.

the Northern Song Emperor Huizong's 宋徽宗 (r. 1100–1126) calligraphy in the Slender Gold style script (*shoujin ti* 瘦金體), not to mention that he also excelled in composing palace-style poetry (*gongti shi* 宮體詩) as Huizong did.[108] It is thus manifest that imperial offspring of Emperor Shizong were highly "literatized" with recognition from Han literati, so that the Jin court in the latter half of the twelfth century turned out to be a pivotal center of cultural activities.

In particular, among the few Jurchen/Kitan aristocrats he mentioned in passing, Yuan Haowen picks out Wanyan Shu as the Jurchen poet par excellence in his ZZJ. As many as forty-one pieces of his poetry are chosen in ZZJ, while other Jurchen or Kitan noblemen have no more than one single piece in most cases. As a grandson of Emperor Shizong and a cousin of Emperor Zhangzong, Wanyan Shu was watched over by the imperial family as a potential threat. Wanyan Shu himself also stayed vigilant not to get involved into political conflicts at court.[109] Albeit a Jurchen aristocrat, he lived an aesthetic and scholarly life and befriended Han literati, and was particularly renowned for poetry and calligraphy, as well as art connoisseurship. Surprisingly still, the living condition of this Jurchen nobleman turned out to be in self-contained and contented seclusion and poverty, especially after the court moved south to Kaifeng. Besides those homesick pieces, his poetry covers topics like landscape excursion, art production and connoisseurship, religious practice, and everyday life at leisure.[110] In the poem titled "Joyful

[108] For Emperor Zhangzong's calligraphy after Song Emperor Huizong, see Wang Yaoting 王耀庭, "Mingchang qi xi jiqi zhoubian" 明昌七璽及其周邊, *The National Palace Museum Research Quarterly* [*Gugong xueshu jikan* 故宮學術季刊] 34. 3 (2017): 1–44. For the imperial collection during that period, see Toyama Gunji, "Kin Shōsō shūzō no shoga ni tsuite" 金章宗收藏の書畫について, in his *Kinchō shi kenkyū*, pp. 660-669; Xu Bangda 徐邦達, "Song Jin neifu shuhua de zhuanghuang biaoti cangyin hekao" 宋金內府書畫的裝潢標題藏印合考, *Meishu yanjiu* 美術研究 1 (1981): 83-85. For Zhangzong's composition of palace-style poetry, see GQZ, 1.3–4.

[109] Yuan Haowen once commented that "the Jurchen imperial family estranged themselves from close relatives while depending on distant relatives" 朝家疏近族而倚疏屬. See Yuan, "Ru'an shiwen xu" 如庵詩文序; YHWQJ, 36.648.

[110] For Wanyan Shu's biography as well as his poetry, see ibid., 36.646–48; ZZJJZ, 5.1412–57.

Matters at Suchness Studio" (Ru'an leshi 如庵樂事), Wanyan Shu demonstrates how he enjoys daily routines in the private space of his study room:

人間最美安心睡	In the human world, the sweetest thing is [none other than] sleep at ease;
睡起從容盥漱終	Getting up at leisure, I finish washing my face and rinsing my mouth without hurry.
七卷蓮經爇沈水	Seven scrolls of *Lotus Sutra*, accompanied with burning incense of agarwood [lit. sinking into water];
一杯湯餅潑油蔥	A bowl of noodle soup poured over with oil and onion.
因循默坐規禪老	Idling and sitting in silence, the old man is regulated and committed to Chan meditation;
取次拈詩教小童	By taking turns to draw lots of poetic rhymes I teach my young children [how to compose poetry].
炕煖窗明有書册	A cozy brick-bed and bright windows, along with piles of books –
不知何者是窮通	I cannot tell what is failure and what is success.[111]

Though a member of Wanyan imperial family, Wanyan Shu depicts in this poem how simple his daily life is. Removed from a luxurious way of life like other Jurchen kinsmen, he embraced a poor but elegant, poetic existence. Wanyan Shu lived in the idle *status quo*, self-contented with peaceful sleep and a bowl of noodle soup for meal. Yet learned and refined literati activities are also integral to Wanyan Shu's "joyful matters," including religious worship, poetic composition, and reading books. And these all happened in his private space of study with a clean, bright and fragrant surrounding. The dualistic identity as aristocrat-cum-literatus was acknowledged by his contemporaries who praised him in the verse: "People merely know to venerate his imperial pedigree, / But I only care for his Confucian manner" 人知尊帝胄，我但識儒冠.[112]

That being said, Wanyan Shu was not the single case among Jurchen aristocrats and military officials who behaved like literati. It is said that "after [the Jurchen Jin court] crossed

[111] Wanyan Shu, "Ru'an leshi"; ZZJJZ, 5.1429.
[112] Ma Ge 麻革 (fl. 13th c.), "Miguo gong wanci ershou" 密國公挽詞二首, No. 2; XBQJS, 66.1712.

south, many of Jurchen hereditary chiliarchs and myriarchs (*meng'an mouke* 猛安謀克, a social and military organization for the Jurchen population in regional units)[113] had a penchant for literary composition and liked to keep company with scholar-officials" 南渡後，諸女直世襲猛安、謀克往往好文學，喜與士大夫游.[114] Thus, "literatization" of Jurchen people took place both at court and in local regions. We have already mentioned the recruitment of Han literati in military headquarters of Jurchen/Kitan generals in the last section above. It is especially notable that when some generals stationed their troops in northern borders, they renovated the local Confucian Temples (*Kongmiao* 孔廟) to conduct worshipping rituals and educational activities on these military frontiers and cultural outskirts.[115] Besides, Liu Qi in his miscellany recorded two relatively low-rank Jurchens, Shuhu Sui 朮虎邃 (d. 1232) and Wulinda Shuang 烏林答爽 (d. 1232), who became in good terms with Liu during his stay in Huaiyang 淮陽 (in nowadays Zhoukou 周口, Henan province). Despite that these two Jurchens came from local Jurchen military families within the *meng'an mouke* system, they lived an impoverished life of "shabby

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[113] See more in Franke and Twitchett, *The Cambridge History of China*, p. 273.
[114] GQZ, 6.63–64.
[115] Zhao Bingwen wrote several commemorative prose on such occasions. Intriguingly, Zhao employed parallel rhetoric to put their mastery of classics and military talent in juxtaposition. See Zhao, "Yuzhou xueji" 裕州學記; FSJ, 13.189. Zhao, "Dengzhou chuangjian Xuansheng miao bei" 鄧州創建宣聖廟碑; JWZ, 70.1022.
趙秉文《裕州學記》（完顏斜烈）：
會元帥完顏公。以詩書之師。當熊虎之任。折衝樽俎。諏經講道。學之成也。與有力焉。
趙秉文《鄧州創建宣聖廟碑》（移剌瑗）：
今節度使行元帥移剌金紫公之典是州也。以詩書之胄。總熊虎之任。下車之日。百廢具舉。歲在乙丑春。奠謁於廟。顧視祠宇頹廢。公用惕然曰。古之時。治出於一。有武事必有文備。今軍政修理。而宣聖廟廷。以兵火之餘。鞠爲園蔬。姑寓於蕭公之祠。奠謁無所。甚非所以尊師而重道也。
For the exalted status of the Confucian Temple considering the overall Jurchen Jin cultural enterprise, see Wen, "The Road to Literary Culture," 162. Also see Tao Jinsheng 陶晉生, "Song Jin miaoxue yu Rujia sixiang de chuanbu" 宋金廟學與儒家思想的傳布, in *Song Liao Jin shi luncong* 宋遼金史論叢 (Taipei: Zhongyang yanjiu yuan, 2013), pp. 361–84; Zhu Gang 朱剛, "'Xiu miao' yu 'li xue': Bei Song xueji lei wenzhang de yige huati – cong Wang Anshi 'Fanchang xian xueji' rushou" 「修廟」與「立學」：北宋學記類文章的一個話題——從王安石《繁昌縣學記》入手, *Journal of East China Normal University (Philosophy and Social Sciences)* 華東師範大學學報（哲學社會科學版） 50.5 (2018): 96–104; Liu Hui 劉輝, "Jindai de Kongmiao yu miaoxue shulüe" 金代的孔廟與廟學述略, *Shehui kexue zhanxian* 社會科學戰線 2015.12: 126–31.

clothing and coarse food" 惡衣糲食 while devoted to poetic composition. Moreover, they all died prematurely during the Mongol invasion, and Liu Qi lamented for their unfulfilled talent in retrospection. Their piecemeal verses would also have been unheard of were it not for Liu's acquaintance with them.[116]

In addition to the average advancement of literary and artistic learning among Jurchen people, Jurchen "literatization" was further guaranteed by its institutionalization: the Jurchen language civil service examination was first introduced by Emperor Shizong in 1173, not only occasioned by the invention of Jurchen script, but also equipped with translation projects conducted in the Bureau of Translating Canons (*yijing suo* 譯經所), as well as a nationwide Jurchen school system sponsored by the government. The Jurchen script seems have inhibited Jurchen people from practicing Sinitic literature at first glance, but as Xin Wen 文欣 already points out, instead of a "Jurchenization" measure, the Jurchen language examination system opened up the road to "a distinctively hybrid literary culture."[117] Indeed, the content of the Jurchen civil exam was nothing "Jurchen" specific but rather transplanted from Chinese classics. This also echoes the bilingual phenomenon of a few Jin steles or their rubbings that demonstrate the practice of juxtaposing Chinese and Jurchen texts on memorial occasions. In most cases of these hybrid Sino-Jurchen texts, Chinese signifies the main text and Jurchen the translations or paratexts such as postscripts, colophons, seals or brief inscriptions; even for those merely written in Jurchen, they are in many cases transliterations of Chinese classic maxims.[118] In this line of thought, the one-way process of "Jurchenization" does not suffice here.

[116] See the entries of these two Jurchens in GQZ, 3.25–26.
[117] Wen, "The Road to Literary Culture," 130.
[118] See Jin Guangping 金光平 and Jin Qicong 金啟孮, *Nüzhen yuyan wenzi yanjiu* 女真語言文字研究 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1980); also, Jin Qicong, "Jurchen Literature under the Chin," in *China under Jurchen Rule*, pp. 216–237.

Besides the creation and use of Jurchen script, Wen in his thorough research also analyzes its application and "literarization" in the Jurchen *jinshi* civil service examination. He borrows the concept "literarization" from Sheldon Pollock's study on Sanskrit in premodern India, and appropriates it in the Jurchen Jin cultural contexts to refer to the formation of a literary canon in the Jurchen language and scripts as well as an educational program in this canon.[119] Here, I further push his argument and contend that the production of Jurchen *jinshi* degree-holders well exemplified a form of "literatization" in place of "sinicization." "Literatization" highlights the transformative agency of Jurchen men of letters. Like its Chinese archetype and counterpart, the Jurchen *jinshi* civil exam was primarily designed to recruit local Jurchens and consequently to enhance social mobility within the Jurchen ethnic group and consolidate the monarchic rule. Through this Jurchen version of elementary education and literary learning, Jurchen people from remote regions and lower classes were able to get to the upper rung of the socio-political ladder.[120] This social status transition from a Jurchen illiterate local to a *jinshi* scholar-official at court is exactly what "literatization" means. In addition, while one principal merit of this exam institution for Emperor Shizong was to achieve the goal of "literatization" and at the same time secure the Jurchen identity, the "ethnic nature" of the Jurchen exam, as Wen Xin has persuasively argued, was greatly downplayed by Emperor Zhangzong's reform of including non-Jurchen examinees and adopting the functional term *celun jinshi* 策論進士 in place of the ethnocentric *nüzhen jinshi* 女真進士.[121] In sum, I believe "literatization" is a more appropriate concept

[119] Wen, "The Road to Literary Culture," 138-142, esp. 138-139. For Sheldon Pollock's use of "literarization," see *The Language of the Gods in the World of Men: Sanskrit, Culture, and Power in Premodern India* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2006), pp. 4–5.
[120] See more in Xu Bingyu 徐秉愉, "Jindai Nüzhen jinshi ke zhidu de jianli ji qi dui Nüzhen zhengquan de yingxiang" 金代女真進士科制度的建立及其對女真政權的影響, *Taida lishi xuebao* 臺大歷史學報 33 (2004): 97–132.
[121] Wen, "The Road to Literary Culture," 153.

compared to the ethnic hallmark when we discuss the Jurchen civil exam system. And the bilingual strategy executed by Jurchen rulers is the *tour de force* demonstrating their proficiency of cultural duality and synthesis, so that the Jin ethnocultural identity held fast through this approach of unique culturalism.

Apart from cultural activities among Jurchen aristocrats and the institutionalization of Jurchen language schools and civil exams, literati culture eventually saw its impact upon Jin politics by producing Jurchen scholar-officials modeled on Confucian values. Yila Lü 移剌履 (1131–1191, elsewhere written as Yelü Lü 耶律履), a Kitan aristocrat, was a grand councilor at Emperor Shizong's court. He once discussed with the emperor the ideal ruler-minister relationship modeling after *Zhengguan zhengyao* 貞觀政要 (see more below), and presented works of Northern Song scholar-officials like Su Shi 蘇軾 (1037–1101) and Sima Guang 司馬光 (1019–1086) to the emperor for seeking better political advice. Besides his mastery of Chinese classics, Yelü Lü also participated in the Jurchen cultural enterprise by translating Chinese canons into Jurchen and perfected the Jurchen civil exam by adopting the section of policy essays. He even made a donation of five hundred thousand cash to the Institute of Academicians as educational funds.[122]

After Yelü Lü passed away in 1191, Wanyan Shouzhen 完顏守貞 (d. 1200) succeeded him as a grand councilor in the beginning of Emperor Zhangzong's reign. He turned out to be the most benevolent patron of Han Chinese politicians. He not only advised Emperor Zhangzong to upscale the *jinshi* civil exam,[123] but also formed a literati friend circle favorably called "ten

[122] See JS, 95.2099–2101. Yila Lü's recommendation of Su Shi's works to Emperor Shizong is not seen in JS but in Yuan Haowen, "Shangshu youcheng Yelü gong shendaobei" 尚書右丞耶律公神道碑; YHWQJ, 27.499–504. This anecdote is further highlighted in his mini-biography recorded in ZZJJZ, 9.2338–41. It is also noteworthy that Yuan's piece is not included in his individual collection *Yishan ji*, but rather found in *Yuan wenlei* 元文類.
[123] JS, 51.1137, 73.1688–89.

geniuses of the Cold Rock [Wanyan Shouzhen's epithet]" 冷巖十俊 by his contemporaries and promoted them in crucial positions at court.[124] Unfortunately, this closely-knit cohort of Han literati surrounding him caught suspicion from the emperor and led to their collective dismissal in 1195 under the charge of "factional association" (*pengdang* 朋黨). Famous Han scholar-officials like Zhao Bingwen, Wang Tingyun, and Zhou Ang all got involved in this event which greatly hurt their political careers. Interesting enough, Jin contemporaries found a group of wicked antagonists centered on another grand councilor Xu Chiguo 胥持國 (d. 1198) to be the hatchet men against Wanyan Shouzhen's community. It is said that "scholar-officials who craved interests and sought reckless promotion all gathered and passed by his gate" 士之好利躁進者皆趨走其門下, which won them the notorious, mocking epithet of "ten wise men at the Xu Gate" 胥門十哲.[125] Consequently, the familiar Confucian discourse of "superior/petty men" 君子/小人 resurfaced in the mid-Jin politics.[126] A theatrical conversation between Zhao Bingwen and Emperor Zhangzong was recorded in GQZ:

> Previously, Zhao Bingwen as a local official was recommended by Wang Tingyun to enter Hanlin Academy at court. Once he took the appointment, Zhao presented a memorial to the throne straight away, saying: "I wish that Your Majesty commission noblemen and discharge petty men." The emperor summoned him to the palace, and sent off inner attendants to ask Zhao: "Who are the noblemen and petty men at present?" Bingwen responded: "The nobleman refers to Wanyan Shouzhen, the former grand councilor; the petty man is Xu Chiguo, the assistant sate councilor nowadays."

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[124] Ibid., 104.2290. It is also said in Wanyan Shouzhen's biography that the Jurchen grand councilor "liked to recommend fair people and to support young newcomers, so that upright officials at court often came out of his gate" 喜推轂善類，接援後進，朝廷正人，多出入門下; ibid., 73.1689.

[125] GQZ, 10.113; JS, 129.2794.

[126] For the details of this political conflict, see more in Guan Shudong 關樹東, "Jinchao Mingchang dangshi kaoshi" 金朝明昌黨事考實, in *Song shi yanjiu luncong* 宋史研究論叢, Vol. 7 (Baoding: Hebei daxue chubanshe, 2006), pp. 284–96; ibid., "Jindai de 'Lengyan shi jun'" 金代的「冷巖十俊」, in *Song shi yanjiu luncong*, Vol. 14 (Baoding: Hebei daxue chubanshe, 2013), pp. 662–66.

For a Northern Song precedent of this rhetorical manipulation, see Ari Daniel Levine, *Divided by a Common Language: Factional Conflict in Late Northern Song China* (Honolulu, HI: University of Hawai'i Press, 2008).

> The emperor in turn asked the attendant to interrogate Zhao: "How do you know these two persons as the nobleman and the petty man respectively?" Bingwen was too frightened to answer it properly, and he merely said: "I as your servant just arrived from outside, and I heard so from the discussions of scholar-officials at court."
>
> 初，趙秉文由外官爲王庭筠所薦，入翰林。既受職，遽上言云：「願陛下進君子，退小人。」上召入宮，使內侍問：「當今君子、小人爲誰？」秉文對：「君子，故相完顏守貞；小人，今參政胥持國也。」上復使詰問：「汝何以知此二人爲君子、小人？」秉文惶迫不能對，但言：「臣新自外來，聞朝廷士大夫議論如此。」[127]

This was consequentially the trigger of a massive political persecution against Wanyan Shouzhen and his literati community, since the "discussions among court scholar-officials" smacked of factional activities in the eyes of a Jurchen emperor. It is strangely ironical in this case that those so-called "noblemen" were led by a Jurchen grand councilor, while "petty men" gravitated toward a Han official. Another paradoxical fact of Xu Chiguo's faction is that many members – even though some of them were *jinshi* degree holders – occupied clerical positions at court such as Departmental Clerks of State Affairs.[128] Xu himself never passed the *jinshi* exam, and was evaluated by historians as "cajoling and hypocritical with cunning strategies" 柔佞有智術 in a base manner.[129] Therefore, these two opposite camps between Wanyan Shouzhen and Xu Chiguo at Emperor Zhangzong's court also bore an undertone of tensions between scholar-officials and lesser functionaries, though this time the Jurchen identity didn't line up with the clerical occupation as I have illustrated above. Thus we can say that all these non-Chinese aristocrats showcased above display the ultimate goal of "literatization," which I figure out as transforming

[127] GQZ, 10.111–12.

[128] According to the name register provided in JS, 129.2794, four were Departmental Clerks of State Affairs, and another one was also said to excel at clerical affairs (see the entry of Zhang Fuheng 張復亨 in GQZ, 10.114). Thus, the majority of Xu's followers had experience of clerical service as shortcuts of their political advancement.

[129] JS, 129.2793. Xu Chiguo was categorized as "fawning favourites" (*ningxing* 佞幸) in the *Jin History*. Though he was once a "prodigy of classical recitation" (*jingtong* 經童), he never passed the *jinshi* exam himself (only with an honorific title bestowed by the emperor later). Xu had another identity as "an old acquaintance or childhood friend of the prince [i.e., Emperor Zhangzong]," so that he was more an "intimate servant" of the emperor than a Han Chinese scholar-official.

into ideal Confucian scholar-officials who engaged in matters of real consequence and had impact upon the policy-makers.

In this part, we have discussed the ethnic and cultural dynamics of identity negotiation within Jin literati community, including both Jurchens and Han Chinese. It turns out that, despite the ethnic hierarchy, there still existed enough socio-cultural channels and platforms that enabled Chinese and Jurchen subjects to communicate and cooperate with each other. As such, the conventional assimilative model of "sinicization" fails to speak to the nature of the Jurchen learning and appropriation of Sinitic cultural legacies. Some historians put forward alternative theories to turn over the ethnocentric Sinitic-barbarian dichotomy. For a parallel case of the shifting paradigm is Pamela Crossley's study of the Han 韓 clan of Jizhou 冀州 under Kitan rule. She replaces the Kitan/Han ethnic distinction by the social dynamics between aristocracy and patent dependency.[130] In the field of Jurchen Jin history, Julia Schneider proposes a diametrical opposite of "sinicization" by introducing a nativist perspective of "Jurchenization" in this alien polity.[131] Hoyt Tillman also circumvented the sinicization scheme by proposing a transition from the Tang/Kitan model to the Song model.[132] In his fundamental article on Han literati culture under Jurchen rule, Peter Bol boils down this issue to the keyword *wen*, "civilization" or "civil culture," so as to explain "how Jurchen rulers transformed their polity and why they patronized the literati," while at the same time "they could claim to be *wen* (participants in civil culture)

[130] Crossley, "Outside In: Power, Identity, and the Han Lineage of Jizhou," *Journal of Song-Yuan Studies* 43 (2013): 51–89. Of course, we should be cautious about the changing historical contexts between the Kitan Liao and the Jurchen Jin world: The former showed traits of an enclosed aristocratic society, while the latter is more "egalitarian" in terms of social mobility.
[131] Julia Schneider, "The Jin Revisited: New Assessment of Jurchen Emperors," *Journal of Song-Yuan Studies* 41 (2011): 343–404.
[132] Tillman, "An Overview of Chin History and Institutions," pp. 37–38.

without sacrificing their separate Jurchen identity and prerogatives."[133] In line with the *wen* paradigm, Xin Wen persuasively showcases the approach of "literarization" manifest in Jurchen language exam system.[134] Joining this discussion mainly occupied by historians, in my study on Jin literature, I stick to the concept "literatization" proposed by Xiao Qiqing in place of "sinicization" for the following three reasons. First, I would like to perceive "Chinese" literary culture as more a marker of "civilization" than that of "ethnicity" in the Jurchen Jin case. Indeed, compared to Jurchen Jin textual sources, we can find much more explicit distinction between Sinitic-Barbarian identities on the Southern Song side, as revealed in Hilde De Weerdt's and Shaoyun Yang's research, so that we may say, to some extent, Song Chinese were more "racist" at least elaborated in their ideology.[135] Second, while "sinicization" indicates an ethnic assumption, "literatization" shifts the focus to social stratum as a means of demarcating the elite identity leveraged by social and cultural capital. Last but not least, one advantage of applying the term "literatization" in my research is that it implies a two-way traffic of influence between Chinese and Jurchens if we put "literatization/literarization" and "masculinization/militarization" in juxtaposition. As I have illustrated above, we do find a fluid channel between civil bureaucrats and military officers for those Han Chinese who aspired for a promising political career, especially during the late Jin warfare. I see the tendency of military prowess reflected in poetry by Han literati as the mirror image of "literatized" Jurchens. Of course, there is no gainsaying the recruitment division between civil officials and military personnel under Jurchen rule, but the boundary was not clearcut: Han Chinese in North China at that time were quite open-minded to

[133] Bol, "Seeking Common Ground," 486.
[134] Wen, "The Road to Literary Culture."
[135] Hilde De Weerdt, "Representing the Foreign Other," in *Information, Territory, and Networks: The Crisis and Maintenance of Empire in Song China* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2015), pp. 395–426; Yang, *The Way of the Barbarians*.

transfer to the military service (unlike their Southern Song peers), and Jurchen people in turn were given the opportunities to play the fair game by taking Jurchen language civil service exams. More importantly, this pair of *wen* 文 (cultural) / *wu* 武 (martial) concepts do not correspond with the ethnic identity of Jurchen/Chinese, but rather helps reveal their reciprocal interactions and mutual assimilations. Therefore, along with the breakdown of Sinitic-Barbarian dichotomy, we also find the blurring of martial-versus-civil division in the Jin contexts.

CHAPTER 3

The Efficacious North and Jin's Proclamation of Cultural Legitimacy

Chapter 2 focuses on the historical agency of Jin literati consisting of both Jurchens and Han Chinese. I have contextualized their identity negotiation within the intertwisted socio-political complex under Jurchen rule, from which one big take-away is that the Jurchen-Chinese interactions were in many cases not taken ethnically. In a similar vein, Sinitic literary culture came to be a supra-ethnic marker of civilization in the Jurchen Jin case. I will further advance this argument in this chapter by demonstrating Jin's claim of China on its own merit.

In this chapter, I will analyze Jin's proclamation of cultural legitimacy by exploiting the quintessential "northernness" engrained in both the Jurchen Jin discursive texts and geographical contexts. Apart from the Central Plain in North China, the region of what I call Far North inherited from the previous Liao territory has remained to us the underrepresented *terra incognita* as if cultural activities there were not worth being taken into account. Quite the contrary, by applying GIS visualizing tool to map out active poetic agents through data mining in extant Jin textual corpora, I argue that these far northern literati constituted an indispensable part of the Jin cultural ecology. In addition to the outstanding literary performance of those descendants from ex-Liao gentry families, another piece of evidence is the success of recruiting northern literati through the civil service exam system in an unforeseen and unparalleled scale across the Jin territory. The flourishing civil culture under Jurchen rule squared with the imperial patronage for education, which consequently attested Jin's contribution to cultural prosperity in North China and beyond.

After discussing the geocultural significance of "northernness," in the last session I will deal with a correlated discourse in Jin textual materials that functioned as the conceptual anchorage of "northernness." I will investigate how a self-styled term *zhongzhou* 中州 or "Central Terrain" was purposefully adopted by Jin literati and try to make sense of its intellectual message. In place of a more commonly seen set phrase *zhongyuan* 中原 or "Central Plain," *zhongzhou* provides a rhetorical effect of self-distinction for Jin literati. Eventually, I argue that the discursive power embodied in this term built up Jin's cultural authority and legitimacy to construct a rival narrative of claiming China against the Chinese-ruled South.

Far North and Its Geocultural Significance Under Jurchen Rule

In this part, I turn to the broad territory and the elite society in North China under Jurchen rule, and I will highlight the importance of Far North in terms of cultural geography attested by the burgeoning literary activities reconstructed and visualized onto the "heat map." Specifically, I will show one obscured aspect of cultural achievements done by far northern men of letters from previous Kitan Liao territory. Historians have well articulated that former Liao scholar-officials played a crucial role in the beginning of the Jurchen polity.[1] However, after the Central Plain was annexed by the Jurchen regime in 1127, those poets from the Far North were often grouped together with descendants from the former Northern Song without discrimination under the umbrella term of "Jin literati." I contend instead that we should single out this group of far

[1] See relevant parts in Franke, "Chin Dynasty"; Tillman, "An Overview of Chin History and Institutions." Also see Mikami, "Kinchō zenki ni okeru Kanjin tōchi seisaku" 金朝前期における漢人統治政策, in *Kinshi kenkyu III*, pp. 321-69.

northern literati in order to foreground the geocultural significance of the ex-Liao territory. In effect, the political presence and cultural competence of far northerners did not peter out after the early Jin period, but rather endured till the very end of the Jurchen regime well into the thirteenth century.

It has been long held that literati culture suffered a regression in the Song-Jin transitional period compared to the height their Northern Song predecessors had achieved. This is partly true, but if we change our standpoints and take a fresh look at those literate elite from the previous Kitan Liao dynasty, we will surprisingly realize how well this group of poets performed under Jurchen rule. We can first and foremost find traces of this poet community enshrined in ZZJ. In chapter 1 I have already mentioned the conspicuous presence of poets from pre-Liao territory (59 Han poets [23.51%] and 5 Jurchen/Kitan poets [1.99%]) as well as their compositions (380 [18.39%] plus 46 [2.22%]) according to the ZZJ data statistics, which occupy one-fifth to a quarter of the whole collection. Though still a minority compared to their Song colleagues, this group of far-northern poets in the Jin cultural production field shouldn't be dismissed at one stroke and is worth scrutinized on their own merits. That said, because we know next to nothing about Liao literature due to lack of primary sources, this group of far-northern literate elites who left imprints in Jin textual corpus sort of jumped into our view out of nowhere. But in fact, according to contemporary sources, I argue that the once hidden civil culture among pre-Liao local gentries was revealed and reinforced under Jurchen rule. Below I try to draw the contours of this far northern literati group portrait against the socio-political contexts where family clans and state policies altogether occasioned their cultural success.

First of all, one weighty factor for the cultivation of far northern literati was the lasting power of local clans unaffected by the dynastic succession from Kitan Liao to Jurchen Jin.[2] Incidentally, these affluent and scholarly families in the Far North often had long been participating in the Liao civil exam institution. Given the highly restricted potential of political promotion as *jinshi* degree-holders, however, more Han Chinese officials in the Kitan empire seemed to gain and sustain their socio-political status either via "protection" or the *yin* 蔭 privilege, or by the bestowal of the Yelü 耶律 surname, the insignia of Kitan nobility.[3] That said, we can still tell the impact of Liao civil culture on their post-Liao descendants who served the Jurchen Jin court from their ZZJ biographies. While ZZJ records almost none of ex-Liao scholar-officials, it enumerates quite a few *jinshi* scholar-officials serving the Jurchen regime whose family background could be traced back to the previous Liao literate elite stratum. Besides the only two ex-Liao officials recorded in ZZJ, *juan* 9, Wang Shu 王樞 (fl. 1120s) and Yu Yunwen 虞允文 (1110-1174), who converted to the Jurchen court, there are quite a few Jin poets whose ancestors were once cultured *jinshi* graduates in the Kitan Liao regime according to ZZJ – Wang Yuanjie 王元節 (*jinshi* 1151), Bian Yuanxun 邊元勛 (*jinshi* 1132), Han Rujia 韓汝嘉 (*jinshi* 1142), Li Xianke 李獻可 (*jinshi* 1170), and Han Yu 韓玉 (*jinshi* 1194) – all but Wang show up in *juan* 8 of ZZJ. Moreover, from time to time in the biographies of these far-northern literati, we encounter such rhetoric as "powerful and opulent ancestry" 家世豪侈, "prominent and mighty

[2] Iiyama Tomoyasu once pointed out the perseverance of Kitan customs and Han gentry families in North China beyond the Kitan/Liao-Jurchen/Jin transitional period in 1120s. It also resulted in the active participation of ex-Liao *jinshi* scholar-officials in the early Jin politics. This social and cultural continuation of these literati families rooted in the previous Liao territory were interrupted and largely wiped out, however, in the thirteen-century Mongol conquest. See Iiyama, "Ryō no 'Kanjin' imin no so no ato" 遼の"漢人"遺民のその後, in Arakawa Shintarō 荒川慎太郎, Sawamoto Mitsuhiro 澤本光弘, Takai Yasuyuki 高井康典行, and Watanabe Kenya 渡辺健哉, ed., *Kittan [Ryō] to 10–12 seiki no tōbu Yūrashia* 契丹[遼]と 10~12 世紀の東部ユーラシア, *Ajia yūgaku* アジア遊学 (Intriguing Asia) 160 (Tokyo: Bensei shuppan, 2013), pp. 240–52.

[3] See more in Wittfogel, "Public Office in the Liao Dynasty," esp. 23–40, and Crossley, "Outside In."

families” 家世貴顯, or “local gentry in nobleman’s attire” 衣冠家 (see entries of Liu Zhongyin 劉仲尹 [*jinshi* 1157], Pang Zhu 龐鑄 [*jinshi* 1194], Liu Xun 劉勳 (fl. 1200s), Wang Yuancui 王元粹 (d. 1243), Ma Shunqing 馬舜卿 [1175–1227], and Zhang Rulin 張汝霖 [*jinshi* 1154]), so that we know magnate or genteel families from the previous Liao territory remained in the upper echelons of the Jin society and played an active role in northern literati culture.

The second and more significant reason for the rise of far northerners again had something to do with the Jin civil exam system. Previously I have emphasized the institutionalization and expansion of civil examination culture since the “High Jin” period. One eye-catching historical fact is that its state education system resulted in a dramatic surge of examination candidates on the Jin territory: during Emperor Zhangzong’s reign, not only were there twice as many exam candidates (30,000 to 40,000) as those from the North during the Northern Song (10,000 to 20,000), but the passing rate was also much higher in the Jin case (one-fifth in the Jin in comparison to one-tenth or one-fourteenth in the Northern Song on average).[4] The scale can be said as unprecedented before and unsurpassed afterwards in North China, as Wang Jinping rightfully claims based on her in-depth research that “state patronage and the lack of competition from southern literati resulted in by far the highest number of degree holders that north China ever produced.”[5] In addition to this civil exam-friendly environment under Jurchen rule, a bifurcation of northern and southern exams (*nan bei xuan* 南北選) was further applied to select literati from previous Liao and Song territories separately from 1138 to 1151, and the examination quotas favored northerners. This measure efficiently raised the profile

[4] I take the data from Wang, *In the Wake of the Mongols*, p. 35. Also see Iiyama, *Kin Gen jidai*, pp. 158–59; Bol, “Seeking Common Ground,” 474–76.
[5] Wang, *In the Wake of the Mongols*, p. 26.

of far northerners in the Jurchen polity as an active influencer of the northern civil affairs and cultural activities.

Here, we should note that the Jin civil service examination system well surpassed its Kitan Liao counterpart in both scale and impact. The *jinshi* degree-holders were disadvantaged and had no equal footing with those with noble pedigree in the Kitan political structure.[6] On top of that, Kitan aristocrats with hereditary prerogatives were so hostile to the examination selection that they prohibited their offspring to participate in this channel of political recruitment.[7] In sharp contrast, Jurchen rulers not only allowed ethnic minorities to compete together with Han Chinese in the fair game of civil service examinations,[8] but they went so far as to institutionalize a Jurchen language exam system of their own. The Jin court set up "prefectural schools" (*zhou xue* 州學) to advocate the Jurchen language civil exam across the country, which is another piece of circumstantial evidence that betrays Jurchens' cultural investment in Far North empowered by the state machine. It is recorded in the "Monograph on the Civil Service Examinations" (Xuanju zhi 選舉志) in the *Jin History* that public schools patronized by the government were established in the capital Yanjing and twenty-two provinces in 1173. Among these local provincial schools, eighteen were located in the pre-Liao territory, especially in Manchuria, and only four of them were set up in the southern part of the country – two in Shandong, one in Henan, and one in

[6] See Karl A. Wittfogel, "Public Office in the Liao Dynasty and the Chinese Examination System," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 10.1 (1947): 13–40, esp. 17–23.

[7] See, for example, *Liao shi* 遼史 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1974), 89.1351: （耶律）蒲魯，字乃展。幼聰悟好學，甫七歲，能誦契丹大字。習漢文，未十年，博通經籍。重熙中，舉進士第。主文以國制無契丹試進士之條，聞於上，以（耶律）庶箴擅令子就科目，鞭之二百。

[8] There was even one Kitan scholar named Shimo Shiji 石抹世勣 (d. 1234) who got the *jinshi* degree with other Chinese on both literary composition and classical essay in 1200; see ZZJJZ, 8.2197, and JS, 114.2517. Besides, multiple Jurchen and Kitan aristocrats were bestowed with honorary titles of *jinshi* by Jurchen emperors, especially Shizong and Zhangzong. See, for example, the biographies of Yelü Lü 耶律履 (honorary *jinshi* 1163) and Wanyan Kuang 完顏匡 (honorary *jinshi* 1188) in JS, 95.2101, 98.2165–66; also the mini-biography of Wanyan Congyu 完顏從郁 (honorary *jinshi* in Zhangzong's reign) in *Zhongzhou yuefu* 中州樂府, ZZJJZ, p. 2905.

Shaanxi.[9] The geographical distribution of the Jurchen language school system is very suggestive: This arrangement may have corresponded to the settlement of Jurchen population at that time. It is also possible that Jurchen emperors intentionally poured educational resources into the under-developed regions conceived as their Jurchen motherland. And if we think the other way round, the absence of Jurchen language schools on the pre-Song territory may be understood as the lack of interest among Han Chinese, and implicitly, among the assimilated Jurchens – indeed, even the two Jurchen language schools set up in Henan and Shaanxi were later abolished in 1197.[10] In any case, it is without doubt that Jurchen rulers imposed their unique civil culture onto marginal frontiers in the Far North by building and funding state-sanctioned schools. It is against this cultural friendly context that we observe the rise of far northern poets in Jin literati culture.

Benefiting from the well-off material conditions, some of these families even invested an intergenerational enterprise of producing civil service examination degree holders in the long term. Perhaps the most representative case was the Liu 劉 clan in Hunyuan 渾源 (nowadays Datong, Shanxi province). Starting from Liu Hui 劉撝 (1095–1155), the 1124 principal *jinshi* graduate in the Jin civil service exam, who were later honorably entitled "Old Man from South Mountain" (Nanshan weng 南山翁), the Liu clan constantly produced *jinshi* graduates over the course of the Jin dynasty, and their descendants Liu Congyi 劉從益 (1183?-1226?) and his son Liu Qi as virtuosic poets brought their family reputation to the peak in late- and post-Jin period.[11]

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[9] JS, 51.1133–34:（大定）十三年，以策、詩取士，始設女直國子學，諸路設女直府學，以新進士為教授。國子學策論生百人，小學生百人。府州學二十二，中都、上京、胡里改、恤頻、合懶、蒲與、婆速、咸平、泰州、臨潢、北京、冀州、開州、豐州、西京、東京、蓋州、隆州、東平、益都、河南、陝西置之。……（河南、陝西女直學，承安二年罷之，餘如舊。）

[10] Ibid.

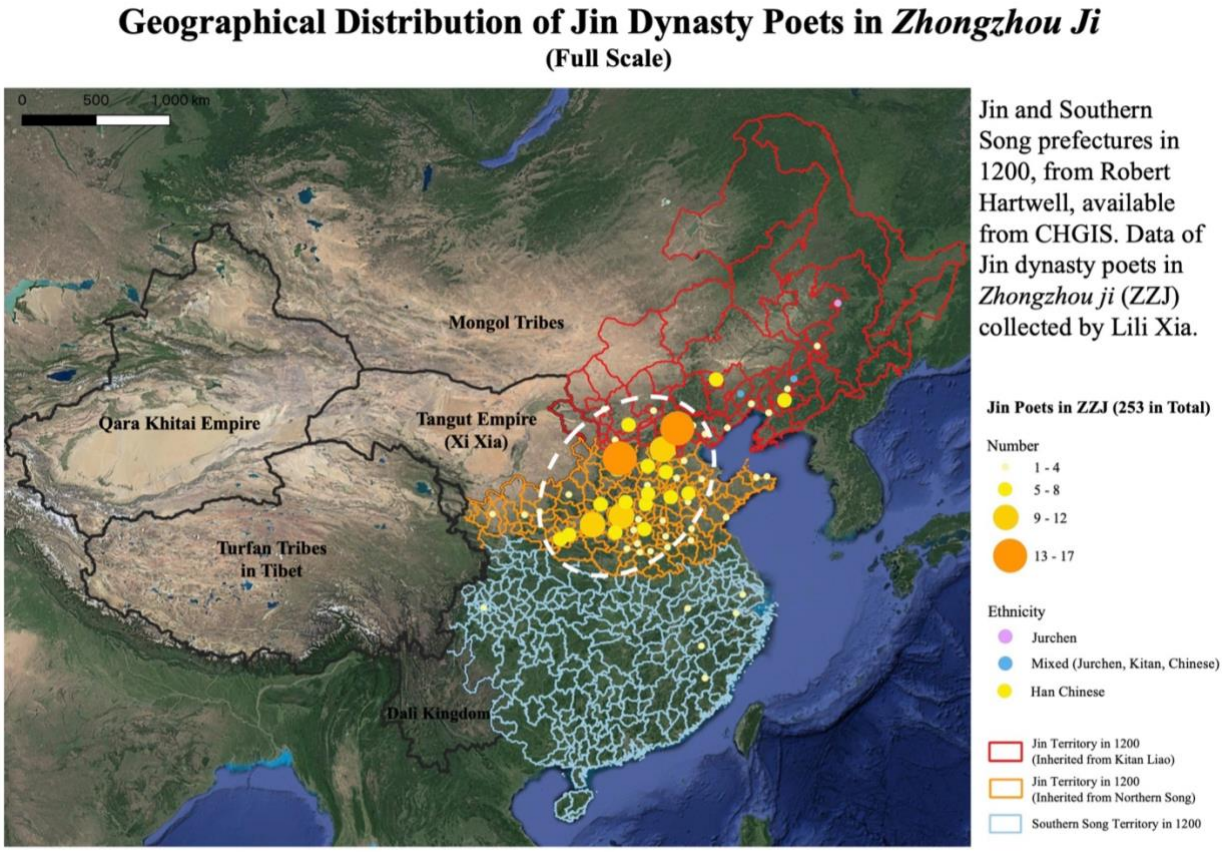
[11] See more in Chan Hok-lam, "Liu Ch'i (1203-1250) and His *Kuei-ch'ien chih*," in *The Historiography of the Chin Dynasty*, pp. 122-27.

For this sake, the late Jin literati leader Zhao Bingwen even exerted calligraphy inscribing "luxuriant cassia, moon toads' den" 叢桂蟾窟 – meaning the proliferation of *jinshi* scholar-officials by playing on the euphuism "breaking off cassia branches in toads' palace [on the moon]" 蟾宮折桂 referring to passing the exam – as a venerable gift to the Liu clan.[12] In a similar vein, Liu Ang 劉昂 (1158?-1208?) came from a family of Xingzhou 興州 (nowadays Chengde 承德, Hebei province) that was said to "have produced *jinshi* degree-holders in seven successive generations since Liu's great- and great-great-grandfathers" 曾高而下以科名相踵者七世矣;[13] under the entry of Lü Ziyu 呂子羽 (d. ca. 1223) in ZZJ, the Lü family from Daxing Prefecture 大興府 (nowadays Beijing) was another illustrating case that "from the start of our dynasty, there have been six *jinshi* graduates from the fathers, sons, and siblings of his clan, so that they named their hall as 'six cassias [or laurel winners]'" 呂氏自國朝以來，父子昆弟凡中第者六人，以六桂名其堂.[14] Numerous examples can be found in ZZJ biographies that both father and son with Liao background passed the civil exams and became prominent scholar-officials at Jin court.[15] In a sense, the literary performance of these far-northern literati also testifies the latent civil culture in the previous Liao dynasty that later came to the surface under the category of Jin poetry. By virtue of the Jin state patronage of prefectural schools in northern inlands and the absence of southern competitors, as well as the strong family support and intergenerational prestige, a number of scholar-officials with the Liao background stood out as

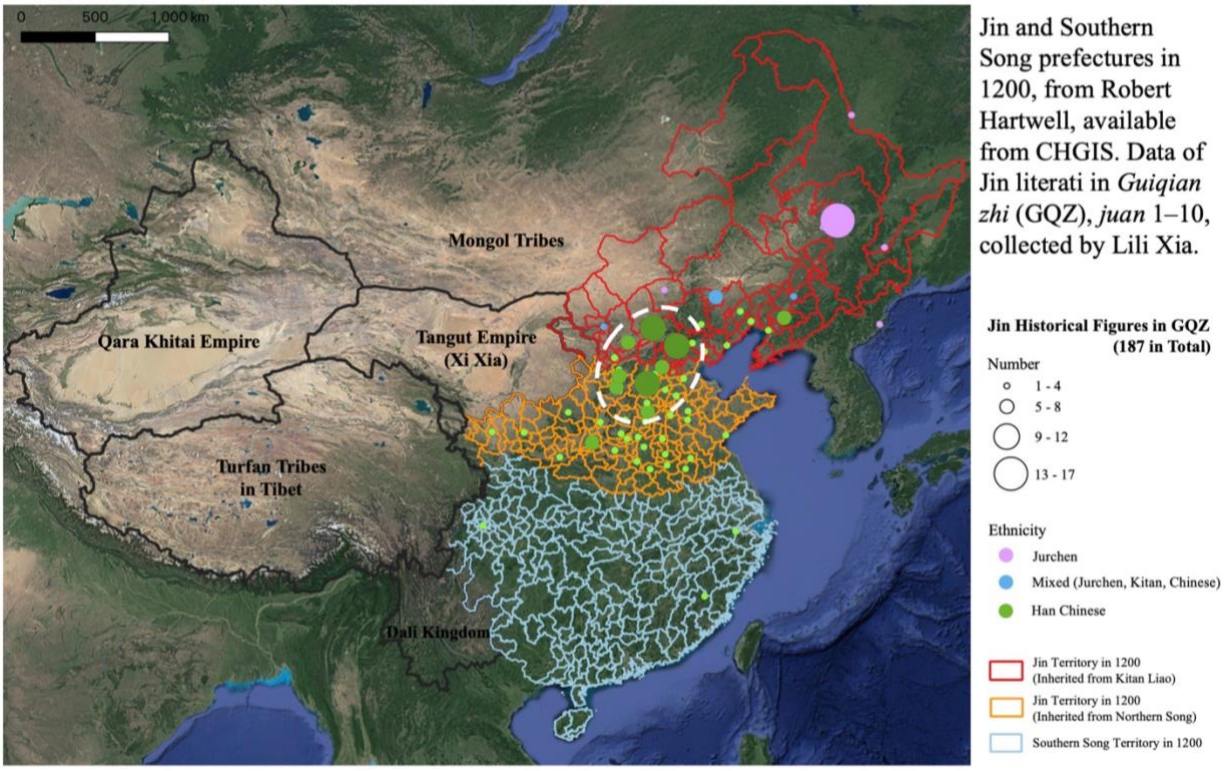
[12] See GQZ, 10.120.
[13] ZZJJZ, 4.983.
[14] Ibid., 8.2174.
[15] For other examples, see biographies of Feng Ziyi 馮子翼 (*jinshi* 1157) and Wang Ji in *juan* 2 of ZZJ; Wang Tingyun and his father Wang Zungu 王遵古 (fl. later 12th c.) in *juan* 3 and *juan* 8, as well as Wang Tingyun's nephew Gao Xian in *juan* 5; Wang Yuanjie, Cui Zun 崔遵 (fl. early 13th c.), and Wang Yu 王鬱 (1204-1233) in *juan* 7; Wei Daoming and Lu Yuan 盧元 (*jinshi* 1188) in *juan* 8; and Ma Shunqing 馬舜卿 (1175-1227) in *juan* 9.

preeminent Jin poets, among whom Wang Tingyun, Li Chunfu, and Liu Qi even became leaders of Jin literati community in their generations. I further observe a distinct poet society surrounding these far northerners, whose poetry was hallmarked by the style of being extraordinary (*qi* 奇). In the next chapter we will encounter these names again when it comes to diverse literary fashions in mid- to late Jin period.

The ever more straightforward expression is found in Liu Qi's GQZ. In order to illustrate my point, below I make a comparison about geographical distributions of Jin literati and other historical figures recorded in ZZJ and GQZ by georeferencing them in QGIS.



Geographical Distribution of Jin Dynasty People in *Guiqian zhi*
(Full Scale)

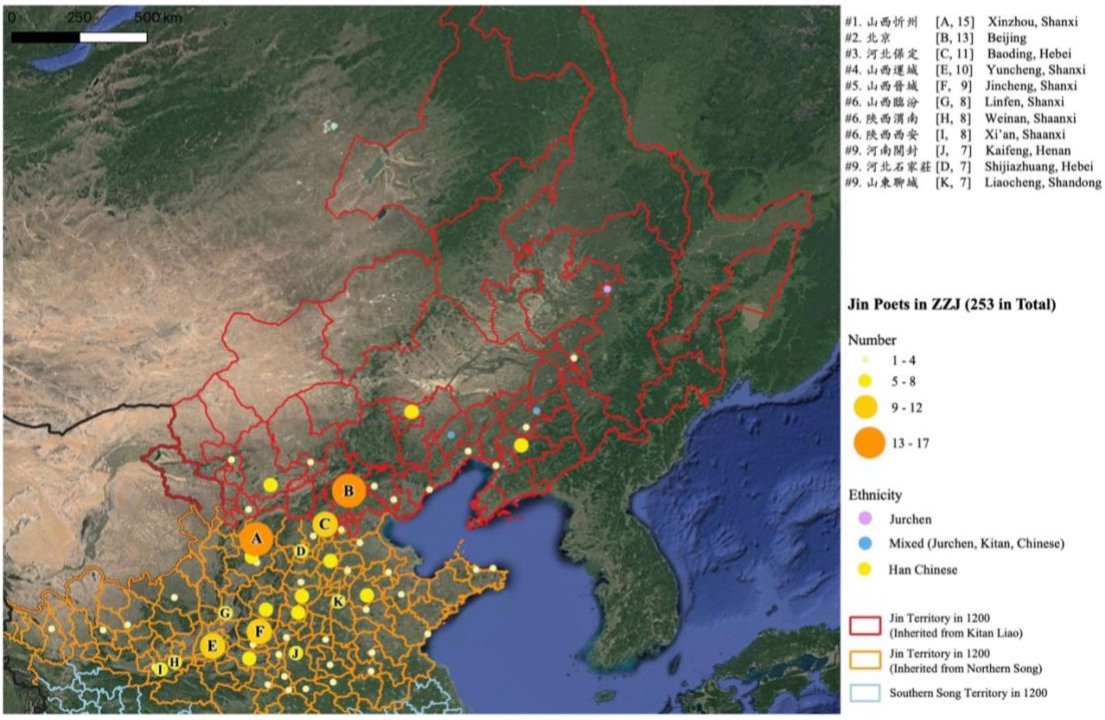


With the help of data statistics and GIS visualization, I have georeferenced 253 Jin people recorded in ZZJ and 187 in GQZ whose native places are identifiable. Although the scopes are relatively different, the overall tendencies in ZZJ and GQZ are obvious via visualization: ZZJ puts emphasis on Jin literati culture rooted in the Central Plain, which overlaps approximately Henan, eastern Shaanxi, and mid- to southern Shanxi-Hebei region nowadays. This also corresponds smoothly to the distribution of Jin dynasty *jinshi* degree-holders.[16] On the contrary, though its scope only constitutes three-fourths of that of ZZJ, the georeferenced data represented in GQZ seem to gravitate further north. The author Liu Qi made great effort to foreground Jin historical figures located in nowadays northern Shanxi and Hebei, as well as Liaodong peninsula

[16] See Chen Zhaoyang 陳昭揚, "Jindai Hanzu shiren de diyu fenbu – yi zhengzhi canyu wei zhongxin de kaocha" 金代漢族士人的地域分布——以政治參與為中心的考察, *Hanxue yanjiu* 漢學研究 26.1 (2008): 103–35, esp. the map of geographical distribution of Jin *jinshi* graduates, 134.

and Manchuria. Another profound distinction is that GQZ entails more non-Chinese people such as Jurchen aristocrats and Kitan generals originated from the Far North (4 Kitans and 26 Jurchens, marked in purple or blue on the map), whereas the Jin poets selected into ZZJ are almost exclusively Han Chinese (with merely 4 Jurchens and 2 Kitans out of 253 poets).[17] Finally, in terms of periodization, as I have illustrated above, Yuan Haowen's ZZJ prioritizes mid-Jin or "High Jin" poets over the more recent late Jin fellows, whereas Liu Qi's GQZ is a personal memoir in which the immediate past about his contemporaries during the Jin-Yuan transitional period were the major subjects out of Liu's own memory as well as widely circulated hearsay and anecdotes in his time. This only makes things more interesting, since these far northerners on the GQZ map testified their pronounced impact on the **late** Jin politics and culture, when their homeland were occupied by the Mongols in reality.

Most Populated Locations in *Zhongzhou Ji*
(Enlarged Scale)

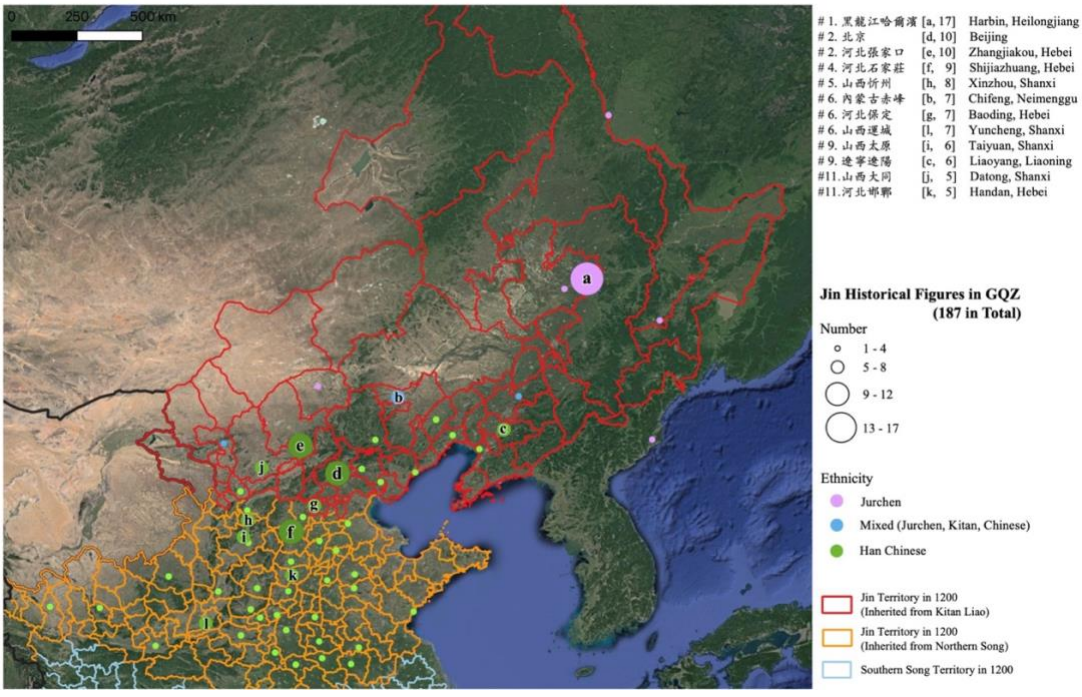


[17] This is partially determined by genres, since late Jin officials or talents with historical significance or idiosyncratic personality are favored in the GQZ miscellany, and ethnic minorities played a big role in the late Jin politics. On the contrary, ZZJ as a poetry collection prioritizes literary excellence, in which Han Chinese poets predominate.

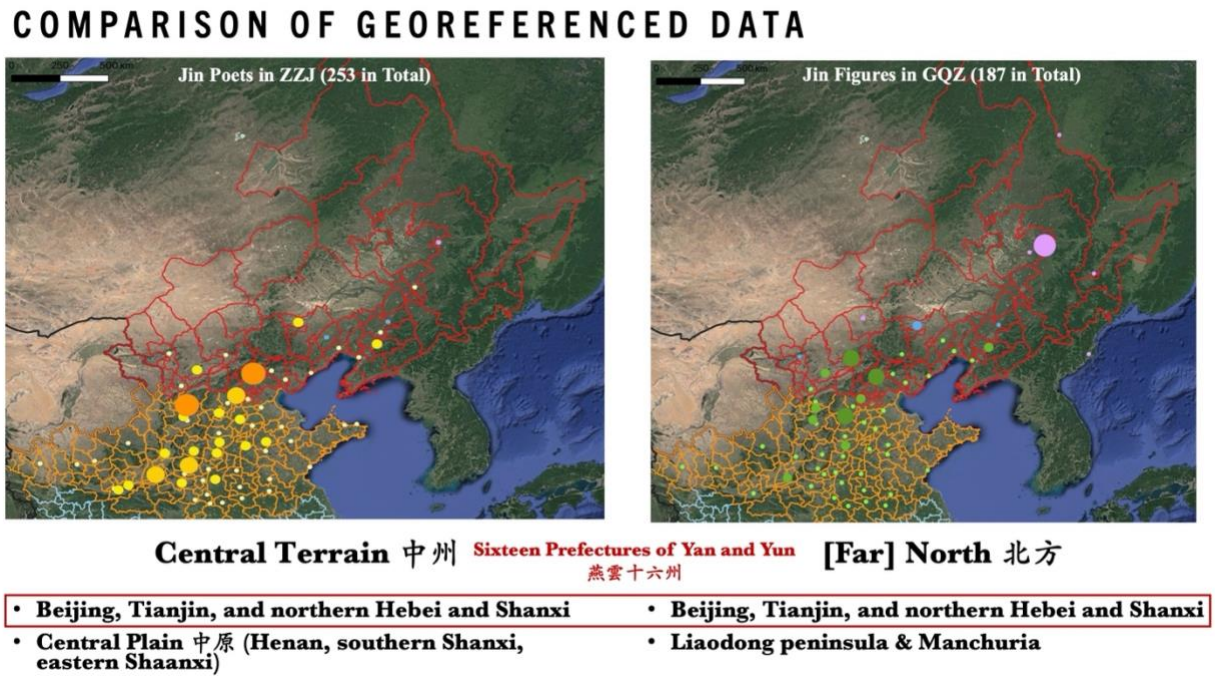
The geographical information is more useful if we zoom in on specific locations amplified through the selection filters by the authors. Below I mark out the most populated places in these two Jin collections.

We first turn to the featured locales in ZZJ. Yuan Haowen recorded the most poets from Xinzhou, Shanxi, Yuan's own hometown. The second in place is Beijing, the Jin capital before moving south, followed by Baoding in Hebei province. It is noteworthy that the top three locations were previously Song-Liao frontiers, and this northern area turned out to be one of the major literary production fields under Jurchen rule. Another central cluster of Jin poets is in the southern Shanxi (E, F, G) flanked by Shaanxi in the West (H, I), Henan in the South (J), and Shandong in the East (K) – this region is normally called the Central Plain or *zhongyuan* 中原 as the fountainhead of Sinitic traditions. One final observation is that poets from nowadays Hebei (B, C, D) and Shanxi in particular (A, E, F, G) outdid those from other regions according to ZZJ. But we will see right away a shifting geographical pattern in GQZ.

Most Populated Locations in *Guiqian zhi*
(Enlarged Scale)



Given the smaller dataset, I labeled all places with five or more poets in GQZ. The outcome is quite obvious: Geographically speaking, Jin elites from the North are predominant. Perhaps the most eye-catching feature is the considerable presence of non-Chinese people from the Far North. There are altogether 17 Jurchen people – mostly from the imperial family – recorded in the entries of GQZ, and I locate them in the Jurchen native land in Harbin, Heilongjiang (a). In addition, 7 people came from nowadays Chifeng, Neimenggu (b) and 6 from Liaoyang, Liaoning (c), including both Han Chinese, Kitans and Jurchens. These places belong to the broader Eurasian Steppe region, and we see in GQZ how indigenous people there migrated to China Proper, got involved and played an active role in shaping the Jin elite culture. We also see on this map another agglomeration in northern Hebei and Shanxi (d–j), among which some belonged to the ex-Liao territory and others alongside the Song-Liao boundaries. They turn out to be the most populated places reflected in GQZ. In comparison, people from Henan, Shaanxi, and Shandong were relatively insignificant or downplayed.



At this point, we can be certain that the "sociomental topographies" of Jin literati culture envisioned by Yuan Haowen and Liu Qi were subtly different. Yuan Haowen titled his poetry collection as "Central Terrain" or *zhongzhou* 中州, a term I will discuss in detail in the second part of this chapter. Here it seems sufficient to say that, although the Central Terrain refers to the Jin territory on the whole, via GIS visualization illustrated above, Yuan's *zhongzhou* seems to indicate the proverbial Central Plain on the one hand, and the ex-Liao territory in Heibei and northern Shanxi on the other, since these two regions produced the most Jin poets recorded in ZZJ. When we turn to the GQZ map, nevertheless, the Far North previously belonging to the Kitan Liao empire or the Song-Liao frontiers stands out, while the prospect of the Central Plain is comparatively dimmed. Despite all these distinctions, there are still high-profile places in common in ZZJ and GQZ, including Beijing (B, d), Shijiazhuang (D, f) and Baoding (C, g) in Hebei, and Xinzhou (A, h) and Yuncheng (E, l) in Shanxi. Notably, all these places except the last one are located in the Far North from the ex-Liao territory or along the Song-Jin frontiers – this region is historically called the Sixteen Prefectures of Yan and Yun (Yan Yun shiliu zhou 燕雲十六州). And we should remember that they all fell into the hands of the Mongols since 1210s and became the lost irridenta for late Jin literati like Yuan Haowen and Liu Qi – the sense of loss might have been the initial cause that provoked urgent needs for commemoration in later generations. Above all, there is no denying that under Jurchen rule, one of the cultural centers in North China was reoriented to the Far North belonging to the previous Kitan Liao empire, which had long been disregarded since the tenth century.

At last, I would like to clarify the relativity of the term "north" in Liu Qi's account, which, I will argue, actually refers to the previous Liao territory that is further north of the Central Plain. Liu Qi composed his "Memoir from Retirement" only after he returned to his

homeland in Datong, Shanxi in 1234.[18] In his retrospective accounts, Liu recalled his stay in the southern capital Kaifeng and the Central Plain region in the last two decades of the Jin dynasty as temporary dwelling and fame seeking. While he enjoyed an affluent daily life supported by his family who served the late Jin court as well as the literati circle in the capital, he still regarded himself as a displaced émigré and felt nostalgic for the splendid natural scenery in the North. Therefore, when he returned to Datong without a penny, he was quite content with his frugal, eremitic life with leisure of reading books.[19] Once he arranged an excursion to the nearby Mount Dragon (Longshan 龍山) with his local friends and relatives, and in the journey Liu made such a claim:

> In my thirties, I have been constrained in towns and cities, and never expected to encounter today such a marvelous spectacle of Heaven and Earth! … Alas, I was born among natural landscapes, so that I enjoy mountains and rivers by heart. Yet in the past two decades of **traveling south**, I lived in well-connected metropolis and large towns with no woods, which made me feel uneasily confined and discontented. Now I **return to the North** and manage to take a trip to the mountain in my birthplace – what kind of pleasure could surpass this!
>
> 生年三十，局促城市間，不意今朝見天地偉觀！……烏乎，余生山水間，故有樂山水心。然**南游**二十年，所居皆通都大邑，無山林，嘗迫狹不自得。今因**北歸**，得游歷故山，可勝快哉！[20]

It is clear that Liu Qi preferred natural sceneries or "rivers and mountains" in the Far North to urban life in the Central Plain. More importantly, such an assertion has more to do with his self-identity as a northerner, even if his family had to cross south along with the Jin court in order to

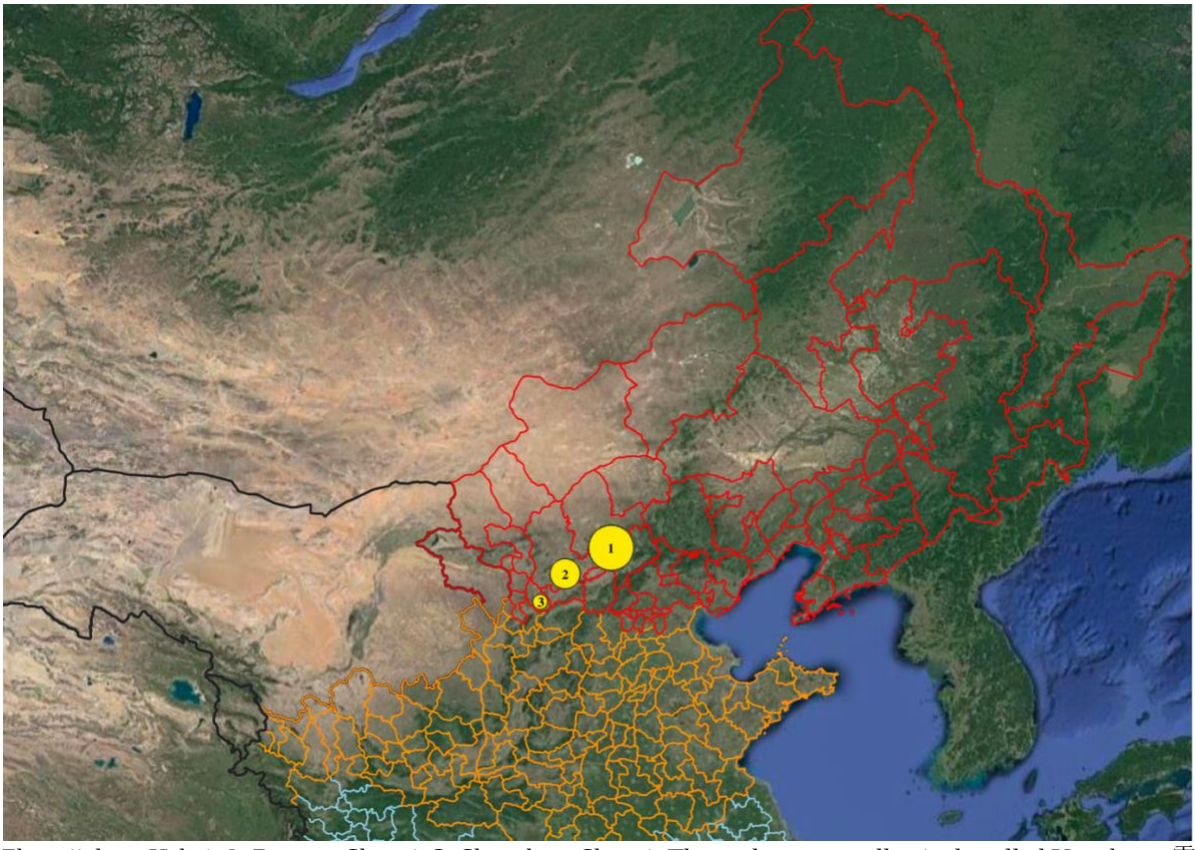
[18] Liu Qi's self-preface to GQZ, p. 1.
[19] Ibid., 13.143:
吾在**南方**時，從父母仕宦，家資頗温，而吾則專心於學，生事不一問。食未嘗不肉也，寢未嘗不帷也，出遊未嘗無車馬也，役使未嘗無僮僕也，然不知温飽安逸之味也。今遭喪亂，歸故山，四壁蕭然，日惟生事之見迫。……
Also See Liu's "Record of the Retirement Hall" (Guiqian tang ji 歸潛堂記), in ibid., 14.171:
劉子**朔方**人，生於雲中之渾源山水之間。髫齔從父祖仕宦大河之**南**。
[20] Ibid., 13.160–61.

secure governmental offices and pursue the privileged *jinshi* status by taking civil service exams in the southern political metropolis.

To take one step further, an exaggerated claim can be found in Liu Qi's GQZ that puts far northerners front and center on the Jurchen Jin political map:

> Most of celebrated Jin scholar-officials came from the **[Far] North**. The *Portrait of Three Elders from Yunzhong* [nowadays Datong, Shanxi province] passed on in this world illustrates assistant state councilors Wei Ziping (d. 1186) from Shunsheng in Hongzhou [nowadays Yangyuan 陽原 county in Zhangjiakou 張家口, Hebei province],[21] Liang Su (d. 1188) from Shanyin in Yingzhou [nowadays Shanyin county in Shuozhou 朔州, Shanxi province],[22] and Cheng Hui (1115–1196) from Weizhou [nowadays Wei county in Zhangjiakou, Heibei].[23] They were all famous court officials in service at Emperor Shizong's court. To boot, Su Zongyin [i.e., Su Baoheng 蘇保衡 (1112–1166)] the assistant director of the right [in the Department of State Affairs] came from Tiancheng [nowadays Tianzhen 天鎮 county in Datong, Shanxi province], my great-great-grandfather Old Man from South Mountain [i.e., Liu Hui 劉撝 (1095–1155)] from Shunsheng,[24] Lei Xizhong [i.e., Lei Si 雷思 (*jinshi* 1151)] and his son [Lei Yuan] from Hunyuan [nowadays Hunyuan county in Datong, Shanxi province],[25] Li Pingshan [i.e., Li Chunfu] from Hongzhou,[26] Gao Ruli (1154–1224) the grand councilor from Yingzhou,[27] not to mention the numerous others. When I stayed in the **southern terrain**, I once talked with my companions and said in jest: "Since ancient times celebrities arose from the East, West, and South; today they agglomerate in the **North**."
>
> 金朝名士大夫多出**北方**。世傳《雲中三老圖》，魏參政子平宏州順聖人，梁參政肅應州山陰人，程參政暉蔚州人，三公皆執政世宗時，爲名臣。又，蘇右丞宗尹天成人，吾高祖南山翁順聖人，雷西仲父子渾源人，李屏山宏州人，高丞相汝礪應州人，其餘不可勝數。余在**南州**時，嘗與交游談及此，余戲曰：「自古名人出東、西、南三方，今日合到**北方**也。」[28]

[21] See Wei Ziping's biography in JS, 89.1976–78.
[22] See Liang Su's biography in JS, 89.1981–86, in which Liang is said to have come from Zhangjiakou.
[23] See Cheng Hui's biography in JS, 95.2110–11.
[24] The most detailed account about Liu Hui is in Wang Yun, "Hunyuan Liu shi shidebeiming bing xu" 渾源劉氏世德碑銘并序; WYQJ, 58.2565–71.
[25] There is a brief biography of Lei Si recorded in ZZJJZ, 8.2119. See Lei Yuan's biography in ZZJJZ, 6.1672–73, and JS, 110.2434–35.
[26] See Li Chunfu's biography in ZZJJZ, 4.1120–21; JS, 126.2734–35.
[27] See Gao Ruli's biography in ZZJJZ, 9.2358; JS, 107.2351–63.
[28] GQZ 10.118.



1. Zhangjiakou, Hebei; 2. Datong, Shanxi; 3. Shuozhou, Shanxi. These places are collectively called Yunzhong 雲中 in premodern China.

The nine figures mentioned above were all Jin scholar-officials, some of them even reached the highest status as grand councilors at the Jurchen court. Moreover, all of them except the last three nominees on this list (Lei Yuan, Li Chunfu, and Gao Ruli) were early Jin figures who rose to the prime of their political career during Emperor Shizong's reign. In particular, the group portrait of the "three elders from Yunzhong" could be regarded as both a promotion of local history in Yunzhong – which also turns out to be also Liu Qi's hometown – and an epitome for the "High Jin" period. That is to say, this painting also had a memorial function adopted by thirteenth-century northern elites like Liu Qi, since Yunzhong as well as worthies from that place were both temporally and spatially remote and unapproachable, when the late Jin polity was fatally weakened and lost control of Far North while shrinking its territory within the Central Plain or the "southern terrain."

What matters most here is their geographical provenance reflected on the map. We should be cautious about the relativity of North and South in Liu Qi's discourse. Rather than referring to the Central Plain that previously belonged to the Northern Song territory, here the North refers to the Far North area that extends deeper into the ex-Liao world. Accordingly, the South here does not allude to the Southern Song region or more broadly the "Southland" (*jiangnan* 江南), but instead it stands for the southern part *within* the Jin territory, that is Henan, Shandong, eastern Shaanxi, etc. inherited from the Northern Song.[29] One piece of evidence is Liu Qi's use of the phrases "southern terrain" (*nan zhou* 南州) or "the South" (*nanfang* 南方).[30] They clearly allude to the late Jin territory in nowadays Henan and Kaifeng provinces, especially the Southern Capital Kaifeng and its periphery, where Liu Qi spent his youth learning and socializing with other senior and fellow literati. Another more straightforward way to prove this Far North statement is georeferencing the figures onto the Jin historical map. The result is quite obvious: Among these nine figures, four came from Zhangjiakou (① on the map, 魏子平、程暉、劉撝、李純甫) in Hebei, three from Datong (②, 蘇保衡、雷思、雷淵) and two from Shuozhou (③, 梁肅、高汝礪) in Shanxi. Historians have already pointed out the rise of Shanxi and Hebei under Jurchen rule, along with the relative decline of other regions like Shaanxi-Gansu, Henan, and Shandong – they roughly correspond to the North, West, South, and East

[29] My gratitude to Professor Michael A. Fuller for raising this insightful observation in personal conversation and reading comments.

[30] *Nan zhou* 南州 appears twice in GQZ, 9.96, 10.118, and *nanfang* 南方 three times in ibid., 7.75, 13.143, 156. They are all set in the contexts when the Jin court moved south during 1214–1234.
《歸潛志》卷七：余在**南方**時，見辟舉爲令者，往往妄用心。
又，卷九：麻徵君知幾在**南州**，見時事擾攘，其催科督賦如毛，百姓不安，嘗題雨中行人扇圖詩云云。
又，卷十：余在**南州**時，嘗與交游談及此，余戲曰：「自古名人出東、西、南三方，今日合到北方也。」
又，卷十三：吾在**南方**時，從父母仕宦，家資頗温，而吾則專心於學，生事不一問。
又，卷十三《遊西山記》：余髫齔間，嘗聞先大人言，龍山之勝甲鄉山。時幼，未能往。其後在**南方**，北望依依，每以為歉。

contextualized in the Jurchen Jin geography according to Liu Qi's account. One fundamental change is the reversal of cultural and political centers and margins: The previous Song-Liao frontiers in Shanxi and Hebei became pacified inner land in Jin contexts; Vice versa, while Henan in the Central Plain were the Northern Song metropolitan regions, under Jurchen rule they frequently became battlefields in turmoil between Jurchen Jin and Southern Song armies.[31]

Because of educational investments in North China orchestrated by the Jurchen state apparatus and the excellent performance of far northern literati there, here I tentatively argue that the Jurchen alien regime actually contributed to what I would say the last "golden age" of cultural prosperity in North China, which was brutally interrupted and physically annihilated by the Mongol conquest. Unlike the Song-Jin dynastic transition, the early thirteenth-century military campaigns between Jurchens and Mongols caused a catastrophe in North China with numerous deaths and lasting devastation, so that the survival of ex-Liao gentry families was seriously at stake. The gradual demise of far northerners during the Mongol-Jurchen warfare is also epitomized in the life of Wang Yuancui 王元粹 (d. 1243), a northern aristocrat from an ex-Liao gentry family who ended up as a poor and lonely Daoist priest. His contemporaries thus lamented when Wang passed away in his forties: "The [Wang] family lineage from northern Pingzhou prefecture (nowadays Lulong 盧龍, Hebei province) is cut off; / Ruminating

[31] See Chen, "Jindai Hanzu shiren de diyu." Also see Ren Wanping 任萬平, "Lun Jindai wenhua quyu jiegou" 論金代文化區域結構, in *Liao Jin shi lunji* 遼金史論集, Vol. 5 (Beijing: Wenjin chubanshe, 1991), pp. 237–54.

That said, Chen Zhaoyang in his study on the geographical distribution of Han scholar-officials in the Jin dynasty has reservations about the overemphasis of far northern scholar-officials from ex-Liao territory. According to his data statistics of Han *jinshi* degree-holders throughout the entire Jin dynasty, those from the ex-Liao and ex-Song regions account for 20% and 70% respectively, so that the Song descendants still predominated the Jin civil exam system especially in the latter half of this northern polity. Still, Chen also admits that the proportion of Jin grand councilors with pre-Liao background was extremely high compared to their disadvantaged performance in the civil exam. In other words, the Jurchen regime applied some sort of preferential policies towards these far northerners.

resentment, he rested in wasteland" 北平家世絶，銜恨入荒原.[32] As a result, when it came to the late imperial period, the nationwide economical hub gravitated toward the South where most *jinshi* degree holders were produced, while the North – especially Far North – was largely ignored and left behind.[33]

Zhongzhou 中州 and the Conceptual Anchorage of "Northernness"

Having discussed "North China" under Jurchen rule in the sense of cultural geography, I go on to examine its legitimacy discourse. This means the conceptualization of "northernness" was underway to pinpoint a symbolic, ideological pivot of Chinese civilization. Despite geographical demarcations of these two political entities that divided China in North and South, an evocative force of visualizing the "substantive geography" of a conceptually united Chinese empire was entrenched in the ideology of both northern Jin and Southern Song cultural elites. Though the decisive treaty of 1142 guaranteed a long-term Song-Jin appeasement, the north-south divide was indeed a compromised trade-off, and two military campaigns were launched by the Jin and the Song rulers respectively to occupy the whole territory of China proper. These unfulfilled conquests in reality notwithstanding, the shared aspiration for universal sovereignty was crystal clear as both the Jin and Southern Song leaders claimed to be the ideal polity "under Heaven." In her study of cartography in the Southern Song context, Hilde De Weerdt puts forward what she

[32] ZZJJZ, 7.2033.
[33] The active historical agency of Jin literati and their burgeoning cultural activities in North China was exactly the countertrend of a decisive gravitational shift of economic and cultural centers from North to South China thereafter. See Paul Jakov Smith's illustration of a "Jiangnan developmental cycle" during the Song-Yuan-Ming transition from the twelfth to the sixteenth centuries, in his "Introduction: Problematizing the Song-Yuan-Ming Transition," in *The Song-Yuan-Ming Transition in Chinese History*, pp. 1–34. It is also noteworthy that Smith mentions in passing a short-lived revival of population and economy in North China under Jurchen rule, see ibid., pp. 9–10.

calls a normative "Chinese Empire" as the contemporary practice of map-making was meant to visualize a prescriptive imperial concept and to symbolize the deep-rooted beliefs of absolute and universal sovereignty of the "Central Country or Middle Kingdom."[34] In parallel, I turn to the discursive potency exerted by the Jurchen rulers and Jin literati in their bidding for the same universal Chinese empire. By employing the methodology of corpus linguistics among other tools,[35] I try to figure out how key concepts like *zhongguo* 中國, *zhongyuan* 中原, and *zhongzhou* 中州 play a role of constituting their aspiration for an ideal, united empire in distinctive contexts – in particular, *zhongzhou* became a self-designed term for Jin literati to aspire to their chronotopic "Jin China" distinct from the stereotypical "Song China."

As for the Southern Song case, a rough search in the database of Song texts will turn out clear that *zhongyuan* is the most common term for North China to be recovered among Southern Song readers and writers, though *zhongzhou* also occasionally shows up as an alternative.[36] When it comes to the Jin source, there is no denying that *zhongyuan* is also frequently seen especially in Jin poetry, but on the other hand, the use of *zhongzhou* is more nuanced in the Jin writings.[37] Unlike *zhongyuan* which was often used as a generic toponym for North China,

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[34] De Weerdt, "The Reconstitution of Empire in Empire Maps," in *Information, Territory, and Networks*, pp. 107–164.

[35] I am inspired by De Weerdt's digital analysis of the Song rhetoric to refer to Jurchen people, see "Representing the Foreign Other," in ibid., pp. 395–426.

[36] 《全宋文》【中華經典古籍庫】：中國 2878，中原 2249，中州 396
《全宋詩》【全宋詩分析系統】：中國 131，中原 987，中州 217
《全宋詞》【中華經典古籍庫】：中國 13，中原 86，中州 21

[37] Below I list a quick check of the word frequency of *zhongyuan* and *zhongzhou* in Jin literary collections via the 中華經典古籍庫 database, and we can tell *zhongyuan* is more populated and well-received even among Jin writers. That said, in this part I will pick out the Jin texts and contexts where *zhongzhou* is used and reveal its unique semantic attribute through close reading.
《全遼金詩》金詩部分：中原 66，中州 22
《中州集》：中原 22（多出現於詩詞作品中），中州 5
《全金元詞》：中原 28（金詞部分），中州 5（皆來自元詞）
趙秉文《滏水集》：中原 18，中州 3
元好問《遺山集》：中原 21（其中詞 5 次），中州 13

zhongzhou bore a unique shade of meaning of the historically specific North China *under Jurchen rule* that gave rise to the formation and cultivation of Jin literati culture. The most explicit evidence is without question the Jin poetry anthology title ZZJ, which is almost synonymous to Jin classical poetry. For Yuan Haowen, *zhongzhou* or the "Central Terrain" stands for the cultural production field of Jin literati community, as Yuan himself applies this term in such compounds as "heroic noblemen in the Central Terrain" (*zhongzhou haojie* 中州豪傑 or *zhongzhou haoshi* 中州豪士) and "literary school of the Central Terrain" (*zhongzhou wenpai* 中州文派).[38] Indeed, I don't see this specified application of *zhongzhou* before Yuan Haowen's generation, not even in Zhao Bingwen's writing extant to this day.[39] Circulation of *zhongzhou* as a geocultural term referring to the Jin literary production field seemed to enter into wide currency in North China during the post-Jin / early Yuan period, especially among Yuan Haowen's friends and disciples. It is said that Wang Yu 王鬱 (1204?–1233?) hoped to leave his writings to "scholar-officials in the Central Terrain" (*zhongzhou shidafu* 中州士大夫) – in other words, his Jin elite peers – at the end of his life along with the collapse of the Jin state.[40] In a similar vein, when Hao Jing was detained in the Southern Song as an envoy from the North, he called his northern fellows as "remnant scholar-officials from the Central Terrain" (*zhongzhou yishi* 中州遺士) in his diplomatic letters to Song officials.[41] Even well into the Mongol regime,

[38] These terms show up in the brief biographies of Sun Jiuding 孫九鼎 (*jinshi* 1129), Lichunfu, and Wang Wo in Yuan Haowen's ZZJJZ, 2.375, 4.1121, 6.1765.
卷二「孫九鼎小傳」：中州文派，先生指授之功爲多。
卷四「李純甫小傳」：迄今論天下士，至之純與雷御史希顏，則以中州豪傑數之。
卷六「王渥小傳」：宋人愛其才，有中州豪士之目。
[39] As is shown above, *zhongzhou* only appears three times in Zhao's FSJ, and all of them are interchangeable with *zhongyuan* as a synonym. Things only changed in Yuan Haowen's writing.
[40] GQZ, 3.23.
[41] See Hao Jing, "Zai yu Song guo liang Huai zhizhishi shu" 再與宋國兩淮制置使書, "Zai yu Song guo chengxiang shu" 再與宋國丞相書, "Guo zongguan huixiang yu Jia chengxiang shu" 過總管回降與賈丞相書; HJJ, 37.3067–69, 38.3124–27, 3176–77.

Wang Yun was seen by his contemporaries as "erudite and cultivated in terms of literary talent, wise and sophisticated regarding knowledge and experience – he is rightfully called a scholar-official of repute from the Central Terrain" 文才博雅，識見老成，迺中州之名士也.[42] In a dreamlike state, Wang encountered an old man from the South. After inquiring about his age and confirming that he was born at the very end of the Jin dynasty, the old man made a compliment to Wang by saying that "who can say that nobody remains in the Central Terrain" 誰謂中州無人乎?[43] Another interesting fact, to echo the georeferencing analysis in the first part, is that most of those labeled as "heroic or celebrated literati of the Central Terrain" came from the Song-Liao frontiers and ex-Liao territory in northern Shanxi and Hebei. As such, the geographic reaches of *zhongzhou* / "Central Terrain" and *zhongyuan* / "Central Plain" do not neatly imbricate, as the Jurchen Jin pushed its dynastic center (*zhong* 中) further north than that of Tang and Northern Song.

To take one step further, *zhongzhou* with the overtone of Jin literati culture turns out to be the conceptual fortress of Sinitic civilization against the thirteenth-century historical contexts of the Mongol conquest. Geographically speaking, Jin's central terrain, the previous heartland of Chinese empires, became the northern frontiers defending the Mongol conquest. North China was literally devastated by prolonged Jurchen-Mongol warfare, so that the post-Jin poet lamented the once opulent and civil region was deteriorated into vast tracts of sterile desert land: "How weird is the landscape of Central Terrain / Which resembles the neighbor of [northern] barren lands [lit. 'sparse hair']" 異哉中州地，若與窮髮鄰.[44] The outlook of ruins invites a

[42] "Feng shi" 封諡; WYQJ, "fulu" 附錄, p. 4483.
[43] Wang Yun, "Shi meng" 詩夢, *Zazhu* 雜著; WYQJ, 44.2114–15.
[44] Yang Hongdao 楊宏道, "Zan xian daozhong" 鄼縣道中; XBQJS, 92.2486. *Qiongfa* 窮髮 is a mythical toponym found in *Zhuangzi*, referring to the region of far north with few vegetation. See 《莊子・逍遙遊》：窮髮之北有

metaphorical reading of the withering civil order in the Central Terrain along with the fall of Jurchen rule. The prospect of cultural geography embedded in the term *zhongzhou* is most revealing in a piece of poem written by Qiu Chuji 丘處機 (1148–1227), a Quanzhen Daoist, on his travel to the steppe summoned by Genghis Khan (d. 1227):

極目山川無盡頭	As far as the eye can see, mountains and streams stretch without end,
風煙不斷水長流	Wind and mist never ceasing, streams flow on and on.
如何造物開天地	Why, when the Shaper of Things opened heaven and earth
到此令人放馬牛	And reached to this place, did it make humans herd horses and cattle?
飲血茹毛同上古	They drink blood and eat meat with the fur on, just as in High Antiquity,
峨冠結髮異中州	Wear high hats and braid the hair differently from the Central Terrain.
聖賢不得垂文化	Sages and worthies unable here to pass down civil transformation-through-teaching,
歷代縱橫祇自由	Thus, through the ages they have been free across and athwart [on the steppe].[45]

Here Qiu polarizes the sedentary and nomadic modes of life without very strict moral judgment. Primitive "barbarians" like Mongolian nomads, though uncivilized, were closer to the simplicity and genuineness of human nature preserved in High Antiquity, and in turn enjoyed unbounded freedom unimaginable to those living in the Central Terrain. It is clear that *zhongzhou* here not only refers to geography, climate and ecosystem of North China, but also customs, ethos and cultures of its inhabitants under Jurchen rule at that time.

冥海者，天池也。成玄英疏：地以草為毛髮，北方寒沍之地，草木不生，故名窮髮，所謂不毛之地。 In another piece of poem, Yang Hongdao applies a similar depiction of gloomy scenery he encountered in North China: "Not only does the jade tree cast off its luster; / But vegetation in the Central Terrain also turn wilting and yellow" 不獨琪樹少顏色，中州草木皆萎黃; Yang, "Qishu tan" 琪樹嘆; ibid., 93.2507.

[45] Qiu Chuji, "Xinan jie Yu'erluo yilu you xing shi ri yi shi xu qi shi" 西南接魚兒濼驛路又行十日以詩敘其實; Ibid., 137.3450. I consult the English translation and analysis of this poem by Stephen H. West in his lecture "The Philosopher and the Khan: The Diary of the Daoist Changchun's *Journey to the West*," presented at the Institute for Advanced Study, April 29, 2022.

Besides the word frequency spotted in the late Jin and early Yuan textual corpora, quite a few literary collections by contemporary northern literati also bear *zhongzhou* in the titles. We know that there was once a literary collection named *Zhongzhou yuanqi ji* 中州元氣集 (Collection of Primordial Life-Force of the Central Terrain) which recorded Jin poetry not seen in ZZJ, but the entire book has been lost to this day.[46] Fortunately, an important correspondence collection *Zhongzhou qizha* 中州啓劄 (Epistolary Writings of the Central Terrain) compiled by Wu Hongdao 吳弘道 (fl. 1300s) is preserved to this day, though it has been long neglected and only received scholarly attention it deserves in recent years.[47] The relevant addressers and recipients in this collection were all late and post-Jin literati who maintained an elite network throughout the thirteenth century. These books probably followed in the footsteps of Yuan Haowen's ZZJ so as to mark out the self-distinct identity of post-Jin "remnant subjects": when the Jurchen Jin political state was conquered and perished, the geocultural landmark *zhongzhou* or the Central Terrain became a conceptual anchorage for northern literati to maintain the sense of collective belonging.

If we do not stick to the fixed term *zhongzhou* and extend to other expressions of centric orthodoxy of the North, there are more discoveries in the writings of northern literati. Among them, Hao Jing stood out as a steadfast upholder of Jin cultural legitimacy. Hao's strategy was

[46] It seems that few manuscript copies of *Zhongzhou yuanqi ji* were still extant and preserved in the collections of Qing dynasty scholars. See the entry of *Zhongzhou yuanqi ji* in Kuang Zhouyi 況周頤 (1859–1926), *Huifeng cihua* 蕙風詞話, in Tang Guizhang 唐圭璋 ed., *Cihua congbian* 詞話叢編 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2005), 4.4506:

仁和勞氏(Lao Ge 勞格, 1820–1864)丹鉛精舍校《遺山樂府》，屢引《中州元氣集》。錢竹汀先生(Qian Daxin 錢大昕, 1728–1804)《補元史藝文志》，《中州元氣》十冊，在詞曲類。是書勞猶及見，當非久佚。唯曰十冊，疑是寫本未刻，故未分卷。則訪求尤不易矣。晚近弁髦風雅，古書時復流通，容猶有得見之望，未可知耳。

Today some newly discovered Jin poems are extracted from *Zhongzhou yuanqi ji* transcribed in the existing fragmental *Yongle dadian* 永樂大典. For instance, seventeen poems attributed to a late Jin poet Li Zhang 李章 (fl. 13th c.) are added to XBQJS, 67.1738–41.

[47] See more in Chu, "Indigenous Elite Networks"; "Jin Yuan zhiji de shiren wangluo yu xunxi goutong."

again nailing down ideological assertions of centrality and civilization in Jurchen Jin literature and art. Hoyt Cleveland Tillman in his study on Hao Jing's intellectual thoughts already reveals this northern literatus' pro-Jin point of view epitomized in his stock phrase "the Jin possessed the Realm of All Under Heaven" 金有天下.[48] In his poem inscribed on a portrait of Zhao Bingwen, the former Jin grand councilor and literati leader, Hao Jing first portrayed Zhao as an exemplary man of letters with both literary genius and Neo-Confucian moral cultivation: "[Analogous to] Mount Tai and Northern Dipper, [Zhao held] the reins of power of this culture (*wen*) of ours; / His Way (*dao*) modeled after masters and his learning had pedigrees" 泰山北斗斯文權，道有師法學有淵. This further led to Hao Jing's grand assertion that "China's lifeline has kept erect and unbiased" 中華命脈屹不偏 embodied by Zhao.[49] Another impressive verse by Hao Jing is taken from his poem on reading the literary collection of Dang Huaiying, the assigned literati leader one generation before Zhao Bingwen, in which Hao exerted hyperbolical words to bestow Dang Huaiying with the authority of Sinitic great traditions:

漢火百煉金源金	Fire of Han purifies for a hundred times the Gold of the Golden Springs [i.e., Jurchen Jin dynasty];
周制一用中華中	Institutions of Zhou once adopted, [the Jin acquired the position of] centrality of China [lit. "Central Splendor"]. (*ll*. 19–20)[50]

This couplet exhibits in an outspoken manner Jurchen Jin's orthodoxy from the height of civilization. Ambiguities are also ingrained in the multivalent terms. The first line refers to the key issue of "legitimate succession" (*zhengtong* 正統) of traditional Chinese dynasties based on the theory of Five Agencies (*wuxing* 五行). "Golden Springs" (Jinyuan 金源) is the euphuism of

[48] Tillman, "The Collision and Amalgamation of Song, Jin, and Yuan Cultural Thinking," pp. 146–47.
[49] Hao Jing, "Xianxian huaxiang" 閑閑畫像; HJJ, 10.855.
[50] Hao Jing, "Du Dang chengzhi ji"; ibid., 9.663.

the Jurchen state indicating the fountainhead of Jurchen ethnic groups in modern Songhua River, Heilongjiang province.[51] And "Gold" stands for Jin's Virtue of Gold according to political philosophy of Five Agencies, which in turn bespeaks Jin's legitimate place in Sinitic dynastic sequence. Yet I have two readings of "Fire of Han" here: it can broadly mean the assimilation with Han culture (or using the more proverbial term "sinicization"), or more specifically, it stands for the Virtue of Fire of the Song dynasty as a Han Chinese polity. But in either case, Jurchen Jin's integration into the general Chinese history is indisputable. The same hermeneutic ambivalence also applies to the second line. The straightforward understanding of "Institutions of Zhou" is the civil order established by the Western Zhou dynasty (1046–771 BC) in the age of Antiquity, which has long been considered the foundation of Chinese civilization. Thus it obviously argues for Jin's success of transforming into civil governance. But I have an unconventional reading of "Zhou": it might stand for the Northern Zhou dynasty (557–581) ruled by Xianbei ethnic minority. In this sense, Hao Jing actually implies the classical topic of "transforming barbarians into civilians" – and indeed, the designation of the dynastic name of "Northern Zhou" by an alien regime was exactly to model after idealized civil institutions of the Zhou dynasty. Therefore, it is also possible that Hao Jing saw the Northern Zhou as the predecessor of the Jurchen Jin, since both arguably won over their Han Chinese rivals in the South and became the orthodox political power in North China.[52]

Of course, there always remains a question whether Jin's claim for China was pure rhetoric, or its intellectual discourses reflect matters of substance to some degree. I agree that the loud proclamation of legitimacy from the Jin side exactly betrays their lack of cultural

[51] See more in Hok-lam Chan, "'Ta Chin' (Great Golden): The Origin and Changing Interpretations of the Jurchen State Name," *T'oung Pao* 77 (1991): 253–99.
[52] For the political legitimacy of alien regimes during the period of Northern and Southern dynasties, see Yang, "Chineseness and Barbarism in Early Daoxue Philosophy," pp. 147–52.

confidence, so that a set of rhetorical and ideological tools for persuasion – and at times forced reading – were sought after. Yet as I have demonstrated above, the Jurchen Jin dynasty did make contributions to cultural prosperity in North China, especially in those underdeveloped regions from the previous Liao territory. Their *de facto* occupation of the Central Plain and cultivation of literati culture made them at least a qualified and alternative candidate as a Chinese empire on a par with the Southern Song.

Finally, I would like to return to Yuan Haowen, who seemed to first figure out an idiosyncratic use of the term *zhongzhou*. As is illustrated above, it is Yuan who associated this topographical concept tightly with Jin literati culture. In terms of poetic style, *zhongzhou* for Yuan connotes a northern heroic manner with desirable qualities of strength, vigor, and liveliness, as scholars have already associated this term with one pivotal piece in Yuan's "Thirty Poems on Poetry":[53]

慷慨歌謠絕不傳	Stout-hearted songs are no longer transmitted,
穹廬一曲本天然	Like the song of the tent, full of natural simplicity.
中州萬古英雄氣	The heroic spirit in the Central Terrain of ten thousand ages
也到陰山敕勒川	Reaches as far as the Chile streams of the Yin range.[54]

With the help of John Wixted's brilliant analysis, two major points are drawn from this heptametric quatrain. One is the incessant heroic spirit of the Central Plain marked with "stout-hearted songs," and the other is the bold proclamation of ethnic minorities of nomadic origins contending for cultural legitimacy, epitomized in a Turkic song that translates the essence of impassioned Central Terrain songs that had been long-lost among southerners.

[53] Chan, *Historiography*, p. 71; Wixted, *Poems on Poetry*, pp. 72-73.
[54] English translation adopted from Wixted, *Poems on Poetry*, p. 68, with modification of my own.

For the first point, I would like to highlight the keyword *qi* 氣 in Yuan's poem. Shao-yun Yang has revealed that Daoxue moralists made such argument that non-Chinese peoples' turbid or imbalanced endowment of *qi* makes them innately inferior, less than human, and incapable of improvement.[55] Interestingly enough, Yuan Haowen in this quatrain flipped this Daoxue discourse by claiming that it was in fact nomadic people who were endowed with and transformed by the everlasting primordial *qi* from Central Terrain. Later, northern literati adopted the same rhetorical strategy and emphasized instead the "primordial life-force" in North China (*zhongzhou yuanqi* 中州元氣). Scholars have argued for the cultural mission of preservation and transmission among post-Jin northern literati suggested in this term in the aftermath of the Mongol conquest.[56] This is already attested by the literary collection title *Zhongzhou yuanqi ji* 中州元氣集 mentioned above, and the most manifest expressions are found in the eulogies composed for the Jin literati leaders Zhao Bingwen and Yuan Haowen. Contrary to the derogatory use of barbarian *qi* by southern Chinese, Yuan Haowen contended that one hundred years of primordial life-force in China" 中國百年之元氣 agglomerated in the single Jin dynasty poet Zhao Bingwen.[57] Not coincidentally, Hao Jing in his funerary prayer written for the deceased Yuan Haowen encoded the same wording: "[Yuan] amassed a hundred years of

[55] Shao-yun Yang, "'Their Lands Are Peripheral and Their *Qi* Is Blocked Up': The Uses of Environmental Determinism in Han and Tang Chinese Interpretations of the 'Barbarians,'" in Rebecca Futo Kennedy and Molly Jones-Lewis eds., *The Routledge Handbook of Identity and the Environment in the Classical and Medieval Worlds* (London; New York: Routledge, 2016), pp. 390–412.

[56] See relevant researches in Liu Chengqun 劉成群, "Zhongzhou wenxian zhi chuan yu Jinyuan wenpai zhi zheng: Jin Yuan 'wentong' rushi zhi yanjiu" 中州文獻之傳與金源文派之正——金元「文統」儒士之研究, *Renwen zazhi* 人文雜誌 2013.10: 19–27; Qiu Jiangning 邱江寧, "Dongping wenren qun yu Yuan chu wentan de 'zhongzhou yuanqi' lun" 東平文人群與元初文壇的「中州元氣」論, *Wenxue yichan* 文學遺產 2020.1: 75–87. Zhang Yongyao 張勇耀, "'Yuanqi' lun yu Jin Yuan zhiji de wenxue chuantong jiangou" 「元氣」論與金元之際的文學傳統建構, *Wenxue pinglun* 文學評論 2021.3: 176–85.

[57] Yuan Haowen, "Zhao Xianxian zhenzan ershou" 趙閑閑真贊二首; YHWQJ, 38.681: 人知為五朝之老臣，不知其為中國百年之元氣。

primordial life-force of the Jin regime; He established sanctions and codes for well-dressed noblemen of the entire generation" 收有金百年之元氣，著衣冠一代之典刑.[58] Rather than an abstract concept, the primordial life-force must be personified or possessed as historical figures of real consequence. In other words, the very existence of primordial life-force from the Central Terrain was not bound by geographical land and soil but rather depended on northern cultural elites and the culture they represented. Whether the "stout-hearted songs" chanted by steppe nomads, or the successive leadership of Jin literati league, they were all various revelations of the "heroic spirit or primordial life-force in Central Terrain" calling for the Jurchen Jin legitimacy whose historical existence was threatened by both physical annihilation by Mongol cavalry and cultural disregard from Southern Song elites.

Second, Yuan's inclusion of nomadic songs into the Sinitic tradition sheds light on the cultural translatability between northern barbarians and Han Chinese. In this respect, Yuan Haowen took the stance of culturalism in contrast to the Southern Song ethnocentrism. Accordingly, *zhongzhou* or the Central Terrain for Yuan represents not so much as North China but as the Sinitic civil heartland. In face of the Mongol invasion, Yuan Haowen rooted the Jin dynastic literary tradition into the conceptual anchorage of *zhongzhou*, and further extended this term to denote the locus of cultural orthodoxy – this exactly echoed what Northern Song literati had done when they were defeated by Jin cavalry and expelled out of North China, but this time the Jin state stood for "Chinese" and the Mongols the uncivilized philistines.

This nuance of universal culturalism epitomized in the toponym *zhongzhou* was best understood by, unexpectedly, a Southern Song poet. Yuan Haowen was highly regarded by a

[58] Hao Jing, "Ji yishan xiansheng wen" 祭遺山先生文; HJJ, 21.1675. This intertextual phenomenon is already pointed out in Zhang, "'Yuanqi' lun," 180.

post-Song southern scholar Jia Xuanweng 家鉉翁 (fl. 13th c.) who wrote a postscript to applaud Yuan's effort of preserving "our culture":

> … Territory has [the difference between] North and South, and yet people cannot be divided by North and South, so do the lineage of *dao* [the Way] and the transmission of *wen* [literary culture]. Even beyond ten thousand miles, they belong to the Central Terrain, not to mention those within it. I had my personal opinion on this issue. After I moved from Yan [i.e., Beijing] to Hejian [in nowadays Cangzhou 滄州, Hebei province], I gradually had more chances to communicate with Confucians and local gentries there. When in leisure, I got to read the ZZJ compiled by Master Yuan [with the appellation] Yishan. The collection broadly collected and transcribed poetry composed by celebrities, men of integrity, exalted Confucians, and prominent scholar-officials from both North and South over the past hundred years, attached with their life accounts and career profiles. For those Song emissaries after the Jianyan reign (1127–1130) who were detained [by Jurchen rulers] while carrying [Song] imperial decrees and those who managed to return [to the Southern Song], their poetry and life trajectory concerning moral integrity are also recorded [in ZZJ]. The collection consists of ten *juan* in total and is entitled *The Collection of the Central Terrain* as a whole. How prosperous was this name designated by Master Yuan! How far-reaching was his intention! Albeit born in the Central Plain, he regarded people across nine regions and four seas as his own countrymen; albeit born in decades and a century later, he regarded those who preceded him decades and a century earlier as his contemporaries…
>
> ……壤地有南北，而人物無南北，道統文脈無南北，雖在萬里外，皆中州也，況於在中州者乎？余嘗有見於此。自燕徙而河間，稍得與儒冠縉紳遊。暇日獲觀遺山元子所裒《中州集》者，百年而上，南北名人、節士、鉅儒、達官所爲詩，與其平生出處，大致皆採録不遺。而宋建炎以後銜命見留與留而得歸者，其所爲詩與其大節始終，亦復見紀。凡十卷，總而名之曰《中州集》。盛矣哉，元子之為此名也！廣矣哉，元子之用心也！夫生於中原，而視九州四海之人物，猶吾同國之人；生於數十百年後，而視數十百年前，猶吾生并世之人。……[59]

It is especially noteworthy that Jia Xuanweng intentionally blurs the boundaries of both territory and "lineages" and shifts to the discourse of cultural unity embodied in *zhongzhou*. Regardless of one's geographical provenance and ethnical identity, a poet can be taken seriously for his learning and participation of Sinitic classical traditions in the forms of either Neo-Confucian philosophy (*daotong* 道統) or literary achievement (*wenpai* 文派). In this light, Yuan Haowen's

[59] Jia Xuanweng, "Ti Zhongzhou ji shihou" 題中州詩集後; *Quan Yuan wen*, 407.744–45.

ZZJ stands for an all-inclusive and tolerant disposition of envisioning a multivalent China: According to Jia Xuanweng's interpretation, the efficacious term "Central Terrain" not only converges spatial divisions between North and South, but also breaks off the narrow temporal continuity narrowly defined by any self-claimed and exclusive genealogy by inviting "alien others" ("people across nine regions and four seas") into the same cultural production field. Because of Yuan Haowen's ambitious cultural scheme programmed in ZZJ, Jia Xuanweng further recognized Yuan as a "scholar-official for all under Heaven" (*tianxia shi* 天下士). In other words, this former enemy from the Southern Song welcomed Yuan Haowen and the Jin literati culture fostered in the Central Terrain to be part of the Sinitic traditions.

Though Jia Xuanweng's broad-minded attitude for Jin culture didn't turn out to be the master narrative in later Chinese cultural history, it still leads to the possibility of opening up an alternative "universe" or "chronotope" and pluralizing our visions of approaching Middle Period China. That is to say, we should at least entertain the idea of being in the shoes of northern literati who called for Jin's cultural legitimacy proved by their excellent literary performance, as well as the conceptual "northernness" anchored in *zhongzhou*. Indeed, when Qing dynasty officials compiled *The Complete Collection of Jin Poetry* (*Quan Jin shi* 全金詩) for Emperor Kangxi 康熙 (r. 1661–1722), they even claimed that the "documentation from the Central Plain was actually merged into the Jurchen Jin [culture]" 中原文獻，實併入於金.[60] Here, we do see Jin's strong candidacy for bidding for the same universal Chinese empire through both manipulation of rhetoric and circumstantial evidence in Jin literary works. I should also make it clear that I don't think the Jin literary achievement and cultural legacy illustrated and

[60] See the entry in *Siku tiyao* 四庫提要.

emphasized in my research would surpass or replace its Southern Song rival – to some extent, this is a game predestined to fail in the very beginning, since so much is lost on the Jin side while the Southern Song primary sources abounded in print. Rather than prioritizing the Jin orthodoxy over the Northern-Southern Song lineage, I prefer demonstrating in all aspects the heterogeneous and complicated Jin cultural activities within the historical ecology of Middle Period China. Therefore, the following chapters go into the nuts and bolts of Jin classical poetry and literati culture, whose profound achievement I believe will speak for itself.

PART II

CONFRONTATION AND INTERSUBJECTIVITY BETWEEN NORTHERN JIN AND SOUTHERN SONG POETRY

CHAPTER 4

Stylistic Divergence and Leadership Rivalry in Jin Poet Society

Despite the Song-Jin stalemate in *Realpolitik*, there is no gainsaying that Song dynasty poetry was the immediate and shared repertoire to exploit among both northern Jin and Southern Song poets in the twelfth- and thirteenth centuries. This occasioned what I call "intersubjectivity" between these two historical agents by conceiving the same cultural model. As time wore on, however, dissatisfaction and dissent concerning Song poetry gradually gathered steam among literary critics in both North and South. A late Song critic Yan Yu 嚴羽 (fl. early 13th c.), for instance, once made a bold and idiosyncratic announcement of his time that thirteenth-century poetry experienced a fundamental regression. After defining poetry as "singing and chanting one's affections and nature" 詩者，吟詠情性也 quoted from the "Great Preface" of the *Classic of Poetry*, and praising for the High Tang ideal of genuine and supreme quality, Yan Yu contrasted his contemporary poets with those ancient exemplars:

> The writers of recent times show a forced cleverness in their understanding; they make poetry out of mere wording, they make poetry out of learning, they make poetry out of discursive argument. How is their poetry not well-wrought? But in the end, it is not the poetry of the older writers.
>
> 近代諸公乃作奇特解會，遂以文字為詩，以才學為詩，以議論為詩，夫豈不工，終非古人之詩也。[1]

Albeit an overall outlook on Song poetry, this style of literary erudition and intellectualism particularly refers to Huang Tingjian's 黃庭堅 (1045–1105) and his followers' poetry embodied

[1] Yan Yu, *Canglang shihua jiaojian* 滄浪詩話校箋, annot. Zhang Jian 張健 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2012), pp. 173–80. I adopt the translation with modification from Stephen Owen, "*Canglang's Remarks on Poetry*," in his *Readings in Chinese Literary Thought* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 1992), p. 406.

as the Jiangxi School (*Jiangxi shipai* 江西詩派).[2] It is noteworthy here that Yan Yu considers "forced cleverness" as the defect of poetry, so that craftsmanship and sophistication embodied in the Jiangxi poetry are "bad" in this sense.

In reality, wrestling with the Jiangxi School of poetry was a common stance taken by the post-Northern Song poets. Debates about the Jiangxi School and its drawbacks were rife in the contemporary cultural climate, while at the same time the blanket influence of this poetic style even crossed north of the river. Loud voices of dissent were also heard from those northern Jin literati. Their criticism of the Jiangxi School was not that innocent, though, as they regarded themselves as the competing rivals of Song culture and strove for self-distinction by establishing their own ideal model. Yet at the same time, as in the South, the poetic ecosystem among Jin literati was not a monolithic whole, and emulators of Huang Tingjian's poetry were in fact not unusual in the North. Famous Jin literati such as Wang Tingyun and Li Chunfu were all obsessed with delicate techniques and dense allusions exemplified in Song poetry. In this sense, the hotly contested evaluation of the Jiangxi School together with Huang Tingjian served as the common discursive device in both North and South.

The following two chapters illustrate this complex discursive field of Jin poetry. Indeed, the swinging pendulum of aesthetic appraisals was quite common among Jin literati community, whose preferences ranged from the bookish and skillful to the natural and effortless. More important, as we will see below, the stylistic divergence among Jin poets largely pivoted on their

[2] For a comprehensive study of the Jiangxi School and its consequences within the Southern Song cultural contexts, see Fuller, *Drifting among Rivers and Lakes*.

We should be cautious, however, that the literary landscape Yan Yu envisioned here is broader than the Jiangxi poetry alone. The ill-suited manner of integrating exaggerating diction, learning, and argument into poetry was commonplace among Song poets on the one hand, while Yan Yu might also refer to the Jiangxi School, the learned and talented genius Su Shi, and *daoxue* or Neo-Confucian poets as three poetic trends of Song poetry. My thanks to Prof. Michael Fuller for offering the more nuanced interpretation. Also see *Canglang shihua jiaojian*, fn. 4, pp. 174–75.

bifurcated attitudes towards the Jiangxi School aesthetics. Chapters 4 and 5 both focus on the Jin poetic production in dialog with contemporary Southern Song counterparts, but in this chapter I try to distinguish various groups of styles within the Jin poetic landscape, and then I come to three case studies of Jin literary practices related to Jiangxi poetics in the next chapter. We should also keep in mind that, while the northern Jin poets are the protagonists in these two chapters, Huang Tingjian and the subsequent Jiangxi School are always implied and to some extent lie at the heart of the whole poetic discourse analyzed here. Through the Jin comments on Song poetry and Jiangxi poetics, a dynamic field of confrontation and intersubjectivity of North and South can be detected.

Thus, in chapter 4, I draw a broad picture of cultural dynamics taking place within Jin literati community itself, with Huang Tingjian as the "absent presence." I deal with the impact of Huang Tingjian's poetic style and craftsmanship upon Jin literati, and argue for a unique northern trend of development other than the Jiangxi School represented by the South, which I define as the northern Jin "aesthetics of the extraordinary" (*qi* 奇). At the same time, another group of Jin literati ran against this fashion and proposed their poetic ideal of "elegance or dignity" (*ya* 雅), akin to the spirit of "noble simplicity" in a sense, as an alternative to the former eccentric style. While previous research has mentioned in passing the two Jin poetic schools of the "substantive" and the "form," or "pro-natural" and "pro-novel" Jin literati groups,[3] my study goes further to map out the overall constellation of Jin literati society by probing into their poetic discourses and debates. In addition, I contend that their vigorous poetic contests in the early thirteenth century reflected the Jurchen Jin "intersubjectivity" with and self-distinction from the Northern Song

[3] See West, "Studies in Chin Dynasty (1115–1234) Literature," pp. 18–30; Xiuyuan Mi, "Naturalness versus Novelty: The Ideal of Poetry in the Late Jin Dynasty," *Sino-Platonic Papers* No. 304 (2020): 1–22.

model as poetry *de rigueur*, especially that of Huang Tingjian and his Jiangxi School. Chapter 4 thus takes a close look at these two divergent and opposing "camps" within the late Jin poet society, appraised by their entanglement with or deviation from the Jiangxi poetic model.

The Aesthetics of Being Extraordinary (*Qi* 奇): Jin Literati's Reception of Huang Tingjian's Poetry

We first take a look at those who were in favor of Huang Tingjian's poetic expertise within the Jin cultural environment. This trend gradually accelerated its momentum in the second half of the twelfth century with several outstanding pioneers, and reached full flower at the turn of the thirteenth century, when Li Chunfu and the literati community gravitating toward him advocated the poetic fashion of eccentricity, a substantial element of Northern Song poetry. In effect, poetic exemplars from this most recent dynasty, among whom Su Shi and Huang Tingjian stood out, were naturally the ready-made models for Jin literati. This is also proved by the widespread printing and circulation of these two Northern Song poets' collections among Jin readers.[4] Years later, Yuan Haowen generalized retrospectively that "over the past century, most poets were wont to learn from [Dong]po [i.e., Su Shi] and [Shan]gu [i.e., Huang Tingjian]" 百年以來, 詩人多學坡、谷.[5] Elsewhere Yuan notably praised his friend whose "poetry learns from Jiangxi School as one sort of extraordinariness" 詩學江西又一奇.[6] Therefore, the undertone of Northern Song

[4] For the print history and circulation of Northern Song books, including literary collections of Su and Huang, during the Jin dynasty, see more in chapter 6.
[5] GQZ, 9.105.
[6] Yuan Haowen, "Ji xie Chang Junqing" 寄謝常君卿; YHWQJ, 10.207.

poetry was also attested in late Jin poetry, and its influence seemed persistent and pervasive all the way through Yuan Haowen's time.

I leave Su Shi to one side for a moment – he will be the pivotal figure when we turn to the broader Tang-Song paradigm imposed upon Jin cultural enterprise in Part III, since what Su Shi stood for was not merely as a poet but as a cultural icon in a broader sense for Jin literati. In this part, however, Su Shi is always raised in juxtaposition with Huang Tingjian, either being his fellow or archrival. Here we focus on Huang instead as *the* Song poet who led the predominant trend of Southern Song poetry.

Before we turn to Jin's learning of Huang Tingjian's poetry, it is helpful to first get conversant with how Song contemporaries regarded this master as our reference point. Noticeably, late Northern Song and early Southern Song debates on Huang Tingjian's poetry were tightly entangled with the discourse of "freshness, novelty, innovation, or newness" (*xin* 新) and "extraordinariness or eccentricity" (*qi* 奇) as his hallmarks – sometimes applied separately and sometimes in disyllabic compounds like *xinqi* or *qixin*. This feature was already widely acknowledged among his Song companions who were later regarded as poets in the Jiangxi School. Chen Shidao 陳師道 (1053–1101), for example, designates a trio of great poets in the Northern Song, namely Wang Anshi 王安石 (1021–1086) as "well-wrought" (*gong* 工), Su Shi as "innovative" (*xin* 新), and Huang Tingjian as "extraordinary" (*qi* 奇).[7] Nevertheless, their

[7] See *Houshan shihua* 後山詩話 attributed to Chen Shidao, in *Lidai shihua* 歷代詩話, comp. He Wenhuan 何文煥 (Beijing: Zhonghuashuju, 1981), p. 306 (王介甫以工，蘇子瞻以新，黃魯直以奇); also quoted in Hu Zi 胡仔, *Tiaoxi yuyin conghua qianji* 苕溪漁隱叢話前集 (Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 1982), 42.284. It should be pointed out that *Houshan shihua* was a mélange of Chen's authentic remarks together with later additions and fabrications, which was already questioned by Southern Song scholars. But it is certain that *Houshan shihua* was in circulation as early as in the late Northern Song witnessed by several textual evidence, and most entries within *Houshan shihua* center on major issues regarding the Jiangxi School. As a result, *Houshan shihua* still reflects how Southern Song poets tackled with the heritage of Huang Tingjian's poetry. See more in Guo Shaoyu 郭紹虞, *Song shihua kao* 宋詩話考 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1979), pp. 15–20. That said, as regards the assertion quoted here, I

defining characteristics could easily flip from a strength to a weakness. Having lauded Wang Anshi and Huang Tingjian for their outstanding features, Chen Shidao elsewhere comments that their craftiness and singularity actually do harm to their later poetry.[8] The same rhetorical strategy of balancing the pros and cons is also tried out by Lü Benzhong 呂本中 (1084–1145), another celebrated poet who in fact established the loose Jiangxi lineage. After assigning "extraordinariness" to Su and "newness" to Huang – here we can see that Lü's criteria of *xin* and *qi* are actually interchangeable with those set by Chen Shidao[9] – Lü admits that the former is not totally innocent of "being sprawling and rambling" 汗漫處, and some of Huang's poems are "too piercingly novel and too dexterous" 太尖新、太巧處[10] – and we should pay attention to the

contend that it is none other than Chen Shidao who claimed the "ownership" of this discourse, since overlapping comments are verified by other Song sources such as *Wang Zhifang shihua* 王直方詩話 (see the next footnote below).

[8] See *Wangzhifang shihua*: "Chen Wuji [i.e., Chen Shidao] says, 'Lord Jing's [i.e., Wang Anshi] late poetry is flawed by craftiness; Luzhi's [i.e., Huang Tingjian] late poetry is flawed by extraordinariness.' I [i.e., Wang Zhifang] thus teases him, 'Sir, do you intend to posit yourself between craftiness and extraordinariness?'" 陳無己云：「荊公晚年詩傷工，魯直晚年詩傷奇。」余戲之曰：「子欲居工奇之間邪？」; quoted in Hu Zi, *Tiaoxi yuyin conghua qianji*, 42.284. Hence, a similar discursive pattern can be found in these sayings by Chen Shidao demonstrated here. Besides, the late Northern Song poet Wang Zhifang (1069–1109) was a friend of Chen Shidao and later listed into the so-called "Chart of the Lineage of the Jiangxi Poetry Society" by Lü Benzhong 呂本中 (1084–1145), so that in all likelihood what Wang Zhifang recorded was credible utterance by Chen Shidao.

[9] Lü's original comment reads:

自古以來，語文章之妙，廣備眾體，出奇無窮者(bringing about extraordinariness with infinity)，唯東坡一人。極風雅之變，盡比興之體，包括眾作，本以新意者(rooted in novel intents)，唯豫章一人。此二者，當永以為法。

The sentence is quoted from Lü's letter written in 1113, which was fortunately transcribed into a Southern Song miscellany; see Chen Hu 陳鵠, *Xitang ji qijiu xuwen* 西塘集耆舊續聞, annot. Kong Fanli 孔凡禮 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2002), 2.305.

For the significance of Lü Benzhong's role in the canonization of Northern Song cultural history through the case of this letter, see Zhu Gang 朱剛, "Lü Benzhong Zhenghe sannian tie de piping shi yiyi" 呂本中政和三年帖的批評史意義, in his *Tang Song "guwen yundong" yu shidafu wenxue* 唐宋「古文運動」與士大夫文學 (Shanghai: Fudan University, 2013), pp. 393–412; see more in "Liang Song zhiji de Lü Benzhong ji qi wenhuashi diwei" 兩宋之際的呂本中及其文化史地位 in my M.A. thesis "Liang Song zhiji nandu shiren de Bei Song yinxiang," pp. 103–19.

[10] Lü Benzhong made this comment in his pedagogical primer *Instructions for Ignorant Children* (*Tong meng xun* 童蒙訓): 東坡詩有汗漫處，魯直詩有太尖新、太巧處，皆不可不知, again cited in Hu Zi, *Tiaoxi yuyin conghua qianji*, 48.328. This comment is not seen in the extant version of Lü's *Tong meng xun*, which puts much weight on Daoxue (Learning of the Way) discourse rather than literary learning. Editors of the *Essential Summaries of the Complete Collection of the Four Treasuries* (*Siku tiyao* 四庫提要) conjectured that most of Lü's literary comments were expunged due to the disfavor of Su Shi and Huang Tingjian among Zhu Xi's disciples during the Southern

term *jianxin* 尖新 or "piercingly novel," which will frequently show up in Jin poetic criticism. These are the critical comments from Huang's friends and followers. Remarks from his opponents, however, are even more pungent to devalue Huang's quintessential "extraordinariness." Zhang Jie 張戒 (*jinshi* 1124), one of the Song pioneers to dissent from the mainstream, argues that "Shan'gu [i.e., Huang Tingjian] only knows extraordinary expressions that constitute poetry, whereas he is ignorant that common saying can also be poetry" 山谷只知奇語之為詩，而不知常語亦詩也.[11] Last but not least, the Southern Song Neo-Confucian authority Zhu Xi first foregrounds the impressive engagement and craftsmanship involved in Huang's poetry, but then disparages it right away as exemplifying the very futility of poetic composition. The Neo-Confucian saw Huang's way of poetic composition as an obstacle to moral cultivation: "Huang Luzhi [i.e., Huang Tingjian] pursued [poetic] dexterity for his whole life, which nevertheless upset his righteous breath" 黃魯直一向求巧，反累正氣.[12] In other words, a skillful poet was perforce deficient in moral integrity in the eyes of an orthodox Neo-Confucian.

As we will see below, Jin emulators inherited Song elites' common reading of Huang Tingjian's poetry. That being said, the pedagogical approach among northern Jin literati turned

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Song, when the hostility between Daoxue and literary composition ("despising literary composition and valuing Daoxue learning" 輕詞章而重道學) upgraded; see *Siku quanshu zongmu* 四庫全書總目 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1965), 92.779b. Later efforts were made to re-compile Lü's poetic remarks from contemporary sources into a "back-formation" collection entitled *Poetic Instructions for Ignorant Youth* (*Tong meng shi xun* 童蒙詩訓); see more in Guo Shaoyu, *Song shihua kao*, pp. 169–71.

[11] Zhang Jie 張戒, *Suihantang shihua jianzhu* 歲寒堂詩話箋注, annot. Chen Yingluan 陳應鸞 (Chengdu: Sichuan daxue shushe, 1990), 1.35:107–08. In the same paragraph, Zhang Jie, like Chen Shidao, makes a parallel between Huang and Wang Anshi, saying that "Wang Jiefu [i.e., Wang Anshi] only knows skillful expressions that constitute poetry, whereas he is ignorant that clumsy dictions can also be poetry" 王介甫只知巧語之為詩，而不知拙語亦詩也.

[12] See *Zhuzi yulei*, 139.3315. Also see ibid., 140.3329: 蜚卿問山谷詩，曰：「精絶！知他是用多少工夫。今人卒乍如何及得！可謂巧好無餘，自成一家矣。但只是古詩較自在，山谷則刻意爲之。」又曰：「山谷詩忒好了。」

out subtly different from their Southern Song counterpart. Simply put, the central issue that drove Jin's reception of Huang's poetry was the aesthetical quality of "originality or novelty" (*xin*) and "eccentricity or extraordinariness" (*qi*), whereas Southern Song poets were more engaged in strictures known as "methods of versification" (*jufa* 句法) and craftsmanship embodied in the concepts of "artifice" (*gong* 工) and "dexterity" (*qiao* 巧). In this chapter, I will illustrate how Huang Tingjian's poetic style of novelty and eccentricity was well received within a certain group of northern Jin poets with bold and heroic disposition. On the other hand, I will argue in the next chapter that it is exactly the artificiality embodied by Huang's Southern Song disciples in the Jiangxi School that Jin literati like Wang Ruoxu put blame on. In a word, northern Jin and Southern Song poets exploited the poetic model of Huang Tingjian with diverse approaches: The former championed the overall impression of idiosyncrasy and unexpectedness, and the latter instead laid foundations of prescriptive regulations and routinized training; the former prioritized individuality, and yet the latter emphasized that originality is equipped with technical imitation from predecessors.[13] Within the cultural contexts of Jin's learning of Huang Tingjian's poetry in twelfth- and thirteenth-century North China, I argue that being extraordinary and unconventional was one of the crucial aesthetic parameters in the Jin literati culture.

Twelfth-Century Jin Forerunners Learning from Jiangxi Poetry

The development of writing poems in the style of *qi* or "extraordinariness" surfaced in the latter half of the twelfth century, when the political environment between Jin and Southern Song regimes became more stable. During these peaceful decades, there seemed to be a succession or

[13] See Gaoqiao Xingji 高橋幸吉 (Takahashi Koukichi), "Jin mo Yuan chu wenren lun Huang Tingjian" 金末元初文人論黃庭堅, *Minzu wenxue yanjiu* 民族文學研究 3 (2004): 133–34.

recovery of Song cultural heritage in the North with the help of defectors or detainees from former Song envoys, which was later encapsulated in the saying "borrowing talents from the previous dynasty [i.e., Northern Song]" (*jie cai yi dai* 借才異代).[14] Hampered by lack of extant historical and literary documents in the first half of the twelfth century, we are unable to draw the whole picture of this early Jin literary world. The limited documentation reveals the emergence – half a century after the establishment of Jin dynasty – of a group of late twelfth-century literati who indicated their own preference for a more refined and so-called "piercingly novel" (*jianxin* 尖新) style by imitating Huang Tingjian, and several Jin poets are worth mentioning in terms of their poetic excellence.

One example of a successful proponent of this style is Liu Zhongyin 劉仲尹 (fl. mid-12th c.). He obtained his *jinshi* degree in 1157 during the reign of Prince Hailing, when literary culture flourished in the North to cater to this ruler's personal taste modeled on Sinicized fine arts. Liu was a devoted scholar, indifferent to worldly success, and he found sympathy in the works written by Northern Song poets. His extant poems preserved in ZZJ demonstrate intricate parallel wording and sharp-witted allusions in tune with the Jiangxi School of poetry. Yuan Haowen highly appreciated Liu's composition as he "mused upon [the poetry of] Oldster in Fu[zhou Prefecture] [i.e., Huang Tingjian] and got the knack" 參涪翁而得法者也.[15] Even for Yuan who had reservations about Huang's poetry (see more below), he still acknowledged that, unlike other lesser imitators with unfavorable effect, Liu succeeded as Huang's qualified disciple who mastered the skills in a proper manner.

[14] See detailed discussion of this issue in chapter 1. Regarding the Jin reception of Northern Song cultural heritage, see more in chapter 6.
[15] See Liu's brief biography in ZZJJZ, 3.513. This assertion is also found in GQZ, 4.31: "[Liu Zhongyin] was well-versed in poetry and learned from several masters in the Jiangxi School" 能詩，學江西諸公.

In his poem on thimbleberry flowers (*tumi* 酴醾), Liu made explicit that he received his mantle of poetry from Huang Tingjian and Chen Shidao, two patriarchs of the Jiangxi School:

安得涪翁香一瓣　　How can I get a flap of fragrance from the Oldster in Fu,
種成聊供小南豐　　And plant it into full flower to make offerings to Little Nanfeng [i.e., Chen Shidao].[16]

This is the final couplet of the poem, and we can see it is laden with enough allusions to make him sound like one of Huang's disciples. The "Oldster in Fu[zhou Prefecture]" (*Fuweng* 涪翁) is Huang's self-appellation in his late years as an exile there (Fuzhou 涪州, modern Fuling 涪陵 in Chongqing Province). The allusion "a flap of fragrance" (*xiang yi ban* 香一瓣 or *yi ban xiang* 一瓣香) encoded here bears both literal and allegorical shades of meaning. On the surface, it refers to the sweet smell of thimbleberry flowers, and Huang Tingjian himself has written quite a few poems on this flower, enchanted by its profuse fragrance.[17] But here Liu plays the pun of the character *xiang*: Besides the literal meaning of floral scent, "a flap of fragrance" also allegorizes the mind-to-mind transmission of enlightenment in the Chan Buddhist lineage, borrowed from the formulaic idiom in the ritual when a monk ascends the hall and opens his speech by saying that "this flap of burning incense is respectfully presented to … [as my master]" 此一瓣香，敬

[16] Liu Zhongyin, "Tumi"; ZZJJZ, 3.535–36.

[17] For the Tang-Song invention of poetry on thimbleberry flowers, see Nakao Hisatsugu 中尾彌繼, "Sōdai ni okeru tobi shi ni tsui te" 宋代における酴醾詩について, *Kanran*/*Ganlan* 橄欖 14 (2007): 259–71.

For Huang Tingjian's religious experience that links olfactory sensation of fragrance with his engagement of Chan (*can Chan* 參禪), see Stuart Sargent, "Huang T'ing-Chien's 'Incense of Awareness': Poems of Exchange, Poems of Enlightenment," *Journey of the American Oriental Society* 121.1 (2001): 60–71; Zhou Yukai 周裕鍇, "Biguan yuantong: wen xiang ru can Chan" 鼻觀圓通：聞香如參禪, in his *Fayan yu shixin: Songdai Fo Chan yujing xia de shixue huayu jian'gou* 法眼與詩心：宋代佛禪語境下的詩學話語建構 (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 2014); Hayakawa Taiki 早川太基, "Shijin no kyūkaku: Kō Teiken sakuhin ni okeru 'kō' no hyōgen" 詩人の嗅覺：黃庭堅作品における「香」の表現, *Chūgoku bungaku hō* 中國文學報 87 (2016): 22–45; and Shang Haifeng 商海鋒, "'Xiang, Chan, shi' de chuhui: cong Beisong Huang Tingjian dao Riben Shiting shidai 'Shan'gu chao'" 「香、禪、詩」的初會——從北宋黃庭堅到日本室町時代「山谷抄」, *Hanxue yanjiu* 漢學研究 36.4 (2018): 73–111.

為某人. More specifically, it is Chen Shidao who first employed this expression into his own poem and adroitly transplanted it to his discipleship of Zeng Gong 曾鞏 (1019–1083), an ancient-style prose master of Northern Song: "At all times, my flap of fragrance / Is respectfully presented to Zeng Nanfeng [i.e., Zeng Gong]" 向來一瓣香，敬為曾南豐.[18] For this reason, Chen Shidao himself got his sobriquet "Little Nanfeng."[19] Liu Zhongyin here invested Chen Shidao's self-invented allusion of transmission as a clever way to pay tribute to him and claim that he learned poetry from both Huang Tingjian and Chen Shidao, or the overall Jiangxi School.

Though Liu is appreciated more for his erudition and artisanship, the original force in his poetry is also achieved through exploiting potentials of language. His aesthetical attunement of novelty is hinted in an anecdote told by his grandchild Li Xianneng 李獻能 (1192–1232), a prestigious literatus at the end of Jin period, that it was after meeting with a "strange person" (*yi ren* 異人) that Liu Zhongyin became well-versed in poetry.[20] We see here an early Jin poet's fervor of novelty and strangeness in conjunction with expertise of skills in poetic composition.

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[18] Chen Shidao, "Guan Yan guo Wenzhong gong jia Liu yi tang tushu" 觀兗國文忠公家六一堂圖書, in *Houshan shi zhu bu jian* 後山詩注補箋, annot. Ren Yuan 任淵 (fl. 12th c.) and Mao Guangsheng 冒廣生 (1873–1959), ed. Mao Huaixin 冒懷辛, 2 vols (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1995), 3.99.

[19] We should not be confused that Chen Shidao took different approaches to various literary genres: speaking of prose, he no doubt learned from Zeng Gong; while as a poet, he was a disciple of Huang Tingjian and later counted as one of the masters in the Jiangxi School – and we normally regard Chen as a poet rather than a prose writer. This distinction is first revealed in Zhu Bian's 朱弁 (1085–1144) *Remarks on Poetry in the Hall of Wind and Moon* (*Feng yue tang shihua* 風月堂詩話), a book widely circulated in the north when Zhu was detained as a Song envoy and wrote down these commemorative jottings there:

陳無己（陳師道）與晁以道（晁說之）俱學文於曾子固，子固曰：「二人所得不同，當各自成一家。然晁文必以著書名於世。」無己晚得詩法於魯直。他日二人相與論文，以道曰：「吾曹不可負曾南豐。」又論詩，無己曰：「吾此一瓣香，須爲山谷道人燒也。」

See Zhu Bian, *Feng yue tang shihua, juan shang* 卷上, no. 27; in Hu Chuanzhi, *Jin dai shi lun jicun jiaozhu* 金代詩論輯存校注, 2 vols (Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 2017), 1.33. The modern scholar Qian Zhongshu also pins down Chen Shidao's affiliation to the Jiangxi School. See Qian, *Tan yi lu*, 44.403–05.

[20] See the anecdote "Liu Zhijun (i.e., Liu Zhongyin) jian yiren" 劉致君見異人 recorded in Yuan Haowen 元好問, *Xu Yijian zhi* 續夷堅志, annot. Chang Zhenguo 常振國 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1985), 3.51.

Unlike Liu Zhongyin whose engagement with Huang Tingjian's literary style was explicit enough for other Jin fellows to tell – both in his own couplets quoted above and through contemporary peer review – other Jin poets' imitation were more nuanced than readily exposed. Their surreptitious "smuggling" from the reading of Jiangxi poetry either escaped critics' censorship or was purposefully suppressed in Jin's mainstream literary narratives. Traces of imitation, however, can be sensed between the lines through close-reading of their poetic compositions. For instance, Liu Ying 劉迎 (*jinshi* 1173) was a renowned poet of his time and later appreciated by Emperor Zhangzong, which even won him the privilege of official publication of his collection funded by court.[21] Though critics said no word about Liu's literary education, in one rhyme-matching work to Su Shi's poem, Liu manifests his virtuosity as a wordsmith and even spells out Huang Tingjian's technical terms "methods of versification" (*jufa* 句法); better still, in order to follow the rhyme-word *tie* 鐵 (iron) in the last line of Su's original work, Liu Ying embeds Huang's most well-known "formula" – "with a pill of numinous cinnabar, one could touch iron and transform it into gold" 靈丹一粒，點鐵成金[22] – and refashions the word order into the phrasing "a pill of numinous cinnabar [makes one] excel at touching iron [into gold]" 一粒靈丹工點鐵.[23] Thus, the whole poem is a perfect illustration of Liu's writing out of his reading and learning from Huang Tingjian.

[21] For Emperor Zhangzong's compliments on Liu Ying's poetic virtuosity, see JS, 125.2727. The official publication of Liu Ying's individual collection was testified in Liu's biography in ZZJJZ, 3.539: "[Liu] has poems, prose and song lyrics [compiled in a collection] titled *Abiding Words of Mountains and Woods*; the imperial edict orders State Academy to publish and circulate it." 有詩文樂府，號《山林長語》，詔國學刋行.

[22] Huang Tingjian, "Da Hong Jufu shu" 答洪駒父書, no. 3; *Song Huang Wenjie gong quanji* 宋黃文節公全集, in *Huang Tingjian quanji* 黃庭堅全集, annot. Liu Lin 劉琳, Li Yongxian 李勇先 and Wang Ronggui 王蓉貴, 4 vols (Chengdu: Sichuan daxue chubanshe, 2001), "Zheng ji" 正集, 18.475.

[23] Liu Ying, "Lian ri xue e yong Juxing tang xue shi yun" 連日雪惡用聚星堂雪詩韻; ZZJJZ, 3.550–52.

In like manner, Lu Duo 路鐸 (d. 1214) in his rhyme-matching piece written for his friend Li Quan 酈權 (fl. 1180s) depicts the typical image of a frustrated yet self-content Jiangxi poet:

病知居士安心處　　Sickness illuminates where the recluse scholar settles his mind;[24]
貧是詩人換骨時　　Poverty effectuates when the poet transplants his bones.[25]

An unoccupied and impoverished poet notwithstanding, this image also sets in high relief both the inner peace and poetic expertise of the same person.

The poet's learning from Huang Tingjian also turns out to be more nuanced and complicated in this couplet. While the phrase *dian tie cheng jin* 點鐵成金 (touching iron and transforming it into gold) mentioned in Liu Ying's piece above finds its *locus classicus* in Huang Tingjian's own collection, the "intellectual property" of *duo tai huan gu* 奪胎換骨 (snatching the embryo and transplanting the bones) casts a cloud of doubt. The term was not mentioned by Huang himself or his contemporary fellows but instead by the monk-poet Huihong 惠洪 (1071–1128) in his miscellany *Evening Chats in Cold Studio* (*Leng zhai ye hua* 冷齋夜話).[26] Another possible provenance of the expression *huan gu* is from Chen Shidao's verse: "Learning poetry is like learning to be a transcendent; When time comes, one's bones transplant autonomously" 學詩

[24] This line refers to the well-known story of Vimalakīrti, a lay practitioner of Buddhism who manifests his sickness as an expedient means of enlightenment and innate tranquility.
[25] Lu Duo, "Ciyun Li zhuzuo bing qi" 次韻酈著作病起; ZZJJZ, 4.1052–53.
[26] After a prolonged debate over the provenance of this term among Chinese scholars, I tend to support Zhou Yukai's argument that it is Huihong's invention of this term in service of generalizing poetic norms and rules out of Huang Tingjian's compositional practice. See a series of debates on this topic between Mo Lifeng 莫礪鋒 and Zhou Yukai: Mo, "Huang Tingjian 'duo tai huan gu' bian" 黃庭堅「奪胎換骨」辨, *Zhongguo shehui kexue* 中國社會科學 5 (1983): 187–98; Zhou, "Huihong yu huangu duotai fa: yi zhuang wenxue piping shi gong'an de chongpan" 惠洪與換骨奪胎法——一樁文學批評史公案的重判, *Wenxue yichan* 文學遺產 2003.6: 81–98; Mo, "Zai lun 'duo tai huan gu' shuo de shouchuang zhe: yu Zhou Yukai xiong shangque" 再論「奪胎換骨」說的首創者——與周裕鍇兄商榷, *Wenxue yichan* 2003.6: 99–109; Zhou, "Guanyu 'Huihong yu huan gu duo tai fa' de buchong shuoming: yu Mo Lifeng xiansheng shangque" 關於《惠洪與換骨奪胎法》的補充說明——與莫礪鋒先生商榷, in Zhou, *Menghuan yu zhenru: Fojiao yu Zhongguo wenxue lunji* 夢幻與真如：佛教與中國文學論集 (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 2016), pp. 219–28.

如學仙，時至骨自換.[27] It is also worth mentioning here that both "snatching the embryo" (*duo tai*) and "transplanting the bones" (*huan gu*) are probably borrowed from religious experience and technical terms in Daoism. Whether attributed to Huang Tingjian, Huihong, or Chen Shidao, the "intellectual property" of *duo tai huan gu* undoubtedly belongs to those founding fathers of the Jiangxi School, so that even if Huang Tingjian's authorship has been disputed and disproved, this set phrase still bespeaks Jiangxi School's proprietary method that implies artisanal refinement after long-term cultivation. One thing to be sure is that already during the Southern Song *duo tai huan gu* had become a fixed term in company with *dian tie cheng jin*, and was widely accepted as rubrics of the Jiangxi poetics, though several Song scholars still had reservation about its attribution and blamed Huihong for his irresponsible distortion.

Moreover, Chen Shidao is also mentioned in another line of this poem – "your slow promotion shouldn't let you sigh for belatedness [in official career] like Houshan [i.e., Chen Shidao]" 徐行休歎後山遲[28] – analogous to an unfulfilled talent like Li Quan and Chen Shidao who received a summon from the court at an old age. Unfortunately, both Chen and Li shared the same fate that the ailing poets died soon after taking the official position. Like compositions by Liu Zhongyin and Liu Ying, references to Huang Tingjian and Chen Shidao in Lu Duo's poem betrays his familiarity and assimilation with Jiangxi style. And indeed, Liu Ying's and Lu Duo's common engagement in rhyme-matching composition is an essential facet of Jiangxi poetics, which will be our focus in the next chapter.

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[27] Chen, "Ciyun da Qin Shaozhang" 次韻答秦少章 (Rhyming after Qin Shaozhang [i.e., Qin Gou 秦覯 (*jinshi* 1091)] in Response); *Houshan yi shi jian* 後山逸詩箋, in *Houshan shi zhu bu jian*, 1.467–68.

[28] The verse alludes to Chen Shidao's poem "Appointment to Office" (*Chu guan* 除官): "How many characters after all can I collate? / How dare I grudge a ten-year delay?" 端能幾字正，敢恨十年遲; in *Houshan shi zhu bu jian*, 12.422. In the eleventh month of 1100, Chen was appointed as the Collator in Imperial Secretariat (*Mishu sheng zhengzi* 秘書省正字), and this piece reflects a tone of self-mockery for his wasted youth for a decade. During the winter of the next year, he died in cold and poverty.

Toward the "Piercingly Novel": Wang Tingyun and Poetic Crafting

While the poetic preference of emulating Huang Tingjian among forerunners like Liu Zhongyin was a precocious endeavor in their time, poets in the late twelfth century embraced whole-heartedly the refreshing inventiveness brought out by Jiangxi poetic learning. This vogue was attested in Jin sources that "during the Mingchang (1190–1196) and Cheng'an (1196–1200) periods [under Emperor Zhangzong's reign], those who composed poetry had a fad for the 'piercingly novel' style" 明昌、承安間，作詩者尚尖新.[29] The *locus classicus* of *jianxin* designated as a Jin poetic style seems to be Liu Qi's GQZ with five references in total, and every time this term shows up, Liu associates it with a specific Jin poet. In the sentence quoted above, *jianxin* bears an unfavorable color since it developed into "superfluous and gaudy language" or *fuyan* 浮艷 represented by a commoner named Zhang Zhu 張翥 (fl. 1200s), while elsewhere *jianxin* emphasizes talent and novelty of outstanding Jin poets.[30] Thus, we can see that *jianxin* is not necessarily negative in Liu's context. We remember that the term *jianxin* 尖新 or "piercingly novel" is applied by Lü Benzhong to illustrate the side effect of Huang Tingjian's poetic artifice, further testifying the prevalence of Jiangxi style on the northern cultural soil. Within this new and even clamorous trend of *jianxin*, Wang Tingyun can be said as *the* exemplary poet of his age. The obsession with novelty became the insignia of Wang's composition, which was witnessed in other contemporaries' comments. His senior colleague Dang Huaiying – who will turn out to be Wang's rival in the next section – once praised Wang's verbal malleability with infinite possibilities in apposition to an amorphous aura or an everchanging landscape: "Wind and smoke

[29] GQZ, 8.85.

[30] See the entries of Liu Xun 劉勳 (fl. 1200s), Wang Liangchen 王良臣 (*jinshi* 1200), Wang Ge 王革 (fl. 13th c.) and Wang Tingyun in GQZ, 3.28, 4.39, 5.54, 10.119. All these cases concerning the use of *jianxin* in GQZ will recur in the analysis below.

on the river have no fixed state; / They incessantly offer fresh ideas to the master poet" 川上風煙無定態，盡供新意與詩家.[31]

In point of fact, one of the crucial attributes of being "piercingly novel" is making exquisitely crafted parallel couplets (*dui zhu* 對屬),[32] which demands intellectual engagement with effort. Wang Tingyun is no exception. Among his extant works, there are two heptametric quatrains both entitled "Summertime" (*Xia ri* 夏日). While this unspecific occasional theme usually conveys an air of light-hearted leisure and bliss, Wang's verses demand concentration and erudition to decode his allusions, so that his poetic intent and prospect are not readily accessible but rather a learned taste. In one of these two quatrains, the second couplet reads:

花影未斜貓睡外　　Flowers' shadow does not cling outside, where the cat is napping;
槐枝猶顫鵲飛邊　　Pagoda trees' branch still shakes its fringe, where a magpie has flown.[33]

This is a very neat parallel couplet with identical parts of speech occupying the same syntactic order. The most impressive word play here is the sentential order of location words ("outside," *wai* 外; "fringe," *bian* 邊) and its modifier ("[where] the cat is napping," *mao shui* 貓睡; "[where] a magpie has flown," *que fei* 鵲飛). Though here I have to change the original to make the English translation run smoothly, in Wang's original verse the locatives appear at the end of each line to delay the completeness of meaning. This lexical and syntactic alteration makes the couplet remarkably rich.

[31] Dang Huaiying, "Xiao yun ci Ziduan yun" 曉雲次子端韻; ZZJJZ, 3.686.
[32] GQZ often juxtaposes *jianxin* with the phrase *duizhu*, and these are two examples: "Liu Xun… composed quite a few poems throughout his life, most of which were piercingly novel and skillful in parallel couplets" 劉勳……平生詩甚多，大概**尖新**，長於**對屬** (3.28); "Wang Liangchen… was adept at regulated verse with the style of piercingly novel and was well-wrought in parallel couplets" 王良臣……長於律詩，**尖新**，工**對屬** (4.39).
[33] Wang Tingyun, "Xia ri"; ZZJJZ, 3.767.

Equally impressive skills and effects can be felt in the second piece of "Summertime," and here I translate the entire quatrain in English:

檀欒倒影硯波清	The gracile bamboo [brush] casts shadows on the inkstone with clear ripples.
注了黃庭譜鶴銘	Having annotated [*The Scripture of*] *the Yellow Court*, I catalogue the "Eulogy for Burying a Crane."
且喜過門無褦襶	I'm just glad that no guests passing my door are doltish;
卻憐涴壁有寧馨	Yet I pity the stained wall done by such [naughty] children.[34]

This piece again reveals the virtuosity of this wordsmith. Besides the elegantly neat structure in parallel, there are again lexical and allusive nuances in the original poem. The general theme is about practicing and appraising calligraphy during a long summer day. If we look into Wang Tingyun's official career, he was working in the Hanlin Academy at court between 1192 and 1196 to do the evaluation and cataloguing project of painting and calligraphy for Emperor Zhangzong,[35] and it makes sense that this piece was composed within that context, with the invaluable opportunity to exert a close-in investigation of time-honored calligraphic rubbings like *The Scripture of the Yellow Court* (*Huangting jing* 黃庭經) that was said to be copied by the "Sage of Calligraphy" (*shu sheng* 書聖) Wang Xizhi 王羲之 (ca. 303-ca.361),[36] as well as the

[34] Ibid., 3.772–73.

[35] See JS, 126.2731: "In the third year [of Mingchang era] (1192), [Wang Tingyun] was summoned as Hanlin Provisioner of Letters. [The emperor] ordered him to evaluate and grade calligraphic models and famous paintings with Assistant in the Palace Library Zhang Rufang, and [Wang] thus divided those that were qualified in grades into five hundred and fifty *juan*" （明昌）三年，召為應奉翰林文字，命與秘書郎張汝方品第法書、名畫，遂分入品者為五百五十卷. Wang was in official service until 1196 when he was involved into Zhao Bingwen's political trouble, punished and eventually demoted out of court. See more in Zhao's part below.

[36] The so-called Wang Xizhi's regular-script calligraphy of *Huangting jing* has long been debated as a misattribution by Northern Song scholars. See, for example:
歐陽修《集古錄》卷十「《黃庭經》」：
　　右《黃庭經》一篇，晉永和中刻石，世傳王羲之書，書雖可喜，而筆法非羲之所為。
米芾《寶章待訪錄》「黃素《黃庭經》」：古無褚薛體，殆六朝人所作。……恐非右軍，誠爾。
黃伯思《東觀餘論》卷下「跋《黃庭經》後」：世傳《黃庭》真帖為逸少書，僕嘗考之，非也。
　　It is also worth noting that the artwork Wang Tingyun was appreciating was probably a rubbing of stone inscriptions, just like the case of *Yi he ming* here. The wide circulation of either rubbing or print of Wang Xizhi's *Huangting jing* calligraphy with multiple and perplex provenances (called "alternative editions," *bie ben* 別本) was again well attested in Northern Song textual sources. Indeed, the first mention of *Huangting jing* as a piece of

"Eulogy for Burying a Crane" (*Yi he ming* 瘞鶴銘) also curiously attributed to Wang Xizhi during the Northern Song period.[37] As such, Wang Tingyun might be mildly boasting his official career, his high-brow taste, as well as privileged connoisseurship of Jin court collections when he wrote down this piece. To make things more interesting, Huang Tingjian could be the missing link in this Jin connoisseurship activity. Huang himself copied *The Yellow Court* in Wang Xizhi's model, and we know that one copy of Huang's *Yellow Court* calligraphy was left in the North, as Zhao Bingwen wrote a poem on it.[38] Huang Tingjian also admired the calligraphy of the latter as "the patriarch of large-size characters" (*dazi zhi zu* 大字之祖), whose style Huang himself was well-versed in.[39] In other words, the fame of *Yellow Court* and *Burying a Crane* as calligraphic masterpieces among Jin elites was received through the lens of Northern Song literati culture and

calligraphic model is Ouyang Xiu's *Ji gu lu*, which consists of rubbings of stone inscriptions as the revelation of Antiquity. Other sources that point to its materiality include:
黃伯思《東觀餘論》卷下「跋《黃庭經》後」：
《黃庭》世有數本，或**響拓**，或**刋刻**，皆正書，蓋六朝及唐人轉相模仿，所以不同。
董逌《廣川書跋》卷六「《黃庭經》」：今世所傳**石本**，筆畫反不逮逸少。……特後世重拓疊摹，不得其真久矣。蜀本《黃庭》，筆墨麤工，本皆非可貴，第以其名存之。
同上，卷六「又《黃庭經》別本」：此當時唐人得舊本摹入**石**者。

[37] For the attribution of *Yi he ming* to Wang Xizhi among Northern Song literati, see, for example:
蘇舜欽《丹陽子高得逸少瘞鶴銘於焦山之下，及梁唐諸賢四石刻，共作一亭，以寶墨名之。集賢伯鎮為之作記，遠來求詩，因作長句以記》：山陰不見換鵝經，京口今存瘞鶴銘。
歐陽修《集古錄》卷十：按《潤州圖經》以為王羲之書。字亦奇特，然不類羲之筆法，而類顏魯公，不知何人書也？華陽真逸是顧況道號，今不敢遂以為況者。碑無年月，不知何時？疑前後有人同斯號者也。
黃庭堅《題瘞鶴銘後》：右軍嘗戲爲龍爪書，今不復見。余觀《瘞鶴銘》勢若飛動，豈其遺法耶。

Most modern scholars attribute the authorship of *Yi he ming* to Tao Hongjing 陶弘景 (456–536), an early medieval Daoist belonging to the Shangqing sect in Maoshan, a place near the inscribed cliff. For the previous scholarship on the attribution, see Lei Xue, *Eulogy for Burying a Crane and the Art of Chinese Calligraphy* (Seattle: University of Washington, 2019), p. 8. Xue seconds the Tao Hongjing authorship and offers an alternative explanation of the purpose of *Yi he ming* inscription to express his discontent of Liang Wudi's proscription against Daoism; see ibid., pp. 36–41.

Last but not least, Wang Jiakui 王家葵 in his creative and insightful book *Yi he ming xin kao* 瘞鶴銘新考 (Chengdu: Sichuan renmin chubanshe, 2020) entertains the possibility of Pi Rixiu's 皮日休 (fl. 9th c.) authorship of this mysterious inscription against the late Tang cultural contexts of Daoist pursuits. Wang Jiakui reads Pi Rixiu's exertion of *Yi he ming* as a role-playing performance to re-enact Tao Hongjing's life scenario.

[38] See Zhao, "Ti Luzhi shu *Huangting jing*" 題魯直書黃庭經; FSJ, 4.51; the same poem is also included in ZZJJZ with a variant title "Luzhi wusilan *Huangting*" 魯直烏絲襴黃庭, 3.797–801.

[39] For Huang's learning of large-size calligraphy from the *Yi he ming* stone inscription, see Lei Xue, "Discovering the Past," in his *Eulogy for Burying a Crane and the Art of Chinese Calligraphy*, pp. 58–67.

especially Huang Tingjian's appreciation. And it is hardly a coincidence that both Huang Tingjian and Wang Tingyun were superb calligrapher-cum-poets, which in turn lent authority to Wang Tingyun's role as a poetic and artistic arbiter in his age.

The most striking expression of this verse, however, lies in the second couplet in terms of Wang's deliberate selection and appropriation of lexica. *Nàidài* 褦襶 and *níngxīn* 宁馨 are both vulgar parlances preserved in spoken language (whose traces can even be detected in dialects nowadays) and are rarely applied in formal poetic diction, but here they altogether form an aesthetic harmony in this parallel couplet by referring to two kinds of people. *Nàidài* originally means the wide-brimmed bamboo or straw hat one wears in hot summer – an echo with the current theme – which extends to denote coarse clothing in general; in this line it serves as a metonym for illiterate commoners. *Níngxīn* as a folk adage already appeared in the early medieval period, and in spoken language it means "such," "… like this," but here it is an abbreviation of the fixed collation *níngxīn'ér* 寧馨兒, "children like this / as such," which comes to be an address of endearment. These two phrases also have something to do with the topic of calligraphy: on the one hand, no "illiterate commoners" are able to join such cultured company, and on the other, Wang's children are said to "paint or stain the wall" to practice their handwriting, which has already become a leitmotif under the hands of Tang and Song poets.[40] Furthermore, Wang also keeps the euphonic stricture in his mind, as he made a self-annotation on purpose explaining that the character *níng* should be read in the level tone like what it is Liu

[40] I input the keyword *wan bi* 涴壁 ("to stain the wall") into the Sou-yun 搜韻 search engine for classical Chinese poetry (https://sou-yun.cn/QueryPoem.aspx), and below are some results in the Tang and Song periods with the same motif that show up in its database:
劉禹錫《答前篇》：小兒弄筆不能嗔，涴壁書窗且當勤。聞彼夢熊猶未兆，女中誰是衛夫人。
蘇軾《郭祥正家醉畫竹石壁上郭作詩為謝且遺二古銅劍》：平生好詩仍好畫，書牆涴壁長遭罵。
汪藻《從吳禹功借徐鉉小篆帖以詩還之》：援毫極摹倣，涴壁類兒女。
陸游《喜小兒輩到行在》：書窗涴壁誰忍嗔，啼呼也復可憐人。
周必大《寄題新居羅長卿觀瀾閣蘭堂二首（壬午）》其二： 醉留惡語涴君壁，有客如此君勿嗔。

Yuxi's 劉禹錫 (772–842) poem,[41] so that the level-level tone pattern of *níngxīn* is a perfect counterpoint of the deflected-deflected pattern of *nàidài*. This adroit poetic maneuver in this single piece reveals the typical craft Wang Tingyun masters, characterized by extremely condensed lexical and syntactic choices, as well as sophisticated wit of appropriating highbrow taste with spoken language registers. I believe this is the sought-after style of *jianxin* by Jin poets, with unprecedented phrasing that is intellectually and aesthetically exploited within a seemingly worn-out poetic topical decorum.

Wang Tingyun, with all his preeminent talent and cultivated taste, was thus qualified to be the cynosure labeled as the "celebrated literatus" (*mingshi* 名士) in his time, as Yuan Haowen affirmed decades later that he "championed all other celebrated literati in the central state [i.e., northern China]" 冠名士兮中朝.[42] Wang's fame also derived from his prestigious family background: his father Wang Zun'gu 王遵古 (*jinshi* 1160) was already a successful official bearing the honorific "Nobleman of the Past" (*xiren junzi* 昔人君子) received from Emperor Zhangzong,[43] and his maternal grandfather was the former Grand Councilor Zhang Hao 張浩 (1102?–1163).[44] Both Wang and Zhang families were aristocratic clans descended from the previous Balhae (*Bohai* 渤海) state (698–926) and rose to high status during the Liao-Jin

[41] Wang's self-annotation says: "In Adviser Liu's [i.e., Liu Yuxi] poem, the character *ning* is pronounced in level tone" 劉賓客詩「寧」字平聲呼, since *ning* is a polyphonic character and has another deflected tone pronounced as *nìng*. See Wang Tingyun, "Xia ri"; ZZJJZ, 3.772–73. The poem Wang Tingyun is referring to is Liu Yuxi, "Zeng Riben seng Zhizang" 贈日本僧智藏: 為問中華學道者，幾人雄猛得寧馨.

[42] Yuan Haowen, "Wang Huanghua mubei," in YHWQJ, 16.343. Indeed, Yuan highlights the keyword *ming* 名 or "fame" everywhere in this commemorative writing:

> 蓋公門閥、人品、器識、文藝，一時名卿材大夫少有出其右者。
>
> 公早有重名，天下士夫想聞風采，謂當一日九遷。
>
> 學益博，志節益高，而名益重。

[43] Ibid., 16.341. For more about Wang Zun'gu's biography, see Wang Qingsheng 王慶生, *Jindai wenxuejia nianpu* 金代文學家年譜, 2 vols (Nanjing: Fenghuang chubanshe, 2005), pp. 214–16.

[44] For Zhang Hao's biography, see JS, 83.1862–65.

dynastic changes. Wang Tingyun took seriously the cultivation of offspring from his own family with first-rate education: Since Wang Tingyun himself only had daughters with no grown-up son, he adopted one from his relative named Wang Wanqing 王萬慶 (d. after 1262), who later became a well-established scholar-official into the Yuan dynasty and was adept at poetry, calligraphy and painting just like Wang Tingyun. Besides, his nephews Wang Mingbo 王明伯 (d. 1233?) and Gao Xian 高憲 (d. 1215) were also talented youths trained by him.[45] Wang's social prestige was also reflected in his patronage of promising students, so that a group of young literati as incipient rising stars gravitated towards him:

> Those who followed and studied with him included Han Wenfu [i.e., Han Yu 韓玉 (*jinshi* 1194)], Lu Yuanheng (?), Zhang Jinqing (?), Li Gongdu [i.e., Li Xie 李澥 (fl. 1200s)] and so on; and those received by him were people like Lord Zhao Xianxian [i.e., Zhao Bingwen], Lord Feng the Hanlin Academician [i.e., Feng Bi], Lord Li Pingshan [i.e., Li Chunfu] – they were all barons in *wenzhang*, of whom the lesser could still be regarded as celebrated literati, so the world praised Wang for knowing talents.
>
> 從之遊者，如韓溫甫、路元亨、張晉卿、李公度；所引見者，如閑閑趙公、內翰馮公、屏山李公，皆為文章鉅公，下者猶不失為名士，世以知人許之。[46]

This long register of names – among whom Zhao Bingwen and Li Chunfu will be our dual protagonists throughout late Jin literary history – demonstrates Wang's profound cultural influence at the turn of the thirteenth century. This consequently made him an appealing role model for this ongoing fashion of novelty among younger students, as is said that "Once Ziduan [i.e., Wang Tingyun] shook out his sleeves and arose from the Sea of Liao [east and south of Liaoning province nowadays]; / Later proteges utterly changed to contend for singularity and novelty" 子端振衣起遼海，後學一變爭奇新.[47]

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[45] See their biographical information in ZZJJZ, 3.748, 5.1343; also see Wang, *Jindai wenxuejia nianpu*, pp. 242–46, 446–48.
[46] Yuan Haowen, "Wang Huanghua mubei"; YHWQJ, 16.342.
[47] Yang Hongdao 楊宏道, "Wang Ziduan Xi qiao mengyu tu" 王子端溪橋濛雨圖; XBQJS, 93.2507.

Interestingly enough, beyond a coterie of devoted disciples surrounding this literary genius, Wang Tingyun's poetry seems to have been circulated as instructive primers gearing toward students who were learning how to compose poems, including those who became great Jin poets later. Zhao Bingwen, for example, learned poetry and calligraphy after Wang's style when he was young.[48] Yuan Haowen also admitted that "when I started to learn how to speak, my late mother taught me to recite Master's pentametric verses" 自初學語，先夫人教誦公五言.[49] Yet, there seems to be a chasm between poetic primers and Wang's poetic fame: If Wang's poetry can be memorized and chanted by a child of a young age, it should be plain enough and ready-at-hand in its meaning, which is the opposite of what we define of Wang's poetry illustrate above. Actually, Yuan Haowen in the biography of Wang implied a great transition of style during his life: "In his old age, Wang's poetic meters were abstruse and strict; especially for heptasyllabic extended verses, Wang's compositions were skillful for challenging rhymes. Compared to his earlier compositions, his later ones are as if done by a totally different hand, and this can only be understood by those who truly know [the art]" 暮年詩律深嚴，七言長篇，尤以險韻為工，方之少作，如出兩手，可為知者道也.[50] Accordingly, we can construe that Wang's compositions written in youth were straightforward enough and lacking abstruseness that later became his iconic feature. In fact, if we examine Wang's extant poems preserved in ZZJ, besides those intricate and sometimes abstruse verses I have selected and translated above, most of Wang's poems actually appear in a smooth and lucid manner, and in particular, those pentametric quatrains that Yuan Haowen claims to be his earliest textbookish models for poetry are elegant,

[48] See GQZ, 1.5: 公（趙秉文）幼年詩與書皆法子端.
[49] Yuan Haowen, "Wang Huanghua mubei"; YHWQJ, 16.343.
[50] Ibid., 16.342.

easy to comprehend and at the same time endowed with neat, refined parallelism. Take the quatrain "Recalling River Guo" (Yi Guo chuan 憶瀫川) for example:

極目江湖雨	As far as the eye can see, rain across rivers and lakes.
連陰甲子秋	Overcast weather for days on end, the autumn of *jiazi* [rainy day].[51]
青燈十年夢	Azure light – a decade-long dream;
白髮一扁舟	White hair – a shallow skiff.[52]

This is a typical piece expressing the poet's homesickness. The poetic tropes are all conventional stock phrases (perhaps with the only exception of the allusion *jiazi qiu* 甲子秋), the intonation pattern is most regular, and the syntax and language are also simple enough for rote memorization for children – in other words, this quatrain can be a perfect sample for students to grasp the basics of classical poetry. Yet, the evocative images with lack of conjunctions leaves much more unsaid and invites further imagination and rumination. A short and elementary quatrain notwithstanding, its aesthetic quality is not at all reduced. We should note, nevertheless, that our impression of Wang Tingyun's poetry filtered by ZZJ is not free from the compiler's personal taste and selection bias, so that Yuan Haowen might have created a Wang Tingyun who wasn't really the one who was influential in his own day, and many more perplexing samples in Wang's later life might have just not been included and lost for long.

Perhaps drawn to Wang Tingyun's worldly reputation, two rival authorities among Jin literati in the next generation, Zhao Bingwen and Li Chunfu, had a renowned disparity over the evaluation of Wang's poetry. It will soon come to light that Zhao and Li made use of Wang Tingyun in service of their distinctive poetic agendas. Based on poetic craftsmanship and

[51] *Jiazi* here is the abbreviation of the phrase *jiazi yu* 甲子雨 (rain on the *jiazi* day), which is a proper noun used in numerology. Here "*jiazi* rainy day" simply refers to the incessant drizzling in autumn.
[52] ZZJJZ, 3.711. Also see Wang's other pentametric quatrains like "Jueju" 絕句 and "Sun shi Wugou qiao ting" 孫氏午溝橋亭; ibid., 3.759, 760.

inventiveness, Li Chunfu finds interlocked chains between Wang Tingyun and the two exemplary Northern Song poets:

> Dongpo [i.e., Su Shi] transforms into Shan'gu, and Shan'gu into Huanghua [i.e., Wang Tingyun]; others can barely match them.
> 東坡變而山谷，山谷變而黃華，人難及也。[53]

This is a very high praise for Wang Tingyun to stand on an equal footing with the heir apparent of Su and Huang, while Li Chunfu in this assertion zeroes in on *change* rather than *consistency* to be the junctures of this literary lineage. Li pointedly grasps the innovative nature of literary evolutions rooted in Su Shi and Huang Tingjian's manner of poetry-making and inherited by Wang Tingyun, which is manifest as their individualistic pursuits for being different and original. More important, Li's claim builds a bridge between Huang Tingjian, the most representative Northern Song poet, and the most well-acknowledged Jin poet Wang Tingyun in his generation on the basis of poetic finesse and distinctiveness.

In sharp contrast, it is exactly the excessive change and novelty exemplified in Wang Tingyun's *jianxin* or "piercingly novel" style that Zhao Bingwen opposed to. Though Zhao was once a young rising star and received Wang's compliment and promotion,[54] he later parted company with Wang and discorded on some crucial notions of the latter's poetics. Zhao commented:

> Wang Ziduan [i.e. Wang Tingyun] is indeed talented, but he is too indulged in his fame. Every time he composes a couplet or a whole piece, he is determined to let everyone praise him for his excellence, so that his poetry is nothing but being *piercingly novel*. He once wrote: "Recently, out of nowhere, I feel no well-made conception; / Even if a poem is finished, it sounds like Letian [i.e., Bai Juyi 白居易 (772–846)]." Thus he is bound to be criticized by others.

[53] GQZ, 10.119.
[54] See ibid., 8.86: 趙閑閑少嘗寄黃華詩，黃華稱之，曰：「姓王氏（句似有誤）非作千首，其工夫不至是也。」其詩至今為人傳誦，且趙以此詩初得名。詩云：「寄語雪溪王處士，年來多病復何如？浮雲世態紛紛變，秋草人情日日疏。李白一杯人影月，鄭虔三絕畫詩書。情知不得文章力，乞與黃華作隱居。」

王子端才固高，然太為名所使。每出一聯一篇，必要使人皆稱之，故止是尖新。其曰「近來陡覺無佳思，縱有詩成似樂天」，不免為物議也。[55]

Through Zhao's words, readers get the impression that the "piercingly novel" style was closely related to the poet's talent (*cai* 才) and fame (*ming* 名), with an eye-catching effect to win favor of contemporaries. Another example that links the *jianxin* style with talent and affection is the poet Wang Ge 王革 (fl. 13th c.), as GQZ records that "he had talented wit in youth, and his poetic brush was piercingly novel, he himself was a man with panache" 少有才思，詩筆尖新，風流人也.[56] Here the style of "piercingly novel" was almost equal to poetic virtuosity in the eyes of Jin poets.

Besides the comment of *jianxin*, it is even more dramatic to see Wang Tingyun mocking Bai Juyi in his own verse, and yet, if we turn Wang's negative appraisal inside out, we can say that his ideal poetry is exactly the opposite of what we could expect from Bai Juyi's work, whose comparatively plain, accessible, and easy-to-read style is anything but *jianxin*. In contrast, Wang strained for refined and even abstruse verses, even more so in his later life, depicted to be "always arranging the composition with painstaking effort" 長在經營慘淡中.[57] But poets in this style were not devoid of opponents. According to Zhao, Wang Tingyun's criticism against Bai Juyi aroused controversy among Jin contemporaries. Today, we have a set of four rhyme-matching poems written by Wang Ruoxu directly in response to Wang Tingyun's prejudice, though the latter's original series were unfortunately lost except for the single couplet quoted above. Intriguingly, it is exactly the "painstaking effort" invested in poetic composition that Wang Ruoxu regarded as Wang Tingyun's fatal flaw. Wang Ruoxu thus assailed:

[55] Ibid., 10.119.
[56] Ibid., 5.54.
[57] Li Chunfu 李純甫, "Ziduan shanshui tong Yuzhi fu" 子端山水同裕之賦; ZZJJZ, 4.1166.

功夫費盡漫窮年	Laborious efforts are utterly wasted throughout the whole year;
痛入膏肓不可鑷	He aches beyond cure and will not be remonstrated.
寄與雪溪王處士	I send a message to Recluse Wang in Snow Creek [i.e., Wang Tingyun],
恐君猶是管窺天	"I'm afraid you sir still look through a tube to peek the entire heaven."[58]

As things will turn out clearer in the next chapter that Wang Ruoxu was a steadfast advocate of Bai Juyi, and he read Wang Tingyun's belittlement of Bai as self-deluded and misleading as if "looking through a tube to peek the entire heaven" or *guan kui tian* 管窺天 – a perfect matching rhyme and at the same time cutting retort to Wang Tingyun's original jeer at poetry that "resembles those by Letian" *si Letian* 似樂天. Moreover, by quoting one unsound couplet from Huang Tingjian and Wang Tingyun respectively, Wang Ruoxu then categorized them in the same group for overdoing their exploitation of wording for newness: "If poetic diction is aberrantly bizarre to lodge their intention, it is not necessarily unacceptable; but if it is applied to excess, this can turn out to be defective" 詩人之語，詭譎寄意，固無不可，然至於太過，亦其病也.[59] In other words, while exaggerated expression to achieve unexpectedness or novelty is prescriptive in poetic art, this effort can also backfire.

Some late Jin literati like Liu Qi interpreted the dispute between Zhao Bingwen and Li Chunfu over Wang Tingyun as fighting for the leadership of Jin poet society. Zhao implicitly elevated himself by criticizing his fearful rival Wang Tingyun, while Li Chunfu insisted Wang's unparalleled dominating status to counterbalance Zhao Bingwen's poetic fame. As GQZ records as follows: "Some say that Zhao's refusal to associate himself with Ziduan [i.e., Wang Tingyun] is to contend for [poetic] fame with Wang, while Li's advocacy of Huanghua [i.e., Wang

[58] Wang Ruoxu, "Wang Ziduan yun, 'jin lai tu jue wu jiasi, zong you shi cheng si Tetian,' qi xiao Letian shen yi, yu yi chang he wei si jue" 王子端云、近來徒覺無佳思、縱有詩成似樂天、其小樂天甚矣、予亦嘗和為四絕, no. 1, in *Hunan yilao ji jiaozhu*, 45.552; also see ZZJJZ, 6.1527.
[59] See Wang Ruoxu, "(Hunan) shihua" （滹南）詩話, in *Hunan yilao ji jiaozhu*, 40.476.

Tingyun] is to prevail over Zhao" 或謂趙不假借子端，蓋與王爭名，而李推黃華，蓋將以軋趙也.[60] Apart from this reading, I am inclined to construe it as more about distinction of aesthetic taste. As we will see very soon, Li prefers "changes" and the style of "singularity or extraordinariness" in literary composition under the impact of Han Yu 韓愈 (768–824), Su Shi, Huang Tingjian, and Wang Tingyun, whereas Zhao warns against "overworked" polish and forced strangeness which could entail awkward phrases, obscure terms, and contorted syntax.

That being said, considering the contemporary literary ecology, it eventually turned out that Wang Tingyun's poetic endeavor for novelty got popularized among the Jin literary elites. When the thirteenth century was around the corner, Li Chunfu, among other admirers of Wang Tingyun in the next generation, emerged as the key figure who navigated this trend into a specific direction.

Li Chunfu's Literati Circle and the Poetics of Heroic Eccentricity

To some extent, Li Chunfu and Zhao Bingwen's dispute over Wang Tingyun's status heralded the bifurcation in the development of Jin poetry in their time, as they went for different paths to achieve their poetic ideals summarized above as being "extraordinary" (*qi* 奇) versus "elegant" (*ya* 雅). Li Chunfu in one of his verses also encapsulates the same idea:

壁上七弦元自雅	On the wall, the seven-stringed zither is on its own merits elegant;
囊中五字更須奇	In the sachet, pentametric verses have to be ever more extraordinary.[61]

[60] GQZ, 10.119.
[61] Li Chunfu, "Piao an" 瓢庵; ZZJJZ, 4.1168.

Indeed, the dual parameters of "elegance" and "extraordinariness" can be considered as the key to later Jin poetry, represented by Zhao and Li respectively. The portrayal of zither with its quality of quintessential elegance here is more about the elite taste and identity as a gentrified way of life than the poetic style. Overall, it is poetic originality and exceptionality that drew the attention of Jin literati like Li Chunfu, and some of his Jin fellows criticized him precisely for being "far-fetched," since he was "highly talented and fond of making perilous sentences and strange lines of verses that are pointless" 之純雖才高，好作險句怪語，無意味.[62]

But initially, both Li and Zhao were avant-gardes among their contemporary literati, and they shared a common goal of resisting sophisticated yet mediocre conventions in literary compositions. This likely was linked to the changing modes of the civil service examination under different reigns of Jin emperors. During Emperor Zhangzong's and Prince Weishao's ruling periods, civil service exams organized for Han literati only tested regulated rhapsody (*lü fu* 律賦) which involved perplexing technical details rather than broad learning and critical minds. It is said:

> During the reigns of Taihe (1201–1208) and Da'an (1209–1211), the literary drawback in the civil service exam should probably be imputed to those in charge who only stuck to norms and rules but had no intention of cultivating talents, so that the selected essays were all frail and banal, which only conformed to prescriptive regulations. Those who had uninhibited talent and generous *qi* or vital force, and took delight in composing extraordinary and eccentric verses were dismissed in most cases, hence the literary climate flagged even further.
>
> 泰和、大安以來，科舉之文弊，蓋有司惟守格法，無育材心，故所取之文皆萎弱陳腐，苟合程度而已。其逸才宏氣、喜為奇異語者往往遭絀落，文風益衰。[63]

[62] GQZ, 8.88.

[63] Ibid., 10.108. Incidentally, we get to know that it is Zhang Xingjian 張行簡 (1155?–1215) who was often assigned as the examiner-in-chief between 1185 and 1215, which fell into the reigns of Emperor Zhangzong and Prince Weishao. Though a respectful and rigorous Jin scholar-official, Zhang was also depicted as a stick-in-the-mud who only selected *jinshi* graduates according to measurable and formularized criteria such as tonal pattern and rhyme scheme. See ibid., 9.97: 金朝律賦之弊不可言，大定間，諸公所作氣質渾厚，學問深博，猶可觀。其

It is against this literary atmosphere that Zhao Bingwen and Li Chunfu presented themselves as the uprising force who called for change by disparaging mechanical craftsmanship and selecting real talents.

Indeed, the literary fashion for heroic eccentricity went hand in hand with the mounting apprehension after the first wave of Mongol invasion in 1210s, and the knowledge of governance in place of superficial and trivial verses were also advocated by the literati group. After Emperor Xuanzong crossed south, Zhao and Li as prestigious leaders among literati were nominated as examiners for the civil service exam, and they committed themselves to looking for competent candidates who exactly "had uninhibited talent and generous *qi* or vital force, and took delight in composing extraordinary and eccentric verses." More specifically, rather than testing regulated prose, examiners changed the rules and elevated genres like policy questions and even poetry in the exam, since the latter are not mere word-play but involve erudition and sensibility.[64] One unfavorable consequence, however, was that their revolution of literary standards in the civil exam met hostility from the conformists with a vested interest in the examination marketplace who spent most of their lives dealing with convoluted rhyme-prose regulations:

> The Jin court selected [Han] scholar-officials by putting emphasis only on rhyme-prose, therefore literati had no time for reading and writing other literary genres. I once heard that if senior [*jinshi*] predecessors saw their children reading **poems by Su [Shi] and Huang [Tingjian]**, they would angrily rebuke them. Hence students were only well-versed in regulated rhyme-prose and totally ignorant if being asked about other compositions. Among them there were those who began to read after they had obtained the *jinshi* degree – they were regarded as celebrated literati. After the Jin court crossed South, many literati were devoted to the learning of antiquity, and they complimented each other for writing prose and composing poetry. Nevertheless, those who were formerly expert at the study of the civil exam found fault with them, as if they were their enemies, to such extent that so that they were split into two camps and deprecated

後，張承旨行簡知貢舉，惟以格律痛繩之，洗垢求瘢，苛甚，其一時士子趨學，模題畫影，至不成語言，以是有「甘泉」「甜水」之諭，文風浸衰。

[64] See ibid., 8.80: 南渡後，趙、楊諸公為有司，方於策論中取人，故士風稍變，頗加意策論。又於詩賦中亦辨別讀書人才，以是文風稍振。然亦謗議紛紜。然每貢舉，非數公為有司，則又如舊矣。

each other: those who composed poetry and prose regarded what exam candidates did as merely the [tedious] study of the civil exam, and the latter labeled literary writers as offspring with hereditary privilege [to obtain an official position], so as to laugh at their incompetence in the exam.

金朝取士，止以詞賦為重，故士人往往不暇讀書為他文。一云「不暇習為他文」。嘗聞先進故老見子弟輩讀**蘇、黃詩**，輒怒斥，故學子止工於律賦，問之他文則懵然不知。間有登第後始讀書為文者，諸名士是也。南渡以來，士人多為古學，以著文作詩相高。然舊日專為科舉之學者疾之為仇讎，若分為兩途，互相詆譏。其作詩文者目舉子為科舉之學，為科舉之學者指文士為任子弟，笑其不工科舉。[65]

It is ironic that for those exam-takers, poetry that had been generally considered indispensable to literati self-identity turned out to be redundant, unnecessary or even distracting. This discord went so far that poetic composition and civil exam curriculum became incompatible or even mutually exclusive. Besides Liu Qi's record in GQZ, Yuan Haowen reconfirmed this sharp tension among Jin literati: "Except for regulated prose, miscellaneous styles and genres of literature were regarded as useless skills [in the eyes of civil exam candidates]; they disregarded poetic composition in particular by claiming that it did harm to composing regulated rhapsody" 程文之外，翰墨雜體悉指為無用之技，尤諱作詩，謂其害賦律尤甚.[66]

As such, Li Chunfu and Zhao Bingwen stood for self-motivated reformists in the late Jin period against those conventionalists accustomed to the utilitarian and narrow-minded education.[67] By changing the selection criteria of civil service exams, they hoped to affect the overall Jin literary fashion. It is said that "after [the Jin court] crossed south, the literary fad changed straightaway: many learned prose in the extraordinary and archaic (*qi gu* 奇古) manner, and poetry that fit the classical and elegant (*fengya* 風雅) – it was benefited from the promotion

[65] Ibid. Also see translation of this passage in Bol, "Han Literati Under Jurchen Rule," 496.
[66] Yuan Haowen, "Gu Henan lu keshuisuo zhangguan jian lianfangshi Yang jun shendao zhi bei" 故河南路課稅所長官兼廉訪使楊君神道之碑; YHWQJ, 23.438.
[67] For example, Liu Qi commented in his GQZ, 10.109: "Literati have long been content with the inferior and accustomed to the uncouth, and once they see those lofty and extraordinary, it is only natural for them to feel surprised and astonished" 士皆安卑習陋久矣，一旦見其有軒昂峭異者，其怪駭宜哉.

of Zhao Xianxian [i.e., Zhao Bingwen] and Li Pingshan [i.e., Li Chunfu]" 南渡後，文風一變，文多學奇古，詩多學風雅，由趙閑閑、李屏山倡之.[68] We can say that the energetic and revivalist literary movement corresponded with their political activism as a scholar-official as well as their self-expectation as an aspirant Jin poet. Concerning the two leading figures in the thirteenth-century literary arena in the northern Jin, Zhao Bingwen's literary ideals will be our topic in the next part, and here we first focus on Li Chunfu and his literati group.

After he achieved the *jinshi* degree in 1197 and started his official career, Li Chunfu self-consciously built up and managed his social network and reputation among younger generations. As a gregarious senior, he got along well with these followers and treated them equally by addressing each other in the plain form (*er ru jiao* 爾汝交 in Chinese), and sometimes even forging inter-generational friendships (*wangnian jiao* 忘年交).[69] Since Li did not spare his praise for the merits and worthiness of these young people, a distinguishable and closely knit circle centered on him took shape over time. Liu Qi's father Liu Congyi belonged to this cohort, so that Liu Qi had the advantage to leave some detailed insider information in his GQZ:

> [Li Chunfu] was by nature fond of mingling with scholars and literati. As long as a young follower had one merit, he would praise lavishly. Celebrated literati at that time were all made public because of his promotion. [Li Chunfu] also clapped each other's shoulders, addressed names in the plain form, and took pleasure in memorizing people's ages and generations. He instructed, caressed and attended to [young disciples], whose kindness is comparable to that of kinship. Therefore, scholar-officials flocked to and affiliated with him, and he was respectfully called the "Dragon Gate of the present age" [as a way to success]. He once composed the "[Auto-]Biography of Recluse Scholar of Pingshan," and in the end he said: "[Recluse Scholar of Pingshan] very much like to promote and recommend young followers." For people like Zhou Siming (*jinshi* 1209, d. 1211), Zhang Jue (fl. early 13th c.), Li Jing (fl. early 13th c.), Wang Quan (*jinshi*

[68] Ibid., 8.85.

[69] See Li Chunfu's mini-biography in ZZJJZ, 4.1121: "[Li] was fond of worthies and enjoyed befriending good persons. Even if those young newcomers paid visit to his house, [Li] would address each other in the plain form –he didn't put on airs and perform self-importance" 好賢樂善，雖新進少年游其門，亦與之為爾汝交，其不自貴重又如此.

1209), Lei Yuan (*jinshi* 1213, 1184–1231), my father Liu Congyi (*jinshi* 1209, 1183?–1226?)], and Song Jiujia (*jinshi* 1213, d. 1233), [Li Chunfu] called them all with the polite honorific "brother."

天資喜士，後進有一善，極口稱推，一時名士，皆由公顯于世。又與之拍肩爾汝，志年齒相歡。教育、撫摩，恩若親戚。故士大夫歸附，號爲當世龍門。嘗自作《屏山居士傳》，末云："雅喜推借後進"。如周嗣明、張毅、李經、王權、雷淵、余先子姓名劉從益、宋九嘉，皆以兄呼。[70]

This passage is excerpted from Li Chunfu's entry in GQZ. Interestingly enough, Liu Qi then immediately lists an array of brief biographies about "who's who" of Li's adherents mentioned in this paragraph, so that a group portrait of Li's friend circle could be conceived of.[71] On top of it, it is not hard to figure out that all of them were *jinshi* candidates in the years 1209 and 1213, though Zhang Jue and Li Jing failed the 1209 civil exam. As Michael Fuller has pointed out, in Li Chunfu's time, "the examination system seems to have contributed to the creation of the social networks and circulation of texts that culminated in the literary community,"[72] so it is no coincidence that Li Chunfu's circle largely overlapped the community of *jinshi* candidates. Li himself passed the *jinshi* exam a decade ago in 1197 and entered Emperor Zhangzong's court politics in 1200s. As an approachable senior scholar-official, he probably played the tutorial role and even wrote recommendation letters for others. Hence, a group of promising exam candidates flocked to Li Chunfu as their exemplar, and a social network based on friendship or master-disciple relationship was thus established. It is well testified in the genealogical reconstruction of Li's community in light of Neo-Confucianist ideology, in which many names mentioned above are labeled as either disciples or fellow students.[73] We can also detect from extant Jin texts that

[70] GQZ, 1.6.
[71] See entries or biographies of Lei Yuan, Song Jiujia, Li Jing, Zhang Jue, Zhou Siming, and Wang Que respectively in ibid., 1.9–11, 2.12–14.
[72] Fuller, "Elite literature of the Jin dynasty to 1214," in *The Cambridge History of Chinese Literature*, p. 513.
[73] See "Pingshan Mingdao jishuo lüe" 屏山鳴道集說略, in Huang Zongxi 黃宗羲 (1610–1695), Quan Zuwang 全祖望 (1705–1755), *Song Yuan xue'an* 宋元學案, Chen Jinsheng 陳金生 and Liang Yunhua 梁運華 eds. (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1986), 100.3315–33, esp. 3327–29. Lei Yuan, Song Jiujia, Zhang Jue, Li Jing, and Wang Quan are listed as "disciples of Pingshan" 屏山門人; Liu Congyi becomes a "learning fellow of Li [Chunfu] and Zhao

Li Chunfu consciously built up and managed his interpersonal relationship through cultural production. Besides his autobiography *Pingshan jushi zhuan* 屏山居士傳 mentioned above, Li wrote another companion volume titled *Pingshan guren waizhuan* 屏山故人外傳 (Unofficial Biographies of Old Friends of Pingshan), and the register of names were all Jin *jinshi* graduates according to what we can find in extant sources.[74] These two books altogether can be seen as public self-promotion of "Li Chunfu and his scholar-official friends" in the late Jin literary arena. Indeed, Li was undoubtedly the contemporary *spiritus rector* among Jin literati, whom even Zhao Bingwen could not match at that time (see more in Zhao Bingwen's part below). However, neither Li Chunfu's individual collection nor the aforementioned biographies written by him are extant today. *Pingshan guren waizhuan* was frequently mentioned in Yuan Haowen's writing, so that we know Yuan probably had a copy of it at hand; yet curiously, I don't find a clue of this book being raised by anyone in the next generations including the celebrated Hao Jing and Wang Yun. Li's biography recorded in the official JS also wipes out all information concerning his friendship and merely focuses on his own outstanding personality and literary capacity.[75] Albeit influential in his own generation via broad networking among Jin elites, Li Chunfu's fame seemed to fade away and largely forgotten together with his fellows and disciples over time.

[Bingwen]" 李趙學侶, while Zhou Siming who belonged to the next generation is categorized as "people in tune with Lei [Yuan] and Song [Jiujia]" 雷宋同調.

[74] Quite a few mini-biographies of Jin poets recorded in the ZZJ are transcribed from *Pingshan guren waizhuan*, and in turn we know that these biographees were once within Li's friend circle. I enlist the relative names below: Zhao Shu 趙述 (*jinshi* 1197, 2.380), Wang Tingyun (*jinshi* 1176, 3.748), Zhou Ang (*jinshi* 1182, 4.864), Liu Ang (*jinshi* 1179, 4.984), Liu Zhong 劉中 (*jinshi* 1194, 4.1017), Shi Su 史肅 (*jinshi* 1191, 5.1179–80), Gao Xian (*jinshi* 1203, 5.1343), Lü Zhen'gan 呂貞幹 (*jinshi*, 8.2174), Lu Yuan 盧元 (*jinshi* 1188, 8.2194).

Besides ZZJ, Yuan Haowen also mentions Jia Yiqian 賈益謙 (*jinshi* 1170) to be one of the biographees recorded in *Pingshan guren waizhuan*; see Yuan's preface to written for the Jia family history, "Dongping Jia shi qianqiu lu houji" 東平賈氏千秋錄後記; YHWQJ, 34.604.

[75] JS, 126.2734–35.

Besides the social dimension, the aesthetical eccentricity pursued by Li Chunfu is also one of the characteristics that defined this specific group. Having inherited the poetic pursuit of "piercing novelty" since Wang Tingyun's promotion, this literati group turned out to predominate the late Jin poetic fashion during the first quarter of the thirteenth century. One commonality shared by the core members of Li's circle was the propensity for being extraordinary (*qi* 奇) – the key word that threads through their biographies recorded in GQZ in terms of either their personality or literary style.[76] Some of them even transgressed social conventions and came close to the brink of weirdos. It is said that Wang Quan had very miscellaneous knowledge and was so sensitive that he frequently cried without scruple. Thus he won the epithets of "principal of strangeness" (*guai kui* 怪魁) and "wild youth" (*kuang sheng* 狂生) among his friends.[77] A more extreme case is the scholar-official Ma Tiancai 馬天采 (1172–1232). As another 1213 *jinshi* graduate, Ma was in good terms with Li Chunfu, and he was best known for the abnormal behavior of attending to the court while dressing Daoist robes and hemp sandals. He learned eccentric poetry from Li He 李賀 (790–816) and Lu Tong 盧仝 (795?–835) (which will be

[76] Here I list the relative biographical accounts recorded in GQZ:
雷淵：公博學有雄氣，爲文章專法韓昌黎，尤長于敍事。詩雜坡、谷，喜**新奇**。(1.10) Also see 8.88: "Lei Yuan was also in favor of Han Yu's poetry, as well as novelty and exquisiteness accomplished by Huang Luzhi's poetry" 詩亦喜韓，兼好黃魯直**新巧**.
宋九嘉：少遊太學，有詞賦聲。從屏山遊，讀書、為文有**奇氣**，與雷希顏、李天英相埒也。(1.11)
李經：天英爲詩刻苦，喜出**奇語**，不蹈襲前人，妙處人莫能及。(1.12)
張毅：爲人豪邁不羈，**奇士**也。(2.12)
周嗣明：晦之爲人有學，長于議論，自號放翁。屏山嘗與作《真贊》，與雷、宋、張、李輩頡頏。(2.13)
王權：王權士衡，真定人，又名**之奇**。從屏山遊，屏山稱之。爲人跌宕不羈。喜功名。博學，無所不覽。酣飲放歌，人以爲狂。屏山爲作《**狂真**贊》。(2.13)
[77] See ZZJJZ, 9. 2311: 真定王之奇士衡攻雜學，屏山目為怪魁，王從之內翰為賦善哭詩.
For the depiction of Wang's characteristic crying, also see Wang Ruoxu, "Zeng Wang Shiheng" 贈王士衡; ibid., 6.1494–95.
His nickname "wild youth" is seen in Wang Ruoxu, "Lin xia si you zan" 林下四友贊, in *Hunan yilao ji jiaozhu*, 45.544–45: 東垣彭子升悅、王士衡權、周晦之嗣明，皆予心契也。……嘗約他年為林下之游，且各為別號以自寄焉。蓋予以慵夫，而子升以澹子，士衡為狂生，而晦之則放翁也。曰澹、曰慵、曰狂、曰放，世以為怪，而自謂其真。施於仕途，固非所宜，而在隱居，則無害也。是故安之而不疑焉。……

discussed in chapter 7), and enjoyed composing "strange verses" to astonish the world. As such, he was portrayed as "wild and nonsensical" (*kuangdan* 狂誕) in the eyes of his contemporaries.[78] Eventually, their collective addiction to strange poetry is most manifest in the poetic motif of the grotesque pine tree (*guai song* 怪松) that inspired group compositions by Jin poets.[79] In particular, Lei Yuan once wrote a poem on this subject whose first couplet reads: "The way things forth has the regular [principles]; / Being strange is only the ailment of this specific object" 物生自有常，怪特物之病.[80] This is Lei's self-mockery as an atypical literatus at odds with his time. All of these Jin poets read themselves into the image of grotesque pine trees, revealing their pathological struggle between the state of being useless and unappreciated in real politics, and their unyielding integrity and great aspiration under the awkward appearance. This collective mentality among Han literati also had something to do with the suppression from Jurchen aristocrats and their frustration and despair over late Jin politics, as I have illustrated in the previous chapters.

Another significant feature of this literati group is the communicative or even argumentative tone of their poetic discourse. Many of their extant works preserved in the ZZJ were exchange poems among friends, or a set poems under the same topic composed together by assigning rhymes to respective poets (*fen yun shi* 分韻詩), or a series of linked verses (*lianju* 聯句) made by different agents that constitute a whole poem.[81] Therefore, social activities like

[78] See Ma Tianzhang's biographies in ZZJJZ, 7.1924–25, and GQZ, 5.46.
[79] See, for example, Li Chunfu, "Guai song yao" 怪松謠; Feng Bi 馮璧, "Tong Xiyan guai song" 同希顏怪松; Lei Yuan, "Huishan si guai song" 會善寺怪松; ZZJJZ, 4.11173–74, 6.1487, 1689–90. Also see Liu Congyi, "Leshan song" 樂山松; ibid., 6.1619. Besides, Li Chunfu is also said to have composed a piece of "Rhapsody on Dwarf Cypress" (*Ai bai fu* 矮柏賦) as his self-image; see JS, 126.2735.
[80] Lei Yuan, "Huishan si guai song"; ZZJJZ, 6.1689.
[81] *Juan* 8 and 9 of GQZ record quite a few examples of rhyme-matching or rhyme-assigning poems, as well as linked verses, among literati groups centering on Li Chunfu and Zhao Bingwen. See esp. 8.90–91, 9.92–94.

farewell banquets, drinking parties, and leisure excursions among these eminent elites occasioned exchange poetry as a group enterprise retained by their friendship and correspondence. Contemporary witnesses also testified to the dialectical and contentious atmosphere characteristic of their gatherings. It is said that Li Chunfu was fond of holding drinking parties with his fellows, and every day he would get drunk and start to extemporize his speech lucidly and inexhaustibly – it is particularly amazing that "even when he got drunk, he would not stop writing; and when he talked, laughed, stirred up his anger or made a rebuke, his speech was still resplendent and logically coherent" 雖沉醉，亦未嘗廢著書。至於談笑怒罵，燦然皆成文理.[82] With good command of voluble and rational debates, Li even boasted himself as "one of the three eloquent scholar-officials under Heaven."[83] Lei Yuan seems to be a frequent guest of Li's drinking events, and by contrast, he could eat and drink a lot without being intoxicated, but what is most extraordinary for him is that "he was good at drinking and eating [meat], and no one ever saw him getting roaring drunk. When making comments during the banquet, he was quite eloquent, albeit stammering; he would also say something unexpected without an end, and this made him a truly bold nobleman" 善飲啖，然未嘗見大醉。酒間論事，口吃而甚辯，出奇無窮，此真豪士也.[84] If we take these accounts seriously, it was indeed an impressive scene that drunkenness or stammering did not prevent these two talents from expressing their thoughts eloquently. Among other participants in Li's social gatherings, Zhang

[82] GQZ, 1.6. Also see Li's biography in ZZJJZ, 4.1121: 性嗜酒，未嘗一日不飲，亦未嘗一飲不醉，眼花耳熱後，人有發其談端者，隨問隨答，初不置慮，漫者知所以統，窒者知所以通，傾河瀉江，無有窮竭。
[83] ZZJJZ, 7.1924: 屏山常言天下辯士有三：王仲澤、馬元章、純甫其一也. The other two are Wang Wo, who has shown up in chapter 2, and Ma Tiancai. This comment is quoted from Ma's biography in ZZJ.
[84] GQZ, 1.10–11. Also see Yuan Haowen, "Lei Xiyan muming" 雷希顏墓銘; YHWQJ, 21.418: "His appetite was equal to the amount of three to four persons, and he would not get drunk even after several cups [of alcohol]. With uninhibited consumption of alcohol, talks and banters would arise intermittently" 食兼三四人，飲至數斗不亂。杯酒淋漓，談謔間作.

Jue was “fair in looks and good at conversation; his bold and forthright temperament was on a par with Zhichun [i.e., Li Chunfu] and Xiyan [i.e., Lei Yuan]” 美風儀，善談論，氣質豪爽，在之純、希顏伯仲間;[85] Liu Congyi organized daily assemblies with alcohol when he was the prefect of Xuzhou 許州 (in modern Henan), and both local residents and Li Chunfu’s friends were passionate attendants;[86] Song Jiujia often debated against Li Chunfu’s commitment to Buddhist faith;[87] Wang Quan had the reputation for being rash at banquets, where he drank to the foam, sang high and loud, and even burst out crying.[88] These fascinating and recurring accounts of boisterous meetings within Li’s group revealed a social pattern of literati behaviors in the late Jin period. Accordingly, poetry on such occasions became the literary record of their convivial repartee, the aesthetic product catalyzed by alcohol and dialogue with the presence of intimate friends. Composition under such circumstances thus invited a sense of peer competition and discursive acuity, which is further reflected in their pursuit of poetic originality and eccentricity.

Besides these eminent *jinshi*-degree holders and scholar-officials, Li Chunfu’s circle also involved talented poets and well educated local elites on the periphery of the political system. For the latter, they were in most cases losers in the fierce civil exam, but they also equipped themselves with enough intellectual knowledge and shared the same cultural identity as literati. Li Jing and Zhang Jue are cases in point. Li Jing was a well-known poet from Liaoning, and he soon became Li’s disciple after coming to the capital; despite his patron’s strong recommendation, Li Jing still failed the civil exam and ended up returning home in the Liaodong

[85] ZZJJZ, 8.2158.
[86] See GQZ, 2.13 – 14: 貞祐初，余先子攝許州幕，時屏山，二張伯英、伯玉，雷、魏諸公皆在焉，日會飲為樂; ibid., 2.14: （麻九疇）與張伯玉、宋飛卿、雷希顏、李欽叔及余先子善。先子初攝令郾城，日與唱酬為友.
[87] Ibid., 1.11: 性不喜佛，雖從屏山遊，常與爭辯.
[88] See GQZ, 2.13: 酣飲放歌，人以爲狂。屏山爲作《狂真贊》. Also see Wang Ruoxu, “Zeng Wang Shiheng.”

peninsula. Zhang Jue was a man of wealth in Xuzhou (near capital Kaifeng) who finally gave up taking the exam, but his generous personality, heroic literary style, and social status as an affluent local elite won him the friendship with Li Chunfu. Compared to the successful career of the formal scholar-officials recorded in historiographical documents, we know little about the biographies of Li Jing and Zhang Jue except anecdotes regarding their rapport with Li Chunfu and other celebrities. However, as things will come to light below, Li Jing and Zhang Jue not only were the key brokers of Li's friend circle, but their poetic prowess also best represented the typical trait of what I call "heroic eccentricity" within this Jin literati group.

Their close-knit alliance is most telling in the drinking gatherings where a band of like-minded literati held sometimes congenial, sometimes quarrelsome conversations. In the poem "Farewell to Li Jing" (Song Li Jing 送李經), who had just failed the metropolitan civil exam in 1209 and prepared to pack up his belongings to go home, Li Chunfu recollected the scene of a vigorous send-off assembly among four intimate friends: Zhang Jue, Li Jing, Zhou Siming – a newly minted *jinshi* who passed the exam that year – and the poet himself. In the opening of the piece, Li Chunfu sketched the portraits of respective individuals in every four lines (poetic rhymes also shift in the four-line unit) and illustrated the vehemence of their discussions by applying military metaphors:

1	髯張元是人中雄	Bewhiskered Zhang [i.e., Zhang Jue] is essentially heroic among human:
	喜如俊鶻盤秋空	When he is delighted, he is like a handsome falcon circling in the autumnal sky;
	怒如怪獸拔枯松	When he becomes infuriated, he is like a bizarre monster uprooting a withered pine tree.
	老我不敢嬰其鋒	Old am I that I don't dare breaking his spearhead [i.e., taking him on as an opponent].
5	更著短周時緩頰	Plus Shorty Zhou [i.e., Zhou Siming] also at times dissuades me;
	智囊無底眼如月	His wisdom is bottomless, and his eyes are as limpid as the moon.

斫頭不屈面如鐵　Even if one chopped off his head, he would not be subdued; his face is as stern as iron.[89]
一說未窮復一說　When one argument is not yet finished, another emerges again.
9 勍敵相扼已錚錚　Fearsome opponents engage each other with a clang,
二豪同軍又連衡　And the two bold guys [i.e., Zhang and Zhou] form a military alliance and unite together.
屏山直欲把降旌　I, Pingshan, am just about to raise the white flag and surrender;
不意人間有阿經　Yet I don't realize that there is A Jing [i.e., Li Jing] in this world [who is on my side].
13 阿經瓌奇天下士　A Jing is an extraordinary, rare nobleman all under heaven;
筆頭風雨三千字　Under his brush point, he can make three thousand characters sound like wind and rain.
醉倒謫仙元不死　The drunken banished transcendent [i.e., Li Bai 李白 (701–762), here referring to Li Jing] is still alive indeed,
時借奇兵攻二子　At times he borrows unexpected troops to attack the other two fellows.
17 縱飲高歌燕市中　Drinking uninhibitedly and singing loudly in the Yanjing market,
相視一笑生春風　We look at each other, and with a smile, spring breeze arises [on our faces].
人憎鬼妒愁天公　People hate [Li Jing], demons grow jealous [of him], and the heavenly lord is worried [about him].
徑奪吾弟還遼東　So that my younger brother [i.e., Li Jing] is deprived [of the *jinshi* degree] straightaway and has to return to Liaodong.
21 短周醉別默無語　Shorty Zhou bids farewell while drunk, and keeps silent with no more words to say;
髯張亦作衝冠怒　Bewhiskered Zhang still feels so angry that his hair lifts up his hat.
阿經老淚如秋雨　A Jing sheds his aged tears like autumn rains;
只有屏山拔劍舞　Only Pingshan draws his sword and starts to dance.
……　……[90]

As illustrated above, an argumentative air was the norm in Li Chunfu's gatherings. Here we see a conversational battle between Zhang Jue and Zhou Siming on one side, and Li Chunfu and Li Jing on the other, and we can imagine that this sort of lively debates often took place among them. To make things more interesting, the poet analogized their discursive contentions to military confrontations, since both involved alliances and stratagems (*ll*. 4, 7, 9–12, 16). Of

[89] This line can be read as a "poetic prophecy" which foretells Zhou's miserable fortune of being killed in a decisive Mongol-Jurchen battle in 1211.
[90] Li Chunfu, "Song Li Jing"; ZZJJZ, 4.1127–28.

course, we should not take too seriously the warlike phrasing and blustering tone, but these violent images indeed remind us of "militarization" among Jin poets discussed in chapter 2. Besides the bellicose force, well-meant humor is also embedded in this piece conveyed by teasing nicknames like "Bewhiskered Zhang" 髯張, "Shorty Zhou" 短周, and "A Jing" 阿經. The latter half of this long poem evokes their unbreakable friendship and deep sorrow of Li Jing's failure against the drinking scene in a tavern (*ll*. 17–20), where they let express their sentiments in ways of getting drunk, giving vent to their anger, weeping and dancing with a sword (*ll*. 21–24). Through the eyes of the poet, the congenial company around the failed candidate expressed certain aspects of the cult of heroic eccentricity in actions, conversations and poetic compositions.

The first four lines (*ll*. 1–4) consist of a one-of-a-kind portrayal of Zhang Jue's looks and personality. It is uncommon to analogize a friend as offensive animals, and here Li Chunfu tries to exaggerate Zhang Jue's strong passions and clear-cut likes and dislikes. He gets his nickname "bewhiskered Zhang" for his trendy whiskers that grew long enough to reach his belly, so that he conveys an image of unbridled and gallant man labeled as the head of local gallant or poseur. Without question, Li Chunfu's poetic dramatization is just the vivid inscape of his friend whose image exemplifies the typical "northern" manner of heroic eccentricity. Moreover, Zhang's poetic inspiration was usually induced by intoxication, and in this mood "lofty and transcendent words" (*tianxian yu* 天仙語) were spontaneously written down on paper.[91] Echoing the motif of the weird pine tree mentioned above, Zhang Jue was fond of painting and composing poems on grotesque stones (*guai shi* 怪石) in drunkenness, characterized by Yuan Haowen as "deranged and unbridled" (*dian fang* 顛放):

[91] GQZ, 2.12–13.

腹非經笥	In my belly there is no wicker basket containing classics;
口不肉食	In my mouth I don't chew flesh.
胸中止有磊磊落落	In my chest, there are only fair and square,
百萬千之怪石	tens of thousands of grotesque boulders.
興来茹噎快一吐	When the mood comes, it feels like something swallowed is stuck in my throat and I can't wait to spit it out,
將軍便欲闗弓射	[As if] the general is about to bend the bow to shoot.
氣母忽破碎	The source of *qi* or vital force suddenly smashes,
物怪紛狼藉	Monstrous beings proliferate, littered and jumbled.
有時醉狂頭插筆	I sometimes get drunk and go crazy that I insert brushes on my head,
掃盡人間雪色壁	and wish to paint all the snow-white walls in the world.[92]

First of all, we should pay attention to the poetic form of heterometric verses, which resembles the boulder-strewn painting illustrated in the verse itself – both form and content of this piece bespeaks Zhang Jue's penchant for irregularity and strangeness, full of unexpected and impulsive force. For Zhang, poetic composition and wall painting are artistic catharsis of his irresistible emotions, which are visualized as piles of grotesque stones accumulated in his chest. Li Chunfu also has an equivalent articulation with similar style in another poem, which reads that "With lungs and bowels [i.e., inner feelings], pointed edges erupt; / Long verses gush out like the heavy downpour" 肺腸憤癢芒角出，傾瀉長句如翻盆.[93] Here, the poet-painter couldn't help but let off the *qi* or vital force that brings about "monstrous beings" and give them forms during the "madly drunken" status. In addition, Yuan Haowen in his mourning piece for Zhang likewise assimilates him with "Towering stones stand erect with viridescence; / Lush pine trees burgeon rampantly" 巖巖石青峙，鬱鬱松秀發.[94] We can see that both the weird pine tree and the grotesque rock are preferred themes among Li Chunfu's poetic circle and serve as metaphors of

[92] Zhang Jue, "Fu hua shi" 賦畫石; ZZJJZ, 8.2158.
[93] Li Chunfu, "Yu Shunqing song chengjiu" 虞舜卿送橙酒; ZZJJZ, 4.1175.
[94] Yuan Haowen, "Yin shui (wen Yancheng Zhang Boyu buyin zuo)" 濕水（聞鄄城張伯玉訃音作）; YHWQJ, 1.9.

eccentricity as literati self-representation, and Zhang Jue seems to be the most arresting embodiment in the manner of either "animalization" into a handsome falcon or a bizarre monster, or a "humanized" reading into these strange trees and rocks.

Another four lines of Li Chunfu's poem (*ll.* 13–16) complement Li Jing, the highly gifted poet who nevertheless failed the civil exam. Li Chunfu goes so far to equate this junior student to the great Tang poet Li Bai for his forceful and compelling verses – and of course Li Jing and Li Bai share the same surname. Again, Li Chunfu considers his companion "extraordinary and rare" (*guiqi* 瑰奇) and applies military metaphors to illustrate the dynamic verve within his composition. Additionally, another renowned Jin scholar-official Zhou Ang also composed a poem comforting Li Jing's failure, in which Zhou sighed that "[Li Jing] tried to curl up waves under the brush-tip, / And yet Ouyang Xiu 歐陽修 (1007–1072) was incapable of recognizing Liu Ji (1008–1088)" 試捲波瀾入毫穎，莫教歐九識劉幾.[95] The poet highlighted Li's conspicuous talent and expressed regret for the examiner's neglect of him. Zhou Ang's praise of Li Jing, however, is guarded. In his verse, Zhou cited a famous Northern Song anecdote regarding the 1057 civil exam: Ouyang Xiu was the chief examiner that year to select the *jinshi* candidates, among whom Liu Ji, a famous student in the Imperial University, held great anticipation from others at that time; surprisingly, Ouyang Xiu failed him for his strange and contorted composition.[96] If we take the subtle stance of Ouyang Xiu who preferred a straightforward style rather than abstruseness, Zhou Ang's seemingly pitying attitude then insinuated a gentle criticism over Li's excess of extraordinariness. It also makes clear that Li Jing belonged to the same poetics of eccentricity in Li Chunfu's community. Original creativity was

[95] Zhou Ang, "Song Li Tianying xiadi" 送李天英下第; ZZJJZ, 4.883.
[96] See more in Zhu Gang 朱剛, "Bei Song 'xingming zhi xue' yu 'taixue ti'" 北宋「性命之學」與「太學體」, in *Tang Song "guwen yundong" yu shidafu wenxue*, pp. 58–82.

his poetic hallmark, as other Jin critics like Liu Qi commented that "Tianying [i.e., Li Jing] made poetry assiduously; he was fond of creating extraordinary dictions and avoided to follow the precedents slavishly, so that his marvelousness is incomparable" 天英為詩刻苦，喜出奇語，不蹈襲前人，妙處人莫能及.[97] In a similar vein, Yuan Haowen asserted that Li Jing "composed poetry so assiduously as if he intended to **cut off and depart from the regular footpaths of literature**" 作詩極刻苦，如欲**絕去翰墨蹊逕間**者.[98] Notably, Li Chunfu employed the same phraseology previously to praise Huang Tingjian's inventiveness:

> Huang Luzhi's genius is strikingly outstanding that enables him to **escape the regular footpaths of literature**; he takes the commonplace and makes it elegant, and takes the old and makes it new, so as not to infringe on the position of authority – in the sense that when engaging in Chan, one puts the key verse possessed of the eye [of the buddhas] at last.
>
> 黃魯直天資峭拔，**擺出翰墨畦逕**，以俗為雅，以故為新，不犯正位，如參禪著末後句為具眼。[99]

In effect, Li Chunfu appreciates Huang's primary poetic principle: "Take the commonplace and make it elegant, and take the old and make it new." A borrowed expression is never meant to refer to its literal or original meaning in the first place but should be infused with second-thought overtones, so that stock phrases could be flipped into antiphrasis or witticism that demands rumination – this procedure is called "not to infringe on the position of authority" (*bu fan zheng wei* 不犯正位), or simply put, not to apply the commonplace meaning of a truism. In this way, originality and unexpectedness can be achieved by discerning the boundaries of language and then transgressing them. By the same token, however, Li Chunfu disdained Southern Song poets who adhered to the Jiangxi school exactly due to its imitative nature and lack of verbal creativity,

[97] GQZ, 2.12.
[98] ZZJJZ, 5.1362.
[99] This passage is quoted from Li Chunfu's preface to Liu Ji's 劉汲 (*jinshi* 1151) literary collection, and Liu Ji was the ancestor of Liu Congyi and Liu Qi; see ZZJJZ, 2.383.

for "the skilled only engaged in an ornate and piercing style, and the less qualified just traced the shadows and even plagiarized" 高者雕鐫尖刻，下者模影剽竊.[100] In Li's theory, Huang's poetic merit of originality in the first place developed into its opposite of imitation under the hands of his incompetent followers. We will go back to this topic and discuss in depth in the next chapter.

Be that as it may, to blindly pursue novel versification and rely solely on one's own talent could turn out to be counter-productive. Excessive individuality runs the risk of misunderstanding and obscurity in the linguistic sense of words. That is to say, Li Jing's works were written in a private language out-of-keeping with the proper nature of literature. Contemporaries frequently complained that some of Li Jing's verses were just unintelligible (*bu ke xiao* 不可曉): For example, the line "bitter frost ages the autumn azure" 霜苦老秋碧 is a case in point.[101] Accordingly, in a letter written to Li Jing, Zhao Bingwen acknowledged his masterly craftsmanship on inventing poetic diction (*zao yu zhi gong* 造語之工), but at the same time pointed out its insufficiency. As a remedy, Zhao propounded the importance of learning from the heritage of poetic tradition:

> Sir, when you expound ideas and arrange intents in writing, you do not slavishly follow a single word from the precedents – this is the marvelous achievement of poets.[102] But you should still begin to learn from the ancients. It is analogous to playing the zither while not adhering to music scores, weighing objects while not adhering to the balance, or doing carpentry work while not adhering to line markers. If you adhere to your own mind alone, it is only natural that you accomplish nothing worthwhile in a whole lifetime… How could you hastily learn everything from your own breast without limits, to such an extent that only when it no longer forms [coherent] speech are you happy with it?

[100] Ibid., 2.384.

[101] This is a line taken from one of the five "Miscellaneous Poems" (*zashi* 雜詩) written by Li Jing; see ZZJJZ, 5.1367. We should note that all of Li Jing's poems recorded in ZZJ can be found in Zhao Bingwen's letter quoted below, so that Yuan Haowen probably transcribed these pieces directly from Zhao's collection and didn't find any other source.

[102] This comment is also seen in Liu Qi's GQZ, 2.12, quoted above.

> 足下立言措意，不蹈襲前人一語，此最詩人妙處，然亦從古人中入。譬如彈琴不師譜，稱物不師衡，工匠不師繩墨，獨自師心，雖終身無成可也。……豈遽漫汗，自師胸臆，至不成語，然後為快哉？[103]

The dichotomy Zhao Bingwen presented here is learning from ideals on the one hand, and absolute autonomy in composition on the other. Zhao pointed out that individual talent might fall short of criteria, and at the worst, "learning from oneself alone" (*zi shi* 自師) might turn out to be self-confining and inadequate for fully crafted literary expression. In like manner, Yuan Haowen in his series of "self-vigilance" (*zijing* 自警) designed for poetic composition also alerted this unfounded self-aggrandizement by saying that "don't act as if the only person in the whole universe or the only one in all of time" 無為天地一我、今古一我.[104]

In sharp contrast, Li Chunfu defended Li Jing's attitude of "self-learning" and put it into practice himself. He implicitly responded to Zhao's criticism in his preface to the latter's collection: "Men do not take up others' versification [lit. consume others' saliva], and then they could make genuine compositions like Zhichun [i.e., Li Chunfu] and Tianying [i.e., Li Jing]" （公謂）男子不食人唾，後當與之純、天英作真文字; in turn Li uncovered many of Zhao's verses that "infringe on dictions by the ancients" 多犯古人語.[105] Li Chunfu's vying for poetic uniqueness was again modeled on Huang Tingjian, as elsewhere Li followed in Huang's footsteps and called for poetic originality by saying that "you should make a detour and do not follow on others' heels" 當別轉一路，勿隨人腳跟,[106] which is actually borrowed from Huang Tingjian's famous assertion that "*wenzhang* or literary writing most proscribes following others"

[103] Zhao Bingwen, "Da Li Tianying shu" 答李天英書; FSJ, 19.230–31.
[104] This series is preserved in Yuan, "Yang Shuneng Xiao heng ji yin" 楊叔能小亨集引; YHWQJ, 36.653. I adopt the English translation from Wixted, *Poems on Poetry*, p. 182.
[105] GQZ, 8.87–88.
[106] Ibid.

文章最忌隨人後.[107] Elsewhere Huang restated the same claim: "Following others' fashion will make one always lag behind; / Only making a style of your own will let one approximate genuineness" 隨人作計終後人，自成一家始逼真.[108] In another poem, it becomes clear that Li combined his comprehension of Chan self-enlightenment with poetic execution and foregrounded originality by "learning from one's mind," a concept borrowed from Chan Buddhism:

倚杖而吟如惠施	Leaning on the staff and chanting – it resembles Huishi;
字字皆以心為師	Every word is learned from the mind.
千偈瀾翻無了時	Thousands of *gāthā*s gush out without an end;
關棙不落詩人詩	The crux is not to fall into poetry of other poets. (*ll.* 7–10)[109]

In the first two lines quoted here, Li Chunfu adopted the image of Huishi depicted by Zhuangzi, the couple of eternal archrivals in Chinese intellectual discourse, as Zhuangzi teased Huishi: "[You] go on pushing your daemon outside, wearing your quintessence away; you loll on a treetrunk and mumble, drop off to sleep held up by withered sterculia" 外乎子之神，勞乎子之精，倚樹而吟，據槁梧而瞑.[110] Huishi is well-known for his rhetorical eloquence by engaging his intellectual prowess in great effort and employing dialectical apparatus to the extreme, and this scene also befits the mental status of a strenuous poet who endeavors to compose new verses on his own. What Li Chunfu wants to express here is autonomous creativity from within that

[107] Huang Tingjian, "Zeng Xie Chang, Wang Boyu" 贈謝敞王博喻; in *Shan'gu shi waiji bu* 山谷詩外集補, *Huang Tingjian shiji zhu* 黃庭堅詩集注, annot. Liu Shangrong 劉尚榮, 5 vols (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2003), 4.1720.
[108] Huang Tingjian, "Yi Youjun shu shu zhong zeng Qiu shisi" 以右軍書數種贈邱十四; ibid., 2.1605. We should note, however, that the verse initially refers to calligraphic exercise.
[109] Li Chunfu "Wei chan jiechao" 為蟬解嘲; ZZJJZ, 4. 1131. Here "cicada" or *chan* 蟬 is a homophonic pun for "Chan" 禪 Buddhism, and the poet analogizes the chirping of cicadas to innumerable *gāthā*s out of one's mind. It is a typical feature of Li's poetry that infuses Buddhist discourse into poetry.
[110] I adopt A.C. Graham's translation of related passages in "The signs of fullness of Power" (*De chong fu* 德充符), *Chuang-tzŭ: The Inner Chapters* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1981), p. 82.

resists any form of copying others. Certainly, the poet's self-cultivation involving Chan meditation also underlies this radically egoist stance.

Above I have contoured a group portrait surrounding Li Chunfu in light of both their personalities and literary styles. Besides those successful *jinshi* degree holders, I picked up Zhang Jue and Li Jing as atypical non-*jinshi* poets who were also intimate friends of Li Chunfu. In particular, Zhang's heroic manner and grotesque taste expressed in his poetic and visual art, as well as Li Jing's self-determined uniqueness in poetic craft, are all eye-catching features that best represent the "heroic eccentricity" I color for this group. As proved over and over again, their aesthetic pursuit for extraordinariness (*qi* 奇) and strangeness (*guai* 怪) even coincides with their personalities. Curiously, members within this community shared the same fortune in one way or another. They were all unsatisfied with the current political circumstance but failed to change it in reality; they all lived a bold and unreserved life, indulged in alcohol, and performed wayward behaviors that exhibited the masculine manner of northerners; most of them died a premature death no more than fifty, due to either sickness, political struggle, warfare or subsequent calamities;[111] and as shown above, they all advocated the aesthetics of *qi* or vital force being extraordinary and eccentric in the realm of poetry. It is hardly a coincidence that these resemblances recur in the life trajectories of Li Chunfu and his friends, and I read their collective fate as the impassioned response to a turbulent reality at that time. The style of heroic

[111] Just take the core members of Li Chunfu's friend circle for example: Li Chunfu (1177–1223) himself died at the age of 47; Zhou Siming died early on the Mongol-Jurchen battlefield in 1211, only two years after he passed the jinshi exam, so that he probably ended his life in his late twenties or early thirties; Li Jing was also one of the missing persons when he was on duty as a military assistant during 1210s; Zhang Jue was said to "die of cerebral carbuncle when he was less than 50" 後病腦疽死，年未五十; Wang Quan was deeply infuriated and resentful by insult conducted by local clerks and soon passed away in the late Jin period; Li Yuan was said to "die all of a sudden at the age of 48" 一夕暴卒，年四十八; Liu Congyi also died of a certain disease when he was 44; Finally, Song Jiujia also failed to reach the age of 50. Coincidentally or not, Li Chunfu and his close friends all turned out to be short-lived literary geniuses. See their entries recorded in GQZ.

eccentricity in their writing in turn reflected their headstrong characters and "militarized" propensity, which can be distinguished as the northern traits typical of the Jin culture. As I have analyzed in chapter 2, the militant attribute of Jin literati was commonplace in the tough period of Jurchen-Mongol confrontation. Many of Li Chunfu's friends made memorials to the Jin court on the ongoing warfare between Song, Jin and Mongols, or even went to the battlefields themselves. Regrettably, no achievement or progress was made after all. In this context, I understand their self-styled oddity manifest in their ways of life and literary proclamation as both witness to and reaction against the social turmoil and political frustrations at their time. In some way, their unrealized aspiration for improving Jin governance in political reality was channeled into fervent and unconventional voices in their literary compositions.

To conclude, literati of Li Chunfu's ilk altogether contributed to their poetics of heroic eccentricity, primarily as a protesting manifesto against the regulations and rigid praxis of civil examination system, but not without their own distinctive features. For one thing, their appreciation of Huang Tingjian's hard-earned novelty in poetry led to a typical northern style of heroic flamboyance rather than introspective and modular refinement typical in the Southern Song. Second, the argumentative ambience as well as military allusions were hallmarks of their poetic compositions, which could be conceived as reflection of fierce reality loomed by formidable Mongol invasions. Moreover, favored topoi of grotesque objects such as pine trees and rocks revealed the characteristic savor of their writing and their estranged self-representation. Last but not least, Li Chunfu's social network promoted and brought to the fore this collective poetic vogue of "heroic eccentricity," and this literary phenomenon cannot be fully understood unless we take into consideration the shared life experience of late Jin northern literati facing the inevitable advent of Mongol conquest. Having discussed Li Chunfu and his

literati circle, below we turn to his near equal Zhao Bingwen, between whom a tug of war contending for leadership was under way in poetic and discursive competitions among the Jin poet society.

The Countervailing Trend of "Elegant Simplicity" (*Ya* 雅): Zhao Bingwen and His Genealogical Scheme of Mingchang Poets

Zhao Bingwen Versus Li Chunfu: Vying for Jin Literati Leadership

This part takes Zhao Bingwen's poetic agenda as a foil for Li Chunfu's cult of extraordinariness. In a nutshell, Zhao's avowed goal was to restore *ya* 雅, "elegance" or "propriety" or "classicism" as the aesthetic ideal for poetry, a far cry from Li Chunfu's style illustrated above. Though nearly twenty years older than Li, Zhao lived long enough to overlap the prime of Li's life (and actually outlived him for another decade), and they worked together as colleagues at court for quite a long time, especially after Emperor Xuanzong relocated his capital to the south in Kaifeng in 1214. More importantly, both of them took the lead in the literary world as "twin stars" with the force of what we may call "repulsive gravity" in the early thirteenth century.

On the one hand, the two contemporary luminaries were in intimate relationships with many common friends, supporting each other and representing the Jin literati community as a team, as dozens of their conversations and comments on each other are well documented in extant materials. In particular, Li Chunfu once wrote a preface to Zhao Bingwen's literary collection,[112] and when he died ahead of Zhao, the latter was the one who composed the

[112] GQZ, 8.87–88.

inscription of Li's gravestone (*mubiao* 墓表), though curiously, this piece cannot be found in Zhao's extant collection.[113] Thus, there is no question about friendship between Zhao and Li, and we also have textual evidence about Zhao mingling with Li Chunfu's friend circle: In a poem in memory of Li Chunfu with Liu Congyi as the recipient, Zhao sighed: "After Pingshan passed away, it feels woeful; / Besides him, you still have Lei [Yuan] and me as your intimate friends" 屏山歿後使人悲，此外交親我與雷.[114]

On the other hand, with different attitudes toward literary composition, they were bound to be staged more as rivals than as fellows on the intellectual level. It is obvious that their disputed poetic discourses were competing with each other in order to dominate the mainstream of Jin literati culture at that time, as shown by their respective appraisals of Wang Tingyun and Li Jing in the previous part. Besides their own words, records by other witnesses also confirm the subtle relationship between this pair of "frenemies." Liu Qi in his GQZ intentionally establishes an image of confrontation between Zhao and Li in a wide range of contexts including literary tastes, political acts, intellectual predilections (especially regarding Buddhism), personal character and so on, and more often it is the more audacious Li Chunfu who came to grips with the shortcomings of Zhao Bingwen, though Zhao was actually a senior to Li.[115] Concerning their respective prestige at that time, an interesting entry in GQZ reveals distinctive properties of their circles:

> Li Pingshan was very fond of encouraging and promoting latecomers, and every time he got one's poems and prose that had something commendable, he would certainly praise him in front of people. However, he gave his recognition too readily, so

[113] Ibid., 10.119.
[114] Ibid., 9.93.
[115] The dynamic relationships between Li and Zhao are especially demonstrative in *juan* 8, 9 and 10 of GQZ, where entries are organized topically. Li Chunfu once composed poetry to tease Zhao's poverty, and in another case he even criticized Zhao for the "factional conflicts in the Mingchang era" (Mingchang dangshi 明昌黨事), which ruined the political careers of Wang Tingyun and Zhou Ang because of him; see GQZ, 9.100, 10.111–12.

that Zhao Xianxian said, “It is Zhichun who spoiled and corrupted the latecomers, since he only gave compliments which made them unruly.” Later, Lei Xiyan was also deeply involved in guiding the literati trend, and Zhao commented, “Lei Xiyan did the same [as Li Chunfu].” Yet when Pingshan was alive, talented literati-scholars all gravitated toward him; as for those Zhao himself cultivated and promoted, the number was very limited. Only when Zhao was in charge of the civil service exam, he found out Li Xianneng (1192–1232) with the style name Qinshu; later, Zhao once recommended Ma Jiuchou (1183–1232) with the style name Zhiji for government posts due to Ma’s literary composition. Till now, consensus among literati still leans towards Pingshan.

李屏山雅喜奬拔後進，每得一人詩文有可稱，必延譽於人。然頗輕許可，故趙閑閑嘗云:「被之純壞卻後進，只奬譽，教為狂。」後雷希顏亦頗接引士流，趙云:「雷希顏又如此。」然屏山在世，一時才士皆趨向之。至於趙所成立者甚少。惟主貢舉時，得李欽叔獻能，後嘗以文章薦麻知幾九疇入仕，至今士論止歸屏山也。[116]

According to Liu Qi’s observation, Li Chunfu was more popular among younger generations as he was more generous and ready to give his compliments, while Zhao Bingwen had his reservations about those cutting-edge or frivolous fashions among those literary newcomers. It is elsewhere reaffirmed by the contemporary Yuan Haowen, who was also uncomfortable with the supercilious self-expectation of poetic composition among his proud and haughty fellows, and in turn Yuan blamed the unconditional support by literati leaders like Li Chunfu: “Those who were leaders of the literati alliance at that time overflew in love to all and offered positive comments in most cases; Being fooled in vain, they not only failed to regulate or restrain [the bad ethos], but they even applied impassioned and exaggerated words to fawn on [young poets]” 一時主文盟者，又皆汎愛多可，坐受愚弄，不為裁抑，且以激昂張大之語從臾之.[117]

The keyword “literati consensus” (*shi lun* 士論) is worth particular attention in Liu Qi’s comment quoted above. Public opinions circulated within the elite society directly reflected the reputation of individual Jin literati in their generations. Again, it is Yuan Haowen who reasserted

[116] Ibid., 8.87.
[117] See ZZJJZ, 10.2461.

the late Jin "literati consensus" orchestrated by Li Chunfu and others. Yuan in his funerary inscription written for Lei Yuan after his death in 1231 listed three successive nominees:

> After [the Jin court] moved south, there were three persons praised as scholar-officials of great prominence by all under heaven: Gao Tingyu (?–1214/5?, *jinshi* 1188?) with the style name Xianchen, Li Chunfu with the style name Zhichun, Lei Yuan with the style name Xiyan. Xianchen thought highly of himself for his extraordinary integrity, and celebrated literati liked to follow and company him, which won him the reputation "Dragon Gate of men of letters."… This trio of Jin scholar-officials were successive in generations, congenial in communications, and quite similar in temperament. But Xiyan did self-examination by [rectification of] name and righteousness, and carried out his words in a forceful way, which was totally different from the other two. Probably only until recent generations were [Jin] scholar-officials aware of the practical learning of statecraft and governance. There were not a few people who won big fame at that time, but Xianchen alone was ranked the first [as the Jin literati head]. After Xianchen, literati consensus gravitated toward Zhichun. After Zhichun, it belonged to Xiyan. After Xiyan died, [Jin literati] sighed for the lack of competent leaders. The threesome all failed to fulfill their ambitions in their own times, and among them Xiyan was particularly pitiful.
>
> 南渡以來，天下稱宏傑之士三人：曰高廷玉獻臣，李純甫之純，雷淵希顏。獻臣雅以奇節自負，名士喜從之遊，有「衣冠龍門」之目。……凡此三人者，行輩相及，交甚歡，氣質亦略相同。而希顏以名義自檢，強行而必致之，則與二子為絕異也。蓋自近朝士大夫，始知有經濟之學，一時有重名者非不多，而獨以獻臣為稱首。獻臣之後，士論在之純。之純之後，在希顏。希顏死，遂有人物渺然之歎。三人者，皆無所遇合，獨于希顏尤嗟惜之云。[118]

According to this account, there seemed to be a loose but continuous transmission of the mantle of leadership within the Jin literati community. Gao Tingyun was already mentioned in chapter 2 as a loyal and big-hearted Jin scholar-official who miserably died of persecution. Here Gao was highlighted for his cultural impact among his contemporaries. In fact, before Li Chunfu, Gao Tingyu was considered to be the hub of Jin literati network testified by the designation "Dragon Gate of men of letters."[119] And just like Li Chunfu, Lei Yuan also took up the role as an

[118] Yuan Haowen, "Lei Xiyan muming" 雷希顏墓銘; YHWQJ, 21.416–17.

[119] Also see Yuan Haowen, "Sun Boying muming" 孫伯英墓銘; ibid., 31.548: 貞祐初，中原受兵，朝廷隔絕。府治中高庭玉獻臣接納奇士，號為「**衣冠龍門**」。大尹復興恚之，會有為非語者云：「治中結客，將據河以反。」遂為尹所構，凡所與往來者如雷淵希顏、王之奇士衡、辛願敬之，俱陷大獄，危有一網之禍。

influencer and mentor of young literati. It is said that "[Lei Yuan] was fond of making friends, there was no magnate in power or celebrated commoners who he did not come across and correspond with. He lived in the capital, and guests entered his gate one after another and never left the house [empty]. Younger disciples were proud of being appreciated and inscribed [with words] by their master" 喜結交，凡當途貴要與布衣名士，無不往來。居京師，賓客踵門，未嘗去舍。後進經公品題以爲榮.[120] It is also not hard to discern several common features among this trio. First of all, they were all highly respected by contemporaries for their advanced knowledge and capacity of governance, widespread fame, and authority of public opinions, thereby the whole intelligentsia in the late Jin period assembled around this threesome. Their heroic charisma was also undeniable: In the brief biographies of Gao Tingyu and Li Chunfu recorded in ZZJ, it is said that the former "was bold and expansive as a person, held in esteem moral integrity, so that celebrated literati often flocked to him" 為人豪爽，尚氣節，一時名士多歸之,[121] and that "up to date, in terms of scholar-officials all under heaven, when it comes to Zhichun and Lei Xiyuan the Censor, people count them as heroic talents of the Central Terrain" 迄今論天下士，至之純與雷御史希顏，則以中州豪傑數之.[122] Notwithstanding, they all shared the same frustration from real politics with their ambitions unfulfilled. Second, Gao, Li and Lei were all late Jin poets representing the aesthetics of "heroic eccentricity." In the last session we already focused on Li and Lei's appealing for stylized oddity and idiosyncrasy, and Gao Tingyu was no exception. Despite the loss of Gao Tingyu's most poetry due to the warfare, we still find plenty of exaggerated expressions (*qi yu* 奇語) in his leftover verses. On top of that,

[120] GQZ, 1.10.
[121] ZZJJZ, 5.1300.
[122] Ibid., 4.1121.

Gao wrote quite a few exchange poems with Li Chunfu, in which wild imagination was employed to astonish readers: In a poem titled "Jug-Shaped Creek" (Hu xi 壺溪), he once entertained Li Chunfu dwelling in an improbable, alternative space in a creek resembling the shape of a jug;[123] At the Mid-Autumn festival, while keeping company with Li, who Gao called a "Banished Immortal" (*zhexian* 謫仙), Gao also set himself free and sung his song of "fly me to the moon" that "I jump onto the back of the jade dragon; / So as to embrace the light of the Silver Toad [i.e., the moon]" 跳上玉龍背，抱得銀蟾光.[124] We can thus grasp the eccentric quality of Gao Tingyu as a person and a poet, so that he can be said as Li Chunfu's predecessor in the sense of both leadership and poetic pursuit. Last but not least, these three successive Jin literati leaders all came from the far north belonging to the former Kitan Liao territory – Gao came from nowadays Chifeng 赤峰 in Inner Mongolia, Li from Zhangjiakou 張家口 in Hebei province, and Lei from Datong in Shanxi. This historical fact testified the remarkable yet somehow unexpected presence of far northern literati even during the late Jin period when the ex-Liao territory already fell into the hands of Mongol invaders. Their identical "Liao" origin and pedigree could be translated into a substantial force of social networking, which in turn gave rise to the formation of "literati consensus," and their collective poetic ideal for extraordinariness or *qi*.

Concerning Li Chunfu's generous attitude toward younger poets on the one hand, and some intolerant comments the senior Zhao Bingwen on the other, we can tell their competitive gestures against each other were aimed at occupying the dominant position in the literati

[123] Interestingly, this piece is appended to Li Chunfu's poem "Explaining away Ridicule about Cicadas" (Wei chan jiechao 為蟬解嘲) quoted above as an intertextual reference; see ibid., 4.1131–32.
[124] Gao Tingyu, "Tianjin qiao tong Li Zhichun dai yue" 天津橋同李之純待月; ibid., 5.1301. This couplet is also quoted in GQZ, 4.33, with an alternative title "Mid-Autumn Festival" (Zhongqiu 中秋).

community. Yet, Zhao and Li applied different ways of wielding their cultural impact. Whereas Li Chunfu as a social butterfly was favored by public opinion at that time, Zhao Bingwen, despite having only a few disciples he recognized, found an alternative approach to counterbalancing Li's influence over younger followers – he played a crucial role in a genealogical construction of literary orthodoxy, and he himself functioned as an intermediary for this lineage. As I will argue further below, the anthology *Elegant Compositions by Mingchang Poets* (*Mingchang ciren yazhi* 明昌辭人雅製) was also integral to this genealogical project. In other words, two approaches – namely interpersonal communication and intergenerational genealogy – can be observed in becoming the master of this northern literary league. I argue that, while Li took advantage of his extensive social connections with contemporary poets on the spatial level and gained his reputation as their *spiritus rector*, Zhao triumphed over Li on the temporal dimension, as he revived and domesticated exemplary predecessors to build up an idealized and sort of exclusive genealogical pantheon for Jin literati culture in which he also occupied a position. We know that this apotheosis was finally accomplished under the hand of Yuan Haowen who endeavored to synopsize and canonize Jin literary tradition as a whole.

Dang Huaiying and The Elegant Compositions by Mingchang Poets

Besides their temporal or spatial preoccupation, the confrontation between Zhao and Li is best captured in their literary evaluation. Simply put, as one of the cultural spokesmen within the late Jin literary arena, Zhao Bingwen put forward the time-honored ideal of "elegance" or *ya* 雅 to contend with Li Chunfu's prevalent aesthetical scheme for "extraordinariness" or *qi* 奇. The term *ya* had been a long-standing paragon laden with rich values in literary criticism, a ready-to-hand conceptual repertoire Zhao exploited in the late Jin cultural context. Originating from the *Classic*

of Poetry as both subgenres rendered as "Greater and Lesser Elegantiae" (*daya* 大雅 and *xiaoya* 小雅) and one of the cryptic "Six Principles" (*liu yi* 六義), *ya* in later ages shifted its meanings from this *locus classicus* to a correct, dignified and cultured manner in general. Specifically, the aesthetic character of *ya*, "elegance," "decorousness," or "noble simplicity" later became quintessential and ubiquitous in the Northern Song literati culture – referring to not only the high-brow artistic taste held as cultural capital, but also a lofty way of life – which was well received by northern Jin elites. In Zhao Bingwen's generation, the seemingly passive reception or assimilation of role models embodied in the concept *ya* was translated into a resurgent force to rectify the current literary defects, and under some circumstances, retrospect in Antiquity could even be an antidote to the ever deteriorating cultural ecology in reality.

Both the intellectual impulse for genealogical construction and aesthetic benchmark of *ya* are best exemplified in Zhao's self-initiated anthologizing enterprise, which claimed to collect those "elegant" compositions by revered poets active in the previous Mingchang era (1190–1196):

> Lord Xianxian once collected poems by seven authors, namely Dang [Huaiying] the [Hanlin Academician] Recipient of Edicts, Zhao Huangshan [i.e., Zhao Feng 趙渢, *jinshi* 1182, d. 1196?], Lu [Duo 路鐸, *jinshi* 1185, d. 1214] the Remonstrator, Liu Zhi'ang [i.e., Liu Ang 劉昂, *jinshi* 1179], Yin Wuji [i.e., Yin Tuo 尹拓 or Shi Tuo 師拓, fl. 1190s–1200s], Zhou Deqing [i.e., Zhou Ang, *jinshi* 1182] and Yibin [i.e., Wang Jian 王磵, 1126–1203], and circulated the collection by printing it out in woodblocks, which he entitled *The Elegant Compositions by Mingchang Poets*.
>
> 閒閒公嘗集党承旨、趙黃山、路司諫、劉之昂、尹無忌、周德卿與逸賓七人詩，刻木以傳，目為《明昌辭人雅製》云。[125]

This piece of information is found in the brief introductory profile of Wang Jian preserved in ZZJ, who was the eldest among seven poets. All figures listed here were either contemporary

[125] ZZJJZ, 4.1000.

with (Liu Ang, Zhou Ang, Lu Duo) or one generation prior to Zhao Bingwen (Wang Jian, Dang Huaiying, Zhao Feng, Yin Tuo), and they spent the prime of their lives at the turn of the thirteenth century and passed away before the Jurchen court moved south in 1214. In other words, they embodied the "best" poetry produced in the "High Jin" period. Since Zhao lived well through the last reign of the Jin dynasty until 1232, he turned out to be the surviving witness of his former colleagues and tried to commemorate and even canonize their cultural achievements.[126]

For late Jin literati active in the thirteenth century, probably the reign title "Mingchang" (lit. Glamorous Splendor) not only recollected the halcyon days of peace and prosperity, but was also reconfigured as a breeding ground for burgeoning cultural activities including Jin poetry. In fact, the Mingchang reign seems to be a turning point of the overall poetic style in the North. It was the first reign of Emperor Zhangzong, when the power of Jin dynasty was at its prime and the threat of Mongol cavalry was yet to be a looming crisis, and the more "gentrified" Emperor Zhangzong took a different attitude towards fine arts and ornate literature from that of his grandfather Emperor Shizong. The increasingly affluent and cultivated societal mores were in keeping with oscillating changes in elite culture, well articulated in the polarity from "plain substance" (*shi* 實 or *zhi* 質) to "refined ornament" (*hua* 華 or *wen* 文). This picture was

[126] This poetic project might be considered anachronistic in light of modern scholarship on Jin literature. As illustrated in chapter 1, according to the typical narrative of literary history, poetry by Jin literati reached its zenith well into the thirteenth century, thanks to the cumulative efforts of Li and Zhao together with their students for writing substantial Jin literary history. Following this line of thought, however, the compilation of this particular anthology that consists of poets of the former generation seems to be an inopportune or even regressive conduct, given the relatively inferior quality of mid-Jin or "High Jin" poetry compared to its late Jin counterpart in the mainstream literary narrative. The given *ya* in the title can also be understood as a primitive style devoid of superior artistic techniques, which precisely went against the dominant conceptual grain of the aesthetics of being extraordinary at the time of Li and Zhao. Nonetheless, Zhao's commitment to this anthology was actually the self-conscious implementation of his poetic agenda colored with realistic consideration.

deliberately reconstructed by late Jin or post-Jin literati, and below is just one example of such assertion:

> During the Dading period (1161–1189) in the Jin dynasty, Emperor [Shizong] above and ministers below respected each other based on pure virtue. Schools from the capital to provinces all specialized in classical scholarship and humanistic cultivation, so that the learning of scholar-officials valued substance over ornament.
>
> After the Mingchang period (1190–1196), it was peaceful both at court and across the country. Excessiveness and extravagance became trendy, and ballads and poems were favored, so that the learning of scholar-officials valued ornament over substance. His Highness [i.e., Emperor Zhangzong] was uneasy about such situation.
>
> 金大定中，君臣上下以淳德相尚，學校自京師達於郡國，專事經術教養，故士大夫之學，少華而多實。
>
> 明昌以後，朝野無事，侈靡成風，喜歌詩，故士大夫之學，多華而少實，上病其然也。[127]

As we have noted, poetic language during Emperor Zhangzong's reigns of Mingchang and Cheng'an 承安 (1196–1200) were often labeled as "piercingly novel" (*jianxin* 尖新) or "superfluous and gaudy" (*fuyan* 浮艷. It is exactly against this background that Zhao tried hard to tip the scales in the discursive battlefield by coronating the group of Mingchang poets in the name of elegance or *ya*. On the one hand, for Zhao Bingwen, this *ex post facto* reorganization to applaud "elegant compositions" made by senior poets of an earlier generation was, of course, a measure of preservation and dissemination of the past literary legacy for fear that they might fall into oblivion – which was unfortunately the fact. While on the other hand, potential readers in Zhao's age and thereafter might have captured Zhao's underlying message and read it as a poetic manifesto. Zhao's anthologization of Mingchang poetry was intended to elevate his own poetic authority by promoting celebrated pioneers in the same style, and to propose *ya* as an alternative and even counter-discourse of *qi*.

[127] Yang Huan 楊奐, "Ba Zhao taichang ni shi fu gao hou" 跋趙太常擬試賦藁後; *Quan Yuan wen,* 7.131.

Regrettably, its material existence as a printed book and its cultural prestige attached to Zhao Bingwen as its compiler did not guarantee the survival of this anthology. Perhaps the only reassurance is that Yuan Haowen, the one recorded the publication information, seems to have had a copy at hand, which in turn was absorbed partly into ZZJ.[128] Half a loaf is better than none. To take one step back, I examine all documents related to these seven poets as well as their extant poems (which are not so many), and try to find the commonalities as well as idiosyncrasies in terms of both their political identities, personal characters, and poetic features.

At the outset, it is necessary to delineate the membership of the so-called group of Mingchang poets. The biographical information of the group of Mingchang poets appears very variegated, running the gamut from a eremitic yet prestigious senior (Wang Jian), to a frustrated official-to-be who never fulfilled his aspiration (Yin Tuo), to celebrated high-ranking Hanlin academicians at court (Dang Huaiying and Zhao Feng), to upright remonstrators who suffered demotion and exile (Lu Duo, Zhou Ang, and Liu Ang – notably, this was exactly the same group of banished officials who in turn died for their country in face of the Mongol invasion). Despite their diverse political careers, this group of Mingchang poets could still be grouped together

[128] In nowadays ZZJ, there are 64 poems by Dang Huaiying, 30 poems by Zhao Feng, 26 poems of Lu Duo, 11 poems by Liu Ang, 12 poems by Yin Tuo, 100 poems by Zhou Ang, and 13 poems by Wang Jian. It is also noteworthy that, besides Dang Huaiying who is listed in *juan* 3, the rest of six Mingchang poets are all found in *juan* 4.

The reason of the enormous numbers of Dang Huaiying's and Zhou Ang's poems probably was that in the later thirteenth century, their individual collections, either in print or manuscript, were still circulated and available to northern literati like Yuan, who might directly consult these sources. It is said that the once lost Dang Huaiying's collection was recompiled in ten *juan* and stored at the late Jin Hanlin academy; see Zhao Bingwen, "Zhuxi xiansheng wenji yin" 竹溪先生文集引; FSJ, 15.205. Dang's collection later showed up again in Hao Jing's poem "Du Dang chengzhi ji" 讀党承旨集; HJJ, 9.663–64. As for Zhou Ang's collection *Changshan ji* 常山集, we know that it was also lost in warfare, but about three hundred poems were somehow memorized and recited out by his nephew Wang Ruoxu, and thus collected as a recovered version; see ZZJJZ, 4.864. Besides, we know that Zhao Feng and Lu Duo also had their individual collections titled *Huangshan ji* 黃山集 and *Xuzhou jushi ji* 虛舟居士集 circulated independently, out of which Yuan Haowen might have selected Zhao's 30 poems and Lu's 26 poems into ZZJ; see ZZJJZ, 4.951, 1021. For the other three Mingchang poets Liu Ang, Yin Tuo, and Wang Jian, with 11, 12, and 13 poems collected in ZZJ, it is more likely that the anthology *Mingchang wenren yazhi* itself served as Yuan Haowen's base text.

based on two aspects. First, the configuration of their social network reconstructed from their mutual references in literary writings suggests that they formed a close-knit community, with Dang Huaiying and Zhao Bingwen the key brokers. Second, while a strictly unified poetic style cannot be drawn out of these various poets, their general literary tastes are typically learned and restrained, thus showing an affinity to the concept "elegant simplicity." In a word, the existence of this group of Mingchang poets was demonstrated by social networking on the one hand, and their shared literary property of *ya* on the other. In turn, *The Elegant Compositions by Mingchang Poets* in the form of poetry anthology can be read as the physical, textual, and aesthetic embodiment of this loose community, representing a cluster of poets not only with similar literary fashions but also interlaced with one another via social connections – which echoes the reconstruction principles of *The Collection of Jiangxi School of Poetry* (*Jiangxi zongpai shiji* 江西宗派詩集) in the Southern Song.[129] And just like the Mingchang anthology, the Jiangxi poetry anthology was also a retrospective product that took shape decades after the deaths of these Jiangxi patriarchs, so that it represented the textual counterpart of the conceptual Jiangxi "lineage." In like manner, Zhao Bingwen, the designer of this textual enterprise and the implicit hub of the whole network, implanted an in-group literary code by selecting poems of certain style, and envisioned a genealogical scheme out of this Mingchang poet group headed by Dang Huaiying.

Underlying this self-designed program is Zhao's elevation of significance within this Mingchang poetic constellation, as certain luminaries stood out as bright stars:

[129] See more in Mo Lifeng 莫礪鋒, "Jiangxi shipai zongji" 江西詩派總集, in *Jiangxi shipai yanjiu* 江西詩派研究 (Ji'nan: Qi Lu shushe, 1986), pp. 314–20.

> Among his predecessors, Zhao Xianxian esteemed Dang Huaiying (Shijie) and Cai Gui (Zhengfu) for their literary prose, and for poetry, Zhao appreciated most [that of] Zhao Feng (Wenru) and Yin Tuo (Wuji).
>
> 趙閑閑於前輩中，文則推党世傑懷英、蔡正甫珪，詩則最稱趙文孺渢、尹無忌拓。……[130]

Three Mingchang poets are named in this entry, while Cai Gui belonged to even one more generation ahead. In terms of literary prose or *wen*, we shall later realize that Cai Gui and Dang Huaiying played crucial roles in Zhao's genealogical enterprise of "literary orthodoxy," because for Jin literati-officials, like their Northern Song predecessors, *wen* always carries cultural or even ideological weight. And when we turn to poetry, Zhao Feng and Yin Tuo stand out to be exemplars in Zhao's mind. Below we will exactly focus on the three representative Mingchang poets to examine the Jin poetic ideal of "elegance." Dang Huaiying was the well-deserved Jin literati leader not only among the Mingchang poet community but also in his own time, whose political status as the Hanlin Academician, reputation for literary erudition, and peerless skill in calligraphy won him esteem and disciples. We will turn to Zhao Feng in the next session who was in implicit literary competition against Wang Tingyun, which presaged the rivalry between Zhao Bingwen and Li Chunfu. Finally, we will also examine words from Yin Tuo and Zhou Ang – the latter has left the most poems in ZZJ together with quite a few poetic remarks recorded by his nephew Wang Ruoxu – and probe their ardent esteem of Du Fu as a gesture of disapproval of Huang Tingjian, which, I will argue, was a novel conceptual move to amplify the discrepancy rather than resemblance between the Tang poet Du Fu and the Song poet Huang Tingjian.

We begin with Dang Huaiying as the weighty paragon of Mingchang poets. Although Dang Huaiying must have been eminent in his own age, it is Zhao Bingwen who consolidated Dang's status as a cultural spokesman in Jin literary history. Zhao not only wrote the stele

[130] GQZ, 10.119.

inscription to pay homage to his predecessor, but he also compiled Dang's individual collection in ten *juan* when Zhao himself was in Hanlin Academy. According to Zhao's account, the circulation of Dang's literary compositions was on the edge of oblivion after the first Mongol invasion (which is unsurprisingly lost nowadays), and this must have motivated Zhao to rescue the past in urgency. Moreover, Zhao also took this chance to promote his own literary thoughts. In his preface to Dang's literary collection which he arranged by himself, Zhao pointed out the stylistic affinity between Ouyang Xiu and Dang Huaiying, and perhaps also alluded to their well-matched status as both high-ranking court officials and acknowledged leaders of their contemporary "republic of letters." Below is the relative part in the preface:

> Literature centers on intention, and rhetoric is merely to convey the intention… For more than a century of the bygone Song dynasty, only Lord Ouyang's literature does not make **piercingly novel** and demandingly constrictive dictions, but has a nonchalant and leisurely elegant manner instead. [His phrasings are] rich with no word in excess, concise with no word wanting. So that one who reads it feels at ease and never gets tired. This is not so much valuing the labor to be extraordinary, but rather valuing one's disposition that cannot but be none other than what one is.
>
> The former Hanlin Academician Recipient of Edicts, Lord Dang, has great talent supplemented by broad learning. His literary compositions are limpid and refined just like his temperament… Lord Dang's *wen* resembles Lord Ouyang's *wen*. For the pentasyllabic ancient-style poetry in his late life, the evocation and investment are ingenious, putting on the air of Tao [Qian] and Xie [Lingyun], and this cannot be spoken of to those who boast for exaggeration and compete for the glamorous…
>
> 文以意為主，辭以達意而已。……亡宋百餘年間，惟歐陽公之文，不為**尖新**艱險之語，而有從容閑雅之態。豐而不餘一言，約而不失一辭。使人讀之者，亶亶不厭。蓋非務奇之爲尚，而其勢不得不然之爲尚也。
>
> 故翰林學士承旨党公，天資既高，輔以博學。文章沖粹，如其爲人。……公之文有似乎歐陽公之文也。晚年五言古體，興寄高妙，有陶謝之風，此又非可與誇多鬨靡/麗者道也。……[131]

This impressive parallel between Ouyang Xiu and Dang Huaiying is further attested by Dang's own words recalled by Zhao Bingwen and recorded by Wang Ruoxu. According to Wang, Zhao

[131] Zhao Bingwen, "Zhuxi xiansheng wenji yin"; FSJ, 15.205.

once paraphrased Dang's comment that "for *wen*, one should take Master Ouyang's as the norm or orthodoxy; though Dongpo's *wen* displays extraordinariness, his is not the norm or orthodoxy of *wen*" 文當以歐陽子為正，東坡雖出奇，非文之正 (a position that Wang did not agree with).[132] I will return to Dang's criticism on Su Shi below, but here I first focus on his appreciation of Ouyang Xiu's *wen*, which in Dang's eyes was the perfect model of "literary orthodoxy." What is the essence of the "norm or orthodoxy of *wen*"? I conjecture it as the plainness in language with the intrinsic quality of elegance, and underlying this determined simplicity or cultivated crudeness is profound significance. Elsewhere Zhao reiterated the same discourse in his stele inscription written for Dang by juxtaposing Dang with Ouyang Xiu, and eulogizing the ingenuous and spontaneous over the crafty and extraordinary.[133] In the stele inscription, Zhao further compared literary configurations to the natural formative outgrowths such as the shape of mountains, the current of rivers, the arousal of mists, and the swirl of winds in order to figure out an organic momentum that "cannot but" (*bu de bu* 不得不) make up a literary composition in its own manner.[134] Simply put, the ideal *wenzhang* reveals effortless art,

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[132] Wang Ruoxu, "Wen bian" 文辨, in *Hunan yilao ji jiaozhu*, 36.413.

[133] Zhao even repeated his own words by saying that "[Dang Huaiying's] *wen* or literary prose resembles that of Lord Ouyang, which does not make **piercingly novel** and extraordinarily constrictive dictions" 文似歐陽公，不為**尖新**奇險之語. See Zhao Bingwen, "Zhongdafu Hanlin xueshi chengzhi Wenxian Dang gong shendaobei" 中大夫翰林學士承旨文獻党公神道碑; FSJ, 11.164.

[134] Ibid.: 文章非能為之為工．乃不能不為之為工也．非要之必奇．要之不得不然之為奇也．譬如山水之狀．煙雲之姿．風鼓石激．然後千變萬化．不可端倪．此先生之文與先生之詩也．

This clearly draws on Su Shi's "Preface to *Traveling in the South, Former Collection*" (Nan xing qianji xu 南行前集敘):

> Now for those who wrote in former times, it was not being able to write that was considered skillful but rather being unable to not write. There are clouds and mists on mountains and rivers, flowers and fruit on grasses and trees: these burgeon within and become manifest outside. Even if one wanted this to not happen, could one stop it?
>
> 夫昔之為文者，非能為之為工，乃不能不為之為工也。山川之有雲霧，草木之有華實，充滿勃郁，而見於外，夫雖欲無有，其可得耶？

I adopt Michael Fuller's translation of this passage from *The Road to East Slope: The Development of Su Shi's Poetic Voice* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1990), pp. 54–55. Also see his *Drifting among Rivers and Lakes*, pp. 50–51.

or vice versa, cultivated naturalness, which is the core of *ya* or what I phrase "elegant simplicity."

Zhao Bingwen revered Dang Huaiying as the role model of literary "elegance" (*ya* 雅) and "norm or orthodoxy" (*zheng* 正), and above all, Zhao made use of Dang's authority and prestige to run counter to the prevailing poetic trend. Previously we analyzed the many *jianxin* or "piercingly novel" used by Liu Qi in his literary criticism in GQZ. I haven't seen this term in Yuan Haowen's individual collection or ZZJ, and the only other textual site of *jianxin* I find is exactly Zhao Bingwen's comment on Dang Huaiying's literary style. We have also discussed Zhao's criticism of the typical poetic style by Wang Tingyun and Li Chunfu's disciples, which echoes his dislike of "those who boast for exaggeration and compete for the glamorous" quoted above. Thus Zhao's objection of *jianxin* poetics had a direct purpose in reality, that is, to rectify this trend for poetic extravagance pioneered by Wang Tingyun and advocated by Li Chunfu, the contemporary dean of literati. Against this background, Dang Huaiying appeared as an indexical poetic persona representing an orthodox, classical, or even archaic style, and he is often posed as the antithesis of pompous and superficial writing. For example, Zhao Bingwen connoted in a poem that by learning from Dang Huaiying's works, "this culture of ours finds its proper and orthodox paragon" 斯文見典刑, and yet "younger generations toy with flowery embellishment; / Languid verses only serve to match parallels like 'white' and 'green'" 後生翫華藻，骫骳媲白青.[135] This criticism against "flowery embellishment" in terms of versification is also translated into the allegory of trendy make-up, as we see in Yuan Haowen's and Ma Jiuchou's rhyme-matching pieces to Dang's works:

[135] Zhao Bingwen, "Song Li ancha shi shou" 送李按察十首, no. 5; FSJ, 3.37.

頗怪今時人	I am confused by people nowadays
雕鐫窮歲年	As they engrave and carve [their verses] for the whole *year*.
……	……
乃知時世妝	Then I recognize the make-up in current fashion;[136]
粉綠徒爭憐	With pinkish and greenish color, in vain they vie for *appeal*. (*ll*. 3–4, 11–12)[137]

Rhyming after the same piece, Ma's verses read:

流為玉臺詠	[Poetry] slips into the jade terrace chanting;[138]
鉛粉嬌華年	[Like] lead-based powders add luster to the flowery youthful *years*.
……	……
寂寥抱玉辨	Lonely and desolate is one who holds the jade to contend [for its pure quality];
爭競搖尾憐	Combative and disputatious are those who shake their tails to win *appeal*. (*ll*. 3–4, 11–12)[139]

It seems that make-up *à la mode* became a trope within this group to refer to the unworthy pieces done by followers of Li's "cult of eccentricity." Through these "physiognomic or cosmetic" descriptions, the contemporary literary disposition of both glitz and rivalry was vividly portrayed. More intriguingly, both pieces quoted above are within a chain of rhyme-matching pieces triggered by Dang Huaiying's original work called "In Snow" (*Xue zhong* 雪中).[140] But unlike Dang's original piece that depicts in plain and straightforward verse poverty and hardship in chilly winter when Dang was still a frustrated young scholar, these rhyme-matching pieces by

[136] This line refers to one of Bai Juyi's "New Ballads" (*Xin yuefu* 新樂府) titled "Make-up in Current Fashion" (*Shishi zhuang* 時世妝), in which the poet criticizes the bizarre dresses and outrageous hairdos done by contemporary ladies, indicating the fad for barbarian living styles.
[137] Yuan Haowen, "Ji Yuxuan he Dang chengzhi xue shi si shou" 繼愚軒和党承旨雪詩四首, no. 4; YHWQJ, 2.46.
[138] The "jade terrace chanting" refers to palace-style poetry (*gongti shi* 宮體詩) embodied by the Six Dynasties anthology titled *New Songs from the Jade Terrace* (*Yutai xin yong* 玉臺新詠).
[139] Ma Jiuchou, "Yuan Yuzhi yi shan you jian zhao, jian yi shi si shou wei ji, yin yi shan zhong zhi yi reng qi yun" 元裕之以山遊見招兼以詩四首為寄因以山中之意仍其韻; ZZJJZ, 6.1589.
[140] See more in Hu Chuanzhi 胡傳志, "Yuan Haowen 'Ji Yuxuan he Dang chengzhi xue shi si shou' de xiangguan wenti" 元好問《繼愚軒和党承旨雪詩四首》的有關問題, *Social Science Front* 社會科學戰線 1999.2: 261–62.

late Jin poets extend to issues of poetic craftsmanship. For an illustrative case, one couplet in Dang's original mentions adversity he encountered in the real life: "Closing the door, the more I pinch my beard while sitting; / The more I realize the adversity of my living condition" 閉門撚鬚坐，愈覺生理窮;[141] In Yuan Haowen's rhyme-matching counterpart, however, poetry becomes an indispensable element integral to poverty: "People say poetry makes paupers of men; / Yet without poetry I am still poor by myself" 人言詩窮人，無詩吾自窮.[142] In other words, if poetry was Dang's natural expression about his life experience, later Jin poets were highly conscious of poetry as a crafted medium to reflect upon reality, and in turn they were determined to apply the style of "elegant simplicity." More importantly, through the emulating mechanism of rhyme-matching Dang Huaiying's snow poetry, late Jin poets can be said to be adherents of Dang's poetic ideal and upright way of life.

Zhao Feng Versus Wang Tingyun: Bifurcating Styles and Lineages in Jin Poet Society

Dang Huaiying's significance in rectifying the contemporary "bad poetry" was especially well taken by his disciples in the Mingchang community, among whom Zhao Feng came to be a key Jin literatus in the next generation. The post-Jin northern scholar Hao Jing in his reading of Dang Huaiying's collection foregrounded Dang's cultural impact, and took the cosmetics trope again to illustrate the cheapness and superficiality of later poetry:

文孺子端拜道左	Wenru [i.e., Zhao Feng] and Ziduan [i.e., Wang Tingyun] bow with respect [to Dang Huaiying] on the left side of the road,[143]
請更指授祛矇聾	And ask [Dang] to instruct them how to dispel blindness and deafness.

[141] Dang Huaiying, "Xue zhong si shou" 雪中四首, no. 1; ZZJJZ, 3.679.
[142] Yuan Haowen, "Ji Yuxuan he Dang chengzhi xue shi si shou" no. 1; YHWQJ, 2.45–46.
[143] In Chinese tradition, the left side is lower in status than the right side.

為言但當多讀書	[Dang] only advises that one should read more books,
不求於工應自工	And do not seek craft [intentionally] but let verse be crafted on its own.
嗚呼後學安得知	Alas! How can latecomers come to understand [Dang's advice]?
客氣趁俗塗青紅	Hypocritical and superficial, they conform to the vulgar customs and apply greenish and reddish makeup.
承旨有集當重讀	Recipient of Edicts [i.e., Dang Huaiying] has his individual collection, which should be often read.
官樣妥貼腴且豐	His official mode is appropriate, proper, fertile, and rich. (*ll*. 43–50)[144]

Besides the deviation from the orthodox literature displayed in latter generations, an echelon of Jin poets of the "High Jin" period is set up in the first part: At the center is indubitably the exemplary Lord Dang, flanked by the twin stars of the era, Wang Tingyun and Zhao Feng. This ranking became a consensus among post-Jin literati as a normative and formative trope through cultural memory.[145] In terms of poetic styles, Wang Tingyun represented the current poetic style of being extraordinary or *qi* and attracted a crowd of young poets, whereas Zhao Feng allied himself among other Mingchang poets – including Dang Huaiying, with whom he was juxtaposed into the coined epithet of "Dang-Zhao" 党趙 (see chapter 1) – for the promotion of "elegant simplicity" or *ya*.

Furthermore, their literary competition even extended into the practice of calligraphy. Yuan Haowen once remarked that "Huangshan's [i.e., Zhao Feng] writing is like one done by a

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[144] Hao Jing, "Du Dang chengzhi ji" 讀党承旨集; HJJ, 9.663–64.

[145] For the ranking of Dang as the chair of his generation, followed by Zhao and Wang as his flanking-attendants, see, for example, Hao Jing, "Yuan gu shang Yuan xueshi," "Du Dang chengzhi ji," "Huangshan caosheng ge"; HJJ, 2.245, 9.663, 11.906. Wang Yun, "Zhao Mu zhuan li ge" 趙穆篆隸歌, "Ti Zhuxi shibi" 題竹溪詩筆; WYQJ, 8.292, 72.3034. Wei Chu 魏初 (1232-1292), "Shang ye ming shuo" 尚野銘說; *Quan Yuan wen*, 265.459.
郝經《陵川集》卷二《原古上元學士》：浚發自蔡党，高步出遼夐。……黃山與黃華，雙鳳高蹭蹬。
又，卷九《讀党承旨集》：文孺子端拜道左，請更指授祛矇聾。
又，卷十一《黃山草聖歌》：一從蔡党闢文源，復有黃山黃華相後先。
王惲《秋澗集》卷八《趙穆篆隸歌（丁丑歲四月十六日作）》：明昌王趙稱文儒，問書竹溪真起予。
又，卷七二《題竹溪詩筆》：文獻党公大定間翰墨爲天下第一，如雪溪、黃山輩，皆北面師尊之。
魏初《青崖集》卷五《尚野銘說》：近世党竹溪謂王黃華、趙黃山少讀六經，餘人當何如？
Notably, the rivalry between the three coevals often took place in the cultural field of calligraphy according to extant Jin texts.

Daoist priest in deep mountain; Huanghua's [i.e., Wang Tingyun] writing is like those of celebrities in the Eastern Jin period (317–420)" 黃山書，如深山道人；黃華書，如東晉名流.[146] An interesting historical coincidence revealed in Yuan's words is the similitude of their self-appellations – Huangshan 黃山 for Zhao and Huanghua 黃華 for Wang – based on their mountain heritages in Shandong and Henan respectively. Many Jin contemporaries exploited this word play when they intended to juxtapose Zhao and Wang. For example, in another poem written by Hao Jing entitled "Ballad of Huangshan, the Sage of Cursive Script" (*Huangshan caosheng ge* 黃山草聖歌), Zhao's aesthetic merit was exalted as "classical and elegant" (*guya* 古雅) and "experienced and composed" (*laocheng* 老成). Again, the historical-theatrical scenario of the Zhao-Wang duality was foregrounded in the following lines:

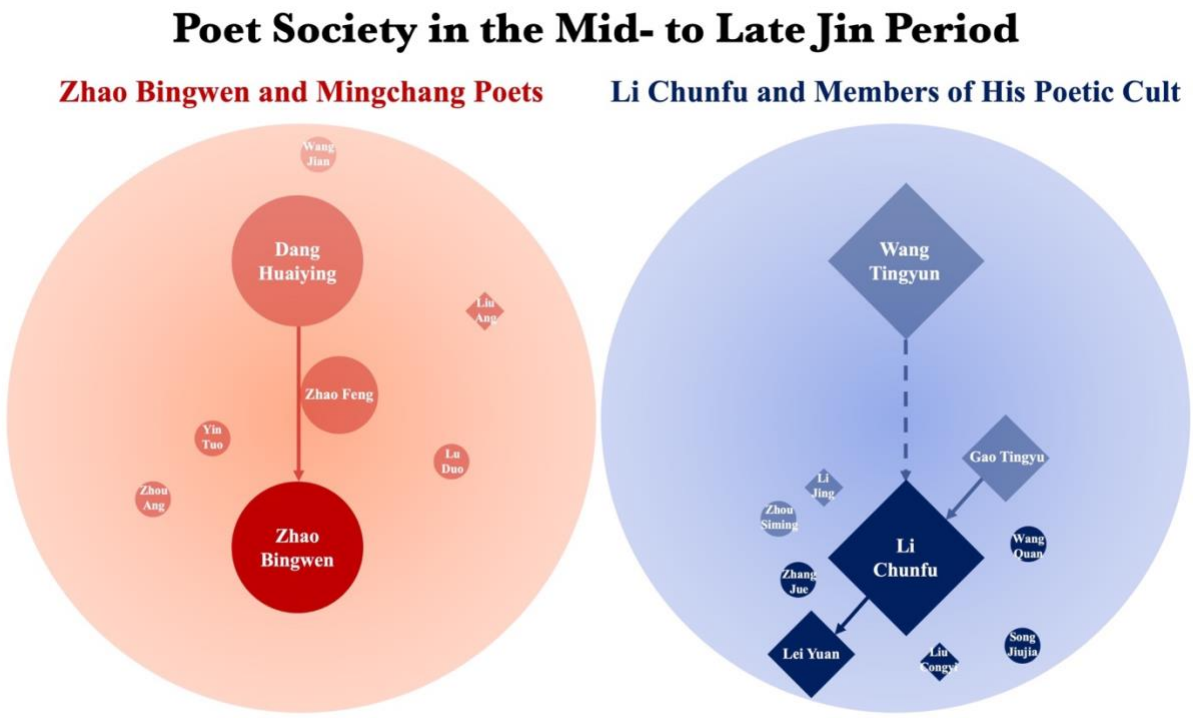
一從蔡党闢文源	Since Cai [Gui] and Dang [Huaiying] launched the fountainhead of literature,
復有黃山黃華相後先	There are Huangshan and Huanghua falling over each other.
黃山古雅尤老成	Huangshan is classical and elegant, and particularly experienced and composed;
迫蔡埒党難重輕	He verges on Cai and measures up to Dang, neck and neck with each other. (*ll*. 1–4)

A significant piece of historical information about Jin literati genealogy can be drawn from Hao Jing's verses. The first couplet suggests an undertone of genealogical development of Jin literati culture by mentioning Cai Gui and Dang Huaiying as the ountainhead. In chapter 1 I have extracted the Jin literati genealogy encoded out of extant Jin texts with the layout of Yuwen Xuzhong—Cai Gui—Dang Huaiying—Zhao Bingwen—Yuan Haowen. Here I zoom in on a neglected joint falling in the Dang Huaiying—Zhao Bingwen interval, that is, the rivalry between Zhao Feng and Wang Tingyun in their generation of the "High Jin" period.

[146] Yuan Haowen, "Ba guochao minggong shu" 跋國朝名公書; YHWQJ, 40.710.

According to Hao Jing's account, between predecessors like Dang Huaiying and the upcoming generation of Zhao Bingwen, Wang Tingyun and Zhao Feng stood out to be crucial intermediate figures. More intriguingly, the Zhao-Wang dichotomy to some extent anticipated the confrontation between Zhao Bingwen and Li Chunfu in the next decade. Unfortunately, however, both Zhao Feng and Wang Tingyun died ahead of Dang, so that their influence in the thirteenth century was limited and surpassed by latecomers like Zhao Bingwen and Li Chunfu. For this reason, the "official" genealogical schema of Jin literati links Dang Huaiying to Zhao Bingwen directly by skipping Zhao Feng and Wang Tingyun. And as mentioned above, Zhao Bingwen established his literary authority through this ideological project of "lineage of the past literary history" together with the anthologization of Mingchang poetry, so as to counterbalance Li Chunfu's popularity among younger poets in the contemporaneous space.

Below I draw a diagram of the mid- to late Jin poet society by juxtaposing Zhao Bingwen's genealogical scheme encoded in the Mingchang anthology (marked in red), alongside the "branch" of Li Chunfu's poetic cult that arbitrated the contemporary Jin "literati consensus" (marked in blue). All these major poets in the mid- to late Jin period signified on this chart have showed up in our discussions of primary sources above. We should make clear, however, that there is no clear-cut fault line between these two poetic groups. As noted above, rapport between Zhao Bingwen and Li Chunfu was strongly confirmed in Jin texts, and many members of Li's circle were actually common friends with Zhao, such as Li Jing, Lei Yuan, and Liu Congyi. One last revealing proof is that Zhou Ang and Zhou Siming, despite being grouped into two camps on this chart, were actually uncle and nephew from Zhending 真定, nowadays Hebei province. That being said, several noteworthy observations can be drawn out of comparison from this diagram.



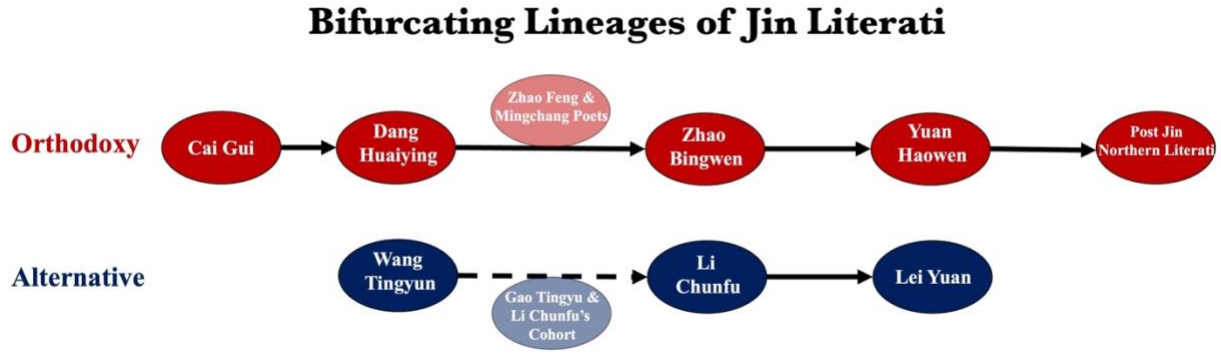
The shape of circle (●) means that the poet came from the former Northern Song region; the shape of rhombus (◆) in turn means that the poet came from the ex-Kitan Liao territory.
Poets who died before or during the first Mongol-Jurchen war in 1210s are marked in semitransparent color, so as to distinguish from late Jin poets who were active in 1210s–1230s.

First of all, I find strong correlations between poetic styles and geographical origins of individual poets on this chart. On the one side, together with Zhao Bingwen, all these eight Mingchang poets except Liu Ang came from the former Northern Song territory (marked in the shape of circle). In the other camp, over half of members (6 out of 10 here) belonging to Li Chunfu's poetic cult of extraordinariness or eccentricity were far northern literati whose provenances could be traced back to the Liao history (marked in the shape of rhombus). It is especially true for key figures of this poetic group – Wang Tingyun, Gao Tingyu, Li Chunfu, and Lei Yuan – who all bore the identity of Han literati coming from the ex-Liao regions. As such, albeit ambiguous and contingent (since there are always exceptions), we find a general propensity for the style of "heroic propensity" among far northern literati, and perhaps they even

drew a self-distinction from those Mingchang poets mainly composed of ex-Song "southern" descendants.

Second, temporally speaking, the Mingchang poets nominated by Zhao Bingwen all spent their prime of life in the "High Jin" period, and they all died before or during the first Mongol-Jurchen war in 1210s, whom I mark in semitransparent color. By contrast, many members of Li Chunfu's circle were still active in the last two decades of the Jin dynasty (1210s–1230s) when the Jurchen court moved south to Kaifeng, and I mark them in full color. As a result, the Mingchang model of "elegant simplicity" was borrowed from the ideal past, while the poetic cult of "heroic eccentricity" was a contemporary literary fashion that swept the late Jin poet society. Moreover, by visualizing the Mingchang poets promoted by Zhao Bingwen and Li Chunfu's friend circle, this diagram discloses two dynamic forces of mapping out the Jin literati constellation, namely the discursive force for schematizing genealogy in the temporal dimension, and social behaviors of networking Jin literati in a contemporary space.

Correspondingly, looking back upon the "orthodox" Jin literati genealogy elaborated in chapter 1, we have to restate its artificial and exclusive nature here, since it almost wipes out the existence and impact of Li Chunfu's group. In turn, we should envision two-pronged lineages instead of a unilateral one in the complicated Jin poetic arena. Below I draw out the modified version of pluralized genealogies of Jin literati:



As we can tell from this diagram, though Li Chunfu might have overshadowed Zhao Bingwen regarding his second-to-none reputation during the late Jin era, in the long run it turned out that Zhao eventually won over Li by programing a genealogical scheme of the Jin literary past (the Mingchang anthology along with the *ex post facto* Cai-Dang lineage) and assigning a consequential successor (Yuan Haowen and his disciples) to carry on the same lineage, of which Li Chunfu's group lacked both. Indeed, Li and his cohort seemed unheedful of preserving their literary past and sustaining their traditions. Normally speaking, the lineage reconstruction is most manifest and effective in the commemorative enterprise of composing entombed epitaph inscriptions (*muzhiming* 墓誌銘) for one's master: We know that Zhao Bingwen wrote the spirit path stele inscription (*shendaobei* 神道碑) for Dang Huaiying, and then Yuan was the writer of Zhao's entombed epitaph, and in turn Yuan's disciple Hao Jing took over the duty for composing Yuan's own epitaph after his death.[147] In such manner, Hao was probably second in place after Yuan on this list, and portrayed himself as the representative of post-Jin northern literati community under Mongol rule. On the contrary, none in Li Chunfu's group seems to have composed a funeral inscription for Wang Tingyun, and it was until 1253, almost half a century after Wang's death in 1202, that Wang's offspring asked Yuan Haowen instead to make up for a belated one.[148] Similar negligence also happened in Gao Tingyu's case: Li Chunfu meant to compose Gao's epitaph inscription himself, but regrettably he died before he could make it, and in consequence we now know little about Gao's life account with the absence of his biography in JS.[149] Of course, we can explain away the lack of engagement in commemoration in Li Chunfu's

[147] Zhao, "Dang gong shendaobei"; FSJ, 11.163–65. Yuan Haowen, "Xianxian gong muming" 閑閑公墓銘; YHWQJ, 17.347–51. Hao Jing, "Yishan xiansheng muming" 遺山先生墓銘; HJJ, 35.2813–15.
[148] Yuan, "Wang Huanghua mubei."
[149] See GQZ, 4.33: 屏山以詩哭之甚哀，雷希顏又為文以祭，述其事，為時所稱。屏山又將文其碑，未著，死，後其今事狀不詳，惜哉。

camp by the irrevocable loss of primary sources – none of the individual collections of Li Chunfu's group is extant today. But this fact exactly proves the insignificance of Li Chunfu's literary impact in later ages. In retrospect, one fundamental blow that marked the "death" of Li Chunfu's literary afterlife was the untimely demise of Lei Yuan as Li's successor and the absence of other candidates to sustain Li's lineage – as we have noted above, Li's cohort all died in their prime of life, failing to survive the Jurchen-Mongol transition. Among the post Jin / early Yuan northern literati, their master Yuan Haowen chose to ally with Zhao Bingwen instead, and was later enshrined into the "orthodox" genealogy of Jin literati through commemorations from his disciples.

A few more words need to be said about Wang Tingyun concerning his peculiar position in Jin literary history. For one thing, the link from Wang Tingyun to Li Chunfu seems slim and tentative compared to the "orthodox lineage." Besides their sporadic correspondence, I only find one explicit announcement of Li's discipleship of Wang in Yuan Haowen's poem written for the latter's ink bamboo painting: "For a hundred years, the league of *wenzhang* or literary composition was led by our lord [i.e., Wang Tingyun]; / Encountering him, Pingshan kneels and salutes with joined hands with respect" 百年文章公主盟，屏山見之跽且擎.[150] Indeed, Wang Tingyun seemed to be a one-of-a-kind genius in his own age, with neither precedents nor followers. In the "Record of Implanting Virtue" (Zhong de tang ji 種德堂記), Zhao Bingwen applied the analogy of annual plants to illustrate Wang Tingyun's cultural achievement as irreplaceable:

> Yet the *qi* [vital force] between Heaven and Earth is bestowed on things unequally. Those that aggregate the most refined [*qi*] will effuse it to the utmost. Thus, the outstanding and extraordinary flowers and the superb and exquisite plants are not

[150] Yuan Haowen, "Wang Huanghua mozhu" 王黃華墨竹; YHWQJ, 5.91.

commonplace. [Sima] Xiangru 司馬相如 (179?–117 BC), Ziyun [i.e., Yang Xiong 揚雄 (53 BC–18 AD)], Li Bai (701–762), Duling [lit. "Mound of the Du Clan," i.e., Du Fu 杜甫 (712–770)] all aggregated the most quintessential and finest *qi* between Heaven and Earth, so that they could blossom but could not fruit, and they could flourish but could not persevere.… [Jin literati] like Zhao Ke the *jinshi* graduate [in 1154], and Wang Tingyun the [Hanlin] Redactor-Compiler, all embodied the most quintessential and finest *qi* between Heaven and Earth.

然天地之氣，鍾于物也不一。其蓄之也至精，則其發之也必盡。故花之魁異、木之秀傑者，不常有。相如、子雲、李白、杜陵，皆天地精英之氣也，故能秀而不能實，能蕃而不能續也。……若趙舉士可、王修撰庭筠，皆天地精英之氣也。[151]

Here Zhao raised a nuanced and interesting argument that, analogous to flower without fruit, it was exactly because of Wang's peerless talent that no latecomer was qualified enough to shoulder his literary legacy.

Apart from the suspicious break-off between Wang Tingyun and his younger admirer Li Chunfu, an even more profound phenomenon is Wang's elimination from the orthodox pedigree of Jin literati pantheon built up by Zhao Bingwen. In chapter 1, I have used digital tools of social network analysis to reveal Wang Tingyun's considerable weight equal to that of Zhao Bingwen as two key brokers within the Jin literati genealogical framework. Yet, by excluding or even antagonizing Wang Tingyun from his configuration of the "High Jin" Mingchang poets, Zhao efficiently downplayed the former's presence in the overall Jin literary history. In reality, Wang's relationship with Dang Huaiying, Zhao Feng, and Zhao Bingwen was rather nuanced. In addition to Wang's rivalry with Zhao Feng highlighted in this section, below I briefly demonstrate Wang's curious role as the common antagonist against Dang Huaiying and Zhao Bingwen, which in turn throw into a question his uneasy absence within this orthodox lineage.

[151] Zhao Bingwen, "Zhong de tang ji"; FSJ, 13.181–82.

We know from official historiography that Wang felt envy and hostility from other scholar-officials at Zhangzong's court, both for his dashing personality and literary talent.[152] Some scholars even pin down his adversary as none other than Dang Huaiying,[153] while we also find textual evidence that these two also had poetic exchange with a favorable tone, which I have quoted above. Another circumstantial piece of evidence indicating Dang Huaiying-Wang Tingyun duality or rivalry is the parallelism of their self-appellations, designated as "Bamboo Creek" (*zhuxi* 竹溪) and "Snow Creek" (*xuexi* 雪溪) respectively – to make things more interesting, evidence shows that Zhao Feng also coined his own named "West Creek" (*xixi* 西溪), and all of these three self-appellations were ultimately derived from their reclusion sites.[154]

A more complicated picture is the relationship between Wang Tingyun and Zhao Bingwen. We know that Zhao's first well-known poem in public is the one written for Wang Tingyun, whose literary writings Zhao claimed to emulate since childhood.[155] Furthermore, it is Wang who recommended Zhao to Emperor Zhangzong, and when the latter offended the emperor

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[152] See Wang's biography in JS, 126.2731: （明昌）五年(1194)八月，上顧謂宰執曰：「應奉王庭筠，朕欲以詔誥委之，其人才亦豈易得。近党懷英作《長白山冊文》，殊不工。聞文士多妒庭筠者，不論其文，顧以行止為訾。大抵讀書人多口頰，或相黨。昔東漢之士與宦官分朋，固無足怪。如唐牛僧孺、李德裕，宋司馬光、王安石，均為儒者，而互相排毀何耶。」遂遷庭筠為翰林修撰。

[153] See Wang Qingsheng, *Jindai wenxue jia nianpu*, pp. 197, 229.

[154] No official record of Zhao Feng's self-appellation notwithstanding, traces can be found in Zhao's poetry that "West Creek" refers to his reclusive dwelling in the mountain. See Zhao, "Gongyuan zhong huai shan zhong guju" 貢院中懷山中故居: 歲晚**西溪**路，誰過舊草堂; "Liu ti Xixi san jue" 留題**西溪**三絕; ZZJJZ, 4.958, 965–67. Another piece of circumstantial evidence is Zhao Bingwen, Zhao Bingwen, "Pei Zhao Wenru, Lu Xuanshu fen yun fu xue" 陪趙文孺路宣叔分韻賦雪: 請看**西溪**老，傳著東坡衣; "He Xixi si gui" 和**西溪**思歸: 好在**西溪**隱，人今白玉堂。興來看畫本，夢去拂詩墻。舊竹多年合，新松幾許長。從渠黃石老，獨占白雲鄉; FSJ, 3.28, 6.79.

In like manner, Dang Huaiying named himself after his reclusive place *zhuxi* or "Bamboo Creek" in Mount Culai 徂徠山 next to Mount Tai 泰山, Shandong province. See Dang, "Huang Mishou hua Wujiang xin ji tu" 黃彌守畫吳江新霽圖: 我家**竹溪**陰，小艇橫青漣; "Shihua jiang you Dengzhou zhi xing zuo shi shi yi song zhi" 世華將有登州之行作是詩以送之: 他日書來問無恙，我應深釣**竹溪**雲; ZZJJZ, 3.667, 720.

Finally, Wang Tingyun designated his eremitic residence as *xuexi* or "Snow Creek," which later became his epithet as well. See Zhao Bingwen, "Ji Wang xueshi Ziduan" 寄王學士子端: 寄語**雪溪**王處士，年來多病復何如？浮雲世態紛紛變，秋草人情日日疏。李白一杯人影月，鄭虔三絕畫詩書。情知不得文章力，乞與**黃華**作隱居; Zhang Xingjian 張行簡 (1156–1215), "Ti Ziduan Xuexi xiao yin tu" 題子端**雪谿**小隱圖; ZZJJZ, 3.822, 9.2394.

[155] See GQZ, 1.5, 8.86.

and was demoted in 1196, poor Wang Tingyun was also punished and sent back to his home, so that they looked like political allies who appeared to belong to the same political camp.[156] Last but not least, both Wang and Zhao seemed to be superstars within late Jin literati culture: It is said that their household names had been so widespread that even foreign envoys from Xi Xia had great interest in collecting hearsay and anecdotes about Wang Tingyun and Zhao Bingwen in 1220s, when Wang had already passed away over a decade.[157] Nevertheless, as discussed above, Zhao deliberately made no mention of Wang Tingyun's name on many occasions (such as in his Mingchang anthology), which leads to the consequential erasure of Wang Tingyun from Zhao's genealogical scheme. I am not fashioning Zhao here as an ungrateful person, since a more palpable reason for Zhao's distantiation from Wang Tingyun was his strategy to run counter to Li Chunfu, his archrival whose unbridled literary style can be traced back to Wang. Also, Zhao's contest with Wang and Li mainly is concerned with literary appreciation, a.k.a., *ya* versus *qi*, rather than political partisanship or interpersonal disputes.

At this point, we must have been aware of the arbitrary and exclusive nature of this literary lineage *without* Wang Tingyun, whose construction underwent a delicate process of selection, simplification, modification, or even distortion and obliteration from the rich literary reality. Alternative narratives were also potentially available at the same time. As I have argued in chapter 1, the social network model foregrounds Wang Tingyun and Zhao Bingwen as the weightiest nodes in the Jin literati cluster in terms of degree, and Wang even comes out on top measured by betweenness centrality. Another disproof of this authorized version of Jin literary genealogy is the sequential arrangement of Jin poets revealed in Yuan Haowen's ZZJ: In *juan* 3,

[156] See ibid., 10.111–12.
[157] See Yuan Haowen, "Xianxian gong muming"; YHWQJ, 17.350: 今宣徽舜卿使河湟，夏人多問公及王子端内翰起居狀。朝廷因以公報聘，已而輟不行。其爲當時所重如此。

Wang Tingyun is curiously placed right between Dang Huaiying and Zhao Bingwen, thus formulating an array of literati leaders from Dang to Wang and then to Zhao in generational succession. Incidentally, all Mingchang poets except Dang Huaiying are densely grouped in *juan* 4.[158] Therefore, the portrayal of Wang Tingyun as the universal antagonist against the orthodox Dang Huaiying—(Zhao Feng)—Zhao Bingwen lineage was an intentional move in retrospect, probably initiated by Zhao Bingwen who meant to kill two birds with one stone: On the one hand, by making Wang Tingyun "invisible" in his genealogical scheme, Zhao won over Wang Tingyun and eventually Li Chunfu in his bid for the leader of Jin literati; More important, Zhao managed to secure and "purify" his poetic ideal of "elegant simplicity," when Wang Tingyun and Li Chunfu's poetic style of being extraordinary was trendy among his contemporaries.

Going back to Hao Jing's poetic eulogy on Zhao Feng, having drawn the big picture of Jin literati genealogy, the poet went on to put Zhao in the spotlight:

為避時名	In order to evade current fame,
便把黃華放一頭	he [i.e., Zhao Feng] lets Huanghua surpass him ahead;
聲價亦自雄周京	[Yet] his reputation still presides over the capital of Zhou [i.e., Yanjing] unprompted.
澹薄翛然無宦情	Tranquil and detached, he has no desire to be an official,
玉階寡鶴誤一鳴	Like a solitary crane on the jade stairway who accidentally make a single brilliant cry [to amaze the world].[159] (*ll.* 5–8)

We can also tell from the poem that Zhao Feng's poetic reputation was on a par with Wang Tingyun's in 1190s, though the former was more willing to keep a low profile compared with his archrival. Unlike Wang Tingyun who did not hesitate to lead the fashion for novelty and promoted himself as a celebrity with "current fame" (*shiming* 時名), Zhao Feng was much more

[158] We should re-emphasize here, though, that the organization of the first seven *juan* in ZZJ may not be Yuan Haowen's intention, as he actually took Shang Heng's 商衡 (1187–1232) *Guochao baijia shi lüe* 國朝百家詩略 as his base text.
[159] Hao Jing, "Huangshan caosheng ge"; HJJ, 11.906.

modest and reserved in nature, and so was his self-representation in poetry. In effect, contrary to the eye-catching brashness represented by Li Chunfu's group, many of the Mingchang poets eulogized by Zhao Bingwen had a poised and sometimes detached temperament. Zhao Feng is characterized as "humble and aloof in nature and enlightened in learning *dao* or the Way" 性沖澹，學道有得.[160] Similarly, both Dang Huaiying's temperament and literary style are regarded as "limpid and refined" (*chongcui* 沖粹).[161] Li Chunfu's impression of Zhou Ang is "an amicable person of benevolence and righteousness" 藹然仁義人.[162] Wang Jian, though the most elderly among them, was so unpretentious that he treated his guests as if they were superior to himself, and still, with the label "lofty scholar" (*gao shi* 高士), he was most highly respected among this community for both his seniority and Confucianist authority. Above all, this group's indifferent attitude toward secular fame and fortune often accords with their relatively modest living standards. In particular, the young Dang Huaiying in the early years before he achieved the *jinshi* degree, as well as the recluse scholar Wang Jian throughout his life, lived a meager life, and were highly praised as Yanzi 顏子 or Master Yan of the age, the most promising disciple of Confucius, who remained enlightened and peaceful in face of deprivation in worldly affairs.[163] Therefore, thatched huts, seclusive or solitary dwelling, and turmoil of farm work are recurrent poetic tropes exerted by these impoverished literati. This mentality is well captured in Zhao Feng's verse, in which the poet expressed his appreciation for Tao Yuanming since "once pennilessness is no

[160] See Zhao's mini-biography in ZZJJZ, 4.951.
[161] Zhao Bingwen, "Zhuxi xiansheng wenji yin"; FSJ, 15.205.
[162] See Zhou Ang's brief biography in ZZJJZ, 4.864.
[163] Dang Huaiying's brief biography in ZZJ depicts that "his rice-plate and wine-gourd were always empty; yet he was at peace" 簞瓢屢空，晏如也; see ZZJJZ, 3.660. This was originally Confucius' comment on Yan Hui 顏回 or Yanzi 顏子 (Master Yan) recorded in the *Analects*. Notably, the same line also appears in Tao Yuanming's 陶淵明 famous "Biography of Master Five Willows" (Wu liu xiansheng zhuan 五柳先生傳).

For the case of Wang Jian, see Zhao Bingwen, "Yi'an xiansheng yanxing jie" 遺安先生言行碣: "This person is Yanzi or Master Yan at present" 斯人當今顏子也; FSJ, 11.160.

longer kept in mind, / All that I like is in turn fulfilled" 一貧既忘懷，所好無不遂.[164] In sharp contrast, Li Chunfu's community won their public fame through their histrionic personality and extraordinary compositions. One of the core members, Zhang Jue, was in fact a man of wealth in local society, and opulent feasts are commonly seen in their poems as the backdrop to lively debates among friends. Lei Yuan, a steady ally of Li Chunfu, was a well-known social butterfly who cultivated friendships with influential celebrities and powerful dignitaries inside "the gates of marquesses and the wards of imperial relatives" (*hou men qi li* 侯門戚里).[165]

Their modest yet contented life attitude was also translated into their poetic style of "noble simplicity" or even "minimalism." Instead of striving for unexpected and extraordinary verse which reads "hard-edged or tough" (*ying* 硬), Mingchang poets were prone to depict natural scenery in simple and fresh phrasings with the glamor of "airy and lyrical elegance" (*fengsao* 風騷).[166] Be that as it may, these "natural" poems are not necessarily stereotyped or banal; quite the opposite, seemingly effortless artistry and craft are required in order to convey the unadorned while affective expressiveness – encapsulated in the term "reserved profoundness" (*hanxu* 含蓄).[167] Zhao Feng's poem on snow translated below is a case in point:

	分韻賦雪得雨字	"Chanting Snow with the Assigned Rhyme-Word *Yu* (Rain)"
	大雪初不知	Heavy snow – at first I was unaware of it;
	開門已無路	Opening the door, I find there is already no path.
	驚喜視曆日	With surprise and delight, I check the calendar,
4	此瑞固有數	And this auspice was indeed preordained.
	池冰凍欲合	Ice in the pool is frozen almost as a monolithic slab;
	林鴉噤仍聚	Crows in the woods, close-mouthed, still gather together.
	已成玉壺瑩	[Snow] has become luster of the jade urn,

[164] Zhao Feng, "Qiu ri ganhuai" 秋日感懷; ZZJJZ, 4.960.
[165] See GQZ, 10.108. Also see ibid., 1.10: （雷淵）喜結交，凡當途貴要與布衣名士，無不往來。居京師，賓客踵門，未嘗去舍。
[166] GQZ, 8.86: 小詩貴風騷，今人往往止作硬語，非也。
[167] Ibid., 8.88: 趙閑閑論文曰：「文字無太硬，之純文字最硬，可傷！」……趙於詩最細，貴含蓄工夫。

8	尚作寶花雨	But there is still rain of precious flowers.
	造物固多才	The Fashioner of Things is indeed protean;
	中有無盡句	Within [the snowscape] there are inexhaustible verses.
	大兒擬圭璧	The older son compares snow to (jade) scepter and disc;[168]
12	小兒比鹽絮	The little one likens it to salt and catkins.[169]
	後人例蹈襲	Latecomers as a norm slavishly follow [previous verses];
	彌復入窘步	Ever more they fall into constrained steps.
	聚星號令嚴	In the [Hall of] Amassing Stars the commands are strict,
16	亦自警未悟	Which alert me to being unenlightened.
	誰有五色筆	Who has the five-color brush
	繪此天地素	To paint this whiteness of Heaven and Earth?
	好語覓不來	Fine words are not to be sought out;
20	更待偶然遇	It must await incidental encounter.[170]

First of all, we can tell from the title that there was a poetry-composition event situated in a literati gathering, based on the rule of "assigning rhymes" (*fen yun* 分韻) to different poets. It was also attested in Zhao Bingwen's piece with the same title in which Lu Duo was also mentioned, so that these extant pieces are textual testimony of the Mingchang social connections.[171] The rhyme-bound poets were required to demonstrate their skill under the imposed poetic regulations, inspiring both competition and entertainment. That said, the style of the whole poem was plain and smooth enough despite a given topic and rhyme-word. Most importantly, Zhao Feng here touches upon the issue of composing original poetry on natural themes by enumerating an array of both good and poor allusions and images of snow. On the one

[168] This line alludes to Xie Huilian's 謝惠連 (407–433) "Rhapsody on Snow" (*xue fu* 雪賦): "Conforming to the square, it forms a jade tessera; / Meeting the round, it creates a jade disc" 既因方而為圭，亦遇圓而成璧. I adopt the English translation from David R. Knechtges trans., *Wen Xuan, or Selections of Refined Literature*, Volume III (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1996), p. 25.

[169] The *locus classicus* of the "salt and catkins" metaphor is entry no. 71 in the chapter of "Speech and Conversation" (*yanyu* 言語) in *A New Account of Tales of the World* (Shi shuo xin yu 世說新語). Xie An 謝安 (320–385) once asked children in the Xie clan what resembled snow; a boy answered "scattered salts in the sky," while the famous female talent Xie Daoyun 謝道韞 (fl. 4th c.), when she was still young, analogized snow as buoyant catkins. See more in Richard B. Mather trans., *Shih-shuo Hsin-yü: A New Account of Tales of the World*, 2nd ed. (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press; Center For Chinese Studies, 2002), p. 67.

It is noteworthy that both lines in this couplet draw allusions from Six Dynasties poetic discourses.

[170] ZZJJZ, 4.963.

[171] Zhao Bingwen, "Pei Zhao Wenru, Lu Xuanshu fen yun fu xue" 陪趙文孺路宣叔分韻賦雪; FSJ, 3.28.

hand, the poet optimistically ensures that the protean nature entails inexhaustible possibilities of verse-fashioning, and he himself offers myriad metaphors of snow such as "luster of the jade urn" (*l.* 7) and "rain of precious flowers" (*l.* 8) to catch the eyes of readers with a refreshing effect. On the other hand, Zhao admits the inconvenient truth of worn-out poetic tropes in face of the formidable heritage of enormous former exemplars, and images like "(jade) scepter and disc" (*l.* 11) and "salt and catkins" (*l.* 12) are already ubiquitous in Six Dynasties verses.[172]

Line 15 refers to Ouyang Xiu and Su Shi's playful restraints on snow poetry called "forbidding phrasings of delineating the object" (*jin tiwu yu* 禁體物語) or the "bare-handed combat" style (*baizhan ti* 白戰體). This poetic game was held in the Hall of Amassing Stars in Yingzhou 潁州 (in modern Anhui) when Ouyang and Su were prefects there. The major principle was disallowing any conventional trope or metaphor in snow poetry based on form-likeness such as jade, moon, pear(-blossom), silk, catkin, crane, silver, etc.[173] Thus, we can tell this specific poetic subgenre emerged within the social contexts of poetry-provoking elite assemblies. It also raised the threshold in the competition of matching poems, which further led to the calculated discard of stock phrases as well as the sought-after novelty intrinsic to Song poetry.

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[172] "Salt and catkins" in particular had been formularized as poetic tropes, lacking originality in the eyes of some Tang-Song poets. For instance, Han Yu once wrote a line "analogizing [snow] to salt, I chant the old-fashioned verse" 擬鹽吟舊句 ("Xi xue xian Pei shangshu" 喜雪獻裴尚書); Su Shi also admitted that "I then realized salt and catkin are platitude" 始知鹽絮是陳言 ("Ciyun Zhongshu xue zhong you Xihu," no. 2 次韻仲殊雪中遊西湖之二).

[173] For the origins and precedents of this specific genre, see Cheng Qianfan 程千帆 and Zhang Hongsheng 張宏生, "Huo yu xue: cong tiwu dao jin tiwu – lun baizhan ti ji Du, Han dui ta de xiandao zuoyong" 火與雪：從體物到禁體物——論白戰體及杜、韓對它的先導作用, in Cheng Qianfan, Mo Lifeng 莫礪鋒 and Zhang Hongsheng, *Bei kaituo de shi shijie* 被開拓的詩世界; *Cheng Qianfan quanji* 程千帆全集, comp. Mo Lifeng, vol. 9 (Shijiazhuang: Hebei jiaoyu chubanshe, 2001), pp. 62–81. Also see Zhang Gaoping 張高評, "Baizhan ti yu Song shi zhi chuangyi zaoyu: jin tiwu yong xue shi jiqi yinnanjianqiao" 白戰體與宋詩之創意造語：禁體物詠雪詩及其因難見巧, *Journal of Chinese Studies* 49 (2009): 173–212. Zhou Yukai 周裕鍇 also regards the prohibitive restriction of the *baizhan* style as a derivative type of convivial rituals or games (*jiuling* 酒令) at that time; see his "Baizhan ti yu jin tiwu yu" 白戰體與禁體物語, *Gudian wenxue zhishi* 古典文學知識, 2010.3: 61–65.

In this light, although Zhao Feng's own poem does not observe the strict poetic restraints, he agrees with Ouyang Xiu and Su Shi that applying platitudes in poetry is tedious and futile, and the only solution is to avoid it. And yet, in the last four lines, Zhao undermines the effectiveness of delicate verbal artistry, as ornamental language ("the five-color brush") has nothing to do with the ineffable "plainness" of natural beauty, and instead Zhao believes that the most sought-after verse, paradoxically, cannot be obtained intentionally but dependent on contingent inspirations.

To sum up, Zhao's poetic inspiration dwells in affective images stimulated by nature in the first place, while at the same time the poet must also be equipped with refined taste and literary gift for composing elegant and original verses. The dynamic integration of the natural and the artificial is best exemplified in the four lines of Zhao Bingwen's companion piece to Zhao Feng's snow poem:

清寒入詩腸	Limpid coldness infiltrates into the guts of the poem;
思繞昏鴉飛	Thoughts swirl with the crows flying in the dusk.
力除鹽絮俗	[Zhao Feng] resolutely dismisses clichés such as salt and catkins,
改事文章機	And revises and engages in the kernel of *wenzhang* or literary composition. (*ll*. 11–14)[174]

Here the poet tries to argue that nature and culture in Zhao Feng's poetry are two sides of the same coin: whereas the first couplet still claims that nature is the ultimate trigger of poetic muse by contingency, the following one underscores the labor needed to achieve the virtuosity of *wenzhang*.

[174] Zhao Bingwen, "Pei Zhao Wenru, Lu Xuanshu fen yun fu xue"; FSJ, 3.28.

Yin Tuo and Zhou Ang's Nomination of Du Fu as the Exemplary Poet of Ya

Besides their aesthetic disposition toward "naturalness" and "elegant simplicity," Mingchang poets also adopted other measures to go against the poetic fashion of "sharp or piercing novelty" represented by the Song poet Huang Tingjian and his Jin dynasty followers Wang Tingyun and Li Chunfu. One crucial step was the rediscovery of the Tang poet Du Fu as the ultimate role model for poets of all ages to exemplify their poetic ideal of *ya*. Above all, I contend that the foregrounding of Du Fu by Yin Tuo and Zhou Ang in particular was a strategic proposition to offset Huang Tingjian's unfavorable influence among late Jin poets led by Li Chunfu. In so doing, Mingchang poets' preference of Tang over Song in part anticipated the overall rise and learning of Tang poetry in the next generation, which will be discussed in detail in chapter 7.

For Zhao Bingwen as well as those Mingchang poets, they made a clear-cut distinction between Du Fu and Song poets like Su Shi and Huang Tingjian, which was an unusual move that first initiated and fermented within this group:

> Zhao Xianxian once told me [i.e., Liu Qi] that when he came to know Yin Wuji for the first time, he asked Yin: "I have heard for a long time that you Sir are not in favor of Su [Shi] and Huang [Tingjian] when composing poetry – what's the reason?" Wuji answered: "If one learns from Su and Huang, [his poetry] will be mean and mediocre." Instead, his own poems without exception model on those of Li [Bai] and Du [Fu], and his pentasyllabic verse is especially well-wrought… which highly resembles Shaoling [i.e., Du Fu].
>
> 趙閑閑嘗為余言，少初識尹無忌，問:「久聞先生作詩不喜蘇、黃何如？」無忌曰:「學蘇、黃則卑猥也。」其詩一以李、杜為法，五言尤工……甚似少陵。[175]

Yin Tuo was the pioneer among Jin poets who turned away from Song exemplars and instead claimed to directly emulate Li Bai and Du Fu in particular. Though Du Fu was a household name and his poetry collection must have been on the must-read list for later poets, here he served as

[175] GQZ, 8.86.

the opposite of Huang Tingjian and Su Shi. In this vein, poetry learning was conceived from a fresh vantage point: By skipping the relatively degraded Song models like Su Shi and Huang Tingjian, one could go back to the source and achieve the greater level of the lofty and classicist, in a word, *ya*, epitomized by Du Fu.

In like manner, Zhou Ang also denied the well-acknowledged affiliation between Du Fu and Huang Tingjian – the majority of poets at that time saw Du Fu and Huang Tingjian within the same pedigree chart as patriarchs or founding fathers that ultimately led to the Jiangxi Poetic School. Instead, he put his emphasis on invalidating Huang's modeling himself on Du Fu. His nephew Wang Ruoxu once recorded his attitude:

> Shi Shunyuan [i.e., Shi Su 史肅 (*jinshi* 1191)] composed a preface to my uncle's poetry collection, in which he thought [my uncle's poetry] bore Old Du's "methods of versification," which was fair enough. Yet, he also said that my uncle probably started to write poetry through learning from Shan'gu, with which I dare not agree. Indeed, my uncle learned poetry from Minister of Works [i.e., Du Fu] since childhood, while throughout his life he had no liking for Shan'gu. I, Ruoxu, once seized an opportunity and asked him about this, and he replied: "Luzhi[']s poetry] is forceful, bold, extraordinary and precarious, and is well-versed in creating new types – this is indeed where he surpasses others. Nevertheless, it has nothing to do with Shaoling from the very beginning. Older generations thought [Huang] got the knack [from Du], and these were not profound views." Doesn't Shunyuan also follow bygone hearsay to bring about his opinion?
>
> 史舜元作吾舅詩集序，以為有老杜句法，蓋得之矣。而復云「由山谷以入」，則恐不然。吾舅兒時便學工部，而終身不喜山谷也。若虛嘗乘閒問之，則曰：「魯直雄豪奇險，善為新樣，固有過人者；然于少陵初無關涉。前輩以為得法者，皆未能深見耳。」舜元之論，豈亦襲舊聞而發歟？[176]

Though Wang Ruoxu took issue with Shi Su's opinion here, we should in turn understand that his "bygone hearsay" (*jiuwen* 舊聞) revealed a deeply ingrained assumption at that point. In other words, it is only natural for post-Northern Song poets to approach Du Fu's achievement through

[176] Wang Ruoxu, "(Hunan) shihua" （滹南）詩話, no. 3, in *Hunan yilao ji jiaozhu*, 38.437.

learning "Jiangxi poetic rules" exemplified by Huang Tingjian's poetry.[177] Some contemporaries went so far as to consult Jiangxi poetry alone and leave Du Fu behind, as attested in the twelfth-century poetry remarks.[178] Zhou Ang, however, decoupled Du Fu from Huang Tingjian by amplifying their aesthetic incompatibility, and he further revoked the specious claim of learning Huang as a steppingstone to learning Du. Like Yin Tuo, Zhou Ang exploited the "source" of Du Fu independent of later "branches," be it either Huang Tingjian or Jiangxi School. In this manner, there seems to be an invisible gap between the two sides, as Zhou appreciated Du Fu's poetry to the extent of an unapproachable marvel, in contrast to trivial and futile efforts to hone their craft executed by Jiangxi poets such as Chen Shidao:

子美神功接混茫	Zimei's [i.e., Du Fu] wondrous achievement is converged with the obscure boundlessness;
人間無路可升堂	In this human world there is no path to enter his inner chambers [i.e., to acquire the intrinsic nature of Du's poetry].
一斑管內時時見	One spot [of a leopard] is seen time and again through a tube –[179]
賺得陳郎兩鬢蒼	Which only wins over the graying hair of the young Chen [Shidao] [because of his painstaking composition].[180]

It is clear that Du Fu's "wondrous achievement" or "divine poetic craft" was consecrated here, to such an extent that it is not humanly possible to approach him via rote imitation instructed by the Jiangxi School.

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[177] Huang Tingjian was an ardent advocate for Du Fu's poetry, and he once claimed that "in terms of poetic learning, [modeling after] Old Du should suffice" 欲學詩，老杜足矣; see Huang, "Ba lao Du shi" 跋老杜詩; *Song Huang Wenjie gong quanji*, in *Huang Tingjian quanji*, "Buyi" 補遺, 9.2298.

Zhang Jie also reaffirmed Huang's role in the revival of Du Fu's poetry during the Northern Song period that "Zimei's poetry was expounded by virtue of Shan'gu" 子美之詩，得山谷而後發明; see Zhang, *Suihantang shihua jianzhu*, 1.30:96.

[178] See, for example, Hu Zi, *Tiaoxi yuyin conghua qianji*, 42.332: 苕溪漁隱曰：「近時學詩者，率宗江西，然殊不知江西本亦學少陵者也。故陳無己曰：『豫章之學博矣，而得法於少陵，故其詩近之。』今少陵之詩，後生少年不復過目，抑亦失江西之意乎？江西平日語學者為詩旨趣，亦獨宗少陵一人而已。余為是說，蓋欲學詩者師少陵而友江西，則兩得之矣。」

[179] This line means Jiangxi poets like Chen Shidao only learned from Du Fu narrowly and superficially while losing the whole picture.

[180] Zhou Ang, "Du Chen Houshan shi" 讀陳後山詩; ZZJJZ, 4.891.

In a word, Du Fu in the eyes of Mingchang poets served as a countercurrent to the prevailing Jiangxi poetic style. Furthermore, the model of Du Fu had the undertone of the elevated status of Tang classical poetry for its "dignity" or "elegantia" (*ya* 雅) and distanced Antiquity (*gu* 古) compared to the pervasive Northern Song exemplars for "extraordinariness" (*qi* 奇) and "novelty" (*xin* 新). The dynamics between Novelty and Antiquity is a pregnant issue here. Huang Tingjian himself didn't see any discord here, as elsewhere he encouraged his contemporary poets and painters to "appreciate principles of antiquity so as to generate refreshing novelty" 領略古法生新奇.[181] Jin Mingchang poets took an opposite stance and contended that it is exactly Huang's labored novelty based on taxing metrical patterns that harmed Du Fu's ideal of "Grand Elegantiae" (*Daya* 大雅).[182] It is in this sense that Yuan Haowen commented that "apropos [the style of] antiquity and classicism, [Huang] failed to draw closer to Zimei" 古雅難將子美親.[183]

This part covers diverse aspects of the poetic ideal of *ya* as an alternative to the aesthetical pursuit of *qi* prevalent at that time. Ultimately, behind this poetic contest was the rivalry for late Jin literati leadership between Zhao Bingwen and Li Chunfu. Zhao Bingwen compiled the Mingchang poetry anthology to envision a retrospective genealogical scheme to be

[181] Huang Tingjian, "Ciyun Zizhan he Ziyou guan Han Gan ma yin lun Boshi hua tianma" 次韻子瞻和子由觀韓幹馬因論伯時畫天馬; *Shan'gu shiji zhu* 山谷詩外集注, in *Huang Tingjian shiji zhu*, 7.254.
[182] In effect, it is Huang Tingjian himself who associated the ideal of "Grand Elegantiae" (*Da Ya* 大雅) with Du Fu's poetry; see his "Da Ya tang ji" 大雅堂記; *Song Huang Wenjie gong quanji*, in *Huang Tingjian quanji*, "Zheng ji" 正集, 16.437–38. Nevertheless, Huang seems to be a better reader than a learner of Du Fu's poetry, as Song critics have pointed out, "Luzhi learnt from Zimei and only mastered his metrical patterns" 魯直學子美，但得其格律耳. See Zhang Jie, *Suihantang shihua jianzhu*, 1.2:38.
[183] Yuan Haowen, "Lun shi sanshi shou" 論詩三十首, no. 28; YHWQJ, 11.231. Also see Wixted's analysis on the first line of Poem 28 in his *Poems on Poetry*, pp. 209–12.

commemorated across *time*, and to counterbalance Li Chunfu's the popular reputation of Li Chunfu who tapped into his social connection in contemporary *space*.

Among these seven senior Mingchang poets selected by Zhao Bingwen, I have picked out four representatives for discussion above. Dang Huaiying stood out as the pivot of this Mingchang poetic ideal and gained his authority by setting up rules of the norm or orthodoxy of *wen*. Zhao Feng followed suit, whose limpid and natural disposition was manifest in both his poetry and personality, and bespoke the Mingchang model of *ya* or "elegant simplicity." On top of that, the competition between Zhao Feng and Wang Tingyun discussed by their contemporaries reveals the bifurcation of Jin literati lineages, so that Zhao Bingwen's exclusion of Wang Tingyun from the cluster of Mingchang poets and thus Jin literary orthodoxy looks suspect and arbitrary. Finally, two Mingchang poets Yin Tuo and Zhou Ang made decisive contributions to the learning of Du Fu as the ultimate model of "Grand Elegantiae" in the late Jin poetic arena, which could be said as a paradigm shift away from the Northern Song model especially Huang Tingjian's Jiangxi School at that time.

To take one step further, Zhao Bingwen and his like – with Mingchang poets including Dang Huaiying as his seniors and Yuan Haowen as his cultural heir – justified their disfavor or critical acceptance of Su and Huang, or Song poetry in general, and marked the preamble of the rise of Tang poetry and ideal of Antiquity, which will be the core issue of Part III on the use of the past in the setting of Jin literati culture.

CHAPTER 5

Jin Discourse of North-South Poetic Contests: Three Case Studies

Too Skilled to be Good: Wang Ruoxu's Criticism of Jiangxi School of Poetry[1]

Given the contentious multiplicity reflected in Jin literati's extant compositions, Wang Ruoxu 王若虛 (1174-1243) stands out as the harshest critic against the Jiangxi School. As a contemporary of Southern Song Yan Yü, he also proposes an alternative and clear-cut remedy to write great poetry.[2] On a second thought, however, Wang's steadfast attitude toward and sharp comments on the Jiangxi poetry are precisely the counterevidence of the later's contemporaneity and popularity even in the north. That is to say, the Jiangxi School of poetry was so conventionalized and formulated in the thirteenth-century elite culture that it operated as the "default" choice for writing poems, to such a degree that poets did not bother making excuses to defense his devotion to it. Taking the Jiangxi School of Poetry as the norm was thus a well-known secret among Jin literati, and Wang Ruoxu in this regard was by contrast the idiosyncratic outlier who questioned this commonplace exercise with his trenchant insight.

Wang Ruoxu was a late Jin scholar-official who once served in the Hanlin academy. He witnessed the last days of Jin dynasty being conquered by Mongol cavalry, and afterwards he went back home and remained a recluse in Gaocheng 藁城 (modern Zhending 真定, Hebei). The majority of Wang Ruoxu's extant collection, *Hunan yilao ji* 滹南遺老集 ("Collection of the

[1] I'm indebted to Prof. Ronald Egan for this better title, as he suggests the negative connotations of "clever" in English.
[2] Jonathan Chaves touches upon Wang Ruoxu's discourse on Jiangxi poetry in his "Not the Way of Poetry: The Poetics of Experience in the Sung Dynasty," *Chinese Literature: Essays, Articles, and Reviews* 4.2 (1982): 201-2.

Leftover Subject in the Southern Coast of Hutuo River"),[3] consists of the genre called "Distinguishing Doubts" (*bianhuo* 辨惑) in 37 out of 45 *juan*, which betrays the argumentative nature of his writing. Wang was best known for his expertise in Confucian classical essays (*jingyi* 經義) among his Jin contemporaries, so he was well equipped with critical and analytic skills to read between the lines and discern textual ambiguity. As regards literary writing, Wang composed and compiled four *juan* of "Distinguishing Literature" (*wen bian* 文辨), three *juan* of *Hunan shihua* 滹南詩話 ("Remarks on Poetry [by the Leftover Subject] from Hunan")[4] – and they fall into the category of literary criticism – plus the last five *juan* of prose and poetry, though most of this part are funerary or commemorative narratives. It is also noteworthy that poems in the last two *juan* were posthumously collected by Wang's friends and admirers, so they were probably not included in Wang Ruoxu's self-compiled collection. Below is the table of contents reflecting the organization of Wang's extant collection, and it is no sheer coincidence that the topics of his essays follow the standard bibliographical hierarchy of 經史子集:

juan	title	genre
1-2	Distinguishing Doubts on Five Classics 五經辨惑	argumentative discourse (*bianhuo*, *bian*, *shihua*)
3-7	Distinguishing Doubts on the *Analects* 論語辨惑	
8	Distinguishing Doubts on the *Mencius* 孟子辨惑	
9-19	Distinguishing Doubts on the *Historical Records* 史記辨惑	
20-21	Distinguishing Doubts on Various Histories 諸史辨惑	
22-24	Discernment of the *New Tang History* 新唐書辨	

[3] According to contemporary sources, besides *Hunan yilao ji*, there existed another collection of Wang Ruoxu called *Yongfu ji* 慵夫集 ("Collection of the Indolent Man") which was long lost. I suppose that the latter is Wang's earlier collection before the fall of the Jin dynasty, as the "indolent man" was the poet's self-appellation when in office. Correspondingly, *Hunan yilao ji* was probably compiled after Wang became a "leftover subject" in 1230s and onward. We are not sure, though, whether there is overlap between these two collections.

[4] For a modern annotated version of *Hunan shihua*, see Hu Chuanzhi, *Jindai shilun jicun jiaozhu*, 4. 285-362.

25-26	Discernment of the Substance of Imperial Conducts 君事實辨	
27-29	Discernment of the Substance of Officials' Conducts 臣事實辨	
30	Distinguishing Doubts on Debates 議論辨惑	
31	Distinguishing Doubts on Individual Compositions 著述辨惑	
32	Miscellaneous Discernment 雜辨	
33	Discernment of Fallacies 謬誤雜辨	
34-37	Discernment of Literature 文辨	argumentative discourse on literary writing
38-40	Remarks on Poetry 詩話	
41-45	Miscellaneous Prose 雜文	literary writing
Appendix	Poetry 詩	

Apparently, we can tell from the table that his poetic compositions are fairly rare in quantity compared to his self-distinctive genre *bianhuo*, not to mention that poetry only occupies the subordinate position that was later attached to the formal collection. This may indicate Wang's self-identity as a Confucian scholar rather than a poet.

In format, Wang Ruoxu's literary criticism is constituted primarily of his reading notes on Song literati's remarks, juxtaposing quotations from those Song critics with his own counterarguments marked by the first-person markers such as "the indolent man [Wang's self-appellation] says" (*Yongfu yue* 慵夫曰), or "in my opinion" (*yu wei* 予謂). Therefore, his elaboration is built on comments on Song scholars' comments on the shared literary tradition, with Song literary rivals as both his immediate antagonists and potential interlocutors – and he is performing "brash talks" with his Song contemporaries via the *biji* genre.[5] Many of his entries

[5] Hu Chuanzhi in his research of *Hunan shihua* also points out that many provenances of Wang's quotations come from Southern Song remarks on poetry, particularly Hu Zi's 胡仔 *Tiaoxi yuyin conghua* 苕溪漁隱叢話. See Hu, "*Hunan shihua*: jiyu Nan Song shihua de piping yu tisheng" 滹南詩話：基於南宋詩話的批評與提升, in his *Song Jin wenxue de jiaorong yu yanjin* 宋金文學的交融與演進 (Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe, 2013), pp. 189-203.

involve textual collation and piecemeal emendation that sometimes become minute and studious. Be that as it may, Wang's comments leave an overall impression that the Jiangxi School stands for "bad poetry" that created generational degradation in the history of poetry.

Huang Tingjian and Jiangxi School:

Can Poetry be Taught Through Institutionalized "Dharma Heirs"?

Huang Tingjian, the founding father of the Jiangxi School of Poetry, is well-known for his exquisite craftsmanship and semantic novelty in poetic language accomplished through the poet's meditation on and digestion of book learning. This brings about a "*mediated* quality of lyric poetry" through a learned pattern, which is later recognized as the epitome of Song literature.[6] By the same token, however, Wang Ruoxu contends that Huang's poetry is too skilled to be good, and it is exactly Huang's poetic bookishness and its sharp-witted modality that he takes issue with.

To enhance the credibility of his argument, Wang Ruoxu in his *Remarks on Poetry* quotes from the most illustrious poet acknowledged in his time, 蘇軾 (1037-1101). As a good friend of Huang Tingjian, Su Shi leaves quite a few running comments on Huang's poetry scattering in different sources, and the following diction is quite famous:

> [Huang's poetry] is analogous to giant sea-crabs and dried scallops, whose flavor and charm are so paramount that other food in the dish is all discarded, but eating too many of them will cause wind illness and disturb one's *qi*.
> 如蝤蛑、江瑤柱，格韻高絕，盤餐盡廢，然多食則發風動氣。[7]

[6] I adopt this expression from David Palumbo-Liu, *The Poetics of Appropriation: The Literary Theory and Practice of Huang Tingjian* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1993), p. x.
[7] Wang Ruoxu, *Hunan shihua, juan* 2, in *Hunan yilao ji*, 4 vols (Congshu jicheng chubian 叢書集成初編 edition, Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1985), *juan* 39, pp. 251-2.

In Wang Ruoxu's understanding, these apparently favorable remarks from Su Shi actually undermine the quality of Huang's poetry and instead disapprove his forced contrivance of poetic composition. Su Shi's irony may be gentle, but it still bites. He uses a regimental analogy here to demonstrate the over-stimulating quality of Huang's poetry because of the rarity and idiosyncrasy of its "taste"; notwithstanding, this pungent quality is precisely the etiology of the disagreeable affect according to Su Shi. That is to say, Huang's poetry is so provocative and drastic (like hard liquor) that ordinary readers can't bear overconsumption.

Yet, from Huang's point of view, this unconventional and counter-intuitive manner is deliberately acquired. Poets in the Jiangxi School take efforts to explore discursive potentiality of the past literary tropes and reset it in a defamiliarized linguistic syntax, which involves self-reflexive or meditative conception in the matrix of meanings deep into literary textures. Michael Fuller further associates this introspective turn in poetry composition with a means of self-cultivation: "Huang Tingjian, like many in his generation, looked within: he proposed a morally oriented poetry of self-composure and self-discipline."[8]

Kind of paradoxically, this self-sought mannerism of Huang's poetry is later perpetuated in the way of external institutionalization. This is accomplished in two aspects: one is methodological regularity, and the other is social consolidation of a certain literary community. For the first point, Huang's poetry was later emulated through a set of standardized criteria or measures. When making poetry is conceived as a vehicle for moral pursuit, this self-imposed rumination (*gongfu* 工夫) on poetic language leaves room for a formula or guide that promises to be the proper way of self-advancement. Therefore, intense commitment to strictures like "syntactic rules" (*jufa* 句法), "sentential forms and regulations" (*julü* 句律), and "patterns and

[8] See Fuller, "The Source and Streams Flowing from It," in *Drifting among Rivers and Lakes*, p. 59.

manners" (*yangdu* 樣度) is perceived as the necessary process of self-cultivation through meaning-exploitation in poetry, in order to achieve the ultimate "enlightenment." In other words, the calculated striving for excellency, which is often referred to in the term *gongfu* 工夫 with an undertone of *Daoxue* authority, is the steppingstone of the ideal status of spontaneous "awakening" (*wu* 悟).[9] Whereas *gongfu* is time-enduring hard work, *wu* can only be encountered unexpectedly in an instinct; *gongfu* involves an strong-willed routinization, and yet *wu* is sudden illumination totally devoid of intent, a state of mind conducive to the Kantian "purposiveness without purpose."

In sharp contrast, Wang Ruoxu cuts off this connection between exhaustive pedantry and enlightened spontaneity. It is because the poet who models on Huang Tingjian only buries his head into books, which causes intellectual myopia of his own life experience and brings about the untoward effect of disingenuousness. Moreover, Wang inveighs against this mode of engagement with intentionality in writing poetry, whose taxing labor will turn out to be pathological. This is reflected in the type of poems that misused allusive references. They are ill adapted or impractical (*yukuo* 迂闊), uncomfortable (*bu qie* 不愜), inappropriate (*bu an* 不安) and pointless (*wuwei* 無謂), as Wang gives a bunch of bad examples in his *Remarks*.

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[9] Indeed, the paradox between assiduous endeavor and an effortless, natural wholeness lies at the heart of Huang Tingjian's poetics. Later poets entertain the same idea in a more elaborate and recursive manner. Below are a few examples quoted from Southern Song literati:
朱弁《風月堂詩話》卷下：……「西崑體」句律太嚴，無自然態度。黃魯直深悟此理，乃獨用崑體**工夫**而造老杜渾成之地。
呂本中《與曾吉甫論詩第一貼》：悟入之理，正在**工夫**勤惰間耳。
呂本中《童蒙詩訓》：作文必要悟入處，悟入必自**工夫**中來，非僥倖可得也。
Besides, the Southern Song Confucian authority Zhu Xi 朱熹 (1130-1200) also emphasizes the impressive *gongfu* demonstrated in Huang's poetry while at the same time disparages it as exemplifying the futility of poetic composition *per se*. See his saying records *Zhuzi yulei, juan* 140:
　　蜚卿問山谷詩，曰：「**精絕**！知他是用多少**工夫**。今人卒乍如何及得！可謂巧好無餘，自成一家矣。但只是古詩較自在，山谷則刻意為之。」又曰：「山谷詩**忒好了**。」
　　近世諸公作詩費**工夫**，要何用？元祐時有無限事合理會，諸公卻盡日唱和而已。今言詩不必作，且道恐分了為學**工夫**。然到極處，當自知作詩果無益。

Furthermore, the Jiangxi poets are also inclined to bend the natural utterance to create novel expression (*zao yu* 造語) which leads to a forced effect of "distorted prosody and obscure vocabulary" 聲韻拗捩，詞語艱澀.[10] Even for Huang Tingjian's best-known maxim, Wang goes so far to defy it as simply pouring old wine in new bottles:

> When talking about poetry, Luzhi [Huang Tingjian's polite name] uses metaphors like "touching iron and transforming it into gold" and "snatching the embryo and transplanting the bones," which the public treasures as his famous dictums. As I see it, it is nothing but sly plagiarism.
>
> 魯直論詩，有奪胎換骨、點鐵成金之喻，世以為名言。以予觀之，特剽竊之黠者耳。[11]

For later disciples in the Southern Song, Huang's arcane poetic formulas – carrying a Daoist alchemical nuance related to the self-nurturing approach of "inner elixir" (*nei dan* 內丹) – lie at the heart of the cult of the Jiangxi style. But the "clear-headed" Wang Ruoxu disillusions this occult discursive potency and explains it away with a deflated sense of humor.

And yet, the tricks of the trade were in general currency among the Southern Song elite community and led to a far-reaching consequence: the ideal construct of "dharma heirs" (*fasi* 法嗣) in the poetic field. Like the Daoist theory of "inner elixir," this discourse is also borrowed from religious sources, but this time from Chan Buddhism. The idea of "lineage" is guaranteed through an authorized mechanism of certification among a self-contained community. Two connotations underlie the "dharma heirs" discourse in the Jiangxi School: first, it preconditions a prescriptive "law" (*dharma*) of poetry to be passed over through generations; and second, it also involves a transcendent "enlightenment" that perpetuate through the improbable "mind-to-mind

[10] This is a depiction of the so-called "Jiangxi style" (*Jiangxi ge* 江西格) by a contemporary Southern Song poet Chen Yanxiao 陳巖肖 (fl. 1151). I quote this line from Fuller, "The Jiangxi Style in the Field of Cultural Production," in *Drifting among Rivers and Lakes*, pp. 123-4.
[11] Wang Ruoxu, *Hunan shihua, juan* 3; *Hunan yilao ji, juan* 40, p. 257.

transmission" (*yi xin chuan xin* 以心傳心). In this manner, the term *fasi* perfectly represents the paradoxical duality of both *modus operandi* and one-of-a-kind autonomy epitomized in the Jiangxi poetics.

In reality, this ideal narrative of "dharma heirs" of the Jiangxi School is only a loose term or even an expedient discourse to select a privileged array of poet-cum-disciples in an enclosed literati group. As a social product widely acknowledged in the Southern Song cultural contexts, the "dharma heirs" construct reveals several assumptions. First, it presupposes that Huang's poetic formulas can be learned and transmitted by his followers, that poetry is literally craftsmanship. And second, it delineates "insiders" from "outsiders" by reinforcing a mechanism of authentication and canonization, and at the same time it fuses an aesthetic measurement of poetic appreciation and even exegesis. As a result, poetry is not only a private and individual enterprise, but it domesticates poetic expressions to certain social precepts – in other words, poetry must conform to the Jiangxi poetic formulas to gain value and appreciation from their Song contemporaries. Finally, according to Fuller, the *fasi* concept is a natural outgrowth of a Bourdieusian field of cultural production and cultural competition among Southern Song elites, where a force of distinction testified by the aggressive pursuit of erudition and hyper-refinement embodied in Jiangxi style is their newly-invented label of self-identity.[12]

In sum, it is this two-faceted institutionalization of Jiangxi poetry, namely technologia and genealogy, that Wang Ruoxu criticizes as totally against the spirit of good poetry:

> When Luzhi opens his mouth, he always expounds on "syntactic rules," and this is why he cannot match the ancient poets. His disciples and trusted adherents hand down "mantles and alms bowls" [of Huang's methods] and call themselves "dharma heirs" – how can this be the truth of poetry!

[12] See Fuller, "The Jiangxi Style in the Field of Cultural Production," pp. 123-181.

魯直開口論句法，此便是不及古人處。而門徒親黨，以衣鉢相傳，號稱「法嗣」，豈詩之真理也哉！[13]

In comparison, Wang Ruoxu argues that poems by the ancients are the best exactly because they are natural, genuine and self-fulfilling (*zide* 自得), and any attempt of institutionalizing poetry into a "school" is in vain and indeed a falling off from the ancient exemplars.

The Uninhibited Genius: Su Shi as the Counter-Example of the Jiangxi Style

For Wang Ruoxu, the inherent deficiency of the Jiangxi poetry can be ascribed to Huang Tingjian himself. Accordingly, Wang finds his best protagonist of his stance, who was also a contemporary with Huang: the paramount genius Su Shi. Su Shi here is presented as Huang's foil, a persuasive counter-example against the predominant Jiangxi School. In this way, Wang undermines Huang Tingjian's prestige as a master poet by dwarfing his skills in the face of Su Shi's spontaneous and uninhibited mind. In Wang Ruoxu's *Remarks on Poetry*, Huang is compared unfavorably to Su for several times:

> Dongpo is the dragon of literature. His *li* [inherent pattern] makes myriad things wondrous, and his *qi* [life-force] swamps the Nine Continents; untrammeled across and athwart, (his writing) is gamesome and its measurement unfathomable. How trifling it is that Luzhi holds fast the theory of axes and yardsticks and goes after Su Shi to compete with him, and that he even claims Su Shi to be "ignorant of syntactic rules." If Dongpo has no idea of syntactic rules, who else in the world can be called a poet? And in turn, where is the provenance of Huang's so-called "principles"?…… Luzhi endeavors to be brash and dashing like Su Shi but fails, and instead he elevates sentential forms and regulations, extends patterns and manners, exerts himself to stand on his own feet as a counterbalance, while he is bound to be outstripped [by Su Shi]. How strenuous are the efforts he has taken! If there is no such person like Dongpo to overshadow him, perhaps his disposition of poetic intentions will not necessarily go that far……
>
> 東坡，文中龍也。理妙萬物，氣吞九州，縱橫奔放，若遊戲然，莫可測其端倪。魯直區區持斤斧準繩之說，隨其後而與之爭，至謂「未知句法」。東坡而未知句法，世豈復有詩人？而渠所謂法者，果安出哉？……魯直欲為東坡之邁往而

[13] Wang Ruoxu, *Hunan shihua, juan* 3; *Hunan yilao ji, juan* 40, p. 257.

不能，於是高談句律，旁出樣度，務以自立而相抗，然不免居其下也。彼其勞亦甚哉！向使無坡壓之，其措意未必至是。……[14]

Concerning Shangu's [Huang Tingjian's self-appellation] poetry, it is extraordinary but not marvelous, trenchant but not unbridled; it shows off knowledge to be rich, and transforms banality to be original. But speaking of natural wholeness as if it flows out of one's inner self, his poetry is deficient. Is it the reason why Huang run after Dongpo [Su Shi's appellation] but could never surpass him?

山谷之詩，有奇而無妙，有斬絕而無橫放，鋪張學問以為富，點化陳腐以為新；而渾然天成，如肺肝中流出者，不足也。此所以力追東坡而不及歟？[15]

The discourse of competition between Su and Huang is highlighted here. To some extent, the polarity between them in the realm of Chinese classical poetry remotely echoes Samuel Taylor Coleridge's distinction of the "organic form" from the "mechanic form."[16] Su Shi demonstrates the kinesthetic momentum that endows his literary form with an organic and vigorous dynamics – the metaphor of "water" is more frequently used by Su Shi himself to refer to the unrestrained life-force (*qi*) throughout his writing. For him, literature (*wenzhang*) is a form of self-fulfillment based on one's own dispositions and preferable styles. In Coleridge's words, an ingenious or ideal poem assembles "a living organism" like growing plants that develops naturally from within, as it embodies the innate property of a genius poet, so that "each exterior is the physiognomy of the being within."[17] On the contrary, Huang's "proper methods" (*fadu* 法度) encourages technique and imitation by learning the literary tradition. It supposes "a pre-determined form" in the manner of an artifact to be refashioned in a conceptual casting mold. And this poetics of intentional artificiality, figuration and craftsmanship results in what Coleridge calls "mechanical regularity."[18] Simply put, the contest between Su and Huang reveals

[14] Wang Ruoxu, *Hunan shihua*, *juan* 2; *Hunan yilao ji*, *juan* 39, p. 251.
[15] Ibid., p. 252.
[16] Samuel Taylor Coleridge, "Shakspeare, with Introductory Matter on Poetry, the Drama, and the Stage," in *Coleridge's Essays and Lectures on Shakspeare and Some Other Old Poets and Dramatists* (London, J.M. Dent & co.; New York, E.P. Dutton & co., 1909), esp. pp. 42-47.
[17] Ibid, p. 47.
[18] Ibid, p. 46.

their inner tensions between what Coleridge articulates "free and rival originality" against "servile imitation,"[19] or even "sly plagiarism" in Wang Ruoxu's words.

Another difference between them is their impacts upon later generations. Su Shi's unfettered and easygoing nature foregrounds a transcendental status of spontaneity, and subsequently, it verifies the singularity or self-completeness of a genius whose spirit in the compositional process is untraceable and irreplicable by others. By contrast, Huang Tingjian carves out an art of poetry, and the corollary of this *ars poetica* is said to have realized generational succession by way of appointing "dharma heirs," as if poetry could be taught in a schematic process. In other words, for latecomers in the Southern Song, whereas Su Shi is to be aspired for but never approached, Huang Tingjian is the exemplar one can learn from in terms of techniques and formulas. However, Wang Ruoxu regards it as the exact reason of the degradation of Southern Song poets. He recapitulates this point of view in his series of "poems on poetry" (*lun shi shi* 論詩詩), and the following piece is one of them:

文章自得方為貴	Only in self-completeness can *wenzhang* be valuable;
衣鉢相傳豈是真	How can the genuine be handed down like mantles and alms bowls?
已覺祖師低一著	I already felt the first patriarch [i.e. Huang Tingjian] is dwarfed [by Su Shi],
紛紛法嗣復何人	In succession, who are those "dharma heirs" bothering to emulate?[20]

In this poem, Wang Ruoxu reassures Su Shi's supremacy over Huang Tingjian, not to mention those disciples who are only imitators of a secondary poet who excels at imitation, thus "twice removed from poetic reality." Here, Su Shi stands out as the one who calls for spontaneity and

[19] Ibid, p. 45.
[20] Wang Ruoxu, "Shan'gu yu shi mei yu Dongpo xiangkang, menren qindang sui wei guo zhi, er jin zhi zuozhe yi duo yiwei ran, yu chang xizuo si jue yun" 山谷於詩每與東坡相抗、門人親黨遂謂過之、而今之作者亦多以為然、予嘗戲作四絕云, No. 4, in *Hunan Wang xiansheng shiji*, 湳南王先生詩集; *Hunan yilao ji*, appendix, p. 3.

accomplishes self-completeness in *wenzhang*, in contrast to the clannish spirit inherited by the Jiangxi School, as those disciples tax their skills and labor at Huang Tingjian's arcane principles ("mantles and alms") rather than pursuing the principal model.

In a word, the portrait of dual iconic poets "Su and Huang" 蘇黃 not only epitomizes Song poetry, but also displays two modalities of poetic composition, namely naturalness and artificiality. In a sense, both poets succeed in accomplishing their self-styled "originalities," but they commit themselves in utterly opposite ways: one follows his heart and lets nature take its course when he writes, and the other racks his brains in scheming and assiduously strives for newness; one's literature enjoys a rampant vigor that escapes any constraint, while the other is known for making couplets "refined and superlative" (*jingjue* 精絕) honed by laborious *gongfu*; one is apotheosized as the one-of-a-kind genius, and the other is also highly respected as the founding father by many of his "dharma heirs." This standoff between Su and Huang in the field of Northern Song poetry also gains additional significance under Wang Ruoxu's hands, since he instrumentalizes this discursive pattern to promote Su Shi as the cultural ideal in the north,[21] and meanwhile downplays the Jiangxi School represented by Southern Song poets.

"Bad Poetry" in an Age of Recession

Now we turn to the terminating remark Wang Ruoxu proposes concerning the Jiangxi school and the overall Song poetry. When referring to it, Wang frequently adopts the discourse of "triviality or lesserness" (*mo* 末) in a general sense. He talks about the prevalence of Jiangxi poetry as a misconduct in a decaying cultural environment:

[21] It has been a consensus of Su Shi's popularity in the northern Jurchen Jin dynasty. See more in Zeng Zaozhuang 曾棗莊, "'Su xue xing yu bei': lun Su Shi dui Jindai wenxue de yingxiang" 「蘇學行於北」——論蘇軾對金代文學的影響, *Yinshan Academic Journal* 陰山學刊 13.4 (2000): 10-15.

> For the most trivial or lesser compositions in the world, day by day they gravitate toward the uncanny and weird; and yet critics follow the vogue and beat the drum for it, so that this malpractice is ubiquitous.
>
> 嗚呼！世之末作，方日趨於詭異，而議者又從而簧鼓之，其為弊何所不至哉！[22]

A parallel rhetoric of "trivial or lesser composition" (*mozuo* 末作) is also applied by Wang Ruoxu to other genres, such as song lyrics in the feminine style that cater to the taste of "the drifting common mass" (*liusu* 流俗),[23] as well as the forced and counter-intuitive language in Song Qi's 宋祁 (998-1061) historical writing, who was the co-compiler of the *New Tang History* (*Xin Tang shu* 新唐書) with Ouyang Xiu 歐陽修 (1007-72).[24] Against this fetish for weirdness, Wang Ruoxu praises Bai Juyi as his model reference, and he himself also composes poems in Bai's style, judging from his few extant works. He considers Bai's poetry natural and simple, "compatible with *natura naturans* and gratifying human mind" 合乎天造 厭乎人意, which is the opposite of those "strange and uncanny" (*qigui* 奇詭) works made to catch the eyes of "trivial or lesser customs" (*mosu* 末俗).[25] The same message also recurs in one of his poems defending Bai Juyi against his contemporaries' contempt:

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[22] Wang Ruoxu, *Hunan shihua, juan* 3; *Hunan yilao ji, juan* 40, p. 258.

[23] See Wang Ruoxu, *Hunan shihua, juan* 2; *Hunan yilao ji, juan* 39, p. 250:

> …… Since the most trivial or lesser compositions in this world are versed in the delicate, gaudy, gentle and flimsy style, so as to cater for the interests of this drifting common mass, talented men and competent officials also contest in this style at times, and [song lyrics] gradually become languid. They thereby claim it as the proper manner, regardless of the seriousness of this prevalent malpractice.
>
> 自**世之末作**習為纖艷柔脆，以投流俗之好，高人勝士，亦或以是相勝，而日趍于委靡，遂謂其體當然，而不知流弊之至此也。

[24] See, for example, Wang Ruoxu, "Xin Tangshu bian" 新唐書辨, *juan* 1; *Hunan yilao ji, juan* 22, p. 131:

> 宋子京不識文章正理．而惟異之求．肆意雕鐫．無所顧忌．以至字語詭僻．殆不可讀．其事實則往往不明．或乖本意．自古史書之弊．未有如是之甚者．

[25] Wang Ruoxu, "Gao Sicheng Yong Bai tang ji" 高思誠咏白堂記, here the *Yong Bai tang* can be translated as the "Hall of Chanting Bai [Juyi's Poems]"; *Hunan yilao ji, juan* 43, p. 283.

東塗西抹鬬新妍	Daubing here and smearing there in order to compete for new cosmetics;
時世梳粧亦可憐	People apply up-to-date make-up – how pitiful it is![26]
人物世衰如鼠尾	Characters degenerate age after age like a rat's tail;[27]
後生未可議前賢	Later generations are not qualified to judge the former worthy.[28]

For Wang Ruoxu, the major attribute of "trivial or lesser composition" is the aesthetics of eccentricity (*yi* 異) and trendiness (*xin* 新), just like latest make-up with a gaudy and stunning effect. The penchant for unconventionality is ingrained in Huang Tingjian's poetics, as the protagonistic poet strives for triumphant one-upmanship and claims to "take the commonplace and make it elegant, and take the old and make it new" (*yi su wei ya, yi gu wei xin* 以俗為雅 以故為新), while the actual impression may go against grain and turn out to be uncomfortably far-fetched and weird. The strategy of refusing common expression and going for refinement is fundamentally an elite gesture of a culturally privileged class, as the dichotomy of the "commonplace/vulgar" (*su*) and the "refined/elegant" (*ya*) clearly bespeaks the Bourdieusian notion of distinctions and differentiations through the judgment of taste.[29] Yet ironically, Wang Ruoxu pays back in their own coins to those Jiangxi poets by regarding their strange and impenetrable works as nothing but putting up a bluff while betraying their "trivial" (*mo*) and "vulgar" (*su*) nature. It is also interesting to think about Wang's preference for Bai Juyi over the supposedly "elegant" Jiangxi poetry, since the former is often denounced as "vulgar," whose

[26] This line refers to one of Bai Juyi's "New Ballads" (*Xin yuefu* 新樂府) titled "Make-up in Current Fashion" (*Shishi zhuang* 時世妝), in which the poet criticizes the bizarre dresses and outrageous hairdos done by contemporary ladies, indicating the fad for barbarian living styles.
[27] The width of a rat's tail changes gradually from wide to thin, and here it is adapted to reflect a notion of historical degradation.
[28] Here the "former worthy" is undoubtedly Bai Juyi. Wang Ruoxu, "Wang Ziduan [i.e. Wang Tingyun 王庭筠 (1151-1202)] yun, 'Jinlai dou jue wu jiasi, zong you shi cheng si Tetian [i.e. Bai Juyi].' Qi xiao Letian shen yi, yu yi chang he wei si jue" 王子端云、近來陡覺無佳思、縱有詩成似樂天、其小樂天甚矣、予亦嘗和為四絕, No. 2, in *Hunan Wang xiansheng shiji*; *Hunan yilao ji*, appendix, p. 3.
[29] Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, trans. Richard Nice (London; New York: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1986).

image is encapsulated in the diction "frivolous Yuan [Zhen] and secular Bai" (*Yuan qing Bai su* 元輕白俗). Wang Ruoxu totally flips the referents of *ya* and *su* between Bai Juyi and the Jiangxi poets, and hence overturns the entire poetic appraisals.

Besides this socio-aesthetical hierarchy underlying the discourse of "triviality or lesserness," what is barely hidden here is the logic of historical poetics. In the understanding of arts (including music, poetry, painting, etc.) in traditional China, the overall contemporary fashion is said to mirror the *zeitgeist* of that age. With this paradigm in mind, Wang sees in the Jiangxi School the downfall of Song literature, and he labels it as "bad poetry" in an age of recession ("degraded like a rat's tail"), when poetic composition encountered an overload of craft and delicacy (like "applying heavily laden cosmetics"). To take one step further, he traces back this "defect of literature" (*wen bi* 文弊) to its Northern Song origin and identifies Huang Tingjian as the initial culprit to put the blame on, quoting his uncle Zhou Ang's 周昂 (1159-1211) words that "Song *wenzhang*, when it comes to Luzhi, is already out of the way; after Chen Houshan [Chen Shidao's 陳師道 (1053-1112) appellation], (Song literature) thus becomes tremendously defective" 宋之文章至魯直，已是偏仄處；陳後山而後，不勝其弊矣.[30] The rise of the Jiangxi poetry is thus unfolded as the process of decay.

This retrospective historicist manner to evaluate Song poetry echoes Yan Yü's scheme as shown in the beginning; notwithstanding, Wang's historicist poetics is not an absolute regressionism in terms of the history of Chinese poetry like his Southern Song counterpart. Though regarded as the best Confucian scholar in the Jin dynasty, Wang Ruoxu was not a stubborn dogmatist who unconditionally esteemed the past over the present. Instead, he

[30] Wang Ruoxu, *Hunan shihua, juan* 2; *Hunan yilao ji, juan* 39, p. 252.

emphasizes the immediacy and occasionality of life experience in keeping with the weal and woe of historical moments. Accordingly, it is only natural for poetic practice to evolve as time goes by:

> Recently, some celebrities earned their reputation by writing poems. But they usually hold far-fetched claims and set up *Three Hundred Pieces* [*of the Classic of Poetry*] and *Nineteen Old Poems* as the models every time they open their mouths. [Poems] after the Six Dynasties are less and less satisfying, and for poems written by Song poets, they hardly mention them. This is indeed a claim of knowing the fountainhead, but myriad changes happen in this world and are not identical with the past, and how can literature alone be confined to a uniform principle? Even though latecomers can compose poems to the level of the *Three Hundred Pieces*, they won't be content with the given situations. Why is it so? Making fun and amusing oneself, creating ingenuity and dexterity to boast of – human sensitivities cannot resist this temptation. As regards Song poetry, though on the whole it dwindles compared to the ancient times, in short it is still capable to stand on its own feet and does not necessarily fall behind. And yet contemporaries despise them without a single mention, does it go too far?……
>
> 近歲諸公，以作詩自名者甚眾，然往往持論太高，開口輒以《三百篇》《十九首》為準；六朝而下，漸不滿意；至宋人，殆不齒矣。此固知本之說，然世間萬變，皆與古不同，何獨文章而可以一律限之乎？就使後人所作，可到《三百篇》，亦不肯悉安於是矣。何者？滑稽自喜，出奇巧以相誇，人情固有不能已焉者。宋人之詩，雖大體衰於前古，要亦有以自立，不必盡居其後也。遂鄙薄而不道，不已甚乎？……[31]

Intriguingly, Wang admits that pursuing newness is intrinsic to human nature, and good poetry is not necessarily a revival of literary canons. He even gives credits to the great achievements of Song poetry, despite all his attacks on Huang Tingjian and his followers. Instead, Wang Ruoxu sets up a "middle way" for his poetics: on the one hand, he objects to the *trendiness* for a forced novelty and artificiality in poetry represented by the Jiangxi School, while on the other, he recognizes the *contemporaneity* of literature and values its accompanying originality. He even

[31] Wang Ruoxu, *Hunan shihua, juan* 3; *Hunan yilao ji, juan* 40, pp. 261-2. This sort of claim was promoted by figures like Lü Benzhong and Yan Yü, as witnessed in Southern Song remarks on poetry; See more in Hu, "*Hunan shihua*," p. 201.

implicates the limitation of a poetic curriculum by "learning from the past" in his narrative: as the present is never the same as the past, so is poetry.

In conclusion, Wang Ruoxu blames the Jiangxi School for the diminuendo of the once illuminating Song literary tradition, regarding it as "bad poetry" at "end-times." The programmatic craftsmanship and social institutionalization that preconditioned the Jiangxi School eventually backfires. Furthermore, we should also occasion Wang Ruoxu's criticism over the Jiangxi poetry in the cultural confrontation between Jin and Southern Song literati. By topicalizing the Jiangxi School of Poetry as a realm of discursive practice, Jin literati like Wang Ruoxu tried to find a way to situate themselves within the Song cultural legacy while declaring themselves distinct. By discrediting the Jiangxi School along with its patriarch Huang Tingjian in face of the universal cultural hero Su Shi commemorated in the north, Wang Ruoxu further proves that the seeming crudeness of Jin poetry (like his works) could be a deliberate choice of a cultivated or determined simplicity rather than evidence of inferior skills. Some modern scholars even suggest that the overall quality of Jin poetry is superior to their Southern Song counterpart especially during the 13th century.[32] In a broader sense, Wang Ruoxu's criticism over the Jiangxi School, as well as the enduring debates about the superiority between Su and Huang, all gesture toward the paradox of originality involving inner dialectic tensions between nature and culture, which is the ultimate enigma of Song poetry.

[32] See, for example, Wu Mei's 吳梅 *Liao Jin Yuan wenxue shi* 遼金元文學史 (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1934); Qian Zhongshu 錢鍾書, "Yishan lun Jiangxi pai" 遺山論江西派, in his *Tan yi lu*, pp. 399-407.

Rhyme-Matching Practice and Its Analogy to Jiangxi Poetics

Below I focus on an ostentatious poetic practice among contemporaries: the rhyme-matching (*ciyun* 次韻) poetry. As a "laboratory" of technical experimentation and of artistic virtuosity, this specific genre is a fault line of Jin poetry to reveal the divergence of opinions among Jin literati on the issue of poetic craftsmanship and genuineness. I will examine in this part both rhyme-matching composition and discourses on it against the Jin cultural backdrop, and I further argue that there is an attitudinal and conceptual convergence between rhyme-matching mechanism and Jiangxi School's poetic principles, which subsequently betrays dynamic engagement with as well as disentanglement from the Song poetry overall.

Rhyme-matching poetry belongs to the broader category of exchanging poems (*changhe shi* 唱和詩). As intimate correspondence in the form of poetry, this poetic genre can be justifiably regarded as a social act among poets, whose reputation was to a great extent built upon intellectual and artistic prowess. This social dimension of epistolary poems accordingly opens up a semi-public literary avenue within the elite class that encourages competition for virtuosity, and a relatively wide audience could be expected as witness of this construction of public self-image.[33] We have mentioned that convivial and informal gatherings of Jin scholar-officials to be assigned with writing impromptu poems with specific rhymes were commonplace in the late Jin period, a carryover from a preceding period fascination since the mid-Tang through Northern Song. The rhyme-matching skill is then the acme of this assiduous endeavor.

[33] For the broad cultural phenomenon and significance of poetic exchange in the mid-Tang period, see Anna M. Shields, "Responding in Kind: Friendship and Poetic Exchange," in *One Who Knows Me: Friendship and Literary Culture in Mid-Tang China* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2015), pp. 133-99.

Strictly speaking, rhyme-matching poetry specifically refers to the composition in response to the previous piece with the exact sequence of the same rhyming characters, thus putting more emphasis on rhyme patterns rather than echoing contents. This peculiar poetic form was first invented and refined in the hands of mid- to late Tang poets in their epistolary poems, including the "ten talents of the Dali reign" (*Dali shi caizi* 大曆十才子), Bai Juyi and Yuan Zhen 元稹 (779-831), as well as late-Tang twin-star poets Pi Rixiu 皮日休 (d. 880) and Lu Guimeng 陸龜蒙 (d. 881), much in the sense of playful genre experiments.[34] It is clear that this genre gathered its momentum in the ninth century, but it is by the Northern Song luminaries – especially those in office during the Yuanyou 元祐 period (1086-1094), including the Su Shi circle[35] – that rhyme-matching came to be a popular and normalized enterprise that was welcomed and performed by a large group. Indeed, the fashion of rhyme-matching is the high-water mark of Song poetry. Demanding techniques are required in the strictly confined rhyme regulations, so that Song poets often execute this subgenre to display their superiority in face of their "poetic adversaries" as friends. And this time, Su Shi tallies with Huang Tingjian as the exponents of this poetic practice. Song literati in the twelfth century already noticed their unparalleled achievement in terms of rhyme-matching skills, as the leader of early Southern Song "republic of letters" Lü Benzhong 呂本中 (1084-1145) once comments: "In recent times, among the marvelous rhyme-matching poems, none surpass Su and Huang: although they have

[34] See more about *ciyun* in Gong Bendong 鞏本棟, *Changhe shici yanjiu: yi Tang Song wei zhongxin* 唱和詩詞研究：以唐宋為中心 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2013), esp. pp. 20-21, 103-6.

[35] Some scholars have pointed out that the so-called poetry "in Yuanyou style" (*Yuanyou ti* 元祐體) was especially conducive to the rhyme-matching genre, enabling the social engagement among a closely knitted elite circle. See Zhou Yukai 周裕鍇, "Shi keyi qun: lüe tan Yuanyou ti shige de jiaoji xing" 詩可以群：略談元祐體詩歌的交際性, *Shehui kexue yanjiu* 社會科學研究 2001.5: 129-134. For poetic exchange as a crucial feature inside Su Shi's circle of friends, see Gong Bendong, "Weirao 'Su men' qishi xingsheng de zhu wenti" 圍繞「蘇門」起始興盛的諸問題, in his *Changhe shici yanjiu*, pp. 200-221.

lost the basic intent of answering poems of the ancients, still in their skilled use of rhyme and refined employment of allusion, they cannot be matched" 近世次韻之妙，無出蘇、 黃，雖失古人唱酬之本意，然用韻之工，使事之精，有不可及者.[36] Accordingly, a Southern Song scholar Fei Gun 費袞 (fl. 1190s) in his *biji* miscellany also favorably appreciates Su Shi's rhyme-matching skill: "Rhyming in poetry is a marvel. Lord of the Jing state [i.e., Wang Anshi], Dongpo and Luzhi were most skilled for rhyming, and yet Dongpo particularly excelled at matching other poets' rhyme schemes. He could exchange rhyme-matching pieces with the same order of rhyme-words for multiple times, and the more he wrote, the more extraordinary the piece became… rhymes concur with intents, and dictions are all as a natural whole" 作詩押韻是一奇。荊公、東坡、魯直押韻最工，而東坡尤精於次韻，往返數四，愈出愈奇……韻與意會，語皆渾成.[37] We can see that Southern Song poets, including the renowned leader Lü Benzhong and mediocre local elite like Fei Gun, treated *ciyun* poetry in favorable light, using modifying terms like "marvelous" (*miao* 妙) and "extraordinary" (*qi* 奇).

That said, there were other contemporaries who went against this trend. Another early Southern Song literatus Zhang Jie, who seems to be Lü Benzhong's contemporary, turns the tables on the latter by using exactly the same rhetoric. He, like Lü Benzhong himself, points out the dual components typical of Song poetry, namely making allusions and applying rhymes, are actually the fatal defects that undermine the "noble simplicity" embodied in the *Classics of*

[36] Lü Benzhong, "Yu Zeng Jifu lun shi diyi tie" 與曾吉甫論詩第一帖, cited in Hu Zi 胡仔, *Tiaoxi yuyin conghua* 苕溪漁隱叢話 (Taibei: Changan chubanshe, 1978), *qianji* 前集 49. 332-33. I quote this line from Fuller, "The Jiangxi Style in the Field of Cultural Production," p. 131.
[37] Fei Gun, *Liangxi manzhi* 梁谿漫志, *juan* 7, in *Quan Song biji* 全宋筆記, Zhu Yi'an 朱易安, Fu Xuancong 傅璇琮 et al., eds., 5th series (Zhengzhou: Daxiang chubanshe, 2003), vol. 2, p. 207.

Poetry.[38] A similar pattern of poetic degradation is elaborated by the famous Southern Song poet Yang Wanli 楊萬里 (1127-1206), who claimed that "in terms of poetry composition on the whole, affectation is the best, exposition is secondary, and rhyme-matching is what one has no choice but do" 大氐/抵詩之作也，興上也，賦次也，賡和不得已也. "Stimulative affectation" and "depictive exposition" are among the "six principles" of the *Classics of Poetry*, thus representing what Chinese classical poetry was originally legitimate for, whereas rhyme-matching practice is, to more egotistic poets like Yang Wanli, a rather undesirable current fashion that was off the mark concerning the "classic standard." He further makes a parallel between this hierarchy and categories of Heaven, the Self and the Other, defining "affectation" to be "brought out by heaven" (*chu hu tian* 出乎天), "exposition" to be "dominated by the self" (*zhuan hu wo* 專乎我), and "rhyme-matching" to be "pulled by others" (*qian hu ren* 牽乎人). He goes on to take this parallel analogy and points out the great defect of rhyme-matching:

> … Poems initiated by heaven are still in danger of being ravaged by it; those dominated by the self are still in danger of being overwhelmed by it; now [rhyme-matching] poems are nothing but being pulled by others, how can we expect to have one scruple of heaven and one pellet of the self? This is because I haven't seen the object but passively go after the other's observation, and I am not willing to apply this rhyme but have to follow the other's application – could even Li [Bai] and Du [Fu] accomplish this? Yet they didn't make such poems. Therefore, there are no far-fetched verses in their collections. Yuan [Zhen] and Bai [Juyi] launched the project of rhyme-matching compositions, and since poetry developed into this rhyme-matching genre, it has endured a profound degradation.
>
> ……出乎天猶懼戕乎天，專乎我猶懼強乎我，今牽乎人而已矣，尚冀其有一銖之天，一黍之我乎？蓋我未嘗覩是物，而逆追彼之覩，我不欲用是韻，而抑從

[38] Zhang Jie, *Suihantang shihua jiaojian* 歲寒堂詩話校箋, ed. Chen Yingluan 陳應鸞 (Chengdu: Bashu shushe, 2000), pp. 16-18. Zhang notify these two characteristics in the way of "taking allusions as evidence of broad [learning]" 以用事為博 and "taking use of [difficult] rhyme as skillful" 以押韻為工, which to an extreme extent may deviate from the classical principles so that "Arias and Elegantias [i.e., the *Classic of Poetry*] drag in the dust ever since" 風雅自此掃地矣. See more in Fuller, "The Jiangxi Style in the Field of Cultural Production," p. 149.

彼之用，雖李、杜能之乎？而李、杜不為也。是故李、杜之集無牽率之句，而元、白有和韻之作，詩至和韻而詩始大壞矣。[39]

For Yang Wanli, it is because the loss of naturalness and poetic subjectivity that He finds rhyme-matching practice defective. He also regards this particular exercise as the hallmark of poetic decline in recent history. Interestingly, the same repudiation against the *ciyun* technique is reiterated in the thirteenth-century Yan Yü's *Canglang's Remarks on Poetry*:

> Rhyme-matching does the greatest harm to poetry. The ancients exchanged poems without matching rhymes; this fashion began to prevail among Yuan Zhen and Bai Juyi, as well as Pi Rixiu and Lu Guimeng. Many worthies in our dynasty employ this skill to contend for virtuosity, to such an extent that they may exchange poems for eight or even nine times.
>
> 和韻最害人詩。古人酬唱不次韻，此風始盛於元白、皮陸。而本朝諸賢，乃以此而鬬工，遂至往復有八九和者。[40]

Again, two above mentioned messages can be teased out from this statement: first, the rhyme-matching subgenre was a rather recent literary phenomenon, which started from the ninth century and became popular afterwards; and second, while Zhang Jie and Yang Wanli contradict the genetic differentiation between rhyme-matching poetry with the classical style, Yan Yu highlights the social function of this genre as a device for poetic competition.

When we turn to the Jin literary world, the poets were also divided into two camps within the fermenting discursive arena on rhyme-matching. And unsurprisingly, Wang Ruoxu stands out as the harshest critic on one polarity. Like the case of Jiangxi poetry, it is this mechanical and contrived manner of rhyme-matching that Wang Ruoxu dislikes. This time, he even finds fault in Su Shi who misuses his unbridled talent to comply with the rhyme-matching fashion:

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[39] Yang Wanli, "Da Jiankang fu dajunku jianmen Xu Da shu" 答建康府大軍庫監門徐達書, in *Chengzhai ji* 誠齋集, *Sibu congkan chubian* 四部叢刊初編 version (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1929), 67: 5b-6a.
[40] Yan Yu, *Canglang shihua*, "Shi ping" 詩評, 47:651-5.

> Even Dongpo, with his talent and insight, was not free from the general trends but followed the crowd instead. Almost one third of his collection is made up of rhyme-matching pieces: though he exploited the skill to the extreme and evoked surprise and astonishment for a while, they did great damage to the "heavenly completeness." If Lord Su hadn't composed these rhyme-matching pieces, how could he be considered far from the ancients?
>
> 才識如東坡，亦不免波蕩而從之，集中次韻者幾三之一，雖窮極技巧，傾動一時，而害於天全多矣。使蘇公而無此，其去古人何遠哉？[41]

Following this line of thought, Wang picks up the most striking example – Tao Yuanming's time-honored piece, "The Return" (*Guiqulai xi ci* 歸去來兮辭). Since Su Shi's time, a great number of Song literati collectively made rhyme-matching pieces on this work, and Wang Ruoxu thus comments:

> "The Return" is originally a genuine and unaffected piece; imitations in later generations are already improper, not to mention rhyme-matching it! Those rhyme-matching pieces are simply far-fetching and dissimilar.
>
> 《歸去來辭》本是一篇自然真率文字，後人摸擬已自不宜，况可次其韻乎？次韻則牽合而不類矣。[42]

Wang Ruoxu then goes on to criticize Su Shi as an ill model on this issue, because he not only rhyme-matches Tao's "Return," but also tailors it into song lyrics, dismantles and reshuffles the whole piece in "poems by collecting characters" (*jizi shi* 集字詩). Though without question it requires deliberate artistry and exceptional talent, Wang still denounces this type of emulative practice in such term like "prone to vulgar or kitsch" (*jin su* 近俗).[43]

It is worth mentioning that the activity of impersonating Tao Yuanming by troping upon his literary compositions was an unprecedented literary invention, since regular rhyme-matching exercise is confined to present poets as a means of inducing sophisticated dialogues and reinforcing mutual fellowship, and this function cannot take effect at first glance when it comes

[41] Wang Ruoxu, *Hunan shihua*, *juan* 2; *Hunan yilao ji*, *juan* 39, p. 249.
[42] Wang Ruoxu, *Wen bian* 文辨, *juan* 1; *Hunan yilao ji*, *juan* 34, p. 216.
[43] Wang Ruoxu, *Hunan shihua*, *juan* 2; *Hunan yilao ji*, *juan* 39, p. 248.

to a poet of an earlier age. Notwithstanding, this pioneering and self-determined conduct of rhyme-matching an ancient poet by Su Shi turned out a great success, not only constructing Su Shi's public image as a detached eremite-scholar like Tao but also imposing profound influence on the current literary climate.[44] Consequently, rhyme-matching Tao Yuanming was not just an isolated case by Su Shi but instead a group phenomenon within his literati circle.[45] Interestingly enough, while these rhyme-matching pieces are all dedicated to Tao Yuanming – an ancient figure of the remote past whose non-existence in reality is against the nature of occasional poetry based on rhyme-matching technique that enables direct and immediate correspondence in a social dimension – those contemporary Song poets actually made dialogues with each other by applying the same rhyme and theme of "The Return," so after all, this collective literary conduct was a ramification of its own time and place in the Song period. Together those rhyme-matching agents voiced euphemistically their common aspiration for the upright and detached persona in a politically sensitive period. Hence, the correspondence to the exemplary ancient resonates within a contemporary context of Song literati culture, and Tao Yuanming in this way serves as a hagiographic icon of reclusion that can be metamorphosed in respective historical contingencies.

[44] For Su Shi's rhyme-matching poems on Tao Yuanming, see A.R. Davis, "Su Shih's 'Following the Rhymes of T'ao Yüan-ming's Poems': A Literary or a Psychological Phenomenon?" *East Asian History* 38 (2014): 137-50; Davis in his study diagnoses Su Shi's conduct as a psychological phenomenon in that "the identification with T'ao Yüan-ming was an initial impetus for this undertaking" (p. 150). Michael Nylan by contrast teases out the distinctive "mismatches" between Tao's original and Su's response, though she also applies psychological terms and confirms that the latter's motivation of rhyme-matching Tao is functioned as a "psychic refuge" where consolation can be found by "immersing the self in another"; see Nylan, "Semidetached Lodgings: The Pleasures of Returning Home in Tao Yuanming and Su Shi," in *The Chinese Pleasure Book* (New York: Zone Books, 2018), pp. 317-425, esp. pp. 359-425.

[45] See more in Zhu Gang 朱剛, "Mianxiang gonggong 'wentan' de xiezuo – Bei Song shidafu fei jihui de tongti xiezuo xianxiang" 面向公共「文壇」的寫作——北宋士大夫非集會的同題寫作現象, in his *Tang Song "guwen yundong" yu shidafu wenxue* 唐宋「古文運動」與士大夫文學 (Shanghai: Fudan University, 2013), pp. 187-210, esp. pp. 203-204.

This newly designed tradition of rhyme-matching Tao's poetry even pervaded into the Jin literati culture.[46] One illustrious case is the reverent Jin literati leader Zhao Bingwen, who composed several series of rhyme-matching poetry on Tao Yuanming in the form of ancient-style pentametric verses.[47] Besides the rhyme-matching genre, Zhao also styled himself as a person like Tao and aspired to be a withdrawn recluse-scholar in the imitative manner such as "After Tao['s Composition]" (*Ni Tao* 擬陶) or "Imitating [Tao] Yuanming on Consolating Myself" (*Fang Yuanming zi guang* 倣淵明自廣) and so on.[48] In reality, Zhao's archaic poetry was often judged by his contemporaries as highly homogenized with ancient verses insomuch as it run the risk of lacking originality and individuality.[49] But again, like Su Shi and other Northern Song pioneers, this intentional emulating practice of Tao Yuanming's persona is essentially a self-reflexive mirror image that portrays the Jin scholar-official himself – at no point did Zhao Bingwen speak in other than his own voice, though the subject-matter of a particular piece

[46] For the general reception of Tao Yuanming's poetry in the Jin dynasty, see Takahashi Kōkichi 髙橋幸吉, "Kindai ni okeru Tō Enmei no jyuyō" 金代における陶淵明の受容, *Keiō Gijuku Daigaku Hiyoshi kiyō: Chūgoku kenkyū* 慶應義塾大学日吉紀要. 中国研究 (The Hiyoshi Review of Chinese Studies) 2009.2: 63-89. In this part, I put emphasis on the rhyme-matching practice instead and pick up Tao Yuanming as an exemplary case to illustrate the inner logic of this literary conduct.

[47] Zhao Bingwen's rhyme-matching pieces on Tao Yuanming's poetry are preserved in his extant collection *Fushui ji* 滏水集, including "He Yuanming nigu jiu shou" 和淵明擬古九首, "He Yuanming guiyuan tianju song Pan Qingrong liu shou" 和淵明歸園田居送潘清容六首, "He Yuanming yinjiu ershi shou" 和淵明飲酒二十首; FSJ, 4.1a-3b, 16a-17b, 5.11b-16b.

[48] See Zhao Bingwen, "Ni Tao he Xu Zhizhong er shou" 擬陶和許至忠二首, "Fang Yuanming zi guang"; ibid., 5.1b-2a, 11a-b. Also see Zhao, "Bosheng jiuri shi xiaoran you Tao fengqu ciyun" 伯勝九日詩蕭然有陶風趣次韻, ibid., 4.10a. For Zhao's aspiration of reclusive life embodied by the iconic Tao Yuanming, see related parts in Ronald Egan, "A Han Official Serves the Jurchen," in *Cross-cultural Studies*, pp. 28-32.

[49] As for Zhao's self-assimilated or even self-effacing archaic style, Yuan Haowen regards it as strong points and comments that "for pentametric verses, they are profound and forceful like Ruan Sizong [i.e., Ruan Ji 阮籍 (210-263)], pure and archaically plain like Tao Yuanming" 五言則沉鬱頓挫似阮嗣宗，真淳古淡似陶淵明 (《閒閒公墓銘》). Nevertheless, others identify this feature as a defect: "Zhao's poetry usually infringes on wording by the ancients to the extent that one can find several lines in one piece – this is also the of literature" 趙詩多犯古人語，一篇或有數句，此亦文章病 (劉祁《歸潛志》卷八). Incidentally, one of the great differences between Zhao's and Su Shi's rhyme-matching pieces is that unlike Zhao's conspicuous quotation, the latter are characteristic of self-expressions and word plays; see Davis, "Su Shih's 'Following the Rhymes of T'ao Yüan-ming's Poems,'" and Nylan, "Semidetached Lodgings."

usually overlaps with or is overshadowed by Tao's original, sharing the same poetic topos or allegorical theme. In addition, Zhao's archaic pieces are actually quite reserved and learned in nature, so that unspoken shades of meaning cannot be accessible if we only probe into Tao's corpus. One of the compelling findings is that, despite the title of matching Tao Yuanming, some of Zhao's compositions clearly tap into Su Shi's matching pieces, with overlapping verbiages reiterated and identical allusions transplanted, so that parallel or contrapuntal lines and dialogical expectations are witnessed between Zhao and Su instead of the original Tao poetry. That is to say, on some occasions, Zhao's understanding and remolding of Tao's poetry is catalyzed and reframed by Su Shi and other mediators.[50] The most noteworthy example is the rhyme-matching composition inspired by Tao's "After the Ancient Style" (*Ni gu* 擬古), no. 5. Tao's poem depicts a mysterious person from the East who wears ragged robes while pursues the immortal path, and the poet willingly follows suit.[51] It is interesting that both Su Shi and Zhao Bingwen adopts the same strategy of projecting an alter ego as the conversational persona to voice against the poet himself in the matching poems, and more important, they both portray themselves as a

[50] For instance, in the "Drinking Poems" (*Yinjiu* 飲酒) cycle, there is evidence that Zhao Bingwen makes direct reference to Su Shi's works, while Tao Yuanming could be their common subject-matter in poetry. In "Yinjiu," no. 3, both Zhao and Su contradicts those hypocritical celebrities who cared for "empty names" with Tao the true recluse. Su's verse reads: "Those from Jiangnan were poseurs with panache; / In drunkenness they still sought reputation" 江左風流人，醉中亦求名; see Su Shi, "He Tao 'Yinjiu'" 和陶飲酒, no. 3, in *Su Shi quanji jiaozhu* 蘇軾全集校注 (*SSQJJZ* hereafter), annot. Zhang Zhilie 張志烈, Ma Defu 馬德富, Zhou Yukai 周裕鍇 et al., 20 vols. (Shijiazhuang: Hebei renmin chubanshe, 2010), 6:35.3979. Zhao's responsive piece explicitly picks up the diction and conveys the same message: "In Jin and [Liu] Song dynasties there were many celebrities; / What a pity, most of them only bore empty names" 晉宋多名流，惜哉亦虛名; see Zhao Bingwen, "He Yuanming 'Yinjiu,'" no. 3, in *Fushui ji*, 5.12a. Also, Su Shi devotes his "Yinjiu," no. 19 to his talented friend Chao Buzhi 晁補之 (1053-1110), and Zhao accordingly depicts one of his "friend of whole life" (*pingsheng you* 平生友) with a lofty mind in the same rhyme-matching piece, and both poems deal with the dilemma of taking office or retirement; see Su Shi, "He Tao 'Yinjiu,'" no. 19, in *SSQJJZ*, 6:35.4009-12; Zhao Bingwen, "He Yuanming 'Yinjiu,'" no. 19, in *Fushui ji*, 5.16a.

[51] See Tao Qian, "Ni gu jiu shou" 擬古九首, no. 5, in *Tao Yuanming ji jianzhu* 陶淵明集箋注, annot. Yuan Xingpei 袁行霈 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2003), 4.327-330. For the subgenre of *nigu*, Chiu-Mi Lai has an excellent study on Lu Ji's engagement in *nigu* literary experimentation and his contribution to establishing this new subgenre in imitative poetry. See Chiu-Mi Lai, "The Craft of Original Imitation: Lu Ji's Imitations of Han Old Poems," in Paul Kroll and David Knechtges, eds., *Studies in Early Medieval Chinese Literature and Cultural History: In Honor of Richard B. Mather & Donald Holzman* (Provo, Utah: T'ang Studies Society, 2003), pp. 117-148.

Confucian, which is a far cry from Tao's original piece. Nevertheless, the dynamics between the fictitious persona and the Confucian poet are artfully manipulated in utterly different directions. Below is the first eight lines of Su Shi's poem:

黎山有幽子	In Mount Li[52] lives an eremite,
形槁神獨完	Whose form withers while spirit stays *intact*;
負薪入城市	He shoulders firewood and enters the downtown market,
笑我儒衣冠	And laughs at my *ru*-scholar's robe and *cap*.
生不聞詩書	He in his life has never heard about [*Classics of*] *Poetry* and *Documents*,
豈知有孔顏	Let alone Confucius and Master *Yan* [i.e. Yan Hui].[53]
翛然獨往來	Carefree and detached, he comes and goes alone,
榮辱未易關	Over honor and disgrace his thought scarcely *passes*.[54]

Su Shi successfully sets up the transcendental image of an unknown and enlightened eremite in a historicized space (in Hainan where he was exiled). The tension between Daoist-styled practitioners and Confucianists is crystal clear in verses, and Su Shi expresses his appreciation for the big-hearted, spirit-fulfilled recluse as an alternative way of life, in comparison with the Confucian profession that bears a heavy responsibility along with toil. This is totally comprehensible since Su Shi was then an exile alone in an insular, eastern island at sea. In this sense, Su's spirit highly echoes Tao's initial vocation of accompanying the mystic from the East.

While exerting the same rhetoric invented by Su Shi, Zhao Bingwen's rhyme-matching piece is more nuanced and controversial. Here is his first eight lines with the same rhyme:

客從遠方来	A guest comes from a distance,
氣貌充以完	Whose *qi* and mien are fulsome and *intact*;
鞍馬光照地	His saddle and horse shine to the ground,
怪我儒衣冠	And he complains about my *ru*-scholar's robe and *cap*.

[52] Mount Li refers to a local mountain in the Hainan island called Limu Mountain 黎母山, where Su Shi composed this series of rhyme-matching pieces.
[53] The Song dynasty witnessed the rise of Yan Hui's status in the Confucian learning, who is a perfect ramification of self-cultivation as the ultimate goal of life. Since then, the juxtaposition of "Confucius and Yan Hui" (Kong Yan 孔顏) came to be a fixed term frequently used in literature.
[54] Su Shi, "He Tao 'Nigu jiu shou'" 和陶擬古九首, no. 9, in *SSQJJZ*, 7:41.4897.

問君何苦心	He asks: "Why do you take painstaking efforts
所慕惟孔顏	"And only admire Confucius and Master *Yan*?
古豈無賢豪	"Weren't there worthies and cavalries in ancient times,
十六子八關	"Such as Sixteen Ministers of Eight *Passes*?"[55]

Zhao Bingwen follows Su Shi and applies lexical registers like "Confucian's robe and cap" (*ru yiguan* 儒衣冠) and "Confucius and Master Yan" (Kong Yan 孔顏) – the exact rhyme-words in Su Shi's piece – to refer to his own Confucian identity. However, rather than a detached Daoist adept as revealed in Tao's and Su's pieces, this time the conversational persona is presented as a brash and profit-driven young man who looks for opportunities to achieve the worldly success. This message is conveyed by the allusion "Sixteen Ministers of Eight Passes," the notorious group of officials in the Tang dynasty who wielded power by fawning over the Grand Councilor Li Fengji 李逢吉 (758-837) and by taking bribes from those who wanted to get access to their political resource.[56] Here we see how a poet deploys a stunning allusion *associated with* the rhyme-word to enforce a novel twist from the original. Another hint is the appearance of the guest dressed as a military officer, and it does not go too far to assume this person of means as a privileged Jurchen aristocrat, whose temperament forms a sharp contrast with the integrity represented by a Confucian scholar-official. As a response, Zhao in the latter half of this poem expresses his determination of keeping a frugal existence to ensure a pure and undisturbed mind, with the final couplet saying that "waving my hand, I'd like to turn down my guest; what I fear are not cold and hunger" 揮手欲謝客，所懼非饑寒. Apparently, it is Su Shi who Zhao picks up as his "poetic adversary" in rhyme-matching, but he flips the keynote of pursuing otherworldly transcendence and instead goes for the upright faith as a Confucian, which is an anti-thesis to Su

[55] Zhao Bingwen, "He Yuanming 'Nigu jiu shou,'" no. 5, in *Fushui ji*, 4:2a-b.
[56] 《舊唐書．裴度傳》《新唐書．李逢吉傳》

Shi's downplaying of Confucianism. That being the case, another distinctive feature of Zhao's match poetry after Tao is that Tao Yuanming and Su Shi themselves become references in some of Zhao's compositions, so that they are not only his self-expressions but also his digest of this time-honored tradition. Thus the latecomer's pieces are the updated testimony of this rich poetic trope packed with plural historical voices, and eventually Zhao's own pieces also converge into this series which can be identified as a carryover from the preceding tradition, though not just more of the same but with his own peculiar tone and self-reflective expression.

Aside from Zhao Bingwen's case, a large quantity of rhyme-matching poems of Tao Yuanming can be found in Liu Congyi's 劉從益 (1183?-1226?) extant literary assemblage. In fact, it is impressive that *ciyun* poetry genre occupies half of his extant collection, and even more if including the broader category of exchanging poems.[57] Speaking of Liu's rhyme-matching pieces after Tao Yuanming, however, what we see in Liu's compositions are not refined parallel allusions and exquisite rhetoric, but instead straightforward expression in plain words. This is partly due to Tao's own poetic style within the format of ancient-style verses, whose unadorned tone is opposite to more delicate regulated verses. Liu Congyi adopts generic terms and easily recognized allusions to illustrate a universal mentality that readers may empathize with, so as to convey a spontaneous and genuine undertone of the *ciyun* piece. This lyrical quality is so well done that without the indication in the poem title, his rhyme-matching work may be mistaken as an original piece. Though counter-intuitive to the rhyme-matching practice based on refinement and artificiality, this "seemingly naturalness" or "learned simplicity" the poet achieves by adopting the rhyme-words he is not free to choose is actually the identifying mark of true

[57] Of all 45 [47] poems by Liu Congyi collected in *QJS*, 23 pieces [25, 《和淵明雜詩》二首應為四首] belong to the rhyme-matching genre, including 4 [6] rhyme-matching pieces on Tao Yuanming. See *QJS*, 3:96.339-350. *Zhongzhou ji* includes 33 [35] poems written by Liu, see 6.1612-59.

excellence in the *ciyun* genre. In this way, Liu Congyi's rhyme-matching piece is paradoxically a well-wrought construct of lyrical authenticity.

Intriguingly, by looking into the extant rhyme-matching pieces by Liu Congyi, we find a certain rule that divides his corpus in two parts: Liu's *ciyun* poetry with his friends and colleagues are all written in heptametric verses (usually in the regulated form of *lüshi* 律詩) – the *de rigueur* form of exchange poems in casual contexts among Jin literati – while he himself prefers to rhyme-match pentametric verses in ancient style (*wuyan gushi* 五言古詩) composed by past famous poets, which is the same genre Yuan Haowen highly appreciate him for.[58] Besides Tao Yuanming, Liu also rhymes after Du Fu, Wei Yingwu 韋應物 (737?-791) and Su Shi, all in the form of pentametric poems. Those rhyme-matching pieces were mostly intrigued by the same specific occasions as the previous works, such as the cricket's chirp at autumnal night,[59] quiet life in seclusion,[60] and vigil during the New Year's Eve.[61] The resonant sense of *déjà vu* prompts the poet to make an asynchronous response evocative of the past familiar happenings. In turn, emotional cravings, once captured and shaped in poetic artefacts, also crystalized into formulaic tropes – and this topical rhyme-matching practice forms a sequence of echoes that carry the same proverbial message from the previous occasional poems. Furthermore, since stylistic affinity

[58] For Yuan's comment, see Liu's biography preserved in *Zhongzhou ji* written by him, 6.1612. Of course we can say that with the absence of Liu Congyi's complete collection, the bifurcation of pentametric and heptametric *ciyun* poetry on ancient and contemporary poets respectively cannot be proved as a universal rule observed by Liu himself, since it might be the selection bias of Liu's poetry by later literati like Yuan Haowen and his son Liu Qi. That said, it is scarcely deniable that in most cases preserved in *QJS*, contemporary Jin literati did rhyme-matching practice in the form of heptametric regulated verse, and Liu's pentametric *ciyun* poetry on ancient poets seems to be his personal preference.

[59] Liu Congyi, "Wen qiong yong Shaoling yun" 聞蛩用少陵韻, after Du Fu's "Cuzhi" 促織; see *QJS*, 3:96.345; also *Zhongzhou ji*, 6.1653-4.

[60] Liu Congyi, "Lari ci 'Youju' yun" 臘日次幽居韻, after Wei Yingwu's "Youju"; see *QJS*, 3:96.342; also *Zhongzhou ji*, 6.1628-9.

[61] Liu Congyi, "Sui chuxi ci Dongpo 'Shou sui' yun" 歲除夕次東坡守歲韻, after Su Shi's "Shou sui," and "Chuxi yong Shaoling yun" 除夕用少陵韻, after Du Fu's "Du Wei zhai shou sui" 杜位宅守歲; see *QJS*, 3:96.342, 345; also *Zhongzhou ji*, 6.1629-31, 1654-5.

with the prototype is self-evident in Liu's responsive pieces, it does not go so far as to entertain the possibility that Liu intentionally picks up his matching models as the instructive primers of ideal poetry. It is worth noting that Zhao Bingwen also kind of systematically launched an agenda of rhyme-matching (*ciyun*) or emulating (*ni* or *fang*) in the form of ancient style, either by recomposing "Music Bureau ballads" in the archaic mode or taking iconic figures as his "poetic adversaries" – one integral part of his pursuit of antiquity. And we can find that Tao Yuanming, Du Fu, Wei Yingwu and Su Shi are on their common list as exemplars to learn their skills, assimilate their styles and eventually become their kindred spirits.[62]

Last, in one of his rhyme-matching pieces to Su Shi entitled "Provisioning the Year" (*kui sui* 餽歲), Liu Congyi incidentally discloses the scenario of his rhyme-matching exercise:

空吟餽歲詩	Alone, I intone [Su Shi's] poem of "Provisioning the Year";
自歌還自和	Having chanted alone, I even (rhyme-)match it by myself.[63]

The poet in this rhyme-matching piece depicts a solitude setting during New Year's celebration, as he keeps himself alone in the studio and matches poems while reading Su Shi's poetry collection. This couplet, in particular, demonstrates his idiosyncratic operation of rhyme-matching historical poets like Su Shi and Tao Yuanming. Too often do we suppose that match poems are only word plays transcribed on paper, but here intoning or articulating sound is the precondition of the *ciyun* practice. A similar situation also occurred in Su Shi's circumstance of rhyme-matching Tao Yuanming: it is after hearing his son Su Guo 蘇過 (1072-1123) chanting Tao's poetry that Su Shi made up his mind to rhyme-match Tao's whole corpus.[64] In other words,

[62] 趙秉文學杜甫、韋應物、蘇軾。
[63] Liu Congyi, "Ciyun 'Kui sui'" 次韻餽歲, after Su Shi's "Kui sui"; see *QJS*, 3:96.342; also *Zhongzhou ji*, 6.1632-4.
[64] 蘇軾《和歸園田居並引》：歸臥既覺，聞兒子過誦淵明《歸園田居》詩六首，乃悉次其韻。

re-enactive vocalization is indispensable to the rhyme-matching agenda, as the same rhyme pattern could evoke a reverberant or even contrapuntal effect as if having conversations with the original. More importantly, rather than social correspondences among the current circle, rhyme-matching ancient masterpieces is an autonomous behavior: it involves vocalizing the original piece from the outset to immersing oneself into another poet, and the rhyme-matching composition is then the response or re-enactment to the former with the agency of a poet, and perhaps chanting the rhymed piece afterwards as self-performance. Strong-willed subjectivity is the motivation of this rhyme-matching program, since all these conducts are finished by the poet himself. Therefore, it is no coincidence that in nearly every piece of Liu's rhyme-matching poems after Tao, the voice of this poetic agent is always present and marked by the first-person pronoun "I" (*wo* 我 or *wu* 吾) – not in the manner of a spokesman for Tao, but expressing in his own voice and taking Tao as the understated alter ego.[65] Consequently, this "imitation game" is in effect self-realization under the facade of role-playing. Rhyme-matching Tao Yuanming thus functions as an indexical usage ready to be adapted into monological renditions by multiple agents in different historical contingencies. Therefore, this type of rhyme-matching poetry – one that makes conversations with past poets – is by nature subjective and highly lyrical.

In the case of rhyming after literary pieces of the past rather than contemporary poets, like Tao Yuanming's "Return" and other celebrated pieces mentioned here, we can see more clearly the intentionality behind this tradition-bound "imitation game." This involves not only self-conscious assimilation but also fierce competition with the past: the ultimate goal of learning from the past is to individuate oneself from the overwhelming literary tradition and become

[65] Indeed Liu Congyi's rhyme-matching pieces on Tao Yuanming bear a strong subjective presence, and the first-person pronoun "I" literally shows up in every piece. See "He Yuanming 'Za shi' er shou" 和淵明雜詩二首, "He Yuanming 'Shi chun huai tian she'" 和淵明始春懷田舍, "He Yuanming 'Yinjiu' yun" 和淵明飲酒韻; in *QJS*, 3:96.341; *Zhongzhou ji*, 6.1621-28.

apotheosized as part of the tradition by oneself. Based on this intertwined dichotomy between innovation and original imitation, self-concealment and individuality, a parallel can be drawn between the rhyme-matching mechanism and the aesthetics of Jiangxi School of Poetry, as I demonstrate in the following three aspects.

On the one hand, *ciyun* practice preconditions an archetype to model upon, and more or less shares some common discursive or stylistic properties with the precursor. Moreover, rhyme-matching posits a gesture of intellectual resonance with the former poet so that they seem to feel a kinship with each other. Even the poet's subjectivity is eclipsed by the re-enactment of the ancient model in an impersonalized and performative dimension. In this sense, the rhyme-matching practice displays the same underpinning as Jiangxi poetics: reshuffling of literary verbiage or revocalization of rhyme-words eventually points to assimilation with the "spirits" or "great minds" of those predecessors. David Palumbo-Liu utilizes the metaphor of "signing the palimpsest" to illustrate the Jiangxi poetic composition and justifies its use of the tradition in the way of "totally assimilating the models of antiquity."[66] As for rhyme-matching poetry, if we understand that the genre infuses personal attachments and social interactions into lyrical verses, then rhyming after ancient poets can be interpreted as making friends and establishing spiritual affinity with these legendary exemplars across the improbable time-space span. Su claims himself now and then as the rebirth of Tao by adopting the Buddhist discourse of "previous lives" (*qiansheng* 前生) and "later reincarnations" (*houshen* 後身);[67] in the same vein, Jin literati

[66] Palumbo-Liu, *The Poetics of Appropriation*, p. 173.

[67] Su claimed himself now and then as the reincarnation of Tao with a time span of almost 700 years. On one occasion, he says: "Clear-headed in dream, awake in drunkenness; / It is Yuanming and only him who is my previous life" 夢中了了醉中醒。只淵明，是**前生**; see Su Shi, "jiangcheng zi" 江城子, in *Su Shi quanji jiaozhu*, 9:1.344. The poet reiterates the same motif in his "He Tao guiqulaixi ci" 和陶歸去來兮辭: "I also compose a clear prelude of the 'Return,' / And I must be the poet's reincarnation without doubt!" 賦《歸來》之清引，我其**後身**蓋無疑; in *Su Shi quanji jiaozhu*, 7:43.5092-99. Inspiringly, on several occasions Su Shi also claims that he is the reincarnations of certain monks or deities, and later generations in the Song make further constructions on these

like Zhao Bingwen and Liu Congyi also leave their traces on the literary palimpsest of this eremitic trope enriched by successive poets including Tao Yuanming and Su Shi.[68] Therefore, they not only play with the rhymes, but they also "rhyme" the contents of masterpieces as well as the minds of the lofty ancients.

On the other hand, self-distinction and poetic creativity is intrinsic to the rhyme-matching practice, whose character is generalized as competition for "singularity or extraordinariness" (*qi* 奇) – the hallmark of Jiangxi School of Poetry. Yang Wanli, for instance, deploys a sharp-witted parallel that labels the *ciyun* genre to be at once the "singularity or extraordinariness of literati" (*wenren zhi qi* 文人之奇) and their "ailment" (*wenren zhi bing* 文人之病), and to go one step further, he claims that the former accomplishment is in direct proportion to and even the corollary of the latter defect:

> On the whole, plain poetry is submissive, while precarious one is competitive; it is the extraordinariness of literati and at the same time their ailment, and it is poets whose ailment is the severest. It is exactly due to the extreme severity of their ailment that their extraordinariness is exceptional … In this sense, the more competitive is the precarious effect, the more extraordinary the poem is; and the more extraordinary is the poem, the severer the ailment is.
>
> 大抵夷則遜，險則競，此文人之奇也，亦文人之病也，而詩人此病為尤焉。惟其病之尤，故其奇之尤。……然則險愈競，詩愈奇；詩愈奇，病愈痼矣。[69]

Yang Wanli thus diagnoses the peculiarity of rhyme-matching practice as pathological manifestation out of the psychological drive for competition. On the contrary, Liu Congyi treats the eccentric exerciseof rhyme-matching in a positive light. In fact, Liu was not only an ardent

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stories. See more in Zhu Gang and Zhao Huijun, trans. Rao Xiao, "The Past Lives of Su Shi: Stories of Truth and Adaptation," *Journal of Chinese Literature and Culture* 4.2 (2017): 248-278.

[68] Chiu-Mi Lai also highlights the significance of *lineage* in imitative poetry in Chinese literary tradition: "The ramifications of the process and product of imitation lay with lineage: As the value of the original is weighed, so too is the worthiness of the imitation, and implicitly, the literary virtue of the imitator." See Lai, "The Craft of Original Imitation," pp. 139-140.

[69] 《誠齋集》卷七九

practitioner of this poetic genre but also an exponent of rhyme-matching expertise among his contemporaries. His son Liu Qi later recollects what his late father said about *ciyun* poetry in his dialogues with Jin colleagues:

> For poetry composition, rhyme-matching is most difficult. Epistolary poems by ancients were not bounded by rhyme-words; when it came to Su [Shi] and Huang [Tingjian], all of their match poems must use the exact rhyme-words, and their match pieces were exchanged for several rounds to strive for novelty. My late father [i.e., Liu Congyi] spent much effort on it, so that every time he matched poems with others, the narrower was the rhyme, the more delicate the verse turned out to be; people often praised for his proficiency. My father once discusses match poetry with Lei Xiyan [i.e., Lei Yuan] and Yuan Yuzhi [i.e., Yuan Haowen], and Yuan said: "rhyme-matching is not *all'antica*, and in general it is quite forced." My late father said: "What if I apply others' rhyme-words to yield to my own intent? Isn't it extraordinary?"
>
> 凡作詩，和韻為難。古人贈答皆以不拘韻字。迨宋蘇、黃，凡唱和，須用元韻，往返數迴以出奇。余先子頗留意。故每與人唱和，韻益狹，語益工，人多稱之。嘗與雷希顏、元裕之論詩，元云：「和韻非古，要為勉強。」先子云：「如能以彼韻就我意何如？亦一奇也。」[70]

In Liu's eyes, rhyme-matching is a *tour de force* in the realm of poetic composition, and this hard-earned expertise is worth trying to accomplish "singularity or extraordinariness." While in effect, the best composition in this genre by him reveals the seemingly effortless originality out of deliberate craftiness. Again, this psychological incentive behind the rhyme-matching exercise somehow echoes the poetics of Jiangxi School: if the gist of Jiangxi poetry is to achieve intentional unexpectedness through intertextual configurations and wording out of the past literary repertoire ("not a single word without a provenance," *wu yi zi wu laichu* 無一字無來處), then *ciyun* poetry in like manner encourages ingenious expressions out of the confinement of metrical sounds. In other words, both poetic approaches set up a high prerequisite threshold as the touchstone so as to foreground individual talent out of prescriptive principles – be it either literary tropes, syntactic rules or rhyming schemes – and normally if emotional genuineness can

[70] 《歸潛志》

be conveyed in this extremely artificial form, and the more cryptic the allusion or distorted the syntax or awkward-sounded the rhyme is, the greater excellency the poetic composition will symbolize. This in some ways corresponds to the Western neo-classicist declaration that "art is born in bondage, lives in struggle, and dies in freedom."

The last aspect concerning the nature of rhyme-matching and its correlation with Jiangxi Poetry is the underlying emphasis on skills. For a creative poet, the key to rhyme-matching composition is the interface between rhymes in form and intents in content. Liu Congyi makes it clear that the standard of this genre is to "apply others' rhyme-words to be subject to my own intent" 以彼韻就我意, which echoes Fei Gun's saying that in an ideal *ciyun* poem "rhymes concur with intents, and dictions are all as a natural whole" 韻與意會，語皆渾成. Following the same line of thinking, Yang Wanli turns this formulation inside out and sharply points out the weakness of rhyme-matching mechanism: "The intent drains away while the rhyme halts, and though there is a rhyme-word, the intent is unattainable – how can the poet not be stuck with it?" 意流而韻止，韻所有意所無也，夫焉得而不困？[71] This concerted effort to strike a balance between *yun* 韻 and *yi* 意 further extends to the application of allusions in coordination with rhyme-words (as we encounter in Zhao Bingwen's rhyme-matching piece on Tao's "Nigu"), or in other words, rhymes and allusions usually tally with each other and are actually two sides of the same coin in this *jeux de mots* – here we can recall that Lü Benzhong and Zhang Jie quoted above also deem these two elements as essential to Song poetry, though they judge them in positive and negative terms respectively. When a poet seeks new collocations of the rhyme-words, it is likely that he or she would prefer one laden with allusive shades of meaning. Han Ju

[71] 《誠齋集》卷七九《陳晞顏序》

韓駒 (1080-1135), an early Southern Song poet already complains this forceful operation that "[poets] search out allusions in accordance with rhyme-words to such an extent that even those in anecdotes and Buddhist writings are exhausted, so that readers are at loss and have no idea how to make sense of it" 因韻求事，至於搜求小說佛書殆盡，使讀之者惘然不知其所以.[72] Fei Gun, on the other hand, distinguishes good examples from ill-adapted ones. He believes that broad learning and comprehensive digest of primary sources will bring out corresponding allusions with required rhyme-words extemporaneously, while those with limited talent and competitive mind can only take pains to match rhymes by force and end up in awkward verses yielding little sense as if "spoken by a drunken man."[73] Here we should note that applying recondite allusions with twisted semiotics is one of the attributes of the Jiangxi School of Poetry, and it is the same group of poet-agents who transpose the Jiangxi poetic principles into the rhyme-matching scheme. It is thus self-evident that both rhyme-matching and Jiangxi poetry laud artistic virtuosity, with one heeding contents or allusions (*yi*) and the other formal rhymes (*yun*).

Indeed, the struggle for genuineness out of schematic imitation and formulated regulations lies at the core of literati's dispute over *ciyun* poetry, with rhyme and allusion as its rhetorical devices. While some perceive singular one-upmanship out of demanding skills, others denounce it as ill-adapted repetition or boring tautology. One of Liu Congyi's interlocutors, Yuan Haowen, for example, debunks this genre for not being *all'antica* or in accordance to the ancient style and instead being constrained and uninspired. In fact, Yuan wrote very few poems of his

[72] 《詩人玉屑》卷六引《陵陽室中語》，頁 127
[73] 蓋其胸中有數萬卷書，左抽右取，皆出自然。初不著意要尋好韻，而韻與意會，語皆渾成，此所以為好。……後人不曉此理，纔到和韻處，以不勝人為恥，必劇力冥搜，縱不可使，亦須強押，正如醉人語言，全無倫類，可以一笑也。

own in the rhyme-matching manner. In his "Thirty Poems on Poetry," no. 21, Yuan also takes his stand as an opponent of this kind of composition:

窘步相仍死不前	Constrained steps, one after another, get stuck with no progress;
唱酬無復見前賢	In these match poems, one no longer sees [the spirits of] former masters.
縱橫正有凌雲筆	With unbounded talent, one may hold a sky-soaring brush;
俯仰隨人亦可憐	Yet up and down, stretching to other's rhymes is still a pity.[74]

Here, Yuan Haowen worries that the bondage to a demanding poetic form will choke off creativity, and he regards match poems in general as secondary and derivative art of composition which explains why late-comers' matching poems fail to match up to their ancient models.

As is expected, the same attitude towards rhyme-matching poetry as pointless redundancy and sign of regression can be found in Wang Ruoxu's criticism. To illuminate his arguments even further, Wang Ruoxu in an entry laughs at Su Shi and Huang Tingjian as they take pain to appropriate an isometric poem into heterometric song lyrics with a technique called *yinkuo* 檃括. They paraphrase two Tang poets' pieces on seclusion, Zhang Zhihe's 張志和 (fl. 8th c.) and Gu Kuang's 顧況 (fl. 8th c.) *Fishermen's Songs* (*yufu ci* 漁父詞), to the tune "sands of the (silk-)washing stream" (*huanxisha* 浣溪沙).[75] We can also think of Su Shi's renowned piece "Whistling" (*Shao bian* 哨遍), which recapitulates Tao Yuanming's "Return" rhapsody into this new lyrical tune composed by himself.[76] This recomposition-through-rewording mode is achieved by adding or excising characters, altering the syntactic order, applying metonymic counterparts, and expanding semantic referential and decorative details. They tailor the lyrics of these well-known "oldies" in accordance with the new melody, so that they could *perform* them

[74] 元好問《論詩絕句三十首》其二十一
[75] Wang Ruoxu, *Hunan shihua, juan* 2; *Hunan yilao ji, juan* 39, p. 253.
[76] 蘇軾《哨遍》

with the current popular music rather than plain reading on the desk. And it is precisely this re-enacting and even self-subverting manner which causes lack of subjectivity that Wang Ruoxu feels uncomfortable with, since the re-enactive effect in performance is flattened on the textual level as mere repetition and superfluity in versification. Wang says that they overreach themselves and "paint feet to a snake" (*wei she hua zu* 為蛇畫足) which only results in redundancy.[77]

On the whole, Wang discounts rhyme-matching composition as stiff and derivative, which was much *en vogue* at that time, and further ascribes the decisive downfall the Way of Poetry (*shidao* 詩道) during the Song dynasty to this practice:

> Since Wei-Jin dynasties, match poems only attributed meaning to verses; while recently, match pieces all harmonized with the rhymes, so that true poetry has diminished… Rhyme-matching is indeed a huge defect of poetic composition. When the Way of Poetry came to the Song period, it was already at its wane, and yet people still specialized in this technique for competition [which led to further decline].
>
> 魏晉以來，作詩倡和，以文寓意；近世倡和，皆次其韻，不復有真詩矣。……次韻實作詩之大病也。詩道至宋人，已自衰弊，而又專以此相尚。[78]

The absence of "true poetry" and the fall of the overall literary quality are imputed to the rhyme-matching phenomenon here. Similar expression can also be found in Southern Song poetic remarks, claiming that the Way of Poetry "drags in the dust" (Zhang Jie), "undergoes profound degradation" (Yang Wanli) and "suffers greatest harm" (Yan Yü) as quoted above. With one accord they worry that the over-artificiality of this technique may choke off lyrical emotions. Here we encounter again the typical discourse of "twilight of poetry" that emerged since the twelfth century, and the prevailing rhyme-matching poetry was one of the "pathogenic symptoms" of the current literati society. Unsurprisingly, the same rhetoric was oftentimes

[77] Wang Ruoxu, *Hunan shihua, juan* 2; *Hunan yilao ji, juan* 39, p. 253.
[78] Ibid., p. 249.

applied to the Jiangxi style which is notorious for overladen allusions and distorted syntax, as we have seen in Wang Ruoxu's assertion above. I thus conclude that the prevalence of the *idée fixe* of Jiangxi poetry – not only pieces written by Huang Tingjian and his disciples, but in the broad sense the propensity for highly reflexive, erudite and contrived formalism through internalization of reading and learning, including rhyme-matching poetry – is the intersubjective and overlapping platform and the discursive starting point for divergent poetic trends across North and South.

"North-versus-South" Discourse Constructed in *Zhongzhou Ji* Paratexts: Rhetoric and Reality

Having entered the fray of two cultural debates and practices illustrated above associated with Jiangxi poetics in the Jin literary circles, we are actually certain that, like it or not, the trace of Huang Tingjian and his Jiangxi School in North China was enduring and undeniable even after the fall of the Northern Song. To take one step further, I argue that Jiangxi poetry not only was consumed and practiced in the cultural production field, but was also reduced into a sort of intersubjective discourse as the fault line of contemporary poetic criticism. That is, Jiangxi poetry in the Jin contexts was often raised as an umbrella term or even a synonym for the overall poetic manner characterized by their Southern Song rivals. Our final example exactly fits into the latter situation, and we will see the efficacy and drawback of constructing a "North-versus-South" cultural confrontation based on the intersubjective discourse of "Jiangxi poetry" that was hotly contested across China in the thirteenth century.

Today, we are fortunate to have *The Collection of the Central Plain* (*Zhongzhou ji* 中州集, ZZJ hereafter) compiled by Yuan Haowen as one of the few major sources of Jin literature weighty enough to challenge the Southern Song predominance and fight for a legitimate status on the contemporary Jin part. Consisting of ten *juan*, ZZJ covers altogether 251 poets across the entire range of the "Jin century" from 1120s to 1230s, and the whole book records over 2000 compositions of various poetic genres. Each *juan* is either arranged in a chronological order concerning the dates of the poets, or sorted into categories according to individual poets' identity.[79] And taking into consideration the fundamental loss of Jin documents in later periods, ZZJ in effect became the anchor and repository of Jin dynasty poetry in the form of anthology that later readers and scholars must turn to. Besides, the compiler Yuan Haowen himself was a virtuoso in poetry of all times, and his own personal collection *Yishan ji* 遺山集 with relatively voluminous scale of forty *juan*, together with other few individual collections by Jin literati of smaller sizes,[80] occupied the majority of Jin textual sources available to us. In consequence, with his own literary collection and multiple compilation works extant to this day, Yuan can be said to have single-handedly shaped the Jin literary history, which otherwise we modern readers would have known next to nothing about, just like the case of Khitan Liao literature.

A more related fact here is that the Jin poet Yuan Haowen had another occupational engagement as a literary critic. In addition to the compiling and editorial work of anthology-making, Yuan composed multiple poems and essays on literary evaluation and appreciation now collected in his *Yishan ji*, among which the most famous and well-studied is the set of his "Thirty

[79] For a thorough study on *Zhongzhou ji* from the bibliographical and historical perspectives, see Hok-lam Chan, "Yüan Hao-Wen and His *Chung-Chou Chi*," in *The Historiography of the Chin Dynasty*, pp. 68-93.
[80] Compared to the rich and formidable Southern Song textual repository, few individual collections by Jin literati are extant to date save for the series of so-called *Collections of Nine Jin Literati* (*Jiu Jin ren ji* 九金人集) compiled by a Qing dynasty scholar Wu Chongxi 吳重熹 (1838-1918), with *Yishan ji* included as well.

Poems on Poetry."[81] In this set of poems, Yuan followed the tradition of Du Fu's "Six Quatrains Written in Jest" 戲為六絕句 to comment on the art of poetry with the exquisite poetic form of heptametric quatrain. In fact, this top-level Jin poet was so modest that he regarded himself to be more a literary arbiter than an author:

> Having read so much and inveterate for so long, one wields his brush and starts to compose self-fashioned, majestic words – I haven't managed to accomplish that.
> Speaking of measuring genres, scrutinizing tones, balancing pros and cons, verifying the genuine from counterfeit, investigating the transformations within poets of past and present, with single-minded and straightforward resolve with no laxity – even ancients are resurrected, I do not mean to make a concession.
> 見之之多，積之之久，揮毫落筆，自鑄偉詞，以驚動海內則未能。
> 至於量體裁，審音節，權利病，證真贋，考古今詩人之變，有戇直而無姑息，雖古人復生，未敢多讓。[82]

We as readers of his poetry know that this self-deprecating remark is not the truth, but his own assertion reflects how serious and committed Yuan Haowen was when he put on the role as a literary critic. Accordingly, Yuan's poetic mastery and exalted stature also lent his assessment considerable weight. Anthology-making is one way of evaluation via the mechanisms of collection, selection, and compilation of poetic materials, writing prose essays or taking notes in the miscellaneous form of "remarks on poetry" (*shihua* 詩話) is another, and entertaining with the most artistic expression as "poems on poetry" (*lun shi shi* 論詩詩) is a third approach, with many other diverse options. When we come to Yuan Haowen, ZZJ was an elemental source reflecting his profound insight and agenda of literary culture. On the one hand, the form and content of an anthology were dictated and delimited by the available source materials, and on the other, this textual project was not immune to the compiler's personal ideological scheme. These

[81] The most representative and sophisticated scholarship on this set of poems is no doubt Wixted, *Poems on Poetry*. Cf. Guo Shaoyu 郭紹虞, *Yuan Haowen "Lun shi sanshi shou" xiaojian* 元好問論詩三十首小箋 (Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 1978).
[82] 《遺山集》卷三九《答聰上人書》

two aspects determine the nature of ZZJ regarding its selection scope in time and space, organization principles, as well as aesthetic criteria. Ultimately, Yuan's expectation of ZZJ was to publicize northern Jin poetry across the contemporary China and establish its deserving shrine in the pantheon of classical poetry.

Furthermore, paired with his Jin poetry anthology, a series of five heptametric quatrains entitled "Self-Inscription after the *Collection of the Central Plain*" 自題中州集後 were also composed to serve as its paratexts meant to be the authoritative "editor's words."[83] In this part, I will do a close-reading of this set of poems, supplemented by Yuan's other intertextual criticism, to unfold a synoptic view of the North-South cultural confrontation consciously formulated in Yuan's ZZJ. I will also highlight that this "North-versus-South" discourse configured by Yuan Haowen was more about rhetoric than reality, but this willful gesture of "whistle in the wind" was not to no avail in realpolitik: this Jin "remnant subject" as the leader of disadvantaged northern elite community at that time was actually banging the drum for the untended value of Jin poetry which stood on the brink of falling into oblivion to posterity.

In fact, Yuan Haowen's tendentious attitude is already shown in this anthology title. It is a poetry anthology spotlighting the "Central Plain" or *zhongzhou* 中州, which in Yuan's historical contexts stands for the late Jin dynasty in the North bearing a privileged patent of cultural legitimacy, as I have elaborated in chapter 1. In terms of poetic style, *zhongzhou* connotes a northern heroic air with desirable qualities of strength, vigor, and liveliness, as scholars have already associated this term with one pivotal piece in Yuan's "Thirty Poems on Poetry":[84]

[83] Wixted have also translated and discussed these texts in broad brushstrokes in the appendix of his book *Poems on Poetry*, pp. 228-34. Here, I will put emphasis on the "North-versus-South" rhetorical discourse with more detailed textual analysis.
[84] Chan, *Historiography*, p. 71; Wixted, *Poems on Poetry*, pp. 72-73.

慷慨歌謠絕不傳　　Stout-hearted songs are no longer transmitted,
穹廬一曲本天然　　Like the song of the tent, full of natural simplicity.
中州萬古英雄氣　　The heroic spirit in the Central Plain of ten thousand ages
也到陰山敕勒川　　Reaches as far as the Chile streams of the Yin range.[85]

With the help of John Wixted's thorough analysis, two major arguments are drawn from this heptametric quatrain. One is the incessant heroic spirit of the Central Plain marked with "stout-hearted songs," and the other is the bold proclamation of ethnic minorities with nomadic origins contending for cultural legitimacy, epitomized in a Turkic song that translates the essence of impassioned Central Plain songs that had been long-lost among southerners. Both eventually herald and project the succeeding Jin poetry in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries to be the true heir of this northern tradition of yore. Thus, ZZJ as a poetry anthology exclusively on Jin dynasty poetry carries a cultural mission assigned by Yuan Haowen, which, simply put, is to promote northern Jin poetry so as to at least stand on an equal footing with, if not triumph over, the Southern rivals.

Below I will look into the individual poems of Yuan's self-designated series as ZZJ postscript, particularly the first three pieces, and focus on Yuan's rhetorical device centering on the "North-versus-South" confrontation. The first piece reads:

鄴下曹劉氣盡豪　　Cao [Zhi 曹植, 192-232] and Liu [Zhen 劉禎, d. 217] of Ye [in Hebei province] are truly heroic in spirit;
江東諸謝韻尤高　　East of the River, the Xie family's euphony is superb.
若從華實評詩品　　But judging by poetic ornament and substance,
未便吳儂得錦袍　　It is not necessarily the Wu people [i.e., southern poets] who would win the brocade robe.[86]

The motif of North-South confrontation is overriding in this opening piece. The first couplet introduces the respective strengths of northern and southern poets, historically analogous to Six

[85] English translation adopted from Wixted, *Poems on Poetry*, p. 68, with modification of my own.
[86] Ibid., p. 229, with some modifications of mine.

Dynasties poetic landscape represented by masters of the Jian'an 建安 period (196-220) in the North, and Xie Lingyun 謝靈運 (385-433) and his aristocratic cohort in the beginning of Southern Dynasties (420-589). But this historical prefiguration imposed here is primarily applied for their geographical hallmarks (Ye xia 鄴下, the Ye metropolis in the Central Plain vs. Jiang dong 江東, the southland in the east of the Yangtze River), irrespective of their different time periods with a lapse of two centuries (the Jian'an period vs. the Southern Dynasties). Quite the contrary, northern Jin and Southern Song poets were contemporary rivals in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, so that the divergence of poetic fashions was a synchronic reality in Yuan's age instead of a diachronic and successive change. And in Yuan Haowen's opinion, the northern and southern styles are indexed by the keywords *qi* 氣 and *yun* 韻. Readers of Yuan's "Thirty Poems on Poetry" must be familiar with the correlation between the Jian'an poets and their characteristic *qi*, which is revealed in Poems 2 and 3 right after the introductory first piece with the respective opening lines "Cao [Zhi] and Liu [Zhen] sat whistling poetic tunes – tigers setting the wind astir" 曹劉坐嘯虎生風 and "the flowing charm and panache of Ye" 鄴下風流, so that it is quite clear that Yuan takes the Jian'an model as to go straight to this ultimate ideal and origin of classical poetry.[87] *Qi*, tentatively translated as powerful verve, life-force, or life-like spirit, corresponds to a northern vital and masculine style here, which Wixted defines as "a prime desideratum in Yuan's critical scheme."[88] As for *yun* or euphony with Xie Lingyun as the best among southern poets, it is kind of weird that not so much ink is spilled in Yuan's poetic series compared to his extolment of Jian'an poetry. No single piece in Yuan's series is dedicated to Xie Lingyun, and in turn we only find two running comments on Xie's verse, and both are set side by

[87] See more in ibid., pp. 32-40, 41-46.
[88] Ibid. p. 36.

side with another poetic exemplar. One is in Poem 20 where the Jin poet likens Liu Zongyuan 柳宗元 (773-819) to Xie ("The Xie guest's [i.e., Xie Lingyun] charm and demeanor illumine past and present, / Its inspiration nowhere more profound than in Liuzhou [i.e., Liu Zongyuan]" 謝客風容映古今，發源誰似柳州深;[89] this uncommon equation of Liu with Xie is revealed in another self-annotation of Yuan quoted below), and the other is the penultimate Poem 29, of which the first couplet reads:

池塘春草謝家春　"Alongside the pool [grow] spring grasses"[90] – this is the Xie family springtime;
萬古千秋五字新　Throughout myriad ages and millenniums, the single pentametric line keeps afresh.[91]

Yuan writes down these two lines to countervail the exhausting labor and artificiality exerted by the famous Song poet Chen Shidao 陳師道 (1053-1102) grouped to the Jiangxi School. Here we may grasp the merit Yuan attributes to Xie's poetry – the elegant manner conveyed by unsullied simplicity and seemly spontaneous language. Nonetheless, this feature to a large extent does not speak to Southern Song poetry on the whole. We should thus adopt a compromised reading that the Six Dynasties aristocratic poets represented by the Xie family is envisioned here mainly for the convenience of geographical parallelism, as well as the elevated status of *ya* 雅 or *fengya* 風雅 that Jiangxi poets occasionally assigned to themselves, equivalent to more or less the cultural capital as their group identity and self-distinction.[92] We should also note that in the early

[89] Ibid., p. 156, with modification.
[90] *Chitang chuncao* 池塘春草 here refers to Xie Lingyun's best-known verse 池塘生春草，園柳變鳴禽.
[91] Wixted, *Poems on Poetry*, p. 216, with modification.
[92] For this self-designation of "aristocratic" or condescending attitude in the sense of aesthetic taste among Jiangxi poets, see the part "Jiangxi shishe zongpai tu: 'tushu lang'de 'jianghu' shenshi" 《江西詩社宗派圖》:「玉樹郎」的「江湖」身世 in my MA thesis "Reminiscence of Northern Song Dual Capitals," pp. 107-113. For the aspect of poetic virtuosity as cultural capital perceived by Jiangxi poets in the Southern Song, see more in Fuller, "The Jiangxi Style in the Field of Cultural Production," in his *Drifting among Rivers and Lakes*, pp. 123-81.

medieval aesthetical criteria, the Jian'an period with the benchmark of *qi* was a paramount climax of classical poetry, to which their descendants in the Southern Dynasties (often referred to in a pejorative term "Qi-Liang style" 齊梁體) only came second.[93] Thus, by bringing the perspective of Six Dynasties poetry into our view, Yuan Haowen convincingly presupposes an orthodox pattern claiming the superiority of North over South.

The second couplet further publicizes the poetic competition between contemporary North and South in Yuan's time. The fourth line alludes to a dramatic scenario occasioned in Empress Wu's reign of Tang dynasty (690-705). As the empress condescended to Luoyang for a visit guarded by her entourage, she asked her attendants to compose poetry on this occasion. While the empress had already bestowed a brocade robe to a poet who made a prompt and satisfactory piece, when she saw the superb piece composed by Song Zhiwen 宋之問 (c. 660-712) that was presented later, the empress changed her mind and divested the former poet of the robe and gave it instead to Song.[94] The act of forcefully transferring the ownership of the brocade robe is instead provocative in the competition field of literary prowess. It also carries an unsaid message that poetic justice demands the test of time bring to a halt the pendulum of current fashions and that latecomers like Jin poets can actually get first.

Yuan's hostility and rivalry against the Southern Song poetry recur and upgrade in the second piece of this postface-poem series, as the poet changes his vantage point from a thin veil of historical parallelism to real-life contest across North and South. Here the specific Jiangxi poets stand out to be the direct opponents, which echoes the "Wu southerners" (*Wu nong* 吳儂)

[93] See, for example, 鍾嶸《詩品》、劉勰《文心雕龍》.

[94] 《新唐書・宋之問傳》: 武后游洛南龍門，詔從臣賦詩，左史東方虬詩先成，后賜錦袍，之問俄頃獻，后覽之嗟賞，更奪袍以賜。

referred to in the last verse, and "northerners" (*bei ren* 北人) as shown in this piece refuse to be mere followers but rather challengers on an equal footing, if not champions in this game:

陶謝風流到百家	The flowing charm of Tao [Qian] and Xie [Lingyun] is passed on to *A Hundred [Tang] Poets*;
半山老眼淨無花	Banshan's [i.e., Wang Anshi] eyes, albeit old, were clear and not myopic.
北人不拾江西唾	Northerners neither take over Jiangxi poets' drivel,
未要曾郎借齒牙	Nor do they borrow poetic word and tone from the young Zeng.[95]

The first couplet refers to a famous eleventh-century anthology of Tang poetry *The Selection of a Hundred Tang Poets* (*Tang baijia shixuan* 唐百家詩選, TBJSX hereafter) compiled by the famous Northern Song scholar-official Wang Anshi 王安石 (1021-1086). Though the book was probably not finished until 1060, its contents credibly derived from Tang poetry manuscripts of high quality stored by Song Minqiu 宋敏求 (1019-1079), the best bibliophile at that time. Therefore, TBJSX can be said to remain certain prototypical traces of Tang poetry. Its reception in the following twelfth and thirteenth centuries was steadily confirmed by documental evidence in both North and South. After its *editio princeps* came out around 1098 sponsored by his "New Faction" disciples in office, TBJSX was soon widely circulated and welcomed among young students as a poetry primer during the Southern Song. Moreover, sporadic historical records testify the existence of two now lost annotations by Southern Song and early Yuan scholars, Shi Shaozhang 時少章 (*jinshi* 1253) and Qiu Yuan 仇遠 (1247-1326) respectively. Yet Wang Anshi's TBJSX seemed to be soon overshadowed by other Southern Song anthologies and school textbooks due to the shift of poetic fashions.[96]

[95] 元好問《自題中州集後五首》其二. I adopt the translation from Wixted, *Poems on Poetry*, p. 231, with some modifications of mine.

[96] For the reception history of TBJSX in the rest of Song dynasty, see Zha Pingqiu 查屏球, "Mingjia xuanben de chushihua xiaoying – Wang Anshi *Tang baijia shixuan* zai Songdai de liuchuan yu jieshou" 名家選本的初始化效應

In the northern Jin on the other side, though I don't find explicit reference of TBJSX in extant Jin documents except Yuan's single piece translated here, in chapter 5 we will see that TBJSX proved to be the major primary source for another anthology compiled by Yuan that specialized on Tang heptametric verse or *qi lü* 七律 with the title *Drum and Fife Songs of Tang Poetry* (*Tang shi guchui* 唐詩鼓吹), so that the access to and readership of TBJSX among Jin elite is indubitable.

More nuanced meanings are embedded in the dynamical tensions between two couplets of this quatrain. The first one speaks highly of TBJSX as a Tang successor of old-style poetry represented by two greatest poets in the Six Dynasties, with the characterization of *fengliu* 風流 or "flowing charm." We have discussed Xie Lingyun's scanty presence in Yuan's "Thirty Poems on Poetry" above, while Tao Qian's significance among pre-Tang poets is second to none in Yuan's system of literary criticism (with perhaps Ruan Ji 阮籍 [210-263] alone on a par with Tao in Poem 5) with such remarks:[97]

一語天然萬古新	An expression, being natural, is fresh for ten thousand ages;
豪華落盡見真淳	Florid splendor fully shed, there emerges true purity.
南窗白日羲皇上	Under the southern window in bright daylight, [he became someone] prior to Emperor Fuxi –
未害淵明是晉人	Still and all, Yuanming was a man of the Jin dynasty.[98]

Tao for Yuan Haowen was thus the ultimate poet who transcended the historical bounds of time and space of his life confined in the Eastern Jin-Liu Song transitional period,[99] since his verse

——王安石《唐百家詩選》在宋代的流傳與接受, *Journal of Anhui University (Social Sciences)* 安徽大學學報（社會科學版） 2012.1: 62-73.

[97] Wixted also makes this argument in *Poems on Poetry*, p. 52.

[98] Ibid., p. 47, with modification.

[99] This a-historical or trans-historical Weltanschauung is actually self-imposed by Tao himself, as revealed in his most famous pseudo-autobiography "The Account of Master Five Willows" (Wu liu xiansheng zhuan 五柳先生傳): 先生不知何許人也，亦不詳其姓字。宅邊有五柳樹，因以為號焉. The absolute Anonymity lends the poet universality and eternal life via poetry.

resembles the ever-lasting and self-renewing nature – we just witnessed the same miracle that occurred in Xie Lingyun's poetry as well: "Throughout myriad ages and millenniums, the single pentametric line keeps afresh" 萬古千秋五字新. Penetrating the seemly impenetrable thickness of "ten thousand ages" (*wan'gu* 萬古) while at the same time keeping alive and afresh (*xin* 新) once read by posterity – this is the substantial "flowing charm" in Yuan Haowen's understanding, which is manifest as "true purity" or unadorned, primitive simplicity conveyed by Tao-Xie poetry. Incidentally, as a running self-annotation on this piece, Yuan further makes an atypical claim that "Liu Zihou [i.e., Liu Zongyuan] is a Tang-dynasty Xie Lingyun; Tao Yuanming is a Jin-dynasty Bai Letian [i.e., Bai Juyi]" 柳子厚，唐之謝靈運；陶淵明，晉之白樂天.[100] Previously we have touched on a kinship between Liu and Xie felt by Yuan Haowen, and with another coupling of Tao and Bai for their lively verse in plain words, the underlying import here is that Tao-Xie's "flowing charm" was well preserved and reborn in these Tang poets. Back to Yuan's poetic discourse, the Jin poet is claiming that the overall Tang poetry epitomized in the TBJSX (though poetry of both Liu and Bai is not collected in this anthology) captures the classical poetic traditions back to its fountainhead, which was truly a great compliment in the late Jin period when the value of "recovering the past" was appreciated and even inflated.

The second couplet sends the message ever more straightforwardly. The "young Zeng" refers to an early Southern Song scholar-official Zeng Zao 曾慥 (fl. 12th c.) who compiled a Song poetry anthology named *The Selection of a Hundred Song Poets* (*Song baijia shixuan* 宋百家詩選, SBJXS hereafter).[101] From its title one can immediately tell that Zeng's anthology once

[100] Wixted, *Poems on Poetry*, p. 55.

[101] Another candidate of this "young Zeng" is Zeng Ji 曾幾 (1084-1166), a contemporary of Zeng Zao and a representative Jiangxi poet in the early twelfth-century Southern Song period. But judging from Zhang Dehui's 張德輝 (1195-1274) postscript quoted below, it is most likely to be Zeng Zao who compiled SBJSX. In either case, the

stood as a companion or even late-coming substitute of TBJSX and was meant to elevate the status of contemporary Song poetry, and though the whole collection has been lost to posterity, relevant information leaves no doubt that most Song poems chosen in it could be categorized as the Jiangxi School. Here we should give second thought on Yuan Haowen's hostility to SBJSX and the overall Jiangxi poetry it embodies. Wixted has sharply argued for the rhetorical nature of this "Central Plain versus Jiangxi" poetic landscape mapped out in Yuan's poetic criticism, since the diametrical binary of northern and southern styles was never a reality, and many northerners at that time also composed Jiangxi poetry against Yuan's expectation. Wixted thus points out the paradox embedded in Yuan's hyperbolic or even paranoic wording: "If Jin dynasty poetry had not been so influenced by the Jiangxi group of poets, there would have been little reason for Yuan in his earlier thirty-poem series to lament the decline of poetry in recent times and to criticize Jiangxi poetry…"[102] In this line of thinking, by promoting TBJSX and degrading SBJSX, Yuan Haowen tried to willfully set up an alternative approach of poetic composition other than the rubrics of Jiangxi School adopted by most of his contemporaries, and further implicated that ZZJ was the direct sequel to TBJSX adhering to the ideal classical poetry with Tao-Xie as the paramount exemplars.

Still, it is interesting to pause a little bit and ruminate on the question why Yuan came across Wang Anshi's TBJSX in the poetic afterword to his *Zhongzhou ji*. Does it suggest that he also took the former as the potential model for his own design of Jin poetry anthology? A suggestive clue can be found in one of the ZZJ postscripts written by Yuan Haowen's close

import of this line is a rhetorical disclaimer of Jiangxi poetic influence on Jin poetry, which we know is not the truth. See more in Wixted, *Poems on Poetry*, p. 232.

[102] Ibid.

friend Zhang Dehui 張德輝 (1195-1274), in which Zhang purposefully measured this Jin poetry anthology against TBJSX and SBJSX with a synoptic insight:

> Elder Banshan [lit. "halfway on a hillside," i.e., Wang Anshi] made TBJSX / *The Selection of a Hundred Tang Poets*, and till now each household possesses a copy of it; Zeng Duanbo [i.e., Zeng Zao] selected Song poetry [into SBJSX / *The Selection of a Hundred Song Poets*], and it doesn't do justice to say he accomplished nothing; scholars thus made discussions to rank [the latter] in the second and third places.[103] In my view, this anthology [i.e., ZZJ] compiled by Yuzhi [i.e., Yuan Haowen] came out as the fourth publication [of the ilk]. Will critics append it [i.e., ZZJ] to Banshan's TBJSX? Or to Zeng Duanbo's SBJSX? Or to place it somewhere in between?
>
> 半山老人作《唐百家詩選》，迄今家置一本；曾端伯選宋詩，不可謂無功，而學者遂有二、三之論。予謂裕之此集，今四出矣，評者將附之半山乎？曾端伯乎？季、孟之間乎？[104]

With Yuan's poem and Zhang's postscript attached to ZZJ as dual witnesses, the steady circulation or well-received popularity of both TBJSX and SBJSX in the thirteenth century can be guaranteed. It also leaves no question that Yuan Haowen aspired to compile an all-encompassing anthology to map out the big picture of Jin poetry on the whole, with primarily TBJSX and perhaps SBJSX as the archetype in his mind. And Zhang Dehui here applies a rhetorical device of comparison and ranking, entertaining all the possibilities of permutation and combination among these three poetry anthologies: Is ZZJ a successor of either TBJSX or SBJSX? Or does ZZJ actually surpass SBJSX and come on the heel of TBJSX? (At least from Yuan's standpoint, the latter situation should be the case.) While ZZJ and SBJSX were neck and neck in the field of literary criticism, TBJSX was indisputably the shared paradigm that these two later emulators intended to carry on. Certain parallels can also be drawn between TBJSX and

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[103] 《宋史・藝文志》 records that the original SBJXS consists of 50 *juan*, supplemented by a sequel (*xu xuan* 續選) of another 20 *juan*, so that SBJXS is actually made up of a set of two volumes.
《宋史》卷二〇九《藝文志》「總集」：曾慥《宋百家詩選》五十卷又《續選》二十卷

[104] 張德輝《中州集後序》（載楊守敬《日本訪書志》卷十三）. Zhang's postscript is preserved in 蒙古憲宗五年（1255 年）乙卯新刊本.

ZZJ. First, it is noteworthy that most Jin poems included in ZZJ are preserved only in this collection bearing no witness elsewhere. It turns out that prioritization and protectionism of Jin poetic culture were the initial agenda of Yuan Haowen's private compilation of ZZJ enterprise, marked by comprehensiveness of the selection on the one hand, and on the other the high profile of lesser known Jin poets whose fame and writing would otherwise be forgotten for long. These attributes perfectly line up with TBJSX, a comprehensive and multifaceted anthology on Tang poetry, which Wang Anshi in his self-preface advertises that "if one wants to know Tang poetry, reading this anthology would suffice" 欲知唐詩者，觀此足矣.[105] Accordingly, TBJSX also deliberately bring to the fore "minor poets" of Tang so as to multiply and complicate our understanding of the customary Tang literary historiography dotted by extraordinary master-poets standing in isolation. Some later scholars indeed treated TBJSX and ZZJ in parallel as overarching anthologies over the course of the entire dynastic literary history: "Taking Wang Linchuan [i.e., Wang Anshi, Linchuan in modern Jiangxi province was the poet's hometown] and Yuan Xinxing [i.e., Yuan Haowen, Xinxing is the former name of Xinzhou 忻州 in Shanxi province where Yuan came from] for example, one gathers the finest blossoms of the Tang dynasty, and the other carries on the primordial vitality of the Central Plain; they both put the lineages of *wenzhang* or literary culture in order" 如王臨川、元新興，纂李唐之英華，續中州之元氣，序文章之宗派.[106] In this light, both anthologies circumscribe the literary history of an entire dynasty encoded with programmatic configuration, which is a quite significant cultural enterprise. Therefore, we can make the conclusion that ZZJ compiled by Yuan Haowen was

[105] 王安石《唐百家詩選序》,《臨川集》卷八四
[106] 王惲《西巖趙君文集序》

deeply influenced by TBJSX in terms of poetic manner, organization principles, as well as its usage as preserving first-hand and highbrow "cultural heritage" of an age.

The comparative discourse of juxtaposing multiple poetic models is elaborated the other way around by introducing a calligraphic analogy in Yuan's third piece:

萬古騷人嘔肺肝	Poets of ten thousand ages have spit out their livers and lungs;
乾坤清氣得來難	How difficult it is to capture the pure spirit of Heaven and Earth.
詩家亦有長沙帖	Since poets now have a Changsha [calligraphic] model-letter,
莫作宣和閣本看	They should not look upon it in the same way as a Xuanhe Pavilion copy.[107]

The onerous learning of poetry and the critical selection of exemplary models lie at the heart of this piece. The allusion of "spitting out one's livers and lungs" in the first line reminds readers of those "bitter intoning" poets like Li He who expended every effort and took poetic originality to the extremes.[108] Another undertone of this image is put forward by Wixted who translates this phrase as "pouring out one's innermost feelings," so that good poetry also demands sincerity of emotions within to be inexorably expressed out. Besides hardship and genuineness involved in the art of poetry, in the second line we again encounter *qingqi* 清氣 or "pure spirit" regarded as the highest and most hard-earned caliber for Yuan Haowen. The motivation here is the steep road towards acquiring a jewel of poetry.

The solution Yuan offers in the following couplet is that, to have a good command of poetic composition, one should find and copy the exemplary model rather than other inferior samples. Yuan reasons his way by making a parallel case to calligraphic model-letters, of which the dynamical mechanism between original [Urbild] and copy [Abbild] is involved in the same

[107] Wixted, *Poems on Poetry*, p. 233, with modification.
[108] This anecdote is again taken from 李商隱《李賀小傳》("Short Biography of Li He"), translated by Stephen Owen in *The Late Tang: Chinese Poetry of the Mid-Ninth Century (827–860)* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1986), pp. 160-61.

vein as poetry practice of stylistic emulation. The Changsha model-letter (*Changsha tie* 長沙帖) and the Xuanhe Pavilion copy (*Xuanhe ge ben* 宣和閣本) were both modified re-engravings of the earlier Chunhua Pavilion Calligraphy Models (*Chunhua ge tie* 淳化閣帖) in the Northern Song, the epoch-making model-letters compendia of great synthesis in the history of Chinese calligraphy as an imperial court cultural enterprise finished in 992.[109] Curiously, an underlying political narrative of "factional strife" between two parties of reformists and conversatives is at play in this juxtaposition. The Changsha model-letter or *Tan tie* 潭帖 was engraved on stones and circulated in rubbings during 1045 and 1048 by the monk-calligrapher Xibai 希白 with patronage of Liu Hang 劉沆 (995-1060), a local prefect of Tanzhou (modern Changsha, Hunan). Not only was the Changsha model-letter produced during the Qingli 慶曆 period (1041-1048) under the reign of Emperor Renzong, but Liu Hang himself was a *jinshi* fellow and supporter of Ouyang Xiu 歐陽修 (1007-1072), so that his political affiliation to the Old Party or conversative camp was quite clear. By contrast, the Xuanhe Pavilion copy was launched at Emperor Huizong's (r. 1100-1126) court when the New Party reformists were in power. Completed in the third year of the Daguan era (1109), this reproduction version got its better known title as *Daguan tie* 大觀帖. Given the historiographical hindsight and moralist evaluation of "praise and blame" meted out to Old and New Parties respectively in later Song-Jin period, the historical agency of the "noblemen camp" undoubtedly added cachet to the Changsha model-letter as the earlier, more "authoritative" version. In addition, the superiority of the Changsha model was also appraised out of aesthetic concern. It had gained a long-standing reputation of high quality that

[109] See more in Amy McNair, "The Engraved Model-Letters Compendia of the Song Dynasty," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 114.2 (1994): 209-25.

was said to even surpass its Chunhua prototype. This is because Xibai, the monk in charge of the engraving work, was said to be a master of calligraphy specializing on the style of two Wangs, which was further graced by Su Shi's compliments attached to a set of its rubbings: "Xibai's calligraphy per se bears the flair of [Two Wangs from] the east of the river, so that **the Changsha model-letters** are even superior to those engraved by Chunhua expectant officials. The worldly populace, being unheeding, vie with each other to look for **the [Chunhua] Pavilion copies** instead, which is quite a mistake. This scroll [of rubbing] on Yishao's [i.e., Wang Xizhi 王羲之 (303-361)] calligraphy is of particular marvel" 希白作字，自有江左風味，故**長沙法帖**比淳化待詔所摹為勝。世俗不察，爭訪**閣本**，誤矣。此逸少一卷，尤妙[110] – and I highly suspect that this contingent remarks made by Su Shi is the original reference behind Yuan Haowen's second couplet here, though Yuan refers to the Xuanhe Pavilion copy instead. In brief, the Jin poet in his poetic criticism adopted the connoisseurial appraisal intermingled with political messages laden with two sets of Northern Song model-letters. One final piece of unsaid background information embedded in this calligraphic discourse is that, in Yuan Haowen's time, the Changsha model-letters, due to the destruction of original stones in Hunan during the Song-Jin warfare, were already extremely rare and gradually mystified into a mere conceptual figment of the lost ideal, while the more recent Xuanhe version was still in vogue and exchanged on the commercial markets across North and South.[111] Therefore, by exploiting model-letters as comparative models, Yuan also illustrates the paradoxical circumstances of the forgotten exemplar of the past on the one hand, and the overrated popularity of inferior substitutes on the other. This in turn speaks to the contemporary situation with the obscure northern Central Plain

[110] 洪邁《容齋四筆》卷十「東坡題潭帖」
[111] 大觀帖在北方的流傳、榷場本《大觀帖》，見段瑩《南宋榷場與書畫回流》，108-111。

poetry tradition with ZZJ as its epitome, in confrontation with the inferior Jiangxi poetry buttressed by SBJSX in Yuan's eyes.

The last two pieces of Yuan's postface-poems for ZZJ shift from the pronouncedly discursive debate of "North versus South", to the readership and historiographical value of textual preservation regarding this anthology per se.[112] The fourth piece is dedicated to Xin Yuan 辛愿 (d. 1231), the "one who truly knew" Yuan Haowen's wholehearted devotion to the art of poetry and the compilation of this anthology, lamenting that the like is not intelligible save to the like. The fifth and also final quatrain is a dirge sung for the demise of Jin dynasty, and equipped with the device of biographical résumé under each entry of the individual poet, ZZJ itself bears poetic witness equivalent to historical accounts, as scholars have already pointed out "the dual nature of the ZZJ as an anthology of poetry and as a source-book for the study of Jin history."[113] By all accounts, Yuan was concerned about both the rarity of audience and the dim prospect of Jin documentation as time wore on – and to some extent, he was right and prophetic about the formidable reality of extinction that loomed large upon Jin literati culture.

It is within this historical reality that Yuan's contested rhetoric of "North versus South" came into play. Not without exaggeration, this Jin poet tried hard to win an elevated cultural status for the disadvantaged Jin poetry via the anthology-making project, as Wixted has eloquently argued:

> The *Zhongzhou ji* postface-poems are of a public, occasional nature. They serve as the compiler's signature to and justification for his collection of poetry from the defunct Jin dynasty, whose legacy he is promoting – a dynasty he had grown up in and served, and to which he still felt an allegiance. It is Yuan's contention, rhetorically stated, that the Jin dynasty is heir to the true Chinese poetic tradition.[114]

[112] See more in Wixted, *Poems on Poetry*, pp. 233-34.
[113] Hok-lam Chan, *Historiography*, p. 68; also see Wixted, *Poems on Poetry*, p. 234.
[114] Wixted, *Poems on Poetry*, p. 228.

To put it in another way, Yuan Haowen was beating the drum for the superiority of northern Jin poetry with heroic élan against its Southern Song rival. After all, we should be cautious that this aggressive gesture of North-versus-South contest is more a rhetorical assertion than an objective and critical evaluation. In particular, the predominance of Jiangxi-style poetry turned out as be a given *status quo* across both North and South by then, and accordingly, it remained the conventional and convenient straw man against which all other opinions were articulated at that time. Fundamentally speaking, Yuan's conception of "North" or "Central Plain" is associated more with forceful style and vigorous spirit regarding the art of poetry than mere geographical delimitation.[115]

Last but not least, if we take into consideration the broader literary prospect of the "twilight" concerning classical poetry envisioned in the very beginning of Chapter 2, Wang Ruoxu's criticism over the Jiangxi School labeled as "bad poetry" in an age of recession, the enduring debates about the superiority between Su and Huang, as well as the consequential involution by learning Song poetry (such as the rhyme-matching technique) which manifested as artistic deterioration, they all gesture toward the ultimate question of how to compose good or "true" poetry in face of the dialectical Tang-Song exemplars. It is said that "in historical occurrences, culminating moments and the first signs of crisis coincide."[116] Then, shall we say that classical Chinese poetry in the post-Song period was around the corner of the so-called post-historical moment?[117]

[115] Also see Wixted, *Poems on Poetry*, p. 318.
[116] Auerbach, "Rousseau"
[117] I am inspired by this "post-historical" concept from related studies of art historians discussing the fundamental transition of Song-Yuan painting, which curiously corresponds with the poetic trend illustrated here and both synchronizes to the dynastic clock. See, for example, Wen C. Fong, "Why Chinese Painting is History," *The Art Bulletin* 85.2 (2003): 258-80; James Cahill, "Some Thoughts on the History and Post-History of Chinese Painting," *Archives of Asian Art* 55 (2005): 17-33.

In this light, Yuan Haowen's artificial construction of "North-versus-South" discourse in the literary history of classical poetry is of notable significance – this Jin poet is actually claiming that northern Jin poetry epitomized in ZZJ offers a remedy for the seemly waning trajectory of contemporary classical poetry largely represented by Jiangxi poetry. As argued above, the sort of polemical term "Jiangxi poetry" was overused and reduced to be a catch-all phrase or even "scapegoat" to put the blame on all deficiencies of current poems. Be that as it may, what is quintessential here is that Yuan Haowen wanted to establish an alternative northern tradition in place of the Southern Song mode, so as to revitalize the flagging trend at the current stage. In ZZJ and its accompanied paratexts, Yuan has circumscribed two schemes for learners to make good poetry: one is to tap into the time-honored northern tradition traced back to the Jian'an poets with vigorous and forceful spirits, and the other is the ideal model of the remoter past such as TBJSX – equivalent to the orthodox Changsha calligraphic model – so as to resist and reverse the public fashion of learning Song poetry from SBJSX analogous to the wide circulation of the Xuanhe Pavilion reproduction. By justifying the superiority of North over South at least rhetorically, Yuan Haowen intended to rewrite the conventional literary history predominated by Song poetry, and proposed the model of Jin poetry as an alternative or parallel narrative that might have perhaps escaped the fateful decline of classical poetry in later ages.

PART III

THE JIN REFASHIONING OF TANG-SONG LITERARY PAST

CHAPTER 6

Material and Cultural Legacy of Northern Song Model in Jin Literature

Having discussed Jin poetry in conversation and competition with their Southern Song counterpart in a contemporaneous space, we now turn to the temporal dimension and explore the correlation between Jin literature and its historical role models in the next two chapters. I argue that Jin cultural reception was well established by the creative conflation of both Tang and Northern Song traditions in the North. Furthermore, Jin literati also occasionally widened their cultural horizons from their immediate past to the remote High Antiquity as a suspended ideal to shed revolutionary new light on their own reality.

This part on Jin cultural legacy and reception is arranged in the order of backtracking the literary past. I first delineate the historical *status quo* of book preservation, production, and circulation in the twelfth- and thirteenth-century North China as the material base for Jin literate class to learn from the past. Then I move on to the Jin cultural heritage of its immediate precursor, the Northern Song model. I argue that unlike their contentious and intolerant attitude toward their contemporary Southern Song rivals, Jin literati spoke highly of and followed in the footsteps of those Northern Song exemplars, who were spokesmen of the "ancient-style prose" or *guwen* 古文 orthodoxy. In particular, Su Shi stood out as the unparalleled cultural hero in the North and profoundly shaped Jin literati culture. Curiously, the cultural movement of "learning from and recovering the ancient past" gathered momentum especially after the Jin court moved its headquarter from Beijing ("Central Capital") to Kaifeng ("Southern Capital") in 1214 to escape the formidable invasion by Mongol cavalry. Part of this intellectual temper in North China was the revival of Tang poetry among Jin literati, since for Jin people, Tang culture was

"aged" enough that deserved time-honored respect. With a thorough research on the northern anthology *Drum and Fife Songs of Tang Poetry* (*Tangshi guchui* 唐詩鼓吹) compiled by Yuan Haowen, I further map out the overall culture of poetry anthology in the thirteenth-century North and South. Finally, the Jin cultural schema of "restoring the past" reached its highest pitch in the investigation into antiquarianism together with their promulgation of the idealized Antiquity (*gu* 古), though relevant evidence remained piecemeal because of the textual and material loss of Jin cultural history in general.

In the following two chapters, we will see that literary acculturation in the Jin dynasty was multifocal and constantly changing in various developmental stages. It neither made progression evenly across time nor drew from only one single literary past, but rather showed omnivorous interests, exploited and converged heterogenous classical traditions in keeping with the shifting fashions in the North, though Tang and Northern Song models weighed most in the cultural environment under the Jurchen rule.

Preservation, Publication, and Proliferation of Books in the Jin Dynasty

The recovery of civil culture was first perceived in the reproduction of books in the twelfth-century North.[1] We can see both sponsorship from the court as imperial cultural projects, and autonomous publishing industries that burgeoned in polycentric commercial markets on the Jin soil. A virtuous cycle thus took shape: the material proliferation of books made reading and collection more attainable to the elites, and in turn the fervor of acquiring intellectual knowledge

[1] For a general picture of book publication in the Jin dynasty, see Li Xiya 李西亞, *Jindai tushu chuban yanjiu* 金代圖書出版研究 (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 2015).

and cultured taste from reading as cultural capital boosted the overall supply and consumption of books across the whole society. I further argue that it was the cultural legacy from the Tang and mainly the Northern Song that Jin rulers and literati carried on. In other words, we see more continuation other than disruption regarding the book history during the Song-Jin transitional period.

We have to admit that the initial takeover of imperial book collection from Song to Jin rulers happened in a forcible way. Once the Jurchen army broke through the Northern Song capital Kaifeng and entered the imperial city, they took everything valuable in imperial palaces as their loot to their military camps.[2] Apart from the treasures of gold and gems, some Jin invaders unexpectedly were also interested in antiques and books.[3] According to Southern Song historical records, the Jin army took away illustrated guidebooks of court music and ritual, bronze vessels, maps and layouts illustrating the Song territory, rare books from the imperial library, Buddhist and Daoist canons, as well as woodblocks of official printed "textbooks" published by the Directorate of Education (*jianben* 監本).[4] Interestingly, it is said that Jurchens demanded literary collections of Su Shi and Huang Tingjian along with Sima Guang's *A Comprehensive Mirror in Aid of Governance* (*Zizhi tongjian* 資治通鑒) by calling upon their names on purpose,[5] who were all "political criminals" labeled as Yuanyou partisans and whose

[2] See more details in Xue Ruizhao 薛瑞兆, *Jindai yiwen xulu* 金代藝文敘錄 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2014), pp. 158-61.

[3] 完顏勗（《金史》卷六六）：宗翰、宗望定汴州，受宋帝降。太宗使勗就軍中往勞之。宗翰等問其所欲。曰：「惟好書耳。」載數車而還。
完顏宗憲（《金史》卷七〇）：未冠，後宗翰伐宋，汴京破，眾人爭府庫取財物，宗憲獨載圖書以歸。
劉彥宗（《金史》卷七八）：明年，再伐宋，已圍汴京，彥宗謂宗翰、宗望曰：「蕭何入關，秋毫無犯，惟收圖籍。遼太宗入汴，載路車、法服、石經以歸，皆令則也。」二帥嘉納之，執二帝以歸。

[4] 丁特起《靖康紀聞》（《叢書集成初編》本，17-18）：（靖康元年十二月二十三日）金人索監書、藏經，如蘇、黃文及《資治通鑒》之類，指名取索，仍移文開封府，令見錢支出收買，開封府直取書籍鋪。
元好問《朝散大夫同知東平府事胡公神道碑》（胡景崧）：正隆南征。以良家子從軍。載國子監書以歸。因之起萬卷堂。延致儒士。門不絕賓。儒素起宗。實兆於此。

[5] 丁特起《靖康紀聞》（《叢書集成初編》本，17-18）：如蘇、黃文及《資治通鑒》之類，指名取索。

works were prohibited under Emperor Huizong's 徽宗 reign (1100-26). Another record shows that among the literary works "Jurchens admired those of Yuan Zhen 元稹 (779-831), Bai Juyi 白居易 (772-846), and celebrities of Yuanyou partisans most,"[6] which betrays the prestige of these most famous Tang-Song figures among northern non-Chinese people in the early twelfth century. Similar deprivation and confiscation of cultural property by Jurchen invaders continued in the successive years of their military expedition to the South. It is thus clear that the preliminary reception of Sinitic civil culture among this alien people was largely determined by Northern Song cultural remains and contemporary intellectual climate, which shaped their immediate past on the northern territory.

Though institutional documentation and imperial property of the Northern Song was largely transferred into and preserved by the Jin court, early Jurchen rulers had neither spare time and nor self-consciousness to make use of this treasury and build up their own cultural enterprise for the first several decades. It was not until the latter half of the twelfth century under Emperor Shizong's 世宗 reign (1161-89) that major book collecting and printing projects were intensively sponsored and undertaken by the imperial court, and it persisted and reached its culmination by Shizong's successor Emperor Zhangzong 章宗 (r. 1189-1208). More important, the growing reverence and reproduction of books by Jin rulers were integral to their overall cultural-political agenda, which is manifest in the foreword of the "Biographies of Men of Letters" (*Wenyi zhuan* 文藝傳) in the *Jin History*:

《三朝北盟會編》卷七十三：（靖康元年十二月）二十三日甲申金人索監書蔵經蘇黃文及古文書資治通鑑諸書金人指名取索書籍甚多又取蘇文墨蹟及古文書籍。
又，《金史》卷八〇《赤盞暉傳》：（赤盞暉從宗弼侵略江南）乃還，載《資治通鑒》版以歸。

[6] 徐夢莘《三朝北盟會編》卷七十七「靖康二年正月二十六日」引《宣和錄》：宋人文集（注：如元白并元祐諸名人文尤愛慕）。

> … When Emperor Taizong (r. 1123-35) succeeded to the throne, he implemented the systems for recruiting and appointing [officials]. When he conquered Song he took the Classics, books and illustrations from Bian [i.e., the Northern Song capital Kaifeng], and many Song literati joined him. When Emperor Xizong (r. 1135-49) sincerely paid his respects to the former sage [i.e., Confucius], he faced north in the ritual [manner] of a disciple. During the eras of Emperors Shizong and Zhangzong, Confucian ethos fundamentally changed, and local schools increased by the day. Literati pursued examination degrees in and those who reached the position of grand councilors followed one upon the other…
>
> ……太宗繼統，乃行選舉之法，及伐宋，取汴經籍圖，宋士多歸之。熙宗款謁先聖，北面如弟子禮。世宗、章宗之世，儒風丕變，庠序日盛，士由科第位至宰輔者接踵。……[7]

The book projects issued by imperial decrees therefore were indispensable apparatuses to Confucian schools and civil examinations that were established at the same time so as to select qualified scholar-officials for the government bureaucracy. Altogether they served as the measures of statecraft to accomplish an ideal civil order.[8]

But the overall cultural climate gradually transformed at the corner of the thirteenth century, which was also signaled in divergent preferences of books between these two great Jin emperors. The massive printing conducted by Emperor Shizong's order predominantly consisted of Confucian classics and official histories, and even more significantly, Shizong went so far as to translate the classics into Jurchen written language, which was a prerequisite for the civil exam especially designed for educated Jurchen people.[9] In other words, what Shizong was really interested in the Chinese books were intellectual and political thoughts associated with the universal principles concerning the art of governance. By contrast, Emperor Zhangzong had a more literary and artistic bent of mind. In the very beginning of his reign, he ordered the Hanlin

[7] "Wenyi zhuan xu" 文藝傳序 in *Jin History*; I quoted the translation from Bol, "Han Literati under Jurchen Rule," 487, with minor modifications.
[8] See more in Bol, "Han Literati under Jurchen Rule."
[9] On Jin official printing of classics and official histories, see Zhang Xiumin 張秀民, "Jinyuan jianben kao" 金源監本考, in *Zhang Xiumin yinshua shi lunwen ji* 張秀民印刷史論文集 (Beijing: Yinshua gongye chubanshe, 1988), pp. 132-9. For the translation projects of Chinese classics in Jurchen characters and the Jurchen civil exam in general, see Xin Wen, "The Road to Literary Culture."

Academy to present to the throne the updated editions of twenty-six individual collections by the most prominent Tang-Song poets, including Tang poets Du Fu 杜甫 (712-70), Han Yu 韓愈 (768-824), Liu Yuxi 劉禹錫 (772-842), Du Mu 杜牧 (803-52), Jia Dao 賈島 (779-843), Wang Jian 王建 (765-830), plus Northern Song scholar-officials Wang Yucheng 王禹偁 (954-1001), Ouyang Xiu 歐陽修 (1007-72), Wang Anshi 王安石 (1021-86), Su Shi 蘇軾 (1037-1101), Zhang Lei 張耒 (1054-1114), Qin Guan 秦觀 (1049-1110), and so forth.[10] Years later, Zhangzong further ordered to pursue and purchase the missing books in the court library according to its Northern Song imperial book record *The Comprehensive Catalogue of the Hall of Venerating Culture* (*Chongwen zongmu* 崇文總目).[11] We can see Emperor Zhangzong's attitude towards Sinitic culture was more aesthetical than practical, as he sought after literary extravagance and "megacollection" at court. Later generations consequently generalized the merits and faults of Jin emperors by contradicting Shizong and Zhangzong as the polarity: in Emperor Shizong's reign, "educational institutes from the capital to provinces all specialized in classical scholarship and humanistic cultivation, so that the learning of scholar-officials valued substance over ornament," while in Zhangzong's time, "excessiveness and extravagance became trendy, and ballads and poems were favored, so that the learning of scholar-officials valued ornament over substance."[12] Another Jin "remnant subject" who lived into the Yuan dynasty also lamented over the degenerate ethos from frugality to luxury at the twelfth- to thirteenth-century interval, and he further criticized Zhangzong's reign when "book learning ended with mere literary composition,

[10] 《金史》卷九《章宗本紀》：（明昌二年四月）己亥，學士院新進唐杜甫、韓愈、劉禹錫、杜牧、賈島、王建，宋王禹偁、歐陽修、王安石、蘇軾、張耒、秦觀等集二十六部。
[11] 《金史》卷一〇《章宗本紀》：（明昌五年二月）詔購求《崇文總目》內所闕書籍。
又，卷一一《章宗本紀》：（泰和元年十月）壬寅，敕有司：「購遺書宜尚其價，以廣搜訪。藏書之家有珍惜不願送官者，官為謄寫。畢復還之，仍量給其直之半。」
[12] 楊奐(1186-1255)《還山遺稿》卷上《跋趙太常擬試賦藁後》

inattentive to discussing and clarifying classical scholarship and statesmanship as the way to guard our country and subjects."[13]

Be that as it may, there was one common feature of the imperial book projects in the reign periods of Emperors Shizong and Zhangzong. They both heavily relied on *Tang* and *Northern Song* resources and models to organize their knowledge as well as to materialize and categorize their libraries. First, as we can see from the primary texts quoted above, it was most likely that the Jin court either reused or recarved the Northern Song woodblocks for (re)printing those "textbooks" issued by the Directorate of Education for the procedure of civil exams. Moreover, except Confucian classics and official histories that had long been authorized and fossilized in the previous dynasties before, concerning intellectual and literary texts, the Tang and Northern Song contours were crystal clear. We already see Emperor Zhangzong's preference for Tang-Song poetry, and it is interesting that in the first several years of Emperor Shizong's reign, Bai Juyi's *Forest of Answers to Policy Questions* (*Celin* 策林) was translated into Jurchen language at the emperor's behest to be one of the "schoolbooks" for the Jurchen civil exam, which might also imply the undercurrent of literary consumption of this "popular" Tang poet.[14] Even in terms of historiography and political treatises, two books were highly valued by the Jurchen rulers – *The Essentials of Governance in the Zhenguan Era* (*Zhenguan zhengyao* 貞觀政要) and *A Comprehensive Mirror in Aid of Governance* (*Zizhi tongjian* 資治通鑒) respectively – and they stood for the Tang and Northern Song "mirror genre" of ideal statecraft.[15] Lastly, the Northern Song imperial book catalogue *Chongwen zongmu* evidently served as the blueprint or

[13] 劉祁 《歸潛志・辨亡》：然文學止於詞章，不知講明經術為保國保民之道.
[14] 《金史》卷九九《徒單鎰傳》：大定四年，詔以女直字譯書籍。五年，翰林侍講學士徒單子溫進所譯《貞觀政要》、《白氏策林》等書。六年，復進《史記》、《西漢書》，詔頒行之。
[15] See more in Hilde See De Weerdt, "Considering Citizenship in Imperial Chinese History," *Citizenship Studies* 23.3 (2019): 256–76.

guidebook for the Jin imperial library collection. In other words, the Jurchen rulers approached the cultural past of China through the lens of the Northern Song court culture, their most direct precursor.

On the other side of the story, the publication industry was not monopolized by the upper echelons of Jin government and ruling class, but quite the contrary, book culture was booming across the society in the North. Collecting and storing books became a prevalent social phenomenon in public and private schools, elite families, Buddhist monasteries, and Daoist abbeys.[16] This further encouraged publication and proliferation of books. Polycentric printing markets were found and pinpointed on the Jin territory, including the two capitals Yanjing 燕京 (nowadays Beijing) and Kaifeng, plus two local commercial publishing quarters Pingyang 平陽 (nowadays Linfen 臨汾, Shanxi province) and Ningjin 寧晉 (nowadays Xingtai 邢臺, south of Hebei province).[17] Among them, Pingyang or Pingshui 平水 printed editions were highly revered in later ages because of both its large quantity and high quality.[18] Again, we see the Northern Song impact overshadowing the Jin printed books. Besides regular printing of Confucian classics and official histories, we find quite a few Song commentary versions of previous books further modified by Jin readers printed in the North with the inviting label "updated recension" (*xin diao* 新雕 or *xin kan* 新刊).[19] Judging from extant Jin printed editions, the innovative fields of

[16] See Xue, *Jindai yiwen xulu*, pp. 168-88. Also see Li Jinlin 李晉林, "Jin Yuan shiqi Pingshui keban yinshua kaoshu" 金元時期平水刻版印刷考述, *Wenxian* 文獻 2001.2: 74-5, on Pingyang print edition.
[17] See more in Zhang Xiumin 張秀民, "Liao, Jin, Xi Xia keshu jianshi" 遼、金、西夏刻書簡史.
[18] See 葉德輝《书林清话》卷四「金时平水刻书之盛」；李晋林-金元时期平水刻版印刷考述
[19] 《壬辰重改證呂太尉經進莊子全集》（宋呂惠卿撰，金大定十二年坊刻本）；
《皇帝內經素問》（唐王冰注，宋林亿等校正，孫兆改誤，金坊刻本，殘）；
《新刊補注銅人腧穴針灸圖經》五卷（題宋王惟一撰，金大定二十六年書軒陳氏刻本）；
《新刊圖解校證地理新書》十五卷（宋王洙等撰，金畢履道校證，金明昌三年古戴褐夫張謙刻本）；
《新雕注疏珞琭子三命消息賦》三卷、《新雕李燕陰陽三命》二卷（宋李仝注，宋東方明疏）；
（《道德寶章》一卷，宋葛長庚撰，金正大五年平水中和軒王文郁刻本）。
（《風騷格序》與《風騷閒客詩錄》的作者為北宋「魏陵閻苑東叟」。金王琢為之做注。）

knowledge production in the northern Jin dynasty seemed to be specialized scholarship on phonology, medical studies, together with Buddhist and Daoist canons, which all demanded certain kind of professionalism or technical expertise.[20] The ever-growing commercial publishing markets for popular culture also motivated printing of original Jin drama plays, commonplace books, and daily encyclopedia. Literary texts in Jin printed editions, by contrast, were mostly made up of Northern Song collections, such as those by Zeng Gong 曾鞏 (1019-83), Wen Tong 文同 (1018-79), Su Shi 蘇軾 and Huang Tingjian 黃庭坚 (1045-1105),[21] as well as miscellanies like *Updated Recension of Extended Record of Cloud Studio* (Xin diao Yunzhai guanglu 新雕雲齋廣錄) attributed to Li Xianmin 李獻民 (preface 1111) and the anonymous *Updated Recension of Pure Talks of Drinking while Composing* (Xin diao Wenjiu qinghua 新雕文酒清話) that are analogous to "chapbooks" written in classical Chinese.[22] Though historical records confirm the publication of contemporary Jin literary works, what we have to this day is one single copy of Cai Songnian's 蔡松年 (1107-1159) collection of song lyrics with annotation called *Mingxiu ji zhu* 明秀集注 printed in the last years of the Jin regime.[23] This, of course, was partly due to the survival bias as Jin literary texts were neglected and discarded by both northern Mongols and southern Han Chinese in the following centuries. It might also betray the relatively low

[20] Li Xiya calculates the distribution in Jin bibliography and finds that specialized books in 子部 occupy 37% of the total number of Jin books. See more in Li, *Jindai tushu chuban yanjiu*, pp. 66-8. The same inclusion of the Jin 子部 inflation is drawn in Bol, "Han Literati under Jurchen Rule," 466, fn. 13.

[21] 1.《南豐曾子固先生集》三十四卷（宋曾鞏撰，金中葉坊刻本）；
2. 葉德輝《书林清话》卷四「金时平水刻书之盛」：泰和丙寅（六年[1206]，当宋开禧二年。）刻《丹淵集》四十卷，《拾遗》二卷，《附录》一卷，见《杨录》。又，《丹淵集》四十卷《拾遺》二卷《附錄》一卷（宋文同撰，蒙古憲宗六年據宋慶元間曲沃家誠之邛州本重刻）
3.《集注分類東坡先生詩》二十五卷。
4. 黃庭堅《山谷琴趣外篇》(from《續古逸叢書》)。

[22]《雲齋廣錄》十卷（宋李獻民撰，金中葉刻本）；佚名《新雕文酒清話》from 黑水城.

[23]《蕭閑老人明秀集注》六卷（金蔡松年撰，魏道明注，金末坊刻本）

proportion of printing of Jin individual collections, of which most remained as manuscripts stored in the families or circulated within a limited elite community.[24] That said, Jin literature was still partly preserved in the form of printed books published in the subsequent Yuan dynasty. In a similar manner of Jin rulers inheriting from the Northern Song heritage of books, the Jin publishing industry in the North also survived the Jin-Yuan warfares and continued to prosper under the Mongol regime. It was thus natural that Yuan printed editions absorbed and eclipsed earlier – and now long lost – Jin prototypes. Nowadays we still have Yuan print editions of Jin individual collections such as Zhao Bingwen's *Fushui ji* 滏水集, Yuan Haowen's *Yishan Poetry Collection* 遺山詩集, Li Junmin's 李俊民 (1176-1260) *Zhuangjing ji* 莊靖集, and Duan brothers' *Er miao ji* 二妙集 (Collection of Dual Marvels, namely Duan Keji 段克己 [1196-1254] and Duan Chengji 段成己 [1199-1279]), plus two Jin poetry anthologies *The Collection of the Central Plain* (*Zhongzhou ji* 中州集) and *The Poetry Collection of Multiple Elders along the Yellow River and Fen River* [in the southwest of nowadays Shanxi province] (*He Fen zhu lao shiji* 河汾諸老詩集), which were all printed in Pingyang or nearby regions.[25]

Finally, apart from book publication in the North, book exchanges between the northern Jin and the Southern Song were not entirely cut off. Traffic followed in both directions, though channels of acquiring up-to-date military and political information from the other were impeded

[24] This was already the case when Yuan Haowen compiled his *Zhongzhou ji*. Also see 《四庫提要》：特北人質樸。性不近名。不似江左勝流。動刊梨棗。迨汝陽版蕩。散佚遂多。

[25] 《滏水文集》二十卷（金趙秉文撰，蒙古時期刻本）
《遺山詩集》二十卷（金元好問撰，蒙古世祖至元七年至九年刻本）
《莊靖集》十卷（金李俊民撰，約蒙古乃馬真后二年平陽路澤州守段直刻本）
《二妙集》八卷（元段成己、段克己撰，元泰定四年晉寧路絳州稷山段輔刻本）
《中州集》（金元好問輯，元至大三年平水曹氏進德齋刻本）
《河汾諸老詩集》八卷（元房祺輯，元皇慶二年刻本）

and even forbidden.[26] In fact, many Northern Song literary collections in Jin print editions were actually recarved from a Southern Song edition.[27] Another noteworthy characteristic of the Song-Jin book circulation is that, Jin literate class was more interested in intellectual treatises and commentaries on Confucian moral philosophy called *Daoxue* 道學 or *Lixue* 理學 written by Southern Song Neo-Confucians, while Southern Song elites paid much attention to political messages disclosed in Jin writings.[28] Neither sides took the other's literary works seriously, and as I have contended above, Jin elites including both Jurchen aristocrats and Han Chinese embraced the Northern Song literati culture wholeheartedly, while their attitude was relatively intolerant and critical towards their Southern Song rivals. As a result, Jin poets learned most from the Northern Song dual stars Su Shi and Huang Tingjian by reading their individual collections,[29] though sporadic witnesses of Southern Song poetry are testified in surreptitious quotations and imitations between the lines of Jin poetry.[30]

Having investigated the book culture during the Jurchen Jin dynasty as the substantial foundation of cultural capital and power of knowledge at work in the North, we now shift our focus to how Jin elites learned from their Tang and Northern Song luminaries, especially the

[26] For the previous Song-Liao case, see Hilde de Weerdt, "What Did Su Che See in the North? Publishing Laws, State Security, and Political Culture in Song China," *T'oung Pao* 92 (2006): 466-494. In the Song-Jin case, see Liu Mingshu 劉銘恕, "Songdai chuban fa ji dui Liao Jin zhi shujin" 宋代出版法及對遼金之書禁, *Bulletin of Chinese Studies* 5 (1945): 95-114; Kong Fanli 孔凡禮, "Nan Song zhushu ru Jin shu lue" 南宋著述入金述略, *Wenshi zhishi* 文史知識 1993.7: 98-101; ibid., "Nan Song zhushu ru Jin kao" 南宋著述入金考, *Wenshi* 文史 2007.3: 155-169; Liu Pujiang, "Wenhua de bianjie — Liang Song yu Liao Jin zhijian de shujin ji shuji liutong" 文化的邊界——兩宋與遼金之間的書禁及書籍流通, in his *Song Liao Jin shi lun ji*, pp. 199-222; Hu Chuanzhi, "Nan bei wenxian jiaoliu kaolun" 南北文獻交流考論, in his *Song Jin wenxue de jiaorong yu yanjin*, pp. 241-276.

[27] For example, 《集注分類東坡先生詩》《山谷琴趣外篇》 mentioned above.

[28] Hu Chuanzhi, *Song Jin wenxue de jiaorong yu yanjin*, pp. 259-60.

[29] 趙翼《甌北詩話》：宋南渡後，北宋人著述，有流播在金源者，蘇東坡、黃山谷最盛。南宋人詩文，則罕有傳至中原者，疆域所限，固不能即時流通。

[30] 錢鍾書《談藝錄》四五；Also see Xue Ruizhao 薛瑞兆, "Lun Jin guo yu Nan Song zhijian de yiwen jiaoliu" 論金國與南宋之間的藝文交流, *Minzu wenxue yanjiu* 民族文學研究 1 (2007): 125-6.

timeless cultural hero Su Shi, whose influence was ubiquitous and all-embracing in various Jin cultural activities.

From Han Yu to Ouyang Xiu and Su Shi: Jin's Succession to Northern Song Orthodoxy of "Ancient-Style Prose"

During the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries, Jin literati gradually got a holistic overview of the Northern Song literary and intellectual landscape. In the last chapter I have shown in early to mid-Jin poetry the surreptitious learning and borrowing from both contents and methods of Huang Tingjian as the patriarch of the Jiangxi School poetry. In terms of the holistic literary writing refined in the term *wenzhang* 文章, the Northern Song accomplishment of ancient-style prose (*guwen* 古文) that can be traced further back to the mid-Tang great Confucian writer Han Yu, was also ardently welcomed by Jin literati community. By discussing the dynamic relationship of *wen* (文 or literary culture) and *dao* (道 or Confucian moral philosophy) manifest in the Jin intellectual discourse, Peter Bol highlights the reception of Tang-Northern Song *guwen* composition among Jin literati as a means to participate in the classical traditions or "This Culture of Ours" (*siwen* 斯文).[31] This orthodox *guwen* lineage was distinctly manifest in Wang Ruoxu's 王若虛 (1174-1243) specialized literary criticism called "Disputations on Prose Writing" (*wen bian* 文辨). This four-*juan* assemblage of critical comments on the prose genre is roughly arranged in a chronological order with diverse focuses: the first *juan* deals with mostly Han-Wei rhapsodies and prose writings (historiography in particular); the second is

[31] See Peter Bol, "Seeking Common Ground"; ibid., "Chao Ping-wen."

predominantly occupied by comments on Han Yu and Liu Zongyuan; the third then gravitates toward Northern Song writers of Ouyang Xiu and Su Shi; and the final *juan* is the most miscellaneous that involves Song rhapsodies, rubrics of prose composition, criticism over historiographical writing, and more significantly, Wang's harsh objection against parallel or four-and-six-syllable prose (*siliu* [*wen*] 四六[文]). Indeed, this *guwen* ideal with a chronicled underpinning constitutes the structural skeleton of Wang's "Disputations on Prose Writing." This model is also crystal clear in his disparagement of parallel prose as the antithesis of ancient-style prose, and Wang's student also confirmed that Wang "composed literary prose without ornament and only sought to make sense, and he was greatly averse to four-and-six-syllable prose" 為文不事雕琢，唯求當理，尤不喜四六.[32] As an intellectual authority in the post-Jin period, Wang's literary judgment might have reflected the shared outlook and understanding of *(gu)wen* or *wenzhang* within the northern elite community. Another poem by a thirteenth-century poet in the North also echoed this reverent prose paragons:

奫然淵海鮫鰐翥	Vast and profound are the abyss and ocean where sharks and alligators roam and soar;
洞視千古蘇韓歐	Endowed with great perceptions of ten thousand ages are they – Su [Shi], Han [Yu], Ou[yang Xiu].
文如不作作取法	Compose literary prose with standard methods, or otherwise it's better not to try;
捨是三子將誰求	And who else can one turn to except these three masters? (*ll.* 15-18)[33]

In similar fashion, another contemporary Hao Jing 郝經 (1223-1275) retrospectively endowed Cai Gui 蔡珪 (*jinshi* 1151) – a Jin erudite scholar-official one century prior to Hao's age – with this illustrious *guwen* lineage:

[32] Wang E 王鶚, "Hunan yilao ji xu" 滹南遺老集序.
[33] Wang Yun 王惲, "Qian yuan Zhao gong xu hui Ou Xu ji zuo shi yi wen zhi" 簽院趙公許惠歐蘇集作詩以問之.

煎膠續弦復一韓　　Simmering resin and seaming strings – another Han Yu revived;
高古勁欲磨歐蘇　　His lofty and archaic potence gets close to Ou[yang Xiu] and Su [Shi]. (*ll*. 17-18)[34]

Indeed, Han Yu, Ouyang Xiu, and Su Shi had high profiles in the northern Jin as exemplary writers of ancient-style prose. In particular, Ouyang Xiu was exceptionally popular among Jin literati for both his Confucian learning and literary composition. Actually, the overall prose style in extant Jin writings is akin to that of Ouyang Xiu.[35] I also notice that when Jin literati committed themselves to the great tradition of *wenzhang* by promoting ancient-style prose or *guwen* as part of their cultural enterprise, they were prone to frequently mention Ouyang Xiu paired with either Han Yu or Su Shi, albeit with slightly altered concerns.

When Ouyang Xiu was coupled with Han Yu to form the compound Han-Ou 韓歐, it is most commonly used in Jin writings concerning the Confucian *dao* 道 or the broadly inclusive *wenzhang* 文章 laden with *dao*. This is manifest in Li Chunfu's 李純甫 (1177-1223) "Preface to *The Collected Opinions for Propagating the Way*" ("Mingdao jishuo xu" 鳴道集說序) claiming that "Han Yu and Ouyang Xiu augmented [the sage's *dao*] into *wen* or literature" 韓愈、歐陽氏蕩而為文.[36] Jin literati soon applied this sense of meaning to their contemporary *guwen* adherents, such as an eremitic Confucian mentor Wang Qufei 王去非 (1101-1184) and a late Jin erudite Ma Zhiji 麻知幾 (1182-1232).[37] The point here is that these admirable Jin scholars put into practice what they had learned from the *dao* exemplified in Han Yu's and Ouyang Xiu's

[34] Hao Jing, "Shu Cai Zhengfu ji hou" 書蔡正甫集後.
[35] See Wang Yong 王永, "Ouyang Xiu yu Jindai wentan" 歐陽修與金代文壇, in *Jindai sanwen yanjiu* 金代散文研究 (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 2011), pp. 173-96.
[36] Li Chengfu, "Ming dao ji shuo xu."
[37] The great Jin scholar-official Dang Huaiying 党懷英 eulogized his eremitic Confucian mentor Wang Qufei by praising that his master's *dao* was one and the same as that of Han-Ou. (党懷英《醇德王先生墓表》) In like manner, Zhao Bingwen appreciated his contemporary Ma Zhiji who "was fond of the learning of Master Han and Master Ou[yang] that was essentially pure and just." (趙秉文《答麻知幾書》)

writings. In Jin cultural contexts, it also implicated their detachment from the pursuit for this-worldly success and refusal to follow the drifting common mass so as to be faithful to their inner self, since both Wang Qufei and Ma Zhiji remained as self-determined eremite-scholars in most of their lives. (It is interesting to pause and ponder the situation here that Dang and Zhao chose Han-Ou rather than Cheng Yi 程頤 [1033-1117] the Confucian moralist as the authority of *dao*.)

Corresponding to the intellectual discourse of *dao*, the coinage of Han-Ou compound in Jin writings could also refer to the literary excellence of composing ancient-style prose, as Han-Ou had long become a generic and well-established model for the *guwen* genre. For instance, later generations celebrated the literary achievement of late Jin-early Yuan northern masters Yuan Haowen, Liu Qi 劉祁 (1203-1250), and Wang Yun 王惲 (1227-1304) by assigning the name of Han-Ou to their prose writing:

> [Yuan Haowen's] literary prose advocates the Han-Ou model, which is upright and straightforward without extraordinary, crafty, and obscure dictions.
> 文宗韓、歐，正大明達而無奇纖晦澀之語。[38]

道從伊洛傳心事	His [i.e., Liu Qi] *dao* [i.e., moral philosophy] follows [the school from] Yi and Luo Rivers [i.e., Cheng Yi 程頤 (1033-1107) and Zhu Xi's 朱熹 (1130-1200) Learning of Principle (*lixue* 理學)] to transmit the deeds of heart;
文擅韓歐振古風	His *wen* [i.e., literary writing] excels at the Han-Ou style and revives the mores of antiquity. (*ll*. 3-4)[39]

> When [Wang Yun] elaborated nature and principle, he advocated [moral philosophers like] Zhou Dunyi 周敦頤 (1017-1073), Shao Yong 邵雍 (1012-1077), Cheng Yi, and Zhu Xi; when his discussed *wenzhang*, he took measure of [ancient-prose stylists like] Han Yu, Liu Zongyuan, Ouyang Xiu, and Su Shi.
> 語性理則以周、邵、程、朱為宗，論文章則以韓、柳、歐、蘇為法。[40]

[38] Xu Shilong 徐世隆, "Yishan wenji xu" 遺山文集序.
[39] Wang Yun 王惲, "Zhuiwan Guiqian Liu xiansheng" 追輓歸潛劉先生.
[40] Wang Bingyi 王秉彝, "Qiujian xiansheng daquan wenji houxu" 秋澗先生大全文集後序.

It is also noteworthy that in the rhetoric of the thirteenth-century northern literati, the realms of *wen* and *dao* were split up, and Han-Ou seemed no longer the prescribed spokespersons of moralist *dao* (as in the Jin cases shown above). But these two fields also functioned well in parallel without intense competition or contradiction (which was the case in the Southern Song intellectual community) in the North. Just as Peter Bol argues, *wen* and *dao* for late Jin and early Yuan literati in the North were "two sides of a larger whole" or "separate, but complementary, enterprises" of the great traditions of *siwen*.[41]

In addition to learning from Han-Ou's *wen* and *dao*, there is a more significant use of this nomenclature when applied to some of the chosen Jin literati. They were often the prestigious leaders of contemporary literati community and assigned as the Jin dynasty version of Han Yu and Ouyang Xiu. Therefore, taking over the legitimate lineage of this great *guwen* tradition also meant building up the literati community that speak for this cultural mission. To be Han Yu and Ouyang Xiu thus is equal to the *spiritus rector* who was competent and influential enough to attract disciples, foment intellectual discussions, and determine the literary mainstream. This is most evident in Yuan Haowen's funerary inscription written for Zhao Bingwen:

> For the transmission of *dao*, one man is enough; but when *dao* is broadened, it is not the achievement of one man alone. Lord Changli [i.e., Han Yu] in Tang and Lord Ouyang in Song were great Confucians who determined whether *dao* would be ignored or revived. [But in Tang] there were also Huang-fu [Shi 皇甫湜, 777-835] and Zhang [Ji 張籍, 766?-830?], and [in Song] there were also Zeng [Gong 曾鞏, 1019-83] and Su [Shi]. Only after these several men came to the aid [of Han and Ouyang] did the purveyors of lesser doctrines cease disputing. Our lord [i.e., Zhao Bingwen] was entirely sincere, pleasant, and easygoing. In his relations with others he did not arrogantly set himself apart. He led the alliance of Our *dao* for forty years without ever relying on his great fame for authority.
>
> 道之傳，可一人而足。所以弘之，則非一人之功也。唐昌黎公、宋歐陽公身為大儒，係道之廢興，亦有皇甫、張、曾、蘇諸人輔翼之，而後挾小辨者無異

[41] Bol, "Chao Ping-wen," 142.

談。公至誠樂易，與人交，不立崖岸，主盟吾道，將四十年，未嘗以大名自居。[42]

Likewise, Yang Yunyi 楊雲翼 (1170-1228) in his preface to Zhao's individual collection analogized this "chairman" of Jin literati to Han Yu and Ouyang Xiu, and anticipated that the next generation would pay homage to him in the same fashion as Li Ao 李翺 (772-841) to Han Yu or Su Shi to Ouyang Xiu.[43] In other words, the social function of being someone like the Tang Han Yu and the Song Ouyang Xiu is to undertake the role of a charismatic and authoritative mentor around whom a circle of friends and followers aggregated. This is how Yang Yunyi identified Zhao Bingwen in the Jin literati community with both political and cultural esteem:

禮部天下士	Minister of Rites – the scholar-official all under Heaven;
文盟今歐韓	Leader of the literati alliance – today's Han-Ou. (*ll*. 19-20)[44]

In sum, Yuan's and Yang's discourse not only regarded Zhao as the qualified heir of Han-Ou speaking for *dao*, but also highlighted his unifying force amidst like-minded Jin elites into an autonomous and centripetal group bound by the loose master-disciple relationship.

That being said, the disparity between Han Yu and Ouyang Xiu is wide and even antithetical when we look into their literary styles. Though Ouyang Xiu himself greatly admired Han Yu's writing and memorized Han's masterpieces since childhood,[45] the character manifest in his own literary composition was much more placid and undemanding to read compared to Han

[42] Yuan Haowen, "Xianxian gong muming" 閑閑公墓銘; I borrow the translation in Bol, "Chao Ping-wen," 123, with modifications.
[43] Yang Yunyi 楊雲翼, "Xianxian laoren Fushui wenji yin" 閑閑老人滏水文集引 (1223): 後生可畏，當有如李之尊韓、蘇之景歐者出。
[44] Yang Yunyi, "Li Pingfu wei Yuzhi hua *Xizhou shan tu*, Xianxian gong you shi, mou yi ji zuo" 李平甫為裕之畫繫舟山圖．閑閑公有詩．某亦繼作.
[45] See, for example, Ouyang Xiu, "Ji jiu ben Han wen hou" 記舊本韓文後; also 《邵氏聞見後錄》卷十八：歐陽公喜韓退之文，皆成誦，中原父戲以為『韓文究』。

Yu's hard-earned novelty and exacting literary mode. Zhao Bingwen once summed up the respective effects of Han's and Ouyang's prose writing:

> The prose of Lord Wen of Han [i.e., Han Yu] is [analogous to] vast oceanic expanses: like a great and extensive river, rolling and roiling, it revolves and rotates without boundary, dumbfounding the reader who dares not look askance at.
>
> The prose of Lord Ouyang is like the gentle air of spring breeze: it sways and swirls, moves and stirs one's heart without trace, which makes one keep reading tirelessly. —— Both are the proper norms of *wenzhang*.
>
> 韓文公之文．汪洋大肆．如長江大河．渾浩運轉．不見涯涘．使人愕然不敢睨視．歐陽公之文．如春風和氣．鼓舞動蕩．了無痕跡．使讀之亹亹不厭．凡此皆文章正也．[46]

Consequently, Jin writers who learned from Han Yu were often described to obtain the literary quality of being "valiant or heroic" (*xiong* 雄) disposition in their prose writing.[47] In sharp contrast, Dang Huaiying 党懷英 (1134-1211), the leader of Jin literati group one generation before Zhao Bingwen, was an earnest follower of Ouyang Xiu. He praised for the plainness in language, spontaneity and flow in texture, and elegance in manner concerning Ouyang's *guwen* prose, and Dang himself carried out the same fashion in his own composition of official writings. Zhao Bingwen thus generalized Dang's stylistic affinity to that of Ouyang Xiu in the following way:

> Literature centers on intents, and rhetoric is only to convey the intents… For more than a century of the bygone Song dynasty, only Lord Ouyang's literature does not conjure up piercingly novel and demandingly constrictive language, but entails the nonchalant and leisurely elegant manner. [His phrasings are] rich with no word left, while concise with no diction wanting. So that one who reads it feels at ease and never gets tired. This is probably not commitment to pursuing the extraordinary, but upholding where the natural force of circumstances cannot but be as it is.

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[46] Zhao Bingwen, "Zhongdafu Hanlin xueshi chengzhi Wenxian Dang gong shendaobei" 中大夫翰林學士承旨文獻党公神道碑.

[47] 《中州集》卷四劉中小傳：尤長於古文，典雅雄放，有韓柳氣象。
《歸潛志》卷一雷淵小傳：公博學有雄氣，為文章專法韓昌黎，尤長於敘事。
金・劉瀛《莊靖集序》：雄篇巨章，奔騰放逸，昌黎公之亞。又，元・史秉直《莊靖集序》：雄文傑句。

> Previous Hanlin Academician Recipient of Edicts, Lord Dang, has great talent supplemented by broad learning. His literary compositions are placid and clarified just like his temperament. During the Mingchang period (1190-1196), he led the alliance of his generation for his elevated writing of official documents. Before our lord passed the civil exam, he had already been well known by all under the Heaven for his literary writing; yet the lord said himself that it was only after entering Imperial Academies and Institutes and befriending other scholar-officials that he began to master the know-how of literary composition, and he regarded Lord Ouyang's literature as the proper norm. Indeed! Lord Dang's *wen* resembles Lord Ouyang's *wen*…
>
> 文以意為主，辭以達意而已。……亡宋百餘年間，惟歐陽公之文，不為尖新艱險之語，而有從容閑雅之態。豐而不餘一言，約而不失一辭。使人讀之者，亶亶不厭。蓋非務奇之爲尚，而其勢不得不然之爲尚也。
>
> 故翰林學士承旨党公，天資既高，輔以博學。文章沖粹，如其爲人。當明昌間，以高文大册，主盟一世。自公之未第時，已以文名天下；然公自謂入館閣後，接諸公遊，始知爲文法，以歐陽公之文爲得其正。信乎！公之文有似乎歐陽公之文也。……[48]

The polar opposites of literary styles between the natural and elegantly simple on the one hand, and the piercingly novel (*jianxin* 尖新) or extraordinary (*qi* 奇) on the other, are spotlighted in Zhao's statement. Though in this historical context Zhao was criticizing his Jin contemporaries, we can still trace back the roots of this novel style to Han Yu. Wang Ruoxu already pointed out this feature in prose writings by Han and his disciples: "To such an extent Tang writers were in favor of extraordinariness and made too much of rhetoric" 唐人之好奇而尚辭也.[49] Instead, Wang preferred Song writers Ouyang Xiu and Su Shi to be the "correct or orthodox" model to emulate.[50]

Another piece of circumstantial evidence of Wang favoring Song ancient-style prose over Tang precursors was the publicized tension between him and his nemesis Lei Yuan 雷淵 (1184-1231). As is mentioned in the previous chapter, Lei Yuan was a core member of Li Chunfu's

[48] Zhao Bingwen, "Zhuxi xiansheng wenji yin" 竹溪先生文集引; paraphrase also see Zhao, "Zhongdafu Hanlin xueshi chengzhi Wenxian Dang gong shendaobei."
[49] Wang Ruoxu, "Wen bian" 文辨.
[50] Yuan Haowen, "Neihan Wang gong mubiao" 内翰王公墓表：文以**歐蘇**為正脈。
Also see Wang Ruoxu, "Song Lü Pengju fushi xu"送呂鵬舉赴試序：故必探語孟之淵源，擷**歐蘇**之精英。

circle who propagated composing poetry in the style of "heroic eccentricity," and Han Yu without question was one of their primary exemplars. It is said that Lei "was polymathic with valiant spirit; his prose composition specialized in Han Changli's model and particularly excelled at narrative; his poetry merged styles of [Dong]po and [Shan]gu, and had a bent for the novel and extraordinary" 博學有雄氣，為文章專法韓昌黎，尤長於敘事；詩雜坡、谷，喜新奇.[51] Elsewhere "Lei's discussion of literary prose exalts the primitive and archaic, and entirely models on Tuizhi [i.e., Han Yu] in all respects; his poetry also has a liking of that of Han, along with the novelty and craftsmanship of Huang Luzhi's [i.e., Huang Tingjian] poetry" 雷則論文尚簡古，全法退之。詩亦喜韓，兼好黃魯直新巧.[52] The commonality between Han Yu's prose/poetry and Huang Tingjian's poetry was exactly the calculated novelty. And when it came to prose writing, Wang Ruoxu and Lei Yuan turned to be the sharp oppositions against each other:

> During the Zhengda period (1224-1232), Hanlin Academician Wang Congzhi [i.e., Wang Ruoxu] took charge of historiographical writing in the State History Office, and Hanlin Academician Lei Xiyan [i.e., Lei Yuan] was the Provisioner and concurrently junior compilers [of state history], so together they compiled the "Veritable Records of Emperor Xuanzong (r. 1213-24)." These two lords often had disputes because of their incompatible prose styles. Wang tended to record the actual events in a plain manner, while Lei favored the strikingly extraordinary, deliberately constructed dictions. Wang contended: "Veritable records only elaborate in literature the current affairs and holds in high value no distortion of the truth, which is different from official historiography." Lei retorted: "Literary writing without methods of versification is dispirited and listless, which is not worth reading." As a result, what Lei composed was often revised by Wang, and Lei felt aggrieved and complained to others: "Please show our distinct compositions to literary scholars all under Heaven, and let them tell right from wrong." Yet, Wang still distained [Lei's writing]. He once said: "Xiyan in his literary writing likes to apply pernicious and stiff words; can that be said as being extraordinary?" Lei also responded: "Congzhi holds very high arguments, and yet it is difficult to regulate *wenzhang* only with rules of writing classical essays in the civil exam."

[51] 《歸潛志》卷一
[52] 《歸潛志》卷八

正大中，王翰林從之在史院領史事，雷翰林希顏為應奉兼編修官，同修《宣宗實錄》。二公由文體不同，多紛爭，蓋王平日好平淡紀實，雷尚奇峭造語也。王則云:「實錄止文其當時事，貴不失真。若是作史，則又異也。」雷則云:「作文字無句法，委靡不振，不足觀。」故雷所作，王多改革，雷大憤不平，語人曰:「請將吾二人所作令天下文士定其是非。」王亦不屑，王嘗曰:「希顏作文好用惡硬字，何以為奇？」雷亦曰:「從之持論甚高，文章亦難止以經義科舉法繩之也。」[53]

It is interesting to see two Hanlin Academicians initiating a tit-for-tat dispute over the stylistic issue of historiographical composition. Here we see the underlying presence of Han Yu and even Huang Tingjian in key elements of "the strikingly extraordinary and deliberately constructed dictions," "methods of versification," and "pernicious and rigid words" intrinsic to Lei Yuan's literary practice. In sharp contrast, Wang's preference of "recording the actual events in a plain manner" reminds readers of Northern Song prose especially that of Ouyang Xiu.

On the whole, the Northern Song ancient-style prose outweighed Tang exemplars in the Jin literary world, epitomized by Ouyang Xiu and Su Shi abbreviated as Ou-Su 歐蘇. Be that as it may, we also find inspirational contentions in a seesaw manner over the relative superiority between these two Northern Song prose masters. Dang Huaiying and Zhao Bingwen were prone to stand by Ouyang Xiu, and the former even claimed that Ouyang Xiu was better than Su Shi because the latter's literature were sometimes too extraordinary.[54] As for Zhao, he designed an unusual categorization by grouping Han Yu and Ouyang Xiu into those who wrote "prose of great Confucians" 大儒之文, while identifying Su Shi as one whose prose belonged to that of "literary talents" 詞人之文.[55] Obviously, Ouyang Xiu (along with Han Yu) was superior to Su Shi according to Zhao's criteria in light of authorized Confucian values. But this point of view

[53] Ibid. Another anecdote about Wang's and Lei's confrontation and mutual attack over Huang Tingjian's poetry is recorded in 《歸潛志》卷九.
[54] 王若虛《滹南遺老集》卷三六「文辨」：文當以歐陽子為正，東坡雖出奇，非文之正。
[55] See Zhao Bingwen, "Da Li Tianying shu" 答李天英書.

was not without objection among Jin literati. Again, it is Wang Ruoxu who volunteered to be the whole-hearted proponent of Su Shi's prose writing. Comparisons between Ouyang Xiu's and Su Shi's prose were often made by his contemporaries: some contended that Ouyang's prose was "replete with gentle airs and short of heroic spirits" 和氣多英氣少, while vice versa in Su Shi's case; others (such as Dang Huaiying and Zhao Bingwen) treated Ouyang's prose as the "norm or proper" 正 while that of Su Shi as the "extraordinary" 奇. In response, Wang claimed time and again the superlative "perfection" of Su's prose in such discourse as "*wen* developed [to perfection] in the hands of Dongpo without leftover defects. Ouyang Xiu's prose was indeed marvelous, and yet how could he be equal to [Dong]po? [Dong]po ranked first and surpassed all of past and present, and I don't see the point of his excessing the norm or proper" 文至東坡，無復遺恨矣。歐文信妙，詎可及坡？坡冠絕古今，吾未見其過正也;[56] "[Wang Ruoxu] esteemed Dongpo alone across ten thousand ages as the first [man of letter]" 千古以來，惟推東坡為第一.[57] Ultimately, Wang Ruoxu's admiration of Su Shi reached the highest pitch when he saw his ideal poet as an all-round literary genius who were competent in myriad genres including but not limited to ancient-style prose:

> Dongpo's literary prose was endowed with myriad changes, while at the same time with one that binds them all together. His four-and-six-syllable prose is free from defects of witticism and parallelism; his short song lyrics don't have the fallacy of being exquisite and amorous with rouge and powder; his rhyme-prose after *Lyrics of Chu* roughly emulates the format, but does not take over the loom [to create a new pattern] to show artifice; his Chan discourse expediently reserves for talk and laugh, but does not seek to probe all of its complication. This is the reason why [Su Shi] alone was all-around in myriad genres with no bounds. Yet some people in this world would claim that [Su's] four-and-six-syllable prose was not as refined as that of Wang Zao (1079-1154), short song lyrics not as crafty as that of Shaoyou [i.e., Qin Guan], Chan discourse and rhyme-prose after *Lyrics of Chu* not as profound as those of Luzhi – do they really know Dongpo?

[56] Wang Ruoxu, "Wen bian."
[57] 《歸潛志》卷八

東坡之文，具萬變而一以貫之者也。為四六而無俳諧偶儷之弊；為小詞而無脂粉纖艷之失；楚辭則略依仿其步驟，而不以奪機杼為工；禪語則姑為談笑之資，而不以究葛藤為勝。此其所以獨兼眾作，莫可端倪。而世或謂四六不精於汪藻，小詞不工於少游，禪語、楚辭不深於魯直，豈知東坡也哉？[58]

By adopting Confucius' phrase "[My Way is like] one that binds them all together" （吾道）一以貫之,[59] Wang Ruoxu perhaps was indicating that Su Shi achieved the canonical status in the field of literary production through all ages. He was also conceived by Wang as an all-around talent in styles that were at once distinctive and fundamentally coherent, all bound up in this unique spirit. Accordingly, in the following section, I will reveal Su Shi the omnipotent cultural hero and his afterlife in Jin literati culture.

Su Shi: The Northern Song Cultural Hero in Jin Literary History

As a transnational iconic poet across East Asia since the Middle Period, Su Shi, the best-known Northern Song scholar-official and literary genius, set up a Sinitic model for literati culture whose profound impact has well persisted even to this day. In a similar vein, the presence of Su Shi cannot be overemphasized in the Jin literati culture. After Jurchen cavalry took over North China in 1127, Su Shi as the matchless poet and scholar-official outshone all the other Northern Song peers and became *the* cultural hero among the Jin literate class.

In this part, I deal with his enduring popularity and afterlife under Jurchen rule.[60] I first argue for the implicit political agenda of Jurchen Jin's advocacy of Su Shi in service of their

[58] Wang Ruoxu, "Wen bian," *juan* 3.
[59] *The Analects*.
[60] For previous scholarship that involves this issue, see Peter Bol, "Seeking Common Ground," and "Chao Ping-wen"; Hu Chuanzhi 胡傳志, "Jindai wenxue yu Su Shi" 金代文學與蘇軾, in his *Jindai wenxue yanjiu,* pp. 42–57; Fuller, "Elite literature of the Jin dynasty to 1214."

legitimacy for Song-Jin dynastic transfer. Then I turn to the literary reception of this poet within Jin literati community. The transmission of Su Shi's writing was achieved not only through printing and anthologization, but also via emulation and commemoration in the Jin literary production field. Finally, the construction of Su Shi as an ideal man of letters was promoted by a group of admirers on Jin soil, where celebrated literati were even honored as his reincarnations or avatars. I will not only analyze the discipleship and personation of Su Shi in Jin poetry, but also foreground another venue of this reincarnation process – the aesthetical site of colophon series attached to artwork related to Su Shi. Two examples of Jin literati calligraphy are given to showcase how Jin cultural elites practiced their self-assigned discipleship and even shared identity with their iconic poet, which I call the transformation from Su Shi's admirers to his avatars. Together, the "moving bodies" of this Northern Song cultural hero were brought to life in the northern cultural ecology through multiple artistic channels.

Political Rehabilitation of Su Shi during Song-Jin Transformative Period

The posthumous elevation of Su Shi's cultural status has been a well told story from the vantage point of his Southern Song countrymen. Though temporarily impeded by his political adversaries in the first quarter of the twelfth century, as we will discuss below, Su Shi's fame underwent surreptitious growth right after the poet's death in 1101. After the Song court lost North China and moved south in face of the Jurchen invasion, we see an ever more ardent commemoration and acclamation of this literary genius.[61] This narrative is deeply ingrained in the fundamental

[61] In terms of Su Shi's fluctuating impact throughout the Southern Song from the aspects of political discourse and Neo-Confucian scholarship, see Zhang Jian 張健, "Congsi peixiang zhi yi: Nan Song zhengzhi yu sixiang shiye xia de Su xue diwei" 從祀配享之議：南宋政治與思想視野下的蘇學地位, *Journal of Peking University (Philosophy and Social Sciences)* 北京大學學報（哲學社會科學版） 55.2 (2018): 112–27. For Su's Southern Song literary heritage, especially his heroic style of song lyric, see Shen Songqin 沈松勤, "Song shi nandu hou de 'chong Su re' yu cixue mingyun" 宋室南渡後的「崇蘇熱」與詞學命運, *Wenxue pinglun* 文學評論 2005.2: 15–25.

reverse of contemporary political climate, as Su Shi's image transformed from a political dissenter and banished criminal to an upright scholar-official who suffered from ill-treatment by his political enemies and hardship in exile.

Here it is necessary to look back on the late Northern Song politics and its impact on Su Shi's posthumous status in the early twelfth century before we turn to his afterlife under Jurchen rule. During Emperor Huizong's 宋徽宗 reign (1100–1125), the late Northern Song court was occupied by officials adhering to the so-called "New Faction" (xin dang 新黨) or reformists. The opponents against the "New Faction" group – these Song officials were correspondingly termed as the "Old Faction" or conversatives including Su Shi, who were in service during the Yuanyou period (1086–1094) – were otherwise demoted and banished. This exhausting struggles of partisanship that predominated the latter half of the Northern Song politics is later called "Factional Strife between New and Old Parties" (*Xin Jiu dangzheng* 新舊黨爭) by Song historians.[62]

Impossible to escape this whirlpool of factionalism, Su Shi became the you-know-who in political conflicts even after his death in 1101. Indeed, Su Shi's charisma and fame were so prominent that he became the major target of his political enemies. During Emperor Huizong's reign when the "New Party" policies held sway, the imperial edict rohibiting extant Su Shi's works was among the priorities of their cultural propaganda, as Su being one of the chief opponents belonging to the "Old Party." The policy included both destroying printing woodblocks of his collections and removing all stele inscriptions composed or written by him across the country, and they were carried out as early as in 1103 and 1104.[63] It is clear that rulers

[62] See more in Levine, *Divided by a Common Language*.
[63] For destroying printing woodblocks of Su Shi's collections, see 楊仲良《皇宋通鑑長編紀事本末》卷一二一：

in power at that time wanted Su Shi to be "invisible" in the public sphere. Ironically, the imposed ban of any writing by Su Shi in accordance with the Persecution of the Yuanyou partisans (*Yuanyou dang jin* 元祐黨禁) ran counter to its original intention, and instead it induced an exactly opposite effect that "the more severe the prohibition was, the more widely circulated [Su Shi's compositions were]" 禁愈嚴而其傳愈多.[64] A poem written by a thirteenth-century northern scholar entertained an exaggerated scenario that, with spoliation of the material existence of Su Shi's written works, oral memorization, recitation, and broadcast throve among the populace and in turn weathered the political purge:

禁絶蘇文碑盡磨	Writings of Su [Shi] were thoroughly proscribed, his steles all ground;
中原不使見東坡	Across the Central Plain, Dongpo['s traces] were no longer permitted to be seen.
牛童馬走能傳誦	Even cowherd boys and horse attendants could recite and transmit [his works],
若比燒時數更多	As if they proliferated even more than the number before they were burned out.[65]

Despite the mythology functioning here, we still have to acknowledge Su Shi's mass-based reputation that even permeated into popular culture.

（崇寧二年[1103]）四月丁巳，詔焚毀蘇軾《東坡集》並《後集》印板。……乙亥，詔三蘇、黃、張、晁、秦及馬涓文集、范祖禹《唐鑒》、范鎮《東齋記事》、劉攽《詩話》、僧文瑩《湘山野錄》等印板悉行焚毀。

It is also said in Southern Song miscellanies that all steles composed or written by Su Shi were to be demolished since 1103 or 1104. Besides, already in the later years of Emperor Zhezong's 哲宗 reign (1085–1100) when the "New Party" won the imperial favor, the emperor ordered to remove Su Shi's inscriptions on the Stele for the Shangqing Palace (*Shangqing gong bei* 上清宮碑) and appointed Cai Jing 蔡京 (1047–1126), a high official of the "New Party" well-known for his superb calligraphy, to recompose an inscription. It was a signal that the "New Party" ideology at that time was endowed with imperial authority. See Fu Shaolei 傅紹磊, "Han Yu *Ping Huaixi bei* gong'an xin tan" 韓愈《平淮西碑》公案新探, *Shilin* 史林 2013.6: 64–69.

[64] Zhu Bian 朱弁, *Qu Wei jiuwen* 曲洧舊聞, *juan* 8. The same entry is also transcribed in Zhu's remarks on poetry *Feng yue tang shihua* 風月堂詩話, *juan* 1, see Hu Chuanzhi 胡傳志, *Jindai shilun jicun jiaozhu* 金代詩論輯存校注, 2 vols (Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 2017), p. 36.

[65] Hao Jing 郝經, "Longde gugong huaigu yishisi shou" 龍德故宮懷古一十四首, no. 4.（《陵川集》卷一五）

Another amusing anecdote says that, while commercial publishers were afraid of punishment and destroyed all the editions of Su Shi's and Huang Tingjian's collections, one aristocratic household dared to print them in family editions, and set the rule of a dozen taels of gold in exchange for ten pieces of Su Shi's compositions, so that it literarily affirmed that "the more severe the prohibition was, the more treasured [Su Shi's compositions were]…. That *siwen* ["This Culture of Ours"] was thwarted by petty men was exactly the reason why *siwen* in turn prospered" 其禁愈急，其文愈貴也……是小人之厄斯文，乃所以昌斯文也.[66] In other words, political oppression only fostered Su Shi's reputation, as oral chanting, surreptitious covert reading, private printing, secret preservation, and surreptitious transmission of his works was testified here and there in contemporary records.

To make things ever more interesting, we can tell from Northern Song textual documentation that during the latter half of Emperor Huizong's reign, the prohibition of circulating Su Shi's works gradually loosened as the court turned a half-blind eye to unsanctioned conducts. To one's surprise, it is particularly ironic that the court even broke out the laws set by itself and became one of the great collectors of Su Shi's artwork, especially manuscripts of his calligraphy,[67] with the help of a eunuch who claimed himself as Su Shi's

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[66] 楊萬里《杉溪集後序》（《誠齋集》卷八三）：是時，書肆畏罪，坡、谷二書，皆毀其印。獨一貴戚家刻印印之，率黃金斤易坡文十，蓋其禁愈急，其文愈貴也。今家有此書，人習此學，有知當時斯文之難得如此者乎？是小人之厄斯文，乃所以昌斯文也。

[67] 李綱《跋東坡小草》：及崇、觀以來，雖陽斥而陰予之。

陳巖肖《庚溪詩話》卷上：

崇、觀間，蔡京、蔡卞等用事，拘以黨籍，禁其文辭墨跡而毀之。政和間，忽弛其禁，求軾墨跡甚銳，人莫知其由。或傳：徽宗皇帝寶籙宮醮筵，嘗親臨之。一日啓醮，其主醮道流拜章伏地，久之方起。上詰其故，答曰：「適至上帝所，值奎宿奏事，良久方畢，始能達其章故也。」上嘆訝之，問曰：「奎宿何神為之？所奏何事?」對曰：「所奏不可得知，然為此宿者，乃本朝之臣蘇軾也。」上大驚，不惟弛其禁，且欲玩其文辭墨跡，一時士大夫從風而靡。

何薳《春渚紀聞》卷六「東坡事實・翰墨之富」：

先生翰墨之妙，既經崇寧大觀焚毀之餘，人間所藏，蓋一二數也。至宣和間，內府復加搜訪，一紙定直萬錢，而梁師成以三百千取吾族人《英州石橋銘》。譚示真以五萬錢輟沈元弼「月林堂」榜名三字。至於幽

"abandoned son" (*chuzi* 出子).[68] Even those court officials belonging to the "New Party" such as Wang Anzhong 王安中 (1075-1134) and Cai Tao 蔡絛 (fl. early 12th c.) were found to have clandestinely learned and "smuggled" words from Su Shi into their literary pieces.[69] Though the imperial edict of officially banning Su's works was reaffirmed again in the last years of Huizong's reign,[70] the court actually failed to wipe out the presence of Su Shi backed with social vigor all around the country. The ban thus turned out to be perfunctory and only an attitudinal gesture to concord with political ideology.

Curiously enough, soon after Jin conquerors overturned the Northern Song polity and took control of the Central Plain in North China, they adopted the factional rhetoric and advocated instead the Yuanyou partisans, especially Su Shi, to justify their victory over Emperor Huizong and his Northern Song court officials as the triumph of good over evil:

> When [Jin armies] took over the Song dynasty, they blamed the latter for breach of the treaty, and justified their invasion in the name of "punishing the evil and consoling the people." Therefore, [Jin rulers] searched for illustrations and books, chariots and costumes; they praised and exalted righteous officials from the Yuanyou faction, while

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人釋子所藏寸紙，皆為利誘，盡歸諸貴近，及大卷軸輸積天上。丙午年，金人犯闕，輸運而往，疑南州無一字之餘也。

[68] See 《宋史》本傳，又見上何薳《春渚紀聞》卷六「東坡事實・翰墨之富」。
葉夢得《避暑錄話》卷上：（道士姚安世）坐事編置楚州，梁師成從求子瞻書帖，且薦其有術。
For a case study of Liang Shicheng's role of collecting, preserving, and promoting artwork related to Su Shi, see Lei Xue, "The Literati, the Eunuch, and a Memorial: The Nelson-Atkins's Red Cliff Handscroll Revisited," *Archives of Asian Art* 66.1 (2016): 25-49.

[69] See Li Zhenhui 李貞慧, "Su Shi shi zai Bei Song monian de liuchuan jiqi yiyi – yi Dongpo shizhu ji Song ren shihua wei zhongxin de kaocha" 蘇軾詩在北宋末年的流傳及其意義——以東坡詩註及宋人詩話為中心的考察, *Qinghua zhongwen xuebao* 清華中文學報 2007.1: 157-58.

[70] 陳均《九朝編年備要》卷二十九：中書省言，福建路印造蘇軾、司馬光文集，詔令毀板，今後舉人傳習元祐學術者，以違制論。明年，又申嚴之。
黃以周《續資治通鑑長編拾補》卷四七「宣和五年(1123)七月己未」條：《續宋編年資治通鑒》：（夏按：即李燾《續資治通鑑長編》，今宋徽宗、宋欽宗部分全闕。）詔毀蘇軾、司馬光文集板，已後舉人習元祐學術者，以違詔論。明年，又申禁之。（宣和六年(1124)申嚴前詔，冬又詔曰：「朕自初服廢元祐學術，比歲至復尊事蘇軾、黃庭堅，軾、庭堅獲罪宗廟，義不戴天，片紙隻字，並令焚毀勿存，違者以大不恭論。」）
《宋史》卷二二《徽宗紀》：（宣和六年(1124)）冬十月庚午，詔有收藏慣用蘇、黃之文者，並令焚毀，犯者以大不恭論。

apprehending Cai Jing (1047–1126), Tong Guan (1054–1126), Wang Fu (1079–1126) and those of the nefarious party. All these were done to comply with people's aspiration.

及取宋，責其背約，名為伐罪吊民，故徵索圖書、車服，褒崇元祐諸正人，取蔡京、童貫、王黼諸奸黨，皆以順百姓望。[71]

The grand narrative of *fa zui diao min* 伐罪弔民 or "punishing the evil and consoling the people" predominates the historiography of the fundamental victory on the Jin side, mirrored in the precious collection of archival documents in the early phase of Jin empire entitled *Da Jin diaofa lu* 大金弔伐錄 ("Records of the Great Jin's Consoling [the People] and Punishing [the Evildoers]"). Jin historians legitimized their war against the Song sing the latter's incompetence and misdeeds, and further put the blame squarely on Song officials at Huizong's court adhered to the "New Faction" or reformists. On the contrary, previous Song officials belonging to the "Old Faction" or Yuanyou conversatives including Su Shi were politically rehabilitated by Jin rulers once they overturned the Northern Song regime.[72] Under this circumstance, it is undeniable that promoting Su Shi was "politically correct" and favorable in the sense that "the enemy of my enemy is my friend." This political strategy adopted by Jurchens was also manifest when they took over the book collections stored and published by the Directorate of Education: It is said that they deliberately ordered individual collections, printed books, and handwritings by Su Shi and Huang Tingjian, while discarding everything labeled with Wang Anshi's name.[73]

In consequence, the undercurrent of Su Shi's popularity among his voluntary disciples during the last three decades of the Northern Song came to surface and kept uninterrupted all the

[71] GQZ, 12.135–36.

[72] For a comprehensive exposition on the ideological drive embedded in Song historiographical writing colored by the Northern Song political factionalism, see Hartman, *The Making of Song Dynasty History*, esp. Part II "Narrative."

[73] 《三朝北盟會編》卷七十三：
（靖康元年十二月）二十三日甲申金人索監書蔵經蘇黃文及古文書資治通鑑諸書金人指名取索書籍甚多又取蘇文墨蹟及古文書籍。
同卷：靖康元年十二月二十六日：金人入國子監取書、九王安石説棄之。

way through the early Jin dynasty in North China. Some representatives in particular contributed to shaping the consensus of Su Shi's unwavering cultural status in the North during this Song-Jin transformative period. Among them were the distained Song envoy Zhu Bian 朱弁 (1085-1144), as well as the Northern Song political dissident Ma Dingguo 馬定國 (fl. early 12th c.) and Shi Yisheng 施宜生. Zhu and Ma lined up with the Yuanyou partisans and remained subdued and banished in the last two decades of Northern Song. As a member of the ingroup of Su Shi's friend circle thanks to his intimate relationship with Chao Yuezhi 晁說之 (1059-1129), Zhu Bian offered a lot of "insider knowledge" shared by Su-Huang alliance in his miscellaneous writings *Old Jottings Heard at the Winding Wei Water* (*Qu Wei jiuwen* 曲洧舊聞) and *Remarks on Poetry in the Hall of Wind and Moon* (*Feng yue tang shihua* 風月堂詩話) when he was distained in the North, both of which were widely circulated in the Jin territory. Whereas the former miscellany records words and deeds concerning political disputes in the form of fictional dialogues, anecdotal chats or hearsay from the standpoint of the Yuanyou partisans, his *Remarks on Poetry* zooms in on poetic theory and practice modeled on Su-Huang literary ideal. And as a local dissident estranged from the central power, Zhu Bian witnessed Su Shi's persistent impact on the broader societal level that "during the Chongning (1102-6) and Daguan (1107-1110) periods, [Su Shi's] overseas poems [i.e., his poems written during his stay in Hainan island] prevailed… scholar-officials who failed to chant [Dong]po's poetry were well aware to be bereft of *qi*, and others might call their works inharmonious" 崇寧、大觀間，海外詩盛行……士大夫不能誦坡詩者，便自覺氣索，而人或謂之不韻.[74] According to Zhu Bian, Su Shi's literature in his last years – with the image of an unyielding exile in a remote island – was applauded right after his

[74] 朱弁《風月堂詩話》卷上，又見《曲洧舊聞》卷八

death in 1101 despite the official prohibition order. And indeed, extolment of Su Shi was bound up with literary virtuosity of poetry and rhapsody, which was part of the civil exam sponsored by Yuanyou partisans while abolished by the "New Party" in the last decades of the Northern Song.[75]

Ma Dingguo was an outlier in the late Northern Song for his outspoken criticism over the languid style of contemporary *wenzhang* 文章 which foretold the collapse of Huizong's political governance. The poem quoted below was remarkable because Ma composed and inscribed it on the wall of a wine house under Emperor Huizong's reign, so that its publicity was a serious offence to the current political-ideological authority:

蘇黃不作文章伯	Su and Huang did not take on the role of masters of *wenzhang*;
童蔡翻為社稷臣	Tong [Guan] and Cai [Jing] turned over to be statesmen instead.
三十年來無定論	For thirty years, no last word has been made –
到頭姦黨是何人	After all, who are the nefarious partisans?[76]

Later in reflection on the most recent past, Ma Dingguo made the same claim lamenting the absence of *wenzhang* during the late Northern Song because of the banishment of "Old Party" members: "This world lacked Su, Huang, and half a dozen of their followers; / Heaven severed *wenzhang* for three decades" 世無蘇黃六七子，天斷文章三十年.[77] "Three decades" in both poems refer to the period between 1090s and 1120s, when Emperor Zhezong and Emperor Huizong declared to follow the will of their father Emperor Shenzong 神宗 (r. 1067-85) in sustaining the "New Party" political guideline while oppressing political opponents like Su and Huang.

[75] 葛立方《韻語陽秋》卷五
[76] 馬定國《宣政末所作》其一
[77] 馬定國《四月十日遇周永昌》其二

In a similar vein, Shi Yisheng, who made the acquaintance of Su Shi's friend circle connected by Zhao Lingzhi 趙令畤 (d. 1134), regarded the death of this literary genius as the intrusion of the great Way or *dao* 道:

文星落處天應泣	Where the Literary Asterism fell, Heaven should have cried for;
此老已知吾道窮	This old man already knew that "my Way has come to an end."[78]

In the eyes of later generations like Ma Dingguo and Shi Yisheng, the rise and fall of *wenzhang* ("high literary culture") or even *dao* ("the Way") was determined by the fates of individuals such as Su Shi and Huang Tingjian, and further foreshadowed the destiny of the entire country.

To conclude, the promotion of Su Shi by the northern Jurchen rulers had its political intention in accordance with the historical narrative of criticizing incompetent and corrupt governance in the late Northern Song. The poet thereafter put on the image of an upright victim with great talent who represented the Divine Providence of *wenzhang*. And with this consensus shared by post-Northern Song generations, the *pro forma* ban of Su's writings was also lifted so that they could be produced and disseminated in public and without constraint. Thus came an age that witnessed the popularity of this cultural hero in the following century.

"The Study of Su Shi" in the North:

Reading, Writing, Printing, Compilation, Criticism and Anthologization

Though concrete material evidence about the existence and circulation of Su Shi's collections in the northern Jin dynasty is wanting, we can still deduce from the reading and writing practices of Jin literati the ubiquity of the "study of Su [Shi]" or "Su learning" (*Su xue* 蘇學). That "the study

[78] 施宜生《黃州吊東坡》（陳鵠《西塘集省舊續聞》卷六）; quoting 論語.

of Su Shi prevailed in North" 蘇學行於北 has become a widely known assertion nowadays first conceived by Ming-Qing scholars. Peter Bol singles out this keen statement from the Qing dynasty (1644-1912) scholar Weng Fanggang 翁方綱 (1733-1818).[79] During my research, I find that this intellectual discourse can be traced back three hundred years earlier to the late Ming period. It was in fact first conceived by fifteenth-century scholars who treated the northern culture as a foil for the "Neo-Confucianism" or *Daoxue* 道學 ("Learning of the Way") that flourished in the contemporary Southern Song. This axiom seems to have been first coined by Qiu Jun 丘濬 (1421-1495), a Neo-Confucian in the Ming dynasty (1368-1644), who argued that northern scholarship during the Jin dynasty was inferior and heterodox, since the lineage and legitimacy of *Dao* or the "Way" had transferred to the South along with the Song political regime.[80] There seems to be no coincidence that Qiu's groundbreaking assertion was brought up in the mid-Ming period, when the "north-south split" became pronounced. Intriguingly, Chang-woei Ong 王昌偉 personifies the North-South confrontation among mid-Ming literati as the duality between Li Mengyang 李夢陽 (1473–1530), a northern ancient-style writer, and Wang Yangming 王陽明 (1472–1529), a great Neo-Confucian philosopher and Li's friend from the Jiangnan region – coincidentally or not, we see this recurrent parallel of literary culture in the North and Neo-Confucianism in the South against the Ming intellectual milieu.[81]

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[79] See Peter Bol, "Seeking Common Ground," 467-69. Also see Susan Bush, "Literati Culture under the Chin (1122-1234)," *Oriental Art* 15 (1969): 106. This sentence comes from Weng Fanggang, *Shizhou shihua* 石洲詩話 (Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 1981), 5.153.

[80] Qiu Jun, *Daxue yanyi bu* 大學衍義補, ed. Jin Liangnian 金良年 and Zhu Weizheng 朱維錚 (Shanghai: Shanghai shudian chubanshe, 2012), p. 493.

[81] See more in Ong, *Li Mengyang, the North-South Divide, and Literati Learning in Ming China* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2016), esp. "Introduction" pp. 13–20, and chapter 1, "North and South: Li the Man and His World," pp. 27–69. Despite regional identities and disparities rooted in the Ming society, Ong stays alert to the trap of geographic determinism, and argues for the complexity of regional interactions and competitions showcased by Li Mengyang and his contemporaries. See Ong, "Li Mengyang de wenxue guannian zhong de diyu chayi" 李夢陽的文學觀念中的地域差異 (Regional Disparities in Li Mengyang's Literary Thought), *Zhengda*

Qiu Jun's discourse was soon appropriated by other men of letters at that time. But rather than taking up a condescending position as a southerner and disparaging the North in light of the tradition of Daoxue or Learning of the Way, some Ming literati advocated instead the cultural prominence of Su Shi in the northern Jin context. Another Ming contemporary Zhang Bi 張弼 (1425-87), for example, had a chance in 1483 to view Su Shi's famous scroll *Li Bai's* 李白 (701-62) *Poems of Transcendence* (*Li Bai xian shi juan* 李白仙詩卷, two "lost" pieces by Li Bai transcribed by Su Shi) attached with several Jin literati colophons, which means this piece of Su's calligraphy was once preserved and appreciated in the North. In the colophon Zhang wrote:

> At that time the learning of Cheng [Yi] prevailed in the South and the learning of Su [Shi] prevailed in the North; The reverence of Su in the Jin dynasty was equal to that of Confucius.
> 當時程學行於南，蘇學行於北。金之尊蘇，與孔子並。[82]

Zhang adopted word by word the discourse of North-South confrontation from Qiu Jun, but here he no longer prioritized moral philosophy over literary talent personified by Cheng Yi and Su Shi respectively. Rather, Zhang Bi put emphasis on the latter instead who was exalted among Jin literati to such an extent that he was on a par with Confucius – this was indeed the highest praise Su Shi could receive. In other words, he was more than a literary genius in the North but rather the "*kami* 神 of civilization in all its aspects."[83] It is thus most likely that the Qing scholar Weng

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zhongwen xuebao 政大中文學報 29 (2018): 29–50. My thanks to Yingtian He 何映天 for pointing out to me this thread of Ming scholarship.

[82] Zhang Bi, "Ba Dongpo shu Taibai yishi juan" 跋東坡書太白逸詩卷 (1483); quoted from Bian Yongyu 卞永譽, *Shi gu tang shuhua huikao* 式古堂書畫彙考 (*Siku quanshu* 四庫全書 ed.), 10.143b. Zhang Bi and Qiu Jun were also acquaintances, since their exchange poems can be found in the appendix of Zhang's individual collection; see Zhang Bi, *Zhang Donghai xiansheng ji* 張東海先生集 (1694 ed.), "fulu" 附錄. So in all likelihood this intellectual view of northern Jin and Southern Song cultural memes was communicated and shared within this Ming elite community.

[83] Yoshikawa Kōjirō 吉川幸次郎, "Shushigaku hokuden zenshi - Kinchō to Shushigaku" 朱子学北傳前史−金朝と朱子学, in *Tōyōgaku ronsō: Uno Tetsuto Sensei hakuju shukuga kinen* 東洋學論叢：宇野哲人先生白壽祝賀記念 (Tokyo: Uno Tetsuto Sensei Hakuju Shukuga Kinenkai, 1974), p. 1247; quoted from Peter Bol, "Han Literati under Jurchen Rule," 468.

Fanggang borrowed the astute expression "northern learning of Su Shi versus southern learning of Cheng Yi" from his Ming predecessors.

Around the same time, this rhetoric of North-South division between literary culture and moral Confucianism was recapitulated by Qing court officials of the late eighteenth century in the *Siku tiyao* 四庫提要 ("Essential Summaries of the Complete Collection of Four Treasuries"):

> After the Song crossed the river to the South, too many debates arose while too little was accomplished; *daoxue* [moral philosophy] prospered while *wenzhang* [literary culture] declined. The civil institution and documentation of the Central Plain were actually transmitted and converged into the Jin culture.
> 宋自南渡以後，議論多而事功少，道學盛而文章衰。中原文獻，實併入於金。[84]

The Qing officials were making a fundamental claim that it is the northern Jin dynasty (rather than the Southern Song) that was the *de facto* successor of the Northern Song and took over the latter's cultural legitimacy embodied in the "civil institution and documentation of the Central Plain."[85] In line with the superiority of literary culture (*wenzhang* and *wenxian*) over moral philosophy (*daoxue*) in the North, Bol thus argues for "a 'cultural' or 'literary' approach to the search for values drawn from Northern Song literati tradition" during the "intellectual revival of late Chin," which provided a "common ground" for promoting civil order in this alien regime.[86] And Su Shi was undoubtedly the pivotal source and mediation of "Northern Song literati tradition" inherited by the Jin dynasty.

Above I have investigated the archaeology of knowledge on the term *Su xue*, "Su learning" or "the study of Su Shi," in the North that first surfaced in the fifteenth-century

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[84] See the entry of "Yuding quan Jin shi" 御定全金詩 in *Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao* 四庫全書總目提要, ed. Yongrong 永瑢 and Ji Yun 紀昀 et al. (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1933), p. 4218.
[85] This discourse by Qing court officials was not free from their own biased political agenda to magnify the historical status of Jurchen people, who were the cultural and ethnical ancestors of Manchu rulers. On this issue, see Crossley, "*Manzhou Yuanliu Kao*."
[86] Bol, "Han Literati under Jurchen Rule," 461-538.

intellectual history and was later adopted and solidified by literary scholars during the eighteenth century. More important, I demonstrate that this rhetoric of North-South cultural dichotomy overturned its assessment from northern inferiority in terms of Confucianism, to cultural achievement in the North inspired by the luminary Su Shi. We now look into the attributes of Su learning in the North, which involved proliferous literary productions surrounding this cultural star, including activities like reading, writing, printing, compilation, criticism and anthologization.

Echoes in poetry that reflect the reading of Su Shi's literature are persistent and scattered in various Jin writers throughout the whole dynasty, leaving traces like literary images, metaphors and allusions borrowed from the great poet. This literary practice was first in vogue in the hands of those former Northern Song fellows who later defected to the Jurchen regime, such as Yuwen Xuzhong 宇文虛中 (1079-1146), Gao Shitan 高士談 (?-1146), Wu Ji 吳激 (1090?-1142) and Cai Songnian 蔡松年 (1107-1159), who later took office at the Jin court and became the cultural leaders among northern elites. Though they grew up during Emperor Huizong's reign and some of them could be more or less grouped into the "New Party," reading Su Shi became their cultural capital to illustrate both literary taste and expertise. For these early Jin people, the most ostensive practices of writing based on reading are the forms of rhyme-matching (*ciyun* 次韻) and poems centos (*jiju* 集句, lit. "collecting lines") after Su Shi's poetry.[87] In most cases, these Jin imitative works reiterate Su Shi's initial theme and remain a stylistic affinity, so that Jin poetic composition itself is both a creative activity and an exercise or practice modelled on the Northern Song poet. The technical artificiality can also be felt in these two poetic conducts.

[87] For the 次韻 case, see 蔡珪《雪擬坡公韻》、高士談《次韻東坡定州立春日詩》、朱之才《次韻東坡跋周昉所畫欠申美人》、劉迎《郭熙秋山平遠用東坡韻》、劉從益《和東坡守歲》《別歲》《餽歲》.
For the 集句 case, see 高士談《集東坡詩贈程大本》《曉起戲集東坡句》.

While the former is a re-composition in line with the same sequence of rhyme-words of the original, the latter is to pick out verses within the same rhyme group directedly from diverse pieces and contrive a poem by stitching a pastiche of these lines with coherent sense. So we can conjure up the scenario that a Jin poet makes composition while leafing through a set of Su Shi's collection at hand or even reciting the original by heart. Here writing and reading are two sides of the same coin, namely, the input and output of the engagement of "the study of Su Shi."

Besides literary drilling of rhyme-matching exercises sampled by Su Shi's works, we find other "fan writings" highly resonate with Su Shi's life experience, which means Jin poets in a sense shared the same identity of or even role-played Su Shi within their own historical circumstances. Both commonalities and incongruities can be found between Jin imitative pieces and the original works by the Northern Song poet. For example, Zhao Bingwen once composed in jest a set of poems called "After Dongpo's 'Three Pleasures of Exile Life'" (擬東坡謫居三適), where he replaced Su's "Getting up at Dawn, I Dress my Hair" 旦起理髮, "Beside the Window at Noon, I Nap while Sitting [in Meditation]" 午窗坐睡, and "Recumbent at Night, I Cleanse My Feet" 夜臥濯足, with his version of "Getting up at Dawn, I Swallow the [*yang* breath of] the Sun" 旦起嚥日, "Beside the Window at Noon, I Expose my Back [against the Sun]" 午窗曝背, and "Recumbent at Night, I Warm Myself on the [Heating] Brick Bed" 夜卧炕暖.[88] Yet interestingly, while Su Shi wrote this series during his late life in Hainan as an exile, Zhao himself was not demoted or lived in poverty when he wrote down this emulative set, and by contrast, Zhao in his old age was an established and esteemed Jin scholar-official at court. As a result, unlike Su Shi's pieces which expound on the ways of "nurturing life" (*yangsheng* 養生)

[88] 趙秉文《擬東坡謫居三適》（《滏水集》卷五）; imitating 蘇軾《謫居三適三首》.

in a deprived yet idle living condition, the theme of Zhao's literary imitation is how to take leisure and achieve inner peace by escaping the tiring official service for a moment, or in Zhao's own words, to find the "woodcutters' mountain located in the marketplace" 市中有樵山.[89] Therefore, although Zhao's original intention is to pay respect to and show discipleship of Su Shi, an uneasy, ironic undertone is sensed when we take into consideration their respective writing situations.

Another more striking case is on the theme "Relocation" ("Yiju" 移居) experimented by Yuan Haowen.[90] This set of eight poems are modeled on Su Shi's famous series "Eight Poems on East Slope" ("Dongpo bashou" 東坡八首).[91] The Northern Song poet got a chance to build his house "Snow Hall" (Xuetang 雪堂) along the East Slope in Huangzhou 黃州 where he was exiled, so that he relocated his family and recorded in his poetry an entire year of labor and hardship in works of the construction, renovation, growing and tending of his home and garden. In these poems, Su took on the role of a common farmer like his predecessor Tao Yuanming 陶淵明, and expressed his determined contentment and anticipation to live out the rest of his life in this politically marginal and desolate place. Yuan Haowen's story, however, was an ever more impressive and miserable one – it is the "relocation" of all Jin dynasty "remnant subjects" after the Mongol cavalry defeated the Jurchen imperial armies and took over the capital of Kaifeng in 1232. Yuan himself was no exception, he was forced to leave the capital and detained in Liaocheng 聊城, Shandong province under supervision since 1234. At first, he had to temporarily lodge in a Buddhist temple there, and then rent a house of commoners. In the next

[89] 趙秉文《擬東坡謫居三適・午窗曝背》
[90] Yuan Haowen, "Xue Dongpo yiju ba shou" 學東坡移居八首.
[91] See Su Shi, 《東坡八首》. Another possibility of Yuan's model is 蘇軾《和陶移居二首》.

year 1235, he eventually settled down in the Guanshi 冠氏 county, Shandong, and built a house of his own, and it is at that time when his "Eight Poems after Dongpo's 'Relocation'" (學東坡移居八首) was composed.[92] The long trudge and severe impoverishment could be figured out between the lines of Yuan's poems, and the poet in response pronounced his resolve that "I fight with poverty like fighting with bandits; / I have much confidence in myself and am rather conscientious" 敵貧如敵寇，自信頗亦慤.[93] Yuan Haowen must have found sympathy with and consolation in Su's poems, which convey joy and tranquility in face of the dreadful lot, and it is especially so because Yuan was in his forties when he went through his "relocation," which was at exactly the same age as Su Shi when the Northern Song poet decided to dwell on the East Slope and designated this toponym as his appellation to become a semi-hermit. And as opposed to Zhao's case, poverty is the leitmotif in both Su's original and Yuan's imitation. Below is the penultimate piece of Yuan's series, where the Jin poet made explicit his discipleship of Su Shi:

東坡謫黃州	When Dongpo was exiled to Huangzhou,
符藥行江湖	With his talismans and medicine [to be sold], he traveled amidst rivers and lakes.
荒田拾瓦礫	In barren fields he picked up rubbles and debris.
賤役分僮奴	Debased labor was distributed between himself and serving-lads.
我讀移居篇	As I read [Su Shi's] poems about his relocation [to the East Slope],
感極為悲歔	I am extremely touched and sigh with lament.
九原如可作	If from the Nine Origins [i.e., the Underworld] [Su Shi] could be arisen,
從公把犁鋤	I am willing to accompany our lord to hold the plow and hoe.
我貧公亦貧	I am impoverished, so was our lord;
賦分無賢愚	Bestowed lot [of being poor] does not distinguish between the worthy and the foolish.
論人雖甚愧	Regarding character, I am ashamed [in face of Su Shi],
詩亦豈不如	Yet how could my poetry also be inferior?[94]

[92] Yuan Haowen, "Xue Dongpo yiju ba shou," no. 4, 5.
[93] Ibid., no. 4.
[94] Ibid., no. 7.

But unlike Su Shi who presented himself as the carefree and freestanding spirit, Yuan Haowen as one of the few surviving eyewitnesses of the downfall of his country undertook a providential mission that history assigned to him alone: the rest of his life was dedicated to commemoration of the deceased worthy in the bygone Jin dynasty. Therefore, while Su Shi named his property land as East Slope and unveiled in his husbandry the eternal cyclicality of the four seasons in his idyllic verses, Yuan Haowen instead designated a Pavilion of Unofficial History (Yeshi ting 野史亭) to proclaim his career of recording and preserving Jin history that would otherwise soon fall into oblivion.[95] Thus we see a poor old man kept holding fast his brush despite his displaced and disgraced living condition:

國史經喪亂	The dynasty's records passed through disorders;
天幸有所歸	Through heavenly fortune they reverted where they belong.
但恨後十年	One only fears that ten years hence,
時事無人知	No one will know the period's events.[96]
……	……
濕薪煙滿眼	Out of damp firewood the smoke is filling my eyes,
破硯冰生髭	In the fissured ink-slab the ice forms [the shape of] beard.
造物留此筆	The Fashioner of (All) Things leaves this brush [of mine in this world].
吾貧復何辭	Albeit impoverished, how can I decline [this vocation]? (*ll.* 1-4, 27-30)[97]

Incidentally, it seems that the "Relocation" motif inspired by Su Shi's literary experiments to adapt Tao Yuanming's prototype was recurrently adapted among late Jin "remnant subjects" within a limited circle, as we know from Yuan's preface to the now lost poetry collection of a Zhang Cheng 張澄 that this poet also had his own version of "Eight Poems of Relocation after

[95] Ibid., no. 8.
[96] The English translation of these opening four lines of this poem is adopted from Wixted, *Poems on Poetry*, p. 319.
[97] Ibid., no. 6.

Dongpo” 移居學東坡八首.[98] Through these poems illustrated above, we can see the metamorphosis of Su Shi’s poetry appropriated into the Jin “fan writing” that reflected the latter’s own historical epoch. Reading and imitating in content and style did not suffice here, as involvement of empathic life experience was also deeply felt.

Besides prevalent utilizations of the “study of Su Shi” or “Su learning” in the field of poetic composition, which falls into the category of the derivative “fan writing,” materialized production like printing, criticism, annotation, and anthologization of his works also flourished with wide publicity and popularity in the North. Among the few extant Jin print editions, there was a *Poetry Collection by Master Dongpo with Collected Commentaries in Separate Categories* (*Jizhu fenlei Dongpo xiansheng shi* 集注分類東坡先生詩) attributed to a Southern Song principal *jinshi* graduate Wang Shipeng 王十朋 (1112-1171).[99] We know that this book was one of the “best-sellers” welcomed by Southern Song men of letters, as the formats of “collected commentaries” and “separate categories” were conducive to both close reading and emulative composition on assigned occasions, which to some extent served as a reference book for literary novices. Its recarved “pirate edition” in the North thus proved both potential traffic and access to contemporary books of Southern Song, as well as the same vogue of Su learning received across the river. That said, printing Su Shi’s works was not only a matter of passive importation, but also an initiative actively carried out by Jin cultural institution. An interesting conversation between Yelü Lü 耶律履 (1131-1191), a well-educated Khitan aristocrat, and Emperor Shizong 世宗 (r. 1161-89) was recorded in Yelü’s brief mini-biography attached in *Zhongzhou ji*, whose topic is about capable officials in the previous Northern Song dynasty. When Yelü nominated Su

[98] Yuan Haowen, “Zhang Zhongjing shiji xu” 張仲經詩集序.
[99] Cataloged in 《中國古籍善本書目·集部別集類》著錄「金刻本」，存卷一五第十五至二十共六頁。

Shi, Emperor Shizong who was known as a spartan ruler doubted Yelü's proposal and disproved that Su was no more than a dashing poseur of exceptional talent but lacking proper demeanor (*fei li zhi shen* 非禮之甚). Yelü's response to this view was to discern second-hand anecdotes and hearsay about Su Shi (*xiaoshuo chuanwen* 小說傳聞) on the one hand, and Su's own "words as a worthy minister" (*xianchen zhi yan* 賢臣之言) on the other. In addition to Su's stereotypical identity as simply a literary author in those most widespread anecdotes, Yelü pointed out his political capacity for governance (*jingji zhi liangcai* 經濟之良才) as an upright Song scholar-official. Thus, the carefreeness and seriousness of Su Shi as a character reflected in his works are disclosed through diverse channels of literature, and Yelü Lü put emphasis on moral and political significance in certain genres. This led to an official publication of Su Shi's memorials and argumentative discussions under the supervision of Directorate of Education (*guozijian* 國子監).[100] Eventually, during Emperor Zhangzong's 章宗 reign (1189-1208) when the Jurchen rulers and aristocrats were more open to Sinitic culture and enchanted by its literary appeal, Su Shi's individual collection along with other Tang-Song literary canons were presented to the court by Hanlin Academy.[101] And it is obvious that multiple print editions of Su Shi's literary collections were in circulation in twelfth- to thirteenth-century North China.

Meanwhile, literary criticism that specialized in Su Shi's works also emerged. The now lost *Remarks on Poetry in Little Snow Hall* (*Xiao Xuetang shihua* 小雪堂詩話) by a person named Wen Shang 文商 (fl. late 12th c.) was referred to by late Jin writers such as Wang Ruoxu and Yuan Haowen. The admiration of Su Shi was explicit in its title "Little Snow Hall," as Su Shi

[100] 《中州集》卷九「耶律履」小傳

[101] 《金史·章宗本紀》：學士院新進唐杜甫、韓愈、劉禹錫、杜牧、賈島、王建，宋王禹偁、歐陽修、王安石、蘇軾、張耒、秦觀等集二十六部。

built Snow Hall during his exile in Huangzhou and made this architecture as a recurring literary allusion in his works. Judging from relevant quotations from this book, scholars have reached a plausible conclusion that it is a work of literary criticism only about Su Shi.[102] Though its entire content remains unknown, the book seems to adopt an attitude of uncritical acceptance towards Su Shi's works, or in other words, it is produced out of adoration of a fan than rigorous criticism by a scholar, as Wang Ruoxu remarks:

> Previous people considered Du Yu, Yan Shigu as loyal officials of [Zuo] Qiuming and [Ban] Mengjian;[103] In recent years, Zhao Yaoqing [i.e., Zhao Kui 趙夔][104] and Wen Boqi [i.e., Wen Shang] also appointed themselves as loyal officials of Dongpo. In my opinion, when an official serves his lord, he should extol merits and correct faults of the latter – this is called loyalty. With regard to what the four scholars above have illustrated and complemented, they are indeed commendable, but as for the deficiency [of their lords], they often cover the mistakes and make tendentious excuses – they probably cannot get away from [the so-called] "loyalty of courtesans and wives."
>
> 前人以杜預、顏師古為丘明、孟堅忠臣，近世趙堯卿、文伯起之於東坡，亦以此自任。予謂臣之事主，美則歸之，過則正之，所以為忠。觀四子之所發明補益，信有功矣，然至其失處，亦往往護諱，而曲為之說，恐未免妾婦之忠也。[105]

Rather than showing scholarly integrity like a "loyal official," Wen Shang is criticized here for covering up and misconstruing Su's deficiency, which only wins him the name of affectionate, "womanish loyalty."

Another notable feature of this book is that according to related research, this "remarks on poetry" or *shihua* actually has a lot to do with Su Shi's song lyrics (*ci* 詞), which may constitute the majority of its content.[106] Indeed, there seems to have been a fervor of Su Shi's

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[102] Zhang Bowei 張伯偉, "Jindai shifeng yu Wang Ruoxu shilun" 金代詩風與王若虛詩論, *Gudai wenxue lilun yanjiu* 古代文學理論研究, Vol. 12 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1987), p. 217.
[103] 杜預《春秋經傳集解》、班固《漢書》顏師古注
[104] Zhao Kui left a preface of 百家註卷首（《集注分類東坡先生詩》？）. Wang Ruoxu's mention of Zhao Kui further testified the circulation of this annotated poetry collection of Su Shi in the North.
[105] Wang Ruoxu, "Zhushu bianhuo" 著述辨惑, *Hunan yilao ji* 滹南遺老集, 4 vols (*Congshu jicheng chubian* 叢書集成初編 edition, Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1985), 31.193.
[106] See Hu Chuanzhi, "Preface," in *Jindai shilun jicun jiaozhu*, pp. 8-10.

song lyrics among Jin literati. The most zealous case is no doubt the masterpiece "Mediating on the Past in the Red Cliff" (*Chibi huaigu* 赤壁懷古) to the tune "Recalling Her Charms" (*Nian nu jiao* 念奴嬌), and Yuan Haowen even crowned it as "the best song lyric ever" (*yuefu juechang* 樂府絕唱).[107] A *jinshi* graduate named Wei Wenzhong 衛文仲 (fl. 1200s) once chanted this song lyric as his "swan song" before he passed away in his seventies:

> Approaching his death, [Wei Wenzhong] took a bath, changed his clothes, and bid farewell to his family. In cheerful spirits, he sat in repose, recited Dongpo's song lyric on the Red Cliff, and then sang the last two verses starting from "the human realm resembles a dream" – once the song concluded, he passed away.
> 臨終沐浴，易衣冠，與家人訣。怡然安坐，誦東坡赤壁樂府，又歌「人間如夢」以下二句，歌闋而逝。[108]

We can feel the weight of this song for some admirers, as the lyrics had internalized into the singer's personal life. This specific musical tune also seems to have come down to Jin contemporaries, so that this song was ready to be re-enacted from textual transcripts into musical performance in oral forms of reciting (*song* 誦) or singing (*ge* 歌).

Recitation or chanting is not the only way of appropriation. A more advanced form is to compose a "cover song" after Su Shi's original piece. Su Shi's songs seemed to be so familiar to the listeners that they entitled their compositions with the first line of Su Shi's original in place of the formulaic name of tune. As a result, "The Great Rivers Flow Eastwards" (*Da jiang dong qu* 大江東去) represents "The Charms of Niannu,"[109] and "Crescent Moon Hangs up Sparse

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[107] Yuan Haowen, "Ti Xianxian shu 'Chibi fu' hou" 題閑閑書赤壁賦後; *Yuan Haowen quanji*, 40.718.
[108] This anecdote is recorded in the brief biography of his son Wei Chengqing 衛承慶 (fl. 13th c.), *Zhongzhou ji jiaozhu*, 7.1954.
[109] Xiaofei Tian mentions this interesting literary phenomenon in her book, *The Halberd at Red Cliff: Jian'an and the Three Kingdoms* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2015), p. 316.
From extant Jin literary sources, we know that prominent Jin poets like Cai Songnian 蔡松年 (1107-59), Wang Ji 王寂 (1128-94), Wang Tingyun 王庭筠 (1151?-1202), and Zhao Bingwen among others all left song lyrics with the tune entitled "Eastward Goes the Great River."

Paulownia" (*Que yue gua shu tong* 缺月挂疏桐) stands for the tune "The Fortune-Teller" (*Bu suan zi* 卜算子).[110] This also serves as the circumstantial evidence of the wide and favorable reception of Su Shi's song lyrics in the North, as certain musical tunes immediately call forth his name and works. The aforementioned Cai Songnian was well-known for his song lyrics in the style of heroic abandon after Su Shi, and just like his Northern Song paragon, Cai in his compositions always expressed in the first-person lyrical voice "I" to convey his broad mind and free spirit tailored into these short songs. What's more, Cai and Zhao Bingwen even left pieces that matched exact rhymes after Su Shi's original, plus another rhyme-matching "Niannu jiao" by Yuan Haowen.[111] As we will see below, the rhyme-matching practice in the field of song lyrics served as a manifesto of some Jin poets to transform into "kindred spirits" or even "avatars" of Su Shi.

As Su Shi's song lyrics prevailed along with his poetry in the North, the compilation and annotation work followed suit. Annotation of Su Shi's song lyrics was not an invention by Jin scholars but already gained momentum in the Southern Song.[112] Besides two other works done by southerners, a Jin man of letters named Sun Zhen 孫鎮 (*jinshi* 1197) was said to have collected and annotated Su Shi's song lyrics so as to create a complete version (*wanben* 完本)

See "Da jiang dong qu" by Cai Songnian, Wang Ji, Wang Tingyun, Zhao Bingwen, Gao Yong 高永 (1187-1232), Duan Keji 段克己 (1196-1254), Duan Chengji 段成己 (1199-1279), and Liu Zhiyuan 劉志淵 (fl. 13th c.); *Quan Jin Yuan ci*, pp. 9-10, 36-37, 43, 47, 71, 138, 148-49, 573-74. It is noteworthy that Cai Songnian's song lyrics are entitled "Da jiang dong qu" in *Zhongzhou yuefu* 中州樂府 compiled by Yuan Haowen, while they are still called "Niannu jiao" in *Quan Jin Yuan ci* quoted from Cai's individual collection *Mingxiu ji* 明秀集. Thus, the editorial preference of tune titles should also be taken into consideration.

[110] 趙秉文《缺月挂疎桐・擬東坡作》

[111] See *Quan Jin Yuan ci,* pp. 9-10, 47, 81. Moreover, Cai's peculiar rhyme-matching practice on this piece was welcomed by his friends in the Jin capital, and they even followed Cai and composed another six rhyme-matching *ci* after Su Shi's Red Cliff original, though these pieces were not preserved to this day. See the preface to Cai's song lyric, *Quan Jin Yuan ci,* p. 10.

[112] See Li Guiqin 李桂芹, "Song Jin ren zhu Song Jin ci tanlun" 宋金人注宋金詞探論, *Guangxi minzu daxue xuebao* 廣西民族大學學報 37.3 (2015): 141-7.

through the process of emending corrupt texts and removing forgeries. We are not sure if Sun consulted those Southern Song annotations, but he had access to Wen Shang's *Remarks on Poetry in Little Snow Hall* and took into consideration Wen's literary appraisal at times.[113]

The next step after a complete collection is to undertake a reverse organizational principle and make anthologies by selection and abridgement. Yuan Haowen thus selected 75 pieces of Su's song lyrics out of Sun's work and named his anthology *Selected Works of Dongpo's Song Lyrics* (*Dongpo yuefu ji xuan* 東坡樂府集選). We already discussed about *Poetry of Elegance by Dongpo* (*Dongpo shi ya* 東坡詩雅) in the previous chapter with the self-definition as the "choicest" or most "refined" corpus of Su Shi's selected poetry, and the *ci* anthology shares the same logic as the former. Indeed, Yuan Haowen, the best Jin writer of song lyrics, speaks highly of Su Shi's inventive contribution to this genre and strives to be on a par with this great predecessor. He regards Su Shi as the ultimate lyricist *hors concours* who reached the perfection from the perspective of historical development of this literary genre:

> Tang lyrics in most cases are in palace style and composed with utmost effort. Once Dongpo gave it a try, I know nothing about [artificial] composition but natural affections, bearing the outlook of "wiping aside once and for all, common horses of all time"[114]…. The sagehood of Dongpo is that "it is not intending to write that is considered skillful but rather being unable to not write"….[115]
>
> 唐歌詞多宮體，又皆極力為之。自東坡一出，情性之外，不知有文字，真有「一洗萬古凡馬空」氣象。……東坡聖處，非有意於文字之為工，不得不然之為工也。……[116]

[113] 《中州集》卷七「孫省元鎮」小傳
元好問《東坡樂府集選引》：絳人孫安常注坡詞，參以汝南文伯起《小雪堂詩話》，刪去他人所作「無愁可解」之類五十六首，其所是正亦無慮數十百處，坡詞遂為完本，不可謂無功。

[114] Allusion from 杜甫《丹青引（贈曹將軍霸）》

[115] Also see Zhao Bingwen, "Zhongdafu Hanlin xueshi chengzhi Wenxian Dang gong shendaobei":
文章非能為之為工．乃不能不為之為工也．非要之必奇．要之不得不然之為奇也．譬如山水之狀．煙雲之姿．風鼓石激．然後千變萬化．不可端倪．此先生之文與先生之詩也．

[116] Yuan Haowen, "Xinxuan yuefu yin" 新軒樂府引.

…. Song poetry in general cannot match up to Tang poetry, but as for song lyrics, Song surpasses Tang…. Since Music Bureau songs, Dongpo ranked first, after him only Xin Jiaxuan [i.e., Xin Qiji 辛棄疾 (1140-1207)] counted.

……宋人詩大概不及唐，而樂府歌詞過之……樂府以來，東坡為第一，以後便到辛稼軒……[117]

But still Su Shi's achievements do not excuse himself from the flaws. It is noteworthy that Yuan Haowen's anthologization is accompanied with distinction of "forgeries" through the evaluative mechanism of "culling" (*shan* 刪). Though Sun Zhen already removed some obvious fake pieces attributed to Su Shi, Yuan further narrowed down the scope according to his criteria: some of the pieces "greatly harm propriety and principle" 極害義理, some "belong to petty and groundless tales" 小說家言, some "are blinded by passion for the extraordinary and strange" 好奇尚異之蔽, and others entail shallow and vulgar versification or self-assured hubris that do not accord with a better Su Shi – rather than bibliographical or philological fallacy, they are all removed based on subjective value judgment.[118] We can see that Yuan established his principles for anthologization by setting up negative standards that deviate from the proper decorum, and this purgative process of language is realized by the minimalist practice of "culling."

Besides selections of Su Shi's song lyric, Yuan Haowen made another compilation titled *Poetry of Elegance by Dongpo* (*Dongpo shi ya* 東坡詩雅) as the "choicest" or most "refined" corpus of selected poetry of Su Shi, which shares the same logic as the former. Indeed, Su Shi, the Northern Song iconic poet for Jin literati, did not escape criticism. We still remember Dang Huaiying's evaluation of Ouyang Xiu's superiority over Su Shi in the prose genre exactly because of the latter's transgressive "extraordinariness."[119] Again, Yuan Haowen, the latecomer

[117] Yuan Haowen, "Yishan ziti yuefu yin" 遺山自題樂府引.
[118] See Yuan, "Dongpo yuefu ji xuan yin" 東坡樂府集選引.
[119] Wang Ruoxu, "Wen bian" 文辨, in *Hunan yilao ji jiaozhu*, 36.413: 趙周臣云：「党世傑嘗言：『文當以歐陽子為正。東坡雖出奇，非文之正。』」

and adherent of Mingchang poets and Zhao Bingwen, inherited the spirit of *ya* and expressed his regret for Su Shi's deviation from the proper way:

曲學虛荒小說欺	Heretic learning is unfounded and absurd, petty talk deceitful;
俳諧怒罵豈詩宜	Mockery and invective – how could they be suited for poetry?
今人合笑古人拙	People today might as well laugh at ancients' clumsiness –
除卻雅言都不知	Except for "proper language," they knew nothing![120]

As John Timothy Wixted has explicated clearly, critics often assign Su Shi to this quatrain as the unsaid antagonist of this unfavorable poetic scenario, based on the second line in particular since Su Shi is often criticized to have introduced "writing with tongue in cheek" (*xixue* 戲謔), "hilarity and quarrelsomeness" (*xixiao numa* 嬉笑怒罵), "penchant for reproach" (*hao ma* 好罵) into poetry by his Song fellows. But Wixted also argues that the first line is definitely too much if Su Shi is supposed to be the object of criticism, and instead of targeting Su Shi alone, Yuan Haowen actually referred to a more generalized quality that held sway among his own contemporaries.[121] Yuan criticized an alarming literary fashion as one in which poets created eye-catching and unprecedented pieces to such an extent that they took poetry into inappropriate realms of "heretic learning" and "petty talk" and imbued it with excessive feeling – though it is acknowledged that Su Shi probably played a role in instigating this trend.

It goes without saying that *ya yan* 雅言 or "proper language" is the hallmark of what Yuan Haowen considered ideal poetry, echoing Zhao Bingwen and Mingchang poets' poetic agenda of "elegant simplicity" discussed in chapter 4. For sure, there seems to be a misleading force embedded in Su Shi's poetry that pulls him back from carrying out those "proper

[120] Yuan Haowen, "Lun shi sanshi shou" 論詩絕句三十首, no. 23; YHWQJ, 11.231. I consulted the translation from Wixted, *Poems on Poetry*, p. 177. *Yayan* 雅言 or "proper language" has its *locus classicus* in the *Analects* 7.18: 子所雅言，詩、書、執禮，皆雅言也.
[121] See Wixted, *Poems on Poetry*, pp. 179–81.

language," and it is plausible to ascribe this imperfection to his propensity for novelty and eccentricity. Yuan Haowen in another piece of "Poems on Poetry" claims that "If Su Shi's circle did have loyal disciples; / ① Would they let go unchecked a plethora of novelties in [Dong]po's poetry? / ② Would they imitate [Dong]po's poetry with a plethora of novelties?" 蘇門果有忠臣在，肯放坡詩百態新.[122]

Some of Su Shi's stray expressions definitely bothered the Jin poet, and interestingly, the young Yuan Haowen found a solution to reinforce Su Shi's role as an exemplary model among poets while warding off those unfavorable elements. Yuan launched an anthologizing project to convey his poetic ideals, this time on Su Shi's collection, and named it *Poetry of Elegance by Dongpo* (*Dongpo shi ya* 東坡詩雅). Though this anthology does not survive today, we can tell from the title that Yuan seems to have "purged" Su Shi's pieces of those he thought were not qualified with the standard of *ya*. Fortunately, Yuan's preface to this work is preserved in his individual collection, in which he erects the dichotomy of "hybrid or mixed style" (*zati* 雜體) versus "elegant classic" (*fengya* 風雅) in poetry, whose content corresponds to the poem quoted above, with the former entailing distractive, nonessential stuff and the latter of pure, unblemished, and archaistic property. Following this line of logic, Yuan Haowen nominates several pioneers including Tao Yuanming and Liu Zongyuan 柳宗元 (773-819) who represent the poetry of *fengya*, and then turns to Su Shi:

> Yet critics still find it regrettable that Su, while being able to come close to Tao and Liu, could not help being affected by the custom and vogue of his own era. If there is pity that even Zizhan's [i.e., Su Shi] poetry fails to approximate that of the ancients, latecomers will have no hope [to revive *fengya*]. Thus I make a list of *The Poetry of Elegance by Dongpo*.

[122] Yuan, "Lun shi sanshi shou," no. 26; YHWQJ, 11.231.

然評者尚以其能似陶、柳而不能不為風俗所移為可恨耳！夫詩至於子瞻，而且有不能近古之恨，後人無所望矣。乃作《東坡詩雅》目錄一篇。[123]

It is thus crystal clear that in Yuan's eyes, the value of Antiquity (*gu* 古) is bestowed on Yuan's *ya* or *fengya* against the contemporary "custom and vogue" (*fengsu* 風俗) such as "mixed style" or *zati* – in effect, Su Shi's extensive learning often manifest as heterogeneous in his poetic style, one of the pitfalls of his exceptional talent. The "expurgated version" of Su Shi's poetry thus standed for Yuan Haowen's poetic ideal for *ya* or the re-enactment of Antiquity. Still, it should also be noted that, judged from the last sentence, this anthology was rather preliminary and probably written in manuscripts consisting a range of Su Shi's poems; it might be Yuan Haowen's private "primer" for learning poetry, or circulated and used pedagogically within his family and friends. In any case, unlike Zhao Bingwen's anthology for those Mingchang poets, it is unlikely that *The Poetry of Elegance by Dongpo* had ever been printed out for public dissemination.

Last but not least, the trendiness of Su learning was double witnessed in both North and South, thanks to the flourishing print industry and exchange markets on both sides. Reading and emulating Su Shi's works for Southern Song elite gentries also had a utilitarian merit as advanced reading materials to prepare for civil service exams.[124] It is said that during the heyday of Su Shi's reputation in the South, "everyone transmitted the learning of Yuanyou [Partisans], and every household stored books of Meishan [i.e., Su Shi]" 人傳元祐之學，家有眉山之書.[125] There was even jesting folk ditties widely circulated in the Southern Song chanting, "one

[123] Yuan Haowen, "Dongpo shi ya yin" 東坡詩雅引; YHWQJ, 36.642. Also see Wixted, *Poems on Poetry*, p. 173.
[124] For this issue, see more in Peter K. Bol, "Reading Su Shi in Southern Song Wuzhou," *The East Asian Library Journal* 8.2 (1998): 69-102; Hilde De Weerdt, *Competition over Content: Negotiating Standards for the Civil Service Examinations in Imperial China (1127-1279)* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2007).
[125] 羅大經《鶴林玉露》

conversant with Su's writing is able to eat lamb; one inept at Su's writing can only eat vegetable broth" 蘇文熟，吃羊肉；蘇文生，吃菜羹.[126] Besides borrowing and reprinting and emulation, the "study of Su Shi" developed into a field of competition through annotation and anthologization in both commercial markets and North-South cultural confrontation. Finally, we turn to the admirers and avatars of Su Shi that derived from Jin literati community.

From Admirers to Avatars: Impersonating Su Shi in Jin Poetry and Art

There is little doubt, judging from the previous analysis, that a cult of Su Shi, the cultural hero among Jin literati, was deep-rooted in the Jurchen Jin North. As a consequence, a loose cluster of Su Shi's admirers or "fans" came to fruition. In the literary realm, we already see among Jin elites some "loyal disciples" of this poet annotating his literary works, as well as emulative "fan writings" from the "study of Su Shi" via the rhyme-matching practice in forms of both poetry and song lyrics. By reading and learning Su's literary *magnus opus*, Jin readers could still be attracted by his charming character and free spirit conveyed through words even centuries later. Voluntary adherents accordingly surfaced on the Jin soil, and it is said that one of them "claimed to have no sheer interest in 'worldly flavor,' and only wished to live and die in literary writing. Had Dongpo still lived in this world, he would have paid visit to him even if it was ten thousand miles far away" 自言於世味澹無所好，唯生死文字間而已。使世有東坡，雖相去萬里，亦當往拜之.[127] Changing from mere readers to devoted fans, these Jin literati tended to project ideal personae onto their poet-idol, and to extend their focus from Su's *works* to the *person* highlighting his charismatic character and legendary anecdotes. In other words, rather than

[126] 陸游《老學庵筆記》八
[127] 《中州集》卷五「高憲」小傳

deploying allusions, techniques, or stylistics from his literature, Jin poets now referred to Su Shi's life experience in their commemorative pieces to such an extent that the name of Su Shi per se turned out to be a literary trope. Of course, we can't really draw a clear-cut line between Su Shi the person and his works, not to mention that the poet himself is a humous and witty literary experimentalist well versed in self-performance and role-playing; what I want to emphasize is the intersubjectivity between Su Shi and the Jin literati, which gave rise to not only a group of fans or disciples, but also a lineage of real-life avatars respected as Su Shi's reincarnations. A number of Jin literati won the laurels out of various reasons. In this part, I focus on the admiration, discipleship, and role-playing of this poet-idol among Jin literati revealed in contemporary literary works and anecdotes.

When it comes to Su Shi as an allusive referential, his poetic personality as at once an exile in desperate poverty and an untrammeled and enlightened spirit is predominant in later textual records, as Michael Fuller argues, "the image of Su Shi finding joy even in the worst of adversity has become part of the Chinese cultural heritage."[128] It is curious that a considerable number of portraits illustrating Su Shi recorded in Jin texts are visual adaptations of Su Shi's literary works composed on Hainan Island with the Daoist theme of "nurturing life" (*yangsheng* 養生) in difficulty. There are paintings called *Dongpo Brewing Tea in Hainan* (*Dongpo Hainan pengcha tu* 東坡海南烹茶圖), *Dongpo Drawing the Sweet Milky Spring [in Hainan]* (*Dongpo ji ruquan tu* 東坡汲乳泉圖) and *Dongpo Returning in Drunkenness from Hainan* (*Dongpo Hainan zuigui tu* 東坡海南醉歸圖) respectively.[129] From this visual evidence recorded in Jin poetry, we

[128] Michael A. Fuller, *The Road to East Slope*, p. 251.
[129] Feng Bi, "*Dongpo Hainan pengcha tu*"; *Zhongzhou ji jiaozhu*, 6.1476; Wang Yun, "*Dongpo ji ruquan tu*," "*Dongpo Hainan zuigui tu*"; *Wang Yun quanji huijiao*, 19.890, 10.368. The first two pieces respectively derive from Su Shi, "Jijiang jiancha" 汲江煎茶; *Su Shi shiji jiaozhu*, 43.5116; Su Shi, "Tianqing Guan ruquan fu" 天慶觀乳泉

can also tell that the so-called "overseas poems" (*haiwai shi* 海外詩) by Su Shi were particularly in vogue and so fervently appreciated that it gained much weight in designating the poet's posthumous images.[130] Echoes can be found in Jin poetry as well. In this category of poems, displaced or out-of-service Jin poets liked to make dishes based on according to the recipe invented by Su Shi during his exile, so that the ingredients (mostly wild herbs) are both ready at hand and good for health. Zhu Bian once cooked "Dongpo broth" (*Dongpo geng* 東坡羹) made out of wild plants when he was out of duty in the late Northern Song, which in turn bespoke his identity and alliance with the oppressed "Old Party" group: "Albeit lacking bowels made of brocade [i.e., extravagant literary style adopted by court officials], / I still eat my fill with wind and dew of purity" 雖無錦繡腸，亦飽風露清.[131] This conduct of stewing delicious soup out of bitter herbs itself was poeticizing the frugal living condition in reality not without a sense of humor. Similar occasions are found in other Jin references: Wang Tingyun once transcribed the rhapsody written by Su Shi on consuming herbal medicine named "Rhapsody on Ingesting Sesame" ("Fu huma fu" 服胡麻賦) in the calligraphic mode of Mi Fu;[132] Yuan Haowen once picked up mountain wolfberries and elaborated its efficacy to prolong life promoted by Su Shi in another piece of rhapsody;[133] Wang Yun 王惲 (1227-1304) adopted Su Shi's self-designed routine of "nurturing life" by eating in a moderate manner without feeling fully replete, which Wang treated as Dongpo's "cure-all."[134] More intriguingly, Feng Bi 馮璧 (1162-1240), a

賦; *Su Shi wenji jiaozhu*, 1.74. For the last painting, we also have an early Southern Song counterpart recorded in Zhou Zizhi, "Dongpo xiansheng guohai huaxiang zan" 東坡先生過海畫像贊; *Quan Song wen*, 3531.309.

[130] Zhu Bian, *Fengyue tang shihua*, 1.106; also see Zhu Bian, *Qu Wei jiuwen*, 8.205.

[131] See 朱弁《龍福寺煮東坡羹戲作》; also 朱弁《曲洧舊聞》卷三. Allusion from 蘇軾《東坡羹頌並引》. 劉迎《徐夢弼以詩求蘆菔輒次來韻》 also mentions the same dish.

[132] （明）胡翰《金王庭筠書服胡麻賦》（《佩文齋書畫譜》七十八引《胡仲子集》）; from 蘇軾《服胡麻賦》.

[133] 元好問《採杞》; allusion from 蘇軾《後杞菊賦》.

[134] 王惲《飲食》《食甘戒飽》

prominent official-scholar at Jin court who voluntarily withdrew from the political arena, retired and returned to his own mountain villa in his late age, was said to have lived like a mountain recluse like Su Shi where he named his dwelling as "Pine Cloister" (Song an 松庵). He further made use of the indigenous sources and brewed unstrained wine still with lees, made from pine resin documented in Su Shi's famous "Rhapsody on Pine Wine of Zhongshan" ("Zhongshan song lao fu" 中山松醪賦).

> [Feng Bi] dwelled in the so-called Dragon Pool in Mount Song for ten years, when students companied with and learned from him, and people who paid visits and presented gifts to him from four directions were incessant. He composed poetry and drank wine while abandoning all social restraint in mountains and rivers, so that people saw him as a divine transcendent…. The pine wine he brewed was what Dongpo asserted that "I marvel at its hauntingly fine disposition of unique loftiness," and no one but Shuxian [i.e., Feng Bi] could consummate it to the utmost. There were guests who brought renowned wine from the capital and compared it with [the pine wine], and yet their tastes were not even close – it is just like the talks of people in deep mountains who wear grass robes and consume woods and plants [i.e., Daoist adepts],[135] who are unbearable of turning toward serving-lads and peddlers with an air of dust and soil.
>
> 居崧山龍潭者十餘年，諸生從之遊，與四方問遺者不絕，賦詩飲酒，放浪山水間，人望以為神仙焉。……所釀松醪，東坡所謂「歎幽姿之獨高」者，惟叔獻能盡之。客有以京國名酒來與之校者，味殊不能近，正如深山草衣木食人語，覺傭兒販夫塵土氣為不可嚮也。[136]

This "performance art" was appreciated by his Jin colleagues as "precedents in mountain[-dwelling]" (*shan zhong gushi* 山中故事), as opposed to worldly power and wealth embodied in costly "vintage wine" brought from the capital. It is thus obvious that Su Shi's life-nurturing temperance was yet filled with *joie de vivre*, and by re-making these Su Shi-patented dishes, Jin literati re-enacted the Song poet's mode of life with an aesthetic propensity of a cultivated crudeness or determined simplicity, with an undertone of moral integrity as well.

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[135] 趙與時《賓退錄》卷二三："梅聖俞如深山道人，草衣木食。王公大人見之，不覺屈膝。"

[136] 元好問《中州集》「馮內翰璧」小傳, also see 《內翰馮公神道碑銘》; allusion from 蘇軾《中山松醪賦》. For other cases of brewing wine patented by Su Shi, see 王惲《好事近（嘗黠東坡橘藥湯作）》《絳桃春》.

In addition to re-enacting certain life episodes self-invented and engaged by Su Shi (usually as a hermit deprived of affluent living circumstances), Jin literati further proclaimed their inter-generational discipleship of this Northern Song poet. We have already seen above some early twelfth-century scholars such as Zhu Bian and Shi Yisheng who belonged to the intimate circle of Su Shi's friends and disciples and remained in the North during the Song-Jin transitional period. There was another Chu Chengliang 褚承亮 (fl. 12th c.) who paid visit to Su Shi in person and stayed in the North as a hermit-scholar after the Jin dynasty was established.[137] These Northern Song "remnant subjects" were immediate adherents in the next generation of Su who were old enough to have correspondence and be personally tutored, while for later Jin literati, this literary genius had been already the irrevocable past crystalized in cultural memory, but their admiration of and spiritual affinity to Su Shi were no less felt. Regarding worship activities conducted among the northern Jin elites, there was a Jurchen aristocrat named Wanyan Chenghui 完顏承暉 (1149-1215) who lived a frugal life but befriended in spirit Northern Song scholar-officials like Sima Guang 司馬光 (1019-1086) and Su Shi by hanging their portraits in his study room.[138] Likewise, Zhao Bingwen once encountered a hanging portrait of Su with handsome beard and eyebrow (whose complexion was historically incorrect) so evocative that Zhao even sensed the enigmatic pneuma unique to Su via this image and couldn't help being absorbed into it.[139] An interesting case can be found in a portrait inscription by another Jurchen aristocrat named Wanyan Shu 完顏璹 (1172-1232). Instead of composing a poem on the portrait

[137] 《金史・褚承亮傳》
[138] JS 101.2227.
[139] Zhao Bingwen "Encomium on Dongpo's [Simulative] Portrait" (*Dongpo zhen zan* 東坡真贊). Modern scholars has resolved the widespread misconceptions of Su Shi having handsome beard; see Shao Xiaofeng 邵曉峰, "Su Shi xingmao de tuxiangxue xin zheng" 蘇軾形貌的圖像學新證, *Zhongguo guojia bowuguan guankan* 中國國家博物館館刊 212 (2021): 139-49.

of Su Shi, Wanyan revealed his discipleship by assigning himself as Zhao Lingzhi, an aristocrat from the Song imperial clan and committed follower of Su Shi at the same time, on a portrait of himself:

枯木寒灰久亦神	[Like] withered woods, frigid ashes – after a long while [my portrait] is brought to life;
因緣來現胙公身	Subject to cause and condition, my true face as Duke of the Zuo state is revealed.
只緣酷愛東坡老	It is solely because I am keen on Elderly Dongpo,
人道前身趙德麟	That people say my former life was Zhao Delin [i.e., Zhao Lingzhi].[140]

Allusions to Su Shi's poetry can be easily perceived in the very first line, as the Song poet in his last years also inscribed on his portrait that "my heart is like a tree reduced to ashes."[141] Nonetheless, Wanyan Shu did not liken himself to Su Shi but took one step back to stand on an equal footing with Zhao Lingzhi. This self-designation is appropriate in every respect since Wanyan himself was a noble and privileged aristocrat from the Jurchen imperial clan. But in front of the culturally accomplished poet Su Shi, neither Zhao Lingzhi nor Wanyan Shu hesitated to condescend themselves and identify themselves instead as his steadfast disciples.

Again, it is Zhao Bingwen who untiringly expressed in his poetry his willingness to follow "Dongpo the transcendent" (Po xian 坡仙) involving Daoist cultivation and heavenly roaming. On a moonlit night, Zhao recalled Su Shi's trip of the Red Cliff and would like to join the "immortal" poet to ascent toward the full bright moon:

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[140] Wanyan Shu, "Zi ti xiezhen" 自題寫真.

[141] Su Shi, "Zi ti Jinshan huaxiang" 自題金山畫像; *Su Shi shiji jiaozhu*, 48.5573. There is again a Zhuangzian idiom in Su's original verse: "Can the frame really be made to be like withered wood, the heart like dead ashes" 形固可使如槁木，而心固可使如死灰乎? See "Qi wu lun" 齊物論, *Zhuangzi jin zhu jin yi*, p. 39. I adopt Graham's translation here, see "The sorting which evens things out," *Chuang-tzŭ*, p. 48. For an account of the story, see Peter C. Sturman, "In the Realm of Naturalness: Problems of Self-Imaging by the Northern Sung Literati," in Maxwell K. Hearn and Judith G. Smith, eds., *Arts of the Sung and Yuan* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1996), pp. 165–88.

趙秉文，東坡赤壁圖	Zhao Bingwen, "Painting of *Dongpo's Red Cliff*"
……	……
何時謫仙人	When shall the Banished Immortal [i.e., Su Shi]
騎鶴下瀛洲	Ride a crane and descend from the Ying Isle [name of a Daoist paradise]?
相期遊八表	We make an appointment to roam the extreme borders of eight directions together
一洗區中愁	So as to wipe aside once and for all the distress within the [mortal] bounds. (*ll*. 29-32)
趙秉文，中元夜祭太乙罷對月　其一	Zhao Bingwen, "On the Fifteenth Night of the Seventh Month, Having Done with Sacrifices to the Polestar, I Face the Moon," no. 1
今夕知何夕	Who knows what night it is tonight?
白露涵秋空	White dews immerse the autumn sky.[142]
褰衣踏明月	Lifting my clothes, I step on the bright moon[light],
如在瓊瑤宮	As if situated in the Palace of Jade and Jewel [i.e., moon].
……	……
我欲遡白雲	I want to trace backwards along the white clouds,
一訪東坡翁	And pay a visit to the Oldster Dongpo.
扁舟下赤壁	A skiff is unmoored beneath the Red Cliff,
此樂將毋同	Is not this joy more or less the same?
疇昔縞衣仙	The white-robed transcendent of long ago [i.e., the crane]
化作羽衣僮	Is transformed into the feather-robed [Daoist] serving-lad.[143]
酒酣邀我去	Drunken to his heart's content, he invites me to depart [together with him]
鶴背冷松風	On the back of the crane, with the chilly wind of pine trees. (*ll*. 1-4, 13-20)[144]

[142] The season and natural scenery here accord with the "Former Rhapsody," as Su Shi's first Red Cliff trip occurred around the same time on the sixteenth day in the seventh month. Again Su's voice can be heard in the phrasing *jin xi he xi* 今夕何夕 in the first line; see footnote 20 above.

[143] This couplet refers to Su Shi's illusive dream of meeting a Daoist transformed from the crane flying across the river a moment ago in his "Latter Rhapsody." We know it from the clothing depicted in both Su Shi's original and Zhao's poem: "Just then a solitary crane came eastward across the river, his wings turning like wheels, dark robed and *white jacketed*" 適有孤鶴，橫江東來。翅如車輪，玄裳**縞衣**; "I dreamed of two Taoists, dancing along in *feather robes*" 梦二道士，**羽衣**蹁躚. Moreover, the eccentric term *chouxi* **疇昔** in Zhao's poem is also used in the "Latter Rhapsody."

It should be emphasized that, while the season in this piece alludes to the "Former Rhapsody," Zhao Bingwen implants the dreaming plot from the "Latter Rhapsody" as well, so that the Jin poet is interlacing motifs from both rhapsodies into a single poem.

[144] The last eight lines translated here illustrate Zhao's overlapping identity with that of Su Shi, since they share the same magical experience through poetry, echoing the previous phrasing "isn't it more or less the same" (*jiang wu tong* 將無同) in line 16, whose *locus classicus* is found in *A New Account of Tales of the World* (*Shi shuo xin yu* 世說新語).

Yet, this is not the end of story between Su Shi and his admirers among Jin literati. In the tradition of classical Chinese poetry, the impersonating exercise of literary emulation or "fan writing" is in effect an honor of the prototypical poet;[145] but vice versa, if the fan or self- styled disciple or "personator" is good enough to convey the true spirit of the ancients, he himself would be viewed by his contemporaries as avatars of his model. For Jin literati, to admire Su Shi was ultimately to become Su Shi, which was also one of the natural outcomes of their learning of him. That said, we should emphasize that few Jin literati appointed himself as the avatar of Su Shi – at best they only modestly expressed the strong will to follow him as disciples, as we have seen above – in most cases they gained this apotheosis posthumously by later generations. Thus, some thirteenth-century Jin "remnant subjects" and their students went so far as to nominate previous leaders of Jin literati community as Su's "later lives" for both their *wenzhang* par excellence and the personification of Jin literati culture or even the great tradition of "This Culture of Ours." Among the nominees were prominent figures like Dang Huaiying, Zhao Bingwen, and Yuan Haowen. In the post-Jin thirteenth century, this apotheosis enterprise got momentum in the hands of Yuan Haowen's students, among whom Hao Jing was a pivotal one. Hao bestowed the avatar of Su Shi upon Dang and Zhao respectively in the following pieces:

郝經，讀党承旨集	Hao Jing, "Reading the Collection of Dang [Huaiying], the [Hanlin Academician] Recipient of Edicts"
漢火百煉金源金	By Han fire it has been purified for one hundred times – the gold of the Golden Spring [i.e., the Jurchen Jin dynasty];
周制一用中華中	Once applying the constitution of Zhou, it occupied the centrality of "Central State."
混然更比坡仙純	All-encompassing, and purer than Dongpo the transcendent
突兀又一文章公	Is this another towering lord of *wenzhang*. (*ll*. 19-22)

[145] See Stephen Owen, "Imitation," in *The Making of Early Chinese Classical Poetry* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2006), pp. 260-297.

郝經，閑閑畫像	Hao Jing, “Portrait of Lord Xianxian [i.e., Zhao Bingwen]”
金源一代一坡仙	Throughout the whole dynasty of Golden Spring, the one who incarnated Dongpo the transcendent [i.e., Zhao Bignwen]
金鑾玉堂三十年	Was at the Basilica of the Golden Bells and Jade Hall [as a Hanlin Academician] for three decades.
泰山北斗斯文權	[Like] Mount Tai and the Big Dipper – he was the authority of “This Culture of Ours”;
道有師法學有淵	The Way was succeeded from masters, and the learning well founded.
中華命脈屹不偏	The lifeblood of the Central State was erect and impartial,
楚妃正色絕纖妍	Like the consort of the Chu state with proper countenance, devoid of slender and superficial charm. (*ll*. 5-10)

Besides literary prowess, Hao Jing’s designation also foregrounded the Sinitic cultural orthodoxy embodied by Jin avatars of Su Shi. When it came to Yuan Haowen, authors who wrote prefaces of his individual collections often underscored that Yuan’s talent and achievement was no less than this Northern Song genius. As regards prose writing, one preface author asserted that Yuan Haowen comprehended the spontaneous and dynamic kernel represented by Su Shi’s writing, so that he dared say “after Dongpo was Master Yuan as his successor – isn’t it appropriate?” 敢以東坡之後，請元子繼，其可乎？[146] In particular, near contemporaries saw Su Shi mostly in Yuan’s well-wrought composition of song lyrics with the style of heroic abandon, some of which were Yuan’s most popular verses:

> [Yuan Haowen’s] *yuefu* [lit. “music bureau songs,” i.e., song lyrics] is distinctive, valiant, cadenced, as well as graceful, lambent and lucid. His constitution is comprehensive, in which he can take the commonplace and make it elegant, take the old and make it new. He accomplishes the untransferable marvels, so that there is no need to mention those lesser than Dongpo and Jiaxuan.
>
> 樂府則清雄頓挫，閑婉瀏亮，體制最備，又能用俗為雅，變故作新。得前輩不傳之妙，東坡、稼軒而下不論也。[147]

[146] Du Renjie 杜仁傑, “Yishan wenji xu” 遺山文集序：若夫文之所以為文，亦安用艱辛奇澀為哉！敢以東坡之後，請元子繼，其可乎？

[147] Xu Shilong 徐世隆, “Yishan wenji xu” 遺山文集序.

> *Yuefu* [i.e., song lyrics] is the great fragrant satchel of poet-masters. Yishan's compositions are pure, refreshing, graceful and appealing, and Yuan feels abashed to compare himself to lyrists like Qin [Guan], Chao [Buzhi] 晁補之 (1053-1110), He [Zhu] 賀鑄 (1052-1125), and Yan [Jidao] 晏幾道 (1038-1110), and would like to directly style himself on Dongpo and Jiaxuan. Is it probably because Dongpo ranks first [in writing song lyrics] and true composers are rare to find?
>
> 樂府，詩家之大香匳也。遺山所著，清新婉麗，其自視似羞比秦、晁、賀、晏諸人，而直欲追配于東坡、稼軒之作。豈是以東坡為第一，而作者之難得也耶？[148]

Last but not least, it is again the Qing dynasty scholar Weng Fanggang who thought quite seriously about this idea of equating Yuan Haowen with Su Shi in such phrasing as,

遺山接眉山	Yishan took over from Meishan [i.e., Su Shi][149]
浩乎海波翻	[For their poetry is] surging and streaming like the ocean waves toss.
效忠蘇門後	[Yuan] swore allegiance to the gate of Su [Shi] as later disciples,
此思豈易言	This conviction is indeed not easy to illuminate. (*ll.* 1-4)[150]

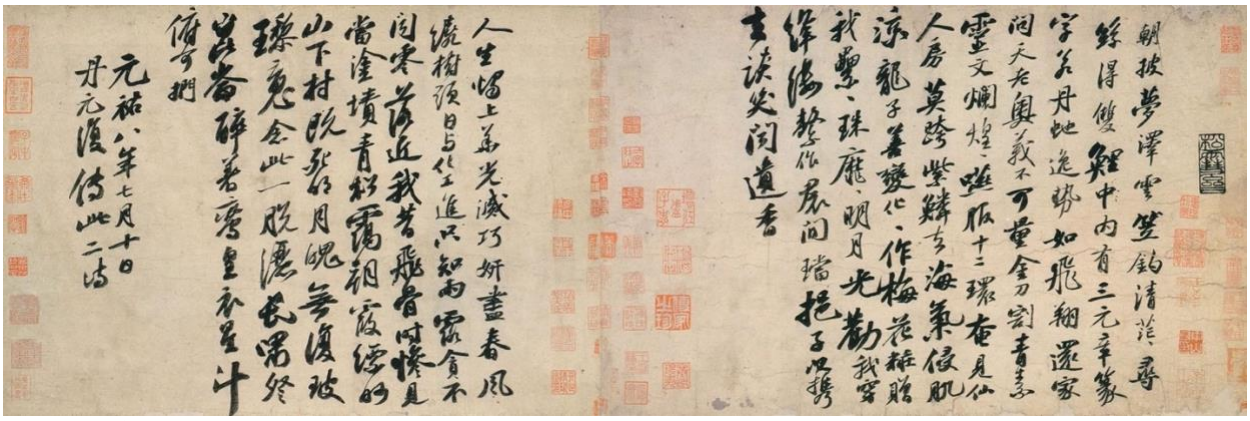
Weng made this juxtaposition in light of both poetic merit and prominent status, in that Yuan also turned out as a cultural hero just like his Northern Song exemplar: "The learning of Su Shi prevailed in the North; / Greatly venerated was Master Yishan" 蘇學盛於北，景行遺山師.[151]

This roster of names from Dang Huaiying, to Zhao Bingwen, to Yuan Haowen sounds familiar to us, because it coincides with the so-called "literary lineage of our dynasty" (*guochao wenpai* 國朝文派) proposed by the Jin high official Xiao Gong 蕭貢 (1158-1223).[152] These paratexts surrounding collections or portraits were deliberately written by thirteenth-century northern scholars to commemorate the bygone glory of Jin literati culture. In order to verify the

[148] Li Zongzhun 李宗準, "Yishan yuefu xu" 遺山樂府序.
[149] Yishan or Mount Yi (lit. "residuum mountain") is located in present-day Dingxiang 定襄 in Shanxi province, where Yuan Haowen lived in 1220s. Yuan applied this toponym as his self-appellation thereafter. Correspondingly, Meishan or Mount Mei is the hometown of Su Shi and thus stands for the Northern Song poet here.
[150] Weng Fanggang, "Du Yuan Yishan shi si shou" 讀元遺山詩四首, no. 3.
[151] Weng Fanggang, "Zhai zhong yu youren lun shi" 齋中與友人論詩.
[152] 元好問《中州集》卷一「蔡珪」條 See more in chapter 3.

northern legitimacy of Sinitic civilization, they assigned Jin literati leaders as reincarnations of Su Shi to demonstrate the orthodox cultural inheritance from the Northern Song directly to the Jin dynasty. Here we can see a conscious genealogical construction at work here, and in the northern Jin intellectual contexts, becoming avatars of Su Shi means possessing the cultural orthodoxy of China, which was of profound significance when we consider the material existence of Jin political entity was wiped out in history for long.

Finally, two examples associated with the art of calligraphy are offered here to showcase how Su Shi's admirers – this time Cai Songnian and Zhao Bingwen respectively – were transformed into his avatars in the cultural production field of Jin literati art. It is particularly fascinating since this "performative" reincarnation took place in ***a sequel of colophons*** attached to artwork related to Su Shi. With concrete material evidence extant today plus textual records of intermittent joints, we are able to restore the whole *modus operandi* of producing "reincarnations" of Su Shi within the materialized space of colophons with calligraphy as testimony.



Su Shi 蘇軾 (1037-1101), *Li Bai's Poems of Transcendence* (*Li Bai xian shi juan* 李白仙詩卷), dated 1093. Handscroll, ink on glazed paper, 34.4 × 111.1 cm. Abe Collection, Osaka City Museum of Fine Arts.

In the aforementioned handscroll of "Li Bai's Poems of Transcendence," we have two "lost" pieces attributed to Li Bai, which are elegantly transcribed in running script by Su Shi. It

is said that Su Shi first heard these two poems from the mouth of a Daoist adept who fathered the works on Li Bai, and the encrypted and extramundane locution made him confident to assert on the spot that they were "genuine" words by this Tang "Banished Immortal" (*zhexian* 謫仙), even if they were out of the purview of Li's literary collections.[153] The two poems transcribed on the manuscript are mainly about Li Bai's ascension by riding a fish from the river, and his roaming to transcendence on high, delivering himself from the instant and insubstantial existence in this world.[154] Five colophons by Jin literati followed right after Su Shi's calligraphy, which means this handscroll remained in the North during the twelfth century. Nevertheless, the Jin colophons mounted after this masterpiece have long been overlooked or only mentioned in passing, which will be my focus here instead. We will see how the reincarnation mechanism came into play via the channel of Jin colophon series. Special attention should also be paid to the Daoist tenor in their deliberate wording.

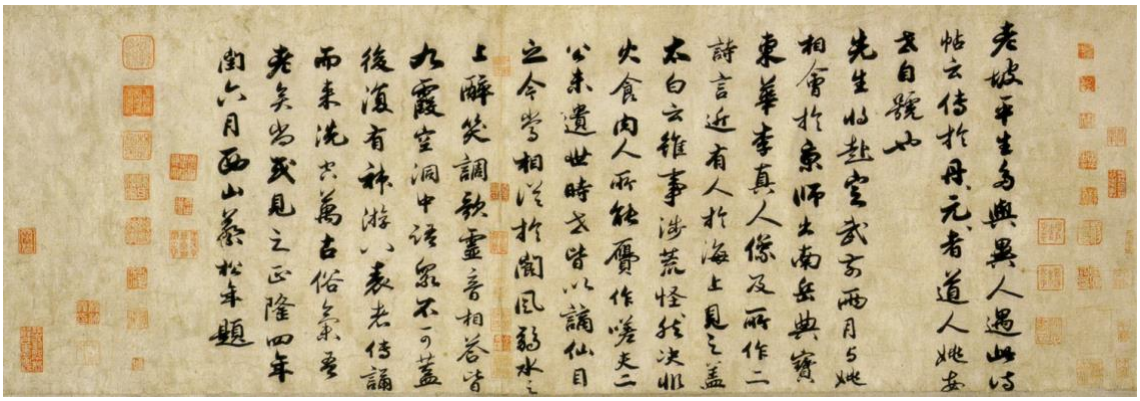
Li Bai's poetry plus Su Shi's calligraphy integrated in a single work of art was destined to be a jewel of treasures for later connoisseurs, and Jin literati would by no means miss the chance

[153] This set of poems are normally entitled "Shangqing baoding shi" 上清寶鼎詩 ("Poems of Supreme Clarity Treasure of Caldron") and collected as "supplementary pieces" in modern editions of Li Bai's collection. See, for example, Yu Xianhao 郁賢皓, *Li Taibai quanji jiaozhu* 李太白全集校注, 8 vols (Nanjing: Nanjing fenghuang chubanshe, 2015), "Song ben jiwai cunmu shiwen" 宋本集外存目詩文, p. 4191. According to extant textual documentation, these two "poems of transcendence" by Li Bai first emerged in Su Shi's jottings and calligraphy, and were double witnessed in later Northern Song miscellanies.

[154] Three possibilities are offered concerning the problem of "authorship" embedded in this set of poems. (I) The works were indeed composed by Li Bai, who had already become an undying transcendent. Some Northern Song anecdotes indicate that Li Bai descended to this world and chanted the poems in the market to be heard by others. In other versions, Li Bai was seen *on the water*; see Cai Songnian's colophon below. (II) The Daoist adept was another candidate for the author of these two poems. He himself asserted that Li Bai composed them while dwelling in the Daoist Heaven and transmitted them into the human world through his mouth. In other words, the Daoist served as Li's "spirit medium." Consequently, it is possible that this Daoist adept was the *de facto* author who voluntarily attributed it to the posthumous Li Bai. Otherwise, it might also be the case that the Daoist memorized an anonymous poem in Li Bai's fashion and fathered it on the great Tang poet so as to "sell" it in front of Su Shi. (III) Finally, though there was only a slim chance, Su Shi himself could be the author of "poems of transcendence" in the disguised voice of the Tang Banished Immortal. Then his manuscript would not be mere transcription but poetic re-creation after Li Bai's persona.

In any case, nonetheless, it is without question that Su Shi himself actively got involved in the mystified attribution of these out-of-nowhere, lost-and-found poems to Li Bai, who had been deified as a Daoist transcendent.

to leave their own imprints on this masterpiece. More importantly, this myth-producing process continued in the hands of Jin literati. Cai Songnian's colophon comes first and serves as the pivot of this commemorative event. Cai was a "remnant" scholar-official from the Northern Song who served the Jin rulers. When he wrote down this colophon, Cai was the Grand Councilor at the Jin court and became the leader of northern elites in the early Jin period.



Cai Songnian's 蔡松年 (1107-1159) colophon mounted after Su Shi's calligraphy. Photo taken from *Umi o watatta Chūgoku no sho: Eriotto korekushon to Sō Gen no meiseki* 海を渡った中国の書：エリオット・コレクションと宋元の名蹟, ed. Ōsaka Shiritsu Bijutsukan 大阪市立美術館 (Tokyo: Yomiuri Shinbunsha, 2003), p. 122.

Transcription:

老坡平生多與異人遇．此詩帖云．傳於丹元．丹元者．道人姚安世自號也．

先生將赴定武前兩月．与姚相會於京師．出南岳典寶東華李真人像及所作二詩．言近有人於海上見之．蓋太白云．雖事涉荒怪．然決非【烟】火食肉人所能贋作．嗟夫．二公未遺世時．世皆以謫仙目之．今當相從於閬風弱水之上．醉笑調歌．靈音相答．皆九霞空洞中語．衆不可．蓋後復有神游八表者傳誦而來．洗空萬古俗氣．吾老矣．尚或見之．正隆四年閏六月．西山蔡 松年 題．

Translation:

> Elderly [Dong]po often encountered strange personages throughout his life. This calligraphy of poetry says that "[Li Bai's poems are] transmitted by Danyuan [lit. 'cinnabar primordium']." Danyuan is the self-appellation of a Daoist adept Yao Anshi (fl. 11th c.). Two months before our master was about to take charge of the Dingwu Army [located in Dingzhou 定州, Hebei province],[155] he met Yao in the capital. The latter showed the portrait of Li [Bai] the Perfected Transcendent of Donghua[156] from the Statues and Treasures of the Southern Marchmount [i.e., Mount Heng 衡山 in Hunan province] along with the two poems. [The Daoist] said that recently someone witnessed [the poet] at sea who was probably Taibai [i.e., Li Bai, lit. "Grand White," name of a planetary spirit]. This anecdote sounds bizarre and weird, but the compositions could by no means be forged by those who eat cooked meat [i.e., mortal beings].[157] Alas! When the two lords [i.e., Li Bai and Su Shi] had not yet left this world, people already saw them as "Banished Immortals." Today I shall follow them over Mount Langfeng [lit. "Wind-on-the-Fells," name of a peak of Mount Kunlun] and Weak Water [said to be near Mount Kunlun]. We shall drink and laugh, set tunes to sing songs, and converse in numinous voice. All we talk will be discourse from the hollow and cavernous Aurorae of Ninefold Heavens. The audience dissuade me [from so doing].[158] Perhaps later someone who spiritually roams the extreme borders of eight directions can transmit and chant [the heavenly diction] once more, and wipe aside once and for all the banal atmosphere of all time. I have declined with age, and still I hope I might see this person. In the intercalary sixth month of the fourth year of the Zhenglong reign (1159), I, Cai Songnian from the West Mountain [near modern Beijing], inscribe [this colophon].

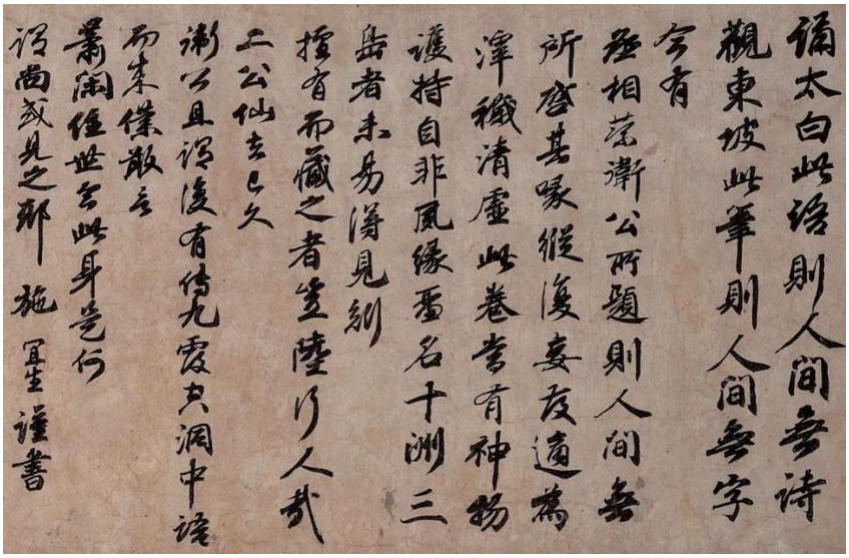
In his colophon, Cai points out that both Li Bai and Su Shi were already regarded as "Banished Immortals" when they were still alive. It also implies that Su Shi became an inter-generational avatar of Li Bai. Cai further expresses his wish to follow and accompany them in the Daoist paradise, engaging in otherworldly conversations in the Daoist "discourse from the hollow and cavernous Aurorae of Ninefold Heavens" 九霞空洞中語. Unable to carry out this whimsical and fanciful practice himself, Cai predicts another avatar of the "Banished Immortal" in posterity who can accomplish spiritual roaming in cosmos, comprehend and pass on heavenly

---

[155] Su Shi took office in Dingzhou in the winter of 1093, which coincides with the date recorded in his manuscript.
[156] This Daoist title of Li Bai will be discussed more in detail below.
[157] 趙令畤《侯鯖錄》卷三：西王母見穆天子，作歌曰：「白雲在天，山陵自出。道里悠遠，山川間之。將子無死，尚能復來。」穆王曰：「余歸東土，和治諸夏，萬民平均。吾顧見汝，比及三年，將復而野。」余嘗對東坡誦之，坡云：「決非食肉人語。」
[158] Judged from this set of Jin colophons, the audience of Cai's statement included Shi Yisheng and Liu Yi at least. Another reading of *zhong bu ke* 衆不可 can be that "common folks are incapable [of doing this heavenly roaming like us]."

discourse into this world. Specifically, Cai's colophon turns out as preordained if we know that the author passed away in the exactly same year (1159). Soon after he wrote down these words on Su Shi's manuscript, Cai Songnian indeed joined his precursors and left this world, perhaps dwelling and conversing with them together in the Daoist heaven ever since. We should also notice that Cai Songnian in his colophon only expressed his strong will to follow Li Bai and Su Shi as their disciple. It is, however, his friends and attending guests who further designated Cai as the Jin avatar of "banished immortals" in their corresponding colophons.

Four colophons written by those within Cai's friend circle followed suit, and they did the same thing as Cai Songnian had done and attributed the honorable title of "Banished Immortal" to Cai himself, so that Cai Songnian became the Jin avatar of Su Shi. The most servile expression is found in Shi Yisheng's piece:



Shi Yisheng's 施宜生 (1091-1163) colophon. Ibid., pp. 122-23.

Transcription:

誦太白此語·則人間無詩·
觀東坡此筆·則人間無字·
今有
丞相蔡衛公所題·則人間無
所啓其喙·縱復妄發·適為
滓穢清虛·此卷當有神物
護持·自非夙緣留名十洲三
島者·未易得見·矧
擅有而藏之者·豈陸行人哉·
二公仙去已久·
衛公且謂復有傳九霞空洞中語
而來·僕敢言
蕭閑住世·今此身是·何
謂尚或見之耶·　施宜生 謹書

Translation:

We chant Taibai's diction, and there is no more poetry in this human world;

We appreciate Dongpo's brushstrokes, and there is no more calligraphy in this human world;

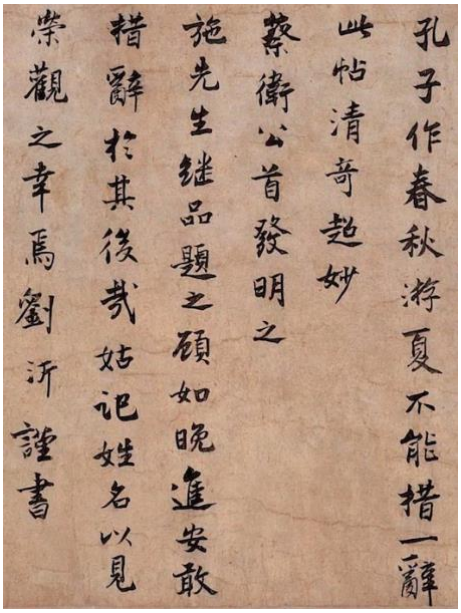
Now we have the inscription by our Grand Councilor Cai [Songnian], Duke of the Wei State, and there is no one who could open his mouth [to make any further comment]. Even if absurd comments are made, they will just smear the clear and void [Daoist discourse by Li, Su, and Cai]. This handscroll should have been guarded and sustained by divine creatures, and will not be easily viewed by anyone but those who leave their names in Ten Continents and Three Isles [i.e., Daoist paradises] due to predestined affinity. Let alone the one who possesses and stores it – how could he just be terrestrial creatures like common people?

Two lords [i.e., Li Bai and Su Shi] have long transcended to Heaven, and yet Duke Wei says someone will come with the discourse from the hollow and cavernous Aurorae of Ninefold Heavens (through either condescension or reincarnation in this world). I dare say that Xiaoxian [i.e., Cai Songnian, lit. "solitary and austere"] who is now lodging in this world is exactly the "later life" [of the two previous "Banished Immortals"]. Why should he say that he hopes perhaps to see the person [since he himself is the one]?

I, Shi Yisheng, respectfully write [this colophon].

Despite the flattering tone conveyed by exaggerating rhetoric, it is intriguing to notice the deliberate parallel structure of Li Bai's poetry, Su Shi's calligraphy, and Cai Songnian's colophon embedded in Shi Yisheng's discourse. The author is literally claiming that nothing compares next to Li Bai's verse, Su Shi's calligraphy, and Cai Songnian's inscription par excellence. We can see that Shi in his calligraphy also showed his respect to and fawned over Cai Songnian by applying

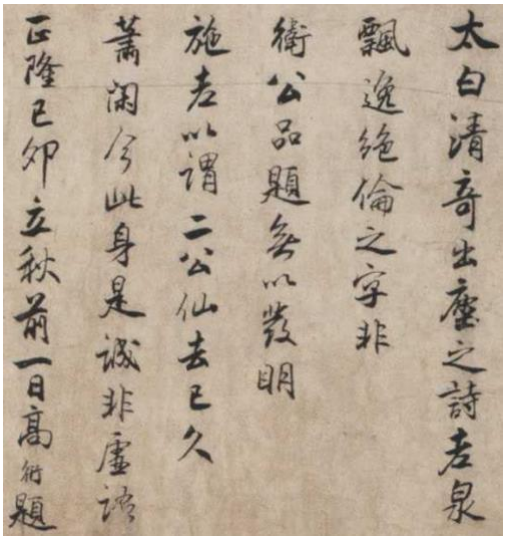
the honorific format of spacing and breaking (*pingque* 平闕) in order to always place Cai's title in the very beginning of the line. This parallelism eventually leads to the conclusion of "avatars" in trio sharing the same identity of "Banished Immortals." One of Shi Yisheng's justifications is that, both Li Bai and Su Shi were called "Banished Immortals" during their lives, so why not Cai Songnian as well when he was still alive in this world (*zhushi* 住世)? Incidentally, it is also worth noting that calligraphy by Cai and Shi resembles the exact style of Su Shi, as is pointed out by their contemporaries.[159] Hence, viewers of this handscroll would have the peculiar illusion that Su Shi is persistently "present" and continue to comment on his own work through calligraphy commissioned to his "ghost writers" in later generations.



孔子作春秋．游、夏不能措一辭．
此帖清奇超妙．
蔡衞公首發明之．
施先生繼品題之．顧如晚進．安敢
措辭於其後哉．姑記姓名．以見
榮觀之幸焉．劉沂謹書．

Liu Yi's 劉沂 (fl. 12th c.) colophon. Ibid., p. 123.

[159] See, for example, 周密《癸辛雜識・別集》卷上「汴梁雜事」：（施宜生）字步驟東坡. Also in Zhang Bi, "Ba Dongpo shu Taibai yishi juan" 跋東坡書太白逸詩卷：松年而下用筆皆稍似蘇者。



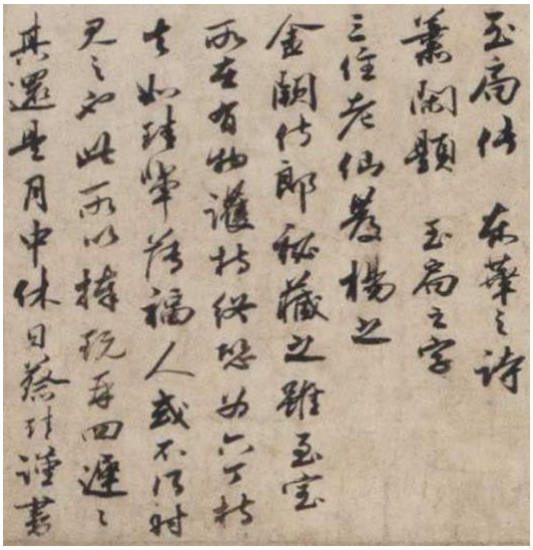
太白清奇出塵之詩·老泉
飄逸絶倫之字·非
衛公品題·無以發明·
施老以謂二公仙去已久·
蕭閑今此身是·誠非虛語·
正隆己卯立秋前一日·高衍題·

Gao Kan's 高衍 (?-1167) colophon. Ibid.

Translation:

> The pure, extraordinary, other-worldly poems of Taibai, together with the floaty, untrammeled, matchless characters by Laoquan [i.e., Su Shi, lit. "Aged Wellspring"] –
>
> Without the appreciation and inscription of Duke Wei, they won't have been elucidated.
>
> Elderly Shi [i.e., Shi Yisheng] said that "two lords have long transcended to Heaven, and Xiaoxian today is exactly their 'later life' [as the Banished Immortal]." These are not merely empty words.
>
> On the day before the Beginning of Autumn in the *jimao* year of the Zhenglong reign (1159), I, Gao Kan, inscribe [this colophon].

The next two colophons by Liu Yi and Gao Kan basically reiterate what Shi Yisheng has said above. The same strategy of parallelism is also applied in these two colophons, which I mark with underline here. A sense of succession or continuation is also felt by this deliberate organization of rhetoric. More importantly, Gao Kan in his follow-up colophon reconfirmed Shi Yisheng's statement of Cai Songnian as the present-day reincarnation of the Banished Immortal, or in other words, the avatar of Su Shi / Li Bai. which would have greatly pleased this Grand Councilor on the spot.



玉局傳　東華之詩·
蕭閑題　玉局之字·
三住老仙發揚之·
金闕侍郎祕藏之·雖至宝
所在·有物護持·終恐為六丁持
去·如珪輩薄福人·或不得時
見之也·此所以捧玩再四·遲々
其還·是月中休日·蔡珪謹書·

Cai Gui's 蔡珪 (*jinshi* 1151) colophon. Ibid.

Translation:

Yuju [i.e., Su Shi] transmitted Donghua's [i.e., Li Bai] poetry;
Xiaoxian [i.e., Cai Songnian] inscribed on Yuju's calligraphy.
The Elderly Transcendent of Three Dwellings [i.e., Shi Yisheng] expounded the scroll;
The Vice Director of [Lord Thearch of] Golden Watchtowers [?] stored it in secret. Even though the storage place of this utmost treasure is guarded and sustained by divine creatures, I fear [the handscroll] will eventually be grasped and taken away by Six Ding.[160] Unblessed people like me would probably fail to see it any more. This is the reason why I hold it in my hand and appreciate over and over again, and return it [to its owner] so late.
On the mid-break of this month, I, Cai Gui, respectfully write [this colophon].

Finally, we have the concluding remark by Cai Gui, Cai Songnian's talented son, who also adopted rhetorical parallelism in his colophon by the elegant design of spacing and breaking, so as to line up the names of successors with the progenitors.

Special attention should be paid to the Daoist undertone in these courtly and arcane epithets encoded in Cai Gui's colophon. Yuju 玉局 [lit. "Jade Bureau"] is one of Su Shi's many bynames besides Dongpo. In 1100, one year before his death, Su was pardoned by the court and

[160] Six Ding (*Liu Ding* 六丁) are Daoist deities attending the Celestial God. In this line, it means it is the will of Heaven to reclaim this manuscript handscroll, which is commonly used as a euphemism for the loss of artwork in this world.

appointed as the superintendent of a Daoist abbey named Yuju located in his hometown Sichuan. In like manner, Donghua [lit. "Eastern Florescence"] is the Daoist epithet of Li Bai, and ever more interestingly, this honorific title – with the full Daoist title "Perfected Transcendent of the Pure and Uninhibited, Supervisor at the Eastern Florescence in the Realm of Supreme Clarity" 東華上清監清逸真人 – was endowed by exactly the Daoist adept who recited Li Bai's "lost" poetry to Su Shi.[161] *Xiaoxian* 蕭閑, meaning "solitary and austere," is Cai Songnian's self-appellation borrowed from the Daoist manual *Declarations of the Perfected* (*Zhengao* 真誥), in which the "Hall of the Secluded and Austere" (*Xiaoxian tang* 蕭閑堂) is said to be the paradise for male Daoist postulants. The "Elderly Immortal of Three Dwellings" is the self-appellation of Shi Yisheng, in which the "Three Dwellings" are Daoist approaches to cultivation for longevity. Finally, the term "Golden Watchtowers" is an abbreviation of "Lord Thearch of Golden Watchtowers" (*Jinque dijun* 金闕帝君), a Daoist mighty ruler. Here the "Vice Director of [Lord Thearch of] Golden Watchtowers" (*Jinque shilang* 金闕侍郎) must be the epithet of another Jin scholar-official (most likely being either Liu Yi or Gao Kan), who was the owner of this handscroll at that time. Once we decode these epithets, the first four lines simply read:

> Su Shi transmitted Li Bai's poetry;
> Cai Songnian inscribed on Su Shi's calligraphy.
> Shi Yisheng expounded the scroll;
> The owner stored it in secret.

The deliberate choice of esoteric honorifics engaged with Daoist euphuism well exemplifies the noble pedigree of "Banished Immortals" from Li Bai to Su Shi to the early Jin cultural leader Cai Songnian promoted by his protégés. Plus, the writing format of juxtaposition and parallelism also

[161] See more in Kathlyn Liscomb, "Iconic Events Illuminating the Immortality of Li Bai," *Monumenta Serica* 54 (2006): 85-88.

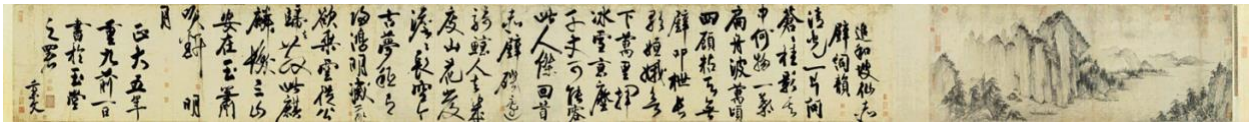
threads the successive chain of art production and connoisseurship activities: with Su Shi being the reporter and calligrapher of Li Bai's once "missing" poetry, Cai Songnian the commentator of this "co-authored" piece, Shi Yisheng the interpreter of the threesome reincarnations, a certain "Vice Director" the owner of this precious artwork stored in secret, and Cai Gui the final viewer in this series of Jin colophons, the entire cycle of this commemorative event was therefore fulfilled.

To conclude, in the original handscroll of "Li Bai's Poetry of Transcendence," we have Li Bai's poetry and Su Shi's calligraphy. Then Cai Songnian in his colophon treats both Li Bai and Su Shi as "banished immortals." And yet, in the following colophons written by Jin literati within Cai Songnian's friend circle, they did the same thing as Cai Songnian had done, and attributed the honorable title of "banished immortal" to Cai Songnian himself, so that Cai became the Jin avatar of Su Shi and Li Bai. Step by step, we witness the "moving bodies" of Li Bai and Su Shi animated among those Jin admirers across the time span of four centuries, and this was realized within the materialized space of successive colophons on a two-meter-long handscroll.

This is not the only case where Jin colophons serve as the site of producing Li Bai and Su Shi's "avatars" with calligraphy as testimony. Today, we have the famous Red Cliff painting attributed to a Jin artist Wu Yuanzhi 武元直 (fl. 12th c.), accompanied with Zhao Bingwen's calligraphy transcribing his own rhyme-matching song lyric after Su Shi's original piece of "Meditating on the Past of Red Cliff" (*Chibi huaigu* 赤壁懷古) to the tune "The Charms of Niannu."[162] Besides, another two now lost Jin colophons of this painting and calligraphy can be

[162] Su Shi, "Niannu jiao, Chibi huaigu" 念奴嬌・赤壁懷古; *Su Shi ciji jiaozhu* 蘇軾詞集校注, in *Su Shi quanji jiaozhu*, 1.391. See English translation in Ronald C. Egan, *Word, Image, and Deed in the Life of Su Shi* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Asia Center, 1994), pp. 226-27.

reconstructed out of textual documentation, which I will elaborate below. In this part, I will put the painting aside, and instead focus on these three Jin colophons that made mutual conversations with one another.



Wu Yuanzhi 武元直 (fl. 12th c.), *The Red Cliff* (*Chibi tu* 赤壁圖), with Zhao Bingwen's 趙秉文 (1159-1232) calligraphy of his song lyric, painting dated to the 12th c., calligraphy dated 1228. Handscroll, ink on paper, painting: 50.8 × 136.4 cm, calligraphy: 51.9 × 386 cm. National Palace Museum, Taipei, Taiwan, Republic of China.

Detail of Zhao Bingwen's calligraphy of his song lyric in large characters of running script.

Transcription:

追和坡仙赤壁詞韻

清光一片·問蒼々桂影·其中何物·一葉扁舟波萬頃·四顧粘天無壁·叩枻長歌·姮娥欲下·萬里揮冰雪·京塵千丈·可能容此人傑·回首赤壁磯邊·騎鯨人去·幾度山花發·澹々長空今古夢·秖有歸鴻明滅·我欲乘雲·從公歸去·散此麒麟髮·三山安在·玉簫吹斷 明月·

正大五年重九前一日書於玉堂之署 秉文

Translation:[163]

Rhyming after the Red Cliff Song Lyric by Dongpo the Transcendent

清光一片　　A swath of pure light –

問蒼蒼桂影　　I [or Su Shi?] ask the shade of verdant cassia [i.e., moon]

其中何物　　What creatures are within it?

一葉扁舟波萬頃　　One leaf-like skiff, waves of ten thousand hectares;[164]

四顧粘天無壁　　In all directions, [waves] stick to the sky without bounds.[165]

[163] I consult the English translation of this piece in Susan Bush, "Literati Culture under the Chin," 108, with considerable modification of my own.

[164] This line corresponds with the content in Su Shi's "Former Rhapsody on the Red Cliff" ("Qian Chibi fu" 前赤壁賦): "They let their reed-like boat drift where it would, / riding the nebulousness of this great expanse" 縱一葦之所如，凌萬頃之茫然. All the English translation of Su Shi's two Red Cliff rhapsodies adopted here comes from Robert E. Hegel, "The Sights and Sounds of Red Cliffs: On Reading Su Shi," *Chinese Literature: Essays, Articles, Reviews* 20 (1998): 11-30.

[165] This line alludes to Han Yu 韓愈 (768-824), "Ji Henan Zhang yuanwai wen" 祭河南張員外文: "The Dongting Lake endlessly overflows, / [Its waves] stick to the sky without bounds" 洞庭汗漫，粘天無壁.

叩枻長歌　I [or Su Shi?] strike the rowing-sweep and chant a lasting song;[166]
姮娥欲下　Heng'e [i.e., Chang'e 嫦娥, goddess of moon] wants to come down
萬里揮冰雪　And tosses up ice and snow [metaphor for the moonlit, glistening waves on the river] of ten thousand miles.
京塵千丈　Dust in the capital, ten thousand feet high –
可能容此人傑　How could it accommodate such a hero [i.e., Su Shi]?

回首赤壁磯邊　I look back on the shoreside rocks of the Red Cliff:
騎鯨人去　**The whale-riding man** has gone;[167]
幾度山花發　How many times have mountain flowers bloomed thereafter?
澹澹長空今古夢　The tranquil vast sky, past and present dreams –
秖有歸鴻明滅　There are only homing geese, clear, then indistinct.[168]
我欲乘雲　I want to mount a cloud,
從公歸去　Follow our lord [i.e., Su Shi] to return home,
散此**麒麟**髮　And unfasten my hair **[while riding] on a *qilin* unicorn**.[169]
三山安在　Yet where are the three [fairy] isle-mountains [i.e., Daoist paradises]?
玉簫吹斷明月　The jade flute is blown into a cracking sound under bright moon.[170]

One day before Double Ninth Festival of the fifth year during the Zhengda reign (1228), I write this piece in the governmental building of Jade Hall.[171]

Bingwen

This line better reflects the scene of roaring waves in the "Niannu" song lyric (大江東去，浪淘盡……亂石穿空，驚濤拍岸，捲起千堆雪, see English translation above), rather than the serene moonlit night with no ripples on the river surface depicted in the "Former Rhapsody" ("Light breezes came gently; Nary a wave rose from the water" 清風徐來，水波不興).

[166] See Su Shi's "Former Rhapsody": "He took up the wine and poured for his guests: they sang the 'tenderness' verse of the 'Bright Moon' *Ode*…. By then they were filled with pleasure from drinking; they sang aloud, tapping on the gunwale to keep time" 舉酒屬客，誦明月之詩，歌窈窕之章。……於是飲酒樂甚，扣舷而歌之.

[167] "The whale-riding man" normally refers to Li Bai (see more below), while here it is undoubtedly Su Shi as the protagonist in the Red Cliff trip. Zhao Bingwen creatively conflates the personages of Li and Su within this single poetic allusion. See more below.

[168] The most explicit allusion applied here is Du Mu 杜牧, "Deng Leyou yuan" 登樂遊原 ("Ascending to the Leyou Plateau"): "The vast sky is tranquil, the lonely bird indistinct; / Ten thousand ages dissolve and submerge into this [scenery]" 長空澹澹孤鳥沒，萬古銷沉向此中. A fainter echo can be found in Li Bai, "Chunri du zhuo" 春日獨酌 ("Drinking Alone in Springtime"), no. 2: "In the vast sky, the receding bird disappears; / Against the setting sun, the lonely cloud withdraws" 長空去鳥沒，落日孤雲還.

[169] This line alludes to a poem of "roaming to transcendence" (*youxian shi* 遊仙詩) done by Han Yu with the title "Miscellaneous Poem" ("Zashi" 雜詩): "Lightsomely descending to the Vast Wilderness, / I unfasten my hair and ride a numinous *qilin* unicorn" 翩然下大荒，被髮騎麒麟.

[170] This line for sure reminds readers of the flute-playing guest that showed up in the "Former Rhapsody." However, we should notice that the last five lines in Zhao's song lyric, though rhyme-matching the "Niannu" piece on the Red Cliff, perfectly echoes Su's another "Niannu" on the Mid-Autumn Festival, see more below.

[171] The Jade Hall is a euphuistic reference to Hanlin Academy at court in the Song-Jin period.

We first turn to Zhao Bingwen's song lyric. We are fortunate today to have this rather impressive calligraphy in large characters of running script. The song lyric itself is also a masterpiece, and Zhao's emulation of Su Shi is explicit in the very practice of rhyme-matching the original. In the first stanza, due to the lack of subject markers, I'm not sure if it should be read in the first-person or third-person voice. ① If it is the first-person "I" speaking, then the Jin poet Zhao Bingwen here is role-playing Su Shi to experience the Red Cliff trip himself. But since Zhao made it clear that he composed this piece at court (in the "Jade Hall"), it was only possible for him to rehearse this kind of landscape excursion in mind. ② If it is understood as the third-person narrative, then Zhao is recounting Su Shi's Red Cliff works, as I mark out in the footnotes sporadic allusions and intertextuality echoing Su Shi's original. And if Wu Yuanzhi's painting was unfolded right in front of the Jin poet, it could also be the verbal depiction of this visual composition.

When we turn to the second stanza, however, there is no question that Zhao Bingwen's own voice predominates. The content in this stanza becomes more interesting as well. Zhao in this part basically expresses his wish to seek out and go along with Su Shi who had already transformed into a transcendent. But subtle messages are encoded in Zhao's phrasing if we read between the lines. First, "the whale-riding man" without question stands for Su Shi as the protagonist in the Red Cliff universe, while this poetic allusion normally refers to Li Bai, so that Zhao Bingwen creatively conflates the personae of Li and Su in this piece. To take one step further, the Jin poet also wants to join this extramundane journey by riding on a numinous unicorn called *qilin*, so that Zhao is claiming in jest that he himself is another reincarnated "Banished Immortal." To make the story ever more twisted, I find intertextuality between the last

five lines in Zhao's song lyric and Su Shi's another piece with the same tune composed on the Mid-Autumn festival.[172]

便欲乘風 / 翻然歸去 / 何用騎鵬翼 // 水晶宮裡 / 一聲吹斷橫笛
我欲乘雲 / 從公歸去 / 散此麒麟髮 // 三山安在 / 玉簫吹斷明月

Besides overlapping wording and similar imagery, in Su Shi's original piece, the Song dynasty poet also entertains the idea of riding a fabulous *Peng* bird to ascend to the moon.

The polyphony of different voices via intertextuality and poetic allusions unmistakably conveys a sense of emulation or even personation, which in this case leads to the conflation of personae between Li Bai, Su Shi, and Zhao Bingwen. The most telling evidence of this "imitation game" is the recurrent motif of heavenly roaming while riding mythical creatures. So that we have the whale-riding Li Bai, bird-riding Su Shi, and Zhao Bingwen who rides on a unicorn all at once. And this is realized by the literary practice of rhyme-matching Su Shi's Red Cliff compositions in the northern Jin cultural contexts.

Yet something is missing in this piece of visual material. In the seventeenth-century miscellany written by a Ming dynasty connoisseur Li Rihua 李日華 (1565-1635), after the transcription of Zhao's song lyric which Li praised as "two excellencies of literature and calligraphy" (*ci han liang jue* 詞翰兩絕), colophons by Yuan Haowen and Shan Ting are also transcribed in the same entry.[173] Incidentally, Yuan's comment is also preserved in his individual collection *Yishan ji*,[174] so that the authenticity of Li's record is guaranteed. Therefore, it is most

[172] Su Shi, "Niannu jiao, Zhongqiu" 念奴嬌・中秋. Modern commentators date this piece to the same period of Su Shi's Huangzhou 黃州 (present-day Huanggang 黃岡, Hubei province) exile when he wrote down the Red Cliff compositions. Though solid evidence is wanting to fix this dating, the same tune title as and verbal borrowings from Su's more famous "Charms of Niannu" seem to suggest this plausibility.
[173] See Li Rihua, Liu yan zhai biji 六研齋筆記, *juan* 3.
[174] Yuan Haowen, "Ti Xianxian shu 'Chibi fu' hou."

likely that Wu's Red Cliff handscroll previously also bore Yuan's and Shang's colophons attached to the end, which seemed to have been torn apart after late Ming. More intriguingly, these two Jin colophons carried on the same agenda of producing avatars in succession.

Having analyzed the overwhelmingly rich overtones implanted in Zhao Bingwen's song lyric, we have Yuan Haowen's remark right after Zhao's calligraphy written about two decades later:

> The Battle in Xiakou [i.e., Red Cliff Battle that took place in 208] is a favorable topic of past and present. Dongpo in his Red Cliff song lyric playfully compared himself to Young Master Zhou [i.e., Zhou Yu]. Within only a hundred characters, it depicts natural landscape and historical figures so thoroughly that nothing is left unsaid, and thus it is proper to be the best song lyric ever. Lord Xianxian [i.e., Zhao Bingwen, lit. "idle and leisurely"][175] accordingly rhyme-matched it with transcendent diction. Not only is the lyrical spirit wild and uninhibited, cut off and distanced from the normative paths of literature, but the calligraphy per se also stands out without shame.
>
> During the summer in the fifth month of the *xinhai* year (1251), I came to Taiyuan [in Shanxi province] on business and lodged in the Dabei [lit. "Great Compassion"] Buddhist Temple. Marquis Tian Xiushi showed me this handscroll. Xianxian passed away in the *renchen* year (1232) at the age of seventy-four. Today, the twelfth day [in the fifth month], is the "dreary day" commemorating his death. I recall fondly the bygone past, feel disheartened for a long while, and hence I inscribe my words after [Zhao's calligraphy]. The Red Cliff painting was done by Wu Yuanzhi. I, Disciple Yuan, respectfully write [this colophon].
>
> 夏口之戰，古今喜稱道之。東坡赤壁詞，殆戲以周郎自況也。詞才百許字，而江山人物無復餘蘊，宜其為樂府絕唱。閑閑公乃以仙語追和之，非特詞氣放逸，絕去翰墨畦徑，其字畫亦無愧也。
>
> 辛亥夏五月，以事來太原，借宿大悲僧舍。田侯秀實出此軸見示。閑閑七十有四，以壬辰歲下世。今此十二日，其諱日也。感念疇昔，悵然久之，因題其後。赤壁，武元真【直】所畫。門生元某謹書。

Yuan Haowen puts Su Shi and Zhao Bingwen in juxtaposition by claiming that, if Su Shi in his own song lyric expressed his historical contemplation and "playfully compared himself to Zhou Yu" 戲以周郎自況 – a brilliant and promising young nobleman who led the Wu army to victory

[175] Zhao Bingwen adopted his self-appellation *Xianxian* from "Discourse on Treating Everything as Equal" ("Qiwu lun" 齊物論) in *Zhuangzi*: "Great wit is effortless; petty wit picks holes" 大知閑閑，小知間間; English translation taken from A.C. Graham, "The sorting which evens things out," in *Chuang-tzŭ*, p. 50.

in the Red Cliff battle – then Zhao in turn followed in the footsteps of Su Shi by "rhyme-matching him with transcendent diction" 以仙語追和之. Yuan Haowen not only equates Zhao with Su Shi since both poets share the experience of transcendence, but the exceptional and unbridled verse of this Jin poet also matches up to Su Shi's original crowned as "the best song lyric ever."

Eventually, Shang Ting, a "late-born student" (*wansheng* 晚生) of Yuan Haowen, brought to a close the genealogical construction surrounding this Red Cliff artwork:

> Dongpo's Red Cliff song lyric was rhyme-matched by Lord Xianxian, and [Zhao's piece] was written down in the governmental office of Jade Hall. Yishan [i.e., Yuan Haowen] claimed [Dong]po's piece as "the best song lyric ever," and Xianxian's piece as "transcendent diction." Appraisals and comments have been done once and for all, and what else can I say? The panache of previous generations is worth respect and admiration. Yishan's poem "Stirred by Emotions during Night Rains in the Pavilion of Unofficial History" reads…. Every time I read this, my aged tears would be filled between the eyelashes before I realize it. After Dongpo came Xianxian, after Xianxian came Yishan – I truly don't know who else will come after Yishan in a future day. I, Shang Ting, the late-born student, respectfully write this colophon.
>
> 東坡赤壁詞，閑閑公追和，書於玉堂之署。遺山謂坡詞樂府中絶唱，閑閑詞為仙語。題評已竟，欲復何言？前代風流，可敬可慕。遺山《野史亭夜雨感懷》詩云:「私錄關告赴，求野或有取。秋兔一寸毫，盡力未易舉。棲遲私自惜，憂思誰與語？轉展天未明，幽窻響疎雨。」每讀至此，不覺老淚盈睫。東坡之後而有閑閑，閑閑之後而有遺山，未卜他日知遺山者復何人耶？晚生商挺敬跋。

Having read the consecutive colophons by Zhao and Yuan, Shang Ting made this concluding remark: "After Dongpo came Xianxian, after Xianxian came Yishan – I truly don't know who else will come after Yishan in a future day." By exploiting the authority of Su Shi as the cultural exemplar in the North, Shang built up a Jin dynasty cultural lineage from Su Shi to Zhao Bingwen, and then to Yuan Haowen. The last rhetorical question is in effect a lament for the abrupt and perpetual break-off of this lineage together with the extermination of the Jin dynasty and the death of Yuan Haowen who devoted himself to collection and compilation of the bygone

Jin poetry and history. Now it is clear that what Shang Ting really cared about was actually the achievement and perseverance of Jin literati culture in the name of Su Shi's disciples or even "avatars" – and all of this just took place via the efficacious medium of colophons.

In sum, I have offered two examples with visual materials to showcase how the northern Jin scholar-officials Cai Songnian and Zhao Bingwen were transformed into avatars of Su Shi in the field of Jin literati art. Coincidentally or not, both Cai's and Zhao's calligraphy was exerted not long before their ultimate decease in this world,[176] so that they can be said to have followed previous transcendents and gone back to the heavenly paradise, with their brushwork as traces left in the human world. Subtle difference, however, can be observed between these two cases: while the former one is about "poems of transcendence" freighted with Daoist nuance conveyed by successive "banished immortals," the latter is more historically contextualized with the aim of establishing authority by acting like "cultural heroes" – yet still "transcendent language" is never absent in literary works composed by Su Shi and Zhao Bingwen. Also, the first occasion on connoisseurship of Su Shi's calligraphy among those Jin high officials occurred in the early Jin period when the northern political power was on the rise, whereas in the second case, the Jin empire was dimming from paean to dirge and finally extinguished after the year 1234, so that the colophons written in 1251 were more like nostalgia for and commemoration of the past glory of Jin culture exemplified by Jin painting on Su Shi's Red Cliff and Zhao Bingwen's song lyric and calligraphy.

More importantly, we do see in both cases a conscious genealogical construction by bestowing "avatars" of Su Shi upon the leaders of Jin literati community in a sequel of colophons. For the Jin literati community, Su Shi was the all-time polestar of the reincarnation

[176] Cai Songnian died in the same year 1159 when he wrote down his colophon attached to Su Shi's calligraphy, and Zhao Bingwen passed away in 1232, four years after he composed the song lyric and transcribed it on paper in 1228.

enterprise, so that to become avatars of Su Shi led to the orthodox inheritance of literary culture that perpetuated from the Northern Song to the Jurchen Jin dynasty.

Above I have demonstrated the reception history of Su Shi in Jin literati culture from different aspects: the political significance underlying his revival in the post-Northern Song era; textual production and pedagogical agenda surrounding the "study of Su Shi" in the North; self-styled disciples and attributed avatars of Su Shi that derived from Jin literati community. In addition, I argue that there exists two-fold significance when we talk about "moving bodies" or "many lives" of Su Shi against Jin historical contexts. We already encounter the versatile switch of Su Shi's self-identities manifest in both his own works and others' reconstruction. This turned out to be one crucial aspect of his appeal, and Jin literati role-played as and modeled on him in multifarious manners, as revealed in their heartfelt "fan writing." And second, the material and conceptual mobility of Su Shi's words, deeds, images and objects via the alienated others like the Jurchen Jin ensured the sustainability of his impact beyond time and space, giving rise to a shared culture hero across East Asia.

In the next chapter, we will turn from the Northern Song model to the cultural legacy of the great Tang empire and even the High Antiquity witnessed in the Jin literature, which was also intrinsic to the northern ambitious schema of "learning from and restoring the past."

CHAPTER 7

Late Jin Anamnesis, Appropriation, and Anthologization of Tang Poetry

Transformation from Song back to Tang in Late Jin Poetic Fashions

In the last chapter, I investigated the pivotal role of Northern Song model imposed on the formation of Jin literati culture, especially the literary genealogy of ancient-style prose or the orthodox *guwen* tradition and Su Shi the all-time towering cultural hero. This paradigm, nevertheless, was not a master key that applied to all literary practices on the Jin soil. As I have discussed in detail in previous chapters, ancient-style prose by Northern Song writers was appreciated and emulated whole-heartedly in the North (see related discussion in chapter 6), whereas Jin poets had guarded and critical reception of Song poetry represented by the Jiangxi School (see more in chapters 4 and 5). This bifurcated assessment concerning Song prose and poetry was again illustrated by Wang Ruoxu in his "Disputations on Prose Writing":

> Yang Xiong's (53 BCE-18 CE) *Classics*,[1] Song Qi's (998-1061) *History*,[2] and poetry composed by masters of the Jiangxi School are all vermin of *siwen*. As for **prose**, it is not until the Song dynasty that it became genuine writing, while for **poetry**, vice versa.

[1] Yang Xiong composed *Exemplary Sayings* (*Fa yan* 法言) and *Great Mystery* (*Tai xuan* 太玄), which are modeled on two classics, *The Analects of Confucius* (*Lunyu* 論語) and *The Classic of Changes* (*Yijing* 易經) respectively.
[2] This refers to *The New Tang History* (*Xin Tang shu* 新唐書) co-compiled by Ouyang Xiu 歐陽修 and Song Qi, and the latter was in charge of the amendment of biographies.

For Wang Ruoxu's harsh criticism over Song Qi's historiographical writing, see his 《新唐書》辨 in *juan* 22-24. In a word, Wang disliked the forced "archaism" or primitivism (*jiangu* 簡古) reflected in Song's abstruse ancient-style prose, which was the opposite of plainness and spontaneity represented by that of Ouyang Xiu and Su Shi.

劉祁《歸潛志》卷一：（宋九嘉）從屏山遊，讀書、為文有奇氣，與雷希顏、李天英相埒也。……文辭簡古，法宋祁《新唐書》。

同上，卷八：而雷希顏、宋飛卿諸人，皆作古文，故復往往想法傚，不作淺弱語。

楊雄之經，宋祁之史，江西諸子之詩，皆斯文之蠹也。**散文**至宋人，始是真文字，**詩**則反是矣。[3]

Late Jin literati seem to have reached a consensus of distinct judgements concerning literary genres of Tang poetry and Song prose – that is, regarding prose composition, one should go for Song writers; on the other hand, Tang poetry served as an alternative and superior model compared to its Song counterpart. Just like what happened in the Southern Song poetic society, the renaissance of Tang poetry in early thirteenth-century North was a reactive conduct to countervail the contemporary Jiangxi-style poetry.

It is appropriate here to contextualize the Jin dynasty revival of Tang poetry in socio-political history. This story begins in the thirteenth-century North China. After more than sixty years of peace and order between the Jurchen Jin and Southern Song regimes in the twelfth century, the menacing specter of the Mongols finally became the reality of military conflicts for Jurchen rulers in the North. Since the year 1211, Mongol cavalry led by Genghis Khan defeated Jurchen Jin armies and occupied a large proportion of their territory. Hemmed between the Mongol cavalry in the North and the Southern Song troops across the Huai River, the Jin court struggled to survive on a steeply shrinking territory and moved its headquarter from Beijing to Kaifeng after 1214. And yet, it is curious that the intellectual temper in North China reached its highest pitch when the Jurchen Jin political regime was mired in a catastrophic moment. In the next two decades, the Jin dynasty underwent a "terminal lucidity" of its literati culture that boomed in a flash particularly in its capital before its untimely annihilation in 1234. As regards classical poetry, an obvious conversion of fashion could be observed among Jin poets, as they were discontent with their Northern Song exemplars and turned to the more remote and canonical Tang poets. Indeed, the aspiration to skip over the Song and directly reach for the Tang was part of the overall the schema of pursuing "antiquity" as an ideological remedy for the

[3] 王若虛《文辨》卷四，No. 40

tottering real politics among Jin scholar-officials. A contemporary Jin author depicted the cultural phenomenon of recovering the Tang poetic past as below:

> After [the Jin court] crossed south, the literary trend changed straightaway: many learned prose in the extraordinary and archaic manner, and poetry after the "Airs" and "Elegantia" [in the *Classic of Poetry*]… Poetry made by Zhao Xianxian [i.e., Zhao Bingwen 趙秉文 (1159-1232)] in his later years often emulated those by Tang poets like Li Bai 李白 (701-62) and Du Fu 杜甫 (712-70), but he never acknowledged it to others. After a while, the generation of Ma Zhiji [i.e., Ma Jiuchou 麻九疇 (1183-1232)], Li Changyuan [i.e., Li Fen 李汾 (1192-?)] and Yuan Yuzhi [i.e., Yuan Haowen] earned great reputation, so that later poets strove to model on Tang exemplars.
>
> 南渡後，文風一變，文多學奇古，詩多學風雅……趙閑閑晚年，詩多法唐人李、杜諸公，然未嘗語於人。已而，麻知幾、李長源、元裕之輩鼎出，故後進作詩者爭以唐人為法也。[4]

The same shift from Song back to Tang concerning the overall late Jin poetic fashions was reconfirmed elsewhere:

> After the Jin regime crossed south, the learning of poetry had thrived. Jin poetry has refined and strict regulation, as well as lucid and grand diction, so that it supersedes the **former Song** poetry and directly takes **Tang** exemplars as its goal.
>
> 金自南渡後，詩學為盛，其格律精嚴，辭語清壯，度越**前宋**，直以**唐人**為指歸。[5]

Though Su Shi in the North retained his unwavering status as a literary genius and cultural hero, when it came to preliminary pedagogy of poetic composition, learning of Tang poetry gradually won the favor of the thirteenth-century northern writers. Below I try to illustrate the phenomenon of and reasons for the Jin prevalence of Tang poetry in two aspects. First, I argue that late Jin literati learned from a wide range of Tang poets, though two countertrends between novelty and simplicity formed the fault line of this poetic enterprise, which was actually in tune with diverse dispositions of two poet communities led by Li Chunfu and Zhao Bingwen

[4] 《歸潛志》卷八
[5] 王惲《秋澗集》卷四三《西巖趙君文集序》

respectively, which I have delineated in chapter 4. Then, I shift my focus from individual poets to literary collections. By examining these northern poetry collections compiled by Jin "remnant subjects," I elaborate how this learning of Tang poetry left its imprint on the thirteenth-century anthology culture. Two poetry anthologies draw my attention in particular, namely *The Poetry Collection of Multiple Elders along the Yellow River and Fen River* (*He Fen zhu lao shiji* 河汾諸老詩集) and *Drum and Fife Songs of Tang Poetry* (*Tang shi guchui* 唐詩鼓吹, TSGC hereafter), and the latter will be my major research subject in the rest of this chapter.

Style and Person: Jin Learning of Tang Poetry Ranging from Inventiveness to Naturalness

In a letter written by Zhao Bingwen to offer advice about pedagogy of poetry composition to his student, this great Jin poet laid out the whole gamut of styles by learning Six Dynasties and Tang poetry, and further pointed out the correspondence between literary manners and personality of individual poets:

> I once said that ancient poems manifest individual predilections, and most have an affinity with the character of the poets. As for Tao Yuanming [i.e., Tao Qian 陶潛, 365-427], Xie Lingyun 謝靈運 (385-433), Wei Suzhou [i.e., Wei Yingwu 韋應物 (737-792)], Wang Wei, Liu Zihou [i.e., Liu Zongyuan 柳宗元 (773-819)], Bai Letian [i.e., Bai Juyi 白居易 (772-846)], [their poems] acquire the moderate and plain style; [poems of] Jiang Yan (444-505), Bao Mingyuan [i.e., Bao Zhao 鮑照 (d. 466)], Li Bai and Li He (790-816) are strikingly outstanding; Meng Dongye's [i.e., Meng Jiao 孟郊 (751-814)] and Jia Langxian's [i.e., Jia Dao 賈島 (779-843)] [pieces] are otherwise endowed with the spirits of hidden apprehension and disheartenment; as regards Old Du [i.e., Du Fu], he can be said to master all styles.
>
> 嘗謂古人之詩，各得其一偏，又多其性之似者。若陶淵明、謝靈運、韋蘇州、王維、柳子厚、白樂天，得其冲淡；江淹、鮑明遠、李白、李賀，得其峭峻；孟東野、賈浪仙，又得其幽憂不平之氣；若老杜，可謂兼之矣。[6]

[6] 趙秉文《答李天英書》

Zhao's general discourse over the Jin conception of ancient poetry provides a convenient reference frame for our discussion here. Later in this passage, Zhao also discussed great poets Han Yu and Su Shi, whose personal styles according to this Jin poet had the exceptional breadth of variation and integration that resisted being compartmentalized into any group. Besides these stellar names, two major clusters or constellations are perceivable in this literary cosmos, namely poets in favor of naturalness or plainness (*chongdan* 冲淡) and those for piercing extraordinariness (*qiaojun* 峭峻). It is not fortuitous that this stylistic demarcation of Tang poetry perfectly corresponds with two rival groups in late Jin poet society that I elaborated in chapter 2. That is, the literati circle surrounding Li Chunfu called for the poetics of eccentricity or *qi* 奇 on the one hand, and the opposing camp led by Zhao Bingwen in turn promoted "noble simplicity" or *ya* 雅 on the other. Together they constituted the dominant schema of learning Tang poetry that surfaced during the late Jin period. For the former group, Li He and Lu Tong (795?-835) as adherents of Han Yu turned out to be their peculiar Tang exemplars, while from the perspective of the opposing camp, moderate-styled poets like Tao Yuanming, Wei Yingwu, and Wang Wei, together with the canonical Du Fu, stood for the ideal of utmost elegance. As a result, below I will analyze the respective Tang poets picked up by these two Jin literati groups, and try to draw out the complex landscape and multiple modes of Tang poetry learning for thirteenth-century northern poets.

1. Jin Adaption of "Grotesque" Tang Poetry after Li He's *Yuefu*

In chapter 4, we have discussed in detail the cult of "extraordinariness" or "piercing novelty" among Li Chunfu's literary circle modeled on Huang Tingjian. But soon this Northern Song exemplar was not enough for this poetics of heroic eccentricity. In tune with the elevation of

Tang poetry in the late Jin period, scholars have discussed Li Chunfu's "playful and rascal" poetic tone modeled on Han Yu.[7] In addition to that, the pronounced influence of Tang poets Li He and Lu Tong, originally within Han Yu's circle, was also perceivable in Li Chunfu's literary circle, who served as their best spokespersons for "self-learned creativity." Li Chunfu's poetry has long been regarded as modeling after Li and Lu, and he in particular showed a preference for Lu Tong, since he frequently borrowed from Lu Tong's fantastic verses into his own.[8] In one piece, the Jin poet applied segments of Lu Tong's "Poem on the Lunar Eclipse" (*Yueshi shi* 月蝕詩) referring to one of his friends Zhao Yuan 趙元 (fl. early 13th c.), who was blind but still mentally incisive and was able to "grope in the dark for generating exotic wording" 暗中摸索出奇語 – the ultimate embodiment of "learning from one's mind."[9] Incidentally, Li Chunfu even named his son as Li Tong 李仝 (fl. 13th c.), which I believe was a salute to his idol poet, and gave him the style name *zhichuan* 稚川, literally "Juvenile Creek" or "Younger [Yu]chuan," after Lu Tong's appellation "Master Yuchuan 玉川 [lit. Jade Creek]."

Li's followers shared the same bent for Tang verses of this sort. We have mentioned that Lei Yuan emulated the eccentric and demanding poetry by Han Yu, so was Song Jiujia who liked to compose literary works with "extraordinary spirits" (*qiqi* 奇氣) in the same manner as Lei and

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[7] See Takahashi Kōkichi 高橋幸吉, "Kinmatsu ni okeru Kanmon no juyō, jō: Ri Junho to Kanmon bunjin" 金末における韓門の受容（上）—李純甫と韓門文人—, *Chūgoku shibun ronsō* 中國詩文論叢 27 (2008): 131-47, in which the author also discusses Li's learning from Li He and Lu Tong.

[8] See the entry on Li Chunfu in GQZ, 8.87: 多喜奇怪，然其文亦不出莊、左、柳、蘇，詩不出盧仝、李賀。

Moreover, Li Chunfu in his ancient-style poem "Baling fengxue" 灞陵風雪 explicitly quoted verses from Chen Shidao and Lu Tong; see ZZJJZ, 4.1134–35:

君不見浣花老人醉歸圖，熊兒捉轡驥子扶。
又不見玉川先生一絶句，健倒莓苔三四五。(*ll*. 1–4)
陳師道《和饒節詠周昉畫李白真》：君不見浣花老翁醉騎驢，熊兒捉轡驥子扶。
盧仝《村醉》：昨夜村飲歸，健倒三四五。摩挲青莓苔，莫嗔驚著汝。

It further proved Li's learning from the Jiangxi School and his peculiar preference of the Tang poet Lu Tong.

[9] See Li Chunfu, "Zhao Yizhi Yu xuan" 趙宜之愚軒; ZZJJZ, 4.1161–66.

Li Jing.[10] Moreover, Ma Tiancai 馬天采 (1172-1232), a fellow examinee with Lei and Song belonging to the 1213 *jinshi* 進士 or "Presented Literati" community, was said to be a weirdo with grotesque behaviors (he served as a court official while dressing in hemp clothes and straw sandals),[11] so there is no surprise that he adopted the poetics of novelty and strangeness, as Yuan Haowen commented that "Yuanzhang [i.e., Ma Tiancai] composed quite a few poems, craving for an alternative style derivative but distinctive from Lu Tong and Ma Yi (*jinshi* 784). He often made ironic and satiric dictions in the farcical style as well…. We have to say he lacked the spirits of moderateness and harmony" 元章多作詩，欲別出盧仝、馬異之外。又多用俳體作譏刺語……不得不謂之乏中和之氣.[12] Thus, the affection for being strange or exceptional after Tang poets Han Yu, Li He, and Lu Tong seemed to be the hallmark identity of this *jinshi* literati group.

Other intimate companions of Li Chunfu who nonetheless failed the civil exam – Li Jing, Zhang Jue, and Ma Jiuchou 麻九疇 (1183-1232) – also exemplified in poetry their take-away from Li He's fanciful spectacles and virtuosic wording. Li Jing's reputation of composing strange and unsaid poetry has been discussed in chapter 4, and apart from Li He, Li Jing was also likened to Li Bai by Li Chunfu for both his extraordinary talent and larger-than-life character.[13] Again it is Zhao Bingwen who warned this young student that his obsessive pursuit of unexampled novelty was off the mark, and this opinion was also recorded in his letter to Li Jing:

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[10] 《歸潛志》卷一：從屏山遊，讀書、為文有奇氣，與雷希顏、李天英相埒也。

[11] 《歸潛志》卷五：馬天采元章，太原人。擢第，與雷希顏、宋飛卿同年。為人詭怪好異，又喜為驚世駭俗之行，人莫測焉。南渡，為史院編修官。不事修飾，麻絛草履，沉浮閭里，殊無朝士風。雜學，通太玄數，又善繪畫及塑像，雖居官，輒為人塑畫自神。頗善李屏山，當屏山歿，為寫真，且題以讚，皆怪語，末曰：「若到黃泉見魯仲連、藺相如，道余傳示。」其狂誕如此。後以病終。

[12] 《中州集》小傳

[13] 《歸潛志》卷二：李經，字天英，錦州人。少有異才。入太學肄業，屏山見其詩曰：「真今世太白也。」盛稱諸公間，由是名大震。
李純甫《送李天英》：阿經瓌奇天下士，筆頭風雨三千字。醉倒謫仙元不死，時借奇兵攻二子。

Till now your poetic composition has achieved great accomplishment, but it is nothing more than combination of Changji [i.e., Li He] and Lu Tong; your poetry fails to take the commonplace and make it elegant, and to take the old and make it new – this is not my expectation for you.

In the past, there was someone who blew the bamboo flute to learn the singing of phoenix; yet the singing of phoenix could not be heard, and instead there was sometimes owl's cry. Doesn't your poetry at times have the cry of the owl?

Previously, Pingshan once talked about you, saying that "since Li He's death, for two/four[???] hundred years there has been no poem like this." It indeed makes sense, and I agree with him. Lord Li cherishes your talent, but he doesn't care about you as much as me. I hope you take the heart of ancients as your own, and I hope you don't merely accept your natural gift and refuse human endeavors, like the rakes in the world. We know each other by heart, so I tell you this idea; hope you stay calm and don't be agitated.

然此迄今大成，不過長吉、盧仝合而為一，未能以故為新、以俗為雅，非所望于吾友也。

昔人有吹簫學鳳鳴者，鳳鳴不可得聞，時有梟音耳。君詩無乃間有梟音乎？

向者屏山嘗語足下云:「自李賀死二百年無此作矣。」理誠有之，僕亦云然。李公愛才，然愛足下之深者，宜莫如老夫。願足下以古人之心為心，不願足下受之天而不受之人，如世輕薄子也。與足下心知，故道此意，幸少安毋躁。[14]

It is noteworthy that Zhao puts Li He and Lu Tong in sharp relief against Huang Tingjian, as he quotes the same maxim like Li Chunfu to stress that Huang's inventiveness is rooted in learned erudition rather than individual talent alone. The substantial difference between the Northern Song Huang Tingjian and the Tang duo of Li He and Lu Tong is that for the former, poetic innovation is the renewal process of the tradition *per se*, while the two idiosyncratic Tang poets do their best to create *ab novo*, exploring new territories and making unprecedented poetic versification and imagery outside the poetic repertoire. Syntactically, Huang's poetry is very regulated in poetic meters, while Li He and Lu Tong freely configure their expressions in the manner of rubato. Zhao expresses his worry and reservation of emulating Li He and Lu Tong like self-centered, anarchic and immature "rakes" who are too proud to learn from others, and he further warns that the hasty crave for matchless sounds could give rise to the coarse "owl's cry."

[14] Zhao Bingwen, "Da Li Tianying shu" 答李天英書; FSJ, 19.230–31. Michael Fuller also briefly discussed this paragraph in "Elite literature of the Jin dynasty to 1214," pp. 516–17.

Finally, the appeal to inventiveness by Li Chunfu's community also underwent the shift of focus from Huang Tingjian to Li He and Lu Tong, as the former realized novelty through appropriation and reinvigoration of the tradition, while the latter adopted a self-centered way and replied more on individual talent to accomplish novelty.

Besides Li Jing's case, the other two poets mentioned above, Zhang Jue and Ma Jiuchou, showed in their poems on "antique mirrors" (*gu jing* 古鏡) the stylistic affinity to Li He's *yuefu* on objects. There is one couplet of Zhang Jue's verse preserved in Jin textual sources reading "with exalted bearing is the antique mirror, black like lacquer; / [Analogous to the darkening effect of] brocade-like blossoms and scale-shaped chafes being damped by autumn rains" 軒姿古鏡黑如漆，錦華鱗皴秋雨濕, whose illusionary quality and dense imagery remind the readers of Li He's similar compositions, and Jin critics complimented that Zhang's creation was no less than the Tang poet's original lyric.[15] Ma Jiuchou's composition entitled "Composing on Boyu's [i.e., Zhang Jue] Translucent Mirror" 賦伯玉透光鏡 was an ever more famous masterpiece, as is said to have transmitted to the capital and been highly appreciated by Zhao Bingwen who even hung a handwritten copy on the walls so as to recite it when he sat or lay down.[16] We now even have a piece of calligraphy preserved in National Palace Museum, Taipei, transcribing precisely this composition with an alternative *yuefu* title "Song of the Translucent Antique Mirror" 透光古鏡歌, executed in the large-character running script by the celebrated thirteenth-century northern artist-literatus Xianyu Shu 鮮于樞 (1246-1302) only second to the contemporary Zhao Mengfu.[17] This material evidence also betrays the enduring and wide

[15] 《歸潛志》卷二：又賦《古鏡》云：「軒姿古鏡黑如漆，錦華鱗皴秋雨濕。」人以為不減李長吉云。
[16] 《中州集》小傳：嘗為鄜城張伯玉賦透光鏡，欽叔傳之京師，趙禮部大加賞異，貼壁間，坐臥讀之。
[17] Xianyu Shu was in good terms with Zhao Mengfu, and both advocated the ideal of "Reviving Antiquity" and were regarded as the "Dual Marvels" (*Er miao* 二妙) in the realm of cultural production. While Zhao Mengfu was the

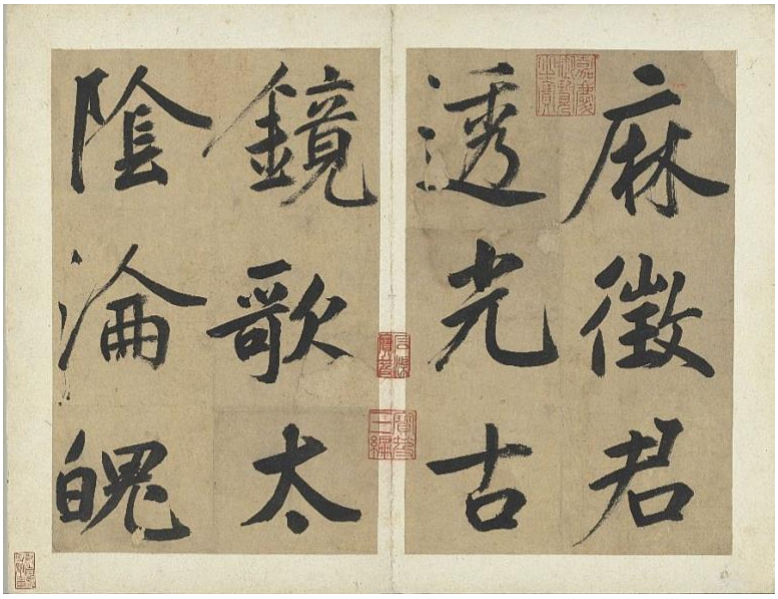
currency of Ma's *yuefu* among literati in the following century. Being "refined, profound, sharp and keen" 精深峭刻 was how Yuan Haowen appraised Ma Jiuchou's poetic style,[18] much in keeping with description connected to the idiosyncratic "group or gate of Han [Yu]" (Han men 韓門). More specifically, Ma's poem on this antique mirror throws into high relief the instantaneity of youth and beauty against the abysmal destiny of death:

秦娃漢婉化鴛土	Qin dynasty girls and Han dynasty beauties turned into the soil of the Love-Duck [Palace];
寵雨恩雲埋鳳詔	Coddled rains and cordial clouds sank the phoenix's [imperial] edicts.
當年椒塗鑑桃李	In those years, against pepper-painted walls shone about peach and plum blossoms [i.e., palace ladies];
身後泉臺映蓬藿	After their deaths the Spring Terrace [i.e., the underworld] has been shaded by tumbleweed and bean leaves.
枕簟無情草木香	Pillows and mats, heartless, [were rotten into] fragrance of plants and woods.
笙歌不暖梟狐嘯	Music and songs, listless, [were replaced by] howls of owls and foxes.
髑髏一醜不再妍	Skulls, once malformed, could no longer become pretty again,
不知持此將安照	I don't know what [countenance] the holder of this mirror wanted to reflect.
萬斛珠璣委俑人	Ten thousand bushels of gems and pearls were consigned to human figurines [in the tombs],
喚得偷兒成鬼剽	[Which only] attracted thieves who stole from ghosts [i.e., grave robbers]. (*ll*. 9-18)[19]

indisputable cynosure as the best artist-literatus of his age, Xianyu Shu was unparalleled in cursive script (*caoshu* 草書), which Zhao complimented that "Boji's [i.e., Xianyu Shu] cursive script is far better than mine; I did my utmost to catch up with him but failed" 伯幾草書過余甚遠，極力追之，而不能及.

[18] 《中州集》小傳

[19] 麻九疇《賦伯玉透光鏡》（《中州集》卷六）



Xianyu Shu 鮮于樞 (1246-1302), *Ma Jiuchou's* 麻九疇 (1183-1232) *Song of the Translucent Antique Mirror* (*Ma Zhengjun touguang gujing ge* 麻徵君透光古鏡歌, Zhengjun is Ma's self-appellation), opening album leaf, 13th century. Originally handscroll, remounted as album leaves, ink on paper, 30.5 × 19.8 cm (each leaf), 35.9 × 46.5 cm (mounting). National Palace Museum, Taipei, Taiwan, Republic of China.

We find here in classical Chinese poetry the motif of "death and the maiden" (*Der Tod und das Mädchen* in German), visualized as fair, courtly ladies as the owners of the precious object, and ghostly skeletons as the mirror image reflected on the other side. Often, Ma goes so far as to contradict these two extremes within a single couplet, which is the case of the first three couplets translated above. The dramatic juxtaposition and close proximity of fairness to ugliness, prosperity to decline, refinement to regression, echo with many of Li He's *yuefu* poetry. In the piece entitled "Drums in the Street of the Officials" 官街鼓, for example, the Tang poet contradicts the glamorous court ladies in present day with the "fragrant bones" of an ancient femme fatale, creating an illusory sense of *déjà vu* via poetry. Li goes on to underline that the daily sound of drums at capital incessantly turns one's black hair into gray and even "pounds away a thousand years while the sun forever white" 磕碎千年日長白, sending the message that our existence is but a crack of light in a twinkling in face of the ever-changing while everlasting

nature.[20] This leitmotif of Li He's *yuefu* is crystallized in the set phrase "azure sea and the mulberry groves," *canghai sangtian* 滄海桑田, or the supernatural experience of time manipulation involving in an instant the *longue durée* vicissitudes in this world shifting between ocean and land. The Tang poet time and again refers to this favorite allusion with his own virtuosic wording that is most unexpected for the readers.[21] In effect, antiquity, beauty, decay and peculiarity intelligible in Ma's poetry are all keywords of Li's composition as well, which has been articulated by a later Tang great poet Du Mu 杜牧 (803-852):

> … earthenware coffins and tripods with seal-characters cannot describe his antiquity; seasonal blossoms and lovely girls cannot describe his ardour; fallen kingdoms and ruined palaces, thorny thickets and gravemounds cannot describe his resentment and sorrow; whales yawning, turtles spurting, ox-ghosts, and serpent-spirits cannot describe his wildness and extravagance.
>
> ……瓦棺篆鼎，不足為其古也；時花美女，不足為其色也；荒國陊殿，梗莽丘壠，不足為其恨怨悲愁也；鯨呿鼇擲，牛鬼蛇神，不足為其虛荒誕幻也。[22]

In other words, Ma Jiuchou's poem on the antique mirror bears typical features akin to that of Li He and may even intend to enforce imitation from and conversation with Li's original.

At this stage, it is easy to find that one distinctive feature of learning from Li He among Jin literati is their preference for *yuefu* poetry, especially those consisting of heterometric verse patterns and irregular rhythms. In such case, Li Bai and Li He are often mentioned in juxtaposition for the talent of composing extraordinary *yuefu*. Though Li Bai's wording is much

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[20] This striking poetic image reminds readers of another famous line with similar effects in Li He's "The King of Qin Drinks Wine" (Qin wang yinjiu 秦王飲酒): "Xihe strikes the sun with her whip, the sound of glass, / kalpa ashes have all flown away, past and present pacified" 羲和敲日玻璃聲，劫灰飛盡古今平. See Owen, Late Tang, p. 171.

[21] 「滄海桑田」在李賀詩歌中舉隅：
李賀《夢天》：黃塵清水三山下，變更千年如走馬。
李賀《天上謠》：東指羲和能走馬，海塵新生石山下。
李賀《浩歌》：南風吹山作平地，帝遣天吳移海水。
李賀《嘲少年》：少年安得長少年？海波尚變為桑田。

[22] 杜牧《太常寺奉禮郎李賀歌詩集序》. I adopt the English translation from J. D. Frodsham trans., *The Collected Poems of Li He* (The Chinese University of Hong Kong Press, 2016), p. xxiv.

easier and more normative, the effect in his *yuefu* is not short of staggering creativity. In fact, contemporary Tang readers of Li Bai's *yuefu* "The Road to Shu Is Hard" (*Shu dao nan* 蜀道難) were impressive about the quality of being "extraordinary beyond extraordinary" (*qi zhi you qi* 奇之又奇).[23] Anna Shield's research on the representation and reception of Li Bai's poetry already points out that "Li Bai's reputation as a poet in Tang anthologies was centered around *yuefu*, which were overrepresented in anthologies compared to his other verse forms."[24] Moreover, Du Fu applied such forceful rhetoric as "Your brush set to paper, stirred wind and rain, / A poem completed made gods and spirits weep" 筆落驚風雨，詩成泣鬼神 to praise for Li Bai's verse,[25] which also reminds us of the typical Li He. In other words, the two Lis as Tang exemplars for *yuefu* poetry stand for the poetics of eccentricity with a loose, rubato form in the service of individualized expression.

And among Jin poets, we have Wang Yu 王鬱 (1204-1233) who was a *yuefu* master and regarded to have learned from Li Bai and Li He. First of all, Wang Yu was treated as the Jin version Li Bai in both words and deeds both by the poet himself and many of his coevals.[26] Ten out of twelve poems by Wang Yu recorded in the *Zhongzhou ji* 中州集 are *yuefu* poetry, and interestingly, some of them manifest the Janus-faced styles of Li Bai and Li He all at once. For

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[23] See Yin Fan 殷璠 (fl. mid-8th c.), *Heyue yingling ji* 河嶽英靈集; Fu Xuanzong 傅璇琮 et al., *Tang ren xuan Tang shi xinbian* (*zengding ben*) 唐人選唐詩新編（增訂本） (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2014), p. 171.

[24] Anna M. Shields, "Avatars of Li Bai: On the Production of Tang Poetry and Tang Poets during the Northern Song Dynasty," in *Hsiang Lectures on Chinese Poetry*, vol. 8, ed. Grace S. Fong (Montreal: Centre for East Asian Research, McGill University, 2019), p. 64; for the percentage of Li Bai's *yuefu* in early poetry anthologies before the eleventh century, also see fn. 16, p. 92.

[25] Du Fu, "To Li Bai" 寄李十二白二十韻, in Stephen Owen, *The Poetry of Du Fu*, 6 vols (Boston: De Gruyter, 2016), 8.23, vol. 3, p. 221.

[26] 《歸潛志》卷三：為文閎肆奇古，動輒數千百言，法柳柳州。歌詩飄逸，有太白氣象。……其論出處，以為仕宦本求得志，行其所知以濟斯民。其或進而不能行，不若居高養豪行樂自適。不為世網所羈，頗以李白為則。

又，《中州集》小傳有人贈詩云：憶惜潁亭見飛伯，恍若夢中逢李白。

李獻能《贈王飛伯雜言一首》（用典李白《南陵別兒童入京》）

instance, Wang's very first piece in the *Zhongzhou ji* is called "Ballad of Springtime" (*Chunri xing* 春日行), a typical *yuefu* trope depicting outdoor excursion and banquets in springtime, and we have Li Bai's single piece preserved in the *Collection of Music Bureau Poetry* (*Yuefu shiji* 樂府詩集).[27] Wang Yu's recomposition, however, reaches its highest pitch in the end when the foreboding darkness and death befall those who are just in the middle of a good company among flowers:

小鈴犢車讌堤沙	Little clapper-bells on bullock carts – a banquet near sandbanks;
鳳簫驚落瓊英花	Sound of the phoenix syrinx startles and drops down jade-like flowers.
荒墳頹頹啼夕鴉	Desolate tombs in ruins – crows are cawing at dusk.
草荒月黑鬼思家	Grass in wilderness, the moon in the dark – ghosts are missing home. (*ll*. 5-8)

Here the *momento mori* vision in Li He's voice is crystal clear, which is in fact quite an outlier speaking of the stereotypical depiction of springtime pleasure. Yuan Haowen tactfully illustrates Wang's peculiar synthesis of these paradoxical attributes that "[his poetic] atmosphere is gloomy and bleak, while comprising springs of yore" 氣象慘澹含古春; "at his brush tip are heavenly dictions as well as ghostly utterance" 筆頭仙語復鬼語.[28] The former remark focuses on poetic imagery and echoes the *yuefu* "Ballad of Springtime" translated above, where sunlit and enchanting spring scenery is intruded and overshadowed by grotesque darkness and ominous decay. This in turn corresponds to "heavenly dictions" (*xianyu* 仙語) embodied by Li Bai and "ghostly utterance" that Li He was best known for. Incidentally, it is also said that just like Li He, Wang Yu prepared a poetry sack (*shi nang* 詩囊) to collect those superb Jin verses he contingently encountered in his daily life, so that Wang exerted his utmost effort in composing

[27] 見《樂府詩集》卷六五「雜曲歌辭」，現存鮑照、李白、張籍同名詩。
[28] 元好問《黃金行》

poetry which could also be attuned to music.[29] Thus, we can see both Li Bai's grandiose posture and Li He's grotesque fashion united in the Jin *yuefu* composed by Wang Yu.

More importantly, the trend of poetic style after Li He persisted well into the post-Jin period, as was spotted in fragmentary and sporadic texts. Tian Zizhi 田紫芝 (1191-1213), a local elite in Xinzhou 忻州, Shanxi province and childhood friend of Yuan Haowen, for example, was capable of crafting "ghostly" verses like Li He such as "intoxicated dream, gloomy and clammy – butterfly's wings are flimsy; / one lamp, not a single word – it lights the brim of the dream" 醉夢蕭森蝶翅輕，一燈無語夢邊明.[30] Furthermore, the poetics of abstruse eccentricity even gradually influenced writings by non-Chinese ethnic minorities such as Jurchen aristocrats and officials under the Mongol rule. There was a Jurchen poet Wulin Dashuang 烏林答爽 (d. 1232) who composed poetry on antiques such as the legendary inkstone made from tiles of Cao Cao's 曹操 (155-220) Bronze Bird Terrace (*Tongxue tai* 銅雀臺) called *Ye yan* 鄴硯 as well as the ancient ruler (*gu chi* 古尺) modeled on Li He's *yuefu*, while Jin coevals pitied his untimely death during the collapse of the Jurchen regime.[31] The key figure promoting Li He's poetry in the thirteenth-century North China was Yelü Zhu 耶律鑄 (1221-1285), the son of the prominent grand councilor Yelü Chucai 耶律楚材 (1190-1244) at the Mongol court. Yelü Chucai himself was the son of the Khitan aristocrat Yelü Lü 耶律履 (1131-1191, also written as Yila Lü 移剌履 in Jin textual sources) who served the Jurchen Jin court.[32] Therefore, as a family member of the

[29] 李獻能《題飛伯詩囊》
Also see 李商隱《李賀小傳》("Short Biography of Li He"), translated by Stephen Owen in *Late Tang*, pp. 160-61.
[30] 《中州集》卷七小傳：年十三，外祖廣寧治中命賦《麗華引》，語意驚絶，人謂李長吉復生。
又見《續夷堅志》卷四「田德秀夙悟」：醉夢蕭森蝶翅輕，一燈無語夢邊明：鬼語
元好問《續夷堅志》卷四「田德秀詩」：紈綺間，作詩多憔悴之語。……無憂而戚，古人所忌。
[31] See 《歸潛志》卷三. Li He himself composed a *yuefu* poetry on inkstone called 《楊生青花紫石硯歌》.
[32] See 《金史・移剌履傳》；《元史・耶律楚材傳》.

Khitan aristocratic clan in North China that survived and even prospered in the Jurchen-Mongol dynastic transition, Yelü Zhu was conversant with and engaged in the northern literati culture that persisted from the Jurchen Jin to Mongol Yuan rule. Today we have the individual collection of Yelü Zhu entitled *Drunken Reclusion in Twin Brooks* (*Shuangxi zuiyin ji* 雙溪醉隱集) partially preserved in six *juan* re-collected from the *Yongle Encyclopedia* (*Yongle dadian* 永樂大典), as well as prefaces and postscripts written by elder authorities like Yuan Haowen, Ma Ge, Wang Wanqing 王萬慶 (fl. 13th c.), Lü Kun 呂鯤 (fl. 13th c.), Zhao Zhu 趙著 (fl. 13th c.), and the famous poet-monk Xingying 性英 (fl. 13th c.), all of whom could be labeled as Jin "remnant subjects" belonging to the elite class. Just like Li Jing and Wang Yu, Yelü Zhu was gifted in *yuefu* poetry with quite a large quantity of 128 pieces, half of which belong to martial songs under the categories of "Lyrics of Drum and Fife Songs" 鼓吹曲辭 and "Lyrics of Transverse Flute Songs" 橫吹曲辭.[33] Yelü Zhu's poetic taste was again linked to Li Bai and Li He, and just like the latter Tang poet, Yelü had a precocious talent for both music and poetry when he was still in his teens.[34] Zhao Zhu in his preface praised for both his learning from Tang poetry and the lyricism and compatibility to music: "In the age of thirteen, [Yelü Zhu already] composed songs and verses. Once he lowered his brush to write, he immediately passed the innermost threshold of Tang poetry [i.e., he got its quintessence.].… The glamor of his language is lyrical and romantic, so that all of his verses can be accompanied with strings and pipes" 十三作歌詩，下筆便入唐人之閫奧。……詞彩風流，皆可備於管絃矣. As for his *yuefu* style after Li Bai and Li He,

[33] 郭麗《元代契丹族詩人耶律鑄樂府詩考論》

[34] His father Yelü Chucai recorded that Zhu learned how to play the zither less than one month; see 耶律楚材《吾山吟》. According to all the prefaces to *The Small Draft of Twin Brooks* (*Shuangxi xiaogao* 雙溪小稿), Yelü Zhu already composed *yuefu* poetry of the highest quality once he started in only thirteen years old. Li He's early composition was taken as an example and analogized to Yelü's case by Zhao Zhu and Xingying.

Wang Wanqing adopted rhetoric like "heavenly dictions" and complimented his skill as "the hand that wins a championship of pulling the whale [i.e., with great talent and grandiose force, usually referring to Li Bai]" 奪標掣鯨手 while disparaging lesser poets with the diminutive term "servants of *Lisao* and thieves of poetry" 騷奴詩偷.[35] Compared to Li Bai, Li He was more often analogized to Yelü Zhu, whose eccentric and sentimental flair echoes with that of Li He:

> [Yelü Zhu] reins in dragons and yokes phoenixes, lashes spiraxes and strikes sea-turtles, so as to seek changes. Having culminated all the changes, [the poet] thus expresses from his heart and mind the gossamer clouds and the crepe moon, the braided autumn and splendid spring, so as to exhaust his feelings. Alas, they are indeed extraordinary works under the heaven!
>
> 韁龍軛鳳，鞭虬笞鼇，以求其變。極其所變而發諸心思，則羅雲縠月，紉秋藻春，以盡其情。嘻，實天下之奇作也！[36]

The most explicit disclosure of the close relationship between Li He and Yelü Zhu has to do with their literary talent revealed by Yuan Haowen's preface: "Li Changji's mother said that [Li] He was so labored with poetic composition that he would not stop until he spit out his liver and lungs[37].… The noble aristocrat amidst bluish clouds [i.e., Yelü Zhu with a high socio-political status] should achieve this by only by spitting saliva, knitting his brows and letting out a sigh, which is commendable.… There are Changji's dictions and Yishan's [i.e., Li Shangyin 李商隱 (813-858)] dictions [in Yelü Zhu's poetry], which cannot be found in *The Fanchuan Collection* [i.e., Du Mu's poetry]" 李長吉母以賀苦於詩，謂嘔出肝肺乃已耳。……青雲貴公子，乃咳唾顰呻而得之，是可貴也。……此長吉語也，義山語也，《樊川集》所無有也.[38] Yuan

[35] 王萬慶跋：情思飄如，馭風騎氣，真仙語也。彼騷奴詩偷，安識所謂神者？……此可與奪標掣鯨手道，難為餘子言也。
[36] 呂鯤序
[37] This anecdote is again taken from 李商隱《李賀小傳》("Short Biography of Li He"), translated by Stephen Owen in *Late Tang*, pp. 160-61.
[38] 元好問《雙溪集序》

again recapitulated that Yelü Zhu's heavenly gift was *hors concours*, and even applauded this young master that, though his poetic style imitated Li He, it turned out to be a piece of cake for him, rather than the hard-earned commitment of the Tang predecessor.

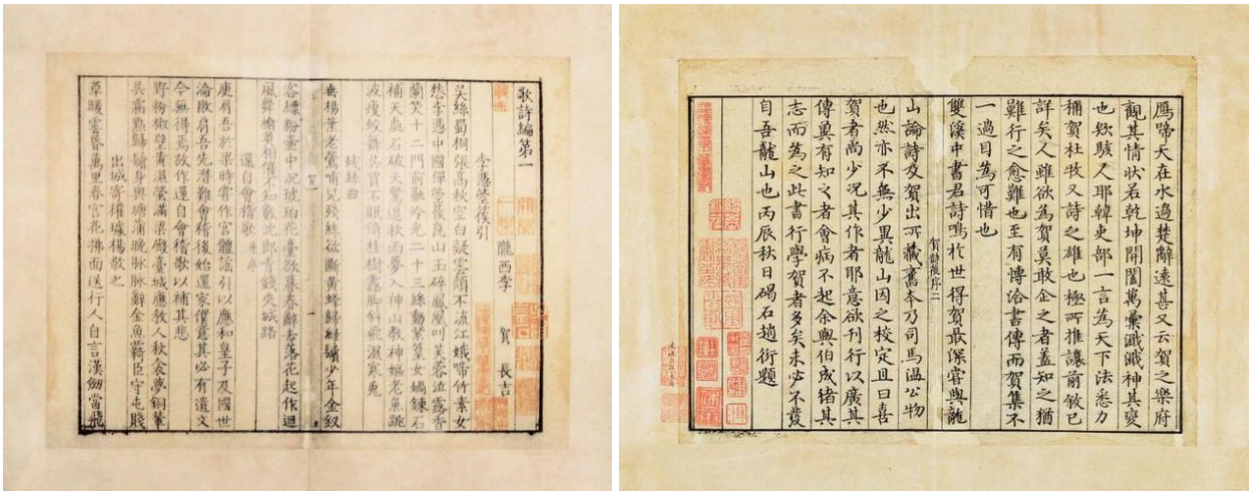
Last but not least, most prefaces written for Yelü Zhu's individual collection like to use the specific term *geshi* 歌詩 or "songs and verses" to refer to the young poet's compositions,[39] and it is hardly a coincidence that Li He's *yuefu* collection was originally entitled *Geshi bian* 歌詩編 (Collected Songs and Verses) as well. It is worth noting that the same register of names showed up again in the publication of a 1256 recarved edition of this specific Tang *yuefu* collection of Li He. According to the preface to this print edition written by Zhao Yan 趙衍 (fl. 13th c.), the student of Lü Kun, this renewed publication of Li He's *Geshi bian* was made possible through the hands of Lü Kun and Yelü Zhu, as the latter stored a precious print or manuscript version used by the Northern Song great historian Sima Guang 司馬光 (1019-1086), and the authoritative scholar Lü Kun took it as the base text, edited and collated it by himself. Both Lü Kun and Yelü Zhu were said to be the best learners of Li He's *yuefu* poetry in the contemporary North China. Zhao Yan's preface noted that "Master Longshan [i.e., Lü Kun] composed *wenzhang* ["literary writing"] by modeling on the Six Classics and promoting extraordinary language. His poetry is refine and profound, and replete with styles of various masters, among which he particularly excels at that of Li He" 龍山先生為文章，法六經，尚奇語，詩極精深，體備諸家，尤長於賀. He also quoted the comments by Liu Qi, a cultural authority in the former generation besides Yuan Haowen, that Lü Kun's *yuefu* compositions such

[39] 呂鯤序：此雙溪之**歌詩**也。
趙著序：十三作**歌詩**，下筆便入唐人之闡奧。
麻革序：趙虎岩、吕龍山，世雄於**歌詩**……况雙溪相門子，生長北庭戎馬間，甫十餘歲，已能為**歌詩**至於斯。

as "'The Dark Well of Yore' and 'Distressed by Elongated Night' were appreciated by Lei Yuan and Ma Jiuchou, as they considered these pieces utterly resembled Li Changji's manner" 《古漆井》《苦夜長》等詩，雷翰林希顏、麻徵君知幾諸公稱之，以為全類李長吉 – not to mention that Lei and Ma themselves also learned from Li He and wrote poetry in a similar style, as noted above. Besides, Zhao's preface also mentioned "Secretary of the Imperial Secretariat, Nobleman of the Twin Brooks [i.e., Yelü Zhu], is renowned in this world by poetry and most deeply affected by Li He" 雙溪中書君，詩鳴於世，得賀最深.[40] Therefore, judging from the information recorded in this 1256 preface, an uninterrupted routine of writing *yuefu* poetry after Li He can be drawn from Li Chunfu and his friends, to Lü Kun, to the younger Yelü Zhu throughout the thirteenth century in North China. Apart from this temporal succession, if we take a look at the spatial distribution of these post-Jin/early Yuan poets, it is easy to find that this scholar community was based in the capital of the Mongol empire in nowadays Beijing. In fact, Lü Kun and Zhao Zhu were the cultural leaders in Yanjing 燕京 during the first half of the thirteenth century, and Yelü Zhu and Zhao Yan took over as their successors in the next few decades. Zhao Yan was a close friend of Yelü Zhu, and he composed the entombed epitaph inscription for Yelü Zhu's father Yelü Chucai and became the mentor of Yelü Zhu's son Yelü Xiliang 耶律希亮 (1246-1327).[41] In particular, the eminent political status and power of Yelü Zhu at the Mongol court plus his literary virtuosity qualified him to be the spokesman of northern literati community advocating Sinitic culture, albeit ethnically a non-Han Chinese. A so-

[40] See 趙衍《重刊李長吉詩集序》 in 《李賀歌詩編》.
[41] See 《元史・耶律希亮傳》.

called “School of Yan and Ji Prefectures” (Yan Ji yipai 燕薊一派) with the tradition of poetry learning after Li He’s *yuefu* throughout the thirteenth century was thus delineated.[42]



Li He 李賀 (790-816), *Geshi bian* 歌詩編 (Collected Songs and Verses). Print edition published in Beijing under the Mongol rule, Zhao Yan’s 趙衍 (fl. 13th c.) postface dated 1256, butterfly binding, now preserved in National Central University Library, Taiwan.
Left: Opening page of Li He’s collection *Geshi bian*. Right: Last page bearing Zhao Yan’s postface.

2. Elegance of Tang Poetry and the *Chongdan* Taste

Now we turn to the opposing camp led by Zhao Bingwen and later Yuan Haowen, who instead supported the poetics of naturalness and moderation. Their standpoint was crystal clear through their criticism over unfounded strangeness of Li He and Lu Tong’s poetry. As always, Zhao Bingwen’s viewpoint was faithfully repeated by Yuan Haowen in one of his “Thirty Poems on Poetry”:

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[42] 王惲《西巖趙君文集序》：

金自南渡後，詩學為盛，其格律精嚴，辭語清壯，度越前宋，直以唐人為指歸。逮壬辰北渡，斯文命脈不絶如綫，賴元、李、杜、曹、麻、劉諸公為之主張，學者知所適從。惟虎巖、龍山二公挺英邁不凡之材，挾邁往凌雲之氣，用所學所得，偃然以風雅自居，視李協律（李翺？）、趙渭南（趙嘏）伯仲間也。雅為中書令耶律公賓禮，至令其子雙溪從之問學，由是趙、呂之學，自為燕薊一派。西巖受業，適丁茲時，探究其淵源，沉浸乎醲郁，加以立志堅篤，講肄不倦，宜傳遺緒，最為知名士。

It is also noteworthy of the popularity of Li He’s *yuefu* poetry in the contemporary South. Liu Chenweng 劉辰翁 (1232-1297), the well-known poetry annotator at that time, had Li He’s *Geshi bian* as his first choice to make commentaries which turned out to be one of his best-sellers. For the general picture of Southern Song and early Yuan poets learning from Li He, see Shi Wei 史偉, “Song Yuan zhi ji Jiangnan Li He shifeng de liuyan” 宋元之際江南李賀詩風的流衍, *Jiangxi shehui kexue* 江西社會科學 2006.11: 61–65.

萬古文章有坦途	*Wenzhang* or literary writing of ten thousand ages has its broadway;
縱橫誰似玉川盧	Speaking of the crisscross [of literature], who can be compared to Lu [Tong], [Master of] Jade Creek?
真書不入今人眼	Regular script cannot catch the attention of contemporaries,
兒輩從教畫鬼符	So that younger generations are taught to draw ghostly indecipherable charms.[43]

Yuan Haowen takes Lu Tong here as a negative example who composes in a contorted manner instead of the plain and proper style, which is comparable to rugged crisscross path rather than the broad highways. This predilection for normality and propriety also accounts for his criticism of Meng Jiao and Li He who indulged in gloomy and dispiriting poetic themes like autumnal melancholy and ghostly chimera, in contrast to placid and comforting sceneries under the bright light of spring.[44] Indeed, Yuan Haowen's view on Lu Tong represents his attitude towards idiosyncratic poetic rhetoric in general. He then in the second couplet introduces another analogy apropos of calligraphy to drive home his argument that regular script as the correct approach to writing has given way to what he calls "ghostly indecipherable charms" in the current fashion. Poetry modeled on Lu Tong resembles intentionally wayward scrawls, which on the surface displays the character of abstruse Daoist talismans, while in essence it is just lack of proper training of calligraphy. Intriguingly, Zhao Bingwen in his letter to Li Jing quoted above also mentions practicing calligraphy, at which Zhao is especially skilled, and his assertion again resonates with Yuan Haowen's point of view: "What people in the past called 'imitating calligraphy models' are not to be practiced perfunctorily. One should earnestly accumulate [writing exercise] and devote oneself [to it] for a long time; capacity comes out of the rules of regular script, as predecessors said that none could run when he or she hasn't learned to sit yet"

[43] Yuan Haowen, "Lun shi sanshi shou," no. 13; YHWQJ, 11.230.
[44] Ibid., no. 16: 切切秋蟲萬古情，燈前山鬼淚縱橫。鑒湖春好無人賦，岸夾桃花錦浪生。

昔人謂之法書，豈是率意而為之也？又須真積力久，自楷法中來，前人所謂未有未能坐而能走者.[45] Zhao goes on to propose the dichotomy of "fleet liveliness" (*feidong* 飛動) and "accumulated learning" (*ji xue* 積學), which is equivalent to gift and study in the discourse of calligraphy. While the former bears the ultimate token of marvelousness (*miao* 妙) of this art, it is not accessible through learning, and what can be learned instead is to advance step by step by imitating calligraphy models and understanding the significance of criteria. Obviously, the calligraphy analogy also bespeaks the poetry curriculum with the dynamic between regulation and eccentricity.

Notwithstanding, the aesthetical pursuit of strangeness embodied by Li He's heterometric and eccentric *yuefu* in Li Chunfu's group did not prevent Zhao and his followers from reading Li He and even emulating his style. Nowadays we can still find poems after Li He in both individual collections of Zhao Bingwen and Yuan Haowen,[46] which can be taken as a literary drill for stylistic versatility. But on the whole, this group of Jin poets had a bent for *chongdan* 沖淡 or the moderate and plain style represented by Six Dynasties poets like Tao Yuanming and Xie Lingyun, or Tang poets of Wei Yingwu, Wang Wei, and Bai Juyi, etc.

Above we have discussed the elevation of Du Fu's poetry among the so-called Mingchang poets, as well as Wang Ruoxu's "overrated" personal preference of Bai Juyi, both of which ran counter to the labored artificiality, as well as erudite, dense allusions spotlighted in the Jiangxi poetry. For Zhao Bingwen's predecessors who went for naturalness in Tang poetry, the

[45] Zhao, "Da Li Tianying shu." Similar ideas are also attested in GQZ, 8.87: （趙秉文）又嘗教余學書，先法張旭《石柱記》，每曰：「汝輩幸有天資，止不肯學古人一點一畫寫也。」

[46] See, for example, Zhao Bingwen, "Ni Li Changji ji qiu xing" 擬李長吉擊毬行, "Fang Yuchuan zi sha lu yun hong yanping wei Lü Tangqing cang" 倣玉川子沙麓雲鴻硯屏為呂唐卿藏; FSJ, 3.32, 4.49–50. Also, Yuan Haowen, "Zengda Zhang jiaoshou Zhongwen" 贈答張教授仲文; YHWQJ, 4.67–68.

elegant and vivid imagery coupled with the placid manner are two main features of their poetry. Related to this "minimalist" poetic style is their penchant for eremitic allusions from Tao Yuanming and Zhuangzi with a Daoist undertone of transcendence, so that in ideal, the poets could at least escape in poetry and take a breath from mundane affairs of governmental administration and severe political issues in reality.[47] Intriguingly, the term *chongdan* 沖澹/沖淡 sometimes converges both style and personality of a certain poet. Zhao Feng, for instance, was said to be "moderate and plain in nature, and experienced in learning the Way" 性沖澹，學道有得.[48] In similar fashion, Wang Jian, a poor recluse-scholar and venerable mentor of Zhao Feng and Zhao Bingwen, also composed poetry that "are moderate and plain, simple and limpid like that of Wei Suzhou [i.e., Wei Yingwu]; and he didn't touch on a single word that makes fun ofand banters with wind and moon [i.e., composing amorous and sensuous poetry]" 其詩沖淡簡潔似韋蘇州．嘲戲風月．一言不及也; on the other hand, Wang was also praised by Zhao Bingwen for his moral standing and likened to Tao Yuanming and others: "His true and pure virtue, unparalleled talent, profound learning, and unflinching righteousness, all qualified him to be the fellow of Huang Shudu [i.e., Huang Xian 黃憲 (fl. 2nd c.)], Tao Yuanming, Yuan Zizhi [Yuan Dexiu 元德秀 (695?-754?)], and Sikong Biaosheng [i.e., Sikong Tu 司空圖 (837-908)], is it not so?" 其真純之德．卓絶之才．淵深之學．廉正之節．黃叔度、陶淵明、元紫芝、司空表聖之徒歟.[49] Besides Tao Yuanming, Zhao Bingwen here also enumerated virtuous worthies from the Han through Tang dynasties whose experience reverberated in one way or another with

[47] See, for example, 党懷英《喜雨》《徐茂宗蝸舍》《壬辰二月六日夜夢作一絶句……》；路鐸《賦丈室碧玉壺善甫賦詩鐸亦奉和二首》《次韻答季通》；趙渢《秋日感懷》《題齊物堂》。
[48] 《中州集》小傳
[49] 趙秉文《遺安先生言行碣》

Wang Jian's own life under the twelfth-century Jin rule: Huang Xian was a respected eremite in the late Eastern Han dynasty (202 BC-220 AD) who volunteered to keep distance from governmental positions; Yuan Dexiu was a Tang dynasty local official who remained single throughout life, and enjoyed reading books and playing the zither while in poverty, and Yuan's aura was said to be so powerful that "would disillusion anyone's ambition for fame and profit once he saw Yuan's countenance" 見紫芝眉宇，使人名利之心都盡; Sikong Tu was a Tang loyalist and spent most of his life in seclusion. All but Yuan Dexiu lived through times of political turbulence, but they all upheld their integrity as well as their identity as a cultured scholar even when they suffered impoverishment. Wang Jian of that ilk portraited the same image in his poetic composition:

王磎《謝竹堂先生見過》	Wang Jian, "Gratitude to Master Zhutang [lit. "Bamboo Hall"][50] for Paying Visit"
學稼古寺側	I learned farming beside the ancient temple,
結廬高柳陰	And built a cabin in the shade of giant willows.[51]
音書故交絕	Words and letters from old acquaintances were cut off;
歲月杜門深	For Years and Months, the door has been closed, inaccessibly deep within.
新雪添衰鬢	Fresh snow adds to my greying tresses;
寒灰死壯心	Cold ashes extinguish my brave heart.
西州賢別駕	[Yet] the worthy Attendant Officer of the western prefecture [i.e., Zhang Gongyao],
連日肯相尋	Condescends to look for me for several days.

We can sense *chongdan* in both content and style of this poem, which can be taken as the self-portrait of this Jin recluse-scholar. The underlying prerequisite here is that style is the

[50] Zhutang refers to Zhang Gongyao 張公藥 (fl. 12th c.), the son of the Northern Song "remnant subject" Zhang Xiaochun 張孝純 (?-1144), whose family remained in the North. Zhang Gongyao seemed to have an intimate friendship with Wang Jian, since both left colophons after the now famous handscroll, Zhang Zeduan's 張擇端 (fl. early 12th c.) *Along the River during Qingming* (*Qingming shanghe tu* 清明上河圖).

[51] This couplet evokes at once Su Shi and Tao Yuanming, since the first line salutes Su's "Eight Poems on East Slope" ("Dongpo bashou" 東坡八首), and the second refers to Tao's pseudo-autobiography "Master Five Willows" ("Wu liu xiansheng zhuan" 五柳先生傳).

spontaneous overflow or revelation of the poet's true nature, and in this case both the person and his poetry exemplify the merit of temperance and non-attachment that is considered to be "elegant" (*ya* 雅).

In particular, Wei Yingwu seems to be a favorite of Zhao Bingwen. In chapter 3 we have dealt with Zhao's rhyme-matching practice after Tao Yuanming's poetry, and similar literary experimentation paid homage to the Tang poet Wei Yingwu (in fact, these two poets are often mentioned in the same breath crystalized in the compound Tao-Wei 陶韋). Today we have a set of twenty poems called "Twenty Pieces after Wei Suzhou by Rhyme-Matching and Rendering" 擬和韋蘇州二十首 in Zhao's individual collection *Fushui ji* 滏水集, and there once existed Zhao's calligraphy in cursive script transcribing this set of poems after Wei Yingwu graced by colophons of Zhao himself as well as Yuan Haowen.[52] Most of these rhyme-matching (*he* 和) or "rendering or personating" (*ni* 擬) pieces display a mind rehearsal of solitary seclusion or mountain dwelling while Zhao was actually a high official at Jin court. Besides the trope of eremitism, there is also a tinge of Chan enlightenment that conveys the spiritual tranquility and non-attachment through purified imagery. For example, two poems in this set, one *he* and the other *ni*, derive from the same original piece "Trip to Kaiyuan Pure Abode" 遊開元精舍 by Wei Yingwu, which depicts the Tang poet's epiphanic and refreshing excursion to a Buddhist cloister when he was temporarily delivered from the burden of worldly affairs as a government official. The latter half of Wei's poem reads:

[52] 《滏水集》卷五《擬和韋蘇州二十首》；《歸潛志》卷九。

綠陰生晝寂　　Verdant shade engenders the daylight serenity.
孤花表春餘　　A single blossom evinces the residual spring.
符竹方爲累　　The bamboo tally [born by a legitimate prefect] is right now an encumbrance,
形跡一來疎　　So that my body and trace come here scarcely. (*ll*. 5-8)[53]

In turn, Zhao Bingwen proved to inherit a considerable share of Wei's aspiration to withdraw from the world in his "personating/rendering" or *ni* piece. Moreover, technically speaking, though Zhao in this piece does not match Wei's rhymes, we find identical characters at the end of their fifth and seventh lines, and their syntactic structures in each line are exactly the same; as regards content, these four lines in effect can be treated as paraphrases of Wei's original, and both poets employ natural imagery to mirror the peaceful mind. So Zhao's "telepathic" verse correspondingly reads:

好鳥破午寂　　Delightful birds intrude on midday serenity;
幽花澹春閑　　Secluded blossoms soothe the idle spring.
簪組方為累　　The hatpin and sashes [of the official dress] is right now an encumbrance;
來遊不知還　　I pay a visit here with no intention to return. (*ll*. 5-8)[54]

Finally, Zhao's aspiration for solitary and undisturbed reclusion is further revealed in his rhyme-matching or *he* version. It is noteworthy that, in addition to domestic repose surrounded by natural landscape, the Jin grand councilor in the prime of his political career entertained the idea of staying alone and declining any visit in his eremitic life:

松軒風掃靜　　Pine-tree veranda, have swept by the wind, is now quiet;
終日閉門居　　For the whole day, I live with the door closed.
犬臥青苔地　　The dog lies on the floor covered with greenish moss;
鳥啣紅柿初　　The birds snaffle the persimmons just turning red.
瓶殘夜禪起　　The flask is left [with alcohol] – it arouses overnight Chan meditation;

[53] 韋應物《遊開元精舍》
[54] 趙秉文《擬緑陰生晝寂孤花表春餘》

經潤雨翻餘	Scriptures feel damp – it is what remains by rain that leafed through them.
自是少人迹	[My dwelling] is by nature untraversed by people,
非關来往踈	Which has nothing to do with lesser correspondence.[55]

Readers of Zhao's and Wei's poems can get the sense of their resolution of seclusion as well as the composure felt through their easy, fresh, and transparent verses. What's more, most of the examples raised above are all in the form of pentametric regulated verse (*wu lü* 五律), which is normally synonymous with "elegance" or *ya*. Yuan Haowen thought highly of Zhao's imitation as the crowning accomplishment among all Jin poets: "Over the past century, most poets were wont to learn from [Dong]po [i.e., Su Shi] and [Shan]gu [i.e., Huang Tingjian 黃庭堅 (1045-1105)]; That who can personate or imitate Wei Suzhou and Wang Youcheng [i.e., Wang Wei] is no one but only our lord" 百年以來，詩人多學坡、谷，能擬韋蘇州、王右丞者，唯公一人.[56] Zhao himself left a paratext that contextualized both the composition and transcription of his literary "personation" after Wei Yingwu: "[These poems] were composed several years ago when I retired. This year I passed Chaohua Temple adjunct to Shaolin and meant to choose a place nearby for residence, and yet regretfully failed to do so" 數年前致政時作，今歲過超化少林，意欲卜居，病未能也.[57] It is thus clear that poetry composition inspired by Tao and Wei was Zhao Bingwen's euphemistic manifesto to envision an idyllic and rustic life as an alternative of the reality, and the calligraphic execution of "informal" cursive script also bespoke his free and easy "alter ego" apart from a more conventional image as a serious and responsible scholar-official at Jin court.

[55] 趙秉文《和遊開元精舍》
[56] 《歸潛志》卷九
[57] Ibid.

Finally, Yuan Haowen, the successor of Zhao Bingwen as the leader of Jin literati community, once synopsized the merits of exemplary Tang poetry in his preface written for a student who lived in an age when Jin poets "grasped the gist of Tang poets" 以唐人為指歸:

> The reason why Tang poetry surpasses all that came after *The Three Hundred Pieces* [i.e., *The Classic of Poetry*] is nothing but its comprehension of the foundation [of poetry]. What is the foundation? It is sincerity of feelings.… Isn't it that poetry by Tang people knows the foundation? Otherwise, how could there be so many warm, gentle, honest, and generous verses, replete with humaneness and rightness? [Emotional situations like] feeling apprehensive in secret, wretched and drawn, chilly and hungry, impoverished and weary, are all lodged in poetry; and yet there still exist pieces that show misfortune and adversity without self-pity, or experience of being overlooked and left behind without resentment. As for lamenting the slanders and detesting the evildoings, the disheartening spirits cannot be disguised by the poet – the harsher is his reproach, the more euphemistic is his purport; the deeper is his resentment, the more mitigated is his diction.[58] Feeling gentle and mild, well treated to one's heart's content, readers [of Tang poetry like this sort] are immersed in the benevolence of former kings, so that they know not language separate from affections and nature. How fortunate are those learners who have grasped the gist of Tang poets.
>
> 唐詩所以絕出於《三百篇》之後者，知本焉爾矣。何謂本？誠是也。……唐人之詩，其知本乎？何溫柔敦厚、藹然仁義之言之多也！幽憂憔悴、寒饑困憊，一寓於詩，而其厄窮而不憫，遺佚而不怨者，故在也。至於傷讒疾惡，不平之氣不能自揜，責之愈深，其旨愈婉，怨之愈深，其辭愈緩。優柔饜飫，使人涵泳於先王之澤，情性之外，不知有文字，幸矣學者之得唐人為指歸也。[59]

Two pivotal concerns are proposed by Yuan here as regards the Tang poetry model. First and foremost is *cheng* 誠 or sincerity as quintessence of poetry composition, so that it is the natural outcome of genuine feelings (*qingxing* 情性) rather than hard-earned, artificial craftsmanship on language (*wenzi* 文字) that takes the priority. The other is the virtue of temperance, or conceived in the traditional discourse of Chinese literary criticism that "being warm, gentle, honest, and

[58] This discourse reappears in Yuan Haowen's comment on Liu Zongyuan's poetry as sidenotes recorded in *Zhongzhou ji*: "The deeper is Liuzhou's [i.e., Liu Zongyuan] resentment, the more mitigated is his diction. He achieved the orthodoxy of ancient poetry, and for his fresh and exquisite style, few poets of the Six Dynasties could get close to it." 柳州怨之愈深，其辭愈緩，得古詩之正，其清新婉麗，六朝辭人少有及者. See Yuan's self-annotation under 王庭筠《獄中賦萱》（《中州集》卷三）.

[59] 元好問《楊叔能小亨集引》

generous is the teaching of [*The Classic of*] *Poetry*" 溫柔敦厚詩教也. Rhetorical structures like "… without …" (*erbu* 而不) and "the more… the more" (*yu… yu* 愈…愈) pair the terms with contradictory effects on the two ends, taking pessimistic mood as a foil for balanced and reserved expression. This rhetoric exactly conforms to the style of *chongdan* or moderation and plainness. For Yuan Haowen, the ideal Tang poetry, while expressing what one truly feels, displays the manner of decorum and keeps sorrow and resentment in check. This is an acquired taste and self-cultivation that tames and transforms sentimental outbursts into an artistic channel of "noble simplicity" with rich overtones that is worth second thoughts and lingering ruminations. And Yuan recapitulates it as "the gist of Tang poets."

Above, we have showcased among Jin literati the profound impact of the "grotesque" Tang poetry represented by Han Yu's group, especially Li He and his *yuefu* poetry, as well as the countervailing advocacy for the poetics of naturalness and moderateness, taking Tang poets like Wei Yingwu as a productive role-model. Notwithstanding, the learning of Tang poetry among Jin literati was not only limited to picking up individual poets and emulating their respective styles, but was also schematized into their anthologization of both Tang and Jin dynasty poetry. Below I will use two poetry anthologies compiled by Jin "remnant subjects" in the thirteenth century to illustrate the consequence of this poetic fashion in vogue on the northern Jin-Yuan territory.

From the "Central Plain" to the "Yellow River and Fen River":
Jin Poetry Collections Aspiring to Tang and Antiquity

Discussions about learning Tang poetry above mainly center on historical agents of either individual poets or literati groups, and now we make a shift of our standpoint to the literary

practice of poetry collection and anthologization. And since these poetry anthologies for Jin contemporaries were involved with both cultural production and consumption, in a certain degree they better mirrored the sweeping periodic fashion of that age.

The synoptic poetry collection that stands for the overall achievement of Jin literature is without question the *Collection of the Central Plain* or *Zhongzhou ji*. In chapter 3, we have dealt with the paratexts of this collection in order to reveal the underlying agenda of Yuan Haowen as the compiler to rival the authority of Jiangxi School or those Southern Song representatives. On the other hand, concerning the historical continuity and role models of this Jin poetry collection, Qian Qianyi 錢謙益 (1582-1664), the dean of literary critics and himself an excellent poet in the late Ming, already prescribed the poetic lineage back to Tang and Northern Song:

> Probably since the Jingkang Catastrophe [i.e., the Jurchen invasion and occupation of the Central Plain in 1126], Chinese *wenzhang*, documents and books were bundled up and transported into the Golden Spring [i.e., the Jurchen Jin regime]. Heroic elite [in the North] at that time thus managed to carry on with the master-disciple succession of teachings. They all consciously modeled after two Sus [i.e., Su Shi and his younger brother Su Zhe 蘇轍 (1039-1112)], and traced further back to the Three Tang [i.e., early Tang, High Tang, and late Tang poetry]; every individual poet developed an independent discourse of his own, and Jin poetry on the whole constituted their own zeitgeisty voice.
>
> 蓋自靖康之難，中國文章載籍，梱載入金源。一時豪俊，遂得所師承，咸知規摹兩蘇，上溯三唐，各成一家之言，備一代之音。[60]

Qian first affirmed the Jin inheritance of "Chinese *wenzhang*, documents and books" in twelfth-century North China, and then pointed out the "the master-disciple succession of teachings" (*shicheng* 師承) – aka the Northern Song exemplar Su Shi together with the remoter impact of Tang poetry. In a word, Jin poetry procured its self-distinctive position in Chinese literary history by virtue of assimilating Tang and Northern Song cultural legacies.

[60] 錢謙益《題中州集鈔》

As noted above, the pendulum of late Jin poetic fashion swayed from the Northern Song to Tang paradigms over the course of the thirteenth century. This was also reflected in poetry anthologization, as one extant poetry collection called *Multiple Elders along the Yellow River and Fen River* (*He Fen zhulao shiji* 河汾諸老詩集, *He-Fen Poetry Collection* hereafter) surfaced in North China to be the epitome of post-Jin poetry. This anthology was compiled by Fang Qi 房祺 (fl. 1300s) in 1301 and meant to preserve the post-Jin poetic culture in the North as a sequel to *Zhongzhou ji* compiled by Yuan Haowen. It consists of eight *juan* with altogether 198 poems, and each *juan* encompasses the compositions by a single poet. There are thus eight poets nominated as the "He-Fen Elders": Ma Ge 麻革 (fl. 13th c.), Zhang Yu 張宇 (fl. 13th c.), Chen Geng 陳賡 (1190-1274), Chen Yu 陳庾 (1194-1261), Fang Gao 房皞 (1199-after 1281), Duan Keji 段克己 (1196-1254), Duan Chengji 段成己 (1199-1279), and Cao Zhiqian 曹之謙 (d. 1265) in a given order. Why were these poets chosen into this particular collection? Answers to this question are explicitly offered in Fang Qi's postface. All of these eight poets were connected with Yuan Haowen in one way or another, so that they could be marked as a group of friends and students surrounding this literati chairman. More importantly, like Yuan Haowen, they were all locals in nowadays Shanxi province, and most of them were active in the post-Jin period especially around the area of Pingyang 平陽 (nowadays Linfen 臨汾). Their friendship or discipleship associated with Yuan and the Shanxi regionalism are the two aspects of their group identity framed by the *He-Fen Poetry Collection*. We should remember that Pingyang was one of the centers of publishing industries in thirteenth-century North China. The compiler Fang Qi himself actually came from Pingyang as well, and we know that the first print edition of this anthology came out in 1313 from one of the local commercial publishers in Pingyang, making

full use of its geographical advantage.[61] What's more, there was once an educational and publishing organization called the Institute of Classics and Documents in Pingyang (Pingyang jingji suo 平陽經籍所) erected there soon after Mongols conquered the Central Plain, which became the haven accommodating previous Jin literati. We know that four out of these eight "He-Fen Elders" – Ma Ge, Cao Zhiqian, Duan Chengji, and Chen Yu – once held official positions in this governmental institute. Thus, it is clear that these Jin "remnant subjects" collectively gravitated towards the He-Fen region pivoting around Pingyang, where cultural vigor gathered steam with the presence of this cluster of northern scholars. Fang Qi rightfully claimed with pride in his postface that "the well-spring of masters and friends, and the authoritative pedigree of *wenzhang*" 師友淵源，文章正脈 converged in Pingyang.[62]

On top of that, the impact of this literati group based in Shanxi was not only confined to provincial areas, but mattered much more in the following decades of the Jin-Yuan transitional period. To some extent, this Shanxi literati group as followers of Yuan Haowen embodied the survival and persistence of *siwen* 斯文 or "This Culture of Ours" in North China after the Götterdämmerung of Mongol invasion:

> After the Jin regime crossed south [in 1214], the learning of poetry had thrived. Jin poetry has refined and strict regulation, as well as lucid and grand diction, so that it supersedes the former Song poetry and directly takes Tang exemplars as its goal. When it came to the [compulsory] northern migration [of numerous Jin scholar-officials by Mongols] in the *renchen* year (1232), the bloodline of "This Culture of Ours" (*siwen*) survived like one single thread [and was almost cut off], and it totally depended on the resolute advocation of several lords like Yuan [Haowen], Li [Zhi 李治, 1192-1279], Du [Renjie 杜仁傑, ?-1282], Cao [Zhiqian], Ma [Ge], Liu [Qi], so that students knew the right way to follow.

[61] This first print edition of *He-Fen Poetry Collection* is no longer extant, but we can deduce from the paratexts of its publication information: 平水高昂霄尊賢堂刻：《河汾諸老詩集》八卷（元房祺輯，元皇慶二年刻本）

[62] 房祺《河汾諸老詩集後序》：

近代詩人，遺山元先生為之冠。先生太原人，太原境與平陽接，河山勝槩，地土所宜，習俗所尚，古今人物不殊。至如師友淵源，文章正脈，畧與之等。故河汾間諸老，與天下人材無讓。……

金自南渡後，詩學為盛，其格律精嚴，辭語清壯，度越前宋，直以唐人為指歸。逮壬辰北渡，斯文命脈不絕如綫，賴元、李、杜、曹、麻、劉諸公為之主張，學者知所適從。[63]

The historical course involving these Jin literati was unfolded in two phases: on the one side, Jin poetry reached its apogee in the last two decades (1214-1234) even as the Jin dynasty was faltering, and on the other, those Jin poets as "remnant subjects" in the aftermath of Mongol invasion tried their best to prolong their culture. Perhaps the silver lining of this formidable fate is that *siwen*, though next to a complete wipeout, survived the military demolition by merit of the highly developed Jin literati culture in thirteenth-century North China. Some familiar names come into our view again in the passage quoted above. We should note that all but Du Renjie listed here chose to settle down and carry out their cultural activities in Shanxi after the collapse of Jin polity – it was only a natural outcome since most of them were Shanxi locals, as we have discussed above. Du Renjie went back home in Shandong, sponsored by regional magistrates in Dongping 東平 (nowadays Tai'an 泰安). And though Li Zhi originally came from Zhending 真定, Hebei province, he spent almost two decades lodging in Tongchuan 桐川 together with Yuan Haowen near nowadays Taiyuan in central Shanxi, where he finished his definitive scientific *magus opus* on mathematics, *Ce yuan hai jing* 測圓海鏡 (Sea Mirror of Circle Measurements). Later on, Shanxi locals even called Yuan-Li in juxtaposition, and built a shrine to commemorate "Four Worthies" of the most celebrated Jin scholar-officials – Zhao Bingwen, Yang Yunyi, Yuan Haowen, and Li Zhi – who had governed or lodged there periodically.[64] Therefore, the "He-Fen Multiple Elders" headquartered in Shanxi played a crucial role in the polycentric map of literati

[63] 王惲《西巖趙君文集序》

[64] 蘇天爵《元朝名臣事略》卷十三「李治」引徐世隆撰《四賢堂記》：

惟閑閑（趙秉文）、文獻（楊雲翼）以道德文章為一代宗師，昔在禮部、翰林對持文柄，時號楊、趙，遺山（元好問）、敬齋（李治）皆二公門下客，自南都時才名已相埒。北渡後，常往來西州，寓志於文字間，賡唱迭和，世亦謂之元、李。

culture in thirteenth-century North China in addition to other subcenters in Hebei and Shandong, before Shanxi gave its way to the Yuan Grand Capital (Dadu 大都) in nowadays Beijing as the resumed metropolis of cultural resources and enterprises. In fact, this quoted excerpt is followed by the rise of "School of Yan and Ji Prefectures" (Yan Ji yipai 燕薊一派) led by Yuan scholar-officials Yelü Chucai and his son Yelü Zhu, which we have analyzed a moment ago. In this line of logic, the so-called "He-Fen Multiple Elders" surrounding Yuan Haowen in Shanxi were at once the keepers of the bygone Jin literati culture and the pioneers of early Yuan northern poet society. This generation also left their eyewitness accounts of the shifting identities among northern elite in the next generation from Jin loyalists to Yuan subjects, since most "He-Fen Elders" remained a semi-reclusive life under the Mongol rule, while their disciples and students eventually conceded the new political regime and took up official positions, while holding fast to their civil status and cultural vocation as literati to sustain *siwen*.

Besides this geographical trait, another attribute of these the He-Fen poets is their collective learning from Tang poetry, albeit with their individual preferences. This is again revealed in Fang Qi's "Postscript to *The He-Fen Poetry Collection*." After introducing their social connections with Yuan Haowen, the compiler spotlights the myriad styles one can find in this collection that can be traced back to specific Tang paragons:

> Among poems by these multiple elders, some are profound and moderate like [the style of] Tao [Qian] and Liu [Zongyuan]; some are bold and unbridled like Academician[-in-Attendance] Li [Bai] and Adviser [to the Heir Apparent] Liu [Yuxi] 劉禹錫 (772-842); some are shallow, plain, and yet approaching elegance like Yuan [Zhen] 元稹 (779-831) and Bai [Juyi]; some are incisive and proper in parallelism and couplets like Xu Hun 許渾 (788-860); some are endowed with inexplicable principles of *Lyrics of Chu* and *Classic of Poetry*, ancient airs and great writings, which penetrate into the [sagely] field of Du [Fu] from the Thatched Hall. In previous years, my friend Yang Zhongde proposed to compile this collection but unfortunately died prematurely. Zhongde once said: "Without viewing Yishan's poetry, one has no way to know the

> learning of He-Fen scholars; Without viewing the poetry of He-Fen elders, one has no way to know Yishan's profundity; Without viewing compositions by He-Fen scholars and Yishan, one has no way to know the marvelousness of various Tang poets; Without viewing Tang poetry, one has no way to know the deep-seated significance of the 'Six Principles' of *The Three Hundred Pieces* [i.e., *Classic of Poetry*]"…
>
> 夫諸老之詩，有淵深沖澹如陶、柳者，有豪放如李翰林、劉賓客者，有輕俗近雅如元、白者，有對屬切當如許渾者，有騷雅奧義、古風大章，浸入於杜草堂之域者。往年吾友楊君仲德議成此集，不幸早世。仲德有云:「不觀遺山之詩，無以知河汾之學；不觀河汾之詩，無以知遺山之大；不觀河汾、遺山之作，不知唐人諸作者之妙；不觀唐人之作，不知三百篇六義之深意。」……

Here we see both continuity and reciprocity between Yuan Haowen and He-Fen Elders in terms of poetry learning. More importantly, an all-encompassing palette of Tang poetic styles is displayed here, though in the absence of strangeness and eccentricity represented by Li He and Lu Tong. There is no question, nevertheless, that Yuan Haowen's generation and their immediate followers went back to Tang by skipping Northern Song repertoire of classical poetry. To go one step further, these Jin literati held the faith that Tang poetry was the direct descendant of *The Classic of Poetry* and indispensable steppingstone to the ultimate recovery of this classical poetic tradition.

Evidence in Jin textual sources reveals the "renaissance" of Antiquity in the field of poetry with the aid of intermediate Tang models, which betrays a retrospective insight of canonized literary history. As the alternative pattern to counter the bogeyman of contemporary Jiangxi style, Tang poetry was not only endowed with the practical function of poetic pedagogy, but was also appreciated and exploited for its relative "agedness" or proximity of great classical traditions epitomized by *The Classic of Poetry* or the compound *fengya* 風雅 (the "Airs" and "Elegantia"), whose overtone is that Song poetry was already degraded and twice removed from this fountainhead. This poetic striving for the remote Antiquity earlier than Tang was contagious among younger poets already observed by Yuan Haowen: "Since [the Jin regime] crossed south, the learning of poetry had thrived. As long as later generations started to juggle with brushes and

ink [i.e., compose literature], they would put on the air of haughtiness and assign [the ideal of] "Airs" and "Elegantia" to themselves.… Those who went so far as to compare themselves to [Six Dynasties poets like] Cao [Zhi 曹植, 192-232], Liu [Zhen 劉楨, 186-217], Shen [Yue 沈約, 441-513], and Xie [Lingyun] were in such a large number that they rubbed the shoulders and followed each other's footprints, and they disdained to mention poets who came after Li Bai and Du Fu" 南渡以來，詩學為盛，後生輩一弄筆墨，岸然以風雅自名……至比為曹劉沈謝者，肩摩而踵接，李杜而下不論也.[65] One extreme sample is Li Jing, the talented, reckless, and exam-failed student supported by Li Chunfu, who claimed to wipe out Tang and Song poetry altogether and only to devote himself to Six Dynasties poetry to approach *fengya*.[66] A milder version is recorded in the autobiography of the *yuefu* master Wang Yu, who also drew the line of learning sequence from *The Classic of Poetry*, to *Lyrics of Chu*, to Six Dynasties poetry, and only then to Tang poetry 詩學當自三百篇始，其次《離騷》，漢魏六朝，唐人, while putting aside recent compositions which he criticized as "strident, superfluous, overbearing, and miscellaneous, in short of the ancient mode" 尖慢浮雜，無復古體.[67] Incidentally, both Li Jing and Wang Yu can be categorized into Li Chunfu's literati group, so it seems that this radical poetic agenda of "reviving Antiquity" mainly got its momentum from that side. The cases raised above are all colored with a regressive narrative of literary development, with the most recent Song poetry as the tail end of this "worsening" process. Their pedagogic solution in turn is starting afresh to the well-spring of the classical poetry and trickling down to later poetry.

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[65] 《中州集》卷十辛愿小傳

[66] 趙秉文《答李天英書》：足下以唐宋詩人得處．雖能免俗．殊乏風雅．過矣．所謂近風雅．豈規規然如晉宋詞人蹈襲用一律耶.

[67] 《歸潛志》卷三：詩學當自三百篇始，其次《離騷》，漢魏六朝，唐人，近皆置之不論，蓋以尖慢浮雜，無復古體。

This sounds like a familiar story already told by Wang Ruoxu, which we have discussed in chapter 3. Albeit a harsh critic on Song poetry to such an extent as to disparage it as the "vermin of *siwen*," Wang Ruoxu was not a dogmatic antiquary who unconditionally esteemed the past over the present. Accordingly, he emphasizes the immediacy and occasionality of life experience in keeping with the vicissitudes of historical procession. It is only natural for poetic practice to evolve as time goes by:

> Recently, those who claim poetry as the source of their reputation are legion. But their discourse usually is overly lofty and they set up *Three Hundred Pieces* [*of the Classic of Poetry*] and *Nineteen Old Poems* as the standards every time they open their mouths. [Poems] after the Six Dynasties are less and less satisfying, and for poems written by Song poets, they hardly mention them. This is indeed a claim of knowing the foundation, but myriad changes happen in this world and are not identical with the past. How can literature alone be confined to one uniform principle? Even if latecomers could compose poems to the level of the *Three Hundred Pieces*, they wouldn't be content to stop with this. Why is this so? Making fun and amusing oneself, creating ingenuity and dexterity to boast of – human sensibility cannot resist this temptation. As regards Song poetry, though on the whole it dwindles compared to the ancient times, in short it is still qualified to stand on its own feet and does not necessarily fall behind. And yet contemporaries despise them without a single mention, does it not go too far?……
>
> 近歲諸公，以作詩自名者甚眾，然往往持論太高，開口輒以《三百篇》《十九首》為準；六朝而下，漸不滿意；至宋人，殆不齒矣。此固知本之說，然世間萬變，皆與古不同，何獨文章而可以一律限之乎？就使後人所作，可到《三百篇》，亦不肯悉安於是矣。何者？滑稽自喜，出奇巧以相誇，人情固有不能已焉者。宋人之詩，雖大體衰於前古，要亦有以自立，不必盡居其後也。遂鄙薄而不道，不已甚乎？……[68]

Wang admits that pursuing innovation is intrinsic to human nature, and good poetry is not necessarily a revival of literary canons. He even gives credit to the great achievements of Song poetry, despite all his attacks on Huang Tingjian and his followers. Instead, Wang Ruoxu sets up a "middle way" for his poetics: on the one hand, he objects to the *trendiness* for a forced novelty

[68] Wang Ruoxu, *Hunan shihua, juan* 3; *Hunan yilao ji, juan* 40, pp. 261-2. This sort of claim was promoted by figures like Lü Benzhong and Yan Yu, as witnessed in Southern Song remarks on poetry; See more in Hu, "*Hunan shihua*," p. 201.

and artificiality in poetry represented by the Jiangxi School, while on the other, he recognizes the *contemporaneity* of literature and values its accompanying originality. He even implicates the limitation of a poetic curriculum by "learning from the past" in his narrative: as the present is never the same as the past, so is poetry. We should pay attention, however, that no sign indicates that Wang Ruoxu himself participated in this elevation of Tang poetry except his lopsided penchant for Bai Juyi. Moreover, his use of Bai Juyi was to take a pragmatic or utilitarian approach to poetic language, which should be ideally the elevated or polished everyday speech. The best Confucian scholar well acknowledged in the Jin dynasty notwithstanding, Wang Ruoxu was rather an outlier in the late Jin poetic movement. And what matters here is that Wang's comment reaffirms the fever of "poetic antiquarianism" among his coevals.

Finally, to wrap up this literary narrative of shifting poetic ideals from Song to Tang, and ultimately to Antiquity that took place in thirteenth-century North China, we should mention a letter written by Hao Jing to his student.[69] In the generation of this northern scholar, who was both a student of the Jin loyalist Yuan Haowen and an early Yuan scholar-official, the movement of reviving Tang poetry eventually backfired on itself, which was neither "ancient" nor "genuine" enough compared to its even earlier progenitors. Again, the compound *fengya* 風雅 or the "Airs" and "Elegantia" was the benchmark of Hao's poetic criticism referring to both the source of *The Classic of Poetry* and the unpretending "nature and feelings" (*xingqing* 性情); in contrast, the more recent was the poetry, the more "florid" and "verbose" was its rhetoric (*ci* 辭), whose priority obscured the archetypal *fengya* 昧夫風雅之原矣. Then Hao Jing made a chronological enumeration of *fengya* exemplars of each epoch starting from the *The Classic of*

[69] 郝經《與撖彥舉論詩書》

Poetry from the primordial Three Dynasties, to Su-Li 蘇李 (Su Wu 蘇武 [140-60 BCE] and Li Ling 李陵 [?-74 BCE]) representing Han and Six Dynasties classical poetry, to the Tang Li-Du 李杜 (Li Bai and Du Fu), to the Song Su-Huang 蘇黃 (Su Shi and Huang Tingjian) – though the general trajectory was the fated deterioration or distantiation from the *fengya* ideal, concomitant with the ever more refined language and perfection of craftsmanship as time wore on. Hence, in the eyes of Hao Jing, most Tang poetry is nothing but "poetry with superiority of rhetoric" 辭勝之詩:

> Alas! Even for Li-Du and Su-Huang, they were already incapable of surpassing Su-Li or approaching the Three Dynasties, not to mention those later and inferior poets. Hence, poets in recent time all compose poetry that prioritize rhetoric [to substance], and no one will not cherish Li He's extraordinariness, adore Lu Tong's strangeness, appreciate Du Mu's 杜牧 (803-852) astuteness, and incline toward Yuan Zhen's (779-831) sensuousness. For those more inferior poets, they instead emulate late Tang poetry by those like Wen Tingyun 溫庭筠 (812-870), Li Yishan [i.e., Li Shangyin], Xu Hun, Wang Jian 王建 (765-830), etc. Muffling and rumbling, fuzzy and buzzy are their eight-line verses as well as quatrains, which designedly compete for extraordinariness. They probe into the marvelousness of a single character, and excel at the artisanship of a separate couplet. What are murmured and chewed between the teeth in their mouths are only [formulaic parallel couplets such as] heaven and earth, wind and thunder; sun and moon, stars and constellations; dragons and tigers, simurgh and phoenix; gold and jade, pearls and jewels; orioles and swallows, flowers and bamboos; Six Directions and Four Seas; ox-ghosts and serpent-spirits; swords and halberds; brocade and embroidery; tipsy in wine and exuberant with songs; beauties and warriors, and so forth. They polish and carve trifles, match rhymes and compare regulations; they consider superfluity and parallelism as artisanship, shock and shout as audacity. None of them does not suffer from pathogenic wind and lose their hearts, and thus they no longer know the existence of Li-Du and Su-Huang, not to mention those works revealing nature and feelings in the "Airs" and "Elegantia" back to the Three Dynasties and those by Su-Li.
>
> 嗚呼！自李杜、蘇黃，已不能越蘇李、追三代，矧其下乎？於是近世又儘為辭勝之詩，莫不惜李賀之奇，喜盧仝之怪，賞杜牧之警，趨元稹之艷。又下焉，則為温庭筠、李義山、許渾、王建，謂之晚唐。轟轟隱隱，啅噪喧聒，八句一絕，競自為奇。推一字之妙，擅一聯之工，嘔啞嘲拉於齒牙之間者，祇是天地風雷，日月星斗，龍虎鸞鳳，金玉珠翠，鶯燕花竹，六合四海，牛鬼蛇神，劍戟綺繡，醉酒高歌，美人壯士等。磨切錙銖，偶韻較律，鬥飣排比而以為工，驚嚇喝喊而以為豪。莫不病風喪心，不復知有李杜、蘇黃矣，又焉知三代、蘇李性情風雅之作哉！

What we can tell from Hao's narrative is the prevalence of Tang poetry with all its myriad potentialities by then, ranging from extraordinariness, strangeness, astuteness, sensuousness, to artisanship and audacity. Accordingly, Hao's criticism against this diversified poetic landscape is that, distinct from prosaic erudition and calculated abstruseness of Song poetry, the artificiality of Tang poetry is most revealed in delicate parallelism and stylist exaggeration, which can be easily fossilized into rote regulations and rigid clichés. These drawbacks, in Hao's opinion, are most typical in the late Tang poetry which was extremely popular within the poet community at that time. This in turn has something to do with another anthology compiled by a Jin scholar – actually Hao's own master – and widely circulated in North China during the thirteenth century.

By close reading the related paratexts of *Zhongzhou ji* and *He-Fen Poetry Collection*, we have encountered the reaction against the Northern Song model and the aspiration to the Tang and even antiquarian fashion manifest in Jin and post-Jin poetry across thirteenth-century North China. Apart from these two anthologies on Jin poetry, we have nowadays a famous one specializing on Tang poetry alone circulated in the North at the same time. This anthology thus can be taken as a ready-made specimen that help us examine how Jin readers selected and rearranged earlier sources to produce their own characterizations of Tang poetry.

Drum and Fife Songs of Tang Poetry

And Poetry Anthology Culture in the Thirteenth Century

Speaking of the reception and revival of Tang poetry in the thirteenth-century North China, a poetry anthology has to be mentioned, whose title is *Drum and Fife Songs of Tang Poetry* (*Tang shi guchui* 唐詩鼓吹, TSGC hereafter). It is the first extant anthology on the single genre of heptametric regulated verse (*qi lü* 七律) in the millennial history of Chinese classical poetry. Compiled by Yuan Haowen 元好問 (1190-1257) in the last decades of his life when he was a Jin dynasty "remnant subject" under the Mongol Yuan regime (1271-1368), TSGC served as a poetry primer for beginners. It is said that while living as a hermit, Yuan was still well-known for "teaching and exercising a poem every day" 日課一詩 and attracted a large number of young disciples in the North.[70] Consequently, a manuscript draft of a Tang poetry anthology might have derived from his daily routines of teaching activities, with multiple copies transcribed and distributed among his students. Before long, TSGC was annotated and published by one of his students Hao Tianting 郝天挺 (1247-1313), a high official in the Yuan government. Today we are fortunate enough to have a copy of its first print edition in 1308 officially published by a Zhejiang prefect named Wu Yichang 武乙昌, now preserved in National Central University Library, Taiwan.[71] Besides a preface by Wu, we have another two by Yao Sui 姚燧 (1239-1314) and Zhao Mengfu 趙孟頫 (1254-1322), plus one postscript by Lu Zhi 盧摯 (1241-1315) – all

[70] 至順本《遺山集》余謙序：金亡晦道林莽，日課一詩，寒暑不易。至本朝，才名益甚，四方學者執羔雁無虛日。

[71] Yuan Haowen comp., *Zhu Tang shi gu chui* 註唐詩鼓吹, annot. Hao Tianting, 1308 print edition, facsimile (Taipei: Guangwen shuju, 1972).

were cultural stars in the early Yuan period. These four paratexts universally claim the role of Yuan Haowen in organizing the collection, and compliment Hao Tianting on his transmission and annotation of his master's "textbook."

Be that as it may, suspicion has been raised about Yuan's compiling agency of this anthology, since there is no mention of this book in Yuan's extant individual collection *Yishan ji* 遺山集. But as I have noted above, the prototype of TSGC was in the first place designed as a workbook for learning poetry and most likely remained informal, unpolished, skeletal and even unfinished. It is with the aid of his students that this anthology was preserved and eventually publicized decades after Yuan passed away. One strong proof of Yuan's hallmark on TSGC is a poem written by his close friend Cao Zhiqian 曹之謙 (d. 1265) – one of the "He-Fen Elders" – in which Cao explicitly referred to the book by its current title and praised the refined selection that was only possible through the hands of an experienced poet like Yuan Haowen. Cao's whole piece reads as follows:

曹之謙《讀唐詩鼓吹》	Cao Zhiqian, "Reading *Drum and Fife Songs of Tang Poetry*"
傑句雄篇萃若林	Distinguished verses and valorous pieces assemble like woods,
細看一一盡精深	When examined in detail, each one of them is absolutely refined and profound.
才高不似人間語	Exceedingly talented, [the poets composed verses] dissimilar from this-worldly language.
吟苦定勞天外心	Intoning bitterly, they must have tasked their hearts beyond heaven.
白璧連城無少玷	White jade disc worth adjoining cities is without a single stain;
朱絃三歎有遺音	Vermilion strings accompanying three sighs last a residual sound.[72]

[72] This line is adapted from "The Record of Music" (*Yue ji* 樂記) in *The Book of Rites* (*Liji* 禮記): "In the lute's for the Qing Miao the strings were of red (boiled) silk, and the holes were wide apart; one lute began, and (only) three others joined it; there was much melody not brought out" 清廟之瑟，朱弦而疏越，壹倡而三嘆，有遺音者矣. The image "vermilion strings" (*zhu xian* 朱弦) also seems to be Yuan Haowen's favored trope referring to both the lofty supremacy of music and verse, and the scarcity of like-minded spirits who truly know the tune (*zhiyin* 知音):
元好問《論詩三十首》：謝客風容映古今，發源誰似柳州深？朱弦一拂遺音在，卻是當年寂寞心。
元好問《自題中州集後五首》其四：文章得失寸心知，千古朱弦屬子期。

不經詩老遺山手　　If [these Tang poems] had not been chosen by the hand of the elderly poet Yishan,
誰解披沙揀得金　　Who else could have sorted the grain from the chaff?[73]

A second piece of supporting evidence comes from the historical information embedded in the paratexts of the 1308 print edition. Though prefaces by Zhao Mengfu and Wu Yichang were written on the occasion of official publication of the anthology, two other pieces by Yao Sui and Lu Zhi can be dated back to 1303, which means the annotated version was at least available to a limited circle of elite even before it printed. Its preliminary circulation in the form of manuscripts is further confirmed in Lu's assertion that he once read this book as a young boy (予幼讀是集).[74] The array of evidence favors concluding that *The Drum and Fife Songs of Tang Poetry* labeled with the name Yuan Haowen was a rather popular poetic manual – first in manuscripts during the late thirteenth century, then in print editions after 1308 – for schoolboys in North China.

As a Tang poetry anthology specialized in heptametric regulated verse, TSGC sets up an exemplary poetic model in both form and style. Mirroring the reception of Tang poetry in the North, this anthology tries to strike a balance between technical skills on euphonic stricture (*shenglü* 聲律) and northern mannerism of bold, heroic spirit. These two aspects are often juxtaposed in later criticism:

傑句雄篇萃若林　　Distinguished verses and valorous pieces assemble like woods,
細看一一盡精深　　When examined in detail, each one of them is absolutely refined and profound.[75]

[73] 曹之謙《讀唐詩鼓吹》（《河汾諸老詩集》卷七）
[74] 盧摯《註唐詩鼓吹集後序》
[75] 曹之謙《讀唐詩鼓吹》（《河汾諸老詩集》卷七）

The give-and-take selection process is strict and precise, the form and regulation universal – on the whole, they are pieces of the powerful, vigorous and magnificent.

去取謹嚴，軌轍歸一，大抵遒健宏敞。[76]

In fact, the same trace is also reflected in Yuan Haowen's own poetic style, which in one aspect bespeaks the high correlation between Yuan and the TSGC anthology:

Yishan's [i.e., Yuan Haowen] poetry upholds that of Li Bai and Du Fu; his composition has incisive regulation of euphonic stricture that sounds refined and profound, while at the same time puts on an air of heroic unrestraint and transcendent drive.

遺山詩祖李、杜，律切精深而有豪放邁往之氣。[77]

On top of that, this specific aesthetical caliber based on Tang models seemed to represent the overall picture of late Jin poetry:

After the Jin regime crossed south, the learning of poetry had thrived. Jin poetry has refined and strict regulation, as well as lucid and grand diction, so that it supersedes the former Song poetry and directly takes Tang exemplars as its goal.

金自南渡後，詩學為盛，其格律精嚴，辭語清壯，度越**前宋**，直以**唐人**為指歸。[78]

The unity of form and content, or craftsmanship and spirit, perhaps is best epitomized in the first *juan* or chapter of this anthology highlighting three key figures – Liu Zongyuan, Liu Yuxi and Xu Hun. They are all mid-Tang poets who wrote heptametric regulated verse par excellence among their contemporaries. All of Liu Zongyuan's pieces were written during the exile. In piercing diction, these poems convey "a heart of deep loneliness" of the protagonist situated in uncultivated wilderness with gloomy mood.[79] Most of Liu Yuxi's pieces are poetic correspondences with his friends who were setting out on a long journey, and another four are

[76] 《四庫提要》「《唐詩鼓吹》•十卷〈通行本〉」
[77] 徐世隆《遺山先生文集序》
[78] 王惲《秋澗集》卷四三《西巖趙君文集序》
[79] 元好問《論詩三十首》：謝客風容映古今，發源誰似柳州深？朱弦一拂遺音在，卻是當年寂寞心。

about melancholic meditation on the past, for which Liu was particularly famous.[80] The occasions of exile, farewell, and reminiscence in Tang poetry must have echoed with Yuan Haowen's own nostalgia after the collapse of Jin dynasty, as he encountered the poignant scenery of wasted and ruined historical sites in those exquisite regulated verse. If the 25 compositions by Liu Zongyuan and Liu Yuxi set the tone for the whole collection, the role of Xu Hun in the rest of the first *juan* with his 31 examples is without question to demonstrate the expertise of euphonic stricture and parallelism manifest in the middle couplets of heptametric regulated verse. Song poets often criticized the "weak and base" tone in Xu's poems, but even these critics could not deny the refinement and virtuosity of his couplet making in regulated verse (some even claim that Xu's "rotten or decayed" flavor is exactly due to the "overly clever" craft of parallelism).[81] With its primary goal of teaching poetic composition, it seems practical to include Xu Hun as the normative sample for students to analyze the rubrics of poetic regulation.[82] And even for Xu Hun, about one third of his poems in TSGC more or less touch upon the sense of loss through either visiting sites of ancient monuments or commemorating deceased friends. Therefore, it is clear that Yuan Haowen adopted criteria of both substance and technique for his selection.

Having outlined the basic characterizations of this anthology, I further organize my research on *The Drum and Fife Songs of Tang Poetry* in three parts below. First, I look into the anthology per se by decoding the multivalence of the quintessential term *guchui* 鼓吹 or "drum and fife songs,"

[80] 元好問《論詩三十首》：亂後玄都失古基，看花詩在只堪悲。劉郎也是人間客，枉向春風怨兔葵。
[81] 方回《瀛奎律髓》卷十四許渾《曉發鄞江北渡寄崔韓二先輩》批語：體格太卑，對偶太切。
[82] Zhang Lirong 張立榮 and Peng Xinyuan 彭新元, "Yuan Haowen *Tang shi guchui* de shixue sixiang" 元好問《唐詩鼓吹》的詩學思想, *Journal of Jiangxi Normal University (Social Sciences)* 江西師範大學學報（社會科學版） 39.6 (2006): 55.

which involves both literary value and the compiler's own intention. The second part deals with TSGC's source texts that can be identified or induced from bibliographical inquiry. I will show in quantitative analysis that Yuan Haowen took several early anthologies of Tang poetry, particularly *The Selection of A Hundred Tang Poets* (*Tang baijia shixuan* 唐百家詩選, TBJSX hereafter), *The Collection of the Tunes of the Talents* (*Cai diao ji* 才調集, CDJ hereafter) and *The Collection of the Ever-More Mysterious* (*You xuan ji* 又玄集, YXJ hereafter), as his major source texts but narrowed down to the *qi lü* form. The role of Yuan Haowen as its compiler will also be discussed in this part, as the mechanism of copying and the selective intentionality both took place and left traces in the formation of this anthology. Finally, I will briefly go through the enduring traces of printing and reading TSGC in late imperial China from the perspective of its reception and book history.

***Polyphony of "Drum and Fife Songs" in Northern Style: The Many Meanings of* Guchui**

When opening this book for the first time, it is natural for readers to ask why using this eccentric term *guchui* 鼓吹 as the title for this Tang poetry anthology. In this part I try to expound the multivalence of this particular term by taking into consideration both style and content of the entire book.

I find the most straightforward answer is that, TSGC for Yuan Haowen was very likely to be a companion to *The Collection of the Central Plain* (*Zhongzhou ji* 中州集), another of his own compiled anthologies. This one encompassing Jin dynasty poetry bears an alternative title as *Zhongzhou guchui hanyuan yinghua* 中州鼓吹翰苑英華, which can be understood as the "Central Plain" version of the "Drum and Fife Songs" that Yuan regarded as the "Finest Blossoms from the Garden of Letters." Nowadays we have the precious 1308 print edition of

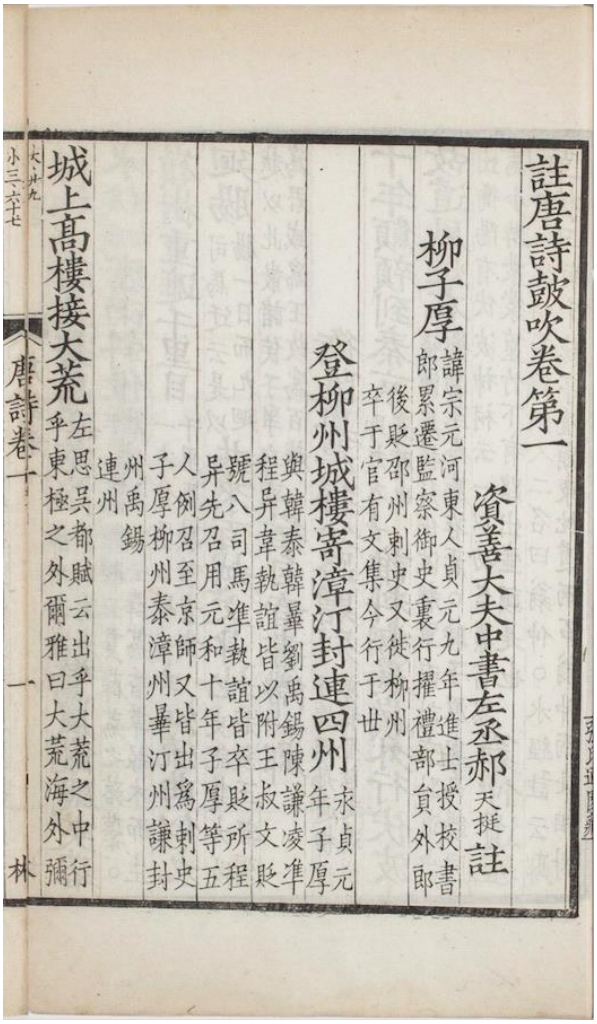
TSGC, and as for *Zhongzhou ji / Zhongzhou guchui*, there exist the Japanese re-engraved facsimiles based on the 1255 edition as well as the original 1310 print edition,[83] so that there is no doubt their wide circulation in the northern book market persisted at least till the early fourteenth century, and in turn, this idiosyncratic term *guchui* could have been a hallmark of Yuan Haowen's authority as the compiler. Another circumstantial piece of supporting evidence comes from around the same period and catches my attention for certain properties attributed to the *Zhongzhou ji*. It is a running comment made by the influential Yuan Confucian scholar Wu Cheng 吳澄 (1249-1333) in the form of a colophon attached to a manuscript transcribing Jin dynasty poetry selected from ZZJ:

> Lord Zhao, the fiscal commissioner, transcribed out of the recent *Collection of the Central Plain* thirty-seven pieces of heptametric regulated verse, and gave it to Wang Zining, so that the novice is not likely to fail in incoherent and digressive [learning] but instead he can enter the gateway of Tang poetry through this selection.
>
> 運使趙侯以近世《中州集》，錄出七言八句三十七篇，畀王子寧，俾初學不至失於支離，由此可入唐詩門戶矣。[84]

Though this brief colophon records the common literary practice of choosing and copying favorable pieces from an anthology as a personalized epitome for each poetry learner at that time, peculiar features are considered regarding ZZJ as the subject here. First, Wu Cheng points out that the copier deliberately picked out heptametric regulated verse from ZZJ as the learning model, and second, these chosen Jin poems were meant to be the preliminary warm-up or stepping stone for more "advanced" learning of Tang poetry, and finally, the usage of ZZJ as a contemporary textbook can also be configured. The two key elements of "heptametric regulated verse" and "gateway of or key to Tang poetry" exemplified by ZZJ / ZZGC in this colophon

[83] For the print history of ZZJ, see Zhang Jing 張靜, "*Zhongzhou ji* ji liuchuan kaoshu" 《中州集》版本及流傳考述, *Journal of Jiangsu University (Social Science Edition)* 江蘇大學學報（社會科學版） 15.6 (2013): 9-73.
[84] 吳澄《跋趙運使錄中州詩》

conduce to a strong correlation between this Jin poetry anthology and TSGC, and this more or less verifies my hypothesis that these two *guchui* poetry anthologies both compiled by Yuan Haowen were a loose set of companions for poetry learners and consumers.

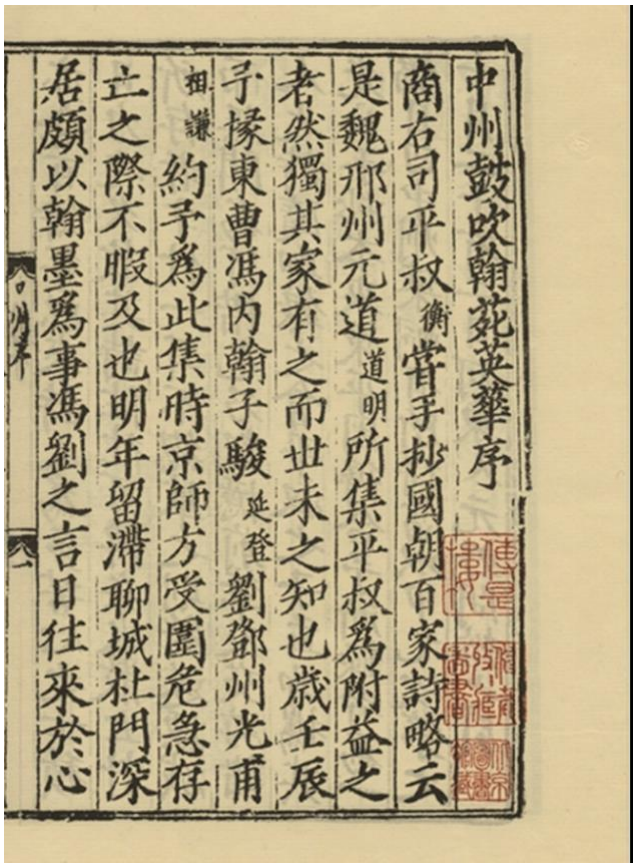

註唐詩鼓吹卷第一

資善大夫中書左丞郝天挺註

柳子厚 諱宗元河東人貞元九年進士授校書郎累遷監察御史裏行擢禮部員外郎後貶邵州刺史又徙柳州卒于官有文集今行于世

登柳州城樓寄漳汀封連四州 永貞元年子厚與韓泰韓曇劉禹錫陳謙凌準程异韋執誼皆以附王叔文貶號八司馬準執誼皆卒貶所程异先召用元和十年子厚等五人例召至京師又皆出爲刺史子厚柳州泰漳州曇汀州謙封州禹錫連州

城上高樓接大荒 左思吳都賦云出乎大荒之中行乎東極之外爾雅曰大荒海外彌


中州鼓吹翰苑英華序

商右司平叔衡嘗手抄國朝百家詩略云是魏邢州元道道明所集平叔爲附益之者然獨其家有之而世未之知也歲壬辰予掾東曹馮內翰子駿延登劉鄧州光甫相謙約予爲此集時京師方受圍危急存亡之際不暇及也明年留滯聊城杜門深居頗以翰墨爲事馮劉之言日往來於心

Left: Yuan Haowen 元好問 (1190-1257), *Zhu Taoshi guchui* 注唐詩鼓吹, annot. Hao Tianting 郝天挺 (1247-1313). First print edition officially published by the government educational institution in Zhejiang province (*Zhe sheng rusi* 浙省儒司), 1308, now preserved in National Central University Library, Taiwan.
Right: Yuan Haowen, *Zhongzhou guchui hanyuan yinghua* 中州鼓吹翰苑英華 (i.e., *Zhongzhou ji* 中州集). Print edition from repaired woodblocks (*dixiu ben* 遞修本), published by Studio Jinde (*Jinde zhai* 進德齋, lit. "Advanced Virtue") of the Cao 曹 family, 1310, now preserved in National Library of China, Beijing.

Other parallel formats can be observed in these two collections: they are both arranged in ten *juan* or chapters, and the TSGC annotator might have deliberately mimicked the format of *Zhongzhou ji* and attached a mini-biography as historical background under the name of each

poet. Subtly, like the case of TSGC, neither the name *Zhongzhou guchui* nor Yuan Haowen's self-preface shows up in his own individual collection *Yishan ji*. This preface and title are affirmed in the 1310 print edition of *Zhongzhou ji*, and Yuan's authorship is undisputed. The credibility of *Zhongzhou guchui* further gives credit to Yuan's compilership of TSGC.

My second interpretation of *guchui* draws from its etymology indicated by the paratexts of TSGC. *Guchui* initially is made of two verbs meaning "to beat [drums] and blow [horns]," whose part of speech can be easily shifted and refer to two types of musical instruments, drum and fife, respectively. Drum and fife constituted the typical martial music, and were normally in charge of ceremonial music performance in court rituals. These two occasions of "drum and fife music" – military march and royal ceremony – are attested in *The Collection of Music Bureau Poetry* (*Yuefu shiji* 樂府詩集), compiled by a Northern Song scholar 郭茂倩 (1041-1099) and published in the early twelfth century:

> *Hengchui* or songs accompanied by transverse flutes were at first also called *guchui* or drum and fife songs. They were performed on horseback and considered as military music. States of northern barbarians all composed music on horseback, so that their music was affiliated to the *Guchui* Bureau [at Han imperial court]. Later on, it was divided into two compartments. Music accompanied by syrinxes and fifes is called *guchui*, and it is applied on occasions of paying homage to the emperor and marching on the roads, and itself can also be bestowed as presents. During the reign of Emperor Wu of Han (141-87), the seven commanderies in the Southern Yue were all given *guchui* as awards by the court. Music accompanied by drums and horns is categorized as *hengchui*, and it is applied in the army and performed on horseback.
>
> 橫吹曲，其始亦謂之鼓吹，馬上奏之，蓋軍中之樂也。北狄諸國，皆馬上作樂，故自漢已來，北狄樂總歸鼓吹署。其後分為二部，有簫笳者為鼓吹，用之朝會、道路，亦以給賜。漢武帝時，南越七郡，皆給鼓吹是也。有鼓角者為橫吹，用之軍中，馬上所奏者是也。[85]

[85] 《樂府詩集》卷二十一《橫吹曲辭一》
又，卷十六《鼓吹曲辭一》：然則黃門鼓吹、短簫鐃歌與橫吹曲，得通名鼓吹，但所用異爾。

The Collection of Music Bureau Poetry traces one of the sources of "drum and fife songs" back to "northern Di barbarians," and it is manifest that Yuan Haowen in TSGC analogizes the music of cavalrymen performed by percussion and wind instruments to the northern poetic style.

This impressionistic character also corresponds with Yuan Haowen's own aesthetical poetics, which John Wixted recapitulates that "for Yuan Haowen, the *kangkai* 慷慨 spirit – heroic, stout-hearted, full of feeling – is a prime desideratum of poetry."[86] For instance, in the first quarter of his "Thirty Poems on Poetry," Yuan enumerates one by one the exemplary northern poetry full of heroic spirit or *qi* 氣 in early medieval period, including the "Jian'an (196-220) pervasive vigor" (*Jian'an fenggu* 建安風骨) represented by Cao Zhi 曹植 (192-232) and Liu Zhen 劉禎 (d. 217), the Western Jin (265-316) general poet Liu Kun 劉琨 (270-317) who was able to compose poetry while "slinging his lance crossways" (*hengshuo fushi* 橫槊賦詩) (Poem 2), the "chipped jar song" performed by Wang Dun 王敦 (266-324), the military overlord of the early Eastern Jin (317-420) (Poem 3), as well as the Turkish folk song named Chile 敕勒歌 which is said to revive "the heroic spirit in the Central Plain of ten thousand ages" (Poem 7).[87] Yuan's undertone of exalting the northern poetic style endowed with both military and literary prowess is out of question here. What's more, Yuan's own poetry was appreciated by his contemporaries as "full of stout-hearted feeling, infused with the spirit of the Youzhou and Bingzhou areas [of North China]" 歌謠慷慨，挾幽、并之氣,[88] so that Yuan himself was also

[86] John Timothy Wixted, *Poems on Poetry*, p. 69.
[87] Ibid., Poems 2, 3, and 7, pp. 32-40, 41-46, 68-73.
[88] See Yuan Haowen's biography in *Jin shi* 金史. I borrow the English translation from Wixted, *Poems on Poetry*, p. 21. In addition, I suspect that the source of this phrasing in *Jin shi* is instead 郝經《遺山先生墓銘》：歌謠跌宕，挾幽、并之氣。

plugged into this long-standing tradition stretching from as early as the Jian'an period to the twelfth- and thirteenth-century Jin-Yuan poetry.

Back to the TSGC anthology title, *guchui*, carrying the impression of martial music, is thus figuratively interpreted as the northern poetic fashion found in Tang poetry endowed with vehement vibes. This is already highlighted in those fourteenth-century prefaces. See, for instance, Yao Sui's discourse:

> *Guchui* or drum and fife songs are martial music. Attendant on the sovereign carriage are a hundred capped musicians playing the instruments of drums, chime-bells, bugles, baritone bugles, and reed-pipes. They are all made of metal, leather and bamboo, and none of them are stringed instruments. They are easy to perform on horseback. On the circumstance of the Grand Court Assemblage [of feudal lords and tributaries], [these musical instruments] are placed and hung alongside the palace walls, and [musicians] mingle together and perform the most sublime and quivering sound… [Yuan Haowen] selected more than 600 Tang regulated verses and entitled the collection *guchui*. He not only meant to chant and sing [these poems], but also regarded them equivalent to the sublime and quivering [*guchui* music].
>
> 鼓吹，軍樂也。大駕前後，設之伎冠百人，其器惟鉦、鼓、長鳴、中鳴、觱栗，皆金、革、竹，無絲，惟取便於騎。作大朝會，則置案於宮懸間，雜而奏之，最聲之而震厲者也。……選唐近體六百餘篇，亦以是名。豈永歌之，其聲亦可匹是宏壯震厲者乎？[89]

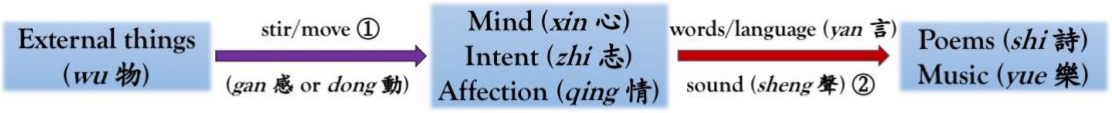
Yao Sui in his preface expresses his understanding of *guchui* in three aspects: first, the "drum and fife song" literally means martial music; second, this sort of music stands for masculine sound; finally, Yao Sui analogizes the *guchui* music to the Tang regulated verse collected by Yuan Haowen, since both music and poetry here bespeak the northern style crystalized in the term *guchui*. Similar elements can be seen in Zhao Mengfu's preface as well:

> What is *guchui* or the "drum and fife song"? It is martial music. Why [Yuan Haowen] named his selection of Tang poetry as such? It is probably because [these Tang poems] can be analogized to *guchui* in music. How profound was Yishan's intent!
>
> 鼓吹者何？軍樂也。選唐詩而以是名之者何？譬之於樂，其猶鼓吹乎！遺山之意則深矣。[90]

[89] 姚燧《註唐詩鼓吹詩集序》
[90] 趙孟頫《唐詩鼓吹註序》

Notwithstanding, Tang poems in this anthology are not necessarily military or "border poetry" (*biansai shi* 邊塞詩) or those with heroic manner. Instead, we find a wide range of topics and styles in TSGC, including but not limited to poetry lamenting death and chaos in warfare, poetry about nostalgia of the past, poetry on history as mirror of the present, poetry on frustration and exile, poetry on romance and extravagance, poetry on friendship, poetry on serving and retiring, poetry on solitude and reclusion, poetry on religious beliefs and practice, poetry of natural landscape, poetry about retirement and reclusion, and so on. Therefore, the so-called "northern style" here is more like a pigeonhole rather than a definitive character of this anthology. Now, it is proper to make a detour and take a fresh vantage point. What is embedded in the term *guchui* is the analogy of music and poetry, which reminds me of the affective model applied in the exegesis of classical Chinese poetry. It is said that when the poet is stirred by external things or events in heart, he or she cannot help but express the feeling in artistic forms by different channels of either poetry or music, as crystalized in the Classics:

The Affective Model



The "Great Preface":
In the mind, it is "being intent"; coming out in language, it is a "poem." 在心為志 發言為詩
The affections are stirred within ① and take on form in words ②. 情動於中 而形於言

The "Record of Music":
the human mind's being stirred by external things 人心之感於物
The affections are moved within ① and take on form in sound ②. 情動於中 故形於聲

In this line of thinking, we can say that the *qilü* poems on myriad themes and styles are all artistic expressions of how individual late Tang poets reacted in face of the downfall of Tang empire. Moreover, *guchui* or "to beat [drums] and blow [horns]" has to do with vibrations of air

and flows of wind, and the abundance of *qi* 氣 or forceful verve and life-like spirit is what Yuan Haowen treasures most in literary composition, in contrast to those delicate and effete verses by southerners.[91] Finally, the exegesis of *guchui* based on the affective model also presupposes the sincerity of emotions and prioritizes it over mere techniques, which I believe is also one of the crucial standards of Yuan Haowen's selection.

This characterization also rhymes with Yuan Haowen's own poetic flair, since his own *qilü* composition is well known for the theme of "death and chaos" in face of the collapse of Jin dynasty. The early Qing dynasty poet Wang Shizhen 王士禎 (1634-1711) once commented on Yuan's *qilü* "whose marvelousness perhaps heads off with Dongpo [i.e., Su Shi] at his heels and outpaces Fangweng [i.e., Lu You 陸游 (1125-1210), arguably the best Southern Song poet]" 七言妙處，或追東坡，而軼放翁[92] – this is indeed an exceptional compliment to this Jin poet who stands on a par with those top-level Song poets. Another Qing dynasty scholar Zhao Yi 趙翼 (1727-1814) was sharp enough to point out the profound tragic undertone that penetrates Yuan's heptametric regulated verse, which could only be composed by those who experienced massive war and death:

> [Yuan Haowen's] heptametric regulated verse is ever more profound and genuine, tragic and desolate, which in turn constitutes his own sound and tone. For regulated verses that evoke singing and crying since the Tang dynasty, there are no later equivalents to a dozen of Shaoling's [i.e., Du Fu] couplets except Yishan's compositions… [Yuan's regulated verse] is so affective and touched by contemporary events that sound and tears come out all at once; and even a thousand years later, the poetry still makes readers dwell on it and can't put it down. It is perhaps because poetry about one's home and country is especially prone to stir human hearts.

[91] For the preponderant significance of *qi* represented by the archetypal poetry during the Jian'an period (196-220) in Yuan Haowen's literary criticism, see Wixted's thorough analysis on Poem 2 of Yuan's "Thirty Poems on Poetry," in his *Poems on Poetry*, pp. 32-40.
[92] 王士禎《帶經堂詩話》卷二

> 七言律則更沉摯悲涼，自成聲調。唐以來律詩之可歌可泣者，少陵十數聯外，絕無嗣響，遺山則往往有之。……此等感時觸事，聲淚俱下，千載後猶使讀者低徊不能置。蓋事關家國，尤易感人。[93]

Zhao Yi repeated the same assertion in his poem dedicated to Yuan, which has become an axiom in Chinese literary criticism: "Misfortune of the country is instead the fortune of poets; / When he elaborates on tremendous vicissitudes, his verse cannot be but well-wrought" 國家不幸詩家幸，賦到滄桑句便工.[94] Elsewhere Zhao paraphrased the same import in his remarks on poetry again: "It is perhaps due to his growth near Yunzhong 雲中 and Shuofang 朔方 regions [in the northwest] that his natural endowment was filled with bold, forceful and heroic spirits; moreover, having encountered the breakdown of the Gold Spring regime [i.e., the Jurchen Jin dynasty] and been moved by the ruins of ancestral temples of the imperial clan, he let out impassioned elegies which was artful without intention – this is fulfilled thanks to both place and time [of Yuan's life]" 蓋生長雲朔，其天稟本多豪健英傑之氣；又值金源亡國，以宗社丘墟之感，發為慷慨悲歌，有不求而自工者，此固地為之也，時為之也.[95] This comment can be taken as the perfect footnote of *guchui* here associated with the affective model. Accordingly, we indeed find a subtle disposition in TSGC toward pieces either on reminiscence and nostalgia of "bygone heydays," or lamenting death and chaos brought about by warfare that loomed large among late Tang poets.[96] The ninth- to tenth-century turmoil distantly echoed the real catastrophe of Mongol invasions in Yuan's own lifetime, and their heptametric regulated verse can both be read as poetic elegies witnessing the ages of Götterdämmerung.

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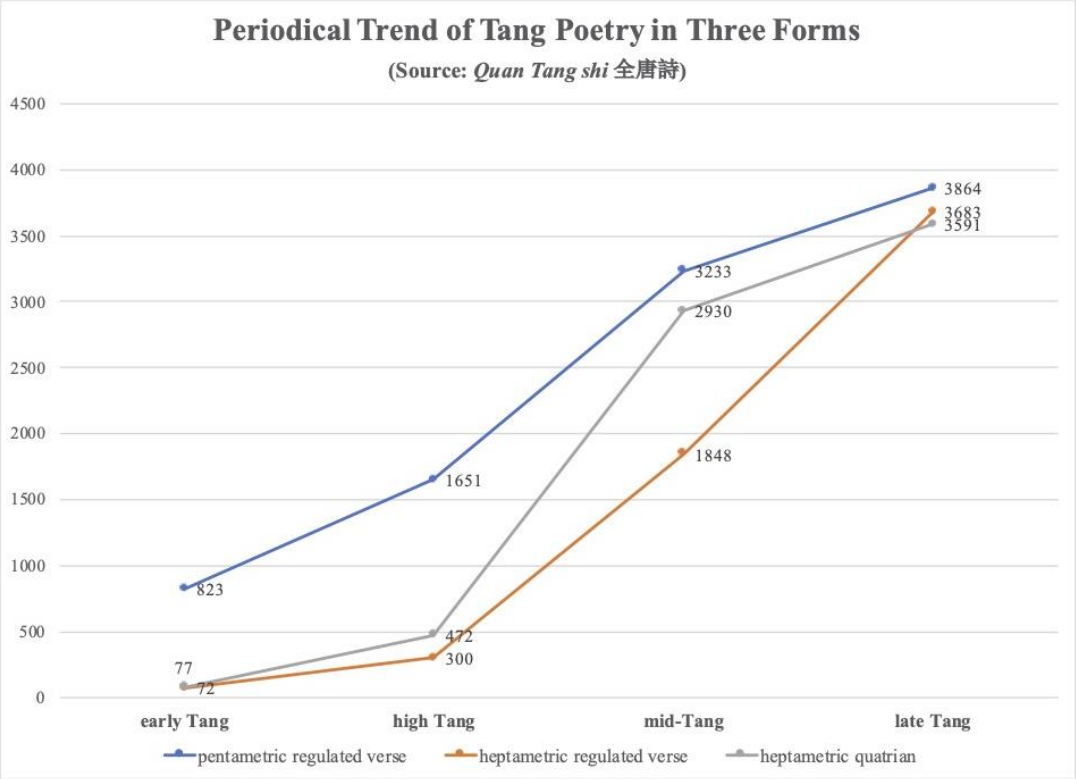
[93] 趙翼《甌北詩話》卷八「元遺山詩」
[94] 趙翼《題遺山詩》
[95] 趙翼《甌北詩話》卷八「元遺山詩」
[96] For the literary obsession in nostalgic memory prevalent in the late Tang period, see Stephen Owen, "Regulated Verse in the Long Line: The 'Meditation on the Past,'" in *The Late Tang,* pp. 183-225. Another excellent example of late Tang heptametric regulated verse in the long line is discussed by Paul Kroll in his "Nostalgia and History in Mid-Ninth-Century Verse: Cheng Yü's Poem on 'The Chin-Yang Gate,'" *T'oung Pao* 89 (2003): 286-366.

My third interpretation is perhaps a little bit of a stretch, but it still reflects some crucial features of this poetry anthology. We already know that *guchui* literally means martial music, and with the awesome and sublime sound effect, the musical accompaniment by drums and fifes is a means of pronouncing the dignity and authority of power. This further endows *guchui* with an extensive meaning of promoting a certain ideal or vocation as a supplementary force.[97] Accordingly, when we apply this layer of meaning to the poetry anthology, the title indicates the promotion of "unsung" works by "lesser poets" as a supplement to Tang literary canons. Indeed, except for Liu Zongyuan and Liu Yuxi whose *qi lü* are taken as exemplary in TSGC, a number of other greatest Tang poets are missing in this anthology, such as Li Bai, Du Fu, Han Yu 韓愈 (768-824) and Bai Juyi, etc., but we can make a defense when taking the *qi lü* form into consideration. The compositions left by these poets can be rather said as the opposite of heptametric regulated verse: Li Bai is a genius of old-style poetry characterized with heterometric, *tempo rubato* verses; Han Yu is an advocate of literary archaism and famous for being eccentric and transgressing poetic regulation; Bai Juyi composes in a plain, loose and affecting fashion well suited to the lyrical and orally transmitted *yuefu* genre, which in turn becomes his drawback in regulated verse that expects meticulous and dense texture. On the other hand, the curious absence of Du Fu betrays what *guchui* in the title exactly refers to. It is well acknowledged that heptametric regulated verse underwent a breakthrough transformation in the hands of this "sage-poet" during the chaotic aftermath of the An Lushan Rebellion. Du Fu himself marked the watershed of this single poetic form in literary history, and all the other Tang compositions collected in Yuan Haowen's anthology can be said as *guchui* or supplementary backup of the classical paragon largely personified as Du Fu. Moreover, Yuan Haowen once made a collection called *Learning of Du Fu's Poetry* (*Du shi xue* 杜詩學) including the biography, chronology, and commentary of this Tang poet and his works, so it does not go too far

[97] Its *locus classicus* is in 世說新語・文學: 孫興公云：「《三都》《二京》，五經鼓吹。」

as to suppose that Yuan taught the examples in TSGC as the stepping stone to approach Du Fu's *qi lü* masterpieces.

Moreover, the proliferation of "minor poets" during the late Tang period chosen in this anthology is actually in tune with the historical evolution of heptametric regulated verse as a poetic genre. Below is a line chart I have designed by adopting the research by Shi Ziyu 施子愉 who calculates the numbers of Tang poetry in three forms – pentametric regulated verse (*wu lü* 五律), heptametric regulated verse and heptametric quatrain (*qi jue* 七絕) – in a chronological order, so as to visualize the long-term distribution trend of each form:[98]



The result is self-evident enough. The multiplication of all the three forms from early to late Tang was due to both the ever growing poet community and better preservation of texts in later

[98] Data taken from Shi Ziyu 施子愉, "Tang dai keju zhidu yu wuyan shi de guanxi" 唐代科舉制度與五言詩的關係, *Dongfang zazhi* 東方雜誌 40.8 (1944).

period, but the growth rate of each form remarkably differed. Poets in the early and high Tang put their main effort in pentametric rather than heptametric verse, which is why so few pieces of that period are seen in TSGC. But when it came to the shifting period from high Tang to mid-Tang, heptametric verse seemed to get momentum and surge in numbers especially in the quatrain form. Yet still, except a few mid-Tang pioneers selected in TSGC (especially the first three exemplars in the first *juan*), generations after Du Fu seemed to be more interested in pentametric regulated verse, represented by "Ten Talents in the Dali Period" (*Dali shi caizi* 大曆十才子) in the mid Tang. It was not until the time of Du Mu and Li Shangyin when the heptametric form won the favor and was further perfected by a group of late Tang poets including Wei Zhuang 韋莊 (836?-910), Han Wo 韓偓 (844-923), Sikong Tu, Pi Rixiu 皮日休 (834-83) and Lu Guimeng 陸龜蒙 (?-881), just to name the most well-known. The late Tang boom of heptametric regulated verse is also reflected in this chart, with its total number even getting close to that of pentametric regulated verse – we should notice that in the beginning of Tang dynasty, the amount of *wu lü* is more than ten times larger than *qi lü*. Since the climax of heptametric regulated verse coincides with the age of late Tang "minor poets," it is only natural that TSGC as a *qi lü*-specific anthology best represents the attributes of late Tang poetry. Below I enumerate the top 20 poets in this anthology to provide a "demographic" disposition of late Tang "lesser poets":

Table 1 Top 20 Poets Represented in *The Drum and Fife Songs of Tang Poetry*

Rank	Poet	Date	Number of Poems	Rank	Poet	Date	Number of Poems
1	Tan Yongzhi 譚用之	fl. 10th c.	38	10	Wei Zhuang 韋莊	836?-910	19
2	Lu Guimeng 陸龜蒙	?-881	35	12	Liu Yuxi 劉禹錫	772-842	16[99]
3	Li Shangyin 李商隱	813-858	34	13	Yang Juyuan 楊巨源	*jinshi* 789	14
4	Du Mu 杜牧	803-852	32	13	Sikong Tu 司空圖	837-908	14
5	Xu Hun 許渾	788-860	31	15	Wu Rong 吳融	850-903	11
6	Cao Tang 曹唐	fl. 9th c.	29[100]	15	Zheng Gu 鄭谷	849-911	11
7	Pi Rixiu 皮日休	834-883	23	17	Li Ying 李郢	*jinshi* 856	10
7	Hu Su 胡宿	995-1067	23	17	Wen Tingyun 溫庭筠	812-870	10
9	Xue Feng 薛逢	*jinshi* 841	22	17	Zhang Mi 張泌	fl. 10th c.	10
10	Han Wo 韓偓	844-923	19	20	Liu Zongyuan 柳宗元	773-819	9[101]

We can see that early and high Tang poets are totally absent in this table, and except four mid-Tang poets (Xu Hun, Liu Yuxi, Yang Juyuan, Liu Zongyuan) and three Five Dynasties and early Song poets (Tan Yongzhi, Hu Su, Zhang Mi), the rest are all late Tang people active in the ninth century. The most peculiar feature shown in this table is that the top poet favored in TSGC turns out to be the otherwise unknown tenth-century poet Tan Yongzhi who defeats all the other big names. In his 38 pieces chosen in this collection, most are hermetic poetry laden with both exquisite allusions and tranquil airs written for eremites or Daoist adepts, and the overall temper is akin to that of Pi Rixiu and Lu Guimeng. More important, since nowadays we know next to

[99] 卷一，15 首+1 首題為柳宗元詩=16 首
[100] 卷四，18 首+宋邕 11 首=29 首
[101] 卷一，10 首-1 首劉禹錫詩=9 首

nothing about Tan Yongzhi, his astonishingly high profile in TSGC almost stands for his only imprint in the literary history. The case of the late Tang poet Xue Feng is similar, since he was best represented in TSGC compared to all the other Tang-Song-Jin-Yuan sources, with a considerable amount of 22 pieces in total. That said, it seems lucky enough that a manuscript of his poetry survived and was later absorbed into the seventeenth-century epoch-making Tang poetry collectanea *Taxonomic Assemblage of Tones in Tang Poetry* (*Tang yin tong qian* 唐音統籤) compiled privately by Hu Zhenheng 胡震亨 (1569–ca. 1644), and thus we now have more than eighty poems by him.[102] Besides, Xue's disposition is closer to late Tang romantic talents like Li Shangyin and Du Mu rather than Five Dynasties eremites like Tan Yongzhi. To make things more interesting, Tan and Xue were both natives in Shanxi province,[103] which was also the homeland of Yuan Haowen, and considering its geographical advantage as one of the centers of print industries and cultural pressure-cookers under the Jurchen-Mongol regimes, a plausible historical scenario is that copies of Tan's and Xue's poetry collections were still thick on the ground within the local regions of Shanxi. With access to these primary materials, Yuan deliberately set in high relief their poetic presence in TSGC when they remained in low profile among other Tang through Yuan literary sources. In this light, *The Drum and Fife Songs*

[102] For bibliographical investigation on Xue Feng's extant poetry, see Lou Fengnan 婁鳳南, "Wan Tang Xue Feng shige yanjiu" 晚唐薛逢詩歌研究 (MA thesis, Shanghai shifan daxue, 2020), pp. 23-36.

[103] We are now certain that Xue Feng came from Hedong 河東, nowadays Yongji 永濟 near Yuncheng 運城 in the south of Shanxi province. As for Tan Yongzhi, though precise historical details are wanting, we do find a record of his friend Wang Jingchun 王景純 (fl. 10th c.), a native from Taiyuan in the middle of Shanxi province, not far from Yuan's hometown Xinzhou 忻州. It is said that Wang Jingchun got acquainted with Tan Yongzhi near Luoyang in Henan province. See more in Chen Shangjun 陳尚君, "Tan Yongzhi bu shi Bei Han ren" 譚用之不是北漢人, *Zhonghua wenshi luncong* 中華文史論叢 2019.2: 124. We can thus reasonably tell the geographical range of their activities around the southern Shanxi province next to Henan.

anthology is indeed the spokesman and custodian of a "minority group" within Tang poets, and not without the tinge of localism.[104]

Above I have elaborated the productive ambiguity of *guchui* in the title and its "polyphonic" implications associated with the form and content of the whole anthology. Certain features of the book and the compiler's intentions are also indicated here. First, with this peculiar patent *guchui*, the title TSGC was authorized with Yuan Haowen's compilership and served as a companion to another more significant Jin poetry anthology *Zhongzhou guchui* / *Zhongzhou ji*. Second, *guchui* not only bears the etymological reference to the northern style analogous to martial music, but also bespeaks the affective model prioritizing genuine feelings provoked by grand historical changes. What's more, *guchui*, with the undertone of an assisting force or a supplement to canons and authorities, bring to the fore "lesser poets" as the auxiliary of the Tang canonical poet Du Fu in the field of *qi lü* genre. The manifold interpretations on the single term *guchui* or "drum and fife songs" all exhibit Yuan's imprint on this book, and at least reveal certain aspects of the compiler's aesthetic flair.

The rest of this session will compare TSGC with other Tang poetry anthologies. I first highlight three earlier poetry anthologies as Yuan Haowen's source texts, and then juxtapose TSGC with other similar Southern Song compilations. In so doing, we can better locate this northern anthology in the overall anthology culture during the thirteenth century. Mirroring the

[104] Other Shanxi poets in this list of top 20 poets within TSGC are Yang Juyuan, Sikong Tu, Liu Zongyuan, and Wen Tingyun. The first three poets were all from Yongji, while Wen was a native from Qi county 祁縣 near Taiyuan. Plus Tan Yongzhi and Xue Feng, altogether six Shanxi poets occupy positions in this table with a considerable number of poems selected by Yuan Haowen, so that we can say Tang poets from Shanxi were very well represented in TSGC. This observation is also proposed by Zhang Lirong 張立榮, "Yuan Haowen *Tang shi guchui* de xuan shi tese" 元好問《唐詩鼓吹》的選詩特色, *Journal of Shanxi University (Philosophy & Social Science)* 山西大學學報（哲學社會科學版） 28.4 (2005): 38.

reception of Tang poetry in the North, TSGC was above all created as a poetry primer in the North in order to communicate with and counterbalance the poetic trends sweeping across the South.

Source Texts of Tang Shi Guchui *and Yuan Haowen's Role as "Compiler"*

It is always fascinating to ask oneself about the "black box" of compilation mechanism behind the arrangement of an anthology, if the compiler didn't provide relevant information. As regards TSGC, the situation is also hard to read, since it involves hybrid texts of which so many have been long lost. Yet still, several pieces of the puzzle are fortunately found based on limited materials we have nowadays. We are now certain that the majority of extant Tang poetry collections and anthologies were preserved, gathered, organized, collated, copied, published and circulated thanks to the meticulous editorial work done by Northern Song literati-scholars.[105] These books were still in wide currency in both North and South in the following centuries, and among them *The Selection of A Hundred Tang Poets* or TBJSX seemed to be extraordinarily influential, which I will show more details below. I will also argue in the following part that Yuan Haowen deliberately chose Tang poetry materials with early provenance as his source texts for TSGC so as to acquire a "genuine" and relatively "antique" Tang taste unmediated by Song aesthetic filters. In other words, the compiler Yuan Haowen chose his sources that he thought best represented the historical *locus in quo* of Tang heptametric regulated verse. Based on this bibliographical investigation, we can take one step further and reflect the role of Yuan Haowen as the "compiler" of TSGC, which I configure as the dual mechanisms of copying and selecting.

[105] See more in Anna Shields' book manuscript "Transmission and Transitions of Tang Literature"; also see Sun Qin'an 孫琴安, *Tang shi xuanben tiyao* 唐詩選本提要 (Shanghai: Shanghai shudian chubanshe, 2005).

The key pieces of the puzzle I find are three earlier anthologies of Tang poetry – TBJSX, CDJ, and YXJ as mentioned above – which are of great significance as source texts of TSGC. During my bibliographical investigation, these three anthologies, plus other Tang materials, stand out in the foreground due to the large amount of common *qi lü* they share with Yuan's collection. Below I have made a comparison between TSGC and these three earlier Tang poetry anthologies by counting the number of shared poems in them. And because all these collections are ordered in the elemental unit of each individual poet, in the following table I also arrange the sequence of poets in accordance with the TSGC:

Table 2 Textual Comparison between TSGC and Three Tang Poetry Anthologies

No.	Poet	Number of poems in TSGC	Number of poems common in TBJSX	Number of poems common in YXJ	Number of poems common in CDJ	Other possible sources
1	Liu Zongyuan 柳宗元	9 (*j.* 1)				
2	Liu Yuxi 劉禹錫	16 (*j.* 1)		0	0	
3	Xu Hun 許渾	31 (*j.* 1)	18	2（一首作李群玉詩）	6	
4	Xue Feng 薛逢	22 (*j.* 2)	0	2◊	3◊	[《薛逢詩》一卷、《薛逢別集》九卷、《薛逢賦》四卷 in 《宋史・藝文志七》]
5	Han Wo 韓偓	19 (*j.* 2)	15		2	[《直齋》卷十九「詩集類・《香奩集》二卷、《入內廷後詩集》一卷、《別集》三卷」]
6	Wang Wei 王維	8 (*j.* 2)		1	0	
7	Gao Shi 高適	1† (*j.* 2)	1	0	0	
8	Cen Shen 岑參	1† (*j.* 2)	1◊	0	0	
9	Zhang Yue 張說	2 (*j.* 2)				
10	Geng Wei 耿湋	2† (*j.* 2)	2◊*	0	0	

11	Lu Guimeng 陸龜蒙	35† (*j.* 3)			0	26 poems in *Songling ji* 松陵集, 9 in *Lize congshu* 笠澤叢書
12	Bao Ji 包佶	1† (*j.* 3)	1◊			
13	Bao Fang 鮑防	1† (*j.* 3)	1◊			
14	Huangfu Ran 皇甫冉	7† (*j.* 3)	6*	1◊		
15	Lang Shiyuan 郎士元	3† (*j.* 3)	3*	0		
16	Yang Shi'e 羊士諤	1† (*j.* 3)	1◊			
17	Dou Chang 竇常	1† (*j.* 3)	1◊			
18	Dou Mou 竇牟	1† (*j.* 3)	1◊			
19	Yang Juyuan 楊巨源	14† (*j.* 3)	14*			
20	Cao Tang 曹唐	18 (*j.* 4)	2◊*	2◊*	6	
21	Song Yong 宋邕[106]	11† (*j.* 4)			11*	
22	Li Yi 李益	2† (*j.* 4)		1◊	1◊	
23	Jia Dao 賈島	1† (*j.* 4)	1◊	0	0	
24	Zhang Jie 章碣	2† (*j.* 4)	2◊*		0	
25	Li Pin 李頻	1† (*j.* 4)	1	1◊	1	
26	Du Xunhe 杜荀鶴	1† (*j.* 4)	1◊	0	0	
27	Cui Hao 崔顥	1† (*j.* 4)	1◊	1	1◊	
28	Li Qi 李頎	2† (*j.* 4)	2◊*	0	0	
29	Zhao Gu 趙嘏	8 (*j.* 4)	3	2*	6	
30	Cui Tu 崔塗	3† (*j.* 4)	2◊	2◊	1◊	

[106] 《唐詩鼓吹》誤將曹唐遊仙詩歸入宋邕名下，故實則共選有 29 首曹唐詩。其中最初 2 首《暮春戲贈吳端公》《和周侍御買劒》又見《唐百家詩選》，且後者僅錄此 2 首曹唐詩。另有 6 首贈答詩（《長安春舍敘邵陵舊宴懷永門蕭使君二首》《病馬呈鄭校書三首》《長安客舍懷蕭使君邵陵舊宴》）見《才調集》卷四；此外，附於宋邕名下的 11 首遊仙詩均見於《才調集》，且排列次序大致相同。按，《才調集》卷四宋邕、曹唐條目相鄰，元好問或因此將遊仙詩誤歸於宋邕。

31	Li Ying 李郢	10† (*j.* 4)	8*	3◊*	1◊	
32	Wei Chan 韋蟾	1† (*j.* 4)		1◊		
33	Xue Neng 薛能	4† (*j.* 4)	4*	1	0	
34	Qin Taoyu 秦韜玉	4† (*j.* 4)	2*		4	
35	Liu Cang 劉滄	4† (*j.* 5)	4◊*			
36	Liu Wei 劉威	1† (*j.* 5)	1◊			
37	Cao Song 曹松	2† (*j.* 5)	2*		0	
38	Cui Lu 崔魯	4† (*j.* 5)	4*		0	
39	Zhang Hu 張祜	1† (*j.* 5)	1	0	0	
40	Yan Xuan 顏萱	1† (*j.* 5)				from SLJ[107]
41	Pi Rixiu 皮日休	23† (*j.* 5)	4*			19 poems in SLJ
42	Zhang Ben 張賁	1† (*j.* 5)				from SLJ[108]
43	Luo Ye 羅鄴	4† (*j.* 5)	1	1	3*	
44	Qian Qi 錢起	1† (*j.* 5)	1	0	1◊	
45	Lu Lun 盧綸	5† (*j.* 5)	5*	1◊	1	
46	Sikong Shu 司空曙	3† (*j.* 5)	2*	2*	0	
47	Chen Yu 陳羽	2† (*j.* 5)	1◊	0	1◊	
48	Dai Shulun 戴叔倫	1† (*j.* 5)	1	0	0	
49	Li Jiayou 李嘉祐	5† (*j.* 5)	4*	0	1[109]	
50	Yao Hu 姚鵠	1† (*j.* 5)		1◊		

[107] 顏萱詩《過張祜處士丹陽故居（并引）》，元好問似將之與前張祜詩相配，是對張氏身後事的增補。又參卷三陸龜蒙《和張處士詩（并序）》、同卷皮日休《魯望憫承吉之孤為詩引邀余屬和欲用余道振其孤而和之噫承吉之困身後乎魯望視余困與承吉身前孰苦哉未有已困而能振人者抑為辭用塞良友》，皆出自《松陵集》卷九。

[108] 張賁《奉和魯望白菊》，其唱和詩見卷三陸龜蒙《白菊一叢呈一二知己》，出自《松陵集》卷九。

[109] 最後一首李嘉祐詩《贈別嚴士元》，它集皆作劉長卿詩，可證《唐詩鼓吹》或參考《才調集》。

51	Du Mu 杜牧	32 (*j.* 6)		3	5◊	
52	Gao Pian 高駢	6 (*j.* 6)			0	《高駢詩》一卷、《高駢集》三卷 in 《宋史・藝文志七》
53	Wang Chu 王初	7 (*j.* 6)				
54	Cui Dong 崔峒	1† (*j.* 6)		1	0	
55	Zhu Wan 朱灣	1† (*j.* 6)		1[110]		
56	Lü Dongbin 呂洞賓	1 (*j.* 6)				
57	Wu Rong 吳融	11† (*j.* 6)	11◊*		0	
58	Li Shangyin 李商隱	34 (*j.* 7)		2	6	
59	Wen Tingyun 溫庭筠	10† (*j.* 7)		3◊*	8*	
60	Liu Changqing 劉長卿	1† (*j.* 7)		0	1◊	
61	Li Deyu 李德裕	1† (*j.* 7)		1◊	0	
62	Li Shen 李紳	1† (*j.* 7)		1		
63	Ji Tangfu 紀唐夫	1† (*j.* 7)[111]		1◊	1◊	
64	Chen Shangmei 陳上美	1† (*j.* 7)		1◊	1◊	
65	Lai Peng 來鵬	2† (*j.* 7)			2◊*	
66	Zheng Zhun 鄭準	1 (*j.* 7)			0	《新唐書・藝文志四》著錄《渚宮集》1卷 鄭準《渚宮集》四卷 in 《宋史・藝文志七》
67	Zhang Bayuan 章八元	1† (*j.* 7)		1◊		
68	Li Qunyu 李群玉	5 (*j.* 7)	0	1	0	

[110] 朱灣《宴楊駙馬山亭》見於《又玄集》，題為陳羽所作。朱灣、陳羽條目相鄰，元好問或因此誤繫此詩。

[111] 夏按，《唐百家詩選》《三體唐詩》《瀛奎律髓》皆未選紀唐夫詩；《又玄集》《才調集》皆僅選紀唐夫詩 1 首，即此詩，或轉錄自唐筆記（范攄《雲溪友議》卷中「白馬吟」、王定保《唐摭言》卷十一「無官受黜」）。

69	Luo Yin 羅隱	7† (*j.* 8)		2*	6*	
70	Zhang Pin 張蠙	2† (*j.* 8)	0		2◊*	
71	Li Shanfu 李山甫	5† (*j.* 8)			5*	
72	Wu Yuanheng 武元衡	3† (*j.* 8)	0	3◊	2◊*	
73	Tang Yanqian 唐彥謙	2† (*j.* 8)		2◊*	0	
74	Li Yuan 李遠	3† (*j.* 8)	3◊*	3*	2◊*	
75	Quan Deyu 權德輿	5 (*j.* 8)				宋蜀刻本《唐六十家集・權載之文集》
76	Yu Hu 于鵠	1† (*j.* 8)	0	0	1	
77	Lu Bi 盧弼	1† (*j.* 8)			1	
78	Dugu Ji 獨孤及	1 (*j.* 8)				
79	Hu Su 胡宿	23 (*j.* 8)				Hu Su's individual collection *Wengong ji* 文恭集
80	Su Guangwen 蘇廣文	3† (*j.* 8)		3◊*		
81	Wang Jian 王建	5† (*j.* 8)	3*		2（一首作溫庭筠詩）	
82	Tan Yongzhi 譚用之	38 (*j.* 9)				《譚用之詩》一卷 in 《宋史・藝文志七》
83	Sikong Tu 司空圖	14 (*j.* 9)				司空圖《一鳴集》三十卷 in 《宋史・藝文志七》
84	Anonymous 不知名	2† (*j.* 9)			2*[112]	
85	Yuan Buyue 袁不約	2† (*j.* 9)			2◊*	
86	Zheng Gu 鄭谷	11 (*j.* 10)	[113]	0	1	宋蜀刻本《唐六十家集》：鄭谷《鄭守愚文集》三卷
87	Zhang Mi 張泌	10† (*j.* 10)			10[114]	

[112] 二詩《唐百家詩選》《又玄集》《三體唐詩》《瀛奎律髓》皆未見；《才調集》卷十有「無名氏」詩，錄有這 2 首七律。

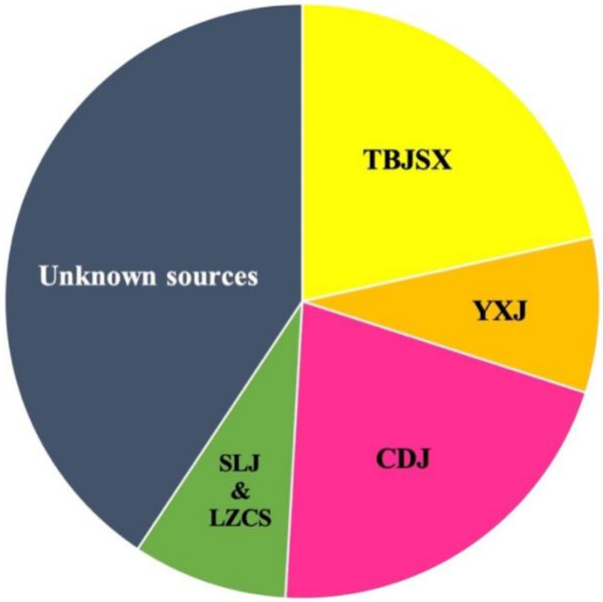
[113] 《唐百家詩選》未選鄭谷詩，但《渚宮亂後作》詩有郝註：「《唐百家詩》『楚』作『是』。」疑其他版本或錄有鄭谷詩。《唐詩鼓吹》所選 11 首鄭谷七律詩皆見於三卷本《鄭守愚文集》，排序亦大致相同。

[114] 10 首張泌詩中有 1 首《才調集》題作戴叔倫作。張泌、戴叔倫條目相鄰，元好問或將此詩誤歸於張泌。

88	Wei Zhuang 韋莊	19† (*j.* 10)			19*	
89	Wu Shanghao 吳商皓	2† (*j.* 10)			2*	
90	Hu Ceng 胡曾	6† (*j.* 10)			6*	
91	Wang Biao 王表	1† (*j.* 10)			1◊	
92	Xiang Si 項斯	1† (*j.* 10)	1		0	
93	Cui Jue 崔珏	3† (*j.* 10)		2*	1	
94	Li Yu 李煜	4 (*j.* 10)				《南唐李後主集》十卷、《李煜集》十卷 in 《宋史・藝文志七》
95	Tang Yue 湯悅	1 (*j.* 10)				《湯悅集》三卷 in 《宋史・藝文志七》
96	Xu Xuan 徐鉉	1[115] (*j.* 10)				
Total		596	143 (24.0%)	56 (9.4%)	139 (23.3%)	56 (9.4%)

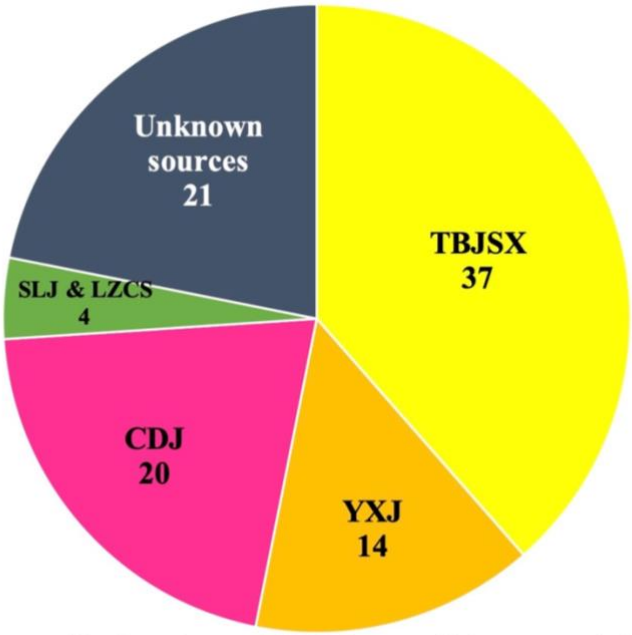
† means all poems of this poet in TSGC are found in the source anthologies listed here.
◊ means all *qi lü* of the specific poet in this anthology are included in TSGC.
* means the sequence of poems in TSGC and the specific anthology is the same.
If the number of poems in the box is shown as "0," it means the anthology includes the poet's composition with no common pieces shared with TSGC notwithstanding; if number is not offered in the box, it means the poet is not even included in the anthology.
Colored boxes indicate that the anthology as the source text for TSGC is highly possible.

Chart 1　Distribution of Sources in TSGC (counted by number of poems)



[115] 末三詩（李煜、湯悅、徐鉉）皆為餞行唱和詩（《送鄧王牧宣城》），或錄自同一詩集。

Chart 2 Distribution of Sources in TSGC (counted by number of poets)



If there are multiple sources of the pieces of one poet in TSGC, the source with the greatest number is counted in this chart. If the number is equal, the priority goes from TBJSX, to YXJ, to CDJ.

In total, there are 596 pieces of heptametric verse from 96[116] poets included in TSGC – thus we may say Yuan Haowen meant to design his own *Selection of A Hundred Tang Poets*, albeit confined to a single genre and reduced by half in scale from its prototype.[117] Another common characteristic between TBJSX and TSGC is the enhanced visibility of "lesser poets" within their selection scope. We have already discussed this feature of TSGC above, and regarding TBJSX, it has long been debated about its exclusion of Tang master poets like Li Bai, Du Fu, Han Yu, and Bai Juyi, etc. Consequently, in the same fashion as TSGC, TBJSX serves as a supplement to canonical Tang literary collections on the one hand, and draws a diverse and more inclusive picture of Tang poetry overall by spotlighting the otherwise neglected on the

[116] I also count the entry "Anonymous" (*bu zhi ming* 不知名, #84) as one poet here.

[117] TBJSX has altogether 1246 pieces from 104 Tang poets. The poets come from a wide time span of early through late Tang, and the selected poems range from *yuefu*, ballads, old-style poems, quatrains and recent-style regulated verses. In other words, TBJSX is definitely more comprehensive and diverse as a Tang poetry anthology compared to TSGC – it is not without reason that Wang Anshi in his self-preface advertises that "if one wants to know Tang poetry, reading this anthology would suffice" 欲知唐詩者，觀此足矣（《唐百家詩選序》，《臨川集》卷八四）.

other.[118] This shared organization principle may further verify TBJSX to be the model anthology of TSGC.

Judging from my bibliographical research demonstrated in the table and charts, it is most likely that Yuan Haowen made maximum use of early anthologies of Tang poetry as well as individual collections of Tang poets as the main sources of TSGC. We first turn to anthology sources, which I believe contribute the majority of contents in TSGC. As I have said before, I find in my quantitative research a large amount of overlapping poems between TSGC and three earlier Tang poetry anthologies, TBJSX, YXJ, CDJ listed here (Table 2). To be sure, this piece of the puzzle is doomed to be piecemeal and disjointed, since so many early anthologies were absorbed, superposed and eventually eclipsed by later ones.[119] Also, we cannot be sure which of them were available for Yuan Haowen at that time. What I have done is to find the common pieces in the extant Tang anthologies in comparison with TSGC, and the circumstantial evidence looks compelling. These three anthologies altogether take up to over a half of the entire corpus (Chart 1), and almost three-quarters if counted by number of poets (Chart 2). As is clearly shown in the table and charts, TBJSX serves as the biggest source of TSGC, supplemented by CDJ and YXJ.[120] The overall source distribution of the whole book also suggests that TBJSX plays a

[118] The best answer to Wang Anshi's seemly idiosyncratic and arbitrary choice of selection represented in TBJSX, I believe, is 陳振孫《直齋書錄解題》卷十五「《唐百家詩選》二十卷」：

王安石以宋次道家所有唐人詩集選為此編。世言李、杜、韓詩不與，為有深意，其實不然。按此集非特不及此三家，而唐名人如王右丞、韋蘇州、元、白、劉、柳、孟東野、張文昌之倫，皆不在選。意荊公所選，特世所罕見，其顯然共知者，固不待選耶？抑宋次道家獨有此一百五集，據而擇之，他不復及耶？未可以臆斷也。

Another historical fact to add on is that Wang Anshi compiled another book called *Poetry Anthology of Four Poets* (*Si jia shixuan* 四家詩選), namely Li Bai, Du Fu, Han Yu, and curiously, Ouyang Xiu. This may also explain the absence of the "big three" Tang poets in TBJSX.

[119] One only has to peruse the 總集 category in 《宋史·藝文志八》 to get a general impression of how much have been lost and remained unknown for long.

[120] It is the late Qing scholar Wu Rulun 吳汝綸 (1840-1903) who first proposed that Yuan Haowen used TBJSX as his base text for TSGC; see Yuan Haowen comp., Wu Rulun annot., *Tongcheng xiansheng pingdian Tang shi guchui* 桐城先生評點唐詩鼓吹, 1925 print edition, facsimile (Beijing: Zhongguo shudian, 1993), Wu's self-preface, p. 1: 此選大率亦以《百家》為藍本. Later scholars thereafter have taken over his argument as granted; see, for

greater role in the first half of TSGC (*j*. 1-5, 50 poets), while the proportions of YXJ and CDJ seem to rise in the latter half (*j*. 6-10, 46 poets), especially in *juan* 7, 8, 9 and 10. While one might explain away the shared pieces as fortuitous, the sum-total seems too copious to consider if they are to be dismissed as accidental. It looks particularly suspicious when the pieces of a certain poet are arranged in the same order across TSGC and the source text (marked as * in the table), which is not a rare case. More convincingly, traces of "mistakes" left by copying and compiling process turn out to be the most persuasive evidence betraying their source texts. For example, one piece by Zhu Wan (#55) is selected in TSGC and only seen in YXJ, and yet this poem is under the entry of Chen Yu in the latter anthology, and the misattribution takes place because the entry of Zhu Wan is right before that of Chen Yu in YXJ, so that Yuan Haowen might have been overlooked the Chen's name label, which in turn proved its provenance from YXJ.[121] In like manner, the 11 pieces attributed to Song Yong (#21) in TSGC – all fall into the genre of "wandering transcendents" (*youxian shi* 遊仙詩), adapting age-old legends of Daoist immortals entangled in romantic affairs, more often than not with human beings, thus translating the folklore narrative folklore into a poetic form – are actually done by Cao Tang (#20), and this mistake again is due to the adjacent positions of Cao and Song in CDJ;[122] the exact circumstance

example, Zhang, "Yuan Haowen *Tang shi guchui* de xuan shi tese," 33 – 39. But no one has done a thorough quantitative or philological comparison as I conduct here, and CDJ and YXJ as another two major sources of TSGC is also my own discovery.

[121] See fn. 97.

[122] See fn. 93. For a general study on Cao Tang's poems on "wandering transcendents," by Cao Tang, see Edward H. Schafer, *Mirages on the Sea of Time: The Taoist Poetry of Ts'ao T'ang* (Warren, CT: Floating World Editions, 2010). All of Cao Tang's poems included in TSGC belong to the so-called "Major Poems of Wandering Transcendents" (*da youxian shi* 大遊仙詩) by this Tang poet, which in turn were transcribed from CDJ. Cao also composed another set of "Minor Poems of Wandering Transcendents" (*xiao youxian shi* 小遊仙詩) now preserved in 洪邁《萬首唐人絕句》. Judging from the extant materials, "Major Poems" all take the form of heptametric regulated verse or *qi lü*, and accordingly "Minor Poems" are all pentametric regulated verse or *wu lü*. See more in Chen Shangjun 陳尚君, "Cao Tang 'Da youxian shi' kao" 曹唐《大游仙诗》考, *Wenshi zhishi* 文史知識 2017.4: 37-39; also see Li Fengmao 李豐楙, "Cao Tang 'Da youxian shi' yu Daojiao chuanshuo" 曹唐《大遊仙詩》與道教傳說, "Cao Tang 'Xiao youxian shi' de shenxian shijie" 曹唐《小遊仙詩》的神仙世界, in his *You yu you:*

is also detected in a poem by Zhang Mi (#87) in TSGC while recorded as that of Dai Shulun next to Zhang's entry in CDJ.[123] There are other two pieces of evidence I find that suggest the presence of CDJ during Yuan's compiling operation. First, one piece by Li Jiayou (#49) can be found in TSGC and CDJ, while it is normally attributed to Liu Changqing in any other Tang poetry sources, so that the "unusual" attribution marks out its source.[124] And second, the queer entry labeled as "Anonymous" in TSGC is actually borrowed from the same category in CDJ attached to the end, and the latter includes the same two pieces that are unseen elsewhere.[125] In sum, either the overwhelming overlap of contents, or the identical sequence of poems within the unit of the individual poet, or the dubious mistakes carrying the "genetic markers" of original sources, they all indubitably point to Yuan's consultation or even transcription of these three earlier anthologies as his substantial source texts.

Considering poetic features of these anthologies, it seems no coincidence that Yuan Haowen consulted these three particular anthologies that all took shape in the tenth and eleventh centuries. Both YXJ and CDJ were compiled from the late Tang to Five Dynasties in the cultural region of Shu during the tenth century,[126] and compared to their predecessors like *The Collection of the Ministerial Spirit of an Age of Revival* (*Zhongxing jianqi ji* 中興間氣集) and *The Collection of the Superlatively Mysterious* (*Ji xuan ji* 極玄集) wherein pentametric verses

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Liuchao Sui Tang youxian shi lunji 憂與遊：六朝隋唐遊仙詩論集 (Taipei: Taiwan xuesheng shuju, 1996), pp. 131-74, 175-256.

It is worth mentioning that, among these 11 poems in TSGC, there are a series of five poems rewriting a Six Dynasties legend of two men encountering female immortals on Mount Tiantai. Schafer in his "The Other Peach Flower Font," *Schafer Sinological Papers* 11 (1984): 1-11, discusses this early medieval legend and translates Cao's five pieces into English. Also see fn. 182 below.

[123] See fn. 101.

[124] See fn. 96.

[125] See fn. 99.

[126] Both anthologies were made in the Five Dynasties Shu regime, see more in Anna Shields, "Gathering the 'Flowers' of Poetry and Song: Anthologies in Tang and Shu," in her *Crafting a Collection: The Cultural Contexts and Poetic Practice of* the Huajian ji 花間集 *(Collection from Among the Flowers)* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2006), pp. 119-158.

predominate, the inclusion of the heptametric verse form in these two tenth-century anthologies surged to one third of their entire corpuses.[127] And though TBJSX selects its representative Tang poetry in the whole gamut of forms and periods, it still leans towards late Tang poetry.[128] These features are in tune with TSGC as a poetry anthology specialized in the form of heptametric regulated verse, which didn't come into full flower till the late Tang and even Song dynasty.

Aside from early anthologies of Tang poetry, other major sources appear to be individual collections of Tang poets. The entries of two late Tang contemporary poets Lu Guimeng (#11) and Pi Rixiu (#41) merit further discussion. They both occupy conspicuous positions in the TSGC (ranked the second and the seventh in Table 1) with 35 and 23 pieces selected (nearly one tenth of the whole collection), and we are fortunate enough to find the source texts to locate all their poems. An extant Pi-Lu exchange poetry collection called *Songling Collection* (*Songling ji* 松陵集, *Songling* is a toponym in nowadays Wujiang 吳江, Jiangsu province) probably compiled in the late ninth century comes into our view, and it turns out to be the sourcebook of most Pi-Lu heptametric regulated verses in TSGC.[129] For Lu Guimeng, 26 pieces are from SLJ, and the other 9 from his own individual collection *Lize Miscellaneous Collectanea* (*Lize congshu* 笠澤叢書, *Lize* is also a toponym in Wujiang) that was compiled by Lu himself on this deathbed from 879 to 881.[130] The compiler Yuan Haowen once mentioned copies of SLJ and LZCS in his own collection, and he even collated the latter by himself.[131] As for Pi Rixiu, 19 pieces from SLJ and

[127] 89 out of 297 poems in YXJ are heptametric regulated verses, and the proportion in CDJ is 320 out of 1000 pieces. I quote these numbers from Zhang Lirong 張立榮, "Yuan Haowen *Tang shi gu chui* yanjiu" 元好問《唐詩鼓吹》研究 (MA thesis, Shanxi University, 2003), p. 17.

[128] It should be noted that the compiler Wang Anshi's quatrains have along been praised for mastering the late Tang style.

[129] For the print history of SLJ, see Wan Man 萬曼, *Tang ji xulu* 唐集敘錄 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1980), pp. 320-21.

[130] For the print history of LZCS, see ibid., pp. 322-34.

[131] 元好問《校笠澤藂書後記》：龜蒙詩文如《藂書》與《松陵集》，予俱曾熟讀。According to Yuan's own account, the Jin scholar even bought a Tang manuscript of LZCS from the Xiangguo Temple 相國寺 in Kaifeng and

the rest of 4 from TBJSX constitute his entry in TSGC.[132] Moreover, SLJ also provides one poem by Yan Xuan (#40) and another by Zhang Ben (#42) in TSGC whose entries are right next to Pi Rixiu, and many of their compositions are intertextualized in terms of either rhyme-matching poems[133] or shared themes across the collection.[134]

The bibliographical investigation of Pi-Lu verses in TSGC offers a strong testimony to my hypothesis of Yuan Haowen exploiting Tang individual collections as his sources for anthologization, even if most of them vanished for long or greatly altered in later transmitted versions. So far, 21 out of 94 entries of the poets (Chart 2) cannot be located in the source texts listed above, and for another 4 poets – Xu Hun (#3), Han Wo (#5), Cao Tang (#20) and Zhao Gu (#29) – only a portion of their poems can be found in those anthologies. Generally speaking, the more poems of a single poet are chosen in TSGC, the more likely it is that they directly come from the poet's individual collection. This seems to be the case of the most well-represented poets in TSGC, including Tan Yongzhi (#82), Li Shangyin (#58), Du Mu (#51), Hu Su (#79), Xue Feng (#4), among many others. None of their poems can be traced back to the three anthologies, and considering the large quantity of their selected poems (38, 34, 32, 23, 22 pieces respectively), the compiler of TSGC might have leafed through their individual collections and picked out his favorable *qi lü* accordingly. Indeed, all the poems by Li Shangyin, Du Mu, and Hu

collated the transmitted edition with this precious manuscript text. Yuan's revised version was regrettably not preserved to this day.
There is also a piece commenting on Lu Guimeng's poetry in Yuan's famous "Thirty Poems on Poetry":
萬古幽人在澗阿，百年孤憤竟如何。
無人說與天隨子，春草輪贏較幾多。

[132] It is worth noting that Pi Rixiu identified himself as an ancient-style prose writer. His self-compiled collection *Pizi wensou* 皮子文藪 consists of 9 *juan* of ancient-style prose and 1 *juan* of mostly old-style poetry which he called "ancient airs" (*gufeng* 古風). In fact, almost all his recent-style regulated verses are preserved in SLJ rather than his own individual collection.

[133] 《唐詩鼓吹》所選陸龜蒙 35 首詩中，有 1 首與張賁的唱和詩；又有 12 首是與皮日休的唱和詩（其中包括 1 首顏萱同和詩），其中又有 5 首是次韻詩。

[134] See fn. 94.

Su can be found in their transmitted individual collections today. Other illuminating proofs come from two extant individual collections by the Tang poets Quan Deyu (#75) and Zheng Gu (#86), which can be dated back to the famous Southern Song print edition collectanea *Sixty Masters of Tang Poetry* published in Sichuan during the course of the twelfth century 蜀刻本《唐六十家集》.[135] TSGC includes 5 and 11 pieces of their *qi lü* respectively, and it is particularly suspicious that the sequence of these chosen compositions is almost the same as arranged in the twelfth-century print editions of their individual collections.[136] Thus, there was little question that Yuan Haowen copied from widely circulated poetry collections of certain poets, or even had exactly the Shu edition of *Sixty Masters of Tang Poetry* at hand.

Apart from the selection of poetry whose overlap can be found in extant Tang poetry collections, the other side of the same coin is that those chosen pieces in TSGC are flotsam and jetsam of the now extinct original sources, which seems to be the case of Tan Yongzhi, Gao Pian (#52), Wang Chu (#53), and Sikong Tu (#83). From the extant poems by these four poets, almost none of their *qi lü* / heptametric verses can be traced back to any further than TSGC.[137] In other

[135] For the scholarship on 宋蜀刻本《唐六十家集》, see Cheng Youqing 程有慶, "Song Shu keben *Tang liushi jia ji* kaobian" 宋蜀刻本《唐六十家集》考辨, *Wenxian* 文獻 1994.1: 23–36; Li Mingxia 李明霞, "Song Shu ke *Tang liushi jia ji* banben xin tan" 宋蜀刻《唐六十家集》版本新探 (Ph.D. diss., East China Normal University, 2012); Chen Shangjun 陳尚君, "Yingyin *Song Shu keben Tang ren ji xuankan* xuyan" 影印《宋蜀刻本唐人集選刊》序言, in *Song Shu keben Tang ren ji* 宋蜀刻本唐人集選刊, 32 vols (Beijing: Guojia tushuguan chubanshe, 2021). Cheng Youqing sharply noticed the unsaid information embedded in 陳振孫《直齋書錄解題》, since the bibliographic details of extant Song print editions from Sichuan perfectly correspond to the records in that reference book. 上海古籍出版社 published facsimiles of the whole set of extant editions in the book series 「宋蜀刻本唐人文集叢刊」, with 23 kinds in total.

[136] 按，《唐詩鼓吹》所選 5 首權德輿詩先後見於《權載之文集》，且次序相同。
又按，《唐詩鼓吹》所選 11 首鄭谷七律詩皆見於三卷本《鄭守愚文集》，排序亦大致相同。

[137] Nowadays we have altogether 40 poems by Tan Yongzhi, out of which 38 pieces are heptametric verses preserved in TSGC.

For the poet Gao Pian, 6 out of 50 existing pieces are heptametric verses, and again, they all come from TSGC; the rest of Gao's corpus are predominantly quatrains preserved in 洪邁《萬首唐人絕句》.

The same situation is seen in Wang Chu's case, who has 7 out of 19 pieces that are heptametric verses located in TSGC, while the rest are in the form of quatrains.

words, the bulk of their *qi lü* would have long been lost to posterity were it not for the provisional preservation by Yuan Haowen into TSGC, which would have otherwise greatly narrowed down our perceptions of these four poets. This also means Yuan Haowen's compilation retrospectively enhanced the contingency of survival, as the manuscript or print collections by those overlooked "lesser poets" petered out into an indistinct track as time wore on. To make things ever more interesting, all poets except Gao Pian came from Shanxi province – we have discussed the highly possible Shanxi origin of Tan Yongzhi above, and Wang Chu originated from Qi county 祁縣 or modern Taiyuan (like Wen Tingyun), and Sikong Tu from Yongji 永濟 (like Xue Feng and Yang Juyuan) – and thus they were all Yuan Haowen's fellow countrymen. Even for Gao Pian, he was a native from Youzhou 幽州 or modern Beijing, where the Central Capitial of the Jin dynasty was once located. Barring the discovery of new primary materials, the provenance of their poems will probably remain unanswered, but incidentally, records of the once existing collections by Tan Yongzhi and Xue Feng among many others can be found if we check later bibliographical catalogs such as "Monograph on Writings" in the fourteenth-century official historiography *The Song History* (宋史・藝文志) (see details in Table 2 above). Hence, it is tempting to entertain that their individual collections (probably in the form of manuscripts) were still in circulation in the North – especially in the regions of Shanxi – during Yuan's lifetime.

Lastly, though not so much can be said about the "unknown sources" I mark in the charts, we do have minute clues that signify some anecdotal, fragmentary or miscellaneous origins, apart from the bulk of individual collections and poetry anthologies. For example, the last three

For Sikong Tu, we have now 15 heptametric verses by him preserved in the re-organized 《司空表聖詩集》, and again 14 come from TSGC, while the single other piece is picked out from 《唐詩紀事》卷六三「王駕」條收錄司空圖《喜王駕小儀重陽相訪》.

poems in this collection are exchange poems at banquet to see off an imperial member on duty by three different poets at the Southern Tang (937-76) court, and one of them is actually composed by the talented "Last Ruler" Li Yu 李煜 (937-78, #94) himself and the other two by his court attendants Tang Yue 湯悅 (*jinshi* 955, #95) and Xu Xuan 徐鉉 (916-91, #96). In all likelihood the final three entries are excerpted from Li Yu's collection or an exchange poetry anthology of these court-centered Southern Tang poets. Another curious finding in my bibliographical probe is the source of Ji Tangfu's single piece (#63) on his friendship with Wen Tingyun.[138] Though the poet and this particular poem is recorded in both YXJ and CDJ, and it is most likely that Yuan Haowen copied directly from either anthology, its provenance can actually be traced back further to the tenth-century miscellanies *Master Cloud Creek's Conversations with Friends* (*Yunxi you yi* 雲溪友議) and *The Collected Sayings from the Tang* (*Tang zhi yan* 唐摭言), in which the composition was contextualized in a farewell banquet arranged for Wen Tingyun who was about to be demoted.[139] It is thus an illustrative case of the two-way traffic of between itemized miscellanies and poetry anthologies, as the storied emplotment associated with Wen Tingyun's friendship seems to have occasioned the survival of this specific poem by Ji Tangfu. Finally, we have the peculiar inclusion of a piece by the legendary Daoist immortal Lü Dongbin (fl. 9th c., #56) – again a native of Yongji, Shanxi province, where the renowned Daoist abbey Yongle Palace 永樂宮 with Lü's tomb is located[140] – and TSGC seems to be its earliest witness in extant textual records. Interestingly enough, the same verse emerges in a Yuan popular

[138] The title of this piece is 紀唐夫《贈溫庭筠》; see fn. 98 above.
[139] 范攄《雲溪友議》卷中「白馬吟」、王定保《唐摭言》卷十一「無官受黜」.
[140] For the folklore surrounding this Daoist Immortal, see Farzeen Baldrian-Hussein, "Lü Tung-Pin in Northern Sung Literature," *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie* 1986.2: 133-69. A general research on the cult of this legendary Daoist is also done by Paul R. Katz, *Images of the Immortal: The Cult of Lü Dongbin at the Palace of Eternal Joy* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1999).

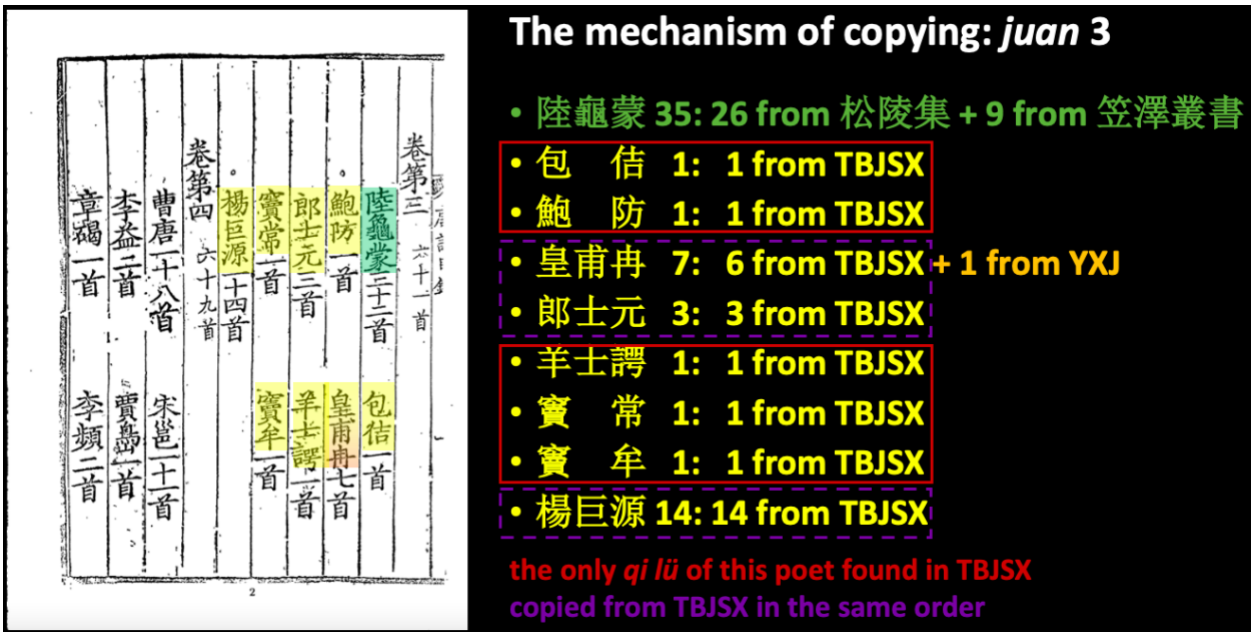
theater play entitled “Lü Dongbin Drunken Thrice on the Yueyang Mansion” 呂洞賓三醉岳陽樓 written by a Yuan literatus-dramatist Ma Zhiyuan 馬致遠 (1250s-1320s). Although this northern “variety play or farce” (*zaju* 雜劇) was composed after Yuan Haowen’s lifetime and the playwright Ma Zhiyuan could have read and remembered this poem from TSGC, it can also be the other way around. That is, the piece attributed to Lü Dongbin had already been on the fly by word of mouth in the theater for a while, and Yuan Haowen occasionally transcribed this “oral literature” in his record in view of its artistic excellence. In any case, there is no doubt that the poem was very popular and readily recitable, since we find another Yuan poet quoting this line in his poem inscribed on Lü’s portrait.[141] Thus, the heterogeneous quality of source texts in TSGC is revealed from this perspective, ranging from lost manuscripts or print editions of poetry collections, to anecdotal miscellanies, to popular dramas or even “oral literature.”

In brief, I have delineated above the overall picture of source texts of TSGC: earlier anthologies of Tang poetry, together with individual collections or collections of exchange poems, are the two major categories of texts Yuan Haowen consulted when compiling his anthology, supplemented by circumstantial records such as miscellaneous anecdotes or oral folklore.

Here it is proper to reflect upon the role of Yuan Haowen in the making of this TSGC anthology. As my bibliographical analysis to locate source texts manifests above, Yuan relied heavily on his primary materials of earlier anthologies and individual collections, and here I want to highlight **the mechanism of copying** in the formation of TSGC. We can take the third *juan* as an example, and below I list the sources I find for these nine poets. Except the entry of Lu Guimeng (#11), the rest of the poets and poems in this *juan*/chapter can find the provenance in

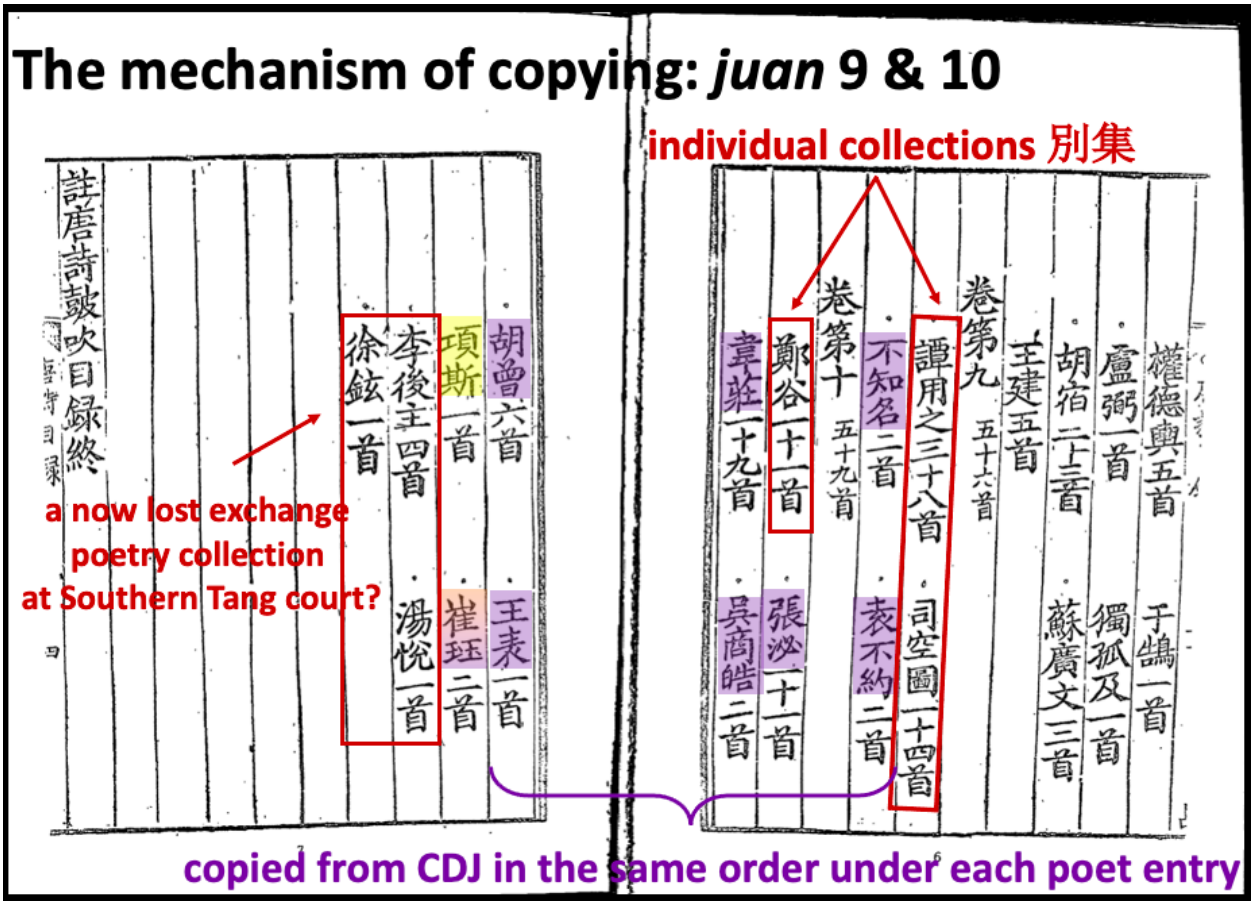
[141] 王澗《吕仙翁真贊（金道陵秘府物今為王簽省家藏）》

TBJSX. Moreover, in the cases of Huangfu Ran 皇甫冉 (#14), Lang Shiyuan 郎士元 (#15) and Yang Juyuan 楊巨源 (#19), their poems are copied from TBJSX *in the same order* (marked as * in the table). While for those poets (Bao Ji 包佶 [#12], Bao Fang 鮑防 [#13], Yang Shi'e 羊士諤 [#16], Dou Chang 竇常 [#17], Dou Mou 竇牟 [#18]) who only have one poem collected in the TSGC, it is easy to notice that it is also the single *qi lü* by this poet chosen in TBJSX.



The mechanism of copying is also obvious in the last two *juan*. I have argued above that poems by Tan Yongzhi (#82), Sikong Tu (#83), and Zheng Gu (#86) most likely come from their individual collections (*bieji* 別集) available for Yuan at that time; also, in all likelihood the final three entries (Li Yu 李煜 [#94], Tang Yue 湯悅 [#95], Xu Xuan 徐鉉 [#96]) are excerpted from Li Yu's collection or an exchange poetry anthology of these court-centered Southern Tang poets. The majority of the rest of the poets (Anonymous 不知名 [#84], Yuan Buyue 袁不約 [#85], Zhang Mi 張泌 [#87], Wei Zhuang 韋莊 [#88], Wu Shanghao 吳商皓 [#89], Hu Ceng 胡曾

[#90], Wang Biao 王表 [#91])[142] included in *juan* 9 and 10 are all transcribed from their entries in CDJ. We know that because the sequences of these *qi lü* poems under the item of each poet are again identical between TSGC and CDJ (marked as * in the table).



With the bibliographical evidence showcased above, we are confident to say that the overlap between TSGC and three earlier anthologies cannot be mere coincidence, but rather that Yuan Haowen was literally copying certain chunks of these documents into his own "textbook." The way I understand why Yuan Haowen didn't mention TSGC in his own writing is that he

[142] As for the entries of Xiang Si 項斯 (#92) and Cui Jue 崔珏 (#93) in *juan* 10, the single piece by the former poet in TSGC is also found in TBJSX; there are three poems by Cui included in TSGC, of which two come from YXJ and the other one from CDJ.

didn't consider himself as the "author" of this book, especially when the large part of his work is merely copying from earlier anthologies or individual collections.

That being said, we can still find Yuan Haowen's agency or intention in **the mechanism of selecting** reflected in this book. Above we have already emphasized Yuan's subjective initiative of foregrounding lesser-known poets in TSGC, which explicitly tells the functional agency of compilership. In terms of those famous Tang poets included in TSGC, the compiler surely augmented certain aspects of their poetic characteristics while dismissed the others, so as to meet the general criteria of "drum and fife songs" as well as "finest blossoms from the garden of letters" catering to Yuan's aesthetics.

We know that the very first poem in TSGC is one written by Liu Zongyuan. It starts with the couplet:

城上高樓接大荒　　Above the city, the high mansion reaches the Vast Wilderness;
海天愁思正茫茫　　Amidst ocean and heaven, my mournful thought is for now restless and boundless.

This verse is forceful with an eye-opening bird's-eye view, and at the same time profoundly sorrowful intensified with the rhyming endings *Dahuang* 大荒 and *mangmang* 茫茫, or "Vast Wilderness" and the "boundless and restless." In fact, all of Liu Zongyuan's poems chosen here were written during his exile. In piercing diction, these poems conveyed "a heart of deep loneliness" situated in uncultivated wilderness with gloomy mood. This is his universal image as an exile presented in TSGC via his crafted yet heartfelt heptametric verses.

Besides Liu Zongyuan, I would like to review Yuan's evaluation of three other Tang poets – Li Shangyin (#58), Wen Tingyun (#59) and Han Wo (#5) – to further illuminate his purposive operation of selecting. All these three poets can be grouped as late Tang poets of romance, who excelled at poetic expression of sentimental feelings even with seductive allure in the form of *qi*

lü / heptametric verse. In one of his "Thirty Poems on Poetry," after praising for the appealing panache (*fengliu* 風流) and heroic cast of mind (*zhuanghuai* 壯懷) embodied in poetry at court during the Jian'an 建安 period (196-220), Yuan then denounces sybaritism and self-indulgence in affection all the way through poetry by Wen and Li:

風雲若恨張華少	If Zhang Hua (232-300) is faulted for lacking high forceful spirit,
溫李新聲奈若何	What does one make of new tunes by Wen [Tingyun] and Li [Shangyin]?[143]

When it came to the Western Jin period (265-316), Zhang Hua's lack of *fengyun* 風雲 or "high forceful spirit" in his literary composition here alludes to a famous assessment on Zhang's verse that "romantic affection between men and women is excessive, while airs of windblown clouds [i.e., high forceful spirit] is wanting" 兒女情多，風雲氣少.[144] In the same manner as prioritizing rhythmic beat and vibration of air by percussion and wind instruments (*guchui* 鼓吹) over soft and melodic string music (*sizhu* 絲竹), Yuan's poetic criticism appreciates the flow of wind or air (*feng* 風 or *qi* 氣) that brings about pneumatic, impassionate songs. Therefore, it is certain that *fengyun* exactly corresponds to the northern manner that Yuan considered superior to the degenerate *xinsheng* 新聲 or "new tunes," and Wen and Li here are the counterexamples of his poetic ideal.

[143] I adopt the translation from Wixted, *Poems on Poetry*, p. 41; see his understanding of this poem in pp. 41-46.
[144] from 鍾嶸《詩品》

That being said, Li Shangyin actually occupies a conspicuous position in TSGC. He is ranked the third regarding the number of selected poems, among which the most popular themes are poems on history and hermetic pieces alluding to secret romance or unrequited longing in solitude.[145] We can find five "untitled" poems ("Wu ti" 無題) in TSGC as well. This is exactly the best of Li Shangyin in the form of *qi lü*. Then we see a discrepancy between Yuan's poetic criteria and his subjective choice of *qi lü* poems in TSGC, since Li Shangyin in TSGC is presented as a poet of romance, which is kind of a stock image when we approach this poet. But still, we also find some pieces echoing Du Fu's masterpieces. As Stephen Owen has pointed out in his chapter on Li Shangyin, the two poems "Du Fu at a Parting Banquet in Shu" 杜工部蜀中離席 and "Choubi [Planning Brush] Post Station" 籌筆驛 by Li Shangyin are actually paying homage to this greatest *qi lü* poet. In fact, Li Shangyin is well versed in applying Du Fu's poetic density into his unique sentimentality configured as "romantic affections" 兒女情. In other words, we can find Du Fu's skill in Li Shangyin's poetry of romance.[146]

But when we turn to the case of Wen Tingyun, indeed his stock image as a flighty-minded rake, talented but of ill conduct, is invisible in this anthology, and instead Yuan picks up Wen's compositions on friendship, memory, and natural landscape with higher registers,[147] so that his "new tunes" is purged in TSGC.

[145] See more in Stephen Owen, "Li Shangyin: The History Poems," in *The Late Tang*, pp. 412-50.
[146] Ibid., pp. 441-45.
[147] For a general discussion of Wen Tingyun's poems on history, see Paul F. Rouzer, "Patterns of History, Failures of History," in his *Writing Another's Dream: The Poetry of Wen Tingyun* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1993), pp. 95-169.

The most eloquent sample reflecting Yuan's mechanism of selecting is the "image" of Han Wo, the nephew of Li Shangyin, presented in this anthology. Most of Han's *qi lü* poems in TSGC are chosen from TBJSX, but the number shrinks by half (37 vs. 19), which means that Han Wo is favored in the TBJSX anthology for his skill at poetic regulation,[148] and yet downplayed in TSGC. Moreover, while he is famous for his effeminate "style of fragrant satchel" (*xianglian ti* 香奩體), Han Wo also composed significant pieces on political events and dynastic fortune with the identity of a court scholar-official trusted by Emperor Zhaozong (r. 888-904). And the chosen pieces by Yuan are about the charming natural scenery, unwavering resolution as a Tang official, melancholy of the past and lament for the tragic devastation after the Huang Chao Rebellion (874-84). In a word, we see a serious and responsible Tang scholar-official instead of a poet of romance here.

Therefore, in contrast to the "airs of windblown clouds," the "new tunes" amplifying erotic affection was consciously effaced or at least reduced in this northern anthology, which is most manifest in the cases of Wen Tingyun and Han Wo, with perhaps Li Shangyin as an ambiguous exception. It should also be pointed out here these late Tang poets best known for illustrating romance and extravagance were at the same time experts of heptametric regulated verse, so that they are well represented in TSGC (ranked in 3, 10, 18), notwithstanding Yuan's occasional and loose criticism.

[148] 《瀛奎律髓》評論韓偓：詩律精確，無句不工。

To conclude this part, two major arguments can be drawn out of my investigation of source texts regarding Yuan Haowen's TSGC. First, Yuan deliberately chose Tang poetry materials with early provenance as his source texts, mainly the three earlier anthologies on Tang poetry as well as individual collections of Tang poets – in order to acquire a "genuine" and relatively "antique" Tang taste unmediated by Song aesthetic filters. And second, we should pay attention to the hybrid roles inhabited by Yuan Haowen as the compiler of this peculiar anthology. While the large amount of poems are transcribed directly and mechanically from earlier sources, we do see Yuan Haowen's imprint and personal preference by foregrounding lesser-known poets and crafting certain "images" of famous poets, so that the *modi operandi* of copying and selecting were both at play in the making of TSGC.

Thus, we could then better understand his compilation agenda of TSGC. Yuan Haowen consciously circumvented the great achievement of Song poetry and directly turned to Tang and early Song poetry sources. For the thirteenth-century latecomers like Yuan Haowen and his students, the "true or genuine" Tang poetry was a past so remote that it had become an acquired taste in need of pedagogic training and committed reading and writing practice, and one must be careful not to be led down the garden path by recent Song fashions.

For one last thing, Yuan Haowen's compilation of a Tang poetry anthology surely was not an isolated case in the thirteenth-century literary environment. TSGC was also meant to negotiate or even contend with contemporary rivals bearing a similar format. More intriguingly, we see strong evidence of the emergence and prevalence of **genre-specific** anthologies on Tang poetry circulated in the thirteenth century. This literary practice could be said as unprecedented, because all the previous Tang poetry anthologies we have today are organized with each poet as a unit, such as the most *famous Collection of the Eminences of Our Rivers and Alps* (*He yue yingling ji*

河嶽英靈集), *Collection of the Ministerial Spirit of an Age of Revival* (*Zhongxing jianqi ji* 中興間氣集), *The Collection of the Superlatively Mysterious* (*Ji xuan ji* 極玄集), YXJ, CDJ, and TBJSX.[149] But the thirteenth-century compilers seemed to prefer organizing Tang poetry in specific genres, particularly "recent-style" genres like quatrains (*jueju* 絕句) and regulated verses (*lüshi* 律詩). YHW's TSGC can be said as an intermediate in this development, since it is still arranged in the poet-unit principle, but the content is narrowed down to the single genre *qi lü*. And we find quite a number of Tang poetry anthologies on specific genres done in the Southern Song, with two specialized on quatrains, and another three on regulated verse.

For the two Southern Song anthologies on Tang quatrains extant today, one is the famous *Ten Thousand Tang Quatrains* (*Wan shou Tang ren jueju* 萬首唐人絕句) by Hong Mai 洪邁 (1123-1202), the notable fellow enthusiast on miscellaneous records; the other is simply called *Tang Quatrains* (*Tang shi jueju* 唐詩絕句) with 101 pieces, designed by Zhao Fan 趙蕃 (1143-1229) and Han Biao 韓淲 (1159-1224) with added-on annotation by Xie Fangde 謝枋得 (1226-89). When it comes to Tang regulated verse, five thirteenth-century anthologies fall into this category.[150] Besides Yuan's *Drum and Fife Songs*, there are four other qualified Southern Song candidates, most of whom were relatively lesser-known local literati: the coupled anthologies of

[149] The only Tang precursor (and indeed a weird exception) befitting a sort of genre-specific organization principle is the early ninth-century *Yulan shi* 御覽詩 ("Poems for Imperial Perusal") compiled by Linghu Chu 令狐楚 (766-837). This poetry anthology only chooses recent-style compositions by contemporary poets, and it is interesting that many of them bear *yuefu* titles while composed in recent-style tonal regulation with the aesthetic quality "frivolous and amorous" (*qingyan* 輕艷). Under each entry of the individual poet, the compiler arranges the pieces in the order of *wu lü, wu jue, qi lü,* and *qi jue*, which count for 108, 64, 12 and 101 pieces respectively. It is curious that the number of *qi lü* is extremely small in this collection, and I find no overlap of poems between TSGC and this anthology except two (李益《胡兒飲馬泉》 and 盧綸《長安春望》, and yet they are also found in YXJ). See more in Xu Guoneng 徐國能, "Linghu Chu bian *Yulan shi* jiushuo shiyi ji neirong bianzheng" 令狐楚編《御覽詩》舊說釋疑及內容辨證, *Guowen xuebao* 國文學報 66 (2019): 65-94.

[150] There is a solid research on Tang poetry anthologies compiled in the Southern Song dynasty by Chen Fei 陳斐 in his monograph *Nan Song Tang shi xuanben yu shixue kaolun* 南宋唐詩選本與詩學考論 (Zhengzhou: Daxiang chubanshe, 2013).

Twin Marvels and *Myriad Marvels* (*Er miao ji* 二妙集, *Zhong miao ji* 眾妙集) compiled by a then famous "professional" poet Zhao Shixiu 趙師秀 (1170-1220), *Tang Poetry in Three Forms* (*San ti Tang shi* 三體唐詩) attributed to a local poet and pendant Zhou Bi 周弼 (1194-1255?), and the voluminous *Pith of Regulated Verse from Ying Isle and Kui Constellation* (*Ying Kui lü sui* 瀛奎律髓) by the celebrated Song "remnant subject" Fang Hui 方回 (1227-1307).

This transformation from poet-unit to genre-specific organization principles invites further thoughts: what are the collective intentions of compilers behind this change? How does it influence the reading habits of contemporary readers? Does it imply innovative uses of these anthologies? While at this stage I leave them as open questions, one plausible answer is that these genre-specific anthologies were welcomed as poetry manuals at that time – not without their own distinctive schemas though. More important, these multifocal receptions of Tang poetry essentially reflected and boosted certain poetic fashions in the thirteenth century, so that a curious divergence can be observed between North and South. In a nutshell, these southern anthologies – *The Marvels*, *The Pith*, and *The Three Forms* – all delineate practical rules and skills, and *The Drum and Fife Songs* can be taken as a foil for this overemphasis on poetic craftsmanship. It instead promotes the sincerity and the affective model brought out through forceful *qi* or spirit. A more comprehensive picture about poetry anthology culture across North and South awaits further research, though.

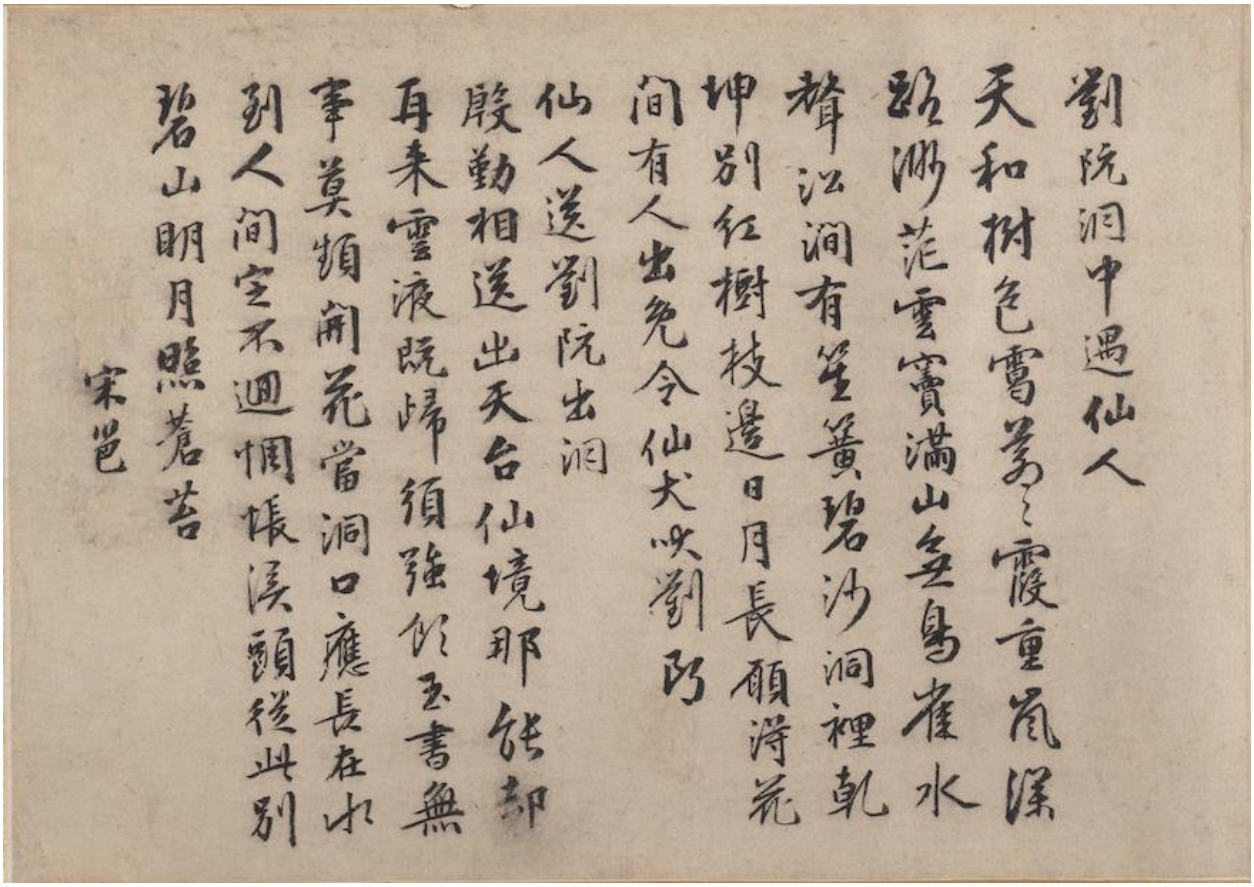
Reception History of* Tang Shi Guchui*, and the Shifting Paradigm of Reading Tang Poetry

Finally, it is proper to briefly mention the afterlives of these thirteenth-century anthologies in late imperial China according to their print history. While most Tang poetry anthologies produced in the Southern Song largely fell into oblivion and were not reprinted until the late Ming, *The Three Forms* turned out to be better received in the Yuan-Ming period. With its organization principle of "poetic norms" rather than a list of poets and thematic categories, this anthology continued to be a major poetry primer for beginners, and its persistency seemed to be secured by its pedagogic routinization among poet-monks, who used it as a poetry textbook in monasteries and reprinted it regularly within Buddhist printing institutions.[151] To make things more interesting, *The Three Forms* was fervently received in medieval Japan as a must-read for *kanshi* poets before the Edo period.[152]

As for Yuan Haowen's northern anthology, copies of TSGC were thick on the ground, as extant editions have shown that it was sporadically reprinted in different regions throughout the Yuan dynasty.[153] One piece of captivating evidence regarding the reception of TSGC to posterity even involves a work of art. The unexpected trail is preserved in an extant narrative painting after Li Gonglin's style with the title *Liu Chen and Ruan Zhao Entering the Tiantai Mountains* 劉晨阮肇入天台山圖, dated to the early fourteenth century painted by a certain Zhao Cangyun 趙蒼雲 belonging to the previous Song imperial clan.[154] In the tail end of this handscroll is attached a

[151] See Zha Pingqiu 查屏球, "'Qisha Zang' yu *San ti Tang shi* zhi liuchuan" 「磧砂藏」與《三體唐詩》之流傳, in *Xin Song xue* 新宋學, vol. 3 (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 2014), pp. 143-158.
[152] See more in Wu Yuping 吳雨平, *Ju yu zhi: Riben Hanshi de wentixue yanjiu* 橘與枳：日本漢詩的文體學研究 (Beijing: China Social Sciences Press, 2008), pp. 157-63.
[153] Li Tianbao 李天保, "Yuan Ming shiqi *Tang shi guchui* banben kaoshu" 元明時期《唐詩鼓吹》版本考述, *Journal of Tsinghua University (Social Sciences)* 清華大學學報（社會科學版） 34.4 (2019): 81-91.
[154] For an introduction to this painting, see Maxwell K. Hearn and Wen C. Fong, *Along the Riverbank: Chinese Paintings from the C. C. Wang Family Collection* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1999), pp. 86–88. For the reception history of this Six Dynasties Daoist legend in the fourteenth century, see Chen Weiqiang 陳偉強, "Rusheng yu xian: Liu Chen Ruan Zhao chuanshuo zai Yuan Ming yujing de shidai yiyi" 儒生遇仙：劉晨阮肇傳

piece of calligraphy transcribing two heptametric poems on “wandering transcendents” (*youxian* 遊仙) “misattributed” to Song Yi, and the same mistake is exactly observed in TSGC, which I believe betrays its source text when the calligrapher wrote down and attached his colophon to this painting. This contingent witness in the form of painting and calligraphy affirms the permeant readership of TSGC even by southerners as late as the fourteenth century. Therefore, we can summarize that *The Three Forms* and *The Drum and Fife Songs* were two surviving Tang poetry anthologies still circulated in the following century.



Zhao Cangyun 趙蒼雲 (fl. late 13th-early 14th c.), *Liu Chen and Ruan Zhao Entering the Tiantai Mountains* (*Liu Chen Ruan Zhao ru Tiantai shan tu* 劉晨阮肇入天台山圖), the last attached piece transcribing two pieces misattributed to Song Yong 宋邕 (fl. 8th c.) after two colophons written in 1379 and 1386 respectively. Handscroll, ink on paper, 22.5 × 564 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

說在元明語境的時代意義, *Journal of Chinese Studies* 中國文化研究所學報 67 (2018): 41-60, in which Chen also discusses the painting in 50-53. Also see fn. 109 above.

But things changed since the Ming dynasty (1368-1644), when the trans-temporal "high Tang poetry" model championed in Yan Yu's 嚴羽 (fl. early 13th c.) *Canglang's Remarks on Poetry* (*Canglang shihua* 滄浪詩話, *canglang* or "blue-gray billows" is Yan Yu's self-appellation), as well as the fourfold periodization[155] applied in a 1393 *Graded Compendium of Tang Poetry* (*Tang shi pin hui* 唐詩品彙, compiled by Gao Bing 高棅 [1350-1423]) hallmarking "high Tang" poetry as the apogee or "orthodox tone" (*zhengyin* 正音), became prevalent and authoritative among Ming poets. Subsequently, Ming critics found fault with the two formerly popular Tang poetry anthologies with preponderance of late Tang pieces,[156] saying that "the manner of *The Three Forms* is base, and *The Drum and Fife Songs* crude" 《三體》卑，《鼓吹》陋.[157]

Against this poetic mainstream, the famous late Ming literary talent Qian Qianyi 錢謙益 (1582-1664) stood up as an eccentric contrarian who praised for earlier Tang poetry anthologies of TBJSX and TSGC. Qian was remarkably insightful as a critic to juxtapose these two closely-related anthologies without doing a thorough bibliographical research I demonstrate here. More crucially, it is the unmediated proximity to the original Tang sources that Qian valued in these

[155] There is a curious finding in YKLS that the prototype of this periodization of Tang poetry was already on the horizon in Fang Hui's commentary 《瀛奎律髓》卷十許渾《春日題韋曲野老邨舍》批註：

予選詩以老杜為主，老杜同時人皆盛唐之作，亦皆取之。中唐則大曆以後、元和以前，亦多取之。晚唐諸人，賈島開一別派，姚合繼之。沿而下，亦非無作者，亦不容不取之。

[156] One predecessor of 高棅《唐詩品彙》 is 楊士弘《唐音》 finished in the late Yuan dynasty (1344). 《唐音》 already adopts a periodization framework dividing and at the same time ranking Tang poetry by 始音, 正音 and 遺響. More important, in the self-preface the compiler openly disapproves of "the dearth of high Tang poetry in contrast to the surplus of late Tang poetry" 大抵多略於盛唐而詳於晚唐 in previous Tang poetry anthologies. As a matter of fact, most early anthologies of Tang poetry indeed have greater distributions of mid- and late Tang over high Tang poetry. This is partly due to the better preservation state of textual materials in later ages, but another reason is that the later periodization fixation was totally absent in those pre-Yuan minds, so in a sense it can be said that the Tang-Song-Jin compilers adopted a more impartial attitude since they treated high Tang and late Tang poetry on an equal footing when they shaped their own anthologies.

[157] 許學夷《詩源辯體》卷三六

two books, since they were not yet "beclouded by and accustomed to" (*xunxi* 熏習) the later epistemological framework of Tang poetry through the biased lens of the *idée fixe* of "high Tang" paradigm.[158] And by reading and annotating TSGC, the late Ming poet encouraged his younger generations to unlearn and defamiliarize themselves from prescribed notions and stereotypical concepts so as to unveil the "true face" of Tang poetry.

Conclusion: The Use of Tang Poetry by Modeling and Anthologization In Thirteenth-Century North China

The thirteenth century witnessed the determining revival of Tang poetry in both North and South, but with their respective approaches and focuses. In this chapter, I have outlined the cultural agenda among the contemporary northern literati in the field of poetic composition that shifted from the Northern Song to the remoter Tang modes. In the Jin intellectual contexts, this was accomplished via bifurcate ways of modeling and anthologization. In the first half of this chapter, I mainly dealt with thirteen-century Jin or post-Jin poetry with the imprint of Tang poetic flair. I showcased two compelling Tang exemplars emulated by different groups of Jin poets: Lu Tong and Li He embodied by their enchanting and eccentric old-style *yuefu* poetry, in competition with the "plain and moderate" (*chongdan*) Tang poets, particularly Wei Yingwu who was personated by Zhao Bingwen. Then I turned to the substantial literary practice of anthologization in the North. By close-reading the paratexts of *He-Fen Poetry Collection*, I argued that contemporaneous anthologies of thirteenth-century northern poetry further testified their modeling after Tang poetry with a much broader and wider range and scope. There was

[158] 錢謙益《唐詩鼓吹序》（《有學集》卷一五）

even an incipient and quite radical tendency towards the renaissance of pre-Tang poetry – that of Six Dynasties, and the idealistic *Classic of Poetry* to an extreme – so as to backtracking the worn-out tradition and return to the utopic fountainhead of classical poetry. Yet the anthologization projects cultivated on the soil of Jin literati culture did not end here. The entire second part of this chapter tackles another thirteenth-century northern anthology *Drum and Fife Songs of Tang Poetry*. Authenticated by the compilership of Yuan Haowen, this book was consumed as a popular primer for learning Tang regulated verse. Meanwhile, TSGC directly reflected the northern taste and expectation, as shown in the polyvalent term *guchui*, its well-chosen source texts, as well as the juxtaposition of counterparts between North and South.

In sum, thirteenth-century literati learned from their Tang poetic past by either establishing archetypal poets to model after, or by picking up sample poems into schematic or pragmatic anthologies and primers. For the former, deans of literary critics in later periods set up their aesthetic calibers by magnifying certain aspects of Tang poetry – either the refined and lukewarm manner by late Tang "poet-monks," or impassionate and heart-stirring flair by those Tang talents, or artificially dense, complex and innovative pattern modeled on Du Fu. And for the latter, we do see in these thirteenth-century anthologies how compilers made use of Tang poetry by anthologization. The treasure trove of Tang poetic materials was thus used as the grist for the compiler's prefabricated literary mill. Individual collections, cumulative and selective anthologies, categorical encyclopedia, as well as miscellaneous jottings incidentally preserved in "common books" are all filtering channels to shape the contour of Tang poetry. In a word, compilers in both North and South sifted through Tang sources available to them and reshuffled these selections in their self-motivated organization principles and aesthetic agendas to produce their own patterns of the kaleidoscopic Tang poetry, which correspondingly manifested their own

transitory fashions of time. In this way, the reception history of these Tang poetry anthologies also mirrors the ebb and flow of their contemporary poetic fashions across ages, which was determined by intellectual temper and cultural "savor and custom" (*xunxi*) at that time.

After all, the rise of Tang poetry served as a reaction against the real-time Song model and was eventually an integral chain of the cultural enterprise of "probing and recovering the past." With the Northern Song "ancient-prose" orthodoxy and universal cultural hero Su Shi on the one side, and Tang poetry overshadowing thirteenth-century literary emulation and anthologization on the other, these two-pronged historical models conversed and competed with each other, while at the same time were absorbed, converged, and deep-seated altogether into the northern civil arena, where Jin literati culture took shape with "birthmarks" inherited, recognizable, yet varied from their Tang-Song cultural bequests.

EPILOGUE

Wither Jin Literati?

Yuan Haowen's Cultural Agenda, and "China" Transformed

We now arrive at the end of our story on Jin literary culture, whose growing prospect suffered an abrupt break-off due to the sweeping force of Mongol conquest. This rather fierce course of history was indicated metaphorically in a poem called "Ballad of Camel Chariots" (Tuo che xing 駝車行) by a contemporary northern poet Liu Bingzhong 劉秉忠 (1216–1274), who grew up in the Jurchen regime but later assisted Mongols for their military campaigns:[1]

駝頂丁當響巨鈴	Over the heads of camels, giant bells go ding-dong;
萬車軋軋一齊鳴	Ten thousand chariots, rolling over and over, emit a universal [battle]cry.
當年不離沙陀地	In the past, [Mongols] did not leave the land of sand mounds.
輾斷金源鼓笛聲	[And now] they crush over Golden Spring's [i.e., the Jurchen Jin polity] drum and flute sound.[2]

Analogous to the soundscapes of Mongol camel bells taking over Jurchen drum and flute music, the poet refers to the irresistible historical tide stirred by northwestern nomadic conquerors that overturned the Jurchen rule in North China.

Thus, in this epilogue, I try to locate the ambiguous and unsolved "end" of Jin literati community and culture against the historical background of thirteenth-century North China. The

[1] For the significance of Liu Bingzhong in the early Yuan period, see Chan Hok-lam, "Liu Ping-chung 劉秉忠 (1216–74): A Buddhist-Taoist Statesman at the Court of Khubilai Khan," *T'oung Pao* 53.1–3 (1967): 98–146; Ge Renkao 葛仁考, *Yuanchao zhongchen Liu Bingzhong yanjiu* 元朝重臣劉秉忠研究 (Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 2014). Liu's role of bridging Mongol rulers and Han literati is well evidenced in the network analysis of an extant correspondence collection among thirteenth-century northern elite; see see Chu, "Indigenous Elite Networks," 290–94.

[2] Liu Bingzhong, "Tuo che xing"; *Quan Yuan shi*, vol. 3, p. 185. I correct the Chinese characters of *Jinyuan* 金原 shown in the source text, which I believe is a typo for 金源, the common euphuism standing for the Jurchen regime.

Mongol invasion into the Chinese territory was a catastrophe, and especially true in terms of Jin literati culture. A northern scholar-official in the next generation noted:

> In the *renchen* year (1232), the Bianliang city fell. There were already few former [Jin] *jinshi* scholar-officials who were neither killed in warfare, nor dead from starvation in the wilds, nor lapsed in the ditches; and even fewer who safely reached the He-Shuo regions, made their names at that time, and transformed civil exam education to literary learning. After the generation of Yuan [Haowen] and Li [Zhi], there were only a dozen of such masters as Wang Lu'an [i.e., Wang Pan 王磐 (1202–1293)] and Xu Fuzhai [i.e., Xu Shilong].
>
> 壬辰，汴梁破。前進士不歿於兵、不莩於野、不殞於溝壑者固少，而平達河朔，名動當世，變舉業為文章者又少，由元、李而下，如王鹿庵、徐復齋諸公，僅十餘人。[3]

In addition to the immense casualties among Jin *jinshi* scholar-officials, the entire socio-political infrastructure disintegrated during the following Yuan dynasty in such a way that most northern literati had to change their careers and made a living outside the venue of participating in civil service exams and becoming scholar-officials. A northern scholar in the early Yuan once lamented the cessation of literary practice among the offspring of gentry families, and hoped in vain that the publication of writings of their Jin literati ancestors would somehow relieve out the distressing situation: "Alas! There are descendants of those [noblemen] wearing the attire who have no choice but to mingle with clergymen, businessmen, farmers, craftsmen, and soldiers; to let them know the refined literary achievements of their ancestors so as to succeed and revive it – this is also our Boqi's [Wang Zhen 王振, the grandson of Wang Yuanjie, a former Jin scholar-official] aspiration [to publish Wang Yuanjie's collection]. Therefore, I mention this in preface as

[3] Zhang Zhihan 張之翰 (1243–1296), "Zhang Zhanran xiansheng wenji xu" 張湛然先生文集序 (1291); *Quan Yuan wen*, 383.287–88.

well" 嗚呼！衣冠之後，有不得已在胥吏、在商賈、在農工卒伍者，知其有先業之美，而能繼起之，是又吾伯起之心也，故併書之.[4]

Yet Jin literati culture did not cease to exist when the political entity ended in 1234, but instead survived the Mongol invasion and persisted in one way or another throughout the whole thirteenth century. This is partly because the intellectual temper and cultural achievement in North China reached its highest pitch in the early thirteenth century, and it could not be forcefully eradicated by military forces. Besides, the cultural and pedagogical activities of post-Jin "remnant subjects" like Yuan Haowen should also be given credit for its perpetuation.[5]

The survival of Jin literati culture in the post-Jin period is most self-evident in textual sources. As is already discussed in chapter 1, most Jin poets who left literary collections to us outlived the Jin dynasty for decades, so that their collections we have today can be dated back to the thirteenth century under the Mongol rule. To say it the other way around, the partial restoration and reconstruction of Jin literature on the whole is only possible thanks to these extant post-Jin or early Yuan textual records.

Among these post-Jin survivors in the latter half of the thirteenth century, Yuan Haowen was pivotal in this commemorative agenda of preserving and enshrining the former Jin literati culture. Not only hallmarked as the last great poet of this neglected northern dynasty, Yuan also did plenty of literary collection and compilation works for other Jin poets. ZZJ was an integral

[4] Wei Chu 魏初, "Dun'an xiansheng shiji xu" 遯齋先生詩集序; *Quan Yuan wen*, 264.449.

For the transformation of literati identities in the social turmoil of thirteenth-century North China, see Makino Shūji 牧野修二, "Transformation of the *shih-jen* in the late Chin and early Yüan," *Acta Asiatica* 45 (1983): 1–26; Iiyama, *Kin Gen jidai*; Wang Jinping, "Rujia zi, Dao zhe shi: Jin Yuan zhiji Quanzhen jiaotuan zhong de rudao shiren" 儒家子，道者師——金元之際全真教團中的入道士人, *Xin shixue* 新史學 24.4 (2013): 55–92; ibid., *In the Wake of the Mongols*.

[5] Peter Bol in his discussion of Yuan Haowen's cultural activities in the post-Jin period reaches the same conclusion that Jin literati culture sustained for quite a while in North China; see his "Yuan Hao-wen: 'For Fear that This Culture of Ours will Perish,'" in his "Seeking Common Ground," 520–33. Compared to Bol's article, my study here will do more close reading of Yuan's literary writings and treat him as a poet-cum-mentor in the first place.

part of this program to save Jin poetry from annihilation. Yuan made this clear in the following poem as self-postscript of ZZJ:

平世何曾有稗官	In time of peace, there is no need for unofficial recorders from the verge;
亂來史筆亦燒殘	But since the debacle, even the historians' brushes have burned.
百年遺稿天留在	Bequeathed manuscripts for the century have been preserved, thanks to Heaven;
抱向空山掩淚看	I take them to the lonely hills to read amid stifled tears.[6]

In tandem with the Jin literary achievement epitomized in ZZJ was the personal and informal historiography implied in terms such as "unofficial recorders from the verge" (*baiguan* 稗官) and "historians' brushes" (*shi bi* 史筆). These dual aspects are well articulated by Chan Hok-lam 陳學霖: "The upheaval attending the demise of the Chin in 1234 convinced him of the danger of the historical records of his age falling into total oblivion.… It was within this context that he compiled the ZZJ. It was intended as part of his work for the history project, undertaken out of concern for the survival of literary records, and not purely for the sake of literary pastime."[7]

Besides ZZJ, there were other documents Yuan Haowen compiled and edited to illustrate what he called the "wild, rusticated, or unofficial history" (*yeshi* 野史) of the Jin or "Golden Spring" dynasty, echoing the "unofficial recorders from the verge" in the poem above. Hao Jing described Yuan's efforts in his entombed epitaph inscription (*muzhiming* 墓誌銘) for Yuan:

> [Yuan Haowen] always regarded writing [of Jin culture] as his own duty. Since the Golden Springs [i.e., Jurchen Jin regime] took over all under heaven [i.e., when it conquered the Northern Song in 1126], its institutional decrees and regulations nearly matched those of Han and Tang dynasties. [It is said that] once a country comes to an end, its history arises, so that [Yuan] took it as his own mission. The Jin national history and veritable records were at the residence of Zhang Rou 張柔 (1190–1268), the

[6] Yuan Haowen, "Ziti *Zhongzhou ji* hou" 自題中州集後, no. 5; YHWQJ, 13.280. I adopt the translation from Wixted, *Poems on Poetry*, p. 234, with my own modification.
[7] Chan, "Yüan Hao-wen (1190-1257) and His *Chung-chou chi*," p. 69.

myriarch of Shuntian Circuit (in nowadays Beijing). Thus Yuan made requests to Lord Zhang, who presented a memorial to the throne on Yuan's behalf and expressed Yuan's wish for historiographical composition, and the Mongol court approved his request. Yet, no sooner had the Office of Historiography opened than it was objected by others and shut down. Master [i.e., Yuan Haowen] thus said: "We should not let the fair accomplishment of one dynasty fade out and remain unheard of." Therefore, Yuan compiled ZZJ of more than one hundred *juan*. He also composed *The Record of the Words and Deeds of the Rulers and Ministers of the Golden Springs*, for whose sake he went back and forth everywhere in order to collect and select the leftover and scattered anecdotes and hearsay. Once he got something new, he would right away record it with minute characters on a one-inch sheet of paper by himself, and he would not forget it even when heavily drunk. In this manner, his miscellaneous records of recent historical events took up more than a million words, which were bundled up and tiled up to be stuffed in a hall with multiple pillars, and Yuan named it the Pavilion of Unofficial History. Yuan passed away without finishing the book. Alas! Our master can be called loyal indeed.

每以著作自任，以金源氏有天下，典章法度幾及漢、唐，國亡史興，己所當為。而國史實錄在順天道萬戶張公府，乃言於張公，使之聞奏，願為撰述，奏可。方辟館，為人所沮而止。先生曰:「不可遂令一代之美，泯而不聞。」乃為《中州集》百餘卷，又為《金源君臣言行錄》，往來四方，采摭遺逸，有所得，輒以寸紙細字親為記錄，雖甚醉不忘。於是雜錄近世事至百餘萬言，捆束委積，塞屋數楹，名之曰「野史亭」，書未就而卒。嗚呼，先生可謂忠矣！[8]

Interestingly, the ZZJ version mentioned here constitutes over 100 *juan*, while we know even its earliest print edition only has ten *juan*. It is thus highly possible that Hao Jing never saw this collection himself and only got a vague impression of its voluminous scale. Besides, this passage is almost transcribed word by word in Yuan's biography included in the JS, but the book title *The Record of the Words and Deeds of the Rulers and Ministers of the Golden Springs* (*Jinyuan junchen yanxinglü* 金源君臣言行錄) is replaced by *The Miscellaneous Notes in the Year Renchen [1232]* (*Renchen zabian* 壬辰雜編).[9] And according to Hao Jing's description, this

[8] Hao Jing, "Yishan xiansheng muming" 遺山先生墓銘; HJJ, 35.2814.

[9] It remains unclear the relationship between these two books. Scholars like Shi Guoqi 施國祁 (fl. 19th c.) suggest that they are one and the same in the genre of historiographical miscellanies; see YHWQJ, 53.1065. However, judging from the title names, *Renchen zabian* seems to take the form of miscellany recording historical affairs especially during the year 1232 when the Jin state collapsed, whereas *Jinyuan junchen yanxinglü* is more likely to pivot on anecdotal stories between Jin emperors and officials (as we can think of the Southern Song *Mingchen yanxing lu* 名臣言行錄 compiled by Zhu Xi). In other words, the former focuses on events, while the latter is

historiographical project turned out to be a bunch of capacious and incomplete draft manuscripts, encapsulated in the phrase "unofficial history." The Pavilion of Unofficial History (Yeshi ting 野史亭) shows up quite a few times in Yuan's later poems.[10] In one of them the poet tells us how he as a lonely Jin "remnant subject" felt the obligation to establish a detailed and credible state history, not without distress and hardship:

野史亭雨夜感興	"What Stirred my Mood in the Pavilion of Unofficial History of a Rainy Night"
私錄關赴告	Private records touch on the announcements of rulers' deaths and dynastic events;
求野或有取	Things sought in the wilds might somehow be taken [in official history].
秋兔一寸毫	One-inch rabbit hair [plucked] in autumn [can be made into a writing brush],
盡力不易舉	Even with every effort, [the brush] is not easy to raise [i.e., it is hard to write the Jin history].
衰遲私自惜	Declined and late life, I pity myself in private;
憂畏當誰語	Worried and fearful am I, and yet to whom shall I talk?
展轉天未明	Tossing about – the sky is not yet light,
幽窗響疏雨	In sequestered windows resounds the sparse rain.[11]

The very first couplet reveals the interface of private and public records in the field of historiography, as traffic followed in both directions. In fact, while Yuan named his work as the "unofficial history" since it was largely a lonely enterprise he devoted to on his own, the sizeable documents he left were later consulted by historians at the Yuan court and absorbed into the official JS.[12]

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arranged in units of historical figures. Yet barring the discovery of new evidence about the primary sources, their organization principles cannot be pinned down.

[10] See Yuan Haowen, "Xue Dongpo yiju ba shou" 學東坡移居八首, no. 8, "Yeshi ting yuye ganxing" 野史亭雨夜感興, "Luquan xin ju ershisi yun" 鹿泉新居二十四韻, "Jihai yuanri" 己亥元日; YHWQJ, 2.27–28, 44, 4.81, 7.128.

[11] Ibid., 2.44.

[12] Right after transcribing Hao Jing's account, JS writers added a "copyright statement" at the end of Yuan Haowen's biography that "the compilation of JS has replied heavily on Yuan's writings" 纂修《金史》，多本其所著云; JS, 126.2743. The famous late Ming / early Qing scholar Gu Yanwu 顧炎武 (1613-1682) already pointed out that "The *Jin History* in general was made out of writings by the two [Jin] scholars Liu Qi and Yuan Haowen, whose works are worth reading" 《金史》大抵出劉祁、元好問二君之筆，亦頗可觀; Gu, *Rizhi lu jishi* 日知錄集釋,

Indeed, by examining the intertextuality between ZZJ and JS, historians have realized the interesting fact that the more elevated status is held by the Jin official, the less of his biography is drawn from ZZJ (and perhaps more from Jin "veritable records"); in reverse, the more alienated from the political power is the figure, the more likely is his information taken from Yuan's accounts.[13] Hu Chuanzhi further points out that later historians of JS also made use of funerary epigraphs preserved in Yuan Haowen's individual collection *Yishan ji*, and many of the biographees were relatively uncelebrated common people whose life stories would have been otherwise unappreciated.[14] That is to say, the marginal and heterodox status of Yuan's "unofficial history" remained true even being absorbed into the official channel later.

Besides the self-assigned compiler of Jin historiography, another identity of Yuan Haowen was the master of classical poetry and arbiter of literary critics at that time. And if the former aspect was epitomized into the phrase *yeshi* or "unofficial history," then Yuan's contemporary fame for literary prowess was perhaps best represented by a book called *Jin ji* 錦機 – as we will see very soon, *yeshi* and *Jin ji* are often paired together as two of Yuan's most consequential works. The latter work literally means "Brocade Loom" and has been long lost just like Yuan's "unofficial history," but according to Yuan's self-preface now preserved in Yuan's *Yishan ji*, the book accumulated previous advice on the technical know-how of *wenzhang* 文章

annot. Huang Rucheng 黃汝成 (1799-1837), ed. Luan Baoqun 欒保群 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2020), 26.1315. For the borrowing of Yuan Haowen's works in JS, see more in Chan Hok-lam, "The Compilation and Sources of the *Chin-shih*," in *The Historiography of the Chin Dynasty*, pp. 1-67; Zhang Boquan 張博泉, Cheng Nina 程妮娜, and Wu Yuhuan 武玉環, "*Zhongzhou ji* yu *Jin shi*" 《中州集》與《金史》, in Chen Shu 陳述 ed., *Liao Jin shi lunji* 遼金史論集, vol. 3 (Beijing: Shumu wenxian chubanshe, 1987), pp. 261-78; Hu Chuanzhi, "Yuan Haowen yu *Jin shi*" 元好問與《金史》, in *Shanghai Review of Books* 上海書評 (Jan. 2020).

[13] See Zhang, Cheng, and Wu, "*Zhongzhou ji* yu *Jin shi*," pp. 265, 267.

[14] One example is the biography of a "filial daughter née Nie" (Nie xiaonü 聶孝女) first recorded in Yuan Haowen, "Nie xiaonü muming" 聶孝女墓銘, in YHWQJ, 25.467, which is later paraphrased and arrayed into the "Biographies of Exemplary Women" (Lienü zhuan 列女傳) in JS, 130.2804. This extraordinary woman who committed suicide upon his father's death is also mentioned in GQZ, 5.49. See more in Hu, "Yuan Haowen yu *Jin shi*."

composition, in the same manner as it analogized literary writing to weaving textile (*wenzhang* 文彰).[15] Interestingly enough, this title alludes to Huang Tingjian's 黃庭堅 (1045–1105) words, the Northern Song poet well known for his poetic craftsmanship, which is quoted in Yuan's preface:

> [Huang Tingjian in a letter to Wang Zhifang 王直方 (1069–1109) wrote:] If you wish to write in the style of the *Lyrics of Chu*, you must thoroughly verse yourself in the *Lyrics of Chu*. Only after contemplating the twists and turns of thought of the ancients may you set pen to paper. Take the example of the talented woman whose embroidery patterns are the wonder of the age. If she wishes to weave brocade, she must first get a **brocade loom**. Only then will she be able to make brocade.
>
> 欲作楚辭，須熟讀《楚辭》，觀古人用意曲折處，然後下筆。喻如世之巧女，文繡妙一世，如欲織錦，必得**錦機**，乃能成錦。[16]

It is thus clear that the "brocade loom" refers to practical skills or rules of thumb as the sine qua non to weave the "embroidery patterns" parallel to intricate application of intentions or emotional contours via literature. More simply put, reading and learning comes before writing, and in the case of *Jin ji*, consulting literary criticism or instruction preconditions poetic composition. Written in the same year of the seminal series "Thirty Poems on Poetry" (Lun shi sanshi shou 論詩三十首) in 1217, *Jin ji* was later regarded by Yuan in his old age as the tenet of poetic composition. Decades later, in a correspondence to his friend Liu Bingzhong written in

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[15] Yuan Haowen, "Jin ji yin" 錦機引; YHWQJ, 36.643. Wixted translates the whole piece in *Poems on Poetry*, p. 242.

[16] Ibid. Also see Huang Tingjian, "Yu Wang Lizhi" 與王立之, no. 4, in *Huang Tingjian quanji*, "Wai ji" 外集, 21.1371.

Elsewhere Yuan adopts this poetic allusion of embroidery again to illustrate the literary composition process. See Yuan, "Lun shi san shou" 論詩三首, no. 3; YHWQJ, 14.305:

暈碧裁紅點綴勻	Shaded blue-green and tailored red fit together in harmony;
一回拈出一回新	Every turn pinched out is a turn fresh.
鴛鴦繡了從教看	Mandarin ducks, once embroidered, are there to be seen;
莫把金針度與人	Do not try to pass the golden needle to others.

The translation is taken from Wixted, *Poems on Poetry*, p. 237, with modification. In this sense, the now lost *Brocade Loom* was actually Yuan's "golden needle" of poetic skills to be passed on to others.

1255,[17] the elderly poet referred to his *Jin ji* as an "extraordinary book" (*yi shu* 異書) in which he collected literary discussions of previous masters, and valued it to such an extent that he claimed "it could be the guidebook for learners [of poetry] in ten thousand ages; one could observe its rules throughout his life. This book is all I have learned in my whole life, and I dare to inform you of it" 可為萬世學者指南，可終身守之。此僕平生所得者，敢以相告.[18] In turn, in his two poems entitled "Close Reading of Yishan's Poetry" (Xidu Yishan shi 細讀遺山詩), Liu made hinted allusions related to the "Brocade Loom": "Out of the heavenly loom are cloudy brocades in three thousand bolts; / [Patterns or nomenclatures of] the moon and constellations scatter across four hundred prefectures [i.e., China]" 天機雲錦三千段，月字星名四百州 (no. 1); "In front of the brocade pile, one finds it hard to place his hands [i.e., write poetry]; / In the gem den one feels languid to look back [upon other poems]" 錦繡堆前難措手，琳瑯窟裡懶回眸 (no. 2).[19] It thus leaves little doubt that Liu once had access to a manuscript of Yuan's *Jin ji* and further applied this trope to exalt Yuan's poetry.

A pedagogical manual for classical poetry designed by Yuan Haowen, *Jin ji* seemed to be quite well known among thirteenth-century northern poets, because Yuan's students singled out this book together with *yeshi* to be the greatest achievements that the he left to posterity. One piece of evidence comes from the final four lines of Wang Yun's hearse-drawing song written for Yuan:

[17] I follow the dating of this letter from the chronicle (*nianpu* 年譜) of Yuan Haowen arranged by Miao Yue 繆鉞; see YHWQJ, 59.1238–39.
[18] Yuan Haowen, "Da Cong shangren shu"; YHWQJ, 39.689–90.
[19] See *Quan Yuan shi*, vol. 3, pp. 214, 215.

天機翻錦餘官樣	The heavenly loom overturns the brocade and leaves behind the orthodox model;
月戶量工更苦心	Craftsmen on the moon measure their work with ever more painstaking efforts.[20]
野史亭空遺事墜	The Pavilion of Unofficial History is now empty, with leftover anecdotes falling into obscurity;
荒煙埋恨九原深	A desolate haze buries resentment into Ninefold Plateaus [i.e., underground] deep. (*ll*. 5–8)[21]

In similar fashion, an early Yuan poet Yan Fu 閻復 (1236–1312) also raised these two exemplary works by Master Yuan:

野史夜寒蟲蠹簡	The Unofficial History, frosty night – bookworms eat away book leaves;
錦機春暖鳳停梭	The Brocade Loom, balmy spring – the phoenix halts its weaving shuttle. (*ll*. 5–6)[22]

Both verses translated above color Yuan's literary and historical writings in contrasting tones: while the virtuosic writer equipped with the "brocade loom" weaves out exquisite, springlike poetry, his "unofficial history" is left for reading in dark or even rainy night which evokes contemplative, gloomy memory. The juxtaposition of *yeshi* and *Jin ji* eventually points to dual identities of Jin historian and poet inhabited by Yuan. In reality, these two textual compilation projects were almost done in the form of manuscript drafts before Yuan died. The *Brocade Loom* was finished and edited by Yuan himself, since the 1255 letter quoted above also mentioned that "the *Brocade Loom* has been complete and only awaits someone to transcribe a clean copy. Within this year, once I get my hands off the book [i.e., finish a clean, edited copy], I shall

[20] This allusion refers to an anecdote recorded in the chapter "Tian zhi" 天咫 (The Little We Know of Heaven) of *Youyang zazu* 酉陽雜俎, a Tang miscellany compiled by Duan Chengshi 段成式 (801?–863). It is said that the moon was made up of seven treasure-gems, and there were eighty-two thousand craftsmen on the moon to keep renovation and maintenance. See Duan, *Youyang zazu jiaojian* 酉陽雜俎校箋, annot. Xu Yimin 許逸民 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2015), "Qian ji" 前集, 1.98–99. Here the phrase "craftsmen on the moon" (*yue hu* 月戶) corresponds with the "heavenly loom" (*tian ji* 天機) in the previous line, and altogether they stand for Yuan's *Brocade Loom* with emphasis on poetic craftsmanship.

[21] Wang Yun, "Zhuiwan Yuan Yishan xiansheng" 追挽元遺山先生; WYQJ, 17.756; also see YHWQJ, 54.1084.

[22] Yan Fu, "Yishan xiansheng wanshi" 遺山先生挽詩; YHWQJ, 54.1082.

entrust it to you [to print it out], and I reply on you and others to fulfill this hope" 《錦機》已成，第無人寫潔本。年間得斷手，即當相付，亦倚公等成此志耳.[23] And although the "unofficial history" remained incomplete according to Hao Jing's epitaph inscription, another verse by Hao says the other way round that "wandering and wandering, [Yuan's] unofficial history gradually takes shape" 行行野史成;[24] we also find Yuan's own claim as early as 1239 that "the unofficial history has just been outlined" 野史才張本.[25] Therefore, at least the blueprint of this historiographical enterprise had already been laid out and reached the magnitude of more than a million words when the author passed away in 1257. That being said, even if attached with Yuan's celebrated reputation and marked as the paramount Jin cultural legacies, these two manuscript drafts still could not escape the fate of being forgotten and discarded – and while *yeshi* can be said to have been partially preserved in JS, *Jin ji* seems to have faded out of the public sight soon after Yuan's death, probably due to the nonfulfillment of its publishing plan.

Yuan's literary activities after the fall of Jin dynasty were not limited to textual production like ZZJ and *Jin ji*. It is said that while living as a hermit, Yuan was still celebrated for "teaching a poem every day" 日課一詩 and attracted a large number of young disciples in the North.[26] Furthermore, Yuan even set up an agenda for popularizing a general education in literary skills by designing "textbooks": "[Yuan] wrote collections like *The Learning of Du Fu's Poetry*, *Poetry of Elegance by Dongpo*, *Brocade Loom*, *Self-Vigilance on Poetry and Prose*, and the like, in order to instruct students" 為《杜詩學》《東坡詩雅》《錦機》《詩文自警》等集，指授學

[23] Yuan Haowen, "Da Cong shangren shu"; YHWQJ, 39.690.
[24] Hao Jing, "Yuan gu shang Yuan xueshi"; HJJ, 2.245.
[25] Yuan Haowen, "Jihai yuanri" 己亥元日; YHWQJ, 7.128.
[26] See "Yu Qian's Prefaces to the Zhishun (1330–1333) Edition [of *Yishan Ji*]" 至順本余謙序; YHWQJ, 53.1057: 金亡晦道林莽，日課一詩，寒暑不易。至本朝，才名益甚，四方學者執羔雁無虛日。

者.[27] So that to some extent, part of Yuan's compilation projects were in service of his educational career. Finally, Xu Shilong's preface to *Yishan ji*, which is already mentioned above, also writes about the magnitude of Yuan's influence as a cultural mentor in the last three decades of his life:

> Since the Central Plain was ravaged, the literary *qi* (i.e., vital life-force) was at its last gasp and almost cut off. To recuperate from defects and relieve decline, people of that age put faith in Yishan [i.e., Yuan Haowen]. With no hold of power notwithstanding, Yishan had the sense of his vocation bestowed by Heaven, and thus exerted himself to take this culture of ours as his own duty. He traveled around Qi, Lu, Yan, Zhao, Jin, and Wei regions for almost thirty years. The farther he went, the richer his literary composition became, and the greater and broader his fame grew. In addition, with joyous and amiable disposition, he liked to encourage and promote students of younger generations. Good-humored temperament like a spring breeze was hidden between his eyebrows and eyelashes, and Yuan was never puffed up with self-importance because of his seniority. Therefore, young scholar-officials nearby followed him in flocks, and Yuan was known for his expansive goodwill. As for grading and appraising figures, as well as discussing and settling events of past and present, he nevertheless granted no pardon and would not consent until the evaluation reached impartial consensus.[28] Through this, students who learned [from him] knew the essence, so that their poetry and prose were all endowed with standards and regulations – literary fashion was thus purified and transformed at one stroke.
>
> 自中州斲喪，文氣奄奄幾絕。起敝救壞，時望在遺山。遺山雖無位柄，亦自知天之所以畀付者為不輕，故力以斯文為己任，周流乎齊、魯、燕、趙、晉、魏之間，幾三十年。其迹益窮，其文益富，其聲名益大以肆。且性樂易，好獎進後學，春風和氣，隱然眉睫間，未嘗以行輩自尊。故所在士子從之如市，然號為汎愛，至於品題人物，商訂古今，則絲豪不少貸，必歸之公是而後已。是以學者知所指歸，作為詩文，皆有法度可觀。文體粹然為之一變。[29]

To conclude, with all these contemporary accounts illustrated above, little doubt is left about Yuan Haowen's role of preserving Jin texts to be accessed by latecomers and of vying for the orthodox status within the overall Sinitic civilization. Everything Yuan did was to perpetuate

[27] Hao Jing, "Yishan xiansheng muming"; HJJ, 35.2814.
[28] Indeed, Yuan Haowen was modest enough to identify himself more as a critic than an author. See Yuan, "Da Cong shangren shu"; YHWQJ, 39.689: 見之之多，積之之久，揮毫落筆，自鑄偉詞，以驚動海內則未能。至於量體裁，審音節，權利病，證真贋，考古今詩人之變，有戇直而無姑息，雖古人復生，未敢多讓。
[29] Xu Shilong, "Yishan xiansheng wenji xu"; YHWQJ, 53.1054–55.

and celebrate Jin literati culture in order to be sheltered from historical loss. We may even say that Jin literati culture would not have been partially saved in the aftermath were it not for Yuan Haowen. Albeit an ideological construct, Yuan's private agenda was well founded: the exaggerating rhetoric and self-conscious idealization can be taken as a necessary strategy to ensure the urgent preservation of Jin culture, which was in real danger of falling into oblivion decades later – and actually the majority of Jin sources were lost after all.

Finally, besides Yuan's instrumental role in the first half of the thirteenth century, we should also recognize the contribution of other post-Jin "remnant subjects" to a painful survival and gradual rejuvenation of northern literati culture: having gone through and recovered from desperate "death and chaos" across North China, a younger generation of elite scholar-officials were produced as students of those post-Jin literati. In other words, hope was grown out of despair at this crucial moment by virtue of the unremitting endeavor of taken by those elderly and lonely literati, facilitated with extensive textual productions and educational activities, so that Jin literati culture sustained well throughout the thirteenth century in North China. Both urgency and success of cultural preservation under the Mongol rule were best manifest in Yuan's letter to Yelü Chucai 耶律楚材 (1190–1244):

> It is impossible to lift the Greatest Implement of All-Under Heaven [i.e., the state] with a single person's strength; it is impossible either for the state to cultivate and establish talents within a single day. Since Antiquity, scholar-officials who want to make accomplishments in this world must rely on education from academies, family traditions of learning, as well as lectures and practice among masters and friends – only when one is endowed with these three conditions can he become an established scholar-official.…
>
> All these people [i.e., the fifty-four Jin literati Yuan recommended to Yelü in the letter], despite their distinct learnings and conducts, are in general the first-rate heavenly subjects spared to be employed in this world. Over the past hundred years, even though education and cultivation, lectureship and practice had been carried out to the utmost possible, those [scholar-officials] who were accomplished remained few. Since [the time of] death and chaos, there were no more than thirty to forty [surviving scholar-officials]. It is hard to be alive, and even harder to be accomplished; now [these scholar-officials]

were neither killed in the war nor dead from cold and starvation, and isn't it the [heavenly] intention that the Creator brings them and hands them over to the renewed [Mongol Yuan] dynasty or not?

夫天下大器，非一人之力可舉；而國家所以成就人材者，亦非一日之事也。從古以來，士之有立於世，必藉學校教育、父兄淵源、師交之講習，三者備而後可。……

凡此諸人，雖其學業操行參差不齊，要之皆天民之秀，存用於世者也。百年以來，教育講習非不至，而其所成就者無幾。喪亂以來，三四十人而止矣。夫生之難，成之又難，乃今不死於兵，不死於寒餓，造物者挈而授之維新之朝，其亦有意乎？無意乎？[30]

Thorough scholarship has been done on this letter.[31] The main issue here was survival – survival of Jin literati could be translated into survival of Sinitic civilization in this historical context. Yuan argued that literati culture was essential to statesmanship and took time to cultivate and flourish, whose loss was hence irrevocable and a great drawback to the Mongol rule. In this line of thinking, to protect ex-Jin scholar-officials, the historical agents carrying "this culture of ours" in North China, was ultimately to save civilization and seek after an ideal governance. Despite all these life-threatening conditions, northern literati did manage to take refuge in governmental institutions or administrative bureaus sponsored by local warlords, and some of them later stayed active on the early Yuan political stage. Besides a large number of war victims as well as Jin loyalists who died for the country, most Jin "remnant subjects" chose to live an eremitic life while continuing their educational careers, including Wang Ruoxu and Yuan Haowen among

[30] Yuan Haowen, "Ji Zhongshu Yelü gong shu" 寄中書耶律公書 (A Letter Sent to Lord Yelü of the Central Secretariat, 1233); YHWQJ, 39.686–87. This letter is translated by Wen in the appendix of his dissertation "Born of the North Wind," pp. 478–83, and I make several modifications of my own.

[31] See, for example, Yao Tsung-wu 姚從吾, "Yuan Haowen guisi shang Yelü Chucai shu de lishi yiyi yu shuzhong wushisi ren xingshi kao" 元好問癸巳上耶律楚材書的歷史意義與書中五十四人行事考, *Yao Congwu xiansheng quanji* 姚從吾先生全集 (Taipei: Zhengzhong shuju, 1982), vol. 6, pp. 155–217; Liu Xiao 劉曉, "Yuan Haowen 'Ji Zhongshu Yelü gong shu' renwu bushi: jianlun shidafu jiazu zai Jin Yuan zhengzhi shenghuo zhong de yanxu" 元好問〈寄中書耶律公書〉人物補釋——兼論士大夫家族在金元政治生活中的延續, *Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan Lishi yanjiu suo xuekan* 中國社會科學院歷史研究所學刊 2 (Beijing: Shangwu yinshu guan, 2004), pp. 441–60; Fang Manjin 方滿錦, "Yuan Haowen shangshu Yelü Chucai zhi pingyi" 元好問上書耶律楚材之評議, in *Jin Yuan wenxue yanjiu* 金元文學研究 (Taipei: Wanjuan lou, 2015), pp. 105–22.

many others. Carrying their cultural capital as former Jin *jinshi* literati, some of them became prominent tutors in local elite society, such as Li Ting in Shaanxi,[32] Li Junmin in Shanxi, Wang Ruoxu and Li Zhi in Hebei, and Zhang Teli 張特立 (1179-1253) in Shandong.[33] Indeed, a large-scale defection didn't take place among late Jin literati during the Mongol-Jurchen warfare. But there were also former Jin subjects who felt no moral obligation of the fallen state and cooperated with the newly founded Mongol regime straight away. Yang Huan and Liu Qi, for example, took provisional civil examinations held by Yuan government in late 1230s and became political consultants of Mongol authorities.[34] One of their justifications was that they didn't obtain the *jinshi* degree in the previous dynasty and thus were exempt from the duty of acting like Jin loyalists. Other former Jin scholar-officials like Wang E and Liu Bingzhong were later summoned and recruited by the Mongol prince Khubilai (1215–1294) in early 1240s as Confucian advisors to reinforce his rule over Han Chinese.[35] And with the collective efforts of

[32] See Ong, *Men of Letters within the Passes*, pp. 105–09.

[33] It is worth noting that these ex-Jin literati were all dependent on the patronage of local "Hereditary Vassals" (*shihou* 世侯) who were Han Chinese appointed as military marshals in the early Jin period. See more in Inosaki Takaoki 井ノ崎隆興, "Mōkochō chika ni okeru Kanjin seikō — Kasaku chiku to Santō chiku no futatsu no kata—" 蒙古朝治下における漢人世侯–河朔地区と山東地区の二つの型, *Shirin* 史林 37.6 (1954): 27–48; Igor de Rachewiltz, "Personnel and Personalities in North China in the Early Mongol Period," 88–144; Françoise Aubin, "The Rebirth of Chinese Rule in Times of Trouble: North China in the Early Thirteenth Century," in *Foundations and Limits of State Power in China*, ed. S.R. Schram (London: School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, 1987), pp. 113–46; Zhao Qi 趙琦, "Shihou dui rushi de shourong yu renyong" 世侯對儒士的收容與任用, in his *Jin Yuan zhiji de rushi yu Han wenhua* 金元之際的儒士與漢文化 (Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 2004), pp. 104–41.

[34] For case studies on these two historical figures, see Chan Hok-lam, "Yang Huan (1186–1255)," *Papers on Far Eastern History* 14 (1976): 37–59; Ong, *Men of Letters within the Passes*, pp. 98–105. Chan Hok-lam, "Liu Ch'i (1203-1250) and His *Kuei-Ch'ien Chih*," in *The Historiography of the Chin Dynasty*, pp. 121–88, esp. 127–33.

The civil exams that took place between 1236 and 1238 in North China, however, were not designed for bureaucratic recruitment but for the confirmation of a privileged status called "household of Confucian scholars" (*ruhu* 儒戶). See more in Abe Takeo 安部健夫, "Gendai chishikijin to kakyo" 元代知識人と科挙, *Shirin* 史林 42.6 (1959): 113–52; Hsiao Ch'i-ch'ing 蕭啟慶, "Yuan dai de ruhu: rushi diwei yanjin shi shang de yizhang" 元代的儒戶：儒士地位演進史上的一章, in his *Yuandai shi xintan*, pp. 1–58.

[35] Studies on Liu Bingzhong have been mentioned in fn. 1 above. For a biographical account of Wang E, see Chan Hok-lam, "Wang E's Life and Career," in *The Fall of the Jurchen Chin: Wang E's Memoir on Ts'ai-Chou under the Mongol Siege (1233–1234)* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1970), pp. 1–38; also see Florian C. Reiter, "A Chinese Patriot's Concern with Taoism: The Case of Wang O (1190–1273)," *Oriens Extremus* 33.2 (1990): 95–131.

Yuan's generation, the heritage of Jin literati culture was safeguarded to posterity by producing both transmitted manuscripts and younger disciples in thirteenth-century North China. The power of *wen* or literary culture and discipleship as a means of cultural continuation is well exemplified in a eulogy written for Yuan by one of his disciples Hao Jing: "Though our Master has passed away, that his *wen* may not perish is called undying after death. Though [the death of] our Master is woeful, that our generation would no longer have him to rely on is ever more woeful" 先生雖死，文或不死，是謂亡而不死。先生雖可哀，吾徒無所仰，尤為可哀也.[36]

Despite Yuan Haowen's great effort and profound achievement of preserving Jin literati culture as his lifetime vocation, much more was regrettably lost. Parallel to Yuan's ZZJ project collecting Jin classical poetry and song lyrics, a certain Yuan scholar-official named Feng Wei 馮渭 (1189–1270) from the previous Jin elite family (well-known Jin scholar-officials Feng Ziyi 馮子翼 [*jinshi* 1157] and Feng Bi were his grandfather and father) is said to "have collated and edited Jin dynasty prose that piled up to several hundred *juan*" 蒐輯金代文章，凡積若干百卷.[37] This considerable collection of Jin literary prose was never heard of thereafter, so that the manuscripts probably didn't make the way to the print stage. In comparison, the survival and reception of ZZJ in later ages had something to do with both Yuan's attentiveness to Jin cultural preservation and his fame that accompanied the books. The lack of successors to sustain Jin cultural enterprise was also in tandem with the swift withering of Jin literati community within generations. It is said that Li Chunfu's death in 1223 gave rise to dozens of commemorative compositions among Jin literati, thanks to the endorsement of Lei Yuan and Zhao Bingwen;

[36] Hao Jing, "Ji Yishan xiansheng wen" 祭遺山先生文; HJJ, 21.1675.
[37] Yao Sui 姚燧, "Zhongshu you sanbu langzhong Feng gong shendaobei" 中書右三部郎中馮公神道碑; *Quan Yuan wen*, 320.667.

when Liu Qi's father Liu Congyi died three years later, Lei and Zhao generously wrote grave inscriptions to exalt their talented colleague, but the scale of mourning shrank with only a few pieces of funeral dirges presented; Lei and Zhao themselves died in 1231 and 1232, and by then funerary offering texts were composed only among their intimate friends, with no one qualified to inscribe their achievements on their gravestones.[38] Within less than a decade we see the disintegration of late Jin literati community during the Mongol-Jurchen warfare, which further muted their cultural memory in later historiography. Whether the physical extinction of Jin poets in wartime, or the "selective" missing of Jin writings among later Yuan-Ming book collections, time and again we see the collective amnesia of Jin literati culture.

History forgets. With Jin literary documents partially restored by Yuan Haowen and his disciples, the rest majority failed to escape the entropic forces of break down and wipeout in the passage of time. Some scholars claimed the inferior quality of the overall Jin culture to explain away the substantial loss of its primary sources. Stephen West, for example, once commented that "Yuan Haowen's rather grand view that the Jin were inheritors and perpetuators of the Northern tradition is vastly overstated. Jin writing, at least before 1220, was undistinguished."[39] Given the few early Jin sources available to us today, this assertion might be true. However, my whole dissertation on Jin poetic production has reached a totally opposite conclusion, and instead I argue that the amnesia of Jin literary past has more to do with historical bias in late imperial China. For one thing, *all* individual collections by early to mid-Jin literati, including the most significant figures within the orthodox lineage like Cai Gui and Dang Huaiying, were lost for

[38] See GQZ, 10.119–20: 屏山之歿，雷希顏誌其墓，趙閑閑表焉。余先子之歿，亦雷誌其墓，趙閑閑表焉。皆刻于石矣。迨雷、趙之歿，既葬而後，元裕之誌之，其外表迄今皆闕也。Ibid., 10.120: 屏山之歿，諸公祭文、挽詩數十篇，雷、宋倡之。已而余先子歿，諸公祭文、挽詩纔數首。後趙閑閑歿，惟余及宋飛卿、楊煥然作祭文、挽詩也。

[39] West, "Studies in Chin Dynasty (1115–1234) Literature," p. 30.

long. Is it because of the "undistinguished" quality of Jin poetry that led to its catastrophic loss? Or is it the negligence and ill-treatment of Jin cultural legacies that accelerated the speed of loss and obscured Jin literature to look "undistinguished"? Here we do find a vicious circle that deteriorated the preservation of Jin literature, as the irrevocable privation of Jin primary sources and the absence of Jin cultural memory reinforced each other in later ages.

But history also rhymes. The Jurchen invasion of the Northern Song proved to be the prognosticatory testimony to their own dynastic fate – the Jurchen conquerors were being conquered by another external invasion, and again the capital Kaifeng suffered the enduring siege before the ultimate collapse of the Jin dynasty in face of Mongol cavalry. History seems to rhyme in a retributive manner, but this time Jurchen people turned out to be the victim and easy prey for the Mongol conquest, with Jin's ambition of re-creating a Chinese empire in the Central Plain unfulfilled. More important, we still hear echoes of the Tang-Song past lingering in Jin literature. The most outstanding theme is the recurrent flashbacks of dynastic apocalypse. An eye-witness poem recorded the devastation in North China after the 1210s Jurchen-Mongol warfare, and paradoxically, this piece was well crafted in heptasyllabic regulated verse:

田紫芝，	Tian Zizhi (1191–1214), "In the Aftermath of Turmoil, I Climb up the Terrace of Surmounting Clouds"
亂後登凌雲臺	
愁思紛紛不易裁	Woeful thoughts keep on and on, not easy to cut off;
凌雲臺上獨裴回	On the Terrace of Surmounting Clouds, I walk back and forth on my own.
亂鴉背着斜陽去	Muddled crows fly away from the setting sun;
寒雁帶將秋色來	Wintry geese bring along the autumn color.
破屋無煙空碎瓦	Desolate houses, without [cooking] smoke, are only left with shattered tiles;
新墳經雨已蒼苔	Newly built burial mounds, having endured rainfalls, already covered by grizzled moss.

天翻地覆親曾見	Heaven and Earth turning upside down – I have seen it with my own eyes,
信得昆明有劫灰	Thus I believe at the bottom of Kunming Pool there are [heaps of] ashes [burnt down] from [the end of the last] *kalpa*.[40]

The content is straightforward and language sophisticated. Albeit a high-quality piece through which destruction brought about by the fierce war is strongly felt, there seems nothing unexpected. Yet what is stimulating in this piece is embedded in the final couplet. A learned reader would soon recognize a poetic allusion borrowed from a famous late Tang regulated verse written by Han Wo titled "In the aftermath of Turmoil, I Pass by the Wild Pond in Springtime" 亂後春日途經野塘 – indeed, both pieces were composed right after disastrous catastrophes. Han's piece referred to the Huang Chao rebellion (874–884) that uprooted the entire late Tang elite society, to which Tian analogized the suffering from contemporary Mongol invasion on the soil of North China. Tian's reference is even more explicit if we read the last couplet of Han Wo's verse:

眼看朝市成陵谷	I see with my own eyes that morning market fairs turned into hills and valleys [metaphor for graveyard],
始信昆明是劫灰	Thus I start to believe that Kunming Pool was full of [heaps of] ashes [burnt down] from [the end of the last] *kalpa*.[41]

[40] ZZJJZ, 7.1971. This poem also shows up in an anecdote about Tian recorded in Yuan Haowen's miscellany *Xu Yijian zhi*, 4.90.
Kalpa ashes that sank at the bottom of Kunming Pool in the final line refer to a made-up anecdote set in the period of Emperor Wu of Han (r. 141–87 BC): When the emperor ordered to chisel out the Kunming Pool near Chang'an, dark ashes were found on the riverbed; a Buddhist monk explained that they were the leftover from the apocalypse of the last *kalpa*. See Huijiao 慧皎 (497–554), *Gaoseng zhuan* 高僧傳, annot. Tang Yongtong 湯用彤, ed. Tang Yixuan 湯一玄 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1992), 1.3: 昔漢武穿昆明池底，得黑灰，問東方朔。朔云：「不知，可問西域胡人。」後法蘭既至，衆人追以問之，蘭云：「世界終盡，劫火洞燒，此灰是也。」
[41] Han Wo, "Luan hou chunri tu jing yetang"; *Han Wo ji xinian jiaozhu* 韓偓集繫年校注, annot. Wu Zaiqing 吳在慶 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2015), 2.517.

Incidentally, Han Wo's "Aftermath" piece is also selected in the anthology *Drum and Fife Songs of Tang Poetry* compiled by Yuan Haowen,[42] so that it might have been a well-known verse among late Jin poets.

Besides the late Tang analogy, the disillusion of the Northern Song glory in 1127 was a much fresher memory for thirteenth-century northerners. When the Jurchen Jin state met its end itself, this bitter story was being retold centering on the urban space Kaifeng, upon which overlapping temporalities were imposed, as this capital witnessed dynastic collapses twice with an interval of merely one century. When the Jurchen court was forced to move south in 1214 and carried civil objects such as books, illustrations, maps, and ritual vessels along with them from Beijing to Kaifeng, a place full of traces of the Northern Song splendor, citizens in this former metropolis made this sensitive remark: "It has been precisely ninety years [since Jurchen armies took over the Northern Song court at Kaifeng], who knew that today [the Jurchen Jin court] would return here again" 恰去九十年，誰知又歸在此邪?[43] This prophetic word on the street was soon justified. A so-called Azure City (Qingcheng 青城) was located five *li* south of Kaifeng. This was the place where Jurchen troops received the surrender protocol from Emperor Qinzong 欽宗 (r. 1126–1127) and Exalted Emperor Huizong of the Northern Song in 1127. Ironically, merely one century later in 1232, the Azure City witnessed another slaughter of Jurchen imperial family members executed by Mongol invaders, left with palace ladies merely alive to be looted to the north.[44] Albeit an inhuman tragedy, contemporaries interpreted this

[42] *Zhu Tang shi guchui*, 2.69. This version has a different poetic title "Tuzhong jing yetang" 途中經野塘, with variants in the last couplet: 眼看朝市為陵谷，始信昆明有劫灰。

[43] See *Da Jin guo zhi jiaozheng*, 24.333.

[44] GQZ, 7.68–69: 大梁城南五里號青城，乃金國初粘罕駐軍受宋二帝降處。當時后妃皇族皆詣焉，因盡俘而北。後天興末，末帝東遷，崔立以城降，北兵亦于青城下寨，而后妃内族復詣此地，多僇死，亦可怪也。

Also see ibid., 11.130: （崔）立又聚皇族皆入官，俄遣詣青城，皆爲北兵所殺，如荆王、梁王輩皆預焉，獨太后、皇后、諸妃嬪宫人北徙。

historical fact in a sense of retribution and predeterminism, as the post-Jin poet Hao Jing laid down his historical judgment via the quasi-colloquial "Ballad of Azure City" (Qingcheng xing 青城行):

天興初年靖康末	The opening years of the Tianxing era (1232–1234) and the end of Jingkang era (1126–1127):
國破家亡酷相似	The country annihilated and families broken up – what a strong resemblance [between the fall of Jin and that of Northern Song]!
君取他人既如此	Since you lord has taken over others' [country] as such,
今朝亦是尋常事	[Your tragedy] today is thus fathomable and commonplace. (*ll.* 23–26)[45]

Above I have showcased two literary narratives of juxtaposing Jin historical events with late Tang and Northern Song precedents respectively. This analogical reading employed by Jin literati can be understood as a hermeneutic strategy to integrate their own dynastic history into the Sinitic traditions. And within this time-space dimension, the Jurchen Jin "chronotope" interfacing the Tang-Song past can thus be envisioned.

In the end, once the Jurchen Jin dynasty as a *heterotopia* in Middle Period Chinese history has been configured, things would never be the same again. On the one hand, with those surviving Jin "remnant subjects" being custodians of Jin literary traditions, Jin literati culture still held strong in a metamorphosed way throughout the thirteenth century under Mongol rule. It is especially true before Khubilai's (r. 1260–1294) reunification of North and South China in 1276, when we see a breath of fresh air brought to the North by those former Southern Song subjects. To take one step further, unlike a Sinocentric cultural history, a more complex set of cultural negotiations as part of Jin legacy then converged into the larger stream of the Chinese tradition

[45] HJJ, 10.917.

after the Mongol conquest of the South. I have already shown in my dissertation Jin's disentanglement from and re-engagement with the Sinitic classical traditions. On top of that, as literary scholars, this long-forgotten story from the Jurchen Jin side urges us to revisit and reflect on our literary past. The outsized influence of Song literature and historiography reinforced its orthodox literary history through the biased feedback loops, and at the same time it meant to overshadow and obscure Jin literary achievements. But to turn the other way around, Jin poetry and art, no matter how fragmentary and disadvantaged it is, offer us a slim chance to pluralize our visions of Middle Period Chinese literature. Ultimately, the Jurchen polity proved its aptitude for appropriating Chinese claims to its own versions of culture and civilization.

On the other hand, the Yuan empire founded by Mongol conquerors following the Jurchen regime marked a fundamental watershed in Chinese history, which in consequence leaves us a "China" transformed. The Mongol Yuan empire brought to a close the multi-state world that lasted over four centuries since the fall of the Tang empire in 907 – whose *terminus a quo* even be traced back to the 755 An Lushan Rebellion. It was also the first time when a nomadic people succeeded in conquering and thus declaring the entire Chinese sovereignty. In turn, this reunification of China proper crossed out the very existence of *heterotopia*, though the pluralist topology of Northern Song, Southern Song, and Jurchen Jin pasts kept intertwined with and superposed on each other, which always potentially spoke for the *heteroglossia* and constructedness of Middle Period China.

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