



East Asian History

NUMBER 38 · FEBRUARY 2014

www.eastasianhistory.org

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Design and production	Lindy Allen and Katie Hayne Print PDFs based on an original design by Maureen MacKenzie-Taylor This is the thirty-eighth issue of <i>East Asian History</i> , the second published in electronic form, February 2014. It continues the series previously entitled <i>Papers on Far Eastern History</i> .
Contributions to	http://www.eastasianhistory.org/contribute
Back issues	http://www.eastasianhistory.org/archive To cite this journal, use page numbers from PDF versions
ISSN (electronic)	1839-9010
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Contact	eastasianhistory@anu.edu.au
Banner calligraphy	Huai Su 懷素 (737–799), Tang calligrapher and Buddhist monk

Published jointly by
The Australian National University and Leiden University



Australian
National
University



Universiteit Leiden

EDITORS' PREFACE

 *Remco Breuker and Benjamin Penny*

The publication of number 38 of *East Asian History* gives an opportunity to announce an important addition to the website: under “Archive” we now have high-quality scanned versions of the complete run of the journal since its inception in June 1991. We hope that readers will make full use of this new resource. We also hope that we will soon be able to add the complete run of *East Asian History*’s predecessor, *Papers on Far Eastern History*, to the archive.

This issue of the journal itself also brings a new feature: the reprinting of a small selection of articles and other works by notable senior scholars in our field that for one reason or another have become difficult to find. In this issue we present three articles on the Song-dynasty Chinese poet Su Shi 蘇軾 (1036–1101) and some unpublished translations of his work by A.R. Davis, who was Professor of Oriental Studies at the University of Sydney from 1955 until his death in 1983.

“CROSSING OVER” TO IMMORTALITY IN THE DAOIST RITUAL REGULATIONS OF HIGHEST PURITY

 Valentina Georgieva

This paper re-examines the esoteric initiation manual called the *Yellow Book Regulations for Crossing-over of Highest Purity* (Shangqing huangshu guodu yi 上清黃書過度儀, DZ 1294, hereafter abbreviated as *Regulations for Crossing-over*).¹ A prime feature of this initiation ritual is the joint participation of a man and a woman in a complex series of exercises culminating in a religiously unitive experience enacted as a ritual congress.² The prescribed sexual and ceremonial actions have been discussed in several articles and books, and although some of the authors quite rightly conclude that the purpose of the rite was spiritual, the symbolic significance of the ritual actions has so far not been examined. Obviously mere descriptions of the ritual actions and haptic motions as prescribed in the manual do not substantiate the argument that the *Regulations for Crossing-over* was more than a sex manual, nor do they explain its purport and significance.³

In this essay I attempt to understand and interpret the Crossing-over (*guodu* 過度), ritual as a historical phenomenon, and thus as a contribution to the history of Daoist ritual. I primarily attempt to make the plot of the ritual intelligible by situating it within the larger context of the Daoist tradition and by discussing its intentions, purposes and values; in particular I reflect on some of the key metaphors found in it. As the title proclaims, this rite was intended to let a couple “cross” from lay status to become a recognised member of the religious community. Making the ritual acts intelligible by situating and viewing them within the context of the ritual plot (which in turn is set within the symbolic framework of the tradition as a whole), shows how its symbolism evinces a unified vision, which finds expression in its metaphoric language.

These concerns are set within a complex symbolic understanding of the “sacredness of nature” whose paradigms are fixed by myth.⁴ More concretely speaking, in the *Daode jing* 道德經 the Dao is declared to be constant and good, pervading all beings, while at the same time it is either hidden, or lost.⁵ In the ritual, this problematic serves as a pivot for the liturgy whereby, on

1 The *Shangqing huangshu guodu yi* in twenty sections (in 24 folios) is the main source for the rite. The term *yi* 儀 can be understood as rule (*gui* 規), regulation (*ze* 則) or law (*fa* 法). Its exact date of composition, authorship and provenance are unknown but it may have been produced in the early fourth century in Jiangnan within the Celestial Masters tradition, as has been suggested. See Michel Strickmann, *Le Taoïsme du Mao Chan: Chronique d'une Révélation* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1981), p.69; and also Kristofer Schipper, *The Taoist Body* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982), pp.150–51. The most recent examination of the dating question, by Gil Raz, also concludes that the issue remains problematic. See “The Way of the Yellow and the Red: Re-examining the Sexual Initiation Rite of Celestial Master Daoism,” in *Nan, Nü: Men, Women & Gender in Early & Imperial China* 10.1 (March 2008), p.89, n.5. The text does not belong to the genre of the arts of the bed-chamber but is rather a ritual manual, as has been suggested by Marc Kalinowski—see his “La Transmission du Dispositif des Neuf Palais sous les Six-dynasties,” in *Tantric and Taoist Studies in Honour of R.A. Stein*, ed. Michel Strickmann, Vol.3, (Brussels: Institut Belge des Hautes Études Chinoises, 1985), esp. pp.782–802. For other recent works on the Celestial Masters, see Peter Nickerson, “The Southern Celestial Masters,” pp.256–82; Livia Kohn’s “The North-

ern Celestial Masters,” pp.283–308; and Barbara Hendrichske on “Early Daoist Movements,” pp.134–64. All three articles are in the comprehensive *Daoism Handbook*, ed. Livia Kohn (Leiden: Koninklijke Brill, 2000).

2 The initiation process was apparently conducted in stages so that boys and girls could receive a document registering their entrance into the community at the age of seven. See Kristopher Schipper, “The Taoist Body,” *History of Religions*, Vol.17 (1978), p.376; also see *Santian neijie jing* [Inner Explanations of the Three Heavens] (DZ 876, HY1205, completed by mid-fifth century), 1:6b.

3 See Raz, “The Way of the Yellow and the Red,” pp.86–120.

4 As Paul Ricoeur writes, “what the myth says, ritual performs”. See his “Manifestation and Proclamation” in *Figuring the Sacred* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1995), pp.50–1. The correlation between myth and ritual has been analysed by the Scandinavian school, for example in the work of Georges Dumézil, and also applied in the study of ritual by Algirdas J. Greimas. See, for example, his *Of Gods and Men: Studies in Lithuanian Mythology* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1992), p.1–10. Moreover, as Ricoeur says, “something like a creation story is necessary if symbolism is to come to language, but the myth that recounts it returns in a way to nature through the symbolism of the ritual where the element becomes once again immediately meaningful”. See Ricoeur, *Figuring*, p.54.

5 See, for example, the *Xiang'er* commentary in Stephen R. Bokenkamp’s *Early Daoist Scriptures* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), p.40.

6 In the last section of *Regulations for Crossing-over* (20:23b), both the terms sin (*zui*) and fault (*bi* 蔽) are used to describe the state of the initiates.

7 My methodology is inspired by Ricoeur’s, in particular examining the metaphors of this ritual-text to explore how it finds completion in the concept of Crossing-over. See Ricoeur’s “Metaphor and the Problem of Hermeneutics,” in *Hermeneutics and the Human Sciences*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), pp.165–82; and also his *Figuring*, pp.93–107.

8 The earliest references to the Union of *Qi* that I could find are the macrobiotic hygiene texts in the Mawangdui manuscripts dated prior to 168 CE, studied by Donald J. Harper in his *Early Chinese Medical Literature: the Mawangdui Medical Manuscripts* (London: Kegan Paul, 1998), pp.134–40.

the one hand, the initiates’ “love of the Dao” (*baodao* 好道) and merit, are emphasised, while on the other, their sins (*zui* 罪) require expiation.⁶ The ritual enacts a healing operation—uncovering the presence of the Dao—by a regeneration of the moral character of the initiates.

Thus, I propose to understand the ritual in terms of its enactment of a spiritual transformation expressing ethical concerns. Thus, sexuality, within the scope of the ritual, is harnessed to the purpose of ethical perfection figuring as a dramatic enactment of the struggle between good and evil on the stage of the human heart-mind. In particular, I show how the metaphors of the ritual can be understood as centred on the core idea of Crossing-over.⁷

This paper consists of four major parts: the first introduces polemic reactions to the ritual; the second and third parts analyse the metaphors at the core of the rite and the techniques practised by the initiates, respectively; in the last part of this article I treat the three overarching features that I have identified in the ritual text (and that are concerns or goals that are considered typical for Daoism): constancy, harmony, and a return to the integral darkness of the source, the Dao.

Reactions to the Ritual as a “Union of Qi” (heqi 合氣)⁸

The Crossing-over ritual was allegedly first performed within the Celestial Masters (*tianshi* 天師) movement around the second century CE.⁹ The sexual aspect of the rite was criticised as transgressing the prevalent social morality, and was often considered a perversion of the meaning of religion; in fact, it had a soteriological function, which arguably led to misinterpretations by Buddhists and some modern commentators who have tended to associate sexual activity with the profane rather than the sacred. Thus a number of modern Western scholars have displayed an uneasiness over the sexual aspects of the ritual, and have consequently downplayed its importance as an initiation rite in the early Daoist community.¹⁰ Some of them have even described it as “obscene”,¹¹ or as “a rite that goes against common social values and is counterintuitive to people’s sense of shame”.¹² Criticism came from both non-Daoist and Daoist circles, but not surprisingly some of the most outspoken disapproval and even ridicule came from Buddhist commentators.¹³ The Buddhist *Further Collected Works on Spreading Enlightenment* (Guang hongming ji 廣弘明集) quotes *Discussions Ridiculing the Dao* (Xiaodao lun 笑道論) of 570:

9 The Celestial Masters who allegedly practised the rite from the second century CE were a Daoist-inspired rebellious messianic and millenarian movement. Sunayama has collected evidence of seven rebellions led by Daoists (ca. 300–450) some of whom it is generally assumed practised the rite of the Union of *Qi*. See Sunayama Minoru, “Ri Kō-kara Kō Kenshi-e: seireki yon-go seiki ni okeru shūkyō-teki hanran to kokka shūkyō” [From Li Hong to Kou Qianzhi-State Religion and Religious Rebellion from the Fourth to the Fifth Centuries], in *Shūkan tōyōgaku* Chinese and Oriental Studies, 26 (1971): 1–21. Also see Richard B. Mather, “K’ou Ch’ien-chih and the Taoist Theocracy at the Northern Wei Court,” in *Facets of Taoism*, ed. Holmes Welch and Anna Seidel, (New Haven: Yale University, 1979), pp.425–51.

10 See Henri Maspero (trans. Frank A. Kiernan), *Taoism and Chinese Religion* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1981), p.386; also see Livia Kohn, *Laughing at the Tao: Debates Among Buddhists and Taoists in Medieval China* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995), pp.149–50.

11 This is the view of Maspero, who follows the Buddhist polemical writings and says that “what remains of the Yellow Writing, *Huang-shu*, ... is so obscene that it is understandable

Laughing at this [practice] I say: “When I was twenty years old, I loved the art of the Dao and entered a phalanstery (*guan* 觀) to study it. At first I was taught the ‘union of *qi*’ (*heqi* 合氣) from the *Huangshu* 黃書.¹⁴ This was the ‘three-five-seven-nine’¹⁵ method of sexual intercourse between man and woman. We faced each other squarely face to face, four eyes, two tongues, and practised the Dao of the Cinnabar Field. Some practitioners said that [by this practice] difficulties would be overcome and life lengthened. Husbands were taught to exchange wives, all this just in order to cherish lust. Their fathers and elder brothers stood before them, but could not be shy or blush! They call this ‘the true art of centralising the *qi*’ (*zhongqi zhenshu* 中氣真術). Today Daoist masters still practice this method for the purpose of seeking the Dao; there are things that cannot be explained in detail.”¹⁶

As Henri Maspero explained, the concept of the “union of *qi*” was related to the method of achieving longevity or immortality (*changsheng* 長生) and it is a constitutive element of the “art of nourishing the vital nature” (*yangxing* 養性).¹⁷ Although according to some Daoist sources the sexual aspect of the rite obliterated the effects of other immortality practices,¹⁸ at the same time the procedure was nevertheless acknowledged as an acceptable albeit inferior method,¹⁹ because the unitive experience culminating in the “union of *qi*” (or Crossing-over), was recognisably spiritual in character.

There can be no doubt that the ritual, assuming that it was performed in the way that the manual describes, stands in stark contrast to the public separation of the sexes in traditional Chinese society and seems to undermine standard marital ethics. One commentator has suggested that its sexual features were side effects of “the newfound freedom in the equality of the sexes” at the end of the Han dynasty and a mark of a utopian vision.²⁰ Another has suggested that it was a remnant of the past that lingered up to the time when Daoism took to “adapting to mainstream courtly moral ideology” in the fifth century.²¹ The main purpose of this paper is not to come to a definite conclusion regarding the precise historical status of the Crossing-over ritual—whether or not it is an invention of the Han dynasty or a remnant of the past. Rather, the conflict of interpretations involved regarding the ethical status of the ritual actually concern an apparent conflict between the phenomena of sedimentation and innovation in the historical formation of religious traditions and their institutions. By examining the complex structure of the symbolic ritual actions, it will become clear that the sexual element—though discordant with the main stream of Daoist religious prac-

Ling, “Dong-han nanbeichao fangzhong jingdian liupai kao” [Investigation of the Trends in the Classics of the Inner Chambers from the Eastern Han to the Southern and Northern Dynasties], *Zhongguo wenhua* [Chinese Culture], 15/16, 1997, esp. pp.149–52; 155–57.

13 See Tao Hongjing 陶弘景 (456–536) in the *Zhengao* (Declarations of the Perfected 真誥) (DZ 637), 2:1a–b, 5:2a–b, 9:9a, 10:18a–19a. In 415 AD, Kou Qianzhi 寇謙之 (died 448), one of the most significant Daoist religious leaders and reformers of the order of the Celestial Masters in the north, apparently rejected the rite as unorthodox, see *Zhengao* 2:1a, 4:10b, 5:2a, 6:1a.

14 *Guang bongming ji*, 152a.

15 Van Gulik quotes a passage from the Zhouyi Cantongji ascribed to Wei Boyang where similar symbolic numbers are used: “Nine times returning, seven times resuming, eight times coming back, six times remaining (inside)”. See Robert H. Van Gulik, *Sexual Life in Ancient China*, (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1974), p.82. Also see Fabrizio Pregadio’s *The Seal of the Unity of the Three*, “Notes” (Golden Elixir Press, Mountain View, CA, 2011) p.23. We also find the ritual use of these numbers in the practice of swallowing the breath in the *Baopuzi neipian* (Inner Chapters of the Master Who Embraces Simplicity).

16 *Ibid*, p.152a–b. Livia Kohn has collected similar passages and compares them on the basis of several sources, see *Laughing*, pp.147–50.

17 Maspero, *Taoism*, p.448. On the Union of *Qi* as the ritual of “merging pneumas” and its early critics as well as adherents, also see Bokenkamp, *Early Daoist Scriptures*, pp.44–45.

18 Tao Hongjing says that “practicing the rite once neutralises the effects of one year’s treatment by alchemical medicines, practising it three times completely destroys the beneficial results of the alchemical method, according to an oral transmission through an ancient master”. *Zhengao*, 10:18a–19a, also see 2:1a–b, 5:2a–b, 9:9a. Isabelle Robinet, *La revelation du Shangqing dans l’histoire du taoïsme* (Paris: l’École française d’Extrême-Orient, 1984), p.38.

19 “Although it is one of the secret methods of immortality, it is only among the inferior methods, and it is not a superior method.” *Zhengao*, 9:9a.

20 Kohn, *Monastic Life*, p.34.

21 Maspero suggested that this rite was “an adaptation” of the popular spring and autumn festivals of antiquity. It is certainly not difficult to imagine that since the Yellow Turbans had been so wide-

that the Buddhist monk Tao-an regarded it as ‘a pestilential impropriety’. See Maspero, *Taoism*, p.386 (my emphasis), citing *Guang bongming ji*, 140c. When speaking of the ritual and the title *Huangshu* 黃書, Maspero appears only to refer to the *Yellow Book of the Grotto of the Perfected* (Dongzhen Huangshu 洞真黃書), (DZ 1031), without mentioning the *Regulations for Crossing-over*.

12 Livia Kohn cites Rolf Stein’s comment that here “a man assists in the violation of his wife”. The sexual component of the Union of *Qi* is described by Kohn as a “formally choreographed intercourse between selected nonmarried couples in an elaborate ritual”. Livia Kohn, *Monastic Life in Medieval Daoism: A Cross-Cultural Perspective* (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 2003), p.34. Lin Fushi and Li Ling, writing from the perspective of the history of Chinese sexual culture, have compared the ritual-text to later sex manuals and discovered some shared phraseology implying that the *Regulations* should be seen in the tradition of sex manuals. See Lin Fushi, “Luolun zaoqi daojiao yu fangzhongshude guanxi”, [Discussion of the Relationship between Early Daoism and the Art of the Inner Chambers in the Early Dynasties] in *Zhongyang yanjiuyuan lisbi yuyan yuanjiusuo jikan* [Journal of the Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica] (2001), pp.248–53. Li

spread among the populace, their movement incorporated some popular folk customs into the Daoist ritual tradition. See Maspero, *Taoism*, p.534.

22 The formula initially appears in the *Regulations* in Act Eight. *Regulations*, 8:5a.

23 *Ibid.*, 1:1a.

24 This term has been translated by Schipper as “peuple-sentence”. See “Le Monachisme taoïste” [Daoist Monasticism], in *Incontro di religioni in Asia tra il III e il secolo d.C.* [The Meeting of Religions in Asia between the Third and Tenth Centuries C.E.], ed. L. Lanciotti, L., (Florence: L.S. Olschki, 1984), pp.199–216.

25 This term first appears in Act Six of the *Regulations* in what appears to be a title of a group of beneficial spirits who are summoned to hear the petition, and in Act Thirteen. See *Regulations*, 6:3a, 13:8a.

26 Zhuangzi, 27:3, p.409: “The myriad beings are equally seeds, [but since] they are distinct in form they give space to each other. In the beginning and end they are like a circle, but no one can grasp their order. This is called the ‘equality of heaven’. The ‘equality of heaven’ is the ‘heavenly unity’.”

27 *Regulations*, 7:4b.

28 These three divinities are first summoned by these names in the petition. *Ibid.*, 6:3a.

29 *Ibid.*, 5:2b.

30 See Julius N. Tsai, “The Transformations of Myths Concerning Yu the Great into Daoist Narrative and Ritual”. Draft prepared for the 2003 Annual Meeting of the Association for Asian Studies, 2003.

31 As Lagerwey suggests, “all the entry rites in the *Kuo-tu yi* could be seen as a ritual representation of Yu’s assembly on Mount Mao”. See John Lagerwey, *Taoist Ritual in Chinese Society and History* (New York: MacMillan, 1987), pp.154.

tice—should be viewed as the seal of the initiates’ transformation, a core expression of Crossing-over. Thus, sexuality is harnessed to the purpose of ethical perfection. One could even go a step further and say that sexuality in this context is not actually understood as “sexuality”, but as the enactment of the transformational power of the Dao.

Crossing-over

The title of the text and its numerous invocations represent Crossing-over as the goal of initiates who perform the ritual and “cultivate the Dao” (*xing-dao* 行道).²² Crossing-over suggests a movement from one state to another, or a certain change in being. What, then, is the state that is to be changed, what is the state that is to be achieved, and how is this process conducted? In the first act, the initiates describe themselves as People of Flesh (*rouren* 肉人),²³ which suggests common mortality, temporality and imperfection, or sin, shared equally by men and women. The counterpoint to this is the long life embodied by the Seed People (*zhongmin* 種民),²⁴ with an intermediate or bridging stage represented by the True Ones (*zhenren* 真人).²⁵

The transfiguration of the People of Flesh who aspire ultimately to become Seed People is a movement towards reunion with the Dao. In Daoist thought “seed” (*zhong*) is understood as an inherent mark shared by all beings; all procreative capacities resemble the eternal generative powers of the Dao.²⁶ In other words, by analogy, seed is the harmonising presence of the Great Dao, contained equally in both male and female. How is this harmonising reunion understood to take place?

The initial action consists in a calming of the mind suggested by “Entering the Quiet Chamber” (Act One). The meditation practised here moves the mind away from the self to concentrate on the talismans. These sacred objects are empowering emblems of the ancient covenant of one’s ancestors with the divinities. This calm focussing of the mind is also a receptive motion of non-action aimed at remembering the past and moving beyond the present. The incantation that constitutes the first of the series of appeals by the initiates to “be among the seed people” is, accordingly, submitted by the master to a list of divinities and spiritual ancestors (Act Six, “Presenting the Petition”). By “ancestors” I refer not only to founders of the spiritual legacy (who appear in the list of divinities), but also to parents, both cosmic and real.

During the ritual, the divine Heaven and Earth are invoked as the cosmic parents, or Compassionate Father (*cifu* 慈父) and Wise Mother (*shengmu* 聖母).²⁷ These two plus the Dao are personified by the main divinities Without Superior (*Wushang* 無上), Dark Senior (*Xuanlao* 玄老) and Supreme High (*Taishang* 太上) who are invoked numerous times during the ritual.²⁸ The trinity is also a manifestation of the Primordial *Qi* and resides respectively over the Three Palaces of Heaven, Earth and Water.²⁹

While Heaven and Earth represent the cosmic parents, Water is connected to the beginning of the world and to the virtuous attainments of the ancestor Yu the Great (*dayu* 大禹) who brought order to the world by taming the primordial deluge. His virtue moved the divinities (embodied by Fuxi 伏羲, another of the sacred ancestors) to bless his work and it was his covenant with the divine forces that allowed him to transform the chaos of the flood.³⁰ As a token of his power he received the eight trigrams and a tablet constructed in accordance with the Earthly Branches. In the ritual, the Earthly Branches, the eight trigrams and Yu’s special step or “star-walking” (*bugang* 步綱) are deployed as important emblems.³¹ Moreover, the initiates—like Yu the

Great—acquire the transmission of the talismans due to their merit and are granted blessings and guidance by their master in their “return to the flow”.³²

“Return to the flow” is suggestive of ideas such as circulation, transmission, purification, and change; and of the life giving element of Water that represents the Dao in its primordial fertility. Water—given its essential role in providing the fertility of the soil, as well as its regenerative and cataclysmic capacity—is used in many myths to depict the original source of creation. It suggests a fusion or interaction of elements evocative of the mud—a mix of water and earth—that was used by Nü Gua 女媧 to engender human life. It is also the flowing yellow waters of the swirling vortex from Mount Kunlun that are reminiscent of the origin myth, and are simultaneously believed to be an elixir of immortality.³³ Mount Kunlun with its nine stories resembles the nine-layered heaven and with its tops veiled in mist is not only connected to heaven above but with its nine grottos (*dong* 洞) it links with the bottomless depths below.³⁴ In contrast to the clearly gendered “parents”, Heaven and Earth, Water has a more complex and ambivalent status, at one level ungendered, at another level close to the female Yin principle of “moisture” and “nourishment”.

Moreover, still water is an allegory for the “mirror of the mind” of the “true one” whose movements are also likened to water, and the responses of an echo. Water is emblematic of highest virtue, or *de*. In the *Daode jing*, water in its nurturing aspect and its abiding in the lowest of places, is represented as being close to the Dao. Thus, the Dao can be said to resemble water as the ultimate source of life, and to move in its direction indicates a return. The transformation brought about by Crossing-over is conceived as a “return” to or “restoration” of the Great Dao. This is spelled out in an incantation invoked in the last act, when the initiates say: “We restore our self (*guishen* 歸身), return our spirit (*guishen* 歸神), and return our destiny (*guiming* 歸命) to the Great Dao”.³⁵ It is the *shen* 身 or “body/self” that is restored to the Dao, the *shen* here referring to the totality of one’s life and not limited to a mere physical or material manifestation.³⁶

Crossing-over presupposes the restoration of oneself to the Dao, or the regeneration of the character of the initiates, a restoration that is mimetically enacted in the ritual. That is to say, the ritual process is a recasting of genesis. The primordial state that is seen to be at the beginning of everything is a state of oneness. Thus, the ritual enacts a return to the One, the Dao, the source of all being, and a unification of male and female principles.³⁷

Starting from one, the numbers with their correlative cosmological³⁸ connotations play a crucial role in the ritual, just as both the *Daode jing* and the *Huainanzi* 淮南子 represent genesis in a series of numerological emblems: “The Dao gives birth to One; One gives birth to Two; Two gives birth to Three; Three begets the Ten Thousand Beings.”³⁹ It is this initial division of the One into Yin and Yang or Heaven and Earth whose “harmonious union transforms the myriad beings”, and it is their place that is taken by the initiates.⁴⁰

The Three could be said to refer to Heaven, Earth and Water, or the Three Primordial *Qi* that are summoned to unify and be bound, becoming One in the ritual.⁴¹ In the *Scripture on Great Peace* (*Taiping jing* 太平經) the way the Three *Qi* relate is a precondition for the establishment of the state of Great Peace (*taiping* 太平), namely that “when the Three *Qi* are in affinity with each other, they permeate each other, and there is no more harm”.⁴² When the Three *Qi* are unified they become the Dao in its generative power, a capacity formed by the interaction of male and female but also transcending

32 *Regulations*, 20:23a–b.

33 *Huainanzi*, 4:7, p.56–7. All the references to the *Huainanzi* are to the Zhuzi jicheng edition.

34 Water is the element that appears to have been conceived as a link between “beginning” and “end”, as confirmed by the *Zhuangzi*, where the Dao is said to be “like an ocean whose depths are unfathomable”. *Zhuangzi*, 22:3, p.324.

35 *Regulations*, 20:23a–b.

36 The character *shen* 身 refers to a wider field of meaning that intersects with terms such as body, self and life. On the Chinese perception of “body” as related to the project of “cultivating oneself” (*xiu shen* 修身), see Roger T. Ames, “On Body as Ritual Practice” and “The Meaning of Body in Classical Chinese Philosophy,” in eds. Thomas P. Kasulis and R.T. Ames, et al. *Self as Body in Asian Theory and Practice* (Albany: SUNY Press, 1993), pp.149–77.

37 This concept of “returning” has to be understood within the vision of Yin and Yang as cosmic forces of creation whose dynamic is cyclical and this is related to the traditional concept of time as a spiral curve, see Ulrich Libbrecht, “Chinese Concepts of Time: *yü-chou* as space-time,” in *Time and Temporality in Intercultural Perspective* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1996), pp.75–92.

38 On correlative cosmology, see Joseph Needham’s discussion comparing it to Greek thought; Joseph Needham, with the assistance of Wang Ling, *History of Scientific Thought. Vol.2 of Science and Civilization in China* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1962), pp.232–91.

39 The *Daode jing*’s often quoted phrase says: “The Dao gives birth to One; One gives birth to Two; Two gives birth to Three; Three begets the Ten Thousand Beings”. *Daode jing*, 3, p.26 in the Zhuzi jicheng edition.

40 “It is in the harmony [of Heaven and Earth] that the myriad beings are transformed.” Sun Xidan, ed. *Li ji jijie* [Collected Interpretations of the Classic of Ritual], (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1989), xia, p.990. This comes from the *Yue ji* [Book of Music], which is a chapter in the *Li ji*. This text dates from the Former Han (206 BCE–8 CE), but much of it comes from Warring States period (475–221 BCE) material.

41 *Regulations*, 6:4a.

42 Wang Ming ed. *Taiping jing bejiao* [Scripture of Great Peace, with Incorporated Collations] (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1960), 48, p.148.

43 I use these terms aware of the danger of possible Christian connotations in the hope that they may be understood in a very different light within the Daoist context.

44 I have been inspired by Ricoeur's "The 'Figure' in Rosenzweig's *The Star of Redemption*" in *Figuring the Sacred*, and have not only borrowed his concept of "figure" here, but have also drawn parallels between his analysis of Judaism and my analysis of Daoist religious practice as represented in the *guodu* ritual. See Ricoeur "Figuring," pp.93–107.

45 *Regulations*, 1:1a.

46 *Ibid*, 1:1a.

47 The text literally says: "Entering the sanctum Yang sets himself up at *yin* 寅 (East-North-East) and Yin sets herself up at *shen* 申 (West-South-West)". *Ibid*, 1:1a.

48 "The flesh is defined as the identity of what touches with the medium where this touching takes place (Aristotle), therefore of the felt with what feels (Husserl) but also of the seen and the seeing or the heard and the hearing—in short, of the affected with the affecting." See Jean-Luc Marion, *Being Given: Toward a Phenomenology of Givenness*. (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2002), p.231.

49 *Regulations*, 1:1a.

50 The concept of pronouncing a "vow" or "pledge" (*luan* 願), which by some scholars is regarded as being of "the purest Mahayana inspiration", plays a prominent role in the *Regulations*. See Erik Zürcher, "Buddhist Influence on Early Taoism: A Survey of Scriptural Evidence," *T'oung Pao* LXVI (1980): 84–147, p.133.

it. In other words, Dao can be seen as One or the unifying nexus that connects and encompasses Heaven, Earth and Water; that is, the sacred One, Two and Three.

In the following sections we will see how these triplets can be correlated to genesis, revelation and redemption; or the past, present, and future; or male, female, and child.⁴³

Metaphors at the Core: The Unity of Three Figures

As mentioned above, the three figures⁴⁴ that are envisaged within the ritual plot are People of Flesh, True Ones and Seed People. These three are an emblematic set of images that signify the different aspects of the manifestation of the Dao, but at the same time mark the stations on the path to its restoration. They draw on archetypal models correlated by analogy to Heaven, Earth and Water while the Dao is also the natural unity of the analogous triplet of the Compassionate Father, Wise Mother, and Child of Transformation (*erhui* 兒迴). How, then, does the transformation of these three figures that restores them to the Dao take place, or on what premises?

In the first act, the initiates declare that they are "fortunate" (*xing* 幸) in being "People of Flesh, but suffused with the transformations of the Dao (*de ran daobua* 得染道化)".⁴⁵ The figure of People of Flesh is suggestive of common mortality, temporality, or imperfection and sin but they claim to be beyond this state, situating it in the past. However, by doing this they seem to contradict the text since they have earlier been introduced as Yin and Yang. The initiates continue by saying that they "have been long seeking the Law (*qiufa* 求法)", but nevertheless have "not yet Crossed-over".⁴⁶ Hence, this passage shows the People of Flesh on a quest and receiving the Dao in the world. However, in an apparent paradox to which we shall return shortly, the polar forces of Dao—Yin and Yang—have at the same time been identified as playing the role of the initiates.

This passage further says that when "Yin and Yang" enter the sanctum, they stand in their appropriate positions, in accordance with the spatial points represented by the Earthly Branches, and according to their corresponding gender.⁴⁷ The "flesh" determines the identity of the initiates in their manifestations as male or female, and accordingly determines their correct position, enabling them to receive and be touched by the Dao. At the same time, it is this figure that allows the transformation to take place, by seeing the sacred and being seen by it, by speaking to and being heard by it, by touching and being touched by it.⁴⁸ Hence, in that sense this figure stands for genesis and is transposed onto the figure of the Compassionate Father.

The figure of the Compassionate Father, the first condition for regeneration, is the active Yang of "wisdom", or seeing the truth. The master of the ceremony gives the initiates their sacred names, embodying the figure of the Compassionate Father. They declare: "This is a day of auspicious union" (*jin ri ji he* 今日吉合),⁴⁹ and say: "[You] will become bridges" (*dang wei qiaoliang* 當為橋梁). Meanwhile the initiates pledge⁵⁰ (*luan* 願) to fulfill their bridging role, and the master responds by "presenting the petition" (*qishi* 啟事) on their behalf. At that point the disciples again prostrate themselves and receive grace (*en* 恩).

The second condition for regeneration is the figure of the Wise Mother, marked by the Yin characteristics of caring, compassion, reliability and trust. The Wise Father and the Compassionate Mother have complementary characteristics. For example, the Father possesses the Yin attribute of compas-

sion. The Mother stands for truth, the Father for seeing the truth. Mother and Father together stand for the revelation of truth as embodied by the True One. Both figures stand in for Heaven and Earth by covering and carrying, and are “faces of the Dao”. Covering is embodied by Heaven with his limitless opening providing light and vision to all beings. Carrying characterises Earth who offers shelter, nourishment and ground to all beings. These attributes are assigned to Heaven and Earth in the incantations recited and acts performed by the initiates in the ritual: “Heaven covers, Earth carries”.⁵¹ These actions define the respective agents, both cosmic and human, who reach towards each other to effect the Crossing-over and to bridge the span.

By allowing themselves to be covered and carried by the Dao, by seeing and trusting, the People of Flesh are restored to order and harmony, knowing things as they truly are and entering the state of the True One. Bridging, petition, and grace are closely related to the reception of Life. It is because the initiates have already acquired good grace by worshipping the Dao and by performing the preparatory exercises to the ritual—fasting, bathing, burning incense, confessing (*xie* 謝), as well as making long efforts to “seek the Law”—that they can take the first step and express their reliance on the master, pledging to accomplish the Crossing-over. Hence, their readiness to take the pledge itself makes them worthy to receive grace. It is ultimately their good grace that will be key to transforming them from People of Flesh into a higher state. In the ritual the Compassionate Father/Heaven and Wise Mother/Earth are individually invoked, but it is their harmonious union that engenders the Child of Transformation. The Child of Transformation is correlated with the Seed People. This is the third figure that marks the final station of the trajectory of the Dao, but the Seed People are brought up in the first act only indirectly in the proclaimed pledge “to take refuge” (*gui* 歸) and “to rely on” (*yi* 依) the master in “pleading for Life” (*qigai shenghuo* 乞丐生活).⁵² This pleading for Life refers to the state of immortality or long life that is embodied by the Seed People. Here we come full circle and the paradox of the initiates referring to themselves as People of Flesh, while also being referred to as Yin and Yang, and at the same time pledging to become Seed People, is resolved by the creative, revelatory and redemptive character of the numinous *qi*. This becomes clear in the final act of the ritual. After the “union of *qi*” has taken place and the divinities of the Five Treasures (*wuzang* 五藏) have been allowed to return to their respective residences in the body, the initiates hold their toes and revolve on the ground, enacting a child’s rolling movement.⁵³ The rite thus culminates in the engendering of a being—the Child of Transformation—which at the same time unites and is beyond the gender of either participant. This child has no specific gender and is thus like the Dao—the seed of life.

Techniques of the Rite: Meditation and Visualisation

In order to initiate the meditative state and acquire grace by becoming bridges, the initiate must calmly shift attention away from the self to “concentrate on” (*si* 思)⁵⁴ the sacred.⁵⁵ Hence in Act Two, “Visualising Officials and Soldiers”, they focus their attention on the talismans (*lu* 籙, registers of holy names).⁵⁶ As a result of this “act of non-action”, the generals, officials and soldiers—collectively the Divine Guards—of the Meritorious Service Section (*gongcao* 功曹) become fully visible to them. This sequence of actions shows that the act of concentration is considered a precondition of “clearly seeing [the Divine Guards] just as they are” (*fen ming liao ran* 分明了然).⁵⁷ Moving in formation the Guards encircle the initiates, and are addressed

51 *Ibid.*, 15:9b: 天覆地載.

52 *Ibid.*, 1:1a.

53 *Ibid.*, 20:20b.

54 There is the mention of the practise of *si* in eleven of the twenty sections (2, 3, 4, 5, 9, 10, 12, 15, 16, 18, 19) of the *Regulations*.

55 As the *Zhuangzi* says: “The one who can forget all things, even forget Heaven, may be called a forgetter of self. The person who can forget one’s self may be said to thus enter Heaven.” *Zhuangzi*, 12:3, p.192.

56 *Regulations*, 2:1b.

57 *Ibid.*

58 *Ibid.*

59 According to Schipper, the term “Cinnabar Field” appears for the first time in the *Huangting jing* [Scripture of the Yellow Court] (second to third century CE, see *Huangting waijing yu jing* [Jade Scripture on the Outer Effulgences of the Yellow Court] DZ 167). Traditionally the “Cinnabar Field” was located somewhere below the navel.

60 *Regulations*, 3.2a. The *Taiping jing* records a similar method of meditation that has the practitioner visualise the interior of the body as “resplendent as flawless jade from top to bottom”. See Isabelle Robinet (trans. Julian Pas and Norman Girardot), *Taoist Meditation* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1993), especially p.63. The *yingshi* or “encampment” is also a name of a lunar lodge, see John Major, *Heaven and Earth in Early Han Thought* (New York: State University of New York Press, 1993), p.83.

61 *Huainanzi*, 1:7, p.4.

62 *Zhuangzi*, 7:3, p.138. For the mirror as “lumière de l’âme” or symbol of the mind both in Taoism and Buddhism, see Paul Demiéville “Miroir spirituel” in *Sinologica*, Vol.1, (1948), pp.112–37.

with a prayer: “On behalf of the Servant and Handmaiden transmit the Life Qi of the four directions to extinguish misfortunes and to disperse calamities”.⁵⁸ This prayer shows that while the initiates are still People of Flesh they are already serving as True Ones or catalysts for purification. Hence, their vision of the divinities serves as a mediating third party analogous to that of Water, in the Heaven, Earth, and Water triad.

The next motion is in reverse, directing the attention towards the self, which is already surrounded by the Divine Guards. Thus, in Act Three the initiates focus their attention on the Cinnabar Field (*dantian* 丹田), and the white *qi*, in response, that appears as a mirror of light from between their eyebrows.⁵⁹ As the mirror (*mianjing* 面鏡) of white *qi* gradually grows, a bright light pours down into the body, simultaneously enveloping it to penetrate and make visible all the sections of the corporeal landscape as envisaged by Daoist teaching. “Outside and inside, there is nothing that does not appear clearly.”⁶⁰ Envisaging the internal order of the body, almost no distinction is made between the physiology of the male and the female—instead the body is shown to be internally ordered by the interaction of *qi* energies which include the Yin/Yang division but are also greater than it.

Calmly directing the mind towards the Cinnabar Field is said to bring about the appearance of a light in the shape of a mirror. Thus shifting attention towards the sacred space discloses a previously hidden presence; not only does the light become visible as a mirror, it also makes visible. It “mirrors” the true nature of the *body* emitting the light of *qi* from within, revealing itself as more than just the mere *body* of the People of Flesh. This Crossing-over, uniting the “within” with the “without”, enables a way of seeing or attending to what could not previously be apprehended.

The light first appears, then gradually grows larger and moves to the head to re-enter the body from there. The re-entering is a return to the body for regeneration, or an identification of the Life *Qi* that shows itself in its immanence. Therefore it is not just a question of fixing the attention, but it is an exchange or a dialogue between the self of the People of Flesh and their inner *qi*, representing their inborn nature. This is the point of restoration, or reunification, which makes the reception of the transformative energy of *qi*—which began in the initiates’ own *body*—possible; a process that could only begin by precisely concentrated and directed mind. Ultimately it is calm attention directed towards the Cinnabar Field that makes the inner *qi* appear outside the body. According to the *Huainanzi*, “At birth man is quiescent and this is the nature of Heaven; but then he is *stirred into motion* and this is harmful to his nature ...”.⁶¹ The *Zhuangzi* says: “The Perfected, his mind, attends like a mirror—neither grasping for, nor welcoming anything, responding but not accumulating. Therefore he can win out over things without any harm being done.”⁶² The stillness and focus of the mind allows the initiate to move beyond the limits of the self by mirroring that which is outside; in this case receiving the sacred Immanent *Qi* which, in its generative force, benevolence, and light, reflects the nature of Heaven. By being receptive, trusting and open to the Life *Qi* the initiate allows the Immanent *Qi* to re-enter the body; by “seeing and being seen” the next step in the Crossing-over is accomplished. By mirroring, the True Ones show themselves in their calm and pure inborn nature. By reflecting the light, they can see and be seen. In this way, they can find and provide the reference point for each other, relying on each other and on the immanent nature of the Dao.

Techniques of the Rite: Controlling the Rhythm of Qi

The ritual is conceived as a Crossing-over to a middle point where the polarities unite, a sacred dimension of harmony and peace. This is achieved by concentrating on and enacting the operations of the Five Regulators, whose powers are summoned to carry the initiates beyond ordinary time and space, thus establishing the Ruling *Qi* (Act Four).⁶³ This establishment of the rule of the Five Regulators, or the controllers of the *qi*, is attained by "harmonious concordance".

The concept of "rule" or "king" (*wang* 王) is related to the Five Regulators, who are conceived as benevolent forces who establish their rule when harmony is accomplished by the concordance of space, time and human actions. In Act Four, the operations of the Five Regulators are set in motion by invoking their characteristics: for example, if the position in space is denoted as East, the time is spring, and the action is directing one's attention towards the sacred:

It is Spring, concentrate on the green *qi* of the East.

Moisten and give luminescence to my body. The red *qi* is its minister.

It is Summer, concentrate on the red *qi* of the South. The yellow *qi* is its minister.

It is Autumn, concentrate on the white *qi* of the West. The black *qi* is its minister.

It is Winter, concentrate on the black *qi* of the North. The green *qi* is its minister.

It is the intermediate season (*siji* 四季),⁶⁴ concentrate on the yellow *qi* of the Center. The white *qi* is its minister.

Raise the head and inhale the *qi* with the nose, then lower the head and swallow.⁶⁵ It descends to the Cinnabar Field, and ascends to Kunlun.

(Inhale and swallow three times each).⁶⁶

The Regulators affect the initiates through the medium of *qi*. The words spoken to the sacred presence when the initiates ask to receive the benefit of its influence show the trust that they invest in its transformative power. Moreover, the *qi* is drawn inside the body and swallowed, allowing it to exert its influence on the body not only from the outside, but also from the inside through the characteristic attributes of the Regulators. Having entered the body, the *qi* descends to the Cinnabar Field, where it mingles and fuses with the inner *qi*, transforming it. Finally, it ascends to Kunlun, the residence of the spirits (*shen* 神) of the body, to regenerate the celestial *qi* of the practitioner.⁶⁷

This regeneration of the mind under the influence of the *qi* of the Five Regulators is re-enacted with haptic components, directly affecting the Ruling *Qi* in Act Nineteen. While Act Four is primarily a meditation, combined with inhalation and guiding of *qi*, Act Nineteen has the same sequence of meditation but paired with corporeal interaction. It starts with the initiates rubbing each other's body and face to make them hot, continues with concentration on the *qi* of the Five Regulators, reverts to rubbing the *body*, and ends with motionless meditation.

However, in addition, unlike Act Four that starts with inhalation, Act Nineteen starts with an exhalation of the Life *Qi*: the direction of the motion of the *qi* is thus reversed. Since the unification of the inner and outer realms

63 On the "five elements" and the different theories concerning the origin of the correlative cosmology, see the insightful discussion by Benjamin I. Schwartz, *The World of Thought in Ancient China*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1985), pp.356–78. The Four Seasons plus the Intermediate were correlated to the Five Phases, and to the four azimuth directions plus the Centre: Wood to East/Spring; South to Fire/Summer; West to Metal/Autumn; North to Water/Winter; and finally the Earth to Centre/Intermediate. These phases or elements are conceived as cosmic principles which can either produce or destroy each other and when applied to the human body are associated with the Five Viscera or "Five Storehouses" (as they are called in this article): Liver, Heart, Spleen, Lung and Kidney—similar to rulers with appropriate duties. See Nathan Sivin, "State, Cosmos, and the Body in the Last Three Centuries B.C." *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 55.1 (1995), pp.5–37, at p.12; also see Charlotte Furth, *A Flourishing Yin: Gender in China's Medical History, 960–1665*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), esp. pp.19–25.

64 As Marcel Granet has aptly observed, if there had not been an additional fifth season the correlative pattern of relating the seasons to the Five Phases would have been impossible. See *La pensée chinoise* (Paris: Albin Michel, 1968), p.90–91, n.130.

65 In Daoist rites of transmission or consecration, swallowing of elixir or talismans is the symbolic act of acceptance. See Michel Strickmann, "On the Alchemy of the T'ao Hung-ching" in "Facets," p.189, n.195.

66 *Regulations*, 3.2a-b.

67 On the pre-Han to fourth century concept of *shen* or "spirit", see Michael Loewe, *Chinese Ideas of Life and Death: Faith, Myth and Reason in the Han period (202 BC–AD 220)* (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd, 1982), esp. pp.20–24. Also Schwartz "The World of Thought", esp. p.396.

68 *Regulations*, 19:19b.

69 *Zhuangzi*, 6:3, p.103.

70 “When one has the ‘Great Law’ then the *Qi* of the Four Seasons and the Five Regulators comes and enters into the person’s belly, it makes the Five Storehouses of the person of ‘pure spirit’ (*jingshen* 精神), and then their color responds to (*xiangying* 相應) the color of the Seasons of Heaven and Earth.” *Taiping jing*, 72, p.292.

has thus been enacted on several levels, the reversal in the direction of the flow shows the capacity of the true ones to emit the regenerated *qi* and establish the Ruling *Qi* on the “outside of the self”. In this act, the numinous substance appears in front of the face as a mirror of light where colour and size change sequentially, gradually growing larger to cover (*fu* 覆) the whole body. This again is a unification or Crossing-over of the boundaries between without and within, this time allowing a fusion with the *qi* of the Five Regulators, rulers of time and space.

The *qi* is guided (*yin* 引) from the feet upwards until it ascends into the brain cavity (*Niwan* 泥丸). After it has made three motions upwards and three downwards, it is restored to the Five Treasuries and brought to the middle of the Cinnabar Field.⁶⁸ Guiding the *qi* from the feet is reminiscent of the passage in the *Zhuangzi* that says: “The True One breathes with his heels”.⁶⁹ The final point of the circular motion is again the Cinnabar Field, where the Child resides, and hence nourishes this subtle entity or emblem of eternal life. The haptic enactments of rubbing in a vertical motion towards the Cinnabar Field and intertwining the hands may be understood as a re-enactment of the generative fusion of *qi* and its cycles.

The transformation that is initiated by this circulation and fusion of polarities is not just the result of directing the attention, inhaling, swallowing, and speaking, but is also an accomplishment of the gradual unfolding of the process of “seeking the Law”. In other words, the initiates demonstrate their capacity to invite the workings of the seasons, as governors of the fluctuations of time and space, by Crossing-over to the middle position (the result of having been granted the Great Law), like Yu the Great who initially “set the four seasons” in motion. The *Scripture on Great Peace* describes a similar state achieved on the attainment of the Great Law where the *qi* of the Four Seasons and the Five Treasuries enter the person’s belly or centre and transform the subject’s Five Treasuries into “subtle spirit” (*jingshen* 精神), their colour “corresponding” (*ying* 應) to the emblematic colours of the Seasons of Heaven and Earth.⁷⁰

Hence by assuming the correct position and practising the appropriate concentration, the initiates have exposed themselves to the workings of the Five Regulators—or the time and space shaping manifestations of the Dao—and have simultaneously internalised their *qi*. By mindfully attending to it and by inhaling, swallowing, and speaking to it, they have been affected by the Dao. Cycling through the body brings the *qi* back to the centre, symbolically equivalent to the Cinnabar Field, and to a point of rest beyond the ordinary mutations of space and time. Thus the process described in Act Four finds its end in the midpoint and can be regarded as a Crossing-over to a point of resonance with the Ruling *Qi*.

Act Nineteen complements Act Four in representing the end of the circle, where the polarities meet and are transformed to begin a new path where reception becomes emission and the Ruling *Qi* is spread into the world. Thus in the central stages of the ritual the focus shifts away from gendered polarities to a larger sense of the body as a product of complex internal regulation of *qi* energies which are ordered by gender categories of right and left, down and up, Yin and Yang, and also by other systems such as the seasons and the Five Regulators. The gendered bodies of the participants are shown as mirroring a larger correlative cosmology.

Techniques of the Rite: Tying Qi

As the Ruling *Qi* has, by this stage, been established, the initiates immerse themselves in the Primordial Life *Qi* to ask for long life in an incantation. The immersion into the essential *stuff* of creation is a common motif in sacramental ritual and it is a theme that speaks of purification, death and rebirth, or here renewal of *qi* and of reinstitution of the bonds of life. As suggested above, the ritual is a re-enactment and remembering of genesis, thus the primary elements of Heaven, Earth and Water are invoked. Water is often represented as the element of fertile connection, or a bridge connecting Heaven and Earth, or Father and Mother, but in one of the versions recounting the creation of humans by the divine maternal prototype Nü Gua, reference is also made to a cord—an emblem suggestive of the idea of a bond, bridge or connection.⁷¹ After fashioning a few people by hand, Nü Gua apparently shook the mud off a rope in the air to create the rest. Thus, this story of creation not only points to the sacred sources of human life, Earth and Water, but also has a divine female presence as the pivot in the chain of transmission of life. Heaven, the third sacred agency—here represented by air—serves as the background for this sacred drama of creation.

The emblem of “fusing” or “unifying” (*he* 合), or “tying” or “bonding” (*jie* 結) is deployed in a variety of guises in the ritual appearing as a constitutive part of the process of bridging, and the immersion in the Life *Qi*. In Act Five the initiates first summon the Three *Qi* of Heaven, Earth and Water to come and be bound together to institute the Dao, and thereby be endowed with Life. This act commences by directing the attention towards the Life *Qi* of the Three Primordial Ones (*sanyuan shengqi* 三元生氣). The tying of *qi* here is apparently initiated by the act of silence and the correct visualisation of the numinous. In a direct response to solely directing attention to the Primordial Ones, pure white *qi* descends, encircles (*zhou* 周), and revolves to cover (*zafu* 匝覆) the *bodies* of the initiates.

Pure white is the color of the *qi* of the right (*zheng* 正) and true (*zhen* 真) Dao.⁷² It is the attribute of the unimpaired spirit that is unmixed and unperturbed, and that can only be embodied by the True One.⁷³ Thus, the descent of the white *qi* in response to the initiates’ quiet call shows that they stand in good grace. Immersing them, it also purifies them by equalising their differences and disclosing their inborn pure nature, in order to claim them as inherent parts of the Dao.

The condition for tying the Life *Qi* is the individual summons of the Three Primordial Ones. However, before speaking to them the immersion has to be completed both on the outside and inside of the body. When the initiates are completely enfolded in *qi*, they raise their faces, inhale it, and then say: “Life *Qi* of One Palace of Heaven, come and give Life to us (*sheng wo shen* 生我身)!” They bow their heads and swallow the *qi* until it fills their belly. The *qi* first descends into the Cinnabar Field and then ascends to Niwan, an inner chamber in the head, or Kunlun.⁷⁴ Next, their concentration is shifted towards Earth and Water, and the same incantation is directed to them.

The movement of the Life *Qi*, preceding the tying of its three aspects, occurs spontaneously and retraces the memory of genesis. The descending movement of *qi* to the Cinnabar Field reenacts the descending movement of the heavy, turbid *qi* in the myth of the beginning of the world. A well-known passage in the *Liezi* says: “what was mixed and heavy went down and became the Earth, while the harmoniously infused *qi* became humans (*chonghe qi wei ren* 沖和氣為人).”⁷⁵ Likewise the ascending movement of the

71 *Fengsu tongyi* [The Comprehensive Meaning of Popular Customs] cited in *Taiping yulan*, 78:365, “Shouwujj yuanyi”, *Guang bowu zhi* 9. The *Fengsu tongyi* is considered to be a second century CE text. The *Taiping yulan* (sections on Daoism j.659-679) was compiled in 983 CE. (Peking: Zhonghua shuju, 1963). For a variant reading of this passage see Anne Birrell, *Chinese Mythology: An Introduction*, (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993), p.35.

72 *Zhengyi fawen tianshi jiao jie ke jing* [Scripture of Precepts and Codes Taught by the Celestial Master, from the Texts of the Law of Correct Unity] (DZ 789):10b.

73 *Zhuangzi*, 15:3, p.241: “therefore we call white/plain that which is not mixed, and we call pure/sincere that whose spirit has not been tarnished. The one who is able to embody the pure white is called ‘true one.’”

74 *Regulations*, 5:2b. For the instruction that it be inhaled and swallowed three times, see *ibid*, 3:2b.

75 *Liezi*, 1:3. All references to *Liezi* are to the Zhizi jicheng edition.

76 *Regulations*, 3:2a–b.

77 *Taiping jing*, 40:78.

78 *Regulations*, 3:2b.

79 *Regulations*, 6:3b.

80 *Ibid.*, 6:4a.

81 The text specifies that the interlacing of the fingers is done in such a manner that Yang's second finger is placed between the second and third finger of Yin. *Regulations*, 2:1b.

82 *Ibid.*, 2:1b, 8:5a; both *cha* and *be* in 9:5b, 14:8a, 16:11b, 17:17a; both *cha* and *jiao*: 18:18b, 19:20a, 20:13a.

83 Fu Xi and Nü Gua may have first been associated in the *Huainanzi*, 6:7, p.98, see Charles Le Blanc, *Huai Nan Tzu: Philosophical Synthesis in Early Han Thought*, (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1985), pp.167–70.

84 *Regulations*, 14:8b.

85 The actual tying of the hair of the initiates is not unlikely. During the Song dynasty this was a part of the marriage ritual, see Patricia B. Ebrey, *The Inner Quarters: Marriage and the Lives of Chinese Women in the Sung Period*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), pp.58, 94.

white shining *qi* reenacts the original ascension of Heavenly *Qi*. In fact these two movements are the complementary motions of a single process of the transformation of *qi*, a Yin movement downwards where it appears as a fluid and a Yang movement upwards where it manifests itself as airy and light.

After each of the Three Primordial *Qi* have been summoned and addressed separately, they are also addressed together: “Life *Qi* of the Three Palaces: Heaven, Earth and Water, come together to give Life to me.”⁷⁶ The Primordial *Qi*, according to the *Taiping jing*, is what “embraces (*bao* 包) Heaven and Earth in the Eight Directions; there is nothing that is born without having received its *qi*.”⁷⁷ The act concludes:

The Life *Qi* of the Three Palaces is vast and overflowing. Pure white, it covers the body, runs through (*guan* 貫) and penetrates (*da* 達) the Five Treasuries, the Six Receptacles, the Twelve Branches and [Ten] Stems.⁷⁸

The Three Primordial *Qi* are brought together uniting and touching the generative centres of the body and all its constitutive parts, completing an immersion of the body in the Life *Qi* that sets into motion the transformation of the People of Flesh.

The People of Flesh, in their act of remembering genesis, are the Yin and Yang who are manifestations of the Life *Qi* of the Three Primordial Ones. However, as the *Regulations for Crossing-over* says, their transformation can only take place through their Five Regulators who are brought together by following the regulations or injunctions (*jie* 節) of Heaven, Earth, Humans, ancestors, four seasons, and eight directions.⁷⁹

Moreover, in Act Six, the master confirms the summons of the Life *Qi* of the Three Primordial Ones and prays for a *binding* of the three in front of the congregation of divinities who have been invited to hear the proclamation:

Respectfully we cultivate Yin and Yang and their Five Regulators. As for the Three *Qi*; first one Generative [*Qi* rises] from the Middle Primordial; one Generative [*Qi* rises] from the Upper Primordial, and one Generative [*Qi* rises] from the Lower Primordial. May the Three Generative *Qi* be bound, and together complete the Dao (*sanqi xiangjie gong cheng weidao* 三氣相結，共成為道).⁸⁰

Several other liturgical actions can be regarded as related to binding or tying: “interlacing” (*chashou* 叉手),⁸¹ “joining” (*beshou* 合手), and “intertwining” (*jiaoshou* 交手),⁸² which calls to mind the iconographic depictions of the brother and sister deities Fu Xi and Nü Gua. Their traditional representation with the lower bodies intertwined could be said to symbolise their union in its divine, bodily and genetic aspects—as is well known they are archaic symbols of marriage, genesis and eternal life.⁸³

Tying the new *qi* of life has its complement in untying the old *qi* of death. The ritual enacts the process of purifying life by releasing Death *Qi* (*siqi* 死氣) and renewing it by tying the Life *Qi*. For example, in their positions of exaltation, Yin and Yang “interlace” their fingers, inhaling and swallowing the Life *Qi* three times while lying and three times while sitting, and at the same time spit out the Death *Qi*.⁸⁴ Moreover, untying and tying are also mimetically deployed in the ritual by using, for example, the hair and the sash. The tying of *Qi* that is announced in Act Six, is enacted by motions of untying and tying in Act Fourteen: “Untying, Tying, and Consuming”. The master unties the disciples’ girdles and spreads their hair, assisted by those who participate in the ritual as announcers, while the wise ones retie the hair and girdles.⁸⁵ Untying may be taken to symbolise the loosening of destructive “knots” received at birth, while the binding secures the coagula-

tion or binding of the newly internalised Life *Qi*.⁸⁶ It follows from this that the “unification of *qi*” is a component of reinstituting or remembering, or untying and retying, and thus harmony (*he*) could be defined as re-unifying or regenerating the Life *Qi* by re-connecting with the Dao. The symbolism of tying is clearly central to the concept of creating a bond of interdependence between the two initiates to permit their Crossing-over and forming a bridge.

Techniques of the Rite: Convoking the Divine Administration

In parallel to the summoning of the Three Primordial Ones, other ancestors and deities were invoked; family members were also perhaps invited to attend the celebration and bless the initiates.⁸⁷ The convocation of all “well-wishers” as witnesses to the proclamation was a condition for the sacred to manifest itself to the community.

An important accomplishment of the rite was the interaction of the community to witness the “reunion of *qi*”, but at its heart was the “presenting of the petition” (*qishi* 啟事) and the related “attestation of merit” (*yangong* 言功).⁸⁸ The ground for both was set in the preliminaries and the first act with confessions and pledges of mutual reliance and trust between disciples and masters. The “attestation of merit” refers to the praising of both male and female initiates equally, after they have stated their names, dates and places of birth, declared that they have “loved the Dao” for many years and found joy in immortality, that they have come to the master to seek guidance and that they have made the offer of performance in the ritual.⁸⁹ The *yangong* was also respectfully offered to initiates in the final act.

At the beginning of Act Six before the reading of the list of divinities to be summoned, we find the initiates prostrating themselves towards the East and clapping their teeth twelve times to drum up the protective spirits of their bodies.⁹⁰ At this point “two officials (*erguan* 二官)—one from the High Immortal (*shangxian* 上仙), and one from the High Numinous (*shangling* 上靈) come out (*chu* 出) from the body of the minister (i.e. initiate), and are sent to the “Right One” (*zhengyi* 正一)—the spiritual ancestor of the Heavenly Masters—to heal the afflictions of the Life *Qi* of Yin and Yang.⁹¹ Even if the initiates in their role of Yin and Yang may be considered as paragons of purity and right attitude, in their unresolved state as People of Flesh they are considered as the inheritors of sins from their ancestors. Though the initiates dispatch the visualised officials from their own bodies the master has to speak to the divinities on behalf of the initiates before their request for healing can be accepted thus the master has to intercede on behalf of the initiates for their request to be accepted. “Healing” or “regulating” (*zhi* 治) is thus conceived as the result of the establishment of communication between the master and the Right One. Both good and bad influences could be inherited from the past, and the master serves as the medium who connects the community to its benevolent ancestors and makes the Life *Qi* circulate to benefit and heal the present malaise.⁹²

It was noted above that “confession” or “offering gratitude” (*xie* 謝) was a preparatory practice for the performance of the ritual, but in fact initiates were required to communicate with the master in this way when “coming and leaving the quiet chamber” (*chu ru jie bai jing nai xie* 出入皆拜靖乃謝).⁹³ The *Scripture on Great Peace* defines the practice of *xie* as important for the True One, because “the one who can be modest and not dismissive acts with awareness and uses his knowledge and is able to offer gratitude and not treat it as a side matter”.⁹⁴ The concept of “confession” is to be understood

86 See Robinet, *Meditation*, pp.139–43.

87 The performance of the ritual may have been a social occasion, or a gathering of family and relatives at appropriate times in the calendar. See Maspero, *Taoism*, p.535. Also see Kohn, *Laughing*, p.149–50.

88 The last subsection of Section 20 shows clearly that the “Attestation of Merit” is the important theme of Section 6, repeating almost the same steps as before but summoning a shorter list of divinities.

89 *Regulations*, 20:21b–22b.

90 *Ibid*, 6:2a.

91 *Ibid*, 6:2a–3a.

92 As noted above, the master solicits the benign spiritual guards of the Meritorious Service Section asking them for assistance in a prayer addressed to them first in Act Two. *Ibid*, 2:1b.

93 In the last act of the rite, the initiates confesses: “We, [names], together have committed a thousand sins (*qianzui* 千罪) and ten thousand transgressions (*wanguo* 萬過); may they all be forgiven”. *Ibid*, 20:24b.

94 *Taiping jing*, 40, p.78–79.

95 This translation was coined by Kaltenmark who discusses ethics in the *Taiping jing* and the theory of accumulation of sins across generations. See Kaltenmark, “Facets,” p.24.

96 The *Taiping jing* deals extensively with appropriate social behavior, and it enumerates the following six sins: (1) to selfishly decline to teach the Dao to others and “hoard the Dao and the Most High” for oneself (2) to hoard De and decline to teach it (3) to hoard wealth and be unwilling to help the poor, (4) in spite of knowing the Dao of Heaven, to treat the body which was inherited from the ancestors with disrespect, to be unwilling to study how to care for it and hence die (5) to know the benefit from practising De but be unwilling to study it and do evil by holding oneself in contempt (6) to sit idly and let go of the possibility for life in the hereafter. *Taiping jing*, 67, p.241–42.

97 *Regulations*, 10:6a–b.

98 In Acts Eight, Ten and Eleven, the initiates reiterate part of the incantation from Act Six saying that they “together humbly practise the Dao and its *de*, and ask for the Life *Qi* of Yin and Yang to be harmoniously unified, flowing to immerse (*buliu* 布流) the center of their body.” *Ibid*, 8:5a–b, 10:6a–b, 11:6b–7a.

99 *Ibid*, 20:23b.

100 *Ibid*, 6:4a. Act Six has the most complete text of the incantation, which (with variations) is addressed to the divinities seven times during the rite.

101 In fact in two acts during the ritual the initiates repeat this short incantation directed to the divinities of the Three *Qi*. *Regulations*, 7:5a and 20:21b.

102 *Huainanzi*, 1:7, p.2. The commentary is by Gao You of the Han dynasty.

in relation to the “inheritance of sins” (*chengfu* 承負)⁹⁵ which is represented as the cause of all affliction in the *Scripture on Great Peace*.⁹⁶

The importance of the inheritance of sins suggests the deeds of past generations were remembered and records of them were kept. In fact any merit acquired in the ritual would not be efficacious unless the names of the initiates were noted in the spaces provided for them in the *Regulations*. In addition, recording the initiates’ accomplishments had its complement in writing their names in the jade calendar of long life. It was only their good record that allowed the master to address a formal request on their behalf to the divine administration in Act Six. The lords, generals and officers of the spirit administration are asked to release the initiates from investigation, and strike their names from the registers of death.

The incantation used to reinstate the initiates’ immortal names in the jade calendar is read to the divinities who represent time. In Act Ten they summon Ten Divinities of the days by their sacred names—combining Earthly Branches and Heavenly Stems symbolising Female and Male Energies—and dispatch them to the Three Heavenly Palaces, again requesting that their names be reinstated in the jade calendar and to be among the Seed People.⁹⁷ In Act Eleven they call out to the twelve divinities that embody the twelve directions and pair the Earthly Branches and Heavenly Stems into six “male” and six “female” sacred names resembling the sixty-year cycle. In Act Twelve they ask the Five Spirits of Time (Great Year or Jupiter, Spirit of Current Month, Spirit of Original Destiny, Spirit of Running Year, and Spirit of the Present Day) to “go up high and reach the Three Heavens Office”. To all of these divinities a variation of the same incantation is directed by the master announcing the names and dates of birth of the initiates to them, and by the disciples proclaiming that they “obey the master and request aid in Crossing-over”.⁹⁸ At the end of the ritual when the initiates exit the oratory they once again incant a variation of the apotropaic prayer:

Lord Number One (*yijun* 一君) in front and Lord Number Two (*erjun* 二君) behind: destroy the calamities of the four directions. May all of them be caught and subdued; destroy, remove and make them leave through the gate with your two hands.⁹⁹

The rite is about Crossing-over into a position of the midpoint, which allows for the circulation of the Life *Qi* and purification of evil influences. “Returning” to the original nature and a state of quietness is conceived as a spontaneous cosmic process of response to “good grace”. The precondition for receiving “grace” is said to be sincerity (*xin* 信). This is a significant concept that is related to “fidelity”, “reliability”, and both to “trust” or “trustworthiness”, all of which are relational. Thus, the incantation of the master in Act Six (reiterated at the end of Act Twenty) says:

May mouth and tongue now rest and hide. The service ends and the merit is proclaimed, but do not fail to yield fidelity!¹⁰⁰

In the incantation after the initiates have been warned “not to fail in yielding fidelity”, they address their divine ancestors calling up “those who have given birth to us” (*shengwozhe* 生我者) and those who have “cared for us” (*huaiwozhe* 懷我者). They end by saying: “this service is with the Great Dao, and dedicated to father and mother.”¹⁰¹ In this context it may be significant that as the *Huainanzi* explains: “Maintaining *de* means highest excellence” and its commentary adds: “this means to maintain ‘care’ (*huai* 懷).”¹⁰² *De* or “virtue” may also be rendered as “efficacy” in the sense that in order to complete the Dao one needs to maintain *de*. However, *de* can

be identified with "care" here, especially in connection to those who have given us life and care, and is acquired by being grateful and by repaying one's due, not only in remembrance, but also by mirroring their good faith and reliability.

Thus yielding fidelity or reliability means giving and receiving care. This is the very fabric of continuity and connectedness within the spiritual community. Enacting the rite, the initiates serve as "bridges" or mediums who can establish firm connections with their spiritual ancestors and the cosmic administration, to request assistance in pacifying and healing the people of the empire. In petitioning the cosmic administration the initiates link their relationship to each other and to the Dao; or they link the polarised principles of the universe to a pantheon of divinities who authorise the Crossing-over towards the Dao.

Constancy

Crossing-over—the goal of the ritual—is realised by transcending the spatio-temporal order—a process which aims at the gradual solidifying of the Life *Qi* into a "firm" or "constant" (*gu* 固) state. The solidity or constancy of the Life *Qi* is the essential characteristic of all those who have attained the Dao and thus share its constant nature. We have seen above that the initiates expose themselves to the workings of the Five Regulators (the manifestations of the Dao that shape time and space) and internalise their emanation in the form of *Qi*. Affected by the Dao they have acquired its inherent capacity to shift through and beyond time and space. This is rendered in Act Seven as "going beyond the Earthly Net" (*yue digang* 越地網) and "releasing the Heavenly Canopy" (*shi tianluo* 釋天羅).¹⁰³ The earthly branches and heavenly stems are used as the determinants of time and space, so they come to play an important symbolic role in this process. By acting in harmony with the rules of the natural cycle initiates can move beyond the meshes of space and time.¹⁰⁴ In fact the movement beyond these limits establishes constancy, which enables the initiate to become capable of steadfastly yielding fidelity (*xin*).

The Pole Star plays an important role in determining the initiate's correct position in space and time, as it has served as the beacon of all travellers since antiquity. *Zhuangzi* refers to the Dipper as one of those who has attained the Dao and its "firm constancy" (*gu cun* 固存).¹⁰⁵ According to the myth of its creation the Dipper, like all stars and planets, came into being from essences remaining after the creation of the sun and the moon—a mix of Yin and Yang.¹⁰⁶ Hence in its genesis and essence the constellation occupies the *middle* position, and represents the joining of the two cosmic polarities embodied in the gender of the initiates.

In fact, whenever the participants change their positions within the ritual space in the guise of Yin and Yang the Earthly Branches serve as their coordinates, and they follow the annual cycle the Dipper. Thus, from Act One, Yang stands at the first terrestrial branch, to mark the position of the Dipper in the east northeast (in the first lunar month at dusk), and Yin at the seventh in the opposite position points to the west southwest (in the seventh month at dusk).¹⁰⁷ The constellation provides not only the sacred "ground" for the rite by determining the positions of Yin and Yang but also appears as a beneficent presence, its divinities being summoned to hear the main "attestation of merit" in Act Six: "Lords, generals and officers of the Three [Primordial Ones], of the Five [Regulators], of the Meritorious Service Section, and of the Dipper (*doushao* 斗杓)."¹⁰⁸

103 This act consists of two sequences (each consisting of three steps), the first dedicated to Earth and the second to Heaven. *Regulations*, 7:4a.

104 The meshes of Heaven were conceived as consisting of Mainstays (*gang* 綱) which run as cosmic meridians binding the stars to each other and to the poles, and the Filaments (*ji* 紀) which connect the finer luminaries perpendicularly. This exercise was believed to result in the forming of immortal embryonic essences in the practitioner's body which would finally allow for the attainment of ascension to Heaven. See Edward H. Schafer, *Pacing the Void: Tang Approaches to the Stars*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977), p.241–42; note 41.

105 *Zhuangzi*, 6:3, p.111–12: "The Great Dipper has attained [the Dao] and throughout antiquity it has without error" ... 維斗得之，終古不忒。The same passage says: "The Dao has fidelity and inborn nature (*qing* 情), non-action, no-shape; it can be transmitted, but not received; can be attained, but not seen; has its own root, its own source, was there before Heaven and Earth; and from antiquity it had firm constancy".

106 *Huainanzi*, 3:7, p.35; for a translation of this chapter see Major, *Heaven and Earth*, p.62.

107 *Regulations*, 1.1a. It is believed that the male and female embryos pass through the twelve stations of the zodiac during gestation moving clockwise and counter-clockwise respectively. See Robinet "Meditation," p.111, n.44.

108 *Regulations*, 6:3b. "Ascending on the constellation" (*cheng kui* 乘魁) is to be achieved by corporeal interactions between the initiates. Also *Ibid*, 16:12a.

109 *Ibid.*, 7:4b–5a.

110 Maspero “Taoism,” p.513.

111 *Regulations*, 7:4b–5a. This incantation is repeated in almost identical wording in Act Twenty, 20:21a.

112 *Ibid.*, 7:5a; and 20:21a.

113 *Ibid.*, 21a–21b.

114 *Ibid.*, 21a–21b.

115 *Ibid.*, 7.5a.

The movement beyond life’s fluctuations and limits and towards constancy, the characteristic of the Dipper, is enacted in Act Seven by liturgical “steps” in space (*guo* 過) that establish “a crossing beyond the Earthly Net” and “a releasing of the Heavenly Canopy”. The steps retrace the cardinal positions of the movements of the heavenly bodies: east, south and west. The movements of the initiates match and map the positions of the three major divinities: Without Superior on the left, Dark Senior on the right and Supreme High at the rear. At each step their names are invoked as these divinities are believed to represent and protect the three positions.¹⁰⁹ In addition, the positions of the steps, left, right and rear, are the places of exaltation of Yang, Yin and the centre.¹¹⁰ Thus, the initiates simultaneously evoke and embody the trinity who are the natural regulators and harmonisers of the cosmos by virtue of their cardinal positions. In acting as representatives of the Three Primordial Life *Qis*, the initiates are able walk in the steps of the divinities. The three members of the divine trinity are in fact representative of the Yin and Yang principles, as is clear from the use of left and right in their names, while the third stands in the *middle*. Moreover, they can be regarded as different guises of the three figures or the three junctions that the initiates pass through in being regenerated by the Dao.

At the end of Act Seven the initiates address the divinities in an incantation that expresses the salvific purpose of Crossing-over beyond the fluctuations of the universe: “Compassionate Father and Wise Mother, untie the Net and release the Canopy, erase my name from the death register, write my name in the register of Life.”¹¹¹ However, it ends with the words which underline the importance of the trinity: “Give us Birth, endow us with Life, this service (*shi* 事) rests with the Great Dao, and it is for Father and Mother.”¹¹² Here, the Wise Mother represents Earth, the Compassionate Father is of Heaven, while the Great Dao stands for the One—the Child— emblem of the union and origin of Yin and Yang. The incantation proclaims the faith of the initiates in the impartial generosity of these life-engendering entities. Moreover, while the initiates ask for these gifts from the sacred trinity, at the same time they seek to emulate their virtue.

The same incantation is repeated in the final act when the transformation of the initiates comes full circle through their enactment of Yin and Yang and by attending to the divinities of space and time. In the section of the final act entitled “Stepping with Time” (*nieshi* 躡時), the initiates complete three circular revolutions through the azimuthal directions marked by the Earthly Branches.¹¹³ This is the final phase of the “stepping beyond” (*yue* 越) the “Earthly Net” (*digang* 地綱) and the “untying” (*shi* 釋) of the Canopy of Heaven (*tianluo* 天羅).¹¹⁴

While the repetition of motions and incantations may be understood as an aspect of constancy in the ritual, these reiterations also signify transfiguration. The divinities of time and space are addressed in their transformative power: “The one who gives life to me” and “The one who cares for me”. The divinities who are summoned by their esoteric names also stand for Heaven and Earth, from whom the initiates request: “give me birth and give me life” (*sheng wo buo wo* 生我活我).¹¹⁵ The movement towards the middle point beyond the limits of space and time stands for the wish to attain constancy in yielding fidelity and thus ultimately to establish care, epitomised by Heaven and Earth in their impartial covering and carrying of all beings.

Constancy, virtue, and measured movement are attributes of both the Dipper and the Great Dao. These are enacted by the male and female initiates who, moving with these divine principles, embody their unifying principles and move beyond the polarity of gendered bodies of flesh.

Harmony

Crossing-over is a strictly regulated procedure that relies on several key concepts that serve as catalysts in the ritual process. One of these is "harmony" (*he* 和) or "good measure" that is seen in liturgical motions, as well as being invoked several times during the ritual. Harmony is presented as the characteristic of unification of the Threefold Primordial Life *Qi*, and is also understood as the principle underlying the unity of all beings in their embodiment of the Dao, whose workings unfold as a rhythmic pattern. The True One mirrors the unfolding of the Dao in all activities and takes "harmony as the measure" (*yi he wei liang* 以和為量).¹¹⁶ It is only by embodying the unity of the Dao that the True One can transmit its harmonious influence to the world. The symbols that are key to his correct measure are the numbers from one to ten, that in Daoist religion acquire a sacred status.¹¹⁷

In the Daoist classics, One is considered to be the starting point of all things. The Dao that pervades all beings can only be accessed in its unity, or its transformations through time, the pattern of which is most perfectly found in music.¹¹⁸ This is the harmony of the Dao that *Zhuangzi* says causes trepidation. The Dao is so dazzling that it can only be experienced in total stillness and by the spontaneous abandonment of all thought, or else by open concord with the Heavenly Order.¹¹⁹ Its ultimate fullness can only be apprehended as a unity that finds its expression through harmony.

The term "harmony" occurs in the ritual text for the first time in Act Eight ("The Four Lords"). When preparing for the incantation, the initiates intertwine their hands and face *Yin* (east northeast). The initiates put their wish for a union of the *Qi* of Yin and Yang into words, speaking in unison:

Together we respectfully cultivate the Dao and its *de*, we beg for a union of Yin and Yang in harmony; may the Life *Qi* flow all over us. May it render our subtle spirit consolidated (*gu* 固) in our bodies; may each of us attain no other transformations.¹²⁰

This incantation is addressed to divinities named after days of the sexagenary cycle who are called "father" and "mother". The same prayer to the divinities of time for the consolidation of *Qi* is offered in four acts (eight, ten, eleven and twelve). In this way, the coordinates of space and time through which the Dao rotates and measures all phenomena, and that are the principles of the unity of creation, are venerated as the emblem of the Dao.

It is during the equinoxes in the second and the eighth months that the *Qi* of Yin and Yang stand in equal relations, so it was probably no accident that the ritual was performed at this time,¹²¹ specifically at the new and full moon allegedly for six hours during a day and a night.¹²² Spring and autumn, therefore, at the beginning and end of the life cycle, are the emblematic seasons for the ritual. This supports Maspero's theory that this rite was a version of the popular spring and autumn festivals of antiquity.¹²³

It is important to take note of the fact that the notion of *du* (in *guodu*) crucial to the ritual, has a numerological dimension due to its meaning as "to go through a measurable series of things". Considering the ubiquity of numbers in the *Regulations* it is hardly surprising to find that the ritual process of Crossing-over accords to the numbers that are the key to harmony and is executed and performed in a strictly measured way. One of the indicators of this procedure is that the number of repetitions of bodily actions, vocal enunciations, and mental exercises performed is often specified, creating a kind of a rhythm in the performance.

116 See *Zhuangzi*, 20:3, p.293: "When one takes harmony as one's measure, then one can drift and rumble with the Ancestor of the myriad things. Then one becomes a being of the beings, but is not a mere being to the beings. How could then any evil be tied to him?" And *Ibid*, 22:3, p.325 "Virtue is being harmonious and responding".

117 For the cosmic actions of the numbers see *Taiping jing*: "The Heavenly Numbers start from One and end with Ten". *Taiping jing*, 40:76.

118 The association between music and good governance or morals is found in ancient mythological sources. See Kenneth J. DeWoskin, *A Song for One or Two* (Ann Arbor: Center for Chinese Studies, University of Michigan, 1982), pp.55–151.

119 *Zhuangzi* 14:3, p.222–25 where the description of the Yellow Emperor's performance of the piece "Lake of Union" (*xianchi* 咸池) ends with the words: "When listening to it, you do not hear its sound; if approaching near to it, you cannot see its form; it flows and fills completely Heaven and Earth; enfolds and penetrates all the six directions. You want to hear it, but cannot reach to it, therefore you are bedazzled".

120 *Regulations*, 8:5b. Instead of the more common *jingshen* 精神 (in the two other similar incantations in Acts Six and Ten), this act has the combination *shi shen* 釋神 "liberating spirit".

121 *Huainanzi*, 3:7, p.40. "In the eight month and the second month, the *Qi* of Yin and Yang is equal, day and night are divided equally, therefore *xing* and *de* are together at the gate".

122 *Bianzhen lun*, 545c; and *Xiaodao lun*, in *Guang Hongming ji*, 152a.

123 Maspero, "Taoism," p.534.

124 *Huainanzi*, 3:7, p.47.

125 “The correct measure is within the breast”, see *Liezi*, 5:3, p.63 and *Huainanzi*, 9:7, p.141. Charles Le Blanc gives a parallel translation of this passage from both sources, see Le Blanc, *Huai Nan Tzu*, p.91.

126 *Zhuangzi*, 24:3, p.374.

127 *Regulations*, 17:17b–17:18a.

128 *Ibid*, 9:5b.

129 *Yunji qiqian*, “Hundun,” 2:1a, Zhizi jicheng edition.

130 *Lunbeng*, “Tantian,” 7/105, Zhizi jicheng edition.

131 Or “sacred Dao and *bundun* are one”. See *Guiguzi*, DZ 671, HY 1025, Xia, “Benjing Yinfu,” 13a.

132 The *Zhuangzi* says: “De is harmony; and Dao is order. When there is nothing that De does not encompass, that is benevolence; when there is nothing that Dao does not order, that is propriety. When propriety is clear and the beings are close to each other, that is loyalty. When inside there is purity and fullness, there is heading back to inborn nature, that is music. When there is a sincerity in practice and bearing, as well as adherence to cultivation/form, that is ritual.” *Zhuangzi*, 16:3, p.242–43.

133 *Regulations*, 8:5a–b.

134 The text says: “Music is the harmony of Heaven and Earth. Ritual is the order of Heaven and Earth. When [they are] in harmony then the myriad beings are transformed. When [they are] in proper sequence then the myriad beings are [correctly] distinguished.” *Li ji*, 3:990.

Ideas concerning the sacredness of numbers can be found as early as the *Huainanzi* where in “olden times the *measure* (*du*) for reckoning of light and heavy arose out of the Dao of Heaven.”¹²⁴ Not only do we learn from the classical Daoist writings that the *Dao* is the source and essence of numbers, but also that the heart-mind (*xinzhong* 心中) is where true measure (*zhengdu* 正度) resides.¹²⁵ According to the *Zhuangzi*, “the human who takes harmony as his measure” is free from trouble and “the one who embraces *de*, is fused with Harmony, and in agreement with the world, is called the True One”.¹²⁶ The unification of male and female is thus embedded in a larger cosmological framework organised by *Qi* as a seasonal and numerological structure.

Integral Darkness

The transformation of the “people of flesh” comes about through the workings of the numinous *Qi* that follows the cyclical rhythm of gestation, engendering life. Thus, the initiates cultivate and honor the Dao of Heaven and Earth not only in thought and word, but also by the sacrament of bodily congress.

During congress, the sun and moon are said to come out of “obscurity” (*yaoyao* 窈窈) and then re-enter “darkness” (*mingming* 冥冥).¹²⁷ This is the primordial darkness that precedes Heaven and Earth and is the essence (*jing* 精) of the Dao. It corresponds to *bundun* 混沌, suggestive of darkness or obscurity and the rapid flow of water, and it is where the ritual-text says Yin and Yang are unified to form One; it is “integral darkness”. The meditation starts with Yin and Yang sitting and facing each other (Act Nine). They intertwine their fingers and place their hands on the top of their knees with Yin “carrying” and Yang “covering”. The hands are concealed and they direct their attention to the emblematic colors of the Three *Qi*: pure azure for Wushang, or the *Qi* of Heaven; pure yellow for Xuanlao, or Earth; and pure white for Taishang, or Water. The text declares: “the Three *Qi* together form a single *bundun*” (*gongwei yi bundun* 共為一混沌). It is like a chicken egg in five colours.¹²⁸

The *bundun* is compared “a cosmic egg” or a zygote that is at the same time the mysterious womb or valley that encompasses the multiplicity of all creation. The term *bundun* implies full potentiality, before the division of Heaven and Earth,¹²⁹ or the undivided state of Primordial *Qi*,¹³⁰ and is understood as the sacred Dao itself.¹³¹ This completion of *bundun* takes place in Act Nine in all likelihood to correspond to the nine gestation phases of the embryo as well as the number of stages in the transmutation of cinnabar.

In addition, the initiates repeatedly claim to be cultivating the “Dao and its *de*”. As we have seen above, *de* could here be understood as related to “care”.¹³² Thus, the initiates invoke care in an apotropaic prayer asking for all disasters and calamities in the eight directions to be extinguished.¹³³ Indeed, the sacramental bodily congress prescribed in the ritual-text unifies the Life *Qi*, which set Yin and Yang in motion, and ultimately generates harmony that purifies the world of all malevolent influences.

The Classic on Music says that the interactions between Heaven and Earth cause the hundred transformations and that “music is the harmony between Heaven and Earth”.¹³⁴ The act of congress is performed according to the numbers that define the harmonious and harmonising rhythm of the workings of the Dao. The initiates assume their correct positions embodying the Spirit Male and the Jade Female, corresponding to the Sun and Moon,

and direct their attention to the numinous *Qi* that flows on its primordial course affecting the regulative centres in their body. "Bridging" the polarities of the cosmos they meet at the Gates of Destiny and Life to receive the life regenerating *Qi*. The gate is a familiar emblem in many rites of initiation representing the threshold of beginning and end.

At the Gate of Destiny (*mingmen* 命門), the Spirit Male holds the Jade Female on both sides. The *Qi* of Yang circulates to the left, the *Qi* of Yin revolves to the right. Ascending, it reaches Great Clarity (*taiqing* 太清), descending it reaches Endless Depth (*wuxia* 無下), always travelling between the Nine Palaces, the Five Treasuries, and the Six Receptacles. Guide the flock of record-making spirits by summoning their names from the legal records so that they cannot but perish.

"May longevity reside in my body! Endow me with perfect immortality!"

Raising the heads, inhale the Life *Qi* three times with the nose; swallow it three, *five*, *seven*, and then *nine* times.

Yang says: "Dao of Heaven!"

*Yi*¹³⁵ says: "Dao of Earth!"

Then, enter the Gate of Life (*shengmen* 生門). Inside, command half a head.¹³⁶

The flow of the Life *Qi* is determined by the sacred numbers that generate transformation and life. Thus the initiates fall into the rhythm of the Dao to allow its *Qi* to suffuse them. In other words, they embody the transformation instituted by the Dao by resonating with its process of "measuring" and thus partake in its limitlessness.¹³⁷ Yang asks Yin to bestow her *Qi* on him so that the pairing of *Qi* might take place, but it is the female initiate who confirms that "heaven covers and earth carries" and asks for the Life *Qi* to be granted to both disciples.¹³⁸ She appears as the direct link to the *Qi* of the Dao.

While in Act Nine the appearance of the *bundun* takes place as the result of meditation and shows itself as a vision that fills the minds of the initiates, the haptic exercises lead to "actual" unity of the bodies of Yin and Yang. Thus in Act Seventeen when bodily congress has taken place, the ritual-text announces:

The Bodies of the Minister and Handmaiden are fused together (*bundun* 混沌) and have become One. Its name is: Taokang 桃康.¹³⁹

Taokang is the divinity who governs the Gate of Destiny, resides in the Palace of the Cinnabar Field, and governs the essence or *jing* 精.¹⁴⁰ In the Scripture of the Yellow Court, *Qi* and *jing* are conceived as transmuting into each other, or rather being related in complementary qualities, namely airy and liquid.¹⁴¹ Hence the initiates announce the fusing of their primordial essences, re-setting and putting into motion the process of gestation. This is an enactment of the natural process of gestation, conceived as a genesis that transforms *qi* into *essence*, and then into the subtlest form of being, spirit.¹⁴²

Thus, in the final act, the initiates proclaim their intention to return to the flow and have themselves thus restored (*gui*) to the Dao, through merit acquired by the veneration of the Regulators of Yin and Yang and the harmonious union of *Qi*. Hence, in the final act they chant:

We obey our master so-and-so to assist us in Crossing-over. Together we respectfully practice the Dao and its *de*; we beg for a harmonious union of Yin and Yang; we ask for Long Life without end. We pledge to use this merit and *de* so as to return to the flow. We restore our self, return our spirit,

135 This *yi* 乙 may be a mistake for *yin*.

136 *Regulations*, 17:15a–b.

137 This resonates with *Zhuangzi* 22:3, p.324: "in depth abyssmal like the ocean, so high that its end is also its beginning; it carries and measures all beings without error".

138 *Regulations*, 17:14b.

139 *Ibid*, 17:15a.

140 Maspero, "Taoism," p.537, n.104.

141 In the *Taiping jing* this can be found at 11:50a; 12:3b, 12:10b and is corroborated in other sources including both *Huangting jing* and *Yunji qiqian* according Isabelle Robinet, see *Meditation*, n. 101.

142 *Regulations*, 6:3b–4a.

143 *Sanzun* or the *sanbao* 三寶 are the Dao, the Texts and the Master; see Robinet, "La revelation," p.201.

144 *Regulations*, 20:23a–b.

and return our destiny to the Great Dao. We, head and body, cast ourselves onto the Earth (*toudi* 投地). Of our own accord we return. The Three Lords (*sanzun* 三尊)¹⁴³ support this merit and *de* and return us to the flow.¹⁴⁴

The order of events in the incantation indicates a chain of causality from the "harmonious unification of the Three *Qi*" to the "acquiring of merit" and the "returning" or "restoring". By venerating these aspects of the sacred, harmony is established. It is the basis of quiescence, necessary for mirroring the *body* by the light of Primordial *Qi*, thus restoring it to the Dao. The initiates are restored to the Dao as "seed people"; in this vision the entire human being is integrated and redeemed to the sacred. The fusion of Yin and Yang, or male and female, or Heaven and Earth, is a Crossing-over to a state of being that is analogous to the primordial darkness in which all distinctions of male and female have an embryonic or seed-like vitality and invisibility.

Conclusion

No ritual can be understood without reference to the ethical and cosmological vision it entails. In this case, the ethical vision is based on the presence of evil with its malevolent influences, and the resulting quest for purification, transformation, regeneration and redemption. By situating the terminological register and metaphors of the ritual within the ritual plot as well as the tradition as a whole, their significance and the related liturgical performance becomes intelligible.

As we have seen, the process of regeneration may be read as a response to the question of how one can recover the concealed presence of Dao—a problem that is framed by the fragmentation of the cosmos into the polarities of Heaven and Earth, Yang and Yin, and male and female. This regeneration evolves through three different figures: those who first appear as people of flesh ("father") emerge transformed as true ones (mother") to proclaim their aspiration to become seed people ("child"). The unfolding of the ritual is itself a process of ethical purification with the central theme of remembering or cherishing the ancestors. Out of which, in turn, follows the importance of sincerity, compassion and wisdom, resolving conflict dispelling confusion, and restoring the Dao.

Hence, the theme of regeneration is ethical, and trust or sincerity is the precondition for overcoming sins and evil. This is achieved by trusting in the goodness of an inborn human nature, or the nature of the Great Dao, that is restored by apprehending its harmony and order. Harmony relates to the initiates' according with the unifying pattern of the Dao, and order to understanding and true vision. Harmony and order possess the complementary attributes of the divine Father and Mother, namely compassion and wisdom, and form the heart of the Crossing-over.

However, it is only through love for the Dao, conceived as the natural force that connects all parts to the whole, that the initiates can be reunified with it. The emblem of this union is the Child of Transformation, their only means to repay what is owed to their ancestors. In other words, those who die live on, in the form of the Child, in the heart-mind of their posterity. The initiates summon the memory of the ancestors whose covenant with the sacred was the very precondition for life, and at the same time remember their inborn nature as that of the luminescent Life *Qi*. In this sense, the transformation takes the form of remembering with the connotations of love or care; these together are reminiscent of filial piety. Thus the initiates achieve the right to receive the Dao from their love for the Dao.

Thus, the ritual of bridging enacts the sublation of past and future into the present of the revelation of the Dao, the three temporal terms being parallel with the people of flesh, the seed people and the true ones, who are emblematic of the eternal flow of *Qi*, or regeneration itself. The constancy of the eternal flow in all temporal manifestations is the panacea against the vicissitudes of time and it is, in turn, by the embodiment of temporal limits that the illusion of time can be dispelled. Thus, embodying the Dao means regeneration by the Dao. As noted above, the criticism that the ritual violated “peoples’ sense of shame” originally came from the Buddhist side, with the intention to suggest that Daoists were indulging in abominable and immoral practices; moreover, both within the Daoist tradition and in modern times, the ritual has also been perceived as antinomian and destructive of good social mores—in its overt, albeit religious use of sexuality. However, since those who attain full mastery of the Dao come to an understanding that transcends all limitations and apparent contradictions, thus encompassing even the “most lowly appearances” (as the *Zhuangzi* makes abundantly clear), it is no surprise that one stream of the Daoist tradition should have developed a public rite of purification that puts the traditionally private at centre stage.

Thus, what at first sight may have appeared to some commentators as a shameful act was one symbol of Crossing-over within the complex ritual. The Crossing-over was thus to be understood as a transformation of an individual of unclear destiny, marred by sin and mortality, into a member of a community bound for immortality. The individual, shaped and guided by a master as a representative of the tradition, was groomed to fulfill an institutional role.

One can readily imagine that the performance of such an intricate and precisely prescribed ritual must have required long-term preparation, complete concentration and a self-effacing attitude. To transform the sexual act from that of a common mortal into a significant and elevating exercise by performing it in strict accordance with correct ritual procedure turned an activity typically believed to be causing the depletion of *Qi*, into a remedial practice for the purpose of achieving immortality.

The sexual component must not be taken out of its ritual context; I suggest that it is only possible by looking at all of the ritual components together and setting them within the tradition as a whole, to come to a clearer historical understanding of the purpose and significance of this complex event. Making the sexual contact between the couple public ensured that it was carried out according to specified rules taught by the spiritual masters of the community. Spontaneous and private intimacy was transformed into a controlled and public event, a subordination in thought and deed to the ideals of the community; thus, a personal intimate act became a public ceremony.

This strenuous ritual sanctified the intimate bonding of the couple and their connection to the community. At the same time, the initiation of new members of the community symbolised the perpetuation of the group and its regeneration through new members. The public union of Yin and Yang highlighted the mirroring and response of the community and the cosmos. The private sexual encounter was transformed from a spontaneous act of individuals into a strictly ordered public liturgical performance, its plot structure mimicking and embodying the narrative of the tradition and transcending the personal. This established the bodily congress as an intrinsic component of the sacred, purging it of its individual characteristics while setting out to purify and elevate it as a bridge of shared commonality, an act of belonging to the community within the restored presence of the Dao.

A Summary of the Ritual-text

Introduction

The introduction specifies preconditions for the ritual with bathing, fasting and burning incense required of the initiates. Obeisance and confessions to the master are prescribed.

(1) Entering the Quiet Chamber (rujing 入靖)

The initiates assume their proper positions within the ritual space, proclaiming their aims and the intention of the ritual in a prescribed dialogue with their master.

(2) Visualising Officials and Soldiers (cun li bing 存吏兵)

The initiates assume prescribed ritual gestures and visualise their spiritual helpers who report to them one by one.

(3) Concentrating on White Qi (si baiqi 思白氣)

This act provides guidelines for the visualisation of the White *Qi*.

(4) Concentrating on the Ruling Qi (si wangqi 思王氣)

This act provides guidelines for the visualisation of the *Qi* of the Five Seasons, and their inhalation and ingestion.

(5) Swallowing [Qi] of the Three Palaces (yan sangong 咽三宮)

This act is concerned with the inhalation and ingestion of the *Qi* of the Three Palaces (Heaven, Earth and Water) accompanied by a prayer for the bestowal of the gift of Life to them.

(6) Presenting the Petition (qi shi 啟事)

After visualising and summoning a great assembly of divinities by the reading of their titles from a long list, assuming prescribed ritual gestures, the initiates recite the prayer for Long Life and attainment of the state of Seed People. (All other invocations in the ritual are variations of this basic prayer).

(7) The Earthly Net (diwang 地網) and Heavenly Canopy (tianluo 天羅)

The initiates recite a variation of the invocation to the divinities who rule the Earthly Net and Heavenly Canopy with prescribed ritual gestures.

(8) The Four Lords (sizun 四尊)

The initiates recite a variation of the invocation to the Four Lords with prescribed postures and ritual gestures.

(9) Visualising and Concentrating (cunsi 存思)

The initiates perform a meditation, and visualise *hundun* 混沌 according to guidelines with prescribed postures and ritual gestures.

(10) The Ten Divinities (shishen 十神)

The initiates concentrate on each of the Ten Divinities by recalling their names. This act finishes with a variation of the invocation addressed to them, offered first by the master and then by the initiates.

(11) Pairing Jia (pei jia 配甲)

The initiates call out the twelve names of the Lord and a variation of the invocation is addressed to them.

(12) *The Five Spirits* (wushen 五神)

The initiates summon the Five Spirits by concentration on their names, which have been taught to them by the master, the disciples address them by reciting a variation of the invocation.

(13) *The Eight Living* [Qi] (ba sheng 八生)

The traditional annual dance of the Dragon and Tiger is performed in eight positions. The action is introduced by the master with a variation of the invocation and the act closes with a joint recitation of a variation of the invocation.

(14) *Untying, Tying & Consuming* (jie jie shi 解結食)

The master unties the girdles of the initiates' clothes, and ties up and spreads their hair; he is aided by “announcers” (*gaozhe* 告者) and “wise ones” (*xianzhe* 賢者).

(15) *The Nine Palaces* (jiugong 九宮)

The initiates concentrate on the Five Treasuries of the body; using their fingers and toes, the transformative number nine is represented in various gestures performed by the man and woman together; and the transformative energies of the Five Regulators (water, wood, metal, earth, and fire) are summoned with invocations. In addition the names of the trigrams of the *Yijing* and the magical number five are invoked.

(16) *Crossing-Over* (du 度)

1. In an intricate set of exercises the initiates first massage each other's heart region with their feet while standing and lying down respectively and later massage the region from the chest to the belly with their hands while holding each other's head. From time to time they recite a short invocation asking for the help of the divinities in Crossing-over.
2. This section provides guidelines on how to visualise the *Qi* of the Three Palaces and shift it around the body while reclining.
3. This section provides guidelines outlining a meditation that envisions the shifting of the *Qi* through the Treasuries of the body.
4. While chanting the names of the three main divinities, the man massages the woman from head to feet and touches the area below the Cinnabar Field and the “Gate of Life”. Invocations are chanted calling each other “divine man” and “jade woman” and praying in turn for the transformative *Qi* to be bestowed upon them.

(17) *His and Hers Incantation Method* (jia yi zhufa 甲乙咒法)

This act starts with proclamations by the initiates wishing to serve as Heaven and Earth respectively, followed by an apotropaic incantation by the master. They recite the names of the Three *Qi*, concentrate on them, and chant a variation of the invocation calling out to the divinities Taokang and Zidan. They visualise the circulation of the *Qi* through the body, then repeat a short version of the invocation asking for Long Life, inhaling and swallowing *Qi* according to the pattern of three, five, seven and nine. After each of the initiates call out for the Dao of Heaven and Earth to be enacted the man penetrates of the Gate of Life halfway. This is followed by more invocations and visualisation of divinities, at which point a full penetration takes place. The man then withdraws from the Gate of Life. Next, the divinities of the Heavenly Stems and Earthly Branches are honored, and more *Qi* is inhaled

and swallowed. The initiates then massage their partner's heart area with the feet while changing positions to stand and lie down respectively. This is part of a series of actions where the initiates step around each other and massage the heart area with the feet, assuming positions to match the movements of the Dipper. This act closes with a series of invocations completing the Twenty-Four *Qi*.

(18) *Returning Divinities* (huan shen 還神)

This act provides guidelines outlining a meditation for returning divinities to their respective places of residence within the bodies of the practitioners.

(19) *The Ruling Qi* (wangqi 王氣)

This act starts with the initiates rubbing each other's face and body with both hands. It unfolds as an eidetic device for the visualisation of the Five Regulators with their respective colours, seasons, and other markers. It includes a visualisation of the circulation of *Qi* through the body's important centres.

(20) *The Child of Transformation* (huaner 迴兒)

1. The Child of Transformation starts with the male initiate taking hold of his right foot from behind his left leg and revolving on the ground. Together the initiates then revolve on the ground with their feet opposite each other bending and stretching their legs. During the exercise they quietly recite the names of the Three *Qi*.
2. Cutting Death consists of complex actions that are performed separately and together that mirror each other's actions while their gaze is directed to particular parts of the body. After various haptic exercises and revolutions on the ground, they chant a variation of the invocation.
3. Stepping on the Hours is performed by the initiates pacing around each other and invoking the divinities of the Dipper to make three revolutions. It closes with a variation of the invocation.
4. Thanking Life is performed to accept Life. With intertwined hands the initiates and the master repeat their pledges of intention, as well as the apotropaic formula of purification of the world. They revolve to complete the circuit of the twelve hours.
5. Speaking of Merit is a short summary repeating the petition of Act Six, with a variation of the invocation. In the written form of the ritual-text, space is provided for the signatures of the participants indicating that this may be used as a written formulary of the ritual. The ritual ends with an apotropaic formula.

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FLOWS OF TIME IN THE CENTRES AND PERIPHERIES OF TANG EXPERIENCE

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In this article I discuss asynchronous time flows in two stories translated from Lu Zhao's 盧肇 *History of Things Outside the Norm* (Yishi 逸史, hereafter "Lu's *History*"), a ninth-century collection of accounts of supernatural marvels. Like others in the same collection, both stories share their origins with verifiable biographies and historical events. The stories provide insights into the ritual procedures adopted during tomb thefts and into the magical lore surrounding tomb models (*mingqi* 冥器). The stories also describe the antagonism between agents of discipline in the city-based administration and disruptive forces in the extramural spaces outside. The tension in these accounts reveals a strong editorial fascination with the asynchronous flows of time, which I discuss in their relationship to late-Tang thinking about the qualities of temporal order and their insertion into the appropriate category of historical account. Beyond treating stories in Lu's *History* as tales of the supernatural, then, my argument is first to read them as a category of historical writing that permitted their compiler to rehearse diverse time flows as forces contributing to subjects' interpretations of experience. Second, I propose that this view of time gained currency and authenticity through conscious attempts to validate late-Tang compiling activities in relationship to both central and peripheral concerns of Tang historical writing.

I owe profound thanks to the organisers of the conference *T'ang Studies: The Next Twenty-Five Years* for the opportunity to present a draft of this article at SUNY, Albany, New York on 9 May, 2009, and to the Leids Universitair Fonds for its grant to fund my participation.

Asynchronous Time and the Decentralised Tang World

In his last unfinished work, Siegfried Kracauer recorded several perceptions of time, which are extremely useful to historians practicing in the wake of a strong turn towards anthropology:

Since simultaneous events are more often than not intrinsically asynchronous, it makes no sense indeed to conceive of the historical process as a homogeneous flow. The image of that flow only veils the divergent times in which substantial sequences of historical events materialize. In referring

- 1 Siegfried Kracauer, *History: The Last Things Before the Last* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1969), p.149.
- 2 Denis Twitchett, "Merchant, Trade and Government in Late T'ang," *Asia Major* 14:1 (1968) 63–95.
- 3 Seo Tatsuhiko, *Chōan no toshi keikaku* [Metropolitan City Planning in Chang'an] (Tokyo: Kodansha, 2001).
- 4 Otagi Hajime, *Tōdai chi-iki shakaishi kenkyū* [Investigations of Regional Social Histories in the Tang Period] (Kyoto: Dōhōsha, 1997), pp.415–50.

to history, one should speak of the march of times rather than the "March of Time." Far from marching, calendric time is an empty vessel. Much as the concept of it is indispensable for science, it does not apply to human affairs.¹

Framed in these generic terms, Kracauer's insights invite the possibility to theorise the nature of social formations whose space and time never comprised the primary object of his interests. Tang China is a case in point, since "divergent times" characterise some important recollections of the late Tang world. Divergence arises palpably in Tang perceptions of the passage of time in the period's many social engagements. To consider with a modern historical imagination, then, how time may "apply to human affairs" offers a binary approach to specific recorded events, considered both as happenings that impacted forcefully within their social context and also as objects that exercised an intellectual fascination for the historians recollecting and preserving them.

The context of Tang events in the following discussion invariably comprises provincial spaces outside the central seats of government power. Attention to these areas has grown with interest in Tang people's experiences not only in large urban centres, notably Chang'an 長安 and Luoyang 洛陽, but also at a distance from them. Denis Twitchett's discussion of new social conditions and attitudes after the mid-eighth century pioneered Western scholars' realisation of how the constituency of politics changed dramatically over the first and second halves of the Tang period, and he sensitised modern awareness to the greater breadth and variety of social participation in late-Tang affairs.² This analysis has gained extra definition with more recent research into Tang experiences of urban space and its changing uses.³

Although much less has been said about life outside cities, Tang reactions to life in the provinces are not entirely without trace, certainly not during the dynasty's late period when writers commented on this dimension of existence much more readily. The apparent paradox is that these multiplying reactions to life outside Tang city walls accompanied ascending rates of urbanisation in many regions of the empire. Otagi Hajime has drawn from an impressive range of sources—including the new wealth of epigraphical discoveries—to show an acute rate of urban expansion in 30 case studies of the ninth and tenth centuries.⁴ Late-Tang accounts reflect these conditions closely, since their authors are invariably members of a literate group who perceive their surroundings from the vantage point of town- or city-based commands. Even Tang accounts that detail events from the relatively prosperous decades of the early eighth century are more often than not stories retold by a later generation of writers who experienced an age when centralised imperial government was deteriorating, and when provincial sub-centres had experienced unprecedented commercial growth and assumed new military significance.

The intellectual mirror to these conditions is the deep fascination that late-Tang writers of minor historical accounts displayed towards human actors locked into struggles with time as an adverse agency. Their conception of time as a force that cannot be easily contested amounts also to an admission of their unease that one set of rules, one History Office, one broadly co-ordinated bureaucratic effort could account for the distance between centre and periphery—the divergence arising even in shared experiences, not to mention the strongly resistant temporalities of communities beyond Tang government's regulative means of sight and control. Even when late-Tang writers preserved recollections of the early eighth century, they realised, sometimes painfully, that human action would never again be subject to

familiar ambitions of political and cosmic unity, and that time was not so easily conceived as an agent of central control.

Late-Tang compilers may have reported on a more fragmented world with enthusiasm perhaps because they accepted what Robert Campany has described for an earlier period as a dialectical structure of centre and periphery. This description is still relevant to Tang conditions, insofar as Tang compilation was also the pursuit of a centrist cosmographic discourse—metaphorically a kind of data collection that helps to make sense of the world and to control it.⁵ Yet, even if this centrist ideal endured throughout the Tang, the period's most ambitious attempts to assert order from the centre outwards never assumed the creation of an absolute and shared continuum of time. The highest government control effected only what Marcel Granet famously called time's "liturgical usage",⁶ which involved the categorisation of time into various shapes, or what Joseph Needham, following Granet, envisaged as time bundled into different forms of "packaging".⁷ The shapes spring into discernible forms—governed by space and ritual—as soon as we read the prescriptive ambitions of either the *Kaiyuan Ritual Code* (Kaiyuan li 開元禮), completed in 732, or surviving Tang manuals of Daoist liturgy, just two collective expressions from interlocking zones of the Tang intellectual outlook.⁸ The men who so successfully established the final version of the *Kaiyuan Ritual Code*, for instance, did so after successive debates, during which they accepted or rejected what this monumental text should include. Given that this editorial experience was not abnormal, any assumption that Tang officials believed strongly that only one usage of time ordered the world is simply counterintuitive.

While codes, manuals and other philosophical expressions represented ideal packages that were not totally inclusive, whatever was excluded from these formations was not necessarily also suppressed. Its endurance, then, allowed the emergence of divergent temporalities, and against this background I analyse a group of late-Tang stories and their editor's particular interest in time's asynchronous flows. His records of time as psychological and historical experiences are drawn from both leading figures of the period and other informants of considerably lower social status. These form widespread contacts in a larger expanse of shared ideas that their recorder embedded in a category of primary source that remains today historiographically and ethnographically underemployed.

The first section of this article introduces Lu Zhao and his text. The next section translates and discusses two stories. Conflicting perceptions of time, whose apparent sovereign subjects are the senior- and middle-ranking officers of Tang government, can justify reading these stories as records of magical events and supernatural productions. The focus, however, is not primarily on magic and the supernatural, but rather on what their respective techniques and forces affected in the recorded experience of asynchronous time. The subsequent section sets descriptions of asynchronous time flows within the context of Lu Zhao's editorial interests, and it proposes that this asynchronous quality comprised the primary motive to compile a text that contains so many historical examples of temporal divergence. In the final section discussing central and peripheral concerns in Tang historical writing, I look at how Lu Zhao's editing reflects a general shift from the deep tradition of recording marvels, anomalies and mirabilia towards the creation of records that their compilers viewed in a growing relationship to the writing of history. Although the philosophical causes may be indirect, historiographical precepts first formulated in the early eighth century

5 Robert Campany, *Strange Writing: Anomaly Accounts in Early Modern China* (Albany: University of New York, 1996), pp.1–17.

6 Marcel Grant, *La pensée chinoise* (Paris: La Renaissance du livre, 1934), p.97.

7 Joseph Needham, "Time and Eastern Man," in *The Grand Titration: Science and Society in East and West*, ed. Joseph Needham (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1969), pp.228–29.

8 For a survey of the contents of the *Code*, see David McMullen, "Bureaucrats and Cosmology: The Ritual Code of T'ang China," in *Rituals of Royalty: Power and Ceremonial in Traditional Societies*, eds David Cannadine and Simon Price (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), pp.181–236. On Daoist ritual, see Kristofer Schipper and Wang Hsiu-huei, "Progressive and Regressive Time Cycles in Taoist Ritual," in *The Study of Time, V: Time, Science and Society in China and the West*, ed. J.T.Fraser (Amherst: University of Massachusetts, 1986), pp.185–205. The authors remark (p.186) that liturgical manuals comprise half of the Daoist canon (after its last recomposition in 1445).

- 9 Glen Dudbridge, *Lost Books of Medieval China* (London: The British Library, 2000).
- 10 *Yunji qiqian* (DZ 1032, HY1026), 113A. This chapter contains fourteen stories from *Yisbi*, and the preceding chapter contains thirty stories from *Shenxian ganyu zhuàn*. On the transmission of these texts in *Yunji qiqian*, see Kristofer Schipper and Franciscus Verellen, eds, *The Taoist Canon: A Historical Companion to the Daozang* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2004), Vol.1, pp. 430–31; Vol.2, pp.943–45.
- 11 Zeng Zao, *Leishuo* [Categorised Stories] (Beijing: Wenxue guji kanxingshe, 1955 preface dated 1136), 27:4a–5a.
- 12 *Xin Tangshu*, [New Tang History] (Beijing: Zhonghua, 1975), 59:1542.
- 13 *Shilin bisbu lubua* [Conversations recorded during summer retreats in the Stone Forest] (Shanghai: Shanghai shudian, 1990), 1:7a–b.
- 14 Xu Song, *Dengke jikao* [Evidence for the Records of Examination Degrees], ed. Zhao Shouyan (Beijing: Zhonghua, 1984), 22:791–92.
- 15 On Lu Zhao's participation in the examinations, see Oliver Moore, *Rituals of Recruitment in Tang China: Reading an Annual Programme in the Collected Statements by Wang Dingbao (870–940)* (Leiden: Brill, 2004), pp.120; 224–25. For a full discussion of all the documents concerning Lu Zhao's career and movements, see Li Jianguo, *Tang Wudai zbiguai chuanqi xulu* [Overview of Tang and Five Dynasties' Tales of Marvels and Records of Anomalies] (Tianjin: Nankai daxue, 1993), pp.670–79.

by Liu Zhiji 劉知幾 (661–721), Tang China's most practical and eloquent philosopher on questions of historical writing, mark a founding moment in later generations' changing evaluations of minor categories of record. Over the second half of the dynasty these changes enfranchised Tang compilers to collect data from both central and peripheral contexts, and to make sense of them in the corresponding antitheses of asynchronous time flows.

Lu Zhao and the History of Things Outside the Norm

The stories discussed below owe their earliest survival to inclusion in an encyclopedic compilation, *The Taiping Reign Period's Extensive Records* (Taiping guangji 太平廣記) (hereafter the *Extensive Records*), named in honour of imperial time—by now a Song unity—during the progress of its commission in 977 and its completion one year later. The project filled 500 chapters (*juan* 卷), and it was printed in 981.⁹ The aim of this ambitious act of bibliography was to edit and preserve a large body of literature, which was seldom duplicated in extant official sources. Many of these texts were the content of private, semi- or unofficial historical record. Each text is usually cited from an original source, which often no longer exists independently and integrally. Some of the material dated to several centuries earlier; a few citations are from works compiled within living memory during the decades just before and after the Song reunification in 960. The fact that Song editors saw fit to draw from this material in order to create an editorial whole is a good indication of their own and previous generations' comprehension of alternative constructions of time and its inscription in examples of non-canonical historiography.

The *Extensive Records* contains 78 stories attributed to Lu's *History*. One instance of duplication reduces this total to 77. Another important Song source, the major Daoist anthology *The Cloud Bookcase in its Seven Labels* (*Yunji qiqian* 雲笈七籤) compiled by Zhang Junfang 張君房 (*jinsbi* 進士 1004–1008), includes fourteen stories without any attribution. Long supposed to be items from Du Guangting's 杜光庭 (850–933) *Biographies Featuring Contacts and Encounters with Gods and Spirits* (*Shenxian ganyu zhuan* 神仙感遇傳), from which Zhang also borrowed material, the true source of these stories has been recognised only recently.¹⁰ The content and structure of thirteen of the stories match the same number in the *Taiping Extensive Records*. The fourteenth is not found in the *Taiping Extensive Records*, but its attribution to Lu's *History* is documented in yet another Song collection of literature, *Categorised Stories* (*Leishuo* 類說).¹¹ 78 stories remains the total number of stories preserved in these three Song sources.

Although Lu's *History* is not clearly attributed to a compiler in the *New History of the Tang Dynasty* monograph on literature, which was edited by eleventh-century bibliographers, it is listed directly after another work entitled *Historical Records* (*Shilu* 史錄) and attributed to Lu Zhao 盧肇.¹² This other work has vanished. Ye Mengde 葉夢得 (1077–1148), in notes on his own reading, is the earliest to confirm independently that Lu Zhao compiled the *History of Things Outside the Norm*.¹³ Not many facts concerning Lu Zhao's life survive. He was an outstanding *jinsbi* degree-winner—first in his cohort in 843—having entered the competition in the prefectural selections at Yuanzhou 袁州 (modern Yichun, Jiangxi province).¹⁴ During this period, or perhaps earlier, he attracted the patronage of Li Deyu 李德裕 (787–850), the most formidable figure of mid-century politics and an intellectually engaged Daoist.¹⁵ Lu Zhao's *History* shows that he shared many interests with his contemporary Duan Chengshi (d. 863), editor of the *Youyang Miscellany*

(*Youyang zazu* 酉陽雜俎), one of the most famous late Tang collections of ancient and contemporary accounts of magic and science. Duan had worked under Li Deyu during his posting to Runzhou, and he was living in Chang'an when Lu Zhao arrived to take part in the state examinations in 842 or earlier. He was also prefect of Jizhou 吉州 (modern Ji'an, Jiangxi province) during 847–853, not long before Lu Zhao's own tenure of the same office.

Lu Zhao never rose above a series of southeastern prefectural appointments, which sent him from his first and most distinguished posting in Shezhou 歙州 (modern Shexian, Anhui province) eventually to the relative southern obscurity of Jizhou where he probably died.¹⁶ Like Li Deyu, he was famed for his rhapsody (*fu* 賦) compositions—several of his works in this genre are listed individually in the *New History of the Tang Dynasty* monograph on literature.¹⁷ This body of work—besides letters and other writings not properly integrated again until 1160¹⁸—represented paradigmatic styles in the lyrical and discursive expectations of mid-ninth century examinations.¹⁹

Lu Zhao's stories in the *History* mix official life, real events and strange happenings. His relationship with Li Deyu may have steered his work towards a common interest, since, despite complexities surrounding the attribution of story collections to Li Deyu, this category of literature certainly figured among the latter's interests.²⁰ Lu Zhao and Duan Chengshi acknowledged no debt to each other, but they collected material in the same areas of China, particularly in and around Chang'an and Luoyang, the central Yangzi region, Yangzhou 揚州—where Duan Chengshi's father Duan Wenchang 文昌 had once served as governor—and other southeastern command centres. For instance, both men had heard of the same celebrated seer called Wang 王 whom elite society in the Yangzhou area often consulted during the governorship of Li Deyu's father Li Jifu 李吉甫 (758–814).²¹ Both recorded stories of curing a sick crane encountered near Luoyang.²² Both adopted some of the same idiosyncrasies of expression.²³

Lu Zhao's responsibility for the *Historical Records*, another integral compilation, reveals that he was engaged with historical editing on a broad front. Moreover, in his preface to the *History*, he linked his editorial aims prominently with his work on the *Historical Records*. Fortunately, the preface to Lu's *History* survives, because it caught the attention of Tao Zongyi 陶宗儀, one the fourteenth century's most expert collectors of old texts:

Once Master Lu had finished his *Historical Records* he collected the marvels of what he had seen and heard and titled them *History of Things Outside the Norm*. Whenever he touched on unions between gods and immortals, resonances from the other world, preordinations of [men's] rise and fall, prophecies of disaster and fortune, he did no more than retrieve what was authentic and restore what was missing. He chronicled a total of 45 items, all of them affairs of our Tang rule. Written this eighth month in the first year of Dazhong [847].²⁴

Forty-five items are considerably fewer than the 78 passages preserved in prestigious Song sources. The editors of the *Taiping Extensive Records* may have attributed material that did not belong with the original collection, but the linguistic homogeneity that the larger total of stories often share should discount errors of attribution. The discrepancy may also be due to an erroneous transmission of a statement giving "115".²⁵ Finally, however, the work's original size must remain a mystery.

The date 847 provides a credible term for Lu Zhao's work on his collection, which no surviving story contradicts. His reference to an earlier

16 For Lu Zhao's office at Jizhou and earlier at Shezhou, see Wang Dingbao, *Tang zhiyan* [Collected Statements from the Tang] (Shanghai: Gudian wenxue, 1957), pp.2.21; 10.110; see also Moore, *Rituals of Recruitment*, Appendix, nos 41, 260b. See also documents collected by eighteenth-century editors and their remarks at Yu Xianhao, ed., *Tang cishi kao* [Evidence for the Tang Prefects] (Nanjing: Jiangsu guji, 1987), Vol.4, pp.1871, 2074.

17 *Xin Tangshu*, 60:1615.

18 Wan Man, *Tangji xulu* [Overview of Tang Literary Collections] (Beijing: Zhonghua, 1980), pp.292–93.

19 For this implicit recognition, see Wang Dingbao, *Tang zhiyan*, 2:21, 3:40, and 12:137.

20 Several lost works are attributed to Li Deyu. For a tentative attribution of the collection *Youguai lu* [Records of Hidden Anomalies] (listed in *Songsbi* [Song History] 206:5220), see Li Jianguo, *Tang Wudai zhihuai chuanqi xulu* [Overview of Tang and Five Dynasties' Tales of Marvels and Records of Anomalies, pp.626–28; alternatively, for the suggestion that the record of this work in *Songsbi* confuses it with the *Xuanguai lu* [Records of Dark Anomalies] by Niu Sengru (779–847), see Cheng Yizhong, *Gu xiaoshuo jianmu* [Brief Catalogue of Ancient Stories] (Beijing: Zhonghua, 1981), p.62.

21 *Taiping guangji*, 48:297; see also *Youyang zazu*, ed. Fang Nansheng (Beijing: Zhonghua, 1981), A8:85 (No.326).

22 Both stories at *Taiping guangji*, 460. 3767–68; see also each account at respectively *Yunji qiqian*, 113A:14a–16a, and *Youyang zazu*, A2:19–20 (no. 77).

23 The most remarkable is their use of the postpositional particle *ci* 次 in place of the more common *zhong* 中 to express the sense of "in" or "during". The *locus classicus* of this usage is found in the 'Tianzi Fang' [chapter in *Zhuangzi jisbi* [Collected Glosses for Zhuangzi], ed. Guo Qingfan (Beijing: Zhonghua, 1961): 7B:714.

24 *Sbuofu* (ed. Commercial Press, 1927), 24:21b; also cited at Cheng Yizhong, "Tangdai xiaoshuo suoji" [Brief Notes on Tang Stories] *Wenxue yichan* [Literary Heritage], 1980, 2:56.

25 百十五 transcribed as 四十五. See Li Jianguo *Tang Wudai zhihuai chuanqi xulu*, 692.

26 *Taiping guangji*, 19:129–31, 35:222–23, 42:267, 48:297, 48:301, 64:400–401.

27 *Taiping guangji*, 48:299; also at *Yunji qiqian*, 113A:4a–b.

28 *Taiping guangji*, 55:341–42.

29 *Taiping guangji*, 23:154–56, 29:189–190, 42:267, 424:3451; first story also at *Yunji qiqian*, 113A:7b–9a.

30 *Taiping guangji*, 42:265.

literary commitment is highly significant for its assumption that in 847 readers already knew of his work on the *Historical Records*, and no less for its implication that he won some reputation from that work's earlier circulation. These clues to his literary career comprise an unusually coherent claim to have been multiply productive across the various categories of minor individual historical writing. They suggest also how his production of Lu's *History* was as much as anything an historiographical undertaking, a point to return to in the final section.

Surviving stories attributed to the *History* show that Lu Zhao was fascinated by the manifestations and lore of immortality, asynchronous time, parallel worlds and reports of hermits and other recluses. His accounts of these subjects are set invariably within real events of recent history. Only a few involve prominent figures, one or two of whom Lu Zhao may have met and known. The stories are often reports from religious cult centres in the mountainous areas of Hengshan 衡山, Huashan 華山, Kuaiji 會稽, Maoshan 茅山, Qingcheng 衡山, Qingxi 清溪 and Zhongnan 終南. One striking narrative feature is Lu Zhao's attention to local surroundings. He reports events happening at particular gateways, streets, bridges, fords, waterways and mountain passes. Appropriately enough, these precise locations are often the settings for low-ranking officials, soldiers, physicians and commoners in some of Tang life's more trivial engagements.

Stories in Lu's *History* often develop the theme of asynchronous time in accounts of the world of spirits and its interactions with official life. Six stories recount respectively the success of men who renounced the opportunity to become immortal in return for a smooth ascent to high official rank, or else the failure of others to capitalise on an offer to achieve both aims together.²⁶ In one story a seaborne merchant is blown onto islands off the Zhejiang coast where he encounters a cult dedicated to Bai Juyi 白居易 (772–846) and maintained by immortal beings.²⁷ In another, the minister Zheng Juzhong 鄭居中 (fl. 820s), whose friends include a number of Daoist practitioners in the Hengshan area, proceeds to Songshan to become an immortal.²⁸ The larger significance concerning content of this nature is that it locates Lu's *History* within a tradition already centuries' old of recording individual quests to achieve immortality. At the same time, however, long-established immortal lore and its familiar narrative structures are combined with the credible facts of a senior politician's social life and intellectual interests. More clear evidence of Lu Zhao's debt to established literary tradition is his frequent use of tropes from Tao Qian's 陶潛 (365–427), *Tale of the Peach Blossom Spring* (*Taohua yuan ji* 桃花源記), the classic asynchronous encounter between a fisherman of the Jin 晉 period and refugees from the Qin–Han transition. Four stories in Lu's *History* feature discoveries of spirit worlds with separate chronicities. Respectively, these worlds are discovered by chance in remote uplands; once the discoverer has walked through a cave, before it becomes apparent that any re-entry is impossible; and, once their inhabitants have asked what age they are living in.²⁹

Several stories just mentioned deride the worldly ambitions of scholars who nevertheless pretend to study Daoist arts, and others scorn sentimental attachments in the face of offers to begin an immortal existence. Some professed Daoists are simply frauds.³⁰ One story features a discreet and enlightened servant working for a charlatan physician on Maoshan.³¹ Crassly naive are those who fail to grasp the deeper rewards of secret and patient contact with Daoist power—two stories feature women who berate their spouses for overindulging scruffy Daoist adepts.³² Or, despite her son's

achievements in longevity techniques, a mother cajoles him to enter the state examinations.³³ Stories concerning experts who can predict future outcomes form the largest category of interest in the whole collection.³⁴ Particularly interesting are the stories in which asynchronous flows of time are confirmed by objects that magically transfer between different worlds and then sometimes back again.³⁵ Writing is another powerful medium confirming events from asynchronous vantage points.³⁶ So too are music and the board game *weiqi* 圍棋.³⁷ Stories of human efforts to stop the divergence of immortal time and the span of human existence feature popular ideas concerning eating and drinking, fasting, breathing and levitation.³⁸ In such contexts adepts are duped by family members into destroying their chances of becoming immortal after eating human food and thus breaking a cardinal taboo for immortal aspirants. One excellent example features a girl who abandons her strict diet and crashes earthwards from her long-practiced poise in midair.³⁹

Tomb Robbing and Asynchronous Events

It is not necessary to detail every variation on the theme of asynchronous time that controls the narrative of each of the stories in Lu's *History*. Rather, in this section, I present translations and readings of two stories that set wonders of temporal and ontological shifting within urgent concerns to guarantee the security of tombs. Tombs provide an excellent context in which to explore the theme of time, since tombs comprised not only spatial, symbolic and economic facts of Tang existence, but also represented the most elaborate alterity to everyday thought and action. Their enclosures provided space to enact and inhabit another world, and yet they belonged still to the world that constructed them. Lu Zhao is no exception among the many Tang people who speculated intensely on existence after death, and who sought explanations for spiritual communication between living and dead in the way that time allowed passage between their respective worlds.

Lu Zhao's attention was drawn to qualities of time contested between the worlds of life and death, most especially when the intervention of robber gangs and law forces intensified the struggle. During his lifetime, the sanctity of tombs remained ritual and juridical, but by the 840s it had also formed a pressing political issue. The idea that robbing from the dead heralded the collapse of a known order had a long history,⁴⁰ and late-Tang statesmen were acutely aware that the stability of their state was manifest in its officers' ability to prevent tomb looting. In fact, in 842 senior officials of the government—including now Lu Zhao's patron Li Deyu—debated the recent increase in all categories of theft, and concluded that provincial officials needed to apply legal sanctions more assertively. Clearly, not only tomb robbery, but also collusion among officials was slipping out of control.⁴¹ But, this official reflection of a broader social phenomenon, while historically relevant, was a secondary concern beside Lu Zhao's perception of tomb robbers and law enforcers as the subjects of wholly asynchronous cycles.

In the two stories translated below, Tang administrators try to impose order in circumstances that feature ghosts of the dead and tomb robbers. The stories involve intense struggle, flowing, in one case, through ritual performance, and, in the other, through material agents. The progress of time in these stories is distributed between the central theatre of the sub-prefectural audience hall—effectively the courtroom—and the comparatively unruly spaces of town markets and open lands dedicated to burial.

31 *Taiping guangji*, 74:463.

32 *Taiping guangji*, 39:245, 42:265.

33 *Taiping guangji*, 23:157.

34 *Taiping guangji*, 23:154–56, 84:546–47, 96:639–40, 122:862 & 864–65, 127:902–03, 148:1069, 149:1072 & 1073, 151:1085–86, 153:1096–1101 (four stories), 156:1125, 157:1126–29 & 1129–30, 159:1147, 172:1263–64, 180:1339, 224:1726, 277:2198–99, 278:2204–05 & 2206–07, 357:2824–25.

35 *Taiping guangji*, 36:229, 69:428, 72:451–52, 80:506, 125:885–86, 127:902–03, 128:905, 146:1048, 151:1086, 405:3268, 424:3451, 460:3767–68.

36 *Taiping guangji*, 17:118–19, 49:304, 70:433, 157:1129–30, 378:3012.

37 *Taiping guangji*, 204:1552–53, 305:2417–18, 420:3421 (featuring music), 42:265, 45:279 & 281–82, 460:3767–68 (featuring *weiqi*).

38 17:118–19, 29:189–90, 80:506 & 506–07, 153:1100–01.

39 *Taiping guangji*, 23:157, 65:407.

40 See especially *Lüshi chunqiu jishi* [Collected Glosses for Mr Lü's Spring and Autumn Annals], ed. Xu Weiyu (Beijing: Wenxue guji kanshe, 1955): 10:9a.

41 *Tang huiyao* [Collected Essentials of the Tang] (1955) 39:714.

42 *Jiu Tangshu* [Old Tang History] (Beijing: Zhonghua, 1975), 12:340 & 357.

43 *Jiu Tangshu*, 13:373, 388; Fan's two appointments to Xiangzhou are also noted in a section on the appointment of military generals in Wang Qinruo, ed., *Cefu yuangui* [Primary Indicator in the Store of Documents] (Beijing: Zhonghua, 1960), 119:23b.

44 Biographies in *Jiu Tangshu*, 122:3505–06; *Xin Tangshu* 159:4952–53.

45 *Taiping guangji*, 127:902–903.

46 *Xin Tangshu*, 40:1030.

Ritual Performance

Lu Zhao may have often enjoyed direct access to court proceedings, and obviously he exchanged experiences and gossip with those in stations of legal authority. Set in late eighth-century China, the following story provides valuable glimpses into the Tang tomb-robbing business and the military policing that tried to suppress it:

Fan Ze 樊澤 was the governor of Xiangyang 襄陽 [also Xiangzhou], and one of his security staff was a man named Zhang 張. Zhang's father, who had been military commissioner of the Yong 邕 frontier [Yongzhou], was buried a good few *li* north of Dengzhou 鄧州.

The site of Xiangyang lies today beneath the city of Xiangfan in northern Hubei. Zhang's father, who had served in a zone centred on Nanning in Guangxi province, was buried farther north in the area of modern Dengzhou in Henan province. At present nothing else is known about him. Fan Ze governed at Xiangyang from 784 to 787,⁴² and once more from 792 until his death in post in 798.⁴³ Appointment as prefect here was usually combined with the governorship of the Eastern Shannan 山南 circuit, an area nearly twice the size of Belgium. According to his official biographers, Fan was a gifted commander, broadly read in military canons, and popular among his peers as a strong rider and huntsman. Already famous as the scourge of criminal gangs during his first governorship of Shannan, he was reappointed in 792 with a specific mission to reassert control over a total breakdown of military discipline that had led to widespread looting.⁴⁴ Perhaps this story of tomb robbing belongs to that period:

There were three Zhang brothers. Now, at precisely the same moment they had a dream in which their father said: "The tomb where I am buried is to be robbed this night, and the robbers will bring my clothes and effects into the city walls today. They will stop among the makers of mats and headgear. Your duty is to go fast and catch them. Once the sun is up you won't succeed."

Aside from introducing the personalities and their locations, the account so far recounts a prediction in the form of a dream. The dream is the device for crossing space and time, and eventually also the means to enable a forensic advantage to arrest and sentence lawbreakers. In another story attributed to Lu's *History* exactly the same sequence occurs when a man, who has been robbed and murdered, appears in the dream of his relative, the military commander at Goushi 緱氏 sub-prefecture (near Luoyang), and predicts where to arrest the perpetrator of the crime.⁴⁵ The Zhang brothers' dream and the events that follow are not easily categorised as fiction, for details of the account are not controlled with the kind of skill that would be commensurate with story plot. Since the prediction that the robbers will stop among the makers of mats and headgear is neither fulfilled nor further developed, it smacks of report rather than invention. A highly plausible report, in fact, since Xiangyang's location in central China during this period places it at the heart of longstanding regional industries that produced its famous lacquer and bamboo products.⁴⁶ The members of the robber gang—men and women who are otherwise barely discernible—can be fitted into a verifiable social reality. If the robbers were also casual participants in the production of mats and headgear, robbing was, perhaps, an essential diversification when their craft production was insufficiently remunerative.

The Zhang brothers got up that night, and, moved to tears, told each other what had happened. Before dawn, having banged on the gates of the pre-

fecture, they were admitted to Fan Ze's presence where they explained the whole situation. Fan Ze immediately summoned the Chief of Police and ordered an arrest. Six members of the gang as well as the wife of the gang-chief were all captured. Fan Ze had them summoned and questioned them personally: "When you robbed this tomb, did anything unnatural occur?" [The leader of] the robbers said: "About this undertaking today I might as well conceal⁴⁷ nothing from you.⁴⁸ We have been ruined by the work of spirits. My wife and I have been in the tomb-robbing business⁴⁹ for over ten years now. Whenever we did a robbery, my wife and I would take along liquor and kindle a fire, while the rest of the gang opened the tomb. Once they reached the coffin cover, we two would proceed to pour and drink liquor with the deceased. I would drink a cup myself, and announce: 'your guest drinks this cup'.⁵⁰ We would then pour the liquor into the mouth of the dead person, saying: 'the host drinks a cup'. My wife would drink a cup in a second round. Then I would say: 'From what source shall we pay for these drinks?' My⁵¹ wife would reply: 'The host will pay the money for the drinks.' Then we would take the clothes and any precious goods."

Most of this long confession—it continues below—is an intriguing mixture of courtroom summary and the participants' vernacular transmuted into a court record, hence the discrepancy between what the gang chief doubtless means and a lexicon and syntax that sometimes recall the sayings of Confucius. The extent to which these courtroom exchanges may have been remoulded in standard literary forms is not easy to gauge. Did the robbers really use the word "profession", or did an erudite transcriber of their confession insert a term that locks their last words into the deeper lexical heritage of criminal law. The clerical record that inspired Lu Zhao's story may have reflected only tangentially the words that the robbers actually spoke at their interrogation, but the history of tomb robbing does not suggest invariably that law officers and miscreants stood either side of the literacy divide. This was apparent as early as the Warring States,⁵² and it would be so again when senior provincial officials plundered the imperial mausolea at the end of the Tang.⁵³ Thus, while the exact social status of the figures in this story remains elusive, the content of this confession has an authentic ring, quite plausibly because it was heard first during a trial.

The story concludes with the robbers' report of unnatural conditions—notably a corpse that has not decomposed—and Fan Ze's own realisation that his recent experience of time is synchronised with neither events in the tomb nor the Zhang brothers' access to presentiments of an outrage. The robbers claim finally:

When we opened this tomb last night, we saw that the person in the coffin was wearing a purple robe and a jade belt. He appeared alive. I drank some liquor in the usual way, and had got to the point where we pour the liquor and pronounce 'we honour the host with this cup'. As soon as the words were out, the dead man smiled. All of us were utterly shocked. Then we got him upright, and he was nothing but dry bones. Afterwards, when we unfastened the belt at his waist, the dead man cried out: 'Make it loose. My back is sore.' All of us panicked and then bolted outside. From that moment onwards my mind has been cut off from its senses,⁵⁴ and I knew that we would be defeated." [Fan Ze] executed them all. It was not until some days later that Dengzhou reported the incident.⁵⁵

Zhang's purple robe, his jade belt, the paradox of his body's "live appearance" and its "dry bones" present him as an aspirant Daoist immortal, already capable of delivering his spirit from its physical restraints. Borrowing the terminology of the age, Isabelle Robinet's description of this

47 *yin* 隱. See Lu Zhao's use of this word in another robber's confession at *Taiping guangji*, 127:903.

48 亦無所隱: Compare Confucius' words to his disciples: 二三子以我為隱乎? 吾無隱乎爾. See *Lunyu* [Analects], in *Sbisan jing zhushu* [Commentaries to the Thirteen Canons], Song edition, repr. 1816 (Kyoto: Chūbun, 1971), 7:7b. According to Bao Xian's 包咸 (6 BCE – 65 CE) gloss, the sage's disciples, having despaired of catching up with his learning, assumed that he was concealing as much as he revealed. James Legge translates Confucius's statement: "Do you think, my disciples, that I have any concealments? I conceal nothing from you". Bao Xian, *Confucian Analects, The Great Learning and The Doctrine of The Mean* (Oxford, 1893, repr. New York: Dover Publications, 1971), p.202.

49 *ye* 業. For this term, current in literature since the Han to describe grave robbing as the "digging business" (*jueye* 掘業), see *Shiji* [Historical Records] (Beijing: Zhonghua, 1959), 129:3282.

50 The text 客欲一盞, which might contain a transcription error, could be translated as: "your guest desires a cup". Consistent with what the robbers say next, I propose 客飲一盞 and its translation above.

51 其 should be translated as: "his". However, this single use of a third person pronoun conflicts with the dominant use of first person 某, and is perhaps an error caused by the close resemblance of 某 to 其.

52 For a recollection of tomb robbing as a sort of sport pursued in combination with country outings, concerts and other entertainments, see *Hanshu* [The History of the Han Dynasty] (Beijing: Zhonghua, 1962), 28B:1655.

53 See biographies of Wen Tao 溫韜 in *Jiu Wudai shi* [Old History of the Five Dynasties] (Beijing: Zhonghua, 1976), 73:961; *Xin Wudai shi* [New History of the Five Dynasties] (Beijing: Zhonghua, 1974), 40:441.

54 *Changhuang* 惘恍: this expression, which is difficult to translate, describes a subject who can barely trust his sensory perceptions. It occurs more than once in Qu Yuan's "Far-off Journey" (*Yuanyou* 遠遊) and in several Han texts, but the *locus classicus* in *Yuanyou* is in one of the final verses. See Tang Bingzheng, et al., eds, *Chuci jinzhub* [Modern Annotations to the Chu Songs] (Shanghai, Guji, 1996), p.192. David Hawkes translates: "When I looked, my startled eyes saw nothing. When I listened, no sound met my amazed ear [*changhuang*]." *The Songs of the South* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1985), p.199.

55 *Taiping guangji*, 390:3117.

56 Isabelle Robinet, "Metamorphosis and Deliverance from the Corpse in Taoism," *History of Religions*, 19 (1979): 37–70, esp. p.58.

57 Liu Junwen, ed., *Tanglü shuyi jianjie* [Annotated Edition of Commentaries and Meanings of Tang Law] (Beijing: Zhonghua, 1996), 19:1364 (no. 277).

58 Hawkes, *Songs of the South*, p.193.

59 *Youyang zazhi*, A13:124–25 (no. 521).

60 *Taiping guangji*, 357:2824–25.

metamorphosis could not be more to the point: "[the spirit] disencumbers itself 'without loosening either the clothing or the belt.' The adept is an 'immortal who has slipped out of his belt in midday.' He 'moults like a cicada,' or 'like a snake'; he is even said to abandon his bones like the dragons whose remains are found in the mountains."⁵⁶

These hermeneutical extensions—as far back as Han literature—only enhance what remain immediate and tangible signs of religion's most powerful techniques, manifested in a conjuncture that provokes the robbers' sheer terror. Yet, apparently willing to stray beyond the single logic of one set of reactions, Lu Zhao also freights his criminal protagonists with the transcendental aspirations of classical lyricism, optimising their fate somewhat better than might be expected of an abject outcome in the justice system—the Tang legal code, which isolated tomb robbery as a specific category of theft, decreed strangulation for the most serious degrees of offence.⁵⁷ Not only does the robbers' leader address his accusers as if they were disciples trying to match their intellects with his, he echoes a poet who has arrived in an empyrean region of detached enlightenment. Talking like Qu Yuan 屈原 (ca. 340–278 BCE), he uses words from an ubiquitous lyrical model of metamorphosis, whose positive transcendental vision was so popular that much of its terminology had long ago already made its way onto bronze-cast mirror backs.⁵⁸ The imaginative appeal of these metaphorical tropes is that they summon all the more strongly the sense of separated worlds. The conclusion of the story emphasises this more prosaically: the significant lapse of "some days" in the communications between Xiangyang and Dengzhou corresponds with the startling revelation that two realms of existence are not subject to the same progress of time, notwithstanding that a dream communication effected their momentary collision.

This story of robbery also provides valuable insights into deviant forms of ritual performance. Lu Zhao is not the only compiler to report how tomb robbers appeased the spirits of those whom they robbed. Duan Chengshi also collected a story of Tang looters who, having failed to outwit the lethal security devices of a Han tomb, forsook their exhausting efforts and instead offered a lavish sacrifice at the tomb entrance.⁵⁹ In another story in the *History*, Lu Zhao details the formal procedures for distributing stolen goods among the members of a robber gang.⁶⁰ But, the story of the robbers captured by Fan Ze is all the more interesting, because it links ritual performance to the passage of time.

The robbers follow prescribed ritual forms that imply their conscious management of time as well as their efforts to wrest control of events in their favour. All the while acting in criminal resistance, they adopt the language and exaggerative gestures of generic ritual performance to make time palpable during a drinking party that is intended as the medium to transform theft into consensual exchange. This mimetic set of actions features a banal conventionality of language at a micro level of social performance that appears only rarely on record. Ritual action gives a material quality to time that makes its different shapes all the more perceptible. Like the representatives of even the most ideal form of government, the robbers resort to prescriptive patterning to mark the flow of time. This is by no means exceptional, considering how much ritual performance affected every level of Tang theory and practice. Senior Tang officials' involvement in ritual performance exceeded that in any other occupation, and this profile no doubt reflected an even more extensive involvement in Tang society at large. The robbers' words and acts are the familiar morphological elements

of all Tang ritual performance. Ironically, they render the official and criminal worlds indistinguishable, even though the outcome of the story—and the early portent of that outcome in the Zhang brothers' dream—confirm that these worlds are asynchronous. The homologous appearance of representational forms and structures is common in Chinese attempts in art and literature to balance everyday reality with parallel, opposing and even antagonistic counterparts, more familiarly described as the underworld, hell or heaven. Religious acts in these conditions—both past and present—more often than not exemplify the paradigm of ritual technicians borrowing performance content from one set of circumstances and applying it to remold the shape of time in another.⁶¹

Material Agents

In another story of tomb robbery in the *History*, Lu Zhao reimagines time in its asynchronous shapes, only in this instance the agent of interaction between one sphere and another is a material thing:

At the beginning of the Tianbao 天寶 period [742–756] Yan Anzhi 嚴安之 was the Officer Charged with Thief Apprehension in Wannian 萬年 Sub-prefecture.

Yan Anzhi served successively in disciplinary posts at Luoyang and Chang'an. In Wannian, one of the two sub-prefectures into which Chang'an was divided, the administrative offices were located near the southwest corner of the city's East Market.⁶² Wannian interests the compiler more than once: a different story records the Wannian law officers pursuing an offender as far as Gongxian 鞏縣, the other side of Luoyang,⁶³ and another story records a prediction concerning an official holding the same post as Yan Anzhi in the 790s.⁶⁴ Wherever Yan worked, he earned renown as a pathological sadist who thrilled in the administration of torture,⁶⁵ cynically exulting in his reputation through competitions with his rivals.⁶⁶ Like many brutes, however, he also enthralled Xuanzong 玄宗 (r. 712–756), characteristically obsessed to have a court ceremony performed without fault or interruption, was awed by Yan's ability to make a rowdy mob stop heaving and shouting for the entire duration of five days.⁶⁷ Another late recollection of his service in the Luoyang area recounts how Yan, having traced a series of housebreakings to a culprit working in a palace factory, became locally celebrated as an uncompromising law enforcer.⁶⁸ That success parallels both his official function and his access to high circuits of power in this story:

One afternoon, a palace emissary dressed in yellow and riding a horse came rushing through the gate to announce a decree: "Ten *li* south of the city walls is a certain princess's tomb. We have seen it being plundered by robbers. The orders are to send you there to arrest them. You must not let them escape."

Although its magical significance will be revealed in the conclusion of the story, here once more is a time- and space-conquering device, formed now as a messenger in broad daylight. The story continues:

Anzhi then instructed those under his authority to assemble their weapons, and to go there and make a full arrest. He saw that six or seven people had dug a tunnel and just reached the tomb passage, so he arrested them that instant. Anzhi then gave orders to seek the palace official, but to no avail. Afterwards he thought: "If the robbers had only just opened the tomb, how did the emperor know of it?"

61 For insights on this point of ritual performance in modern engagements, see ch.5 "Ghostly Epiphanies: Recalling the Dead on Mount Osore" in Marilyn Ivy, *Discourses of the Vanishing: Modernity, Phantasm, Japan* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995).

62 See the reconstructed map of Chang'an in Shi Nianhai, et al. eds, *Xi'an lisbi ditu ji* [Collection of Xi'an Historical Maps] (Xi'an: Xi'an ditu, 1996), pp.80–81.

63 *Taiping guangji*, 130:920–23.

64 *Taiping guangji*, 153:1096.

65 See the recollections of Yan Anzhi at Luoyang during the early 730s in the chapters devoted to "Stern officers" in *Jiu Tangshu*, 186B:4857, and *Xin Tangshu*, 209:5913.

66 Feng Yan (fl. 795), *Feng shi wenjian ji jiaozhu* [Annotated Edition of Mr Feng's Records of His Experiences] (Beijing: Zhonghua, 1958), 9:83; also at *Leishuo*, 6:27a.

67 Zheng Qi 鄭綮 (d. 899), *Kaitian chuanxin ji* [Authentic Records Transmitted from the Kaiyuan and Tianbao Eras], in Ding Ruming, ed., *Kaiyuan Tianbao yishi shi zhong* [Ten Categories of 'Ignored Events' from the Kaiyuan and Tianbao Eras] (Shanghai: Guji, 1985), p.52; also in *Taiping guangji*, 164:1192–93; Qian Yi 錢易, *Nanbu xinsbu* 南部新書, compiled during 1008–1016, ed. Huang Shoucheng 黃壽成 (Beijing: Zhonghua, 2002), 甲/5; Wang Dang 王讜 (d. ca. 1107), *Tang yulin jiaozheng* [Critical Edition of the Tang Forest of Talk], ed. Zhou Xunchu (Beijing: Zhonghua, 1987), 1:54 (no. 93), *Leishuo*, 6:30b.

68 *Nanbu xinsbu*, 戊/65.

69 *Taiping guangji*, 390:3114.

70 Feng Xianming, An Zhimin, et al., *Zhongguo taoci shi* [China's Ceramic History] (Beijing: Wenwu, 1982), p.215.

71 David McMullen, "The Death Rites of Tang Daizong," in *State and Court Ritual in China*, ed. Joseph McDermott (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1999), p.187–88.

Yan Anzhi's question concerning the emperor's involvement raising the alarm is interesting, given what else is known of his career. The story of his campaign to solve a series of housebreakings near Luoyang is not clear in all its details. However, it is easy enough to grasp that Yan Anzhi resolved a case of repeated robberies at a country mansion only once he had adopted the expedient of submitting a report to a member of the government. Even that was not enough. The recipient of his report memorialised the throne, so that it took two steps up the bureaucratic ladder to uncover criminal links between a gang roaming in the Luoyang district and an official operating in the palace factories. Yan Anzhi's access to an official sympathetic enough to his mission to take his information all the way to the top and to achieve a result was no doubt quite unusual and perhaps not entirely realistic. But it does reveal credibly that the system for reporting crimes in and around Chang'an and Luoyang comprised no firm structure, and this suggests that a deep division between central government and the life surrounding it was probably quite normal. The story concludes:

Upon arrival at the sub-prefecture he summoned all the robbers and questioned them on the matter. The robbers said: "We had just opened the tomb when we felt that there was something unnatural. We realized that we would be defeated, for, having reached the first doorway there were several tomb models of emissaries of decrees. They wore yellow and rode horses. One of them held a riding crop, and he was styled in the form of galloping. The ends of his cap ribbons seemed even to be blown straight by the wind. From his eyebrows downwards everything seemed to be in movement. We then knew that we would be defeated." Anzhi now recalled the appearance of the earlier emissary of decrees. Obviously, he was the double of the tomb model of an emissary of decrees.⁶⁹

Yan Anzhi's story, like that of Fan Ze, is a reliable reflection of Tang material and economic realities, since immolating large clusters of tomb models reached the height of fashion in the Kaiyuan reign period and began to wane only slightly during the Tianbao reign period, the period of Yan Anzhi's years in office. After the mid-century wars the industries that made these objects—for their biggest consumption in Chang'an, Luoyang and Yangzhou—seem to have declined rapidly.⁷⁰ However, senior officialdom never let go of its enthusiasm to create models that signified, as realistically as possible, individual figures and specific actions. Those who could afford this expense displayed tomb models at the graveside, and even mounted theatrical shows, using models mechanised to move and performs actions. Such efforts provided entertainment, multiplied social participation, and enhanced the status of funeral rites generally. David McMullen has suggested that competitive ostentation of this sort may even have been permitted during the entombment of emperors.⁷¹

The device for Yan Anzhi to solve this crime comprises beings who are ontologically interchangeable and simultaneously manifest in two different places. They function with the same effects as in the story of Fan Ze, since the narrative formulas of both stories hardly differ. A message transmitted from the world of the dead warns the living that a crime is happening; asynchronous slippage between two worlds allows the police an opportunity to do their work successfully. The single difference is that, while the voice of a dream addressing the Zhang brother arouses neither comment nor doubt, a talking and moving tomb model needs extra explanation, which is supplied via the robbers' confession and Yan Anzhi's own realisation of what has transpired.

Yan Anzhi's most elementary deduction is that forms of material reality—horses and riders made of ceramic—are momentarily motivated with beliefs and attitudes in ways familiar only in human existence. What belongs usually in separate mental and material worlds has become fused into one set of conditions. This miraculous inter-substantiation—especially when it helps to solve crimes—appealed to Lu Zhao. He recorded another story in which a murder victim communicates through a dream to the sub-prefect of Wangwu 王屋 that his wooden effigy is hidden in his home. Once retrieved, the effigy is observed to be turning into flesh and, not long afterwards, the servants who murdered their master change into wood.⁷² These various categories of ontological shifting are thoroughly consistent with Tang beliefs in the magical efficacy of tomb models.

Lu Zhao may have entertained a nostalgic fascination for funeral arrangements that were probably no longer current during his own day. Perhaps the events in the robbed tomb also satisfied an aspiration to deploy vicariously through Yan Anzhi the toys of funeral space and ritual as a spiritual recreation, perhaps even to the extent of compensating for the lost cosmic and political unity of the early Tang. Certainly significant is Lu Zhao's acceptance of Yan Anzhi's conviction that the experiential shift from object to person allows passage between what was otherwise two distinct dimensions of existence. This realisation, eventually condensed in the story's forensic, judicial and magical closure, is linked to the powerful effects of duplication, representation and materiality—huge topics worth at least some brief gesture, since the material conditions of Tang burial are also integral to the perception of asynchronous time.

Yan Anzhi's dramatic realisation is that an object perceived by the robbers as a tomb model—an everyday object in their line of business—is duplicated as a senior servant of government command and as an agent of action. The robbers must comprehend that action at the practical heart of politics is also manifest in an underground space outside the city walls. All participants in the same crisis are confronted with an efficacious pairing across time and space, in which objects project the aesthetics of symmetry whose sociological significance is a powerful link between periphery and centre.⁷³ Symmetry of this order is sudden and fugitive, because its reality is transient, but it subsists all the same in a permanent material pattern of human beings duplicated (*liang* 兩) as objects that express an hierarchical political order.

The art of representation was itself a source of power. Early elites in China had long regenerated the forms and functions of tomb models after an enormous re-evaluation of the tomb's symbolism in the late Bronze Age. Theories and practices concerning tomb models matured when this ancient period's ideas deepened the separation between the spheres of the living and the dead.⁷⁴ Ambitions to exert control among the dead were no longer expressed primarily through the violence of graveside sacrifices, but by means of objects whose visual accuracy translated into magical efficacy. Not simply bathed in the spot lit significance of modern museum displays, these things were intended for action. Recently, therefore, scholars have argued that models incorporated both a sign and its living referent, or that, in other words, models were not substitutes.⁷⁵ The robbers' final utterance presents the same analytical work from direct experience: "everything seemed to be in movement".

Literary history shows that the possibility of tomb robbers encountering ultra-realistic human models—or indeed models that could alternate their

72 *Taiping guangji*, 128:905.

73 On the importance of symmetry in both material and social patterning, see "Sociological Aesthetics" (1896), reprinted in K.P.Etzkorn, ed., *Georg Simmel: The Conflict in Modern Culture and Other Essays* (New York: Teachers College Press, 1968), pp.71–76.

74 Ladislav Kesner, "Likeness of No One: (Re)presenting the First Emperor's Army," *The Art Bulletin* 77:1 (March 1995): 115–32, esp. p.116.

75 Jessica Rawson, "Thinking in Pictures: Tomb Figures in the Chinese View of the Afterlife," *Transactions of the Oriental Ceramic Society*, 61 (1996–1997): 19–37.

76 *Xijing zaji* (Ming printed edition in *Sibu congkan*), 6:1b–3a; also in *Taiping guangji*, 389:3100–3101.

77 Webb Keane, Introduction to Part III “Subjects and Objects,” in *Handbook of Material Culture*, eds Chris Tilley et al. (London: Sage Publications, 2006), p.200.

existence as human beings—was recorded long before the Tang. Although it survives in incomplete form, one of the Chinese tradition’s earliest repositories of collected historical facts and hearsay, the *Random Records of the Western Capital* (*Xijing zaji* 西京雜記), contains an account of the Han prince Liu Qubing 劉去病 robbing tombs in the vicinity of Chang’an. The work is attributed traditionally to Liu Xin 劉歆 (d.23 CE), and assumed to have been further edited by the Daoist polymath Ge Hong 葛洪 (283–343). It claimed an enthusiastic readership throughout the Tang, evidenced not least by its frequent citation in Tang encyclopedia, commentaries and style guides. Apparently, Liu Qubing regularly broke open tombs. When he and his followers entered the tomb of King You 幽, the last Western Zhou 周 king, they encountered the bodies of one hundred women and one man sitting, lying or standing in the tomb chamber. Their bodies had not decomposed, and their clothing and expressions made them seem fully alive.⁷⁶ If this eerie report refers to tomb models, it does not correspond with today’s archaeological records, and it seems more likely that Liu Qubing encountered the conditions of a later burial. Be that as it may, the particular interest of this account is the precedent that it provided for conceptualising tomb spaces as zones in which visitors confront asynchronous disjunctions, and it may be of added significance that the editor was no less a figure than Ge Hong, one of the giants of pre-Tang Daoist studies.

The agency of tomb models in the story of Yan Anzhi’s capture of a gang of robbers can benefit also from recent insights in the study of material culture to suggest that subjects do not invariably assume a sovereign dominance over their physical world. This latest turn towards the material, which has much to say on the idea of landscapes and objects occupying extra subject positions, suggests ways to understand Tang reactions to objects ranging from holy mountains to chemical elements. Instead of understanding objects as encompassed by subjects, Webb Keane suggests that objects are “forms of materiality that encompass their subjects”. Consequently, the house is a transitional locus between the materiality of a land mass that “encompasses” and the smaller things over which humans exercise more control.⁷⁷ Similarly, the Tang tomb, with its permeable skin between two worlds is a foyer suspended between the larger forces that govern it and the apparently servile agency of its contents, namely tomb models.

While uninformed attitudes expect tomb models to be objects that their subjects’ control, Yan Anzhi grasps—as do the robbers—that this partitioning is no longer true. The objects that they encounter take decisions and act; they work as agents of government control; they take a hand in suppressing crime. Both asynchronous temporality and the encompassing power of material objects can work with equal effect to unseat humans from their assumed subject positions. The power attributed to objects seems to be fleeting—momentarily glimpsed and then gone—but it is nonetheless credible, given that the exacting and duplicative realism of tomb models offered enormous appeal to contemporary imagination, and owed its long history to religious axioms favoring the functional power of representation. Yan Anzhi accepts that his success in beating crime is due to powers greater than his resources for intervention. He sees too that the political authority invested in material objects can engage with and arrest asynchronous events and resistant temporalities.

Lu Zhao's Perceptions of Time

What is the significance of Lu Zhao's stories concerning tomb robbing and their reflections of asynchronous time? Firstly, Lu Zhao was not interested solely in divergent time, but also keen to describe the inner workings of the phenomenon. Significantly, several other compilers of his day shared this enthusiasm. Secondly, then, through this and other correspondences with more minor historical texts of the same period, Lu's *History* forms part of a larger group of writings that comprised a kind of "report literature" of the ninth century's middle decades. Since we cannot dismiss the content of this writing as purely fictional or as entirely supernatural, such literature needs to be characterised in its links to the categories of historical writing that it so much resembles. Lastly, therefore, a tradition of editing that collected the realities of life and religious belief usually located in the peripheral contexts of Tang existence is worth examining for what it reflects of a Tang undertaking in historiography. To be discerned here also is a parallel between asynchronous divergences operating back and forth between centre and periphery and a particular interest in the functions and values of historical writing.

Lu Zhao's interest in time concentrated more than once on the literate functions of the historian, since the realities of historical composition and archival research presented powerful metaphors for historical time's inner workings. In particular, the talismanic force of writing is the apotropaic medium that Anna Seidel analyses in her study of the huge Daoist intellectual debt to Han concepts of sovereign power over spirits.⁷⁸ In stories circulating during Lu Zhao's lifetime, writing presented a medium of control that both humans and spirits contested. One more story in Lu's *History* shows this with reference to time materialised in the forms of the historical archive and its associated operations of drafting and amending.

The story of Li Minqiu 李敏求 and his dream was extremely popular, giving rise to at least two versions in circulation before Lu Zhao completed his *History*. Zhong Lu 鍾輅 (*jinsbi* 828) recorded one version in his *Records of Predestination* (*Qianding lu* 前定錄), completed between 830 and 834.⁷⁹ Another version is extant in Xue Yusi's 薛漁思 *Accounts from East of the River* (*Hedong ji* 河東記), probably completed before 837.⁸⁰ Lu Zhao preserved a third and shorter version.⁸¹ After spending fruitless years trying to win a state degree, Li Minqiu dreams one night of a journey to another world where all human events are preordained, and here he meets an erstwhile friend now working for the government. Through this connection, he is permitted to read the archives that determine future outcomes concerning his political success and financial benefits. In Lu Zhao's story, he further avails himself of the chance to change the text of what he has been privileged to read, so that an amount of capital guaranteed to accrue to him is substantially increased. Inevitably, these changes dictate events to proceed entirely to his advantage. Aside from—yet also because of—the highly realistic forms and appearances of ninth-century writing and amending records, document handling, cataloguing, storage and retrieval in all three stories, Lu Zhao's version reflects the writing process as critical to the power that Li Minqiu can bring to bear on his mortal destiny. Various told by more than one writer, the interest of this story is the sense that it provides of historical records at the heart of contested control between those at the centre and those on the outside. Li Minqiu wins an advantage through an inner contact, but, even so, he is mindful not to disrupt the security regulations that are spelled out to him in each story. He has pitted himself against strong forces in a contest that is

78 Anna Seidel, "Imperial Treasures and Taoist Sacraments: Taoist Roots in the Apocrypha," in Michel Strickmann, ed., *Tantric and Taoist Studies* (Brussels: Institut Belge des Hautes Études Chinoises), pp.291–371, esp.pp. 322–23.

79 *Qianding lu* [Records of Predestination] in Zuo Gui, comp. 1273, *Baichuan xuehai* [The Hundred Rivers' Sea of Learning] (Beijing: Zhongguo shudian, 1990), one *juan*, 8a–9a.

80 *Taiping guangji*, 157:1126–28.

81 *Taiping guangji*, 157:1128–29.

82 Claude Lévi-Strauss, *La pensée sauvage* (Paris: Plon, 1962), p.344.

already apparent in the metaphor of a central archive recording outcomes at odds with the individual's own preferences.

Whether it is through human dreams or the ontological shifts of objects, the asynchronous events reported in Lu Zhao's stories provide both selfish rewards and judicial victory. In the more widely shared realities of Tang life, temporal separation—unified only by a dream communication from the dead in the night-time hours—is a powerful reminder that time is not universally shared. The government official, bound by the affairs of a provincial magistracy, performs his actions and rehearses his experiences more or less in tandem with other government agents of the day. Yet, quite clearly not embedded within that literate and calendrically even world are the acts and consciousness of other groups, most especially the disappointed, dispossessed, the poor, the insubordinate and the criminal. Moreover, even if they are not absolute, other opposites in many accounts reinforce this antagonism: day versus night; urban versus rural; living versus dead; legitimate versus criminal; mundane versus magical. In the two stories of tomb robbery, the forces of law and order leave urban centres to impose discipline in rural areas outside the city walls.

Kracauer's analogy of *times* that march in divergent directions is particularly useful for imagining time in the Tang world as an indeterminate number of shapes whose relationship to each other is asynchronous. For Fan Ze, time flows one way; for the tomb robbers it flows another. In Fan Ze's usual experience, time does flow through a calendric vessel, but the robbers live according to an entirely different schedule. Effectively, time for each group is not necessarily a commensurate dimension within a universal simultaneity. Or, as Lévi-Strauss also observes: "the dates belonging to any one of these classes [of history] are irrational in relation to all those belonging to the other classes".⁸² In Lu Zhao's stories, supernatural powers account ostensibly for chronological slippage across space, but modern social insights on time are equally relevant. The supernatural forces in these stories would not have been convincing in Tang experience unless the period's officers and criminals also accepted that their respective groups inhabited a realm profoundly isolated from each other.

Doubts that time dictates the same reality to every subject's experience permeate a considerable amount of late-Tang writing. Despite their commitments to standards of measurement, the unity of the empire, and the single notion of the emperor, officials like Yan Anzhi and Fan Ze are forced to consider how time progresses in divergence, ultimately allowing a compiler such as Lu Zhao to note remarkable moments when hitherto isolated flows suddenly converge. Intuition directs that time is rated and qualified by those in power, and the historian Lu Zhao invariably loans this privilege to his stories' protagonists of the same official background. But, Tang time, to which a far greater number of subordinate others are subject, is also an unfriendly or estranging notion that some in the larger and more amorphous whole of Tang society may elect to defy through different conceptions of temporality. Similarly, these recorded experiences reflect how Tang time, if measured at its heart of political and religious power and at its centre of economic activities, does not converge neatly with time endured at the periphery where other priorities—especially religious ones—reign. An asymmetry exists that is not easily overcome, and it is this nature of time that a large body of ninth-century historical writing was well adapted to report.

Central and Peripheral Concerns in Tang Historical Writings

Lu Zhao's stories preserved in the *Taiping Extensive Records* and other collections once formed part of an edited collection that fits into three traditions of literary compilation at least: stories (*xiaoshuo* 小說), records of the strange (*zhiguai* 志怪), and history. How to define all three requires some qualification, since the status of at least the first two has been frequently distorted by the priorities of recent and current hindsight.

Despite a title that suggests predominantly historical content, Lu Zhao's *History of Things Outside the Norm*, and many more works with similar titles and editorial aims, were soon classed as *xiaoshuo*, long a bibliographical category as much as a description of content. The earliest catalogue listing of Lu Zhao's text in the *New History of the Tang Dynasty* places it under *xiaoshuo*, but the listing in the *History of the Song Dynasty* of two texts with similar titles, namely *History of Things Outside the Norm* and *Mr Lu's History of Things Outside the Norm* (Lu shi yishi 盧氏逸史), places them respectively under the biographies (*zhuanji* 傳記) category of the history division and *xiaoshuo*.⁸³ Whether these two appearances represent two editions of Lu Zhao's work is not certain. The elastic term *xiaoshuo* has sometimes been synonymous with "fiction"—an association that certainly thickened during early Chinese modernism's adoption of new forms of literary creation and the enthusiastic hunt for antecedents to the novel (broadly defined). The result of these developments has been to minimise the historical value of many Tang works by validating them primarily as narrative exercises, the best of which writers in subsequent periods eventually adopted as source material for their own achievements in popular fiction and drama. Any attempt to make Lu Zhao's work fit into this long development of literary history will lead off target. More useful, instead, is to examine the significance of Lu Zhao's work to the two other aforementioned traditions and to revisit the exclusively historiographical significance of *xiaoshuo* for late-medieval and early-modern writers.

Lu Zhao's *History* belongs also to the long *zhiguai* tradition of recording the strange. Numerous works, which appeared in the late-Han period and the following centuries, collect and systematise accounts of supernatural events and mirabilia linked in various degrees with human dealings. That these records of the strange, unlike *xiaoshuo*, with which they intersect, never gained recognition as a separate bibliographical category is out of all proportion to how this tradition and its contents saturated an enormous range of writing before and during the Tang period. Glen Dudbridge shows convincingly that Gu Kuang's (*jinsbi* 757) undated preface to Dai Fu's *Great Book of Marvels* (Guangyi ji 廣異記) inscribes this large work closest to the *zhiguai* tradition, a primary object of the eighth century's "middle-of-the-road" expectation for this kind of literature.⁸⁴ The extant stories of Lu's *History*, are items that fit uncontroversially into the same broad tradition nearly one century later.

What the *zhiguai* tradition still comprised by Lu Zhao's day requires another qualification. In common with a tendency shared by much writing of the eighth and ninth centuries, nearly every story in Lu Zhao's *History* is attached to known individuals set initially in realistic and often verifiable social conditions. Even in Dai Fu's day, the outrageously quirky was no longer the fashionable object that it had been one or two centuries' earlier. Uchiyama Chinari notes that from the mid-eighth century onwards the status of many compilers equated increasingly to middle and low-ranked officials. Their attention focused more than hitherto on people and affairs of

83 *Xin Tangshu*, 59:1542; *Songsbi*, 203: 5118, and 206:5222.

84 Glen Dudbridge, *Religious Experience and Lay Society in Tang China: A Reading of Tai Fu's Kuang-i chi* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), p.18.

85 Uchiyama Chinari, *Sui Tang xiaoshuo yanjiu* [Research on Sui and Tang Stories] [first published as *Zui Tō shōsetsu kenkyū* (Tokyo: Mokujisha, 1977)] (Shanghai: Fudan University, 2010), pp.3–26.

86 Cheng Yizhong, “Lun Tangdai xiaoshuo di yanjin zhi ji,” [Discussion of the Evidence for the Development of Stories in the Tang Period] *Wenxue yichan* [Literary Heritage] 5 (1987): 44–52.

87 *Shitong* [Generalities on History] (1577 edn, repr. Beijing: Zhonghua, 1961), 10.1a–b.

88 *Hanshu* (Beijing: Zhonghua, 1962), 30:1745; compare 街說巷語 in *Suishu* (Beijing: Zhonghua, 1973), 34:1012.

89 Three Ming imprints of *Shitong* (1535, 1577 and 1602) give: *xiaoshuo weiyan* 小說為言. See *Shitong*, 10:2a. Other editions, including notably the *Shitong tongshi* 通釋, prepared by Pu Qilong 浦起龍 (b.1679) on the basis of a Song imprint, give the expression cited above. See *Shitong tongshi* (Shanghai: Guji, 1978), 10:273–74. The striking image of literally “tumbling beaker remarks” occurs in the *Yuyan* 寓言 (“Parables”) chapter of *Zhuang Zi*: “Daily we utter spontaneous remarks” 卮言日出. The Tang editor Cheng Xuanying 成玄英 (fl. 650) glosses this as unplanned, spontaneous talk during drinking games featuring a footless *zhi*-type beaker that repeatedly tumbles between its users. See sub-commentary in *Nanbua zhenjing zhusu* [Commentaries to the Nanhua True Canon] (DZ 745), 29:1b–2a.

more modest origin and background. This late period also witnessed many compilers’ rising interest in Daoism. They collected information about this and other subjects rather in the manner of reporters, often trading their finds with each other—a reality that may have given rise to the aforementioned three accounts of Li Minqiu’s dream. Uchiyama notes too that one of the new literary developments throughout the Tang period in the hands of certain writers was the sophistication of imaginary plots and the use of more literary registers of language, especially true of a body of stories that later ages designated with the generic term “transmitted marvels” (*chuanqi* 傳奇). The description of this development is not apt for all Tang writing, and Lu’s *History*, which uses quite pedestrian constructions and vocabulary, fits closer with Uchiyama’s idea of a literature of report.⁸⁵

The history category comprises another broad tradition—overlapping considerably with others—and its numerous categories of writing provided models for almost any of Lu Zhao’s topical interests. Engagements with history changed dramatically during the Tang. The expansion of historical interests, which accompanied the many deliberate resorts to private, small-scale historical compilations throughout the late Tang, was an important impetus to Lu Zhao’s compilation of his text. Closer scrutiny of Tang sources in recent historiographical research has retrieved many compilations from definitions that neglected their relevance to historical writing. Cheng Yizhong 程毅中 has best described the most important theoretical implications of this shift in his discussion of Liu Zhiji’s attention to minor categories of historical compilation. In a section of his *Generalities on History* (*Shitong* 史通, completed in 710), Liu argued that professional historians should adopt a range of usually overlooked writings as worthy categories of historiography.⁸⁶ Cheng adopts these arguments to review the output of the following two centuries and to define an unprecedented number of its literary categories as genres of history.

Liu Zhiji described an entire group of such writings as “corollary accounts and minor persuasions” (*pianji xiaoshuo* 偏記小說), and he identifies ten categories of clerical and historical record in precise terms:

“Corollary accounts” (*pianji*), “minor records” (*xiaolu* 小錄), “extra facts” (*yishi* 逸事), “light statements” (*suoyan* 瑣言), “commandery writings” (*junsu* 郡書), “family histories” (*jiashi* 家史), “individual biographies” (*biezhuan* 別傳), “miscellaneous accounts” (*zaji* 雜記), “geographical writings” (*dili shu* 地理書), “manuals on capital cities” (*duyi bu* 都邑簿).⁸⁷

It is useful to recall this list in its entirety, because it demonstrates the breadth of vision with which Liu Zhiji recommended sources that “can participate in the progress of official history” (*neng yu zhengshi can xing* 能與正史參行). Moreover, Liu Zhiji suggests that many, if not all, of these categories owe their existence to urges of random spontaneity, natural forces that outdo human plans and creative ingenuity. Expanding on the characteristics of his fourth category, “light statements”, he acknowledges the earliest bibliographical definitions of *xiaoshuo* set down by Ban Gu 班固 (32–92) in the *History of the Han Dynasty* (*Hanshu* 漢書) and reiterated by Zhangsun Wuji 長孫無忌 (d. 569) in the *History of the Sui Dynasty* (*Suishu* 隋書), but he also projects beyond this tradition to a Daoist notion of disciplined chaos: “talk on the streets and opinions in the lanes⁸⁸ are sometimes worth considering; minor persuasions and spontaneous talk⁸⁹ are even wiser than our selves” (*jietan xiangyi shi you keguan xiaoshuo zhiyan you xian yu ji* 街談巷議時有可觀小說卮言猶賢於己).

Did Liu Zhiji's rigorous framework of working methods provide relevant conditions for compiling a collection such as Lu's *History* more than one century later? No single answer suffices. Lu Zhao's attention to his past and present surroundings fell short of a major historical critic's ambitions; on the other hand, it sometimes exceeded them.

The ten categories in Liu Zhiji's list represent an elite bias for the top end of human affairs. Liu Zhiji's interest in capital cities, for instance, which he discussed again as one of several topics deserving research for new monographs in the official histories,⁹⁰ emerged from the common antiquarian interest in the organisation of southern and northern capitals, such as Jiankang 建康, Luoyang and Ye 鄴 (capital of the Northern Qi 北齊 government under which one generation of Liu's ancestors lived). The category is tenth on his list, which may signify an unusually low priority for political centres. Even so, any historical interest in places of such elevated status is bound to be qualitatively different from late-Tang perceptions of the growing importance of provincial centres, such as Xiangyang, the city where Lu Zhao recorded Fan Ze's operations. Similarly, an antiquarian-topographical interest in Luoyang was a more elitist concern than Lu Zhao's fascination with the experiences of officers on active service in the field, leastwise with that of criminals in the countryside.

Conversely, Liu Zhiji's ten categories suggest a historian's outlook based on catholic interests and a new desire to investigate neglected areas of research. In this respect he exerted a major influence on later generations of historians, and it is reasonable to suppose that he licensed Lu Zhao and contemporaries to turn their attention to a new and unprecedented status for minor historical records. No absolute correspondence between Lu Zhao's work and Liu Zhiji's precepts is discernible. But, beyond doubt, Liu Zhiji confirmed a new departure in the functions of an historian. The range of interests displayed in his list of ten categories confirms his disenchantment with the central establishment's management of historical writing along a correspondingly narrow front. His positive regard for *zhiguai* literature marked rather a step forward from a generation earlier when Zhangsun Wuji oversaw considerably less committed views recorded in the literary monograph of the *History of the Sui Dynasty*. In short, the first truly buoyant evaluation of multiple categories of *xiaoshuo* writing as a category of historical record is an attitude that Liu Zhiji first documented.⁹¹ Zhang Xuecheng 章學誠 (1738–1801), another brilliant innovator, got the wrong end of the stick entirely when he denigrated Liu Zhiji for upholding only the ambitions of the History Office.⁹²

Fully in step with the outlook of his own generation, Lu Zhao had assimilated the lessons of a highly critical historian writing more than one century earlier. The title of his collection, *History of Things Outside the Norm*, which recalls Liu Zhiji's category "extra facts" (*yishi* 逸史 and *yishi* 逸事 respectively), suggests too a ninth-century debt to the clearest surviving Tang theorisation of minor historical compositions. Even more striking is a debt to Liu Zhiji's dual formulation of sources that "can participate in the progress of official history" and official history itself. Recall that in the preface to his work, cited above, Lu Zhao asserts that he first finished his *Historical Records* and only then set to work on the *History*. The mention of both works in one statement reveals an intention to define his work as a dual achievement, one in which the significance of each part sustains the other. It seems too that a priority is implied. The compiler expends effort on a text whose title suggests its centrality to the expectations of official history before he is ready to

90 *Sbitong*, 3:9a–12a. See also Edwin G. Pulleyblank, "Chinese Historical Criticism: Liu Chih-chi and Ssu-ma Kuang," in *Historians of China and Japan*, eds Edwin G. Pulleyblank and W.G. Beasley (London: Oxford University, 1961), p.145.

91 Cheng Yizhong, "Lun Tangdai xiaoshuo di yanjin zhi ji," p.45.

92 See Cheng Qiangfan's citation of Zhang Xuecheng in *Sbitong jianji* [Annotations to the Generalities on History] (Beijing: Zhonghua, 1980), p.318.

93 *Taiping guangji*, 29:189–90.

94 For Yao Hong's death, see *Jinsbu* (Beijing: Zhonghua, 1974), 119:3017; Zhang Chenshi, ed. *Jiankang shilu* [The Historical Record of Jiankang], (Beijing: Zhonghua, 1986), 11:384.

95 For an example of how this material can be used to research Tang religious history, see Franciscus Verellen, "Luo Gongyuan 羅公遠: Légende et culte d'un saint taoïste," *Journal Asiatique* 275 (1987): 283–332, on Lu Zhao's *Yishi*, esp. 291–92.

turn to another text concerned with what others had overlooked in order to "retrieve what was authentic and restore what was missing".

Lu Zhao seems even to have welcomed quite cynical views of the value of official history. These are clearly presented in one last story: an early seventh-century Chan monk residing on Hengshan 衡山 meets Yao Hong 姚泓 (388–417), the last ruler of the Later Qin 後秦 regime, which collapsed in 417.⁹³ Captured, Yao Hong was transported to the Eastern Jin capital at Jiankang and apparently executed in the market place. Two centuries later Yao now explains to the monk that he soon escaped captivity, so that, in order to maintain their performance of punishment, the Jin authorities were forced to execute another prisoner who closely resembled him. Significantly, this exchange between monk and immortal is presented primarily as a discussion of historical sources. The monk claims to know what happened to Yao Hong because he has read the history of the Jin (晉史)—meaning most likely *The History of the Jin Dynasty* 晉書 by Fang Xuanling 房玄齡 (578–648). He could also have read a similar account in Xu Song's 許嵩 (fl. 750s) *The Veritable Record of Jiankang* (Jiankang shilu 建康實錄).⁹⁴ To the monk's familiarity with his life, Yao Hong retorts "This is proof that historians talk nonsense". He gives other examples of official history's redundancy and further elaborates on what has happened in the last two centuries in order to convince his listener that "there was even more that the historians had omitted and not written down". Although they critique objects at a safe enough distance from the present, these are, nevertheless, quite bold remarks. They reveal a sceptical attitude to history that can only have encouraged Lu Zhao to collect stories that oppose the standard versions of events and to establish asynchronous patterns for their explanation.

Whatever reception Lu Zhao's text gained during his own day is not known. It did attract the notice of Zhang Junfang, who included at least fourteen stories from Lu's *History* in his Daoist anthology *The Cloud Bookcase in its Seven Labels*, presented to the throne after 1025. The two stories of tomb robbing are not among Zhang Junfang's selection, but this does not reduce the significance of Lu Zhao's work as a prime source of Tang biographical facts and hagiological arguments in the hands of a major interpreter of Daoist doctrine.⁹⁵

Conclusion

The larger point of reference in this article is to the *History of Things Outside the Norm* as a text of history. Lu Zhao's claims on behalf of his text suggest that a late-Tang historian could approach history twice: once in the formal setting of compiling the dynastic record organised by the central bureaucracy, and once more in the less constantly patrolled limits of service in the field. Bureaucratic methods tend to prescribe their aims closely, and to achieve them through vigorous editorial reduction and deletion, whereas private compilation allows less constrained intellectual inquiry and more equal exchanges of knowledge. It seems unsurprising, therefore, that Lu Zhao's stories attracted the notice of a later generation of editors engaged in their more sizeable effort to document the evidence of natural, scientific and cosmic conditions so important to the practical (and secret) workings of the world manifested according to shared religious precepts. Lu Zhao initiated a contribution that later editors completed.

The decentralised structures of late-Tang life, accompanied by an unprecedented growth of urban centres throughout many provincial circuits of the

empire stood in no causal relationship to the editing of any branch of history, but the social experience of urban dwelling once magnified can only have deepened the distinctions between diverse inhabitations of space, so that hierarchical levels of administration, different degrees of political control, and unequal possibilities of encountering danger became all the more perceptible. These spatial asymmetries threw up views of temporal disjunction that accentuated understanding historical processes not simply within one homogeneous flow.

No less important were the intellectual changes that took place in Tang historiographical thinking. The title *History of Things Outside the Norm* that Lu Zhao selected for his text suggests his historical imagination at work for accounts that were literally extraneous to the established canonical models and not subject to the standards of writing official history (*zhengshi* 正史). The contents of his collection also perpetuate an alternative way of thinking about time—one that was embedded in perceptions of time's asynchronous flows far away or even isolated from the formally calibrated mainstream of government time. Time flows at the centre and the periphery are asynchronous, if only to be perceived by special effort or merely by chance during rare moments of spillover. Lu Zhao satisfied his interest in this phenomenon not through fanciful inventions alone, but according to inquiries into and reports on real conditions in his immediate surroundings. His stories often lead his readers back to the same place more than once, revealing his and his acquaintances' regular priority to work from verifiable experiences.

Minor historical works, such as Lu's *History* and other texts of the late-Tang period, are not of a higher order than the productions of official government historians; nor does Lu Zhao deserve promotion to a special pantheon of historical talents. Instead, differentiating between historians who did and did not accommodate asymmetrical time flows within their reports is a valuable key to discern not only their outlook on human events but also to individuate the kind of work that they did. One motive for compiling the *History of Things Outside the Norm* was that compilation represented the metaphorical act of testing different, yet nonetheless valid, worldviews in alternative spaces. Not only does this metaphor align with others concerning the asynchronous flows of time, it enhances the spatial duality of Tang experiences of social reality at either centre or periphery. Such a proposal may help to shift our modern thinking a fraction closer to the philosophy of a Tang historian when he retold events through the creation of his text, and it may redirect recognition for the considerable achievements in Tang historical observation to sources where it is less usually confirmed.

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WITHIN OR WITHOUT? AMBIGUITY OF BORDERS AND KORYŎ KOREANS' TRAVELS DURING THE LIAO, JIN, SONG AND YUAN

 Remco Breuker

Introduction

During the five centuries of the Koryŏ 高麗 dynasty, travel was of the utmost importance. Domestically, the travels of the state's officials mapped out the tangible authority of the state apparatus, while more private excursions produced literary narratives that bound together state, locale and the many different pasts of Koryŏ. Internationally, Koryŏ's diplomats were relied on to secure Koryŏ's continued safety and wellbeing and to procure those resources of Sinitic and Manchurian civilisation Koryŏ found useful, while Koryŏ merchants found new temporary homes in Hangzhou 杭州, Mingzhou 明州 and Dengzhou 登州 in China or on the northern frontier shared with the Liao 遼 and later the Jin 金 state. The purpose of this article is to look more closely at the domestic and international travelling done by Koryŏans and to map the constitutive influence frequent travelling exercised upon processes of identity formation then taking place in Koryŏ. Travel up until the period of Mongol domination towards the end of the 13th century was fundamentally different from travel after this period. This was not only due to Koryŏ's new status as a subordinate country of the Yuan 元 empire, with a ruler moreover who was a son-in-law of the Yuan emperor, but even more so on account of clear changes in Koryŏ's perception of its identity and position in the world, which may be gleaned from the redefined purposes attributed to the act of travelling in the late 13th and 14th centuries. The act of travelling reveals perhaps unexpectedly fundamental notions of self-perception and identity formation.

As travelling necessarily involves the crossing of borders, an inquiry into the nature of Koryŏ travel also entails the necessity to look at contemporary conceptions of community and borders. The 11th century saw the construction of a clear image of Koryŏ as well as a surprisingly lucid articulation of the physical, symbolic and historical boundaries of the Korean peninsula.¹ The delineation of a historical homeland in Koryŏ was partly based on the principle of exclusion and partly on the principle of inclusion, which concretely meant that the delineation of Koryŏ territory went hand in hand with

1 See Remco E. Breuker, *Establishing a Pluralist Society in Medieval Korea, 918–1170: History, Ideology and Identity in the Koryŏ Dynasty* (Leiden: Brill Academic Publishers, 2010).

2 I have not included Japan in this article because interaction with Japan was limited for most of the Koryŏ period and extremely limited in the fields of exchange of civilisational notions.

3 Sŏ Kŏjong, comp., *Minjok munhwa ch'ujinhoe*, ed., *Tongmun sŏn* [Anthology of Korean Literature; hereafter *TMS*] (Seoul: Sol, 1998). 64.18a–20b.

4 See, for example, *TMS* 64.20b–23b; *TMS* 65.21b–23a.

5 See Breuker, “Mountains and Streams: Landscape and Limits in Medieval Korea,” in *Architecturalized Asia: Mapping the Continent through Architecture and Geography*, ed. Hazel Hahn and Vimalin Rujivacharakul (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, forthcoming 2013).

the delineation of Koryŏ's other across the border.² During the 11th and 12th centuries, a clear picture emerged of Koryŏ's other, of Koryŏ's position in the world and of an immediate sphere of action and involvement which was historically and thus contingently determined. These notions, however, were turned on their head during the period of Mongol domination when Koryŏ became incorporated into the Yuan empire.

I will look into the question of how the act of travelling influenced Koryŏ's perceptions of itself and its position in the world. Simultaneously, the question must be asked how Koryŏ's self-perceptions were reflected in how travel was perceived. If these questions are asked against the widely differing backgrounds of pre-Yuan and Yuan Koryŏ, answers emerge which put Koryŏ's different identities in sharp historical relief against the perennial activity of travelling.

Travel and the Landscape in Pre-Yuan Koryŏ

Recording the establishment of a Buddhist temple complex, Ch'oe Ch'ung 崔冲 (984–1068), one of early Koryŏ's most esteemed scholars, wrote a short text on the nature of travel and its relationship to the governance of the country. He started the text with an etymological discussion of the concept of *ch'ŏje* 招提, which he alternately glossed as a “temporary dwelling place where excellent persons search for the Buddhist way”, a place “where an inn is established and benevolence and propriety are practised” and as a place that “gives sustenance and protection to officials travelling on official matters and private travellers”.³ On Ch'oe's advice, the ruler (Hyŏnjong 顯宗, r. 1010–31) had a temple complex with elaborate guest lodgings built in otherwise inhospitable terrain. This act of the ruler was explained as a civilising action; the founding of the temple complex meant the establishment of a physical site where the capital's officials could stay and exert influence on provincial matters and on an ideological level, the text explains that it is an important duty of the ruler to make travel possible. The importance of this project may be surmised from the fact that Koryŏ's highest bureaucrats worked on it. When it was finished, the temple complex was called Honggyŏng-sa 弘慶寺 (Broad Felicity Temple) and the guest lodging was furnished with heated floors and stocked with provisions. This combination of the ruler's civilising virtue, Buddhist redemption and the importance of travel is also found at other moments and places in the early to mid-Koryŏ state.⁴

The importance of the landscape, the need to incorporate it into the state structure by building on it and the necessity to record these actions are well attested in the Koryŏ period until the Mongol domination. There are many extant accounts of ancient temples, monasteries, pavilions and other structures that were either built or restored after having fallen into disrepair. Such accounts are often also semi-travelogues. There are few extant travelogues from the first half of the Koryŏ dynasty, but these records usually feature short comments about the author's travels. Such accounts were always written in conjunction with contemporary history. In these texts the bond between landscapes, the buildings people built upon it and the influence these exercised upon the fate of the country was made explicit. The elements that combined to form these accounts were historical, geographical, geomantic, spiritual, literary, philosophical, or national. This allowed these stories to function in different dimensions, depending on context. Interestingly, the early Koryŏ state made serious efforts to construct one unified landscape under the state to replace the patchwork of contingently connected local landscapes that had made up Koryŏ.⁵

An account by Yi Chayŏn 李子淵 (1003–61) when he travelled to the Song 宋 as an envoy somewhere in the first half of the 11th century compared the landscapes of China and Koryŏ. Yi subscribed to the idea that the landscape directly influenced the people living in it, an idea that was widely accepted at the time, and asserted that the Koryŏ landscape was much better than the various Chinese landscapes he had the opportunity to see.⁶ From the beginning of the dynasty, the Koryŏ landscape was constructed through continuous interaction between the state and the province, between literati, Buddhist monks, Daoist hermits, Confucian scholars and specialists in geomancy; people who could read the landscape added layer after layer of significance to particular locales.⁷ The importance of the Koryŏ landscape had been codified in the apocryphal *Ten Injunctions* (Hunyo shipcho 訓要十條), ascribed to T'aejo Wang Kŏn 太祖王建 (?–946), but actually dating from the middle of the 11th century.⁸ During the same century, the importance for the wellbeing of the state of geomancer Tosŏn 道諤 (827–898) was also codified.⁹ Temples, palaces and other structures of extraordinary significance were built (or not) in reference to the landscape and its configuration.¹⁰ Another well-known example of a highly regarded interpreter of the landscape is Yi Chungyak 李仲若 (?–1122, penname Chajin 子眞), who was famous as a hermit, well-versed in Buddhism and Daoism, and as a physician of such prowess that Sukchong 肅宗 (r. 1095–1105) invited him to live in the royal palace. He was most famous, though, for his ability to read to landscape, to function as a human link between the Koryŏ landscape and the state.¹¹ According to the record devoted to his memory, the author did not know whether “whether the master waited for this landscape or if the landscape waited for the master”, but the presence of an inextricable tie between the two was obvious to him. Yi had chosen the spot to build his hermitage according to the secrets he had learned from another famous geomancer. Having done so, Yi was subsequently invited to come to the capital, served as an envoy to the Song, cured the ruler, established a national Daoist institute and in general served the country to its greater benefit.¹² According to the writer of this commemorative record, sagacious hermits like Yi Chungyak interpreted the landscape to benefit other people. When after his death his hermitage, which had fallen into disrepair, was restored by his son, Koryŏ ruler Ŭijong 毅宗 (1151–70) sent a painting of Kwanŭm 觀音 as a gift.¹³

The idea that the characteristics of special landscapes were essential for the well-being of both man and state is a recurrent theme in Koryŏ writings on landscape and travel from this period.¹⁴ Although the precise manner how is not specified in any of the extant sources, apart from geomantic specialists, literati also seem to have played an important role with regard to the landscape. It was up to them to travel around the country and record Koryŏ's most exquisite scenery and in this way make it accessible to more people. According to poet Im Ch'un 林椿 (1148–86), “as for fostering an energy conducive to composing literature, one who does not travel to visit famous mountains and great streams and who does not search for intriguing tales and spectacular sceneries, will likewise not be able to broaden the intentions in his breast”.¹⁵ Yi Kyubo 李奎報 (1169–1241) lamented that: “I have wanted to travel the four directions and record all the strange things I would hear and see from the places my horse would take me. I wanted to preserve these in poetry and collect them in writing, so that later generations would see them. But oh, what has become of my plan?”¹⁶ Although their role was significantly different from that of the professional interpreter of the landscape who could construct a direct relationship between the

6 *P'abanjip* [Collection to Break Up Idleness, hereafter *PHJ*], 2.27–28. See Ch'oe Cha, Yi Illo, *P'abanjip, Pobanjip* [Reprint of Two Titles in One Volume] (Seoul: Asea Munhwasa, 1972).

7 Despite its importance, Koryŏ geomancy has been little researched. The only monograph is still Yi Pyŏngdo, *Koryŏ shidae-ŭi yŏn'gu: t'ŭkhi to'cham sasang-ŭl chungshim-ŭro* [A Study of the Koryŏ Period: With Special Attention to Divinatory Thought] (Seoul: Asea munhwasa, 1980, rev. ed.). Other studies deal with certain aspects of geomancy or with certain periods only.

8 Breuker, *Forging the Truth: Creative Deception and National Identity in Medieval Korea*. Special issue *East Asian History* 35 (2008).

9 *TMS* 27.9a–9b; *TMS* 27.9b–10b; *TMS* 117.16b–22b.

10 The second injunction is famous in this respect, for prohibiting building temples outside of the places that had been determined to be suitable by Tosŏn's geomantic assessment. For another example, see *TMS* 108.20b–22a.

11 *TMS* 65.6a–10a.

12 Yi had beseeched Ŭn Wŏnch'ung 殷元忠 and Sŏn master Ikchong 翼宗 to teach him their secrets. See Chŏng Inji, ed., *Koryŏsa* [History of Koryŏ; hereafter *KS*] (Seoul: Asea munhwasa, 1983), 122:1a–3b for more information on Wŏnch'ung, who is mentioned as submitting a memorial on geomancy and the destiny of the state-like Kim Wije 金謂碑, yet another great geomancer, had done before him.

13 *TMS* 65.6a–10a.

14 See, for instance, *TMS* 65.10a–12b, 65.12b–15b, 66.13a–14b, 65.21b–23a; *Pobanjip* [Sequel to The Collection to Break Up Idleness; hereafter *POHJ*], 1.83–84. Rituals in honour of the spirits of the landscape (or rather particular localities that were considered especially significant) were frequently held. Some of these rituals were votive and for special occasions or wishes, others part of a regular curriculum. For some examples, see *KS* 2.34a, 3.23b, 4.12b, 4.17b, 8.5b–61, 9.34a, 10.8a, 10.10b, 10.15b, 12.28b, 13.12b, 15.28a–b, 16.10b–11a, 16.29b, 59.38a–b, 63.20b, 63.23a, 77.26b, 98.7b; Yi Kyubo, *Tongguk Yi Sangguk chip* [The Collected Works of Minister Yi Kyubo of Korea; hereafter *TYSJ*] (Seoul: Myŏngmundang, 1982), 38:6a–b, 41.15a–b.

15 *TMS* 59.3b–4b.

16 *TMS* 66.6b–7a. Also see *TMS* 65.10a–12b, 65.12b–15b.

17 It should be noted here that this was not a phenomenon unique to Korea, but something that in different guises was part of a much wider East Asian discourse on viewing the relationship between man and the landscape.

18 See Breuker, *Establishing a Pluralist Society in Medieval Korea*, chapter four.

19 TMS 65.12b–15b. On this particular trip, Im retraced the steps of two of Shilla's most famous monks Wŏnhyo and Ŭisang 義湘. He not only lamented the absence of many Shilla remains, but also the fact that he had not been able to meet Kwanŭm at the spot where Ŭisang had met Kwanŭm some five hundred years before.

20 TMS 66.6b–13a.

21 See, for instance TMS 60.25b–26b, 65.21b–23a; POHJ 1.79.

22 One such an example is the *Record of the Country of Karak* [Karakuk kil], a history of the Kaya kingdom in the south of the peninsula. Kim Yanggam 金良鑑 (fl. late 11th century) wrote it during the late 11th century in an effort to bring Kaya history within the fold of Koryŏ history. Parts of the text are still extant because of their inclusion in the *The Memorabilia of the Three Kingdoms* [Samguk yusa].

23 For some notable exceptions, see two writings of Yi Kok that deal with Chŏnju and its surroundings. In these texts, Yi, who was stationed there as a magistrate, wrote that he had explained the glorious past of the region as capital of the Paekche kingdom to its inhabitants. During these visits to the Diamond Mountains, Yi to some extent also mentioned the history of the places he visited.

state of the landscape and the destiny of the state, the capital-based literatus was nonetheless important for more than the inebriated composition of lyrical poetry about the beauty of spectacular scenery. The essential and spiritual bond between man and landscape also needed to be recorded, which was after all the one thing a Confucian scholar could be relied upon to do properly.

If the essential and spiritual bond between man and landscape is one aspect of the perception of Koryŏ landscape during the first half of the dynasty, the strong historicising of the landscape is its other defining characteristic. The duty of the literatus with regard to the recording of the landscape in texts was of essential importance because only the well-educated scholar was able to remember, confirm or at times forge the history of a particular locale. The historicising of the landscape was the concrete and down-to-earth counterpart of the geomancer's analyses of the same physical places.¹⁷ If anything, travelogues of the early to middle Koryŏ period literati are distinguished by the at times rather extreme attention given a particular locale's historical background. And in the context of Koryŏ's plurality of pasts (it had after all succeeded to Kaya 伽倻, Paekche 百濟, Shilla 新羅 and Koguryŏ 高句麗 and kept these—at times conflicting—heritages alive), the references were to different pasts, recalling a variety of historical events and figures from various periods and provenances.¹⁸ When Im Ch'un travelled the country, for instance, he was sensitive to the fact that Shilla, despite its long history, had left so little to be physically visited and appreciated.¹⁹ Yi Kyubo travelled the southern part of the peninsula and recalled the equally vanished legacy of Paekche, although he noted that Paekche traditions still lingered on in the area around the old Paekche capital, Chŏnju 全州. But Yi also visited the site of the monastery where Koguryŏ monk Podŏk 寶德 (fl. early 7th century) had magically flown his entire monastery in an effort to save it from the impending doom facing Koguryŏ. Yi had prepared well before travelling south; he used Shilla scholar Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn's 崔致遠 (857–?) account of what had happened to complement Ŭich'ŏn's 義天 (1055–1101) account of the same event. He visited the ancient dolmen in Kunma-gun 群馬郡 and identified Namwŏn-bu 南原府 as the site of the Daifang Commandery 帶方郡 (a later addition to the original four Han Commanderies); Yi also went to a room in a small hermitage where Shilla monk Wŏnhyo 元曉 (617–686) had stayed, and where this eminent monk was honoured with a portrait of his own as well as a Buddha statue.²⁰ His journey was not completely devoted to Koryŏ's pasts, however. Yi also went to Pyŏn-san Mountain 邊山 to oversee the felling of trees there. As the place where most of Koryŏ's timber came from, Yi was naturally interested to go there. Yi's fascination with the history of localities is reflected in other writings that appeared from the beginning of the dynasty until the Mongol domination.²¹ The scholars' reflections on local history and their attempts to draw local histories into the fold of the history of the Koryŏ state in travelogues were mirrored in similar contemporary attempts to write local histories with reference to the state's history.²² Although the historicising of the landscape in the manner described above by forging explicit ties between the author's own period and the different pasts of each locale did not completely disappear after the Yuan domination of Koryŏ, it did dramatically decline in frequency.²³ Reading a landscape in a historical manner was an art best and most often practiced during the early and middle Koryŏ periods.

Middle and Later Koryŏ Records

Records such as the text written by Ch'oe Ch'ung form an intriguing contrast with late Koryŏ records, similar in format and written by authors in similar social and political positions, but which seem to rely on a completely different perception of the significance and meaning of travel. An Ch'uk 安軸 (1287–1348), a late-Koryŏ Neo-Confucian scholar, wrote a text about his travels. In it, he explained the meaning of travel in rather abstract terms:

All things under heaven endowed with form possess an underlying principle. There is nothing that is not like this. Regarding large things, there are mountains and streams. Regarding small things, there are stones the size of a fist and plants of only one inch high. People who travel and see this things are stimulated on account of these and accordingly take pleasure in viewing them. This is why pavilions and outdoor structures are built. The strangeness of their forms is located [at the level of] their accessibility and can be appreciated with the eyes, but the mystery of their underlying principle is located at the level of meticulous perception and must be approached with the mind.²⁴

The contrast with Ch'oe Ch'ung's idea of travel as a means to mediate between the landscape, the state and Buddhism can hardly be greater, although it should be remarked that these two conceptions of travel are not mutually exclusive but merely opposing extremes. Examples of both extremes can be found both in pre-Yuan and Yuan Koryŏ; it is the frequency with which they are found reveals changes in the understanding of travel. Examples such as An Ch'uk's were quite common in the late Koryŏ period, where the landscape is thoroughly dehistoricised and personalised, while examples from the early and middle Koryŏ periods describe the landscape in strongly historical terms, situating it in the context of the state.²⁵ A particularly poignant example from a different genre (which is nevertheless pertinent to the argument here) was written by Kim Puil 金富弼 (1071–1132, one of the older brothers of great statesman Kim Pushik 金富軾). In a text celebrating the royal legacy of the Western Capital of P'yŏngyang, Kim compared the capital to that of the Shang and Zhou dynasties. The text uses imperial terminology throughout, claims that the Koryŏ ruler was invested on the throne by a thousand spirits and ends with expressing the wish that in the future the lands of Liaoyang will once again belong to Koryŏ, ostensibly referring to the historical legacy of Koguryŏ, which was time and again dusted off and brought out.²⁶ This text is typical of the middle Koryŏ period: it is filled with historical references, portrays the Koryŏ ruler as Son of Heaven and represents Koryŏ as the centre of the world.²⁷ If this is compared to a late Koryŏ text on Liaoyang, written by the famous scholar Yi Saek 李穡 (1328–96) the contrast seen between the conceptions of travel of Ch'oe Ch'ung and An Ch'uk re-emerges. Yi Saek's text on Liaoyang does not claim it for Koryŏ, which is not surprising, because the Koguryŏ legacy in Koryŏ was not unambiguous. What is surprising is the complete absence of historical references, whether to Koguryŏ or to another past.²⁸ The border between the Korean peninsula and Liaoyang is described, but only in physical terms. In fact, the text could I have been about any east Asian country. A poem written by Yi Kok 李穀 (1298–1351) reveals a similarly different way of perceiving the past. The poem is dedicated to Chŏng Chungbu (1308–45), a scholar on his way to Hangzhou to meet the Yuan Chancellor. Reminiscing about the empire and its servants, Yi writes:

24 TMS 68.26b–28a.

25 Personalised melancholy seems to have functioned as a substitute for the historicising found in earlier texts. See, for instance, *Ikchae nan'go* [Random Jottings of Ikchae Yi Chehyŏn; hereafter *ICNG*] 2.12b–13b; TMS 7.21a–22a.

26 TMS 104.6b–7b. For a discussion of the role of the Koguryŏ legacy in Koryŏ, see John B. Duncan, "Historical Memories of Koguryŏ in Koryŏ and Chosŏn," *Journal of Inner and East Asian Studies* 1.1 (2004): 90–117; Breuker, "The One In Three, The Three In One: The Koryŏ Three Han as a Pre-Modern Nation," *Journal of Inner and East Asian Studies* 2.2 (2006): 143–68.

27 Breuker, "Koryŏ As an Independent Realm: The Emperor's Clothes?," *Korean Studies* 27 (2003): 48–84.

28 TMS 72.21a–22a.

29 Yi Kok, *Kajŏng chip* [Collected Works of Yi Kok], in *Koryŏ myŏngbyŏn chip 3* (Collected Works of Famous Koryŏ Worthies). 5 vols. Seoul: Sŏnggyun'gwan Taehakkyo Taedong Munhwa Yŏn'guwŏn, 1986. 17.

30 For a fuller exploration of the emergence of Koryŏ's boundaries, see Breuker, "The One In Three, The Three In One," pp.143–68.

31 Breuker, "The One In Three, The Three In One".

32 The Amnok was even wrongly imagined as the ancient boundary of Shilla (*KS* 3.6a, 82.42b–43a, 14.21a–b). For more explicit references to the Amnok as the eternal border of Koryŏ, *TMS* 35.23b–24b ("the frontiers of our country have from times immemorial run until the Amnok River") *KS* 7.33a–34b ("Our country has made the Amnok river its boundary ever since [the establishment of] Kija's old territory). Also see *KS* 1.7b, 2.19a; *TMS* 39.5b–6b, 28.5a–6b; *KS* 14.20a–22b, 15.20a–21a; *TMS* 35.6b–7b).

33 *KS* 9a–12b, 94.4b–5a.

34 *KS* 82.31b–32a; *KSC* 4.5a

35 *KS* 7.35a–b, 64.18a.

36 See, for instance *Koryŏ myojimyŏng chipsŏng* [Collection of Koryŏ Epigraphy; hereafter *KMC*] 424.5, 496.12; *TMS* 15.14a. Kim Yongsŏn, ed., *Koryŏ myojimyŏng chipsŏng* [Collection of Koryŏ Epigraphy] (Seoul: Hallim taehakkyo ashia munhwa yŏn'guso, 2001; Hallim taehakkyo Ashia munhwa yŏn'guso charyo ch'ongsŏ 10, rev. ed.).

37 See, for example, this short letter written to a frontier commander by the newly enthroned Injong: "During the eighteen years that my father Yejong ruled the country, he wielded authority in the four directions and kept enemies at a thousand li. How was this achieved except by wise scholars and brave warriors exerting themselves, fighting loyally and stopping [enemies]? I have newly succeeded to the achievements of previous kings and richly reward wise subjects. I intend to honour your strenuously gained meritorious deeds while doing duty at the borders. I hereby promote you to the rank of general and appoint you as the commander of the Three Armies. Receive this glorious order in understanding of my great intentions." (*TMS* 30.12a–b). There are many similar texts from pre-Yuan Koryŏ, in which the duty to keep the frontier secure is stressed. In another text, Yejong is praised for the stability of the north during his reign, while a generalissimo who performed meritorious services in the north was promoted to a position as civil official at the ministry of punishments. See *TMS* 30.13a. For other similar instances, see *TMS* 29.18a–b; *POHJ* 1.73–74; *TMS* 34.17b–18a; *TMS* 39.15a–b. The best possible situation to be strived after was expressed in the following poem, which in effect equates the prosperity of Koryŏ with quiet borders in the north: "The light of autumn is bright in Yongsŏn/In the old garrison barracks white smoke hangs aslant/For ten thousands mile around there are no weap-

The nearer to the south of the river you get, the newer everything is
Vestiges of the Six Dynasties no longer possess their authenticity,
Now that the sacred Yuan have unified the world, the past is no more
I laugh at those people from the past, each clinging to their own [part of the world].²⁹

Yi Kok's poem is explicit in its rejection of a historical perception of the past and celebration of the erasure of borders. The stark contrast with attitudes from the pre-Yuan period is intriguing and not easily explained. Given that neither position seems to have been restricted to a select few, but were distributed among a number of literati and scholars and seems tied to definable historical periods, the difference in position must be attributed to something other than personal proclivity. It can perhaps be explained, however, by charting contemporary notions of Koryŏ as a historical territory and the position of Koryŏ in the international world over the *longue durée*. In order to do this, a detour is unavoidable, but the route will lead us back to compare fruitfully the differing notions about travel of pre-Yuan Koryŏ and Yuan Koryŏ and to ask whether Koryŏ was within or without the Yuan empire.

Bordering Koryŏ

Nationalist historians have suggested that the borders of the peninsula have followed the Amnok 鴨綠江 and Tuman 豆滿江 Rivers since the Chosŏn period, but ironically perhaps, they err on the side of caution; this estimate is off the mark by about half a millennium. The borders of the Koryŏ state were written into Koryŏ society at a much earlier date than has been assumed. Although Koryŏ's boundaries were not uncontested during later periods and significant parts of the territory bordered by the Amnok and Tuman rivers sometimes did not fall under control of Koryŏ (most notably during the Mongol period) or Chosŏn, the boundaries as such have never come seriously under discussion on the Korean peninsula, even if an early Koryŏ border coincided with the great wall that Koryŏ constructed north of P'yŏngyang. The formation of the borders of the peninsula as they are more or less at present took place during the early Koryŏ period, between the end of the 10th and the middle of the 11th centuries.³⁰ The boundaries constructed during this period and consolidated during later periods were physical, symbolic and historical in nature.

It does not fall within the scope of this paper to explore in full detail how the boundaries of the Koryŏ state were constructed and how they were reflected in contemporary notions about society's boundaries, so an outline must suffice. Koryŏ traced back its historical descent to the three states of Paekche, Shilla and Koguryŏ, which were habitually referred to under the comprehensive (and historically erroneous) designation of the Three Han (Samhan 三韓).³¹ This notion, which developed into a supradynastical but territorially bounded entity, was at the bottom of the *Weltanschauung* that placed Koryŏ in the middle of the known world. Koryŏ's territory, the territory inhabited by the Three Han, was limited, though. Bordered by the sea on three sides, the only truly contested frontier was in the north. The northern frontier was consistently contested and fought over, to the extent of exercising a formative influence upon the self-perception of Koryŏ. It was formed by the Amnok in the northwest, Mount Paektu 白頭山 in the middle and the Tuman in the northeast.³²

The physical establishment of the boundaries of the Koryŏ state went hand in hand with an equally formidable demarcation of symbolical boundaries. While the peninsula's destiny had several times been decided at or near

the banks of the Amnok (e.g. Sŏ Hŭi's 徐熙 famous settlement with Liao in 993 and the destruction of the Liao army in 1018 by Kang Kamch'an 姜邯瓚),³³ several rulers had made every effort to build a line of fortresses running from the northwest to the northeast, which was completed in 1031–32.³⁴ The Amnok came to possess a clear symbolical significance: it divided Koryŏ from abroad. Crossing the Amnok meant entering the territory of Koryŏ and in 1055 as soon as the imperial Liao envoys had crossed the Amnok, Munjong 文宗 (1019–83) immediately ordered the food consumption and entertainment at court to be cut down in honour of the Liao Emperor.³⁵ The expression “crossing the Amnok” acquired the meaning of returning home to Koryŏ. The southern bank of the Amnok was the place where travellers returning from abroad were welcomed and envoys about to leave for the Chinese court were sent off.³⁶ The northern frontier formed by the Amnok, Mount Paektu and to a lesser extent the Tuman was heavily defended and keeping the frontier safe was considered one of the ruler's major responsibilities.³⁷ The contested nature of the northern border contributed much to the construction of the notion of the Koryŏ historical homeland. The identification of the Amnok, the Tuman and Mount Paektu with the natural and symbolic borders of Koryŏ and of the peninsula had only become possible during centuries of incessant if small-scale warfare in the north. A complex of geographically bounded historical events, myths and legends, national and local religious ceremonies of worship and the fact that Korea was surrounded by the sea on three sides and walled off by mountains on the one remaining side enabled the emergence of a strong sense of territorial belonging in a territory both naturally and symbolically bordered by the Amnok, Mount Paektu and the Tuman.

Koryŏ in the World

Our detour must now be taken further by mapping Koryŏ's position internationally. Travel across the borders of the Koryŏ state involved more than the physical crossing of the Amnok 鴨綠江. Frequent travel to foreign courts by high dignitaries and the frequent reception of foreign envoys in the Koryŏ capital were essential to the construction of advantageous foreign relations. A treatment of Koryŏ's foreign relations and a report of the comings and goings of its envoys, even if only cursory, would need considerable more space than this paper allows, so I will restrict my argument to the way Koryŏ literati perceived their position in the international world and, in particular, with regard to Koryŏ's relations with the northern states of Liao, Jin and later Yuan, and make only passing reference to Koryŏ's position vis-à-vis the Song, a field which has already been researched extensively.³⁸

An interesting idea was articulated by Kim Puil in a text in which he congratulated the Liao emperor because he “developed and enlarged [his] territory and made both Chinese and barbarians follow [him] peacefully”.³⁹ This text confirms the practice of Koryŏ international relations: a tendency to seek out the court in Manchuria, rather than the court in China proper.⁴⁰ The still often-used traditional dichotomy that divided and categorised the world according to the categories of Chinese/civilised and barbarian/uncivilised is not sufficiently subtle to understand Koryŏ.⁴¹ The Northern Court appears as a third category in Koryŏ's *Weltanschauung* and cannot be reduced to the category of the Chinese or that of the barbarians. Such a view of the world ties in with the strong sense of cultural self-sufficiency that pervaded the middle Koryŏ period. Koryŏ could afford to be selective in accepting Sinitic or Manchurian cultural resources.⁴²

ons/The children of the barbarians sing of peace and tranquillity”. See *POHJ* 1.77.

38 For the sake of clarity, I use the term “Liao” when I refer to the Liao state and “Khitan” when I refer to Khitan tribes not or only loosely connected to the Liao state. The Liao state called itself the Khitan state for several decades in the 10th century, but I will nonetheless refer to this state as “Liao” in order to avoid confusion.

39 *TMS* 39.14b–15a.

40 See Breuker, *Establishing a Pluralist Society in Medieval Korea*, chapter six.

41 Although recent scholarship has significantly altered the view that Liao and Jin were barbarian and has succeeded in evaluating these dynasties in a considerably less biased way, this kind of research has been restricted to the field of sinology. Sinological studies on the Khitan, Liao, Jurchen and Jin have duly acknowledged the intricacies, complexities and bi-directionality of their relationships with each other. To date, however, the *Hwa-I* dichotomy is perpetuated in all modern accounts of Koryŏ. See Nicola di Cosmo, “New Directions in Inner Asian History: A Review Article,” *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 42.2 (1999): 247–63; Nicola di Cosmo and Don J. Wyatt, eds, *Political Frontiers, Ethnic Boundaries, and Human Geographies in Chinese History* (London & New York: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003); Denis Twitchett and Klaus-Peter Tietze, “The Liao,” in *The Cambridge History of China: Volume 6, Alien Regimes and Border States, 907–1368*, ed. Herbert Franke and Denis Twitchett (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994): pp.43–153; Naomi Standen, *Unbounded Loyalty: Frontier Crossings in Liao China* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i, 2007); Standen, “The Five Dynasties,” in *The Cambridge History of China: Volume 5a, Five Dynasties and Sung, 906–1279*, ed. Denis Twitchett and Paul Smith (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007); Standen, “What Nomads Want: Raids, Invasions, and The Liao Conquest of 947,” in *Mongols, Turks and Others: Eurasian Nomads And The Outside World*, ed. Michal Biran and Reuven Amitai (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2005), pp.129–74; Standen, “Who wants to be an emperor? Zhao Dejun, Youzhou and the Liao,” in *Perspectives on the Five Dynasties and Ten Kingdoms*, ed. Peter Lorge (Hong Kong: Chinese University of Hong Kong, 2007).

42 Koryŏ looked to Manchuria in particular with regard to Buddhist knowledge, religious architecture and iron working. Breuker, *Establishing a Pluralist Society in Medieval Korea*, chapter six.

43 See Michael C. Rogers, "P'yŏnnyŏn T'ongnok: The Foundation Legend of the Koryŏ State," *The Journal of Korean Studies* 4 (1982–1983): 3–72.

44 Breuker, *Establishing a Pluralist Society in Medieval Korea*, chapter four; Duncan, "Historical memories of Koguryŏ in Koryŏ and Chosŏn", pp.90–117.

45 According to the *History of Liao* [Liao-shi], Liao succeeded to Parhae and, as such, to Koguryŏ (since Parhae was the official successor of Koguryŏ) (*LS* 38.455, 457). The *History of Liao* also contains concrete traces of a Koguryŏ legacy in Liao, such as counties named after Koguryŏ counties and instances of historical consciousness that acknowledged the Koguryŏ history of parts of the Liao territory. The geography section of the *Liaoshi* usually mentions Parhae and Koguryŏ together (See *LS* 38.462, 48.812). The *History of Jin* [Jinshi] records a very similar story. The section on Jin-Koryŏ relations (which conflates Koguryŏ and Koryŏ at times, something that is all too familiar in Chinese sources also) clearly depicts Koryŏ and Parhae as successors of Koguryŏ. When Parhae was conquered by Liao, the remnants of the Parhae people maintained a distinct identity all through Liao. And when Jin conquered Liao, the succession of Jin to Koguryŏ and Parhae was formally established when these Parhae descendants submitted to Jin. The *History of Jin* explicitly describes the historical interconnectedness of Koguryŏ, Koryŏ, Liao, Parhae and Jin. See Tuotuo, ed., *Jinshi* [History of Jin], facsimile in Wang Yunwu, ed., *Ersbisi shi* [The 24 Dynastic Histories] (Taipei: Taiwan Shangwu yinshuguan, 1967).135.1a–b.

46 See Kim Ilgwŏn, "Koguryŏ pyŏkhwa-wa koda Tong-Asia pyŏkhwa ch'ŏn-mun chŏnt'ong koch'al: Ilbon K'itora ch'ŏnmundo-ŭi saeroun tŏngjŏng-ŭl tŏtpuch'ŏ," *Koguryŏ yŏn'gu* [Koguryŏ Studies] 16 (2003): 243–86.

47 Indeed, it would not be an exaggeration to state that the vast majority of studies done on Koryŏ look, as a matter of fact, to China as the reference for developments in Koryŏ (with the obvious exception of the Mongol period).

48 *KS* 10.30b.

49 The tripartite division into Sinitic/southern, barbarian and Manchurian/northern categories was often used. The ritual section of the *History of Koryŏ*, for example, shows that qualitatively different rituals were performed for the Southern Court, the Northern Court and barbarians (*KS* 65), which is reflected in the existence of different kind of mis-

Appearances notwithstanding (Koryŏ adopted literary Chinese as its official written language and with it a large part of Sinitic classical civilisation), Koryŏ was perhaps more eager to learn from the north—if indeed this can be quantified. In particular, with regard to cultural achievements in the fields of Buddhism, religious architecture, literature and art, the Northern Court served as an inspiration for Koryŏ's literati, scholars, administrators and religious professionals. While concerns about security, particularly with the northern frontier, were never absent in Koryŏ's relationship with its neighbors in Manchuria, it would go too far to simply reduce it to security concerns. It is of importance to note here that the way Koryŏ traced its historical descent back to the three states of Paekche, Shilla and Koguryŏ, exercised direct influence on Koryŏ's view of the north. Koryŏ and Liao, for instance, shared historical memories of and identification with Koguryŏ. While there is every reason to believe that Koryŏ identification with Koguryŏ was rather limited (despite its prominence in the legitimating myth of the Koryŏ ruling family, the *Comprehensive Record Arranged By Year* (P'yŏnnyŏn t'ongnok 編年通錄),⁴³ Koguryŏ's heritage was also claimed by the Liao state.⁴⁴ This was achieved mainly by way of Parhae,⁴⁵ but also through the continued presence of historical memories and cultural remnants of Koguryŏ, for example in its astronomical knowledge.⁴⁶ Koryŏ and Liao shared Koguryŏ's historic legacy and were aware of the claims made by the other. This notion gave rise to the idea that Koryŏ was, perhaps, partially tied to a lineage of Manchurian states.

The presence of a strong Manchurian state on its northern border (an inescapable reality for Koryŏ which only disappeared with the Mongol conquest of the continent) did not mean that the Southern Court or the incumbent Chinese dynasty did not play an important role in Koryŏ's worldview. Although I strongly disagree with the notion that only the Southern Court counted for Koryŏ, the plethora of studies conducted on the many intricacies of Sino-Korean relations show the importance of the Southern Court.⁴⁷ As one Koryŏ monarch put it, Koryŏ "maintains diplomatic relations with the Liao in the north, has always served the Song in the south, while these days the Jurchen 女眞 in the east have become enemies to be reckoned with".⁴⁸

Koryŏ's world could thus be roughly divided into three categories: Sinitic/southern, barbarian, and Manchurian/northern.⁴⁹ Practically, this meant that Koryŏ not only aimed at internalising those Sinitic cultural resources that would help Koryŏ to build and maintain the kind of state that it preferred to be, but also that Koryŏ had fixed its gaze on the north, looking for the same kind of universal principles that underlied Sinitic civilisation.⁵⁰ Fundamental knowledge (such as the principles involved in religious architecture or the implementation of the use of money) was actively sought after by Koryŏ. The Northern Court was of defining importance in Koryŏ's worldview and the term was used as a generic term to describe the Manchurian dynasties with regard to Koryŏ and the indigenous Chinese dynasties.⁵¹ The term was also retroactively applied to both Koguryŏ and Parhae, clearly delineating a sense of historical kinship between the states in Manchuria and those on the peninsula.⁵² And after the Mongol conquests, the term was used to refer to the Yuan as well.

Koryŏ's pluralist *Weltanschauung* during the 10th and 11th centuries meant that its foreign policies aimed at maximising frontier security and obtaining cultural resources from Song and Liao. Diplomats and envoys were dispatched with high frequency to plead Koryŏ's case and to show

what Koryŏ had to offer. Although no travelogues of these men are extant, their view of the world was influenced by their experiences abroad and mentioned them in their writings and made them clear in their actions. The construction of Koryŏ's *Weltanschauung*, in which its ruler was also a Son of Heaven and in which a northern and a southern court existed not only historically but also ontologically, was made possible by the travels of Koryŏ's diplomats and scholars. These travel experiences played a crucial role in balancing Koryŏ's ambitions with the military and economic superiority of its neighbours. The construction of Liao as Koryŏ's other also hinged on the one hand on Koryŏans' travels abroad and, on the other hand, on Liao's excursions into Koryŏ.

Travel and the Landscape in Yuan Koryŏ

This detour has taken us a long way from the original questions on the perception of travel in pre-Yuan and Yuan Koryŏ, but was necessary, because it enabled us to estimate Koryŏ's perception of its position in the international world. The question posed at the outset of this paper was how the contrast in perceptions of travel between Ch'oe Ch'ung and An Ch'uk may be explained. How did the change come about that made late Koryŏ travelogues describe the landscape as dehistoricised? A closer look at some more examples also reveals other phenomena. Koryŏ's symbolic borders, established in the 11th century, held out under the onslaught of personalised melancholy and dehistoricised landscapes of the 14th century. The notion of the Amnok as Koryŏ's most important border also occurred frequently in Yuan Koryŏ. The precise quality of the border seems to have changed, though. Its military character had become obsolete by this time, but its crossing still signified the return to Koryŏ of its inhabitants. The most poignant example of this was the return of the Koryŏ crown prince who, as the son of a Mongol imperial princess and a Koryŏ prince, was only allowed to go to Koryŏ after the death of his father. His "return" to Koryŏ was a significant event, in particular if it is realised that the Koryŏ ruler, independent from the real power he could wield, had always been seen as the symbol of the dynasty, the focus of common worship and obedience.⁵³ Two poems about travelling and returning home across the Amnok may suffice to illustrate the continued relevance of Koryŏ's physical and symbolic borders. The first is by Chŏng Mongju 鄭夢周 (1337–92); the second by Yi Saek:

Ŭiju is the gateway to our land,
Heavily defended since old.
When was the long wall built
That meanders along the mountains and hills?
The waters of Malgal 靺鞨 flow widely
To the west, forming the border.
I have already travelled those thousand miles
Arrived here, wandering aimlessly about.
Tomorrow morning I will cross the river, going home
The sky over the Crane Field will be distant and high.⁵⁴

And:

The fragrant spring breeze blows on the traveller's way
The setting sun shines on my homeland.
In the drizzle the sound of the waves is audible
The grasses in the wide valley look cold

sives to be sent to different categories of recipients (*POHJ* 3.139–42). Often, when discussing Koryŏ's place in the world, if the Southern Court was mentioned, so was the Northern Court. Munjong was eulogised as follows: "Each year letters from the Song praising the king arrived and from the Liao embassies to congratulate him on his birthday came to Koryŏ each year. [...] He welcomed the barbarians in the north within the borders and gave them land and houses. This is why Im Wan [a 12th-century scholar] called him a saintly ruler of our country" (*KS* 9.37a–b).

50 For concrete examples, see Breuker, *Establishing a Pluralist Society in Medieval Korea*, chapter six.

51 Given the current historiographical battle over the legacies of the Manchurian states raging between China and South Korea, it is ironic to note that Song scholars also considered Parhae and its peoples, the Khitan, Liao, the Jurchen and Jin related to Koryŏ and, as such, as constituents of the North. See the Song documents in Chang Tongik, ann. and ed., *Songdae Yŏsa charyo chimnok* [Index of Koryŏ-related Articles in Song Sources] (Seoul: Sŏul taehakkyo ch'ulp'anbu, 2000), p.547.

52 For instances of Koguryŏ and Parhae described as the "northern dynasty" or "northern state", see the *Samguk sagi* [Histories of the Three Kingdoms; hereafter *SGSG*] Sŏngnam: Academy of Korean Studies, 1998, 10.116; *SGSG* 10.120, 37.360. For examples of the Jin as the "northern state", see *KMC* 52.16, 86.15 and 138.6.

53 *TMS* 111.17b–18a, 112.19a–b, 37.13b and 11.8b–9b. The king's return was likened to the coming of the Buddhist faith, which had also come from afar. For an analysis of the persona of the Koryŏ ruler, see Breuker, *Establishing a Pluralist Society in Medieval Korea*, chapter five.

54 No Sashin, ed., *Shinjŭng tongguk yŏji sŭngnam* [Newly Expanded Encyclopedia of Korean Geography; hereafter *STYS*] (Seoul: Myŏngmundang, 1981), 53.4b.

55 *STYS* 53.5a.

56 *TMS* 70.4a–5a.

57 *TMS* 70.9b–10b.

58 *TMS* 71.13b–22a; *KJF* 2.4b–12b

59 *TMS* 71.13b–22a. Yi wrote that this official Hu Zhongdan 胡宗旦 was from the Tang, but he actually came from the Song. The *History of Koryŏ* is also not very positive about Hu's role at Yejong's court,

portraying him as the archetypal arrogant foreigner only interested in his own benefit. See *KS* 14.42b–43a.

60 This did not mean that there was no room for subversion. In response to an unreasonable Yuan demand for rice, the Koryŏ court wrote back that the Koryŏ landscape was unsuitable for the transport of large amounts of rice, since it consisted of 70 per cent mountains and that accordingly, Koryŏ could not comply. *KS* 105.26b–27a.

61 William Henthorn, *The Mongol Invasions of Korea* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1963); Yun Yonghyŏk, *Koryŏ Sambyŏlch'o-ŭi tae-Mong bangjaeng* [The Resistance of the Koryŏ Three Extraordinary Watches against the Mongols] (Seoul: Ilchisa, 2000).

62 In the aftermath of six devastating Mongol invasions, the extreme Mongol demands on Koryŏ, in terms of ships, sailors and soldiers for the invasions of Japan, were too much for the economy to handle. When both invasions failed, this, moreover, meant that Koryŏ would see no return on its investments. See Henthorn, *The Mongol Invasions of Korea*, pp.194–225.

63 Elizabeth Endicott-West, “The Yüan Government and Society,” in *Alien Regimes and Border States, 987–1368*, pp.587–615. The military exploitation of Koryŏ by the Yuan (in the form of forced conscription, the merging of the Koryŏ army into the Yuan expeditionary forces, the extraction of resources and skills, and the mobilisation of much of society to serve the war effort) is eerily similar to the Japanese mobilisation of Korean resources during the Pacific War. See Carter J. Eckert, “Total War, Industrialization, and Social Change in Late Colonial Korea,” in *The Japanese Wartime Empire, 1931–1945*, ed. Peter Duus, Ramon H. Myers, and Mark R. Peattie (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996), pp.3–39. For an explicit comparison of these two periods on the Korean peninsula, see Breuker, “Colonial Modernities in the 14th Century: Empire as the Harbinger of Modernity,” in *Korea in the Middle. Korean Studies and Area Studies*, ed. Remco E. Breuker (Leiden: CNWS Publications, 2007), pp.45–66.

64 This tribute usually included paper, silver, gold, ginseng, hawks, marmots, otters, ceramics, and medicines, but more importantly also people; skilled artisans and attractive young girls. See Henthorn, *The Mongol Invasions of Korea*, pp.201–206.

65 Kuksa p'yŏnch'an wiwŏnhoe, ed., “Koryŏ hugi-ŭi chŏngch'i-wa kyŏngje [Politics and Economy in Late Koryŏ], in

If I go north, a million miles lay before me
Returning east, I will reach the Three Han.
Where now is my four-horse-drawn cart?
My face fills with embarrassment.⁵⁵

Koryŏ borders had not changed, but Koryŏ's position in the world had. Whereas before the Yuan domination of Koryŏ, Koryŏ had regarded the world through a prism that understood the world through the existence of the Southern Court, the Northern Court and the barbarians, the world had now been conquered by the Yuan. The Yuan now represented both the Southern and Northern Courts, which was expressed in late-Koryŏ writings by referring to the Mongols as Khitan or Jurchen on the one hand, and by establishing the Yuan as the new wellspring of civilisation on the other hand. Yi Kok wrote about the Yuan as a sacred empire that spread its culture and politics throughout the known world, establishing new schools everywhere, although he is at the same time quite despondent about the chances of the new learning of the Yuan being understood in Koryŏ.⁵⁶ The poem in which he stated that the past had ceased to exist (or perhaps more precisely, to matter) after the sacred Yuan had unified the world underscores this notion. The idea of the Yuan as the wellspring of civilisation was supported by daily reality. As Koryŏ's crown princes spent the first part of their lives in the Yuan capital, and Yuan domination of Koryŏ politics and its bureaucracy was far-reaching, many Koryŏ scholars also spent prolonged periods in the Yuan capital or, like intellectual great Yi Chehyŏn 李齊賢 (1287–1367), entered the Yuan bureaucracy, where they became acquainted with Neo-Confucian thought. This new role of the Yuan in the context of the absorption of Koryŏ into the Yuan empire is intriguing because it directly influenced Koryŏ's self-perception and the perception of its landscape, and hence the perception of travel. Whereas before, the Koryŏ landscape was replete with historical references, now while the Koryŏ landscape had lost nothing of its lustre, much of its historicity had disappeared. When a visitor from the Yuan visited the Diamond Mountains (Kŭmgang-san 金剛山), he was suitably impressed, exclaiming that they were spectacular, even in the context of the Yuan empire.⁵⁷ He continued his interest and financial support for a temple there after his return home. The crux here is that the Diamond Mountains now functioned in the context of the Yuan empire and had ceased to function as strongly historicised Koryŏ mountains. When Yi Kok travelled through the same mountains, he made mention of a temple and a temple bell established at the behest (and cost) of the Yuan emperor.⁵⁸ Despite the historical allusions Yi makes (in which he was an exception), it is clear that the Diamond Mountains had lost a sense of being Koryŏan; this is underscored when Yi writes some enigmatic lines about a Koryŏ official, originally from the Song, who had toured the country to wipe out, destroy or plunge into water all the historical inscriptions he could find, as if Koryŏ's history was not safe from foreigners.⁵⁹ Koryŏ's scenery had become embedded in the Yuan empire; travels within Koryŏ had become travels within the Yuan empire.⁶⁰

Whereas the Northern and Southern Courts had collapsed into the Yuan court and thus had unified Koryŏ's immediate outer world, in other respects Koryŏ's experience of the world was torn into fragments. The violence of the Mongol invasions and the traumas and socioeconomic upheavals associated with Koryŏ's forced incorporation into the Yuan empire created a situation that was in all respects colonial. The Koryŏ state had capitulated after a decades-long struggle that had all but devastated the state's economy.⁶¹ After Koryŏ's absorption into the Yuan empire, its economic circumstances did not

improve. The demands of the empire to contribute to its war machine were immense and broke the back of the state's financial and economic system.⁶² The Koryŏ bureaucracy was kept in place, but it was made subservient to the Invade the East Branch Secretariat (Zhengdong xingsheng 征東行省), a Yuan institution based in Koryŏ, or to the local Mongol overseers (*darughaci*), which, in effect, meant that Koryŏ gradually came to be indirectly ruled by a newly established colonial administration.⁶³ Economic demands extended to the requisitioning of Cheju-do 濟州島 as Mongol pasture land, heavy annual tribute and a neverending supply of young girls for the imperial and other harems.⁶⁴ At the same time, some segments in Koryŏ society—those that were well-connected in Dadu 大都—prospered; these lineages supplied the middlemen, without whom the economic interaction between Koryŏ and the Yuan would have been impossible.⁶⁵ A more positive consequence of the Yuan incorporation of Koryŏ was that Koryŏ was now part of well-established, relatively safe and open Eurasian trading networks.⁶⁶ Trade and exchange through these networks involved products, but also people, ideas and inventions. Given the fundamentally colonial nature of Koryŏ's location in the Yuan empire, however, the accessibility of trading opportunities and concomitant profits were extremely unevenly distributed and tended to benefit the Yuan considerably more than Koryŏ.

For a fair number of historians, the true end of the Koryŏ dynasty and the real beginning of the Chosŏn dynasty is located in the access gained by Koryŏ intellectuals to Yuan intellectual trends.⁶⁷ Even though it has become clear that Neo-Confucianism was known in Koryŏ before its absorption into the Yuan empire, and that a truly Neo-Confucian society only took shape centuries into Chosŏn, it is irrefutable that the unprecedented access to Yuan learning radically changed the ways Koryŏ literati looked at the world.⁶⁸ Education and careers in and exchange with the Yuan were wide open to Koryŏ scholars. Given a sufficiently deep purse, the intellectual and scholarly resources of Dadu were there for them to use. Yuan Neo-Confucianism, with its anthropocentric universe in which the goals to be achieved were explained rationally while its methods were simultaneously empirical and clothed in ancient metaphors, was extremely attractive to Koryŏ literati, for it offered them a new and supremely legitimised way of dealing with a world in which their own position had shifted dramatically. Significantly, articulated resistance against the Yuan domination of Koryŏ was mainly voiced through the application of Neo-Confucian thought. The adoption of new technologies was a double-edged sword that could be pointed at both colonised and coloniser. Although Koryŏ's internalisation of Yuan Neo-Confucianism was significantly influenced by the fact that Koryŏ literati were—as a class based in Koryŏ, not necessarily as individuals based in Dadu—seen and treated as on a level below that of Yuan literati, Koryŏ's access to the hotbeds of Neo-Confucian debate went exclusively through the Yuan. Hence, their digestion of Neo-Confucian ideology was considerably less locally inflected than when Kim Pushik had digested Song New Laws (*xinfa* 新法) thought.⁶⁹ The ideology of 12th-century intellectuals such as Kim Pushik was tied to the situation in Koryŏ to such an extent as to be positively unpalatable for Song intellectuals;⁷⁰ late Koryŏ scholars were part of a large, boundary-transcending network of intellectual exchange and, as such, their thought was much more “connected” to continental circumstances than that of their predecessors ever could have been. The colonial situation in which the Koryŏ literati found themselves precluded a self-positioning as equals to Yuan literati, which was the price that was exacted for their new “connectedness”.

Han'guksa [History of Korea] 19 (Kuksa p'yŏnch'an wiwŏnhoe: Kwach'ŏn, 1996); 14-segi Koryŏ sahoe sŏngkyŏk yŏn'guban 14-(ed.) [Research Group for 14th-Century Koryŏ Society], *14-segi Koryŏ ūi chŏngch'i-wa saboe* 14 [Politics and Society in 14th-century Koryŏ] (Seoul: Minŭmsa, 1994). Recently, an authoritative study has appeared that deals with Koryŏ's position in the Mongol Empire. See David Robinson, *Twilight of Empire: Northeast Asia under the Mongols* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2009).

66 Thomas T. Allsen, *Commodity and Exchange in the Mongol Empire: A Cultural History of Islamic Textiles* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997); Thomas T. Allsen, *Culture and Conquest in Mongol Eurasia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001). The famous Mongol postal system (*jam*) made it possible to cover up to 250 miles a day, an achievement not surpassed until the middle of the 19th century.

67 See the review article in Kuksa p'yŏnch'an wiwŏnhoe, “Sŏngnihag-ŭi chŏllae-wa suyong [Transmission and Introduction of Neo-Confucianism],” in *Han'guksa* 21 (Kwach'ŏn: Kuksa p'yŏnch'an wiwŏnhoe, 1996), pp.126–63; Chang Tongik, *Koryŏbugi oegyosa jŏn'gu* History of Diplomacy in Late Koryŏ] (Seoul: Ilchokak, 1994).

68 For the development of Confucian thought in middle to late Koryŏ, see John Duncan, “Confucianism in the Late Koryŏ and Early Chosŏn,” *Korean Studies* 18.1 (1994): pp.77–102; also see Kuksa p'yŏnch'an wiwŏnhoe, “Sŏngnihag-ŭi chŏllae-wa suyong”, pp.126–63.

69 Chŏng Sua, “Koryŏ chunggi kaehyŏk chŏngch'aek-gwa kŭ sasangjŏk paegyŏng: Puk-Song shinpŏb'-ŭi suyong-e taehan ilsiron” [The Philosophical Background To Revolutionary Policies in Middle Koryŏ: On the Transmission of the Song New Law], in *Hanguksabak nonch'ong* [Essays from the National Institute of History] ed. Such'ŏng Pak Yŏngsŏk kysu kinyŏm nonch'ong kanhaeng wiwŏnhoe, Vol.1, (Seoul: Such'ŏng Pak Yŏngsŏk kysu kinyŏm nonch'ong kanhaeng wiwŏnhoe, 1992), pp.449–66; Chŏng Sua, “Koryŏ chunggi tae-Song oegyo-ŭi chŏn'gae-wa kŭ ŭiŭi,” [Development and Significance of Middle Koryŏ Diplomacy towards the Song] *Kuksagwan nonch'ong* [Essays from the National Institute of History] 61 (1995): pp.149–73. Also see Breuker, “When Truth Is Everywhere: The Formation of Plural Identities in Medieval Korea, 918–1170” (PhD diss., Leiden University, 2006).

70 While someone such as Kim Pushik was inspired by the new developments in Song China, he (and others like him) also

realised that the solutions found in the Song would only be applicable in Song China and would rather have detrimental effects on Koryŏ if implemented there, in particular on Koryŏ's independent international course. Any policy that would benefit Koryŏ needed to be rooted in Koryŏ realities. This was precisely why Song New Law proponents were very wary of Koryŏ. In their view, Koryŏ could not be trusted since it would always prioritise its own wellbeing instead of adhering to a Song-centered view on the world. This, of course, was true.

71 Partha Chatterjee, *Nationalist Thought and the Colonial World: A Derivative Discourse?* (London: Zed Books, 1986); Chatterjee, *The Nation and Its Fragments: Colonial and Postcolonial Histories* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992).

72 Partha Chatterjee, *The Nation and its Fragments*, p.7.

73 See, for example, Kwŏn Kŭn's poem quoted in the conclusion. In it, the tension between a Koryŏ identity and Koryŏ's place in the newly established Ming empire is apparent, in particular since the poem was written at the command of the emperor.

74 TMS 70.20a–24 a.

75 ICNG 6.p. 170–173

76 TMS 69.1a–9b. This theme also recurs in other writings by Yi Chehyŏn.

77 TMS 11.8b–9b.

78 KS 105.26b–27a.

79 KS 34.7b.

Koryŏ literati, like colonial intellectuals in any age or place, worked hard at navigating between the adoption of new technologies and the (re-) construction of their own identities. Both extremes carried risks, but both were needed for Koryŏ to survive as a separate entity within the Yuan empire. The forced participation in the Yuan world had unified some of Koryŏ's previous ways of looking at the world, but fragmented many others, necessitating the construction of workable identities transversing the boundaries of the known and the novel in an environment in which active participation in an international field was enforced under the all-powerful empire. In this sense, while working with or against the exigencies of empire, depending on personal inclination, circumstance and ability, Koryŏ literati were forced to resort to what Partha Chatterjee has called “the appropriation of the inner domain of cultural identity”, while control of the outer domain was left to the Yuan.⁷¹ If full-blown resistance aimed at the immediate realisation of independence is not feasible, first and foremost, the colonised's identity needs to be reconstructed to deal effectively with their colonial situation. Koryŏ literati needed to lay claim to the inner domain of Koryŏ culture, while incorporating the technologies with which the outer domain were administered.⁷² This bifurcated approach to the construction of identity gave rise to several layers of consciousness in Koryŏ literati, as is, for instance, exemplified by the tension present in many writings of late-Koryŏ literati or the ways in which they visualised a new society to be constructed in the place of Koryŏ.⁷³

As perhaps the most articulate scholar of this period, Yi Chehyŏn's understanding of Koryŏ's position under the Yuan is illuminating. Broadly sketching his argument by stating that order follows chaos and chaos order, he explained that the world was already old and used to be divided into the Song or the Southern Court, and Liao and Jin in the north. Now, however, all fighting had been ended by the Yuan. Koryŏ had been rescued from its military overlords, the Ch'oe House 崔氏, by the Yuan.⁷⁴ In another text, Yi explained that Koryŏ was older than the Yuan, recalling the unification of the peninsula under T'aejo Wang Kŏn in 935 and arguing for a position of independence for Koryŏ within the borders of the Yuan empire.⁷⁵ Yi used a historical anecdote dating from the very beginning of Koryŏ-Mongol relations as a template for the entire relationship. When, in the middle of the 13th century, a group of Khitan was chased by Mongol troops into Koryŏ territory, the Mongols requested and received Koryŏ assistance in defeating the Khitan. The co-operation between the two countries had on that occasion been smooth and had been concluded with a pledge to treat one another as brothers, with the Mongols in the role of eldest brother. In the context of the Yuan empire, a brotherly relationship between Koryŏ and the Yuan was ideal, according to Yi.⁷⁶

In reality, this was but the aborted dream of a colonised mind and there was no such ideal relationship. Under the supervision of the Yuan, the Koryŏ ruler married a Yuan imperial princess to his designated heir, and stayed behind with her in Dadu until his enthronement.⁷⁷ For the first time in Koryŏ history, its rulers were truly kings, subordinated to the Son of Heaven, both in theory and in daily reality. The economic burden on Koryŏ was heavy, hence its appeals to the peculiarities of Koryŏ geography in order to evade rice levies.⁷⁸ When King Ch'ungsuk 忠肅王 (r. 1313–30, 1332–39) toured the country with Yi Chehyŏn and instructed him to dedicate a volume of prose on the beauty of the landscape, the object of their travels had been to find the best ink for the Yuan Emperor and not the celebration of Koryŏ's scenery.⁷⁹ The Yuan demand for young girls also prompted literati to write

sad, resigned poems dedicated to the girls destined to go to the Yuan.⁸⁰ The overall melancholic tone of travelogues and poetry alike is readily understandable and contrasts sharply with the tone of texts written on the occasion of the forced travel of the court to Kanghwa-do 江華島 at the beginning of the Mongol invasions. At that time, despite the rather desperate circumstances, a famous poem by Ch'oe Cha 崔滋 (1188–1260) expressed obvious pride in Koryŏ's literary, military and bureaucratic traditions, and the move of the capital was praised as a chance for a new start, the revitalisation of the dynasty, which Ch'oe Cha emphasised with strong reference to Koryŏ's long history.⁸¹

It would be wrong, however, to completely read this melancholic tone into the travelogue of An Ch'uk. The absence of strong historical content in this travelogue and others like it is, in itself, certainly not negative. Late-Koryŏ admiration for Yuan Neo-Confucianism and the promises its application and relevance in Koryŏ held was as real as the earlier Koryŏ admiration for Liao cultural achievements had been. But whereas Ch'oe Cha had seen a chance at revitalisation in the context of Koryŏ's illustrious history, scholars like An Ch'uk saw the same chance by ridding Koryŏ of its by now burdensome history. As such, the personalisation and dehistoricising of the travel experience carries significance beyond the act of travelling itself. Many late-Koryŏ and early-Chosŏn travelogues (the boundaries are blurred) seem to be introverted to a high degree; the subject matter is restricted not even to one's own country, but to the immediate circle of one's own friends and acquaintances.⁸² The factors behind this change are complicated and diverse, but one ideological factor may be mentioned here. When Yi Kok had written about Koryŏ having been rescued from its military rulers by the Yuan, he did so in the context of a commemorative piece in honour of a high-Koryŏ official called Cho Ingyu 趙仁規.⁸³ Cho had dedicated his life to the Yuan and was, according to Yi, not considered to be Koryŏan by Khubilai Khan, on account of his fluency in Chinese and Mongolian languages and customs. This anecdote may serve as a metaphor for the great ideological changes that took place in Koryŏ during this period. Cho had distanced himself from what, in the eyes of Khubilai, was typical for Koryŏans, and became fluent in Chinese and Mongolian in order to incorporate a new way of seeing the world and behaving accordingly. He was the perfect colonial official. Similarly, scholars and literati of late Koryŏ had distanced themselves from the many historical relationships that had shaped their predecessors' perception of the Koryŏ landscape in order to take part in the new civilisation the Yuan offered Koryŏ and reap the rewards of a chance at a new society. Given the colonial context, this was, of course, a Janus-faced opportunity. Safeguarding Koryŏ's identity as an independent community and simultaneously adopting the Yuan's technologies did not go together without serious friction. In a way, it would be no exaggeration to say that the state of Chosŏn was partly born out of such friction.

Conclusion

Ironically perhaps, it must be concluded that the Yuan domination of Koryŏ did not give rise to the emergence of a Koryŏ nation, as is habitually argued, but rather the opposite.⁸⁴ It also gave birth to a new conception of travel and appreciation of the Koryŏ landscape. Perhaps works such as the *Memorabilia of the Three Kingdoms*, which emphasises the intimate relationship between man, landscape and history to an extreme extent, should

80 TMS 18.13a–b.

81 TMS 2.1a–5b

82 *Ch'ŭn sokchip* 2.7a–27a.

83 TMS 70.20a–24 a.

84 Michael Rogers has argued the opposite, noting that the Tan'gun 檀君 myth emerged during the Mongol period, which differed from earlier myths in that it enveloped the entire peninsula and its population. I strongly disagree. The emergence of the Tan'gun myth during this period also needs reconsideration because its precursors can be found in earlier periods, but I mainly disagree because the Koryŏ community, or the Three Han community, was in possession of constitutive political myths that fulfilled the function the Tan'gun myth is thought to have served. The Tan'gun myth only became important much later in peninsular history. For a detailed argument, see Breuker, *Establishing a Pluralist Society in Medieval Korea*, chapters one to four. Also see Michael C. Rogers, "National Consciousness in Medieval Korea: The Impact of Liao and Chin on Koryŏ," in *China Among Equals: The Middle Kingdom and Its Neighbors, 10th to 14th Centuries*, pp.151–72 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), ed. Morris Rossabi.

85 Iryŏn 一蓮, the author of the *Memorabilia of the Three Kingdoms* was, after all, a high-ranking monk whose institutional and religious affiliations precluded him from embracing those aspects of Yuan civilisation that contemporary and later Koryŏ scholars embraced. The many accounts of travel and pilgrimage and the absence of interest in contemporary Koryŏ would certainly seem to point in this direction.

86 Duncan has shown that in the transition from Koryŏ to Chosŏn, there was no historical rupture with regard to the ruling class. The majority of the lineages that had belonged to the traditional ruling class in Koryŏ, appeared in the same role in the early Chosŏn dynasty. See John B. Duncan, *The Origins of the Chosŏn Dynasty* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2000).

87 STYS 53.4b.

be understood against this background; if anything, the *Memorabilia of the Three Kingdoms* stands out for its almost obsessive recording of the histories associated with places and the places associated with historical tales.⁸⁵ Despite the *communis opinio* in contemporary scholarship on the late-Koryŏ that sees this period in terms of national identity formation, many of the expressions relatable to forms of national consciousness disappeared during this period and were replaced by a tense and ambiguous reconfiguration of their position in the Yuan empire. This is not to say that national identity disappeared, merely that the form in which Koryŏ identity had been expressed until the period of Mongol domination was altered radically. Koryŏ identity was refashioned to survive under colonial conditions. As a result, it changed rather decisively. As travelogues and other writings from late Koryŏ show, the unification of the peninsula in 935, the historical borders of the peninsula, and Koryŏ's venerable age when compared to the Yuan remained important, but now, necessarily within the Yuan empire, which had become an unavoidable point of reference after the disappearance of the Northern and Southern Courts. Although it is impossible to speak of a historical rupture at this moment, for research into the transition from Koryŏ to Chosŏn has convincingly shown that there was little of a rupture,⁸⁶ we should, perhaps, speak of an ideological rupture (which included a wholesale cultural reorientation) that was first made possible during the period of Mongol domination, and was confirmed and made permanent with the ideological transition to a Neo-Confucian state.

Travel and landscape in Koryŏ possessed different modalities during different periods. Koryŏ's absorption into the Yuan empire positioned Koryŏ within this empire, but also without a significant part of Koryŏ's historical experience. Finally, this led to a radically different and colonised form of self-perception, perhaps suitably expressed by Kwŏn Kŭn 權近 (1352–1409), a scholar born during the late-Koryŏ period and one of early Chosŏn's most important ideologues. In ambiguously wishing both the ideological and geographical boundaries between China and the peninsula to disappear, Kwŏn Kŭn illustrated this point very well in a poem on the Amnok river, written on command of the Ming emperor:

The villages at the border are cold, the trees old
 The river, long as a root, keeps Liaoyang at a distance
 The imperial virtue does not distinguish between Chinese and barbarians
 So how could geography keep our territories divided?
 Leaving the rocking of my small boat to the waves
 I look with pleasure at the sun shining at even the remotest places
 Who knows the busy, busy intentions of these comings and goings?
 I shall tell my lord the message of the emperor.⁸⁷

Koryŏ was undoubtedly part of the Yuan empire in many aspects. With regard to its self-perception, the conclusion is inevitable that Koryŏ was positioned well within the boundaries of the Mongol empire. As any colonised community, however, it simultaneously took trouble to remain there and to imagine itself without the empire. The rather stark contrast this offers with how Koryŏ viewed itself before the Mongol empire is indicative of the changes in *Weltanschauung* that occurred during and after the Mongol invasions of Koryŏ. The ambiguity of mental borders, which had been the hallmark of Koryŏ's *Weltanschauung*, sharply decreased, while the ambiguity of the physical borders of the peninsula, largely absent until the Mongol invasions, increased under Koryŏ's incorporation in the Yuan empire. In the end, this meant that Koryŏ physically came to be positioned within

the empire, with unrestricted access to its cultural resources, but to a large extent also outside of its own historical experiences. The reconfiguration of its own identity under colonial conditions precluded the unchanged preservation of its historical memories. Given the strong association of those historical memories with pre-Yuan Koryŏ's ideological world, it was, perhaps, inevitable that the social, political, economic and ideological transformations under Mongol tutelage together with the earnest desire of Koryŏ literati for ideological and social change and for the realisation of independence would involve the distancing of a significant part of Koryŏ's particularistic historical memories. Only by doing so could Koryŏ's mountains be visited and appreciated as phenomena whose "underlying principle is located at the level of meticulous perception and must apprehended with the mind".

Forcibly placed within the Mongol empire but simultaneously imagining itself outside of it, Koryŏ's diplomats and scholars no longer travelled to the capitals of the Southern Court and Northern Court, but could simply travel to Dadu. Ultimately, the conflation of the Southern Court and the Northern Court into the Yuan brought with it not only a significant simplification of travel routes for Koryŏ diplomats, but also radical changes in their view of the world, their landscape and themselves.

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REFLECTIONS ON THE TOWER OF THE CRIMSON CLOUDS AND THE HISTORY OF THE PRIVATE LIBRARY IN LATE-IMPERIAL CHINA

 *Duncan M. Campbell*

And collecting books may also serve to attract friends 藏書可以邀友
Cao Rong 曹溶 (1613–85)¹

The ancient library was simply a place to store books 古代圖書館不過是藏書的地方
Li Dazhao 李大釗 (1888–1927)²

In diverse ways and for readers and writers alike (as much as for painters and calligraphers as well), the late-imperial private library in China played a central role in intellectual, literary, and artistic developments. Quintessential embodiments of the cultural prestige of their owners, they served to attract to their doors scholars needing access to specific works or writings unavailable to them elsewhere, thus enabling various forms of intellectual work, and providing also the site for the sharing and discussion of ideas.³

In spite of the centrality of this role, however, the private library seems badly served by contemporary histories of the library in China. To the extent to which such histories give the private library any consideration at all, they tend, largely, either to restrict themselves to the consideration of only the bibliographical or antiquarian dimensions of the topic, or they consign the entire pre-modern history of the various types of Chinese library to a brief introductory section intended to illustrate the absolute rupture between the modern and the traditional library.⁴ In this context, the traditional private library, in Chinese usually now referred to as *cangshulou* 藏書樓, a term often understood merely to intend a “book repository”, and the habits of mind and practises of management associated over time with it, is characterised as inadequate from a number of perspectives.⁵ When broadly summarised, such inadequacies tend to revolve around, first, the issue of the use to which their books were put. Second, inadequacy is also said to characterise the issue of access to their collections. In other words, it is frequently argued that late-imperial Chinese reading habits were overly determined by the constrained intellectual needs of the imperial examination system and that

I am grateful for the comments made on this paper by its two anonymous readers.

1 Interlinear commentary to an item in Zhang Chao's (b. 1649) *Youmengying* [Quiet Dream Shadows], for which, see *Zhaodai congsbu* [Collectanea for This Glorious Age] (1697–1849; reprint. Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1990), Vol.4, p.3209. The item to which this comment is attached reads: “Cultivating flowers may attract butterflies, arranging rocks may attract the clouds, growing pine trees may attract the wind, damming water may attract the duckweed, constructing a terrace may attract the moon, planting plantain may attract the rain, and the planting of willows may attract the cicadas”.

2 “Zai Beijing gaodeng shifan xuexiao tushuguan er zhounian jinianhui shang de yanshuoci” [Speech at the Commemorative Meeting Celebrating the 2nd Anniversary of the Establishment of the Library of the Beijing Tertiary Normal College], *Pingmin jiaoyu* 1919 (10).

3 My thinking about the various functions of the private library in late-imperial China has been influenced by Anthony Grafton, “Rare Book Collection in the Age of the Library Without Walls,” in *Collectors, Collections and Scholarly Culture*, eds Anthony Grafton, Deanna Marcum, and Jean Strouse. American Council of Learned Societies Occasional Paper No.48, pp.9–16. Speaking of the Vatican Library, Grafton says that for almost two centuries this library served as “... a repository of the rare and wonderful, an arsenal

of powerful knowledge, and a meeting place for the learned" (p.12).

4 Somewhat atypically, if still essentially teleological in approach, Gong Yitai and G.E. Gorman, *Libraries and Information Services in China* (Lanham and London: The Scarecrow Press, 2000) give grudging recognition of the traditional library. After a brief discussion of this 2000-year-long tradition, they conclude: "On the whole, libraries were restricted to the basic activities of collection, collation, and compilation. They were storage buildings, serving to preserve cultural heritage. For the most part, they were associated with the imperial court, palace, or temple, and controlled by the ruling class. Nevertheless, these embryonic libraries both contributed to the preservation of China's cultural heritage and laid the groundwork for the development of modern libraries and librarianship in China" (p.17). Wu Xi, whose work I discuss below, for instance, speaks of the history of the private library in China as having been "ruptured" (*zhongduan* 中斷) by the arrival of the modern period: "... the private library (*cangshulou*) became extinct, they were certainly not transformed into something else".

5 See, for example, Jinhong Tang, "Educational Reform and the Emergence of Modern Libraries in China with Special Reference to the Metropolitan Library of Beijing, 1909–1937" (PhD diss., University of Western Sydney, 2004). Patricia Herbert, "From Shuku to Tushuguan: An Historical Overview of the Organisation and Function of Libraries in China," *Papers on Far Eastern History* 22 (1980): 93–121 too, although never explicitly addressing the term, concludes that: "... the library in imperial China was primarily a repository of traditional learning and culture" (p.120). The term presently used for "library" (*tushuguan* 圖書館) was first employed in 1896; from 1903 onwards, this term replaced the older terms used previously in all official documents.

6 *Libraries & Culture* 39.2 (2004): 161–74, at p.164. Liao Jing strikes an even more extraordinary note in the conclusion to this article; "In many ways, the genesis of the modern library in China was singular. It was unique because it involved more conflict and struggle than in many other cultures. Ironically, the source of the trouble lay precisely in the existence of China's great cultural tradition and in the belief in Chinese cultural supremacy to which such a tradition gave rise. As a result, it was only through fortuitous circumstances (such as the fall of China to Western imperial powers and the subsequent collapse of traditional belief) that the modern Chinese library was born"

private book collections were closed to all but the family members or close associates of the collector.

On this second point, especially, contemporary Chinese historians have been particularly severe. Liao Jing, for instance, in "The Genesis of the Modern Academic Library in China: Western Influences and Chinese Response", argues that "... the long tradition of Chinese librarianship was an obstacle" to the library reform of the modern period; "For thousands of years, libraries in China functioned practically as book repositories. The majority of book collectors believed deeply that book collections were private property and hence should not be shared with the public. It is true that there were a few isolated historical periods when the imperial library and the libraries of private academies made their collections accessible to the concerned public. But serving the public was never a clearly articulated ideal or an established library practice in traditional China".⁶

In Chinese, this view of the history of the private library has been most forcibly asserted by Wu Xi 吳晞, particularly in his short but highly influential interpretive history, *Cong cangshulou dao tushuguan* 從藏書樓到圖書館, the title of which, in keeping with its own line of reasoning, can only be translated as *From Book Repository to Library*, and in the preliminaries of which he argues that these institutions represent "two entirely different things, the natures of which were entirely dissimilar". "The old-style Chinese book repository", he argues, "lacked entirely the facility that would allow it to develop and evolve into the modern library; this essential lack being the element of an openness to society, and thus it could not become the progenitor of the new-style library". Wu's particular concern seems to be that there should remain no misapprehension about the origins of the modern library in China: "China's libraries were the product of the introduction of Western thought and culture into China; the history of the Chinese library only begins with the acceptance of Western library science and management practices". To his mind, the recognition of the "imported" nature of the institution is critical, historiographically: "Only once we demarcate the Chinese library as having been born after the creation of modern society is research into the history of Chinese libraries lent a clarity and distinction of both scope and direction".⁷

Wu adduces, briefly, two case studies to support his case that the "essential feature" of the "book repositories" was their "inaccessibility" (*fengbixing* 封閉性): the first is Qi Chenghan's 祁承爍 (1568–1628) instructions to his sons and grandsons about the maintenance of the library that he has so painstakingly assembled during the late years of the Ming 明 dynasty; the other is the much-cited comment made by Ruan Yuan 阮元 (1764–1849) in his "Preface" to the catalogue of the holdings of the Pavilion of Heaven's Oneness (*Tianyi ge* 天一閣) in Ningbo about the onerous family regulations governing access to its stacks. I believe this evidence, found much repeated throughout the secondary literature, is both overstated and incomplete as a true insight into the actual workings of these libraries within their own late-imperial context.

A recent and somewhat more nuanced and sustained treatment of the relationship between books and collectors, libraries and scholarship, Cheng Huanwen's 程煥文 *The History of Library Science in China in the Late Qing Dynasty, 1840–1911* (*Wan Qing tushuguan xueshu sixiang shi* 晚清圖書館學術思想史), departs from this discourse of inadequacy only in its details; indeed, speaking of Wu's work, Cheng argues that it is "replete with unique and correct insight".⁸

To what extent does this general characterisation of the inadequacy of the traditional private library hold true when the actual workings of specific and individual libraries of the late-imperial period in China are examined in any detail? What can the “affective histories” of these institutions in all their intellectual and the emotional dimensions tell us about the scholarly world of late-imperial China, a world underpinned by a network, in the Jiangnan region alone, of over 500 private libraries.⁹ In an earlier treatment of some of the issues at play here, I traced in outline the progression of one particular late-imperial reader, the thinker Huang Zongxi 黃宗羲 (1610–95), through a number of libraries over the course of the cataclysmic period of dynastic transition between the Ming (1368–1644) and Qing 清 (1644–1911) dynasties.¹⁰ In this paper, I look more closely at the history of one of the Jiangnan libraries Huang Zongxi visited. Walter Benjamin, in his essay “Unpacking My Library: A Talk about Book Collecting”, speaks about offering “some insight into the relationship of a book collector to his possessions, into collecting rather than a collection”.¹¹ It is a relationship to objects, he goes on to say, “which does not emphasise their functional, utilitarian value—that is, their usefulness—but studies and loves them as the scene, the stage, of their fate” (p.60). In seventeenth-century China, that scene or stage where books, their collectors and their scholarly readers and writers most frequently and productively came together was the private library. Far from being the inert repositories where books were simply stored away, as implied by much of the secondary literature (and stated by the great modern librarian Li Dazhao in the epigraph to this paper), the private library, even one relatively more inaccessible than many, was a lively and productive space. This paper will attempt to illustrate the extent to which this was so by focusing its attention on the history of the Tower of the Crimson Clouds (*Jiangyun lou* 絳雲樓), the library built in Yushan 虞山 by the foremost literary and intellectual figure of his age, Qian Qianyi 錢謙益 (1582–1664).¹²

To anticipate the conclusions I suggest in this paper, the life of this particular library contradicts the prevailing characterisation of the failings of the traditional private library. Given the relatively small size of the scholarly elite in China in the seventeenth century, and the degree to which their interactions were largely constrained by a range of regional, organisational, and, particularly during the seventeenth century, factional considerations, as far as we can now reconstruct it, use of the holdings of Qian’s library actually seems quite high. Qian’s relationship with a local printer (Mao Jin 毛晉, 1599–1659)¹³ meant that on occasion both the holdings and the products of

on a language of darkness versus light, this imaginary division in library history pivots on a set of similar oppositions: closing versus opening, imprisoning versus liberating, and hoarding versus sharing. The library spaces of the past are paradigmatically places of dust and disorder; borrowing the moral valences that inflect the medieval/Renaissance divide, they are dark spaces awaiting illumination”, for which see, *Memory’s Library: Medieval Books in Early Modern England* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2008), p.234. As represented in contemporary scholarship, the modern Chinese library is, as Summit puts it in her book, made “an institutional symbol of both the nation’s self-conscious break from its past and its effort to rebuild a new national identity” (p.3). As is the case with Summit’s work, this paper is actuated by the belief that “... libraries demonstrate that reading and writing are embodied activities, whose particular meanings are shaped by the material and history-bound spaces and structures in which they take place” (p.6).

8 *Wan Qing tushuguan xueshu sixiang shi* (Beijing: Beijing tushuguan chubanshe, 2004).

9 I borrow this term from Dipesh Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2000), p.18.

10 Duncan M. Campbell, “The Moral Status of the Book: Huang Zongxi in the Private Libraries of Late-Imperial China,” *East Asian History* 32/33 (December 2006/June 2007): 1–24. A recent article in Chinese, too, traces something of his progression through the book collections of Jiangnan: Zhao Yonggang, “Huang Zongxi yu Qingdai cangshulou” [Huang Zongxi and the Private Libraries of the Qing Dynasty] 1 (2012): 79–82. For a short English-language biography of Huang Zongxi (by Tu Lien-che), see A.W. Hummel, ed., *Eminent Chinese of the Ch’ing Period (1644–1912)* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1943) (hereafter *ECCP*), pp.351–55.

11 Hannah Arendt, ed., Harry Zohn, trans., *Illuminations* (New York: Schocken Books, 1969), p.60.

12 For a brief English-language biography of this remarkable if problematical figure, see *ECCP*, pp.148–50. For a recent discussion of Qian Qianyi and the issue of his posthumous reputation, see Kang-i Sun Chang, “Qian Qianyi and His Place in History,” in eds Wilt L. Idema, Wai-ye Li, and Ellen Widmer, *Trauma and Transcendence in Early Qing Literature* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2006), pp.199–218.

(pp.171–72). In a subsequent article, “The Contributions of Nineteenth-Century Christian Missionaries to Chinese Library Reform,” *Libraries & the Cultural Record* 41.3 (2006): 360–71, at 360, Liao Jing restates this view: “Traditionally, book collections were highly valued by the Chinese, but the library was synonymous only with a book repository. Believing that books could bring them economic benefits and cultural capital if not direct political power, imperial rulers and literati spared no expense collecting books, but their collections were closed to the general reading public”. The word “public” in these quotations, otherwise undefined, seems particularly anachronistic in this context.

7 Wu Xi, *Cong cangshulou dao tushuguan* [From Book Repository to Library] (Beijing: Shumu wenxian chubanshe, 1996), pp.1–4. In her recent treatment of the history of libraries in England, Jennifer Summit addresses, in a different context, similar historiographical issues: “But in the burgeoning literature addressing the future of the library there has been a strikingly widespread tendency to misrepresent the library’s past, as if the promise of the new must be purchased at the cost of understanding the old, which is repeatedly archaized and disowned. In a gesture that is continually replayed, the new library is set against, and made to vanquish, the old, a gesture that borrows from the paradigmatic break with the past that divides ‘medieval’ from ‘Renaissance.’ Just as the medieval/Renaissance divide rests

13 On whom, see *ECCP*, pp.565–66. For an excellent discussion of this important publisher, see Miao Yonghe, *Mingdai chubanshe* [A Draft History of Publishing During the Ming Dynasty] (Nanjing: Jiangsu renmin chubanshe), pp.111–32.

14 Joseph P. McDermott, *A Social History of the Chinese Book: Books and Literati Culture in Late Imperial China* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2006) presents a somewhat less forgiving view of Qian Qianyi as a library owner than the one given in this paper: “Despite the warm words he showered on others who shared their books (e.g. Li Rui [1557–1630], whose books he would borrow), he failed to return books borrowed from others; he also prevented all guests to his library from borrowing his books and leaving it with even a sheet of notes” (p.140).

15 On whom see *ECCP*, p.740. In a series of meticulously researched and beautifully written articles, Xie Zhengguang (Andrew C.K. Hsieh) discusses the network of relationships that this man established with scholars who chose, by contrast, to remain loyal to the memory of the Ming dynasty, for which see *Qingchu shiwen yu shiren jiaoyou kao* [Studies of Early Qing Prose and Poetry and of Scholarly Friendships] (Nanjing: Nanjing daxue chubanshe, 2001), especially pp.182–339.

16 For a brief biography of this extraordinary woman in English (by Fang Chaoying), see *ECCP*, pp.529–30; in Chinese, see the remarkable biography by Chen Yinke, *Liu Rushi biezhuàn* [An Alternative Biography of Liu Rushi] (Beijing: Sanlian shidian, 2001). Chen Yinke discusses aspects of the history of the library (its site, its design, and its eventual fate) in *Liu Rushi biezhuàn*, Vol.2, pp.820–32. The secondary literature on this particular biography and its author is now voluminous; for a recent English-language discussion, see Wen-hsin Yeh, “Historian and Courtesan: Chen Yinke and the Writing of *Liu Rushi biezhuàn*,” *East Asian History* 27 (2004): 57–70.

17 For which see the biography written by Shen Qiu, “Hedongjun zhuan” [A Biography of Liu Rushi, Lord of the East of the River], in Gu Huizhi ed., *Liu Rushi shiwen ji* [A Collection of the Poetry and Prose of Liu Rushi] (Beijing: Xinhua shidian, 1996), p.227.

18 For a characteristically insightful exegesis of a number of poems Qian addressed to Liu, see Wai-ye Li, “Heroic Transformations: Women and National Trauma in Early Qing Literature,” *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 59.2 (1999): 363–443.

19 On whom, see L. Carrington Goodrich and Chaoying Fang, eds, *Dictionary of Ming Biography, 1368–1644* (New York:

his library quickly (and exquisitely) became available to a wider public.¹⁴ Furthermore, of the users of the library that I discuss below, the scholarship of both Qian himself and Cao Rong was certainly not directed at examination success, both having long overcome that particular hurdle.¹⁵ As a woman, Liu Rushi 柳如是 (1618–64), for whom the library was built, was entirely excluded from the examination process by reason of her gender, whilst Huang Zongxi refused to participate in the examinations due to his opposition both to the ruling house and to the system itself.¹⁶

The story of this library is both a remarkable and a profoundly moving one. From both an historical and a personal perspective, one cannot imagine a less propitious moment for Qian Qianyi to have established his library. By the winter of 1643, when the building itself had been completed, rebel armies under the command of Li Zicheng 李自成 (1605–45) and Zhang Xianzhong 張獻忠 (1605–47) had occupied much of the north and the south of China respectively. The troops of the Manchu claimants to the throne loomed ominously in the far north. In the twelfth month, Qian Qianyi's closest friend, the poet and painter Cheng Jiasui 程嘉燧 (1565–1643) died at his home in Xin'an 新安. By the nineteenth day of the third month of the following year, the Northern Capital had fallen to Li Zicheng and the Chongzhen 崇禎 emperor had hung himself from a tree on Longevity Mountain 萬壽山. By the next month, the Qing troops had broken through Shanhai Pass 山海關, and in the fifth month they, in their turn, occupied Beijing. By the fifth month of the following year, when the Qing authorities occupied the Southern Capital, Qian Qianyi, then serving as Minister in the Ministry of Rites (*Libu shangshu* 禮部尚書) and dressed in his court robes, surrendered. Despite such circumstances, however, the book collection assembled in the Tower of the Crimson Clouds proved to be the finest and most carefully chosen private collection assembled during the course of the Ming and Qing dynasties.

The life (and subsequent tragic loss) of this library was inextricably associated with the consummation of Qian Qianyi's celebrated, if scandalous, love affair with Liu Rushi, a “singsong girl of Wujiang”, and the sale of a single book. Liu was in her 23rd year when, during the winter of 1640, she paid a call at Qian's Half Rustic Hall (*Banyetang* 半野堂), dressed as a man and travelling unaccompanied on a skiff; he was 58. “I will not marry anybody less talented than Scholar Qian of Mount Yu”, she is somewhat unreliably reported as having said. He for his part, having met her, is reported as saying: “I will not marry anyone less able to write poetry than Liu Shi”.¹⁷ By the sixth month of the succeeding year, the two had married, in the face of opposition from the clan of Qian's first wife.¹⁸

The book sold, in order to build the library, was a Song-dynasty宋 imprint of the two histories of the Han dynasty 漢 that had once belonged to the eminent scholar and man-of-letters Wang Shizhen 王世貞 (1526–90), and which Qian had finally acquired after much effort some twenty years previously for 1200 *taels*.¹⁹ As Qian himself tells us in his “Note Appended to the Song Dynasty Imprint of the History of the Two Han Dynasties which I Once Owned” (*Shu jiu cang Song diao liang Han shu hou* 書舊藏宋雕兩漢書後), Wang Shizhen had obtained this book in exchange for an estate; Qian was to sell it at a loss of 200 *taels* to his student Xie Sanbin 謝三賓 in 1643 in order to build Crimson Clouds for Liu Rushi.²⁰

The lives (and posthumous reputations) of all those associated with this library were irrevocably altered by the collapse of the political order with the fall of the Ming dynasty in 1644 and its replacement by the Qing; by

serving in office on both sides of this cataclysmic divide, both Qian Qianyi himself and his friend and associate Cao Rong earned themselves both the contempt of their contemporaries and,²¹ later, the undying infamy of being included in the (*Imperially Ordered National History*) *Biographies of the Twice-Serving Officials* [Qinding guoshi] *erchen zhuan* 欽定國史貳臣傳), ordered by the Qianlong emperor (r. 1736–96).²² The section of this work that included the biography of Qian Qianyi (*Yi* 乙) was given over to those men considered “unmeritorious” because they had established no record of service, had committed offences or had otherwise collaborated with anti-Manchu remnants; Cao Rong, for his part, was included in the first section (*Jia* 甲) of the work, along with the other biographies of men considered in some way or another “meritorious”. Qianlong seems to have harboured a particular animus for Qian Qianyi in fact, repeatedly proscribing his writings, fortunately to no lasting effect.²³ On the other hand, the poet Liu Rushi (who, as a young woman, had briefly been intimate with Cao Rong, and who ended up married to Qian Qianyi, and who tried to persuade him to preserve his reputation by committing suicide at the fall of the dynasty) has become a paragon of both the talented courtesan and the Ming loyalist. Her suicide shortly after Qian’s death in 1664, although apparently unrelated directly to issues of loyalty and reputation, serves to lend this sad story an additional layer of tragedy. Huang Zongxi, whose father, Huang Zunsu 黃尊素 (1584–1626) had died at the hands of the eunuch faction at court, nonetheless loyally served the various Southern Ming courts in various capacities until the life of his mother was threatened by his activities, whereupon, in 1649, he retired home to devote himself to scholarship and refusing any engagement with the new dynastic rulers.

“Not all book collections are created equal,” Qian Qianyi’s great-great-nephew Qian Zeng 錢曾 (1629–ca. 1699), himself an important book collector and inheritor of those books that remained of the Crimson Clouds collection, was later to say, “there are readers’ book collections and then there are collectors’ book collections”.²⁴ In these terms, his great-great-uncle’s collection was most emphatically that of a reader (*dushuzhe zhi jushu* 讀書者之聚書). Qian Qianyi’s library was based on the acquisition of the core holdings of four earlier great Ming private collections and was a comparatively small one, totalling only around 3000 titles. It was highly selective, however, and comprised almost exclusively rare Song- and Yuan-dynasty 元 imprints.²⁵

What can we now discover about the actual workings of this extraordinary library? Fortunately, we have the accounts of a number of the people who made use of its holdings. For his part, for instance, in his “Inscription to the Catalogue of the Crimson Clouds Collection”, written some years after Qian’s death, Cao Rong had this to say about the Master of the Tower of the Crimson Clouds:

During the *dingbai* [1647] and the *wuzi* [1648] years, when we both happened to be living back in the Wu region, he would often visit me. Whenever we discussed a book, he was able to speak in detail about both the old and new editions of the work, and the various differences between them; when we looked out the books themselves to test the veracity of what he had said, we would invariably find that he had been correct to the smallest particular. There was not a book that he seemed not to have read; how very different he was to those who claim to love books but who leave them sitting on the highest shelves! And yet he was prone also to his own extreme prejudices, two of which are illustrative of the extent to which he was not entirely in the thrall of the ancients. First, he himself collected only Song and Yuan dynasty editions and would not touch either imprints or

Columbia University Press, 1970) (hereafter *DMB*), Vol.2, pp.1399–405.

20 Qian Zhonglian, ed., *Qian Muzhai quanji* [Complete Works of Qian Qianyi] (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2003), Vol.6, pp.1529–530. This book had previously been owned by the eminent Yuan-dynasty painter and calligrapher Zhao Mengfu 趙孟頫 (1254–1322). In an earlier note on the book, dated 1643, Qian had written: “To find oneself with no money left in one’s purse is the most dispiriting thing in life. The day on which that book left my hands was a day that was extremely hard for me to endure, this desolate scene perhaps approximating that witnessed when, having lost his kingdom, Li Yu 李煜 [937–78], the last Emperor of the Southern Tang Dynasty, heard the line: ‘Facing the imperial concubines I wipe away my tears’ drifting in the air towards him from the Music Office”, for which see “Ba Qian Hou Han shu” [Colophon on the Histories of the Former and the Latter Han Dynasty], Qian Zhonglian, ed., *Qian Muzhai quanji*, Vol.3, p.1781. In a note later added to this colophon, Qian continued: “Master Li Weizhen’s 李維楨 [1547–1626] brother Li Weizhu 李維柱, whose calligraphy was modeled on that of Yan Zhenqing 顏真卿 [709–85], once told me that: ‘Were I ever to get hold of that copy of the *History of the Han Dynasty* formerly owned by Zhao Mengfu I would burn incense and pray in front of it every day, insisting that it be buried with me when I die’. His words made me deeply ashamed of what I had done” (p.1781).

21 Both men were listed by Shen Binghu 沈冰壺 as being amongst the “five unworthy men of Jiangsu and Zhejiang, all of whom proved both shameless and totally without scruple” (*Jiang Zhe wu bu xiao jie mengmianguanjiang ren* 江浙五不肖皆蒙面灌漿人), for which, see Xie Zhengguang, *Qingchu shiwen yu shiren jiaoyou kao*, pp.222–23.

22 On this work in particular, and the historiographical issues associated with this dynastic transition more generally, see Lynn A. Struve, *The Ming-Qing Conflict, 1619–1683: A Historiography and Source Guide* (Ann Arbor: Association of Asian Studies, 1998). For these biographies, see *Qing shi liezhuan* [Biographies from the History of the Qing Dynasty] (Taipei: Zhonghua shuju, 1983), *juan* 78: 51b–53b (Cao) and *juan* 79: 33b–35a (Qian). Neither biography mentions the book collecting activities of these two men.

23 “Qian Qianyi is a man of some talent but no virtue” (*Qian Qianyi ben yi you cai wu xing zhi ren* 錢謙益本一有才無行之人), the emperor declared in 1769. Edicts ban-

ning Qian's writings were issued in 1770, 1775, 1776, 1777, 1778 and twice in 1781. For a treatment of this issue, see Luther Carrington Goodrich, *The Literary Inquisition of Ch'ien-lung* (Reprint. New York: Paragon Books, 1966). On the transmission of Qian's writings nonetheless, see Hellmut Wilhelm, "Bibliographical Notes on Ch'ien Ch'ien-i," *Monumenta Serica* 7(1942): 196–207. Of the impact of the inquisition, Wilhelm writes: "One would think that a nation-wide persecution such as this might have resulted in a serious loss of literary material, but actually Qianlong's inquisition was a failure. All the more important writings of Qian have outlived this persecution, and those which have been lost succumbed not to political but to natural calamities; the accidental burning of Qian's library, for example" (pp.196–98; romanisation altered).

24 For a short English-language biography of this man, see *ECCP*, pp.157–58.

25 Cheuk-woon Taam, *The Development of Chinese Libraries under the Ch'ing Dynasty, 1644–1911* (Shanghai, 1935; reprint. San Francisco: Chinese Materials Center, 1997) has the following to say about Qian's collection: "In reviewing the most important private collections of the period, it is interesting to find that in a period of three hundred years during which as many as five hundred book collectors carried on their work, the chain of possession of a celebrated library was unbroken. At one time, the rare editions were scattered and at another they came together again in the possession of one individual. The beginning of this long line of libraries can be traced back to the collection gathered by Qian Qianyi, who lived in the transitional period between the Ming and Qing dynasties. He obtained practically all the volumes of four great Ming collections; namely, the Qigui shanfang 七檣山房 of the Yang family, the Xuanqing shi 懸罄室 of the Qian family, the Feizai ge 匪載閣 of the Liu family and the Mowang guan 脈望館 of the Zhao family. Qian's specialties were Song and Yuan editions, and before his collection was destroyed by fire, he had accumulated more than 3000 titles. What remained at the time of his death—mostly fine editions of the Mowangguan—he gave to his kinsman, Qian Zeng" (62–63; romanisation altered). Remarkably, Taam's book remains the best general treatment in English of the histories of the libraries of the Qing dynasty. The Chinese translation of Cheuk-woon Taam's monograph, by Xu Yan and Tan Huajun and published by Liaoning People's Publishing House in 1988, is a reflection of

manuscript copies of anything written by men of recent ages. Even in the case of collections of the writings of men of the Song such as Su Shunqin 蘇舜欽, Ye Mengde 葉夢得 or the Three Shens (Shen Gou 沈遘, Shen Liao 沈遼, and Shen Gua 沈括) and so on, he would only list old imprints in his catalogue. Second, he was boastful of his own stinginess, arrogant about the superiority of his own collection to any other and unwilling to lend out to others a single item from it.²⁶

If Qian Qianyi appears reluctant to allow any of the books that formed his collection to leave the library tower he eventually built to house them, by the account above we can see that his collection was indeed that of a reader rather than simply that of a collector.

This impression of Qian Qianyi's use of his library is confirmed by the account of it given by Huang Zongxi, for whom a visit to Qian Qianyi's library represented something of (an eventually frustrated) emotional climax to his lifelong pursuit of books:

In the third month of the *gengyin* year [1650], I paid a visit upon Qian Qianyi and took up residence downstairs in his Tower of the Crimson Clouds. In this way I was able to leaf (*fan* 繙) my way through his books, discovering that it contained all those books that I most wanted to see. Qian Qianyi agreed for me to become his reading companion (*dushu banlü* 讀書伴侶) so that we could shut ourselves away (*biguan* 閉關) for three years together. My delight at this prospect exceeded all my fondest expectations but just when I was about to take him up on his offer, Crimson Clouds caught fire and almost his entire collection reverted to the Eastern Wall Constellation.²⁷

In his subsequent entry on Qian Qianyi in his "Records of Friends of Old" (*Sijiu lu* 思舊錄), Huang Zongxi adds some further details to this account of his relationship with Qian:

I visited Changshu on a number of occasions, staying initially in the Mountain Hut that Brushes the Water (Fushui shanfang 拂水山房) and later on downstairs in the Tower of the Crimson Clouds of the Half Rustic Hall (Banyetang 半野堂). Later on still, once the Master and his son Sunyi 孫貽²⁸ had begun to live together, I took up residence again in his home in Brushing the Water. At that time, the Master argued that the writings of Han Yu 韓愈 and Ouyang Xiu 歐陽修 constituted the Six Canons (*liujing* 六經) of writing. Taking a look at his shelves, I observed that the Master had categorized (*fenlei* 分類) the writings of the Eight Masters of the Tang and Song Dynasties (*bajia* 八家) in terms of their technique (*zuofa* 作法), such as "Direct Narrative" (*zhixu* 直敘), "Argument" (*yilun* 議論), "Exclusive Narration of a Single Event" (*dan xu yishi* 單序一事) and "Digest" (*tiwang* 提綱) and that his categorization in this manner extended to more than ten different categories. The collection of the Tower of the Crimson Clouds included

a welcome renewed interest in the topic. In his "Translator's Note," Xu Yan emphasises the importance of Taam's conclusion to his Introduction: "It is clear then, that in the history of Chinese scholarship during the last three hundred years, the Qing scholars made a very distinct contribution and in that contribution the library had a role. So as we try in the following pages to trace the history of the development of libraries under the Qing dynasty, we must keep clearly in mind the scholarly activity of which it was a factor. Only in its historical setting can we see that the library as an institution does not merely exist but really lives" (p.19; romanisation altered). For an overview of recent developments in the field in China, see Xu Yan, "80 niandai yilai Zhongguo lishi cangshu yantao chengguo zongshu" [A Survey of Developments in Research into Historical Chinese Book Collecting from the Eighties Onwards], in Huang Jianguo, and Gao Yuexin, eds., *Zhongguo gudai cangshulou yanjiu* [Research into Ancient Chinese Private Libraries] (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1999), pp.402–26.

all those books that I most wanted to see and the Master agreed for me to become the reading companion of his old age, undertaking to look after the care of my mother in order that I not be distracted from this task. Late one evening, just as I was about to fall asleep, the Master appeared at my bedside with a lamp in hand. Taking seven *taels* of silver from his sleeve he presented me with them, saying: 'This is my wife's idea'. In the tenth month of that year, however, Crimson Clouds burnt to the ground—another proof that I am not destined to be a reader (*wu dushu yuan* 無讀書緣).²⁹

For a somewhat more intimate picture of the workings of this library, however, we have this passage from a biography of Liu Shi written by Niu Xiu 鈕琇 (d. 1704), a close friend of the important Qing-dynasty poet Chen Weisong 陳維崧 (1626–82):³⁰

Once Liu Rushi had reverted (*gui* 歸) to Qian Qianyi of Yushan, he viewed her as if she was an immortal fairy descended from the crimson clouds. Fairies, of course, prefer to dwell in towers and so, pillowed by the hill and nestled up again the wall, Qian built her a five-bay tower behind his Half Rustic Hall, exquisite in its reds and greens, and this he named "Crimson Clouds". No book collector south of the great river possessed a richer collection than did Qian, and now he re-doubled his efforts to acquire rare books (*shanben* 善本), along with new editions from the woodblocks of his friend Mao Jin's Pavilion for Drawing from the Ancients (*Jigu ge* 汲古閣),³¹ and this collection he now had transported by cart to his tower and installed upstairs. Ivory bookmarks and precious scrolls were piled hicklty-picklty everywhere. Once he had retired from the world of embroidered curtains and jasper chambers he would spend day and night closeted here in close conversation with Liu Shi ... In old age, Qian's obsession with reading and with books became even more pronounced and as he went about his editing and his checking of textual variants (*jiaochou* 較讎) it was only Liu Shi that he would ever consult. Whenever the slightest furrow crossed his brow or his brush paused as it plied its way down the page, Liu Shi would immediately leap to her feet and proceed upstairs to consult some book or other and although the volumes were stacked as high as the rafters she would soon return with a particular volume of a specific book and would open it up to point with her slender fingers to precisely the right passage, never once making a mistake. On other occasions, when Qian's use of an allusion proved wrong or infelicitous, she would correct what he had written. Qian Qianyi took great delight in her divine intelligence and grew ever more fond of her. When our dynasty sought to employ the former officials of the previous dynasty, Qian answered the summons. Soon, however, he became implicated in a plot and was dismissed, after which time he devoted himself exclusively to his writing and his editing. Liu Shi waited upon him hand and foot, her love for reading serving to encourage the two of them in the recklessness of their behaviour.³²

The major work that the two of them completed during the period, a compilation conceived of some considerable time earlier but that they embarked upon when Liu Shi started to bring the required materials with her on her visits to Qian whilst he was imprisoned in Nanjing in 1648 under suspicion of Ming loyalist activities, was a massive collection of the poetry of the Ming dynasty entitled *A Collection of the Poetry of the Various Reigns* (*Liechao shiji* 列朝詩集), completed in 1649 and published by Mao Jin, shortly before the site of their collaboration disappeared in flames.³³

Cao Rong's "Inscription" (cited earlier) offers further detail to our understanding of the loss of the library:

Not long after he had travelled north to take up office he returned home on the pretext of ill health, taking up residence in Red Bean Mountain

26 "Jiangyun lou cangshu mu tici" [Inscription to the Catalogue of the Crimson Clouds Collection], *Xuxiu Sikuanquanshu* (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2002), Vol.920, p.322.

27 "Tianyi ge cangshu ji" [Record of the Book Collection of the Pavilion of Heaven's Oneness], in Shen Shanhong and Wu Guang, ed., *Huang Zongxi quanji* [Complete Works of Huang Zongxi] (Hangzhou: Zhejiang guji chubanshe, 2005), Vol.10, pp.117–20. The two stars that comprise the Eastern Wall Constellation control the destinies of all writing and constitute thereby a secret vault (*mifu* 祕府) for all the books to be found under Heaven, for which see the "*Tianwen zhi*" [Astronomy Treatise] of the *Jin shu* [History of the Jin] (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1974), Vol.2, p.301.

28 Chen Yinke notes that here (and elsewhere) Huang Zongxi makes a mistake with the name of Qian Qianyi's son which should read either Sunai 孫愛 or Ruyi 孺貽, for which see *Liu Rushi biezhu*, Vol.2, p.826.

29 For which see *Huang Zongxi quanji*, Vol.1, p.378. Jin Hechong's chronological biography of Qian Qianyi (dated 1932) suggests that Huang's visit to see Qian was occasioned by the attempt to enlist his help for various Ming loyalist activities that Huang was then engaged in, for which see "Qian Muzhai xiansheng nianpu" [A Chronological Biography of Qian Qianyi], in *Qian Muzhai quanji*, Vol.8, pp.942–43. We know from Huang's own chronological biography, compiled by Huang Binghou 黃炳垕 (dated 1873), that at the time of this visit, Huang Zongxi's younger brother Huang Zongyan 黃宗炎 (1616–86) (on whom, see *ECCP*, pp.354–55), was under arrest and had been sentenced to death for his anti-Manchu activities, for which see "Huang Lizhou xiansheng nianpu" [A Chronological Biography of Huang Zongxi], *Huang Zongxi quanji*, Vol.12, pp.34–35. In the same record of Huang's visit to the Pavilion of Heaven's Oneness cited above, written in 1679, Huang speaks about Cao Rong's own library: "On numerous occasions I have arranged to take a look at the books collected in Cao Rong's Garden for the Weary (*Juan pu* 倦圃) but have yet to do so, although according to Cao Rong's own calculations his library does not appear to contain anything out of the ordinary" (*Huang Zongxi quanji*, Vol.10, p.1120). Huang appears never to have had the opportunity to examine this library although if the two men had not in fact met earlier, they certainly did so in 1685, as can be seen from a letter that

Huang wrote to another important collector, Xu Qianxue 徐乾學 (1631–94): “When we parted a month ago, Cao Rong looked all very hale and hearty; now, suddenly, he is dead! Life really is not something to be trifled with. I hear that his book collection has reverted in its entirety to you. If this is indeed the case then this is cause for some considerable celebration. I’m old and sick but I really must hasten over to see you so that I can have a good read of the books” (“Yu Xu Qianxue shu” [To Xu Qianxue], *Huang Zongxi quanji* Vol.11, p.69)

30 On whom, see *ECCP*, p.103.

31 *ECCP*, pp.565–66.

32 Niu Xiu, *Gusheng* [Goblet Dregs] (Shanghai: Guji chubanshe, 1986), pp.48–49.

33 For a discussion of the compilation of this work, see Sun Zhimei, *Qian Qianyi yu Ming mo Qing chu wenxue* [Qian Qianyi and Late-Ming Early-Qing Literature] (Jinan: Qilu shushe, 1996), pp.342–58. For a discussion of it from the perspective of poetry anthology-as-history (*shi shi* 詩史), see Chi-hung Yim, “The Poetics of Historical Memory in the Ming-Qing Transition: A Study of Qian Qianyi’s Later Poetry” (PhD diss., Yale University, 1998); and Tobie Meyer-Fong, “Packaging the Men of Our Times: Literary Anthologies, Friendship Networks, and Political Accommodation in the Early Qing,” *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 64.1 (2004): 5–56.

34 Liu Rushi’s daughter (her only child) had been born in 1649. In the “Preservation” (*Shoucang* 收藏) section of his *Cangshu shiyue* 藏書十約, Ye Dehui 葉德輝 (1864–1927), the late-Qing scholar of books and book collecting, notes: “Lamps and candles, wastepaper baskets, and other containers of combustibles should not be put too near a book-room. The burning of the [Tower of the Crimson Clouds] and the conflagration in the Wuying dian [in Peking] [in 1869] are the most lamentable events that could possibly have happened in time of peace”, for which see Achilles Fang, trans., “Bookman’s Decalogue (*Ts’ang-shu shih-yue*)”, *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 13(1950): 155. As Joseph McDermott notes, however, other scholars have suggested that the destruction of the library was in fact due to the depredations of the troops of the new dynasty, for which see his *A Social History of the Chinese Book: Books and Literati Culture in Late Imperial China*, p.245.

35 Cao Rong, “Jiangyun lou shumu tici”, *Xuxiu Siku quanshu*, Vol.920, p.321.

36 *Muzhai yishi* [Anecdotes Concerning Qian Qianyi] (17th century), as cited

Estate (Hongdou shanzhuang 紅豆山莊). Turning to his book collection, he began again to bring order to it (*shanzhi* 膳治), mending those books that needed repair, making copies of those that needed copying, at the same time sorting the collection into various categories (*qufen leiju* 區分類聚). He then had the whole collection housed upstairs in the Tower of the Crimson Clouds, in seventy-three large bookcases. With evident joy, he would survey his collection, exclaiming: “I may well have been reduced to poverty in my old age but I’m certainly rich in terms of my books!” Ten or so days later his young daughter was playing upstairs in the tower with her wet-nurse in the middle of the night when, as the wick of the lamp was being trimmed, it fell amidst a pile of papers which immediately burst into flames.³⁴ Downstairs, Qian Qianyi arose with a start, but by that time the flames already lit up the sky and the tower was beyond saving. He fled outside. Before long, both the tower itself and the books that it had once housed had been reduced to ashes.

Shocked by the news, I visited him to offer my condolences. “All my ancient books are lost”, he told me, “but several hundred biographical records of officials of the Ming dynasty that I cobbled together (*gecheng* 割成) from other sources remain intact, however, a pile of papers more than four *cun* thick; this pile happened to be away from my library on the night of the fire so has fortunately survived. Some time ago, when I intended to work on a history of the dynasty, I was going to base myself on this collection of material. I’ve lost all desire to undertake this task now, so why don’t you take this bundle away with you?” I was dazzled by the prospect but at the same time felt it inappropriate that I haggle over the price of the material with an elder, so all I did was mumble in reply: “Yes, yes”. Immediately I had taken my leave of him, however, I rushed off to see Ye Xiang 葉襄 to prevail upon him to negotiate the purchase of the material on my behalf. To my lifelong regret, Ye delayed doing so and ten days later the material was acquired by Master Pan Chengzhang 潘樸章 [1625–63] of Songling. This year I acquired from a friend a copy of the catalogue of his collection. In turn, I made a copy of this catalogue, noticing in the process of doing so that whereas Qian had not listed the collected works of men of the Ming dynasty, he had however manifested a distinct predilection for fragmentary and miscellaneous anecdotes, all of which he recorded in this catalogue without exception. Only then did I realise that when he had spoken to me about the four *cun* thick pile of material that he had cobbled together from various literary collections he had not been exaggerating at all.³⁵

If the life of this library produced one of the most interesting and important anthologies of poetry produced during the late imperial period in China, the death of the library, then, had prevented the completion of what in all likelihood would have been one of the most interesting and important histories of the period.

One early source on the history of the library claims that the book catalogue to which Cao Rong’s inscription, as quoted above, was attached was compiled by Qian Qianyi from memory, only once his library had been lost:

When Qian Qianyi’s Tower of the Crimson Clouds was destroyed by fire, all his exquisitely printed Song and Yuan dynasty editions were reduced to ashes. The *Catalogue of the Tower of the Crimson Clouds Book Collection* that presently circulates under his name was in fact compiled after that event, as one-by-one he lovingly recalled to memory the books he had once possessed. In it, he fails to list at least three out of every ten titles his library had contained, however. Fortunately, the books housed in his former residence in East Town all survived intact.³⁶

Other sources suggest that the name itself given the library, Crimson Clouds, presaged the colour the sky was to turn as the flames consumed the books housed in the tower.

Many years later, on the occasion when he came across again the very book that he had sold in order to build his library, now in the collection of one Zhao Wuxing 趙吳興 in Hangzhou 杭州, Qian was drawn to reflect on the loss of his library:

Alas! If the chaos of the Ming-Qing dynastic transition of the year 1644 can be regarded as a major catastrophe for books, ancient and modern, then the fire of the year 1650 should be regarded as a minor catastrophe for the books of the lower Yangtze River delta. The impoverished collections of the one or two book collectors now to be found in the Wu Region do not add up to the merest fraction of my former collection Not only has this book reverted to its proper owner, but this circumstance is enough to bring a wry smile to the lips of the Old Man of Crimson Clouds. After the catastrophic fire, I reverted to my belief in the Buddha.³⁷

By way of contrast, how did Qian's contemporaries understand and respond to the loss of such an exceptional library? Again, we have the testimony of Cao Rong to guide us here:

After his library had been reduced to ashes all the rare volumes (*danxing zhi ben* 單行之本) it had once contained were lost forever. This circumstance I regarded as a profound warning and together with some like-minded associates I developed a covenant for the mutual borrowing of books whereby although it was agreed that the books in question would never leave their respective libraries, however pairs of men could each list those items that they desired to get hold of and where both the dating and the size of these items were comparable, they would each engage a scribe to make copies which would then be exchanged. The Xus of Kunshan 崑山徐氏, the Fans of Siming 四明范氏 and the Huangs of Jinling 金陵黃氏 all declared this to be the most convenient manner in which books could be circulated without fear that they would disappear into someone else's collection, never to be returned.

The quality of Cao Rong's regret at the loss of this library is lent a poignant intensity by a note that he later added to his inscription to its catalogue, which reads, in part:

Some time ago when I was touring Chang'an, I had my library of some six to seven thousand volumes assembled in the hall where I was staying. Qian Qianyi would inevitably turn up every second day or so and whenever he did so, he insisted upon browsing through my collection. Whenever he happened upon a volume on my shelves that he did not himself own a copy of he would borrow it in order that he make a copy of it. This happened repeatedly but I was secretly delighted by this circumstance as I thought that as a consequence it would mean that I would be able to borrow books from him at some future date. On one occasion I said to him: "Master, you must have copies of both Lu Zhen's 路振 [957–1014] *Records of the Nine Kingdoms* (*Jiu guo zhi* 九國志) and Liu Shu's 劉恕 [1032–78] *Chronological Records of the Ten Kingdoms* (*Shi guo jinian* 十國紀年). Once we have both returned to the south, I would be most grateful if I could borrow them?" To this request, Qian Qianyi readily agreed. During the *Dinghai* year [1647] I took my family to live for a while in Suzhou, Qian Qianyi having earlier himself moved into the Garden of the Humble Administrator (Zhuzheng yuan 拙政園) in the same town. When we met our conversation turned first of all to these two books, at which point he hastened to say to me: "I don't own either of these works. When I told you

in Jian Xiujuan, *Qian Qianyi cangshu yanjiu* [Research into Qian Qianyi's Book Collections] (Taipei, New York and Los Angeles: Hanmei tushu, 1991), p.263.

37 Qian Zhonglian, ed., *Qian Muzhai quanji*, Vol.6, p.1530. In his "Shugu tang Song ke shu ba xu" [Preface to My Colophons on the Song Dynasty Imprints of the Hall for Transmitting the Past], Qian Qianyi writes: "Late in the spring of the *Xinchou* year [1661] I paid a visit on Qian Zeng in his Hall for Transmitting the Past (述古堂), with the intention taking a look at the Song imprints in his library. With their blue-green covers and vermilion borders, their exquisite bindings, his holdings of such imprints amounted to about a third of that of my Tower of the Crimson Clouds of old, and as I let my eyes roam over his books it was as if I once again had my own collection of treasured objects at hand. To my very great delight, he permitted me to rummage through his library to my heart's desire and without any need for me to recompense him with the proverbial 'Jug of wine to the owner when one borrows a book, another jug when returned'. I remember once a young fellow from Suzhou who, in his desire to exhaust the sights of this world, visited Mao Jin's Pavilion for Drawing from the Ancients and was reduced to speechlessness in his amazement at what he saw, as if he had entered a jasper palace—I wonder what his reaction would be were he to be given sight of the holdings of Qian's Hall for Transmitting the Past! Qian Zeng asked that I write some colophons for his books, and I have obliged him in this respect with a word or two about those books that I happened to light upon, as follows: 'Colophon to the *Classic of Wine* 蹴酒經: The *Classic of Wine*, in a single fascicle, this being a book that escaped the conflagration of my Tower of the Crimson Clouds. When the goblins descended and took away my five cartloads of books in four categories, it was this classic alone that they left behind, as if Heaven itself had decided that I would be permitted to see out my days in drunkenness. Thus has the book made its way into Qian Zeng's collection. No need, then, to go off afar searching beneath Iron Bridge upon Luofu Mountain for I have already mastered Asura's art of picking flowers and brewing the Immortal's Candlelit Night Wine, and this art I will also pass on to Qian Zeng. In actual fact, this classic is somewhat akin to the vulgar recipe books to be found in the oilskin bags of the old women of Hangzhou. Inscribed, with playful brush, in the early summer of the *Xinchou* year by the Simple-minded Old Man", for

which, see Qian Zhonglian, ed., *Qian Muzhai quanji*, Vol.6: pp.1512, 1525.

38 Although this text is usually dated to the reign of the Chongzhen Emperor (1628–44), the earliest extant version of it appears to be that included in Bao Tingbo's (1728–1874) *Zhibuzuzhai congsbu* [Collection from the Studio of Never Knowing Enough] (on which see *ECCP*, pp.612–13), published between 1776–1823. This translation is of the text found in Li Ximi and Zhang Jiaohua, eds., *Zhongguo gudai cangshu yu jindai tusbuguan shiliao* (*Chunqiu zhi Wusi qianhou*) [Historical Materials on Ancient Chinese Book Collecting and Modern Libraries (Spring and Autumn Period to Around the May Fourth Movement)] (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1982), pp.31–32.

that I did have them I was just lying". Reluctant to disbelieve the words of an elder, I believed what he had told me on this occasion and never dared raise the subject with him again. Later on, however, when I visited him to offer my condolences on the loss of his library in the fire, he sat there for a long while before bursting out with a sigh, saying: "I was afflicted with Book Miserliness (*xishupi* 惜書癖) and lived in fear that if I ever lent books out, in one way or another they would be lost and never returned to me. Those two books that you had wanted to get hold of—*Records of the Nine Kingdoms* and *Chronological Records of the Ten Kingdoms*, I'm afraid that I actually owned both of them but didn't want to lend them to you. Both are now lost. If you had been permitted to make copies of my copies of these works, then I would now, in turn, be able to restore them by making copies of your copies". I took my leave of him feeling most aggrieved.

Fortunately, a copy of the covenant that Cao Rong mentions above became attached over the years to an important Ming-dynasty discussion of bookmanship and was later published. It is a document of some considerable interest when trying to recover something of the history of late-imperial Chinese private libraries:³⁸

More than ten book catalogues dating from the Song dynasty [960–1279] remain extant to this day, all of them most resplendent to behold. Whenever one tries to find a book listed in these catalogues, however, one discovers all too soon that four or five out of every ten books listed no longer exist, not all of which were lost in the far distant past. The second-rate book collector takes inordinate pride in the rarity of the volumes that he acquires and regards making such works available publicly to contemporaries as a mistake. For this reason, whereas we may still hope to read a book that happens to fall into the clutches of an ordinary man, once a book has reverted to a collector it will be wrapped in silk and brocade and housed within a sandalwood room the doors to which will remain, usually, securely locked. Whenever someone happens to enquire about the availability or otherwise of the book in question, the collector will reply in the negative and go on to say that although he has searched the world for precisely that book he has never been able to so much as lay his eyes upon it; little wonder it is then that people think that such books have indeed been lost.

Printing has so flourished in recent years that the coal-smoke from the ink manufacturing fires stings the eyes. If you enter the marketplaces with some capital in hand you can immediately acquire a book collection of several tens of thousands of fascicles, but to search through this collection in the hope of finding a copy of a book that you have never seen before is somewhat akin to searching for jade along a distant precipice—one labours long with little hope of reward. One needs to reflect on the fact that the lifetime's painful effort required on the part of the ancients to produce a book in the first place was in itself no simple matter. Then, during the passage of a thousand or so years, fortunate too is a book to have survived intact the various perils it faced; being transported along rough roads, the chaos of times of warfare, the depredations of robbers and so on. Fortunate again is such a book that, having thus survived, then encounters someone who appreciates its sound and who understands how to both store the book and to treasure it and who then declares that the book in question should be published and circulated, or, if not, at the very least be made available to all who love books. If but for a scheme such as the one proposed below, then rare volumes will remain tightly sealed within their trunks under circumstances in which a moment's carelessness could result in their permanent loss without trace, apart that is from that empty name they leave hanging in the various catalogues? Would not such an occurrence earn us the eternal hatred of the ancient? And yet such instances cannot be blamed entirely on miserliness.

If contemporary worthies understand well enough the borrowing of books they certainly do not understand the returning of them to their owners once borrowed and in this respect, as can be seen in the records of the past, the old saying that once governed the exchange of books, “A jug (*chi* 甔) of wine to the lender as you borrow a book, another jug when you return it” seems to have been transformed into “You’re a mug (*chi* 癡) if you lend a book, an even bigger one if you return it”! It is not that the world is without honest and upright men who remain true to their word once given, only that, as soon as a book has left one’s shelves, quite unpredictable is its fate as it is carried by rocking boat or creaking cart, falls into the hands of one’s amanuensis or serving boy, or otherwise faces the miseries of flood or fire. The refusal to lend books, therefore, is not invariably to be condemned, but if you refuse to lend books to others, then others will certainly refuse to lend books to you. The true collector, then, sees no advantage to be had in sealing up his own library and sitting beside the stump in the hope that his collection will increase of its own accord.

Thus have I today developed a simple and convenient method to ensure the circulation of books, as follows: Each book collector should examine the book catalogues of other collectors and make note of those books listed therein that they do not themselves possess, listing first works from the Canon and its commentarial tradition, then works of history and lost records, then literary collections, and finally miscellaneous anecdotes. In cases where the books required happen to belong to the same categories, are of similar temporal provenance and are of roughly equivalent size, an agreement can be struck whereby the owners of the respective volumes will order the works in question carefully copied and proofread before, with the period of a month or so, the copies will be exchanged between the two libraries. This method promises a number of distinct advantages: First, good books are never required to leave the libraries to which they belong. Second, we perform a meritorious deed in relation to the ancients. Third, one’s own collection grows daily richer. Fourth, books from the north and the south intermingle and circulate freely. Respectfully, therefore, I call upon my fellow scholars to heed my counsel and to agree to such a procedure.

Some will object that such a procedure is that of a poor man and that anyone of means will certainly not abide by such precepts. But if we seek to restrict our expenditure on banquets and journeys and other baubles, then we will be able to fulfill our obligations towards the ancients and further their command by taking books that have never before been published and give them the permanence of jujube and pear. If we start with small and individual volumes, then progress to large collections, scholars at all quarters of the empire will hear tell of our efforts and will join us, taking upon themselves the responsibility of bring back into view books that have long been lost to us. Thus will books buried beneath the mountains or secreted within mounds appear again within the world of man, including perhaps even works not listed in those ten catalogues. All scholars habituated to the unusual should bring their utmost efforts to bear on the issue, shouldering up the challenge, and with head upturned and on tiptoes, I await such an auspicious outcome to my text above.

Ian Willison, in a paper entitled: “On the History of Libraries and Scholarship”, argues that “... research into the history of libraries and research into the history of scholarship in the West, never since the eighteenth century particularly close to each other, are now being conceived as parts of a common enterprise”.³⁹ For this productive relationship to be restored in the case of Chinese intellectual history, the history of the library needs first to be

39 Ian Willison, *On the History of Libraries and Scholarship* (Washington: Library of Congress, 1980), p.5.

40 *On the History of Libraries and Scholarship*, p.9.

41 Li Ximi and Zhang Jiaohua, eds., *Zhongguo gudai cangshu yu jindai tushuguan shiliao* (*Chunqiu zhi Wusi qianhou*), p.32.

42 Wei Li, “*Yuanqi*” [“Introduction”], *Shulou xunzong* [Lingering Traces: A Search for China’s Old Libraries] (Shijiazhuang: Hebei jiaoyu chubanshe, 2004), p.1. For a full translation of this “Introduction”, along with a number of entries from the book, see *China Heritage Quarterly* No.18 (June 2009).

freed from the constraints of a historiography that sacrifices the traditional library on the pyre of the project of modernisation. Later in his essay, when discussing the Museum and Library of Alexandria, Willison speaks about the “... four techniques of control of the natural anarchy of the book world that have since become fundamental for research library administration: catholic acquisition ... ; rationalization of the format, and even the content, of books; systematic author and subject cataloging, linked with more finely edited bibliography ... ; and a continuing conservation program, largely in the form of recopying”.⁴⁰ Remarkably, Cao Rong’s covenant seems to promise the beginnings, at least, of all four of these desiderata. Circumstances in the late eighteenth century in China, however, were such that the reformers of that age, in their haste to build a modern system of education and its institutions, tended to look elsewhere for their models.

There is a note appended to the text of Cao Rong’s Covenant written by Miao Quansun 繆荃孫 (1844–1919), founding Director (1909–11) of the Metropolitan Library of Peking (Jingshi tushuguan 京師圖書館) in the years leading up to its opening in August 1912:

When I was serving in the Metropolitan Library I came to know an eminent man who had in his possession a treasured autograph manuscript of his father’s writings that he kept stored away in his book trunks. Whenever anybody happened to enquire about it he would always reply that he still had the MS and that he had long intended to have it printed. Whenever anybody asked to be allowed to borrow it in order to have it copied, he would always reply that, once he had had it printed, he would be sure to give a copy to his interlocutor, thus saving them the trouble of having it copied. Whenever anybody offered to have it printed for him, however, he would inevitably reply to the effect that he could not abrogate his own responsibility in this respect and entrust the task to others. Sadly, after he died the MS disappeared. It wasn’t that he did not understand the need to treasure and preserve the MS, but simply the case that he did not have a scheme whereby he could have ensured its preservation and circulation—precisely what Cao Rong here warns us about. As I recount this story, I heave a deep sigh of regret.⁴¹

Miao Quansun’s sigh captures something of the essential melancholy of the history of the late-imperial Chinese private libraries of Jiangnan. As working institutions they have disappeared completely, of course, and although the books they once housed now stock the rare books rooms of the major public and university libraries, in the words of a contemporary Chinese book collector although: “We all admire the splendid holdings of these libraries; few give even a passing thought to the generations of book collector whose painstaking efforts have made these books available to us, to those bibliophiles of old who have passed on to us the torch of learning”.⁴²

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THE TAIKUN'S ZEN MASTER FROM CHINA: YINYUAN, THE TOKUGAWA BAKUFU, AND THE FOUNDING OF MANPUKUJI IN 1661

史 Jiang Wu

The story of Yinyuan's 隱元 (1592–1673) arrival in Japan in 1654 and the subsequent founding of Manpukuji 萬福寺 in 1661 are familiar to students of Sino-Japanese history. However, the path to Yinyuan's success is still mysterious. In a previous study, I showed that Yinyuan came to Japan to answer the call of Nagasaki Chinese merchants who had local links with Fuqing 福清 county in China during the turbulent transition from Ming 明 to Qing 清.¹ It would have been expected that Yinyuan would settle in one of the three Chinese temples in Nagasaki and become the spiritual leader of the Chinese expatriate community. However, what happened next was extraordinary in three aspects: first, after just one year of residence in Nagasaki, Yinyuan was able to secure invitations from Japanese monks and authorities to move to a Japanese monastery called Fumonji 普門寺, close to Osaka and Kyoto, despite the *bakufu*'s 幕府 ruling against Chinese residents living outside Nagasaki; second, after staying in Fumonji for a few years, Yinyuan became the first Chinese of significance after the founding of the Tokugawa regime to be granted two audiences with the fourth shogun Ietsuna 家綱 (1641–80) in Edo 江戸 during the winter of 1658, where he met with Ietsuna's senior councillors; Third, two years later, in 1660, the *bakufu* allowed him to build a new temple in Kyoto, breaking another rule, this time one prohibiting new temple building.

Obviously, these results were not something that Yinyuan or his Japanese sponsors could manage alone. They were decisions made by Japanese authorities, both local and central, and mediated by some of Yinyuan's zealous Japanese supporters such as Ryōkei Shōsen 龍溪性潛 (1602–70) who lobbied in Edo for Yinyuan's stay.² One may argue that Yinyuan's success could be attributed to his popularity among Japanese monks and to his teachings, which have been claimed to have “rescued” Japanese Buddhism from its decline. Helen Baroni, for example, interpreted Yinyuan's Ōbaku 黄檗 Zen as a “New Religious Movement” that attracted a large number of

Common Japanese names such as Kyoto, and Tokyo are spelled without macrons. I thank James Baskind, Iioka Naoko 飯岡直子, Liu Yuebing 劉岳兵, Lin Guanchao 林觀潮, Sueki Fumihiko 末本文美士, and Yokote Yutaka 横手裕, for sending me their works or providing references during my research. Noel Pinnington, James Baskind, and William Bodiford read through the manuscript and their suggestions are deeply appreciated. Kamada Hitoshi helped to locate rare sources in Japan and secured the permission for the use of images. Comments from two anonymous reviewers for *East Asian History* helped me revise this article in its final stage. The basic idea of this paper has been presented at Institute of Japanese Studies at Nankai University, Tianjin. Japan Foundation awarded me a short-term fellowship to study in Kyoto during the summer of 2013. I deeply appreciate all the support I received.

1 Jiang Wu, “Leaving for the Rising Sun: The Historical Background of Yinyuan Longqi's Migration to Japan in 1654,” *Asia Major* (Third Series) Vol.17, part 2 (2004): 89–120.

2 For Ryōkei's short biography in English, see Helen Baroni, *Obaku Zen: The Emergence of the Third Sect of Zen in Tokugawa Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2000), pp.75–77. His name can be spelled as “Ryūkei” as well. Here I follow the pronunciation in *Ōbaku bunka jinmei*

jiten [Dictionary of Person's Names Related to Ōbaku Culture], ed. Hayashi Yukimitsu (Kyoto: Shibunkaku, 1988), p.380.

3 See Baroni, *Obaku Zen*, pp.181–82, 197–219.

4 Recent studies show that the Neo-Confucian Orthodoxy was not established in the beginning of the Tokugawa rule. It ascended to the centre of the *bakufu* discourse only during the reign of the fifth shogun Tsunayoshi 綱吉 (1646–1709). See Beatrice Bodart-Bailey, *The Dog Shogun: The Personality and Policies of Tokugawa Tsunayoshi* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2006), especially pp.295–97.

5 Based on the statistics of 1871, Nam-lin Hur noticed that there were very few Ōbaku temples that had funerary *danna* households. For example, in the Ōzu 大洲 province, there were only three Ōbaku temples and none of them had funerary households, and in Hita 日田 province there were 26 Ōbaku temples but only four had funerary *danna* households. The development of the Ōbaku sect in late Tokugawa deserves more study. However, this incomplete survey shows the Ōbaku participation into the so-called funerary Buddhism was significantly low in comparison with other indigenous traditions. Nam-lin Hur, *Death and Social Order in Tokugawa Japan: Buddhism, Anti-Christianity, and the Danka System* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2007), p.11.

6 Religious aspects of Ōbaku Zen and the opposition it faced have been explored recently by Baroni, *Obaku Zen*; James Baskind, "Ming Buddhism in Edo Japan: the Chinese Founding Masters of the Japanese Ōbaku School," (PhD diss., Yale University, 2006); Michel Mohr, "Zen Buddhism during the Tokugawa Period: The Challenge to Go beyond Sectarian Consciousness," *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 21.4 (1994): 341–72; and Richard Jaffe, "Ingen and the Threat to the Myōshinjiha," *Komazawa daigaku zen kenkyusbo nenpo* 2 (1991): 1–35. It should be noted that despite the initial support from some Myōshinji monks, Myōshinji strongly opposed Manpukuji after its founding. The rivalry between the two might have resulted from the fact that Myōshinji received recognition from emperors in Kyoto while Manpukuji abbots were appointed by the shoguns directly. As Mujaku Dōchū indicates, the Purple Robe Incident, which occurred a few decades ago, also gulvernised the Myōshinji community as Ryōkei and his teacher Hakuho Eryo 伯蒲惠稜 supported the bakufu's ruling and was thus alienated by the Myōshinji community. See

Japanese Buddhists, clearly implying that he was popular in Japan. Following the Japanese scholar Takenuki Genshō 竹貫元勝, she suggested that the *bakufu* patronage of Yinyuan was similar to that lavished on Chinese monks from the Yuan 元 dynasty by previous shoguns.³ It might be true that after the founding of Manpukuji, more Japanese Buddhists were drawn to the new sect and more temples changed their affiliations to Ōbaku. However, this theory does not explain why the *bakufu* chose to allow its founding in the first place while the "country was in chains" (*sakoku* 鎖国) and temple building was tightly controlled.

One can also link Yinyuan's success to the rising enthusiasm for Chinese culture and Confucianism. However, the so-called cultural renaissance of the Genroku 元禄 era only reached its peak almost half a century later; thus Confucianism was not yet fully established as the official ideology during Yinyuan's time.⁴ More importantly, the newly established system of official affiliation of households with temples (*danka* 檀家) left little room for the development of a new sect such as Ōbaku unless the *bakufu* was willing to support it financially. Even after the founding of Manpukuji, Ōbaku temples fared poorly in the *danka* system.⁵

In particular, we have to consider that during the six years before the founding of Manpukuji Yinyuan received a mixed response from Japanese Buddhists. Strong opposition was organised by the powerful Zen institution Myōshinji 妙心寺, despite the fact that Myōshinji monks such as Ryōkei Shōsen, Jikuin Somon 竺印祖門 (1610–77), and Tokuō Myōkō 禿翁妙宏 (1611–81) supported Yinyuan strongly.⁶ Even the Confucian scholar Mukai Genshō 向井元升 (1609–77) aired his opposition to Yinyuan because he feared that Japanese national identity would be lost in the face of an imported foreign tradition.⁷ This anti-Ōbaku sentiment culminated in the mid-eighteenth century and nourished the rise of Hakuin's 白隠 (1685–1768) Zen teaching. It should be remembered, though, that Yinyuan's syncretic teachings were not novel, focussing on a reinvention of the Chan 禪 rhetoric of beating and shouting, while his practice was a mixture of Pure Land, Tantric, and Vinaya practices.⁸

Unlike other studies that only discuss Yinyuan's role in the Zen Buddhist world of the early Edo period, I intend to situate him in the broader political and international context in which Tokugawa foreign policy took shape. I believe that in order to explain Yinyuan's remarkable success, one has to examine closely how the transformation of early Tokugawa bureaucracy and the formation of a Japan-centred world order shaped the active foreign policy of the *bakufu* towards Europeans, and to her Asian neighbours such as China, Korea, Ryukyu 琉球, etc. When Yinyuan arrived in 1654, the *bakufu* had partially achieved its goal by barring Europeans, except the Dutch, from trade and by "persuading" Korea and Ryukyu to send regular embassies to Edo as a way of establishing "neighbourly relationships".⁹ In 1607, Ieyasu 家康 (1543–1616) and his son, the new shogun Hidetada 秀忠 (1579–1632) welcomed the first Korean embassy, and eleven more came to Edo by 1811. These embassies, composed of a large number of Korean officials and attendants (usually numbering between 300 and 500) publically paraded their way through western Japan to Edo, and created a sensation throughout the country. They were widely viewed by the Japanese as evidence of shogun's success in bringing the Koreans to pay tribute to Japan.

At the same time, a Japanese version of the "civilised versus barbarian" relationship (*Nihongata kai ishiki* 日本型華夷意識) started to emerge in political and intellectual discourse, characterised by rejecting the domination of the Chinese tribute system. This new conception of the world order was

primarily based on Japan's diplomatic relationship with Korea and secondarily on a fictional "foreign" relationship with Ryukyu.¹⁰ For this purpose, the *bakufu* invented a form of address for the shogun in all documents addressed to neighbouring countries: Taikun 大君 (popularised in English as Tycoon).¹¹ The ideological underpinning of this "Taikun Diplomacy" was the usurpation of the Chinese "civilised versus barbarian" discourse, stripped of its Sinocentrism and instilled with the nationalist notion of a "Kami-state" (*Kami no kuni* 神國). Such a mixed ideology called for the transformative power of "virtue" (*toku* 徳) rather than "military prowess" (*bui* 武威) as the basis of political legitimacy.

Although the *bakufu* was successful in its dealings with Korea and Ryukyu, it should be noted that such a new diplomatic order was largely the production of the *bakufu*'s own imagination and crafting of ideology, as both were also official vassal states of the Chinese empire and paid regular tribute to the Ming and Qing courts. Twelve Korean embassies visited Japan during the Edo period, but between 1637 and 1874 about 474 went to Beijing, or three visits every year on average (these were known as *Yeonhaengsa* 燕行使).¹² However, this comparatively insignificant number of embassies to Edo Japan was discussed and represented in popular literature and painting with much fanfare by contemporaries, as Ronald Toby shows.¹³ Moreover, in popular literature, Koreans were often referred to as Chinese and their writings as Chinese works. The double status of Japan's "vassal" states points to an implicit relationship between China and Japan even though there were no formal diplomatic links after the end of the *kangō* 勘合 trade in the late sixteenth century. Conspicuously missing in the *bakufu*'s carefully constructed diplomatic worldview was the Chinese empire.

Under these circumstances, in the eyes of *bakufu* officials, Yinyuan was not simply an established Zen monk, but also a kind of representative from China whose presence in Japan was symbolically ambiguous and nuanced, considering the long absence of formal diplomatic relations. However, rather than ignoring China, the *bakufu* showed favour to private trade with China in Nagasaki, launched an active intelligence program to keep abreast of the Ming–Qing transition in the mainland, and even initiated debates among its senior officials about sending troops to help the resistance leader Zheng Chenggong 鄭成功 (1624–62) who made repeated requests for military aid. Thus, China held a significant place on the *bakufu*'s mental map, and Japan clearly wanted to engage China in the new world order she intended to build.

In this essay, I will try to disentangle the complicated political and religious background that led to the founding of Manpukuji. I suggest that the *bakufu*'s gradual moves to grant Yinyuan a more prominent status in Japan were calculated considerations to engage China and to create a symbolic presence for China on a new Japan-centred world map. Evidence for this can be adduced from two coincidences with other diplomatic events: first, Yinyuan and the Korean embassy travelled at the same time in 1655 and arrived at Osaka on the same day; second, Yinyuan was summoned to Edo in 1658—right after Zheng Chenggong's envoy arrived in Nagasaki in the summer of the same year and presented an official letter which mentioned Yinyuan's name. Finally, I examine the *bakufu*'s ceremonial protocols for dealing with Yinyuan in official and private records, especially his audiences with Ietsuna as seen in *bakufu* documents such as *Diary of Edo Bakufu* (Edo bakufu nikki 江戸幕府日記) and *Veritable Records of Tokugawa* (Tokugawa jikki 徳川實紀). Although ambiguous, these public and formal rituals and

his *Shōbōzan shi* [Gazetteer of Myoshinji]. Reprint. (Kyoto: Shibunkaku, 1975), p.98. See also Katō Shōshun, "Hakuho Eryo to Shie jiken" [Hakuho Eryo and the Purple Robe Incident], in *Zengaku ronkō: Yamada Mumon Rōshi kifu kinen* [Studies on Zen Buddhism: Festschrift for Our Teacher Yamada Mumon] (Kyoto: Shibunkaku Shuppan, 1977), pp.391–436.

7 Mukai Genshō, *Chishiben* [Chapter of Realising One's Shame], in *Kaibyōsōsho* [Collection of Books About Foreign Countries], ed. Shinmura Izuru, Vol.1, 1927–28; (rpt., Tokyo: Naruyamadō Shoten, 1985), especially pp.23–6, 75–83, 90–111. Genshō's book was not specifically targeted at Yinyuan. Rather, he expressed his concerns of losing Japan's identity to foreign influences such as Buddhism, Confucianism, and Christianity. But because Genshō was at Nagasaki when Yinyuan arrived and witnessed the many "shameless" Japanese who followed Yinyuan's Chinese practice, he particularly singled out Yinyuan. His work was published in the early summer of 1658 and might be the first systematic criticism of Yinyuan and his practice.

8 See Jiang Wu, *Enlightenment in Dispute* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), especially pp.265–73.

9 Many scholars have questioned this concept. For an overview, see Ronald Toby, "Reopening the Question of Sakoku: Diplomacy in the Legitimization of the Tokugawa Bakufu," *Journal of Japanese Studies* 3.2 (1977): 323–63, and recently Michael S. Laver, *The Sakoku Edicts and the Politics of Tokugawa Hegemony* (Amherst and New York: Cambria Press, 2011).

10 For discussion about this type of new consciousness, see Arano Yasunori, *Kinsei Nihon to Higashi Ajia* [Modern Japan and East Asia] (Tokyo: Tōkyō Daigaku Shuppankai, 1988), pp.53–66; Asao Naohiro, *Shōgun kenryoku no sōshutsu* [The Creation of the Shogunal Power] (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 2004), p.309; Ronald P. Toby, *State and Diplomacy in Early Modern Japan: Asia in the Development of the Tokugawa Bakufu* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984), pp.211–30. For a comprehensive discussion of the Chinese tribute system, see John Fairbank (ed.), *The Chinese World Order: Traditional China's Foreign Relations* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1968).

11 Some of these ideas have been discussed in Ronald Toby's recent book in Japanese, "*Sakoku*" to *iu gaikō* [Isolation as Diplomacy] (Tokyo: Shōgakkan, 2008). See also Arano Yasunori, *Kinsei Nihon to Higashi Ajia*, pp.161–244. See also Brett L. Walker, "Foreign Affairs and Frontiers in Early Modern Japan: A Historiographical Essay," *Early Modern Japan* Fall, 2002, pp.44–62.

12 For the frequency of these visits, see Haejong Chun, "Sino-Korean Tributary Relations in the Ch'ing Period," in Fairbank, *The Chinese World Order*, pp.90–111, especially pp.99–100. Such an unbalance has been noted by Fuma Susumu in his comparative study of Korean embassies to China and Japan. See Fuma Susumu, trans. Wu Yue, *Chaoxian yanxingshi yu Chaoxian tongxinsbi* [Korean Envoys to Beijing and Japan] (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2010). I use the Chinese translation of Fuma Susumu's articles because there is no equivalent Japanese book and the papers originally published in Japanese have been revised and updated for Chinese translations.

13 See Ronald P. Toby, "Carnival of the Aliens: Korean Embassies in Edo-Period Art and Popular Culture," *Monumenta Nipponica* 41.4 (Winter 1986): 415–56.

14 New studies show that Shigemune was responsible for drafting the plan but did not represent Iemitsu's attitude. He drafted the plan when the messenger who brought Zheng Chenggong's letter passed through Osaka. See Komiya Kiyora, "Minmatsu Shinso Nihon kisshi ni taisuru Iemitsu seiken no taiō" [Iemitsu Government's Response to the Requests of Japanese Troops During the Late Ming and Early Qing] *Kyūshū shigaku* 97 (1990) 4: 1–20. See also Ronald Toby, "Sakoku" to *iu gaiko*, pp.137–39; "Minmatsu Shinsho Nihon kisshi nikansuru Tachibana monjo" [Tachibana Documents Related to Requests of Japanese Troops During the late Ming and Early Qing], *Nihon rekishi* 498 (1989): 94–100.

15 Reinier H. Hesselink, *Prisoners from Nambu: Reality and Make-Believe in Seventeenth-Century Japanese Diplomacy* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2002), pp.93–96. For Tadakatsu's dealing with the Korean embassy, see the Korean documents addressed to him in Sakai Family Archive, reprinted in *Obama shishi, Hansei shiryōhen* [Obama City History: Series of Domain Administration Documents] ed. Obama City Council (Obama: Obama Shiyakusho, 1983–1990), pp.40–48. See also Harold Bolitho, *Treasures Among Men: The Fudai Daimyo in Tokugawa Japan* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1974), pp.165–66.

ceremonies contained all the elements of formal audiences with foreign diplomats and were interpreted differently by various spectators. I believe that this ambiguity was created to allow Yinyuan's Manpukuji to be institutionalised as a symbolic representative of China. This interpretation is supported by the *bakufu*'s choice of only having Chinese abbots in Manpukuji, and making their regular visits to Edo part of the routine of audiences with shoguns to accept new appointments and congratulate the new shogun on his succession. These visits, though not specifically characterised as diplomatic "tribute" missions (and remaining politically ambiguous), were comparable to those of Korean and Ryukyuan embassies in the minds of the common people during the Edo period. All evidence points strongly to the idea that the *bakufu* was less interested in Yinyuan's religious message than they were eager to harness the political benefits of having a Chinese presence in Edo Japan.

Two Diplomatic "Coincidences"

The inner workings of the *bakufu*'s decision to retain Yinyuan are largely unknown to us, as many secret discussions were not recorded. Public notices and official letters concerning Yinyuan simply announced the result of such deliberations. However, the *bakufu*'s other diplomatic measures for dealing with China and Korea may offer some clues as to how high *bakufu* officials considered Yinyuan's case, because the officials who were dealing with Yinyuan were all adept in dealing with foreign affairs. For example, the Kyoto deputy Itakura Shigemune 板倉重宗 (1586–1657), the representative of shogunal power in west Japan, invited Yinyuan to Fumonji and personally interviewed him. During his long career as Kyoto deputy, Shigemune was also actively involved in China affairs and joined a *bakufu* debate about sending troops to China to help Ming loyalists in 1646, strongly supporting the move and even drafting an invasion plan that still raises debate among scholars.¹⁴ Another supporter of Yinyuan, Grand Councillor (*tairō* 大老) Sakai Tadakatsu 酒井忠勝 (1587–1662), was one of the most influential policy makers at the time and continued to exert his influence in domestic and international affairs, as we can see from his handling of the 1643 Korean embassy and the capture of the Dutch ship *Breskens* in the same year.¹⁵

It is hard to imagine that when the *bakufu* was dealing with Yinyuan they only appreciated his Zen teaching and did not consider his status as a Chinese monk and its ramifications for other international affairs. Two events with international significance that superficially appear to be mere "coincidences" during Yinyuan's trip to Osaka in 1655 and his trip to Edo in 1658 might shed light on the *bakufu*'s decision-making process.

Arriving at Osaka with the 1655 Korean Embassy

If the *bakufu* only considered Yinyuan as a Zen teacher, there would have been no need to relocate him from Nagasaki, as Japanese monks could travel there to study with him. Before Yinyuan came to Japan, his dharma nephew Daozhe Chaoyuan 道者超元 (1602–62) was in Nagasaki; from 1651 to 1658 Japanese monks such as Bankei Yōtaku 盤珪永琢 (1622–93) and Dokuan Genkō 獨庵玄光 (1630–98) came to study under him without causing major issues.¹⁶ When the Myōshiji monk Ryōkei and others petitioned for Yinyuan to stay in Fumonji, located between Kyoto and Osaka, the *bakufu* granted their request even though there were no obvious political gains for them. In the meantime, another more portentous diplomatic event

occurred. In 1653, the year before Yinyuan arrived, the fourth shogun, Ietsuna, took power and both Korea and Ryukyu sent envoys to attend his inauguration. The Korean king sent an impressive 488 strong delegation headed by the official envoys Jo Hyeong 趙珩 (1606–79) and Nam Yong-ik 南龍翼 (1628–92).¹⁷

The 1655 embassy was particularly important because Manchu troops had invaded Korea in 1627 and 1636, and Korea had to subject herself to Manchu rule. The 1655 Korean embassy was the first to Japan after the fall of the Ming in 1644.¹⁸ On the ninth day of the sixth month in 1655, it left Busan釜山, arriving at Tsushima 對馬 six days later. Days earlier, on the first of the sixth month — eight days before the Korean embassy left Busan — the Magistrate of Works, Makino Shigetane 牧野成常, sent a letter to the Overseers (*bugyo* 奉行) of Nagasaki and Osaka concerning the invitation of Yinyuan to Fumonji.¹⁹

The Korean embassy travelled to Kyūshū passing Iki 壱岐 island, Chikuzen 筑前 province, and Ainoshima 藍島 (an island close to Okura), before boarding boats at Shimonoseki 下關 on the fourth day of the eighth month. On the ninth, only four days after the Korean envoys set off from Shimonoseki, Yinyuan and his disciples Damei Xingshan 大眉性善 (1616–73), Duyan Xingwen 獨言性聞 (1586–55), Huilin Xinji 慧林性機 (also known as Duzhi 独知 1609–81), Duzhan Xingying 独湛性瑩 (1628–1706), Duhou Xingshi 独吼性獅 (1624–88), and Duli Xingyi 独立性易 (also known as Dai Li 戴笠 or Dai Mangong 戴曼公 1596–1672) left Nagasaki. Their group crossed the Isahaya 諫早 River during the night of the tenth day. During the night, they stayed at Isahaya itself. The next morning, they travelled briefly in Hizen 肥前 province and boarded a boat dispatched by the Lord (*daimyo* 大名) of Shino 信濃 province, Nabeshima Katsushige 鍋島勝茂 (1580–1657), one of Hideyoshi's generals during the Korean invasion. Yinyuan's party travelled by boat for three days until they reached Okura 小倉 and stayed in Kaizenji 開善寺 on the fourteenth. Tired of receiving so many curious Japanese visitors, Yinyuan ordered the sailors to move on early in the morning. Quickly, his group reached Shimonoseki on the seventeenth but was delayed by rain.²⁰ After waiting a few days for a favourable wind, they passed Kaminoseki 上関 on the twenty-fourth. They stayed at Tsuwa 津和 on the twenty-seventh, and that night arrived at Kamaka 釜狩, then stopped at Tomo no Ura 鞆の浦 on the twenty-ninth. On the third day of the ninth month, they stopped at Murotsu 室津, finally catching up with the Korean envoys at Osaka Bay on the fifth.²¹ (See Map 1 for the reconstructed itinerary.)

It was a bright day according to Yinyuan's poetic record, however, his chronological biography only recorded:

... on the fifth day of the ninth month, [the master] arrived at the port of Osaka. It happened that the Korean kingdom came to pay tribute. Spectators formed such a crowd that they resembled a solid wall. The master could not get to the shore and had to change to a small boat to travel along the river.²²

The Korean envoy arrived at the port in the early morning and found crowds had gathered to watch them, men and women sitting on both sides of the road. After the Koreans landed, they stayed at Nishi Honganji's Tsumura Cloister in Osaka 西本願寺津村別院.²³ Apparently, Yinyuan's boat arrived shortly after. Finding the port had been occupied, he had to yield to the formally invited foreign guests. He landed on Karasaki 唐崎 the next day and was ushered to Fumonji nearby Fukuta 富田.

Yinyuan did not meet the Korean envoys or even see their splendid procession (although it would have been an interesting encounter for the Kore-

16 See *Nanzan Dōcha goroku* [Recorded Sayings of Daozhe Chaoyuan of Southern Mountain], reprinted in *Dokuan Genkō gobōshū* [Dokuan Genkō's Dharma Protecting Collection], eds Kagamishima Genryū et al. (Tokyo: Shigensha, 1996), Vol.2.

17 The Ryukyu king Shōshitsu 尚質 sent his son as the ambassador. An envoy sent by the Siamese king also arrived in the fifth month of 1656.

18 For more on the intricate relationship between Korea and Manchu, see Etsuko Hae-Jin Kang, *Diplomacy and Ideology in Japanese-Korean Relations: From the Fifteenth to the Eighteenth Century* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997), pp.177–85.

19 It was not known why he was assigned the job to take care of Yinyuan before 1658. See Kimura Tokugen, *Ōbakushū no rekishī, jinbutsu, bunka* [History, People, and Culture of the Ōbaku Sect] (Tokyo: Shunjūsha, 2005), p.305.

20 In another record, Yinyuan said it was the nineteenth day. *Shinsan Kōtei Ingen Zenshū* [Newly Collated Complete Collection of Yinyuan's Work], ed. Hirakubo Akira (Kyoto: Kaimei shoin, 1979) [hereafter *IGZS*] 6: 2846.

21 This itinerary was reconstructed through his poems written during the journey. See *IGZS* 6: 2845–50.

22 See *Ingen Zenji Nenpu* [Chronological Biography of Zen Master Yinyuan], ed. Nōnin Kōdō (Kyoto: Zenbunka kenkyūjo, 1999), p.267.

23 They left Osaka in the eleventh day of the ninth month and arrived in Edo in the second day of the tenth month. They left Edo in the first day of the eleventh month and arrived in Osaka on the twenty-third day and returned to Busan in the tenth day of the first month of 1657. There are many studies of the Korean embassies during the Tokugawa period, especially during the eighteenth century. For the 1655 embassy, see Nakao, *Chōsen tsūshinshi to Tokugawa bakufu*, pp.152–66. Both Jo Hyeong and Nam Yong-ik left travelogues about their trip in Japan. See Sin Ki-su and Nakao Hiroshi, *Taikei chōsen tsūshinshi: zenrin to yūkō no kiroku* [Complete Compilation about Korean Envoys: Records of Good Neighbors and Friendship], Vol.3 (Tokyo: Akashi Shoten, 1995). It should be noted that Nam Yong-ik also served as vice ambassador of the Korean embassy to Beijing in 1666.

24 Wu, "Leaving for the Rising Sun."

25 The letter is preserved in *Kai bentai* [Changing Situations of the Civilised and the Barbarian], compiled by Hayashi Shunsai and Hayashi Hōkō, ed. Ura Ren'ichi (Tokyo: Tōyō Bunko, 1958–1959), Vol.1, p.45.

26 See Wu, "Leaving for the Rising Sun," p.108.

27 Ruan Wenxi, *Haishang jianwen lu* [Records of Hearsays from the Sea] (rpt. Fuzhou: Fujian renmin chubanshe, 1982), p.43.

28 For details about Mount Huangbo under Zheng Chenggong's occupation, see Lin Guanchao, *Yinyuan Longqi Chanshi* [Chan Master Yinyuan Longqi] (Xiamen: Xiamen daxue chuapanshe, 2010), pp.202–07.

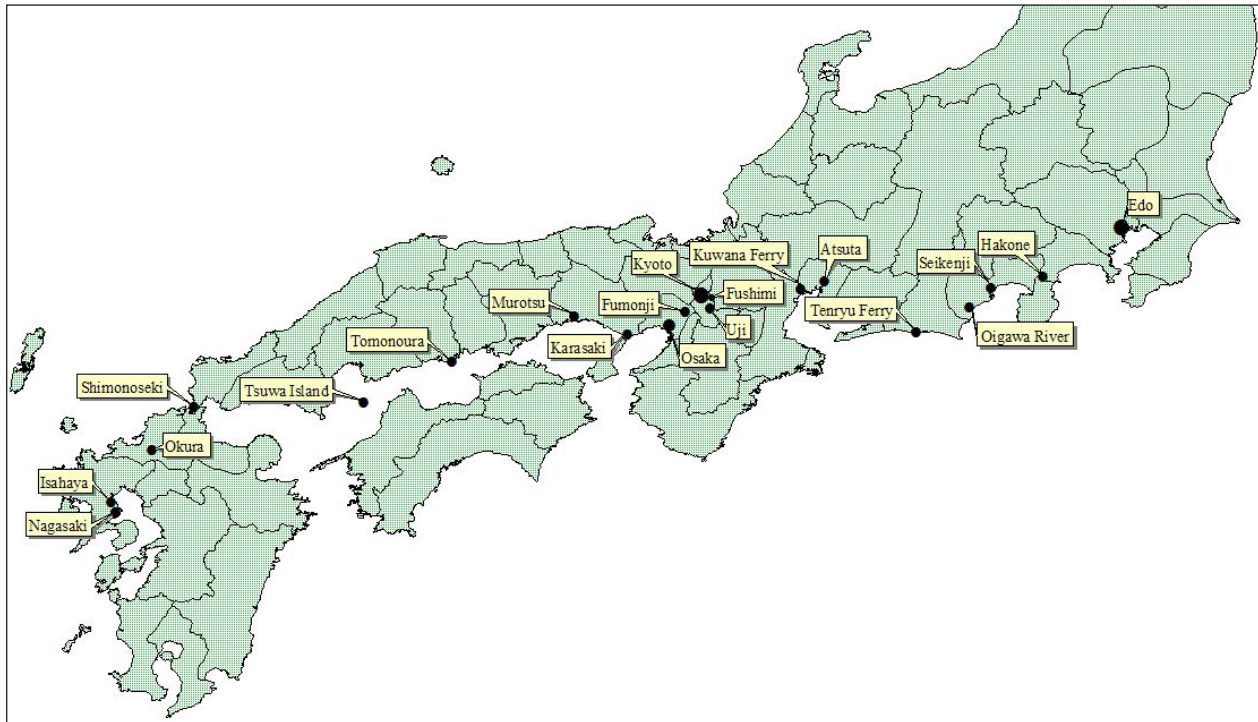
ans to see a man from the "Heavenly Dynasty" *tianchao* 天朝—their suzerain country, Qing China). Their arrival on the same day in Osaka appeared to be pure coincidence, however when the invitation was extended to Yinyuan, the Korean embassy was already on their way to Japan. Allowing a small group of Chinese monks to travel within Japan at the same time was an interesting move by the *bakufu*, suggesting they intended to have the Chinese participate in a similar mission. Of course, Yinyuan's status and travel privileges could not match those of the Korean embassy. All this may be mere coincidence but if we take into consideration the *bakufu*'s intention to construct a Japan-centred international order in East Asia, Yinyuan's visit and his final settlement at Uji 宇治 were significant as he could be considered as representing China in this new world order. As mentioned above, it was impossible for the *bakufu* to ignore China when dealing with Korea and Ryukyu, since China was the political force behind them.

Yinyuan and Zheng Chenggong's Envoy, Zhang Guangqi

Without a formal diplomatic relationship, the *bakufu* had to engage China in a more cautious and tactical way, especially when the Qing regime was not stabilised and several Southern Ming courts claimed legitimacy simultaneously. The Ming–Qing transition and Zheng Chenggong's resistance movement only made Chinese affairs more complicated as Japan had to negotiate with the Manchu court, the Southern Ming regimes, and Zheng Chenggong's regional hegemony in the southeast coast and Taiwan. One of the central issues was how to deal with the repeated requests for military aid from China. The *bakufu* chose to be inactive but vigilant while the political and military situation was not completely settled. As a general policy, they would turn down requests for direct military intervention, only occasionally providing supplies. However, the *bakufu* appeared to be more active in promoting Yinyuan who came directly from China, and in particular from Zheng Chenggong's stronghold in Xiamen 廈門 as I demonstrated in my previous study.²⁴

Although there is no evidence to suggest that Yinyuan carried Zheng Chenggong's secret request for aid, it is certain that his presence in Japan was a valuable asset for Zheng Chenggong to leverage his plea. Another "coincidence" occurred three years after Yinyuan settled in Fumonji: Zheng Chenggong sent his general, Zhang Guangqi 張光啓, an acquaintance of Yinyuan, to request aid in the middle of 1658. Because Zhang Guangqi knew Yinyuan personally, he even petitioned to meet him. When Zheng Chenggong mentioned Yinyuan's name in his official "state letter" to the shogun, it may have alerted the senior councillors in Edo. However, the response to Zheng's request was quick and negative: Zhang Guangqi was asked to stay in Nagasaki without an audience with senior *bakufu* officials. However, the *bakufu* suddenly became interested in Yinyuan: just one month after Zheng Chenggong's letter reached Edo, Yinyuan was asked to prepare to go there, arriving three months later.

Zheng Chenggong's 1658 envoy was sent under auspicious circumstances. In the fifth month, Zheng had launched his famous Northern Expedition and quickly besieged Nanjing, though the campaign failed in the second year. Just two months after the start of the campaign, in the sixth month, he dispatched Zhang Guangqi to Japan. Zhang brought Zheng Chenggong's formal letter to the shogun, which was relayed to Edo from Nagasaki on the tenth day of the seventh month.²⁵ Although the letter itself did not mention the request for aid, the intention to form a special allegiance was clear. In



various Chinese sources, however, Zhang's mission is clearly associated with these attempts as he did receive some military supplies.²⁶ For example, *A Record of Experiences at Sea* associates this mission with Yinyuan's arrival in Japan:

In the seventh month [of 1658], [Zheng Chenggong] ordered General Zhang Guangqi to borrow armies from Japan and took the monk Yinyuan and his disciples from Huangbo monastery, fifty in total, with their boats. Because at that time, the Japanese invited Yinyuan sincerely, he was carried [to Japan] together with them.²⁷

It is plainly wrong, as claimed here, that Yinyuan went to Japan in 1658 with Zhang Guangqi. However, such an “innocent” anachronism suggests an implicit connection between this mission and Yinyuan, which the Ming loyalists wished to establish. Indeed, both Zheng Chenggong's letter and Zhang Guangqi's request directed the *bakufu*'s attention to Yinyuan.

On his arrival at Nagasaki, Zhang Guangqi contacted Yinyuan, who was in Fumonji at Osaka, and requested a meeting with him. Judging from their communications, they had met previously in Huangbo monastery when Zheng Chenggong's army temporarily occupied the Fuqing area.²⁸ Zhang Guangqi wrote several letters to Yinyuan and one of them, probably written in the ninth month of 1658 when he was about to return, is still extant. In this polite letter, Zhang expressed his admiration for Yinyuan and indicated that he had planned to meet him in Kyoto but was unable. Zhang also indicated that in a separate letter Yinyuan had left a message for Zheng Chenggong to continue to spread Buddhism in his territories and to protect his people. Zhang promised to bring this message back to Zheng Chenggong. Realising the importance of Zhang's mission, Yinyuan replied with a poem to encourage Zhang “not to fail in his China mission” 不辱中華命, showing the significance of his trip to Japan. Zhang also wrote another letter to Yinyuan to express his admiration, and once again hinted at the political connection between Yinyuan and Zheng Chenggong.²⁹

Map 1

Yinyuan's Itineraries from Nagasaki to Fumonji in 1655 and from Uji to Edo in 1658. ©Jiang Wu. Created with ArcView 3.2 and CHGIS 1828 Province (*kuni*) Boundaries base map released in Feb. 2004.

29 This letter has been reprinted in Chen Zhichao, Wei Zuhui, and He Lingxiu, eds, *Riben Huangboshan Wanfusi cang lüri gaoseng Yinyuan zhongtu laiwang shuxin ji* [Collection of Correspondence Between Yinyuan, the Sojourning Eminent Monk in Manpukuji at Mount Ōbaku in Japan and China] (Beijing: China Microfilm Center, 1995), letter no. 094, pp.433–40. This letter has been analysed by Ono Kazuko in “Ingen zenji ni ateta itsū shokan” [One Letter Addressed to Zen Master Yinyuan], in Nagata Hide-masa, ed., *Chūgoku shutsudo moji shiryō no kisoteki kenkyū* [Foundational Study of Excavated Textual Masterials from China] (Kyoto: Genbunsha, 1993), pp.65–69. For a reproduction of Zhang Guangqi's letter to Yinyuan, see Chen Zhichao et al., *Riben Huangboshan Wanfusi cang lüri gaoseng Yinyuan zhongtu laiwang shuxin ji*, p.433. For Yinyuan's reply, see *IGZS*, 6:2636. See also Lin Guangchao's detailed analysis in his *Yinyuan Longqi Chanshi*, pp.222–29.

30 *Kai bentai*, Vol.1, p.45.

31 See also Lin Guanchao's different reading in his *Yinyuan Longqi Chan-shi*, p.225. Lin reasoned that the phrase "Yuangong" was misprinted and should be "yuanglao" 元老 or "yuanrong" 元戎, referring to senior *bakufu* high officials such as Itakura Shigetsune.

32 This letter was preserved in *Kai bentai* and was usually dated to 1648 because it was appended to Zheng Chai's 鄭彩 letter. However, Kawahara believed that it should be dated to 1658 based on its content. See his "Tei Seikō no Nihon seigan to Ingen zenji no Edo gyōke: Kai hentai shosai Tei Seikō enhei yōseisho no nendai kaishaku ni tsuite" [Zheng Chenggong's Request of Aid and Zen Master Yinyuan's Travel to Edo: On the Dating of Zheng Chenggong's Letter of Requesting Troops Recorded in Kai hentai], *Ōbaku bunka* [Ōbaku Culture] 120 (1999–2000): 61–74, at p.70. See also Kawahara Eishun, "Ingen Zenji no tōtō to tairiku jōsei" [Zen Master Yinyuan's Migration and the Situation in the Continent], *Ōbaku bunka* 116 (1996): 53–58.

If the *bakufu* officials could ignore the exchange of private letters between Yinyuan and Zhang Guangqi, they could not overlook the clear reference to Yinyuan in Zheng Chenggong's official "state letter". In this, Zheng first alluded to the historical connection between China and Japan and praised Japan's moral integrity and the shogun's military power. Emphasising the fact that Japan was his birthplace, and demonstrating his determination to expel the Manchu army from China, he expected to have more frequent communications with Japan after the Ming dynasty was restored. When he praised the shogun's orderly governance, Zheng mentioned the *bakufu*'s religious policy: "You have used Buddhism to assist Confucianism, again it has been seen that high officials studied with [Master] Huangbo (Yinyuan)" 釋輔儒宗再見元公參黃檗.³⁰ This "Master Huangbo" must refer to Yinyuan, who hailed from Huangbo and at that time resided in Japan. It is, however, curious why Zheng Chenggong chose to mention Yinyuan and Huangbo as the two had never met: it is perhaps plausible that, because of frequent contact between Nagasaki and Xiamen, Yinyuan's successes in Japan had been reported back to China, and that Zheng referred to Yinyuan in his letter to strengthen his ties with Japan.³¹

This passing reference must have alerted the *bakufu* and, according to Kawahara Eishun's 河原英俊 study, their reaction to Zheng Chenggong's letter and the decision to invite Yinyuan to Edo corresponded perfectly. On the twenty-fourth day of the sixth month of 1658, Zheng Chenggong's official letter arrived at Nagasaki and was rushed to Edo on the tenth day of the seventh month. Meanwhile, after receiving several letters from his teacher Feiyin Tongrong 費隱通容 (1593–1662) and lay patrons in China, Yinyuan asked Ryōkei to lobby on his behalf for permission to go back to China. The *bakufu* did not respond until the seventh month and decided to that Yinyuan should travel to Edo instead. Yinyuan left for Edo on the sixth day of the ninth month and arrived in Edo on the eighteenth. Shortly before this trip — on the fourteenth day of the eighth month — Zheng Chenggong sent a second letter requesting troops because of major military setbacks in Nanjing, which arrived in Nagasaki and then in Edo on the first day of the ninth month.³² A quick rejection was sent from Edo on the second and arrived in Nagasaki on the fifteenth. On the twentieth, Zheng Chenggong's envoy left Nagasaki, just two days after Yinyuan arrived in Edo.

The *bakufu*'s choice to see Yinyuan rather than Zheng Chenggong's envoy, Zhang Guangqi, is the subject of much debate: arguably Yinyuan was called to Edo to replace Zhang. The *bakufu*'s rejection of Zheng's request was consistent with their previous decisions not to intervene, not because of Japan's lack of interest in China affairs, but due to their lack of confidence in Zheng's resistance movement. On the contrary, Yinyuan's visit to Edo at the same time showed the *bakufu*'s deep interest in China and their intention to explore another kind of relationship represented by Chinese monks, which was conventional and acceptable for Japanese rulers. These two diplomatic "coincidences" suggest that, although Japan rejected the China-centred tribute system, the new Tokugawa *bakufu* hoped that China could still play a role in its new diplomatic order. Yinyuan's arrival and his identity as an eminent monk provided the *bakufu* with an opportunity to establish an alternative place for China on Japan's imagined world map.

Did Yinyuan Come on a Tribute Mission?

The *bakufu*'s attitude towards Yinyuan is also clear in numerous references to him in official and private documents. His treatment in ceremonial,



especially his audience with Ietsuna, reveals a secret agenda of state building and asserting ritual hegemony. The *bakufu* was notorious for manipulating diplomatic language and ceremonial protocol to gain an upper hand in foreign relationships. In the eyes of commoners, the Korean embassies were overwhelmingly considered as tribute missions (*raichō* 來朝), while the official designation for such visits was *raihei* 來聘, a diplomatic term developed during the Warring States period in China to describe visits among vassal states of equal status.³³ References to Yinyuan's arrival demonstrate a similar pattern. As I will show below, although most official records used the vague term "coming east" (*tōrai* 東來), popular writers often referred to his journey to Japan as a "tribute mission", like the Korean embassy. Although the simple choice of wording might be considered arbitrary, it is suggestive that in the popular imagination, Yinyuan's audience with Ietsuna, through ceremonially ambiguous, was represented as a tribute mission and was even visualised in popular paintings in this way, as illustrated in Figure 1.³⁴ More surprisingly, in a clear move to perpetuate the image of Yinyuan's trip as a "tribute mission" performed by Chinese monks, the *bakufu*, after granting him land and financing the building of Manpukuji, set the precedent of only appointing Chinese monks as Manpukuji abbots while requesting they attend the shōgun's inauguration ceremonies as the Korean and Ryukyuan embassies did.

References to Yinyuan's Arrival in Japanese Sources

Yinyuan's arrival and presence in Japan was a public event in the mid-seventeenth century, and many Japanese public and private sources

Figure 1

Ōbaku kaizan kokushi raichō tōgan no zu 黃檗開山國師來朝到岸之圖 by Ōbaku monk-painter Zento Shinsō 禪統真紹 (1820–76), colour in silk, 42.5x57cm, preserved in Hōdenji at Shizuoka 静岡法田寺, reprinted from Ōbaku bunka, no. 124, 2003–4, inside cover. (Another painting of similar theme painted by Gesshū Kan 月洲漢 in 1784, titled *Fushō kokushi raichō no zu* 普照國師來朝圖, reprinted in Nagasaki shi shi, pp.150–51.)

³³ See Toby, *State and Diplomacy in Early Modern Japan*, pp.41–42. See also Yamamoto Hirofumi, *Sakoku to kaikin no jidai*, pp.206–09.

³⁴ It would be interesting to compare these paintings with those of Korean procession studied by Toby. See Toby, "Carnival of the Aliens." However, due to space, I will not elaborate here.

35 Translated by Richard Jaffee, "Ingen and the Threat to the Myōshinjiha," p.157. Mukai Genshō, *Chishiben*, pp.23–44.

36 See translation of this record of *Ōbaku geki* in Baroni, *Obaku Zen*, p.207.

37 This can be seen in the *bakufu* orders issued in the third day of the fifth month of 1656 and the twenty-sixth day of the seventh month to allow Yinyuan to stay in Fumonji and restrict Japanese visitors to 200. See documents preserved in Keizuiji archive 慶瑞寺文書 and included in Tsuji Zennosuke, *Nihon Bukkyō shi* [History of Japanese Buddhism] (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1944–55), Vol.9, pp.338–39,

38 See Hirose Yutaka, ed., *Yamaga Sokō Zenshū* [Complete Collection of Yamaga Sokō's Works], Vol.15 (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1941), pp.62–64.

39 I am aware of the existence of a large number of *bakufu* diaries kept by various officials and some compilations such as *Tokugawa jikki* [Veritable Record of Tokugawa Regime] were not primary sources. Without extensive visits to these archives, I mainly relied on published sources and digitised manuscripts made available at Digital Archive of National Archive of Japan <<http://www.digital.archives.go.jp/DAS/meta/MetaOutServlet>>. For the complex textual lineage of various *bakufu* diaries, see Komiya Kiyora, *Edo Bakufu no nikki to girei shiryō* [Dairies of Edo Bakufu and Historical Sources About Rituals and Ceremonies] (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 2006), pp.1–190.

40 For these records, see Fujii Jōji, *Edo bakufu nikki: himeji sakaikebon* [Diaries of Edo Bakufu: The Sakai Family of Himeiji Edition], Vol.26 (Tokyo: Yumani Shobō, 2004), pp.362, 416, 455, 456 and 477.

41 *Shisō zasshiki* [Miscellaneous Notes of Temple and Shrine Officials], fasc. 15, in *Naikaku bunko shozō shiseki sōkan* [Series of Historical Materials Preserved in Naikaku Archive] (Tokyo: Kyūko Shoin, 1981), Vol.7, p.354. Other documents I examined include those preserved in the archives of Keizuiji 慶瑞寺, Tafukuin 多福院, Senjuin 仙壽院, and Sakai families 酒井家, which have been collected by Tsuji Zennosuke and reprinted in his *Nihon Bukkyō shi*, Vol.9, pp.328–31, 339–40, 343–44, 347–48 and 351–52. Fourteen other relevant *bakufu* documents preserved in the archives of the Fumonji 普門寺 and Shimizu families 清水家 have been reprinted in *Takatsuki shishi* [Takatsuki City History] (Takatsuki: Takatsuki-shi, 1973–84), Vol.4, part 2, *Shiryō hen* [Section of Historical Documents], no.3, pp.587–95. Four letters from Tadakatsu to Yinyuan preserved in the Sakai Family Archive were reprinted in *Obama shishi*, pp.65–67.

recorded his activities. The fanfare he caused in Nagasaki even disturbed Mukai Genshō, who, as noted above, was hostile to all foreign influences. He noted that Yinyuan's fame as a great teacher and another "Bodhidharma" preceded his arrival in Japan. Moreover, once there people came to worship him day and night and Japanese monks, especially those from Myōshinji came to study with him. He noted in his book *Chapter on Realizing One's Shame* (*Chichiben* 知恥篇):

Monks and laypeople, men and women, go to see him one after another. Day and night, there is no one who does not pay obeisance to him...Not knowing right from wrong, or honor from disgrace, only the monks of the Kanzanha 関山派 [Myōshinji]—old and young monks, wearing purple robes or black robes—come and go without respite. I have heard that all of the two hundred-odd monks gathered in Yinyuan's assembly are members of the Kanzanha.³⁵

Yinyuan's arrival in Fumonji also caused a stir, and the *bakufu* even chastised Ryōkei for allowing so many visitors to come. It happened that many Japanese pilgrims came to a nearby Ikko-sect 一向宗 temple to attend a ceremony commemorating Shinran's 親鸞 (1173–1263) death. After hearing a Chinese monk was living at the nearby Fumonji, they crowded into the monastery to see Yinyuan.³⁶ Even more Japanese sent requests for Yinyuan's calligraphy. The *bakufu* had to control the chaos by restricting the number of visitors to 200 capable Japanese students.³⁷

Yinyuan's arrival at Edo in the winter of 1658 was also a sensation. During his seventy odd day stay, many visited him, both rich and poor. The Confucian scholar Yamaga Sokō 山鹿素行 (1622–85), thirty-seven at the time, was one of these curious people. Introduced by his friend, the Hirado lord Matsuura Shigenobu 松浦鎮信 (1622–1703), who knew Yinyuan from Nagasaki, Yamaga visited Rinshōin 麟祥院 (or Tentakuji 天澤寺) where Yinyuan stayed and had a short conversation with him on the sixteenth day of the tenth month of 1658.³⁸

Yinyuan's moves were also recorded in official records such as *Diary of the Edo Bakufu* and the *Veritable Records of Tokugawa*.³⁹ In these documents, Yinyuan was referred to neutrally as Ingen zenji 隱元禪師 without implying any diplomatic significance. The *Diary of the Edo Bakufu* has five entries concerning Yinyuan before the founding of Manpukuji in 1661, but none of them characterised his visit as a tribute mission,⁴⁰ and neither did official documents. For example, in the *Miscellaneous Notes of Temple and Shrine Officials* (*Shisō zasshiki* 祠曹雜識), a collection of documents from the Office of the Superintendent of Temple and Shrine Affairs, Yinyuan's arrival to Japan was referred to as "his boat coming to shore" (*chosen* 著船) and his meeting with the shogun as "coming for an audience" (*ekken* 謁見) or a "royal viewing" (*omemie* 御目見). Among the official decrees issued by the *bakufu*, only one document addressed Yinyuan's presence using the term *raichō*.⁴¹ However, in private letters and anecdotal notes such as *An Outsider's Notes on Ōbaku* (*Ōbaku geki* 黃檗外記), and the *Corruptions of Zen Communities* (*Zenrin shūbei shū* 禪林執弊集), Yinyuan's visit was overwhelmingly referred to as a tribute mission. For example, Mujaku Dōchū 無著道忠 (1653–1745) recorded how Jikuin referred to Yinyuan when addressing Kyoto deputy Itakura Shigemune in *An Outsider's Notes on Ōbaku*:

The thirty-second generation descendent of Linji, a worthy teacher, has come to Nagasaki from China to pay a tribute visit [*raichō*] and says that he must soon return to China. He is an honored guest of the Rinzai sect in Japan, so I would like to show him some hospitality.⁴²

Japanese monks also wrote explicitly about Yinyuan's journey as *raichō*, including numerous such references in private letters among Myōshinji monks. For example, Japanese monk Kyorei Ryōkaku 虚極了廓 (1600–1691) wrote to Tokuō after he stayed with Yinyuan for the winter retreat in 1654 that, “Yinyuan arrived (*raichō*) as anticipated”.⁴³ In Ryōkei's invitation letter for Yinyuan to move to Fumonji, he wrote: “Our country recently has not heard of any righteous teacher coming for a tribute visit”.⁴⁴

It should be noted that unofficially *raichō* was commonly used in private records to refer to the arrival of foreigners, and might not have implied any special meaning. However, the etymology of the word is deeply rooted in the ideology of the Sinocentric tribute system; the *bakufu* appears to have been keenly aware of this and intentionally avoided such references in official records. Sakai Tadakatsu's letter to Yinyuan (dated to the third day of the fifth month of 1659), which announced the shogun's decision to allow Yinyuan to stay permanently might illustrate the *bakufu*'s ambivalent attitude towards characterising Yinyuan's presence in Japan a tribute mission. In this letter, Tadakatsu first expressed his great admiration for Yinyuan:

I received your letter and desired seeing you in person after reading it. First, I am happy that you are healthy and at peace. It also made me recall your visit to Edo last winter. After you came to Edo Castle and paid homage to the shogun, I met you in person for the first time and was honoured that you deigned to visit my home. This was indeed a most fortunate outcome of our marvellous meeting. Even today, I cherish it in my heart.

He indicated in this letter that Ryōkei had again petitioned the shogun on Yinyuan's behalf to return to China, and subsequently conveyed the the result:

You said in your letter that you were thinking of returning to China. Your feelings for your home country are indeed laudable. Ryōkei went to persuade the shogun again and so we heard the order from the Taikun [Ietsuna]: “What Yinyuan has requested is indeed reasonable. However, when he came he subjected himself to me. Since I have received him in audience and he is senior in age, I suspect it is better that he settle peacefully in this land rather than cross vast distances on rough seas. Therefore, choose a place close to the capital and grant him a piece of land to build a temple.”

Tadakatsu then asked Yinyuan to accept this offer:

This is the shogun's decree. You should follow his orders and spread Zen teachings here; do not mention your wish to return again. If you do this, I will look forward to meeting again with great pleasure. Ryōkei will inform you of the other arrangements. There is no more to say.

Tadakatsu signed the letter on the third day of the fifth month of the second year of the Manji 万治 reign with the *dharmā* name that Yinyuan gave to him: Kūin 空印—the “Seal of Emptiness”.⁴⁵

Here, Tadakatsu referred to Yinyuan's arrival in Japan simply as “coming to the East”, avoiding the term *raichō*. However, he referred to the shogun as the Taikun or “Great Lord”, a new diplomatic coinage that asserted that the Tokugawa shogun held the position at the centre of the Japanese world order. This approach was similar to the way Japan handled Korean affairs: that is, they did not refer to the Korean embassy as a tribute mission but allowed Japanese people to see it as such simply by treating it as one. The tone of the letter and the excuse Tadakatsu gave on behalf of Ietsuna also reminds us of a Sinocentric mentality best described in the Chinese phrase “Cherishing Men from Afar” (*buairou yuanren* 懷柔遠人), used as the title of James Hevia's monograph on Macartney's mission to the Qing in 1793.

42 See Baroni's translation in her *Obaku Zen*, p.206. For the original phrase, see Tsuji, *Nihon Bukkyō shi*, Vol.9, p.327.

43 Reprinted in Tsuji's *Nihon Bukkyō shi*, Vol.9, p.322. See Baroni's translation of the the letter in *Obaku Zen*, pp.124–25.

44 Tsuji, *Nihon Bukkyō shi*, Vol.9, pp.332–33.

45 This letter has been reproduced in many books. For example, Hirakubo Akira, *Ingen* [Yinyuan] (Kyoto: Yoshikawa kobunkan, 1974), p.124. A recent reproduction is included in a special exhibition catalogue, *Obaku: Kyoto Uji Manpukuji no meibō to Zen no shinpū* [Obaku: Treasures in Manpukuji of Kyoto's Uji and the New Zen Style] (Kyushu, Kyūshū kokuritsu hakubutsukan, 2011), no.58, p.116.

46 See Toby, "Carnival of the Aliens"; Hesselink, *Prisoners from Nambu*; John E. Wills, *Embassies and Illusions: Dutch and Portuguese Envoys to K'ang-hsi, 1666–1687* (Cambridge, Mass.: Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University, 1984); and James Hevia, *Cherishing Men from Afar: Qing Guest Ritual and the Macartney Embassy of 1793* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1995).

47 For the role of Zen monks as diplomats, see Nishio Kenryū, "Kyoto gozan no Gaikōteki kinō: Gaikōkan toshite no zensō" [The Diplomatic Function of the Five Mountains in Kyoto: Zen Monks as Diplomats], in *Ajia no naka no nihon-shi. 2: Gaikō to zensō* [Japanese History within Asia], ed. Arano Yasunori (Tokyo: Tokyo University Press, 1992), pp.339–57. See also Nishio Kenryū, *Chūsei no Nitchū kōryū to zenshū* [Japan–China Exchanges during the Medieval Age and Zen Buddhism] (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1999), pp.190–210.

48 All these Japanese monks left their travelogues and are reprinted in *Zoku shiseki shūran 1* [The Supplementary Collection of Historical Sources], ed. Kondō Heijō (Tokyo: Kondō Shuppanbu, 1917–1930).

49 For a detailed study of the role of Buddhist clergy in early-Ming diplomatic policy, see Hasebe Yūkei, *Min-shin Bukkyō kyōdanshi kenkyū* [Study of Buddhist Monastic Orders in Ming and Qing] (Kyoto: Dōhōsha Shuppan, 1993), pp.47–76.

50 For an overview of Chinese monks in Japan and Vietnam, see Wu, *Englightenment in Dispute*, pp.98–99.

51 For example, according to Robert Borgen's study, even though Jōjin 成尋 (1011–81) arrived in China in 1072 without formal documentation as a diplomat, he was treated as if an official envoy by the Song court. See Robert Borgen, "Jōjin's Travels from Center to Center," in *Heian Japan, Centers and Peripheries*, eds. Mikael Adolphson, Edward Kamens, and Stacie Matsumoto (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2007), pp.384–413, at pp.395–96.

52 See *IGZS* 4:2328.

This condescending phrase often appeared in Chinese court literature on imperial guest rituals performed by foreign tributary envoys. The shogun's gesture suggests he considered it time for the Japanese Taikun to assume his position at the centre of the world and to "cherish" Yinyuan as a Zen master from China.

When Monks Became Diplomats

Audiences with foreign embassies and their implicit cultural and political significance have been intensively studied, for example Korean embassies to Japan, the Dutch embassy to Edo in 1643, four Dutch and Portuguese embassies to Beijing between 1666 and 1687, and Macartney's British embassy to Beijing.⁴⁶ All these embassies involved lengthy and sophisticated negotiation of ritual protocols. One of the areas these studies have not yet touched upon was the protocol concerning Buddhist monks who also acted as emissaries. Such cases were not rare in East Asian history, especially between China and Japan, who shared common roots in the Buddhist tradition.

Since the Yuan, monks such as Lanxi Daolong 蘭溪道隆 (1212–78), Wu'an Puning 兀庵普寧 (1197–1276), Daxiu Zhengnian 大休正念 (1214–89), Wuxue Zuyuan 無學祖元 (1226–86), and Yishan Yining 一山一寧 (1247–1317) were sent to Japan as envoys.⁴⁷ During the Ming, official visits from Japan were often carried out by Japanese Zen monks from the Gozan 五山 system. For example, monk-envoy Tōyō Inpō 東洋允澎 (? – 1454) visited China in 1453. In 1511, the Tōfukuji monk Ryōan Keigo 了菴桂悟 (1425–1514), chief envoy of the Japanese delegation, arrived in Ningbo and even met with the famed Neo-Confucian thinker Wang Yangming 王陽明 (1472–1529). Zen monk Sakugen Shūryō 策彦周良 (1501–79) was another famous envoy who visited China in 1539 and in 1547.⁴⁸

Similarly, the Ming government also used Buddhist monks as envoys to Japan and to other neighbouring countries. In 1372, the Ming founder Zhu Yuanzhang 朱元璋 (1328–92) dispatched Zhongyou Zuchan 仲猷祖闡 (fl. 1360–1373), and Zhongming Kexing 仲銘克新 (dates unknown) to Japan, and in 1420, Tianlun Daoyi 天倫道彝 (dates unknown) and Yi'an Yiru 一庵一如 (1352–1425) were sent as emissaries to Japan.⁴⁹

In the seventeenth century, Buddhist monks were again busy in the courts of the new regimes in China, Japan, and other East Asian areas. The Shunzhi 順治 emperor (1638–61) received the fifth Dalai Lama in Beijing in early 1653. Just two years after Yinyuan was received by Ietsuna in 1658, the Chinese emperor Shunzhi granted an audience to Yinyuan's *dbarma* uncle Muchen Daomin 木陳道忞 (1596–1674) in Beijing; in 1695, Vietnamese King Nguyễn Phúc Chu 阮福週 (1674–1725) had an audience with the Chinese Caodong master Shilian Dashan 石濂大汕 (1633–1702) from Guangdong province.⁵⁰ These activities were typical: audiences with religious leaders in the process of establishing empires had special symbolic meaning and should not be overlooked in the study of international relations in early modern East Asia.

Although speculation has been raised that Yinyuan's mission was on behalf of the Ming loyalist leader Zheng Chenggong, there is no hard evidence to support this, and to view his audience with Ietsuna as a diplomatic meeting is farfetched. However, as I showed earlier, Yinyuan was called to Edo in lieu of Zheng's envoy. Judging from this, the *bakufu* deemed it inappropriate to receive a formal envoy from China. However, it was considered suitable to have a Chinese monk replace him because such an audi-

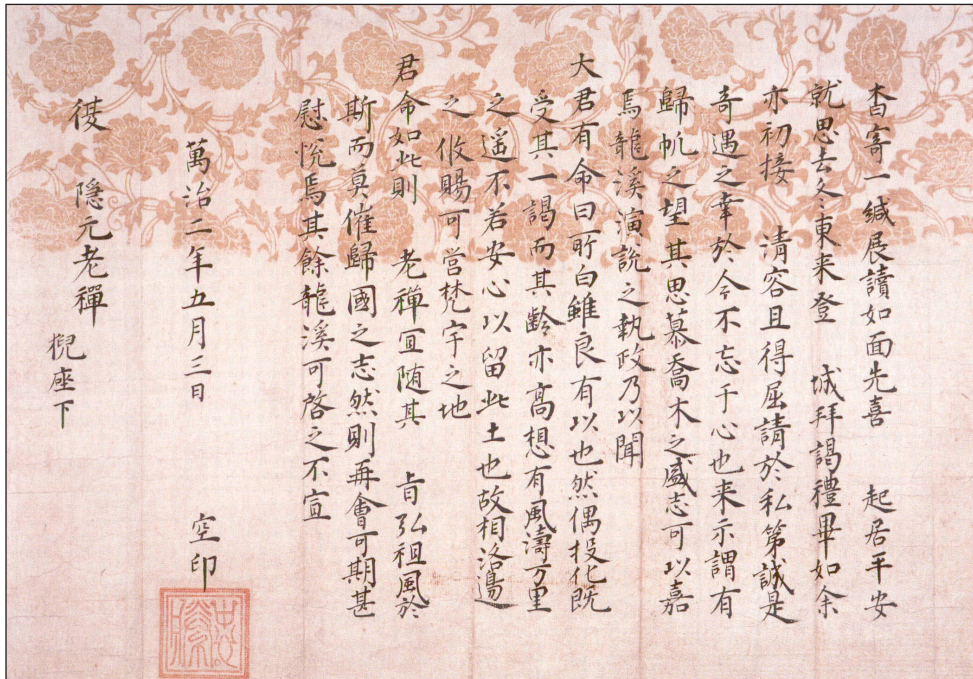


Figure 2

Sakai Tadakatsu's Letter to Yinyuan in 1659. Reprinted from Item no.58 in Ōbaku: Kyoto Uji Manpukuji no meihō to Zen no shinpū [Ōbaku: Treasures in Manpukuji of Kyoto's Uji and the New Zen Style]. (Kyushu: Kyūshū kokuritsu hakubutsukan, 2011), p.116.

ence was ritually more ambiguous, allowing different interpretations by its participants, observers, and the general public. Because of the complexity of the Sino-Japanese relationship, the meanings of ritualised audiences with foreign monks in Tokugawa Japan were intentionally blurred.⁵¹

According to Yinyuan's own account, the purpose of his trip to Edo and his audience with Ietsuna was to thank the shogun in person for Japan's hospitality and the *bakufu's* support once he had decided to go back to China—he had sought permission to leave Japan several times earlier.⁵² However, one abiding question is whether Yinyuan warranted such a formal audience with Ietsuna, especially after the Great Meireki 明曆 fire which destroyed most of the city, including the shogun's main palace (Honmaru 本丸), and when there were more important domestic issues to deal with. The *bakufu* documents, however, maintain silence about the true intention of the meeting (which was definitely not to bid farewell to Yinyuan). It is also unlikely that the seventeen-year-old shogun had any serious interest in Yinyuan's Zen teaching. Through illness, he was unable to rule the country since he was installed at the age of ten, and had to rely on senior councillors such as Matsudaira Nobutsuna 松平信綱 (1596–1662) and Sakai Tadakiyo 酒井忠清 (1624–81).

Did Ietsuna and his senior councillors appreciate Yinyuan's Zen teaching? Certainly, Sakai Tadakatsu and Inaba Masanori 稻葉正則 (1623–96) were interested in Zen. Masanori in particular became a patron of the Japanese Ōbaku monk Tetsugyū Dōki 鐵牛道機 (1628–1700).⁵³ However, they pursued their religious interests privately. Thus, if Yinyuan's Zen teaching was not the primary reason for the favour bestowed on him, his identity as a Chinese celebrity coming to Japan ten years after the founding of the Manchu empire (but still claiming to be a subject of the Ming) might have intrigued the senior councillors.

Although the Tokugawa shoguns had received Koreans, Ryukyuan, and Europeans, they had never received a Chinese in a formal audience in the early seventeenth century. The last time Japanese rulers met with Chinese

⁵³ Masanori became a stronger supporter of Ōbaku after Yinyuan's death. He was particularly close to Yinyuan's Japanese disciple Tetsugyū, who was active in Edo. He received Tetsugyū's transmission in 1688. See Kiyoshi Shimojū, *Bakkaku fudaiban no seiji kōzō: Sagami Odawara-ban to rōjū seiji* [Political Structure of Bakufu's Lineage Daimyo Domains: Odawara Domain in Sagami and the Politics of Senior Councillors] (Tokyo: Iwata Shoin, 2006), pp.311–27. See also his article "Inaba nikki ni mieru Shōtaiji to Tetsugyū Dōki" [Shōtaiji Seen from Inaba Diary and Tetsugyū Dōki, *Ōbaku bunka*, 117 (1995–97): 106–18.

54 Mary E. Berry, *Hideyoshi* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1982), p.232.

55 For new emphasis of the role of *bakufu* rituals and ceremonies in the formation of Edo society, see Komiya Kiyora, *Edo Bakufu no nikki to girei shiryō* [Diaries of Edo Bakufu and Historical Sources about Rituals and Ceremonies], pp.326–84.

56 Yinyuan's itinerary to Edo was reconstructed from his poems written during his journey. See *IGZS* 6:2918–931.

57 My account of the audience is based on *Tokugawa jikki*, (Vol.4), in *Shintei zōho Kokusbi taikēi* [Complete Collection of Newly Collated and Supplemented National History], ed. Kuroita Katsumi (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1929–64), Vol.41, p.284, which was compiled based on *Ryūei hinamiki* [Daily Records of Edo Castle] and *Osoba nikki* [Diary Besides the Shogun]. The entries in *Edo bakufu nikki* were rather brief and only Inoue was mentioned to be sent to greet Yinyuan at Tentakuji. See *Edo Bakufu nikki*, Vol.26, p.456.

envoys was Hideyoshi's audience with the Ming ambassadors in Osaka in 1596, when they tried to confer Hideyoshi with the title of "the King of Japan" in exchange for his retreat from Korea.⁵⁴ It is certain that Yinyuan was the first Chinese to be received formally by a Japanese ruler in almost 80 years. More importantly, as I have shown in the previous section, the arrival of Zheng Chenggong's letter in mid-1658, with a clear reference to Yinyuan's residence in Japan, alerted the *bakufu* about his significance.

Ceremonial Protocols in Yinyuan's Audience with Ietsuna

On the surface, Yinyuan's audience seems to have been one of many ceremonial events held in Edo Castle: each year the shoguns and his senior councillors received many foreign and domestic guests, including Japanese monks. However, Yinyuan's Chinese identity made this audience special and ceremonially important; it was a special ritual tailored for a Chinese visitor, conforming to Japanese protocol while demonstrating Yinyuan's Chinese origins by his presenting gifts of a Chinese flavor. In particular, Yinyuan had to present his *Recorded Sayings* (Yulu 語錄) published in China and Japan. These were the credentials of an authentic Chinese Zen monk, similar to official envoys who carried "state letters" as proof of their status.

Emphasising ceremonial protocol fitted into the *bakufu*'s overall agenda of imperial formation by establishing a series of ritual conventions such as keeping daily records of shogunal activities, the ranking of daimyos and officers, the ritual arrangement of the shogun's visit to Kyoto, worshipping in temples and shrines, shogunal inauguration ceremonies, and the mortuary rites for deceased shoguns. In annual *bakufu* ceremonies such as the New Year Celebration Ceremony (*Nentō Girei* 年頭儀禮), the Five Festivals (*Gosekku* 五節句), the Kashō Celebration in the middle of the year (*Kashō* 嘉祥), the Autumn Celebration in the beginning of the eighth month (*Hasaku* 八朔), and the Winter Celebration (*Gencho* 玄猪), daimyos and abbots in temples and shrines were granted an audience with the shogun who in turn dispensed gifts to them. Audiences with foreign guests such as Koreans, Ryukyuan, and Dutch ambassadors and representatives at Nagasaki were even more elaborate and meticulously prepared. All these rituals and ceremonies were carefully designed to express a kind of ceremonial supremacy and to highlight the symbolic centre through the use of ritual props, seating arrangements, dress codes, decorations, and the exchange of gifts.⁵⁵ The audience with Yinyuan occurred exactly during the formative period of these samurai ritual protocols (*buke girei* 武家儀禮).

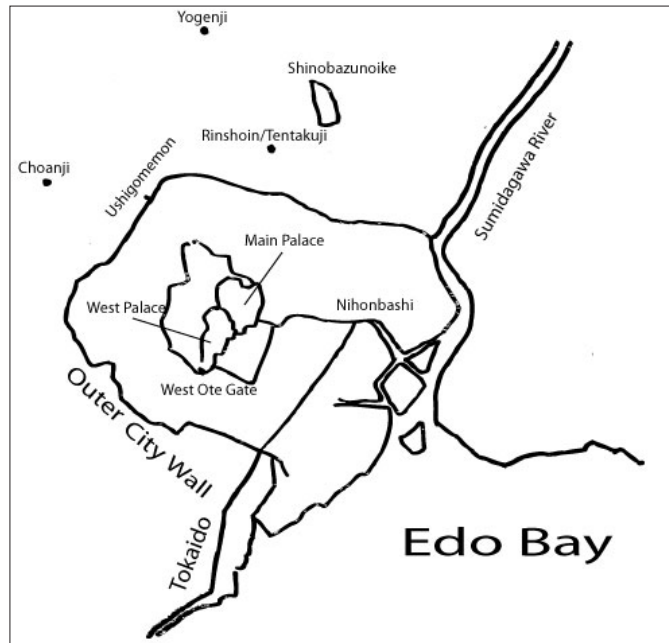
Yinyuan and his entourage left Fumonji on the sixth day of the ninth month and first headed north, stopping at Fushimi 伏見. The next day, they passed scenic Biwa Lake. Two days later, on the eighth, Yinyuan was on the road leading to Ise and passed the Kuwana Ferry 桑名渡 on the ninth. That night, he stayed at Atsuta 熱田. It began to rain when they moved again the next morning to Mikawa 三河. On the eleventh day, they were on the way to Tootōmi 遠江 province and soon passed the Tenryū Ferry 天龍渡. The thirteenth day was the most exciting time during the journey because Yinyuan could now see Mount Fuji from the Nakayama Ridge 中山嶺. He then sailed across the torrential Ōigawa River 大井川 heading for Suruga 駿河, where he stayed in a small village called Maruko 丸子. On the fourteenth day, it rained again when they paused in a small village called Ejiri 江尻. The next day (the fifteenth), he continued the march and visited Seikenji Temple 清見寺 at Mount Kyogō 巨鰲. He soon climbed over the Hakone 箱根 Pass and on the eighteenth Yinyuan arrived in Edo and was lodged in

Rinshōin 麟祥院, also known as Tentakuji 天澤寺, which had been built for the powerful nurse of the third shogun Iemitsu 家光 (1623–51), Kasuga no Tsubone 春日局 (1579–1643). In total, Yinyuan stayed in Edo for about four months.⁵⁶ (See Map 1 for his reconstructed itinerary in 1658 and Map 2 for the places he visited in Edo.)

The moment Yinyuan arrived was not opportune: most of the city had been burnt to the ground the previous year in the Great Meireki Fire. However, the audience was held as scheduled and took place in the Western Palace (Nishinomaru 西丸). Yinyuan did not leave any detailed description of this audience. However, *bakufu* diaries all recorded this event in varying degrees of detail. According to *Veritable Records of Tokugawa*, when Yinyuan arrived in Tentakuji on the eighteenth day of the ninth month, Senior Councillor Matsudaira Nobutsuna and Superintendent of Temples and Shrines Inoue Masatoshi 井上正利 (1606–75) were sent to welcome him. Yinyuan's Japanese disciple Ryōkei was first summoned on the twentieth-ninth of the tenth month to discuss details of the audience and Yinyuan was summoned on the first of the eleventh. On that day, Yinyuan arrived at West Ōte Gate 大手門 by palanquin (*norimono* 乗物). Then, he walked with the aid of his staff from the gate.⁵⁷

Yinyuan was led to wait in the Great Hall (Ōhiroma 大廣間), the official place for formal audiences with important “Outsider” Lords (*tozama daimyo* 外様大名) and foreign guests, such as Korean and Ryukyuan ambassadors, and representatives from the Dutch company at Nagasaki. The Great Hall was further divided into several sections, and depending on the occasion the audience was held in one of the smaller spaces. While Yinyuan was waiting, the shogun's attendant first came out to give a series of orders to his translator. Then, the Superintendent of Temples and Shrines appeared and ushered Yinyuan into the inner chamber. Yinyuan, together with Ryōkei and Tokuō and a translator, were allowed to enter the hall. Japanese records give a detailed description of Yinyuan's dress and behaviour: he wore a yellow robe, holding a rosary and a monk's sitting mat (*zagu* 坐具) in his left hand and his whisk in his right. He entered the door and bowed, followed by Ryōkei, Tokuō, the interpreter, senior councillors Matsudaira Nobutsuna, Abe Tadaaki 阿部中秋 (1602–71), and Inaba Masanori.

Yinyuan presented carefully chosen gifts for the shogun, ones which were indispensable in status conscious societies like China and Japan, having listened to the advice of the Japanese.⁵⁸ The gifts included two rolls of precious brocades (*ransu* 襴絲), a hundred bundles of fine incense (*senkō* 綫香), and sixteen sticks of Chinese ink (*karasumi* 唐墨). Then Ryōkei and Tokuō were brought forward. On Yinyuan's behalf, Ryōkei presented his *Recorded Sayings* published in China (in six fascicles) and in Japan (in five fascicles), together with two fine Chinese fans, perhaps with calligraphy of famous Chinese literati on them. Tokuō presented one bundle of Gihara paper (*gihara* 相原, also known as Sugihara 杉原 paper, a kind of Hōsho paper 奉書紙). Here we can identify that the presentation of silk brocade and Hōsho paper largely followed the Japanese convention for receiving monks in a formal audience with the shogun.⁵⁹ This meeting was primarily symbolic.



Map 2

Yinyuan's stops in the city of Edo
© Jiang Wu.

⁵⁸ Mujaku reported that Yinyuan initially refused to bow to the shogun and later only agreed to bow once. When he was at the audience, he sat down in front of the shogun arrogantly and attempted to approach him directly. If this is true, it shows that Yinyuan initially resisted following Japanese conventions. See Baroni's translation of *Obaku geki*, in Baroni, *Obaku Zen*, p.211.

⁵⁹ For a detailed explanation of the wrapping of the gifts, see *Ryūtei gyōgi* [Records of Events in Edo Castle], fasc. 2, in *Tokugawa seido shiryō shōshū* [First Collection of Historical Sources Related to Tokugawa Institutions], ed. Ono Kiyoshi (Tokyo: Hatsubaisho Rokugōkan, 1927), p. 29. Reprinted as *Shiryō Tokugawa Bakufu no seido* [Tokugawa Bakufu's Institutions in Historical Sources], annot. Takayanagi Kaneyoshi (Tokyo: Jimbutsu Ōrai Sha, 1968), p.307.

60 He accepted Sakai Tadakatsu's advice and stipulated that if in the future no suitable candidates could be found in Japan, they should seek a new abbot from China. See IGZS 3489–494.

No serious conversation was held between Yinyuan and the shogun, and the guests were soon dismissed. Yinyuan returned to Tentakuji and began a ceremony of releasing animals to pray for the shogun. He returned for a second audience when he received gifts bestowed by the shogun, leaving Edo on the twenty-eighth day of the eleventh month.

Yinyuan's audience with the shogun was a carefully managed ceremony and could be interpreted in many ways. Before Yinyuan entered Edo Castle, Ryōkei had been summoned twice to discuss the details of the audience. In *bakufu* diaries, it was described using the Japanese terms *shōken* 召見 (*Tokugawa jikki*) and *omemie* 御目見 (*Edo bakufu nikki*). More importantly, the structure of the ceremony followed Japanese convention in receiving Buddhist monks. In the eyes of those who believed that Yinyuan was coming to present tribute, this ceremony was the climax of the mission: an audience with the ruler following Japanese ritual protocol while presenting his credentials as a representative of a foreign nation.

Chinese Monks Only

If the *bakufu*'s intention to use Yinyuan as a symbolic envoy of a tribute mission from China was not clear during Yinyuan's audience with Ietsuna, events after the founding of Manpukuji strengthen the case. First, Sakai Tadakatsu made the suggestion to Yinyuan that the abbots of Manpukuji should be always Chinese and in case of vacancy they should invite monks from China. Yinyuan concurred and wrote this into his will and only Chinese monks served as Manpukuji abbots for the next hundred years. Second, it was decided that all Manpukuji abbots should be nominated by the *bakufu* and on appointment they were obliged to visit Edo to acknowledge their elevation in person. Third, the Chinese abbots were obliged to visit Edo to congratulate the *bakufu* on the succession of a new shogun, like the Korean and Ryukyu embassies.

Selection of Chinese Monks as Manpukuji Abbots

If we examine the history of Manpukuji in the Edo period after its founding in 1661, it is notable that the monastery maintained the tradition of having Chinese monks as abbots until the late eighteenth century. The Japanese finally took control of Manpukuji only because it failed to bring capable monks from China, despite the *bakufu*'s decree demanding them, and because the last surviving Chinese monk passed away in Japan in 1784. It is clear that Chinese monks were an absolute minority in the Manpukuji community but during the hundred years after 1661, Chinese monks had to occupy the position of abbot, at least symbolically. Evidence shows that this was not the result of Chinese monks' deliberate manipulation, but was implemented and institutionalised by Japanese authorities.

When Yinyuan was about to die, he wrote in his will that if a new abbot was required, a Chinese monk should be invited from China. As Yinyuan noted in the sixth article in his will, this was not his idea but had been suggested by Sakai Tadakatsu.⁶⁰ There is no other evidence to corroborate Yinyuan's words, but it is likely that Sakai Tadakatsu had indeed made such a suggestion because Yinyuan's will was published and no-one disputed it. Yinyuan handpicked the second abbot, Mu'an Xingtao 木庵性瑫 (1611–84), and watched over him for more than ten years before he passed away. When the third abbot was to be elected a convention was established: a list of three or four Chinese and Japanese monks, selected by Manpukuji, was

presented to the *bakufu* for the final decision. This process of selecting the third abbot shows that Chinese monks did not intend to monopolise the abbotship — among the candidates was one of Yinyuan's senior Japanese disciples, Dōkuhon Shōgen 獨本性源 (1618–89).⁶¹ However, the *bakufu* picked the Chinese monk Huilin Xingji 慧林性機 (1609–81) and the tradition of appointing Chinese monks continued. In a meeting with the eighth Manpukuji abbot, Yuefeng Daozhang 悅峰道章 (1655–1734), on the first day of the third month in 1706, the grand councillor Yanagisawa Yoshiyasu 柳沢吉保 (1658–1714) reaffirmed *bakufu* support for having Chinese monks as abbots and even conveyed the shogun's intention to eliminate Japanese monks from the candidate list in the future. He passed the shogun's decision to Yuefeng: "In the future all Ōbaku abbots should be Chinese monks and there is no need to list Japanese candidates anymore".⁶²

In practice, Manpukuji continued to supply a list of both Chinese and Japanese candidates. However, in the next hundred years, the *bakufu* always selected Chinese monks. In 1740, a Japanese abbot, Ryōtō Gentō 龍統元棟 (1663–1746), was selected for the first time because of the failure to invite monks from China. But Chinese monks resumed the abbotship soon after for the next fifty years—occasionally alternating the position with Japanese monks—until the last surviving Chinese abbot, Dacheng Zhaoan 大成照漢 (1709–84), passed away. Among the Chinese monks, eight of them received purple robes.

The *bakufu* reluctantly discontinued the convention and allowed Japanese monks to be abbots only because efforts to invite more Chinese monks failed in the mid-eighteenth century. Realising the lack of qualified Chinese monks, in the 1720s the *bakufu* asked Manpukuji to put more effort into inviting monks from China, but they also demanded that the newly invited candidates must have *dharmā* transmissions within Yinyuan's line and present their published *Recorded Sayings* as credentials. (Previously, only junior monks without *dharmā* transmissions were invited and then received *dharmā* transmissions from resident Chinese monks in Nagasaki.) The Chinese abbots in the three Chinese temples in Nagasaki and in Manpukuji panicked about the change because they realised that such a high standard would be difficult to meet. They finally secured the senior master Zhongqi Daoren 仲琪道任 (dates unknown) from the Chinese Huangbo monastery to meet the requirement. The *bakufu* was very serious about Zhongqi's arrival: a large sum of money was bestowed to Huangbo and new quarters were built for him in Nagasaki. However, in 1728 when Zhongqi's small group of monks were about to depart from Putuoshan 普陀山, they were arrested by Zhejiang Governor Li Wei 李衛 (1687–1738) as the Yongzheng 雍正 emperor had started to tighten trade with Japan. They were sent back to Huangbo and Zhongqi soon passed away. In 1730, another attempt to invite the Chinese monk Tiechuan 鐵船 (dates unknown) also failed.⁶³

Chinese Monks' Regular Visits to Edo

The *bakufu* clearly considered it important that their sponsorship of a Chinese monastery was widely known, that they requested these Chinese monks to visit Edo regularly, that they were granted audiences with the shogun on their appointments, and that they were asked to attend when receiving the honour of the purple robe.⁶⁴ Why was this? Table 1 details visits to Edo of Manpukuji abbots until 1780 (non-Chinese are marked *).⁶⁵

The Manpukuji abbots were also asked to come to Edo to offer congratulations on the inauguration of a new shogun. Although I have not found the

61 *Ōbaku bunka jinmei jiten*, pp.280–81.

62 有上旨 向後黃檗住持皆唐僧住の 不必寫出日本僧來。Quoted from Tsuji, *Nihon Bukkyō shi*, Vol.9, p.531. According to Tsuji, the original record is preserved in Manpukuji. This conversation occurred when Yuefeng visited Edo and was invited to Yanagisawa's residence. Most of his conversations about Zen and Manpukuji abbots were preserved in Yanagisawa's *Gobō jōroku* [Records of Protecting the Dharma].

63 See Jiang Wu, "The Trade of Buddhist Books at Nagasaki in the Late Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth Centuries as Seen from *Hakusai shomoku*: With Special Attention to the Purchase of the Jiaxing Canon and the Role of Ōbaku Monks," Paper presented at the Third International workshop "Monies, Markets and Finance in China and East Asia, 1600–1900," Tübingen University (Germany), October 1–4, 2008, Tübingen, Germany. For a brief overview, see Kimura Tokugen, "Ōbakuha nioku Chūgokuso torai danzetsu no keika [The Process of the Termination of Migrated Chinese Monks within the Ōbaku Sect], in *Zen to sono shūhengaku no kenkyū: Takenuki Genshō bakushi kanreki kinen ronbunshū* [Study of Zen and its Surroundings: Collected Papers Commemorating Doctor Takenuki Genshō's Sixtieth Birthday] (Kyoto: Nagata Bunshōdō, 2005), pp.105–18.

64 This rule is included in the collection of official documents of the superintendents of temple affairs compiled in 1834. See *Shisō zasshiki*, fasc. 11, in *Naikaku bunko shozō shiseki sōkan*, Vol.7, p.242.

65 Data in Tables 1 and 2 are based on *Ōbaku jinmei jiten* and *Zuishōji jūji kōtai zakki* [Miscellaneous Notes on the Succession of the Zuishōji Abbots], in *Tōkyō daigaku sōgō toshokan shozō kakō daizōkyō* [Jiaxing Buddhist Canon Preserved in Tokyo University Library], eds Yokote Yutaka et al. (Tokyo: Tokyo University, 2010), Vol.2, pp.219–42. I want to thank Professors Fumihiko and Yokote for arranging my visit to examine this edition of the Jiaxing canon and giving me a copy of this book in March 2011.

66 Matsudaira served as superintendent from 1784–98 and was on duty during the first month of 1793. See Ozawa Ayako, “Jisha bugyō kō” [Investigating Superintendents of Temples and Shrines], in *Bakufu seidoshi no kenkyū* [Study on History of Bakufu Institutions] (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1983), pp.1–107, at pp.54 and 79.

Table 1

Gratitude Missions of Manpukuji Abbots to Edo and Audiences with the Shogun (* denotes abbots were not Chinese)

YEAR	ABBOT	SHOGUN	PURPOSE OF THE AUDIENCE
1665	Mu'an Xingtao	Ietsuna	acknowledgement of appointment
1669	Mu'an Xingtao	Ietsuna	acknowledgement of donation
1671	Mu'an Xingtao	Ietsuna	acknowledgement of purple robe
1682	Duzhan Xingying	Tsunayoshi	acknowledgement of appointment
1692	Gaoquan Xingdun	Tsunayoshi	acknowledgement of appointment
1695	Gaoquan Xingdun	Tsunayoshi	acknowledgement of purple robe and to preach to Tsunayoshi
1696	Qiandai Xing'an	Tsunayoshi	acknowledgement of appointment and to preach to shogun
1705	Yueshan Daozong	Tsunayoshi	acknowledgement of appointment and to meet Yanagisawa
1706	Yueshan Daozong	Tsunayoshi	acknowledgement of purple robe
1707	Yuefeng Daozhang	Tsunayoshi	acknowledgement of appointment
1708	Yuefeng Daozhang	Tsunayoshi	acknowledgement of purple robe
1716	Lingyuan Haimai	Yoshimune	acknowledgement of appointment
1720	Duwen Fangbing	Yoshimune	acknowledgement of appointment
1723	Gaotang Yuanchang	Yoshimune	acknowledgement of appointment
1735	Zhu'an Jingyin	Yoshimune	acknowledgement of appointment and to visit Ietsuna's shrine
1740*	Ryōto Gentō	Yoshimune	acknowledgement of appointment
1744	Dapeng Zhengkun	Yoshimune	acknowledgement of appointment and to visit Ietsuna's shrine
1747	Dapeng Zhengkun	Ieshige	acknowledgement of purple robe and to visit Ietsuna's shrine
1748*	Hyakuchi Genzetsu	Ieshige	acknowledgement of appointment
1754*	Sogan Genmyō	Ieshige	acknowledgement of appointment
1758	Dapeng Zhengkun	Ieshige	acknowledgement of appointment to a second term
1763*	Sengan Gensū	Ieharu	acknowledgement of appointment
1765	Boxun Zhaohan	Ieharu	acknowledgement of appointment
1772	Boxun Zhaohan	Ieharu	acknowledgement of purple robe and to visit Ietsuna's shrine
1776	Dacheng Zhaohan	Ieharu	acknowledgement of appointment

bakufu edict that stipulates this practice, the following table, correlated with similar Korean and Ryukyu missions, shows that it was institutionalised and followed faithfully.

There are no systematic records that document these audiences in later times. However, one record preserved by officials at the office of Superintendent of Temples and Shrines shows how these audiences were conducted in the late eighteenth century. On the twenty-eighth day of the second month in 1793, while copying a report sent by Superintendent of Temple Affairs Matsudaira Teruyasu 松平輝和 (1750–1800) to Senior Councillor Toda Ujinori 戸田氏教 (1756–1806), a *bakufu* official noted that the ceremonial audiences Ōbaku monks had with shoguns were different from all other sects.⁶⁶ This

Table 2

Shogunal Ceremonies Attended by Manpukuji Abbots in Edo
(correlated to foreign embassies for the same purposes)

YEAR	ABBOT	CEREMONY	KOREAN EMBASSY	RYUKYU EMBASSY
1680	Huilin Xingji	Ietsuna's death		
1680	Huilin Xingji	Tsunayoshi's accession	1682	1682
1709	Yuefeng Daozhang	Tsunayoshi's death		
1709	Yuefeng Daozhang	Ienobu's accession	1711	1711
1712	Yuefeng Daozhang	Ienobu's death		
1713	Yuefeng Daozhang	Ietsugu's accession	no	1714
1716	Lingyuan Haimai	Yoshimune's accession	1719	1718
1744	Dapeng Zhengkun	Ieshige's accession	1748	1753
1751	Hyakuchi Genzetsu	Yoshimune's death		
1761	Dapeng Zhengkun	Ieharu's accession	1764	1764
1761	Dapeng Zhengkun	Ieshige's death		

report included a description of ceremonies involving the audience with the twenty-second Manpukuji abbot, the Japanese monk Kakushū Jōchō 格宗淨超 (1711–90), on the fifteenth day of the ninth month in 1785, a year after the last Chinese abbot Dacheng Zhaohan had passed away. The official who copied this report noted that the same ceremony was followed for the previous visit of the Chinese abbot Dacheng Zhaohan on the first day of the third month in 1776. Therefore, we can assume the following ritual protocols were stipulated for Manpukuji abbots.

First, the place for audience was no longer the Great Hall. Rather, the ceremony was held in the shogun's regular office, Oshiroshoin 御白書院, and was an individual audience (*dokurei* 独禮).⁶⁷ The abbot was allowed to carry his staff to the resting room (*tenjōnoma* 殿上之間) while waiting. When the ceremony started, the abbot presented three bundles of Hōsho paper with *mizubiki* 水引 knots and two rolls of brocade on top.⁶⁸ During the ceremony, the abbot was asked to wear his *dharmā* robe and Chinese-style *zhigong* hat (*Shikō mōsu* 誌公帽子), and in his left hand to hold a whisk.⁶⁹ Two monk officers, usually the First Monk (*shuso* 首座), and Supervisor (*kansu* 監寺), presented one bundle of Hōsho paper and one fan (*issoku ibbon* 壹束一本). After the audience, they were asked to meet with senior councillors at Tamarinoma 溜之間 and receive their gifts: five seasonal garments (*jifuku* 時服) and fifty bars of silver for the abbot and three seasonal garments for the two accompanying monk officers.⁷⁰

The difference between the ceremony Manpukuji monks used and those for other sects (as noted by officials of temple and shrine affairs) awaits further research. However, current evidence indicates that the *bakufu* treated Manpukuji's Chinese abbots as special guests in their symbolic universe, comparable to Korean and Ryukyuan embassies, suggesting that the founding of Manpukuji and the symbolic use of Chinese monks were calculated measures to co-opt China into a Japan-centred world order.

67 For the procedures for an individual audience, see *Ryūei gyōgi*, fasc.1, in *Tokugawa seido shiryō shosbū*, pp.172–75 and *Shiryō Tokugawa Bakufu no seido*, pp.236–40.

68 The Hōsho paper is a high-quality white paper made of mulberry wood, usually Sugihara paper: one bundle contains ten sheets. For a detailed explanation of the wrapping of the gifts, see *Ryūei gyōgi*, fasc. 2, *Tokugawa seido shiryō shosbū*, p.29 and *Shiryō Tokugawa Bakufu no seido*, p.307.

69 The *bakufu* had a detailed dressing code for Ōbaku monks. See *Shiso zashiki*, fasc.36, Vol.8, p.822. The hat was also named after the Chinese monk Baozhi 寶誌 in the fifth century and was also called “Ingen bōshi” 隱元帽. The exact history is not clear. See Yamamoto Etsushin, *Ingen kanji kō* [Investigation on Things Named After Yinyuan] (Aichi: Ōbakudō, 1942), pp.13–14.

70 *Shiso zashiki*, fasc.25, Vol.8, pp.575–76. This record is also corroborated with a brief record in *Zuishōji* documents according to which they met with both Ieharu 家治 (1737–86) and the heir apparent, Ienari 家斉 (1773–1841). See *Zuishōji jūji kōtai zakki*, Vol.2, p.233.

71 Marius Jansen, *China in the Tokugawa World* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1992), pp.55–57. Also his “Japan and its World,” first appeared in *Nihon Kenkyū Kyoto Kaigi* (Kyoto Conference in Japanese Studies) in 1994, reprinted in *Japan and Its Worlds: Marius B. Jansen and the Internationalization of Japanese Studies*, ed. Martin Collcutt, Katō Mikio, and Ronald P. Toby (Tokyo: I-House Press, 2007), pp.10–25, especially pp.18–19. Joshua A. Fogel, *Articulating the Sino-sphere: Sino-Japanese Relations in Space and Time* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2009), p.33. Both Jansen and Fogel mistakenly stated that Yinyuan met with the retired emperor Gomizunoo 後水尾 (1596–1680).

72 Toby, *State and Diplomacy in Early Modern Japan*, p.201.

73 Hesselink, *Prisoners from Nambu*, p.165.

74 These were the onomatopoeia with which Japanese used to mimic Chinese speakers in the Nagasaki Chinese quarter. See Herbert E. Plutschow, *A Reader in Edo Period Travel* (Kent, UK: Global Oriental, 2006), p.99.

75 In addition to Yinyuan and his disciples, Chinese monks Donggao Xinyue 東皋心越 (1639–94) settled in Mito 水戸 and Duli Xingyi was invited to Sendai 仙台. It appeared that Japanese authorities treated Chinese traders and Chinese monks very differently. Chinese merchants had been treated badly after the building of the guarded Chinese quarter and the issuance of the regulation of the Shōtoku 正徳 reign. In a newly discovered record, *Changqing jiwen* [Hearsays From Nagasaki] dated to 1735. Its author, Tong Huang 童華 (*jinsbi* degree 進士, presented scholar 1838), vividly described the sharp contrasts between Japanese officials and translators’ different attitude toward and treatment of Chinese merchants and monks. See Matsuura Akira, *Edo jidai Tōsen ni yoru Nitchū bunka kōryū* [Japan–China Cultural Exchanges Seen Through Chinese Ships During the Edo Period] (Kyoto: Shibunkaku Shuppan, 2007), p.130.

76 For such a debate, see Chen Zhichao, “Zheng Chenggong zhi Yinyuan xinjian de faxian: jieshao yipi Nan Ming kang Qing douzheng xinshiliao” [The Discovery of Zheng Chenggong’s Letter to Yinyuan: Introducing a Series of New Sources about the Qing-Resistance Movement in Southern Ming], *Zhongguoshi yanjiu dongtai* 8 (1993): 1–5. Ono Kazuko, “Dōran no jidai o ukita Ingen zenji” [Zen Master Yinyuan Who Was Born in a Time of Turmoil], *Zen bunka* [Zen Culture] 124 (1987): 91; Wu, “Leaving for the Rising Sun”; Lin Guanchao, *Yinyuan Longqi Chanshi*, pp.201–40.

Conclusion

Scholars of Tokugawa history have often overlooked the political and diplomatic roles of Chinese monks from Manpukuji. Marius Jansen and Joshua Fogel, for example, emphasised the cultural contribution of these monks to Chinese learning and the artistic renaissance in the mid-Edo period, but considered Yinyuan and his Chinese cohorts simply as remarkable Zen monks among the many Chinese in Nagasaki.⁷¹ Ronald Toby, in his *State and Diplomacy in Early Modern Japan*, does not mention Yinyuan Longqi at all. He assumes that no Chinese were allowed to visit the shoguns and thus the Chinese were placed after Koreans, Ryukyuan, and even the Dutch, giving them the same status as “barbarians”.⁷² Reinier Hesselink, indeed, speculates that Tokugawa Japan was forced to accept one of two extreme options: “either [to] ignore the existence of China, or to conquer it”.⁷³

My study shows that a third way of dealing with China, more subtle and complicated, did exist. The arrival of Yinyuan Longqi and the institutionalisation of audiences with the shogun for Chinese monks represented the symbolic presence of China in the *bakufu*’s new world order. Historians should, thus, consider seriously the presence of Chinese monks in Japan, and to take into account religious exchange as another way of forging international relationships in addition to diplomacy (*tsūshin* 通信) and trade (*tsūshō* 通商).

We should note that the two locations of Chinese communities in Japan — Nagasaki on the periphery and Uji at the centre — produced different meanings of “China” in politics and culture. In Nagasaki, Chinese ships came with goods such as raw silk, sugar, medical herbs, and books, plus the human cargo of merchants, sailors, refugees, and Chinese monks. While these merchants and sailors, wearing their exotic “barbarian” clothes and talking *chinpunkan* 珍紛漢, 珍糞漢 or 陳奮翰 — an onomatopoeiac term the Japanese coined to mimic Chinese conversation — were restricted to Nagasaki, Chinese monks, who had not adopted the Manchu dress code, were identified as loyal to authentic Chinese ideals.⁷⁴ Winning respect from the Japanese with their decorum, ritual performance, poetry, calligraphy, painting, and medical knowledge, they settled in Uji and were invited to Edo.⁷⁵ These Chinese monks brought China, in an idealised and symbolic fashion, right into the land of the *kami* and created a mental buffer zone which obviated having to deal with the actual country. The founding of Manpukuji in Uji, rather than in Nagasaki where Chinese residents lived, signaled the completion of a process of both domestication and alienation: on the one hand, Chinese cultural ideals were domesticated by establishing Manpukuji as part of the Japanese symbolic universe in Kyoto; on the other hand, the Chinese political power represented by Chinese merchants was alienated as foreign, and restricted to Nagasaki.

This paper also contributes to the debate about Yinyuan’s political mission to Japan. As Chen Zhichao 陳智超 argued and Ono Kazuko 小野和子 suggested, Yinyuan came to Japan on a mission from Zheng Chenggong to request aid, acting as his “envoy of friendship”. However, Lin Guanchao 林觀潮, dismissed the alleged letter from Zheng Chenggong to Yinyuan, countering that the connection between Zheng Chenggong and Yinyuan was tenuous, and further claimed that Yinyuan was wary about the legitimacy of Zheng Chenggong’s resistance movement.⁷⁶ I agree that Yinyuan was not an envoy dispatched by Zheng Chenggong. However, as this paper shows, when he landed in Japan, a particular political situation in China and the assertion of shogunal hegemony allowed the Japanese to interpret Yinyuan as a representative from China. This interpretation was specifically created

by manipulating ritual protocols and placing Yinyuan in different contexts in Edo society.

For Tokugawa Japan, China was both remote and near. The *bakufu* could choose to ignore the “real” China and create buffer zones in Korea and Ryukyu in order to avoid direct confrontation with China. However, they needed to engage China in some manner; this imperative led to the tolerance toward the China trade and the building of Chinese temples.

The founding of the Chinese-style Manpukuji in Japan was a compromise between two conflicting claims of imperial hegemony in early modern East Asia, and the *bakufu* was the prime mover in a series of events leading to this result. They successfully manipulated the symbolic presence of Chinese monks by exploiting a common cultural and religious heritage shared with China, while the presence of Chinese monks in Japan satisfied the demand of dealing with China in an era without formal diplomatic relations.

This study also demonstrates that the newly established Japan-centred world order was not rigid, nor was the Chinese tribute system. The new order and its ideology were largely figments of the *bakufu*'s political imagination and could easily become illusory, or a “notional construct” as Ronald Toby terms it.⁷⁷ The consideration of Japan's foreign relationships should, thus, be broadened beyond diplomacy and trade. To borrow James Hevia's theoretical framework, while Yinyuan's presence in Japan and the founding of Manpukuji may not be viewed as international diplomacy in its strictest sense, they should be understood as one of the results of an “interdomainal struggle for dominance” in East Asia between the imperial formation of the Qing empire and the Tokugawa shogunate. Both adopted what Hevia calls a “centering” approach to resolve complicated foreign relationships and to physically manoeuvre foreigners, such as embassies and Buddhist monks, towards centres such as Beijing and Edo through public displays of ritual and the manipulation of textual records.⁷⁸ The arrival of Chinese monks fitted into this approach without much contention as various diplomatic claims could be put to rest by using the excuse of spreading Buddhism. Therefore, such “domains” should not be confined to political and bureaucratic transactions but should also include the symbolic sphere of religion, allowing the possibility of a broader engagement with foreign countries.

Yinyuan was once again instrumental in the process of restoring the Sino-Japanese relationship in the 1970s. On March 27, 1972, the Showa 昭和 emperor Hirohito 裕仁 (1901–89) bestowed an honorific title on Yinyuan: Great Master of the “Light of Efflorescence” (*kagō* 華光), which derives from a title of the Buddha in the *Lotus Sutra*, but which can also be metaphorically rendered as “the Light of China”. The timing of this bestowal was not randomly chosen: just six months later, on 29 September 1972, China and Japan resumed normal diplomatic relations.⁷⁹

77 See Ronald Toby, “Leaving the Closed Country: New Models for Early-Modern Japan,” *Transactions of the International Conference of Orientalists in Japan*, 35 (1990): 213–21. Yamamoto Hirofumi also has the similar comments. See his *Sakoku to kaikin no jidai* [The Age of Isolation and Closing of Maritime Trade] (Tokyo: Azekura Shobō, 1995), p.256.

78 For Hevia's interpretation of imperial formation and the centering process, see his *Cherishing Men from Afar*, pp.25–28, 121–25.

79 The certificate was issued by the chief officer of Imperial Household Agency Usami Takeshi 宇佐美毅 (1903–93). See *Ōbaku Shūbō* [Official Newsletter of the Ōbaku Sect] (Manpukuji), 154 (July 20, 1972): 4.

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VASSAL OF A DEPOSED REGIME: ARCHETYPES OF RECLUSION IN THE POETRY OF FORMER SHOGUNAL OFFICIAL YAGUCHI KENSAI

Matthew Fraleigh

Histories of the Tokugawa–Meiji transition have tended to focus on the young heroes of Japan’s southwestern domains who toppled the shogunate and established the new Meiji state in 1868. The Tokugawa officials who were on the losing side of the conflict have been given comparatively short shrift, in spite of the significant contributions many of them made to early Meiji life as intellectuals, journalists, academics, and statesmen. Yet alongside the former Tokugawa retainers who fashioned a variety of new public roles for themselves in the emerging order were some who chose instead to withdraw from the Meiji realm. Central to this paper is Yaguchi Kensai 矢口謙齋 (1817–79), a Tokugawa retainer who attracted particular attention from his contemporaries for what they saw as his uncompromising integrity in choosing such a path of reclusion. Kensai was a distinguished scholar, poet, and official in the years leading up to the Restoration, but he descended into nearly total obscurity in its aftermath. There is virtually no scholarship on Kensai, and so here I attempt to reconstruct Kensai’s career before and after the Restoration, as well as to explore the significance that his example held in the minds of his contemporaries. In particular, I examine Kensai’s Sinitic poetry with the goal of shedding light on the construction of reclusion and the lenses through which certain canonical reclusive figures were viewed in nineteenth-century Japan.

Tokugawa Retainers in the Wake of the Restoration

The collapse of the Tokugawa shogunate dispersed the men who had served in its central institutions on an array of different paths. The new world of Meiji initially brought dejection and uncertainty to many of them: not least of whom the final shogun himself. Having renounced his title in Osaka at the close of 1867, Tokugawa Yoshinobu 徳川慶喜 (1837–1913) expressed his contrition and subservience to the Meiji Emperor by going into domiciliary confinement: first in Edo, then in Mito, and finally in Fuchū, the castle town

I presented my initial work on Yaguchi Kensai at the European Association for Japanese Studies conference held in Tallinn in August 2011, where I benefitted from comments offered by Richard Bowring, as well as Kawai Kōzō, Peter Kornicki, Ivo Smits, and Jason Webb. I subsequently presented portions of this study at Harvard and Yale, and I would like to thank the audiences at those talks for their input. The anonymous reviewers of this paper also provided suggestions for which I am grateful. Finally, Seth Jacobowitz, Yanagimoto Katsumi, and Tateoka Hiroshi at Ren’eiji Temple graciously facilitated my access to some of the rarer texts I discuss.

1 Suruga province was *tenryō* 天領 (directly controlled shogunal land) for almost the entire Tokugawa period; its castle town Fuchū (Sunpu) was where the first shogun, Ieyasu, had retired after yielding the shogunate to his son, Hidetada. While the circumstances of the last shogun’s ignominious retreat could not have been more dissimilar to those of his illustrious predecessor, Yoshinobu would likewise spend several decades at Fuchū, continuing to live there even after his enforced domiciliary confinement was rescinded in 1869.

2 Unless otherwise noted, all translations are by the author. This quotation appears in Katsu Kaishū’s memoir *Hikawa seiwa* [Pure Talks at Hikawa];

cited in Yamashita Tarō, *Meiji no bunmei kaika no sakigake: Shizuoka Gakumonjo to Numazu Heigakō no kyōjutachi* [The Frontier of Meiji Civilization and Enlightenment: The Professors of the Shizuoka School and the Numazu Military Academy] (Tokyo: Hokuju Shuppan, 1995), pp.25–26. According to a statistical summary that Katsu made, the number of Tokugawa vassals transplanted to Shizuoka was about fifteen thousand; see *Katsu Kaishū zenshū* [Complete Works of Katsu Kaishū], *bekkan* 2 (Tokyo: Keisō shobō, 1982), p.530. The “eighty thousand” figure given in his reminiscences may include their dependents or may simply be exaggeration.

3 Yamashita, pp.37–39. The new name for Fuchū was introduced in the summer of 1869; Sugiura Yuzuru, a Tokugawa retainer who was teaching there, records the change to “Shizuoka” in diaries he kept at the time; see *Sugiura Yuzuru zenshū* [Complete Works of Sugiura Yuzuru], ed. Tsuchiya Takao (Tokyo: Sugiura Yuzuru Zenshū Kankōkai, 1978–79), II:203 (06.22 entry); II:249 (06.20 entry).

4 Takahashi Zenshichi, *Shodai ekitei no kami Sugiura Yuzuru: aru bakushin kara mita Meiji ishin* [Sugiura Yuzuru: The first Postal Director: The Meiji Restoration From the Perspective of One Shogunal Vassal] (Tokyo: Nihon Hōsō Kyōkai, 1977), p.129. According to Takahashi, the most common path pursued by Tokugawa vassals after the Restoration was entering commerce or agriculture. At least according to the aforementioned records of Katsu Kaishū, the most common path was relocation to Shizuoka, though the two are not mutually exclusive.

5 This request was made by Iesato's regents, Matsudaira Kakudō and Tayasu Yoshiyori; see Takahashi, p.128.

6 For a discussion of the events of the Meiji Restoration from the perspective of American consular officials posted in Hakodate and Yokohama, see M. William Steele's “The United States and Japan's Civil War”, chapter 6 of *Alternative Narratives in Modern Japanese History* (London: Routledge, 2003), pp.88–109. In spite of the Hakodate government's name and the use of democratic voting practices to choose its officials, it was stipulated that the head of the “Republic of Ezo” would be of Tokugawa descent; see Kikuchi Akira, *Ueno Shōgitai to Hakodate sensōshi* [Complete History of the Ueno Shōgitai and the Battle of Hakodate] (Tokyo: Shin Jinbutsu Ōraisha, 2010), pp.140–45.

7 Yamashita, pp.108–17. The best-selling text was later reprinted in Tokyo in movable type.

of Suruga province. This area (in modern Shizuoka prefecture) had long-standing connections to the Tokugawa house, and many of its retainers had already begun to relocate there in early Meiji.¹ While Yoshinobu had ceased to be the shogun, an agreement arranged between his former vassal Katsu Kaishū 勝海舟 (1823–99) and representatives of the victorious southwestern domains passed the clan's headship to Yoshinobu's adopted son, Iesato 家達 (1863–1940), who was brought to Fuchū just a few weeks after his predecessor. There, thousands of newly transplanted Tokugawa retainers welcomed the five-year-old Iesato as the daimyo of a newly constituted domain. So sudden and sweeping was the post-Restoration influx of Tokugawa men to Suruga's castle town that it led Kaishū to later reminisce: “With these eighty thousand men descending upon Shizuoka, the *takuan* pickles were gone in three or four days, and we were out of toilet paper after four or five”.² A more lasting disruption prompted by the arrival of these multitudes of Tokugawa retainers was the abandonment of the castle town's very name, Fuchū 府中, the designation by which it had been known for centuries. Soon after relocating there, Confucian scholar Mukōyama Kōson 向山黄村 (1826–97) proposed the new name “Shizuoka” 静岡 in order to eliminate the infelicitous implications that the old name produced by its phonetic proximity to the word *fuchū* 不忠, meaning disloyal. That the long-established “Fuchū” was suddenly judged to be an objectionable name in 1869 reminds us of just how fraught the issue of loyalty was for these transplanted Tokugawa retainers in the immediate aftermath of the imperial Restoration: a conflict in which their former lord had been designated an “enemy of the court”.³

While Shizuoka was thus a principal post-1868 destination for shogunal retainers, the Tokugawa house's sharply reduced holdings were simply insufficient to support all of its vassals. Many Tokugawa men would instead remain behind and attempt to establish themselves, with varying degrees of success, in new lines of work, including farming, commerce, and industry.⁴ Others cast their lots with the new Meiji government, accepting offers of employment in its administration, a course of action that Tokugawa officials overseeing the transition actively encouraged as a means of culling surplus men from house rosters.⁵ Still other Tokugawa vassals refused to accept defeat and instead ventured to Ezo 蝦夷 with the forces of Enomoto Takeaki 榎本武揚 (1836–1908) to establish a Tokugawa bastion there: one they hoped would become the basis for developing the northern island. Though their efforts earned them fleeting diplomatic recognition as the island's “authorities de facto” by Western consular officials stationed at Hakodate 函館, these holdouts' short-lived “Republic of Ezo” came to an end with their defeat in battle at the hands of Meiji government forces in the summer of 1869.⁶

In this way, the paths followed by Tokugawa vassals in the aftermath of the Restoration varied widely and were furthermore subject to sudden change. Even Shizuoka proved to be only a temporary destination for many transplants, for the fledgling Meiji government was eager to avail itself of the former shogunate's human capital. During the first several years after the Restoration, more than a few of the most capable vassals who had initially followed the Tokugawa clan leaders to Shizuoka ended up assuming posts in the new administration. For example, several of the faculty of the Shōheikō 昌平黌, the shogunate's pre-eminent center of Confucian higher learning in Edo, had founded a new school in the province in 1868. Sino-logical scholars such as the aforementioned Mukōyama Kōson, as well as Nakamura Keiu 中村敬宇 (1832–91) and others, were joined there by former faculty from two shogunal institutes for Western learning, the Kaiseijo 開成所 in Edo and the Collège franco-japonais in Yokohama. Together, they created

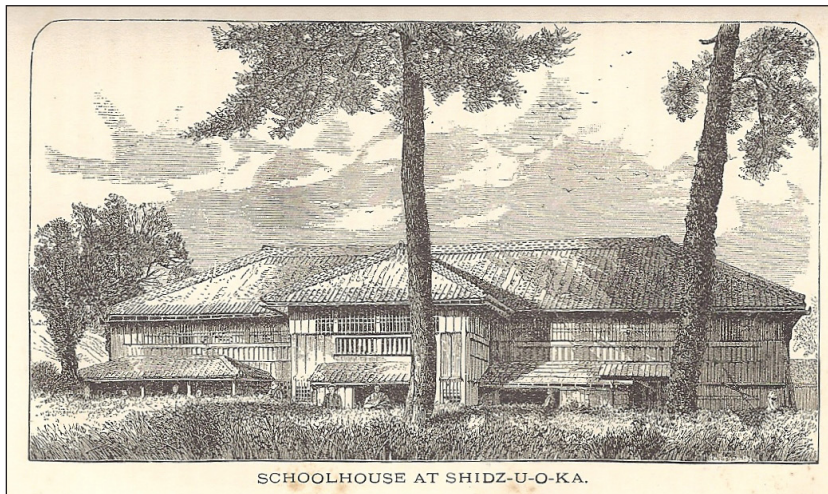
**Figure 1**

Illustration of Shizuoka Gakumonjo from Edward Warren Clark, Life and Adventure in Japan (New York: American Tract Society, 1878), plate near p.44.

a school that became known as the Shizuoka Gakumonjo 静岡学問所 (see Figure 1). Inasmuch as this Shizuoka school was inextricably associated with the newly deposed Tokugawa, one might suppose that it was no more than the last stronghold of a lapsed regime, all but irrelevant now in the new world of Meiji, but in fact quite the opposite was true. Many of the early Meiji period's foremost intellectual figures — including Nishi Amane 西周 (1829–97), Tsuda Sen 津田仙 (1837–1908), Katō Hiroyuki 加藤弘之 (1836–1916), Toyama Masakazu 外山正一 (1848–1900), and Sugi Kōji 杉亨二 (1828–1917) — initially taught at this school or at the Numazu Military Academy 沼津兵学校, another Tokugawa educational institution established in Shizuoka immediately after the Restoration. These schools, which offered a range of coursework in Sinological, French, English, Japanese, mathematical, and scientific subjects, represent one important legacy of the Tokugawa shogunate and its vassals in the early years of Meiji. As Yamashita Tarō has argued in his study of these two schools, they amounted to nothing less than the “frontier of Meiji-era civilization and enlightenment”. He points out, for example, that it was while teaching *kanbun* at Shizuoka Gakumonjo that Nakamura Keiu completed his supremely influential *Saikoku risshi hen*, a translation of Samuel Smiles’ *Self-Help*. This bestselling book, which inspired a generation of Meiji Japanese with its success stories of Western self-made men, in fact first bore the imprint of a local Shizuoka publisher, and the financing necessary to bring it to press was in turn secured by Shizuoka domain government officials who had formerly served the shogunate.⁷ Another historian of these Tokugawa-affiliated early Meiji schools, Higuchi Takehiko, highlights the fact that it was rare for domain schools to accept students from other domains, as both Shizuoka Gakumonjo and the Numazu Military Academy did, and stresses that this made them “meccas” in early Meiji, giving the schools and their advanced curriculum broad national impact.⁸

Yet the thriving success of these schools lasted only a few years before many of their talented faculty and students were wooed back to Tokyo by individual invitations and by more general Meiji administrative directives in the early 1870s. In particular, the *baihan chiken* 廃藩置県 order of 1871, which “eliminated domains and established prefectures,” hastened the departure of the transplanted vassals; with their new lord Iesato no longer present and their new domain Shizuoka-han no longer in existence, the ties that bound the men to Shizuoka lessened considerably.⁹ E. Warren Clark, the young and spirited American missionary recruited to teach science at Shizuoka Gakumonjo in 1871, recalls the exodus that came the following year in his memoir:

8 Higuchi Takehiko, *Shizuoka Gakumonjo* [Shizuoka School] (Shizuoka: Shizuoka Shinbunsha, 2010), p.66; see also his *Kyūbakushin no Meiji ishin: Numazu Heigakkō to sono gunzō* [Former Shogunal Vassals in the Meiji Restoration: The Numazu Military Academy and its Figures] (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 2005), p.106.

9 With the *baihan chiken*, Shizuoka-han became Shizuoka-ken; while Iesato remained the head of the Tokugawa house, he did not become the governor of Shizuoka prefecture and instead returned to Tokyo.

10 E. Warren Clark, *Life and Adventure in Japan* (New York: American Tract Society, 1878), pp.128–29. As the passage suggests, Clark was particularly fond of his time in Shizuoka and his distress at the loss of his brightest students to Tokyo was sincere. Throughout the memoir, he repeatedly praises the students’ earnestness and ability: “These young men were nearly all about my own age, enthusiastic in their pursuit of science, and diligent in their studies to a degree that astonished me. They mastered with facility textbooks that had taxed all the energies of American college students, and were so thorough and devoted to their work that it was a pleasure to teach them” (p.47).

11 The Numazu Military Academy had quickly earned a reputation as a leading educational facility not only in military subjects but in science, engineering, and mathematics after being founded in Shizuoka in 1868. Its faculty and student body were targeted for recruitment by the Meiji government in the early 1870s, and the entire school was transferred to central government jurisdiction shortly after the 1871 elimination of domains and establishment of prefectures. The following year, the school was closed

and its remaining students and faculty mainly relocated to Tokyo; see Higuchi, *Kyūbakushin*, pp.121–37.

12 Uchida Shūhei, *Yaguchi Kensai den; Ōkei shōwasbū* [Biography of Yaguchi Kensai; Collection of Poems Harmonizing with Ōkei] (Tokyo: Kokumon Shōja, 1932). This book was privately printed in 1932, but the portion concerning Kensai has an authorial preface by Uchida dated August, 1920. This biography was subsequently reprinted with some additional materials in *Shizuoka-ken kyōdo kenkyū* [Research in Shizuoka Prefecture Local History] 11 (1938): 45–49. A note there from Uchida Akira (Shūhei's nephew) explains that his uncle's biography of Kensai is an exceedingly rare volume and that the additional reprinted texts represent all known materials concerning Kensai. Curiously, while quoting his uncle's references to Yaguchi as 矢口, Uchida Akira uses the graphs 谷口 to write the Yaguchi family name.

13 Masahiro 正浩 also used the name Seizaburō 清三郎, which he later changed to Kōichirō 浩一郎. Some sources state that Yaguchi was born in 1816; see, for example, the entry for Yaguchi Kōichirō in Kumai Tamotsu, *Edo bakushin jinmei jiten* [A Biographical Dictionary of Edo Shogunal Vassals] (Tokyo: Shin Jinbutsu Ōraisha, 1997), p.1098.

14 A document in the Motoi-ke monjo for 1871 lists Morita Ichisaburō 森田市三郎 as the *hyakushōdai* of Motomachi in Honjō, Kodama county, Musashi province.

15 The account given here is based upon Nakane Kiyoshi, *Kōtei gadan* [Refined Talks by Kōtei] (Tokyo: Kinkōdō, 1886), II:28a–29a. A few additional facts about Nakane's biological father, Tokusai, can be found earlier in the text, where Nakane notes that Tokusai was named Nao 直 and had the polite name Jōkei 繩卿. Nakane also describes his biological father as a committed devotee of the *kobunjiha* ("ancient phraseology") school that revered High Tang aesthetics, noting that Tokusai refused to abandon the school even after it had lost favor (I:27b–28a). Nakane goes on to note that Tokusai's writings were largely destroyed in a fire, but that some twenty years later Yaguchi Kensai presented him with an essay written by Tokusai. Nakane was Tokusai's second son according to Nakane's brief autobiographical essay in *Kōtei ibun* [Kōtei's Posthumous Manuscripts], ed. Shinpo Banji (Tokyo: Kinkōdō Shoseki, 1916), pp.821–22.

16 Makabe Jin, *Tokugawa kōki no gakumon to seiji: Shōbeizaka Gakumonjo jusha to bakumatsu gaikō ben'yō* [Late Tokugawa Scholarship and Politics: The

The Tycoon [that is, the Tokugawa shogun] ... had retired with his retainers to Shidz-u-o-ka. But their successors at the Mikado's capital found themselves unable to manage the affairs of government, hitherto left in the hands of the Tycoon. They had not the practical skill to guide the ship of state with steadiness through the troubled waters of political change. Therefore they sent to Shidz-u-o-ka and called away my friends and my brightest students, assigning them important positions in the capital.¹⁰

Though Clark urged the Meiji government to reconsider, arguing trenchantly for the importance of strengthening education in the nation's interior, his appeals fell on deaf ears, and before a year had passed, he too would be transferred to Tokyo. A similar fate befell the Numazu Military Academy, which had its faculty and student body plundered before being shuttered in 1872.¹¹ So eager was the government to recruit the most talented and experienced scholars and statesmen that even Enomoto Takeaki, Ōtori Keisuke 大鳥圭介 (1832–1911), and other commanders of the militants who fought against the Meiji forces in the last-ditch Battle of Hakodate found themselves taking up posts in the new government shortly after they were pardoned in 1872.

Yet amid this broad ebb and flow of Tokugawa vassals out of and then back into the capital during the first years of Meiji, there were some Shizuoka settlers who resisted the centripetal pull of government service and chose instead a different course altogether: the path of reclusion. Unlike those former retainers who opted to serve the Meiji state or otherwise remain engaged in public life, these men have not figured prominently in histories of the period, but they nevertheless constituted another important dimension of the Tokugawa legacy. Yaguchi Kensai was one such man who attracted particular attention from his contemporaries for what they saw as his uncompromising integrity. Though all but forgotten today, Kensai distinguished himself not only by refusing to consider service to the new government but by essentially severing all ties with the Meiji realm. In this paper, I trace the trajectory of one Tokugawa vassal who chose to withdraw entirely from a post-Tokugawa world. I devote particular attention to Kensai's poetry and to how it addresses the topic of reclusion. Kensai is a fruitful individual to consider from this vantage point not only because reclusion is an important theme of his poetry, but because Kensai himself was celebrated by his contemporaries and by subsequent readers as nothing less than the definitive recluse. What can their portrayal of Kensai as an exemplar of reclusion tell us about how the topos was understood at the time? What particular significance did the theme of reclusion, and Kensai's reclusion specifically, have to former Tokugawa vassals?

Receding Figure: Kensai and his Reclusion

The only work of scholarship I have been able to locate on Kensai is a short biographical essay written in *kanbun* (literary Sinitic) during the Taishō period.¹² The outline of his life that follows is based upon what I have been able to piece together so far—drawing on this 1920 essay, the scattered references to him in the prose and poetry of his contemporaries, as well as his own writings. Kensai was born Morita Masahiro 森田正浩 in 1817, the son of a commoner family dwelling in the village of Honjō, Musashi province.¹³ His natal family must have been somewhat prominent among the village's peasantry, for his elder brother, Morita Ichisaburō 森田市三郎, served as one of their designated representatives, or *hyakushōdai* 百姓代, in the early Meiji period.¹⁴ At the age of seventeen, however, Masahiro was adopted by a low-ranking samurai family with the surname Yaguchi.

The Yaguchi household was located in close proximity to that of Sone Tokusai 曾根得齋, a Confucian scholar whose affiliation was with the Ken'en 護園 school of Ogyū Sorai 荻生徂徠 (1666–1728), and it was under Tokusai's tutelage that Kensai first acquired his competence in Chinese learning. According to a brief entry in *Kōtei gadan*, a fragmentary collection of short *kanbun* essays by Tokusai's son, the scholar Nakane Kōtei 中根香亭 (1839–1913), Kensai appeared one day at Tokusai's door and expressed his desire to become a scholar.¹⁵ Tokusai was at first reluctant to accept an older pupil, observing: "How few are those who begin their studies as adults and do not give up halfway". Undeterred, Kensai ventured a question: "What if I don't give up?" Tokusai could only respond, "Then you will master the Way". To this, Kensai replied, "I am one who will not give up". Struck by the young man's determination, Tokusai agreed to teach him, prompting the young man to devote himself to Confucian study and abandon his earlier interest in painting (Figure 2). After several years of study under Tokusai, Kensai went to Edo to enter the Shōheikō academy, where he mastered the Zhu Xi 朱熹 learning that had, with the Kansei Reforms of the late eighteenth century, been given official imprimatur there.

Though he would ultimately become best known for his retreat from public life in the early Meiji period, Kensai amassed an impressive range of accomplishments during his career prior to the Restoration: success that made his later reclusion all the more pointed. He had first attained prominence as a scholar and master of Confucian learning, demonstrating his Sinological erudition in 1843 by passing the prestigious *gakumon ginmi* 学問吟味 examination administered by the Shōheikō.¹⁶ He went on to teach not only at this official educational institution in Edo but to serve as the headmaster of its branch academy in the province of Kai 甲斐 (Yamanashi 山梨), the Kitenkan 徽典館.¹⁷ In Kaei 2 (1849), Kensai was also appointed to serve as an assistant to Hayashi Fukusai 林復齋 (1801–59) and Narushima Kadō 成島稼堂 (1802–53), Confucian scholars then employed in editing the official chronicles of the Tokugawa and earlier shogunates. After his one-year term of service at the Kitenkan academy in Yamanashi, Kensai resumed this post assisting in the compilation of historical records.

Yet Kensai's sphere of activity extended far beyond the shogunate's centers of learning and scholarship. When the arrival of Matthew Perry's ships precipitated an unprecedented foreign policy crisis in 1853, for example, he submitted a lengthy memorial offering his recommendations for how the shogunate ought to proceed.¹⁸ When Russian incursions necessitated renewed attention to Japan's northern periphery, he was dispatched to serve in Hakodate. This latter mission would place him on the very front lines of a large-scale effort to learn about and assert control over the island of Ezo. Before leaving Edo, his friend, neighbor, and poetic confrere Narushima Ryūhoku 成島柳北 (1837–84), the son of Kadō, presented Kensai with a 44-line farewell poem, writing on a grand scale that inscribes Kensai's mission as a matter of paramount national importance (see Figure 3). In the poem, Ryūhoku compares the expedition Kensai is about to undertake to those of heroic emissaries of Chinese antiquity before bringing the poem to a dramatic close:



Figure 2

Yaguchi Kensai, Painted scroll, dated autumn 1831 (when Kensai was fourteen years old). Thanks to Mr Ira Tyler for this photograph of the scroll.

Transformation of Shōheizaka Academy Scholars and Late Tokugawa Diplomacy] (Nagoya: Nagoya Daigaku Shuppankai, 2007), p.370. As part of the Kansei reforms, the Shōheikō instituted examinations to assess students' basic mastery of a codified canon. The *sodoku ginmi*, initially administered every year, tested basic command of the Confucian classics. The *gakumon ginmi*, by contrast, was offered only every few years, and demanded familiarity with a much broader array of historical and literary texts as well as the ability to compose essays in literary Sinitic. Yaguchi passed the latter exam at the "second-class" level.

¹⁷ The Kitenkan had been established in the late eighteenth century and had close ties to the shogunate's central administrative and educational institutions. A system introduced in 1843 chose two scholars annually from Edo's Shōheikō to serve one-year terms as headmasters of the school, an assignment Naruse Tetsuo has described as a "prize post for the up-and-coming" and as a means the shogunate used to further cultivate the talents of promising retainers; see his "Kansai Daigaku shozō 'Kitenkan

gakutō kōtai namae (Kitenkan gakutō meiroku) nitsuite” [Concerning the ‘List of Kitenkan Headmasters’ Held by Kansai University], *Yamazaki Daigaku kyōiku ningen kagaku kiyō* [Research reports from the Yamanashi University Education and Human Sciences Faculties] 10 (2008): 231–43; and “Toyoshima Jūsaku nitsuite: aru Kōfu Kitenkan gakusei” [About Toyoshima Jūsaku: a student of Kōfu’s Kitenkan], *Yamazaki Daigaku Kyōiku Ningen Kagaku kiyō* 11 (2009): 274–89. Yaguchi Kensai served as headmaster at the Kitenkan from 1852 to 1853; see the tables in Yamanashi-ken, ed., *Yamanashi kenshi tsūshi 4, kinsei 2* [History of Yamanashi Prefecture: Comprehensive History 4, Early Modern Period 2] (Kōfu: Yamanashi Nichi Nichi Shinbunsha, 2007), pp.528–29.

18 Yaguchi Seizaburō, “Amerika Gasshū-koku yori shokan sashiagesōrō ni tsuki gui mōshiagesōrō” [I Humbly Offer Up My Foolish Thoughts Concerning the Letter that has Been Presented by the United States of America], dated 08.27, Kaei 6 [1853], contained in *Tekiban igi* [Compendium of Discussions on the Barbarians], 5a–28b. Manuscript held at the Historiographical Institute (Shiryō Hensanjo), University of Tokyo.

19 The poem, entitled “Sending off Yaguchi Naokai [i.e. Kensai], Who has Received an Official Order to Go to Ezo” 送矢口直養蒙 台命如蝦夷, appears in Ryūhoku’s *Kankei shōkō* 寒檠小稿 [Little Manuscript Composed by Cold Lamplight] (I:4a–5a), manuscript held by Japan’s National Diet Library. Kensai visited Ryūhoku to say goodbye on the eve of his 02.29 departure for Ezo, and upon his return to Edo, he visited twice more, informing Ryūhoku of conditions in Ezo and presenting him local products from the area; see the entries for 02.28, 10.15, and 11.22 of Ansei 1 (1854) in Ryūhoku’s *kanbun* diary, *Kenboku nichiroku* (Tokyo: Taihei Shooku, 1997), pp.20, 73–74, 84.

20 Concerning Kensai’s Karafuto expedition, Uchida Shūhei writes: “He crossed to Karafuto. Everyone was afraid to go to this barbarian land and wanted to turn back but Kensai would not permit it. He had a barbarian man carry a cask of wine and follow him. After several days of travel in the North, he returned having accomplished his task” (2a).

21 Their journey is the subject of Suzuki’s *Karafuto nikki* (Diary of Karafuto), completed in the seventh month of that year. When Matsuura Takeshirō, one of the period’s most noted northern explorers, prepared his annotated version of Suzuki’s text, he was so impressed by its accounts of Yaguchi Kensai’s bold actions on the expedition that he wrote “I

男兒須要功名立 Every man must prove his merit and make his name;
千載一時難再遭 Once in a thousand years, the time never comes again.
既期他日凌雲勢 I know your spirit will pierce the clouds some day;
健鷹一搏脫韉條 A sturdy hawk taking off in a flash from a leather
bowstring guard.
請子若遇羶腥輩 I ask that if you encounter any of those rank curs,
勿遺缺腰間三尺日本刀 Don’t wait to use your sidearm: a three foot
Japanese sword!¹⁹

While he may not have had occasion to use his sword in quite the way Ryūhoku had envisioned, Kensai did in fact display impressive heroism while posted to the north. Just a few months after he had taken up his post in Hakodate, he joined another official, Suzuki Shigehisa 鈴木重尚, in volunteering to carry out an exploratory mission of an even more remote realm: the island of Karafuto lying further northward.²⁰ Kensai’s bold actions on the journey with Suzuki earned him the recognition of contemporary commentators.²¹ Once his service at the northern periphery was complete, Kensai went on to serve in another contact zone, working for several years in the Nagasaki magistrate’s office.²² He subsequently returned to the Shōheikō in Edo, where he held a variety of administrative and professorial positions between 1864 and 1867.²³ When the Tokugawa’s demise finally came the following year, Kensai was among the holdouts who staged a last stand for the shogunate at Hakodate: steadfastness for which he was arrested and incarcerated.²⁴ Until the new government issued a pardon in 1870, he would be the prisoner of the Oka 岡 domain in Taketa 竹田, northeastern Kyushu.²⁵

In spite of his consistent engagement with the educational, political, and diplomatic affairs of the day under the Tokugawa, Yaguchi Kensai descended into obscurity in the post-Restoration era. If he was remembered at all in the reminiscences and other writings of Meiji literary figures, it was—somewhat paradoxically—for precisely this reason: his withdrawal from the Meiji world. Once the amnesty had been announced for those who had surrendered at Hakodate, Kensai was free to leave his domiciliary confinement in Kyushu, yet he made his way not to his former residence in Tokyo but toward Shizuoka, where he would dwell in the company of other former Tokugawa vassals, living out the remainder of his days in the pursuit of calligraphy, Sinitic poetry, and painting. At some point, he took Buddhist vows, but he seems to have continued to support himself by teaching: first at a local school in Yamanashi and then later at an academy located within his Shizuoka home.

have not met this Yaguchi but when I read to this point I was struck by his spirit and wanted to smile and applaud”; see Suzuki, *Karafuto nikki* (Edo: Bun’enkaku, 1860), I:14a–14b.

22 Kensai joined the Nagasaki magistrate’s office late in 1857. He seems to have still been posted there in 1860, for Kondō Yoshinori mentions meeting him during a visit to the city that year; cited in Naruse, “Kansai Daigaku”, pp.238–39. Kensai makes reference to these years he spent in Nagasaki in a poem he composed in 1869; see Yaguchi Yasushi, ed., *Kensai ikō* [Posthumous Manuscripts of Kensai] (Shimizu: Yōmandō, 1880), 1b. This volume is not paginated, but I have numbered the pages of the main text to facilitate reference.

23 See the tables in Makabe, p.356.

24 Uchida writes: “During the conflict of 1868, he joined [Nagai] Kaidō and others aboard the *Kaiyō* battleship, and fled to the north to take possession of Hakodate. While aboard the ship, the officers all wore Western dress, but Kensai alone wore a robe of Kihachijō silk, tying back his sleeves with strips of white cloth so that he could hold a gun. Everyone regarded this as unusual.” The *Kaiyō-maru* was the mightiest and most advanced warship in Japan at the time, and it bore the rebellion’s leader, Enomoto Takeaki, in

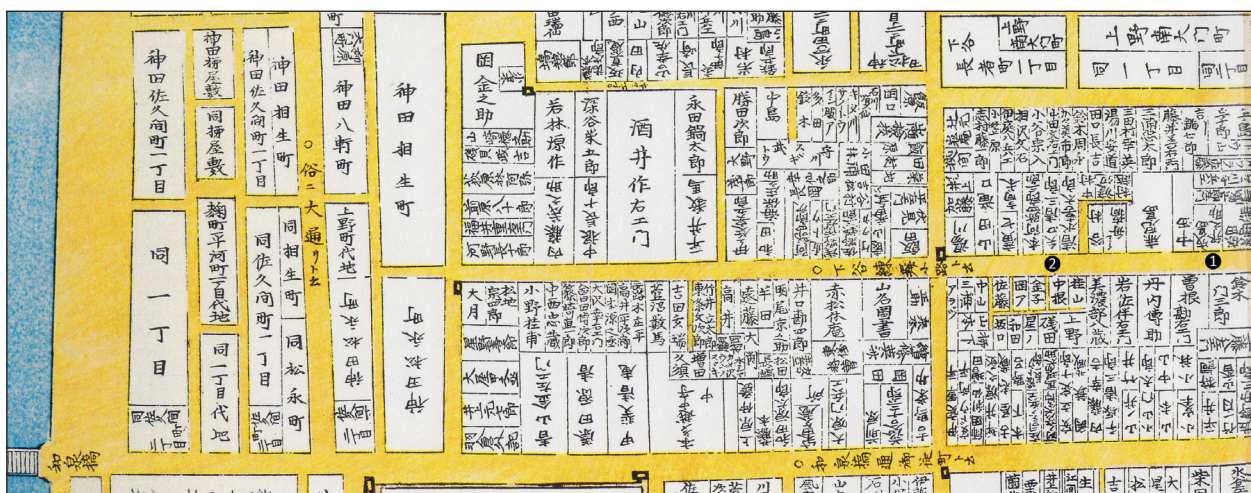


Figure 3

Soto Kanda Shitaya Ueno hen ezu (1850). 1. Narushima residence; 2. Yaguchi Seizaburō (Kensai) residence. Both homes were located along Neribeikōji, a major street running parallel to Izumibashi-dōri, which runs along the bottom of the image. At bottom left can be seen the Izumi-bashi bridge over the Kanda River that flows along the left side of the map.

Significantly, those who remembered his withdrawal saw it not as a meek retreat, but rather as a pointed rejection of the Meiji regime. Needless to say, one of the most symbolically important roles a central authority plays in the daily lives of its subjects is the regulation of time by the promulgation of an official calendar. Conversely, a basic way to register opposition to a new regime's authority is to refuse to accept its calendar. The one poem by Kensai that I have seen anthologised in Japanese *kanshi* 漢詩 collections is the following, presumably written around New Year's Day of Meiji 6 [1873], the first year that Japanese would celebrate the traditional holiday according to the newly instituted solar calendar.²⁶ It reads:

山村冬暮同鳳岳柳村

Visiting a mountain village in late winter with Hōgaku and Ryūson

俄然改曆春來早 A sudden change of calendar makes spring come early;
強作新年尚未真 A New Year forced upon us, but it's not the real thing.
秋收未畢食無粟 The autumn harvest is unfinished; there is no grain
for food;

一月山村無醉人 The year's first month in this mountain village,
and no one is drunk.²⁷

In its juxtaposition of two dating systems and its highlighting of disjunction between such artificial schema and the natural world, Kensai's *kanshi* may bring to mind the opening poem of the *Kokinshū* 古今集, but clearly none of the latter's amusement at calendrical curiosities animates Kensai's somber verse.²⁸ In the same way that he was apparently reluctant to use the Meiji calendar, Kensai does not date his poems with any reference to the Meiji reign name, instead using the sexagenary cycle exclusively.²⁹

As the choice of this poem for anthologisation begins to suggest, there has been a tendency to read Kensai foremost as a "leftover vassal" of the Tokugawa house and to see his reclusion as a principled statement of unwavering dynastic loyalty to it. While this particular mode of reading Kensai's reclusion certainly finds ample support in Kensai's own poetry, I would like to argue that the "leftover vassal" reading is only one of many textual figurations of reclusion with which Kensai grapples in his *kanshi*. The diverse array of reclusive modes and models referenced in Kensai's poems confirms the complexity of nineteenth century Japanese engagements with Chinese texts. That a single reading of Kensai's reclusion should nevertheless emerge so overwhelmingly can help us understand his significance to his contemporaries and to later readers.

addition to Kensai and Kaidō. Maritime conditions were less than optimal when the fleet departed Shinagawa, however, and according to the reminiscences of one man aboard the *Kaiyō-maru* at the time, the crew spent several harrowing nights being tossed about in stormy seas and fearing for their lives when the ship lost its rudder; see Hayashi Tadasu, *Nochi wa mukashi no ki ta: Hayashi Tadasu kaikoroku* [A Record of the Past and Others: The Reminiscences of Hayashi Tadasu], ed. Yui Masaomi (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1970). Enomoto's connection to this particular ship was longstanding, for he had been part of the 1862 shogunal mission to Holland that engaged a Dutch shipyard to build it; after several years of study there, he returned to Japan aboard the newly completed *Kaiyō-maru*. See Yoshikawa Yukinori, *Hakodate sensō zenshi* [Complete History of the Battle of Hakodate] (Tokyo: Shin Jinbutsu Ōraisha, 2009), pp.47, 82. In the summer of 1868 when he took the *Kaiyō-maru* and the rest of the shogun's warships north, however, Enomoto was defying explicit orders from his superiors not to challenge the new Meiji government.

25 Uchida suggests that Kensai was able to avoid direct conflict during the siege of Hakodate: "The following year [i.e. Meiji 2 – 1869] he became sick and went to

bathe in the Kakkumi hot springs. As he was about to return, he heard that Hakodate had fallen. He asked the enemy troops for permission to kill himself, but the enemy imprisoned him. After sleeping soundly for three nights he laughed and talked cheerfully. He was later imprisoned in Taketa of southern Bungo. One year passed and then he was pardoned. He moved to Suruga province and became a vassal of Shizuoka.”

26 The poem appears in Harada Ken'yū's *Nihon kanshisen* [Anthology of Japanese Sinitic Poems] (Kyoto: Jinbun Shoin, 1974), p.213. The only reference to Yaguchi Kensai that I have come across in English is Burton Watson's translation of this poem; see his *Japanese Literature in Chinese Vol.2: Poetry and Prose in Chinese by Japanese Writers of the Later Period* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1976), p.74.

27 *Kensai ikō*, 12a–b. The men Kensai mentions here, Hōgaku and Ryūson, were his companions in recreation and versification in Shizuoka during the early 1870s. For example, the collection includes a quatrain titled simply “Following the rhymes of Hōgaku” 次韻鳳岳 (11b–12a), and an octave entitled “Fishing alone along a cold river, I copy the rhymes of Ryūson” 寒江獨釣次韻柳村 (11a–b). Judging from the various writings of Sugiura Yuzuru, another former shogunal official living in Shizuoka in early Meiji, we can deduce that Hōgaku refers to Ishino Hōgaku 石野鳳岳, who joined Sugiura in participating in early Meiji poetry exchanges there; see “Shizuoka Nikki” entry for 05.14 of Meiji 2, and the “Tsuzurekinu” entry for 02.09 of Meiji 3 in *Sugiura Yuzuru zenshū* II:199 and II:275. Many of the men who participated in these *kanshi* gatherings, which centered around Mukōyama Kōson, were also instructors at the Shizuoka Gakumonjo, and it is quite likely that the individual in question is Ishino Gengo 石野源吾, who taught *kanbun* there; see the faculty roster in Higuchi, *Shizuoka*, pp.160–61. The man whom Kensai calls Ryūson was Fukai Yuzuru 深井譲 (1837–1905), a former headmaster at the Kitenkan who also taught *kanbun* at Shizuoka Gakumonjo.

28 The first poem of the *Kokin wakashū*, by Ariwara no Motokata, plays on the visible arrival of spring by the solar calendar before the start of the first month by the lunar calendar: “spring has arrived now / before the year is over; / What shall we call this time? / Is it ‘last year’? / Or is it ‘this year’?” *toshi no uchi ni baru wa kinikeri bitotose o kozo to ya iwan kotoshi to ya iwan*.

Kensai's Encounter With Hayashi Kakuryō

Following his surrender at Hakodate and his confinement in Kyushu, Kensai spent most of the remainder of his life living in reclusive retirement in Shizuoka, but one rare trip he made to Tokyo had a lasting impact on how he would be remembered by posterity. At some point around 1875, Kensai paid a visit to Hayashi Kakuryō 林鶴梁 (1806–78), a former Tokugawa official who spent his post-Restoration days teaching students at a Sinological academy in Azabu 麻布. The account Kakuryō wrote about their meeting, part of a *kanbun* letter he later sent to Kensai, would have the most direct influence on subsequent views of Kensai, for the letter was included in a popular collection of Kakuryō's prose published in the second decade of Meiji.³⁰

Though Kakuryō's name is unfamiliar to most readers today, he was considered an exemplary *kanbun* stylist during his lifetime and anthologies of his Sinitic prose in fact circulated widely among Meiji readers. In a brief 1906 interview entitled “Books that benefited my prose style,” Natsume Sōseki 夏目漱石 (1867–1916), for example, specifically mentioned Kakuryō's prose anthology as a favorite text of his youth, and the scholar Mitamura Engyo (1870–1952), born just a few years after Sōseki, recalled how he and his peers read, recited, and even memorised Kakuryō's prose.³¹ Nagai Kafū 永井荷風 (1879–1959), too, was fond of Hayashi Kakuryō's writings, which were often included in *kanbun* textbooks.³² As such, Kakuryō's anthologised letter to Kensai deserves close attention.

Like Kensai, Kakuryō had also taught at Yamanashi's Kitenkan academy and according to his account of their meeting, he welcomed Kensai with especial enthusiasm, urging him to stay.³³ Yet Kensai replied, “A recluse of the wooded hills does not wish to tarry long amid the clamor and dust of the capital. However, separated as we are east and west, my earnest desire to meet is simply unbearable, and the rare chance to see you has presented itself”. In the letter that Kakuryō sent to Kensai the following year, he fondly recounted his long-cherished wish to be reunited with Kensai, his joy at the unexpected fulfillment of it, and his resignation to the abruptness of Kensai's peremptory exit: “scurrying away as though to take flight”. Kakuryō's encounter with Kensai in Tokyo inverts the well-established topos of the urban poet's venturing into the hills to visit the recluse, but in his bemused acceptance of the recluse's stubborn elusiveness, Kakuryō echoes the convention that the recluse is seldom to be found lingering in his hermitage awaiting visitors.³⁴ As Kakuryō summarily exclaimed in his letter to Kensai: “Ah, Kensai, you are a genuine recluse! You are a truly pure man”.

Kensai's tantalising inaccessibility and willful withdrawal from the “clamor and dust of the capital” were surely fundamental to making him exemplary as a recluse, but something more specifically political was central to the view of reclusion that Kakuryō went on to elaborate in the letter. In the lines that followed, Kakuryō singled out Kensai for his adamant commitment to a life course that rejected the Meiji government and all that it represented: a firmness of conviction that Kakuryō underscored by proposing a contrast between Kensai and the erstwhile recluses who eagerly sought official positions in the first years of Meiji:

Now the Emperor is sagely and enlightened. The “men of the cliffs and caves”³⁵ emerge in search of office at the foot of the imperial carriage, teeming as they rush to the red gates of the powerful, offering up their name cards and presenting their rough jewels.³⁶ Some clutch their jewels and cry out, others weep droplets of blood after their tears have run dry. Though their ambition to serve the sovereign and bring peace to the state

is intense, how dreadfully busy they are! But you have withdrawn to dwell in a village of idle ease. As you pursue the learning of the sages in carefree leisure, you ‘clutch your jewel’ and ‘preserve your intention’; high and pure, you are at peace with yourself.³⁷ How can you be anything but a rare man in the entire world? Twenty years ago, you and I together occupied positions in the government of the Tokugawa clan. We intended to relate to one another with uprightness. Who could have predicted that the state’s trajectory would be disrupted and that people’s feelings would also be transformed? Those who in the past entrusted themselves to the Tokugawa clan have now all rescinded their ties: forgetting their obligations and turning against righteousness. Their self-promotion is most unseemly. If one searches now for those who are, like you, nobly pure and at peace with themselves, he will find them to be as rare as stars in the morning sky.

One traditional view of reclusion saw it motivated by the statesman’s conviction that the present age was corrupt or its government benighted; when the Way was not being upheld, men might take to the hills, but under an enlightened sovereign, the recluses would emerge (or be summoned forth) from their cliffs and caves.³⁸ Kakuryō nods to this view of reclusion only to put it aside in favor of the type of reclusion he sees in Kensai: a sense of loyalty that is unmoved by questions of the present sovereign’s enlightenment. Kakuryō celebrates Kensai’s fidelity to the Tokugawa through direct praise in this passage, but he also subtly conveys his own unchanged loyalty to his erstwhile lords through the way in which he writes the family’s name. At each of the three occurrences of the name “Tokugawa” in the letter, Hayashi leaves two blank spaces as a sign of respect.³⁹ This practice was commonly observed in Edo period writing that mentioned the name of the Tokugawa house or used terms referring to the shogun, but is unusual in Meiji.⁴⁰

In this passage, Kakuryō also highlights a sharp contrast between Kensai’s leisurely contentment in his withdrawal and the clamorous self-promotion of his contemporaries, former self-avowed recluses now venturing forth from their temporary places of concealment. Recluses are often imagined to have privileged access to esoteric wisdom, to embody purity, or to maintain noble ways of life, and that is surely why theorists of eremitism over the centuries have cast a cautiously suspicious eye upon the motives of individuals who seek to enter their hallowed company. Some commentators, such as the fifth-century Shen Yue 沈約, in the “Biographies of Recluses” chapter of the *Song shu*, question whether one who is known to others at all can fairly be called a recluse. Even those adopting a more moderate position scorn individuals who aspire to reclusion in the hope of some material gain or in cognisance of a contemporary or future audience.⁴¹ In this sense, Kakuryō’s attribution of crass self-aggrandisement to Kensai’s peers marks them as *reclus-manqués* and affirms the sincerity of Kensai’s motives.

Perhaps to reinforce the point that Kensai does not make a show of his integrity, Kakuryō records two additional testaments to Kensai’s fidelity to the Tokugawa as hearsay. The first was reported to him by a visitor from Shizuoka, a certain Isogaya Kiyoshi, who came to stay at Kakuryō’s academy and brought news of Kensai:⁴²

He very solicitously told me about your affairs. Everything he said to me was marvelous, but what I found particularly so was that in the fourth year of Meiji, when domains were eliminated and prefectures established, you submitted a statement that, “From the time of my forefathers, I have truly been a vassal of the Tokugawa house. Certainly I have received the benefit of its stipend. Now if suddenly I were to ascend and occupy a place among the officials at court, then I would be apprehensive and distraught. I reject

29 Certainly the use of the sexagenary cycle was a common practice for many *kanshibun* authors in nineteenth-century Japan, but Kensai’s apparently exclusive use of it post-Restoration does seem significant. Evidence of his dating practices prior to the Restoration is scant, but Tokyo Municipal Library holds one letter that he sent to his brother Morita Ichisaburō in 1862; this letter is dated with both the sexagenary cycle and “Bunkū 2”, though it is possible the date was added by a later individual.

30 Hayashi Kakuryō, “Yaguchi Kensai ni atauru sho” [Letter Presented to Yaguchi Kensai], *Kakuryō bunsbō zokuben* [A Selection of Kakuryō’s Prose, Continued] (Tokyo: Hayashi Keiji, 1881), 1:6b–8b. Kakuryō’s letter is not dated, but it states that “five years have passed since you [Kensai] arrived in Shizuoka”, suggesting that it was probably written around 1876. Kakuryō also remarks in the letter that he has “dwelt in the world seventy-odd years”; if the letter was indeed written in 1876, Kakuryō would have been 71 by Japanese reckoning at the time. We can therefore surmise that the visit of Kensai to Kakuryō’s home in Tokyo took place around 1875, for the letter references it as occurring “last year”.

31 The transcription of this short interview with Sōseki appeared as “Yoga bunshō ni hieki seshi shoseki” in *Bunshō sekai* [World of Writing] on 15 March 1906; see Yasuda Haruo, *Aru bunjin daikan no bakumatsu nikki: Hayashi Kakuryō no nichijō* [The Late Tokugawa Diary of a Certain Literatus Intendant] (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 2009), pp.1–2.

32 Yasuda Haruo cites several occasions in Nagai Kafū’s diaries from the 1940s in which the latter refers to being shown or reading copies of Hayashi Kakuryō’s diary; see pp.207–09.

33 Kakuryō’s diary is a marvel of meticulousness; thanks to it we know a great deal about the daily life of *daikan*, who were local administrators (on shogunal land, and we learn much (sometimes almost too much) about Kakuryō’s private life during a span of more than a dozen years in the *bakumatsu* period. Unfortunately, the diary volumes that he presumably kept during the Meiji period are no longer extant, and information about his life then is much harder to obtain. The letter that Kakuryō sent to Kensai, however, provides a brief glimpse of his life circumstances at the time of Kensai’s visit, as well as a sharp critique of his fellow Confucian scholars: “Ever since I resigned my position, I have lived in a hermitage near the river in Azabu [perhaps the Furu-kawa]. I have one or two disciples who

share my perverse tastes and persist in their mistaken ways. And so, together we look at old texts and talk of the ancient way. It offers me some pleasure in my remaining years. These days, Confucian scholars thirst for tuition revenue. They want to establish their fame and seek profit: their schemes the same as crafty merchants. When I think what it means for 'this Way of ours' (Chin. *sīdao* 斯道; Jap. *shidō*), I knit my brows in consternation."

34 For a discussion of the elusiveness of recluses in the subgenre of "absent recluse poems", see Paula M. Varsano's "Looking for the Recluse and Not Finding Him In: the Rhetoric of Silence in Early Chinese Poetry," *Asia Major* 12.2 (1999): 39–70.

35 The phrase "men of the cliffs and caves" 巖穴之士 (Chin. *yanxue zhi shi*; Jap. *ganketsu no shi*) is a standard term for recluses; it is associated most notably with Sima Qian's biographies of paradigmatic recluses Bo Yi and Shu Qi in the *Shi ji* (Records of the Grand Historian).

36 The metaphor of the "rough jewel" alludes to the story of Bian He, a Spring and Autumn period figure whose story appears in *Hanfeizi*. When Bian He presented a piece of jade to King Li, the King's craftsman judged it to be a mere stone, and the King, wishing to make an example of Bian He, ordered his left leg amputated. Bian He presented the stone again to Li's successor, King Wu, whose staff again judged it to be worthless, prompting the King to order Bian He's right leg amputated. During the next reign of King Wen, Bian He was found "clutching his jewel and crying beneath Mt. Chu. When his tears ran dry he wept droplets of blood." But King Wen ordered the stone polished, and it was revealed to be a rare piece of jade. This story of a vassal who suffers because the sovereign cannot discern the value of the jewels he offers is often used metaphorically in reference to the official whose talents go unrecognized.

37 The phrase translated "at peace with yourself" is 自甘 (Chin. *zigan*; Jap. *mizukara amanzu*), which is used to indicate one's contentment with his low station, lack of official employment, or straitened circumstances.

38 See the excellent studies of reclusion in the Chinese tradition by Aat Vervorn, *Men of the Cliffs and Caves: The Development of the Chinese Eremitic Tradition to the End of the Han Dynasty* (Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press, 1990); and Alan J. Berkowitz, *Patterns of Disengagement: The Practice and Portrayal of Reclusion in Early Medieval*

the offer, along with the stipend. Even if you gave me more money, I would still decline and refuse to accept it."

The political shift Kakuryō mentions here refers of course to the *baiban chiken* of 1871. If the designation of Iesato as the successor to the Tokugawa line provided former Tokugawa vassals with some degree of continuity in spite of the radically curtailed position their lord now occupied, the "elimination of domains and establishment of prefectures" that came in 1871 meant a complete end to even this diminished status.

The second testament in Kakuryō's letter is a similar encomium to Kensai's fidelity to his Tokugawa masters, but framed in terms of a dialogue with an interlocutor who is critical of Kensai's intransigence. We can understand this exchange as a consideration of two different models of reclusion: one that is sensitive to judgments of the present regime's propriety and one to which such concerns are irrelevant:

Recently, there was someone who said about you: "he has not forgotten his former lord. This is truly good. But when it comes to declining official appointment and returning his stipend, I believe that such behavior approaches extremity." Pondering this, I responded: "Though it may be extreme, Mr. Yaguchi is a rare man in the entire realm. How could I bear to click my tongue and fault him? I have dwelt in this world seventy-odd years, and I have seen millions of men. But I have never once seen a complete man. And now I have met Kensai. How could I not proclaim him?" With this, my interlocutor at last understood. But certainly this is not something worth mentioning to you. I merely wish to sing your praises to this generation and use your example to shame those in the realm who would be vassals and yet serve two masters.

While Kensai does not stoop to proclaim his own virtue, Kakuryō is eager to extol it on his behalf, and specifically praises him for not forsaking his ties to the deposed Tokugawa. The idea that a statesman who has served a certain dynasty should not serve another in the event the first perishes has the ring of a timeless truism, but in fact the notion that serving two masters is inherently unethical or disgraceful is of comparatively recent vintage in China. As Xiaofei Tian has discussed in connection with the poet and icon of reclusion Tao Yuanming 陶淵明 (365–427), this supposed prohibition on serving two dynasties would have been foreign to Tao's milieu for it only became a commonplace many centuries later.⁴³ Nevertheless, as we shall see, it was not uncommon for Japanese readers of Kensai's time to understand Tao Yuanming's reclusion principally in terms of dynastic loyalty.

At the close of Kakuryō's letter, conveyed back to Kensai in Shizuoka by the courier Isogaya, Kakuryō makes several requests. While they may seem to be but a laundry-list of assigned chores, upon closer examination we see the direct role they play in augmenting Kakuryō's exaltation of Kensai as the definitive recluse. Moreover, each request signals both Kakuryō's interpersonal and temperamental affinity for Kensai and his desire to articulate this bond through the mediation of Sinitic texts. Kakuryō first explains that he has enclosed ten of his own "old Sinitic poems" on the topic of "Recording my feelings" and asks Kensai to respond by composing his own series in "harmony" 和 (Chin. *he*; Jap. *wa*) with them. It was common for Japanese *kanshi* poets to engage in this practice, in which one poet duplicates the rhyming characters of another's poem, as a means of demonstrating a sense of affinity, intimacy, friendship, or some other type of social or spiritual bond with either their contemporaries or with poets of the past. In this way, Kakuryō sought to forge a link with Kensai, his fellow



Figure 4

Painted orchid scroll 畫蘭卷 by Zheng Sixiao 鄭思肖. Handscroll, ink on paper, 25.7 x 42.4 cm. Known popularly as 無根蘭 Rootless orchid. Abe Collection, Osaka City Museum of Fine Art.

former Tokugawa vassal, through the solicitation of matched compositions about his feelings.

This aim makes Kakuryō's second request all the more noteworthy: he explains that he has recently written twenty poems harmonising with Tao Yuanming, and though he has no time to recopy them out for Kensai now, he promises to do so in the future. Tao Yuanming was, needless to say, a paradigmatic figure of reclusion, but the specific reading of Tao Yuanming that is surely being invoked here is the view that saw his reclusion in terms of loyalty to the Jin dynasty.⁴⁴ In such a view, Tao Yuanming comes to be seen first and foremost as an *yimin* 遺民 (Jap. *imin*), a "vassal of a deposed regime": one who entered reclusion because he refused to serve two masters. Kakuryō's desire to forge a bond with Kensai that is mediated by their literary and artistic creations, and specifically through works that invoke kinship with Chinese literary figures who might be considered as "vassals of deposed regimes," receives an even more direct expression in the third request he makes of Kensai. He explains:

I once had a painting that you did in imitation of Zheng Suonan's *Rootless orchid*. Its thin brushstrokes and dry ink were suffused with a transcendent air. Yet much to my regret, it was recently stolen by someone. Might I entreat you to trouble yourself to wield your brush and make another for me? If I could receive such favor, I would be most fortunate. With it before me, it felt almost as though I was beside you, our knees touching as we sat in the same room. How could these feelings arise simply because of my respect for Zheng?

Zheng Sixiao 鄭思肖 (style Suonan 所南, 1241–1318) was a Yuan-dynasty literatus known for his paintings of orchids, traditionally associated with the idealised purity of the scholar, especially the scholar in retreat.⁴⁵ The specific work mentioned here (Figure 4), one of his best-known, is traditionally interpreted as being an allegory for the situation in China after the Southern Song fell to the Mongols. Ying Zhang describes its significance in relation to dynastic change as follows:

China (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2000).

39 The practice is called *ketsuji* 闕字; typically just once space is inserted, but Kakuryō inserts two spaces.

40 In his letter to Kensai (or at least in the printed edition of it), Kakuryō accorded an even higher level of deference to the Meiji Emperor: promoting words referring to him to the head of the next column, in a practice known as *beisbutsu* 平出. A still higher level of respect—not employed by Kakuryō in this letter—can be conveyed through the practice of *taitō* 擡頭, where the term is not only accorded a new line but appears one character higher than the surrounding text.

41 For a discussion, see Robert Ashmore, *The Transport of Reading: Text and Understanding in the World of Tao Qian* (365–427) (Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Center, 2010), pp.75–82.

42 The Isogaya Kiyoshi 磯谷洸 Kakuryō mentions is perhaps the individual of the same name who served the Meiji government in the Department of Justice. The latter was a prolific *kanshi* poet who used the sobriquet Shunsen 春泉.

43 Tian writes "During the Southern Dynasties, it was in fact extremely common for a person to serve more than one dynasty, sometimes even up to three"; see her *Tao Yuan-ming and Manuscript Culture: The Record of a Dusty Table* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2005), p.60.

44 Xiaofei Tian and Wendy Swartz concur that this particular interpretation of Tao Yuanming and his reclusion became dominant during the Song period; see Swartz's discussion of Huang Tingjian's reading of Tao Yuanming in *Reading Tao Yuanming: Shifting Paradigms of Historical Reception* (427–1900) (Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Center, 2008), pp.81–85.

45 The association may be glimpsed in a poem included in *Kensai ikō* (4a) and titled "On the 28th day of the 12th month, Mr. Maki presented me with an orchid and so I immediately sketched several orchids, and wrote this poem to present to him" 十二月廿八日卷生贈蘭即寫蘭數株題此詩以爲酬. It reads: "In these lodgings, who need speak of sorrow and bitterness? / What I gain or lose depends only on my fishing pole. / Yet how odd that the ashes of my mind are not yet cold; / I burn incense and return to painting secluded orchids" 寓舍不用話悲酸 得喪由來一釣竿 卻怪灰心未全冷 燒香時復寫幽蘭. The association between fishermen and recluses is longstanding: one canonical example occurs in the *Chu ci* (Songs of the South), a text that also uses the term "secluded orchid" to indicate an orchid

that blooms unknown to others (and to metaphorically suggest a scholar-official whose talents are not properly appreciated). The term 灰心 (Chin. *buixin*; Jap. *kaishhin*) in this poem by Kensai alludes to a line in *Zhuangzi* describing a state of transcendent selflessness in which “the body is like a withered tree and the mind is like dead ashes”; see Burton Watson’s translation, *The Complete Works of Chuang-tzu* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1968), p.36.

46 Ying Zhang, *Politics and Morality during the Ming–Qing Dynastic Transition (1570–1670)*, Ph.D. Diss., University of Michigan, 2010, p.385.

47 All of the poems in *Kensai ikō* are in the standard *jintishi* forms popularised in the Tang; heptasyllabic forms (46 quatrains, 17 octaves) predominate, accounting for a full 84% of the collection, with the remainder being pentasyllabic (4 quatrains, 8 octaves).

48 There are, for example, two explicitly dated poems that are obviously out of sequence; one dated to Meiji 6 [1873], “Writing of things in the tenth year of the cycle (*Kensai ikō*, 9b) appears in the collection several pages prior to the poem on the calendrical change (discussed above) that was surely written just as Meiji 5 became Meiji 6 (12a–b). Likewise, a poem explicitly dated to the winter of Meiji 5 [1872], “On a winter’s day in the ninth year of the cycle, I visit Abbot Tōzan at Ojima Ryōshinji, but he is not there” 壬申冬日訪小嶋龍津寺唐山和尚不遇, appears even later in the collection (13a–b).

Zheng’s most remembered orchid painting was made in 1306 ... Famously his orchids are shown ‘ungrounded’ against the blank silk, because the “land” was occupied and ruled by foreigners. The orchid, the symbol of the *junzi* (noble gentleman), stubbornly thrives here on its own spirit, refusing to accept sustenance provided by the “illegitimate ruler”.⁴⁶

In this way, Kakuryō’s celebration of Kensai as the consummate recluse hinged upon the latter’s unwavering fidelity to the Tokugawa and his committed rejection of the Meiji order. Though he resists an explicit comparison, Kakuryō’s efforts to associate Kensai with Tao Yuanming and Zheng Suonan are clear, and in this context the genuine recluse’s principal motivation for withdrawal comes to be defined as fidelity to a deposed regime.

Kensai’s Posthumous Poetry Collection

Kensai’s sole extant poetry collection, the 1880 *Posthumous manuscripts of Kensai* (*Kensai ikō* 謙斎遺稿), was published by his friends one year after his death. It includes seventy-five Sinitic poems that he wrote after his capture and arrest in the summer of 1869. The collection presents us with a view of his decision to withdraw from Meiji society that is more complex and nuanced than the picture of single-minded loyalty to the Tokugawa that Kakuryō’s letter leads us to expect. What made Kensai a “genuine recluse” to Kakuryō was that he had refused to serve the Meiji state. Kakuryō notes in particular that unlike other former shogunal officials who had rushed to receive appointments, Kensai remained a faithful vassal of the Tokugawa even after the *haihan chiken* decree brought an end to the house’s control over Shizuoka. Yet reclusion manifests itself as a theme from the very beginning of Kensai’s collection, long before the possibility of future service to the Tokugawa would be foreclosed by the elimination of feudal domains. Indeed, a firm conviction that he must at all costs remain loyal to his former Tokugawa masters seldom emerges so explicitly in Kensai’s poetry. While not completely absent from the collection, such political motivation was merely one of several visions of reclusion Kensai employed, alongside models influenced by Buddhism and Daoism. Moreover, a variety of reclusive paragons from both Chinese and Japanese literature and history appear in his verse: not simply the “vassals of deposed regimes” that Kakuryō and other contemporaries of Kensai would array him among.

Japanese *kanshi* collections of the time were typically arranged in roughly chronological order, though occasionally they were further classified by formal characteristics.⁴⁷ Internal evidence suggests that Kensai’s sequence is generally chronological, with a few minor exceptions.⁴⁸ The first several poems were composed in the immediate aftermath of Kensai’s surrender at Hakodate, allowing us to glimpse his movement to Tokyo and thence to the Oka domain in Taketa, Kyushu, where he would be held captive until the following year. About twenty poems are included from the time Kensai spent in confinement there, followed by a dozen or so composed as he made his way toward Shizuoka after being pardoned. The remaining thirty-odd poems appear to have been composed after he had settled in Shizuoka.

In spite of the slight variations in sequence, *Kensai ikō* thus traces the unfolding of Kensai’s life in the post-Restoration world. Even in the collection’s opening poems, a distinctly Buddhist tinge colours Kensai’s representation of his circumstances. Take, for example, the following quatrain, with which it begins:

53 Higuchi Takehiko, “Hakodate sensō kōfukunin to Shizuoka-han” [Shizuoka domain and those who surrendered at the Battle of Hakodate]. *Kokuritsu rekishi minzoku bakubutsukan kenkyū bōkoku* [Research Reports of the National Museum of Japanese History] 109 (March 2004), pp.47–93.

54 This was the case for Takamatsu Ryōun, a shogunal physician who was placed in the custody of Awa domain and confined to its residence in Tokyo; see *Takamatsu Ryōun ō keirekidan* [Stories of the Experiences of Venerable Takamatsu Ryōun] (1912); rpt. along with *Hakodate sensō shiryō* [Historical Materials on the Battle of Hakodate] (Tokyo: Tōkyō Daigaku Shuppankai, 1979), pp.3–134, esp. 107–10.

55 Among the records Katsu Kaishū compiled as he helped to oversee the transition to Meiji was a list of the disposition of surrendered Hakodate militants; the roster identifies the domains into whose custody each man was placed for the duration of his confinement. Kensai is one of two men who appears in Katsu’s list as having been sent to Taketa domain; the other, Iijima, is surely the same “Iijima” named in the heading of Kensai’s poem. See *Katsu Kaishū zenshū, bekkān* 2, p.603. While Hoshino and Osada do not appear in Katsu’s roster, perhaps they were also sent to Taketa. A later poem in Kensai’s collection suggests that his place of confinement housed four men (see *Kensai ikō*, 2b); perhaps they were the other two in addition to Iijima and Kensai himself.

56 *Kensai ikō*, 1b.

57 The toponym was pronounced both “Tōkei” and “Tōkyō” in early Meiji. Moreover, some have argued over the years that the imperial declaration in 1868 had not in fact changed the city’s proper name, “Edo”, at all, but had merely given it an additional designation as the “eastern capital”; see the discussion in Ogi Shinzō, *Tōkei jidai: Edo to Tōkyō no aida de* [The age of Tōkei: between Edo and Tokyo] (Tokyo: Nihon Hōsō Shuppan Kyōkai, 1980), pp.16–19. Regardless of how he pronounced it or whether he intended it as a proper name, however, Kensai was consciously adopting the new appellation in this poem.

58 See, for example, “Spontaneous Composition” 偶作 (*Kensai ikō*, 1b), in which he uses a term with Buddhist resonances, 雲水 (Chin. *yunshui*; Jap. *unsui*), to describe his wanderings; or “Unleashed words” 放言 (*Kensai ikō*, 3b), where he writes “Buffeted by winds and splashed by water for three thousand miles; /

between the “idleness” that Kensai celebrates while a prisoner and that which he fashions for himself after his release. We might expect that these early poems written during his confinement would have a sharper political edge, and yet instead we find a remarkable coherence throughout the collection in the depiction of “pure idleness” as Kensai’s greatest desideratum.

As this second poem indicates, Kensai was placed in the custody of the Oka domain after the final defeat of Enomoto Takeaki’s forces in the Battle of Hakodate. While Enomoto and the other leaders of the militants were incarcerated in Tokyo, about five hundred of the men under their command were detained in Hakodate, and an additional 415 men, Yaguchi Kensai among them, were placed in the custody of various domains.⁵³ It seems likely that when he wrote this poem, Kensai had been brought to the Oka domain’s residence in Tokyo. Some of his comrades who had been entrusted to other domains spent the duration of their confinement in the Tokyo residences associated with those domains.⁵⁴ Yet Kensai soon departed Tokyo, as the fourth poem in his collection reveals:

已巳十月十三日與飯嶺星野長田及岡藩名塚後藤諸士發東京到橫濱舟中作

*On the thirteenth day of the tenth month of the sixth year of the cycle [Meiji 2=1869], along with Iijima, Hoshino, and Osada, as well as Nazuka and Gotō from Oka Domain, I left Tokyo for Yokohama. Aboard ship I wrote this.*⁵⁵

蓬窓微雨歇	By the porthole window, the faint rains cease;
斜日發東京	The sun slants in the sky as we depart the “Eastern Capital”.
身豈辭天譴	How can my body escape the censure of Heaven?
心終要永貞	Yet in my heart I sought only to remain true.
雲晴山尚暗	The clouds have cleared, but the mountains are still dark.
風定汐初平	The winds have settled, and the evening tide at last turns calm.
浮世何時了	This floating life: when will it end?
白頭又遠征	White hair on my head, I embark on another distant journey. ⁵⁶

While one of Kensai’s best-known poems expresses his disdain for the Meiji regime’s sudden adoption of the solar calendar, it is worth noting that he shows no hesitation in incorporating into this verse the new toponym “Tokyo,” which the Meiji Emperor had bestowed upon Edo just one year earlier.⁵⁷ The term’s appearance here (particularly in the highlighted position it enjoys by contributing the first of the poem’s four rhyming characters) conveys the poet’s acknowledgment of the city’s new designation. At the same time, the natural images of cleared storms and settled waves serve to underscore his implicit acceptance of this new order. Yet uncertainty lingers both in the obscured mountains and in the distinctly Buddhist sense of ephemerality and worldly impermanence that emerges in the final couplet. While this poem literally describes a journey, Kensai in fact often portrays himself as a traveler, tossed about by the waves of history, and unsure of his destination.⁵⁸

It is unclear what mode of transport brought Kensai from Yokohama to Taketa, but this castle town of the Oka domain in northeastern Kyushu is where he would be confined for the next several months. Kensai occasionally describes his place of confinement in Taketa as a “prison,” but he often uses more neutral words. For example, in the following poem, the first to be explicitly situated within this new domicile, he calls it simply his “place of lodging”:

自歎 *Lamenting myself*

寓舍蕭蕭與睡宜 All is still in this place of lodging; it is good for sleep;
 闌邊影落夕陽移 Shadows fall on the railing as the evening sun sets.
 侵來白髮真如約 White hair creeps in, truly as if fated;
 謝去青年不待期 I bid farewell to youth, and will not wait for my time.
 身侶魚蝦何可得 As one "consorting with the fish," what can I obtain?
 心成灰燼斷應知 Once the mind is like dead ashes, one knows how to sever ties.
 悠々世事向誰問 Whom shall be asked about the endless affairs of the world?
 一任泥中曳尾龜 I resign myself to be a turtle dragging its tail in the mud.⁵⁹

In line five, Kensai compares himself to a fisherman, drawing upon language from Su Shi's "Poetic Exposition on Red Cliff" to suggest his own status as an unencumbered wanderer.⁶⁰ A similar celebration of disengagement, one even more pointedly configured as a rejection of government service, is evident in the final couplet, which alludes to a famous anecdote in *Zhuangzi*:

Once, when Zhuangzi was fishing in the Pu River, the king of Chu sent two officials to go and announce to him: "I would like to trouble you with the administration of my realm". Zhuangzi held on to the fishing pole and, without turning his head, said, "I have heard that there is a sacred tortoise in Chu that has been dead for three thousand years. The king keeps it wrapped in cloth and boxed, and stores it in the ancestral temple. Now would this tortoise rather be dead and have its bones left behind and honored? Or would it rather be alive and dragging its tail in the mud?" "It would rather be alive and dragging its tail in the mud," said the two officials. Zhuangzi said, "Go away! I'll drag my tail in the mud".⁶¹

This anecdote contrasts the unfettered life of the fisherman Zhuangzi with the deadening constraints of public office. Needless to say, its humorous thrust does not depend upon posing any questions about who the King of Chu was, or what sort of administration he ran, or what Zhuangzi's ties to other regimes may have been. Kensai's allusion to the *Zhuangzi* anecdote thus frames his life in confinement in Taketa as an escape from the obligations of office: not from the obligations of a particular office.

In this poem's opening lines, Kensai notes that his Taketa domicile is "good for sleep". This observation would soon prompt Kensai to take the ironic step of actually assigning the place a name, styling it in the manner of a recluse's hermitage, as we see in the following poem:

兀坐漫翻書一函 Sitting up, I leisurely leaf through a box of books;
 晨昏賴有菜蔬甘 At dawn and dusk, I can count on sweet greens
 and vegetables.
 三竿初起黃昏臥 Rising with the sun already high, and lying down at twilight;
 呼作吾曹睡足庵 I call my bureau here the "Cottage of Sufficient Sleep".⁶²

The term 曹 (Chin. *cao*; Jap. *sō*) that Kensai uses in the final line typically indicates a government office or department; given the contrast he sketches elsewhere between his life thus far as an official and his present idleness, its use here has a wry, almost droll tone. Moreover, the particular name that Kensai assigns to his place of captivity (Chin. Shuizu'an; Jap. Suisokuan) carries additional significance for it was the name that Song-dynasty recluse Cui Xian 崔閑 gave to his hermitage on Mount Lu. A talented zither player, Cui Xian is perhaps best known in association with Su Shi, a figure of whom Kensai was particularly fond. As recorded in *Su Wenzhong gong shi bezhu* 蘇文忠公詩合註, the influential annotated edition of Su Shi's poetry published in the late eighteenth century by Feng Yingliu 馮應榴, Cui Xian (Chenglao 誠老) was also known as the "Jade Stream Daoist" 玉澗道人 and he collabo-

fifteen years as floating duckweed and tumbling sagebrush. / This old man's tracks have covered half the earth; / Though not imbibing golden cinnabar, he flies like an immortal" 風搏水擊三千里 萍轉蓬飄十五年 老子游蹤半天下 金丹不服亦飛仙. In using the term 老子 (Chin. *laozi*; Jap. *mōshi*), Kensai not only refers to himself as "this old master" but also implies an affinity with the Daoist figure Laozi, a shading that the final line's mention of elixirs of immortality underscores.

59 *Kensai ikō*, 2a.

60 The Su Shi line reads "Consider yourself and I by comparison, fisherman and woodsman on the great river and its islands, consorting with fish and friends and of the deer"; see Stephen Owen, *An Anthology of Chinese Literature: Beginnings to 1911* (New York: Norton, 1996), pp.292–93.

61 Burton Watson, trans., *Chuang Tzu: Basic Writings* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1964), p.109. The passage appears in the "Autumn Floods" chapter.

62 *Kensai ikō*, 3b–4a.

63 For example, Cui composed the zither music for “The Melody of the Topsy Old Man” 醉翁操, to which Su provided the lyrics. Feng’s annotated collection of Su Shi poems is reprinted as *Su Shi shiji bezhu* [Collected Annotations on Su Shi’s Poems] (Shanghai: Shanghai Guji Chubanshe, 2001), pp.2446, 2483–84.

64 Presumably Kensai means he has finished reading the text, but it is not inconceivable that he means he has finished a series of lectures on it. He may well have been asked to share his Sinological knowledge while dwelling in Taketa. The autobiographies of two other Tokugawa vassals who surrendered at Hakodate note that each was compelled to teach English by domain authorities during the time of his incarceration; see Hayashi Tadasu, p.34; and Takamatsu, p.107. Higuchi Takehiko’s article “Hakodate” also discusses how some domains made systematic use of Tokugawa vassals both during their captivity and afterward.

65 *Kensai ikō*, 4a–b.

rated with Su to compose songs.⁶³ The name of Cui Xian’s domicile, the “Cottage of Sufficient Sleep”, might seem an obscure and unlikely reference for Kensai to make, but just two poems later in *Kensai ikō*, he composes a poem announcing that he has “finished” Feng’s annotated edition of Su Shi.⁶⁴

正月廿九日蘇詩合註卒業題卷末

On the 29th day of the first month, I finished The Collected Annotations of Su’s Poems and write this in its final volume

此身偏似維摩禪 With this body I feel that I recall Vimalakirti’s silence;
破曉披書到暮天 From daybreak, I open the book, poring over it until
night comes.

浮世榮枯何挂眼 Rises and falls in this floating world—what do they matter?
謫居三月對坡仙 Three months in an exile’s dwelling, facing the
immortal Su.⁶⁵

The poem expresses Kensai’s sense of affinity with Su Shi in various ways. It describes his reading of Su’s poetry in ritualised, almost devotional, terms; while Kensai may have had access to nothing more than Feng’s annotated text of Su’s poetry during his detainment, it is almost as though Su is physically present to him, or perhaps represented iconically. Kensai further suggests a parallel between Su Shi being inspired by sculptures of and texts concerning the lay Buddhist figure Vimalakirti on the one hand, and his own inspiration by Su’s texts on the other. Moreover, by using the term “residence of the banished” 謫居 (Chin. *zheju*; Jap. *takkyō*) in the poem’s final line, Kensai highlights the similarity between the exiled Su Shi’s life circumstances and his own.

In this way, the above poem adds another lens through which to view Kensai’s present circumstances of disengagement to the array assembled thus far. Alongside captive prisoner, Daoist wanderer, and delightedly idle retiree, we now have Kensai in the guise of political exile. Yet while this last lens stresses the political dimensions of his present withdrawal, we should not forget that dynastic loyalty is absent from the picture. The well-known demotions and exiles that Su Shi experienced in the course of his career (notably his lengthy banishment to the southern island of Hainan) came as the result of political factionalism and had nothing to do with dynastic collapse. The link that Kensai proposes here between himself and Su Shi as fellow statesmen who encounter political adversity, resonates with a poem that Kensai wrote during his captivity about an individual forced into reclusion closer to home: shogunal officer Iwase Senshū 岩瀬蟾洲 (1818–61). It reads:

憶舊遊 岐雲園 *Recalling an excursion made long ago (Kiun’en)*

忽然霜鬢入幽囚 A man with frosted temples is suddenly thrown into
a dark prison;

一點丹心即作仇 Unwavering stoutheartedness only produced enemies.

愁坐閑看竹田月 In sorrow, I idly gaze upon the Taketa moon;

夢魂遠遶墨江秋 And dream: my spirit far away, along the Sumida in
autumn.

草枯荒徑蟲空咽 Withered grasses along a worn-down path; insects
singing in vain;

園廢幽池水亂流 The garden deserted, water spills sloppily at the
secluded pond.

記得當年詩酒社 I recall those days when we gathered for poetry
and wine;

淋漓揮灑醉高樓 Wielding our brushes with easy verve, drunk in the
high tower.⁶⁶

A notation written in half-size characters beneath the poem's title reads "Kiun'en," which was the name of shogunal diplomat Iwase Tadanari (Senshū)'s residence in Mukōjima 向島. Kensai had befriended Senshū while both were teaching at the Shōheikō.⁶⁷ There, Senshū's talents were quickly recognised and he rapidly rose in the ranks of shogunal officials, becoming perhaps the staunchest advocate among their number for opening Japan to intercourse with Western states. At a time when even those who supported such a policy did so largely because they thought it was an unavoidable temporary expedient, Senshū was one of the few shogunal officials who instead argued strongly for the advantages Japan could gain through opening itself up to contact with the West.⁶⁸ Early on, he came to think Japan ought to send students and officials abroad to learn about Western customs as well as Western technology, volunteering himself for the position.

The Kiun'en residence that Kensai recalls visiting in this poem had particular significance in Senshū's life because it was where he was forced to spend his final three years. Senshū was permanently confined there in 1858 after running afoul of *tairō* (chief councillor) Ii Naosuke. Senshū's knowledge and self-assurance on issues of foreign policy were threatening to the less-informed Ii, and the two also found themselves arrayed on opposing sides in a factional dispute over shogunal succession.

In this poem, Kensai attempts to transcend his present confinement through imaginative armchair traveling to happier times and places, but he also suggests an analogy between his own circumstances as a political prisoner and those of Senshū. The first lines of Kensai's poem are suggestively ambiguous: is the aging man who finds himself a prisoner Kensai or Senshū? Both could conceivably feel that their sincere and single-minded service unexpectedly earned them enemies. A voice distinctively Kensai's emerges more strongly in the second couplet, as the poet compares his actual bondage in Taketa with his imagined flight to Senshū's residence in Edo. The remaining couplets of the poem create a chronological juxtaposition of the present dilapidated state of Kiun'en with its past glories: leading the reader to realise the effect of its master's absence. It is likely that Kensai had visited the Kiun'en after Senshū died and seen its condition firsthand, for he was asked to execute the calligraphy for Senshū's memorial stele.⁶⁹ We see in this poem Kensai's identification with another Tokugawa vassal, but pointedly one who was purged not by a rival regime, but rather by opposing factions within the government he served.

At some point in the spring of Meiji 3 [1870], Yaguchi Kensai was pardoned, allowing him to leave his place of captivity in Taketa. His release presumably came because of the general order that had been issued in the second month of Meiji 3 to the domains that had assumed custodial responsibility for the militants who surrendered at Hakodate.⁷⁰ Significantly, there is no poem in the posthumous collection that celebrates or even explicitly records his release from confinement. Instead, the successive headings of his poems simply indicate that he has embarked upon another journey:

三月十九日將發岡城下旅亭題攪翠樓

On 03.19, I depart an inn in the castle town of Oka. I write this poem on the Kakusuiō.

一醉歡然萬事休 In drunken merriment, all things cease;

今朝初上此高樓 This morning, for the first time I ascend to this high tower.

百花撩亂春將盡 Hundreds of blossoms scatter wildly; spring is almost over;

四面雲山送客愁 Cloud-covered mountains on all sides send off the

weary traveler.⁷¹

66 *Kensai ikō*, 2a–2b.

67 Uchida's biographical essay lists Iwase Senshū along with Nagai Kaidō as two of the men with whom Yaguchi Kensai became "especially close" while teaching as an assistant at the Shōheikō during the 1840s.

68 Matsuoka Hideo, *Iwase Tadanari: Nihon o kaikoku saseta gaikōkan* [Iwase Tadanari: The Diplomat Who Opened Japan] (Tokyo: Chūō Kōronsha, 1981).

69 The original stone with Kensai's calligraphy is no longer extant, but a rubbing of it survives at University of Tokyo Institute for Historiographical Research. The text of the inscription, which Hayashi Ōkei wrote, is included in the prefatory material to a posthumous collection of Senshū's verses, entitled *Sen'eishū*, that was reprinted in *Edo* 1:1 (June 1915), 87–90. According to the foreword by Hirayama Narinobu, dated January 1909, Senshū's grave was originally located in Rengeji Temple, but had fallen into disrepair during the intervening half century and had recently been relocated to Zōshigaya. On the occasion of the removal, the stone with Hayashi's inscription and Kensai's calligraphy, dated the seventh month of Bunkyū 1 (1861), was found. According to Uchida, Kensai also brushed the inscription for a memorial stone to shogun Iemochi (r. 1846–66).

70 There seems to have been substantial variation in the experiences of the surrendered militants. Some had already been released prior to the order; among those released afterward, some remained in the domains where they had been held, some were sent to Tokyo, and others were sent to Shizuoka. See Higuchi, "Hakodate", esp. pp.50–53.

71 *Kensai ikō*, 5b–6a. The final line can also imply through pathetic fallacy that the surrounding hills seem sad to see Kensai go; alternatively, it can mean that the appearance of the hills transmits sadness to the departing Kensai.

72 *Kensai ikō*, 6b. The only other reference to his release, equally indirect, comes in another poem composed at Ushimado; it begins with the couplet, “Already three years of eating in the wind and sleeping in the rain; / Today as I make my way back, I lament myself”.

73 On the Mōken Gakusha see Fukuoka Tetsushi, *Kindai Yamanashi no hikari to kage* [Light and Shadow in Modern Yamanashi] (Kōfu: Yamanashi Nichi Nichi Shinbunsha, 2006), pp.31–36.

74 Kensai’s poetry collection contains a poem composed on 11.05 at “Nanbu Mōken”; seeing a boat being towed, he was inspired to divide a line from a Tang poem that references the towing of a sailboat (see *Kensai ikō*, 7b). The poem in Kondō’s collection that mentions Kensai is titled “Spontaneous Inspirations On a Spring Day, Composed with Kensai” 春日偶興與謙齋先生同賦, and is part of Kondō’s *Ikō danpen* [Fragments of posthumous manuscripts], contained in *Suisan ō tsuitōshū* [Lamenting Venerable Suisan] (Yamanashi: Kiuchi Nobuharu, 1910), 24a.

75 Jūsaku (or perhaps Sumisaku) had studied at the Kitenkan, where he became familiar with Tanabe Taichi, Nakamura Keiu, and other headmasters; in the mid-1860s he studied at the Shōheikō, where he presumably met Kensai, who was teaching there at the time. In the early Meiji period, he taught in Shizuoka and then at Nakamura Keiu’s Dōjinsha, and also served in the Meiji government before eventually becoming a trustee at Sumitomo Corporation. For a detailed reconstruction of his career, see Naruse Tetsuo’s 2009 article.

76 Fukuoka, p.36. There are various contradictions in available sources concerning the details of the academy’s founding and its initial faculty, but the school seems to have been in operation and using the name “Mōken” when Kensai visited in the summer of 1870.

77 For example, one document indicates that Toyoshima had already taken up an elementary education post in Shizuoka in the summer of 1870; see Naruse, “Toyoshima”, pp.275–76. Perhaps Kensai briefly taught alongside Toyoshima, or perhaps he served as the latter’s replacement; alternatively, Kensai’s listing on the Mōken Gakusha faculty list may reflect an intention that was never realised.

78 See for example Kensai’s poems on topics such as “Spring’s end” and “Roses”, which are followed by notations indicating that these topics were assigned by Kōson; *Kensai ikō*, 7b, 8a.

79 There are references in the diary of Tokugawa retainer Sugiura Yuzuru to

From Kensai’s posthumous anthology, it is possible to retrace the route he took in the spring and early summer of 1870 by boat: departing Oka, calling briefly at the Inland Sea island of Aijima, then reaching the port of Tadotsu in the province of Sanuki. On 04.01, he arrived at Ushimado in Bizen, where he composed several poems, including the following, one of only two to make even indirect reference to his release:

四月朔泊備前牛窓 *On 04.01, we drop anchor at Ushimado in Bizen*

置身浮世塵埃外 I have placed myself beyond the dust of this floating world;
踏遍千山萬水中 A thousand mountains and myriad seas I have crossed.
歷落三年今得返 Three years of travel, and now I am able to return;
牛窗堤畔待西風 At the jetty in Ushimado, I await the western wind.⁷²

After spending several days in Ushimado, he continued onward by sea and arrived in the city of Osaka on 04.05. It is unclear how long Kensai spent in Osaka, but one month later he had ventured further east to the town of Nanbu in Yamanashi. There, it seems that he taught briefly (or at least was slated to do so), at the Mōken Gakusha 蒙軒学舎, an academy founded by Kondō Yoshinori 近藤喜則 (1832–1901) in 1870.⁷³ While Kensai’s stay in Yamanashi lasted less than one year, his own posthumous poetry collection and that of Kondō contain poems reflecting his time there.⁷⁴ Perhaps connections Kensai had established through his earlier stint as headmaster of Yamanashi’s Kitenkan led him to this post. It is also possible that a certain Tokugawa vassal named Toyoshima Jūsaku 豊島住作 (b. 1847), who had taught at the Mōken Gakusha in its initial incarnation, may have played a role in bringing Kensai there.⁷⁵ Like Kensai, Toyoshima had joined Enomoto Takeaki’s fleet as it departed Edo and headed toward the northeast in the summer of 1868, but his plans were sundered when the ship he had boarded, the *Mikabo-maru*, ran aground in stormy seas. At a loss for what to do, Toyoshima and another former shogunal official, Hirayama Seisai 平山省齋 (1815–90), sought refuge in Yamanashi with Kondō, who knew Toyoshima’s father, and Kondō apparently arranged for them to stay at a temple where they set up a school for local children. Initially known as the Chōsuidō 聴水堂, the school was relocated and renamed the Mōken Gakusha in 1870. Both Toyoshima and Hirayama appear alongside Yaguchi Kensai on a list of the newly established school’s faculty.⁷⁶ Each of these three men would later teach in Shizuoka. Sparse and contradictory documentation makes it difficult to be certain when Kensai, Toyoshima, and Hirayama began and ended their work in Yamanashi and Shizuoka.⁷⁷ While these details elude us, we can nevertheless glimpse here the network of connections that continued to link Yamanashi and Shizuoka in early Meiji and that helped former Tokugawa retainers establish themselves in new occupations, especially as teachers in local academies.

By late 1870, or perhaps early 1871, Yaguchi Kensai appears to have settled in Shizuoka, where he would live the rest of his days. There is, however, no poem in *Kensai ikō* that commemorates his arrival in Shizuoka, just the sudden occurrence of frequent references to fellow Tokugawa vassals with whom he interacted while living there. The first sign in the anthology that Kensai has taken up residence in Shizuoka comes when he begins composing occasional poems on topics assigned by Mukōyama Kōson, who ran a poetry circle in Shizuoka that many former vassals attended.⁷⁸ Kensai also mentions interacting with a Zen priest named Suigetsu 水月 who ran a Sinitic poetry and prose gathering at Rinzaizi Temple 臨濟寺.⁷⁹ In addition to these individuals, Kensai’s collection also notes his interaction

with several other former scholars of the Shōheikō who had relocated to Shizuoka, such as Hayashi Gakusai 林学斎 (1833–1906) and Hayashi Ōkei 林鶯溪 (1823–74), as well as Koga Sakei 古賀茶溪 (1816–84), a scholar who had been the inaugural chair of the shogunate's first official institute for Western learning.⁸⁰ One source states that Kensai, along with two of these men, was appointed in an advisory capacity at Shizuoka Gakumonjo, but that the post was largely nominal.⁸¹ While Kensai's poetry collection contains no direct mention of his employment by the school, it does indicate his interaction with many of the school's current and former faculty.

One such Gakumonjo scholar with whom Kensai spent time was Nakamura Keiu, who presented a verse to Kensai shortly after the latter's relocation to Shizuoka.⁸² Keiu's composition gives us a glimpse of Kensai's new dwelling: a residence on the periphery of Ren'eiji 蓮永寺 temple, referred to in the poem by an alternative name, "Mimatsu-san":

謙齋君招飲席賦此

Mr Kensai invited me to a drinking party, and I composed this.

貞松山下掩荆扉 At the foot of Mimatsu-san, you shut your rustic gate;

市遠村孤客至稀 Far from the market, in a village isolated, visitors
seldom arrive.

堆案縹緗千卷富 Blue and yellow books piled on the desk, a thousand
tomes' wealth;

映軒激灩一池圍 Rippling patterns reflect on the eaves from the
surrounding pond.

空於筆下騁雄俊 In vain, bold and fine words gallop forth from your
brush;

懶向人間問是非 Yet weary are you to face the world and ask right or wrong.

古舊相逢情意厚 When old friends meet again, their feelings are tender:

既忘賓主又忘機 Forgotten are roles of "host" and "guest," and with
them all contrivance.⁸³

In noting the dwelling's "rustic gate," its distance from the city, the paucity of visitors to it, and the abundance of books that it contains, Keiu describes Kensai's domicile in the conventional terms of a recluse's hermitage.⁸⁴ Yet the poem's third couplet seems to express a certain disappointment that Kensai has chosen to withdraw and that his talents are not receiving the audience they deserve.

Kensai was not to be moved, however, and this hermitage near Ren'eiji would be his final home; when he died in 1879, his remains were interred in the temple's cemetery (see Figure 5). To Keiu, the lack of recognition was troublesome, but to Kensai, obscurity seems to have been one of the most attractive qualities of his new life. In many of his poems from this period, he refers to his residence with the term 幽居 (Chin. *youju*; Jap. *yūkyō*), meaning "secluded dwelling".⁸⁵ The following poem, which Kensai composed around the same time, echoes several of the conventions of reclusion we saw in Keiu's poem while also expressing the poet's firm sense of resolve:

幽居初夏次韻柳村

Early summer in my secluded dwelling, I match the rhymes of Ryūson

歸來濯足坐書堂 Having made my return, I wash my feet and sit in
my study;

錯雜猶存書滿床 A jumbled lot, but I have them still: these books that
fill my chamber.

千古升沈如旦暮 The rises and falls of ages past are like the passing of
dawn to dusk;

well-attended *kanshibun* compositional gatherings held at the Rinzaiji temple in early Meiji (see for example the entries for 06.13, 06.14, 07.09, 07.23, of Meiji 2 in his *Shizuoka nikki*, rpt. in *Sugura Yuzuru zenshū*, Vol.2, pp.202–06). Nakamura Keiu's poetry collection from the same period likewise chronicles visits to the temple on multiple occasions, where he composed poetry with its abbot, Mukōyama Kōson, Koga Sakei, and others; see *Keiu shishū* II: 22b–24b. The temple's abbot, Suigetsu, was also known as Imagawa Teizan 今川貞山 (1826–1905).

80 See the poem Kensai composes on visiting Hayashi Gakusai's gathering during the eighth month of 1871, in *Kensai ikō*, 8b; or the poem on a fan he receives from Hayashi Ōkei, in *Kensai ikō*, 10a.

81 Nakane Kōtei writes that Yaguchi Kensai, Hayashi Ōkei, and Koga Sakei received "an order to check in from time to time at the school in Shizuoka", but that although they were given titles and compensated well, they did not have much of a presence at the school; cited in Higuchi Takehiko, *Shizuoka Gakumonjo*, p.19.

82 Kensai's own collection contains one poem composed when Nakamura Keiu, Koga Sakei, and the abbot Suigetsu paid him a visit; see *Kensai ikō*, 8a. Judging from its order in the collection, Kensai's poem dates from late 1870 or perhaps early 1871, about the same time range as that of the poem in Keiu's collection.

83 *Keiu shishū*, II:32b–33a. Reprinted in *Shishū Nihon kanshi* [Collections of Japanese Sinitic Poems] (Tokyo: Kyūko shoin, 1985–90), Vol.18, pp.478–79. This poem comes toward the end of a subdivision of the second volume of Keiu's collection, entitled "Gakunanshū" (Collection From South of the Peak) 嶺南集, which corresponds to Keiu's life in Shizuoka during the first years of Meiji.

84 For example, Tao Yuanming's series of five poems entitled "Returning to the Farm to Dwell" 歸園田居 contains the image of the poet shutting a "rustic gate" 荆扉, and also notes the scarcity of visitors to his hermitage. Scenes of reading also figure prominently in Tao's other descriptions of his withdrawn life.

85 The poem "Spontaneously Inspired in My Secluded Dwelling" 幽居偶興, composed by Kensai around 1873, for example, also notes his proximity to the temple and nearby Mt. Mariko; it contains the couplet "Clouds enfold the moon over the peak of Mt. Mariko; Cool enters my studio at the foot of Mimatsu-san"; see *Kensai ikō*, 9a–9b.

Figure 5
Yaguchi Kensai's grave at
Ren'eiji Temple, Shizuoka
(photograph by the author)



86 *Kensai ikō*, 8b–9a.

87 In particular, Kensai's use of 歸來 here recalls Tao Yuanming's "The Return" 歸去來辭.

88 David Hawkes, trans., *The Songs of the South: an Ancient Chinese Anthology of Poems by Qu Yuan and Other Poets* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1985), pp.206–07.

89 It is worth noting that in one of the poems in his sequence on "Returning to the Farm to Dwell", Tao Yuanming also alludes to the Fisherman's song in the *Chu ci*, but with a twist: stating that the stream is clear and that he can use it can wash his feet; see the discussion in James Hightower, *The Poetry of Tao Ch'ien* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970), p.55.

90 See, for example, the sentence that concludes the brief biographical account of Kensai in Nakane Kōtei's *Kōtei gadan*, which reads: "In a certain year in the Meiji period, he went into reclusion in Ashiarai-mura of Suruga where he lived the remainder of his days" 明治某年隱于駿之濯足村以終焉 (II:28b).

三年聚散感炎涼 Three years of meetings and partings, feeling heat and cool.
 池頭水滿荷仍小 The pool is filled with water, but the lotus is still small;
 屋角風輕柳漸長 A breeze blows lightly on the roof's edge; the willows
 growing long now.

乘興揮來蘭竹石 Seizing inspiration, I paint an orchid, bamboo, and stone;
 清閑此日却爲忙 The pure idleness of a day like today somehow seems busy.⁸⁶

Embedded in the opening lines of this octave are phrases that reference two canonical texts of reclusion. The first two characters bring to mind the "return" of Tao Yuanming to a life of agrarian simplicity.⁸⁷ As mentioned earlier, Tao Yuanming's motivations for making his "return" have been variously read; some have interpreted his decision in light of contemporaneous political developments or as motivated by concerns of dynastic loyalty while others have seen in his decision a spiritual quest for a more authentic mode of life or a disdain for the strictures of bureaucratic service. The second text mentioned is less ambiguous in implying reclusion premised upon an individual judgment about the prevailing political situation. It alludes to a passage in *Chu ci* (Songs of the South) in which a fisherman suggests two alternatives for a righteous man who encounters political setbacks:

漁父莞爾而笑，鼓枻而去，乃歌曰：「滄浪之水清兮 可以濯吾纓 滄浪之水濁兮 可以濯吾足」

The fisherman, with a faint smile, struck his paddle in the water and made off. And as he went he sang: "When the Cang-lang's waters are clear, I can wash my hat-strings in them; When the Cang-lang's waters are muddy, I can wash my feet in them".⁸⁸

This anecdote, which also appears in *Mencius*, suggests how a scholar-official should respond to shifting circumstance: if the Way is being upheld and the Cang-lang stream is clear, he should wash his hat-strings and serve at court; if the Way has fallen and the stream is turbid, however, he should wash his feet and go into reclusion. By stating that he has “washed his feet,” Kensai implies that he has made the choice to withdraw after judging contemporary political conditions to be less than pure.⁸⁹ The concept of fate figures prominently in Kensai’s collection, and if any doubts lingered in his mind about the propriety of his decision, they may have been slightly lessened by the very name of the place he had chosen to retire, for the Shizuoka hamlet on the periphery of Ren’eiji where he settled was called “Ashiarai-mura” 足洗村 (lit. “foot-washing village”). Whether the etymology of this toponym could ultimately be traced to the *Songs of the South* or not, surely Kensai savored a smile as he incorporated the polysemous term into this poem about his “secluded dwelling”. The orthography of the “wash” character in Ashiarai-mura is 洗 (Chin. *xǐ*; Jap. *sen*), but some contemporary accounts of Kensai exploited the significance of this toponym as Kensai’s site of reclusion by writing “Ashiarai” with the 濯 (Chin. *zhuo*; Jap. *taku*) character that appears in *Songs of the South*.⁹⁰

Much remains unknown about how Kensai spent the last years of his life. He clearly continued to teach, offering calligraphy lessons to youthful charges and sometimes taking his “disciples” on excursions to local temples.⁹¹ As indicated in the above poem, painting was another important occupation to which Kensai returned during his years of retirement.⁹² The sale of his paintings presumably provided Kensai with a supplemental source of income. There are also one or two scattered references in his poems to his wife and children, with whom he was reunited upon settling in Shizuoka, but the routines of domesticity do not figure prominently in *Kensai ikō*.⁹³ There are other omissions. For example, the collection chronicles numerous visits to local temples and academies, but does not make any mention of a trip Kensai made to climb Mount Fuji.⁹⁴ We know he made the trip because it is documented in the posthumous poetry collection of Hirayama Seisai, the shogunal official who taught at the Mōken Gakusha with Kensai and Toyoshima Jūsaku before moving to Shizuoka.⁹⁵ Inasmuch as Mount Fuji is one of Shizuoka’s most celebrated sites and a favorite topic for both *waka* and *kanshi* poets (even those who have never seen, let alone climbed, Mount Fuji), it is difficult to imagine that Kensai did not compose any poems on the occasion.

The final third of Kensai’s poetry collection in this way offers us no more than a set of isolated images—perhaps chosen by Kensai, perhaps selectively assembled by his friends, perhaps winnowed by time. In any case, they are linked by a consistency of tone and place: all of them present Kensai leading a contentedly disengaged life in Shizuoka. We know, however, that Kensai also traveled outside of Shizuoka in these final years, notably to Tokyo, for this is where his encounter with Hayashi Kakuryō took place.⁹⁶ In his letter to Kensai, Hayashi Kakuryō praises him for formally indicating his refusal to serve the Meiji state in the wake of the 1871 *baiban chiken* order that brought an end to the Tokugawa’s control of Shizuoka. Yet, there is no poem in *Kensai ikō* that specifically references the elimination of feudal domains nor any indication that Kensai submitted a formal refusal to the Meiji state. The end of Tokugawa authority that the elimination of Shizuoka-han formalised was surely a traumatic development for Kensai and other former Tokugawa vassals, but it does not form a pivotal moment in his posthumous anthology. Instead, Kensai seems to have continued along much the same

91 His collection contains a poem (12b) titled “Replying To a Bystander on Behalf of a Child” 代兒生答傍觀人 that imagines responding to a critical observer of a child practicing calligraphy. In another poem heading, he makes reference to “taking my disciples on an excursion in early spring to Saiokuji, the Zen temple at Tenchūzan” 早春同諸門生遊天柱山柴屋禪林 (13a).

92 From a poem entitled “Written On a Painting” 題畫, we can get some sense of the sort of works Kensai created during this time; it describes the “subtly alluring feeling” he created by depicting “two stalks of sparse bamboo, a handful of stones, several fragrant orchids, and some Lingzhi mushrooms”; see *Kensai ikō*, 8b.

93 According to Uchida (3a), Kensai’s wife predeceased him; when he died in his academy in June 1879, he was survived by a daughter, Tatsu, skilled at *waka*, and a son, Yasushi, who died ten years later.

94 In one poem he mentions an excursion to “Ishino Kakudō’s academy in the town of Ikeshinden” (*Kensai ikō*, 14b). This surely refers to the Kyōwa Gakusha 協和學舎, an academy in Ikeshinden where Ishino Gengo, a former Shizuoka Gakumonjo *kanbun* instructor, taught; see Higuchi, *Shizuoka*, p.161. I suspect that this Ishino is the same individual mentioned earlier in Kensai’s collection as “Hōgaku”.

95 See the series titled “In the sixth month of the eighth year of the cycle [1871], I accompanied Koga Sachū [i.e. Sakei], Yaguchi Kōsai [i.e. Kensai], Isobe Shunsai, and Rev. Suigetsu of Rinzaï temple to climb the peak [i.e. Fuji]” in *Seisai ikō* [Posthumous Manuscripts of Seisai] (Tokyo: Hirayama Narinobu, 1899), II:14a. According to interlinear notes in the sequence of three quatrains, Seisai’s group ascended to the eighth station, the second from the summit, where they spent the night, rising at dawn to see the sunrise.

96 On the basis of the datable references contained in Kakuryō’s letter, it seems that this visit took place around 1875, but Uchida Shūhei suggests that it occurred in the course of a later trip Kensai made through the Kantō area. Drawing upon the account in Nakane’s *Kōtei gadan*, Uchida writes that in the spring of 1878, Kensai “took his inkstone and brushes in hand and departed for the provinces of Kai, Shinano, Kōzuke, and Shimotsuke”, presumably to teach calligraphy and sell his works. Uchida suggests that it was in the course of this 1878 trip that Kensai visited the graves of the Tokugawa shoguns and also of his former teacher, Sone Tokusai, before stopping in to see Hayashi Kakuryō.

97 The story of the “old man on the frontier” who loses his horse is a well-known parable from the *Huainanzi*; it involves a man who loses his horse one day, something his neighbors regard as unfortunate. The man insists it is fortunate, however, and sure enough, the horse later returns with a fine steed in tow. His neighbors congratulate the man, but he says that this is an unfortunate development, and sure enough, the man’s son is soon injured while riding the fine steed. Ultimately, even this has an unexpected outcome when the injury prevents the son from being called to serve in battle. The line about the “stalwart man who could uproot a mountain” refers specifically to a song the Qin Dynasty general Xiang Yu composed after his defeat at the hands of Liu Bang.

98 *Kensai ikō*, 13b–14a.

path he had been travelling since he surrendered at Hakodate. Two years after the *baihan chiken* order was promulgated, for example, he wrote this poem about his “secluded dwelling”:

癸酉七月病小愈偶作

A spontaneous composition from the seventh month of the tenth year of the cycle [Meiji 6=1873], when my sickness was slightly improved.

一架琴樽一架書 A zither and a cask of wine; a full case of books;

歸來偏愛此幽居 Having made my return, I am fondest of this secluded dwelling.

榮枯有分花開落 Thriving and withering are fated, as flowers bloom and fall;

聚散無期雲卷舒 Meetings and partings cannot be predicted, clouds gather and disperse.

失馬塞翁還得福 The old man on the frontier lost his horse, but he gained fortune instead;

拔山壯士竟爲墟 The stalwart man who could uproot a mountain in the end turned to dust.⁹⁷

思量四十餘年事 I ponder what has happened in these forty-odd years;

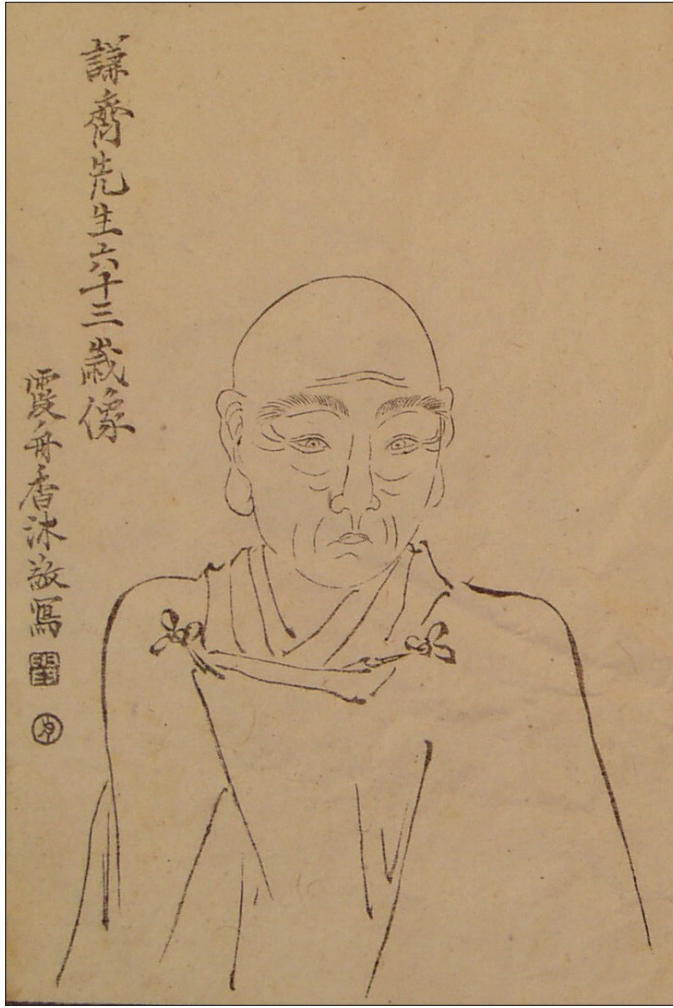
疎性應安儋石儲 With a temper lax as mine, I am content with a meager subsistence.⁹⁸

In the specific items that constitute the material components of Kensai’s hermitage, in the diction that references earlier reclusive figures, and in its overall tone, there is a striking similarity between this poem and others in the collection, especially those Kensai wrote immediately upon his arrival in Shizuoka, but also including those he wrote during his captivity in Taketa.

Conclusion: Presenting Kensai

As we have seen, Kensai’s life of disengagement is the consistent subject of the poems gathered in *Kensai ikō*. The collection shows the poet’s keen interest in reclusive themes from its very outset, and in these poems he adopts several ways of representing his life outside of office, proposing analogies between his own circumstances and those faced by others who exhibited a variety of reclusive modes. Nevertheless, the paratextual features of this collection—its inscriptions and illustrations, preface, and colophon—offer a much more specific vision. The authors of these paratexts were former Tokugawa vassals who were also Kensai’s friends. The elements of Kensai’s life and poetry that they called attention to shed light on the significance he held for them. On the whole, their presentation of Kensai resonates with the emphases of Hayashi Kakuryō’s letter: both focus upon his refusal to serve the Meiji state and propose an analogy between him and reclusive figures such as Tao Yuanming who might be read with the “vassals of a deposed regime” paradigm. Needless to say, Kensai’s friends did not simply fabricate this view of him out of whole cloth; there are unquestionably elements of Kensai’s own poetry that lend themselves to such a reading. Yet out of the diverse visions of his post-Restoration life Kensai expresses in his poems, the editors of the collection chose to emphasise certain elements in their presentation while effacing others.

The volume *Kensai ikō* begins with an illustration of Kensai that clearly evokes the withdrawn lifestyle he led after taking Buddhist vows, depicting him with bald pate and in a plain robe (Figure 6). The portrait is inscribed “Master Kensai at sixty-three”, the age Kensai would have been in the final

**Figure 6**

[Udono] Kashū, "Master Kensai at sixty-three." Frontispiece to Yaguchi Yasushi, ed., *Kensai ikō* [Posthumous Manuscripts of Kensai] (Shimizu: Yōmandō, 1880).

year of his life, and seems to be the work of a former Tokugawa vassal named Udono Kashū.⁹⁹ This portrait is followed by a *daiji* inscription by Mukōyama Kōson, former head of the Shizuoka Gakumonjo who along with fellow Tokugawa retainer Nagai Kaidō 永井介堂 (1816–91) prepared this posthumous collection of Kensai's poems for publication.¹⁰⁰ The two characters Kōson chose to inscribe *Kensai ikō* read 心遠 (Chin. *xīnyuan*; Jap. *shin'en*) and refer to a famous Tao Yuanming poem encapsulating the spirit of "the mind detached" that underlies the latter's life of hermitage; its first two couplets read:

結廬在人境 I built my hut beside a traveled road
而無車馬喧 Yet hear no noise of passing carts and horses
問君何能爾 You would like to know how it is done?
心遠地自偏 With the mind detached, one's place becomes remote.¹⁰¹

While Tao Yuanming's reclusion need not necessarily be understood as prompted foremost by a sense of dynastic loyalty, that interpretation was common in 19th-century Japan, as the enumerating of Tao Yuanming alongside the Song loyalist Zheng Suonan that we saw in Kakuryō's letter demonstrates. Because of this latent association between Tao Yuanming's reclusion and dynastic loyalty, by simply alluding to this famous poem of Tao's, Kōson's inscription helps attribute to Kensai a similar sensibility and presumed motivation for reclusion—particularly in the activated field that the other paratexts furnish.

99 The portrait is signed simply Kashū, but judging from the time period and the Tokugawa connection, I think it highly likely that Udono Kashū 鵜殿霞舟 was the artist. A bakufu bannerman, Udono had studied painting under Tachi Kahō 館霞舫 (d. 1853); see Kanō Sosen, ed., *Honchō gaka jinmei jiten* [A Biographical Dictionary of Painters From Our Court] (Tokyo: Ōkura Hogorō, 1893), II: 244. Kashū and Kensai clearly bonded over their shared interest in painting; the final poem in Kensai's posthumous poetry collection (15a) is titled "On a landscape painting by Kashū".

100 The role of Kōson and Kaidō in editing Kensai's posthumous collection is noted in Uchida, 3a.

101 The poem is the fifth in the sequence "Twenty poems after drinking wine" 飲酒二十首; I have used James Hightower's translation, pp.130–32.

102 Kaidō was the Magistrate of Hakodate in the “Republic of Ezo” and Kensai served under him as “Hakodate-kata kumigashira”; see their names in the roster of government officials and military officers who fought in the northern conflict reprinted in Sudō Ryūsen, ed. *Hakodate sensō shiryōshū* [Historical Materials On the Battle of Hakodate] (Tokyo: Shin Jinbutsu Ōraisha, 1996), pp.299–301.

103 On the surrender at Hakodate, see Kikuchi, pp.212–16.

104 Kensai was an accomplished calligrapher. According to Uchida’s biographical essay, he was particularly fond of an inkstone he possessed that was made with Duanxi stone, and treasured calligraphy copy books that he had obtained in Nagasaki. An example of Kensai’s calligraphy (a Gao Qi quatrain) is reproduced in Takeuchi Tandō, *Zenjin ibō* [Calligraphy by People of Former Times] (Dairen: Mokugyoan, 1921), II: 359–60.

105 In his biography of Iwase Senshū, Kawasaki Shizan describes Nagai Kaidō’s friendship with Senshū as “closer even than brothers”, and explains that they agreed on a host of policy matters and shared many of the same life circumstances, including enduring punishment for these positions. While the two were confined in their respective domiciles, they had no means of interaction beyond written correspondence, and Kawasaki quotes some of the extensive *kanshi* sequences the two men exchanged. After Senshū’s death, Kaidō convened gatherings in memory of Senshū to which former bakufu officials such as Mukōyama Kōson were invited; see *Bakumatsu sanshūn* [Three Great Men of Late Meiji] (Tokyo: Shun’yōdō, 1897), pp.192–204. As one of the foremost casualties of Ii Naosuke’s political purge in 1858, Senshū’s status was ambiguous when he died in 1861; perhaps this accounts for the terseness of the first stele to be erected in his memory. Written by Hayashi Ōkei and brushed by Kensai, it is little more than a list of the offices Senshū held. A second inscription that Nagai Kaidō wrote in 1883 provides a much fuller account of Senshū’s accomplishments as a diplomat; it adorns a memorial stele to Senshū at Mukōjima’s Shirahige shrine.

106 Sugiura Kiyosuke, *Kōsei nikki* [Diary of Muddling Through], in Hashimoto Hiroshi, ed., *Isbin nissbi* [Chronicle of the Restoration] (Tokyo: Shizuoka Kyōdo Kenkyūkai, 1932–35), Vol.12, pp.177–200. The diary is partially reprinted in Sudō (pp.167–82), which includes an introductory essay by Nishizawa Akemi that points out how Sugiura’s diary is especially valuable because it complements other first-

Nagai Kaidō’s preface to *Kensai ikō*, for example, strengthens this reading by unambiguously assigning the status of “leftover vassal” to Kensai. Kaidō was Kensai’s predecessor as the headmaster of the Kitenkan, and in the immediate aftermath of the Meiji Restoration, both went north to Hakodate to join Enomoto Takeaki’s forces. Kaidō in fact took a leading role in the resistance, and served as Kensai’s direct supervisor in Hakodate.¹⁰² When defeat came in the summer of 1869, Kaidō was among the seven principal militants who were arrested, interrogated in Tokyo, and then incarcerated by the Meiji government directly rather than being placed in the custody of a domain as Kensai was.¹⁰³ Given their shared efforts on behalf of the Tokugawa in the north, it is not surprising that Kaidō’s preface focuses upon this moment that bound them together. The text begins by identifying Kensai first as a “leftover vassal” of the Tokugawa and emphasises his enduring loyalty to his former masters. It further shows how Kensai’s loyalty manifested itself on a more immediate level: in the faithfulness with which he maintained certain practices acquired under the tutelage of the Hayashi, the family of Confucian scholars who presided over the shogunate’s official academy, the Shōheikō:

翁幕府之遺老也曾遊林氏門脩伊洛之學且嗜臨池之業取法王顏起布衣至監察慶應之變同志三千據函館力盡志摧爲虜遇赦不仕歸農于靜岡縣下足洗村講學臨書教授子弟于家焉時洋籍盛行漢學墜地而塾之學規守林氏之舊而不變每與朋友會飲談及戊辰之事則慷慨歎歎不自禁享年六十有三易簣于家塾實明治十二年六月也今茲縣之友人相與謀祭其靈欲刻遺稿與墨跡頒之同好以永存交義余與翁最爲莫逆因寄其遺稿求一言閱之函館幽囚以後之詩章雖一小冊子足觀其素志之所存也一章三讀一句十吟今昔之感多矣翁矢口氏名正浩號謙齋

明治十三年第二月識于東京澀上岐雲園樓中

介堂漁叟

The old man [Kensai] is a remaining vassal of the deposed shogunate. In the past, he studied the scholarship of the Cheng brothers [that is, Neo-Confucian learning] under the Hayashi family. He also pursued the art of calligraphy, adopting the style of Wang Xizhi 王羲之 [303–61] and Yan Zhenqing 顏真卿 [709–85].¹⁰⁴ He rose up from common stock, but was recognised for his talents and attained a supervisory post. During the disturbance of the Keiō period [the Meiji Restoration], he occupied Hakodate along with three thousand comrades. But when his energies were expended and his spirits had been crushed, he became a prisoner. Though granted amnesty, he did not serve in official capacity again, but returned to farm in the village of Ashiarai in Shizuoka prefecture. He lectured and taught calligraphy, instructing disciples in his home. At the time, Western books were all the rage, and Chinese learning had fallen to the ground. Yet in setting the scope of learning at his academy, he preserved the old ways of the Hayashi family without changing them. On gathering to drink with friends, whenever talk would turn to the events of 1868, he would inevitably be seized with fiery ardor and cry out with abandon. He lived for sixty-three years, and passed away in his home academy in June of Meiji 12 [1879]. This year, several of his friends from the prefecture planned together to commemorate his spirit. They intend to print the manuscripts and calligraphy that he left behind and distribute them to like-minded individuals with the hope that they shall endure forever. Among his associates and upright comrades, it was I who was his most steadfast friend, and for this reason, they sent me his manuscripts and asked for me to comment upon them. Upon reading them, I find that they contain the poems he composed after being imprisoned in Hakodate. Although this is a small booklet, it is sufficient to enable one to discern his original intentions. Each

verse deserves to be read three times, and each line recited ten. They make one keenly realize the changes wrought by time. The old man had the family name Yaguchi. His name was Masaharu, and his style was Kensai. Written in the thirteenth year of Meiji, in the second month, at the Kiun'en Villa along the Sumida River in Tokyo.
The fisherman Kaidō

Kaidō notes here Kensai's fiery temperament surrounding discussion of the Meiji Restoration, yet the reader of Kensai's posthumous collection is instead struck by the absence of vitriol. Instead, one sees a sense of contented resignation and an attempt to discover in his predicament the possibilities for realising more spiritual goals.

Kaidō's preface clearly conveys the intimacy and camaraderie that developed between him and Kensai over the years. One aspect it does not touch upon, however, is how the two men's paths diverged after both had been pardoned. Shortly after Kaidō was released in 1871, he joined the Meiji government, where he served in a variety of posts, including as an official in the Hokkaido Development office (Kaitakushi goyōgakari 開拓使御用係) and later as a secretary for the Genrōin 元老院. Yet here he styles himself "the fisherman Kaidō" in the manner of reclusive former officials of the past. At the time he wrote this preface in 1880, Kaidō was in fact living in disengaged retirement in the Kiun'en villa along the Sumida River, the very same villa where Kaidō and Kensai's mutual friend Iwase Senshū had spent his final years. Kaidō took over the Kiun'en in 1876, where he built a shrine and carried out memorial services to Senshū twice yearly until he died, and like Kensai, Kaidō was also involved in the production of a memorial stele for Senshū.¹⁰⁵ As the 64-year-old Kaidō assembled Kensai's post-Restoration poems in this site that had special resonance for both of them, recalled their shared experiences, and recounted his dear friend's choice not to serve the Meiji state, he surely reflected on the different path he had taken after his own release. Central to the interest Kensai held for former Tokugawa retainers like Kaidō was that he stood as an exemplar of a mode of being that many of them idealised though few had the wherewithal to actually put into practice.

According to Kaidō's account, the manuscripts that Kensai's friends sent to him in preparation for the publication of the posthumous collection "contain the poems he composed after being imprisoned in Hakodate". We might imagine that Kensai had simply been so preoccupied by the business of establishing the administrative apparatus of the "Republic of Ezo" or distracted by the upheaval that successive battles brought that he found no time to write poetry amid the chaos in Hakodate. Yet that is simply not the case. From the diary kept by fellow shogunal stalwart Sugiura Kiyosuke (1826–92), we know that Kensai composed *kanshi* extensively during his time in the north.¹⁰⁶ Like Kensai, Sugiura worked under Nagai Kaidō in the new Republic's Hakodate Magistrate's office, and he first mentions Kensai in his entry for 11.07, just a short time after the new government had been established. While Sugiura's diary entries over the next several months are somewhat telegraphic, they nevertheless suggest that one of the main activities undertaken by Sugiura, Kaidō, Kensai, and other officials working in the Hakodate office (in addition to drinking) was the composition of poetry.¹⁰⁷ While Kaidō and the others who edited *Kensai ikō* just over a decade later may have had no access to the presumably prolific body of poems Kensai composed prior to his capture in Hakodate, the effect of beginning the collection with Kensai explicitly a "prisoner" was to foreground his life in the wake of the Tokugawa's collapse.

hand sources documenting the actual fighting and presents us instead with a rare glimpse of "everyday life" inside the Republic's administration. Sugiura's title signifies that it is a diary of "muddling through life" or "living haphazardly", and may even reflect his sense of the shamefulness or impropriety of his life as a Tokugawa retainer after the shogunate's collapse. Sugiura (who used the sobriquet Sekijō 赤城) may well have had occasion to interact with Kensai again later in life; after his surrender at Hakodate and release from captivity, he traveled to Shizuoka, where he taught at Numazu Military Academy and also at the Shizuoka Gakumonjo; see Higuchi, *Kyūbakushin*, p.48, 55; and Higuchi, *Shizuoka*, p.167.

107 Sugiura mentions, for example, Kaidō's skill as a calligrapher (12.19), refers to a "small gathering" (presumably a poetry gathering) held by Kensai (01.08) and attended by Kaidō, notes that he has received a copy of Yuan Mei's influential poetry commentary *Shuiyuan shibua* (03.09), records a few of his own spontaneous compositions (see, for example, 03.11), and exchanges poems with Kensai when the latter makes a trip to the northern castle town of Matsu-mae (03.14).

108 I follow Uchida Shūhei's attribution of authorship here, but the calligraphed signature on the colophon is difficult to decipher. One character does appear to be 潜, a name Serizawa used, but the two characters that precede it are illegible to me.

109 Serizawa Zuiken, who was also known as Sen 潜, Senzō 潜藏, and Kōnosuke 孝之助, is listed in a faculty roster for the Shizuoka Gakumonjo printed in *Shizuoka-ken kyōikushi: tsūshi-ben* [History of Education in Shizuoka Prefecture: Comprehensive History] (Shizuoka: Shizuoka-ken Kyōikushi Kankōkai 1972), Vol.1, p.170. His name appears in lists of attendees at Sinitic poetry and prose composition gatherings held regularly at various sites in Shizuoka during 1869, including the local Rinzaiji Temple; see Sugiura Yuzuru's diary entries for 06.14, 06.25, 07.03, and 07.09 in *Sugiura Yuzuru zenshū* Vol.2, pp.202–204. A posthumous collection of his writings, *Zuiken ikō*, was published in the Shizuoka *baiku* journal *Fuyō* (Vol.3, no.5) on 5 June, 1900. This local literary magazine was founded by Katō Setchō 加藤雪腸 (1875–1932) and other Shizuoka-based disciples of Masaoka Shiki in 1899. See Kurita Kiyoshi, "Fuyō nitsuite" [About *Lotus*], *Shiki to Shizuoka* [Shiki and Shizuoka], Vol.15 of *Shiki*

senshū [Selected Works of Shiki] (Nagai-zumi: Zōshinkai Shuppansha, 2003), pp.382–83; 456–64.

110 Uchida copies Kaidō almost verbatim when he writes about Kensai maintaining the ways of the shogunal academy and when he states “On gathering to drink with friends, whenever talk would turn to the events of 1868, he would inevitably be seized with fiery ardor and cry out with abandon”.

111 One of Uchida’s Sinologue contemporaries, Saeki Kōkei 佐伯篁溪, appended a brief commentary to Uchida’s biography that confirms the important role played by Kakuryō’s letter in shaping perceptions of Kensai: “I also once read the writings [on Kensai] by Kakuryō and [Nakane] Kōtei; I secretly marveled at Kensai’s character as a man” (4a).

112 The other sources of information Uchida identifies in his biographical essay’s preface include the brief account of Kensai in Nakane’s *Kōtei gadan* and “what I heard from the shogunal retainer Mr. Toyoshima.” While unidentified, I suspect that the latter figure is Toyoshima Jūsaku, who taught at the Mōken Gakusha in Yamanashi; for an article on Toyoshima’s career, see Naruse Tetsuo, “Toyoshima”.

113 The other piece that makes up the 1932 volume is entitled “Collection of compositions in harmony with Ōkei” and had its origins in Uchida’s 1907 discovery of a piece of calligraphy by Hayashi Ōkei, former shogunal scholar and poetic associate of Kensai, in an antique shop. The work of Ōkei’s calligraphy was a pentasyllabic quatrain reading “Wealth and prestige; poverty and abjection / The flowering and withering of fortune is but a question of time / In idle days, what provides the ultimate pleasure? / Nothing is so fine as reading books”. Stirred by this poem, Uchida wrote a composition in the same form and using the same two rhyme characters, which he promptly began to circulate along with Ōkei’s original composition among Uchida’s friends. The collection that he went on to publish several decades later in 1932 consists of the matched rhyme compositions that he obtained from a dozen poets, each of whom contributed anywhere from one to one hundred quatrains using these rhyme two characters.

114 Uchida, *Yaguchi Kensai den*, 4a–b.

115 Uchida, 2b. We should take note of the analogy produced here between Kakuryō and Uchida, both of whom aspire to write biographies of Kensai, and also the trans-temporal affinity suggested between Uchida and Kensai, for Uchida succeeds in his aim. Several of

The text of *Kensai ikō* ends with a colophon by Serizawa Zuiken 芹澤 隨軒 (1824–1905), a former shogunal official who studied at the Shōheikō and followed the Tokugawa to Shizuoka.¹⁰⁸ Zuiken taught *kanbun* at the Shizuoka Gakumonjo and was also a participant in the early Meiji *kanshi-bun* gatherings that Mukōyama Kōson and others led in Shizuoka: regular meetings that brought Tokugawa retainers together to share their Sinitic prose and poetry compositions.¹⁰⁹ In his colophon, Zuiken praises Kensai’s “solemnity and gravity” and compares him specifically to Tao Yuanming:

謙齋爲人深沈威重切其詩亦不淺慮也…今讀翁遺藁平淡閑味無牽強湊泊之病
頗存陶彭澤韋蘇州之遺意可以見其爲人矣

Kensai’s manner was solemn and grave. He was earnest in his poetry and never superficial nor imprudent in his thinking ... As I now read the old man [Kensai’s] remaining manuscripts, I find them to be limpid and leisurely, without the defects that come from a forced cobbling together of words. They very much manifest the ideas of Tao [Yuanming of] Pengze and Wei [Yingwu of] Suzhou. One can discern in them his manner of being.

These paratextual features of the poetry collection, all contributed by former Tokugawa vassals and friends of Kensai’s who associated closely with him after the shogunate’s collapse, reinforce the reading of him as a “vassal of a deposed regime”. In choosing to stress these elements of Kensai’s reclusion, Nagai Kaidō, Mukōyama Kōson, and Serizawa Zuiken presented a vision of Kensai that would largely be echoed and in some ways even further amplified by Uchida Shūhei (1857–1944), the author of the 1920 biographical essay that seems to be the sole scholarly work about Kensai to date. On several occasions in this essay, Uchida borrows phrases and even entire sentences almost verbatim from Nagai Kaidō’s preface and Serizawa Zuiken’s colophon.¹¹⁰

While *Kensai ikō* was clearly an important source for Uchida, Kakuryō’s letter was even more influential and inspiring to him. In the essay’s preface, Uchida explains that he had “long desired to ascertain the details of Kensai’s scholarship and accomplishments” after first learning of this former shogunal official whom Kakuryō had celebrated as a “genuine recluse,” but had been “unable to obtain” the necessary materials until recently acquiring Kensai’s posthumous poetry collection.¹¹¹ Uchida’s competence in German was sufficient to enable him to write about, translate, and lecture on Kant, Schiller, and Hartmann (among others), but he also had deep Sinological knowledge and sincere antiquarian sensibilities. He composed *kanshi* under the sobriquet Enko 遠湖 and was also involved in editing one of the major venues for literary Sinitic in Japan during the Taishō era, the magazine *Taishō shibun* (1915–27). That even a prominent Sinologue such as Enko was long frustrated in his attempts to track down Kensai’s posthumous poetry collection suggests the limits of its circulation.¹¹²

If Hayashi Kakuryō’s anthologised letter to Kensai was the main means by which the latter’s reputation as the consummate recluse endured into Meiji, Uchida’s brief biographical essay, which was published privately with another *kanshibun* work in a slim volume in 1932, served to reinforce this image.¹¹³ Not only does the text mention Hayashi’s key designation of Kensai as “a genuine recluse” and “a truly pure man” in its opening lines, but it even reprints an abridged version of Hayashi’s letter as an appendix.¹¹⁴ Uchida’s biography contains substantial content drawn from Hayashi’s letter, but one element in it concerning Kakuryō’s interaction with Kensai is absent from Kakuryō’s letter itself. Recounting the episode reported

in Kakuryō's letter about Kensai's visit to Kakuryō's Tokyo home and the host's unsuccessful attempts to detain the visitor longer, Uchida writes that as he bids goodbye, Kakuryō says to Kensai: "I would like to write a biography for you," to which Kensai hangs his head and says, "I am the vassal of a deposed regime (亡国之臣). It is fortunate that no one knows about me. What would be the use in writing a biography?"¹¹⁵ At the same time that it strengthens the contention in Kakuryō's letter that Kensai does not seek recognition for his reclusion, Uchida's addition coincides with the increasingly explicit coding of Kensai's reclusion as the conduct befitting a "vassal of a deposed regime".¹¹⁶ Uchida goes on to compare Kensai to the Song patriotic figure—and in Uchida's terms "leftover vassal"—Xie Ao (謝翱; also known as Xie Gaoyu 謝皋羽 1249–95), who fought in the resistance alongside paradigmatic Song loyalist Wen Tianxiang. Xie Ao is known for writing an essay in grief and commemoration of Wen after the latter's death. Whether Uchida had this essay particularly in mind is unclear, for he simply says that Xie "wrote of the state's demise".¹¹⁷ Uchida concludes by saying "When people today discuss the leftover vassals of the shogunate, they speak of [Nagai] Kaidō, [Mukōyama] Kōson, and others, but they do not mention Kensai. It is for this reason that I have taken the trouble to write this biography."

Uchida's aim to recuperate Kensai as an exemplary "vassal of a deposed regime" and to explain his reclusion foremost in terms of dynastic loyalty is unmistakable, but as we have seen, Kensai's own poems are more ambiguous in their exploration of multifarious reclusive modes. An understanding of reclusion that sees it principally as the conduct befitting a "vassal of a deposed regime" does not figure prominently in the collection's poems as a whole. That is not to say, however, that its poems cannot be read through that frame, nor is it to suggest that Kensai did not entertain this configuration of reclusion among the others we have examined. Consider the sample of Kensai's calligraphy (Figure 7) that appears as the frontispiece of Uchida's biographical essay. The calligraphy itself is a short passage from *Wu za zu* 五雜俎, a collection of miscellaneous essays by the Ming scholar Xie Zhaozhe 謝肇淛 (1597–1624). It reads:

竹樓數間 負山臨水 疏松修竹 詰屈委蛇 恠石落々 不拘位置 藏書萬卷其中
長几軟榻 一香一茗 同心良友 閒日過從 坐臥談 隨意所適 不營衣食 不問
米鹽 不敘寒暄 不言朝市 丘壑涯分 於斯極矣

A house with several rooms stands in a bamboo grove, with mountains behind, it faces a stream; sparse pines and tall bamboo wind and twist. Curiously shaped stones lie around, but do not seem to have been consciously placed there. Inside is a library of countless volumes, a long desk and a soft couch, a stick of incense and a cup of tea. With good friends of the same spirit, one can pass a day in leisure, sitting or lying down, laughing and chatting to one's heart's content. No worries about fancy clothes or food; no concerns about there being enough rice or salt. No need for trivial talk of the weather; no discussion of court or market. If dwelling amid hills and valleys is my lot, it is here that it reaches the ultimate.¹¹⁸

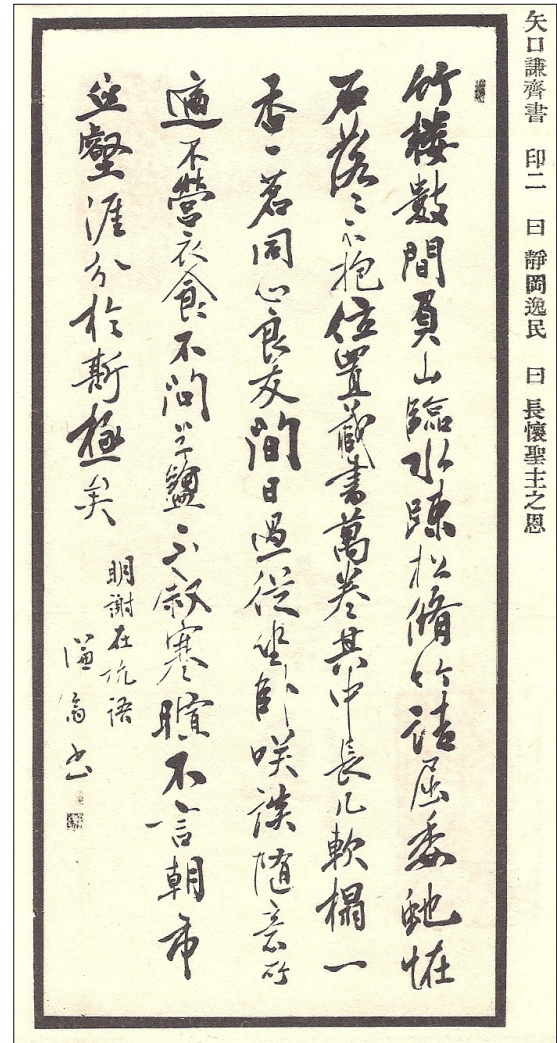


Figure 7

Yaguchi Kensai, calligraphy of passage from *Wu za zu*; frontispiece to Uchida Shūbei's Yaguchi Kensai den [Biography of Yaguchi Kensai]. The two stamps, unclear in the reproduction, are explained in the caption at top right.

Uchida's friends contributed epigrammatic comments on his essay, and among these is Nakamura Ōkei 中村櫻溪 (1852–1921), a Sinologist who lived in Taiwan for nearly a decade during the early colonial period, publishing extensively in *kanbun* while there; he writes, "Although Kensai refused Kakuryō's request of a biography during his life, Enko [i.e. Uchida] has written a biography about him after his death".

¹¹⁶ Uchida's source for this episode was presumably Nakane's 1886 *Kōtei gadan* (II:33a–34a).

¹¹⁷ Uchida's use of similar locutions in reference to Xie Ao and Kensai further emphasises their connection. He states

that the response of both Xie Ao and Kensai to the demise of the regime each served was to be “seized with fiery ardor and cry out with abandon”, and identifies both as “leftover vassals”, the former of the Song and the latter of the shogunate.

118 The inscription is followed by “Words of Ming [dynasty] Xie Zaihang. Calligraphy by Kensai”. For a modern Japanese translation of Xie Zhaozhe’s *Wu za zu* [Five Miscellaneous Offerings] see Iwaki Hideo, trans., *Gozasso* (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1996–98), Vol.7, p.26.

119 The term 逸民 (Chin. *yimin*; Jap. *itsumin*) from the first stamp can refer either to a “hermit” in general or to a reclusive “vassal of a deposed regime”.

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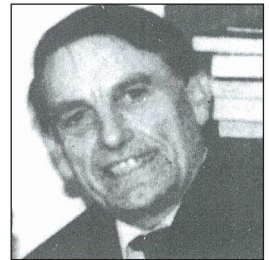
We may suppose that Kensai decided to create this work of calligraphy because he was struck by the passage’s encapsulation of the intrinsic delights of the disengaged scholar’s ideal habitat: in a secluded place lying far from the distractions of either court or marketplace and surrounded by natural beauty, he leisurely pursues communion with the great individuals of the past (through his books) and enjoys interaction with like-minded contemporaries. But what is especially interesting about this piece of Kensai’s calligraphy is its own paratextual wrapping. In addition to the passage itself, there are two stamps impressed upon the calligraphy: one at its head and the other beside Kensai’s signature. While all but impossible to make out in the reproduction that graces Uchida’s book, printed notations in its margins explain what these two stamps say: one reads “a disengaged man of Shizuoka” 静岡逸民 and the other reads “Forever cherishing a sense of obligation to the sovereign” 長懷聖主之恩.¹¹⁹ With these stamps framing the calligraphy, the viewer is invited to read the world of reclusion that the text depicts in a different light. The retired gentleman in his reclusive idyll (whom we naturally identify with Kensai) comes to seem less generalised and more specifically politicised. The stamps seem to supply the motives for his reclusion, and as a narrative starts to take shape in the mind of the viewer, what had appeared to be mere elements of a pleasing scene may take on additional significance. Perhaps the bamboo suggests the gentleman’s sincerity or integrity; perhaps the pine signals his enduring virtue; perhaps those “good friends of the same spirit” are fellow “leftover vassals” of the Tokugawa. In the same way that the reclusive scene depicted in the text of this work of calligraphy by Kensai acquires a particular political thrust when framed by the “leftover vassal” stamp, so too are Kensai’s poems amenable to reading in the light of his status as a “leftover vassal” who entered reclusion out of an urgent sense of dynastic loyalty. As we have seen, Kensai’s poems present a diverse range of reclusive modes and his reclusion is hardly coded in the univocal terms of dynastic loyalty. Yet this was the dominant presentation of Kensai that Hayashi Kakuryō articulated in his letter, that Nagai Kaidō, Mukōyama Kōson, and Serizawa Zuiken created through the paratexts they contributed to his posthumous poetry collection, that Uchida Shūhei offered through his biographical essay, and perhaps that Kensai himself ultimately settled upon.

PREFACE TO A.R. DAVIS REPRINTS

✺ Benjamin Penny

As this issue of *East Asian History* goes to press, it is almost exactly 30 years since A.R. Davis, Professor of Oriental Studies at the University of Sydney, died. Today Davis is perhaps best known for his monumental *Tao Yüan-ming: His Works and their Meaning* published by Cambridge University Press in 1983. However, among his works on Chinese poetry, his earlier *Tu Fu* in the Twayne's World Authors series from 1971 and his edited anthology *The Penguin Book of Chinese Verse* from 1962 deserve more recognition than they receive in the present. Throughout his scholarly career, Davis was also fascinated with the work of Su Shi 蘇軾, or Su Dongpo 蘇東坡, and was planning a major work on his poetry before he became ill with the lymphoma that was to kill him.

In this issue of *East Asian History*, we begin a regular section of the journal where we will republish work that has not perhaps been as available as it might have been. Here we present three of Davis's essays on the poetry of Su Shi from the late 1970s and early 1980s. Appropriately one concentrates on the influence of Tao Yuanming 陶淵明 on Su's writing, the other on Su Shi and Du Fu 杜甫. In addition, we present translations of 23 of Su's poems that Davis made, and which were in the possession of Dr Agnieszka Syrokomla-Stefanowska, his literary executor, who herself died in 2008. These poems must be regarded as drafts, and are not annotated, but they are still beautiful and deeply scholarly renderings, full of Davis's characteristic elegance, intelligence, erudition and invention, and certainly deserve a readership. We also reprint the tribute to Professor Davis originally published in the *University of Sydney News* of 24 January 1984. We would like to thank our fellow editors from the *Journal of the Oriental Society of Australia* for their co-operation in this project.



*A Tribute by John M. Ward, Vice-Chancellor,
University of Sydney*

Professor Davis had planned to retire on his 60th birthday on 3 February, 1984 and Senate had accepted his retirement with regret. Unfortunately, the illness that forced him to consider retirement at the age of 60 led to his death before he could return to England. His wife died two years ago and he had wished to be with his son, Philip, and to continue his scholarly researches near Cambridge from where he had come to Australia.

Davis was the sort of man of whom we can truly say that we shall not see his like again. A gentle, retiring person, he was also an impressive scholar and a steadfast friend.

Davis entered Peterhouse, Cambridge, in 1942 with an Open Scholarship in Classics. In May of that year he gained First Class Honours at the Preliminary Examination in Classics. After Japan entered the Second World War the British Government was desperately looking for men with talents for languages and in July, 1942, at the age of 18 Davis began war service of a secret nature with the rank of Temporary Junior Administrative Officer. First, he worked under the War Office. Most of his assignment, however, was to the Foreign Office at Bletchley Park, where he worked in intelligence.

Davis returned to Cambridge in 1946 and stayed with Oriental rather than the Classical languages. In 1948 he gained his Bachelor's Degree with First Class Honours in Part II of the Oriental Language Tripos. He was immediately appointed Assistant Lecturer in Oriental Languages. He was made Lecturer in that subject in 1949 and held that post until he was appointed to the Chair of Oriental Studies at the University of Sydney.

The Chair itself had been vacant since the resignation of J.K. Rideout at the end of 1949. Rideout had held the Chair for only one year before deciding that he could not, with the resources allowed him, maintain the high standards that had been set by Murdoch and Sadler in the Chair. The Vice-Chancellor of the time, Professor S.H. Roberts, quite understandably concluded from Rideout's experiences that there was no place for Oriental Studies in Sydney, at least for the time being. Roberts expected for the immediate future that the languages and literature of East Asia would be studied at the Australian National University by only a small handful of special students. In 1955, while Roberts was away on leave, a group of scholars in the Faculty of Arts persuaded our Chancellor, then Mr H.D. Black, a Fellow of Senate, to ask the governing body to fill the Chair. After consulting the Professorial Board, Senate agreed to do so. A selection committee, meeting under the Deputy Vice Chancellor, the late Professor C.R. McRae, decided to risk everything with the appointment of A.R. Davis of Cambridge, who was described by his principal referees, A.C. Maule and A.D. Waley, as one of the most brilliant and promising men of his generation in the field of Oriental Studies. The risk was abundantly justified.

Davis found the Department of Oriental Studies virtually non-existent. At the time of his death, it was a flourishing institution with high standing in both Chinese and Japanese, and the beginnings of interest in Korean.

Before coming here, Davis had some interesting correspondence with the Registrar, Margaret Telfer, about the range of his work. He was asked, in effect, whether a scholar in Classical Chinese would really be capable of developing the kind of Department that the University wished to see. His answer is itself a classic:

There is no question that a university course in Chinese requires a substantial amount of teaching in Classical Chinese even though the emphasis of that course is primarily directed towards modern China and modern Chinese. Teaching solely in Modern Chinese could only produce a practical training, not properly consistent with University standards. This is the general view in European universities and one to which, I believe, the Faculty of Arts would subscribe.

He went on to give scholarly reasons for this judgment and to request that a pure Mandarin speaker be appointed as Lecturer to teach spoken Chinese.

It was to the immense benefit of the University that Davis was firm in his devotion to scholarship. As his Department expanded, he never relaxed his devotion. Indeed, scholarship and love of literature, were the mainsprings of his academic career. He was not a battler in the familiar sense of the Professor, who sways committees and delights in winning for his Department. Rather, Bertie, as we called him, was a shy man of great integrity, the sort of person who would live on bread and cheese in order to build up his library. He earned the respect of colleagues in other Departments, who may have had small Chinese and less Japanese, but recognised high standards when they saw them.

Davis probably over-worked his own Department, but there was never a complaint from them. Affection for the Professor and respect for his learning and sensitivity as a critic of literature, united the Department under his quiet leadership. At the time of his death the Department had scholarly interests in the language, literature and history of both Chinese and Japan, and, as I have said, was becoming active in Korean.

As a scholar, Davis's interests were wide and his knowledge has been described by a colleague as encyclopaedic. His abiding interests were in the poets and poetry of both ancient and modern China and of modern Japan. His most widely known publication may be *The Penguin Book of Chinese Verse*, that he edited with an introduction in 1962. Among scholars his best respected work will probably be *T'ao Yuan-ming: His Works and Their Meaning* published this year by Hong Kong University Press and Cambridge University Press. Davis had an impressive list of publications during the last thirty years and was often in service also as a scholarly editor. He was Founder and President for many years of the Oriental Society of Australia.

Davis had that rare combination of personal qualities on which universities depend for their excellence. He was a fine scholar, sensitive, imaginative and exceptionally learned. He was also in his quiet and friendly way a builder, whose achievements are bequeathed to the world of scholarship, to his colleagues and to the reputation of his Department and adopted University.



A.R. Davis at the University of Sydney.

SU SHIH, POEMS



Translated by A.R. Davis

On First Setting Out for Chia-chou

As we set out in the morning the drums boom;
The west wind flutters the painted banners.
My old home has drifted far away;
My thoughts of the way, vast and without limit.
The Brocade Stream is faint and not to be seen;
The Barbarian's River, clear and lovely.
Flying along, we pass the Buddha's Foot;
As the river widens we come to smooth water.
In the country town there is a Chan monk staying,
By the fishing platform he searches the evening mist.
We promised definitely to hurry there,
For a long while he waits while the water gurgles.

On the River Watching the Hills

On the boat we watch the hills like running horses,
Swiftly there pass several hundred herds.
The hills in front are jagged and suddenly change their shapes;
The ranges behind are confused as if fleeing in fright.
I look up and see a small path slanting round,
On it a traveller high up and indistinct.
In the boat I raise my hand and would speak with him,
But our solitary sail goes south like a flying bird.

Yellow Ox Temple

At the River's edge the rockwall is high and trailless,
 Above there is a yellow ox which does not bear a yoke.
 Before the temple travellers prostrate themselves and dance,
 They beat the drum, blow the pipes and kill white goats.
 Beneath the hill the plough-ox toils on the stony ground,
 His horns grind on the cliff, his hooves are wet.
 With a half-bundle of green grass he endures hunger,
 He looks up at the yellow ox, but how can he equal him?

The Ancestral Temple of the Duke of Chou

The temple is seven or eight *li* northwest of Ch'i-shan. A hundred paces or more to the rear of the temple there is a spring beside a hill. Its flow is unusually cold. The official histories call it the Spring of Abundant Virtue. When the age is disorderly it dries up.

How should I now again dream of the Duke of Chou?
 Yet still I am glad in autumn to have passed his ancient temple.
 The blue phoenix of old rested on the cliff's sheerness,
 The pure spring has ever accorded with the age's failure and success
 Still the visitor is grieved by hanging millet ears,
 But the scholars of the ancient kingdom sing of the rain's drizzle.
 Oxen and wine are not brought, the crows scatter,
 Aspens without number at evening sigh in the wind.

Coming Out of the Mouth of the Ying I See the Huai Hills for the First Time on this Day we Reached Shou-chou

I travel night and day towards the river and the sea,
 With the maple leaves and rush flowers autumn feelings are sustained.
 The long Huai suddenly blurs the sky's distance,
 The green hills long rise and fall with the boat,
 At Shou-chou I already see the white pagoda,
 Although the short oar has not yet turned Yellow Reed Hill.
 The waves are flat, the wind gentle, we have not reached our journey's end,
 My friends long stand in the misty distance.

From Chin-shan I Sailed My Boat to Chiao-shan

Chin-shan storied monastery, how vast!
 Its struck bells and beaten drums are heard in Huai-nan.
 What does Chiao-shan have? It has tall bamboos,
 Two or three monks gathering wood and drawing water.
 Cloud wrapped, wave dashed and deserted,
 Though sometimes there are shore folk praying for their spring silkworms.
 When I came to Chin-shan I stayed the night,
 But before I reached here, my mind was ashamed.
 When my companions had no desire, I decided to go alone,
 With a lot so poor I made little of the River's depth.
 In the dawn there was no wind, the waves leapt of themselves,
 In mid-stream singing and yodelling, I was half drunk.
 An old monk came down the hill, astonished at a visitor,
 He smiles in welcome, glad to talk with a man from Pa.

He says that long away he has forgotten his village,
 And only has Maitreya for his companion.
 For his weary slumbers he makes the best of paper bed-curtains warmth,
 For a hearty meal he does not tire of mountain vegetable's sweetness.
 In hills and woods there has ever been hunger,
 Not to retire without a farm is surely only greed?
 Though Chan-ch'in has not been dismissed three times,
 Shu-yeh himself knows the seven things he cannot bear.
 My conduct is worthy of impeachment; I renounce hairpin and tablet ribbon,
 In an excellent place please keep a thatched hut for me.

Making Fun of Tzu-yu

Your piled table is full of dusty documents.
 You attack them like a bookworm.
 How can you know that the sages' intention
 Lies not wholly in their books?
 When the tune is ended the strings remain,
 When the utensil's made the machine is empty.
 Subtle was the wheelwright
 Who in the courtyard laughed at Duke Huan.

*In the Fan-t'ien Temple I Saw a Little Poem. It was Graceful and Lovely.
 I Wrote a Poem with the Same Rhymes*

I only hear the bell beyond the mist,
 I do not see the temple in the mist.
 The hermit has gone out and not returned,
 The dew on the grasses wets his straw sandals.
 Only must the moon over the hills
 Night after night light his coming.

*Two Poems Sent to the Monk Ch'ing-shun of Pei-shan
 When I Passed the Night at Shui-lu Monastery*

Grasses drown the river embankment, rain obscures the village,
 The monastery is hidden by tall bamboos, one cannot see the gate.
 They gather wood to boil herbs in pity for a monk's sickness,
 They sweep the floor and burn incense to purify my soul.
 Farm work's not done and drags on to little snow,
 Buddha's lamp is lit to mark the dusk.
 Lately I have gradually learned the taste of retirement,
 I think of talking with you from facing couches.

I have long hated the bells and drums stirring the lake and hills,
 This place is lonely and withdrawn into nature.
 If one begged food round the village one would be filled,
 If they wordlessly face their guest is truly not Chan.
 Parting the thickets to find the path I plunge in to the mud,
 I wash my feet and close the door and sleep listening to the rain.
 Distantly I think of a latter day poor Chia Tao,
 In the night cold he must be shrugging his shoulders in composition.

On Hearing a Worthy Master's Lute

Large strings have spring warmth, mild and even,
 Small strings are plangent, clear and shrill.
 All my life I have never known one not from another,
 I only heard an ox bellowing in a hollow, a pheasant alighting on a tree.
 At the gate there are taps, who is knocking? The mountain monk is not free; don't be angry.
 When I go home I shall seek a thousand *hu* of water,
 To cleanse my ears of the zithers and flutes I heard before.

*On the 21st Day of the 1st Month after an Illness Shu-ku Invited
 Me to Go beyond the City to Seek Spring*

The mountain birds on the roof earnestly call me,
 In front of the railing the frozen pool suddenly grows wrinkled.
 With old age I tire of drinking with red skirts,
 Rising from sickness I vainly wonder at my new white hairs.
 I lie and listen to the sounds of the Prefect's drum and horn,
 Tentatively I call the boy to prepare my cap and turban.
 Curving railed ways and shady arbours in the end constrict,
 Let's take a look at the boundless spring on the heath beyond the city.

From P'u-chao Temple I Visit Two Small Temples

Among the tall pines the wind sings, the evening rain is fine,
 The eastern side temple is half shut, the west is closed.
 Walking in the hills all day I met no one;
 Sweetly the wild plum's scent entered my sleeves.
 The temple monk laughed at my fondness for fair scenery:
 "I am weary of the mountain depths but have no way to get out."
 Although I love mountains, I smiled too,
 In secluded solitude the soul may be wounded and after to continue is hard.
 It is better by the West Lake to drink fine wine;
 The red apricots and green peaches' fragrance hangs about my hair.
 I write a poem to bear my regrets to old "fern-gatherer",
 Since I have not withdrawn from persons, how should I withdraw from the age?

*At the Beginning of Autumn Praying for Rain. I Spent the Night at
 Ling-yin Temple with Two Magistrates, Chou and Hsü*

My hundred layer piled desk impedes my leisure;
 A single leaf's autumn sound comes as I sleep.
 Snow and frost before my bed, the moon that invades the room;
 Zithers and lutes by my pillow, the spring that falls on the steps.
 Harsh to taste the world's experiences must always be,
 Quietly to grow old in a mountain retreat is easier.
 Only I still have a heart that grieves for the farmers,
 I rise to observe the Milky Way and am still more uncertain.

Passing the Night at Hai-hui Temple

In a bamboo chair for three days I travel among the mountains,
 Among the mountains it's very beautiful but seldom level far.
 Down we plunge to the Yellow Springs, then ascend to the blue void,
 On the thread-path we always jostle the monkeys.
 When we find the storied tower cramped in a mountain hollow,
 My thighs ache, my hungry belly grumbles.
 Northward across a flying bridge our steps patter,
 The surrounding wall's a hundred paces like an ancient city.
 The great bell is struck, a thousand fingers are joined in welcome,
 The high hall receives the guest, even at night not barred.
 From the pine tank the lacquer ladle pours rivers of water,
 The "original unsullied" is washed still lighter.
 When I fall into bed my snores startle all my neighbours;
 Boom! the fifth watch drum, the sky is not yet bright.
 The wooden fish calls to gruel, clear and shrill,
 I hear no voices but hear the sound of sandals.

Written for Master Chan's Room at the Twin Bamboo Temple

The evening drum, the morning bell you strike yourself,
 You shut the door and on a solitary pillow face a fading lamp.
 The white ash will be stirred into a red flame,
 You lie and listen to the sighing rain upon the window.

Hui-ch'in has Just Given Up His Priestly Office

Free-soaring is the Ch'ing-tien crane,
 Distressed to be in a cage.
 Since he was in the toils of things,
 He became one with us.
 Now for the first time he has resigned,
 The world's affairs can be shrugged away.
 His new poems seem washed clean,
 and unsmutched by outward filth.
 Pure breezes blow in his beak,
 His speech is like a pine in the wind.
 His frosty whiskers sprout from sick bones,
 In hunger he sits and listens to the noon bell.
 "It is not poetry that can bring one to extremity.
 When one is in extremity his poems become skilful."
 This saying truly is not rash,
 I heard it from the Drunken Old Man.

The Eastern Slope

The rain has washed the Eastern Slope, the moonlight is clear;
 Where city folk no longer walk, a rustic walks.
 He doesn't dislike the path along the boulder-strewn slope,
 He likes the ringing sound of his dragging staff.

The Mirage at Teng-chou

For a long time I had heard of the mirage at Teng-chou. The old man said: It always comes out in spring and summer. Now it is late in the year. It will not be seen any more. I came to my post and left after five days. Because I was vexed not to have seen it, I prayed in the temple of the King of Wide Power, God of the Sea. Next day I saw the mirage and so wrote this poem.

The clouds and sea to the east are emptiness upon emptiness,
 But massed immortals appear and disappear in the empty brightness.
 The shifting floating world gives birth to a myriad forms,
 But how should cowry gates conceal pearl palaces?
 In my mind I know all I see is illusion,
 I dare for ears and eyes trouble the divine craftsman.
 The year is at winter, the water cold, heaven and earth are closed,
 Yet for me the hibernating are roused, fish and dragons whipped up.
 Storied towers, blue hills arise from the frosty dawn,
 The strange event startles old men of a hundred.
 What is to be gained in the human world who has strength may take,
 Beyond the world there is nothing. Who is the master?
 When suddenly I had a request he did not refuse me,
 Truly my troubles are from man not heaven-sent distress.
 When the Prefect of Ch'ao-yang returned from southern exile
 He rejoiced to see Stone Treasury piled above Chu Yung.
 And declared his uprightness had moved the mountain spirit,
 How should he know the Creator pitied his old age.
 A pleased countenance—how is it easy to get?
 The spirits' reward to you also was ample.
 The sunsets; over ten thousand *li* a solitary bird dives,
 I only see the green sea polishing its bronze mirror.
 My new poem's fine words, also what use?
 They'll go with change and decay after the east wind.

In the Rain, Passing by Director of Studies Shu's House

Scattered the bamboos behind the blind,
 Clear the rain among the bamboos.
 The house is still and undisturbed,
 Ink slab on the table is cold and raises a mist.
 The gentleman delights in secluded isolation,
 His gains result from having no desires.
 Sitting, he practices meditation on rush mat in coarse robe,
 Rising he listens to the voices of the wind bells.
 Whether visitors come he is indifferent,
 In his preparations he takes no account of rank.
 Strong tea washes away accumulated confusion,
 Subtle incense cleanses floating cares.
 He returns to the darkness of his northern hall,
 Which one by one faint fireflies cross.
 Amid the distresses of this life,
 For a while he is content to live in retirement.
 The flying kites brought regret for the former laughter,
 The yellow dog made sad the late awareness.
 Unless he himself is a T'ao Ching-chieh
 Who should recognise the significance here?

Written on the 9th Day at the Yellow Tower

Last year's double ninth cannot be spoken of,
 At the southern wall in the middle of the night a thousand leaks started.
 The water boring under the wall made a noise of thunder,
 Mud filled the wall top, which the flying rain made slippery.
 The yellow flowers and pale wine no one went to visit,
 At sunset we went home to wash our boots and stockings.
 How could we know whether again this year
 We might take our cups and be able to sip before the flowers?
 Do not complain of the wine's thinness and the clumsiness of the powder faces,
 After all they are better than a thousand spades in the mud.
 The Yellow tower is newly complete; its walls are not yet dry;
 The Clear River stars have already sunk, the frost for the first time is sharp.
 As morning comes the white mist is like fine rain,
 In the southern hills we cannot see the eight-thousand-foot monastery.
 Before the tower it becomes like the sea's expanse;
 Below the tower we faintly hear the creaking of oars.
 The chill strikes us and the old are fearful,
 But when warm wine flows in their stomachs, their querulousness is checked.
 When the mist clears and the sun comes out we see the fishing villages,
 The distant waters are rippled, the hills jagged.
 Poets and bold soldiers mingle like dragons and tigers;
 Ch'u dances and Wu songs are mixed like geese and ducks.
 When I pledge you a cup, do not, Sir, refuse,
 How does this scene differ from drifting on the clear Cha?

On Reaching Huang-chou

I mock myself for being all my life busy with my mouth,
 As old age comes the business becomes absurd.
 The Long River surrounds the outskirts, tells me the fish will be fine,
 Good bamboos line the hills make me feel the shoots will be sweet.
 The exile still has a supernumerary post,
 The poet has precedents for being Water Board Secretary.
 Only he is ashamed not be equal to the smallest task,
 And yet still costs the government wine-squeezing bags.

My Nephew An-chieh Came from Afar, We Spent the Night Sitting

You came from the south not realising it was the height of the year,
 By night we stir the cold ashes and listen to the rain's sound.
 "The documents" hidden from our eyes from the first are unread;
 The lamp light that accompanies us is indeed full of emotion.
 Alas, I am cast down with no day of return,
 And caused you to falter for half your life.
 Let us avoid making His Excellency Han grieve over the world's affairs,
 And white-headed again he may face a short lamp base.
 My mind failing, my face altered, the height of emaciation,
 When you see me you must only recognise my old voice.
 In the long nights I thought where might my family be,
 For my remaining years I shall know your love in coming from afar.
 Fearful of others I sit and become stupid,
 Enquiring for friends I exclaim in alarm that half are dead.
 My dream is broken, I sober from wine, the mountain rain has stopped,
 I smile to see the hungry mouse has climbed the lamp base.

On Cold Food it Rained. Two Poems

Since I came to Huang-chou
I have passed three Cold Foods.
Every year I want to husband spring,
But spring passes and does not let me husband her.
This year too there's bitter rain,
For two months it whistles autumnally.
I lie and listen to the cherry-apple blossoms,
While mud defiles their rouged snow.
In the darkness they are stolen away;
At midnight truly will come the strongman.
How does it differ from a sick youth?
When he rises from sickness his hair is white.

The spring river seeks to enter the house,
The threat of rain is unceasing.
The little house is like a fishing boat
Amid clouds of drizzling rain.
In the empty kitchen we boil cold greens;
In the broken stove we burn damp ferns.
How should we know it's Cold Food?
It's only that one sees a crow with paper in its beak.
Our ruler's gates are nine-fold deep;
My family tombs are ten-thousand *li* away.
I too resemble him who wept at the road's ending,
My dead ashes cannot be blown into life.

SU SHIH'S "FOLLOWING THE RHYMES OF T'AO YÜAN-MING" POEMS: A LITERARY OR A PSYCHOLOGICAL PHENOMENON?

 A.R. Davis

Su Shih (1037–1101) began his self-imposed task of “following the rhymes” of T’ao Yüan-ming (365–427)—writing poems of the same metre, the same rhyme-words and thus the same length as those of the earlier poet—in the year 1092, when he was fifty-five. This practice of “following the rhymes” became widely popular from the Mid-T’ang period of Chinese poetry (early 9th century) onwards,¹ but the rhymes followed were normally those of a living poet with whom an intimate relationship existed. Su Shih was presumably justified in his claim to be the first to follow the rhymes of a poet of an earlier age. The very novelty of his act might thus provide excuse for an enquiry, but I hope to show here that an examination of this particular collection within the corpus of Su’s work has a wider interest beyond that of a literary experiment.

When Su Shih began to “follow the rhymes” of T’ao Yüan-ming in 1092 at Yang-chou (in modern Kiangsu), where he was for a short time Prefect,² he had probably not conceived the idea of attempting to match the whole of T’ao Yüan-ming’s surviving collection of 120 or so poems. He was at least only to announce this intention, after a second occasion of following T’ao’s rhymes, three years later in 1095, when his personal fortunes had taken a considerable turn for the worse. Nevertheless, the Yang-chou beginning was a substantial one, since he followed T’ao’s longest series, the twenty poems which share the title *Drinking Wine*, and we may begin our enquiry there. Clearly, to compare all of Su’s poems with T’ao’s originals would require a book rather than a paper and selection is therefore necessary. If we seek to discern what kind of relation Su felt towards the older poet and what his motives were in undertaking this task, it seems appropriate to choose those poems in which Su refers directly to T’ao Yüan-ming or declares his feelings or intention in a preface.

The twenty-poem series *Drinking Wine* by T’ao is undoubtedly one of the most important of his works and represents an inner debate on the great

1 Although a few examples can be found as early as the 6th century, it was the exchanges of Po Chü-i (772–846) and his friend Yüan Chen (779–831) which gave an impetus to the practice. The same word *ho* (“to harmonize”) occurs in the titles of answering poems by T’ao Yüan-ming and other poets of the pre-T’ang period, but this generally in that period does not signify the use of the same rhyme-words as the poem answered.

2 Su reached Yang-chou and took up his appointment on the 16th day of the 3rd month (25 April 1092). He remained in this post for about five months before being recalled to the capital.

³ The translations of T'ao Yüan-ming which appear here are with the exception of the version of *Drinking Wine* V my final versions in *T'ao Yüan-ming (365–427 A.D.): His Works and Their Meaning*, which I hope that I may describe as “forthcoming”. The *Drinking Wine* series may be found in c.3 of editions of the poet's works arranged in the traditional order.

⁴ This view is opposite to that of J.R. Hightower, “T'ao Ch'ien's 'Drinking Wine' Poems” in Chow Tse-tsung (ed.), *Wen-lin* (University of Wisconsin Press, 1968), p.42. I have discussed the question at length in the work mentioned in the last note.

⁵ *Su Tung-p'o chi, hsi-chi* (Basic Sinological Series, Commercial Press, reprint, 1958), part 10, pp.98–99. In this edition the collection appears conveniently approximately in the traditional order of T'ao's originals. Wu-chiu is the courtesy-name of Su's disciple Chao Pu-chih (1053–1110).

moral issue for him and for others of the scholar-official or gentry class which provided the poets of Imperial China, the issue of when to serve in the world and when to go into retirement. No other major poet devoted himself as passionately to this issue as T'ao the Hermit. He indeed can be said by his works and his life, though we know very little factually about his life apart from his works, and it might be more accurate to say by his legend, to have established the standard paradigms of this moral argument, to which his successors could and constantly did refer. For T'ao Yüan-ming this moral issue of service or retirement, which involved social duty and judgement, was intertwined and penetrated by a profound anxiety over the significance of man's life. The two strands come together in a painful knot in the problem of good and evil failing to find their due rewards.

T'ao in his preface to this twenty-poem series does not in fact declare that he was writing of an inner debate on a great moral issue. He writes:

I am living in retirement with few pleasures and recently the nights have been getting longer. I happen to have a famous wine, and not a night passes without my drinking it. Looking around at my shadow, I drain my cup alone and suddenly I am drunk again. After I am drunk, I always write a few impromptu verses to amuse myself. The pages thus have become many, but their contents have no order. So I have requested a friend to write them out merely that we might have some pleasure and laughter from them.³

It is quite unnecessary to conclude from the blandness of the preface, which seems so much to belie the high seriousness of the accompanying poems that T'ao was deliberately concealing his purpose.⁴ The preface needs to be read neither too subtly nor too literally. T'ao Yüan-ming was to a degree a philosophical poet, but he was writing poetry, not a logical philosophical treatise. Thus the preface may be seen as a disclaimer not of serious purpose certainly, but of ordered argument. Su Shih, equally a philosophical poet, adopts the same tone in his preface, which is here a fairly deliberate imitation of T'ao's.

I drink very little wine, but I constantly find pleasure in holding a wine-cup in my hand. Often I doze, fallen over in a heap, and others look on it as drunkenness, though my mind is clear. In fact it cannot be termed drunkenness or sobriety. In drinking at Yang-chou I always stop when it passes noon. When my guests are gone, I loosen my gown and sit cross-legged the whole day. Though my joy may be insufficient, there is ease in abundance. So I have followed the rhymes of Yüan-ming's twenty *Drinking Wine* poems in the hope that I might suggest their indefinable quality and have shown the poems to my younger brother Tzu-yu and Collator Chao Wu-chiu.⁵

While the preface is a kind of imitation of T'ao's, in the poems themselves only fairly seldom does he imitate T'ao's subject-matter, and I may at this point for those without Chinese offer parallel translations of one of T'ao's poems and one of Su's to show precisely what “following the rhymes” consists in. Here is a version of Poem V of T'ao's *Drinking Wine* series, one of the most frequently quoted of all his poems and one of the most famous in the Chinese language, also one of which Su Shih greatly admired the expression.

I have built my hut within men's borders,
But yet there is no carriage or horses' noise.
If you ask how this is possible:
To match the heart's, remoteness the place may *incline*.
As I pluck chrysanthemums beneath the eastern fence,
I distantly see the southern *hills*.

The hills' aspect is fair at close of day;
 The flying birds in flocks *return*.
 In this there is a true idea,
 But when I would express it, I forget the *words*.

6 *Ibid.*, p.99.

7 *Idem*.

Su's fifth poem had thus to end its even lines with the words "noise", "incline", "hills", "return" and "words".

The small boat is truly a leaf;
 Under it the dark waves' *noise*.
 A night start while I am drunk;
 I'm unaware that pillow and table *incline*.
 At daybreak the road before the gate
 Has already crossed a thousand golden *hills*.
 Ah me! what else is there for me to do?
 On this course I constantly go and *return*.
 How can one calculate the future before?
 On the past utter any more *words*?⁶

Because the Chinese lexigraphs are not confined to one part of speech and as nouns have no number and as verbs no tense, it is generally fairly difficult to achieve such identical translations for the rhyme-words. Apart from this one illustrative example, I have not made the effort.

In this fifth poem of the series, Su's poem contrasts very strongly in content with T'ao's. Where T'ao is in quiet contemplation of Nature, remote from social ties, implied by the traffic of carriages and horses, Su describes himself as being continually on the move, as a result of his official postings, uncertain of his goal. Su's image of T'ao Yüan-ming can be seen as very different from T'ao's feeling about his own circumstances. For Su, T'ao was a man who kept pure and unswerving hermitage for more than twenty years after his return home in 405 until his death in 427, a solitary true man in a corrupt age. In the third poem of his series *Following the Rhymes of T'ao's Drinking Wine* he wrote:

When the Way is lost, scholars lose themselves;
 The words they utter are always insincere.
 The men of Eastern Chin society
 Even in drunkenness sought after fame.
 Yüan-ming alone was pure and true;
 Amid talk and laughter he found true living.
 His person was like a wind-blown bamboo,
 Yielding, all its leaves quivering,
 Yet every movement possessed of a bearing;
 When he got wine, poems composed themselves.⁷

Su's admiration for T'ao is perfectly clear, but it is admiration for one secure in history, secure among the shades. No sense is conveyed of the anxiety of the living poet who had written:

The Way has been lost for nearly a thousand years;
 All men are careful of their feelings.
 Though they have wine, they will not drink it,
 But regard only their name in their generation.
 "What makes us value our persons
 Surely lies within our single life.
 A single life, how long can it be?

8 *Idem.*

9 Su had three sons, Mai, Tai and Kuo (a fourth, the son of his beloved concubine Chao-yün, had died in infancy in 1084), so he must here be counting in the three sons of his younger brother Su Che, viz. Ch'ih, Kua and Yüan. Yüan-ming had five sons.

Swift as flashing lightning's alarm;
Its great extent is but a hundred years;
Holding to this, what should we achieve?

Su Shih felt that the manner of his life had been completely different from T'ao's, as he directly states in the first poem of his *Drinking Wine* series.

I am not like Master T'ao,
Being deeply involved in the world's affairs.
How can I find a single opportunity
When I too may have a life like his?
If the mind's field is clear of thorns,
A place of beauty exists therein.
So give rein to the mind and go with affairs;
Whatever befalls, have no more doubts!
I happen to appreciate the pleasure in wine,
But an empty cup also I constantly hold.⁸

From the time of taking up his first post in 1061 Su had been in official life for more than thirty years and had become a leading member of the conservative party which opposed the reformer Wang An-shih (1021–1086) and his "New Laws". The struggle between the two groups lasted through the last three decades of the eleventh century with imperial favour going first to one then the other. Su had once feared for his life as he lay confined in the Censorate prison during the last months of 1079, and when pardoned, spent the next four years in banishment at Huang-chou (modern Huang-kang in Hupei province). After the "Old Laws" party held power over a ten-year period, he was again to be banished in 1094 to Hui-chou (modern Hui-yang on the East River in Kwangtung) and then in 1097 virtually beyond the bounds of China, to Hainan Island, of which he was the most famous visitor and observer. This second time of banishment was still ahead of him, when he followed the rhymes of T'ao's *Drinking Wine* poems in 1092, but his experience and attitudes up to this point in his life had clearly been very different from those of the older poet.

Since Su stresses so strongly the differences between them, what was the purpose of his association with T'ao Yüan-ming at this particular time in his life in 1092? Is the point to show that he in his career within the world had remained as pure as T'ao who withdrew from it? This is in fact what he seems to be saying in the poem last quoted:

If the mind's field is clear of thorns,
A place of beauty exists therein.

In following the rhymes of *Drinking Wine* then he is not so much expressing an affinity with T'ao Yüan-ming, as setting up the image of T'ao as a standard against which to measure his own life. This seems to be confirmed by the fifteenth poem of his series, the only other in which he directly mentions T'ao Yüan-ming.

I have left my village for thirty years;
Storms have made a wilderness of my old home.
All that remains is a bundle of letters;
Of my living there are no permanent traces.
Always therefore am shamed by Yüan-ming;
Yet still I receive three hundred measures of grain.
Tall are our six sons;⁹
Generally they are of honourable repute.

For me how should that not be much?
What else should I sigh over?¹⁰

Here, as he so continually does throughout his poetry, he speaks of—it would be wrong to say that he laments—his rootlessness. He consoles himself with his service (“yet still I receive three hundred measures of grain”) and with the satisfactoriness of his sons (in this last respect he continually felt himself luckier than T'ao Yüan-ming).

When he next came to following T'ao's rhymes in 1095, he was out of office and in banishment at Hui-chou. His circumstances had become much more akin to those of the hermit T'ao and he began on what was now to be a sustained task appropriately enough by following the rhymes of T'ao's series *Returning to Live in the Country*, which is generally believed to have been written by T'ao soon after his celebrated retirement from the magistracy of P'eng-tse at the end of the year 405,¹¹ when he began on his withdrawal from the world which lasted until the end of his life.

T'ao's series has no preface, but Su Shih supplies one for his.

On the fourth day of the third month (10 April 1095) I made an excursion to the Buddha's Footprint Cliff on White Water Hill.¹² I bathed in the Warm Spring, dried my hair below the waterfall, and turned homeward singing loudly.¹³ On the way back in my sedan chair I talked with my guest and did not realize that we had come to Lichee Reach on the northern side of the river. The evening sun was faint and the bamboos' shade was gloomy; the lichees were clustered like water-nuts.¹⁴ An old man of eighty-five pointed to them and said to me: “When they are ready to eat, you can bring wine and come and enjoy them. The idea pleased me and I agreed. When I got home, I went to bed, and when I awoke, I heard my son Kuo reciting Yüan-ming's six *Returning to Live in the Country* poems. So I followed the rhymes of all these poems. First of all, when I was at Kuang-ling (Yang-chou), I followed the rhymes of Yüan-ming's twenty *Drinking Wine* poems. Now I have written these. I shall have to go on until I have followed the rhymes of all his poems.¹⁵

The reason he gives for again starting to follow the rhymes of T'ao Yüan-ming's poems is indirect, but if we consider the first two poems and compare them with T'ao's originals, there is little doubt now of his sense of affinity of circumstance as compared with the earlier occasion in Yang-chou.

Surrounding the city are many white waters;
Reaching to the sea everywhere are green hills.
Amid these unlimited scenes
I find lodging for my limited years.
My eastern neighbour is known as a Confucius,
My western neighbour as a Yen Yüan.¹⁶
In the market are no double prices,
Among the farmers no dispute over fields.
It's a pity the Duke of Chou, Kuan and Ts'ai¹⁷
Did not live in a three-room thatched hut.
For my satisfaction one bowl of rice is enough;
Fern roots serve in place of a banquet.
Disciples present firewood and rice,
And prevent there being no smoke from my kitchen.
A gallon of wine and a chicken—
With drunken singing they entertain my white hairs.
How should birds and fish understand the Way?
I am lucky that Nature has its own quiet.

10 *Op.cit.*, p.100.

11 I in fact question this dating, but the matter is of no importance in this context. *Returning to Live in the Country* is found in c.2 of T'ao's works.

12 Eastern peak of Lo-fu shan, 20 li NE of Hui-chou, according to Su's own note to the poem *The Buddha's Footprint Cliff on White Water Hill*, written on the occasion of his previous visit there in the 10th month of the preceding year.

13 Su is writing on the day after the Double Third Festival and makes the allusion common in Double Third poems to *Lun-jü* 11.25 where the disciple Tseng Hsi wishes “in late spring, when the spring clothes are finished, with five times six capped youths and six times seven boys (a magical number of 72) to perform the lustration in the I river, the exposure at the rain-dance altar, and then to return home singing”.

14 The fruits of a species of water-lily, used in various culinary and medicinal preparations.

15 *Op.cit.*, p.91. Su adds (the statement is missing in some editions) that he wrote out this series of poems and sent it to his Taoist-priest friend, Tao-ch'ien (Master Ts'an-liao).

16 Confucius' favourite disciple.

17 Kuan and Ts'ai (these were the names of their fiefs; their personal names were Hsien and Tu) were brothers of the Duke of Chou and roused suspicion against him when he acted as regent for King Ch'eng at the beginning of the Chou dynasty. The Duke of Chou killed Kuan and drove Ts'ai into exile.

18 *Op.cit.*, p.91.

19 The world of affairs.

20 Lotus leaves; cf. Tu Fu's *chüeh-chü* series *Random Feelings*, Poem VII (Harvard-Yenching Institute Sinological Index Series, Supplement No. 14, *A Concordance to the Poems of Tu Fu*, 360/22/18G): "Dotting the stream, lotus leaves string green coins".

21 A bird so named from the sound of its cry.

22 *Op.cit.*, p.91.

Anxious concern there need not be;

For a while I am happy as I am.¹⁸

This "following" very well captures the general tone of T'ao's

In youth I was out of harmony with the common rhythm;

My nature from the first loved hills and mountains.

Yet mistakenly I was caught in the Dusty Net,¹⁹

And once I was gone, ten years went by.

The migrant bird longs for its old forest;

The fish in the pond thinks of its former depths.

I have opened up waste land at the edge of the southern wild;

I have kept rusticity, returned to garden and fields.

My square homestead covers ten *mou* and more;

My thatched house has eight or nine rooms.

Elms and willows give shade to the rear eaves;

Peaches and plums are arrayed before the hall.

Faint are the villages of distant men;

Thick is the smoke from their houses.

Dogs bark in the depths of the lanes;

Cocks crow at the tops of mulberries.

Within my doors there is no dust or confusion;

In the empty house there is abundant leisure.

For a long while I have been inside a cage;

Once more I have been able to return to nature.

Close similarity of idea or expression is absent, though it is noticeable that Su has a tendency to introduce reminiscences from other of T'ao's poems than the particular one of which he is following the rhymes. In the second of his series to the rhymes of *Returning to Live in the Country* the last couplet recalls the final lines of Poem V of T'ao's *Drinking Wine*.

The exhausted gibbon has returned to the wood;

The sick horse for the first time is free of the halter.

My mind is empty to be filled with new awareness;

The scenes grow familiar to linger in my dreams.

The river gulls cluster, more tame;

The old Tanka folk visit me time and again.

On the southern pool green coins²⁰ appear;

On the northern range purple bamboo-shoots grow.

How does the "bring-the-jar"²¹ understand drinking?

Yet his excellent words are sometimes consoling.

In the spring river are beautiful verses,

But drunk, I let them fall into oblivion.²²

In this second poem, which judged simply as a poem seems to me one of the best in this particular collection of Su Shih, even the tone as well as the expression and thought is rather different from the poem of T'ao, which it "follows". After the unusually happy note of his first, something of the anxiousness to which T'ao was so much prone creeps into his second poem.

In the country I take little part in men's affairs;

In the narrow lane wheels and harness are rare.

The bright sun is shut out by my rustic gate;

The empty house cuts off dusty preoccupations.

At times again in the waste ground and byways,

Parting the grasses, I share men's comings and goings.

When we meet, there is no discursive talk;

We speak of the growth of mulberry and hemp.
 My mulberries and hemp daily grow taller,
 While my lands daily grow broader.
 Always I fear the coming of frost and hail,
 When they will be shattered like the weeds.

While Su Shih might see himself as being in a situation generally like that of T'ao, it is necessary to note the actual difference in the two poets' situations. T'ao, who repeatedly insists on his temperamental incompatibility with official service, had probably voluntarily and deliberately withdrawn from it; Su, on the other hand, was merely accepting enforced banishment with resignation. In the sixth poem of his series, which in a sense should not be there, since what now stands as the sixth poem of T'ao's series is an erroneous inclusion of an imitation of T'ao by the fifth-century poet Chiang Yen, one may detect an unease on Su Shih's part with his state of enforced idleness.

Before when I was at Kuang-ling,
 I gazed gloomily towards Ch'ai-sang's dykes.²³
 I intoned the *Drinking Wine* poems
 And found a chance of amusement.
 At that time I was under no constraint;
 My mornings idle and evenings unengaged.
 How much more now I am a man of continued leisure;
 An eternity unfolds in a moment.
 River and hills hide and reveal one another,
 Appearing and disappearing at my service.
 At Slanting Stream I follow Yüan-ming;²⁴
 At Eastern Marsh am friend to Wang Chi.²⁵
 When my poem is complete what am I to do?
 There's no profit in playing *liu-po*.²⁶

One might indeed to some extent see this effort which he now undertook to match every one of the poems of T'ao Yüan-ming as an exercise to fill his "continued leisure", but this at best could be only a partial reason for a man of such varied interests and talents as Su Shih. We have to realize that during these late years, however much he may talk of idleness in the poems here quoted, he wrote widely, besides producing a counterpart to a poem of T'ao's at any suitable moment, and also indulged in a multiplicity of expeditions and social activities. It was the removal of official duties, which probably made his life actually seem "leisured" or "idle", although we have at the same time to be aware that in the language of the scholar-official "leisure" and "idleness" were synonyms for being out of office rather than the signification of inactivity.

There were probably many other things, literary, artistic or social, with which he might have occupied his time, if an occupation were the essential reason for matching T'ao's poems. Su certainly wrote very easily, sometimes too easily, as has been remarked, so that the difficulty for him of following the rhymes of T'ao Yüan-ming's whole collection should not be exaggerated. He did not in fact in the end follow the rhymes of all T'ao's surviving poems, as he had announced that he would and as has been often stated slightly incorrectly that he did. There are almost twenty missing from the extant editions of his works and it seems to me improbable that these were lost in transmission. For most of the omissions it is possible to offer some reason. For example, that *Suffering a Fire in the Sixth Month of the Year Mou-shen* has no parallel may be for the very good reason that in this period Su's house did not catch fire. Again, in these late years Su got no more sons so that T'ao's

23 i.e. T'ao Yüan-ming's native place.

24 T'ao has a poem *An Excursion to Hsieh-ch'uan* (Slanting Stream) in c.2 of his works.

25 The Early-T'ang poet Wang Chi (585-644), also an admirer of T'ao, styled himself Tung-kao-tzu (The Master of Eastern Marsh).

26 *Op.cit.*, p.92. For the game *liu-po* see Yang Lien-sheng, "An Additional Note on the Ancient Game *Liu-po*", *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, XV (1952), pp.124-139.

27 The coffin.

28 His tomb.

title *Ming-tzu*, usually translated *Naming My Son* was also inappropriate. We have already seen Su in one of our examples speaking with pride of his sons, so T'ao's humorous and very famous *Reproving My Sons* was also not for him to follow. In fact, when one looks closely at the omissions, it can be seen that they include all the poems which T'ao addressed to members of his family. This obviously deliberate avoidance makes it almost certain that the missing parallel poems are the result of Su Shih's decision and not the fortuitous circumstance of transmission. This belief may embolden us to speculate about some other omissions.

Perhaps the most notable is the lack of parallel for T'ao's series of three *Burial Songs*. These three poems, in which T'ao contemplates himself being carried to his tomb, are very typical of this poet who looked so resolutely on the extinction of life and tried so desperately to see a meaning to life within its finite term.

I

Where there is life, there must be death;
An early end is no shortening of one's destiny.
Last evening, like others, I was a man;
This morning I am in the register of ghosts.
My soul, sundered, where has it gone?
While my withered frame is lodged in the "hollow tree".²⁷
My dear children, seeking their father, cry;
My good friends, caressing me, weep.
Getting and losing, I'll know no more;
Right and wrong, how should I realize?
After a thousand autumns, ten thousand years,
Who will know my honour or my disgrace?
I only regret that when I was alive,
In drinking wine I did not get enough.

II

In the past I had no wine to drink;
Now only they fill vain cups for me.
On the spring wine scum forms;
When may I taste it again?
Tables of offerings are piled before me;
Relatives and friends weep at my side.
I would speak but my mouth is without sound;
I would see but my eyes are without sight.
Before I slept in the high hall;
Now I pass the night in the 'village in the wilds'.
One morning I went out of the gate,
But a return there can truly never be.

III

The wilds, how vast are they!
The white aspens too are mournful.
In the harsh frost, in the ninth month,
They escort me out of the distant suburbs.
On every side no human dwellings,
Only the high tombs tower up.
The horses neigh to the sky for me;
The wind itself makes moan for me.
When the dark house²⁸ is once closed,
For a thousand years no more morning.

For a thousand years no more morning;
 Worth and intelligence are of no avail.
 Those who till now escorted me
 Return, each to his own home.
 My relatives may have some further grief,
 But the others for their part are already singing.
 When a man has gone in death, what more to say?
 They have given his body to become one with the hillside.²⁹

29 These three poems are in c.4 of T'ao's works.

30 In c.2 of his works.

31 i.e. to become an "immortal".

One might think that Su Shih avoided such poems as being too personal, but I suspect that for the optimistic Su Shih, whose Confucianism was modified by Buddhism and Taoist immortality-seeking, the theme was anathema. This view can perhaps be tested by looking at how Su performs in the case of T'ao's *Body, Shadow and Soul*,³⁰ which philosophically is fairly close to the *Burial Songs* and which Su actually followed.

Su Shih wrote no preface to match T'ao's, which reads:

Every man, noble or humble, wise or foolish, is busy in husbanding his life. This is the greatest of delusions. Therefore I have set out all the griefs of the body and its shadow, and have made the soul expound Nature to resolve them. All gentlemen who are interested in things will grasp the intention.

The body addresses the shadow:
 Heaven and earth endure without end;
 Hills and streams have no changing seasons.
 Plants and trees attain a constant rhythm;
 Frost and dew make them flourish or fade.
 It is said man is most divine and wise,
 Yet he alone is not like this.
 He happens to appear in the world;
 Suddenly is gone with no time of return.
 Who should notice the absence of one man?
 Relatives and friends will not think of him.
 His only relics are his everyday things,
 At the sight of which there is sadness.
 I have not the art to ascend and change.³¹
 It must be so with me; I do not doubt.
 I pray you, sir, take my word,
 And given wine, don't foolishly refuse.

So T'ao, and Su follows with:

Heaven and earth have a constant cycle;
 Sun and moon are without time of rest.
 Who, remaining in inactivity,
 By his action set them in motion?
 If you and I are closely examined,
 Mutually dependent, we achieve our present form.
 Swiftly we follow the changes of things;
 How can we set a date on life or dissolution?
 In dreams I am just silent;
 Still, without any thoughts.
 Why should one have sorrow or joy
 And always be again involved in tears?
 I dance and you tremble in disorder;
 Of our correspondence there's not the slightest doubt.

32 *Op.cit.*, p.93.

33 Mountains supposed to be the abode of "immortals".

34 *Op.cit.*, p.93.

35 Nature.

36 Heaven, earth and man.

37 Perhaps Fu-hsi, Shen-nung and the Yellow Emperor, all mythical sovereigns of remote antiquity.

Still with my words when drunk
You reply to my dream musings.³²

One may say immediately that Su treats his characters much more directly as Body, Shadow and Soul than does T'ao who makes them much more the mouthpieces of his ideas. This becomes still more obvious in the second poems.

The shadow answers the body:
Preserving life is not to be spoken of;
Protecting life is always sadly clumsy.
Truly I'd like to roam on K'un-lun or Hua,³³
But they are remote and the way there is cut.
Ever since the time that I met with you,
I have never known other sorrow or joy.
Resting in the shade, we seem separated;
But when we stop in the sun, we are never parted.
This oneness cannot be constant;
Darkly, we both in time will perish.
When the body dies, name also ends:
Think of this and the five emotions blaze.
Establish good and some affection will remain.
Why do you not exert yourself?
Wine, they say, can dispel grief,
But it is surely inferior to this.

And Su, seeming to make his Shadow argue somewhat with T'ao Yüan-ming's poem as well, wrote:

When your features are depicted with colours,
I always fear the painting master's clumsiness.
I rely on the moon lantern's appearance
To compare our twin excellences.
Beauty and ugliness are essentially in you;
How should I flatter or please you?
You are like the smoke over the fire;
When the fire is out, you will be parted.
I am like the image in the mirror;
When the mirror is broken, I am not destroyed.
Though you say I depend on shade and sunshine,
I can never suffer cold or heat.
Aimlessly, I simply accord with things;
How should there be an end to my myriad changes?
Drunkenness and sobriety are both but dreams;
It's no use to discuss their worth.³⁴

For T'ao

The soul expounds:
The Great Cycle³⁵ exerts no partial force;
Its myriad workings appear in profusion by themselves.
That Man is one of the Three Powers³⁶
How can it be other than due to me?
Though I am of a separate kind from you,
From birth I have been closely attached.
Joined in dependence, I have had joy in our union
How should I not give advice to you?
The Three August Ones³⁷ were great saints,

Yet now where are they to be found?
 P'eng-tsu³⁸ was covetous of long years;
 He would have remained but could not stay.
 Old and young alike come to one death;
 Between wise and foolish there is no distinction.
 In daily drunkenness one may be able to forget,
 But is it not a means of shortening life?
 Though to establish good is your constant joy,
 Who is obliged to sing your praises?
 Much brooding harms our life;
 It is simply right to submit to change.
 Give yourself to the great transformations' waves;³⁹
 You will have no joy, but also you will have no fear.
 When you should end, then you must end;
 Never again ponder much upon it!

38 The model of longevity.

39 The four major changes in a man's life:
 infancy, youth and prime, old age and death.

40 *Op.cit.*, p.93.

Su's third poem seems the closest of the three to T'ao's original, but he contrives to alter the whole emphasis.

You two were originally without me;
 We are first attached in beings.
 Surely not just in old age do you change and decline?
 Instant by instant you are not as before.
 I know that you are not metal and stone;
 How could I long depend upon you?
 Don't follow the words of Lao-tzu!
 And don't employ Buddha's sayings!
 Immortal's mountains and Buddha-realms,
 There are in the end perhaps no such places.
 Best be willing to follow old T'ao
 And move house to Wineland.
 Drunk and sober must have their end;
 It is not easy to avoid one's fate.
 All your life you pursue childish games;
 Everywhere you create an excess of implements.
 Wherever you go men gather to watch;
 Attention arouses censure or praise.
 If now you will light a fire,
 Good and bad may both be burned.
 When you have no rewards to carry,
 You will also have no fear of thieves.
 Confucius late in life realized;
 Why should one care for the world?⁴⁰

In the case of these three poems by T'ao Yüan-ming it has been argued that they were contrived as a debate between Confucian, Taoist and Buddhist attitudes current in the intellectual world of his time. While this is in my opinion a quite forced interpretation of the three poems, Confucian, Taoist and Buddhist beliefs are certainly under examination and to some extent under attack here, though not in the abstract, but within a frame of intense personal reference. With Su Shih nearly seven hundred years later the intellectual background, though it equally embraced Confucianism, Taoism and Buddhism was not of the same character and his personal attitude to the three beliefs was different from T'ao's. Nevertheless the individual psychological differences which it seems possible to detect through the comparison of these poems may be more striking than the differences in their ideologi-

41 *An Introduction to Sung Poetry* (Harvard University Press, 1967).

42 The arithmetic here proves a little difficult, but does not seem to be worth great expenditure of time or space.

43 *Op.cit.*, pp.88–89. This edition omits the day (19th) of the month (12th) in the preface date.

cal positions. Where T'ao's poems seem intense and passionate, filled with a very personal questioning, as he seeks a path to the acceptance of the human condition, Su by contrast is relatively dispassionate and witty and seems to confront the issue far less personally.

Yoshikawa Kōjirō in his study of Sung dynasty poetry, which has been translated into English by Burton Watson,⁴¹ maintains as a central thesis that Sung poetry by comparison with its predecessors developed a less intense view of man's life, and he founds this thesis very particularly upon the poetry of Su Shih. The comparison which has just been made lends support certainly to Professor Yoshikawa's view. At the same time, however, unless we adopt a completely determinist view of man as a product of his times, we need to recognize that T'ao Yüan-ming and Su Shih appear from the evidence that we possess to have been men of very different characters, the former a man of an essentially lonely nature, the latter strongly gregarious.

If there were fundamental differences between them, where did the attraction of T'ao Yüan-ming for Su Shih lie? For I must now come back to consider more directly why in fact Su felt impelled to this undertaking. At this point we may consider Su's own final testimony, which has fortunately been preserved in a letter to his brother Su Che, quoted by the latter in the preface he wrote for the collection of the *Poems Following the Rhymes of T'ao Yüan-ming* (dated 24 January 1098).

There are works by poets of the past in imitation of earlier poets, but none of them followed the rhymes of an earlier poet. I am the first to follow the rhymes of a poet of the past. I am not very fond of any other poet; I am fond only of Yüan-ming's poems. Yüan-ming did not write many poems, but his poems are simple, yet truly beautiful; they are spare, yet truly rich in flavour. Ts'ao [Chih], Liu [Chen], Pao [Chao], Hsieh [Ling-yün], Li [Po], Tu [Fu], none of them equal him. I have followed the rhymes of altogether one hundred and nine of his poems.⁴² When I had achieved my purpose, I told myself that I should not be too ashamed before Yüan-ming. Now I have collected the poems and written them all out, to hand them down to gentlemen who come after that they might record them for me. But it is certainly not only Yüan-ming's poems that I am fond of; I am truly moved by his character. When Yüan-ming was near his end, he addressed his sons, Yen and the others: "In my youth I was in extreme distress. Always because of my family's poverty, I hurried east and west. My nature is unyielding, my talent feeble; to many things I am opposed. When I weighed up my position, I knew that I should inevitably incur worldly misfortune. So I made an effort to withdraw from the world and caused you in your childhood to suffer hunger and cold." These words of Yüan-ming's are indeed a true record. I really have a similar weakness, but I did not early understand myself. For half my life I have gone out into official service and suffered the misfortunes of the world. This is why I am deeply shamed by Yüan-ming, and I want in old age to take his rare example as my model.⁴³

This statement of Su in fact answers the query of my title in both ways. He says that he admired the poetry of T'ao Yüan-ming above all others and implies that his following of T'ao's rhymes was a tribute to the older poet. At the same time he describes himself as deeply moved by T'ao's personal conduct and states his desire to take T'ao as the model for his late years. In both aspects there is a degree of exaggeration and it may not be too unfair to say that Su is striking an attitude in response to the situation in which he found himself. Su Shih was a post-T'ang poet and his work could not escape the enormous effect which that great age of Chinese poetry had upon the period which followed. When we examine his poetry as a whole,

the effect of Tu Fu, Po Chü-i and Han Yü, Tu Fu above all, is patent to see. Artistically the effect of these poets on him is greater than that of T'ao Yüan-ming. Of T'ao the man his conception was rather stereotyped and even, one might say, superficial. He admired T'ao as a hermit and a drinker, a good but unconventional man who truly despised the world. He failed to catch the note of morbid anxiety, the continual concern over personal morality, which is present in T'ao's works, because all this was very foreign to his own nature. He thought very much in social and political terms. Eastern Chin was a weak and evil age, so T'ao was to be admired for withdrawing from it. Had Su lived to come back again to office, his adoption of T'ao as a model might have proved to be only temporary.

Su Shih was in no way unique in adopting T'ao Yüan-ming as a model for hermitage, when he found himself in banishment in 1094. As I said before, T'ao had long been a standard and favourite image for the man out of office. He had been very much in the thoughts and poetry of Tu Fu in the latter's "Thatched Hut" period in Ch'eng-tu, to cite but one famous example. But no-one before had gone to the extent of association to which Su Shih went with this particular collection of poetry. Since the effort was so large and so exuberant, there was no hope for it to remain within the bounds of any image of T'ao Yüan-ming, true, conventionalized or false. To a great extent, I should say that the identification with T'ao Yüan-ming was an initial impetus for this undertaking. Thus at the outset it may be true to describe this following of T'ao's rhymes as a psychological phenomenon. As the months passed and it continued, it must have become more nearly a regular part of Su's literary activity. Although at no point did Su speak in other than his own voice, one may feel the presence of T'ao Yüan-ming most strongly in the earliest pieces.

I have here tried to examine in a little more detail a collection of Su Shih's poetry which invariably finds mention, but only in a few sentences. In case I may have in places seemed critical of Su Shih's understanding of T'ao Yüan-ming, I should finally modify such criticism. Poetry is above all an activity of personal significance both to the poet and to his reader who must embrace it for his own life. When the reader is another poet and one so great as Su Shih, his freedom to make of it what he will is absolute.

This paper first appeared in the Journal of the Oriental Society of Australia, Vol.10, 1&2 (June 1975), 93-108.

“THE GOOD LINES OF THE WORLD ARE A COMMON POSSESSION”: A STUDY OF THE EFFECT OF TU FU UPON SU SHIH

 A.R. Davis

“The current of his feeling failed: he became his admirers”.¹ Thus wrote W.H. Auden on the death of one of the greatest of English poets, W.B. Yeats in 1939. He was expressing in part the universal truth that the individual works of a poet are surrendered irrevocably in death into the common possession, not only of admirers of course but also of critics who will explain and may even explain *away*. Fear of silence, of final extinction through being unread, perhaps lurks behind many of those famous utterances by Western poets of confidence in immortality. For Chinese poets it should have been different. From the very beginning, from the time of the songs of the *Book of Songs* itself, poetry was for use and reuse by other poets. As the tradition lengthened, it should have been quite apparent to any who could gain even a modest place within it that they had good expectation of immortality. At the same time, the greater their place in the tradition, the greater the extent of reuse of their words and the greater the possibility, it might seem, of their becoming still more literally than Mr Auden intended, their admirers.

1 “In Memory of W.B. Yeats”, I, st.3.

This question of the use of earlier men’s words as “allusion”, “quotation” or “model” remains of very great importance in the appreciation of Chinese poetry. It is one on which others and even I myself have consumed some ink. It is also a topic that inevitably invites generalization in pursuit of which one may lose sight of the differences imposed by time and individual poets. I have therefore here set out to consider how a major poet of the Sung, Su Shih, used the words of, felt the effect of, responded to a major poet of the T’ang, Tu Fu. To do this thoroughly and with a minimum of subjective selectivity I should have needed to translate every line of Su Shih’s poems and carefully annotate it. Since this lies beyond my present achievement, I have taken what I hope may be a meaningful sample and treated this in as full a manner as possible. At least one feature which may have some general relevance to the Northern Sung period seems to have emerged from this examination, a tendency to use the words of a composite Li Po-Tu Fu

2 The Five Old Men Peaks on the eastern side of Lu-shan, Kiangsi.

3 K'uang-shan = Lu-shan (or at least so Su certainly intended; there is doubt whether Tu Fu's original line had this reference). In current texts K'uang 匡 is substituted by K'ang 康 because it was taboo in Sung T'ai-tsu's personal name.

4 *Su Wen-chung kung shih pien-chu ch'eng* (hereafter referred to as *Poems*: Hsüeh-sheng shu-chü edition, 6 vols, Taipei, 1967) v.5, c.23.7b.

5 See p.3.

6 381/24/12. Reference to Harvard-Yenching Institute Sinological Series Suppl. 14. The first figure is the page; the second, the *chüan* no. of the *Chiu-chia chu Tu shih* text and the third the serial no. of the poem in the *chüan*.

7 Biography in *Han shu*, c.76.

source. If this is a genuine demonstration we may need to consider whether some of the later opposition made by critics between these two High T'ang poets has not been erroneously read back into the Northern Sung period.

There was no opposition between the two poets themselves. Tu Fu's poems expressing the deepest affection for Li Po are among the best-known and most frequently-selected of his work. Thus it is very appropriate that Su Shih when visiting the old studio on Lu-shan of his close friend Li Ch'ang in 1084 should both think of the earlier famous student on Lu-shan, his friend's namesake Li Po, and adapt in his poem Tu Fu's words to Li Po.

I chanced to seek the flowing waters and climb the heights;
The Five Old Men's² hoary faces broke into a smile.
"If you see the Banished Immortal, please tell him:
To K'uang-shan,³ now he's white-headed, he should soon return".

*Written on Li Kung-tse's White Stone Mountain Studio*⁴

(Li Po appears in the poems of Su Shih and other poets of his time with a monotonous regularity as *Ti-hsien*, "The Banished Immortal", the description conferred on him by Ho Chih-chang⁵).

The tone of Su's poem is light (it is, one may note, well-regarded and is an anthology piece) and gently plays with affinities: it has nothing of the intensity of the Tu Fu poem from which it borrows its concluding line.

I have not seen my friend Li for a long time;
His feigned madness is truly pitiable.
All the men of the age wish to kill him;
My thoughts are only of love for his talent.
Brilliant are his thousand poems;
Ruinous is his single cup of wine.
To K'uang-shan where he studied,
White-headed, well may he return.

*I Have Not Seen ...*⁶

The process of the associations involved here is quite apparent and needs no further labouring. We should perhaps only remark that Su Shih in writing his last line would expect every reader to recognize it as a quotation of Tu Fu. Did it concern him at all that his quotation had lost the tone of the original?

In this example, at any rate, we have Li Po and Tu Fu, but in the second of two quatrains which he wrote in 1088 in farewell to his friend Ch'ien Hsieh 堯 who was being sent out from the capital as Prefect of Yüeh-chou (modern Shao-hsing) we find a tight blending of lines derived from Li Po and Tu Fu that it would seem justifiable to speak of a composite Li-Tu source. Though it is the second quatrain which mainly concerns us, I include the first also for the sake of context.

Official documents always vex us with every anxiety at once;
A jar of wine now must make us break into smiles.
Since the capital is set longing for (Chao) Kuang-han,
K'uai-chi may rejoice to have found (Ch'ih) Fang-hui.

(Chao 趙 Kuang-han⁷ had been a popular prefect of the capital prefecture during the 1st century B.C., while Ch'ih Yin 郗愔 313-384, had been loved by the people as Prefect of K'uai-chi, the Sung Yüeh-chou.)

At Yün-men Temple by Jo-yeh Stream⁸
 Director Ho's⁹ lotus flowers vainly open by themselves.
 I grieve that now I am still in the mire,
 But urge you not to pole back the wine boat.

*In Farewell to Ch'ien Mu-fu on his Leaving to
 Become Prefect of Yüeh-chou*¹⁰

In the second poem the first and third lines are taken from the concluding lines of Tu Fu's *Song of His Honour Liu of Feng-hsien's New Landscape Screen*,¹¹ a poem in which he praises extravagantly and presumably a little satirically the work of an unknown artist who has painted a veritable "map of China" so that one does not need to travel but may sit and look at the screen-painting. So—

(To go to) the Yün-men Temple by the Jo-yeh Stream
 Why ever must I be in the mire?
 In blue slippers and linen stockings I can go from now on.

Su Shih again changes the tone and even the sense in borrowing the words. Or if one puts it the other way, he is merely borrowing words, since Tu Fu's "mire" is literal while Su's is metaphorical. The second and fourth lines are from Li Po, a rather significant Li Po example in view of the frequency of the reference to "the Banished Immortal", the poems entitled *With the Wine Jar Before Me, Remembering Director Ho*,¹² which have a short preface:

His Excellency Ho, the Preceptor to the Heir-Apparent, once saw me in the Tzu-chi Temple (to Lao-tzu) in Ch'ang-an and named me a banished immortal. So he untied his golden tortoise and exchanged it for wine with which we might take our pleasure. In sad yearning for him I wrote these poems.

I

There was a wild guest of Ssu-ming,¹³
 The stylish Ho Chi-chen.
 Once we met in Ch'ang-an
 And he called me a banished immortal.
 Before he loved the thing in the cup;¹⁴
 Now he is dust beneath the pines.
 Thinking how his golden tortoise¹⁵ was exchanged for wine
 Makes tears soak my kerchief.

II

When the wild guest returned to Ssu-ming,
 The Shan-yin¹⁶ Taoists welcomed him.
 By decree he was granted the Mirror Lake's¹⁷ waters
 To be the glory of this terrace and pool.
 The man has died, leaving his old home behind,
 Where vainly lotus flowers grow.
 As I recall this, vague as a dream,
 It grievously wounds my feelings.

In current editions of Li Po these two poems are followed by a quatrain *Again in Remembrance*

I would like to go east of the River¹⁸
 But with whom could I raise a wine-cup?
 On Chi-shan there is no old Ho,
 So I pole back the wine boat.

8 South of K'uai-chi/Yüeh-chou (mod. Shao-hsing).

9 Ho Chih-chang had been Director of the Imperial Library (*Pi-shu chien*).

10 *Poems*, v.5, c30.13a.

11 64/4/8.

12 *Li T'ai-po ch'üan-chi* (SPPY ed.), c.23.12b.

13 Name of mountain range in Chekiang. Ho Chih-chang in his later years adopted the literary name of Ssu-ming k'uang-k'o.

14 i.e. wine.

15 Belt-decoration of T'ang officials.

16 A T'ang *hsien* forming part of modern Shao-hsing.

17 The Jo-yeh Stream flows into the Mirror Lake.

18 "East of the River" here indicates K'uai-chi.

19 See *Tui-chiu* 對酒, *op. cit.*, c.23.9a.

20 *Poems*, v.4, c.15.8b. Su-chou is modern Su-hsien, Anhui.

21 *Li T'ai-po ch'üan-chi*, c.8.3b.

22 108/7/10.

23 See *Chuang-tzu*, c.4, Harvard-Yenching Institute Sinological Index Series Supplement 20, p.11, 1.64ff.

24 *Poems*, v.5, c.30.20b.

and it is this which provides the fourth line of Su's poem. It may be also interesting to note that the phrase *ch'üan chün mo* which Su uses to lengthen Li Po's five-character into a seven-character line, occurs only once in Li Po's extant poems and this in a poem which stands in the same *ch'üan* as *Remembering Director Ho*.¹⁹ One might almost have a feeling of Su looking up or at least having recently read the Li Po text, when he wrote his poem.

There is only a geographical link between Su's Li Po and Tu Fu sources. Is it reasonable to propose in such a case that the one suggested the other, that the two poets were very closely linked in Su's mind? They come together again in *At Su-chou, Following the Rhymes of Liu Ching*,²⁰ written in 1077, when Su was on his way to take up his appointment as Prefect of Hsü-chou.

I want to retire but the notes of the cithern gradually die away.
When shall I wear my spring clothes at the Rain-dance altar?
Very distressful, were (Po's) white hair's thirty thousand feet;
Without use were the frosted branches' forty spans.
Late, I have become aware that letters are truly a minor skill;
Early, I knew that riches and honour were triggers of danger.
When I shed tears for you, do you know?
For ever the Hua-t'ing crane has flown away.

Su adds a note to the end of the poem that Liu Ching's elder brother Pien also possessed literary skill but had already died. The whole poem is in fact put together with quotations, beginning with a rather unusual type of quotation in the first two lines. The reference to *Lun-yü* 11.26 where Confucius asks the disciples, Tzu-lu, Jan Ch'iu, Kung-hsi Hua and Tseng Hsi what positions they would choose if they became known, and while the other three choose public offices, Tseng Hsi gives as his wish his desire to take part in the purification ceremony at the Rain-dance altar in late spring. Tseng Hsi's wish became generally associated with the life of retirement. Su so uses it and his second line alone would be in no way remarkable. What is unusual is his incorporation of a minor detail of the *Lun-yü* context into line 1, viz. the mention of Tseng Hsi's stopping playing the cithern before speaking. One has thus to be totally conscious of the *Lun-yü* passage to understand Su's line. Line 3 adapts a famous Li Po couplet from the most-quoted of his *Songs of Ch'iu-p'u*, No.15,²¹

My white hair's thirty thousand feet
Is due to my distress being so long.
I do not know where the clear mirror
Found the autumn frost.

I am inclined to think—though this is impossible to prove—that Su's line remains at the level of quotation, i.e. it does not become "my white hair".

Li Po's hyperbole seems to have almost instinctively called to mind a Tu Fu hyperbole, the vast cypress from *Song of the Ancient Cypress*:²²

From its frosted branches rain drips for forty spans;
Its dark hue mingles with the sky for two thousand feet.

Tu Fu's magnificent old cypress is as he himself indicated ("From of old great timber has been hard to use,") and as Su Shih recognised a descendant of Chuang-tzu's shrine oak which the Carpenter Shih rejected and which because of its "uselessness" can complete its allotted span.²³ In the poem *Tree Hill*²⁴ which he wrote about an area of land owned by his father Su Hsün, Shih combined the Tu Fu and *Chuang-tzu* references. The contrast then in lines 3 and 4 is between Li Po's and his own continual movement

from place to place and the undisturbed rest of the tree. There is probably also an intended indication of sorrow at the early death of Liu Ching's elder brother which is intensified in the second half of the poem.

For line 5 Su remains with Tu Fu, borrowing from *Left Behind for Vice-Prefect Liu of Hua-yang*:

Writing is a minor art
And not to be honoured like the Way.²⁵

Tu Fu is praising the excellent qualities of Vice-Prefect Liu who was like himself a refugee in K'uei-chou. For Su Shih who had a distinct penchant for ridiculing the pursuit of literacy and letters, one can imagine that this couplet had a particular appeal and it was easily separable from its context (*Left Behind for Vice-Prefect Liu* would not rank among Tu Fu's commonly quoted poems).

The dictionary source for the expression *wei-chi* ("danger trigger") is in a remark attributed to Chu-ko Chang-min (d.413) in his biographical notice in the *Chin-shu*²⁶; "The poor and the humble constantly think of riches and honour, but riches and honour are the triggers of danger." Su Shi clearly used this to form his sixth line and the ominous note is continued in the final line of the poem which must derive from the words of Lu Chi (261–303) on the verge of execution: "The Hua-t'ing²⁷ crane cries! How can it be heard again?"²⁸ Su thus seems to imply that the early death of Liu Ching's brother has some political cause but it does not seem possible to confirm this.

Complete knowledge of the circumstances would possibly enhance our understanding of this poem, without such knowledge it remains a piece, skilfully put together out of quotations which his readers must have been expected to recognize, of self-exhortation to eschew the pursuit of office and embrace the safety and ease of retirement. This self-exhortation was perennial with Su Shih and many other poets who followed the official career normal for men of their class. They were as little likely to be serious as were Western poets in counselling against the pursuit of romantic love. The combination of the quotations from Li Po and Tu Fu here certainly does not arise out of any original connection between the two poets as in the case of *Inscribed on Li Kung-tse's White Stone Mountain Studio* or out of any geographical connection as could just be argued in the case of *In Farewell to Ch'ien Mu-fu*. I suggest that they probably arise out of a strongly conditioned linking of the two poets in Su Shih's mind.

Of this I shall offer just one more illustration in the well-known poem *Written after Ch'ao Yüeh-chih's Painting "The Perfection of Husbandry"*²⁹ (Ch'ao Yüeh-chih, 1059–1129, was a cousin of Ch'ao Pu-chih, 1053–1110, who is numbered among Su's "six disciplines". "The Perfection of Husbandry" occurred under King Hsüan of Chou according to the Small Preface to *Song* 190.)

Once I lived among the fields
And knew only sheep and oxen.
The stream was calm, the ox's back was steady;
It was like riding on a hundred-bushel boat.
The boat moved unaided; the banks went by of themselves.
I lay, reading a book; the ox was unaware.
In front were a hundred sheep
That heeded the crack of my whip like a war-drum.
My whip was not recklessly used,
Only when I saw them lagging, I whipped them.

25 154/11/14.

26 c.84.55 (SPPY ed.).

27 Ancestral place of the Lu family, in modern Sung-chiang hsien, Kiangsu.

28 *Chin shu*, 54 (Biography of Lu Chi).

29 *Poems*, v.6, c.36.24b.

30 "An old man of many oxen" is probably an analogy of "an old man of many fields", a soubriquet applied to Lu Ts'ung-yüan, see the brief biological notice in *Hsin T'ang-shu*, c.129.

31 *Li T'ai-po ch'üan-chi*, c.19.20a. Wang the Twelfth has not been identified.

32 i.e. in retirement. The phrase comes into the terminology of withdrawal from the biography of T'ao Yüan-ming.

33 i.e. The ordinary will pretend to be talented.

34 *Sung-k'an Shib-Ku chu Su-shib* (facsimile repr., Taipei, 1969), c.33.34b.

35 410/26/35B.

36 Island of immortals in the eastern sea.

37 i.e. accords with the natural order of the universe.

In the lowlands grass and trees grew tall.
When grass is tall it makes sheep and oxen sick.
So we bestrode the valleys, making for the hills.
My sinews grew strong with clambering.
With mist cape and rain hat I went under the long woods.
I have grown old and now it's no use to look at a picture.
In the world the horse's ear is blown in by the east wind.
I regret that I have not long been an old man of many oxen.³⁰

Chao's painting evokes in the poet a reminiscence of childhood which is expressed in very simple yet very graphic terms, and then there is a sudden transition to the present and to erudition. All the commentators identify the reference of the penultimate line. It after all stands out as requiring explanation. It derives from Li Po's *In Reply to Wang the Twelfth's "Feelings when Drinking Alone on a Winter Night"*,³¹ a longish poem with much political reference, which probably dates from 750.

To write poems and compose *fu* in the northern window,³²
A myriad words are not worth a cup of water.
The men of our time when they hear them will all turn away;
It will be like the east wind blowing in a horse's ear.
Fish-eyes will also smile at us
And claim to be the equal of bright-moon pearls.³³

The "east wind blowing in a horse's ear" in Li Po's poem is a metaphor for the indifference of the men of the political world to literary achievement. In a similar way too it must be used in Su Shih's poem, i.e. Su is not here simply taking over words but an accompanying connotation also. In spite of the fact this poem dates from 1093 when he was back in high office in the capital in one of the ups of his political life, his thought led him at the conclusion of this poem to decry both the literary and the political life (probably in his case it is not possible to separate them) and sigh over his failure to pursue the life of the farmer.

On this reading the last two lines are quite consistent, but what of the preceding line *lao ch'ü erh chin k'ung chien hua*? Are we to interpret *k'ung* in a rather weak sense of "only", i.e. now I am old I can only look at a picture, since the reality is no longer possible for me? This would, I think, make the transition to the Li Po quotation difficult. The Shih-Ku commentary,³⁴ however, by citing lines from the second of Tu Fu's series of three poems entitled *Viewing the Landscape Painting Which Li Ku Commissioned from His Younger Brother*,³⁵ offers the possibility of giving a better and more consistent meaning and also, if a Tu Fu reference is Su's intention, a further nice example of combining a Li Po and Tu Fu source. Tu Fu's poem reads:

Fang-chang³⁶ is surrounded by continuous waters;
Mt T'ien-t'ai has always shining clouds.
In the world of men long has one seen pictures of them,
But when one's old, one is vexed uselessly to hear of them.
Fan Li's boat is very small;
Wang-tzu Ch'iao's crane is uncommon.
This life follows the Ten Thousand Things;³⁷
Where can one escape the dust and filth?

The picture which Tu Fu viewed obviously depicted the haunts of immortals. Fan Li, after defeating Wu as general of Yüeh, disappeared amid the rivers and lakes and became an immortal. Similarly Wang-tzu Ch'iao rode

away to immortality on a crane. Tu Fu's response is one of rejection: in old age fantasy is merely vexatious.

If we accept that this Tu Fu poem underlies Su Shih's line, then instead of understanding the poet to say that he can now only look at a painting as a substitute for reality, we may conclude that it indicates virtually the reverse, that he should not be content with the substitute but should seek the reality. Seen in this way, the poem becomes once again an exhortation to retirement from political life and can be read as a consistent whole.

I offer these selected examples as practical evidence that Su Shih at least felt no opposition between Tu Fu and Li Po but rather had a ready tendency to think of the two in combination. It is possible to add to these from what may be described as Su's "theoretical" or "critical" writings, although it may be important to remember that theorization or criticism were not the prime object of such statements which are generally embedded in poems or accompany eulogies of a particular contemporary's works ("After Reading the Poems of X" and the like). Some caution may be necessary in defining the view of literature of Su Shih or other writers from such citations. With this caveat I quote Su's *Postface to the Poetry Collection of Huang Tzu-ssu*.³⁸

Once I discussed calligraphy and said the traces of Chung (Yu, 151–230) and Wang (Hsi-chih, 307–365) are relaxed and spare; the subtlety lies beyond the brush strokes. When we reach Yen (Chen-ch'ing, 709–785) and Liu (Kung-ch'üan, 778–865) of T'ang, for the first time there is a collecting of ancient and modern brush models and a complete exhibiting of them: they carried the variations of calligraphy to their limit and the empire universally regarded them as honoured masters, while the models of Chung (Yu) and Wang (Hsi-chih) became increasingly obscure. In poetry it is the same case. The creative power of Su (Wu, d.60 B.C.) and Li (Ling, d.74 B.C.), the self-possession of Ts'ao (Chih, 192–232) and Liu (Chen, d.217), the transcendence of T'ao (Yüan-ming, 365–427) and Hsieh (Ling-yün, 385–433) are indeed supreme. Yet Li T'ai-po and Tu Tzu-mei bestride a hundred generations with their splendid preeminent appearance and the poets of the past are all discarded. Thus the lofty air and remoteness from Wei-Chin on have also declined.

After Li and Tu poets continued to appear. Though there are in some cases distant echoes, their talent does not match their intention. Only Wei Ying-wu (c.736–790) and Liu Tsung-yüan (773–819) gave substance to the simple and old, and conveyed a supreme taste through tranquility, such as others were incapable of. At the end of T'ang, Ssu-k'ung T'u (837–908) lived amid dangerous military disorders, but his poetry and prose were lofty and elegant and still had a surviving air of an age of continuing peace. In discussing poetry, he said: "Plums are simply bitter, salt is simply salty. In eating and drinking we cannot do without salt or plums, yet excellence is always a matter of more than saltiness or bitterness."³⁹ He in fact classified his understanding of poetry in literary tables in twenty-four couplets,⁴⁰ but unfortunately his contemporaries did not appreciate their subtlety. I thrice repeat his words and grieve over them. (From this point Su turns to Huang Hsiao-hsien's poems.)

While one must note that every poet mentioned (and every calligrapher too) with the exception of Ssu-k'ung T'u is paired with another, this text does demonstrate Su's conception of Chinese poetry jointly dominated by Li Po and Tu Fu. It was a conception in no way individual to Su in the Northern Sung period. When Ou-yang Hsiu (1007–1072) who is commonly described as Su Shih's teacher, wanted to mourn his poet-friends Su Shun-ch'in (1008–1048) and Mei Yao-ch'en (1002–1060) the most honourable comparison he could make was with Li Po and Tu Fu.⁴¹

38 *Su Tung-p'o chi, Hou-chi*, c.9 (Basic Sinological Series ed. section 8, p.22), Huang Tzu-ssu is Huang Hsiao-hsien 孝先 (*chin-shih* 1024).

39 This is a slight variation on the often-quoted passage in Ssu-k'ung T'u's *Letter on Poetry to Mr Li*, translated by James J. Y. Liu in his *Chinese Theories of Literature*, (Chicago, 1975), p.103.

40 The famous *Erb-shih-ssu shih-p'in* (Twenty-four Classifications of Poetry).

41 Mei Yao-ch'en, while alive had compared himself to Tu Fu and Ou-yang Hsiu to Li Po, see Jonathon Chaves, *Mei Yao-ch'en and the Development of Early Sung Poetry* (Columbia, 1976), p.98.

42 Which heralded the rise of Chou.

43 Reign-titles of Hsüan-tsung's reign, 713–755, preceding the great rebellion of An Lu-shan and Shih Ssu-ming.

44 *Ou-yang Yung-shu chi, Chü-shih chi*, ch.9 (Basic Sinological Series, sect.2, p.52).

45 See Yoshikawa Kōjirō, *Sōshi Gaisetsu* (*Chūgoku shijin shishū*, 2nd series, Iwanami Shoten, 1962), p.95, English version, Burton Watson, *An Introduction to Sung Poetry* (Harvard, 1967), pp.71–72.

46 *Ou-yang Yung-shu chi, Pishuo*, sect.14, p.123.

47 *Li T'ai-po ch'üan-chi*, c.7.1a–2a.

48 A quotation from a story of Shan Chien (253–312) during his governor-generalship at Hsiang-yang, found in *Shih-shuo hsin-yü*, c. 23. 19th story.

49 大家: the current text of Li Po's poem reads 瀾街 "blocking the road".

50 11.25–26 of the *Song of Hsiang-yang*. The toppling jade mountain as a symbol of drunkenness is used of Hui K'ang in *Shih-shuo hsin-yü*, c.14, 5th story.

The Yellow River runs clear once in a thousand years;
The singing phoenix of Ch'i-shan⁴² does not sing a second time.
Since the two masters Su and Mei died,
Heaven and Earth are silent, repressing the sound of thunder.
All the insects, shut in their holes, do not break from hibernation;
Every tree, when spring comes, fails to burst its buds.
Surely there must be all manner of birds learning their cries,
But their cries go unheeded all day long.
The two masters' subtle thought penetrated to the limits;
The spirits of Heaven and Earth could have no hidden feelings.
Giving play to their brushes, they showed a lively brilliance;
Under their brushes Creation gave off a radiance.
The ancients called this spying into the artifices of Heaven;
The shortness of their lives was perhaps the Lord of Heaven's anger.
In the past Li and Tu vied to break convention;
Unicorn and phoenix startled the age.
These two creatures cannot bring Great Peace;
They need times of Great Peace before they appear.
In K'ai-yüan and T'ien-pao⁴³ prosperity reached its height;
Then wearying war raged in the Central Plain.
Heroes' white bones turn into yellow earth;
Riches and honour can only be as trivial as clouds.
Only there is writing to illumine sun and stars;
Its force soars above the hills, ever brilliant.
Wise and foolish from old have all shared one end;
The lofty vainly leave a name for later generations.⁴⁴

This example from Ou-yang Hsiu is worth citing also because of the misunderstanding that persists about his attitude to Tu Fu.⁴⁵ The chief cause is Ou-yang's *Li Po Tu Fu shih yü-lieh shou* ("Discussion of the Merits of the Poems of Li Po and Tu Fu"),⁴⁶ although if one considers the whole piece rather than part only a different impression is received. Ou-yang begins by quoting the first four lines of Li Po's *Song of Hsiang-yang*.⁴⁷

"The setting sun is about to sink west of Hsien-shan;
'With my cap on upside down'⁴⁸ I go astray among the blossom.
The children of Hsiang-yang all clapped their hands;
Everyone⁴⁹ vied in singing the Nickel Horsehoe."

He continues:

These are ordinary words; only when one comes to
"The cool wind and bright moon do not cost a single cash;
The jade mountain topples of itself without any one pushing."⁵⁰
one sees his freedom from restraint. it is certainly not here that he
startles a thousand ages. Tu Fu can take a single section of Po and
surpass it by his skill. It is in the free flow of genius that Tu cannot
equal him.

This is after all a comparison, a not unusual one, of the technical skill of Tu Fu, with the free-ranging imagination of Li Po. Professor Yoshikawa's "he thought little of Tu Fu" is not necessarily supported by this, and is certainly negated by the poem in which Ou-yang wrote:

His elegance has long been silent,
But in my thoughts I see the man.
With Tu Fu, prince of poets,
Who in the future can compare?
In life he was always in extremity;

After his death he was to be prized by a myriad generations.
 If his words can be handed down to posterity,
 No man is ashamed of low rank and poverty.

*Seeking a Topic among the Portraits in the Hall,
 I Found Tu Tzu-mei*⁵¹

When my chosen subject is Tu Fu, I have perhaps given a rather large fraction of my space to Tu Fu in combination with Li Po, but in searching out material for this paper I was quite forcibly struck by the frequency with which the two poets came together in Su Shih's works and I should like to argue for a more cautious approach to the determination of the attitudes of the Northern Sung poets to their T'ang predecessors.

In speaking of a combined Li Po–Tu Fu source, I have not meant in any way to imply that Su Shih could, as it were, not tell the two poets apart. He had very obviously a close familiarity with the works of both. Before going on to look at examples of Tu Fu without Li Po in Su's poetry it may be worthwhile to quote one notable case of special treatment of Li Po by Su in the poem *Following the Rhymes of Li T'ai-po*.⁵² Su claimed, when writing of his series of poems in which he "followed the rhymes" of almost the entire surviving collection of T'ao Yüan-ming, that he was "the first to follow the rhymes of a poet of the past", and added: "I am not very fond of any other poet: I am fond only of Yüan-ming's poems".⁵³ He began to write his poems following the rhymes of T'ao Yüan-ming at Yang-chou in 1092, so that *Following the Rhymes of Li T'ai-po* predates the earliest of them by eight years. There was a special stimulus of place and age for the poem. In 1084 he was in Chiang-chou (earlier Hsün-yang: modern Kiukiang) visiting what in T'ang had been the local temple to Lao-tzu and he was 49 *sui* by Chinese reckoning. In the preface to the poem he writes:

There is a poem by Li T'ai-po "Moved by Autumn at the Tzu-chi Temple at Hsün-yang". The Tzu-chi Temple is now the T'ien-ch'ing monastery. The priest Hu Tung-wei showed me a rubbing of a stone carving which had been cut by his master Cho Chi. Chi possessed the Taoist arts and his moral purity surpassed others. Now he has died.

T'ai-po's poem says: "For forty-nine years I have erred/But once gone, years cannot be brought back". I too am forty-nine (*sui*), and moved by it, I followed the rhymes. Jade agaric, also called jade field herb, was planted by Tung-wei seven or eight years ago. He said: "A few more years and it will be edible". He promised to send me some. So I wrote of it at the same time.

Su's poem reads:

As I pass the night in the silent hall,
 The moonlight floods the thin bamboos.
 Purely it washes my heart;
 I would drink it but it cannot be grasped.
 The passing light stirs eternal sighs,
 Which are from the past, not mine alone.
 After going through forty-nine years,
 I return to this lodging under a northern window.
 Distantly I think of Priest Cho
 Who white-headed lodged among doctors and diviners.
 The Banished Immortal is truly remote;
 He too is impossible to bring back.
 The world's way is like a chess game;
 Its changes do not admit of retraction.

51 *Ou-yang Yung-shu chi, Chü-shih wai-chi*, c.4 (section 6, p.73).

52 *Poems*, v.5, c.23.16b.

53 See my "Su Shih's 'Following the Rhymes of T'ao Yüan-ming Poems': A Literary or a Psychological Phenomenon?", *Journal of the Oriental Society of Australia*, Vol.10 (1975), p.106.

54 *Li T'ai-po ch'üan-chi*, c.24.12b.

55 The physiognomist T'ang Chu of the Warring States period.

56 Ssu-ma Chi-chu who practised divination in Ch'ang-an during the 2nd century B.C.

57 *Lo-ch'üan chi*, c.2.

58 *Ibid.*

59 The descriptive poems written by the philosopher Hsün-tzu, in the 3rd Ct. B.C., and by Han writers like Ssu-ma Hsiang-ju (179–117 B.C.), Yang Hsiung (53 B.C. – A.D. 18) and Pan Ku (32–92).

60 The early 3rd Ct. B.C. Chu statesman Ch'ü Yüan, to whom are ascribed the *Li-sao* and other pieces in the anthology *Ch'u-tz'u* (Songs of Ch'u).

61 *Poems*, v.3, c.6.16b.

62 *Li T'ai-po ch'üan-chi*, c.2.1a.

63 A section of the *Book of Songs*, used to represent the whole; similarly used is "Royal Airs" (part of the *Kuo-feng*) in the 3rd line.

64 The "my" of this line would seem to be Confucius not the poet (although at the end of the poem Li Po assumes the mantle of the sage). I have therefore placed it as a quotation.

65 The period 196–219 associated with Ts'ao Ts'ao, his sons Ts'ao P'i and Ts'ao Chih, and the writers of whom he was the patron is treated by Li Po as the beginning of the tendency to over-elaboration of diction against which the *fu-ku* (restore antiquity) movement of his own day reacted.

66 As worn by the sage-emperors of remote antiquity.

67 In the last four lines the poet assigns to himself the transmitting role of Confucius. He will revive the true tradition of the *Book of Songs*. Confucius is said to have ended his editing of the *Spring and Autumn Annals* (*Ch'un-ch'iu*) when the people of Lu captured a unicorn in 481 B.C.

68 Tu-ling, district of Ch'ang-an, from which the Tu family came.

69 i.e. united every school in his poetry.

70 i.e. only Tu Fu and Li Po were a match for one another.

71 This line seems general in expression but it will refer particularly also to Tu's flight during the rebellion.

72 A metaphor for Hsüan-tsung losing his throne; it derives from *Han shu*, c.45 (Biography of K'uai T'ung): "Further when Ch'in lost its deer, everyone in the empire chased it".

Only may we age with the jade agaric
And must wait for the immortals' peaches to mature.

This is not only a following of the rhymes but an elegant variation upon Li Po's original poem,⁵⁴ which reads:

From where does one hear the sounds of autumn?
The bamboos by the northern window are rustling.
The eternal feelings whirl on.
If one grasps them they do not fill one's hand.
I sit silent and survey the massed mysteries;
I am greatly charmed by the secret solitude.
White clouds come from the southern hills
And sleep beneath my eaves.
I am too lazy to follow Master T'ang's⁵⁵ decision;
I am ashamed to seek Chi-chu's⁵⁶ divination.
For forty-nine years I have erred,
But once gone, years cannot be brought back.
Ambitious feelings are increasingly dissipated;
The world's way is one of ups and downs.
Magistrate T'ao should return home;
The farmers' wine must be mature.

No poem by Su Shih following the rhymes of Tu Fu has survived, but there is a long poem by him which follows the rhymes of one by Chang Fang-p'ing (1007–1091), a contemporary of Ou-yang Hsiu and an important figure in the conservative group, opposed to Wang An-shih, entitled "Reading Tu Fu's Poems". Chang's poem begins:

Culture flourished under imperial T'ang
And among poets old Tu was pre-eminent.⁵⁷

but it is unnecessary to quote all its forty lines. In this and another poem with a similar title⁵⁸ Chang lays stress on the hardships of Tu Fu's life, which are strongly emphasised by Ou-yang Hsiu in the poem quoted above. Su Shih also gives prominence to Tu's difficulties. It can be said that Tu Fu was generally used by the Confucians of Northern Sung to illustrate the cliché that adversity produces the great poet.

Su's poem, written in 1071 during his first dismissal from the capital for opposition to the "New Laws", is appropriately for its subject, erudite. As one would expect it uses quotations and echoes of Tu Fu's poems, but also shows the influence—should we be surprised?—of Li Po's poetry and the Banished Immortal is (we should say consistently) introduced as an equal sharer of glory. It will be convenient to consider the poem in sections.

When the Grand Odes first came to an end,
Their tradition was restricted by the violent.
It was extended into the *fu* of the literati,⁵⁹
And transformed into the *sao* of the minister of Ch'u.⁶⁰
In uncertainty it fell again into ruins;
In confusion it sought for excellence,
The earth perversely grew strange products;
The spring mistakenly sent out turbulent waves.
The painted deceived as true features;
Fish and shrimps took the place of domestic animals.

As Wang Wen-kao noted,⁶¹ these first ten lines owe much of their conception to the first of Li Po's *Ku-feng* (Ancient Air) poems.⁶²

Grand Odes⁶³ have not been written for a long time;
 "In my decline who then will expound them"⁶⁴
 The Royal Airs were abandoned among the creeping plants;
 The warring states were often overgrown.
 Dragons and tigers gnawed one another;
 Warfare continued until mad Ch'in.
 When the true notes became faint,
 Sorrow and anger gave rise to the *sao* poets.
 Yang (Hsuing) and (Ssu-) ma (Hsiang-ju) stirred the receding waves;
 The currents they began flowed without limit.
 Though this rise and fall went through a myriad shifts,
 The pattern indeed had perished.
 From the time of Chien-an⁶⁵ on
 There was an exquisiteness which is not to be valued.
 Our sage dynasty has restored antiquity;
 In trailing garments⁶⁶ it honours the pure and true.
 The throng of the talented matches the enlightenment;
 Following the time, they all seize their opportunity.
 Form and content illumine one another,
 A mass of stars frets the autumn sky.
 My intention is to edit and transmit,
 That the transmitted radiance may shine for a thousand springs.
 If I am successful in emulating the sage,
 I'll put down my brush at the taking of the unicorn.⁶⁷

Su in no sense quotes Li Po's poem or requires the reader to take notice of its use. We may rather distinguish it was an example of influence by the older poet on Su's writing.

After these ten lines of historical introduction, Tu Fu is introduced.

Who would have expected the hero of Tu-ling?⁶⁸
 Whose fame stands as high as the Banished Immortal's.
 Sweeping the ground, he brought together a thousand tracks;⁶⁹
 Racing for the mark, only two boats were seen.⁷⁰
 Poets customarily suffer hardships;
 The will of Heaven drives them to flight.⁷¹
 In the dust's murk men lost the deer;⁷²
 In the revolving of the oceans the emperor cut⁷³ the turtle's foot.
 In danger men thought of Li Mu⁷⁴
 And dispensed with the writings of Wang Pao.⁷⁵
 Disappointed of their hopes, they⁷⁶ were a thousand *li* apart;
 Cries of grief were heard in the Nine Marshes.⁷⁷
 Astride a whale,⁷⁸ one withdrew to the blue sea;
 Stroking a tiger, the other found an old friend.⁷⁹
 His mighty brush was a dragon-butcher's skill;⁸⁰
 His insignificant office was like a groom's.⁸¹
 Remote from affairs, he was without a career;
 Filled with wine and meat, he died a wanderer.⁸²

This second section of the poem deals with the life of Tu Fu (and to a large extent of Li Po). A degree of pity is expressed for the hardships of their lives—and we may detect some further furbishing of the cliché of adversity bringing out the great poet. Yet one feels that Tu Fu cuts a sorry figure for Su Shih; he is not a person who can command warm sympathy from him. In the last section he moves towards compliment of Chang Fang-p'ing whose poem he is "following" and whom he honours as a rare friend ("one who knows the notes").

73 A metaphor for Su-tsung's restoration of the dynasty from the story of Nü Kua mending Heaven (which originally did not completely cover Earth) by melting five-coloured stones in *Huai-nan-tzu*, c.6.6b (SPTK ed.) and *Lieb-tzu* c.5.3b (SPPY ed.).

74 Li Mu, general of the state of Chao in the 3rd Ct. B.C.; he has a brief biography in *Shih chi*, c.81.

75 Wang Pao of the 1st Ct. B.C., biography in *Han shu* 64B, seems to be cited here as an example of a literary scholar.

76 i.e. Tu Fu and Li Po.

77 Tu's sorrow for Li Po during the latter's banishment to Yeh-lang in modern Kweichow province in 758, expressed especially in the two *Dreaming of Li Po* poems (79/5/10). The form of words of this line derives from *Song* 184: "The crane cries in the Nine Marshes; / Its notes are heard in the wilds (stanza 2, in Heaven)".

78 This refers to the variant version 若逢李白騎鯨魚 ("If you meet Li Po astride a whale"), which Su Shih seems definitely, from a number of instances, to follow, of a line in Tu Fu's poem, *In Farewell To K'ung Ch'ao-fu* (21/2/1). That poem relates to an earlier period (probably 747) than the reference of the previous lines.

79 The story of Tu Fu's insulting his friend and patron Yen Wu with his remark "One would not have thought that Yen Ting-chih would have such a son" occurs in a number of sources (noted in William Hung, *Notes for Tu Fu*, (Harvard, 1952, p.94). The *Yün-bi yü-i* of Fan Shu (c.1. sub Yen Huang-men), which contains Yen's retort "Is the grandson of Tu Shen-yen determined to stroke the tiger's whiskers", may have been Su's source.

80 An unsaleable skill, from *Chuang-tzu* 32 (Harvard-Yenching Institute Sinological Series, suppl. 20, p.89) 11.18–19.

81 This is probably a reference to the story of Wang Hui-chih, son of Wang Hsi-chih, in *Shih-shuo hsin-yü* c.24.11th story: "When Wang Tzu-yu was cavalry aide to Huan Ch'ung, Huan said to him: What office do you have? He replied: I do not know what office. Sometimes I see horses being led along. It seems to be a groom's."

82 This follows the popular account that Tu Fu died at Lei-yang (in modern Hunan province) of an excess of food and wine, given in *Chiu Tang-shu*, c.190C.

83 This is founded on the opening sentence of Yang Hsiung's *Fa-yen*, c.2: Someone asked: "My son is young yet is fond of composing *fu* poems". The reply was: "Yes, children carve insects and cut seals", and abruptly: "Grown men do not do it".

84 Reference to the story told in *Chuang-tzu* c.24 to illustrate the gravity of Chuang-tzu's loss of his friend Hui Shih. The Carpenter Shih could remove a fine speck with his axe from the end of the nose of his friend, a man from Ying, but when his friend died he had no longer the material for the feat.

85 The *kun*, the giant fish which transforms into a huge bird (from *Chuang-tzu*, c.1) and the minnows observed by Chuang-tzu and his friend Hui Shih from the bridge at Hao represent Chang Fang-p'ing and Su respectively.

86 "Beautiful lines" is always a quotation from Tu Fu: it occurs in fact in eleven separate poems by him.

87 *Poems*, v.5, c.22.3a.

88 Han Yü (768–824).

89 *Poems*, v.5, c.22.2a.

For writing a model remains:
A seal-cutting labour for children.⁸³
Who now will be leader of literature?
Your Excellency must grasp the banner.
When I open the roll, I think of you from afar.
One who "knows the notes" is not met with twice.
The handling of the aces makes one think of the Ying⁸⁴ material;
The *kun*'s transformation makes the minnows humble at Hao.⁸⁵
I regret I have no beautiful lines,⁸⁶
When you have often favoured me with pure wine.
I carefully tend the yellow chrysanthemums
And do not let them be drowned by the wilderness.

So often, as has been seen already in some of our examples here, the great poets of the past are introduced so that a laudatory comparison may be made and an elegant compliment paid to the other person involved in a contemporary poetic exchange. It may be necessary to shut one's eyes to the extravagance of the compliment. Sometimes, however, Su Shih with his fondness for sharp, sarcastic teasing of his friends is not to be taken in all seriousness. For example:

How many men in the world imitate Tu Fu!
Yet who can achieve his skin, his bone?
We are segregated as though great Hu-shan stood before us,
Lame goats who want to climb but are alarmed by its steepness.
Famous pieces, fine words, match one another in abundance;
No one was so shrewdly aware of the nature of his times.
Only you are an incarnation of Tu Fu,
And everything you put your hand to is divine.⁸⁷

This is probably the most ample and generous sounding reference to Tu Fu in Su Shih's works and taken out of context it could be understood as the most exaggerated compliment to K'ung P'ing-chung who is the "you" of the last two lines. But account must be taken of the title: *Following the Rhymes of Five Poems Which K'ung I-fu Made by Collecting Lines from Old Poems Presented to Me*. The first of Su's series (of which the above is the third) makes his attitude clear.

I envy you playfully collecting other men's poems;
You beckon townsmen as if bidding children.
The wild goose at the sky's margin is not easy to get,
But you force it into a couplet with a domestic fowl.
T'ui-chih⁸⁸ laughs in surprise, while Tzu-mei weeps;
They ask when you will return what you borrowed for so long.
The good lines of the world are a common possession;
The bright moon fills a thousand courtyards.⁸⁹

Su Shi, in spite of thus elegantly twitting K'ung P'ing-chung, certainly himself subscribed to the belief that "the good lines of the world are a common possession" and he tends to exercise his appropriation of particular lines from Tu Fu and other poets on more than one occasion. Tu Fu's poem *Farewell to Abbot Tsan* provides one example with the lines:

This body of ours is like a drifting cloud.
How can it be limited to north or south?

When Su Shih takes these two complete lines and incorporates them in a poem of his own, what is his intention? Lines such as this are not an "allusion", requiring recognition of the source and surrounding context. Equally,

the appropriation can hardly be described as plagiarism, since the poet could not expect his highly literate readers not to recognise the original ownership. It is perhaps necessary to compare the complete poems.

*Farewell to Abbot Tsan*⁹⁰ reads:

The hundred streams flow daily eastward;
 An exile's course is equally unresting.
 Our life is miserably vagrant;
 When will there be an end?
 Our revered Tsan, though an elder Buddhist,
 Has been sent in banishment to the west;
 He has been involved again in the world's dust
 And wears very gloomy looks.
 Before, in the mornings he held willow twigs in his hand;⁹¹
 Now fruits and beans have both ripened.
 This body of ours is like a drifting cloud;
 How can it be limited to north or south?
 In a strange district I met an old friend
 And my first joy relieved my feelings.
 But in the frontier winter at the end of the world
 Hunger and cold are pressing at the close of the year.
 A country wind blows on my travelling robe;
 I am about to leave as the twilight darkens.
 My horse neighs, yearning for his former stable;
 The homing birds have all folded their wings.
 From old a place of meeting and parting,
 Before now it grew tall brambles.
 We see that we are both in our declining years;
 Whether we go or stay, we must strive hard.

Against Tu Fu's poem we may set a poem of Su Shih in which a farewell to a Buddhist priest is also the occasion, but here it is the priest, not the poet who is leaving. Apart from the inclusion of Tu Fu's two lines, there is a heavy borrowing from T'ao Yüan-ming's *Kuei-ch'ü-lai tz'u* (*Return Home!*).

When one lives within the universe,
 One may have some office as one comes and goes.
 If one is dispassionate and unmoved by anything,
 How will one's hundred years be completed?
 In hills and woods equally there are anxieties;
 Amid carriages and caps there can also be jollity.
 I have still not gone into retirement,
 How should you, master, seek for ease?
 The imperial city is filled with heroes,
 Who dispute the black and white of arguments.
 Who will say, face to face, I do not know
 The first principle of divine judgement?
 To what purpose indeed is your going there?
 A solitary moon will hang in the empty blue.
 This body of ours is like a floating cloud.
 How can it be limited to north or south?
 It come out from the hills essentially aimlessly,
 And when it has dropped rain, can return again.
 At Pearl Spring we have an old compact;
 When will you hang up your bottle and staff?

*In Farewell to the Ch'an Master Hsiao-pen on
 His Going to the Fa-yün Temple*⁹²

90 88/6/1.

91 Willow twigs were chewed by Buddhist monks to clean their teeth. The implication here is that earlier Abbot Tsan was living in his monastery in Ch'ang-an.

92 *Poems*, v.5, c.33.11a.

93 Cf. *Li-sao*, *Ch'u-tz'u* (SPPY ed.), 1.10a.

94 Which make their annual migrations between north and south.

95 Su himself at this time (1078) Prefect of Hsü-chou (former P'en-ch'eng).

96 The symbol of the enlightening power of the Buddha.

97 *Poems*, v.4, c.17.12b.

These two poems, while possessing some external similarities — they would both fall into the general category of poems of parting — are inwardly and essentially very different. The wandering and distress Tu Fu suffers have social and political causes and have thus a possible political solution. Though the tone of Su's poem is much quieter and less desperate it addresses itself to the larger and more difficult philosophical question of the significance of human actions. The "homelessness" of man is an abiding not a temporary condition. Tu Fu's words have been reset in a different context.

For both poems, Tu Fu's and Su Shih's, friendship, however, remains the essential frame. Friends moderate man's temporary or eternal exile. So, in another poem where we find Su adapting Tu Fu's "no north or south" idea rather than incorporating his actual lines, he is writing in gratitude for the arrival of the Buddhist monk Tao-ch'ien (Ts'an-liao), a friend for whom he felt the deepest affection and great admiration as a poet.

The monk's mind is mirror-clear;
 Ten thousand images arise and vanish without trace.
 He lives alone in an old temple where he plants autumn
 chrysanthemums;
 He seeks to follow the *sao*-poet in eating their fallen blossoms.⁹³
 In this world where is there north or south?
 Crowding are the wild geese,⁹⁴ how should they be remote?
 He shuts his door and sits in the hollow of his meditation couch;
 Over his head time vainly towers.
 This year by chance he goes out in search of the Law,
 And wants to apply a whetstone to the sword of his intellect.
 His cloud cassock newly mended so that a landscape appears;
 His frosty whiskers untrimmed so that children are startled.
 Princes would like to know him but cannot;
 He once knew life in the markets and he is no beauty.
 The autumn wind has stirred his dream to cross the Hui River;
 He imagines the oranges and pomeloes hanging in the empty courtyard.
 His friends are all in separate corners of the world;
 Yearning for one another, scattered like stars.
 The old Prefect of P'eng-ch'eng⁹⁵ is surely not worth a thought,
 But the date groves and mulberry fields invite him.
 Over a thousand hills he does not shrink from the remoteness
 of country inns;
 With his legs he seeks to follow the flying monkeys' lightness.
 He never stops polishing all manner of elegant words;
 Besides he has a poet's gentle feelings.
 The gibbons howl, the cranes cry, all unwitting;
 Unaware of the traveller passing below.
 The night rain on the deserted steps is clear and sharp;
 What makes us repress our feelings and lament our loneliness?
 I want to pluck precious herbs in the immortals' mountains;
 Emptying my basket to sit and sigh: when will it be full?
 Documents and whippings pile up in the daytime;
 Brewing tea and roasting chestnuts are truly an evening task.
 Please take the Mani pearl⁹⁶ to illuminate the muddy water;
 Together we shall watch the setting moon as its golden bowl slants.

*Following the Rhymes of a Poem Which the Monk
 (Tao)-ch'ien Presented to Me*⁹⁷

There are in fact several other reminiscences and adaptations of Tu Fu's poems here. The mention of the comic appearance of the monk's patched robe, although there is no actual verbal similarity is perhaps stimulated by Tu Fu's description of the mended clothes of his children in his famous *Journey North (Pei cheng)*.⁹⁸ Line 16 ("He imagines the oranges and pomeloes hanging in the empty courtyard") could certainly have come from the very similar third line in Tu Fu's *The Temple of Yü*.⁹⁹ The two closing lines of the poem are a rewriting of the last lines of Tu Fu's *To the Monk Lü-ch'iu from Shu*.¹⁰⁰

In the depths of the night I receive the gentle words;
The setting moon is like a golden bowl.
Boundless is the world's darkness;
Insatiable is the extent of its rapacity.
Only there is the Mani pearl,
Which can illumine the muddy spring.

These sorts of borrowings and adaptations are, I believe, to be distinguished very clearly from allusions. There is a difference of general and particular. An allusion is general and essentially fixed in its connotation since it has become an established unit of the literary coinage, even though the poet of genius can make an elegant variation in its usage. Besides all the possibilities for allusion that the vast surviving corpus of Chinese poetry offered to the poets of Northern Sung — and perhaps because of the rise and spread of the printed book they became truly conscious of the vastness — there were huge opportunities for particular "remakings". These, as I have said, required no knowledge of the original for the understanding of the new context, but given the nature of the audience the "remaking" is seldom likely to have gone unrecognized. If one speculates on the response which the poet might have expected from his audience, one may guess that the skillfulness and the appropriateness of the adaptation were the chief objects of admiration.

Such remakings by Su Shih were of course not confined to the poetry of Tu Fu. One may equally study his frequent adaptations of Po Chü-i, Han Yü and other major T'ang poets, but my observation suggests that Tu Fu (including Tu Fu in close association with Li Po) overweighs any other T'ang poet in effect upon Su Shih's work. This is, I believe, certainly not because Su admired Tu Fu or identified with him to anything like the same degree as (by his own statement) he admired T'ao Yüan-ming and felt an affinity for the latter when he was in the mood to reject the political society of his time. But Tu Fu was there, as he said in the poem for K'ung P'ing-chung quoted above, like a mountain before them all and the critical attention which Tu Fu was receiving contributed to this feeling. Tu Fu's works were readily available and much discussed. From any reading of Su's work one may be sure that he was no man to pay distant homage to a mountain. Rather one would expect him to ascend it and reduce its scale. Since even his hero T'ao Yüan-ming did not escape his teasing, one would expect him not to miss so grand a target as Tu Fu, and so I would say that his *Hsü Li-jen hsing* or *The Song of Fair Women Continued*¹⁰¹ cannot be absolved of literary malice. He after all chose to "continue" Tu Fu where Tu Fu has all his organ stops out. As he explains in his preface he is writing of a painting.

In Li Chung-mou's house there was the back view of a palace singing girl yawning and stretching, painted by Chou Fang.¹⁰² It was very skilful. I wrote this poem in jest.

98 48/3/3.

99 414/27/8.

100 106/7/5.

101 *Poems*, v.4, c.16.13a. My translation of Tu Fu's *Song of Fair Women* may be found in *Tu Fu* (Twayne Publishers, New York, 1971), p.37.

102 T'ang painter of human figures, particularly women, fl. late 8th–early 9th Ct.

103 Favourite resort of Hsüan-tsung and Yang Kuei-fei, where Li Po was summoned to compose poems.

104 Names of places in the state of Ch'u, which Sung Yü in *Teng-t'u tzu hao-se fu* (*Wen-hsüan*, c.19) described as liable to be beguiled by the charms of the daughter of his eastern neighbours.

105 Cf. Tu Fu, *Twenty-two Rhymes to His Excellency Left Secretary Wei* (a poem from which Su quotes or adapts many times): "After bestriding a donkey for ten years, / I lodged in the capital's spring. / In the mornings I knocked on rich men's doors; / In the evenings I followed in sleek horses' dust. (2/1/1)."

106 The model wife of the 1st Ct. A.D. recluse-scholar Liang Hung (biography in *Hou-Han shu*, c.113).

107 *Poems*, v.6, c.36.22a. Ch'uan-cheng is the courtesy-name of Wu An-shih.

In the depths of the palace with no companion, the spring day is long;
North of Deep Fragrance Pavilion,¹⁰³ every flower is fragrant.
The beauty arises from sleep and listlessly makes her toilet;
Swallows wheel, orioles cry, vainly breaking her heart.
The painter wanting to express an unending feeling,
Painted her with her back to the east wind, just roused from sleep.
If she turned her head, she'd be captivating,
And Yang-ch'eng and Hsia-ts'ai¹⁰⁴ would both be ruined.
The hungry traveller from Tu Ling's eyes long looked on cold;
On a lame donkey in a battered cap he followed golden saddles,¹⁰⁵
Across the flowers, by the stream he once had a sight of fair women,
But was only allowed to see their waists and limbs from behind.
His heart drunk he returned to his low thatched hut,
Then believing there were Hsi Shihs in the world.
Sir, have you not seen
Meng Kuang¹⁰⁶ raising the tray level with her brow?
How should she turn her back and weep in grief for spring?

Humour against fellow human beings always runs the risk of being cad-dish. In judging Su Shih it is necessary to understand that he clearly knew Tu Fu's work well and the brief and inadequate account of the older poet which appears in the dynastic histories of T'ang together with well-known anecdotes. He did not, so far as I can see, derive a living Tu Fu from his poetry and so Tu Fu remained for him the stereotype of the biographies and anecdotes. The poetry lived for him but the poet did not. It is noticeable that he seems carelessly to join the fair women of Tu Fu's pre-rebellion Ch'ang-an with the thatched hut of his Ch'eng-tu period.

This poem is about a painting and one of the links between Tu Fu and Su Shih, which cannot fail to attract notice is their poems on paintings. Tu Fu is credited with the inauguration of the *t'i-bua shih*. While Tu Fu's poems on painting, some twenty in number, form only a small part of his collected poems, whereas Su wrote a great many such poems, one may observe how frequently these contain some reference to Tu Fu or his poems. One or two examples may be cited.

First, a poem by Su which is not a *t'i-bua shih* but one in which he treats a favourite theme, the identity of the poet's and the painter's vision; it is entitled *Following the Rhymes of Wu Ch'uan-cheng's Song of the Withered Tree*.¹⁰⁷

The Lord of Heaven's ink-paintings are very fine;
Amid thin bamboos and dead pines he sketches the waning moon.
When I wake from dreaming, their scattered shadows are at my
eastern window;
I am startled at the frosty branches appearing night after night.
They form and break up in a snap of the fingers,
So I know that Creation was originally without any single thing.
From of old painting masters were no common men;
Their subtle ideas emerge just like poems.
The recluse of Lung-mien was originally a poet
And could make thunder fly from the Dragon Pool.
Although you are not a painter,
Your poetic eye is also skilled in recognizing and presenting.
In Lung-mien's breast there are a thousand four-horse teams;
He does not merely paint the flesh but the bone as well.
Only I should write for him Shao-ling poems,
Or I could take up with you a bald brush.

The landscape of the southeast calls me;
 Ten thousand images enter my Mani pearl.
 I'll distribute all my calligraphy and painting among my friends
 And only with my long sword go home.

Apart from the mention of Tu Fu by name (Shao-ling) there are no fewer than three references to poems on painting by Tu Fu here. First, Li Kung-lin (Lung-mien, 1049–1106), famous for paintings of horses is compared with his eminent T'ang predecessor Ts'ao Pa who by his painting "made the Dragon Pool for ten days let fly thunder", according to Tu Fu's *Seeing a Painting of a Horse by General Ts'ao Pa in the House of Registrar Wei Feng*.¹⁰⁸ Four lines later, again writing of Li Lung-mien, he adapts a famous line from Tu Fu's *Song of Painting: Presented to General Ts'ao Pa*,¹⁰⁹ in which Ts'ao Pa's pupil, the celebrated Han Kan, is said to have "only painted the flesh and not the bone". Then, after the suggestion that he should write Tu Fu-type poems he borrows from *Song of Wei Yen Painting Horses, Written upon the Wall* ("Lord Wei came to say goodbye, for he was going far away./He knew I admired his unequalled painting,/And in jest took a bald brush and stroked out a Hua-liu.")¹¹⁰ And although one may trace the source of the last line back to the songs of complaint of Feng Hsüan in the biography of the Lord of Meng-ch'ang in *Shih-chi*, c.75,¹¹¹ one must note that there is a nearer source in Li Po's poem, *At Wu-sung shan (Five Pines Hill) To Ch'ang, Assistant Magistrate of Nan-ling*.¹¹²

It is extremely interesting to find Su Shih here urging himself to write "Shao-ling poems" to accompany Li Kung-lin's paintings, showing perhaps that he had come near to classifying Tu Fu's poems as models for a particular subject. We can indeed produce an example of Su Shih writing a poem referring to a horse-painting by Li Kung-lin, which might fairly be described as following the Tu Fu model. In Su Shih's works it is entitled *Following the Rhymes of Tzu-yu's "Written on Han Kan's Horses in the Collection of Li Po-shih"*,¹¹³ but his brother Su Ch'e's original poem appears under the title of *Han Kan's "Three Horses"*. In fact, four other persons, Su Sung (1020–1101), Huang T'ing-chien (1045–1105), Liu Pin (1022–1088) and Wang Ch'in-ch'en also wrote poems following Su Ch'e's rhymes.¹¹⁴ Li was an inveterate copyist as well as a collector and I presume that when Su Shih wrote of Li's "heavenly horses" here, he is referring to Li's copy of Han Kan's original painting. Besides the reminiscences once again of Tu Fu's *Song of Painting* he gives his poem a Tu Fu touch with the insertion of *Chün pu chien* before the final couplet.

A curtain of cloud hangs over the secluded old house;
 The official documents are like tangled threads.
 Suddenly I see the "heavenly horses" painted by Po-shih;
 The northern air and Tartar sands are created by his falling brush-tip.
 The "heavenly horses" come from the western limits;
 Their power disputes pride of speed with the setting sun.
 With dragon breasts and leopard legs they stand eight feet high;
 Their spiritedness is not subject to a human halter.
 With whom, though the Tiger-spine of Yüan-shou¹⁵ might be
 compared,
 The Jade-flower (Dapple) of K'ai-yüan¹¹⁶ would seem unremarkable.
 Po-shih possesses the way and truly lives a hermit in office;¹¹⁷
 In his eating and drinking he does not envy the mountain hen
 pheasant.¹¹⁸
 He plies his brush at painting and that's enough for him.
 His ideas reach ten thousand *li*; who can know them?

108 118/8/6.

109 121/8/1.

110 106/7/7. Hua-liu typifies a splendid horse.

111 English translation available in *The Golden Casket* (Penguin Books, 1967; translated by C. Levenson from the original German version of W. Bauer and H. Franke, *Die Goldene Truhe*, Carl Hauser Verlag, Munich, 1959).

112 *Li T'ai-po ch'üan-chi*, c.12.7a.

113 *Poems*, v.5, c.28.15b.

114 They are conveniently located in the *Ch'i-ch'eng* edition with Su Shih's poem.

115 The "heavenly horse" which came from the west and had a double tiger-spine (the blood-sweating horse of Ferghana is said to have been born in Yüan-shou 3 = 122 B.C.) in *Han shu*, c.22 (*Li-yüeh chih*).

116 The horse painted by Ts'ao Pa, described in Tu Fu's *Song of Painting*.

117 Li Kung-lin passed the *chin-shih* examination but received a succession of comparatively low ranking posts.

118 This rather odd-sounding line seems to have been framed from the freedom-enjoying pheasant of *Chuang-tzu*. c.3 (Harvard-Yenching Institute Sinological Series Suppl. 20, p.8.1.14) who takes one peck in ten paces and one sip in a hundred. The *Chuang-tzu* "marsh-pheasant", however, has been replaced by the "mountain-ridge hen-pheasant" of *Lun-yü* 10.18.

119 The “you” is Su Ch’e who had written in his poem: “In painting horses one does not merely paint the horses’ skin. The painting brings out the things that were in the three horses’ breasts”.

120 i.e. Han Kan.

121 *Poems*, v.5, c.23.17b.

122 142/10/15 (*Song of Our Friendship*).

123 *Poems*, v.3, c.4.2a.

Kan only painted the flesh and did not paint the bone;
Still more he lost the substance and vainly kept the skin.
May I ask you to expound “the things in their breasts”,¹¹⁹
With fine words to send them to tell him below the Yellow Springs.¹²⁰
Have you not seen
That Master Han himself said there is nothing to learn from a master;
The ten thousand horses in the stables are our teachers.

This elegant tribute to Li Kung-lin who was famous for his drawing from life seems to have been not unjustified.

In writing of paintings Su Shih, in spite of the terrible teasing of *Song of Fair Women Continued*, was perhaps most in tune with Tu Fu and could catch a little of the exuberance that the older poet possessed in much greater abundance. It may be appropriate then to note as a final example the poem which is headed “In Kuo Hsiang-cheng’s house I painted bamboos and rocks on the wall in my cups. Kuo wrote a poem to thank me and also gave me two ancient bronze swords”.

When the wine reached my empty stomach a sharp flash was emitted;
My inner organs in ferment produced bamboos and rocks.
With a massive urge to create, I could not turn back,
And spat them out on your snow-white wall.
All my life I have loved poetry and painting besides.
I have long been scolded for writing on walls and soiling plaster.
So I am abundantly glad not to have been glared at or abused.
Where in the world is another like you?
The pair of bronze swords shine like autumn waters;
The two new poems rival the swords’ sharpness.
The swords are on their stand, the poem is in my hand.
I don’t know which will make the dragon roar.¹²¹

In this poem Su seems infected momentarily by the spirit of movement and force that is so widely apparent in Tu Fu’s poetry and appropriately the last few words are adapted from Tu Fu.¹²² Generally, the movement and force are replaced by philosophy, humour and cleverness.

It is finally in his love of wit and brilliance that Su Shih found a special appeal in Tu Fu’s poetry, particularly in his seven-word *li-shih* poems. One cannot illustrate this by exact comparison but anyone who comes from reading Tu Fu’s *ch’i-li* to those of Su Shih cannot fail to be conscious of how well he learned the techniques of his old master.

Here is an early example from 1062, where Su’s debt to Tu Fu is too patently, even painfully obvious:

At Ch’i-yang in the ninth month there was a slight fall of snow,
Which has brought sadness to my year-end feelings.
Short days usher in the cold while washing-sticks beat fast
on their stones;
In my deserted office I have no business in the midst of all
the houses;
Can the melancholy after our parting be dispelled by wine?
White hairs since autumn have climbed above my hairpin.
Recently I bought a sable robe and can go out of the passes,
For I suddenly thought to go with the courier and seek
the Western treasures.

On the Twentieth Day of the Ninth Month There Was a Slight

*Fall of Snow and I Thought of my Brother Tzu-yu, I.*¹²³124 *Poems*, v.4, c.9.8a.

If one overlooks the borrowings from *Spring Yearning* (*Ch'un wang*) and *Autumn Thoughts* (*Ch'iu hsing*), which, since they are such solemn and "universal" works by Tu Fu, one feels ought to be left inviolate by a prentice hand, one can certainly see an incipient mastery of the Tu Fu technique of striking parallelism in the third and fourth and fifth and sixth lines.

An examination, such as I have undertaken here, is by its very nature bound to bear a little hardly on the later comer. It may then be fair to end with a Su Shih seven-word *liu-shih* at which one could imagine Tu Fu smiling in complete approbation of its fine lines.

The east wind knows that I am about to travel in the hills;
It blows away the continuous rain squalls from the eaves,
On the peaks fine-weather clouds set their cotton caps;
In the tree-tops the early sun hangs its bronze gong.
Wild peaches smile over low bamboo fences;
Stream willows wave over clear pebbled streams.
The Western-Hill families should be the happiest,
Boiling cress and bamboo-shoots to provision their spring ploughmen.

*On the Road to Hsin-ch'eng, I.*¹²⁴

This paper first appeared in the *Proceedings of the International Conference on Sinology* 第一屆國際漢學會議論文集 文學組, Institute of History and Philology, (Taipei: Academia Sinica, 1981) pp.471–498.

ON SUCH A NIGHT: A CONSIDERATION OF THE ANTECEDENTS OF THE MOON IN SU SHIH'S WRITINGS

 A.R. Davis

Any anthology of the *shih-poetry* of Su Shih (1037–1101) will select at least one of the three poems which he wrote for the mid-autumn moon of 1078; any anthology of his *tz'u* poems will certainly contain the “Water Music” of the mid-autumn of 1076. The list of Su Shih’s inspiration from the moon may be lengthened, but these indisputably famous works alone would suffice as testimony to the potent magic of moonlight for him. If one risks the word “inspiration”, one must limit it to the sense of an immediate cause. For Su Shih was in great part working with a diction and a style of treatment which a long tradition had formed for him. It is with the tracing and examination of this tradition that this paper is concerned.

The particular treatment of the mid-autumn moon naturally embraces much of the general Chinese vision of the moon. It is necessary, therefore, to show something of the sources of the conventions for representing the moon at any season as well as looking at the traditions for celebrating the mid-autumn. I hesitate to add the word “festival” and I must explain why. In books which describe Chinese festivals in their recent form one may find the Mid-Autumn Festival standing with other annual festivals as a regular part of the moon-year.¹ Since my concern is with literature, I make no attempt in general to join in the speculation on the possible antiquity and origins of the Mid-Autumn Festival, but I believe that I can state that in the literary tradition the fifteenth of the eighth month of the lunar calendar is a later arrival than the Double Third and Double Ninth. These latter are well-established festal days to be celebrated with poems in the period between Han and T’ang, but the Mid-Autumn is not. It is significant that the T’ang encyclopedias which draw so much of their material from the pre-T’ang period, as well as the *T’ai-p’ing yü-lan* of the beginning of Sung, do not include entries for the fifteenth of the eighth month. This day, or rather night, seems only to become established in the poet’s calendar during the T’ang period. A Sung writer named Chu Pien (d. 1148; he was uncle to the great Neo-Confucian

1 See e.g. J. Bredon and I. Mitrophanow, *The Moon Year* (Kelly & Walsh, Shanghai, 1937), pp.397 ff; Derk Bodde (trs.), *Annual Customs and Festivals in Peking* as recorded in the *Yenching Sui-shih-chi* by Tun Li-ch’en (Henri Vetch: Peking, 1936; 2nd revised ed., Hong Kong University Press, 1968), pp.64–68; Wolfram Eberhard, *Chinese Festivals* (Henry Schuman, New York, 1952), pp.97 ff.

2 c.8.2a-b (*Chib pu tsu ch'ai ts'ung-shu*, repr. Ku-shu liu-t'ung ch'u, Shanghai, 1921). This reference has been extracted in Hua Wen-hsüan (ed.), *Tu Fu chüan*, 1st part (Chung-hua shu-chü, Peking, 1964), Vol.2, p.400, but it was Yoshikawa Kōjirō's article "To Ho to tsuki" (Tu Fu and the Moon), first published in *Chūgoku Bungaku Hō* XVII (1962), pp.38-44 and reprinted in his collection *Shi to Gekkō* (Poetry and Moonlight; Chikuma Shobō, 1964), which called my attention to it.

3 *Ch'üan T'ang-shih* (Chung-hua shu-chü ed., 1960), Vol.2, p.729 contains two short "Mid-autumn moon poems" (*Chung-ch'iu yüeh*).

4 *Ch'u-tz'u pu-chu* (Ssu-pu pei-yao ed.), c.8.6a.

5 *T'ien wen*, 11.33-36 (*Ch'u-tz'u pu-chu*, c.3.4a). In my translation I have followed the proposal of Chiang Liang-fu in his *Ch'ü Yüan fu chiao-chu* (Jen-min wen-hsüeh ch'u-pan she, Peking, 1957), pp.284-85 to understand the *li* (profit) of the third line of the transmitted text as *li* (black) and to read *erb ku* in the next line in the sense of *erb nai*. What results seems to me a simpler and more satisfactory reading of this section than the traditional reading according to the Han commentary of Wang I or the reading of Wen I-to who through a long argument (see *T'ien wen shih t'ien*, *Wen I-to ch'üan-chi*, K'ai-ming shu-tien, 1948, Vol.2, pp.328-33) in fact turns the hare into the toad who is the hare's companion in the moon. David Hawkes, *The Songs of the South* (Oxford University Press, 1959), is presumably following Wen I-to when he translates: "What does it advantage it to keep a frog in its belly?"

6 Like much of Chang Heng's work, the *Ling hsien* only exists in partial reconstruction from fragments gathered from quotations; see Yen K'o-chün, *Ch'üan Hou-Han wen*, c.55.5b.

7 By Fu Hsüan (217-78); fragment quoted in *T'ai-p'ing yü-lan*, c.4.11b. *I-wen lei-chü*, c.1.6a has the same quotation and gives the author apparently erroneously as Hsüan's son, Fu Hsien (239-94).

8 c.7 (Liu Wen-tien, *Huai-nan bung-lieh chi-chieh* 3a). The moon with hare and toad appears in the top left corner (matching the sun with its crow in the top right) of the now famous T-shaped painted banner which was found, draped over the inner coffin of the wife of one of the Marquises of Tai (2nd century B.C.), excavated at Ma-wang-tui, Changsha, Hunan in 1972 (illustrated in *China Reconstructs* XXI.9; September 1972).

philosopher Chu Hsi, 1130-1200) in his *Ch'ü-yu chiu wen*² places the beginning of the tradition with Tu Fu (712-770). While one must take away the historical priority from Tu Fu and give it on the evidence I have seen thus far to an earlier minor T'ang poet Li Ch'iao (645-?714),³ if one has regard for the greatness of Tu Fu's influence, Chu Pien's statement may not be substantially incorrect. A poet who was very important in carrying forward the tradition was Tu Fu's admirer, Po Chü-i (772-846). We should first, however, look on earlier appearances of the moon and begin at the beginning with the *Book of Songs*. In fact, I would say that the *Book of Songs* contributed very little to the conventions of Chinese moon poems. Yet being what it is, the first anthology of Chinese poetry and later one of the books which Confucianism made canonical, there was always the possibility of a kind of nodding reference, in particular to *Songs* 99 and 143. Both of these are love-songs and the moon may have a symbolic value here, though in the first case it would represent the beauty of the lover, while in the second, rather more appropriately, the beauty of the beloved. Whether this is really so or not, the Han Confucianists turned these love-songs into a quite different symbolism of ruler and minister, and as such they were less useful in the tradition of moon poems, which began thereafter to grow.

When we come to the second corpus of Chinese poetry in the *Ch'u-tz'u*, which contains work from the third century B.C. to the second century A.D., the moon has now acquired its conventional epithet of "bright" and also something of its overtones of melancholy which will become apparent in the tradition I am tracing here; e.g. in the third poem of the series *Chiu pien*: "I look up at the bright moon and deeply sigh".⁴ But besides these beginnings of emotional colouring, we also find in the *Ch'u-tz'u*, in the *T'ien wen*, a work which propounds questions on the apparent riddles of the universe, mention of certain of the characteristics and of the fauna of the moon, which were to become constant reference in later moon poems.

What power has the Night Brightness?

When it dies it grows again.

What are its dark marks?

They are simply the hare in its belly.⁵

Even if the *T'ien wen* were younger than its traditional dating in the beginning of the third century B.C., the list of the fauna and other inhabitants of the moon is largely completed by the second century A.D. in the Han works, *Huai-nan tzu* and *Ling hsien*. The former was produced by Liu An, prince of Huai-nan, and his court in the later part of the second century B.C. and the latter by Chang Heng (A.D.78-139).⁶ Besides the *T'ien wen*'s hare, which in a third century A.D. imitation of the *T'ien wen*⁷ is said to pound drugs of immortality, there is another animal, a toad. In the *Huai-nan tzu*⁸ the toad in the moon appears as a counterpart to the three-legged crow in the sun, while in the *Ling hsien* toad and hare appear together and are described as being produced from the concentrated essence of the *yin*, of which the moon itself is made. They are thus a very reasonable part-for-whole substitute and so they are already found to be functioning in the seventeenth of the anonymous series of Han lyrics, the *Nineteen Old Poems*:

On the fifteenth night the bright moon is full;

On the twentieth night the toad and hare are waning.⁹

From here on they are used singly or together in moon poems as recurrent vocabulary.

The *Huai-nan tzu* also provides us with a moon goddess, Heng O (later more commonly Ch'ang O), who stole the drug of immortality which her husband, the archer I (famous for his removal of nine of the original ten suns when they came out together and threatened to burn up the world) had obtained from Hsi-wang-mu, fled to the moon and became moon essence.¹⁰ The final recurring feature of moon poems and moon legends may also have found mention in the *Huai-nan tzu*, viz. the cassia tree. The *T'ai-p'ing yü-lan*¹¹ quotes: "In the moon there is a cassia tree" as coming from that source, but I have not located this in the current text. Next in time to this possibly unreliable reference seems to come the statement in a fragment of the *An t'ien lun* by the Eastern Chin scholar Yü Hsi: "In popular tradition there are an immortal (*hsien-jen*) and a cassia tree in the moon. Now when one observes the moon beginning to grow, the immortal's foot gradually takes shape and the cassia tree grows afterwards."¹² The immortal is inevitably equated with the Sisyphus-like Wu Kang who is condemned for ever to chop the cassia tree which ever grows again. Wu Kang's name and story are found in the ninth century *Yu-yang tsa-tsu*¹³ by Tuan Ch'eng-shih. The earliest reference in Chinese poetry to the Wu Kang story, which has been noticed, is in Tu Fu's poem for his wife *In the Moonlight on the Hundred and Fifth Night*.

I have no family on Cold Food eve,
But I have tears like silver waves.
Since there is one who chops the moon's cassia,
Its clear light ought to be yet brighter.
In separation she puts off her red flowers;
I imagine how she wrinkles her dark brows.
The Herdboy and the Maid idly have sad thoughts;
In autumn time they still will cross the River.¹⁴

The suggestion of renewal and immortality in all this cannot fail to be remarked. Yet just as in the case of the similar associations of the Double Ninth which I have studied elsewhere,¹⁵ intimations of immortality seem most generally to invoke a sense of poignant melancholy in the Chinese poet. Sadness is immediately apparent in Poem XIX of the *Nineteen Old Poems*, written probably sometime in the first or second century A.D., which stand at the beginning of the development of the regular *shih*-poem which leads to High T'ang and beyond.

The bright moonlight, how it gleams!
It lights up my gauze bed-curtains.
In my melancholy I cannot sleep,
But pull on my clothes, get up and pace.
Though the wanderer's travels be happy,
It would be better if he soon returned.
I go out and walk to and fro alone;
To whom shall I tell my sad thoughts?
I strain my gaze, then go back into my room;
My tears fall damp upon my robe.¹⁶

This untitled poem ought, I think, to find a place in any anthology of Chinese moon poems. For it contains two of the constantly recurring features of such poems: sleeplessness and grief at separation. This *Old Poem* indeed seems to have established a theme which many of the leading poets of the next two centuries treated. Here I shall quote only one example by Ts'ao P'i (187–226), which stresses homesickness, as this too is especially prominent in the tradition of moon poems.

9 For text see Sui Shu-sen, *Ku-shih shih-chiu shou chi-shih* (Chung-hua shu-chü, Peking, 1955), p.25.

10 c.6 (ed. cit., 16b). The identification of Heng O as I's wife derives from the note of the second century A.D. commentator Kao Yu on this passage.

11 c.957.5a.

12 Quoted in *Tai-p'ing yü-lan*, c.4.10a. Yü Hsi (fl. 1st half of 4th cent.) has a brief biography in *Chin shu* c.91.

13 c.1.10a (*Chin-tai pi-shu*, repr. Po-ku chai, Shanghai, 1922).

14 Harvard-Yenching Institute Sinological Index Series, Supplement no.14, 296/19/11; cf. Davis, *Tu Fu* (Twayne Publishers, New York, 1971), p.43.

15 "The Double Ninth Festival in Chinese Poetry" in Chow Tse-tsung (ed.), *Wen-lin* (University of Wisconsin Press, 1966).

16 Sui Shu-sen, *op.cit.*, p.27.

17 The Milky Way of which the westward movement indicates the approach of dawn.

18 Names of constellations, which here will also indicate the coming of dawn by allusion to *Song* 21.

19 For text see *Wen-hsüan*, c.29.19a (Ssu-pu ts'ung-k'an ed.).

20 Two of the seven poets grouped as the masters of the Chien-an period (A.D. 196–219). Both died in 217 which will set the date for Hsieh Chuang's imagined context, although he was clearly not concerned with precise chronology (see note 23).

21 Showing the season to be autumn, as does conventionally the following "white dew".

22 These are the "moon poems" of the *Book of Songs*, as pointed out above.

23 Courtesy-name of Wang Ts'an (177–217). Ts'ao Chih wrote a funeral elegy for Wang Ts'an (see *Wen hsüan*, c.56), which gives the date of his death as the 24th day *wu-shen* of the first month of Chien-an 22. There is a minor error in the text here: the 24th day would have been *wu-wu*; the *wu-shen* day would have been the 14th. Thus Wang Ts'an died on 7 or 17 February 217 so that Hsieh Chuang in making his imaginary attribution strays just outside the limits of Wang Ts'an's life.

24 Wang Ts'an was a native of Kao-p'ing hsien in Shan-yang commandery (S.W. of modern Yen-chou, Shantung).

25 These periphrases for "earth" and "heaven" respectively derive from the Pseudo K'ung An-kuo commentary's definitions of these phrases in the *Hung Fan* (Great Plan) chapter of the *Book of Documents*, which is the source of other parts of the poet's description here.

26 i.e. the usual *yin-yang* dualism of sun and moon.

27 The Fu-sang in the extreme east is the "sunrise" tree by which the sun climbs to the heavens.

28 The Jo Tree is the counterpart "sunset" tree in the extreme west, with the reflected light of which the moon is here said to rise. The knowledge that the light of the moon is reflected from the sun was established in China long before Hsieh Chuang's time, see Needham, *Science and Civilisation in China*, Vol.III (Cambridge University Press, 1959), p.227. From here on the poet writes only of the moon.

Drawn-out, the autumn night is long;
Biting, the northern wind is cold.
Tossing and turning, I cannot sleep;
Throwing on my clothes, I get up and pace.
I look down at the clear stream's waves;
I look up at the bright moon's light.
The Heavenly Han¹⁷ turns and flows west;
The Three and Five¹⁸ are spread across the sky.
The insects in the plants, how mournfully they drone!
A solitary wild goose alone soars southward.
Anxious am I with many sad thoughts;
Continuously I think of my old home.
Though I wish to fly, how can I find wings?
When I want to cross, the River has no bridge.
Facing the wind, I heave long sighs,
Which shatter my heart within me.¹⁹

Ts'ao P'i's poem has no precise title but like other poems which I believe to be descended from *Old Poem* XIX is headed simply *tsa-shih* ("Miscellaneous Poem"). We may turn from it to a piece of which there cannot be the smallest doubt of its belonging to the tradition and which was certainly in Su Shih's mind when he wrote his first Red Cliff *fu* in 1082. *The Moon* by Hsieh Chuang (421–466) is formally a descriptive *fu*-poem, but, as will be seen, has a strongly lyrical quality. He gives it an imaginary setting more than two hundred years before his own time in the palace of Ts'ao Chih (192–232), the younger brother of Ts'ao P'i whose poem we have just seen.

When the King of Ch'en first mourned for Ying Ch'ang and Liu Chen,²⁰ in his solemn grief he remained for a long time idle. Green moss grew about his pavilions; fragrant dust settled in his arbours. Grieving and distressed, to the middle of the night he was without pleasure. But then he had the orchid paths cleared, the cassia garden put in order. He climbed the cold hills to play the pipes; he stayed his canopy on the autumn slope. Gazing down on the deep valleys, his distress ranged far; ascending the high crests his grief reached wide. At this time, the slanting Han lay in the eastern quarter and the sun had changed its northern orbit for its southern.²¹ White dew clouded the air; bright moonlight flowed from the sky. The Ch'i air (*Song* 99) was sung in deep tones; the Ch'en song (*Song* 143) was carefully performed.²² Brushes and tablets were brought out and Chung-hsüan²³ commanded to compose.

Chung-hsüan knelt and declared:

I, obscure and insignificant, from the eastern wilds,²⁴
Grew up in the midst of hills and woods.
Ignorant of the Way and dull of learning,
I have unworthily received your enlightened favour.
I have heard that after the Deep and Hidden was duly formed
And the High and Clear was laid out.²⁵
The sun was endued with light force;
The moon with a dark spirit.²⁶
The one took the light of the Fu-(sang) at the Eastern Pool;²⁷
The other took on the Jo Tree's blossoms at the Western Abyss,²⁸
Leading the black hare to its imperial terrace,
And settling the pale (Heng) O in its imperial palace.
Its first and last quarters warn of deficiency;
Its beginning and fullness teach compliance.

In accord with the signs it diffuses its light;
 In conjunction with the stars gives moisture and wind.
 It increases the brilliance of the (Three) Terraces house;²⁹
 It extends the radiance of Hsüan-yüan's palace.³⁰
 When it projected its brightness, the work of Wu prospered;³¹
 When it sent down its essence, the way of Han was smooth.³²

Now when the air is clear to Earth's edges
 And clouds are gathered to the sky's end;
 When on Tung-t'ing waves begin to rise
 And trees' leaves start to fall;³³
 When chrysanthemums scatter their sweetness on the hill-tops;
 Wild geese spread sadness over the River's shallows;
 The moon raises its remote pure essence
 And sends down its soft clear rays.
 The arrayed stars hide their beauty;
 The Long River conceals its radiance.
 The soft earth stiffens as with snow;
 The round sky mirrors like water.
 The line of pavilions are frost-white;
 Their surrounding steps are ice-clear.
 The prince wearies of daytime pleasures
 And delights in night-time banquets.
 The beautiful dances are ended,
 The clear hanging jades silent.
 He quits the candle-lit chamber
 And goes to the moonlight hall.
 Fragrant wine is brought in;
 Sounding lutes set out.

Now when the cool night of itself is sad
 And the wind-blown bamboos make a tune,
 No dear friend is by me;
 A solitary traveller, I go on and on.
 I hear the marsh bird's³⁴ cry;
 Listen to Tartar flutes' autumn note.
 Then I tune the stringed board
 And choose an appropriate mode.
 Full of doubt is "Prepared Against the Dew";³⁵
 Melancholy is "The Sun Slope".³⁶
 The moaning trees cease to sound
 The eddying pool stills its waves.
 My feelings so fretful to whom may I tell?
 Complaining to the bright moon, I draw out my song.
 I sing:

The fair one has gone;
 News is cut off.
 Separated by a thousand *li*,
 We share the bright moon.
 Facing the wind, I sigh;
 How shall I stop?
 Rivers and roads are long
 And cannot be passed over.

Before my song's notes are ended,

29 Name of a constellation formed of six paired stars (in Ursa Major), see Ho Peng Yoke (trs.), *The Astronomical Chapters of the Chin Shu* (Mouton, Paris & The Hague, 1966), p.80.

30 A group of seventeen stars in Leo and Lynx, see Ho Peng Yoke, *ibid.*, p.93.

31 The "work of Wu" was the struggle of the Wu state under the Sun family to succeed to the empire of Han. There is a story told in Chang Po's *Wu lu*, quoted in Li Shan's commentary to this piece in the *Wen-hsüan*, that when Sun Tse (175–200) was born his mother dreamed that the moon entered her bosom.

32 Li Shan refers this line to the empress of the Former Han emperor Yüan (reg. 48–33 B.C.), of whom it is similarly recorded in her biography in *Han shu*, c.98 that her mother dreamed of the moon entering her bosom. There seems, however, finally some inappropriateness in this. While not herself condemned by historians, this empress *née* Wang was the aunt of Wang Mang who usurped the Han dynasty and made himself emperor of a short-lived Hsin dynasty in A.D.9. She herself survived until A.D.13 and also had her Han titles changed. On the other hand, as already seen, Hsieh Chuang is not closely concerned with history.

33 These two lines are a near quotation from *Ch'u-tz'u*, *Chiu ko*, *Hsiang fu-jen* (*Ch'u-tz'u pu-chu*, c.2.8a): "Softly blows the autumn wind; / On Tung-t'ing there are waves, tree leaves fall".

34 Identified as the crane by reference to *Song* 184: "The crane cries in the Nine Marshes".

35 *Fang lu* is equated with the *Fang lu* (written with *fang* "to guard against") which appears in the *Wen fu* of Lu Chi (261–303; *Wen-hsüan*, c.17.10a) and in the *Shan chü fu* of Hsieh Ling-yün (385–433; *Sung shu*, c.67, Chung-hua shu-chü ed. p.1762). In the latter case Hsieh's own comment improbably identifies it with the *Ch'i Chien* of the *Ch'u-tz'u*, which are ascribed to the Former Han courtier and writer Tung-fang Shuo. Hsieh Chuang could of course have thought it to have this provenance.

36 This second ancient tune occurs in three references in *Huai-nan tzu* (Liu Wen-tien, *Huai-nan hung-lieb chi-chieh*, 2.19a; 16.17a; 18.25a).

37 The whole of the last two sections follow the form and echo the diction of the *Chiu ko* (Nine Songs) of the *Ch'u-t'zu*.

38 Text in *Wen-hsüan*, c.13. The piece is included in Ch'ü Shui-yüan's *Han Wei Liu-ch'ao fu hsüan* 11 (Chung-hua shu-chü, 1964), pp.183–89 with extensive annotations which provide a virtually line-by-line interpretation in modern Chinese.

39 *Li T'ai-po ch'üan-chi* (Ssu-pu pei-yao ed.), c.6. 9b–10a.

40 "Enjoying the Moon in the Official Residence at the West Gate" (*Wen-hsüan*, c.30.13b; *Yü-t'ai hsin-yung*, c.4. 3b, Ssu-pu pei-yao ed.; cf. Ch'ien Chung-lien, *Pao Ts'an-chün chi chu*, Ku-tien wen-hsüeh ch'u-pan she, Shanghai, 1958, pp.185–87).

41 Tu Fu wrote poems for the moonlight of the following two nights; for translations see William Hung, *Tu Fu: China's Greatest Poet* (Harvard University Press, 1952), pp.247–48.

The whole hall's appearance changes;
The last beams are gone.
I am disconsolate as if suffering loss.

I sing again:

The moon has set;
The dew begins to dry.
The year is almost ended,
But there is none with whom to go home.
At a lucky time I may return,
But light frost will soak my robe.³⁷

The King of Ch'en said: "Excellent". He ordered his officers to reward him with a present of a jade ring. "I honour your jade sounds and repeat them without wearying."³⁸

Hsieh Chuang's *The Moon* was very influential, almost one might say definitive, for subsequent poems on the moon. In it he confirms the chilliness, the melancholy, the restlessness, the associations of separation and homesickness, that were present in the first two poems quoted. He establishes the conceit of moonlight as snow or frost, which recurs again and again in the tradition and of which I suppose the most famous example is Li Po's quatrain:

Before my bed the bright moon's light;
I wonder is it frost upon the ground.
I raise my head and gaze at the bright moon;
I lower my head and think of my old home.³⁹

Still more, he gave expression to the thought that the moon's light joins the separated. "Separated by a thousand *li*, / We share the bright moon" is his greatest gift to the expression of emotion in moon poetry. To decide with certainty on priority of expression is in the nature of classical Chinese poetry very difficult, and in this case there is in fact a quite similar expression in a poem by Hsieh's close contemporary Pao Chao (ca. 420–466), *viz.* "Three Five and Two Eight time (i.e. the fifteenth and sixteenth nights of the month), / Over a thousand *li* I share with you."⁴⁰ I believe, however, that although Hsieh Chuang may have been generally a less well-known poet than Pao Chao, his *Moon* was especially famous, and is perhaps more likely to have been the source from which many variants of this expression flowed.

Though autumn is the season of Hsieh Chuang's piece and of many of the other moon-gazing poems which become quite common in the works of fifth and sixth century poets, the establishment of the mid-autumn moon in the poet's calendar, as I have said earlier, does not seem to have become firm until T'ang. Even Tu Fu, from whom, as we have seen the tradition has been traced, has left only two poems, written on the same occasion, the mid-autumn moon of 767.⁴¹ Here the poet appears to be solitary.

I

Filling my gaze, flies the bright mirror;
My homesick heart is pierced by a great sword.
Tumbled thistledown, I have travelled the length of the earth;
To grasp the cassia, I gaze at Heaven's height.
The river way, I wonder whether frost or snow;
On their woodland perches I can see the birds.
When at this time I gaze at the white hare,
I'd just like to count its autumn hairs.

II

Gradually it descends into the Wu Gorge,
 Yet still enfolds the White Emperor's City.
 As its force sinks, the whole strand is dark;
 As its orb slants, half the upper storey is bright.
 The soldiers' pots all urge on the dawn;
 The toad of itself in a while will disappear.
 Bows are drawn by the light of the last rays
 And not in the encampments of the Han people alone.⁴²

In these two poems entitled simply "The Moon of the Fifteenth Night of the Eighth Month" Tu Fu has included much of the conventional reference, the hare, the toad and the cassia tree (the last with a *double entendre* to suggest the capital to which he seeks to return), the common frost-or-snow conceit and the frequent association of homesickness.⁴³ But on the side of originality, in the first poem he emphasizes the brilliance of the moonlight with the suggestion that he could count the fine hairs upon the moon's hare, and he turns the second poem to his own abiding concern with the continuance of the fighting which had brought so much suffering to his country and its people.

The catalogue of mid-autumn moon poems begins to grow after Tu Fu, but no poet offers more than one or two poems until we reach Po Chü-i (772-846). Po Chü-i's poetry collection is of course the largest of the T'ang period, so that we might in any case expect it to offer the best view of poems on a festal theme. It is quite clear by Po Chü-i's day that the mid-autumn moon should be enjoyed in company. For in a quatrain for this night in 805 he calls his friends to join him in viewing the moon at the Hua-yang Monastery in Ch'ang-an.

Men say that at mid-autumn the bright moon is fair;
 What if I want to invite you to enjoy it with me?
 In Hua-yang's grotto, on the autumn altar,
 This night's pure light is most abundant here.⁴⁴

Nevertheless, the majority of Po's mid-autumn poems speak not of companionship but separation. In the circumstance of Chinese official life close friends were often parted, but the growing tradition of mid-autumn poems, to which Po Chü-i's own poems added, had its emphasis set on separation. On the mid-autumn night of 810 as he worked in the Han-lin, he thought of Yüan Chen (779-831), the dearest of his friends, who the year before had been banished to Chiang-ling in modern Hupeh province.

On Silver Terrace, in Golden Pavilion the night is deep.
 I pass the night alone, with thoughts of you, in the Han-lin.
 On Three Five Night, new moonlight;
 Over two thousand *li*, old friends' feelings.
 On the Shore Palace's eastern face the misty waves will be cold;
 On the Pool Hall's western side the clock's drops are deep.⁴⁵
 Still I fear we do not share a view of the clear light;
 Chiang-ling's low damps may be in autumn gloom.⁴⁶

Po's variation on Hsieh Chuang's "Separated by a thousand *li*, / We share the bright moon" in the third and fourth lines was to become one of the favourite quotations from his poems in Japan.⁴⁷ The earliest example is in the *Tale of Genji*,⁴⁸ where Genji who has exiled himself from the court to the wild coast of Suma, realizes that it is the fifteenth night of the eighth month

42 Harvard-Yenching Institute Sinological Index Series, Supplement No.14, 465/30/27.

43 Interestingly but probably only quite accidentally, in the poems for the two following nights such reference is absent.

44 *Po Hsiang-shan shih-chi* (Ssu-pu pei-yao ed.), *Ch'ang-ch'ing chi*, c.13.6a-b.

45 The Shore Palace, the ancient palace of the kings of Ch'u in the Spring and Autumn period more than a thousand years earlier, indicates Chiang-ling, while the Pool Hall in the Ta-ming Palace at Ch'ang-an serves to locate Po who is in the Han-lin Academy to the west of it.

46 *Ch'ang-ch'ing chi*, c.14.3a.

47 See Mizuno Heiji's list in his invaluable *Haku Rakuten to Nihon Bungaku* (Meguro shoten, 1930), pp.298-302.

48 *Genji Monogatari*, c.12 (Nihon Koten Bungaku Taikai ed.), Vol.2, p.41).

49 Arthur Waley's translation omits this passage and Edward Seidensticker's new version (*The Tale of Genji*, Secker and Warburg, London, 1976, Vol.1, p.238) in rendering Po's line: "My thoughts are of you, old friend, two thousand leagues away" is not quite accurate and so fails to bring out the full force of the quotation.

50 Ts'ui is Ts'ui Hsüan-liang (772–833), who passed the examination of 802 with Po and Yüan Chen and remained one of his closest friends. Ch'ien Hui (755–829), son of the poet Ch'ien Ch'i (722–780), had been a colleague in office.

51 Li Chien (764–821) had like Yüan Chen been sent from court, in his case to Li-chou (modern Li-hsien, Hunan).

52 "White clouds" = high office (Ts'ui and Ch'ien): "rivers and lakes" = banishment (Li and Yüan).

53 *Ch'ang-ch'ing chi*, c.5.9a (Poem No.7 of the sixteen-poem series *In Imitation of the Style of T'ao Ch'ien*).

54 *The Life and Times of Po Chü-i* (Allen & Unwin, London, 1949), pp.87–88. I am not clear why Waley dated the poem, contrary to general opinion, in 814 rather than 813, as he was not happy with this date.

55 Strictly, the north-west frontier.

56 *Ch'ang-ch'ing chi*, c.16.14b.

and thinks of the parties in the capital on this night and that his friends may be looking at the moon and thinking of him, as he of them. He recites Po's fourth line. His companions weep. Thus Murasaki Shikibu, who has partly incorporated the idea and partly quoted Po's lines, seems to have grasped very clearly the intense melancholy implicit in them.⁴⁹ Po Chü-i himself in his poem may be seeking to intensify the sadness still more by the suggestion that the moonlight may after all not be able to unite them.

In 813, when he was living in retirement at Hsia-kuei in mourning for his mother, he again thought of Yüan Chen and other of his friends.

On mid-autumn's fifteenth night,
The bright moon is at my front verandah.
Wine-cup before me, suddenly I do not drink,
For I recall past delights of mine.
I have friends who are of one mind,
But far-off are Ts'ui and Ch'ien.⁵⁰
I have friends with whom I forget self,
But distant are Li⁵¹ and Yüan.
Some have flown up to the white clouds;
Some have dropped amid rivers and lakes,⁵²
But since I saw them,
It's now four or five years.
I have no art to contract the earth;
You are not immortals who ride on the wind.
How can it be that under the bright moon
The four should come and talk with me?
A fair night is truly hard to get;
Our happy meeting is not destined.
The bright moon also does not stay;
Gradually it sinks in the south-western sky.
How should there be no other chance?
Yet I grudge the brilliant scene before me.⁵³

The emotion here does not seem to be particularly intense. Arthur Waley⁵⁴ translated this poem somewhat less literally than I have done and to some degree heightened the feeling, but I am not sure that it is necessary to do so. Certainly there is, I think, a sharper emotion in the last of Po Chü-i's mid-autumn poems that I shall cite here. This was written for the mid-autumn of 817, when Po was still in exile at Chiang-chou (modern Kiukiang, Kiangsi) on the Yangtse.

The ten-thousand *li* pure light, inconceivably,
Adding sadness, increasing grief, circles earth's limits.
Someone is long on service beyond the borders;⁵⁵
Somewhere there's a new parting before the courtyard.
The night when a former concubine out of favour
returns to her apartments,
The hour when the aged general lost among the
Tibetans climbs a tower,
They shine on so many men's heartbreak,
But jade hare and silver toad, remote, do not know.⁵⁶

Since the poet's complaint is of the aloofness of the moon, it may seem at first paradoxical to suggest that this poem marks a step towards involving the moon more intimately in moon poems and is in fact a slight turn

in a direction which Su Shih was skilfully to exploit in the first poem of his three-poem series for the mid-autumn moon of 1078.⁵⁷

Attentive is last year's moon,
As she pours down east of the old city.
Disconsolate is last year's man,
Lying sick in the broken window.
To and fro she artfully seeks him;
Gracefully she slips through the bars.
How should the moon know I am sick?
Simply she saw the house of the singing girls deserted.
Leaning on my pillow three times I sigh;
Supported on my stick I get up and follow her.
The wind from the sky does not pity me,
But blows on me from the jade palaces of the setting moon.
The white dew penetrates my breast;
In the night I hum like an autumn insect!
I sit and let T'ai-po's genius
Turn into Tung-yeh's poverty.⁵⁸
My remaining years, how many will they be?
A lovely moon, how should I often meet?
The cold fish also do not sleep,
But all night long mouth at me.

The advance in Su's poem towards personification is of course a considerable one, which I have marked by slipping into the feminine gender, something which is not in the Chinese, yet seems to be suggested by the feminine "artfully" and "gracefully" of the fifth and sixth lines. It may be felt that this poem has little of the tradition which I have sought to lay down before it. It is true that it has no hare or toad or cassia tree, though it has "jade palaces" to which I shall return later. The emotional atmosphere, however, is entirely within the tradition. The dumb fish in the final lines are an interesting variant upon "To whom shall I tell my sad thoughts?"

The second poem in the series starts in a more familiar fashion for here Su speaks directly of his separation from his younger brother, Su Ch'e.

Of the six years we faced this moon
Five years it shone on our separation.⁵⁹
When I sing your song of parting,⁶⁰
The whole company weeps at it.
The second capital⁶¹ truly gay;
Yet how can you lightly dismiss this time?
Above the thousand-acre lake of molten silver
Are the hanging mirror's eight-thousand-foot towers.
In the third watch the songs and pipes are ended;
Men's shadows hurry in the cold trees' shade.
As you go home to your northern hall,
The cold light shimmers on the dewy leaves.
You call for wine and drink with your wife;
You think of me and talk to your children.
How can you know that after decline and sickness
With empty cup I face the pears and chestnuts?
Only I see east of the ancient river
Buckwheat flowers spreading their snow.

57 *Su Tung-p'o chi* (Kuo-hsüeh chi-pen ts'ung-shu ed., 1933, repr. 1958), c.9 (3. pp.78-79).

58 i.e. the quality of his lines falls from the level of Li Po to that of Meng Chiao (courtesy-name Tung-yeh; 751-814), a poet of whom Su had a poor opinion.

59 In 1077 when Su Ch'e visited his elder brother at Hsü-chou for two months in the autumn, he wrote a "Water Music" *tz'u* (for text see Lung Yü-sheng, *Tung-p'o yüeh-fu chien*, Commercial Press, Shanghai, 1936, repr. 1958, c.1.47b-48a) in which he says, correctly, that they had been apart for seven mid-autumns. Su Shih in his own note to these present lines (written a year later) explains his "six years" as years when the mid-autumn moon was visible.

60 The "Water Music" *tz'u* of the preceding note.

61 Su Ch'e had taken up an appointment on the staff of the governor of the southern capital at Ying-t'ien (near modern Shang-ch'iu, Honan).

62 Su's note states that Shu Huan was in Yün-chou (modern Tung-p'ing, Shang-tung) on the Wen river for the prefectural examination, but line 2 would indicate that he was withdrawing from the world.

63 Cheng Chien, according to Su's note, had been appointed financial secretary on the staff of the governor of the northern capital at Ta-ming (in modern Hopei province).

64 Su notes that Tun Ch'i had come to Hsü-chou for the prefectural examination.

65 Su writes in his note: "Today I received a letter from Chao Kao-ch'ing, in which he recalled the 'Water Music' I wrote at mid-autumn in Eastern Wu", i.e. at Mi-chou in 1076.

I would harmonize with your last year's song,
But again I fear my heart would break.

Once again there is no hare or toad or cassia tree, but "eight thousand-foot towers" to represent the moon. In the third and final poem there are apparently no towers either, but certainly many of the words and thoughts which we have met before. It may be remarked in passing that the habit of Chinese, Japanese and Western anthologists of selecting one out of a series of poems may quite often destroy an intended unity. If my oft-repeated thesis that Chinese poets are highly conscious of writing in a tradition and will always seek to demonstrate the fact is correct, to omit Su's third poem here will remove most of his demonstration of affinity.

Master Shu is by the River Wen;
He has shut his door and turned to the pure.⁶²
Master Cheng heads north of the Yellow River;
His lonely boat goes on night after night.⁶³
Master Tun, though very close, is remote as though confined.⁶⁴
Master Chao has sent a letter;
The "Water Music" has lingering notes.⁶⁵
Anxious are the hearts of these four.
As they share this thousand *li* brightness.
The bright moon does not relieve old age,
The fair time is hard to match.
I look round at the company
Which meets and scatters like drifting weed.
I have heard that this night's moon
Over ten thousand *li* has the same clarity.
The Heavenly Lord has shown his intent;
How can this occasion be disregarded?
Next year each will longingly gaze
And go over past and present feelings.

In this third poem there are many echoes of the tradition, and since I have brought their poems together here, we may say, like Su's contemporary readers: Ah yes, Po Chü-i, Po Chü-il But Su has also almost quoted himself. For the "Water Music" is his own work.

At the mid-autumn of Ping-chen (1076) I enjoyed drinking until dawn.
When I was very drunk, I composed this piece. At the same time I was thinking of Tzu-yu.

When was there a bright moon?
Cup in hand I ask the blue sky.
I do not know, in the heavenly palaces
What year this night is?
I would mount the wind and fly there;
Only I fear in the jade towers' jade domes' heights I
could not bear the cold.
I arise and dance, moving my clear shadow.
It's better in the world of men.

Around red pavilions,
Bending to silken widows,
She shines on the sleepless.
She ought to have no sadness;
Why is she always at partings full?

For men there is joy and sorrow, separation and union.
 For the moon dimness and brightness, waxing and waning.
 These things from of old have seldom been perfect.
 I only wish you may live long
 And a thousand *li* away share the loveliness.⁶⁶

This *tzu*-poem of Su Shih has very identifiable antecedents in a poem by Li Po, "Cup in Hand, Questioning the Moon".

How long has there been a moon in the blue sky?
 Now I stay my cup and question it.
 A man cannot take hold of the moon,
 Yet the moon always follows him about.
 Gleaming, the flying mirror looks down on the red pavilions;
 The dark mists are scattered and its pure rays break through.
 I only see it at night rise from the sea;
 How do I know at dawn it will sink among the clouds?
 The white hare pounds herbs, autumn and again spring;
 Heng O is lonely with none for a neighbour
 Men of today did not see the moon of ancient times,
 But today's moon shone on the men of ancient times,
 The men of the past and the present are like a flowing stream
 Alike they look on the bright moon, which was always as it is now.
 Only I desire when I sing and drink,
 The moonlight will ever shine in the golden cup.⁶⁷

But what is the source of the "jade towers" which in Su Shih's poem have replaced the more conventional hare and Heng O of Li Po? Though Li Po had suggested that the moon was always beyond man's reach, Hsüan-tsung, the emperor whose reign covered much of the lives of Li Po and Tu Fu, had visited it, at least so tales of the miraculous have it, through the aid of the Taoist Yeh Fa-shan. The story appears in various transmitted collections, but undoubtedly the most circumstantial and delightful version appears in one of the manuscripts from Tun-huang.⁶⁸ In this version Yeh Fa-shan has been replaced by his great-uncle Yeh Ching-neng, and the story of Hsüan-tsung's moon visit is one of a chain of anecdotes in which Yeh Ching-neng appears as the protagonist.⁶⁹

On the night of the fifteenth of the eighth month the emperor with Yeh Ching-neng and a company and attendants enjoyed the moon on a high place. The emperor said to Ching-neng: "Is it possible to measure the events in the moon?" Ching-neng replied: "There would be no advantage in my describing them. I would like to take your Majesty to visit the moon palace, if it is possible." The emperor said: "How can we go there?" Ching-neng said: "Your Majesty could not go by yourself, but if you go with me, what difficulty will there be?" The emperor showed great joy on his dragon countenance. He said: "Can I take my attendants with me?" Ching-neng replied: "When we went to Chien-nan to see the lanterns,⁷⁰ it was to a place of men. The realms above of the moon palace are not the same as the human world. Because Your Majesty has the capacity of an immortal (*hsien-jen*), you can go for a short time." The emperor further asked: "What colour clothes shall we wear?" Ching-neng replied: "We can wear white brocade wadded gowns." The emperor said: "Why should we wear white brocade wadded gowns?" Ching-neng replied: "Because they are crystal towers and halls, the cold is overwhelming."

The emperor made his preparations for the journey. Ching-neng cast a spell and in an instant they arrived in the moon palace. The towers, halls, terraces

66 Lung Yü-sheng, *Tung-p'o yüeh-fu chien*, c.1.40b.

67 Li T'ai-po *ch'üan-chi*, c.20.12a.

68 Stein 6836, reproduced in edited form in Wang Chung-min *et al.* (eds), *Tun-buang pien-wen chi* (Jen-min wen-hsüeh ch'u-pan she, Peking, 1957), Vol.1, pp.216-29.

69 The whole work has been excellently translated by Arthur Waley in *Ballads and Stories from Tun-buang* (Allen & Unwin, London, 1960), pp.124-44. I give my own translation of the moon episode merely for convenience.

70 The expedition of the preceding episode.

71 Reading *chu* (pearl) for *shu* (unusual); I do not know precisely what the expression was intended to convey.

72 *Ch'i pao* (cf. modern Japanese *shippō-yaki*) looks as if it might mean "cloisonné" here; see discussion on the subject by Edward H. Schafer, "Notes on T'ang Culture, II," *Monumenta Serica* XXIV (1965), pp.139–43.

73 Here there is a very Buddhist and Indian departure from the moon cassia.

74 Recent examples in English are by A.C. Graham in C.Birch (ed.), *An Anthology of Chinese Literature* (Grove Press, New York, 1965), Vol.1, pp.381–82 and by Burton Watson in his *Su Tung-p'o: Selections from a Sung Dynasty Poet* (Columbia University Press, 1965), pp.87–90.

75 The Red Cliff was the site of the battle on the Yangtse in 208, in which the fleet of Ts'ao Ts'ao (155–220), the warlord of Wei, was burned by an allied force of his rivals under Sun Ch'üan (182–252) of Wu. The name "Red Cliff" because of its association with this famous rout became attached to a number of places in the central Yangtse area above and below modern Wu-han. Ku Tsu-yü (1631–92) notes five separate places bearing the name in his *Tu-shih fang-yü chi-yao*, c.76 (Kuo-hsüeh chi-pen ts'ung-shu ed., repr. Chung-hua shu-chü, 1955, p.3222), one of which was near Huang-chou (Su's place of banishment at this time) in modern Hupeh and which was the one to which Su made this excursion. The actual site of the battle was much higher up the Yangtse at modern Chia-yü hsien, Hupeh. Though Su appears in the present case to accept Huang-chou as the historical site, in references elsewhere he adopts a tone of doubt.

76 The "Bright Moon" song is certainly *Song* 143 but the identification of "The Beauty" (*yao-tiao*) is not so obvious. If Su were closely following Hsieh Chuang, it would refer to *Song* 99, but *yao-tiao* so strongly suggests *Song* 1 (which is not generally associated with the moon) that it is difficult to imagine that he could have used the word to refer to another *Song*.

77 Su's description presents apparent problems of astronomical possibility, which are not entirely solved by understanding *tou*, which would normally indicate *pei-tou* (Northern Dipper) as *nan-tou* (Southern Dipper).

78 Like Hsieh Chuang, Su in his song imitates the *Chiu ko* in the *Ch'u-tz'u*.

79 Because of the mention of this instrument, Chao I (1727–1814) in his *Kai-yü ts'ung-k'ao* (Commercial Press, Shanghai, 1957), c.24, p.490 identified Su's guest as the Taoist Yang Shih-ch'ang whose playing is praised in a poem by Su.

and pavilions which they saw were different from those of men in the world; the gates and lattices, doors and windows were of a completely different world. The emperor looked carefully at the towers and halls, and when he went in through the double gates he saw further storeyed buildings and palace pavilions and so he came right up to the main hall. Everything was made of crystal, beryl and carnelian and its extent was immeasurable. The windows were of crystal; the towers and terraces were of crystal. He also saw several beautiful women in garments of triple pearls,⁷¹ carrying trays of crystal, on which were vessels made of crystal and (?) cloisonné.⁷² Whatever the emperor saw, he maintained an attitude of decorum.

Ching-neng led the emperor straight to the side of the *śāla*⁷³ tree to inspect it. The emperor saw the tree rising to an immeasurable height, its branches reaching to three thousand or six thousand worlds. The colour of its leaves was like silver and its flowers were like clouds in colour. The emperor walked slowly beneath the tree and then he hesitated and stood still for a while. The cold was overpowering and an icy numbness penetrated to his bones. The emperor said to Ching-neng: "The cold is very severe; I want to return to the palace." Ching-neng replied: "I would like to roam round with Your Majesty and see things, especially the fairy flowers, which are unmatched below. Your Majesty should not be in a hurry. Surely it would be better to enjoy the moon at leisure and see its sights before we return." The emperor leaned against the tree and felt more and more the freezing cold. He again asked Ching neng: "Now I can't bear the cold and want to go home. A moment more and I am afraid I shan't be able." As Ching-neng listened to the emperor, he was forced to smile. Then he cast a spell and in an instant they arrived back in Ch'ang-an.

Some version of this story must have been known to Su Shih and affected his conception of the topography of the moon and impressed him with its intolerable coldness. It seems a good example of the way in which a major Chinese poet, while seeking to show his affinity with an ever more consciously felt tradition, at the same time extended the tradition by exploiting new sources.

Consciousness of tradition is naturally not unique to Chinese poetry. As in other cultures it is a strand which is entwined with individuality and period. Yet it is a very thick strand which in lesser poets may seem to overwhelm both man and time.

In conclusion, I should like to add my version of one of Su Shih's most famous and often translated works,⁷⁴ which is not a mid-autumn poem but was written on the day after the full moon of the seventh month of 1082. No-one would wish to deny the distinguishing features of Su Shih and the Northern Sung period, but I hope that my paper may be a preface that enables the reader to appreciate a little more keenly its antecedent tradition.

Red Cliff I

In the autumn of *jen-hsü* (1082) on the sixteenth day of the seventh month, I went with a guest in a boat and made an excursion below the Red Cliff.⁷⁵ I took wine and poured for my guest. I recited the "Bright Moon" song and sang the stanzas of "The Beauty".⁷⁶ In a little while the moon came out over the eastern hill and wavered between the Dipper and Herdboy stars.⁷⁷ White dew spread over the river; the radiance from the water joined with the sky. Letting our light boat go where it would, we crossed the great expanse. Majestically, we seemed to have mounted the empty air and to be riding the wind, not knowing where we should come to rest; lightly, we seemed to have left the world and to be standing apart, turning into immortals and ascending to paradise.

Then, elated with wine, I beat on the side of the boat and sang:

With oar of cassia, oar of magnolia,
We strike the empty brightness, ascend the flowing light.
Unbounded are my feelings,
As I gaze at the fair one in a corner of the sky.⁷⁸

My guest played on a bamboo pipe⁷⁹ an accompaniment for my song. The sound was plaintive, as though complaining, as though yearning, as though weeping, as though accusing. Its dying notes were delicate, unbroken like a thread, making the hidden dragon of the remote ravine dance, the widow in the lonely boat weep.⁸⁰

I sadly adjusted my gown and sat erect and said to my guest: "Why do you play like this?"

The guest said: "The moon is bright, the stars are few; the magpies are flying south." Is not this Ts'ao Meng-te's song?⁸¹ Westward, one looks toward Hsia-k'ou, eastward, towards Wu-ch'ang.⁸² The hills and rivers wind together in an intense blue. Was not this where Meng-te was trapped by young Chou?⁸³ When he had just overcome Ching-chou and left Chiang-ling to go downstream to the east, his ships stretched a thousand *li*, his banners hid the sky.⁸⁴ He poured wine by the River; he composed the poem with his lance ready at hand.⁸⁵ Truly he was the hero of the age, but where is he now? It is still more so with you and me, living like fishermen and woodcutters on the banks of the River, companions of fish and shrimps, friends of deer, travelling in a leaf-like skiff, raising a gourd jar to offer wine to each other, staying as briefly as midges between heaven and earth, insignificant as a single grain upon the ocean. I grieve the momentariness of our life, I envy the limitlessness of the Long River. I would clasp the flying immortals to wander free, embrace the bright moon to endure for ever. Yet I know that this cannot be suddenly achieved and I commit notes to express my feeling to the mournful wind.

I said: Do you understand the water and the moon? The water passes away like this⁸⁶ but is never gone. The moon waxes and wanes like that, but it never decreases or grows. For if one views things in their changes, then heaven and earth cannot remain for the space of a single glance. But if one views things in their unchangingness, then all things and ourselves are alike without limit. What then is there to envy? Besides, everything between heaven and earth has its owner. Of what is not mine, I may not take even a particle. Only the pure wind on the River, the bright moon among the mountains can become sounds in the ear and colours in the eye. There is no prohibition against taking them; they cannot be exhausted by use. This limitless storehouse of creation, you and I can enjoy together.

The guest laughed delightedly. We rinsed our cups and poured again. When the meats and fruits were finished, the cups and plates were scattered in confusion. We lay tumbled on one another in the boat and did not know the east was bright.⁸⁷

80 Yamamoto Kazuyoshi in his comments (*So Shoku*, Chūgoku Shibun Sen series, No.19, Chikuma Shobō, 1973, p.149) notes that in the *T'ang kuo-shih pu* by Li Chao (9th cent.) there is a story of the master flautist Li Mou playing his flute in a boat at night and of a dragon (*chiaio*) appearing and borrowing his flute to play on (Chung-kuo wen-hsüeh ts'an-kao tzu-liao hsiao ts'ung-shu ed., Ku-tien wen-hsüeh ch'u-pan she, Shanghai, 1957, p.58). This story seems insufficiently close to have been a source for Su. His suggestion that the following clause recalls the subject of Po Chū-i's famous long poem, *P'i-pa hsing*, seems more apposite.

81 The lines are from Ts'ao Ts'ao's *yüeh-fu Tuan ko hsing* (*Wen-hsüan*, c.27.23b).

82 Hsia-k'ou is modern Hankow, now incorporated in Wu-han; Wuch'ang is modern O-ch'eng. This shows clearly that the Red Cliff at Huang-chou is being described as the site of the battle.

83 Chou Yü (175–210), the general of Sun Ch'üan.

84 Ts'ao Ts'ao had gained Ching-chou, a strategic province in the modern central Hupeh area, by the surrender to him of Liu Tsung on the death of his father Liu Piao. He then assembled his forces at Chiang-ling (modern Hupeh) to go down river to crush Wu.

85 Su probably took this expression from Yüan Chen's tomb inscription for Tu Fu: "The Ts'aos, father and son, wrote prose in the saddle and frequently wrote poems with lance ready at hand" (*Yüan shih Ch'ang-ch'ing chi*, Ssu-pu ts'ung-k'an ed., c.56.3a).

86 Su adapts to his own purpose Confucius' words in *Lun-yü* 9.16. His philosophizing in the passage which follows is founded generally in conception and expression upon *Chuang-tzu* (c.2 and 17 in particular).

87 *Su Tung-p'o chi*, c.19 (4. p.112).

This paper first appeared in the Journal of the Oriental Society of Australia, Vol.12 (1977): 69–87.

