

A Critical Study of the Origins of *Chüeh-chü* Poetry

INTRODUCTION

Stated simply, a literary genre is a code of conventions and expectations shared by author and reader; a genre is identifiable when literary works are composed and interpreted in relation to similar previous works. China's earliest literary criticism dealt with genres. The "Preface to the Mao Text of the *Book of Poetry*" 毛詩序 (ca. 202 BC-9 AD) gives "Six Aspects" 六義 of poetry, three of which ("airs" *feng* 風, "odes" *ya* 雅, and "hymns" *sung* 頌) refer to generic classifications.¹ "On Literature" 論文 by Ts'ao P'i 曹丕 (187-226) and "Rhyme-prose on Literature" 文賦 by Lu Chi 陸機 (261-303) match genres with ideal styles of language. *The Literary Mind and the Carving of Dragons* 文心雕龍 by Liu Hsieh 劉勰 (ca. 465-ca. 520) contains twenty chapters (out of a total of fifty) solely devoted to describing literary genres; and *Evaluation of Poetry* 詩品 by Chung Jung 鍾嶸 (ca. 465-518) is structured entirely by generic considerations—only lyric poetry (*shih* 詩) in pentasyllabic line-lengths is included. Yet these critical works described literary genres almost entirely in general qualitative terms. Critics made relatively little attempt to define genres in terms of specific formal characteristics. Formal compositional methods were left by-and-large to an implicit agreement between author and reader. Literary forms—comprising length, line-length, rhyme schemes, phonetic and rhetorical patterns—were not fixed, and there was great variation.²

Literary criticism beginning in the T'ang (618-907) era transformed the specific methods of composition (*fa* 法) into a major topic; genres came to be defined partly by strict rules. T'ang-era "how-to" manuals offered mastery over the complex "recent-style verse" (*chin-t'i shih* 近體詩) forms, which were the most important of contemporary poetic developments.³ A similarly functional

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¹ The other three of the "Six Aspects" are types of poetic language: "narrative-descriptive" (*fu* 賦), "similic" (*pi* 比), and "associative" (*hsing* 興).

² E.g., the rhyme-prose (*fu* 賦) form changed substantially over the centuries. See William Nienhauser, ed., *Indiana Companion to Traditional Chinese Literature* (Bloomington: Indiana U.P., 1986), pp. 388-91.

³ Selections from these T'ang manuals are in Wang Li-ch'i 王利器, ed., *Wen-ching mi-fu-lun chiao-chu* 文鏡秘府論校注 (Peking: She-hui k'o-hsüeh, 1983).

goal remained central to the "poetry talks" (*shih-hua* 詩話) tradition of the Sung (960-1279) and later dynasties. Political and social reasons help explain the change in critical approach. For instance, T'ang scholars became proficient in poetry composition because it had become a prerequisite for both the imperial examinations and acceptance in elite society. Thus, critics took on an important role in education. Although they did not invent "recent-style verse," at least they influenced the standardization and perpetuation of its forms.

The most common forms of recent-style verse are the eight-line "regulated-verse" (*lü-shih* 律詩) and the four-line "cut-off lines" (*chüeh-chü* 絕句).⁴ Both were commonly written in pentasyllabic and heptasyllabic line-lengths. The *lü-shih* forms (the pentasyllabic *wu-lü* 五律 and the heptasyllabic *ch'i-lü* 七律) have been extensively studied in recent years, but the *chüeh-chü* forms (the pentasyllabic *wu-chüeh* 五絕 and the heptasyllabic *ch'i-chüeh* 七絕) have received relatively less attention. The goal of this article is to present and explain the essential materials concerning *chüeh-chü* origins that are found in both traditional poetry criticism and seminal articles from the 1940s.⁵ Critics attempted to answer two questions about *chüeh-chü* origins: what are the sources of the *chüeh-chü* genres as practiced in the T'ang; and what is the etymology of the term *chüeh-chü*? The critical material is complicated by the fact that views on etymology could be influenced by assumptions about the T'ang genres, and vice versa; no one source is definitive. Thus gaps remain in the picture presented in the critical literature. This article is meant as a preliminary to a larger study of *chüeh-chü* stylistic development.

Because *chüeh-chü* were often described in relation to *lü-shih*, it will help to summarize the formal elements of both, as put into practice during the T'ang.⁶ Certain elements were common to both:

1. brevity, which increased the use of ambiguity and symbolism in order to project meaning beyond the literal words;

⁴ A less common form was the "extended *lü-shih*" (*p'ai-lü* 排律).

⁵ A note on terminology: following most commentators, I use the term "*chüeh-chü*" broadly, referring to virtually any four-line poem, or quatrain, from the T'ang or later (and for some pentasyllabic quatrains of the late-Six Dynasties, as long as they are tonally regulated). A few commentators use the term more narrowly, and where appropriate I explain their usage. The word "quatrain" is used even more inclusively, to refer to any four-line poem from any period. Within any genre, differing "styles" of composition can be distinguished by linguistic or thematic characteristics.

⁶ For a more complete discussion of rules, including a comprehensive explanation of tonal prosody, see Nienhauser, ed., *Indiana Companion*, pp. 682-89. On *lü-shih*, see Yu-kung Kao, "The Aesthetics of Regulated Verse," in Shuen-fu Lin and Stephen Owen, eds., *The Vitality of the Lyric Voice: Shih Poetry from the Late Han to the T'ang* (Princeton: Princeton U.P., 1986) pp. 332-85; for useful discussions of *chüeh-chü*, see Shuen-fu Lin, "The Nature of the Quatrain from the Late Han to the High T'ang," in *Vitality of the Lyric Voice*, pp. 296-331; and Daniel Hsieh, "The Origins and Development of Jueju Verse Chinese Poetry" (unpub. Ph.D., U. of Washington, 1991).

2. lines containing a caesura before the final trisyllable and organized in couplets;
3. the occurrence of rhymes at the ends of even-numbered lines (and sometimes the first line);
4. fixed length, which allows a predictable functional hierarchy of couplets;
5. a requirement for tonal prosodic patterning, in which characters of unstressed, "level 平," tone alternated with those of the stressed, "oblique 仄," tone (comprising "rising 上," "departing 去," and "entering" 入 tones) on the principle of maximum contrast and symmetry;⁷
6. a preference for dense language, in particular avoidance of "empty words" (*hsü-tzu* 虛字—grammatical particles, affixes, and many adverbs) in favor of "full words" (*shih-tzu* 實字—primarily nouns, verbs and adjectives); and
7. a tendency to merge themes of the natural world with those of personal states-of-mind—often described as a "fusion of feeling and scene" 情景交融.

However, there are major differences between *lü-shih* and *chüeh-chü*, most evident in the relative importance of "parallel" versus "continuous" couplets.⁸ In a parallel couplet, words in the first line are complemented with corresponding second-line words that have similar syntactic function but contrasting meaning. Each line is independent, yet tied to the other through a series of equivalences. Nominal phrases dominate, making parallel couplets ideal for concise imagistic description of a scene, and often resulting in fragmentary syntax. The tense opposition of components creates an enclosed quality which can be termed "circular," or "static." In a continuous couplet, a single idea is carried through from one line to the next, either through strong syntax (the proscription against *hsü-tzu* is less evident here) or through implied progression (temporal, logical, hypothetical). Verbs dominate, making continuous couplets ideal for narration; the forward momentum from subject to predicate gives such couplets a "linear" or "dynamic" quality.

In *lü-shih*, the first couplet, which is most often nonparallel, usually just introduces the topic. The second and third couplets, where parallelism is required, are the heart of the poem. Only the final couplet is expected to be continuous, so as to provide context for the preceding description. As a result,

⁷ A small subset of *chüeh-chü* without tonal regulation, often called "ancient *chüeh-chü*" 古絕句, was current in the T'ang.

⁸ See Yu-kung Kao, "The Aesthetics of Regulated Verse," *Vitality of the Lyric Voice*, pp. 356-61. On the contrast between "imagistic" and "propositional" language, see Yu-kung Kao and Tsu-lin Mei, "Syntax, Diction and Imagery in T'ang Poetry," *HJAS* 31 (1971), pp. 49-136.

the focus of most *lü-shih* is in the central parallel couplets, thus the overall effect is circular. The *chüeh-chü* forms favored continuous couplets; parallelism is sometimes employed in the introductory first couplet, but almost never in the dominant second, and final, couplet. Thus the overall effect is linear.

This study presents three distinct arguments regarding the origins of *chüeh-chü*, based on scattered comments in *shih-hua* texts.

The first two arguments stem from critical attempts to explain origins through the meaning of the term "cut-off lines" (*chüeh-chü*). One group of critics believed that *chüeh-chü* were "cut-off" sections of *lü-shih*; their opinion is termed the "truncated *lü-shih*" view. Another believed that *chüeh-chü* referred to poems in which each line is syntactically isolated and end-stopped—"cut-off" from surrounding lines; their opinion is termed the "isolated lines" view. These two views contain perceptive and influential observations concerning *chüeh-chü* styles and structures. But they have no historical basis and must be rejected.

Beginning in Ming times (after about 1400), a minority of commentators introduced a third and more convincing view, which attacked the question of *chüeh-chü* origins from a literary-historical perspective, studying the earliest examples of quatrain-length poems to trace their development, and looking for the earliest usage of the term *chüeh-chü*. Twentieth-century articles by authors such as Lo Ken-tse 羅根澤 and Sun K'ai-ti 孫楷第 fall squarely within this literary-historical tradition. Below, these are systematically presented in their turn.

CHÜEH-CHÜ AS "TRUNCATED LÜ-SHIH"

The prevailing view, still held as a commonplace assumption by many today, is that the *chüeh-chü* forms are simply cut-off versions of the eight-line *lü-shih* forms. Besides giving meaning to the term, the view provides a convenient source for the quatrain-length *chüeh-chü* and a reason why *chüeh-chü* follow the rules of tonal prosody. The prevailing view also places both the term *chüeh-chü* and the quatrain form itself historically later than the *lü-shih* forms, which developed late in the Six Dynasties as *wu-lü* and from early- to high-T'ang as *ch'i-lü*.⁹ Moreover, it gives inordinate importance to the presence or absence of parallelism in *chüeh-chü*.

The first commentator known to have stated the "truncated *lü-shih*" view systematically was Fu Jo-chin 傅若金 (1304-1343):

⁹ I follow the usual literary division of the T'ang into four stylistic periods: early (to about 710), high (to 780), middle (to 830), and late (to 906). This periodization, only imprecisely chronological,

Chüeh-chü are cut-off lines (*chüeh-chü* 絕句者截句也). Poems in which the last two lines are parallel cut off the first four lines of regulated-verse; those in which the first two lines are parallel cut off the last four lines of regulated-verse; those in which all lines are parallel cut off the middle four lines; and those in which no lines are parallel cut off two lines each from the beginning and end.¹⁰

Hsü Shih-tseng 徐師曾 (1517-1580) repeated Fu's assertion, and cited textual evidence claimed by him to have traced the idea back to the T'ang. Hsü noted that Li Han 李漢 (fl. 824) included *chüeh-chü* under the *lü-shih* heading when compiling Han Yü's 韓愈 (768-824) poetry collection, *Ch'ang-li chi* 昌黎集.¹¹

According to the critic Wu Ch'iao 吳喬 (1611-1695), at least three other T'ang collections—the two separate *Ch'ang-ch'ing chi* 長慶集 by Yüan Chen 元稹 (779-831) and Po Chü-i 白居易 (772-846), and Tu Mu's 杜牧 (803-853) collection—do likewise.¹² In addition to this evidence from the organizational style of T'ang collections is the fact that "little regulated-verse" (*hsiao lü-shih* 小律詩) was used as an alternative term for *chüeh-chü* beginning at least in the middle-T'ang. Po Chü-i used the term at least twice. In a poem entitled "Reciting *chüeh-chü* by Yüan Eight on the River" 江上吟元八絕句 Po writes, "In deep places on the great river while the moon shines bright 大江深處月明時, / For a whole night I recite your 'little regulated-verse' 一夜吟君小律詩."¹³ He used

first appeared in Kao Ping 高樛 (1350-1423), *T'ang-shih p'in-hui* 唐詩品彙 (Shanghai: Ku-chi, 1988), based on the ideas of Lin Hung 林鴻 (ca. 1340-ca. 1400).

¹⁰ Fu Jo-chin's *Shih-fa cheng-lun* 詩法正論 appears in a Yüan-period collection titled *Shih-fa yüan-liu* 詩法源流, which includes an incomplete version of the well-known critic Yang Tsai's 楊載 (1271-1323) *Shih-fa chia-shu* 詩法家數. See *Shih-fa yüan-liu* (edn. kept in National Central Library; rpt. Taipei: Kuang-wen, 1973), p. 38. Ch'iu Chao-ao 仇兆鰲 (1638-1713 or after) quotes an earlier Yüan scholar, Fan P'eng 范梈 (1272-1330), on the "truncated *lü-shih*" opinion. See Ch'iu Chao-ao, ed., *Tu Shao-ling chi hsiang-chu* 杜少陵集詳注 (Peking: Wen-hsüeh ku-chi, 1955) 1, p. 25. However, such a statement does not appear in any of Fan's available works.

¹¹ Hsü Shih-tseng, ed. Lo Ken-tse, *Wen-t'i ming-pien hsi-shuo* 文體明辨序說 (rpt. Hong Kong: Taiping, 1977), p. 108. This *shih-hua* is published together with another: Wu Na 吳納 (1372-1457), ed. Yü Pei-shan 于北山, *Wen-chang pien-t'i* 文章辨體. See Wu's comment (p. 57) on the same subject. Hsü's comment can be found in Fu Shou-sun 富壽孫 and Liu Pai-shan 劉拜山, comps., *Ch'ien-shou T'ang-jen chüeh-chü* 千首唐人絕句 (Shanghai: Ku-chi, 1985; hereafter *Fu/Liu*), p. 946. An excellent compendium of *shih-hua* comments about *chüeh-chü* is in *Fu/Liu*, pp. 943-1051. A shorter version is idem, *T'ang-jen chüeh-chü p'ing-chu* 唐人絕句評注 (Hong Kong: Chung-hua, 1980), in which the *shih-hua* quotations, slightly less complete, are on pp. 288-372.

¹² Wu Ch'iao argued that these three collections, plus Han Yü's *Ch'ang-li chi*, were reliable as evidence because early editions were available, or editions based on early editions. Thus the poems in these four follow their original order. Wu Ch'iao, *Wei-lu shih-hua* 圍爐詩話 (Ch'ing copy held in National Central Library; rpt. Taipei: Kuangwen, 1973) 1, pp. 71-72; *Fu/Liu*, p. 946.

¹³ Po Chü-i, *Po Chü-i chi* 白居易集 (Peking: Chung-hua, 1979; rpt. Taipei: Li-jen, 1980), p. 314. Also cited by Chou Hsiao-t'ien 周燾天, *T'ang chüeh-chü shih-shih* 唐絕句史 (Chung-king: Ch'ung-ch'ing, 1987), p. 13. The term "little regulated-verse" also appears in Shen Kua 沈括 (1029-1093), ed. Hu Tao-ching 胡道靜, *Hsin chiao-cheng Meng-ch'i pi-t'an* 新校正夢溪筆談 (Peking: Chung-hua, 1957);

the term again in a statement of literary criticism sent to his friend Yüan Chen, the well-known "Letter to Yüan Nine 與元九書."¹⁴ However, the arrangement of these literary collections and the alternative term are not convincing evidence that T'ang writers believed the "truncated *lü-shih*" view. T'ang compilers may have included *chüeh-chü* under *lü-shih* simply because it is tonally regulated; the term *lü-shih* in these cases can be taken in its more general meaning of "regulated poetry," rather than as specifically referring to the eight-line *lü-shih* form. The same can be argued for the term "little regulated-verse." This is Wu Ch'iao's assumption; he explains the inclusion of *chüeh-chü* among regulated-verse in the four T'ang collections as evidence that T'ang literati understood *chüeh-chü* as "two-rhyme *lü-shih* 二韻律詩."¹⁵ Besides these few pieces of indirect evidence, no other material indicating a T'ang origin for the truncated *lü-shih* view has come to light.

The earliest specific evidence of the "truncated *lü-shih*" view before Fu's time comes from Chou Pi 周弼 (fl. 1228). Chou referred to quatrains as *chieh-chü* 截句—a term post-Sung critics used only in relation to quatrains as reduced-length *lü-shih*.¹⁶ It is possible that Chou Pi had the view in mind, although the context is not clear. Ming (1368–1644) and Ch'ing (1644–1911) writers who disagreed with the "truncated *lü-shih*" view frequently assumed that it was an invention of the Sung era.¹⁷

There is one other bit of evidence pointing to a Sung origin for the "truncated *lü-shih*" view, but it is questionable. In a preface to his *Chüeh-chü pien-t'i* 絕句辨體, the literatus Yang Shen 楊慎 (1488–1559) quotes *Chin-chen shih-ko* 金針詩格 and names as its author the poet Mei Yao-ch'en 梅堯臣 (1002–1060). Yang states the "truncated *lü-shih*" view in wording similar to that of Fu Jo-chin:

Mei Yao-ch'en's *Chin-chen shih-ko* says, 'Chüeh-chü are cut-off lines (*chieh-chü*). Poems in which the four lines are not parallel cut off the beginning and ending four lines of *lü-shih*; those in which all four lines are parallel cut off the middle four lines of *lü-shih*; those in which the beginning is parallel and the ending is not parallel cut off the last four lines of *lü-shih*; those in which

rpt. Hong Kong: Chung-hua, 1975) 14, p. 153. The quote begins, "Although 'little regulated-verse' was a petty artform, it was not possible to become a master of poetry if one could not reach subtlety in the practice of it, so men of T'ang practiced it as a lifetime occupation."

¹⁴ Po, *Po Chü-i chi*, p. 965; Chou, *T'ang chüeh-chü shih*, p. 13.

¹⁵ Wu, *Wei-lu shih-hua* 1, p. 71; *Fu/Liu*, p. 946. See also Ch'ien Liang-tse 錢良擇 (fl. 1690s–1720s), *T'ang-yin shen-t'i* 唐音審體, in Ting Fu-pao 丁福保, ed., *Ch'ing shih-hua* 清詩話 (Shanghai: Chung-hua, 1963), vol. 2, p. 783; *Fu/Liu*, p. 955.

¹⁶ Chou Pi, *San-t'i T'ang-shih* 三體唐詩 (1983 Wen-yuan-ko SKCS edn.), vol. 1358, p. 4.

¹⁷ For example, Wu Ch'iao. See his *Wei-lu shih-hua* 1, p. 71; *Fu/Liu*, p. 946.

the ending is parallel and the beginning is not parallel cut off the first four lines of *lü-shih*.¹⁸

If this passage is reliable, then the "truncated *lü-shih*" view of the origin of *chüeh-chü* may have been very early indeed. The treatise ascribed to Mei in various other sources is not *Chin-chen shih-ko* itself, but its continuation entitled *Hsü Chin-chen shih-ko* 續金針詩格. The former supposedly was written by Po Chü-i and was the inspiration for Mei to add comments. Chao Kung-wu 晁公武 (c.s. 1132) described both books (and assumed their authenticity), which proves that texts by those names were extant as early as the beginning of Southern Sung (roughly 1127–1160). However, they cannot be firmly dated before that period, because in the next century Ch'en Chen-sun 陳振孫 (fl. 1211–1249) cast doubt on their authenticity.¹⁹ Based on examinations of the short extant text, the modern scholars Kakehi Fumio and Jonathan Chaves both state that Mei Yao-ch'en did not author *Hsü Chin-chen shih-ko*.²⁰ Even so, Chao Kung-wu's note shows that both books were extant at least a century and a half before Fu Jo-chin.

Unfortunately, the quotation in Yang Shen's preface does not appear in the available texts of the two treatises.²¹ There is circumstantial evidence that the text is not complete.²² In sum, we are left with two possibilities: either the "truncated *lü-shih*" view was included in *Hsü Chin-chen shih-ko* (and is therefore Southern Sung or earlier) but was left out in transmission; or Yang Shen mistook the source of his quote.

After Fu Jo-chin, the "truncated *lü-shih*" opinion was widely copied by such writers as Ao Ying 敖英 (c.s. 1521), Hsü Shih-tseng, Wu Na 吳訥 (1372–1457), Ma Lu 馬魯 (Ch'ing period), Wang Shih-chen 王士禎 (1634–1711), Shih Puhua 施補華 (1835–1890), Ch'iu Chao-ao 仇兆鰲 (1638–1713 or after), and Sung

¹⁸ Yang Shen, ed. Wang Chung-yung 王仲鏞, *Chüeh-chü yen-i ch'ien-chu* 絕句衍義箋注 (Ch'eng-tu: Ssu-ch'uan jen-min, 1984), p. 203.

¹⁹ Chang Hsin-ch'eng 張心徵, ed., *Wei-shu t'ang-k'ao* 偽書通考 (Shanghai: Shang-wu, 1954), pp. 1021–22; Chao Kung-wu, *Chin-chai tu-shu chih* 郡齋讀書志 (rpt. Taipei: Kuangwen, 1967) 20, p. 12; Ch'en Chen-sun, *Chih-chai shu-lu chieh-t'i* 直齋書錄解題 (rpt. Taipei: Kuangwen, 1968) 22, p. 11.

²⁰ Kakehi Fumio 笈文生, "Bai Gyô-shin" 白居易, in *Chûgoku shûjin zenshû* 中國詩人選集 (Tokyo, 1962), p. 19; Jonathan Chaves, *Mei Yao-ch'en and the Development of Early Sung Poetry* (New York: Columbia U.P., 1976), pp. 109–10.

²¹ The treatises have been published twice in recent years: Ku Lung-chen 顧龍振, ed., *Shih-hsiieh chih-nan* 詩學指南 (1759 Ch'ien-lung edn.; rpt. Taipei: Kuangwen, 1970), pp. 137–41; Wang Ta-p'eng 王大鵬 et al., *Chung-kuo li-tai shih-hua hsiian* 中國歷代詩話選 (Ch'ang-sha: Yueh-lu, 1985), pp. 61–65, 149–54.

²² Chao Kung-wu noted that Mei's motivation in continuing the treatise of Po Chü-i was a conversation with the monk Hsi Pai 希白 at Hsi-lin 西林 on Mt. Lu 廬山. Such an anecdote presumably came from the book, but does not appear in the present text.

Lo 宋犖 (1634-1713).²³ Recently, Wang Li 王力 has asserted that the opinion was generally held after the T'ang.²⁴ An apparent twentieth-century follower of the "truncated *lü-shih*" view was Cheng Chen-to 鄭振鐸 (1898-1958), who wrote:

Five-character *lü-shih* was the first to be established. Next, seven-character *lü-shih* developed into one of the most important literary forms of the [T'ang] period. Next, a separate type of new poetic form, the so-called *wu-chüeh* and *ch'i-chüeh* forms, was born. Next, the custom of stringing together several rhymes of *lü-shih* to create longer poems — the so-called *p'ai-lü* — also began to appear.²⁵

Fundamentally, the view was adopted as a means to explain the term *chüeh-chü*, but it also represented certain assumptions about aesthetics. To say that the *chüeh-chü* is half of the *lü-shih* implies an aesthetic connection between the two forms. This idea must have appeared logical to critics, otherwise they would not have followed Fu so readily. We are presented with two theoretical possibilities regarding the relationship between *lü-shih* and *chüeh-chü*. First: *chüeh-chü* are imperfect, incomplete *lü-shih*. In other words, the two-couplet *chüeh-chü* structure is a fragment of the integrated four-couplet *lü-shih* structure. Because the *lü-shih* structure consists of one nonparallel couplet of introduction, two parallel couplets of images, and one nonparallel couplet of resolution, thus depending on which of the four truncating methods is employed, a *chüeh-chü* either breaks off in the middle, begins abruptly, lacks an image-building center, or lacks introduction and resolution. Second: *chüeh-chü* are concentrated, distilled versions of *lü-shih*. Thus they provide introduction, images, and resolution, as do their longer counterparts, and are equally complete and integrated poems. The implication is that somehow each line of a *chüeh-chü* corresponds to a couplet of *lü-shih*.

Which of these two alternatives did critics follow? The answer appears to be a combination of both. Critics who accepted the "truncated *lü-shih*" view all took as their starting point the four quatrain structures that the theory cre-

²³ See Ao Ying, *T'ang-shih chüeh-chü lei-pien* 唐詩絕句類編 (Yang-chou: I-shu-t'ang, 1666; rpt. *Fu/Liu*), p. 1023 [1, p. 1b]; Ma Lu, *Nan-yuan i-chih chi* 南苑一知集, in *Kuan-hsi Ma-shih ts'ung-shu* 關西馬詩氏叢書 (1873; rpt. *Fu/Liu*), p. 956 [1, p. 3a]; Wang Shih-chen, in Liu Ta-ch' in 劉大勳, ed., *Shih-yü shih-ch'uan hsiu-lu* 師友詩傳續錄, in *Ch'ing shih-hua* (rpt. *Fu/Liu*), p. 956 [vol. 1, p. 157]; Shih Pu-hua, *Hsien-yung shuo-shih* 峴傭說詩, in *Ch'ing shih-hua* (rpt. *Fu/Liu*), pp. 957, 1038 [vol. 2, p. 994]; and Ch'iu Chao-ao, *Tu Shao-ling chi hsiang-chu* (rpt. *Fu/Liu*), pp. 955, 1035-1036 [1, p. 25; and 13, pp. 38-39]. Hsu's and Wu's ideas are in Hsu, *Wen-t'i ming-pien hsiu-shuo*, p. 108; and Wu, *Wen-chang pien-t'i*, p. 57. Sung Lo's ideas from *Man-t'ang shuo-shih* 漫堂說詩 are in *Pai-chung shih-hua lei-pien hou-pien* 百種詩話類編後編 (Taipei: I-wen, 1974), p. 1621.

²⁴ Wang Li, *Han-yü shih-lü hsiieh* 漢語詩律學 (Shanghai: Chiao-yü, 1958), p. 40.

²⁵ Cheng Chen-to, *Chung-kuo wen-hsiieh shih* 中國文學史 (rpt. Taipei: Hsin-hsi, 1970), p. 294.

ates — thus *chüeh-chü* are halved *lü-shih*. However, at the same time none of these critics saw *chüeh-chü* as incomplete or fragmentary; on the contrary, the integrity of the *chüeh-chü* forms was invariably stressed. Elaborate explanations were needed to harmonize these two alternatives, culminating in the widespread idea that *chüeh-chü* structurally are halved *lü-shih*, but critically can be understood as four separate lines corresponding to the four couplets of the longer forms.

*Logical Problems with the "Truncated *lü-shih*" Idea*

Scholars soon realized that to follow strictly the four quatrain structures of the "truncated *lü-shih*" view could be problematic. A useful example is the discussion of *ch'i-chüeh* by Shih Pu-hua:

Ch'i-chüeh can be cut off from *ch'i-lü* in any way one pleases 隨意截, but cutting off the second half, in which lines one and two are parallel and lines three and four are nonparallel, easily highlights the resonance 風韻; cutting off the first half, in which lines one and two are nonparallel and lines three and four are parallel, easily results in rigidity 板滯; cutting off the middle two couplets is even more monotonous 更板; and cutting off the first and last couplets, by which the entire poem is nonparallel, easily results in vapidness 虛. Only a scholar's penetrating mind can know this.²⁶

In this statement, Shih exhibits not only his acceptance of *lü-shih*'s influence on *chüeh-chü*, but simultaneously a realization that *chüeh-chü* are independent forms. Shih's preference for parallelism in the first couplet of *chüeh-chü* indicates his belief that the four-line forms should have the concentrated image-building strength of the eight-line forms. Thus quatrains without parallelism can result in "vapidness." However, his rejection of parallelism in the second couplet of *chüeh-chü* shows an understanding that the four-line forms are weighted towards the closure, and that circularity and stasis in this position would be problematic. The shorter forms require a resolution that strict parallelism cannot supply.

Critics as early as Chou Pi pointed out the difficulties of using parallelism in second couplets of *chüeh-chü*. Commenting on parallelism in the second couplet of *ch'i-chüeh*, he wrote:

T'ang writers used this form very seldom. It is necessary that the last couplet, although parallel, has sufficient words and completed meaning, as if it was not parallel 詞足意盡若未嘗對. Otherwise the poem will seem like a regulated-verse poem cut in half 半截長律 — pure white and uniform, and

²⁶ Shih, *Hsien-yung shuo-shih*, p. 996; *Fu/Liu*, p. 1038.

without any resolution 結合. Hsü Fu (1075-1141) found fault with Wang An-shih (1021-1086) in this.²⁷

We can conclude that strict parallelism in second couplets is undesirable, because it makes quatrain poems mere fragments of *lü-shih*. However, unlike Shih Puhua, Chou Pi allows parallelism in the second couplet, as long as a resolution (unifying the form) results. This particular type of parallelism was termed "running-water parallelism" 流水對 by later critics, such as Mao Ch'un-jung 冒春榮 (1702-1760), who wrote, "[Quatrains] that conclude with parallelism: the meaning must be a running-water call and response — otherwise it is an incomplete *lü-shih*. . ." 對收者其意必作流水呼應不然則是不完之律.²⁸ The term was used to describe any parallel couplet that exhibits linear progression from one line to the next, thus breaking the circular quality that strict imagistic parallelism engenders. Examples of running-water parallelism are: cause and effect structures, question and answer structures, conditionals like Wang Chih-huan's 王之渙 (688-742) "If one wants to exhaust a thousand miles of sight, / Again climb a story in the tower 欲窮千里目更上一層樓," and structures that emphasize temporal change between the lines, like Kao Shih's 高適 (716-765) "Old home — tonight my thoughts a thousand miles away; / Greying temples — tomorrow morning another year has passed" 故鄉今夜思千里霜鬢明朝又一年.²⁹

Not only the placement and usage of parallelism troubled critics who tried to harmonize the logical problems. Some accepted the "truncated *lü-shih*" structures, but saw a general difference in style between *lü-shih* and *chüeh-chü*. For example, Wei Chi-jui 魏際瑞 (fl. late-seventeenth century) felt he needed to defend the independence of *chüeh-chü* in the face of the "truncated *lü-shih*" view.

Chüeh-chü are originally truncated *lü-shih*, but by reading the first line [of a *chüeh-chü*] you will know it is not a *lü-shih*. The first line of a *lü-shih* always has a solemn, vast, and lofty meaning 端凝浩瀚巍峨之意, while most first lines of *chüeh-chü* are light and sharp 多帶輕利. Each form of writing has its embryo, which can successfully come to completion neither through addition and subtraction nor stretching and reducing.³⁰

²⁷ Chou, *San-t'i T'ang-shih*, p. 4; *Fu/Liu*, p. 1033.

²⁸ Mao Ch'un-jung, *Shen-yuan shih-shuo* 蕪原詩說, in *Ju-kao Mao-shih ts'ung-shu* 如皋曹氏叢書 (1900) 3, p. 5b; *Fu/Liu*, p. 1038. Mao's work is also in Kuo Shao-yü 郭紹虞, ed., *Ch'ing shih-hua hsi-pien* 清詩話續編 (Shanghai: Ku-chi, 1983).

²⁹ These concluding parallel couplets that "complete the meaning" are from Hu Ying-lin 胡應麟, *Shih sou* 詩藪 (Taipei: Kuangwen, 1973) 6, p. 10b [339]; *Fu/Liu*, p. 1033.

³⁰ Wei Chi-jui, *Po-tzu lun-ven* 伯子論文, in Chang Ch'ao 張潮, ed., *Chao-tai ts'ung-shu* 昭代叢書 (Shih-k'ai t'ang, 1835), *ts'ei* 15, ch. 30, p. 6a; *Fu/Liu*, p. 957.

Although Wei says that *chüeh-chü* derive historically from *lü-shih*, he does not think that quatrains are shortened regulated-verse. He does not go so far as to deny the "truncated *lü-shih*" view, but is clearly uncomfortable with it on stylistic grounds.³¹

The reasoning behind the emendation of the "truncated *lü-shih*" view is not difficult to find. The eight-line *lü-shih* is a perfectly unified form; each part has a specific function tied to the whole. It is inevitable that cutting a *lü-shih* in half will result in a fragment. The recognition that in practice the *chüeh-chü* forms were also unified forms led critics to add their emendations. Essentially they were praising the "truncated *lü-shih*" opinion, on the one hand, while denying its effects on the other.

The belief that *chüeh-chü* derived from *lü-shih* gave rise to a compelling but misleading critical explanation of quatrain structure: that a four-line *chüeh-chü* requires an introduction (*ch'i* 起) in the first line; an elaboration (*ch'eng* 承) in the second; a transition (*chuan* 轉) in the third; and a conclusion (*ho* 合) in the fourth. This structure (hereafter, the "four-part pattern") was frequently applied to *lü-shih*.

The "four-part pattern" is the ideal manifestation of the belief that *chüeh-chü* are *lü-shih* in miniature. Theoretically speaking, the pattern is the perfect means to ensure the integrity of the quatrain forms; as each line in a *chüeh-chü* corresponds to a couplet in *lü-shih*, the shorter poem is certain to reflect the perfectly unified aesthetics of its longer relative, but in more concentrated form. Interestingly, no contradiction was seen between the "four-part pattern" and the four structures resulting from the "truncated *lü-shih*" view. Quite frequently the same critics held both opinions. It appears that the four truncated *lü-shih* structures were understood as the physical bounds of *chüeh-chü* poems, while the "four-part pattern" was a compositional and critical technique applied within those physical bounds.

Again, Fu Jo-chin is the first on record to apply the idea to *chüeh-chü*. In fact, Fu believed the four-part structure could be applied to all forms of poetic

³¹ The critic Wang K'ai-su 王楷蘇 (fl. 1780) accepted both "truncated *lü-shih*" and stylistic difference between *lü-shih* and *chüeh-chü* by reinterpreting the opinion in terms of tonal prosody. He thought that both forms developed in the T'ang, but offered no view on which was first. Simply: eight-line *lü-shih* consist of two quatrain-length tonal patterns (identical except when the first line rhymes), while the four-line *chüeh-chü* consist of a single pattern. Wang argued that the term *chüeh-chü* referred to poems of only one unit. That is, *chüeh-chü* are "cut-off" because they use only one unit. This idea is as ahistorical as the dominant "truncated *lü-shih*" view from which it derived, but it does have the advantage of allowing *lü-shih* and *chüeh-chü* aesthetic independence of each other. Wang K'ai-su, *Sao-t'an pa-tieh* 騷壇八略 (T'iao-ao shan-fang, pref. 1797) 1, p. 26b; *Fu/Liu*, p. 956.

writing.³² Fu's contemporary Yang Tsai (1271-1323) elaborated on the "four-part pattern":

The method of *chüeh-chü* requires: indirection and circuitousness 婉曲回環, weeding out and simplification 刪蕪就簡, and lines that end but meaning that does not end 句絕而意不絕. Most utilize the third line as dominant 第三句爲主, and the fourth line elaborates it. . . . Generally, although the two lines of introduction and elaboration are difficult, an introduction that is nothing more than simple and direct narration is best, and a leisurely elaboration of it is correct. As for indirection and transformation, the effort is completely in the third line. If here the transition is well-made, then the fourth line will be like a boat floating downstream.³³

Yang describes a corollary to the "four-part pattern": that the third line is the most crucial in a *chüeh-chü* 第三句爲主. Although ascribed to Yang Tsai by later writers, passing mention of the idea was made earlier by Chou Pi. In relation to "seven-character cut-off lines" 七言截句 Chou remarks, "In general the third line is chief 大抵第三句爲主."³⁴ The corollary is in a sense a simplification of the larger pattern, but implied in the simpler pattern is the realization that *chüeh-chü* are weighted toward the closure.³⁵

Both the "crucial third line" pattern and the "four-part pattern" from which it derives are attractive in their simplicity, but the problem with both is that they can be used to explain only a small percentage of quatrains. The four-part pattern could be a useful compositional and critical technique for *lü-shih* (although it requires a parallel couplet to function as a transition—a debatable point). At least with *lü-shih*, each quarter of the pattern refers to a distinct and complete couplet. However, when in turn the pattern is applied to *chüeh-chü*, the

³² Fu, *Shih-fa cheng-tun*, pp. 19-22. See also Wu Ch'iao, *Ta Wan Chi-yeh shih-wen* 答萬季野詩問, in *Ch'ing shih-hua*, vol. 1, p. 29; and Ho I-sun 賀貽孫, *Shih-fa 詩筏*, in *Ch'ing shih-hua hsi-pien*, vol. 1, p. 138; both in *Fu/Liu*, pp. 1023, 1028.

³³ Yang, *Shih-fa chü-shu*, in Ho Wen-huan 何文煥, ed., *Li-tai shih-hua* 歷代詩話 (rpt. Taipei: I-wen, 1971), p. 473; *Fu/Liu*, p. 1030.

³⁴ Chou, *San-t'i Tang-shih*, p. 4.

³⁵ Many critics addressed the topic of "crucial third line." Wang K'ai-su writes, "In *ch'i-chüeh* strength must be exerted in the third line, and this should be done in such a way that room for maneuvering remains in the fourth line. If the third line creates potential, then the fourth line will strike the mark with a single shot. There is an analogy to archery: the third line is like drawing the bow; and the fourth line is like letting the arrow fly." Wang, *Sao-t'an pa-tieh* 1, p. 18b; *Fu/Liu*, p. 1031. See similar ideas by Ma, *Nan-yüan i-chih chi* 1, p. 3b; Shih, *Hsien-yung shuo-shih*, p. 996; and Shen Te-ch'ien 沈德潛 (1673-1769), *Tang-shih pieh-tsai* 唐詩別裁 (Peking: Chung-hua, 1964) 19, p. 111. Ma, Shih, and Shen, as well as Li Chün 李峻 (Ch'ing dynasty), from his *Shih-fa t'o-shuo* 詩法彙說, are also in *Fu/Liu*, pp. 1031 and 1033.

³⁶ Wang Ch'ang-ling 王昌齡 (698-755), "Sending Off Hsing Chien at Hibiscus Tower" 芙蓉樓送辛漸; *Fu/Liu*, p. 96.

individual lines within couplets are expected to fulfill different functions, which is counter to usual Chinese poetic practice. Although, for example, some concluding couplets may be explained as two parts with different functions (as in the question-answer form of "If friends and family in Lo-yang should ask of me — / A piece of icy heart in a jade vase" 洛陽親友如相問一片冰心在玉壺),³⁶ more commonly the final two lines share the weight of the closure (as in "In a solitary boat, an old man with coir coat and bamboo hat, / Alone fishes the cold river snows" 孤舟蓑笠翁獨釣寒江雪).³⁷ In the same way, beginning couplets often share the weight of introducing the topic. Ch'iu Chao-ao once noted that the topic should fall in the first line of the "four-part pattern," which he considered the orthodox method for *chüeh-chü*. However, he then proceeded to give a large number of examples in which the topic falls in the second line, or even the third or the fourth, or is delineated by various pairs of lines (not necessarily contiguous). The orthodox pattern is thus fairly well debased.³⁸

In sum, the two lines in a couplet tend to depend on each other — through loose or strict parallelism, propositional continuity, and so on — and so structures which require that the lines work apart seem forced. Instead of "four-part pattern" or "crucial third line," a more natural way of understanding a *chüeh-chü* poem is to think of it as two integrated couplets, one of introduction and one of conclusion.³⁹

The "crucial third line" pattern has an additional problem, in that it asserts that one line in a poem is more important than the others. The danger is that poets might concentrate on composing one good line and dismiss the other three. P'an Te-yü 潘德輿 (1785-1839) addresses this possibility, and argues instead for complete integration of the four lines in a quatrain:

In discussing heptasyllabic *chüeh-chü*, Yang Chung-hung [Yang Tsai] takes the third line as chief, and the fourth line as an elaboration of it. Shen Ch'üeh-shih [Shen Te-ch'ien] says that the majority of high-T'ang poets follow this rule.⁴⁰ These are arbitrary judgments. *Chüeh-chü* are only four lines, and should progress directly in a single breath 一氣直下, tied completely together 兜裏完密. If the third line is chief and the fourth line elaborates it, then do the first two lines become useless? . . . Ch'üeh-shih contrarily

³⁷ Liu Tsung-yüan 柳宗元 (773-819), "River Snow" 江雪; *Fu/Liu*, p. 582.

³⁸ Ch'iu, *Tu Shao-ling chi hsiang-chu* 10, pp. 27-28; *Fu/Liu*, pp. 1034-35.

³⁹ For a recent article supporting the "four-part pattern" idea in *chüeh-chü*, see Ts'ao Feng-fu 曹逢甫, "Ssu-hang ti shih-chieh ts'ung yen-t'ien fen-hsi ti kuan-tien k'an chüeh-chü ti chieh-kou" 四行的世界從言談分析的觀點看絕句的結構, *Chung-wai wen-hsüeh* 中外文學 13.8 (1985), pp. 34-99.

⁴⁰ Shen, *Tang-shih pieh-tsai* 19, p. 111; *Fu/Liu*, p. 1031.

says that the majority of high-T'ang writers follow this rule (that of "crucial third line") because he does not understand the high-T'ang; if a *ch'i-chüeh* conforms to this rule then its structure will fall apart.⁴¹

The well-known literatus Wang Fu-chih 王夫之 (1619-1692) also cited the necessity of balance in *chüeh-chü*.

If one only searches for good lines when composing poetry, then one has already fallen to the "Lesser Vehicle." It is worse in *chüeh-chü*, which has such a small number of lines that breaking the form up to compose single intriguing lines cannot result in poetry.

百戰方夷項	A hundred battles before Hsiang [Yü] was eliminated;
三章且易秦	A three-point code and Ch'in was changed.
功歸蕭相國	He gave credit to Prime Minister Hsiao;
氣盡戚夫人	His spirit was exhausted by Lady Ch'i.

seems just like a riddle for Han Kao-tsu. Thrown together these lines are four [distinct] pieces, not at all integrated. If the Buddha appeared in the world even he could not save poetry composed in this way.⁴²

The "truncated *lü-shih*" view began as a convenient explanation for a term that mystified commentators, but when taken to its logical conclusion it resulted in compositional patterns that cannot be easily applied to standard (T'ang) examples of the two *chüeh-chü* forms. The comments by P'an Te-yü and Wang Fu-chih, as well as those by Shih Pu-hua, Chou Pi, Mao Ch'un-jung, and Wei Chi-jui, noted earlier, represent attempts to characterize *chüeh-chü* through formal analysis of poems, rather than by means of grand theories, and as such reveal a healthy skepticism.

CHÜEH-CHÜ AS "ISOLATED LINES"

The second ahistorical explanation of the origin of the term *chüeh-chü* appeared first in the writings of Chang Tuan-i 張端義 (1179-ca. 1235). Chang

⁴¹ P'an Te-yü, *Yang-i chai shih-hua* 養一齋詩話 (Sao-yeh shan-fang, pref. 1832 and 1836) 3, p. 8a; *Fu/Liu*, p. 1031.

⁴² Wang Fu-chih, ed. Tai Hung-sen 戴鴻森, *Chiang-chai shih-hua ch'ien-chu* 薑齋詩話箋注 (Peking: Jen-min, 1981), p. 136; *Fu/Liu*, p. 1030. The poem, by Yü Chi-tzu 于季子 (c. 670-674), is titled "In Praise of Han Kao-tsu" 詠漢高祖. See *Ch'üan T'ang-shih* 全唐詩 80, p. 872. Each line of the poem refers to a person or event in the life of Han Kao-tsu (Liu Pang 劉邦; r. 206-194 BC): defeat of Hsiang Yü (233-202 BC) for control of the empire; simplification of the legal code; employment of Hsiao Ho 蕭何 (d. 194-187 BC) as prime minister; and relations with his consort Lady Ch'i.

believed that the term *chüeh-chü* refers to poems in which each line is isolated and end-stopped.⁴³ A quatrain of this type contrasts with another type, which is grammatically continuous from line to line. Thus the term *chüeh-chü* does not cover all quatrain types; and Chang's use of it is relatively narrow:

春水滿四澤	Spring waters fill the four marshes;
夏雲多奇峰	Summer clouds numerous on the fantastic peaks.
秋月揚明輝	Autumn moon displays its brightness;
冬嶺秀孤松	Winter mountains show the beauty of solitary pines.

This [T'ao] Yüan-ming (365-427) poem is the ancestor of *chüeh-chü*.⁴⁴ There is one stop in every line 一句一絕. In composing poetry there are line patterns 句法. [Quatrains in which] the meaning is continuous and the sentences are complete include,

打起黃鸝兒	Hit the yellow orioles,
莫教枝上啼	Don't allow them to sing on the branches.
幾回驚妾夢	How many times they have broken in on my dreams,
不得到遼西	And kept me from Liao-hsi! ⁴⁵

Each line follows on the previous line without break 一句一接. When composing poetry, this idea [of two types of quatrain] should be considered, then the poems will be divinely skilled.⁴⁶

The first of Chang's two types of quatrain would be termed "*chüeh-chü*" (as a description of poetic structure), and the second presumably would not be. *Chüeh-chü* in this context can be translated as "isolated lines," since each line in the quatrain describes an independent set of images, and there are no grammatical links between lines. Each line of "Spring waters . . ." has a simple topic-comment

⁴³ A similar idea is ascribed to Liu Ch'en-weng 劉辰翁 (1234-1297) by the anthologist Kao Ping, and by Ma Lu in *Nan-yüan i-chih chi*, but I have not found the reference in Liu's works. See Kao, *T'ang-shih p'in-hui*, p. 13; *Fu/Liu*, p. 956.

⁴⁴ Although included in T'ao Ch'ien's collected works, titled "Poem of the Four Seasons" 四時詠, it is now attributed to Ku K'ai-chih 顧愷之 (ca. 350-ca. 410) and titled "Poem on Appearances" 神清詩. See Lu Ch'in-li 遼欽立, *Hsien-Ch'in Han Wei Chin Nan-Pai ch'ao shih* 先秦漢魏晉南北朝詩 (Peking: Chung-hua, 1983; hereafter *Lu*), p. 931. Lu records several other pentasyllabic quatrains that use a similar four-part structure. See pp. 1200, 1405, and 1553.

⁴⁵ This poem, "Spring Lament" 春怨, is attributed to Chin Ch'ang-hsü 金昌緒 (fl. 713-742). See *Fu/Liu*, p. 219.

⁴⁶ Chang Tuan-i, *Kuai-erh chi* 貴耳集 (1983 Wen-yüan-ko SKCS edn.) vol. 865, pp. 423-24; *Fu/Liu*, pp. 947, 1026.

structure, and there is a lack of grammatical function words (*hsü-lzu*). The two lines of the first couplet of "Hit the yellow orioles" function as a complete sentence, as do the two lines in the second couplet. An impression of colloquial speech is created in a number of ways: the imperative in the first couplet, the rhetorical question in the second couplet, the negative function words in lines two and four, and the pronoun in line three. I do not go so far as to say that Chang's two quatrain types are separate genres, because both exhibit a common length, a tendency towards emblematic images that maximize meaning, and integration. However, a difference in language distinguishes their styles.

Chang's description of two competing styles of quatrain is apparently in answer to the mid-Southern Sung critic Tseng Chi-li 曾季狸, who proposed a single style based on "Hit the yellow orioles."

Someone asked Han Chü 韓駒 (ca. 1086-1135) about poetic method. He quoted the T'ang poet's lines, "Hit the yellow orioles . . ." I have used Han Chü's words to take an overall look at the ancients' patterns for poetry composition, and all are in this poem.⁴⁷

Tseng follows this statement with several other "grammatically continuous" examples that support his assertion. *Shih-hua* writing often presented lively debates over the relative merits of the continuous versus noncontinuous styles, as represented by "Hit the yellow orioles."⁴⁸

Yang Shen elaborated on Chang, and named the one "chüeh-chü" and the other "yüeh-fu":

In *chüeh-chü* there is one stop in every line. This begins with the "Song of the Four Seasons": "Spring waters fill the four marshes . . ." Some say this is T'ao Yuan-ming's poem, but it is not. Tu Fu's "Two orioles sing among green willow trees" definitely is descended from this poem.⁴⁹ Wang Wei's poem,

柳條拂地不忍折	Willow branches brush the ground—I cannot bear to break them;
松柏捎雲從更長	Pine and cypress touch the clouds—growing higher unhindered.

⁴⁷ Tseng Chi-li, *T'ang-chai shih-hua 擬齊詩話* (Taipei: Kuangwen, 1971), p. 31; *Fu/Liu*, p. 1026.
⁴⁸ *Fu/Liu*, pp. 219-21; 1026-27. Writers who commented on the poem include Li Tung-yang 李東陽 (1447-1516), Wang Shih-chen 王世貞 (1526-1590), Hu Ying-lin 胡應麟 (1551-1602), and Shen Te-ch'ien 沈德潛 (1673-1769).

⁴⁹ The text of the complete Tu Fu poem, one of a set of four named simply "Chüeh-chü," runs, "Two orioles sing among green willow trees; / A line of white egrets flies up into the blue sky. / A thousand autumns of snow on the western range are framed in my window, / And the boats that will go ten-thousand li to Eastern Wu are moored at my door" 兩箇黃鸝鳴翠柳一行白鷺上青天窗含西嶺千秋雪門泊東吳萬里船; trans. Lin, *Vitality of the Lyric Voice*, p. 329.

藤花欲暗藏獐子	Wisteria flowers so dense they will hide the monkeys;
柏葉初齊養麝香	Cypress needles all of equal length as they feed the musk-deer.

and another poem by the Sung poet Liu-i weng [Ou-yang Hsiu 歐陽修 (1007-1072)] which runs,

夜涼吹笛千山月	Night cool, blowing flute, a thousand-mountain moon;
路暗迷人百種花	Road dark, lost man, a hundred kinds of flower.
棋罷不知人換世	When the chess game ends, unknowingly man leaves this world;
酒闌無奈客思家	When wine wears off, without reason the guest thinks of home. ⁵⁰

are both in this style. *Yüeh-fu* poems like "Hit the yellow orioles" have continuous meaning and complete sentences and no breaks 意連句圓未嘗間斷. This idea [of two styles] should be considered, then [one's poems] will be divinely skilled.⁵¹

The T'ang and Sung *chüeh-chü* citations made by Yang are particularly revealing: quatrains that utilize static parallelism in both couplets would fit his "isolated lines" idea better than any other structure. Note that of the three *ch'i-chüeh* examples, Tu Fu's and Ou-yang Hsiu's poems use perfect syntactic parallelism, and Wang Wei's poem is almost perfect in its parallelism.

The reason why the structure of "Song of the Four Seasons" is desirable within the bounds of Yang's argument is that static parallel couplets allow each line to present discrete, isolated sets of imagery, while still adhering together in standard couplet structure. Thus, although each line in a quatrain is isolated and end-stopped, the poem still holds together as two couplets. In a separate pronouncement on *chüeh-chü*, Yang again cites Tu Fu's "Two orioles sing among green willow trees," this time noting that because the lines are not linked together, the poem is "like the four central lines of a *lü-shih*" 即是律中四句也.⁵² He goes on to assert that among T'ang *chüeh-chü* composed entirely of parallel lines, all but one or two are like Tu's poem; that is, the vast majority of poems

⁵⁰ Wang's poem is entitled "Playfully Written at Wang River Villa" 戲題桐川別業. Ou-yang's poem is entitled "Written in a Dream" 夢中作.

⁵¹ Yang Shen, ed. Wang Chung-yung 王仲鏞, *Sheng-an shih-hua ch'ien-cheng 升庵詩話箋證* (Shanghai: Ku-chi, 1987), pp. 144-45; *Fu/Liu*, pp. 955-56.

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 145.

do not use running-water parallelism. Although this assertion buttresses his argument, as a point of fact it is very questionable.

Chang's and Yang's two quatrain styles should not be considered mutually exclusive; rather, I assume they are the endpoints of a sliding scale that reveals the relative presence of one style or the other. "Yüeh-fu" and "chüeh-chü" thus are descriptive terms covering all quatrains. This is the implication of the following comment by Hsieh Chen 謝榛 (1495-1575), which can function as a gloss to Chang's and Yang's interpretation of *chüeh-chü*.

Tso Shun-ch'i (the Ming poet Tso Kuo-chi 左國瓊) said, "One meaning for each line; the meanings are separate but *ch'i* 氣 ties them together. This is the method of *chüeh-chü*. If there is one meaning for each line, but the poem is not skillfully done, it is nonetheless inferior. If there is one meaning for two lines, but the poem is skillfully done, it is still superior. Take skill as the criterion; do not speak of 'lines' . . ." ⁵³

Yang Shen was perhaps the first commentator to question directly the authority of the "truncated *lü-shih*" view, a logical outgrowth of his distinct interpretation of the term *chüeh-chü*. However, the aesthetic implications of his theory do coincide to a great extent with those arising from the "truncated *lü-shih*" view. He once noted that:

. . . in the Ch'i (479-502) and Liang (502-557) periods seven-character *chüeh-chü* already existed, long before there was seven-character *lü-shih*. However, *chüeh-chü* of the T'ang writers generally does not depart from these four patterns 四體 (the four pattern possibilities of the "truncated *lü-shih* view"). ⁵⁴

Thus Yang does not deny the importance of the prevailing view — he implies that there is a connection between T'ang *chüeh-chü* and *lü-shih* — but he rejects the assumption that *chüeh-chü* originate as "cut-off" *lü-shih*. When we probe the aesthetic implications of the "isolated lines" view, we can see why Yang accepted "truncated *lü-shih*" structures — and by extension, aesthetics. His theory is value-laden; it implies that the best *chüeh-chü* are those that are the most imagistic and fragmentary (since propositional-grammatical language would result in unwanted continuity). The best of the best, as evidenced by his examples, are poems that resemble the middle couplets of *lü-shih*, presenting fragmentary images in tense opposition. It follows that the *lü-shih* characteris-

tics of circularity and stasis are *chüeh-chü* characteristics as well. Thus *chüeh-chü* with "one stop in every line" reveal the same basic aesthetics as *chüeh-chü* that are truncated *lü-shih*; both are *lü-shih* in miniature. ⁵⁵

THE LITERARY-HISTORICAL EXPLANATION OF CHÜEH-CHÜ ORIGINS

Through the study of Six Dynasties literary history, a small number of observers in the Ming and Ch'ing began to separate fact from fallacy concerning *chüeh-chü* origins. They wanted to determine which extant Six Dynasties quatrains were the precursors of the T'ang forms and to record pre-T'ang uses of the term *chüeh-chü*. While never a majority opinion, the cumulative findings of a few of these writers — although incomplete in some respects — form the basis for the twentieth-century reconstructions of *chüeh-chü* origins by Sun K'ai-ti, Lo Ken-tse, and others.

Perhaps the first of these literary historians was Kao Ping 高棅 (1350-1423), the compiler of *T'ang-shih p'in-hui* 唐詩品彙, an annotated anthology of T'ang poetry published in 1393. Kao divided his anthology according to poetic form, and prefaced each form with comments about origins and characteristics. Kao does not provide comprehensive explanations, but his ideas were the starting points for Hu Ying-lin's more detailed research two centuries later.

Kao has the following to say about five- and seven-character *chüeh-chü*:

Five-character *chüeh-chü* have been composed since ancient times. Among the ancient lyrics of Han (202 BC-220 AD) and Wei (220-265) *yüeh-fu* are "Pai-t'ou yin" 白頭吟, "Ch'u-sai ch'ü" 出塞曲, "T'ao-yeh ko" 桃葉歌, "Huan-wen ko" 歡聞歌, "Ch'ang-kan ch'ü" 長干曲, "T'uan-shan lang" 團扇郎, and other verses. Later, in the Six Dynasties compositions gradually became numerous. In the beginning of the T'ang those who were skilled at it [*wu-chüeh*] were many. ⁵⁶

Seven-character *chüeh-chü* originated in the old *yüeh-fu* "Hsia-se ko" 峽瑟歌, "Wu-ch'i ch'ü" 烏棲曲 by emperor Yüan of the Liang dynasty (Hsiao I

⁵³ Hsieh Chen, ed. Wan P'ing 宛平, *Ssu-ming shih-hua* 四溟詩話 (Peking: Jen-min, 1962), p. 23; *Fu/Liu*, p. 1032.

⁵⁴ Yang, *Chüeh-chü yen-i ch'ien-chü*, p. 203 (from the preface to *Chüeh-chü pien-t'i*).

⁵⁵ The relationship between "isolated lines" and "truncated *lü-shih*" spawned confusion. For example, the poet Wang Shih-chen termed the "isolated lines" theory "absurdly restricted" 迂拘 and its proponents "vulgar and laughable" 鄙俗可笑, and instead praised the "truncated *lü-shih*" view. But Ma Lu held that both views were correct. Liu, *Shih-yu shih-ch'uan tsü-lu*, p. 157; Ma, *Nan-yüan i-chih chü* 1, p. 3a; *Fu/Liu*, p. 956.

⁵⁶ Kao, *T'ang-shih p'in-hui*, p. 388

蕭繹; 508-554), "Yüan-shih hsing" 怨詩行 by Chiang Tsung 江總 (519-594), and other compositions. All are seven-character four-line poems. In the early-T'ang sound patterns 聲勢 stabilized, and [the examples are] definitely *chüeh-chü*. However, there are not many authors.⁵⁷

The earliest examples of the titles Kao cites are quatrain-length poems that do not follow the rules of tonal prosody. (The single exception is "Pai-t'ou yin," which is longer in the earliest examples.)⁵⁸ The implication is that *yüeh-fu* quatrains become *chüeh-chü* when tonal prosody is introduced. Kao does not offer a theory explaining the meaning of the term *chüeh-chü* itself.

Of the five-character titles cited, "T'ao-yeh ko," "Huan-wen ko" 歡聞歌 (note the error in the *T'ang-shih p'in-hui* transcription), and "T'uan-shan lang" are all anonymous quatrain-length song tunes listed as Chin-period (265-420) "Songs of Wu from Chiang-nan" (*Chiang-nan Wu-sheng* 江南吳聲) under the *yüeh-fu* category of "Song lyrics in the clear *shang* mode" 清商曲辭.⁵⁹ The "Songs of Wu" are primarily love songs, written in colloquial language. The songs originated probably as folksongs in the Wei and Chin periods, but attained their greatest popularity in the Ch'i and Liang periods when scholar-poets modeled great numbers of works after them.

"Ch'ang-kan ch'ü" and "Ch'u-sai ch'ü" are also colloquial folksongs, listed as "Miscellaneous song lyrics" 雜曲歌辭.⁶⁰ Several examples of "Ch'u-sai ch'ü" are longer than four lines; only one example is a quatrain.

The heptasyllabic quatrains Kao Ping cited are a mixed lot, and as such are not entirely convincing as the precursors to *ch'i-chüeh*. Of the three titles, "Hsia-se ko" and "Wu-ch'i ch'ü" were quatrain-length tunes to which numerous late-Six Dynasties court poets wrote lyrics. Rhyme schemes differ: extant "Hsia-se ko" use a single rhyme in the AAXA pattern (as do most T'ang *ch'i-chüeh*), while most of the "Wu-ch'i ch'ü" use two rhymes in an AABB pattern. Examples of the other title mentioned, "Yüan-shih hsing," are generally longer than quatrain length. Only two poems by Chiang Tsung, simply titled "Yüan-shih," are seven-character quatrains. The poems utilize the AAXA rhyme scheme.⁶¹

⁵⁷ Ibid., p. 427.

⁵⁸ The earliest citation from "Pai-t'ou yin" in *Yüeh-fu shih chi* 樂府詩集 is 26 lines, but the poem is divided into stanzas of mostly quatrain-length, marked as "*chüeh* 解." The fact that Kao Ping used this poem as an example of pentasyllabic quatrain origins implies that he accepted the practice of taking stanzas out of context, and possibly implies that he thought "cut-off lines" originated in longer *yüeh-fu* poems. This foreshadows Hu Ying-lin, and, in this century, Sun K'ai-ti.

⁵⁹ *Lu*, pp. 1050, 1052, 1055, 1518. The "Songs of Wu" are geographically from the area around present-day Nanjing.

⁶⁰ *Lu*, pp. 1069, 2750.

⁶¹ *Lu*, pp. 2133, 2269, 2750 ("Hsia-se ko"); 1818, 1922, 2036, 2511, 2549, 2573 ("Wu-ch'i ch'ü"); 2572 ("Yüan-shih").

Hu Ying-lin's Critical Approach

The most comprehensive of the early literary historians was Hu Ying-lin 胡應麟 (1551-1602), who included an entire *chüan* of material on *chüeh-chü* in his well-known critical work, *Shih-sou* 詩藪.⁶² Like Yang Shen, Hu noted that the *chüeh-chü* forms predated their *lü-shih* counterparts; he doubted the prevailing "truncated *lü-shih*" view.

The meaning of "*chüeh-chü*" still cannot be ascertained with certainty. Those who say *chüeh-chü* are cut from the opening and closing couplets or the two middle couplets of recent-style verse perhaps do not have sufficient basis. Five-character *chüeh-chü* began in the period of the Two Capitals (Nanching and Lo-yang—the Six Dynasties epoch). At that time there were no five-character *lü-shih*. Seven-character *chüeh-chü* began with the Four Talents (Wang Po 王勃, Yang Chiung 楊炯, Lu Chao-lin 盧照鄰, and Lo Pin-wang 駱賓王 of the early-T'ang). At that time there were no seven-character *lü-shih*. All Six Dynasties short ancient-verse (*tuan-ku* 短古) were indiscriminately called songs (*ko-hsing* 歌行). Not until the T'ang were they finally termed *chüeh-chü*.⁶³

Yang Shen assumed that *chüeh-chü* was a descriptive word for quatrain poems, and so conceived his theory of styles. The proponents of the "truncated *lü-shih*" view also assumed that "*chüeh-chü*" was a descriptive for quatrains, which led to their theory. Hu Ying-lin made no such assumption. Instead, he saw the problem of *chüeh-chü* origins as divided into three independent parts: the development of the quatrain form; the introduction of tonal prosody to quatrains; and the etymology of the term *chüeh-chü*. The first of these was uppermost in his discussion and was the most complete (based in part on Kao Ping); the last remained the most sketchy.

The development of quatrain forms

The origins of the five- and seven-character *chüeh-chü* forms, Hu argued, were in pentasyllabic ancient-verse and heptasyllabic song, respectively. The implication is that the practice of writing short poetry eventually crystallized into the fixed quatrain length of the *chüeh-chü* forms.

Five- and seven-character *chüeh-chü* are transformations of pentasyllabic short-ancient-verse (*tuan-ku*) and heptasyllabic short-song (*tuan-ko* 短歌). There are countless examples of five-character short-ancient-verse to be seen in any cursory examination of Han and Wei poetry. The *chüeh-chü*

⁶² Hu, *Shih-sou* 6, pp. 1b-27a [321-372].

⁶³ Ibid. 6, p. 2a [322]; *Fu Liu*, p. 943.

genre 絕體 of the T'ang writers certainly came from these. Seven-character short-song began with "Kai-hsia" 垓下 [by Hsiang Yü 項羽; 233-202 BC]. After the Liang and Ch'en (557-587), writers abounded.⁶⁴

To Hu, the *chüeh-chü* genre came out of five-character short-ancient-verse, and not out of seven-character. This is due to chronology — *wu-chüeh* predates *ch'i-chüeh* — and in no way implies that *ch'i-chüeh* grew out of *wu-chüeh*. Hu consistently argues for the independent development of pentasyllabic and heptasyllabic *chüeh-chü*.

Hu provides further information on the development of both forms, just as Kao Ping listed specific titles and genres that influenced them.

The oldest poems in the T'ang pentasyllabic *chüeh-chü* genre are Han dynasty examples like: "Where is the straw-chopper now?" "A dried fish crosses the river weeping," "On the southern mountain, a cassia tree," "At sunset, the autumn clouds are dark," and "Dodder waves in the strong wind." All are T'ang *chüeh-chü*. The number of examples in the Six Dynasties is very large. Many T'ang writers use this style. Li Po and Wang Wei were the first to become masters.⁶⁵

The first, third, fourth and fifth lines are the opening lines of the four "Ancient *chüeh-chü*" 古絕句 included in Hsü Ling's 徐陵 (507-583) *Yü-t'ai hsün-yung* 玉臺新詠 (compiled ca. 545 AD). The complete texts, in their usual order, are as follows. The first two poems depend on puns for intelligibility.

藁砧今何在	Where is the straw-chopper now?
山上復有山	On the mountain-top is another mountain.
何當大刀頭	When will the great knife return?
破鏡飛上天	When the broken mirror flies to heaven. ⁶⁶
日暮秋雲陰	At sunset, the autumn clouds are dark;
江水清且深	River water is clear and deep.

⁶⁴ Ibid. 6, p. 1b [321]. Hsiang Yü's "Song of Kai-hsia" 垓下歌 was purportedly written before his army's final defeat at Kai-hsia, in present-day Anhui province. Unlike T'ang *ch'i-chüeh*, the song uses two rhymes and adds the semantically valueless particle 兮 in every line.

⁶⁵ Ibid. 6, pp. 6b-7a [331-32].

⁶⁶ The poem is based on a rebus picture and puns. Another word for *kao* (straw-chopper) is *fu* 鈇, which is a homonym for *fu* 夫 (husband). In l. 2, the character *shan* 山 (mountain) placed on top of another *shan* resembles the character *ch'u* 出 (to leave). In l. 3, the sword implies the act of returning, because sword-hilts had metal rings affixed to them, called *tao-huan* 刀環. The word *huan* is a homonym for *huan* 還 (to return). The "broken mirror" in l. 4 may refer to the partial moon (not round like a mirror). Thus the poem can be translated, "Where is my husband now?/ He is gone./ When will he return?/ When the crescent moon flies in heaven."

何用通音信
蓮花玳瑁簪

What need for exchange of letters?
Put lotus blossom in my tortoise-shell hairpin.⁶⁷

菟絲從長風
根莖無斷絕
無情尚不離
有情安可別

Dodder waves in the strong wind,
But roots and stem are never severed.
If even nonsentient things will not separate,
Why should the sentient be willing to part?⁶⁸

南山一樹桂
上有雙鴛鴦
千年長交頸

On the southern mountains, a cassia tree;
At the top, a pair of mandarin ducks.
For a thousand years entwining their necks in
love;
Never forgetting their joyful blessings.

歡慶不相忘

The remaining example is the first line, and the title, of the following poem:

枯魚過河泣
何時悔復及
作書與魴鱖
相教慎出入

A dried fish crosses the river weeping;
When will such grief occur again?
He writes a letter to the bream and tench,
Advising them to be careful when going out.⁶⁹

An oral influence is evident in the puns, frequent repetition, propositional syntax, enjambment, and simple imagery. All were probably songs, or song-influenced poems. Hu Ying-lin dates them to the Han, but this is by no means certain. None has a firm date, and transmission before the Liang period is unknown.⁷⁰ This makes their place as the "oldest" poems of the *chüeh-chü* genre somewhat uncertain.

Hu Ying-lin points to two distinct Six Dynasties sources for pentasyllabic *chüeh-chü*: the anonymous *yüeh-fu* and the *shih* quatrains by scholar-poets.

Like Kao Ping, he notes titles of quatrain-length *yüeh-fu* song series: "Tzu-yeh" 子夜, "Ch'ien-hsi" 前溪, "Huan-wen" 歡聞, "T'uan-shan" 團扇,⁷¹ and

⁶⁷ The word *lien* (lotus) is a pun for *lien* 憐 (love). The speaker places lotus in her hairpin as a symbol of her feelings for her absent lover.

⁶⁸ Dodder is a parasitic plant characterized by orange-colored thread-like leaves that lie tangled on top of the host-plant.

⁶⁹ Lu, p. 286. The poem is from *Wen-hsüan pu-i* 文選補遺 34.

⁷⁰ Lo Ken-tse tentatively dates the four "Ancient *chüeh-chü*" to the period between late-Han and Wei, based on an analysis of style. See Lo Ken-tse, "Chüeh-chü san-yüan" 絕句三源, in his *Chuang-kuo ku-tien wen-hsüeh lun-chi* 中國古典文學論集 (Peking: Wu-shih nien-tai, 1955 [first written in 1944]), pp. 31-33; rvd. in *Lo Ken-tse ku-tien wen-hsüeh lun-wen chi* 羅根澤古典文學論文集 (Shanghai: Ku-chi, 1985). Wang Yün-hsi includes "A dried fish..." with a small group that he dates to the late-Han. See Wang Yün-hsi 王運熙, "Han-tai ti su-yüeh ho min-ko" 漢代的俗樂和民歌, in his *Yüeh-fu shih lun-ti'ung* 樂府詩論叢 (Shanghai: Ku-tien wen-hsüeh, 1958), p. 83.

⁷¹ Hu, *Shih-sou* 6, p. 3a [324]. See Lu, pp. 1040-48, 1050-52, for multiple examples of these four titles.

“Lai-lo ch’ü” 來羅曲.⁷⁴ He also records an entire poem of the “Huang-hu ch’ü” 黃鵠曲 title.⁷⁵ Unlike Kao Ping, all of the pentasyllabic *yüeh-fu* titles Hu cites are of the “clear-*shang* lyric” category. All except “Lai-lo ch’ü” are in the subcategory “Songs of Wu”; “Lai-lo ch’ü” is listed under the “clear-*shang* lyric” subcategory of “Western songs of Ching and Ch’u” (*Ching-Ch’u hsi-sheng* 荆楚西), which is similar in style and form to the “Songs of Wu.”⁷⁶ Hu mentions “clear-*shang* lyric” specifically by name as the inheritor of the Han-Wei *hsiang-ho yüeh-fu* style: “After all of the *hsiang-ho* songs, only the *ch’ing-shang* and other *chüeh-chü* can follow” 相和諸歌後惟清商等絕差可繼之.⁷⁵

Like the “clear-*shang* lyric” titles noted by Kao Ping, the new titles offered by Hu Ying-lin consist of colloquial love songs. The “Tzu-yeh” song series, named for an Eastern Chin (317–420) songstress, is most often quoted. Following it, below, is also an example of the “Ch’ien-hsi” songs:

Tzu-yeh ko

自從別郎來	Since I parted from you,
何日不咨嗟	Which day have I not lamented?
黃蘗鬱成林	Cork trees flourish and become a forest—
當奈苦心多	How to endure the profusion of bitter trunks? ⁷⁶

Ch’ien-hsi ko

黃葛生爛熳	Yellow kudzu grows in brilliant profusion;
誰能斷葛根	Who can cut the kudzu root?
寧斷嬌兒乳	I’d rather cut off my baby’s milk,
不斷郎殷勤	Than cut off my affections for you! ⁷⁷

The style is quite distinct from that of Six Dynasties *shih* poetry. Each poem’s structure breaks into two parts: the natural world, in one couplet, is compared with the singer’s personal situation in the other. An impression of direct speech is created in several ways. Both poems use strong syntax, which makes the couplets into complete sentences; both use grammatical function words for this purpose (for example, the negative *pu* 不, and the preposition “since” *tzu-ti’ung* 自從); both use the second-person pronoun *lang* 郎;⁷⁸ and both ask rhetorical questions.

Two other distinctive elements are also evident: puns and repetition. In “Tzu-yeh ko,” a verbal pun ties the human situation of the first couplet with the

⁷⁴ Ibid. 6, p. 3b [325]; *Lu*, p. 1064, for four poems under this title.

⁷⁵ Ibid. 6, p. 3b [325]; *Lu*, p. 1054, for four poems under this title.

⁷⁶ The “Western songs” are geographically from the area surrounding present-day Wuhan.

⁷⁷ Ibid. 6, p. 3a [324]. ⁷⁸ *Lu*, p. 1040. ⁷⁹ *Lu*, p. 1051.

⁸⁰ *Lang* in Six Dynasties poetry is a term of address by a woman for her husband or lover.

natural scene in the second. The Amur cork tree was the source of a bitter-tasting medicine, and in “clear-*shang* lyrics” is often used as a metaphor for lost love; the words “bitter trunks 苦心” here are literally “bitter hearts.” In “Ch’ien-hsi ko,” the character for “kudzu” (*ko* 葛) appears twice and “cut” (*uan* 斷) appears three times. Repetition of *uan* ties the natural and human situations together: like the hardy plant, the singer’s love for her man is ineradicable. These poems are typical of “clear-*shang* lyric” quatrains.

Hu argues elsewhere, however, that Six Dynasties *yüeh-fu* did not develop directly into T’ang *wu-chüeh*; rather these songs are the root of a *yüeh-fu* style of T’ang pentasyllabic quatrains.

Pentasyllabic *chüeh-chü* originates in the period of the Two Capitals. Examples of the form were composed by Wei writers, but it particularly flourished in the Chin and Sung (420–479) periods. Poems like “Tzu-yeh” and “Ch’ien-hsi” reach the level of exquisiteness. Many T’ang writers imitated them—however, these are in the *yüeh-fu* genre and are not T’ang *chüeh-chü*. Among them the style and sound 格調音響 are very much like T’ang *chüeh-chü*, but they should be categorized separately 漫彙於左方.⁷⁹

Instead, he immediately offers Six Dynasties pentasyllabic *shih* quatrains as the precursors of T’ang *wu-chüeh*, giving the full texts of thirteen Six Dynasties quatrains, twelve by named scholar-poets and one by an anonymous author. Almost all of the works are categorizable as *shih* rather than *yüeh-fu*.⁸⁰ The following two examples are “Chung-hsing Song 中興歌” by Pao Chao 鮑照 (ca. 414–466), and “Poem Composed at Wei-shan Pavilion on the Ninth Day of the Ninth Month, while Returning to Yang-chou from Ch’ang-an” 於長安歸還揚州九月九日行薇山亭賦韻詩 by Chiang Tsung 江總 (519–594).⁸¹

Chung-hsing Song (1 of 10)

白日照前窗	The bright sun shines in the front window,
玲瓏綺羅中	And sparkles among the silken dresses.
美人掩輕扇	A beauty hides behind a light fan;
含思歌春風	Concealing her thoughts, she sings of the spring wind.

Poem Composed at Wei-shan Pavilion

心逐南雲逝	My heart pursues the southern clouds;
形隨北雁來	My body follows the northern geese.

⁷⁹ Hu, *Shih-sou* 6, p. 12a [342]. ⁸⁰ Ibid. 6, pp. 12a–13a [342–44]. ⁸¹ *Lu*, pp. 1271, 2595.

故鄉籬下菊 At home, the chrysanthemums beneath the
fence —
今日幾花開 How many have blossomed by now?

Although simple, these poems are less colloquial than “clear-*shang* lyric” quatrains. The language is fluid yet concise: there are no grammatical function words (except the interrogative *chi* 幾, “how many,” in the fourth line of Chiang’s poem), no repetition of characters, no puns, and no pronouns (“my” in Chiang’s poem was added in translation). The impression of direct speech of the “clear-*shang* lyric” quatrains is here replaced by elegant visual description. Chiang’s poem is particularly uncolloquial: it uses a parallel couplet and follows tonal prosodic rules.⁸²

The first couplet of each poem gives the context or setting needed for the dominant second couplet to have maximum impact. This integrative structure contrasts with the division between nature and persona in “clear-*shang* lyric” quatrains.

Topics differ as well: scholar-quatrains are more varied. Chiang subtly introduces a conflict between his physical travels and his mental yearnings for home in the first couplet, and with the chrysanthemums creates a vivid symbol of homesickness in the second. Love is a theme of Pao Chao’s quatrain, but not the only one. It is complicated by a political element: the entire series is apparently in praise of emperor Hsiao-wu 孝武帝 of the Sung dynasty (the Chung-hsing Pavilion was built in honor of his coronation in 454). Thus the “bright sun” in line one is likely a reference to the emperor.

The dominant aesthetic taste in Six Dynasties *shih* poetry was for “artful structure and descriptive similitude” 巧構形似.⁸³ The above two poems are consistent with this dictum, while “clear-*shang* lyric” quatrains are not.

It appears that Hu Ying-lin envisaged parallel linear developments, in which Six Dynasties pentasyllabic “clear-*shang* lyric” quatrains are the source for T’ang pentasyllabic *yüeh-fu* quatrains, and Six Dynasties pentasyllabic *shih* quatrains are the source of T’ang *wu-chüeh*. However, other statements by Hu maintain that *yüeh-fu* were the dominant source for *chüeh-chü*. For example, Hu writes:

From past to present there are three manifestations of the *yüeh-fu* genre: the first is the ancient lyrics of Han and Wei; the second is *chüeh-chü* of the

T’ang writers; and the third is *tz’u* and *ch’ü* lyrics of the Sung and Yüan (1276–1368).⁸⁴

The contradiction in Hu’s arguments is only apparent. I believe his object in citing both the Six Dynasties *yüeh-fu* and the scholar-poet examples is to explain the genesis of two separate types of T’ang pentasyllabic quatrain, one more literary than the other.⁸⁵ Although he argues that in the T’ang period *yüeh-fu* quatrains and *chüeh-chü* quatrains “should be categorized separately,” yet the difference to Hu appears to be one of style, not genre; he notes that the two are not that different, since T’ang *yüeh-fu* quatrains in “style and sound are very much like T’ang *chüeh-chü*.” His changing use of the term *chüeh-chü* also is evidence that he posited one genre, not two. When he argues that *yüeh-fu* quatrains “are not T’ang *chüeh-chü*,” his use of the term is fairly narrow, referring only to poems with a literary flavor. More commonly he uses the term broadly, including both *yüeh-fu* and *shih*.⁸⁶

In sum, Hu says that T’ang pentasyllabic quatrain poets drew their major influence from Six Dynasties *yüeh-fu*, but also developed a denser, more imagistic and varied style by adding *shih* characteristics to the *yüeh-fu* base; the *yüeh-fu* quatrain was paired with the distinct *chüeh-chü* quatrain. At first glance, the bifurcation of styles appears identical to that of Yang Shen, but this is deceptive. While Yang conceived a distinct break between continuous *yüeh-fu* and the noncontinuous *chüeh-chü* (which he thought was close to *lü-shih*), Hu thought that early *yüeh-fu* and T’ang *chüeh-chü* were two parts of an unbroken *yüeh-fu* tradition. Further, Hu’s conception of *chüeh-chü* had little to do with *lü-shih*, even though termed “*lü-chüeh*” (regulated-quatrain) in several places.

In fact, Hu criticizes *chüeh-chü* that were too close to *lü-shih*. Singled out were quatrains that concluded with perfect parallelism:

⁸⁴ Hu, *Shih-sou* 1, p. 20a [62].

⁸⁵ Two such quatrain types exist in T’ang poetry. Wang Wei’s colloquial “Miscellaneous Poem” 雜詩 states: “You have come from my hometown, / And should know of hometown affairs. / On the day you came, before the decorated window, / Was the cold plum in flower or not?” 君自故鄉來 應知故鄉事 來日綺窗前 寒梅著花未。 Contrast this with his much denser “Deer Enclosure” 鹿柴: “Empty mountain, no man is seen; / Only heard are the sounds of men’s talk. / Sunset light enters the secluded grove, / And again shines on the green moss” 空山不見人 但聞人語響 返景入深林 復照青苔上; *Fu/Liu*, pp. 107, 112.

⁸⁶ Hu had stated (see paragraph above) that pentasyllabic *chüeh-chü* sprang from Wei compositions and Chin-Sung *yüeh-fu*-like “Tzu-yeh” and “Ch’ien-hsi.” Elsewhere he writes, “The ‘Hsi-chou ch’ü’ *yüeh-fu* is a single composition, but actually it is eight stanzas of *chüeh-chü* 西洲曲樂府 作一篇實絕句八章也”; and “At the beginning of early and high-T’ang, most pentasyllabic *chüeh-chü* were *yüeh-fu*. In the early-T’ang, such ones were merely the echoes of Ch’ien and Sui. Not until after the K’ai-yüan period (712–755) does the style 句格 become superior”; Hu, *Shih-sou* 6, pp. 12a [342], 4a [326], 13a [344].

⁸² Mandarin level tones that were entering tones appear in the first line, second position, and in the third line, fifth position. The complete pattern runs as follows, where “-” refers to level tones and “+” to oblique: - + - - +, - - + + -, + - - + +, - + + - -.

⁸³ The terms are Chung Jung’s. See Kang-i Sun Chang, “Description of Landscape in Early Six Dynasties Poetry,” *Vitality of the Lyric Voice*, pp. 105–29.

"Vast wilds, Heaven lower than the trees;/Clear river, the moon is close to man" 野曠天低樹江清月近人.⁸⁷ has spiritual tone without peer. "Heaven's force surrounds the flat wilds;/The river's rush enters the broken mountains" 天勢圍平野河流入斷山.⁸⁸ has incomparable robust unity. But both are incomplete regulated-verse 未成律詩, and not of the *chüeh-chü* genre.⁸⁹

Presumably it is the circularity of the concluding couplets that convinces Hu that the poems are not *chüeh-chü*. In short, Hu and Yang Shen can be considered as standing in mutual opposition on the question of the dominant (and proper) pentasyllabic *chüeh-chü* style.

Hu Ying-lin's sources for heptasyllabic *chüeh-chü* are fewer. Like Kao Ping, he argues that true *ch'i-chüeh* began in the early-T'ang: "Seven-character *chüeh-chü* began with the Four Talents. . . ." He mentions fewer than ten Six Dynasties titles.

Following Kao Ping, Hu cites the three titles "Hsia-se ko," "Wu-ch'i ch'ü," and Chiang Tsung's "Yüan-shih." However, he is more critical as regards their having been "sources" for *ch'i-chüeh*:

The *P'in-hui* (Kao's *T'ang-shih p'in-hui*) asserts that "Hsia-se ko," "Wu-ch'i ch'ü," and "Yüan-shih hsing" are the sources of *chüeh-chü*. I have examined each of the four "Wu-ch'i ch'ü",⁹⁰ and each uses two rhymes, just like the style of Hsiang Yü's "Kai-hsia." T'ang writers often imitated this style, as in Li Ch'ang-chi's (Li Ho 李賀; 790-816) "Willow catkins hit the bed-curtain, spring clouds burn" 楊花撲帳春雲熱.⁹¹ In each of Chiang Tsung's "Yüan-shih," the last couplets all conclude with parallelism. These are not in the orthodox *chüeh-chü* style. Only "Hsia-se ko" alone, although not tonally harmonious, has style and content that definitely match T'ang *chüeh-chü*. All come from this source. However, in the Six Dynasties very few examples follow.⁹²

Following is one of the anonymous "Hsia-se ko," dating to the Liang period. Hu is emphatic about the fact that the *ch'i-chüeh* genre began in the Liang.⁹³

⁸⁷ This is the concluding couplet of Meng Hao-jan's 孟浩然 (689-740) quatrain "Staying Overnight on the Chien-te River 宿建德江"; *Fu/Liu*, p. 71.

⁸⁸ The second couplet of "Climbing Crane Tower 登鶴雀樓" by Ch'ang Tang 暢當 (c. 772); *Fu/Liu*, pp. 384-85.

⁸⁹ Hu, *Shih-sou* 6, p. 10b [339]; *Fu/Liu*, pp. 1028-29.

⁹⁰ Two sets of four "Wu-ch'i-ch'ü" are extant, one by Hsiao Kang and the other by Hsiao I. See *Lu*, pp. 1922, 2036.

⁹¹ From Li Ho's *ch'i-chüeh*, "Flying Butterfly 胡蝶飛."

⁹² Hu, *Shih-sou* 6, pp. 5a-b [328-29].

⁹³ Hu notes only one pre-Liang poem: "Song of Autumn Thoughts 秋思吟," by the Sung-era poet T'ang Hui-hsiu 湯惠休 (fl. 454-465), chosen probably for its AAXA rhyme scheme; *ibid.* 6, p.

Hsia-se ko

春風宛轉入曲房
兼送小苑百花香

Spring wind meanders into the inner rooms,
And brings a hundred flowers' fragrance from
the small garden.

白馬金鞍去未返

White horse with gold saddle has gone and not
returned;

紅妝玉筋下成行

Jade tears on rouge makeup fall down in lines.⁹⁴

Except for the lack of tonal prosody, this poem compares well with T'ang *ch'i-chüeh* by such acknowledged masters as Wang Ch'ang-ling. Although technically a *yüeh-fu* song, the style of "Hsia-se ko" is precise and elegant—quite unlike the colloquial pentasyllabic "clear-*shang* lyrics." This is understandable: the rise of heptasyllabic poetry in the late-Six Dynasties and early-T'ang was based in imperial courts.

As in many of Wang's poems, an archetypal human situation is the topic—the lonely woman left behind by her traveling (soldiering?) husband-lover. Strong emotion is presented in a very subtle way: visual details take the place of direct introduction of the parted couple. In fact, the entire poem is in a third-person descriptive mode. Integration is found in the second couplet, where the spring wind of the first couplet causes the woman's reawakened lovesickness—thus the poem can be termed a "fusion of feeling and scene." The rhetorical structure is "linear," in that both couplets are continuous (the second couplet is continuous running-water parallelism, since the third line is in the past, and the fourth line is in the present).

Of the other Six Dynasties titles Hu cites, Hsiao Kang's 蕭綱 (503-551) well-known "Watching a Lone Goose Fly at Night" 夜望單飛雁 is representative.⁹⁵ It is a good example of how the style employed in the "Hsia-se ko" *yüeh-fu* also occurred in *shih* poetry.

Watching a Lone Goose Fly at Night

天霜河白夜星稀

Heaven frozen, the river white, stars few at
night;

一雁聲嘶何處歸

A single goose cries—where now to go?

早知半路應相失

If he had known that halfway he should lose
the flock,

不如從來本獨飛

'Twere better that he had always flown alone.

5b [329]; *Lu*, p. 1245. Another Sung era poem that follows AAXA is Pao Chao's "Hearing a Singer at Night 夜聽妓"; *Lu*, p. 1305.

⁹⁴ *Lu*, p. 2750. The poem is also attributed to Wei Shou 魏收 (d. 573); p. 2269.

⁹⁵ Hu, *Shih-sou* 6, pp. 5a-b [328-29]; *Lu*, p. 1978.

The addition of tonal prosody

Tonal prosody is the simplest of Hu's three problems. He notes that early five- and seven-character quatrains were tonally unregulated. Tonal regulation was added to the forms by the T'ang period. Hu's explanation of the transformation of quatrains, however, chiefly concerns style: he argues that poetic language changed just when tonal prosody was added. Presumably, this is when *shih* characteristics were added to the *yüeh-fu* quatrain base. Discussing the evolution of the two *chüeh-chü* forms, Hu says:

Within four lines, two rhymes mutually harmonize, but transitions are rapid 轉換既迫 and sound patterns are not fluid 音調未舒. With the advent of the T'ang masters there was a transformation; the pitchpipes were harmonized 律呂鏗鏘 and line-style stabilized 句格穩順. The language is half like recent-style verse, but the meaning and flavor far exceed it.⁹⁶

Elsewhere, concerning seven-character quatrains:

Yü Tzu-shan's (Yü Hsin 庾信; 513-581) three-poem "Tai-jen shang-wang" 代人傷往 is close to the *chüeh-chü* genre but the sound-pattern is extremely unharmonious 調殊不諧.⁹⁷ The language is not flowing either 語亦未暢. Only with the anonymous late-Sui (581-618) poet's

楊柳青青著地垂	Green, green the willow brushing the ground;
楊花漫漫攪天飛	Wild, wild the willow catkins flying to heaven.
柳條折盡花飛盡	Willow branches are all broken — catkins are all flown;
借問行人歸不歸	I ask the traveler, will he return?"

does seven-character *chüeh-chü* become tonally regulated 音律.⁹⁸ This is the first poem in which every character is harmonious. Its language also has much T'ang flavor.⁹⁹

Hu Ying-lin's argument is that the five- and seven-character quatrain forms derived from *yüeh-fu*, specifically originating as short versions of pentasyllabic ancient-verse and heptasyllabic song. Later, tonal prosody was added and the language was "stabilized," resulting in the *chüeh-chü* genres.

The meaning of the term chüeh-chü

Hu's information on the meaning of the term *chüeh-chü* is rather incomplete. He disproved the "truncated *lü-shih*" view on historical grounds and disagreed with the "isolated lines" view stylistically. Nowhere, however, does he clearly define the term; he simply implies the possibility that *chüeh-chü* are so called because some early examples appear to be stanzas lifted out of longer *yüeh-fu* poems.

步出城東門	Walking out of the city's east gate;
遙望江南路	Looking afar at the road to Chiang-nan.
前日風雪中	On a past day amid wind and snow,
故人從此去	An old friend passed this way.

cuts off 截 the first four lines of a poem by a Han writer.¹⁰⁰

自君之出矣	Since you have gone,
明鏡暗不治	The bright mirror is always dark.
思君如流水	My thoughts of you are like the flowing waters —
無有窮已時	That never for a moment are exhausted.

cuts off the middle four lines of a poem by a Wei writer.¹⁰¹ Thus to say "*chüeh*" is "*chieh*" is possible, but does not apply specifically to [truncating] recent-style verse. To insist upon this ["truncated *lü-shih*" view] is not the correct argument.¹⁰²

And elsewhere:

The "Hsi-chou ch'ü" 西洲曲 *yüeh-fu* is a single composition, but is actually eight stanzas (*chang*) of *chüeh-chü*. The beginning and end of each stanza are integrated and complete 首尾相銜, and the stanzas link together in a single unity 貫串爲一. The form and style are very fresh, and the language is also extremely skilled. For example,

鴻飛滿西洲	Flying geese cover the Western Island;
望郎上青樓	Looking for him she climbs the green tower.
樓高望不見	The tower is high but she cannot see so far —
盡日闌干頭	A whole day by the balcony rail.

¹⁰⁰ The anonymous original poem, entitled "Ancient Poem 古詩," is eight lines. The second stanza exhibits a change in rhyme; *Lu*, p. 336.

¹⁰¹ Kuo Mao-ch'ien 郭茂倩, *Yüeh-fu shih-chü* 樂府詩集 (1983 Wen-yüan-ko SKCS edn.), vol. 1347, ch. 69, p. 599. The lines are the third stanza (*chang* 章) of a five-stanza poem by Hsü Kan 徐幹 (d. 218).

¹⁰² Hu, *Shih-sou* 6, p. 2b [323].

⁹⁶ Hu, *Shih-sou* 6, pp. 1b-2a [321-22].

⁹⁷ Only two Yü Hsin poems entitled "Tai-jen shang-wang" are now extant; *Lu*, p. 2410.

⁹⁸ The anonymous poem on the willow is in *Lu*, p. 2753.

⁹⁹ Hu, *Shih-sou* 6, pp. 5b-6a [329-30].

海水綠悠悠 The ocean water is green and vast;
君愁我亦愁 You are sad and I am also sad.
南風知我意 The south wind knows my thoughts,
吹夢到西洲 And blows my dreams to the Western Island.¹⁰³

These are just like poems by the T'ang writers.¹⁰⁴

The quatrain-length stanzas in the above poems can function as independent *chüeh-chü* poems. The first two are often read as such, and Hu argues that the latter two could be. Above, he noted that stanzas taken out of context can be said to have been "cut-off" (*chieh*). Thus *chüeh-chü* are "*chieh-chü*," the term usually applied by critics only to quatrains as truncated *lü-shih*, but here signifying "truncated *yüeh-fu*."

But Hu also believed that *chüeh-chü* was a T'ang term, once claiming, "All Six Dynasties short ancient-verse (*tuan-ku*) were indiscriminately called songs (*ko-hsing*). Not until the T'ang were they finally termed '*chüeh-chü*.'" ¹⁰⁵ Faced with evidence to the contrary, Hu still dates the term to the T'ang.

Among Han poems are recorded four "Ancient *chüeh-chü*" poems. But at that time the rules and styles were inchoate, so how could there be this appellation? These are in the category of songs 歌謠, and anthologists topped them with T'ang headings.¹⁰⁶

Granting Hu's assertion that the Han period did not give rise to the term *chüeh-chü*, it is puzzling that he did not date its origin to the Six Dynasties, since *Yü-t'ai hsün-yung*, where the poems appeared, was a Liang-period compilation.

These two points about *chüeh-chü* origins — that *chüeh-chü* are truncated *yüeh-fu* and that *chüeh-chü* is a T'ang term — tend to contradict each other. As evidence of the former Hu cites the pre-T'ang practice of writing *yüeh-fu* with independent quatrain-length stanzas that could be taken out of context, but according to Hu these stanzas were not called *chüeh-chü* at the time. Then in the T'ang, quatrains were independent poems, but their genre name probably could not have derived from a practice no longer in fashion. Hu Ying-lin's argument was missing something.

CH'ING RESEARCH ON THE TERM "CHÜEH-CHÜ"

Ch'ing critics found that the term *chüeh-chü* was indeed pre-T'ang. Several noted its use in *Yü-t'ai hsün-yung* in this regard, including Tung Wen-huan 董文煥

¹⁰³ *Lu*, p. 1069. Hu quotes lines 21-24, 29-32, of this anonymous composition.

¹⁰⁴ Hu, *Shih-sou* 6, p. 4a [326]. ¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.* 6, p. 2a [322]; *Fu/Liu*, p. 943.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.* 6, pp. 2a-b [322-33].

(1833-1877), Wu Ch'iao, Li Ying 李英 (fl. 1760s), and Ch'ien Liang-tse 錢良擇 (fl. 1680s-1710s). Their specific reference was the same four "ancient *chüeh-chü*" mentioned by Hu Ying-lin (and translated above).¹⁰⁷

Such critics as Wu Ch'iao, Li Ying, and Chao I 趙翼 (1727-1814) discussed the use of the term in *Nan-shih* 南史 — the history of the Southern Dynasties that was compiled by Li Yen-shou 李廷壽 and his father Li Ta-shih 李大師 early in the T'ang.¹⁰⁸ Chao cited the history's section on the Liang emperor Yüan (Hsiao I):

The Wei army invaded, and on the twenty-eighth day attacked from all sides. Even before [the army] reached it, the city was conquered. At Yu-pi, [the emperor Hsiao I] called for wine and drank it, and composed four "*chüeh*" poems 詩四絕. . .¹⁰⁹

All four of those poems are rather labored *shih* quatrains on the topic of death. The third runs as follows:

松風侵曉哀	A pine wind permeates the dawn sadness;
霜霧當夜來	Frost has come in the night.
寂寥千載後	After a thousand years of emptiness,
誰畏軒轅臺	Who will fear to pass the Hsüan-yüan Terrace? ¹¹⁰

In *Nan-shih*'s biography of Liu Ch'ang 劉昶 (434-497),¹¹¹ the alternative term "broken lines" (*tuan-chü* 斷句) is used instead of "*chüeh-chü*." Chao I assumes the terms were interchangeable in the Six Dynasties, as they were later. Li Ying argues that the old form of the character "*chüeh*" (written 綴) resembles the character "*tuan*" (written 斷), and assumes that "*tuan-chü*" is a mistake for "*chüeh-chü*."

Ch'ang knew that he could not win [military victory], so by night he opened the gate and fled to Wei, abandoning his mother and wife and taking with him only one concubine, who followed him on horseback wearing men's clothing. On the road he impassionedly wrote a "*tuan-chü*," which says,

¹⁰⁷ *Fu/Liu*, pp. 945, 946, 955. Li Ying does not cite the title of the anthology, but he records one of the poems as an example of "Ancient *chüeh-chü*," and I assume the anthology is his source. See the original quotations in Tung Wen-huan, *Sheng-tiao ssu-p'u* 聲調四譜 (Taipei: Kuangwen, 1974), last ch., p. 482; Wu, *Wei-lu shih-hua* 1, p. 71; Li Ying, *Shih-fa i-chien lu* 詩法易簡錄 (Shanghai: Chung-hua, 1917) 13, p. 1b; and Ch'ien, *T'ang-yün shen-t'i*, p. 783.

¹⁰⁸ *Fu/Liu*, pp. 946, 958. See the originals in Wu, *Wei-lu shih-hua* 1, p. 71; Li, *Shih-fa i-chien lu* 13, p. 1b; and Chao I, *Kai-yü ts'ung-k'ao* 陔餘叢考 (Shanghai: Shang-wu, 1957) 23, pp. 456-57.

¹⁰⁹ Li Yen-shou, comp., *Nan-shih* (Peking: Chung-hua, 1975; hereafter *NS*) 8, p. 245.

¹¹⁰ The Hsüan-yüan Terrace is a legendary construction on the mountain of the Queen Mother of the West 西王母. According to *Shan-hai ching* 山海經, sect. "Ta-huang hsi ching 大荒西經," none dare to pass beyond the terrace traveling west.

¹¹¹ Chao, *Kai-yü ts'ung-k'ao* 23, pp. 456-57; Li, *Shih-fa i-chien lu* 13, p. 1b.

白雲滿鄣來	White clouds fill the fortress;
黃塵半天起	Yellow dust rises halfway up the sky.
關山四面絕	On all sides mountain passes are cut off—
故鄉幾千里	My old home—how many thousand <i>li</i> away? ¹¹²

In *Nan-shih's* biography of T'an Ch'ao 檀超 (5th c.), a certain well-known writer Wu Mai-yüan 吳邁遠 (fl. 465-473) is the most interesting example. The emperor Ming of Sung summoned Wu to a court audience, after which the disappointed emperor was recorded as having said, "Besides 'lien' and 'chüeh' this man has nothing else" 此人聯絕之外無所復有。¹¹³ Both Wu Ch'iao and Li Ying assume that *lien* refers to couplets, and *chüeh* refers to quatrains, as these are the commonplace meanings of the terms in later periods.¹¹⁴ As a result they missed an opportunity to provide a semantic explication for the term *chüeh-chü*.¹¹⁵

The Ch'ing poet and critic Wang Shih-chen 王士禛 (1634-1711) provided a new interpretation. He proposed that the term *chüeh-chü* was related to the practice of writing "linked-verse" (*lien-chü* 聯句) in the Six Dynasties period.¹¹⁶

In *lien-chü* each person writes four lines. Separately [these four-line segments] become "*chüeh-chü*," while together they remain a single composition. Many in the generation of Hsieh T'iao 謝朓 (464-499), Fan Yün 范雲 (ca. late 5th c.), Ho Sun 何遜 (d. 527) and Chiang Ko 江革 (d. 535) have examples of this genre.¹¹⁷

According to this argument, *chüeh-chü* are so-called because they are segments of longer *lien-chü* compositions taken out of context. The idea may be applied to the *Nan-shih* comment about Wu Mai-yüan; it makes sense to say that a poet is skilled at a distinct genre like *lien-chü*, while mention of his skill at mere couplets is less likely. To assume that *lien* and *chüeh* are related helps explain why the two terms were singled out and others, such as *yüeh-fu* and *shih*, were omitted.

Wang Shih-chen provided an interesting starting point for understanding the term *chüeh-chü*, but did not carry his argument through. This task was left to

¹¹² *NS* 14, p. 403.

¹¹³ Wu, *Wei-tu shih-hua* 1, pp. 71-72; Li, *Shih-fa i-chien lu* 13, p. 1b; citing *NS* 72, p. 1766.

¹¹⁴ Li Ying notes, "that two lines are one *lien* and four lines are one *chüeh*—the source is old. This idea did not begin with T'ang writers." See *Shih-fa i-chien lu* 13, p. 1b.

¹¹⁵ Another critic who noted that Six Dynasties writers used both terms was Na-lan Hsing-te 納蘭性德 (1655-1685), *Lu-shui-t'ing ts'a-shih* 淶水亭雜識, in *Chao-tai ts'ung-shu*, ts' 69, ch. 24, p. 572; *Fu/Liu*, p. 945.

¹¹⁶ References to linked-verse in traditional collections and critical literature interchangeably use the characters *lien* 聯 and *lian* 連.

¹¹⁷ Wang Shih-chen, *Ch'ü-pai ou-t'an* 池北偶談 (Peking: Chung-hua, 1982), vol. 2, p. 339; *Fu/Liu*, p. 947.

twentieth-century literary historians, who rigorously analyzed the disparate information on *chüeh-chü* origins.

THE MODERN HISTORICAL UNDERSTANDING OF CHÜEH-CHÜ

In 1934 Hung Wei-fa 洪爲法 was the first of several modern Chinese critics to address the question of *chüeh-chü* origins.¹¹⁸ Although Hung adequately summarized the two major competing views—that *chüeh-chü* are cut-off from *lü-shih* and that they are descended from *yüeh-fu*—his work was superseded by Sun K'ai-ti 孫楷第, Fu Mao-mien 傅懋勉, Li Chia-yen 李嘉言, and Lo Ken-tse 羅根澤 in the 1940s.¹¹⁹ Lo Ken-tse's work can be regarded as the most complete, however none of these critics covered every facet. Further, none comments extensively on the origins of heptasyllabic *chüeh-chü*; instead the focus is on pentasyllabic poetry.

These four scholars discovered further examples of Six Dynasties usage of the term *chüeh-chü*. Lo Ken-tse notes that *Yü-t'ai hsün-yung* recorded the term in instances other than the "Ancient *chüeh-chü*." The tenth *chüan* of the anthology consists entirely of pentasyllabic quatrains, and among them titles by Wu Chün 吳均 (469-520), Hsiao Kang, Liu Hsiao-wei 劉孝緯, and Chiang Po-yao 江伯瑤 use either the term "*chüeh*" 絕 or "*chüeh-chü*," although problems exist according to varying editions.¹²⁰ Chi Jung-shu's 紀容舒 (1686-1764) *Yü-t'ai hsün-yung k'ao-i*

¹¹⁸ Hung Wei-fa, *Chüeh-chü lun* 絕句論 (Shanghai: Shang-wu, 1934). Japanese critics have also researched *chüeh-chü* origins. The first substantial contribution, earlier even than those of the modern Chinese critics, was by Suzuki Torao 鈴木虎雄, "Zekku sosen 絕句溯源," *Shina bungaku kenkyū* 支那文學研究 (Kyoto, 1925), pp. 157-72. Suzuki notes the use of the term *chüeh-chü* in the Six Dynasties period, and assumes that quatrains gained their name through being "cut off" from longer compositions at that time. He does not cite the "linked-verse" theory. The large number of Six Dynasties example poems are helpful. See also a more recent article synthesizing the various arguments: Hirano Hikojiro 平野彦次郎, "Zekku ni suite 絕句について," *Tōshisen kenkyū* 唐詩選研究 (Tokyo, 1974), pp. 56-77.

¹¹⁹ Sun K'ai-ti, "Chüeh-chü shih tsen-yang ch'i-lai ti" 絕句是怎樣起來的, *Hsieh-yüan* 學原 1.4 (1947), pp. 83-88; Fu Mao-mien, "Ts'ung chüeh-chü ti ch'i-yüan shuo-tao Tu Kung-pu ti chüeh-chü" 從絕句的起源說到杜工部的絕句, *Kuo-wen yüeh-k'an* 國文月刊 17 (1940), pp. 9-12; rpt. in *Li Chia-yen ku-tien wen-hsüeh lun-wen chü* 李嘉言古典文學論文集 (Shanghai: Ku-chü, 1987), pp. 192-201; Li Chia-yen, "Chüeh-chü yü lien-chü" 絕句與聯句, *Kuo-wen yüeh-k'an* 17 (1940), pp. 13-14; rev. as "Chüeh-chü ch'i-yüan yü lien-chü shuo" 絕句起源與聯句說, in his *Ku-shih ch'u-t'an* 古詩初探 (Shanghai: Ku-tien wen-hsüeh, 1975), and in his *Wen-hsüeh lun-wen chü*, pp. 188-92; and Lo, "Chüeh-chü san-yüan." All of these articles are based largely on *shih-hua*, but there is relatively little citation of the earlier material.

¹²⁰ Wu Chao-i 吳兆宜 and Ch'eng Yen-shan 程琰剛, eds., *Yü-t'ai hsün-yung ch'ien-chu* 玉臺新詠箋注 (Peking: Chung-hua, 1985), pp. 497 (Wu Chün's "Four Miscellaneous *chüeh-chü*" 雜絕句四首), 512 (Hsiao Kang's "*Chüeh-chü* Given to a Lady" 絕句賜麗人), 518 (Liu Hsiao-wei's "One Poem Modeled on the Duke of Ting-hsiang's Eight *chüeh* on Coming of Age")

玉臺新詠考異 accepts the terms in all of the above titles.¹²¹ Fu Mao-mien informs us that two titles by Hsiao Kang, two by Yü Hsin, and one by Shen Chiung 沈炯 (d. 561) use the term *chüeh* or *chüeh-chü* in collections other than *Yü-t'ai hsün-yung*.¹²² Lu Ch'in-li accepts some of these titles as accurate but questions others.

Nan-shih yields further instances of *chüeh* or *chüeh-chü*. Sun K'ai-ti finds two — in the biographies of Hsiao Cheng-te 蕭正德 (d. 549) and Chang Piao 張彪 (d. ca. 560–567).¹²³ Each claims that its subject wrote *chüeh* poetry. A third instance, noted by Fu and Lo, is at the end of the annals of Hsiao Kang, and is more specific:

After his [Hsiao Kang's] death, Wang Wei 王偉 (fl. 550) reviewed [certain of Hsiao's works], disliked their straightforward diction, and so caused them to be cut out. Those who followed [Wang] into [the capital] intoned three of the "linked-pearls 連珠" (presumably a reference to linked-verse), four of the *shih* compositions, and five of the *chüeh-chü* compositions, and said that the language was very saddening.¹²⁴

The gist of this is that Wang Wei was heavyhanded in his editing, and that others were more appreciative. The important point as regards the present discussion is that during the Six Dynasties, *shih*, *lien-chü*, and *chüeh-chü* were considered distinct genres of poetic writing.

Hu Ying-lin did not accept *Yü-t'ai hsün-yung's* use of "ancient *chüeh-chü*": he thought the term had been added by T'ang editors. Kojima Kenkichirō questions the references in the *Nan-shih* as well, because the work was compiled in the early-T'ang period.¹²⁵ Kojima has a point; in fact, none of the references to

和定襄侯八絕初笄一首, and 5:8 (Chiang Po-yao's "One Poem Modeled on the Duke of Ting-hsiang's Eight *chüeh* on a Robe from the Far South" 和定襄侯八絕楚越衫一首). Some early editions omit the terms *chüeh* and *chüeh-chü*. The citation of "ancient *chüeh-chü*" is secure, although Lo notes that Sung edns. omit "*chü*." Lo, "Chüeh-chü san-yüan," p. 213.

¹²¹ Chi, *Yü-t'ai hsün-yung k'ao-i* (1983 Wen-yüan-ko SKCS edn.), vol. 1331.

¹²² Fu, "Ts'ung chüeh-chü ti ch'i-yüan," pp. 9–10. See Lu, pp. 1968 (Hsiao Kang's "Chüeh-chü Poem on Looking at a Dharma Wheel atop a Pagoda at Night" 夜望浮圖上相輪絕句詩), 1974 (Hsiao's "Chüeh-chü Poem in Praise of Lanterns" 詠籠燈絕句詩), 2401 (Yü Hsin's "Three *chüeh-chü* Poems Modeled after Those by Buddhist Master K'an" 和佩法師三絕句詩, which Lu questions), 2405 (Yü's "One *chüeh* Poem on Listening to Songs" 聽歌一絕詩), and 2449 (Shen Chiung's "Modeled after Ts'ai Huang-men's *chüeh-chü* Poem in Praise of the *k'ou* (mouth) Character" 和蔡黃門口字詠絕句詩). Fu also cites one title by Wang Seng-ju 王僧孺 (465–522) titled "*Chüeh-chü* on Spring Thoughts" 春思絕句, and which appears in *Yü-t'ai hsün-yung*. Lu, p. 1769, does not accept the term *chüeh-chü* in the example.

¹²³ NS 51, p. 1279. ¹²⁴ NS 64, p. 1567.

¹²⁵ NS 8, p. 234. Wang Wei served the rebel general Hou Ching 侯景 (d. 551). After Hou Ching's defeat, Wang was arrested and eventually executed.

¹²⁶ Kojima Kenkichirō 兒島獻吉郎, trans. Sun Liang-kung 孫俚工, *Chung-kuo wen-hsiieh t'ung-lun* 中國文學通論 (rpt. Taipei: Shang-wu, 1965), vol. 2, p. 166. Cited by Lo, "Chüeh-chü san-yüan," pp. 217–18.

chüeh-chü listed in the *Nan-shih* biographies is included in the parallel biographies in the separate Southern Dynasties histories (*Liang-shu* 梁書 and *Sung-shu* 宋書), which were compiled before the founding of the T'ang, and from which Li Yen-shou and his father Li Ta-shih derived source material. The implication is that they added these references and their contexts.¹²⁷ Lo Ken-tse, however, argues that the fact both *Yü-t'ai hsün-yung* and *Nan-shih* use the term is evidence that it is genuinely from the Six Dynasties, and that it would have been unlikely that separate editors made such additions.¹²⁸ Further, the term is used so often and in so many different forms (*chüeh*, *chüeh-chü*, *chüeh-chü shih*, and *lien-chüeh*) that later editorial additions become even more unlikely. A fair assumption is that Li Yen-shou and Li Ta-shih were in possession of a Six Dynasties period work on poetry that was unavailable to the compilers of the Southern histories, and which is no longer extant.

Besides uses of the term *chüeh-chü*, Sun K'ai-ti found that "*luan-chü*" 短句 (literally "short lines") was another Six Dynasties alternative term for pentasyllabic quatrains. *Nan Ch'i shu* 南齊書 (a Liang-period compilation) includes a biography of a royal relative named Hsiao Yeh 蕭曄 in which Hsiao reportedly wrote *luan-chü* in the company of the other princes. His style was said to follow that of Hsieh Ling-yün 謝靈運 (385–443). The emperor praised Hsiao Yeh's work: "I have seen your twenty-character [poems], and among all writers's pieces yours are the best . . ." 見汝二十字諸兒作中最高為優者.¹²⁹

At this point, all the alternative terms for *chüeh-chü* have been introduced. To summarize, in the Six Dynasties three terms were current: *chüeh-chü* 絕句 (cut-off lines), *luan-chü* 斷句 (broken lines), and *luan-chü* 短句 (short lines). In the T'ang, *hsiao lü-shih* 小律詩 (little regulated-verse) was added. Finally, late in the Sung, *chüeh-chü* 截句 (truncated lines) referred specifically to quatrains as cut-down versions of *lü-shih*.

The four modern scholars contradict each other as regards the meaning of the term *chüeh-chü* and the origins of the quatrain form. Sun K'ai-ti takes up where Hu Ying-lin left off, attempting to prove that form and term are a result of the practice of taking *yüeh-fu* stanzas out of context. He does mention a second possibility, that *chüeh-chü* are descended from the southern "Songs of Wu" (*Wu-sheng*), a source mentioned by Kao Ping and Hu Ying-lin. The songs are a possible origin for the quatrain form generally, but not for the term *chüeh-chü*.

Sun does not elaborate on this possibility, instead concentrating on the other, which provides an explanation for both form and term. He argues that long pieces in the *yüeh-fu* categories "*hsiang-ho ko-tz'u*" 相和歌辭, "*ch'ing-shang*

¹²⁷ I am indebted to Prof. Denis Twitchett for this point. ¹²⁸ Ibid., p. 218.

¹²⁹ Hsiao Tzu-hsien 蕭子顯, *Nan Ch'i shu* (Peking: Chung-hua, 1972) 35, pp. 624–25.

san-tiao ko” 清商三調歌, and “*tsa wu-ch'ü*” 雜舞曲 beginning in the Han-Wei era (roughly 100–265 AD) became broken into stanzas (*chieh* 解).¹³⁰

Sun notes that various line-lengths were used, but pentasyllabic lines were dominant, and that although stanza-length varied, quatrains were dominant. In a statistical study of “*ch'ing-shang san-tiao ko*” in the “Record of Music 樂誌” of *Sung-shu*, Sun finds that over half the stanzas are of quatrain length (although these are not necessarily pentasyllabic). His survey included thirty-five titles with 181 stanzas, each one of which was clearly marked by the editors of *Sung-shu* as a “*chieh*.”¹³¹ He does not have similar evidence for *hsiang-ho ko-tz'u* and *tsa wu-ch'ü*, since in *Sung-shu* and *Yüeh-fu shih-chü* stanzaic divisions for these poems are not marked.

Thus Sun concludes that extant Han-Wei *yüeh-fu* tend to be pentasyllabic quatrain stanzas. He introduces the possibility that *chieh-chü* are so called because the form originates as stanzas taken out of context. His idea is that musicians occasionally preferred to sing one or two good stanzas rather than an entire composition. He has no Han-Wei evidence that lifting stanzas out of longer poems was a practice, but does list a good number of Ch'i-period (479–501) examples. He notes a half-dozen *tsa-wu ch'ü* lyrics from *Nan Ch'i shu* and *Yüeh-fu shih-chü* that are accompanied by text claiming that the words are a stanza or stanzas from longer poems.

Sun assumes that the practice of lifting stanzas out of context affected the *ch'ing-shang san-tiao ko* and *hsiang-ho ko-tz'u* as well. However, his single piece of evidence is from the biography of Wang Seng-ch'ien 王僧虔 (late-fifth century) in *Nan Ch'i shu*. Towards the end of the Liu-Sung dynasty (420–479) Wang memorialized the throne lamenting the fact that “*ch'ing-shang*” pieces were in decline, and criticized musicians for allowing many of them to either disappear or become incomplete.¹³² Sun K'ai-ti takes this as evidence that taking stanzas out of context resulted in a permanent loss of many lyrics.¹³³

It must be admitted that Sun's argument is rather thin. First, the proportion of pentasyllabic quatrain stanzas in the categories of Han-Wei *yüeh-fu* that he considers is not large, particularly as compared with the much higher per-

centage of pentasyllabic quatrains among the “Songs of Wu.” Second, stanzas out of context would not necessarily function as independent poems, as do *chieh-chü*. Finally, he offers no examples of stanzas taken out of context that are specifically termed *chieh-chü*. His findings are interesting, however, if we accept that the quatrain form may have been influenced from more than one direction. That is, taking quatrain-length stanzas out of context of longer poems may have contributed, if only in a minor way, to the acceptance of the pentasyllabic quatrain as a fixed-length form. More convincingly, the practice of taking quatrain-length stanzas out of context may have been catalyzed by the dominance of the quatrain form in other types of poetry.

Sun K'ai-ti does not address the possibility that the term *chieh-chü* originated in linked-verse writing. The relationship between *chieh-chü* and *lien-chü* is the topic of articles by Fu Mao-mien and Li Chia-yen, published together in 1940. Fu and Li introduce further evidence to link *chieh-chü* and *lien-chü* during the Six Dynasties. Lo Ken-tse introduces similar evidence in his slightly later article.

Fu notes that beginning in the Liu-Sung period participants in a linked-verse cycle usually wrote in pentasyllabic quatrains, for example, the cycle by Pao Chao and others titled “*Lien-chü* on Climbing a Tower beneath the Moon” 月下登樓連句, or that by Hsieh T'iao and others titled “*Lien-chü* on Being Blocked by Snow” 阻雪連句.¹³⁴ The linked-verse set (of two or more quatrains) would describe a single topic, but each quatrain could stand alone as an independent poem. This is in contrast to the T'ang practice of linked-verse, in which each participant generally wrote a couplet of a single long pentasyllabic poem.¹³⁵

The practice of writing linked-verse became quite popular in the Ch'i and Liang periods. Examples include that by Ho Sun's group titled “*Lien-chü* Imitating the Ancients” 擬古連句, that by Hsiao Kang's group titled “*Lien-chü* on a Curving Stream” 曲水連句, and that by Tao Kai's 到溉 (d. 549) group titled “*Lien-chü* on Reviewing Flowering Talents at I-hsien Pavilion” 儀賢堂監策秀才聯句.¹³⁶ Lo Ken-tse counts a total of thirty-eight extant pentasyllabic *lien-chü* series from the Six Dynasties period. All but three are written in quatrain segments.¹³⁷

To argue further that *chieh-chü* and *lien-chü* are related, Fu shows that at times the terms were apparently interchangeable. Sometimes, a multi-authored linked-verse set was anthologized under a single one of the authors' names, in which case the names of the individual contributors would be noted following

¹³⁰ The *ch'ing-shang san-tiao ko* type of *yüeh-fu*, which continued into the Six Dynasties, should not be confused with the distantly related Six Dynasties category of “clear-*shang* lyric” or *ch'ing-shang ch'ü-tz'u*, of which the “Songs of Wu” and “Western songs” are subcategories. The former is a general term for songs under three (thus *san-tiao*) of the ten *hsiang-ho ko-tz'u* subcategories: *p'ing-tiao* 平調, *ch'ing-tiao* 清調, and *sa-tiao* 瑟調. See Wang Yün-hsi, “Ch'ing-yüeh k'ao-lüeh” 清樂考略, in *Yüeh-fu shih lun-t'ung*, pp. 11–38.

¹³¹ Sun, “Tsen-yang ch'i-lai,” p. 84.

¹³² *Nan Ch'i shu* 33, p. 595. ¹³³ Sun, “Tsen-yang ch'i-lai,” p. 87.

¹³⁴ *Lu*, pp. 1312, 1455. ¹³⁵ See *Ch'üan T'ang-shih* 788–794 for examples.

¹³⁶ Fu, “Ts'ung chüeh-chü ti ch'i-yüan,” p. 11; *Lu*, pp. 1710, 1856, 1980.

¹³⁷ Lo, “Chüeh-chü san-yüan,” pp. 219–22.

their poems and the set would be termed a *lien-chü* in the title. At other times, only a poet's individual contribution was listed in his poetry collection, in which case the quatrain poem was still often termed a *lien-chü*. Individual poems were often taken out of context from longer sets. For example, "Lien-chü Imitating the Ancients" was the combined creation of Ho Sun, Fan Yün, and Liu Hsiao-ch'o 劉孝綽 (481-539). Under Ho Sun's name the entire set is recorded using this title, while under Liu Hsiao-ch'o's name only his own quatrain is recorded (this time omitting the term *lien-chü*).¹³⁹ In Ho Sun's works two separate pentasyllabic quatrains are recorded that do use the term *lien-chü* in their titles, and in Yü Hsin's works a similar example can be found.¹⁴⁰ We can assume that Ho's and Yü's poems, like Liu Hsiao-ch'o's, were originally complemented by others, which were not recorded.

Thus at times a pentasyllabic quatrain was called a *chüeh-chü*, and at others it was called a *lien-chü*. Then what is the difference? The assumption is that a single quatrain termed a *lien-chü* is a poem that originally was part of a whole cycle of poems, while a *chüeh-chü* is a poem that never existed as one of several complementary pieces.

In claiming that a poem termed a *lien-chü* must have had a complement piece, Li Chia-yen notes two instances, the first by Ho Sun and the second by Chiang Ko, in which the poet wrote pentasyllabic quatrains without complements, and thus were termed "uncontinued linked-verse" 連句不成.¹⁴¹ Presumably, these were identical with *chüeh-chü*.

In sum, the evidence pointing to a relationship between *lien-chü* and *chüeh-chü* is circumstantial, but still strong. Style also supports the relationship, since *lien-chü* and *chüeh-chü* from the early periods can both be defined as *shih*, and not *yüeh-fu*. Topics for both tended to be occasional, and the language is of a density typical of Six Dynasties *shih* poetry. Quatrains in the *yüeh-fu* style of the "Songs of Wu" were not contemporaneously termed *chüeh-chü*; moreover, they contained generic topics and colloquial language.

Li Chia-yen and especially Fu Mao-mien use style to deny that quatrain-length folksongs had anything to do with *chüeh-chü* origins.¹⁴² Following this argument, *chüeh-chü* are short *shih* poems and *lien-chü* are series of such poems, while *yüeh-fu* quatrains developed independently. Li's and Fu's conclusion is probably too narrow: it does not explain why the quatrain form became the norm in Six Dynasties *chüeh-chü* and *lien-chü*. A better explanation is that composition of

short *shih* poetry in the Six Dynasties was influenced by the overwhelming dominance of pentasyllabic quatrains in short *yüeh-fu*. However, the two scholars' point that *chüeh-chü* quatrains and *yüeh-fu* quatrains were quite distinct in the Six Dynasties period is well taken. Not until the T'ang and the post-T'ang periods did the term *chüeh-chü* broaden in scope to include relatively all independent quatrain-length poems.

Lo Ken-tse's article is the most comprehensive of all those dealt with here. Lo refers to three origins for *chüeh-chü*: the term arises from *lien-chü*, the form from folksong, and tonal prosody from the late-Six Dynasties trend towards recent-style verse. Lo arrays impressive evidence for each point, and he ultimately strengthens the assertion that the pentasyllabic quatrain form has roots in folksong.

Lo undertook a statistical survey of all extant folksongs from the Six Dynasties period contained in *Yüeh-fu shih-chi*. He found for the south 329 extant "Songs of Wu," of which 275 are pentasyllabic quatrains; and for the west 146 "Western songs of Ching and Ch'u" (*Ching-Ch'u hsi-sheng*), of which 105 are pentasyllabic quatrains. To these, Lo adds a third class of examples not cited by Hu Ying-lin: the northern "Songs for drum, horn and transverse flute" (*ku-chiao heng-ch'ui ch'ü* 鼓角橫吹曲).¹⁴³ Of the 66 extant songs, 44 are pentasyllabic quatrains. Thus 424 pentasyllabic quatrains out of a possible 541 exist, or almost eighty percent.¹⁴³ The implication is that the overwhelming dominance of pentasyllabic quatrains in popular song became the fixed-length quatrain genre used by poets.

However, Lo does not comment on Six Dynasties pentasyllabic quatrains in the *shih* style. This leads to a contradiction in his conclusions: in effect he argues that the *chüeh-chü* term, which derives from the *shih* practice of *lien-chü*, was eventually applied to works in an independent *yüeh-fu* tradition.

CONCLUSION

No one traditional or modern critic fully explained *chüeh-chü* origins or comprehensively described all facets of the *chüeh-chü* genres, yet the comments of each are valuable pieces in a complicated puzzle. My interpretations of a com-

¹³⁹ The *ku-chiao heng-ch'ui ch'ü* were popular at the Liang-dynasty court, where they were known as "northern songs 北歌." Kuo Mao-ch'ien argues that the majority used tunes composed by northwestern tribes, and that some of the lyrics were translated from tribal languages. Topics include love, social customs and war. See Kuo, *Yüeh-fu shih-chi* 25, p. 230.

¹⁴⁰ Lo, "Chüeh-chü san-yüan," pp. 225-26.

¹³⁸ Lu, pp. 1710 and 1844. ¹³⁹ Lu, pp. 1708 (Ho Sun) and 2400 (Yü Hsin).

¹⁴⁰ Lu, pp. 1714 (Ho Sun) and 1716 (Chiang Ko).

¹⁴¹ Fu, "Ts'ung chüeh-chü ti ch'i-yüan," p. 12; Li, "Chüeh-chü ch'i-yüan yü lien-chü shuo," p. 14.

bination of critical views suggest the following development of pentasyllabic *chüeh-chü*: the pentasyllabic quatrain-form first became dominant in Six Dynasties colloquial *yüeh-fu*, and it carried over into contemporary *shih* composition. However, *shih* quatrains in the period were written in the descriptive, literary style of longer *shih* poetry. T'ang *wu-chüeh* is a hybrid combination of the Six Dynasties *yüeh-fu* quatrain style (the predominance of continuous couplets in *wu-chüeh* certainly derives from colloquial *yüeh-fu*) and the *shih* quatrain style (the descriptive power, general density of language, and occasional parallelism of *wu-chüeh* certainly derive from *shih*). Tonal prosody was added late in the Six Dynasties period, and the *wu-chüeh* form became one of the recent-style verse-forms. The term *chüeh-chü* originated in the Six Dynasties practice of writing *lien-chü* and was used to describe independent pentasyllabic quatrains in the *shih* style. Only in the T'ang and post-T'ang periods was the use of the term expanded to include virtually all pentasyllabic quatrains. The dominance among critics of the "truncated *lü-shih*" view after the Sung presumably influenced later *wu-chüeh* composition, but we should not apply it to T'ang examples.

Critics indicated various sources for *wu-chüeh* but seldom explained those indications. My broader research focuses on a major gap in the critical arguments: what *exactly* are the contributions of Six Dynasties *yüeh-fu* and *shih* quatrains to the development of T'ang *wu-chüeh*? The answer should be determinable through linguistic and thematic comparison of Six Dynasties examples and *wu-chüeh* by major T'ang poets.

Critics are less clear about the origins of *ch'i-chüeh*; they devoted much more space to *wu-chüeh* development. The implication, it seems to me, is that the majority believed that *wu-chüeh* was the dominant *chüeh-chü* genre; *ch'i-chüeh* was simply an extended version of *wu-chüeh*.¹⁴⁴ Although *wu-chüeh* developed earlier than *ch'i-chüeh*, should we assume that the longer form grew out of the shorter? This is not a simple yes or no question — *ch'i-chüeh* may have derived some of its characteristics from *wu-chüeh*, but not others. Kao Ping and Hu Ying-lin argued for an independent development, saying that *ch'i-chüeh* derived from a small number of late-Six Dynasties *yüeh-fu* songs, which catalyzed creation of the new genre early in the T'ang. Yet they disagree on whether songs with rhyme schemes other than AAxA should be considered, and do not explain exactly what characteristics from heptasyllabic song carried over into *ch'i-chüeh*. Whether *ch'i-chüeh* origins are dependent on *wu-chüeh*, independent, or a combination of both cannot be determined by reference to *shih-hua* alone; a separate study is war-

ranted, analyzing sample heptasyllabic quatrains from the late-Six Dynasties to the high-T'ang.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

<i>Fu/Liu</i>	Fu Shou-sun 富壽孫 and Liu Pai-shan 劉拜山, <i>Ch'ien-shou T'ang-jen chüeh-chü</i> 千首唐人絕句
<i>Lu</i>	Lu Ch'in-li 逯欽立, <i>Hsien Ch'in Han Wei Chin Nan-Pei ch'ao shih</i> 先秦漢魏晉南北朝詩
<i>NS</i>	<i>Nan-shih</i> 南史

¹⁴⁴ Lo Ken-tse states specifically that *ch'i-chüeh* is an "extension" 擴展 of *wu-chüeh*; *ibid.*, p. 231.