

鄭騫：柳永蘇軾與詞的發展

Liu Yung and Su Shih in the Evolution of *Tz'u* Poetry

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LIU YUNG 柳永 (fl. 1034) and Su Shih 蘇軾 (1036-1101) did not seem to be on a par with each other. Su Shih was a grand master of his age, well versed in almost all genres and highly respected in the political world. Liu Yung, on the other hand, was known for his compositions in *tz'u* poetry alone—his achievement in *shih* poetry and prose was negligible. Basically he was a Bohemian scholar who “down on his luck, wandered through the country, with wine in the saddle.” To put him alongside Su would thus seem inappropriate, for in terms of overall literary achievement, moral character and personal manner, needless to say, Liu lagged far behind Su. Nevertheless, Liu Yung's position in the history of *tz'u* was by no means interior to that of Su. In the evolution of this particular genre, the two masters were in fact of equal significance. Briefly speaking, Liu was instrumental in the development of its form while Su should be credited with the enrichment of its content.

In its earliest stage, *tz'u* was only a type of song, performed by singers to entertain guests at banquets and farewell parties. Its style, therefore, differed from that of *shih*. It had to correspond to the specific mood of the gathering. In addition, it had to be written with the singers' social positions as well as their verbal styles in mind. Since the singers of that time were mostly female, it would not be altogether fitting to have these teenage girls at sumptuous banquets sing—at the top of their voices—heroic laments to the beat of the red castanets in their hands. For that reason, the *tz'u* of the T'ang (618-907) and the Five Dynasties (907-960) dealt almost exclusively with silk quilts, geese in flight formations, remorse over separations and plaintiveness in spring. Its description did not generally go beyond that of gardens and pavilions, and its lyricism was characterized by ornate beauty.

In fact, the *tz'u* pieces of this period were restricted to these two aspects in both its intrinsic nature and its function. Admittedly by the Southern T'ang (923-936) Feng Yen-ssu 馮延巳 (903-960) with his stately elegance seemed to have become more diversified and more flexible than his predecessors in *Hua-chien chi*

The Chinese original was first published in Wen-hsüeh tsa-chih 文學雜誌 (Literary Review), Vol. III, No. 1 (Sept. 1957), 25-31. The article was later collected in his Ching-wu ts'ung-pien 景午叢編 (Taipei: Chung-hua, 1972), Vol. I, pp. 119-27.

花間集。¹ But even so, he surpassed them merely in sincerity, emotiveness, originality and subjectivism. Fundamentally he was still confined in theme to mournings over passage of time and concern for friends and relatives in distant places, nostalgia of the past and remembrances of old acquaintances. Of course, with Li Yü 李煜 (937-978) the scope of the aesthetic world and the depth of feelings far exceeded those of the T'ang and the Five Dynasties. Yet in *tz'u* Li Yü, like T'ao Ch'ien 陶潛 (365?-427) in *shih*, definitely transcended his age. Nonetheless despite the fact that they were both ahead of their time, their examples were not followed and no immediate change took place.

What was said above has to do with its content. As for its form, the Long Tunes (*Ch'ang tiao* 長調) had not yet come into being in the T'ang and the Five Dynasties. Instead, the Short Tunes (*Hsiao ling* 小令), which does not exceed sixty or seventy characters, were widely used in that period. They were just as restricted in form as in content. The restrictions in form had, moreover, its impact on content. Because of the limited length of the tunes, no matter how rich the feelings were or how complex the fluctuations might be, there simply was not sufficient room for undulations and amplifications. And precisely because of this restricted nature in both content and form, even by the T'ang and the Five Dynasties *tz'u* was still regarded as a minor craft and did not acquire the same prestige as poetry and prose. (As to whether the Long Tunes were existent but were not employed in literary compositions or whether the Long Tunes had not yet come into being in the first place, we shall have occasion to come back to this at a later point.)

The *tz'u* of the early Sung writers—such as Yen Shu 晏殊 (991-1055), Ou-yang Hsiu 歐陽修 (1007-1072) and Chang Hsien 張先 (990-1078)—did not really move beyond the realm of the T'ang and the Five Dynasties in content. Though stylistically some attempts had been made at writing the Long Tunes, the Short Tunes were still the predominant form. In the collections of Yen and Ou-yang, the Long Tunes account for no more than ten to twenty per cent. Chang Hsien was slightly more prolific in the Long Tunes which, however, took up but thirty to forty per cent of his complete works, not to mention the fact that technically this corpus left something to be desired. Chang, along with Yen and Ou-yang, could not exactly be called masters of the Long Tunes.² Liu Yung was a contemporary of Yen, Ou-yang and Chang, and was older than Su Shih by more than twenty years.³ He was, however, the first *tz'u* poet conversant with the long form. Among the two hundred-odd *tz'u* pieces in the three *chüans* of *Yüeh-chang chi* 樂章集, together with the *Hsü-t'ien ch'ü-tzu* 續添曲子 (*Chiang-ts'un ts'ung-shu* ed. 彊村叢書本), approximately one

¹ An anthology of *tz'u* compiled by Chao Ts'ung-tso 趙崇祚 which includes five hundred pieces by the eighteen masters of the Five Dynasties (907-60). These works are generally limited in theme to the decadent life of the upper social class and are hence restricted in scope.

² Author's note: Chang Hsien has all along been a controversial poet in the history of *tz'u*. Chou Chi 周濟 was quite right in the introduction to his *Sung ssu-chia tz'u-hsüan* 宋四家詞選, where he said: "From

Chang's originality and strength one certainly derives great pleasure. Yet his cannot be called a well-rounded talent. Nor was he capable of great varieties."

³ Author's note: Liu Yung passed the imperial *Chün-shih* 進士 examination in the first year of Yüan-yu 元祐 (1034) while Su Shih was born in the third year of the same reign (1036). Liu might have passed the examination very early in his career, but it was quite likely that he was older than Su by over twenty years.

hundred and thirty tune-titles were employed, of which some thirty pieces were written in the Short Tunes while eighty per cent were written in the Long Tunes. The number of the latter was unprecedented and his techniques were equally advanced (a point which we shall come back to later). Liu Yung's position in the history of *tz'u* was in fact built upon the quantity and quality of his works set to the Long Tunes.

The rise of the Long Tunes should not be lightly dismissed; it had a great deal to do with the development and perfection of *tz'u*. But when did the Long Tunes come into being in the first place? I earlier assumed that the Long Tunes were already present in as early as the T'ang and the Five Dynasties, but merely as musical tunes, often without lyrics having been written for them. The only exceptions were the works of some crude musicians and incompetent literati, in which case there were hardly any rhetorical or thematic merits to be mentioned; and hence their works were easily lost in transmission.⁴ It thus follows that the *tz'u* handed down from the T'ang and the Five Dynasties were those set to the Short Tunes by literati scholars. The situation remained unchanged up to the early years of the Sung. Among the three hundred-odd tune-titles recorded in *Chiao-fang chi* 教坊記⁵ compiled by Ts'ui Ling-ch'in 崔令欽 of the T'ang, many of these tunes along with their lyrics were lost. It is probable that some of them could have been in the Long Tunes. That was my earlier view but recently another view suggested itself to me. It is more likely that from the T'ang to the Five Dynasties and down to early Sung, not only did no one write in the Long Tunes; possibly the Long Tunes as a musical form had not yet come into being. If they had existed earlier, why had no one tried to set words to the Long Tunes during that long period of time when it was a popular practice to do so? The *tz'u* pieces set to the Long Tunes were mostly created in the Sung, just as the Long Tunes as a musical form were the creation of the Sung musicians.⁶ Among the Long Tunes in which Liu Yung wrote, there were no more than twelve or thirteen tune-titles that could be found in *Chiao-fang chi*. They represented only one eighth of the total number, not to mention the fact that some of these titles might have been identical in name only. (Instances of different tunes with identical titles were plentiful in the T'ang and the Sung. For instance, "Nü-kuan tzu" (女冠子) and "P'ao-chiu lo" (拋球樂)—which were both in the Short Tunes in the T'ang and the Five Dynasties—were reset in the Long Tunes in Liu's *tz'u*.) There is, therefore, reason to believe that the Long Tunes came into being in the early Sung rather than in the Middle or the Late T'ang. Their appearance laid the cornerstone for *tz'u* in its evolvment into a full-fledged genre. If, on the contrary, *tz'u* writers had abided dutifully by the Short Tunes of the T'ang and the Five Dynasties, the days of *tz'u* would have been over in the Northern Sung. After all, how could the minor craft with its thematic and stylistic limitations constitute a genre of its own and lend itself to further development? Thanks mainly to the rise

⁴ Author's note: There are in *Yün-yao chi tsa-ch'ü-tzu* 雲謠集雜曲子 (Chiang-ts'un ed.) a number of the Long Tunes which were sometimes considered to be *tz'u* pieces from T'ang. The claim, however, could not be substantiated.

the period of K'ai-Yüan 開元 (713-41). A significant document on the court music of T'ang.

⁵ A personal account of the musicians' trade during

⁶ Author's note: Here the Long Tunes refer to what was adapted into *tz'u* after the Sung, having nothing to do with the tunes used in the *Ta Ch'ü* 大曲 dating back to the T'ang and the Sung.

of the Long Tunes, a major crisis of *tz'u* was averted. Moreover, the evolvement of *tz'u* into a literary phenomenon with all its spectacular dimensions did not occur until after the rise of the Long Tunes. And Liu Yung was precisely the first writer to be both prolific and skilled in the form in question. One can thus say that Liu Yung's position in the history of *tz'u* is built on the quantity and quality of his works in the Long Tunes. Let us here first review some traditional criticisms on Liu Yung for a clear picture of his contributions in this respect:

Liu Yung's *Yüeh-chang chi* has been well liked over the years... harmonized. Its narrative development is leisurely, with a beginning and an end. Occasionally he could come up with nice turns of phrases. He is further capable of selecting the harmonious and sweet tunes to render his lyrics in. Nonetheless, he is inclined toward the plain and the vulgar, to the point of starting a style of his own. The uninitiated are especially fond of him.

—Wang Cho 王灼,
Pi-chi man-chih 碧雞漫志

Though Liu's *tz'u* is of a vulgar style, his prosody is harmonious and his expressions to the point. A peaceful and prosperous world is fully depicted in his works. He is especially good at describing lives of stranded travelers and their journeys.

—Ch'en Chen-sun 陳振孫,
Chih-tsa'i shu-lu chieh-t'i 直齋書錄解題

Liu Yung's descriptions are elaborate and detailed. His language is plain but rich in nuances. Inherent in it are *lush* beauty and restrained simplicity.

—Chou Chi 周濟,
Chieh-ts'un-tsai lun tz'u tsa-chu 介存齋論詞雜著

Liu Yung's *tz'u* is refined, fluid, clear and intimate. He surpasses his predecessors in narration. Yet because his works are replete with descriptions of feminine charm, his style does not seem to be elevated.

—Liu Hsi-tsai 劉熙載,
I kai 藝概

In his *tz'u* Liu Yung is capable of complementing the complicated with the straightforward, the dense with the sparse, and the swift with the becalmed. He is able to describe what is difficult to describe and express what is difficult to express and make everything appear natural. He is undoubtedly a giant of Northern Sung.

—Fung Hsü 馮煦,
Hao-an lun tz'u 蒿菴論詞

Though earlier criticisms on Liu Yung are quite voluminous, to save space we have cited here only two entries from the Sung and three from the Ch'ing, which are all quite to the point. To these critics, Liu's merits lay in narration and descrip-

tion which necessarily required the Long Tunes. Among Liu Yung's better-known pieces, "Yü lin ling" (雨霖鈴) and "Pa-sheng Kan-chou" (八聲甘州) have been widely acclaimed and need not be cited again. Let us quote a few other pieces instead:

To the Tune of *Yeh-pan yüeh*

*Frigid clouds against the gloomy skies—
In a blade of a boat,
I left the river shore on an impulse,
And passed the endless valleys and cliffs,
Before coming to where the Yüeh river ran
deep.
The raging waves were gradually calming
down,
When in the sudden winds from across the
woods
Came the calls of the traveling traders, each to
each.
Hoisting the sail high up the mast,
In my Painted Fishhawk,
I skirted the southern shore, ever so swiftly.*

*Up came the glimmering banners over the taverns,
Then a smoke-covered village in a huddle,
And a few rows of frosted trees.
In the fast-fading sunlight,
Home were the fishermen, sounding their clatters.
Leaves from dying lotus were falling, one
after another,
While withering willows started to flicker.
At the shore, by twos and threes,
Coy maidens tried to avoid
This traveling stranger on the way
By talking and laughing among themselves.
A thought at this point of the journey:
"I have thoughtlessly fled her boudoir;
Now the drifting duckweeds will not stay."*

*For all her tender reminders, when is our next
reunion?
Saddened by separation, I felt my anguish
Over the belated return increasing at year's end.
With eyes brimming with tears,
I gazed down the road toward the capital,
Amidst a strayed goose's call, while the vast skies
darkened.*

夜半樂

凍雲黯淡天氣
扁舟一葉
乘興離江渚
渡萬壑千巖
越溪深處
怒濤漸息
樵風乍起
更聞商旅相呼
片帆高舉
泛畫鷁
翩翩過南浦

望中酒旆閃閃
一簇烟村
數行霜樹
殘日下
漁人鳴榔歸去
敗荷零落
衰楊掩映
岸邊兩兩三三
浣紗遊女
避行客
含羞笑相語

到此因念
繡閣輕拋
浪萍難駐
歎後約丁寧竟何據
慘離懷
空恨歲晚歸期阻
凝淚眼
杳杳神京路
斷鴻聲遠長天暮

To the Tune of *Chu ma tzu*

*Up on a lone fortress, desolate in all directions,
I looked about, from a towering pavilion,
To find myself, face to face, with a bank of
silent mist.*

*With raindrops hanging down from the elegant
rainbow;*

*And princely winds caressing the parapets,
The summer heat within me seemed to be
subsiding,*

*With a leaf, autumn took me by surprise,
And late cicadas clamored in the dusk,
On the arrival of the autumn season.*

*All these bringing back pleasant memories of the
past,*

*I pointed a vague finger at the capital, lying
Far, far away, neither amid the fog, nor in the
mist.*

*With all these memories of the past revived,
Fresh sorrows easily accumulated,
While old friends could hardly be reunited.*

*High up from a lookout, I stood, all day long
In exchange for speechless heartbreak.*

*All that I could see were bright clouds,
Evening crows here and there,
And the forlorn riverside city at dusk.*

*Meanwhile, the painted horn from the southern
tower*

Once again was bidding the sinking sun farewell.

To the Tune of *Feng kui yün*

*Late in autumn—
The western suburb cleansed with the crystal air
after the rain.*

*On the paths, night was about to run out
And cold breeze was rising from my lapels
and sleeves.*

*Above the horizon, the morning star continued to
flicker,*

From above the branches.

Roosters' calls again were dying down

While the first rays of the sun started to

竹馬子

登孤壘荒涼
危亭曠望
靜臨烟渚
對雌霓掛雨
雄風拂檻
微收煩暑
漸覺一葉驚秋
殘蟬噪晚
素商時序
覽景想前歡
指神京
非霧非烟深處

向此成追感
新愁易積
故人難聚
憑高盡日凝竚
贏得消魂無語
極目霽靄霏微
暝鴉零亂
蕭索江城暮
南樓畫角
又送殘陽去

鳳歸雲

向深秋
雨餘爽氣肅西郊
陌上夜闌
襟袖起涼颿
天末殘星流電未滅
閃閃隔林梢
又是曉雞聲斷
陽烏光動
漸分山路迢迢

驅驅行役

emerge,
Unfolding as they did, the distant mountain paths.

*All that bustling on the way,
 While time and tide waits for no man.
 Meager profit and humble positions;
 Petty accomplishment and fickle fame—
 All that to what avail?
 And why measure me against them?
 Forsaking my favorite sights,
 I have indulged myself in worldly pleasures,
 And let my aspirations transpire without
 second thoughts.
 Fortunately Lake T'ai is still there, with all its
 mists and waves.
 With a sailful of wind and moonlight,
 I must go back, and retire a fisherman, or a woods-
 man.*

To the Tune of *An kung-tzu*

*At the distant shore, the rain gradually sub-
 sided.
 With the rain subsided, the river sky seemed to
 turn dark at once.
 Picking plants at the shoals, I was all alone
 Except for the company of gulls and egrets
 standing in pairs.
 A few specks of lights from fishing boats were
 visible,
 Dimly shining on the reed-infested shore.
 With painted oars at rest,
 Boat people exchanged greetings by twos and
 threes,
 And told of tonight's journeys,
 By pointing at the mist-covered trees of the villages
 ahead.
 My pursuit of official positions had turned into an
 over-extended journey
 Leisurely I leaned against the oars and chanted.
 My sense of distance being confused by a myriad
 of mountains and waters,
 I wondered where my hometown was.
 Since we parted last time,*

冉冉光陰
 蠅頭利祿
 蝸角功名
 畢竟成何事
 漫相高
 拋擲雲泉
 狎玩塵土
 壯節等閒消
 幸有五湖烟浪
 一船風月
 會須歸去老漁樵

安公子

遠岸收殘雨
 雨殘稍覺江天暮
 拾翠汀洲人寂靜
 立雙雙鷗鷺
 望幾點漁燈
 掩映蒹葭浦
 停畫橈
 兩兩舟人語
 道去程今夜
 遙指前村烟樹
 遊宦成羈旅
 短檣吟倚聞凝竚
 萬水千山迷遠近
 想鄉關何處
 自別後
 風亭月樹孤歡聚
 剛斷腸
 惹得離情苦
 聽杜宇聲聲
 勸人不如歸去

*I spent all festivals at lonely pavilions and halls.
 To add to that, the anguish reminded me
 Of the inflictions from the sorrows of separa-
 tions.
 Listening to the calls of the cuckoos,
 I was urged to go home, as early as I could.⁷*

These pieces along with such better-known works as "Yü lin ling" and "Pa-sheng kan-chou," can all be described as: "harmonious in prosody," "refined and fluid," and "complementing the complicated with the straightforward, the dense with the sparse." Without employing the Long Tunes in the first place, how could all these good qualities manifest themselves? Wouldn't it have been a case of having the hands of a giant tied?

Thus it was only after the rise of the Long Tunes that the form of *tz'u* started to diversify. With the skilful use of this diversified form, never before employed in the T'ang and the Five Dynasties, Liu Yung was now able to transcend such conventional motifs as sorrows of love as well as remorse over separations, and to steer away from the domestic and the personal by giving voice to a deeper and more complex layer of meaning and a wider horizon of the spiritual world. The sense of desolation and the loftiness—as embodied in Liu Yung's descriptions of excursions in the mountains and on the waters, and in his treatment of thoughts provoked by watching distant places—could hardly be found earlier in the *tz'u* repertoire of the T'ang and the Five Dynasties. But ever since the appearance of Liu Yung, both the spirit and the outlook of *tz'u* underwent a radical change, so much so that the genre was consequently revitalized. It is for this reason that the rise of the Long Tunes must be seen as a major event in the history of *tz'u*, in which Liu Yung played the role of the innovator.

Be that as it may, Liu Yung's *tz'u* was qualitatively similar to that of his predecessors despite the fact that it could very well be less restricted in scope. Basically Liu still could not leave behind the descriptions of feminine charm and amorous feelings. For further development in content, one would have to wait for the appearance of Su Shih.

In the "*tz'u* talks" of the past, Su Shih was often mentioned alongside Liu Yung. But in most cases, Su was rated above Liu. Seldom had critics realized that the two were of equal significance in the history of *tz'u*. What follows are some typical examples:

Though irregular meters (長短句) did not flourish until this dynasty, yet the vitality and sincerity which characterized our predecessors have deteriorated. Though Su Shih was not all that preoccupied with prosody, yet when he occasionally wrote in the song form, he was so totally enlightening as to open our eyes to new possibilities, with the result that practioners were greatly inspired. Nowadays young people erroneously criticized Su Shih for having changed prosodic rules in his crea-

⁷According to Li Shih-chen 李時珍's *Pen-ts'ao kang-mu* 本草綱目, the cuckoo reminds one of a sage ruler in Shu by the name of Tu Yü 杜宇. Its calls sound like "pu ju kwei ch'ü" (better go home).

tions of irregular meters, while at the same time a great majority of them either followed the path of Liu Yung or that of Ts'ao Tzu. Though the phenomenon was ludicrous, one need not laugh over it.

—Wang Cho,
Pi-chi man chih

Su Shih of Mei Shan cleansed once and for all the preoccupation with feminine charm and got rid of the overtly sentimental feelings. One is thus able to ascend high places for a distant view and troll with one's head lifted. One's unworldly aspirations and noble spirit can thus soar above the mundane world. *Hua-chien* poets are thus but attendants and Liu Yung but a footman.

—Hu Yin 胡寅,
Chiu pien tz'u hsü 酒邊詞序

The masters can be divided into two schools in the first place. Su Shih described himself by saying, "When inebriated, and writing in the cursive script, I could feel steams of wine issuing forth like breezes from my fingers." Huang T'ing-chien also said, "Su Shih's calligraphy carries with it the gale winds from the ocean." In reading Su Shih's *tz'u* one should likewise adopt a similar approach. Undoubtedly Su Shih would dismiss as fastidious any attempt to make narrow comparisons between himself and Liu Yung on minor points.

—Wang Shih-chen 王士禛,
Hua ts'ao meng-shih 花草蒙拾

Among the *tz'u* poets of the Northern Sung, only Su Shih with his outstanding achievement soars way above the worldly, making his work almost inimitable. The difference between him and his contemporaries is like that between heaven and earth. What is involved is not only artistic brilliancy. His temperament, his learning and his aspirations are simply not what the common run of artists could ever dream of.

—Wang P'eng-yün 王鵬運, as quoted by Lung Mu-hsün 龍沐勛,
T'ang Sung ming-chia tz'u-hsüan 唐宋名家詞選⁸

In the first three entries Su was placed above Liu, and the reason, as Wang P'eng-yün claimed, was due to the fact that Su's artistic brilliancy, temperament, learning and aspirations "are not what the common run of artists could ever dream of." Compared with Su, Liu was, of course, but one of "the common run of artists." Su soared in the sky like the Heavenly Horses. On the contrary, though Liu should not be compared to a harnessed horse, he was but "an ordinary pedestrian." In his *tz'u* Liu treated of the wanderings of vagrant souls and the thoughts of home on the part of stranded travelers. The unworldly aspirations and upright personality in Su, like winds in the sky and rain at sea, could nowhere be seen in Liu's *tz'u*. There is, in addition, a flaw in Liu: to tailor to the need of singing in the market place, he tended to yield at times to decadent feelings as well as low and humorous styles, to the point of being indiscriminate in his expression. That is why his works were

⁸Originally from Wang's *Pan-t'ang lao-jen i-kao* 半塘老人遺稿.

referred to by Wang Cho as "the plain and the vulgar," by Ch'en Chen-sun as "of a vulgar style"; and by Liu Hsi-tsai as stylistically not "elevated". Since *tz'u* is closely related to its author's character, Liu's style is a reflection of his temperament and his life style. His temperament was not exactly flippant, but his life style was totally decadent. In his despondency as a solitary vagabond, he spent practically all his time in enjoying the sights and sounds of dancing and singing and indulged himself in chanting poetry over sips of drinks, with the result that his unworldly aspirations and noble spirit, had he possessed any at all, had all but been dissipated. Su, by contrast, was respected all over the land, no matter whether he was in office or not. Without his knowing it, he had developed a sense of being different, of pride in addition with talent and learning, he belonged naturally to a different category from Liu Yung. These differences in life-style somehow surfaced in their works and accounted for the differences between Su's and Liu's works. Posterity accordingly rated the latter as inferior to the former. Such a rating was fully justified, for it was not until the appearance of Su's works that the horizon of *tz'u* was for the first time broadened and its status elevated. And it was not until then that *tz'u* was purged of its frivolous skills and enjoyed the same prestige as *shih* poetry and prose, and reached what Wang Cho referred to as "total enlightenment." Liu's contribution thus lay in expansions rather than enlightenment.

At the mention of Su's *tz'u*, one thinks invariably of "Recalling Antiquity at Red Cliff" (赤壁懷古), in which "the Great River flows to the east" (大江東去). Since it is a much recited classic, we need not quote it again in its entirety here, except to point out the fact that his "unworldly aspirations and noble spirit" fully surface in the lines. The piece is, moreover, characterized by the presence of the author through a process of the so-called "crystallization of personality and learning."⁹ As a matter of fact, Su Shih's ability to broaden and elevate *tz'u* as a genre can be seen in a nutshell here. *Tz'u* pieces dealing with recollections of antiquity actually existed way back in the Five Dynasties, as in "*Chiang Ch'eng tzu*" (江城子) by Ouyang Chiung 歐陽炯 (896-971):

<i>Late in the afternoon, drooping reeds lined the</i>	晚日金陵岸草平
<i>Chin-ling shores.</i>	落霞明
<i>Under the bright twilight sky,</i>	水無情
<i>The waters flowed on with indifference,</i>	六代豪華
<i>Bringing all the prosperities of the Six Dynas-</i>	暗逐逝波聲
<i>ties along</i>	惟有姑蘇臺畔月
<i>With the murmuring waves, into oblivion.</i>	如西子鏡
<i>Only the moon above the Ku-su Terrace,</i>	照江城
<i>Remained, like Hsi-shih's mirror,</i>	
<i>And shone on the riverside city.</i>	

In terms of literary techniques, it seems to be richer and more profound than Su's treatment of "The Great River Flows to the East." In comparison Su's work does

⁹ Author's note: Quoted from the biographical sketch of Su Shih in Hu Shih's *Tz'u Hsüan* 詞選.

not read quite as smoothly. Yet Ou-yang's work can be likened to an immortal in the yonder sky. No matter how profound and rich and ingenious it may be, the work does not exactly relate to us directly. Su's work, on the contrary, confronts us with all its features, beard, brows and all. It is the creation of a man, not that of a god, and therefore it is more vivid and more down to earth. With Ou-yang's work—just as with the majority of works in *Hua-chien chi*—unless the reader is gifted and well-trained in letters, he will have some difficulties in understanding and appreciating it. Su's *tz'u*, on the other hand, moves the reader practically on a physical level because it is a total manifestation of self. Chou Yü 周瑜 (公瑾) (175-210)¹⁰ then and Su Shih now seem to remotely echo and achieve a perfect communion with each other. The impact of his work is equivalent to "someone living inside the work, ready to step out," and thus is subjective and concrete, while that of the *Hua-chien* pieces is objective and imaginary, the latter being commendable more for their ingenious, rather than solid, aspects. Nelan Ch'eng-te 納蘭成德 in his *Lu-shui T'ing tsa-chih* 淶水亭雜誌 had precisely this in mind when he said, "The *tz'u* from *Hua-chien chi* is like antique jade pieces, precious but not practical."

"The Great River Flows to the East" was often taken as the hallmark of Su's works. Yet "Yung yü lo" (永遇樂), though less known, seems to be even more characteristic of Su's art:

<i>Bright moon like frost;</i>	明月如霜
<i>Fine breeze like water.</i>	好風如水
<i>The scene was clear and boundless.</i>	清景無限
<i>Fish were jumping in the winding creek,</i>	曲港跳魚
<i>And dewdrops rolling off the round lotus.</i>	圓荷瀉露
<i>All these went unappreciated, in solitude.</i>	寂寞無人見
<i>Boom—the midnight drum struck,</i>	紉如三鼓
<i>Clang—a leaf fell to the ground.</i>	錚然一葉
<i>In the dark my amorous dream was interrupted,</i>	黯黯夢雲驚斷
<i>with a start.</i>	夜茫茫
<i>The night being so vast,</i>	重尋無處
<i>It was impossible to recapture the dream;</i>	覺來小園行徧
<i>I walked through every turn of the garden.</i>	
 	天涯倦客
<i>A weary traveler at the end of the world,</i>	山中歸路
<i>Gazing at the mountain path leading home,</i>	望斷故園心眼
<i>Which lies hopelessly beyond the reach of my</i>	燕子樓空
<i>yearning eyes.</i>	佳人何在
<i>Now that the Swallow Pavilion stands empty,</i>	空鎖樓中燕
<i>Where has the beautiful lady gone,</i>	古今如夢
<i>Leaving the swallows behind the locked door?</i>	何曾夢覺
<i>Past and present are like a dream</i>	但有舊歡新怨

¹⁰The commander-in-chief of Wu and the hero (赤壁懷古).
celebrated in Su's "Recalling Antiquity at Red Cliff"

From which one never really wakes up— 異時對
A dream filled with old joys and new sorrows. 黃樓夜景
Some day he who sees the Yellow Pavilion at night, 爲予浩歎
Will certainly heave a sigh for me.

Chang Yen 張炎 in his *Tz'u yüan* 詞源 described Su's work as endowed with "elegant charm and leisurely grace," while Chou Chi in his *Chieh-ts'un-chai lu tz'u tsa chu* claimed, "I value Su Shih for his blossoming beauty." What is described as "elegant charm and leisurely grace," as well as "blossoming beauty," constitute another facet in the beauty of Su's *tz'u*, aside from its characteristic virility which most of us are well aware of. The first stanza of "Yung yü lo" is a perfect demonstration of this often neglected side. Liu Yung could easily live up to the same verbal achievement. But the second stanza, beginning from "Past and present are like a dream" is by no means what Liu Yung could ever come up to. Liu simply lacked the kind of penetrating and outstanding imaginative power to produce such lines:

Past and present are like a dream
From which one never really wakes up—
A dream filled with old joys and new sorrows.

Nor does he possess the same noble and vigorous aspirations to produce such lines:

Some day he who sees the Yellow Pavilion at night,
Will certainly heave a sigh for me.

"Yung yü lo" was written in Hsü Chou 徐州 (P'eng Ch'eng 彭城), where he served as prefect.¹¹ It is subtitled: "Written after dreaming of P'an P'an 盼盼¹² while staying overnight at the Swallow Pavilion (燕子樓) in P'eng Ch'eng." The Yellow Pavilion referred to in the poem was also built by him while at Hsü Chou. Since he held the conviction that he could rival in immortality the heroes, Bohemian scholars and beauties of the past, he was thus confident that the future visitor "will heave a sigh for me!" Clearly the reference to himself is by no means the result of a random choice of words. With regard to the Yellow Pavilion, elsewhere in a *shih* poem ("A Response to Fan Ch'un-fu" 答范淳甫) he said:

<i>Since the capital in our province produced Liu</i>	吾州下邑生劉季
<i>Pang</i>	誰數區區張與李
<i>Do ordinary Chang and Li need to be reckoned</i>	重瞳遺跡已塵埃
<i>with?</i>	惟有黃樓臨泗水
<i>The double-pupiled Hsiang Yü with his legend has</i>	而今太守老且寒
<i>since gone to dust,</i>	俠氣不洗儒生酸

¹¹In the year 1078.

cubine of Chang Chien-feng 張建封 (735-800). See James Liu, *Major Lyricists of the Northern Sung* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1974), p. 133.

¹²A beautiful singer and dancer who was the con-

accessible at times. The differentiations between themes and variations are but categories devised for the convenience of discussions. No value judgment is implied.) Su Shih created *tz'u* in the mode of *shih* and in so doing broadened the horizon and elevated the status of *tz'u*. Yet strictly speaking, *tz'u* did not owe its qualitative development to Su, an act which was to be consummated in the hands of Liu and Chou and their school. Though Su was a renowned master, he was not necessarily adept in the musical aspect of the art. Liu Yung, on the contrary, was an expert in the true sense of the word. Both in prosody and in form he did his best in employing new styles and new tunes as a means of laying the cornerstone for subsequent development in quality. That this "ordinary pedestrian" was able to stand on equal footing with the "soaring Heavenly Horses" was precisely due to this fact. Later Chou Pang-yen inherited the form from Liu Yung while at the same time surpassing the master in aspirations. In the same manner, Hsin Ch'i-chi took the content over from Su while at the same time putting a tighter rein on prosody than his master. The two late-comers were thus canonized as two saints in the genre. (Chou had previously been referred to as a *tz'u* saint, but Hsin's sainthood was unheard of before. One way or another, there can be more than one saint in the first instance.) It was not until the appearances of Chou and Hsin that *tz'u* flourished and reached its apex. The tasks of taking over from the past and of paving the way for the future fell on the shoulders of Liu and Su. Therefore I believe that the development of *tz'u* in form must be attributed to Liu while the growth of *tz'u* in content must be credited to Su.
