

# Plum Blossom on the Far Side of the Stream

The Renaissance of Jiang Kui's Lyric Oeuvre  
with Facsimiles and a New Critical Edition of  
*The Songs of the Whitestone Daoist*

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# Introduction: “Beside the plum tree, playing my flute, calling, awakening my jade lady.”

(Jiang Kui, *Secret Fragrance*, 1191)

When talking of lyric songs, the pieces composed during the Northern Song have always attracted praise. However, it was not until the Southern Song that the lyric song reached the apex of its refinement, and only towards the end of the Song did it reach its apex of variation. Jiang Yaozhang is the most outstanding [exponent of the genre]. What a pity that of *Whitestone's Music Bureau Songs*, his [lyric oeuvre] in five fascicles, only twenty-odd pieces survive today.<sup>1</sup>

世人言詞，必稱北宋，然詞至南宋始極其工，至宋季而始極其變。姜堯章氏最為傑出。惜乎《白石樂府》五卷，今僅存二十餘闕也。

This lament for the unfortunate loss of a large proportion of Jiang Kui's 姜夔 (c. 1155–c. 1221) lyric oeuvre is by Zhu Yizun 朱彝尊 (1629–1709), the main propagator of the lyric song (*ci* 詞) renaissance, and is an extraordinary statement, taken from the introduction to Zhu's *Cizong* 詞綜, a definitive anthology of the song form published in 1678 (see Table 1, no. 6). For the first time in literary history, the reputation of the lyric songs of the Southern Song (1127–1279) had been enhanced to a level superior to that of the Northern Song (960–1127). In a similar fashion to how the now-familiar phrase “Tang poetry and Song lyric songs” took centuries before acquiring currency, Zhu's contention that lyric songs of the Southern Song were superior to those of the Northern Song was not widely acknowledged until the eighteenth century. The lyrics of delicate Southern Song vocal pieces, as exemplified by the works of Jiang Kui—also known by his courtesy name Yaozhang 堯章 or his sobriquet Baishi 白石 (“Whitestone”)—attracted little attention, and none of his works was included in *Caotang shiyu* 草堂詩餘 (literally, *Lyric Songs of the Thatched Cottage*), the most widely circulated anthology of the *ci* genre published in the Southern Song dynasty.<sup>2</sup> Following this precedent, subsequent anthologies also failed to include pieces by Jiang, for instance *Cilin wanxuan* 詞林萬選 (1543), compiled by the celebrated literary critic Yang Shen 楊慎 (1488–1559) in the late Ming dynasty.

In the first two decades of the eighteenth century, however, Jiang's lyric songs suddenly became popular, “bestsellers” in fact, favourites of anthology compilers, and published in numerous editions (Table 1, nos. 8–10). As Lin Shuen-fu aptly remarks: “The fact that there are more than thirty different editions of Chiang's collected *tz'u* from the Ch'ing dynasty, more than there are of the collected works of any other *tz'u* poet, attests to the popularity and achievement of Ch'iang K'uei.”<sup>3</sup> In other words, by the eighteenth century, the works of this Southern Song poet-musician had become essential to the canon of lyric songs.

The history of lyric songs thus emerges as a record of the vagaries of their reception by literati readers. In the mid-seventeenth century, Jiang and his Southern Song followers were still largely neglected. That they were elevated, within a few decades, from the dust of oblivion to a position of importance indicates that a dramatic shift in the process of canon selection had occurred during the eighteenth century. This book aims to shed light on the renaissance of lyric songs during this time and through to the early twentieth century; it also explores how and why this rebirth occurred, in other words, what happened to Jiang Kui's lovely “plum blossom” when it reached the “far side of the stream.”

1. Zhu Yizun, *Cizong* 詞綜 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1975), 8.

2. For a biography of Jiang in English, see Shuen-fu Lin, *The Transformation of the Chinese Lyrical Tradition: Chiang K'uei and Southern Sung Tz'u Poetry* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1978). For a multi-perspective musical biography, see Joseph S. C. Lam, “Writing Music Biographies of Historical East Asian Musicians: The Case of Jiang Kui,” *The World of Music* 43.1 (2001): 69–95.

3. Shuen-fu Lin, “Chiang K'uei,” in *The Indiana Companion to Traditional Chinese Literature*, vol. 1, ed. William H. Nienhauser Jr. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986), 262–64.

Table 1: Major editions of Jiang's lyric songs from the thirteenth to the mid-eighteenth centuries

No.	Year	Title	Pieces	Editor	Publisher	Place	Columns	Characters	Size (cm)*
1.	1202	<i>Baishi daoren gequ</i>	109	Jiang Kui	Qian Xiwu	Shanghai	?	?	?
2.	1249	<i>Hua'an cixuan</i>	34	Huang Sheng	Liu Chengpu	(Fuzhou)	13	23	18.6 × 12.3
3.	c. 1290	<i>Juemiao haoci</i>	13	Zhou Mi	–	?	?	?	?
4.	1441	<i>Baijia ci</i>	32	Wu Ne	–	–	10	16–23	20.5 × 14.5
5.	c. 1628	<i>Song liushijia ci</i>	34	Mao Jin	Mao Jin	Changshu	8	18	18.6 × 14.5
6.	1678	<i>Ci zong</i>	23	Zhu Yizun	Wang Sen	Jiaxing	10	21	19.0 × 14.2
7.	1685	<i>Baishi xiansheng ciji</i>	58	Zhu Yizun	–	–	10	21	27.2 × 16.5**
8.	1707	<i>Baishi cibi</i>	21	Zhu Yizun	–	Jiaxing	–	–	–
9.	c. 1710	<i>Baishi cichao</i>	58	Wu Huanchun	Yu Lan	Jiaxing	10	21	17.2 × 12.3
10.	1718	<i>Baishi ciji</i>	58	Chen Zhuan	Zeng Shican	Yangzhou	10	19	16.4 × 13.4
11.	c. 1736	<i>Baishi daoren gequ</i>	109	Li E, Min Hua, Wang Zao	–	Yangzhou	9	21	18.2 × 12.8
12.	1737	<i>Baishi daoren gequ</i>	109	Li E	–	Yangzhou	?	?	?
13.	1743	<i>Baishi daoren gequ</i>	109	Li E, etc.	Lu Zhonghui	Yangzhou	11	19	18.5 × 11.8
14.	1744	<i>Baishi shici heji</i>	97	Jiang Qiulü	–	Wuxing	9	20	16.6 × 12.2
15.	1749	<i>Baishi daoren gequ</i>	109	Zhang Yishu	Yao Peiqian	Shanghai	11	19	15.5 × 11.3

\* The size refers to the physical dimensions of the writing block.

\*\* Since there is no frame surrounding the writing area in Ke Chongpu's manuscript copy of *Baishi xiansheng ciji* (1685), the figures here refer to the physical size of the manuscript.

Down the generations, *Anxiang* 暗香 (*Secret Fragrance*) and *Shuying* 疏影 (*Dappled Shadows*, Figure 1) have consistently been two of his most enduring and oft-quoted *ci*,<sup>4</sup> and to these he penned explanatory introductions; thus, let us first give centre stage to the master so that he can speak to us directly in his own words:<sup>5</sup>

In the winter of 1191, travelling through the snow, I paid a visit to [Fan] Shihu. Staying for a month with him, he gave me paper so I could compose some sentences, requiring me to write a new song. I composed these two pieces, and Shihu, very appreciative of my efforts, had a singer practise them; as the word setting was pleasantly harmonious, he called them *Secret Fragrance* and *Dappled Shadows*.

辛亥之冬，余載雪詣石湖。止既月，授簡索句，且徵新聲，作此兩曲，石湖把玩不已，使工妓肄習之，音節諧婉，乃名之曰：〔暗香〕、〔疏影〕。

#### *Secret Fragrance*

Yesteryear, the moon's loveliness  
How many times didst shine on me  
Beside the plum trees, playing my flute?  
Calling, awakening my jade lady  
Regardless of the clear cold to pluck blossoms with me  
He Xun<sup>6</sup> is gently and gradually ageing  
Having wholly forgotten his poetical pen, once fresh as the spring wind  
Is simply befuddled by the scattered flowers outside the bamboo grove  
Whose fragrant chill steals into the exquisite banquet hall?

The land of rivers  
Is desolately lonely  
Sighing, sending the blossoms on their distant road  
The night-time snows still newly piled  
The gemstone mead cup weeps so easily  
Red calyxes answer silence to our pent-up recollections  
Lingeringly remembering places where once hand in hand we tarried  
A thousand trees oppress the West Lake and its cold turquoise hues  
Once more, the blossom, flake by flake, let all be blown away  
When shall we see one another again?

4. See Appendix 1, nos. 83 and 84.

5. Some of my translations take inspiration from Laurence Picken and Shuen-fu Lin's, but all have been made with the intention of retaining as much of the original word order of the Chinese as possible.

6. He Xun 何遜 (480–520), a sixth-century poet well known for his verses on plum blossom, with whom Jiang Kui is closely identified.



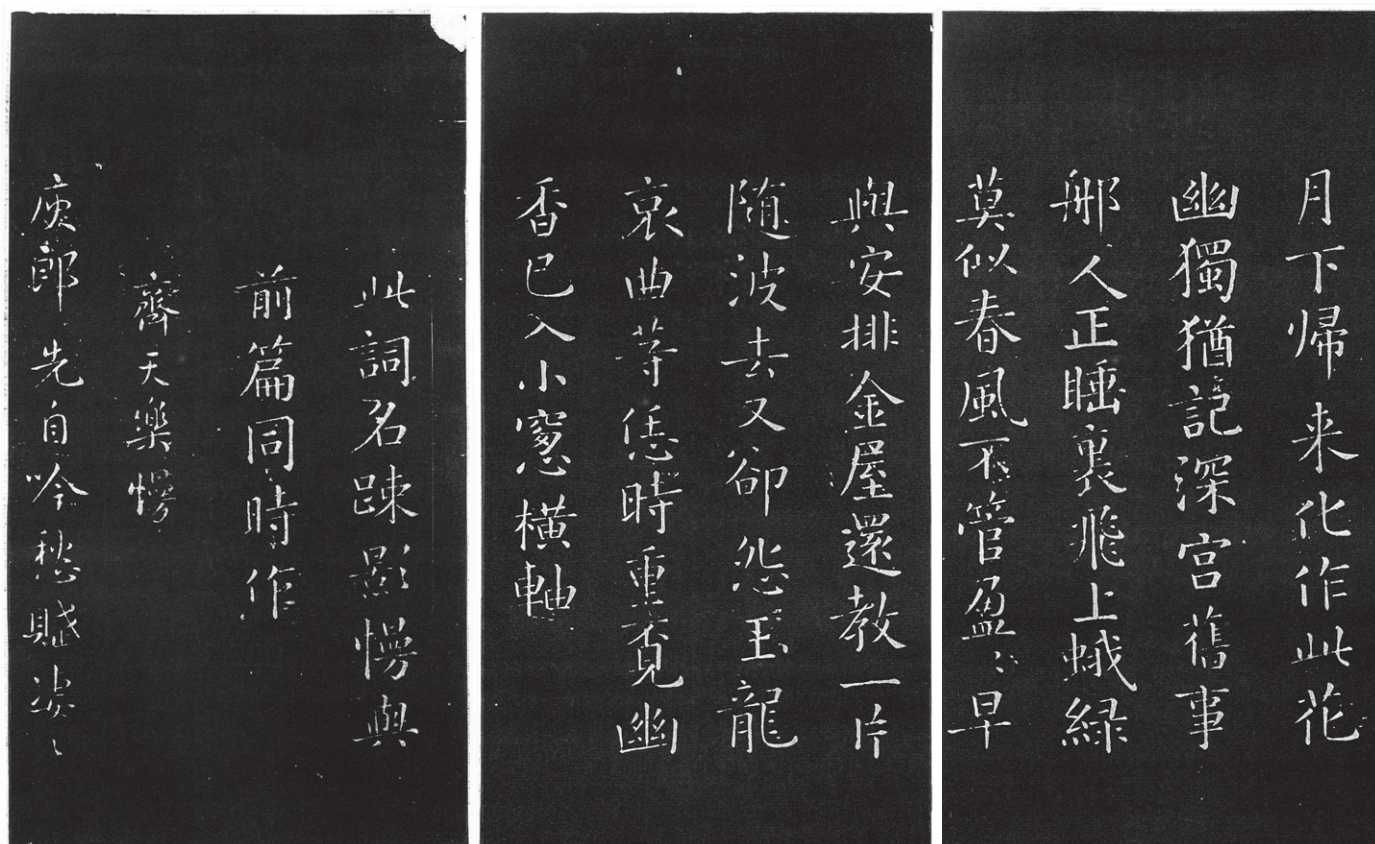


Figure 1: *Dappled Shadows*, ink rubbing of Jiang Kui's autograph, Peking Library.

舊時月色，  
算幾番照我，  
梅邊吹笛？  
喚起玉人，  
不管清寒與攀摘。  
何遜而今漸老，  
都忘卻、春風詞筆。  
但怪得、竹外疏花，  
香冷入瑤席。

江國，  
正寂寂。  
歎寄與路遠，  
夜雪初積。  
翠樽易泣，  
紅萼無言耿相憶。  
長記曾攜手處，  
千樹壓、西湖寒碧。  
又片片、吹盡也，  
幾時見得。

*Dappled Shadows*

On the moss, the plum blossom embroiders like jade  
And small and delightful greenfinches  
Nest together with it on the branches  
When wandering we meet  
At the hedgerow's edge at dusk  
Not uttering, the blossom simply alights on the slender bamboo  
Zhaojun<sup>7</sup> not accustomed to the sands of distant Tartary

7. Wang Zhaojun 王昭君 (c. 51–15 BCE) of the Western Han dynasty (206 BCE–8 CE) was gifted in marriage by the Chinese emperor to Huhanye (r. 58–31 BCE), the khan of the Xiongnu, as part of a peace settlement between the two warring nations. See Eugene Eoyang, "The Wang Chao-chün Legend: Configurations of the Classic," *Chinese Literature: Essays, Articles, Reviews* 4.1 (1982): 3–22; Kwong Hing Foon, "L'évolution du théâtre populaire depuis les Ming jusqu'à nos jours: Le cas de Wang Zhaojun," *T'oung Pao* 77.4 (1991): 179–225.

Still secretly remembered the northern and southern banks of the Yangtze River  
I wonder, is it her jade waist-plaques, on a moonlit night, now returned  
Changed into this flower, dark and solitary

Recalling, deep in the palace, the old tales  
When my beloved was asleep  
The blossom flew to the fine edges of her moth-like eyebrows  
Don't be like the spring wind  
Cruelly and coquettishly careless  
At the earliest opportunity, prepare for it a golden chamber  
Having let a petal drift with the waves  
Why still so resentful and moved to compose a tragic flute tune  
If you were to wait for this moment, and seek once more its fragrance  
It is only to be found depicted on a horizontal scroll by the small window

苔枝綴玉，  
有翠禽小小，  
枝上同宿。  
客裏相逢，  
籬角黃昏，  
無言自倚修竹。  
昭君不慣胡沙遠，  
但暗憶、江南江北。  
想佩環、月夜歸來，  
化成此花幽獨。

猶記深宮舊事，  
那人正睡裏，  
飛近蛾線。  
莫似春風，  
不管盈盈，  
早與安排金屋。  
還教一片隨波去，  
又却怨、玉龍哀曲。  
等恁時、重覓幽香，  
已入小窗橫幅。

In evaluating these two songs, Wang Guowei 王國維 (1877–1927) was of the opinion that although they idolized plum blossom, on closer inspection of the language employed, not a single mention was made of it, and this “estrangement” between an object in question and the description of it was completely unacceptable.<sup>8</sup> Instead, he required a more forthright directness, by which a poet simply expresses what he means and calls a “spade a spade.” Wang Guowei’s criticism continues: Jiang Kui, however, uses a whole panoply of circumlocution to avoid specific mention, leaping hither and thither, sometimes narrating past events, then jumping to the present or predicting the future. For example, consider the lines in the song *Secret Fragrance*: “Once more, the blossom, flake by flake, let it be blown away, when shall we see one another again?” Is he saying here that the plum blossom has fallen, and asking when it shall be seen again? Rotating between the past, present, and future, and, with regard to the scene that is described, he also flits between the riverbank and the lakeside, and then inexplicably shifts to a place where he and his beloved plucked plum blossom. In this jumble of different places and times, he has not actually written with clarity on the beauty of plum blossom, and what its appearance is really like, its blooms, branches, and the tree trunk itself; instead, he allows latitude for readers to form their own image through perception of the protagonists’ appreciation of plum blossom, or the relationship between them and the flowers, and in this way come to an appropriate understanding.

In fact, Wang Guowei’s biting criticism seems to have missed the point: this type of rhetorical usage is entirely a new invention of Jiang Kui’s, different from contemporary practice and as such more deserving of praise for its subtlety, flexibility, and ingenuity.

8. Wang Guowei, *Renjian cihua* 人間詞話 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1998), 9; and Adele Austin Rickett, *Wang Kuo-wei’s Jen-chien tz’u-hua: A Study in Chinese Literary Criticism* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1977), 28–31 and 54–58. See also Yang Chengkai 楊成凱, *Renjian cihua menwai tan* 人間詞話門外談 (Beijing: Haitun chubanshe, 2015), 124–46.

In a similar vein to Wang Guowei, Wu Shichang 吳世昌 (1908–1986), in his *New Essays on Lyric Songs*, indicates that Whitestone's *Secret Fragrance* and *Dappled Shadows* are simply immature jokes. Although their craftsmanship is superficially strong, they have no substantive meaning. On first encounter, a degree of innovative freshness might be perceived, but on closer inspection they are simply foppish affectations, not worthy of serious consideration, and marred by the common fault of excessive personification. Whitestone employs flowers as a metaphor for a beautiful lady, going so far as to write: “[Zhaojun] still secretly remembered the northern and southern banks of the Yangtze River,” yet in what sense did Zhaojun have such feelings? And, besides, with the line “with jade plaques, returning emptily, a soul in a moonlit night” 環佩空歸月夜魂, Du Fu 杜甫 (712–770) had already fashioned this image;<sup>9</sup> thus at best Whitestone is simply parroting the Master, and is by definition second rate. Wu Shichang continues: Chen Tingzhuo 陳廷焯 (1853–1892) was of the opinion that these two *ci* “express secret anger for the Two Emperors [i.e., Huizong 徽宗 (1082–1135, r. 1100–1126) and Qinzong 欽宗 (1100–1156, r. 1126–1127)], and hurt that no one of ability had taken on their role,”<sup>10</sup> but the language is empty of passionate expression of this, and no traces of it can be discovered. It has also been said these songs are “profound and substantive in this way; loyal and honest in that way,” and so on and so forth, but this evaluation is, instead, only using self-deception as a tool to deceive others. Whitestone has simply written love poems, which have no connection whatever to contemporary events. Moreover, “profound and substantive” and “loyal and honest” simply mean that all *ci* whose meaning cannot be understood are good, and thus have genuine significance.<sup>11</sup>

Twentieth-century critics Wang Guowei and Wu Shichang were clearly unimpressed, and if their critical appraisal had been the only voice, the renaissance of interest in the works of Whitestone would not have happened. Yet, it did, and thus a search for the wellspring of this revival must look elsewhere. The first figure in just such an alternative critical lineage was Zhang Yan 張炎 (1248–1320), a generation later than Whitestone himself, who, in his *Ciyuan* 詞源 (*Origin of Lyric Songs*), specifically praises these two poems in detail from no fewer than four distinct perspectives in four different chapters: in “On Citing the Ancients,” he gives: “with regard to the citations of ancient texts, these are not simply driven by the ancient texts themselves,”<sup>12</sup> thus stressing the new vitality and meaning these citations have acquired from Whitestone's pen; in “On Pure Intangibility,” he describes this expressive style thus: “not only does it portray a pure intangibility, but it also ascends to the heights of the elegant and visionary poetry of the ancients”;<sup>13</sup> in “On the Attractiveness of Meaning,” he adds that this “pure intangibility is imbued with attractiveness of meaning”;<sup>14</sup> and, finally, in “Jottings,” he concludes: “even in ancient times, there were no predecessors, and subsequently, there have been no inheritors, an expressive uniqueness has been established, and this is no less than the pinnacle of poetic achievement.”<sup>15</sup>

With the thirteenth century already providing such a detailed and multilayered critical reception, the expectation must be that the renaissance of Whitestone's works of the seventeenth century would supply yet more sophisticated scholarly refinement. A close reading of these sources, including writings of the principal propagators Zhu Yizun and Li E 厲鶚 (1692–1752), yields, however, a surprising paucity of similar analysis, and it was not until the eighteenth century that a less well-known scion of the Zhexi 浙西 Poetry School, Xu Angxiao 許昂霄 (c. 1680–1751), applied himself in this direction. His evaluation outlines three areas of Whitestone's poetic excellence: an ability to fuse past, present, and future happenings into an explanation of present emotions; his choice of citation; and the innovative use of the connotations of these citations.<sup>16</sup> By comparison with Zhang Yan's richer and more complex description, this concentration on mere craftsmanship seems to lack lustre.

In fact, for the duration of the flowering of the Zhexi Poetry School, from the start of Kangxi's 康熙 (1654–1722, r. 1661–1722) reign to Daoguang's 道光 (1782–1850, r. 1820–1850) accession to the imperial throne, none of its Whitestone specialists made publicly available any serious attempt at analysis of these two seminal songs. With the demise of this school, it was left to Zhang Huiyan 張惠言 (1761–1802), instigator and founder of

9. Wu Shichang, *Cilin xinhua* 詞林新話 (Beijing: Beijing chubanshe, 1991), 241.

10. Chen Tingzhuo, *Baiyuzhai cihua zuben jiaozhu* 白雨齋詞話足本校注 (Jinan: Qilu shushe, 1983), 123.

11. Wu Shichang, *Cilin xinhua*, 241–42.

12. Zhang Yan, *Ciyuan* (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1937), 26.

13. Ibid., 25. In this chapter, on p. 24, Zhang Yan regards Jiang Kui's flowing images of “solitary clouds, their ebbs and flow, and their blemishless delicacy” as the only genre that satisfies his notions of artistic refinement (*ya* 雅).

14. Ibid., 26.

15. Ibid., 32.

16. Xu Angxiao, *Cizong ouping* 詞綜偶評, in *Cihua congbian* 詞話叢編, ed. Tang Guizhang 唐圭璋 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1986), 1558.



the Changzhou 常州 Poetry School in the late eighteenth century, to move towards an explanation of the language and background surrounding them. Sadly, his work is spoilt by simple factual errors; for example, he identifies Fan Chengda 范成大 (1126–1193) as being twenty or more years younger than Jiang Kui,<sup>17</sup> whereas the opposite was in fact the case; nonetheless, he does break the taboo, and touches on the crucially important content and meaning of these two *ci*. His opinions were inherited and expanded by his student Song Xiangfeng 宋翔鳳 (1776–1860),<sup>18</sup> a direction subsequently absorbed into the work of other late Qing dynasty *ci* scholars Deng Tingzhen 鄧廷楨 (1775–1846),<sup>19</sup> Chen Li 陳澧 (1810–1882),<sup>20</sup> Chen Tingzhuo,<sup>21</sup> and Zheng Wenzhuo 鄭文焯 (1856–1918),<sup>22</sup> making it a focus of research activity. By now, the Zhexi Poetry School had, conversely, long since passed into history and with it the first peak of interest in the renaissance of Whitestone's poetry. Moving into the twentieth century, the scholarly mantle was inherited by Chen Feishi 陳匪石 (1884–1959),<sup>23</sup> Shen Zufen 沈祖棻 (1909–1977),<sup>24</sup> and Yu Pingbo 俞平伯 (1900–1990),<sup>25</sup> reaching its apotheosis with Liu Yongji 劉永濟 (1887–1966),<sup>26</sup> who finally noticed the intertextuality between Whitestone's two poems and a *ci* by the former Emperor Huizong, penned after he had been seized as a hostage by the victorious Jin dynasty forces.<sup>27</sup>

To the *cipai* melody *Yan'er mei* 眼兒媚 (*Beautiful Eyes*), Huizong's *ci* reads:

Remembering the hustle and bustle of the Jade Capital in former times  
The Empire extended for ten thousand leagues in all directions  
Gemstone towers and jade pavilions  
Dawn resonated with the sounds of strings and pipes  
Evening radiated with the *sheng* and *pipa*

The populace has left the flowered city, deserted and desolate  
Spring dreams haunt the barbarian sands  
Where is my country?  
Listening, in sufferance, to the alien Qiang flute  
Playing the coda to the piece *Falling Plum Blossom*

玉京曾憶舊繁華，  
萬里帝王家。  
瓊林玉殿，  
朝喧弦管，  
暮列笙琶。

花城人去今蕭索，  
春夢繞胡沙。  
家山何處，  
忍聽羌笛，  
吹徹梅花。<sup>28</sup>

According to Liu Yongji's analysis, Whitestone's *Dappled Shadows* takes direct intertextual influence from this song. Whitestone's lines are:

Zhaojun not accustomed to the sands of distant Tartary  
Still secretly remembered the northern and southern banks of the Yangtze River

These encapsulate perfectly the emotion and meaning portrayed in Huizong's *ci*. In fact, when Zhaojun, or, more correctly, Huizong himself "secretly remembered the northern and southern banks of the Yangtze River," it is as if "spring dreams haunt the barbarian sands, where is my country?" and also "remembering the hustle and bustle of the Jade Capital in former times." Whitestone gives: "Why still so resentful and moved to compose a tragic flute tune," which corresponds precisely to Huizong's "listening, in sufferance, to the alien Qiang flute, playing the coda to the piece *Falling Plum Blossom*."

Taking this train of thought to its logical conclusion, Whitestone's *Secret Fragrance* and *Dappled Shadows* are thus not songs whose ultimate goal was to describe plum blossom, but instead an expression of a deeper political anxiety at the transition from the Northern

17. Zhang Huiyan, *Zhang Huiyan lunci* 張惠言論詞, in *Cihua congbian* 詞話叢編, ed. Tang Guizhang 唐圭璋 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1986), 1615. James M. Hargett, "Boulder Lake Poems: Fan Chengda's (1126–1193) Rural Year in Suzhou Revisited," *Chinese Literature: Essays, Articles, Reviews* 10.1/2 (1988): 109–31.

18. Song Xiangfeng, *Yuefu yulun* 樂府餘論, in *Cihua congbian* 詞話叢編, ed. Tang Guizhang 唐圭璋 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1986), 2503.

19. Deng Tingzhen, *Shuangyan zhai cihua* 雙硯齋詞話, in *Cihua congbian* 詞話叢編, ed. Tang Guizhang 唐圭璋 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1986), 2530–31.

20. Chen Li, *Baishi ciping* 白石詞評 (Hong Kong: Longmen shudian, 1970), 17.

21. Chen Tingzhuo, *Baiyuzhai cihua zuben jiaozhu*, 123.

22. Zheng Wenzhuo, *Dahe shanren cihua* 大鶴山人詞話 (Tianjin: Nankai daxue chubanshe, 2009), 99–101.

23. Chen Feishi, *Song ci ju* 宋詞舉 (Nanjing: Jiangsu guji chubanshe, 2002), 48–52.

24. Shen Zufen, *Song ci shangxi* 宋詞賞析 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1980), 165–68.

25. Yu Pingbo, *Tang Song ci xuanshi* 唐宋詞選釋 (Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 1979), 229–30.

26. Liu Yongji, *Weidi shi shuoci* 微睇室說詞 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1987), 117–21.

27. *Ibid.*, 119.

28. *Ibid.*

to the Southern Song. In this context, consider the opening lines to the second stanza of *Secret Fragrance*: “The land of rivers is desolately lonely; sighing, sending the blossoms on their distant road, the night-time snows still newly piled.” On the surface, this citation, from the Northern and Southern dynasties, refers to a fifth-century poet named Lu Kai 陸凱, who snapped a plum branch laden with blossom to send to his friend Fan Ye 范曄 (398–445) in far-off Chang’an 長安. For Whitestone, however, the “distant road” is that along which Huizong and Qinzong had been taken as hostages, and their inaccessibility is accentuated by pointing out how “desolately lonely” the land is without them, and how difficult a journey in that direction might be, given that “the night-time snows [are] still newly piled.” The meaning of the next two lines in Whitestone’s song becomes at once more lucid, and the reader is now clear why “the gemstone mead cup weeps so easily” and “red calyxes answer silence to our pent-up recollections.” The severity of the emotion is acute, with the cup “weep[ing]” and feelings “pent up.”

In *Dappled Shadows*, Whitestone ends the first stanza with: “I wonder, is it her jade waist-plaques, on a moonlit night, now returned, changed into this flower, dark and solitary.” With Huizong suffering a desperate death in the clutches of his Jin captors, the plum blossom is now a tragic metaphor for a forlorn hope that Huizong, personified here as Zhaojun, has, in some metaphysical state, in fact returned, sadly though, now only “dark and solitary” and devoid of vitality. Wu Shichang’s dismissive criticism of these two lines as simply plagiarism of a Du Fu original now takes on a hollow ring: Du Fu may have been the first to employ this vocabulary in association with Zhaojun, but his usage remains at this level, whereas Whitestone has ingeniously expanded the image and given it a new political gloss. In fact, Wu Shichang has simply missed the point.

Whitestone admits the futility of his aspirations in the last two lines: “If you were to wait for this moment, and seek once more its fragrance, it is only to be found depicted on a horizontal scroll by the small window.” Huizong is now dead, and the Northern Song dynasty will never be revived, thus seeking once more the fragrance of former times is simply pursuing an empty dream or being deceived by a mirage: the delicate and lovely plum blossom petals are now captured for posterity only by a painting that depicts them, and will never be seen again.

From a superficial perspective, if both *Secret Fragrance* and *Dappled Shadows* were only about plum blossom, then both Wang Guowei and Wu Shichang’s criticisms of them would hold water, as the songs are riddled with circumlocutions, flitting to and fro, without ever alighting on the subject in question. In fact, at a deeper level, these two songs are, however, not about plum blossom, and the fate of the petals is simply a metaphor for much wider political and social issues. The key to unlocking the mystery was Huizong’s *ci*, and it must have been deeply embedded in Whitestone’s psyche for him to draw on it so richly. Later generations of Jiang Kui enthusiasts, for example Zhu Yizun and Li E, in their copious writings on Whitestone and in collections of his poetry, do not at any stage touch on the true interpretation of these two songs, yet they unquestionably had access to Huizong’s *ci*, as it appears in at least three books published prior to their period of activity. Two of these are collections of ephemeral writings on the demise of the Northern Song—*Dasong Xuanhe yishi* 大宋宣和遺事 (*Surviving Anecdotes from the Xuanhe Era of the Greater Song*) and *Nanjin jiwenlu* 南燼紀聞錄 (*A Record of Southern Ashes*)—and appeared at the cusp of the Southern Song and Yuan dynasties.<sup>29</sup> The third, *Huacao cuibian* 花草粹編 (*Flowers and Grasses, Selected Highlights*),<sup>30</sup> a popular compilation of lyric songs, was published in the Ming dynasty. Given that the Zhedong 浙東 School of Historiography was so proactive in preserving and disseminating historical materials, and some of its members, such as Quan Zuwang 全祖望 (1705–1755), also participated in the activities of Zhexi Poetry School, these three books were undoubtedly widely available to Zhu Yizun, Li E, and their fellows. Not only in respect of *Secret Fragrance* and *Dappled Shadows*, but also with regard to the whole of Whitestone’s oeuvre, the actual subject matter of Jiang Kui’s lyric songs seems also to have been rarely discussed. Even the Zhexi Poetry School, at the same time enthusiasts and experts on Whitestone’s *ci*, when expressing opinions in public arenas, uncritically accepted Dong Qichang’s 董其昌 (1555–1636) duality, which divided painting into northern and southern schools, and applied it lock,

29. Huizong’s *ci* as it appears in Li Liewen 黎烈文, ed., *Dasong Xuanhe yishi* 大宋宣和遺事 (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1934), 34; and Yan Yongcheng 燕永成, ed., *Nanjin jiwenlu* 南燼紀聞錄, in *Quan Song biji* (di si bian) 全宋筆記 (第四編), ed. Zhu Yī'an 朱易安 (Zhengzhou: Daxiang chubanshe, 2008), vol. 4, 48.

30. Chen Yaowen 陳耀文, ed., *Huacao cuibian* 花草粹編 (Baoding: Hebei daxue chubanshe, 2007), vol. 1, 285.

stock, and barrel to lyric songs. A search for the underlying impetus for the revival of Whitestone's poetry in these sources is thus doomed to be stillborn, and an examination instead of the actual behaviour of the main actors in the unfolding drama ends up yielding more fruitful explanations, and is given here the full treatment it deserves.

The first chapter of this book therefore examines the first forays into the rediscovery of Jiang Kui's works made in the Kangxi era by Zhu Yizun, the chief protagonist at this stage. In order to situate Zhu Yizun in his correct position as the instigator of this process, evidence is culled from two sources: a manuscript copied in 1685 by Ke Chongpu 柯崇樸 (active 1679–1704) from Zhu Yizun's collation of Jiang Kui's poems, now held in the Peking University Library; and a copy of Zhu Yizun's "supplementary list" of Jiang Kui's lyric songs annotated by Zhang Zongsu 張宗橐 (1705–1775), kept in the Shanghai Library. Fresh evaluation of this newly discovered primary material puts the ground-breaking 1710 and 1718 editions of the fifty-eight-*ci* compilation of Jiang Kui's lyric songs into a completely new perspective, and conclusively demonstrates that they came into being entirely as a result of Zhu Yizun's efforts at rediscovery.

Moving into the second generation of the renaissance of Jiang Kui's works in the eighteenth century, the second chapter takes as its starting point my unearthing of an entirely unreported working manuscript, now kept in private hands (reproduced here as Facsimile 1), that was used in the preparation of the Lu edition of Jiang Kui's works in 1743, and of which Zhu Yizun was completely unaware. The Lu Zhonghui 陸鍾輝 (?–1761) edition was an important milestone in the rehabilitation of Jiang Kui's *ci*, containing a total of 109 of these, and marks a new stage in their wider dissemination. Expanding from the working manuscript, we explore the circle of scholars and enthusiasts who helped increase the momentum of this revival: Li E, Min Hua 閔華 (1697–after 1773), Wang Zao 王藻, and the Ma brothers (the salt merchants Ma Yueguan 馬曰琯 [1688–1755] and Ma Yuelu 馬曰璐 [1701–1761]), all members of the Yangzhou 揚州 Poetry Club.

In the third chapter, a series of poems connected with the arrival of Hang Shijun 杭世駿 (1696–1773, recently dismissed by the Emperor Qianlong 乾隆, r. 1735–1796) into the Yangzhou Poetry Club is used as a vehicle for examining further the motivation and aesthetic ideals of the circle. An important backdrop here is the consolidation of Qing dynasty rule at this time, the exclusion of the scholarly elite of southern China from positions of power, and their reactions to this situation. These notions seep into their poetic creations, and also concur with their espousal of Jiang Kui as a convenient symbol of their ambitions, issues that are explored here through copious translation and exegesis of their literary creations.

Most modern studies of lyric songs omit discussion of the musical component of their performance, even though it was an essential part of their composition, and the melodies employed, collected in *cipai* 詞牌 compilations, rarely survive. The working manuscript used to prepare the 1743 edition uniquely preserves, however, seventeen such melodies by Jiang Kui, and through it can be glimpsed authentic performance practice before eighteenth-century editors got their hands on the material. Particularly in respect of stanzaic division, the fourth chapter argues that members of the Yangzhou Poetry Club appear to have misunderstood relationships between text and metrical pattern. In fact, the Song dynasty vernacular process of adding words to a reservoir of pre-existing melodies became, in the eighteenth century, a highly sophisticated relating of sentences to metrical patterns and rhyme schemes, and it is this crucial evolution that underpins the whole Jiang Kui renaissance, giving it a subtlety of veiled meaning that could still survive and thrive, despite pressure from the Manchu literary inquisition.

Close focus on the lineage of the seminal 1743 and 1749 Jiang Kui editions forms the basis of the fifth chapter, and here the key players are Fu Zeng 符曾 (1688–1764) and Wang Dong 汪棟 (1710–1738). Analysis of the source for these two editions, as well as of poetry by the chief protagonists and stories of their interaction, demonstrates that the editorial practices employed for the 1749 publication (Facsimile 2) were simply an extension of those used for the 1743 text. In fact, both editions were crystallizations of processes generated by networks of friends and colleagues, all motivated by a similar array of political and social aspirations.

Based on a manuscript penned by Jiang Bingyan 江炳炎 (c. 1679–?), the next important collection of Jiang Kui's lyric songs was edited by Zhu Zumou 朱祖謀 (1857–1931) and appeared in 1913, a couple of years after the end of the Qing dynasty. Zhu Zumou claimed his publication was closer to Song dynasty original versions than those of 1743 and 1749, and mainstream critical opinion has concurred ever since; however, in the sixth chapter, my discovery of a tracing copy of the Jiang Bingyan source (Facsimile 3) clearly proves that his manuscript was a conflation of the fifty-eight-*ci* and 109-*ci* collections. Zhu Zumou's motives for this subterfuge are discussed in detail; I argue that, as a Qing dynasty loyalist, Zhu used Jiang Kui once more as a focus for discontent at dynastic change.

Thus, three facsimiles crucial to an understanding of Jiang Kui's lyric songs are presented here: a working manuscript owned by the Ma brothers used in preparing the 1743 Lu edition, a source that has never appeared in print before (Facsimile 1); a copy of the 1749 edition annotated by Bao Tingbo 鮑廷博 (1728–1814) in 1783 (Facsimile 2); and a tracing copy of Jiang Bingyan's manuscript written by Shen Yunzhai 沈韻齋 in 1914, also never before published (Facsimile 3). Also included is a New Critical Edition in Chinese of Jiang Kui's lyric oeuvre, which, unlike Xia Chengtao's 夏承燾 (1900–1986) exegesis, is not grounded in Zhu Zumou's 1913 edition, but is based instead on the working manuscript and some twenty other sources, such as are cited in this book. There are two appendices: a list of Jiang Kui's lyric songs that appear in editions from the mid-thirteenth to the mid-eighteenth centuries and a summary of lyric songs misattributed to Jiang Kui during the same period.

## Conclusion

“Jiang Baishi of the Southern Song, by his profound feelings and singular creativity, is able to supersede the superficiality of direct description, the wind and the dust, but does not lose the magical mellifluousness familiar since the Wei and Jin.”

(Quan Zuwang, preface to Fu Zeng’s anthology *The Spring Duck Poetry Collection*, c. 1753)

From the Kangxi period to 1913 in the lower Yangtze River region of southern China, a renaissance of interest in Jiang Kui was crucial to crystallizing both aesthetic and political aspirations. If interest had simply been in the rehabilitation of a neglected poet and limited to a narrow band of scholarly enthusiasm, the results would not have been the intensity of passion engendered or the plethora of publications and manuscripts that actually appeared. In fact, Jiang Kui became a supremely appropriate vessel for expressing a whole host of different viewpoints: for the Yangzhou Poetry Club, he represented political disenfranchisement and racial discrimination at the hands of the Manchu autocracy, yet, for Zhu Zumou, the same lyric songs symbolized nostalgic reminiscence for the Qing regime once it had been overthrown. The appropriateness of these *ci* was that they could be interpreted in a flexible manner, on the surface embodying an exquisite sense of refinement, yet underneath expressing a more turbulent feeling of oppression and dispossession. Yet where did this common emotion of disharmony and dissatisfaction come from?

The heart of an answer to this question comes from the behaviour of the Manchu ruling dynasty, which had not only asserted political and military control, but had also begun to extend the tentacles of its oppression into cultural spheres.<sup>1</sup> From the Kangxi era in the mid-seventeenth century to the end of Qianlong’s reign at the close of the eighteenth century, this persecution was to become ever more cruel. Thus, the focus of intellectual activity for the educated elite of southern China realigned itself, turning away from the more philosophical concerns of Confucian ideology to become a movement whose principal interest was now philological.<sup>2</sup> Lyric songs had, in their original state, been a more vernacular and less highbrow literary form,<sup>3</sup> yet were now elevated to a position where, placed on the pedestal of “refinement,” they acquired almost the status of sacred texts.<sup>4</sup>

In the Kangxi period, although the scholarly elites of southern China were already under pressure, to a limited extent, they were still able to operate inside the political and social hierarchy. Zhu Yizun did, after all, in 1679, successfully sit Kangxi’s examination for the higher degree of “erudite literatus,” and subsequently occupied an official position in Beijing for a number of years. Zhu Yizun’s ancestors had held high office in the Ming dynasty, and in the years before taking the “erudite literatus” examination, he himself had been involved in efforts to oust the Qing dynasty and revive the Ming.<sup>5</sup> Eventually appointed to office by Kangxi, his position, unsurprisingly, proved precarious, and he was finally dismissed. While employed, in self-mockery, he published a book of poetry entitled *A Record of Being a Figure of Fun* (*Tengxiao ji*),<sup>6</sup> admitting to all and sundry that he had submitted to Qing dynasty control, though was also somehow aware of the absurdity of his role.

With the accession of the Emperor Qianlong, the screw was progressively tightened; anyone with a connection to the southern Chinese educated elite found themselves either sacked or not employed in the first place. Evidently at this point, a new literary form was needed. Its requirements were, on the one hand, to give clear, cathartic voice to latent dissatisfaction, whilst, on the other, to have an opaque means of expression that veiled the true meaning of the thoughts expressed and protected its practitioners from further

1. Wilt Idema, Wai-ye Li, and Ellen Widmer, eds., *Trauma and Transcendence in Early Qing Literature* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2006); Wai-ye Li, “Women as Emblems of Dynastic Fall from Late-Ming to Late-Qing,” in *Dynastic Crisis and Cultural Innovation: From the Late-Ming to the Late-Qing and Beyond*, ed. David Wang and Shang Wei (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2005), 93–150; and Wai-ye Li, *Women and National Trauma in Late Imperial Chinese Literature* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2014).

2. See Luther Carrington Goodrich, *The Literary Inquisition of Ch’ien-lung* (New York: Paragon, 1966), 30–67; Albert Feuerwerker, *State and Society in Eighteenth-Century China: The Ch’ing Empire in Its Glory* (Ann Arbor: Center for Chinese Studies, University of Michigan, 1976); 25–31. For a rather different view on this scholastic climate, see Benjamin A. Elman, *From Philosophy to Philology: Intellectual and Social Aspects of Change in Late Imperial China* (Cambridge, MA: Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University, 1984), 13–17.

3. For an in-depth study on the disrepute of lyric songs, see Ronald Egan, *The Problem of Beauty: Aesthetic Thought and Pursuits in Northern Song Dynasty China* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2006), 237–348; see also his “The Problem of the Repute of Tz’u during the Northern Song,” in *Voices of the Song Lyric*, ed. Pauline Yu, 192–226.

4. Lap Lam, “Elevation and Expurgation: Elite Strategies in Enhancing the Reputation of *Ci*,” *Chinese Literature: Essays, Articles, Reviews* 24 (2002): 1–41.

5. Huang Shang 黄裳, *Laiyan xie shuba* 来燕榭书跋 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2011), 257–58.

6. Zhu Yizun, *Tengxiao ji*, 7.



danger. The sophisticated and subtle song lyrics of Jiang Kui were thus chosen, or perhaps chose themselves. With *cipai* melodies available off the shelf to Jiang Kui, it may well have been that adding evocative words to them had not been all that difficult, but by the Qing dynasty these melodies had been lost, and song lyricists of this era had only metrical patterns and text with which to work. The adding of text to metre was now a much more complex problem, but the harder this became, from a political perspective, the safer it was, as only the most sophisticated could be involved in the process. It was against this background that Zhu Yizun used all the resources at his disposal and assembled his compilation of fifty-eight pieces. His efforts at bringing about a renaissance in lyric songs were not limited to Jiang Kui's oeuvre alone; he also unearthed a manuscript copy of the Southern Song lyricist Zhang Yan's *Lyric Songs of White Clouds in the Mountains* (*Shanzhong baiyun ci*), edited it, and passed it on to colleagues who published it.<sup>7</sup> In the Yuan dynasty manuscript *Supplement to the Repertoires of the Music Bureau* (*Yuefu buti* 樂府補題), in addition to Zhang Yan, other Southern Song disciples of Jiang Kui such as Zhou Mi and Wang Yisun are also represented—Zhu Yizun had this supplement published too.<sup>8</sup> Under his auspices, song lyricists in Beijing were assembled, and composed “poetic answers” to the same metres and rhymes as the lyric songs in this text, though these activities were by necessity cloaked in secrecy and took place surreptitiously.<sup>9</sup>

The commanding motivation for all these efforts was to eulogize the concept of “refinement” (*ya*); in Zhi Yizun's estimation, it was Jiang Kui who best embodied it. His view was that the most “refined” anthology of lyric songs was Zhou Mi's compilation *Surpassingly Fine Lyric Songs*, and that the popular *Lyric Songs of the Thatched Cottage* (*Caotang shiyu*) was by comparison the “crudest.” “Refinement” is, however, both an abstract and subjective concept, so what did Zhu Yizun and his followers actually mean by it? In his copy of *Lyric Songs of the Thatched Cottage*, Li E added a postscript that provides an apt and succinct definition:

In the Yuan dynasty, *Lyric Songs of the Thatched Cottage* was published by the Phoenix Forest Publishing House, and consists of three fascicles; although it is not known who made the selection, it was the product of Southern Song loyalists of the Zhiyuan [1264–1294] and Dade [1297–1307] eras. The lyric songs therein are all plaintive laments suffused with sorrow, and never forget their occupied homeland. At the opening of the book is given that it is the work of Liu Cangchun [i.e., Liu Bingzhong 劉秉忠, 1216–1274] and Xu Luzhai [i.e., Xu Heng 許衡, 1209–1281], which is of unparalleled significance. Their editing and selection are excellent, and not a word is vulgar or superficial. Other than Zhou Mi's *Surpassingly Fine Lyric Songs*, there is nothing to compare with it. As far as these two books are concerned, I love them dearly, and they never leave my side, not even for a moment.

元鳳林書院《草堂詩餘》三卷，無名氏選，至元、大德間諸人所作，皆南宋遺民也。詞多淒惻傷感，不忘故國，而於卷首冠以劉藏春、許魯齋二家，厥有深意。至其采擷精妙，無一語凡近。弁陽老人《絕妙好詞》而外，渺焉寡匹。余於此二種，心所愛玩，無時離手。<sup>10</sup>

The “unparalleled significance” to which Li E refers should also be understood as “refinement,” and its identifying characteristic here is that these lyric songs “never forget their occupied homeland”; in other words, it is a kind of cultural patriotism. Not only are Liu Bingzhong and Xu Heng both represented, but so too is the renowned leader of resistance to the Mongolian Yuan dynasty invaders Wen Tianxiang 文天祥 (1236–1283), and the poem of his that is included is privileged as the third in the book. Zhu Yizun's words are best interpreted as a public utterance by which “refinement” is limited to artistic and literary expression. In the privacy of a handwritten postscript, Li E gives here a quite different explanation to “refinement,” aligning it firmly with cultural patriotism. Taking this spirit a step further, his interest in the lyric songs of the Southern Song dynasty was much wider than simply Jiang Kui's oeuvre—his publications also include the hundred-fascicle *Song shi jishi* 宋詩紀事 (*Background Compendium of Song Dynasty Poems*),<sup>11</sup> a twenty-four-fascicle *Liao shi shiyi* 遼史拾遺 (*Supplement to the Liao Dynasty Official History*),<sup>12</sup> an eight-fascicle *Nan Song yuanhua lu* 南宋院畫錄 (*A Record of Works by the Southern Song Dynasty Painting Academy*),<sup>13</sup> a seven-fascicle *Juemiao haoqi jian* (*An*

7. Zhang Yan 張炎, *Shanzhong baiyun ci* 山中白雲詞, ed. Ge Weijun 葛渭君 and Wang Xiaohong 王曉紅 (Shenyang: Liaoning jiaoyu chubanshe, 2001).

8. For the rich symbolic meanings of this anthology, see Kang-i Sun Chang, “Symbolic and Allegorical Meanings in the *Yüeh-fu pu-t'i* Poem Series,” *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 46.2 (1986): 353–85.

9. Yan Dichang, *Qing ci shi*, 226–33; Yan Dichang, “Shui fan jiushi zuo xinwen: Hangzhou Xiaoshantang Zhaoshi de Kuangting qingjie yu Nan Song zashi shi” 誰翻舊事作新聞：杭州小山堂趙氏的曠亭情結與南宋雜事詩, *Wenxue yichan* 文學遺產 (2000: 6): 48–59, especially 54–59.

10. Li E, “Yuan Cangtang shiyu yuanba” 元草堂詩餘原跋, in *Yuan Caotang shiyu* 元草堂詩餘, ed. Wu Chongyao 伍崇曜 (Guangzhou: Yueya tang, 1853), fo. 1r.

11. Li E, *Song shi jishi* 宋詩紀事 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1983).

12. Li E, *Liao shi shiyi* 遼史拾遺 (Chengdu: Sichuan minzu chubanshe, 2002).

13. Li E, *Nan Song yuanhua lu* 南宋院畫錄 (Yangzhou: Dingshi Zhushu tang, 1884).

*Annotated Edition of Surpassingly Fine Lyric Songs*),<sup>14</sup> and *Nan Song zashi shi* (*A Southern Song Dynasty Poetic Miscellany*). All this work radiated out from the nucleus of “refinement”; at its heart is dismay at an “occupied homeland.”

As Manchu conquerors, the Qing dynasty authorities were extremely keen to legitimize their rule in Confucian terms. In order to do this, they had to be seen to have rigorously reorganized both literature and music. Thus, in the field of lyric songs, in 1707, they published *Lidai shiyu* (*Ci Poetry of Former Dynasties*) in 120 fascicles,<sup>15</sup> and, in 1715, *Qinding cipu* (*Imperial Register of Ci Prosody*) in forty fascicles.<sup>16</sup> With regard to music, in 1713, they printed *Lülü zhengyi* 律呂正義 (*The Orthodox Understanding of Pitch Standards*),<sup>17</sup> which, together with *Shuli jingyun* 數理精蘊 (*Finer Definitions in Higher Mathematics*) and *Lixiang kaocheng* 曆象考成 (*Calendrical and Astronomic Hypotheses and Proof*), formed the hundred-fascicle *Lülü yuanyuan* 律曆淵源 (*The Origins of Pitch and Calendar*), published in 1723;<sup>18</sup> in 1746, a 120-fascicle *Lülü zhengyi houbian* was also printed.<sup>19</sup> The ultimate aim of this process was to achieve “sagehood” through creating a new standard of “refinement”—this was what the Manchu court understood by both terms.<sup>20</sup>

Entirely in opposition to one another, two completely different paradigms of “refinement” had thus now emerged, one in Beijing and the other in the lower Yangtze River region of southern China. No dictatorship could tolerate such insubordination, and the Manchu court had to act. During the period 1711–1755, persecution by the literary inquisition of the Qing dynasty reached its first climax. The year 1711 marks the start of this renewed activity, as in this year, leading scholar, poet, and Kangxi protégé Wang Shizhen 王士禎 (1634–1711) died,<sup>21</sup> whilst Zhu Yizun had passed away two years earlier, thus literary intellectuals now lacked a leadership figure. In addition, the *cause célèbre* Literary Inquisition case of Dai Mingshi’s 戴名世 (1653–1713) *Nanshan ji* 南山集 (*Collected Works of the Southern Mountain*) also erupted in 1711.<sup>22</sup> Altogether, more than three hundred people were implicated in the proceedings; three new Hanlin academicians from southern China, admitted in 1712, departed Beijing as a result, including future Yangzhou Poetry Club member Cheng Mengxing.<sup>23</sup> By 1714, some two-thirds of all Hanlin academicians had, on some pretext or other, left Beijing,<sup>24</sup> and in 1715, future Yangzhou Poetry Club member and temporary Hanlin academician Tang Jianzhong was also sucked into struggles regarding the imperial succession and dismissed by Kangxi.<sup>25</sup>

Disrobed and dismissed from office, returning to southern China, these disaffected intellectuals made contact with colleagues already holding office there and formed themselves into a distinct political entity. After the Emperor Yongzheng’s accession to the imperial throne in 1723, the spotlight turned on Hu Qiheng in 1725, who is described in historical documents as sentenced to death by hanging because he had not implicated his superior Nian Gengyao in treasonable activities. What these sources do not indicate, however, is that a notebook by Nian Gengyao’s advisor and Hu Qiheng protégé Wang Jingqi 汪景祺 (1672–1726) was found in Nian Gengyao’s house when it was being searched, a volume entitled *Dushu tang xizheng suibi* 讀書堂西征隨筆 (*Jottings on a Journey to the West by Dushu tang*). This notebook included an essay entitled “Do Not Be a Meritorious Minister” 功臣不可為, in which Wang Jingqi made a penetrating analysis predicting that the Emperor Yongzheng would one day seek to eliminate Nian Gengyao.<sup>26</sup> Not surprisingly, Yongzheng was enraged that his plans had been foreseen, ordering Wang Jingqi beheaded forthwith, along with his sons aged sixteen or older, and his head permanently displayed at the execution ground.<sup>27</sup>

The book was confiscated and kept under lock and key in the Palace for the Encouragement of Imperial Scholarship, where it languished until the Republican period, when it was rediscovered on December 6, 1927.<sup>28</sup> On its front cover, the Emperor Yongzheng had written: “Obtuse, ridiculous, mad, disorganized, to such an extreme extent. I only regret that I came to see this book so belatedly. If, in the future, similar happenings occur, then poison of this sort must not be allowed to escape my net” 悖謬狂亂，至于此極，惜見此之晚，留以待他日，弗使此種得漏網也！<sup>29</sup> This “poison” had come from Hu Qiheng’s acquaintance Wang Jingqi, who had passed it on to Nian Gengyao.

14. Zha Weiren 查為仁 and Li E, *Juemiao hao ci jian* 絕妙好詞箋 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1957).

15. Shen Chenyuan 沈辰垣 et al., ed., *Yuxuan lidai shiyu* 御選歷代詩餘 (Beijing: Neifu keben, 1707).

16. Wang Yiqing et al., ed., *Qinding cipu*.

17. Yunzhi 允祉 et al., *Yuzhi lülü zhengyi* 御製律呂正義 (Beijing: Wuying dian, 1713).

18. Yunlu 允祿 et al., *Yuzhi lülü yuanyuan* 御製律曆淵源, in *Gugong zhenben congkan* 故宮珍本叢刊, ed. Gugong bowuyuan 故宮博物院, vols. 389–397 (Haikou: Hainan chubanshe, 2000).

19. Yunlu 允祿 et al., *Yuzhi lülü zhengyi houbian* 御製律呂正義後編, in *Gugong zhenben congkan* 故宮珍本叢刊, ed. Gugong bowuyuan 故宮博物院, vols. 25–30 (Haikou: Hainan chubanshe, 2000).

20. Yan Dichang, *Qing ci shi*, 304–7; Yu Siuwah, “The Meaning and Cultural Functions of Non-Chinese Musics in the Eighteenth-Century Manchu Court” (PhD diss., Harvard University, 1996); and Yang Yuanzheng 楊元靜, “Yongle qinshu jicheng xieben zhenwei de kaocha” 永樂琴書集成寫本真偽的考察, *Gugong bowuyuan yuankan* 故宮博物院院刊 (2015: 1): 81–91, especially 89–91.

21. For Wang’s literary works and criticism, see Daniel Bryant, “Syntax, Sound, and Sentiment in Old Nanking: Wang Shih-chen’s ‘Miscellaneous Poems on the Ch’in-huai,’” *Chinese Literature: Essays, Articles, Reviews* 14 (1992): 25–50.

22. Pierre-Henri Durand, trans., *Recueil de la montagne du Sud* (Paris: Gallimard, 1998).

23. Du Zhao, “Xiangxi ji xu” 香溪集序, in *Siku quanshu cunmu congshu bubian* 四庫全書存目叢書補編, ed. Siku quanshu cunmu congshu bianzuan weiyuanhui 四庫全書存目叢書編纂委員會, vol. 42 (Ji’nan: Qilu shushe, 2001), 30; Cheng Mengxing, *Jinyoutang shiji*, 12; and Ke Yuchun 柯愈春, *Qingren shiwenji zongmu tiyao* 清人詩文集總目提要 (Beijing: Beijing guji chubanshe, 2002), 415.

24. Zhongguo diyi lishi dang’anguan 中國第一歷史檔案館, ed., *Kangxi qijuzhu* 康熙起居注 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1984), vol. 3, 2071.

25. Ibid., vol. 3, 2165; Yan Dichang, “Wangshi jingxin jiaoduanhong: Yangzhou Mashi Xiaolinglongshanguan yu Yong Qian zhiji Guangling wenxue jiqun” 往事驚心叫斷鴻：揚州馬氏小玲瓏山館與雍乾之際廣陵文學集群, *Wenxue yichan* 文學遺產 (2002: 4): 105–18, especially 114–16.

26. Wang Jingqi, *Dushu tang xizheng suibi* 讀書堂西征隨筆 (Beijing: Guoli gugong bowuyuan, 1928), fos. 54v–55v.

27. Xu Baoheng 許寶衡, “Wang Jingqi Xizheng suibi yijuan 汪景祺西征隨筆一卷,” in *Dushu tang xizheng suibi* 讀書堂西征隨筆, by Wang Jingqi 汪景祺 (Beijing: Guoli gugong bowuyuan, 1928), fo. 1v; Jonathan D. Spence, *Treason by the Book* (New York: Viking, 2001), 31–33.

28. Xu Keru 許恪儒, ed., *Xu Baoheng riji* 許寶衡日記 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2010), vol. 3, 1216.

29. Xu Baoheng, “Wang Jingqi Xizheng suibi yijuan,” fo. 1v.

When Huang Zhijun, as the chief examiner for Fujian province, was impeached and dismissed by the Emperor Yongzheng, as mentioned in Chapter 5, the emperor admonished him to “simply get on with implementing policy”; but what policy had he failed to implement? A very clear indication of what he had been expected to do is given by the behaviour of his successor to the post of chief examiner for Fujian province Dai Han 戴瀚 (*jinshi* degree 1723), who took up his new position in 1729. Not long afterwards, in 1730, a lowly student called Fan Shijie 范世杰, not yet successful even in the lowest rungs of the *kejiu* examination, penned a panegyric essay in praise of the Emperor Yongzheng. In it, he unwisely pointed out that Yongzheng had modestly given way to his three elder brothers during the process of determining the imperial succession. Lineage and legitimacy were extremely sensitive issues, and even to mention them was just the pretext Dai Han needed in order to launch an investigation by the Literary Inquisition. Fan Shijie was quickly imprisoned, and Dai Han dispatched a confidential report to the emperor.<sup>30</sup> Yongzheng was impressed and did not simply tick the report as “read,” but instead took the trouble to write on it in red ink:

How excellent it is that you were able so loyally to carry out my instructions and report them back to me. If only all senior officials, regardless of the situation they encountered, without hiding anything, [reported so swiftly back to me,] then those who flout the law would be completely exterminated . . . Let my words here be made known to all provincial and prefectural governors.

所奏甚屬可嘉。地方大員果一一將此等事概不隱匿消滅，此等棍徒匪類何患不盡淨也。……將此諭亦令督撫知之。<sup>31</sup>

This was just what Yongzheng had wanted from Huang Zhijun all along: strict implementation of the Manchu policy of persecuting southern Chinese intellectuals.

When Yongzheng's son, the Emperor Qianlong, invited Huang Zhijun to Beijing in 1738 to participate in writing *The Orthodox Understanding of Pitch Standards*, it is no wonder that Huang found a pretext to decline the offer. He chose instead to stay in Shanghai and edit the musical notation in *The Songs of the Whitestone Daoist*; this sent out a very clear message as to which type of “refinement” was closest to his heart. He was extremely assiduous in the undertaking, and, in the musical notation alone, more than 130 differences between the 1749 Zhang edition and the relevant working manuscript can be found.<sup>32</sup> He had declined Qianlong's invitation on health grounds, yet seems to have been sprightly enough when it came to working on something he valued.

By the end of the eighteenth century, the energies of the Literary Inquisition seem to have spent themselves, and Jiang Kui's lyric songs, as a symbol of reaction to it, no longer had quite the same relevance. Thus, in the early nineteenth century, when a new school of lyric song writing emerged in Changzhou, Jiang Kui was no longer the focus of its attention. In 1911, however, with the demise of the Qing dynasty, the situation had reversed itself once more, and members of the intellectual elite were again presented with difficult choices as to where to place their loyalties. At this juncture, the disenfranchised and dispossessed tone of Jiang Kui's lyric songs was found, ironically perhaps, to have most resonance with the Qing dynasty loyalists Wang Pengyun, Zhu Zumou, Zheng Wenzhuo, and Kuang Zhouyi 况周颐 (1859–1926) and their struggle to come to terms with the deposition of the imperial power that had previously employed them. Of these, Wang Pengyun and Zhu Zumou even went to the trouble of printing editions of Jiang Kui's works.

From the mid-seventeenth to the early twentieth centuries, a genuine renaissance of Jiang Kui's works took place, which, inside the framework of the history of Chinese literary criticism, can be counted as a truly extraordinary phenomenon. Its promulgators held all along that their starting point had been the creation of a division between Northern and Southern Schools of *ci* composition; they freely admitted that their paradigm for this sea change had been transplanted from art criticism. In this context, Ming dynasty scholar-official and calligrapher Dong Qichang was a crucial figure, as it was he who had first indicated that the inspiration for this division had come from Chan Buddhism, which had always been commonly regarded as being separated into two schools, a Northern and a Southern: the Northern advocated a gradual process of achieving enlightenment through

30. Shanghai shudian chubanshe 上海書店出版社, ed., *Qingdai wenziyu dang* 清代文字獄檔 (Shanghai: Shanghai shudian chubanshe, 2007), 995–97.

31. *Ibid.*, 997.

32. That borrowed by Bao Tingbo from descendants of the Ma brothers, as discussed in Chapter 5.



lengthy spiritual exercises, whilst, by contrast, the Southern believed in the notion of sudden enlightenment, a “road to Damascus” moment, if you like.

Dong Qichang regarded the Tang dynasty painter Li Sixun 李思訓 (651–716) and his son Li Zhaodao 李昭道 (675–758) as the leading lights of the Northern School, a mantle inherited by the Song dynasty masters Zhao Gan 趙幹 (active c. 960–975), Zhao Boju 趙伯駒 (1120–1182), Zhao Bosu 趙伯驢 (1124–1182), Ma Yuan 馬遠 (1160–1225), and Xia Gui 夏圭 (c. 1195–1224). This school is characterized by detailed and quasi-realistic representations of a multitude of objects, crammed into a picture in rich and varied hues. Evidently art of the skilled professional, each scene is a crafted product of intense and highly-wrought complexity. Dong Qichang considered that the Southern School had been initiated by Wang Wei 王維 (699–759) of the Tang dynasty; in the Five Dynasties (907–960) and the Song dynasty, the lineage had passed to Jing Hao 荆浩 (c. 855–915), Guan Tong 關仝 (c. 906–960), Dong Yuan 董源 (c. 934–c. 962), Juran 巨然 (c. 932–?), Guo Zhongshu 郭忠恕 (?–977), Zhang Zao 張瑑 (?–1093), Mi Fu 米芾 (1051–1107), and his son Mi Youren 米友仁 (1074–1153), and then to the four masters of the Yuan dynasty: Huang Gongwang 黃公望 (1269–1354), Wang Meng 王蒙 (c. 1308–1385), Ni Zan 倪瓚 (1301–1374), and Wu Zhen 吳鎮 (1280–1354). Its features are the use of softer pastel shades and gentle ink washes.

In a general sense, the notion of a coalescence of practices into Northern and Southern Schools began in the Six Dynasties (220–589). Southern Song Chan Buddhism, paintings, and *ci* would seem to share similarities in this regard. Southern Song Chan Buddhism took complex and systematic activities such as reciting sacred texts and doing good works and simply rejected them all. Similarly, Southern Song painting advocated simplicity and “minimalism,” a few deft strokes used to achieve a rich effect, the fewer the better, a discourse of “less is more.” Concerning lyric songs, quoting the master himself, Jiang Kui, in his *Discourse On Poetry* (*Shishuo* 詩說), urges: “Let the implicit be valued in the usage of language, . . . so that a phrase has added flavour, and if a verse has added meaning, the finest of fine poetry is possible” 語貴含蓄，……句中有餘味，篇中有餘意，善之善者也。<sup>33</sup>

With general parallels like these, it might be regarded as natural for the Southern *ci* to have reigned supreme, viewed as the peak of artistic, philosophical, and creative achievement, a primacy certainly attained by Southern Chan Buddhism and painting. This was not, however, what happened, and as the twentieth-century critic and polymath Qian Zhongshu 錢鍾書 (1910–1998) has observed with respect to the canon selection of paintings and lyric songs, diametrically opposite processes between the two can be witnessed: “implicit” in the visual arts has always attracted most acclaim, whilst subtle and veiled poetic meanings have normally been regarded as inferior to more direct types of expression.<sup>34</sup> In this context, painter and poet Wang Wei is an apposite case study: critical consensus has always regarded his paintings and poetry, though of different media, as belonging to the same “implicit” school, yet whilst his paintings have always been regarded as of the highest quality, his poetry, by comparison with the beloved muscularity of Li Bai 李白 (701–762) and Du Fu, is usually considered to be of the second division.

Thus, in painting, the most precious of qualities is *xu* 虛 or “implicitness,” whilst in literature, it is *shi* 實 or “directness.” No wonder, then, that early twentieth-century scholar Wang Guowei criticised Jiang Kui for the *ge* 隔 quality of his poetry, that is, its “separateness” or “estrangement” from expressing anything directly. For many centuries, this critical consensus was maintained, but in the early modern period, a few siren voices began to express diverging viewpoints. Early amongst these was the late Ming and early Qing scholar Lu Shiyong 陸時雍 (*gongsheng* degree 1633), who, in his book *The Mirror of Tang Dynasty Poetry* (*Tangshi jing* 唐詩鏡), dares to criticize Li Bai, Du Fu, Han Yu, and Bai Juyi 白居易 (772–846), whilst commending Wang Wei and Wei Yingwu 韋應物 (737–792), explicitly stating: “Mojie [i.e., Wang Wei] should not be regarded as inferior to Li [Bai] and Du [Fu]” 摩詰不宜在李、杜下。<sup>35</sup>

Wang Shizhen, a leading figure in poetical and literature circles of the Kangxi era, expressed similar views. In public, he remained a steadfast supporter of the orthodoxy, praising Li Bai and Du Fu according to received wisdom and assessing Du Fu’s poetry

33. Jiang Kui, *Baishi shi ci ji*, 67. See also Qian Zhongshu 錢鍾書, *Guanzhui bian* 管雋編 (Hong Kong: Zhonghua shuju, 1990), vol. 4, 1352–66; and Ronald Egan, trans., *Limited Views: Essays on Ideas and Letters* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 1998), 97–118.

34. Qian Zhongshu, *Qizhui ji* 七綴集 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1985), 1–32.

35. *Ibid.*, 22.

as “the epitome of rectitude” 究竟歸宿處。In private jottings, however, another story is revealed, and here he has nothing but contempt for Du Fu, as observed by the scholar Li Zhonghua 李重華 (1682–1755), who had gained access to some of these writings.<sup>36</sup> Likewise, Zhao Zhixin 趙執信 (1662–1744), in his compendium of literary criticism *A Record of Discussing Dragons* (*Tanlong lu* 談龍錄, the “dragons” here are in fact “poems”), gives:

Ruanweng [i.e., Wang Shizhen] absolutely detested Shaoling’s [i.e., Du Fu] poems, but most certainly would not have dared to attack them publicly, so he often quoted Northern Song poet Yang Danian’s (974–1020) disparaging assessment of Du Fu as a mere “village schoolmaster” when speaking of the subject to guests.

阮翁酷不喜少陵，特不敢顯攻之，每舉楊大年「村夫子」之目以語客。<sup>37</sup>

In fact, Wang Shizhen and Zhao Zhixi were related (the former was the latter’s wife’s uncle through marriage), which explains Zhao Zhixi’s privileged access to the more private conversations of this distinguished pedagogue.

The importance of the renaissance of lyric songs and Jiang Kui’s oeuvre in particular was not limited in scope simply to its effect on the *ci* genre; those participating in the movement were also well aware of the overall critical framework in which it was situated. Yangzhou Poetry Club member and historian Quan Zuwang explores these issues in an introductory essay to an anthology of poems by Fu Zeng entitled *The Spring Duck Poetry Collection* (*Chunfu ji* 春鳧集). In order to increase the persuasive power of his argument, he takes for his mouthpiece the Northern Song poet Su Dongpo:

In former times, Dongpo discussed poetry, saying: “Li [Bai] and Du [Fu], with full measure of the vastness of the ocean and the sturdiness of the land, surpassing all, bestrode a hundred generations, and made the works of all other poets, ancient and modern, seem like rubbish. However, [a poetry style which] exceeds the winds and is untouched by dust has perpetuated since the Wei and Jin dynasties; since the time of Li and Du, it has declined.”

昔東坡之論詩，謂：李、杜以海涵地負之量，凌跨百代，古今詩人盡廢。然而魏晉以來高風絕塵，亦自此衰。<sup>38</sup>

He then provides his own analysis of these words:

The reason for this is that the giddy heights of Li and Du’s poems cannot be reached, their magical brightness and urgent strength are sufficient to take poetry to the apex of its variation, and if inept scholars inherit his mantle, that is enough to cause poetry to lose its integrity. From the Tang dynasty onwards, poets such as Changli (i.e., Han Yu), Dongye (i.e., Meng Jiao 孟郊, 751–814), Yuchuan (Lu Tong 盧仝, c. 795–835), Langxian (i.e., Jia Dao 賈島, 779–843), Changgu (i.e., Li He 李賀, 790–816), as well as, of the Song dynasty, Dongpo (i.e., Su Shi), Shan’gu (i.e., Huang Tingjian), Chengzhai (i.e., Yang Wanli), Dongfu (i.e., Xiao Dezhao), and Fangweng (i.e., Lu You), the breadth of their creative achievements and stylistic traits may vary, yet they are all nonetheless offshoots of Li and Du. However, they suffer from common faults in passage after passage, verse after verse: either coarsely brutal and thinly pinched in sound; or casual, superficial, flaccid, and garrulous in melody; twisted, insincere, and slyly disingenuous; there is no level to which they do not stoop.

蓋李、杜之詩不可幾，其神明魄力足以盡詩之變，而不善學者襲之，亦足以失詩之真。自是而還，昌黎、東野、玉川、閻仙、昌谷以暨宋之東坡、山谷、誠齋、東夫、放翁，其造詣之深淺，成家之大小不一，要皆李、杜之別子也。然而流弊所極，叢篇長語，或為粗厲噉殺之音，或為率易曼衍之調，弔詭險誕，無所不至。<sup>39</sup>

In order to revive the situation, Quan Zuwang regards Jiang Kui as his saviour:

Jiang Baishi of the Southern Song, . . . by his profound feelings and singular creativity, is able to supersede the superficiality of direct description, the wind and the dust, but does not lose the magical mellifluousness familiar since the Wei and Jin,

36. Li Zhonghua 李重華, *Zhenyizhai shishuo* 貞一齋詩說, in *Siku weishoushu jikan* (di 9 ji) 四庫全書輯刊 (第9輯), ed. Shiku weishoushu jikan bianzuan weiyuanhui 四庫全書輯刊編纂委員會, vol. 23 (Beijing: Beijing chubanshe, 2000), 343.

37. Zhao Zhixin 趙執信, *Tanlong lu* 談龍錄 (Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 1981), 10–11.

38. Quan Zuwang, *Quan Zuwang ji huijiao jizhu*, vol. 2, 1252.

39. Ibid., 1252–53.

gentle yet eternally implicit, translucent yet strangely rich, is this not the true poet's gift?

南渡姜白石，……以其深情孤詣，拔出於風塵之表，而不失魏晉以來神韻，淡而彌永，清而能腴，真風人之遺也。<sup>40</sup>

Jiang Kui's canonical place is now no longer part of "the wind and the dust" of Li and Du, but instead his works pass through and beyond those of these poets, superseding their directness of expression with his own more subtle hues. The plum blossom is such a small and delicate flower, and through Jiang Kui we learn so much of its resilience: a potent voice, resonating through the centuries, an undercurrent of resistance, a focus for discontent, an implicitness of expression, and a recurring renaissance.

40. Ibid., 1253.

# Notes on the Musical Recordings

Although Jiang Kui's musical notation provides an important and unique insight into the performance of lyric songs, the materials he furnishes us with are scanty, and probably acted more as a memory aid to musicians already immersed in the tradition rather than a comprehensive set of instructions on how to perform. These problems are particularly evident when dealing with aspects of rhythm, an issue that is insufficiently addressed in Jiang Kui's notation if European music of recent centuries is taken as a benchmark, but to contemporary Song dynasty performers imbued with customary practice, he probably told them all they needed to know. Rulan Chao Pian in her transcriptions turns this into a positive quality, and does not attempt to give exact durations to different pitches, using instead a plainsong-type system that assumes flexibility.<sup>1</sup> Thus, the recordings offered here are presented simply as plausible interpretations of how these lyric songs might have sounded, given what we know of Jiang Kui and the musical world he inhabited. *Ancient Complaint*, *Discontentment at the Long Pavilion*, and *Secret Fragrance* use transcriptions by Laurence Picken,<sup>2</sup> whilst *Pale Yellow Willows* and *Secret Fragrance* were transcribed by Yang Yinliu.<sup>3</sup> A second performance of *Secret Fragrance* employing a different interpretation of the same Jiang Kui notation is included here in order to draw attention to varying modern approaches taken to transcription and performance practice.

Apart from *Ancient Complaint*, which is a *qin* piece, none of the other musical scores lists which instruments might have been used to accompany the singer, but mention of candidates that could have taken on this role is given in the texts of the lyric songs themselves. Possibilities include *pipa* 琵琶, *xiao* 簫 (vertical bamboo flute), *yabili* 啞篳篥 (double reed pipe), and clappers. For the purposes of the recordings here, where possible, instruments have been constructed and equipped according to likely Song dynasty practice; for example, the *pipa* is held horizontally, whereas nowadays it is played vertically, and silk strings are used throughout, not the nylon or metal types normally employed for performance of more modern repertoire. For *Discontentment at the Long Pavilion* and *Secret Fragrance* (Picken transcriptions), *pipa*, *xiao*, and clappers accompany the singer, but only the *xiao* takes on this supporting role in *Pale Yellow Willows* and *Secret Fragrance* (Yang transcriptions).

The first three lyric songs were sung by Cheng Lai-chun 張麗真, and the fourth and fifth by Lau Chor-wah 劉楚華; the *xiao* was played by Sou Si-tai 蘇思棣, the *pipa* by Ho Kang-ming 何耿明, and the *qin* and clappers by Lau Chor-wah. Two performances were given in Hong Kong of these and other Jiang Kui songs: on October 31, 2009, at the Fragrant Sea Pavilion 香海軒, Nan Lian Garden 南蓮園池; and on April 24, 2010, at the Art Museum, Hong Kong University. The recordings listed below were made in the Hong Kong University recording studio shortly afterwards.

1. Rulan Chao Pian, *Song Dynasty Musical Sources and Their Interpretation*, 99–129.

2. Laurence E. R. Picken, "A Twelfth-Century Secular Chinese Song in Zither Tablature," 102–20; and his "Secular Chinese Songs of the Twelfth Century," 125–72.

3. Yang Yinliu and Yin Falu, *Song Jiang Baishi chuangzuo gequ yanjiu*, 45 and 46–47.

## List of the Titles:

- Song 1 *Ancient Complaint* (transcribed by Laurence Picken)
- Song 2 *Discontentment at the Long Pavilion* (transcribed by Laurence Picken)
- Song 3 *Secret Fragrance* (transcribed by Laurence Picken)
- Song 4 *Pale Yellow Willows* (transcribed by Yang Yinliu)
- Song 5 *Secret Fragrance* (transcribed by Yang Yinliu)

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# 聲文之美的合浦珠還

## 《白石道人歌曲》在清代的重現

考究南宋詞人姜夔（1155-1221）的《白石道人歌曲》，是中國詞學史和音樂史研究中的顯學。然而該書自南宋嘉泰二年（1202）雲間錢希武刊行，五百多年間始終寂寂無聞。為學者所矚目，則是清乾隆八年（1743）陸鍾輝在揚州重刊之後的事情。陸刻本問世這兩百七十年來，吳穎芳、戴長庚、張文虎、陳澧、鄭文焯、樂維斯(John Hazedel Levis)、唐蘭、夏承燾、楊蔭瀏、丘瓊荪、畢鐸(Laurence E. R. Picken)、鄭孟津、饒宗頤、卞趙如蘭等為《白石道人歌曲》中所保存的詞調樂譜競相立說，砥礪互進，其中楊氏及畢氏兩家譯譜，尤且宣諸唇吻，被之管絃。<sup>1</sup>可見，陸氏重刊為關係《白石道人歌曲》八百年間隱顯的分水嶺，也是影響有清一代詞學指歸的關鍵。

詞學史和音樂史上如此重要的事件，其間原委我們卻知之甚少，所了解的背景也僅僅局限於陸鍾輝為重刻本所做的一篇短序。到了同治元年（1862）夏，以「擅長樂律」而名噪一時的張文虎，以陸刻本對比乾隆十四年（1749）後出的《白石道人歌曲》張奕樞刻本，撰成《校勘記》一卷，刊入《舒藝室餘筆》。《校勘記》批判陸刻，不僅說它「譜式以意改竄，每失故步」，又將先出的陸刻故意排在張刻之後，說是「同時又有揚州鉅商陸鍾徽刻本，亦云出自樓敬思，大略相同。」從表面上看，張文虎送給陸鍾輝一頂「揚州鉅商」的帽子，實際上是通過貶低陸鍾輝來排斥陸刻本，宣揚他「合各本校之，覺總不如張刻之善」的論調。在同治初年，人們聽到「揚州鉅商」的字眼到底能引發甚麼聯想呢？十八世紀寄居揚州的兩淮鹽商通常被稱為「鹽猓子」，<sup>2</sup>用今天的話說，就是「暴發戶」。《揚州畫舫錄》對其「競尚奢麗」、「爭奇鬥異」的畸形生活形態有生動的描述。<sup>3</sup>張文虎《校勘記》「據其所知，改所不知」的斟律，雖然無法完全自圓其說，但清末詞壇耆宿，除了曹元忠說了句「竊謂以言樂律是也，若以繩白石則似不盡然」的公道話以外，<sup>4</sup>大抵還是看不大明白。但張文虎「鹽猓子」的指控，對遺民詞人敏感的神經畢竟發生了作用，其後吳昌綬、鄭文焯，率皆推重張本。民國二年（1913），朱孝臧據清乾隆二年（1737）江炳炎鈔本校刻《彊村叢書》本《白石道人歌曲》，乃與陸本、張本詳加對校，撰寫校記，並自跋刊本云：「以校二刻，互為異同，且有與二刻竝歧者。大抵張之失在字畫小訛，尚足存舊文資異證；陸則並卷移篇，部居失次，大非陶鈔六卷之舊。」

陸鍾輝刻本《白石道人歌曲》到底是不是「鹽猓子」附庸風雅的產物？果如是，陸本問世之後，何以能夠震動詞壇？筆者校理姜詞，發現《白石道人歌曲》在揚州首次重刊實非出於陸鍾輝一人之力，而是浙西詞派和以維揚馬氏昆仲為核心的韓江吟社精心籌劃的結果。把韓江吟社和《白石道人歌曲》聯繫起來的是一個新發現的鈔本。是本舊藏施蛰存先生無相庵，今歸楓江書屋（以下簡稱無相本）。范景中先生曾為無相本寫過一篇題記；<sup>5</sup>陳先行先生也曾鑒定過該本的字迹和工料，認為是典型的乾隆初期江南鈔本。去夏訪書滬上，承楓江書屋主人的美意，得以親檢無相本原卷，發現書眉校語屢見「樊榭云」、「玉井云」、「梅泚云」的字樣，其中樊榭就是浙西詞派領袖厲鶚，玉井就是揚州閔華，

1. 楊氏及畢氏譯譜擬唱的錄音，已收入本書CD之中。

2. 如吳敬梓《儒林外史》嘉慶八年錫卧閑草堂本第二十八回〈季葦蕭揚州入贅，蕭金鉉白下還書〉：「辛先生道：『揚州這些有錢的鹽猓子，其實可惡！就如河下與盛旂馮家，他有十幾萬銀子。他從徽州請了我出來，住了半年，我說：『你要為我的情，就一總送我二三千銀子。』他竟一毛不拔！』」又同回：「季葦蕭走了出來，笑說道：『你們在這裏講鹽猓子的故事？我近日聽見說，揚州是『六精』。』辛東之道：『是『五精』罷了，那裏『六精』？』季葦蕭道：『是『六精』的很！我說與你聽！他轎裏是坐的債精，抬轎的是牛精，跟轎的是屁精，看門的是謊精，家裏藏著的是妖精，這是『五精』了。而今時作，這些鹽商頭上戴的是方巾，中間定是一個水晶結子，合起來是『六精』。』說罷，一齊笑了。」

3. 李斗《揚州畫舫錄》乾隆六十年自然齋刻本卷六：「初，揚州鹽務競尚奢麗，一婚嫁喪葬，堂室飲食，衣服輿馬，動輒費數十萬。有某姓者，每食，庖人備席十數類。臨食時，夫婦並坐堂上，侍者抬席置於前，自茶鈔筆素等色，凡不食者搖其頭，侍者審色則更易其他類。或好馬，蓄馬數百，每馬日費數十金，朝自內出城，暮自城外入，五花燦著，觀者目炫。或好蘭，自門以至於內室，置蘭殆遍。或以木作裸體婦人，動以機關，置諸齋閣，往往座客為之驚避。其先，以安祿村為最盛。其後起之家，更有足異者。有欲以萬金一時費去者，門下客以金盡買金箔，載至金山塔上，向風颺之，頃刻而散，沿江草樹之間，不可收復。又有三千金，盡買蘇州不倒翁，流於水中，波為之塞。有喜美者，自司閹以至寵婢，皆選十數齡清秀之輩。或反之而極盡用奇醜者，自鏡之以為不稱，毀其面以髒敷之，暴於日中。有好大者，以銅為溺器，高五六尺，夜欲溺，起就之。一時爭奇鬥異，不可勝計。」

4. 曹元忠《舒藝室白石詞校語跋》，《彊村叢書》本《白石道人歌曲》附刊。

5. 范景中《跋舊抄本白石道人歌曲》，載《藏書家》第11輯（2006年），第8-10頁。

梅泚就是吳江王藻。這幾位詞人正好都是韓江雅集的成員。回港後，我又將無相本與鮑廷博三色手校張奕樞本對校一過，發現鮑氏朱筆校語所據「維揚馬氏底本」的譜字行格與無相本幾乎全同。說明在符藻林將京師樓敬思收藏的陶鈔本傳播到揚州的時候，韓江雅集成員對該本進行了反復的校讀。

這引發我進一步聯想到美國克利夫蘭美術館收藏的《九日行庵文讌圖》卷。該卷描繪了馬氏兄弟在行庵會友雅集的情景。行庵在揚州天寧寺西隅，由馬曰琯、馬曰璐兄弟出資購買。畫中馬氏兄弟及厲樊榭、閔玉井、王梅泚、陸鍾輝等人肖像神態各具。而雅集的時間在乾隆八年重九日，就是夏曆九月九日。繪圖的時間據厲樊榭的《九日行庵文讌圖記》，是在雅集之後「既逾月」，也就是十月九日之後。陸鍾輝序刻《白石道人歌曲》在同年十月既望，也就是十月十六日。則陸氏重刻《白石道人歌曲》與此圖繪成只差不足一周的時間，正可以看成是重刻《白石道人歌曲》時韓江雅集的「合影」，厲樊榭的這篇《圖記》涵蓋了韓江雅集的主要成員，寫得也很生動傳神，鈔出來和大家一道欣賞：

乾隆癸亥九日，積雨既收，風日清美，遂約同人，咸集於斯。中懸仇英白描陶靖節像，採黃花，酌白醪爲供。乃以「人世難逢開口笑，菊花須插滿頭歸」分韻賦詩。<sup>6</sup>既逾月，吳中寫真葉君震初適來，羣貌小像，合爲一卷，方君環山補景，命曰《九日行庵文讌圖》。裝池成，將各書所作於後，而厲鶚爲之記。按圖中共坐短榻者二人：右箕踞者，爲武陵胡復齋先生期恆；左抱膝者，爲天門唐南軒先生建中也。坐交牀者二人：中手牋者，歙方環山士庶；左仰首如欲語者，江都閔玉井華也。一人坐藤墊撚髭者，鄞全謝山祖望也。一人倚石坐，若凝思者，臨潼張漁川四科也。樹下二人：離立把菊者，錢唐厲樊榭鶚。袖手者，錢唐陳竹町章也。一人憑石牀坐撫琴者，江都程香溪先生夢星也。聽者三人：一人垂袖立者，祁門馬半槎曰璐；二人坐瓷墊，左倚樹、右跂腳者，歙方西疇士庶、汪恬齋玉樞也。二人對坐展卷者，左祁門馬嶢谷曰琯，右吳江王梅泚藻也。一人觀者，負手立於右，江都陸南圻鍾輝也。從後相倚觀者一人，歙洪曲溪振珂也。此十六人者，或土斷，或客遊，聚散不常。異日者，歲月遷流，撫節物以有懷，一披此圖，恍如晤對。將來覽者，或亦不異此意乎！

參加雅集的十六人大體上包含三類：第一類是以胡期恆、全祖望、程夢星爲代表的罷官文人。比如程夢星的姨丈胡期恆被雍正帝視爲「年黨第一人」，在甘肅巡撫任上被革職，成爲康熙、雍正兩朝政權交替中高層政治角逐的見證。第二類是以厲鶚、陳章爲代表的寒士詞人。第三類是以維揚二馬、張四科、陸鍾輝爲代表的鹽商。所有十六位都名載地方志書，其中十位國史有傳。從任何角度講，這個由浙江詞人和他們的揚州贊助人爲主導的聚會，都足以睥睨當時的江南文壇。其中在無相本上留下校語的厲鶚、閔華、王藻都不是鹽商；揚州二馬、張四科、陸鍾輝雖然是鹽商，但生意都沒有到「總商」的地步，遠遠談不上甚麼「揚州鉅商」。推動《白石道人歌曲》刻本問世的靈魂人物，應該還是主盟浙西詞壇的厲鶚。謝章铤《賭棋山莊詞話》說的很恰當：「雍正、乾隆間，詞學奉樊榭爲赤幟，家白石而戶梅溪矣。」<sup>7</sup>而之所以要陸鍾輝序刻《白石道人歌曲》，很可能是由於他擁有過一個刻書作坊「水雲漁屋」，刊刻的圖書，無論是自撰的《放鴨亭小稿》、自輯的《南宋群賢詩選》，還是陸龜蒙的《笠澤叢書》、姜白石的《詩詞合集》都很精美。連收清代刻本至爲嚴苛的《中國版刻圖錄》也收入了他刻的幾部書。

我們看到無相本的校語，就明白張文虎對《白石道人歌曲》陸鍾輝刻本的揣測站不住腳了。陸刻絕不是哪個「鹽豢子」附庸風雅的產物，而是厲鶚主盟的浙西詞派和維揚二馬主導的韓江雅集寄興咏吟、聯結常課之外的用心之作。所以知不足齋鮑廷博以張刻爲底本，對校陸刻、陳刻、厲鈔和維揚馬氏底本之

6. 杜牧《九日齊山登高》有「塵世難逢開口笑，菊花須插滿頭歸」，語出《莊子·盜跖》，「人上壽百歲，中壽八十，下壽六十，除病瘦死傷憂患，其中開口而笑者，一月之中，不過四五日而已。」此處據《九日行庵文讌圖》卷內樊榭手書錄文，「塵世」作「人世」。

7. 謝章铤《賭棋山莊詞話》，載唐圭璋編《詞話叢編》（北京：中華書局，1986年），第4冊，第3458頁。

後，決定交付景刊的是陸刻本而非張刻本。

至於最後問世的《白石道人歌曲》朱孝臧刻本，底本乃清乾隆二年（1737）江炳炎鈔本。朱氏校記云：「江氏手自寫校，未付刻人，亥豕之嫌，自較二刻為匙。」夏承燾氏膺信服此說，所作《姜白石詞編年箋校》云：「姜詞刊本以朱氏《彊村叢書》出於江炳炎手鈔本者為最上，茲據以為主。」<sup>8</sup>今夏訪書范氏淨琉璃室，得見民國二年（1913）沈韻齋感峰樓景摹江炳炎鈔本，有詞一百一十九闕，較足本更多出十闕，多為混入朱彝尊輯五十八闕本中之贗作，甚至江炳炎同時文人酬唱之作。足徵江鈔實為陶鈔本與朱輯本之合編本。朱刻將江鈔所羨出之十闕概行刊落，於校記內不著一詞，適足掩蓋江鈔之真相矣。

饒宗頤先生在《白石旁譜新詮·後記》中總結過去一百年校勘家整理《白石道人歌曲》的業績時說：

姜譜繫詞樂之一線，……自張文虎、鄭大鶴至於夏君，而臻其極摯，惜《白石詞集》迄無古本可資尋勘，各家傳鈔，時復乖舛，若舒藝室喜以己意改字，尤足詬病；而饒輩之術，但憑理校，如以上下片互勘，為例雖嚴，而事不盡爾，譬猶《詞律》以上下半定平仄，未見其果可據也。<sup>9</sup>

饒公指出的「但憑理校」、「迄無古本可資尋勘」，甚或「以己意改字」，正是清末迄今研究《白石道人歌曲》的一大障礙。無相本的發現，向今人提供了最接近陶鈔古本面目的版本，必將宋詞音樂的校勘、考證和擬唱引入新的境界。今即取無相本白石歌詞一百〇九闕為底本，以紫芝、吳訥、柯鈔、厲鈔、王鈔、江鈔、虬綠、庫本、項鈔、汪鈔等寫本十種及花庵、毛刻、《詞綜》、吳刻、陳刻、陸刻、張刻、王刻、許刻、沈本、朱刻等刻本十一種互相參校，詳加考訂，札入厲鶚、閔華、王藻、鮑廷博、陳澧、許增、鄭文焯、朱孝臧、曹元忠、吳梅、任中敏、施蟄存、汪世清諸家校語，並考證柯鈔、江鈔、吳刻、陳刻、虬綠等本內朱彝尊輯贗作十一闕出處，寫成《白石道人歌曲新校證本》初稿八卷。校詞之業，見聞所牖，永無止境。必賴來學，踵事增華。淺學如我，非敢效法前修諸子折衷辨正，蓋惟羅列眾本，廣蓄異文，以備方家補遺，此則《新校證本》之所為作也。二〇一二年九月廿一日楊元錚謹識於香港大學。

二十年來，予歷校各本，以無相本及鮑廷博校語所據「維揚馬氏底本」為最近陶鈔真相。而江炳炎鈔本，孝臧卒後無人寓目，幸賴沈韻齋摹本，乃得一線之傳。今無相本、鮑廷博校張刻本、沈韻齋摹江鈔本歸然獨存，如魯殿靈光，景星慶雲，胡可不視同璚璧！茲得藏家慨允，以此三本附於校稿之後，並印以傳。校稿付排後，得內子覆校一過，祈少錯誤，在此一並申謝。元錚補記，時二〇一九年春杪。

8. 夏承燾《姜白石詞編年箋校》（上海：上海古籍出版社，1998年），第2頁。

9. 饒宗頤《白石旁譜新詮》，載饒宗頤、趙尊岳、姚志伊等撰《詞話叢編》（香港：坐忘齋，1958年），第67頁。



# 白石詞版本叙錄

## 寫本之部（十一種）

### 無相本

《白石道人歌曲》六卷《歌詞別集》一卷，舊鈔本，半葉十行，行二十一字，黑口。載白石詞一百〇九闕，有旁譜，錄有厲鶚、閔華、王藻等人校語。〔淡黃柳〕、〔長亭怨〕、〔角招〕、〔霓裳中序第一〕各闕過片之處，尚未經清人臆改，最近陶鈔真相，本編用作底本。原存施蟄存無相庵，有施氏校語二則，范景中、楊崇和跋。楓江書屋藏。

### 紫芝本

《白石詞選》一卷，明紫芝漫抄《宋元名家詞》本。錚按：此《宋元名家詞》殘鈔二十四冊，收詞七十家，其姜夔《白石詞選》與陸游《渭南詞》合裝一冊，目錄下題「螺川陳元龍少章編」。鈔本半葉九行，行十五字，墨格，白口左右雙邊，版心下鐫「紫芝漫抄」四字。載白石詞都六十二闕，無旁譜。夏承燾一九三八年得劉節寄貽錄複本，乃撰《陳元龍白石詞選》一文，力辯其書乃「元明人偽託」，且謂「陶鈔既出，此即真出少章手，亦無足貴」云云。錚按：此本的是明鈔善本，有毛扆、陸貽典校，唐晏跋。孫熹、毛扆、黃丕烈、陳寶晉、劉莊年、李盛鐸遞藏，流傳有序。觀其內容，皆錄自錢希武刻《白石道人歌曲》卷三至六，而絕無采自《歌詞別集》者。審其次第，是本將白石詞聲名最著之〔暗香〕、〔疏影〕兩闕自錢刻《歌曲》卷五移至卷端，刪落卷三〔浣溪沙〕六闕中之前四闕，其餘各闕則概從錢刻，並無任何刪削移位。陶鈔至乾隆初年方為人知，紫芝本則為明人所錄，其出處非陶鈔可知。但兩本次序相符若契，紫芝本「徵」字且避宋諱敬缺末筆，其必出自錢刻可無疑義。然紫芝本所據並無《別集》，殆《白石道人歌曲》錢刻初印本歟？而所缺《浣溪沙》四闕，適為此初印本脫去之葉，並非鈔手有意刪落，亦極可能。要之，紫芝本與陶鈔同出自白石手定之錢刻，陶鈔出自錢刻後印本，紫芝本出自錢刻初印本，雖經元明人點竄，校勘價值仍較清人各本為高。夏氏以其未必出自陳元龍手訂，而摒棄不校，亦失之眉睫也。北京大學圖書館藏。

### 吳訥

《唐宋名賢百家詞》，吳訥輯，明藍格鈔本。半葉十行，行十七字，黑口四周雙邊。載白石詞三十二闕，不出《花庵詞選》範圍，且脫譌極多。紹興圖書館藏。

### 柯鈔

《白石道人詩集》一卷《白石先生詞集》一卷《續書譜》《詩說》等一卷，朱彝尊輯，清康熙二十四年（1685）嘉善柯崇樸鈔本。半葉十行，行二十一字，無格。封面題「姜白石全集」，原有柯崇樸手書小序，稱「其長短句則竹垞自虞山毛氏所刻宋詞《樂章集》，更旁采諸書，合得五十八首為一卷。」錚按：是本為李盛鐸舊藏，卷中間有硃墨批校文字。檢李氏《木犀軒藏書書錄》，稱

此本爲「失名校」，而同書《江湖小集》本《白石道人詩集》條下則徑稱「余別有柯敬一校本」。今檢冊中柯序真迹已爲木齋抽出，付工裱入《昭代名人翰墨》，而以另紙照真迹鈔錄柯序描摹印鑒，裝於冊首。是本載詞五十八闕，內十一闕非白石所作。北京大學圖書館藏。

### 厲鈔

《白石道人歌曲》六卷《歌詞別集》一卷，維揚馬氏小玲瓏山館轉鈔清乾隆二年（1737）厲鶚鈔本。半葉九行，行二十字，白口。有袁克文、羅振常跋，均定爲樊榭手寫。夏承燾《記厲樊榭手寫白石道人歌曲》云：「予意厲氏得見樓敬思藏本時，或曾自鈔一本。當時厲氏方主馬家，馬氏屬人過錄其本，遂並錄其跋語。袁、羅二氏乃因此遂詫爲厲氏手鈔。」載白石詞一百〇九闕，旁注音譜刪去未錄。浙江大學圖書館藏。

### 王鈔

《白石道人歌曲》六卷《歌詞別集》一卷，仁和王曾祥轉鈔清乾隆二年（1737）厲鶚鈔本。半葉十行，行二十一字，無格。有魏謙升、秦更年、傅增湘題記。載白石詞一百〇九闕，無旁譜，內容全同厲鈔，足徵兩本同出一源。北京圖書館藏。《宋集珍本叢刊》景印。

### 江鈔

《白石道人歌曲》六卷《歌詞別集》一卷，民國二年（1913）沈韻齋氏感峰樓景摹清乾隆二年（1737）江炳炎鈔本。半葉十二行，行十八字，無格。載白石詞一百一十九闕，較足本更多出十闕。錚按：此十闕多爲混入五十八闕本中之贗作，甚至江炳炎同時文人酬唱之作。足徵江鈔實爲一百〇九闕本與五十八闕本之合編本。是本經曹大鐵、吳建鋼遞藏，周書田校，沈韻齋、周書田跋，今歸范氏淨琉璃室。

### 虬綠本

《白石公詩詞合集》清乾隆九年（1744）姜虬綠鈔本四冊。第三、四兩冊爲白石詞集，不分卷。半葉九行，行二十字，無格，黑口單魚尾。收填詞五十四闕、自製曲二十闕。與陶鈔相較，多出〔月上海棠〕一闕、〔越女鏡心〕兩闕，少〔阮郎歸〕等十三闕。至於《鏡歌》、《越九歌》、琴曲《古怨》等則置諸第一冊詩集卷首。其中《鏡歌》十二首，與陶鈔相較，少《帝臨墉》、《維四葉》兩首。合計歌詞九十七闕，采自陶鈔傳本者九十四闕，采自竹垞輯本者三闕。其中《旌忠》、《古怨》、〔醉吟商〕三首且附錄旁譜示意。錚按：《合集》第四冊末附各本序跋，有曾時燦《白石道人詩詞合刻序》、洪陔華《白石道人詩詞合刻集序》、陸鍾輝《白石道人詩詞合集序》，其爲姜虬綠據陸鍾輝刻本及朱彝尊輯本合編，殆無疑義。惜虬綠乃贗造洪武十年（1377）姜福四、萬曆二十一年（1593）姜鰲兩跋，僞託爲白石暮年手定藏諸姜忠肅祠堂者。夏承燾《姜白石晚年手定集》一文辨之甚詳。上海圖書館藏。

### 庫本

《白石道人歌曲》四卷《歌詞別集》一卷，清乾隆四十六年（1781）四庫館恭校文淵閣《四庫全書》鈔本。半葉八行，行二十一字，朱格，白口四周雙邊。《四庫全書總目》謂鈔自「監察御史許寶善家藏本」，而雲間許氏藏本乃「從宋槧翻刻，最爲完善。」錚按：庫本所據實爲陸刻，以其字體點畫有類宋體，四庫館臣乃誤認「從宋槧翻刻」，並因忌諱而妄事更改，最不足據。載白石詞一百〇九闕，有旁譜。臺灣商務印書館景印。

### 項鈔

《白石道人歌曲》三卷《歌詞別集》一卷，清鈔本。半葉十一行，行二十字，無格。白口四周雙邊。此本卷首《白石道人歌曲》目錄悉依陶鈔，分爲六卷。內容則棄陶鈔卷一、二內《饒歌》、琴曲、《越九歌》不錄，專錄卷三至六與《歌詞別集》內之詞調，不鈔旁譜。然類次僅《別集》一卷與陶鈔同，其餘各闕則按令、慢、自度曲分成三卷，每卷內又依創作年代重爲排列先後。是本卷一收小令三十三闕，卷二收慢詞二十闕，卷三收自度曲十三闕，《別集》收詞十八闕，合共八十四闕。郁松年、蔣鳳藻、翁斌孫遞藏。書後副葉有蔣鳳藻題跋三則，先以是本目錄末葉左下鈐有「項伯子作」、「項易庵」朱文小印二方，斷爲「橋李項易安舊鈔」，「蓋易安手錄」。後細玩之，乃不自信，轉謂：「卷日後有項易庵圖記，故疑爲手鈔，以其字迹甚似耳。至卷後有『俾它人抄錄』，故多誤字。」今人汪世清氏因鈔手嘗對校《詞綜》，而易庵卒於清順治十五年，當不及見竹垞《詞綜》問世，懷疑此本是否項氏手鈔。錚按：今觀陶跋末葉欄外有蔣鳳藻題記云「上海郁氏宜稼軒舊藏本」，收藏印鑒尚有「石菴」、「劉壙之印」兩印，鈐蓋位置、印面大小亦不合法度，殆道咸間書估贗造諸印，冒充項氏、劉氏舊藏明鈔宋人詞集，售諸上海郁松年者。陳奐《師友淵源記》曰：「松年饒於資財，凡宋人典籍有未刻或刻而板廢者，不惜重資以羅置鄴架」，適可謂投其所好矣。後歸翁斌孫芴齋，斌孫乃翁心存曾孫，必通版本，僅於書前副葉錄趙與峴《娛書堂詩話》一則，於此不贊一詞，殆已有所察覺歟？然是本雖非明鈔，的是乾嘉間詞人據陶鈔傳本重爲編年之本，足資考鏡，故本編亦取與通校一過。汪世清《白石道人歌曲校勘表》內已標作「項鈔」，本編姑仍之。北京圖書館藏。

#### 汪鈔

《白石道人詞集》三卷《白石道人詞別集》一卷，民國壬戌（1922）丙寅（1926）間汪景玉鈔《靜寄廬兩宋十家詞》本。半葉十行，行二十二字，無格。載白石詞八十四闕，無旁譜。有陳三立、夏敬觀、李庸題記，金蓉鏡繪《靜寄廬寫詞圖》，許玉成、陸頌堯、吳湖帆遞藏。汪氏所寫《目次》，自注據「江研南傳錄陶南村鈔本」。錚按：汪景玉所鈔姜詞，實據清光緒七年（1881）王鵬運四印齋所刻《雙白詞》。四印齋則本諸乾隆八年（1743）陸鍾輝刻本，宜乎與江鈔、朱刻迥然不同。《目次》所謂「江研南傳錄陶南村鈔本」，殆出於汪氏誤記。上海圖書館藏。

#### 刻本之部（十一種）

##### 花庵

《中興以來絕妙詞選》十卷，黃昇輯，宋淳祐九年（1249）劉誠甫刻。半葉十三行，行二十三字，白口左右雙邊。載白石詞三十四闕。北京圖書館藏。

##### 毛刻

《宋六十名家詞》九十一卷，毛晉輯，明崇禎虞山毛氏汲古閣刊。半葉八行，行十八字，白口左右雙邊。載白石詞三十四闕。上海古籍出版社景印。

##### 詞綜

《詞綜》三十六卷，清康熙十七年（1678）朱彝尊輯，康熙三十年（1691）裘抒樓刊。半葉十行，行二十一字，黑口左右雙邊。載白石詞二十三闕。中華書局景印。

##### 吳刻

《白石詩鈔》一卷《詞鈔》一卷，吳還淳輯，清康熙武唐俞蘭刻。半葉十行，行二十一字，黑口左右雙邊。是本載詞五十八闕，內十一闕非白石所作。上海

圖書館存張元濟舊藏是刻卷末有張宗櫟所鈔康熙丁亥（1707）朱彝尊撰《書白石樂府後》、《白石詞補》，揭櫟五十八闕本所宗。

### 陳刻

《白石詩集》一卷《詞集》一卷《諸家評論》一卷，陳撰輯，清康熙五十七年（1718）曾時燦刻。半葉十行，行十九字，細黑口左右雙邊。載白石詞五十八闕，《四庫全書存目叢書》景印。

### 陸刻

《白石道人歌曲》四卷《歌詞別集》一卷，清乾隆八年（1743）江都陸鍾輝水雲漁屋刻。半葉十一行，行十九字，白口左右雙邊。載白石詞一百〇九闕，有旁譜。刻成版片旋歸江春，故又有江氏隨月讀書樓印本。《四部叢刊》景印。

### 張刻

《白石道人歌曲》六卷《歌詞別集》一卷，張奕樞、周耕餘、汪棟、厲鶚、陸培、黃之雋校，清乾隆十四年（1749）華亭姚培謙松桂讀書堂刻。半葉十一行，行十九字，黑口左右雙邊。載白石詞一百〇九闕，有旁譜。版片後入華亭南塘張應時書三味樓，故又有張應時印本。徐無聞景印鮑廷博手校張奕樞本。

### 王刻

《白石道人詞集》三卷《白石道人詞別集》一卷，清光緒七年（1881）臨桂王鵬運四印齋刻《雙白詞》本。半葉十行，行二十字，黑口左右雙邊。載白石詞八十四闕，無旁譜。王氏自跋刊本云：「陸氏以陶南村寫本付梓，獨稱完善，即為祠堂本所從出。辛巳歲首，合刻《雙白詞集》，此詞即遵用陸本，而去其《饒歌》、琴曲，以意主刻詞，固非與陸異也。」上海古籍出版社景印。

### 許刻

《白石道人歌曲》四卷《歌詞別集》一卷，清光緒十年（1884）仁和許增刻《娛園叢書》本。半葉十二行，行二十三字，黑口左右雙邊。載白石詞一百〇九闕，有旁譜。其刻本《綴言》云：「《白石道人歌曲》斟酌精審，當推陸本為最。茲據陸本重刊，間有與別本互異者，附刊本字之下，以墨圍隔之。」

### 沈本

清宣統二年（1909）沈曾植以石印法縮小景印張奕樞等校乾隆十四年（1749）姚培謙刻《白石道人歌曲》初印本於安慶。夏承燾《姜白石詞編年箋校》所據張本，實即此本，汪世清撰文已詳辨之。

### 朱刻

《白石道人歌曲》六卷《歌詞別集》一卷，民國二年（1913）歸安朱祖謀刻《彊村叢書》本。半葉十一行，行二十一字，黑口左右雙邊。上彊村人朱祖謀得清乾隆二年（1737）江炳炎鈔本，乃與乾隆八年（1743）陸鍾輝刻本、乾隆十四年（1749）張奕樞刻本等詳加對校，撰寫校記，並自跋刊本謂：「江氏手自寫校，未付剞人，亥豕之嫌，自較二刻為黜。」夏承燾氏信服此說，所作《姜白石詞編年箋校》題記云：「姜詞刊本以朱氏《彊村叢書》出於江炳炎手鈔本者為最上，茲據以為主。」錚按：朱刻本謹錄白石詞一百〇九闕，江鈔本所羨出之十闕則概行刊落，於自撰校記內不著一詞，適足掩蓋江鈔乃合編自一百〇九闕本與五十八闕本之真相矣。



# 白石道人歌曲卷之一

## 聖宋鐃歌鼓吹曲十四首

慶元五年，青龍在己亥，番易民姜夔頓首上尚書：臣聞鐃歌者，漢樂也。殿前謂之鼓吹，軍中謂之騎吹。其曲有《朱鷺》等二十二篇，由漢逮隋，承用不替，雖名數不同，而樂紀罔墜，各以詠歌祖宗功業。唐亡鐃部，有柳宗元作十二篇，亦棄弗錄。神宋受命，帝績皇烈，光耀震動，而逸典未舉。迺政和七年，臣工以請，上詔製用。中更否擾，聲文罔傳。中興文儒，薦有擬述，不麗于樂，厥誼不昭。臣今製曲辭十四首，昧死以獻。臣若稽前代鐃歌，咸叙威武，劬人之軍，屠人之國，以得土疆，乃矜厥能。惟我太祖、太宗、真、仁、高宗，或取或守，罔匪仁術，討者弗戮，執者弗劉，仁融義安，歷數彌永。故臣斯文，特倡盛德，其辭舒和，與前作異。臣又惟宋因唐度，古曲墜逸，鼓吹所錄，惟存三篇，譜文乖訛，因事製辭，曰《導引曲》、《十二時》、《六州歌頭》，皆用羽調，音節悲促。而登封岱宗、郊祀天地、見廟、耕籍、帝后冊寶、發引、升祔、五禮殊情，樂不異曲，義理未究。乞詔有司取臣之詩，協其清濁，被之簫管，俾聲暢辭達，感藏人心，永念宋德，無有紀極，海內稱幸。臣夔頓首上尚書。

## 箋注

〔聖宋鐃歌鼓吹曲十四首〕曹元忠曰：按《宋史·樂志》：「姜夔進《大樂議》於朝。其議作鼓吹曲以歌祖宗功德：古者祖宗有功德，必有詩歌，《七月》之陳王業是也。歌於軍中，周之愷樂、愷歌是也。漢有短簫鐃歌之曲凡二十二篇，軍中謂之騎吹，其曲曰《戰城南》、《聖人出》之類是也。魏因其聲，製為《克官渡》等曲有二篇；晉亦製為《征遼東》等曲二十篇；唐柳宗元亦嘗作為鐃歌十有二篇，述高祖、太宗功烈。我朝太祖、太宗平僭偽，一區宇；真宗一戎衣而卻契丹；仁宗海涵春育，德如堯、舜；高宗再造大功，上儼祖宗。願詔文學之臣，追述功業之盛，作為歌詩，使知樂者協以音律，領之太常，以播於天下。」是白石先有此議，至慶元五年始上自撰鼓吹曲耳。

〔政和七年，臣工以請〕吳梅曰：政和七年事見《宋史·樂志》及《韓駒傳》。

〔臣今製曲辭十四首〕曹元忠曰：又按《樂志》：「夔乃自作《聖宋鐃歌曲》：宋受命曰《上帝命》，平上黨曰《河之表》，定維揚曰《淮海濁》，取湖南曰《沅之上》，得荊州曰《皇威暢》，取蜀曰《蜀山遠》，取廣南曰《時雨霽》，下江南曰《望鍾山》，吳越獻國曰《大哉仁》，漳泉獻土曰《謳歌歸》，克河東曰《伐功繼》，征澶淵曰《帝臨墉》，美仁治曰《維四葉》，歌中興曰《炎精復》，凡十有四篇，上於尚書省。書奏，詔付太常。」皆與《白石集》合。

〔與前作異〕曹元忠曰：元陸友仁《研北雜志》引周公謹云：「姜堯章《鐃歌鼓吹曲》乃步驟尹師魯《皇雅》，《越九歌》乃規模鮮于子駿《九誦》，然言辭峻潔，意度高遠，頗有超越驂騑之意。」按尹洙《皇雅》：一《天監》，二《西師》，三《耆武》，四《憲古》，五《大鹵》，六《帝籍》，七《庶工》，八《帝制》，九《皇治》，十《太平》。鮮于侁《九誦》：一《堯祠》，二《舜祠》，三《周公》，四《孔子》，五《岳神》，六《瀆神》，七《箕子》，八《微子》，九《雙廟》，並見呂祖謙《宋文鑑》，洵為白石《鐃歌》、《越九歌》之祖。更知《白石歌曲》亦如韓詩、杜集，無一字無來歷也。公謹此語，見《浩然齋雅談》，特末句作「然言辭駿潔，意度蕭遠，似或過之。」

〔鼓吹所錄，惟存三篇〕曹元忠曰：按《樂志》引《兩朝志》云：「自天聖以來，帝郊祀、躬耕田，皇太后恭謝宗廟，悉用正宮《導引》、《六州》、《十二時》，凡四曲。」

謂四曲者，合《導引》第二曲數之。如真宗封禪四首爲《導引》、《六州》、《十二時》、告廟《導引》之類，論其音節，實止三篇，故白石謂「鼓吹所錄，惟存三篇」也。

#### 校記

〔聖宋鐃歌〕鐃案：陸刻、庫本、許刻小題前有「歌曲」二字。無相、厲鈔、王鈔、江鈔、虬綠、朱刻、張刻無。

〔鼓吹曲〕鐃案：無相本作「吹曲」，江鈔、朱刻、張刻同。厲鈔、王鈔、陸刻、庫本、虬綠、許刻作「鼓吹曲」，無相本目錄亦作「鼓吹曲」，今據目錄改。

鮑廷博校張刻曰：「聖宋鐃歌」下，抄本有「鼓」字。

〔十四首〕鐃案：眾本皆同，惟虬綠本《白石集總目》首樂府、琴操，次五言古詩而七言古詩、五言絕句、六言絕句、七言絕句、五言律詩、七言律詩，再次爲詩餘，分填詞、自製曲，各記首數，故此處脫「十四首」三字。

〔慶元五年〕鐃案：眾本皆同，惟虬綠本改「慶元五年，青龍在己亥，番易民姜夔頓首上尚書」十九字作「臣夔言」三字。

〔己亥〕鐃案：無相本、厲鈔、王鈔、江鈔、朱刻、陸刻、庫本、許刻、張刻皆作「己亥」。

鮑廷博校張刻曰：「己亥」，抄本作「己未」，當以「己未」爲是。

許增曰：按慶元五年，太歲在己未。

吳梅曰：案慶元五年爲己未。

〔番易〕鐃案：厲鈔、江鈔、張刻同。陸刻作「番陽」，庫本、許刻、王鈔、朱刻同。

〔神宗受命〕鐃案：江鈔、朱刻、陸刻、庫本、許刻、張刻、虬綠同。厲鈔、王鈔作「神宗」。鮑廷博校張刻云：「厲抄『宗』」，確與厲鈔、王鈔相符。

〔迺政和七年〕鐃案：王鈔、江鈔、陸刻、庫本、許刻、張刻同。獨虬綠、朱刻「迺」作「乃」。

〔薦有擬述〕鐃案：王鈔、庫本同。厲鈔作「荐有擬述」，江鈔、朱刻、陸刻、許刻、張刻、虬綠同。

〔曲辭〕鐃案：陸刻、庫本、虬綠、許刻、江鈔、朱刻、王鈔同。厲鈔作「曲辭」。張刻作「曲詞」。

〔十四首〕鐃案：眾本皆同，惟虬綠本作「若干首」。

〔真仁高宗〕鐃案：陸刻、庫本、許刻、江鈔、朱刻、張刻、虬綠同。厲鈔「真仁」作「真宗」，王鈔同。

鮑廷博校張刻曰：「真仁」，抄本作「真宗」。厲本「宗」，底本「仁」，當查陸刻。鐃案：鮑校底本與無相本相符，鮑廷博校厲本與厲鈔、王鈔相符。

〔仁融義安〕鐃案：眾本皆同，惟虬綠本「安」作「浹」。

〔歷數彌永〕鐃案：江鈔同。厲鈔作「厯數彌永」，王鈔、庫本同。陸刻作「歷數彌永」，張刻、虬綠同。許刻作「厯數彌永」。朱刻作「曆數彌永」。

〔特倡盛德〕鐃案：厲鈔、王鈔、江鈔、朱刻、陸刻、許刻、張刻、虬綠同。獨庫本作「特唱盛德」。

〔耕籍〕鐃案：厲鈔、江鈔、虬綠本同。庫本作「耕藉」。陸刻作「耕藉」，張刻、許刻、朱刻、王鈔同。

〔未究〕鐃案：眾本皆同，惟鮑廷博校張刻曰：「『未究』，抄本作『未完』。」

〔臣夔頓首上尚書〕鐃案：眾本皆同，惟虬綠本末無「臣夔頓首上尚書」七字。

#### [1]

上帝命，太祖受命也。五季亂極，人心戴宋，太祖無心而得天下也。上帝命，惟皇皇。俶作宋祚，五王不綱。陳橋之夕，帝服自黃。維帝念民，惟民念靖。八紘一春，不曰予聖。璇題玉除，龍路孔蓋。得之非心，遜亦云易。有弟聖賢，我祚萬年。十世之後，乃復其天。

#### 箋注

〔十世之後，乃復其天〕吳梅曰：《舒藝室餘筆》三卷：「高宗養孝宗於宮中，爲太祖七世孫。此云『十世』，疑誤。」

#### 校記

〔上帝命〕鐃案：虬綠本「上帝命」三字作題另列，下仿此。

〔維帝念民〕鐃案：張刻、厲鈔、王鈔、江鈔同。陸刻作「惟帝念民」，庫本、許刻、虬綠、朱刻同。

鮑廷博校張刻曰：「維」，陸刻「惟」。

〔惟民念靖〕錚案：江鈔、朱刻、陸刻、庫本、虬綠、許刻同。張刻作「維民念靖」，厲鈔、王鈔同。鮑廷博校張刻云：「底本『惟』」，確與無相本相同。

〔孔蓋〕錚案：陸刻、張刻、許刻、朱刻同。厲鈔作「孔蓋」。庫本作「孔蓋」，江鈔、王鈔同。虬綠作「虬蓋」。

[2]

河之表，破澤州也。李筠不知天命，自憑其勇，不能降心，以至於叛而死也。

河之表，曰上黨。彼耽耽，踞奧壤。交輶百斤，不如一仁。撥汗千里，莫能脫身。帝整其旅，疇曰汝武。心飛太行，膽落戰鼓。

### 箋注

〔李筠〕吳梅曰：昭義軍節度使李筠叛，建隆元年，命石守信討平之。（《宋史》卷四八四）

### 校記

〔破澤州〕錚案：無相本作「被澤州」，本行欄上原校：「梅泚曰：『被』作『破』。」陸刻作「破澤州」，王鈔、江鈔、朱刻、庫本、虬綠、許刻、張刻同。今據王梅泚校改。

〔以至於〕錚案：虬綠本「於」字多作「于」，下仿此。

〔叛而死〕錚案：「死」，眾本皆同，惟虬綠本作「亡」。

〔耽耽〕錚案：厲鈔、王鈔、江鈔、陸刻、庫本、虬綠、許刻、張刻同。獨朱刻作「眈眈」。

〔交輶〕錚案：張刻、厲鈔、王鈔、江鈔同。陸刻作「交輶」，庫本、虬綠、許刻、朱刻同。

〔百斤〕錚案：眾本皆同，惟虬綠本作「百鈞」。

〔不如一仁〕錚案：眾本皆同，惟虬綠本作「不敵予仁」。

〔撥汗〕錚案：眾本皆同，惟虬綠本作「潑汗」。

〔莫能〕錚案：眾本皆同，惟虬綠本作「莫克」。

〔太行〕錚案：眾本皆同，惟虬綠本作「神旗」。

〔戰鼓〕錚案：眾本皆同，惟虬綠本作「帝鼓」。

[3]

淮海濁，定惟揚也。李重進自謂周大臣，不屈於太祖。作鎮券以安之，猶據鎮叛。

淮海濁，老將戾。帝心堯舜，信在券外。汝胡弗思，與越豨輩。皇威壓之，燕壘自碎。維宋佐命，維周碩臣。汝獨狐疑，用殲厥身。

### 箋注

〔李重進〕吳梅曰：見《宋史·周三臣傳》。

### 校記

〔惟揚〕錚案：厲鈔、王鈔同。無相本本行欄上天頭剪去一條，於欄下出校：「『惟』改『維』。千里」，則此「千里」或出後人偽託，亦未可知。考宋代揚州輿記有《寶祐惟揚志》、高宗《惟揚新志》。明《嘉靖惟揚志》仍沿寶祐舊名，以惟揚為稱，且謂《禹貢》淮海惟揚州，寶祐志本此。鮑廷博校張刻曰：「底本空『維』字」，則無相本與惟揚馬氏底本確比眾本為早，或非無憑。陸刻作「維揚」，庫本、虬綠、張刻、許刻、江鈔、朱刻同。

〔汝獨〕錚案：眾本皆同，惟虬綠本作「嗟爾」。

[4]

沅之上，取湖南也。湖南有難，乞援於我。至則拒焉，我師取之。沅之上，故王都。今焉在，空雲蕪。勢危則嘯，勢謐則叛。背予德心，繫爾作難。東屆巴邱，西盡九疑。蠻師委伏，願還耕犁。岿岿鎮山，火德之紀。真人方興，百神仰止。

### 箋注

〔取湖南〕吳梅曰：周行逢卒，子保權嗣。張文表叛，保權乞援於宋。及宋師至，文表已為保權所殺，遂拒宋師。宋怒，平之。（《宋史》卷四八三）

#### 校記

〔取湖南也〕錚案：眾本皆同，惟虬綠本下有注：「按湖南張文表」。

〔拒焉〕錚案：眾本皆同，惟虬綠本作「叛焉」。

〔巴邱〕錚案：陸刻、許刻、江鈔同。庫本作「丘」，虬綠、張刻、朱刻、王鈔同。

〔火德〕錚案：無相本作「大德」，張刻同。無相本本行欄上原校：「樊榭云：『大德』當作『火德』，『鎮山』謂衡嶽也。」鮑廷博校張刻云：「底本作『大德』，厲校云當作『火德』，『鎮山』謂衡嶽也。」又云：「『大德』，抄本作『火德』，陸刻『火』。」鮑校引底本樊榭校語與無相本厲校全同。陸刻確作「火德」，厲鈔、王鈔、江鈔、朱刻、虬綠、庫本、許刻同。今據厲樊榭校改。

姜熙曰：「火」，別書作「大」，非。

汪世清曰：沈、張本同作「大」，誤。

〔百神〕錚案：眾本皆同，惟虬綠本作「百靈」。

[5]

皇威暢，得荊州也。我師救湖南，道荊州，高繼冲懼，歸其土。  
皇威暢，附庸讐。諸宮三月青草發，漢家旌旗繞城堞。小臣不敢煩天威，再拜敢以荊州歸。帝得荊州不為喜，百萬愁鱗濯春水。

#### 箋注

〔高繼冲懼〕吳梅曰：乾德元年，慕容延釗入荊南，高繼冲降。

#### 校記

〔青草〕錚案：厲鈔、王鈔、江鈔、朱刻同。陸刻作「春草」，庫本、虬綠、許刻同。張刻作「青艸」。鮑廷博校張刻云：「『青草』，陸刻『春草』。」錚按：末句「濯春水」，則此處似宜作「青草」。

汪世清曰：陸本獨作「春」，姜熙本亦作「青」。

〔城堞〕錚案：眾本皆同，惟虬綠本作「城郭」，後改「堞」。

〔濯春水〕錚案：眾本皆同，惟虬綠本作「躍春水」，亦改「濯」。

[6]

蜀山遼，取蜀也。孟昶恃其國險，且結河東以拒命，兵加國除。  
蜀山遼，蜀主肄。謂當萬年，不亮天意。帝曰「全斌，汝征自秦。」闕門不守，吏啼白雲。帝曰「光誼，汝征自峽。」瞿唐及波，助我肆伐。蜀人號呼，乞生于師。蜀囚素衣，天子憐之。

#### 箋注

〔取蜀〕吳梅曰：見《宋史》卷四七九，王全斌、劉光義平蜀。

#### 校記

〔瞿唐〕錚案：眾本皆同，惟張刻、王鈔作「瞿塘」。

〔及波〕錚案：惟無相本作「及波」。無相本原校：「樊榭云『及波』當作『反波』。」厲鈔改作「反波」，陸刻、王鈔、江鈔、朱刻、庫本、許刻、張刻同。

〔蜀囚〕錚案：眾本皆同，惟虬綠本作「蜀主」。

[7]

時雨霈，取廣南也。劉鋹淫虐，我師弔其民，俘鋹以歸。  
時雨霈，旱火絕。聖人出，虐政滅。五嶺之君，盲風恠雲。毒蛇臻臻，相其不仁。南兵象陳，自謂孔武。有獻在廟，僞臣僞主。降者榮之，叛者生之。將不若是，彼死爭之。十僞之夷，一用此道。天祐烈祖，仁以易暴。

#### 箋注

〔取廣南〕吳梅曰：開寶四年，潘美克廣州。

〔南兵象陳〕吳梅曰：李承渥以象陣拒宋。潘美以勁弩射之。象反奔，遂大敗。

#### 校記

〔五嶺之君〕錚案：江鈔同。厲鈔作「五嶺之君」，王鈔、朱刻、陸刻、庫本、虬綠、



許刻、張刻同。

鮑廷博校張刻曰：底本「領」。

〔將不若是，彼死爭之〕鈐案：眾本皆同，惟虬綠本脫此八字。

[8]

望鍾山，下江南也。李煜乍臣乍叛，勢窮乃降，而我師未嘗戮一人也。望鍾山，睇楊子。波湯湯，雲靡靡。主歌臣謠樂未已，詔書屢噉不為起。釣絲夜緯匪魴鯉，長虹西徠波可履。嗚呼憑凌果何恃？辯士疾馳拜前陛。曰「臣有罪當萬死」，帝曰「盍歸予宥爾」。我師入其都，矢不踐螻蟻。至今鍾山雲，猶帶仁義氣。

**箋注**

〔長虹西徠〕吳梅曰：長虹句用樊若水獻策浮梁渡江事。

**校記**

〔屢噉〕鈐案：厲鈔、王鈔、朱刻、陸刻、庫本、許刻同。獨張刻作「屢下」。鮑廷博校張刻云：「『屢下』，抄本作『屢呼』，陸刻『呼』，底本『噉』。」是鮑校所據陸刻印本此處作「呼」，與鈐目驗陸刻作「噉」者不同。江鈔、虬綠亦作「呼」。

〔西徠〕鈐案：眾本皆同，惟虬綠本「徠」作「來」。

〔嗚呼憑凌果何恃〕鈐案：眾本皆同，惟虬綠本無此句。

〔螻蟻〕鈐案：眾本皆同，惟虬綠本「蟻」作「螳」。

〔仁義氣〕鈐案：眾本皆同，惟虬綠本作「天恩喜」。

[9]

大哉仁，吳越錢俶獻其國也。

大哉仁，萬世輔，后皇明明監于下。俶若曰「亶為民，封殖一姓吁不仁」。瞻彼日月，燭火敢出。震震皇皇，帝命是式。吏其稅租，府其版圖。爾豈固負，俾民作俘。維宋之仁，中天建國。吳山越濤，衛我帝宅。維俶之仁，世世麗澤。子孫來朝，車馬玉帛。

**箋注**

〔錢俶獻其國〕吳梅曰：見《太宗本紀》。太平興國三年五月，錢俶獻兩浙諸州。

**校記**

〔封殖〕鈐案：厲鈔、王鈔、江鈔、朱刻、張刻初印本同。陸刻作「封殖」，庫本、許刻、虬綠、張刻後印本同。

汪世清曰：沈本作「殖」，張、陸本同作殖，沈、張本不同之十四。

〔一姓〕鈐案：諸本皆作「一姓」，獨庫本作「一世」。

〔固負〕鈐案：厲鈔、江鈔、朱刻、陸刻、許刻、虬綠、張刻同。王鈔作「爾豈負固」，庫本同。

[10]

謳歌歸，陳洪進以漳泉來獻也。

謳歌歸兮四海一，強國潰兮弱國入。彼無諸兮計將安出，天不震兮民不荼。象齒貢兮沉水輸，保室家兮長娛娛。

**箋注**

〔陳洪進以漳泉來獻〕吳梅曰：事在太平興國三年。

**校記**

〔陳洪進〕鈐案：無相本作「陳進洪」，本行欄上原校云：「樊榭云『陳進洪』當作『洪進』。」厲鈔已改作「洪進」，王鈔、江鈔、朱刻、陸刻、庫本、虬綠、許刻同。獨張刻仍作「進洪」，鮑廷博校張刻據陸刻為乙正並校云：「『進洪』，陸刻『洪進』。」今據厲樊榭校改。

〔來獻〕鈐案：眾本皆同，惟無相本作「采獻」，今改正之。

〔沉水輸〕鈐案：江鈔、張刻同。厲鈔作「沈水輸」，王鈔、朱刻、陸刻、庫本、虬綠、許刻同。

[11]

伐功繼，克河東也。始太祖之伐河東，誓不殺一人。又哀劉氏之不祀，故緩取之，至太宗始得其地。

伐功繼，吁以時。烈祖有造，太宗濟之。河東雖微，方命再世。河東雖強，卒奪其帥。惟漢之葉，保于此都。烈祖念汝，乃貸未鉏。一夫殘生，帝也不取。雨露既洽，河東自舉。河東既平，九有以寧。嗚呼太宗，繼伐有聲。

**箋注**

〔克河東〕吳梅曰：興國四年正月，命潘美討太原。二月，親征。五月，平之，劉繼元降。

**校記**

〔念汝〕鈔案：厲鈔、王鈔、江鈔、朱刻、陸刻、虬綠、許刻、張刻同。獨庫本作「念爾」。

〔乃貸〕鈔案：眾本皆同，惟虬綠本作「貸乃」。

〔帝也〕鈔案：眾本皆同，惟虬綠本作「命曰」。

〔既洽〕鈔案：眾本皆同，惟虬綠本作「既滋」。

[12]

帝臨墉，親征契丹於澶淵也。

帝臨墉，六師厲。胡如雲，暗九地。帝曰「吁，胡傲予」。準曰「帝，毋庸虞。晉之謝，胡宅夏。驕弗懲，薄茲野。我謀臧，我武揚。帝在茲，胡且亡」。椎虞機，激流矢。一酋仆，萬胡靡。勝不戰，惟唐虞。魄斯褫，焚穹廬。帝曰「吁，棄汝過」。粵明年，使來賀。

**箋注**

〔親征契丹於澶淵〕吳梅曰：事見《真宗紀》。

〔一酋仆，萬胡靡〕吳梅曰：《寇准傳》：契丹統軍撻覽中我軍床子弩而死，乃立盟。

**校記**

〔版本〕鈔案：虬綠本無此首。

〔胡如雲〕鈔案：厲鈔、王鈔、江鈔、朱刻、陸刻、許刻、張刻同。獨庫本作「冠如雲」。

〔胡傲予〕鈔案：厲鈔、王鈔、江鈔、朱刻、陸刻、許刻、張刻同。獨庫本作「冠傲予」。

〔胡宅夏〕鈔案：厲鈔、王鈔、江鈔、朱刻、陸刻、許刻、張刻同。獨庫本作「彼宅夏」。

〔我謀臧〕鈔案：厲鈔、王鈔、江鈔、朱刻、陸刻、庫本、許刻、張刻後印本同。張刻初印本獨作「藏」。

汪世清曰：沈本獨作「藏」，誤，沈、張不同之十五。

〔胡且亡〕鈔案：厲鈔、王鈔、江鈔、朱刻、陸刻、許刻、張刻同。獨庫本作「冠且亡」。

〔一酋仆〕鈔案：厲鈔、王鈔、江鈔、朱刻、陸刻、許刻、張刻同。獨庫本作「一人仆」。

〔萬胡靡〕鈔案：厲鈔、王鈔、江鈔、朱刻、陸刻、許刻、張刻同。獨庫本作「萬人靡」。

〔焚穹廬〕鈔案：厲鈔、王鈔、江鈔、朱刻、陸刻、許刻、張刻同。獨庫本作「無穹廬」。

〔吁〕鈔案：眾本皆同，惟許增曰：「祠堂本作『貫』。」

[13]

維四葉，美致治也。

維四葉，聖承烈。羣生熙，德施浹。吁嗟仁兮。帝垂衣，澹無為。日月出，照玉墀。吁嗟仁兮。帝乘輅，六龍儼。神示下，繹鐘鼓。吁嗟仁兮。周八區，耆以醇。稼如海，桑如雲。吁嗟仁兮。

**箋注**

〔維四葉〕吳梅曰：此美仁宗，自太祖至仁廟正四代也。

〔神示下，鐸鐘鼓〕吳梅曰：皇祐二年作明堂，定大樂。

### 校記

〔版本〕鈔案：虬綠本無此首。

〔美致治〕鈔案：王鈔、江鈔、朱刻、陸刻、庫本、許刻、張刻同。獨厲鈔作「美政治」。

汪世清曰：厲本抄作「政」，誤。

〔澹無為〕鈔案：厲鈔、王鈔、江鈔、朱刻、陸刻、庫本、許刻同。獨張刻作「淡無為」。

〔帝乘輅〕鈔案：江鈔、朱刻、陸刻、庫本、許刻、張刻同。厲鈔作「帝垂輅」，王鈔同。

〔六龍儻〕鈔案：厲鈔、王鈔、江鈔、朱刻、陸刻、庫本、許刻同。獨張刻作「六龍舞」。

鮑廷博校張刻曰：底本「儻」。

〔神示下〕鈔案：王鈔、江鈔、陸刻、庫本、許刻同。張刻作「神示下」，朱刻同。

鮑廷博校張刻曰：「示」，陸刻「示」。底本「示」。

[14]

炎精復，歌中興也。

炎精復，天馬度。人漢思，狄為懼。洛水深深，漠雲陰陰，維帝傷心。帝心激烈，將蹀胡血，天地動色。惟哀盡劉，馳使之輶，包將之矛。皇基再峙，有統有紀，施于孫子。天醺帝仁，適符夢靈，適臻太平。

### 箋注

〔天馬度〕吳梅曰：此蓋高宗天馬事，見《南渡錄》。

〔洛水深深，漠雲陰陰，維帝傷心〕虬綠本此首後附案語：陶南村云：「『洛水深深』，中原。『漠雲陰陰』，二聖。『維帝傷心』，乃復仇大義。『惟哀過劉』，善為高宗回護也。歌頌有體。」

吳梅曰：「洛水深深」，語中原。「漠雲陰陰」，語二聖。

### 校記

〔人漢思〕鈔案：厲鈔、王鈔、江鈔、朱刻、陸刻、虬綠、許刻、張刻同。獨庫本作「人心和」。

〔狄為懼〕鈔案：厲鈔、王鈔、江鈔、朱刻、陸刻、虬綠、許刻、張刻同。獨庫本作「寇滋懼」。

〔將蹀胡血〕鈔案：厲鈔、江鈔、朱刻、陸刻、虬綠、許刻、張刻同。王鈔「蹀」作「喋」。獨庫本作「大軍是敕」。

鮑廷博校張刻曰：「蹀」，抄本作「喋」。底本「蹀」。

〔盡劉〕鈔案：眾本皆同，惟虬綠本作「過劉」。

〔夢靈〕鈔案：江鈔同。陸刻作「夢靈」，厲鈔、王鈔、朱刻、庫本、虬綠、許刻、張刻同。

鮑廷博校張刻曰：「夢」，底本「焚」，硃筆校改。

### 琴曲

#### 側商調

琴七絃，散聲具宮商角徵羽者為正弄，慢角、清商、宮調、慢宮、黃鍾調是也。加變宮、變徵為散聲者曰側弄，側楚、側蜀、側商是也。側商之調久亡。唐人詩云：「側商調裏唱伊州。」予以此語尋之：伊州大食調黃鍾律法之商，乃以慢角轉弦，取變宮、變徵散聲。此調甚流美也。蓋慢角乃黃鍾之正，側商乃黃鍾之側，它言側者同此。然非三代之聲，乃漢燕樂爾。予既得此調，因製品弦法並古怨。

#### 調弦法

慢角調（慢四一暉，取二弦十一暉應。慢六一暉，取四弦十暉應。）

大弦黃鍾宮	二弦黃鍾商
三弦黃鍾角	四弦黃鍾變徵側
五弦黃鍾羽	六弦黃鍾變宮側

## 七弦黃鍾清商

[15]

## 古怨

日暮四山兮，烟霧暗前浦，將維舟兮無所。追我前兮不逮，懷後來兮何處。  
屢回顧。

世事兮何據，手翻覆兮雲雨。過金谷兮花謝委塵土，悲佳人兮薄命誰為主。  
豈不猶有春兮，妾自傷兮遲暮。髮將素。

歡有窮兮恨無數，弦欲絕兮聲苦。滿目江山兮淚沾屨。君不見年年汾水上  
兮，惟秋雁飛去。

**校記**

〔琴曲〕錚案：無相本琴曲在《聖宋鏡歌鼓吹曲》後，琴曲連上，厲鈔、王鈔、朱刻同。  
江鈔、張刻琴曲亦在《聖宋鏡歌鼓吹曲》後，但在下一頁，並不相連。陸本琴曲在《越  
九歌》後，虬綠、庫本、許刻亦同。

鮑廷博校張刻曰：底本連上。

〔七絃〕錚案：厲鈔、江鈔、虬綠、張刻同。王鈔作「七弦」，朱刻、陸刻、庫本、許  
刻同。

〔古怨〕錚案：厲鈔、王鈔、江鈔、朱刻、陸刻、庫本、虬綠、許刻同，獨張刻作「古  
怨云」。

鮑廷博校張刻曰：底本無「云」字。陸無「云」字。

許增曰：祠堂本有「云」字。

〔歡有窮〕錚案：眾本皆同，惟鮑廷博校張刻云：「『有』，抄本作『又』，非。」



## 白石道人歌曲卷之六

### 自製曲

[88]

#### 秋宵吟 越調

古簾空，墜月皎。坐久西窗人悄。蛩吟苦，漸漏水丁丁，箭壺催曉。引涼颼，動翠葆，露脚斜飛雲表。因嗟念、似去國情懷，暮帆煙草。帶眼銷磨，為近日愁多頓老。衛娘何在，宋玉歸來，兩地暗縈繞。搖落江楓早，嫩約無憑，幽夢又杳。但盈盈、淚灑單衣，今夕何夕恨未了。

#### 箋注

〔越調〕曹元忠曰：越調〔秋宵吟〕上半闕當作雙拽頭，自「古簾空」至「箭壺催曉」為第一段，自「引涼颼」至「暮帆煙草」為第二段，與清真〔瑞龍吟〕詞同意。《花庵詞選》云：「自『章台路』至『歸來舊處』是第一段，自『黯凝竚』至『盈盈笑語』是第二段，此謂之雙拽頭，屬正平調」是也。白石趨步清真，自度〔秋宵吟〕曲蓋放此。吳梅曰：此應雙拽頭。

〔今夕何夕恨未了〕吳梅曰：「今夕」句兩「夕」字，不可更易。往余亦倚此調，末云：「悲付花竹夢易醒」，頗為老輩推重。

#### 校記

〔自製曲〕鈔案：厲鈔、王鈔、江鈔、朱刻、張刻同。陸本卷四詞題前有「自製曲」三字，此處不分卷，未重標「自製曲」三字，庫本、許刻同。王刻卷三詞題前有「自製曲」三字，此處不分卷，未重標「自製曲」三字，汪鈔同。項鈔目錄作「自製曲」，卷內卷六同卷五合作一卷，一並標作「自度曲」。虬綠不分卷，卷六同卷五各闕合並標作「自製曲」，次序亦有更易。花庵、吳訥、毛刻、《詞綜》、柯鈔、吳刻、陳刻、紫芝無此。

鄭文焯校沈本曰：「自度曲」，與「自製曲」略別如此，陸刻以意迸合之。

〔秋宵吟〕鈔案：眾本皆同，惟張刻作「秋霄吟」。虬綠本增詞題，作「無題」二字。

鮑廷博校張刻曰：「霄」，陸本作「宵」。

鄭文焯校沈本曰：「霄」，陸本作「宵」，是。《目錄》正作「宵」。

〔坐久〕鈔案：眾本皆同，惟紫芝本作「久坐」，又加乙號。

〔漏水〕鈔案：厲鈔、王鈔、江鈔、陸刻、庫本、張刻、王刻、許刻、朱刻、汪鈔同。花庵作「漏永」，吳訥、毛刻、柯鈔、吳刻、陳刻、項鈔、紫芝、虬綠本同。

鮑廷博校張刻曰：「水」，陳刻「永」。底本黃筆注：「一作『永』。」

施蛰存曰：「漏水」，花庵本誤作「漏永」，汲古閣本、《歷代詩餘》、《花草叢編》、洪陔華本同。

〔暮帆煙草〕鈔案：眾本皆同，惟厲鈔、王鈔作「暮煙衰草」。施蛰存氏《校議》自云據宋淳祐本《花庵詞選》，考宋刻《花庵詞選》作「暮帆煙草」，絕無譌誤。「帆」誤作「晚」者，《四部叢刊》景印《花庵詞選》之明翻宋刻本也。

鮑廷博校張刻曰：「暮帆煙草」，抄本作「暮煙衰草」。

施蛰存曰：「暮帆煙草」，花庵本「帆」誤作「晚」，汲古閣本已改正。

〔單衣〕鈔案：眾本皆同，惟陳刻作「單衾」，項鈔作「衣單」。

鮑廷博校張刻曰：「衣」，陳本作「衾」，底本黃筆注：「一作『衾』。」

許增曰：舊鈔本作「衾」。

[89]

### 淒涼犯

合肥巷陌皆種柳，秋風夕起騷然。予客居閨戶，時聞馬嘶，出城四顧，則荒煙野草，不勝淒黯，乃著此解。琴有淒涼調，假以為名。凡曲言犯者，謂以宮犯商、商犯宮之類，如道調宮上字住，雙調亦上字住，所住字同，故道調曲中犯雙調，或於雙調曲中犯道調，其他準此。唐人樂書云：「犯有正、旁、偏、側。宮犯宮為正，宮犯商為旁，宮犯角為偏，宮犯羽為側。」此說非也。十二宮所住字各不同，不容相犯。十二宮特可犯商、角、羽耳。予歸行都，以此曲示國工田正德，使以啞簫乘角吹之，其韻極美。亦曰瑞鶴仙影。

綠楊巷陌秋風起，邊城一片離索。馬嘶漸遠，人歸甚處，戍樓吹角。情懷正惡，更衰草寒煙淡薄。似當時、將軍部曲，迤邐度沙漠。追念西湖上，小舫攜歌，晚花行樂。舊遊在否，想如今、翠凋紅落。漫寫羊裙，等新雁來時繫着。怕匆匆、不肯寄與悞後約。

### 箋注

〔道調宮上字住，雙調亦上字住〕曹元忠曰：所謂道調、雙調皆用上字住者。

〔所住字同〕陳澧曰：「住字」，即沈存中所謂「殺聲」，蔡季通所謂「畢曲」，張叔夏所謂「結聲」。宋人歌曲最重此聲，凌次仲不知也。

〔十二宮特可犯商、角、羽耳〕曹元忠曰：所謂十二宮可以犯商、角、羽者，律呂四犯有宮犯商，商犯羽，羽犯角，角歸本宮是也。

〔予歸行都，以此曲示國工田正德〕曹元忠曰：按《武林舊事》乾淳教坊樂部簫篳色德壽宮有田正德，注云：「教坊大使」。又馬下樂有簫篳田正德，皆與自序合。所惜〔鶯聲繞紅樓〕自序云「携家妓觀梅於孤山之西村，命國工吹笛」，未詳姓氏，不能知是笛色中何人耳。

吳梅曰：田正德，見《武林舊事》。

〔使以啞簫篳角吹之〕鄭文焯校沈本曰：陸本無「角」字，攷簫篳本龜茲國樂，其製法角音九孔而五音咸備。此叙言「啞簫篳角」，蓋以其製類角，聲似筚，當時因以此名之。

曹元忠曰：《詞源》音譜門云：「惟慢曲引、近，名曰小唱，須得聲字清圓，以啞簫篳合之，其音甚正」是也。據是知〔淒涼犯〕乃當時小唱矣。

吳梅曰：啞簫篳即今之頭管，毗陵樂多用此。

〔似當時、將軍部曲，迤邐度沙漠〕鄭文焯校沈本曰：紹興庚辰，金人敗盟，犯廬州，王權敗歸。太師陳堯叟請下詔親征，以葉義問督江淮軍，虞允文參謀軍事，尋敗敵於采石。詞中所謂「似當時、將軍部曲，迤邐度沙漠」，蓋隱寓其時戰事也。

### 校記

〔詞牌〕曹元忠曰：按此詞汲古閣本注云：「仙呂調犯商調」，又誤列入《夢窗乙稿》作「淒涼調」。按「調」字誤也。《丁稟》有〔淒涼犯〕《賦重台水仙》，注云：「又名〔瑞鶴仙影〕」，與白石自序同，故知「調」字為傳寫之誤。

〔宮調〕錚案：無相本原無注，乃校者後補「仙呂調犯商調」。花庵詞牌下注「仙呂調犯商調」，吳訥、毛刻、柯鈔、吳刻、陳刻、紫芝、陸刻、庫本、王刻、許刻、汪鈔同。厲鈔、王鈔、項鈔、江鈔、張刻、朱刻無此注。虬綠本注刪一「調」字，作「仙呂犯商調」。任訥校沈本於詞牌下添注：「仙呂調犯商角調」。

〔詞題〕錚案：花庵本詞題刪作「合肥秋夕」，吳訥、毛刻、柯鈔、吳刻、陳刻本同。《詞綜》本無詞題。

施蟄存曰：《花庵》本刪去序文，題云「合肥秋夕」。汲古閣本、洪陔華本同。

〔巷陌〕錚案：眾本皆同，惟紫芝本作「令陌」。

〔淒涼調〕錚案：眾本皆同。

鮑廷博校張刻曰：「調」，抄本作「犯」。

〔或於雙調曲〕錚案：眾本皆同，惟張刻作「或於雙調曲」，鮑廷博校改「雙」作「雙」。

〔犯有正、旁、偏、側〕錚案：眾本皆同，惟厲鈔衍一「正」字，作「犯有正正旁偏側」，汪世清曰：「厲抄羨一『正』字」，是也；紫芝本作「犯有山傍偏有側」，毛扆校改「山」為「正」，而「偏有」朱筆先乙，繼又勾去「有」字。

〔犯羽為側〕鈔案：眾本皆同，惟陸刻、庫本、王刻、汪鈔衍「宮」字，作「犯羽為側宮」，殆據《詞源》補。

鮑廷博校張刻曰：失「宮」字，陸本有。底本亦無「宮」字。

曹元忠曰：《詞源》律呂四犯門引姜白石云：「凡曲言犯者，謂以宮犯商、商犯宮之類。如道調宮上字住，雙調亦上字住，所住字同，故道調曲中犯雙調，或雙調曲中犯道調。

（《白石詞》無此八字。）其他準此。唐人樂書云：『犯有正、旁、偏、側。宮犯宮為正，宮犯商為旁，宮犯角為偏，宮犯羽為側宮。』此說非也。」

汪世清曰：陸本羨一「宮」字，姜熙本不羨。

〔所住字〕鈔案：眾本皆同，惟紫芝本毛扆朱筆補一「之」字，作「所住之字」，殆據《詞源》補。

曹元忠曰：《詞源》律呂四犯門引姜白石云：「十二宮所住之（《白石詞》無此字。）字各不同，不容相犯，十二宮特可以犯商、角、羽耳。」皆白石〔淒涼犯〕序語。

〔各不同〕鈔案：眾本皆同，惟紫芝本原作「吞不回」，毛扆朱筆校改作「各不同」。

〔田正德〕鈔案：眾本皆同，惟紫芝本「田」原作「曰」，毛扆朱筆校改作「田」。

〔啞鶯栗角〕鈔案：厲鈔、王鈔、江鈔、張刻、朱刻同。陸刻作「啞鶯栗」，無「角」字，虬綠、項鈔、庫本、王刻、許刻、汪鈔同。紫芝本原作「啞威栗」，毛扆校改「威」為「鶯」。

鮑廷博校張刻曰：陸本無「角」字。底本有「角」字。

施蟄存曰：「使以啞鶯栗吹之」諸本均同，惟江研南本、朱刻本及予所得舊抄本作「使以啞鶯栗角吹之」。

〔瑞鶴仙影〕鈔案：眾本皆同，惟紫芝本譌作「睡鶴仙影」。

〔秋風起〕鈔案：紫芝、陳刻、厲鈔、王鈔、江鈔、陸刻、庫本、張刻、王刻、許刻、朱刻、汪鈔同。花庵作「西風起」，吳訥、毛刻、《詞綜》、柯鈔、吳刻、項鈔、虬綠同。

施蟄存曰：「秋風起」，花庵本作「西風起」，汲古閣本同。

〔小舫〕鈔案：眾本皆同，惟紫芝本、陳刻作「小艇」。

鮑廷博校張刻曰：「舫」，陳刻「艇」，底本「舫」。

〔漫寫〕鈔案：紫芝、厲鈔、王鈔、江鈔、陸刻、虬綠、張刻、庫本、王刻、許刻、朱刻、汪鈔同。花庵作「謾寫」，吳訥、毛刻、《詞綜》、柯鈔、吳刻、陳刻、項鈔同。

施蟄存曰：「漫寫」，花庵本「漫」作「謾」，汲古閣本、洪本同。

〔繫着〕鈔案：眾本皆同，惟無相本作「繫着」，無相本校語：「『繫』當作『繫』」，今據改。

〔怕匆匆〕鈔案：眾本皆同，惟紫芝本作「怕匆匆」，毛刻作「怕箇箇」。

〔悞後約〕鈔案：眾本皆同，惟紫芝本作「悞約後」，毛扆於「約後」加乙號。

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#### 翠樓吟 雙調

淳熙丙午冬，武昌安遠樓成，與劉去非諸友落之，度曲見志。予去武昌十年，故人有泊舟鸚鵡洲者，聞小姬歌此詞。問之，頗能道其事。還吳為予言之。興懷昔遊，且傷今之離索也。

月冷龍沙，塵清虎落，今年漢酺初賜。新翻胡部曲，聽瓊幕元戎歌吹。層樓高峙，看檻曲縈紅，簷牙飛翠。人姝麗，粉香吹下，夜寒風細。此地，宜有詞仙，

擁素雲黃鶴，與君遊戲。玉梯凝望久，歎芳草淒淒千里。天涯情味，仗酒祓清愁，花消英氣。西山外，晚來還捲、一簾秋霽。

#### 箋注

〔淳熙丙午冬，武昌安遠樓成，與劉去非諸友落之，度曲見志〕曹元忠曰：按劉過《龍洲詞》有〔唐多令〕序：「安遠樓小集，侑觴歌板之姬黃其姓者，乞詞於龍洲道人，為賦此〔唐多令〕。同柳阜之、劉去非、石民瞻、周嘉仲、陳孟參、孟容。時八月五日也。」龍洲賦〔唐多令〕當距安遠樓落成時相去無幾，故同集亦劉亦非諸人又詞云「二十年重過南樓」，知安遠樓即南樓，故換頭云「黃鶴斷磯頭，故人今在否」。陸游《入蜀記》所謂「南樓，在儀門之南石城上，一曰黃鶴山，制度閎偉，登望尤勝也。」

吳梅曰：劉去非無考。《龍洲詞》〔唐多令〕題中亦有此名。

#### 校記

〔宮調〕鈔案：眾本皆同作「雙調」，惟《詞綜》、虬綠本脫此注，花庵作「双調」，張

刻作「震調」。

〔詞題〕鈔案：花庵刪作「武昌安遠樓成」，吳訥、毛刻、《詞綜》、柯鈔、吳刻、陳刻同。

施蟄存曰：花庵本削去序文，題云：「武昌安遠樓成。」

〔劉去非〕鈔案：眾本皆同，惟厲鈔作「去非」。

汪世清曰：厲抄脫「劉」字。

〔武昌〕鈔案：眾本皆同，惟紫芝本謄作「武昌」。

〔小姬〕鈔案：眾本皆同，惟紫芝本謄作「小娃」。

〔歌此詞〕鈔案：眾本皆同，惟紫芝本作「歌此調」。

〔胡部曲〕鈔案：眾本皆同，惟庫本謄作「小部曲」。

〔檻曲〕鈔案：眾本皆同，惟虬綠本謄作「檻畔」。

〔詞仙〕許增曰：《歷代詩餘》作「神」，《詞譜》同。

施蟄存曰：「詞仙」，《歷代詩餘》作「神仙」。

〔淒淒〕鈔案：厲鈔、王鈔、張刻同。花庵作「萋萋」，吳訥、毛刻、《詞綜》、柯鈔、吳刻、陳刻、江鈔、項鈔、陸刻、虬綠、庫本、王刻、許刻、朱刻、汪鈔同。紫芝本作「淒淒」，毛扆依花庵改「淒」作「萋」。鮑廷博校張刻改「淒淒」為「萋萋」。

鄭文焯校沈本曰：「淒淒」當作「萋萋」，陸本是。

〔酒拔清愁〕：施蟄存曰：「酒拔清愁」，升庵《詞品》作「酒破清愁」。

〔花消英氣〕鈔案：《詞綜》、陳刻、厲鈔、王鈔、江鈔、項鈔、陸刻、虬綠、王刻、張刻、汪鈔同。柯鈔原作「花消英氣」，朱筆改「消」作「銷」，吳刻作「花銷英氣」，庫本、許刻、朱刻同。花庵作「花嬌英氣」，吳訥、紫芝、毛刻同。

許增曰：《歷代詩餘》作「嬌」。

施蟄存曰：「花銷英氣」，花庵本「花銷」作「花嬌」。《歷代詩餘》、《花草叢編》、汲古閣本同。

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### 湘月

長溪楊聲伯典長沙櫂，居瀕湘江，窗間所見，如燕公、郭熙畫圖，卧起幽適。丙午七月既望，聲伯約予與趙景魯、景望、蕭和父、裕父、時父、恭父，大舟浮湘，放乎中流，山水空寒，烟月交映，淒然其為秋也。坐客皆小冠練服，或彈琴，或浩歌，或自酌，或援筆搜句。予度此曲，即念奴嬌之鬲指聲也，於雙調中吹之。鬲指亦謂之過腔，見《晁無咎集》，凡能吹竹者便能過腔也。

五湖舊約，問經年底事，長負清景。暝入西山，漸喚我一葉夷猶乘興。倦網都收，歸禽時度，月上汀洲冷。中流容與，畫桡不點清鏡。誰解喚起湘靈，煙鬟霧鬢，理哀弦鴻陣。玉塵談玄，嘆坐客多少風流名勝。暗柳蕭蕭，飛星冉冉，夜久知秋信。鱸魚應好，舊家樂事誰省。

### 箋注

〔長溪楊聲伯〕吳梅曰：長溪楊姓為一時盛族。有楊復、楊方、楊簡，皆師事朱文公，此聲伯惜未能詳其名。

〔鬲指聲〕陳澧曰：〔念奴嬌〕，大石調曲也。大石調與雙調中間隔一高大石調，故云「鬲指聲」。

### 校記

〔湘月〕鈔案：眾本皆同，惟陳刻、柯鈔作「鬲指」，小注「又名湘月」，柯鈔朱筆後又點去，逕改作「湘月」。

〔詞題〕鈔案：厲鈔、王鈔、江鈔、朱刻、張刻、項鈔、紫芝同，共一百三十八字。陸刻刪「即念奴嬌之鬲指聲也」句中「之」字，共一百三十七字，庫本、王刻、許刻、汪鈔、虬綠同。花庵、毛刻、《詞綜》、柯鈔、吳刻、陳刻詞題皆有刪改。花庵無題，調下注：「雙調，即念奴嬌之鬲指聲也」，毛刻、《詞綜》同花庵，惟「雙」作「雙」。陳刻不注調名，詞題輾轉已有差謬，如「丙午」謄作「甲午」，「趙景魯、景望」謄作「趙景、曾望」，作：「甲午七月既望，與楊聲伯、趙景、曾望、蕭和甫、裕甫、時甫、恭甫，大舟渡湘」二十七字。柯鈔同陳刻，後又墨筆改「渡」為「浮」，詞題前尚注「雙調」調名，後又朱筆添注：「即念奴嬌之鬲指聲也」。吳刻同柯鈔，亦作「大舟浮湘」，並改「趙景、曾望」為「趙曾望」，詞題前並刻調名：「雙調，即念奴嬌之鬲指聲也。」



鮑廷博校張刻曰：抄本題云：「丙午七月既望，聲伯約予與趙景魯、景望、蕭和父、裕父、恭父，大舟浮湘，予度此曲，即念奴嬌之鬲指聲也。」陳本題云：「甲午七月既望，與楊聲伯、趙景、曾望、蕭和甫、裕甫、時甫、恭甫，大舟渡湘。」

施蟄存曰：花庵本刪去序文，注云：「雙調，即念奴嬌之鬲指聲也。」汲古閣本同。洪陔華本題作「鬲指」，注云：「又名湘月」，大謬。

〔窗間〕 鈔案：王鈔、陸刻、虬綠、庫本、王刻、許刻、朱刻、汪鈔同。紫芝本作「窗間」。厲鈔、江鈔作「窗間」。張刻、項鈔作「窗間」。

鮑廷博校張刻曰：「窗間」，抄本作「牕間」，底本「窗」。

〔郭熙畫圖〕 鈔案：眾本皆同，惟張刻作「郭熙圖畫」。

鮑廷博校張刻曰：「圖畫」，陸刻、底本「畫圖」。

〔卧起〕 鈔案：眾本皆同，惟庫本作「卧居」。

〔趙景魯〕 鈔案：眾本皆同。惟陳刻、柯鈔脫「魯」字，作「趙景」；吳刻作「趙曾望」。

〔景望〕 鈔案：眾本皆同，惟陳刻、柯鈔作「曾望」，吳刻無。

〔蕭和父、裕父、時父、恭父〕 鈔案：眾本皆同，惟柯鈔、吳刻、陳刻「父」皆作「甫」。

〔浮湘〕 鈔案：眾本皆同，惟陳刻作「渡湘」，柯鈔同陳刻，後又墨筆改「渡」為「浮」。施蟄存曰：洪陔華本又節取序文云：「丙午七月既望，與楊聲伯……大舟渡湘。」改「浮湘」為「渡湘」，更謬。

〔烟月〕 鈔案：眾本皆同，惟王鈔作「火月」。

〔練服〕 鈔案：無相本以下眾本皆譌作「練服」，殆白石原刊之譌。惟張刻初印本、沈本、朱刻作「練服」。張刻後印本又鈐作「練服」。吳梅校張刻後印本於欄上改回「練」字。

鄭文焯校沈本曰：陸本作「練」字。此「練」字甚古，詞中多譌作「練」。如清真〔齊天樂〕「練囊」，夢窗〔解連環〕「練帷」，並不作「練」。攷《類篇》「練」訓綌屬，引「褊衡著練巾」。《後漢書·衡傳》則作「疏巾」。案：「疏」字或體亦作「疎」，此「練」字平聲之一證。又徐鉉有「好風輕透白練巾」之句。趙以夫詞云：「正蕭然，竹枕練衾」，並作平聲，可為佐證。今得此詞題敘益信。《晉書·車武子傳》：「家貧，不常得油，夏月則練囊盛數十螢火以照書」，此《清真詞》所本。今元巾箱本及毛刻並已作「練」，誤。朱祖謀曰：「練服」，陸本「練」作「練」。

汪世清曰：沈、張本不同之十。

施蟄存曰：「練服」，諸本均誤作「練服」，惟江研南本、朱刻本作「練服」，是。

〔念奴嬌之〕 鈔案：眾本皆同，惟陸刻、虬綠、庫本、王刻、許刻、汪鈔無「之」字，汪鈔「嬌」作「喬」。

鄭文焯校沈本曰：陸本「鬲指」上無「之」字。

〔鬲指聲〕 鈔案：：眾本皆同，惟虬綠、庫本「鬲指聲」作「隔指聲」。

〔鬲指亦謂之過腔〕 鈔案：眾本皆同，惟虬綠、庫本「鬲」作「隔」。

〔漸喚我〕 鈔案：眾本皆同，惟紫芝本作「漸吹我」。

〔汀洲〕 鈔案：眾本皆同，惟紫芝本羨「沙」字，作「沙汀洲」。

〔倦網〕 鈔案：眾本皆同，惟項鈔作「倦眼」。

〔都收〕 鈔案：眾本皆同，惟張刻作「多收」。

鮑廷博校張刻曰：「多」，抄本、陳本作「都」，底本「都」。

鄭文焯校沈本曰：「多」，陸本作「都」是。此與〔琵琶仙〕「都把一襟芳思」，「都」作「多」，同一音近之誤。

〔哀弦〕 鈔案：王鈔、江鈔、陸刻、張刻、庫本、王刻、許刻、朱刻、汪鈔同。花庵作「哀絃」，毛刻、《詞綜》、柯鈔、吳刻、陳刻、紫芝、厲鈔、項鈔、虬綠本同。

〔嘆坐客〕 鈔案：眾本皆同，惟紫芝本作「欲坐客」，毛底改「欲」作「歎」。

〔冉冉〕 鈔案：無相、花庵、毛刻、厲鈔、王鈔、張刻、紫芝皆作「苒苒」，殆白石原刊之譌。《詞綜》改作「冉冉」，柯鈔、吳刻、陳刻、江鈔、朱刻、汪鈔、陸刻、庫本、王刻、許刻、項鈔、虬綠同。

鮑廷博校張刻曰：「苒苒」，陳刻「冉冉」。

施蟄存曰：「飛星冉冉」，花庵本、汲古閣本及予所得舊鈔本均作「苒苒」，誤。

〔樂事〕 鈔案：眾本皆同，惟陳刻作「舊事」。

鮑廷博校張刻曰：「樂事」，陳刻「舊事」。

嘉泰壬戌至日，刻于東巖之讀書堂，雲間錢希武。



**校記**

〔錢跋〕鈐案：無相本、厲鈔、王鈔、江鈔、陸刻、許刻、張刻、朱刻有錢希武跋，紫芝、項鈔、虬綠、庫本、王刻、汪鈔無錢跋。

〔壬戌〕鈐案：無相、厲鈔、王鈔、江鈔、陸刻、許刻、張刻、朱刻俱譌作「壬辰」。菊坡趙與峕《白石道人歌曲跋》云：「嘉泰壬戌，刻於雲間之東巖」，今據趙跋改。鮑廷博校張刻曰：底本亦誤「壬辰」，今據後趙跋改「壬戌」，攷嘉泰無「壬辰」也。許增曰：按宋寧宗嘉泰元年辛酉，至乙丑改元開禧，「壬辰」當是「壬戌」之誤。以嘉泰無「壬辰」也。

陳銳《褒碧齋詞話》曰：庚戌之秋，沈子培提學以仿刻姜白石詞見遺，其後題「嘉泰壬辰」，「辰」當為「戌」。

鄭文焯校沈本曰：「辰」為「戌」之譌，陸本同。白石詩集有繫錄之年，壬戌秋客雲間，《題華亭錢參政園池》五言律一首。參政，蓋即希武也。姜忠肅祠鈔本有道人廿世孫虬綠箋略云：「自嘉泰間刻於東巖，後公又刪汰，錄定本藏於家，五六百年，世無知者。」是此本刻於道人生前，又經其手自寫定，足則能徵以寄託契後生者，蓋可貴已。按虬綠公編《道人年譜》至嘉定四年止，蓋據辛未作春詞二首，後付闕如。今考吳穀夫《和暗香疏影詞叙》云：「猶記己卯、庚辰之間，初識堯章於維揚，至己丑嘉興再會，自此契闊。聞堯章死西湖，嘗助諸文為殯之，今又不知幾年矣。」所云「己卯」、「庚辰」，屬嘉定十二、三年，至紹定二年「己丑」，又曆九年，道人猶在。據《年譜》所記，隆興元年公尚幼，至是年蓋將七十已。其生卒歲也可略得而考見之。

吳梅校張刻曰：是「戌」字，寧宗嘉泰二年也。

秦更年校王鈔本曰：按宋寧宗嘉泰元年辛酉，至乙丑改元開禧，「壬辰」當係「壬戌」之誤，後趙菊坡跋尤足證也。

**慶元會要**

慶元三年丁巳四月 日，饒州布衣姜夔上書論雅樂事，并進《大樂議》一卷、《琴瑟考古圖》一卷，詔付奉常。有司以其用工頗精，留書以備採擇。

**校記**

〔慶元會要〕鈐案：無相、厲鈔、王鈔、江鈔、項鈔有此條。項鈔《慶元會要》在《別集》趙書之後。「詔付」云云均另起一行。鮑廷博校張刻據維揚馬氏底本補錄此條全文，並云底本此條「在後半頁」，適與無相、江鈔兩本同。兩本此條字體又均大於正文，無相本此處行十三字，江鈔處行十四字，當係陶鈔格式。又江鈔上半頁末行大書一「又」字，為無相、厲鈔、王鈔、項鈔所無。陸刻、庫本、王刻、許刻、張刻、紫芝、虬綠、朱刻、汪鈔俱無此條。

〔丁巳〕鈐案：厲鈔、江鈔、項鈔同，惟王鈔作「丁酉」，後於「酉」旁又書「巳」字。

〔大樂議〕鈐案：厲鈔、江鈔、項鈔同，惟王鈔作「大晟樂議」。

〔用工頗精〕鈐案：厲鈔、江鈔、項鈔同，惟王鈔作「用心頗精」。

# 白石歌詞別集

番易姜夔

[92]

趙郎中謁告迎侍太夫人，將來都下，予喜為作此曲寄小重山令。寒食飛紅滿帝城，慈烏相對立，柳青青。玉階端笏細陳情，天恩許，春盡可還京。鵲報倚門人，安輿扶上了，更親擎。看花攜樂緩行程。爭迎處，堂下拜公卿。

## 校記

〔寄小重山令〕 鈔案：厲鈔、王鈔、江鈔同。項鈔無此五字而於詞題前標調名「小重山令」，陸刻、張刻、庫本、王刻、許刻、朱刻、汪鈔同，殆清人所改。鮑廷博校張刻劃去調名「小重山令」，云：「底本無此行」，又於詞題末加「寄小重山令」五字，適與無相本同。

施蟄存曰：舊鈔本題云：「趙郎中謁告迎侍太夫人，將來都下，予喜為作此曲寄小重山令。」諸刻本皆首標「小重山令」為題，「趙郎中」以下為序而刪去「寄」字。

〔玉階〕 鈔案：厲鈔、王鈔、江鈔、張刻同。項鈔、陸刻、庫本、王刻、許刻、朱刻、汪鈔作「玉階」。

〔攜樂〕 鈔案：眾本皆同，惟鮑廷博校張刻云：「『樂』，抄本作『藥』。」

[93]

## 念奴嬌

毀舍後作。

昔遊未遠，記湘皋聞瑟，澧浦捐褌。因覓孤山林處士，來踏梅根殘雪。獠女供花，僮兒行酒，卧看青門轍。一邱吾老，可憐情事空切。曾見海作桑田，仙人雲表，笑汝真癡絕。說與依依王謝燕，應有涼風時節。越只青山，吳惟芳草，萬古皆沈滅。繞枝三匝，白頭歌盡明月。

## 校記

〔詞題〕 鈔案：無相本詞題連寫於調名後，鮑廷博校張刻所據底本同。

〔捐褌〕 鈔案：無相本「褌」作「玦」，厲鈔、王鈔、項鈔、陸刻、虬綠、庫本、王刻、汪鈔同。江鈔作「捐褌」，張刻、許刻、朱刻同。

鮑廷博校張刻曰：「褌」，陸刻「玦」，底本「玦」。

鄭文焯校沈本錄陳銳校云：陸本作「玦」，此「褌」字用《離騷》，不誤。

施蟄存曰：「捐玦」，姜本、江研南本、朱刻本作「捐褌」。按《楚辭》：「遺余褌兮澧浦」，則以「褌」為是，諸本作「玦」者誤。

汪世清曰：姜熙本亦作「褌」。

〔僮兒行酒〕 鈔案：眾本皆同，惟江鈔有小注：「『僮』，音『棍』，鄙賤之稱。陸机呼左思為『僮父』。韓愈詩：『無端逐餓僮』。」此注後為朱刻刊落，而未出校記。

〔王謝〕 鈔案：眾本皆同，惟張刻初印本、沈本作「玉謝」。任訥校沈本改作「王謝」。汪世清曰：沈本獨作「玉」，誤。沈、張本不同之十一。

[94]

## 卜算子

吏部梅花八詠，變次韻。

江左詠梅人，夢繞青青路。因向凌風臺下看，心事還將與。憶別庾郎時，又過林逋處。萬古西湖寂寞春，惆悵誰能賦。

### 箋注

吳梅曰：此和曾無逸三聘韻，《張南湖集》亦有和作可證。

〔因向凌風臺下看，心事還將與〕曹元忠曰：用梁何遜《詠早梅詩》「枝橫卻月觀，花遶凌風台」句也。何詩見《初學記》果木部引。

### 校記

〔八詠〕鈔案：眾本皆同，惟汪鈔作「八韻」。

[95]

月上海雲沈，鷗去吳波迴。行過西泠有一枝，竹暗人家靜。又見水沈亭，舉目悲風景。花下鋪氍毹一盃，緩飲春風影。

西泠橋在孤山之西，水沈亭在孤山之北，亭廢。

### 箋注

〔西泠橋在孤山之西〕曹元忠曰：按《武林舊事》孤山路下云：「西陵橋又名西林橋，又名西泠橋，又名西村。」故第六闕自注云：「西村在孤山後，梅皆阜陵時所種。」

### 校記

〔詞牌〕鈔案：陸刻、庫本、王刻、許刻、汪鈔於此闕前標「又」字以代調名，別本無之。

〔西泠橋〕鮑廷博校張刻曰：前詞之注當再低一格，後仿此低四格。

〔亭廢〕鈔案：眾本皆同，惟朱刻、虬綠本〔卜算子〕按語引作「今廢」。

[96]

蘚幹石斜妨，玉蕊松低覆。日暮冥冥一見來，略比年時瘦。涼觀酒初醒，竹閣吟纔就。猶恨幽香作許慳，小遲春心透。

涼觀在孤山之麓，南北梅最奇。竹閣在涼觀西，今廢。

### 箋注

〔涼觀〕曹元忠曰：按《武林舊事》御園下有「涼觀」，孤山路下云：「孤山舊有柏堂、竹閣、四照閣、巢居閣、林處士廬，今皆不存。」

吳梅曰：「涼觀」，見《四朝聞見錄》：「孤山涼堂爲西湖奇絕處。」

〔竹閣〕吳梅曰：《臨安志》：「白公竹閣在廣化寺後。」

### 校記

〔詞牌〕鈔案：陸刻、庫本、王刻、許刻、汪鈔於此闕前標「又」字以代調名。又，〔卜算子〕八首，虬綠本僅「蘚幹」、「家在」二首，題作「梅花」，所附按語云：「按《別集》載此調凡八闕，反覆卒讀，其佳誠不出此，今亦不敢增錄。然如『御苑接湖波，松下春風細。雲綠莢莢玉萬枝，別有仙風味。』（注：『聚景宮梅，皆植之高松之下，莢蔭歲久，萼盡綠。』）『綠萼更橫枝，多少梅花樣。惆悵西村一塢春，開過無人賞。』（注：『綠萼、橫枝皆梅別種，凡二十許名。西邨在孤山後，梅皆阜陵時所種。』）『又見水沈亭，舉目悲風景。花下鋪氍毹一盃，緩飲春風影。』（注：『水沈亭在孤山之北，今廢。』）『路出古昌源，石瘦冰霜潔。折得青鬚碧蘚花，持向人間說。』（注：『越之昌源古梅妙天下。』）數則，可入梅花掌故也。又公有《項里梅絕句》，注：『項里，項王之里也，在山陰西南二十餘里，地產苔梅妙天下。予得一枝，古怪特甚，爲作七言：『舊國婆婆幾樹梅，將軍逐鹿未歸來。江東父老空相憶，枝上年年長綠苔』，亦足備典。」

〔蘚幹〕鈔案：張刻、項鈔同。厲鈔、王鈔、江鈔、陸刻、虬綠、庫本、王刻、許刻、朱刻、汪鈔作「蘚幹」。

鮑廷博校張刻曰：「幹」，陸刻「幹」。

〔冥冥〕鈔案：眾本皆同，惟虬綠本作「西風」。

〔小遲〕鈔案：眾本皆同，惟虬綠本作「不放」。

〔春心透〕鈔案：眾本皆同，惟鮑廷博校張刻云：「『春心』，抄本作『香心』。」

[97]

家在馬城西，曾賦梅屏雪。梅雪相兼不見花，月影玲瓏徹。 前度帶愁看，  
一餉和愁折。若使逋仙及見之，定自成愁絕。  
馬城在都城西北。梅屏甚見珍愛。

### 箋注

〔馬城〕曹元忠曰：按《咸淳臨安志》山川門：「東西馬塍在余杭門外，土細宜花卉，園人工於種接，都城之花皆取焉。或云『塍』當爲『城』，蓋錢王舊城」，故白石謂之「馬城」。

吳梅曰：馬城即馬塍，在余杭門外。

〔梅屏〕吳梅曰：《北澗集》有《梅屏賦》。

### 校記

〔詞牌〕錚案：陸刻、虬綠、庫本、王刻、許刻、汪鈔於此闕前標「又」字以代調名，別本無之。

〔馬城西〕錚案：眾本皆同，惟虬綠本作「馬塍西」。

〔曾賦〕錚案：眾本皆同，惟朱刻作「今賦」，是朱刻師己意而改江鈔，並未出校。

汪世清曰：朱本獨作「今」。

〔一餉〕錚案：厲鈔、王鈔、江鈔、項鈔、張刻、朱刻同。陸刻、虬綠、庫本、王刻、許刻、汪鈔作「一晌」。

鮑廷博校張刻曰：「餉」，抄本作「晌」，底本「餉」。

鄭文焯校沈本曰：「餉」當從「日」旁，陸本是。

鄭文焯錄陳銳校曰：「餉」或讀如「響」，「一餉」猶言一食之頃。「餉」、「晌」正俗字。

汪世清曰：陸本獨作「晌」，誤。

施蟄存曰：「一晌」，江研南本、朱刻本及予所得舊鈔本作「一餉」。

〔和愁折〕錚案：惟無相本、江鈔作「和愁折」。眾本皆作「和愁折」，今即據改。

鮑廷博校張刻曰：「折」，底本「折」。

鄭文焯校沈本曰：「折」當作「折」，陸本是。

〔見之〕錚案：眾本皆同，惟虬綠本作「見來」。

〔定自〕錚案：眾本皆同，惟虬綠本作「也定」。

〔都城〕錚案：眾本皆同，惟虬綠本作「都塍」。

〔梅屏〕錚案：眾本皆同，惟虬綠本衍「其」字，作「其梅屏」。

[98]

摘蕊暝禽飛，倚樹懸冰落。下竺橋邊淺立時，香已漂流却。 空逕晚煙平，  
古寺春寒惡。老子尋花第一番，常恐吳兒覺。  
下竺寺前礪石上風景最妙。

### 箋注

〔下竺寺〕曹元忠曰：按《武林舊事》上天竺寺下有「下天竺靈山教寺」。

吳梅曰：《臨安志》：「下天竺靈山教寺在錢唐縣西。」

### 校記

〔詞牌〕錚案：陸刻、庫本、王刻、許刻、汪鈔於此闕前標「又」字以代調名，別本無之。

〔空逕〕錚案：眾本皆同，惟朱刻作「空徑」。

〔下竺寺前礪石上風景最妙〕錚案：厲鈔、王鈔、江鈔、朱刻、張刻、項鈔同。陸刻、庫本、王刻、許刻、汪鈔「最妙」作「甚妙」。朱刻脫此注。

鮑廷博校張刻曰：「最」，陸刻「甚」。

汪世清曰：陸本獨作「甚」。

[99]

綠萼更橫枝，多少梅花樣。惆悵西村一塢春，開過無人賞。 細草藉金輿，  
歲歲長吟想。枝上么禽一兩聲，猶似宮娥唱。

綠萼、橫枝皆梅別種，凡二十許名。西邨在孤山後，梅皆阜陵時所種。

### 箋注

〔細草籍金輿，歲歲長吟想〕曹元忠曰：按杜甫《玉華宮詩》：「當時侍金輿，故物獨石馬。憂來藉草坐，浩歌汨盈把。」白石詞意本此。

〔阜陵〕吳梅曰：孝宗葬阜陵。

#### 校記

〔詞牌〕錚案：陸刻、庫本、王刻、許刻、汪鈔於此闕前標「又」字以代調名，別本無之。

〔開過〕錚案：厲鈔、項鈔、陸刻、張刻、庫本、王刻、許刻、汪鈔、虬綠本〔卜算子〕按語內引文同。江鈔作「開遍」，朱刻作「開偏」，王鈔作「開遍」，又改「開過」。

#### [100]

象筆帶香題，龍笛吟春咽。楊柳嬌癡未覺愁，花管人離別。 路出古昌源，石瘦冰霜潔。折得青鬚碧蘚花，持向人間說。

越之昌源，古梅妙天下。

#### 箋注

〔青鬚碧蘚花〕鄭文焯校沈本曰：《武林舊事》云：「高宗居德壽宮，嘗謂孝宗曰：『苔梅有二種，宜興張公祠者，苔蘚極厚，花極香；一種出越上，苔如絲，長尺餘。』」曹元忠曰：按林景熙《霽山先生集》有《昌源懷古詩》，元章祖程注云：「昌源坂在會稽縣南三十五里，吳越王錢氏所葬之處。」詩云：「殘僧相對語寂寞，苔梅隔嶺春年年」，知白石自注「古梅」為「苔梅」，故云「青鬚碧蘚花」。

〔昌源〕吳梅曰：《嘉泰會稽志》：「越州昌源梅最盛，實大而美。」

#### 校記

〔詞牌〕錚案：陸刻、庫本、王刻、許刻、汪鈔於此闕前標「又」字以代調名，別本無之。

〔花管人離別〕錚案：眾本皆同。

施蟄存曰：「花管人離別」，諸本均同，然「花管」不辭，疑當作「不管」。

〔折得〕錚案：眾本皆同，惟張刻初印本、沈本作「拆得」。

鄭文焯校沈本曰：「拆」當作「折」，陸本是。

汪世清曰：沈、張本同作「拆」，誤。

#### [101]

御苑接湖波，松下春風細。雲綠戔戔玉萬枝，別有仙風味。 長信昨來看，憶共東皇醉。此樹娑娑一惘然，苔蘚生春意。

聚景官梅，皆植之高松之下，花蔭歲久，萼盡綠。夔昨歲觀梅於彼，所聞於園官者如此，末章及之。

#### 箋注

〔御苑接湖波，松下春風細。雲綠戔戔玉萬枝〕曹元忠曰：按《方輿勝覽》浙西路臨安府下聚景園在錢湖門外，故云「接湖波」。又《絕妙好詞》有王沂孫〔法曲獻仙音〕《聚景亭梅次草窗韻》云：「層綠戔戔，纖瓊皎皎，倒壓波痕清淺」，即用白石詞意。

〔聚景官梅〕曹元忠曰：按《武林舊事》御園下云：「聚景園，清波門外，孝宗致養之地。堂匾皆孝宗御書。淳熙中，屢經臨幸。嘉泰間，寧宗奉成肅太后臨幸，其後並皆荒蕪不修。」引高疏寮詩，有「水際春風寒漠漠，官梅卻作野梅開」之句。

吳梅曰：聚景園在清波門外，孝宗致養之地。嘉泰間，寧宗奉太后幸焉。

#### 校記

〔詞牌〕錚案：陸刻、庫本、王刻、許刻、汪鈔於此闕前標「又」字以代調名，別本無之。

〔戔戔〕錚案：項鈔、張刻同。厲鈔、王鈔、江鈔、陸刻、庫本、王刻、許刻、朱刻、汪鈔作「戔戔」。

鮑廷博校張刻曰：「戔戔」，陸刻「戔戔」。

鄭文焯校沈本曰：「戔」當作「戔」，陸本是。

〔娑娑〕錚案：陸刻、庫本同。厲鈔、王鈔、江鈔、項鈔、張刻、王刻、許刻、朱刻、汪鈔皆作「娑娑」。

汪世清曰：陸本獨作「娑娑」，誤。姜文龍本作「娑娑」。

施蟄存曰：「此樹娑娑」，陸本、鮑本、姜本「娑娑」均作「娑娑」，予所得舊鈔本亦作



「娑娑」。

〔花蔭〕錚案：陸刻、庫本同。厲鈔、王鈔、項鈔、江鈔、張刻、王刻、許刻、朱刻、汪鈔作「茈蔭」。

鮑廷博校張刻曰：「茈」，陸刻「花」。

鄭文焯校沈本曰：「茈」，陸本作「花」，宜據此訂正，形近譌。

汪世清曰：陸本獨作「花」，誤。知不足齋與二姜本均作「茈」。

〔夔昨歲〕錚案：「夔」，眾本皆同，惟厲鈔、王鈔脫去。「昨歲」，厲鈔、王鈔、江鈔、朱刻、張刻、項鈔同。陸刻、庫本、王刻、許刻、汪鈔作「舊歲」。

鮑廷博校張刻曰：陸刻「舊」。

鄭文焯校沈本曰：「昨」，陸本作「舊」。

施蟄存曰：「昨歲」，陸本、姜本、鮑本、四印齋本均作「舊歲」。

[102]

### 洞仙歌

#### 黃木香贈辛稼軒。

花中慣識，壓架玲瓏雪。乍見綳蕤間琅葉。恨春風將了，染額人歸，留得箇、裊裊垂香帶月。驚兒真似酒，我愛幽芳，還比醪醑又嬌絕。自種古松根，待看黃龍，亂飛上蒼髯五鬣。更老仙添與筆端春，敢喚起桃花，問誰優劣。

### 箋注

〔自種古松根，待看黃龍，亂飛上蒼髯五鬣〕曹元忠曰：「五鬣」，松也。《癸辛雜識》前集云：「凡松葉皆雙股，故世以爲松釵，獨栝松每穗三鬣，而高麗所產每穗乃五鬣焉，今所謂華山松是也。」然則白石詞意，蓋誤黃木香爲古松耳。按華山產五鬣松，《五代史·鄭遨傳》云：「遨聞華山有五粒松，脂淪入地，千歲化爲藥，能去三尸，因徙居華陰，欲求之。」

### 校記

〔版本〕曹元忠曰：〔洞仙歌〕《黃木香贈辛稼軒》，汲古閣誤列入《夢牕甲槩》，且「玲瓏」作「瓏璁」，「乍見綳蕤」作「可見湘英」，「待看黃龍」作「待黃龍」，汲文謄字彌望皆是，汲古閣本不足信如此。

〔詞題〕錚案：眾本皆同，惟厲鈔此行漏去，用黃筆補入「黃木香贈辛稼軒」。

〔慣識〕錚案：眾本皆同，惟虬綠本「慣」作「貫」。

〔乍見〕錚案：眾本皆同，惟張刻、項鈔作「可見」。

鮑廷博校張刻曰：「可」，陸刻「乍」，底本「乍」。

〔綳蕤〕錚案：眾本皆同，惟張刻作「綳枝」，項鈔作「綳漢」。

鮑廷博校張刻曰：「枝」，陸刻「蕤」，底本「蕤」。

〔裊裊〕錚案：眾本皆同，惟朱刻作「嫋嫋」。

〔醪醑〕錚案：眾本皆同，惟虬綠本作「丁香」。

〔添與〕錚案：眾本皆同，惟無相本作「添興」。無相本校語：「『興』當作『與』。」今從無相本校語校改。

〔桃花〕錚案：眾本皆同，惟虬綠本作「金桃」。

[103]

### 驀山溪

#### 詠柳。

青青官柳，飛過雙雙燕。樓上對春寒，捲珠簾瞥然一見。如今春去，香絮亂因風，霑徑草，惹牆花，一一教誰管。陽關去也，方表人腸斷。幾度拂行軒，念衣冠尊前易散。翠眉纖錦，紅葉浪題詩，煙渡口，水亭邊，長是心先亂。

### 校記

〔瞥然〕錚案：眾本皆同，惟張刻作「偶然」。

鮑廷博校張刻曰：「偶」，抄本作「瞥」，陸刻「瞥」，底本「瞥」。

施蟄存曰：「瞥然」，諸本均同，惟張本作「偶然」，姜本有校注云：「『瞥』，一作『偶』。」

[104]

## 永遇樂

次韻辛克清先生。

我與先生，夙期已久，人間無此。不學楊郎，南山種豆，十一徵微利。雲霄直上，諸公衮衮，乃作道邊苦李。五千言老來受用，肯教造物兒戲。東崗記得，同來胥宇，歲月幾何難計。柳老悲桓，松高對阮，未辦為鄰地。長干白下，青樓朱閣，往往夢中槐蟻。却不如窪尊放滿，老夫未醉。

## 箋注

〔辛克清〕吳梅曰：克清，見前〔探春慢〕詞。

〔松高對阮〕鄭文焯校沈本曰：「松高對阮」，老杜詩「松高擬對阮生論。」近世詞家，務爲雕綉，意制淺疏，以爲倚聲中別有取字一格。元明以降，益用胸馳臆斷，文不雅馴。觀於清真、白石諸大家，無一字無來歷，盡從唐人詩句剪裁而出，使讀者但驚嘆其清妙而已。

## 校記

〔詞題〕鍾案：虬綠本詞題作「次辛克清」。

〔道邊〕鍾案：眾本皆同，惟虬綠本作「道旁」。

〔造物〕鍾案：眾本皆同，惟鮑廷博校張刻云：「『物』，抄本作『化』，底本『物』。」

〔窪尊放滿〕鍾案：眾本皆同，惟江鈔、張刻「窪」作「窪」。

鮑廷博校張刻曰：「窪」，陸刻「窪」，底本「窪」。

[105]

括蒼煙雨樓，石湖居士所造也，風景似越之蓬萊閣，而山勢環繞峯嶺高秀過之。觀居士題顏，且歌其所作虞美人，夔亦作一解。闌干表立蒼龍背，三面巉天翠。東遊纔上小蓬萊，不見此樓煙雨未應回。而今指點來時路，却是冥濛處。老仙鶴馭幾時歸，未必山川城郭是耶非。

## 箋注

〔括蒼煙雨樓，石湖居士所造也〕吳梅曰：《麗水縣志》：「處州舊州治在小括蒼山煙雨樓爲郡守楊嘉言建，范成大書榜。」

## 校記

〔詞牌〕鍾案：無相本無詞牌名，厲鈔、王鈔、江鈔、虬綠同。項鈔、陸刻、張刻、庫本、王刻、許刻、朱刻、汪鈔加詞牌名「虞美人」一行。

鮑廷博校張刻曰：底本無此行。

〔峯嶺〕鍾案：眾本皆同，惟項鈔作「峯領」。

鮑廷博校張刻曰：底本「領」。

〔題顏〕鍾案：眾本皆同，惟鮑廷博校張刻云：「『顏』，一本作『額』。」

〔且歌其所作虞美人〕鍾案：眾本皆同，惟張刻作「且歌其所作」。

鮑廷博校張刻曰：陸刻有「虞美人」三字，底本同。

施蟄存曰：明鈔本（鍾案：施氏校語「明」當作「舊」，即無相本。）不標調名「虞美人」，陸本加題，張刻本則於所序中刪去「虞美人」三字，遂使序文不可解。

〔夔亦作一解〕鍾案：眾本皆同，惟虬綠本無「夔」字。

〔巉天翠〕鍾案：江鈔、朱刻、項鈔、張刻初印本、沈本同。厲鈔、王鈔、陸刻、虬綠、張刻後印本、庫本、王刻、許刻、汪鈔「巉」皆作「攔」。

鄭文焯校沈本曰：「巉」，陸本作「攔」，非是。

汪世清曰：沈、張本不同之十三。

施蟄存曰：「巉天翠」，陸本、姜本、鮑本、四印齋本「巉」誤作「攔」。

〔纔上〕鍾案：眾本皆同，惟張刻初印本、沈本作「纔上」。

鄭文焯校沈本曰：作「纔」，譌。

汪世清曰：沈本獨作「纔」，誤。沈、張本不同之十二。

[106]

## 稼軒北固樓詞永遇樂韻。

雲隔迷樓，苔封狠石，人向何處。數騎秋煙，一篙寒汐，千古空來去。史君心在，蒼厓綠嶂，苦被北門留住。有尊中酒差可飲，大旗盡繡熊虎。前

身諸葛，來遊此地，數語便酬三顧。樓外冥冥，江皋隱隱，認得征西路。  
中原生聚，神京耆老，南望長淮金鼓。問當時依依種柳，至今在否？

#### 校記

〔稼軒北固樓詞永遇樂韻〕 鈔案：厲鈔、王鈔、江鈔同，題前皆無詞牌名。其餘各本加詞牌名「永遇樂」，而詞題各不相同：陸刻作「北固樓次稼軒韻」，虬綠、庫本、王刻、許刻、汪鈔同。張刻作「次韻稼軒北固樓」。朱刻作「次稼軒北固樓詞韻」。鮑廷博校張刻於調名「永遇樂」一行出校云：「底本無此行」，於詞題一行出校云：「陸刻『北固樓次稼軒韻』，底本如朱筆」作「稼軒北固樓詞永遇樂韻」。

周南曰：陸本作「北固樓次稼軒韻」。

許增曰：祠堂本（「樓」）作「亭」。

鄭文焯校沈本曰：祠堂本「樓」作「亭」，陸本作「次稼軒韻」，以後二解例之，則此本當是舊題。

汪世清曰：姜熙本作「次韻稼軒北固亭」。

施蛸存曰：舊鈔本題云「稼軒北固樓詞永遇樂韻」。諸本皆以「永遇樂」標題，陸本、鮑本下云：「北固樓次稼軒韻」。江本、朱刻本則作：「次稼軒北固樓詞韻」。姜本改作「次稼軒北固亭」，蓋稼軒原題作「京口北固亭懷古」也。

〔雲隔〕 鈔案：陸刻、虬綠、庫本、王刻、許刻、汪鈔同。厲鈔、王鈔、江鈔、項鈔、張刻、朱刻作「雲隔」。

〔狠石〕 鈔案：江鈔、項鈔、張刻同。厲鈔、王鈔、陸刻、虬綠、庫本、王刻、許刻、朱刻、汪鈔作「狠石」。

汪世清曰：姜熙本亦作「狠」。

施蛸存曰：「狠石」，姜本及予所得舊鈔本作「狠石」，諸本均作「狠石」。

〔史君〕 鈔案：厲鈔、王鈔、江鈔同。項鈔、陸刻、虬綠、張刻、庫本、王刻、許刻、朱刻、汪鈔作「使君」。

鮑廷博校張刻曰：底本「史」。

施蛸存曰：「使君」，夏校云：「厲鈔作『史君』，誤。」予所得舊鈔本亦作「史君」。

〔耆老〕 鈔案：眾本皆同，惟虬綠本作「耆舊」。

〔長淮〕 鈔案：眾本皆同，惟張刻作「清淮」。

鮑廷博校張刻曰：「清淮」，抄本作「長淮」，陸刻「長」，底本「長」。

施蛸存曰：「長淮」，姜本有校注云：「『長』，亦作『清』。」

[107]

#### 水調歌頭

富覽亭永嘉作。

日落愛山紫，沙漲省潮回。平生夢猶不到，一葉眇西來。欲訊桑田成海，人世了無知者，魚鳥兩相推。天外玉笙杳，子晉只空臺。倚闌干，二三子，總仙才。爾歌遠遊章句，雲氣入吾杯。不問王郎五馬，頗憶謝生雙屐，處處長青苔。東望赤城近，吾興亦悠哉。

#### 箋注

〔富覽亭〕 吳梅曰：亭在郭公山上，嘉祐三年知州楚建中重新之。

〔不問王郎五馬〕 吳梅曰：羲之嘗守永嘉。

〔頗憶謝生雙屐〕 吳梅曰：靈運亦為永嘉太守。

#### 校記

〔詞題〕 鈔案：眾本皆同，惟虬綠本題作「永嘉富覽亭」。

〔猶不到〕 鈔案：眾本皆同，惟庫本作「遊不到」。

〔一葉眇西來〕 鈔案：眾本皆同，惟虬綠本「眇」作「渺」。

〔相推〕 鈔案：厲鈔、王鈔、江鈔、項鈔、陸刻初印本、張刻、朱刻同。陸刻江春印本作「相猜」，虬綠、庫本、王刻、許刻、汪鈔同。鮑廷博校張刻注「猜」，未云何本。

鄭校沈本云：「推」字韻，陸本作「猜」是。

汪世清曰：江春本作「猜」。

施蛸存曰：「兩相猜」，姜本有校語云：「別本『猜』作『推』，非。」江研南本、朱刻本及予所得舊鈔本俱作「推」，夏校本用「推」字。

〔只空臺〕 鈔案：眾本皆同，惟厲鈔作「亦空臺」。

汪世清曰：厲抄獨作「亦」。

〔王郎〕錚案：眾本皆同，惟江鈔作「主郎」。

[108]

### 漢宮春

#### 次韻稼軒。

雲曰歸歟，縱垂天曳曳，終反衡廬。揚州十年一夢，倏仰差殊。秦碑越殿，悔舊遊作計全疎。分付與高懷老尹，管弦絲竹寧無。知公愛山入剡，若南尋李白，問訊何如。年年鴈飛波上，愁亦關予。臨臯領客，向月邊、攜酒攜鱸。今但借秋風一榻，公歌我亦能書。

### 箋注

〔次韻稼軒〕曹元忠曰：白石與稼軒雅故，集中故多次韻之作。以元大德廣信本《稼軒長短句》考之，如〔永遇樂〕《北固樓次稼軒韻》，稼軒作《京口北固亭懷古》；〔漢宮春〕《次韻稼軒》，稼軒作《會稽秋風亭觀雨》；又《次韻稼軒蓬萊閣》，稼軒作《會稽蓬萊閣懷古》，知白石詞題《次韻稼軒蓬萊閣者》，當蒙上闕《次韻稼軒會稽秋風亭》省「會稽」二字。自南村寫本啟「會稽秋風亭」五字，致詞中「秦碑越殿」及「南尋李白」等語不得其解，而下闕「蓬萊閣」亦不知何地，宜於《次韻稼軒》下據《稼軒長短句》補「會稽秋風亭」五字方合。《秋風亭》者，稼軒帥浙東時作，張鑑《南湖集》〔漢宮春〕序云：「稼軒帥浙東作《秋風亭》，以長短句寄余」是也。

### 校記

〔愁亦關予〕錚案：眾本皆同，惟虬綠本「予」作「余」。

〔秋風一榻〕錚案：眾本皆同，惟庫本作「秋風一陣」，汪鈔脫「一榻」二字。

〔公歌我亦能書〕錚案：眾本皆同，惟汪鈔脫「公歌」二字。

[109]

又

#### 次韻稼軒蓬萊閣。

一顧傾吳，苧蘿人不見，煙杳重湖。當時事如對奕，此亦天乎。大夫仙去，笑人間、千古須臾。有倦客扁舟夜泛，猶疑水鳥相呼。秦山對樓自綠，怕越王故壘，時下樵蘇。只今倚闌一笑，然則非與。小叢解倡，倩松風、為我吹竽。更坐待千巖月落，城頭眇眇啼鳥。

### 箋注

〔蓬萊閣〕吳梅曰：閣在會稽。

### 校記

〔詞題〕錚案：眾本皆同，惟虬綠本題作「蓬萊閣次韻稼軒」。

〔非與〕錚案：項鈔、陸刻、張刻、庫本、王刻、許刻、汪鈔同。厲鈔、王鈔、江鈔、虬綠、朱刻作「非歟」。

〔解倡〕錚案：惟江鈔同，其餘眾本皆作「解唱」。

鮑廷博校張刻曰：「唱」，底本「倡」。

施鰲存曰：「小叢解唱」，諸本同，予所得舊鈔本「解唱」作「解倡」。

〔眇眇〕錚案：厲鈔、王鈔、江鈔、項鈔、陸刻、庫本、許刻、朱刻同。虬綠、王刻、汪鈔作「渺渺」。張刻作「眇眇」。

施鰲存曰：「眇眇啼鳥」，諸本同作「眇眇」，惟江研南本、朱刻本作「渺渺」。錚案：此條施氏誤校，作「渺渺」者王刻、汪鈔兩本。江研南本、朱刻本俱作「眇眇」。

歌曲特文人餘事耳，或者少諧音律。白石留心學古，有志雅樂，如《會要》所載，奉常所錄，未能盡見也，聲文之美，槩具此編。嘉泰壬戌，刻於雲間之東巖。其家轉徙自隨珍藏者五十載。淳祐辛亥，復歸嘉禾郡齋千歲令威，夫豈偶然。因筆之以識歲月，端午日菊坡趙與峕書。

### 校記

〔標題〕錚案：此趙與峕書無相本、厲鈔、王鈔、江鈔、項鈔、朱刻、汪鈔均無標題。陸刻、庫本、許刻冠以「白石道人歌曲跋」，王刻僅稱「跋」。張刻初印本僅有趙與峕跋，

版心題「白石道人歌詞序」，後印本撤去此跋，易以張奕樞序。虬綠、汪鈔、張刻初印本俱無此跋。鮑廷博校張刻據底本錄文，全同無相本，並於欄上注明趙書在底本「另頁」。  
〔嘉泰〕鈔案：眾本皆同，惟無相本「泰」作「靖」，又改為「泰」。又，無相本「此編」、「嘉泰」間空一格，厲鈔、王鈔、江鈔同。項鈔、朱刻、陸刻、庫本、王刻、許刻、張刻初印本均無空格。

〔壬戌〕鈔案：王鈔、張刻、庫本、許刻、朱刻同。厲鈔、江鈔、陸刻、王刻、汪鈔謄作「壬戌」。項鈔作「壬戌錢希武氏」。

〔雲間〕鈔案：眾本皆同，惟朱刻、許刻作「雲間」。

〔淳祐〕鈔案：眾本皆同，惟朱刻「淳」缺末筆，殆避清諱。

至正十年，歲在庚寅正月望日，如葉君居仲本於錢唐之用拙幽居既畢，因以識其後云。天台陶宗儀九成

此書俾它人抄錄，故多有誤字。今將善本勘讐，方可人意。後十一年庚子夏四月也。

第五卷暗香詞第四句「不管清寒與攀摘」，他本作「攀折」，誤也。辛丑校正再記

### 校記

〔陶跋〕鈔案：陶跋無相、江鈔兩本均寫在趙與峇書後，但不連寫，趙書在上半頁，陶跋在下半頁。項鈔趙與峇書在上半頁，陶跋亦在下半頁，但中夾《慶元會要》。王鈔、陸刻、庫本、王刻、許刻、朱刻均接趙與峇書後連寫。厲鈔厲跋接趙書後，陶跋前；王鈔厲跋在趙書、陶跋後。虬綠、汪鈔、張刻俱無此跋。

〔如葉君居仲本〕鈔案：眾本皆同，惟庫本作「閱葉君居仲本」，王鈔作「如」，旁注「疑悞」。

〔錢唐〕鈔案：眾本皆同，惟王鈔作「錢塘」。

〔九成〕鈔案：眾本皆同，惟項鈔作「九成氏」。

〔它人〕鈔案：厲鈔、江鈔、項鈔同。王鈔、陸刻、庫本、王刻、許刻、朱刻作「他人」。

〔誤字〕鈔案：眾本皆同，惟庫本作「悞字」。

〔今將〕鈔案：眾本皆同，惟厲鈔、王鈔、江鈔、項鈔作「今得」。

〔勘讐〕鈔案：眾本皆同，惟厲鈔作「勘讎」。

〔第五卷暗香詞第四句「不管清寒與攀摘」，他本作「攀折」，誤也。辛丑校正再記〕鈔案：惟無相本有陶宗儀辛丑第三跋，別本皆無。夏錄脫「也」字。



## *Facsimile 1*

### The Shanghai MS

This facsimile is of a working manuscript used by Li E, the Ma brothers, and their circle in the Yangzhou Poetry Club for preparing the Lu edition of Jiang Kui for publication in 1743. Its pages are 27.6 cm in height and 17.5 cm in width. Onto each of these is printed a writing block measuring 18.2 cm × 12.8 cm, inside of which are vertical lines, such that ten columns of text can be written. When these columns are filled completely, they usually contain twenty-one characters. Explanatory notes are occasionally inserted into the main text; here, two characters are penned next to each other in the same column in the space where one character would otherwise have been written.

The handwriting is neat and clear, typical of the mid-Qing dynasty, and devoid of any particularly personal characteristics, suggesting that the manuscript was probably professionally copied (by someone called here Scribe A). A majority of the editorial notes has been added in the space above the writing block, though some are inserted into the text itself, whilst only one is added below the writing block. Up until folio 39, a few of these notes are by the copyist himself, but most belong to a much more untidy hand (called here Scribe B). Often, the name of the person who has provided the opinion is also included, and four people are mentioned: Fanxie (i.e., Li E), Meipan (i.e., Wang Zao), Yujing (i.e., Min Hua), and Qianli 千里 (Gu Guangqi 顧廣圻, 1766–1835). From folio 40 until the last folio 54, all the annotations are by Scribe B, and no one is named.

The function of this manuscript as a working copy is reinforced from a number of angles. In the opening thirty-nine folios, ten annotations are named here as coming from Fanxie, of which three are penned by Scribe A and seven by Scribe B. There are also three annotations each from Wang Zao and Min Hua, all by Scribe B. These features strongly suggest that Li E was present not only at the stage when the manuscript was copied, but also later when it was submitted for editorial examination, which is when Wang Zao and Min Hua made their contributions. There are seventeen unnamed annotations, of which the vast majority is by Scribe B. In two places, notes by Scribe A seem to indicate discrepancies with an exemplar manuscript, called here the “original manuscript,” which is likely to have been the Tao MS. All this indicates that the owner of the working manuscript (Facsimile 1) was in close contact with Li E, Wang Zao, and Min Hua, and also had ready access to the Tao MS via its owner, crucial factors in helping us date the working manuscript to prior to the publication of the Lu edition in 1743, and that also suggest Yangzhou as the likely place where it was written. Assuming this analysis to be correct, the annotations from folio 40 onwards probably still come from the same circle of people, but the names of who in particular provided them are no longer recorded.

Gu Guangqi is indicated as the source of only a single annotation, this note being entirely anomalous as it is the only one that appears in the space under the writing block; it is found on folio 5v, under the third column of text. Its presence at the bottom of the page is strange to start off with, as the margin here is much narrower than at the top of the page. Although difficult to perceive clearly from the facsimile, my examination of the original manuscript indicates that a vertical, oblong-shaped slip of paper has been cut from the margin above the text at this point; presumably there was text on this slip

of paper, which is why it was cut out. Gu Guangqi belongs to a later generation than the Yangzhou Poetry Club, and was regarded as the foremost editor of historic books in China of his time,<sup>1</sup> so it is difficult to imagine he would have done this. In fact, judging from the handwriting alone, this note is undoubtedly not in Gu Guangqi's own hand, but neither is it in those of Scribes A or B. The most reasonable explanation for its presence is that originally there was an annotation at this point at the top of the page written by either Scribe A or B that has been cut out and then added in the bottom margin, with Gu Guangqi's name added to give it a spurious authenticity, simply to increase the value of the manuscript when sold: any document that Gu Guangqi had perused and annotated would certainly have attracted a higher price.

On the version of the 1749 Zhang Yishu edition annotated by Bao Tingbo, included here as Facsimile 2, Bao Tingbo indicates in 1783 that his notes were added in consultation with a manuscript he had acquired from the Ma family in Yangzhou. Close comparison of his *apparatus critici* with the working manuscript reproduced here as Facsimile 1 confirms that, if not the long-lost "Ma brothers' master copy" itself, the Shanghai MS can at least be regarded as a bona fide copy of it. This must surely be further evidence that reinforces the presumed provenance of the Shanghai MS as immediately prior to the publication of the Lu edition in 1743, indicating that it was penned in Yangzhou.

In Chapter 4, comparison between the Shanghai MS and all the early modern editions of *Songs of the Whitestone Daoist*, such as the Lu edition, the Zhang edition, and the Zhu edition, revealed discrepancies in the stanzaic divisions of four of Jiang's seventeen songs for which he provided notation. Through musical analysis, I demonstrate there that the opening line of the second stanza in all the early modern editions may have been intentionally placed at the end of the first stanza in the working manuscript in order to remind the singer of the *jindou* form, in which the cadential notes of the first stanza immediately repeat at the beginning of the second. Therefore, these "unusual" stanzaic divisions are not mistakes, but indications of conventional performance practice in the Southern Song dynasty as dictated by musical factors. This comparison further underpins my observation that the working manuscript predates publication of the Lu edition.

In the early twentieth century, the Shanghai MS came into the possession of the novelist Shi Zhecun (1905–2003). His seals can be found on it at the start of the table of contents (folio 1r) and at the opening of the first fascicle (folio 4r); respectively, these read: "an Animitta Cottage collected book" 無相庵藏本; and "in the book collection of Shi Zhecun, herewith stamped" 施蛰存藏書記. On his death in 2003, the Shanghai MS was passed on to the Maple River Reading Room 楓江書屋, whose owner, Howard C. Yang, in 2006, invited Fan Jingzhong 范景中 to write an essay about the manuscript, penned in red onto the last three previously empty folios. In 2011, Howard C. Yang invited calligrapher Bai Qianshen 白謙慎 to copy another essay, this time composed by himself, onto new binding pages at the end of the volume. Also present are two slips of paper containing annotations by Shi Zhecun, one previously found stuck on folio 29v and the other stuck on the last of the binding pages inserted before the back cover; both are here moved to the end of the facsimile reproduction, but before Fan Jingzhong's essay.

1. Wang Zhongmin 王重民, *Lenglu wensou* 冷廬文叢 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1992), vol. 1, 103–16.

## Facsimile 2

### Bao Tingbo's copy of the 1749 Zhang edition

This is a copy of the 1749 Zhang Yishu edition that has been annotated by Bao Tingbo in red, yellow, and black ink. If the imprints of the 1749 Zhang edition are divided into three stages, early, middle, and late, then this imprint belongs to the middle stage. Early stage imprints of the 1749 edition do not contain Zhang Yishu's preface; instead is found a postscript written by Zhao Yuyin 趙與峇 (1213–1265) that originally appeared in a 1251 imprint of the 1202 edition, which details how the woodblocks found their way into the possession of Zhao Lingwei 趙令威, a member of the imperial family. Zhao Yuyin's postscript was copied into the Tao MS. The early imprint of the 1749 Zhang edition was published as a photolithographic facsimile by Shen Zengzhi 沈曾植 (1850–1922) in 1910. Variations between early and middle imprints of the 1749 edition not only pertain to the absence or presence of postscripts and prefaces, but also extend into the texts of the lyric songs themselves. Recent scholar Wang Shiqing 汪世清 (1916–2003) has researched the Zhang 1749 source that Xia Chengtao used, and found it to be Shen Zengzhi's facsimile.<sup>1</sup>

Compared with early stage impressions, middle stage imprints exhibit three changes: editorial alterations to the texts of the lyric songs themselves; Zhao Yuyin's postscript has been removed; and a preface by Zhang Yishu is inserted instead. In 1820, the plates for Zhang's edition were sold to Zhang Yingshi 張應時 of Shanghai, a wealthy individual who collected printing plates.<sup>2</sup> Zhang Yingshi also issued the Zhang edition with his own preface; this publication is the "late" imprint of the edition. The preface was written in the summer of 1820, and includes this passage:

This spring, a visitor came, who gave me a six-fascicle volume, *The Jiang Whitestone Lyric Song Collection*, for me to look at. The late Zhang Yishu of Danghu [i.e., Pinghu] and Yao Chunxiang [i.e., Yao Peiqian] had originally printed it. Sadly, because the plates were now worn out, and the book they had produced had had only a limited circulation, and also because my second son [Zhang] Hong was knowledgeable about lyric songs, I ordered him to submit the text to fresh editing, and then sent it for printing.

今春客有以《姜白石詞集》六卷見示，係當湖宗老漁邨老漁與姚徵士蕤香商定原刻，惜其舊板漫漶，流傳甚少，次兒鴻卓倚聲之學，因命其重加校勘，付諸剞劂。

Few copies of this edition survive, but one is in the Peking Library—it is nothing less than a "pirated" reissue of the "middle" imprint edition, but with Zhang Yingshi and his son Zhang Hong's names added to the first page of each fascicle of the text. Viewing this book, it is certainly true to say that the printing plates had worn in the meantime, especially at the corners. Zhang Yingshi's preface is also reproduced here, at the end of Facsimile 2.

From the beginning to the end of Facsimile 2, there are annotations in three colours, red, yellow, and black, as well as circular punctuation marks inserted into the text. All of these indicate that detailed editing has been applied to the text. From the perspective of handwriting, two types are evident: most consists of a rather untidy hand, probably belonging to someone of advanced age; the remainder is much neater, clearer, and squarer

1. Wang Shiqing, "Youguan Zhangke Baishi ci de liangdian buchong" 有關張刻白石詞的兩點補充, *Wenxue yichan* 文學遺產 (1963: Z12): 139–42.

2. From 1805 to 1825, Zhang Yingshi published a book series comprising seventy-two volumes under the title *Shu sanwei lou congshu* 書三味樓叢書 (Books of the Three Flavours Mansion).

in style, likely of someone younger. Often, notes in the second type are corrected and annotated by handwriting in the first, as if both a pupil and master have been at work. Neither type, though, is furnished with a name indicating who the scribe might have been. In the first hand, at the end of the first fascicle, in black, one line is written:

In the *guimao* year [1783], in the eleventh month, on the twenty-second day, from Yangzhou, a master copy was received from the Ma family for comparison and editing.

癸卯十一月廿二日，從維揚馬氏得底本校。<sup>3</sup>

At the end of the third fascicle, in black, two lines are written:

In the *guimao* year [1783], in the eleventh month, on the twenty-fourth day, on a boat in Banshan, using the master copy, the second and third fascicles are now edited, the time is *chenke* [7 a.m.–9 a.m.].

癸卯十一月廿四日，半山舟中，底本校第二、三卷。辰刻。<sup>4</sup>

At the end of the fourth fascicle, in red, two lines are written:

In the *guimao* year [1783], in the twelfth month, on the third day, the boat now moored at Yuanshang, editing from the master copy by candlelight.

癸卯十二月初三日，泊舟原上，底本校于燭下。<sup>5</sup>

At the end of the fifth fascicle, in red, one line is written:

In the *guimao* year [1783], in the twelfth month, on the twelfth day, the boat now moored for the night at Wuqing, editing using the master copy.

癸卯十二月十二日，舟次烏青，底本校。<sup>6</sup>

At the end of the supplementary fascicle, in red, one line is written:

In the *guimao* year [1783], in the twelfth month, on the fifteenth day, in the clear early morning, on the road to Linping, the editing has been completed.

癸卯十二月十五日，清曉臨平道中，校訖。<sup>7</sup>

On binding pages inserted at the end of the text a line is written, which reads: “In Daguan, belonging to the Tang family, at their Pleasing Orchid Reading Hall, a rare book, annotated by hand by Bao Luyin [Tingbo]” 大關唐氏怡蘭堂收藏秘笈鮑淥飲手校本. Tang family seals can be found on the binding pages at the front and back of the book. At the front, the three seals read: “Tang Hongxue, his seal” 唐鴻學印; “Baichuan” 百川; and “the Pleasing Orchid Reading Hall, painting and calligraphy accession stamp” 怡蘭堂書畫印. At the back, there is only one seal, which reads: “authenticated by Hongxue” 鴻學審定.

Tang Hongxue 唐鴻學 had originally come from Daguan in the province of Yunnan, and was a celebrated Sichuan book collector who died during the Second World War. Much of his book collection was taken to Britain for safekeeping, but he gave this particular volume, in 1930, to Cui Zhixiong 崔之雄 (1897–1981),<sup>8</sup> whose seals appear at the openings to the preface, the table of contents, and the first fascicle, and at the end of the supplementary fascicle. There are five seals in total, which read: “Cui reads” 崔讀; “Cui family, of Taiping, kept in the Benefits of Modesty Hall” 太平崔氏謙益堂藏; “Benefits of Modesty Hall” 謙益堂; “Cui Zhixiong, his seal” 崔之雄印; and “Cui Zhixiong” 崔之雄. Just before his death in 1981, Cui Zhixiong gave the book to his nephew Xu Wuwen 徐無聞 (1931–1993),<sup>9</sup> who added a frontispiece and in August 1982 wrote a long postscript to it; he then contacted the Sichuan People’s Publishing House, with whom an agreement was reached to publish it, though it did not finally appear until 1987.<sup>10</sup> The book passed into the hands of the publishers and, after Xu Wuwen’s death, his son Xu Li 徐立 contacted them, and searched in their library and archives for it, but could not find it—its whereabouts are now unknown.<sup>11</sup>

Bao Tingbo was a conscientious annotator of books, and his comments appear on many volumes held in libraries today. Notwithstanding Tang Hongxue’s note that the annotator of this volume was Bao Tingbo, close comparison between the comments

3. Facsimile 2, fascicle 1, fo. 7v.

4. Ibid., fascicle 3, fo. 10v.

5. Ibid., fascicle 4, fo. 11v.

6. Ibid., fascicle 5, fo. 8v.

7. Ibid., the supplementary fascicle, fo. 6v.

8. Xu Wuwen, “Ba Bao Tingbo shoujiao Zhang Yishu ben *Baishi daoren gequ*” 跋鮑廷博手校張奕樞本白石道人歌曲, *Xi’nan shifan daxue xuebao* 西南師範大學學報 (1982: 3): 110.

9. Ibid.

10. Xu Wuwen, ed., *Baishi daoren gequ* 白石道人歌曲 (Chengdu: Sichuan renmin chubanshe, 1987).

11. Private communication with Xu Li in 2009.

written here and other examples of his handwriting elsewhere (Figure 22) confirms beyond question that the older, more untidy scribe was in fact Bao Tingbo.<sup>12</sup> In a copy of *Ciyuan*,<sup>13</sup> the same duet between older and younger scribes can again be observed, which strongly indicates that the younger was a permanent assistant of some sort. With regard to this latter book, its two postscripts are by Bao Tingbo himself, and he dates them to 1811–1812.<sup>14</sup>

Bao Tingbo, courtesy name Yiwen 以文, sobriquet Luyin 淥飲, was originally from She county in the province of Anhui, but his main sphere of activity was the province of Zhejiang. Book collection, editing, and publishing were his lifelong activities, and when it came to passing books on to include in Qianlong's *The Emperor's Four Treasures*, Bao Tingbo provided more than 600 specimens. In addition, he was responsible for publishing a book series entitled *Zhibuzu zhai congshu* 知不足齋叢書 (*From the Studio of One Who Knows His Deficiencies*), which comprises 207 different volumes.<sup>15</sup> It was at the age of fifty-six in 1783 that he made his annotations to the Zhang edition; the places that he mentions in these notes (Banshan, Yuanshang, and Linping) are all situated on the route from Hangzhou (where he lived) to Tongxiang 桐鄉 (where he owned land). His assiduousness is indicated not only by the use he made of spare moments whilst on the journey, often at unusual times of the day and night, to complete his work, but also by the quantity of annotations in all: a total of some 215 to the text alone. Two were penned on separate slips of paper, included here at the end of the facsimile, followed immediately by two notes written by Tang Hongxue. With regard to the seventeen Jiang Kui lyric songs that survive in musical notation, he made seventy-one corrections to these, and also six amendments to the *qin* tablature *Ancient Complaint*. Even though the total number of annotations nears 300, he does not at any point bring these together into a theoretical framework in order to give an overall perspective to his work. In this context, significantly, after 1796, when he came to publish his own *Songs of the Whitestone Daoist*, it was to the 1743 Lu edition that he finally turned, reproducing it character for character in pristine accuracy. Surely, this is evidence enough of where, in his final years, his loyalty lay. In addition, Bao Tingbo has here also provided us with crucial evidence helping identify the Shanghai MS as the important primary source that Lu used to prepare his edition in Yangzhou.

12. Further samples of Bao Tingbo's handwriting can be found in Ji Qiuhua 季秋華, ed., *Zhi buzai zhai xuba tiji jilu* 知不足齋序跋題記集錄 (Beijing: Guojia tushuguan chubanshe, 2010).

13. Bao Tingbo's copy of *Ciyuan* in the rare book section of the Shanghai Library (call number: 787519).

14. Further bibliographical information on the book can be found in Pan Jingzheng 潘景鄭, *Zhuyuan lou shuba* 著硯樓書跋 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2006), 336.

15. Bao Tingbo, ed., *Zhibuzu zhai congshu* 知不足齋叢書 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1990), 10 vols.



## Facsimile 3

### Tracing copy of Jiang Bingyan's manuscript

This facsimile reproduces a tracing copy made by Shen Yunzhai in late 1913 of a manuscript written by Jiang Bingyan in 1737. Originally, the written section of the volume occupied a total of fifty-five folios; each page was 22.4 cm × 17.8 cm in size. As white pages have been inserted between the written pages that jut out at the top and bottom, when these are taken into account, the overall height becomes 27.8 cm. A traditional string-bound volume, the front and back covers are of “tiger-skin” paper, which has a characteristic mottled appearance. On the front cover, the title *Songs of the Whitestone Daoist* appears in a larger handwritten script, underneath which and smaller in size are the words “Ganfeng Mansion, a handwritten copy” 感峰樓鈔本, Ganfeng Mansion being Shen Yunzhai's residence. On the fifty-fifth folio is a note written by Shen Yunzhai: “In the *guichou* year, the eleventh month [November 28, 1913–December 26, 1913], this tracing copy was made by borrowing Old Man of Qiangcun's [i.e., Zhu Zumou's] manuscript, as is noted here by Yunzhai” 癸丑冬月，假彊邨老人藏本景鈔，韻齋誌. Important confirmation that the exemplar of this tracing copy was in Jiang Bingyan's hand and that also, in passing, affirms Shen Yunzhai's skill as a copyist can be found in a copy of Song dynasty Zhou Mi's *Juemiao haoci* (*Surpassingly Fine Lyric Songs*), held by the Palace Museum in Taipei (Figure 23). This book is annotated by Jiang Bingyan himself and signed by him, all in the same handwriting as that so perfectly reproduced by Shen Yunzhai in his tracing copy of *The Songs of the Whitestone Daoist* (Facsimile 3).

Shen Yunzhai's seals are to be found on folios 1r, 2r, 4r, and 53v. These translate as “Shen” 沈; “long live Yunzhai” 韻齋長壽; “happy to read all the time” 且喜六時常見書; “a handwritten copy by Shen Yunzhai” 沈韻齋手寫本; “treasured in the Ten Thousand Volumes Mansion of the Shen family of Wuxing” 吳興沈氏萬卷樓珍藏; and “Zong Studio” 宗庵. In the Republican period, Shen Yunzhai's books found their way into the possession of an engineer called Cao Datie 曹大鐵 (1916–2009), who lived in Changshu; his seals are found on folios 1r, 2r, 3v, 53v, and 55r. These translate as “Water Chestnut Flower Studio” 菱華館; “Cao Datie, his accession stamp” 曹大鐵圖書記; “Cao Datie, his accession stamp” (the same words, but a different stamp) 曹大鐵圖書記; “Cao Ding of Wu Prefecture” 吳郡曹鼎; “Gentleman Datie” 大鐵父 (these last two are found on both folios 3v and 53v); “Cao Ding of Wu Prefecture” 吳郡曹鼎 (a different and larger stamp); and “books collected by the Cao family of Yushan” 虞山曹氏收藏圖書. After the Cultural Revolution, many of Cao Datie's books, including this one, were sold to Wu Jian'gang 吳建鋼. Wu Jian'gang's seals are found on folios 2r and 55r, and translate as “viewed by Jian'gang” 建鋼過眼; “Spring Breeze Cottage” 春風廬; and “collected by Wu Jian'gang” 吳建鋼藏. In 2007, the volume was sold at a Shanghai Jiatai Auction (December 12, 2007, lot 1207) to art historian and book collector Fan Jingzhong and his wife, Zhou Xiaoying 周小英, whose seals are to be found on folios 53r and 55v; these read “handwritten by Shutian of Hangzhou” 古杭書田手寫; “Vaidūryanirbhāsā shrine” 淨琉璃室; and “Fan Jingzhong and Zhou Xiaoying, husband and wife, their stamp” 范景中周小英夫婦印.

Once they had purchased the manuscript, Fan Jingzhong and Zhou Xiaoying used a copy of the Zhu Zumou edition to make a meticulous comparison between it and their

newly acquired possession, and Zhou Xiaoying has detailed the variations in red ink on the manuscript. Sometime between 1922 and 1932, salt-levy official Wang Jingyu 汪景玉 copied the works of ten different Song dynasty song lyricists, including Jiang Kui; his index of this endeavour gives the Jiang Bingyan manuscript as the source he used for Jiang Kui.<sup>1</sup> Using Wang Jingyu's copy, Fan Jingzhong and Zhou Xiaoying have made further comparisons with their manuscript and written a second, fresh set of annotations on it in red ink. On the binding page at the front of the volume are three notes by Zhou Xiaoying concerning Jiang Bingyan and Shen Yunzhai. In addition, on folios 53v and 55v, Zhou Xiaoying has penned four different postscripts of different lengths; the third of these, probably written in 2011, reads:

Having gone through a process of editorial comparison, it can only be lamented that the Jiang [Bingyan] manuscript has now become three different versions, and the Tao MS original that was in the collection of Lou Yan is now, more than ever, "yesteryear, the moon's loveliness."

校罷掩卷，不禁慨其江鈔已成三影，樓鈔祖本更是「舊時月色」矣。

If Wang Jingyu had in fact copied directly from Jiang Bingyan, then a level of discrepancies such as to warrant Zhou Xiaoying's assessment would seem unlikely. My close comparison with an array of possible alternatives Wang Jingyu might have employed instead has revealed that his source was an 1888 publication by Wang Pengyun entitled *Whitestone Lyric Songs*.<sup>2</sup> With this book as his original, Wang Jingyu now proves himself to be a highly skilled craftsman whose copying is absolutely faithful. Wang Pengyun's edition does not take Jiang Bingyan's handwritten copy as its source either, but is grounded instead in the 1743 Lu edition (though some of the contents are omitted); thus, discrepancies between Wang Jingyu's copy and the Jiang Bingyan manuscript should not be at all surprising.

1. Wang Jingyu, ed., *Jingji lu liang Song shijia ci* 靜寄廬兩宋十家詞, a manuscript kept in Shanghai Library (call number: 577189).

2. Wang Pengyun, ed., *Siyin zhai suo ke ci*, 161–78.

# Poems Translated

## Lyric songs

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*Shuying* 疏影 (苔枝綴玉), by Jiang Kui, 3-4  
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## Other poetry

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“Ji Yangzhou Han Chuo panguan” 寄揚州韓綽判官, by Du Mu, 35  
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# Chinese Terms

*Anxiang* 暗香

Bai Juyi 白居易 (772–846)

Bai Qianshen 白謙慎

Baichuan 百川, *see* Tang Hongxue

Baishi 白石, *see* Jiang Kui

“Baishi cibü” 白石詞補

*Baishi cichao* 白石詞抄

*Baishi ciji* 白石詞集

*Baishi daoren gequ* 白石道人歌曲

Ban Gu 班固 (32–92)

“Banben Kao” 版本考

Banshan 半山

Bao Tingbo 鮑廷博 (1728–1814)

Bao Yiyun 鮑倚雲 (1708–1778)

Baoying 寶應

Bingzhou 并州

*boxue hongci* 博學鴻詞

Cangchun 藏春, *see* Liu Bingzhong

Cao Bingzeng 曹炳曾 (1660–1733)

Cao Datie 曹大鐵 (1916–2009)

Cao Ding 曹鼎, *see* Cao Datie

Cao Yuanzhong 曹元忠 (1865–1923)

Cao Zu 曹組 (*jinshi* degree 1121)

Caochuang 草窗, *see* Zhou Mi

*Caotang shiyu* 草堂詩餘

*Caotang shiyu bieji* 草堂詩餘別集

*ceshang* 側商

*chanling* 纏令

Chang'an 長安

Changgu 昌谷, *see* Li He

Changli 昌黎, *see* Han Yu

Changshu 常熟

*Changtingyuan* 長亭怨

Changzhou 常州

Chaonan 巢南, *see* Cao Bingzeng

Chen Fangke 陳方恪 (1891–1966)

Chen Feishi 陳匪石 (1884–1959)

Chen Li 陳澧 (1810–1882)

Chen Tingzhuo 陳廷焯 (1853–1892)

Chen Weisong 陳維崧 (1625–1682)

Chen Yuanlong 陳元龍 (1652–1736)

Chen Yunping 陳雲平

Chen Zengshou 陳曾壽 (1878–1949)

Chen Zhang 陳章 (1696–1757)

Chen Zhensun 陳振孫 (active 1211–1249)

Chen Zhuan 陳撰 (1686–1758)

Cheng Lai-chun 張麗真

Cheng Mengxing 程夢星 (1678–1747)

*Chenghuai lu* 澄懷錄

Chengzhai 誠齋, *see* Yang Wanli

Chongyang 重陽

*Chuci jiezhu* 楚辭節注

Chunfeng lu 春風廬

*Chunfu ji* 春晷集

Chunxi 淳熙 (1174–1189)

Chunxiang 純香, *see* Yao Peiqian

*ci* 詞

*Cilin wanxuan* 詞林萬選

*Cilü* 詞律

*cipai* 詞牌

*cipu* 詞譜

*Ciyuan* 詞源

*Cizong* 詞綜

Cui Zhixiong 崔之雄 (1897–1981)

Dade 大德 (1297–1307)

Daguan 大關

*Dasong Xuanhe yishi* 大宋宣和遺事

Dai Han 戴瀚 (*jinshi* degree 1723)

Dai Mingshi 戴名世 (1653–1713)

Danghu 當湖, *see* Pinghu

*Danhuangliu* 淡黃柳

Danlü 澹慮, *see* Wang Dong

Daoguang 道光, Emperor (Qing, r. 1820–1850)

Deng Tingzhen 鄧廷楨 (1775–1846)

*Dianjiangchun* 點絳脣

*Dianya ci* 典雅詞

Dong Qichang 董其昌 (1555–1636)

Dong Yuan 董源 (c. 934–c. 962)

Dongfu 東夫, *see* Xiao Dezhao

Dongpo 東坡, *see* Su Shi

Dongye 東野, *see* Meng Jiao

*douxu* 斗宿

Du Fu 杜甫 (712–770)

Du Mu 杜牧 (803–852)

Du Wenlan 杜文瀾 (1815–1881)

Du Zhao 杜詔 (1666–1736)

*Dushu tang xizheng suibi* 讀書堂西征隨筆

*Eyunshe* 遏雲社

*Faqu Xianxianyin* 法曲獻仙音

Fan Chengda 范成大 (1126–1193)

Fan Jingzhong 范景中

Fan Shijie 范世杰

Fan Ye 范曄 (398–445)

Fanxie 樊榭, *see* Li E

Fang Shijie 方士虔 (1697–?)

Fang Shishu 方士庶 (1692–1751)

Fangweng 放翁, *see* Lu You

Fengcheng 豐城

Fengjiang shuwu 楓江書屋

Fu Zeng 符曾 (1688–1764)

Fu Zengxiang 傅增湘 (1872–1949)

Fuweng 涪翁, *see* Huang Tingjian

Gai'an 改庵, *see* Wu Chunhuan

Ganfeng lou 感峰樓

Gao Guanguo 高觀國

Gao Shiyi 高世異

Gaozong 高宗, Emperor (Song, r. 1127–1162)

*ge* 隔

*gong* 宮

*gongche* 工尺

Gongjin 公謹, *see* Zhou Mi

Gu Guangqi 顧廣圻 (1766–1835)

*Gujin citong* 古今詞統

*Guyuan* 古怨

Guan Tong 闕仝 (c. 906–960)

*Guangyun* 廣韻

Guangzong 光宗, Emperor (Song, r. 1189–1194)

Guo Xiliang 郭錫良

Guo Zhongshu 郭忠恕 (?–977)

Han Yu 韓愈 (768–824)

Hanjiang yaji 韓江雅集

Hanjiang 韓江/邗江

Hanlao 漢老, *see* Li Bing

Hanlin 翰林

*Hanmo quanshu* 翰墨全書

Hanyang 漢陽

Hang Shijun 杭世駿 (1696–1773)

Hangzhou 杭州

*haomai* 豪邁

He Xun 何遜 (480–520)

Hepu 合浦

Ho Kang-ming 何耿明

Hong Zhenke 洪振珂

Houcun 後村, *see* Liu Kezhuang

*Houcun shihua* 後村詩話

Hu Qiheng 胡期恒 (1668–1745)

Hua'an 花庵, *see* Huang Sheng

*Hua'an cixuan* 花庵詞選

*Huacao cuibian* 花草粹編

Huan Wen 桓溫 (312–373)

*huantou* 換頭

Huang Dayu 黃大輿 (active 1122–1139)

Huang Gongwang 黃公望 (1269–1354)

Huang Sheng 黃昇 (active 1200–1249)

Huang Tingjian 黃庭堅 (1045–1105)

Huang Zhijun 黃之雋 (1668–1748)

*huangzhong* 黃鍾

Huizong 徽宗, Emperor (Song, r. 1100–1126)

Huzhou 湖州

Jiguge 汲古閣

Jia Dao 賈島 (779–843)

Jiaqing 嘉慶, Emperor (Qing, r. 1796–1820)

Jiaxing 嘉興

Jiaxuan 稼軒, *see* Xin Qiji

Jiang Bingyan 江炳炎 (c. 1679–?)

Jiang Jie 蔣捷 (*jinshi* degree 1278)

Jiang Kui 姜夔 (c. 1155–c. 1221)

Jiangdu 江都

Jiaozhi 交趾

*jindou* 巾斗/筋斗

*jindou ti* 巾斗體

Jinfu 今涪, *see* Zhang Yishu

*Jinlüqu* 金縷曲

Jinpu 堇浦, *see* Hang Shijun

Jing Hao 荆浩 (c. 855–915)

Jingliuli shi 淨琉璃室

Jingsi 敬思, *see* Lou Yan

*Jiuri xing'an wenyan tu* 九日行庵文讌圖

*Juemiao haoci* 絕妙好詞

*Juemiao haoci jian* 絕妙好詞箋

*Jueshao* 角招

Junfu 君復, *see* Lin Bu

Juran 巨然 (c. 932–?)

Kangxi 康熙, Emperor (Qing, r. 1661–1722)

Ke Chongpu 柯崇樸 (active 1679–1704)

Ke Yu 柯煜 (1666–1736)

Kuang Zhouyi 況周頤 (1859–1926)

*kunqu* 崑曲

Langxian 閻仙, *see* Jia Dao

Lau Chor-wah 劉楚華

Lei Huan 雷煥 (265–334)

Lenghong 冷紅, *see* Jiang Bingyan

Li Bai 李白 (701–762)

Li Bing 李邕 (1085–1146)

Li E 厲鶚 (1692–1752)

Li He 李賀 (790–816)

Li Penglao 李彭老 (active 1258)

Li Shangyin 李商隱 (813–858)

Li Shengduo 李盛鐸 (1859–1934)

Li Sixun 李思訓 (651–716)

Li Yu 李煜 (c. 937–978)

Li Zhaodao 李昭道 (675–758)

Li Zhonghua 李重華 (1682–1755)

Li Zongwan 勵宗萬 (1705–1759)

*Liao shi shiyi* 遼史拾遺

*Lidai shiyu* 歷代詩餘

Lin Bu 林逋 (968–1028)

Lin'an 臨安, *see* Hangzhou

Linping 臨平

Lintong 臨潼

Ling Tingkan 凌廷堪 (1757–1809)

*ling* 令

Linghua guan 菱華館



*Lingnan ji* 嶺南集

Liu Bingzhong 劉秉忠 (1216–1274)

Liu Guo 劉過 (1154–1206)

Liu Ji 劉基 (1311–1375)

Liu Kezhuang 劉克莊 (1187–1269)

Liu Yiqing 劉義慶 (403–444)

Liu Yong 柳永 (987–1053)

Liu Yongji 劉永濟 (1887–1966)

Liu Zongyuan 柳宗元 (773–819)

*Lixiang kaocheng* 曆象考成

Long Yusheng 龍榆生 (1902–1966)

Longzhou 龍洲, *see* Liu Guo

Lou Cai 樓采

Lou Yan 樓儼 (1669–1745)

Lu Kai 陸凱 (5th century)

Lu Pei 陸培 (1686–1752)

Lu Shiyong 陸時雍 (*gongsheng* degree 1633)

Lu Tong 盧仝 (c. 795–835)

Lu You 陸游 (1125–1210)

Lu Zhonghui 陸鍾輝 / 陸鍾微 (?–1761)

Lu Zugao 盧祖皋 (c. 1174–1224)

Luxiang 鱸香, *see* Yao Peiqian

Luyin 淶飲, *see* Bao Tingbo

Luzhai 魯齋, *see* Xu Heng

*Lülü yuanyuan* 律曆淵源

*Lülü zhengyi* 律呂正義

*Lülü zhengyi houbian* 律呂正義後編

Luo Zhenchang 羅振常 (1875–1942)

Ma Duanlin 馬端臨 (1254–1323)

Ma Yuan 馬遠 (1160–1225)

Ma Yueguan 馬曰琯 (1688–1755)

Ma Yuelu 馬曰璐 (1701–1761)

*Manjianghong* 滿江紅

Mao Jin 毛晉 (1599–1659)

Mao Qiling 毛奇齡 (1623–1716)

Mao Yi 毛扆 (1640–1713)

*Maofeng zhenyin manlu* 鄭峯真隱漫錄

*Meifu* 眉嫵

Meipan 梅泮, *see* Wang Zao

*Meiyuan* 梅苑

Meng Jiao 孟郊 (751–814)

Mengchuang 夢窗, *see* Wu Wenying

Mi Fu 米芾 (1051–1107)

Mi Youren 米友仁 (1074–1153)

Miao Sengbao 繆僧保 (1893–?)

Min Hua 閔華 (1697–after 1773)

Mojie 摩詰, *see* Wang Wei

*Mushanxi* 驀山溪

Naideweng 耐得翁

Nalan Xingde 納蘭性德 (1655–1685)

Nan Lian yuanchi 南蓮園池

*Nan Song yuanyuan lu* 南宋院畫錄

*Nan Song zashi shi* 南宋雜事詩

Nancun 南邨, *see* Tao Zongyi

*Nanjin jiwenlu* 南燴紀聞錄

Nanqi 南圻, *see* Lu Zhonghui

*Nanshan ji* 南山集

Ni Zan 倪瓚 (1301–1374)

Nian Gengyao 年羹堯 (1679–1726)

Ningbo 寧波

Ningzong 寧宗, Emperor (Song, r. 1194–1224)

*Nishang zhongxu diyi* 霓裳中序第一

*niuxiu* 牛宿

Ouyang Xiu 歐陽修 (1007–1072)

Ouyu 藕漁, *see* Yan Shengsun

*pipa* 琵琶

Pinghu 平湖

Poyang 鄱陽

Pujian 蒲江, *see* Lu Zugao

*Pushuting ji* 曝書亭集

Puyi 溥儀 (1906–1967)

Qian Qianyi 錢謙益 (1582–1664)

Qian Xiwu 錢希武

Qian Zeng 錢曾 (1629–1701)

Qian Zhongshu 錢鍾書 (1910–1998)

Qianli 千里, *see* Gu Guangqi

Qianlong 乾隆, Emperor (Qing, r. 1735–1796)

Qiantang 錢塘

Qianyi tang 謙益堂

Qiangcun laoren 彊邨老人, *see* Zhu Zumou

Qiao Ji 喬汲 (*juren* degree 1723)

Qiao Lai 喬萊 (1642–1694)

Qiao Yi 喬憶 (1702–1788)

Qimen 祁門

Qin Gengnian 秦更年 (1885–1956)

Qin Guan 秦觀 (1049–c. 1100)

*qin* 琴

Qinchuan 琴川

*Qinding cipu* 欽定詞譜

*qinqiang* 秦腔

Qinzong 欽宗, Emperor (Song, r. 1126–1127)

*qingkong* 清空

Qingzhen 清真, *see* Zhou Bangyan

*Qiu huai* 秋懷

*Qiuxiaoyin* 秋宵吟

Quan Zuwang 全祖望 (1705–1755)

*Qülü* 曲律

Ruanweng 阮翁, *see* Wang Shizhen

*Shahe yilao xiaogao* 沙河逸老小稿

Shan'gu 山谷, *see* Huang Tingjian

*Shanzhong baiyun ci* 山中白雲詞

*shang* 商

Shangyin 商隱, *see* Li Penglao

Shaoling 少陵, *see* Du Fu

Shexian 歙縣

Shen Jifei 沈際飛

Shen Shuyong 沈樹鏞 (1832–1873)

Shen Yanmou 沈燕謀 (1891–1971)

Shen Yifu 沈義父 (*juren* degree 1222)

Shen Yunzhai 沈韻齋

Shen Zengzhi 沈曾植 (1850–1922)

Shen Zufen 沈祖棻 (1909–1977)

Shengmei 聖梅, *see* Yu Lan

Shengyu 聖與, *see* Wang Yisun

*shi* 詩

*shi* 實

Shi Dazhu 史達祖 (1163–c. 1220)

Shi Hao 史浩 (1106–1194)

Shi Zhecun 施蛰存 (1905–2003)

*Shi'er dongtian meihua ce* 十二洞天梅花冊

*Shilin guangji* 事林廣記

*Shishuo* 詩說

*Shishuo xinyu* 世說新語

*Shiyu tupu* 詩餘圖譜

Shouning tang 壽寧堂

“Shu Baishi yuefu hou” 書白石樂府後

*Shu sanwei lou congshu* 書三味樓叢書

*Shuli* 黍離

*Shuli jingyun* 數理精蘊

Shutian 書田, *see* Zhou Xiaoying

Shuyang 叔暘, *see* Huang Sheng

*Shuying* 疏影

*Song shi jishi* 宋詩紀事

Song Xiangfeng 宋翔鳳 (1776–1860)

Songgui dushu tang 松桂讀書堂, *see* Yao Peiqian

Songjiang 松江

Songling 松陵

Sou Si-tai 蘇思棣

Su Shi 蘇軾 (1037–1101)

*su* 俗

Taihong 太鴻, *see* Li E

Taiping 太平

Tang Hongxue 唐鴻學

Tang Jianzhong 唐建中 (?–1745)

*Tangshi jing* 唐詩鏡

*Tanlong lu* 談龍錄

Tao Zongyi 陶宗儀 (1329–1412)

*Tengxiao ji* 騰笑集

Tianmen 天門

Tianpu 恬浦, *see* Lu Pei

Tongxiang 桐鄉

*Tupu* 圖譜, *see* *Shiyu tupu*

Wan Shu 萬樹 (1630–1688)

Wansong 晚松, *see* Zhou Quan

Wang Dong 汪棟 (1710–1738)

Wang Guowei 王國維 (1877–1927)

Wang Jingqi 汪景祺 (1672–1726)

Wang Jingyu 汪景玉

Wang Long 汪澄 (1669–1742)

Wang Meng 王蒙 (c. 1308–1385)

Wang Pengyun 王鵬運 (1849–1904)

Wang Shiqing 汪世清 (1916–2003)

Wang Shizhen 王士禎 (1634–1711)

Wang Wan 汪琬 (1624–1691)

Wang Wei 王維 (699–759)

Wang Xi 王熙 (1628–1703)

Wang Yisun 王沂孫 (c. 1230–c. 1291)

Wang Yiting 王一亭 (1867–1938)

Wang Yushu 汪玉樞

Wang Zao 王藻

Wang Zengxiang 王曾祥 (1699–1756)

Wang Zhaojun 王昭君 (c. 51–15 BCE)

Wei Yingwu 韋應物 (737–792)

Weicang 緯蒼, *see* Zhou Quan

Weisheng 薇省, *see* Bao Yiyun

Wen Tianxiang 文天祥 (1236–1283)

Wen Tingyun 溫庭筠 (812–879)

*Wenhui tu shuhua hebi* 文會圖書畫合璧

*Wenyuan'ge shumu* 文淵閣書目

Wu Changshi 吳昌碩 (1844–1927)

Wu Changshou 吳昌綬 (*juren* degree 1897)

Wu Chunhuan 吳淳還 (active 1725)

Wu Jian'gang 吳建鋼

Wu Shichang 吳世昌 (1908–1986)

Wu Wenying 吳文英 (1207–1269)

Wu Zhen 吳鎮 (1280–1354)

Wu Zimu 吳自牧

Wujiang 吳江

Wuling 武陵

Wuqing 烏青

Wusong 吳淞

Wutang 唐堂, *see* Huang Zhijun

Wutang 武塘

Wuxiang an 無相庵, *see* Shi Zhecun

*Wuxing zhanggulu* 吳興掌故錄

Xihe 西河, *see* Mao Qiling

*Xijingyue* 西江月

Xilu 西麓, *see* Chen Yunping

Xia Chengtao 夏承燾 (1900–1986)

Xia Gui 夏圭 (c. 1195–1224)

Xia Suntong 夏孫桐 (1857–1941)

*Xianzhe xuan tiekao* 閒者軒帖考

Xiang 湘

Xianghai xuan 香海軒

*xiao* 簫

Xiao Dezao 蕭德藻 (*jinsi* degree 1151)

Xiaoshan tang 小山堂, *see* Zhao Yiqing

Xiaoshan 嘯山, *see* Zhang Wenhui

Xiaozong 孝宗, Emperor (Song, r. 1162–1189)

Xie Tianrui 謝天瑞

Xie Zhangting 謝章铤 (1820–1903)

Xiegu 嶧谷, *see* Ma Yueguan

Xin Qiji 辛棄疾 (1140–1207)

Xing'an 行庵

Xiushui 秀水

Xu Angxiao 許昂霄 (c. 1680–1751)

Xu Heng 許衡 (1209–1281)

Xu Li 徐立

Xu Wuwen 徐無聞 (1931–1993)

Xu Zeng 許增 (1824–1903)

*xu* 虛

Xuzhai 虛齋, *see* Zhao Yifu

*ya* 雅

*yabili* 啞筆策

Yan Shengsun 嚴繩孫 (1623–1702)

Yan Shu 晏殊 (991–1055)

*Yan'ermei* 眼兒媚

Yan'guan 鹽官

Yannan 研南, *see* Jiang Bingyan

Yantong 彦通, *see* Chen Fangke

Yang Danian 楊大年 (974–1020)

Yang, Howard C. 楊崇和

Yang Shen 楊慎 (1488–1559)

Yang Wanli 楊萬里 (1127–1206)

*Yangchun Baixue* 陽春白雪

*Yangzhou man* 揚州慢

Yangzhou 揚州

Yao Peiqian 姚培謙 (1693–1766)

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Yaolin 藥林, *see* Fu Zeng

Yaozhang 堯章, *see* Jiang Kui

Ye Fanglin 葉芳林

Yilan tang 怡蘭堂

Yiwen 以文, *see* Bao Tingbo

Yongzheng 雍正, Emperor (Qing, r. 1820–1850)

You Mao 尤袤 (1125–1194)

Youlu 幼魯, *see* Fu Zeng

Yu Ji 余集 (1738–1823)

Yu Lan 俞蘭 (early 18th century)

Yu Pingbo 俞平伯 (1900–1990)

Yu Xin 庾信 (513–581)

Yuchuan 玉川, *see* Lu Tong

Yujing 玉井, *see* Min Hua

Yushan 虞山

Yutian 玉田, *see* Zhang Yan

Yuxi 玉溪, *see* Li Shangyin

Yuan Kewen 袁克文 (1889–1931)

Yuan Shikai 袁世凱 (1859–1916)

*Yuanchengshuang* 願成雙

*Yuanliyuan* 圓裏圓

Yuanshang 原上

Yue 越

*Yuefu buti* 樂府補題

*Yuefu zhimi* 樂府指迷

*Yuexiadi* 月下笛

*zaju* 雜劇

Zeng Shican 曾時燦 (active 1718)

Zhai Zhangyun 翟張雲

Zhang Hong 張鴻

Zhang Hua 張華 (232–300)

Zhang Huiyan 張惠言 (1761–1802)

Zhang Jian 張鑒 (?–1203)

Zhang Jinfu 張今涪

Zhang Qijin 張其錦

Zhang Sike 張四科 (1711–?)

Zhang Weichi 張惟赤 (*jinshi* degree 1655)

Zhang Wenhui 張文虎 (1808–1885)

Zhang Wuniu 張五牛

Zhang Yan 張炎 (1248–1320)

Zhang Yingshi 張應時

Zhang Yishu 張奕樞 (1691–c. 1758)

Zhang Zaihua 張載華 (1718–?)

Zhang Zao 張藻 (?–1093)

Zhang Zaogong 章藻功 (active 1711)

Zhang Zongsu 張宗櫟 (1705–1775)

Zhao Boju 趙伯駒 (1120–1182)

Zhao Bosu 趙伯驢 (1124–1182)

Zhao Gan 趙幹 (active c. 960–975)

Zhao Lingwei 趙令威

Zhao Wenli 趙聞禮 (active 1247)

Zhao Yifu 趙以夫 (1189–1256)

Zhao Yiqing 趙一清 (1709–1764)

Zhao Yu 趙昱 (1689–1747)

Zhao Yuyin 趙與峕 (1213–1265)

Zhao Zhixin 趙執信 (1662–1744)

Zhedong 浙東

Zhexi 浙西

*Zhezhibing getou* 柘枝令歌頭

*Zhezhibing* 柘枝令

Zhenzhou 真州

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Zhishun 至順 (1330–1333)

Zhiyuan 至元 (1335–1340)

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*Zhongxing juemiao cixuan* 中興絕妙詞選

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Zhou Gengyu 周耕餘

Zhou Ji 周濟 (1781–1839)

Zhou Mi 周密 (1232–1298)

Zhou Quan 周銓

Zhou Wujue 周無覺

Zhou Xiaoying 周小英

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Zhu Zumou 朱祖謀 (1857–1931)

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*Zhuli kanshu tu* 竹里勘書圖

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*zhuan* 賺

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