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Li Deyu's Pingquan Villa: Forming an Emblem from the Tang to the Song

INTRODUCTION

For centuries, Pingquan has been known as one of the Eight Scenic Spots of Luoyang 洛陽八景.¹ What put this mountainous exurb permanently on the aesthetic map of the city was a villa built there by Li Deyu 李德裕 (787–850), one of the most important political figures of late Tang. Renowned for its spectacular garden with a vast collection of rare trees, plants, and rocks, the villa immediately caught the fancy of contemporaries and eventually transformed into a complex emblem in the traditional Chinese discourse on gardens and the related practice of collecting, especially rock collecting.

This essay examines the changing representations of Li Deyu's villa in Tang-Song poetry and prose. The villa was originally conceived to embody Li Deyu's filial piety; in the course of time, however, it turned into his obsession, as he became not only beset by memories of Pingquan but also preoccupied with the idea of keeping the villa and everything in it in the family forever. His frequent absenteeism only fanned his compulsive remembrance and fueled his possessive desire.

When Li Deyu was in power, his absenteeism was praised as a reflection of his devotion to government service. At the same time, however, criticism was voiced against the corruption involved in the

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¹ The octad consists of Golden Valley in Fine Spring Weather 金谷春晴, Bridge over Heavenly Ford under Morning Moonlight 天津曉月, Bronze Camel Avenue in Evening Rain 銅駝暮雨, Luo River Banks in Autumn Wind 洛浦秋風, White Horse Temple in Bell Sound 馬寺

gathering of the decorative items in his garden. Shortly after he was exiled and eventually died on Hainan Island, Pingquan, in the absence of its master, became a symbol of the caprice of human fortune. In the relevant anecdotal writings from the second half of the ninth century, it assumed legendary status for its marvelous collection of trees, plants, and rocks, as well as for its landscaping feats.

In contrast, Song-era writers shifted their focus from Pingquan as a physical site to the failure of Li Deyu as a person. Moral condemnation of his abuse of power eventually gave way to philosophical critique of his obsessive behavior. As a garden master and a collector, he routinely served as a negative example in the cautionary discourse against over attachment to external things (whether fame and power, or physical objects for their aesthetic nature): his constant poetic reminiscence of Pingquan was juxtaposed with his perennial absenteeism; his sad ending was blamed on his failure to retire in a timely manner; his intensely possessive desire was satirized in light of the destruction of his garden and the scattering of its objects after his death.

FROM FILIAL PIETY TO OBSESSION: TRANSFORMATION OF DESIRE

A few words may be said at the outset about the general area of Pingquan in the early decades of the ninth century. Located about ten miles south of Luoyang, the place derived its name from a spring rising from a patch of level ground on the mountain ridge west of Li Deyu's villa. (Pingquan literally means "level spring.") Only eight feet wide and over a foot deep, the watercourse ran by half a dozen villas owned by high officials, including Cui Qun 崔群 (772–832) and Li Jiang 李絳 (764–830).² These estates constituted an upscale exurban community, which also became a tourist attraction, as can be seen in a poem from 834 titled "Touring Pingquan in Drunkenness" 醉遊平泉 by Bai Juyi 白居易 (772–846), a long-time resident of Luoyang and an indefatigable sightseer:

鐘聲, Mountain Hues of Longmen 龍門山色, Morning Tour of Pingquan 平泉朝遊, and Dusk View from Mang Mountain 岷山晚眺; see Gong Songlin 龔崧林, *Luoyang xian zhi* 洛陽縣志 (1745; rpt. Taipei: Chengwen chubanshe, 1976) 2, p. 2b.

² Li Deyu, "Lingquan fu" 靈泉賦, *Li Deyu wenji jiaojian* 李德裕文集校箋, ed. Fu Xuancong 傅璇琮 and Zhou Jianguo 周建國 (Shijiazhuang: Hebei jiaoyu chubanshe, 2000; hereafter, cited as *LDYWJ*) 9, p. 574. (Unless otherwise noted, all citations of Li Deyu's writings refer to *juan* and pages in the "Bieji" 別集 sect. of this work.)

狂歌箕踞酒尊前 I sing madly while squatting in front of a wine
jug;³
眼不看人面向天 My eyes do not look at people, with my face
raised toward the sky.
洛客最閒唯有我 Of all the sojourners of Luoyang I have the
most leisure,
一年四度到平泉 Coming here to Pingquan four times a year.⁴

Bai Juyi may have thought of himself as enjoying more leisure than anyone else in his frequent outings, but he was certainly not the only one to be drawn to Pingquan. Zhang Ji's 張籍 (768?-830?) poem, "Harmonizing with Minister Linhu's 'My Eastern Estate at Pingquan.' The Estate Had Until Recently Belonged to Vice-Director Li of the Department of State Affairs. I Hereby Send a Poem of Ten Couplets" 和令狐尚書平泉東莊進屬李僕射有寄十韻, ends with these lines:

此處堪長往 This is a place worth frequenting;
遊人早共傳 Visitors have long spread the word around.
各當恩寄重 Yet each of you has been favored with heady
duties;
歸臥恐無緣 I am afraid neither has the luck to return and
couch here.⁵

During the Tang, it became a custom for upper-class city residents to hold parties either in their own gardens or in the suburbs right after the lantern festival in early spring (on the fifteenth day of the first month of the lunar calendar). Such festivity was called *tanchun* 探春 (that is,

³ To squat (instead of sitting on one's heels) is a gesture of irreverence. After his wife died, Zhuangzi was seen squatting on the floor while singing to the rhythm of his beating a basin; see Guo Qingfan 郭慶藩 (1844-ca. 1896), ed., *Zhuangzi jishi* 莊子集釋 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1961) 6 ("Zhi le" 至樂), p. 614.

⁴ Peng Dingqiu 彭定求 (1645-1719) et al., comps., *Quan Tangshi* 全唐詩 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1960; hereafter, cited as *QTS*) 454, p. 5155. Bai Juyi himself seriously considered purchasing an estate at Pingquan that belonged to the Xue family, though eventually decided that it was too far away from the city; see his "Zhai ju" 齋居 (*QTS* 451, p. 5101); "Ti Pingquan Xue jia Xueduizhuang" 題平泉薛家雪堆莊 (*QTS* 451, p. 5097). Other poems by Bai Juyi about his visits to Pingquan include "Qiu you Pingquan zeng Wei chushi Xian chanshi" 秋遊平泉贈韋處士閑禪師 (*QTS* 445, p. 4996), "Dongri Pingquan lu wan gui" 冬日平泉路晚歸 (*QTS* 455, p. 5158), and "You Pingquan yan yijian su Xiangshan shilou zeng zuoke" 遊平泉宴澗澗宿香山石樓贈座客 (*QTS* 459, p. 5216).

⁵ *QTS* 384, p. 4328. Zhang Ji's poem reveals a conspicuous phenomenon in the Tang which I will briefly address later in the essay, i.e., absenteeism among garden owners who were high officials. There is also something uncanny in his inauspicious prediction here. Li Jiang (vice-director Li), who never had much leisure to enjoy his villa, died in a military mutiny; see *Jiu Tangshu* 舊唐書 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1975; hereafter, *JTS*) 164, p. 4291, and *Xin Tangshu* 新唐書 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1975; hereafter, *XTS*) 152, p. 4844.

exploring spring).⁶ Pingquan also served as one of the popular destinations for celebrators of *tanchun* in the Luoyang area.⁷

Construction of Li Deyu's villa at Pingquan started shortly after he obtained, in 825, a tract of waste land west of Longmen Mountain that had belonged to a certain recluse by the name of Qiao 喬, who fled the area during the mid 750s, when the country was ravaged by the rebellion of An Lushan 安祿山 (703–757). At the time, he was stationed in Runzhou 潤州 (also known as Jinling 金陵 in Tang times) as surveillance commissioner of Zhexi 浙西觀察使.⁸ Consequently, he did not supervise the project in person. His oversight and endorsement took the form of viewing the map 圖 of the estate, brought to him by a messenger. Pleased as he was with what he saw, he decided to enhance the charm of his mountain retreat by putting in it a pair of cranes, which he requested from Yuan Zhen 元稹 (779–831), surveillance commissioner of the neighboring Zhedong 浙東.⁹ In the years to follow, numerous fancy trees, plants, and rocks were added to the garden.

Li Deyu's plan to build a garden estate in the Luoyang area was conceived in youth as an embodiment of his filial piety. As he reminisced late in life, in building the villa, he was fulfilling the wish of his late father, Li Jifu 李吉甫 (758–814). For fourteen years during his childhood and early adulthood,¹⁰ he moved around with his father from one district to another. During those years, father and son toured

⁶ See Wang Renyu 王仁裕 (880–956), *Kaiyuan tianbao yishi* 開元天寶遺事 (SKQS edn.) 4, p. 6a.

⁷ See Zheng Gu 鄭谷 (851?–910?) “Jiabu Zheng langzhong sanshiba zhang yin er Dongzhou rongjia jinzi Gu yi mopai zhiwai enjiu shishen yin hesong” 駕部鄭郎中三十八丈尹貳東周榮加金紫谷以未派之外恩舊事深因賀送 (QTS 676, p. 7750).

⁸ I follow for the most part Charles O. Hucker's translations of Chinese official titles in *A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China* (Stanford: Stanford U.P., 1985).

⁹ Li Deyu, “Jin yu Yichuan bu shanju jiangmingzhe hua tu er zhi xinran yougan liao fu ci shi jian jishang Zhedong Yuan xianggong dafu qiu Qingtian taihua he” 近於伊川卜山居將命者畫圖而至欣然有感聊賦此詩兼寄上浙東元相公大夫使求青田胎化鶴 (LDYWJ, pp. 580–81). The kind of “map” (often known as “estate map” 宅圖) that Li Deyu saw may be defined as a “functional picture,” somewhere between painting and schema; they usually contained aesthetic as well as pragmatic values. For a discussion, see Xiaoshan Yang, *Metamorphosis of the Private Sphere: Gardens and Objects in Tang-Song Poetry* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Asia Center, 2003), pp. 32–34. Whereas the map was usually a visual representation of an existing estate, Li Deyu's was apparently drawn before his villa was built. In his companion piece to Li Deyu's poem to Yuan Zhen, Liu Yuxi 劉禹錫 (772–842) suggested that Li Deyu was following the example of Ma Zhou 馬周 (601–48), who once had a picture-map drawn by a painter and then asked his attendant to buy him a house in accordance with what was on it; see “He Zhexi Li dafu Yichuan bu ju” 和浙西李大夫伊川卜居 (QTS 363, p. 4100). For Ma Zhou's story, see also XTS 98, p. 3901.

¹⁰ The fourteen years would be from 795, when Li Deyu followed his father to Mingzhou 明州, to 808, when he married. For the chronicle of Li Deyu's life, I rely on Fu Xuancong 傅璇琮, *Li Deyu nianpu* 李德裕年譜 (Jinan: Qilu shushe, 1984).

various famous mountains and rivers. Whenever the senior Li stopped his boat for the scenic view, he would gaze in the direction of the Yi River (in Luoyang). On one occasion, he composed a poem to express his intense homesickness. Deeply touched, Li Deyu obtained the tract of land west of Mount Longmen.¹¹

According to one version of his official biography, Li Deyu used to lecture to his students at Pingquan before he entered into civil service.¹² The chronological facts of his life, however, show that this could not have been the case, for the villa was built after he was well on his way in his career, and, as we shall see, he spent little time there. Indeed, it is not even clear when he first saw the villa with his own eyes. His earliest visit to Pingquan of which we have a record took place in 829, under very pressing circumstances:

Li Deyu was summoned from Jinling to court, and he was about to be appointed to the highest position. Afraid that the position would be taken by someone else first, he wanted to hurry. When he arrived at Pingquan on an evening, he had candles lit so as to take a tour, but he did not have time to stay long.¹³

Li Deyu served three times in Runzhou as surveillance commissioner of Zhexi; it was only at the end of his first term in 829 that he was summoned to court. Late in summer he was appointed vice-minister of war 兵部侍郎. Pei Du 裴度 (765–839), a senior grand councilor and patron of Li Deyu, recommended that he be appointed to the Grand Council. However, with the help of eunuchs, Li Zongmin 李宗閔 (d. 846) won the appointment first and then wasted no time in getting rid of his rival from the central government. Several weeks later, Li Deyu was driven away to a prefectural post.¹⁴ The volatile political dynamics at court explains why he “wanted to hurry” and had only time to take a nocturnal tour of his villa. It was obviously not a pleasant episode in his life – forgoing the pleasure of enjoying or at least inspecting his garden with greater leisure only to lose out to his nemesis in the jostle for power.

In Li Deyu's own writings, the earliest mention of Pingquan Villa after it was built is in “Recalling My Mountain Villa at Pingquan, Sent

¹¹ The major source on the construction of Pingquan Villa is Li Deyu's “Pingquan shanju jie zisun ji” 平泉山居戒子孫記 (*LDYW* 9, p. 568), translated in full in the appendix, below.

¹² *JTS* 174, p. 4528.

¹³ Wang Dang 王讜 (fl. 1101–10), *Tang yulin* 唐語林 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1987) 7, p. 616.

¹⁴ This incident of court intrigue is well documented; see *JTS* 174, p. 4518; *XIS* 176, p. 4552; 180, p. 5331; Sima Guang 司馬光 (1019–86), *Zizhi tongjian* 資治通鑑 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1962) 244, p. 7886.

to Vice-Director Shen of the Ministry of Personnel” 憶平泉山居贈沈吏部, composed between 833 and 834:¹⁵

昔聞羊叔子	I have heard about Yang Shuzi in the past,
茅屋在東渠	With his cottage at East Stream.
豈不念歸路	It is not that he did not think about retiring;
徘徊畏簡書	He hesitated for fear of the charge on the tablet.
乃知軒冕客	That is why robe-wearers and carriage-riders,
自與田園疏	Are always distant from fields and gardens.
歿世有遺恨	He left the world with a lingering regret;
精誠何所如	Where would his devotion and fealty go?
嗟予寡時用	Alas, I am of little use to the world;
夙志在林間	I have long wished to live in the woods.
雖抱山水癖	Although I have an obsession with mountains and rivers,
敢希仁智居	I would not dare to aspire to be benevolent and wise. ¹⁶
清泉繞舍下	A limpid spring circles my lodge;
修竹蔭庭除	Tall bamboo shades my courtyard.
幽徑松蓋密	Over the hidden path, dense pine trees converge;
小池蓮葉初	In the small pond, lotus leaves are budding.
從來有好鳥	There have always been lovely birds;
近復躍儵魚	Recently were added jumping minnows. ¹⁷
少室映川陸	Mount Shaoshi sets off river and land;
鳴皋對蓬廬	Mount Minghao faces my fleabane-thatched cottage.
張何舊寮案	Two old colleagues, we are like Zhang and He,
相勉在懸輿	Encouraging each other to store away our carriages. ¹⁸
常恐似伯玉	I am often afraid to be like Boyu,
瞻前慚魏舒	Paling in comparison with Wei Shu of olden times.

¹⁵ *LDYWJ* 9, pp. 581–82. The poem is dated 833 in Fu, *Li Deyu nianpu*, p. 282, and 834 in *LDYWJ* 9, p. 582.

¹⁶ This alludes to an observation by Confucius in *Lunyu* 論語, vi/23: wise men love waters; benevolent men love mountains.

¹⁷ While strolling with Huizi on a bridge over the Hao River, Zhuangzi observed how happy the minnows were as they came out swimming around; see *Zhuangzi jishi* 6 (“Qiu shui” 秋水), p. 605. Here minnows are a kenning for the joy of nature.

¹⁸ When an official reached the age of seventy, he was supposed to retire and store away his carriage.

The word *yi* 憶 (“recalling”) in the title points to the theme of remembrance that was to dominate Li Deyu’s poems about his garden. Among other things, such remembrance was a function of his constant absenteeism. At the time he wrote the poem, he was in Changan as a chief minister, and he was to remain entangled in politics for the rest of his life, with only sporadic respite. It is to be noted here that the scenes and objects of his poetic remembrance were often products of his imagination. In other words, what he described was not necessarily what he had actually seen in his garden. An example can be found in the budding lotus leaves in the above poem. Li Deyu could not have seen them, since, as he told us in a poem written in 840, he had never been at his garden in springtime.¹⁹

Also to be noted is Li Deyu’s portrayal of himself as a man with an inborn disposition to “live in the woods” and a love for mountains and waters that was tantamount to an obsession. To reconcile his poetic self-image with his real life status, he drew, in the beginning and ending lines of the poem, a series of historical precedents. The opening couplet alludes to Yang Hu 羊祜 (221–278, z. Shuzi), a famous statesman of the Western Jin, who, after he succeeded in pacifying the border areas, stated in a letter to his cousin that he would “put on a corrugated turban and go eastward to return to my native land.”²⁰

The expression “charge on the tablet” in the fourth line derives from a poem in the *Shijing* 詩經, no. 168, which contains this description of the desire of soldiers on a military expedition to go home:

王事多難	The king’s work is full of hardships,
不遑啓居	So that we never get to settle down.
豈不懷歸	It is not that we do not long to go home,
畏此簡書	But that we are in fear of the charge on the tablet.

The phrase “fear of the charge on the tablet” became part of the rhetorical repertoire of would-be rustics to justify and rationalize their occupation of government positions. Zhang and He, mentioned at the end of the poem, probably refer to Zhang Liang 張良 (d. 189 BC) and Xiao He 蕭何 (d. 193 BC), who withdrew from court after attaining high offices. In such illustrious historical figures, Li Deyu found a positive model for resolving the conflict between engagement and disengagement: he will retire after he has fulfilled his public obligations. The challenge

¹⁹ “Yi yehua” 憶野花 (*LDYWJ* 10, p. 618).

²⁰ *Jinshu* 晉書 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1974; hereafter, *JS*) 34, p. 1020. The corrugated turban was the standard headgear for recluses.

remained for him to follow through with this course of action so that he would not be another Qu Boyu 蘧伯玉 (who realized, somewhat belatedly at the age of sixty, that his life in the past fifty-nine years had been a mistake)²¹ or feel inferior to Wei Shu (209–290), a highly capable official known for his voluntary retirement.²²

Li Deyu's first extended stay at Pingquan took place in 836. In early autumn he was transferred from Chuzhou 滁州 to the branch office 分司 in Luoyang as adviser to the heir apparent 太子賓客, a sinecure that involved no real duties. In late autumn, he arrived at his villa, where he stayed for about two and a half months.²³ There is a mixture of joy and melancholy in the poem he wrote as he approached Pingquan, "Written Impromptu When I Just Returned to Pingquan, As I Passed the Southern Peak of Longmen and Looked to My Mountain Villa in the Distance" 初歸平泉過龍門南嶺遙望山居即事:²⁴

初歸故鄉陌	As I just came back along the road of my native land, ²⁵
極望且徐輪	I gazed into the distance and let my wheels slow down.
近野樵蒸至	From the nearby fields, the blaze of firewood loomed closer,
平泉煙火新	As cooking fire was newly lit at Pingquan.
農夫饋雞黍	Peasants presented me with chicken and millet;
漁子薦霜鱗	Fishermen recommended fish with frosty scales.

²¹ *Zhuangzi jishi* 8 ("Ze yang" 則陽), p. 905. According to Li Xianqi 李獻奇 and Chen Changan 陳長安, eds., *Luoyang mingsheng shixuan* 洛陽名勝詩選 (Beijing: Zhonggguo luyou chubanshe, 1984), p. 147, Boyu refers to the style name (zi 字) of Chen Ziang 陳子昂 (661–702), who, after retiring from office to his native land, was persecuted by the local magistrate and died in prison (see *JTS* 190, p. 5024; *XTS* 107, p. 4047). The idea is that Li Deyu was afraid that he would face the same situation in retirement as Chen Ziang did. Such a reading would make sense, especially in light of Li Deyu's "Tuishen lun" 退身論 (*LDYWJ* ["Waiji" 外集] 2, pp. 658–59), in which he argues (with reference to his personal experience) that oftentimes people in high positions hesitate to withdraw not because of attachment to fame and profit but because of fear that they would be persecuted by their enemies once leaving high position. My interpretation is based on the following consideration: the term Boyu is routinely used by Tang poets as a *Zhuangzi* allusion, and there is no other instance in Tang poetry where it could be read to refer to Chen Ziang's style name.

²² When Wei Shu was a secretarial court gentleman, the court wanted to cut down on the number of court gentlemen and remove untalented people from office; he declared himself to be one of them and left court, making his colleagues ashamed (*JS* 41, p. 1186). Contemporaries also admired him for retiring voluntarily at seventy from the prestigious post of minister over the masses 司徒 (*JS* 41, p. 1188).

²³ See Fu, *Li Deyu nianpu*, p. 318.

²⁴ *LDYWJ* 10, p. 594.

²⁵ Though Li Deyu was a native of Zhaozhou 趙州 in Hebei, he regarded Luoyang as his "native land," probably because, starting with his grandfather Li Qiyun 李栖筠 (719–76), the family members were buried in Luoyang (see Fu, *Li Deyu nianpu*, p. 10).

惆悵懷楊僕 In melancholy I thought of Yang Pu,
 慚爲關外人 Ashamed to be a man from west of the Hangu
 Pass.

As an accomplished general of the Han, Yang Pu (referred to at the end of the poem) was so ashamed to be from west of the Hangu Pass 函谷關 (his native place being Yiyang 宜陽, to the west of Hangu) that he petitioned, in a letter to the emperor Wu 武 (r. 140–86 BC), to move his family eastward; his wish was granted and his family was reestablished in Xin'an 新安, just inside Hangu.²⁶ The relevance of this allusion is probably this: unlike Yang Pu, Li Deyu already had a home inside the pass, and yet he had not been able to stay there, hence the melancholy.

Li Deyu wrote about half a dozen poems during his two-and-a-half-month stay at Pingquan. In these poems, he expressed his contentment with the quiet life in the mountains and professed his spiritual affinity with various famous recluses in history. “Written Impromptu in the Suburbs, Sent to Attendant Gentleman [Li Jue], Prefecture Administrator” 郊外即事寄侍郎大尹 is fairly typical:²⁷

高秩慚非隱 In high office, I felt ashamed about not being
 a recluse;
 閒林喜退居 To the quiet woods I was happy to withdraw.
 老農爭席坐 Old peasants jostled with me for a seat on the
 mat;
 稚子帶經鋤 Young children carried books as they hoed.²⁸
 竹徑難迴騎 On the bamboo paths it is hard to ride back;
 仙舟但跂予 To the immortal skiff I can only gaze on my
 tiptoe.
 豈知陶靖節 How else would I appreciate Tao Jingjie,
 祇自愛吾廬 With his love for nothing but his own cottage?

Embedded in Li Deyu's image of old peasants jostling with him for a seat on the mat is a Daoist parable: when Yang Ziju stayed at an inn, the lodgers there all offered their seats on the mat to him; after he received instruction from Laozi and rid himself of his arrogant demeanor, the lodgers jostled with him for a seat on the mat – Yang Ziju had grasped the natural Way so that other people no longer felt any estrangement in dealing with him.²⁹ The idyllic scene in Li Deyu's poem, as its last

²⁶ See *Hanshu* 漢書 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1962; hereafter, *HS*) 6, p. 183.

²⁷ *LDYWJ* 10, p. 596.

²⁸ When Ni Kuan 兒寬 (d. 102 BC) hoed in the fields, he would carry books that he read on his breaks; see *HS* 58, p. 2628.

²⁹ *Zhuangzi jishi* 9 (“Yu yan” 寓言), pp. 963–64. Before Li Deyu, Wang Wei 王維 (701?–

couplet reminds us, is supposed to be reminiscent of Tao Qian's 陶潛 (365-427, also known as Master Jingjie 靖節先生) way of life in the countryside.

As a wealthy official enjoying a respite from his busy career at a luxury retreat, Li Deyu was, of course, no Tao Qian. Nonetheless, his self-image as a man living harmoniously with his environment seems to have been accepted at face value by his friends – if only playfully or obsequiously.³⁰ He became known among the elite of Luoyang simply as Pingquan, as indicated in his poem “Many of the Gentlemen in Luoyang Have Come to Call Me Pingquan. I Felt Ashamed About Acquiring Such a Name of Transcendence. Therefore, I Wrote This Poem in Response, Sent to Advisor Liu” 洛中士君子多以平泉見呼愧獲方外之名因以此詩爲報奉寄劉賓客:³¹

非高柳下逸	Not that I am superior to Liuxia [Hui] in his reclusion; ³²
自愛竹林閒	I just love to be free in the woods.
才異居東里	My talent does not match East Village; ³³
愚因在北山	My foolishness is comparable to North Mountain. ³⁴
徑荒寒未掃	The untrodden gate is left unswept in the cold;
門設晝長關	The front gate is constantly shut even in day- time.

61) had used the same parable in describing life on his Wangchuan estate. The last four lines of his “Ji yu Wangchuanzhuang zuo” 積雨輞川莊作 (QJS 128, p. 1298) read as follows: “To practice quietude in the mountains, I observe hibiscus in the morning 山中習靜觀朝槿; / For pure fast under the pine trees, I pick mallows in the dew 松下清齋折露葵. / This old rustic is all done jostling for a seat with others 野老與人爭席罷; / Why is it that the seagulls are still suspicious of me 海鷗何事更相疑?”

³⁰ Of course, not everybody played along. When Li Deyu came to visit Wei Chu 韋楚, a highly respected nature-loving recluse residing in the southeast corner of Pingquan, the latter went away into the mountains to avoid the meeting presumably because of his disinclination to mingle with a powerful court official; see Kang Pian 康駢 (*js.* 877), *Jutan lu* 劇談錄 (CSJC edn.), p. 83, where Wei Chu is confused with Wei Chulao 韋楚老 (b. 803); for a detailed discussion by Wu Qiming 吳企明 of the evidence that Wei Chu and Wei Chulao were two different persons, see Xin Wenfang 辛文房 (13th–14th cc.), *Tang caizi zhuan jiaojian* 唐才子傳校箋, ed. Fu Xuancong 傅璇琮 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1987–1995) vol. 3, pp. 157–59.

³¹ LDYWJ 10, p. 598.

³² Liuxia Hui was a recluse, who, according to Confucius, once lowered his aspiration and suffered humiliation (*Lunyu*, xviii/8).

³³ As the prime minister of Zheng, Zichan 子產 (d. 522 BC) of East Village 東里 was praised as one of the four exemplary officials by the emperor Xuan 宣 (r. 73–47 BC) of the Han; see JS 90, p. 2327.

³⁴ The allusion here is to the legendary Foolish Old Man of North Mountain 北山愚公, who was chided by Wise Old Man of the River Bend 河曲智叟 for his foolishness in trying to remove two mountains in front of his house that blocked his way; see Yang Bojun 楊伯峻, ed., *Liezi jishi* 列子集釋 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1979) 5, pp. 159–61.

不及鷗夷子 Still I cannot compare with Master Chiyi,³⁵
悠悠煙水間 Drifting carefree in misty waters.

With the new toponymic epithet, Li Deyu's identity was closely linked to, if not totally defined by, his garden. It was this tie to a piece of landed property that distinguished him from the legendary Fan Li 范蠡, who was able to leave everything behind and sailed away on the Five Lakes.

Although Li Deyu genuinely enjoyed the country life at Pingquan, he had no illusion about having permanently disengaged from politics. In the poems that he wrote during the sojourn, he was realistic enough not to pledge to spend the rest of his life at his villa, although homecoming officials would routinely declare such an intention. Indeed, after two and a half months, he left to take up his appointment as surveillance commissioner of Zhexi for the third (and last) time. On the other hand, it appeared that his stay at Pingquan this time was a turning point in his emotional relationship to his garden, as evidenced in the poems he wrote thereafter, especially those composed while he was stationed in the Huainan 淮南 area between 838 and 840. In those poems, the theme of remembrance became recurrent. "Reminiscing About My Mountain Villa, Inviting Master Songyang to Write on the Same Topic" 懷山居邀松陽子同作 is the most illustrative:³⁶

我有愛山心	I have a heart that loves mountains,
如飢復如渴	With a longing like hunger and thirst.
出谷一年餘	I came out of the valley just over a year ago,
常疑十年別	But it has often seemed to be a separation of ten years.
春思巖花爛	In spring, I would think of the flowers blossoming along the banks;
夏憶寒泉冽	In summer, I would recall how crystalline the cold spring was;
秋憶泛蘭卮	In autumn, I would recall floating the orchid cup;
冬思玩松雪	In winter, I would think of relishing pine and snow.
晨思小山桂	At dawn, I would think of the cassia trees on the knoll;

³⁵ After Fan Li 范蠡 helped king Gou Jian 勾踐 (d. 465 BC) of Yue to conquer the enemy state of Wu, he withdrew from court and sailed away on a small boat. He would assume different names in different places, e.g., Chiyi Zipi 鷗夷子皮; see *Shiji* 史記 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1956) 129, p. 3257.

³⁶ *LDYWJ* 9, p. 586.

暝憶深潭月	At dusk, I would recall the moon in the deep pool.
醉憶剖紅梨	In drunkenness, I would recall slicing red pears;
飯思食紫蕨	During meals, I would think of eating purple ferns.
坐思藤蘿密	When sitting, I would think of the dense wisteria;
步憶莓苔滑	While walking, I would recall the slippery moss.
晝夜百刻中 愁腸幾回絕 每念羊叔子 言之豈常輟 人生不如意 十乃居七八 我未及懸輿	Day and night, from one moment to another, Many times my heart would break. I often think of Yang Shuzi, About whom I never stop talking. Of things that do not go my way in life, There are seven or eight out of ten. ³⁷ I have not yet reached the age for storing away my carriage;
今猶佩朝紱 焉能逐麋鹿 便得遊林樾 范忞滄波舟	Right now I still carry an official seal. How can I just follow the elaphure, To roam around in the shades of the wood? Fan [Li] sailed carefree in a boat across the blue waves;
張懷赤松列	Zhang [Liang] wished to join the ranks of Red Pine. ³⁸
惟應詎身恤	When answering the call, how can I just worry about myself?
豈敢忘臣節 器滿自當敬 物盈終有缺	How dare I forget my duties as a minister? If a vessel is filled, it will tilt on its own; When things are complete, something will be missing again.
從茲返樵徑	Thereupon I will return to the path of the woodcutters,
庶可希前哲	So as to follow the examples of ancient wor- thies.

The repetition of the words *yi* 憶 (recalling) and *si* 思 (thinking of) in the first part the poem is only an extreme example; virtually every

³⁷ When Yang Hu's proposal to defeat Wu before pacifying Jin's northwestern border was met with disagreement from many at court, he lamented that "seven or eight out of ten times, things in this world often do not go my way" 天下不如意，恒十居七八；*JŚ* 34, p. 1019.

³⁸ After he helped to found the Han, Zhang Liang requested that he be released from office so that he could follow the Daoist master Red Pine; *Shiji* 55, p. 2047.

poem Li Deyu wrote in Huainan about his garden has one of them or an equivalent in its title. With all his irrepressible desire to return to Pingquan, Li Deyu reminded himself (and explained to his reader) that the time had not yet come for him to follow his heart, because he had not yet reached the age of retirement. As in “Recalling My Mountain Villa at Pingquan, Sent to Vice Director Shen of the Ministry of Personnel,” he affirmed his determination to follow in the footsteps of ancient worthies in fulfilling his public duty before retiring to private life.

In contrast to his earlier descriptions that tend to stay at the level of generality, Li Deyu's Huainan poems are full of details about the decorative objects in his garden, especially in four series titled, respectively: “Twenty Miscellaneous Poems Written As I Thought of Pingquan in Late Spring” 春暮思平泉雜詠二十首,³⁹ “Eleven Miscellaneous Poems Written As I Thought of the Rocks and Trees at Pingquan” 思平泉樹石雜詠十一首,⁴⁰ “Six More Poems Written When I Recalled My Mountain Villa” 重憶山居六首,⁴¹ and “Miscellaneous Poems Written As I Recalled Pingquan” 憶平泉雜詠.⁴² Indeed, the Huainan years saw the development of his obsessive feelings toward Pingquan Villa.

Li Deyu's obsession manifested itself not only in his repeated poetic remembrance but also in his articulated desire to keep the villa and everything in it in the family forever. Two prose records he composed in 840 are highly revealing. One is “Record of Plants and Trees of My Mountain Villa at Pingquan” 平泉山居草木記,⁴³ in which he explained why he decided to catalogue his collection:

I once pondered why *Explanations of Garden Plants and Trees* was in the catalogue of books at the house of Duke Shiquan.⁴⁴ I understood thereby that there must have been a reason for what was treasured by ancient wise men. In the past twenty years, I served thrice in the Wu region and once in Huainan.⁴⁵ Excellent trees and fine plants were what I liked by nature. Some of them were sent by colleagues; others were obtained from woodcutters.⁴⁶ At first,

³⁹ *LDYWJ* 10, pp. 600–5. ⁴⁰ *LDYWJ* 10, pp. 608–11. ⁴¹ *LDYWJ* 10, pp. 613–15.

⁴² *LDYWJ* 10, pp. 617–20.

⁴³ *LDYWJ* 9, pp. 570–71.

⁴⁴ Duke Shiquan was Wang Fangqing 王方慶 (d. 702), a bibliophile whose collection was said to match that of the palace library. His *Yuanlin caomu shu* 園林草木疏 in 21 *juan* is no longer extant. For his biography, see *JTS* 89, pp. 2896–901.

⁴⁵ Since Li Deyu started his first tenure in Zhexi (Wu) in 822, we can assume that his collecting practice preceded the construction of the Pingquan garden.

⁴⁶ Li Deyu himself identified some of those who presented him with the fantastic rocks arranged in his garden; e.g., “Dielang shi” 疊浪石, in “Si Pingquan shu shi zayong shiyi shou” 思平泉樹石雜詠十一首 (*LDYWJ* 10, p. 609); “Taishan shi” 泰山石 and “Luofu shi” 羅浮石, in “Chong yi shanju liu shou” 重憶山居六首 (*LDYWJ* 10, pp. 613, 614).

there were only a few items; now, there are plenty. Mindful that those who study the *Classic of Poetry* learn much about the names of plants and trees and that those who work on *Encountering Sorrow* always thoroughly comprehend the beauty of fragrant grasses, I decided to compose a record of their indigenous mountains and rivers so as to expand the knowledge.

Actually, the main task of Li Deyu's record was to enumerate the dozens of rare species of marvelous trees, plants, and rocks that he had gathered.⁴⁷ The names of those objects were inscribed on stones placed in his garden for the enduring edification of future generations. He also proudly claimed that his meticulous catalogue contained only items that could not be found in other famous gardens of Luoyang. One suspects, therefore, that his record was intended not just to transmit a body of botanical and lithic knowledge but also to show his pride as a collector.

If, in the above record, Li Deyu meant to inventory and display his lifetime collections, then, in "Exhortation to My Children and Grandchildren About the Mountain Villa at Pingquan" 平泉山居戒子孫記,⁴⁸ he took steps to ensure that they would be kept in the family forever. Regretting that he would not be able to live at Pingquan, he made it clear that the villa was his legacy to his children and warned them against selling even "one piece of rock or a single plant." They should not let go of the villa until "cliffs turn into deep valleys and valleys into ridges." In the event that the villa was to be taken against the will of the family by "the powerful and the noble," his children should plead with the takers by telling them "tearfully about the charge of your ancestor."

The intensity of Li Deyu's possessive desire was matched only by the impracticality of his advice. The advice may sound rather melodramatic, but he could not have been more serious. As has been mentioned

⁴⁷ One interesting example is the "authentic red cassia trees 真紅桂樹" as itemized in the above record (*LDYWJ* 9, pp. 571). Li Deyu had long heard about the fame of the red cassia trees in the Jingshan Temple 敬善寺 of Mount Longmen. He tried to find some stalks in the mountains of Jiangnan but was not successful. While he was in Huainan, a subordinate obtained some stalks for him from woodcutters along Shan Stream. He transplanted them in his garden, putting all other plants in Luoyang to shame. The ones in Jingshan Temple turned out to be not the authentic red cassia trees; see "Bi wen Longmen Jingshansi you hong guishu du xiu Yichuan chang yu Jiangnan zhu shan fang zhi mo zhi Chen siyu zhi yu suo hao yin fang Shanxi qiaoke ou de shu zhu yizhi jiaoyuan zong fang seju nai zhi Jingshan suoyou shi Shudao wangcao tu de jiaming yin fu shi shi jian zeng Chen shiyu" 比聞龍門敬善寺有紅桂樹獨秀伊川嘗於江南諸山訪之莫致陳侍御知予所好因訪剡溪樵客偶數株移植郊園眾芳色沮乃知敬善所有是蜀道 齒草徙得嘉名因賦是詩兼贈陳侍御 (*LDYWJ* 9, p. 585).

⁴⁸ *LDYWJ* 9, p. 568-69.

earlier, he conceived of the construction of the villa as an embodiment of his filial piety; it was, therefore, perfectly natural for him to expect similar loyalty on the part of his children. In fact, his advice did not go unheeded. In the chaotic time near the end of the Tang, Li Jingyi 李敬義, one of Li Deyu's grandsons, did what his famous ancestor never did by leaving office to return to live at (and take care of) Pingquan. He did not even go to pay his respects when the emperor Zhaozong 昭宗 (r. 889–904) moved his court to Luoyang; for that impudence he was stripped of his title as vice-director of the Bureau of Merit Titles 司勳員外郎 and demoted to be recorder of Court of the Imperial Regalia 衛尉寺主簿.⁴⁹ About a decade later, in 898, when he learned that one of his grandfather's favorite rocks had fallen into the hands of a eunuch serving as the military supervisor in Zhang Quanyi's 張全義 (852–926) army, he acted upon his ancestor's advice and pleaded in tears with Zhang Quanyi for help in getting back the rock.⁵⁰

Li Deyu's excessive concern for his villa should not be explained exclusively in terms of filial piety. For one thing, the general custom among Tang officials and nobles was that anybody who was anybody would want to have a garden estate. In the Luoyang area alone, such estates built by "dukes and ministers and noble royal in-laws" during the Zhenguan and Kaiyuan reigns were said to have numbered over a thousand.⁵¹ Li Deyu's particular bond with his villa had many facets. At a more private level, Pingquan mirrored his achievement in self-cultivation; on every rock in the garden was inscribed Holding the Way 有道.⁵²

⁴⁹ See *XTS* 180, p. 5343; *Jiu Wudaishi* 舊五代史 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1976) 60, p. 807; *Zizhi tongjian* 265, p. 8644.

⁵⁰ This legendary rock was called Rock for Sobering from Intoxication 醒酒石, against which Li Deyu would lean whenever he got drunk. When Zhang Quanyi asked the eunuch about returning the rock, the latter replied that after the defeat of Huang Chao 黃巢 (d. 884) there was no garden that remained intact and that Pingquan Villa was certainly not alone in losing its rocks. Zhang Quanyi, an erstwhile lieutenant of Huang Chao, thought the eunuch was taking a jab at himself and in his wrath had the eunuch whipped to death; see *Jiu Wudaishi* 60, pp. 806–7; *Xin Wudaishi* 新五代史 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1974) 45, p. 491. For the migration of this famous rock in the Song, and placement in the royal palace during the Shaosheng reign (1094–98), see Tao Zongyi 陶宗儀 (1316–1403), *Shuo fu* 說郛 (SKQS edn.) 96B, pp. 27b–28a, quoting Zhang Cheng 張澂 (d. 1143), *Danyan ji* 澹巖集.

⁵¹ Li Gefei 李格非 (d. 1106), *Luoyang mingyuan ji* 洛陽名園記 (CSJC edn.), p. 18. For a discussion together with an annotated translation of Li Gefei's piece, see Xiaoshan Yang, "Li Gefei's 'Luoyang mingyuan ji' (A Record of the Celebrated Gardens of Luoyang): Text and Context," *MS* 52 (2004), pp. 221–55.

⁵² Zhang Ji 張洎 (933–96), *Jiashi tanlu* 賈氏談錄 (pref. 970) (CSJC edn.), p. 4. As late as the 12th c., those inscribed rocks could still be found among rock-lovers; see Du Wan 杜絳 (fl. 1126), *Yunlin shipu* 雲林石譜 (CSJC edn.), p. 7.

There are indications that Li Deyu saw an intimate link between Pingquan and his political fortune. He was told (and seriously believed) that, whenever he was exiled or slandered, the Magic Spring 靈泉 at his villa would change its color and would return to its limpidness only after a long period of time.⁵³ He also saw the spring as a fit symbol for his own talent as a great minister. “The Fountainhead of Pingquan” 平泉源, the first of “Six More Poems Written When I Recalled My Mountain Villa” is a prime example:⁵⁴

出谷纔浮芥	As it comes of the valley, it can only drift a mustard;
中園已濫觴	By the middle of my garden, it can already float a wine cup.
逶迤過竹塢	Curving, it passes Bamboo Cove;
浩淼走蘭塘	Expanding, it goes by Orchid Dike.
夜靜聞魚躍	In the quiet night, fish are heard jumping;
風微見雁翔	Against the light breeze, wild geese are seen hovering.
從茲東向海	From here it moves toward the eastern ocean,
可泛濟川航	Able to carry a ship that crosses a great river.

The last line contains a significant allusion, which moves the poem from literalism to allegorization. During the first three years after he became the king of Shang, Wuding 武丁 remained silent, even after the period of mourning for his father was over. When his ministers urged him to issue orders about the affairs of the state, Wuding explained that he did not speak out because he was not sure of his own virtues as a ruler. However, as he was thinking about the affairs of the state, he had a dream in which he was granted a capable minister, who would speak on his behalf. He described what he saw in the dream and a portrait was drawn accordingly. After a wide search, Yue 說, a convict laborer who was molding clay in the field of Fuyan 傅巖, was found to fit the portrait exactly and made the chief minister. The first instruction Wuding gave to his new minister (known as Fu Yue) goes as follows: “Please offer your advice mornings and evenings to help me cultivate my virtues. It is like using you as a whetstone when there is a metal instrument, like using you as the oar of a ship when there is a grand river to cross 若濟巨川用汝作舟楫.”⁵⁵ Presumably, Li Deyu saw himself as another Fu Yue.

⁵³ Preface to “Lingquan fu” 靈泉賦 (LDYWJ 9, p. 575).

⁵⁴ LDYWJ 10, p. 613.

⁵⁵ *Shangshu zhengyi* 尚書正義, “Shuo ming” 說命, in Ruan Yuan 阮沅 (1764–1849), ed., *Shisan jing zhushu* 十三經注疏 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1982), p. 174c; see also *Shiji*, 3, p. 102.

Finally, we should mention that Pingquan also served as a commemorative site for Li Deyu's accomplishments as a statesman. To monumentalize his success in suppressing the rebellion in Shangdang and smashing the Uighurs, he set up in his garden two structures: Liberation Pavilion 構思亭 and Smashing the Rebels Pavilion 伐叛亭.⁵⁶

Chinese literati's poetic descriptions of their garden estates date to the Western Jin. Among the earliest examples are Shi Chong's 石崇 (249-300) writings on his famous Golden Valley Garden 金谷園, which stands at the top of the list of the Eight Scenic Spots of Luoyang. Such pieces as "Longing to Return: A Prelude" 思歸引 (together with a long preface),⁵⁷ "Longing to Return: A Lament" 思歸歎,⁵⁸ and "Preface to the Golden Valley Poems" 金谷詩序,⁵⁹ mix an ostentatious display of wealth with a devotion to living the simple life of a hermit.⁶⁰ Located in the northwestern suburb of Luoyang, Shi Chong's splendid estate was a popular site where prominent literary and political figures of the time such as Pan Yue 潘岳 (247-300) gathered to socialize, write poetry, and enjoy wine, feasts and music.⁶¹ Pan Yue's own "Fu on My Idle Life" 閑居賦 contains a significant section on his garden, with a lengthy catalogue of the fruits and vegetables growing there, and inaugurated a subgenre of the *fu* form.⁶² Anticipated by Pan Yue's piece was Xie Lingyun's 謝靈運 (385-433) "Fu on Dwelling in the Mountains" 山居賦,⁶³ which in

⁵⁶ Zhang, *Jiashi tanlu*, p. 4; for a slightly different (and better) version, see Wang, *Tang yulin* 4, p. 342.

⁵⁷ Lu Qinli 遼欽立, ed., *Xian Qin Han Wei Jin Nanbeichao shi* 先秦漢魏晉南北朝詩 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1983), pp. 643-44.

⁵⁸ Lu, *Xian Qin Han Wei Jin Nanbeichao shi*, p. 644.

⁵⁹ *Quan Jin wen* 全晉文 33, pp. 13a-b, in Yan Kejun 嚴可均 (1720-1843), comp., *Quan shanggu sandai Qin Han Sanguo Liuchao wen* 全上古三代秦漢三國六朝文 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1958).

⁶⁰ For translations of "Longing to Return, a Lament" and "Preface to the Golden Valley Poems," see Hellmut Wilhelm, "Shih Ch'ung and His Chin-ku-yüan," *MS* 18 (1959), pp. 315-27. For a more accurate translation by Richard Mather of "Preface to the Golden Valley Poems," see John Minford and Joseph M. S. Lau, eds., *Classical Chinese Literature: An Anthology of Translation*, vol. 1, *From Antiquity to the Tang Dynasty* (New York: Columbia U.P., 2000), pp. 475-76. See also Stephen Owen, *The Poetry of the Early Tang* (New Haven: Yale U.P., 1977), pp. 274-76.

⁶¹ One such gathering, as reported in Shi Chong's "Preface to the Golden Valley Poems," attracted thirty participants, all of whom wrote commemorative verses. Of those only Pan Yue's "Jingu ji zuo shi" 金谷集作詩 has been preserved; see Lu, *Xian Qin Han Wei Jin Nanbeichao shi*, p. 632. Shi Chong and Pan Yue were members of an elite literati group known as the Twenty-Four Friends 二十四友; see *JIS* 40, p. 1173.

⁶² See Xiao Tong 蕭統 (501-31), comp., *Wenxuan* 文選 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1986) 16, pp. 697-707. For English translations of Pan Yue's *fu*, see Burton Watson, trans., *Chinese Rhyme Prose* (New York: Columbia U.P., 1971), pp. 64-71; and David Knechtges, trans., *Wen xuan or Selections of Fine Literature* (Princeton: Princeton U.P., 1996) 3, pp. 145-57.

⁶³ *Quan Songwen* 全宋文 31, pp. 1a-11b, in Yan, *Quan shanggu*. For a critical study together with a complete translation of Xie Lingyun's *fu* in English, see Francis A. Westbrook, "Land-

turn exerted a tangible influence on Shen Yue's 沈約 (441-513) "Fu on Dwelling in the Suburbs" 郊居賦.⁶⁴ Continuing this tradition was Yu Xin's 庾信 (513-581) "Fu on My Small Garden" 小園賦, many of whose images and motifs were drawn from Pan Yue's *fu*.⁶⁵ The theme of reclusion is omnipresent in all these works.

Starting in the early years of Tang, especially during the second reign of the emperor Zhongzong 中宗 (705-710), poems on the estates of members of the royal family and their in-laws took on certain distinct thematic and stylistic features. The emperor's frequent outings to these estates in the company of his entourage of poets occasioned numerous panegyric verses, which characterized the residents of those extravagant estates and visitors to them as rustic hermits and Daoist immortals. The estate became a space where bucolic and transcendent moods could be satisfied without rejecting public or mundane life.⁶⁶ Zhongzong himself led the choir on one such outing and invoked Tao Qian as his model.⁶⁷

Distinctly different from the panegyrics of early-Tang estate poems, the "Wang Stream Collection" 鞞川集, a small series of poems written probably in the 740s by Wang Wei 王維 (701?-761) and Pei Di 裴迪 (fl. 741),⁶⁸ initiated the convention of mapping the various sites and scenes of an estate in a series of poems, often in the form of pentasyllabic quatrains.⁶⁹ Later imitations of the architectural form of the series

scape Description in the Lyric Poetry and 'Fuh on Dwelling in the Mountains' of Shieh Ling-yunn," Ph.D. diss. (Yale University, 1973).

⁶⁴ *Quan Liang wen* 全梁文 25, pp. 2a-6b, in Yan, *Quan shanggu*. For a translation of Shen Yue's *fu* with a commentary, see Richard Mather, *The Poet Shen Yüeh* (Princeton: Princeton U.P., 1988), pp. 176-213. The esteem that Shen Yue accorded Xie Lingyun's *fu* can be gauged by the fact that he quoted the entire piece in his biography of Xie Lingyun in *Songshu* 宋書 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1974) 67, pp. 1754-71.

⁶⁵ *Quan Hou Zhou wen* 全后周文 8, pp. 4a-5a, in Yan, *Quan shanggu*. For an English translation of Yu Xin's *fu*, see Watson, *Chinese Rhyme Prose*, pp. 103-9.

⁶⁶ For a discussion, see Stephen Owen, "The Formation of the Tang Estate Poem," *HJAS* 55.1 (1995), pp. 39-59; and idem, *Poetry of the Early Tang*, pp. 256-73. Many of the poems written by court poets during the Jinglong reign (707-10) were collected in the now lost *Jinglong wenguan ji* 景龍文館記, compiled in the 720s by Wu Pingyi 武平一 (d. ca. 741). For a discussion, see Jia Jinhua, "A Study of the *Jinglong wenguan ji*," *MS* 47 (1999), pp. 299-36.

⁶⁷ See "Jiuyue jiuri xinglin Weiting denggao de 'qiu' zi" 九月九日幸臨渭亭登高得秋字 (*QTS* 2, p. 23). Poems written by Zhongzong's literary courtiers on the same occasion are collected in Ji Yougong 計有功 (fl. 1126), *Tangshi jishi jiaojian* 唐詩記事校箋, Wang Zhongyong 王仲鏞, ed. (Chengdu: Bashu shushe, 1989) 1, p. 16.

⁶⁸ For the former, see *QTS* 128, pp. 1299-320; the latter's are *QTS* 128, pp. 1312-15.

⁶⁹ Wang Wei wrote a shorter series of five poems on another mountain estate, "Huanfu Yue Yunxi zati wu shou" 皇甫岳雲溪雜題五首 (*QTS* 128, p. 1302). Mention may be made here of Lu Hong's 盧鴻 (fl. ca. 713-42) "Songshan shi zhi shi shou" 嵩山十志十首 (*QTS* 123, pp. 1223-26), which could have been written earlier than the "Wang Stream Collection." There are two reasons to exclude Lu Hong's work from the subgenre of estate series. First, written

and its bland, understated style include “Twenty-two Miscellaneous Poems on Lantian Creek” 藍田溪雜詠二十二首 by Wang Wei’s epigone Qian Qi 錢起 (710?-782?),⁷⁰ Huangfu Ran’s 皇甫冉 (717-770) “Five Poems Written in the Mountains” 山中五詠,⁷¹ Han Yu’s 韓愈 (768-824) “Respectfully Matching the Twenty-One Newly Composed Poems on Santang Park by Supervising Secretary Liu, Governor of Guozhou” 奉和虢州劉給事使君三堂新題二十一詠,⁷² Wei Chuhou’s 韋處厚 (773-828) “Twelve Poems on Shengshan” 盛山十二首,⁷³ and Zhang Ji’s “Matching Twelve Poems on Shengshan by Governor Wei of Kaizhou” 和韋開州盛山十二首.⁷⁴

In many ways, Li Deyu’s writings were part of a living, literary tradition. Chinese literati through the ages had offered a more or less consistent set of explanations of their reasons for possessing a suburban estate: their inborn love for nature as a place for moral and religious self-cultivation as well as aesthetic enjoyment, their incompatibility with and disdain for the vulgar world, and their (not always sincerely professed) lack of abilities in government service. The lowest common denominator in the poetic discourse on the estate (namely, the configuration of the estate as a space of transcendence and reclusion) can certainly be discerned in Li Deyu’s writings. His conception of the construction of Pingquan Villa as an embodiment of his filial piety, however, was quite unique.⁷⁵ Two points may be made in this connection: first, as we have already seen, such a conception accounts at least in part for Li Deyu’s intense affection for his villa; second, as we shall see, it was ignored by those who criticized him for his possessiveness in later times.

Typically, when a writer wrote about his garden, he would present his thoughts and feelings as a direct response to what he saw and heard in his garden at the moment. Writing about one’s garden would be part of one’s life in the garden. Li Deyu’s writings were different.

in a free *Chuci* meter, with a rather lengthy preface preceding the poetic celebration of each site on Mount Song, the style of Lu Hong’s set is drastically different from that of the “Wang Stream Collection” and its imitations. Second, the authenticity of Lu Hong’s poems, which were supposed to have accompanied his painting “Caotang tu” 草堂圖, has been challenged by modern scholars. For the conjecture that both the painting and the poems were fabrications of the late-Tang or early-Song, see Xu Fuguan 徐復觀, *Zhongguo yishu jingshen* 中國藝術精神 (Taipei: Xuesheng shuju, 1974), p. 506.

⁷⁰ *QTS* 239, pp. 2684-87. ⁷¹ *QTS* 248, pp. 2805-6. ⁷² *QTS* 343, pp. 3847-50.

⁷³ *QTS*, 479, pp. 5448-50. ⁷⁴ *QTS* 386, pp. 4374-84.

⁷⁵ Near the end of his “Fu on My Idle Life” (*Wenxuan* 16, pp. 705-6), Pan Yue had described his garden as place where he and his brothers took great pleasure and diligence in taking care of their mother, but the construction the garden itself had no link with the idea of filial piety.

The overwhelming majority of them were composed while he was away from Pingquan. His poems were not so much about what existed in front of his eyes as about what existed in his mind's-eye. The limitations on his relationship with his villa arose from the contingencies of his political career and caused Pingquan to recede from his life and even as a hope for his future retirement. Thus Li's absence intensified his possessive desire and compulsive remembrance, which became two dominant themes in his writings and which were problematized in the Song. Although absenteeism was rampant among garden owners in the Tang, its correlation with remembrance, desire, and poetry as exhibited in Li Deyu's case was unparalleled.

CONTEMPORARY PERSPECTIVES ON PINGQUAN

Although Li Deyu's absenteeism became an easy butt of satire from the Song onward, contemporaries would see it through rosier lenses. In "A Companion Piece to Minister Duke Li's Poem 'Written Impromptu upon My First Return to Pingquan, As I Passed the Southern Peak of Longmen and Looked to My Mountain Villa in the Distance'" 和李相公初歸平泉過龍門南嶺遙望山居即事,⁷⁶ for example, Liu Yuxi 劉禹錫 (772–842) emphasized that Li Deyu's departure from court and stay at Pingquan would (and should) not be for long:

暫別明庭去	Leaving the brilliant court for a while,
初隨優詔還	You returned in the grace of an imperial decree.
曾爲鵬鳥賦	Once you composed a rhyme-prose on the owl; ⁷⁷
喜過鑿龍山	Now you are happy to pass Zaolong Mountain. ⁷⁸
新墅煙火起	From your new villa cooking smoke rose,
野程泉石間	As you traveled in the wilds among fountain rocks.
巖廊人望在	With your prestige prevailing at court,
只得片時間	You will have only a moment of leisure here.

For Liu Yuxi, the proper place for a statesman of Li Deyu's talent and renown was at court, not a mountain retreat; his absenteeism was dictated by the moral imperative of active civil service.

⁷⁶ *QTS* 358, p. 4041.

⁷⁷ After Jia Yi 賈誼 (201–169 BC) was exiled to Changsha, an owl flew into his room; he considered it a bad omen and wrote "Funiao fu" 鵬鳥賦; see *Shiji* 84, p. 2496. Liu Yuxi was referring to Li Deyu's past exilic experience.

⁷⁸ This is another name for Longmen Mountain.

Liu Yuxi wrote a total of five companion pieces to Liu Deyu's poems about Pingquan, and four of them expressed the same idea. In response to Li Deyu's feigned modesty about his newly acquired epithet "Pingquan," he wrote the following:⁷⁹

業繼韋平後	Your accomplishments succeed those of the Wei and the Ping families; ⁸⁰
家依崑閩間	Your home lies between Mount Kunlun and Mount Langfeng. ⁸¹
恩華辭北第	In grace and glory, you departed from your northern abode, ⁸²
瀟灑愛東山	In insouciance and casualness, you love your residence at East Mountain. ⁸³
滿室圖書在 入門松菊閑	Your roomfuls of books are still here; Inside the gate, pine and chrysanthemum are placid.
垂天雖暫息	Although the bird with cloudlike wings is taking a momentary rest, ⁸⁴
一舉出人寰	With one sweep it will fly into the realm of men.

In Liu Yuxi's panegyric spin, anything other than a "momentary rest" at Pingquan would be a tremendous waste of Li Deyu's extraordinary gift.

The above two poems are structurally similar in that both end with a prediction about Li Deyu's quick return to court after a short sojourn at his villa. Such a prophetic pattern is evident in two other companion pieces by Liu Yuxi. "A Companion Piece to 'Choosing a Place to Live' by Grand Master Li of Zhexi" 和浙西李大夫伊川卜居 concludes with these lines:⁸⁵

⁷⁹ *QTS* 358, p. 4041.

⁸⁰ During the Western Han, there were two cases of both father and son serving as grand councilors, i.e., Wei Xian 韋賢 (148–60 BC) and Wei Xuancheng 韋玄成 (d. 36 BC), Ping Dang 平當 and Ping Yan 平晏 (d. 30); see *HS* 71, p. 3051. The parallel is that both Li Jifu and Li Deyu served in the same capacity.

⁸¹ Mount Kunlun 崑崙 and Mount Langfeng 閩風 are legendary dwelling places for immortals.

⁸² This refers to Li Deyu's mansion in the Anyi 安邑 ward of Changan, originally obtained by Li Jifu. This residence was the subject of many geomantic predictions; see Li Fang 李昉 (925–96) et al., comp., *Taiping guangji* 太平廣記 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1961) 497, p. 4076, quoting *Lushi zashuo* 盧氏雜說; and Kang, *Jutan lu*, p. 84.

⁸³ Xie An 謝安 (320–85) once built a villa on East Mountain 東山 (also known as Earth Mountain 土山) where he lived in quite extravagant lifestyle, heedless of the criticisms by his contemporaries; see *JS* 79, pp. 2075–76.

⁸⁴ The legendary *peng* 鵬 bird has wings resembling clouds hanging in the sky and takes a break from its flying only every six months; see *Zhuangzi jishi* ("Xiaoyao you" 逍遙遊) 1, p. 2.

⁸⁵ *QTS* 363, p. 4100.

丹禁虛東閣	In the vermilion palace the east chamber is kept vacant for you;
蒼生望北轅	The great masses of the people are waiting for your northbound coach.
徒令雙白鶴	It would be pointless for a pair of white cranes,
五里自翩翩	To hesitate in their graceful dance every five miles.

Similarly, the last four lines of “In Response to Minister Duke Li Sending Me His ‘Happily on My Way Back to My Native Land, as I Sailed on the Luo River from Gong County’” 酬李相公喜歸鄉國自鞏縣夜泛洛水見寄 read as follows:⁸⁶

鵬息風還起	From its rest the great <i>peng</i> bird will soar again with the wind;
鳳歸林正秋	Autumn is falling on the woods as the phoenix returns. ⁸⁷
雖攀小山桂	Although you broke a cassia bough of Little Mountain,
此地不淹留	This is not a place for you to linger long. ⁸⁸

Different from Liu Yuxi, who repeatedly stressed that Li Deyu’s stay at Pingquan was only a temporary pause in the exertion of his extraordinary talent, Pei Lin 裴潏 (d. 838) praised Li Deyu’s lofty reclusive inclination as well as his impressive administrative accomplishments in a series entitled “Duke Zhanhuang, Formerly Minister of State, Built a Mountain Villa at Pingquan a Long Time Ago. He Returned for a Short Rest and Soon Left in Answer to the Imperial Decree for Him to Govern Zheyong. I Composed Fourteen Tetrasyllabic Poems to Express My Thoughts and Respectfully Sent Them to Him” 前相國贊皇公早葺平泉山居暫還憩旋起赴詔命作鎮浙右輒抒懷賦四言詩十四首奉寄.⁸⁹ Pei Lin’s postscript contains enough useful information to be worth translating in its entirety here:

⁸⁶ *QTS* 358, p. 4040.

⁸⁷ The allusion here is to two passages in the *Lunyu*. In one instance (xviii/5), Jie Yu 接輿, a madman of Chu, went past Confucius and sang a song, in which the phoenix (a reference to Confucius) is urged to give up and escape from the peril of those in office; in another instance (v/22), Confucius, while in Chen, said to his students: “Let’s go home. Let’s go home” 歸與! 歸與!

⁸⁸ Little Mountain is the epithet of a group of literary retainers at the court of Liu An 劉安 (179–22 BC), Prince of Huainan. To them is attributed “Zhao yinshi” 招隱士, which has this description of a recluse (whom the speaker is trying to call back): “He reached for cassia boughs and lingered there for a while” 攀援桂枝兮聊淹留; see *Wenxuan* 33, p. 1555.

⁸⁹ *QTS* 507, pp. 5764–66.

In the ninth month of the first year of the Kaicheng reign (October, 836),⁹⁰ the minister duke was appointed to the branch office in the Eastern Capital in the capacity of advisor to the heir-apparent. He arrived at Luoyang on the nineteenth day of the ninth month (November 1, 836), and resided peacefully in his Pingquan villa. I composed the above tetrasyllabic poems to transmit his lordship's inborn disposition and also to describe the beauty of mountains and springs, but I did not have time to inscribe them on stone. On the twenty-first day of the eleventh month (January 1, 837) of the same year, his lordship was appointed surveillance commissioner of Zhexi; he was also favored with the elevated title of censor-in-chief among the eight executives. On the fourth day of the twelfth month (January 14, 837), he left for his post. In the spring of the second year of the Kaicheng reign,⁹¹ while I was vice director of the ministry of war, I was appointed governor of Henan. I myself transcribed those poems on stone in my office,⁹² and set it up in the mountain villa at Pingquan. Recorded on this the twenty-fifth day of the ninth month of the second year of the Kaicheng reign (October 28, 837), by Pei Lin, governor of Henan.

To illustrate Pei Lin's two stated purposes – to “transmit his lordship's inborn disposition” and “to describe the beauty of mountains and springs” at Pingquan – I cite three poems from his series.⁹³ With its focus on Li Deyu's moral fortitude and spiritual transcendence, Poem Number 4 apparently fulfills the first of Pei Lin's purposes:

我力或屈	My abilities may be exhausted;
我躬莫污	My body will never be tainted.
三黜如飴	Demotions for three times tasted like sweets;
三起惟懼	Promotions for three times caused only fear.
再賓爲寵	Being appointed the advisor again was a favor; ⁹⁴
一麾爲飶	Departing from court was a treat.
昔在治繁	In the past, when I was entangled in work,
常思歸去	I often thought about returning.

⁹⁰ Read 開成元年 for 開成九年 here; see *LDYWJ* 10, p. 627.

⁹¹ Read 開成二年春 for 開成二年 here; see *LDYWJ* 10, pp. 627–28.

⁹² Pei Lin was an excellent calligrapher.

⁹³ All three poems were written from the perspective of Li Deyu, hence the use of the first person pronoun *wǒ* 我.

⁹⁴ More than a year earlier, 4th lunar mo. of Dahe (i.e., 835), Li Deyu was appointed advisor to the heir-apparent. Because of court intrigue, he was then demoted to Yuanzhou before he left for Luoyang; see *Zizhi tongjian* 45, pp. 7902–3.

今則合契	Today, things are falling in place,
行斯中慮	So that I can follow my heart's desire.

Here Li Deyu emerges as a man untroubled by the frequent ups and downs of his political career. A positive spin is put on his departure from the central government. He is now finally able to do what he has always wanted to do: return to his garden.

Poem Number 8 is one of several in Pei Lin's series that describes the scenic beauty of Pingquan (a description that was lacking in Liu Yuxi's poems):

飛泉挂空	The flying fall hangs in the sky,
如決天濤	As if breaking open from the heavenly pool.
萬仞懸注	A spurt of ten thousand feet from up in the air,
直貫潭心	Dashes straight into the heart of the pond.
月正中央	With the moon in the middle of the sky,
洞見淺深	The depth of the pond is clearly seen.
群山無影	Mountains form no shadows,
孤鶴時吟	A lonely crane cries from time to time.
我嘯我歌	I whistle, and I sing;
或眺或臨	Now I gaze afar, then I look down.

As he enjoys the pristine landscape of Pingquan, Li Deyu acts in total spontaneity, expressing himself through singing and whistling.⁹⁵

Number 10 of Pei Lin's series is of particular interest in that it emphasizes the modesty of Li Deyu's villa in correspondence to the simplicity of his desire:

寢丘之田	About the land at Sleep Mound,
土山之上	On the top of Earth Mountain.
孫既貽謀	Sun left behind his advice; ⁹⁶

⁹⁵ One of the most famous whistlers is Ruan Ji 阮籍 (210–263), known for his carefree lifestyle. When he whistled, he could be heard several hundred paces away; see Liu Yiqing 劉義慶 (403–444), *Shishuo xinyu* 世說新語, annot. Liu Xiaobiao 劉孝標 (462–521) (Yu Jiayi 余嘉錫, ed., *Shishuo xinyu jianshu* 箋疏 [Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1993]) 18, p. 647. Quoting the early works “Weishi chunqiu” 魏氏春秋 and “Zhulin qixian lun” 竹林七賢論, Liu Xiaobiao informs us that when Ruan Ji visited a recluse on Sumen Mountain, the recluse did not answer, but only whistled. The recluse, known as Master Sumen, was the inspiration of Ruan Ji's “Daren xiansheng zhuan” 大人先生傳.

⁹⁶ When Sunshu Ao 孫叔敖 was on his deathbed, he gave his son advice. The king had offered to give him a fief several times before, but he had declined. Thus, after his death, the son should not accept any fief of profitable land the king offers and should ask instead for Sleep Mound (Qinqiu), located between Chu and Yue. Nobody wanted the land because of its name (which carries connotations of tombs and death). The son followed the advice, and the family was able to hold on to the fief for a long time; Chen Qiyou 陳奇猷, ed., *Lüshi chunqiu* 呂氏春秋 (Shanghai: Xuelin chubanshe, 1984) 10 (“Bao yi” 寶異), p. 551. The term Qinqiu has become a general reference to unproductive (and unwanted) land.

謝亦遐想	Xie thought about it from afar. ⁹⁷
儉則爲福	Frugality is a blessing;
華固難長	Hard it is for lavishness to last.
寧若我心	Is it not just like my heart
一泉一壤	To have one spring on one tract of land?
造適爲足	Enough for me to sightsee,
超然孤賞	Where I enjoy myself, transcendent.

Pei Lin's representation here forms a sharp contrast with the criticisms of Pingquan Villa for its extravagance, which, as we shall see presently, was voiced already during Li Deyu's lifetime. Since Pei Lin had first-hand knowledge of the scale of Pingquan, one might wonder if he was actually trying to convey a moral message to Li Deyu with the reference to Sleep Mound. However, the panegyric tone of the whole series is so unmistakable that it is difficult to imagine he is doing anything other than sincerely praising Li Deyu here.

After Li Deyu left Pingquan, he served in Zhexi until 838, when he was appointed to Huainan. In the summer of 840, he was summoned to court. On his way to Changan from Huainan, he made a short stop at Pingquan.⁹⁸ In the following years, during the Huichang reign (841-47), he was the most powerful official at court, and his accomplishments were impressive. However, after the emperor Wuzong 武宗 died in 846, in the middle of spring, Li's political fortune took a drastic turn. In late spring he was eased out of court; and in winter he came to Luoyang as regent of the Eastern Capital 東都留守. A little more than a year later, early in 848, he was exiled to the south, with no hope of return, first to Chaozhou 潮州, and later (in the fall) to Yazhou 崖州, at the very southern edge of the Tang empire, where he died a little over a year later.

Li Deyu's tragic ending soon became a topic of lamentation in the second half of the ninth century.⁹⁹ One of the best known is Wang

⁹⁷ For Earth Mound, see n. 83, above. Here, however, Pei Lin probably had in mind another story. After Xie An left his villa to serve at court, he missed East Mountain and thus built an earth mound as an imitation of it; see Wang Qi 王琦 (fl. 1758), annot., *Li Taibai quanji* 李太白全集 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1977) 7, p. 404 (note to "Dongshan yin" 東山吟, quoting *Jiangnan tongzhi* 江南通志).

⁹⁸ A notable episode during Li Deyu's short stay at Pingquan this time is described in Zhang Gu 張固 (fl. 860-79), *Youxian guchui* 悠閑鼓吹 (CSJC edn.), p. 3: Li Zongmin, who was then in Luoyang as advisor to the heir-apparent, was worried that his nemesis was returning to power and tried to send a letter to Li Deyu through intermediaries so that a meeting between the two could set up for reconciliation; the overture was flatly turned down by Li Deyu. For a critical examination of this episode, see Fu, *Li Deyu nianpu*, pp. 373-74.

⁹⁹ To Li Deyu is attributed a poem titled "Li Pingquan mashang zuo" 離平泉馬上作 (*LDIWJ* 4, p. 498), which seems to move from lamenting to gloating over the caprice of his fortune. The poem, however, is probably a forgery of the late-Tang; see Fu, *Li Deyu nianpu*, p. 664-65.

Zun's 汪遵 (*js.* 866) "On Defender-in-chief Li's Pingquan Villa" 題李太尉平泉莊,¹⁰⁰ which won instant popularity:

水泉花木好高眠	Streams and founts, flowers and plants – fit for peaceful slumber;
嵩少縱橫滿目前	Sweeping and towering, Song and Shao Moun- tains fill one's eyes.
惆悵人間不平事	Disconsolate is the injustice in this world;
今朝身在海南邊	Nowadays his body lies south of the ocean. ¹⁰¹

Similar in tone and sentiment is Luo Ye's 羅鄴 (fl. 873) "Sighing over Pingquan" 歎平泉:¹⁰²

生前幾到此亭臺	How often in his life did he come to these pavilions and terraces?
尋歎投荒去不回	Constantly I lament about his not being able to return from exile.
若遣春風會人意	If the wind in spring could be made to under- stand human feelings,
花枝盡合向南開	Then all the flowers would blossom toward the south. ¹⁰³

Around the same time Li Deyu's misfortune was being elegized, the Pingquan garden became legendary in anecdotal writings (*biji* 筆記). In Kang Pian's 康駢 (*js.* 877) *Jutan lu* 劇談錄, written about a quarter of a century after Li Deyu's death, marvel at the landscaping feats and rare items in the garden is followed by a satirical note:

Pingquan Villa in the Eastern Capital is thirty *li* (about ten miles) from the city of Luoyang. With flowers and trees, terraces and pavilions, it looks like the abode of immortals. There is a balustrade, in front of which water from a spring is channeled into a meandering course, resembling mountains and rivers like the Ba Gorge, the twelve peaks of Dongting, and the Nine Tributaries extending to Haimeng. By the walkway in the bamboo grove, there is a flat rock. If one rubs it by hand, shapes of clouds, dragons, phoenixes, plants, and trees will loom. There is a rib bone of a gigantic fish, two *zhang* and five *chi* (about 25 feet) in length, on

¹⁰⁰ *QIS* 602, p. 6959.

¹⁰¹ See Xin, *Tang caizi zhuan* 3, p. 466, where the poem appears in a significantly different version.

¹⁰² *QIS* 654, p. 7524.

¹⁰³ For poems from the late Tang with elegiac references to but not focused on Pingquan, see Luo Yin 羅隱 (833–910), "Ganlusi huo hou" 甘露寺火後 (*QIS* 662, p. 7591); "Xue Yangtao bili ge" 薛陽陶齋築歌 (*QIS* 665, p. 7618); "Qiantang yu Moshi yi Runzhou jiu you" 錢塘遇默師憶潤州舊遊 (*QIS* 665, p. 7621); and Xu Yin 徐夤 (*js.* 894), "Luan si pingfeng" 嵐似屏風 (*QIS* 709, p. 8115).

which is inscribed, “The second year of the Huichang reign (842), sent from Haizhou.”¹⁰⁴ In the beginning, when Deyu was building his Pingquan villa, people from faraway places would send him their local products and rare objects. Therefore, in a few years, there was nothing that he did not have in the villa. A contemporary wrote on Pingquan: “Grandees of Longyou offered talking birds; / Prefects of Rinan sent famous flowers.”¹⁰⁵

Pingquan Villa was destroyed in the Five Dynasties period. By the 970s, only its foundation remained. Gone were the terraces and pavilions numbering more than one hundred; the many specimens of strange rocks, had been “taken away by powerful families of Luoyang;” the rare trees and plants, with a few exceptions, were nowhere to be seen anymore.¹⁰⁶

Before moving on to the representations of Li Deyu and his Pingquan Villa in the Song, I should like to point out something obvious: the panegyric tone in the poems by Liu Yuxi and Pei Lin with regard to Li Deyu's absenteeism was determined by their personal relationships with him. Early in the ninth century, absenteeism became a major issue in poems on gardens (especially those in Changan and Luoyang) and was generally viewed in a negative light. Liu Yuxi himself commented on the phenomenon in the Luoyang area in a poem entitled “Strolling in the East of the City” 城東閑遊,¹⁰⁷ which begins with:

借問池臺主	May I ask where the owners of the ponds and pavilions are?
多居要路津	Most of them are positioned in high office.
千金買絕境	With thousands of gold they purchased such supreme scenery,
永日屬閒人	Only to let it belong to this man of leisure all day long.

The contrast between a busy high official legally owning a garden and a “man of leisure” actually appreciating it is a common theme in garden poems of the early-ninth century. Typically, the poet would celebrate his own leisure and satirizes the absenteeism he witnessed, and no one was more articulate in this respect than Bai Juyi, a frequenter of Pingquan and other gardens in the Luoyang area. As this topic has already been addressed in detail,¹⁰⁸ I will not elaborate here. Instead, I

¹⁰⁴ This is probably the same one as mentioned in Li Deyu's “Haiyu gu” 海魚骨, in “Si Pingquan shu shi zayong shiyi shou” 思平泉樹石雜詠十一首 (*LDYWJ* 10, p. 610).

¹⁰⁵ Quoted in *Taiping guangji* 405, p. 3271.

¹⁰⁶ Zhang, *Jiashi tanlu*, p. 4.

¹⁰⁷ *QIS* 357, p. 4020.

¹⁰⁸ See Yang, *Metamorphosis*, pp. 28–36.

will simply quote from one of his poems, entitled “Written on Luoyang Mansions” 題洛中第宅.¹⁰⁹ After describing the lavish scale and style of the mansions he saw in Luoyang, Bai Juyi turns his attention to their absentee owners, whose behavior is reminiscent of Li Deyu:

試問池臺主	May I ask who the owners of the ponds and terraces are?
多爲將相官	Most of them are generals and ministers.
終身不曾到	Never having been here throughout their lives,
唯展宅圖看	They can only roll open their estate maps to take a look. ¹¹⁰

The elegiac pieces by Wang Zun and Luo Ye should also be distinguished from the typical lamentations over ruined estates in the Tang. (For one thing, Pingquan Villa was apparently still in good condition when those two poets visited it.) For the purpose of comparison, we may mention briefly the case of Fengcheng (“Presenting Loyalty”) Garden 奉誠園. The garden originally belonged to Ma Sui 馬燧 (726–795), a general who distinguished himself in suppressing the revolts of 781–785. After Ma Sui died, the eunuchs cajoled his son into handing over the family house and grounds to the emperor.¹¹¹ Arthur Waley has noted that the garden was often used by ninth-century poets as “a symbol of the transitoriness of worldly possessions and glory.”¹¹² The elegies on Pingquan Villa in the second half of the ninth century, on the other hand, appear to be much more closely bound with the authors’ political sympathies.

¹⁰⁹ *QTS* 448, p. 5046.

¹¹⁰ Note the similarity between the first couplet here and the first couplet in Liu Yuxi’s poem just quoted.

¹¹¹ *JTS* 143, p. 3701; *XTS* 155, p. 4890.

¹¹² *The Life and Works of Po Chü-i* (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1949), p. 17. Tang poems with Fengcheng Garden as a main topic include Dou Mou 竇牟 (749–822), “Fengchengyuan wen di” 奉誠園聞笛 (*QTS* 271, p. 3039); Chang Dang 暢當 (*js.* 773), “Chunri guo Fengchengyuan” 春日過奉誠園 (*QTS* 287, p. 3284); Yuan Zhen, “Fengchengyuan” 奉誠園 (*QTS* 411, p. 4564). Poems with references to (but not on the topic of) Fengcheng Garden include Bai Juyi, “Shang zhai” 傷宅, one of a series of ten poems entitled “Qinzhong yin shi shou” 秦中吟十首 (*QTS* 425, p. 4675); “Xing wei liang” 杏爲梁 (*QTS* 427, p. 4707); Yuan Zhen, “Qianxing shi shou” 遣興十首 (no. 2) (*QTS* 398, p. 4467); Du Mu 杜牧 (803–853), “Guo Tianjiazhai” 過田家宅 (*QTS* 521, p. 5961); Xue Feng 薛逢 (fl. 853), “Jun bujian” 君不見 (*QTS* 548, p. 6319). In discussing Bai Juyi’s “Xing wei liang,” Chen Yinke 陳寅恪 cited many examples of allusions to Ma Sui’s mansion in Tang poetry; see his *Yuan Bai shi jianzheng gao* 元白詩箋證稿 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1978), pp. 274–78.

PINGQUAN THROUGH THE CRITICAL LENSES OF THE SONG

Starting with Ouyang Xiu's 歐陽修 (1007-1072) generation in the Song, Li Deyu's reputation as a garden master and a collector became increasingly problematic. For ease of presentation, critical pronouncements in this regard can be classified according to the occasions on which they were uttered. Roughly, the occasions are 1. tours of Pingquan, 2. reading Li Deyu's writings on his villa, 3. celebrating the retirement of an eminent official, and 4. commemorating rocks as an aesthetic object. In the first two cases, Li Deyu and his Pingquan garden are the main topic; in the second two, they are invoked as a negative example either to set off the wisdom of a retiring official or to sound a cautionary note about rock collecting.

Of the first category of critical pronouncements, Wen Yanbo's 文彥博 (1006-1097) "Written after I Toured Pingquan" 游平泉作 can be cited as an example:

一崦抱溪斜	Where a slanting stream embraces the foot of the mountain
前朝輔相家	Lies the home of the grand councilor of the previous dynasty.
遺基皆瓦礫	On the old site there is nothing but rubble;
古木尙煙霞	Only ancient trees remain in mists and clouds.
夙昔東山墅	In the past, he had a villa in East Mountain,
留連上殿車	But he was too attached to his coach to the palace.
雖云營退隱	Although he built it for his retirement and reclusion,
未免逐豪夸	He could not help pursuing profligacy and extravagance.
事往如飛鳥	Things of the past are like birds flying by;
林空噪暮鴉	In the empty woods crows are cawing at dusk.
池平無舊鳳	By the leveled pond, there is no phoenix from olden times; ¹¹³

¹¹³ Wen Yanbo is probably making an oblique allusion to Phoenix Pond (*fengchi* 鳳池, or *fenghuangchi* 鳳凰池). Originally referring to ponds and pools in the imperial park, the term became, from the Wei onward, a synonym with the secretariat 中書省, because the secretariat was usually headed by those enjoying the favor of the emperor; see Du You 杜佑 (735-812), *Tongdian* 通典 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1988) 21, p. 561. When he received congratulations for his appointment to the director of the Department of State Affairs 尚書令, Xun Xu 荀勗 (d. 289), who had been the secretariat supervisor 中書監, growled: "They took away my Phoenix Pond. What are you congratulating me for?" (*JŚ* 39, p. 1157). During the Tang, Phoenix Pond came to refer to the position of the grand councilor, because the latter was also known as jointly managing affairs with the secretariat-chancellery (a position once occupied by Li Deyu); it also became a cliché synonym for gardens of high officials.

堤壞有殘沙	On the broken dike, only sand remains.
野叟猶能說	Rustic oldsters can still tell stories;
樵夫亦共嗟	Woodcutters all sigh in lamentation.
至今巖石下	Up to this day, under the cliffs,
多長紫薇花	Many crape myrtle flowers are still blossoming. ¹¹⁴

When touring Pingquan in its original splendor, poets in the second half of the ninth century such as Wang Zun and Luo Ye had lamented the unjust exile of Li Deyu. Sightseers in the Song would find a different landscape as they faced the ruins of the villa; their attention would naturally turn to the contrast between the permanence of nature and the transitoriness of human artifice. Also typical of Song poems on Pingquan is Wen Yanbo's disparagement of Li Deyu for building a retreat without retreating to it (as a result of his attachment to "to his coach to the palace").

In Sima Guang's "Touring the Pingquan Villa of Duke Li of Wei" 遊李衛公平泉莊,¹¹⁵ the wreckage of the villa turned into an objective correlative for the illusiveness of Li Deyu's erstwhile supreme power:

相國已何在	Where is the minister of state now?
空山餘故林	The old grove remains in the empty mountain.
曩時堪炙手	Once upon a time, his power was scorching;
今日但傷心	Nowadays, one can only feel heart-broken.
陵谷尚未改	Cliffs and valleys have not yet changed; ¹¹⁶
門闌不可尋	Gates and fences are nowhere to be found.
誰知荆棘地	Who would have known that this thistle-covered ground
鶴蓋舊成陰	Was once shaded by crane-canopies?

As Pingquan had become essentially a waste land, excursions to it were no longer frequent in the Song.¹¹⁷ Instead, Li Deyu's writings on Pingquan seem to have provided more stimulation. In a colophon to the "Record of Plants and Trees of My Mountain Villa at Pingquan,"

¹¹⁴ *Quan Songshi* 全宋詩, compiled by Beijing daxue guwenxian yanjiusuo 北京大學古文獻研究所 (Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe, 1991-98; hereafter, cited as *QSS*) 274, pp. 3502-3. In a note to the last line, Wen Yanbo explained that none of the flowers and trees from Li Deyu's villa remained, although there were plenty of myrtle flowers blossoming in the valley under the cliffs; he wondered if those were left over from the old times.

¹¹⁵ *QSS* 507, p. 6173.

¹¹⁶ This alludes to the last sentence of Li Deyu's "Exhortation to My Children and Grandchildren about the Mountain Villa at Pingquan" (quoted above): "Only when cliffs turn into deep valleys and valleys turn into ridges can you let go of the villa."

¹¹⁷ One suspects that Wen Yanbo and Sima Guang visited Pingquan only because they had much leisure time after they were driven out of court in the wake of Wang Anshi's 王安石 (1021-86) reform programs and settled in Luoyang.

Ouyang Xiu commented caustically on Li Deyu's possessive desire and obsessive collection: "Deyu was in a wealthy and noble position, gathering much power, and yet his heart was greedy and his passion for curiosities could never be satisfied so that he exhausted his spirit on trees and plants. That was the cause of his failure. In his exhortation to his children and grandchildren, he said, 'Anyone who damages one single tree or one single plant will be disowned.' That was close to being foolish."¹¹⁸

Whereas Ouyang Xiu derided Li Deyu's possessiveness, Wen Yanbo, in a set of three poems entitled "Reading Once Again 'Record of Flowers and Trees at Pingquan'" 又讀平泉花木記,¹¹⁹ stressed his failure to withdraw from court in a timely fashion. The series may be read as an elaboration of the points Wen Yanbo made in the poem written after he toured Pingquan.

No. 1

歷覽平泉記
文饒性苦奢

Reading through "Record of Pingquan,"
I found Wenrao too indulgent in extravagance.

如何伊上墅
多是日南花
美蔭皆奇樹
清芬悉異葩

How is it that his villa on the Yi River
Was filled with flowers from Rinan?
Forming fine shades were all strange trees;
Emitting clear fragrance were nothing but odd flowers.

安知桃李盛

How could he know that his blossoming peach
and plum

不及晉公家

Could not stack up against the house of Duke
Jin?

No. 2

竹樹環青嶂
樓台生碧煙

Bamboo and trees circled blue crags;
From among towers and terraces rose green
mists.

¹¹⁸ Ouyang Xiu, "Tang Li Deyu Pingquan caomu ji ba" 唐李德裕平泉草木記跋, *Quan Songwen* 全宋文, compiled by Sichuan daxue guji zhengli yanjiusuo 四川大學古籍整理研究所 (Chengdu: Bashu shushe, 1988-), vol. 17, j. 727, p. 657. In later centuries, it became customary in commemorative writings on gardens or buildings to ridicule, à la Ouyang Xiu, the vanity of Li Deyu's charge to his children; see, e.g. Yue Zheng 岳正 (1418-72), "Xishentang ji" 西深堂記, *Leibo gao* 類博稿 (SKQS edn.) 7, pp. 1a-2a; Wu Kuan 吳寬 (1435-1504), "Zhanzhutang ji" 瞻竹堂記, *Jiacang ji* 家藏集 (SKQS edn.) 37, pp. 18b-19a. Land donation would be praised as an antidote to the kind of possessiveness exhibited by Li Deyu; see, for example, Lu Wengui 陸文圭 (1256-1340), "Lu Luwang citang shetian ji" 陸魯望祠堂捨田記, *Qiangdong leigao* 牆東類稿 (SKQS edn.) 7, pp. 16b-17b; "Zijinguan shetian ji" 資敬觀捨田記, *Qiangdong leigao* 8, pp. 24a-25a.

¹¹⁹ *QSS* 274, p. 3503.

珍奇窮四海	Those treasures and rarities came from all four oceans;
景象冠三川	Their shapes and forms were the best of Three Rivers. ¹²⁰
上黨夷兇日	On the day when he suppressed the violence in Shangdang,
太和歸國年	In the year when he returned to the capital in the Taihe reign –
此時能勇退	If he had been able to withdraw in glory at such times,
應遂老平泉	He would have spent his old age at Pingquan.

No. 3

吾觀李太尉	The way I look at Defender-in-chief Li,
所失在誇權	His failure lay in his indulgence in power.
名遂不知退	Not realizing he should retire when his fame was achieved,
膏明惟自煎	Letting bright candles of orchid-perfumed fat burn all by themselves. ¹²¹
終身戀華組	Throughout his life, he was attached to office;
何日到平泉	When did he ever come to Pingquan?
徒有思歸意	In vain did he harbor thoughts of returning,
歌詩盈百篇	And write more than one hundred poems.

Incorporating a line in the satirical couplet from the Tang as recorded by Kang Pian, the first poem indicts Li Deyu for the corruption involved in his extravagant collection of marvelous objects. It is the reference to Pei Du (namely, Duke Jin) at the end of the poem, however, that sets the thematic thread of the entire series. Pei Du had two gardens in Luoyang. One was in the Jixian 集賢 ward, built in 834. With its artificial mountains and ponds, bamboo groves and trees, pavilions and gazebos, bridges connecting waterside arbors, and islets spreading all around, it was the greatest among the gardens in Luoyang and became a center for social gatherings among the city's elite.¹²² Pei Du's second

¹²⁰ The Three Rivers commandery was established in the Qin and renamed Henan in the Han, Luoyang being its seat. The ancient name is used here to form parallelism with "four oceans" in the previous line.

¹²¹ The phrase "bright candles of orchid-perfumed fat" came from "Zhaohun" 招魂, attributed to Song Yu 宋玉. The speaker in the poem tries to call back the wandering soul of a dead king by describing the horrors out there and the attractions in his palace, where "bright candles of orchid-perfumed fat 蘭膏明燭" shine on the faces of pretty maidens; *Wenxuan* 33, p. 1514. The idea is that Li Deyu wasted the beautiful scenery in his garden.

¹²² There were eight scenic spots in Pei Du's Jixian garden whose names were mentioned in Bai Juyi's "Pei shizhong Jingong yi Jixian linting jishi shi ershilu yun jianzeng weimeng

garden, built a year later, was even more famous. After purchasing a magnificent mansion once owned by Li Guinian 李龜年, a favorite musician at the court of the emperor Xuanzong 玄宗 (r. 712–756), Pei Du had it removed from its original site in the Tongyuan 通遠 ward in the northeast corner of Luoyang to Wuqiao 午橋, just south of Dingding Gate 定鼎門 and named it Green Meadow Hall 綠野堂.¹²³ He spent his last years in his Luoyang gardens and thereby became an exemplar of opportune retirement. In Song poetry, Pingquan Villa and Green Meadow Hall were routinely mentioned together as a synonym for beautiful gardens; they were also, as in the case of Wen Yanbo's poem, paired to represent two different personality types, in terms of the ability to retire to one's garden after a highly successful career.¹²⁴

The second of Wen Yanbo's series repeats the charge of extravagance against Li Deyu and suggests that he should have retired at the peak of his success. The third poem takes him to task particularly for his absenteeism caused by his "indulgence in power." His perennial absenteeism is satirically juxtaposed with his numerous poems remembering Pingquan Villa.¹²⁵

Wen Tong's 文同 (1018–1079) "Colophon to the Transcription of 'Record of Plants and Trees at Pingquan,' Two Poems" 書平泉草木記後二首 shared much with Wen Yanbo's series but also developed in new directions.¹²⁶

Number 1

衛公當國日
力與天地均
平泉植草木

When Duke Wei ruled the country,
His power equaled that of heaven and earth.
Cultivating trees and plants at Pingquan,

zhenghe caizhuo cifan zhe guangwei wubai yan yi shen chouxian" 裴侍中晉公以集賢林亭即事詩三十六韻見贈兼蒙微和才拙詞繁輒廣爲五百言以伸酬獻 (*QTS* 452, p. 5117).

¹²³ See Zheng Chuhui 鄭處誨 (d. 867), *Minghuang zalu* 明皇雜錄 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1994) 2, p. 27. The renown of Pei Du's Jixian mansion and Green Meadow Hall was such that it even aroused the curiosity, if not the jealousy, of the emperor Wenzong 文宗 (r. 827–41), who, whenever he met someone returning from Luoyang to Changan, would ask, "Did you see Pei Du there?" (*JTS* 170, p. 4432). The account in *XTS* (173, p. 5218) suggests that the emperor was more interested in Pei Du's well-being than in his gardens, for he still entertained the hope of employing Pei Du despite his old age.

¹²⁴ For all we know, Green Meadow Hall was every bit as extravagant and labor intensive as Pingquan; what saved Pei Du from the criticisms of Song writers was his timely retirement.

¹²⁵ See also Ouyang Xiu, "Tang Li Wenrao Pingquan shanju shi ba" 唐李文饒平泉山居詩跋, *Quan Songwen*, vol. 17, j. 727, p. 658. For a more sympathetic treatment of Li Deyu's avowal to retire in the model of Yang Hu, see Mei Yaochen 梅堯臣 (1002–60), "Yi yun he Diao Jingchen du Li Weigong Pingquan shanju shibeiyu gan" 依韻和刁經臣讀李衛公平泉山居詩碑有感 (*QSS* 242, p. 809).

¹²⁶ *QSS* 434, p. 5323.

取盡四方春	He acquired spring scenery from all corners.
海嶽欲必得	He had to have them all, from the Eastern Sea to Tai Mountain,
亦能役鬼神	Able to command even ghosts and spirits.
可笑身未冷	How laughable that before his body turned cold,
已聞屬他人	It was said that they already belonged to oth- ers.

Number 2

公豈不聰明	Not that His Lordship was not intelligent,
嗜好乃如此	But that his addiction led him to this.
若非以私餌	Had he not been enticed by his selfishness,
是物安至止	How could these things have got here?
彼致者何人	Who were those that got them here? –
定非端潔士	Surely they were no upright and pure gentle- men.
草木固爲塵	The trees and plants have certainly turned into dust,
醜名終未已	But his infamy has not yet ended.

The moral criticism of Li Deyu's collecting harks back to the anonymous Tang couplet recorded by Kang Pian and echoed by Wen Yanbo,¹²⁷ but Wen Tong introduced two new elements. In the first poem, the completeness of Li Deyu's collection is juxtaposed with its disintegration "before his body turned cold."¹²⁸ Li Deyu's seemingly supreme power turned out to be illusory, offering no guarantee for the permanence of his possessions. In the second poem, Wen Tong highlighted the philosophical ramification of Li Deyu's "addiction," which transformed an otherwise "intelligent" man into a maniac, falling prey to his selfish desire and opening the gate to corruption.¹²⁹

Eventually, critical reflections on Li Deyu's writings on Pingquan lost much of their moral edge and became increasingly philosophical. Jiang Teli's 姜特立 (b. 1125) "What Came to My Mind After I Read

¹²⁷ Yet another example of Song criticism of Li Deyu inspired by the Tang couplet is Hong Shi 洪适 (1117–84), "Shancha" 山茶, in "Panzhou za yun" 盤洲雜韻 (*QSS* 2028, p. 23494).

¹²⁸ The Pingquan garden actually lasted longer than Wen Tong's poetic hyperbole would have us believe. About half a century after Li Deyu's death, the garden was obviously still in relatively good condition, when Li Jingyi tried to get back his grandfather's beloved Rock for Sobering from Intoxication.

¹²⁹ In "Gu xiang Jiashi ju" 故相賈氏居 (*QSS* 3631, p. 43487), Lin Jingxi 林景熙 (1243–1311) described Jia Sida's 賈似道 (1213–75) mansion in similar terms and compared its flowers and rocks to those of Pingquan Villa. The poem (with a different title and some textual variants) is also attributed to Lin Jingxi's friend Huang Geng 黃庚 in *QSS* 3653, p. 43548.

Duke Zanzhuang's "Record of Plants and Trees at Pingquan" 因觀贊皇平泉草木記有感 exemplifies this more contemplative tone:¹³⁰

平泉草木頻移主 Trees and plants at Pingquan have had different owners constantly,
 西籬園池幾換人 How many times has this Luoyang garden changed hands?
 但把風花觀世界 Just look upon the world as flowers in the wind;
 莫將金石認吾身 Don't identify yourself with metal and stone.

In poems that celebrate an official's retired life in gardens, or buildings located in gardens, Song writers often invoked Li Deyu as a negative example, so that the official might appear all the more wise.¹³¹ Illustrative of this third category of critical remarks on Pingquan is Li Bing's 李邕 (1085-1146) "A Poem on Hall of Retirement in Old Age of the Loyal and Respectful Duke Lü [Yihao] of Chengguo, Grand Councillor of the Jianyan Reign" 建炎丞相成國呂忠穆公退老堂詩,¹³² which paired Pei Du and Li Deyu in a manner similar to what we have seen in the first of Wen Yanbo's series:

晉公伐叛致太平 Duke Jin campaigned against the rebels and brought about peace;
 歸來綠野勤經營 Then he retired to build his Green Meadow Hall with zest.
 沈淪不復經濟意 Having withdrawn, he no longer thought about ordering the world;
 晚節更爲人所評 Yet his integrity in old age has been admired all the more.
 文饒佐武取河朔 Wenrao helped the emperor Wuzong to take Heshuo;
 平泉草木羅清英 In his Pingquan garden were lined up the finest trees and plants.
 功成未嘗一寓目 At those he did not get to take a single look after his success,
 鑿石作記空傳名 Inscribing on stones and composing records to pass on their names in vain.

¹³⁰ QSS 2141, p. 24155.

¹³¹ There are, of course, cases where Pingquan was mentioned as a compliment to prominent officials in their gardens; see, for example, Zu Wuzhe 祖無擇 (1010-85) "Ti shangshu Yu Xiangong xiyuan" "題尚書余襄公西園 (QSS 359, p. 4432); Dai Xu 戴栩 (js. 1208), "Shang chengxiang shou" 上丞相壽 (QSS 2945, p. 35100); Cheng Gongxu 程公許 (js. 1201), "Song pinggzhang jiezheng yi baoning zhi jie rong huan lidi" 送平章解機政以保寧之節榮還里第 (QSS 2987, p. 35532).

¹³² QSS 1646, p. 18435.

As did Wen Yanbo, Li Bing contrasted Pei Du and Li Deyu in terms of success or failure in actually retiring to their gardens. The poem goes on to heap extravagant praise on Lü Yihao 呂頤浩 (1071–1139) for surpassing Pei Du and Li Deyu in both public service and private life.¹³³

Pei Du was not the only person favorably contrasted with Li Deyu as a garden master. In “On the Pavilion in the Garden of Director Yan on the East Bank of the Li River” 題閩郎中溧水東皋園亭,¹³⁴ Lu You 陸游 (1125–1209) set Li Deyu side by side with Bai Juyi:

樂天十年履道宅 Letian lived ten years at his Lüdao house;
贊皇一夕平泉莊 Zanhuang spent one evening at his Pingquan villa.

From 827 until his death in 846, Bai Juyi lived for seventeen leisurely years in his garden in the Lüdao ward of Luoyang. In numerous poems, he celebrated his ability actually to live in and enjoy his garden, in contrast to so many other absentee garden owners in Luoyang.¹³⁵

The fourth category of critical comments on Li Deyu may be termed lithic discourse, in which the vanity of rock collecting is a major theme. Li Deyu, as we have mentioned, gathered fantastic rocks for his Pingquan garden from various regions of the country and in the process we saw something that bordered on pathological obsession. The dramatic dispersal of these rocks after his death became a sobering reminder about the impermanence of human collections. After Su Shi 蘇軾 (1037–1101) obtained a rock with natural patterns that looked like snow waves, he named it Snow Waves Rock 雪浪石 and wrote two poems with that title.¹³⁶ In the first poem, he described how the sight of the rock reminded him of the topography of his native land and provided relief from his constant homesickness. The first part of the second poem continues his expression of joy at getting the rock. A critical turn of thought appears in the second part:

¹³³ About thirty contemporary poets wrote celebratory verses on Lü Yihao's hall; at least three of them made similar references to Green Meadow Hall and Pingquan Villa, i.e., Li Zhengmin 李正民 (*js.* 1112), “Tuilaotang” 退老堂 (*QSS* 1539, p. 17471); Li Chuquan 李處權 (d. 1155), “Tuilaotang” 退老堂 (*QSS* 1830, p. 20384); Xu Gongyu 徐公裕 (fl. 1127), “Jiyan chengxiang Chengguo Lü Zhongmu gong Tuilaotang” 建炎丞相成國呂忠穆公退老堂 (*QSS* 1869, p. 20905). For a poem on a different hall but with a similar reference to Li Deyu, see Wang Zao 汪藻 (1079–1154), “Jinxintang wei Zhang chengxiang ti” 盡心堂爲張丞相題 (*QSS* 1437, p. 16555).

¹³⁴ *QSS* 2254, p. 24251.

¹³⁵ In the first of his two poems entitled “Shushi mingnuan zhongri posuo qi jian juan ze fu zhang zhi xiaoyuan xi zuo changju er shou” 書室明暖終日婆娑其間倦則扶杖至小園戲作長句二首 (*QSS* 2184, p. 24822), Lu You contrasted himself favorably with Li Deyu: “I love my cottage and get to sleep here peacefully 吾愛吾廬得安臥, / And laugh at the one whose thoughts constantly turned to Pingquan 笑人思頤憶平泉.”

¹³⁶ *QSS* 820, p. 9490.

- 履道鑿池雖可致 For sure, they could be brought to the pond in
the Lüdao house,¹³⁷
- 玉川卷地若爲收 Master Jade River took everything as if sweep-
ing the land.¹³⁸
- 洛陽泉石今誰主 But who are the owners of springs and rocks
in Luoyang today? –
- 莫學癡人李與牛 Don't follow the examples of madmen like Li
and Niu.

The “madmen Li and Niu” are Li Deyu and Niu Sengru 牛僧孺 (780–848), two of the best known petrophiles of Tang times.¹³⁹ In celebrating his Snow Wave Rock, Su Shi, a passionate rock-lover, administered a dose of self-admonition against the extreme attachment to things outside oneself.

It was common for Song poets to cite Li Deyu and Niu Sengru together in the cautionary discourse against obsessing over external objects. When Yang Zai 楊宰 obtained a rock that was believed to be a leftover from the infamous Fleet of Flowers and Rocks 花石綱, he wrote a commemorative poem. His friend Chen Zao 陳造 (1133–1203) wrote two poems in the same rhyming scheme. In the second one, titled “Another Poem to Rhyme with Yang Zai’s” 再次韻楊宰,¹⁴⁰ Chen Zao

¹³⁷ This refers to Bai Juyi’s house in the Lüdao ward of Luoyang; Bai was a well known petrophile.

¹³⁸ The reference is to “Ke xie jing” 客謝井, in “Xiaozhai ersan zi zengda shi ershi shou” 蕭宅二三子贈答詩二十首 (*QJS* 387, p. 4375) by Lu Tong 盧仝 (775?–835), whose sobriquet was Master Jade River 玉川子. In the preface to the series (*QJS* 387, p. 4373), Lu Tong describes the circumstances of this set. While he was traveling in Yangzhou, he stayed at the house of Xiao Qingzhong 蕭慶中. Xiao was about to move to Luoyang and wanted to sell his house. Before he could sell it, Xiao went away on business. As Lu Tong was also about to leave for Luoyang, he went to say good-bye to the “two or three gentleman” under the steps, who turned out to be three or four rocks, a bamboo grove, a well, some iris plants, and some frogs. All of those “gentlemen” wanted to follow Lu Tong to Luoyang lest they fall into the hands of strangers. Each presented its case to Lu Tong. In his response to the request by the well, Lu Tong expressed his fear that the “vicious people of Yangzhou” would accuse him of “sweeping the land” should he take the well with him.

¹³⁹ Niu Sengru’s large collection of rocks in his Luoyang garden was described by Bai Juyi in “Taihu shi ji” 太湖石記; for a discussion, see Yang, *Metamorphosis*, pp. 108–15. According to Li Deyu’s “Record of Plants and Trees of My Mountain Villa at Pingquan,” his rock collection was unmatched in its completeness. Among the specimens of rare rocks were those gathered from Riguan, Zhenze, Wuling, Luofu, Guishui, Yantuan, Lufu, and Louze. These, he proudly declared, could not be found in any other gardens in Luoyang except in his Pingquan Villa. Song writers found it intriguing that the two bitter political rivals shared a petromaniac passion. As Shao Bo 邵博 (d. 1158) observed in *Shaoshi wenjian houlu* 邵氏聞見後錄 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1983) 27, p. 212: “Niu Sengru and Li Deyu were enemies and could not work together at court, but they shared much in common in their hobbies. Nowadays, among the rocks in the gardens of lords and ministers in Luoyang, those with the inscription ‘Qizhang’ used to belong to Sengru, and those with ‘Pingquan’ to Deyu.” For a similar remark, see Lu You, “Jiti Li Jizhang shilang Shilintang” 寄題李季章侍郎石林堂 (*QSS* 2215, p. 25376).

¹⁴⁰ *QSS* 2430, p. 28075.

ridiculed Niu Sengru and Li Deyu for their petromania and advised Yang Zai to enjoy things without being caught up in them 生須玩物不流物。¹⁴¹

A similar note of caution is sounded in Wang Zhi's 王灼 (12th c.) "Li Zhonggao's Hall of 'Gentleman Rock'" 李仲高石君堂。¹⁴² The subject here is a specimen of the famous Lake Tai rocks. It was said to have been an object in the lavish Xuanhua Garden 宣華苑 built by Wang Yan 王衍 (901-926), a young and decadent ruler of the state of Former Shu. Eventually, it fell into the hands of the Li family and was given the name Gentleman Rock, with a hall reserved in its honor. Powerful eunuchs came and used a combination of intimidation and cajolement to try to take it away, but for love or money its owner would not part with it, because it was a treasure passed down from his ancestors. Although Wang Zhi was impressed with such devotion (ostensibly grounded in filial piety), he could not help commenting on its futility as his thoughts turned to what happened to Li Deyu's collection:

- | | |
|---------|--|
| 會昌丞相乃遠祖 | The councilor-in-chief of the Huichang reign is your ancient ancestor; |
| 嗜好夙有煙霞癖 | Among his lifetime addictions was an obsession with mists and clouds. |
| 平泉山居付夢想 | His mountain villa at Pingquan was consigned to his dreams; |
| 石上刻字空照日 | The sun shone upon the inscriptions on his rocks in vain. |
| 朱崖精爽雖可畏 | Although Zhuya looked radiant and formidable, ¹⁴³ |
| 洛陽群盜旋充斥 | Luoyang was soon filled with bands of robbers. |

¹⁴¹ For similar references to Li Deyu and Niu Sengru in the same breath, see Ao Taosun 敖陶孫 (*js.*, 1199), "Ciyun Chen Jingzhai jiyuan tipin shanzhai shu shi zhi zuo" 次韻陳景齋糾纏題品山齋數石之作 (in *QSS* 2711, p. 31892); Wu Yong 吳泳 (*js.* 1208), "You Da Linglong Xiao Linglong" 遊大玲瓏小玲瓏 (*QSS* 2941, p. 35049); Liu Kezhuang 劉克莊 (1187-1269), "San yue er shiwu ri yin Fang jiaoshu yuan shi jue" 三月二十五日飲方校書園十絕 (no. 7) (*QSS* 3045, p. 36322); Monk Shanzhen 善珍 (1194-1277), "Song Xu Guolu shou Yingde" 送徐國錄守英德 (*QSS* 3150, p. 37775).

¹⁴² *QSS* 2066, p. 23299.

¹⁴³ Zhuya was the ancient name for Yazhou. Because Li Deyu died in exile there, he was often referred to as Li Zhuya. The allusion here is to the following story. After Li Deyu died, he appeared in Linghu Tao's 令狐綯 (802-79) dream and asked Linghu to plead on his behalf with the emperor so that he could be buried in Luoyang. Linghu consulted with his son, who objected on the grounds that those wielding power at court all had a grudge against Li Deyu. Then Linghu saw Li in his dream again; this time he was truly frightened, saying, "Duke Wei looked radiant and formidable 精爽可畏. If I do not speak out on his behalf, disaster will fall upon me." Thereafter, he complied with Li's request (*XYS* 150, p. 5341).

the lack of moral conscience on the part of the ruling class, incompatible with the proper socio-political order. While inheriting the moral consciousness of Tang poets, Song literati deepened their critique of petrophilia philosophically. Ironically, many of the most eloquent critics of Li Deyu's petrophilia in the Song, including Ouyang Xiu, Su Shi, and Wen Tong, were passionate rock fanciers themselves.¹⁴⁶ As they grappled with such issues as obsession and possessiveness, those rock-lovers found in Li Deyu's life a cautionary tale. Their negative pronouncements reflect as much their concerns about their own private lives as their view of Li Deyu's personality.

¹⁴⁶ For a detailed treatment of petrophilia among the Chinese literati in the Tang-Song period, see Yang, *Metamorphosis*, pp. 91-148.

Appendix: Translation of "Exhortation to My Children and Grandchildren about the Mountain Villa at Pingquan"

When I began to build the villa at Pingquan, I was carrying out a plan that I had made a long time before. I was away from home for fourteen years while waiting upon my late father, the grand preceptor ennobled as Loyal and Exemplary Duke.¹⁴⁷ During those years, we climbed Kuiji Mountain, explored the Cave of Yu,¹⁴⁸ traversed the rivers and lakes of Chu, ascended Wu Mountain, toured the Yuan and Xiang Rivers, and took in views of Heng and Qiao Mountains.¹⁴⁹ Whenever my late father tied his boat to enjoy the clear prospect, his mood would be stirred; his melancholic thoughts would extend far away, and he would look in the direction of the Yi River. Once he wrote a poem:¹⁵⁰

From the southern peak of Longmen spreads the Yi River plain;
Its plants and trees, and people's homes exist in front of my eyes.
As pears and jujubes ripen in the northern prefecture,
In an autumn dream, my soul reaches a suburban garden there.¹⁵¹

Moved by the poem, I made up my mind to retire to the Yi and Luo Rivers.

While serving as prefect of Jinling, I obtained the old residence of Recluse Qiao west of Longmen Mountain. At the end of the Tianbao reign (742–56), the recluse fled this place to roam afar. It was overgrown with trees and grasses. However, among the small peaks of Shouyang Mountain, there were still vetches and ferns;¹⁵² along the old path of Shanyang, there remained bamboos.¹⁵³ Thereupon wild brambles and shrubs were cut down; foxes and jackals were driven away. A house like that of Master Ban began to be built;¹⁵⁴ the tract was gradually shaped like that of Oldster Ying.¹⁵⁵ Then I obtained some precious plants

¹⁴⁷ The honorific title of Loyal and Exemplary Duke 忠懿公 was granted posthumously to Li Jifu; see *JTS* 148, p. 3997; and *XTS* 146, p. 4743.

¹⁴⁸ The Cave of Yu was on Kuiji Mountain. The Great Yu is said to have been buried there; see *Shiji* 130, p. 3294.

¹⁴⁹ Li Deyu is imitating Sima Qian's description of his travel experience as a young man: "At twenty, I traveled in the area between the Yangzi and Hui Rivers, climbed Kuiji Mountain, explored the Cave of Yu, delved into Nine Peak Mountain, and floated on the Yuan and Xiang Rivers" (*Shiji* 130, p. 3293).

¹⁵⁰ The poem is given the title "Huai Yichuan fu" 懷伊川賦 in *QTS* 317, p. 3581.

¹⁵¹ Starting with Li Qiyun, the Li family had a residence in Luoyang; see Fu, *Li Deyu nianpu*, p. 4. Unfortunately, no information is available on the exact location of this residence or what happened to it.

¹⁵² Out of loyalty to the Shang, Bo Yi 伯夷 and Shu Qi 叔齊 fled to Shouyang Mountain and, refusing to eat the grain of the newly established Zhou dynasty, they lived on ferns and eventually died of starvation; see *Shiji* 61, pp. 2122–13.

¹⁵³ When Ji Kang 嵇康 (223–62) lived in Shanyang, he befriended six other famous literati of the time. They would often saunter in bamboo groves and became known as the Seven Worthies of the Bamboo Grove 竹林七賢; see *JTS* 49, p. 1370.

¹⁵⁴ In "Youtong fu" 幽通賦, Ban Gu 班固 (32–92) wrote of his father who was able to survive the chaotic times of the late Western Han: "He succeeded in self-preservation and left us with this principle: reside where ultimate benevolence lodges" 終保己而貽則兮, 里上仁之所廬; see *Wenxuan* 14, p. 636. The term "house of Master Ban" refers to the idea that one values the attainment of benevolence (*ren* 仁) rather than physical magnificence in building a residence.

¹⁵⁵ Oldster Ying is Ying Ju 應璩 (190–252). In a letter to Cheng Wenxin 程文信, he spoke

and fantastic rocks from Jiangnan, which were set up in the courtyard. Thereby the lifelong desire of my heart was satisfied.

I once observed that one honors the Way in deciding whether to take up office or stay in reclusion; one honors the times in deciding whether to advance or to withdraw. Through the ages many worthies and wise men have had regrets. The Patriarch of the Mysterious Teaching hid himself as scribe under the column,¹⁵⁶ Liu Hui cultivated his virtues while serving as chief judge;¹⁵⁷ Bing Manrong of the Han would not take a post paying more than six hundred piculs of grain a year.¹⁵⁸ All of them avoided humiliation or harm, but they lived so long ago, and I cannot reach them now. Fan Li of the Yue urged Wen Niu to avoid the lure of office;¹⁵⁹ the Marquis of Liu bid farewell to the world and found sustenance in the doctrines of the Yellow Emperor and Laozi.¹⁶⁰ Those men were of the next rank. Fan Chui was persuaded in a conversation with Cai Ze to retire from high office;¹⁶¹ seeing that vassals with merits usually ended in failure, Deng Yu stayed away from fame and power.¹⁶² They were of yet another lower rank.

As to myself, if I were a mallow, I would not have the wisdom to protect my feet;¹⁶³ if I were a goose trying to hide away, I would suffer the calamity of the one that could not cackle.¹⁶⁴ Although I have rocks lying around the spring, the

of a tract of land he purchased west of the Hangu pass: "It faces the Luo River to the south and leans on Mang Mountain to the north. On this lofty ridge I will build a house; out of the dense trees shades will be formed"; *Wenxuan* 60, p. 2581.

¹⁵⁶ The "Mysterious Teaching" refers to Daoism, of which Laozi is considered to be the founder ("patriarch"). Laozi was scribe of the imperial library 藏室史 of the Zhou. He was also called scribe under the column 柱下史, a reference presumably to his working place (i.e., under the main column of the library); *Shiji* 36, pp. 2139-40.

¹⁵⁷ Liu Hui was Liuxia Hui. He was dismissed from office three times because of his uprightness. When he was asked whether it was time for him to leave, he replied that if he followed the Way he would risk being dismissed three times anywhere; if he was willing to bend the Way, there would be no need for him to leave (*Lunyu*, xviii/2).

¹⁵⁸ Bing Manrong 邴曼容 (fl. 6-1 BC) was admired by his contemporaries for refusing to take any position that would pay over 600 piculs of grain per year and for staying in office only for a short while; *HS* 72, p. 3083.

¹⁵⁹ Like Fan Li, Wen Zhong 文種 helped King Gou Jian to defeat Wu. When Fan Li left court, he advised Wen Zhong to do the same. Wen Zhong did not follow the advice and was eventually forced to commit suicide; *Shiji* 41, pp. 1746-47. (Why Wen Zhong is called Wen Niu 牛 here is unclear.)

¹⁶⁰ The Marquis of Liu was Zhang Liang, who, as noted above, left court to become a Daoist practitioner.

¹⁶¹ Fan Chui 范雎 (d. 255 BC) was persuaded by Cai Ze 蔡澤 to retire from his post as the prime minister of Qin. For the biographies of the two men, see *Shiji* 79, pp. 2401-25.

¹⁶² Because of what he did to help establish the Eastern Han, Deng Yu 鄧禹 (2-58) was rewarded with a series of high offices. His official biography in *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1965) 16, pp. 599-605, does not confirm Li Deyu's characterization of him here.

¹⁶³ The reference is to a comment by Confucius: "The wisdom of Bao Zhuangzi cannot compare to the mallow. Even the mallow can protect its feet [i.e., roots]." See *Chunqiu Zuozhuan zhu* 春秋左傳注, ed. Yang Bojun 楊伯峻 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1990), "Chengong 成公 17," p. 899. (When one cuts off the sprouts of the mallow, one leaves the roots untouched so that they will sprout again.)

¹⁶⁴ When Zhuangzi stayed at an acquaintance's house, the latter was so happy that he ordered his servant boy to kill and cook a goose. When the boy asked whether he should kill the

time for me to return is not remotely in sight. I will, therefore, leave this wooded villa to my descendants. Whoever sells the villa at Pingquan will be disowned by me. Whoever sells one piece of rock or a single plant will not be considered a good member of the family.¹⁶⁵ If, after I pass away, the villa is to be forcefully taken away by the powerful and the noble, you should tell them tearfully about the charge of your ancestor. That is what I want you to do. In the *Classic of Poetry*, one reads: “The mulberry and catalpa trees, / We should respect and revere.”¹⁶⁶

That was because the trees were planted by their parents. In ancient times, the people of Zhou longed for Earl Zhao and consequently loved the tree under which he had rested.¹⁶⁷ In recent times, District Magistrate Xue would sob in tears whenever he saw the rock in the Secretariat upon which his late grandfather had sat.¹⁶⁸ How can you not admire such behavior? Only when cliffs turn into deep valleys and valleys into ridges can you let go of the villa.

平泉山居戒子孫記

經始平泉，追先志也。吾隨侍先太師忠懿公，在外十四年，上會稽，探禹穴，歷楚澤，登巫山，遊沅湘，望衡嶠。先公每維舟清眺，意有所感，必淒然遐想，屬目伊川。嘗賦詩曰：“龍門南岳盡伊原，草樹人烟日所存。正是北州黎棗熟，夢魂秋日到郊園。”吾心感是詩，有退居伊、洛之志。前守金陵，於龍門之西，得喬處士故居。天寶末避地遠遊，鞠為荒榛。首翠微山，尚有薇蕨；山陽舊徑，唯餘竹木。吾乃剪荆莽，驅狐狸，始立班生之宅，漸成應叟之地。又得江南珍木奇石，列於庭際。平生素懷，於此足矣。吾嘗以出處者貴得其道，進退者貴不失時，古來賢達，多有遺恨。至於玄祖潛身於柱史，柳惠養德於士師，漢代邴曼容官不過六百石，終無辱殆，邈難及矣。越蠡激文牛以肥遁，留侯託黃老以辭世，亦其次焉。范睢感蔡澤一言，超然高謝，鄧禹見功臣多敗，委遠名勢，又其次也。矧吾者，於葵無衛足之智，處雁有不鳴之患。雖有泉石，杳無歸期，留此林居，貽厥後代。鬻平泉者，非吾子孫也。以平泉一樹一石與人者，非佳也。吾百年後，為權勢所奪，則以先人所命，泣而告之。此吾志也。詩曰：“維桑與梓，必恭敬止。”言其父所植也。昔周人之思召伯，愛其所憩之樹。近代薛令君於禁省中見先祖所據之石，必泫然流涕。汝曹可不慕之！唯岸為谷谷為陵，然已焉可也。

goose that could cackle or the one that could not, he was told that the one that could not should be killed; see *Zhuangzi jishi* 7 (“Shan mu” 山木), pp. 667–68. Li Deyu is suggesting here that even if he were to retire from office, he might still not be able to protect himself.

¹⁶⁵ I follow *Quan Tangwen* 全唐文, compiled by Dong Gao 董誥 (1740–1818) et al. (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1990) 708, p. 3220, which reads 非佳子弟 for 非佳.

¹⁶⁶ See *Shijing*, no. 197 (“Xiao bian” 小弁).

¹⁶⁷ See *Shijing*, no. 16 (“Gan tang” 甘棠); and *Shiji* 34, p. 1550.

¹⁶⁸ For Xue Shou’s dramatic behavior, see *XTS* 98, p. 3892.

XIAOSHAN YANG

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

<i>HS</i>	<i>Hanshu</i> 漢書
<i>JS</i>	<i>Jinshu</i> 晉書
<i>JTS</i>	<i>Jiu Tangshu</i> 舊唐書
<i>LDYWJ</i>	<i>Li Deyu wenj jiaojian</i> 李德裕文集校箋
<i>QSS</i>	<i>Quan Songshi</i> 全宋詩
<i>QTS</i>	<i>Quan Tangshi</i> 全唐詩
<i>XTS</i>	<i>Xin Tangshu</i> 新唐書