

Chapter 2: Gu Yanwu (1). The Revival of Philology, and Early Qing

Scholarly Sociality

“Of those reputed to be the grounded in our national learning,
Gu Yanwu was the greatest” 國朝稱學有根底者以炎武為最。

Ruan Yuan 阮元 (1764–1849)¹

2.1 Scholarly Legacy

Gu Yanwu is justly credited with being the chief inspiration behind the Qing dynasty evidential research movement. He is venerated for his foundational studies in historical phonology, strict example of rigorous philological handling of texts, and broad historical vision. His inspiring methodological precedents in many disciplines impelled the maturation and sophistication of later Qing classicists, including most prominently Qian Daxin 錢大昕 (1728–1804), and Zhang Taiyan 章太炎 (1869–1936), who openly confessed their distant discipleship. Minor figures may have been less vocal, but equally impacted. An example I especially appreciate is set by Sun Xidan 孫希旦 (1736–1784), the most authoritative Qing commentator on the *Records of Ritualists* 禮記. In Sun’s short exegesis of the “Testamentary Charge” 顧命 chapter of the *Esteemed Documents*, he revealed his debt to Gu’s methodological imperative: “Recently I followed the advice of Mr. Gu from Tinglin to repeatedly consult the texts of the classics and then conduct research on them.” 近因亭林顧氏之說，取經文反覆而推究焉。² Gu’s work in history and historical geography was especially influential, and was greatly benefited by his use of ancient stone inscriptions that he had largely collected himself in the field, a discipline to be more closely examined in chapter 3 below. We will find that, in several ways, his inspiration both for travel and the collection of historical materials may be traced to the earlier precedent of Sima Qian 司馬遷 (ca. BC 145/135–86), the grand historian of early China and father of Chinese historiography.

Liang Qichao 梁啟超 (1873–1929), borrows Gu’s own motto taken from the *Analects* to characterize Gu: “In one’s own conduct avoid what is shameful” 行己有恥 and “Be broadly learned in letters” 博學於文. Liang interprets the former as the foundation of character, and the latter as the foundation of learning, hence he most venerated Gu for being a master of the classics as well as a master model for others.³ Zhang Shunhui 張舜徽 (1911–1992) characterizes Gu’s scholarship as following along the lines of the great classicists of the Han dynasty such as Sima Qian, Yang Xiong 揚雄 (B.C. 53–18 A.D.), Liu Xiang 劉向 (B.C. 77–6 A.D.), and Zheng Xuan 鄭玄 (127–200); it is that of the polymaths (*botong* 博通) rather than that of the specialists (*zhuanjing* 專精) who occupied regius chairs at the state academy, or the “Erudite Scholars of the Five Classics” (*wujing boshi* 五經

¹ Ruan Yuan, *Guoshi rulin zhuan*, in QCNP, 5:693.

² Sun Xidan, “*Shangshu* ‘Guming’ jie” 尚書顧命解 in *Liji jijie* 禮記集解, 3: 1477.

³ Liang Qichao, *Zhongguo jin sanbainian xueshushi* 中國近三百年學術史 (Taipei: LirenShuju, 1995), 85.

博士).⁴ Zhang Shunhui also credits Gu's success as a scholar to four extra-intellectual factors: First, he was always busy copying books, which not only aided his memory but allowed him to isolate the central facts and arguments of many works to stimulate inspiration for his own compositions. Second, he was always on the move, travelling about inspecting sites that enriched his general store of knowledge; this also allowed the theories and conclusions of books to be integrated with practical experience. Third, he was good at making use of his time, taking the opportunity to study each day; he would even recite passages from the classics and other works while travelling on horseback. And fourth, he was good at making friends, who were helpful in facilitating his research.⁵

None of the great achievements of Gu underscored by the authorities cited above could have been accomplished without one fundamental factor. As formulated by Qian Mu: "Of the various elders at the end of the Ming, most of them still remained within the boundaries of rational learning; they investigated the mind and explained human nature. Only Tinglin was different. This is the outstanding aspect of Gu." 明末諸老，尚多守理學藩籬，究言心性，獨亭林不然。此亭林之卓。⁶ Gu's was able to step outside of the theoretical framework of rational learning (*lixue* 理學) by parsing the term in its fundamental grammatical construction of adverb/verb: "reasoned learning," or "learning by means of the mind," i.e. "learning predicated on reasoning or ratiocination" rather than "learning focused on rational principles" as understood commencing during the Song period.⁷ He once explained this in a letter:

The transmission of rational learning is naturally the patrimony of your household, sir. Yet I alone assume that the name rational learning started with men during the Song using it. Hence, what is so-called rational learning is actually classical scholarship, something that cannot be mastered without spending several decades....What is now termed rationale learning is actually the learning of Zen.

理學之傳，自是君家弓冶。然愚獨以為禮學之名，自宋人始有之。故之所謂禮學，非數十年不能通也.....今之所謂禮學，禪學也。⁸

Gu did not expand on this seemingly off-hand comment contained in this letter, but it does provide a rationale for explaining his disdain for Song Neo-Confucian classical scholarship on historical grounds, even above his prioritizing of practical and applied scholarship over the empty and impractical theorizing in the Song style. By vacating the contemporary ethereal realm of the theoretical and landing firmly on the onrushing ground of the practical, Gu was able to provide refreshingly concrete scholarly achievements developed out of newly formed methodologies, both of which exerted a powerful effect on his followers. But methodological innovation is a less accurate

⁴ Zhang Shunhui, *Gu Tingling xueji* 顧亭林學記. *Zhang Shunhui ji* 張舜徽集 (Wuhan: Huazhong Shifan Daxue, 2005), 219-20.

⁵ Zhang Shunhui, *Gu Tinglin xueji*, 223-24.

⁶ Qian, *Zhongguo jin sanbainian xueshushi*, 1:137.

⁷ See further Wang Xuequn 汪学群, "Qingdai juan" 清代卷, in *Zhongguo Ruxueshi* 中國儒學史 (Beijing: Beijing Daxue Chubanshe, 2011), 219-22.

⁸ Gu, *Gu Yanwu quanji*, 21:127.

characterization than adaption. The following assessment of the great medieval polymath Joseph Scaliger by Anthony Grafton may be applied with equal validity to Gu Yanwu:

Scaliger worked for the most part in two well-established fields of study: classical philology and historical chronology. In each he drew heavily on the works of predecessors and rivals. In each, his innovations consisted less in the invention of wholly new methods—though he was inventive—than in the combination of methods that had normally been employed separately and in the enrichment of one discipline with ideas and approaches drawn from others. His intellectual biography, then, is less a story of creation from scratch than one of creative adaption.⁹

Gu himself also worked in two well established fields, that of classical scholarship and historical criticism. The Ming system of education was ideally designed to train graduate students (*shengyuan* 生員), those who have passed the county-wide exams, to become learned scholars; the curriculum therefore should be focused on classical learning and government service. He once described these desiderata as follows: “One must select those who have mastered the Five Classics and afterwards fill the ranks of officialdom; then teach them the twenty-one dynastic histories and the duties of managing current affairs and afterwards promote them.” 必選夫五經兼通者而後充之，又課之以二十一史與當世之務而升之。¹⁰ Unfortunately, the system in place to support *shengyuan* only produced graduate students who were interested in preparing for the national exams through learning how to compose eight-legged essays; their ultimate aims were selfishly pursued to promote their own careers. So an effort should be made to abolish the system of government-sponsored *shengyuan* and replace it with a system that depends on the recruitment of promising local talent. “Applying their talent for writing eight-legged essays to the study of the classics, histories, and current affairs, will result in intelligent and outstanding officials who are well-practiced in managing the essentials of the political system.” 苟以時文之功，用之於經史及當世之務，則必有聰明俊傑、通達治體之士起於其間矣。¹¹ As an educational thinker, Gu followed his own advice, and focused on classical and historical learning, and modern issues of practical concern.

The body of this chapter will examine Gu’s life, his travels, and the sociality such an itinerant lifestyle engendered.

2.2 Early Life

Gu Yanwu was born in Kunshan 崑山, northern Jiangsu, on July 15, 1613 into a family of literati.¹² His name was Jiang 絳, and his literary style Zhongqing 忠清, “Loyal and Pure.” After the

⁹ Anthony Grafton, *Joseph Scaliger: A Study in the History of Classical Scholarship. I: Textual Criticism and Exegesis* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983), 2-3.

¹⁰ See his essay on government-sponsored students, “Shengyuan lun” 生員論, Part One, in Gu, *Gu Yanwu quanji*, 21: 68-69; p. 69.

¹¹ “Shengyuan lun” 生員論, Part Two, in Gu, *Gu Yanwu quanji*, 21:69-71; p. 71.

¹² For his life, see Zhang ed., *Gu Tinglin xiansheng nianpu sanzong* 顧亭林先生年譜三種 (Beijing: Beijing Tushuguan Chubanshe, 1997); all three reproduced in *Qingchu mingru nianpu* 清初名儒年譜, 16 vols. (Beijing: (Beijing: Beijing

Manchu conquest, Gu changed his name to Yanwu 炎武, inspired by the example of loyalty to the defunct Song dynasty by Wang Yanwu 王炎午 (1252–1324) a pupil of the noted martyr Wen Tianxiang 文天祥 (1236–1283). He also preemptively changed his literary style from “Loyal and Pure,” which unfortunately could also be parsed as “Loyal to the Qing,” to Ningren 寧人, “Tranquil Person.” He was known to his contemporaries as Master Tinglin 亭林先生, from the name of a local village, and once called himself the “Servant from Mt. Jiang” 蔣山傭, referring to when he lived in seclusion at the base of Mt. Zhong in Nanjing and travelled incognito disguised as a merchant.

Gu was raised as the adopted son of his father’s deceased cousin Gu Tongji 顧同吉 (d. 1602), whose so-called “widowed” fiancé, a Miss Wang 王氏, moved in with the family and raised Gu Yanwu as her own son. Her sterling example of unswerving loyalty to the Ming, to the point of starving herself upon the fall of Kunshan, left an indelible influence on Gu. Her dying words were an injunction to him to never serve the new dynasty, which commitment he kept his entire life. His account of his step-mother’s life and heroic ending is entitled “Brief Biography of My Deceased Mother, the Virtuous Lady Wang.”¹³ The example and exhortations that his adopted mother left for Gu explains both his refusal to take office under the Qing and to participate in any capacity in the bureaucratic life of the new regime, including taking part in the “Erudite in Learning and Imposing in Writing” 博學宏詞 exam of 1679; neither was Gu willing to assist in compiling the *History of the Ming* the next year, which turned out to be the common assignment of those who passed this exam.

Gu spent the majority of his life as an itinerant scholar. The foci of his interests were classical learning, historical criticism, and addressing contemporary affairs. His intellectual interests in all three areas were part of the practical bent to the scholarship of the era, and partook of the spirit of “mastering the Classics to apply their practical uses”. This last concern with contemporary affairs occupied his thinking in the early part of his career as he fought to resist the Qing onslaught and later to restore the Ming. Most of his essays on revising the recruitment system for government students, local administration, and the system of taxation date from when he served the Southern Ming (1644–1683) in resisting the Qing. His classical studies and historical criticism, especially historical geography, and

Tushuguan Chubanshe, 2006); Gu Yansheng 顧衍生, *Zhang ed.*, *Gu Tinglin xiansheng nianpu*, ed. Wu Yingkui 吳映奎, with later additions and revisions by Ju Chiqian 車持謙, QCNP, 5:311-468; Zhang Mu 張穆 ed., *Zhang ed.*, *Gu Tinglin xiansheng nianpu* (1843 ed.), QCNP 5:469-658; pp. 659-716 includes much biographical and literary matter; Wu Yingkui and Ju Chiqian, eds., *Gu Tinglin xinsheng nianpu*, QCNP 6:1-342, and an additional entry not included in the original three mentioned above, Lun Ming 倫明, *Sanbu Gu Tinglin nianpu* 三補顧亭林年譜, QCNP 6:167-94. 5:689-96 includes an intellectual biography by Ruan Yuan 阮元 (1764–1849) extracted from his *Guoshi rulin zhuan* 國史儒林傳 and pp. 697-712 presents a necrology by Quan Zuwang 全祖望 (1705–1755). For modern biographical studies, see Xu Sumin 訐蘇民, *Gu Yanwu pingzhuan* 顧炎武評傳 (Nanjing: Nanjing Daxue Chubanshe, 2006); Chen Zuwu 陳祖武, *Gu Yanwu pingzhuan* 顧炎武評傳 (Beijing: Social Science Academic Press, 2010); Fang Chao-ying in *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period (1644–1912)*, 2 vols., ed. Arthur W. Hummel (Washington, D.C.: United States Printing Office, 1943), 1:421-26, and Willard J. Peterson, “The Life of Ku Yen-wu, Part One” *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 28 (1969):114-56 and “Part Two,” 29 (1969): 201-47.

¹³ Gu Yanwu, “Xianbi Wang shiren xingzhuang” 先妣王碩人行狀,” in Gu, *Gu Yanwu quanji*, 21:226-27. For Gu’s justification of this stance based on the wishes of his dying step-mother, see his letters “Yu Ye Ren’an shu” 與葉訥庵書, and “Da Yuanyi, Gongsu liangsheng shu” 答原一、公肅兩甥書, in Gu, *Gu Yanwu quanji*, 21: 104-05 and 107-08.

epigraphy, were natural outgrowths of his travels as he investigated local sites, collected rubbings of local monuments and grave inscriptions, and discoursed on local history with native worthies and elders.

A precocious child, Gu gained his licentiate degree by passing the county-level exams at 13 *sui*. Over time, he gained a reputation as a writer. In 1643 at the age of 30 *sui*, he purchased the rank of *gongsheng* 貢生, a student at the imperial academy. Within the next two years, his world changed with the incursion of the Manchus in 1644, and the fall of Beijing and his hometown of Kunshan in 1645.

Gu once divided his early life into different periods according to the type of acquaintances he made. First were those he met at home as a young want-to-be literary gallant in the style of the Han dynasty young literati Yang Xiong 楊雄 (B.C. 53–18 A.D.) and Ban Gu 班固 (32–92), composing belles-lettres and appraising the literary works of others. The second period was after the fall of the Ming when he worked closely with comrades-in-arms to organize resistance to support the cause of the Southern Ming. The third period commenced in 1650, after he began to travel to avoid persecution and prosecution by a land-hungry neighbor in Kunshan who was attempting to implicate Gu in seditious activity. During his travels in this period, he met many new acquaintances who helped extricate him from prison, where he was sentenced after drowning the family servant in Kunshan who had conspired against him.¹⁴ The commutation of his prison sentence to flogging set him free, but on the road to Nanjing he was attacked and injured by an assassin who had been sent by his conspiratorial neighbor. This event in 1657 convinced him that travel was the best course of life left open to him. At this time, when he was 45 *sui*, he commenced his peripatetic lifestyle, mainly in North China, returning home to Kunshan for only two extended visits, when he was 47 and 54 *sui*.

The traditional understanding of Gu's impetus for assuming a wandering lifestyle is that he was seeking to link up with other heroic opponents of the Manchu rule and map out the strategic places and important resources of the empire to aid in a glorious military restoration. Liang Qichao is convinced that two other factors inspired his travels and even directed their course. First, he had chosen to provide his step-mother a temporary burial upon her suicide in 1645, planning to conduct a formal funeral after the restoration of the Chongzhen 崇禎 Emperor (r. 1628–1644). His inability to bury her properly deeply affected him, and was a source of secret pain that prohibited him from accepting a settled life of ease. Second, his attempt sometime in 1645 or 1646 to join the forces of Emperor Shao 紹宗, Zhu Yujian 朱聿鍵 (1602–1646), in Fujian as Secretary in the Bureau of Military Appointments had failed as the way south was blocked by continual campaigning by the Manchus.¹⁵ And it was not until 1659 that major military expeditions against the Qing in the Jiangnan region ceased. Therefore, when Gu decided to commence travelling in 1657, the south was still in a state of uneasy flux, so he elected to travel north.

2.2. The Life of an Itinerant Scholar

¹⁴ For this periodization, see “Da Yuanyi, Gongsu liangsheng shu,” 251.

¹⁵ Liang Qichao, *Zhongguo jin sanbainian xueshushi*, 80.

It did take him a while to ease into his new lifestyle in 1657, for he first returned home to Kunshan. One chronological biography records that he returned home to avoid the persecutions of his hometown enemy, who had sent an assassin after him in Nanjing the year before.¹⁶ Before departing from Nanjing for home, on New Year's day he paid his sixth visit to Xiaoling 孝陵, the tomb of Zhu Yuanzhang 朱元璋 (r. 1368–1398), founding emperor of the Ming dynasty. Was this a sign of dedicating his life to honoring the memory of this defunct dynasty? One line in a poem that he composed on a later New Year's Day in 1661, when he was 49, reveals one additional motivation for his vagabond lifestyle—he was imitating the enforced wandering lifestyle of the emperor in exile: “The Heavenly King has not yet returned to his capital,/ Wandering—how much more that a minister do so?” 天王未還京，流離況臣子。¹⁷ The king in question was Prince Gui of the Ming 明桂王, Zhu Youlang 朱由榔 (1623–1662), who at this time was holding court in Burma as a refugee despite claiming the title of Emperor.¹⁸ To the very real factors of fear for his personal safety and self-flagellation for lack of a proper burial for his mother, we must therefore add the motivation to remain detached from a normal life and wonder in exile to identify psychologically with the unsettled lifestyle of the royal house of Ming. It was both a political statement and a way to avoid fending off invitations to serve in office. In a recent study, Chen Youqian attributes this psychological commitment to the Ming as the chief reason for Gu's journeys. The concern for personal safety and lack of funds are secondary factors¹⁹ Wang Hong 王宏 is (known as Shanshi 山史), an associate of Gu, once wrote that “Gu Tinglin was the type who anciently was called a man of probity who did not meet with his times, and so travelled in order to stay reclusive” 顧亭林古所謂義士不合於時，以游為隱。²⁰ This stance obviously can be seen as an extension of his loyalty to the Ming.

One poem, written at age 44 *sui* before he had even commenced his official peripatetic life, describes his actual travelling; it is revelatory of his actual condition on the road and of his attitude as a wanderer:

“While Travelling” 旅中²¹

久客仍流轉 Long has this stranger been wandering around,
 愁人獨遠征 This sorrowful man distantly travels in solitude.
 釜遭行路奪, My pot was stolen on the road,

¹⁶ Zhang, *Gu Tinglin nianpu*, 33b.

¹⁷ “Yuanri” 元日, Wang Quchang 王蘧常 and Wu Pixu 吳丕績, eds., *Gu Tinglin shiji huizhu* 顧亭林詩集匯注, 2 vols. (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2006), 2:734.

¹⁸ His wandering lifestyle to avoid capture by Qing forces is sketched at Hummel, ed., *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period*, 1:193-95. Willard J. Peterson, “The Life of Ku Yen-wu, Part Two,” is devoted to detailing in depth Gu's life of wandering commencing in 1657. Most useful of all is Chen, *Gu Yanwu pingzhuan*; this biography is arranged around each region and sometimes specific places, through which Gu traveled. He consequently treats most of Gu's major scholarly accomplishments within the context the localities in which he was working. Chen characterizes Gu's lifestyle with the catch phrase of “traveling as eremitism” 以游為隱; see pp. 117-123.

¹⁹ Chen Youqiao 陳友喬, “Gu Yanwu beiyu bugui zhi yuanyin tanxi” 顧言武北游不歸之原因探析, *Shanxi Shifan Daxue xuebao* (Shehui kexue ban) 36, No. 2 (2009): 87-90.

²⁰ Zhang, *Gu Tinglin nianpu*, 98a.

²¹ Wang and Wu, eds., *Gu Tinglin shiji huizhu*, 1:515.

席與舍而爭。A lad in a hostel wrangled over my mat.
 混跡同傭販。I was unworthy to take my place among common merchants,
 甘心變姓名。But willing to change my name.
 寒衣車下草, In tattered clothes, I lie under my cart amid the grass,
 饑糝甬中羹, In the kettle, coarse grain for my stew.
 浦雁先秋到, Wild geese arrive before autumn,
 關雞候旦鳴。Chickens at the pass wait for dawn to caw.
 跡穿山更險, My traces bore through mountains even more dangerous,
 船破浪猶橫。My boat smashes through waves especially treacherous.
 疾病年來有, An illness over many years still persists,
 衣裝日漸輕。Clothing and accessories daily grow thin.
 榮枯心易感, It is easy to feel my ups and downs,
 得喪理難平。But it is hard to accept the need to mourn.
 默坐悲先代, Silently sitting, I grieve for the previous dynasty,
 勞歌念一生。Singing the song of a laborer, I ponder my life.
 買臣將五十, This merchant is almost fifty,
 何處謁承明。Where can I visit the “Receiving the Hut of Brilliance”?²²

Another poem which I will not quote, “Wandering Around” 流轉, confirms two major motivations for his wanders, personal safety and the search for royal descendants to rally behind in yet another hopeless attempt to restore the Ming dynasty.

Gu’s journeying this year of 1657 established the pattern for the rest of his life, as it resulted in making new friends, touring local sites, developing scholarly projects, inquiring into local history, and writing poetry. I will treat the development of epigraphy that was greatly facilitated by Gu’s travels in the following chapter. Now I discuss how his itinerant lifestyle aided the expansion of his circle of acquaintances and friends, and allowed him to spread the example of his personalized approach to scholarship.

2.4 Gu Yanwu and early Qing Scholarly Sociality

Gu Yanwu is noted for the impact widespread and continuous travel made on his scholarship. The local literati and patrons of education he met around the country not only facilitated his research projects in regional history and historical geography, they frequently invited him to edit or write prefaces to their privately held manuscripts, and often became fast friends.²³ A fascinating article by

²² “Receiving Brilliance (Ming),” an abbreviated form of “Receiving the Hut of Brilliance” *chengminglu* 承明廬, was a separate room attached to the Palace for Receiving Brilliance in Chang’an during the Western Han dynasty. It was used to house royal attendants who were on call. Despite it being the name of a building, the significance of the term brilliance as the name of the former dynasty was obviously evident to Gu, the ardent supporter of the defunct Ming dynasty.

²³ Liang, *Zhongguo jin sanbainian xueshushi*, 96-101 presents a table of 36 learned friends, “Tinglin xueyou biao” 亭林學友表 that fully confirms the extent of Gu’s network of friends among contemporary scholars.

noted specialist on Gu, Zao Lisheng, treats the nature of Gu's friendship with Zhang Erqi 張爾岐 (1612–1678); but most importantly, he sets this relationship within the wider context of sociality surrounding great masters in various regions around China. He maintains that we must view Gu's relationship with Zhang and other notables whom he encountered during his extended travels the same as the circle of friends gathered by Huang Zongxi 黃宗羲 (1610–1695), in Eastern Zhejiang and Wang Fuzhi 王夫之 (1619–1692) in Hunan; hence Gu's sociality was nothing unique other than the breadth of scale on which it was conducted and the more numerous scholarly gains he made given this added scope.²⁴

This section examines Gu's relationship with two notable younger contemporaries, both of whom Gu met in Taiyuan in 1666. One was a fellow wanderer hailing from Guangdong, Qu Dajun 屈大均 (1630–1696), famous today for his poetry and writing on Cantonese folklore. The other was from Zhejiang, Zhu Yizun 朱彝尊 (1629–1709), invaluable to scholars today for his bibliographical study of the history of classical scholarship and also noted as an exquisite poet in the lyric form. The former passed easily in the night after a warm exchange of poems and disappeared from Gu's life; the latter became a close friend and maintained a long association through mutual interest in classical scholarship. Despite Gu's broad range of research interests and ecumenical accomplishments, he was selective in how he allowed his friendships to develop; this selectivity seems often to have been based on his research interests. His friendships, therefore, may serve to a certain extent as an index of his intellectual priorities

A laconic double entry in Gu Yanwu's major chronological biography reveals the tip of a thread of social connections even as it conceals the great breadth of this reticulate network across literati society in China. The entry reads as follows:

The Fifth Year [of Kangxi, 1666], day *bingwu*, 54 *sui*.... When Gu was travelling through Taiyuan, Zhu Xichang Yizun from Xiushui [Jiaxing County 嘉興縣, northern Zhejiang province] who was a guest at the territorial administration in Jin,²⁵ came to visit the master in the eastern suburbs. Because of this, the master became friends [“settled on making exchanges” *dingjiao* 訂/定交] with him. Qu Dajun (1630–1696) from Nanhai [Guangzhou] also came by way of the Chang'an region and met with him.

五年丙午五十四歲...游太原時秀水朱錫鬯彝尊客晉藩署,過訪先生於東郊.因與訂交.南海屈大均亦自關中來會.²⁶

These apparently chance encounters resulted in two poems written by Gu to commemorate the occasions, placed side by side within Gu's poetic anthology. Ostensibly, the normal course of polite intercourse among literati resulted in these types of chance meetings. But a look behind

²⁴ See Zhao Lisheng 趙俣生, “Gu Yanwu yu Zhang Erqi” 顧炎武與張爾岐, *Dongyue lungcong* 東岳論叢 no. 5 (1985): 83, 85–89. Zhao's oeuvre includes many articles studying Gu's relationship with local notables, especially those hailing from Shandong.

²⁵ As explained in the notes in the *nianpu*, he was working as the secretary in the administration of the financial commissioner Wang Xianzuo 王顯祚.

²⁶ Zhang, *Gu Tinglin nianpu*, 98a–123b. Also found in QCNP, 5:660–718; p. 570.

the scenes reveals some possible preparation for these visits, probably in the form of letters of introduction from mutual friends, or visits in the company of such friends. These issues will be handled at the appropriate points in this chapter, as I treat the friendship with Zhu Yizun and the acquaintance with Qu Dajun as two different case studies. I will translate and discuss Gu's poem on the visit of Zhu Yizun as part of the first case study. I will reserve treatment of Gu's poem dedicated to Qu Dajun for the second case study.

2.4.1 Case Study of Friendship with Zhu Yizun

Zhu Yizun 朱彝尊 (1629–1709) was born in Xiushui 秀水, modern Jiaxing 嘉興, northern Zhejiang. His early fame as a writer gained him access to the social circles of older literati, by whom he was often employed as tutor for their children or as secretary for them in their official capacities. During a long stretch starting in 1656 and reaching to 1678, he worked in various regions. His major residences were as follows. From 1656 to 1658 he resided in Gaoyao 高要, Guangdong (a district in modern Zhaoqing 肇慶 eastern Guangdong), and taught the son of a magistrate; in 1660 he was in Zhaoqing as a secretary; from 1662 to 1663 he was moving around Zhejiang; from 1664 to 1665 he was in Datong 大同 (northern Shanxi) again as a secretary, and from 1666 to 1667 he was stationed in Taiyuan 太原 (northern Shanxi) as secretary to the financial commissioner. From 1668 to 1670 he resided in Beijing serving as secretary to the governor; from 1673 to 1675 he served as secretary in a city near Beijing, and during the year from 1677 to 1678, he was in residence in Nanjing, again serving as secretary, this time to the financial commissioner.

In 1679, Zhu participated in the “Erudite in Learning and Imposing in Writing” exam. Of the 152 participants, he was among the 50 who passed. One Pan Lei 潘耒 (1646–1708), a onetime pupil of Gu Yanwu from Wujiang 吳江, a district in Suzhou, and Li Yindu 李因篤 (1631–1692) from Fuping 富平 central Shaanxi, also passed, and will reappear with more relevancy below.²⁷ Also making the grade was one Yan Shengsun 嚴繩孫 (1623–1702) from Wuxi 無錫, Jiangsu. Zhu and these three co-examinees were collectively called the Four Commoners, literally the “Four Cotton-Clothed Ones” 四布衣 in light of their never having earned high degrees or held office.²⁸

Fang Chao-ying describes Zhu's post-exam official career as follows:

Among those who passed the special examination of 1679 were several commoners who rose rapidly to distinction and then were looked upon with jealousy by others. Among them were Zhu Yizun and Pan Lei. Zhu was especially singled out for criticism, probably because of favors shown him by the emperor who appointed him to serve in the Imperial Study...., allowed

²⁷ Zhu had first met Li Yindu in 1665, For Li Yindu, see Wu Huaqing 吳懷清, ed., *Tiansheng xiansheng nianpu* 天生先生年譜, in QCNP, 12:327-650; Jiang Fan, *Songxue yuanyuan ji*, 6-8; and Gao Chunyan 高春艷, *Li Yindu wenxue yanjiu* 李因篤文學研究. A Library of Dissertations on Social Sciences in China (Beijing: Social Science Academic Press, 2011).

²⁸ Qi Yongxiang notes that the original character for Hong 弘 was avoided because of a taboo against the personal name of the Qianlong Emperor, Hongli 弘歷. See Qi Yongxiang 漆永祥 ed., *Hanxue shichengji jianzhi* 漢學師承記箋釋 (Shanghai: Shanghai Guji Chubanshe, 2006), 63, n. 2. For a traditional introduction to some of the most notable attendees of this exam and brief remarks on the social dynamics of the examinees, see Gui Wencan 桂文燦, “Qingdai boxue hongci ke” 清代博學鴻詞科, in *Jingxue bocailu* 經學博采記錄 (Taipei: Mingwen Shuju 明文書局, 1992), 185-86.

him to live in a house inside the gate, Di'anmen 地安門, and sent him to direct the provincial examination of Jiangnan at Nanjing (1681). In 1684 Pan Lei and Zhu were degraded, the former for “petulance”, the latter for having brought copyists into the Academy to make transcripts of official records for private use....The post which Zhu Yizun lost was restored to him in 1690, but two years later he was discharged and made a journey to Guangdong.²⁹

It was presumably around the time of the exam of 1679 or shortly afterwards that Zhu made the acquaintance of Mao Qiling 毛奇齡 (1623–1716), a fellow examinee who was also assigned to the Historiographical Board to help compile the *Ming History* as an examining editor and who also served a stint in the Imperial Study, or Southern Book Room 南書房 to educate imperial princes and grandsons. Zhu and Mao were close enough friends that Mao provided a preface for the 1698 printing of Zhu's signature contribution to classical scholarship *Study of the Meaning of the Classics* 經義考 in 300 scrolls. The rest of Zhu's bureaucratic career was unremarkable, and he formally retired from official life in 1692, returning to his hometown for the remainder of his life, some 15 more years.

Zhu's signature work is of inestimable importance to the history of classical scholarship.³⁰ “Its number of scrolls was extensive and slip-cases rich in contents, it assuredly capped all ancient and modern book catalogues” 卷帙博富，允為古今簿錄之冠 is the elegant encapsulation of a modern specialist of this work.³¹ *Study of the Meaning of the Classics* was begun in 1695 during Zhu's retirement at home; an early version was completed almost five years later in 1699. It was entitled *Study of the Preservation or Loss of Works on the Meaning of the Classics* 經義存亡考. The work languished until being published in 1705, but only half of it saw the light of day. The complete work was only published in 1755, long after Zhu's death in 1709.³² It imitated the format of Ma Duanlin's (1245–1322) *Comprehensive Study of Literary Works* 文獻通考 of 1307, and was divided into 30 categories according to either the name of a particular classic or the nature of a work, such as *Transmittals from Teachers* 師承 or *Works on Doubting the Classics* 疑經. Alas, three scrolls containing four separate categories are listed, but lack contents. Therefore, the total number of scrolls only reaches 297, not the planned number of 300. Each entry is marked either “extant” (*cun* 存),

²⁹ Hummel, ed., *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period*, 1:183. An important biographical source for Zhu is Yang Qian 楊謙 ed., *Zhu Zhucha xiansheng nianpu* 朱竹垞先生年譜, in QCNP, 10:467-558.

³⁰ The most convenient modern edition to use is *Biaojiao buzheng Jingyi kao* 標校補正經義考, 8 vols. (Taipei: Zhongyang Yanjiuyuan Wen-Zhe Suo, 1999); still convenient for use is Wu Zhengshang 吳政上, *Jingyikao suoyin* 經義考索引 (Taipei: Hanxue Yanjiu Zhongxin, 1992).

³¹ Yang Guolin 楊果霖, *Jingyikao zhulu “Chunqiu lei” dianji jiaoding yu buzheng* 經義考著錄“春秋類”典籍校訂與補正 (Taipei: Student Book Company, 2013), 1. This work is a model study of how to handle traditional bibliographies that is both informative and useful in the wealth of supplemental information it provides.

³² Even though the work was not published in part until 1705, it was cited by Mao Qiling in the preface to his *Guwen Shangshu yuanci* 古文尚書冤詞, *Siku quanshu zhenben shiji* 四庫全書珍本十集 ed. (Taipei: Commercial Press, 1980), 2.1b, which was finished in 1697. Obviously, at least parts of Zhu's work circulated in manuscript form among friends, which was a usual occurrence among classicists.

“incomplete” (*que* 闕), “missing” (*yi* 佚), or “not seen” (*weijian* 未見). The total number of works reached more than 8400.³³

Zhu Yizun may have been inspired to commence his great work based on the precedent of his younger contemporary Nalan Xingde 納蘭性德 (1655–1685), who had inherited a bibliographical project commenced by his chief tutors Xu Qianxue 徐乾學 (1631–1694), a nephew of Gu Yanwu, and He Zhuo 何焯 (1661–1722). This large collectanea was entitled *Classical Explanations from the Hall of Comprehensive Ambitions* 通志堂經解 in 1,860 scrolls, and was published in 1637. It includes a few works from the Tang and Ming, but specializes in studies from the Song and Yuan dynasties. Zhu assisted Nalan’s work by lending him works from his own capacious collection, and purchasing other works for him.³⁴

Zhu’s work also inspired a later large-scale project, Xie Qikun’s 謝啟昆 (1737–1803). *Study of Minor Learning* 小学考 in 50 scrolls critical studies on classical scholarship ignored by both Nalan Xingde and Zhu Yizun as this new work focuses exclusively on the philological side of research, including textual criticism, word glossing, historical phonology, graphology, epigraphy, lexicography, bibliography, and other hard-core textual approaches.³⁵ It treats 1,158 works in a format borrowed from Zhu’s original compilation, and was published in 1802. Xie’s teacher Weng Fanggang 翁方綱 (1733–1818) had himself produced a supplement to Zhu’s study, entitled *Supplements and Corrections to the Study of the Meaning of the Classics* 經義考補正 in 12 scrolls, which also supplied 1,088 more works, and a *Catalogue of the Classical Explanations from the Hall of Comprehensive Ambitions* 通志堂經解目錄.³⁶ Therefore, Xie was well briefed on the utility and importance of Zhu’s great work by his teacher.

Among Zhu’s notable works of history and historical geography were an important study of Beijing and surroundings, *Rixia jiuwen* 日下舊聞 in 42 scrolls, a history of the Hanlin Academy called *Yingzhou daogu lu* 瀛洲道古錄 in 10 scrolls, and *Annotations on the Historical Records of the Five Dynasties* 五代史記注 of Ouyang Xiu 歐陽修 (1007–1072).

An entirely different side of his personality is reflected in his early work in belles-lettres. His stature as a poet in both traditional poetry and the lyric was confirmed by many contemporaries, and is reflected in his editorial activities in amassing such large scale compilations as a massive anthology of Ming poets *Compendium of Ming Poetry* 明詩綜 in 100 scrolls, a *Compendium of Lyrics* 詞綜 in 38 scrolls that surveyed Tang, Song, and Yuan lyricists, a *Compendium of Ming Lyrics* 明詞綜 in 12 scrolls, which was left incomplete at his death, and a collection of poetic evaluations and appraisals

³³ An exhaustive study of Zhu Yizun’s great work, including an author chronological biography, study of his complete oeuvre, publication history, and a host of specialized studies, see Lin Qingzhang 林慶彰 and Jiang Qiuhua 蔣秋華, eds. *Zhu Yizun Jingyikao yanjiu lunji*, 朱彝尊經義考論集, 2 vols. (Taipei: Zhongyang Yanjiuyuan Zhongguo Wenzhe Yanjiusuo, 2000).

³⁴ See most comprehensively Ling Qingzhang 林慶彰 and Jiang Qiuhua 蔣秋華, eds., *Tongzhitang jingjie yanjiu lunwenji* 通志堂經解研究論文集, 2 vols. (Taipei: Zhongyang Yanjiuyuan Wen-Zhesuo, 2005).

³⁵ Xie Qikun, *Xiaoxue kao* 小学考 (Shanghai: Shanghai Guji Chubanshe, 2002).

³⁶ Weng Fanggang, *Jingyikao buzheng*, *Tongzhitang jingjie mulu* 經義攷補正, 通志堂經解目錄 (Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 1985).

on the Ming poets included in *Compendium of Ming Poetry* entitled *Poetic Discourses from the Studio of Stilled Ambition* 靜志居詩話 in 24 scrolls.³⁷ Zhu's contribution to classical scholarship will be examined in chapter 4 below, but suffice it to say that Gu Yanwu would find him a likeminded scholar and presumably an agreeable conversationalist as a fellow leftover Ming patriot who habitually kept a low profile. In sum, such was Zhu's breadth of accomplishments in a variety of fields—belles-lettres, history, scholarship—that he won fame as the leading figure of his generation, as seen from his biography in the *Draft History of the Qing*: “At that time, Wang Shizhen (1634–1711) was the expert in poetry, Wang Wan (1624–1691) was expert in prose, and Mao Qiling was expert in evidential research, but only Yizun possessed all this expertise ahead of this crowd.” 當時王士禎工詩，汪琬工文，毛奇齡工考據，獨彝尊兼有衆長。³⁸

A modern specialist in Chinese poetry, David R. McCraw, sums up the extent of the importance of Zhu's works as a poet and student of poetry:

Zhu also won acclaim as poet and anthologist....His twenty-six chapter *Compilation of Lyrics*, though hampered by the scarcity of Song texts and by Zhu's own partisan views on the lyric, has been widely read. Its selection and introductory remarks formed the foundation for the “West Zhejiang” school of lyrics founded by Zhu. Zhu's *shi* poetry has been paired with that of Wang Shizhen as the finest written during the early Qing, and Zhu's collected works also included 518 lyrics selected and edited by the author.³⁹

Gu's presentation poem to Zhu in 1666 took note of Zhu's variegated literary and intellectual interests, while praising his personal qualities:

“Presented to Zhu Yizun, an Out-of-Office Scholar, Passing Near Me in
the Eastern Suburbs of Taiyuan” 朱處士彝尊過余於太原東郊贈之⁴⁰

詞賦雕鐫老，I grow old carving lyrics and engraving rhapsodies,
河山騁望頻。Often gazing over the rivers and mountains as far as the eye can see.
末流彌宇宙，Decadent trends fill time and space,
大雅接斯人。But “Greater Elegentiae” is inherited by this man.⁴¹
世業推王謝，Your family occupation promoted that of the Wangs and Xies,⁴²
儒言纂孟荀。As for Confucian teachings, you succeeded Mengzi and Xunzi.

³⁷ The modern literature on Zhu's prowess as a lyricist is rather lengthy. Here I merely cite one work: David R. McCraw, *Chinese Lyricists of the Seventeenth Century* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1990), 87. The entirety of chapter 6, pp. 87 to 116, is devoted to Zhu and his lyrics.

³⁸ *Qingshi gao* 清史稿, Zhao Erxun 趙爾巽 et al. eds. 48 vols. (Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 1986), 484.13340.

³⁹ McCraw, *Chinese Lyricists of the Seventeenth Century*, 87.

⁴⁰ Wang and Wu, eds., *Gu Tinglin shiji huizhu*, 2:918-24.

⁴¹ This metonymic allusion refers to the literary attainments of Zhu in the field of poetry through alluding to the name of this most lyrical section of the *Classic of Poems*.

⁴² His family occupation had been that of landed gentry and service as officials, same as the famous Wang and Xie clans of medieval Jiankang, modern Nanjing.

書能搜五季，As for books, you collected them from Five Eras,⁴³
 字必準先秦。Your calligraphy conformed with pre-Qin norms.⁴⁴
 攬揲長城下，You grasped the reins below the Great Wall,
 回車晉水濱。And turned your cart around at the bank of Jin River.⁴⁵
 秋風吹雁潁，Autumn winds waft wild geese and ducks,
 夜月臥麒麟。The evening moon causes Qilin to lie supine.⁴⁶
 玉盃人間有，A jade bowl appears in the world of men,⁴⁷
 珠襦地上新。A pearl net is newly found on the ground.⁴⁸
 吞聲同太息，Weeping silently we heave sighs,
 吮筆一酸辛。Sucking on our brushes, were are uniformly disconsolate.
 與爾皆椎結，You and I both bind our hair in the shovel-shape style,⁴⁹
 於今且釣緇。And still employ our fishing lines.
 羈心縈故跡，Our minds constrained, they are bound up with ancient sites,
 殊域送良辰。In strange regions, we are sent off under fine asterisms.
 草沒青驄晚，Swallowed by grass, our blue roans return late,
 霜浮白墮春。Like frost that floats, we fall down drunk during spring days.
 自來賢達士，This worthy and discerning scholar came on his own,
 往往在風塵。Often lodging within the wind and dust.

Zhu did not respond with a normal pro forma poem; instead, he apparently waited until the following year to compose a lengthy poetic composition in the style known as “Long Regulated Verse (chānglǜ 長律) in two hundred words, as mentioned in a letter he composed.⁵⁰ In this letter he also apologized for not responding to two letters that Gu had earlier “conferred” (*ci* 賜) on him. Incidentally, Zhu reports that the previous summer he had run into Qu Dajun after leaving Daizhou 代州, northern

⁴³ Probably referencing the books he collected in order to annotate Ouyang Xiu’s history of the Five Dynasties.

⁴⁴ A loose reference to the importance Zhu placed on the graphic analysis of Chinese characters as the foundation of learning. In actual terms, his scholarship in this area focused, like Gu, more on ancient phonology. For his expertise in both areas, witness his prefaces to such phonological and character dictionaries as *Heke jiyun leipian* 合刻集韻, *Chongkan guangyun* 重刊廣韻, *Chongkan yupian* 重玉刊篇, and *Zijian* 字鑑 in *Pushuting ji*, 2:428-30.

⁴⁵ Zhu traveled widely around the north of China in the regions bisected by the Great Wall, then turned southwest towards Taiyuan and its nearby river, Jinshui, where he first met Gu.

⁴⁶ A reference to two model Qilin with engraved calligraphy that had been recovered from the grave of an ancient king of Jin.

⁴⁷ A jade bowl was discovered in the grave mound of Emperor Wu of the Han (156–87 BC).

⁴⁸ A pearl net was among the grave goods interred with the daughter of the king of Wu (Wuwang Fuchai 吳王夫差 (r. 495–473 BC), including a golden *ding* cauldron, a jade cup, and a silver goblet. The allusions to grave goods over the last three lines refer to Zhu’s abiding interest in ancient artifacts and paleography.

⁴⁹ Wearing hair in the shovel-shaped style was an act of independence.

⁵⁰ Zhu, “Yu Gu Ningren shu” 與顧寧人書, *Pushuting ji* 曝書亭集, 3 vols. (Taipei: Shijie Shuju, 1981), 2:396. In this chapter I cite many letters exchanged between Gu and his friends, and between some of these friends with each other. But these references, although reaching a considerable number, do not exhaust all the epistolary exchanges still extant.

Shaanxi. The bulk of the letter from Zhu to Gu involves a detailed discussion of historical phonology centering on rhymes from the *Poems*.

What initially brought Zhu and Gu together was not only the fact that, in terms of research agenda and methodological approach, Zhu was another forward-facing contemporary with a modern outlook; they also shared certain specialized interests. Gu's poem almost may be read as an inventory of points of similarities between Zhu and himself, and thus forms a list of Gu's own academic priorities. Most notable are poetic composition, textual criticism, Confucian scholarship, historical studies, book collecting, paleography, and archaeology. What are not directly mentioned are historical phonology or epigraphy. But these two fields are prominently displayed in Zhu's published oeuvre and must have been featured topics in the conversations they enjoyed; witness the letter from Zhu mentioned above which broached the topic in some depth. Proof of Zhu's expertise in ancient phonology and paleography lies in the four prefaces he composed to the reprinting of specialized dictionaries on these fields, as documented in a footnote to his poem translated above. They also shared in common a peripatetic lifestyle, both traveling with sets of the *Thirteen Classics* and *Dynastic Histories* for ready reference.⁵¹

The common fascination Gu and Zhu shared with collecting stone rubbings and other inscribed objects was a frequent referent in their works. Gu's devotion to this endeavor will be treated in chapter 3 below. For Zhu's own dedication to this type of travel-study enterprise, I cite one descriptive passage: "Wherever Zhucha went, he would collect and explain, investigate and verify, the broken or incomplete inscriptions from overgrown shrines, barren barrows, bronzes, and monuments; none were overlooked. He would compare and contrast them with the texts of histories and commentaries. This would increase the interest of his essays." 所至叢祠堂荒塚，金石斷缺之文莫不搜剔考證，與史傳參互同異。其為文章益奇。⁵²

Gu Yanwu also brought along books as he travelled, as the following passage indicates. The manner and purpose of their travels were likewise similar, except that here Gu stresses oral investigation rather than the collection of rubbings:

Wherever he went among the defiles and passes, he would summon old troops and retired soldiers and inquire of the course of events. If what he learned was at variance with what he had heard, he would head for a nearby teahouse and unpack his books to compare the data. When he would travel through plains or wilderness that lacked any features to attract his attention, he would silently recite from the classics and commentaries to himself. If on occasion he forgot some lines then he would later unpack his books at a teahouse and intently repeat the lines from them.

所至叢祠堂荒塚，金石斷缺之文莫不搜剔考中證，與史傳參互同異。其為文章益奇。凡先生之遊以二馬二驢載書自隨。所至阨塞即呼老兵退卒，詢其曲折或與

⁵¹Yang, *Zhu Zhucha xiansheng nianpu*, QCNP, 10: 502.

⁵² Li Yuandu, *Guochao xianzheng shilue*, 39.3b.

平日所聞。不合則即坊肆中發書而對勘之。或徑行平原大野，無足留意則於鞍上默誦諸經注疏，偶有遺忘則於坊肆而孰復之。⁵³

The epigraphical materials which Zhu collected during his wanderings included stone and metal inscriptions, and samples of historical calligraphy. This extensive collection, plus his personal comments, were inherited by Lu Guangying 李光暎, a younger fellow-townsmen from Xiushui, who incorporated them into his own notes on epigraphy, and were eventually published in 1729 under title of *Study and Epitome of Inscriptions on Bronze and Stone in the Studio of Observing Subtle Marvels* 觀妙齋金石文考略.⁵⁴

It is not strange, therefore, that Gu would develop a friendship with a man possessed of such an overlapping scholarly profile and, to a lesser extent, shared unsettled lifestyle. Yet Zhu was more able than Gu to relax and enjoy the belletristic side of his persona. The local gazetteer on Zhu's hometown of Xiushui, *The Gazetteer of Xiushui* 秀水志, as quoted in Li Yindu's *nianpu*, records Zhu's ecumenical interests as follows:

During Master Zhu Zhucha's life, he was fond of antiquity and investigated everything, from the classics, histories, philosophers and belles-lettres, as well as metal engravings, stone inscriptions and monuments, down to the different categories of nature such as bamboo, trees, insects and fish. He once collected Tang verses to form the words of his own poems in an anthology called the *Anthology of Luxuriant Brocade*; it was suspected to be the work of spirits since it was almost beyond human ability. He was not willing to yield much to Gu Yanwu in the way of the latter's superiority, and was praised for his erudition and elegance. He presented his collected works, the *Anthology of the Kiosk for Drying Books*, to Li Yindu.

竹垞先生生平好古，自經史子集及金石碑版，下至竹木蟲魚諸類，無不一一考索。嘗集為填詞，名蕃錦，疑出鬼工幾於人力，不與顧寧人先生肯多讓。人亦以博雅稱許之。暴書亭集贈子德。⁵⁵

Additionally, it seems that Zhu possessed some admirable personal qualities which attracted others to him. He exuded either extraordinary personal charm or intellectual force, for he was one of the few guests ever to be received by the notoriously anti-social recluse Sun Chengze 孫承澤 (1593–1676). This retired ex-Ming official and famous antiquarian and writer built various hermitages north of Beijing such as Kiosk of the Withdrawn Oldster 退翁亭, Porch of the Leisurely One 閒者軒, and Studio on Mt. Inkstone 硯山齋; he filled them with rare and precious objects, especially Song-period paintings. The account of their meeting in Zhu's chronological biography in early 1666, a month or two after visiting Gu, bears reading: "Sun refused visitors in order to write, and would not easily receive or feast others. But once he saw the master, he accepted him as a friend with an irrelevant age

⁵³ Zhang, *Gu Tinglin nianpu*, 5:707.

⁵⁴ See the evaluation of this catalogue in *Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao*, juan 86, "Shibu, mulu lei er" 史部目錄類二 (1:470d).

⁵⁵ Wu, ed., *Tiansheng xiansheng nianpu*, 373.

difference.” 退谷謝客著書，不妄延接。一見先生即訂忘年之好。⁵⁶ What is even more interesting is that this meeting was remarkable enough to be entered into Zhu’s chronological biography; Zhu’s visit with Gu was not so recorded. Alas, according to one commentator named Yin 尹, after Zhu and his contemporaries took office under the Qing, their names no longer appeared in Gu’s collected works.⁵⁷

2.4.2 Case Study of Acquaintance with Qu Dajun

Qu Dajun was born in Nanhai 南海, modern Panyu, hard by Guangzhou; he was among the three most prominent poets from Guangdong during this era. Qu, Liang Peilan 梁佩蘭 (1629-1705), and Chen Gongyin 陳恭尹 (1631-1700), together were known as the Three Great Masters of Lingnan 嶺南三大家, the publically acclaimed leaders of poetic elegance in Guangzhou during the early Qing period. The following biographical sketch is taken from a previously published work of the author:

“Qu was 14 year old at the fall of Beijing in 1644, and become involved with other Cantonese patriots in an uprising against the new Qing administration in Guangdong. Barely escaping with his life after the failure of the revolt, he took the tonsure in 1650 at age 20 under the influence of an old acquaintance, the famous monk Han Shi 函是 (1608–1685) and lived in seclusion in Panyu at the Leifeng Haiyun 雷峯海雲 monastery. His identity was safely hidden as he assumed the name of Jinzhong 今種 while residing in a studio called the “Hermitage of the Dead” 死庵. In 1653 he lived on Mt Lu 廬山, which sojourn generated much poetry on its many monasteries and natural wonders. From 1656 to 1659 he traveled throughout Jiangxi and Zhejiang, composing poems on various notable sites. He resumed a secular life in 1659, and for the next decade or so experienced both periods of quiet retreat at home in Dongguan 東莞 south of the Pearl River from Guangzhou, and periods of hiding for his life. In 1673 he allied himself with the rebellion of Wu Sangui 吳三桂 (1612–1678) but abandoned the rebellion three years later, retiring to Foshan (just east of Guangzhou). From 1679 until 1681, Qu resided in Nanjing. He subsequently returned to Guangzhou where he remained socially active but untroubled by the authorities until his death in 1696.”

“Qu Dajun had begun his formal studies at age 15 in 1645 on Yuexiu Hill with Chen Bangyan 陳邦彥 (1678–1753) after Han Shi recognized Qu’s talent and urged him to follow the famous Cantonese master.⁵⁸ In addition to his work on the *Zhou Changes* and *Mao Poems*, he also studied maneuvers and tactics, swordplay, and geography. It was natural during this period that he met Chen Gongyin, the son of his master. He must have met Liang Peilan at a later date, for poems from Liang do not start appearing in Qu’s chronological biography until around 1662. He seems to have finished the *Guangdong xinyu* 廣東新語 in 1678. Because of his anti-Qing activities, his works were

⁵⁶ Yang ed., *Zhu Zhucha xiansheng nianpu*, 10: 502

⁵⁷ Wang and Wu, eds., *Gu Tinglin shiji huizhu*, 2:918.

⁵⁸ For the biography of Chen Bangyan, see *Mingshi* 明史, 278.7134-36; *Guangdong tongzhi* 廣東通志, compiled by Ruan Yuan 阮元, 1864, *juan* 85.13b-18a; copious annotations and corrections are provided by Yan Xuxin 顏虛心, “Mingshi ‘Chen Bangyan zhuan’ pangzheng” 明史陳邦彥傳旁證, in *Guangdong wenwu* 廣東文物 (1937; rpt. Shanghai: Shanghai Shuju, 1990), 551-87, and Lynne Struve, *The Ming-Qing Conflict 1619-1683: A History and Source Guide*. Association for Asian Studies, Monograph and Occasional Paper Series, No. 56 (Ann Arbor, 1998), 294-95.

proscribed by the literary inquisitions of the Yongzheng 雍正 (r. 1723–1735) and Qianlong 乾隆 emperors (r. 1736–1796), hence he received scant attention in traditional biographical sources.⁵⁹ For example, none of his works were mentioned by the *Comprehensive Catalogue of the Complete Works of the Four Treasuries*, let alone included in that massive library. Still, he became well-known to his contemporaries through his friendship with such luminaries from classical scholarship and literary circles as Zhu Yizun, Gu Yanwu, Qian Qianyi 錢謙益 (1582–1664), Mao Qiling, and Wang Shizhen 王士禎 (1634–1711), all of whom exchanged verses with Qu. In fact, before his regression from Buddhism, Qu was regarded by Wang Shizhen as being the greatest monk-poet since the Tang and Song dynasties; and Qian Qianyi said that his poems were unapproachable by contemporary practitioners.⁶⁰ His chief prose collection was the *Beyond the Prose of Wengshan* 翁山文外 in 14 scrolls; his collection of poetry was the *Beyond the Poetry of Wengshan* 翁山詩外 in 20 scrolls.”⁶¹

Although an exquisite poet, Qu was less acclaimed as a prose stylist. In fact, of all his large-scale works, including his commentary *Beyond the Changes of Wengshan* 翁山易外, *New Tales of Guangdong* 廣東新語, *Register of Martyrs over Four Reigns during the August Ming* 皇明四朝成仁錄, *Beyond the Prose of Wengshan*, and *Beyond the Poetry of Wengshan*, he ranked his collection of prose the lowest and even hesitated to let it be printed.⁶² In his dedicatory commemoration (*ming* 銘) of his prose collection, he explained the strange terminology he adopted for three of his works, “beyond”: “The phrase ‘beyond’ is my ‘employment of dark obscurity.’⁶³ Formerly Yin Ren’s culture shone from within.⁶⁴ When the sun should set, it is naturally replaced by the moon. It is not the case that the sun is retiring; light is produced from obscurity.” 有外之言，是我用晦。在昔殷仁，文明在內。日當昃時，以月自代。匪日之謙，光生於晦。⁶⁵ The use of this allusion to name three of Qu’s major works is creatively whimsical, something we cannot imagining Gu Yanwu being comfortable indulging in.

⁵⁹ L. Carrington Goodrich, *The Literary Inquisition of Chien Lung* (1935; rpt. New York, Paragon: Book Reprint Corp., 1966), 112-35 provides a fascinating look into the process of banning Qu’s works; it includes many original case documents-memorials and edicts—translated and thoroughly annotated.

⁶⁰ Wang Zhongyan 汪宗衍, *Qu Wengshan xiansheng nianpu* 屈翁山先生年譜 (Macao: Yujin Shuwu, 1970), 27, 35. A new expanded and revised edition under the new title of *Qu Dashan nianpu* is included in Ou Chu 歐初 and Wang Zongyan eds., *Qu Dajun quanji* 屈大均全集, 8 vols. (Beijing: Renmin Wenxue Chubanshe, 1996), 8:1849-2013.

⁶¹ David B. Honey, *The Southern Garden Poetry Society: Literary Culture and Social Memory in Guangdong* (Hong Kong: Chinese University of Hong Kong Press, 2011), 32. Pp. 32-34 continue with this biographical epitome, focusing on Qu’s poetic fame and literary compositions. The most valuable source for Qu’s life is Wang Zongyan, *Qu Wengshan xiansheng nianpu*; see also the grave epitaph composed by Wu Daorong 吳道鎔, *Dan’an wencun* 澹齋文存. *Jindai Zhongguo shiliao congkan xubian* 近代中國史料叢刊續編, No. 20 (Taipei: Wenhai Chubanshe, 1975), 2.1a-2a. A convenient entree in English is *Eminent Chinese of the Qing Dynasty*, 1:201-03; see also Chen Yongzheng 陳永正, *Lingnan wenxueshi* 嶺南文學史 (Guangzhou: Guangdong Gaodeng Jiaoyu Chubanshe, 1993), 206-22 for an analytical introduction, and the short biographical précis at Struve, *The Ming-Qing Conflict*, 340-41.

⁶² Qu, *Qu Dajun quanji*, 3: 1.

⁶³ A quote from the *Zhouyi*: “(The trigram representing) the earth and that for the bright (sun) entering within it form Ming Yi. The superior man, in accordance with this, conducts his management of men; - he shows his intelligence by keeping it obscured.” 明入地中，明夷；君子以蒞眾，用晦而明. *Zhouyi zhengyi*, Hexagon #36, “Mingyi” 明夷, 4.14a; trans. James Legge at <https://ctext.org/book-of-changes/ming-yi>, accessed 24 May 2018.

⁶⁴ Yin Ren was a little known politician during the Ming dynasty who earned his *jinshi* degree in 1553.

⁶⁵ Qu, *Qu Dajun quanji*, 3: 1.

In the six month of 1666, Qu was passing through Shanxi from Chang'an. His meeting with Gu Yanwu resulted in a poem from the older master, who authored the following verse:

“Mountain Man Qu Arrived from Guanzhong” 屈山人自關中至⁶⁶

弱冠詩名動九州，Upon coming of age, your poetic fame shook the nine provinces,
紉蘭餐菊舊風流。Stitching orchids for clothes and dining on chrysanthemums—
a romantic streak enjoyed as of old.⁶⁷

何期絕塞千山外，When did you go beyond the thousand hills and insurmountable passes?
幸有清樽十日留。Fortunately I have a flask of clear liquor for a ten day visit.⁶⁸

獨漉泥深蒼隼沒，Dulu is deep in mud—a sunken grey falcon,⁶⁹

五羊天遠白雲秋。Far off in the sky over the City of Five Rams—
white clouds in autumn.⁷⁰

誰憐函谷東來後，Who pities one who heads east from Hangu Pass⁷¹
班馬小小一蔽裘。On a tiny striped horse wearing a shabby fur coat?

Gu's poem only mentions three aspects of his newfound acquaintance: Qu's national reputation as a poet since young adulthood, his life-long friend and fellow Cantonese poet Chen Gongyin, literary style of Dulu, and Qu's long separation from Guangzhou and extensive travels. As a fellow poet, Gu naturally would feel some affinity with Qu. But in this poem he does not explore Qu's persona in this role except to note Qu's debt to Qu Yuan. He does not mention Liang Peilan, another fast friend who, along with Qu and Chen, collectively constituted the Three Great Masters of Lingnan. If there was a non-poetic reason for Gu to fail to note Liang, perhaps it was Liang's avoidance of any anti-Qing activity; his public profile was that of a man of letters, and hence would not have added any other level of meaning to the poem or reinforced Gu's emotional commitment to the defunct Ming. The two remaining aspects, having friends among the anti-Qing camp, and separation and travel, formed two commonalities shared with Gu. These points of biographical interaction, however, were

⁶⁶ Wang and Wu, eds., *Gu Tingling shiji huizhu*, 2: 924-28.

⁶⁷ These sartorial and culinary allusions are taken from the epic biographical poem “Lisao” 離騷, the centerpiece of the *Chuci* 楚辭 anthology. They are meant to link up Qu Dajun with his putative ancestor Qu Yuan. For a glance at Chu's various literary efforts of self-identification with this famous figure, see Honey, *The Southern Garden Poetry Society*, 33.

⁶⁸ An allusion to *Shiji* 史記, 79.2415, “Biography of Fan Sui and Cai Ze” 范睢蔡澤傳, where King Zhao of Qin 秦昭王 (325–251 BC) sent an invitation letter to the Lord of Pingyuan, Prince Zhao Sheng 趙勝 (d. 251), writing: “We have heard of Your Lordship's high principles and would like to establish a friendship between us man to man. If you would favor Us with a visit, We would hope to drink with you for ten days;” trans. William H. Nienhauser, Jr. et al., *The Grand Scribe's Records: The Memoirs of Pre-Han China* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1994), 244. I assume that the fact that this invitation was an insincere maneuver on the part of King Zhao was certainly irrelevant to Gu Yanwu's use of this incident as an allusion.

⁶⁹ Dulu 獨漉 was the literary style of Chen Gongyin, already mentioned above; he was a fast friend of Qu Dajun. Chen Gongyin also happened to be the son of Qu's teacher, the martyr to the Ming cause, Chen Bangyan. This line refers to the fact that after heroically but futilely attempting to rally troops over a wide area to support the Ming resistance, Chen went to ground and lived as a hermit.

⁷⁰ The City of Five Rams is a poetic name for Guangzhou; it derives from a legend of the city's founding by five genies who came to the site riding on the backs of rams.

⁷¹ Hangu pass was some 400 *li* west of Chang'an.

probably not enough to interest Gu in Qu as a long-term friend, since many of Gu's contemporaries were both in exile and aligned against the Qing anyway. What are obvious by their absence are any shared intellectual interests highlighted in Gu's poem.

Qu's poem sent to Gu is even less responsive in terms of personalizing it to match Gu; all that is mentioned are the extent of Gu's travels, couched in hyperbolic terms, and a nod to his commitment to collecting books:

“Seeing Off Gu Ningren” 送顧寧人⁷²

雁門北接嘗山路,	Northward from Wildgoose Gate it links up with the road to Changshan, ⁷³
爾去登臨勝槩多.	You left to climb and gaze out—numerous unsurpassed vistas.
天上三關橫朔漠,	The Three Passes in the sky connect horizontally with the northern desert, ⁷⁴
雲中八水會渾河.	Eight rivers among the clouds converge with the Hun River. ⁷⁵
飄零且覓藏書洞	Adrift and alone, you are about to seek out the book-storing caves, ⁷⁶
慷慨休聽出塞歌,	Moved, you stop and listen to the songs sung exiting the frontier.
我欲金箱圖五嶽,	I desire a metal box for storing a chart of the Five Marchmounts, ⁷⁷
相從先向曲陽過.	But first will follow you to pass by Quyang. ⁷⁸

Qu Dajun wrote another poem dedicated to seeing off Gu Yanwu in 24 lines; I assume it was written during the same trip in the north during 1666. Similar to the above poem, it focused on travel and historical allusions, adding a new aspect of literary allusions. One couplet does acknowledge their separate emphases, Gu on classical scholarship and himself on literature: “You sir follow after Mr. Kong in inspiring a *Book on Unicorns*,⁷⁹ I imitate the Three Gate Grandee in holding a poem ‘In

⁷² Qu, *Qu Dajun quanji* 2:811.

⁷³ Wildgoose Gate was a strategic pass on the Great Wall in northeastern Shanxi. Changshan, usually written 常山, is an alternate name for Hengshan 恆山, one of the Five Marchmounts or five sacred mountains.

⁷⁴ The three passes of Youkou 遼口, Yijin 益津, and Waqiao 瓦橋 are all located in Hebei, and in 959 formed the official border between the state of Later Zhou (951–960) and the Liao Khitan state (907–1125).

⁷⁵ The Eight Rivers are the Wei River 渭河 plus seven minor tributaries of the Yellow River which flow around Chang'an. The Hun River flows in Liaoning Province.

⁷⁶ Legend has it that the Eryou Mountains 二友山 in Hunan, one large and one small, stored books hidden up in caves during the Qin dynasty to avoid the proscription against private ownership of books issued by the First Emperor.

⁷⁷ A metal box was used to store precious objects.

⁷⁸ Quyang is in western Hebei, close to the Changshan mentioned earlier in the poem.

⁷⁹ A *Book of Unicorns* refers to a legendary book composed by one of Confucius' disciples expanding on an event described in the “Suiben xiaoxi” 遂本消息 chapter of the *Spring and Autumn Annals of Mr. Lü*: “When Yan Yuan died, the Master said: ‘Alas! Heaven has caused me this loss!’ When Zi Lu died, the Master said: ‘Alas! Heaven is cutting me off!’ When a *qilin* was captured in a royal hunt in the west, Confucius said: ‘My Way has come to an end!’ Three years later, he passed away.” 顏淵死，子曰：天喪予。子路死，子曰：天祝予。西狩獲麟，曰：吾道窮，吾道窮。三年，身隨而卒，trans. Sarah A. Queen and John S. Major, *Luxuriant Gems of the Spring and Autumn* (NY: Columbia University Press, 2016, 159. This allusion to such a work highlights Gu's role as a distant but erudite disciple of Confucius who wrote many valuable works on Confucianism and its texts.

Praise of Oranges.” 君追孔氏著麟書，我學三閭持橘頌。⁸⁰ Qu wrote one final poem dedicated to Gu when he heard the baleful news of Gu’s death. Entitled “Crying for Out-of-Office Gu Tinglin” 哭顧亭林處士. It commences with a nod to his original poem that identifies the site of their departure as the Wild Goose Gate; otherwise it holds little of interest—little personal emotion is invested since the mood is engendered via dark and desolate natural images rather than expressions of grief other than a single quick nod, no evaluation of his scholarship, no appreciation of his moral conduct, and no praise of his importance as symbol of Ming loyalism is touched on.⁸¹

Qu Dajun and Zhu Yizun also corresponded with each other, mainly through the medium of poetic exchanges. One poem indicates that Qu once visited Zhu in Nanjing;⁸² they climbed Bell Mountain 鍾山 in Nanjing together.⁸³ Another poem is obviously set in Guangzhou where Zhu sought out Qu for a visit.⁸⁴ A final poem describes a poetry party where verses were composed after searching for plums.⁸⁵ For Qu’s part, his collected verses include three poems dedicated to seeing Zhu off on extended trips, one to Guangzhou, one departing Wildgoose Gate to Guangwu 廣武 in Shanxi, and one to an unknown destination.⁸⁶

2.4.3 Other Social Connections: Li Yindu and Pan Lei

In the year 1666 Gu made several other new acquaintances. What is most interesting about these new associations is that they all had met each other before making Gu’s acquaintance, and had associated together to one degree or another. The question then arises, what, if any, was the role of these friends in introducing each other to Gu and facilitating a meeting with this august personality?

Li Yindu, already introduced above as one of the attendees of the 1679 “Erudite in Learning and Imposing in Writing” exam, was the scion of a Shanxi salt merchant clan. He first met Zhu Yizun in the spring of 1666 when Li was returning to Taiyuan from Daizhou, which was about 150 kilometers north of Taiyuan.⁸⁷ His relationship is also described as “settled on making exchanges.” Then, in the fifth month, Qu Dajun met Li in Chang’an, and also “settled on making exchanges.” Qu then accompanied Li to his home in Fuping 富平, located about 175 kilometers northeast of Taiyuan, to pay his respects to Li’s mother. Qu’s visit is described in brief at the end of his extensive travelogue *Records of Travels Throughout the Ancestral Homeland of the Zhou* 宗周遊記.⁸⁸ In the sixth month

⁸⁰ “Song Ningren xiansheng zhi Yunzhong jian jian Cao Shilang” 送寧人先生之雲中兼柬曹侍郎, *Qu Dajun quanji*, 2:1510. Yunzhong, also referred to as Yunzhou 雲州, is in northern Hebei. The Three Gate Grandee refers to Qu Yuan, who once occupied this uniquely Chu office. “In Praise of Oranges” is a piece included in the storied anthology *Chuci*, which content is mostly attributed to the hand of Qu Yuan.

⁸¹ Qu, *Qu Dajun quanji*, 1:643.

⁸² “Qu Wu laizi Baixia qi zuo shanyin zhi you” 屈五來自白下期作山陰之遊, Zhu, *Pushuting ji*, 1:51.

⁸³ “Tong Wang Er deng Zhongshan huaigu zhao Qu Qu” 同王二登鍾山懷古招屈五, Zhu, *Pushuting ji* 1:52.

⁸⁴ “Yu shan fang Qu Wu” 寓山訪屈五, Zhu, *Pushuting ji* 1:52.

⁸⁵ “Tong Du, Yu, Qu san chushi fang Hezhou” 同杜俞屈三處士放鶴州, Zhu, *Pushuting ji*, 1:49.

⁸⁶ “Zhu Taishi Zhucha zhi Wuyang ku bude jian, shi yi jizhi” 朱太史竹垞至五羊苦不得見詩以寄之, Qu, *Qu Dajun quanji*, 1:787-88; “Xie Chao Si meiren chu Yanmenguan song Xichang zhi Guangwu” 攜晁四美人出雁門關 送錫鬯至廣武, 2:1524, and “Song Zhu Zhucha” 送朱竹垞, 2:1346.

⁸⁷ Wu, ed. *Tiansheng xiansheng nianpu*, 12:373.

⁸⁸ *Qu Dajun quanji*, 3:4-17.

both Li and Qu went to Daizhou on a site-seeing trip to Wild Goose Gate. While in Daizhou, Gu Yanwu showed up to visit Li, with whom he had already “settled on making exchanges” back in 1663 while passing through the area.⁸⁹ After this initial meeting, Gu stayed for a while with Li at his home in Fuping,⁹⁰ exchanged poems with him, and Li even sent six poems to Gu the following year as a follow-up, concrete manifestation of the “exchange” effect of their friendship.⁹¹ We may be sure that this meeting with Qu in Daizhou in 1666 was the one described in vague terms in Gu’s chronological biography for that year. Confirmation comes from a poem composed by Gu for Li at that time, portraying him as “My friend of eminent talent who caps Yongzhou 吾友高才冠雍州,” in which he also mentions Qu, writing that “A man came, a guest. from Chu, a descendant of the Three Gates Grandee 人來楚客三閭後.”⁹² Gu also corresponded with Li; four pieces of epistolary of little consequence made it into Gu’s collected prose works; additionally, a very important letter discussing historical phonology at length will be reviewed in the following chapter.⁹³ It is important to mention here as a marker of a common scholarly topic of mutual interest, since Li was competent enough in this reinvigorated field to compose a work called *Expanded Rhymes*⁹⁴ 廣韻正.

Li Yindu continued to maintain a friendship and occasional correspondence with Qu Dajun throughout the second half of 1666, including two poems of congratulations on Qu’s marriage, a poem on autumn sent to him, with further pieces mailed to Qu at his studio in Shanxi, a verse recording a visit to Wild Goose Pass, and a poem recording their site-seeing around the surrounding area.⁹⁵ In 1667, Qu composed some poetry with a lengthy preface to see Li off to Shaanxi province, his “Preface to Seeing off Li Tiansheng Returning to Shaanxi” 送李天生歸陝西序.⁹⁶ Five poems from Li to Qu appeared in 1668: one celebrating drinking with Qu and others at a friend’s Western Garden 西園, reflecting on their past excursions together, one about drinking with Qu at a friend’s studio, two poems on Li’s reflecting with Qu on his own worsening illness, and a poem sending Qu off on his return to Nanhai in Guangdong.⁹⁷

After Qu Dajun departed from the scene, there is no record of Li Yindu corresponding with him any longer; but it was different with Gu Yanwu. Li maintained a loose association and occasional correspondence with him until Gu’s death in 1682.⁹⁸ It just so happened that Gu passed away on the very evening of the day Li received a poem from him, February 15, 1682. Li composed a lengthy

⁸⁹ His purpose was to recruit Li and twenty of his contemporaries to open up agricultural land north of Daizhou.

⁹⁰ Wu ed., *Tiansheng xiansheng nianpu*, 12:374.

⁹¹ Wu ed., *Tiansheng xiansheng nianpu*, 12:362.

⁹² See Gu’s poem, “Once Again Passing by Daizhou, Presented to Li Zide at the Headquarters of M’lord Chen Shangnian” 重過代州曾李子德在陳君上年署中, Wang and Wu, eds., *Gu Tingling shiji huizhu*, 2: 928-36, p. 929.

⁹³ *Gu, Gu Yanwu quanji*, 21:238, 265, 271-72, and 273-74; the letter treating historical phonology is included on pp. 122-27.

⁹⁴ Xie Kunshn 謝啟昆, *Xiaoxue kao*, 38.25a notes that Li Yindu composed this work, but was unable to supply any information regarding it.

⁹⁵ Noted in Wu ed., *Tiansheng xiansheng nianpu*, 12:376-77

⁹⁶ Preserved in *Wengshan wenwai*, in Qu, *Qu Dajun quanji*, 3:89-90.

⁹⁷ Wu ed., *Tiansheng xiansheng nianpu*, 12:396-97.

⁹⁸ See three letters from Gu to Li preserved at *Gu, Gu Yanwu quanji*, 21; pp. 122-27 preserves a long missive discussing historical phonology, and two short letters are both recorded on p. 128.

offering in one hundred lines to memorialize Gu.⁹⁹ Later on, he composed another poem honoring Gu, and three poems honoring him and two friends, Gu who had recently passed, and Chen Shangnian 陳上年, who had been executed back in 1677 and was the subject of a poem mentioned above. After the second meeting between Gu and Li in 1666, evidence of this continued association consists of the following examples.

In 1667, Li Yindu and Gu Yanwu corresponded about the *Expanded Rhymes* 廣韻.¹⁰⁰ In 1668, Li received a letter from Gu sent from a prison in Jinan 濟南 seeking his help. Willard Peterson introduces the case as follows:

On the fifteenth day of the second month of 1668, while living in a monastery in Beijing, Gu learned that he had been implicated in a trial in Shantung. He left the capital and ‘whipped his horse’ with all due speed to Jinan, arriving on the second day of the third month. There he learned for the first time that he had been accused of sedition by Jiang Yuanheng 姜元衡, with whom Gu was not acquainted....On the fourth day of the third month, two days after he had arrived in Jinan, Gu surrendered himself to the yamen to be held in custody while Jiang Yuanheng’s charges were being investigated....He wrote many letters asking for assistance.¹⁰¹ Li hastened to Jinan to offer what help he could,¹⁰² but as Peterson points out, “a more important source of help was Zhu Yizun, whom Gu had met in 1666.” It turns out that Zhu was the secretary to the governor of Shandong province at this time. Peterson summarizes the ins and outs of this case with admirable clarity and brevity; these details will not detain us here except to record that the case was settled in Gu’s favor on the tenth day of the eleventh month.¹⁰³ Gu sent a letter of thanks to Li, to which Li responded with a poem in 30 lines.¹⁰⁴

On New Year’s day of the next year, 1669, Li met Gu in Baoding 保定, some 140 kilometers northeast of Beijing. Li then proceeded to the capital, where he met up with Gu who had traveled separately through Shandong on his roundabout way to the capital. Together they celebrated the Qingming Festival by visiting the temporary tomb of the last emperor of the Ming, Huai Zong 懷宗, Zhu Youjian 朱由檢 (1610–1644); called Mausoleum of the Lamented Ancestor 懷宗欒宮.¹⁰⁵

The next apparent correspondence between Li and Gu occurred in 1673, when Li received a letter from Gu; Li responded with a poem. Three years later, in 1676, when Li left Beijing, Gu happened to be there and sent him off with a poem.¹⁰⁶ The next year, 1677, Gu passed by Fuping site-seeing; Li heard of his arrival and brought him back to his residence where Gu paid his respects to Li’s mother. Gu and Li exchanged four poems each, Li matching Gu’s original rhymes.¹⁰⁷ The last

⁹⁹ Wu ed., *Tianheng xiansheng nianpu*, 12:466.

¹⁰⁰ Wu ed., *Tianheng xiansheng nianpu*, 12:466. See chapter 3, 3.2 below for Gu’s most important letter on phonology.

¹⁰¹ Peterson, “The Life of Ku Yen-wu,” 227, 231, 232.

¹⁰² Wu ed., *Tiansheng xiansheng nianpu*, 12:466.

¹⁰³ Zhang ed., *Gu Tinglin xiansheng nianpu*, 5:447-56 provides the basic facts of the trial.

¹⁰⁴ Zhang ed., *Gu Tinglin xiansheng nianpu*, 5:457.

¹⁰⁵ Zhang ed., *Gu Tinglin xiansheng nianpu*, 5:459-60 includes the most details of any source.

¹⁰⁶ Wu ed., *Tiansheng xiansheng nianpu*, 12:431.

¹⁰⁷ Wu ed., *Tiansheng xiansheng nianpu*, 12:431, 433.

apparent social interaction between Li and Gu occurred in 1679. Both Li and Zhu Yizun had passed the “Erudite in Learning and Imposing in Writing” exam and had been assigned as correctors in the Hanlin Academy and as editors of the official history of the Ming dynasty. In the fall of this year, they went to Taiyuan. After being feasted by Zhu’s grandfather, Li received word that Gu was staying at a local temple in Fenzhou 汾州, Fenyang 汾陽 county, Shanxi, some 100 kilometers southwest of Taiyuan. He hastened there to visit him. The last poem Li received from Gu was on the day of Gu’s death in 1682.

Li was naturally predisposed to friendship with Gu Yanwu, since he was himself a classicist equally interested in historical phonology. In fact, his biographical chronology records that in 1667, the year after he encountered Gu for the second time, the following transpired:

In the fall, he returned to Dai and dwelt at Wild Goose Pass for several years. He increased his resolution to study the Six Classics and the works of the various great classicists in Shaanxi and Fujian. The prose and poetry that he composed became heightened in his incorporation of the literary essence and depth of antiquity. His fame spread within the seas, and for a time poets and versifiers came calling like a flock of ducks, so many that he could not accommodate them all.¹⁰⁸

His tenure as supervisor over the “lecturers” (jiangxi 講席) in the classics at Guanzhong Academy 關中書院 in 1685 when he was 54 indicates the solidity of his learning and reputation as a classicist. His chronological biography grouped him with Gu because of their scholarly profiles:

Li Yindu, together with Gu Yanwu of Kunshan and Yan Ruoku 閻若璩 (1636–1704) of Taiyuan, were venerated as scholars who were broadly learned in antiquity and were precise in their investigation and research. He had arrived in Fenyang because he had chosen this route since Gu was travelling in Fenyang.¹⁰⁹

As for Li’s interest in phonology, several examples confirm this intellectual commitment. For instance, Li once obtained an old edition of the *Expanded Rhymes* which he discussed with Gu; in 1667, Gu urged Chen Shangnian, the Assistant Provincial Commissioner of Shanxi, in whose employ Li worked as tutor to Chen’s two sons, to publish the work.¹¹⁰ Also, once when debating historical phonology with Mao Qiling, Li became so exasperated by Mao’s intransigence that he drew his sword and struck at Mao; understandably, Mao fled in terror.¹¹¹

Li Yindu also interacted with Zhu Yizun. Li first met Zhao in the spring of 1666 when Li was passing through Taiyuan. They immediately “settled on making exchanges”.¹¹² Zhu also sent poems to the Three Great Masters of Lingnan, Qu Dajun, Chen Gonyin, and Liang Peilan, and associated with them in Guangzhou. Zhu’s other friends among his contemporaries such as Li Yindu, were more

¹⁰⁸ Wu ed., *Tiansheng xiansheng nianpu*, 12:444.

¹⁰⁹ Wu ed., *Tiansheng xiansheng nianpu*, 12:431.

¹¹⁰ Wu ed., *Tiansheng xiansheng nianpu*, 12:390.

¹¹¹ Wu ed., *Tiansheng xiansheng nianpu*, 12:471.

¹¹² Wu ed., *Tiansheng xiansheng nianpu*, 12:373. See also letter sent by Zhu to Li in response to a missive from Li, preserved in *Pushuting ji*, 2:395.

backward looking or traditional minded than Zhu himself. Evidence of this may be found in Qu Dajun's account of visiting Li's mother to wish her a happy birthday. He incidentally mentions Li's work on classical hermeneutics in the old Ming style of the *Summa Theological* (*daquan* 大全), in this case, a comprehensive project called the *Summa Theologica of the Nine Classics* 九經大全; the ensuing discussion concerned Zhang Zai's 張載 (1020–1077) metaphysics and Lu Jiuyuan's 陸九淵 (1139–1192) conception of one annotating the classics by one's moral actions rather than one's rational intellect. These concerns were obviously mere continuations of the direction of Ming scholarly preoccupations inherited from the Song.

Qu's record of this conversation is exceedingly revealing of his own backward looking approach:

Tiansheng right then was editing his *Summa Theologica on the Nine Classics* but it was not yet finished. I said, "Learning values individual insights. The *Nine Classics* are the annotators of my mind; my mind is the main body of the *Nine Classics*. If these insights are not gained from the main body, yet can be derived from the annotations, this is termed dabbling in things. The reason that Hengqu is called a pass in the world, is it is the *Nine Classics*. The leader of heaven and earth is my mind. I am capable of first seeking insights in the leader of heaven and earth; if I am able to gain something therein, then the words of the *Nine Classics* are my words; this constitutes the *Nine Classics* annotating me, not me annotating the classics.

時天生方編久經大全未就，予謂：學貴自得，九經者吾心之注疏，吾心者九經之正文，不得於正文，但從事於注疏，是謂玩物。橫渠所謂天地之塞者，九經也。天地之帥者吾心也。予能先求之於天地之帥，苟有得焉，則九經之言皆我之言，是為九經注我，非我注經。¹¹³

A final member of this loose association of scholars is Pan Lei, one of the quartet of the above-mentioned commoners who passed the "Erudite in Learning and Imposing in Writing" exam of 1679. Pan was born in Wujiang 吳江 county, near modern Suzhou. When young, he studied with Xu Fang 徐枋 (1622–1694) a fellow countryman from Wujiang and successful candidate at the provincial-level exams in 1642; today Xu is more known as a painter and calligraphist than Confucian pedagogue. Lei also studied with one Dai Li 戴笠 and most importantly, Dai's friend Gu Yanw. Gu had befriended Pan Lei's elder half-brother Pan Chengzhang 潘樞章 (d. 1663), who was executed in Hangzhou for helping to compile a history of the Ming regarded as treasonous by the Qing authorities, the *Brief Redaction of Ming History* 明史輯略; it had been published posthumously in 1660 by the father of main author Zhuang Tinglong 莊廷鑑 (d.1660). Pan's success in the special exam of 1679 led to his short bureaucratic career similar to that of Zhu Yizun, that is, functioning as Hanlin commissioner and compiler of the Ming history. When Zhu Yizun was dismissed in 1684 for having brought copyists into the forbidden city to aide his private research, Pan's crime was being "impatient and petulant." He promptly resigned, and despite having his official title restored in 1703, for the rest of his life he

¹¹³ Qu, "Zongzhou youji 宗周遊記, *Qu Dajun quanji*, 3:4-17, pp. 16-17.

travelled and lived the life of an active literatus, most importantly, composing poetry and prefaces. The *Draft History of the Qing* classified him in the first section of “Park of *Literati* (*wenyuan* 文苑) along with Zhu Yizun, Qu Dajun, Qian Qianyi 錢謙益 (1582–1664), Wu Weiye 吳偉業 (1609–1671) and other notable literati. His profile as a poet is encapsulated as follows:

Throughout his entire life, he loved mountains and rivers, climbed high and declaimed poetry. His name spread abroad and subjugated all. His literary collection was called the *Anthology from the Hall of Following My Original Intention [to Resign from Office]*. Also, he wrote a work in 8 scrolls, the *Classified Sounds*, following Yanwu’s *Five Works on Phonology*.¹¹⁴ Yanwu wanted to restore antiquity, but Lei strove to plumb the changes occurring in later ages.

平生嗜山水，登高賦詩，名流折服。有遂初堂集。又因炎武音學五書為類音 八卷。炎武復古，未則務窮後世之變云。¹¹⁵

Pan’s foundation as a Confucian scholar was formed in his youth. His breadth of learning commences his biography in the *Draft History*: “He was born with marvelous precocity; he could read ten lines at a glance. He mastered the fields of classics, histories, phonology, mathematics and Mahayana Buddhism.” 生而奇慧，讀書十行並下，自經史、音韻、算數及宗乘之學，無不通貫。¹¹⁶ As a long-standing pupil of the master Gu Yanwu, Pan was in a position to observe the course of compilation of Gu’s famous collections of critical notes, the *Record of Knowledge Gained Daily* 日知錄. Pan’s role in its ultimate publication is noted in the preface he composed for the work on Mid-Autumn Festival of 1695:

When I, Lei, was young, I followed along with Gu on his travels. I transcribed this work by hand. After the master passed on, I sought out a copy from his family, which I collated and corrected two or three times, transcribed and divided it into cases. I planned with the nephews of the master, the Duke Minister of Justice Xu Jian’an [Xu Qianxue 徐乾學 (1631–1694)] and the Duke Grand Secretary Xu Lizhai [Xu Yuanwen 徐元文 (1634–1691)] to print the work but nothing resulted. After these two dukes followed in death, I Lei, pondered that this work could not be allowed to disappear, so I carried it to Fujian. A friend of my generation, Wang Huizhai, presented me with funds to buy a piece of hillside land. I gave it all to the magistrate of Jianyang county, Ge Shouji; he summoned engravers to print and circulate the work in the world. Oh, alas! The master was not a man for a single generation, and this work is not a work for a single generation!

未少從先生遊，嘗手授是書。先生沒，復從其家求得受藁，較勘再三，繕寫成帙，大學士徐公立齋謀刻之而未果。二公繼沒，未念是書不可以無傳。攜至閩中。年友汪悔

¹¹⁴ This work is noted in Xie, *Xiaoxue kao*, 40.5b-6b.

¹¹⁵ *Qingshi gao* 484.13344.

¹¹⁶ *Qingshi gao* 484.13343.

齋贈以買山、舉畧建陽丞葛受箕，鳩工刻之以行世。嗚呼！先生非一世之人，此書非一世之書也。¹¹⁷

Gu corresponded with Pan concerning this work,¹¹⁸ and we can be sure that it was a topic of conversation over the years. Incidentally, in one letter to Pan, Gu off-handedly utilizes a felicitous phrase from Li Yindu,¹¹⁹ indicating that Pan was also still in active contact with Li, his former co-examinee in the 1679 special exam. Qu also corresponded with Pan; witness a 48 line poem to the title of “Seeing Off Junior Complier Pan Cigeng” 送潘次耕太史 which includes a subtle nod to Zhu Yizun.¹²⁰

To bring the circle of extended friendships complete, Pan also composed the preface for Qu’s most important work, the *New Tales of Guangdong*. In 1700, Pan composed a panegyric preface that stressed how rare it was for a poet to be able to compose prose; he obliquely compared Qu with Gu by recycling phraseology that he had originally applied to Gu: In his preface to the *Record of Knowledge Gained Daily*, had written, “Contemporary men of letters and talents are numerous, yet in speaking of learning, one must straighten one’s lapels in respect and promote Master Gu.” 當代文人才子甚多，然語學問，必斂衽推顧先生。As for Qu, he wrote, “Master Qu Wengshan from Panyu is renowned within the Four Seas for his poetry, a past master; none but should straighten their lapels in respect and sigh in submission.” 潘寓屈翁山以詩名海內，宗工哲匠，無不斂衽嘆服。¹²¹ Finally, Pan composed one of two prefaces commissioned by the author to Zu Yizun’s *Pushuting ji*.¹²² This made the third preface he composed for members of this small circle of friends, including one for Gu’s *Record of Knowledge Gained Daily* and one for Qu’s *New Tales of Guangdong*.

2.5 Conclusions

This overview of some of the associations made by Gu throughout the course of his travels *cum* research trips was made even more dispositive of early Qing sociality given that these associates also preserved their own friendships across time and space. We saw that friendships were formed by personal encounters and later reunions across China, furthered by exchanges of poetry, and extended in time via the practice of epistolary both to keep in touch and to solicit advice on scholarship or to solicit prefaces. Members of this small-scale circle of Gu, Zhu, Qu, Li, and Pan naturally spiraled out to form other circles with other eminent classical masters. An instance of this is the friendship extended by Zhu to Mao Qiling, an old colleague from officialdom in Beijing. Thus, this circle may be taken as typical of other such social circles, formal and informal, that in time led to later collaborative projects more characteristic of Qian-Jia classicists than early Qing scholars. One such

¹¹⁷ Pan, “Pan Lei yuanxu” 潘耒原序, in *Rizhi lu*, 1:1-2; p. 2.

¹¹⁸ See Gu’s letter, “Yu Ciceng shu” 與次耕書, in Gu, *Gu Yanwu quanji*, 21:131. Two additional letters to Pan Lei are preserved here, one of the same title as listed above, p. 130, and one under title of “Yu Pan Cigeng shu” 與潘次耕書, p. 129.

¹¹⁹ Gu, “Da Cigeng shu” 答次耕書, *Gu Yanwu quanji*, 21:130

¹²⁰ Qu, *Qu Dajun quanji*, 2:964. Chen, *Gu Yanwu pingzhuan*, 133-53 subjects the correspondence between Gu and Pan to a critical historical and textual analysis.

¹²¹ Pan, “*Guangdong xinyu xu*” 廣東新語序, in Qu, *Qu Dajun quanshu*, 4:1-2; p. 1.

¹²² Zhu, *Pushuting ji*, 1:1.

early project was the compilation of the *Ming History*, for which Gu was invited to join, but declined due to his enduring loyalty to the defunct Ming dynasty. The inclusion in this circle of such traditionally minded masters as Qu Dajun and Li Yindu reveals the social interplay across the boundaries of classical camps such as Song versus the nascent Han learning. But it must be remembered that adherence to Cheng-Zhu orthodoxy was both an academic necessity for success in the exams and entry into officialdom, as well as a personal choice or moral commitment and cultivation throughout the entire course of the dynasty.

The obvious divergences between the intellectual outlets of the three major foci of this chapter, Gu Yanwu, Zhu Yizun, and Qu Dajun, played out over time along obvious avenues of friendly exchanges. Gu naturally fostered friendships with acquaintances who possessed like-minded souls; others whom he met on the literati circuit did not produce many points of commonality, and hence were forgotten after parting. The major differences between Gu and Zhu on the one hand, and Qu on the other, may be synthesized below: Although we may assume that Gu, Zhu, and Qu were all devastated emotionally by the fall of the Ming, Gu and Zhu harbored vastly different scholarly profiles than Qu even before the fall. Gu and Zhu were forward looking, textually oriented, and concerned to provide a new basis for a re-evaluation of the classics. This would lead to a reformation of the recruitment process for the civil service system. For Zhu, his major work in this area was the great encyclopedia of quotes on classical learning, *Investigation into the Meaning of the Classics*. Qu was backward looking, hermeneutically oriented, and concerned with continuing the moral cultivation that was the center of Ming classical learning. He had no major works in this field,¹²³ for it was just one area among several that he dabbled in as a former Ming man of letters, a carefree aesthete of the so-called “Mountain Man” (*shanren* 山人) variety.¹²⁴ The type of poetic approach embodied by Qu, that

¹²³ But Qu did produce medium-scale works in the field of classical exegesis. The chief one was a review of the meaning of the *Yijing*, already mentioned above. The other one was a commentary on the *Four Books*, entitled *Sishu buzhu jiankao* 四書補注兼考. This work is separately included in Qu’s collected works as *Sishu buzhu* 四書補註 in 19 scrolls, Qu, *Qu Dajun quanji*, 6:219-807; and *Sishu kao* 四書考 in five scroll, 7:809-8:1837. For the first work, Qu is named as a “Consulting Supplementor” (*canbu* 參補) to one He Fan 何藩, who is termed the “Supplementor and Annotator” (補註). For the second work, both authors are accorded equal status as they are termed “Equal Investigators” (*tongkao* 同考). He Fan, also known as He Dongbin 何東濱, hailed from Jiangdu 江都, a county near Yangzhou. He was once the recipient of a long poem in 48 lines from Qu entitled “Zeng He Dongbin chushi” 贈何東濱處士, which reveals the depth of their friendship: “During a cold night we shared both quilt and pillow,/Our exchanges like the same flesh and bones, belonging to the same clan though of different surnames.” 天寒共宿枕衾同,骨肉交深異姓中, Qu, *Qu Dajun quanji*, 2:965-66. It is suspected that He Fan authored one of two short pieces in the *Guangdong xinyu* that patently were not from the hand of Qu, the piece on “Duanzhou shanshui” 端州山水; see Yang Ai 楊皐, “Guanyu Guangdong xinyu zhong liangpian fei Qu Dajun xie de wenzhang” 关于广东新语中两篇非屈大均写的文章. *Journal of South China Normal University, Social Science Edition* 2 (2005).

¹²⁴ Xiao Chi defines the nature of the “mountain man during the Ming era: “Life for them no longer meant active engagement in an official career or striving after sagehood; it meant passing the time in elegant pursuits such as reading and reciting poetry, collecting antiques, painting, gardening, enjoying the beauty in nature—in short, engaging in the ‘non-productive consumption of time.’ Although to acquire the economic means to lead such a pleasant life some of these men were forced to spend years in official sinecures, official position was nor longer their ultimate goal in life....For the first time in Chinese cultural history, writers and painters became professionals outside the court.” Xiao, *The Chinese Garden as Lyric Enclave: A Generic Study of the Story of the Stone* (Ann Arbor: Center for Chinese Studies, the University of Michigan, 2001), 35-36.

of a lyrical, almost self-centered concern for belletristic beauty as much as the content of a poem or piece of prose, was something that Gu had forsaken after his youthful flirtation with playing the poetic gallant. The sober-minded Gu would never write something as frivolous as Qu's panegyric to a friend's baldness or a lament to an ancient paper mulberry tree snapped in a storm;¹²⁵ Gu rather insisted that all of his compositions be devoted to the twin concerns of classical scholarship and contemporary affairs: "Hence, all writings that do not concern the aim of the Six Classics, or the tasks of the contemporary age, should not be done." 故凡文之不關於六經之指、當世之務者,一切不為。¹²⁶ In his mature years, Gu's poetry may be construed as being a combination of social exchange, travel reportage, and journal entry, certainly never explorations of the possibilities of prettified language and fanciful themes.

In the body of this work, we will not usually delve so deeply into the exchange of poetic presentation among scholarly friends; but letters touching on classical questions will certainly be noted, and sometimes explored. The next chapter will commence the formal examination of Gu Yanwu's scholarship, in the form of his impact on the revival and maturation of epigraphy, and his setting the nascent study of ancient phonology on a systematic setting.

2.5.1 Appendix: Record of Gu's travels 1657-1682, after Willard Peterson

- 1657 Jiangsu-Shandong
- 1658 Shandong-Zhili
- 1659 Zhili-Shandong-Jiangsu-Shandong
- 1660 Shandong-Zhili-Shandong-Jiangsu
- 1661 Jiangsu-Zhejiang-Jiangsu-Shandong
- 1662 Shandong-Zhili-Shanxi
- 1663 Shanxi-Shaanxi-Shanxi
- 1664 Shanxi-Zhili-Henan-Shandong
- 1665 Shandong
- 1666 Shandong-Zhili-Shanxi-Zhili-Shandong
- 1667 Shandong-Jiangsu-Shandong-Zhili-Shandong
- 1668 Shandong-Zhili-Shandong
- 1669 Shandong-Zhili-Shandong-Zhili-Shandong-Zhili-Shandong-Zhili
- 1670 Shandong-Zhili-Shanxi
- 1672 Shanxi-Zhili-Shandong-Zhili-Shandong-Henan-Shanxi
- 1673 Shanxi-Shandong-Zhili-Shandong-Zhili
- 1674 Zhili-Shanxi-Shandong
- 1675 Shandong-Henan-Shanxi
- 1676 Shanxi-Shandong-Zhili-Shandong-Zhili
- 1677 Zhili-Shandong-Zhili-Shanxi-Shaanxi-Shanxi

¹²⁵ Qu, "Lao gushu wei dafeng suo cui, shi yi shangzhi" 老穀樹為大風所摧,詩以傷之, Qu, *Qu Dajun quanji*, 1:103;

¹²⁶ Gu, "Yuren shu san" 與人書三, *GuYanwu quanji*, 21:139. In "Shengyuan lun" 生員論, part one, Gu adds the 21 Dynastic Histories to the ideal curriculum of the classics and contemporary affairs; Gu, *Gu Yanwu quanji*, 21:69.

1678 Shanxi-Shaanxi
1679 Shaanxi-Henan-Zhili-Henan-Shanxi-Shaanxi
1680 Shaanxi-Shanxi
1681 Shanxi-Shaanxi-Shanxi
1682 Shanxi