

## 1


 THE FOUR-WORD POEMS

## 1 HANGING CLOUDS

## 停雲

序 停雲，思親友也。罇湛新醪，園列初榮。願言不從，歎息彌襟。

		I		
	靄靄停雲		靜寄東軒	
	濛濛時雨		春醪獨撫	
	八表同昏		良朋悠邈	
4	平路伊阻		搔首延佇	8
		II		
	停雲靄靄		有酒有酒	
	時雨濛濛		閒飲東牕	
	八表同昏		願言懷人	
4	平陸成江		舟車靡從	8
		III		
	東園之樹		人亦有言	
	枝條載榮		日月于征	
	競用新好		安得促席	
4	以招余情		說彼平生	8

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2

## IV

	翩翩飛鳥	豈無他人	
	息我庭柯	念子實多	
	斂翮閒止	願言不獲	
4	好聲相和	抱恨如何	8

*Additional Notes*

**PREFACE.** T'ao here and in II, 7 and IV, 7 uses 言 in imitation of the *Songs*. In the *Songs* 言 is actually a conjunctive particle (cf. 焉, 云, 曰) but the Mao-Cheng Hsüan interpretation of it is as the first person pronoun. It is hard to say whether or not T'ao is following this 'incorrect' understanding, because his examples like those in the *Songs* are susceptible of either interpretation.

**I, 8.** Adapted from *Song* 42. 1: 愛而不見, 搔首踟躕 'I love her but do not go to see her;/I scratch my head and hesitate.'

**III, 5.** This line occurs five times in the *Ta-ya* section of the *Songs* (255, 8; 256, 1; 257, 9; 260, 5&6).

**III, 7.** The expression *ts'u hsi* perhaps derives immediately from Tso Ssu's *Shu-tu fu* (*Wen-hsüan* 4, 29b): 合樽促席 'Place side by side the wine-jars and set close the mats.' There is, however, a much earlier occurrence in the *Liu-yen shih* of Tung-fang Shuo (quoted in Li Shan commentary, *ibid.*).

**IV, 5.** This line occurs in *Songs* 87, 1&2; 119, 1&2; 120, 1&2. It is probably *Song* 120 which T'ao had in mind. There the following lines are respectively: 維子之故 'It is only with you that I have an old friendship' and 維子之好 'It is only you that I love.'

**IV, 7.** This line had been used by Hsi K'ang (*Tseng Hsiu-ts'ai ju-chün shih* 贈秀才入軍詩 III; *Wen-hsüan* 24, 11a) and Chang Heng (see Li Shan commentary, *ibid.*).

## 2 THE REVOLUTION OF THE SEASONS

## 時運

序 時運，游暮春也。春服既成，景物斯和，偶景獨遊，欣慨交心。

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Excerpt

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3

## I

	邁邁時運	山滌餘靄	
	穆穆良朝	宇曖微霄	
	襲我春服	有風自南	
4	薄言東郊	翼彼新苗	8

## II

	洋洋平津	人亦有言	
	乃漱乃濯	稱心易足*	
	邈邈遐景	揮茲一觴	
4	載欣載矚	陶然自樂	8

\* 此句曾集本作稱心而言，人亦易足，註云一作人亦有言，稱心易足。今從之。

## III

	延目中流	我愛其靜	
	悠想清沂*	寤寐交揮	
	童冠齊業	但恨殊世	
4	閒詠以歸	邈不可追	8

\* 悠想，曾集本作悠悠，註云一作悠想。今從之。

## IV

	斯晨斯夕	清琴橫牀	
	言息其廬	濁酒半壺	
	花藥分列	黃唐莫逮	
4	林竹翳如	慨獨在余	8

*Additional Notes*

**I, 1.** The *locus classicus* of the reduplicated compound *mai-mai* is in *Song* 229, 5 where it is defined by the Mao commentary as 不說 'with displeasure' (cf. Karlgren's discussion under gloss 726). In view of the close imitation of the *Songs* in T'ao's four-word poems, he might be expected to use the compound in this sense. From the context, however, he seems to have formed a compound in the sense of the simple character as used, e.g. in *Song* 114, 2: 日月其邁 'the days and months, how they pass!'

**I, 4.** *Po yen*, see Additional Note to *Hanging Clouds*, preface, for discussion of *yen*. Mao (*Song* 8) explains *po* as a particle, whereas Cheng Hsüan (*Song* 273) interprets it as 'for the first time'. The relatively weak meaning of both interpretations would make it difficult in any case to say whether T'ao and others were following either, but I suspect that they in fact treated *po yen* as a unit without analysis and used it for its sound and archaic flavour.

**I, 7–8.** These lines are founded on *Song* 32, 1: 凱風自南，吹彼棘心 'The joyful wind comes from the south;/It blows on the heart of that jujube tree.' The word *i* is no doubt descriptive of the wind blowing over the young shoots, but it does not seem proper to give it the meaning of 'cause to wave' (披拂) as Ting Fu-pao does. Particularly in view of the underlying *Song* reference to a loving mother, there is good reason to understand it in its common meaning of 'aid', 'protect.'

**II, 5.** See note to *Hanging Clouds*, III, 5.

**II, 7.** *Hui* has a literal meaning of 'shake out the drops from a wine-cup.'

**III, 6.** *Wu-mei* 'waking or sleeping' is a cliché of the *Songs*, see Nos. 1 and 145. The expression *chiao hui* presents some difficulty. Suzuki Torao has an apparently neat explanation that it signifies 'an exchange of wine-cups'. He thus makes *hui* a nominal form with a sense derived from its use in II, 7 above. There are, however, two examples of *chiao hui* in the *Wen-hsüan* (34, 28a, Ts'ao Chih, *Ch'i ch'i* 七啟 and 57, 5b P'an Yüeh, *Hsia-hou ch'ang-shih lei* 夏侯常侍誄). In these examples ('lutes and citherns are played together' and 'floods of tears are poured out in confusion') *chiao* is adverb and *hui* verb. The present example would then require an analogous translation.

**III, 7–8.** These lines may be reminiscent of *Ch'u-tz'u* 4, 21a (*Chiu-chang*, *Huai-sha*, st. 13) 古固有不並兮，豈知其故也，湯禹久遠兮，邈不可慕也 'From of old truly there have been those not in accord with their age./How can we know why it is so?/T'ang and Yü are remote in time./Far off and not to be longed for.'

**IV, 7.** Cf. last note.

### 3 THE TREE IN BLOSSOM

#### 榮木

序 榮木，念將老也。日月推遷，已復九夏。總角聞道，白首無成。

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Excerpt

[More information](#)

	<i>The four-word poems</i>		5
		I	
4	采采榮木 結根于茲 晨耀其華 夕已喪之		人生若寄 顛頼有時 靜言孔念 中心悵而
		II	
4	采采榮木 于茲託根 繁華朝起 慨暮不存		貞脆由人 禍福無門 匪道曷依 匪善奚敦
		III	
4	嗟予小子 稟茲固陋 徂年既流 業不增舊		志彼不舍 安此日富 我之懷矣 怛焉内疚
		IV	
4	先師遺訓 余豈云墜 四十無聞 斯不足畏		脂我名車 策我名驥 千里雖遙 孰敢不至

**Additional Notes**

**TITLE.** Ku Chih identified the tree (or shrub) of the title as the *mu-chin* 木堇 (also written as 木槿), the hibiscus, noting that *Li-chi*, *Yüeh-ling* (= 5, 13a) states that the hibiscus is in bloom in the middle summer month (fifth month), which agrees with T'ao's preface, and also that *Shuo-wen* sub *shun* 舜 (= p. 21) states that the hibiscus comes out in the morning and drops in the evening, which agrees with ll.3–4 of T'ao's first stanza. While Ku might even be literally correct that the hibiscus was in bloom in T'ao's garden, I doubt whether the poet intended to be so categorical. *Jung* ('blossom') with its metaphorical meaning of 'glory' and its immediately suggested antonym of 'fading' ('decline') was very much to his purpose.

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6

**PREFACE.** The use of *chIU-hsia* as an expression for 'summer' (cf. *chIU-ch'un* 九春 = 'spring') arises from a season having ninety (nine periods of ten) days.

**I, 1.** 'Luxuriant' follows the definition of the Mao commentary to *Song* 129, 3 (= 萋萋).

**I, 2.** *Chieh-ken* ('planted its roots') may be a reminiscence of *Old Poem*, VIII, 1-2: 冉冉孤生竹，結根泰山阿 'Bending is the solitary growing bamboo;/It has planted its roots on a slope of T'ai-shan.'

**I, 5.** The oldest extant example of this frequently expressed sentiment appears to be in a fragment of the third century BC philosophical work *Shih-tzu* (ap. Li Shan commentary to *Wen-hsüan* 29, 2b): 老來子曰人生於天地之間寄也 'Lao-lai-tzu said: "Man's life between Heaven and Earth is like a sojourning."' It occurs in *Old Poem*, XIII, 1.13: 人生忽如寄, but the source which may have been uppermost in the poet's mind is Wei Wen-ti (Ts'ao P'i) whose *Shan-tsai hsing* 善哉行 (*Wen-hsüan* 27, 25a-b), a poem generally reminiscent of the *Nineteen Old Poems* and in intention different from T'ao's, provides a closely parallel expression here in 人生如寄，多憂何爲 'Man's life is like a sojourning;/Why has he many cares?' and also in 策我良馬 'I whip up my excellent horses' one for line 6 of T'ao's fourth stanza.

**I, 7-8.** These lines are modelled on *Song* 58, 5: 靜言思之，躬自悼矣 'Quietly I brood over it;/I grieve for myself.' *Erh* is a suffix here like 然，如。

**II, 6.** is a quotation from *Tso-chuan*, Hsiang twenty-third year 禍福無門，唯人所召 'For ill or good fortune there are no gates; they are invited in by man.'

**III, 1.** Suzuki Torao suggests (and several subsequent Japanese commentators have followed him) that T'ao used the expression *hsiao-tzu* in the sense of 'disciple' *vis-à-vis* Confucius, the 'former master' of the fourth stanza, but the whole line is a cliché of self-depreciation in the four-word poems of the period so that it is probably unnecessary to make this connection.

**III, 5.** The possibility of a sort of pun between the two references of *pu she* 'not ceasing' has been discussed in the commentary to the poem. The existence of a variant reading 忘 for 志, although it might simply be the result of graphic confusion, seems more likely to have come from an editor who took the reference to be to *Lun-yü* 9, 16 and thus thought 志 an inappropriate verb.

**III, 6.** 'Daily growing richer' is derived from *Song* 196, 2: 人之齊聖，飲酒溫克，

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7

彼昏不知，壹醉日富 ‘Men who are correct and wise/Are mild and restrained in drinking wine/Those stupid and ignorant men,/When once they are drunk, think themselves daily growing richer.’ Most commentators have seen the reference of this allusion as being to drinking, thus interpreting the line as ‘I remain content with getting drunk.’ This seems to me to be inadequate to the context and to take little account of the moral exhortation of the original *Song*. It seems more likely that T’ao is using the allusion to criticize himself for foolish self-satisfaction and self-deception.

III, 7. This line is taken from *Song* 33, 1: 我之懷矣，自詒伊阻 ‘Oh, you whom I cherish,/You have given me this trouble.’ Its reading has to be slightly adapted to T’ao’s context.

III, 8. Underlying the expression *nei-chiu* is probably *Lun-yü* 12, 4: 內省不疚，夫何憂何懼 ‘If he searches into himself and finds no sickness, at what should he be troubled, what should he fear?’

IV, 3–4. The full quotation of *Lun-yü* 9, 22 which T’ao abbreviates to fit his line is: 四五十而無聞焉斯亦不是畏也已。

#### 4 TO MY GRANDFATHER’S COUSIN THE DUKE OF CH’ANG-SHA

#### 贈長沙公族祖\*

序 余族，長沙公為族祖<sup>+</sup>，同出大司馬，昭穆既遠，以為路人。經過潯陽，臨別贈此。

## I

4	同源分流 人易世疏 慨然寤歎 念茲厥初	禮服遂悠 歲月眇徂 感彼行路 眷然躊躇	8
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\* 各本作贈長沙公族祖，陶注本刪族祖。

<sup>+</sup> 序各本作長沙公於余為族祖，或又云一作余於長沙公為族祖，今改余於作余族。

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8

## II

	於穆令族	爰采春花	
	允構斯堂	載警秋霜	
	諧氣冬暄	我曰欽哉	
4	映懷圭璋	實宗之光	8

## III

	伊余云邁	遙遙三湘	
	在長忘同	滔滔九江	
	笑言未久	山川阻遠	
4	逝焉西東	行李時通	8

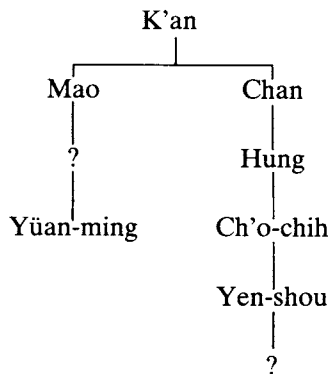
## IV

	何以寫心	敬哉離人	
	貽茲話言	臨路悽然	
	進簣雖微	款襟或遠	
4	終焉爲山	音問其先	8

**Additional Commentary**

The text of the preface, as transmitted appears in two versions: 余於長沙 [some add 公] 爲族祖, which is the reading of the partially preserved early T'ang anthology *Wen-kuan tz'u-lin* (AD 658) chapter 152, 8b and which is noted as a variant in the Southern Sung editions of the collected works; and 長沙公於余爲族祖, which is the reading of the Southern Sung editions. The title of the poem appears in all early editions as 贈長沙公族祖.

Wu Jen-chieh (sub Yüan-chia 2) adopted the first alternative for the preface and proposed that the title should be emended to 贈長沙公族孫. Wu believed that the Duke of Ch'ang-sha, thus designated, was the grandson of the third duke Ch'o-chih. His conception of the relationship would have been:





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[More information](#)*The four-word poems*

9

(For the descent of the Dukes of Ch'ang-sha from T'ao K'an, see *Chin shu* 66, 10b).

The name of this supposed grandson of Ch'o-chih is unknown and such a person could not legitimately have been addressed as 'Ch'ang-sha', since the family's hereditary title was reduced at the beginning of Sung, while still held by Yen-shou, to that of Marquis of Li-ling hsien 醴陵縣侯 (*Sung shu* 3, 2a; *Chin shu* 66, 10b. has Marquis of Wu-ch'ang 吳昌侯). Wu thought that Yüan-ming was continuing to use the Chin title. His argument thus rests on two unsupported beliefs, viz. that there was a son of Yen-shou, who would fit the description of the poem and that the poet would have overtly shown hostility to the Sung by using a Chin title. It is not clear why he chose 425 as a date for the poem.

Wu's hypothesis did not find favour and an alternative proposal was made by Chang Yin 張纘 in his critique of Wu's *nien-p'u* (*nien-p'u pien-cheng* 年譜辨證, quoted in Li Kung-huan's commentary to this poem) that the first sentence of the preface ends at 族, i.e. 'I am a kinsman of the Duke of Ch'ang-sha' or 'the Duke of Ch'ang-sha is a kinsman of mine' (with such punctuation the reading ceases to be important). This view has been widely adopted, and it has been further generally held that the 族祖 of the title is an interpolation which should be removed.

Here there is a good example of the weakness of traditional Chinese scholarship in some aspects of textual criticism. As is suggested elsewhere in this study, Chinese scholars seem often to overlook the probability that substantial text variants have a relationship of which one ought to attempt an explanation. Thus one cannot proceed as if the variants offered an entirely free choice to the editor. While one might argue, in the present case, that the 族祖 in the title is an interpolation by someone who misunderstood a text reading 長沙公於余為族祖, if one does so, one leaves the appearance of the reading 余於長沙[公]為族祖 wholly unexplained. For a serious text critic this is not permissible. If indeed the relationship of the variant readings to each other and to the title is considered, then the probability will be that the reading 余於長沙[公]為族祖 is the earlier and the reading 長沙公於余為族祖 is the later, since the latter could have arisen from an editorial attempt to achieve congruity between preface and title, whereas the former could not. By the same reasoning the words 族祖 in the title would have stood there *before* the appearance of the reading 長沙公於余為族祖. Thus the common view that 族祖 is an interpolation into the title from the reading 長沙公於余為族祖 is unlikely and it is reasonable to conclude that at an earlier stage the text read:

(Title) 贈長沙公族祖

(Preface) 余於長沙[公]為族祖

This is the actual reading of the *Wen-kuan tz'u-lin* version (without 公 in the

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preface) and of course an apparently unintelligible reading. Nevertheless, it is this reading that should be the starting point for a solution of the problem.

An ingenious solution was offered by the Japanese scholar Matsuzaki Meifuku in the postface to his edition of T'ao's works (also quoted in Hashikawa Tokio, *T'ao-chi pan-pen yüan-liu k'ao*, 26a–b). Matsuzaki believed that if the intended meaning of the title was 'To My Grandfather's Cousin the Duke of Ch'ang-sha', the order of words was incorrect. He suggested, therefore, that the poem's title 贈長沙公 had originally been followed, after an appropriate space, by 族祖淵明, i.e. To the Duke of Ch'ang-sha . . . by his grandfather's cousin Yüan-ming. Later compilers accidentally omitted 淵明, and 族祖 became joined to the title. While Matsuzaki's observation of the word order of such titles is generally accurate, I can cite at least one other example from the period, which matches the present case. In the same chapter of *Wen-kuan tz'u-lin* (ch. 152) that contains *To the Duke of Ch'ang-sha* there is also a poem by Hsiao T'ung, the compiler of the *Wen-hsüan*, *To My Younger Brother the Governor of Hsü-chou* 示徐州弟. Thus Matsuzaki's objection to the word order of the title is not conclusive. Besides, in the matter of the identity of the addressee he returns to the unsatisfactory proposal of Wu Jen-chieh.

My own attempt at a solution is very simple, although its acceptance would imply that T'ao K'an was not the poet's great-grandfather but his great-great-grandfather on the paternal side. I suggest that the title 贈長沙公族祖 and the reading of the preface 余於長沙[公]為族祖 can be made congruent by the emendation of 於 to 族. The corruption of 族 to 於 would account satisfactorily for the subsequent incorrect editorial activity. If we thus take the title as it appears in every early edition to be correct, it follows that T'ao Yüan-ming's grandfather was a grandson, not a son of T'ao K'an. For, if the descent of the Dukes of Ch'ang-sha given in *Chin shu* 66, 10b is correct, only if this were the case, could any of them stand in *tsu-tsu* relationship to Yüan-ming and he would have to be T'ao Hung. When one considers that one hundred and six years separate the birth of K'an (259) and Yüan-ming (365), it is by no means impossible for the latter to have been a fourth rather than a third generation descendant of K'an on the paternal side. Nor need this conflict with his being a third generation descendant on the maternal side (for which we have his own statement in his biography of Meng Chia, see p.145), if we bear in mind the great size and probable time spread of T'ao K'an's family of seventeen sons and at least ten daughters. If T'ao Mao, Yüan-ming's grandfather, was a grandson, not a son of K'an, this also can clear away a long-debated problem (see pp. 176–77).

### Additional Notes

I, 1. This line appears first in Pan Ku's *Yu-t'ung fu* 幽通賦 (*Wen-hsüan* 14,