

Endnotes

1.1 李憑箏篴引 **Rhapsody: Li Ping's Harp**

The *konghou* is a twenty-three-stringed harp with curved body, held vertically in the player's lap. This work of Li He's seems more likely an imagined evocation than a response to an actual performance of Li Ping's. YSJ 26 lists a "Harp Rhapsody" ("Konghou yin" 箏篴引) under the old Han "Response Songs" (*xiang he ge ci* 相和歌辭) repertoire, but here Li He simply borrows the old *yuefu* title for a poem describing a harp performance; cf. 4.10, where Li He does engage with the original scenario associated with the "Harp Rhapsody" title. *Form*: unregulated heptasyllabic, rhyming every line.

l. 2: 空山: MG, QTS read 空白. l. 3 江娥: WQ notes "Also reads 湘娥."

1.2 殘絲曲 **Tune: The Last of the Willow-floss**

Not otherwise attested in *yuefu* repertoires. The title establishes the season as late spring, when the willow floss, a favorite emblem of the season, has almost disappeared. *Form*: unregulated heptasyllabic, rhyming every line.

l. 3 年少: SS reads 少年.

1.3 還自會稽歌并序 **Song: Returning from Guiji (with preface)**

During the period of Hou Jing's rebellion, Yu Jianwu, in flight from the capital, was captured by Hou's general Song Zixian 宋子仙, who offered to spare his life in exchange for a poem to be composed on the spot; Yu Jianwu succeeded in this task. It is tempting to relate the "supplement" Li He presents here to this episode, but no such connection is made explicit either in the preface or in the poem itself. The image of the rushes at l. 6 involves a beautifully apt echo of an anecdote from the *Shishuo xinyu* 世說新語: Sima Yu 司馬昱 (320–372), who briefly ruled as Emperor Jianwen 簡文 of the Jin, was born in the same year as his minister and friend Gu Yue 顧悅 (320–?), but Gu's hair turned white first. When Sima Yu asked Gu why, Gu elegantly replied, "Loveliness of willows and rushes [such as mine] declines at the first hint of autumn; substance of pine or cypress [such as yours] grows all the more luxuriant through the frost." *Form*: unregulated pentasyllabic, rhymed every other line.

Preface 國勢: SS, MG, QTS read 國世. 1.2 濕螢: QTS, WQ note “Also reads 濕螢.”

1.4 出城寄權璩楊敬之 On Departing from the City: Sent to Quan Qu and Yang Jingzhi

Both addressees are mentioned in the “Short Biography” (see Appendix). They had both passed the *jinshi* examination of 807. This poem would appear to date from Li He’s 812 return home from Chang’an after leaving his post as Vice-director for Ceremonials due to illness (4.50 also likely dates from this time). *Form*: unregulated heptasyllabic quatrain, rhymed aaxa.

1.5 示弟 To Show to my Younger Brother

Possibly from the period after Li He’s return on leaving his position in Chang’an in 812. The character 猶 appears after the title in some editions; if this reading is authentic then this would evidently be the younger brother’s name. *Form*: pentasyllabic, in the tonally regulated eight-line form known as *lǚshi*.

Title 示弟: ZY, YWX read 示弟猶. 1.2 一日: SS, MG read 十日. 1.5 猶能: SS, MG, MJ read 獨能.

1.6 竹 Bamboo

Titles simply naming a “thing” characterize the *yongwu* 詠物 (“poems on things”) subgenre: the montage-like series of “aspects” of the thing, and the riddling quality of this work (where the titular “thing” is never named directly in the poem) are typical of the subgenre. *Form*: pentasyllabic *lǚshi*.

1.3 生: WQ notes “Also reads 垂.” 1.6: 裁堪: WQ notes “Also reads 竿應.”

1.7 同沈駙馬賦得御溝水 In Response to Imperial Son-in-Law Shen’s “On the Set Topic ‘Waters of the Imperial Canal’”

There are records of imperial sons-in-law surnamed Shen from around this time, but the identity of the one Li He encountered has not been determined. The imperial canal was a channel conducting water from the Zhongnan mountains south of the capital and passing into Chang’an, and through the imperial palace proper. *Yongwu* poems (see Endnote to 1.6 above) on prescribed topics drawing on scenes in and

around the imperial palace often featured in the *jinshi* examinations (though typically in the slightly extended six- or eight-couplet forms of the regulated verse), but the nature and circumstances of Shen's original work are unknown. *Form*: pentasyllabic *lǔshi*.

1.8 始為奉禮憶昌谷山居 **Having Just Taken up Duty as Vice-Director for Ceremonials, Recalling my Changgu Mountain Dwelling**

Written during Li He's second sojourn in Chang'an; the consensus as to his chronology would place this in spring or summer of 810. *Form*: pentasyllabic *lǔshi*, in the twelve-line form common in examination *shi* compositions.

l. 11 知: Following SS, XC, QTS. WQ reads 如.

1.9 七夕 **Seventh Night**

Form: pentasyllabic *lǔshi*.

l. 1 別浦: ZY, YWX read 別渚. l. 4 花: LJ notes "Another edition reads 螢, which must be correct." l. 8 更值: ZY, YQ, YWX read 又值.

1.10 過華清宮 **Passing by Huaqing Palace**

The poem recounts a visit to Huaqing Palace in roughly 810, when it had fallen into a state of semi-ruin. *Form*: pentasyllabic *lǔshi*.

l. 4 紫錢: SS reads 紫泉. l. 6 點: JX reads 照. 舊紗: ZY reads 絳紗.

1.11 送沈亞之歌并序 **Song: Sending off Shen Yazhi (with preface)**

Shen Yazhi (781–832) was a renowned writer of the era, and a core member of Han Yu's circle. His subsequent attempt at the *jinshi* examination in 815 was to prove successful. *Form*: unregulated heptasyllabic, in stanzas rhyming aaxa.

Preface 送之: SS, WZZ, YQ read 勞之. l. 11 歸江: SS, YQ read 歸家. l. 13 壯夫: WQ cites the YWX reading 丈夫.

1.12 詠懷二首 **Singing my Feelings (Two Poems)**

The first poem of the pair uses the story of Sima Xiangru – particularly his latter life of quiet retirement and the posthumous glory of his texts directing Emperor Wu of the Han to perform the *fengshan* sacrifice – as an implicit figure for Li He. The second poem directly treats Li He's own daily life as a writer in retirement. *Form*: unregulated pentasyllabic.

Poem 2, l. 1 著書: ZY, YQ, YWX read 看書. l. 8 相宜: SS, WZZ, MG read 自宜.

1.13 追和柳惲 **Posthumously Responding to Liu Yun**

Tingzhou, south of Lake Tai in the Jiangnan region, acquired the alternate name Baipingzhou 白萍洲, “islet of white waterclover,” from the first line of a *yuefu* verse Liu Yun wrote to the tune “Jiangnan” from an ancient repertoire of fifteen “response songs.” Li He’s “response” is so clearly directed to this poem that YSJ 26 includes it, despite its occasional title, as a *yuefu* under the same tune title. Liu Yun’s original reads: “They gather the white water-clover at Tingzhou, / as the sun sinks in the Jiangnan springtime. / A homebound wanderer hailing from Dongting / encounters an old friend in the region of the Xiao and Xiang. / ‘Friend, why not go back as well? / The time of spring flowers will soon again be past.’ / He does not mention the joy of his new love; / he only mentions how far it is to travel.” 汀洲採白蘋 / 日落江南春 / 洞庭有歸客 / 瀟湘逢故人 / 故人何不返 / 春華復應晚 / 不道新知樂 / 只道行路遠. Li He depicts Liu Yun himself languorously enjoying the region’s pleasures, along the lines of the “friend” in Liu’s own lyric: the first stanza depicts delights of scenery and climate; the second hints obliquely at an intimate banquet and romantic dalliance. On “posthumously responding” in Li He, cf. 3.1, along with the Endnote to that work. *Form*: unregulated pentasyllabic, two stanzas rhyming xaxa.

l. 7 陌: MG reads 脈.

1.14 春坊正字劍子歌 **Song: The Spring Compound Collator’s Sword**

The “Spring Compound” (*chun fang* 春坊) was a secretarial establishment in the administration of the Crown Prince (Hucker’s functional translation is “Secretariat of the Heir Apparent”), formally divided into “left” and “right” staffs. There were two collators, in the “left” division, with rank 9a. Another poem (3.48) is addressed to a cousin in the office of collator, but there is no further evidence as to whether the addressee here might be the same person. *Form*: unregulated heptasyllabic.

Title: YX omits 春坊正字. l. 2 吳潭: WYYH reads 吳江. ll. 5–6: YX reverses the order of these two lines. l. 5 皮老: YX, MG read 老皮. l. 8 莫教: WYYH reads 分明. l. 12 鬼母: WYYH reads 鬼姥.

1.15 貴公子夜闌曲 **The Young Aristocrat's "Song of Night's Close"**

Not otherwise attested as a *yuefu* title, this piece generally evokes the mood and poetic vocabulary of Southern Dynasties songs like those collected in *Yutai xinyong* 玉臺新詠 (*New Songs from the Jade Terrace*). The opening lines echo the *yuefu* song "Yang pan'er" 楊叛兒: "I wander a while out White Gate, / where the willows can conceal crows. / My love will be the aloeswood incense, / and I'll be the Mt. Bo censor" 暫出白門前 / 楊柳可藏烏 / 歡作沈水香 / 儂作博山爐. This echo serves to situate the poem in the aftermath of a lovers' tryst. *Form*: unregulated pentasyllabic quatrain, rhymed xaxa.

1.16 雁門太守行 **Ballad: The Governor of Yanmen**

This title appears in *yuefu* repertoire lists among "tunes in *se* mode" in the category of "response songs" (YSJ 39). The tune is said to have originated from liturgies of praise for a virtuous minister named Wang Huan 王渙 (?–105), but Xiao Gang and others had written lyrics to the title, like this by Li He, on frontier battles. One tradition says that Han Yu's appreciation and subsequent patronage of Li He began from the moment when Han was electrified on first reading this poem's opening lines. *Form*: unregulated heptasyllabic, rhyming every line.

l. 2 日: Following WYYH, ZY, YQ, YWX, QTS. WQ reads 月.
l. 3 角聲: SS reads 鬼聲. l. 4 塞上: XC, WZZ, LK read 塞土.

1.17 大堤曲 **Tune: The Grand Dike**

This title appears among the "Songs to Western Tunes" in the old Southern Dynasties "pure *shang*-mode" repertoire (YSJ 48). *Form*: unregulated, mixed line lengths.

l. 10 妾食: WYYH reads 與客. l. 13 菖蒲花: WYYH reads 菖蒲短.

1.18 蜀國絃 **Strings of Shu**

This title appears among a group of four "string tunes" in the "Response Songs" repertoire (YSJ 30). See also the allusions to this repertoire in 3.33, W.17. Li He's version evokes typical Shu scenes and lore; several commentators suggest the possibility of reading it as an imagistic poetic rendering of a musical performance. *Form*: unregulated pentasyllabic.

l. 3 墜: ZY reads 墮. l. 4 竹雲: QTS notes "Also reads 行雲."
l. 6 粼粼: SS reads 鱗鱗.

1.19 蘇小小墓 Little Su's Tomb

YSJ 85 gives the title as “Song of Little Su” 蘇小小歌. The following version, which YSJ records as the “original lyrics” (*gu ci* 古辭) for the song, was evidently Li He's immediate source. A comparison offers a revealing example of Li He's methods in adapting traditional material: “I ride in an oilcloth-sided carriage; / you ride a grey dapple horse. / Where shall we tie our lover's knot? / Beneath the pines and cypresses at the Western Hill.” 我乘油壁車 / 郎乘青驄馬 / 何處結同心 / 西陵松柏下. *Form*: unregulated, irregular line length.

Title 蘇小小墓: YSJ, SS, XC, MG read 蘇小小歌. YSJ notes “Also reads 錢塘蘇小小歌.” l. 10 夕相待: YSJ, SS, XC, MG read 久相待. l. 14 風吹雨: SS, XC read 風雨吹; MG reads 風雨晦.

1.20 夢天 Dream of Heaven

Not otherwise known as a tune title, but the rhyme scheme and quatrain structure of this work is a common one in Tang music. *Form*: unregulated heptasyllabic, quatrains rhymed aaxa.

l. 2 壁斜白: YQ reads 壁斜白.

1.21 唐兒歌 Song: Tang Lad

An ostensibly original title note reads, “The son of Du, Duke of Bin” 杜幽公之子. The title and the poem itself allude to a marriage connection between this Du family and that of the emperor. The designation “Duke of Bin” in the title note has caused trouble to commentators; Du Huangchang 杜黃裳 (738–808) held that rank, but given that Li He's first sojourn in Chang'an was not until 808, he seems an unlikely candidate. Du Cong 杜悰 (ca. 780's–960's) married a Tang princess (Xianzong's 憲宗 [r. 805–820] eldest daughter, the Princess of Qiyang 岐陽) in 813, and was granted the title “Duke of Bin,” though Li He cannot have known of this latter fact, since it occurred after 859. It seems best to take Du Cong as the “Duke of Bin” referred to, and thus to infer that the title note was added by a later compiler (perhaps Wei Zhuang 韋莊 [836–910], whose *Youxuan ji* 又玄集 [YX] preface dates to 900). *Form*: unregulated heptasyllabic, all lines except l. 7 rhyming. Title 唐兒歌: Wu Zhengzi notes that all his editions read 唐歌兒 and that he adopts the reading given here based on YX. The full title in YX reads 杜家唐兒歌. l. 2 真男子: YQ reads 奇男子. l. 8 濃笑: YX reads 含笑. 書空: SS, WZZ, YX read 畫空.

1.22 綠章封事 Green-text Sealed Petition

A putatively original title note reads, “Composed for a nighttime libation by the Daoist priest Wu” 為吳道士夜醮作。Sealed green-text petitions would commonly be offered to request long lifespan, or the cancellation of foredestined calamities. This work requests intercession on behalf of Yang Xiong, seemingly as an icon of the literary man, so directly or indirectly may be viewed as a prayer for deliverance on Li He’s own part as well. *Form*: unregulated heptasyllabic; two quatrains rhymed aaxa followed by two rhyming couplets.

l. 1 覓: QTS notes “Also reads 貌.”

1.23 河南府試十二月樂詞并閏月 For the Henan Provincial Examination: Musical Lyrics for the Twelve Months, Including an Intercalary Month

Li He’s success in the Henan provincial examination at Luoyang likely occurred in 808 (see Introduction). YSJ 82 includes this suite in its collection of “lyrics from recent eras.” *Forms*: various; many of the stanzas seem to reflect attention to tonal metrical pattern, but none follows the prescriptions of regulated verse per se.

Poem 1 l. 1 上樓迎春新春歸: YSJ notes “Also reads 正月上樓迎春歸.”

l. 4 幽風: YSJ reads 幽泥. l. 6 睞: following XC. WQ reads 臉.

Poem 2 l. 1 飲酒采桑津: YSJ, QTS read 二月飲酒采桑津. l. 3 交劍: YSJ notes “Also reads 絞刀.” l. 5 生綠塵: YSJ notes “Also reads 香綠昏”; QTS notes “Also reads 香霧昏.”

Poem 3 l. 2 愁殺人: YSJ, SS, XC read 愁幾人. l. 10 秋: YSJ, QTS note “Also reads 愁.”

Poem 4 l. 3 青氤氲: ZY, YWX read 青氤氲; YSJ notes “Also reads 過清氣.” l. 6 重: YSJ, QTS note “Also reads 帖.”

Poem 5 l. 1 簾額: XC, WZZ, MG, YSJ read 簾上. l. 7 羅袖從徊翔: YSJ reads 羅綬從風翔.

Poem 7 l. 4 空園: YSJ reads 故園.

Poem 8 l. 1 嬌: YSJ, QTS note “Also reads 宮.” l. 3 緝: YSJ, QTS note “Also reads 織.” l. 6 簾中: following YSJ, SS, XC. WQ reads 簾內.

Poem 9 l. 1 螢: QTS notes “Also reads 雲.” l. 5 露花: YSJ, MG, MJ read 霜花.

Poem 10 l. 4 燭籠: SS, XC, MG, ZY, YQ, YWX read 燭龍.

Poem 11 1. 1 團圓: YSJ, SS, XC read 團圓. 1. 4 戰卻: XC, YSJ, MG, QTS read 卻天. 1. 5 泉合: YSJ notes “Also reads 冰合”. 1. 6 溫泉: YSJ reads 溫水; WQ notes “Also reads 溫湯.”

Poem 12 1. 3 排: YSJ, SS, MG read 解.

Poem 13 1. 3 玉琯: HC reads 街琯. A marginal note in LJ suggests 街 is a mistranscription of 葭 *jia* (“rush”), plausible in light of the traditions adduced in the footnote to this line.

1.24 天上謠 A Ditty from Heaven

The category of *yao* 謠 typically refers to unaccompanied rhyming chants or ditties that emerge in popular circulation as if spontaneously. Where they figure in historical narratives they are often mined for riddling oracular meanings. Since *yao* in its primary sense refers to songs one might overhear, but which lack any clear authorship or context, to title one's own poem as a *yao* is in effect to invite the reader to imagine this as something one might overhear – in this case, in heaven. *Form*: unregulated heptasyllabic, two quatrains rhyming aaxa and two rhyming couplets.

1. 1 漂: WYYH reads 杓. 1. 7 笙: WYYH reads 簫. 1. 12 海塵新生石山下: WYYH reads 海雲初生石城下.

1.25 浩歌 Flooding Song

This song title is Li He's invention, derived from a couplet in the “Junior Master of Lifespans” from the *Chuci* “Nine Songs” (“Jiu ge” 九歌): “I gaze out toward the fair one but [s]he has not come; / sadly facing the wind I give forth flooding song” 望美人兮不來 / 臨風恍兮浩歌. YSJ 68 includes it in its “lyrics to miscellaneous tunes,” meaning in effect that Guo Maoqian had no evidence of any preceding musical tradition. The reference at 1. 11 to the proverbially generous patron Lord Pingyuan of Zhao may involve some expression on Li He's part of hope or of frustration in relation to Chi Shimei, which would date this work to the time of Li He's sojourn at Luzhou, in the ancient domain of Zhao; see Introduction, along with 3.17, 1. 4, where the connection is made explicit. *Form*: unregulated heptasyllabic; two stanzas rhymed aaxa each followed by two rhyming couplets. Rhyme changes do not always correspond to thematic shifts, but the frequent changes in rhyme in this work do mirror sharp discontinuities in sense, creating a montage-like effect.

l. 5 驄馬: WYYH reads 駿馬. l. 6 細煙: WYYH reads 細煙. l. 8 問誰: WYYH reads 是誰. l. 9 浪飲: WYYH reads 亂舞. l. 14 髮薄: WYYH reads 鬢薄. l. 15 看: WYYH notes “Also reads 羞.” 新綠: WYYH reads 深綠. 看見秋眉換新綠: SS reads 看看見秋眉換綠.

1.26 秋來 **Autumn Comes**

Bao Zhao wrote versions of two old funeral songs that speak in a stark and striking manner from the perspective of the deceased after death. This connection clearly underlies the image of singing ghosts in the penultimate line, and seems likely to have been Li He’s point of departure for this poem. *Form*: unregulated heptasyllabic, quatrains rhyming aaxa.

l. 1 壯士: WYYH reads 志士. l. 3 一編書: WYYH reads 一篇書.
l. 6 香魂: WYYH reads 鄉魂.

1.27 帝子歌 **Song: God’s Daughters**

Li He’s song here broadly follows the ritual scenario of the liturgical songs to local divinities of the “Nine Songs.” The Southern Dynasties “pure *shang*-mode” suite “Songs for the Divine Strings” (cf. 4.19, 4.38, 4.40) includes a song titled “White Stone Lad”: “The White Stone Lad / lives by the Yangzi’s banks; / before him the Yangzi Earl clears the way, behind follow troops of fishes” 白石郎 / 臨江居 / 前導江伯後從魚. *Form*: unregulated heptasyllabic, quatrains rhyming every line.

l. 1 明月: Following MG, MJ, QTS. WQ reads 帝子.

1.28 秦王飲酒 **The King of Qin Drinks**

Form: unregulated, irregular rhyme change, all lines rhyming.

l. 13 黃娥: Following WYYH. WQ reads 黃鵠. l. 15 青琴: following suggested emendation in WQ. WQ reads 清琴. WYYH reads 青春, and notes “The collection reads 青琴: this is a goddess.”

1.29 洛姝真珠 **Pearl, the Luoyang Beauty**

This work is constructed around a recurrent scenario in Tang performance traditions, including both songs and quasi-operatic vignettes: the neglected woman pines at home as her lover or husband is off dallying with courtesans. *Form*: unregulated heptasyllabic; two rhyming

couplets followed by three quatrains, two rhymed aaxa, and a final quatrain with all lines rhyming.

l. 1 青廡: WZZ, QTS read 清廡; ZY reads 青郭. l. 8 濃蛾: WZZ, SS, YQ read 濃娥. l. 9 金鵝: WZZ, MG read 金城. l. 10 鸞裾: SS, YWX read 鸞裙. l. 11 八驄: WQ notes “Should read 八窗.” 臉: MG, MJ read 臉.

1.30 李夫人 *Lady Li*

The *Han shu* 漢書 (*History of the Han*) describes the romance between Emperor Wu and Lady Li, a singer and the sister of the court music master Li Yannian 李延年 (?–90 BCE). After her premature death, a brief glimpse of Lady Li afforded via a séance left the emperor even more griefstricken; he composed a song about the encounter, which he commanded the imperial music bureau to set to music and perform, as well as a verse lament in the manner of the *Chuci*. When Emperor Wu’s lament on Lady Li says, “now that you’ve gone down to your new palace, you do not return to your former courtyard,” it is clear that this “new palace” is the tomb. Here, however, Li He reimagines her death as the departure of her soul to a celestial palace. YSJ 84 records this work, under the title “Song of Lady Li” 李夫人歌, among its “lyrics to miscellaneous ditties.” *Form*: unregulated heptasyllabic, rhyming every line; rhyme changes after the first two lines, then every four lines.

Title 李夫人: YSJ, QTS read 李夫人歌. l. 4 青雲: following WYYH, SS, XC. WQ reads 青青. l. 5 翩翩: SS, YQ read 翩翩. l. 6 商絃: WYYH reads 商絃. l. 7 紅壁: XC reads 紅壁. WYYH reads 空壁. l. 8 小妓: WYYH reads 小柏.

1.31 走馬引 *Rhapsody: The Galloping Horse*

The ancient song, a *qin*-zither tune (see YSJ 58), is associated with the story of Chuli Mugong 樗里牧恭, who, having taken vengeance for his father’s death by killing a man, lived in hiding as an outlaw. One night a horse from heaven descended and galloped around the hut where he was hiding. He interpreted this as a warning and fled to the wilderness around the Yi river, whereupon he is said to have composed the first version of this song. YSJ 48 also records a tune in the “pure *shang*-mode” repertoire that was created for the Liang court: while the future founding Emperor Wu of the Liang 梁武帝 (r. 502–549) was serving

under the Qi dynasty at Xiangyang, a children's ditty circulated that went, "The white bronze hooves of Xiangyang / will bind the Yangzhou kid" 襄陽白銅蹄 / 反縛揚州兒. After founding the Liang, Emperor Wu had songs written to the tune "White Bronze Hooves of Xiangyang." Related titles were adopted by Li Bai 李白 (701–762) and other writers evoking Xiangyang as a place frequented by impetuous young toughs. *Form*: unregulated pentasyllabic (though the first four lines read as a regulated quatrain).

l. 2 截雲: WZZ reads 裁雲. l. 3 襄陽: YSJ, QTS note "Also reads 長安." l. 5 劍花: YSJ, MG read 劍光. l. 6 劍光: YSJ, MG read 劍花.

1.32 湘妃 The Xiang Consorts

According to legend, the sage-king Shun, while on a southern tour of his domain, died suddenly at Cangwu 蒼梧. The Xiang river divinities appearing in the "Nine Songs" liturgical sequence were from very early on identified with his wives Ehuang and Nüying. The titles "Xiang Consort" (*Xiang fei* 湘妃) and "The Xiang Consort's Grievance" (*Xiang fei yuan* 湘妃怨) appear in medieval repertoires of *qin*-zither tunes; YSJ 57 includes this work of Li He's as well in its "lyrics to zither tunes." Referring to this mottled bamboo as *yunzhu* 筠竹, and to the consorts as "Qin beauties" (*Qin e* 秦娥) as Li He seems to do here, however, is anomalous. *Form*: unregulated heptasyllabic, rhymed every line; one rhyme change after the first couplet.

l. 2 秦娥: YSJ, QTS note "Also reads 神娥." Wang Qi cites this variant, as well as 英娥, which he proposes might be construed here as "[Nü]ying and E[huang]." l. 7 青楓: YQ reads 清峰.

1.33 三月過行宮 Passing by the Transit Palace in the Third Month

The "transit palace" referred to here is the Fuchang palace near Li He's home at Changgu (see also 3.44, ll. 47–56), which had been a stop in a network of waystations for imperial travel between the eastern and western capitals. These were employed intensively by Empress Wu Zetian 武則天 (r. 684–705), and continued in active use through Xuanzong's reign, but had fallen into disrepair since the civil wars of the mid-eighth century. *Form*: regulated heptasyllabic quatrain.

l. 1 紅繁: XC, ZY, YQ, YWX read 紅繁.

1.34 南園十三首 **The South Garden (Thirteen Poems)**

This group depicts scenes around Li He's home in Changgu, and the poet's life away from his desultory official career. The group displays a level of quotidian detail that is unusual in Tang poetry; in some cases this detail creates thorny interpretive problems. *Form*: poems 1–12 are regulated heptasyllabic quatrains; number 13 is a pentasyllabic *lǚshi*.

Poem 1 1. 4 春風: FF notes “春 also reads 東.”

Poem 3 1. 2 日光: YQ reads 月將. 1. 3: 迎夏: SS reads 近夏. 香: ZY reads 新. 1. 4: 越傭: ZY, YQ, YWX read 越儂.

Poem 4 1. 1 未有: QTS reads 未滿. 1. 4 因遺: SS reads 固遺, WZZ reads 因遺.

Poem 5 1. 1 吳鉤: XC, MG read 橫刀.

Poem 8 1. 4 石磯: YWX reads 釣磯.

Poem 9 1. 3 木蘭: WZZ, SS, XC read 木欄.

Poem 10 1. 3 堪書: YWX reads 堪題.

Poem 12 1. 3 誰遣: XC, MG read 誰為; SS reads 誰遣. 裁: YWX reads 藏.

Poem 13 1. 4 麥雨: XC, SS, MG read 菱雨.

2.1 金銅仙人辭漢歌并序 **Song of the Bronze Immortal Taking Leave of the Han (with preface)**

The preface summarizes the historical anomaly account from which this poem takes its departure. The “basin-bearing immortals” referred to here were installed in Emperor Wu's Jianzhang palace complex (constructed beginning in 104 BCE); their basins were meant to gather dew, for drinking, mixed with ground jade, as an elixir of immortality. Emperor Ming of the Wei modeled his own palace and garden construction at Luoyang after Emperor Wu's complexes around Chang'an, including, as indicated in these accounts, directly appropriating artifacts of Han palace architecture for the purpose. Although Li He's “Song” envisions the immortal being carried away, extant versions of the anomaly account state that the Wei officials were dissuaded from moving them when one (or more) of them wept; standard historical records report simply that they were found to be too heavy to move. *Form*: unregulated heptasyllabic meter, rhyme change every four lines, each four-line stanza rhyming aaxa. Li He calls this a “song,” and the preface

gives an account of how he came to invent and compose it; this work is consistently cited by early readers as a typical example of Li He's innovative methods in composing *geshi*, or “song-poems.”

Preface 元年: XC, MG read 九年. 西取: ZY, YQ, YWX read 取. 露盤: ZY, YQ, YWX read 露. 前殿: ZY, YQ, YWX read 殿前. 臨載: SS, ZY, YQ, YWX read 臨行. 乃: absent in ZY, YQ, YWX. 遂作: ZY, YWX read 為作; 遂 absent in YQ. 1. 5 牽車: Critical materials assembled in the frontmatter of WQ include an argument by Zhao Yiguang 趙宦光 (1559–1625) that this should read 牽車 (*xia* 牽, also written 轄, referring to the lock-pins in the hubs of a carriage or wagon), and that it connotes that the wagons were closely crowded together – but this hardly seems an improvement.

2.2 古悠悠行 Ancient “Far Far Away” Ballad

Not otherwise attested as a *yuefu* title. *Form*: unregulated pentasyllabic.

1. 5 海沙: ZY, YWX read 海波. 1. 8 從年消: YWX reads 隨年消.

2.3 黃頭郎 Yellow-headed Lad

This is an imitation of the Southern Dynasties “folk liturgy” lyrics such as those collected in YSJ 47 as “Songs for the Divine Strings” (cf. 4.19, 4.38, 4.40); this work, since its title does not match any known pre-Tang exemplars, appears among the “new *yuefu* lyrics” in YSJ 95. The nature of the liturgical preparations at the close of the poem is unclear, but it may be that Li He is alluding to, or imagining, a ritual in which the absent boatman is the recipient of sacrifice. *Form*: unregulated, primarily pentasyllabic; rhyming even-numbered lines only.

1. 7 玉瑟: WZZ, HC read 玉琴. 1. 11 好持: WQ notes “Also reads 好待.” 1. 12 鴛鴦: WQ notes “Also reads 鴛籠, also reads 薰籠.”

2.4 馬詩二十三首 On Horses (Twenty-three Poems)

This series is a sustained exploration of the lore of horses and the traditions of the signs by which horses could be judged, also maintaining the traditional allegorical register whereby the misjudged fine steed was viewed as a natural analogue for the predicament of a man whose talents went unappreciated. From early times, the body of lore on expert judges of horses such as Bole and others was extensively developed; these figures’ expertise in assessing horses’ capacities was often invoked to con-

trast with flawed judges of human abilities (cf. 2.15, ll. 13–14 and 4.50, ll. 39–40). Bole himself, also known as Sun Yang 孫陽 (see 4.50, l. 39), was a quasi-divine figure, associated with a celestial officer charged with horse management in heaven, and was also said to have authored a classical treatise on horse-judging. Apart from the various aspects of the Bole legend invoked in this series, the most recurrent themes are the analogy or identity between horses and dragons, the legendary King Mu of Zhou, who was able to roam about the cosmos with his team of miraculous horses, along with a catalog of designations for the “bone-signs” (*gu xiang* 骨相) and other markers indicating to a discerning judge the quality of a horse. *Form*: regulated pentasyllabic quatrains.

Poem 1 l. 3 錦驪: YWX reads 錦羈.

Poem 2 l. 3 未知: YWX reads 不知.

Poem 3 l. 2 玉山: MG reads 玉崑. l. 3 鳳苑: YWX reads 漢苑.

Poem 4 l. 2 本是精: WQ reads 本是星. The reading given here follows suggestion of WZZ.

Poem 5 l. 1 沙如雪: QTS reads 山如雪.

Poem 9 l. 1 去匆匆: XC reads 死忽忽; MG reads 死葱葱.

Poem 10 l. 1 烏江: QTS notes “Also reads 江東.” l. 3 君王: WQ, QTS note “Also reads 吾王.”

Poem 11 l. 3 午時: MG reads 年時.

Poem 16 l. 1 唐劍: MG, SS read 唐欲. l. 2 拳: the reading of most edd. WQ gives an anomalous character with 毛 instead of 手 as the lower component. l. 4: 颶風: following MG, XC. WQ reads 飄風.

Poem 17 l. 2 礧聞: ZY, YWX read 礧聞.

2.5 申胡子觴策歌并序 *Shawm-song for Shen Huzi (with preface)*

This poem dates from Li He's longest known stint in Chang'an, from 810 to 813, when he was serving as Vice-Director for Ceremonials. The preface provides a rare glimpse into the process whereby this particular work went from impromptu composition, to group singing, and finally to adaptation and performance with instrumental accompaniment by a professional musician. The Prince of Jiangxia was a distant relation of the imperial Li clan who was enfeoffed at Jiangxia in recognition of military service under Emperor Taizong. Li He's citation of the designation “Great Peace pipe,” and his description of its wondrous climatic and cosmological effects in ll. 5–8, likely relates to traditions

of use of this instrument, along with the *bili* itself and other similar reed instruments, in normalizing tunings, and in acoustical calculations of equal temperament along with other supposedly lost ancient sagely musical and calendrical traditions. *Form*: unregulated pentasyllabic, one rhyme throughout, rhyme in even-numbered lines only.

Preface 亦世家子: SS, XC, WZZ, MG read 本亦世家子. 北郡: Following WZZ, SS, XC, MG. WQ reads 北部.

2.6 老夫採玉歌 Song of the Jade-gathering Old Man

Wei Yingwu 韋應物 (737–792) wrote a “Ballad of the Jade-Gatherers” 採玉行 that may have served as Li He’s model for this work: “The government drafts eligible labor – / saying it’s for gathering the Indigo Creek jade. / Across the hills by night the villages are empty; / deep in the brambles, they are bivouacked in the rain. / A lone woman returns from sending grain; / to the south of the huts is heard mournful weeping.” 官府徵白丁 / 言採藍溪玉 / 絕嶺夜無家 / 深榛雨中宿 / 獨婦餉糧還 / 哀哀舍南哭.

2.7 傷心行 Ballad of Heartache

Not otherwise attested as a song title. Line 5 involves an echo of the banquet scene from the *Chuci* “Summons to the Soul” (“Zhao hun” 招魂): “Bright candles of thoroughwort-scented oil, splendid sights are mingled” 蘭膏明燭華容錯些 ... The word play in line 6 resists translation, since the words for “moths” (*e* 蛾) and “beauties” (*e* 娥) were often conflated in writing, and since a salient aspect of the “beauties” appearance was their “moth-eyebrows.” *Form*: unregulated pentasyllabic.

l. 6 飛蛾: following XC. WQ reads 飛娥.

2.8 湖中曲 Lake Tune

This tune-title appears to be original to Li He; here he imitates the manner and imagery of Southern Dynasties love-song *yuefu*. It is included in YSJ 95 among the “new *yuefu* lyrics.” *Form*: unregulated heptasyllabic; a quatrain rhyming aaxa followed by two rhyming couplets.

l. 2 水蘋: WQ notes “Also reads 水荇.” l. 3 橫船: ZY, YQ, YWX read 橫倚. l. 5 青渠: WQ notes “Should read 清渠.” YSJ, MG read 青渠. l. 7 封巾: YSJ, MG read 封中. l. 8 壺中: WQ notes “Also reads 銅壺.”

2.9 黃家洞 Caves of the Huang Folk

There were recurrent conflicts during Li He's adult life between Tang imperial forces and what the Tang called "Yellow [Huang] Cave Hill-folk" 黃洞蠻 in what is now Guangxi. As reflected here, the Tang forces were often ineptly led, and casualty rates from both warfare and disease were high. The final line is problematic, but likely refers to another recurrent practice, namely that of massacring non-combatant indigenous populations in order to report high body counts. The word *qiao* 踠 in l. 5 is otherwise unknown; the explanation in latter-day dictionaries that it means "lower leg" is traceable to Wu Zhengzi's commentary on this poem. *Form*: unregulated heptasyllabic; a quatrain rhyming aaxa followed by six lines all rhyming.

l. 5 綵中: XC, SS, MG read 綵布. l. 6 簇隊: ZY, YQ, YWX read 簇墜.

2.10 屏風曲 Tune: the Folding Screen

This "tune" appears to be Li He's invention. *Form*: unregulated heptasyllabic, rhyming every line.

l. 2. 綠鴨: WYYH reads 鴨綠. l. 3 膏蘭: WYYH reads 銀蘭. l. 4 將鬟: WYYH reads 解鬟. l. 6 酒觥: WYYH reads 酒餘.

2.11 南山田中行 Ballad: Fields in South Mountain

The title poses a quandary: the *xing* 行 rendered "ballad" here could also just mean "walking," which would render an occasional title, "Walking in the Fields in South Mountain." The style and form seem more reminiscent of Li He's imagined musical works than of his occasional verse, but the question is difficult to determine. The close makes best sense if we infer burial grounds in the mountains; compare 2.24.3. *Form*: unregulated heptasyllabic (with variant first line); two four-line stanzas rhymed every line.

l. 1 秋風: YWX reads 秋色. l. 8 照松花: Following XC, SS, MG, ZY, YQ, YWX. WQ reads 點松花.

2.12 貴主征行樂 Music for a Princess's Progress

Wang Qi assembles Tang usage to argue that the term *guizhu* 貴主 was conventionally applied to princesses. This poem would thus appear to describe an outing by a princess with an honor guard of women in military formation and garb. *Form*: unregulated heptasyllabic, rhyming couplets in a series of four different rhymes.

l. 1 奚騎: XC reads 奚妓. l. 6 捐鞭: SS, XC read 梢鞭.

2.13 酒罷張大微索贈詩時張初效謫幕 After Drinking, Zhang the Eldest, Che, Demanded that I Present a Poem: At the time Zhang had just begun his service under the Military Governor of Luzhou

Zhang Che (?–821) was a fellow member of Han Yu's circle, married to a niece of Han Yu's. Li He went to Luzhou (at Changzhi in modern-day Shanxi province) in summer of 813 to seek Zhang Che's help in procuring an official post in the Luzhou administration (see Introduction). The turn to self-depiction in the final stanza is marked by an abrupt stylistic shift from more ornately rhetorical to plainer *yuefu* diction. *Form*: unregulated heptasyllabic, quatrains rhyming aaxa.

l. 1 八: XC, MG read 一. l. 5 太行: Following SS, XC, QTS. WQ reads 水行. QTS notes “Also reads 水符.”

2.14 羅浮山人與葛篇 A Verse: Hemp Cloth Given by Luofu Mountain Folk

“Luofu” is explained as a collective designation of Mt. Luo and Mt. Fu, the latter said to be so designated because it was a foothill of the immortal mountain-island Penglai 蓬萊 that had floated (*fu* 浮) ashore near Mt. Luo; this *yongwu* poem perhaps describes fine hemp fabric imported from this area, as though it were from a realm of immortal beings. *Form*: unregulated heptasyllabic, quatrains rhyming aaxa.

Title 羅浮: MG reads 羅敷. 山人: XC, ZY, YQ, YWX read 山父; MG reads 交. l. 2 六月: MJ reads 十月. l. 5 蛇毒濃凝: XC reads 蛇毒濃吁; MG reads 毒蛇濃吁. l. 7 箱中: Following XC, MG, ZY, YWX, QTS. WQ reads 湘中.

2.15 仁和里雜敘皇甫湜 In Renhe Ward: an Impromptu Account for Huangfu Shi

A title note reads, “Shi was newly made Defender at Luhun” 湜新尉陸渾. Renhe Ward was a district in the Tang eastern capital, Luoyang, where Li He lodged after his failed attempt to pass the *jinshi* examination. The imperial clan operated something like a club or guild; Li He apparently gained access to these lodgings based on his status as a member of the clan, though in his case the accommodations were evidently far from elegant. Huangfu Shi's provincial appointment at Luhun, to an office of rank 9, was a punishment for his blunt criticism of court affairs in an essay he wrote for an 808 “Worthy and Upright”

examination. The resolution of the potentially baffling l. 13 in terms of horse-judging traditions comes from a comment by Dong Boying 董伯英 cited in XL. The reference to “Mt. Kongtong” in this context was also long problematic; Wu Qiming’s resolution seems persuasive and is followed here. *Form*: unregulated heptasyllabic, quatrains rhyming aaxa.

l. 4 垂珠: SS, XC, WZZ read 垂朱. l. 13 堅都: XC reads 堅都.

2.16 宮娃歌 *Song of the Palace Maiden*

This song, whose title is Li He’s own invention, depicts a palace woman’s yearning for home and freedom. *Form*: unregulated pentasyllabic, two rhyming couplets followed by two quatrains rhyming aaxa.

2.17 堂堂 *The Hall*

This is a rare instance in Li He’s collection of a tune-title attested in Tang musical performance, said to stem from court repertoire under the Tang emperor Gaozong 高宗 (r. 649–683), derived from a song attributed to Chen Shubao 陳叔寶 (r. 583–589), the “Latter Emperor” of the Chen dynasty (557–589); YSJ 79 records this work in its category of “lyrics to tunes from recent eras.” Anecdotal traditions report folk ditties of Gaozong’s reign incorporating the phrase “the hall!” that hinted darkly at the precarious state of the dynasty when the imperial line of succession was in doubt. The Huaqing palace named in line 7 is the renowned warm spring site at Mt. Li favored by the Tang emperor Xuanzong and his Prized Consort Lady Yang (see 1.10). The closing vision of white phoenixes in the steam-plumes rising above that site evoke associations of a celestial cavalcade in the *Chuci* manner. Such intimations of (perhaps thwarted) transcendence are augmented by associations of the phrase “orpiment rock” in the penultimate line that resist translation: orpiment does indeed often occur in conjunction with hot springs, and the Huaqing source was said to be such a site. Itself also held to be a source of heat, orpiment was a precious tribute item, valued both as a golden-yellow pigment and as an alchemical ingredient in medicines and elixirs of immortality. *Form*: mixed pentasyllabic and heptasyllabic, rhyming every line.

l. 2 紅脫梅灰香: YSJ and WQ note “Also reads 紅熟海梅香.” l. 4 堆: following a variant noted in WQ. WQ reads 摧. SS, XC read 推.

l. 8 白鳳: SS, YSJ, MG read 百鳳.

2.18 勉愛行二首送小季之廬山 **Ballad: “Be Strong, Take Care” (Two Poems), Sending off My Little Brother to Mt. Lu**

Hu Yujin 胡玉蟠 notes that the opening couplet involves an oblique reference to a statement by Tao Qian that the vicinity of a stable is no place to pursue classical studies (see “To Show to the Three Gentlemen Zhou Xuzhi, Zu Qi, and Xie Jingyi” 示周續之祖企謝景夷三郎, in *Tao Yuanming ji jiaojian*, 90); here the point is made self-deprecatingly, as Li He observes that he has achieved neither the ideal of the successful official, nor that of the unworldly scholar. *Form*: (Poem 1) unregulated pentasyllabic; (Poem 2) mixed; one quatrain pentasyllabic rhyming xaxa followed by three heptasyllabic quatrains rhyming aaxa.

Poem 1 1. 2 慚: YWX and WQ both note and reject the variant 新.

Poem 2 Wang Qi notes that an alternate edition divides this work into two poems, a pentasyllabic quatrain, and another poem from line 5 to the end. 1. 4: 持此: SS, XC, QTS read 持我. 1. 10 持鏡: YWX reads 對鏡.

2.19 致酒行 **Ballad: “Bring the Wine”**

WYYH includes a putatively original note: “written in my Chang’an dwelling at the solstice” 至日長安里中作. The exact title used here does not appear in *yuefu* registers, but this work is in the manner of banquet songs to the *yuefu* title “Bring in the Wine” 將進酒 and similar titles elsewhere in Li He and other poets (such as 4.14, 4.41). *Form*: unregulated heptasyllabic, with two hypermetrical syllables before line 6. Free use of such “padding” phrases is common in heptasyllabic song forms. 1. 1 棲遲: WYYH reads 悽惶. 1. 9 龍顏: WYYH reads 龍髯. ZY, YWX read 龍鱗.

2.20 長歌續短歌 **“The Long Song Continues the Short Song”**

“Long Song” and “Short Song” are designations that appear in Jin *yuefu* repertoires; a lyric attributed to the Western Jin scholar Fu Xuan 傅玄 (217–278) includes the line, “I sigh, as the long song continues the short song” 咄來長歌續短歌, which Li He’s title seems to be citing. There is no clear indication of what musical or metrical features distinguished the “long song” and “short song” in these early medieval contexts. The preface to 2.5 uses the phrase “long tune” to refer to heptasyllabic line-length, but it is unclear whether Li He would have understood the traditional terminology in this way. If there is any the-

matic relation with “short” or “long” in this work it would seem to be in the form of a meditation on time and mortality. YSJ 31 includes this work in its category of “level-mode” (*pingdiao* 平調) tunes in the “response songs” repertoire. *Form*: unregulated pentasyllabic, rhyming every other line.

l. 6 飢: Following XC, MG, SS, YSJ, QTS. WQ reads 饑. l. 7 淒涼: SS, XC, YSJ, ZY, YWX, QTS read 淒淒 or 淒淒. 四月闌: YSJ, MG read 四月蘭.

2.21 公莫舞歌并序 **Song: “Sir, Don’t Dance” (with preface)**

Xiang Yu (see also 2.4.10) was deemed to have let slip his last chance at founding a new dynasty by his failure to assassinate the eventual Han founder Liu Bang at a banquet at Hongmen. Xiang Yu’s adviser Fan Zeng, seeing that Xiang Yu was hesitating, had Xiang Yu’s cousin Xiang Zhuang offer to perform a sword dance, as a pretext for killing Liu Bang. As Xiang Zhuang began dancing, however, Xiang Bo, an uncle of Xiang Yu’s with ties to Liu Bang’s faction, rose to dance as well, interposing himself between Xiang Zhuang and Liu Bang whenever Xiang Zhuang drew near his intended target. At this moment, Fan Kuai, a powerful bodyguard of Liu Bang’s, entered the hall to protect his master, who soon after took leave and escaped. The title “Sir, Don’t ...” appearing among dance tunes in medieval *yuefu* repertoires (see YSJ 54, which also includes this work of Li He’s) derives from the words spoken to Xiang Zhuang by Xiang Bo at the crucial moment. Thus this title, where it appears in old repertoire lists, would be more properly understood as “Lyrics for the ‘Sir, Don’t ...’ Dance” – but line 9 of this poem indicates that Li He understood it as given here.

Form: unregulated heptasyllabic.

l. 1 古: YSJ, QTS note “Also reads 石.” l. 3 華: YSJ, QTS note “Also reads 軍.” l. 8 欄前: SS, YSJ, QTS read 欄前. l. 15 須秦印: ZY, YQ, YWX, QTS read 頒秦印.

2.22 昌谷北園新筍四首 **New Bamboo in the North Garden at Chang’gu (Four Poems)**

Form: regulated quatrains – though poem 3 contains one fairly significant metrical fault, and lines 1 and 4 of Poem 4 exhibit metrical anomalies that are generally very rare in Tang practice.

Poem 1 l. 1 長竿: SS, MG read 長華.

Poem 2 l. 1 斫取: ZY reads 砍取.

Poem 3 l. 1 石眼: SS, XC read 十眼. l. 2 紫陌: XC, MG, QTS read 紫脈.

Poem 4 l. 2: 歎清貧: MG reads 欲清貧.

2.23 惱公 **Tormented**

The opening couplet introduces male and female protagonists, and the closing couplet alludes to the old *yuefu* song “Song of Chance Meeting” (“Xiang feng xing” 相逢行), which enumerate the activities of the three wives of a large family’s three sons: “the eldest wife is weaving figured gauze; / the middle wife is weaving the flowing yellow; / the youngest wife does nothing at all – / carrying her psaltery she mounts the high hall; / ‘Sir, sit comfortably a while, / I’ve not yet finished tuning my psaltery’” 大婦織綺羅 / 中婦織流黃 / 小婦無所為 / 挾瑟上高堂 / 丈人且安坐 / 調瑟方未央. The potential for erotic titillation in the actions of the youngest wife was fully explored in rewritings of the song by Southern Dynasties poets (for Li He’s own highly elliptical version of this tradition, see 3.13). In between, there are broad hints of an overarching narrative, from first meeting and mutual yearning to surreptitious communication and assignation, prognostication, illness, and a final dissolution, but here these skeletal indications of a narrative frame in effect serve as the pretext for a catalog of poetic conventions relating to the boudoir and the lyric language of romance, as each aspect of the woman’s surroundings, interior décor, personal adornments, and body becomes the site of labyrinthine webs of association and suggestion, coded messages and erudite word-play. The title, though Li He’s invention, echoes *yuefu* traditions such as the Six Dynasties “*Aonao*” 懊惱 (also “Tormented”) songs, with which it shares a general tone of erotic insinuation and flirtatious cryptic punning. As with 3.44, the extended series of striking but fleeting images in this work, and the focus on composition at the couplet level, have invited comparison with the long works in linked-verse (*lianju* 連句) by Han Yu and Meng Jiao 孟郊 (751–814). In linked verse, two or more writers take turns, each first completing an unfinished couplet with an even-numbered line, and then inventing a striking first line for the next writer to complete in turn. Harada Kenyū went so far as to suggest that in these two works

Li He, though writing alone, imagined a dramatic scenario with two characters conversing and competing in this way. Regardless of the validity of this theory, it is not a bad approach to reading and appreciating these works. In this dense and often obscure poem, the phrase *xiao song* 削菘, “pared cabbage” (the reading of all early edd.), at l. 66 has proven particularly troublesome to commentators: reading 崧 to create a reference to Mt. Song with Zeng Yi, Wang Qi, and others fails to produce the formally required parallel with “millet” (*su* 粟) in the preceding line. Ye Congqi cites the parallel usage “pared scallion” (*xue cong* 削葱) from a poem by Yuan Zhen 元稹 (779–831), where it is used as a metaphor for the fingers of a zither-player. Some such conception must have been intended by Li He, though considering the smooth cream-white appearance of hearts of Chinese cabbage, directly emending to 葱 as Ye Congqi suggests seems unnecessary. *Form*: regulated pentasyllabic – a long example of “extended regulated verse” or *pai lü* 排律. Note that actual Tang linked verses are typically unregulated (as is the case with 3.44). l. 13 清露: MG reads 清霽. l. 16 靨: MG reads 臉. l. 19 密書: SS, ZY, YQ, YWX read 寄書. l. 54 滲墨: SS, WZZ read 澡墨. l. 66 崧: following SS, MG, XC, MJ, WZZ. WQ, ZY read 崧. Ye Congqi suggests emending to 葱. l. 70 總: following SS, YWX. WQ reads 馳. l. 74 薰衣: SS, MG read 薰香. l. 77 彎蛾: Following SS, XC, YWX, QTS. WQ reads 灣蛾. l. 79 居: SS, MG read 屈.

2.24 感諷五首 Oblique Reactions (Five Poems)

Commentators have looked for thematic continuity in this group, but it seems quite disparate; several works give clear indications of topical political reference, while others read as atmospheric studies. See also W.3. *Form*: unregulated pentasyllabic with rhyme in even-numbered lines.

Poem 1 l. 2 龍洲無: SS, ZY read 龍陽有. l. 12 詣: SS reads 請.

Poem 2 l. 7 搖揚: LK, ZY, YQ read 搖楊. YWX reads 垂楊. l. 11 一夕信豎儿: WQ, QTS note “Also reads 反信豎儿言.”

Poem 3 l. 4 風前幾人老: ZY, YWX read 風剪春姿老. l. 7 無影: Following SS, XC, YQ. WQ reads 立影.

Poem 5 l. 4 垂葉: MG reads 垂雲. l. 6 空秀: MG reads 雲岫. l. 7 桂露: WQ notes “Also reads 秋露.” l. 12 將: SS reads 前.

3.1 追和何謝銅雀妓 Posthumously Responding to He and Xie's "Performers at Bronze Sparrow Terrace"

The title "Performers at Bronze Sparrow Terrace," or simply "Bronze Sparrow Terrace," appears among the "level-mode tunes" category of the "response songs" repertoire in early *yuefu* registers; YSJ 31 assembles this work of Li He's, along with lyrics by over two dozen Six Dynasties and Tang authors (including He Xun and Xie Tiao), under the title "Performers at Bronze Sparrow Terrace." The "responding" Li He does in this poem (signaled by the verb *he* 和 of his title; elsewhere Li He and other Tang poets use the verb *tong* 同 with the same sense) means composing new verses to the title of another writer's poem, a common practice during the Tang in verse exchanges among contemporaries. Li He's adoption of this practice to "respond" to long-dead authors, however, is anomalous (cf. 1.13. For more conventional examples of such "response" poems in Li He, see 1.7, 3.22). *Form*: unregulated pentasyllabic, rhymed every other line.

3.2 送秦光祿北征 Sending off Mr. Qin of the Court of Splendid Emoluments on a Journey North

The recipient has not been identified. The "Court of Splendid Emoluments" (Guanglu si 光祿寺) was a central imperial agency charged with palace catering (Hucker's functional translation is "Court of Imperial Entertainments"). The context for Qin's assignment is thought to have been the Tang military response to Uighur incursions in fall and winter 813, in the region of what is now Hohhot. Thematically the work falls into two main sections: (a) lines 1–16, setting the scene of military affairs in the north where Qin's journey will take him, and imagining the upcoming journey and (b) lines 17–44, which shift to a eulogistic account of Qin's credentials, and his preparations and departure on the present campaign. Parts of the work remain obscure due to the paucity of external evidence about its occasion and dedicatee. Lines 17 and 18 use somewhat involved historical references to imply Qin had a prior service record in subduing foreign and domestic enemies. The abrupt shift in seasonal imagery beginning at l. 23 has puzzled commentators; it could simply be that the opening section provides background on the border crisis, whereas Qin's journey itself took place in the following spring. Wu Qiming proposes avoiding this seasonal question by reading the "peach blossoms" and "bright catkins" at lines 23–24 as referring

only to the coat and accoutrements of the horse, but the language of the poem suggests pairing or correspondence between the horse and a springtime scene. *Form*: extended pentasyllabic regulated verse (*pailü*), the customary form for long formal epistolary verse.

l. 20 階: XC reads 階. l. 39: 偕鳳羽: following the emendation suggested in WRL. WQ reads 階鳳羽. l. 40 擘鶯釵: Following XC, QTS. WQ reads 擘鶯釵.

3.3 酬答二首 Poems in Reply (Two Poems)

It is not known whether the context for these “replies” is simply lost, or enigmatically withheld. *Form*: regulated heptasyllabic quatrain.

3.4 畫角東城 A Painting of Yongdong City

All edd. give the title of this work as “Huajiao dong cheng” 畫角東城, which might be construed as something like “painted bugle at/of the eastern city.” The phrase “painted bugle” (*huajiao* 畫角) refers to an instrument with ethnic or military associations, and some readers have seen this poem as taking its departure from the idea of a bugle call at dawn. Zeng Yi and Wang Qi, however, both conclude that this title as it appears in extant edd. must be a mistranscription of 畫甬東城. Yongdong is a town on an island off the Zhejiang coast. In light of the geographical references in the poem and the evident interest in “local color,” this hypothesis seems persuasive, and it is followed in the text and translation presented here. *Form*: pentasyllabic regulated verse.

Title 甬東: WQ reads 角東 but argues, together with ZY, for 甬東 as the likely original reading.

3.5 謝秀才有妾編練改從於人秀才引留之不得後生感憶座人製詩嘲誚賀復繼四首 Licentiate Xie had a concubine named Silkwhite, who left him for another (the Licentiate’s efforts to persuade her to stay having proved unsuccessful). Afterwards, she was subject to feelings of nostalgia and yearning. At a banquet, the assembled guests composed poems on set topics to mock her. I further append four poems.

Poems commenting, often in risqué or bantering tone, on a friend’s romantic entanglements were an established part of elegant literary social exchange, often, as here, the topic for extempore verses at banquets (Li He specifies that this set of four was composed after the banquet

where the topic was set). For broadly similar scenarios in Li He's works, see also 3.23, 4.46). Silkwhite is represented as having abandoned Xie for a patron from a military background with more political clout. This "Licentiate Xie" may well be the same person referred to in the preface to 4.34. *Form*: pentasyllabic regulated verse (though metrically loose).

Poem 1 1. 5 姐: SS, XC reads 姊.

Poem 2 1. 5 破不復: SS, MG read 破瓜復. 1. 6 瑤琴: JX reads 瑤臺.

Poem 3 1. 1 洞房: SS, MG reads 洞庭. 1. 2 遶花心: following SS. WQ reads 作花心; MG reads 採花心.

3.6 昌谷讀書示巴童 **Studying at Changgu: to Show to my Ba Servant-boy; 巴童答 The Ba Servant-boy's Reply**

The Ba were an ethnic group native to what is now Sichuan, and are often mentioned as servants in elite households (cf. the Cong servant in 2.23, l. 28). *Form*: regulated pentasyllabic quatrains.

3.7 代崔家送客 **Written on Behalf of the Cui Family to Send off a Guest**

The context is unknown. *Form*: regulated pentasyllabic quatrain.

Title 崔家: ZY reads 崔氏. 1. 1 煙: MJ reads 陰. 1. 3 恐隨行處盡: following MG, ZY, QTS. WQ reads 恐送行處盡. 1. 4 重: WQ, QTS note "Also reads 復."

3.8 出城 **Departing from the City**

This poem recounts Li He's return home from Chang'an after his failed attempt at the *jinshi* examination; the late fall-early winter seasonal references here are potentially troublesome for Wu Qiming's argument that Li He did sit for the exam in the spring after his arrival at Chang'an. The fifth line has caused considerable trouble: the reading of most edd., besides being difficult to understand, gives neither the metrical pattern nor the antithetical phrasing expected. The resolution adopted here is that advocated most explicitly by Li Jian. The closing couplet is the single strongest piece of evidence Li He was married. *Form*: pentasyllabic regulated verse, with an irregular final line.

1. 5 誠可重: A variant reading cited in YQ, WQ, and QTS. WQ and most edd. read 試萬里. A note in LJ posits serial mis-transcriptions: 試 for 誠, 万[萬] for 可, 里 for 重.

3.9 莫種樹 **Don't Plant Trees**

This title evokes the manner of old *yuefu* songs, but appears to be Li He's invention. *Form*: regulated pentasyllabic quatrain.

l. 3 南窗: following SS. WQ reads 南牀.

3.10 將發 **About to Set Out**

Form: unregulated pentasyllabic quatrain.

l. 2 將行: MJ notes “Also reads 行將.” l. 4 日: MG reads 月.

3.11 追賦畫江潭苑四首 **Retrospectively Composed on a Painting of Jiangtan Garden (Four Poems)**

Construction on the Jiangtan Garden was begun in 543, and ongoing improvements were still underway when the Hou Jing rebellion put a *de facto* end to the dynasty (see 1.3, with notes). This sequence of four poems is tightly organized, starting from an overview of the site and the early morning in the first poem, and then following the morning preparations of a single palace woman for the hunting party, and concluding with a tableau of the imperial excursion itself. In the “*Fu* on the Gaotang Shrine,” it is in fact King Huai of Chu (r. 328–299 BCE) who experiences the dream encounter, which is later recounted by Song Yu to King Huai's son and heir, King Xiang (r. 298–263 BCE). But it was common to cite this story as if King Xiang were the protagonist, as Li He does here at the close of the first poem of this set. *Form*: pentasyllabic regulated verse.

Title: SS, MG omit 追賦.

Poem 2 l. 4 帶重: following WZZ, SS, XC. WQ reads 重帶.

3.12 潯州張大宅病酒遇江使寄上十四兄 **Suffering from Hangover at the Residence of Zhang the Eldest at Luzhou, I Encountered an Emissary Bound for the River, and Entrusted This to Send to my Elder Cousin, Fourteenth of our Generation**

“Zhang the Eldest” is Zhang Che (see also 2.13). This poem dates from Li He's sojourn in Luzhou from 813 to 815, where he sought unsuccessfully to gain an appointment in the local administration with Zhang's help (see Introduction). The term “elder brother” applies equally to a cousin on the father's side; as customary in Tang practice, “fourteenth” refers to this cousin's birth rank within their common lineage. The cousin addressed here has not been identified. Zhaoguan 昭關,

where Li He's cousin was residing, was in Hezhou, on the left bank of the Yangzi upstream from modern-day Nanjing; Luzhou, in the territory of the ancient state of Zhao, was in modern-day Shanxi, roughly midway on a north-south line between Luoyang and Taiyuan. Urgent governmental communiques (*xi* 檄) were traditionally adorned with feathers, to indicate the need for flying speed. As the title states, Li He is entrusting this letter-poem to a government messenger headed south, bearing such "short-feathered missives" (l. 3). *Form*: extended pentasyllabic regulated verse (*pailü*).

l. 9 紗幌: ZY, YQ, YWX, QTS read 沙幌. l. 11 銀跡畫: YQ, YWX read 銀畫跡.

3.13 難忘曲 **Tune: Hard to Forget**

Listed as a "pure-mode tune" among the "response songs" in YSJ, due to its clear filiation to the "Song of Chance Meeting" tradition (YSJ 35; cf. the closing lines of 2.23; see also the Endnote to that work), but this title, derived from a quoted fragment from the original lyrics to that tune, appears to be Li He's innovation (see discussion in Introduction). Many lyrics in the "Song of Chance Meeting" family provide far more narrative detail, but this work may be read as a highly condensed version with the core elements: hidden amid city streets, a splendid mansion; in the mansion, an alluring woman – a prime example of the power of the "subtractive" method in Li He's use of old *yuefu* traditions (see Introduction). *Form*: unregulated pentasyllabic, rhymed every other line.

Title: XC includes the explanatory note: "Among ancient poems there are the lines, Your place is easy to spot; / easy to spot, and also hard to forget 君家誠易知, 易知復難忘." l. 2 弱楊: MG reads 弱柳; YQ reads 強楊. l. 6 畫蛾: WZZ, XC, ZY read 拂蛾.

3.14 賈公閭貴婿曲 **Tune: Jia Gonglü's Noble Son-in-Law**

Jia Chong counted a prince and an emperor among his sons-in-law, but Han Shou was the most renowned in song and story – a man of romantic sensibilities, who very much "married up." In Li He's poem, at any rate, the "Son-in-Law" is a voluptuary young man who has married above his station (as attested by both the splendor of his in-laws' mansion as well as the uxori-local nature of his marriage). The shift of scene in the final stanza is abrupt, and the closing enigmatic;

the divergence of interpretations hinges on how we construe the reference to Pan Yue in the penultimate line. Most modern commentators infer a reference to some previously unmentioned male figure; since Pan Yue was renowned as a great beauty, they read the closing line as voicing regret that this figure, unlike the playboy “Son-in-Law,” has no one to dote on him. The translation here reflects a more parsimonious approach to the implied scenario: the “Son-in-Law,” grown jaded with the luxuries of his in-laws’ mansion, goes off to make merry, outdoors, with courtesans. The abrupt shift (with rhyme change) from outdoors (swallows, sunlight) to indoors (curtain-hook, screen) in ll. 9–10 indicates a boudoir setting – which by narrative economy is most naturally read as that of the neglected wife, back in the Jia family mansion. Similarly, “Pan Yue” and his merrymaking among flowers at Heyang most economically refers again – this time, from the wife’s perspective – to the merrymaking “Son-in-Law.” Doubtless he is lovely in her eyes – but the “fragrance and loveliness” with none to die for it is hers. Such an approach situates the song firmly within the ubiquitous scenario of indoor lonely woman and outdoor/distant faithless lover of the *yuefu* “boudoir lament” subtype, as well as much Tang banquet lyric (compare, e.g., 1.29, 4.9), and renders its final stanza perhaps the extreme expression of Li He’s “subtractive” song-composition method (see discussion in Introduction). The point in the end is not which approach is “correct,” but how adepts in these song forms would likely have “heard” such a song. Modern readers’ resistance to reading in this way perhaps stems from a general impression that both Han Shou and Pan Yue were “good” men; but Tang readers were less prudish in such matters. *Form*: unregulated pentasyllabic, quatrains rhymed xaxa.

l. 3 白馬來: MG reads 白馬春. l. 5 今朝: MG reads 金朝.

3.15 夜飲朝眠曲 **Tune: Drinking at Night, Sleeping through Morning**

This tune-title appears to be Li He’s own invention. The point of the final couplet has baffled commentators; it could be either the woman herself or a lover who is the “imperial scion” mentioned. *Form*: unregulated heptasyllabic, rhymed every line.

l. 3 柳苑: Following MG, QTS. WQ reads 柳花. 鴉: SS reads 鶯.

l. 4 蕙蘭: WZZ, SS, XC read 蕙園. l. 6 熟: XC, QTS read 熟.

3.16 王濬墓下作 **Composed Beneath the Tomb of Wang Jun**

The *Jin shu* 晉書 (*Jin History*) recounts that before Wang Jun's rise to military command, a children's ditty had circulated saying, "Ah Tong, Ah Tong, / bearing a sword he floats across the river. / Don't fear the tiger on land, / just fear the dragon in the water" 阿童復阿童 / 御刀浮渡江 / 不畏岸上虎 / 但畏水中龍. The Jin general Yang Hu, interpreting the ditty as an omen that a naval force would play a decisive role, and observing that Wang Jun's childhood name was Ah Tong, appointed Wang Jun general and ordered him to begin plans for a river-based invasion force. Wang Jun's tomb was located near Guozhou 虢州, not far from the main route connecting Luoyang to Chang'an. *Form*: extended pentasyllabic regulated verse (*pailü*), with metrically irregular first line.

1. 4 秋黎: SS, XC read 秋梨. 1. 6 神: QTS reads 袖. 1. 7 魚鱗: MG reads 魚龍. 1. 8 科: WQ, QTS note "Also read 斜."

3.17 客遊 **Wanderer's Journey**

The references to Lord Pingyuan of Zhao, a patron of renowned generosity toward his many retainers, suggests both in terms of geography and circumstance (though Li He's hopes to find in Chi Shimei his own Lord Pingyuan went unfulfilled) that this work dates from Li He's sojourn in Luzhou (see discussion in the Introduction). *Form*: unregulated pentasyllabic, rhymed every other line.

3.18 崇義里滯雨 **Rained in at my Lodgings in Chongyi Ward**

Chongyi Ward was in the eastern half of Chang'an, about half a kilometer south of the walls of the "Southern Palace," i.e. the Department of State Affairs (*Shangshu sheng* 尚書省). As Wu Qiming argues, the reference to the "Southern Palace" at line 7 seems to imply some critique; Wu's further suggestion that the specific target would likely have been the Ministry of Personnel (*Li bu* 吏部), charged with the assignment of official posts, is plausible, in which case the complaint here would pertain to Li He's appointment and ongoing service as Vice-Director of Ceremonial. *Form*: unregulated pentasyllabic.

3.19 馮小憐 **Feng Xiaolian**

It is said that once when Feng Xiaolian was playing her *pipa* at the prince's residence, a string broke, and she extemporized the song,

“Though I receive the favor of this day, / still I recall the love of former times. / If you wish to know how my heart is broken, / you should look at this string in my lap” 雖蒙今日寵 / 猶憶昔時憐 / 欲知心斷絕 / 應看膝上絃. *Form*: unregulated pentasyllabic.

l. 3 東風: XC, WZZ, MG, LK, QTS read 春風. l. 8 妾駕鞭: following WZZ, SS, ZY; WQ reads 駕妾鞭. XC reads 妾駕鞍.

3.20 贈陳商 Presented to Chen Shang

Written at Chang'an, likely in 811 or so. Chen Shang was another young writer in Han Yu's circle, who would go on to pass the 814 *jinshi* examination and enjoy a successful career. He was known for an extreme version of the “ancient style” writing espoused by Han Yu. Lines 1–8 are among the most memorable self-portraits in Li He's work; the middle section turns to an oblique account of a visit Li He received from Chen, praising Chen's scholarly and moral excellence. The closing section returns to Li He's own self-mockery and frustration. The closing lines of this verse epistle present one of the most vehement expressions of Li He's sense of resentment and helplessness regarding his post as Vice-Director for Ceremonials. *Form*: unregulated pentasyllabic, with a single rhyme throughout.

l. 19 旁苦: SS, XC, ZY, YQ, YWX read 旁古. l. 21 不憐: SS, ZY, YWX read 不言.

3.21 釣魚詩 Fishing Poem

Form: extended pentasyllabic regulated verse (*pailü*).

l. 1 紅渠: XC reads 紅渠. l. 4 菰米: SS, XC, WZZ read 蒲米. l. 5 清沼: ZY, YQ, YWX read 青沼.

3.22 奉和二兄罷使遣馬歸延州 Respectfully Responding to “My Commission Ended, I Send Away my Horse and Return to Yanzhou” by my Elder Brother, Second in our Generation

On “elder brother” being used to reference a cousin, see Endnote to 3.12 above; “second” here refers to this cousin's birth rank within their common lineage. The cousin addressed has not been identified, but we see from the assignment he is carrying out and the language Li He uses in describing him that he was a military man. Yanzhou was near the site of modern-day Yan'an in Shaanxi. Commentators are divided as to

whether the cousin sends the horse or horses back to Yanzhou, or sends away horse or horses, and himself returns to Yanzhou. The title itself might be construed either way, but the phrasing of the third and fourth lines of Li He's response poem seems to weigh somewhat in favor of the latter option, which is adopted in the translation. *Form*: extended (six-couplet) pentasyllabic regulated verse (*pailü*), with metrically irregular final couplet.

Title 奉和: YQ, YWX read 奉賀. 1. 8 尚闕難: following WZZ, SS, XC. WQ reads 向闕難. 1. 12 何畏: following WZZ, SS, XC, ZY. WQ reads 何患.

3.23 答贈 Reply to a Poem

The title does not specify the nature of the verse exchange, but the final couplet insinuates that someone has acquired a new concubine. In this sense this poem may be seen as emerging from a similar social scenario to that underlying the poems on “Licentiate Xie” and his former mistress “Silkwhite” (3.5). Lines 3 and 4 involve a skewed echo of the old lyrics to a “pure *shang*-mode” melody called “Yang Pan'er” 楊叛兒: “Take a walk outside the White Gate; / where the willows can hide crows. / My love is the aloeswood incense / and I am the Mt. Bo censor” 暫出白門前 / 楊柳可藏烏 / 歡作沈水香 / 儂作博山爐. *Form*: pentasyllabic regulated verse.

1. 1 本是: SS, XC read 本作. 1. 3 小象: Following MG. WQ reads 小像. 1. 5 露重: MG reads 露濕.

3.24 題趙生壁 Inscribed on Scholar Zhao's Wall

This “scholar Zhao” has not been identified. The poem is an encomium of the home and daily existence of a man living in quiet seclusion. Li He's opening echo of the “three wives” motif from the “Song of Chance Meeting” (see 2.23 endnote) may be intended contrastively here: in the *yuefu* tradition it was the wives of various sons in a grand urban mansion that were in question, whereas here Li He may have in mind a smaller scale and more rustic establishment where the “three wives” are wife and concubines of Scholar Zhao himself. *Form*: unregulated pentasyllabic.

1. 3 冬暖拾松枝: MG reads 冬暖十松枝. 1. 4 坐蒙減: Following WZZ, XC, MG, LK, QTS. WQ reads 生蒙減. 1. 6 石泉: SS, XC, WZZ read 石井.

3.25 感春 Stirred by Spring

Form: pentasyllabic regulated verse.

l. 3 来子: all edd. read 萊子. WZZ notes: “The character 来 was mis-transcribed as 來, then further mistaken as 萊.”

3.26 仙人 An Immortal

Form: unregulated pentasyllabic.

l. 2 翩翩: ZY reads 翩翩. l. 7 當時: SS, XC read 時時.

3.27 河陽歌 Heyang Song

This is an enigmatic work even by Li He's standards. Heyang is a city straddling the Yellow River, just north of Luoyang, including a central district on an island in the middle (see also **2.12**, **3.14**, **3.29**). The “Terrace Mound” (Taiqiong 臺邛) mentioned in line 4 is otherwise unattested; in this context it would appear to be a place at Heyang, or an alternate designation of Heyang itself. Wu Zhengzi suggests that “Taiqiong” may be an error for Linqiong 臨邛, the town in Sichuan where Sima Xiangru encountered Zhuo Wenjun (see **1.12.1**, along with **2.23**, l. 80); Yao Wenxie proposes a combined reference to Linqiong and “Qin terrace” (*Qin tai* 琴臺), a site in Sichuan where Sima Xiangru was said to have played the zither. At any rate, some sort of romantic assignation seems implied, and the “Master Yan” of line 6 is generally understood as self-reference on the part of the poet. Li Shangyin was to compose one of his most mesmerizing imitations of Li He's style in his own “Poem of Heyang.” *Form:* unregulated pentasyllabic (with irregular first line), quatrains rhyming xaxa.

l. 4 臺邛: WZZ notes “Perhaps should read 臨邛.” l. 8 惜許: ZY, YQ, YWX read 昔許. l. 13 月: MG reads 日.

3.28 花游曲并序 Tune: Wandering Among the Flowers (with preface)

The Cold Food festival is celebrated one hundred and five days after the winter solstice. What Li He means by the “tune” of the poetry of Xiao Gang, Emperor Jianwen of the Liang; apparently he means something equivalent to “manner” or “style.” This is one of the two poems that Li He specifically says was performed to musical accompaniment (along with **2.5**); the translation reflects the idea of the lyric as being

performed by the courtesans as Li He indicates. *Form*: pentasyllabic regulated verse, metrically somewhat free.

Preface 賀入座: JX reads 賞入座. 彈唱: SS reads 彈曲.

3.29 春晝 Spring Daylight

Form: heptasyllabic rhyming couplet, then tetrasyllabic rhyming in even-numbered lines; one rhyme throughout.

l. 4 如練: XC, MG read 如練. l. 16 無限: SS, XC read 無限.

3.30 安樂宮 Anle Palace

Anle Palace was constructed near Wuchang in the Three Kingdoms era state of Wu. A work titled “The New Citadel Anle Palace” (from one line in an early lyric to this tune) is listed as a “response song” work in early repertoire lists; versions by Xiao Gang and Yin Keng 陰鏗 (?511–?563) are extant. *Form*: unregulated pentasyllabic.

l. 1 深井: WQ notes “Also reads 漆井.” l. 2 尚復: XC reads 尚服. 清水: SS, ZY, YQ, YWX read 情水. l. 3 邵陵瓜: SS reads 邵陵王. l. 5 新成: YSJ, MG, ZY, YQ, YWX read 新城.

3.31 蝴蝶舞 Butterflies Dance

Not otherwise attested as a song title; written as a vignette set in the boudoir of a woman awaiting the return of an absent lover. *Form*: unregulated heptasyllabic; two rhyming couplets.

Title: SS, XC, YQ, YWX read 蝴蝶飛.

3.32 梁公子 Lordling of the Liang

The subject would seem to be a contemporary of Li He’s with the surname Xiao, which was also that of the Liang dynasty (502–557) imperial lineage. The penultimate line suggests someone holding a military post. An alternate possibility is that the Xiao family of the Liang may serve here as a figure for the Tang imperial clan. *Form*: pentasyllabic regulated verse, though metrically quite free.

l. 4 江沙: ZY, YQ, YWX read 江涯.

3.33 牡丹種曲 Tune: Peony Bulbs

This tune-title is apparently Li He’s invention. Tang peony-mania was both a social phenomenon – fortunes being spent on the most prized varieties – as well as a favorite topic of verse composition. *Form*: unregu-

lated heptasyllabic, quatrains rhyming aaxa, followed by two rhyming couplets.

l. 12 樓臺: SS, XC, ZY, YWX read 樓庭.

3.34 後園鑿井歌 **Song: “I Bored a Well in the Rear Garden ...”**

A much longer song titled “The Prince of Huainan” is listed among the Jin dynasty court repertoire of “whisk dance” tunes, and includes the line, “I bored a well in the rear garden, with silver for its curb” 後園鑿井銀作牀; Li He borrows the line as the “tune” for his new version. *Form*: unregulated, irregular line length.

Title 歌 absent in SS, XC. l. 3 絃聲: XC, MG read 絲聲.

3.35 開愁歌 **Song: Giving Vent to Sadness**

Not otherwise attested as a *yuefu* title. A title note reads, “Written beneath Mt. Hua” 華下作. If this reading is correct, and if the title note does give reliable information as to the place of composition, this work would likely date from one of Li He’s several journeys between Luoyang and Chang’an, which would have taken him by the region of Mt. Hua. The poem’s final two characters have caused considerable trouble to commentators. The text and translation here follow a conjecture of Wang Qi’s, which he himself admits is tenuous. In context the phrase must at any rate refer to some form of persecution inflicted on the poet by the “vulgarians.” *Form*: unregulated heptasyllabic, quatrains rhymed aaxa.

Title note 華下作: Following XC, LK. WQ reads 花下作. WZZ, SS, MG read 筆下作. WZZ notes “Also reads 華下.” l. 9 天雲: ZY, YWX read 雲天. l. 12 填談: Wang Qi’s proposed emendation. WQ, WZZ read 填談; QTS, in a note, cites its predecessor compilation *Tang yin tong qian* 唐音統籤 for a suggestion that the anomalous character 狹 should be understood as a non-standard variant for 應. ZY, YWX read 填歎.

3.36 秦宮詩并序 **Poem: Qin Gong (with preface)**

Feng Zidu’s story is reflected in the ancient *yuefu* ballad “Yulin lang” 羽林郎 (“Gentleman of the Palace Guard”), the work to which Li He’s present poem is meant to form a pair. Whereas “Yulin lang” focuses on a single episode of Feng Zidu’s attempted seduction of a charming tavern hostess, and the latter’s staunch refusal of his advances, however, this work of Li He’s presents a far more elaborately hyperbolic depiction

of Qin Gong's hubris and hedonistic indulgence, reminiscent of the orgiastic pleasure-seeking passages in the *Chu ci* "Summons to the Soul." *Form*: unregulated heptasyllabic, in stanzas rhyming aaxa.

Preface 辭以馮子都: TWC reads 辭似與馮子都. 1. 1 衫袂: TWC reads 夾衫. 1. 5 雲閑: following MG; WQ reads 人間; TWC reads 人閑. 1. 8 午夜: following TWC, MG; WQ reads 十夜. 午夜銅盤: WQ notes "Also reads 半夜朦朧." 1. 12 夜半: WQ notes "Also reads 夜來." 1. 13 桐陰: following MG. WQ reads 桐英. 騎新馬: MG reads 調生馬; WQ, QTS note "Also reads 騎主馬." 1. 14 深屏: TWC reads 珍屏; MG reads 屏風. 1. 18 花底: SS, XC read 花裏. 1. 20 醉卧: Following SS, MG. WQ reads 醉睡. LK reads 醉眠.

3.37 古鄴城童子謠效王粲刺曹操 A Children's Rhyme from the Ancient City of Ye: In imitation of Wang Can criticizing Cao Cao

There is no record of Wang Can criticizing Cao Cao, but the term *xianggong* 相公 or "Minister Duke" originated with Cao Cao, as a prime minister who was enfeoffed as Duke under the last puppet emperor of the Han, emperor Xian. Perhaps Li He intended this poem to be imagined as composed by Wang Can before his arrival at Cao Cao's court. Wang Qi posits a contemporary reference to the murder of a civil officer by Tian Ji'an 田季安, the Military Commissioner of the northern splinter region of Wei-Bo, in around 811. YSJ 87 includes this work, under the title "Children's Rhyme from Yecheng" 鄴城童子謠. *Form*: unregulated trisyllabic, quatrains rhymed xaxa.

Title: WZZ, MG, LK, HC omit 刺. LJ notes on HC "The character 刺 was originally present in this title." 1. 2 暮塵: SS, MG read 墓塵. 1. 3 探: MG, QTS read 將.

3.38 楊生青花紫石硯歌 Song: Scholar Yang's Green-flecked Purple Inkstone

During the Tang, as at present, inkstones from Duanzhou (in modern-day Guangdong) were highly prized. The "scholar Yang" to whom this work is addressed has been tentatively identified as Li He's friend Yang Jingzhi (cf. 1.4). *Form*: unregulated heptasyllabic, rhyming every line.

Title: 青花: absent in ZY, YQ, YWX. 紫: absent in SS.

1. 8 光秋: YWX reads 秋光. 1. 10 頌: SS, YQ read 碩; QTS notes "Also reads 碩."

3.39 房中思 **Boudoir Yearning**

Form: unregulated pentasyllabic, first quatrain rhyming xaxa, and the second bcbc. Li He seems fond of using off-rhymes in a stanza's odd-numbered lines, but the exact rhyme between the first and third lines of the second stanza here is unusual.

l. 4 玉鑾: Following XC, MG, LK, QTS. WQ reads 鸞. l. 8 臥聽: SS, MG read 臥對.

3.40 石城曉 **Dawn at Stone Citadel**

The place “Stone Citadel” (Shicheng 石城) and the singer Grieve-not (Mochou 莫愁) were both immortalized, and bound together, in lyrics from the Southern Dynasties “pure *shang*” repertoire (cf. 4.20, W.4). A singer whose name evokes emblematic lyric sentiments, and whose name itself is perpetuated through song, Grieve-not became a natural figure for any woman singer. The cluster of associations from old lyrical traditions guides us to read this poem – where the name Grieve-not does not explicitly appear – as an evocation of the boudoir of a female entertainer the morning after a tryst. *Form*: unregulated, two pentasyllabic quatrains rhymed xaxa and two rhyming heptasyllabic couplets.

l. 5 女牛: MG reads 石子. l. 11 鵝毛: XC, WZZ, MG, LK, QTS read 鵝毛. l. 12 無所似: MG reads 無所以.

3.41 苦晝短 **Plaint at Day's Shortness**

Although the song-title itself seems to be Li He's invention, this work is reminiscent both of a hymn titled “The Sun Rises and Sets” (*Ri chu ru* 日出入) from the Western Han imperial liturgical repertoire, and particularly of an odd work by Li Bai to the old *yuefu* title “Song: The sun rises ...” (*Ri chu xing* 日出行). The formula *ku* “苦 X” usually marks a subgenre of “plaints about X,” in which medieval poets composed whimsically hyperbolic descriptions of the afflicting condition in question. 4.16, though not titled *ku han* 苦寒 “Plaint at the Cold,” is rhetorically more typical of the “plaint” subgenre than this work. *Form*: unregulated, mixed line lengths. The predominant rhyme pattern is xaxa, though the second stanza is anomalous.

l. 7 食熊: SS, MG read 食龍. l. 19 服: SS, ZY, MG, YQ, YWX read 餌. l. 21 誰是: SS, XC, ZY, YWX read 誰似. l. 22 白驢: SS, XC, WZZ, MG read 碧驢.

3.42 章和二年中 In the Second Year of Zhanghe

Originally a ritual song from the court of Emperor Zhang 漢章帝 (r. 75–88) of the Eastern Han (25–220); successively adapted by the Wei and Jin courts under different titles (compiled together along with this work of Li He's in YSJ 53). This court repertoire item, in all its forms, seems always to have been a celebration of good harvest and auspicious omens. The original Eastern Han lyrics appear to have been long lost, so Li He's decision to use this title rather than those used in the Wei or Jin for their versions (lyrics for which did survive), may reflect an intention for this work to serve as a "supplement" for the lost text. It also seems possible (particularly in light of the sentiment of the final couplet) that Li He found some irony in the fact that this "second year of Zhanghe," 88 CE in the Western calendar, would in fact prove to be the last year of Emperor Zhang's life. *Form*: unregulated, predominantly heptasyllabic.

1. 2 田風: YSJ omits 田. XC reads 由風. 1. 3 麥芒: MG reads 稜芒.
1. 9 攜償: SS, MG read 攜賞.

3.43 春歸昌谷 Returning to Changgu in Spring

This work has been generally supposed to date from Li He's second documented departure home from Chang'an in spring 813, when he resigned his post as Vice-Director for Ceremonials due to illness. *Form*: unregulated pentasyllabic, one rhyme in even lines throughout.

1. 24 裝盡: XC, MG, QTS read 裝盡. 徧峯嶠: XC, MG read 徧峯嶠. 1. 27 香氣: ZY, YQ, YWX, QTS read 香風. 1. 34 刻鵠: XC, MG, LK, QTS read 刻鶴. 1. 40 笑貌: XC, WZZ, MG, LK read 容貌. 1. 51 廊落: Following SS, XC, WZZ, ZY. WQ reads 廊路.

3.44 昌谷詩 Poem of Changgu

A putatively original title note reads "Written the twenty-seventh day of the fifth month" 五月二十七日作. Changgu is Li He's home county, in Henan Commandery, to the west of Luoyang. *Form*: unregulated pentasyllabic, maintaining a single rhyme throughout – a virtuosic display in a poem of this length (no rhyming words are repeated), though here as elsewhere Li He's rhyming practice is distinctive. This poem (along with long extended regulated verse "Tormented," 2.23) has been compared to long works in the linked-verse form by Han Yu with Meng Jiao and other members of his circle, and shares with those linked-verse

works a strong sense of individual couplets as the basic compositional unit. As in those *lianju* compositions, there is a tendency toward antithetical balance within the couplet, though strict parallelism is not maintained (whereas 2.23, being an extended regulated verse, does observe strict parallelism). In its long meandering form this poem recalls the story in Li Shangyin's "Short Biography" of Li He's aimless wandering in the company of his servant with the brocade bag; there are however a few more or less clear-cut section divisions: from about line 25 to 46 the scenic description focuses with building intensity on the site of the shrine of the Goddess Lanxiang (cf. 4.25), culminating in an epiphanic dream; lines 47 to 56 then abruptly shift to the ruins of Fuchang Palace and the legacy of Wu Zetian. From line 57 to the end there is a clear shift away from the wild mountainous scenes toward town and farmland scenes around Changgu.

1. 5 秋思: SS reads 愁思; XC reads 秋絲. 1. 8 塗: SS reads 徒. 1. 9 草: SS reads 華. 1. 14: 蟬子: following SS, WQ reads 蟬于. 1. 23 姑: Following XC, MG, SS, WQ reads 姑. 1. 27 礫: SS reads 礫. 1. 32 壘: SS reads 瓏. 壘秋: WQ notes "Perhaps should read 壘楸." 1. 35 笑眼: WQ notes "Perhaps should read 笑恨." 1. 37 篠: SS, XC read 條. 1. 39 昏翳: MG reads 歸翳. 1. 43 服玉容: Following MG, WZZ, SS, XC. WQ reads 復玉容. 1. 49 鴻瓏: SS reads 鴻龍. 1. 66 鈎餌: SS, XC reads 鈎餌. 1. 69 岑光: XC, MG read 岑色.

3.45 銅駝悲 Grief of the Bronze Camels

Form: unregulated pentasyllabic, quatrains rhyming xaxa.

3.46 自昌谷到洛後問 An Inquiry after Going from Changgu to Luoyang

This work centers on a visit to a fortune-teller in the vicinity of Luoyang; Wu Qiming conjectures that this poem dates from the period leading up to Li He's second journey to Chang'an, when he was eventually to take up the post as Vice-Director for Ceremonials. *Form*: unregulated pentasyllabic, one rhyme throughout.

Title 洛後問: following SS, MG; WQ reads 洛後門. 1. 3 十月: XC reads 交月. 1. 4 雪霰: SS reads 霧霰; XC, MG, HC, QTS read 霧霰. 1. 9 石澗: SS, MG read 石欄. 凍波聲: XC, MG, LK read 東波聲. 1. 11 東舍: XC reads 都舍.

3.47 七月一日曉入太行山 **First Day of the Seventh Month, at Dawn: Entering the Taihang Mountains**

This appears to date from Li He's journey north in 813 to seek the help of his friend Zhang Che at Luzhou to find an appointment there. In the traditional Chinese calendar, the first day of the seventh month is the first day of autumn. The translation of line 6 follows Yao Wenxie's reading *yueqin* 越禽, elsewhere attested in Tang literature as a variety of crabapple, which seems to give a more or less viable sense. WQ and all early edd. however, read *yuejin* 越衾, or "quilt of Yue," for which none of the proposed interpretations seems quite satisfactory. *Form*: unregulated pentasyllabic.

l. 2 露: MJ reads 霧. l. 4 嘶: SS, ZY, YQ, YWX read 新. l. 5 洛南: YQ reads 洛陽. l. 6 越禽: following YWX. WQ and all early edd. read 越衾. l. 8 老莎: SS reads 老松.

3.48 秋涼詩寄正字十二兄 **"Autumn Chill" Poem, Sent to the Collator, My Twelfth Elder Brother**

On "elder brother" being used to reference a cousin, see Endnote to 3.12 above; "twelfth" here refers to this cousin's birth rank within their common lineage. 1.14 is also addressed to a Collator, but it remains uncertain whether or not this is the same person. Wu Qiming's conjecture that this poem dates from the autumn of 812, after Li He's return to Changgu subsequent to resigning his capital post, seems plausible. *Form*: unregulated pentasyllabic.

l. 3 大野: SS reads 天夜. MG reads 大夜. l. 4 天地: SS reads 大地. l. 5 露光: XC, ZY, YQ, YWX read 光露. l. 7 房寒: SS, MG read 戶寒. 寸輝: SS reads 冷輝. l. 9 披書: SS reads 題書. l. 15 度: XC reads 瘦. 白馬: WQ notes "Also reads 瘦馬."

4.1 艾如張 **Net in the Wormwood**

Along with 4.3, 4.22, 4.41, and W.9, this work takes its title from the notoriously obscure "*nao-gong songs*" in the old "drum and fife" *yuefu* repertoire (see YSJ 16–18). The traditions related in YSJ 16 regarding this title suggest a meaning along the lines of "mow [the grasses] and spread [the nets]." The translation reflects the way Li He apparently understood the old title. *Form*: unregulated, mixed (trisyllabic and heptasyllabic) meter.

1. 6 莫信: MG reads 莫逐. 籠媒: XC reads 龍媒; MG, ZY, YWX read 良媒. 1. 7 野田: XC, YSJ read 野春. 1. 10 爾: SS reads 矣.

4.2 上雲樂 Music for Mounting the Clouds

This title, from the ancient “pure *shang*-mode” repertoire (see YSJ 51), derives from a type of court opera or pantomime traced to the court of Emperor Wu of the Liang, in which scenes of heaven and celestial realms and beings were performed before the emperor. Li Bai wrote a far more elaborate set of lyrics to this title, and it has been argued that his work might in fact have served as the libretto for such a performance. This version by Li He seems rather an evocation of such an event and of the preparations leading up to it. *Form*: unregulated heptasyllabic, with variation in the penultimate line.

1. 3 宮女: YSJ, WQ note “Also reads 綵女.” 1. 5 天江: YSJ reads 大江. 1. 6 斷烟素: WZZ, LK, HC read 烟素素; XC reads 烟斷素. 1. 7 縫舞衣: SS, XC, WZZ read 縫衣縷; MG reads 縫衣舞.

4.3 巫山高 Shamanka Mountain is High

As with 4.1, the title of this work is drawn from the “*nao*-gong songs” in the old “drum and fife” repertoire (see YSJ 17). The earliest extant lyrics are by Southern Dynasties poets, who had established the tradition of linking this title to the story of the Goddess at Shamanka Mountain encountered by King Huai of Chu (cf. 3.11.1, with End-note). *Form*: unregulated heptasyllabic (first line irregular), each line rhyming.

1. 1 WQ notes “Also reads 巫山叢碧高插天.” 高插天: WYYH reads 齊插天. YSJ notes “高 also reads 齊.” 1. 2 大江: WYYH reads 巴江. 1. 3 颺: WQ notes “Also reads 颺.” 1. 4 曉嵐: MG reads 曉嵐. 1. 8 間: YSJ notes “Also reads 端.”

4.4 摩多樓子 Madalouzi

The lyrics listed in the *Yuefu shi ji* for this title, in the category of “miscellaneous lyrics” (YSJ 78), include this work, which it attributes to Li Bai, preceded by a similarly-themed unregulated pentasyllabic quatrain with no author specified. Current consensus assigns the quatrain to Li Bai; the case for Li He’s authorship of the present work seems strong given that it appears in all known editions of his works. An Indian Buddhist pantomime depicting the early careers of the Buddha’s

eminent disciples Śāriputra and Maudgalyāyana circulated into Tang China, and tunes named for these two disciples are attested in Tang musical performance, including the title Li He adopts here, which derives from a transliteration of Maudgalyāyana's name. Narratives and dramas relating to Maudgalyāyana were widespread in the Tang, but neither Li Bai nor Li He's extant compositions to this tune-title seem to reflect any direct connection with such traditions (the term "golden man" appears in other contexts in reference to early Buddha-images transported into China, but this sense does not seem to be directly relevant here). This version by Li He, like the quatrain of the same title now commonly attributed to Li Bai, is emphatically in the lyric sub-genre of the Tang "frontier poem." References to the Liao river in the far northeast, along with the term Long 隴 in line 12 properly referring to the mountain range running between what are now Shaanxi and Gansu in the far west, give no coherent geographical sense. For Li He more important were likely the associations in *yuefu* lyrics, e.g., the "Lyrics for Flowing Water on the Long Highlands" ("Long tou liu shui ge ci" 隴頭流水歌辭; YSJ 25): "Flowing water on the Long highlands, / flows all about and descends west; / have a thought for me, alone, / who drift about these empty wilds" 隴頭流水 / 流離西下 / 念我一身 / 飄然曠野. *Form*: unregulated pentasyllabic, quatrains rhyming xaxa.

l. 3 風吹: YWX reads 風捲. l. 11 臨水別: SS reads 臨隴別; MG, YSJ read 聽水別. l. 12 隴水: XC, WZZ, LK, YSJ, QTS read 隔隴; MG reads 隴上.

4.5 猛虎行 **Ballad: The Fierce Tiger**

Included in YSJ 31, along with 2.20 and 3.1, among lyrics for "level-mode" tunes in the "response songs" repertoire. *Form*: unregulated tetrasyllabic, rhyming in even-numbered lines.

l. 2 強弩: WZZ reads 長弩.

4.6 日出行 **Ballad: "The Sun rises ..."**

The title of this work suggests a connection with the song also known as "Mulberries by the Path" 陌上桑, the narrative ballad recounting the story of the heroic Luo Fu and her resistance of the advances of the local governor – "The sun rises from the east corner" being the opening line of the original lyrics to the song (see also 2.23, l. 79). Accordingly, this work of Li He's appears in YSJ 28, along with various renditions

of the Luo Fu story in the “response songs” repertoire. Li Bai had composed a lyric to this title beginning with a near-quotation of the first line of the ancient *yuefu*, but then shifting into a fantastic meditation on time and mortality; it seems clear that it was this latter work that served as Li He’s model here (cf. 3.41). WYYH gives a somewhat different version of the closing section: “Yi could bend a bow and nock an arrow, / so why didn’t he hit your foot, / so the crow couldn’t soar, / the fire couldn’t rush – / how then could the morning light grow dusky at evening?” QTS, XL, and WRL suggest placing a line-break between 中 and 足, so that those two lines read as “why did he not hit [the target], / sufficiently [*zu* 足] to make the crow unable to soar, / the fire unable to rush.” (For the text, see the collation notes below.) *Form*: unregulated, irregular: two pentasyllabic quatrains rhymed xaxa, followed by a very free final stanza where the sense of balanced couplets is strongly disrupted.

l. 4 不照: SS, MG read 不見. 遊子: WYYH reads 遊者. l. 5 折折: WYYH reads 浙浙. l. 8 若木: WYYH reads 弱水. l. 9 奈爾: YQ, YWX read 奈何. ll. 11–14: WYYH reads 羿能彎弓屬矢, 那不中足, 令鳥不得翔, 火不得奔, 詎教晨光夕昏.

4.7 苦筇調笑引 Teasing Rhapsody on the Bitter Bamboo

There are “Teasing Songs” in Tang musical repertoires and in song lyric meters passed down in later ages. This work addresses traditions relating to the institution of musical pitches and modes as part of the kingly craft of the first legendary demiurge and sage-king Xuanyuan (or “Yellow Emperor”). The role of Xuanyuan’s music master Ling Lun as presented here accords with the ancient accounts; the immortal Hong Ya 洪崖 Li He mentions elsewhere (4.13, 4.34) is a transcendent and divine musician, said in Daoist tradition to be none other than Ling Lun himself. The further details about the single pipe left on earth and its connection with the cult of the sage-king Shun, however, are Li He’s own innovations, although in his *Fengsu tongyi* 風俗通義 the Eastern Han scholar Ying Shao 應劭 (ca. 140-before 204) described the unearthing of a jade *sheng* (a panpipe-like wind instrument) and a jade pipe beneath a shrine to Shun, an account that likely underlies Li He’s conception in the closing lines. *Form*: unregulated heptasyllabic meter with irregular rhyming pattern (six lines rhymed aaxaxa; five lines rhymed aaaxa).

Title 調笑引: Following WZZ. WQ reads 調嘯引. 1. 3 崑邱: ZY reads 崑侖. YQ, YWX read 崑崙. ll. 4–5: absent in TWC. 1. 10 無德不能得此管: SS, MG read 人間無德不能得.

4.8 拂舞歌辭 Lyrics to the Whisk Dance

Jin court repertoires include a series of “whisk dance” songs; here Li He uses the category as his title (which led to this work’s inclusion in YSJ 55 under the category of “whisk-dance lyrics”). One of the numbers in the Jin “whisk dance” titled “Jie shi” 碣石 echoes the opening lines of a lyric to this same title by Cao Cao: “Though the divine tortoise be long-lived, / it too has its time of end. / Surging up from earth and riding on fog, / in the end it becomes soil and ash ...” 神龜雖壽 / 猶有竟時 / 騰地乘霧 / 終為土灰. *Form*: unregulated, mixed pentasyllabic and heptasyllabic lines. The second stanza is quite irregular; Wang Qi suggests accepting the YSJ variant 龜 “tortoise” instead of 土 “soil, mud” in lines 12 and 13, which allows a more regular rhyme pattern (creating a rhyme with 時 at the end of line 10) and resolves what he feels is an unreasonable degree of obscurity in this latter part of the poem: Li He’s topic in these lines is certainly the tortoise of Cao Cao’s song, but unless we accept this variant reading, it is never named directly.

1. 8 晴寒: WYYH reads 晴空; QTS reads 寒空. 1. 12 玉井土: YSJ reads 玉井龜. 1. 13 從蛇作土: YSJ reads 從蛇作龜. 二千載: WYYH reads 三千載. 1. 14 綠草: WYYH reads 春綠. 1. 15 背有: WYYH reads 背文.

4.9 夜坐吟 Chant: Sitting at Night

The title derives from a lyric by Bao Zhao (see YSJ 76, which includes both Bao Zhao’s work and this of Li He in the category of “lyrics to miscellaneous tunes”): “The winter night is deep and long; by night I sit and chant. / Before the harbored feeling is expressed, I already know your heart. / Frost enters the canopy; wind crosses the wood. / The ruddy lamp burns out; our ruddy complexion will follow. / I feel your song, and follow your tone. / It is not the sound I treasure, but rather the deep intent.” 冬夜沉沉夜坐吟 / 含情未發已知心 / 霜入幕, 風度林 / 朱燈滅, 朱顏尋 / 體君歌, 逐君音 / 不貴聲, 貴意深. Li He borrows several images from this original, while turning Bao Zhao’s song of requited love into one of frustration. *Form*: unregulated heptasyllabic, rhyming every line.

1. 1 馬蹄: YSJ, SS read 馬頭. 1. 5 起唱: ZY, YQ, YWX read 起舞.

4.10 箜篌引 **Harp Rhapsody**

Some editions give the alternate title “Sir, Don’t Ford the River.” Unlike 1.1, where Li He borrows the title “Harp Rhapsody” for a poem on a harp performance, this work closely follows the odd story of the tune’s origin as preserved in pre-Tang repertoire lists: a ford officer saw an old man bearing a gourd run headlong into the river and drown. The man’s wife, who had arrived too late to stop him, performed a spontaneously invented song, accompanying herself on her harp, and then leapt into the river as well and died. When the ford officer returned home, he recounted the story, and the song, to his wife, who, deeply moved, “copied” the sound onto her own harp, thereby establishing the song in circulation (see YSJ 26 for the original account and lyrics along with Li He’s version). *Form*: one rhyme throughout, with all even-numbered and several odd-numbered lines rhyming.

Title: WYYH reads 公無渡河; SS notes “Also reads 公無渡河.” 1. 9 蒹: QTS notes “Also reads 禾.” 1. 10 瓦甌濁醪蟻浮浮: YSJ notes “Also reads 瓦瓶濁酒醪蟻浮.”

4.11 平城下 **Beneath Pingcheng**

It is said that while on campaign against the Xiongnu, the Han founder Liu Bang had been besieged at Pingcheng. Some commentators have looked for allusions to this incident here, but more likely Li He is simply using the name as a stock reference for a frontier outpost in the far west (cf. 4.4).

1. 9 日晚: MG reads 日魄. 1. 11 枯蓬: MG reads 孤蓬.

4.12 江南弄 **Jiangnan Caprice**

This was both a category and the title of a particular number in Southern Dynasties “pure *shang-mode*” court repertoire (see YSJ 50, which includes both this work of Li He’s along with many of his likely models among Southern Dynasties poets). *Form*: unregulated heptasyllabic, one rhyming couplet followed by six lines, all rhyming.

1. 4 如: WQ notes the variant 猶.

4.13 榮華樂 **Music of Flourishing Splendor**

Wang Qi, along with several other edd., notes the alternate title, “Ditty on the Liang Clan of Eastern Luo” 東洛梁家謠. Liang Ji was a scion of

a very powerful clan (the final stanza gives a tally of the figures of high status it produced). Soon after the boy emperor Zhi 質 (r. 145–46), annoyed by Liang Ji's domineering behavior, called Liang "General Bossy," Liang Ji had him poisoned, and installed emperor Huan 桓 (r. 146–168) in his place. Finally, in 159, conspiring with a faction of eunuchs at court, emperor Huan succeeded in having Liang Ji and his entire clan exterminated. This work forms a natural pair with 3.36, which focuses on Liang Ji's trusted household slave Qin Gong, with whom Liang Ji's wife Sun Shou carried on an affair. The anachronistic reference in line 8 to "Master of the Golden Loft" carries a somewhat involved set of associations. This was a cognomen of Xiao Yi, Emperor Yuan of the Liang, as well as the title of a volume of his writings. His unhappy marriage with Empress Xu 徐 is invoked here as an analogue to Liang Ji's marriage to Sun Shou; both Empress Xu and Sun Shou had numerous lovers. "Teasing" here recalls stories of Empress Xu mocking Xiao Yi – he was blind in one eye, and when Empress Xu knew he was coming to her quarters, she would prepare by making up one side of her face. Here either Liang Ji mocks a cuckolded husband while cavorting with the man's wife, or is himself teased by his wife or others who know the secret. *Form*: unregulated, mixed line lengths. Title: WQ, SS, MG, LK, ZY, QTS all note: "Also reads 東洛梁家謠." ll. 3–4 氣如虹霓·飲如建瓴: MG reads 氣如虹霓飲建瓴. l. 7 彪裘: ZY, LK, YQ, QTS read 龍裘.

4.14 相勸酒 Urging to Drink

Not recorded as a *yuefu* title, but this work is clearly in the manner of banquet *yuefu*; stylistic affinities with Li Bai are pronounced here, particularly the latter's well-known lyric to the title "Bring in the Wine" ("Qiang jin jiu" 將進酒; see *Li Bai ji jiaozhu*, 1: 3.225; for Li He's own work to this title see 4.41). *Form*: unregulated, irregular line lengths. l. 2 晝夕: MG, WYYH read 晝夜. l. 3 崦嵫竹: WYYH reads 崦嵫石. l. 4 蟠桃: MG reads 蟠螭. l. 11 臚熊: following MG. WQ and most early edd. read 臚熊, though WQ notes, "I suspect this is an error for 臚熊." l. 12 會: SS reads 又會. l. 16 人生: following SS, XC. WQ reads 人之. l. 21 來長安, 車駢駢: WYYH reads 東洛長安車駢駢; SS reads 東來長安車駢駢.

4.15 瑤華樂 **Music of Alabaster Splendor**

The phrase *yao hua* 瑤華, or “gleaming blossom,” appears in the “Senior Master of Fate” hymn from the *Chuci* “Nine Songs,” where it describes the flowers of a variety of hemp plucked as a gift by the god’s human suitor. Such associations with a romance between a human lover and a divine beloved are relevant here, though Li He’s specific reference in this work is King Mu’s visit to the Queen Mother of the West. Since the Queen Mother’s “Alabaster Pool” (*yao chi* 瑤池) is described as the site of their banquet, it would have been more transparent to simply title this work “Yao chi yue” 瑤池樂, “Music for the Alabaster Pool” – but perhaps Li He preferred this less obvious title. The depiction here of King Mu’s banquet with the Queen Mother is reminiscent of scenes in the “Secret Biography of Emperor Wu of the Han” involving epiphanic visits to Emperor Wu by the Queen Mother and “Lady Shangyuan.” *Form*: unregulated, mixed meters. The heptasyllabic passages all rhyme every line, while the interposed tetrasyllabic passage rhymes xaxaxa.

l. 2 冬曦: WZZ, LK, HC read 冬曦; YWX reads 玲瓏. l. 12: 殿秋: WQ notes variant 斂秋. l. 17 玄霜: WQ and other Qing commentators, following the routine Qing taboo substitution of 元 for 玄 (because 玄 appeared in the given name Xuanye 玄燁 of the Kangxi emperor [r. 1661–1722]), read 元霜.

4.16 北中寒 **Cold in the North**

The compositional idea of this work is similar to the old *shi* subgenre of “Complaining about X,” consisting of hyperbolic flights of fancy about the thing complained about (heat, cold, rain, etc.; see Endnote to 3.41). A *yuefu* in a similar vein by Cao Cao titled “Ballad on Going North” 北上行 has been mentioned as a possible model for Li He here.

4.17 梁臺古意 **In the Antique Style: Liang Terrace**

Liu Wu, commonly known as Prince Xiao of Liang, was the first patron of Sima Xiangru (see 1.12.1, along with 3.33, l. 7). He was renowned as a patron of men of letters as well as for his lavish palaces and parks. Persistent questions regarding his prospects or intentions in regard to the imperial throne were rendered moot by his premature death, three years before the accession of Emperor Wu. *Form*: unregulated heptasyllabic; quatrains rhymed aaxa (first and third) and aaaa (second).

Title 古意: SS, XC, MG, WZZ read 古愁. 1. 10 蘭臉: MG reads 蘭臉. 別春: MG reads 引春. 1. 12 野惶: XC, WZZ, MG, LK, QTS read 野望.

4.18 公無出門 Sir, Do Not Go Out the Gate!

The *yuefu* title “Sir, Don’t Ford the River” (cf. 4.10) seems to have given Li He his point of departure in inventing this title. This poem draws heavily for its imagery and basic conception on the demonic visions of the first section of the *Chuci* “Summons to the Soul.” The ritual of “summoning the soul” is aimed at reintegrating a living person’s soul back into the body; in this context, however, it is worth noting that the *Chuci* “Summons to the Soul” text includes an enigmatic and seemingly fragmented opening frame dialogue, suggesting the idea of a “summons” of an afflicted living person (identified by Wang Yi and later readers as Qu Yuan) away from earthly tribulations, and up to heaven. If Li He read the antecedent *Chuci* text in this way, then this would accord very well with the notion in this poem that the early deaths of figures such as Bao Jiao and Yan Hui were a means of rescue from persecution, and summons to celestial rewards – as well as uncannily prefiguring the account of Li He’s own death in Li Shangyin’s “Short Biography” (see Appendix). *Form*: unregulated, mixed meter.

1. 4 雪霜: YQ, YWX read 霜雪. 雪霜斷人骨: WQ notes “Also reads 雪風破人骨.” 1. 5 嗾犬狺狺: Following SS, XC. WQ reads 言言, and also notes this is an error for 狺狺. 1. 7 自息: following WZZ, SS, XC. WQ reads 自滅.

4.19 神絃別曲 Parting Tune for the “Divine Strings”

Eleven “Divine Strings” tunes are recorded in medieval repertoire records. See YSJ 47 for the extant early medieval liturgical songs, along with this work of Li He’s, as well as 4.38; 4.40 also seems clearly related. *Bie* 別, rendered “parting” here, could also be understood as “alternate,” so that the title would be construed as, “An Alternate Tune for the ‘Divine Strings’.” But the text itself does deal with a parting. Suites of ritual hymns for sacrificial ceremonies often included musical numbers for “welcoming the god(s)” as well as for “sending off the god(s)” (see discussion of Han court liturgies in the Introduction) and the imagery of the goddess’s receding cavalcade in the first stanza here

is reminiscent of the latter type. *Form*: unregulated heptasyllabic, two stanzas rhyming aaxa.

l. 2: 春風松花: YSJ reads 松花春風. l. 4 前子子: SS reads 長子子. l. 8 淺汚: MG, YSJ read 殘汚.

4.20 淥水詞 Lyrics for Clear Water

There are several lyrics titled either “Tune for Clear Water” or “Lyrics for Clear Water” in Southern Dynasties court repertoires of dance music and “pure-*shang*” lyrics (YSJ 59). This seems to be a general evocation of the manner of those works rather than a close imitation. The final couplet seems to echo the closing lines of an old “pure *shang*-mode” song called “Children’s Tune for Picking Lotus” 採蓮童曲 that read, “[I/we] don’t take this song to make merry; / but take it to dispel sad thoughts” 不持歌作樂 / 為持解愁思. *Form*: unregulated pentameter, two couplets rhymed xaxa.

Title 淥水辭: following YSJ; most edd. read 綠水詞. l. 6 拔蒲根: YSJ notes “Also reads 折蒲茸.” l. 8 感愁魂: YSJ notes “Also reads 感秋風.” 愁魂: ZY, YQ, YWX read 秋魂.

4.21 沙路曲 Tune for the Sanded Road

This tune-title is Li He’s own invention. The “sanded road” refers to the custom of covering the road between a newly appointed prime minister’s home and the imperial palace with sand for a ceremonial procession on the occasion of his accession to the new office. *Form*: unregulated heptasyllabic, quatrains rhyming aaxa, bbbb, and a final couplet rhyming cc.

l. 1 柳臉: Following MG. WQ reads 柳臉. TWC reads 柳陰. l. 4 燭騎: WZZ notes “Also reads 獨騎.” 蹄鳴: XC, LK, HC read 啼鳴; SS, ZY, YQ, YWX read 啼鳥; MG reads 鳴啼. l. 5 開九關: TWC reads 擬九關. l. 6 動笏: TWC reads 簪笏. 移南山: TWC 稱南山.

4.22 上之回 His Majesty’s Return

As in the cases of 4.1, 4.3, and W.9, the title Li He adopts here is drawn from the lists of “*nao-gong* songs” in the drum and fife repertoire (YSJ 16). The original lyrics commemorate the Han emperor Wu’s excursion via the Huizhong road. Li He’s version shares with the ancient texts the idea of an imperial triumph, but he seems to understand the

title as rendered here. Early editions of Li He's works include a nearly identical lyric under the title "Before White Gate" (see **W.15**, along with discussion in the Introduction). *Form*: unregulated, two trimeter quatrains rhymed xaxa, and a rhymed heptasyllabic couplet.

l. 3 懸紅雲: MG reads 懸紅雪. l. 9 慶雷: MG reads 度雷; WQ suggests the emendation 慶雲. 墮: SS, XC read 墜. l. 10 海千里: SS reads 海千封.

4.23 高軒過 A Lofty Carriage Calls

An ostensibly original title note reads, "Written by command, on the occasion of a visit by Extranumerary Officer Han Yu and Retinue Officer Huangfu Shi" 韓員外愈皇甫侍御湜見過因而命作. This poem became closely linked with an apocryphal anecdote describing it as an impromptu composition by Li He at the age of seven. Han Yu and Huangfu Shi were indeed patrons on whom Li He relied in his attempts to promote his official career, and this does seem to be a rather fawning tribute to those two, but Li He's first contact with Han Yu's circle, likely initiated when Li He sent a portfolio of sample compositions to Han Yu, seems to have occurred in 807, when Li He was eighteen. Apart from the anecdote, the poem itself is remembered mostly because of the striking phrasing of l. 11, which apart from its fervently encomiastic tone does aptly resonate with the recurrent theme in Han Yu's works of the poet as demiurge. *Form*: unregulated heptasyllabic, rhymed every line apart from the metrically varied lines 5–7.

l. 3 隱耳: WZZ reads 隱隱; MG reads 殷耳. l. 5 云是: absent in XC, SS, MG. l. 7 鉅: absent in XC, MG. l. 9 元精耿耿: MG reads 九精照耀.

4.24 貝宮夫人 Lady of the Cowrie Palace

For Li He's conception in this work, compare the "Earl of the Yellow River" from the *Chuci* "Nine Songs" suite, where the dwelling of the "Earl" is described: "Chambers of fish-scales, and a dragon hall; / gate-towers of purple cowry, and an ochre palace" 魚鱗屋兮龍堂 / 紫貝闕兮朱宮 (*Chuci buzhu*, 2.77). *Form*: unregulated heptasyllabic, rhymed every line.

l. 1 金環: SS reads 金錢; 環: WZZ notes "Also reads 錢." l. 2 翹揭: ZY, YQ, YWZ read 揭翹.

4.25 蘭香神女廟 Shrine of the Goddess Lanxiang

A title note reads, “Written in the Third Month” 三月中作. This Goddess Lanxiang is understood to be the same whose shrine on Goddess Altar mountain, in the vicinity of Li He’s hometown of Changgu, appears in 3.44 at ll. 25–46. As in that passage, here landscape description merges imperceptibly into epiphanic description of the goddess herself.

Form: unregulated pentasyllabic, one rhyme throughout.

l. 5 沙砌: following MG, SS, XC. WQ reads 沙砲. l. 13 濃香: MG reads 濃眉. l. 22 膩頰: XC reads 膩脣. l. 23 珠窠: MG, SS, XC read 蛛巢. l. 29 乘風: MG reads 承嵐. l. 30 山上聞: Following SS. WQ reads 山上門.

4.26 送韋仁實兄弟入關 Sending off my Brother Wei Renshi to Enter the Passes

Likely the Wei Renshi recorded as having been in the office of Omissioner in 824, who appears to have had a moderately successful career at court. Apart from this poem, apparently composed for a farewell banquet at or near Luoyang as Wei departed for Chang’an, however, we know nothing about his connection with Li He. *Form*: unregulated pentasyllabic.

l. 2 緒顏: HC reads 頰顏; LK reads 緒顏. l. 6 秋明: SS reads 秋月. l. 10 梢: following SS, XC; WQ reads 稍. After l. 10, WYYH includes the lines 君子送秦水, 小人巢洛煙. l. 16 春聲: following MG. WQ reads 春聲. l. 17 勞勞: WYYH reads 勞苦.

4.27 洛陽城外別皇甫湜 Taking Leave of Huangfu Shi Outside the Luoyang Walls

On Huangfu Shi, see 2.15, 4.23, and 4.29. Wu Qiming’s hypothesis that this dates from Li He’s second known departure from Luoyang to Chang’an, in 809, seems plausible. *Form*: unregulated pentasyllabic.

l. 8: 奉墮: SS, XC read 奉墜.

4.28 谿晚涼 Evening Cool by the Creek

Form: unregulated heptasyllabic, rhymed every line.

l. 2 碧空: MG reads 玉空. l. 3 玉煙: MG reads 石煙. 青: WQ notes “Possibly an error for 清.”

4.29 官不來題皇甫湜先輩廳 His Excellency Does Not Come: Inscribed in the Audience Hall of Senior Licentiate Huangfu Shi

On Huangfu Shi, see 2.15, 4.23, 4.27. Wu Qiming cites Li He's use of the term "Senior Licentiate" (*xianbei* 先輩) here among his evidence for his argument that Li He must have taken but failed the *jinshi* examination in 810. Yao Wenxie conjectures that this poem was written after an unsuccessful visit by Li He to Huangfu Shi's offices in the magistrate's compound at Luhun, about sixty kilometers southwest of Luoyang (see Endnote for 2.15). *Form*: unregulated heptasyllabic with substitutions of pairs of three-syllable lines at the first and last lines, rhymed every line.

4.30 長平箭頭歌 Song of an Arrowhead at Changping

Sima Qian's account relates that after Qin forces under Bai Qi 白起 (?–257 BCE) routed the army of Zhao at Changping, they buried alive 400,000 surrendered Zhao soldiers. This site would have been on Li He's route between Luoyang and Luzhou in the north, where he went to seek an appointment to the secretarial staff of the Military Commissioner of Zhaoyi through his connection with Zhang Che (see 2.13, 3.12, along with discussion in the Introduction). Assuming the phrase *dong cheng* 東城 (which could mean "eastern city" or "east district of the city") at l. 15 refers to Luoyang, as is commonly supposed, the poem would likely date from Li He's southward return journey in 815. The implications of the term *liao zhu* 簾竹 in the final line are unclear. Most commentators have taken it to refer to bamboo that might be used to make a new shaft for the arrowhead. From the poem itself, however, it is not clear this is something Li He would have wanted to do, so if this is indeed the meaning it must be ironic – perhaps the misconstrual by the "youngster on horseback" of the object's significance for the poet is the point. In the *Rites of Zhou* (*Zhou li* 周禮), however, the word *liao* appears as the name of a type of basket for holding meat offerings during a sacrificial ritual; thus the phrase could mean not "*liao* bamboo to make a shaft," but "bamboo for a *liao* basket," perhaps with the implication that the impromptu sacrifice recounted in the poem could then be performed in a more formal way. There are parallels in conception between this work and "The King-

dom's Fallen" ("Guo shang" 國殤), a sacrificial hymn to soldiers killed in battle, from the *Chuci* "Nine Songs." *Form*: unregulated heptasyllabic, four quatrains rhyming aaxa – the third quatrain is anomalous; it is unclear whether Li He is deviating from usual rhyming practice or whether the received text is corrupt.

l. 8 黑旗: SS, MG read 星旗. l. 9 肌: Harada, following Suzuki, emends to 飢.

4.31 江樓曲 **Tune for the River Loft**

This tune-title appears to be Li He's invention. *Form*: unregulated heptasyllabic, two rhyming couplets followed by two quatrains rhyming aaxa.

l. 3 催: WYYH reads 摧. l. 11 千里思: WZZ, SS, XC, WYYH read 千里愁.

4.32 塞下曲 **Tune: Beneath the Passes**

This is included in YSJ's catalog of "new *yuefu* lyrics" among various Tang *yuefu* on frontier themes designated "Tunes Along the Passes" 塞上曲 and "Tunes Beneath the Passes" 塞下曲 (see YSJ 93). The "mat-grass" of line 10 is so called because it was commonly used for weaving mats or window-blinds; it was also known as *sai lu* 塞蘆 or "reed of the passes" due to its associations with the landscapes of the western frontier. Here it is "gloomy" (or instills gloom in the viewer) due to forebodings of coming warfare: this is Wang Qi's preferred solution to a line whose text and meaning have been found troublesome. *Form*: unregulated pentasyllabic; two quatrains rhyming xaxa, final quatrain aaxa.

l. 10 箕: following MG; YSJ reads 箕; WQ and most other edd. read 羈. The name of the grass is now more properly written 箕, but 箕 is a common alternate form in medieval texts.

4.33 染絲上春機 **Dyed Silk Goes on the Springtime Loom**

Not attested as a *yuefu* tune, but the poem is in the vein of Southern Dynasties imitations of popular love songs such as those collected in the *Yutai xinyong*. *Form*: unregulated heptasyllabic, a series of four rhyming couplets.

l. 8 春酒: ZY, YQ, YWX read 春雪.

4.34 五粒小松歌并序 **Song of the Little Five-needle Pine (with preface)**

The “Licentiate Xie” referred to here is possibly the same person as in 3.5; Du Yunqing is otherwise unknown. The five-needle pine, recorded in some Tang sources as an import from Korea, was said to produce abundant pine nuts, and touted for longevity-promoting power. This particular pine tree had been acquired as an addition to an elite garden. The title specifies a small tree; Li He’s description here suggests a truly miniature specimen groomed similarly to latter-day bonsai. The final stanza is unmistakably satirical, though its intended target is unknown. Presumably this satirical barb was part of Xie and Du’s motive in commissioning such a work from Li He. *Form*: unregulated heptasyllabic; two quatrains rhyming aaxa.

l. 7 月明白露秋淚滴: WZZ notes “Also reads 月明露泣懸秋淚.”

l. 8 肯寄書: ZY, YWX read 好寄書.

4.35 塘上行 **Ballad: By the Pool**

This tune is listed in YSJ among the “pure mode tunes” (*qing diao qu* 清調曲) in the “response songs” repertoire of the Wei and Jin dynasties (see YSJ 35). The original song was said to have been composed by Empress Zhen of the Wei, after she had fallen from favor; she would ultimately be compelled through slander to commit suicide. Although the early versions speak of rushes rather than lotuses in the pool, Li He’s version seems to assume the same implicit scenario of the abandoned woman. *Form*: unregulated pentasyllabic; rhyming aaxa.

l. 4 溘溘: YSJ reads 溢溢.

4.36 呂將軍歌 **Song: General Lü**

The opening lines recall the general and warlord Lü Bu of the waning years of the Eastern Han, but the case here for a contemporary reference is strong. Qian Zhonglian argues that Lü Yuanying 呂元膺 (749–820), who gained a reputation as an upright official in this era, is intended (see his “Li He nianpu hui jian,” 39–40). At any rate, Wang Qi’s inference that the middle section of the poem (ll. 4–11) refers specifically to Wang Chengzong’s rebellion in 809 is likely correct. Xianzong, over the objections of many court officials, placed his trusted eunuch officer Tutu Chengcui in command of the imperial expedition against Wang Chengzong, which failed to make headway against the rebel forces.

Form: unregulated heptasyllabic (with irregular first line). Irregular triad rhymed axa, four rhymed couplets, and a final octave rhyming aaxaaaxa. l. 6 拂劍鏢: SS, XC, WZZ read 揮劍鏢. l. 9 火旗: WQ notes “Also reads 大旗.” l. 13 親: following SS, XC, ZY, YQ, YWX. WQ reads 新. l. 14 排: WZZ, LK read 挑.

4.37 休洗紅 Don't Wash the Red

The title and basic situation are adapted from an anonymous *gushi*: “Don't wash the red / much washing makes the red grow faint. / If you don't care for the sewing of your old robe, / remember that first setting of the madder dye. / A life is ‘a hundred years’ – how long can that last? / Your newlywed wife of late has become an old woman” 休洗紅 / 洗多紅色淡 / 不惜故縫衣 / 記得初按舊 / 人壽百年能幾何 / 後來新婦今為婆. *Form*: unregulated pentasyllabic, apart from the first line; six lines rhyming xaxaxa.

l. 2 淺: YQ reads 淡.

4.38 神絃曲 Tune for “Divine Strings”

The Southern Dynasties “pure *shang*-mode” repertoire includes a series of “Songs for the Divine Strings” 神絃歌 commemorating local divinities. In this work, as in 4.19 and 4.40, Li He adopts this title for his own lyric evocation of the atmosphere of such rites (see YSJ 47, along with the endnote to 4.19). *Form*: unregulated heptasyllabic, rhyming every line.

l. 8 雨工騎入秋潭水: YSJ notes “Also reads 雨公夜騎入潭水.”

4.39 野歌 Song of the Wilds

An invented “song.” *Form*: unregulated heptameter, one rhyme throughout, every line rhyming except the penultimate.

4.40 神絃 Divine Strings

This poem, unlike the similarly titled 4.19 and 4.38, is not included in the YSJ, possibly simply because its title does not explicitly contain the word “tune.” But in conception, style, and form, these three works are closely analogous. *Form*: unregulated heptasyllabic, every line rhyming.

Title 神絃: MG reads 神泣. l. 3 海神: MG reads 寒雲. l. 5 舞鸞: MG reads 鳳鸞. l. 11 神嘖: MG reads 神顛.

4.41 將進酒 **Bring in the Wine**

This is an old *yuefu* tune listed among the “*nao-gong* songs” in the old “drum and fife” repertoire (YSJ 17; cf. 4.1, 4.3, 4.14). *Form*: unregulated heptasyllabic, with some substitution of doubled three-syllable hemistichs; two stanzas rhyming aaxa, aaaaxa, with an extra rhyme between the two hemistichs of the first line.

l. 4 羅幃: SS, WZZ, YSJ read 羅屏. 圍: MG reads 生. 香風: WQ notes “Also reads 春風.”

4.42 美人梳頭歌 **Song of the Beauty Combing her Hair**

This song title is Li He’s own invention. Traditional readers persistently sought alternatives to the reading “hairpin” (*chai* 釵) at line 8 here. In later eras the repetition of the word (at lines 8 and 10) would be viewed as a fault, though Tang poets seem to have treated this rule more flexibly. Several editors also evince a desire for some object still more directly connected with combing the hair than a hairpin – their suggested alternatives are all combs of some kind. This “song” does show traces of a *yongwu* compositional approach, but it is unclear that rigid application of such principles is warranted. *Form*: unregulated heptasyllabic, four rhyming couplets followed by two aaxa stanzas.

l. 8 玉釵: WQ suggests this should read 玉鑷, and cites unnamed anthologies that emend to 玉梳, with the idea that what falls here should be an implement specifically for combing the hair.

4.43 月漉漉篇 **Stanza: The Moonlight Glistens**

This tune-title is apparently Li He’s invention. Line 4 recalls the “Lady of the Xiang” (“Xiang jun” 湘君) from the “Nine Songs”: “I gather wild fig in the water; / I pluck lotus-blossoms from treetops” 采薜荔兮水中 / 攀芙蓉兮木末, where these actions are figures for impossibility or futility. Li He’s echo of these lines seems more loosely atmospheric. The final couplet echoes a “Lotus Picking Song” by Xiao Gang: “Strands of lotus, on both sides, entangle her wrists; / caltrop-vines, from afar, tug at her robe” 荷絲傍繞腕 / 菱角遠牽衣. This work was included in YSJ 95 in the category of “new *yuefu* lyrics.” *Form*: unregulated pentasyllabic (first stanza irregular); quatrains rhyming aaxa (xaxa in the second quatrain).

l. 2 波烟玉: YSJ reads 波咽玉.

4.44 京城 The Capital City

Form: unregulated pentasyllabic xaxa.

4.45 官街鼓 Drums of the Imperial Avenues

The dawn and dusk drums at the heads of streets in the capital were a Tang innovation over earlier systems that had relied on criers to announce the beginnings and ends of days. They served to alert travelers of the beginning and end of nighttime curfew and corresponding closing and opening of the ward gates (cf. 4.50, l. 3). *Form*: unregulated heptasyllabic, stanzas rhyming aaxa and bbbxbx.

l. 2 呼: Following SS, XC, MG, ZY, YQ, YWX. WQ reads 催.

l. 5 碰發: Following SS, XC, MG. WQ reads 碰碎. WZZ reads 鉞發. l. 10 斷絕: XC, QTS read 斷緣.

4.46 許公子鄭姬歌 Song for Master Xu's Courtesan Zheng

An ostensibly original title note reads, “Zheng herself, in the garden, asked me to compose this” 鄭園中請賀作. As reflected in many Tang classical tales (and e.g. in 3.5), affairs between courtesans and their clients were a popular topic for gossip among broader publics in the Tang capitals; this work appears to have been informally commissioned from Li He by Zheng in order to enhance her fame among this broader public. *Form*: unregulated heptasyllabic, in stanzas rhymed aaxa.

l. 3 酒熟: SS, ZY, YQ, YWX read 酒熟. l. 5 桂開客: WYYY notes

“The collection reads 精聞客.” l. 20 少見人: MG reads 人見少.

l. 23 蛾鬟: WYYY reads 蛾眉.

4.47 新夏歌 Song of New Summer

This song title is not otherwise attested. *Form*: unregulated heptasyllabic. A rhymed couplet followed by two quatrains rhyming aaxa, although the variant reading 縹帶 for the end of line 3 would yield two three-line units followed by one four-line unit.

l. 1 蠟綵: WZZ notes “Also reads 絳綵.” l. 2 落蒂: SS, MG read 落帶;

WZZ, HC, QTS read 落蕊; QTS notes “落 also reads 絳.” l. 3 拳:

QTS reads 秀. 縹茸: LK, ZY, YQ, YWX read 縹帶. l. 9 搖揚: Follow-

ing XC, MG, QTS. WQ reads 搖楊. l. 10 地濃: XC, MG read 地穰.

4.48 題歸夢 On a Return Home in Dream

The image of fishes' eyes in line 8 derives from the fact they never close, and were thus an emblem for sleeplessness, anxiety, or grief (cf. 1.3, l. 7). *Form*: unregulated pentasyllabic.

l. 4 裁: XC, LK, QTS read 裁.

4.49 經沙苑 Passing by Shayuan

Shayuan was the site, roughly a hundred kilometers east-northeast of Chang'an, of a former palace compound as well as a center, through the mid-eighth century, for the breeding and pasturing of horses to supply the empire, and for agricultural products for imperial banquets and sacrifice. Qian Zhonglian suggests Li He may have passed by this site while on official trips as Vice-Director for Ceremonials to the tomb complexes of Ruizong and Xuanzong. Li He represents the site as dis-used and ruined. *Form*: unregulated pentasyllabic – though prosodically close to a pentasyllabic *lǔshī* in an oblique (mixed falling- and rising-tone) rhyme.

4.50 出城別張又新酬李漢 Going out of the City: Parting from Zhang Youxin, and Responding to Li Han

This work likely dates to 812, when Li He left Chang'an to return home to Chang'gu for what was probably the last time. Zhang Youxin was to pass the *jīnshì* examination two years later, and had a prominent career, though his reputation suffered due to his allegiance to Li Fengji 李逢吉 (758–835). Li Han (?–821) is best known as Han Yu's son-in-law, and compiler of the first edition of Han Yu's collected works. Several passages in this work have caused difficulties to commentators. It seems natural to take ll. 31–34 as continuing the reflections on the poet's own career and aspirations that began with line 27, but the rendering given here is conjectural. Wu Rulun's proposed emendation in line 39, on the other hand, seems to have definitively resolved persistent problems with that couplet. *Form*: extended pentasyllabic regulated verse (*pǎilǚ*), though metrically loose.

l. 7 何所報: MG reads 無所報. l. 16 池潯: following SS, XC; WQ reads 地潯. l. 19 大被: XC, MG read 大袂. l. 24 拖長紳: Following MG, SS, XC. WQ reads 施長紳. l. 25 不發: MG reads 不斷. l. 32: 流采: following SS, XC; WQ reads 流來. l. 39 地理: following the emendation proposed by WRL; WQ reads 地理; MG reads 地里. l. 40 遂:

following SS, XC, MG; WQ reads 遂. 1. 42 講道調: following a variant reading noted in WQ, QTS; WQ, XC, and SS read 調道講; MG reads 調道調. 1. 44 疏篠穿: SS reads 疏篠芽; MG reads 疏篠竿。

W.1 南園 South Garden

It has been suggested that this work was inadvertently left out of the group under the same title in *juan* 1 (1.34). That group, however, is entirely in regulated heptasyllabic meters, apart from the concluding pentasyllabic *lǚshi*. *Form*: unregulated heptasyllabic.

1. 5 熟杏: ZY, YQ, YWX read 熟杏. 1. 6 草梢: following ZY, QTS. WQ reads 草稍 and notes “also reads 草蒲, or 草滿.” 竹柵: WZZ, HC read 竹色. 池潯: following alternative reading noted in XC. WQ reads 池痕. WYYYH reads 池根.

W.2 假龍吟歌 Song: Imitation Dragon-keening

The conception of this piece derives from an anecdote relating that rubbing a bronze basin could create an imitation of the keening of a dragon, so like a real dragon’s call that it could provoke rainstorms, just as if an actual dragon were present. *Form*: unregulated, mixed tetrasyllabic and heptasyllabic.

1. 1 石乾: ZY, YQ, YWX read 石乾. 1. 3 蒼鷺: Following the variant reading noted in XC, WQ. WQ reads 蒼鷹. 1. 11 蒼蒼: XC reads 蒼苔.

W.3 感諷六首 Oblique Reactions (Six Poems)

As in the case of W.1, these poems have been thought to have been omitted from a set from the main collection (in this case, 2.24). *Form*: unregulated pentasyllabic.

Poem 4 1. 10 乃老: WZZ notes “Also reads 乃云.”

Poem 5 1. 1 泣: WQ notes “Also reads 泣.”

Poem 6 1. 4 衰草: WQ notes “Also reads 素草.” 1. 9 茅蒙: WQ notes “Also reads 茅草.” 1. 11 苦花: this is the reading of all early edd. XL suggests this is a mistranscription of 晚花. Suzuki reports having seen the variant reading 芳花, which is still more plausible as a mistranscription (芳 and 苦 often appear as variants for one another due to the ease with which they can be confused), but he does not specify his source. 1. 14 悲峭: LK, ZY, YQ, YWX read 悲嘯. WRL reads 悲悄.

W.4 莫愁曲 **Tune: Grieve-not**

This title appears among medieval lyrics to the “pure *shang*-mode” tunes; this particular tune was supposed to derive from music of “Stone Citadel,” i.e., the Southern Dynasties capital of Jinling (see YSJ 48). See also 3.40. *Form*: unregulated pentasyllabic.

l. 1 坡: WQ’s note shows he reads this as an alternate form of 陂. YSJ reads 龍坂. l. 15–16 若負平生意 / 何名作莫愁: following YSJ. WQ reads 莫負平生意 / 何名何莫愁, though in a note WQ also suggests the YSJ text is preferable.

W.5 夜來樂 **Music for the Coming of Night**

Not attested in *yuefu* repertoires. This work depicts an evening in the life of a courtesan. *Form*: unregulated heptasyllabic, rhymed every line.

l. 15 新: following XC. WQ reads 續.

W.6 嘲雪 **Innuendo on Snow**

The phrase “make innuendoes on wind and snow and tease flowers and plants” 嘲風雪弄花草 appears in a letter from Bai Juyi to Yuan Zhen disparaging Southern dynasties writing. The import of “innuendo on snow” would thus seem to be “pointless and florid literary bother about trivialities.” Li Jian, however, observes that Tang writers sometimes used the formula 嘲 X for ordinary “poems on things,” and cautions against looking too hard for satire – and indeed this poem does not seem to show any clear signs of satirical target or intent. The snow’s spread across vast distances provides an opportunity for a montage of contrastive scenes of pleasure and hardship, concluding with a transcendent. As noted in the footnote, the final image seems a bit obscure; Yao Quan posits that having got off to a nice start Li He ran out of steam at the end. *Form*: unregulated pentasyllabic, rhyming even lines.

l. 4 春語: WQ notes “Also reads 春雨.” l. 8 應故: ZY, YQ, YWX read 如故.

W.7 春懷引 **Rhapsody: Spring Yearnings**

Included in YSJ 95 among the “new *yuefu* lyrics,” but otherwise unknown as a song title. *Form*: unregulated heptasyllabic, rhyming every line but the third and seventh (line 3 may be a deliberate off-rhyme).

Title 春懷引: ZY, YQ, YWX read 懷春引. l. 1 芳蹊: LK reads 芳溪. l. 2 煙: YSJ notes “Also reads 陰.” 花帶重: YSJ reads

香帶重。 1. 3 挂明弓: ZY, YQ, YWX read 作明弓。 1. 5 寶枕: HC reads 寶帳。 1. 6 寒: YSJ notes “Also reads 空。”

W.8 白虎行 **Ballad: The White Tiger**

A crude pastiche of Li He's historical fantasies, recounting in broadly ballad-like manner the excesses and eventual downfall of the Qin dynasty. Lines 13–20 retell the renowned story of Jing Ke's failed assassination attempt on the future “First Emperor” (Qin Shihuang) in 227 BCE. This work is included in YSJ 95, in the category of “new *yuefu* lyrics.” *Form*: unregulated heptasyllabic, quatrains rhyming aaxa.

1. 4 呼將軍: XC, WZZ, YSJ read 惟將軍。 1. 11 雄豪猛餓烈燒空: XC, YSJ reads 雄豪氣猛如餓煙。 1. 19 未終: WZZ reads 未移。 1. 21 卓地: YWX reads 卓立。 1. 22 知: YSJ, TWC read 卻。

W.9 有所思 **Someone I'm Thinking of**

This title appears among the Han *nao-gong* lyrics, though these lyrics are not included in YSJ. The original lyrics for the tune title are in the voice of a woman whose lover has betrayed her. *Form*: unregulated heptasyllabic with one pentasyllabic couplet.

1. 22 橋南: WZZ reads 城南。

W.10 嘲少年 **Mocking a Youth**

Form: unregulated heptasyllabic, quatrains rhymed aaxa (the first, aaaa); final couplet aa.

Title: XC reads 嘲少年。 1. 3 狹坐: LK, ZY, YQ, YWX read 挾坐; TWC reads 狎坐。 1. 12 沒人織: XC, QTS read 勿人織。 1. 13 長金: XC, QTS read 長得。 1. 20 豈肯: WZZ, XC read 不肯。

W.11 高平縣東私路 **East of the Gaoping County Seat: a Private Road**

Gaoping county was in Hedong, one of the Tang circuits or provinces, corresponding to present-day Shanxi. The title would place this work some time around Li He's sojourn with Zhang Che at Luzhou. *Form*: unregulated pentasyllabic.

1. 7 者: QTS notes “Also reads 道。”

W.12 神仙曲 **Tune: Gods and Transcendents**

This is collected in YSJ 64 among the “lyrics to tunes of recent eras.” The poem presents a vision of the life of immortals on one of the fairy

mountain-islands in the sea. *Form*: unregulated heptasyllabic; all lines rhyme.

l. 2 仙人: XC, WZZ, YSJ read 神仙. l. 3 清明: YSJ reads 晴時. l. 5 書字: YSJ reads 剪字. ll. 7–8: absent in some edd. l. 10 妖鬟: WZZ, XC, YSJ read 娃鬟. 轉語: WZZ, XC, YSJ read 傳語.

W.13 龍夜吟 A Dragon Keens at Night

Form: unregulated heptasyllabic.

W.14 崑崙使者 Kunlun Emissary

A meditation on ancient remnants of Emperor Wu of the Han's quest for immortality. *Form*: unregulated heptasyllabic, quatrains rhyming aaxa.

l. 5 石文裂: JX reads 石文長.

W.15 白門前 Before White Gate

This text appears in the “outer *juan*” of some early editions, but was excised by Wu Zhengzi because it largely duplicates 4.22 (see the Introduction for discussion). Wang Qi's comments on 4.22 include a version of this text. Though clearly versions of a single work, these two texts do exhibit some noticeable differences apart from the title. It is reinserted here in the order in which it appears in the “outer collection” of XC, since it seems of some interest both in terms of the history of Li He's collection and as an example of processes of revision or adaptation – whether such changes were made by the author or subsequently in the process of transmission.

l. 8 龍蓬: WQ (in note to 4.22) reads 逢逢.

W.16 漢唐姬飲酒歌 Drinking Song of Consort Tang of the Han

This song is in the mode of Li He's “supplements” of songs or poems for historical figures. In 189, during the chaos of the dissolution of the Eastern Han dynasty, the warlord Dong Zhuo stripped Emperor Shao 少帝 (r. 189) (lit. the “young emperor” or “junior emperor”) of the imperial title he had carried less than a year, and made him Prince of Hongnong 弘農王. In the following year, as military resistance to Dong Zhuo's power increased, Dong Zhuo had the prince given poisoned wine. At the banquet before the prince drank the poison, his consort,

Consort Tang, danced while lamenting their fate. After the prince's death, Consort Tang refused her family's efforts to arrange marriages for her (as alluded to in the final couplet). The reference to a "Yunyang terrace" at l. 7 involves a somewhat complex set of associations: Yunyang is a prefecture north of Chang'an, near the site of the Qin and Western Han Ganquan 甘泉 ("Sweet Springs") palace complex, and is also the name given to the palace (and site of death) of Lady Gouyi 鉤弋, a consort of Emperor Wu of the Han, and mother of his successor Emperor Zhao 昭 (r. 87–74 BCE). Legends surrounding her hinted she was immortal; although the standard histories indicate Emperor Wu himself brought about her death, apocryphal traditions describe him as later yearning for her, and constructing a "Heaven-communicating Terrace" (*tongtian tai* 通天臺), also sited at the Ganquan complex – this is likely the place referred to as "the Yunyang terrace." It could thus stand both for a place of previous happy outings, while also raising the idea of posthumous contact, though as the following line notes, even if such contact were possible it would be no remedy to the present calamity. *Form*: unregulated pentasyllabic, rhyming every other line.

ll. 9–10 仗劍明秋水，兇威屢脅逼：XC, WZZ read 鐵劍常光光，至凶威屢逼。 l. 16 黃泉客：WQ notes "Also reads 黃泉隔。" l. 21 張總帷：ZY, YWX read 覓總帷。

W.17 聽穎師彈琴歌 **Song: Listening to Master Ying's Zither**

Han Yu also wrote a poem called "Listening to Master Ying's Zither." Master Ying was a Buddhist monk (hence the reference to "Indus monk" at l. 9). *Form*: unregulated heptasyllabic, quatrains rhyming aaxa.

l. 6 牽：QTS notes "Also reads 乘。" l. 15 當請：following the variant noted in XC; WQ reads 直請; LK reads 宜請; YQ reads 置請。

W.18 謠俗 **Ditty on Customs**

The purport of the title is obscure. Wang Qi posits that it may be an allegorical comment on a palace woman who was dismissed from service, and subsequently unlucky in her choice of spouse. *Form*: unregulated pentasyllabic.

l. 2 春：Following XC. WQ reads 君。

W.19 靜女春曙曲 Tune: Spring Daybreak of the Quiet Maiden

This and W.20 are attributed to Li He in YSJ, but absent from editions of Li He's works. Wang Qi added these in his *variorum* commentary. This work, which appears among the “new *yuefu* lyrics” in YSJ 95, is an atmospheric evocation of a woman's boudoir; referring to her as a “quiet maiden” (*jing nü* 靜女) is perhaps double-edged, since it evokes a demure and retiring person, but also via its association with the *Shijing* song of that name (poem #42 of the classic), connotes an assignation, as suggested by its opening lines: “The quiet maiden, how lovely; / she awaits me by the corner of the city wall; / she hides and does not appear, / and I scratch my head and pace to and fro” 靜女其姝 / 俟我於城隅 / 愛而不見 / 搔首踟躕. *Form*: unregulated heptasyllabic, rhyming every line except l. 3.

W.20 少年樂 Delights of Youth

Included in YSJ 66 among “lyrics to miscellaneous tunes.” *Form*: unregulated heptasyllabic, a sestet rhyming aaxaxa followed by a rhyming couplet.

