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The Problem with Anthologies:

The Case of the “Bai yi” Poems of Ying Qu (190–252)

This article concerns the problem of the classification of literary types and the role of anthologies in preserving and transmitting literary works. Literary scholars and historians are quite familiar with the difficulties of sorting out classification terminology in old Chinese books, whether they be anthologies or the ubiquitous compendia of literary diction, the name of which in Chinese, *leishu* 類書, means literally “writings arranged by category.” There is a famous passage in Jorge Luis Borges’ essay on “John Wilkins’ Analytical Language” in which he refers to the bizarre classification scheme in a Chinese encyclopedia that he calls the *Heavenly Emporium of Benevolent Knowledge*. According to Borges, this work groups animals into the following categories: “(a) those that belong to the emperor; (b) embalmed ones; (c) those that are trained; (d) suckling pigs; (e) mermaids; (f) fabulous ones; (g) stray dogs; (h) those that are included in this classification; (i) those that tremble as if they were mad; (j) innumerable ones; (k) those drawn with a very fine camel’s-hair brush; (l) et cetera; (m) those that have just broken the flower vase; (n) those that at a distance resemble flies.”¹

Although most Chinese anthologies and compendia do not contain categories as anomalous and bizarre as these, there is the occasional category that virtually defies explanation. I have encountered one troublesome poetic category in the Chinese anthology *Wen xuan*, or *Selections of Refined Literature*, a work that I have been engaged with trying to translate for the past forty years. *Wen xuan*’s *shi* 詩 poems are

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¹ See Jorge Luis Borges, *Selected Non-Fictions*, Eliot Weinberger, ed., Esther Allen, Suzanne Jill Levine, and Eliot Weinberger, trans. (New York: Viking, 1999), p. 231.

classified into twenty-three categories. Most of these categories are quite straightforward and sensible: *zu jian* 祖餞 (farewell banquet), *youlan* 游覽 (sightseeing), *zengda* 贈答 (presentation and reply), travel *xinglü* 行旅 (travel), *jun rong* 軍戎 (military campaigns), *wan ge* 挽歌 (funeral songs), and the like. However, there is one poetry category that has always troubled me. It has a very strange name: “Bai yi 百一,” which as we shall see has been interpreted in various ways. On the surface the most simple-minded explanation of “Bai yi” should be either “one hundred one” or “one of a hundred.” However, a simple-minded explanation rarely suffices for such terms.

THE “BAI YI” QUESTION

The “Bai yi” category in *Wen xuan* contains only one poem by a single poet. This poet is the reputed inventor of the “Bai yi” form – Ying Qu 應璩 (190–252).² Ying Qu came from a family of distinguished scholars from Nandun 南頓 in Runan 汝南 (modern Xiangcheng 項城, Henan). His uncle Ying Shao 應劭 (d. 204) is the author of the well-known work *Fengsu tongyi* 風俗通義 (*Comprehensive Meaning of Customs*). His older brother Ying Yang 應瑒 (d. 217) was a member of the Seven Masters of Jian’an 建安七子. This was the most distinguished literary group at the end of the Eastern Han dynasty. Although Ying Qu is not included in the Seven Masters group, he participated in the gatherings hosted by the reputed “leader” of the group, Cao Pi 曹丕 (187–226).³

² The main source for the details of Ying Qu’s life are found in *Wenzhang xulu* 文章敘錄 by Xun Xu 荀勗 (d. 289), as quoted in the commentary to *Sanguo zhi* 三國志 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1959; hereafter *SGZ*) 21, p. 604. For studies of Ying Qu see: Yoshikawa Kōjirō 吉川幸次郎, “Ō Kyo no Hyakuichi shi ni tsuite” 應璩の百一詩について, *Kyōto daigaku Bungakubu* 京都大學文學部, ed., *Gojushunen kinen ronshū* 五十週年論集 (Kyoto: Kyōto daigaku Bungakubu, 1956), pp. 811–42; rpt. in *Yoshikawa Kōjirō zenshū* 吉川幸次郎全集 (Tokyo: Chikuma shobō, 1968–1970) 7, pp. 142–75; Ogasawara Hirokei 小笠原博慧, “Inshi shi kō: Ō Kyo kara Tō Sen e” 隱士詩考, 應璩から陶潛へ, *Kanbun gakkai kaihō* 漢文學會會報 21 (1954), pp. 20–28; Zhang Bowei 張伯偉, “Ying Qu shi lun lüe” 應璩詩論略, *Zhongzhou xuekan* 中州學刊 (1987.5), pp. 76–79, 69; rpt. Zhang Bowei, *Zhongguo shixue yanjiu* 中國詩學研究 (Shenyang: Liaohai chubanshe, 2000), pp. 99–112; Wen Zhihua 文志華, “Wen xuan zhi ‘Bai yi shi’ yanjiu” 文選之百一詩研究, *Xin shiji luncong* 新世紀論叢 (2006.3), pp. 150–52; Hong Yanlong 洪彥龍, “‘Bai yi shi’ he Wen xuan de jieshou shi kaocha” “百一詩”和文選的接受史考察, *Leshan shifan xueyuan xuebao* 樂山師範學院學報 23.4 (2008), pp. 22–25; Hu Dalei 胡大雷, “Ying Qu ‘Bai yi shi’ yu xingming xue” 應璩百一詩與形名學, *Zhongguo shixue* 中國詩學 11 (2006); rpt. in Hu Dalei, *Xuanyan shi yanjiu* 玄言詩研究 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2007), pp. 25–42; Pauline Lin, “Recovering Ying Qu and His Poetic Relationship to Tao Qian,” *HJAS* 69.1 (2009), pp. 37–74.

³ Evidence for Ying Qu’s presence at one of the gatherings hosted by Cao Pi is provided in the biography of the physiognomist Zhu Jianping 朱建平 in *Sanguo zhi*. Cao Pi hosted a gathering of thirty-plus persons. For this occasion Cao Pi was referred to as *wuguan jiang* 五官將 (general for all purposes), a title that he held since 211. At the gathering Cao Pi requested

Ying Qu was only three years younger than Cao Pi, and was two years older than Cao Pi's younger brother, Cao Zhi 曹植 (192–232), who is generally considered the foremost writer of the day. However, all that survives of Ying's writings from the Jian'an period is a fragment of a letter he wrote to one of the Seven Jian'an Masters, Liu Zhen 劉楨 (170?–217).⁴

Not much is known about Ying Qu's government career. Although he served at the imperial court after Cao Pi founded the Wei dynasty in 220,⁵ Ying Qu remained in relative obscurity for nearly twenty years. He complained about his plight in a number of letters that he sent to various colleagues, relatives, and friends.⁶ When the second Wei emperor, emperor Ming 明帝 (r. 227–239), died in 239, Ying Qu's political fortunes improved. Emperor Ming was succeeded by a young boy, Cao Fang 曹芳 (232–274). Control over the court administration was shared by the coregents Cao Shuang 曹爽 (d. 249) and Sima Yi 司馬懿 (179–251), each of whom had his own political faction.⁷ Cao Shuang was a distant relative of Cao Cao, and perhaps because of his relationship to the Cao family, by 247 Cao Shuang was able to assume supreme power over the court. One of Cao Shuang's close confidantes was He Yan 何晏 (190?–249), who along with Wang Bi 王弼 (226–249) was one of the leading *xuanxue* thinkers of the time. We shall see He Yan's name mentioned again in connection with Ying Qu's poetry.

Ying Qu was a fairly high ranking official on Cao Shuang's staff. According to Lu Kanru 陸侃如 (1903–1978), who has constructed the most accurate chronology of the literature of the early-medieval pe-

Zhu Jianping to physiognomize all of the guests to determine their life spans. He said about Ying Qu, who was in attendance, "You, sir, at the age of sixty-two will attain the position of executive attendant (= *shizhong* 侍中, or palace attendant), but you will encounter a calamity. A year before this you will see a white dog but no one around you will see it"; *SGZ* 29, p. 809. Lu Kanru 陸侃如 dates this event to 214; *Zhonggu wenxue xinian* 中古文學繫年 (Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 1985), p. 396.

⁴ See *Wen xuan* 文選 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1986) 26, p. 1232, Li Shan's commentary.

⁵ Ying Qu probably held two offices during the Huangchu 黃初 period (220–227): *shilang* 侍郎 (palace gentleman) and *sanji changshi* 三騎常侍 (cavalier attendant-in-ordinary). See Cao Daoheng 曹道衡 and Shen Yucheng 沈玉成, *Zhonggu wenxue shiliao congkao* 中古文學史料叢考 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2000), p. 91.

⁶ See Yan Kejun 顏可均 (1762–1843), ed., *Quan shanggu sandai Qin Han Sanguo Liuchao wen* 全上古三代秦三國六朝文, sect. "Quan Sanguo wen" 全三國文 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1959) 30, pp. 1a–7b.

⁷ On the struggle between Sima Yi and Cao Shuang see Li Zhimin 李志民 and Liu Chunfan 柳春籥, "Guanyu Sima Yi Cao Shuang zhi zheng de pingjia wenti" 關於司馬懿曹爽之爭的評價問題, *Shixue jikan* 史學季刊 (1982.4), pp. 14–18; Meng Xiangcai 孟祥才, "Lun Cao Shuang zhi bai" 論曹爽之敗, *Shixue yuekan* 史學月刊 (2004.8), pp. 20–24; Howard L. Goodman, *Xun Xu and the Politics of Precision in Third-Century AD China* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 2010), chap. 2.

riod, Ying was appointed *zhangshi* 長史, or chief clerk, to Cao Shuang around 244.⁸ Although Ying Qu was a prominent member of the so-called Cao Shuang clique, he may not have been as ardent a supporter of Cao Shuang as He Yan and others. Thus, when Sima Yi staged a coup against Cao Shuang in 249, He Yan and most of the other supporters of Cao Shuang were all put to death. Ying Qu was not punished or even dismissed from office. In 250 he was even promoted to the relatively high post of *shizhong* 侍中, or palace attendant. Ying probably withdrew from court soon thereafter, living as a semi-recluse in the countryside. When Ying Qu died in 252, he was given the posthumous title of *weiwei* 衛尉 or chief minister for the Palace Garrison. If Ying had been an enthusiastic supporter of Cao Shuang, he would hardly have been honored in this fashion so soon after the bloody palace coup that toppled Cao Shuang in 249.

I will translate and discuss Ying Qu's "Bai yi" poem contained in *Wen xuan* at the end of this article. I shall first say something about the title "Bai yi" and the history of the poems attributed to Ying Qu.

As for the title, Li Shan 李善 (d. 689) in his *Wen xuan* commentary records four explanations of "Bai yi."⁹

1. *Chu guo xianxian zhuan* 楚國先賢傳 (*Biographies of Former Worthies of Chu*) by Zhang Fangxian 張方賢 (Western Jin) says: "Ying Xiulian [= Ying Qu] of Runan composed 101 poems that severely criticized contemporary affairs. When he showed the poems around to those who were in position, they were all shocked and stunned. Some of them thought that Ying Qu should burn them and throw them away. He Yan was the only one who did not find them shocking." 張方賢楚國先賢傳曰: 汝南應休璉作百一篇詩, 譏切時事, 徧以示在事 [一作位]者, 咸皆怪愕, 或以爲應焚棄之, 何晏獨無怪也。

2. *Hanlin lun* 翰林論 (*Disquisitions from the Grove of Writings*) of Li Chong 李充 (fl. 323) says: "Ying Xiulian's one hundred and several tens of pentasyllabic poems use veiled criticism to teach the way of proper governance. He probably had the same aim as the poets of the *Classic of Songs*." 李充翰林論曰: 應休璉五言詩百數十篇, 以風規治道, 蓋有詩人之旨焉。

3. *Jin yangqiu* 晉陽秋 (*Annals of Jin*) by Sun Sheng 孫盛 (ca. 302-373) says: "Ying Qu composed 130 pentasyllabic poems. Where the poems speak of contemporary affairs they offer considerable benefit and improvement. Most of them have been circulated through

⁸ See Lu, *Zhonggu wenxue xinian*, p. 539.

⁹ See *Wen xuan* 21, p. 1015.

the ages.” 又孫盛晉陽秋曰：應璩作五言詩百三十篇，言時事頗有補益，世多傳之。

4. *Jin shu qi zhi* 今書七志 says: *The Collected Works of Ying Qu* calls them ‘new poems.’ Each poem consists of one hundred words. Some have called them ‘Bai yi shi.’ 今書七志曰：應璩集謂之新詩，以百言爲一篇，或謂之百一詩。

Li Shan cites these sources in roughly chronological order. The first source, *Chu guo xianxian zhuan*, is a collection of biographies of notable people from the area designated in the pre-Qin era as the state of Chu. It covers the period from the Chunqiu through the early Western Jin. Although Li Shan gives the author’s name as Zhang Fangxian, the work more likely was compiled by Zhang Fu 張輔 (d. 305), a native of Nanyang and a descendant of the famous Han scholar-poet Zhang Heng 張衡 (78–139).¹⁰ Zhang Fu lived very close in time to Ying Qu, who died in 252. His explanation of the title “Bai yi” as designating the number of poems in the set could not be more straightforward. He also tells us that the poems concerned current political affairs. Although he does not specify when Ying Qu composed the poems, because of his mention of He Yan, one can assume that Zhang Fu is referring to the Zhengshi 正始 period (240–248) when Ying Qu served on the staff of Cao Shuang.

The second source that Li Shan cites is *Hanlin lun*, by the Eastern Jin scholar Li Chong. This is a famous and influential work of literary criticism. However, only fragments of the work now survive.¹¹ Li Chong is less precise than Zhang Fu in explaining the title. He merely says that the work contained one hundred and several tens of poems. It is not clear whether he meant this as an explanation of “Bai yi.” I learned long ago that one should not be overly punctilious when counting numbers of pieces in a set of classical Chinese poems. It is possible that 101 or 100 and several tens are only vague approximations of the actual number of poems in the set. Li Chong’s final comment that the poems have the same aim as those of the *Shi jing* indicates that he, like Zhang Fu, considered that Ying Qu’s poems had a political purpose.

¹⁰ See Shu Fen 舒焚, ed. and comm., *Chu guo xianxian zhuan jiaozhu* 楚國先賢傳校注 (Wuhan: Hubei renmin chubanshe, 1986), p. 6.

¹¹ See Xu Wenyu 許文雨, *Wen lun jiangshu* 文論講疏 (Nanjing: Zhengzhong shuju, 1937), pp. 59–65; Mu Kehong 穆克宏 and Guo Dan 郭丹, eds., *Wei Jin Nanbeichaohao wenlun quanbian* 魏晉南北朝文論全編 (Nanjing: Jiangsu jiaoyu chubanshe, 1996), pp. 100–2. For studies of this work see: Toda Kōgyō 戸田浩暁, “Ri Chū no Kanrinron ni tsuite” 李充翰林論について, *Daitō bunka* 大東文化 16 (July 1937), pp. 78–85; Funazu Tomihiko 船津富彦, “Ri Chū no Kanrinron ni tsuite” 李充翰林論について, in *Uchino hakase kanreki kinen Tōyōgaku ronshū* 内野博士還曆紀念東洋學論集 (Tokyo: Kan Gi bunka kenkyūkai, 1964), pp. 217–33.

The next source Li Shan cites is an important source on Jin dynasty history, *Jin yangqiu*, compiled by Sun Sheng, a leading scholar of the Eastern Jin.¹² I am not sure why Sun Sheng refers to Ying Qu's poems in this work, for Ying died long before the founding of the Western Jin. Whatever the reason for his inclusion in Sun's history, we see that the number of poems in the "Bai yi" set has grown to 130. As in the two preceding accounts, the poems purport to have a monitory function.

The final source cited by Li Shan is a now lost book catalogue, the *Jin shu qi zhi*, which means something like *Seven-part Treatise on Recent Books*. It is one of the most important book catalogues of the late Southern Dynasties. It was compiled in the Liu-Song period by the distinguished scholar Wang Jian 王儉 (452-489).¹³ This was a huge catalogue consisting of seventy *juan* and containing detailed notes on 15,754 *juan* of books.¹⁴ Wang Jian provides a new explanation of the title of "Bai yi." He first mentions that in Ying Qu's collection the poems are called *xin shi* 新詩 or "new poems." I will return to the significance of the designation "new poems" at the end of this article. Wang also notes, almost as an aside, that the alternate name for the set is "Bai yi." Wang then says that each poem consists of one hundred characters. The most significant piece of information we obtain from the inclusion of Ying Qu's poems in Wang Jian's catalogue is that it likely indicates that Wang had access to an independent collection of the "Bai yi" poems. I will return to this point in a moment.

Li Shan does not accept any of these explanations. He first notes the inconsistency in the number of poems contained in the set of poems. He also does not find credible Wang Jian's claim that Ying Qu gave the poems the title "101" because each poem contains one hundred characters.

¹² On Sun Sheng, see Li Yingke 李穎科, "Sun Sheng shixue chutan" 孫盛史學初探, *Xibei daxue xuebao* 西北大學學報 (Zhexue shehui kexue ban) (1984.4), pp. 65-72; Jao Tsung-i 饒宗頤, "Dunhuang yu Tulufan xieben Sun Sheng Jin Chunqiu ji qi 'chuan zhi waiguo' kao" 敦煌與吐魯番寫本孫盛晉春秋及其"傳之外國"考, *Hanxue yanjiu* 漢學研究 4.2 (1986), pp. 1-8; Qiao Zhizhong 喬治中, "Sun Sheng shixue fawei" 孫盛史學發微, *Shixue shi yanjiu* 史學史研究 (1995.4), pp. 32-40; Zhang Siqi 張思齊, *Liuchao sanwen bijiao yanjiu* 六朝散文比較研究 (Taipei: Wenjin chubanshe, 1997), pp. 221-34; Cao Daoheng and Shen Yucheng, *Zhonggu wenxue shiliao congkao*, pp. 188-90; Hao Runhua 郝潤華, *Liuchao shiji yu shixue* 六朝史籍與史學 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2005), pp. 108-9; Wang Jianguo 王健國, "Sun Sheng ruogan shengping shiji ji zhushu kao bian" 孫盛若干生平事迹及著述考辨, *Luoyang shifan xueyuan xuebao* 洛陽師範學院學報 (2006.3), pp. 71-73.

¹³ Wang Jian probably presented his catalogue to the emperor in 473. See Cao Daoheng and Liu Yuejin 劉躍進, *Nanbeichao wenxue biannian shi* 南北朝文學編年史 (Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 2000), p. 215; Cao and Shen, *Zhonggu wenxue*, pp. 381-82; Xia Dongmei 夏冬梅, "Wang Jian nianpu" 王儉年譜, *Yibin xueyuan xuebao* 宜賓學院學報 (2005.2), p. 75.

¹⁴ See *Sui shu* 隋書 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1973; hereafter, *SS*) 32, p. 906; 33, p. 991.

Li Shan then cites what he calls the preface to the “Bai yi” poems to give what he considers the definitive explanation of “Bai yi.”¹⁵ This reads in part: “At that time [Ying Qu] said to Cao Shuang, ‘Your excellency recently has heard mention of the lofty grandeur of the Duke of Zhou. Don’t you know that out of a hundred plans, there can be one error?’” 據百一詩序云: 時謂曹爽曰: 公今聞周公巍巍之稱, 安知百慮有一失乎? Li Shan then concludes that the title “probably originated with this 蓋興於此也.” Thus, according to Li Shan, “Bai yi” means “One of a Hundred.” The phrase 百慮有一失 probably is related to the more familiar phrase 千慮一失, which means even for a clever person “out of a thousand plans there can be one error.”¹⁶ However, it is not clear how “one error out of hundred” makes sense as the title of a series of poems. The Tang *Wen xuan* commentator Lü Xiang 呂向 (fl. 723) construes the phrase somewhat differently: “In my opinion this means that one part out of one hundred offers a remedy for the government of the time 百分有一補於時政.”¹⁷ In this sense, *baiyi* could mean “admonition.” Indeed, as we shall see many of the “Bai yi” poems are monitory verses.

In my view, all one learns from Li Shan’s recitation of the interpretations of “Bai yi,” including the one that he accepts, is that there is no definitive explanation of what *baiyi* means. However, what all of the accounts make clear is that the “Bai yi” poems contain political and moral messages.

TRANSMISSION HISTORY OF THE POEMS

One important piece of information that Li Shan provides concerns the history of the transmission of Ying Qu’s poems. First, he refers to a collection of Ying Qu’s works. There were several collections of Ying Qu’s works from which Li Shan could have cited. In the bibliography chapter of *Sui shu* there is a ten-juan collection of his writings titled *Wei Weiqing Ying Qu ji* 魏衛卿應璩集 (*Collected Works of Ying Qu, Chief Minister for the Palace Garrison*).¹⁸ This must have been compiled after Ying Qu’s death, for it refers to Ying Qu by his posthumous title, chief minister for the Palace Garrison. The same *Sui shu* chapter also lists an eight-juan collection titled *Bai yi shi*, with commentary by Ying Qu’s son, Ying Zhen 應貞 (d. 269), who was also a famous writer.¹⁹

¹⁵ We do not know who the author is. Xu Gongchi 徐公持, a leading expert on Wei-Jin literature, thinks it probably is not by Ying Qu, but a later compiler of Ying Qu’s poems; *Wei Jin wenxue shi* 魏晉文學史 (Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 1999), p. 162.

¹⁶ The *locus classicus* for this phrase is *Yanzi chungqiu* 晏子春秋 (SBBY edn.) 6, p. 7b.

¹⁷ *Liuchen zhu Wen xuan* 六臣注文選 (SBCK edn.) 21, p. 26a.

¹⁸ *SS* 35, p. 1060.

¹⁹ *SS* 35, p. 1084.

Ying Zhen's commentary does not survive. However, I have located what I suspect to be a fragment of Ying's commentary in the Song-dynasty compendium *Taiping yulan* 太平御覽.²⁰ The "Bai yi" collection seems to have survived as late as the Northern Song, for it is cited in the bibliography monograph of *Xin Tang shu*.²¹ Given the size of Ying Qu's collection – eight *juan* – the claim that the collection contained as many as 130 poems is quite credible.

With the disappearance of Ying Qu's collection, probably in the late Northern Song or early Southern Song, most of the poems seem to have been known only in fragments. I conclude that the collection no longer was extant by the Southern Song based on Southern Song references to Ying Qu's poems. The first is a summary of five of the poems that is found in two early Southern Song *shihua* 詩話. The most commonly cited version is from *Yunyu yangqiu* 韻語陽秋 by Ge Lifang 葛立方 (d. 1164).²² Ge Lifang completed this work in 1163, one year before he died.²³ However, I have discovered that the remarks about Ying Qu's poems are not by Ge Lifang, but rather by his more famous father, Ge Shengzhong 葛勝仲 (1072–1144).²⁴

Ge Shengzhong begins by citing the account from *Chu guo xianxian zhuan*, which claims that Ying Qu wrote the "Bai yi" poems to criticize contemporary affairs. He then remarks that *Wen xuan* includes only one of these poems, and in the author's opinion, this piece "hardly touches upon contemporary affairs 略不及時事." How could this be 何耶? Ge then notes that he had seen five of the "Bai yi" poems in a collection titled *Zati shi* 雜體詩 (*Poems in Diverse Style*) compiled by Guo Maoqian

²⁰ See *Taiping yulan* (SKQS edn.; hereafter, *TPYL*) 739, pp. 11b–12a: 應璩新論曰：漢末桓帝時，郎有馬子侯。自謂識音律，請客鳴笙竽。爲作陌上桑，乃言鳳將雛。左右僞稱善，亦復自搖頭。馬子侯爲人頗癡，自謂曉音律。黃門樂人更往啜語，子侯不知，名陌上桑反言屬鳳將雛，輒搖頭欣喜，多賜左右錢帛，無復慚色。 The portion in small characters may be remnants of Ying Zhen's commentary.

²¹ See the listing in *Xin Tang shu* 新唐書 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1975) 60, p. 1620.

²² See *Yunyu yangqiu* (SKQS edn.), "Hou ji," j. 4, pp. 2b–3b (1479–104); and Wu Wenzhi 吳文治, ed.-in-chief, *Song shihua quanbian* 宋詩話全編 (Nanjing: Jiangsu guji chubanshe, 1998), p. 8224. On *Yunyu yangqiu* see Wu Shanhui 吳善輝, "Songchao shihua hongpian, shi lun Ge Lifang de *Yunyu yangqiu*" 宋朝詩話鴻篇，試論葛立方的韻語陽秋, *Shehui kexuejia* 社會科學家 (1990.6), pp. 78–84; Wu Shanhui, "Shi ping *Yunyu yangqiu*" 試評韻語陽秋, *Guangxi shiyuan xuebao* 廣西師院學報 (Zhhexue shehui kexue ban) (1998.3), pp. 68–62.

²³ Guo Shaoyu 郭紹虞, *Song shihua kao* 宋詩話考 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1979), p. 75.

²⁴ The *Yunyu yangqiu* entry cites as its source *Danyang ji* 丹陽集, the collected works of Ge Shengzhong 葛勝仲 (1072–1144), the father of Ge Lifang. In the received version of *Danyang ji*, a 24-j. work extracted from *Yongle dadian*, this passage is not found. However, according to *Siku tiyao* 四庫提要, *Danyang ji* was originally a much larger collection of 80 j. plus a 20-j. supplement; see *Danyang ji* (SKQS edn.), "Tiyao" 提要, pp. 1a–b. Thus, it is quite likely that the remarks about Ying Qu's poems commonly attributed to Ge Lifang were actually by Ge Shengzhong.

郭茂倩 (fl. 1084–1126). Guo Maoqian is best known as the compiler of the collection of *yuefu* titled *Yuefu shiji* 樂府詩集. His precise dates are not known, but he must have been a contemporary of Ge Shengzhong. I can find no information about Guo Maoqian's *Zati shi* collection. It seems not to have survived past the Song dynasty. Perhaps it was never printed.

Ge then gives an account of each of the five poems preserved in *Zati shi*. Three of them can be identified with received texts, or fragments of received texts, of Ying Qu's poems. One is the "Bai yi shi" selected in *Wen xuan*; a second piece tells of a man of the Eastern Han named Ma Zihou 馬子侯 who claimed to be an expert on music, but could not tell the difference between two well-known tunes; a third poem is written in the persona of an old man, who, anticipating the eve of his life, consoles himself with a flagon of wine. Here are these two poems. The first is the poem mocking the inept music expert:²⁵

漢末桓帝時	At the end of Han during the reign of Emperor Huan,
郎有馬子侯	There was a court gentleman named Ma Zihou.
自謂識音律	He considered himself an expert on music,
請客鳴笙竽	And invited a guest to play the pipes.
爲作陌上桑	He performed "Mulberries by the Path,"
乃言鳳將雛	But Ma called it "The Phoenix and Her Chicks."
左右僞稱善	When the guests pretended to praise him,
亦復自搖頭	He for his part also wagged his head.

The second poem reads:²⁶

年命在桑榆	My years are at the stage of mulberry and elm;
東岳與我期	I have an appointment at the Eastern Marchmount.
長短有常會	Whether long or short, life has a constant fate;
遲速不得辭	Whether slow or fast, it cannot be avoided.
斗酒當爲樂	With a flagon of wine I should make my pleasure;
無爲待來茲	I must not wait for the coming years.

In line 1 of the second poem, the "stage of mulberry and elm" is evening. Here it represents old age. There are two explanations for this expression. One is that mulberry and elm are the names of two stars between which the sun was thought to set. The other explanation is that in the evening the last rays of the sun could be seen on the tops of mulberry and elm trees. In line 2, the Eastern Marchmount is

²⁵ A text of this poem is also found in *TPYL* 739, pp. 11b–12a. For another translation see Lin, "Rediscovering Ying Qu," p. 47.

²⁶ A text of this poem is also found in Ouyang Xun 歐陽詢 (557–641), ed., *Yiwen leiju* 藝文類聚 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1965; hereafter, *YWLJ*) 24, p. 430.

Mount Tai, which was thought to be the place where a person's soul traveled after death.

Two of the pieces Ge Shengzhong mentions are now lost. One is a poem that tells of two old men from Yisang 翳桑 who did not have the resources to bury their wives. The poet regrets that he lacked the virtue of Xuanmeng 宣孟 and was unable to help them in their time of need. This poem obviously alludes to the famous *Zuo zhuan* story of Zhao Dun 趙盾, also known as Xuanmeng, who gave food to a starving man whom he met while spending the night at Yisang.²⁷ Ge does not cite any lines for this poem and only gives a paraphrase.

For the second lost poem, Ge Shengzhong actually quotes four lines:

苟欲娛耳目	I simply wish to gladden my eyes and ears.
快心樂腹腸	I am content to delight my stomach.
我躬不悅懼	Even though I am not liked,
安能慮死亡	How can I worry about death?

He speculates that this is an example of one of the political poems that Ying Qu's contemporaries urged him to burn. However, because he only quotes four lines, it is impossible to determine what the political content of this poem might have been.

The second Southern Song work that refers to the Ying Qu "Bai yi" poems is *Yeke congshu* 野客叢書 by Wang Mao 王楙 (1151-1213).²⁸ Wang has a long note in which he discusses the various interpretations of "Bai yi." Like Ge Shengzhong, he refers to the five poems included in Guo Maoqian's *Zati shi*. However, he does not give an account of their content.

Another Song-era *shihua* cites two more of Ying Qu's poems. This is *Pan Zizhen shihua* 潘子真詩話 by Pan Chun 潘淳 (fl. 1110), who lived in the late Northern Song. Pan Chun mentions that the texts of these pieces found in two Tang sources, Wu Jing's 吳兢 (670-749) *Gu yuefu* 古樂府 and *Yiwen lei ju* 藝文類聚 (624), were incomplete. However, he obtained complete texts from a man named Yan 晏 who was a native of Linzi 臨淄 in Shandong.²⁹ The first piece reads:³⁰

古有行人	Of old there was a man traveling the road;
2 陌上見三叟	On a path he saw three old men.
年各百餘歲	Each was over a hundred years old;

²⁷ See *Zuo zhuan*, Xuan 2. For a translation, see Burton Watson, *The I Chuan: Selections from China's Oldest Narrative History* (New York: Columbia U.P., 1989), p. 78.

²⁸ See *Yeke congshu*, Wang Wenjin 王文錦, punct. and coll. (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1987) 27, pp. 312-13.

²⁹ See Wu, ed., *Song shihua quanzhen*, pp. 672-73.

³⁰ *TPYL* quotes these lines twice (383, pp. 18a-b; 764, p. 7a.)

- 4 相與鋤禾莠 And together they hoed weeds in the grain.
住車問三叟 He stopped his cart and asked them,
6 何以得此壽 “How did you reach this old age?”
上叟前致辭 The first oldest came forward and said,
8 室內嫗貌醜 “At home I have an ugly wife.”
中叟前致辭 The second oldest came forward and said,
10 量腹節所受 “For my stomach I limit what it receives.”
下叟前致辭 The third oldest came forward and said,
12 夜臥不覆首 “When I sleep at night I do not cover my head.”
要哉三叟言 Of import indeed the words of the three old men!
14 所以能長久 For by this means can one live long.

In the second poem, the author humorously pokes fun at the loss of hair that has come with the onset of old age:³¹

- 少壯面目澤 When young I had glossy features,
長老顏色羸 Now that I am old, my appearance is ugly.
羸醜人所惡 Since ugliness is something other people detest,
拔白自洗蘇 I plucked out my white hairs to refresh and re-
store myself.
平生髮完全 All my life I have had a full head of hair;
變化似浮屠 Now transformed, I resemble a Buddha;
醉酒巾幘落 I get drunk and off falls my hat;
禿頂赤如壺 My bald head is red-naked as a pot.

It is clear from these *shihua* sources that by the late Northern Song or early Southern Song, the complete text of Ying Qu's poems had been lost. As far as I can tell, there does not seem to have been any further attempt to collect Ying Qu's poems until the Ming dynasty, when Feng Weine 馮惟訥 (1512–1572) compiled a comprehensive collection of pre-Tang poetry named *Gu shi ji* 古詩紀 in 156 *juan*.³² He includes a section on the poetry of Ying Qu. Under “Bai yi shi” he gives the texts of three poems. The first piece, and the only complete text, is the “Bai yi shi” contained in *Wen xuan*. The second piece actually is a conflation of two fragments: 1. the poem mentioned by Ge Shengzhong in which an old man, anticipating death, consoles himself with a flagon of wine;

³¹ *YWLJ* 18, p. 341, quotes the first four lines.

³² On *Gu shi ji*, see Suzuki Shūji 鈴木修次 and Ikkai Tomoyoshi 一海知義, “Fu Itotsu to sono *Shiki*” 馮惟訥とその詩紀, *Nihon Chūgoku gakkai hō* 日本中國學會報 12 (1960), pp. 70–91; Donald Holzman, “*Ku-shih chi*,” in William H. Nienhauser, Jr., ed., *Indiana Companion to Traditional Chinese Literature* (Bloomington: Indiana U.P., 1986), pp. 487–88; Liu Yuejin 劉躍進, *Zhonggu wenxue wenxian xue* 中古文學文獻學 (Nanjing: Jiangsu guji chubanshe, 1997), pp. 50–52; Li Qingli 李慶立 and Zhang Bingguo 張秉國, “*Gu shi ji kaolun*” 古詩紀考論, *Shaoguan xueyuan xuebao* 邵關學院學報 24.2 (2003), pp. 1–4.

and 2. a piece criticizing the extravagant building projects undertaken at the court. Here is the text as presented by Feng Weine:

- 年命在桑榆，
 2 東岳與我期。(之部)
 長短有常會，
 4 遲速不得辭。(之部)
 斗酒當爲樂，
 6 無爲待來茲。(之部)
 室廣致凝陰，
 8 臺高來積陽。(陽部)
 奈何季世人，
 10 侈靡在宮牆。(陽部)
 飾巧無窮極，
 12 土木被朱光。(陽部)
 徵求傾四海，
 14 雅意猶未康。(陽部)

There are several reasons why this cannot be a single poem. First, the rhyme changes beginning in the fourth couplet. Even *Wen xuan*'s complete "Bai yi" follows the same rhyme throughout the entire poem. All of the other poem fragments attributed to Ying Qu also use the same rhyme for the whole piece. Second, the subject changes with the change in rhyme. A tentative translation of lines 8 through 14 reads:

Broad chambers attract freezing yin;
 To tall towers comes gathering yang.
 The men of this decadent age – what to do about them?
 Their extravagance they lavish on palaces and walls.
 There is no end to ornament and craft;
 Earth and wood are covered in vermilion luster.
 They seek to deplete the realm within the four seas;
 The will to rectify is not yet restored.

The reason that Feng Weine mistook these two fragments for a single poem is that he was following the source from which he very likely took them. This is the Tang-dynasty compendium *Yiwen leiju* 藝文類聚, compiled at the early-Tang court under the direction of Ouyang Xun 歐陽詢 (557–641) and submitted to the throne in 624. Like most compendia, *Yiwen leiju* does not quote entire works, but gives only excerpts. In the category designated *feng* 諷, or "criticism," the lines from Ying Qu's "Bai yi" poem are cited, at least in the received version of *Yiwen leiju*, with no indication of a break between the two poems.³³ I think it is clear that Feng Weine uncritically copied what

³³ See *YWLJ* 24, p. 430. On *Yiwen leiju*, see Hu Daojing 胡道靜, *Zhongguo gudai de lei-*

he found in *Yiwen leiju*, and failed to notice that these are parts of two different poems.

The third piece that Feng Weine includes is a four-line fragment warning young men to be careful of the friends and teachers they choose to follow. This fragment also comes from another early-Tang *leishu*, *Chuxue ji* 初學記, which was presented to the throne in 729.³⁴

子弟可不慎	Cannot young men be nothing but careful?
慎在選師友	Their care must reside in selecting teachers and friends.
師友必良德	Teachers and friends must be of good virtue;
中才可進誘	Then even middling talent can be advanced and recruited.

In addition to the three poems Feng Weine places under the category of “Bai yi shi,” he includes three poems that he designates “Zashi 雜詩” (Unclassified Poems) and one poem about the three centenarians that we have already cited. Feng Weine indicates that he took two of these *zashi* from *Yiwen leiju*. The first is another monitory poem warning about the need to take precautions about future danger and disaster before it is too late:

細微可不慎	Of the infinitesimal one must be on guard;
隄潰自蟻穴	The collapse of a dike begins with an ant hole.
腠理早從事	If one early attends to the space between the skin and flesh,
安復勞鍼石	There will be no need to resort to metal or stone needles? ³⁵
5 哲人覩未形	The wise man see things before they take form;
愚夫闇明白	The stupid man is blind to the clear and obvious.
曲突不見賓	The one who advised bending the flue was not invited to the feast;
焦爛爲上客	Those who were charred and burned were received as honored guests.
思願獻良規	I wish to offer good counsel;

shu 中古代的類書 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1982), pp. 77–84; Guo Shaolin 郭紹林, “Ouyang Xun yu *Yiwen leiju*” 歐陽詢與藝文類聚, *Luoyang shizhuan xuebao* 洛陽師專學報 15.1 (1996), pp. 87–93.

³⁴ See Xu Jian 徐堅 (659–729) et al. ed., *Chuxue ji* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1962) 18, p. 433. On *Chuxue ji*, see Hu, *Zhongguo gudai de leishu*, pp. 94–102.

³⁵ The surface of the skin is where an illness first enters the body; see *Han Feizi* 韓非子, (SBBY edn.) 7, p. 3: “A good physician in treating an illness attacks it between the skin and the flesh. This is a situation in which one contends with something when it is small. Disaster and fortune in matters also have a correspondence with the space between the skin and the flesh. Thus, a sage attends to matters early.”

10 江海儻不逆 狂言雖寡善 猶有如雞跖 雞跖食不已 齊王爲肥澤	If only river and sea do not flow against me. Although outrageous words are rarely good, They still are something like chicken feet. Chicken feet were eaten without stop; And the king of Qi became fat and sleek.
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This poem is found in *Yiwen leiju*,³⁶ which places it in the “Jian jie 鑒誡,” or “guidance and warnings,” category. This is another indication that at least some of Ying Qu’s poems were considered to be monitory. The theme is a common one in early Chinese literature: disaster and destruction often result from a seemingly minor cause. Thus, Ying’s poem could be a warning to those in power not to be complacent about the security of their positions. One can only avoid future calamity by taking precautions at the very outset. That is the point of lines 7–8, in which Ying Qu alludes to a story about a man who stacked firewood next to a stove that had a straight flue. A visitor advised him to install a bent flue and move the firewood to a distant location. Otherwise, the house might catch fire. The host failed to follow the guest’s advice. Sometime later, the house did catch fire, but neighbors quickly came over to help put it out. The owner of the house then gave a feast for those who came to help put out the fire, placing those whose foreheads were charred and burned in the most honored place. He did not even invite the man who advised him to install a bent flue to the feast.³⁷ The last three lines are a reference to a king of Qi who could sate his appetite only after consuming several thousand chicken feet.³⁸ Although it is impossible to verify whether this was one of the poems Ying Qu intended as a warning to Cao Shuang, it would not be hard to read it as such.

The second of the poems that Feng Weine designates as *zashi* also comes from *Yiwen leiju*.³⁹ It reads like a *guan zhen* 官箴 or admonition to officials, which is technically a type of rhymed prose.⁴⁰ Here is one version of the piece in which Ying Qu enumerates the functions of various court officers.

³⁶ 23, p. 416.

³⁷ See *Han shu* 漢書 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1962) 68, pp. 2957–58.

³⁸ See Wang Liqi 王利器, ed. and comm., *Lüshi chunqiu zhushu* 呂氏春秋注疏 (Chengdu: Ba Shu shushe, 2002) 4, pp. 461–62.

³⁹ *YWLJ* 45, p. 798.

⁴⁰ On the *guan zhen* see Gao Chengyuan 高成元, “Guan zhen de yanjiu” 官箴的研究, *Tianjin shehui kexue* 天津社會科學 (1985.6), pp. 85–92; Shi Yunsheng 時運生, “Zhongguo gudai de weiguan zhi dao, gudai ‘guan zhen’ shu lun” 中國古代的爲官之道, 古代“官箴”述論, *Renwen zazhi* 人文雜誌 (1996.6), pp. 77–83; Ge Quan 葛荃, “Guan zhen lun lüe” 官箴論略, *Huaqiao daxue xuebao* 華僑大學學報 (Zhhexue shehui kexue ban) (1998.1), pp. 106–12.

散騎常師友	The cavalier attendant is a constant friend and attendant [of the ruler]
朝夕進規獻	From dawn to dusk he advances monitory offerings.
侍中王喉舌	The palace attendant is the throat and tongue of the king,
萬機無亂也	There is no disorder in the ten thousand critical matters.
尚書統庶事	The secretariat directs various matters,
官人秉法憲	Its officials manage laws and regulations.
彤管弭納言	The red brush is attached to the “conveyer of advice”;
貂璫表武弁	Sable and studs are the mark of the military bonnet.
出入承明廬	They exit and enter Chengming Lodge;
車服一何煥	Their carriages and raiment oh how brilliant!
三寺齊榮秩	The three bureaus are equal in honor and rank;
百僚所瞻願	They are the ones looked up to and admired by the centurial officers.

The third *zashi* consists of four lines from the humorous poem about the author’s bald head. However, he omits the lines about his appearance resembling the Buddha.

Feng Weine’s collection of Ying Qu’s poetry was far from complete. Thus, at the end of the Ming, the renowned scholar Zhang Pu 張溥 (1601–1641) in his *Han Wei Liuchao baisan jia ji* 漢魏六朝百三家集 added four more fragments of five lines each and the poem about the inept late-Han music expert that Feng Weine had neglected to include in *Gu shi ji*. He also included fragments of seven couplets.⁴¹ However, Zhang did not indicate the sources from which he collected this material.

In the twentieth century, Ding Fubao 丁福保 (1874–1952) edited a collection that he designated as the complete poetry of the Han, Three Kingdoms, Jin, and Nanbeichao poetry (*Quan Han Sanguo Jin Nanbeichao shi* 全漢三國晉南北朝詩). This was first printed in 1916. There have been numerous reprints of it since then, and for over half a century it was the standard collection of pre-Tang poetry. However, Ding’s collection is something of a fraud, for it is little more than a reprinting of Feng Weine’s *Gu shi ji* with only a few minor additions. Indeed, the section on Ying Qu in Ding Fubao’s collection simply reproduces *Gu shi ji*, including Feng Weine’s notes, all without any acknowledgment of the source or author.⁴²

⁴¹ See *Han Wei Liuchao baisanjia ji* (SKQS edn.) 33, pp. 13b–17b.

⁴² See Ding, *Quan Han Sanguo Jin Nanbeichao shi* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1959) 3, pp.

In the 1940s Lu Qinli 遼欽立 (1910–1973) began to prepare a new edition of *Gu shi ji*.⁴³ Over a twenty-year period, he went far beyond Feng's work, producing the most comprehensive collection of pre-Tang poetry that has been done to date, namely, *Xian Qin Han Wei Jin Nanbeichao shi* 先秦漢魏晉南北朝詩, published in three volumes in 1983 with an extensive index. Lu Qinli managed to collect a rather substantial corpus of Ying Qu's poems. Under the label "Bai yi" alone he includes twenty-five pieces.⁴⁴ Although many of the pieces are fragments, this is the most complete collection of Ying Qu's poetry. The sources upon which Lu Qinli draws are mainly *leishu*.

In addition to *Yiwen leiju* and *Chuxue ji*, which I have already mentioned, Ying Qu's poems, or at least portions of them, were cited extensively in two other *leishu*, *Bei tang shu chao* 北堂書鈔, compiled by Yu Shinan 虞世南 (558–638),⁴⁵ and *Taiping yulan* 太平御覽. The latter is a well-known Song-period compendium dating to about 982 and consisting of one thousand *juan*. The materials that it cites are mainly drawn from earlier *leishu*, most of which have not survived. On the other hand, *Taiping yulan* presumably preserves a substantial portion of the lost *leishu* of the Six Dynasties and Tang. Because of the large number of texts from which it cites, either directly or more commonly from earlier *leishu*, it is an important source for lost texts.⁴⁶

Although all *leishu* do not cite complete pieces, the citations of literature contained in *Beitang shuchao* and *Taiping yulan* are more abbreviated than the other *leishu* that I have mentioned earlier. In most cases, all they give is a couplet. However, even more revealing are the titles that they use for a number of the citations from Ying Qu's poems. There are several designations. A common one is *za shi* 雜詩 or "unclas-

197–98. For critical comments on this work see Cao Daoheng 曹道衡, "Xian Qin Han Wei Nanbeichao shi pingjie" 先秦漢魏晉南北朝詩評介, *Wenxue pinglun* 文學評論 (1984.4), pp. 130–31; and Liu, *Zhongguo wenxue wenxian xue*, pp. 71–72.

⁴³ For Lu Qinli's notes on *Gu shi ji*, see his "Gu shi ji buzhen xuli" 古詩紀補正敘例, *Lishi yuyan yanjiusuo jikan* 歷史語言研究所季刊 12 (1947), pp. 61–90; rpt. in Wu Yun 吳雲, ed., *Han Wei Liuchao wenxue lunji* 漢魏六朝文學論集 (Xi'an: Shaanxi renmin chubanshe, 1984), pp. 109–54.

⁴⁴ See Lu, *Xian Qin Han Wei Jin Nanbeichao shi* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1983), pp. 469–73.

⁴⁵ I cite the edition edited and printed in 1888 by Kong Guangtao 孔廣陶 (19th c.), who based himself on a Ming facsimile of a Song edition obtained by Sun Xingyan 孫星衍 (1743–1818). I use the following reprint: Taipei: Wenhai chubanshe, 1982. On *Beitang shuchao*, see Zhu Dayan 朱大巖, "Beitang shuchao xiao kao" 北堂書鈔小考, *Gansu shida xuebao* 甘肅師大學報 (Zhhexue shehui kexue ban) (1981.1), pp. 29–37; Hu, *Zhongguo gudai de leishu*, pp. 64–75.

⁴⁶ On *Taiping yulan* see John Winthrop Haeger, "The Significance of Confusion: The Origins of the *Tai-p'ing yü-lan*," *JAOS* 88.3 (1968), pp. 401–10; Hu, *Zhongguo gudai de leishu*, pp. 117–33.

sified poem,” which we have already encountered in Feng Weine’s collection. The more intriguing designation is *xin shi* 新詩 or “new poem.” I have already mentioned that according to the Liu-Song-era scholar Wang Jian, in the collection of the “Bai yi” poems that he saw in the fifth century, Ying Qu’s poems were called *xin shi*. There is abundant testimony to this title. For example, *Beitang shuchao* and *Taiping yulan* have numerous citations of Ying Qu’s poems in which the title is designated “new poem”; we encounter in *Beitang shuchao* the following: “Ying Qu’s ‘New Poem’ says 應璩新詩云”:

侍中王喉舌	The palace attendant is the throat and tongue of the king,
萬機無亂也	There is no disorder in the ten thousand critical matters. ⁴⁷

These lines taken out of context would not seem to have special significance. However, they are from the poem I translated just above that specified the duties of court officers, whose main responsibility is to admonish the ruler. The main argument of the poem is that the court, and by extension the state, is well ordered only when the ruler heeds the advice of forthright critics among whom presumably Ying Qu included himself.

Beitang shuchao also quotes this “New Poem” of Ying Qu:

平生居□郭	All my life I have dwelled in the ... outskirts;
寧丁憂貧賤	Lonely, I grieve for my poverty and low position.
出門見富貴	Going out the gate I see the rich and honorable;
... ..	[textual lacunae]
竈下發牛矢	The stove I stoke with cow manure;
甑中裝豆飯	The jar I fill with bean granules. ⁴⁸

This is a poem that echoes a theme that one finds in several of Ying Qu’s letters. In one letter Ying complains at some length about his poverty and even his lack of food. Here is a short excerpt: “The price of grain suddenly soared, and I requested some from nearby neighbors. Although each day I got several pecks, I did not have any firewood with which to cook it. Even when Meng Ke was in dire straits in Liang and Song, and Confucius was starving in Chen and Cai, their misery could not have been worse than this.”⁴⁹ In another letter he says: “I have encountered endless rain sent down by august heaven. My roof has become soaked and developed leaks, and my living quarters are

⁴⁷ *Beitang shuchao* 58, p. 1a. The *YWLJ* 45, p. 798, version of the second line reads “萬幾無不亂。”

⁴⁸ *Beitang shuchao* 144, p. 2a.

⁴⁹ See “Yu Dong Zhonglian shu” 與董仲連書, in *YWLJ* 35, p. 630.

sodden and have turned to mud. Firewood and kindling are all gone, and my old grain is used up.”⁵⁰

In the following lines of still another of Ying Shi’s “xinshi,” taken from *Taiping yulan*, Ying Qu criticizes the official in charge of the imperial kitchen who was selling food from the palace larder:

太官有餘廚	The Grand Provisioner has leftovers from the imperial kitchen;
大小無不賣	Whatever the amount he always sells them.
豈徒脯與糗	He not only sells dried meat and dried grain,
醯醢及鹽豉	But also vinegar and meat sauce, salt and fermented beans. ⁵¹

THE “NEW” CHARACTER OF THE POEMS

What could be the significance of designating Ying Qu’s poems as “new”? What is “new” about them? The answer to this question lies partly in what the extant poems and the fragments reveal. Most of these poems are poems with an “edge.” Although they are not full-fledged satires in the manner of Pope and Dryden, they do contain critical complaints about abuses in high places. The poems about luxurious living and extravagance would seem better to fit the era of emperor Ming, who even in his own time received severe criticism from some of his court officials for spending scarce state resources on constructing grand palaces and towers in Xuchang 許昌 and Luoyang. Around 232, the Jingfu dian 景福殿 or Hall of Great Blessings was completed in Xuchang at a cost of over eight million cash,⁵² and emperor Ming ordered court officials to compose *fu* commemorating the event. One of those who wrote a *fu* for this occasion was He Yan. His *fu* was even included in *Wen xuan*;⁵³ in fact, it is the only piece by He Yan in the entire anthology. In 235, emperor Ming ordered the construction of two large halls in Luoyang, Bright Sunshine Hall (Zhaoyang dian 昭陽殿) and the Hall of the Grand Ultimate (Tai ji dian 太極殿), as well as a viewing tower some hundred feet tall.⁵⁴ Several prominent court officials, including Chen Qun 陳羣 (d. 236), Yang Fu 楊阜 (fl. 230), Gaotang Long 高堂隆 (fl. 233–236), and Wang Su 王肅 (195–256) all

⁵⁰ See “Yu Wei Zhongjian shu” 與韋仲將書, *ibid.*

⁵¹ *TPYL* 828, p. 18b.

⁵² See Yang Shoujing 楊守敬 and Xiong Huizhen 熊慧貞, ed. and comm., *Duan Xizhong 斷熙仲*, punc. and coll., Chen Qiaoyi 陳橋驛, recoll., *Shui jing zhu shu* 水經注疏 (Nanjing: Jiangsu guji chubanshe, 1989) 22, p. 1850.

⁵³ See *Wen xuan* 11, pp. 522–38. For a translation, see David R. Knechtges, *Wen xuan or Selections of Refined Literature*, Volume Two: *Rhapsodies on Sacrifices, Hunting, Travel, Sight-seeing, Palaces and Halls, Rivers and Seas* (Princeton: Princeton U.P., 1987), pp. 279–304.

⁵⁴ See *SGZ* 3, p.104.

registered strong objections to these and other building projects.⁵⁵ As Xu Gongchi 徐公持 points out, certain phrases in Ying Qu's poem that criticizes the exhausting of resources on palaces resonate with phrases in the petitions of these court officials.⁵⁶

One of Ying Qu's *shi* fragments clearly pokes fun at the lack of qualifications of men seeking government office:

京師何續紛	In the capital, what hustle and bustle!
車馬相奔起	Chariots and horses race back and forth.
借問乃爾爲	I ask, "What are you doing?"
將欲要其仕	"We are seeking to enter official service."
孝廉經術通	The filial and pure must be versed in classical learning;
誰能應此舉	But who is fit to be selected for this degree? ⁵⁷

Here Ying comments on the system that was used from the early Han to recommend men for appointment to the imperial court. The local commandery authorities would recommend men designated as "filial and pure" to the central administration. Although facility in reading the classics presumably was a basic requirement, Ying wryly comments that the current candidates for office lack the requisite knowledge of classical learning.

We have already seen that all of the early sources that Li Shan cites claim that Ying Qu wrote a large number of poems in which he comments critically about contemporary affairs and men at court. Indeed, he had the reputation throughout the Six Dynasties period as the critical poet *par excellence*. His poems even served as models for poets who attempted to compose monitory or critical poems. One example of this occurs in the remote Di 狄 kingdom of Han 漢 in Sichuan. When the founding ruler, whose Chinese name is Li Shou 李壽 (300–343), established the Han kingdom in 338, he undertook lavish building projects to rival those of Shi Hu 石虎 (295–349) in Ye. When several court officials advised him to curtail his building projects and even renounce the imperial title, he had them executed. A scholar named Gong Zhuang 龔壯 (n.d.) wrote a set of seven poems in the persona of Ying Qu to

⁵⁵ For the petitions see *SGZ* 14, pp. 429–31 (Wang Su); 22, pp. 636–37 (Chen Qun); 25, pp. 704–5 (Yang Fu); and 25, p. 709 (Gaotang Long). For translations see Achilles Fang, trans. *The Chronicle of the Three Kingdoms, Chapters 69–78 from the Tzū chih t'ung chien of Ssü-ma Kuang (1019–1068)* (Cambridge: Harvard U.P., 1952) 1, pp. 466–80.

⁵⁶ See Xu, *Wei Jin wenxue shi*, pp. 162–64. Xu Gongchi suggests that Ying Qu's poems reflect two periods in Ying Qu's life: his middle years in which he wrote poems of political criticism, and the later years, when he composed more personal poems. However, it is impossible to assign specific dates to most if any of the poems. On the more personal aspects of Ying Qu's writings, especially in his letters, see Lin, "Rediscovering Ying Qu."

⁵⁷ *Beitang shuchao* 79, p. 2b.

criticize Li Shou's actions.⁵⁸ Although none of Gong Zhuang's poems survives, this is a clear example of someone using the style, and even the voice of Ying Qu, to write poems of political criticism.

One of the pieces designated "new poem (*xinshi*)" may indeed be a topical comment on a specific court policy, a ban on hunting and fishing that was instituted during the emperor Ming's reign. Although only four lines of this poem survive, in these lines Ying Qu warns of the consequences of not allowing the people to fish in the waters of the Luo River:

洛水禁罾罟	If nets are banned in the Luo River,
魚鱉不爲殖	Fish and turtles will not multiply.
空令自相啖	This only causes them to gobble each other up;
吏民不得食	And the people do not get to eat them. ⁵⁹

These lines resonate with an unintentionally humorous petition by Gao Rou 高柔 (d. 263) in which, like Ying Qu, he argues that by not allowing the hunting of deer, the deer population will be totally consumed by tigers, wolves, and foxes. Part of this petition reads:

Now the imperial preserve has an expanse of more than a thousand *li*. I have calculated that it roughly contains 600 hundred large and small tigers, 500 wolves, and 10,000 foxes. If every three days a large tiger eats one deer, in a year one tiger will eat 120 deer; this means that 600 tigers will eat 72,000 deer a year. If each day ten wolves eat one deer that means that 500 wolves will eat 18,000 deer a year. A newborn fawn cannot run well. If ten foxes eat one fawn a day within the period of a month until the fawns begin to run stronger, the 10,000 foxes will eat 30,000 young deer within the month.⁶⁰ In all, the number of deer eaten amounts to 120,000.⁶¹

Ying Qu's reputation as a poet who wrote poems of criticism continued through the Six Dynasties period. We have already seen that the Jin-dynasty scholar Li Chong singled out Ying Qu for his critical

⁵⁸ See *Jin shu* 晉書 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1974) 121, p. 3046, and *Wei shu* 魏書 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1974) 96, pp. 2111-12.

⁵⁹ *TPYL* 834, p. 16b.

⁶⁰ Pan Mei 潘眉 (1771-1841) explains that Gao Rou gives only a one-month total for the foxes because he must have assumed that after the fawns were a month old foxes were unable to catch them; Pan, *Sanguo zhi kaozheng* 三國志考證, in Xu Shu 徐蜀, ed., *Wei Jin Nanbeichao zhengshi dingbu wenxian huibian* 魏晉南北朝訂補文獻彙編 (Beijing: Beijing tushuguan chubanshe, 2004) 5, p. 9a (187).

⁶¹ See *SGZ* 24, p. 689; see also the translation by Fang, *Chronicle of the Three Kingdoms* 1, p. 489. However, Fang gives the total number of deer consumed as 1,200,000 instead of 120,000.

poems. An even earlier work that mentions Ying Qu and his poems is a ten-juan work by a near-contemporary of Ying Qu named Xun Xu 荀勗 (d. 289); Xun's work is titled *Wenzhang xulu* 文章敘錄 (*Catalogue of Writings*).⁶² Several recent scholars have argued this is a catalogue of the detailed reports on literary works included in Xun Xu's catalogue of the imperial collection that was called *Zhong jing xin bu* 中經新簿 (*New Catalogue of Palace Texts*).⁶³ The *Wenzhang xulu* is no longer extant, but its remarks on Ying Qu are cited in several sources. The most complete version says the following about Ying Qu's poems: "When Cao Shuang was in charge of the administration, he often violated the laws and regulations. Ying Qu composed poems to admonish him. Although his wording was rather pleasant and accommodating, most of the poems concerned important contemporary matters, and people of the time widely circulated them."⁶⁴

THE WEN XUAN "BAI YI" POEM

By the early-sixth century and the compilation of *Wen xuan*, there continued to be strong interest in Ying Qu's poems. Thus, the *Wen xuan* compilers selected one of his "Bai yi" poems for inclusion in the prestigious anthology. Ying Qu is also mentioned prominently in the two most important works of literary criticism of the sixth century, the *Shi pin* 詩品 of Zhong Rong 鍾嶸 (468–518) and Liu Xie's 劉勰 (ca. 465–ca. 521) *Wenxin diaolong* 文心雕龍. Ying Qu has a relatively high ranking in *Shi pin*: he is in the *zhong pin* 中品, or middle grade of the three-grade ranking system.⁶⁵ Zhong Rong also asserts that the poetry of Tao Qian 陶潛 (365?–427) "originates from Ying Qu."⁶⁶ Zhong Rong identifies the main purpose of Ying Qu's poems to have been the expression of

⁶² The work was also known as *Zazhuan wenzhang jia ji xu* 雜撰文章家集敘; see *SS* 33, p. 991.

⁶³ For a collection of its fragments, see Lu Xun 魯迅, *Zhongjia wenzhang jilu* 眾家文章紀錄, in *Lu Xun jilu jigou congbian* 魯迅輯錄古籍叢編 (Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 1999) 3, pp. 411–17. On the nature of this work see Zhao Wangqin 趙望秦, "Xun Xu *Zhong jing xin bu* shi you xulu de" 荀勗中經新簿是有敘錄的, *Zhongguo dianji yu wenhua* 中國典籍與文化 (2004.4), pp. 10–15; Chen Jun 陳君, "Xi Jin Xun 'Lu' yu Han Wei yuefu" 西晉荀勗與漢魏樂府, *Yuefu xue* 樂府學 2 (2007), pp. 71–72. For a different view of the nature of this work see Goodman, *Xun Xu and the Politics of Precision*, chap. 6.

⁶⁴ *SGZ* 21, p. 604.

⁶⁵ See Cao Xu 曹旭, comm., *Shi pin jizhu* 詩品集注 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1994), p. 231.

⁶⁶ See Cao, *Shi pin jizhu*, p. 260. This claim by Zhong Rong has been a controversial issue since the Song dynasty. The more important recent scholarly works on it include: Wang Shumin 王叔岷, "Lun Zhong Rong ping Tao Yuanming shi" 論鍾嶸平陶淵明詩, in Wang Shumin, *Tao Yuanming shi jianzheng gao* 陶淵明詩箋證稿 (Taipei: Yiwen yinshuguan, 1975), pp. 527–38; Wang Yunxi 王運熙, "Zhong Rong *Shi pin* Tao shi yuanchu Ying Qu jie" 鍾嶸詩品陶

criticism. He says: “In addressing matters he is earnest and sincere, and his corrective intent is very strong. He has attained the purpose of intense criticism of the poets of the *Classic of Songs*” 指事殷勤，雅意深篤，得詩人激刺之旨焉。⁶⁷ Liu Xie singles out Ying Qu for fearlessness, independence, and the ability to convey criticism through suggestion and indirection: “In his ‘Bai yi’ poems, Ying Qu is independent and fearless. His wording is subtle but his message provides a guide for correction” 據百一獨立不懼，辭譎義貞。⁶⁸

Another indirect sixth-century testimony to Ying Qu’s poems is a poem by the late-Six Dynasties poet He Xun 何遜 (ca. 467–519; alt. ca. 480–518) titled “Liao zuo ‘Bai yi’ ti” 聊作百一體, or “Casually Written in the ‘Bai yi’ Form.”⁶⁹ The title is interesting, for it shows that by He Xun’s period ‘Bai yi’ was an established poetic form. In his poem, He Xun complains about his own poverty and lack of recognition. We have seen that this was a theme of several of Ying Qu’s poems.

Regrettably, we have no other examples of imitations of the “Bai yi” form. The most famous set of imitation pieces of this period by Jiang Yan 江淹 (444–505), who wrote thirty poems replicating the style of earlier poets, does not contain an imitation of Ying Qu.

To come back to the question I raised earlier: what is new about the Ying Qu poems? The answer is that the “Bai yi” poems, or whatever their correct title is, are the first group of poems of criticism in the pentasyllabic form. Although there are examples of critical and satirical poems in the tetrasyllabic pattern that are earlier than Ying Qu’s poems,⁷⁰ Ying Qu seems to be the first poet to write an entire set of pentasyllabic poems that convey political criticism. Although it is

詩源出應璩解, *Wenxue pinglun* (1980.5), pp. 135–38; rpt. in Wang Yunxi, *Han Wei Liuchao Tangdai wenxue luncong* 漢魏六朝唐代文學論叢 (Zengbu 增補 edn.) (Shanghai: Fudan daxue chubanshe, 2002), pp. 39–46; Yuan Xingpei 袁行沛, “Zhong Rong *Shi pin* Tao shi yuanchu Ying Qu shuo bianxi” 鍾嶸詩品陶詩源出應璩說辨析, in Yuan Xingpei, *Tao Yuanming yanjiu* 陶淵明研究 (Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe, 1997), pp. 136–61; Wendy Swartz, *Reading Tao Yuanming: Shifting Paradigms of Historical Reception* (427–1900) (Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Center, 2008), pp. 152–54.

⁶⁷ For other translations of this passage see John Timothy Wixted, “The Literary Criticism of Yuan Hao-wen, (1190–1257),” D. Phil. diss. (Oxford University, 1976), p. 481; and Bernhard Führer, *Chinas erste Poetik: Das Shipin (Kriterion Poietikon) des Zhong Hong* (Dortmund: Project Verlag, 1995), p. 305.

⁶⁸ See *Wenxin diaolong* (SBBY edn.) 2, p. 2b.

⁶⁹ See *He Xun ji* 何遜集 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1980) 2, p. 27. For commentary, see Liu Chang 劉暢, ed. and comm., *He Xun ji zhu* 何遜集注 (Tianjin: Tianjin guji chubanshe, 1988), pp. 76–78; and Li Boqi 李伯奇, ed. and comm., *He Xun ji jiao zhu* 何遜集校注 (Ji’nan: Qi Lu shushe, 1988), pp. 234–36.

⁷⁰ The best examples are the Western Han tetrasyllabic monitory verses attributed to Wei Meng 韋孟 (fl. early 2d c. bc) and Wei Xuancheng 韋玄成 (d. 36 bc). For a detailed study of

difficult to assign precise dates to any of his pieces, Ying Qu's poems are very likely earlier than the set of "Yong huai" poems by his more famous contemporary Ruan Ji 阮籍 (210–263). Nearly everyone agrees that Ruan Ji's poems were directed at contemporary political affairs, most likely in the period after Sima Yi overthrew Cao Shuang, but like Ying Qu's pieces, the topical references, if there are any, are virtually impossible to uncover today.

I will now turn to Ying Qu's poem that is preserved in *Wen xuan*. I have mentioned that all of the Song critics who referred to the *Wen xuan* "Bai yi" poem complain that the poem does not contain the critical quality that Ying Qu's poems reputedly had. If that is the case, why did the compilers include it in their anthology as the only representative of Ying Qu's large corpus? If we examine the poem more closely, I believe it is possible to see that the poem is not as different from the other poems as the Song critics have claimed.

下流不可處	In the lower stream one must not dwell,
君子慎厥初	The gentleman must be cautious from the very first.
名高不宿著	If high repute cannot be held for long,
易用受侵誣	One easily becomes subject to intimidation and slander.
前者隳官去	Some time ago I was dismissed from office;
有人適我閭	And a man came to my village.
田家無所有	Our farmstead had nothing to offer him;
酌醴焚枯魚	I poured him day-old wine and cooked a dried fish.
問我何功德	He asked me: "What merit and virtue did you have
三入承明廬	In order thrice to enter Chengming Lodge.
所占於此土	This place where you have chosen to live,
是謂仁智居	Is it an abode of benevolence and wisdom?
文章不經國	Your writing does not help manage the state;
筐篋無尺書	And your baskets contain no official letters.
用等稱才學	What talent and learning do you have
往往見歎譽	That everywhere you are praised and acclaimed?"
避席跪自陳	I retreated from the mat, knelt down, and said:
賤子實空虛	"In truth this humble person enjoys empty fame.
宋人遇周客	The man of Song met a stranger from Zhou,
慙愧靡所如	He was ashamed and did not know where to go."

these pieces see David Zebulon Raft, "Four-syllable Verse in Medieval China," Ph.D. diss. (Harvard University, 2007), pp. 33–143.

Above, in line 1, we have an allusion to *Lun yu* XIX/20: “The iniquities of Zhou (the last ruler of the Xia) were not as bad as that. Thus, the gentleman abhors dwelling in the lower stream, for all the evils of the world flow down upon him.” For line 12, see *Lun yu* VI/23: “The man of wisdom delights in water; the man of benevolence delights in mountains.” This is a way of saying that his abode was located by waters and mountains.

The framework of the poem is rather striking. We have a man who had once held high office, but is now living in a country village. He receives a visitor, who suggests that his host did not deserve the high court offices he held, nor did he contribute anything even in his writings to help govern the state. This seems to be a direct comment on the famous statement by Cao Pi that the purpose of writing was to help manage the state.⁷¹ Instead of defending himself, the retired official simply acknowledges that the visitor’s criticisms are correct. This framework is unusual in the *shi*, but is common in the *fu*. There is actually a sub-genre of the *fu* known as the *she lun* 設論, or “hypothetical discourse,” that follows a similar pattern. The *she lun* are all autobiographical pieces in which the author, who is usually out of office or holds an obscure position at court, receives a visitor who faults him for his lack of success.⁷² Unlike Ying Qu’s poem, in the hypothetical discourses the victim of the verbal assault vigorously defends himself. Nevertheless, the *she lun* authors do engage in a good amount of self-denigration. And that is what Ying Qu does in this poem to great effect.

Ying Qu includes only one autobiographical detail in this poem. In line 10 he tells us that he lived three times in Chengming Lodge 承明廬, a place where court officials resided when on duty in the capital of Luoyang. According to Li Shan, Ying Qu served in three positions that would have allowed him entrée to Chengming Lodge.⁷³ We also know that Ying Qu was out of office for a long period, especially during the reign of emperor Ming. One finds a number of statements in his letters in which he complains about his poverty and humble status. Ying Qu hints that he had lost his position because he had been the victim of

⁷¹ See Cao Pi’s “Lun wen” 論文, in which he says “writing is the great task for managing the state 文章，經國之大業”; *Wen xuan* 52, p. 2271.

⁷² The authoritative study of the *shelun* is that of Dominic Declerq, *Writing against the State: Political Rhetorics in Third and Fourth Century China* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1998).

⁷³ Li Shan (*Wen xuan* 21, p. 1016) cites Lu Ji’s 陸機 (261–303) *Luoyang ji* 洛陽記, which says that beginning in the reign of emperor Ming of the Wei, officials entered Jianshi 建始 Hall through Chengming 承明 Gate. Chengming Lodge, where court officials resided when on duty, was located beside this gate. According to Li Shan, Ying Qu’s three positions at the court were attendant gentleman, attendant-in-ordinary, and palace attendant.

slander at court. Thus, it is quite possible that the self-disparagement is an ironic pose in which he uses the guise of self-denigration to gain sympathy for his plight.

My suspicion on this count can be confirmed by considering the final couplet, above. It is an allusion to a story from an obscure Zhou work named *Quezi* 闕子, which exists only in fragments.⁷⁴ In fact, one of the fragments has been gathered from Li Shan's quotation of it in his commentary to the couplet in question.⁷⁵ In Li Shan's version, the story of the man of Song reads:

A foolish man from Song found a Yan stone beside Wu Terrace.⁷⁶ He stored it away as a great treasure. A guest from Zhou heard about and went to see it. The host fasted for seven days, donned a formal cap and black robe in order to take out the treasure. He had it in a leather box with ten layers, and covered in ten folds of a cloth. Upon seeing it, the guest lowered his head, covered his mouth, and laughed in his throat and said, "This is only a Yan stone. It is no different from a tile." The host was very angry and said, "These are the words of a merchant, the mind of a physician and artisan." He then stored it even more securely, and guarded it even more carefully. 宋之愚人，得燕石於梧臺之側，藏之以爲大寶。周客聞而觀焉。主人齋七日，端冕玄服以發寶，革匱十重，巾十襲，客見免而掩口，盧胡而笑曰：此特燕石也，其與瓦甓不殊。主人大怒曰：商賈之言，醫匠之心。藏之愈固，守之彌謹。

⁷⁴ Ma Guohan 馬國翰 (1794–1857) has collected the fragments in *Yuhan shanfang ji yishu* 玉函山方輶佚疏 (Changsha: Changsha Langhuan guan, 1883), *han* 72. His collection has been reprinted in *Guiguzi deng jiuzhong* 鬼谷子等九種 (Taipei: Shijie shuju, 1965), "Zongheng jia yishu jiben qizhong" 縱橫家佚書輯本七種, pp. 16–17.

⁷⁵ *Wen xuan* 21, p. 1016. Li Shan cites the title of this work as *Kanzi* 闕子. However, the correct title should be *Quezi*. The *Han shu* bibliographic monograph lists *Quezi* in the *Zongheng jia* 縱橫家 (Experts on Rhetoric) category. See *Han shu* 30, p. 1739. On this entry in the bibliography monograph see Xu Wenzhu 徐文助, *Han shu Yiwenzhi Zhuzi lue yu bingshu lue tongkao* 漢書藝文志諸子略與兵書略通考 (Taipei: Guangdong chubanshe, 1976), p. 106. Xu notes that Xiao Yi 蕭繹 (508–554) compiled a supplement to *Quezi* (see *SS* 29, p. 1005). The title is given as *Quezi* in Wu Shu's 吳淑 (947–1002) *Shi lei fu zhu* 事類賦注; see Ji Qin 冀勤, Wang Xiumei 王秀梅, and Ma Rong 馬蓉, coll. and punct., *Shi lei fu zhu* 事類賦注 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1989) 9, p. 182. See also *TPYL* 51, p. 8a. *Que* is a documented surname. Ying Shao includes it in his chapter on surnames and specifically mentions *Quezi*. See Wu Shuping 吳樹平, ed. and comm., *Fengsu tongyi jiaoshi* 風俗通義校釋 (Tianjin: Tianjin renmin chubanshe, 1980), p. 501.

⁷⁶ Wu Terrace 梧臺 was part of an old Qi palace. It was located northwest of Linzi 臨淄, Shandong. See *Shui jing zhu shu* 26, p. 2251. The exact identity of the Yan stone is not known. Guo Pu 郭璞 (276–324) equates it with the jade-like stone from Mount Yan 燕山 mentioned in the *Shanhai jing*. See Yuan Ke 袁珂, ed. and comm., *Shanhai jing jiaozhu* 山海經校注 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1980) 3, p. 96.

According to Li Shan, the poet alludes to this story to admit his shame at receiving undeserved high positions at the court, and in this way he resembles the man of Song, who after meeting the stranger from Zhou was so ashamed of his error, he did not know what to do.⁷⁷ Another Tang *Wen xuan* commentator, Liu Liang 劉良 (eighth century), reads Ying Qu's "Bai yi" as a criticism of officials who lack talent but occupy court positions.⁷⁸ The stranger from Zhou who exposes the "gem" as an ordinary stone is like the visitor in the preceding lines who questions the former official's qualifications for holding office. However, in the original *Quezi* story, the man from Song does not admit his error, and angrily denounces the judgment of the man of Zhou as "the words of a merchant, and the mind of a physician and artisan." Rather than feel shame, he treasures the stone even more highly and protects it ever more carefully. If this part of the allusion is relevant, the last line is self-humbling irony, for Ying Qu could be saying that despite the attacks that my enemies at court inflicted on me, I have nothing to be ashamed of. I truly deserved my fame and court positions. And I suspect that as a miniature version of the hypothetical discourse, this is how we should interpret the allusion.

However, given the ambiguity of the last couplet, one can understand the frustration of later, Song-period, critics with the apparent lack of an overt political point to the poem. The *Wen xuan* "Bai yi" poem is the only example of a Ying Qu poem that we can confidently say is complete. Because the sources that preserved them are composed of fragments, the other pieces assigned to his name, even those that have a certain unity, may not be complete poems. In this respect, the *Wen xuan* compilers, by including one poem from the set, did a great disservice to Ying Qu, for the one poem by which he is best known obviously does not reflect the totality of his work. The word *xuan* in the title *Wen xuan* means "selections," and that word points to one of the limitations of anthologies, their selectivity. That is why I use the phrase "The Problem with Anthologies" in the title of this article. If Ying Qu's entire collection had survived, we would have a much better sense of his poetic oeuvre. Even from the scattered fragments we can detect that this was a poet with an unusual sense of humor and irony for his time. In the case of the "Bai yi" poems, the *Wen xuan* category is almost meaningless, for one cannot determine on the basis of one poem what the form actually consisted of. Furthermore, because *Wen*

⁷⁷ See *Wen xuan* 21, p. 1016.

⁷⁸ See *Liuchen zhu Wen xuan* 21, p. 27a.

xuan became the virtual canon of early-medieval literature, other collections, including more complete collections of a literary form, were eclipsed by it. Although Ying Qu was a well-known figure in his own time and throughout the early-medieval period, he is virtually unknown today. He barely gets a footnote in most histories of early-medieval Chinese literature. The fact that he is known at all may be attributed to the inclusion of one of his poems in *Wen xuan*. But that Ying Qu is a mere footnote also has to do with *Wen xuan* itself, which by virtue of its selectivity limits our knowledge of his work. That is indeed a pity, for although we can uncover traces of his poems in the fragments, we would know much more about his innovations if a larger portion of his works had survived.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

<i>SGZ</i>	<i>Sanguo zhi</i> 三國志
<i>SS</i>	<i>Sui shu</i> 隋書
<i>TPYL</i>	<i>Taiping yulan</i> 太平御覽
<i>YWLJ</i>	<i>Yiwen leiju</i> 藝文類聚

