



PROJECT MUSE®

---

**Within the Human Realm: The Poetry of Huang Zunxian, 1848-1905  
(review)**

Richard John Lynn

China Review International, Volume 3, Number 2, Fall 1996, pp. 305-331  
(Article)

Published by University of Hawai'i Press  
DOI: 10.1353/cri.1996.0009



➔ For additional information about this article  
<http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/cri/summary/v003/3.2.lynn.html>

J. D. Schmidt. *Within the Human Realm: The Poetry of Huang Zunxian, 1848–1905*. Cambridge Studies in Chinese History, Literature and Institutions. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994. xi, 355 pp. Hardcover \$39.95, ISBN 0–521–46271–1.

This study of Huang Zunxian 黃遵憲 and his poetry is divided into three parts: Biography, Criticism, and Translations. Part 1 consists of “The Poet as a Young Man,” “Huang, the Diplomat,” and “Reform and Reaction.” Part 2 contains “The Theory of the Poetic Revolution,” “The Practice of Revolution,” “Traditional Themes,” “Foreign Climes,” “The Brave New World,” “The Development of Huang Zunxian’s Satire,” “The Late Satirical Poetry,” “Huang Zunxian and Modern Science,” “Quatrains of 1899,” and “Fin de Siècle.” Part 3 consists of “Early Verse (ca. 1864–1868),” “The Growing Talent (1868–1877),” “Tokyo (1877–1882),” “San Francisco (1882–1885),” “Return to China (1885–1890),” “The Empire on Which the Sun Never Sets (1890–1892),” “Singapore (1891–1894),” “War and Reform (1894–1899),” and “Retirement (1899–1905).”<sup>1</sup>

Huang was a native of Jiayingzhou 嘉應州 (present-day Meizhou 梅州) in northeastern Guangdong, and a member of a Hakka (Kejia) 客家 family, which, like so many Hakka families of the area, had originally moved from northern China and settled there during the Song and Yuan eras (tenth to thirteenth centuries). Huang’s family had achieved local prominence by the time of his great-grandfather, and Huang’s father, Huang Hongzao 黃鴻藻 (1828–1891), had a long and distinguished official career and is remembered primarily in history for his management of supplies to the Chinese army during the Sino-French War (1882–1884) in southern Guangdong and Vietnam.

Huang Zunxian’s own official career began in 1877 when he became Counselor to the Imperial Chinese Legation in Tokyo, a post he filled until 1882 when he was appointed Consul General in San Francisco. He stayed in California until 1889, returned briefly to China, and 1890 found him installed as Counselor to the Chinese Legation in London. The next year Huang became Consul General in Singapore, where he remained until 1894. Zhang Zhidong 張之洞 (1837–1909), then Acting Governor-General of Liangjiang (Jiangsu, Anhwei, and Jiangxi), had Huang appointed in early 1895 to the staff of his Office of Foreign Affairs (*Yangwuju* 洋務局) and put him in charge of cases concerning missionaries and other foreigners. In November 1896 Huang was summoned to two audiences with the

Guangxu emperor, whom he impressed both with his progressive attitudes and by his eyewitness accounts of the successful Japanese reform and modernization movement initiated and fully supported by the government of the Meiji emperor in Japan. The Guangxu emperor subsequently requested copies of Huang's *Riben zashi shi* 日本雜事詩 (Poems on Japanese miscellaneous subjects), which Huang had composed during his posting to Tokyo, and *Riben guozhi* 日本國志 (Treatises on Japan), which he had begun in 1880 and finally published in 1890. Both seem to have contributed significantly to the Chinese emperor's appreciation of the Meiji reform movement and strengthened his own determination to embark on a similar program of reforms for China, the ill-fated reforms of 1898.

An attempt was made toward the end of 1896 to have Huang appointed ambassador to Germany, but the Germans, determined to stir up trouble because the Chinese government was resisting their demands for concessions in Shandong, rejected the appointment on the trumped-up charge that Huang had engaged in corrupt activities while serving in Singapore. However, Huang soon afterwards obtained another office, his first official domestic post in China, when he was appointed Salt Intendant (*Yanfa daotai* 鹽法道臺) for Hunan (1897). This involved him directly in the reform activities sponsored by the progressive governor of Hunan, Chen Baozhen 陳寶箴 (1831–1900), to which he enthusiastically contributed, along with, among others, Tan Sitong 譚嗣同 (1865–1898) and Liang Qichao 梁啟超 (1873–1929). In June 1898, the emperor summoned Huang to an audience at which he intended to appoint him ambassador to Japan, but before Huang could reach the capital, the reform movement was crushed and the emperor rendered powerless. Although Huang himself managed to avoid arrest and execution, largely due to the intervention of the former prime minister of Japan, Itō Hirobumi 伊藤博文 (1841–1909), working through the Japanese government, and of influential members of the Western community in China, his official career was at an end. He was cashiered and ordered to return to his native place, Jiayingzhou, where he lived quietly until his death in 1905.

Schmidt's book includes a survey of Huang's life and background information in part 1 (Biography) and part 2 (Criticism) sufficient for an appreciation of how individual circumstances and general historical forces helped shape Huang's poetry. However, more detailed information and insightful analysis of Huang's life and times can be found in Noriko Kamachi, *Reform in China: Huang Tsun-hsien and the Japanese Model* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1981). Kamachi's work is far wider in scope than its title suggests and is actually a comprehensive study of all aspects of Huang's personal life, official career, and literary activities—not just during the time when Huang was in Japan but throughout his lifetime. As far as Huang's biography and the historical context are concerned, Kamachi covers the same ground as Schmidt, and she does it better.<sup>2</sup>

Schmidt's part 2, focusing as it does on Huang's place in Chinese literary history and his theory and practice of poetry, of course says much more about these things than Kamachi's book, for Kamachi is primarily concerned with Huang's significance as a historical figure and uses his writings primarily as sources for intellectual, social, and political history. Schmidt's study is, at present, undeniably the best introduction in English to Huang's poetry: its interest for us lies here and in the translations of poems that follow in part 3.<sup>3</sup>

However, we should also note another recent study of Huang's theory and practice of poetry: Zhang Tangqi 張堂錡, *Huang Zunxian ji qi shi yanjiu* 黃遵憲及其詩研究 (A study of Huang Zunxian and his poetry) (Taipei: Wenshizhe Chubanshe 文史哲出版社, 1991). Zhang's study is also a detailed treatment of Huang's thinking on political, social, economic, and educational issues and includes a sophisticated chronological survey of Huang's writings that attempts to date important works, including many unpublished letters, poems, and prose compositions, identifying where they are preserved or published, and commenting on their critical and historical significance. Schmidt lists Zhang's work in his Bibliography (p. 348) but he refers to it only twice: (1) as one of several works that contain a biography of Huang based on Qian Esun 錢萼孫, *Huang Gongdu Xiansheng nianpu* 黃公度先生年譜 (Chronological biography of Mr. Huang Gongdu) (*Renjinglu shicao jianzhu* 人境廬詩草箋註 edition) (see *Within the Human Realm*, p. 307 n. 7), and (2) as one work that stresses the importance of Huang's early poems written in imitation of Hakka folk songs (*ibid.*, p. 321 n. 22). Zhang's study of Huang is much more important than this: it is the best comprehensive study of Huang's poetry in any language and now serves as the benchmark against which all other such studies should be measured. Therefore, a brief digression into a description of Zhang's book seems in order. A listing of the subjects treated in chapters 3–6, provided below, indicates the thoroughness with which Zhang approached this complex and fascinating thinker and writer.

Chapter 3, "Huang Zunxian's Literary Thought" 黃遵憲文學思想, includes three sections: "The Issue of Spoken versus Written Language" 語言, 文字問題, "Views of Classic Prose and Vernacular Fiction" 古文, 小說見解, and "Conceptions of Poetry" 詩歌主張, which consists of four subsections: "Literary Evolution and Opposition to Archaism" 文學進化, 反對摹古, "Reform Ideas but Preserve Old Forms" 革新精神, 保存形式, "Face Reality Squarely and Reflect the Times" 正視現實, 反映時代, and "Appreciate Folk Songs and Do Not Avoid Vernacular Expressions and Popular Subjects" 重視民歌, 不避流俗.

Chapter 4, "Scope of Intension in Huang Zunxian's Poetry" 黃遵憲詩的內涵論,<sup>4</sup> is divided into two broad sections: I. "Subject Categories" 題材分類, which includes (1) "Objective Scene and Subjective Mood" 客觀景物與主觀景情: (a) "Landscape Poetry" 寫景詩, (b) "Describing Objects / Still Life Poetry" 詠物詩, (c) "Travel Poetry" 行旅詩; (2) "Historical Reality and Personal Ideals" 歷史

現視與自我理想: (a) “Narrative Verse” 紀事詩, (b) “Historical Odes” 詠史詩, (c) “Reflective Odes” 感懷詩; (3) “The Poet and Others in Social Intercourse” 人我之間的酬酢往來: (a) “Repartee Poems” 酬贈詩,<sup>5</sup> (b) “Longing for Friends” 思友詩, (c) “Keepsake Poems Presented at Parting” 送別詩, (d) “Love Poetry” 閨情詩, (e) “Laments” 哀輓詩; and (4) “Equitable Readjustment of Words and Deeds” 言行之間的平衡調適: (a) “Poetry of Argument” 議論詩, (b) “Pragmatic Poetry” 實用詩<sup>6</sup> II. “Primary Themes Manifested” 主題呈現: (1) “Moved by the Times and Grieving for the Nation” 感時憂國的情懷: (a) “Opposition to the Aggression of the Great Powers” 反對列強之侵略, (b) “Critique of China’s Inability to Halt Domestic Disorders” 批評內亂之不斷, (c) “Satire of the Corruption and Inefficiency of Manchu Qing Officials” 諷刺滿清官吏之腐敗無能, (d) “Advocacy of the Idea that Peoples of the World Should Unite” 倡導種族團結思想; and (2) “The Hopelessness of Unrealized Ambition” 有志難伸的無奈。

Chapter 5, “Formal Considerations of Huang Zunxian’s Poetry” 黃遵憲詩的形式論, is divided into four broad sections: I. “Distinctive Characteristics of Diction” 語言特性: (1) “Adopt Dialect Expressions and Popular Sayings” 採納方言, 俗諺, (2) “Use Vernacular Speech” 運用白話, (3) “Do Not Avoid Buddhist Expressions” 不避佛家語, and (4) “Use New Terms in Classical Verse” 以新名詞入詩. II. “Syntax and Rhetoric” 句法修辭: (1) “Reiteratives/Reduplicates” 重疊, (2) “Repetition of Expressions” 重出, (3) “Repetition of Syntax” 疊敘, (4) “Parallelism” 排比, (5) “Parallel Couplets” 儷辭, (6) “Antithesis” 襯映, (7) “Anadiplosis” 頂真, (8) “Metaphor” 比擬, (9) “Tendencies to Free Verse” 散文化, and (10) “Allusions” 用典.<sup>7</sup> III. “Composition” 篇章結構: (1) “High and Wide Angle of Vision” 高原的視覺角度, (2) “Flexibility of Narrative Viewpoint” 敘事觀點靈活, (3) “The Use of Contrast to Create Tension” 用對比制造張力, (4) “Clarity of Unity and Coherence” 層次分明, (5) “The Use of Syntactic Repetition to Enhance Effects 藉語法重覆以加強效果, and (6) “Natural Transitions in Tone of Speech” 語氣轉折自然. IV. “Characteristic Expression of Works as a Whole” 整體表現上的特色: (1) “Complexity of Imagery” 意象繁複 and (2) “Vividness of Color” 色彩鮮明.<sup>8</sup>

Chapter 6, “Stylistic Considerations of Huang Zunxian’s Poetry” 黃遵憲詩的風格論, is divided into two broad sections: I. “Elements that Contributed to Huang’s Style” 風格的成因 and II. “Stylistic Types” 風格的類型: (1) “Heroic and Powerful” 雄放勁健, (2) “Downcast and Desolate” 沈鬱蒼涼, (3) “Full of Daring Surprises” 奇變險峭, (4) “Refreshing and Tender” 清新柔婉, and (5) “Easy and Contented” 閒適恬淡. Zhang Tangqi bases his analysis of Huang’s range of poetic style on his reading of Huang’s own Preface to *Renjinglu shicao* (Draft of poems from the Hut within the Human Realm):

Huang Zunxian analyzes his own poetry in his Preface to *Renjinglu shicao*: “The style that I forge (*liange* 鍊格) derives from a range of styles beginning with that of Cao Zhi 曹植 [192–232], Bao Zhao 鮑照 [ca. 414–466], Tao Qian 陶潛 [365–

427], Xie Lingyun 謝靈運 [385–443], Li Bai 李白 [701–762], Du Fu 杜甫 [712–770], Han Yu 韓愈 [768–824], and Su Shi 蘇軾 [1037–1101] and extending down to works by late lesser masters of recent times. However, I neither lay claim to any one of these as my own style (*buming yige* 不名一格) nor restrict myself entirely to any one form (*buzhuan yiti* 不專一體), for I must not allow damage befall my ability to write poetry ‘for the self’ (*yao bushi hu weiwo zhi shi* 要不失乎為我之詩).<sup>9</sup> This passage perfectly describes the route Huang took in achieving his own poetic style: the resentment and distress that Cao Zhi felt when he fell into the deep net of unfavorable circumstances; the profound discontent that Bao Zhao felt when he was denied the opportunity to exercise his talents; Tao Qian’s character, which allowed him to distance himself from the common, vulgar world and be content with a life of pristine simplicity; Xie Lingyun’s sensitive observation of landscape scenery and his exquisite ability to depict it in words; Li Bai’s magnanimity and romantic spirit; Du Fu’s sorrow and realism; the great and wonderful way Han Yu had with words as he strove mightily to create something new; and how Su Shi broke free from the confines of prosody to write freely as he pleased. Huang took up the styles of all these past masters, studied them, and enriched himself in the process. He even nourished his style by drawing collectively on the works of late “lesser masters” of recent times—poets such as Gong Dingan 龔定盦 [Gong Zizhen 自珍 (1792–1841)], Zeng Guofan, Huang Zhongze 黃仲則 [Huang Jingren 景仁 (1749–1783)], Song Zhiwan 宋芷灣 [Song Xiang 湘 (ca. 1756–1826)], Wu Meicun 吳梅村 [Wu Weiye 偉業 (1609–1672)], and Xie Gaoyu 謝皋羽 [Xie Ao 翱 (1249–1295)].<sup>10</sup>

Although overlap occurs, Schmidt’s and Zhang’s books have different approaches, emphases, and strengths: (1) Schmidt’s study offers far more information about Huang’s experience with the Western world and Meiji Japan (hardly mentioned in Zhang’s). (2) While Zhang merely cites brief excerpts of poetry to illustrate points of literary history, critical analysis, intellectual history, or biography, Schmidt’s citations are all in English translation, and, since he also provides a large selection of translated and annotated whole poems, his critical achievement is of a very different order. Translation from one language to another necessarily involves interpretation—an exacting exercise that the literary critic or historian who stays within the same language is spared. While Zhang’s analyses of passages of poetry often provide helpful hints as to what they “mean” (syntax, denotations, connotations, general gist, allusions, etc.), none of the passages are *translated* into modern Chinese. (3) Zhang’s study consists of both a more comprehensive discussion of Huang’s place in Chinese literary history and a wider and deeper critical analysis of formal and stylistic elements. (4) Schmidt’s notes and commentaries to the translated poems and excerpts—as well as the translated poetry itself—are especially valuable for the factual information they provide concerning late Qing history and Huang’s personal life and official career. Zhang either avoids passages of poetry that require commentary or, when commentary is required, keeps it to an absolute minimum—assuming a much more informed readership than those for whom Schmidt’s book is written. Although Schmidt rarely goes beyond the

notes given in Qian Esun's annotations in *Renjianlu shicao jianzhu* (Draft of poems from the Hut within the Human Realm, with annotations) and material supplied in Qian's *Huang Gongdu Xiansheng nianpu* 黄公度先生年谱 (Chronological biography of Mr. Huang Gongdu) (*Renjinglu shicao jianzhu* edition), he does make available in English an enormous amount of information about Huang and his times, and this alone constitutes a significant contribution to the study of late Qing history and literature in the West. Schmidt's pioneering effort should also serve as a catalyst for further studies and translations of Huang and his works.

While Schmidt's part 2 includes some of the most satisfying parts of the book, it also contains some of the most disappointing. We should single out for praise his surveys of (1) Huang's role as a forerunner of modern vernacular Chinese literature, (2) his significant contribution to the "poetic revolution" of the late Qing (*shijie geming* 詩界革命), (3) his accomplishments as a patriotic poet and social critic, (4) the success of his experiments in poetry about foreign lands and cultures and the scientific and technological achievements of the modern world, and (5) the development of his satirical poetry. These are all well written and carefully documented sections. However, Schmidt's attempt in chapter 6 ("Criticism: Traditional Themes") to define Huang's place in the history of traditional classical verse—including accounts of Qing-era poetry, the distinctions between Tang and Song poetry, and Huang's special attraction to Song-era poetry—seems woefully inadequate, reductionist, and seriously misleading.

Schmidt begins chapter 6 with the following statement:

Modern Chinese critics rarely mention the large quantity of verse on traditional themes that Huang Zunxian wrote, although much of it is of exceptional quality. These critics have probably felt disinclined to study this poetry, since it does not seem relevant to their interest in Huang as a forerunner of modern Chinese literature, but their attitude is faulty for a number of reasons. . . . [B]y ignoring Huang's more traditional poetry, we run the risk of presenting an unfair and distorted picture of his poetic output. . . . [S]ince his traditional verse comprises a significant portion of his collected works, it would be foolhardy to ignore it just because it does not fit our preconceived notions about Huang being a "modern poet." . . . [A]n examination of Huang's more traditional poetry may reveal affiliations with earlier literature that may assist us in explaining his more original verse. (p. 78)

However, many modern Chinese studies of Huang's poetry are, in fact, devoted at least in part to revealing "affiliations with earlier literature" and traditional elements in Huang's verse. Some explore these aspects in great detail, with much sensitivity, and, in my opinion, achieve results far superior to Schmidt's own efforts. Zhang Tangqi's *Huang Zunxian ji qi shi yanjiu* (A study of Huang Zunxian and his poetry) is the most comprehensive of these studies, and, while critiques of Huang by other modern literary historians/critics often focus on Huang's "modern" aspects, they also have much to say about his literary precedents and place in

the tradition of classical verse. For example: (1) Qian Esun's 錢萼孫 *Meng tiaoran shihua* 夢苕盦詩話 (Discussions of poetry from the Dreamer of Rushes Hut), quoted in *Renjinglu shicao jianzhu* (pp. 434–442), has a great deal to say about Huang's debt to the tradition and his close affiliation with the poetry of Gong Zizhen, Huang Jingren, and Song Xiang; (2) Chen Yan 陳衍 (sobriquet Shiyi 石遺), *Shiyishi shihua* 石遺室詩話 (Discussions of poetry from Shiyi's Lodge) (Taipei: Shangwu Yinshuguan 商務印書館, 1961), quoted in *Renjinglu shicao jianzhu* (pp. 416–419), traces Huang's literary antecedents primarily to Gong Zizhen and Xie Ao; (3) the quote from Long Muxun 龍沐勳, *Zhongguo yunwen shi* 中國韻文史 (A history of Chinese poetry) (Shanghai: Shangwu Yinshuguan 商務印書館, 1934), in *Renjinglu shicao jianzhu* (p. 448), stresses Huang's individualism and modernity, but another passage in Long's work, quoted in Tang, *Huang Zunxian ji qi shi yanjiu* (A study of Huang Zunxian and his poetry) (p. 213 n. 6), emphasizes the influence of Zeng Guofan's poetry on Huang; and (4) Qian Zhongshu 錢鍾書, *Tanyi lu* 談藝錄 (Record of discussions of literary art) (Hong Kong: Longmen Shuju 龍門書局, 1965) (pp. 29–32), disparages Huang's verse for its superficiality and excessive derivation from the poetry of Song Xiang 宋湘, but Qian's *Yeshi ji* 也是集 (The and so forth collection) (Hong Kong: Guangjiaojing Chubanshe 廣角鏡出版社, 1984), written many years later, includes a section on Huang (pp. 77–79) in which Qian expresses his regret at having attacked Huang earlier in *Tanyi lu* and now praises him—with some qualifications—as a legitimate heir to the tradition of classical Chinese verse.

Zhang Tangqi's bibliography lists more than two dozen recent studies of Huang's poetry, and few fail to say at least something about Huang's traditional affiliations (see pp. 267–271). The compilation of critical remarks on Huang's poetry appended by Qian Esun to *Renjinglu shicao jianzhu: Shihua shang* 詩話上 (Discussions of poetry: Part A) and *Shihua xia* 詩話下 (Part B) (pp. 391–452), gleaned from late-Qing through mid-twentieth-century works, contains many other observations on Huang's traditional affiliations. Even Liang Qichao, who championed the innovative aspects of Huang's verse, also writes extensively about Huang's positive relation to the tradition in *Yinbingshi shihua* 飲冰室詩話 (Discussions of poetry from the Ice Drinker's Lodge), extensively quoted by Qian Esun in *Discussions of Poetry: Part A*. Recent publications on Huang's poetry—especially those produced in the People's Republic of China through the early 1980s—might tend to emphasize Huang's "modernity," but Schmidt's claim that Huang's traditional aspects are "rarely" addressed by modern Chinese critics is simply not true.

According to Schmidt, of all the traditional influences on Huang, the strongest was the poetry of the Song era (960–1279)—especially that of the Southern Song (p. 79). It is necessary, therefore, for him to define the essential features of

Song verse and contrast them with those of the other major “school” of traditional verse—that of the Tang era (618–906):

Ever since the Ming dynasty, Chinese critics have tended to divide Chinese poetry from the seventh century onward into two schools, Tang poetry and Song poetry. Such a division ignores the great diversity of writing during both dynasties, but one must admit that it does possess a certain validity, and even such a prominent Japanese scholar of Chinese poetry as Yoshikawa Kōjirō 吉川幸次郎 (1904–1981) continues the division in his own work. According to Yoshikawa, the primary difference between Tang and Song poetry is that Tang poets emphasized sentiment, whereas Song poets favored intellect. Tang poetry does not lack ideas, nor are Song authors deficient in feeling, but Yoshikawa and earlier Chinese critics have based their separation of Tang from Song poetry on easily discernible differences between the approaches of authors during the two periods.

Nonetheless, in certain respects it might be better to call Song poetry a poetry of wit than a poetry of intellect, because the term “wit” embraces a wider variety of literary phenomena than the term “intellect.” (p. 79)

These assertions by Schmidt can be challenged on several grounds. (1) Distinctions between the Tang and Song “schools” or “styles” did not start with the Ming but originated much earlier during the Song era itself. Their first systematic presentation, in fact, appears in Yan Yu’s 嚴羽 (ca. 1195–ca. 1245) *Canglang shihua* 滄浪詩話 (Canglang’s discussions of poetry), and, from the thirteenth century on, it became commonplace to describe, analyze, and evaluate classical verse in terms of Tang and Song stylistics—no longer conceived of merely as elements of historical period styles but as contrasting sets of criteria that constitute two distinct, trans-temporal *generic* styles: whereas Tang-style poetry tends to be dense, connotative, elliptical and suggestive, intense, subtle, and figurative, and where it largely avoids colloquial expressions and syntax, often expresses ideal, magnanimous states of mind, and emphasizes the expression of heightened awareness of exceptional moments in life, Song-style poetry tends to be loose, denotative, matter-of-fact, obvious, discursive, and straightforward, often using colloquialisms and often preoccupied with the vicissitudes of everyday life—portraying them at times with irony and (even coarse) humor.<sup>11</sup>

(2) Yoshikawa does, indeed, contrast Tang and Song poetry but not, as Schmidt says, on the basis of “sentiment” (Tang) versus “intellect” (Song). The terms “sentiment” and “intellect” occur neither in the section cited by Schmidt in Burton Watson’s translation of Yoshikawa’s “Sōshi gaisetsu” 宋詩概說 (An introduction to Song poetry) nor in the original Japanese text.<sup>12</sup> The section that Schmidt cites is titled 宋詩の哲學性理論性 in Japanese and *The Philosophical and Discursive Nature of Sung Poetry* in English. It is Yoshikawa’s view that Song poets tended far more than Tang poets to relate philosophical observations and employ the language of logical discourse in poetry, but he never says that Song poetry is more “intellectual” than Tang poetry nor singles out, for example, Su

Shi and Yang Wanli as more “intellectual” poets than Du Fu and Han Yu. While there is no doubt that more explicit philosophizing exists in Song poetry than in Tang poetry, one can hardly say that this makes its “intellectual” content greater than that of the Tang. Yoshikawa also never contrasts “intellectual” Song poetry with “sentimental” Tang poetry. Nothing in Watson’s translation or the original Japanese text supports Schmidt’s reading of *An Introduction to Sung Poetry*. Instead, Yoshikawa’s basic distinction is that Tang poetry is pervaded by sorrow and that Song poetry attempts to transcend sorrow. However, even this view has not found wide acceptance and has often been challenged.<sup>13</sup>

(3) It would have been helpful if Schmidt had attempted to define more precisely what he means when he says that “wit” generally characterizes Song poetry, for he simply says that wit is a “clever turn of phrase or humorous image,” “clever conceits,” or (witty) “use of personification” (p. 79). Since such elements can be found in the works of many a Chinese poet from almost any period either before or after the Song (including almost all the more important Tang masters), Schmidt’s use of “wit” is useless as a defining characteristic of Song verse. Nevertheless, he goes on to say: “Interest in witty Song verse declined under Mongol rule and reached its nadir during the nearly two and a half centuries of the Ming dynasty, but the Qing dynasty witnessed a remarkable rebirth of Song-dynasty poetry” (p. 80).

The history of Chinese classical verse during the Yuan, Ming, and Qing periods is much more complicated than this. Despite the strength of the Tang-style-centered archaist movement (*fugu yundong* 復古運動), much Song-style poetry—“witty” or not—was composed throughout the Yuan and Ming eras—by such prominent poets as Fang Hui 方回 (1227–1306), Yang Weizhen 楊維禎 (1296–1370), Du Mu 杜穆 (1459–1525), the painters Shen Zhou 沈周 (1427–1509) and Xu Wei 徐渭 (1521–1593), the dramatist Tang Xianzu 湯顯祖 (1550–1616), and, of course, Yuan Hungdao (1568–1610) and his brothers (the so-called Gong’an 公安 school of poetry), among others.<sup>14</sup> Its tradition continued intact up to the time when mainstream anthologists, editors, annotators, critics, and major poets began to reject the narrow confines of archaism during the seventeenth century and include Song and Song-style poetry within the purview of their interests.<sup>15</sup> The facts of Chinese literary history do not support Schmidt’s assertion that the Ming suffered a “nadir” and that the Qing witnessed a “remarkable rebirth” of “Song-dynasty” poetry.

Much of the best of Qing poetry is based on the creative synthesis of Tang-style and Song-style elements—for example, the use of daring and sophisticated figurative language to portray everyday life, sometimes with ironic and/or humorous twists. The great Qing poets, despite the efforts of modern literary historians to pigeonhole them as either Tang-style or Song-style poets, were all successful synthesizers of both styles (and, often, of pre-Tang poetry as well)—poets such as

Wu Weiye 吳偉業 (1609–1672), Qian Qianyi 錢謙益 (1582–1664), Song Wan 宋琬 (1614–1673), Shi Runzhang 施閔章 (1619–1683), Wang Shizhen 王士禛 (1634–1711), Yuan Mei 袁枚 (1716–1798), Chao Yi 趙翼 (1727–1814), and Gong Zizhen 龔自珍 (1792–1841). Huang Zunxian also belongs here—as his Preface to *Renjinglu shicao* states, he was much more than an emulator of Song-era poetry. Schmidt’s determination to emphasize Huang’s affiliations with the casual, colloquial, and prosaic poetry of the Southern Song—especially that of Fan Chengda 范成大 (1126–1191) and Yang Wanli 楊萬里 (1127–1206) (see esp. pp. 79–85)<sup>16</sup>—not only results in obscuring Huang’s great success at synthesizing aspects of Tang-style poetry but also seems to have compromised Schmidt’s ability to translate Huang’s poems that incorporate Tang-style elements of diction and syntax.

Schmidt’s translations are inconsistent: while some versions are accurate and reveal a good understanding of the Chinese texts, others seem very flawed and consist of nothing but loose paraphrase that does little justice to the originals. In general, Schmidt is better at poems and parts of poems that consist primarily of the straightforward language of narrative and discourse but decidedly less successful when it comes to coping with figurative language. Since much of Huang’s best poetry is rich in metaphor and other tropes, one can only be disappointed in the overall results of Schmidt’s efforts: Schmidt translates Huang as if he always wrote in the loose, straightforward style of a Fan Chengda or a Yang Wanli, but this fails to do justice to much of his best poetry.

If one understands original prose texts (and, to some extent, prose-like poetry), paraphrase can often work well enough when converting narrative or discourse from one language into another, but it is poison when it comes to figurative language.<sup>17</sup> Schmidt exhibits such consistent inattention to the original syntax of lines of Huang’s poems that I am left with the strong impression that he does not translate directly from original texts but instead works up his English versions out of intermediate glosses, which might consist of various mixtures of prose paraphrase, associations, external information, and interpretation. Such glosses in modern Chinese (*baihua*) on texts in literary Chinese (*wenyan* 文言), called *dayi* 大意 (the general idea/drift), are common features in modern Chinese publications of studies, anthologies, and editions of classical works. Although it would be foolish to ignore such glosses, they should never be regarded as substitutes for or equivalents to the original texts—especially for poetry. A paraphrase is a paraphrase whether it is from literary Chinese to English, literary Chinese to modern Japanese, or literary Chinese to modern Chinese.

According to Schmidt’s Preface (p. x), his understanding of Huang’s poetry largely depends on the “learned comments” of Qian Esun 錢萼孫 (Zhonglian 仲聯), a foremost expert on Huang Zunxian studies, and his ability to comprehend “the subtleties of the Changshu dialect he [Qian] speaks.” Qian’s annotations to Huang’s poetry, the *Renjinglu shicao jianzhu* 入境廬詩草箋註, rarely include in-

interpretative comments or directions on how to construe the syntax of lines and passages but consist almost entirely of factual background and biographical information or quotations of passages that identify the source of allusions. Thus, it appears that Schmidt's English versions must significantly derive from verbal glosses delivered to him by Qian, as Schmidt says, during two visits to Qian's home at Suzhou University (p. x). However, if Qian ever tried to explain how the syntax of Huang's poetry worked, I find little evidence of this in Schmidt's translations, which rarely exhibit respect for the wording of poems. Schmidt lists several annotated selections of Huang's poems in his bibliography (p. 342), and these also must have proved helpful with the *dayi* (the general idea/drift) of individual lines, couplets, and, in some cases, whole poems:

Cao Xu 曹旭, editor and annotator. *Huang Zunxian shixuan* 黃遵憲詩選 (Selected poems by Huang Zunxian). Shanghai: Huadong Shifan Daxue Chubanshe 華東師範大學出版社, 1990.

Li Xiaosong 李小松, editor and annotator. *Huang Zunxian shixuan* 黃遵憲詩選 (Selected poems by Huang Zunxian). Taipei: Yuanliu Chubanshe 遠流出版社, 1988.

Liu Shinan 劉世南, editor and annotator. *Huang Zunxian shixuan zhu* 黃遵憲詩選註 (Selected poems by Huang Zunxian, with annotations). Shanghai: Guji Chubanshe 古籍出版社, 1986.

Zhong Xianpei 鍾賢培 et al., editors and annotators. *Huang Zunxian shixuan* 黃遵憲詩選 (Selected poems by Huang Zunxian). Guangzhou: Guangdong Renmin Chubanshe 廣東人民出版社, 1985.

The combination of Schmidt's *dayi* paraphrase approach to translation and his frequent disregard of Qian Esun's "learned comments" results in numerous deficiencies and errors. The following set of passages, unfortunately, is typical of Schmidt's selections as a whole; the same kinds of problems can be found throughout the 150-odd poems that he presents in the book:

Page 217: 感懷 [Schmidt] *Meditations*; [Lynn] *Impressions / Stirred By My Emotions*

卓哉千古賢  
獨能救時弊

[Schmidt] The wise men of antiquity were vastly superior to this scholar,  
Or at least they could deal with their society's problems!

[Lynn] How glorious! Those worthies of ages past,  
Who alone could rescue their times from troubles.

Page 218: 乙丑十一月避亂大埔三河虛[墟] [Schmidt] *In the Eleventh Month of 1865, We Escape from the Rebellion to Three Rivers in Dapu County*; [Lynn] *In the Eleventh Month of the Year Yichou* [December 18, 1865–January 16, 1866], *We Escape the Rebellion at Three Rivers Town in Dapu District* [northeastern Guangdong]

## 人盡流離呼伯叔

[Schmidt] Everyone flees and begs relatives for help;

[Lynn] All wander as refugees, calling out “Old Sir!” “Young Sir!”

That is, refugees beg any man for help, whether young or old. The commentary of Qian Esun rightly directs the reader to Ode 37 in the *Shijing* 詩經 (Classic of poetry), “Maoqiu” 旄丘 (The escarp), where *shu xi bo xi* 叔兮伯兮 (Oh young sirs! Oh old sirs!) is traditionally taken as an address to the ministers of Wei 衛 made by refugee officers of the neighboring state of Li 黎, begging for help. It is most likely that *shu bo* 伯叔, literally “older uncle [or] younger uncle,” in Huang’s poem are meant as respectful addresses to strangers for help.

Page 219: 潮州行 *A Ballad of Chaozhou*

## 平江蕩柔櫓

[Schmidt] The still river quivered as we plied our oars.

[Lynn] The calm river lets our weak sweep go with the drift.

Surely, *dang* 蕩 here is not “quiver” but “drift”—as it occurs in the expression *dang chuan* 蕩船 (let a boat drift / drift around in a boat): Huang’s refugee family, still trying to escape from the Taiping Rebellion, leaves Three Rivers, where the Mei River 梅江 joins the Han River 韓江, and travels south down the Han to supposed safety at Chaozhou. Already worn out by previous flight, the exhausted (“weak”) boatmen who man the stern sweep (not “our oars”) fortunately are allowed by the calm river to rest and let the boat drift with the current. *Roulu* 柔櫓 could also mean “gentle sweep”—that is, only a gentle working of the stern sweep is necessary to assist the boat to make its way downstream in the calm current. A few lines later, ambushed by bandits hiding in the thick vegetation at the river’s edge, the refugees are overtaken by the bandits’ boat:

## 快櫓飛如雨

[Schmidt] Their boats flying more swiftly than a squall of rain.

[Lynn] The fast sweep flies like rain.

Schmidt’s paraphrase completely obscures the dramatic contrast between the *roulu* 柔櫓 (weak/gentle sweep) of the Huang family boat and the *kuailu* 快櫓 (fast/powerful sweep) of the bandits’ boat (nothing in the poem suggests “boats”), which quickly catches up, allowing the bandits to overpower them and demand that they hand over their possessions. (The Huangs, however, are close enough to Chaozhou city that a canon is fired, people shout “kill the bandits,” and they are saved in the nick of time.) It is also possible that the line contains an ellipsis: “The fast sweep scatters / makes fly [water] as if it were raining.” Or, the line might be construed as “The fast sweep makes them fly like the rain.”

Page 221: 游豐湖 *A Trip to Lake Abundant*

亭亭立荷葉  
萬碧含露唾

[Schmidt] Lotus leaves stand erect, so slender and graceful—  
Like millions of emeralds spitting dewy beads from their mouths

[Lynn] Erect and graceful stand lotus leaves—  
Countless jade stones brimming over with dewy spittle.

Schmidt's paraphrase obscures the parallel structure of the couplet, which argues against taking *tuo* 唾 (spit/spittle) as a verb. *Han* 含 is not "mouth" but "hold in the mouth," "hold in/back," "be replete with / brim over"—a verb parallel to *li* 立 (stand) in the previous line. The couplet consists of two halves of a metaphor, but Schmidt needlessly turns it into a simile. "Emeralds" are translucent, bright, flashy stones, a poor simile, anyway, for the soft and glossy, jade-green leaves of the lotus. Of course, *bi* 碧 does not mean "emerald" but fine "jade stone," surely a more appropriate translation for this Chinese poem about a scene in China. No word in the original corresponds to Schmidt's "beads."

Page 229: 人境廬雜詩 *Assorted Poems from the Hut within the Human Realm, I*

春風吹庭樹  
樹樹若爲秋  
.....  
溼雲攢岫出  
疊浪拍天流

[Schmidt] The spring wind puffs against the trees in my garden  
And they sigh together as if autumn had arrived.  
.....  
Drenched clouds wriggle free from craggy peaks;  
Layers of drifting waves slap against the sky.

[Lynn] A spring wind so blows the garden's trees  
They shake and flap as if in autumn.  
.....  
Drenched clouds gang up on mountain peaks, emerge  
As layered waves, buffet the sky, flow on.

"Puff" and "sigh" are gentle actions, but this is a violent scene, and the violence is echoed two couplets later in the description of storm clouds. Although *shushu* 樹樹 usually means "tree after tree / each and every tree," it is more likely that here it is an instance of onomatopoeia, "*shushu*," which suggests a sound—"sigh," "sough," or "rustle" if gentle, and something like "shake and flap" if violent. Since a storm is coming up, I have chosen "shake and flap." In this context, Schmidt's "moan" seems out of place. Anyway, trees do not "moan" when the wind merely puffs on them. In the second couplet quoted, *cuan* 攢 does not mean "wriggle

free” but “come together” or “surround” / “gang up on”—as in the expressions *cuan'ou* 攔毆 or *cuanda* 攔打 (surround and beat up someone). Although Schmidt seems to have translated this second couplet so that the first line describes the clouds and the second deals with the river's waves, it is more likely that both lines refer to the storm clouds. The couplet brilliantly invokes a double-layered metaphor: the cloud-bullies first gang up and threaten the mountain peaks, then turn into *dielang* (layered waves = storm waves), which come out, beat up the gentle spring sky, and finally spread to cause mischief down below among gardens and along the peaceful river. We know that the fury of the storm has not yet struck, however, because the final couplet tells us:

不識新泊長  
沙邊有睡鷗

[Schmidt] A seagull dozes drowsily on a sandy bank,  
Ignorant that the waters are already rising.

[Lynn] Innocent of the swell of new waves,  
The sandy margins keep their sleeping gulls.

Schmidt's paraphrase misses the point: the sand flats at river's edge are, as yet, unacquainted with (untouched by) the long reach of high waves, newly stirred up by the onset of an unseasonable storm. The waves are “new,” we can assume, because this is the first storm since winter. The river gets fresh, unspoiled sand flats each spring, and these, untouched until now, are about to be washed over, wrecked, and the gulls deprived of their place to sleep. One could argue, of course, that it is the gulls that are yet unaware of the new swelling waves and so stay asleep—the syntax is ambiguous enough to permit this reading, and such a reading would be logically plausible, since gulls are sentient beings and sand flats are not. But such logic, I believe, robs the poem of much of its charm. Huang's poem is full of drama, witty metaphor, and layers of meaning, but, unfortunately, very little of this comes across in Schmidt's English version.

Page 232: 不忍池晚游詩 *Even Outings to Lake Shinobazu*, I

開門看雨夢纔醒  
一抹斜陽照畫屏  
隨著西風便飛去  
弱花無力繫蜻蜓

[Schmidt] Just wakened from my dream, I open the door and watch the rain;  
A blotch of setting sun glows on the painted screen.  
Dragonflies wing away, docilely following the west wind—  
The blossoms are too weak to make them drop in for a chat.

[Lynn] Only when we open the door to watch the rain do we wake from dream  
To find a daub of slanting sunlight lighting up a painted screen.  
Following the west wind, let's just fly away—

These tender blossoms lack the power to fetter you dragonflies!

I have translated the function word / grammatical particle *cai* 纔 [才] as it occurs in the vernacular Chinese. Classical usage (hardly, barely, scarcely) suggests: “Opening the door to watch the rain / We’re [I’m] scarcely woken from dream.” The colloquial usage lends itself to a more dramatic and intimate narrative: Huang seems to be with Japanese friends in a geisha house (or, at least, in some restaurant or other establishment attended by geishas). Now, it is late afternoon or early evening. After being caught up in a dream-like mood (sake, women, song!), the mood is dispelled by taking a look outside. Schmidt’s version of the line—the poet wakes up *and then* opens the door and watches the rain—is not possible, given the word order of the line and the presence of *cai* 纔 [才], in either its classical or its vernacular usage. The “painted screen” (*huaping* 畫屏), of course, is a conceit for the scene outside. Schmidt’s rendering of *yimo* 一抹 as “a blotch,” an ugly expression, is most unfortunate, for it surely refers, in keeping with the painting / real scenery conceit, to a brush stroke, as if the setting sun at the clear western edge of a rain-shrouded sky were adding a bright stroke to a dark painting. Instead, Schmidt has the sun cast a blotchy patch of light on an actual painted screen inside, missing Huang’s stroke of genius completely. In the third line, *bian* 便 does not mean “docilely” but “immediately” or “just/simply.” Schmidt has missed other conceits: the *ruohua* 弱花 (tender blossoms) of the last line surely refer to *ruo* (young, tender) geishas and the *qingting* 蜻蜓 (dragonflies)—strong, assertive, mobile creatures—refer to Huang’s Japanese friends. Huang was well aware that an old name for Japan was Qingtingzhou (Akitsushima 蜻蜓洲), “Dragonfly Isles,” so this was a perfect opportunity for him to use his lively wit and call his friends “dragonflies.” Now that they have awakened from reverie, he suggests that they should break free and simply (*bian* 便) leave. Schmidt’s reversing the order of the third and fourth lines is consistent with his misunderstanding of the poem as a whole. His version does little justice to the original, an extremely witty and clever poem, for it merely assembles a few disjointed impressions, lacks structure and integrity, and completely obscures the genius of Huang’s metaphoric figures and dramatic economy. The gratuitous “drop in for a chat” at the end of Schmidt’s version does not deserve comment.

Schmidt translates a selection of fifteen of Huang’s *Poems on Japanese miscellaneous subjects* (pp. 238–241), but the sixteenth, *Qingtingzhou* 蜻蜓洲 (Dragonfly Country), is not included among them. I provide my own translation here:

巨海茫茫浸四圍  
三山風引是耶非  
蓬萊清淺經多少  
依舊蜻蜓點水飛

The great ocean, infinitely vast, drenches its edges all around—  
Might it have been the wind from the Three Mountains that drew me here?

This Penglai with its clear shallows has existed ever so long,  
Now as always, a dragonfly tripping across the water as it flies.

Huang's own commentary reads:

From the time of its [Japan's] founding until the present, its national boundaries have always remained the same. When Jimmu 神武 [the first emperor of Japan (660–585 B.C.)] reached Yamato 大和, he climbed a mountain, looked into the distance, and said, "How beautiful is this realm! Does it not look just like a dragonfly tripping across the water!" Thus, Japan is also called the Qingtingguo (Akitsushima) 蜻蜓洲 [Dragonfly Country]. Our histories mention the Three Mountains of the Gods 三神山 that exist beyond the sea, to which the wind draws you but which you never can reach.

Huang then quotes from the *Shanhai jing* 山海經 (Classic of mountains and seas), to show how the ancient Chinese thought that the mythic Penglai Isles, abode of the Immortals, were located where Japan is, lying far beyond the eastern sea.<sup>18</sup>

The *bitan* (Japanese, *hitsudan*) 筆談 (brush conversations) that Huang had with his Japanese friends (1877–1882) record many instances when those friends tried to involve him with geishas or assist him in acquiring a concubine. Huang apparently refused all such attempts, remaining loyal to his wife back in China. The story of Huang's love and dedication to his wife and other women in his family is treated in considerable detail by Noriko Kamachi (pp. 4–6), who notes Huang's resolve never to take a concubine because of the influence of his great-grandmother, Madam Li 李太夫人. Thus, whenever Huang's friends suggested an excursion or gathering, he always expressed enthusiasm for the idea but invariably added something like "but you simply need not order any geishas 但不必招藝者耳!"<sup>19</sup>

Page 232: 不忍池晚游詩 *Evening Outings to Lake Shinobazu*, III

薄薄櫻茶一吸餘  
點心清露挹芙蕖  
青衣擎出酒波綠  
徑尺玻璃紙片魚

[Schmidt] One tiny sip of subtly flavored cherry tea  
Makes a snack that refreshes like dewdrops on lotus.  
Then black-robed waitresses bring out green rippling wine,  
With transparent sashimi, sliced thinner than paper.

[Lynn] The remains of a sip of delicate, subtle cherry tea  
Form a morsel of pure dew to ladle from a lotus blossom.  
Black gowns elevate and bring out wine rippling green  
And sashimi in paper-thin slices on foot-wide glass plates.

Schmidt ignores the *yu* 餘 (the remains) at the end of the first line. The poet does not quite finish the tea, and a bit remains at the bottom of his lotus-shaped cup, as if it were dew held in the calyx of a lotus blossom. "Snack" is an unfortunate

choice for *dianxin* 點心 (morsel), and Schmidt's resort to a nonexistent simile suggests that he has seriously misunderstood the syntax of the couplet. In the third line, *qingchu* 擎出, which means hold something up high (as a sign of respect) and bring out, is weakened by Schmidt's simple "bring out." In the context of this poem, *qingyi* 青衣, of course, refers to "black-robed waitresses," but why suppress the synecdoche of the original and expand it into an interpretative paraphrase? And is it really necessary that *jiupo lü* 酒波綠 (wine rippling green / wine that ripples its green color) be rearranged as "green rippling wine"? Schmidt's understanding of the last line is, I think, impossible, for it reads: *jingchi boli zhipian yu* 徑尺玻璃紙片魚 (foot-across glass, paper-slice fish). He ignores *jingchi* 徑尺 (foot in diameter) and has it that the glass describes the fish: "transparent sashimi." The syntax of the original might support the interpretation "foot across [transparent as] glass: paper-thin fish slices," but, while sashimi might certainly be sliced so thinly that it seems transparent, it is most unlikely that it would ever be cut in foot-wide slices. I suppose it is possible that Huang here indulges in hyperbole, so that the line might mean: "Paper-thin slices of fish—[transparent and big as] foot-wide panes of glass." But Schmidt's paraphrase misses even this reading.

Page 254: 八月十五夜太平洋舟中望月作歌 [Schmidt, writing not in italics, as if this were the preface or introduction to the poem and not its title] I composed this poem after gazing at the moon from a ship in the Pacific Ocean on the night of the Midautumn Lunar Festival; [Lynn] *A Poem Composed upon Gazing at the Moon aboard Ship on the Pacific, Night of the Fifteenth, Eighth Month* [September 23, 1885, Midautumn Festival]

登程見月四回明  
歸舟已歷三千里

[Schmidt] Since embarking I've seen the moon wax and wane four times,  
And we've already sailed three thousand miles back home.{/PO}

[Lynn] Since setting off on my journey I've seen the moon this bright four times,  
And the homeward-bound ship has already crossed a thousand miles.{/PO}

Schmidt's version clearly states that at least three lunar months have elapsed ("I've seen the moon wax and wane four times") since embarking on *this* ship for *this* voyage back across the Pacific to China and that in the space of this supposed ninety or ninety-plus days the ship traveled a mere three thousand *li* (one thousand miles), that is, at the most, about eleven miles every twenty-four hours—a slow boat to China if there ever was one! How did Schmidt get so confused? *Sihui ming* 四回明 does not mean "wax and wane four times" but "[this] bright four times," which echoes the fourth line:

今夕倍放清光妍

[Schmidt] But tonight her clear rays glow with double purity

[Lynn] But tonight she emits twice the beauty of her pure rays.

According to Qian Esun 錢萼孫, *Huang Gongdu Xiansheng nianpu* 黃公度先生年譜 (Chronological biography of Mr. Huang Gongdu), Huang left his post in San Francisco on the twelfth day of the eighth lunar month (September 20, 1885), that is, three-plus days before the night of this poem, which accounts for the “homeward bound ship has already crossed a thousand miles.” In fact, Qian quotes this very couplet, noting that the poem is dated the fifteenth of the eighth month, to prove that Huang left San Francisco on the twelfth day: “It can be deduced that the day that Mr. Huang left America was the twelfth.” In other words, the night of the poem is the fourth night since the ship sailed. Even in 1885, a reasonably fast ship could travel 250 miles or more in twenty-four hours, so three-plus days could easily account for about one thousand miles. Schmidt is unjustified to translate three thousand *li* (one-third of a mile) as three thousand “miles,” for Huang obviously was trying to be precise in his reckoning of the distance traveled. Equally obvious, Schmidt has no idea where the ship was on the night of the poem, for he says elsewhere in his long commentary on this poem included in the chapter “Huang Zunxian and Modern Science”:

[W]hen Huang is celebrating the Midautumn Festival aboard the ship, his family is probably sleeping on what is for them the morning after the festival (depending, of course, on whether he has passed the International Date Line or not). (p. 193)

The ship that Huang traveled in, by the way, traveled via Japan and arrived in Guangzhou at the end of the ninth lunar month (early November 1885), so he was on board a total of about six weeks.<sup>20</sup>

Page 259: 閉關 *Closing my Gate*

雲懶隨龍臥  
風微任鳥還  
牆頭山自好  
何必詡神山

[Schmidt] Lazy clouds follow dragons to rest in their lairs;  
A mild wind allows the birds to come home early.  
The mountains outside my wall are good enough for me—  
No need to concoct wild stories about foreign mountains!

[Lynn] Clouds so lazy they let dragons lie down;  
Wind so mild it allows birds to go back.  
The mountains above my wall are perfectly good in themselves,  
So what need have I to brag about mountains of the gods?

The third characters in the two lines of the first couplet, *sui* 隨 (let) and *ren* 任 (allow), are synonyms. The two lines exhibit an obvious parallel structure—so obvious that it is astonishing that anyone could have missed it. Or, perhaps, does the translator think he can improve on the original by suppressing the parallelism

and inventing a new meaning for the first line? *Wo* 臥 (lie down / rest / adopt a posture of sleep) can only be a verb, parallel to *huan* 還 (go back) in the next line: up there in the sky, clouds are so idle that dragons need not exert themselves to keep up with them and so can rest; down on earth, the wind is so mild that birds have no trouble returning to the mountains—they do not have to fight an afternoon wind to go home to their nests. Schmidt seems to collapse together *wo* 臥 (lie down) and *wo* 窩 (nest, refuge, lair), but there is nothing in the text or context to justify this reading. I prefer a more literal reading of the second couplet and have translated it accordingly. *Shenshan* 神山 “mountains of the gods” deserves more than the paraphrase “foreign mountains.” Schmidt discusses such references in detail on pages 96–99, where he demonstrates how Huang uses allusions to Buddhist and Daoist paradises to express the exoticism of “foreign climes,” so it would have been easy to translate *shenshan* literally and add a brief reference note.

Page 265: 遣悶 [Schmidt] *Trying to Cheer Myself Up*; [Lynn] *Seeking Release from Depression*

花開花落掩關臥  
負汝春光拉汝何  
天下事原如意少  
眼中人漸後生多  
聲聲暮雨蕭蕭曲  
去去流光踏踏歌  
今日今時有今我  
茶煙禪榻病維摩

[Schmidt] While flowers bloomed and wilted, I closed my gate to sleep;  
Please excuse me, dear spring, I can't help that I missed you.  
Hardly anything in this world works ever out as you plan;  
The men all around me become younger each day.  
Evening rain drips on like some dreary tune;  
Time waltzes past me with a quick, lively step.  
But on this day, at this moment, only I exist—  
Tea steams, and this sick layman enters a Zen trance on his bed.

[Lynn] Blossoms bloomed, blossoms fell, but I closed my gate, and lay down.  
I've so neglected you, splendor of spring! How shall I make it up to you?  
Seldom have national affairs actually turned out as I wished;  
Now, those I place hope in increasingly come from the next generation.  
The evening rain plays a sougning, sighing tune, note after note,  
For the fleeting splendor to stamp out its measure, farther and farther away.  
On this day, at this moment, here's an "I" that exists only for the present—  
A sick Vimalakīrti with his tea steam and his meditation seat.

Paraphrasing 負汝春光拉汝何 as “Please excuse me, dear spring, I can't help that I missed you” misses much of the original meaning. *Fu* 負 (carry on the back / turn the back on / violate, neglect, fail, shirk [obligations, etc.]) is a far stronger

word than “miss”: Spring in all her glory offered herself to the poet, but he turned her down! Also lost in Schmidt’s paraphrase is *nai ru he* 拉汝何, which should have been rendered something like “What shall be done for you,” “What shall I do for you,” or “How shall I make it up to you,” all with the rhetorical force of “Nothing can be done about you,” “I’ve blown my chance as far as you are concerned.” Schmidt’s insipid paraphrase misses all this. His version of the second couplet wrongly individualizes Huang’s lament, as if *tianxiashi* 天下事 were merely things in his own life that did not go as he wished, whereas they surely refer to world/national affairs, with which he was so concerned all his adult life. Schmidt’s paraphrase of the second half of this couplet is also far off the mark. *Yanzhongren* 眼中人 does not mean “the men all around me” but “those in my mind’s eye”—those whom the poet always has before his mind’s eye, those for whom he longs and hopes. *Yanzhongren* is an expression found numerous times in the works of many a poet, where it usually refers to a missed friend who is far away. Juxtaposition with *tianxiashi* 天下事 (national affairs) indicates that Huang has in mind those who can work for and save China, a task Huang himself hoped to help achieve that he now realized was passing to members of the next generation. In the third couplet, *liuguang* 流光 surely refers to the *chunguang* 春光 (splendor of spring) of the second line of the poem and not simply to “time”: the evening rain plays a song for the fleeting glory of spring / splendor of spring, which dances farther and farther away, as if it were stamping out the beat of the song, measure by measure. However, Schmidt’s paraphrase completely obscures this clever metaphor and the images associated with it. His version of the last couplet contains serious errors. *You jinwo* 有今我 (here’s an “I” that exists only for the present) refers to the Buddhist doctrine that it is an illusion that the self, personality, or ego has real existence (*you wo* 有我) and that instead it is only a temporary and ever-changing aggregate of the five *skandhas*, the *pañcaskandha* (*wuyun* 五蘊)—(1) *se* 色 (form [body]), (2) *shou* 受 (perception), (3) *xiang* 想 (conception), (4) *xing* 行 (volition), and (5) *shi* 識 (consciousness [mind]); there is no such thing as a permanent “I” or “self” (*wu wo* 無我 or *wu changwo* 無常我).<sup>21</sup> Instead, Schmidt’s “only I exist” defiantly asserts an egotistical subjectivism, a solipsism quite at odds with basic Buddhist doctrine.

Schmidt explains his paraphrase of *bing Weimo* 病維摩 as “this sick layman” in a note immediately following the translation of the poem: “Literally, ‘a sick Vimalakīrti,’ Vimalakīrti being the main character in one of the most popular Buddhist scriptures, the Vimalakīrtinirdesasūtra, in which the layman Vimalakīrti demonstrates that he has a knowledge of Buddhism superior to that of all the Buddha’s disciples. At the beginning of the scripture, Buddha asks his disciples to visit Vimalakīrti, who is reported to be ill. This work was particularly appreciated by Chinese officials and was one of the main scriptures of the Zen (Chinese, Chan) sect.” Indeed, Vimalakīrti was the layman par excellence in the Chinese

tradition and the model most often emulated by literati who sought wisdom and solace in the teachings and practice of Chan. For example, the great Tang poet Wang Wei 王維 (701–761) even took *Weimo* 維摩 as his personal name (*zi* 子). Schmidt might have said more about the attraction of poets to the *Weimojie suoshuojing* 維摩詰所說經 (Scripture spoken by Vimalakīrti), especially since one famous poet who was devoted to Chan and this scripture was Bai Juyi 白居易 (772–846), a Tang poet whose style Huang greatly admired, emulated, and tried to surpass.<sup>22</sup> It is likely that Huang, a close student of Bai’s work, was familiar with a group of Bai’s writings—poems and letters exchanged with his close friend Yuan Zhen 元稹 (779–831)—that deal with the same topics as this poem: depression and how to deal with it, aging and the awareness that one is outliving one’s friends and colleagues, and the solace and wisdom of Chan Buddhism. Kenneth K. S. Ch’en, in his *The Chinese Transformation of Buddhism*, devotes an entire chapter to Tang-era Buddhism and literary life, and most of this chapter is concerned with the poetry and prose of Bai Juyi. One passage in Professor Chen’s book is particularly relevant:

This period of grief coincided with misfortunes that befell his closest friend, Yüan Chen [Yuan Zhen]. . . . After arrival in Chiang-ling [Jiangling], Yüan wrote to Po [Bai] about his depressed mood in the south. In answer to Yüan, Po wrote a long piece consoling him, and suggested that he might find solace in reading such Buddhist scriptures as the Vimalakīrti, . . . He specifically recommended that “if one wishes to eradicate grief and sorrow, one should read the Ch’an [Chan] sutras. One should realize that all things are empty, and not allow thought to be attached to anything.”<sup>23</sup>

Schmidt’s version of the last line is marred by another error: *chanta* 禪榻 does not mean “enters a Zen trance on his bed” but “meditation seat.” A *chanta* 禪榻 (or *chanchuang* 禪床) is not a bed but a platform-like piece of furniture that looks like a large coffee table with extremely short legs.<sup>24</sup> Nothing in the line justifies Schmidt’s paraphrase “enters a Zen trance.”

Page 291: 度遼將軍歌 [Schmidt] *The General of Manchuria*; [Lynn] *A Song for the General Who Rules Liao*<sup>25</sup>

燕雲北望憂憤多  
時出漢印三摩拏  
忽憶遼東浪死歌  
印兮印兮拉爾何

[Schmidt] When he gazes northward to Korea, he fumes with righteous anger,  
Takes out his Han seal and strokes it over and over.  
Suddenly he recalls all those senseless deaths in Manchuria,  
Cries, “Oh! My seal! My seal! What can I do now?”

These last four lines bring to a close the tragedy of Wu Dacheng 吳大澂 (1835–1902) and his disastrous attempt to defend China’s Northeast and Chinese inter-

ests in Korea during the Sino-Japanese War of 1894–1895. Wu lost a major battle in the spring of 1895, attempted suicide, and soon retired in disgrace. He was an accomplished calligrapher and antiquarian who had obtained a Han dynasty (206 B.C.–A.D. 220) general's seal, which was inscribed *Du Liao jiangjun* 度遼將軍 (The general who rules Liao). Wu regarded the seal as an omen that great military accomplishment was ordained for him, so it is especially ironic that he suffered the great reverse of his life trying to defend the very territory named in the seal. (The fact that the seal was very likely a fake does not enter into our story.)

Schmidt explains all this in considerable detail both in the notes to this poem and in an extended narrative and analysis in chapter 10, “The Late Satirical Poetry” (pp. 170–173).<sup>26</sup> I have no argument with the first three lines quoted above, but I believe that his analysis of how the poem ends and his version of the last line miss something important—an allusion to General Xiang Yu's 項羽 (King Xiang 項王) (233–202 B.C.) famous lament, which he sang on the last night of his life, after his troops were overwhelmed and surrounded by the Han forces at Gaixia:

And so, King Xiang got up in the middle of the night and began drinking in his tent. He had a beauty whose name was Yu, whom he always favored and allowed to accompany him, and a horse whose name was Dappled, which he always rode. Then, King Xiang sadly began to sing a heroic and noble song, whose lyrics he himself composed:

力拔山兮氣蓋世  
時不利兮驩不逝  
驩不逝兮可奈何  
虞兮虞兮奈若何

Strength to uproot mountains, oh, spirit to cover the earth,  
But the times are against me, oh, so I can't let Dappled run!  
Can't let Dappled run, oh, so what can be done?  
Oh Yu! Oh Yu! What shall I do for you?<sup>27</sup>

Since Huang's last line, 印兮印兮拉爾何, so resembles Xiang Yu's last line, 虞兮虞兮奈若何, I suggest that Huang's last line ought to be translated as “Oh Seal! Oh Seal! What shall I do for you?” Schmidt's “What can I do now” is too vague—he has the same trouble here with 奈爾何 as he does with 奈汝何 in 遣悶 [Schmidt] *Trying to Cheer Myself Up*; [Lynn] *Seeking Release from Depression* (p. 265): he does not seem to appreciate how the “you,” whether *ruo* 若, *ru* 汝, or *er* 爾, functions in the expression *nai ru / ruo / er he*, “What shall I do for/about you?” “What shall be done for/about you?” As Xiang Yu knew he was responsible for the disaster that was about to befall his beloved, Lady Yu, and fully aware that there was nothing he could do for her, so Huang has Wu Dacheng give voice to the same kind of lament: the seal represents the Liao territory (the Northeast) that was entrusted to him, but he failed this trust and now realizes that there is

nothing he can do: Liao is lost! Thus, he addresses the seal with the rhetorical question “What shall I do for *you*?”

If Schmidt had followed up Qian Esun’s commentary to Huang’s line, he would have caught the allusion to Xiang Yu—though he would have had to do some spade work of his own, since Qian did not tell the whole story. Immediately after Huang’s last line, 印兮印兮奈爾何, Qian’s commentary reads: “Du Fu *shi*: *Chao hu Chao hu nai er he*” 杜甫詩: 潮乎潮乎奈爾何 (A poem by Du Fu [712–770]: Oh Chao! Oh Chao! What shall I do for you?). At first glance, all Qian seems to have done is draw attention to a similar line in a poem by Du Fu, and after noting this mildly interesting fact, one could ignore the annotation since it does not seem to help in interpreting Huang’s own line. However, one ignores such annotations at one’s peril! Du Fu’s line is the last in his 李潮八分小篆歌 (A song for Li Chao’s eight-divides and small seal script calligraphy). Li Chao was a maternal cousin of Du’s, whom he met late in life in Guizhou (Sichuan) and who was an accomplished calligrapher in the *bafen*<sup>28</sup> and *xiaozhuan* (small seal script) forms. The last four lines of Du’s poem read:

巴東逢李潮  
逾月求我歌  
我今衰老才力薄  
潮乎潮乎奈爾何

In eastern Ba I met Li Chao,  
Who for more than a month has been asking me for a poem.  
But I’m now so worn out and old, my talent and strength so paltry,  
Oh Chao! Oh Chao! What shall I do for you?

Qian probably was reminded of these lines of Du Fu because of the connections suggested by Wu Dacheng’s seal, with its inscription in Han-dynasty seal script, the calligraphy of Li Chao, and the similarity in the way both poems end. However, many commentators on Du Fu’s poetry have drawn attention to the similarity between Du’s last line and the last line of Xiang Yu’s lament—for example, the Song-era commentator Zhao Yancai 趙彥材 (twelfth century), one of the commentators whose remarks are preserved in the popular annotated edition of Du’s poetry, the *Jiujia zhu Du shi* 九家註杜詩 (Nine masters annotate Du’s poetry).<sup>29</sup> Perhaps Qian Esun thought that the allusion to Xiang Yu was so obvious that there was no need for him to mention it and instead drew attention to the less obvious connection to Du Fu’s poem.

Although much is wrong with *Within the Human Realm*, it is still well worth reading and keeping on one’s shelf as a reference work. Schmidt should be given much credit for this pioneering effort and its valuable contribution to the study of Huang Zunxian and late traditional Chinese poetry and intellectual history.

Richard John Lynn  
University of Alberta

Richard John Lynn is Professor of Chinese Studies and Chair, Department of East Asian Studies, University of Alberta.

NOTES 1. In preparing this review article, I have used the following editions of Huang's principal writings:

*Riben zashishi guangzhu* 日本雜事詩廣肴 (*Poems on Japanese miscellaneous subjects, with expanded commentaries*). Ed. Zhong Shuhe 鍾叔河. *Zou xiang shijie congshu* 走向世界叢書 edition (English Series title: *From East to West: Chinese Travellers Before 1911*). Changsha: Yuelu Shushe 岳麓書社, 1985. (The expanded commentaries consist of (1) excerpts that Zhong Shuhe gleaned from Huang's *Riben guozhi* 日本國志 [Treatises on Japan] that seem to expand upon Huang's poems and his original commentaries to them, and (2) Zhong's notes on textual variants as they occur in different editions of the *Riben zashishi*.)

*Riben guozhi* 日本國志 (*Treatises on Japan*). *Jindai Zhongguo shiliao congkan xubian* 近代中國史料叢書續編 edition. Shanghai: Tushu jicheng yinshuju 圖書集成印書局, 1898. Reprint, Taipei (Yonghe 永和): Wenhai Chubanshe 文海出版社, 1982.

*Renjinglu shicao jianzhu* 入境廬詩草箋註 (Draft of poems from the Hut within the Human Realm, with annotations). Ed. and annot. Qian Esun 錢萼孫. Shanghai: Gudian Wenxue Chubanshe 古典文學出版社, 1981.

*Renjinglu jiwai shiji* 入境廬集外詩輯 (A compilation of poetry not included in the Hut within the Human Realm collection). Ed. Beijing University, Department of Chinese, Modern Poetry Research Group 北京大學中文系近代詩研究小組. Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju 中華書局, 1960.

Zheng Ziyu 鄭子瑜 and Sanetō Keishū 實藤惠秀, eds. *Huang Zunxian yu Riben youren bitan yigao* 黃遵憲與日本遊人筆談遺稿 (Surviving drafts of brush conversations between Huang Zunxian and his Japanese friends). Tokyo: Waseda Daigaku Tōyō Bungaku Kenkyūkai 早稻田大學東洋文學研究會, 1968.

2. The first place to look for an introduction to Huang Zunxian is the entry "Huang Tsun-hsien" by Fang Chao-ying (Fang Zhaoying 房兆楹) in Arthur W. Hummel, ed., *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period (1644-1912)* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1943; reprint, Taipei: Ch'eng Wen, 1967), pp. 350-351. Huang's experiences in Japan are described and analyzed in an important recent article by Wai-ming Ng 吳偉明, "The Formation of Huang Tsun-hsien's Political Thought in Japan (1877-1882)," *Sino-Japanese Studies* 8, no. 1 (October 1995): 4-21.

3. Schmidt's work apparently had a long period of gestation, for a phantom book by him on Huang is listed under "Studies" in Schmidt's entry, "Huang Tsun-hsien," in William H. Nienhauser et al., eds., *The Indiana Companion to Traditional Chinese Literature* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986), p. 450: "Schmidt, J. D. *Huang Tsun-hsien*. Boston: Twayne, 1982." According to Nienhauser's Preface (p. ix), the *Indiana Companion* project began in 1978/1979. Like so many other errors in this error-ridden work, the reference to the Twayne book on Huang, which was never published, was not deleted during editing.

4. Zhang Tangqi defines “intension” 內涵 as “the stuff of one’s life experience and the author’s perceptions, evaluations, feelings, and attitudes toward it—the sum total of subjective elements—that are present in a literary work: the subject matter and expressive and thematic aspects that are constructed out of these elements.” See Zhang Tangqi 張堂綺, *Huang Zunxian ji qi shi yanjiu* 黃遵憲及其詩研究 (A study of Huang Zunxian and his poetry) (Taipei: Wenshizhe Chubanshe 文史哲出版社, 1991), p. 105.

5. Repartee poems include “banquet repartee poems” 宴酬, “offer and response poems” 唱和 (usually done on the same shared occasion), and “poems presented and composed in return” (usually done at a distance) 贈答.

6. A sizable portion of Huang’s poetry is concerned with both the critique and advocacy of political, military, and social policy (general and theoretical arguments) and the promotion and encouragement of patriotism, courage, dedication, industry, and other individual and social virtues. He was determined to make China face up to the realities of the modern world and take determined and concerted action. No longer could China hide behind empty words and outdated gestures: honest words had to be matched by forceful actions. Zhang Tangqi categorizes Huang’s more general and theoretical works of this type as “poetry of argument” 議論詩 and those that address individual issues and advocate specific action as “pragmatic poetry” 實用詩 see pp. 128–132.

7. Zhang Tangqi bases his analysis of rhetorical figures on Huang Qingxuan 黃慶萱, *Xiuci xue* 修辭學 (On rhetoric) (Taipei: Sanmin Shuju 三民書局, 1975), and Huang Yongwu 黃永武, *Ziju duanlianfa* 字句鍛煉法 (The forge of writing) (Taipei: Hongfan Shudian 洪範書店, 1986). For an account of the history and scope of Chinese rhetoric, see Karl S. Y. Kao 高辛勇, “Rhetoric,” in Nienhauser, *The Indiana Companion to Traditional Chinese Literature*, pp. 121–137. See also Professor Kao’s “Recent Studies of Chinese Rhetoric,” *Chinese Literature: Essays, Articles, Reviews* 15 (1993): 143–154.

8. An interesting and insightful study of the formal aspects of Huang’s poetry (not listed in Schmidt’s bibliography) is Ono Jitsunosuke 大野實之助, “Keitaimen kara mita Kō Junken no shi” 形態面から見た黄遵憲の詩 (Poetry of Huang Zunxian viewed from the aspect of formal characteristics), *Chūgoku koten kenkyū* 中國古典研究 (Research in classical Chinese studies) (Waseda Daigaku Chūgoku Koten Kenkyūkai 早稻田大學中國古典研究會 [Waseda University Society for Research in Classical Chinese Studies] 12 (December 1964): 55–69.

9. Cf. Schmidt’s translation of the same passage: “When I cultivate a style, I do not name it after any previous author or exclusively imitate the form of a Cao Zhi. . . . What is most important is that I do not fail to write *my own* poetry. . . .” Besides getting the phrase *buming yige* 不名一格 backwards (syntax just as in the common expression *buming yiwen* 不名一文 “not a cent to his name”—i.e., he does not lend his name to [claim] a single cent), Schmidt’s paraphrase (he rearranges the order of sentences in the passage) obscures the exact meaning of *yao bushi hu weiwo zhi shi* 要不失乎為我之詩. He also should have drawn the reader’s attention to the fact that the expression *weiwo* 為我 alludes to the extreme self-centered philosophy of Yang Zhu 楊朱 cf. *Mencius* 孟子, 3:2.9: “Mr. Yang advocates ‘be for yourself,’ but this is to deny one’s sovereign” 楊氏為我是無君也. Huang was hardly a latter-day follower of Master Yang, but his use of Yang’s slogan (well known to any educated reader) is significant, for it signals both his willingness to go outside Confucian orthodoxy (but stay within the Chinese tradition) for terms and concepts and his struggle to find ways to express new ideas—in this case, how creativity depends on individualism and originality, a commonplace notion in the Western world

of the nineteenth century, still in thrall to Romanticism, but an unusual and heterodox view in Huang's own Chinese world.

10. Zhang Tangqi, *Huang Zunxian ji qi shi yanjiu* (A study of Huang Zunxian and his poetry), p. 200. Zhang's list of late "lesser masters" of recent times who are likely to have influenced Huang is derived from observations made about Huang's poetry by Qian Esun 錢萼孫, Chen Yan 陳衍, Long Muxun 龍沐勳, and Qian Zhongshu 錢鍾書. His authority for including Xie Ao, the late Song "patriot poet" 愛國詩人, is Chen Yan. See below.

11. See the translation by Richard John Lynn of "Ts'ang-lang's Discussions of Poetry: An Analysis of Poetry by Yen Yü," in Victor Mair, ed., *The Columbia Anthology of Traditional Chinese Literature* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995), pp. 139–144; Richard John Lynn, "Tradition and the Individual: Ming and Ch'ing Views of Yüan Poetry," *Journal of Oriental Studies* 15 (1977): 1–19 (which also describes and analyzes Ming and Qing views of Song poetry); and Lynn, "The Talent-Learning Polarity in Chinese Poetics: Yan Yu and the Later Tradition," *Chinese Literature: Essays, Articles, Reviews* 4, no. 2 (1983): 157–184.

12. Burton Watson, trans., *An Introduction to Sung Poetry* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1967), pp. 21–24; Yoshikawa Kōjirō 吉川幸次郎, "Sōshi gaisetsu" 宋詩概說, in *Yoshikawa Kōjirō zenshū* 吉川幸次郎全書 (Tokyo: Chikuma shobō 築摩書房, 1984–1988), pp. 24–27.

13. See, for example, the review of *An Introduction to Sung Poetry* by James J. Y. Liu in *Tsing Hua Journal of Chinese Studies*, 1968:281–284.

14. For the basic theoretical positions of these non- or anti-archaist poets, see Richard John Lynn, "Alternate Routes to Self-Realization in Ming Theories of Poetry," ed. Susan Bush and Christian Murck, *Theories of the Arts in China* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983), pp. 319–338.

15. For a survey of late Ming and early Qing criticism that advocated Song poetry and an account of contemporary anthologies of Song verse, see Lynn, "Tradition and the Individual," pp. 7–16.

16. It is more than coincidence that Schmidt has produced books on these two poets: *Yang Wan-li* (Boston: Twayne, 1976) and *Stone Lake: The Poetry of Fan Chengda (1126–1193)* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992).

17. One principal complaint that pro-Tang and anti-Song critics had against Song-era poetry, especially poetry by Southern Song poets such as Fan Chengda and Yang Wanli, was that its discursive character turned it into nothing more than "rhymed prose." See, for example, passages translated from the criticism of Yan Yu, Li Mengyang 李夢陽 (1472–1529), Xie Zhen 謝榛 (1495–1574), and Hu Yinglin 胡應麟 (1551–1602) in Lynn, "Tradition and the Individual," pp. 3–7, and Richard John Lynn, "The Talent Learning Polarity in Chinese Poetics: Yan Yu and the Later Tradition," *Chinese Literature: Essays, Articles, Reviews* 5 (1983): 158–161.

18. See Zhong Shuhe 鍾叔河, ed., *Riben zashishi guangzhu* 日本雜事詩廣肴 (Poems on Japanese miscellaneous subjects, with expanded commentaries), *Zou xiang shijie congshu* 走向世界叢書 (English Series title: *From East to West: Chinese Travellers Before 1911*) (Changsha: Yuelu Shushe 岳麓書社, 1985), 3:605; cf. Sanetō Keishū 實藤惠秀 and Toyoda Minoru 豊田穰, trans., *Nihon zatsujishi* 日本雜事詩 (Poems on Japanese miscellaneous subjects) (Tokyo: Heibonsha 平凡社, 1968), 37–38.

19. See Zheng Ziyu and Sanetō Keishū, *Huang Zunxian yu Riben youren bitan yigao*, p. 55.

20. Qian Esun 錢萼孫, *Huang Gongdu Xiansheng nianpu* 黃公度先生年譜 (Chronological biography of Mr. Huang Gongdu) (*Renjinglu shicao jianzhu* edition), p. 32.

21. Precise definitions of the five aggregates, *pañcaskandha* or *wuyun* 五蘊, often differ from school to school, but the definitions here seem to have had more general acceptance than most. See Junjirō Takakusu, *The Essentials of Buddhist Philosophy* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1976), p. 72.

22. J. D. Schmidt, *Within the Human Realm*, pp. 59, 63–64, 143–144, 151, 154.

23. Kenneth K. S. Ch'en, *The Chinese Transformation of Buddhism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1973), p. 194; see also pp. 179–239 for Bai Juyi's intense involvement with Buddhism. Professor Ch'en translates a number of Bai's poems that seem strikingly similar to Huang Zunxian's poem here.

24. A photograph of several *chanta* illustrates the entry “Zentō” 禪榻 in Komazawa University and the Editorial Board, eds., *Zengaku daijiten* 禪學大辭典 (Great dictionary of Zen studies) (Kyoto: Taishūkan Shoten 大修館書店, 1985), p. 697.

25. Schmidt does not list in his bibliography an extremely useful work for the study and translation of Huang's poems about warfare: Suzuki Torao 鈴木虎雄, *Chūgoku senran shi* 中國戰亂詩 (Chinese poems about the turmoil of war) (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobō 築摩書房, 1968).

26. The outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War is misdated 1898 on p. 170—obviously a typographical error, since the very same paragraph contains the sentence: “His [Wu's] troops met the Japanese at Niuzhuang in the spring of 1895.”

27. Sima Qian 司馬遷, *Shiji* 史記 (Records of the Grand Historian) (Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 1975), 7:333.

28. It is difficult to translate *bafen* 八分 since conflicting opinions have existed as to what the term means—even as early as the time of its invention during the Qin era or the early Han (third century B.C.), when it developed out of the *lishu* 隸書 (clerical script form). The most likely explanation is that characters written in this script form tend to left-right symmetry: the position of strokes and their length and width are arranged to attempt a balance so that each half mirrors the other. The character that most lends itself to this formal feature is *ba* 八 (eight), which can be divided (*fen*) 分 almost perfectly into two symmetrical halves, and this is the rationale for my translation of *bafen* as “eight-divides.”

29. Guo Zhida 郭知達 (twelfth century), ed., *Jiujia zhu Du shi* 九家註杜詩 (Nine masters annotate Du's poetry), in *Concordance to the Poems of Tu Fu* 杜詩引得, 2:217, Harvard-Yenching Institute Sinological Index Series, Supplement no. 14.