Appendix: Major Early Sources for Li He Biography and Reception

1. 杜牧, 李賀集序

i) 大和五年十月中,半夜時,舍外有疾呼傳緘書者。牧曰:「必有異。亟取火來。」及發之,果集賢學士沈公子明書一通,曰:

ii) 我亡友李賀,元和中義愛甚厚,日夕相與起居飲食。賀且死,嘗授我平生所著歌詩,離為四編,凡二百二十三百 數年來東西南北,良為已失去。今夕醉解,不復得寐,即 閱理篋帙,忽得賀前所授我者。思理往事,凡與賀話言婚 游,一處所,一物候,一日夕,一觴一飯,顯顯焉無有忘 棄者,不覺出涕。賀復無家室子弟,得以給養鄉問,當 想其人,詠其言止矣。子厚於我,與我為賀集序,盡道其 所由來,亦少解我意。

¹ The text appears in WYYH 714.3685B-3686A, as well as in Du Mu's Fanchuan wenji 樊川文集, 10.148-49, TWC 93.2A-B, and QTW 743.9B-10B. TWC renders the title as 唐太常寺奉禮郎李賀歌詩集序, "Preface to the Collected Song-poems of Li He, Vice-Director for Ceremonials in the Court of Imperial Sacrifices of the Tang."

² Courtesy name (zi 字) of Shen Shushi 沈述師.

³ 飲食: WYYH notes the variant 飲會 ("drink and gather"; "gather for parties").

⁴ 二百二十三首: Fanchuan wenji reads 千首 ("a thousand [poems]"); TWC reads 若千首 ("a certain number [of poems]"). The text here follows WYYH. Many

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1. Du Mu (803-852), "Preface to the Collected Works of Li He"¹

i) In the middle of a certain night during the tenth month of Taihe 5 (831), there was an urgent cry outside my dwelling, announcing the delivery of a sealed letter. I said "Surely something strange is afoot – bring a light, quickly!" And sure enough – when I opened the seal, it was the following letter from Mr. Shen Ziming,² of the Academy of Assembled Worthies, which read:

ii) My deceased friend Li He and I were extremely devoted friends during the Yuanhe era (806–820), in one another's company day and night, and always eating and drinking together.³ When He was about to die, he handed me the song-poems he had written throughout his life, divided into four sheaves, amounting to two hundred and twenty-three works.⁴ These past several years, I have wandered east, west, south, and north,⁵ and quite thought I'd lost them. Tonight when I sobered up after drinking, I was unable to get back to sleep. I began rummaging through and arranging my writing-cases, and suddenly came across He's poems – the ones he'd given me before. As I thought back over all those events of the past, all my conversations and outings with He – the places, the seasons and weather, each day and each evening, each shared cup and each meal – all were clearly present to my mind, with nothing lost or left out. Without realizing it I found myself weeping. He has no more family, no sons or brothers whom I might be able to give assistance or make inquiries about. I often imagine him to myself with regret, musing long as I recall his speech and demeanor.⁶ You have been kind to me - for me, compose a preface for his collection, giving a full account of how all this came about. This would offer some relief to my mind.

edd. of Li He's works include texts of Du's preface that read 二百三十三首 ("two hundred and thirty-three [poems]." On these discrepancies and other issues in the early transmission of Li He's collection, see the discussion in the Introduction.

⁵ Echoing Confucius's self-description of himself in the "Tan gong" chapter of the *Li ji* as "a man of east, west, north, and south," referring to the itinerant life of an advisor to rulers.

⁶ 詠其言止: WYYH notes the variant 味其言止 ("savor his speech and demeanor").

iii) 牧其夕不果以書道其不可,明日就公謝,且曰:「世謂賀才絕出於前。」讓。居數日,牧深惟公曰:「公於詩為深妙奇博,且復盡知賀之得失短長。今實敍賀不讓,必不能當公意,如何?」復就謝,極道所不敢敍賀,公曰:「子固若是,是當慢我。」牧因不敢復辭,勉為賀敍,然終甚慚。

¹ The following quoted speech might be read as addressed to Shen Shushi directly (the person-marker *gong* & rendered "that gentleman" can equally serve as a polite term of address), but then the point of saying "I went again in person" further down becomes obscure. Harada Kenyū proposed resolving the issue by reading this initial quoted speech as giving the substance of a letter Du Mu wrote before his in-person visit, though understanding it as giving the substance of Du Mu's internal monologue seems a simpler solution.

iii) I didn't get around that night to writing back to explain why it just wouldn't do. I went the following day to that gentleman's home to present my excuses. Saying, "The common opinion is that He's talents were far in advance of the age," I declined the request. A few days later, I meditated carefully about that gentleman, thinking, "That gentleman has a wondrously profound and astonishingly erudite grasp of poetry; and fully understands, moreover, He's various strengths and weaknesses. Now if I really do as he asks without declining, and compose a preface, it is certain not to satisfy his expectations — what of that?" So I went again in person to excuse myself, exhaustively explaining all the reasons for which I did not dare compose a preface for He. That gentleman said, "If you really insist on this, I shall take it as a deliberate snub." At this point I did not dare decline any further, and did my best to compose a preface for He. I still feel exceedingly ashamed about it, however.²

iv) He, of the Tang imperial clan,³ bore the courtesy name Changji. During the Yuanhe era, Han of the Personnel Ministry⁴ also praised his song-poems quite highly. Sinuous whorls of cloud and mist are not enough to convey their loveliness; the vast expanses of open waters are not enough to convey their feeling; the fullness of springtime is not enough to convey their rigor;⁵ wind-driven masts and battle-steeds are not enough to convey their rigor;⁵ wind-driven masts and battle-steeds are not enough to convey their boldness; tiled sarcophagi and tripods inscribed with seal-script are not enough to convey their antiquity; blossoms in season and lovely women are not enough to convey their sensuality; ruined capitals and crumbling palaces,⁶ weed-choked moors and burial mounds – these are not enough to convey their pained resentments

² Most edd. read 然其甚慚, while QTW reads 終甚慙. The text presented adopts what seems the best choice among the available options here.

³ Du Mu's collection and TWC omit the word 唐 here.

⁴ I.e., Han Yu.

⁵ 格, following the reading of most edd. WYYH reads 清, and notes "most editions read 格."

2. 李商隱,李賀小傳

i) 京兆杜牧為李長吉集序,狀長吉之奇甚盡,世傳之。長吉姊嫁 王氏者,語長吉之事尤備。

and bitter sorrows; gaping leviathan and bounding sea-tortoise, bulldemons and serpent-spirits - these are not enough to convey their wild fancifulness and outlandish illusions. He may be called a descendant of the "Sao" poet - though in cogency he does not reach his ancestor, in rhetorical flourish he perhaps exceeds him. The "Sao" has deep resentments and angry attacks, yet when its words turn to matters of ruler and minister, and good and bad governance, it often provides incitements to reflection in its reader. As for what He wrote, there is no finding such things. He was able, moreover, to ferret out events of the past, as grounds for deep laments over what no one from antiquity to the present had ever thought of before, as in the "Song for the Bronze Immortal Taking Leave of the Han," or the "Substitute for a Palace-Style Rhyme by Yu Jianwu of the Liang." In seeking out the way such things were, he utterly departed from and left far behind the pathways of brush and ink – and these things are exceedingly hard to understand. He died at the age of twenty-seven. The world says of him that if he hadn't died, and had somewhat bolstered the cogency of his writing, he would have been able to command the "Sao" poet as his servant. Fifteen years after He's death, I, Du Mu of the Metropolitan Region, have composed this preface.

2. Li Shangyin (813-ca. 858), "Short Biography of Li He"1

i) Du Mu of the Metropolitan Region has composed a preface for Li Changji's collected works, which gives a very exhaustive account of his wondrousness, and is in general circulation. An elder sister of Changji's who married into the Wang clan [Li Shangyin's in-laws] is able to speak about matters relating to Changji with particular comprehensiveness:

¹ This text appears in *Li Yishan wenji* 4.20B–22A, as well as TWC 99.7B–8B and QTW 780.17A–18A [8149]. See also *Fannan wenji*, 1: 8.464–467; *Li Shangyin wen biannian jiaozhu*, 5: 2265–2272.

ii) 長吉細瘦,通眉,長指爪,能苦吟疾書,最先為昌黎韓愈所知。所與游者,王參元、楊敬之、權璩、崔植為密。每旦日 出,與諸公游,未嘗得題然後為詩,也人思量牽合,以及程 限為意。恆從小奚奴騎距驢,背一古破錦、遇有所得,即書 投囊中。及暮歸,太夫人使婢受囊,見所書多所書; 是兒要當嘔出心始已耳。」上燈與食,長吉從婢取所書; 不是是既足成之,投他囊中。非大醉及吊喪日,率如此,還言洛 復省。王、楊輩時復來探取寫去。長吉往往獨騎,往還言洛 所至或時有著,隨棄之,故沈子明家所餘四卷而已。

¹ Since there *are* in fact many examples in Li He's collection of works written to set topics, several interpreters of this line have tried to avoid contradiction by construing this clause as meaning, "He never, having received a topic, wrote the poem as others do, trying to make things match ..." But it seems simpler to take the sentence in its more immediately apparent sense, and as a general characterization of Li He's approach, rather than as a rigidly categorical statement – indeed, on balance, the proportion of social occasional verse in Li He is much lower than the norm in Tang collections.

ii) Changji was thin and frail, with eyebrows that connected in the middle, and long fingernails. He was good at painstaking poetic composition, and could write fast. He was first appreciated by Han Yu of Changli. Of his acquaintances, he was closest to Wang Canyuan, Yang Jingzhi, Quan Qu, and Cui Zhi. Every morning when he'd go out socializing with those various gentlemen, he never composed a poem having first set out the topic, the way others do when they ponder how to force their work to accord with some prescribed limits. He'd always go about on a hinny,2 with an old tattered brocade bag on his back, followed by a Xi slave.³ Whenever he struck upon something, he'd write it down and put it in the bag. When he returned home at evening, Her Ladyship⁴ would have the servant girl take the bag and remove the writing. When Her Ladyship saw that he had written a lot, she'd say, "This child is not going to stop until he's vomited out his heart." When they'd lit the lamps and given him his meal, Changji would take what he'd written from the servant girl and, grinding out ink and folding paper,⁵ complete the poems, and throw them in another bag. Except when he was exceedingly drunk or on days when he paid mourning calls, this was his normal practice. Once he'd finished the poems he'd never look at them again. Then again sometimes Wang and Yang and that lot would come and take away what he'd written to make copies. Changji would often ride alone between home and Luoyang, and wherever he went he'd often compose something and then throw it away, so that what was left in the home of Shen Ziming was no more than four scrolls.

² Juxu 距驢: This is the reading of TWC; Li Yishan wenji and QTW read 痠驢 ("lame donkey"). 距驢 is a scribal variant or error for juxu 駏驢, a mule-like animal described as the offspring of a male horse and a female mule, which would seem to be something of a genetic anomaly. "Hinny," the offspring of a stallion and a female donkey, is perhaps the cross referred to.

³ The term Xi 美 appears in classical texts as a designation of a foreign ethnicity, but by the Tang appears to have become a loose designation for persons of hereditary menial status (cf. **2.12**, l. 1). Other terms such as Ba 巴 and Cong 寶 (cf. **2.23**, l. 28; **3.6**) seem to reflect the actual geographical and ethnic origins of certain populations of Tang domestic slaves.

⁴ That is, Li He's mother.

^{5 &}quot;Folding paper": i.e., to form creases to serve as rule-lines for writing out a fair copy.

iii) 長吉將死時,忽畫見一緋衣人,駕赤虬,持一版,書若太古篆,或霹靂石文者,云當召長吉。長吉了不能讀,数下榻叩頭,言「阿禰老且病,賀不願去。」緋衣人笑曰:「帝成白玉樓,立召君為記。天上差樂,不苦也。」長吉獨泣,邊人盡見之。少之,長吉氣絕。常所居窗中勃勃有烟氣,聞行車嘒管之聲。太夫人急止人哭,待之如炊五斗黍許時,長吉竟死。王氏姊非能造作謂長吉者,實所見如此。

iv) 嗚呼!天蒼蒼而高也,上果有帝邪?帝果有苑囿宮室觀閣之玩邪?苟信然,則天之高邈,帝之尊嚴,亦宜有人物文彩愈此世者,何獨番番於長吉而使其不壽邪!噫,又豈世所謂才而奇者,不獨地上少,即天上亦不多邪?長吉生二十四年,位不過奉禮太常,中當時人忌,亦多排擯毀斥之,又豈才而奇者,帝獨重之,而人反不重邪?又豈人見會勝帝邪?

¹ Most edd. insert a putatively original note here: "This was how Changji had called her Ladyship when he was learning to speak" 長吉學語時呼大夫人云.

² 常所居: Following the text of QTW and most edd.; the *Li Yishan wenji* text reads 長所居.

iii) When Changji was about to die, suddenly, in broad daylight, he saw a crimson-robed personage – riding a red dragon, and bearing a tablet with writing on it like the seal-script of high antiquity or thunder-stone script – who said he had come to summon Changji. Changji was utterly unable to read it; he quickly got down from his bed and kowtowed, saving, "Ah Mi¹ is old and sick – I do not wish to go." The figure in crimson robes laughed and said, "God has completed a white jade tower, and summons you instantly to compose a commemorative inscription. Tasks in heaven are delightful, and not painful." Changii continued weeping there alone – everyone present saw it. After a while, he stopped breathing. In the window where he'd always sat² there was a surging flow of mist, and they heard sounds of moving carriages and clear pipe music. Her Ladyship urgently stopped everyone from weeping. They waited, and in about the time it takes to cook a measure of millet, Changji at last died. This sister who married into the Wang clan is not someone who could fabricate stories about Changji - the fact is that this is what she saw.

iv) Alas! Heaven is grey and high. Is there indeed a God up there? Does God indeed have such diversions as parks and preserves, palaces and halls, towers and pavilions? Supposing this truly to be the case, then – in view of heaven's remote loftiness, and God's fearful majesty – surely there ought to be talents there with literary ornament to surpass those of this world. How should a God so fussily insist on getting Changji, and thereby cause him to die young? Ah! – could it be, then again, that what this world calls the talented and wondrous are not only scarce here on earth, but even in heaven are not numerous?³ Changji lived twenty-four years,⁴ and his rank never exceeded that of Vice-Director

³ Following the reading of QTW and most edd.; Li Yishan wenji and TWC read # for \mathbb{F} here.

⁴ This is generally assumed to be a mistake, though it was adopted in some later accounts (see the *Jiu Tang shu* biography below).

3. 《舊唐書》《新唐書》〈李賀傳〉

a) 《舊唐書》

李賀字長吉,宗室鄭王之後。父名晉肅,以是不應進士,韓愈為之作諱辨,賀竟不就試。手筆敏捷,尤長於歌篇。其文思體勢,如崇巖峭壁,萬仞崛起,當時文士從而效之,無能髣髴者。其樂府詞數十篇,至於雲韶樂工,無不諷誦。補太常寺協律郎,卒時年二十四。

¹ 中當時人忌: The reading of the *Li Yishan wenji* text. 忌 is absent in most edd., rendering 中 an extraneous supplement to the preceding clause. Ignoring or omitting 中, and reading without 忌, as is done in most modern edd., however, also yields good sense: "There were also many among the people of his age who persecuted and slandered him."

for Ceremonials in the Court for Imperial Sacrifices. He became a target of the envy of people of his time; and many also persecuted and slandered him¹ – could it be, then again, that as for these talented and wondrous ones, only God esteems them, whereas humans, conversely, do not? Or, then again, could it be that the judgment of humans is superior to God's?

3. Biographical notices from the Jiu Tang shu and Xin Tang shu

a) Jiu Tang shu²

Li He, who bore the courtesy name Changji, was descended from Prince Zheng of the imperial lineage. His father was named Jinsu, and for this reason he did not participate in the *jinshi* examination. Han Yu composed a "Clarification Regarding Taboo-Names" on his behalf, but to the end Li He never sat for the examination. A nimble and swift writer, he was particularly good at songs. His literary conceptions and the forms he gave them were like lofty crags or sheer cliff-faces, abruptly surging ten thousand fathoms aloft. Literary men of that era took his lead and imitated him, but there was no one who could produce even a vague semblance. As for the several dozen lyrics to "Music Bureau" tunes he composed, there was no one, all the way up to the Yunshao music masters, who didn't intone and recite them. He was appointed to the vacant post of Harmonizer of the Pitchpipes in the Court for Imperial Sacrifices. At the time of his death he was twenty-four.³

² Jiu Tang shu 11: 137.3772.

³ As noted above, this figure for Li He's age at death likely derives from Li Shangyin's "Short Biography." Current consensus is that Du Mu's figure of twenty-seven is more likely.

b) 《新唐書》

i) 李賀字長吉,系出鄭王後。七歲能辭章,韓愈、皇甫湜始聞 未信,過其家,使賀賦詩,援筆輒就如素構,自目曰高軒過, 二人大驚,自是有名。

ii)為人纖瘦,通眉,長指爪,能疾書。每旦日出,騎弱馬,從小奚奴,背古錦囊,遇所得,書投囊中。未始先立題然後為詩,如它人牽合程課者。及暮歸,足成之。非大醉、弔喪日率如此。過亦不甚省。母使婢探囊中,見所書多,即怒曰:「是兒要嘔出心乃已耳。」

iii) 以父名晉肅,不肯舉進士,愈為作諱辨,然卒亦不就舉。辭 尚奇詭,所得皆驚邁,絕去翰墨畦逕,當時無能效者。樂府數 十篇,雲韶諸工皆合之絃管。為協律郎,卒,年二十七。與游 者權璩、楊敬之、王恭元,每譔著,時為所取去。賀亦早世, 故其詩歌世傳者鮮焉。

b) Xin Tang shu¹

i) Li He, who bore the courtesy name Changji, was from a line descended from Prince Zheng. He was able to compose literary works from the age of seven. When Han Yu and Huangfu Shi first heard it they didn't believe it. They paid a call at his home and had him compose a poem. He picked up the brush and just like that it was done, as though it had been composed in advance. He gave his poem the title "A Lofty Carriage Calls." Those two gentlemen were greatly astonished – it was from this moment that Li He gained renown.

- ii) As to his person, he was slight of build and gaunt, with connected eyebrows and long fingernails. He was able to write very fast. He'd go out each morning astride a feeble nag, with a Xi slave following in attendance, bearing an old brocade bag. Whenever something striking occurred to him, he'd write it out and throw it in the bag. He never composed a poem having first set out the topic, the way others do when they force their work to accord with some prescribed assignment. When he returned home in the evening he would work out the lines he'd written into complete poems. Except when he was exceedingly drunk, or on days when he had to go and pay mourning calls, this was his habitual practice. And once something was finished, he didn't particularly trouble himself with it further. His mother had a maid reach into the bag, and when she saw that he'd written a lot she'd say angrily, "This child won't stop until he's vomited out his heart."
- iii) Since his father was named Jinsu, he was unwilling to participate in the *jinshi* examination. Han Yu composed a "Clarification Regarding Taboo-Names" on his behalf, but in the end he still didn't present himself as a candidate. His style inclined toward the wondrous and fantastic. The things he came up with were all startling departures that left the usual pathways for brush and ink utterly behind. In that time there was no one who could imitate him. His several dozen "Music Bureau" pieces were all set to string and wind accompaniment by the various masters of the Yunshao Academy. He served as Harmonizer of

¹ Xin Tang shu 18: 128.5787-5788.

4. 沈亞之, 序詩送李膠秀才

i) 歌詩之所以為發寤,其旨甚遠。夫物情衝樂怨抑之感,吁而散之大空,還會於風雲,降於水土,包聲於陶埴之器。髣髴之變,盡搖於樂。樂之所感,微則占於音,章則見於詞。微於音者,聖人察之;章於詞者,賢人畏之。故勤人之君欲以聞其下,忠主之佐使以達其上。夫往代之詩樂皆能沿聲諧韻;今徵其文以觀之,而其代與衰可見也。寧近世學者固不變風從律耶?何為其詞不聞充陳於管絃乎?今樂府既闕所奏,如有忠言之意眾所仰哉?

¹ 王恭元: This name should read "Wang Canyuan" 王参元. See the discussion in Liu Xuekai and Yu Shucheng, *Li Shangyin wen biannian jiaozhu*, 5: 2268n5.

the Pitchpipes, and was twenty-seven when he died. Quan Qu, Yang Jingzhi, and Wang Gongyuan¹ were companions of his, and whenever he'd compose something it was often taken away by one of these men. He also died young, so that the poems and songs of his transmitted today are scanty.

4. Shen Yazhi, "An Account of Poetry, to send off Licentiate Li Jiao"²

i) As for the way in which song-poems serve to open up [the hearer's] awareness – the import of this process is exceedingly far-reaching. Now, with all those stirrings whereby creatures' inner states are moved to freeflowing delight, or to cramped and pent-up resentment, when they are cried out and scattered into the great void, there comes a returning encounter of wind and clouds; when they are sent down amid water and earth, they enfold their voices within earthenware instruments. And all those fleeting semblances transforming there – all of it is set moving by music. As for the stirrings that issue forth in music, the subtle ones are those that may be divined through tones, while the manifest ones appear in lyrics. Those that reside subtly in tones, the sage discerns; those that are manifest in lyrics, worthy persons fear. Thus rulers assiduous in the care of their people will wish in this way to hear those below; assistants loyal to their lords will use this means to get their message across to the one above. Now, the lyric music of former ages could all be issued forth in voice in a way that accorded with acoustical resonance. When we now observe that [ancient] music by examining the texts, the flourishing or decline of each era comes into view. Could it be that scholars of recent times have deliberately refused to adapt their mode of expression so as to remain in step with musical tones? [If not,] Why then is it that we do not hear their lyrics being matched and set

² From *Shen Xiaxian wenji* 沈下賢文集 9.7A-7B; QTW 8: 735.13B-14B [7593-7594]. QTW renders the title as 送李膠秀才詩序.

ii) 余故友李賀善擇南北朝樂府故詞,其所賦亦多怨鬱悽艷之功,誠以蓋古排今,使為詞者莫得偶矣。惜乎其終亦不備聲絃唱。賀名溢天下,年二十七官卒奉常。由是後學爭踵賀,相與綴裁其字句以媒取價。嗚呼。貢諷合韻之勤益遠矣。膠亦諸王孫,頗專七言詞。始來長安,人以為思轍賀。今一不中第,言歸故楚江陵下。豈欲以廣其情於煙波。顧有譔,余乃敢悉叙詩歌之大端以為別警。

forth to the accompaniment of pipes and strings? Now it is not only that the Music Bureau lacks many of the things that ought to be performed there – what moreover of those intentions to utter loyal speech, upon which everyone relies?¹

ii) My old friend Li He was good at selecting former lyrics from the "Music Bureau" repertoires of the Northern and Southern Dynasties, and what he composed was likewise² rich in effects of pent-up resentments and wistful loveliness. Indeed, in this he surpassed the ancients and pushed the moderns aside, so that among those writers of lyrics there was none who could match him. How sad, then, that his works as well were never set to music and sung with string accompaniments!³ Li He's fame resounded throughout the world; at the age of twentyseven he died, his highest official post being Vice-Director for Ceremonials.⁴ From then on, latter scholars vied to follow in his footsteps, piecing together phrases and lines of his to seek reputation. Alas! - with this, any thought of presenting something with an implicit point, or of according to musical tones, grew all the further from mind. Jiao, also descended from princes of the imperial line, has made lyrics in heptasyllabic meters something of a specialty. On his first arrival at Chang'an, people thought he meant to follow in Li He's tracks. Now after suffering this one setback in the examinations, he intends to return to his former Chu, in that region downstream of Jiangling. Might it be that he intends in so doing to broaden his affections there amid the mists and waves? He looked to me to compose something, and only thus have I made bold to give this account of poetry in its main essentials, to serve as a parting-gift.

¹ The translation follows the text as given, but the expression seems somewhat awkward. Possibly 翠 is a mis-transcription for an interrogative pronoun such as 奚. The clause would then read, "Where there is an intention to utter loyal words, on what will it rely [as its medium]?"

² 亦: *Shen Xiaxian wenji* reads 不; emended based on QTW. Here "likewise" means "like those (good) ancient *yuefu* lyrics."

^{3 &}quot;As well": Here meaning, "like those (faulty) *yuefu* lyrics of recent times, that are not suited for musical performance."

⁴ Extant texts for this preface read *feng chang* 奉常, which seems almost certainly a garbled rendering of Taichang 太常 ("Court for Imperial Sacrifices") and *fengli* [*lang*] 奉禮[郎] ("Vice-Director for Ceremonials").