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"A Significant Season"
Literature in a Time of Endings:
Cài Yōng and a Few Contemporaries

by

Mark Laurent Asselin

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

University of Washington

1997

Approved by _____
Chairperson of Supervisory Committee

_____

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to Offer Degree Asian Languages and Literature

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Abstract

"A Significant Season"
Literature in a Time of Endings:
Cài Yōng and a Few Contemporaries

by Mark Laurent Asselin

Chairperson of the Supervisory Committee: Professor David R. Knechtges
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The years 159 to 192 C.E., from the palace coup overthrowing Liáng Jì to the assassination of Dǒng Zhuō, form a distinct epoch marked by sociopolitical calamities that presage the end of the Hàn era. Literary works by Cài Yōng (132/133-192) and some of his contemporaries, Zhào Yī (ca. 130-ca. 185 C.E.), Zhū Mù (100-163 C.E.), and Zhāng Chāo, invest the tragic course of the times with a significance derived from a perception that these events signal a great change; some kind of "ending" is inevitable and imminent.

In The Sense of an Ending, Frank Kermode describes kairos as "a significant season . . . , charged with a meaning derived from its relation to the end." This is a useful way to describe the epoch of late second-century China. In this context we can call a literature that reveals its writers' beliefs about the future--their own fate or that of their society--by reflecting on and extrapolating from their memories of past events and

perceptions of present circumstances, "kairotic literature." The epoch of 159-192 witnessed the emergence of a kairotic literature.

Each of the chapters in this study focusses on a different issue associated with the late Hàn fin de siècle--the sociopolitical and literary background of this period, the political crisis at court, the end of the "Confucian" orthodoxy, emerging individual sensibilities and cultural "decadence," and filial piety and death. The literary works treated herein are all united by the act of creating a concord between past (shared cultural and historical memory), present (social and political crises), and future (the increasingly apparent end of the era). This study also concludes that in this period there was a shift in the center of clerisy-written literature from the court to "public" exchange, i.e., circulation of works among members of the clerisy class.

Thirteen appendices accompany this study, consisting of detailed annotated translations of the works discussed in the text.

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ABBREVIATIONS

Translations are mine unless otherwise stated. Citations of the Chinese Classics are to Shísān jīng zhùshū. Translations of these and certain other Chinese texts may include, for the purpose of comparison, references to published translations (e.g., "cf. Legge, xxx"); with respect to Legge's translations of the Classics, the page numbers supplied refer to the relevant volume of his translations. Full bibliographical information on the works listed below (excepting the standard cóngshū 叢書) will be found in the Bibliography.

Biot	Le Tcheou-Li; ou Rites des Tcheou
BMFEA	Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities
The Cambridge History of China	The Cambridge History of China, vol. 1, The Ch'in and Han Empires, 221 B.C.-A.D. 220
CLEAR	Chinese Literature: Essays, Articles, Reviews
Csjc	Cóngshū jíchéng 叢書集成.
Czj	Cài Zhōngláng jí
CZ wàijí	Cài Zhōngláng wàijí
CZwj	Cài Zhōngláng wénjí
HHs	Hòu Hàn shū
Hightower	Han Shih Wai Chuan, Han Ying's Illustrations of the Didactic Application of the "Classic of Songs"
HJAS	Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies
Hs	Hàn shū
JAOS	Journal of the American Oriental Society
Karlgren	"The Book of Documents"
Knechtges	David Knechtges, trans. and annotator, Wen xuan or Selections of Refined Literature
Legge	The Chinese Classics, and The Sacred Books of China: The Texts of Confucianism (for the Lǐ jì)
MS	Monumenta Serica
OE	Oriens Extremus
Quán Hàn wén	In Quán Shànggǔ Sāndài Qín Hàn Sānguó Liùcháo wén
Quán Hòu Hàn wén	In Quán Shànggǔ Sāndài Qín Hàn Sānguó Liùcháo wén
Sbby	Sìbù bèiyào 四部備要

Sbck	Sìbù cóngkān 四部叢刊
Skqs	Sìkù quánshū 四庫全書
THHP	Tsing Hua Journal of Chinese Studies
TP	T'oung Pao
Wilhelm/Baynes	The I Ching, or Book of Changes

Locations of places and estimated distances based on Tán Qíxiāng, ed., Zhōngguó lìshǐ dìtú jí.

Old Chinese initials and finals were determined with the assistance of Guō Xíliáng, comp., Hànzì gǔyīn shǒucè.

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To Son

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION: "A SIGNIFICANT SEASON"

天下大勢, 分久必合, 合久必分.
(The empire, long divided, must unite; long united, must divide.)
Sānguó yǎnyì 三國演義

On the dīngchǒu day of the eighth month of the second year of the reign titled "Prolonging Happiness," the regent, Liáng Jì 梁冀, was overthrown in a coup led by the young Eastern Hàn emperor Liú Zhì 劉志 and a handful of trusted eunuchs. Though the Hàn dynasty had long suffered corruption and intrigue, the date September 9, 159, might well be regarded as the beginning of the end of Hàn rule. That day precipitated a cascade of crises, a debilitating series of political and social upheavals: proscriptions of the clerisy, massive student protests, a religious uprising, the massacre of the palace eunuchs, a military takeover, and the utter destruction of the capital city. Sixty-one years after the coup d'état deposing Liáng Jì, the hapless Liú Xié 劉協 relinquished the throne. The chaos and bloodshed of the final years of the second century of the Common Era had come to this, the end of the once great Hàn dynasty.[1]

Epigraph translation is from Three Kingdoms, translated and annotated by Moss Roberts (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1991), 5.

1.1 The "Sense of an Ending"

The years 159 to 192 C.E., from the palace coup overthrowing Liáng Jì to the assassination of the tyrant Dǒng Zhuō 董卓, form a distinct epoch marked by sociopolitical calamities that presage the end of the Hàn era. Works by Cài Yōng 蔡邕 (132/133-192) and some of his contemporaries invest the tragic course of the times with a significance derived from a perception that these events signal a great change; some kind of "ending" is inevitable and imminent.

In his classic 1967 study, The Sense of an Ending: Studies in the Theory of Fiction, Frank Kermode establishes a distinction in concepts of time between simple chronology (chronos), and the interval during which, having "the sense of an ending," we make "concords of past and present and future, modifying the past and allowing for the future without falsifying our own moment of crisis."[2] This is, put plainly, a description of the human experience of having interpreted the events of the present and

---

[1] Another incarnation of the Hàn dynasty appeared in the southwest, founded by Liú Bèi 劉備 (161-223), and came to an end in 263. It was called the Shǔ Hàn 蜀漢, or simply Shǔ. A third was established in 304 by a Xiōngnǔ, Liú Yuān 劉淵 (ob. 310), who claimed old blood ties. This lasted until 329, and was subsequently referred to as the Former Zhào 前趙. Other "Hàn" dynasties were to follow. See B. J. Mansvelt Beck, "The Fall of Han," in The Cambridge History of China, 1: 356, 370.

[2] The Sense of an Ending: Studies in the Theory of Fiction (New York: Oxford University Press, 1967), 59.

one's memory of the past in such a way as to become convinced of a certain future course of things. To this "between-time" Kermode gives the label kairos. Kairos, Kermode says, is "a significant season . . . , an instance of what [psychologists] call 'temporal integration'--our way of bundling together perception of the present, memory of the past, and expectation of the future, in a common organization."[3] It is, he adds, "the season, a point in time filled with significance, charged with a meaning derived from its relation to the end."[4] This is a useful way to describe the epoch of late second-

---

[3] The Sense of an Ending, 46. Kermode uses a simple analogy: If we take the "tick-tock" of a clock to represent chronological time (chronos), then if there were "a lively expectation of tock" in the interval, that would be kairos (p. 46). Kermode starts from this barest of plots to develop a theory of fiction that entertains the notion of a "critical 'middle,'" a time apart from the linear sequence of events in which the reader anticipates the ending and reinterprets what has gone before.

I have not pursued what the field of psychology recently has had to say, if anything, about "temporal integration." I think it still serves as useful metonymy for the concept of kairos.

[4] The Sense of an Ending, 47. This concept of kairos does not wholly agree with the early Greek applications of the term; Kermode himself says as much (see 48-50). Kermode bases his use of the concept of kairos on the work of two twentieth-century theologians, Oscar Cullmann (see Christ and Time: The Primitive Christian Conception of Time and History, trans. Floyd V. Filson [1951; rev. ed., London: SCM Press, 1962]) and John Marsh (The Fulness of Time [New York: Harper, 1952]). Their interpretation of the term has been criticized for being unphilological. Moreover, the formulation reflects the making of a distinction between the Greek and Hebrew (and we may add Chinese) cyclical views of time with the later, Christian linear one. That distinction may have been exaggerated. Kermode defends his use of kairos as Cullman and Marsh have defined it as being a useful "rule" in his Wittgensteinian "game" (49-50). Nonetheless, we can detect a link between Kermode's kairos and Greek notions of it as a critical moment, a juncture offering opportunity. Such notions would not be entirely foreign to early Chinese intellectual thought, as is shown by a passage from the "Commentary on the Appended Statements" ("Xì cí zhuàn" 繫辭傳) of the Zhōu yì 周易 or Book of Changes: "He would see the opportunity for change and act, not waiting an entire day" (Zhōu yì zhèngyì, "Xì cí zhuàn" B, 8.13b; cf. Wilhelm and Baynes, 342). This line is cited in Cài Yōng's "Stele Inscription for Tàiqiū Magistrate Chén."

century China. In this context we can call a literature that reveals its writers' beliefs about the future--their own fate or that of their society--by reflecting on and extrapolating from their memories of past events and perceptions of present circumstances, "kairotic literature." In works that have survived more or less intact, and not merely in fragments, kairos, as a critical moment, might be seen in the expressed motivations for writing; as a "season . . . charged with a meaning derived from its relation to the end," it can also be descried in the structure and rhetoric of a composition. Even in fragments and in short works, kairos is revealed in the chosen themes of composition.[5]

Cài Yōng was a leading literary figure of this "significant season" of 159 to 192. As an important official, classics scholar, historian (more accurately, a historian manqué), musician, astronomer, calligrapher, and poet, he was highly sought after for his multifarious talents. In his official dealings, his integrity left a deep impression on his colleagues; as a writer his literary legacy influenced generations. He was also calumniated at court, arguably maligned by history, and neglected in later centuries.[6]

---

[5] Here is where I depart the most from Kermode's application of kairos: Whereas he is primarily interested in how kairos as "a significant season" influences the structure of fiction, I am interested in how kairos produces both structure and themes, but especially the latter. Moreover, my scope of inquiry does not involve fiction, but essays and poems.

[6] Chinese scholars have, until recently, been more concerned with appraising Cài Yōng's character than with assessing his extant literary works. For instance, Gù Yánwǔ 顧炎武 (1613-1682) states, "At the end of the Eastern Hàn, moral integrity and righteous conduct were in decline and

His collected works have neither received the attention of a single annotator, nor have they been the subject of a substantial monograph. This modest study of a selection of his works is a start at making up for this deficit. The pieces I have chosen are very representative of Cài Yōng's extant corpus and are among the best he composed. I hope that the approach I take here may present not only a fresh perspective on the fin-de-siècle literature of the late Eastern Hàn, but also on Cài Yōng's sensibility as a

---

literary essays flourished, beginning with Cài Yōng. His service to Dǒng Zhuō lacked principle; sighing when Dǒng Zhuō died showed lack of discretion. If one examines his collection for the stele inscriptions and eulogies that he indiscriminately wrote, one can know his usual manner of conducting himself" (Rì zhī lù jíshì 日知錄集釋, ed. Huáng Rǔchéng 黃汝成 [Sbby], 13.4a, cited in Gōng Kèchāng 龔克昌, Hàn fù yánjiū 漢賦研究 [Jǐnán: Shāndōng wényì chūbǎnshè, 1990], 296). For a recent example of this manner of assessing character, see Chéng Yǒuwéi 程有為, "Lùn Cài Yōng de shì-fēi gōng-guò" 論蔡邕的是非功過, Shǐxué yuèkàn, 1986.2: 24-29. Okamura Shigeru 岡村繁 gives some reasons why Cài Yōng was neglected as a writer. In addition to the character issue, he states that for pre-Táng critics, Cài Yōng slips into the crevice between the Hàn and Wèi dynasties. See "Sai Yu o meguru Go Kan makki no bungaku no susei" 蔡邕をめぐる後漢末期の文學の趨勢, Nihon Chugoku Gakkai ho 日本中國學會報 28 (1976): 76 n. 3 (Chinese translation by Guō Fēiyìng 郭斐映 in A Festschrift in Honour of Professor Jao Tsung-i on the Occasion of His Seventy-Fifth Anniversary [慶祝饒宗頤教授七十五歲論文集], ed. Zhèng Huìxīn 鄭會欣 [Hong Kong: The Chinese University of Hong Kong, 1993], 28 n. 1). The image of the historical Cài Yōng has been further sullied by association with a fictional Cài Bójiē 蔡伯喈 (Bójiē was Cài Yōng's style) of Sòng and Yuán drama. This villainous character was depicted as unfilial. The Míng dramatist Gāo Míng's 高明 (ca. 1305-ca. 1370) attempt in Pípá jì 琵琶記 to renovate Cài Bójiē's character by providing mitigating circumstances for his apparent unfilial behavior did little to erase the damage. See Chi-fang Lee, "Ts'ai Yung and the Protagonist in the P'i-p'a Chi," in Wen-lin, vol. 2, Studies in the Chinese Humanities, ed. Tse-Tsung Chow (Madison and Shatin, N. T., Hong Kong: Department of East Asian Language and Literature at the University of Wisconsin, and N. T. T. Chinese Language Research Ctr., Institute of Chinese Studies, The Chinese University of Hong Kong, 1989), 153-74.

writer.[7]

W. R. Johnson, in his study of ancient and modern lyric poetry of the West, writes that our sense of the ancient Greek poet Archilochus does not rely so much on the biographical data available to us, "as it does on the intensity of his various complaints about the world and of his affirmations of self, on his singular, vital insistence on the clarity of his perceptions of himself and of the world."[8] In other words, we come to better understand the poet from his writings than from biographical details. Johnson concludes: "What we know about Archilochus, then, is not really his life, but rather his temperament, his sensibility, something he created in part from his life, and something that, fixed in language that is usually clear and always vigorous, survives the ruin of time and of texts."[9] Like Archilochus, Cài Yōng, too, is absorbed

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[7] For an overview of Cài Yōng's life, see Asselin, "The Hou Han shu Biography of Cai Yong (A.D. 132/133-192)" (M.A. thesis, University of Washington, 1991). The Chinese text of Cài Yōng's official biography is found in Hòu Hàn shū 後漢書 (hereafter HHs), compiled by Fàn Yè 范曄 (398-446 C.E.), with Treatises by Sīmǎ Biāo 司馬彪 (ob. 306) (Běijīng: Zhōnghuá shūjú, 1965), 60B.1979-2008. For more biographical information on Cài Yōng, see Niwa Taeko 丹羽兌子, "Sai Yu ten oboegaki" 蔡邕伝 おぼえがき, Nagoya daigaku bungakubu kenkyu ronshu 名古屋大學文學部研究論集 56, Shigaku 19 (1972): 95-110, and Gōng Kèchāng, Hàn fù yánjiū, 278-304. Gōng's chapter on Cài Yōng is to date the best survey in any language of Cài Yōng's writings. The best study of Cài Yōng as a writer, including the influences on him and the influence he had on other writers is Okamura Shigeru's "Sai Yu o meguru Go Kan makki no bungaku no susei."

[8] The Idea of Lyric: Lyric Modes in Ancient and Modern Poetry (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1982), 29.

[9] The Idea of Lyric, 29-30.

in his writing with "various complaints about the world and of his affirmations of self." Liú Sīhàn 劉斯翰 claims that what sets Cài Yōng apart from those of his literary predecessors who adopted the theme of "self-commiseration over one's life" (zìyuàn qíshēng 自怨其生), in imitation of Qū Yuán 屈原 (ca. 340-278 B.C.E.), is that he instead "served as a spokesman for society."[10] If true, we should be able to abstract from Cài Yōng's sensibility as a writer some of the sensibility of this epoch. What will become evident is how strikingly different it is from that of works praising the Hàn a century earlier.[11]

In this chapter, I will first make a brief overview of the sociopolitical history of the late Eastern Hàn. This history will be presented as a deadly struggle between the major factions surrounding the court. Next, I will present some evidence that the end of the Hàn dynasty's mandate to rule had been anticipated in the late second century. Whether or not the demise of the dynasty was widely believed to be imminent, the times were pregnant with great political change--an "ending" of some sort was at hand. Third, I will give a short summary of some important literary developments leading up

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[10] Liú Sīhàn, Hàn fù: Wéiměi wénxué zhī cháo 漢賦: 唯美文學之潮 (Guǎngzhōu: Guǎngzhōu wénhuà chūbǎnshè, 1989), 181.

[11] See David R. Knechtges, "To Praise the Han: The Eastern Han Capital Fu of Pan Ku and his Contemporaries," in Thought and Law in Qin and Han China, Studies Dedicated to Anthony Hulsewè on the Occasion of His Eightieth Birthday, eds. W. L. Idema and E. Zürcher (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1990): 138-39.

to the late second century. Fourth and last, I will introduce the topics of the subsequent chapters.

1.2 Historical Background[12]

Hàn political history is dominated by the struggle for power among factions. In the Eastern Hàn (25-220 C.E.), these factions were, broadly speaking, the consort clans, the eunuchs, and the clerisy. A fourth faction, the military, temporarily put an end to this conflict at the end of the second century.[13]

The consort clans. Wealthy regional families comprised a principal faction by virtue of their introduction into the imperial family.[14] Such powerful families had supported the founding emperor of the Eastern Hàn, Liú Xiù 劉秀 (posthumously, Emperor Guāngwǔ 光武帝, reg. 25-57 C.E.), e.g., the Mǎ 馬 and Dòu 竇 clans of the

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[12] This summary is primarily, but not exclusively, based on the published scholarship of Hans Bielenstein, Rafe de Crespigny, and B. J. Mansvelt Beck, in the works cited below.

[13] This is a simplification of factional interests, but still a useful one. Ts'ung-tsu Ch'ü, in Han Social Structure (Han Dynasty China, vol. 1, eds. Jack L. Dull and Hellmut Wilhelm [Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1972]), discusses the "powerful families," "consort families," "officials," "eunuchs," "wealthy merchants," and yóuxiá 遊俠 of the late Hàn; see 160-247.

[14] Rafe de Crespigny ("Political Protest in Imperial China: The Great Proscription of Later Han, 167-184," Papers on Far Eastern History, no. 11 [March 1975]: 4-5 n. 1) notes that some scholars have incorrectly characterized these families as, in the words of Etienne Balazs, "parvenu" and "nouveaux riches" ("La crise sociale et la philosophie politique à la fin des han," TP 39 [1949], 84; translated by H. M. Wright in Balazs, Chinese Civilization and Bureaucracy, ed. Arthur F. Wright [New Haven: Yale University Press, 1964], 188, 189).

Northwest. When Liú Xiù needed the support of the northern clans, he selected a consort from among them, Guō Shèngtōng 郭聖通. When he no longer needed to curry the favor of the North, he then replaced her with Yīn Lìhuā 陰麗華 to court the Nányáng 南陽 clans. This produced a shift in political power from the clans in the North to those in Nányáng. The Mǎ and Dòu clans, too, sought ascendancy, and though they were unable to make an empress of one of their own, they maintained a high profile in the bureaucracy and in the military. In 60 C.E., the next emperor, Liú Zhuāng 劉莊 (Emperor Míng 明帝, reg. 58-75[15]) selected a Mǎ as consort, and that family at last rose to prominence. But this lasted only until the reign of the following emperor, who selected a Dòu as consort, and in this way the fortunes of the consort clans waxed and waned.[16]

Another clan that vied for power was the Liáng 梁. In the days of Emperor

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[15] Emperor Míng's original personal name was Yáng 陽; see HHs 1B.71.

[16] The change from Empress Mǎ to Empress Dòu occasioned the rise of the Dòu clan only after the then Empress Dowager Mǎ passed away. This happened in 79 C.E. It is interesting to note that in the Eastern Hàn the consort who actually produced the male heir did not necessarily improve the standing of her clan. Though producing the heir should make her empress, and thus elevate her clan's standing, as it turns out, agreements were often arrived at that thwarted such ambitions. For instance, Emperor Míng's empress, née Mǎ, did not produce the heir, but her cousin, née Jiǎ 賈, and yet the Mǎ clan maintained its standing until Emperor Zhāng selected née Dòu as his consort. Similarly, it was not Empress Dòu who produced the heir, but a née Liáng, and still the Dòu clan retained its privileged status, though this time not without some resistance. In the case of Emperor Hé's successor, the barren Empress Dèng apparently suppressed the identities of the mothers of her husband's two sons. See Bielenstein, "Wang Mang, the Restoration of the Han Dynasty, and Later Han," in The Cambridge History of China, 1: 277-81, 283.

Guāngwǔ, the Liáng clan had staked its political fortunes on the Dòu. When Liú Dá's 劉炟 (Emperor Zhāng 章帝, reg. 76-88) consort, Empress Dòu, had not produced a son herself, she selected as his heir the son of a Liáng clan member of the harem. Subsequently, in pursuit of power, the Liáng family abandoned their old allegiances to the Dòu; though the Dòu rebuffed them, that victory was short-lived. After née Liáng's son, Liú Zhào 劉肇 (Emperor Hé 和帝, reg. 89-105) ascended to the throne, and because he was a minor, Empress Dowager Dòu appointed her eldest brother regent. In 92 C.E., Liú Zhào, having come of age, rid himself of the Dòu clan. Over the next thirty years, the great families Yīn and Dèng 鄧 rose and fell as consort clans; a relatively unknown family, Yán 閻, soared out of obscurity when a certain Yán Jī 閻姬 became empress in 115 C.E. The Liáng clan's time finally arrived when Liú Bǎo 劉保 (Emperor Shùn 順帝, reg. 126-144), after a power struggle with the Yán clan, chose Liáng Nà 梁妠, the grand-niece of Emperor Hé's mother, for his empress.[17]

There were two ways in particular by which a consort clan could retain its position and power. One way was to influence the decision as to whom would be designated heir. (For whatever reason, empresses rarely produced heirs themselves.) The other was to provide a regent, who would, in the case of a child emperor, rule together with the empress dowager.[18] Liú Bǎo himself named as regent his consort's

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[17] Bielenstein, "Wang Mang, the Restoration of the Han Dynasty, and Later Han," 281-85.

[18] On the role of the regent in the Eastern Hàn, see Hans Bielenstein, The Bureaucracy of Han

father, Liáng Shāng 梁商. Then, when Shāng died in 141, his eldest son, Liáng Jì, was appointed to take his place.[19] A few years later, the emperor died. Three children in succession were ushered to the throne, the first two dying soon after being installed. The third was a great-grandson of Emperor Zhāng, Liú Zhì (Emperor Huán 桓帝, reg. 147-167 C.E.). In 147, the new emperor was given Liáng Nǚyíng 梁女瑩, a younger sister of Liáng Nà, as his consort. She died on August 9, 159. The Liáng clan by this time had accumulated quite a bit a of wealth and dominated the ranks of the bureaucracy. Liáng Jì enjoyed the trappings of power; all who had business with the court had to seek him out first. He brooked no opposition.[20] Since the emperor's favorite, Lady Měngnǚ 猛女, was not of the Liáng clan, Liáng Jì despaired his impending loss of power. He attempted unsuccessfully to convince Měngnǚ's mother, Lady Xuān 宣, to allow him to adopt her daughter, and thus to co-opt her to the Liáng clan. Liáng Jì assassinated a son-in-law of Lady Xuān who had been urging her to resist Liáng Jì, and then attempted to murder Xuān herself. Lady Xuān escaped to the palace and warned the emperor. Liú Zhì called an emergency meeting--in the privy--of

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Times (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), 152-53.

[19] For Liáng Jì's official biography, see HHs, "Liáng Tǒng lièzhuàn," 34.1178-87.

[20] In 147, for instance, he executed the officials Lǐ Gù 李固 and Dù Qiáo 杜喬 for criticizing and memorializing against the Liáng clan. See de Crespigny, "Political Protest in Imperial China," 6-7 n. 3; HHs 63.2085-87, 2092-93.

the only people he felt he could trust, a small group of eunuchs.[21]

The eunuchs. As Derk Bodde points out, one must be chary of assessing the role of the eunuchs based on official accounts. These highly critical records were compiled by rivals in the factional power struggles, the clerisy.[22] The eunuchs were socially despised because of their castration, and perhaps because they derived from a lower stratum of society. Castration as an official punishment had been abolished at the beginning of Liú Hù 劉祜's reign (Emperor Ān 安帝; reg. 107-125), though its abolishment and reintroduction into the Chinese system of punishments had something of a cyclical life of its own. The private practice of the castration of young boys went on unabated nonetheless. There were considerable financial incentives for poor families to castrate their children. Beyond the menial work of the harem, which paid poorly, was the possibility of advancement to higher palace positions. Such offices as regular palace attendant (zhōngchángshì 中常侍) and prefect of the Yellow Gates (huángmén lìng 黃門令), who was essentially chief eunuch, provided otherwise unattainable

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[21] Bielenstein, "Wang Mang, the Restoration of the Han Dynasty, and Later Han," 285-86; de Crespigny, "Political Protest in Imperial China," 3-6; "The Harem of Emperor Huan: A Study of Court Politics in Later Han," Papers on Far Eastern History, no. 12 (Sept. 1975): 3-15; and "The Second Year of Yen-hsi: Notes to the Han Chronicle of A.D. 159," Journal of the Oriental Society of Australia 10 (1975): 12-15; Balazs, Chinese Civilization and Bureaucracy, 189.

For a summary of the history of the consort families in the Eastern Hàn, see Ts'ung-tsu Ch'ü, Han Social Structure, 210-29.

[22] Derk Bodde, "The State and Empire of Ch'in," in The Cambridge History of China, 1: 81 n. 98.

financial rewards to the eunuchs and their families. In addition, by bringing them into the intimacy of the emperor's private quarters, eunuchs derived political clout of some consequence.[23]

In the Eastern Hàn, eunuchs first played an important political role during the rein of Emperor Hé. After Liú Zhào reached majority, he decided to depose the regent, Dòu Xiàn 竇憲 (ob. 92), and the entire consort clan. He colluded with a eunuch regular palace attendant, Zhèng Zhòng 鄭眾, and found pretense to arrest Dòu Xiàn. Having accomplished that, they were able to remove the Dòu clan from power; the members of its faction were executed or sent into exile. Liú Zhào was then securely in control, and for his assistance, Zhèng Zhòng was made a marquis (hóu 侯), the first eunuch to receive that noble title.[24]

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[23] De Crespigny, "The Harem of Emperor Huan," 9, citing A.F.P. Hulsewé, Remnants of Han Law, vol. 1, Introductory Studies and an Annotated Translation of Chapters 22 and 23 of the History of the Former Han Dynasty, Sinica Leidensia Edidit Institutum Sinologicum Lugduno Batavum, vol. 9 (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1955): 127, and 144 n. 80. Cáo Cāo 曹操 (155-220) reimplemented the punishment in the Jiàn'ān period (196-219). See Wáng Yǒngkuān 王永寬, Zhōngguó gǔdài kùxíng 中國古代酷刑 (Táiběi: Yúnlóng chūbǎnshè, 1991), 138. On the zhōngchángshì, the highest rank to which a eunuch could aspire, and the huángmén lìng, see Bielenstein, The Bureaucracy of Han Times, 63 and 64, and "The Institutions of Later Han," in The Cambridge History of China, 1: 502, 503. The regular palace attendants, Bielenstein says (The Bureaucracy of Han Times, 63), "were responsible for attending on the emperor and for advising him on all matters." Emperor Guāngwǔ established this as a regular office to be held exclusively by eunuchs, and it became a tool of great power for them. Under Emperor Míng there were four at any one time; under Emperor Hé ten eunuchs could be appointed regular palace attendants. See also Ts'ung-tsu Ch'ü, Han Social Structure, 234-35.

[24] Bielenstein, "Wang Mang, the Restoration of the Han Dynasty, and Later Han," 282, 287; Ts'ung-tsu Ch'ü, Han Social Structure, 235. An additional important development is Zhèng Zhòng's adopted son being permitted to inherit the title.

Eunuchs also played a role in the succession struggle after the death of Liú Hù (Emperor Ān) in 125. Liú Hù's only son was passed over by Empress Dowager Yán, who instead chose a grandson of Emperor Zhāng. But when several months after enthronement the child died, a group of eunuchs was emboldened to take action. Loyal to Liú Hù's son, Liú Bǎo (Emperor Shùn), they met with him and pledged themselves to his cause. They defeated a rival group of eunuchs who were loyal to Empress Dowager Yán, and established Liú Bǎo as the new emperor. Yán family members were arrested and executed or sent into exile.[25]

A few decades later, the power of the eunuchs was about to surge, catching the consort clan unawares. With the court under the firm control of the regent Liáng Jì, Liú Zhì (Emperor Huán) gave himself over to the pleasures of his seraglio. Though this in itself was of little interest to the Liáng clan, they may have been concerned with the political consequences of his associations there with eunuch officials. When his sister, the empress, died, Liáng Jì was no longer permitted access to the harem. He decided that to regain access to the harem and keep an eye on Liú Zhì, he would adopt the emperor's intended, Lady Měngnǚ. He failed to convince her mother to permit him to adopt her, though, and his bungled attempt to kill her resulted in the emperor's secret meeting in the privy with the eunuchs.[26]

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[25] Bielenstein, "Wang Mang, the Restoration of the Han Dynasty, and Later Han," 284-85.

[26] De Crespigny, "The Harem of Emperor Huan," 8, and "The Second Year of Yen-hsi," 14-15.

Liú Zhì met first with a eunuch he felt confident that he could trust, Táng Héng 唐衡, a junior attendant of the Yellow Gates (xiǎo huángmén 小黃門). The emperor asked Táng on whom else they could rely whereupon the regular palace attendants Shàn Chāo 單超, Xú Huáng 徐璜, Jù Yuàn 具瑗, and another junior attendant of the Yellow Gates, Zuǒ Guàn 左悺, were summoned.[27] Just as in the case of the succession struggle involving Liú Bǎo, the eunuchs swore an oath of support. The challenge facing Liú Zhì and the five eunuchs was formidable. Besides being defacto head of government as regent, Liáng Jì, together with members of his family, controlled the Northern Army (which was stationed near the capital), the capital police, and the palace guards. When on September 9, 159, Liáng Jì sent a eunuch loyal to him into the harem to find out what was transpiring there, Jù Yuàn had the eunuch arrested on the charge that the eunuch's rank did not permit him entry into the rear palace. After that, Liú Zhì drew up official documents rescinding Liáng Jì's title and seals. Jù Yuàn and a force of over a thousand imperial bodyguards and palace police surrounded Liáng Jì's residence. Facing unavoidable catastrophe, Liáng Jì and his wife committed suicide. The Liáng clan was quickly deposed, its members executed or exiled.[28]

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[27] See the "biography" of these eunuchs in HHs, "Huànzhě lièzhuàn," 78.2520-21. According to Liáng Jì's biography, HHs 34.1185, Xú Huáng was a junior attendant of the Yellow Gates.

[28] HHs, "Liáng Tǒng lièzhuàn," 34.1186-87; Bielenstein, "Wang Mang, the Restoration of the Han Dynasty, and Later Han," 286, de Crespigny, "Political Protest in Imperial China," 3; "The Harem of Emperor Huan," 15-18, and "The Second Year of Yen-hsi," 15.

Following the precedent set by Emperor Hé, Liú Zhì honored the five loyalist eunuchs with marquisates and extended financial rewards to other eunuchs who supported the coup. On September 14, Lady Měngnǚ was elevated to the status of empress; later, she would be known as Empress Dèng.[29] The emperor, to rid the goverment of vestigial Liáng family influence, and to attempt a reform of the government, dismissed the three highest ministers (called the "Three Excellencies," Sāngōng 三公) and three hundred some-odd lesser officials, and tried to attract new men to official service.[30] Many of these would-be scholar-officials, including Cài Yōng, distressed over the enfeoffment and remuneration of the loyalist eunuchs, refused summonses to serve, preferring instead semi-withdrawal from society. When in a memorial to the emperor, a low-level official, the prefect of Báimǎ 白馬, Lǐ Yún 李雲, charged that the emperor was not being circumspect in his choice of empress and in advancing sycophantic eunuchs to office, and even in persecuting the Liáng clan, Liú

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[29] According to HHs, "Huánghòu lièzhuàn," 10B.444, the new empress was first ordered by the emperor to take the surname Pú 蒲, but court officials later memorialized that it was improper for her not to use her father Dèng Xiāng's 鄧香 surname. See also de Crespigny, "The Harem of Emperor Huan," 18, and 18 n. 23.

[30] The "Three Excellencies" was a general term throughout much of Chinese history for the top three ministers of the king or emperor. In this period, the Three Excellencies were the Grand Commandant (Tàiwèi 太尉), the Minister over the Masses (Sītú 司徒), and the Minister of Works (Sīkōng 司空). See Bielenstein, "The Institutions of Later Han," 492-93. The three dismissed by Liú Zhì were Hú Guǎng 胡廣 (the grand commandant), Hán Yǎn 韓縯 (minister over the masses), and Sūn Lǎng 孫朗 (minister of works); see Hú Guǎng's biography in HHs 44.1509.

Zhì was enraged and had him tortured and executed. Another minor official, Dù Zhòng 杜眾, memorialized in support of Lǐ Yún, stating that Lǐ had been punished for loyal admonishment, and added that he was willing to suffer death along with Lǐ Yún. The emperor, even more angered, obliged his request. Many other officials made known their approval of Lǐ Yún and Dù Zhòng, most significantly the high official Chén Fán 陳蕃 (ca. 90-168 C.E.), the dàhónglú 大鴻臚, or grand herald, whose memorial to the emperor asking that Lǐ Yún's life be spared resulted in his dismissal from office.[31] The struggle between factions was now fully joined by the clerisy.[32]

The clerisy. This is the faction most difficult to define. Unlike the consort clans, whose faction can be identified by its marriage ties to the emperor, and the eunuchs, whose physical mutilation and employment in the harem easily distinguish

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[31] See Lǐ Yún's biography in HHs 57.1851-52; and Chén Fān's biography in HHs 66.2161. The administrative center of the Hàn prefecture of Báimǎ was located just to the east of Huá xiàn 滑縣 in Hénán province. See also de Crespigny, "The Second Year of Yen-hsi," 16-17. De Crespigny, in translating a portion of Lǐ Yún's memorial, renders dì 諦 as "judge" (p. 17); I prefer "circumspect." Lǐ Yún cites Confucius from an apocryphal work, Chūnqiū yùndǒushū 春秋運斗樞, as saying, "An emperor is circumspect" 帝者諦也. The HHs Commentary (HHs 57.1853 n. 6), sponsored by Lǐ Xián 李賢 (651-684), gives Zhèng Xuán's 鄭玄 (127-200 C.E.) gloss for dì 諦, shěndì 審諦. But see de Crespigny's informative note, "The Second Year of Yen-hsi," 17 n. 10.

[32] Bielenstein, "Wang Mang, the Restoration of the Han Dynasty, and Later Han," 287-88, de Crespigny, "Political Protest in Imperial China," 6-7, 10; "The Harem of Emperor Huan," 18; "The Second Year of Yen-hsi," 15-17, and "Politics and Philosophy under the Government of Emperor Huan 159-168 A.D," T'oung Pao 11 (1980): 44.

For a summary of the history of the eunuchs in the Eastern Hàn, see Ts'ung-tsu Ch'ü, Han Social Structure, 232-43; on the power of the eunuchs in this period, see Bielenstein, The Bureaucracy of Han Times, 150-51.

them, the clerisy are not so clearly classified. They are often labeled the literati, the scholar-officials, or the scholar-gentry. Hans Bielenstein refers to them as the "career bureaucrats" and Cho-yun Hsu terms them alternately as literati and as "intellectual-bureaucrats."[33] Insofar as that not all of the group to which I would like to refer served in officialdom, I will avoid the terms "scholar-officials" and "career bureaucrats." Similarly, since not all of this group derived from the powerful landowning families, I will set aside "scholar-gentry."[34] I prefer "literati" and choose "clerisy" simply because it is an appellation for the educated as a group. What I mean by the "clerisy" is subsumed in what is denoted by the classical Chinese term shì 士 as it was understood in the Eastern Hàn. Patricia Ebrey refers to the shì, or "cultured gentlemen," as the upper class of Eastern Hàn society.[35] She regards them as "a class with fluid borders: it

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[33] Hans Bielenstein, "Wang Mang, the Restoration of the Han Dynasty, and Later Han," 288; Cho-yun Hsu, "The Roles of the Literati and of Regionalism in the Fall of the Han Dynasty," in The Collapse of Ancient States and Civilizations, ed. Norman Yoffee and George L. Cowgill (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1988), 183.

[34] See Albert E. Dien's Introduction to State and Society in Early Medieval China (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1990), 6 n. 8: "These 'gentry' were very different from the English gentry, for the term does not refer to a landed class only; scholars and officials also derived from this group, although it was their intimate connection with landed interests which gave them so much influence."

[35] On her use of the term "class," Ebrey states, "Indeed, among possible English terms, social class seems to come closest to conveying the meaning intended by Chinese of the Han when they referred to the shih as a component of society. . . . The major drawback of class as a term is the possible confusion with the Marxist conception of class based on relation to the means of production. The use of the term class for social class, however, is so well-established in American sociology that Marxist usage does not seem an adequate reason to reject it" ("Towards a Better Understanding of the Later Han Upper Class," in State and Society in Early Medieval China, 59, 60).

was not a hereditary caste; families could rise into it or fall out of it. Moreover, there could be marginal cases."[36] Central to Ebrey's understanding of the Eastern Hàn shì is the notion that a man was a shì if he regarded himself as a shì (and thus dressed and acted accordingly) while others also recognized him as a shì.[37] There was some consciousness among shì of themselves as a grouping or class.[38] In the discussion that follows, I shall use "clerisy" to refer to a large subset of this upper class: those men, who by virtue of their education, sought 1) to obtain and serve in an official position in the bureaucracy, or 2) to act as social and political critics after withdrawing from the world in semi-retirement or as genuine recluses. From the official to the critic they formed a faction in the late Hàn whose political aims and self interests conflicted with

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[36] Ebrey, "Towards a Better Understanding of the Later Han Upper Class," 62-63. As examples of marginal cases, Ebrey lists (p. 62) the "poor student" left with practically nothing after his father's death; the "general from a family of no distinction," and "the local sub-bureaucrat or local landowner who abused, terrorized, or stole from the peasants." The student would be a shì, but might drop out of that status if financial security were not eventually provided him. The general would not be part of the upper class unless his family were to gain social acceptability. The sub-bureaucrat or landowner would be a shì on the basis that such men as these would identify with the culture of the upper class. Ebrey also lists the eunuch, who, she says, would most definitely not be a member of this class.

Bielenstein states that Hàn society was composed of two broad classes with "elastic" social boundaries, the "literate gentry" and the "illiterate peasantry"; see "The Restoration of the Han Dynasty," vol. 3, "The People," BMFEA 39 (1967): 54-55.

[37] Ebrey, "Towards a Better Understanding of the Later Han Upper Class," 62; and "The Economic and Social History of Later Han," in The Cambridge History of China, 1: 631.

[38] Ebrey, "The Economic and Social History of Later Han," 631-32, 643-46.

those of the consort clans and the eunuchs.[39]

According to Cho-yun Hsu, the rise of the clerisy in the Western Hàn (202 B.C.E-9 C.E.) may be attributed to their pragmatism: As in earlier times, they were able and willing to provide the courts--those of the emperor and of the kings--counsel concerning diplomatic and military strategies and on various governmental affairs.[40] Other shì were engaged as poets, first at the courts of the kings, and then, beginning with Liú Chè 劉徹 (Emperor Wǔ 武帝, reg. 140-87 B.C.E.), at the imperial court. These court poets were accomplished composers of fù 賦, the "prose poem" or

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[39] Cho-yun Hsu identifies four groups within the clerisy ("The Roles of the Literati and of Regionalism," 186-87). The first group were those who tried to establish "a normative model toward which the real world should strive" while also securing "intellectual autonomy by systematizing knowledge." The great Western Hàn political theorist Dǒng Zhòngshū 董仲舒 (ca. 195-ca.115 B.C.E.) was the most prominent member of this group. The second group consisted of those literati who measured the real world against ideals and found it lacking. There were a number of such critics in the late Eastern Hàn, e.g., Wáng Fú 王符 (ca. 90-165, or ca. 78-163), Cuī Shí 崔寔 (?-ca. 170), Xú Gàn 徐幹 (170-217), and Zhòngcháng Tǒng 仲長統 (ca. 180-220). The third group was comprised of student protesters; their movement will be described below. The fourth and final group was the recluses, those who withdrew from or were never involved in official life as a show of political dissent. Hsu calls them the "silent protesters." On this group, see also Aat Vervoorn, 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), 164-201, but note Alan Berkowitz's objections against the use of the terms "hermits" and "eremitism" to refer to many of these men in his review article on Vervoorn's book, "Reclusion and 'The Chinese Eremitic Tradition,'" JAOS 113 (1993): 575-84.

[40] In the Chūnqiū 春秋 period (the period of the Annals), 722-481 B.C.E., and in the Warring States (Zhànguó 戰國) period, 481/403-221 B.C.E., men of talent and knowledge could find employment as court counselors. They were essentially at the bottom of the upper class.

"rhapsody," which became the preeminent literary form of the Hàn period.[41] Emperor Wǔ's summoning of Sīmǎ Xiāngrú 司馬相如 (179-117 B.C.E.) on account of his skills at fù composition demonstrates the importance literary composition came to have at the Hàn court.[42] Cho-yun Hsu describes the talents of the clerisy as commodities offered in a buyer's market: Unlike the Warring States (Zhànguó 戰國) period (481/403-221 B.C.E.), when various states vied for the services of a shì, the Hàn imperial court, after the rebellion of the Seven States was put down in 154 B.C.E., did not have to compete

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[41] Cho-yun Hsu, "The Roles of the Literati and of Regionalism in the Fall of the Han Dynasty," 177-78.

[42] See Sīmǎ Xiāngrú's official biography in Shǐ jì 史記, comp. Sīmǎ Tán 司馬談 (180-ca. 110 B.C.E.) and Sīmǎ Qiān 司馬遷 (ca. 145-86 B.C.E.) (Běijīng: Zhōnghuá shūjú, 1962), 117.3002, and in Hàn shū 漢書 (hereafter, Hs), comp. Bān Gù 班固 (32-92 C.E.), et al. (Běijīng: Zhōnghuá shūjú, 1962), 57A.2533. On Sīmǎ Xiāngrú and his fù, see Yves Hervouet, Un Poète de cour sous les Han: Sseu-ma Siang-jou, Bibliothèque de l'Institut des Hautes Études Chinoises, vol. 19 (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1964), Le Chapitre 117 du Che ki (Biographie de Sseu-ma Siang-jou), Bibliothèque de l'Institut des Hautes Études Chinoises, vol. 23 (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1972), and Gōng Kèchāng, Hàn fù yánjiū, 86-149. On Emperor Wǔ's role in promoting fù composition, as the first Chinese emperor to be a patron of literature and to regard himself as a poet as well, see David R. Knechtges, "The Emperor and Literature: Emperor Wu of the Han," in Imperial Rulership and Cultural Change in Traditional China, ed. Frederick P. Brandauer and Chun-Chieh Huang (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 1994), 51-76.

Cho-yun Hsu, in "The Roles of the Literati and of Regionalism in the Fall of the Han Dynasty," 178, may be overstating the case in making a distinction between literati who in the early Western Hàn served as strategists, and those who later, by writing fù, were basically entertainers, even when they attempted suasion through their compositions. Many fù writers also served at court in other official capacities. Sīmǎ Xiāngrú, for instance, was once sent as an envoy to Bā 巴 and Shǔ 蜀 in the southwest, and then later served at court as general of the gentlemen of the household (zhōngláng jiāng 中郎將), and then as prefect of Emperor Wén's funerary park (Xiào Wén yuán lìng 孝文園令); see Shǐ jì, 117.3044, 3046 3056; Hs 57B.2577, 2581, 2592.

for choice men.[43]

Until Emperor Wǔ, the court saw little need for pure scholarship, and so the services sought of the shì were mainly government- and entertainment-oriented.[44] In the early years of Emperor Wǔ's reign, Empress Dowager Dòu 竇, as a powerful supporter of Huáng-Lǎo 黃老 thought, had checked the rise of Confucianism at court.[45] Around the time of her death in 135 B.C.E., the great political thinker Dǒng Zhòngshū 董仲舒 (ca. 195-ca.115 B.C.E.) proposed repudiating any teachings not in line with Confucian thought and certain ancient texts.[46] This counsel coincided with

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[43] Cho-yun Hsu, "The Roles of the Literati and of Regionalism in the Fall of the Han Dynasty," 178.

[44] Cho-yun Hsu, "The Roles of the Literati and of Regionalism in the Fall of the Han Dynasty," 177, 179.

[45] R. P. Peerenboom, Law and Morality in Ancient China: The Silk Manuscripts of Huang-Lao, SUNY Series in Chinese Philosophy and Culture, eds. David L. Hall and Roger T. Ames (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1993), 249-51; John Makeham, Name and Actuality in Early Chinese Thought, SUNY Series in Chinese Philosophy and Culture, ed. David L. Hall and Roger T. Ames (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1994), 179.

On Huáng-Lǎo thought, see Michael Loewe, "The Religious and Intellectual Background," in The Cambridge History of China, 1: 694-96; Kung-chuan Hsiao, A History of Chinese Political Thought, vol. 1, From the Beginning to the Sixth Century A.D., trans. Frederick W. Mote (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979), 552-56, and Peerenboom's study, Law and Morality in Ancient China: The Silk Manuscripts of Huang-Lao (on its history, see especially his Chapter VII, 217-61).

[46] For the memorial, see Dǒng Zhòngshū's official biography in Hs 56.2523. Kung-chuan Hsiao, in A History of Chinese Political Thought, 429 n. 7, gives the dates 136 or 134 B.C.E. Michael Loewe gives the dates 140 and 134; see "The Religious and Intellectual Background," 710 n. 147. Fung Yu-lan suggests 136 (A History of Chinese Philosophy, vol. 1, The Period of the Philosophers [from the beginnings to circa 100 B.C.], 2nd ed., trans. Derk Bodde (Princeton: Princeton University

growing demands, formerly suppressed by Empress Dowager Dòu, to establish court patronage of Confucianism. In 136, Emperor Wǔ, who was sympathetic to the Confucian scholars, issued an edict providing for the establishment of academic chairs for each of five works revered by Confucian scholars, works soon to be recognized as canonical or "Classics." With the appointment of scholars to these posts, an incipient Academy (Tàixué 太學) was founded using the Five Classics as, in Michael Loewe's words, "the primary texts for educating officials."[47] In 124 B.C.E., the practice began of having the commanderies and kingdoms recommend students to study under the erudits. At the beginning, ten students were selected for each erudit, for a total of fifty students. As the idea took root over the ensuing decades, the Academy grew to unforeseen proportions. There were said to be 3,000 students enrolled in the Academy during the reign of Liú Ào 劉驁 (Emperor Chéng 成帝; reg. 32-7 B.C.E.), and in the

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Press, 1952), 16.

[47] Michael Loewe, "The Former Han Dynasty," The Cambridge History of China, 1: 154; R. P. Peerenboom, Law and Morality in Ancient China: The Silk Manuscripts of Huang-Lao, 250. The "Five Classics" were probably Changes (Yì 易), Documents (Shū 書), Songs (Shī 詩), Rituals (Lǐ 禮), and the Annals (Chūnqiū 春秋) with the Gōngyáng Commentary (Gōngyáng zhuàn 公羊傳), though there is some disagreement on this. See Makeham, Name and Actuality in Early Chinese Thought, 254-55 n. 6.

Han Bielenstein (The Bureaucracy of Han Times, 138) points out that the appointment of bóshì 博士 or "erudits" had long preceded this particular edict. The change inaugurated by this edict was that the texts the erudits were chosen to specialize in made up the Confucian canon; formerly, there were a variety of texts, only a small number of them which could be classified as "Confucian."

mid-second century C.E., there were over 30,000 students.[48]

Michael Loewe states that the Academy "became an instrument for fostering the Chinese traditional way of public life, which comprised a respect for achievements of the past, a close association between scholarship and success in the service, and the claim that imperial government rested on the principles of Confucius. . . ."[49] Although, as Hans Bielenstein points out, the Academy's graduates were but a small pool compared to the wider sea of candidates entering the central bureaucracy by beginning as junior staff, by securing a recommendation from a benefactor, or by being nominated by one's commandery or kingdom,[50] one may argue that wide recognition of the "close association between scholarship and success in the service" is reflected in this expansion of the Academy. It is reflected, also, in the decision of 132 C.E., to have those nominated as "Filially Pious and Incorrupt" (Xiào-lián 孝廉) candidates examined by their commanderies and kingdoms "on knowledge of the classics," Bielenstein states,

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[48] Bielenstein, The Bureaucracy of Han Times, 68-71, 138-39; Michael Loewe, "The Structure and Practice of Government," in The Cambridge History of China, 1: 465. For the figure of 30,000 students, see HHs, "Dǎnggù lièzhuàn," 67.2186.

[49] Loewe, "The Structure and Practice of Government," 465.

[50] Bielenstein, The Bureaucracy of Han Times, 140-41; Rafe de Crespigny, "The Recruitment System of the Imperial Bureaucracy of Later Han," The Chung Chi Journal 6 (1966): 68. A smaller number were able to enter the service through rèn 任 privilege (i.e., through the intercession of an family member already in office), or through direct summons by the emperor (Bielenstein, 132-33; de Crespigny, 68).

"or on the ability to draft documents."[51] An edict in 146 initiated, on a very limited basis, the practice of directly admitting some Academy students into the bureaucracy on a competitive basis. This policy was expanded in 148, and in 156, students could expect to climb the bureaucratic ranks by successfully passing biennial exams on an increasing number of classics (up to the five).[52] The new-found respect for scholarship shown in the establishment and growth of the Academy and in the burgeoning examination system also had a profound impact on daily life away from the capital, since candidates first required a basic education. Thus, an educational system built on a Confucian curriculum, combined with the factor of an economic status sufficient to provide that education, created a new social group. Cho-yun Hsu states, "Common interest as well as a closely knit network of social ties bound the literati into a well-defined social group with strong group identity."[53] The self-awareness of this group is the most significant social development of the second century C.E.[54] This was the

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[51] Bielenstein, The Bureaucracy of Han Times, 136. On the "Filially Pious and Incorrupt" nomination system, established to obtain men of outstanding moral qualities for government service, see Bielenstein, 134-37. The history of the examination system is not fully known; it is possible that as early as 165 B.C.E. some candidates for office were being examined at the capital (see p. 134).

[52] De Crespigny, "The Recruitment System of the Imperial Bureaucracy of Later Han," 73.

[53] Cho-yun Hsu, "The Roles of the Literati and of Regionalism in the Fall of the Han Dynasty," 183, 185. Because of the importance placed on studies, the tutor-pupil relationship came to be compared with the parent-child relationship (see Hsu, 185).

[54] Patricia Ebrey comments on how the self-awareness and social cohesion of this class affected the subsequent course of history: "In the succeeding centuries, the strength and coherence of the upper

clerisy that Emperor Huán and the eunuchs confronted.

Factional strife in the late Eastern Hàn. Liú Zhì's (Emperor Huán) punishment of Lǐ Yún stirred great resentment in the clerisy towards the emperor. The protest over Lǐ Yún's punishment put the Emperor on the defensive. Nonetheless, as Rafe de Crespigny points out, the emperor refrained from taking further such vindictive action against someone mounting criticism, and indeed, his later policies seem informed by the clerisy's attacks on the eunuchs.[55] Of the "Five Marquises," the eunuch leaders who had assisted in deposing Liáng Jì, three had died by 165; the two remaining, Jù Yuàn and Zuǒ Guàn, were dismissed. These new circumstances encouraged further attacks on the eunuchs. Accusations against them were led by Chén Fān, who had been restored to office only three months after he had been dismissed by the emperor for his

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class of 'cultured gentlemen' proved to be more durable than political or economic centralization as a basis for the unity of Chinese civilization" ("The Economic and Social History of Later Han," 643). Among the studies of self-awareness of the clerisy and the emergence of individualism at this time, see Yú Yīngshí (Ying-shih Yü) 余英時, "Hàn Jìn zhī jì shì zhī xīnzìjué yǔ xīnsīcháo" 漢晉之際士之新自覺與新思潮, Xīn Yà xuébào, 4 (August, 1959): 25-144 (Yú Yīngshí discusses the impact of this new self-awareness of the clerisy on contemporary literary developments on pp. 73-75), and his "Individualism and the Neo-Taoist Movement in Wei-Chin China," in Individualism and Holism: Studies in Confucian and Taoist Values, Michigan Monographs in Chinese Studies, No. 52, ed. Donald J. Munro (Ann Arbor: Center for Chinese Studies, The University of Michigan, 1985), 121-34; see also Munro's Introduction to the latter book, 25-26. For a dissenting view on Hàn and Wèi-Jìn individualism, see Michael Nylan, "Confucian Piety and Individualism in Han China," JAOS 116 (1996), 1-27.

[55] De Crespigny, "Politics and Philosophy under the Government of Emperor Huan 159-168," 46, and n. 7.

criticism of the execution of Lǐ Yún. It became apparent to the eunuchs that their survival required timely action. By February of 167, the eunuchs had arrived at a plan. They arranged for the arrest of Lǐ Yīng 李膺, who was the colonel director of the retainers (sīlì xiàowèi 司隸校尉) and a leading persecutor of the eunuchs, along with some others on the charge of forming a treasonous faction with Academy students. They were imprisoned and tortured, and the information they were coerced to reveal implicated some two hundred of the clerisy. In 167, the colonel of the city gates (chéngmén xiàowèi 城門校尉), Dòu Wǔ 竇武, who was the father of Liú Zhì's new empress--Empress Dèng had been removed in 165, ostensibly for having failed to produce a male heir--was successful in obtaining the release of these men. But the group was prohibited from henceforth holding office.[56]

In these early years of Liú Zhì's reign, the students at the Academy became politically active. Rafe de Crespigny notes that, in the second century, the recommendation system had all but supplanted other forms of recruitment. At the same time, enrollment at the Academy was at an all time high. Student disgruntlement with the dearth of employment opportunities was expressed as disenchantment with government corruption and the court's failing to recognize "worthy" ministers. The

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[56] De Crespigny, "Political Protest in Imperial China," 11-13; "Politics and Philosophy under the Government of Emperor Huan 159-168 A.D." 49-51; and "The Harem of Emperor Huan," 32. On Empress Dèng's dismissal, see de Crespigny's "The Harem of Emperor Huan," 20, 22-25.

students wrote slogans in rimed seven-graph lines to proclaim their admiration and criticism of certain public figures who had gained a measure of popularity or notoriety. These pithy critiques came to be called "pure judgments" (qīngyì 清議). "Pure judgments" evolved into a system of classification against which the moral qualities of men could be judged. This led to lists of the students' heroes ranked according to their moral virtues. The meter and rime of the slogans, and the numerology of the lists, provided these judgments with a sort of mystical authority. Much later, after the fall of the Hàn, the government appropriated "pure judgments" for the recruitment system. Some members of the clerisy then, seeing a perversion of an ideal system, sought retirement from the world and engaged in "pure conversation" (qīngtán 清談), highly erudite and often abstruse discussions of philosophy and the arts.[57] For the Academy

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[57] On "pure judgments," and the clerisy's abandonment of "pure judgments" for "pure conversation," see Kǒng Fán 孔繁, Wèi Jìn xuántán 魏晉玄談 (Táiběi: Hóngyè wénhuà yǒuxiàn gōngsī, 1994), 1-28; Kung-chuan Hsiao, in A History of Chinese Political Thought, 632-34; Charles Holcombe, In the Shadow of the Han: Literati Thought and Society at the Beginning of the Southern Dynasties (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1994), 91. On the later use of these categories, see Donald Holzman, "Les débuts du système médiéval de choix et de classement des fonctionnaires: Les neuf categories et l'Impartial et Juste," Mélanges publiés par l'Institute des Hautes Études Chinoises, vol. 1 (Paris, 1957), 387-414.

Okamura Shigeru argues against a connection between "pure judgments" and "pure conversation" in "Seidan no keifu to igi" 清談の系譜と意義, Nippon Chūgoku gakkai hō 15 (1963): 100-119.

Ying-shih Yü, "Individualism and the Neo-Taoist Movement," 130-33, argues that by the late second century intellectuals were already engaging in "pure conversation," and that moreover, it was not simply a response to political exigencies of the times. Rather, he attributes the appearance of this phenomenon to "reorientation in thought (i.e., the shift from Confucian learning to Taoist philosophy)" (p. 131), to the "phenomenal growth of the student body" at the Academy (p. 131), and to a new interest in philosophical reasoning.

students under Liú Zhì, the slogans, like the slogans of modern protest movements, were on the one hand concise, euphonic ways of expressing deeply-held political convictions, and on the other hand, effective instruments for student leaders like Guō Tài 郭泰 (128-169 C.E.; see Chapter V) to promote group cohesion. The students held large rallies; if there were 30,000 students at the Academy in a city of about a half a million, their protests must have profoundly unsettled the court.[58]

On January 25, 168, at age thirty-five, Liú Zhì died without having designated an heir. Dòu Wǔ, breaking with tradition, called together the competing interests at court to help decide a successor to Emperor Huán. A provincial censor (yùshǐ 御史), Liú Shù 劉儵 (ob. 168), promoted Liú Hóng 劉宏, a great-great-grandson of Emperor Zhāng, for the throne. The empress dowager and Dòu Wǔ gave their assent to this candidate, posthumously known as Emperor Líng 靈帝 (reg. 168-189). Dòu Wǔ was named regent (dàjiāngjūn), Chén Fān was brought in as grand tutor (tàifū 太傅), and

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[58] De Crespigny, "Political Protest in Imperial China," 15-16, 18-21, 23-29; and "Politics and Philosophy under the Government of Emperor Huan 159-168 A.D," 56-61. De Crespigny, pp. 19-20 of the former, and pp. 57-58 of the latter, provides examples of the slogans, including "A model for the empire, Lǐ Yuánlǐ [Lǐ Yǐng]" 天下模楷李元禮, and "Fearless of powerful enemies, Chén Zhòngjǔ [Chén Fān]" 不畏強禦陳仲舉 (pp. 20 and 57, respectively, mod.; HHs, "Dǎnggù lièzhuàn," 67.2186). The HHs text groups the following line with these, "A hero for the empire, Wáng Shūmào [Wáng Chàng 王暢]" 天下俊秀王叔茂. The rimes fall in the fourth and seventh syllable of each line.

Even at this early date, student protests were not new to the Chinese political scene. Such demonstrations go back at least as early as the end of Emperor Chéng's 成帝 reign (32-7 B.C.E.); see Cho-yun Hsu, "The Roles of the Literati and of Regionalism in the Fall of the Han Dynasty," 182.

together with Hú Guǎng 胡廣 (91-172), they served as intendants of the masters of writing (lù shàngshū shì 錄尚書事). By thus controlling the imperial secretariat, they exercised considerable power in the government. Lǐ Yīng and the other members of the proscribed party were invited back into government service, and received high posts.[59]

By the summer of 168, Dòu Wǔ and Chén Fān had become concerned with the emperor's lack of responsiveness to their counsels, while the eunuchs were happily securing appointments. Chén Fān proposed a most drastic plan: the execution of all the eunuchs. Dòu Wǔ was slow to embrace the action, and the empress dowager outright opposed it. Eventually, Dòu and Chén obtained assistance from an unlikely source, the eunuch Shān Bīng 山冰, whom they set up as chief eunuch. On the night of October 24-25, Shān Bīng drew up a memorial recommending the arrest of a large number of eunuchs. That same night, the document was intercepted on the way to court and read by a group of seventeen eunuchs who then vowed to smite the Dòu clan. By dawn, Shān Bīng, Chén Fān, and Dòu Wǔ were all dead; Dòu Wǔ's head was displayed on a stake in front of the Capital Hostel (Dūtíng 都亭). The empress dowager was put under arrest in the Cloud Terrace (Yúntái 雲臺) of the Southern Palace. By contrast, the seemingly doomed eunuchs, save for the turncoat Shān Bīng, were very much alive;

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[59] B. J. Mansvelt Beck, "The Fall of Han," 317-19; de Crespigny, "Political Protest in Imperial China," 22-23; Bielenstein, The Bureaucracy of Han Times, 152-54. Hú Guǎng was once Cài Yōng's tutor; see HHs 60B.1980; Asselin, "The Hou Han shu Biography of Cai Yong," 5-6, 57, 57-58 n. 15.

eighteen of them were ennobled, following the precedent set with Zhèng Zhòng and the "Five Marquises." To appease members of the clerisy, the eunuchs retained the services of many men who had been loyal to Dòu Wǔ, most notably, Hú Guǎng, who was named grand tutor.[60]

A year later, in the winter of 169, with tensions between the palace eunuchs and disgruntled bureaucrats at a high pitch once again, the eunuchs convinced the emperor that members of the clerisy were again involved in forming treasonous factions. The proscribed party of 167, including Lǐ Yīng, was re-arrested, imprisoned, and tortured to death. Others, too, were apprehended and killed, along with their sons and parents, while wives and the youngest children were sent into exile. Those not imprisoned were proscribed from ever holding office again. The proscription extended to relations sharing the same great-great-grandfather. In 172, after the death of Empress Dowager Dòu, students from the Academy were accused of anti-eunuch graffiti including, among other things, the charge that the eunuchs had killed the empress dowager. More than a thousand students were subsequently arrested. The dǎnggù 黨錮, "proscription of the partisans" or "Great Proscription," as it is usually referred to in English-language studies of this matter, lasted fifteen years.[61]

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[60] Beck, "The Fall of Han," 319-22; Hans Bielenstein, "Lo-yang in Later Han Times," BMFEA 48 (1976): 40, 43; HHs, "Dòu Hé lièzhuàn," 69.2244.

[61] De Crespigny, "Political Protest in Imperial China," 31-33; Beck, "The Fall of Han," 328-29.

The proscription impinged on the recruitment efforts of the government to staff the bureaucracy. Though the proscription by itself affected a relatively small number of people, it had a chilling effect on the clerisy, encouraging many to choose semi-withdrawal from the world rather than pursue an official career. With so much unrest at the Academy, the court was not inclined to hire its graduates. Since the notion of an imperial academy had great appeal as the training ground for future government servants and as a cultural and intellectual center for the realm, the eunuchs proposed a new school. This was, of course, anathema to the clerisy, for whom the Academy represented, if not in actuality at least symbolically, the bulwark of Confucian orthodoxy. In 178 C.E., the government established the School at the Gate of the Vast Capital (Hóngdū mén xué 鴻都門學) where students were trained in the writing of government documents, in the composing of fù, in calligraphy and in the writing of Bird-style seal characters. The clerisy, Cài Yōng among the most prominent, had already attempted in 175 to reverse the decline of scholarly standards at the Academy by erecting the Stone Classics, new, definitive versions of the Confucian canon literally set in stone. Now these scholars were vehemently against the substitution of the Confucian curriculum with training in what was regarded at this time as less important skills. The new university remained in spite of the protests, and perhaps to spite the clerisy.[62] The emperor's decision in the same year, 178, to exact fines in exchange for

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[62] Beck, "The Fall of Han," 333; de Crespigny, "Political Protest in Imperial China," 34, and 34 n. 47; Bielenstein, The Bureaucracy of Han Times, 28, 69-70. See also Cài Yōng's biography, HHs

office appointments, which amounted to the sale of offices, further contributed to the abasement of the bureaucracy and the demoralization of the literati.[63]

The Great Proscription appears to have ended because of a new crisis facing the court. In March of 184, insurrections were reported in sixteen commanderies. What became known as the Yellow Turbans (Huángjīn 黃巾) rebellion was initiated under the direction of Zhāng Jué 張角, the leader of a religious sect that preached repentance of sins and the healing of disease through magical practices. The sect believed that with the start of a new Chinese sexagenary cycle came a new order of "great peace" (tàipíng 太平). The new cycle was set to begin in the year at hand. Though the court had had some warning of the impending crisis--one of Zhāng Jué's followers had betrayed him to the court--it was unaware of the scope of the problem with which it was to be faced. Initially, the Yellow Turbans were wildly successful, defeating local armies and putting officials to flight. No evidence indicted the clerisy for involvement in or support of the Yellow Turbans rebellion. Nonetheless, the emperor, hoping to stem that possibility,

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60B.1996-97, 1998; Asselin, "The Hou Han shu Biography of Cai Yong," 32, 33, 116-20, 150-51, 157.

[63] Rafe de Crespigny, "The Government of Emperor Ling," in Chine ancienne (Pre-Modern China), Actes du XXIX^{e} Congrès international des Orientalistes Paris, Juillet 1973 (Paris: L'Asiathèque, 1977), 90, and "The Recruitment System of the Imperial Bureaucracy of Later Han," 68. See also Carl Leban's criticism of de Crespigny's discussion in the latter source, particularly the statement that "purchase was never a recognized and accepted method of beginning a career in the civil service," stating that this practice was indeed the sale of offices ("Sale of Offices or 'Fines' in the Later Han: A Matter of Interpretation," in State and Society in Early Medieval China, 31-47.

decided in April to follow the recommendation of a eunuch, Lǚ Qiáng 呂強, to countermand the Great Proscription. The Yellow Turbans rebellion was put down eleven months later, but even then serious uprisings continued to plague the Hàn empire.[64]

The wife of the emperor Liú Hóng (Emperor Líng) was Empress Hé 何 (ob. 189), a commoner who had risen to such heights by first buying her way into the harem and then producing a son. Her half-brother, Hé Jìn 何進 (ob. 189) was named general-in-chief (dàjiāngjūn 大將軍, only later did he really become a "regent"[65]) at the start of the Yellow Turbans campaign. When Liú Hóng died, Empress Hé's son, Liú Biàn 劉辯 was selected for the throne. The Hé consort clan moved quickly to solidify their hold on power, taking actions that resulted in the deaths of a leading eunuch and the mother of Emperor Líng. A military official and a member of an important clan, Yuán Shào 元紹 (ob. 202), urged Hé Jìn to do what Chén Fān and Dòu Wǔ failed to do: Rid themselves entirely of the eunuchs. But like Dòu Wǔ, Hé Jìn was reluctant to take an

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[64] Beck, "The Fall of Han," 338-39; Paul Demiéville, "Philosophy and Religion from Han to Sui," in The Cambridge History of China, 1: 815-18; de Crespigny, "Political Protest in Imperial China," 33-34.

De Crespigny, in "Politics and Philosophy under the Government of Emperor Huan 159-168 A.D.," 78, points out that even under Emperor Huán "there had been a series of rebellions led by men who adopted an imperial title, who used magical charms and signs to inspire authority, and who appear to have claimed, as Chang Chüeh [Zhāng Jué] and the Yellow Turbans claimed later, that the success of their cause would bring a new age of purity and reform to all the world."

[65] See Bielenstein, The Bureaucracy of Han Times, 152.

action that the empress dowager opposed.[66] In a fateful move, he ordered the general Dǒng Zhuō to move his troops towards the capital. On September 22, 189, the eunuchs learned that Hé Jìn had memorialized to the empress dowager to have them all executed. Though the empress dowager had refused his request, the eunuchs recalled him to the palace on a pretense, whereupon they chopped off his head. Two days later, Yuán Shào led his troops into the palace and finally carried out the complete massacre of the eunuchs--some two thousand plus men.[67]

Before the massacre, Liú Biàn had fled the palace with his half-brother, Liú Xié, and a eunuch-protector. The eunuch was killed after being pursued by General Yuán Shào's men, and the boys were left to wander. General Dǒng Zhuō tracked down the young emperor and his half-brother, and brought them back to Luòyáng. He forced Yuán Shào to flee the capital and then maneuvered to establish himself. To legitimize his standing at court, Dǒng Zhuō forced outstanding members of the clerisy, such as Cài Yōng, to serve in his government. Disliking Liú Biàn, Dǒng Zhuō forced the empress dowager to replace him with Liú Xié (Emperor Xiàn 獻帝, reg. 189-220), and then had the empress dowager and, later, Liú Biàn, killed.

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[66] The empress dowager was in debt to the eunuchs: In 181, after she, as Empress Hé, had poisoned her rival, the mother of Liú Xié (the future Emperor Xiàn), Emperor Líng had wanted to avenge her death. The eunuchs dissuaded him, thus returning Empress Hé's life. See Beck, "The Fall of Han," 323.

[67] Beck, "The Fall of Han," 323, 325, 341-45.

To the east, Yuán Shào, his half-brother Yuán Shù 袁術 (ob. 199), and another military officer, Cáo Cāo 曹操 (155-220), formed a coalition opposing Dǒng Zhuō. In April 190, having decided to move the seat of government back to the Western Hàn capital of Cháng'ān 長安, Dǒng Zhuō set in motion a death march westward, led by the emperor. Corpses were said to have littered the road. Dǒng Zhuō and his troops looted Luòyáng, including its tombs, and burned down the city. The record details the gruesome cruelties they were said to have afflicted on the loyalist soldiers and rebels that they captured. In 191, they, too, moved to Cháng'ān. The following year, on May 22, Dǒng Zhuō was assassinated. The emperor then became the pawn of warlords and rebels, but, significantly, he remained alive to offer up his abdication in 220 to Cáo Cāo's heir, Cáo Pī 曹丕 (186-226). Cáo Pī reigned as the first emperor of the Wèi 魏 dynasty (220-265), and was posthumously known as Emperor Wén 文帝 (reg. 220-226).[68]

1.3 The "Fin-de-siècle" Phenomenon in the Period 159-192 C.E.

Kairos is, to borrow the title of Kermode's book, "the sense of an ending" at a critical juncture in time, an epoch in which there is remembrance of beginnings, an acute

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[68] Beck, "The Fall of Han," 341, 345-48; Bielenstein, "Lo-yang in Later Han Times," 89, 101. On the terror of Luòyáng's final days, see Dǒng Zhuō's biography in HHs 72.2327-28; on the assassination of Dǒng Zhuō, see Asselin, "The Hou Han shu Biography of Cai Yong," 194 n. 430, and HHs 72.2331.

awareness of present-time conditions, and an anticipation of social or political change.[69] Anticipation of an ending may arise from calendrical or numerological calculations; it may be determined by the end of a cycle or by the roundness of a large number, typically a century or millennium. An ending could also be predicted as the perceived logical outcome of dire social or political conditions, such as a pandemic, a complete lack of social order, or military threat. The ending may carry symbolical, magical, or religious significance, or be a conclusion based on scientific observation. There are various manifestations of these historical "endings"; they may take the form of cataclysmic destruction (in Western civilization, the most commonly invoked ending is the Apocalypse of Revelation), or of a great but benign change from present circumstances. When the anticipated "ending" does not occur in the way or at the time expected, current conditions and past events are then reexamined and reinterpreted to see what new indications for the future they may yield.[70]

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[69] In this century, the term has been applied to the situation in Central Europe in the wake of World War I. Paul Tillich, Systematic Theology, vol. 3, Life and the Spirit, History and the Kingdom of God (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1963), 371, writes that "the term kairos was used for the critical and creative situation after the First World War in central Europe. . . ."

Kermode's lectures were given during the height of the Cold War, when the threat of nuclear war loomed as a distinct possibility, and when the war in Vietnam had begun to impinge on the American political scene. The 1950s and 1960s was also a period filled with opportunities for economic prosperity, technological achievements, and scientific discoveries. There was a sense of being on the cusp of an new era. For these reasons, one may consider that time to have been a kairos.

[70] Tillich (Systematic Theology, 3: 371) states, "No date foretold in the experience of a kairos was ever correct; no situation envisaged as the result of a kairos ever came into being." I think that this statement is accurate, though I would argue that anticipated endings do happen, but in different

I have suggested that the epoch of 159-192 C.E. may exhibit the signs of a fin-de-siècle phenomenon.[71] B. J. Mansvelt Beck, in his contribution to the Qín-Hàn volume of The Cambridge History of China, examines the reasons why the Eastern Hàn dynasty came to an end.[72] Here we are not concerned so much with why the Hàn dynasty fell as when it was realized to be in crisis. Beck's analysis is still very useful in this regard.

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forms or at a different time than expected. For instance, I think that in the kairotic epoch of 159-192 C.E. some members of the cultural establishment in China may have anticipated the fall of the Hàn dynasty. A few supposed prognostications not withstanding (see n. 95 below), the literati of this time could not have envisioned its demise in 220 at the hands of the general Cáo Cāo 曹操 (155-220).

[71] Though by coincidence Western reckoning indeed places the epoch I have defined at the end of a century, I mean to use the term metaphorically. The fin de siècle of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was an epoch accompanied by a "cultural malaise," as art historian Shearer West puts it, a deeply held conviction "that the end of the century would bring with it decay, decline, and ultimate disaster." "The first quality which distinguishes the fin de siècle phenomenon," West writes, "is an awareness of time and future--an idea that events are moving towards a final conclusion, and that nothing is happening without a purpose. Coupled with this is a period of change, disaster or progress. . . . Violent change could result in a pessimistic view of the future, but conversely, those who witnessed floods, plagues, wars or persistent crop failure could reassure themselves with the thought that the old, sick world was being wiped out to be replaced by a newer, more perfect world. This rationalization of disaster may have provided an explanation for a beleaguered population, but it equally promoted utopian visions." The "fin de siècle culture" of the late nineteenth century was, West states, an "art and literature which self-consciously promoted the themes of decadence and death." See Fin de Siècle (London: Bloomsbury, 1993), 1. This description resonates with the period of literature I am describing in this study.

The Jiàn'ān 建安 (196-219) was nominally the last period of Hàn rule, but politically and culturally it is more appropriate to consider it a new era identified with the Cáo 曹 clan. Mǎ Jīgāo 馬積高 makes the same assessment in Fù shǐ 賦史 (Shànghǎi: Shànghǎi gǔjí chūbǎnshè, 1987), 125.

[72] See in particular the section, "The Fall of Han in Perspective," 357-76.

From Beck's study we can see that among the general populace a large number of people believed the Hàn dynasty had run its course. Beck points out that from 132 to 193 there were fourteen rival emperors in the provinces. Moreover, there were four external plots against the throne, in 147, 161, 178, and 188. These pretenders and schemes arose from the yāozéi 妖賊, "magic rebels," insurgent religious sects that employed mystical symbols and magic.[73] As we have seen above, in 184, the Yellow Turbans launched a rebellion. Before the revolt got underway, Zhāng Jué's followers wrote the word jiàzǐ 甲子 on walls everywhere; the graffitti even appeared in the capital.[74] Jiàzǐ was the name of the first year of the sexagenary cycle. By starting their rebellion in the jiàzǐ year of 184, the Yellow Turbans proclaimed their belief in a correspondence between completed time cycles and the onset of great change. Their adoption of the color yellow (huáng 黃) seems to have had a double-meaning: the

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[73] Beck, "The Fall of Han," 337, 358, 368. On p. 337, he gives the dates for twelve of the rival emperors: three in 145, and the others in 147, 148, 150, 154, 165, 166, 172, 187, and 188. Anna K. Seidel discusses some of them in La divinisation de Lao Tseu dans le taoisme des Han, Publications de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient, 71 (Paris, 1969), 42-43, and in "The Image of the Perfect Ruler in Early Taoist Messianism: Lao-tzu and Li Hung," History of Religions 9 (1969-70): 219-20.

According to The New Encyclopaedia Britannica ("Taoism," by Anna K. Seidel, Michel Strickmann, et al.), one religious sect, "a messianic group in west China at the end of the 2nd century" was responsible for a text found at Dūnhuáng titled the Book of the Transformations of Lǎozǐ (Lǎozǐ biànhuà jīng 老子變化經). In it, Lǎozǐ "calls upon the faithful to join him, now, when he is about to strike at the tottering rule of the Han dynasty." (A facsimile of this document [MS Stein 2295] is found in Seidel, La divinisation de Lao Tseu, 131-36).

[74] Howard S. Levy, "Yellow Turban Religion and Rebellion at the End of Han," JAOS 76 (1956): 214.

religious affiliation with the deified Huáng-Lǎo, and the political association with the wǔxíng 五行 or "Five Activities" theory.[75]

It is the Five Activities theory that, as Beck points out, gave the Hàn dynasty both its "metaphysical legitimation" and the potential ideological framework for its undoing. The Five Activities were a cyclical process of correspondences; applied to the sociopolitical realm it revealed that dynasties received and lost their mandates according to a cycle. Emperor Guāngwǔ in 26 C.E. selected the element fire and the corresponding color red for the Hàn dynasty. According to theory, the element fire was to be conquered or replaced by the element earth, and its color, yellow.[76] Thus, the symbolism of the color associated with the Yellow Turbans rebellion would not have been lost on the court.

To the clerisy, eunuchs, and the consort families, the loss of the dynasty's mandate would be nothing less than a momentous, and even calamitous, event. The Hàn dynasty was perceived to be an institution over three hundred years old, despite the interruption of Wáng Mǎng's 王莽 (45 B.C.E.-23 C.E.) aborted Xīn 新 dynasty. Beck suggests that these factions were left unmoved by popular sentiment for a change of governments, at least until after the death of Dǒng Zhuō. He points out that the

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[75] Beck, "The Fall of Han," 368.

[76] Beck, "The Fall of Han," 360; I prefer the translation "Five Activities" or "Five Powers" over Beck's "Five Phases."

regents had several opportunities to install someone other than a Liú on the throne, and they did not attempt it. Failed internal plots against the emperor in 107, 127(?), 147, and 188 had no objective other than to elevate another member of the Liú family. This suggests that despite popular attempts to establish a new order, and even though the philosophical and ideological framework for the legitimacy of the dynasty included the necessity for its own demise, the leading political factions revered the institution and aura of the imperial family too much to perfunctorily bring the dynasty to an end. "If there were many indications among the people that the Han dynasty had outlived its mandate," Beck writes, "this thinking did not travel upward into the elite" until the last thirty years of the dynasty.[77]

Some evidence suggests that this thinking had started to make its way into the mindset of the clerisy much earlier. One of the ways this was manifested was in the perception by some scholars that the dynasty was in decline. The theoretical framework of history for scholars in the Hàn was cyclical: Besides the "Five Activities" theory, it was believed, much like in the West, that dynasties rose, thrived for any amount of time, and then fell. The decline could be quite gradual. The Shǐ jì 史記, or Records of the Grand Historian, claims that the Zhōu 周 dynasty (1045-256 B.C.E.) began its slow descent after the reign of King Kāng 康王 (ob. 978? B.C.E.), who was only the third

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[77] Beck, "The Fall of Han," 361.

king after the founder Wén 文王[78]; Hàn tradition claims that an omen of this decline can be found in the reign of Kāng, pushing back the onset of disorder even further (see Chapter IV). Thus, the decline of the Zhōu stretched over centuries. In contrast, the short Qín 秦 dynasty (221-206 B.C.E.) fell with its second emperor. By comparing the fates of earlier dynasties with the course of the current one, members of the second-century clerisy began to see that the degeneration of the Hàn was already underway. In 191, for instance, Cài Yōng, in "A Considered Opinion on the Rotation and Deposition in the Ancestral Temple" ("Zōngmiào dié huǐ yì" 宗廟迭毀議), proposed removing the spirit tablets of Emperors Hé, Ān, Shùn, and Huán from the Hàn ancestral temple.[79] Cài Yōng's goal was to reduce the number of sacrifices to the canonically prescribed seven. Nonetheless, he required good reason to remove the already installed spirit tablets. According to the "Treatise on Sacrifices" ("Jì sì" 祭祀) by Sīmǎ Biāo (ob. 306), Cài Yōng felt that "the accomplishments and valorous actions of Emperor Hé and those that followed lacked distinction, and that they had transgressions and faults that should not be honored."[80] Though this proposal occurs at the tail end of the epoch

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[78] Shǐ jì, "Zhōu běn jì," 4.134.

[79] See CZj (Sbby), 7b-10a.

[80] HHs, Zhì, 9.3197. B. J. Mansvelt Beck, The Treatises of Later Han: Their Author, Sources, Contents and Place in Chinese Historiography, Sinica Leidensia Edidit Institutum Sinologicum Lugduno Batavum, vol. 21 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1990), 105-8. Curiously, Sīmǎ Biāo (HHs, Zhì, 9.3197) includes Dǒng Zhuō among those who, along with Cài Yōng, recommended the deposition on these grounds. Beck suggests (p. 108) the addition of Dǒng Zhuō may have been a historiographical

159-192, after the capital had already been moved to Cháng'ān, Cài Yōng's perception of dynastic decline at this moment was most certainly not an epiphany, but the product of years of observation and reflection as a historian.

The rise of women and eunuchs in court politics and their prominence in the affairs of the empire, and changing societal attitudes towards women in general, also led members of the clerisy to suspect that the dynasty was in decline.[81] In the Hàn the tradition of ascribing dynastic downfall to women had been well established early on. A presentation by Dù Qīn 杜欽 (fl. 1st c. B.C.E.) states: "Following the traces of the final generations of the Three Dynasties . . . was it ever the case that misfortune and calamity did not derive from female character?"[82] According to this conceit, the Three Dynasties of Xià, Shāng, and Zhōu lost their mandates to rule on account of their final rulers' inattentiveness to governing and their predilections for licentious behavior. These

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device to parallel the ending of Bān Gù's Treatise (Hs, "Jiāo sì zhì," 25B.1265-69) containing Wáng Mǎng's 王莽 (45 B.C.E.-23 C.E.) complaints against the proliferation of sacrifices. (Qīng scholar Hé Zhuó 何焯 [1661-1722] first noticed the parallel.) Both are cases in which the critics may be viewed as the dynasty's adversaries.

[81] In the biography of Wèi Zhēn 衛臻 in Sānguó zhì 三國志, comp. Chén Shòu 陳壽 (233-297) (Běijīng: Zhōnghuá shūjú, 1962), Wèi shū, 22.647, there is an anecdote about how, around 194, Xiàhóu Dūn 夏侯惇, the governor of Chénliú 陳留, had invited Wèi Zhēn to a banquet and had extended the invitation to his wife. Wèi Zhēn considered this scandalous, saying that it was "a custom of the end of an age that was not befitting the rectitude of ritual" 末世之俗, 非禮之正. See also Yü Ying-shih, "Individualism and the Neo-Taoist Movement," 125.

[82] Hs, "Dù Zhōu zhuàn," 60.2669.

rulers, Jié 桀, Zhòu 紂, and Yōu 幽 (of Western Zhōu), brought ruin to their people by indulging the whims of favorite women, Mòxī 妹嬉 (or 末喜), Dájǐ 妲己, and Bāosì 褒姒, respectively.[83] A sealed memorial written by Cài Yōng at the invitation of Liú Hóng (Emperor Líng) in 178 reflects this attitude. Reports of unusual phenomena, e.g., a dragon appearing over the Northern Palace and a hen partly changing into a rooster at the Southern Palace, had caused considerable consternation, and believing that these were supernatural simulacra of mundane disorders, the emperor sought Cài Yōng's learned opinion. Cài Yōng replied that these phenomena were due in no small measure to "women meddling in politics."[84] The greater part of Cài Yōng's memorial takes up criticism of highly placed officials close to the emperor, and the failure to choose worthy men for office. The palace eunuchs, who managed to learn of the contents of the sealed memorial, realized that Cài Yōng was incriminating them with his remarks,

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[83] On Jié and Mòxī, see Shǐ jì, "Wàiqī shìjià," 49.1967, Hs, "Wàiqī zhuàn xù," 97A.3933, and Yán Shīgǔ's 顏師古 (581-645) commentary on the latter passage, 97A.3934 n. 3, and Liú Xiàng 劉向 (ca. 79- ca. 6 B.C.E.), Liènǚ zhuàn 列女傳 (16 B.C.E.), "Xià Jié Mòxī" (Sbck), 7.1a-2a; on Zhòu and Dájǐ, see Shǐ jì, "Yīn běn jì," 3.105-8, "Zhōu běn jì," 4.123; Hs, "Wàiqī zhuàn xù," 97A.3933, and Yán Shīgǔ's commentary on the latter passage, 97A.3934 n. 5; Liènǚ zhuàn, "Yīn Zhòu Dájǐ" (Sbck), 7.2b-3b, and Kwang-chih Chang, Shang Civilization (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1980), 13-15; on Yōu and Bāosì, see Shǐ jì, "Zhōu běn jì," 4.147-49, Liènǚ zhuàn, "Zhōu Yōu Bāosì" (Sbck), 7.4a-5b, and Herrlee G. Creel, The Origins of Statecraft, vol. 1, The Western Chou Empire (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1970), 438-39; and on all three pairs, see Guó yǔ 國語, Jìn yǔ (Sbck), 7.2b-8a; Liènǚ zhuàn, "Wèi Qūwò fù" (Sbck), 3.23a.

[84] HHs, "Cài Yōng lièzhuàn," 60B.1999; Asselin, "The Hou Han shu Biography of Cai Yong," 162.

and plotted against him.[85] Beck notes that the antipathy towards influential and wealthy women and eunuchs was due, in part, to the prevalent belief that excessive yīn 陰, represented here by women and demasculated men, was a perversion of the proper order, which should have a balance between yīn and yáng 陽.[86] With a return to sage rule, yīn and yáng would be balanced again, and the empire would revert to the Utopia that was believed to have existed in antiquity.[87]

The interpretation of calamities and unusual phenomena as warnings over improper conduct of sociopolitical affairs, portending disaster if the emperor did not embark on a corrective course, had already an extensive history prior to the late Eastern Hàn. Yet the empire in these final decades was visited by an unusually large number of omens, i.e., strange celestial and terrestrial phenomena. In contrast to the Western Hàn, when the greatest number of portents, seventeen, occurred at the beginning of the reign of Emperor Chéng (reg. 32-7 B.C.E.), in the Eastern Hàn 130 omens appeared in the reign of Emperor Ān (reg. 107-125), and 120 in the reign of Emperor Huán (reg.

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[85] HHs, "Cài Yōng lièzhuàn," 60B.1998-2000 (quote from 60B.1999); the memorial can also be found in CZj (Sbby), 7.18a-23b, included as part of a larger work; see also Asselin, "The Hou Han shu Biography of Cai Yong," 160-69.

[86] Beck, "The Fall of Han," 366, and The Treatises of Later Han, 163-65; Michael Loewe, "The Former Han Dynasty," 221.

[87] Anna Seidel, "Taoist Messianism," Numen 31 (1984): 163-64.

147-167).[88] Among the natural disasters such as destructive weather conditions (hail, drought, heavy rains), locusts, and earthquakes, among the most serious was pestilence. Epidemics of an unidentified disease broke out in 37, 38, and 50 C.E. This plague hit the capital in 125, and revisited the populace in 151, 161, 171, 173, 179, 182, 185, and 217.[89] The effect of these outbreaks on the size of the population is not known, but from available population statistics we can determine that it was not at all comparable to the results of the Black Death in the fourteenth century. Nonetheless, to the clerisy, the numerous outbreaks must have reflected very poorly on the emperor, the eunuchs, and the consort families.[90]

The clerisy's use of portents in the late Western Hàn included predicting the passage of the dynastic mandate. A second-generation disciple of Dǒng Zhòngshū and a student of the Gōngyáng zhuàn 公羊傳, Suī Hóng 眭弘, interpreted a number of strange occurrences as portending the fall of the House of Hàn. He recommended that

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[88] Rafe de Crespigny, "Politics and Philosophy under the Government of Emperor Huan 159-168," 63-64 n. 39.

[89] Arthur Waley, "Life under the Han Dynasty," History Today 3 (1953): 93.

[90] Levy, "Yellow Turban Religion and Rebellion at the End of Han," 219, states that the epidemics, along with the floods of 175, and the droughts in 176, 177, 182, and 183, must have contributed, by the misery these disasters caused, to the popular support for the Yellow Turbans. For a different view, see Paul Michaud, "The Yellow Turbans," MS 17 (1958): 64-67, who argues that from the historical records "there is nothing to show that misery was particularly widespread in the years immediately preceding the rebellion" (p. 64).

Liú Fúlíng 劉弗陵 (Emperor Zhāo 昭帝, reg. 86-74 B.C.E.) search for a worthy successor to the throne; this lack of political astuteness resulted in his execution.[91] In the time of Emperor Chéng, Gān Zhōngkě 甘忠可, basing his prognostications on calendrical calculations and the revelations of a deity, predicted in the Bāoyuán tàipíng jīng 包元太平經 the imminent demise of the dynasty. Gān Zhōngkě "disclosed that the juncture reached by the Han dynasty formed the closing point of the cycle of Heaven and Earth," writes Michael Loewe, "and that it faced the need to receive a renewal of the mandate from Heaven." For this act of lese majesty, Gān was arrested, and died of illness while in prison.[92] Some disciples carried on his teachings, most notably Xià Hèliáng 夏賀良. The sickly Liú Xīn 劉鋅 (Emperor Āi), who was told that reform would restore his health, entertained their ideas for a while. But when the Emperor failed to get better, Xià was executed. Anna Seidel regards this as the first instance in

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[91] See Gary Arbuckle, "Inevitable Treason: Dong Zhongshu's Theory of Historical Cycles and Early Attempts to Invalidate the Han Mandate," JAOS 115 (October-December 1995), 586, 588-89; Sui Hóng's biography, Hs 75.3153-54; and Arbuckle's dissertation, "Restoring Dong Zhongshu (B.C.E. 195-115): An Experiment in Historical and Philosophical Reconstruction" (Ph.D. diss., University of British Columbia, 1991), 265-70.

[92] Hs 75.3192; Michael Loewe, Crisis and Conflict in Han China, 104 B.C. to A.D. 9 (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1974), 279, and "The Former Han Dynasty," 222; Tjan Tjoe Som, Po Hu T'ung 白虎通, The Comprehensive Discussions in the White Tiger Hall, vol. 1, Introduction; Translation of Chapters I, II, XVIII, XL; Notes; A Contribution to the History of Classical Studies in the Han Period, Sinica Leidensia Edidit Institutum Sinologicum Lugduno Batavum, vol. 6 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1949), 124.

the historical records of an incipient Tàipíng movement.[93]

In the period with which we are concerned, the second half of the second century, there is no documentary evidence of such direct prognostications. Jack Dull points out, though, that a letter written in 219 by palace attendant Chén Qún 陳群 and master of writing Huán Jiē (Kāi?) 桓階 argues that the fate of the Hàn had long been sealed. Dull adds:

> Furthermore, they said that during the reigns of Emperors Huan and Ling, i.e., since A.D. 147, those who understood the diagrams and prognostication texts had said that "the aura of the cosmic force of the Han has been exhausted" and that a ruling house identified with the color yellow was due to flourish. If this statement is correct, then the feeling had apparently been developing for quite some time that the Han House was about to end. Even if the statement is not historically correct it shows that Ch'en [Chén] and others were setting the scene for the Ts'ao [Cáo] family to seize the throne.[94]

We cannot ascertain whether or not the statement is correct. Indeed, it was in the interest of these officials to provide further justification for the change in dynastic mandate in this year prior to the actual abdication of the last Hàn emperor. Nonetheless, if the statement has any validity, then, as Dull states, it would indicate a fin-de-siècle climate in just the period with which we are concerned. Taking into

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[93] Hs 75.3192-93; Michael Loewe, Crisis and Conflict in Han China, 280, and "The Former Han Dynasty," 222; Seidel, "The Image of the Perfect Ruler in Early Taoist Messianism," 217-18.

[94] Jack L. Dull, "A Historical Introduction to the Apocryphal (Ch'an-wei) Texts of the Han Dynasty" (Ph.D. diss., University of Washington, 1966), 305; Sānguó zhì, Wèi shū, "Wǔdì jì," 1.52-53 n. 2.

account the other less ambiguous justifications listed here for regarding this as a fin-de-siècle era, the notion that apocryphal (chènwěi 讖緯) texts would have been used as early as Emperor Huán's reign to divine the end of the dynasty has credibility.[95]

At the beginning of this section, I stated that endings may be perceived to arrive at the end of a cycle, or at a time represented by some large whole number. We have seen how the Yellow Turbans believed a new age would arrive at the beginning of a new sexagenary cycle, and how according to the Five Activities theory the Hàn would eventually be supplanted by a dynasty represented by the next stage in the pentamerous cycle. There were other cycles as well. In a recent article, Gary Arbuckle argues that the Hàn's most important political thinker, Dǒng Zhòngshū, attempted to persuade Liú Chè (Emperor Wǔ) that he should embrace the role of being a new Yáo 堯, referring to the great legendary ruler of antiquity, and initiate a fresh era of sage rule. The reason given is that Dǒng Zhòngshū had seen history as a two-stage, six-part cycle. In history's first instance of this cycle, the legendary rulers of antiquity, Yáo, Shùn 舜, and Yǔ 禹, comprised the first stage. Yáo had initiated a new age of order, and then

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[95] Carl Leban's chapter in Ancient China: Studies in Early Civilization (ed. David T. Roy and Tsuen-hsuin Tsien [Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press, 1978]), "Managing Heaven's Mandate: Coded Communications in the Accession of Ts'ao P'ei, A.D. 220," 315-39, discusses the Xiàndì zhuàn 獻帝傳 (preserved in two lengthy notes to the Wèi shū, "Wéndì jì," 2.62-75 n. 2 and 3), which includes citations from what are purported to be Hàn apocryphal works used as justification for the transfer of power to Wèi 魏. Much of this material was later fabricated, but some may have derived from earlier decades. See also Arbuckle, "Inevitable Treason," 595, and n. 49.

peacefully passed on the throne to the most worthy man, Shùn, who in turn passed the throne on to Yǔ, who then gave the throne to his son.[96] By handing the throne to his son, Yǔ initiated a dynasty, the Xià 夏. This began the second stage, the Three Dynasties: Xià, Shāng 商, and Zhōu. Though Yǔ had changed the system of succession from abdication (shànràng zhìdù 禪讓制度) to that of inheritance, the Xià, at least at the beginning, continued the golden rule of the Sage Emperors. The demise of the Xià followed its departing from the Way of Yáo. Each of the Three Dynasties lost their mandates to rule on this account, and were subsequently conquered. The Hàn dynasty had come to power at the end of the second stage, which had been marked by disorder.[97] The Hàn therefore stood at the beginning of a new cycle. Dǒng Zhòngshū suggested that Liú Chè (Emperor Wǔ) was the new Yáo who was to inaugurate a new era of sage rule. The implication in this, according to Arbuckle, was that the emperor should follow the abdication system of Yáo.[98] This theory of the cyclical return of sage

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[96] Táng Yáo 唐堯 is said to have initiated this system by abdicating in favor of Yú Shùn 虞舜. See Shǐ jì, "Wǔ dì běnjì," 1.14-44; and Bernhard Karlgren, "Legends and Cults in Ancient China," BMFEA 18 (1946): 289-301.

[97] The Qín dynasty did not fit the system and was ignored; see Arbuckle, "Inevitable Treason," 597.

[98] Arbuckle, "Inevitable Treason," 585-97; on Dǒng Zhòngshū's political theory, see especially 590-94. The controversial element of Arbuckle's thesis is that Dǒng viewed himself as the new Shùn 舜, the wisest and most worthy minister to whom the emperor should abdicate. Arbuckle derives evidence for his thesis from his reading of Dǒng Zhòngshū's "Fù on Scholars Who Have Missed Their Time" ("Shì bú yù fù" 士不遇賦; see Yìwén lèijù 藝文類聚, comp. Ōuyáng Xún 歐陽詢 [557-641], et al., ed., Wáng Shàoyíng 汪紹楹 [Běijīng: Zhōnghuá shūjú, 1965; rpt., Kyoto: Chūmon

rule, together with the dynastic succession aspect of the Five Activities cycle, impinged on the Hàn court's ability to justify maintaining its rule indefinitely.[99]

Another sage ruler cycle is evocative of the Western millenarian doctrine. According to Mèngzǐ (2B.13), "Every five hundred years, invariably there will be a True King who will arise." The passage goes on to say that "from the Zhōu on, more than seven hundred years have passed" and thus the coming of this sage ruler is long overdue.[100] The True King, Arthur Waley states, "rules by tê [dé 德], by magico-moral force alone. The coming of such a Saviour was looked forward to with Messianic fervour. Were a True King to come, says Confucius, in the space of a single generation Goodness would become universal."[101] David Pankenier points out in a recent study that Xún Qīng 荀卿 (Xúnzǐ 荀子, ca. 313/310/298-ca. 238 B.C.E.) adopts this messianic theme in "Drastic Ode" (or "The Poem of Strange Wonders," "Guǐ shī"

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shuppansha, 1980], 1: 30.541); see "Inevitable Treason," 585-97.

[99] As Arbuckle points out, "Inevitable Treason," 586 (see especially n. 5), there is no justification for linking the Five Activities cycle to Dǒng Zhòngshū's theories.

[100] See also Mèngzǐ 7B.38. On the sage ruler cycle in Mèngzǐ, see Kung-chuan Hsiao, in A History of Chinese Political Thought, 177-82; on how Wáng Mǎng had been perceived as having realized the expectation of a sage ruler, see Ch'i-yün Ch'en, Hsün Yüeh and the Mind of Late Han China, A Translation of the "Shen-chien" with Introduction and Annotations (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980), 25.

[101] Arthur Waley, The Analects of Confucius (London: 1964), 49.

侃詩), modifying the time span from five hundred years to a millennium[102]:

> But how dark the all-pervading blindness of the world.
> Should Great Heaven not reverse it,
> Our distress would be boundless!
> But before a thousand years have passed there must be a return,
> Since antiquity this has been the constant rule.
> Students! Exert yourselves in your study and practice,
> And Heaven shall not forget you!
> The Sage but folds his arms to wait,
> The change of season is approaching![103]

The central idea embedded in this passage concerns the inevitability of change when things cannot get any worse. When the cycle of circumstances in the world has reached the apogee of decrepitude, it must turn back towards rectitude. We will return to this important theory in Chapter Two.

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[102] Bān Gù, in his "Fù on Communicating with the Hidden" ("Yōu tōng fù" 幽通賦; Wén xuǎn 文選, comp. Xiāo Tǒng 蕭統 [501-531], comm. Lǐ Shàn 李善 [?-689], ed. Hú Kèjiā 胡克家 [1757-1816], with Gù Guǎngqí 顧廣圻 [1776-1835] and Péng Zhàosūn 彭兆孫 [1769-1821] [Táiběi: Wénjīn chūbǎnshè, 1987], 14.645; trans. Knechtges, 3: 101, ll. 137-139), states that a thousand years had passed from the time of Yú Shùn 虞舜 to that of Confucius, the "uncrowned king" (sù wáng 素王).

[103] Xúnzǐ, "Fù piān" (Xúnzǐ jíjiě 荀子集解, comp. Wáng Xiānqiān 王先謙 [1842-1918] [Táiběi: Shìjiè shūjú, 1939]), 18.670; trans. David W. Pankenier, "'The Scholar's Frustration' Reconsidered: Melancholia or Credo?" JAOS 110 (1990): 440; see also Pankenier's discussion, 437-38, and 440-41 n. 40. In another article, "Astronomical Dates in Shang and Western Zhou" (Early China 7 [1981-82]: 2-37), Pankenier argues (see especially pp. 17, 24-25) that in early antiquity, the celestial simulacrum of the transfer in dynastic mandate was the appearance of the Triple Conjunction of Jupiter, Saturn, and Mars, a period of 516.33 years. The Triple Conjunction occurred in 1576 and 1059 B.C.E. which, according to Pankenier, coincides with the passage of the tiānmìng 天命 from Xià to Shāng (Pankenier dates the founding to 1554 B.C.E.), and from Shāng to Zhōu (dating the Battle of Mùyě 牧野 to January 20, 1046 B.C.E.).

The lament over corrupt times and the desire for a sage ruler are expressed time and again in late Eastern Hàn literature. These themes and the millenarian idea can be found in Cài Yōng's "Defense Against Admonition" ("Shì huì" 釋誨) of circa 164-165.[104] Here Cāi Yōng answers the charge that despite his considerable gifts he is unsuccessful and unknown. The "exemplary man" (jūnzǐ 君子) must be sensitive to the signs of the times, the poet says, and when the world is corrupt and the times are dangerous, he must realize his limitations and withdraw to protect himself. Having withdrawn himself from the world he should become intimate with the ideals of the Duke of Zhōu 周公, Confucius, and Mòzǐ 墨子.[105] In an abstruse passage, Cài Yōng relates the reward for following such a course:

> Then he
> Encounters the good fortune that comes once in a thousand years,
> Responds to the auguries of the divine numena.
> Opens the Chānghé gateway,
> rides along the Celestial Thoroughfare;
> Brandishes the Flowery Baldachin,
> takes up the Pivot of the Stars.
> Accepts the occult plan from the wise and virtuous,
> Announces Grand Peace to the Middle Region.[106]

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[104] HHs 60B.1980-89. Dated by Gōng Kèchāng in Hàn fù yánjiū, 282. A discussion of this piece can be found in Asselin, "The Hou Han shu Biography of Cai Yong," 8-25; a translation can be found on 61-115.

[105] The Duke of Zhōu was a son of King Wén, and the brother of King Wǔ 武王 (ob. 1043 B.C.E.). He is revered for his program of setting the Zhōu in order, including the establishment of ritual and music standards. Confucius held him up as a model, and wished futilely that his own times would follow Zhōu's lead.

[106] HHs 60B.1987; trans. Asselin, "The Hou Han shu Biography of Cai Yong," 104-6 (mod.).

Cài Yōng follows Xúnzǐ in suggesting that for the exemplary man the only appropriate course of action is, as Pankenier states, "to remain true to one's convictions and discipline oneself in study, to be circumspect in one's behavior and to be always prepared, so that when times change, as they surely must, he will be ready to assume responsibility for implementing the will of Heaven."[107] Cài Yōng appears to transform the exemplary man himself into the sage ruler who comes once in a thousand years: Like a god he descends from his home in the celestial realm, and arriving on Earth he proclaims a utopian era of Grand Peace. Does Cài Yōng mean that any worthy exemplary man can become a sage ruler? This is difficult to ascertain; the poet would certainly not want to leave himself open to the charge of lese majesty. It suffices to say that this work reveals the strong desire for the arrival of a sage ruler.

The evidence presented above, the rival emperors in the provinces, the popular movements opposing the Hàn court, the general view among the clerisy of dynastic decline, the extraordinary number of natural disasters, and the prevalence of cyclical theories concerning dynastic succession, do not prove that in the years 159-192 C.E.

The Chānghé 閌闔, Celestial Thoroughfare (Tiānqú 天衢), Flowery Baldachin (Huāgài 華蓋), and Pivot of the Stars (Xīngshū 星樞) are all star formations (see Asselin, "The Hou Han shu Biography of Cai Yong," 105 n. 174-77). The reference to Grand Peace (Tàipíng 太平) is to a central tenet of the Confucian tradition and does not necessarily have anything to do with the popular religious movements of Cài Yōng's time. See Anna Seidel, "Taoist Messianism," 162-64.

[107] Pankenier, "'The Scholar's Frustration' Reconsidered," 437-38.

the clerisy was prescient about the Hàn dynasty's impending fall. What I have done is provide historical evidence allowing for a fin-de-siècle phenomenon, a deep consciousness among the scholar-elite that, with the violent and debilitating factional strife, and with the great numbers of portents from Heaven, they lived in profoundly troubling times, a critical juncture that must lead to some sort of imminent change. With all the signs of the age, and with the clerisy's cyclical Weltanschauung, the Hàn dynasty, despite its aura, must have begun to seem to them very vulnerable.[108]

1.4 Brief Survey of Literary Developments Leading Up to the Late Second Century[109]

Literary activity in early imperial China was centered about the court. The dominant form of literary expression at the Hàn court was the fù. The earliest characteristics attached to fù, oral presentation and display, were refined by the masters of the mature fù form, such as Sīmǎ Xiāngrú, whose long compositions mesmerized audiences with their hypnotic language: a mingling of prose and rimed verse, a generous use of alliteration and assonance, extensive and exotic cataloguing, amplification and

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[108] Even so, there were those loyalists, e.g., Xún Yuè 荀悅 (148-209), who believed the Hàn would experience another restoration. See Beck, "The Fall of Han," 354; Chen Chi-yun, Hsün Yüeh (A.D. 148-209): The Life and Reflections of an Early Medieval Confucian (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975).

[109] Much of this section is based on the ground-breaking work on the fù by David R. Knechtges.

hyperbole, parallelism and antithesis, and impressifs and synonomia.[110] Another important feature of these fù is that, in the guise of entertainment, they were often vehicles for indirect criticism and admonition.[111] These functions, entertainment and moral suasion, were at cross-purposes, destroying, in the view of the eminent fù composer Yáng Xióng 揚雄 (53 B.C.E.-9 C.E.), the fù's potential efficacy to persuade and remonstrate.[112] The rich, entrancing effect of words both erudite and recondite at least fulfilled the aspect of entertainment when, as was usually the case, the remonstrance went unheeded or unnoticed. What David R. Knechtges has termed the long, "epideictic" fù, i.e., fù that "show forth" or "display," that employ amplification and ornate language, dominate the genre up to and through the first century of the

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[110] David R. Knechtges, The Han Rhapsody: A Study of the "Fu" of Yang Hsiung (53 B.C.-A.D. 18) (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976), 12-13, 24, 38; "Yang Shyong, The Fuh, and Hann Rhetoric" (Ph.D. diss., University of Washington, 1968), 144-45; Selections, 2: 4-5. The term impressifs derives from Yves Hervouet's analysis, in Un Poète de cour, 337-59, of Sīmǎ Xiāngrú's use of descriptives; impressifs are disyllabic or polysyllabic words that give the impression of sound, color, light, smell--some such sensory experience or feeling. The syllables are often riming or alliterative. The meanings of the constituent graphs might be synonynous with one another; in some cases the meanings of the constituent graphs are unrelated to an impressif's overall sense.

[111] Knechtges, The Han Rhapsody, 33-34.

[112] Knechtges, The Han Rhapsody, 94-97, "Yang Shyong, The Fuh, and Hann Rhetoric," 364-68. On Yáng Xióng, see The Han Rhapsody, 44-118; "Yang Shyong, The Fuh, and Hann Rhetoric"; The "Han shu" Biography of Yang Xiong (53 B.C.-A.D. 18), trans. and annotated by David R. Knechtges, Occasional Paper No. 14 (Tempe: Center for Asian Studies, Arizona State University, 1982); Gōng Kèchāng, Hàn fù yánjiū, 182-207.

Common Era, and continue to be written long after.[113]

Our use of terms like "epideictic" (epideiktikon) and "amplification" (auxēsis) invites comparisons with the Greek rhetorical tradition, and with its early applications of the notion of kairos.[114] In a recent article, Dale L. Sullivan presents a brief overview of the Greek epideictic concept. Sullivan notes that the Sophist Gorgias (fl. fifth century B.C.E.) is recognized as "the father of epideictic." The Sophist, he writes, associated epideictic with spontaneity and acting upon a critical moment of inspiration, i.e., kairos. Gorgias applied kairos to poetics, saying that it was that critical moment of realization that gives poets the power of logos, incantations that can induce pleasure or dissolve pain.[115] Mario Untersteiner, in his study, The Sophists, explains, "The poet must set before himself as his aim the knowledge of the right moment (kairos), that is, of the instant in which the intimate connection between things is realized, which is therefore 'the law which allows him to arrange things he knows in the right place and in accordance with their significance.'"[116] Kairotic rhetoric--a term that denotes

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[113] Knechtges, The Han Rhapsody, 32-43.

[114] David Knechtges has explored some connections with the Greek rhetorical tradition in his dissertation, and in The Han Rhapsody.

[115] Dale L. Sullivan, "Kairos and the Rhetoric of Belief," Quarterly Journal of Speech 78 (1992): 319-20; 325.

[116] The Sophists, trans. Kathleen Freeman (Oxford: Blackwell, 1954), 111, cited in Sullivan, "Kairos and the Rhetoric of Belief," 319.

something different, if nonetheless related, to my formulation of a "kairotic literature"--is effective not because of the persuasiveness of its logic, but because the poet's vision overwhelms the listener (or reader) with its beguiling words and verisimilitude. As an "irrational" rhetoric (since, as Sullivan states, it cannot "be completely systematized"), it has been traced back to Pythagoras' (fl. sixth century B.C.E.) understanding of kairos as the appropriate time for an action.[117] Sullivan writes of this connection between the epideictic and kairos:

> If we accept Gorgias' claim that logos is a powerful lord, that it is like goetia, we can surmise that he believed that inspiration would occur during impromptu speech, that the kairos of poetic creation would manifest itself to the orator, who could then create a logos so powerful that it could break the stasis of those wavering between two opinions. Such a logos creates an enchantment or deception, apate, so powerful that Socrates says (perhaps satirically) that he can escape from the spell only after three days (Menexunus 234c ff.).[118]

Epideictic rhetoric is usually understood in the context of extemporaneous oratory, but

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[117] Sullivan, "Kairos and the Rhetoric of Belief," 318-20. Sullivan, citing C. J. DeVogel, Pythagoreans and Early Pythagoreanism (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1966), 112, 253, states that Pythagoras "allegedly said that 'there was no other good for every action than the right moment (kairos)'" (p. 318). He adds, "DeVogel argues convincingly that Pythagoras' kairos meant more than saying the appropriate thing in a given situation; it also gauged appropriateness in relation to a 'cosmic-ontological order' (DeVogel 118)." For a study of the various meanings of kairos in early Greek culture, see Monique Trédé, Kairos: L'à-propos et l'occasion (Le mot et la notion, d'Homère à la fin du IV^{e} siècle avant J.-C., Études et Commentaires, 103 (Paris: Éditions Klincksieck, 1992).

It would be interesting to compare Pythagoras' kairos with the Confucian concept of "appropriateness" (yì 義) as described by David L. Hall and Roger T. Ames, Thinking Through Confucius, SUNY Series in Systematic Philosophy, ed. Robert Cummings Neville (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1987), 89-110.

[118] Sullivan, "Kairos and the Rhetoric of Belief," 325

even here comparisons with fù composition can be made. Early fù may also have been an impromptu display of oral versification; the later form, like Greek kairotic rhetoric, plied its listener with enchanting words to help the listener reach an epiphany, and enable him to choose and undertake some hitherto uncertain course of action. Consider David Knechtges and Jerry Swanson's discussion of the rhetorical magic of Méi Chéng's (or Shèng) 枚乘 (?-140 B.C.E.) "Seven Stimuli" ("Qī fā"七發):

> Arthur Waley . . . once defined the fu as a spell that performs a kind of "word magic," which achieves its effect "not by argument nor even by rhetoric, but by a purely sensuous intoxication of rhythm and language." The elaborate descriptions found in many fu do seem to resemble incantations which transport and entrance the listener. In the "Seven Stimuli," for example, all of the guest's descriptions are highly imaginary and border on the fantastic, and coupled with fanciful verbiage, they appear to be imbued with a certain magical quality.[119]

Knechtges and Swanson do not promote the idea that fù were literally incantations, as another scholar suggests, but they illustrate how the language must have had a entrancing and suasive effect. [120] As stated above, poets of the mature fù, notably Sīmǎ

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[119] David R. Knechtges and Jerry Swanson, "Seven Stimuli for the Prince: The Ch'i-fa of Mei Ch'eng," MS 29 (1970-71): 102-3; citing Arthur Waley, The Temple and Other Poems (New York: A. A. Knopf, 1923), 17; Knechtges and Swanson go on to emphasize that "poets and persuaders are magicians only in a metaphorical sense" (p. 103).

[120] Donald Harper, in "Wang Yen-shou's Nightmare Poem," HJAS 47 (1987): 239-83, argues that Wáng Yánshòu's 王延壽 (143?-163?) "Mèng fù" 夢賦 (see Gǔwén yuàn 古文苑 [prob. comp. Sūn Zhū 孫洙 (1032-1080), ed. and comm. Zhāng Qiáo章樵 (fl. 1230) (Táiběi: Dīngwén shūjú, 1973)], 6.8a-10b), was an actual "incantation to expel nightmare demons" (p. 242) and that its "demon-cursing language . . . undoubtedly reflects a similar influence of incantatory traditions on fu composition." An interesting parallel to this idea can be found in a recent novel by Nicholson Baker, The Fermata (New York: Random House, 1994). One section describes a professor's research on a musical composition called Map by the fictitious Mascon Albedo: "Alan began to have the sense that

Xiāngrú, filled their compositions with unusual and intoxicating words.

Aristotle (384-322 B.C.E.) understands epideictic to be "praise and blame" usually presented in the context of an occasional piece;[121] he states that this "praise and blame" can be converted to suasive use (deliberative rhetoric).[122] The fù poets use of "praise and blame" had to be indirect, since they served at the whim of the ruler. They transformed this "praise and blame" into suasion (fèng 諷) and indirect admonition (fèngjiàn 諷諫). Two of the most frequently seen devices for suasion are the "doubled persuasion," the presenting of equally advantageous or disadvantageous alternatives, and the listing of historical precedents.[123] The latter, as Knechtges points out, was also favored by the Greeks and Romans.[124]

Map had been more than a piece of piano music to Albedo; that it had constituted some sort of magic sonic recipe or spell for him" (p. 161). According to the conceit of the story, a certain chord (tones that the composer, knowing of their power, had intended to keep secret) once played causes time to freeze for all things and people but the musician.

[121] Sullivan, "Kairos and the Rhetoric of Belief," 325; Aristotle, On Rhetoric, A Theory of Civic Discourse, trans., Introduction, notes, appendixes by George A. Kennedy (New York: Oxford University Press), 7.

[122] Aristotle, On Rhetoric, 1.35-37; trans. Kennedy, 85.

[123] Knechtges, The Han Rhapsody, 23, 25. The term "doubled persuasion" derives from J. I Crump's studies on the Zhànguó cè 戰國策; see Intrigues: Studies of the Chan-Kuo Ts'e (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1964), 115-22, and Chan-Kuo Ts'e (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1970), 17-20.

[124] Knechtges, The Han Rhapsody, 23.

Topics of the court epideictic fù derive from what was at the center of the emperor's world: hunts, hunting preserves, imperial parks, and the capital cities. These fù are framed by a simple narrative acted out by fictional dramatis personae. The emperor's alter ego appears as an idealized form of the real man, the poet's use of flattery intended to condemn with excessive praise. As the genre developed, language was manipulated to reflect a poem's implicit criticism. Bān Gù 班固 (32-92 C.E.), in his "Fù on the Two Capitals" ("Liǎng dū fù" 兩都賦), uses a highly embellished--and hence somewhat "debased"--style in the section describing the Western Hàn capital of Cháng'ān by which he intends to satirize even as he lauds the achievements of the Western Hàn, and a refined, more "proper" form of language in the section praising the attributes of the Eastern Hàn capital of Luòyáng.[125] In a single piece, Bān Gù combines the two types of fù identified by Yáng Xióng, the contemptible "fù of the rhapsodists" 辭人之賦 (i.e., the fù of the epideictic poets) and the praiseworthy "fù of the Songs poets" 詩人之賦 (referring to the Book of Songs). The first, Yáng Xióng says, was "beautiful, but unrestrained" 麗以淫, and ultimately ineffective in suasion.[126] Using the "fù of the Songs poets," Bān Gù praises the Eastern Hàn as morally superior to the Western, particularly in regard to the Eastern Hàn's devotion to ritual under

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[125] For the "Liǎng dū fù," see Wén xuǎn, 1. 1-46; trans. Knechtges, 1: 93-180. On Bān Gù, see Gōng Kèchāng, Hàn fù yánjiū, 208-30.

[126] Yáng Xióng, Fǎ yán 法言 (Hàn Wèi cóngshū, 1791), 2.1b.

Emperor Míng.[127]

By the time Zhāng Héng 張衡 (78-138 C.E.) picks up the same theme in his "Fù on the Two Metropolises" ("Èr jīng fù" 二京賦), in an attempt to redress the deficiencies in Bān Gù's work, a new consciousness of the possibilities for manipulating language and for the use of literature has emerged.[128] The "Two Metropolises" reflects the fù composer's awareness of the power of language not only to display, to enchant, and to persuade, but also to reveal the poet's own sensibility towards his subject.[129] Zhāng Héng foregoes the split-style approach of Bān Gù to rely on a single voice, his own, to criticize the Western Hàn outright and the Eastern Hàn with effusive praise. In Zhāng Héng's presentation, the question of which of the two Hàn dynasties is the moral superior of the other is ultimately rendered moot. Here, and in the writings and activities of the clerisy of the second century, we see the emergence of a personal literary consciousness.[130]

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[127] See David R. Knechtges, "To Praise the Han."

[128] For the "Èr jīng fù," see Wén xuǎn, 1. 47-148; trans. Knechtges, 1: 181-309. On Zhāng Héng, see Gōng Kèchāng, Hàn fù yánjiū, 231-60.

[129] This idea stems from some observations Ding Xiang Warner made about the language and rhetoric of this fù in personal communication to me a few years ago.

[130] There has been quite a bit of interest among twentieth-century Chinese scholars in the notion of zìjué wénxué 自覺文學 ("self-conscious literature"). Earlier in the century, Lǔ Xùn 魯迅 referred to the Jiàn'ān period (196-219) as the "Age of Self-Consciousness in Literature" (wénxué de zìjué shídài 文學的自覺時代 ("Wèi Jìn fēngdù jí wénzhāng yǔ yào jí jiǔ zhī guānxī" 魏晉風度及文章與藥及酒之關系. in Lǔ Xùn quánjí 魯迅全集 [Shànghǎi: Rénmín wénxué

The expression of personal feelings in Hàn literature, restrained out of necessity for decorum, was for the most part apparently confined to lamentations over lack of success in official life;[131] Hellmut Wilhelm refers to this type of writing as the "fù of the 'Scholar's Frustration.'"[132] Even when the expression of frustration is that of a female poet, such as that in "Favored Beauty" Bān's 班倢妤 (ob. ca. 6 B.C.E.) "Fù of Self-Commiseration" ("Zì dào fù" 自悼賦), it is centered on court machinations and the false accusations stemming from them.[133] In the Eastern Hàn we see lyric sentiment begin to slip the fetters of Wilhelm's "Scholar's Frustration." As Itō Masafumi and David Knechtges have pointed out in separate studies, the Eastern Hàn writers of fù move toward freer personal expression, as seen particularly in the travelogue fù.[134] In

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chūbǎnshè, 1973], 3: 491). More recently, Gōng Kèchāng published "Hàn fù--wénxué zìjué shídài de qǐdiǎn" 漢賦文學自覺時代的起點, in Wén shǐ zhé ([1988.5]: 67-75), in which he suggests that this literary consciousness began with Sīmǎ Xiāngrú. Liú Sīhàn, in Hàn fù: Wéiměi wénxué zhī cháo, especially Chapter 10, 172-88, and Xǔ Jié 許結, in Hàndài wénxué sīxiǎngshǐ 漢代文學思想史 (Nánjīng: Nánjīng dàxué chūbǎnshè, 1990), particularly Chapter 6, 346-407, discuss in depth the rise and development of zìjué wénxué in the late Hàn.

[131] I qualify my remarks here with "apparently" because my generalization is based on what works are now extant.

[132] Hellmut Wilhelm, "The Scholar's Frustration: Notes on a Type of Fù," in Chinese Thought and Institutions, ed. John K. Fairbank (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1957), 316. See also David R. Knechtges, The Han Rhapsody, 27.

[133] For the text, see Hs, "Wàiqī zhuàn," 97B.3985-87.

[134] Itō Masafumi 伊藤正文, "Iwayuru 'kikō' no fu ni tsuite--'Sui sho fu,' 'Hoku sei fu' o meguru" 所謂"紀行"の賦について--"遂初賦"・"北征賦"をめぐる in Obi hakushi koki kinen Chūgokugaku ronshū 小尾博士古稀記念中國文論集 (Tokyo: Kyūko sho'in, 1983), 57-

discussing Greek lyric verse, W. R. Johnson writes:

> In shaping emotions, then, the lyric poet performs two very different, indeed, opposite, functions simultaneously: he particularizes a universal emotion or cluster of emotions, such as all men share--that is to say, he dramatizes the universal, makes it vivid and plausible; and, at the same time, he universalizes an experience that is or was peculiarly his own, thus rendering it clear and intelligible. It is this delicate yet powerful fusion of the individual and the universal that characterizes good lyric poetry.[135]

The travelogue fù convey personal feelings not limited to frustration with one's political career. Like Johnson's description of good lyric poetry, these pieces both particularize universal emotions while also universalizing difficult personal experiences. They do not simply express personal feelings; they order perceptions in a way that gets under our skin, that causes us to empathize and to think about things in a new way.[136] A movement towards direct lyrical expression was the most important outcome of what Knechtges has identified as "the increasing specificity of place, time, and voice" in the travelogue fù, and what Itō calls "lyricization" (jojōka 抒情化) of the fù.[137] The travelogue fù appear to evolve over the course of time to mark the particular place and

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76; David R. Knechtges, "Poetic Travelogue in the Han Fu,"in Transactions of the Second International Conference on Sinology, Academia Sinica, Taipei, Taiwan, R.O.C., June 1989 (Taipei: Academia Sinica, 1989), 127-52.

[135] Johnson, The Idea of Lyric, 33.

[136] I am borrowing liberally from Johnson, The Idea of Lyric, 37.

[137] Itō Masafumi, "Iwayuru 'kikō' no fu ni tsuite," 74.

event in which a piece has been written; the fù poet identifies more and more closely with the voice or personality in the piece that he writes. Standing at the culmination of this process of particularization is Cài Yōng's "Fù Recounting a Journey." Here the poet states outright that he writes "these words revealing my hidden feelings."[138]

Besides the tendency towards greater lyrical expression, the literary activity of this time was marked by the conscious development of literary genres and a diversity of literary conceits. Scholars continued the well-established tradition of drawing from the collective memory and cultural wellspring of the canon of classical literature--Changes, Documents, Songs, Rituals, and the Annals and its associated "Commentaries"--while furthering the tradition of literary invention. Through a constant process of what Liú Xié 劉勰 (ca. 465-ca. 522) in his Embellishments on the Heart of Literature (Wénxīn diāolóng 文心雕龍) called tōngbiàn 通變, i.e., perpetuating and innovating, writers of the Eastern Hàn reinvented earlier, highly respected pieces of literature. By the end of the Hàn, enough pieces of similar types had accumulated that they had begun to be categorized.[139] This categorization was accompanied by conscious imitation not simply of earlier pieces but of types, thus giving impetus to the rise of genre theory.[140]

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[138] CZj (Sbby), "Wàijì," 5a.

[139] For instance, Cài Yōng classifies some types of official writing in his Dú duàn 獨斷; see CZ wàijí (Sbby), 3b-5b. See Ronald Miao's discussion of this in "Literary Criticism at the End of the Eastern Han," Literature East and West 16 (1972): 1022-23.

[140] See Ronald Miao, "Literary Criticism at the End of the Eastern Han."

Alongside the development of the genre is a new diversity of themes, topics, and even forms. Though we might regard the artistic response to the political exigencies of the second century to be "conservative" because of the continued use of classical allusions, styles, and forms, yet we see at the same time some bold experimentation. For instance, the relatively narrow band of topics of earlier fù was expanded to include a broad range of things. This was occasioned in part by expansion of the practice of writing yǒngwù 詠物 pieces, or compositions on objects. Such pieces included the simply expository as well as the allegorical: using objects, especially animals, as a means of indirect personal expression.[141] Lyricism branched out towards the hitherto discouraged themes of beautiful women, erotic attraction, and conjugal bliss. At the same time fù cropped up on "curbing excess," a theme that seems to counterbalance that of feminine beauty (see Chapter V). As far as literary forms are concerned, it is apparent that the literati at this time began imitating the popular ballads of irregular meter known as yuèfǔ 樂府.[142] They did not limit themselves to the classical forms of the Book of Songs, nor to the traditional prosodic types of the Chǔcí 楚辭.

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[141] For example, Mí Héng (Nǐ Héng? 禰衡; ca. 173-198) wrote a fù in which a parrot whose wings have been clipped serves as a metaphor for himself; for "Yīngwǔ fù" 鸚鵡賦, see Wén xuǎn, 13.611-15; trans. Knechtges, 3: 49-57.

[142] See Hans H. Frankel, "Yüeh-fu Poetry," in Studies in Chinese Literary Genres, ed. Cyril Birch (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974), 98-100.

Thus, literature at the end of the Hàn dynasty was marked by increasing lyricization that resulted in direct personal expression, by invention and the development of literary genres, and by an expansion of acceptable topics. The long, epideictic fù gave way to, but was not completely replaced by, the short, lyrical fù. The traditional topics of the hunt, the hunting preserve, the imperial park, and the capital environs made room for yǒngwù pieces and less orthodox subjects like beautiful women. Though fù composition was, in the Western Hàn and early Eastern Hàn, exclusively centered about the court, and thus was a type of court literature, by the end of the Hàn it was also being written outside the court by the clerisy, for the clerisy (see Chapter IV). The bold and risqué themes that appear at this time may have been a by-product of this "public" circulation of fù. Taking a broad view, Xǔ Jié 許結 argues, in a recent study of Hàn literary thought, that major developments were revolutionizing literature's place in Chinese society: the emergence of the individual (as witnessed in the varied responses by members of the clerisy to the circumstances of 159 to 192), the development of a discrete polite literature (zìjué wénxué 自覺文學, the "self-consciousness"of literature), and the entrusting of personal expression to literary composition (i.e., the appearance of lyric compositions). Xǔ Jié casts Cài Yōng and his oeuvre at the center of these new developments.[143] Although, as I will argue in Chapter Three, the currently popular notion of the growth of individualism in the late Hàn is the

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[143] Hàndài wénxué sīxiǎngshǐ, particularly Chapter 6, 361-68.

least tenable of these observations, the other points are borne out by my analysis of literary works in the chapters that follow. My own contribution will be in illustrating how these works are shaped by the epoch of 159-192: How, as kairotic literature, they interpret the events of the present through the mirror of the past, while anticipating the end of an era, and how they reflect the emerging sensibilities of a new age.

1.5 Introduction to the Chapters

The epoch to be defined by the Common Era years of 159-192 witnessed the growth of a "kairotic literature" that manifests literary interpretations of past and present in concern for the end of an era, and reveals emerging sensibilities of a new age, especially in the choice of themes and subject matter. Also crucial to our understanding of the literature of this period is the freer use of lyric composition for the express purpose of conveying personal feelings. This study will demonstrate how selected works by Cài Yōng and a few of his contemporaries, Zhào Yī 趙壹 (ca. 130-ca. 185 C.E.), Zhū Mù 朱穆 (100-163 C.E.), and Zhāng Chāo 張超, reflect the "sense of an ending" and manifest literary qualities attendant to their seizing this critical moment in which to write. In defining his use of the word kairos, Frank Kermode refers to a psychological term, "temporal integration," which he explained was "our way of bundling together perception of the present, memory of the past, and expectation of the

future, in a common organization."[144] Literature is another such manifestation of "temporal integration." Though each of the following chapters focusses on a different issue associated with the late Hàn fin de siècle--the political crisis at court, the end of a Confucian orthodoxy, cultural "degeneration," and death and the emphasis on filial piety--they are all united by this act of temporal integration. The writers of these works demonstrate their engagement with the circumstances of their times, vigorously expressing their feelings on contemporary affairs and society. They draw from a shared historical memory to make allusions for the purpose of praise and admonition; sometimes their use of memory might be characterized as subversive, sometimes reactionary. Present and past are forced together, creating consonance in these pieces, a concord that resembles in microcosm the critical juncture of kairos. In the course of talking about the theme of sociopolitical endings in this literature, I also analyze how the endings of selected compositions work with regard to their entire structures: In other words, I look at how the authors create kairos in their literature.[145]

Chapter Two focusses on Cài Yōng's most well known and perhaps best work in the fù genre.[146] The "Fù Recounting a Journey" ("Shù xíng fu"述行賦) was written

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[144] The Sense of an Ending, 46.

[145] This is, after all, what Frank Kermode does so well in his study of fiction.

[146] The fù is one of three genres to be treated in this study, along with essays (lùn 論) and stele inscriptions (bēiwén 碑文).

in response to the events of 159, the coup to depose the Liáng clan and its aftermath, the starting point of this fin-de-siècle epoch. This chapter is concerned with literary responses to the political situation at the Hàn court. I compare and contrast the way "Recounting a Journey" displays criticism of court politics with Zhào Yī's 趙壹 (ca. 130-ca. 185) "Fù Satirizing the Age, Detesting Iniquity" ("Cì shì jí xié fù" 刺世疾邪賦). Expressing the great sorrow and resentment felt by two members of the clerisy towards the failings of their government, these pieces reveal awareness of the dire situation facing the dynasty. These works also lend themselves excellently to a study of their literary structure, of how the writers create anticipation for the poems' resolution, a kind of kairos in microcosm.

Chapter Three is concerned with a philosophical discussion on the meanness of current mores and the misuse of private associations. With members of the Hàn literati speculating about the inadequacy of Confucian values in late Eastern Hàn times, and with their growing interest in other modes of thought, Lǎo-Zhuāng in particular, there is among them a sense of an orthodoxy ending. This philosophical development will result in the emergence of qīngtán 清談, "pure conversation," and xuánxué 玄學, "abstruse learning." Zhū Mù, in his "Treatise on Esteeming 'Thickness'" ("Chóng hòu lùn" 崇厚論), initiates the discussion here with his reflections on the failure of Confucianism and with his interest in concepts derived from the Lǎozǐ Dào dé jīng 老子道德經. This discussion continues in "Treatise on Severing Private Associations"

("Jué jiāo lùn" 絕交論), which takes up specifically the issue of breaking off associations with others. Finally, I present Cài Yōng's "Treatise on Rectifying Private Associations" ("Zhèng jiāo lùn" 正交論) which, while honoring Zhū Mù, argues against his position.

Fin-de-siècle culture is usually associated with degeneracy and decadence. Moral judgments aside, fin-de-siècle culture might be described as having a predilection towards the unusual, the grotesque, and the risqué. Chapter Four addresses this interesting aspect of the culture by looking at some curious short fù pieces written by Cài Yōng on the subjects of pygmies, women, feminine beauty, and sexual harmony, as well as a virulent response to one of Cài Yōng's fù on women by a little known contemporary, Zhāng Chāo 張超. In "Reproaching the 'Fù on a Grisette'" ("Qiào 'Qīngyī fù'" 誚青衣賦), Zhāng Chāo excoriates Cài Yōng for his use of elegant language to depict the beauty of a lowly maidservant, and for expressing unseemly sentiments toward her. Zhāng Chāo's piece lays bare the fear of the clerisy that women are not only the potential undoing of men, but of dynasties. This work reflects the male clerisy's apprehension about the positions of prominence women were attaining in the Hàn.

Chapter Five takes us to the most personal and ultimate of endings, death. The end of the Eastern Hàn saw great emphasis placed on funereal expressions of filial piety. Large sums of money were expended on tombs and funerary services, ostentatious displays that were criticized by some as self-serving attempts by family

members to improve their social and political standings. A related practice that seems to have become very popular at this time was the commissioning of stele inscriptions to immortalize the name and accomplishments of departed friends, family, teachers, and patrons, by recording their moral qualities and achievements in stone. Cài Yōng was the best composer of stele inscriptions (bēiwén 碑文) in the Hàn, and perhaps of all time. He himself found great fault in many of his own works, regarding them as having been woven of exaggerations and fictions. However that may be, from among his stele inscriptions, a number of which have survived (although, ironically, not because the stones are still extant), can be found fine works of literature. We look at two of his best, "Stele Inscription for 'Holder of Principle' Guō Línzōng" (Guō Yǒudào Línzōng bēi" 郭有道林宗碑), and "Stele Inscription for Tàiqiū Magistrate Chén" ("Chén Tàiqiū bēi" 陳太丘碑). The first was written to honor the student leader, Guō Tài, and its descriptions of his many merits, according to Cài Yōng in a separate account, should not be taken as hyperbole. Both pieces honor men who withdrew from public life rather than serve in office. Such "eremites" comprise an important part of the clerisy of this age.[147] A close examination of these two works reveals how interest in "defeating" personal ending arose as reaction against these troubled times, a kairos of

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[147] Berkowitz ("Reclusion and 'The Chinese Eremitic Tradition,'" 576 n. 2) argues that such men might be better called "scholars-at-home" (chǔshì 處士) or scholars in retirement, in contrast to someone like Wáng Fú, who was a true "practitioner of reclusion" (yǐnshì 隱士), i.e., one who practices "substantive reclusion" (576, 584).

inspiration emerging from the historical kairos.

The final chapter, Chapter Six, is the conclusion. Here I bring this study to a close by reviewing how the diverse discussions of the preceding chapters have identified various sorts of kairotic literature. The issue of the shifting center of the clerisy's literary activity, from the court to a "public" exchange, i.e., among members of the clerisy class, is discussed briefly. I also note how the literature of this epoch differs from that of the first century C.E., and highlight some of its indications for the subsequent course of literature in the Jiàn'ān period (196-219 C.E.). Like all endings, this chapter is also a beginning, for by reflecting on what we can say about Cài Yōng's sensibility as a writer, and what his art has to say about the sensibilities of his times, I am setting the stage for further, more complete inquiries into literature and times that are just beginning to receive their proper due.

CHAPTER II

A SEASON OF DISCONTENT: TWO FÙ OF POLITICAL PROTEST

陰陽易位, 時不當兮; 懷信佗傺, 忽乎吾將行兮.
(For the Dark and Light have changed places:
the times are out of joint.
With true heart long I pondered;
then suddenly I set forth.)
"Crossing the River" 涉江

At the time Liáng Jì was sacked, Cài Yōng was a young man in his late twenties.[1] Since his parents had already passed away, he was living then with his uncle, to whom he was very close.[2] One account says that his hair was prematurely graying,

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Epigraph translation is from David Hawkes, The Songs of the South (Harmondsworth, Middlesex, England: Penguin Books Ltd., 1985), 161, ll. 53-54. What Hawkes has translated "Dark and Light" are yīn 陰 and yáng 陽.

[1] It is not certain whether Cài Yōng was born in 132 or 133 C.E. There is a discrepancy between his official biography, which states that he was sixty-one suì (sixty years old) when he died in 192 (see HHs 60B.2006), and a memorial he wrote in 178 in which he says he is forty-six suì (see CZj [Sbby], 7.26a). The biography would place his birth in 132, and the memorial in 133.

[2] Cài Yōng was from Yù prefecture 圉縣 in Chénliú 陳留郡 commandery, which was located about fifty-five kilometers southeast of modern Kāifēng, in Hénán province. His family was reputable and of good social station, but not as prominent as one might expect. Both parents came from leading families; the Yuán 袁 clan, his mother's family, was particularly well-connected. The Cài and Gāo 高 clans were the two wealthiest in Yù (see HHs, "Dǎnggù lièzhuàn," 67.2201), but Cài Yōng's

perhaps from the emotional stress of having lost his parents.[3] Cài Yōng had been provided an excellent education under a distinguished master, Hú Guǎng, the same man who would later become the grand tutor to Emperor Líng. Hú Guǎng had passed on to the budding scholar his love of literary composition and meticulous study of ancient texts.[4] At this time, Cài Yōng had made close friendships with members of the clerisy who, on the one hand, were motivated to clean up corruption in government affairs while, on the other, flirting with notions of withdrawal from society.[5] The self-

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father, Léng 棱, had been unsuccessful in his official career, and his grandfather Xī 揩 had only been a minor official. Thus, though esteemed locally for their integrity, the immediate family wielded relatively little influence. Cài Yōng won the respect of his fellow townsfolk for his demonstration of filial piety towards his parents, particularly throughout his mother's terminal three-year illness and then at her graveside. Thereafter, he went to live with his uncle. See HHs 60B.1979-80; Asselin, "The Hou Han shu Biography of Cai Yong," 3-5, 49-57; Niwa Taeko, "Sai Yu ten oboegaki," 95-97; Okamura Shigeru, "Sai Yu o meguru Go Kan makki no bungaku no susei," 63 (Chin. trans., 30). On the conflicts between Cài Yōng's being a member of the clerisy class while also having come from a prominent and wealthy local clan (though, as stated above, his immediate family was not so powerful), see Kawakatsu Yoshio 川勝義雄, "Kanmatsu no rejistansu undō" 漢末のレジスタンス運動, Tōyōshi kenkyū 25 (1967): 398-401.

[3] Letter by Cài Yōng to unknown person, preserved in Tàipíng yùlǎn 太平御覽, comp. Lǐ Fǎng 李昉 (925-996) et al. (Běijīng: Zhōnghuá shūjú, 1960), 432.2a (also CZj [Sbby], Wàijí, 2.11b): "Yōng was unfortunate, mourning prematurely for his parents. Passing thirty years of age, his hair had turned gray, and his uncle grew closer to him, just as if he were a small child."

[4] See HHs 60B.1980; trans. Asselin, "The Hou Han shu Biography of Cai Yong," 57; see also Asselin, 57-58 n. 15. Hú Guǎng's biography can be found in HHs 44.1504-13. On indications of Cài Yōng and Hú Guǎng's lifelong mentor-student relationship, see Niwa Taeko, "Sai Yu ten oboegaki," 97; Wú Shùpíng 吳樹平, "Dōngguān Hàn jì chūtàn" 東觀漢記初探, Part 1, Wén shǐ 28 (1987): 85, and B. J. Mansvelt Beck, The Treatises of Later Han, 51, 74, 258.

[5] Niwa Taeko, "Sai Yu ten oboegaki," 95.

contradictions of this program--choosing between being reformers or recluses--and the personal turmoil these created, would become a recurrent theme of Cài Yōng's life.

Among Cài Yōng's panoply of talents, which also included calligraphy and--what we are most interested in here--literary composition, were his musical skills, in particular his proficiency on the qín 琴 or zither.[6] His virtuosity was widely known, even reaching to the recesses of the inner court. This particular fame was what first brought Cài Yōng's life to intersect with the political underpinnings of this kairotic era. Shortly after the coup, Cài Yōng was summoned by palace eunuchs, the coup leaders, to perform a recital at the court. He was loath to go, and reluctantly undertook the 200-kilometer trip from Chénliú 陳留 to Luòyáng only to stop about a dozen kilometers outside the capital at a town called Yǎnshī 偃師.[7] There, on feint of illness

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[6] See Qín shǐ 琴史, comp. Zhū Chángwén 朱長文 (Sòng dyn.) (Táiběi: Shāngwù yìnshūguǎn, 1977), 3.11b-14a, and Xǔ Jiàn 許健, Qín shǐ chūbiān 琴史初編 (Běijīng: Rénmín yīnyuè chūbǎnshè, 1982), 16-18. For short fragments of fù written by Cài Yōng on the zither and on zither playing, see CZ wàijí (Sbby), 3.4a-5a. A couple of anecdotes about Cài Yōng and zithers are preserved in his HHs biography; see HHs 60B.2004-5, trans. Asselin, "The Hou Han shu Biography of Cai Yong," 185-86. Cài Yōng is also credited with a compilation of qín songs and related material called Qín cào 琴操, which is probably a later work; on this attribution, see Kenneth J. DeWoskin, A Song for One or Two: Music and the Concept of Art in Early China, Michigan Papers in Chinese Studies, No. 42 (Ann Arbor: Center for Chinese Studies, The University of Michigan, 1982), 111.

[7] The Yǎnshī of this period was a few kilometers to the southeast of modern Yǎnshī, and a little over thirty-five kilometers ENE of modern Luòyáng.

(malingering was a common way to evade a summons), Cài Yōng obtained leave to go home.

2.1 "'Fù' Recounting a Journey"

Cài Yōng's most important fù, if not his greatest literary work, "Fù Recounting a Journey" ("Shù xíng fù" 述行賦) is a narrative of his trek. As a description of a journey, this work is classified along with other "travelogue fù,"[8] e.g., Liú Xīn's 劉歆 (ob. 23 C.E.) "Fù on Fulfilling My Original Resolve" ("Suí chū fù" 遂初賦), Bān Biāo's 班彪 (3-54 C.E.) "Fù on a Northern Journey" ("Běi zhēng fù" 北征賦), and Bān Zhāo's 班昭 (ca. 49-ca. 120) "Fù on an Eastward Journey" ("Dōng zhēng fù" 東征賦).[9] The reader of "Fù Recounting a Journey" is struck by Cài Yōng's bold expression of personal feelings and sociopolitical protest. More subtle is the literary tension created by his forward-moving narrative, his backward-looking musings, and the periodic delays in the journey itself.

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[8] David Knechtges notes ("Poetic Travelogue in the Han Fu," 128): "The traditional Chinese designations for the poetic travelogue are ji-shing [jì xíng] 紀行 (relating travel), which is a thematic category of the fu section in the Wen shiuan, and shing-liu [xínglǚ] 行旅 (travel), a category that first appears in the early Tang commonplace book, Yi-wen lei-jiu 藝文類聚 (jiuan 27), and that continued to be used in the great Ching dynasty fu collection Li-dai fu-huei 歷代賦彙."

[9] For the text of "Suí chū fù," see Gǔwén yuàn, 5.1b-7a; "Běi zhēng fù" is in Wén xuǎn, 9.425-30 (trans. Knechtges, 2: 165-71); "Dōng zhēng fù," in Wén xuǎn, 9.432-36 (trans. Knechtges, 2: 173-79).

This piece shares with the long, epideictic fù a tripartite form: a preface, main body, and an epilogue. The preface is written in prose and states the political background of the fù's composition. The main body is written in a modified "Sāo-style" prosody (after Qū Yuán's "Lí sāo" 離騷) of usually six-syllable stichs and infrequently seven-syllable ones.[10] With significant exceptions to be noted below, most of the main body alternates between the naming of places encountered along the journey and recollections of historical personages or events connected to those places. This moving back and forth between present and past puts historical conceits up against current events and tendencies, and in this way allows for indirect criticism. This is what is called the lǎn gǔ 覽古 or "contemplation of the past" theme. The Luàn 亂, or epilogue, is composed of tetrasyllabic stichs arranged in couplets with the xī 兮 caesura marker following the riming syllable at the end of each second line. It acts as a grand summation of what has transpired in the main body of the fù.

The main body, as suggested by lines one through eight, may have been begun while the poet was en route. By the complexity of the piece, we can assume that it was

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[10] The lines are organized into distichs divided at the end of the first stich by the caesura marker xī which is unstressed and has no semantic value. The distichs rime at the end of the second stich. Each hemistich has three syllables followed by an unstressed particle, the "keyword," and then two more syllables (sometimes three). In one case, line fifty-eight, there are four syllables, followed by the keyword and then two more syllables. The keywords used in this fù are 而, 之, 以, 于, 其, 乎, 與, 為, in descending order of frequency. The keyword does not necessarily have a semantic role in the verse.

not completed in earnest until after the poet's return home; indeed, the entire piece may have been written after the journey. The language of the preface implies that it was written retrospectively, after the main body and perhaps the epilogue had been completed. A less convincing scenario would be that the three sections were written in the order presented. There are a few reasons for this unlikelihood: I have already mentioned that lines one through eight suggest that the fù was begun during the journey. These lines themselves serve as an introduction to the rest of the main body of the piece. We note the parallelism of the idea contained in line eight, "And write these words revealing my hidden feelings," with the final line of the preface, "My heart was so filled with resentment that . . . I wrote this fù recounting it," and can explain this bit of redundancy as a later accretion. Also, the preface suggests a retrospective view as to the circumstances of composition. We know, furthermore, that other fù that took considerable time to compose, and required re-working; they were not extemporaneous creations.[11] The complex structure of the main body of "Recounting a Journey" indicates just such a laborious process of writing. The preface, on the other hand, is simple and straightforward; one can easily imagine Cài Yōng writing this section later as a way of introducing his completed work. In any case, we should not be in doubt as to the authorship of the preface. Unlike the preface to Liú Xīn's "Fù on Fulfilling My

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[11] For instance, Zhāng Héng took ten years to complete his "Fù on the Two Metropolises," though it is a considerably longer work than the two fù discussed in this chapter. See Gōng Kèchāng, Hàn fù yánjiū, 232.

Original Resolve," which was written by an editor later on, this preface is written by the poet, who refers to himself a couple of times by the pronoun yú 余, "I."[12]

"Recounting a Journey" contains three "beginnings": The preface, lines one through eight of the main body, and lines 135-136 of the epilogue give the impetus for this work from three different perspectives, historical, personal, and literary. The preface locates the composition according to the historical circumstances covered in Chapter I:[13]

> In autumn of the second year of the Yánxǐ era [159 C.E.], it rained steadily for over a month. At this time, Liáng Jì having just been put to death, the Five Marquises Xú Huáng, Zuǒ Guàn, and the others arrogated exalted positions in his place. Moreover, when they were building the Park of Manifest Yáng to the west of the city, the corvée laborers froze or starved and those who lost their lives were legion. The prefect of Báimǎ, Lǐ Yún, died on account of his forthright statement. The Grand Herald, Lord Chén, was punished on account of his coming to Yún's aid.[14]
>
> Huáng told the court about my ability to play the zither. [The emperor] commanded the governor of Chénliú to dispatch me. When I arrived in Yǎnshī, I became ill and being unable to proceed, I obtained leave to go home. My heart

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[12] See Knechtges, "Poetic Travelogue in the Hàn Fù," 129, and Hs, "Chǔ Yuán Wáng zhuàn," 36.1967. For the preface to "Suí chū fù," see Gǔwén yuàn, 5.1b-2a; the preface refers to Liú Xīn by his name.

[13] Complete annotated translations of the pieces discussed in this study may be found in the Appendices in the order in which they are treated in this text. The notes included here are only those that might aid understanding. Textual criticism and other sorts of information can be found in the appended translations.

[14] This refers to Chén Fán 陳蕃 (ca. 90-168 C.E.), the dàhónglú 大鴻臚 or grand herald. Chén Fán sent up a memorial to the Emperor asking that Lǐ Yún's life be spared. As a result he was dismissed from office, whereupon he retired to his family home. See Chapter I, Lǐ Yún's biography in HHs 57.1852, and "Chén Wáng lièzhuàn," 66.2161.

> was so filled with resentment towards this affair that, based on the places I had passed, I wrote this fù recounting it.[15]

The setting of this piece in the context of a specific political event signals the overall orientation of the fù. The date, the season, and the weather are given prominent mention, locating this piece at a particular time. Inclusion of the weather serves at least three important functions. First, the rain is a sort of historical corroboration of the temporal setting of this piece. According to the dynastic annals of the Hòu Hàn shū, though, these heavy rains happened not in the autumn, but in the summer of that year, 159, just prior to the coup overthrowing Liáng Jì.[16] Second, as in the Hòu Hàn shū, the rains serve as a portent of disorder in the realm; this is not at all to say that there were, in fact, no rains, but on the contrary that the recording of this weather phenomenon has importance with respect to the Heaven-Earth correspondences pivotal to the Hàn Weltanschauung.[17] Third, the rains reflect Cài Yōng's own troubled disposition, that is to say, they are also a literary device to express the poet's mood.[18]

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[15] CZj (Sbby), "Wàijì," 4b-5a. For other versions of each work examined in this study, see the first note of the relevant appendix.

[16] See HHs, "Xiào Huán dì jì," 7.304.

[17] See Rafe de Crespigny, trans. and annotator, Portents of Protest in the Later Han Dynasty: The Memorials of Hsiang K'ai to Emperor Huan (Canberra: Australian National University Press, 1976), 9-20.

[18] Lǐ Shàn's commentary to the Wén xuǎn attributes a fù that associates rain with grief, titled "Fù on the Downpour" ("Lín yǔ fù" 霖雨賦), to Cài Yōng; see commentary to Cáo Zhí's 曹植 (192-232) "Měinǚ piān" 美女篇, 27.1288, and to Zhāng Xié's 張協 (?-307) "Zá shī" 雜詩,

The preface next establishes the composition in the aftermath of the coup and the subsequent rise to power of the so-called "Five Marquises," the eunuchs who had plotted with the emperor. Cài Yōng presents an example of the eunuchs' abuse of power (the park project that resulted in the death of a large number of laborers), and mentions the clerisy's protests. The story then turns personal, introducing the account of Cài Yōng's having been summoned from his home in Chénliú commandery 陳留郡 (which was located to the southeast of what is now Kāifēng, Hénán province) to give a qín recital at the court in Luòyáng. Cài Yōng has no interest in going: As we intuit later in the piece, he opposed the coup, not because he favored Liáng Jì necessarily, but because it subverted the proper disposition of power.[19] He probably also finds it particularly galling to be ordered by eunuchs to come and entertain them.[20] From the last line of the preface, we learn a few interesting things about the actual composition of the piece. Cài Yōng states that 1) he is overwhelmed by strong feelings ("filled with

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29.1379. See also Gōng Kèchāng, Hàn fù yánjiū, 281-82, under the title, "Chōu lín fù" 愁霖賦 ("Fù on Grieving at the Downpour").

[19] He had some motivation to support Liáng Jì: As Okamura Shigeru points out ("Sai Yu o meguru Go Kan makki no bungaku no susei," 64-65; Chin. trans., 31, 32), Cài Yōng's tutor, Hú Guǎng, had earlier demonstrated his support of Liáng Jì.

[20] Okamura Shigeru, "Sai Yu o meguru Go Kan makki no bungaku no susei," 67 (Chin. trans., 33), believes that Cài Yōng's unstated reasons for being unhappy with the summons are (1) being summoned on account of his musical skills, rather than his scholarship, would be insufficient to guarantee his future, and (2) the eunuchs were trying to shame him for his association with Liáng Jì (through the connection with Hú Guǎng).

resentment towards this affair" 心憤此事), and 2) he has used his trip as a literary device ("based on the places I had passed" 遂託所過) for 3) a fù he has written to convey his emotions. The importance of this statement (and the parallel one in line eight) has already been pointed out by David R. Knechtges in his seminal article on the travelogue fù, where he argues that these pieces move towards "increasing specificity of time, place, and voice."[21] Here we have specificity of time (the fall of 159, after Chén Fān had been relieved of office, and during heavy rains), specificity of place (the sites Cài Yōng passes on the way to Luòyáng), and specificity of voice (the poet's own, expressing his personal feeling of frustration).

Lines one through eight of the main body present Cài Yōng's reason for writing this fù from the context of the first stage of the journey:

> I make a journey to capital Luò,[22]
> And encounter a long spell of incessant rain.
> The road is arduous and obstructed,
> Flooded with standing water, creating a disaster.
> My horse team reels and does not advance,
> My mind is anxious and dejected, pent up with resentment.
> For a moment, I transcend my concerns to look into the past,
> And write these words revealing my hidden feelings.[23]

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[21] Knechtges, "Poetic Travelogue in the Han Fu," 142.

[22] Luò refers to Luòyáng, capital of Eastern Hàn China.

[23] CZj (Sbby), "Wàijì," 5a.

Whereas the content of the preface is primarily historical, giving us the external factors behind the composition of this piece, the introductory part of the main body is personal. Here, the politics of the situation are obscured in symbolism as the poet sets out on his journey in heavy rain and flood conditions. The road is nearly impassable; this blockage is a metaphor for the poet's mental state, in that he feels "pent up with resentment." Moreover, Cài Yōng fears getting "sullied" by association with the eunuchs. Their coup has impinged on Cài Yōng's plans to obtain an official post, just at the time he must have been anxious about making a name for himself with accomplishments. In this respect, his sentiments are similar to those of the twenty-two-year old Bān Gù 班固 (32-92 C.E.), who, in his "Fù on Communicating with the Hidden" ("Yōu tōng fù" 幽通賦), frets about his having failed yet to establish himself.[24] In the line, "The road is arduous and obstructed" 塗屯邅其蹇連兮, Cài Yōng borrows words from the same Book of Changes passages, the oracle texts for the hexagrams Zhūn 屯 and Jiǎn 蹇, that Bān Gù uses in, "Numerous are the hardships and obstacles [or, setbacks]" 紛屯邅與蹇連兮.[25] Cài Yōng cannot physically advance, and his career, too, has stalled now that the coup has made it difficult for idealistic young men like himself to

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[24] For the text, see Hs 100B.4213-25, or Wén xuǎn, 14.635-50 (trans. Knechtges, 3: 83-103; see also Knechtges's note on p. 83).

[25] "Fù on Communicating with the Hidden," Hs 100B.4216, or Wén xuǎn, 14.637 (cf. trans. Knechtges, 3: 87, ll. 45).

serve in government. His life is mired in the muck of unsavory court politics, and his situation seems hopeless. But out of this critical moment, what Gorgias would have recognized as kairos, comes his inspiration. He states that he will "for the moment" or "for the time being" (liáo 聊) "transcend my concerns to look into the past." Cài Yōng means that his fù will alternate, as it does, between his journey and the historical past, thus "transcending" or "enlarging upon" (hóng 弘) his own concerns to comment on the current political situation in the context of the historical past. He will, in effect, use a shared historical and social memory, a history that he invests with meaning, as commentary on the times.[26] If, as I suggest, the preface was written later on, then there he is reflecting back on a completed trip, and thus is joining personal memory with a common, historical one.

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[26] Frank Kermode points out ("Poetry and History," in Poetry, Narrative, and History, The Bucknell Lectures in Literary Theory, eds. Michael Payne and Harold Schweizer [Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1990], 49-50) that besides investing history with meaning, "we also inherit and endorse or qualify meanings given by others, and the written history on which speculation of this sort must depend may itself be thought of as an imaginative fiction, or a poem, persuasive, ordered, endowed with at least the simulacra of causality, and of course the record, already established, of complex transaction with ideologies."

There has been a great deal of recent scholarly interest in history as collective memory. See, for instance, Paul Connerton, How Societies Remember, Themes in the Social Sciences, eds., John Dunn et al. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), James Fentress and Chris Wickham, Social Memory (Cambridge, Mass.: Basil Blackwell, 1992), and Patrick H. Hutton, History as an Art of Memory (Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England, 1993); for an interesting specific application of these ideas concerning history and memory, see Shahid Amin, Event, Metaphor, Memory: Chauri Chaura 1922-1992 (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1995).

The preface and lines one through eight form two perspectives on the beginning of the journey and the impetus for the writing of this fù, the first from the historical context (the coup and its aftermath, including the summons), and the latter, the personal context (the arduous journey), but both stages end on the same note: Cài Yōng proclaims he is writing this piece to express bitter, deep-held feelings. The importance of this proclamation has already been discussed by Knechtges in his article on the travelogue fù.[27] I would also call attention to the ordering of these two "beginnings": Cài Yōng begins, in a sense, at the end, with the last part written (the preface), while looking back to the beginning, the reason for his bitter feelings. He then presses forward on his memory trip, with each place serving as a portal to the past. As the journey progresses, as the focus increasingly becomes that of the future, a consonance is sought between past (a history or memory invested with meaning in relation to the end), present (the current circumstances read in the context of the past), and future (the apparent outcome seen in the mirroring of present circumstances in the events of the past). This literary kairos, we will see, is developed throughout the piece. The reader accompanies the poet in seeking that consonance, and ultimately, some sort of resolution.

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[27] See Knechtges, "Poetic Travelogue in the Han Fu," 152.

The third "beginning" is buried in the finale of the piece. In the Luàn, Cài Yōng discusses the manner of his historical ruminations and gives another reason for writing a fù:

> Progressively I surveyed many metropolises,
> Searching for former achievements.
> I researched into tales of old,
> These affairs were clearly set forth.
> Climbing high I wrote this fù--
> My reason obtains from this.
> Making standards out of the good, and warnings from the bad,
> Could I be said to have been remiss?[28]

With each place that Cài Yōng passes is a reflection on some historical event that occurred there that has some bearing on, some lesson to teach about, the current political situation. This progress through the terrain of mountains and lore forms the material for his writing, in which allusions to past events are "clearly set forth." Cài Yōng then gives, obliquely, the reason why he chooses to compose a fù as the vehicle for personal expression. Here he alludes to a passage from Liú Xīn's Qī lüè 七略 in which is cited material common to the Commentary on Máo's "Songs": "The Commentary says '. . . If one climbs high and is able to fù . . . one can become a grandee.'[29] This says that he responds to things, and brings about its inception [i.e., the

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[28] Lines 131-138, CZj (Sbby), "Wàijì," 8a.

[29] The received Máo shī zhuàn 毛詩傳 (probably composed in the middle of the second century B.C.E.; in Máo shī zhèngyì), 3A.16b, has material not included in the "Yìwén zhì" passage, and vice versa. Moreover, Máo shī zhuàn has the synonym shēng 升 in place of the dēng ("to

topic of fù-ing]; his talent and wisdom is profound and excellent, he can be consulted with on affairs, and hence can be ranked a grandee."[30] In this context, "If one climbs high" means to ascend up to the court hall.[31] Cài Yōng takes it to mean to climb up to a high area of terrain, up into the mountains. He appears to follow an interpretation based on a similar passage found in the Hán shī wàizhuàn 韓詩外傳. There Confucius is depicted as climbing Mount Jǐng 景山 when he makes this remark to his disciples about climbing high and fù-ing.[32] "To fù" might have meant "to recite" in the original passage, but clearly our poet understands fù in the sense of the literary genre. Cài Yōng writes this fù ("My reason obtains from this") because he identifies the ability to respond to things, here, the environment political and physical, and to direct this sensibility to the act of literary composition, as a sign of one's worthiness for high

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climb") of the Hs and "Shù xíng fù" texts. Liú Xīn and the Máo shī zhuàn may be using material from a common source.

[30] A passage from "Shīfù lüè" 詩賦略 preserved in Hs, "Yìwén zhì," 30.1755.

[31] See David R. Knechtges, "Yang Shyong, the Fuh, and Hann Rhetoric," 145-46, 149-52, 274 n. 39 and n. 40. Dēng gāo néng fù 登高能賦 is treated extensively in Nakajima Chiaki 中島千秋, Fu no seiritsu to tenkai 賦の成立と展開 (Matsuyama: Kankosei, 1963), 79-94. See also Hellmut Wilhelm, "The Scholar's Frustration," 399 n. 9.

[32] Hán shī wàizhuàn, attrib. Hán Yīng 韓嬰 (Sbck), 7.15b, trans. Hightower, 248: "Confucius said, 'The superior man, when he climbs to a height, must express himself.'" Here, Hightower translates fù as to "express" oneself; see his note, 248 n. 3. Jean-Paul Diény interprets the Qī lüè passage to reflect this sense of climbing up to high terrain, stating, "celui qui, escaladant un haut sommet, est capable de 'composer' 賦, est digne d'être grand officier"; see Aux origines de la poésie classique en Chine; Étude sur la poésie lyrique à l'époque des Han, Monographie du T'oung Pao, Vol. 6 (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1968), 64.

office. According to Liú Xīn's view, the ability to fù is indicative of the depth and breadth of one's talents, knowledge, and integrity, and hence, one's suitability for government service. This understanding, which Cài Yōng adopts here, differs from his later view (of 177 C.E.) which decries "calligraphy, painting, and composing fù" as "lesser skills" that "have no capability to rectify the state and put the government in order."[33] The latter may simply reflect his opposition to the eunuchs' proposed establishment of the School at the Gate of the Vast Capital, which was to stress these types of skills in preparing candidates for government service (see Chapter I). It is more likely, though, that Cài Yōng eventually came to find fù composition of secondary importance, a kind of minor art, as did Cáo Zhí 曹植 (192-232) after him.[34]

In the first two "beginnings," historical and personal, Cài Yōng's reasons for writing this fù are summarized as his desire to express deep-held feelings, his resentment against the eunuchs' putsch, and against his summons to court to entertain them. The third "beginning" given in "Recounting a Journey" is a literary one, stating the poet's motive for using fù as a vehicle for personal expression. Cài Yōng claims for himself the moral high ground by embracing the notion of fù composition as a sign of

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[33] HHs 60B.1996; Asselin, "The Hou Han shu Biography of Cai Yong," 357 n. 321.

[34] See Cáo Zhí's "Yǔ Yáng Dézǔ shū" 與楊德祖書, in Sānguó zhì, Wèi shū, 19.558-59 n. 3, or Wén xuǎn, 42.1903-4; trans. Donald Holzman, "Literary Criticism in China in the Early Third Century A.D.," Asiatische Studien, Etudes Asiatiques 28 (1974): 118-19.

one's intellectual and moral excellence. He may choose not to serve a corrupt regime, but he has let known, indirectly as he must, his worthiness for office. The content of the fù, including Cài Yōng's confession of resentment towards specific political events and the way they impinged on his personal life, is at the service of this ultimate goal. Barbara Herrnstein-Smith, in her book, Poetic Closure: A Study of How Poems End, suggests that even when a poem expresses emotion about a specific historical event, it still represents "as a poem, only a possible utterance, what the poet might say." The reader must not be fooled, Hernnstein-Smith adds, into thinking one is reading a "private meditation."[35] Though Cài Yōng proclaims that he writes this fù for personal expression, we must, in reading this statement, keep in mind the increasing expectations for lyric content in the travelogue fù genre,[36] and the poet's overall program to demonstrate his literary skill, moral self-worth and intellectual excellence. In another aspect of his program, Cài Yōng presents his personal feelings as sociopolitical criticism; this differs significantly from the self-indulgent moaning of the frustration fù poets.

I have noted above the pattern of the forward movement of the journey combined with the retrospective accounts of historical memory, and how this creates a

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[35] Poetic Closure: A Study of How Poems End (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1968), 16, 17.

[36] On the importance of lyric sentiment to the travelogue fù, see David Knechtges, "Poetic Travelogue in the Han Fu," 146.

kind of literary tension that leads to the anticipation of consonance between past, present, and future. Let us look now more closely at how this pattern is constructed.

Beyond words, phrases, and verses, the basic organizing unit of the fù is the couplet. Couplets in Chinese poetry are often composed of stichs parallel in verbal or grammatical structure that are also parallel or antithetical in content. The repetition that characterizes parallelism moves the poem forward, in the way that a beat drives a piece of music, or that rime also assists the movement of a poem. For this reason, parallelism is also called "thought rime."[37] When Cài Yōng writes, "[I] lament over Jìn Bì's guiltlessness, / And despise Zhū Hài's seizing the General" (ll. 11-12) the parallelism in structure is clear, and the antithesis on a semantic level, the praise of Jìn and blame of Zhū, is also readily apparent.[38] We may call this an instance of antithetic parallelism.[39]

Couplets can be grouped to form thematic units. In fù such a unit is usually marked by a discrete rime. The unit may have subdivisions that exhibit parallelism

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[37] George W. Anderson, "Characteristics of Hebrew Poetry," in The New Oxford Annotated Bible with the Apocrypha, Expanded Edition, Revised Standard Version, eds. Herbert G. May and Bruce M. Metzger (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973), 1523. I have adopted much of the terminology I use here about parallelism from this useful outline guide; see 1523-26.

[38] CZj (Sbby), "Wàijì," 5a.

[39] On the aspect of parallelism in Chinese verse, see Andrew H. Plaks, "Where the Lines Meet: Parallelism in Chinese and Western Literatures," CLEAR 10 (July 1988), 43-56; James J. Y. Liu, The Art of Chinese Poetry (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1962), 146-50; Hans H. Frankel, The Flowering Plum and the Palace Lady: Interpretations of Chinese Poetry (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1976), 144-85.

where it does not exist on the level of the couplet. Note how the lack of parallelism in the couplet, "At dusk, I stay in Dàliáng, / I reproach Wú Jì's being praised as a god" (ll. 9-10), is answered by the lines, "I pass by the old city of Zhōngmóu, / Loathing Bì Xì's insubordination" (ll. 13-14).[40] The parallelism of the two parts of this section, ll. 10-16 (眞 rime, <u>píng shēng</u>), can thus be seen (here I think it useful to provide the Chinese text):

夕余宿于大梁兮	At dusk, I stay in Dàliáng;
誚無忌之稱神	I reproach Wú Jì's being praised as a god,
哀晉鄙之無辜兮	Lament over Jìn Bì's guiltlessness,
忽朱亥之篡軍	And despise Zhū Hài's seizing the General.
歷中牟之舊城兮	I pass by the old city of Zhōngmóu,
憎佛肹之不臣	Loathing Bì Xì's insubordination.
問甯越之裔胄兮	I inquire after Nìng Yuè's posterity,
貌髣髴而無聞	But remote in time, faded and vague, they are unknown.[41]

The first couplets of these sections are parallel to one another; this may be termed external parallelism. The second couplets of the two sections are not parallel to one another. The stichs of the second couplet (ll. twelve and thirteen) of the first section, are, as mentioned above, antithetically parallel in expressing praise (lament over someone's guiltlessness) and blame (despise for someone's wrongful act). The first stichs of the two second couplets are grammatically parallel, but the very last line

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[40] <u>CZj</u> (<u>Sbby</u>), "Wàijì," 5a.

[41] <u>CZj</u> (<u>Sbby</u>), "Wàijì," 5a/b.

departs from any of the structures of the previous stichs in this section, thus giving the passage closure. The resolution is only partial, since it does not bring completion to the journey that frames this composition, and so forms but a caesura, a resting point on the literary excursion.

Another important feature of these two sections, and of the piece as a whole, is the alternation between physical locations and the historical memories they trigger. According to the conceit of this piece, Cài Yōng, in the course of his journey, passes through several sites that remind him of historical events that occurred there. Thus he says that "based on the places I had passed, I wrote this fù recounting [my journey and resentment]," and that "Progressively I surveyed many metropolises, / Searching for former achievements. / I researched into tales of old, / These affairs were clearly set forth." In the two sections given above, the poet mentions first Dàliáng, and follows it with an allusion to a historical event that happened there; he then brings up Zhōngmóu, and identifies two figures of the past connected with that place. This alternation between naming places seen in the course of the journey, and historical retrospection educed by these sights, creates a pattern that dominates the structure of this piece. This is the pattern typical of the lǎn gǔ theme, the "contemplation of the past," in which a visit to a site is combined with allusions to historical figures and events that occurred at that place. Oftentimes this site is seen from the perspective of a high place, a man-made structure such as a tower, or, as it is here (and as is often the case), from high

landscapes.[42] The use of an elevated perspective may be connected to the "If one climbs high and is able to fù. . ." tradition discussed above.

Looking into the meanings of the allusions we find the source of concords between past and present. For instance, the historical allusion raised in conjunction with Dàliáng concerns an incident from the Warring States period (481/403-221 B.C.E.). In 257 B.C.E., King Ānxī of Wèi 魏安釐王 (reg. 276-243 B.C.E.) received a plea for help from Zhào, which was being beseiged by Qí. The King sent the general Jìn Bì in command of a hundred thousand troops to rescue Hándān 邯鄲. An emissary from Qín warned Wèi against its involvement in the matter, and King Ānxī, fearing Qín, ordered General Jìn to halt at Yè 鄴. Zhào appealed to Prince Wú Jì, a younger half-brother of the King, who then connived to purloin the tally that would give him control of Jìn Bì's army. Since General Jìn became suspicious about Wú Jì's obtaining the tally, one of Wú Jì's men, the butcher Zhū Hài, slew the general. Qín was then routed and Zhào saved. The King of Zhào praised Wú Jì saying, "From antiquity there has not been a prince who has measured up to you."[43] Wú Jì's Shǐ jì biography states that in order to honor him after his death, "For generations annually, seasonal sacrifices were respectfully offered."[44] In this section of "Recounting a Journey," Cài Yōng criticizes

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[42] See Hans Frankel's chapter on "Contemplation of the Past," in The Flowering Plum, 104-27.

[43] Shǐ jì, "Wèi gōngzǐ lièzhuàn," 77.2381.

[44] Shǐ jì, "Wèi gōngzǐ lièzhuàn," 77.2385. For the entire story, see 77.2379-82.

"Wú Jì's being praised as a god," and Zhū Hài's act of violence, and praises Jìn Bì for having done his duty. Cài Yōng is critical of Wú Jì, not because helping Zhào was reprehensible, but because he acted outside the bounds of his role. He had usurped the power of the King. Jìn Bì, by contrast, maintained the proper bounds of his place. In other words, Cài Yōng is uninterested in the worthy end, the rescue of Zhào, and is only concerned with the maintenance of the proper correlation of names to prescribed duties.[45] This historical allusion is a quite obvious reference to the coup overthrowing Liáng Jì. If we hold up the historical allusion as a mirror of the 159 coup, then the general Jìn Bì is General-in-Chief Liáng Jì, and Zhū Hài, a mere butcher, the eunuchs. Possibly, Wú Jì stands in for Liú Zhì (Emperor Huán), who, following misguided (?) advice, had drawn up the documents for Liáng Jì's arrest. Note that the poet is uninterested in the intentions of these historical personages; he simply wishes to indicate that they had overstepped the bounds of their authority, i.e., names did not match the actualities. The morality play does not vindicate Liáng Jì of the charge that he was overweening; his "guiltlessness" is simply with respect to his maintaining his proper place as regent. The Emperor should not be regarded as a "god" (one is reminded of Cài Yōng's later suggestion that the emperor's tablet be removed from the ancestral

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[45] I interpret Cài Yōng's use of these allusions as being in line with the Confucian program of the "ordering of names," zhèng míng 正名. See John Makeham, Name and Actuality in Early Chinese Thought, 44-47.

temple; see Chapter I, 42-43); he apparently exceeded his proper bounds by summarily removing his regent. This suggests objections to the concept of an absolute monarchy. The eunuchs, who acted as the emperor's henchmen, had no business overthrowing the regent. This concord between past and present can be clearly read as an indictment of an event contemporary to the poet.

The place names used in this piece underscore the literary nature of the journey with respect to the lǎn gǔ theme. Dàliáng did not exist in the Eastern Hàn. It was the capital of Wèi 魏 in the Warring States period, and was located near what in the Eastern Hàn was called Jùnyí 浚儀, which itself was close by what is now Kāifēng. According to the logical course of Cài Yōng's journey, after leaving Dàliáng he should have reached a city called Zhōngmóu located to the west of the modern place by that name in Hénán. That city was located thirty-three kilometers to the west of the Dàliáng site. But when Cài Yōng raises the historical figures connected to Zhōngmóu, Bì Xì and Nìng Yuè, he reveals that he is referring to a place that existed during the period of the Annals (Chūnqiū, 722-481 B.C.E.) and in the Warring States era that was located in Jìn 晉 (later, Zhào), several kilometers to the west of modern Hèbì City 鶴壁市 in northern Hénán.[46] There was no settlement there in the Eastern Hàn, and if

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[46] On Bì Xì, see Lúnyǔ 17/7; Confucius' Shǐ jì biography, 47.1924; Zuǒ zhuàn, Āi 5; Huáinánzǐ 淮南子, "Dào yìng" (Huáinán hónglìè jíjiě 淮南鴻烈集解, comp. Liú Wéndiǎn 劉文典 [Táiběi: Wénshìzhé chūbǎnshè, 1992]), 12.394; on Nìng Yuè, see Lǚ shì chūnqiū 呂氏春秋, "Bó zhì" (Sbck), 24.9a/b.

Cài Yōng had actually travelled to that place then he would have been one hundred and twenty kilometers north of his last position, a rather lengthy detour. If Cài Yōng was at any Zhōngmóu, it was not the northern one, but the southern site. The actual location is ultimately irrelevant; the places are literary devices used in conjunction with historical allusions to create concords between past and present circumstances.

In the following lines, 17-28, the reader is led through four more places, and is asked to reflect on an equal number of historical events. At Pǔtián 圃田, Cài Yōng is reminded of one of the younger brothers of King Wǔ of Zhōu 周武王 (ob. 1043 B.C.E.), Kāngshú 康叔, who was appointed by his brother to take charge of the newly created fief of Wèi 衛 (which was populated by the conquered Shāng people), and at Guǎn borough 管邑 (or, Guǎnchéng 管城), he remembers two other younger brothers of King Wǔ, Guǎnshú 管叔 and Càishú 蔡叔. They had colluded with the last Shāng king, Zhòu 紂, in attacking their uncle, the Duke of Zhōu, who was acting as regent for King Chéng 成王 (ob. 1006 B.C.E.).[47] The parallel to the coup of 159 C.E. does not need further elaboration. At Xíngyáng 滎陽, the poet eulogizes the general Jì Xìn 紀信, who had died on account of his loyal service to Liú Bāng 劉邦 (247-195

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[47] On Kāngshú, see Shàngshū, "Kāng gào"; Zuǒ zhuàn, Dīng 4; Shǐ jì, "Wèi Kāngshú shìjiā," 37.1589-90; on Guǎnshú and Càishú, see Zuǒ zhuàn, Dīng 4; Shǐ jì, "Zhōu běnjì," 4.126-27, and "Wèi Kāngshú shìjiā," 37.1589.

B.C.E.).[48] And at Hǔláo 虎牢 (in Cài Yōng's time, Chénggāo 成皋), he considers two contemporaries of the seventh century B.C.E., denouncing Shēn Hóu 申侯 for his treachery and pretensions, and Yuán Táotú 轅涛塗 for his vengefulness and slander of Shēn.[49] The antithetical relationship between these last two sets of allusions sets up a contrast between loyalty and betrayal. This opposition is accentuated with a change in rime after the end of the loyalty section in line 22 (from 陽 group, píng shēng, to 耕 group, píng shēng).

In the pattern of alternating between the places visited and the memories they invoke, there is yet an overall unity of structure from lines nine through twenty-eight. Cài Yōng lends further unity to these sections with a litany of verbalized feelings. He names his emotive reactions as qiào 誚 ("reproach," l. 10), āi 哀 ("lament," l. 11), hū 忽 ("despise," l. 12), zēng 憎 ("loathe," l. 14), zēng tàn 增歎 ("sigh more and more," l. 19), yùn 慍 ("indignant," l. 20), and diào 弔 ("mourn," l. 22). These extensions of the poet's "resentment" (fèn 憤) mentioned in the preface and in line six are all complementary to one another, enhancing the sense of repetition, which in turn lends the piece a rhythm and smooth flow.

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[48] For the story about General Jǐ Xìn's sacrifice, see Shǐ jì, "Xiàng Yǔ běnjì," 7.326, and "Gāozǔ běnjì," 8.372-73.

[49] On Shēn Hóu and Yuán Táotú, see Zuǒ zhuàn, Xī 4, 5, and 7.

Lines twenty-nine to forty-two form a discrete section, though they are united by rime (耕 group, píng shēng) with the previous "betrayal" section. These lines evoke the earlier epideictic fù by such masters as Sīma Xiāngrú and Yáng Xióng with their descriptions of physical features of landscape.[50] In the journey, this is the physical high point, and the verse bursts with the thrusting and soaring of the scarps, and the dense intertangledness of the vegetation (ll. 29-42):

I climb up a tall slope to cross the heights,
Ascend the soaring steepness of leek-green mountains.
They create forms rubbing one against the other, standing great and high,[51]
Having endured a myriad generations and not toppled.
I wind down from the precipitous and spiring, descend the defile,
Small hills fill the expanse, of diverse forms.
Ridges and crests wind about in linked succession,
Canyons and gorges run deep, dusky and murky.
Compelled by bluff and cliff to warp and sheer,
Spreading palisades and gorges so tower taller.
Clumped cudrania and oak, clustered hazel and arrow-thorn,
Having been washed and drenched they are spread and thriving.
Strewn lily turf and silver grass, sedge and fritillary,
While hemming the layers of cliffs do their stems tangle.[52]

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[50] Cài Yōng's descriptions of mountain scapes are also evocative of passages in the "Fù on the Gāotáng Shrine" ("Gāotáng fù" 高唐賦), attributed to Sòng Yù 宋玉 (fl. 3rd c. B.C.E.), e.g., Wén xuǎn, 19.879 (trans. Knechtges, 3: 333, ll. 124-127; 130-31): "Climbing on high and gazing afar [登高遠望] / Causes one's heart to be pained. / Winding bluffs, sheer and steep, / Rise layer upon layer, lofty and tall. / . . . / Rugged scarps, jaggedly jutting, / Run hither and thither in mutual pursuit."

[51] This line is difficult to make sense of; see my annotated translation for justifications in translating it this way.

[52] CZj (Sbby), "Wàijì," 5b-6a.

When Cài Yōng states in the epilogue that "Climbing high I wrote this fù," he may literally mean this section with its display of the poet's knowledge of the Hàn fù tradition, and his skill in imitating it. This, perhaps more than any other section of the fù, would showcase his literary talent. Hans Frankel, in The Flowering Plum and the Palace Lady, presents other reasons why descriptions of climbing a mountain are included in poems of the lǎn gǔ theme:

> Mountains have a particular role to play for several reasons. For one thing, they represent, as we have seen, the permanence of nature in contrast with human transcience; they are relics of the hoary past, surviving into the present. For another, they transcend the normal limits of space and time, they take the viewer above the here-and-now, offering a grand vista of the natural and the human world, of the past and the present.[53]

And, one might add, the future. What Frankel has described is the use of the figure of the mountain scape as a metonym for a concord of past and present and future. It is the mountain as kairos, that which "transcends the normal limits of space and time."[54]

In Chapter One I discussed how the early epideictic fù of poets like Sīmǎ Xiāngrú and Yáng Xióng were characterized by parallelism and antithesis, amplification and hyperbole, extensive cataloguing, alliteration and assonance, and impressifs and synonomia. We have seen extensive use of parallelism and antithesis in this fù up to this

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[53] Frankel, The Flowering Plum, 113.

[54] The classic study of mountains in traditional Chinese literature and culture is Paul Demiéville's "La montagne dans l'art littéraire chinois," France-Asie 183 (1965): 7-32, reprinted in Choix d'études sinologiques (1921-1970) par Paul Demiéville (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1973), 364-89.

section; here, we encounter some of the other elements that more acutely remind us of the epideictic tradition. The landscape overwhelms by amplification: The mountains are described as to their "soaring steepness" (yáozhēng 嶢峥)[55] and being "precipitous and spiring" (qiàojūn 峭峻). They open up to a vista of "small hills" that "fill the expanse, of diverse forms" (小阜寥其異形), and a range of "ridges and crests" (gāngcén 崗岑) that go off into the distance. While not hyperbole, these descriptions seem amplified, larger than life. There is a restrained use of riming binomes, cuó é 嵯峨 (歌 rime, píng shēng; "bluff and cliff") and zhēngróng 崢嶸 (耕 rime, píng shēng; "tower taller"), but a large number of synonomia: "soaring steepness," "great and high" (hóng gāo 洪高), "precipitous and spiring," "ridges and crests," "canyons and gorges" (xī huò 谿壑), "dusky and murky" (yǎo míng 杳冥), etc. Finally, the poet describes the wild, rampant growth of vegetation, and names at least eight different plants.[56]

Cài Yōng's particular selection of vegetation draws our attention. The first four plants are strictly literary allusions. Cudrania (yù 棫) and oak (pò 樸) of line thirty-nine are images from a Shī jīng song that takes its title from these tree names, "Yù pò," Máo shī 238. Hazel (zhēn 榛) and "arrow-thorn" (hù 楛), from the same line, are likewise found together in the Shī poem, "Hàn lù" (Máo shī 239). Both sets of plants

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[55] See the textual note in Appendix A, n. 38.

[56] For a possible ninth plant, see Appendix A, n. 45.

represent dense, cluttered growth.[57] The Commentary on Máo's "Songs" to the poem, "Yù pò," suggests an allusive use of these tree names. Just as the mountain scape teems with these wooded plants, which can be utilized as firewood, so is the country filled with worthy men of talent waiting be selected for service to the state. It seems reasonable to expect that Cài Yōng, for whom one important reason in writing this piece is to demonstrate his literary talent and hence his worthiness for employment, is borrowing this metaphor. If the sentiment is similar to the one he expresses in his roughly contemporary hypothetical discourse, "Defense Against Admonition," then he is complaining about the lack of opportunities to obtain office because the bureaucracy is choked with untalented men:

> Abundant and flourishing the many scholars,
> Wearing ceremonial robes and caps and pink sashes,
> Like wild geese gradually pervade the steps,
> Like flocking herons fill the court.
> . . . . . .
> When [the empire] is faced with a serious undertaking,
> Then raincoats and bamboo hats are both worn;
> Those donning armor and raising lances,
> Are insufficient for the task.
> When faced with no serious matters,
> Then they open sashes and loosen girdles,
> Sounding jade pendants on their belts they take up pacing,
> There is more than enough of them.[58]

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[57] "Arrow-tree" is a fanciful name coined by James Legge in The She King, 444; see Appendix A, n. 43.

[58] HHs 60B.1984; translation adapted from Asselin, "The Hou Han shu Biography of Cai Yong," 81, 84-86.

Continuing in a satirical vein, he adds:

> Being compliant, bending and going about in circles,
> Do not suffice to illustrate their expediency;
> Wavering, hesitating, and casting off shoes,
> Do not suffice to compare their complacency.
> Every one has unsurpassed talents,
> Each one has fine and rich knowledge.[59]

The sentiment expressed here, and alluded to in "Recounting a Journey," coincides with the frustration that is said to have been experienced by the Academy graduates of this time who found it difficult to enter the bureaucracy. This rising discontent was a major factor in the student protests that arose in the early years of Emperor Huán's reign (see Chapter I). The plants that are mentioned in the following couplet, lily turf (mèn 蘑), silver grass (tǎn 荻), sedge (tái 薹), and fritillary (méng 萌), appear to be Cài Yōng's own addition, perhaps an instance of tōngbiàn. With the possible exception of fritillary, a bulbous, flowered plant, they are all rhizomatous herbs or reeds, and further describe the cluttered growth of plants on the cliffs. Cài Yōng gives closure to this section by following up the parallel construction of the stichs with an A-B-A-B arrangement of the last four verses.

Lines 43 to 52 form a hiatus from this piled-up description of the layered landscape, and moves back to the pattern of travelogue-cum-historical reflection. The only variation is in moving from the A-B-B-B organization of lines nine through

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[59] HHs 60B.1985; trans. Asselin, "The Hou Han shu Biography of Cai Yong," 89.

sixteen, the A-B-A-B structure of lines seventeen through twenty-two, and the A-A-B-B-B-C pattern of lines 23-28. This time we have a description of sights lasting through four lines (43-46), two lines devoted to the southern view, and two to the northern, followed by four lines of historical memory (ll. 47-50), hence A-A-A-A-B-B-B-B. It is in these lines that we first have in this piece the "sense of an ending," with respect to the fin de siècle. Cài Yōng contrasts praise of the legendary founder of the Xià dynasty, Yǔ 禹, whose glorious achievement in controlling the flood waters of the Yellow River was said to have enabled the advance of Chinese agriculture and civilization,[60] with his distress over Tàikāng 太康, who was, as Yǔ's grandson, only the third ruler of Xià, but whose life of dissipation signalled the onset of that dynasty's decline. There is little subtlety to Cài Yōng's warning about dynastic decline in his own time.

The poet then turns his attention back to concrete description of his environment, with particular attention paid to the weather and to the fatigue of his driver and horse team. Lines 51-60, unified by a common rime (陽 group, píng shēng), seem to parallel lines 29-42 with respect to this sort of epideictic approach:

> I seek out the long wagon track to set off anew,
> Endlessly going on and on, it is hardly over yet.
> In the mountains, winds race and vortices spring,
> The air, dismal and dreary, is sharp and cold.
> Clouds, congealing and rising, block up the four directions,
> Rain, drizzly-mizzly, inundates the road.
> The driver is enervated, fagged from exertion,
> My horses, haggard, stagger, turning from sloe to sallow.

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[60] See Shàngshū, "Yǔ gòng."

Upon reaching a luxuriant knoll, I unhitch the carriage,
Dark and loury-lowery, there's no light of day.[61]

Cài Yōng makes greater use of alliteration and assonance in this section, with the alliterative binome, xuán huáng 玄黃 (匣 initial; "from sloe to sallow"), the riming binome huī tuí 虺隤 (微 rime, píng shēng; "haggard, stagger"), and the reduplicatives méngméng 濛濛 ("drizzly-mizzly") and yìyì 曀曀 ("loury-lowery"). Mountains, the air, the clouds, and rain are described in succession, in a near parallel structure. In the latter half of this passage, Cài Yōng borrows extensively from the Shī jīng, with references to Máo shī 3/2, 3 ("My horses haggard, stagger," and "My horses turned from sloe to sallow"), 30/4 ("Loury-lowery, the darkness"), and 168/2 ("The drivers were anxious and fagged"). The language is impressionistic: The multiple near-synonymous adjectives, and the unrelenting drive of the lines, conjure up the experience of bitingly-cold wetness, utter exhaustion, and darkness that is absolute. These exterior conditions are metonymy for the poet's own state of mind; there is no greater depth to which he can descend.

We are somewhat surprised then by the reversion back to the journey and historical reflections in the next six lines, but we should not be. The epideictic descriptions are jewels at the center of the piece, but the journey-as-literary device is the mainstay of the work. The resumption of the trek is signalled by another change in

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[61] CZj (Sbby), "Wàijì," 6a/b.

rime (侵, shǎng shēng). Little about the journey is actually included here; the speaker merely gazes "afar on the riversides and bends" (l. 62) before reflecting on another historical situation. Significantly, Cài Yōng returns to the topic that had concerned him last in the former lǎn gǔ section: the reasons for dynastic decline. This time he focusses on the calamities engendered by court favor, invoking the story of King Xiāng of Zhōu 周襄王 (reg. began 651 B.C.E.), whose half-brother Dài 帶, the favorite of their father's queen, slept with King Xiāng's wife and then put the King to flight. Like the other lǎn gǔ sections, this is mostly devoid of literary flourishes like alliteration and assonance; an alliterative binome in the final line, cè chuàng 惻愴 (初 initial; "anguished and aggrieved"), seems to mark the end of the section.

Whereas the previous epideictic section (ll. 51-60) was characterized by Shī jīng references, lines 67-80 (月 rime, qù shēng) are marked by borrowings from Chǔcí 楚辭, The Songs of Chǔ, in particular, the "Lí shì" 離世 ("Leaving the World") poem of Liú Xiàng's 劉向 (ca. 79-ca. 6 B.C.E.) "Jiǔ tàn" 九歎 ("Nine Laments"), and the "Shè jiāng" 涉江 ("Crossing the River") poem in the "Jiǔ zhāng" 九章 ("Nine Pieces"). The poet's intent seems simply to appropriate earlier literary material relating to crossing a river. The whole section is curious in that it is not really descriptive of the poet's journey, nor does it engage in historical memory until the final couple of lines. Though it might be regarded as an imitation of Chǔcí, its purpose is to portray the Luò River, referring to river lore (the goddess of the river, Consort Fú 宓妃), its sources

and tributaries, and its importance to the capital city and to the court as a major waterway:

> After boarding a boat, I head up against a rapid current,
> And float on limpid waves to cross the river.
> I reflect on the numinous brilliance of Consort Fú;
> The goddess, occulted and obscured, is submerged, covered.
> This river flows from the fountainhead juices of Xióng'ěr 熊耳;
> It draws together the Yī 伊 and the Chán 瀍, and the Jiàn 澗 torrent.
> Opening a waterway from the source to the capital city,
> It draws tribute from the wastelands and outskirts.
> Grasping the oars of Wú 吳 on a myriad vessels,
> They fill the royal treasuries and offer up their hoards.
> After crossing the river westward, I tarry,
> Rest at Gǒng City 鞏都 and then depart.
> I commiserate with Duke Jiǎn 簡公's losing his army,
> And detest Zǐ Zhāo's 子朝 causing the damage.[62]

Cài Yōng's previous two long descriptive sections focussed on mountain scapes; here, he concentrates on a river. Aside from the necessity of discussing the Luò River as a significant geographical feature of the terrain that he is covering in his journey, there are at least a couple of other motivations for its inclusion. One of these can be gleaned from the emphasis Cài Yōng places on the Luò as a waterway that not merely services the capital, but conveys tribute from distant lands to the court. The importance and the centrality of the capital city to the Hàn empire are featured here, and surface again later in the piece. The image of a glorious city to which all pay homage is a powerful one, and one that draws not only our poet, but compels us

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[62] CZj (Sbby), "Wàijì," 6b.

forward along with him. Perhaps a more important motivation for balancing the mountain section with a river section derives from the Confucian tradition. Lúnyǔ 6.21, states, "The wise enjoy water; the humane enjoy mountains." On this passage, David L. Hall and Roger T. Ames write, "To the extent that one is making a world real with his performative wisdom (chih), he is creative and dynamic, comparable to water in that it too is fluid and productive. To the extent that one is an achieved person, he is a sustainer of values and meaning prominent and enduring like the mountain."[63] Hall and Ames also note that these two elements, mountains and water (shān shuǐ 山水), are "necessary to achieve natural beauty in landscape painting."[64]

One wonders if the notion of shān-shuǐ as an aesthetic polarity had not already by this time become a feature of the Chinese cultural landscape. Indeed, the effect of this fù is very much like a landscape scroll: We are guided through terrain, stop and pause to reflect, and move on, never sure of what awaits us as the work unfolds. The fù is more controlling than a landscape painting; it is as if one were to look at a landscape scroll at the Metropolitan while listening to a recording that guides us through the scroll and tells us what to think. Due to the relatively tighter control over the imagination commanded by the word as compared to the picture, Cài Yōng leaves little room for maneuvering: He tells us what to look at, we pause when he does, and

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[63] Thinking Through Confucius, 53.

[64] Thinking Through Confucius, 53.

we listen to his commentary. At the end of the fù, the poet leaves us, as it were, to roll up the scroll and thus, by being back at the beginning again, return him home. The effect on the reader is like that you have when you come back from an exotic trip to familiar surroundings: Almost wondering if there was a trip at all, you are left with memories and a vague sense of alienation. What Cài Yōng does by recreating his trip in this fù is to transcend the time of the journey and his own experience of it, thus mitigating his own feeling of alienation by sharing with the reader his journey and his insights--his grasp of the current state of affairs and his discernment of the sorry path they are following.

The river section ends with an indication of the decline of the Zhōu, an allusion to a story in the Zuǒzhuàn (Zhāo 22) about the conflict over succession after the death of King Jǐng 景王 (reg. 544-520 B.C.E.). The journey then enters its last stage. The rains beat down at their worst--"Murky clouds darken as they thicken and condense, / Storming rain gathers into a drenching deluge" (ll. 81-82)--completely obscuring the road.[65] The poet, his driver, and horse team must climb up to higher elevations to avoid getting trapped in the mire. Finally, they arrive in Yǎnshī, where they stop to rest and wait for the rain to stop. Cài Yōng is disconsolate. He suggests in the fù that he contemplated suicide: He evokes the memory of Tián Héng 田橫, the defeated king of Qí, who was invited to Luòyáng by the new first emperor of Hàn, Liú Bāng, but who

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[65] CZj (Sbby), "Wàijì," 6b-7a.

cut his throat on the way, near Yǎnshī. Cài Yōng's despondency afflicts him with insomnia. He looks to the heavens for a clearing, and hopes to gaze on the firmament for whatever signs it may have to offer him, but the "heavens, imperious and scoured, are without markings" (l. 94).[66] After a couple of days, he finally sleeps, and dreams of home.

The next morning, the weather has cleared, and the streaming rays of the sun brighten his spirits. Feeling "at peace" with himself and with the idea of going on to the capital, he orders his driver to ready his carriage.[67] Before long, though, he sinks back into despair: The curtain of rain and fog has been drawn from the capital city. The splendor of Luòyáng, which in another time might have struck him as symbolic of the power and moral rectitude of the Hàn empire, conversely reminds him that it has degenerated, having loss sight of its moral compass. In the most direct and scathing criticism of the piece, he lashes out at the powers that be--the emperor and his minions:

> The august house is splendorous as if in heaven dwells,
> A myriad feudatories proceed to it like stars congregating.
> The prized and the favored, fanned, more intensely blaze,
> All, while safeguarding profit, do not desist.
> When a forward carriage, having overturned, is not far ahead,
> The later coaches, having set chase, vie to catch up.
> They are utterly ingenious with respect to their terraces and terrace halls,
> While the masses, having to live in the open, sleep in dankness.
> They waste fine millet on fowl and beast,
> While the underclass is given the husks and chaff without the grain.

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[66] CZj (Sbby), "Wàijì," 7a.

[67] CZj (Sbby), "Wàijì," 7a.

They extend magnanimity and tolerance to fawning and flattering,
But censure loyal admonishment with swiftness and celerity.[68]

In these lines, 101-112, Cài Yōng begins by alluding to Lúnyǔ 2.1, "The Master said, 'One who effects sociopolitical order by means of virtus may be compared to the northern pole star which, fixed in its place, the multitude of stars pay homage to.'" As if a nightmare version of the ideal, the Hàn court is surrounded with sycophants "like stars congregating" (星集). The emperor has drawn to himself a corrupt class of men who lavish funds on their own homes while the poor and dispossessed live in hovels or out-of-doors; even the animals of the privileged get fed expensive foods while the lower class tries to subsist on the inedible. The antithetic parallelism contained in these lines provides a stark contrast between the living standards of the powerful as opposed to the dispossessed. The last couplet of this passage suggests, very indirectly, that Cài Yōng's opprobrium extends to the emperor himself, who rewarded the coup leaders with marquisates, but who tortured and executed the lowly official Lǐ Yún for his honest criticism. "The Zhōu way has become all overgrown with rank grass," the poet continues, "I lament the daily erosion of the path of ordering" (ll. 117-118).[69] The Hàn dynasty has abandoned to decay the Way of its models, the legendary sage emperors Yáo and Shùn, and the early House of Zhōu.

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[68] CZj (Sbby), "Wàijì," 7a/b.

[69] CZj (Sbby), "Wàijì," 7b.

At this point, Cài Yōng realizes that he has no role to play in this regime. In a system that is so intractably corrupt, it is foolish, even dangerous, to try to reform it as a minor official. In "Defense Against Admonition," Cài Yōng's alter ego, the Hoary Headed Old Man, tells his young interlocutor that "A million knights-in-armor / Are not about to be opposed by a single gallant soldier," adding:

> Presently, you, sir,
> Demand that a common man take up purifying the cosmos,
> But how in a time of drought can one bother even a Yáo or Tāng 湯?[70]
> Fearing ruin and destruction from sparks,
> How should I dare raise a ray of light?[71]

Since government service is not really an option, Cài Yōng muses at the end of "Recounting a Journey" that he personally would be better off in reclusion from the world:

> Without ability to assist in setting right the times,
> For my part, why should I be in this domain?[72]
> Preferring a simple hut where I can calm my spirit,
> While intoning "The Officers of the Capital," I contemplate returning.
> Thereupon, after having concluded my trek, I turn 'round on the wheel tracks,
> And repair to my country and kin to bring myself peace.[73]

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[70] Tāng was the founding emperor of the Shāng-Yīn dynasty.

[71] HHs 60B.1987; adapted from trans. Asselin, "The Hou Han shu Biography of Cai Yong," 97.

[72] Jī 畿 is the royal domain, i.e., the capital and its environs.

[73] CZj (Sbby). "Wàijì," 7b-8a.

Here he ends the main body of his fù with three references to the Shī jīng. First, Cài Yōng uses the expression, héngmén 橫門, which derives from the Shī poem of that name (Máo shī 138); it is a synecdoche for a rustic hut, and a metonym for the "reclusive" life. In the case of someone like Cài Yōng, it was not so much the case of being a recluse, as it was of being a hermit, someone on the fringes of society, but not completely removed from it.[74] It specifically meant refusing participation in official life. For a member of the clerisy, though, for whom life in the bureaucracy was sine qua non, voluntary excommunication from officialdom must have seemed equal to reclusion. Cài Yōng follows faithfully the precept of Confucius, outlined in Lúnyǔ 論語 7.10: "The Master said to Yán Yuān, 'When employed, to carry it out; when rejected, to keep hidden." In the same passage, Confucius goes on to tell another disciple, Zǐlù, that if he were in charge of armies, he would not want a foolhardy hero-type serving at his side.

Intoning a Shī song, "Dū rénshì" 都人士 or "Officers of the Capital" (Máo shī 225), Cài Yōng continues his lament over the deficiencies of the ruling class. The ode, according to tradition, bemoans the loss of virtuous and talented nobles by extolling the deportment, speech, and dress--outward signs of virtue and talent--of nobles of the remote past. Cài Yōng then borrows from the first stanza of Máo shī 187, "I will turn back, I will return, / Repair to my country and kin." Here, Cài Yōng does not merely

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[74] I borrow here Aat Vervoorn's distinction between recluses and hermits in Men of the Cliffs and Caves, 5.

state his final resolve to discontinue his journey to the capital and return home where he will seek his peace. He borrows from a group of songs that are associated with King Xuān of Zhōu 周宣王 (reg. 827-782 B.C.E.), who was the next to last king of the Western Zhōu. Hence, it is possible that there is in this allusion one final reference to dynastic decline.[75]

The epilogue is a précis of the essential points of this fù, including, as we have seen above, reference to the lǎngǔ theme, and to his purpose in writing this fù as a demonstration of his literary talent and moral worth. He follows this by evaluating his use of historical memory as judgment on the present, comments on his loneliness, and ends on a somewhat vague note (ll. 127-142):

> I have trudged and waded distant roads,
> That were difficult and hazardous.
> Throughout were my perpetual worries,
> And I was beset by overcast and rain.
> Progressively I surveyed many metropolises,
> Searching for former achievements.
> I researched into tales of old,
> These affairs were clearly set forth.
> Climbing high I wrote this fù--
> My reason obtains from this.
> Making standards out of the good, and warnings from the bad,

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[75] There is not enough evidence to be certain as to how the Lǔ School, to which Cài Yōng is generally regarded an adherent, viewed "Huáng niǎo" 黃鳥 (Máo shī 187). We do know that this school of the Shī connected "Sī gān" 斯干 (Máo shī 189) to King Xuān, and that the Máo Commentary connects several songs in this section to him, including Máo shī 187 and 188 which contain language similar to what Cài Yōng uses here and in line 141 of the epilogue. See Wáng Xiānqiān, Shī sānjiā yì jíshù 詩三家義集疏 (Táiběi: Shìjiè shūjú, 1957), 16.9a-13a, for the references to dynastic decline and King Xuān in Máo shī 186-189.

Could I be said to have been remiss?
Flit-flittering, alone I journeyed,
Without companions.
I will turn back, I will repair,
My heart is far away.[76]

By asking rhetorically if he has not been vigorous in his applications of historical lessons to present circumstances, Cài Yōng defends his composition as being worthy of serious consideration. At the same time declares himself successful in composing a fù that demonstrates not only his capability to write epideictic-type fù but also his understanding of the genre as an instrument of moral suasion.

The final line of the epilogue, 我心胥兮, is unclear. The last word, xū, has been interpreted by modern commentators to mean "glad," hence, "My heart is glad," but this seems to be based on scant philological evidence.[77] "Far away" is a preferable translation, but there is no certainty in that rendition, either. Since the epilogue mirrors the overall scope of the main body, we can look to the last line there, "And repair to my country and kin to bring myself peace," for some guidance. Clearly, the poet at the end of the journey is as yet unsettled; he desires to return home in order to find his peace. After accompanying the poet through this long and arduous journey, reflecting along with him on people and situations of the past, and seeing how he makes concords with conditions of his day, we yearn for some indication that the poet has resolved his

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[76] CZj (Sbby), "Wàijì," 8a.

[77] See n. 117 of Appendix A.

afflictions. Instead, we are presented the image of a haggard and forlorn young man who only wants to go home. We take up the fù, and put away the sights and memories as if we were rolling up a scroll. Upon reflection, we see that while there is not the expected resolution--some indication that the trip was not made in vain--the poet has, through the lǎn gǔ theme, invested the trip with significance, a meaning that is derived from an ultimate creation of consonance of past, present, and future.

"St. Augustine," Frank Kermode writes, "found that the best model he could find for our experience of past, present, and future was the recitation of a psalm. Thus he anticipated all the modern critics who wonder how it can be that a book can simultaneously be present like a picture (though in a way a picture has to be recited) and yet extended in time."[78] Not only is the writing of "Recounting a Journey" fixed at a specific time, but the journey, both the poet's and our experiences of it, takes place in time. And yet, with the alternation between historical past and the images and trials of the present, the poem transcends those time constraints. It serves, in a way, like a psalm does to Augustine. Besides joining past to present, it also suggests an uncertain future. When we climb up to a high vantage point, or in some way step back from a particular situation, we obtain an overall view that puts things in perspective. When Cài Yōng climbed high, he looked back to the glories of the past. Looking down at where he was at present he saw nothing but mud and obstructions. And looking at the

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[78] The Sense of an Ending, 52; see Confessions of St. Augustine, Book 11, sec. 28.

declivity before him he saw that the "road obstructed and ravaged, is left without tracks" (l. 83). By this line he says what he had alluded to by way of historical example: The Tao (or "Way") and, by extension, the Hàn are in decline, showing all the signs of decay. This is the consonance between past, present, and future that Cài Yōng finally makes.

About "Recounting a Journey," Lǔ Xùn 魯迅 writes:

> Generally speaking, for Cài Yōng, anthologists choose only his stele inscriptions, which causes readers just to think of him as a writer of refined and weighty works. One only need look at those lines in his "Fù Recounting a Journey," preserved in the Cài Zhōnglángjí, 'They are utterly ingenious with respect to their terraces and terrace halls, / While the masses, having to live in the open, sleep in dankness. / They waste fine millet on fowl and beast, / While the underclass is given the husks and chaff without the grain" . . . to realize that he was not at all an old pedant, but someone with a sense of justice, to realize the situation of that time, and to realize that he truly had a way of courting death.[79]

Cài Yōng's criticism does appear frank and personally risky, but it was included in a piece written, at least in part, as a demonstration of his knowledge of the Hàn literary tradition, and of his own talent for fù composition. Since the work may be seen as something of a resumé, the criticism contained in it, as refreshingly forthright as it seems to us, must have been considered socially acceptable at this time by men of letters. Moreover, since the emperor was apparently taken aback at the widespread denunciations by the clerisy for his punishment of Lǐ Yún, he tried to appease them and

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[79] "Tí wèi dìng cǎo" 題未定草, 6, in Lǔ Xùn quánjí, 6: 414. Mǎ Jīgāo, Fù shǐ, 132, cites part of this passage in approbation.

coax them to serve in his government. Thus, Cài Yōng's protests, even the indirect criticism of the emperor, might even have been regarded as somewhat fashionable. Nonetheless, Cài Yōng did not accept appointment until 170, eleven years after the coup. Later that decade, much more virulent criticism was to come from a contemporary of Cài Yōng, Zhào Yī.

2.2 "'Fù' Satirizing the Age, Detesting Iniquity"

Zhào Yī, like his contemporary Cài Yōng, was a man of great talent. Like Cài Yōng, he viewed with contempt the current state of affairs at the Hàn court. Both men wrote treatises on calligraphy, comprising the earliest such essays in Chinese art history.[80] Not many more similarities could be drawn between the two men.

Zhào Yī hailed from Xī Prefecture 西縣 in Hànyáng 漢陽 Commandery.[81] Unlike the personable Cài Yōng, who made many friends among the literati, Zhào Yī had an egotism to match his impressive physical build and tremendous intellectual

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[80] See Cài Yōng's "The Power of the Seal Script" ("Zhuàn shì" 篆勢; CZj [Sbby], "Wàijì," 9b-10a) and "The Power of the Clerical Script" ("Lì shì" 隸勢; CZj [Sbby], "Wàijì," 10a-11a), and Zhào Yī's "Against the Cursive Script" ("Fēi cǎoshū" 非草書; Quán Hòu Hàn wén, 82.9b-11a). See also Zhào Kuífū 趙逵夫, "Zhào Yī shēngpíng zhùzuò kǎo" 趙壹生平著作考, in Dìsānjiè guójì cífù xué xuéshù yántǎohuì lùnwén jí 第三屆國際辭賦學學術研討會論文集, Táiběi, Táiwān, December 1996, by the Guólì Zhèngzhì dàxué Wénxué yuàn (Táiběi: Guólì Zhèngzhì dàxué, 1996), 2: 549.

[81] Xī Prefecture was located about forty kilometers southwest of modern Tiānshuǐ 天水 in Gānsù Province.

prowess, thus estranging himself from the people around him. His fellow townsfolk even found reason to banish him from his home. Later, a more serious grievance, the nature of which is unspecified in Zhào Yī's biography, led to his imprisonment. Zhào Yī barely escaped with his life, which was spared only after one of his undoubtedly few friends begged for leniency on his behalf. It was after this time, some eight to nineteen years or so after Cài Yōng composed "Fù Recounting a Journey," that Zhào Yī wrote two fù: "Fù on a Cornered Bird" ("Qióng niǎo fù" 窮鳥賦),[82] and the piece I will discuss here, "Fù Satirizing the Age, Detesting Iniquity" ("Cì shì jí xié fù").[83]

The differences between "Fù Satirizing the Age, Detesting Iniquity" (henceforth, "Satirizing the Age") and "Fù Recounting a Journey" are immediately apparent. With respect to structure and prosody, they are completely dissimilar. Whereas "Recounting a Journey" follows the traditional form of long, epideictic fù in having a preface, main body, and a conclusion, "Satirizing the Age" is constructed of five stanzas and a coda. "Recounting a Journey" has a prose introduction, a modified

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[82] The text for "Qióng niǎo fù" can be found in HHs, "Wényuàn lièzhuàn," 80B.2629.

[83] Zhào Yī has a biography in HHs, "Wényuàn lièzhuàn," 80B.2628-35; a summary can be found in Appendix B, n. 1. For the text of "Cì shì jí xié fù," see HHs 80B.2630-31; other texts given in Appendix B, n. 1. Following Gōng Kèchāng's notes in "Tán 'Cì shì jí xié fù' zhōng zhī shī" 談刺世疾邪賦中之詩 (1988 article reprinted in Hàn fù yánjiū), 425, I believe "Fù Satirizing the Age, Detesting Iniquity" was composed around 178. For a different chronology, see Zhào Kuífū, "Zhào Yī shēngpíng zhùzuò kǎo," 553-54. By connecting Zhào Yī's capital offense to the partisan proscription of 166, Zhào Kuífū dates these two fù to 167. For the dates of Zhào Yī's birth and death, he gives (p. 556) ca. 126-131 and ca. 184-188, respectively.

"Sāo-style" main body, and a tetrasyllabic epilogue. The prosody of "Satirizing the Age" is more complex: the first stanza is of uneven-metered stichs (six to eight syllables per line), the second is tetrasyllabic, the third is like the first (but five to nine syllables per line), the fourth is composed of a tetrasyllabic, two-line introduction that is followed by a pentasyllabic-metered song (shī 詩), the fifth is composed of a pentasyllabic, two-line introduction that is also accompanied by a pentasyllabic song (gē 歌). Two pentasyllabic lines comprise the coda.[84]

As described in the previous section, "Recounting a Journey," is characterized by the aspect of "specificity of time, place, and voice" which David Knechtges states is increasingly typical of the travelogue fù over the course of the Hàn: It was written in the fall of 159, in response to the coup and its aftermath in August of that year, about a trip from Chénliú to Luòyáng, and purports to express the personal feelings of the poet, Cài Yōng. "Satirizing the Age" is not a travelogue fù. We do not know what particular circumstances inspired "Satirizing the Age," though it, too, contains direct personal expression.

What the two poems do share is a pronounced political bent. In these pieces, Cài Yōng and Zhào Yī vehemently denounce abuses of power at the Hàn court. In "Recounting a Journey," historical allusions and more direct statements of criticism may

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[84] On the prosody of this piece, see Appendix B, n. 40. The coda cannot be considered part of the previous song because it does not follow that song's rime scheme (see below).

be broadly classified according to three categories: 1) those that pointed to the coup d'état of 159, 2) those that depicted the court as being filled with unworthy ministers while good men were left unemployed, and 3), most significantly, those that identified the root of the sociopolitical problems of the time as the departure from models of antiquity, which signalled that the dynasty was in decline. Since "Satirizing the Age" was not written in response to the events of 159, the piece does not include the first category mentioned above. The second group is well represented in "Satirizing the Age," and a version of the third is evident: "Satirizing the Age" does not so much depict an age in decline as it does lament a dynasty at its nadir. As a result, "Satirizing the Age" contains far more daring political criticism than "Recounting a Journey."

In Chapter One, I described how traditional Chinese views about dynastic succession were essentially cyclical. I pointed out that among the old cyclical theories, there was the persistent idea that goodness and badness waxes and wanes: When things cannot get worse, they turn for the better, and after they have reached a certain height things begin to go into decline, and so on. As an example, I cited Xún Qīng's "Drastic Ode," including these lines: "But how dark the all-pervading blindness of the world. / Should Great Heaven not reverse it, / Our distress would be boundless! / But before a thousand years have passed there must be a return, / Since antiquity this has been the constant rule."[85] The beginning (ll. 1-4) of "Satirizing the Age" presents the ideal cycle

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[85] Xúnzi, "Fù piān" (Xúnzi jíjiě), 18.670; trans. David W. Pankenier, "'The Scholar's Frustration' Reconsidered: Melancholia or Credo?" 440.

of change in which proper correctives in the course of the process described above reestablish the good:

> Yea, the Five Thearchs had not the same rites,
> The Three Kings, for their part, moreover had not the same music.
> The cycle reaches an apogee and so of itself changes and transforms,
> It's not that they intentionally contradict one another.[86]

The Five Thearchs, variously defined but always including the legendary sage rulers Yáo and Shùn, and the Three Kings, i.e., the founders of the first three dynasties, Yǔ of Xià, Tāng of Shāng-Yīn, and Wén of Zhōu, did not establish good reigns simply by holding on to the rituals and music of their predecessors. They naturally changed these important elements of court protocols to suit changing conditions. Indeed, those rulers who pursued a path of conservative intransigence with regard to ritual and music engendered instability and, ultimately, degeneration. This view is found in the Shǐ jì, which states, "As for the rise of the sages, they did not carry on what came before and yet they were kings; as for the decline of Xià and Yīn, they did not change the rites and yet were destroyed,"[87] and again, "Tāng and Wǔ did not follow antiquity and yet were

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[86] HHs, "Wényuàn lièzhuàn," 80B.2630; for a complete annotated translation, see Appendix B. Gōng Kèchāng understands the last line of this passage to mean, "Truth and falsity in that way become their antithesis" 是與非就要轉到自己的對立面; see "'Cì shì jí xié fù' shǎng xī" 刺世疾邪賦賞析 (1987 article reprinted in Hàn fù yánjiū), 415.

[87] "Zhào shìjiā," 43.1810.

kings; Xià and Yīn did not change the rites and yet perished."[88] The point is that a ruler should not rigidly conform to the models of the ancients. If a ruler attempts to interfere with the process by holding steadfast to former rites, then he invites disaster. A. C. Graham informs us that this "denial that ancient authority is necessarily relevant to changing conditions is . . . common to Legalists, Taoists, Later Mohists, syncretists, to everyone except Confucians."[89] We see that Zhào Yī's theory of change holds that at critical moments change occurs naturally; he uses the term zìrán 自然, "so of itself," a concept usually associated with, but not exclusive to, the so-called Taoist texts, Zhuāngzǐ and Lǎozǐ.[90]

The current regime, Zhào Yī believes, courts disaster by attempting to stick to old principles of governing. He attacks the two prevalent theories of governing, ideas that in practice were often joined together in a kind of hybrid: "If 'virtuous governing' cannot rescue an age out from muddy morass, / How do reward and punishment suffice to warn the times against corruption?"[91] Confucianism's concept of "virtuous governing" (dézhèng 德政) could not rescue this decrepit regime, says Zhào Yī, so

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[88] "Shāng jūn lièzhuàn," 68.2229.

[89] Disputers of the Tao, Philosophical Argument in Ancient China (La Salle, Illinois: Open Court Publishing Company, 1989), 271.

[90] See Disputers of the Tao, 190, 215-34, 288, 302-3.

[91] Lines 5-6; HHs 80B.2630.

how could the system of "rewards and punishments" (shǎngfá 賞罰) of the Legalists (Fǎjiā 法家) hope to restore it?[92] Zhào Yī may be responding here to the Great Proscription then in force. It had been a long time since anything that could be recognized as "virtuous governing" could characterize the Hàn court. Bān Gù, as noted in Chapter I, had praised Emperor Míng for his devotion to ceremony and ritual and thus, by extension, his efforts at "virtuous governing," but that was a century ago.[93] Now the Hàn court was attempting to put its house in order with carrot and stick: Those who were willing to toady to the emperor or to the palace eunuchs were rewarded; those who dared to call for reform were silenced by imprisonment, banishment, or death. The course for the current predicament was set long ago (ll. 7-10):

> The period of the Annals was the beginning of calamity and ruin,[94]
> The Warring States still more increased its bitter and poison.
> Neither Qín nor Hàn were able to leap over and surpass them,

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[92] On the appeal that Legalist ideas held for some prominent Eastern Hàn Confucians and court officials, see Ch'en Ch'i-yun, "Confucian, Legalist, and Taoist Thought in Later Han," in The Cambridge History of China, 1: 785-86.

[93] See David Knechtges, "To Praise the Han," especially 124, 133. Jack Dull, "A Historical Introduction to the Apocryphal (Ch'an-wei) Texts," 265, states that "Emperor Ming was the most outstanding Confucian ruler of Later Han. Being a Confucian emperor meant that he placed great stress on the formalistic and ritualistic aspects of Confucianism." (Knechtges cites a part of this passage on p. 133.)

[94] "The period of the Annals," Chūnqiū shí 春秋時, is commonly literally rendered into English as "The Spring and Autumn Period." It refers to the period covered by the Annals (Chūnqiū), 722-481 B.C.E.

Rather, they even more added to their ill-will and ruthlessness.[95]

Decay began in the "Chūnqiū" period and continued through the subsequent era of the Warring States. Qín and Hàn did not improve matters, but on the contrary made things all the worse. From this passage it is evident that Zhào Yī did not view, as had Dǒng Zhòngshū, the founding of the Hàn as the beginning of a new cycle mirroring the first one established by that consummate legendary ruler of antiquity, Yáo. Zhào Yī attacks those in power through the ages who enriched themselves no matter what cost to the people. The stanza ends, "Could they have taken account of the lives of the populace? / They only profited themselves and satisfied their selfish desires."[96] These two lines serve as a prelude to the scathing criticism that follows.

Zhào Yī does not mince words in his denunciation of those who have toadied their way to the emperor's inner circle (ll. 13-24):

Right down to now, to this day,
Deceit has had a myriad faces.
The glib and the flatterers blaze hotter by the day,
The firm and the able disappear and perish.
Pile lickers have trains of quadrigae,
While those of austere countenance travel by foot.
Those bowing and bending become the famous and powerful,
Those petting and patting become the puissant and brutal.
When the lofty and haughty oppose current mores,
They at once bring about calamity and disaster.
Those who pell-mell chase after things,

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[95] HHs 80B.2630.

[96] Lines 11-12; HHs 80B.2630.

Grow richer by the day and more prosperous by the month.[97]

This stanza, which I have stated is written in tetrasyllabic stichs, is also marked by riming binomes, yùqǔ (yùqū, yǔjǔ) 嫗嫗 (魚 rime, shǎng shēng; "bow and bend"), yǎnjiǎn 偃蹇 (元 rime, shǎng shēng; "lofty and haughty"), jiéshè 捷懾 (葉 rime, rù shēng; "pell-mell"), and the alliterative fǔpāi 撫拍 (滂 initial; "petting and patting"). These occur as the first two graphs in lines nineteen through twenty-three, excepting line twenty-two; the resulting euphony adds drive to the four-syllable meter. The language of the unrelenting vitriol is so direct it scarcely needs explanation. When Zhào Yī compares the "glib and the flatterers" to the "firm and competent," he points out that the former flourish while those with integrity are unemployable. In using the locution, "The glib and the flatterers blaze hotter by the day" 佞諂日熾, Zhào Yī may be evoking similar lines (103-104) from Cài Yōng's "Recounting a Journey": "The prized and the favored, fanned, more intensely blaze, / All, while safeguarding profit, do not desist" 貴寵扇以彌熾兮, 僉守利而不戢.[98] These sycophants are "hot," "famous," while the upright do not receive any recognition. The "famous and powerful" and "the puissant and brutal" all came to their positions by bowing and scraping, and by massaging the egos of the influential. The reference to "pile lickers" in line 17 may

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[97] HHs 80B.2630.

[98] CZj (Sbby), "Wàijì," 7b.

derive from a story in Zhuāngzǐ 莊子 about a Sòng envoy to Qín who was given a hundred carriages by the king of Qín. The envoy, Cáo Shāng, bragged to Zhuāngzǐ about his achievement. Zhuāngǐ said in response:

> When the King of Qín has an illness, he calls a physician. One who lances a carbuncle or drains a boil gets one carriage. Those who lick his piles get five carriages. The lower the treatment, the more carriages he receives. Could you have merely treated his hemorrhoids? How is it you obtained so many carriages? Off with you![99]

Though Zhào Yī does not mention them by name or class, by "flatterers" and "pile lickers" he clearly means the palace eunuchs. When the "lofty and haughty" oppose the "mores" at the court, they bring "disaster" upon themselves. That is to say, those staunch, upright members of the clerisy who forthrightly opposed the actions of the eunuchs find themselves proscribed from office, or worse.

These conditions reflect a world that is topsy-turvy. The topos of the world upside-down is common to many early fù; it is evident, too, in the "Huái shā" 懷沙 ("Embracing Sand") poem of the "Jiǔ zhāng," and Xún Qīng's "Drastic Ode." Compare this passage of "Satirizing the Age" (ll. 25-28), "In the turmoil, all together are confused-- / What's warm, what's cold? / Perverse fellows are illustrious and

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[99] Zhuāngzǐ, "Lièyù Kòu," (Zhuāngzǐ jiàoquán 莊子校詮, comp. and annotated by Wáng Shúmín 王叔岷, Academia Sinica, Institute of History and Philology, Special Publications No. 88 [Táiběi: Zhōngyāng yánjiūyuàn lìshǐ yǔyán yánjiūsuǒ, 1988]), 3: 32.1268, and cited in the HHs Commentary (HHs 80B.2630 n. 1 [second]).

advance, / Upright gentlemen are obscured and concealed,"[100] with these lines from "Embracing Sand":

> White is changed to black;
> The high cast down and the low made high;
> The phoenix languishes in a cage,
> While hens and ducks can gambol free.
> Jewels and stones are mixed together,
> And in the same measure meted.[101]

Just as in "Embracing Sands," the upright in "Satirizing the Age" are "cast down" and the sycophants are "made high." In such a world, values are in disarray, and the people are confused: "What's warm, what's cold?" In this stanza of "Satirizing the Age," gone is the indirect criticism that characterized the earlier, epideictic fù form, and that dominated much of even Cài Yōng's "Recounting a Journey."

In the third stanza, Zhào Yī makes his boldest statement, making the target of his attack the emperor himself. We have seen above that Cài Yōng, too, directed some of his criticism towards the emperor, but it was circumspect, told in the context of those who abuse their positions of power. Nonetheless, when Cài Yōng writes, "They extend magnanimity and tolerance to fawning and flattering, / But censure loyal admonishment with swiftness and celerity," quite clearly he means none other than the emperor.[102]

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[100] Lines 27-28; HHs 80B.2630.

[101] Chǔcí 楚辭 (Chǔcí bǔzhù 楚辭補注, ed. Hóng Xīngzǔ 洪興祖 [1070-1135], [Sbby]), 4.20a; trans. David Hawkes, The Songs of the South, 171, ll. 25-30.

[102] CZj (Sbby), "Wàijì," 7b.

Zhào Yī goes so far as to make the emperor the source for the political ills he has described in the previous stanza:

> Seek out the source from which this malady arises,
> And this is the unworthiness of the one who manages government.
> Female intercessors block his vision and hearing,
> Close intimates wield his power and authority.[103]

The emperor is unworthy of his position: Can Zhào Yī be guilty of anything less than lese majesty? He describes the Hàn ruler as manipulated and duped by his consorts, and politically emasculated by his court eunuchs. The real power of the Hàn dynasty is in the hands of these palace women and eunuchs. They determine who will succeed, building up in significance whatever meager qualities inferior candidates might have ("they pierce the skin to bring forth the plumage"), and who will fail, exposing whatever minor blemishes the capable have on their records ("they wash the dirt to seek the scars").[104] It makes no difference if one has in abundance those quintessential Confucian traits, chéng 誠 ("having integrity") and zhōng 忠 ("doing one's best"), one cannot get past the consorts and eunuchs who block every conceivable path--indeed having those qualities is just another hindrance to success. One cannot get in the "nine-ranked gates," a synecdoche for the palace, with vicious, snarling dogs guarding them. Zhào Yī compares the present situation in the realm to its "losing a rudder when

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[103] Lines 29-32; HHs 80B.2631.

[104] Lines 33-34; HHs 80B.2631.

crossing the sea" and to "sitting on a pile of firewood, waiting for it to kindle": It is only a matter of time before utter disaster befalls it.[105] As it is, well-connected families can get around laws and restrictions, and the unconnected receive no favors. Facing these political conditions, the poet says, "I would rather starve and freeze in a lean harvest under Yáo and Shùn, / Than be full and warm in a bountiful year of the present time."[106]

Having turned for a moment to expression of this heartfelt sentiment, Zhào Yī then closes this stanza of the fù with a testimony to the centrality of lǐ 理, "orderliness," and yì 義, "appropriateness": "If one pursues orderliness, though he die he will not perish, / If one acts contrary to appropriateness, though he live, he will be a nonentity."[107] Zhào Yī here acknowledges the risk of his direct criticism of the emperor and his cronies; Lǔ Xùn might have also said of Zhào Yī that "he truly had a way of courting death." For Zhào Yī, it would be like death to end up acting against orderliness and appropriateness, but one might gain a kind of immortality by living in accord with them. Mèngzi, 6A/7, states, "What are the things that minds share in common? They are orderliness and appropriateness. The sages only first attained what

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[105] Lines 41-42; HHs 80B.2631.

[106] Lines 47-48; HHs 80B.2631.

[107] Lines 49-50; HHs 80B.2631.

my mind shares in common with others." Orderliness and appropriateness are not ideals that exist on some Platonic, transcendent level to which people aspire. Rather, they are immanent; like tastes, sounds, and beauty, orderliness and appropriateness are shared by all people in all times though realized by various people in different ways. To reject orderliness and appropriateness is to separate oneself from the community of one's contemporaries as well as sage forebears; one becomes a "nonentity" (fěicún 匪存). But to follow orderliness and appropriateness is to participate in that community and in a continuity extending into the past and into the future; thus one lives on even if dead.[108] Zhào Yī's views here describe him as a syncretist. At the beginning of "Satirizing the Age," we regard a kind of anarchism, a rejection of Confucianism and Legalism that might derive from Zhào Yī's affinity for ideas deriving from Lǎozǐ. In this stanza we see him refer to terms that, while not exclusive to Confucianism, are usually associated with it: chéng, zhōng, lǐ, and yì.

"Satirizing the Age" ends with the presentation of two songs by two different personages who do not appear in the fù until this moment. One of the fictional personages is called "a guest from Qín" (Qín kè 秦客), and the other a "master from Lǔ" (Lǔ shēng 魯生). The use of hypothetical personae is a literary device common to the epideictic fù tradition. Also not unusual is the use of songs or poems within a fù; an

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[108] See David L. Hall and Roger T. Ames's discussion of yì in Thinking Through Confucius, especially 105-10.

earlier instance where poems conclude a piece is Bān Gù's "Liǎng dū fù." All of the five poems there are presented by the "host": the first three are written in tetrasyllabic verse of twelve lines each, and the latter two, each comprised of six lines, in a "Song-style" prosody of six-syllable stichs evenly divided by a caesura marker.[109] Cài Yōng's "Defense Against Admonition," which as a hypothetical discourse may be grouped together with the fù genre, ends with a song (gē 歌) sung by the poet's persona, the "Hoary-Headed Old Man," who accompanies himself on the zither.[110] That song is in "Song-style" prosody, but for the last couplet, which is in "Sāo-style."[111] In "Satirizing the Age," both songs (the first, a shī and the second, a gē) are pentasyllabic and are eight lines in length. (Zhào Yī thus stands as one of the earliest wǔyán shī 五言詩 poets.[112]) The second song is said to complement the one that came before it, the first one repeating the sentiment of the main body of the fù.

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[109] See Wén xuǎn, 1.40-42; Knechtges, 1: 175-79. David Hawkes coined the term "Song-style"; see The Songs of the South, 40-41.

[110] David Knechtges, in Selections, 1: 34, observes that the hypothetical discourse has "close affinities to the fu. These pieces have the same dialogue framework, alternation between prose and verse, and extensive repetition of synonyms that are typical of most rhapsodies." In a note to this statement (507 n. 194), Knechtges adds, "Nakajima Chiaki treats it as a subgenre of the fu." See Fu no seiritsu to tenkai, 418-28.

[111] See HHs 60B.1989; Asselin, "The Hou Han shu Biography of Cai Yong," 114-15.

[112] Zhào Kuífū, "Zhào Yī shēngpíng zhùzuò kǎo," 549.

The first song picks up the themes of despair of living in a decrepit age, and the topsy-turvy system of values at the court, where unworthy sycophants become rich and powerful, and the deserving are shunted aside (ll. 53-60):

> The clearing of the Hé cannot be awaited,
> The lifespan of a man cannot be prolonged.
> Grass that follows along with the wind, is whipped and knocked down,
> The rich and exalted call worthies.
> Writings and books, even if they fill the belly,
> Are not equal to a purse of cash.
> The hem-and-hawers go north up to the halls,
> The firm and forceful keep by the gates.[113]

The first line evokes a passage from the Zuǒ zhuàn, Xiāng 8, that states, "There is an ode of Zhōu that says, 'To wait for the clearing of the Hé, / What is the lifespan of a man next to that?'" 周詩有之曰俟河之清, 人壽幾何. Zhāng Héng picks up this idea in his "Fù on Returning to the Fields" ("Guī tián fù" 歸田賦): "I waited for clearing of the Hé, but it was not yet time" 俟河清乎未期, meaning that he did not live in times in which worthy men were recognized.[114] The clearing of the loess-filled Yellow River was a rare occurrence that was thought to herald the appearance of a sage ruler and good government.[115] Zhāng Héng complains that he has waited in vain for the arrival

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[113] HHs 80B.2631.

[114] Wén xuǎn, 15.692; cf. Knechtges, 3: 139, l. 4; see also a similar line in Zhāng Héng's "Fù Contemplating the Mystery" ("Sī xuán fù" 思玄賦), 15.677; Knechtges, 3: 137, l. 414.

[115] See Commentary to Wén xuǎn, 15. 692, citing Zhèng Xuán: "A sage king is what a sociopolitical order's stability engenders" 聖王為政治平之所致.

of sage government; Zhāng Chāo similarly suggests that its arrival is not yet imminent, that it is unlikely he and his generation will live to see it happen, but that it is to be expected. In defending a slightly different interpretation, Gōng Kèchāng 龔克昌 points out that the Yellow River, according to legend, was believed to clear once in a thousand years, matching the time scheme for the arrival of a sage ruler in Xún Qīng's "Drastic Ode." Gōng states that from the "Chūnqiū" period, the age Zhào Yī explicitly identifies with the onset of disorder, to the late second century, over a thousand years had passed. According to Gōng Kèchāng, Zhào Yī believed that the arrival of sage rule was overdue, and yet, each succeeding age was worse than the previous one. Thus, the arrival of sage rule "cannot be awaited."[116] There is a problem with this interpretation. If the "Chūnqiū" period began in 722 B.C.E. (the starting point of the Annals), then it had not yet reached a thousand years. It is more likely that Zhào Yī believed the arrival of good government was coming soon, but that it was still a century away. Despite his extreme pessimism, Zhào Yī still held onto a notion of cyclical change, as is attested in the first lines of this fù. For this reason, we should not regard

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[116] "Tán 'Cì shì jí xié fù' zhōng de shī," 424. The reference to the cycle of a thousand-year time span separating occasions of the clearing of the Yellow River is attested to by a citation of Jīng Fáng's 京房 (1st c. B.C.E.) Yì zhuàn 易傳 in the Commentary to Zhāng Héng's "Fù Contemplating the Mystery," in Wén xuǎn, 15.677. (There were actually two Jīng Fángs of the same period who were Yì jīng specialists; see the note appended to Guān shì Yì zhuàn 關氏易傳 in Hàn Wèi cóngshū 漢魏叢書 [comp. Hé Yǔnzhōng 何允中 (17 c.), 1791 ed.], and A. F .P. Hulsewé, "The Two Early Han I Ching Specialists Called Ching Fang," TP 72 [1986]: 161-62).

him as having abandoned hope for change. There is no evidence, though, that Zhào Yī understood there to be a thousand-year time span separating occasions of the clearing of the Yellow River, or that if he did, he followed the metaphor literally. He simply states, like Zhāng Héng, that there is no point waiting for it to happen.

The rest of the poem compares the successful sycophants to the neglected worthies. Those who, like grass in the wind, bend with whatever is fashionable or please whomever is in power, become elevated as "worthies" by the "rich and exalted."[117] No longer are scholarship and talent considered prerequisites to obtaining an official post. Nowadays, says Zhào Yī, all that one needs is money. With cash one is able to purchase an official post. If, as Gōng Kèchāng suggests, Zhào Yī refers to the exaction of fines for office appointments (see Chapter I), it would push the dating of this fù to no earlier than 178 when what was tantamount to the sale of offices was begun by Emperor Líng.[118] The poem ends with a reiteration of the idea that those who ingratiate themselves with the influential obtain entrance to the inner circle of power, while those who are steadfast and who have integrity are left at the gates.

The song by the "master of Lǔ" (ll. 63-70) reminds us of Zhào Yī's syncretic point-of-view, with images borrowed from Zhuāngzǐ and Lǎozǐ:

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[117] Gōng Kèchāng rightly criticizes the interpretation of lines 55-56 as referring to two sets of people, the petty men or sycophants, and the wealthy (hence, "The rich and exalted are called worthies"); see "Tán 'Cì shì jí xié fù' zhōng de shī," 424.

[118] See "Tán 'Cì shì jí xié fù' zhōng de shī," 425; HHs, "Xiào Líng dì jì," 8.342.

> For the powerful households much is considered right,
> Even the spittle they cough up self-forms into pearls.
> Those clad in homespun carry inside gold and jade,
> Thoroughwort and melilot are transformed into fodder.
> The worthy, though they alone are clear-minded,
> Their distress is due to a bunch of dolts.
> For the moment, each of you abide by your parts,
> Don't again gallop about in vain.[119]

Zhào Yī lampoons the rich and powerful, saying that they so win approbation for whatever they do that even their spit turns into pearls; here he takes the illustration from Zhuāngzǐ.[120] (The "powerful households," Gōng Kèchāng points out, may be a reference to the emerging military clans, such as that of Yuán Shào [ob. 202], mentioned in Chapter I.[121]) He moves from satire to hyperbole to state that the worthy, on the other hand, though poor on the exterior, are rich within; this is a trope from Lǎozǐ Dào de jīng 70. Zhào Yī amplifies this by then borrowing from the poem "Encountering Sorrow" ("Lí sāo") attributed to Qū Yuán, saying that such men are like fragrant plants that have been made into hay.[122] The poem takes a sharp turn when Zhào Yī blames the suffering of worthy men on "a bunch of dolts" (qúnyú 群愚). The

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[119] HHs 80B. 2631.

[120] See Zhuāngzǐ, "Qiū shuǐ" (Zhuāngzǐ jiàoquán), 2: 17.613.

[121] "'Cì shì jí xié fù' shǎng xī," 421.

[122] In Chǔcí (Chǔcí bǔzhù [Sbby]), 1.31a: "Thoroughwort and angelica after changing are no longer fragrant, / Flag and melilot after transforming become hay" 蘭芷變而不芳兮荃蕙化而為茅 (cf. David Hawkes, The Songs of the South, 76, ll. 307-308).

final couplet of the song is Zhào Yī's exhortation to his peers to look after themselves and their charges, and not go off seeking after reputation and profit, a path that is sure to lead to disaster.[123]

Modern Chinese commentaries, including that by Gōng Kèchāng, regard the last couplet of the fù as part of the second song. This is unlikely. The final syllable of the couplet, fú 夫 (魚 rime, píng shēng) does not rime with that song (侯 rime, píng shēng). Moreover, if one considers the final couplet to be separate, then the two poems at the end of this fú would be of equal length, which I think is more probable. The poems at the end of Bān Gù's "Liǎng dū fù," for instance, are of equal length (i.e., the first three, and the latter two). This last couplet, "Alas, again alas! / Such indeed is life!" seems a fitting final expression of heartfelt despair that sums up the attitude conveyed in this poem towards the contemporary state of affairs.[124]

Upon first glance, one notices that Cài Yōng's "Recounting a Journey" and Zhào Yī's "Satirizing the Age," though both fù, are strikingly different. Cài Yōng's piece is a travelogue fù written in the traditional tripartite form of preface, main body,

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[123] It should be pointed out that during a trip to the capital in 178, Zhào Yī impressed both Minister over the Masses Yuán Féng 袁逢 (ob. ca. 180, or Yuán Pāng 袁滂? [see Zhào Kuífū, "Zhào Yī shēngpíng zhùzuò kǎo," 550-52]) and the Governor of Hénán, Yáng Zhì 羊陟. After Zhào Yī returned home, he was summoned to office several times, but in each instance he declined.

[124] Lines 71-72, HHs 80B. 2631. On "Satirizing the Age," see also Wàn Guāngzhì's 萬光治 comments in Hàn fù tōnglùn 漢賦通論 (Chéngdū: Bā-Shǔ shūshè, 1989), 180-81.

and epilogue, typical of the epideictic fù tradition. Zhào Yī's composition fits no preexisting pattern, though the introduction of hypothetical personages is a feature of earlier, long fù, and though the addition of a couple of songs has its precedents in that tradition as well. The lǎngǔ theme dominates most of the structure of Cài Yōng's fù, and where it does not there is a display of rhetorical features common to the long, epideictic fù: alliteration and assonance, extensive and exotic cataloguing, amplification and hyperbole, parallelism and antithesis, and impressifs and synonomia. Zhào Yī's fù, on the other hand, is much simpler in its style; only parallelism and antithesis are extensively employed. "Recounting a Journey" is much more complex than "Satirizing the Age": Cài Yōng presents his piece as an expression of deep, personal feelings, as a manifesto of his sociopolitical sentiments, and as a showcase of his skill as a writer. In its complex structure and versatile application of different styles, it is a literary tour de force of lyric expression contained within risky political criticism. Zhào Yī's piece is fearless and brash political protest written in the language of poetry; in its invective the poem reveals its lyricism. Liú Sīhàn says of it, "This is simply not a fù, but an official call to arms against the enemy. . . ."[125] "Satirizing the Age" in particular demonstrates the transformation of the fù genre from its earlier epideictic form to the shorter, lyrical fù of the late Hàn. The fin-de-siècle phenomenon may be said to have generated, or at

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[125] Hàn fù: Wéiměi wénxué zhī cháo, 186.

least provided the right environment for growth of, this important literary development.[126] Again, Liú Sīhàn writes:

> Zhào Yī's "Satirizing the Age, Detesting Iniquity" and Cài Yōng's "Recounting a Journey" at the same time reveal this new tendency: Fù writers do not just lodge complaints about individual misfortune, but largely transcending their own personal misfortune they become spokesmen for social justice. The appearance of this tendency no doubt reflects the period of the Eastern Hàn court's disintegration, and the feeling surging up in society for the negation of absolute monarchy.[127]

And so, it is in their political content, rather than in their literary features and qualities, that these two fù share their greatest similarities. They present a united front against perceived abuses of power by the central government, including the punishment of honest officials offering loyal, but frank, criticism, and the elevation of glib, sycophantic intimates to status and wealth in place of worthy literary men. Essentially, they are fulminations in verse by members of one faction, the clerisy, against the other two factions at the court, the consort clans and the eunuchs. Cài Yōng's and Zhào Yī's animadversions go beyond the rival factions, though, to attack the emperor himself; Cài Yōng is only somewhat less obvious about this than Zhào Yī. Cài Yōng censures those--but really meaning the emperor--who "extend magnanimity and tolerance to fawning and flattering, / But censure loyal admonishment with swiftness and celerity." Zhào Yī identifies the "source" of the "malady" that afflicts the state,

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[126] Gōng Kèchāng makes the same point in "'Cì shì jí xié fù' shǎng xī," 421-22.

[127] Hàn fù: Wéiměi wénxué zhī cháo, 186-87.

"And this is the unworthiness of the one who manages government. / Female intercessors block his vision and hearing, / Close intimates wield his power and authority." Given such direct criticism, is it not the case that Cài Yōng and Zhào Yī have left themselves open to the charge of lese majesty? Though the risk must have been great, the fact that Cài Yōng and Zhào Yī were not charged with crimes at this point in their lives suggests that the circulation of these works may have been limited to a "public" that was defined by the clerisy class, and that such criticism as they put forward, if not fashionable, was at the least considered acceptable by other members of that public.

The bleak assessment by Cài Yōng and Zhào Yī of contemporary political affairs is informed by the past as they interpret it. Both writers evaluate present events in terms of a particular fiction, a common social memory or "history" that they invest with meanings derived from their own ideological bent. I have described above how Cài Yōng censured the coup opposing Liáng Jì and the eunuchs who subsequently came into positions of power by the use of allusions to such stories as the one concerning Prince Wú Jì, the younger half-brother of King Ānxī of Wèi. Cài Yōng shapes this "memory" into a moral about maintaining distinctions in names (i.e., roles), a philosophical notion that derives from the Confucian tradition. According to this view, names are imbued with meanings that are determined by a set of normative guidelines drawn from the specific actions of certain historical models. The names then lead to prescriptive actualities that can be used to evaluate the correlation of name to

actuality in other instances.[128] This Cài Yōng does in reviewing the coup and its aftermath. Zhào Yī takes a different approach. He does not make recourse to historical circumstances very much, and indeed suggests that sage rulers of the past had different modi operandi that matched the particularities of their times but that might not work in other ages. Nevertheless, the past informs: Zhào Yī's historical construct, though cyclical, perceives a steady decline occurring since the "Chūnqiū" period. This degeneration has reached a critical stage in his own time. Cài Yōng interprets certain events of the past as foreshadowing or reflecting the decline of a dynasty or state. He makes allusive use of certain situations in the past, the intemperance of Yǔ's grandson, Tàikāng, the story of King Xiāng of Zhōu and his half-brother Dài, and the problems of succession after the death of King Jǐng, implying that the Hàn dynasty, too, was now in a stage of decline. Thus, both Cài Yōng and Zhào Yī view their age to be one of degeneration, and put the ultimate blame for the current crisis on the emperor himself, whether he be Emperor Huán or Emperor Líng.

Interpreting the events of the present through their definitions of the past, Cài Yōng and Zhào Yī anticipate some sort of an ending.[129] The allusions in "Recounting a Journey" point to the decline and fall of the dynasty. Zhào Yī's references to "the

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[128] Makeham, Name and Actuality in Early Chinese Thought, 44-47.

[129] Gōng Kèchāng has a different opinion, criticizing Zhào Yī for not being able to look beyond his own time; see "Tán 'Cì shì jí xié fù' zhōng de shī," 424: "He is incapable of grasping the overall tendency of social and historical change--the general trend of social history is progressive change, and even when there is regression, that is a temporary situation."

cycle" that "reaches an apogee and so of itself changes and transforms" and to "the clearing of the Hé" indicate that he expects sage rule to return, even as he despairs that it will not happen in his lifetime. In these two works, a concordance is reached between the present sad state of affairs and events of the past. These events of the past are interpreted in light of endings, the termination of past regimes, and the fin de siècle indicated by present tendencies.

These two fù of political protest, of all the examples of kairotic literature to be discussed in this study, most obviously concern themselves with the social and political manifestations of an age in decline. I will turn now to a different manifestation of the fin de siècle, the new philosophical currents stirred up by these times. We have seen in this chapter how Cài Yōng and Zhào Yī, though arriving at similar conclusions about their society, appear to have different philosophical interests. Cài Yōng draws primarily from the Confucian tradition. Zhào Yī has proven to be more eclectic, but significantly borrows philosophical concepts (in particular, spontaneous change) and literary conceits from Lǎozǐ and Zhuāngzǐ. In the next chapter, we will investigate the surprisingly extensive adoption of ideas from Lǎozǐ by a scholar closely connected to the Confucian tradition. The arguments he constructs from what for him was a new-found interest prompts a response by Cài Yōng. These writings by Zhū Mù and Cài Yōng in the genre known as the lùn, the treatise or essay, comprise a different sort of kairotic literature.

CHAPTER III

A SEASON FOR SOWING: PRELUDE TO A PHILOSOPHICAL REVIVAL

> "You ought to go to a boys' school sometime. . . . It's full of phonies, and all you do is study so that you can learn enough to be smart enough to be able to buy a goddam Cadillac some day, and you have to keep making believe you give a damn if the football team loses, and all you do is talk about girls and liquor and sex all day, and everybody sticks together in these dirty little goddam cliques."
>
> Holden Caulfield in The Catcher in the Rye

Though the coup of 159 helped to bring about a kind of cohesion among the clerisy as a faction, uniting them against the abuses of the eunuchs and the policies that they had instigated, the prevailing mood of pessimism among its members towards current political and social tendencies encouraged social fractionalization.[1] For instance, many members of the clerisy sought to serve the regime, corrupt or not, while others, like Cài Yōng, withdrew (for a while, at least) from actively pursuing an official

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[1] On this fractionalization of the clerisy, see Okamura Shigeru, "Sai Yū o meguru Go Kan makki no bungaku no sūsei," 67-68 (Chin. trans., 34). Okamura points out that there were members of the clerisy, including Cài Yōng, who stood opposed to some of the more radical elements among the Academy students and the proscribed party.

career. Among those who did serve, there was bitterness at what the current political climate had created: a system in which to get ahead one had to make associations with unsavory people, and in which to achieve one's aims oleaginous flattery was de rigueur. We have seen in the previous chapter how Cài Yōng and Zhào Yī, from their vantage outside the court, sharply denounced the sycophancy of court ministers. This chapter takes up the anger of a member of the clerisy at the court, Zhū Mù (100-163), who, feeling sullied by his colleagues' unctiousness, expresses his dismay in two influential, lyrical essays. What is remarkable about these essays is not that they are examples of protestation from the center, but that their author boldly embraces ideas from outside the Confucian orthodoxy that dominated the court.[2] His borrowing of conceits from the Lǎozǐ Dào dé jīng in these essays, written in the early 150s, prefigures the flowering of textual studies of Lǎozǐ and Zhuāngzǐ 莊子 in the next century.

Yuán Shānsōng 袁山松 (?- 401), an Eastern Jìn historian of the Eastern Hàn period, writes that "[Zhū] Mù composed treatises that were really admirable. Cài Yōng had once gone to his home to copy them for himself."[3] As will be seen later in this

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[2] The politico-philosophical orthodoxy at the court was not exclusively informed by the Confucian tradition, but insofar as this tradition may be said to have been dominant, the term "Confucian" may be useful for the purpose of describing the orthodoxy as it faced challenges from outside the dominant tradition.

[3] From the no longer extant Hòu Hàn shū compiled by Yuán Shānsōng, this fragment is preserved in the Commentary to Zhū Mù's HHs biography, 43.1473 n. 2 (second).

chapter, Cài Yōng responded to two of these with an essay of his own. The esteem that the younger scholar continued to hold for Zhū Mù is demonstrated by the eulogistic pieces that he wrote following Zhū Mù's death in 163, when Cài Yōng was around thirty years old: "Deliberation on the Posthumous Name for Zhū Gōngshú" ("Zhū Gōngshú shìyì" 朱公叔謚議), "Tripod Vessel Inscription for Zhū Gōngshú" ("Zhū Gōngshú dǐng míng" 朱公叔鼎銘), and "Stele Inscription for the Stone in Front of Zhū Gōngshú's Grave Mound" ("Zhū Gōngshú fén qián shí bēi" 朱公叔墳前石碑).[4] This evidence suggests that after Hú Guǎng, the second most influential person in Cài Yōng's formation as a scholar may have been Zhū Mù.[5] Given the strong Confucian orientation of Cài Yōng's scholarship and the interest Zhū Mù had in the Lǎozǐ Dào dé jīng, the profound respect Cài Yōng shows towards his elder demonstrates the wide berth given to navigators of Lǎozǐ in the second century.

3.1 The Interest in "Lǎozǐ" in the Late Eastern Hàn

With the establishment of chairs in the five Confucian classics by Emperor Wǔ in 136 B.C.E., Confucianism became, at least nominally, the dominant political

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[4] The texts for these works can be found in the following locations: "Zhū Gōngshú shìyì," CZj (Sbby), 1.13b-17a, "Zhū Gōngshú dǐng míng," 1.17a-19a, and "Zhū Gōngshú fén qián shí bēi," CZj (Sbby), 1.19a-20a. Gōng Kèchāng, Hàn fù yánjiū, 284-85, briefly discusses Cài Yōng's writing of eulogies for Zhū Mù.

[5] On the relationship between Zhū Mù and Cài Yōng, see Okamura Shigeru, "Sai Yū o meguru Go Kan makki no bungaku no sūsei," 64-65 (Chin. trans., 30-31).

philosophy of the Hàn court. Once entrenched at the court, Confucianism, like many other intellectual and religious traditions that become valorized and appropriated by the ruling political structure, became an orthodox state ideology that eschewed overdependence on ideas from outside the tradition as being inimical to its political status as well as to the security of the dynasty. Nonetheless, Hàn Confucianism from its origins was syncretic, borrowing liberally from other traditions; being itself a humanistic tradition, it continued to encourage broad learning in the effort to address basic questions concerning humanity.[6] This emphasis on a liberal education led scholars to explore all sorts of texts, including the Lǎozǐ Dào dé jīng and Zhuāngzǐ; in the Hàn period these works were classified as the School of the Tao (Dào jiā 道家).[7] Both of

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[6] Ch'en Ch'i-yun, "Confucian, Legalist, and Taoist Thought in Later Han," 766, 769-70, 779-80, 807.

[7] I demur at using "Taoism" for what Sīmǎ Tán refers to as Dào dé 道德 and Dào jiā 道家 (Shǐjì, "Tàishǐ Gōng zìxù," 130.3288, 3289, 3292) for the reason that the English term has come to denote (1) a philosophical "school" that includes two very different and unrelated texts, Lǎozǐ and Zhuāngzǐ (classified together by Liú Xīn in his Qī lüè 七略; see Hs, "Yìwén zhì," 30.1729, 1730), that were not equally treated as primary texts of philosophical Taoism at least until the third century and (2) a popular religion or religions begun in the second century. There was no real philosophical school of Taoism in the second century, if there ever was one, and what is more, the term can easily be confused with religious Taoism that did begin to emerge at this time; see Timothy Barrett, "Postscript to Chapter 16," in The Cambridge History of China, 1: 875-76, and A. C. Graham, Disputers of the Tao, 171, 377-80. I think it best to limit the term Taoism to the religion; see Stephen Bokencamp, "Taoist Literature; Part I: Through the T'ang Dynasty," in The Indiana Companion to Traditional Chinese Literature, ed. and comp. William H. Nienhauser, Jr., 2nd rev. ed. (Taipei: Southern Materials Center, Inc., 1986), 138. Bokencamp states that he follows Michel Strickmann "who suggests that the word 'Taoist' be restricted to the Celestial Masters and their lineal descendants"; see Strickmann's "On the Alchemy of T'ao Hung-ching," in Facets of Taoism, eds. Holmes Welch and Anna Seidel

these schools, that of the Rúists (Rú jiā 儒家; in the Hàn it may be appropriate to call this Confucianism) and that of the Tao, had mutual ideas about humanity and the world around it derived from traditions that pre-date them.[8] As will be shown, some Eastern Hàn scholars that might be regarded as "Confucian" showed a great deal of interest in Lǎozǐ and Zhuāngzǐ, a fascination that was especially fashionable in the decade following the coup that overthrew Liáng Jì.[9] After presenting some historical

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(New Haven: Yale University Press, 1979), 165-67. See also Nathan Sivin, "On the Word 'Taoist' as a Source of Perplexity. With Special Reference to the Relations of Science and Religion in Traditional China," History of Religions 17 [1978], 303-30, reprinted as the sixth article in Medicine, Philosophy and Religion in Ancient China, Researches and Reflections (Aldershot, Hampshire, England: Variorum, 1995), and maintaining original pagination.

Zhū Mù, however he may have classified his philosophical position (if it would have occurred to him to do so), clearly identifies the source of his ideas as coming from Lǎozǐ, but that does not make him a "Taoist" in any meaningful sense of the term. Cài Yōng, on the other hand, may be described as "Confucian" insofar as he has adopted the state ideology as his own; nonetheless, his writings also include references to non-Confucian texts and ideas. For instance, he pays homage to Moism (Mò jiā 墨家) as well as Ruism in "Defense Against Admonition," HHs 60B.1987; trans. Asselin, "The Hou Han shu Biography of Cai Yong," 104.

[8] Anna K. Seidel, Michel Strickmann, et al., "Taoism," in The New Encyclopaedia Britannica, 15th ed.

[9] Jack Dull writes, "Confucian scholars, and particularly those of the Old Text School, turned outside of the Confucian trends of their own time and towards Taoism in their search for answers to questions that orthodox, New Text Confucianism could not answer; the search led to rising interest in the Lao-tzu which reached a peak in the A.D. 160's" ("The Confucian Origins of Neo-Taoism" [Second International Conference on Taoist Studies, Tateshina, Nagano Prefecture, Japan, September 1-7, 1972], 1, photocopied; a Japanese version of this paper appeared in published proceedings as "Shin Dōkyō ni okeru Jukyō teki shoyōso" 新道教における儒教的諸要素, in Dōkyō no sōgōteki kenkyū 道教の總合的研究, ed. Sakai Tadao 酒井忠夫 [Tokyo: Kokusho kankō kai, 1977], 7-56).

background on this phenomenon, I will focus on the two essays by Zhū Mù that epitomize this new trend in Hàn intellectual history. I will then return to Cài Yōng, who wrote an essay praising and yet challenging those treatises. Another aspect of the Hàn fin de siècle will be revealed in this study of these three related essays: The utter failure in the second century of Confucian ethical guidelines for conduct between officials was symptomatic of the failure of the state ideology in the late Eastern Hàn.[10] This sparked interest in other philosophical perspectives, presaging what Paul Demiéville calls "the philosophical revival of the third century."[11]

I will not entertain here the New Text (Jīnwén 今文)-Old Text (Gǔwén 古文) divisions between Hàn dynasty Confucian scholars, mostly because it is irrelevant to my discussion, but also because there is quite a bit of uncertainty as to the nature of the controversy. Michael Nylan's article, "The Chin Wen/Ku Wen Controversy in Han Times" (T'oung Pao 80 [1994], 83-145), illustrates this problem splendidly.

[10] Kung-chuan Hsiao, A History of Chinese Political Thought, 603, states, "Confucian thought, from its position of sole eminence achieved in the Western or Former Han, veered abruptly toward decline and defeat; that truly constitutes one of the most remarkable phenomena in the history of Chinese thought. . . . To state the case succinctly, the one reason is the rapid degeneration of Confucian learning itself; the second reason is a wearied repugnance for its proponents, who had held the scene too long. That is, the Confucian learning of the Western Han, in consequence of the Emperor Wu's backing, had achieved a sudden prominence. A student of the classics might attain a marquisate; scholars all competed in reciting the "Six Arts" [i.e., the Confucian classics]. With advantage and official emolument in the offing, motives were at best mixed. As that contaminated the court, Confucian practices came to be deceptive embellishments, for scholars looked upon the Odes and the Documents as the means with which to press for advantage and advancement."

[11] Paul Demiéville, "Philosophy and Religion from Han to Sui," in The Cambridge History of China, 1: 826-37.

Jack Dull, in a paper titled, "The Confucian Origins of Neo-Taoism," provides a survey of scholars from the end of the Western Hàn to the end of the second century C.E. whose work in some way touches upon Lǎozǐ and Zhuāngzǐ.[12] His study, though ultimately focussing on the particular attention paid to Lǎozǐ and Zhuāngzǐ in the 160s, demonstrates that the renewed scholarly appeal to these texts did not suddenly and unexpectedly emerge, as if there had been a vacuum of interest in the preceding centuries; there was quite a history of Hàn scholars studying these texts right up to the time under consideration here. Though not all the scholars Dull mentions were known for their mastery of Confucian texts, here are some of those who fit in that category who yet had an explicit connection to Lǎozǐ or Zhuāngzǐ: Liú Xiàng, who obtained an official post as a reader of the Gǔliáng zhuàn 穀梁傳 and who participated in the Shíqúgē 石渠閣 discussions of 51 B.C.E. to decide on an official interpretation of the Confucian classics, wrote a four-chapter (piān 篇) work called Explaining "Lǎozǐ" (Shuō "Lǎozǐ" 說老子)[13]; Fàn Shēng 范升 (1st c. C.E.) mastered the Lúnyǔ and Xiào jīng 孝經 as a child, and later taught the Liáng qiū 梁丘 (i.e., the New Text) version of the Zhōu yì 周易, as well as Lǎozǐ[14]; Zhāng Bà 張霸 (late 1st-early 2nd c.) was a

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[12] See "The Confucian Origins of Neo-Taoism."

[13] This work is no longer extant, but it is listed under Dào jiā in Hs. "Yìwén zhì," 30.1729; see also "Chǔ Yuán Wáng zhuàn," 36.1929; Dull, "The Confucian Origins of Neo-Taoism," 11-12.

[14] See his biography, HHs 36.1226; Dull, "The Confucian Origins of Neo-Taoism,"13. Dull (17-22) adds Cuī Yīn 崔駰 (A.D. ?-92 C.E.), who is said to have mastered the Songs, Zhōu yì, and

specialist on the Gōngyáng zhuàn 公羊傳 and broadly read in the Five Classics but in resigning from his official position as a governor (tàishǒu 太守) quoted a saying by "Master Lǎo" (Lǎo shì 老氏)[15]; Mǎ Róng 馬融 (79-166), whom Dull says is "indubitably the most outstanding Confucianist of his era,"[16] was best known for his commentaries on the Five Classics, Lúnyǔ, and the three Ritual texts, but he also wrote a commentary on Lǎozǐ[17]; Mǎ Róng's student Yán Dǔ 延篤 (?-167) was not only schooled in the Confucian classics, but also in the "Hundred Schools," i.e., the various pre-Qín schools of political and philosophical thought, and in a letter to Liú Yòu 劉祐 quotes Lǎozǐ[18]; and Zhū Mù, to whom I will return below. If we broaden this list to

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Chūnqiū at age thirteen, and who describes himself in "The Meaning of Success" ("Dá zhǐ" 達旨) as one who was criticized for putting the Six Classics away and adopting the "techniques of the Tao" (Dào shù 道術). In his defense he seems to draws from both Lǎozǐ and Zhuāngzǐ (among other texts) though not explicitly so, and thus I have not included him in my précis of Dull's findings. See Cuī Yīn's biography, HHs 52.1709; the "Dá zhǐ" is found on 1709-18. See also Asselin, "The Hou Han shu Biography of Cai Yong," 9, 13, 60-61 n. 22. The expression "techniques of the Tao" is associated with Zhuāngzǐ; see A. C. Graham, Disputers of the Tao, 376, and Hsiao, A History of Chinese Political Thought, 284 n. 22.

[15] See Zhāng Bà's biography, HHs 36.1241-42; Dull, "The Confucian Origins of Neo-Taoism," 28.

[16] Dull, "The Confucian Origins of Neo-Taoism," 36.

[17] See HHs, "Mǎ Róng lièzhuàn," 60A.1972; Dull, "The Confucian Origins of Neo-Taoism," 36-38.

[18] See Yán Dǔ's biography, HHs 64.2103, and for the excerpt of the letter, see "Dǎnggù lièzhuàn," 67.2200 (see also n. 4); Dull, "The Confucian Origins of Neo-Taoism," 35-36.

include Confucian scholars who have some connection with the nascent Taoist religion, as Dull does, we may add Biān Sháo 邊韶 (2nd c.), who, in a retort to a student's mockery of him, says that he is "of the same mind as Confucius," and yet is credited with an important inscription consecrated to Lǎozǐ and dated 165.[19] Dull does not add Cài Yōng to his list of scholars, writing that "in his case Taoism did not figure significantly in his thought."[20] Whether or not Cài Yōng had any personal interest in religious Taoism, Cài Yōng's "Stele Inscription for Wángzǐ Qiáo" ("Wángzǐ Qiáo bēi" 王子喬碑) which like the "Lǎozǐ míng" dates to 165, was written in commemoration of the first apparition (17 January 137) of a particular Taoist immortal.[21] Assuming this

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[19] On the "Lǎozǐ míng" 老子銘, see Anna K. Seidel, La divinisation de Lao Tseu dans le taoisme des Han, 2, 37-50, 121-30; in these pages she provides an analysis of the contents (43-50), a translation (in the Appendix, 121-28), and the Chinese text (129-30). Ōuyáng Xiū 歐陽修 (1007-1072), in Jí gǔ lù 集古錄 (Shíkè shǐliào cóngshū, ed. Yán Gēngwàng 嚴耕望 [Táiběi: Yìwén yìnshūguǎn, 1968?), 2.16b-17a, notes an attribution to Cài Yōng. Seidel reviews the historical evidence relating to the inscription's attribution, and refutes the authorship of Cài Yōng; see La divinisation de Lao Tseu, 39 n. 2. See also Dull, "The Confucian Origins of Neo-Taoism," 31, 36, 42. Lì Dàoyuán 酈道元 (No. Wèi dyn.), in Shuǐ jīng zhù 水經注 (Sbck), 23.5a, states that Biān Sháo was the composer.

[20] Dull, "The Confucian Origins of Neo-Taoism," 44.

[21] See Donald Holzman, "The Wang Ziqiao Stele," Rocznik orientalistyczny 47 ([Warsaw] 1991): 77-83; Patricia Ebrey, "Later Han Stone Inscriptions," HJAS 40 (1980): 336-37; see also Seidel, La divinisation de Lao Tseu, 58-59. Wángzǐ Qiáo is the deification of a certain Wángzǐ Jìn 王子晉, the son and heir designate of King Líng of Zhōu 周靈王 (reg. 571-545 B.C.E.); see Lièxiān zhuàn 列仙傳, attrib. to Liú Xiàng (Cóngshū jíchéng), A.23-24. Seidel argues (58-59 n. 6) that this stele inscription is actually not by Cài Yōng, but by Biān Qián 邊乾 about whom almost nothing is known. Holzman, 80 n. 20, disputes her reasoning. For the text of the "Stele Inscription for Wángzǐ Qiáo," see

attribution is correct, we may add Cài Yōng to the roll of Confucian scholars with an overt connection to either Lǎozǐ or to the Taoist religious tradition.[22]

Jack Dull's most interesting observation is that a number of the scholars he names as having been interested in Lǎozǐ or in Taoism can also be connected with one another by their service in the Dōngguān 東觀 imperial library. The Dōngguān, located in the Southern Palace in Luòyáng, was a prestigious place with which to be associated; it was not only a major repository of texts, but was also the office where the court's important historiographical work was conducted.[23] In the list given above, Mǎ Róng, Yán Dǔ, Zhū Mù, Biān Sháo, and later on, Cài Yōng, all served in the Dōngguān. Dull cites the biography of Dòu Zhāng 竇章 (ob. shortly after 144), yet another official at the Dōngguān, that says, "At this time, scholars called the Dōngguān 'Mr. Lǎo's Repository' and the 'Pénglái Mountains of the Taoist school.'"[24] Dull adds, "This quotation confirms in a general way what the specific cases presented above have

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Lì Dàoyuán, Shuǐ jīng zhù (Sbck), 23.15a-16a, and CZj (Sbby), 1.20a-22a.; Holzman translates it on p. 81.

There was also a tradition that Cài Yōng composed the "Lǎozǐ míng"; see n. 19.

[22] Xǔ Jié discusses what he sees as Cài Yōng's tendencies towards both schools, that of the Rú and that of the Tao, in Hàndài wénxué sīxiǎngshǐ, 364.

[23] On the Dōngguān imperial library, see Hans Bielenstein, "Lo-yang in Later Han Times," 28-30.

[24] HHs, "Dòu Róng lièzhuàn," 23.821-22: 是時學者稱東觀為老氏臧室, 道家蓬萊山; trans. based on Dull, "The Confucian Origins of Neo-Taoism," 38.

already suggested, namely that a strong Taoist trend was present in the scholarly world of the early second century and that the institutional base for that trend was the Tung-kuan [=Dōngguān]."[25] Anna Seidel writes of the same passage, "Cela implique que Lao tseu était considéré comme un immortel, gardien de textes sacrée. Les archives sont souvent assimilés à une montagne sacrée . . . et P'ong-lai, le paradis taoiste dans la mer orientale, est appelé par Tchang Heng [=Zhāng Héng] 寂衡: 'Le dépôt secret du Grand-Astrologue' 蓬萊太史祕府. . . ," i.e., Lǎozǐ.[26] However the idea of "Mr. Lǎo's Repository" might have been understood, is it merely a coincidence that the name was attached to a place where those in its employ had an interest in Lǎozǐ?

If some officials in the Dōngguān truly regarded Lǎozǐ as "an immortal, a guardian of sacred texts," as Seidel in the above-cited statement suggests, then in the context of other religious developments at the court, an interesting cross-factional social phenomenon may have arisen in the 160s. In February 165, one of the eunuch coup leaders, Zuǒ Guàn, offered a sacrifice to Lǎozǐ in Kǔ prefecture 苦縣, Lǎozǐ's reputed birthplace.[27] In January of 166, the regular palace attendant (the highest-

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[25] Dull, "The Confucian Origins of Neo-Taoism," 38-39.

[26] Seidel, La divinisation de Lao Tseu, 40 n. 7; she quotes Zhāng Héng from a citation in Wáng Xiānqiān, ed. and comm., Hòu Hàn shū jíjiě 後漢書集解 (Chángshā, 1915), 23.18a, of Huì Dòng 惠棟 (1697-1758).

[27] HHs, "Xiào Huán dì lièzhuàn," 7.313. Kǔ prefecture was located about sixty-five km. SSW of Shāngqiū City 商丘市, and a few kms. southeast of Lùyì xiàn 鹿邑縣, in Hénán province.

ranking eunuch), Guǎn Bà 管霸, offered another sacrifice at the same spot.[28] Then, on 26 September 166, the emperor himself offered a sacrifice to the Yellow Emperor and Lǎozǐ at the Palace of the Sleek Dragon (Zhuólóng gōng 濯龍宮).[29] There is only scanty evidence that this veneration of Lǎozǐ at the court extended beyond the emperor and the eunuch faction. Biān Sháo's inscription dedicated to Lǎozǐ, the "Lǎozǐ míng" 老子銘, was written in the time between the two sacrifices offered by the eunuchs; Seidel opines that the stele for which it was written may have been erected on the occasion of the second sacrifice.[30] I have also mentioned Cài Yōng's composition in 165 of an inscription to commemorate an immortal, yet there is no evidence to suggest that Cài Yōng had a personal interest in what he wrote. In other words, he may have treated this commission like so many others. There is currently little other evidence of the clerisy's interest in Taoist religion. Whether or not a Taoist religious cult existed among the upper classes of Luòyáng for a time in the 160s, there is still ample data to demonstrate an increased interest in Lǎozǐ as a philosophical text, and in Lǎozǐ as an immortal deserving of worship, during the reign of Emperor Huán.[31]

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[28] HHs 7.316.

[29] HHs 7.317. On the Palace of the Sleek Dragon, see Bielenstein, "Lo-yang in Later Han Times," 38.

[30] Seidel, La divinisation de Lao Tseu, 37.

[31] For different perspectives on why Liú Zhì offered sacrifice to Lǎozǐ, see Seidel, La divinisation de Lao Tseu, 40-41, and Dull, "The Confucian Origins of Neo-Taoism," 39-41. See also

3.2 Zhū Mù and the "Treatise on Esteeming 'Thickness'"

In the late Eastern Hàn, some members of the clerisy began to voice their frustration with what they saw as the failure of Confucian values. These scholars were convinced that corruption had become so accepted at the court that traditional values were either ignored or were cynically paid homage to in ostentatious, meaningless acts. One of these scholars was Fán Zhǔn 樊準 (ob. 118), who came from a prominent Nányáng clan that had marriage ties to the imperial Liú clan. Fán Zhǔn memorialized in 106 C.E. in favor of a restoration of Confucianism, which he saw as having degenerated into frivolous scholarship instead of properly cultivating Confucian values, while also praising the purifying and reforming effects of Empress Dòu's sponsorship of Huáng-Lǎo in the Western Hàn. He urged the throne to seek out and employ those men who had retreated from the world.[32]

"The Worship of Lao-tzu and the Politics of the Palace 165-166," the appendix to Rafe de Crespigny's "The Harem of Emperor Huan," 34-42, and his "Politics and Philosophy under the Government of Emperor Huan 159-168," 72-75. This interest in Taoist religion at the court paralleled a quickly growing Taoist religious movement among the masses that is said to have obtained its start in 142 with the revelation of a deified Lǎozǐ as "Tàishàng Lǎo jūn" 太上老君, "Lord Lǎo the Most High," to Zhāng Dàolíng 張道陵, founder of the Tao of the Celestial Masters (Tiānshī Dào 天師道) (see Anna K. Seidel, Michel Strickmann, et al., "Taoism").

[32] See Fán Zhǔn's biography in HHs, "Fán Hóng Yīn Shì lièzhuàn," 32.1125-29; memorial is on 1125-27. See also Dull, "The Confucian Origins of Neo-Taoism," 26-28 (he translates a part of the memorial on 270), and Ch'en Ch'i-yun, "Confucian, Legalist, and Taoist Thought in Later Han," 787.

Another scholar-official to protest official corruption and pettiness, scorn the failure of traditional Confucian values, and promote the ideas of Lǎozǐ, was Zhū Mù.[33] Zhū Mù, like Fán Zhǔn, was from Nányáng commandery. His childhood is credited with extraordinary acts of filial piety. He is described as having been absent-minded, so devoted was he to his studies that he would become lost in thought, oblivious of all else in the mundane routine of daily life. At the end of Emperor Shùn's reign (125-144), the area of what is now Jiāngsū and Ānhuī was plagued by bandits. Liáng Jì, as Emperor Shùn's regent, commissioned Zhū Mù to dispose of the problem. After Liú Zhì (Emperor Huán) was enthroned in 147, Zhū Mù was transferred to the post of attending secretary (shìyùshǐ 侍御史). As an official, Zhū Mù established a reputation for personal integrity, assiduousness and intrepidity in performance of his duties.[34] A couple of years later, when Zhū Mù was around fifty, he wrote the first treatise under consideration here.[35]

We know next to nothing of the circumstances under which the "Treatise on Esteeming 'Thickness'" was composed. Zhū Mù's biography merely states, "He was constantly moved by the insincerity and meanness of the times, and admired and

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[33] See Zhū Mù's biography in HHs 43.1461-74.

[34] HHs 43.1461-63.

[35] I will use the English terms "treatise" and "essay" interchangeably to render the Chinese genre lùn 論.

esteemed generosity and sincerity, and so wrote the 'Treatise on Esteeming 'Thickness.'"[36] This essay contains three main points: First, Zhū Mù argues how the rise to prominence of Confucian values shunted aside and weakened the Tao, which he holds up as the highest good; second, he demonstrates how, especially in official circles, meanness and insincerity, the result of a depleted Tao, have triumphed over generosity and magnanimity; and third, he espouses a return to the ideas of Lǎozǐ. This basic outline reflects the short, general introduction given to the treatise in the Hòu Hàn shū: It is, with a general orientation to the Tao, an attack on meanness and falsity, and a panegyric on magnanimity and integrity.

Zhū Mù employs, perhaps somewhat leadenly, certain rhetorical devices. These are, in short, parallelism, punning, repetition of the topic markers fú 夫 ("any particular case of") and gù 故 ("to be sure"), and historical allusion. We have seen in the previous chapter how Cài Yōng and Zhào Yī employed parallelism to great effect; Cài Yōng, in particular, used antithetic and synonymous parallelism extensively. Zhū Mù also uses antithetic parallelism ("what was generous to Middle Antiquity was already considered mean by High Antiquity" 中世之所敦, 已為上世之所薄) and synonymous

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[36] HHs 43.1463. Jack Dull translates this title as "On Exalting Generosity" ("The Confucian Origins of Neo-Taoism," 31); Ch'en Ch'i-yun translates it as "Discourse on Praise of Liberality" ("Confucian, Legalist, and Taoist Thought in Later Han," 787). My discussion below will justify my literal translation of hòu as "thickness," although I generally agree with Dull in rendering the term in most contexts in the treatise as "generosity" or "magnanimity."

parallelism ("The enlightened do not befriend the benighted, the rich do not provide for the poor" 智不接愚, 富不賑貧), though here in a prose genre. By using parallelism, Zhū Mù furthers the literary trend towards parallel prose (piántǐwén 駢體文), the style that dominated prose in the Six Dynasties period, and official prose throughout much of subsequent imperial Chinese history. In the sentence, "To be sure, to act in accord with natural tendency is called the Tao; to attain the natural tendency of Heaven is called virtue" 故率性而行謂之道, 得其天性謂之德, a construction that might be regarded as "climactic parallelism," we find punning.[37] The first half of the sentence begins with lǜ 率, which means "to follow, to accord with," and is shortly after followed by xíng 行, "to act, to carry out" but also "to ambulate," and ends with dào 道, left in the translation above as "Tao," but meaning at root, "a road, the way." The second half of the sentence begins with dé 得, "to get," and ends with the cognate dé 德, "virtue" (in the sense of virtus or "power").[38] As for Zhū Mù's ready use of historical allusions, this will become evident in the following discussion.

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[37] George W. Anderson, "Characteristics of Hebrew Poetry," 1524, describes "climactic parallelism" as a construction in which the "second stich echoes or repeats part of the first and also adds to it an element which carries forward or completes the sense."

Anderson illustrates paronomasia in Hebrew poetry (pp. 1528-29) with this passage from Am. 8: 1-2 (typo on 1529 says "Am. 8.12"): "Thus the Lord God showed me: behold a basket of summer fruit [Heb. qayits] And he said, 'Amos, what do you see?' And I said, 'A basket of summer fruit.' Then the Lord said to me, 'The end [Heb. qets] has come upon my people Israel. . ." (emphasis added).

[38] A discussion of dé 德 and dé 得 can be found in Hán Fēizǐ 韓非子, "Jiě Lǎo" (Hán Fēizǐ jíshì [Hong Kong: Zhōnghuá shūjú, 1974]), 1: 6.326.

"On Esteeming 'Thickness'" may be divided into four discrete paragraphs. The first paragraph presents the topic of the essay. This includes a philosophical discussion that describes the waxing of Confucian values, and the waning of Lǎozǐ's Tao. The "thick" or "whole" is described as historically being eclipsed by the "thin" or "mean." Paragraph two extols by way of historical example magnanimity towards people's shortcomings, and integrity among office-holders. Paragraph three explains how a prevailing fashion towards meanness or magnanimity can determine people's behavior. In the last paragraph, the author promotes exemplary principles and outstanding models of conduct that if followed will restore the Tao and establish incorruptible personal reputations.

Zhū Mù approaches his subject from three tacks: philosophical, historical, and contemporary analysis. His philosophical argument is dense, and translation of it is difficult if only because many of the terms he employs are multivalent. Essentially Zhū Mù is providing a reflection on Lǎozǐ 38, with references to the "Explaining Lǎozǐ" ("Jiě Lǎo" 解老) chapter of Hán Fēizǐ 韓非子 and to the "Doctrine of the Mean" or "Zhōng yōng" 中庸. In accord with the parallel construction described above, he pairs nearly synonymous words, most importantly, hòu 厚 ("thick," "sincere," and "magnanimous") and dūn 敦 ("solid," "integral," "genuine," and "generous"), and adds to these shí 實 ("fruit," "kernel," "substance," "true"); he contrasts this set of words with bó 薄 ("thin," "insincere," "mean"; the direct antonym of hòu) and huá 華 ("flower," "artifice"; the direct antonym of shí). These two passages of Lǎozǐ provide

some insight into dūn and hòu: "Solid, his being like an uncarved block" 敦兮其若樸 (Chapter 15) and "One who contains a thickness of virtue may be compared to a newborn babe" 含德之厚者比於赤子 (Chapter 55). Dūn, in the first passage, refers to a state of wholeness, nothing yet having been detracted from it, and hence genuine and complete. The second of these passages likens a thickness or fullness (hòu) of dé 德 to a baby, who is vulnerable, unmolded, and is free of prejudice, hence free to experience the whole of existence. "The fullness of virtue" implies complete integration of the specific (virtue, dé) with the general (the Tao, dào). In a lengthy digression from their analysis of Confucian ideas in Thinking Through Confucius, Hall and Ames discuss the relationship between Tao and dé in Lǎozǐ:

> When te [dé] is cultivated and accumulated such that the particular is integrated utterly with the whole, the distinction between tao and te collapses and te as an individuating notion is transformed into te as an integrating notion. The Tao Te Ching, again, states, "One who possesses te in abundance is comparable to a newborn babe." In these passages the infant, the uncarved block, the great person are metaphors for a condition in which one does not distinguish oneself from one's environment. There is no circumscription or separation from one's whole.[39]

Hence, the "thickness" that Zhū Mù praises is the undiscriminated fullness of virtue that merges with the Tao. This treatise serves as a proclamation of his esteem for the Tao.

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[39] Thinking Through Confucius, 221; reference to "the great person" comes from Zhōu yì, "Wén yán" text to Qián 乾, 1.20a (trans. Hall and Ames, 220): "The greatest person is one whose te is coincident with the heavens and earth, whose brilliance is coincident with the sun and moon, whose ordering is coincident with the four seasons, and whose fortune is coincident with the ghosts and spirits."

The first paragraph of "On Esteeming 'Thickness'" is devoted to Zhū Mù's assertion that the Tao is not being followed in his own day, and moreover that it has not been followed for a long time. He cites Confucius who laments that he had not been born in time to witness "the carrying out of the great Tao," a praxis already relegated to the distant past.[40] The Tao, or "the Way," is not specific to the philosophy of Lǎozǐ and Zhuāngzǐ, though it is particularly central to those texts. Confucius also recognized the importance of the Tao. For Confucius, the Tao was, as A. C. Graham describes, "the proper course of human conduct and of the organization of government, which is the Way of 'antiquity,' of 'the former kings,' of 'the gentleman,' of 'the good man,' and of 'Wen and Wu' the founders of Chou, or else of what someone teaches as the Way ('my Way,' and 'our master's Way')"[41] Zhū Mù's own view of the Tao, though likely influenced by this Confucian tradition, reveals the influence of Lǎozǐ: "In any particular respect of the Tao, it takes up the entire realm as one: It resides in others as it resides in oneself" 夫道者, 以天下為一, 在彼猶在己也.[42] The tradition

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[40] HHs 43.1463; cf. Lǐ jì, "Lǐ yùn" (Lǐ jì zhèngyì), 21.1a/b: "Confucius said, 'As for the carrying out of the great Tao, and the heroes of the Three Dynasties, Qiū was not in time for them, but I have the accounts about them'" (cf. Legge, 3: 364, no. 1). A similar passage is in Kǒngzǐ jiāyǔ 孔子家語, "Lǐ yùn" (Sbck), 7.13a.

[41] Disputers of the Tao, 13. Hall and Ames (Thinking Through Confucius, 231) have a somewhat different view of Confucius' Tao: "The tao is the continuous progress of human civilization, an interpretation of human experience surveyed and laid down by succeeding generations."

[42] HHs 43.1464.

of Lǎozǐ, Graham states, "frequently calls the undivided [i.e., the Tao] the One, although generally in relation to the man or thing which 'embraces the One' or 'grasps the One'. . . . As soon as you try to conceive the Way you conceive the One, but as soon as you conceive the One you conceive the many."[43] Robert G. Henricks further explains:

> For Lao-tzu the Way is that reality, or that level of reality, that existed prior to and gave rise to all other things, the physical universe (Heaven and Earth), and all things in it, what the Chinese call the 'ten thousand things' (wan-wu). The Way in a sense is like a great womb: it is empty and devoid in itself of differentiation, one in essense; yet somehow it contains all things in seedlike or embryo form, and all things 'emerge' from the Tao in creation as babies emerge from their mothers. . . .[44]

When Zhū Mù refers to the Tao being present "in others as it resides in oneself," he is speaking of the individuating dé: Henricks states that "The Way in things is generally what Taoists mean by te, 'virtue.'"[45] Zhū Mù himself defines the Tao as acting "in accord with natural tendency [xìng 性]," and adds that "to attain the natural tendency of Heaven is called virtue [dé]."[46] His use of xìng betrays another influence on his concept

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[43] Disputers of the Tao, 221-22. Wàn Guāngzhì, Hàn fù tōnglùn, 162, in commenting on this line of Zhū Mù's treatise, says: "This kind of Tao is in fact the Tao of Zhuāng-Lǎo, and is not the Tao discussed by the Ruists."

[44] Lao-Tzu Te-Tao Ching, trans. with introduction and commentary by Robert G. Henricks (London: Rider, 1991), xviii-xix.

[45] Lao-Tzu Te-Tao Ching, xix.

[46] HHs 43.1464.

of Tao: xìng appears nowhere in the Lǎozǐ or the "Inner Chapters" of Zhuāngzǐ. Rather, xìng and dé are discussed together in the "Doctrine of the Mean," a later Confucian text:[47] "The decreed by Heaven [天命] is called natural tendency. To accord with natural tendency is called the Tao."[48] Hall and Ames state that the reason xìng is not discussed in Lǎozǐ and Zhuāngzǐ, especially in regard to dé, is that xìng emphasizes the commonality among components of the whole, whereas dé, as the individuating-becoming-integrating notion of Lǎozǐ and Zhuāngzǐ, are the "unique particulars" of the whole (i.e., the Tao).[49] By evoking xìng, Zhū Mù wishes to bring out the commonality of the particulars (dé) by which the Tao "resides in others as it resides in oneself."

Having unravelled Zhū Mù's understanding of the Tao and virtue, we can better understand the argument presented in the first paragraph of the treatise. In discussing the whole, he talks of the Tao; in discussing the particulars, he refers to dé. When Zhū Mù states that "if one's conduct runs counter to the Tao, then the feeling of shame that wells in the heart is not the fear of rightness; if one's affairs run counter to the pattern, then the feeling of regret that besets the mind is not the dread of ritual," he is, by the

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[47] A.C. Graham states that the short introduction (from which the cited passage derives) and the long conclusion of "Zhōng yōng" dates from about 200 B.C.E. See also Fung Yu-lan, A History of Chinese Philosophy, 1: 369-71.

[48] Lǐ jì, "Zhōng yōng" (Lǐ jì zhèngyì), 52.1a. On xìng as "natural tendency" and its relation to dé, see Hall and Ames, Thinking Through Confucius, 219-20.

[49] Thinking Through Confucius, 220.

rhetoric of synonymous parallelism, using repetition to drive home his point. The "pattern" (lǐ 理) is, according to Hán Fēizǐ's "Explaining Lǎozǐ," "the texture of a thing as a whole" 理者, 成物之文也, whereas the Tao is "the means by which the myriad things become wholes" 道者, 萬物之所以成也.[50] Graham states that these "patterns" are "objective regularities in nature which man utilizes or else ignores at his own cost." One must correlate one's affairs "through which the same pattern is seen to be run."[51] To do so, then, is to be in accord with the Tao. As for ritual (lǐ 禮), it is the external manifestation of the interior yì 義, what is appropriate or right.[52] Hence, ritual and rightness are simply mirror aspects, exterior and interior, of themselves. If one's conduct and affairs are contrary to the Tao and the pattern, and one subsequently feels regret, it is not out of respect for ritual and rightness. Ritual, Lǎozǐ informs, is "the attenuation [bó] of 'wholeheartedness for others' [zhōng 忠] and 'trustworthiness' [xìn 信]"--a point Zhū Mù takes up again at the end of his piece--"and the beginning of disorder" 禮者, 忠信之薄, 而亂之首. It is not out of respect for ritual and rightness, Zhū Mù states, continuing to elaborate on Lǎozǐ 38, because it was the ascendancy of such values that caused the eclipsing of the Tao and virtue in the first place:

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[50] Hán Fēizǐ, "Jiě Lǎo" (Hán Fēizǐ jíshì), 1: 6.365; trans. Graham, Disputers of the Tao, 286.

[51] Disputers of the Tao, 286, 287.

[52] Hán Fēizǐ, "Jiě Lǎo" (Hán Fēizǐ jíshì), 1: 6.330-31.

> Only after virtue and natural tendency were abandoned did we prize nobility [rén 仁] and rightness. Thereupon, after nobility and rightness arose, the Tao and virtue dispersed; after ritual and law prospered, then purity and simplicity dissolved. To be sure, the Tao and virtue were attenuated by nobility and rightness; purity and simplicity were harmed by ritual and law.[53]

Zhū Mù takes the position that the adoption of the values of nobility, rightness, ritual, and law harmed the Tao and virtue, and their related values of purity and simplicity. One may infer from this statement, in view of Lǎozǐ 38, that Zhū Mù sees the disorder of his world as emanating from that shift: "Ritual . . . is the beginning of disorder." It is significant, I think, that Zhū Mù has chosen Lǎozǐ 38 on which to base his essay; it is the first chapter of the dé section, which has a lot to do with good government, in contrast to the dào chapter, which is mainly about the Tao itself.[54] Zhū Mù concludes this first paragraph on the sardonic note that what had been generous (dūn) in Middle Antiquity would have been considered mean (bó) in High Antiquity. Just imagine, then, how "thin" it is today! The Tao had long ago been abandoned, long before even Confucius' time, but with the world under the sway of Confucian values, the Tao is all the more remote. Nonetheless, the syncretism of Hàn intellectual thought allows Zhū Mù to borrow notions gleaned from the texts of Confucianism (the "Doctrine of the Mean") and Legalism (Hán Fēizǐ) to support his argument in favor of the Tao of Lǎozǐ.

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[53] HHs 43.1464.

[54] See Lao-Tzu Te-Tao Ching, xvi.

Paragraph two begins with another example of synonymous parallelism that links the amassing of virtue by Heaven, Earth, and Humanity; this amassing merges them with the Tao, and thus enables them to fulfill their potential: "if heaven is not lofty and large, then what it covers and overspreads is not vast. If earth is not deep and thick, then the things that it sustains are not extensive. If people are not generous and large-minded then the principles of the Tao will not be far-reaching."[55] Confucius once again makes his appearance, this time as the magnanimous companion who does "not abandon an old friend in Yuán Rǎng 原壤," despite the friend's strange and improper behavior: In the course of their preparing a coffin for Yuán Rǎng's mother, Yuán Rǎng gets up on top of the coffin and begins to sing. Ignoring the exhortations of his disciples, Confucius remains his friend, thus living up to the code of Lúnyǔ 18/10: "If an old friend lacks great wrongdoing then he should not be cast off" 故舊無大故, 則不棄也.[56] Paired with Confucius is King Zhuāng 莊王 of Chǔ 楚 (reg. 613-591 B.C.E.), who is also cited for his magnanimity. King Zhuāng had given a party at which, in the dark, a guest had made advances towards his consort. She, in defending herself, broke the chinstrap on the guest's hat. The King did not wish to embarrass his rude guest, so before the lights were relit, he had all of his guests break their

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[55] HHs 43.1464. Cf. Hán Fēizǐ, "Jiě Lǎo" (Hán Fēizǐ jíshì), 1: 6.365: "Heaven gets it [the Tao] to be high by; earth gets it to hold things by" 天得之以高, 地得之以藏.

[56] See Lǐ jì, "Tán gōng" B (Lǐ jì zhèngyì), 10.27a/b. See also Lúnyǔ 1/13, "Companions who do not abandon their intimates can, for their part, be honored" (cf. Legge, 143).

chinstraps.[57] Zhū Mù says of Confucius and King Zhuāng, "We can see from these examples that the virtue of sages and worthies had been generosity." That is to say, their virtue was both whole and generous. They are one with the Tao. Zhū Mù then makes his most explicit endorsement of Lǎozǐ up to this point:

> The classic of Master Lǎo states, "The Great Mature Man abides by the thick and does not abide by the thin, dwells in the fruit and not in the flowers, and consequently rejects that and takes this." In any particular time, when there is thinness [i.e., meanness], thickness [i.e., magnanimity] is to be extended; in any particular case of conduct, where there is error, benevolence is employed. To be sure, covering up the transgressions of others is the Tao of generosity; saving others from error is the practice of magnanimity.[58]

The citation of Lǎozǐ is once again Chapter 38, here the conclusion of it. Prior to the passage Zhū Mù cites it reads (repeating a portion given above): "Ritual is the attenuation of 'wholeheartedness for others' and 'trustworthiness,' and the beginning of disorder. Foreknowledge is the embellishment of the Tao, and the beginning of folly" 前識者, 道之華, 而愚之首.[59] A comparison is set up between bó, "attenuation" or "thinness," and huá, "embellishment" or "flowers," which are, in turn, contrasted with hòu ("thickness") and shí (what is of substance, the "fruit"). Whereas in the original

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[57] See Hán shī wàizhuàn (Csjc), 7.93 (trans. Hightower, 238), and a similar version of the story in Shuō yuán 說苑, comp. Liú Xiàng, "Fù ēn piān" (Sbck), 6.8a/b.

[58] HHs 43.1464.

[59] Adapted from D. C. Lau, trans., Tao Te Ching, by Lao Tzu (Harmondsworth, Middlesex, England: Penguin Books, 1963), 99.

text, hòu and shí refer back to virtue in general (for by being "thick" or "substantialized" with virtue, one's particular virtue merges with the Tao), Zhū Mù indicates by inclusion of the terms "covering up the transgressions of others" 覆人之禍者 and "saving others from error" 救人之失者 that the particular aspect or result of being full of virtue that he wishes to address is magnanimity.

This special emphasis on magnanimity is continued in the three allusions that follow, and broadened to include integrity as well. First, Zhū Mù gives special attention to a letter Mǎ Yuán 馬援 (14 B.C.E.-49 C.E.) wrote admonishing his nephews, his older brother Mǎ Yú's 馬余 sons, Mǎ Yán 馬嚴 and Mǎ Dūn 馬敦, who were both apparently very fond of criticizing others. Mǎ Yuán told them that they should no more heed reports of the faults and weaknesses of others than they would repeat the tabooed personal names of their deceased parents. Zhū Mù says, "This is the gist of it."[60] He then compares the cases of Confucius and King Zhuāng to the more recent examples of Bǐng Jí 丙吉 (ob. ?55 B.C.E.) and Zhāng Ānshì 張安世 (ob. 62 B.C.E.), both officials of the Hàn court. Bǐng Jí, from the time he was Chancellor (chéngxiàng 丞相) beginning in 59 B.C.E., was renown for overlooking his subalterns' transgressions, and "punishing" offending civil servants by sending them on "long

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[60] HHs 43.1464-65; for the original letter, see Mǎ Yuán's official biography in HHs 24.844-45. See a discussion of this letter in Eva Yuen-wah Chung, "A Study of the Shu (Letters) of the Han Dynasty (206 B.C.-A.D. 220)" (Ph.D. diss., University of Washington, 1982), 148-49.

vacations." According to Zhāng Ānshì's official biography, as the General of Chariots and Cavalry Serving as Commander-in-chief (dàsīmǎ jūjì jiāngjūn 大司馬車騎將軍), he was mortified lest anyone should think that by elevating or not elevating a candidate to an office he was acting out of personal favor or spite.[61] Zhāng Ānshì is promoted here as a model of integrity in office. This theme is not only continued in the examples provided in the next paragraph, but becomes Zhū Mù's primary concern in the next piece to be considered in this chapter. Thus, the reference to hòu and dūn as the "thickness" and "solidity" of virtue resonates with these particular values of magnanimity and integrity.

The third paragraph of "On Esteeming 'Thickness'" is an analysis of the mores (sú 俗) of times recent to Zhū Mù.[62] He states tartly that slander and defamation are common, and are justified under the rubric of "praise and blame" zāng pǐ 臧否. Officials who hurl abuse about the shortcomings of others willy-nilly destroy what good reputation these targets of their venom may have had. This kind of derogatory speech violates the precepts of the Xiào jīng 孝經 or Book of Filial Piety, one of the most important texts of Hàn Confucianism, which, in prescribing the behavior of high

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[61] See Hs, "Wèi xiàng Bǐng Jí zhuàn," 74.3145; with respect to Zhāng Ānshì, see Hs, "Zhāng Tāng zhuàn," 59.2650, and n. 8 of HHs 43.1465. More information about these men (and all the people mentioned in this treatise for that matter), may be found in the notes to Appendix C.

[62] HHs 43.1465-66.

officials states: "Thus, they will not speak improper words and will not follow anything outside the Way. Their words are not arbitrary, nor their actions capricious. Their words reach all in the world, yet offend no one. Their words fill the world, yet give no cause for complaint."[63] The situation as it is has grown out of control, Zhū Mù argues, and it is not just that these officials have veered from the path of the exemplary man, the Confucian way. These men seem unaware that their behavior inevitably threatens their own well-being, and that of their families. Basking in undeserved honor and wealth they proceed, ignorant of history--which would signal to them the dangers that await them--and, more egregious, they are blind to the poor and deserving. We see in Zhū Mù's warning the concern for the preservation of the self, common to Lǎozǐ as well as to the Xiào jīng.[64]

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[63] Xiào jīng, "Qīng dàfu zhāng," 2.3a; trans. Patricia Ebrey, "The Classic of Filial Piety," in Chinese Civilization: A Sourcebook, 2nd ed., rev., ed. Patricia Buckley Ebrey (New York: The Free Press, 1993), 65.

[64] See, for instance, Lǎozǐ 44 (trans. D. C. Lao, Tao Te Ching, 105): "Your name or your person, / Which is dearer? / Your person or your goods, / Which is worth more? / Gain or loss, / Which is a greater bane? / That is why excessive meanness / Is sure to lead to great expense; / Too much store / Is sure to end in immense loss. / Know contentment / And you will suffer no disgrace; / Know when to stop / And you will meet with no danger. / You can then endure." See also Robert G. Henricks, Lao-Tzu Te-Tao Ching, xxvii-xxix.

The Xiào jīng, "Shùrén zhāng," 3.1a (trans. Ebrey, "The Classic of Filial Piety," 65) states, "They take care of themselves and are cautious in their expenditures in order to support their parents" 謹身節用以養父母.

Zhū Mù then takes up the refrain oft repeated in the Hàn, especially the Eastern Hàn, of lamenting the failure of the court to appoint good and worthy men to office: "Incorruptible cultured gentlemen, being friendless, are not sympathized with; worthies, being reduced to straits, are not condoled with"貞士孤而不恤, 賢者厄而不存.[65] Only the wealthy and influential are able to buy the favors that can land them official positions. Zhū Mù makes examples of two Western Hàn officials, each of whom, though known for his integrity, nonetheless bought off or was bought off by, with money or by other means, a member of a consort clan. Hán Ānguó 韓安國 (?-127 B.C.E.) gave a gift of five hundred pieces of gold to the corrupt grand commandant (tàiwèi 太尉) Tián Fén 田蚡 (ob. 131 B.C.E.), the brother of Empress Wáng, consort of Liú Qǐ 劉啓 (Emperor Jǐng 景帝, reg. 157-141 B.C.E.). Tián Fén spoke to his sister on his behalf, and Hán Ānguó received an appointment; he eventually rose to the rank of grandee secretary (yùshǐ dàfu 御史大夫).[66] Zhái Fāngjìn 翟方進 (ob. 7 B.C.E.), who in time became Chancellor under Liú Ào (Emperor Chéng, reg. 32-7 B.C.E.), had had friendly associations with the unscrupulous Chúnyú Cháng 淳于長 (ob. 7 B.C.E.), a nephew of Liú Shì's 劉奭 (Emperor Yuán 元帝, reg. 49-33 B.C.E.)

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[65] HHs 43.1466.

[66] Sīmǎ Qiān notes that the emperor had wanted to make Hán Ānguó Chancellor, but Hán became ill; see Shǐjì, "Hán Chángrú lièzhuàn," 108.2863, 2865.

consort, Wáng Zhèngjūn 王政君, and commended him to office.[67] Hán Ānguó and Zhái Fāngjìn garnered for themselves good reputations. Nonetheless, Hán Ānguó's weakness was avarice; Zhái Fāngjìn was later quick to impeach friends of Chúnyú Cháng.[68] As Zhū Mù points out, "even they were unable to rescue an impoverished worthy, or recommend a friendless cultured gentleman. How much less so those inferior to them!"[69] Hán Ānguó and Zhái Fāngjìn, Zhū Mù implies, were products of court culture: They were unable to rise above the self-serving methods of a praetorian bureaucracy for admitting new members to its exclusive ranks. Zhū Mù contrasts these two prominent officials at the Hàn court with two grandees from before the Hàn, Qín Xí 禽息 of Qín and Shǐ Yú 史魚 of Wèi, each of whom went to extraordinary lengths to recommend worthy men who otherwise lacked the social station to gain them entry

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[67] On Hán Ānguó and Tián Fén, see Shǐjì, "Wèiqí Wǔān hòu lièzhuàn," 107.2841-44, "Hán Chángrú lièzhuàn," 108.2859-60, and Hs, "Dòu Tián Guàn Hán zhuàn," 52.2377-80; 2398; on Zhái Fāngjìn and Chúnyú Cháng, see Hs, "Zhái Fāngjìn zhuàn," 84.3419, 3421; "Nìngxìng zhuàn," 93.3730, 3732.

The lines of this essay being referred to here, though parallel in structure, are not semantically parallel: Note that in the former case, it is consort clan member Tián Fén who procures the recommendation for Hán Ānguó, and in the latter, Zhái Fāngjìn commends the consort clan member Chúnyú Cháng to office.

[68] On Hán Ānguó's avarice, see Shǐjì, "Hán Chángrú lièzhuàn," 108.2863, and Hs, "Dòu Tián Guàn Hán zhuàn," 52.2405; on Zhái Fāngjìn's course of action against Chúnyú Cháng's friends, see Hs, "Zhái Fāngjìn zhuàn," 84.3421.

[69] HHs 43.1466. Cf. Wáng Fú 王符 (ca. 90-165, or ca. 78-163), Qián fú lùn 潛夫論, (Qián fú lùn jiān jiàozhèng 潛夫論箋校正, annotated by Wāng Jìpéi 汪繼培 [b. 1775], ed. Péng Duó 彭鐸 [Běijīng: Zhōnghuá shūjú, 1985], 30.339-40): "Hán Ānguó. . . could not rescue a single impoverished [worthy]; Zhái Fāngjìn . . . could not recommend a single cultured gentleman."

into official service.[70] Zhū Mù explains that the reason there were such men of integrity in the past is that the "mores" of those times were "generosity and goodness" whereas the "mores" of Hàn times are "vileness and meanness."[71] In other words, Zhū Mù adopts the usual posture that people of merit were once hired because the times then were right, but the current times are not right and so worthies are ignored. In raising this theme of the vicissitudes of time (which can be neatly encapsulated in the expression, "That was then; this is now"), Zhū Mù does not bemoan his own inability to obtain high office.[72] Rather, he is outward-focused, criticizing the cancerous corruption of the recruitment process that will culminate in 178 with the exacting of fines in

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[70] On Qín Xí, see HHs 43.1466 n. 5, which records a passage from the Hán shī wàizhuàn not included in the received text, and see also another version of the story in Xīn shū 新書, attributed to Jiǎ Yí 賈誼 (201-169 B.C.), "Tāi jiào" (Sbby), 10.6a/b. On the story concerning Shǐ Yú, see Hán shī wàizhuàn (Sbck), 7.14b (trans. Hightower, 245-46).

[71] HHs 43.1466.

[72] This theme dominated the hypothetical discourses of the Hàn. See, for instance, Dōngfāng Shuò's 東方朔 (fl. 140-130 B.C.E.) "Dá kè nàn" 答客難 (Hs, "Dōngfāng Shuò zhuàn," 65.2864-67; Wén xuǎn, 45.2000-2004; Yìwén lèijù, 25.457; translation in Burton Watson's Courtier and Commoner in Ancient China [New York: Columbia University Press, 1974], 96-100); Yáng Xióng's "Jiě cháo" 解嘲 (Hs, "Yáng Xióng zhuàn," 87B.3566-73; Wén xuǎn, 45.2005-12; Yìwén lèijù, 25.457-58; trans. in David R. Knechtges's The "Han shu" Biography of Yang Xiong (53 B.C.-A.D. 18), Occasional Paper No. 14 [Tempe: Center for Asian Studies, Arizona State University, 1982], 46-52); Bān Gù's "Dá bīn xì" 答賓戲 (Hs, "Xù zhuàn," 100A.4225-31; Wén xuǎn, 45.2015-22; Yìwén lèijù, 25.458-59); Cuī Yīn's "Dá zhǐ" (HHs 52.1709-16, Yìwén lèijù, 25.459); and Cài Yōng's "Shì huì." Dōngfāng Shuò's "Dá kè nàn" has the line, taken from Mèngzǐ 2B.13, "That was one time, this is another" 彼一時也, 此一時也 (Hs 65.2864; Wén xuǎn, 45.2001; Yìwén lèijù, 25.457).

exchange for official appointment (see Chapter I). Zhū Mù then repeats a trope he first uses at the beginning of this paragraph about those who rush forward without looking back, and those who chase off in pursuit, blind to the pitfalls that await them and intolerant of those they consider their inferiors.

Zhū Mù comes here to the conclusion of his argument. Up to this point he has produced sets of examples and counter-examples, and has explained them as being indicative of the times. The underlying reason for this state of affairs is that the Tao, as he forcefully points out in the first section, has long been in decline. Now people see what Lǎozǐ 38 describes as "the attenuation [bó] of 'wholeheartedness for others' and 'trustworthiness.'" Zhū Mù writes, "Therefore, emptiness and superficiality flourish, and wholeheartedness for others and trustworthiness decline; the cruel and mean are legion and the unsullied and sincere are rare."[73] By returning to his original point, that the "substantial," the Tao, is in decline, while the "ornamentation," like ritual, flourishes, Zhū Mù has come full circle back to his thesis presented in the first paragraph. By means of historical allusion and parallel argumentation, Zhū Mù has argued for the verity of his thesis.

Zhū Mù adds to the end of his third paragraph, "This is probably why 'Valley Wind' has the plaint of 'casting me off,' and 'Hewing Trees' has the concern of 'birds calling'!" Here he recalls two Shī songs, Máo shī 201 and 165, respectively, that are

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[73] HHs 43.1466.

traditionally associated with friendship and the decline of good government (specifically, the Zhōu).[74] The theme of Máo shī 201, "Gǔ fēng" 谷風, is that in a time of fear and distress, people easily make and maintain a friendship, but after one comes into money or good fortune, friendship is easily forgotten ("the plaint of 'casting me off'" 棄予之歎). The "birds calling" (鳥鳴) of Máo shī 165, "Fā mù" 伐木, is traditionally regarded as a metaphor for fraternal correction among friends. The song is furthermore said to suggest that when an exemplary man attains a lofty position, he does not forget his friends, but on the contrary seeks them out. The connection of these poems to the preceding section of "On Esteeming 'Thickness'" is twofold: One, these songs echo the penultimate refrain of the third paragraph, that "wholeheartedness for others and trustworthiness" is in decline, and that "thinness" or meanness prevails. Two, Zhū Mù educes the underlying reason for this state of affairs, indeed for the decline of the Tao, to be a deficit of good government. However this may be, we should not overlook the basic theme of these songs, friendship and its vicissitudes. "On Esteeming 'Thickness'" broaches the issue of insincerity, duplicity, and exploitation in associations among officials that Zhū Mù takes up again in his subsequent essay, "On Severing Private Associations." There is clearly seen in his inclusion of the historical

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[74] For Máo shī 165, see Wáng Xiānqiān, ed. and comm., Shī sānjiā yì jíshù, 14.14a; for Máo shī 201, see 18.1a/b.

example of Zhái Fāngjìn's association with Chúnyú Cháng, and the inability of a man of good reputation like Zhái "to recommend a friendless cultured gentleman."

The fourth and final paragraph of "On Esteeming 'Thickness'" reviews and exalts most of the examples put forth in the treatise, the "eminent principles of Confucius the Sage," "the excellent conduct of Yán of Chǔ," "the elegant teachings of Lǐ the Venerable" (i.e., Lǎozǐ), and the magnanimity espoused by Mǎ Yuán, Bǐng Jí and Zhāng Zǐrú.[75] Zhū Mù adds one other figure to the middle of this list who does not make an earlier appearance in the text, at least as we have it today. He writes, "praise the lofty rectitude of Hán Léng 韓棱." Hán Léng was the Director of the Secretariat (shàngshū lìng 尚書令) under Liú Zhào (Emperor Hé, reg. 89-105). When Dòu Xiàn had been given the title "General-in-chief" (i.e., Regent) after his victory over the Northern Xiōngnú, the Secretariat wanted to receive him with cheers of the Chinese equivalent of "Banzai!" (wànsuì 萬歲). Hán Léng's official biography records that "Léng with solemn demeanor said to them, "In any particular case of 'one's associations with superiors, one is not obsequious; in one's associations with inferiors, one is not contemptuous.' In the Ritual there is no rule for ministers crying 'Banzai!'"[76] The cheer of "banzai" had, by this time, come to be associated with the emperor; to

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[75] HHs 43.1467.

[76] See HHs, "Yuán Zhāng Hán Zhōu lièzhuàn" 45.1535. Hán Léng quotes from Zhōu yì zhèngyì, "Xì cí zhuàn" B. 8.13a (cf. Wilhelm and Baynes, 342).

have greeted Dòu Xiàn in this way would have been to accord him the status of emperor. This is the most recent historical figure to be cited by Zhū Mù in this treatise. The particular historical background to this reference suggests a criticism of the contemporary regent Liáng Jì. We know that Zhū Mù around the same time (in the 150s) also composed memorials reproving Liáng Jì for his arrogance and imperious behavior. By bringing up this allusion, Zhū Mù reiterates his condemnation of obseqiousness on the part of inferiors, and his intolerance for contempt shown by superiors.

Zhū Mù states that if only officials would follow the paths of these men, and forgo the behavior of a Hán Ānguó or Zhái Fāngjìn, and the prevalent "praise and blame" form of criticism that disguised calumny as fraternal correction, the Tao would be restored to its former thickness. Moreover, by allowing their virtue to become full, these officials would establish reputations that would vie for permanence with metal and stone. "In this way, afterwards," writes Zhū Mù, "they would be aware of the insufficiency of thinness and the exuberance of thickness" 然後知薄者之不足, 厚者之有餘也.[77] At the end of his essay, the philosophy of the first section, and the altruism exemplified by the subsequent historical models, are shunted aside in the appeal to the clerisy's abiding interest in establishing a name for future generations, a matter of great practical concern in the late Hàn. By promoting the fullness of personal virtue as the

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[77] HHs 43.1467.

means to establishing a perpetual reputation, Zhū Mù may be criticizing the fin de siècle's emphasis on filial piety (xiào 孝) as the means for achieving that (see Chapter V).[78]

Zhū Mù's "On Esteeming 'Thickness'" concludes with an appeal to the ideals of both Confucius and the Lǎozǐ, but with the emphasis on the latter. Confucius serves as a model of one whose virtue was full and so had merged with the Tao, but is not praised as the transmitter of Ruist values. The lauded "eminent principles" 崇則 of Confucius are those elements of his own personal code of conduct, his "Way" of correlating his affairs with "pattern" (lǐ 理), that one can strive to emulate. If only everyone focussed on making solid his own virtue, as did Confucius, Zhū Mù suggests, the fullness of Tao would be restored. When Zhū Mù espouses a return to the thickness of virtue, the reestablishment of the carrying out of the Tao as in High Antiquity, his program requires a turning away from traditional Confucian values such as ritual and rightness. This is a bold new direction in late Han thinking. It reflects how profoundly the Lǎozǐ had come to impinge on the thinking of some influential members of the clerisy in the mid to late second century, and not simply as pure philosophy. Zhū Mù's use of Lǎozǐ shows how it was viewed as a practical guide to dealing with

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[78] For the connection between xiào and name, see Xiào jīng, "Guǎng yáng míng," 7.2a/b, and translated by Patricia Ebrey under the title, "Elaborating 'Perpetuating One's Name,'" ("The Classic of Filial Piety," 67). See also John Makeham, Name and Actuality in Early Chinese Thought, 103-8; 173-74.

concrete political situations. It was the fin de siècle, with its political exigencies at the court and in the countryside, that encouraged this search for new ideas, leading to a reevaluation of old ones found in texts like Lǎozǐ, to treat the sociopolitical ills that the Confucian orthodoxy at the court seemingly had failed to prevent, cure, or stem. Thus the rise of interest in Lǎozǐ is another manifestation of the second century fin-de-siècle culture of the late Hàn, but a manifestation that is not at all removed from the political criticism discussed in Chapter II. In retrospecting Lǎozǐ and applying its wisdom to current affairs, all the while focused on the nadir of decline and the possibility of future renewal, "On Esteeming 'Thickness'" is another example of kairotic literature.

3.3 Treatises on Friendship

In writing about the decline of the Tao in "On Esteeming 'Thickness,'" despite the abstruse language of the first paragraph, Zhū Mù is motivated by real world considerations. He is concerned about the lack of integrity, sincerity, and magnanimity shown by his colleagues in the government. He also intimates a concern over the way friendships among the denizens of the bureaucracy served selfish aims: to cultivate connections for climbing the ranks, and to accumulate insider information that might later be used as a weapon against enemies. In another essay written shortly after "On Esteeming 'Thickness,'" Zhū Mù takes specific aim at the problem of friendships

among officials.[79] In the treatise that Fàn Yè 范曄 (398-446) has appended to his biography of Zhū Mù, he writes, "Zhū Mù, seeing that associating for private gain [比周] harmed propriety, and that the inclination towards partisanship caused injury to mores, and intent on curbing the private dealings of colleagues and associates, subsequently wrote the essay on 'Severing Private Associations.'"[80]

Zhū Mù is not the only member of the clerisy of this time to address the problem of private associations. The famous hermit Wáng Fú 王符 (ca. 90-165 or ca. 78-163), in his Treatises of a Hidden Man (Qián fú lùn 潛夫論), writes that "nowadays there are many who devote themselves to making friendships and thereby secure the help of cliques; they steal power and a name for themselves and that way make their way across the stream."[81] In an essay contained in his Treatises of a Hidden Man, "On Friendship and Contacts" ("Jiāo jì" 交際), Wáng Fú comments that in his day, people

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[79] The word used to describe these associations is jiāo 交, which I translate, according to the context, as "friendship" or "private associations." Essentially, Zhū Mù is discussing the relationships, both professional and social, between officials in the government. From his perspective, the way jiāo is practiced at the court approaches "cronyism," in this context, favoritism shown in the selection of candidates for office based on personal associations.

[80] HHs 43.1474.

[81] See "Wù běn" (Qián fú lùn jiān jiàozhèng), 2.20: 今多務交游以結黨助, 偷世 [should read 勢] 竊名以取濟渡. For Wáng Fú's official biography, see HHs 49.1630-43.

prize new aquaintances while forgetting age-old friends.[82] Moreover, the rich and influential are courted for their favor, while the poor and connection-less are snubbed. The reasons for this, he says, are that people have learned in order to be successful in a ruthless bureaucracy they have to have friends in high places, or know people who do. They have also come to believe that the poor and friendless can only drain one's money and hurt one's image. Wáng Fú recounts the trials of being a poor scholar. (It is evident from the discussion that he is not referring to the truly destitute, but perhaps to someone like himself.) Plaguing the life of the unemployed scholar are Catch-22s such as, "If the poor do not visit others, they are regarded as arrogant, but if they come around too often, they are suspected of trying to sponge free meals."[83] He must not only endure the put-downs of his fellows, but also the complaints of his wife. If his friends are in need, he may not have the resources with which to help them, and so, even if the friendship has been long-standing, his needy friends will go elsewhere for assistance and the friendship will suffer because of it. One discovers in adversity whom one's true friends are. Wáng Fú describes the attitudes of a "common person" (súrén 俗人) towards friendship as follows:

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[82] See Qián fú lùn jiān jiàozhèng, 30.333-56; a partial translation by Lily Hwa of this essay, under the title, "Wang Fu on Friendship and Getting Ahead," is available in Chinese Civilization: A Sourcebook, 69-71.

[83] Qián fú lùn, "Jiāo jì" (Qián fú lùn jiān jiàozhèng), 30.335; trans. Lily Hwa, "Wang Fu on Friendship," 70.

> If there is advantage to be had, he will grow intimate. As his intimacy increases, he will grow in affection. As his affection increases, he will grow in thinking him correct. As his regard for him as correct increases, he will grow in thinking him worthy. If he so carelessly regards him as worthy, then he is unaware of his mind's becoming close to his, and his mouth's praising him. If there is no advantage to be had, he will grow distant. As the distance increases, he will grow in dislike. As his dislike increases, he will grow in thinking him wrong. As his regard for him as wrong increases, he will grow in thinking him wicked. If he so carelessly regards him as wicked, then he is unaware of his heart's becoming alienated from him, and his mouth's defaming him. For this reason, even if friendship with the rich and exalted is new, its tendency is to become daily more intimate, but if friendship is with the poor and humble, its tendency is to become daily more distant.[84]

This is how it is with common people, Wáng Fú writes, but as for rulers, they are completely clueless. They do not know what the foundations of friendship are and being thusly benighted, they rely on sycophants and turn a deaf ear to honest men.[85] Wáng Fú is mostly concerned with the obsequious ministers themselves. They are the ones who insure that worthy, honest men do not obtain office. They are the ones to whom the opportunistic sidle up, hoping that by ingratiating themselves with them they can obtain favors. Such sycophantic and wealthy officials are responsible for the breakdown of the integrity of friendship, and for the preference given those from powerful and influential families (fáyuè 閥閱) in making selections for office. Because

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[84] Qián fú lùn, "Jiāo jì" (Qián fú lùn jiān jiàozhèng), 30.337; cf. trans. Lily Hwa, "Wang Fu on Friendship," 70, which has omissions.

[85] Qián fú lùn, "Jiāo jì" (Qián fú lùn jiān jiàozhèng), 30.337.

of them, the humble scholar with no connections becomes friendless, and is devoid of a position for which he is deserving.[86]

Zhū Mù's "Treatise on Severing Private Associations" is short, and may only be a fragment of the original. Since the end of the extant piece refers back to a question posed in its introduction, it is conceivable that what we have is the entire work in all its brevity. It is written as a hypothetical dialogue, a common device of Hàn fù and treatises (lùn). The author's persona is asked, by an unnamed person, first, why he has broken off dealings with others, and second, if he is not concerned that by refusing contacts with others he will accrue their resentment. Most of the essay is the persona's exposition of the corruption of private associations, and hence his justification for refusing to participate any longer in such commerce.

According to the conceit of the essay, the author's persona has stopped engaging in the sorts of social obligations required of an official at the court. The interrogator asks, "You no longer go visiting, you do not receive guests, and you don't respond in kind. Why?"[87] One cannot help but think that the sorts of obligations to which Zhū Mù objects are not all that very different in kind from those of the modern official in a capital such as Washington. Such an official must entertain colleagues, dignitaries, and other notables at his or her home, and attend a host of such affairs in

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[86] Qián fú lùn, "Jiāo jì" (Qián fú lùn jiān jiàozhèng), 30.355.

[87] HHs 43.1467 n. 1.

other residences. Courtesies extended are expected to be repaid. Only a thin veneer masks this social ritual as entertainment: The real purpose of such meetings is to make connections with people who can be useful to one's career in some way. This situation is mirrored in the second-century capital of Hàn China.

Zhū Mù's persona reminisces about times that probably never were, a golden era in which all official business was carried out in open court, and all private associations, as at banquets, were conducted with the highest regard for propriety. But the times have changed, and for this reason he must forgo all private exchanges. When the interrogator suggests that others will grudge him for his aloofness, he defiantly replies, "Then I would bear their scorn!"[88] The current age, the protagonist complains, has abandoned the old protocols. He complains of the new breed of officials:

> Not sedulous as to their occupations, not fearful with respect to their ruler, they abrogate ritual to pursue it, turning their backs on the common good to follow it. In extreme cases, then it is the love of concubines; in even worse cases, it is seeking to cover up transgressions and steal a reputation, thereby providing for themselves. Duties are cast aside and rightness is dismissed, the common good is disdained and private gain is valued. They rest or toil as they please.[89]

Zhū Mù's persona then worries about what the future has in store. It used to be that integrity of character was valued: The verse from Máo shī 26, "Bó zhōu" 柏舟, "My awesome demeanor is complete and perfect. / It cannot be measured," was taken to

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[88] HHs 43.1467 n. 1.

[89] HHs 43.1467 n. 1.

heart.[90] The treatise takes a definite personal turn at this point. The protagonist, exhibiting both modesty and irony, notes that he himself cannot serve as a model for he has been unsuccessful in his official career. He laments his many deficiencies in personal conduct and public service, and proclaims his devotion to the ancient texts for the source of his redemption. He acknowledges that in his own age he lacks the hall of Confucius to which he, in his program of self-cultivation, could aspire, for Confucius had used the notion of ascending to his hall and entering the chambers as a metaphor for having raised oneself to a certain level of worthiness, talent, and knowledge.[91] Thus the protagonist asserts that he must break off private associations in order to rescue himself from the mental stagnation induced by such corrupting activity, and in that way be free to devote himself fully to self-cultivation.[92]

We should note, first of all, the irony of the author's persona referring to himself obliquely as having had an unsuccessful career ("And since I'm in want of ability, how can [the next generation] take their model here?"[93]), and being deficient in good conduct, filial devotion, and ministry service. Zhū Mù, as noted above, was said to

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[90] HHs 43.1468 n. 1, and Máo shī 26/3. In the second verse, Zhū Mù uses suàn 算 in place of Máo shī's xuǎn 選. This supports the Máo Commentary's gloss, shǔ 數 (Máo shī zhèngyì, 2A.6b).

[91] See Lúnyǔ 11/14.

[92] HHs 43.1468 n. 1.

[93] HHs 43.1468 n. 1.

have been exemplary in his conduct, even as a child, especially with regard to filial piety. His record as an official up to the 150s, just before the start of which this piece seems (according to its mention in his biography) to have been written, had been marked by a pattern of modest success and promotion. Zhū Mù seems to have thrived as an official in the provinces dealing with crises, and to have found the atmosphere at court stifling. His biography notes that a little more than ten years later, in the early 160s, when he was back at court in the secretariat (shàngshū 尚書), he was indignant at having to work alongside the palace eunuchs. They obliged him release from this indignity by slandering him. Feeling that his aspirations had been thwarted by the eunuchs, he developed malignant boils and died.[94] It is quite possible that, if this essay has any autobiographical truth to it (and we should keep in mind Barbara Herrnstein-Smith's admonition against reading a literary work as a "private meditation"), the seeds of his despair at court had been sown in the late 140s.

A more important feature of this short essay, for our purposes, is its lack of direct reference to Lǎozǐ. His affiliated treatise, "On Esteeming 'Thickness,'" as I have described it above, is oriented around key notions emanating from that work. "On Severing Private Associations," by contrast, carries no overt references to Lǎozǐ. Here, Zhū Mù's persona decries the abrogation of "ritual" and the diminishing of "rightness," key Confucian concepts that in "On Esteeming 'Thickness'" were lambasted as the

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[94] HHs 43.1472-73.

cause for the waning of the Tao. Towards the end of the essay, the protagonist states that the "times lack Confucius' hall," an old metaphor for knowledge and worthiness.[95] Has Zhū Mù made a major shift away from Lǎozǐ in this work? Insisting that Zhū Mù never intended wholesale condemnation of Confucianism is only a half-hearted defense; his approbation of the "principles" of Confucius in "On Esteeming 'Thickness'" only somewhat mitigates the extremity of his critical assaying of ritual and rightness in that work. What "On Esteeming 'Thickness'" and "On Severing Private Associations" clearly share in common is the judgment that current times are in disrepair, that officials are careless as to their responsibilities and zealous only in their pursuit of personal profit, and that private associations are fostered for self-aggrandizement. The poor and un-connected scholar is not called to service, but the wealthy and connected easily find their way into the ranks. When Zhū Mù's persona appears to deplore the lack of Confucius' hall in these troubled times, he is reiterating the failure of Confucian values as hallmarks revealing the worthiness of candidates for office. The protagonist mentions the abrogation of ritual, not so much to highlight ritual's importance as to expose its failure to manifest rightness in relationships. When he mentions the diminishment of rightness, he likewise does not necessarily value rightness as a Confucian virtue, but underscores by it how Confucian values have failed to stem the pursuit of personal gain by officials. From this perspective, when we read the statement

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[95] HHs 43.1468 n. 1.

by the author's persona that "There are ample cases of causing confusion with respect to the Tao and seeking one's private gain" 或[=惑]於道而求其私, 贍矣, we can interpret it in the light of "On Esteeming 'Thickness'" and its emphasis on Lǎozǐ.[96] The ascendancy of ritual and rightness, old Ruist values, shunted aside the Tao and virtue; ritual and rightness have failed to serve as moral guides, and there is a need to restore the "thickness" of the Tao. Moreover, private gain (sī 私) is antithetical to the universality of the Tao. One path to the restoration of virtue and the merging with the Tao, Zhū Mù seems to be suggesting in "On Severing Private Associations," is unilaterally to end one's relationships with others.[97]

We have little information about the circumstances surrounding the composition of Cài Yōng's "Treatise on Rectifying Private Associations." Fàn Yè states in the treatise to his biography of Zhū Mù that "Cài Yōng regarded Mù as genuine and self-possessing, and wrote 'Rectifying Private Associations,' expanding on his ideas in it."[98]

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[96] HHs 43.1467 n. 1.

[97] Liú Jùn 劉峻 (464-522) wrote a long essay that discusses Zhū Mù's "On Severing Private Associations" titled, "Expanding on 'On Severing Private Associations'" ("Guǎng 'Jué jiāo lùn'" 廣絕交論); for the text, see Wén xuǎn, 55.2365-80; Nán shǐ 南史, comp. Lǐ Yánshòu 李延壽 (fl. 629) (Běijīng: Zhōnghuá shūjú, 1975), 59.1456-59; Yìwén lèijù 21.397-99; Quán Liáng wén 全梁文 (in Quán Shànggǔ Sāndài Qín Hàn Sānguó Liùcháo wén), 57.6b-8b; and see Luó Guówēi's 羅國威 annotated text in Liú Xiàobiāo jí jiàozhù 劉孝標集校注 (Shànghǎi: Shànghǎi Gǔjí chūbǎnshè, 1988), 91-120.

[98] HHs 43.1474.

We also have Yuán Shānsōng's comment, mentioned at the start of this chapter, that tells us that Cài Yōng had had so much admiration for Zhū Mù's essays that he went to the elder's house to copy them for himself. At the end of "Rectifying Private Associations" Cài Yōng writes, "To sum up these two essays, the one criticizing "thinness" is broad and encompassing; the one on severing private associations shows genuineness and self-possession."[99] Hence, Cài Yōng's essay, despite its stated topic, was written with both "On Esteeming 'Thickness'" and "On Severing Private Associations" in mind.

The overall structure of this work is fairly simple; in most cases distinct shifts in topic are not easily ascertained, and so we do not speak so firmly here of sections. Like Zhū Mù in "On Esteeming 'Thickness,'" Cài Yōng widely employs antithetic parallelism ("If he becomes wealthy and influential, then he will not have a retinue suddenly gather; if he becomes destitute and lowly, then he will not have retainers who desert old friends" 富貴則無暴集之客, 貧賤則無棄舊之賓矣) and synonymous parallelism ("At present, troubled by its flowing, he blocks it at its source; distressed by its branches, he excises its roots" 今將患其流而塞其源, 病其末而刈其本). In a twist on antithetic parallelism, he creates a sort of inverse parallelism in "destitute and lowly they do not wait on the wealthy and influential; wealthy and influential they do not hold in contempt the destitute and lowly" 貧賤不待夫富貴; 富貴不驕乎貧賤, and in

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[99] CZ wàijí (Sbby), 2.9b.

"Shāng was broad-hearted, and consequently was told how to reject people; Shī was narrow-minded, and consequently was exhorted to be 'tolerant of the masses'" 商也寬, 故告之以拒人; 師也褊, 故訓之以容眾. In contrast to "On Esteeming 'Thickness,'" this treatise raises few historical allusions; two obvious literary allusions are to the same songs Zhū Mù references, Máo shī 165 and 201. Also scarce are the topic markers fú and gù that Zhū Mù repeatedly invokes. The most striking contrast is in the philosophic traditions taken up by the two treatises. We have seen how Lǎozǐ dominates the terminology and the thinking behind "On Esteeming 'Thickness'"; "Rectifying Private Associations" is equally dominated by references to ideas from that consummate Confucian text, the Lúnyǔ. This is another indication that Cài Yōng associated "On Esteeming 'Thickness'" with "On Severing Private Associations": Cài Yōng agrees with much of the latter, but argues against the theory of the former. He recognizes along with Zhū Mù the problem of private associations, yet holds faith in the possibility that Confucian principles will prevail. This is the thrust of Cài Yōng's argument up until the final, nearly concessive line.

Cài Yōng begins his treatise by contrasting the idyllic past with the corrupt present, and comments on the decline that has led to the troubling circumstances of his day. We have seen this viewpoint expressed in "On Esteeming 'Thickness'" as well; it is the standard view of history and the times by the clerisy in the Eastern Hàn. The specific focus for Cài Yōng's discussion is, as one would expect, private associations. In antiquity, friendships were maintained with respect and in propriety: "their principles

were solid and upright, their oaths trustworthy and steadfast."[100] But then in the Zhōu "virtue began to decline."[101] As mentioned in Chapter One, the Shǐ jì states that this decline began after the reign of King Kāng of Zhōu (ob. 978? B.C.), in other words, almost from the start of the dynasty.[102] Cài Yōng refers to the same tropes derived from Máo shī 165 and 201 that Zhū Mù uses, and unambiguously notes their connection to "a deficiency in governing" 政之缺也.[103] The course of this decline went on unabated to the present day, he writes.

Cài Yōng comments on how, in his times, private associations are fostered for self-gain, or are broken off whenever someone feels that they are no longer profitable, and how this situation has stimulated discussion among some scholar-officials:

> Thus officials were troubled by these circumstances, and those who discoursed on it did so inculcatingly. There are those who detest insincerity and meanness and so harbor disaffection, and there are those who loathe cronyism and partisanship and so break off private associations. Someone who discoursed on friendship said: "If it is the wealthy and influential, then others vie to hang on to them. . . . If it is the destitute and lowly, then others vie to be rid of them.[104]

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[100] CZ wàijí (Sbby), 2.8b.

[101] CZ wàijí (Sbby), 2.8b.

[102] Shǐ jì, "Zhōu běn jì," 4.134. For a Hàn-time view that an omen of this decline occurred during the reign of Kāng, see Chapter IV.

[103] CZ wàijí (Sbby), 2.8b, omits this line, but it is preserved in HHs 43.1474 n. 2.

[104] CZ wàijí (Sbby), 2.8b; citation is from Wáng Fú, Qián fú lùn, "Jiāo jì lùn" (Qián fú lùn jiān jiàozhèng), 30.333, with the variant fù 附, "to attach to," in place of qù 趣, "to hang on to."

Here Cài Yōng refers to Wáng Fú and Zhū Mù, and even cites the beginning of Wáng Fú's own essay on friendship. He names neither of them, despite the obvious connection to Zhū Mù throughout the essay. The arguments and ideas are what motivate Cài Yōng to write his own contribution to this scholarly discussion. It is almost as if the naming of contemporaries would detract from the importance of the ideas. Or perhaps Cài Yōng is protecting his brethren in the clerisy from enemies that might get a hold of his treatise by keeping their criticisms anonymous.

From here on Cài Yōng's discussion takes on a distinctly Confucian bent, discussing the way of the jūnzǐ, the "exemplary man," and making frequent allusive and direct use of the Lúnyǔ. Even the style Cài Yōng uses evokes the aphoristic structure of that work:

> Therefore, the exemplary man is prudent with respect to the way others associate with him, and judicious with respect to the way he associates with others. If he becomes wealthy and influential, then he will not have a retinue suddenly gather; if he becomes destitute and lowly, then he will not have retainers who desert old friends. Hence, finding out the reason why they come, one then knows the reason why they go. Seeing the way in which they begin, one then observes the way in which they conclude.[105]

The exemplary man is chary in making friendships, doing his utmost to insure that his relationships are grounded in rightness (yì). Should he come into a position of power, people will learn that he is impervious to flattery, and that he can see through their efforts to avail themselves of his wealth and prestige, and thus they will be discouraged

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[105] CZ wàijí (Sbby), 2.8b (this text omits gù 故, "hence"; cf. HHs 43.1475 n. 2).

by his reputation from attempting to ingratiate themselves with him. Should he be so unfortunate as to become destitute, the exemplary man, because he has chosen his friends carefully, will not become friendless. This statement is followed by a number of indirect and direct references to Lúnyǔ: "Those incorruptible cultured gentlemen [zhēnshì 貞士], destitute and lowly they do not wait on the wealthy and influential; wealthy and influential they do not hold in contempt the destitute and lowly, hence they are commendable" (cf. Lúnyǔ 1/15)[106]; "In the case of a good person, then 'as for long-standing agreements one does not neglect them though they be the words of youth'" (14/13)[107]; "In the case of a bad person, then 'faithfully admonish and skillfully instruct him. If he is incorrigible, then stop. Do not humiliate yourself in it'" (12/23)[108]; "Therefore, if the exemplary man does not do acts that can be scorned, he will not be troubled by others' forsaking him" (cf. 1/16, 4/14)[109]; "If verily he possesses virtue that can be followed, he will not be distressed over others' distancing themselves from him"

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[106] CZ wàijí (Sbby), 2.9a. Lúnyǔ 1/15 states: "Zīgōng said, 'When destitute, not be ingratiating, when wealthy, not be contemptuous, what about that?'" (cf. Legge, 144).

[107] CZ wàijí (Sbby), 2.9a.

[108] CZ wàijí (Sbby), 2.9a, citing Lúnyǔ with a few variants: Lúnyǔ has dǎo 道 ("lead" or "guide") in place of huì 誨 ("instruct") here; bù kě 不可 ("impossible") in place of fǒu 否 with no semantic change; and wú 毋 in place of wú 無, with no semantic change.

[109] CZ wàijí (Sbby), 2.9a, 不患人之不遺己也, cf. Lúnyǔ passages, "Do not be troubled by others' not knowing you" 不患人之不己知 (cf. Legge, 145, 287). Cf. also 14/32.

(cf. 15/18)[110]; "If by ill fortune this should happen, then 'he should reproach himself heavily and others lightly, and resentment will thus be kept distant'"(15/14)[111]; and "If he 'seeks it in himself' and does not 'seek it in others,' then rarely will he have been blamed" (15/20).[112] All of these Lúnyǔ references serve to explicate the "Way [or, Tao] guiding colleagues and friends" 朋友之道.[113] From this, we can glean what Cài Yōng regards as the Tao of friendship from a Confucian perspective: The exemplary man does not kowtow to the wealthy and influential nor does he treat with contempt the lowly; he keeps his word with friends (as with others); he admonishes his erring friends as far as is likely to achieve results (cf. the "birds calling" of Máo shī 165, "Fā mù," suggesting fraternal correction among friends); he concentrates on cultivating himself and maintaining his dé; he is self-reliant; and perhaps most important, his friendships are made according to what is right (yì): "If there is rightness, then they

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[110] CZ wàijí (Sbby), 2.9a. The Lúnyǔ passage reads, "He is not distressed by others' not knowing him" 不病人之不己知也 (cf. Legge, 300).

[111] CZ wàijí (Sbby), 2.9a. The Lúnyǔ passage concludes with a different grammatical structure for the last phrase: "and then you will keep distant resentment" 則遠怨矣 (cf. Legge, 299), instead of 怨其遠矣.

[112] CZ wàijí (Sbby), 2.9a. The Lúnyǔ passage states, "The Master said, 'The exemplary man seeks it in himself; the petty man seeks it in others" (cf. Legge, 300).

[113] CZ wàijí (Sbby), 2.9a.

should come together; should there lack rightness, then they should separate" 有義則合, 無義則離.[114]

One spies among these Lúnyǔ references the appearance of hòu and bó, the two terms so central to "On Esteeming 'Thickness,'" though their particular application here is different from the context in which Zhū Mù uses them: "he should reproach himself heavily and others lightly, and resentment will thus be kept distant" 躬自厚而薄責于人 怨其遠矣 (Lúnyǔ 15/14).[115] Here, the Lúnyǔ exhorts a person to be hòu towards oneself, not to be generous, magnanimous, or genuine towards oneself, but to hòuzé 厚責, to "reproach thickly" oneself; that person should also be bó towards others, which is not to say mean towards others, but to bózé 薄責 to "reproach thinly" others. This corresponds to the following lines in the treatise emphasizing the taking of personal responsibility. Thus the terms as they appear here have different connotations from the way they are used by Zhū Mù. If it were not for a line early in Cài Yōng's treatise in which he uses bó in the way Zhū Mù uses it--"There are those who detest insincerity and meanness [=bó] and so harbor disaffection"--one might almost think Cài Yōng were writing on a palimpsest of Zhū Mù's essay in which the terms hòu and bó

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[114] CZ wàijí (Sbby), 2.9a.

[115] See n. 111 for the variant forms of the final phrase.

appeared alone, orphaned of their contexts. There is also the suggestion of turning on their ends for rhetorical effect the key figures of Zhū Mù's treatise, hòu and bó.

Cài Yōng next takes up the varying views on friendship promoted by two different apostles of Confucius, Bǔ Shāng 卜商, also known as Zǐxià子夏, and Zhuānsūn Shī 顓孫師, or Zǐzhāng 子張. Basing this section on Lúnyǔ 19/3, Cài Yōng states that each of the two disciples had "his own version of what he had heard from the Master."[116] Confucius had tailored his teaching according to each disciple's mode of conduct. Thus, "Shāng was broad-hearted, and consequently was told how to reject people; Shī was narrow-minded, and consequently was exhorted to be 'tolerant of the masses.'"[117] According to the referenced Lúnyǔ passage and Xíng Bǐng's 邢昺 (932-1010) interpretation of it, Zǐxià understood Confucius' teaching as being that: if a person with whom one sought to be associated were worthy, then one ought to associate with him; if that person were not worthy, then one should reject him.[118] Zǐzhāng's view was that one honored the worthy and talented and showed great

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[116] CZ wàijí (Sbby), 2.9a.

[117] CZ wàijí (Sbby), 2.9a; the direct citation is from Lúnyǔ 1/6.

[118] "Zǐxià said, 'If he is suitable, then associate with him; if he is not suitable, then reject him'" 可者與之、其不可者拒之. Xíng Bǐng explains (Lúnyǔ zhùshū, 19.1b): "Zǐxià says about the Way of forming associations: If that person is worthy and is someone who can be associated with, then associate with him; if he is not worthy and he is not someone who can be associated with, then reject him."

benignity towards all others.[119] Cài Yōng sees value in both positions. He says, citing Lúnyǔ 1/6, that "the true teaching of Confucius" is that "one 'should have broad care for the masses and make friends of the noble.'" Thus, the exemplary man is tolerant of all, but makes friends of only the worthy. The purpose of friendship is to further the project of self-cultivation, and thus one seeks out worthies who can be useful to that process. According to Lúnyǔ 12/24: "Zēngzǐ said, 'The exemplary man takes up refinement in meeting with friends, and by means of his friends assists his nobility'" 曾子曰君子以文會友, 以友輔仁. With the same passage in mind Cài Yōng writes, "To be sure, unless one is good he does not like him; unless one is noble he does not make him a friend. In making friends, one does so by means of rectitude, and in meeting with friends, one does so by means of refinement: This can be without blame."[120]

Returning to the subject of making a name for oneself, which Zhū Mù addresses at the end of "On Esteeming 'Thickness,'" and which was of enormous importance to the clerisy in late Eastern Hàn China, Cài Yōng cites the Gǔliáng zhuàn, which says, "If minds and aims are already known to one another, but names and reputations have not

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[119] "Zǐzhāng said, 'The exemplary man honors the worthy and is tolerant of the masses; he praises the excellent and feels sorry for the untalented'" 君子尊賢而容眾, 嘉善而矜不能.

[120] CZ wàijí (Sbby), 2.9b.

yet been made known to others, it is the fault of friends."[121] This is to say that if one assiduously practices self-cultivation with worthy friends, and one's reputation has not been established, then one's friends have been negligent. Thus it seems that a responsibility of friendship is to assist one's friends, being worthies, in establishing and spreading their names.

Cài Yōng concludes his essay by criticizing Zhū Mù's decision to forgo all private associations. Zhū Mù has determined that because such associations are corrupt it is best to abstain from them altogether. Cài Yōng, for his part, has demonstrated the importance of friendship within the Confucian program of self-cultivation. Zhū Mù has determined that such self-cultivation is better pursued through reflection on ancient texts, "examining over and over the ancient words in order to repair past transgressions."[122] Cài Yōng thinks that Zhū Mù has gone too far: "At present, troubled by its flowing, he blocks it at its source, distressed by its branches, he excises its roots."[123] Just because many private associations are corrupt, Cài Yōng says, does not mean relationships with worthy people cannot be established. He invokes a lengthier analogy: Forgoing all friendships because some, even many, private

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[121] CZ wàijí (Sbby), 2.9b, citing Gǔliáng zhuàn, Zhāo 19; Cài Yōng's text omits the ér 而 of the received Gǔliáng zhuàn text.

[122] HHs 43.1468 n. 1.

[123] CZ wàijí (Sbby), 2.9b.

associations are corrupt, is like sowing all glutinous millet and hoping that only regular panicled millet grows. (Glutinous millet was used for making ale; common millet can be cooked and eaten.) Both kinds of millet can be used in sacifices and both are counted among the "Five Grains." If one were to reject all private associations, then that would be like doing away with glutinous millet, one of the fine grains of the legendary ruler Shénnóng 神農![124] To invoke a worn cliché, don't throw the baby out with the bath water! Cài Yōng's meaning seems to be that only by sowing friendship can one have great friendships, the kind that sustain the project of self-cultivation. He implies that other personal associations, aside from those with the corrupt, have value as well and should not be dismissed lightly. Therefore, one ought carefully to cultivate personal relationships, and make friends with only the worthy; because there are numerous unworthy men does not mean that one should do away with all private associations.

Despite this final exhortation not to abandon private associations, Cài Yōng ends his treatise with a couple of comments that appear to reach towards an accommodation with Zhū Mù's views. The first praises the two works by Zhū Mù that have been discussed above, "On Esteeming 'Thickness'" and "On Severing Private Associations": "the one criticizing "thinness" is broad and encompassing; the one on severing private associations shows genuineness and self-possession."[125] The second

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[124] See n. 33 of Appendix E.

[125] CZ wàijí (Sbby), 2.9b.

comment begins as an elaboration upon this: "To be 'self-possessing' means having the integrity of lambs and sheep."[126] This seems to be an oblique reference to Máo shī 18, "Gāo yáng" 羔羊 ("Lambs and Sheep"), about which the "Lower Preface" states, "The lands of Shàonán transformed the sociopolitical order of King Wén, and all in the ranks possessed integrity and frugality, rectitude and uprightness, virtue like lambs and sheep."[127] There is also a relevant note by Zhèng Xuán 鄭玄 (127-200 C.E.) in his commentary to the Yí lǐ 儀禮 in which he states that "Lambs select their leaders, and dwell in flocks, but do not form cliques."[128] Cài Yōng elevates gū 孤, self-sufficiency or self-possession, to a merit that has transforming power. This contrasts with Lúnyǔ 4/23 which states, "Virtue is not gū [here, perhaps, "solitary"], but invariably has neighbors." Dé, as I have discussed above, is the epitome of integration. From the Confucian perspective, integration with the whole, the Tao, is made possible through rén, "nobility" or "humaneness." As I have also discussed above, Lúnyǔ 12/24 states, "The exemplary man . . . takes up friends to assist his nobility."[129] Thus, Lúnyǔ 4/23 is about the relationship of virtue to friendship. Worthies seek one another out to form

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[126] CZ wàijí (Sbby), 2.9b.

[127] Máo shī zhèngyì, 1D.13a.

[128] "Shì xiāng jiàn lǐ" (Yí lǐ zhùshū), 7.7a.

[129] See David L. Hall and Roger T. Ames, Thinking Through Confucius, 222.

friendships, thus dé or virtue is not solitary.[130] There is in this Lúnyǔ passage nothing to recommend self-possession, only the program of self-cultivation that is aided by friendship. Cài Yōng's praise of self-possession is something of a departure, then, from the general orientation of his treatise. This departure is reiterated in the final line of this comment and the piece as a whole: "If it is a matter of rectifying the times after having failed to succeed, then this mere lackey would rather adopt self-possession."[131] Cài Yōng's parting statement is that if, because the times are wrong, he as a worthy candidate could not secure an office whereby he could serve the state, then rather than risk his life to rescue the times, he would adopt Zhū Mù's self-possession. Cài Yōng has acknowledged in this piece the sociopolitical decline that has resulted in the dire state of affairs of the late second century. In the 150s he has still to emerge from his studies and seek office for himself; after the coup of 159 he adopts that self-possession having become determined to withdraw from the world for a time, and to put off seeking office.

In Zhū Mù and Cài Yōng we have two literary figures of the late Eastern Hàn who recognize the seriousness of the problems at court and in the realm at large. Both members of the clerisy, and both with very similar views about the sorts of practical issues that they feel need to be addressed, depart from each other--at least insofar as

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[130] See Xíng Bīng's subcommentary Lúnyǔ zhùshū, 4.5b.

[131] CZ wàijí (Sbby), 2.9b.

these treatises are concerned--with respect to their understanding of the proper solutions to these problems. Cài Yōng, a young man with no experience of the court, takes the more orthodox approach, making a strong case for the ideas embodied in Lúnyǔ, even if, at the end of his piece, he concedes that the times may be so awry that the Confucian program cannot be realized in the best way possible. Zhū Mù, his senior, has already seen the limitations of Confucian values at a corrupt court, and has taken a profound interest in ideas from Lǎozǐ, a text that garners a resurgence of interest at this time. Thus the older generation, before the kairotic epoch of 159-192 has even gotten underway, anticipates the coming crisis by looking to address its causes with ideas from newly fashionable old texts, while the younger generation, still hopeful that the crisis can be averted, defends the state orthodoxy. For the first decade of the kairotic epoch, scholars continue to be interested in Lǎozǐ, but in the final decades of the epoch it is the deified figure of the elusive Lǎozǐ that ultimately has more of an impact on the course of peoples' lives. As texts, Lǎozǐ and Zhuāngzǐ will reemerge in the third century philosophical revival, a profoundly important development of the new era.

We have in the treatises examined in this chapter a different sort of kairotic literature from that discussed in the previous chapter: Within these works predictions of dynastic collapse are suggested, but tentative. Nonetheless, these treatises, by evaluating the present in terms of ideas rooted in old philosophical works, Lǎozǐ and Lúnyǔ, by suggesting cracks in the bulwark of the Confucian state orthodoxy, and furthermore, by anticipating the philosophical revival of the new era, are also distinctive

examples of what I have termed kairotic literature. In the next chapter, we will look at a far different sort of kairotic literature, a literature that reflects a "sense of an ending" primarily by the fact that they were written at all.

CHAPTER IV

A SEASON FOR BOLDNESS: "JOYFUL YET NOT WANTON"?

> 子夏問曰巧笑倩兮, 美目盼兮, 素以為絢兮,何謂也? 子曰繪事後素. 曰禮後乎? 子曰起予者商也. 始可與言詩已矣.
>
> (Zǐxià asked, "'Her alluring smile madder-red, / Her lovely eyes well defined, / The plain base is to be colored': to what does that refer?"
> The Master said, "The act of making up comes after the plain base."
> "So ritual also comes after?"
> The Master said, "It's you who gets at my meaning, Shāng. Now I can discuss the Songs with you.")
>
> Lúnyǔ 論語 3/8

In the previous two chapters we have seen how historical and philosophical retrospection in the fin de siècle led to the recognition of dynastic decline and the challenging of the ideological orthodoxy at the court. We have examined these two themes as they appeared in literature written around the time of the kairotic epoch of 159-192 C.E. The following pages treat a very different sort of literature of this era: Cài Yōng's short humorous or lyrical fù on unorthodox subject matter. We have no contemporary documents that shed light on why such works were written in these

times. I suggest that it is another manifestation of the fin-de-siècle phenomenon. This chapter explores a few possible reasons for the appearance of this literature, examines some representative works (and an important contemporary rebuttal of one of them), and explains how they, too, may be regarded as a kind of kairotic literature.

At the beginning of the present study (1.4), I noted that this epoch was characterized by an expansion of literary activity. This flourishing of letters included the first examples in Chinese literary history of author-specific, direct lyrical expression; the first piece that I analyzed, Cài Yōng's "Fù Recounting a Journey" is the earliest clear indication from a Chinese poet that he writes for the purpose of "revealing my hidden feelings."[1] Another development is that in the late Hàn, the preeminence of the long, epideictic fù gave way to the short, lyrical fù. The topics of these works included some that were rarely entertained in the past. Most striking of these are pieces on women and sexuality, topics that had been previously treated in the fù genre, though never so conspicuously as at this time.[2] What is the reason for these literary developments--one might say the appearance of a true belles-lettres--in the fin de siècle of the late Eastern Hàn? A few possibilities will be entertained below: the emergence of

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[1] CZj (Sbby), "Wàijì," 5a.

[2] It is possible that this is an accident of preservation, but I think it more likely that the relatively large number of extant semi-erotic works from the late Eastern Hàn suggests an even greater number of similar, and perhaps bolder, works were lost to posterity.

individual literary sensibilities, a shift in the hub of the dominant literary activity, and a rise of a decadence that is presumed to attend the fall of all great empires.

4.1 Reasons for the Expansion of "Belles-lettres" in the "Fin de siècle"

The emergence of the individual. Since one important characteristic of some late Hàn fù is their apparent expression of the personal sentiments of the writer, we need to entertain the notion that this phenomenon reflects a new awareness of the self as an individual distinct and with some measure of autonomy from society and its expectations. Indeed, in recent years it has been fashionable among scholars, both in the West as well as in the East, to attribute the development of an "individualism" to Chinese late antiquity and early medieval society.[3] Why is this? Traditional Chinese society, it is commonly known, places great emphasis on the propriety of relationships between family members, friends and associates, and superiors and inferiors. The social structure encourages orthodox thinking and behavior patterns that maintain the integrity of these ties, while discouraging attempts to subvert the primacy of these relationships. Thus, the behavior of members of this society by and large appears to be conservative, that is, in favor of the status quo, wherein the needs of the individual are either met or shunted aside by the demands of the community. Thus, within this sort of society, any developments that spotlight the one among the many might suggest individualism. In

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[3] See Chapter I, n. 54, and below.

the Eastern Hàn, and continuing on to the Jiàn'ān and Wèi-Jìn (220-420 C.E.) periods, there was clearly a new focus on individuals and their character and moral traits. This situation was occasioned by factional conflict and the weakening of the center's orthodoxy and political stability. Some scholars have concluded that the sudden prominence of individuals and the celebration of their traits are the manifestation of a new dimension to the social order, the rise of a Chinese individualism that distinguishes the society of antiquity from that of early medieval times.

One of the most prominent scholars to suggest the rise of an individualism at this time is Yü Ying-shih. Yü notes several features of emergent individualism in the Jiàn'ān and Wèi-Jìn periods, features that first appeared in the late second century. I discussed one of these in the last chapter: the concern for the preservation of the body that evolved out of (or into) the renewed interest in Lǎozǐ. This may be seen to have elevated the importance of the individual over that of society as a whole. Yü quotes Mǎ Róng as saying, "The individual life of man is indeed more cherishable than the entire world. It is not in accord with the teaching of Lǎozǐ and Zhuāngzǐ to risk my priceless life on account of a negligible moral point."[4]

Another trait of individualism, Yü states, was the prizing of yì 異, "singularity," over tóng 同, "identity" or "sameness." He quotes a certain Dài Liáng 戴良, a recluse

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[4] HHs 60A.1953, cited in "Individualism and the Neo-Taoist Movement," 125 (romanization altered).

of the late second century, who said, "I stand alone in the world, and none is qualified to be my peer" 獨步天下, 誰與為偶; a contemporary, Liú Liáng 劉梁 (ob. ca. 180), says that "all faults arise from identity [i.e., conformity]" 失由同起.[5] This attitude was reflected in outrageous or eccentric behavior (see below).

Yü devotes quite a bit of attention to what he terms "characterology" as a manifestation of individualism. "Characterology" was the selection of candidates for office on the basis of certain values deemed desirable in an officeholder, such as "Filially Pious and Incorrupt" (Xiào-lián). In the late second century a different form of characterology was practiced by the students at the Academy in the composition of "pure judgments" (qīngyì 清議); I have briefly discussed both forms of "characterology" in Chapter I.[6]

Yet another phenomenon mentioned by Yü is the rise in the popularity of portrait paintings, icons that were intended to be "morally inspiring."[7] We know that Cài Yōng wrote inscriptions for such paintings, e.g., the "Encomium for a Painting of Five Generations of Marquises of Chìquán" ("Chìquán hóu wǔshì xiàng zàn"

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[5] HHs, "Yímín lièzhuàn," 83.2773, and "Wényuàn lièzhuàn," 80B.2636, cited in trans. in "Individualism and the Neo-Taoist Movement," 126. My gloss in brackets.

[6] "Individualism and the Neo-Taoist Movement," 126. Yü Ying-shih alludes to the two forms of "characterology" without making so explicit a distinction as I have.

[7] "Individualism and the Neo-Taoist Movement," 126-27.

赤泉侯五世像贊) of 189 C.E., the portrait of which he may have painted as well.[8] Images were made of Cài Yōng, too, for his biography states that after his death, "In every place between Yǎn Region 兗州 and Chénliú they painted his portrait and eulogized him."[9]

Finally, Yü suggests that the movement towards direct lyrical expression in literature was also an indication of this rising individualism. He states that "a new chapter in Chinese literature was clearly inaugurated" with the decline of the "predominantly political" fù genre, and the rise of lyric shī 詩 poetry; I would maintain

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[8] The text is no longer extant. See Tàipíng yùlǎn, 750.10a, which records a fragment from the Shù huà jì 述畫記 (ca. 502-520; not extant) of Sūn Chàngzhī 孫暢之 that states that Cài Yōng was commissioned by Emperor Líng to paint the portrait and write the inscription. Zhāng Yànyuǎn 張彥遠, in his Lìdài mínghuà jì 歷代名畫記 (ca. 847 C.E.) (Běijīng: Rénmín měishù chūbǎnshè, 1963), 4.102 (see trans. and annotator, William R. B. Acker, Some T'ang and Pre-T'ang Texts on Chinese Painting, vol. 2, Chang Yen-yüan, "Li tai ming hua chi," Chapters IV-X, Part 1, Translation and Annotations, Sinica Leidensia Edidit Institutum Sinologicum Lugduno Batavum, vol. 12 (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1974), 12, states that Cài Yōng's painting, calligraphy and encomia (zàn 讚) were collectively known as "The Three Perfections" (Sānměi 三美). In a paper titled, "Grave Thoughts from Later Han," given at the Western Branch Meeting of the American Oriental Society, October 21-22, 1994, at Portland State University, Chauncey S. Goodrich made a good case for Cài Yōng's having painted portraits.

[9] HHs 60B.2006; trans. Asselin, "The Hou Han shu Biography of Cai Yong," 199. In n. 441, also on p. 199, I give this example of an inscription on a portrait of Cài Yōng: "His writing was as good as Sānlǚ's [Qū Yuán]; his filiality was equal to Shēn and Qiān [Confucius' disciples, Zēngshēn 曾參 and Mǐn Zǐqián 閔子騫]" 文同三閭、孝齊參騫. See Shěn Qīnhán 沈欽韓 (1775-1832), Hòu Hàn shū shūzhèng 後漢書疏證 (Hángzhōu: Zhèjiāng guān shūjú, 1900), 7.36a, citing a "Yōng biézhuàn" 邕別傳 passage preserved in Lǐ Fǎng (925-996) et al., Tàipíng guǎngjì 太平廣記 (Táiběi: Xīnxìng shūjú, 1958), 4:1161.

that direct lyrical expression in Chinese literature occurs first in the fù, and continues on in both shī poetry and in parallel prose, and that in any case the decline of the fù genre and the rise of shī is not so clearly delineated as the collapse of the Hàn and the building of new political structures on its ruins.[10]

Yü Ying-shih argues that all of these phenomena, the preservation of the self, the valuing of being "different," "characterology," the development of portraiture, and the emergence of direct lyrical expression, are manifestations of an individualism comparable to that said to characterize the Renaissance man. Yü quotes a noted historian of Renaissance Italy in making his claim:

> Jacob Burckhardt points out that in the Middle Ages, "man was conscious of himself only as a member of race, people, party, family, or corporation--only through some general category." It was in Renaissance Italy that man first "became a spiritual individual, and recognized himself as such." Almost the same can be said of the spiritual transition from Han collectivism to Wei-Chin individualism, for the breakdown of Confucian ritualism at the end of the Han was also closely linked to the self-discovery of the individual.[11]

Restricting the meaning of individualism to "the self-discovery of the individual" mitigates somewhat the problem of applying the term to late second-century, Jiàn'ān, and Wèi-Jìn Chinese society, for "individualism" in the West has come to mean much more than the Renaissance man's recognition of himself as "a spiritual individual."

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[10] "Individualism and the Neo-Taoist Movement," 127.

[11] "Individualism and the Neo-Taoist Movement," 125, citing Burckhardt, The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy, trans. S. G. C. Middlemore (London: Phaidon Press, 1951), 81.

In a recent article, Michael Nylan convincingly refutes the idea that late Hàn and Wèi-Jìn society valued individualism. She takes issue with the borrowing of the Western concept of "individualism" to describe phenomena that are at odds with our usual understanding of traditional Chinese society. After pointing out that the term "individualism" was coined by Alexis de Tocqueville, she describes what the concept has come to mean in the West:

> Individualism in the European and American tradition presupposes that the individual, who is an end in himself, is of supreme value, society being only a means to individual ends; that all individuals are in some sense moral equals, so that no person should be treated simply as the means to another's happiness; and that individual interests are best served by allowing the adult maximum freedom, privacy and responsibility, since each adult is the best judge and promoter of his own interests. Society becomes, on this view, merely a collection of individuals, each of whom is ideally a self-contained and nearly self-sufficient entity.[12]

Individualism is as central to modern Western society as the primacy of human relationships is to traditional Chinese society. Whatever social phenomena can be observed of late Hàn and Wèi-Jìn society, "individualism" cannot appropriately be used to describe them: These circumstances did not subvert the primacy of right relationships.[13]

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[12] "Confucian Piety and Individualism in Han China," 25.

[13] Arguably, pieces like Cài Yōng's "Fù "Recounting a Journey" and Zhào Yī's "Fù on Satirizing the Age, Detesting Iniquity" are subversive insofar as they criticize the emperor (and more so if they suggest, as I think, that the dynasty may have lost its mandate to rule). I tend to think that they were not so subversive for the reason that, Lǐ Yún's case notwithstanding, there seems to have been some tolerance for criticism of the emperor, though an attack on one of the other factions was indeed hazardous. Cài Yōng's piece, as I discussed in Chapter II, was written as a demonstration of

Nylan addresses the various manifestations of what is sometimes regarded as facets of individualism in late Hàn and Wèi-Jìn China and identifies their proper provenances. One manifestation was eccentric behavior; an example Nylan gives is from Yīng Shào's 應劭 (ca. 203 C.E.) account of Zhào Zhòngràng 趙仲讓: Zhào was an official under Liáng Jì who was known to strip his clothes in broad daylight to sleep naked in the courtyard.[14] Nylan attributes such eccentricities to the desire by certain members of the clerisy to distinguish themselves from the common crowd, who "fulfilled conventional expectations of virtue," and from the corrupt, who only feigned adherence to orthodox values. These literati also wished to demonstrate to their clients the "'transparency' (i.e., 'unmediated' nature) of their feelings and motives" and in that way nurture their trust.

Nylan states that another manifestation of this supposed "individualism" was the Academy students' identification and promotion of heroes among the clerisy as paradigms of certain ideal qualities. She points out that their epigrammatic critiques, the "pure judgments," far from celebrating the individual, were in fact a device by a highly visible segment of the clerisy to distinguish the clerisy from the other classes in

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his literary skill and moral worth, and was unlikely to contain material offensive to respected members of the clerisy.

[14] "Confucian Piety and Individualism in Han China," 22, citing Yīng Shào, Fēng sú tōng yì 風俗通義, "Guò yù" (Fēng sú tōng yì jiāo zhù, comp. and annotator, Wáng Lìqì 王利器 [Běijīng: Zhōnghuá shūjú, 1981]), 4.203.

Eastern Hàn society. One way to develop group cohesion, Nylan rightly points out, is define one's group in "opposition to other powerful groups." In other words, these critiques served to further group ties, not the freedom of the individual.[15]

One other mark of so-called "individualism," Nylan states, is the emergence of "local modes of poetry and music." More and more works were no longer being composed at and for the central court, but away from the court for the private consumption of friends and associates. Nylan attributes this to the weakening of the court, a decline that resulted in the inability of the center to control the modes and subject matter of expression.[16] In Nylan's view, this development should not be regarded as symptomatic of emergent individualism. She writes, "According to one study, the very poems we label as most 'individualistic' (i.e., 'highly personal') are precisely those that rely most heavily upon the citation of classical (i.e., Han and pre-Han) sources."[17] Nylan suggests that such works are not really individualistic since they participate in and further a tradition.

I would respond that the classicism of a work--whether referring to a composition's language or to the use of allusions to classical texts--has ultimately no

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[15] "Confucian Piety and Individualism in Han China," 24.

[16] "Confucian Piety and Individualism in Han China," 24.

[17] "Confucian Piety and Individualism in Han China," 25, referring to Christopher Leigh Connery's "Jian'an Poetic Discourse" (Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 1991).

more relevance to the individuality of the poetic voice than the use of language and a writing system do, all being aspects of cultural continuity. I have written in Chapter Two that Cài Yōng's "Recounting a Journey" was composed, at least in part, as a resumé of his talent, a demonstration of his knowledge of literary and political history, and as an exposition of his skills as a writer. I have also raised Barbara Herrnstein-Smith's caveat against regarding a poem as a "private meditation"; that it represents only one version of what the poet might say. But neither classicism nor the limitations of a poem's defining the poet denies the poet a voice in his composition. Cài Yōng employs language and allusions from antique sources, and thus participates in a tradition, yet still creates something new that he explicitly states (and we have no reason to discount his claim) to represent his feelings about a specific set of circumstances. Zhào Yī's fù shies away from classical allusions; I would claim that his piece is even more intensely personal than Cài Yōng's. It follows from these examples that furthering a tradition and having an independent poetic voice are neither mutually exclusive, nor are they interdependent. When Nylan goes on to state that "To follow in the tradition of Ch'ü Yüan [Qū Yuán] advertised one's nobility, then; it did not necessarily serve as a reliable guide to the poet's innermost feelings," she makes a valid point (one that is in line with Hernnstein-Smith), but this caveat overlooks the possibility that, despite this apparent limitation, the poet's personality and sensibility

even so has the potential to be expressed.[18] Insofar as the term "lyrical" addresses the feelings of an individual writer, I think it is appropriate to refer to the sensibilities of individuals without characterizing these emergent sensibilities as an indication of a new individualism.

By Nylan's definition, the Western concept of individualism is wholly unsuited to describing social developments within the clerisy class at the end of the late Hàn. Clearly, Yü Ying-shih and Michael Nylan argue from different perspectives on the meaning of individualism. For Yü it is "the self-discovery of the individual," whereas for Nylan it is an ideology of the "supreme value" of the individual. It is best to follow Nylan and not regard this phenomenon as "individualism."

A view prevalent in current fù studies in China is that literature at this time reveals "self-awareness" (zìjué 自覺). This view was originally espoused by Lǔ Xùn with regard to the Jiàn'ān; others subsequently pushed the date back to the late Eastern Hàn, and most recently, to the Western Hàn.[19] This is, at its best, an attempt to describe the significant developments of direct lyrical expression, the flourishing of a wide variety of literary types and themes, and the newly emerging sophisticated understanding of literary creation. Unfortunately, the concept of "self-awareness" has

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[18] "Confucian Piety and Individualism in Han China," 25.

[19] Lǔ Xùn, "Wèi Jìn fēngdù wénzhāng yǔ yào jí jiǔ zhī guānxì," in Lǔ Xùn quánjí, 3: 491; Gōng Kèchāng, "Hàn fù--wénxué zìjué shídài de qǐdiǎn," 67-75.

been consistently linked to individualism. I have stated above how Yü Ying-shih describes individualism as "the self-discovery of the individual"; about "characterology" he states that it "must have contributed immensely to the growth of self-awareness of the individual during and after the last decades of Han China"; in noting the beginnings of personal correspondence and poetic exchange in the Jiàn'ān period (these developments actually began much earlier), he states that they are also forms "in which individual self-awareness manifested itself."[20] Clearly, Yü views individualism and self-awareness as integrally related, if not identical. Yet one wonders if there can there be any literary activity without self-awareness. Writing about scholarship on ancient Greek lyric poetry, W. R. Johnson states:

> It was once fashionable to suggest that the Greek lyricists discovered or invented the concept of the self. That was not an absurd suggestion, but it was misguided. Long before selves began trying to record the fact or the nuances of selfhood, back in the irrecoverable, inconceivable strangeness of times and places without the means or the need for trying to make experience permanent by setting it down, there were people who had skins and names and selves, and all these people, like us, were worried and pleased by the gift of selfhood.[21]

The quality of self-awareness is a trait that distinguishes humanity. Is it reasonable, then, to expect that it was only at the cusp of the medieval world that poets first became self-aware? Far better to suggest that the literature at this time manifests an individual

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[20] "Individualism and the Neo-Taoist Movement," 126, 129.

[21] The Idea of Lyric, 74-75.

or personal sensibility that reflects the fin de siècle and hence distinguishes it from the writings of earlier times.[22]

The shift in the center of literary activity. Literature in the Western Hàn was primarily composed at the imperial court, or at one of the satellite courts of the kingdoms, for the amusement and edification of the emperor and the kings. Court literature remained dominant throughout much of the Hàn, but an important new trend arose in the fin de siècle. Roughly during the time of the kairotic epoch of 159-192 C.E., with the breakdown in the potency of the central court to control literary production, court literature existed side-by-side with literature written to be appreciated not by the emperor and his minions, but by other members of the clerisy. We have evidence that literature was circulated: In the previous chapter I noted that Cài Yōng is said to have travelled to Zhū Mù's home in order to make copies of Zhū's essays. Later in this chapter we will see another piece of evidence for the circulation of literature in these times. Eva Chung, in her exhaustive study of the shū 書 (letter)

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[22] Xǔ Jié is another recent scholar to promote this idea of "self-awareness" in literature in the late Hàn fin de siècle. To his great credit, Xǔ Jié develops his theory meticulously and at length, and consequently makes an invaluable contribution to studies of the literature of this period. Xǔ Jié credits the "awakening" (juéxǐng 覺醒) of literature to the prior "awakening" of the individual in the late Hàn, which, as I have stated above, I find erroneous. He ascribes the rising of individual consciousness to the awakened consciousness of the clerisy as a class, which in turn promoted the liberation of literary thought. Xǔ Jié carefully analyzes the various features of late Eastern Hàn literature that suggest a special sensibility peculiar to the poets of the era. See Hàndài wénxué sīxiǎngshǐ, Chapter Six, "Juéxǐngqí" 覺醒期 ("The Period of Awakening"), 346-407, especially 347, 354.

genre, cites a preserved fragment of a letter by Zhāng Huàn 張奐 (104-181) to a certain writer surnamed Yīn 陰, in which he says "your literary writing is bright and luxurious. I will hold your writing and read it wherever I go. Till the paper is torn and the ink fades, I will not separate it from my hand."[23] Besides providing another proof of literary exchange, this letter indicates the use of a new technology that undoubtedly facilitated the practice.

What encouraged the growth of the circulation of literary works was a crucial technological development: the invention of paper, or more accurately, refinements to rudimentary papermaking techniques that made paper a viable alternative to the usual writing materials of bamboo and silk. Though a sort of paper was evidentally in existence for centuries, an Eastern Hàn eunuch, Cài Lún 蔡倫 (ob. 121, no apparent relation to Cài Yōng), according to his official biography, is credited with the innovation of using in papermaking "the bark of trees, remnants of hemp, rags of cloth and fishing nets." He presented his idea to the great acclaim of the emperor in 105 C.E. As "silk was expensive and bamboo heavy," paper soon became an attractive alternative writing material.[24] Tsien Tsuen-hsuin states that "the quality of paper during the later

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[23] "A Study of the Shu (Letters) of the Han Dynasty (206 B.C.-A.D. 220)," 208; for the Chinese text of this letter fragment, see Quán Hòu Hàn wén, 64.3a.

[24] HHs, "Huànzhě lièzhuàn," 78.2513; trans. in Joseph Needham, Science and Civilisation in China (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), vol. 5, Chemistry and Chemical Technology, Part I: Paper and Printing by Tsien Tsuen-hsuin, 35, 40.

part of the second century A.D. must have been greatly improved, with variety of selection for artistic purposes. At the same time, the cost of manufacture was considerably reduced, so that henceforth paper became a popular material for writing."[25] Tsien cites a letter by Cuī Yuán 崔瑗 (ob. 143) who wrote to his friend Gé Yuánfǔ 葛元甫, "I am sending you the works by Xǔzǐ in ten rolls. Being unable to afford a copy of silk, I provide only a paper copy."[26] This nearly revolutionary development no doubt contributed to the growth of literary exchange.[27]

Another cultural development to contribute to this growth was the amassing of private libraries, a practice that may have become more common with improvements in paper production.[28] The imperial libraries of the Hàn are famous, but less well known is the existence of private collections of books. Cài Yōng was the owner of a prodigious collection; according to one account, he had a ten thousand-juàn library.[29]

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[25] Tsuen-hsuin Tsien, Written on Bamboo and Silk: The Beginnings of Chinese Books and Inscriptions (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1962), 138.

[26] Tsien, Written on Bamboo and Silk, 138 (rom. altered); for the Chinese text of this fragment, see Yú Shìnán 虞世南 (A.D. 558-638), comp., Běitáng shūchāo 北堂書鈔, collation and notes by Kǒng Guǎngtáo 孔廣陶 (Nánhǎi: Kǒng shì sānshíyǒusānwànjuàn táng [Woodblock], 1888), 104.5a.

[27] On improvements to paper technology and their impact on late Eastern Hàn book culture, see Tsien, Written on Bamboo and Silk, 135-38, and Paper and Printing, 1-2, 40-42, 85-86.

[28] Gǔ Yàchéng 谷亞成 and Zhāng Fāngméi 張芳梅, "Qín Hàn sījiā cángshū lüèshù" 秦漢私家藏書略述, Xīběi dàxué bào 22.2 (1992): 118.

[29] Zhāng Huá 張華 (232-300), Bó wù zhì 博物志 (Csjc), 4.26; see also "Qín Hàn sījiā cángshū lüèshù," 116; K. T. Wu, "Libraries and Book-collecting in China before the Invention of

This he is said to have bequeathed Wáng Càn 王粲 (177-217), the talented young poet with whom he was very impressed.[30] Other than the fact that such libraries existed, we have little information about them. It is reasonable to expect that such collections existed in part to store not only copies of great works of the past, but also contemporary literature. In a recent article on private libraries in the Qín and Hàn periods, Gǔ Yàchéng 谷亞成 and Zhāng Fāngméi 張芳梅 state, "Since many of the private book collectors were scholars, some of the books they collected were their own works, and some were those they had copied and collated themselves."[31]

Court literature, it should be stressed, did not simply disappear: Official writing, which the Chinese have traditionally treated as literature along with belles-lettres, increased in stature at this time; its importance is reflected in Cài Yōng's classification of some types of official writing in one of the earliest extant examples of Chinese literary theory.[32] Moreover, the School at the Gate of the Vast Capital (see Chapter I),

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Printing," T'ien Hsia Monthly, 5 (1937): 246, cited in Tsuen-hsuin Tsien, Written on Bamboo and Silk, 15.

[30] See Wáng Càn's biography in Sānguó zhì, Wèi shū, 21.597, and "Qín Hàn sījiā cángshū lüèshù,"116. Another tradition has it that 4,000 juàn passed into the hands of Cài Yōng's daughter, Cài Yǎn 蔡琰 (ca. 178-post 206, or ca. 170-ca. 215), but that these were all lost; see HHs, "Lièn ǚ zhuàn," 84.2801.

[31] "Qín Hàn sījiā cángshū lüèshù," 118.

[32] See his Dú duàn, in CZ wàijí (Sbby), 4.3b-5b.

which was vociferously opposed by Cài Yōng and others of his class, was established in part to demonstrate the court's valuing of skills like official writing, fù composition, and calligraphy in selecting candidates for office. (As we have seen earlier, the eunuchs had proposed this school to stem the influence of the clerisy's Academy.) The School at the Gate of the Vast Capital, it seems, ultimately had little impact on the subsequent course of literature except insofar as it encouraged the clerisy to seek a substitute audience for their creative compositions, i.e., to write for themselves. In other words, there is no evidence that, even though the court was in disarray through much of the epoch of 159-192, court culture came to an end; rather, it continued in a way considered too precious by prominent members of the clerisy, who increasingly turned to writing for one another. In the next chapter, we will see how another social phenomenon, undue emphasis on filial piety and the attendant practice of lavish burial, provided another venue for literary activity away from the court, the writing of stele inscriptions.

The writing of literature by the clerisy for the clerisy arguably marks the birth of belles-lettres in China, for by writing for other members of one's class, one was, in a way, writing for oneself and for the purpose of self-expression. This notion is not without difficulties. For one thing, such a view suggests that writing prior to this kairotic epoch, i.e., court literature, was entirely didactic or utilitarian, a point impossible to defend. In Chapter One, for instance, I mentioned Yáng Xióng's complaint that fù was ineffective as an instrument of suasion. Moreover, there are Hàn

works predating the fin de siècle that were obviously written primarily for pleasure, e.g., "Fù on the Gāotáng Shrine" ("Gāotáng fù" 高唐賦), "Fù on the Goddess" ("Shénnǚ fù" 神女賦) and "Fù on the Lechery of Master Dēngtú" ("Dēngtúzǐ hàosè fù" 登徒子好色賦), all attributed to Sòng Yù 宋玉 (fl. 3rd c. B.C.E.) [33]; "Fù on the Beautiful One" ("Měirén fù" 美人賦), attributed to Sīmǎ Xiāngrú[34]; and Fù Yì's 傅毅 (ca. 47-92 C.E.) "Fù on Dance" ("Wǔ fù" 舞賦).[35] Nonetheless, if these fù served to entertain and, further, if we regard what satisfies the need for entertainment as having utility, then these works may be considered essentially a type of utilitarian literature. The moving of the center of the clerisy's non-official literary activity from the court to class-based exchange seems correlated to the development of genres, to the use of a wider, bolder array of subject matter, and to the emergence of lyrical expression. If aesthetics and self-expression, as opposed to didactic or utilitarian purpose, are key to the definition of belles-lettres, then we might look to this time as witnessing the birth of a true belles-lettres in China, scattered earlier examples of lyrical expression notwithstanding.

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[33] For the text of "Fù on the Gāotáng Shrine," see Wén xuǎn, 19.875-82 (trans. Knechtges, 3: 325-39); "Fù on the Goddess," see Wén xuǎn, 19.886-89 (trans. Knechtges, 3: 339-49); and "Fù on the Lechery of Master Dēngtú," see Wén xuǎn, 19.892-94 (trans. Knechtges, 3: 349-55).

[34] For the text, see Gǔwén yuàn, 3.10b-12b; Yìwén lèijù, 18.331; Xú Jiān 徐堅 (A.D. 659-729), et al., comp., Chūxué jì 初學記 (Běijīng: Zhōnghuá shūjú, 1962), 19.456.

[35] For the text, see Wén xuǎn, 17.795-802.

The "fin de siècle" and decadence. The term fin de siècle strictly speaking refers to the European cultural phenomenon of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, an era that encountered the interrelated movements of Aestheticism (England and France in the 1880s), Symbolism (France, 1880s-1890s), and Decadence (England and France, 1890s). Above, I mentioned Lǔ Xùn's identification of "self-awareness" in the literature of the Jiàn'ān period; in describing what he sees as a new stage in the development of Chinese literature, he uses the dictum of nineteenth-century European aesthetes, "art for art's sake" (為藝術而藝術).[36] In Europe, by the 1880s, expression of a keen sensory experience of beauty had replaced Victorian moral didacticism as the purpose of literature.

"Decadence," as many scholars of late nineteenth-century European literature will readily attest, is a notoriously difficult concept to define. "The term 'Decadent,'" art historian Shearer West states, "is both meaningless and ironic. Literary theorists have long argued over its real meaning, the limits of its influence and its relationship to

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[36] "Wèi Jìn fēngdù jí wénzhāng yǔ yào jí jiǔ zhī guānxì," in Lǔ Xùn quánjí, 3: 491. The expression "art for art's sake," probably coined by the French novelist Benjamin Constant (1767-1830) as "l'art pour l'art," is usually identified with the English writer Walter Horatio Pater (1839-1894), who, in the conclusion to his book, Studies in the History of the Renaissance (later, known simply as The Renaissance, 1873), exhorted his readers to take up "the love of art for its own sake" (Grolier's Encyclopedia [On-line Version, 1996], s.v. "Aestheticism," by Herbert Sussman; Christiane Schenk, Venedig im Spiegel der Décadence-Literatur des Fin de siècle, Europäische Hochschulschriften, Vergleichende Literaturwissenchaften, Reihe 18, Bd. 45 (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1987), 54; The Renaissance: Studies in Art and Poetry, Library Edition [London: Macmillan, 1910], 239).

such movements as Symbolism and Aestheticism." West adds, "In France the term was used to describe writing, especially poetry, which was artificial, symbolic and subjective, using language in a perverse and evocative way and choosing subject-matter which was obscure or recondite."[37] Discussing how the term was used to describe literature in England, West cites a contemporary critic, Arthur Symons, who, "in attempting to define this vague and insubstantial term, related literature of the Decadence to the fall of empires, the collapse of morality and disease. . . ." In Harper's New Monthly Magazine, Symons had written:

> The most representative literature of the day . . . is certainly not classic, nor has it any relation with that old antithesis of the Classic, the Romantic. After a fashion it is no doubt a decadence; it has all the qualities that mark the end of great periods, the qualities that we find in the Greek, the Latin, decadence; an intense self-consciousness, a restless curiosity in research, an over-subtilizing refinement upon refinement, a spiritual and moral perversity.[38]

The way Decadence is defined seems dependent on the methodology applied to studying it. For example, those who examine the personal lives of its contributors like Oscar Wilde discuss Decadence in the context of licentiousness and amorality. Stylistic analyses usually refer to what Symons calls "an over-subtilizing refinement upon

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[37] Fin de Siècle, 29.

[38] Fin de Siècle, 29, and citing Arthur Symons, "The Decadent Movement in Literature," Harper's New Monthly Magazine 87 (1893): 858-59.

refinement." Recent studies have looked at late Victorian attitudes towards language.[39] From the passage above we see that the notion of "decadence" was projected back to the culture of antiquity in its decline.

Decadence as a style or movement (and thus often capitalized) is associated with the notion of decadence (with a lower-case "d") as evidence of a civilization in decline. Decadence and decline and a host of similar and etymologically related words are often used to define one another. Thomas Reed Whissen surmises:

> Perhaps because alliteration is so tempting, decadence has come to be associated with a long list of words beginning with the letter "D": decay, decline, deterioration, depravity, debauchery, disintegration, degeneration, dissipation--the list goes on. . . . While it is clear that decadence appears at a time when a civilization seems doomed and corruption rampant, this is merely the Zeitgeist in which decadence flourishes, not the essence of decadence itself. [40]

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[39] On the various notions as to the style of Decadence, see the annotated bibliography given in Linda C. Dowling, Aestheticism and Decadence: A Selective Bibliography (New York: Garland, 1977), and her comments in Language and Decadence in the Victorian Fin de Siècle (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986), xi n. 5. Dowling herself argues "that Decadence, even on the cultural level, emerged from a linguistic crisis, a crisis in Victorian attitudes towards language brought about by the new comparative philology earlier imported from the Continent" (Language and Decadence, pp. xi-xii). She adds (p. xv) that "literary Decadence as it was to emerge from the Victorian linguistic crisis was no attempt to oppose in direct terms the spectre of disintegration or collapse, but rather was an attempt to save something from the wreck by turning to literary advantage what had otherwise appeared only as one of the incidentally bleak implications of the new linguistic science: the idea that written language, the literary tongue of the great English writers, was simply another dead language in relation to living speech." In the footnote cited above, Dowling notes that Suzanne Nalbantian (Seeds of Decadence in the Late Nineteenth-Century Novel [New York: St. Martin's, 1983] takes the "older view of Decadence as the literary expression of moral 'perversity, paradox and perplexity.'"

[40] Thomas Reed Whissen, The Devil's Advocates: Decadence in Modern Literature, Contributions to the Study of World Literature, Number 33 (New York: Greenwood Press, 1989), xxii.

John R. Reed, in an attempt to find an overarching definition of Decadence for all the arts, first portrays the sense of social decay out of which this movement arose. He notes the various sociopolitical conditions that created a feeling of uneasiness in the late nineteenth century (the anxieties the Industrial Revolution engendered among the most significant), and the books that reflected this mood in France and England: Claude Marie Raudot's La décadence de la France (1850?), the anonymous The Decline and Fall of the British Empire (1905), Brooks Adams's The Law of Civilization and Decay (1896), Oswald Spengler's The Decline of the West (1918), and Entartung (1892) by Max Nordau.[41] Reed points out that Adams's study draws an analogy between the situation in Europe of his times and that of the crumbling Roman Empire, proposing that they "lacked the ability to appreciate fine art, preferring lavish ornament to purity of form because the economic mind dominating both is 'at once ostentatious and parsimonious, [and] produces a cheap core fantastically adorned.'" As Reed points out, this sort of comparison was not new.[42] Interest in the degeneration of ancient Rome was already evident in two important studies written late in the previous century,

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Whissen derives his own interpretation of "the principal elements of decadence . . . primarily from a close reading of Joris-Karl Huysman's Against Nature (À Rebours)" of 1884 (xii).

[41] John R. Reed, Decadent Style (Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press, 1985): 3-6.

[42] Decadent Style, 4, citing The Law of Civilization and Decay (New York: Macmillan Co., 1910), 382.

Considérations sur les causes de la grandeur des Romains et de leur décadence (1734), by Charles Louis de Secondat, Baron de la Brede et de Montesquieu, and Edward Gibbons's monumental History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire (1776-1788). These would help to define the relationship of decadence to a time of decline.[43]

In general, scholars find it difficult to isolate the qualities peculiar to the style of Decadence, and it is not my task to attempt my own explication of the style here. Whissen, in his own attempt at capturing the spirit of Decadence (he does not follow the convention of others in capitalizing it), suggests this:

> It is easier, I think, to sense the meaning of decadence if you can personify it. I see a decadent as something of a Beau Brummell, impeccably dressed, with worldly good looks, a sardonic smile, and a devastating wit; a charming skeptic, fighting vainly the old ennui, adrift in a world he finds increasingly unmannered and vulgar, a world devoted to a spiteful egalitarianism, torn by petty rivalries, awash in nasty hypocrisies: in short, a world in which he can survive only if he keeps his distance.[44]

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[43] See Christiane Schenk, Venedig im Spiegel der Décadence-Literatur des Fin de siècle, 29-30 (the date for Considérations sur les causes should read "1734" not "1774"). Edward Gibbons's History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire still has enormous influence on the way historians perceive the fall of Rome. Recently, though, there have been scholars who have been challenging the idea of the collapse of the Roman Empire. See, for instance, G. W. Bowersock, "The Dissolution of the Roman Empire," in The Collapse of Ancient States and Civilizations, ed. Norman Yoffee and George L. Cowgill (Tuscon: University of Arizona Press, 1988), 165-75, and his "The Vanishing Paradigm of the Fall of Rome," The Bulletin of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences (Boston, May 1996), 29-43, especially p. 31.

[44] The Devil's Advocates, xiv.

Cài Yōng was unlikely to have been a dandy like Beau Brummell, but he may have shared some of the sentiments (excepting "spiteful egalitarianism") towards the world around him that are ascribed by Whissen to the decadent. To be sure, Decadence is a European construct, and one should avoid facile comparisons between what John Reed calls "the material of fin-de-siècle art" (e.g., "sexual irregularity, sadomasochism, diabolism, occultism, and exoticism," the "taste for decoration in the arts and artificiality in designs, implements and behaviors," and "effete aesthetes and destructive women"), let alone Decadence as a style, with tendencies in the fin de siècle of the late Eastern Hàn.[45] I tread cautiously as I forward the notion that many of the attributes of Decadence--its centeredness in sensual experiences, self-awareness, and self-indulgence; the preciosity and artifice of its style (especially what Linda Dowling refers to as the employing of "English as a classical dialect, to bestow a belated and paradoxical vitality on a literary language that linguistic science had declared to be dead"[46]); the "perversity" of its language and content; the archetype of the destructive woman (Reed calls it "the Decadent mistrust of women, seeing them as mothers of deceit and destruction as well as tantalizing and potentially unmanning ideals"[47]); and its association with sociopolitical decline--find resonance in the fin de siècle of second-

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[45] Decadent Style, 7.

[46] Language and Decadence, xv.

[47] Decadent Style, 231.

century China, particular in a number of short fù pieces by Cài Yōng and in a response piece by a lesser-known contemporary, Zhāng Chāo, who, in lambasting Cài Yōng for what we might, taking some liberties with the term, call his "decadent" language and attachments to a lower-class woman, himself betrays the fin-de-siècle mood with his deep mistrust of women and his sense of dynastic decay.

In the following discussion of selected short fù, I will illustrate my contention that the emergence of individual sensibilities in the literary process, the movement of the center of literary activity from the court to private exchange, and even the notion of a "decadence" help account for another type of kairotic literature: short humorous and lyrical fù on unusual topics.

4.2 A Short "Fù" on Little People

If Cài Yōng wrote any fù for the court, "Fù on the Short People" would have been one of them. It is difficult to imagine another setting for the composition of this short fù that lampoons dwarfs, who must have been a familiar sight in Luòyáng, especially at the court. This piece has had very little scholarly attention given it, even taking into account the paucity of Cài Yōng scholarship. This may be because the piece is fraught with textual difficulties, but perhaps also because the intent of the piece embarrasses some modern scholars.[48]

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[48] Gōng Kèchāng, Hàn fù yánjiū, 303, notes with disdain the xenophobic attitude expressed in this fù.

We know very little about the people this fù ridicules. Cài Yōng suggests in the preface--which is actually the longest part of this piece, if what we have is complete[49]--that the dwarfs are a race of Sinicized foreigners. He identifies them as the Zhūrú 侏儒 (or, 朱儒); the word was a riming binome (侯 rime, píng shēng), something like "runty-stunted," that was a common term for short things in general, and that also referred to little people.[50] These "pygmies," as I have translated the term (though they are unlikely to be related to the Pygmies of Greek mythology), are identified as the "descendants of the Jiāoyáo 僬僥," which is another riming binome (宵 rime, píng shēng) and one that I, adapting from Edward Schafer's "the little wren-people," have rendered "Wren-men." This term today is not any more helpful than Zhūrú; like Zhūrú it also refers to small things and people, probably being cognate with the word for "wren," jiāoliáo

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Songs containing similar humor still find an audience today. A popular American song by Randy Newman, "Short People," on his 1977 Little Criminals album (BSK 3079-2, Warner Bros), included these lyrics: "Short people got no reason / To live / They got little hands / Little eyes / They walk around / Tellin' great big lies / They got little noses / And tiny little teeth / They wear platform shoes / On their nasty little feet." Though the attitude seems similar to that of "Fù on the Short People," Newman's intent was to be ironic. The songwriter-singer received much criticism from people who missed the irony, but the song itself was very popular.

[49] Mǎ Jīgāo, in Fù shǐ, 131, states his contention that "Fù on the Short People," "Fù on a Grisette," "Fù Recounting a Journey," and "Defense Against Admonition" ("Shì huì"), are Cài Yōng's only complete extant works.

[50] See Wada Sei's 和田清 article on the subject, "Shujukō" 侏儒考, Tōyōgakuhō, 31 (1947): 345-54.

鴟鵂.[51] One source, a near-contemporary of Cài Yōng, states that "Jiāoyáo" is another name for the Southwestern Mán 蠻 tribe.[52] The terms that Cài Yōng uses to refer to these people may not have had a consistent, specific ethnic designation in his own time; they were common words for dwarfs, who mostly were thought to derive from some legendary land or lands of little people outside of China's borders. The preface describes the Sinicization of the Jiāoyáo or Wren-men, "Who emerged from the outer regions, / And are a branch race of the Róng 戎 and Dí 狄. / They cast off their customs and submitted to proper decorum, / Emulating and assimilating, they stood on tippy-toes. / Subsequently they dwelt in the Central Country. . . ."[53] We cannot know for certain that these people were of the same race; indeed, Cài Yōng says that "in features and looks there are various sorts."[54] He adds the curious bit of information that the Zhūrú themselves "when born resemble the father."[55]

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[51] Edward H. Schafer, in The Golden Peaches of Samarkand: A Study of T'ang Exotics (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1963), 47. On jiāoliáo and the connection with smallness, see William G. Boltz, "Cicada Sinica Quotidiana, the Vocabulary of Common and Classical Chinese," JAOS 100 (1980): 499.

[52] See Wéi Zhāo's 韋昭 (204-73 C.E.) note to Guó yǔ, "Lǔ yǔ" B (Sbck), 5.14b.

[53] CZj (Sbby), "Wàijì," 8a. For full textual notes, see Appendix F.

[54] CZj (Sbby), "Wàijì," 8a.

[55] CZj (Sbby), "Wàijì," 8a.

Though the ethnic background of the dwarfs is shrouded in mystery, it is clear that Zhūrú had been employed at the Hàn court for a long time, as the following passage, from the story of Dōngfāng Shuò's 東方朔 (fl. 140-130 B.C.E.) ruse to get the emperor to grant him larger emoluments, attests:

> After some time, Shuo played a trick on the dwarfs who worked in the stable, telling them, "His Majesty has decided that you fellows are of no benefit to the government. In plowing fields and raising crops you are surely no match for ordinary men. Given official posts and put in charge of the multitude, you would never be able to bring order to the people. Assigned to the army and dispatched to attack the barbarians, you would be incapable of handling weapons. You contribute nothing to the business of the state--all you do is use up food and clothing! So now he has decided to have you killed."[56]

This passage informs us that in Western Hàn times dwarfs were employed in the imperial stables. One may also infer from this story that as Sinicized aliens they were not barred outright from participating in other roles in the government, though from Dōngfāng Shuò's barbs it would seem unlikely that they would be employed in agriculture, appointed to official posts, or assigned to the military because of perceived physical inadequacies. Finally, it is clear that dwarfs were made the butt of jokes.[57]

The preface to "Short People," after providing a sketch of the provenance of the dwarfs, interrupts its description to bring forward an allusion to a diminutive figure of

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[56] Hs 65.2843, trans. Burton Watson, in Courtier and Commoner in Ancient China, 80.

[57] For this reason, rather than translate Zhūrú as "pygmies," it might make sense to use the pejorative "midgets."

great stature in the Chūnqiū period, Yàn Yīng 晏嬰, also known as Yànzǐ, and posthumously as Yàn Píng Zhòng 晏平仲. Yàn Yīng is famed for his counsel to Duke Jǐng 景公 of Qí; his advice and admonitions are preserved in Yànzǐ chūnqiū 晏子春秋. Yàn Yīng had passively opposed the Qí grandee Cuī Zhù 崔杼, who had murdered Duke Jǐng's predecessor, Duke Zhuāng 莊公, for having had an affair with his wife. Cuī Zhù was offended by Yàn Yīng's opposition, but decided against killing him.[58] For Yàn Yīng's loyal support to his liege, for his demonstration of bravery, and for his eloquence, Cài Yōng lauds this one "hero" among the little people, thereby damning the rest.

After this allusive interlude, Cài Yōng returns to a description of the pygmies. This section is praised by Gōng Kèchāng for its life-like realism[59]:

> But the others are puny and tender,
> Petty and picayune, misshapen and mean.
> They yell and shout and talk with invective,
> And push people away.
> Blind and benighted by their relish for wine,
> They delight in exacting penalty toasts.
> When drunk they raise their voices,
> Abuse and insult loose from their mouths.
> The multitudes are annoyed and resentful,
> It is difficult to associate with them.[60]

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[58] See Zuǒ zhuàn, Xiāng 25; Lúnyǔ 5/18.

[59] Hàn fù yánjiū, 303.

[60] CZj (Sbbv), "Wàijì," 8b.

The "others" refer to those little people other than Yàn Yīng, who is said to have been diminutive, but not a dwarf.[61] Cài Yōng's vivid description highlights, for comic effect, the physical features of the pygmies, especially the difference in their body proportions from that of the norm, and the perceived ugly temperament that is supposed to reflect their deformed physical appearance. The lot of them is characterized as unruly drunks, loud, abusive, and unsociable. If one should protest that the Hàn Chinese may not have been very sociable to start with, Cài Yōng pleads that "it is difficult to associate with them."[62] This form of humor is common and knows no bounds culturally or temporally; finding differences from one's own group funny seems to be a common human trait.

Despite its primary function as a lampoon, this short fù is a consciously written literary work. The poet has sprinkled throughout the preface word forms that draw attention to themselves for literary, and perhaps comic, effect: riming binomes, i.e., Zhūrú, Jiāoyáo, lièjué 劣厥 ("petty and picayune," 月 rime, rù shēng), and lǚ jù 僂窶 ("misshapen and mean," 侯 rime, shǎng shēng), and an alliterative binome, méngmèi 瞢昧, ("blind and benighted," 明 initial). The entire piece is rimed, including the preface, which is written in tetrasyllabic stichs. At the end of his preface, Cài Yōng

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[61] Dwarfs are called Zhūrú, and are described stereotypically as being three chǐ 尺 in height (about sixty-nine cm. or twenty-seven in.); see, for example, Guó yǔ, "Lǔ yǔ" B (Sbck), 5.14b. Yàn Yīng is not called a Zhūrú, and is said to be not quite six chǐ tall (under four-and-a-half feet).

[62] CZj (Sbby), "Wàijì," 8b.

states that "Thus I set forth a fù, / Drawing comparisons and making parallels. / In all cases I've obtained the shapes and forms, / They are truly as I have told them."[63] This statement is fascinating: it outlines the poet's writing process, and claims the veracity of his observations. In stating that his fù employs figures to represent the appearance of the pygmies, the poet only tells the half of it, for at least some of the figures are puns on Zhūrú; I will return to this point below.

Like the preface, the song that follows is written in stichs of identical metrical length, a feature that is common to the short, lyrical fù of the late Hàn. The song is composed of seven-syllable stichs, with a xī caesura marker in the fourth-syllable place. It is composed of three stanzas (four stichs in the first two stanzas, five in the third) that end in similar, but not identical, lines that act as refrains. This is the song in full:

> Jīng cocks, fledgling grebes,
> Pigeon chicks, quail hens,
> Crested hoopoes and woodpeckers:
> Observe the short people: Their appearances are like these.
>
> Bā-Peaks horses, Xiáxià ponies,
> Locusts in hibernation under ground, crickets in reeds,
> Chrysalides in cocoons, silkworms wriggling hairs.
> Regard the short people: Their appearances are like these.
>
> Wooden door middle-posts, beam-top supports,
> Damaged chisel heads, broken-handled axes.
> Pítā hand-drums, mallets for repairing shoes,
> Slipped-off hammer handles, pestles for pounding garden shallots.
> Regard the short people: Their appearances are like so.[64]

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[63] CZj (Sbby), "Wàijì," 8b.

[64] CZj (Sbby), "Wàijì," 8b-9a.

This is a tentative translation: Many of the figures are difficult to identify, and textual variants compound the difficulty. The translation given suffices to illustrate the sorts of analogies drawn by Cài Yōng. The humor and wit of these lines must easily have won laughs, particularly as the figures grew coarser towards the end. I suspect that there is also quite a bit of word play here. For instance, the expression liángshàngzhù 梁上柱, "beam-top supports," was a common gloss for zhuōrú 棳儒.[65] The Shì míng 釋明 states: "Zhuōrú 棳儒 are the short posts on top of beams. Zhuōrú are short like Zhūrú, and hence take their name from them."[66] The following line in the fù contains the phrase "broken-handled axes" 斷柯斧; the word kē 柯, besides referring to an axe handle, also denotes a measure of three chǐ 尺, the stereotypical height of Zhūrú.[67] One further example of word play is "woodpeckers," or zhuómù 啄木, a riming binome in the same group as the riming binome Zhūrú (侯), though in the former case rù shēng instead of píng shēng; I suspect the phonetic similarities are deliberate. Further phonological investigation of this section may uncover more of this sort of punning.

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[65] CZj (Sbby), "Wàijì," 8b-9a.

[66] Shì míng, "Shì gōng shì" (Hàn Wèi cóngshū, 1791 ed.), 3.8a. See also Wáng Niànsūn 王念孫 (1744-1832), Guǎngyǎ shūzhèng 廣雅疏證 (Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press, 1978): 1: 2B.246, and the Preface by D. C. Lau, p. 5.

[67] CZj (Sbby), "Wàijì," 9a.

I stated at the outset of my discussion of this piece that it seemed very much a court composition, a piece to be recited for the delectation of courtiers, ministers, consorts, and perhaps the emperor himself. But if this picture of court life is not anachronistic, it was unlikely to have included literati as composers of farcical verse. We know that in the Western Hàn, fù poets such as Méi Gāo 枚皋 (fl. ca. 140 B.C.E.) and Dōngfāng Shuò served as court entertainers, improvising amusing poems and clever riddles with their sharp wit.[68] Cài Yōng's "Short People" is just that sort of divertissement. And there is ample proof that the emperor continued to favor fù composition in the late Eastern Hàn. The School at the Gate of the Vast Capital reflected Emperor Líng's personal predilection towards calligraphy, painting, and fù writing. Yet for the late second century we have no textual evidence that members of the clerisy were participating in fù composition at the court, much less serving as a sort of court poet-cum-jester. Cài Yōng's Hòu Hàn shū biography includes his own words urging the emperor to take care lest he or the School at the Gate of the Vast Capital put too much emphasis on these minor arts: "Such lesser skills as calligraphy, painting, and composing fù have no capability rectifying the state and putting in order the government," and again, "the texts of the Vast Capital's writings and fù can also be

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[68] On Méi Gāo, see his biography in Hs 51.2366-67; none of his fù are extant. On Dōngfāng Shuò's riddles, see Hs 65.2844-45.

reduced. . . ."[69] I have inferred from "Recounting a Journey" that in Cài Yōng's view of the purpose of the fù, moral suasion should have a role. Even "Short People," by raising the reference to Yàn Yīng, includes the barest hint of moral instruction by example. Nevertheless, Cài Yōng regarded the fù and belles-lettres in general as a diversion meant for leisure time.[70] Given his apparently virulent opposition to the emperor's giving undue attention to the fù, it would seem out of character for him to jape dwarfs in a comic fù recitation at the court.

This piece itself is a model for the three important developments that I see occurring in the fin de siècle. First, "Short People" reveals a process of self-conscious literary creation: The poet, in the conclusion to the preface, sets out explicitly his method, "drawing comparisons and making parallels" 引譬比偶. Here, the individual poet emerges from his work not only to tell us what he is doing, but to reassure us that his descriptions "are truly as I have told them" 誠如所語. Second, I suggest that he wrote this little fù for the amusement of other members of the clerisy, especially his friends with experience in the capital and at court, rather than to delight the denizens of the court. Third, this short fù deals with an unusual and, especially from the cultural

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[69] HHs 60B.1996, 1999 (trans. Asselin, "The Hou Han shu Biography of Cai Yong," 150, 166-67); for other evidence of the emperor's drawing fù poets to his court, see also 60B.1991 (Asselin, 127).

[70] See HHs 60B.1996; trans. Asselin, "The Hou Han shu Biography of Cai Yong," 150-51.

perspective of the times, grotesque topic. Such "perverse" interests seem also to play a role in this fin de siècle.

Admittedly, the second of these notions requires further proof. If Cài Yōng's orthodoxy as a Confucian scholar does not inhibit him from writing this short fù altogether, then it is conceivable that the court was his venue. We have seen in the previous chapter textual evidence for Cài Yōng's going to Zhū Mù's home to copy the elder's treatises, thus demonstrating one way that literary works were circulated at this time. In the next section we will look at Cài Yōng's most important short lyrical fù, and a response piece that it engendered. The existence of this response is further proof of the circulation of literary works at this time. Thus we have two factors to consider in evaluating the place of these short, lyrical fù: Cài Yōng's critical attitudes towards fù composition as sponsored by the emperor and the eunuch faction, and the flourishing of the exchange of literary works among members of the clerisy. This leads me to believe that Cài Yōng was more likely composing his own light literary works for friends and associates than for the entertainment of the court.

4.3 A "Fù" on a Maidservant: On Illicit Love and Misogyny

If in taking up the subject of short lyrical fù on women we were to look for parallels to Cài Yōng and his lesser-known contemporary Zhāng Chāo among the Greek lyric poets, we might choose Archilochus and Semonides of the seventh century B.C.E. Cài Yōng's semi-erotic verse can hardly match the frankness of the sexual

content of Archilochus' lyric fragments,[71] and yet, Cài Yōng has been roundly criticized by one modern scholar as "the originator of pornography" in China.[72] To compare Zhāng Chāo, on the other hand, to Semonides of Amorgos may be to give Zhāng Chāo too much credit. Although Semonides, like Zhāng Chāo, takes up what M. L. West calls "the theme of women as a plague," he at least has humor and entertainment as his intent, something that seems totally beyond Zhāng Chāo.[73]

To say that Cài Yōng is "the originator of pornography" in China is to be wrong on two counts: Cài Yōng is not the first Chinese poet to write erotic verse, and his erotic verse would likely disappoint the connoisseur of pornography. From what is extant today we would conclude that prior to and throughout the Hàn erotic verse, and poems including erotic passages, were written. The "Fù on the Goddess" and "Fù on the Lechery of Master Dēngtú" that are attributed to Sòng Yù, as well as the "Fù on the Beautiful One," that is attributed to Sīmǎ Xiāngrú, all include erotic content.

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[71] For example, one will not find anything so explicit as this in Cài Yōng's verse: "Gently I touched her breasts, where the young flesh / peeped from the edge of her dress, / her ripeness newly come, / and then, caressing all her lovely form, / I shot my hot energy off, / just brushing golden hairs" ("Encounter in a Meadow," in Greek Lyric Poetry, trans. with introduction and notes by M. L. West [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993], 4, frag. 196a).

[72] Qián Zhōngshū 錢鍾書, Guǎn zhuī biān 管錐編, in Qián Zhōngshū zuòpǐn jí 錢鍾書作品集, no. 6-3 (Táiběi: Shūlín chūbǎn yǒuxián gōngsī, 1990), 3: 1018. He states: "然則謂蔡氏為淫媟文字始作俑者. . . ."

[73] Greek Lyric Poetry, xi.

What unites all three of these pieces is the ultimate expression of chastity under what are, for the male at least, trying circumstances. In "The Goddess," Sòng Yù describes to King Xiāng of Chǔ 楚襄王 a dream apparition of extraordinary female pulchritude and purity. In his dream, Sòng Yù invites the goddess to join him in his bed. Though she almost appears willing, she ultimately refuses to sacrifice her chastity. The goddess lingers for a moment, uniting them in spiritual ecstasy. Looking solemn and dignified, she maintains a chaste distance and lingers for a while. When suddenly she disappears, Sòng Yù is left devastated.

"The Lechery of Master Dēngtú" combines humor with erotic content, and with respect to the latter, shares certain features with "Fù on the Goddess." It is composed of two main episodes. The first is Sòng Yù's defense before the King of Chǔ against the charge, levelled by a certain Master Dēngtú 登徒子, that he is a lecher. Sòng Yù recounts how he has been able to fend off for three years the advances of an eastern neighbor's daughter, a girl of utterly perfect beauty; never once, Sòng Yù brags, did he give in to her charms. He points out that Master Dēngtú, on the other hand, is married to a woman of singular homeliness, and yet has had five children by her. Sòng Yù slyly asks the King who the real lecher is. In the second episode, a grandee of Qín, suggesting he could top Sòng Yù's story, tells the King about coming across a group of girls picking mulberry leaves.[74] (The appearance of mulberry leaves in Chinese

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[74] The language at the beginning of this episode is difficult to construe; see David Knechtges's note, Selections, 3: 411 n. 3.

literature often signals erotic sentiment.[75]) Among these girls was one of particular comeliness. The grandee offers her a flower and flirts with her, but the girl proclaims her willingness to die rather than to accept such advances. The grandee honors her dedication to chastity. Their spirits meet briefly, like those of Sòng Yù and the goddess in "Fù on the Goddess," but no physical relationship is allowed to happen. The girl, like the goddess in the other poem, then takes her leave. In both episodes, the girls are of lowly background; about the first episode we are informed that the neighbor is of humble means, and in the second episode, this is indicated by the mulberry picking activity. The grandee's would-be lover, though, is pure and chaste, like Sòng Yù's goddess, but in contrast to the lecherous eastern neighbor girl. The King rewards both the grandee and Sòng Yù.

"Fù on the Beautiful One" is particularly influential on pieces discussed in this chapter. In this fù, Sīmă Xiāngrú, who is the main persona in this piece and, being described as handsome, may be the "beautiful one" of the title instead of the woman featured at the end of the work, is accused of being a dandy and a potential predator on the king's harem. For that reason, the king of Liáng asks Sīmă Xiāngrú if he is lustful. Sīmă Xiāngrú denies the charge, and noting that it is relatively easy to be lust-free if one, like Confucius and Mòzĭ, removes oneself from temptation, relates a story

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[75] See Song Yongyi (Sòng Yŏngyì 宋永毅), "Erotic Archetypes in Jian'an Literature," Chinese Culture, 34 (June 1993): 24-32.

remarkably similar to the one given by Sòng Yù in "The Lechery of Master Dēngtú." Once again, the poet tells of resisting the advances of a fair daughter of the eastern neighbor who tempts him for three years, displaying her shining visage over the wall. But Sīmǎ Xiāngrú does not stop there. He then relates a fabulous tale of being seduced by a ravishing maiden. The following passage, translated by R. H. van Gulik, nicely conveys the eroticism of this section, though making a critical error that I will discuss below:

> She stuck one of her hairpins in the hair under my cap,
> Her silk sleeves brushed past my robe.
> Then the sun was setting in the west,
> And darkness filled the room with its shadows.
> There was a cold breeze outside,
> And the snow came down in floating flakes.
> But the bedroom was quiet and close,
> One did not hear a single sound.
> Then she had made the bedstead ready,
> Provided with the rarest luxuries,
> Including a bronze censer for scenting the quilts.
> She let down the bed curtains to the floor.
> The mattresses and coverlets were piled up,
> The pointed pillows lay across them.
> She then shed her upper robe
> And took off her undergarment
> Revealing her white body,
> With thin bones and soft flesh.
> When then we made love with each other
> Her body was soft and moist like ointment.
> Thereafter the blood in my veins had settled,
> And my heart had become steadied in my bosom.[76]

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[76] Gǔwén yuàn, 3.12a/b; Yìwén lèijù, 18.331; Chūxué jì, 19.456; trans. in Sexual Life in Ancient China, A Preliminary Survey of Chinese Sex and Society from ca. 1000 B.C. till 1644 A.D. (1961; reprint, Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1974), 69. I have not changed any words of the translation, but I

Van Gulik interprets this passage as culminating in sexual intercourse. This is not the case, and to read it this way is to miss the point. In the first part of this piece we see Sīmǎ Xiāngrú protesting that he is not a lustful person, and that he is in total control of his sexual urges. In the second part, he illustrates his claim with a story of amazing self-control: he can lie with a beautiful, unclothed, and willing woman and still maintain his chastity. Van Gulik misinterprets the line 時來親臣, which should mean, "When she came to be intimate with me," not "When then we made love with each other." He omits the following four verses: "'My vow and oath were true-blue,' / I did not go back on my resolve. / As if leaping up I arose, / And took my leave from her forever."[77] Thus the fù ends with Sīmǎ Xiāngrú bidding farewell to this enchanting girl. This is the same conceit of the earlier poems though now the parting is on account of the male figure's chastity.[78] This idea of concluding with a permanent separation of the lovers is a device used in many later poems, and is a topos that has its roots in the Shī (though there describing the heartache of women).[79]

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have altered the style of presentation from paragraph to verse form. I think that the first line quoted here should read something like, "Her jade hairpin snared my cap" 玉釵挂臣冠.

[77] Chūxué jì, 19.456; Gǔwén yuàn, 3.12a/b; Yìwén lèijù, 18.331, has only the final couplet. The first line is quoted from Máo shī 58.

[78] Wén xuǎn, 19.894.

[79] On this topos of separation and the loneliness of women, see Hans Frankel, The Flowering Plum and the Palace Lady, 56-61.

The poet's use of the expression mò dìng 脈定, "pulse was settled," is also echoed in subsequent works.[80] Dìng mò, van Gulik explains, reversing the graphs found in the penultimate line of the passage I have reproduced above, refers to "the beneficial effect of the sexual act; a synonym of dìng qíng, 'to settle the passion.'" He adds, "The ancient Chinese recognized that, apart from other advantages, the completion of the sexual act regulates the blood circulation and relaxes the nervous system."[81] However this may be, the idea of dìng qíng 定情 had another meaning that better reflects the passage in the "Fù on the Beautiful One" as I have interpreted it, the sense of "stilling the passion" by means of self-control. Van Gulik later notes that eight books on the art of the bedchamber (fāng zhōng 房中) are included in the bibliographical treatise of the Hàn shū.[82] To this section was appended a note written by Liú Xīn that reads in part, "If one regulates his sexual pleasure he will feel at peace and attain a high age. If, on the other hand, one abandons himself to its pleasure disregarding the rules set forth in the abovementioned treatises one will fall ill and harm

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[80] Yìwén lèijù, 18.331; Chūxué jì, 19.456; significantly, Gǔwén yuàn, 3.12a/b has qì fú 氣服, "vital spirit was suppressed."

[81] Sexual Life in Ancient China, 69 (romanization changed to pīnyīn).

[82] Hs, "Yìwén zhì," 30.1778-79.

one's very life."[83] When Zhāng Héng uses dìng qíng in the title of his "Fù on Stilling the Passions" ("Dìng qíng fù"), it is clearly this sense of control that he means, of stilling the passions through sublimation or repression, not the release of it through sexual intercourse. Zhāng Héng's piece, like the many imitations that follow, including Cài Yōng's "Fù on Curbing Excess" ("Jiǎn yì fù" 檢逸賦) that I will briefly discuss in section 4.4, begins with a description of a beautiful woman and ends with the male persona's plaint that though pining for her, their separation--perhaps her obliviousness to his existence--prevents him from consummating his love for her. Zhāng Héng's piece, like many of its imitations, is extant only in fragment, and it is difficult to get the full sense of the sort of relationship that exists between the beautiful woman and the male persona; we are simply made aware of their separation, and of the burning love that consumes the male voice and which he seeks to still.[84]

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[83] Hs, "Yìwén zhì," 30.1779: "樂而有節, 則和平壽考. 及迷者弗顧, 以生疾而隕性命; trans. Van Gulik, Sexual Life in Ancient China, 70-71.

[84] The text of "Fù on Stilling the Passions" is found in Yìwén lèijù, 18.331. A translation and study of this and its imitations can be found in James Robert Hightower, "The Fu of T'ao Ch'ien," HJAS 17 (1954): 170-96. A very different sort of piece by Pó Qín 繁欽 (ob. 218) that is similarly titled "Dìng qíng shī," but which means here "Lyric Poem on Securing Love," concerns a young women who beds a man and gives him all sorts of gifts with which she hopes to secure his love, and then loses him anyway; see text and notes in Yùtái xīnyǒng 玉臺新詠, comp. Xú Líng 徐陵 (507-583), in Yùtái xīnyǒng jiānzhù 箋注, comp. and comm. Wú Zhàoyí 吳兆宜 (fl. ca. 1672) (Hóngdá táng, 1879), 1.28a-30a (trans. Anne Birrell, New Songs from a Jade Terrace, An Anthology of Early Chinese Love Poetry [Harmondsworth, Middlesex, England: Penguin Books, 1982], 51-53), and in Lù Qínlì 逯欽立, ed. and comp., Xiān Qín Hàn Wèi Jìn Nánběicháo shī 先秦漢魏晉南北朝詩 (Táiběi: Mùduó chūbǎnshè, 1989), 1: 385-86.

James Robert Hightower states that the major difference between this "Stilling the Passion" series and "The Lechery of Master Dēngtú" and "The Beautiful One" is that the women in the "Stilling the Passion" series are chaste and unattainable.[85] To amend this a bit, one should point out that the woman in the second episode of "The Lechery of Master Dēngtú" is also chaste and unattainable, as is the female divinity in "The Goddess." Thus, there is in the "Stilling the Passion" series the carrying on of a tradition.

This tradition is compromised somewhat in Cài Yōng's most important fù on a woman, "Fù on a Grisette" ("Qīngyī fù" 青衣賦).[86] We know nothing more about the circumstances for the composition of this short fù than we do any other of his similar

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[85] Zhāng Héng is also credited with a pentasyllabic poem titled, "Song of Concordant Sounds" ("Tóng shēng gē" 同聲歌), that describes in a bride's voice her devotion to her husband and her vow to serve him well. Of particular interest is her reference to the use of sexually explicit pictures as an aid in lovemaking. Van Gulik notes that "in Japan it was well into the 19th century the custom that parents gave their daughter on the eve of her wedding a set of such pictures, in order to prepare her for her conjugal duties" (Sexual Life in Ancient China, 76). There is an illustration of the use of such pictures in a print included in Xìng mìng guī zhǐ 性命圭旨 (17th c.), reproduced in van Gulik's Erotic Colour Prints of the Ming Period, with an Essay on Chinese Sex Life from the Han to the Ch'ing Dynasty, B.C. 206-A.D. 1644 (Tokyo: 1951), Plate 18. For the text of "Song of Concordant Sounds," see Yùtái xīnyǒng jiānzhù (Sbby), 1.20a-21b (trans. Birrell, New Songs from a Jade Terrace, 44-45; also, van Gulik, Sexual Life in Ancient China, 73).

Another fù with erotic content is Biān Ràng's 邊讓 (ob. ca. 208) "Fù on the Terrace of Manifest Splendor" ("Zhānghuá fù" 章華賦); for the text see HHs, "Wényuàn lièzhuàn," 80B.2640-45, and see also the discussion by van Gulik in Sexual Life in Ancient China, 77-78. Cài Yōng, having been impressed by Biān Ràng, recommended him to Hé Jìn; see HHs 80B.2646.

[86] See Appendix G for annotated translation.

pieces, which is to say, nothing at all. It appears to be incomplete, based on some unusual jumps in topic. All of the sixty-six extant lines are tetrasyllabic, in keeping with the dominant prosody of the Shī, from which Cài Yōng takes in part his inspiration. The topic is a maidservant, identified by the metonym, "gray [or, blue-black] smock" (qīngyī 青衣). This is apparently the locus classicus for the term in reference to a servant girl. It appears later in Gān Bǎo's 干寶 (Eastern Jìn) Sōu shén jì 搜神記: "Xīn Dàodù 辛道度 of Lǒngxī, journeying as an itinerant teacher, had gone forty-five lǐ, reaching Yōngzhōu, when he saw a grand mansion, and gray-smocked girls at the gate."[87] The term qīngyī is later associated with the female side in sexual congress. Van Gulik, in Sexual Life in Ancient China, reproduces a Míng woodblock print which includes an inscription describing sexual union. The first couplet reads, "The white-faced lad rides the white tiger, / The gray-smocked girl straddles the azure dragon" 白面郎君騎白虎, / 青衣女子跨青龍.[88] My rendering of the term as "grisette," while potentially misleading (it refers to French working-class girls), is to attempt to capture the social status of the woman as reflected in the color of her clothing (gray fitting within the parameters of the color qīng).

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[87] Sōu shén jì (Shànghǎi: Shāngwù yìnshūguǎn, 1931), 124.

[88] From Xìng mìng guī zhǐ, in Sexual Life in Ancient China, 85, fig. 3 (my trans.).

Led on by the tradition of Hàn-era hermeneutics, one is tempted to look for possible allusions intended by the figure of the grisette, though the piece itself does not strongly suggest she has an allusive or real identity. Midway in the piece, Cài Yōng makes use of allusions to famous consorts, leading one to wonder if the grisette might stand for an imperial consort, particularly one from a low-class background. Such a suspicion is given credence by a reading of Zhāng Chāo's "Reproaching the 'Fù on a Grisette,'" so much of which takes up the theme of the harm that was supposed to have been visited on the state by consorts (à la Semonides' "theme of women as a plague"). If one were to seek among Cài Yōng's contemporaries the consort who might be represented by the grisette, Tián Shèng 田聖 (ob. 167), the beloved of Liú Zhì (Emperor Huán) and his personal favorite to replace Empress Dèng, would stand out as the most likely candidate. Tián Shèng was of low family origin, and for that reason some of the Emperor's advisors, notably those from the clerisy, vociferously opposed her. In her stead, they successfully pushed a woman from the Dòu family, which formerly had been a powerful consort clan.[89] Strengthening Tián Shèng's candidacy as the grisette of Cài Yōng's fù is the argument used against her in a memorial by the colonel director of the retainers, Yīng Fèng 應奉 (the father of the renowned scholar

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[89] For information on Tián Shèng, see the biography of Empress Dòu in HHs, "Huánghòu jì," 10B.445-46; Yīng Fèng's 應奉 official biography, 48.1608; and "Chén Wáng lièzhuàn," 66.2169. Consult also Jack L. Dull, "The Confucian Origins of Neo-Taoism," 40-41, and Rafe de Crespigny, "The Harem of Emperor Huan," 25-28.

Yīng Shào), who wrote in part, "I have heard that . . . when Hàn established Flying Swallow, the succession of Emperor Chéng was forever ruptured. The importance of the empress-mother is such that the flourishing and perishing of the state depends on her. We ought to think along the lines of the one whom 'Guānjū' 關雎 seeks. . . ."[90] The Lady Zhào Fēiyàn 趙飛燕, or "Flying Swallow," who was of humble origins, had used her charms to attract the attention of Liú Ào (Emperor Chéng), who, blinded by his infatuation over her, replaced his empress with her. Zhào Fēiyàn failed to produce an heir, and Emperor Chéng's line of imperial succession thus came to a cold halt.[91] Yīng Fèng's reference to "Guān jū" or "The Calling Ospreys," the first and hence most important poem in the Shī, is of particular interest here. As we will see, "Guān jū" is one of two Shī songs to exert a particularly strong influence on "Grisette," and is the song of paramount concern to Zhāng Chāo in his response piece. One recent scholar, without making reference to the Tián Shèng story, has even proposed that the Lǔ school reading of "Guān jū," the reading for which Zhāng Chāo's fù is one of the best sources, originated as a warning to Emperor Chéng.[92]

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[90] From Yīng Fèng's official biography, HHs 48.1608; cf. de Crespigny's trans. in "The Harem of Emperor Huan," 27, and consult his n. 38.

[91] See Hs, "Wàiqī zhuàn," 97B.3984, 3988-89, and Michael Loewe, "The Former Han Dynasty," 214.

[92] See Liú Zhèngwǔ 柳正午, "'Guān jū' zhāng yìduàn" 關雎章臆斷, Wénxué pínglùn 文學評論 1980.2: 77-78. Liú Zhèngwǔ's thesis is built on the premise that a presentation by Dù Qīn 杜欽 (active late first century B.C.E.) (see Hs 60.2669), and Liú Xiàng's Liènǚ zhuàn, "Wèi

There are three strong reasons why the grisette is unlikely to be Tián Shèng: First of all, Tián Shèng's greatest opposition came from the clerisy; the high official Chén Fān, then the Grand Commandant (Tàiwèi 太尉), was prominent among her detractors. Chén Fān, we will remember, was mentioned in the preface to Cài Yōng's "Recounting a Journey." It is not necessarily the case that Cài Yōng would have had to toe the line promoted by Chén Fān, but it seems more than likely that he would have sympathized with members of his class at court. Second, there is no indication in this piece, but for the possible oblique references to royal consorts by way of allusion, that the grisette is an imperial consort. Third, according to tradition, the literary predecessors to "Grisette," "The Lechery of Master Dēngtú" and "The Beautiful One," both explicitly identify the male voice in the poems with that of their authors; though "Grisette" never mentions Cài Yōng's name, it is reasonable to conclude that the male persona is the poet's own voice. If that is so, it is unlikely that the grisette is an imperial consort, for a semi-erotic description of Cài Yōng's affection for an imperial concubine would be at the least a serious act of lese majesty. So who is she? From the piece we only know that she is of lowly station, and that the male voice honors her

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Qūwò fù" (Sbck), 3.23a, both seem to be in accord with the Lǔ school interpretation of "Guān jū." He concludes that Dù Qīn and Liú Xiàng invented this reading as admonishment of Emperor Chéng. His thesis fails to take into account the lack of mention of King Kāng of Zhōu 周康王(ob. 978? B.C), about whom the Lǔ school reading revolves. Moreover, its use in the Liènǚ zhuàn is so buried that its use as a suasive device would not seem to have much efficacy. In my opinion, the origin of this reading has yet to be clearly determined.

purity and adores her. Perhaps she is modelled after one of Cài Yōng's own maids, Hélène to his Descartes, possibly she is an amah from his youth, or maybe she is a stock character borrowed from the fù's literary antedents, in particular the lower-class women of "The Lechery of Master Dēngtú."[93] In any case, the identity of the gray-smocked maid cannot be ascertained.

The "Grisette," as it has come down to us, may be neatly divided into two halves. The first half is descriptive of the maidservant's social background, physical beauty, talents, and moral qualities. This half may, in turn, be divided into two sections, the first of which emphasizes the maidservant's physical attributes and her talents:

> Gold comes forth from grains of sand,
> And pearls emerge from the grit of mussels.
> O this coy and comely one,
> Is born in lowliness and humility!
> An engaging smile and animated eyes, a fair beauty,
> Gleaming teeth, lovely brows,
> Black hair, shiny and sleek,
> Neck long and white like a grub.
> Across and down, touching her hair,
> Are leaves like falling mallow.[94]

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[93] Descartes had an affair with his serving maid, Hélène, and produced a daughter, Francine, whose death historian Anthony Grafton notes was Descartes's one "great sorrow" in life ("Descartes the Dreamer," The Wilson Quarterly, 20 [Autumn 1996]: 41).

The idea that the grisette may have been inspired by a nursemaid was suggested to me by art historian Audrey Spiro during a private conversation with her about this piece. She pointed out the intimately close relationship between amahs and their charges.

[94] This couplet is difficult to understand and seems incongruous with its environment. This may signal a corruption of the text, including missing lines. I suspect a possible connection here with the mulberry-picking tradition (and its erotic connotations); see Appendix G, n. 9.

Longish and dainty-delicate,
"A stately woman of goodly height."
Damask sleeves, vermilion skirt;
Chaussé with silken slippers.
She glides along in mincing steps,
Seated or standing, rising or lowering,
She is mild and graceful, with a pretty smile,
Uplifting red lips.
Elegant and charming, lovely and alluring,
She is peerless in her many qualities.
Sharp-witted and prudent,
She bustles about her work as if in flight.
In serving viands and tailoring,
No one can rival her.[95]

The first part of this passage is highly derivative, taking its imagery primarily from Máo shī 57, "Shīrén"碩人, "The Stately Woman," which describes the beauty of the wife of Duke Zhuāng of Wèi 衛莊公 (reg. 757-735 B.C.E.), Zhuāng Jiāng 莊姜.

Significantly, in the third line, Cài Yōng also borrows from the aforementioned Máo shī 1, "Guān jū." This quick reference is picked up at the beginning of the second section of the first half:

With the purity of the "The Calling Ospreys,"
She does not act perverse or contrary.
Behold how she conducts herself,
She's a rarity in this world.
It'd be fitting that she make a Lady,
And act as instructress to a host of women.
Wherefore is it your fate
To remain here, lowly and humble?[96]

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[95] CZ wàijí (Sbby), 3.2b.

[96] CZ wàijí (Sbby), 3.2b-3a.

The good and fair maiden of "Guān jū" is the Chinese archetype of the ideal female mate who, by virtue of her beauty and chastity, is regarded as an excellent match for a young gentleman, a jūnzǐ 君子. This term, jūnzǐ, under the influence of the Ruist school, came to transcend the meaning of a man of high social station to denote someone of outstanding moral qualities, the "exemplary man."[97] The high regard for this concept of jūnzǐ, along with the general theme of "Guān jū," the relationship between men and women, the foundation upon which all right relationships rest, make this first poem of the Shī particularly weighty.[98] In the Hàn, this maiden of "Guān jū" was regarded as a consort of high social station. Cài Yōng shows boldness in comparing a maidservant, a woman of the lower class, to the wife of Duke Zhuāng and to the upper class or royal consort of "Guān jū." He continues to demonstrate literary daring in ending this section with two historical allusions, the first to the wife of King Zhuāng 莊王 of Chǔ (reg. 613-591 B.C.), Lady Fán, famous for remonstrating with her husband to devote his attention to governing rather than to diversions like hunting. If there is any political content in this piece, any traditional use of fù for suasive purposes,

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[97] See David L. Hall and Roger T. Ames's discussion of the term jūnzǐ in Thinking Through Confucius, in particular, 182-92.

[98] Bān Zhāo, in "Admonitions for Women" ("Nǚ jiè" 女誡; "HHs, "Lièn ǚ zhuàn," 84.2789), Section 2, "Fūfù," writes, "The way of husband and wife matches yīn and yáng, and opens a path to the gods and spirits. It truly is the grand principle of Heaven and Earth, and the great crux of human relationships. For this reason, the Rites honor the union of male and female, and the Songs manifest the significance of "Guān jū."

it is in this couplet. I doubt that that is Cài Yōng's intent, for it hardly registers in the midst of the poem's lyricism and eroticism. The second allusion is to the Lady Wèi 衛, one of the concubines of the Marquis of Píngyáng. Her affair with one of her lord's functionaries, Zhèng Jì 鄭季, resulted in the birth of Wèi Qīng 衛青 (ob. 104 B.C.), later to rise as one of the Hàn's great generals. The point of this latter allusion remains opaque, but on the surface appears to be a justification of such illicit affairs. It is difficult to imagine, given Cài Yōng's reputation as a Confucian scholar, and knowing his interest in ritual texts, that he would promote concupiscence and intrigues. But if we are befuddled by this apparent contradiction, we are better prepared for Zhāng Chāo's outrage, for he suggests nothing less than the suspicions raised here.

The second half is partly narrative and partly descriptive of the emotions of the maidservant and the male voice. First, just as in "Recounting a Journey," Cài Yōng states that the reason for his writing is to express his emotions: "Even if I experience pleasure and bliss, / I express, vent my feelings." Cài Yōng states in the preface to "Recounting a Journey" that he wishes by writing to release his pent-up resentment. Here, Cài Yōng's stated emotions lean more towards joy, but a joy laced with the bitter of illicit and doomed love. The rather cool, objective descriptions of the first half give way then to sweeping, lyrical descriptions that evoke "The Beautiful One":

Cold snow whipping, swirling,
Fills the courtyard, covers the steps.
My layered robes are burdensome and oppressive,
I wheel and stagger, stumble and fall.
At morning twilight, just foredawn,
Cocks crow, together urging me on.

I make ready my carriage, hastily pack my bags,
About to abandon you and depart.
Muddled, rash--muddled, rash--
My longing cannot be dispelled.
Standing tall on the canal banks,
Weeping and sobbing is the grisette.
My thoughts travel afar,
Your thoughts come in pursuit.
The bright moon shines and glistens,
Blocked by my door.
The northeasterlies come continuously,
Blowing my bed curtains.
On the Hé river bank I saunter,
Linger by the courtyard steps.
Southward I look up at the Well and Willow,
Peer upwards at the Dipper Armillary.
We are not like Oxherd and Weaving Maid,
Separated by Sky River.
I think about you, muse about you,
Aching for satisfaction, I'm utterly famished.[99]

The descriptives picture movement, the physical sensations of cold and heaviness, and the emotions of confusion and disconsolation, the painterly effect enhanced by the use of alliterative and assonant binomes and reduplicatives, e.g., yànwǎn 嬿婉 (影 initials; "pleasure and bliss"), bīnfēn 繽紛 (滂 initials; "whipping, swirling"), zhǎnzhuǎn 展轉 (端 initial, 元 rime, shǎng shēng; "wheel and stagger"), tíngtíng 停停 ("standing tall"), and jiàojiào 噭噭 ("weeping and sobbing"). The scene is filled with sky phenomena: snow, wind, the dawn, the moon, and most impressively, the stars. Cài Yōng's

[99] CZj (Sbbv), "Wàijì," 9a.

scholarly interest in astrology is well documented;[100] here his passion for the stars is at the bidding of lyric expression. The sky and meteorological observations are used as metonymy for the emotions arising from the impending separation of the lovers; in other words they are, in a literary and microcosmic way, like the Heaven-Earth correspondences of Hàn political thought. Cài Yōng completes the piece by alluding to the well-known tale of the Oxherd and the Weaving Maid, whose ill-starred love found them a place in the heavens as asterisms. The final couplet depicts the obsession and suffering of the male persona over the grisette.

This half's debt to "The Beautiful One" is evident right down to the snow and wind. The similarities between the two relevant sections serve to heighten the effect of their most significant difference in content: In Cài Yōng's piece, the lovers physically consummate their love. There is no elevation of chastity as a virtue, even in the sort of fatuous manner of "The Beautiful One." The audacity of the affair is softened somewhat by the elliptical reference to the night the lovers spend together, and yet one cannot escape the conclusion that this piece departs from its models in what must have been considered by many of Cài Yōng's contemporaries a scandalous turn.[101] The fù continues on, returning to the theme of the earlier poems as if the effect is the same:

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[100] See, for instance, Joseph Needham, Science and Civilisation in China, vol. 3, Mathematics and the Sciences of the Heavens and the Earth (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1959), 210 and 355.

[101] Wàn Guāngzhì, in Hàn fù tōnglùn, 173, also remarks upon this "tryst" (yōuhùi 幽會).

The pain caused by the separation of the lovers. The need for the breakup differs from the fù's antecedents: Instead of the impossibility of a love match between a divinity and a mortal ("The Goddess"), or the rejection by a chaste man of a seductive girl (the second episode of "The Beautiful One"), here the lovers must part because of their incompatible social statuses: she, the maidservant, and he, the gentleman who departs in his carriage. The poet grieves that the two are "not like Oxherd and Weaving Maid," who, according to the myth, were allowed to meet one a year on a bridge of magpies, presumably because these two earthbound lovers cannot ever meet again.

It is difficult to ascertain how much of the poem, for instance, the grieving over separation, is imported from earlier works because of the writer's impression that such an element was an indelible part of the genre in which he was writing. That the writer was unconcerned with chastity, though, seems to be a self-conscious act of departure, of transforming the form. Cài Yōng rejects, at least in this one instance, the chaste maiden as saint, and elevates the woman who is "saintly" (insofar as she is as good, beautiful, and talented as the "Guān jū" maiden) and yet sexually active. As a result of this break from tradition, the woman of "Grisette" seems a bit less the stock character she essentially is. Chinese fù scholar Wàn Guāngzhì 萬光治 notes the personal depiction of the writer's love life in this piece, and the absence of allegorical or emblematic use of the male-female relationship.[102] "Fù on the Grisette" thus stands as

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[102] Hàn fù tōnglùn, 173.

one of the earliest literary pieces in China to celebrate the love for a woman for love's sake. This, of course, leaves Cài Yōng wide open to attack from his own orthodox Confucian flank, who would seek some "higher" truth from contemporary love poetry just as Confucius did from the Book of Songs.

At least one of Cài Yōng's contemporaries would not let this piece go unchallenged. Zhāng Chāo was a relatively minor literary figure and a military officer during the Yellow Turbans rebellion. His greatest talent, calligraphy, gives him his closest affinity to Cài Yōng for it is said in Zhāng Chāo's biography that his cursive script "was marvellous and peerless among his contemporaries, and all his generation acclaimed him."[103] There is no evidence to suggest a relationship between Cài Yōng and Zhāng Chāo. That Zhāng Chāo responds to Cài Yōng's "Fù on a Grisette," however he may have acquired the original work, demontrates the thesis that literature was being circulated at this time.

Zhāng Chāo's response piece is titled, "Reproaching the 'Fù on a Grisette.'"[104] It is, save for one two-syllable stich (or, six-syllable, depending on how one divides the lines), tetrasyllabic, like Cài Yōng's "Grisette"; the work may be considered a fù though the presence of that word in the title equally refers to Cài Yōng's fù. The piece,

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[103] HHs, "Wényuàn lièzhuàn," 80B.2652. Cài Yōng was, of course, famous for having executed some or all of the calligraphy for the Stone Classics of 175. See HHs 60B.1990, and Tsuen-hsuin Tsien, Written on Bamboo and Silk, 76.

[104] See Appendix H.

as we have it, is longer than the latter one by about a third. There is no information available about the time or circumstances under which this fù was written. It is one of Zhāng Chāo's few extant works, and undoubtedly survives in part because of the notability of the person he is calling to task.

Zhāng Chāo wastes no time in launching his philippic against Cài Yōng's fù, starting off with an ad hominem attack in the guise of a classical allusion (to the Shī):

> "What sort of man is he"
> Who delights in such pulchritude?
> His gorgeous words are praiseworthy,
> His elegant phrases vivid and splendid.
> The style is laudable,
> But the intent is base, its meaning frivolous.
> "Oh Phoenix! Oh Phoenix!
> How thy virtue has waned!"
> A high ridge can be glorious,
> There's no need for brambles.
> Sweet spring water can be drunk,
> There's no need for a muddy pool.
> It's like using the Suí pearl to shoot down a sparrow,
> Or using the Tángxī to mow down mallows.
> If a phoenix pecked at a mouse,
> How different would it be from an owl?[105]

Zhāng Chāo is convinced of Cài Yōng's degeneration, borrowing Jiē Yú's 接輿 (the "Madman of Chǔ," Lù Tōng 陸通) famous reproach of Confucius, "Oh Phoenix! Oh Phoenix! How thy virtue has waned!" 鳳兮鳳兮何德之衰 (Lúnyǔ 18/5). Yet the overall emphasis of Zhāng Chāo's opprobrium is not on Cài Yōng's character, but on

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[105] Yìwén lèijù, 35.636. Chūxué jì, 19.465, Gǔwén yuàn, 6.13a/b.

his writing. Zhāng Chāo says to Cài Yōng: Your writing is marvelous. Too bad you have thrown it away on this sordid subject. Imagine the pearl of the Marquis of Suí or the famous Tángxī sword being used for naught! The sense is that Cài Yōng has wasted fine writing on salacity. Since later in the fù Zhāng Chāo explicates the meaning of the "Guān jū" song, I suspect his own literary criticism is rooted in the passage from Lúnyǔ (4/20), "The Master said, 'As for "Guān jū," it is joyful yet not wanton, sorrowful yet does not cause harm'" 子曰: 關雎, 樂而不淫, 哀而不傷. This passage, which emanates from the heart of the Confucian tradition, presents an ideal-become-dictum about the proper restraints to be observed in literature.[106] Cài Yōng's piece, in Zhāng Chāo's view, violates this ideal: "Grisette" is unrestrained in the expression of the poet's love for a lower-class servant, and thus is wanton, and is equally untrammeled in depicting the poet's grief at separation ("Aching for satisfaction, I'm utterly famished"), and so causes harm.

Much of Zhāng Chāo's piece is concerned not with language or literature per se, but with his perception that the world was plagued by women meddling in public affairs. Such criticism was common in the Hàn dynasty, and most of the vitriol was

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[106] Steven van Zoeren, Poetry and Personality: Reading, Exegesis, and Hermeneutics in Traditional China (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1991), 29, states that this passage, among a few others he names, "may reflect, if not the teachings of the historical Confucius, at least relatively early traditions concerning him." It is van Zoeren's contention that 3/20 is about the music of "Guān jū" and not its language (see 30-31). Though I find his argument intriguing, I am not convinced that the lyrics and the music were so distinctly regarded.

saved for the consort clans. Thus, at root, antipathy arose from out of factional concerns as well as from the perception that commonly held notions about the proper place of women were being violated. The approach Zhāng Chāo takes to express his views can be found in other examples of this sort of criticism. Around 120, for instance, Minister over the Masses (Sītú 司徒) Yáng Zhèn 楊震 (ob. 124) sent up a memorial criticizing a certain Wáng Bóróng 王伯榮, the daughter of the foster mother of Liú Hù (Emperor Ān). Yáng Zhèn felt that Wáng Bóróng had abused her privileges in the palace for private gain. In his memorial, he asserts that if women are allowed to take part in the affairs of the court, then "they will bring disturbance and chaos to the realm." He adds, "The Documents warns against hens cocking and crowing; the Songs reproaches shrewd wives destroying the state."[107] Yáng Zhèn then makes an allusion to Lúnyǔ 17.25, which states: "The Master said, 'It is only women and underlings who are difficult to handle. If you become close to them, they become insolent; if you keep your distance, then they become resentful." Lest it be thought that this attitude came from men alone, it should be pointed out that "Favored Beauty" Bān, one of Emperor Chéng's consorts, had made, in her "Fù of Self-Commiseration" ("Zì dào fù"), the same allusions to the Shī jīng (Book of Songs) and Shàngshū (Book of Documents) as did Yáng Zhèn: "I spread out the pictures of women as a kind of mirror, / Inquire about

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[107] HHs, "Yáng Zhèn lièzhuàn," 54.1761; allusions to Shàngshū, "Mù shì," 11.16b, that warns against women usurping power, which would lead to the destruction of the household and the state, and to Máo shī 264/3, in which women are identified as the cause of disorder.

the Songs from the women scribes. / I lament over the warnings made about women at dawn, / Sorrow over the transgressions of Bāo and Yàn; / I praise the women of Yú, Huáng and Yīng, / Glorify the mothers of Zhōu, Rén and Sì."[108] The names mentioned in this passage represent women who either, by their licentious and corrupting behavior, and their intrusion into affairs of the court, helped bring ruin to the state, or, by being model consorts or mothers, promoted stability in the realm.[109] The reference to "warnings made about women at dawn" is the same as Yáng Zhèn's "The Documents warns against hens cocking and crowing"; there is, in addition to this, a related meaning

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[108] Hs, "Wàiqī zhuàn," 97B.3985. David Knechtges discusses this fù in "The Poetry of an Imperial Concubine: The Favorite Beauty Ban," QE 36 (1993): 137-44.

[109] Bāosì 褒姒 was the consort of the final king of the Western Zhōu, King Yōu 幽王 (reg. 781-771 B.C.E.); the king was supposed to have lost his mandate to rule after he became infatuated with her. See Shǐ jì, "Zhōu běn jì," 4.147-49, and Liènǚ zhuàn, "Zhōu Yōu Bāosì" (Sbck), 7.4a-5b. Yàn 閻 cannot be identified with any certainty; Yán Shīgǔ's commentary to Hs, "Gǔ Yǒng Dù Yè zhuàn," 85.3445 n. 16, suggests that Yàn was a favored clan, but this is somewhat less than precise. Yàn appears in a line of the Lǔ school version of the Songs' "Shíyuè zhī jiāo" 十月之交, 閻妻扇方處, which in the Máo version (Máo shī 193) reads 豔妻煽方處, and is interpreted there to refer to Bāosì, yànqī 豔妻, "the comely wife." The previous poem, Máo shī 192, "Zhèng yuè" 正月 makes unambiguous reference to Bāosì. There are differing Hàn-era interpretations over whether the succeeding poem is also about King Yōu, or is about his cruel grandfather King Lì 厲王 (reg. 878-828). If it is about King Lì, and the 閻 is not a loan for the homophonous 豔 (the context supports this insofar as the seven previous lines all begin with names), then it is possible that "Yàn" refers to a consort of King Lì. This is just speculation. See Wáng Xiānqiān, Shī sānjiā yì jíshù, 17.14b-16a, for a list of textual references. Nǚyīng 女英 and Éhuáng 娥皇 were both consorts of Yǔ and the daughters of Shùn; see Liènǚ zhuàn, "Yǒu Yú èr fēi" (Sbck), 1.1b-2b. Tàirén 太任 was mother of King Wén, and Tàisì 太姒 was his consort and the mother of King Wǔ; see Liènǚ zhuàn, "Zhōu shì sān mǔ" (Sbck), 1.8b-9a (Tàirén), 1.9a-10b (Tàisì), and with reference to Tàirén and Tàisì as mothers, see Máo shī 240. David Knechtges discusses these lines in "The Poetry of an Imperial Concubine: The Favorite Beauty Ban," 139-40.

that will be taken up below. The direct target of Zhāng Chāo's criticism, Cài Yōng himself, as was mentioned in Chapter I, ascribed part of the blame for the occurrence of unusual phenomena to "women meddling in politics."[110] From these examples it is clear that there had already existed in the Hàn a strong sentiment among some that women were responsible for dynastic decay and weaknesses in government.[111] To this Zhāng Chāo adds his own contribution, an expanded version of the same theme:

> Successively examining past and present,
> We see that the route to calamity
> Is mostly due to
> Wretched concubines and wanton wives.
> The Documents warns against hens crowing at dawn;
> The Songs records shrewd wives.
> The termini of the Three Dynasties,
> Have all come about due to this.[112]

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[110] HHs, "Cài Yōng lièzhuàn," 60B.1999; Asselin, "The Hou Han shu Biography of Cai Yong," 162.

[111] This sentiment carried over into attitudes about women in domestic life. Féng Yǎn 馮衍 (fl. 24 C.E.), in a letter to his brother-in-law wrote: "'The crowing of hens at dawn signals the demise of the household': The great calamity of antiquity has now befallen me. If she drinks or eats too much, she forthwith becomes a Jié 桀 or Zhòu 紂 [the tyrannical final rulers of Xià and Shāng, respectively]. Her fooling around in the bedroom has been spread abroad. She gets wide-eyed and pounds her fists, regarding all this as nothing. My pain pierces the cerulean heaven, and the poison flows through my five viscera. Such anguish causes a man to lose faith in life. . . " (HHs, "Féng Yǎn zhuàn," 28B.1003 n. 2; classical citation from Shàngshū, "Mù shì"). See Eva Chung, "A Study of the Shu (Letters) of the Han Dynasty (206 B.C.-A.D. 220)," 310-16, and her translation on 511-18.

[112] Chūxué jì, 19.465, Gǔwén yuàn, 6.13b.

The "Three Dynasties" (sāndài 三代) refers to the three earliest dynasties of China, the Xià, Shāng, and Zhōu, all three of which were said to have lost their mandate to rule on account of the licentious behavior of their final rulers, who had become obsessed with the charms of improper consorts. The same idea is expressed in Dù Qīn's presentation (also mentioned in Chapter I) preserved in his Hàn shū biography: "Following the traces of the final generations of the Three Dynasties . . . was it ever the case that misfortune and calamity did not derive from female character?"[113]

In some ways, Zhāng Chāo's response piece better reflects my notion of a kairotic literature than Cài Yōng's "Grisette," or any of the other short fù discussed in this chapter. He is concerned, to an extent greater than that shared by his predecessors in this regard, with dynastic decay as the outcome of women being involved in court matters. He looks ahead and in seeing great danger, responds with vinegar: "Successively examining past and present, / We see that the route to calamity / Is mostly due to / Wretched concubines and wanton wives" 歷觀古今, 禍福之階, 多由, 孽妾淫妻. He sees the future course of things by extension of his worries about the present, and interprets his anxiety in the light of a shared social memory about the role women supposedly played in the downfall of past regimes.

Zhāng Chāo follows his generalization about how women were the ruin of earlier dynasties with several allusions to other situations in which women were to have

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[113] Hs 60.2669.

been jezebels. As in the case of most allusions in Chinese literature, they are all referred to with an economy of language. For example, Zhāng Chāo writes, "Xià took to wife Réng, / "Subverting the clan and terminating the rites" 有夏取仍, 覆宗絕祀.[114] The quote from Shàngshū notwithstanding (that source is not relevant here), this allusion refers to a story-within-a-story in the Zuǒ zhuàn: A woman of extraordinary beauty with the surname Réng 仍 was married to Shùn's minister of music Kuí 夔 (Zhāng Qiáo's 章樵 [fl. 1230] Gǔwén yuàn 古文苑 commentary suggests that Xià 夏 in Zhāng Chāo's text is a graphic error for Kuí 夔). They produced a son called Bó Fēng 伯封, who later became such a covetous and gluttonous beast of a man that he was called "Fat Pig" (Fēngshǐ 封豕). The ruler of Qióng 窮, named Yì 羿, had Bó Fēng killed, and thus his father Kuí had no one to carry out his sacrifices. Yet it was not Bó Fēng who was blamed for this calamity, but his mother, the beautiful "Dark Lady" (Xuánqī 玄妻), who had given him birth to begin with.[115] In another reference to the Chūnqiū period, the head of the Shúsūn clan, Mùzǐ 穆子 or Shúsūn Bào 叔孫豹 of Lǔ 魯, on his way to Qí 齊, stopped in Gēngzōng 庚宗 where he spent the night with a woman he met there. After arriving in Qí he married a woman of the Guó clan 国氏. In a dream one night he saw the sky crashing down on him. Not being able to hold up

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[114] Chūxué jì, 19.465, Gǔwén yuàn, 6.13b.

[115] Zuǒ zhuàn, Zhāo 28; the second line of the couplet is from Shàngshū, "Wǔzǐ zhī gē," 7.7a.

the sky alone, Mùzǐ called out "Ox!" (Niú 牛) and an odd beast of a man came to his rescue. Mùzǐ later learned that the woman in Gēngzōng had borne him a son. Upon seeing him, Mùzǐ cried "Ox!" in recognition. The boy responded to the name. Over time, "the footboy" Ox (Shù Niú 豎牛) successfully schemed to rid himself of his rivals, Mùzǐ's sons by his marriage to Guó. Then, when Mùzǐ became ill, Ox managed to starve his father to death.[116] This anecdote is contrapuntal to Cài Yōng's allusion to the story about the Lady Wèi's affair with Zhèng Jì, which produced the great general Wèi Qīng.

Zhāng Chāo completes this section with two allusions of different intent. One is to the famous story about Confucius and Duke Dìng of Lǔ 魯定公. The Duke had received a gift of eighty beautiful dancing girls from the state of Qí, and then neglected state affairs and rituals for three days. That was all Confucius could stomach. He left forthwith, which was Qí's goal in sending Lǔ the dancing girls in the first place.[117] This is the story which led Sīmǎ Xiāngrú, in the "Fù the Beautiful One," to note sardonically that of course chastity was not a problem for Confucius because he avoided being with beautiful women. The other allusion of note in this section is unusual because it is the only one to praise a woman, the Lady Jiāng 姜氏. The Lady Jiāng was

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[116] Zuǒ zhuàn, Zhāo 4.

[117] Chūxué jì, 19.465, Gǔwén yuàn, 6.14a. For the original story, see Shǐ jì, "Kǒngzǐ shìjiā," 47.1917-18, and Lúnyǔ 18/4.

the wife of Chóng'ěr 重耳, the son of Duke Xiàn of Jìn 晉獻公 (reg. 676-652 B.C.E.). Chóng'ěr spent some time in exile in Qí, Jiāng's home state, and quickly grew comfortable and complaisant. Jiāng complained to her lord that due to his present disposition he would surely lose his claim as pretender to Jìn. Chóng'ěr refused to listen to her, so she made him drunk and had him taken away. Because of her, he was able to become Duke Wén 文公 of Jìn 晉 (reg. 635-628 B.C.E.), thus the couplet, "When Duke Wén cherished comfort, / Lady Jiāng reproached him for his vulgarity."[118] The purpose of this allusion in part is to bring a sense of closure to this section by referring back to the first allusion which has to do with Chóng'ěr's father.

The section that follows this one is, in my opinion, the crux of the entire piece. It is a brief exegesis of the "Guān jū" song of the Shī, not directly of its content, but of its purported historical context and the purpose of its composition. The famous song begins:

> Guan-guan cries the osprey,
> Abiding on a river's islet.
> Coy and comely is the good maiden,
> For the gentleman she makes a fine mate.
> Long and short is the water fringe,
> To left and right one seeks it.
> Coy and comely is the good maiden,
> Awake or asleep he longs for her.

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[118] See Zuǒ zhuàn, Xī 23.

According to the Commentary on Mao's "Songs" (Máo shī zhuàn 毛詩傳, mid-2nd. c. B.C.E.), the "good maiden" (shúnǚ 淑女) is a modest consort who, out of respect for her lord's (the "gentleman," jūnzǐ) virtue, keeps a chaste distance from him.[119] The Commentary compares her reserve to the separation of mates among ospreys.[120] This same aspect of wifely decorum towards her husband is expressed in a negative form in the "Admonitions of Women" ("Nǚ jiè" 女誡) of Bān Zhāo (ca. 49-ca. 120): "If in affection between a husband and wife they do not ever separate, then following each other about their rooms leads to taking liberties. When the taking of liberties occurs, speech exceeds the appropriate bounds. When speech exceeds the appropriate bounds, dissolute behavior inevitably occurs."[121] Neither in the above-cited portion of "Guān jū" nor in what follows is there identification of the "good maiden" or the "gentleman," but tradition asserts that these figures are King Wén of Zhōu and his consort, Tàisì 太姒. This tradition has so dominated Shī jīng hermeneutics that the modern reader of "Reproaching the 'Fù on a Grisette'" may be puzzled by Zhāng Chāo's commentary:

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[119] On the dating of the Commentary on Mao's "Songs," see Van Zoeren, Poetry and Personality, 86.

[120] Máo shī zhèngyì, 1A.20a.

[121] Section 3, "Jìng shèn," in HHs 84.2789; this passage is also cited by Gōng Kèchāng, Hàn fù yánjiū, 300, in his discussion of Cài Yōng's attitudes towards women. For a complete translation of the "Admonitions of Women," see Nancy Lee Swan, Pan Chao: Foremost Woman Scholar of China (New York: Century, 1932), 82-99, and reprinted (without all the notes) in The Columbia Anthology of Traditional Chinese Literature, ed. Victor H. Mair (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994), 534-41.

As Zhōu gradually neared decline,
King Kāng 康王 was late in rising.
The Duke of Bì 畢公, repining with sighs,
Deeply pondered the Way of old.
He was moved by the calling ospreys,
By nature they don't go together in pairs.
He hoped to get a Duke of Zhōu 周公,
Who'd make a consort of a coy and comely lady,
To prevent degeneracy and reproach its progress,
He tactfully criticized and admonished the lord, his father.
Master Kǒng thought it great,
Arranging it to cap the head of the book.[122]

As Pí Xíruì 皮錫瑞 (1850-1908) in his masterful Jīngxué tōnglùn 經學通論 has demonstrated, and as I have detailed elsewhere, what Zhāng Chāo outlines is what might be labelled the Lǔ school reading of "Guān jū." This reading may very well have been the dominant one during the Hàn period, but one which was superceded by the King Wén-Tàisì reading. The Lǔ school version was eventually all but forgotten.[123] Though the King Wén-Tàisì reading is traditionally associated with the Máo school, I

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[122] Chūxué jì, 19.465, Gǔwén yuàn, 6.14a.

[123] Jīngxué tōnglùn (1907; reprint, Hong Kong: Zhōnghuá shūjú, 1961), 2.4-6; Asselin, "The Lu School Reading of 'Guanju' as Preserved in an Eastern Han Fu," JAOS, scheduled for 117.3 (July-September 1997). There I suggest that the reason the Lǔ school reading was abandoned was that, probably beginning in the late Eastern Hàn, it was thought improper for a poem of criticism to head the Classic of Songs.

have found no textual evidence for it prior to the Jìn shū 晉書, which was compiled in the early Táng.[124]

According to the conceit of the Lǔ school reading, "Guān jū" was composed as a form of suasion. As the story goes, King Kāng (ob. 978? B.C.E.), only the fourth of the Zhōu kings, if one includes the posthumously recognized King Wén, was once late for his morning levee.[125] The reason for his being late was that his consort had remained in his chambers beyond cockcrow. This was viewed as the King's having given himself over to concupiscence, and the blame for that was deputed to his consort (whose name is now lost to us).[126] The song was composed to persuade the King to rectify his behavior, and thus "prevent degeneracy and reproach its progress," which

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[124] Jìn shū, comp. Fáng Xuánlíng 房玄齡 (578-648), et al. (Běijīng: Zhōnghuá shūjú, 1974), 102.2676: "Consequently, Wén of Zhōu built a pontoon [bridge], and Mistress Sì was thus raised; with the transforming feast of "Guān jū," lasting good fortune for a hundred generations."

[125] These dates and the dates of all early Zhōu kings given in this study derive from Edward L. Shaughnessey, Sources of Zhou History: Inscribed Bronze Vessels (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1991), 148, 241-45.

[126] For all the extant sources of this story, see Pí Xíruì, Jīngxué tōnglùn, 2.4-6, and Asselin, "The Lu School Reading of 'Guanju' as Preserved in an Eastern Han Fu." The best-preserved version of the story can be found in a memorial by Yáng Cì 楊賜 (Eastern Hàn) recorded in Yuán Hóng's 袁宏 (328-376) Hòu Hàn jì 後漢紀 ([Sbck], 33.17b): "In antiquity, King Kāng of Zhōu carried on the prosperity of King Wén. One morning, he was late to arise. The Lady did not chime her jade crescent pendants. The gatekeeper did not strike the double-hour. The poet of 'Guānjū' perceived the germ [of disorder] and wrote." A parallel story about King Xuān of Zhōu 周宣王 (reg. 827-782) and his consort Jiāng 姜后 in Liènǚ zhuàn, "Zhōu Xuān Jiāng Hòu" (Sbck), 2.1b-2a, demonstrates that the consort was held to be at fault--though in this story King Xuān is shamed into realizing his own culpability.

would otherwise lead to the demise of the dynasty. Zhāng Chāo suggests that the composer was the Duke of Bì, a scion of the House of Zhōu who was instrumental in insuring that the son of King Chéng 成王 (ob. 1006 B.C.E.), Jī Zhāo 姬釗 (posthumously known as Kāng) would ascend the throne. The Duke of Bì was supposed to bring to fruition the work of Jī Dàn 姬旦, the Duke of Zhōu and the brother of King Wǔ. Zhāng Chāo further suggests that the gentleman and the lady in the poem represent the Duke of Zhōu and his consort. (This has led Pí Xíruì to comment that the consort, in that case, could not be Tàisì because then the Duke of Zhōu would be bedding his own mother.[127]) Neither of these points is mentioned in any other supposed sources of the Lǔ school reading. In the final couplet of this passage, Zhāng Chāo notes that Confucius liked this song so much that he, as editor of the Shī, had it placed first among the songs contained therein. This notion is reflected in a memorial by Kuāng Héng 匡衡 (Western Hàn) who states,

> Confucius, in setting the order of the Songs, made "Guān jū" its beginning. He says the great superiors [i.e., the king and queen] are the parents of the people. If the conduct of the queen is not equal to Heaven and Earth, then she lacks the basis to make offerings to the divine spirits, and the appropriateness for setting in order the myriad things. Hence, the Shī says, "Coy and comely is the good maiden, / For the gentleman she makes a fine mate."[128]

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[127] Jīngxué tōnglùn, 2.8.

[128] See Kuāng Héng's biography, Hs 81.3342. Verses from "Guān jū."

Since the Máo school is concerned with the content of "Guān jū," and the Lǔ school (and for that matter the other two schools, Qí 齊 and Han 韓, as well, for in this case they are in apparent agreement) the circumstances of and reason for composition, there is no reason to consider them in fundamental disagreement; they may even be thought of as complementary.

What does this passage tell us about Zhāng Chāo's criticism of "Fù on a Grisette"? First, it indicates how egregious an error Cài Yōng's comparison of the lowly maidservant with the consort of "Guān jū" was regarded by Zhāng Chāo. Second, it is the strongest suggestion that Zhāng Chāo regarded the sentiments expressed in "Grisette" to reflect dynastic decline. Like Cài Yōng in "Recounting a Journey," he makes use of the decay of the Zhōu as oblique commentary on the current state of affairs. Zhāng Chāo sees this degeneration both in the role of women in state affairs, and in the attitudes expressed by Cài Yōng in "Grisette," attitudes that might be labelled "decadent." Zhāng Chāo must have thought that if an esteemed scholar so closely associated with the Confucian state orthodoxy, so concerned with preserving and promoting the correct texts of the classics as well as the history of the Hàn, and so dedicated to ritual could write a decadent work like "Fù on a Grisette" then what hope did the court have to overcome the plagues that afflicted it? Third, Zhāng Chāo insinuates that with Confucius' esteem for "Guān jū" as a model piece of literature, one may regard "Grisette," by comparison, as trite and base. Thus, Zhāng Chāo's recognition of decline is focused in part on his reading of contemporary literature.

Given the apparent force of this central section of "Reproaching the 'Fù on a Grisette,'" the rest of the piece seems anticlimactic. Two sections follow. One is, like the part immediately preceding the "Guān jū" section, centered on historical allusions, though the present section is shorter by half. Only two allusions are featured, both of which extol principled officials who turned down betrothals to beautiful daughters of powerful men. Zhāng Chāo ascerbically comments that these men "were not entranced by nobility" and so "far less" would they have been moved by Cài Yōng's "lowly maid."[129] The second and last section is designed to exploit presumed inconsistencies between Cài Yōng's generally high regard for ritual and his apparent disregard of it in "Grisette."[130] Here, Zhāng Chāo relates the improper path to betrothal: "The marriage lacks a go-between, / The ancestral temple is without a host. / The family is not called by name, / Relying on the place where they dwell."[131] These steps violate the precepts given in the ritual classics that mandate the assistance of a go-between (méi 媒), the reception of the groom's party by the bride's parents at the latter's ancestral temple, and the formal inquiry as to the bride's clan name (a ritualization of the taboo on

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[129] Yìwén lèijù, 35.636, Chūxué jì, 19.465, Gǔwén yuàn, 6.14a/b.

[130] On Cài Yōng's place in the history of Eastern Hàn scholarship on ceremonials, see B. J. Mansvelt Beck, The Treatises of Later Han, 86-87.

[131] Chūxué jì, 19.465, Gǔwén yuàn, 6.14b.

consanguineous marriage).[132] This couple will give birth to children who are destined to be concubines and servants, and will continue to carry out their ritual duties in an aberrant manner.

Zhāng Chāo, for the final stroke of his polemic, returns to the ad hominem attack that characterized the beginning of the piece:

> Proper wives, submissive and loving,
> Each has her place in the ranks.
> As for chattel and wenches and the sort,
> Those don't amount to much.
> The freeloading sons-in-law of old,
> Moreover may be considered dust and filth.
> How is it that one so bright and wise,
> Desires to become the father of a servant?
> Striving to be a gentleman of integrity,
> One ought not give oneself over to lust.[133]

Among proper wives there is a ranking, but other women, demimonde and serving girls, with whom a man may consort, have no place at all. A woman of lowly or disreputable background might be introduced into the family as a concubine, but she could expect to receive no expression of respect from the proper wives.[134] From this section, we can

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[132] See Appendix G, n. 39.

[133] Yìwén lèijù, 35.636, Chūxué jì, 19.465, Gǔwén yuàn, 6.14b.

[134] On the strict hierarchy of wives and concubines in the Eastern Hàn, and the contempt shown towards the offspring of concubines at that time, see Jen-der Lee, "Women and Marriage in China during the Period of Disunion" (Ph.D. diss., University of Washington, 1992), 170-71. R. H. van Gulik notes that in the Hàn dynasty, "middle-class men who could afford concubines often purchased them from brothels"; see Sexual Life in Ancient China, 66.

conclude that Zhāng Chāo himself identifies the male persona of "Grisette" with Cài Yōng. Moreover, he calls Cài Yōng to task for disregarding ritual precepts in order to exercise his lecherous feelings towards a lowly maidservant.[135] A union between Cài Yōng and this humble maid may result in children who can hold no proper place in the family, and who can only become servants. For the maidservant to bear his children would be to have lasting reminders of his shame. Moreover, sons from such a union could not fulfill one of their life functions: to bring glory to the parents and immortality to the father by carrying on his name, by honoring his achievements, and most importantly, by providing him offerings in the family temple.

Cài Yōng's "Fù on a Grisette" and Zhāng Chāo's "Reproaching the 'Fù on a Grisette'" illustrate the three points I have made at the start of this chapter: the increasing importance of literary exchange among the clerisy, the emergence of individual sensibilities in late Eastern Hàn literature, and the notion of a kind of "decadence" in this fin de siècle. Although the exchange of letters had been well established by this time, the beginnings of exchange of verse, so common in later

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[135] Cf. Xú Gàn 徐幹 (170-217), in Zhōng lùn 中論 (Lóngxì jīngshè cóngshū 龍谿精舍叢書, ed. Zhèng Guóxūn 鄭國勳 [Yángzhōu, 1917]), A.6b (trans. John Makeham, Name and Actuality in Early Chinese Thought, 24-25): "Ritual is of critical importance to man; it should be followed for a whole lifetime and never be left even for a moment. If it is left for a moment, then dissoloute behavior will arise. If it is left for a moment, then dissolute thoughts will be born."

centuries, are somewhat hazy.[136] It would appear that along with the aversion of the clerisy to court literature in the late second century that class-based composition came to flourish. These two fù stand as evidence that literature at this time was somehow being circulated. Cài Yōng's individual sensibility can be seen in his departing from the erotic literary prototypes of "Fù on the Goddess," "Fù on the Lechery of Master Dēngtú," and the "Fù on the Beautiful One" by the uninhibited expression of love for a lowly maidservant, and, putting aside the elevation of chastity as an ideal, by intimating the consummation of that love. Though idealizing the maidservant, he alters the female archetype of those earlier works to make her more accessible. Zhāng Chāo's sensibilities are revealed in his composition as well. He is aggrieved by Cài Yōng's recklessly elevating his maidservant to the status of the maiden of "Guān jū." He is disturbed by Cài Yōng's apparent casual disregard of the chaos women, especially low-class women who become consorts, bring about. Moreover, he is pained by Cài Yōng's abeyance of the proper limits of poetic expression as capsulized by Confucius in describing "Guān jū": "It is joyful yet not wanton, sorrowful yet does not cause harm." Cài Yōng, Zhāng Chāo seems to be arguing, elevates art and love for their own sake: "Fù on a Grisette" contains no moral and in its exuberant description of love and the

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[136] On the exchange of letters in the Hàn, see Eva Chung, "A Study of the Shu (Letters) of the Han Dynasty (206 B.C.-A.D. 220)."

exquisite pain of separation it has no redeeming value save for the elegance-bordering-on-preciosity of its language. It is, in short, decadent.

Both works are kairotic, Zhāng Chāo's in the way that the two fù in Chapter II are kairotic: by peering into the future and spying dynastic decline, based on close observations of present-day troubles and in light of interpretations of past events. Cài Yōng's short, lyrical "Fù on a Grisette" is kairotic in a different, very literary sense: In writing this work, the poet is, in a way, peering into the future of literary activity. His use of literary form is not unique, but reflective of current practices, the practices that in meter and content find their models in antiquity--even if they do not meet those models in the way critics like Zhāng Chāo think they should. Cài Yōng's short, lyrical fù were to influence the next generation of poets, the writers of the Jiàn'ān period, who were to continue and expand lyrical expression in fù and shī poetry. Hence, though perceived as a symptom of decline by Zhāng Chāo, Cài Yōng's "Grisette" on the contrary demonstrates the vibrancy of literature in the late second century.

4.4 Other "Fù" on Women by Cài Yōng

By looking at Cài Yōng's short, lyrical fù on women other than "Grisette," we can get a somewhat more complex view of his sensibilities towards women and sexual love. For instance, Cài Yōng followed Bān Zhāo's lead in writing a work titled "Admonitions for Women" ("Nǚ jiè"), sometimes alternatively referred to as

"Instructions for Women" ("Nǚ xùn" 女訓).[137] Bān Zhāo's piece is primarily concerned with the proper respect to be shown by a woman to her husband, parents-in-law, and brothers- and sisters-in-law. We have only fragments of Cài Yōng's work. One part gives the etiquette for a woman's playing the zither (qín) with respect to her parents-in-law, e.g., "Should her private chamber be near to that of her parents-in-law, then she should not venture to play alone; if it sits apart at some distance so that the sound of the music could not be heard, then the playing is permissible."[138] In another section, he discusses, with respect to women, the necessity of cultivating the mind. As an analogy he compares the daily attention paid to one's toilette to the need for continual grooming of the inner self:

> Now then, the mind is like the head and face. This takes up in it the notion of being very devoted to one's toilette. Take the face: if for one day one does not groom and do one's toilette, then dust and dirt will make it filthy. As for the mind, if for one morning one does not think of goodness, then waywardness and depravity enter into it. People all know to make up their face, but no one grooms her mind. This is mixed up indeed![139]

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[137] See Appendix I.

[138] For the text, see Quán Hòu Hàn wén, 74.9a.

[139] CZ wàijí (Sbby), 2.11b.

There is, here, a connection made between outward appearance and inward beauty, though the emphasis here is the interior life.[140] Bān Zhāo, in her "Admonishments," states that a woman "outside of the house does not make herself up [so as to be conspicuous], but within does not refrain from adornment" 出無冶容, 入無廢飾.[141] In this passage she reminds women that their primary duty in life is be completely devoted to obtaining and maintaining their husbands' love. Cài Yōng focuses on the woman's self: He argues that the various acts of grooming have their counterparts to aspects of the project of self-cultivation. It is as if Cài Yōng is once again applying the macrocosmic notion of Heaven-Earth correspondences of the Hàn Weltanschauung to the microcosm, this time of the body and mind:

> To be sure, if one examines and inspects the act of wiping the face, then one thinks of the cleanliness of her mind; if the act of applying ointment, then one thinks of the harmony of her mind; if the act of adding powder, then one thinks of the freshness of her mind; if the act of pomading the hair, then one thinks of the obedience of her mind; if the act of using a comb, then one thinks of the regulation of her mind; if the act of setting a topknot, then one thinks of the rectitude of her mind; if the act of arranging the earlocks, then one thinks of the orderliness of her mind.[142]

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[140] Cf. Mèngzǐ 7A/21: "That which is the natural tendency of the exemplary man--nobility, signification, ritual, and realization--is rooted in his heart; its growth and countenance are manifested in the smoothness of his face."

[141] Section 5, "Zhuān xīn," in HHs, "Liènǚ zhuàn," 84.2790.

[142] CZ wàijí (Sbby), 2.12a.

It is possible that Cài Yōng's intent, perhaps stated in a now lost section, is to urge women to order their inner selves for the ultimate purpose of pleasing their husbands. From what is extant, there is no way to know.[143]

I mentioned in the previous section that a number of fù were written in the Hàn and Six Dynasties periods on the theme of "Stilling the Passion" (Dìng qíng). These poems share certain features, including the praise of a beautiful, but chaste woman, the unrequited nature of the male persona's love for the beloved, the absence of a physical consummation of love, the expression of distraught feelings at being separated from her, and, at or near the end of the piece, the figurative use of a common physical object that connects the male persona to the beautiful woman. By this last feature, the male voice objectifies himself in order to have the physical contact with the beloved that otherwise eludes him. This has the effect of concluding the fù on a highly eroticized note. The earliest known fù on this subject was written by Zhāng Héng under the title, "Stabilizing the Passions" ("Dìng qíng fù").[144] Cài Yōng's "Fù on Curbing Excess"

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[143] It is certainly without a doubt that Cài Yōng considers the purpose of grooming to please the husband; in that way he agrees with Bān Zhāo's dictum mentioned above that a woman "outside of the house does not make herself up." In his "Defense Against Admonition" ("Shì huì"), he writes, "When a woman has made her face seductive, she is licentious" (HHs 60B.1982; trans. Asselin, "The Hou Han shu Biography of Cai Yong," 73, and see also 73 n. 68).

[144] For the text, see Quán Hòu Hàn wén, 53.9b.

("Jiǎn yì fù" 檢逸賦) does not depart very much from that model. This is what is extant of Cài Yōng's contribution to the genre:

> Now then,
> How lovely and bewitching, the comely lass,
> Her face, bright and shining, filled with radiance.
> Throughout all heaven and earth she has no match;
> Only once in a millennium is one like her born!
> My heart delights in her goodness and beauty;
> Love binds me alone, being as yet unrequited.
> My feelings are inexhaustible and abandoned;
> Intentions hesitant and unsure.
> By day I let fly my feelings to vent my love,
> At night I count on dreams for our souls to meet.
> * * *
> I imagine being the tongue of a mouth organ singing in your mouth,
> The mournful sound, lonesome--I haven't the courage to listen.[145]

Despite the lyricism of this piece, it is essentially an imitation of Zhāng Héng's work. Even the penultimate line, "I imagine being the tongue of a mouth organ singing in your mouth" 思在口而為簧鳴, which in intensity is reminiscent of the conclusion of "Grisette," is a variation on the penultimate line of "Stabilizing the Passions": "I imagine being the powder on your face" 思在面為鉛華兮.[146] It is a nice touch, though, that given Cài Yōng's interest in music, he should use a musical instrument as a

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[145] See Appendix J. The asterisks do not necessarily indicate an omitted line or lines, but rather a separately preserved fragment of the fù. For the text of the first section, see CZ wàijí (Sbby), 3.2a; the last couplet is found in Yú Shìnán, comp., Bèitáng shūchāo, 110.5b.

[146] Quán Hòu Hàn wén, 53.9b.

figure. Moreover, the connection to the oral lends this a stronger eroticism than is contained in Zhāng Héng's fù, a sensuality that still seems daring by our standards.

The boldest work, and the one to gain Cài Yōng the epithet of "the originator of pornography" in China, is his "Fù on Harmonious Marriage" ("Xiéhéhūn fù" 協和婚賦). This and what is sometimes separately titled "Fù on the Beginning of Harmony" ("Xiéchū fù" 協初賦) are likely two sections of the same piece.[147] This work has four major parts: part one is a philosophical treatment of sexual harmony; part two is a partial description of an upper-class wedding, part three (the beginning of what is alternatively known as "Fù on the Beginning of Harmony") is an exaltation of the bride's beauty, and part four, which consists of only a few fragmented lines, is an intimate scene in the wedding chamber. The entire work is apparently intended to be an epithalamium.

In the first part we see Cài Yōng's establishing sexual love and harmony as the basis of human relationships, a view consistent with the same Confucian values that extol "Guān jū," i.e., all right relationships follow the pattern set by the relation of husband and wife:[148]

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[147] See Appendix K.

[148] See Zhōu yì, "Xù guà" 序卦 (hexagram for xián 咸, Zhōu yì zhèngyì, 9.12b-13a: "After heaven and earth there are the myriad things; after the myriad things, male and female are defined, after male and female are defined, there are husbands and wives; after husbands and wives there are fathers and sons; after fathers and sons there are rulers and vassals; after rulers and vassals superior

As human nature's greatest kind of love,
No pleasure is more complete than that of husband and wife.
It is endowed with the creative power of seminal spirits,
And truly is what the divine forces of light call forth.
The matter is profound and subtle, dark and mysterious;
This indeed is the beginning of right relationships.[149]

With "We behold the ordering principles of yīn and yáng," a pair of references to the Zhōu yì are introduced that highlight the process by which the hylozoistic seminal vapors (jīngqì 精氣) of yīn and yáng create things through conjugal love.[150] This description of sexual activity is intellectualized, and is hardly salacious. The couplet following these Zhōu yì allusions contains references to two Shī songs, Máo shī 2, "Gé tán" 葛覃, and Máo shī 20, "Biào méi" 摽梅. Cài Yōng's interpretation of these songs is somewhat obscure, but the main idea appears to be that of anticipating marriage. He concludes this section with lines that envision an age of sage rule, a time very unlike the one in which he lived: "Only in a prosperous age of peace and harmony, / When boys and girls come of age, / Marriage is harmonious and nothing is wayward, / Dispensing manifold blessings of joy and jubilation."[151] This statement contradicts

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and inferior are defined; after superior and inferior are defined, ritual and significance have a place to be exercised."

[149] CZ wàijí (Sbby), 3.1b.

[150] CZ wàijí (Sbby), 3.1b.

[151] CZ wàijí (Sbby), 3.1b.

Zhāng Chāo's depiction of Cài Yōng as disregarding what is proper in marriage. Cài Yōng lays the responsibility for propriety in marriage on the times: If only it were a time of sage rule, he seems to be saying, conjugal love would naturally be harmonious and within the proper bounds.

The brief scene of the festive ("Carriage and trappings brighten the road") and properly ordered ("The awesome ceremony has order") wedding that marks part two leads quickly to the praise of the bride's beauty.[152] A portrayal of the wedding procession of carriages from which the bride emerges provides a segue to the exultant, hyperbolic acclamation of the impression this lady makes on the beholder:

When she's nearby,
It's like the iridescent scaly wings of a divine dragon
about to go aloft.
And when she's far off,
It's like rolling away the clouds, skirting along the Hàn,
and seeing the Weaving Maid.
She stands erect like a jade-green mountain, straight and tall,
She moves like a kingfisher unfolding her wings.
Her manifold hues brightly shine--
One gazes upon her in abandon.
Her visage is like the bright moon,
And is glorious like the morning sun.
Her complexion is like the lotus flower,
Her skin like jelled honey.[153]

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[152] CZ wàijí (Sbby), 3.2a.

[153] CZ wàijí (Sbby), 3.2a/b.

If the bride of this epithalamium is depicted in words more adulatory than those used to describe the maidservant in "Grisette," it is because the bride here has been transformed into a goddess, a divinity that would not be out of place cavorting with dragons or dwelling amidst the stars. She is, for the moment, the chaste idol of "Fù on the Goddess."

If the compilers of the fragments of this work are correct, "Fù on Harmonious Marriage" takes an erotic turn that, along with "Grisette," transforms the genre of erotic literature up to this time. The following fragments are believed to belong to this same work:

> Long pillows are spread across,
> A great coverlet stretches over the bed.
> Rush mats gentle and soft,
> Cushions easy and comfortable.
> * * *
> Powder and mascara in disrepair,
> Hair disheveled, a hairpin has fallen.[154]

Cài Yōng's description of the bride in the previous section pays homage to Sòng Yù's portrait of his goddess. But in "Fù on the Goddess," the paragon of female beauty is unattainable; Sòng Yù's desire to consummate his love for her is left unfulfilled. In the "Fù on the Beautiful One," Sīmǎ Xiāngrú, who would set himself up as the paragon of male beauty, is seduced by an ostensibly chaste girl whose unsurpassed loveliness could compete with that of a goddess. In that fù it is the vainglorious Sīmǎ Xiāngrú who

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[154] Quán Hòu Hàn wén, 69.4a.

ultimately does the rebuffing. The two fragments above from Cài Yōng's poem borrow imagery from "Fù on the Beautiful One," including, "Mats in layers laid out, / Horned pillows spread across" 茵褥重陳, 角枕橫施.[155] Yet in Cài Yōng's fù, the lovers are united. The divine-like bride is, as it turns out, human and attainable. She is not false in her modesty, but once married she is ready to celebrate the joys of the marriage bed. The male voice, once protective, too, of his purity, now finds acceptance in the sanctioned sexual intimacy of marriage. This union, which is given spiritual significance in the first part of this fù, is consummated in erotic, if oblique, tones at the last. Cài Yōng's "pornographic" verse turns out to be a paean to the principal ceremonial of Chinese society--hardly the stuff of a lecherous scholar who has shelved his devotion to ritual, as Zhāng Chāo would have us believe from his response to "Grisette."

At the beginning of this chapter, I discussed various qualities about the culture of this time that might explain the rise of the short, lyrical fù. First, I was critical of the currently popular notion that the late second century, and the subsequent Jiàn'ān and Wèi-Jìn periods were demonstrative of a rise of an individualism. The Western notion of individualism, particularly in the way it has been defined after de Tocqueville, is clearly inappropriate to the period of late antiquity in China. What I would like to suggest instead is that works like the short fù discussed in this chapter, as well as the pieces covered in the previous chapters, reveal the individual sensibilities of their

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[155] Yìwén lèijù, 18.331; Chūxué jì, 19.456.

authors in a way not commonly seen prior to the late Hàn, and that this was a characteristic of literature in the kairotic epoch of 159-192. For instance, Cài Yōng's boldness in writing a fù about a lower-class woman--elevating her to the status of the consort of "Guān jū," using archaic language borrowed from the Shī to describe her, and then suggesting a consummation of physical love between the male persona (likely his own voice) and the maidservant, an erotic turn that was at least rare if not unheard of in literature up to this time--reveals to us something about Cài Yōng's sensibilities that cannot be gleaned from other sources of information about him. Indeed, this fù surprises and delights us, standing in contrast as it does to his reputation as a historian (he seems to have seen himself as a latter-day Sīmǎ Qiān[156]), as a scholar and defender of the classics and ritual texts, and as a critic of frivolous activities, including fù writing, being promoted at the School at the Gate of the Vast Capital. Through his "Grisette" we are given some idea of his passions and his flights of fancy. We know almost nothing, on the other hand, of Zhāng Chāo's life, and yet the vituperativeness and personal nature of his attack on Cài Yōng bring him to life much more than a long treatment of his biography in the Hòu Hàn shū might have.

Second, I asserted that the center of literary activity among the clerisy shifted in the late second century from the court to class-based exchange. Though there is scanty direct evidence of this, I briefly discussed the improvements in paper technology, the

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[156] See HHs 60B.2006; trans. Asselin, "The Hou Han shu Biography of Cai Yong," 195.

growth of private libraries, and the clerisy's disdain for the emphasis on fù composition at the School at the Gate of the Vast Capital, as factors that facilitated this shift. Moreover, we have in the last chapter the example of Cài Yōng travelling to the home of Zhū Mù in order to copy the latter's treatises. In this chapter, we have the existence of Zhāng Chāo's rebuttal of Cài Yōng's "Fù on a Grisette" as further evidence for literary exchange among the clerisy. I believe that most, if not all, of the works discussed in this chapter belong to the domain of literary circles within the clerisy. If this was truly the case, the fin de siècle was witness to an unprecedented, thriving literary culture away from the court.

Third, I proposed, following up on Lǔ Xùn's use of the expression "art for art's sake" in describing Jiàn'ān literature, that some of the characteristics associated with the movement that that slogan willy-nilly promoted, Decadence, i.e., the emphasis on sensual experiences, the self-indulgence, the preciosity of the language (and perhaps the treatment of language as a "classical dialect," as suggested in the return to the primary prosody of the Shī), the supposed "perversity" of the content and language, the archetype of the destructive woman, and the connection of the movement to sociopolitical degeneration, all find resonance in the literary works discussed here. I think that Zhāng Chāo, in reference to Cài Yōng's "Grisette," would not disagree with Arthur Symons's judgment of Decadence: "If what we call the classic is indeed the supreme art--those qualities of perfect simplicity, perfect sanity, perfect proportion, the supreme qualities--then this representative literature of to-day, interesting, beautiful,

novel as it is, is really a new and beautiful and interesting disease."[157] But if, as my discussion of Decadence and the fin-de-siècle phenomenon concludes, the source for associating decadence with crumbling empires is a myth that evolved out of eighteenth-century European studies of the fall of Roman antiquity, then the notion of a decadence in the late Hàn gives one pause to wonder what truth may underlie the myth.

In the famous Conclusion to his book The Renaissance, which popularized the notion of "art for art's sake," Walter Pater writes:

> One of the most beautiful passages of Rousseau is that in the sixth book of the Confessions, where he describes the awakening in him of the literary sense. An undefinable taint of death had clung always about him, and now in early manhood he believed himself smitten by mortal disease. He asked himself how he might make as much as possible of the interval that remained; and he was not biassed by anything in his previous life when he decided that it must be by intellectual excitement, which he found just then in the clear, fresh writings of Voltaire. Well! we are all condamnés, as Victor Hugo says: we are all under sentence of death but with a sort of indefinite reprieve--les hommes sont tous condamnés à mort avec des sursis indéfinis: we have an interval, and then our place knows us no more. Some spend this interval in listlessness, some in high passions, the wisest, at least among "the children of this world," in art and song. For our one chance lies in expanding that interval, in getting as many pulsations as possible into the given time. . . . Of such wisdom, the poetic passion, the desire of beauty, the love of art for its own sake, has most.[158]

As if working backward from Rousseau, we, after having treated the awakening of a "literary sense," now turn to treat the subject of death, and the late Eastern Hàn quest to defeat the prospect that after death "our place knows us no more."

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[157] "The Decadent Movement in Literature," 859.

[158] The Renaissance, 238, 239.

CHAPTER V

A SEASON WRIT IN STONE: DE MORTUIS NIL NISI BONUM

What sensible man would commend
that simile of Kleoboulos, citizen of Lindos?
This man compared
strong rivers in their flood and flowers in springtime,
sunshaft and moonlight and spindrift sea
to the tomb's enduring shape. . . . But everything
on earth is less than the high gods: mere stone
can crumble even at a human's hands.
His conceit is the whim of a fool.

Simonides of Ceos

Here lies Jack Williams. He done his damndest.

Grave marker in Tombstone, Arizona

Cài Yōng is the most famous writer of bēiwén in Chinese literary history. Bēiwén are stele inscriptions, but as a literary genre this term often refers to a type of epitaph. Such epitaphs were carved onto stone tablets (bēi 碑) that were erected in the vicinity of the tomb of the person being honored in the inscription. From very early on, Cài Yōng has been honored for his achievements in the writing of bēiwén. The Jìn anthologist Zhì Yú 摯虞 (ob. 312), in one of the treatises appended to his Collection of Literature Divided by Genre (Wénzhāng liúbié jí 文章流別集), states, "As for the stele inscriptions Cài Yōng wrote for the Dukes Yáng, the writing is refined and upright, and

they are fine examples from the end of the era."[1] The most important literary critic of medieval China, Liú Xié (ca. 465- ca. 520 C.E.), wrote in his Embellishments on the Heart of Literature (Wénxīn diàolóng):

> From the Later Hàn on, inscribed stone tablets and pillars rose up like clouds. Of talents determined by the blade-point, none was as eminent as Cài Yōng's. Gazing upon Yáng Cì's stele inscriptions, we see that their framework is that of the lessons and the canons.[2] The two writings on Chén and Guō contain no defective words.[3] The epitaphs for Zhōu and Hú are nothing but pure and sincere.[4] In narrating events they are complete, yet succinct; in rhetorical ornament they are elegant and glossy-smooth. The clear phrases are pleonastic, yet not overtired; wondrous

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The first epigraph is Fragment 387, cited in W. R. Johnson's The Idea of Lyric, 58. The second epigraph was, according to Harry Truman, "the greatest epitaph in the country."

[1] Fragment preserved in Tàipíng yùlǎn, 590.5a; this passage is also reproduced in Gōng Kèchāng, Hàn fù yánjiū, 296: 蔡邕為楊公作碑, 其文典正, 末世之美者也. The stele inscriptions being referred to here are those for Yáng Bǐng 楊秉 (ob. 165; "Tàiwèi Yáng Gōng bēi" 太尉楊公碑, see CZj [Sbby], 3.1a-3a) and his son, Yáng Cì 楊賜 (ob. 185; "Sīkōng Línjìn Hóu Yáng Gōng bēi" 司空臨晉侯楊公碑, see CZj [Sbby], 3.3a-5b; "Hàn Tàiwèi Yáng Gōng bēi" 漢太尉楊公碑, see CZj [Sbby], 3.5b-7b; "Wénliè Hóu Yáng Gōng bēi" 文烈侯楊公碑, see CZj [Sbby], 3.7b-9b; "Sīkōng Wénliè Hóu Yáng Gōng bēi" 司空文烈侯楊公碑, see CZj [Sbby], 3.9b-12a).

[2] Here Liú Xié compares Cài Yōng's style to that of the Shàngshū's xùn 訓 ("lessons") and diǎn 典 ("canons").

[3] This refers to the stele inscriptions for Chén Shí 陳寔 (104-186; "Chén Tàiqiū bēi" 陳太丘碑, CZj [Sbby], 2.5b-8a; "Chén Tàiqiū miào bēi" 陳太丘廟碑, CZj [Sbby], 2.8a-9a), and Guō Tài 郭泰 (128-169; "Guō Yǒudào Línzōng bēi" 郭有道林宗碑, CZj [Sbby], 2.1a-2b).

[4] This refers to the stele inscriptions for Zhōu Xié 周勰 (ob. 160; "Rǔnán Zhōu Jùshèng bēi 汝南周巨勝碑, CZj [Sbby], 2.9a-11a) and Hú Guǎng (91-172; "Tàifù Ānlè xiāng Wéngōng Hóu Hú Gōng bēi" 太傅安樂鄉文恭侯胡公碑, CZj [Sbby], 4.1a-3b; "Hú Gōng bēi" A, CZj [Sbby], 4.3b-6b; "Hú Gōng bēi" B, CZj [Sbby], 4.6b-9a).

> meanings emerge and stand out. Seeking out where his talent lies, it is in achieving this naturally.[5]

Modern scholars tend to agree with this assessment, except for having reservations about the praise of the stele inscriptions for Hú Guǎng, whom they regard as unworthy of praise; Gōng Kèchāng, for instance, characterizes these inscriptions as "toadying to the grave" (諛墓).[6] The charge that the epitaph genre is subject to a deficit of sincerity is by no means a modern one. Cài Yōng himself said of his stele inscriptions, "I have written many epitaphs and inscriptions, and in nearly all cases they bear the shame of being morally deficient. Only Guō Yǒudào's [i.e., Guō Tài] lacks the flush of shame in it" 吾為碑銘多矣, 皆有慚德, 唯郭有道無愧色耳.[7] Epitaphs were often commissioned works, and this circumstance encouraged claptrap and insincerity. Yet

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[5] Liú Xié, Wénxīn diāolóng 文心雕龍, in Wénxīn diāolóng zhùshì 文心雕龍注釋, commentary by Zhōu Zhènfǔ 周振甫, with translations into modern Chinese by Zhōu Zhènfǔ et al. (Táiběi: Lǐrén shūjú, 1984), 12.220 (cf. trans. Vincent Yu-chung Shih, The Literary Mind and the Carving of Dragons, by Liu Hsieh, bilingual edition [Taipei: Chung Hwa Book Company, Ltd., 1975], 93).

[6] Hàn fù yánjiū, 296. See also Zhōu Zhènfǔ's comment in Wénxīn diāolóng zhùshì, 12.228 n. 26, that Hú Guǎng was "mediocre and covetous of position, and lacked achievements and virtue that can be spoken of" 庸碌貪位, 並無功德可言. Neither scholar, in this regard, takes into account Hú Guǎng's teacher-student relationship with Cài Yōng. In the late Hàn, expressions of filial piety were expected of students toward their masters, hence, Cài Yōng's praise of Hú Guǎng. On the extension of the "filial obligations" to teachers, among others, see Michael Nylan, "Confucian Piety and Individualism in Han China," 10.

See also the harsh criticism from Gù Yánwǔ (1613-1682) cited in Chapter I, n. 6.

[7] See Guō Tài's biography, HHs 68.2227.

what the early literary critics valued in bēiwén was verisimilitude. Lù Jī 陸機 (261-303), in his "Fù on Literature" ("Wén fù" 文賦), writes that "The epitaph displays outer form to support substance" 碑披文以相質.[8] The truth or falsehold of the factual information contained in an epitaph is difficult now to assess; such an assessment would require more biographical information than is usually available today, and in any case necessarily involves subjective judgment. We may nonetheless look to the rhetoric of the stele inscriptions to reveal values revered by the society of fin-de-siècle Eastern Hàn China, whether or not these values were actually manifested in the persons being honored, and regardless of whether these values were normative or symbolic.

After surveying the rise of this genre, and its place in Later Hàn culture, we will take a close look at the epitaphs for Chén Shí 陳寔 and Guō Tài 郭泰, praised by Liú Xié for displaying "no defective words" 無擇言. Finally, I will explain how the rise of the bēiwén genre, in its representation by these two works, is yet another manifestation, as a type of kairotic literature, of the fin-de-siècle phenomenon. My intention in the following discussion is to provide a social history context for the discussion of Cài Yōng's bēiwén; it is not an exhaustive study of late Eastern Hàn burial practices.

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[8] Wén xuǎn 17.766, trans. Knechtges, 3: 219. Knechtges notes (218, l. 89n.), "Lu Ji points to the primary quality that an epitaph should ideally possess, that of presenting a factual account of the deceased person's virtues. In this genre, literary ornament is also important, but subordinate to substance."

5.1 The Origins and Development of the Stele Inscription Genre

In his survey of the various types of traditional Chinese prose, Chén Bìxiáng 陳必祥 gives the origins of the stele inscription, and describes its various types.[9] He first notes that the bēi stone originated in pre-Hàn times both as a hitching post for sacrificial livestock at a temple, and as a gnomon standing before a residence or temple gate.[10] The "Jì yì" 祭義 chapter of Lǐ jì 禮記, referring to bēi as "a hitching post," states: "On the day of the sacrifice, the lord, with his son opposite him and the officers and grandees following in succession, leads in the victim. Entering the gate of the temple, he attaches it to the post [bēi]."[11] As for the gnomon, Zhèng Xuán, in a note to the Yí lǐ states, "A manor invariably has a gnomon [bēi]. It is the means by which to mark the sun's shadow and determine the shortening and lengthening of days."[12] Another type of bēi, not mentioned by Chén Bìxiáng, was the fēngbēi 豐碑 ("ample

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[9] See Gǔdài sǎnwén wéntǐ gàilùn 古代散文文體概論 (Táiběi: Wén shǐ zhé chūbǎnshè, 1987), 182-97.

[10] Gǔdài sǎnwén wéntǐ gàilùn, 182.

[11] Lǐ jì zhèngyì, 47.11a: 祭之日, 君牽牲, 穆荅君, 卿大夫序從. 既入廟門麗于碑.

[12] "Pìn lǐ" (Yí lǐ zhùshū), 21.14b: 宮必有碑, 所以識日景, 引陰陽也. Chén Bìxiáng does not refer to this particular text, but instead cites (p. 182) the subcommentary of Jiǎ Gōngyàn 賈公彥 (fl. 627-656) immediately after noting the Lǐ jì text given in the previous note. Jiǎ Gōngyàn did not write the subcommentary to that text but to the Zhōu lǐ and Yí lǐ (Kǒng Yǐngdá 孔穎達 [574-643] was responsible for the Lǐ jì zhèngyì); Chén Bìxiáng's citation seems to have been edited from comments to the Yí lǐ passage noted above: see "Pìn lǐ" (Yí lǐ zhùshū), 21.15a. For more on the bēi gnomon, see Joseph Needham, Science and Civilisation in China, 3. 284-94.

post"). This was a type of pulley-device that enabled the lowering of a coffin-assemblage into the grave of a ruler or marquis. Explaining the word as it appears in the "Tàn gōng" 檀弓 of the Lǐ jì, Zhèng Xuán states, "A fēngbēi is constructed by chopping down a large tree; its shape is like that of a stone post [shíbēi 石碑]. Such posts are installed forward and aft, and in all four corners of the guǒ 槨 [the underground chambers of the tomb]. They are bored right through the middle to make pulleys. One lowers the coffin with a rope wrapping around."[13] The term fēngbēi was used later, in medieval times, to refer to large grave steles.[14]

Liú Xié states that the word bēi, written as 碑, was cognate with the word represented by 埤, "to add to, to augment" (now read for this word as pí).[15] He explains, "Kings and rulers of antiquity, in order to record reigns and the fēng and shàn sacrifices,[16] planted stones which heightened the peaks, and hence they were called

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[13] Lǐ jì zhèngyì, "Tàn gōng" B. 10.6a. In his subcommentary to this passage, Kǒng Yǐngdá suggests (10.6b) that Zhèng Xuán did not literally mean that the bēi were placed in the four corners of the guǒ, but, in addition to forward and aft, being on the two sides. On the construction of the guǒ, see Wu Hung, "Art in a Ritual Context: Rethinking Mawangdui," Early China 17 (1992): 134-35.

[14] See, for instance, Suí Emperor Yáng's 煬帝 (Yáng Guǎng 楊廣, 569-618) "Lì Yáng Sù bēi zhào" 立楊素碑詔, in Suí shū 隋書, comp. by Zhāngsūn Wújì 長孫無忌 et al. (Běijīng: Zhōnghuá shūjú, 1973), "Yáng Sù zhuàn," 48.1292: "Now then, inscribing achievements on ritual vessels and recording virtue on large steles are the means by which to pass down name and accomplishments that will not rot away. . . ."

[15] See Wénxīn diāolóng zhùshì, 226 n. 21.

[16] The fēng 封 sacrifice was made by the emperor at Mount Tài 泰山 and, particularly by the Later Hàn, states Arthur F. Wright, became sort of "a report to August Heaven on the achievements of

bēi."[17] Liú Xié then records that the first person to use a bēi stone for an inscription was King Mù of Zhōu 周穆王 (reg. 1001-947 B.C.E.).[18] The practice of making stele inscriptions had roots in a contemporary practice with an old pedigree: from Shāng times through the Zhōu, inscriptions celebrating rulers' achievements were inscribed on

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the dynasty, a solemn acknowledgment of the mandate and all the vast responsibilities it involved"; the shàn 禪 sacrifice was made to Sovereign Earth and, Wright says, "included the mountains, rivers, and other deities" ("The Formation of Sui Ideology, 581-604," in Chinese Thought and Institutions, 90). It was conducted around the same time as was the fēng sacrifice, at Mount Liángfǔ 梁父山, a branch peak of Mount Tài. See Shǐ jì, "Fēng shàn shū," 28.1355-1404; Hs, "Jiāo sì zhì," 25A/B, 1196 ff.; Bóhǔ tōng dé lùn 白虎通德論, attributed to Bān Gù (32-92 C.E.), "Fēng shàn" (Sbck), 5.1a-2a (trans. Tjan Tjoe Som, Po Hu T'ung, 1: 239-41); HHs, "Jì sì" A, 7.3161-71 (see especially 3162 n. 1); Édouard Chavannes, Le T'ai Chan, Essai de monographie d'un culte Chinois, Annales du Musée Guimet, Bibliothèque d'Études, vol. 21 (Paris, 1910), Chapter 3, "Textes relatifs aux sacrifices fong et chan," 158-261; a discussion of Hàn imperial interest in the fēng and shàn sacrifices may be found in Michael Loewe, Chinese Ideas of Life and Death: Faith, Myth and Reason in the Han Period (202 BC-AD 220) (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1982), 130-40.

[17] Wénxīn diāolóng zhùshì, 220, 226 n. 21.

[18] Wénxīn diāolóng zhùshì, 220; according to the Mù Tiānzǐ zhuàn 穆天子傳 (Sbck), 3.15b, the stone was planted on Mount Yǎn 弇山 (in what is now Gānsù province). The inscription read, "The Mountain of the Queen Mother of the West" 西王母之山.

The earliest extant bēi stone with an intact inscription derives from the fifth century B.C.E. and the kingdom of Zhōngshān 中山, which was located in what is now Héběi province. Dorothy C. Wong, basing her description on an article in Wénwù 文物 (Héběi shěng wénwù guǎnlǐchù, "Héběi shěng Píngshān xiàn Zhànguó shíqí Zhōngshān guó mùzàng fājué jiǎnbào" 河北省平山縣戰國時期中山國墓葬發掘簡報, 1979.1: 1-2; pl. 8, fig. 1), states, "On its obverse is an inscription of two lines in an ancient script. Li Xueqin [Lǐ Xuéqín 李學勤] interpreted the inscription as: 'Gong Chengde, who administers the fishing pond for the king, and Jiu Manjiang, who guards the [king's] tomb, respectfully tells later gentlemen [of the use of this land]'" ("The Beginnings of the Buddhist Stele Tradition in China" [Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1995], 190 n. 56. My thanks to Susan Bush for bringing this dissertation to my attention).

bronze ritual vessels and implements.[19] As early as the Zhōu, bēi stones were also being used for inscriptions. Chén Bìxiáng points out that the two materials, bronze and stone, were chosen for their durability.[20] By using these materials the preservation of the inscriptions, and thus the achievements of a ruler, could be insured for posterity.

The early history of the stone inscription is traced to the state of Qín and later to the unification of China under the king of Qín. Ten stone drums (jié 碣) dating back to the seventh or eighth centuries B.C.E., and which commemorate occasions like a hunting expedition (an event that probably had some political significance), are still extant today.[21] Three similar stones bearing the prayers (or curses) of Qín rulers from the late fourth century B.C.E. (the Zǔ Chǔ wén 詛楚文, or Invocations Cursing Chǔ) are no longer extant, but we have rubbings of them that were made in the twelfth century C.E.[22] The First Emperor of Qín 秦始皇 made extensive use of commemorative stones. Beginning in the twenty-eighth year of his reign as King of Qín (his second as emperor, 219 B.C.E.), in the course of four imperial progresses, he had

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[19] This practice of inscribing bronze vessels and implements carried on to a lesser extant after the Zhōu. Cài Yōng, for one, wrote inscriptions for such objects. See, for instance, his "Tripod Vessel Inscription" ("Dǐng míng" 鼎銘) of 163 C.E. (CZj [Sbby], 1.17a-19a), and his "Inscription for a Yellow Axe" ("Huángyuè míng" 黃鉞銘) of 183 C.E. (CZj [Sbby], 1.10a-11b).

[20] Gǔdài sǎnwén wéntǐ gàilùn, 182.

[21] Tsuen-hsuin Tsien, Written on Bamboo and Silk, 64-67.

[22] Tsien, Written on Bamboo and Silk, 67-68.

several stones installed and engraved.[23] Most of the inscriptions are preserved in the "Basic Annals of the First Emperor of Qín" of the Shǐ jì.[24] Traditionally, the authorship and calligraphy have been ascribed to the emperor's chancellor, Lǐ Sī 李斯 (ob. 208).[25] Among these inscriptions is the "Tài shān kèshíwén" 泰山刻石文, which the emperor, after performing the fēng and shàn sacrifices, had had made at Mount Tài.[26] As Chén Bìxiáng points out, these inscriptions are encomia celebrating the achievements of the First Emperor. Four-syllable stichs predominate, and there is some use of rime. One of the inscriptions, the "Lángyé tái kèshíwén" 琅耶臺刻石文 (219 B.C.E.), includes a feature that anticipates later common practices in the composition of stele inscriptions:

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[23] The First Emperor also made an imperial progress in the twenty-seventh year of his reign as king (220 B.C.E.), but no stone inscriptions are known to have been made then. See Shǐ jì, "Qín Shǐhuáng dì běnjì," 241; Derk Bodde, "The State and Empire of Ch'in," in The Cambridge History, 1: 67.

[24] See "Qín Shǐhuáng dì běnjì," 6.243 ("Tài shān kèshíwén" 泰山刻石文, 219 B.C.E., the second of two; the first was not recorded here and is no longer extant), 245-47 ("Lángyé tái kèshíwén" 琅耶臺刻石文, 219 B.C.E.), 249 ("Zhīfú kèshíwén" 之罘刻石文, 218 B.C.E.), 250 ("Dōngguān kèshíwén" 東觀刻石文, 218 B.C.E.), 252 ("Jiéshí kèshíwén" 碣石刻石文, 215 B.C.E.), and 261-62 ("Guìjī kèshíwén" 會稽刻石文, 210 B.C.E.). Another inscription was made at Mount Zōuyì 鄒嶧山, but the text was not preserved (6.242). See also Derk Bodde, "The State and Empire of Ch'in," 67-68, 76; Chén Bìxiáng, Gǔdài sǎnwén wéntǐ gàilùn, 182-83; Tsuen-hsuin Tsien, Written on Bamboo and Silk, 68-69. Tsien notes that the only stone that is probably extant is the Lángyé stone, but the inscription by the First Emperor is now gone, and only his son's supplementary inscription remains.

[25] Bodde, "The State and Empire of Ch'in," 67; Chén Bìxiáng, Gǔdài sǎnwén wéntǐ gàilùn, 182; Tsien, Written on Bamboo and Silk, 69.

[26] Shǐ jì, 6.243.

a postface, written in prose, that describes the reasons behind the inscription and names those responsible for having it written.[27] In the Eastern Hàn, the affixing of a preface (xù 序) to an inscription became commonplace; Chén Bìxiáng notes the early example of Bān Gù's (32-92 C.E.) "Fēng Yānrán shān míng" 封燕然山銘. Here, as is characteristic of the epitaph in the Eastern Hàn, the preface is much longer than the primary text, the inscription proper (míng 銘).[28] Chén Bìxiáng points out that prefaces of inscriptions can be written in prose, in rimed verse, or in a mixture of prose and verse, but the inscription proper is without exception in rimed verse.[29] The naming of participants in the inscription process, as in "Lángyé tái kèshíwén," also becomes a regular feature of the later stele inscription. Frequently, on the back side of a grave stele (the bēiyīn 碑陰), or on a separate stele, one can find a list of patrons.[30]

Dorothy C. Wong, in a recent dissertation, describes the appearance of Hàn-period steles; in general, they are are all "flat stone slabs supported on bases." She states that "the size of a stele . . . was regulated by the rank of the person

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[27] Shǐ jì, 6.246.

[28] Gǔdài sǎnwén wéntǐ gàilùn, 183. For the inscription, see HHs, "Dòu Róng lièzhuàn," 23.815-17, or Wén xuǎn 56.2406-8.

[29] Gǔdài sǎnwén wéntǐ gàilùn, 183.

[30] Patricia Ebrey, "Later Han Stone Inscriptions," 333, and "The Economic and Social History of Later Han," in The Cambridge History of China, 1: 642.

commemorated."[31] The bēi come in two types: the guīshǒu 圭首 (scepter-top) and the chīshǒu 螭首 (hornless basilisk-top). The top of the guīshǒu type is gable-shaped, like the jade guī scepter for which it is named, whereas the top of the chīshǒu type is rounded and ornamented with hornless basilisks, sometimes in interwined pairs.[32] The first sort, Wong notes, soon grew out of favor. The base also comes in two types, according to Wong; one is rectangular (fāngfū 方趺), and the other is in the shape of a turtle (guīfū 龜趺). As may be noted in the previous paragraph, the hitching-post bēi and the wooden fēngbēi of earlier times both had holes through them. Wong points out that "most Han steles also bear a round hole in the top central part." She adds that this hole no longer served its previous functions, and that "the hole gradually disappeared after the Han."[33]

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[31] Dorothy C. Wong, "The Beginnings of the Buddhist Stele Tradition in China," 190. Tsuen-hsuin Tsien, in Written on Bamboo and Silk, 70, states that bēi vary in size "from less than one meter long to more than five or six meters."

[32] Wong, "The Beginnings of the Buddhist Stele Tradition in China," 190. Tsien, Written on Bamboo and Silk, 70, writes that in addition to dragons, images of tigers and birds can be found at the top of some steles. On the guī, see Berthold Laufer, Jade: A Study in Chinese Archaeology and Religion, Field Museum of Natural History, Publication 154, Anthropological Series, vol. 10 (Chicago, 1912): 81-100, and see especially the illustrations on p. 96, fig. 30, and 97, fig. 31.

[33] "The Beginnings of the Buddhist Stele Tradition in China," 191. The jade sceptor (guī) mentioned above was also perforated. This, too, may have some connection with the decorative hole of the later bēi.

Steles used for the display of memorial inscriptions were placed in various locations at the burial site. Wu Hung describes types of arrangement of cemeteries in his study of the Wǔ Liáng 武梁 shrine of 151 C.E. in southwestern Shāndōng. One layout, as shown by the Eastern Hàn Yǐn Jiǎn 尹俭 tomb (in Lǔshān xiàn 魯山縣, Hénán province), is a western-facing complex with a shrine standing in front of the tomb; before the shrine stands a stele, and extending straight before that, along the same axis, is the "Spirit Way" (shéndào 神道).[34] The standard layout, though, was southward facing, with usually one or two steles standing in front of the shrine, the Spirit Way extending southward, and flanking the Spirit Way near its southward terminus a pair of stone beasts or guardian figures. At the southward end of the Spirit Way stood a què 闕 or pillar-gate, also made of stone.[35] Wu Hung notes that, according to descriptions by Lì Dàoyuán 酈道元 (No. Wèi dyn.) in the River Classic Commentary (Shuǐ jīng zhù 水經注), a burial site could hold multiple memorial steles.[36]

5.2 Filial Piety and Funerary Practices in the Late Han

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[34] Wu Hung, The Wu Liang Shrine: The Ideology of Early Chinese Pictorial Art (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1989), 31, Diagram 2. Chén Bìxiáng calls this sort of stele the "Spirit Way Stele" (shéndào bēi 神道碑): Gǔdài sǎnwén wéntǐ gàilùn, 188.

[35] Wu Hung, Monumentality in Early Chinese Art and Architecture (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1995), 190-91.

[36] The Wu Liang Shrine, 32.

The stone inscriptions commissioned by the First Emperor of Qín were all written to commemorate his power and accomplishments. In the Eastern Hàn, and especially in the second half of the second century, the epitaph type of bēiwén flourished. Patricia Ebrey charts by date and type the surviving stele inscriptions of the Eastern Hàn. She demonstrates not only the predominance of epitaphs and grave markers in the years 151-200, accounting for more than half of all stele inscriptions of that time, but also that the practice of writing inscriptions peaked during this period, an era roughly coinciding with what I have described as a kairotic epoch (159-192).[37] The

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[37] Ebrey, "Later Han Stone Inscriptions," 332, Table 1. Of the 314 surviving stele inscriptions written from 25 to 220 C.E., 146 are epitaphs and thirty-one are grave markers. The other types that she lists (and for which she provides sub-types as well) are inscriptions for "shrines and temples," for "good officials or their deeds," and for "agreements," as well as miscellaneous and fragmentary inscriptions. In the years 151-200, one hundred and sixty-three inscriptions were written, a figure which can be contrasted to the fifty-six preserved from the years 101-150, and the only five inscriptions of the years 201-220. The paucity of stele inscriptions in the latter period was due in part to Cáo Cāo's 曹操 (155-220) prohibition, in the fifteenth year of the Jiàn'ān era (210 C.E.), against the practice of erecting grave steles, a ban that was part of wider restriction against lavish funerals, and which was maintained until at least 257; see Sòng shū 宋書, compiled by Shěn Yuē 沈約 (441-513) (Běijīng: Zhōnghuá shūjú, 1974), "Lǐ zhì" B, 15.407.

Among the stele inscriptions that Ebrey takes into account are those preserved in Cài Yōng's collected works. Hans Bielenstein points out in "Later Han Inscriptions and Dynastic Biographies: A Historiographical Comparison" (in Proceedings of the International Conference on Sinology 國際漢學會議論文集, Section on History and Archaeology 歷史考古組, August 15-17, 1980, Taipei [Taipei: Chung-yang yen-chiu so (Academia Sinica), 1981], 573), that "there can . . . be no certainty that Ts'ai's [i.e., Cài Yōng's] inscriptions were ever transferred to stone or bronze. . . ." Though truly there can be no certainty without the actual steles, I think it is unlikely that Cài Yōng's renown for writing stele inscriptions derived from unused drafts. There are no surviving stones with inscriptions by Cài Yōng; the fragments of the Stone Classics at the Shǎnxī Provincial Museum's Bēilín ("Forest of Steles") in Xī'ān and at the Luòyáng Museum are possible extant examples of his calligraphy.

stele inscriptions by Cài Yōng comprise a significant percentage of the preserved texts of stele inscriptions of that era. The mostly intact texts of thirty-six of Cài Yōng's stele inscriptions survive; the fragments of another twelve are also extant.[38] The majority of these stele inscriptions, forty-one, are epitaphs.[39] Cài Yōng wrote these epitaphs from the time he was twenty years old (in 153 C.E.) to age fifty-five (188 C.E.).[40] Surviving epitaphs include some that he wrote in the decade (179-189) during which he was in self-imposed exile in Wú 吳 and Guìjī 會稽 (in the area of the mouth of the Fùchūn River 富春江), but there are none that derive from the time after he began serving Dǒng Zhuō.[41]

Why did the practice of erecting funerary bēi become so popular in the late second century? Ichimura Sanjiro 市村瓚次郎 notes the connection between the rise of this practice with the flourishing of the stone construction of shrines and què pillar-

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[38] This figure does not include the suspect forgery, "Liú Zhènnán bēi" 劉鎮南碑; see Sìkù quánshū zǒngmù tíyào bǔzhèng 四庫全書總目提要補正, comp. Hú Yùjìn 胡玉縉 (Shànghǎi: Zhōnghuá shūjú, 1964), 2: 1170-71.

[39] See Yán Kějūn's Quán Hòu Hàn wén, 75.1a-79.3a. Ebrey counts only twenty-six stele inscriptions by Cài Yōng; see "Later Han Stone Inscriptions," 326.

[40] Based on the dating by Gōng Kèchāng, Hàn fù yánjiū, 281-195, and summarized by Asselin, "The Hou Han shu Biography of Cai Yong," Appendix B, 232-43.

[41] For a brief chronology of Cài Yōng's life, see Asselin, "The Hou Han shu Biography of Cai Yong," Appendix A, 227-31.

gates, and, one might add, the apotropaic beasts and guardian figures placed along the Spirit Way. He also points out the extremely close relationship between Hàn official recognition of filial piety as a personal quality indicative of a man's worth, and the lavish burial practices of this time, of which the practice of erecting bēi monuments was one part.[42] It is clear from the amount of criticism of lavish burial in the second century that the practice was, on the one hand, perceived by some to be a major social problem, and, on the other, a defining social phenomenon of the late second century.

Lavish burial was practiced throughout the Hàn. This is evident from recent archaeological discoveries, but it can also be deduced from the literary and historical texts that record the continued criticism the custom elicited, and from the imperial edicts intended to arrest the practice.[43] For instance, the Discourses on Iron and Salt (Yán tiě lùn 鹽鐵論), a Western Hàn text that purports to be an account of an imperially sponsored debate of 81 B.C.E., states of the mourners of that time:

> They feel no true grief, yet they are regarded as filial if they provide [their parents] with an extravagant burial and spend a fortune. On account of this their name becomes prominent and their glory shines among the people. Consequently even

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[42] Ichimura Sanjiro 市村瓚次郎, "Kan dai kenpi no ryūkō oyobi sono kōsei no kinsei ni tsuite" 漢代建碑の流行及び其後世の禁制に就いて, Shoen 2, no. 9 (1938): 2. For a photograph of an example of stone què pillars, which were shaped like watchtowers and on which inscriptions were often made, see Wu Hung, The Wu Liang Shrine, 5, Fig. 1, or Monumentality, 191, fig. 4.2.

[43] See Mu-Chou Poo, "Ideas Concerning Death and Burial in Pre-Han and Han China," A.M., 3d ser., 3, pt. 2 (1990): 39-61.

> the commoners emulate [these practices] to the extent that they sell their houses and property to do it.[44]

Later, Wáng Fú (ca. 90-165 or ca. 78-163 C.E.) writes:

> Taking care of one's parents when they are alive and obeying their will: this is what is meant by xiào ['being filially pious']. Nowadays, many repudiate their parents' will and are stingy when it comes to taking care of their parents; they are frugal when their parents are alive, awaiting their deaths. After one dies, they then amply provide for the obsequies in order to express their being filially pious, and lavishly entertain their guests in order to seek a reputation.[45]

One of Wáng Fú's contemporaries, Cuī Shí 崔寔 (?-ca. 170), also denounced lavish burial, but when his own father died, he ended up selling his estate in order to raise the funds to build a tomb and erect a memorial stele. Cuī Shí ended up destitute, eking out a bare existence selling ale and congee.[46] We cannot know whether grief or social pressure caused Cuī Shí to set aside his principles in this instance, but the anecdote does indicate how infectious the custom of lavish burial in Eastern Hàn society was that even one of its critics was not immune to it.

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[44] Yán tiě lùn, "Sàn bǔ zú" (Sbck), 6.7a; trans. Martin J. Powers, Art and Political Expression in Early China (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991), 136. See also Mu-Chou Poo, "Ideas Concerning Death and Burial," 44-45.

[45] "Wù běn" (Qián fú lùn jiān jiàozhèng), 2.20. See also "Fú chǐ," 12.134-39. With respect to obeying one's father's will (shùn zhì 順志), see Lúnyǔ 1/11: "When one's father is alive, to observe his [the son's] will; when one's father is dead, to observe his conduct: If there is no change in three years time with respect to the way of the father, he can be regarded as filial."

[46] HHs, "Cuī Yīn lièzhuàn," 52.1731; discussed by Mu-Chou Poo, "Ideas Concerning Death and Burial," 55. For Cuī Shí's criticism of lavish tombs, see his "Essay on Governing" ("Zhèng lùn" 政論), in Quán Hòu Hàn wén, 46.5b.

Because the practice of lavish burial among the wealthy impoverished those of more humble means who sought to emulate them, the government, albeit in vain, attempted to proscribe it. The Hòu Hàn shū records the issuing of sumptuary laws targeting lavish burial in the years 31, 69, 77, 99, 107, and 118 C.E.[47] None of these was successful. It was not until 210 C.E., with Cáo Cāo's (155-220) edict against lavish burial, that a measure of moderation was attained; this lasted until 257.[48] Mu-Chou Poo, in a study of attitudes towards death and burial in early China, points out that "the decrees, while taking the livelihood of the people as a main point against lavish burial, also made it clear that the behavior itself was a violation of proper lǐ, and therefore a disruption of the order of society."[49]

Lavish burial had already been a long-standing issue in China by the late Hàn. Mu-Chou Poo states that the recorded tradition of lavish burials (hòuzàng 厚葬) begins as early as 588 B.C.E. with the death of Duke Wén of Sòng 宋文公.[50] From the

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[47] HHs, "Guāngwǔ dì jì," 1B.51; "Xiǎnzōng Xiào Míng dì jì," 2.114-15; "Sùzōng Xiào Zhāng dì," 3.134-35; "Xiào Hé Xiào Shāng dì jì," 4.186; "Xiào Ān dì jì," 5.207, 228-29. See also Martin J. Powers, Art and Political Expression, 136-37, 395, nn. 12, 13; Mu-Chou Poo, "Ideas Concerning Death and Burial," 42.

[48] See n. 37.

[49] "Ideas Concerning Death and Burial," 42-43.

[50] See Zuǒ zhuàn, Chéng 2. This record adds that besides the provision of chariots, horses, and precious objects for his grave, people, too, were buried along with the Duke.

Warring States period on, Poo notes, the appropriateness of lavish burials was often discussed in philosophical literature.[51] Poo surveys these arguments in his study.[52] In brief, the various pre-Hàn schools of thought embodied in Mòzǐ, Zhuāngzǐ, and Lǚ shì chūnqiū 呂氏春秋 oppose lavish burial, but the Ruist-Confucian tradition, being unconcerned with such objections as these texts raise, takes a somewhat neutral view that, in effect, supports lavish burial.[53]

Lúnyǔ, Mèngzǐ, and Xúnzǐ all emphasize appropriateness in the carrying out of the mourning rites. Each person ought to be buried with the accoutrements due him on the basis of his social status. According to Confucian thought, one ought not transgress ritual by providing a more lavish funeral than one's social station allowed. A simple burial should not be considered improper if one does not have the financial means to

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[51] Mu-Chou Poo, "Ideas Concerning Death and Burial," 25-26.

[52] See "Ideas Concerning Death and Burial," 26-62.

[53] Mu-Chou Poo, "Ideas Concerning Death and Burial," 26-38. Mòzǐ argues against lavish burials on the principle that to expend so much money on burial practices does nothing to help the poor and needy, or to provide social order; see the chapter "Jié zàng" ("Economize in Burial"). A story in Zhuāngzǐ relates how Zhuāngzǐ did not wish his disciples to give him a lavish burial because the material things he would be provided in his grave were meaningless to him; see "Lièyù Kòu" (Zhuāngzǐ jiàoquán), 32.1289. The reason behind the Lǚ shì chūnqiū's opposition to lavish burial is a pragmatic one: Abhorring the desecration of the dead, Lǚ shì chūnqiū argues that a richly endowed tomb only serves to invite grave robbers; see the chapter "Jié sāng" ("Economize Funerals"). For a thorough discussion of the "Jié sāng" and "Ān sǐ" 安死 chapters of Lǚ shì chūnqiū, see Jeffrey Riegel, "Do Not Serve the Dead as You Serve the Living: The Lüshi chunqiu Treatises on Moderation in Burial," Early China 20 (1995): 301-30.

carry out the cermonies to the full extent permitted. Yet, frugality is not some sort of ideal to which one should aspire; indeed, the appeal to ritual encouraged spending up to the limits allowed. One can see the special status accorded funerary rites in the primary Confucian texts: Lúnyǔ 1/9, for instance, says: "Give careful attention to the obsequies and be diligent about the sacrifices and the people's virtue will be whole" 愼終追遠民德歸厚矣; Mèngzǐ 4B/13 has, "Taking care of one's parents when alive is insufficient to be considered a great matter; Only arranging the funerary services can be considered a great matter" 養生者不足以當大事,惟送死可以當大事, and 2B/7, "I have heard it said that the exemplary man will not for all the world be thifty [in burial] with respect to his parents" 吾聞之也, 君子不以天下儉其親; Xúnzǐ states, "In any particular case where one is generous when his parents are alive, but stingy when they are dead, this is being respectful when the parents are conscious, and disrespectful when they are not; this is the way of the depraved, and the mind of the unfilial" 夫厚其生而薄其死是敬其有知而慢其無知也;是姦人之道而倍叛之心也.[54]

The careful realization of the mourning rites was considered a primary focus of lǐ and one of the most important--if not the most important--expressions of filial piety. The centrality of the mourning rites to the concept of xiào can be seen in this passage from the Lúnyǔ (2/5):

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[54] "Lǐ lùn" (Xúnzi jíjiě), 13.504; cf. Mu-Chou Poo's translation of this passage, "Ideas Concerning Death and Burial," 31.

> Mèng Yìzǐ 孟懿子 asked about filial piety. The Master said, "It is to be not disobedient."
>
> Fán Chí 樊遲 was driving when the Master told him, "Mèngsūn asked me about filial piety, and I responded, "It is to be not disobedient." Fán Chí said, "What does that mean?" The Master said, "When one's parents are alive, to serve them according to ritual; when they are dead, to bury them according to ritual, and offer sacrifice to them according to ritual."[55]

The special accord given mourning rites by Confucianism, the cachet that filial piety had as a Confucian value, and the high regard for mourning rites as an expression of filial piety resulted in extravagant spending. Hán Fēizǐ closely identifies the practice of lavish burial with Confucianism; its adherents are described in the Shǐ jì as "making elaborate preparations in funerals, showing excessive emotions in mourning, and spending all their fortunes on lavish burials" 崇喪遂哀, 破產厚葬.[56]

Filial piety as a social concept was elevated to a supreme position in the Hàn, as can be seen in two developments with marked political overtones. For one thing, the Xiào jīng or Book of Filial Piety, had been made an important Confucian text by the time of the Eastern Hàn. During the reign of Liú Jīzǐ 劉箕子 (Emperor Píng 平帝, 1

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[55] The subsequent three passages in Lúnyǔ (2/6-8) provide further nuances to the concept of xiào that are unrelated to the mourning rites.

[56] See Hán Fēizǐ, "Xiǎn xué," 2: 19.1085, and Mu-Chou Poo, "Ideas Concerning Death and Burial," 28-31; citation of statement by Yàn Yīng from Shǐ jì, "Kǒngzǐ shìjiā," 47.1911, trans. Mu-Choo Poo, 31. For other passages in the primary Confucian texts expressing these attitudes towards burial and ritual, see Lúnyǔ 11/7, Mèngzǐ 2B/7, and Xúnzǐ, "Lǐ lùn" (Xúnzi jíjiě), 13.504-6. On Confucius' attitude towards the propriety of thrifty burial if one lacks the financial means, see Lǐ jì, "Tán gōng," 8.13b.

B.C.E.-6 C.E.), in 3 C.E., the regent Wáng Mǎng had created the title of "Master of the Book of Filial Piety" ("Xiào jīng" shī 孝經師) to refer to teachers at subprefectural-level schools. His goal was that all educated men be able to intone the Xiào jīng.[57] Under Emperor Míng (reg. 58-75), according to a later memorial of 106 C.E., even the palace guards were expected to be versed in the classic.[58] Michael Nylan and Mu-Choo Poo both point out that the likely reason for this undertaking was that the concept of filial piety had been, particular at this juncture in time, extended to include the relationship of the people to their ruler as a sort of son-to-father relationship, and hence training in the classic would promote loyalty.[59] This extension of filial piety to rulers can be seen in a citation of a Xiào jīng apocrypha in a memorial by Wéi Biāo 韋彪 (ob. 89): "Confucius said, 'If one serves one's parents with filial piety, then loyalty can be transferred to the ruler; thus one seeks a loyal minister in the home of a filial son."[60]

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[57] Hs, "Píng dì jì," 12.355; HHs, "Xún Hán Zhōng Chén lièzhuàn," 62.2051, 2052 n. 3; Hans Bielenstein, The Bureaucracy of Han Times, 86. Bielenstein points out (p. 101) that prior to this time, teachers may have been called more generally, "Clerks Ranking 100 Shí for the Five Classics" (Wǔjīng bǎishí zúshǐ 五經百石卒史).

[58] See Fán Zhǔn's 樊準 (ob. 118) biography in HHs 32.1126.

[59] Mu-Chou Poo, "Ideas Concerning Death and Burial," 47, and Michael Nylan, "Confucian Piety and Individualism in Han China," 9, and see especially n. 65.

[60] See Wéi Biāo's biography in HHs 26.918; cf. John Makeham's translation in Name and Actuality in Early Chinese Thought, 175-76. Makeham notes (252-53 n. 28) that according to the introduction to their fifth volume of the revised Isho shūsei 緯書集成, Yasui Kozan 安居香山 and Nakamura Shōhachi 中村璋八 state that the Xiào jīng apocrypha rank alongside the important Chūnqiū apocrypha, which Makeham asserts "also testifies to the importance of xiao in the Eastern

The Xiào jīng itself states that "if one serves the ruler with filial piety he is loyal; if one serve his elders with respect he is obedient" 以孝事君則忠, 以敬事長則順.[61] By the end of the Eastern Hàn, the Xiào jīng was viewed overtly as a political tool. In 184, a certain Sòng Xiāo 宋梟 suggested that the government distribute the Xiào jīng in the rebellious northwestern border region of Liángzhōu 涼州 "so that every household will practice it" 令家家習之. The intent was to instill loyalty in the region first by re-Sinification, and then by indoctrinating the local people in a practice of filial piety that emphasized the notion of loyalty to the ruler.[62]

Wáng Mǎng's promotion of the Xiào jīng is referred to in a memorial of 166 by Xún Shuǎng 荀爽 (128-190) in which he states that "Hàn regulations compelled the empire to intone the Book of Filial Piety and to select officials by recommending the "Filially Pious and Incorrupt" (Xiào-lián). To mourn for parents in exhaustive grief is the completion of filial piety."[63] This brings us to the second development in the Hàn

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Han particularly." Makeham comments (p. 176) that the extension of xiào to rulers began at least as early as the late Warring States period.

Another manifestation of the centrality of xiào in the political realm was the attachment of the word xiào as a prefix to the names of the Eastern Hàn emperors after Guāngwǔ.

[61] Xiào jīng zhèngyì, "Shì," 2.5b.

[62] See Gě Xūn's 蓋勳 biography, HHs 58.1880, and "Han Foreign Relations," by Yü Ying-shih, in The Cambridge History of China, 1: 434.

[63] HHs, "Xún Hán Zhōng Chén lièzhuàn," 62.2051: 漢制使天下誦孝經, 選吏舉孝廉. 夫喪親自盡, 孝之終也.

dynasty with respect to the elevation of xiào: the identification of filial piety as a value to be recognized as a sign of worthiness for official life. The practice of recommending men for office after having identified in them codified moral traits began in the Western Hàn. One set of these traits was xiào and lián; beginning in 134 B.C.E., under Emperor Wǔ, these were separate categories established for the purpose of recommendation, though later they comprised a single classification.[64] Until 92 C.E., each commandery and kingdom recommended two men every year under this classification for a total of some two hundred candidates per year. In the year 92, the system was changed so that the number of men recommended this way was based on the population instead of by administrative unit; the total number of men recommended under this classification was then about 250-300.[65] Hans Bielenstein states that those so recommended who then "successfully passed all scrutiny" at the capital were "given the title of Gentleman" (láng 郎). The Filially Pious and Incorrupt "then had to undergo a probationary period as imperial bodyguards. . . . Those who proved themselves worthy were eventually

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[64] Hs, "Wǔ dì jì," 6.160; Makeham, Name and Actuality in Early Chinese Thought, 101.

[65] HHs, "Huán Róng Dīng Hóng lièzhuàn," 37.1268; Bielenstein, The Bureaucracy of Han Times, 134-35. Bielenstein states that under the new system, "each commandery and kingdom should annually recommend one Filially Pious and Incorrupt for each 200,000 inhabitants. Units with less than 200,000 inhabitants should recommend one man each second year, and with less than 100,000 inhabitants one man each third year. . . ." The system was furthered modified in 101 C.E.; see HHs, "Xiào Hé Xiào Shāng dì jì," 4.189; Bielenstein, The Bureaucracy of Han Times, 134-35.

promoted to regular offices in the civil service."[66] This system was one of the most important ways by which one might enter the bureaucratic ranks.[67] Hence, one can imagine that for those intending to enter officialdom this way the pressure to demonstrate that one was filially pious was indeed great.

The promotion of xiào through the Xiào jīng and through the recommendation system succeeded in putting that value at the center of Eastern Hàn culture. Filial piety at this time was extended not only to rulers, as described above, but also to one's teachers and patrons.[68] The personal benefit one could derive from being recognized as xiào encouraged obvious and even strange displays of filial piety.[69] Putting on grand shows of filial piety was not the sole province of the unscrupulous, who no doubt took

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[66] Bielenstein, The Bureaucracy of Han Times, 135. Bielenstein notes (p. 136) that beginning in 132, men recommended as Filially Pious and Incorrupt had to be, "unless exceptionally qualified . . . at least forty years old and undergo an examination on arrival in the capital." See HHs, "Xiàn Shùn Xiào Chōng Xiào Zhí dì jì," 6.261.

[67] Bielenstein, The Bureaucracy of Han Times, 140-41; Makeham, Name and Actuality in Early Chinese Thought, 101.

[68] Patricia Ebrey, "Patron-Client Relations in the Later Han," JAOS 103 (July-September 1983), 535. The extension of xiào to one's patrons had the unintentional effect of weakening allegiance to the center by forming intermediate bonds of loyalty within the ranks of the bureaucracy. See Michael Nylan, "Confucian Piety and Individualism in Han China," 10-11. The extension of xiào to teachers came about due to the high regard for teachers in the Hàn; see Cho-yun Hsu, "The Roles of the Literati and of Regionalism in the Fall of the Han Dynasty," 185.

[69] For examples of perverse expressions of filial piety, see Makeham, Name and Actuality in Early Chinese Thought, 103.

great advantage of the custom, but rather was carried on willy-nilly by most members of the clerisy. One could showcase one's filial piety through the observance of the three-year mourning period,[70] and in the practice of lavish burial, which, because it was as Martin Powers says "the most public of occasions in the lives of the scholars," was also the most public of displays of filial piety.[71] Lavish burial as a sign of the degree to which one is filial was so prevalent in second-century culture that one was obligated to provide it for parents, patrons, and teachers to avoid making serious social offense and endangering one's official career. In other words, lavish burial, and by it a show of filial piety, became not just a means of acquiring a reputation, but a way of preserving one's reputation, too.[72] For the rich, lavish burial posed little if any financial hardship, but for

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[70] The traditional three-year mourning period (actually, ancient sources vary as to the exact length but indicate that the mourning was to last into the third year) was reduced by Emperor Wén 文帝 (Liú Héng 劉恒, 180-157 B.C.E.) in 157 B.C.E. to thirty-six days (Shǐ jì, "Xiào Wén běnjì," 10.433-34; Hs, "Wén dì jì," 4.131-32). Through much of the Western Hàn, this reduced mourning period was observed, but at the end of the Western Hàn and throughout the Eastern Hàn the orthodox mourning period was at least unofficially observed. Official permission for senior officials to observe the long mourning period was alternatively granted and revoked throughout the second century. Nonetheless, observance of the three-year mourning by those hoping to secure a recommendation as Filially Pious and Incorrupt would often put them in good stead. For the sources on the traditional "three-year" mourning period, see Makeham, Name and Actuality in Early Chinese Thought, 227 n. 28; on the vicissitudes of the official standing of this mourning period in the Hàn (including sources), see Makeham, 226-27 n. 27, and Yáng Shùdá 楊樹達, Hàndài hūn sāng lǐ súkǎo 漢代昏喪禮俗考, Mínsú, mínsú wénxué yǐngyìn zīliào 21 (Shànghǎi: Shànghǎi wényì chūbǎnshè, 1988), 2.237-68; on the observance of the three-year mourning on behalf of teachers and patrons, see Makeham, 177-78.

[71] Art and Political Expression in Early China, 97.

[72] See Powers, Art and Political Expression in Early China, 138-39.

those of modest means, it could be disasterous, as it was for Cuī Shí. Yet he had written, ironically, that one should not "be motivated for reputation by exhausting one's own property for the sake of imitating the wealthy. The expenditures should be within the range of income in order to reach an appropriate balance."[73] To see even Cuī Shí caught up in lavish burial is a sober indication of how this practice seems to have become a nearly inescapable social obligation.

Funerals of officials, patrons, and teachers in the late Eastern Hàn attracted hundreds, if not thousands of people. Indeed, the funeral of one man whose epitaph we will consider in the next section, Chén Shí 陳寔 (104-186), is said to have had thirty thousand in attendance.[74] Local (and sometimes court) officials would be expected to be in attendance at the funerals of prominent and respected people along with the deceased's subalterns, disciples, and students. Participation in the funerary rites was at once an act of filial piety and a political act, demonstrating one's commitment to the policies or teachings of the departed. As a further sign of their filial devotion and allegiance, these men would commonly contribute money towards the raising of a bēi

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[73] "Monthly Instructions for the Four Classes of People" ("Sìmín yuèlìng" 四民月令), Quán Hòu Hàn wén, 47.3b; trans. Cho-yun Hsu, in Han Agriculture: The Formation of Early Chinese Agrarian Economy (206 B.C.-A.D. 220), edited by Jack L. Dull (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1980), 220, C.6; see also Powers, Art and Political Expression in Early China, 97, and 134-38, for a very helpful description of the enormous expense of putting on a lavish funeral.

[74] See Chén Shí's biography, HHs, 62.2067.

funerary stone, and the inscribing of a suitably eulogistic inscription. They would seek, obviously, the best composer of funerary inscriptions that their money could buy. There was no composer whose services they could engage who had a greater reputation and stature than that of Cài Yōng.

5.3 Two Stele Inscriptions by Cài Yōng

The two epitaphs to be considered below are the only two works by Cài Yōng included in the Selections of Refined Literature or Wén xuǎn 文選, compiled by the Crown Prince of Liáng, Xiāo Tǒng 蕭統 (501-531). The Wén xuǎn is the earliest extant Chinese literary anthology arranged by genre, and for over a millennium it has been regarded as the most important repository of literature written prior to the Táng dynasty. Indeed, the Wén xuǎn was for centuries not only an important reference work for scholars, but also, from the eighth to the eleventh centuries, a key part of the program of examination preparation.[75] The inclusion of two of Cài Yōng's stele inscriptions in this anthology attests to the high regard in the Six Dynasties for his bēiwén, and particularly for these two works.[76] Their selection might also reflect Xiāo

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[75] Knechtges, 1: 1, 54. For more on Wén xuǎn, see Knechtges's introduction to 1: 1-70.

[76] This high regard is also seen in the Embellishments on the Heart of Literature, as noted above. The other three stele inscriptions included in Wén xuǎn are Wáng Jiǎn's 王儉 (452-489) "Epitaph for Chǔ Yuān" ("Chǔ Yuān bēiwén" 褚淵碑文; 58.2508-23); Wáng Jīn's 王巾 (ob. 505) "Stele Inscription for the Dhūta Temple" ("Tóutuósì bēiwén 頭陁寺碑文; 58.2527-42), and Shěn

Tǒng's own noted interest and proficiency in the Book of Filial Piety.[77] I will treat these two stele inscriptions, the "Epitaph for 'Holder of Principle' Guō Línzōng" ("Guō Yǒudào Línzōng bēi") and the "Epitaph for Tāiqiū Magistrate Chén" ("Chén Tàiqiū bēi") in the order in which they were written, which is also the order in which they appear in the Wén xuǎn.

"Epitaph for 'Holder of Principle' Guō Línzōng." The first of these inscriptions was written for the renowned leader of the students at the Academy during the unrest of the 160s. Guō Tài's (128-169) biography in the Hòu Hàn shū states:

> Guō Tài, styled Línzōng 林宗, was from Jièxiū 界休 in Tàiyuán 太原.[78] His family had been poor and lowly for generations. He lost his father at an early age. His mother wanted to send him to work at the prefectural headquarters. Línzōng replied, "How could a real man be a stupid flunky?" And so he declined to go. He went to study with Qū Bóyàn 屈伯彥 of Chénggāo 成皋, and when after three years his studies had been completed, he had a broad understanding of the ancient classics.[79] He was skilled at discourse, and excelled at music.

Yuē's 沈約 (441-513) "Epitaph for the Resplendent Prince of Old Ānlù in Qí" ("Qí gù Ānlù Zhāowáng bēiwén" 齊故安陸昭王碑文; 58.2545-64).

[77] Knechtges, Selections, 1: 5; Liáng shū 梁書, comp. Yáo Sīlián 姚思廉 (ob. 637) (Běijīng: Zhōnghuá shūjú, 1975), "Lièzhuàn," 8.165, 25.378; Nán shǐ 南史, comp. Lǐ Yánshòu 李延壽 (fl. 629) (Běijīng: Zhōnghuá shūjú, 1975), "Lièzhuàn," 53.1308, 60.1479.

[78] This was located just SE of modern Jièxiū xiàn 介休縣 in Shānxī (the graphic variant in the place name is old; see Appendix L, n. 3. On the graphic variant for Tài, see Appendix L, n. 1.

[79] Chénggāo was located in what is now north central Hénán. I have found nothing more on Qū Bóyàn.

Then he journeyed to Luòyáng. When he first met first Lǐ Yīng, the governor of Hénán, the latter thought him a rare sort.[80] Thereafter they became good friends, and on account of this his name resounded in the capital. Later, when he was about to return to his hometown, officials and scholars filling many thousands of carriages went to see him off at the riverbank. Línzōng alone crossed the river in the same boat with Lǐ Yīng. The multitudes who watched the boat go regarded it as carrying a god.

The Minister over the Masses Huáng Qióng 黃瓊 [ob. before 178] summoned him to service and Grand Master of Ceremonies Zhào Diǎn 趙典 [ob. 168] elevated him to "Holder of Principle."[81] Someone urged him to take an appointment, and he replied, "By night I observe the celestial signs, and by day I look into the affairs of the world; 'what Heaven is toppling cannot be supported.'"[82] Subsequently, he did not respond to either.

By nature Línzōng was very astute, and he discerned the good and bad in people. He enjoyed encouraging and guiding other members of the clerisy. He was eight chǐ tall [i.e., a little over six feet], and strong and robust in appearance. He wore large robes and sashes in his journeys about the commanderies and kingdoms. Once, when he was travelling between Chén and Liáng, it suddenly began to rain and a corner of his cap sank down. His contemporaries then began to bend down a corner of their caps, and this became the "Línzōng Cap." That was the kind of hero-worship that he received. Someone asked Fàn Pāng 范滂 [137-169] of Rǔnán 汝南, "What sort of man is Guō Línzōng?"[83] Pāng said, "In being reclusive he does not turn his back on his parents; in maintaining purity, he does not cut himself off from worldly matters. The Son of Heaven did not procure him

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[80] Hénán was the capital commandery south of Luòyáng. On Lǐ Yīng, see also Chapter I.

[81] See HHs 61. 2032-38 for Huáng Qióng's biography, and 27.947-49 for Zhào Diǎn's biography. On the title of "Holder of Principle," see Appendix L, n. 33.

[82] Here Guō Tài cites the Zuǒ zhuàn, Dīng 1. This same anecdote as related in Yuán Hóng's Hòu Hàn jì (Sbck), 23.12b, has Guō Tài going on to relate his interest in cultivating breathing, a way of prolonging one's life. See Aat Vervoorn's translation of this passage in Men of the Cliffs and Caves, 176, and his discussion of this point, 187-88.

[83] Rǔnán was a large commandery in Yùzhōu 預州, located in what is now southeastern Hénán and northern Ānhuī. For Fàn Pāng's biography, see HHs, "Dǎnggù lièzhuàn," 67.2203-7.

as a minister, and the various marquises did not attain him as a friend. I don't know anything more." Later, Línzōng grieved over his mother's passing, and garnered a reputation for supreme filial piety.

Although Línzōng was good at appraising people, he did not make risky or trenchant criticisms, so that when the eunuch officials arrogated control of the government they were not able to harm him. When the factional matter arose, many renowned members of the clerisy were destroyed by it. Only Línzōng and Yuán Hóng 袁閎 [128-184] of Rǔnán managed to avert it.[84] Subsequently, he retired to his home to teach, and his students numbered over a thousand.

In the first year of the Jiànníng reign period [168 C.E.], when he found out that the grand tutor Chén Fān and the regent Dòu Wǔ were slain by the eunuchs, Línzōng, out in the country, wept, deeply pained.[85] Afterwards, he sighed and said, "Good men perish / And the country is diseased and dying," and "Look up at the crow about to roost, / On whose house?" and that was all.[86]

The next spring he died at his home. He was forty-two suì. Over a thousand people from all over came to attend the burial. Like-minded men then came together to inscribe a stone and have it erected. Cài Yōng wrote the text. Afterwards, he told Lú Zhí 盧植 [ob. 192] of Zhuōjùn 涿郡, "I have written many epitaphs and inscriptions, and in nearly all cases they bear the shame of being morally deficient. Only "Holder of Principle" Guō's lacks the flush of shame in it."[87]

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[84] For Yuán Hóng's biography, see HHs 45.1525-26.

[85] These executions occurred the night of October 24-25; see Chapter I.

[86] Citing Máo shī 264/5, and 192/3, respectively. Both poems are traditionally said to lament the ruin of Zhōu by King Yōu (reg. 781-771 B.C.E.). The first quoted couplet is self-explanatory; the second is explained by Bernhard Karlgren ("The Book of Odes: Kuo Feng and Siao Ya," BMFEA 16 [1944]: 235 [e]): "The black raven, a bird of ill omen (cf. ode 41); who is the next to be struck by calamity? Nobody is safe, since anybody, guilty or innocent, may be punished."

[87] HHs, "Guō Fú Xǔ lièzhuàn," 68.2225-27. Zhuōjùn was located roughly in the area of modern Zhuōjùn, about 55 kilometers southwest of Běijīng. For Lú Zhí's biography, see HHs 64.2113-20. For more background on Guō Tài, see Aat Vervoorn, Men of the Cliffs and Caves, 175-78 (on 178, he refers to him as "the epitome of Confucian eremitism of the last hundred years of the Han").

Guō Tài's official biography tells us about his refusal to take office, his "supreme filial piety" (zhì xiào 至孝), and the devotion that he received in life and in death. Though he "was skilled at discourse, and excelled at music," there is relatively little attention paid to his scholarly achievements--none of the sort of standard "he mastered such-and-such classics by age three (or whatever)" that one finds in official biographies of scholars. Instead, the biography emphasizes his upright character and formidable physique. The passage suggests that by virtue of his personality and physique he possessed the intangible "charisma" to charm friends and opponents alike. Moreover, he was a celebrity who, like a modern pop star, was able to touch off a fashion craze. If we are to believe that he made the statements attributed to him in this piece, we would conclude that he was acutely aware of living in an end time. When he is summoned to office early in his life, he responds, "By night I observe the celestial signs, and by day I look into human affairs; 'what Heaven is toppling cannot be supported,'" intimating his concern that the days of the Hàn dynasty were numbered. Similarly, when he grieves over the murders of Chén Fān and Dòu Wǔ, he recites these lines from the Shī jīng: "Good men perish / And the country is diseased and dying."[88] The biography is silent with respect to his student activism, but in the chapter on the "Partisan Proscription"

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[88] Okamura Shigeru refers to Guō Tài's prediction of the imminent demise of the Hàn in "Sai Yū o meguru Go Kan makki no bungaku no sūsei," 68 (Chin. trans., 35).

(dǎnggù 黨錮) he is named along with Jiǎ Biāo 賈彪 of Dìnglíng 定陵 as one of two leaders of the students at the Academy during the protests of the 160s.[89]

At Guō Tài's funeral, we are told, over a thousand people turned out. A group of friends, including Cài Yōng, decided to erect a memorial stone, and Cài Yōng was selected to write the inscription. At this time, in 169 C.E., Cài Yōng was thirty-six years old. He was still in retirement after having decided in 159 to remain withdrawn from official life.[90] From Guō Tài's biography and from the preface to the inscription, we learn that this epitaph was not a commission, but that Cài Yōng had composed it out of personal affection and admiration for Guō Tài. The stele inscription, as it has been preserved in Cài Yōng's collection (the stone itself does not survive), is composed of two parts: a long preface written mainly in prose, but with some use of rime, and an inscription in rimed couplets. In the preface, four-syllable lines predominate (almost half of the lines), followed by six-syllable ones (less than a third), but there are also other line lengths, particularly seven-syllable (seven in all) and three-syllable (three in all) ones. Line lengths are frequently parallel, so that a four-syllable line is matched by a four-syllable one, and a six-syllable line by a six-syllable one, etc. There is, moreover,

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[89] For Jiǎ Biāo's biography, see HHs, "Dǎnggù lièzhuàn," 67.2216-17. Dìnglíng was located in Yǐngchuān commandery 潁川郡, thirty-seven kilometers southeast of modern Píngdǐngshān City 平頂山市 in Hénán.

[90] See Chapter II. The following year, 170 C.E., Cài Yōng accepted his first appointment, having been summoned to serve in the bureau of the Minister over the Masses, Qiáo Xuán 橋玄.

syntactic parallelism. The preface to "Epitaph for 'Holder of Principle' Guō Línzōng," then, is an early example of parallel prose (piántǐwén). The inscription proper is in twenty-eight uniform tetrasyllabic stichs.

Many prefaces begin with some sort of genealogy. The family history is often, as in the case of the "Epitaph for 'Holder of Principle' Guō Línzōng," an effort to connect the deceased with illustrious figures of the past. There is, in this exercise, an expression of the desire to establish the deceased's family as worthy and to create a tradition of honor for his descendants.[91] In Guō Tài's case, there may be extra motivation for this insofar as his family was poor and lowly:

> The late gentleman by the venerable name Tài, styled Línzōng, was a man from Jièxiū in Tàiyuán. His ancestors emerged from the Zhōu. Of the scions of Wáng Jì 王季, there was one Guó Shú 虢叔 who possessed excellent Virtue; King Wén consulted with him. He established the fiefdom and named the clan after it. Some referred to him as Guō 郭, and [Guō Tài] was his descendant.[92]

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[91] Patricia Ebrey, "Later Han Stone Inscriptions," 333, states that, "One important social attitude revealed in inscriptions is an ambivalence toward ancestry. There was little agreement in this period on what were the essential facts which placed a man in a family line. Perhaps interest in genealogy, previously an aristocratic activity, was still relatively new to other groups." I do not think there is a serious effort in these inscriptions to provide a genealogy; as I have stated above, I believe the primary intent is rhetorical and symbolic: rooting a man in an honorable past. Ebrey goes on (333-34) to provide some interesting contrasts in the amount of information given, ranging from a preface much like that of Guō Tài's epitaph, to a preface with a rather detailed family history.

[92] Wén xuǎn, 58.2501, and CZj (Sbby), 2.1a. (I give these two texts because I generally follow the Wén xuǎn text, and the CZj is representative of some of the textual variants.) For annotation, including textual notes, see Appendix L.

This section provides Guō Tài with a famous ancestor, and explains how his family name came about. His family is said to have descended from Wáng Jì, the youngest son of Gǔgōng Dǎnfǔ 古公亶父, who had established the state of Zhōu. Wáng Jì was the father of King Wén, posthumously recognized as the first king of the Zhōu dynasty. There was a Guó Shú who was the younger brother of King Wén, and who faithfully served his brother as a minister. Guó Shú had received his name from the place with which he was enfeoffed, Eastern Guó 東虢.[93] The loan graph 郭 was at some point introduced for 虢 (the two stood for homophones in Old Chinese; 見 initial, 魚 rime, rù shēng). At this point the connection with Guō Tài is made, skipping over a millennium's worth of ancestors. This is obviously not a serious effort in genealogy. What Cài Yōng has done is to give Guō Tài a name (míng 名): i.e., he has given him the rights to a noble name. His next task is to define Guō Tài's qualities and achievements, his shí 實 or "actuality," such that they meet the standard of this famous name.[94]

In a very general way, Cài Yōng follows in the preface the chronological outline of Guō Tài's life that we find in the much later Hòu Hàn shū biography. First he lists Guō Tài's "innate qualities" (literally, "Heaven's blessings," tiānzhōng 天衷), and then

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[93] This was located in the area of modern Yíngzé xiàn 滎澤縣 in Hénán province.

[94] On the importance of these concepts, míng and shí, in late Eastern Hàn thought, see John Makcham's Name and Actuality in Early Chinese Thought.

shows us where those naturally endowed gifts took him, first on travels about the empire, and then to the Academy in Luòyáng:

> The late gentleman
> Was greatly gifted in innate qualities,
> He was astute and perceptive, perspicacious and wise,
> Filial and fraternal, good-natured and respectful,
> Humane and sincere, kind and benevolent.
>
> Now then,
> The compass of his talents was large and deep,
> . . . . . .
> For a well-honed character and polished conduct,
> An upright way and straight speech--
> "Constancy and being firm were enough to carry out all matters,"
> Straightening and being steadfast were enough to rectify the times.
>
> Thereupon, he
> examined and perused the Six Scriptures,
> investigated and arranged the diagrams and apocrypha,
> circulated all around the Chinese states, and
> subsequently settled at the imperial academy.
> He saved [the Way of] Wén and Wǔ which had been on the brink of collapse,
> and rescued the profound teachings [of Confucius] from extinction.[95]

Guō Tài's traits are enumerated here in nearly synonymous pairs, e.g., "astute and perceptive" (cōng ruì 聰睿), "perspicacious and wise" (míng zhé 明哲), "filial and fraternal" (xiào yǒu 孝友), and "good-natured and respectful" (wēn gōng 溫恭). These lines, being of even tetrasyllabic meter and being syntactically parallel (they are composed of pairs of adjectives), form nearly synonymous couplets, e.g., "Filial and

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[95] Wén xuǎn, 58.2501, and CZj (Sbby), 2.1a/b.

fraternal, good-natured and respectful, / Humane and sincere, kind and benevolent."[96] Guō Tài's innate gifts are described as "large and deep" (above), "vast and sweeping," and "broad and comprehensive" (omitted from the passage above), as if his many abilities match in proportion his imposing physique. Guō Tài's scholarship is given more attention here than in his official biography, where it is given short shrift, but even so, there is no attempt to make him a master of the classical texts, rather, citing the Zhōu yì, Cài Yōng says that for Guō Tài, "Constancy and being firm were enough to carry out all matters." We are told that Guō Tài did some travelling about the empire; from the biography of Huáng Xiàn 黃憲 (75-122) in the Hòu Hàn shū, we learn that he spent some time in Rǔnán, from whence many political activists at the capital in the 160s derived.[97] Then Guō Tài himself went to Luòyáng and made himself at home at the Academy. At this time the Academy was regarded by many as having lost its way, its students being less concerned with studies than with political discourse (caused at least in part by the lack of employment opportunities for them).[98] Cài Yōng's attributing to Guō Tài the restoration of Confucian teachings at the Academy is

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[96] Parts of the preface blur the distinction between prose and verse; I have elected to represent these lines as if verse.

[97] HHs 53.1744. On Rǔnán and Yīngchuān as the home commanderies of many intellectuals, activists, and partisans of the time, see Okamura Shigeru, "Sai Yū o meguru Go Kan makki no bungaku no sūsei," 68-69 (Chin. trans. 35).

[98] Rafe de Crespigny, "Political Protest in Imperial China," 17-18.

rhetorical overstatement: There is no suggestion in the dynastic history that the Academy underwent any sort of renewal of its purpose. The history instead informs us that Guō Tài was a protest leader. The reformist attitudes of the students may have been rooted in the Confucian tradition, but they were outward-oriented, as shown in the criticism of the eunuchs and their policies.[99] They were not inward-directed towards the restoration of the Academy. Seen from this perspective, we might better understand the eunuchs' establishment in 178 of the rival School at the Gate of the Vast Capital.

The chapter on the "Partisan Proscription" in the Hòu Hàn shū states that at the Academy "there were in all over thirty thousand students, and Guō Línzōng and Jiǎ Wéijié 賈偉節 [Jiǎ Biāo] were their leaders; they and Lǐ Yīng, Chén Fán, and Wáng Chàng 王暢 [ob. 169] mutually commended and esteemed one another."[100] These anti-eunuch officials are the ones being referred to in the following section of the preface:

> At the time,
> The class of chinstraps and tassels
> And the gentlemen of sashes and girdle[-pendants]
> Witnessed his presence and like shadows attached [themselves to him],
> Heard his fine voice and as echoes harmonized [with his],
> Just as the sundry streams turn unto the great sea,
> And the scaly and shelly creatures pay homage to the tortoise and the dragon.[101]

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[99] Rafe de Crespigny, "Politics and Philosophy under the Government of Emperor Huan 159-168," 56-57.

[100] HHs 67. 2186. For Wáng Chàng's biography, see HHs 56.1823-26.

[101] Wén xuǎn, 58.2501-2, and CZj (Sbby), 2.1b.

Guō Tài's departure from the capital is not mentioned in the above passage, but his retirement to his home to teach, mentioned later in the biography, is taken up next:

> He lay submerged, hidden in a crude hut,
> receiving his friends and exerting himself in teaching--
> the young novices depending on him,
> he thereby dispelled their ignorance.
> [Chiefs of] regions and commanderies heard of his virtue.
> They humbled themselves by providing gifts.
> No one could get him into his service.[102]

Guō Tài is described as a hermit, not as one who shuns all human contact, but as having withdrawn from public life to remain at home in humble surroundings. There he takes on students, and takes delight in instructing and guiding them. He refuses all attempts by officials to engage his services on behalf of governance. From the biography we are led to believe that this was because the dynasty and the government would not last long. In any case, he must have felt, like some of his contemporaries, that government service in these unsettled times was perilous to one's integrity as well as to one's person, and hence it was safest to remain at home. If, as his biography states, "his students numbered over a thousand," he was hardly a recluse in any meaningful sense of the term.[103]

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[102] Wén xuǎn, 58.2502, and CZj (Sbby), 2.1b.

[103] Several of Guō Tài's successful protégés are discussed in brief accounts attached to his biography, HHs 68.2227-31.

After mentioning the unsuccessful summonses by Huáng Qióng and Zhào Diǎn to get him into their service--including his being awarded the title "Holder of Principle" (Yǒudào 有道), thus identifying him as highly desirable for official employment--Cài Yōng elevates the language of this hagiography further still by making him seem like a god. The biography, we will remember, records that Guō Tài was perceived to be god-like by the Academy students and other members of the clerisy on his departure from the capital:

> He followed the ancient traces of Hóngyá 鴻涯,
> carried on the remote tracks of Cháo[fù] 巢父 and [Xǔ] Yóu 許由;
> he soared beyond the world to spread his wings,
> ascended the Celestial Thoroughfare to stand on high.[104]

Cài Yōng here compares Guō Tài to the famed immortal of high antiquity, Hóngyá, about whom little is now known. Then he is likened to two legendary hermits of the time of Yáo, Cháofù ("Treenester") and Xǔ Yóu. Finally, Guō Tài soars up high away from this sordid and mundane world, forever protecting his purity, integrity, and name.

The remainder of the preface recounts the events leading to the composition of the inscription. This section provides the precise date on which Guō Tài died ("the yǐhài 乙亥 day of the first month of Jiànníng 建寧 2 [169 C.E.]"), and comments that Guō Tài had died young, at forty-two suì.[105] Cài Yōng states that the decision to erect

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[104] Wén xuǎn, 58.2502, and CZj (Sbby), 2.1b.

[105] Wén xuǎn, 58.2502, and CZj (Sbby), 2.1b-2a. There are problems with the date; see Appendix L, n. 39.

a memorial tablet arose from the untrammelled grief shared by the members of Guō Tài's coterie of friends: "All of us from the four directions who share this common love for him long thought of him and grieved and mourned--there was absolutely no place where we could put aside our thoughts."[106] The coterie reflected on his virtue and "deeds that will not perish" (bù xiǔ zhī shì 不朽之事), determined to assist in preserving the name and accomplishments of their friend:

> We all believed that when a worthy of the past had died
> for his virtuous reputation to be preserved,
> for its part required someone to write about him.
> As for now, how could we omit this observance!
>
> Thereupon, we set up memorial tablets to honor his grave, and displayed inscriptions about his noble conduct, allowing his fragrant achievements to inspire for a hundred generations, and his fine reputation to shine everlastingly.[107]

Bān Gù (32-92 C.E.) had written in his "Fù on Communicating with the Hidden" ("Yōutōng fù"), "Plants and trees are divided into many classes, / As long as they bear fruit they will flourish. / One strives that after death his name shall not perish; / This was the standard of the ancients" 侯草木之區別兮, 苟能實其必榮. 要沒世而不朽兮,

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[106] Wén xuǎn, 58.2502, and CZj (Sbby), 2.2a. According to Lì Dàoyuán's Shuǐ jīng zhù (Sbck), 6.7a, these mourners included, in addition to Cài Yōng, Lú Zhí and Mǎ Mìdì 馬日磾.

[107] Wén xuǎn, 58.2502, and CZj (Sbby), 2.2a.

乃先民之所程.[108] Guō Tài's name, virtue, and accomplishments would not perish if his friends could help it. Thus, they determined to erect a memorial stele which, being of stone, would last the ages, they thought. Ironically, the stone would in time disappear, but the text, preserved on perishable writing materials like paper, survived. Cài Yōng and the others, no matter what the medium, have been successful in preserving an account of Guō Tài's character--as they wanted to remember it or wished it to be--for over eighteen hundred years to date.

The inscription proper is both a panegyric and a synopsis of Guō Tài's life:

Alas! our seignior
Illustrated virtue and comprehended mystery,
His unadulterated goodness and pure intelligence--
He received them from Heaven.
Lofty and strong, recondite and profound,
Like a mountain, like a gulf.
Rituals and Music: these he delighted in.
Songs and Documents: these he honored.
He not only gathered up the flowers,
But also searched for their roots.
The walls of the house are manifold fathoms high--
He truly found the gate.
Deep in his purity,
Solid in his probity.
Wave after wave of officials
Admired his eminence.
Resting secluded on Woody Knoll,
He was good at guiding and able at teaching.
The glorious and illustrious Three Functionaries
Several times summoned him.

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[108] Wén xuǎn, 14.645, trans. Knechtges, 3: 101, ll.129-132; Knechtges (100 n. l. 130) notes: "The idea is that if one has good character ('is able to bear fruit'), he will have a good reputation ('flourish')."

He tactfully declined recruitment and recommendation,
Protecting his immaculateness and abstruseness.
The years bestowed on him were not long--
And so the people sadly grieved for him.
Thus we carve this inscription
Setting forth his glory and brilliance for all to see.
O! for generations to come
This may you follow! This may you imitate![109]

Cài Yōng's inscription repeats in brief much of the same information given in the preface. Once again we are given an account of Guō Tài's natural gifts, his scholarly inclinations, his integrity, how much he was admired by others, his reclusion and teaching, his official summonses and his refusals, his premature death and the grief that followed, and the decision to erect a memorial stele. (The only section of the preface not represented in the inscription is the "genealogical" introduction.) Finally there is an exhortation to all who read this inscription, including and perhaps especially later generations who will not know Guō Tài personally, to take him as a model to be emulated.

Though the preface is essentially a diffuse and quasi-prose version of the inscription proper, we note how the inscription tweaks the preface's rhetoric, raising it up one or two notches: e.g., Guō Tài was not just "astute and perceptive, perspicacious and wise," but he "illustrated virtue and comprehended mystery."[110] In the preface, Cài

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[109] Wén xuǎn, 58.2502-3, and CZj (Sbby), 2.2a/b.

[110] On "comprehended mystery" (通玄), see Appendix L, n. 49.

Yōng states that "The breadth of his gifts was . . . so profound--it was simply unfathomable"; in the inscription, this hyperbole is given illustration: it is "like a mountain, like a gulf." As I noted above, the Hòu Hàn shū biography does not give much specific attention to Guō Tài's scholarly interests, and the preface to this epitaph focuses just a bit more on his interests in ancient texts and in the Confucian apocrypha. In the inscription, four specific canonical scriptures are named as his purview, though Guō Tài's interest is described in somewhat less than scholarly terms: "these he delighted in [yuè 說] . . . these he honored [dūn 敦]." However this may be, Guō Tài is identified as one of the select to have found Confucius' gate (referring to Lúnyǔ 19/23).

The preface, by having previewed the points covered in the inscription creates internal kairos: In reading the inscription we anticipate the ending. This sense of an ending is reinforced by the structure of the entire work; after reading the lengthy preface, the short inscription seems less the featured part than it does a coda. Both the preface and the inscription bridge past, present, and future in a way that makes this genre one more manifestation of kairotic literature. Kairotic literature should reinterpret memory of the past in view of the apparent future, as it is indicated by the events of the present. In this particular form of kairotic literature, the past is a consciously created fiction that has roots in a historical reality. There was a Guō Tài who manifested qualities that inspired others; these qualities are exaggerated (despite Cài Yōng's claims to the contrary) to create an ideal, a Confucian saint. This idealized

figure is further legitimized through association with a glorious, already mythologized, distant past. The past is re-fashioned because, under contemporary circumstances, the values held by members of the clerisy class were being corrupted. The end of these values might be stymied by the use of a memorial stone which would serve as a public document and as a missive to the future. I will return to this point at the conclusion of the chapter, but I would like to respond here to the possible objection that, in most cases if not this one, the erection of a memorial stele was a cynical act: It was commissioned and purchased for the primary purpose of self-aggrandizement (i.e., "Look, see how supreme my filial piety is!") Even if that were so, the values reflected in the inscription would be those that, if not actually embraced, were widely regarded by society to have meaning as traditional, cultural icons, and be worthy of transmission to the future. Moreover, even within the cynical act there is yet a dialogue between past, present, and future, a discourse that might be described as self-fashioning.[111]

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[111] "Self-fashioning" should not be regarded as a completely free act, but, rather, one molded by the dominant ideology in society, as Stephen Greenblatt concedes in the Epilogue to his book Renaissance Self-Fashioning, from More to Shakespeare (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980), 255-57. This is evident in a stele inscription of 182 C.E., that Patricia Ebrey states "seems to have been composed by a principle subject himself." In it, this man claims for himself many of the various qualities of a person deemed important at that time, especially a high regard for filial piety. It states in part (Ebrey's trans.): "In his youth [Mr. K'ung] studied the Classic of ritual. When he encountered a period of general hardship, in which people took to eating human flesh, he made a hut of dirt and thatch and wore himself out gathering wild vegetables to feed his parents. He was kind, benevolent, straightforward, quiet, and faithful, all virtues which were part of his nature, not ones acquired by learning. [Later] he prospered a little and he called to mind his grandmother. . . . He refashioned her coffin, built a temple and planted cypress trees around it. . ." (Hóng Kuò 洪适, Lì shì 隸釋 [Preface dated 1167; Sbck] 5.5a-7a; "The Economic and Social History of Later Han," 643).

"Epitaph for Tāiqiū Magistrate Chén." From one of Cài Yōng's earliest stele inscriptions, we now turn to one of his last extant epitaphs. This he wrote for another occasional recluse, Chén Shí, whose biography is longer than Guō Tài's, but also worth relating in full:

> Chén Shí, styled Zhònggōng 仲弓, was from Xǔ 許 in Yǐngchuān.[112] His family background was humble and lowly. From the time he was a child, even at play, he would be the one whom his companions would look up to. When he was young, he became a prefectural official, often doing the work of a menial servant. Later, he became an assistant to the metropolitan residence inspector [dūtíngcì 都亭刺]. He possessed determination and fondness for study: no matter whether he was sitting or standing he would intone and recite. Prefect Dèng Shào 鄧邵 scrutinized him and talked with him, and found him a rare sort. He let Shí receive instruction at the Imperial Academy. Later, the prefect summoned him back to serve as an official, and so Shí secluded himself at Mt. Yángchéng 陽城山.[113]
>
> Once there was a murder, and a certain official Yáng 楊 of the same prefecture suspected Shí. [Authorities from] the prefecture thereupon arrested him, interrogated and tortured him without finding any evidence, and later released him. When Shí became an investigator [dūyóu 督郵], he secretly entrusted the prefect of Xǔ to summon the official Yáng with utmost respect. Of those far and near who heard of it, all praised and admired him.
>
> Since Shí's family was poor, he returned to become the chief of the commandery's West Gate commune, and then was transferred to the Bureau of Merit.[114] When Hóu Lǎn 侯覽 [ob. 172 C.E.], a regular palace attendant, asked

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[112] Xǔ prefecture was located about ninety kilometers southeast of modern Zhèngzhōu.

[113] Mt. Yángchéng was located about fifty-five kilometers southeast of Luòyáng, and some ninety-five kilometers northwest of his home prefecture.

[114] A tíngzhǎng 亭長 was like a police captain, in charge of a precinct, its postal stations, and the police station, which doubled as an inn for travelling officials; see Hans Bielenstein, The Bureaucracy of Han Times, 104.

Governor Gāo Lún 高倫 to employ a certain official, Lún instructed that he be assigned to the office of literary scholar [wénxuéyuàn 文學掾].[115] Shí knew that [that official] was incompetent, and keeping the directive to himself requested an audience. He said, "This man ought not be employed, and yet Palace Attendant Hóu cannot be disobeyed. I have implored that he be assigned somewhere else; he's not worth sullying your brilliant virtue over." Lún agreed to it. Thereupon, when those in the district who deliberated over recommendations complained about that official's not being appointed, Shí refused to say anything about it. Later, Lún was called to be a master of writing. The scholar-officials in the commandery saw him off as far as the lodge at Lúnshì 輪氏.[116] Lún said to those gathered, "Before, I was to employ an official on behalf of Palace Attendant Hóu, and Lord Chén secretly brought the instructions back, and instructed some place else to assign him. Afterward, those who heard and discussed it used this to disparage him. This misdeed was due to people's fear of tyrants. Lord Chén can be regarded as one who holds that if something is good, then one praises his ruler, and if it is a transgression, then he claims it as his own." Shí remained obstinate in drawing the fault to himself, and those who heard this then sighed. Because of this the entire realm came to revere his virtue.

Minister of Works Huáng Qióng summoned him to put trouble spots in order, and appointed him chief of Wénxǐ 聞喜. After a full month, on account of having to perform a year's mourning, he left office.[117] After he returned, he was again transferred, appointed chief of Tàiqiū 太丘.[118] He had refined virtue and pure tranquillity, so that the people felt secure. Those people of neighboring prefectures who were drawn to attach themselves to him, Shí without fail instructed and

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[115] On the eunuch Hóu Lǎn, see the biography in "Huànzhě lièzhuàn," HHs 78.2522-24. This is the only reference to Gāo Lún in the Hòu Hàn shū. Little is known about the office of wénxuéyuàn, or simply wénxué; see Bielenstein, The Bureaucracy of Han Times, 94; Charles O. Hucker, A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1985), 567.7704, 7713.

[116] The prefecture of Lúnshì was located about thirty-five kilometers southeast of Luòyáng.

[117] Huáng Qióng, as minister over the masses, had once also summoned Guō Tài. Wénxǐ was a prefecture located near modern Wénxǐ in Shānxī.

[118] Tàiqiū was a prefecture located about fifteen kilometers northwest of modern Yǒngchéng 永城 in eastern Hénán.

guided, and gave explanations by way of illustration. He then sent out each one to return to his own jurisdiction. Petty officials who were concerned about litigation told him their desire to prevent it. Shí said, "The purpose of litigation is to seek the truth; if you prohibit it, how can the reasons [for grievance] be stated? It cannot be constrained." The officials, after hearing this, sighed and said, "If what Lord Chén has said is true, can there be any resentment among the people?" And in the end there were no litigants. Because the tax of the chancellor of Pèi 沛 went against the law [i.e., it was too much], Chén thereupon removed his seal and ribbons of office and resigned, and the other officials missed him.

When later they arrested the partisans, the matter even implicated Shí. Others had fled seeking to avoid it, but Shí said, "If I don't go to prison, the flock will have no one on whom they can rely." Thereupon he requested to be imprisoned. He was met with a pardon and obtained release. At the beginning of Emperor Líng's reign [168 C.E.], the regent Dòu Wǔ summoned Shí to be a clerk. At that time, Regular Palace Attendant Zhāng Ràng's 張讓 [ob. 189] power prevailed over the realm.[119] When Ràng's father died, he returned to bury him in Yǐngchuān; even though an entire commandery had gone to mourn, there were no renowned members of the clerisy who went. Ràng was very much shamed by it, and so Shí alone condoled with him. When later there were again executions of partisans, since Ràng was grateful to Shí there were many that were fully pardoned.

When Shí was in his village, he was fair-minded and a model for others. Those who had a complaint without fail sought him out to adjudicate it. They would come to understand by means of his illustrations, would learn to distinguish right from wrong, and no one went away resentful. There was even one who sighed saying, "I would rather have my punishment increased than be reproached by Lord Chén." When the crops failed and the people were in dire straits, there was a thief who entered his house one night, and then paused on a beam. Shí spied him without his noticing, and rose and brushed himself off, calling his sons and grandsons. He sternly admonished them saying, "Now then, a man cannot but encourage himself. A man who is not good is not necessarily intrinsically bad, but practicing it his nature is formed, and then he comes to this. The gentleman on the beam is like this!" The thief was taken by surprise, and threw himself to the ground, kowtowing, and admitting his crime. Shí slowly explained it to him by means of illustration: "Look at your appearance. You don't look like a bad person. You ought to get a hold of yourself and return to goodness. But this is probably

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[119] See Zhāng Ràng's biography in "Huànzhě lièzhuàn," HHs 78.2534-37.

due to your poverty and dire straits." Shí ordered that he be given two bolts of silk. As a result of this there was not another robbery in the entire prefecture.

Supreme Commander Yáng Cì 楊賜 [ob. 185] and Minister of Finance Chén Dān 陳耽 [ob. 185] were each one commissioned high officials, and their peers and colleagues all congratulated them.[120] Cì and the others often sighed that Shí had not climbed to a high position, and they were ashamed to have gone ahead of him. When the proscription of the partisans began to ease up, General-in-chief Hé Jìn and Minister of Finance Yuán Wěi 袁隗 [ob. 190] sent men to engage Shí, desiring specially to honor him with an extraordinary jump in rank.[121] Shí on that declined to the emissaries saying, "I have long been cut off from affairs of the world, and having donned my cap simply await the end." When each of the offices of the Three Excellencies became vacant, councilors would look to him, and time after time he was summoned. He would not come out, but closed his gate and hung up his cart, remaining sequestered and nourishing his old age. In the fourth year of the Zhōngpíng era [187 C.E.], at eighty-four suì, he died at home. Hé Jìn sent a representative to mourn and offer sacrifice, and all within the realm who went numbered more than thirty thousand, and those wearing the coarse hempen mourning numbered more than a hundred. They joined together to have steles carved and erected, and he was posthumously honored as Master Wénfàn 文範 [Exemplar of Refinement].[122]

In summary, Chén Shí, like Guō Tài, came from a humble background and is said to have had a passion for studies. Though he, like Guō Tài, is not credited with having mastered any particular texts, it is said that "no matter whether he was sitting or standing he would intone and recite" the classics. Chén Shí accepted official

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[120] For Yáng Cì's biography, see HHs, "Yáng Zhèn lièzhuàn," 54.1775-85; Chén Dān does not have an official biography; his death is mentioned in "HHs, "Xiào Líng dì jì," 8.352.

[121] Hé Jìn is discussed in Chapter I. Yuán Wěi does not have an official biography but his murder at the hands of Dǒng Zhuō is mentioned in HHs, "Xiào Xiàn dì jì," 9.370.

[122] HHs, "Xún Hán Zhōng Chén lièzhuàn," 62.2065-67.

appointments only because he had to support his family, but whenever he had a chance, or an excuse, he gladly went into retirement. At the end of his life he was repeatedly recommended for the highest offices at court only to turn them down time and again. Nonetheless, as the first anecdote indicates, while in office he was devoted to his superiors to the point that he would suffer criticism in order to protect those under whom he served. If his superior was unjust, as in the case of the the chancellor of Pèi and his steep tax, he would rather resign his office than be seen to validate the injustice by continuing to serve. Chén Shí was also devoted to the people of the areas in which he served, who felt reassured by his virtue and quietude. His biography indicates that many sought him out to resolve disputes because he could be counted on to be "fair-minded." He helped people better to understand their situations through the use of analogies, and to see for themselves the right and wrong in their affairs. Thus, he was an enabler and a facilitator as well as a judge. This particular set of qualities is illustrated in the anecdote about the thief who, with Chén Shí's patient assistance, repents, is made to see his basic goodness, and is charged to restore that goodness in his conduct. If the point of this anecdote seems undermined by Chén Shí's conclusion that the man had become a thief because of trying circumstances--as opposed to moral weakness--this is only to underscore Chén Shí's empathy and compassion for the people at a time of crisis. This quality of compassion he extended even to his political enemies, as when he went to mourn the father of the eunuch Zhāng Ràng after no other notables among the clerisy attended the obsequies. Chén Shí is also described as a man

of remarkable forbearance and forgiveness: Following his return to government service after being wrongly arrested and tortured as a murder suspect, he has the prefect summon to office the official who falsely accused him. Thus, this Hòu Hàn shū biography describes Chén Shí as a man of loyalty, of justice, of fairness, of mental acuity, of patience, compassion, and a willingness to forgive. Though he sought retirement from the world whenever possible, he was an official who truly served the people. His goodness transgressed the boundaries of his own class.

When Cài Yōng wrote "Epitaph for Tāiqiū Magistrate Chén," in 186 C.E., he was fifty-three years old, and seven years into a ten-year self-imposed exile in Wú and Guìjī, avoiding the political dangers at the court and the troubles caused by the Yellow Turbans rebellion. This particular epitaph was a commission by "the viceroy of Hénán, Governor Chóng" (河南尹种府君), about whom we know very little.[123] It is one of two stele inscriptions Cài Yōng was asked to compose on this occasion; the other is titled "Inscription for Master Exemplar of Refinement Chén Zhònggōng" ("Wénfàn xiānsheng Chén Zhònggōng míng" 文範先生陳仲弓銘).[124] Cài Yōng wrote a third inscription for Chén Shí two years later, in 188, sometimes known by the title, "Temple

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[123] See Appendix M, n. 65.

[124] See CZj (Sbby), 2.2b-5b.

Epitaph for Tāiqiū Magistrate Chén" ("Chén Tàiqiū miào bēi" 陳太丘廟碑).[125] As mentioned above, there are several epitaphs extant from this period of Cài Yōng's life. Nonetheless, it is curious that he received a commission for a stele inscription to be erected some eight hundred kilometers to the northwest of the area he is said to have been at this time. Perhaps he was in Yǐngchuān commandery for the funeral; it is known that in the Hàn people were willing to travel great distances to attend important funerals, and this was considered a very important one.[126] According to Chén Shí's biography, thirty thousand people attended the obsequies, and even if this is an exaggeration, it must reflect a very large number.[127] In any case, Cài Yōng's connection to Chén Shí's burial is testament to a very sophisticated system of communications that existed even in these troubled times, such that he learned of the death of Chén Shí and was invited to participate in the memorial stele project.[128]

The "Epitaph for Tāiqiū Magistrate Chén," like Guō Tài's epitaph, has two parts, a preface and an inscription. The preface is written entirely in unrimed prose, but

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[125] See CZj (Sbby), 2.8a-9a, where it is titled "Chén Tàiqiū bēi." This is the last extant datable epitaph by Cài Yōng.

[126] On the willingness to travel long distances for funerals, see Martin J. Powers, Art and Political Expression, 97, and 390 n. 49, and Yáng Shùdá, Hàndài hūn sāng lǐ súkǎo, 2.112.

[127] A far more realistic number is given in the epitaph; see below.

[128] It would be fascinating to know how much money Cài Yōng received for his work; unfortunately we have no information about that.

for one part: there is imbedded in the preface a short dirge of eight tetrasyllabic stichs, riming on the even lines. The name of the dirge's composer is not stated, though it is implied to be someone other than Cài Yōng. One wonders if Cài Yōng was instructed to include it. Almost two-thirds of the lines of the rest of the preface are also tetrasyllabic, with a much smaller number of five- and six-syllable lines, and a variety of other line lengths. The inscription proper is short compared to Guō Tài's epitaph, being composed of twelve tetrasyllabic stichs that rime on the even lines.

Though like most prefaces it gives the deceased's name and place of family origin, this preface dispenses with the genealogy that we have seen in Guō Tài's epitaph. Still, the preface as a whole agrees with the rough outline of Chén Shí's life as it is presented in the much later Hòu Hàn shū biography. First, Cài Yōng discusses in a general way and in elevated language Chén Shí's merits:

> He embodied the harmony of the primal essence, and resonated with the cycle of fate. He was completely endowed with the nine virtues, and wholly cultivated the sundry aspects of proper conduct. In his community he was respectful and deferential, poised and well-balanced. He was good at guiding people, good at showing the way, was humane and cared for others, rendering young and old, then, all to feel reassured and return unto him. As for his way of acting: Employed, he carried out his duties; set aside, he lay retired. In "advancing and retreating he can serve as a standard." He did not appropriate or expose others to seek favor in his times. He did not transfer his anger or repeat his transgressions in dealing with his subordinates.[129]

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[129] Wén xuǎn, 58.2504-5, and CZj (Sbby), 2.5b. See Appendix M for full annotation.

This opening passage begins with a couple of lines that seem incongruous compared to what follows. After one gets past these high-minded and philosophical sentences, the discussion becomes quite pragmatic, focusing on Chén Shí's character as an upstanding member of the community, his skills and manner in dealing with people, and his integrity with respect to the carrying out of his duties. Why then such an apparently recondite start? I would suggest, from the perspective of the entire preface, that Cài Yōng is not being so abstruse in this section as it appears.

The first couple of lines view Chén Shí's place in the late Hàn world from an ontological perspective. He is said to have "embodied the harmony of the primal essence" (含元精之和) and to have "resonated with the cycle of fate" (應期運之數). These seemingly abstruse references are actually quite tangible and in keeping with the tenor of this section. The "primal essence" (yuánjīng 元精, which may be equated to jīngqì 精氣) is the basic stuff out of which all things are made. When Cài Yōng says that Chén Shí "embodied the harmony of the primal essence," he saying more than, to borrow an American colloquialism, that he has the "right stuff"; Chén Shí quite literally contains the material out which all things in heaven and on earth are made. Further, he contains the harmony of this primal essence, which leads to the rise of great rulers and ministers. To have "resonated with the cycle of fate" refers to the cycle of five hundred years, mentioned in Chapter I, in which a true king appears. According to Mèngzǐ 2B/13, "in the meantime there invariably will be those renowned in their generation" 其閒必有名世者. Thus, according to this first sentence, Chén Shí had the material of

a great minister, and as such his appearance was to have been expected in the cosmic order.[130] This formulation seems to take the place of the usual genealogy by rooting the deceased in the cosmos and in the cycle of time rather than in a glorious, if contrived, family history. Next, when Cài Yōng states that Chén Shí "was completely endowed with the nine virtues" (兼資九德), he likewise refers, by way of a classical allusion, to specific traits.[131] In the "Gāo Yáo mó" 皋陶謨 chapter of Shàng shū (Book of Documents), the minister Gāo Yáo states, "Oh, in conduct there are nine virtues. . . . Magnanimous and yet wary, mild and yet steadfast, forthright and yet respectful, brings order and yet is cautious, is humble and yet bold, straightforward and yet gentle, to the point and yet conscientious, hard and yet just, strong and yet decorous." The person with virtue, Gāo Yáo states, does not simply "have" it, but rather, "shows it in his actions."[132] Thus, there is nothing particularly ethereal about the content of these opening lines. On the contrary, they represent a grounding of Chén Shí's special qualities both in the makeup of the cosmos and in his own actions.

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[130] See Appendix M, n. 3.

[131] I do not mean to suggest that there is no possible numerological significance to this line; given Cài Yōng's interest in numerology, this may be. I have not yet made any such connections myself, though, and see the following as a sufficient explanation.

[132] Shàngshū zhèngyì, "Gāo Yáo mó," 4.18b-19a.

The next section of the preface recounts his official life right up to his final retirement, with his appointments enumerated and with comments on the manner in which he conducted himself:

> Four times he served in a commandery bureau of merit, five times was appointed by Yù Region 豫州. Six times he was appointed by the Three Bureaus, and repeatedly was appointed by the General-in-chief. He oversaw Wénxǐ for half a year, and Tàiqiū for a year. His virtue strove for the mean and constant, and his moral instruction was sincere and not severe. His governance was accomplished by ritual, and his transforming effect brought about tranquility. It happened that he met with the factional affair, and was banned from office for twenty years. "Delighting in Heaven and knowing fate," he was unperturbed and at ease. In his associations he did not flatter those above him, and in his affections he did not have contempt for those below him. "He would see the opportunity for change and act, not waiting an entire day." At the time a decree granted him pardon, he had already reached seventy years of age, thus he secluded himself in the hills and mountains, hung up his carriage and announced his superannuation.[133]

Aside from informing us how many times Chén Shí was appointed to such-and-such a post, this section corresponds rather closely to his official biography. In that biography we read that the people he governed felt secure because he conveyed in his person virtue (dé) and tranquillity. Many of them, as well as people from neighboring prefectures, sought him out to settle their disputes because they trusted in his insight and fairness, as well as his ability to help them see their situations clearly for themselves. This agrees with Cài Yōng's statement that Chén Shí's "moral instruction was sincere and not severe. His governance was accomplished by ritual, and his transforming effect brought about tranquility."

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[133] Wén xuǎn, 58.2505, and CZj (Sbby), 2.6a.

After his decision late in life to retire, he continued to receive entreaties to accept high office. The account in this preface is more lyrical than that included in the biography. One also notes the reversal of the order in the narrative: here, the attempts by Hé Jìn and Yuán Wěi to summon him are mentioned first, followed by the anecdote about Yáng Cì's and Chén Dān's chagrin at being promoted ahead of Chén Shí:

> General-in-chief Venerable Hé and Minister of Finance Venerable Yuán one after the other summoned him to service, sending others to exhort and persuade him saying that, "We want specially to honor you so you can be admitted and elevated to executive attendant, and rapidly promoted to the Three Functionaries, bound and girded with gold seal and purple sash, to shed glory on the country and pass down meritorious achievement." Our late seignior said, "I lost hope long ago, and have simply donned my cap and wait for the appointed time, is all." Consequently, no one got him into his service. Venerable Yáng of Hóngnóng and Venerable Chén of Dōnghǎi were each one placed in the Invested Offices. . . . Both raised their hands and said, "Lord Chén of Yǐngchuān is unmatched in his generation, surpassing his peers, but has not yet climbed to a great post, ashamed of the onus of having arrogated to himself a position like Zāng Wén 臧文." Consequently, his contemporaries esteemed his position the more and honored him as they would one among the Three Excellencies and the chancellors.[134]

Cài Yōng, likely putting words in the mouths of Yáng Cì and Chén Dān (since neither is specifically accredited with the saying), states that Chén Shí does not accept those official positions of great honor, wealth, and fame offered to him at the end of his life because he does not want to be perceived as being given a name that does not correspond to his achievements. Reference is made to an anecdote in Lúnyǔ 15/13 in which Confucius complains that Zāng Wén Zhòng 臧文仲 took a position that he knew

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[134] Wén xuǎn, 58.2505-6, and CZj (Sbby), 2.6a/b.

he was unworthy of. This reference serves to draw attention to the problem of name and actuality that so concerned the late Eastern Hàn clerisy. The lesson behind this is: if Chén Shí did not regard himself as worthy of high office, lavish emoluments, and renown, even though he truly was deserving, than how can the rest of us, who pale in comparison to this man, justify seeking after these things? By relating this supposed comment by Yáng Cì and Chén Dān on the memorial stone, Cài Yōng takes this opportunity to make a public moral statement. Yet Chén Shí himself, in response to the plea from Hé Jìn and Yuán Wěi to accept high office and thereby "shed glory on the country and pass down meritorious achievement," states, "I lost hope long ago" (絕望已久). Here, Chén Shí implies that the government was in such a state of decline that it was beyond help. Indeed, three years after Chén Shí's death, Hé Jìn was assassinated, and two days after that, the palace eunuchs were massacred.

The next section provides Chén Shí's age at the time of his passing (eighty-three suì), and the specific date of his death.[135] In the preface to Guō Tài's epitaph, the reasons for erecting a memorial stele are given right after the date of death. Likewise, burial preparations are introduced here, but being an apparently more complex affair, there is considerably expanded discussion of them. That discussion begins with Chén Shí's own instructions about his burial: "On the point of death he issued a testamentary charge that he be left and buried in the place where he died, in ordinary clothes and in

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[135] This date conflicts with the one given in his official biography; see Appendix M, n. 40.

plain coffin, with the outer coffin just surrounding the inner one, the obsequies but spare, and that they should 'in spending be excessive in thrift.'"[136] Chén Shí requests that, in these times of lavish burial, he be given a simple one.

He seems not to have gotten his wish. For the reasons outlined at the start of this chapter, especially the desire by the deceased's colleagues and friends to make an outward show of their filial devotion to him and to demonstrate public allegiance to his principles, for the purpose of self-aggrandizement, sincere mourning, or both, a large funeral was conducted and, as suggested by the multiple steles that were commissioned, an elaborate tomb built. His last wishes may have been dismissed as the utterances of a man of great humility but of also great worth. Another possibility is that this image of a self-effacing Chén Shí was a fabrication; that he was, in fact, no more or less modest than any other official, but that being part of the portrait of the ideal official, he was depicted clothed in humility. Thus, a lavish burial would have been no more out of line for him than for any other prominent official. Inferring from the evidence that he never had sufficient political authority to obligate a large number of people to attend his burial, I conjecture that the former is closer to the truth, that his wishes were admired but viewed as an expression of his humility, and that Chén Shí's reputation had some

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[136] Wén xuǎn, 58.2506, and CZj (Sbby), 2.6b. For another example of an official who requested to be buried in the same place where he dies, rather than being returned to the family home, see Jack Dull, "The Confucian Origins of Neo-Taoism," 29.

correspondence to real achievements and admirable qualities. In any case, Chén Shí willy-nilly received a huge funeral at which "among a legion of nobles and a crowd of colleagues no one did not sigh and sob; the renowned of tors and heath [i.e., those living in retirement] lost their voices and wiped away tears."[137]

"The General-in-chief condoled and offered sacrifice. . . ."[138] This statement grabs our attention after reading Chén Shí's biography because there we are told that "Hé Jìn sent a representative to mourn and offer sacrifice." I believe that in this instance the official biography is probably correct, that Hé Jìn sent a personal emissary to act in his name and that he did not himself go, though there is probably no intention in the epitaph to deliberately deceive. With Hé Jìn's personal emissary, it would be as if Hé Jìn were actually there; the memorial inscription could omit that technical distinction so as not to diminish Chén Shí's name.

At the funeral, Hé Jìn's representative announces that Chén Shí has been granted an "auspicious posthumous name" (嘉謚):

> The solicited gentleman lord Chén was endowed with the spiritual essence of the Five Peaks and Four Waterways, and contained the purity of the numinous empyrean. Heaven has "not seen fit to leave me the Elder to shield" our king.[139] A pillar has collapsed; a genius has withered away. In this time we are without a

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[137] Wén xuǎn, 58.2506, and CZj (Sbby), 2.6b.

[138] Wén xuǎn, 58.2506, and CZj (Sbby), 2.6b.

[139] This line, 天不慭遺老, a paraphrase of a statement in Zuǒ zhuàn, Āi 16, mourning over the loss of Confucius, is a commonplace in many Hàn and Wèi epitaphs.

> model. Ministers and scholars have discussed his Virtue and deliberated over his deeds, and have granted him the posthumous epithet "Master Exemplar of Refinement."[140]

Cài Yōng explicates this posthumous name in the next few lines: "The Lúnyǔ states: "How resplendent in refinement!"[141] The Book of Documents says: "The Grand Exemplar in nine parts is where the constant norms get their proper order."[142] Refinement is the manifestation of virtue; exemplars constitute models for the gentleman." Then he adds, "When alive, teaching; when dead, a respected name: Is it not, for its part, fitting?" 存誨沒號, 不亦宜乎.[143] Next, a dirge (lěi 誄) commissioned by a certain Governor Cáo of Nányáng 南陽曹府君 is recorded.[144] The piece begins and ends on this same topic of reputation: "Truly illustrious Lord Chén, / To be renowned in your generation, thus were you born; / . . . / Respectfully we perform the rites on your passing, / How excellent your pure reputation!"[145] We can see in this the enormous effort being made in securing Chén Shí's name for posterity, both in the

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[140] Wén xuǎn, 58.2506, and CZj (Sbby), 2.6b-7a.

[141] Lúnyǔ 3/14.

[142] Shàng shū zhèngyì, "Hóng fàn," 12.3a.

[143] Wén xuǎn, 58.2506, and CZj (Sbby), 2.6b-7a.

[144] I have not been able to further identify Cáo; see Appendix M, n. 57.

[145] Wén xuǎn, 58.2507, and CZj (Sbby), 2.7a/b.

exaltation of his qualities and deeds, i.e., his actuality, and through the designation of a posthumous epithet, "Master Exemplar of Refinement."

The final part of the preface continues to note in a general manner the many officials who participated in the burial rites. There is mention of others who had been sent to carve inscriptions in stones. About five hundred people are said to have worn the mourning robes; the biography states that there were "more than a hundred." But the biography states that over thirty thousand participated in the burial rites whereas this preface states, "those assembled for the burial rites numbered over a thousand."[146] Despite the great discrepancies in these figures, we may believe that there was a large number of people at these ceremonies, a number so large in fact that it impressed even people in the late Hàn who were used to such huge public funerals.

Cài Yōng's own role in the burial is finally addressed at the end of this accounting of participants: "The viceroy of Hénán, Governor Chóng,[147] arrived in this commandery, sighing in nostalgic admiration over Chén's achievements and virtue, recounting and recording his lofty conduct, believing that hardly anyone in antiquity or in the present could match him. He attached great importance to arranging for a grand clerk to write an inscription forthwith."[148] This clerk (yuàn 掾) was Cài Yōng, though

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[146] Wén xuǎn, 58.2507, and CZj (Sbby), 2.7b.

[147] On the identification of this man, see Appendix M, n. 65.

[148] Wén xuǎn, 58.2507, and CZj (Sbby), 2.7b.

as mentioned above he was in self-imposed exile at the time and not officially employed. About the service he is performing for Chén Shí, Cài Yōng comments, "This can be referred to as: being glorious in life, and lamented in death, and though he has died, yet he will not have perished."[149] The preface is finally concluded, and the inscription proper follows:

> Tall and imposing are the lofty peaks,
> Issuing forth auspicious omens and "sending down spirits."
> O! The august gentleman,
> Embracing the treasure and cherishing the jewel.
> Why did the Empyrean,
> Already let perish this Refinement?
> The profound words are in ruin, inaccessible,
> How might those to come hear them?
> "Chirp, chirp, cry the orioles,"
> Perching in the jujubes.
> His fate cannot be ransomed,
> How can our lament have limits?[150]

Whereas the relatively long inscription (twenty-eight lines, as opposed to the twelve here) for Guō Tài, while still expressing mourning, celebrates the life of the man, the overwhelming feeling conveyed by this inscription is that of loss. The loss is not just that of a great man, an "august gentleman" (皇先生), but also of a tradition. There is less in this inscription the sense of there being a précis of the material included in the preface, though it, too, begins with a somewhat mysterious "Tall and imposing are the

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[149] Wén xuǎn, 58.2507, and CZj (Sbby), 2.7b.

[150] Wén xuǎn, 58.2507, and CZj (Sbby), 2.7b-8a.

lofty peaks, / Issuing auspicious omens and 'sending down spirits'" 峨峨崇嶽, 吐符降神. This couplet finds resonance in a line attributed to Hé Jìn and cited above: "The solicited gentleman lord Chén was endowed with the spiritual essence of the Five Peaks and Four Waterways, and contained the purity of the numinous empyrean." Xiào jīng apocrypha connected the sacred Five Peaks to the numinous activity of "spewing out essences" (吐精) from which sages were produced.[151] Again, this activity, though seemingly esoteric and ethereal, was actually rather concrete, if not quite mundane. Yet the overall thrust of this inscription is the sense of despair at the loss of a great man at a time of great need, an era in which the Confucian Way has become overgrown with weeds and "the profound words are in ruin, inaccessible." This tradition was in ruin because the government had long ago abandoned the Tao, and now, with the Yellow Turbans rebellion just recently quelled and corruption still rampant, the court was too weak to reestablish its place in governance. "Chirp, chirp, cry the orioles," a citation from Máo shī 131/1, "Huáng niǎo" 黃鳥, is explained by Lǐ Shàn 李善 (?-689), in his commentary to the Wén xuǎn, to refer to serving in government in troublesome times.[152] There almost seems to be as much mourning over the decaying world of the end of the Hàn as there is over the loss of Chén Shí.

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[151] See Lǐ Shàn's commentary to Wén xuǎn, 58.2506, and Appendix M, n. 46.

[152] Wén xuǎn, 58.2507.

In the writing of stele inscriptions is the emergence of two important developments for Chinese literary history. One is that writers like Cài Yōng are apparently being paid to write. Of course, in a way, writers, as members of the court, had long been financially compensated for their work.[153] The emperor had been the writer's primary patron, and continued to be a major patron throughout imperial China. The commissioning of stele inscriptions provided a new patronage for writers: members of their own class, the clerisy. This study has been much concerned with the larger development of members of the clerisy writing for other members of their class. Another step in this process was for some members of this class, indeed for groups of such men, to contribute money towards the securing of a good writer.

The readership of stele inscriptions may very well have been larger than for all other types of literature at this time for the reason that the stones on which they were inscribed were available for all to see. Indeed, the "public" that had access to these stones was not limited to the clerisy class. Anyone with some reading ability could have access to these writings. This very public nature of the stele inscription helped to spread the reputation of the deceased, the reputation of the patrons of the stele, and the reputation of the composer of the inscription. The public aspect of the stele inscription

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[153] At least one may say that they were compensated indirectly for their literary work: They were paid as government servants, and their writing was in effect a part of that service.

genre, combined with the widespread popularity of inscriptions in the late Hàn, was another important new development in literature at this time.

I have tried throughout this study to define a "kairotic literature" that accompanies a fin-de-siècle phenomenon. The two stele inscriptions discussed in this chapter also fit into this concept. Kairotic literature reads the present and develops a "sense of an ending"; in the way I have described it, this is a sense of some sort of ending taking place in the culture or in society. It then reinterprets the past, the shared historical memory, to fit that perception of an ending. The future, the end in sight of the patrons and composers of these stele inscriptions, is the loss of an individual's name and deeds to later generations. Moreover, there is on a higher level, the anxiety that many of the values these people hold to be true, even if they are not practiced in their own times, will also be completely lost to later generations. Thus, the past, i.e., the life of their deceased friend, teacher, family member, or patron, is interpreted in such a way as to be a shining example of all of those prized values. This serves not only to honor that individual, but also to transmit those values to later times. From Cài Yōng we learn that many stele inscriptions are filled with platitudes and half-truths; the two examined here may be special in bearing some resemblance to the lives led by the men they honor. However that may be, their veracity is unrelated to their effect as kairotic literature. Whether or not the men described were as good and as filled with virtue as their epitaphs describe them to be, and whether or not the values extolled had real presence in the lives of the men who were celebrating them through these inscriptions,

their intent was nonetheless to perpetuate them. And the reason why they desired to perpetuate them is that they feared the end. They did not necessarily fear death, the most personal of endings, but they feared the end of their names, their reputations, and their achievements. They feared the fate that Simonides of Ceos (556? B.C.E.-468? B.C.E.) described: "For all things reach at last / one sickening void, / our shining virtues and our shining wealth."[154] Viewed this way, they feared their mortality. This fear was heightened by the times in which they lived, an era in which the foundations of their world, philosophical and political, decayed rapidly before their eyes. For this reason, they turned to a writing material they believed would not decay--stone.

But what if the stone crumbles away, as in fact happened? W. R. Johnson gives an answer to this in his discussion of Simonides who, making "great sums of money composing threnodies and funeral inscriptions," could be considered in this respect Cài Yōng's ancient Greek counterpart.[155] Whereas Cài Yōng wrote inscriptions for civil servants and dignitaries, Simonides composed his elegies for fallen war heroes (at Marathon and at Thermopylae). Nonetheless, when Johnson asks "where is the immortality" after the "graves are ploughed under and sepulchres crumble," his answer sheds some light onto the meaning of these bēiwén as well:

> When the mind and heart ponder what that bravery was and so aspire to their own bravery, the old bravery continues its life in the eternal now which it and the poetry

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[154] Fragment 356, cited in W. R. Johnson, The Idea of Lyric, 58.

[155] Johnson, The Idea of Lyric, 58.

> that communicates it help the minds and hearts of coming generations to desire and to renew. In this dialectical lyric and its particular vision of the eternal now, nothing that was of value perishes--indeed, everything that was truly of value not only lives but also engenders life and sustains it. When the metaphors of dialectical lyric have persuaded the human being to reconsider for himself what it is that his life is for, have involved in this process of consideration all his body and soul, all his thoughts and will and memory and feelings, then, independently of time and space, immortality has truly been attained and the incantations of poetry have achieved their end.[156]

Simonides speaks of the bravery of martial heroes and this is what is communicated and perpetuated by poetry in "the eternal now." Similarly, since Cài Yōng is concerned with proclaiming the virtue of deceased officials and colleagues, he is hoping to communicate and perpetuate it in his inscriptions with the wish that it will take root in the hearts of all people.

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[156] Johnson, The Idea of Lyric, 59.

CHAPTER VI

A SEASON OF ANTICIPATION: CONCLUSION

"Is this the promis'd end?"
King Lear

Kairos was, for the ancient Greeks, the realization of the propitious moment for action. In medieval Italian culture kairos was identified with occasio, opportunity. In that sense it is an unambiguously good thing; one is exhorted to take hold of opportunity when he--Kairos was first personified as an elusive young man--presents himself. One easily grasps the association between this notion of kairos/occasio and the moment of artistic or literary inspiration. In time, kairos metamorphosed from occasio into fortuna. As Fortune or Chance, kairos incorporated into the idea of opportunity the possibility of a fall or failure. She--for Kairos was then represented as a woman--becomes a memento mori.[1] As a reminder of human error, decline, and death, yet not without a glimmer of some hope of triumph, kairos is a suitable symbol for the epoch of late second-century China and its literature.

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[1] Patricia Fortini Brown, Venice and Antiquity (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1996), 3, 6. Brown here discusses the image of Kairos on the marvellous marble reliefs of the Basilica of Torcello.

The literature of the historical epoch marked by the years 159 C.E., when the regent General-in-chief Liáng Jì was overthrown, to 192, when the tyrant Dǒng Zhuō was assassinated, is "kairotic literature." Kairotic literature, as I have formulated it, starting with Frank Kermode's concept and then departing from it considerably, creates consonance between past, present, and future; this is what Kermode calls a "concord-fiction."[2] Writers of kairotic literature become convinced of living in a "between-time" in which the advent of some sort of social or political ending has become apparent to them. From out of this consciousness arises a fin-de-siècle phenomenon. Art historian Shearer West states that "the first quality which distinguishes the fin de siècle phenomenon is an awareness of time and future--an idea that events are moving towards a final conclusion, and that nothing is happening without a purpose."[3] The awareness of "moving towards a final conclusion" results from social, political, or religious conditions that impinge significantly on people's daily lives. When these conditions are precipitated by conspicuous acts of violence, terror, and other forms of oppression, or by events whose tragic consequences are ascribed to fate or to the supernatural, hitherto difficult but tolerated conditions become impossible to ignore. In a society like that of China that believes history repeats itself, circumstances of the

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[2] The Sense of an Ending, 59-62.

[3] Fin de Siècle, 1.

present can be seen to have their "distant mirror" in the past.[4] The collective memory of past events and the projected course of the future are continually reshaped so that these events fit a preconceived cyclical view of history.[5] It is due to this scheme (or schemes) that a "sense of an ending" arises.

As discussed in Chapter I, various schemes within the political thought of the Hàn period predicted the eventual decline of the dynasty. These schemes share a cyclical structure, indicating that endings, just like beginnings, are inevitable. The

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[4] This is Barbara W. Tuchman's conceit in A Distant Mirror: The Calamitous 14th Century (New York: Ballantine Books, 1978), but she acknowledges its old roots in the tradition of Western historiography: "'History never repeats itself,' said Voltaire; 'man always does.' Thucydides, of course, made that principle the justification of his work" (xiv). Marcus Aurelius Antoninus (reg. 161-180) states in his Meditations (X/27): "Consider that the things of the present also existed in times past; and consider that they will be the same again. And place before your eyes, from your own experience or from the pages of history, these dramas and scenes: the courts of Hadrian, Antoninus, Philip, Alexander, Croesus; all the same plays, only with different actors" (from the Classics Club edition included in Marcus Aurelius and His Times: The Transition from Paganism to Christianity [Roslyn, N.Y.: Walter J. Black, Inc., 1945], 110).

[5] The Apocalypse is one Western exception; here, the signs of the End are religious prophecy and not historical precedent. Current scientific view of the "end" is the collapsing of the universe, but since that would result in another "Big Bang," the scientific view of history may also be regarded as cyclical.

In "Is There a Chinese Dynastic Cycle?" (BMFEA 50 [1978]: 1-23), Hans Bielenstein, though acknowledging the Chinese "belief in dynastic cycles," argues against contemporary scholars' use of models of dynastic cycles, e.g., the "dynastic demographic cycle" (Ch'en Ta), the "cycles of dynastic and tribal history" (Owen Lattimore), "imperial degeneration" (J. K. Fairbank and E. O. Reischauer), and the "fiscal or economic-administrative cycle" (Wang Yü-ch'üan), to explain dynastic change. Bielenstein sets out in this article to prove that the dynastic cycle concept is a myth, albeit a persistent one.

confluence of disasters that occurred from 159 to 192 signalled to many people, from the illiterate peasantry to the clerisy, that the Hàn dynasty had begun its downward slide. Though the Chinese did not have in common with the West a belief in a final apocalypse, they nonetheless were capable of apocalyptic visions. As an example of this we can look to the Zhōu yì commentary by Xún Shuǎng (128-190) that was, reportedly, very popular in the late second century.[6] His commentary to the hexagram for lí 离 (or 離, "fire" or "sun") states, "Yīn, being depraved, occupies the exalted place [i.e., the emperor's position] and oppresses the yáng. Its course is exhausted, its cycle has come to an end, and is what the Mandate of Heaven [tiānmìng 天命] has condemned to death. Its position is lost and the people will revolt. Below, what the lí harms will be destroyed by fire. When the lí is put into water, it will be dead. When the fire is extinguished, and the ashes swept away, it will be cast out."[7] This presage of holocaust is an indication of the sort of apprehension underlying the literature of this

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[6] Ch'en Ch'i-yün states, "The popularity of Hsün Shuang's Tradition of the Book of changes was attested to by his nephew, Hsün Yüeh, who stated that during the last quarter of the second century 'in the areas of Yen and Yü [roughly the middle Yellow River and the upper Huai River valleys] those who studied the Book of changes all followed Hsün [Shuang's] teachings.'" Ch'en cites here Xún Yuè's 荀悦 (= Hsün Yüeh: 148-209 C.E.) Qián Hàn jì 前漢記 (Sbck), 25.5a; see "Confucian, Legalist, and Taoist Thought in Later Han," in The Cambridge History of China, 1: 800-801 (brackets are Ch'en's).

[7] Zhōu yì Xún shì zhù 周易荀氏注, in Yùhán shān fáng jíyìshū 玉函山房輯佚書, comp. Mǎ Guóhàn 馬國翰 (1794-1857), 1.25b: 陰以不正, 居尊, 乘陽. 歷盡數終, 天命所誅. 位喪民叛. 下离所害故焚如也. 以离入坎故死如也. 火息灰捐故棄如也; cf. trans. by Ch'en Ch'i-yün, "Confucian, Legalist, and Taoist Thought in Later Han," 800.

epoch. But this presentiment was not entirely hopeless; there was, amidst the admonitions and lamentations over the state of the world, the anticipation of the arrival of a new sage ruler. Whether that emperor would emerge from the ruling Liú family of the Hàn, or from another clan to which would be transferred the "Mandate of Heaven," was yet to be determined. This "significant season" of uncertainty and anticipation gave birth to the kairotic literature with which this study has been concerned. A few different genres, the fù ("prose poem" or "rhapsody"), the lùn ("treaty" or "essay"), and the bēiwén ("stele inscription or epitaph"), and various manifestations of the kairotic, sociopolitical, philosophical, literary, and personal, were treated in the foregoing chapters.

Cài Yōng's lifespan just slightly spills over the epoch of 159-192. The palace coup undertaken by the eunuchs in 159 was the first significant political event in the life of the young scholar. As a result of it, he remained in retirement for over ten years, refusing to seek office but stayed at home to immerse himself in antiquities. As discussed in Chapter II, he arrived at this decision after having been summoned to the capital by the coup leaders to give a zither recital. Cài Yōng reluctantly undertook the journey, made under adverse weather conditions, but, on pretext of illness, obtained leave to return home just short of his destination. He wrote a fù, he said, to release his pent-up anger. Indeed, this work, "Fù Recounting a Journey," is the first explicit statement by a poet in the history of Chinese literature that he writes to express his own "hidden feelings." But both the dazzling display of the fù poet's literary virtuosity, and

his own allusion to the notion that literary talent is a manifestation of worthiness for office ("Climbing high I wrote this fù-- / My reason obtains from this") suggest that the entire work was not just an expression of feelings, but also a portfolio by which means he hopes to gain the attention and respect of his class--and his public--the clerisy.

If there is a paradigm for kairotic literature, it would be this fù. The entire work is absorbed with the notion of endings, from the end of the journey, which in the preface is simultaneously reflected on (the poet looks back at what has transpired) and anticipated (the journey in the context of the poem has yet to begin), to the possible end of the dynasty, in the allusions to the decline of earlier regimes, notably that of the Zhōu. Adopting the lǎn gǔ or "contemplation of the past" theme, Cài Yōng draws on the collective historical and cultural memory to present lessons that lay bare the falseness of the current times and that suggest the dire consequences to follow. In more straightforward fashion, he decries the corruption of the court, the obscene differences in the living standards of rich and poor, and the predilections of the emperor to reward sycophancy and rebuke forthright criticism. In this latter respect, "Recounting a Journey" is similar to a fù written by Cài Yōng's near-contemporary, Zhào Yī. Zhào Yī's "Fù Satirizing the Age, Detesting Iniquity," written one or two decades later, is even more direct and biting in its criticism of the emperor and his favorites, preferring figures (e.g., "the gnarling and snarling of a pack of barkers") and shunning allusions. In this respect, it might be considered more directly lyrical than "Recounting a Journey." Zhào Yī's piece, despite the paucity of historical references, is nonetheless

concerned with interpreting the present in view of the past. Zhào Yī sees a long, gradual decline in political affairs since the "Chūnqiū" period. His disgust over the miserable state of his own times leads him to despair that the era of sage rule is not yet at hand. Despite the differences in the style and structure of "Recounting a Journey" and "Satirizing the Age," the writers of these fù clearly see themselves living in a time of decline, and make the emperor ultimately responsible. They both view the past as indicative of the future: Cài Yōng gazes on sites that evoke for him memories of former courts as they began to degenerate; Zhào Yī refers to cyclical change in early antiquity, and concludes that his own times are in an advanced state of debility. These two fù are models of sociopolitical kairotic literature. They extrapolate from circumstances of the present and borrow or recreate fictions of the past to preview the future course of things.

In the third century there was a renewal of interest in philosophical texts of pre-Qín China, in particular, Lǎozǐ and Zhuāngzǐ. This philosophical revival was anticipated in the mid-second century by some scholar-officials who began to feel that the Confucian orthodoxy of the court was impotent to deal with corruption. Zhū Mù was one of these scholar-officials, heretofore closely associated with the Confucian orthodoxy, who believed that it had become fashionable to treat Confucian values such as filial piety falsely and cynically as means of profiting oneself. He began to look to other ideas for remedying this state of affairs. In his treatise, "On Esteeming 'Thickness,'" written around 149, Zhū Mù borrows extensively from Lǎozǐ. Though,

as I have shown in Chapter III, interest in Lǎozǐ had been on-going throughout the Hàn, the extent of this interest in the mid-second century is noteworthy. Zhū Mù's treatise uses Lǎozǐ as a practical guide for treating the degeneracy of values at the court. He exhorts officials to refrain from speaking ill of others, to concentrate instead on what is good in others and to make full one's own virtue, and thus become united as one with the Tao. He attacks meanness and insincerity and praises magnanimity and integrity. The boldest part of his essay is in shunting aside traditional Confucian values such as ritual and rightness, and promoting in their place ideas from Lǎozǐ.

In a second essay, "On Severing Private Associations," Zhū Mù, takes up again the theme of insincerity in criticizing the use of private friendships as a means of self-promotion and self-aggrandizement. He assumes the rather extreme view that all such personal friendships in government be abolished. Cài Yōng responds to these two essays in a treatise of his own, probably written in the 150s or early 160s, likely before Zhū Mù's death in 163. Still a young scholar at this time, and as yet untainted by experience of court matters, Cài Yōng takes the stance of defending the Confucian orthodoxy. In contrast to Zhū Mù's extensive borrowing from Lǎozǐ in his "On Esteeming 'Thickness,'" Cài Yōng draws almost exclusively from the preeminent Confucian text, Lúnyǔ. Even so, Cài Yōng acknowledges at the end of his essay that the Confucian program may not be able to be fully realized in corrupt times.

These treatises are kairotic literature of a different sort than the sociopolitically oriented fù discussed above, though the focus is still on real social ills. Zhū Mù and

Cài Yōng, with a view towards current problems and the way the current orthodoxy addresses them, reflect on the ideas of Lǎozǐ and Lúnyǔ, wherein are recorded two intellectual traditions of the past. Zhū Mù and Cài Yōng employ these texts as guides for the proper conduct of men in government, and thus as means to stem the future moral decline of the court. Like the two fù, "Recounting a Journey" and "Satirizing the Age," these treatises were not court pieces. The intended reading public was the members of their own class. In Cài Yōng's essay, we have proof of literary exchange among the clerisy, and "public" discussion of social issues.

Zhū Mù's reaction against the Confucian orthodoxy at the court might seem to be an individual act of defiance. Indeed, as I have discussed in Chapter IV, one modern view, looking at certain developments in late second century China such as the rise of the student protest movement, the promotion of students' heroes and the ascribing of certain attributes to them, the prizing of unusual behavior, and the breakdown in the monopoly of the court over literary production, portrays this period as revealing nascent individualism. I have agreed with Michael Nylan that the notion of individualism, at least as it is defined in the West following de Tocqueville, is inappropriate to the Chinese situation of the late second century. Nonetheless, I believe the individual sensibilities of poets emerge in works freed from the confines of court production, if not from the strictures imposed by their own class.

An apparent product of the movement from court literature to class-centered literature was the expansion of topics, including some that were hitherto considered

inappropriate, such as the beauty of women and sexual harmony. One work that I have examined in Chapter IV is Cài Yōng's "Fù on a Grisette," which explores the male persona's love for a woman below his social standing, and hence an illicit love. A contemporary of Cài Yōng, Zhāng Chāo, in another example of literary response, reacts scathingly to this fù. He excoriates Cài Yōng for wasting precious words on a lower class woman and for the profligate views he sees Cài Yōng espousing. Zhāng Chāo illustrates the harm supposedly visited on people and the state by beautiful women, and promotes the cliché of ascribing the downfall of previous regimes to beautiful jezebels. One is reminded by the original works as well as by this response piece of some of the characteristics associated with the European Decadence movement of the late nineteenth century fin de siècle, including the accent on sensual experiences, the supposed perversity of the content and language, the archetype of the destructive woman, and the connection of the style to sociopolitical degeneration.

As kairotic literature, Cài Yōng's short fù on beautiful women and sexual harmony generally do not fit the pattern I described in the first three chapters. An exception is Zhāng Chāo's response piece which indeed assesses the present as reflected in Cài Yōng's fù, creates a concord between that work and Zhāng Chāo's view of historical events (as well as of the purpose of literature), and through this suggests tragic consequences for both Cài Yōng himself as well as for the sociopolitical realm. Cài Yōng's short lyrical fù on women and sexual harmony demonstrate little if any of this sociopolitical retrospection or peering forward. The poet takes as models

early works of the same vein, but unlike those pieces attributed to Sòng Yù and Sīmǎ Xiāngrú, which boast of chastity in the face of great temptation, Cài Yōng's works embrace physical consummation of sexual love. Thus, Cài Yōng practices tōngbiàn, the perpetuating of literary tradition combined with the invention of new conceits. Still, these works are forward-looking in the sense that they provide the precedent and impetus for future works of the same vein; they push at the boundary of acceptable topics. Moreover, the fù on beautiful women and sexual harmony, as well as the fù on the dwarfs, may be regarded as being centered on sensual experience and focussed on the unusual; in short, they are a kind of "decadent" literature that is generally associated with a fin de siècle. If the fù "Recounting a Journey" and "Satirizing the Age" are a sociopolitical type of kairotic literature, and the treatises by Zhū Mù and Cài Yōng a philosophical type of the kairotic, then these short lyrical fù may be regarded as a purely literary sort of kairotic.

To claim that these works are kairotic would imply that Cài Yōng plays an active role in furthering the future development of such themes. Zhāng Chāo's criticism suggests that Cài Yōng must have been--or at least should have been--aware of his role in promoting erotic verse. It may seem puzzling that Cài Yōng should have written these works at all, given his criticisms elsewhere of the frivolous nature of fù composition. Such a contradiction between professed opinion and practice is, of course, not unique to Cài Yōng; a dichotomy between official and private lives was as common in China as it was and is elsewhere. Nonetheless, given that great store was

put in acquiring a good name and a reputation that would continue to live on after one's death, the composition of poems on risqué topics indicates the complexity of this fin-de-siècle culture.

The emphasis on filial piety and the preservation of name and accomplishments in funerary inscriptions was the subject of Chapter V. I have shown how the bēiwén or stele inscription genre developed and rose to be one of the most important literary genres of the late Hàn. I have also indicated that the rise in popularity of this genre was due to the flourishing practice of lavish burial, which, in turn, owed in great measure to the emphasis on filial piety as an ideal against which to measure the worth of people for appointment to office. This resulted in the disproportionate emphasis on expenditure of funds on funerary services, tombs, and memorial steles, a practice that virtually bankrupted some of the less affluential members of the clerisy. For Cài Yōng's part, it seems to have been a source of some revenue: The most highly skilled composers of stele inscriptions were in high demand, for to obtain an accomplished writer was yet another way to manifest one's filial piety. Cài Yōng appears to have been the best epitaph composer of his time. His inscriptions continue to command attention as prime examples of the genre.

The internal structures of these epitaphs demonstrate another sort of literary kairos that is similar to what is found in the structure of "Recounting a Journey." The prose preface is a longer account of what the inscription relates, and so the ending of the inscription is anticipated. The relation of the parts is also important, for the death

(the present) and the recorded names and deeds (a "time capsule" for the future) is related in the context of the deceased's genealogy and the qualities and achievements of that person in life (the past).

Aside from the self-serving motivations of the patrons, the recording in stone of a person's names and deeds was based on the fear of mortality. This anxiety stemmed from looking forward to a personal ending more tragic than death: being forgotten. The old practice of looking for an elixir of immortality was here substituted by the attempt to establish another kind of immortality, by communicating to later generations through an immutable writing material one's names, personal qualities, and achievements. The qualities and accomplishments attributed to the deceased were usually exaggerations, despite the insistence of the critics on faithfulness to the person's actual life. Cài Yōng, in the writing of these bēiwén, participates in a fourth form of kairotic literature, the personal kairotic: Here, he creates a concord-fiction between the desired immortality of an idealized person and that person's real past life, in the context of the present ideals and wishes of his former students and clients, thus serving the needs of the honored individual, the patrons of the inscription, and the composer.

Even if the stone breaks down, the words will endure. If that was the belief of the patrons and writers about stele inscriptions, their attitudes were similar to those of writers of Western classical antiquity. Comparative literature scholar George Steiner states, "Literature, as we have known it, springs out of a wild and magnificent piece of arrogance, old as Pindar, Horace, and Ovid. Exegi aere perennius--what I have written

will outlive time. Stronger than bronze, less breakable than marble, this poem. . . . Literature's immense boast against death."[8] Since there was great interest in the Hàn in the retrieval of lost or damaged works of pre-Qín books and poems, and since contemporary literature was being collected in imperial as well as private libraries, a similar notion of the immortality of the word must have extended beyond the stele inscription genre. By responding to literary tradition, Hàn writers clearly viewed themselves to be in dialogue with the past. Since their compositions met with literary response from contemporaries, these writers were conscious, too, of being in a contemporary public dialogue. Certainly through the stele inscription, but perhaps in other sorts of literature as well, writers may have been aware of their communicating to the future; in the case of late second century China, to a time beyond the imminent end of their age.

I have treated briefly the subject of the "public" for whom these compositions were written. With the court of the late second century no longer serving as the primary patron of literary production among the clerisy, and since the eunuchs were promoting literary arts to the detriment of the Confucian curriculum of the Academy, the clerisy turned to one another as consumers of literary works. Cheap paper and the expansion of the practice of amassing libraries encouraged this literary exchange. Since

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[8] "The Ephemeral Genre and the End of Literature," New Perspectives Quarterly 13 (Fall 1996), 49.

this exchange of literature was class based, one can argue that the works written were driven by the ideology of that class and were not private and individualistic. Thus, to make the distinction between court literature and that literature written away from the court, for personal expression and for the delectation of colleagues, it may be best to refer to the latter as "class-oriented" rather than "private." This is, of course, not to say that individual sensibilities do not emerge from these works. "Recounting a Journey," for instance, though likely written as a resumé of literary talent and so displays the values and even style sanctioned by the clerisy class, still betrays Cài Yōng's particular sensibility with respect to such elements as his choice of allusions, his structuring of the work, and his descriptions of weariness and despair.[9]

If we define the "public" as the clerisy, the educated class that was engaged in open discussion of governmental, court, and social matters, then this literature may also be called "public."[10] The public of the late Eastern Hàn protested corruption in the

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[9] I have described in previous chapters some of the features of the literary works I have examined that point to the individual sensibilities of their composers. Nonetheless, attempting to explicate a poet's individual sensibilities is like analyzing Velazquez's painting (or any number of traditional Chinese paintings, for that matter). Attempting to understand what makes a painting a Velazquez, and why it is beautiful and worthy of praise, one looks closely at the masterful individual brushstrokes and before long the entire work dissolves in a blur of undefined light and shade and colors.

[10] Martin J. Powers describes three senses of the term "public" in the Hàn. His definitions are more restrictive and nuanced than my usage here, though I believe that it is not too far from his third sense of the term. See Art and Political Expression, "The Nature of the Public in Han China," 92-96.

government and the decline of the court in an often surprisingly forthright manner. I have quoted Lǔ Xùn as stating that Cài Yōng, for instance, by his eloquence and frankness on behalf of social justice, "truly had a way of courting death."[11] Zhào Yī, we have seen, took the emperor directly to task for allowing himself to be blinded by sycophants. Nonetheless, the clerisy, despite the proclamation of heroes, the exaltation of unique individuals, or any of the various "individualistic" qualities with which it is attributed, formulated its response to sociopolitical problems on the basis of class interests, interests that derived from the peculiarities of its own class history.[12]

In general, the public of the late Eastern Hàn sociopolitical and literary spheres was primarily the clerisy. However that may be, the public of the stele inscription transgressed those class lines. By being freely available to all who could read--literacy was not confined to the clerisy--the stele inscription had a larger potential readership than any other form of literature up to this time.[13] It may be an exaggeration to call it

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[11] See Chapter II, n. 79.

[12] The clerisy did not operate in a "public sphere," as Jürgen Habermas defines it: it was not aware of the difference between "mere opinion," "things taken for granted as part of a culture, normative convictions, collective prejudices and judgments," and "public opinion" deriving from a "public that engages in rational discussion" that is "institutionally protected" and is centered on the criticism of "the exercise of political authority. See Jürgen Habermas, "The Public Sphere," in Jürgen Habermas on Society and Politics: A Reader, ed. Steven Seidman (Boston: Beacon Press, 1989), 231, 232.

[13] Powers discusses this as the "general public" or shìsú 世俗, which he says were "literate individuals of varying levels of education" (Art and Political Expression, 96, see also 228-29).

the first form of mass communication in China, but a stele inscription could be read by a large number of people over a lengthy period of time. Stones could be destroyed, of course, but their lifespan was undoubtedly much longer than books, especially given the frequency of library burnings. Thus, composers of stele inscriptions had the opportunity through their words not only to convey the essence of a person's life, but also to transmit and instill the values that were at least nominally important to society. This type of moral education had potential political consequences. If the values that were said to have been present in abundance in the deceased were seen to be lacking in living officials, military officers, eunuchs, and the imperial family, these inscriptions had the potential to be subversive. This subversive potential was particularly strong if the inscription, like that for Chén Shí, makes allusion to a realm in decline.

In this study, I have demonstrated that Cài Yōng and a few of his contemporaries, as representatives of a prominent social class, the clerisy, were aware of living in a time of decline and had some sort of "sense of an ending." Hindsight, of course, allows us to see with clarity that they were on the brink of great political change. Nonetheless, a close reading of literary works from this time suggests that these writers, whose vocation was to respond to things around them through literature, sensed a crisis at hand.[14] In seeking to learn what sort of ending they faced, they looked to their shared cultural and political memory for parallels, creating new

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[14] See Chapter II, and "Shīfù lüè" in Hs, "Yìwén zhì," 30.1755.

interpretations where the old ones failed. In their literary activity, kairos was a focal point on the course of the continuous and universal Tao. David L. Hall and Roger T. Ames write that "the unity of tao is expressed by the fact that each present perspective is a function of all past events, and is the ground of all future possibilities. Not only does the past cast the present and future, but the past itself is constantly being revisioned and recast in light of the achievements of the present."[15] Thus, the writing of kairotic literature is the manifestation of the fin-de-siècle writer's creative participation in the Tao.

In 192, at age 59, and having been accused of being a traitor for serving, however unwillingly, General Dǒng Zhuō, Cài Yōng was sent to prison where he quickly perished.[16] Hall and Ames add to the above-cited discussion of the Tao that "each important cultural figure in each historical period not only embodies tao in a particular manner appropriate to his unique circumstances, but also, with the energy of his own original contribution, is able to set the dynamics of tao on a novel course."[17] This is certainly true of Cài Yōng whose legacy was honored in the century following his death by the large body of works written on the same themes as those on which he

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[15] Thinking Through Confucius, 231.

[16] HHs 60B.2006, and Asselin, "The Hou Han shu Biography of Cai Yong," 194-97.

[17] Thinking Through Confucius, 232.

had written.[18] A number of late Eastern Hàn-Jiàn'ān writers had been directly influenced by him in some way. These included Kǒng Róng 孔融 (153-208), Wáng Càn 王粲 (177-213), Hándān Chún 邯鄲淳 (132-?), Cài Yōng's students Lù Cuì 路粹 (?-214) and Ruǎn Yǔ 阮瑀 (?-212), and Cài Yōng's own daughter, Cài Yǎn 蔡琰 (ca. 178-post 206, or ca. 170-ca. 215).[19]

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[18] See the chart comparing titles of fù by Cài Yōng and those by Jiàn'ān poets in Chéng Zhāngcàn 程章燦, Wèi Jìn Nánběicháo fù shǐ 魏晉南北朝賦史, Nánjīng dàxué gǔdiǎn wénxiàn yǎnjiūsuǒ zhuānkān (Huáiyáng: Jiāngsū gǔjí chūbǎnshè, 1992), 43, and Okamura Shigeru's discussion in "Sai Yu o meguru Go Kan makki no bungaku no susei," 62-63 (Chin. trans. 29).

[19] Okamura Shigeru discusses these people (but for Cài Yǎn) and others in "Sai Yu o meguru Go Kan makki no bungaku no susei," 74-76 (Chin. trans. 40-42). Okamura's point of view differs from mine in that he sees Cài Yōng as being at the center of the court literature scene in the 170s and again under Dǒng Zhuō (see pp. 71, 73 [Chin. trans. 38, 40]); I do not contest this assertion so much as suggest that given his vocal resistance to the sort of court literature that received imperial patronage in the late 170s, it is better to view Cài Yōng as being at the center of an alternative literary movement. It is possible that this movement was restored to the court during the period of Dǒng Zhuō.

See Kǒng Róng's biographies in HHs 70.2261-80, and Sānguó zhì, Wèi shū, 12.370-73 n. 1; Wáng Càn's biography in Sānguó zhì, Wèi shū, 21.597-99 (and see Ronald C. Miao, Early Medieval Chinese Poetry, The Life and Works of Wang Ts'an (A.D. 177-217), Munchener Ostasiatische Studien, Band 30 [Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1982]); Hándān Chún's biography in Sānguó zhì, Wèi shū, 21.603 n. 1; Lù Cuì's biography in Sānguó zhì, Wèi shū, 21.603-4 n. 3; and Ruǎn Yǔ's biography in Sānguó zhì, Wèi shū, 21.599, 600.

Cài Yǎn's official biography is in HHs, "Liènǚ zhuàn," 84.2800-2803. She is credited with three extant poems, two "Poems of Lament and Resentment" ("Bēi fèn shī" 悲憤詩, a pentasyllabic poem [see HHs 84.2801-2], and a Chǔ song [see HHs 84.2802-3]) and the "Song of the Tartar Whistle in Eighteen Stanzas" ("Hújiā shíbā pāi" 胡笳十八拍; see Guō Màoqiàn 郭茂倩 [12th c.], comp., Yuèfǔ shījí 樂府詩集 [Běijīng: Zhōnghuá shūjú, 1979], 59.860-65). There has been considerable discussion over the authenticity of these popular works. See, e.g., Hans Frankel, "Ts'ai Yen," in The Indiana Companion to Traditional Chinese Literature, 786-87, and "Ts'ai Yen and the Poems Attributed to Her," CLEAR 5 (1983): 133-56; Okamura Sadao 岡村貞雄, "Sai En no sakuhin no shingi" 蔡琰の作品の眞偽, Nihon Chūgoku gakkai hō 23 (1971): 20-35; and Guō Mòruò

In defining the literature written roughly around the time of the historical epoch 159-192 C.E. as "kairotic," I am suggesting, of course, that the literature produced before and after it was different in some significant way. It is well established that in terms of genre there was a general shift in dominant form: in the first centuries B.C.E. and C.E., the long, epideictic fù predominated. The kairotic epoch witnessed a multiplicity of literary forms, but it was the fù, especially the short, lyrical type, that continued to be the most important genre. In the Jiàn'ān period, poets carried on the tradition of the fù, but shī poetry began its rapid rise to prominence. As for the general tenor of literary content, the fù at the beginning of the Eastern Hàn, particularly in the late first century, was primarily panegyrical, extolling the achievements of the Hàn emperors.[20] Writers in the Jiàn'ān, witnessing the fall of the Hàn dynasty, expressed what Robert Joe Cutter calls "a genuine concern with the ephemeral and transient nature of life, and . . . a kind of carpe diem mentality."[21] Literature of the kairotic era was a transition between the praise of the Hàn at the beginning of the dynasty and the carpe diem sensibility "combined with a twinge of sadness" that characterized literature

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郭沫若 (1892-1978) et al., Hújiā shíbā pāi tǎolùn jí 胡笳十八拍討論集 (Běijīng: Zhōnghuá shūjú, 1959).

[20] See David R. Knechtges, "To Praise the Han: The Eastern Han Capital Fu of Pan Ku and his Contemporaries," 138-39.

[21] Robert Joe Cutter, "Cao Zhi's (192-232) Symposium Poems," CLEAR 6 (1984): 6.

in the period of the fall and its aftermath.[22] Kairotic literature of the late second century reveals its writers' sense of disillusionment following the dynasty's failure to extend its glorious past, laments the many omens of its impending fall, and, simultaneously, manifests experimentation with forms and themes that will be embraced in the third century and beyond.[23]

His demise being premature, Cài Yōng died frustrated, not having completed his beloved history work. History, that is, the history of the Hàn, obliged him by ending, too. But if, as I have argued, Cài Yōng--and for that matter, his contemporaries, Zhào Yī, Zhū Mù, and Zhāng Chāo--shows in his writings that he had discerned this social, political, and cultural ending from his observations on the natural cycle of vicissitudes, of life and of the world around him, then he fulfilled what his contemporary in Rome, the emperor Marcus Aurelius (reg. 161-180), had observed in his Meditations (VII/49):

> Consider the past; the great shifts in political supremacy. You may foresee also the things which will be. For they will certainly keep the same form; they cannot possibly deviate from the order in which they take place now. Accordingly, to have contemplated human life for forty years is the same as to have contemplated it for ten thousand years. For what more will you see?[24]

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[22] Cutter, "Cao Zhi's (192-232) Symposium Poems," CLEAR 6 (1984): 32.

[23] This is vastly oversimplifying trends in literature over a two hundred-year span. But what I have presented above has validity, I believe, as a brief sketch of general tendencies.

[24] Meditations, in Marcus Aurelius and His Times, 74.

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APPENDIX A

CÀI YŌNG'S "SHÙ XÍNG FÙ" 述行賦

"FÙ RECOUNTING A JOURNEY"[1]

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[1] For the Chinese text, see CZj (Sbby), "Wàijì," 4b-8a; CZj (Zhāng Pǔ ed.), 1.1a-4a; CZj (Dīng Fúbǎo ed.), 1.1b-2b; CZj (Wāng Shìxián ed.), 495-501; CZwj (Lánxuě táng ed. and Sbck), "Wàizhuàn," 3b-6b; Quán Hòu Hàn wén, 69.1b-3b; and excerpts in Yìwén lèijù, 27.490, and Gǔwén yuàn, 21.6/7a/b (pages six and seven are joined). The title "Shù zhèng fù" 述征賦 (no semantic difference in titles) appears in citations found in Lǐ Shàn's Commentary to Lù Jī's 陸機 (262-303 C.E.) "Qián huǎn shēng gē" 前緩聲歌, Wén xuǎn, 28.1315, and in Shuǐ jīng zhù, Jī shuǐ zhù (Sbck), 7.12a. Lǐ Shàn's 李善 (?-689) Wén xuǎn Commentary also includes citations of this piece under the title "Shù xíng fù." Textual notes by Xǔ Hàn 許瀚 (1797-1866), with modern annotation, can be found Yáng kè "Cài Zhōngláng jí" jiàokān jì 楊刻蔡中郎集校勘記, "Wàijì" (1855; new and rev. ed., Jǐnán: Qí Lǔ shūshè, 1985), 108-12; there are also textual notes in Quán Hàn fù 全漢賦, comp. Fēi Zhēngāng 費振剛, Hú Shuāngbǎo 胡雙寶, and Zōng Mínghuá 宗明華 (Běijīng: Běijīng dàxué chūbǎnshè, 1993), 566-70.

Among the numerous modern punctuated and annotated versions are those in Hàn Wèi Liù cháo fù xuǎn 漢魏六朝賦選, comp. and annotated by Qū Shuìyuán 瞿蛻園 (Shànghǎi: Gǔjí chūbǎnshè, 1964), 42-51; Hàn Wèi Liùcháo fù xuǎnzhù 漢魏六朝賦選注, comp. Péi Jìnnán 裴晉南 et al., (Shànghǎi: Gǔjí chūbǎnshè, 1983), 67-81; and in Zhōngguó wénxué míngpiān jiànshǎng cídiǎn 中國文學名篇鑒賞辭典, ed. Xiāo Dífēi 蕭滌非 and Liú Nǎichāng 劉乃昌, et al. (Jǐnán: Shāndōng dàxué chūbǎnshè, 1992), 1736-45. The latter version also includes a short essay by David R. Knechtges (Kāng Dáwéi 康達維), 1739-40. Knechtges treats this piece as a travelogue fù in "Poetic Travelogue in the Han Fu," in Transactions of the Second International Conference on Sinology, Academia Sinica, Taipei, Taiwan, R.O.C., June 1989 (Taipei: Academia Sinica, 1989), 127-52; there he provides translations of several sections of the fù. Gōng Kèchāng 龔克昌 briefly discusses "Shù xíng fù" in Hàn fù yánjiū 漢賦研究 (Jǐnán: Shāndōng wényì chūbǎnshè, 1990), 297-98, 302-3.

In autumn of the second year of the Yánxǐ era [159 C.E.], it rained steadily for over a month.[2] At this time, Liáng Jì 梁冀 having just been put to death,[3] the Five Marquises Xú Huáng 徐璜, Zuǒ Guàn 左悺, and the others arrogated exalted positions in his place.[4] Moreover, when they were building the Park of Manifest Yáng to the west of the city,[5] the corvée laborers froze or starved and those who lost their lives

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[2] CZwj (Lánxuě táng ed. and Sbck), "Wàizhuàn," 3b, has the graphic error 霜 (shuāng, "frost") for the other versions' 霖 (lín, "steady, continuous raining").

[3] Liáng Jì, who became General-in-chief (dàjiāngjūn 大將軍), that is to say regent, under Emperor Shùn (reg. 125-144 C.E.), continued in that position through the first half of Emperor Huán's reign (146-168). When the Empress Liáng Nǚyíng 梁女瑩, Liáng Jì's sister, died on August ninth of 159, Liáng Jì recognized that his position at the court was now precarious. He began to eliminate those who would threaten him. The eunuchs sent imperial bodyguards and palace police to surround the regent's residence, whereupon Liáng Jì and his wife committed suicide. See Han Bielenstein, "Wang Mang, the Restoration of the Han Dynasty, and Later Han," in The Cambridge History of China, 1. 285-86, and "Lo-yang in Later Han Times," BMFEA 48 (1976): 93-95; Rafe de Crespigny, "The Harem of Emperor Huan: A Study of Court Politics in Later Han," Papers on Far Eastern History, no. 12 (September 1975), 15-18; HHs, "Xiào Huán dì jì," 7.304-5; "Huánghòu jì," 10B.444; "Liáng Tǒng lièzhuàn," 34.1186; "Huànzhě lièzhuàn," 78.2520.

[4] Emperor Huán's plan to dispose of the Liáng clan was carried out with the crucial support of five eunuchs: the regular palace attendants (zhōng chángshì 中常侍) Xú Huáng, Shàn Chāo 單超, Jù Yuán 具瑗, and the junior attendants of the Yellow Gates (xiǎo huángmén 小黃門) Zuǒ Guàn and Táng Héng 唐衡. For biographies of these men, see HHs 78.2520-22. For their assistance in carrying out the coup, these eunuchs were enfeoffed as marquises and rewarded with cash. See sources given in n. 3.

CZj (Zhāng Pǔ ed.), 1.1a; CZj (Wāng Shìxián ed.), 495; and CZwj (Lánxuě táng ed. and Sbck), "Wàizhuàn," 3b, omit děng 等 (marking all members of a set) after "Zuǒ Guàn."

[5] CZj (Sbby), "Wàijì," 4b; CZj (Zhāng Pǔ ed.), 1.1a; CZj (Wāng Shìxián ed.), 495; and CZwj (Lánxuě táng ed. and Sbck), "Wàizhuàn," 4a, all have "Xiǎn míng" 顯明 ("Manifest Brilliance") in place of "Xiǎn yáng" 顯陽, which is in CZj (Dīng Fúbǎo ed.), 1.1b, and Quán Hòu Hàn wén, 69.1b. I follow HHs, "Xiào Huán dì jì," 7.304, which states that construction on the Park of Manifest Yáng in

were legion. The prefect of Báimǎ 白馬, Lǐ Yún 李雲, died on account of his forthright statement.[6] The Grand Herald, Lord Chén, was punished on account of his coming to Yún's aid.[7]

Huáng told the court about my ability to play the zither.[8] [The emperor] commanded the governor of Chénliú 陳留 to dispatch me.[9] When I arrived in Yǎnshī 偃師, I became ill and being unable to proceed, I obtained leave to go home.[10] My

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Luòyáng began in the seventh month of Yánxī 2 (159 C.E.). See also Han Bielenstein, "Lo-yang in Later Han Times," 81. The cause for the lexical variant, a near synonym, is unknown to me.

[6] The administrative center of the Hàn prefecture of Báimǎ was located just to the east of Huá xiàn 滑縣 in Hénán province. In a memorial to the Emperor, Lǐ Yún criticized the corrupt state of government affairs, and in particular lambasted what he saw as the undeserved enfeoffment of the five eunuchs who had assisted Emperor Huān in ridding of Liáng Jì. The Emperor became furious, and had Lǐ Yún killed in prison. See Lǐ Yún's biography in HHs 57.1851-52.

[7] At the time that Lǐ Yún had sent his memorial to the Emperor, Chén Fán 陳蕃 (ca. 90-168 C.E.) was the dàhónglú 大鴻臚, or grand herald. (This high official was one of the jiǔqīng 九卿, or Nine Ministers, and was responsible for receiving state guests, including the princes and marquises, and ushering them through state rituals; see Hans Bielenstein, The Bureaucracy of Han Times [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980] 39-41.) Chén Fán sent up a memorial to the Emperor asking that Lǐ Yún's life be spared. As a result he was dismissed from office, whereupon he retired to his family home. See Lǐ Yún's biography in HHs 57.1852, and "Chén Wáng lièzhuàn," 66.2161.

[8] CZj (Zhāng Pǔ ed.), 1.1a; CZj (Wāng Shìxián ed.), 495; CZwj (Lánxuě táng ed. and Sbck), "Wàizhuàn," 4a, all have the graphic error 自 for 白.

[9] Chénliú, located to the southeast of modern Kāifēng, in Hénán province, was Cài Yōng's home commandery.

[10] Yǎnshī was a place located just to the east of modern Yǎnshī xiàn and about thirty-five kilometers ENE of modern Luòyáng in Hénán province. Modern Luòyáng is located about fifteen to twenty kilometers WSW of the Eastern Hàn capital Luòyáng. Hence, Cài Yōng's journey ended just a dozen or so kilometers due east of his destination. See n. 80.

heart was so filled with resentment towards this affair that, based on the places I had passed, I wrote this fù recounting it:[11]

I make a journey to capital Luò,[12]
And encounter a long spell of incessant rain.[13]
The road is arduous and obstructed,[14]
Flooded with standing water, creating a disaster.

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[11] Cf. "Jiǔ zhāng" 九章 ("Nine Pieces"), "Xí sòng," in Chǔcí 楚辭 (Chǔcí bǔzhù 楚辭補注, ed. Hóng Xìngzǔ 洪興祖 [1070-1135], [Sbby]), 4.2a (trans. David Hawkes, The Songs of the South [Harmondsworth, Middlesex, England: Penguin Books Ltd., 1985],156): "Grieving I make my plaint, to give my sorrows rein, / To vent my wrath and tell my pent-up thoughts 惜誦以致愍兮, 發憤以抒情. I have translated fèn 憤 above as "resentment," rather than use Hawkes's "wrath."

[12] Luò refers to Luòyáng, capital of Eastern Hàn China.

[13] CZwj (Lánxuě táng ed. and Sbck), "Wàizhuàn," 4a, omits yín 淫 (here, "continuous") before yǔ 雨 ("rain").

[14] See Zhōu yì zhèngyì, hexagram for Zhūn 屯, 1.29b: "Six in the second place: Arduous and impeding" 六二屯如邅如 (cf. Wilhelm/Baynes, 17), and the hexagram for Jiǎn 蹇, 4.23a, "Six in the fourth place: In going, obstructed, in coming, impeded" 六四往蹇來連 (cf. Wilhelm/Baynes, 153). On the latter, Wilhelm comments (p. 153), "If a person were to forge ahead on his own strength and without the necessary preparations, he would not find the support he needs and would realize too late that he has been mistaken in his calculations, inasmuch as the conditions on which he hoped he could rely would prove to be inadequate. In this case it is better, therefore, to hold back for the time being and to gather together trustworthy companions who can be counted upon for help in overcoming the obstructions." Cf. Bān Gù 班固 (32-92), "Yōu tōng fù" 幽通賦 (Hs 100B.4216, or Wén xuǎn, 14.637): "Numerous are the hardships and setbacks, / Why are the difficulties many and wisdom scarce?" 紛屯邅與蹇連兮, 何艱多而智寡? (cf. trans. Knechtges, 3: 87, ll. 45-46).

My horse team reels and does not advance,[15]

6 My mind is anxious and dejected, pent up with resentment.[16]

For a moment, I transcend my concerns to look into the past,[17]

8 And write these words revealing my hidden feelings.[18]

At dusk, I stay in Dàliáng 大梁;[19]

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[15] CZj (Dīng Fúbǎo ed.), 1.1b, and Quán Hòu Hàn wén, 69.2a, have the graphic variant shèngmǎ 棄馬; CZwj (Lánxuě táng ed. and Sbck), "Wàizhuàn," 4a, has shèngmǎ 棄馬 in place of shèngmǎ 乘馬 in CZj (Sbby), "Wàijì," 5a. CZj (Zhāng Pǔ ed.), 1.1b, and CZj (Wāng Shìxián ed.), 496, have the erroneous transposition mǎshèng 馬棄. See textual note at CZj (Sbby), "Wàijì," 5a. In place of the other versions' pán 蹯, CZj (Sbby), "Wàijì," 5a, has the graphic variant 蟠.

[16] CZj (Sbby), "Wàijì," 5a, and CZwj (Lánxuě táng ed. and Sbck), "Wàizhuàn," 4a, have the lexical variant yī 伊, which seems not to carry a semantic load in this context, for the other versions' yì 悒 ("dejected"). I am following the latter.

[17] Hàn Wèi Liùcháo fù xuǎnzhù, 72 n. 22, and Zhōngguó wénxué míngpiān jiànshǎng cídiǎn, 1741 n. 17, suggest that hóng lǜ 弘慮, my "transcend my concerns," ought to mean something like "breaking free from my concerns," i.e., become gladdened. David Knechtges, in "Poetic Travelogue in the Han Fu," 147, translates this verse as "Briefly dispelling my cares, I ponder the past."

[18] Cf. Bān Gù, "Xī dū fù" 西都賦 (HHs 40A.1335, or Wén xuǎn, 1.5; trans. Knechtges, 1: 99): "Disclose your hidden feelings of old remembrances" 發思古之幽情.

[19] Dàliáng was the capital of Wèi 魏 in the Warring States period (481/403-221 B.C.E.). It was located near what in the Eastern Hàn was called Jùnyí 浚儀. (Jùnyí was located at what is now Kāifēng City in Hénán Province.) At this point in his journey, Cài Yōng has travelled either twenty-five kilometers (if he left from the administrative center of Chénliú commandery) or sixty kilometers (if he left from his family home in Yǔ 圉 prefecture).

Following CZwj (Lánxuě táng ed. and Sbck), "Wàizhuàn," 4a: 夕余宿; CZj (Sbby), "Wàijì," 5a, CZj (Zhāng Pǔ ed.), 1.1b, and CZj (Wāng Shìxián ed.), 496, have 久余宿 ("At long last I stayed" or "Long did I stay"); CZj (Dīng Fúbǎo ed.), 1.1b, and Quán Hòu Hàn wén, 69.2a, have 夕宿余 ("At dusk stayed I").

10 I reproach Wú Jì's 無忌 being praised as a god,[20]

Lament over Jìn Bì's 晉鄙 guiltlessness,

12 And despise Zhū Hài's 朱亥 seizing the General.[21]

I pass by the old city of Zhōngmóu 中牟,[22]

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[20] Prince Wú Jì was a younger half-brother of King Ānxī of Wèi 魏安釐王 (reg. 276-243 B.C.E.), and was enfeoffed Lord of Xìnlíng 信陵君. Known for his humility and respect for others, he drew three thousand retainers to himself. In 257 B.C.E., against the wishes of the King, he commandeered an army of eighty thousand men to come to the aid of Zhào 趙, which was beleaguered by Qín. Qín was routed and Zhào saved. The King of Zhào praised Wú Jì saying, "From antiquity there has not been a prince who has measured up to you." Wú Jì, knowing that his brother, the King of Wèi, would look unfavorably upon his act of defiance, did not return home immediately. He learned that the King of Zhào planned to reward him with five cities, and grew prideful and haughty. He repented this uncharacteristic behavior after one of his retainers took him to task for it. His Shǐ jì biography states that in order to honor Wú Jì after his death, "For generations annually, seasonal sacrifices were respectfully offered." See Shǐ jì, "Wèi gōngzǐ lièzhuàn," 77.2379-82, 2385 (cf. translation in William Dolby and John Scott's Sima Qian: War-Lords [Edinburgh: Southside, 1974], 105-10, 114).

CZwj (Lánxuě táng ed. and Sbck), "Wàizhuàn," 4a, omits chēng 稱 ("praise").

[21] See previous note. After King Ānxī of Wèi had received the plea for help from Zhào, which was being beseiged by Qí, the King sent Jìn Bì in command of a hundred thousand troops to rescue Hándān 邯鄲. An emissary from Qín warned Wèi against involvement, and King Ānxī, fearing Qín, ordered General Jìn to halt at Yè 鄴. Zhào appealed to Prince Wú Jì, who then connived to purloin the tally that would give him control of Jìn Bì's army. General Jìn was suspicious about Wú Jì's obtaining the tally; one of Wú Jì's men, the butcher Zhū Hài, slew the general. (Jūn 軍 in this line is an abbreviation of jiāngjūn 將軍, "general.") Though Wú Jì went on to great success against Qí, Cài Yōng rebukes him for having acted outside of what was proper to himself and against his ruler.

CZj (Sbby), "Wàijì," 5a, and CZwj (Lánxuě táng ed. and Sbck), "Wàizhuàn," 4a, have hū 忽 ("despise"); the other versions have the graphically and semantically similar fèn 忿 ("to be indignant about").

[22] In the period of the Annals (Chūnqiū, 722-481 B.C.E.), there was a place in Jìn 晉 called Zhōngmóu, located several kilometers to the west of modern Hèbì City 鶴壁市 in northern Hénán Province; there was no settlement there in the Eastern Hàn. Although this is the place Cài Yōng is

14 Loathing Bì Xì's 佛肹 insubordination.[23]

I inquire after Nìng Yuè's 甯越 posterity,[24]

16 But remote in time, faded and vague, they are unknown.[25]

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referring to in the historical allusion contained in the lines that follow, he is actually at another city called Zhōngmóu that did exist in the Eastern Hàn; in the Warring States period it was a place in Wèi 魏. It was located just to the east of modern Zhōngmóu, which is itself in Hénán at the juncture of the Jiǎlǔ River 賈魯河 and the railway. This location is thirty-three kilometers due west of Cài Yōng's last position (the other Zhōngmóu was 120 km. north of that position!); thus far he has travelled fifty-eight kilometers (from the administrative center of Chénliú) or ninety-three kilometers (from Yǔ).

Zhōngguó wénxué míngpiān jiànshǎng cídiǎn, 1741 n. 23, suggests a different location for the Zhōngmóu being referred to in this historical allusion: between the modern cities of Hándān 邯鄲 and Xíngtái 邢臺 in Héběi Province.

[23] According to this anecdote from the Lúnyǔ (17/7; see Legge, 321) and Confucius' Shǐ jì biography (47.1924), Bì Xì was the steward (zǎi 宰) of Zhōngmóu, a fief of Zhào Jiǎnzǐ 趙簡子, head of the Zhào clan. When in 491 B.C.E. Zhào lay seige to Zhōngmóu because of its assistance to the Fàn 范 clan, Bì Xì rebelled against his chief. See other connections to this story in Zuǒ zhuàn, Āi 5 (see Legge, 806), and Huáinánzǐ, "Dào yìng" (Liú Wéndiǎn 劉文典, comp., Huáinán hóngliè jíjiě 淮南鴻烈集解 [Táiběi: Wénshìzhé chūbǎnshè, 1992), 12.394; Takigawa Kametarō 瀧川龜太郎 addresses the historical contradictions in this story in Shiki kaichū kōshō 史記會註考證 (1932-34; reprint, Táiběi: Yìwén yìnshūguǎn, 1959), 47.46-47.

[24] Nìng Yuè lived during the Warring States period, and was from Zhōngmóu (the first of the two cities mentioned in n. 22) which was now under the control of Zhào 趙. According to a story in the Lǚ shì chūnqiū, "Bó zhì" (Sbck), 24.9a/b, Nìng Yuè asked a friend how he might escape the bitter toil of the peasant farmer. His friend said he might do so by studying for thirty years. Nìng Yuè replied that by going without rest or sleep he could do it in ten. Fifteen years later he became tutor to Duke Wēi of Zhōu 周威公 (reg. 425-404 B.C.E.) (cf. translation of this passage in Richard Mather, Shih-shuo hsin-yü: A New Account of Tales of the World [Minneapolis: Universityof Minnesota Press, 1976], 85).

[25] The alliterative binome fǎng fú 髣髴 (initial 滂) means "indistinct," "indefinite"; here translated "faded and vague."

While passing through Pǔtián 圃田, I behold its northern limits,[26]

18 And remember it as Kāng of Wèi's 衛康 feudal bounds.[27]

Having come to Guǎn 管 borough, I sigh more and more,[28]

20 Indignant over [Guǎn]shú 管叔 and [Cài]shú's 蔡叔 inciting the Shāng.[29]

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[26] Pǔtián was wetland located to the west of Zhōngmóu.

CZwj (Lánxuě táng ed. and Sbck), "Wàizhuàn," 4b, has kàn 看 for the other versions' kàn 瞰 (possible loan; in Old Chinese, both have 溪 initials, but have different finals, 元 [看] and 談 [瞰]). CZj (Zhāng Pǔ ed.), 1.1b, has the graphic error 此 for 北.

[27] Kāngshú 康叔 was a younger brother of King Wǔ of Zhōu 周武王 (ob. 1043 B.C.E.); his personal name was Fēng 封 whereas "Kāng" was either his earlier appanage or his posthumous name. He was appointed by his brother to head the newly created fief of Wèi around the former Shāng site of Zhāogē 朝歌 (described by Kwang-Chih Chang as "south of An-yang . . . and the front line of the capital's unsuccessful defense" [Shang Civilization, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1980), 130-31; written as "Ch'ao-ko"]; located to the northeast of modern Qí xiàn 淇縣 in Hénán), and populated by the conquered Shāng-Yīn people. See Shàngshū, "Kāng gào" (Legge, 381-98, but especially 381n.); Zuǒ zhuàn, Dīng 4, where it says that Kāngshú's fief of Wèi stretched "from Wǔfù 武父 [location unknown] southward to the northern limits of Pǔtián" (Chūnqiū Zuǒ zhuàn zhèngyì, 54.18a; note Kǒng Yǐngdá's 孔穎達 [574-648] subcommentary on Wǔfù; cf. Legge, 754); Shǐ jì, "Wèi Kāngshú shìjiā," 37.1589-90; Herrlee G. Creel, The Origins of Statecraft, vol. 1, The Western Chou Empire (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1970), 374-75, 450-51.

[28] At the beginning of the Zhōu, Guǎn was the fief of Guǎnshú (see following note). It was located at the site of modern Zhèngzhōu in Hénán Province. During the Eastern Hàn, it was called Guǎnchéng 管城. From Zhōngmóu, Cài Yōng has travelled thirty-nine kilometers; up to this point he has travelled in all ninety-seven kilometers (from the administrative center of Chénliú) or 132 kilometers (from Yǔ).

CZj (Zhāng Pǔ ed.), 1.1b; CZj (Dīng Fúbǎo ed.), 1.1b; CZj (Wāng Shìxián ed.), 496; Quán Hòu Hàn wén, 69.2a, have the accretion of an extra syllable, gǎn 感, hence, ". . . I'm moved more and more to sigh."

[29] The "Shús" refer to the two younger brothers of King Wǔ, Guǎnshú 管叔 (personal name, Xiān 鮮) and Càishú 蔡叔 (personal name, Dù 度). After their brother died, their uncle, the Duke of Zhōu 周公, assumed control of the government as regent for King Chéng 成王 (ob. 1006 B.C.E.). Distrusting the Duke of Zhōu, they colluded with Wùgēng 武庚, the son of the last Shāng king, Zhòu

I pass by the place where Hàn [Gāo]zǔ 漢高祖 was in desperate straits,

And mourn for Jì Xìn 紀信 at Xíngyáng 滎陽.[30]

I descend through a twisty hollow at Hǔláo 虎牢,[31]

The road rounds and winds about the bulwark and mounds.[32]

紂, in rebelling against him. The Duke of Zhōu put down the revolt, had Guǎnshú and Wǔgēng executed, and banished Càishú. See "Jīn téng" 金縢 in Shàngshū; Zuǒ zhuàn, Dīng 4 (Legge, 754); Shǐ jì, "Zhōu běnjì," 4.126-27, 132, and "Wèi Kāngshú shìjiā," 37.1589.

CZwj (Lánxuě táng ed. and Sbck), "Wàizhuàn," 4b, has the graphic error 民 for 氏.

[30] In the fourth month of 204 B.C.E., Liú Bāng 劉邦 (247-195 B.C.E.), posthumously honored as Hàn Gāozǔ, the first emperor of the Hàn dynasty, was surrounded at Xíngyáng by the forces of Xiàng Jí 項籍, better known by his style, Yǔ 羽. His forces utterly lacking in provisions, Liú Bāng attempted to sue for peace, but to no avail. The Hàn general Jì Xìn devised a strategem to deceive Xiàng Yǔ into believing Liú Bāng had surrendered by dressing Xíngyáng women up as troops and then presenting himself as Liú Bāng. Meanwhile, the real Liú Bāng slipped quietly away with a small number of his cavalry. For his successful ruse, Jì Xìn was executed by Xiàng Yǔ. See Shǐ jì, "Xiàng Yǔ běnjì," 7.326, and "Gāozǔ běnjì," 8.372-73.

The Xíngyáng of this time is described by Michael Loewe ("The Former Han Dynasty," in The Cambridge History of China, 1:118) as "a city of strategic importance; it was situated just above that point on the Yellow River where the great stream branched northeast to flow toward the sea." Xíngyáng was located on the Yellow River tributory, the Biàn River 汴水, and was approximately twelve kilometers northeast of present Xíngyáng in Hénán Province.

[31] Qūyīn 曲陰, lit., "twisting shadows" (yīn 陰 itself refers to the north side of a mountain, and hence, "shadow"), refers here to a snaking vale between the slopes of hills.

Hǔláo is the old name of what in the Eastern Hàn was known as Chénggāo 成皋. Chénggāo was located at what is now Sìshuǐ xiàn 汜水縣 in Hénán Province. From Guǎnchéng, Cài Yōng has journeyed an additional forty-four kilometers (air distance); he has travelled in all 141 kilometers (from the administrative center of Chénliú) or 176 kilometers (from Yǔ).

[32] The term qiūxū 丘墟 ("bulwark and mounds") refers to the ruins of the fortifications of Hǔláo. Cài Yōng's choice of this expression qiūxū, which in another context might have the meaning

Fatigued were the expeditionary guards of the various marquises,[33]

26 Extravagant were the excellent fortifications of Shēnzǐ 申子.[34]

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fénmù 墳墓 ("grave"), may have a double intent wherein the reader is lead not only down a meandering path, but also to another remembrance, the allusion that follows in the next four lines.

CZwj (Sbck), "Wàizhuàn," 4b, has the graphic error 榮 for 縈.

[33] See Zuǒ zhuàn, Xī 4 (Legge, 141). After routing Cài 蔡 in 656 B.C.E., the Marquis of Qí 齊 began his campaign against Chǔ. His troops had penetrated Chǔ when an agreement between the two sides for Qí's withdrawal was reached. Grandees of Qí's allies, Yuán Táotú 轅濤塗 of Chén 陳 and Shēn Hóu 申侯 of Zhèng 鄭 deliberated over the course of the troops' withdrawal. Shēn Hóu assented to Yuán Táotú's plan to have the troops march eastward and along the sea rather than through Chén and Zhèng, where their presence might cause anxiety. The Marquis of Qí had accepted Yuán Táotú's plan until Shēn Hóu met with the marquis privately. Shēn Hóu then argued in favor of the opposite course: That since the troops were weary and lacked provisions, sending them through Chén and Zhèng would afford them the opportunity to be re-supplied. The Marquis of Qí was so pleased by this plan that he granted Shēn Hóu the town of Hǔláo, and had Yuán Táotú arrested. Subsequently, allied troops of the various marquises invaded Chén. Chén sued for peace, and Yuán Táotú was returned to it.

Hàn Wèi Liùcháo fù xuǎnzhù, 75 n. 37 suggests that this line means "Shēn Hóu] treated well the Qí troops" (指鄭申侯勞齊師之事). David Knechtges translates the line as "Strenuous were the distant campaigns of the vassal lords" ("Poetic Travelogue in the Han Fu," 149). I have chosen to render yuǎnshù 遠戍 as people ("expeditionary guards") rather than actions ("expeditionary sortie" or "distant campaigns"); cf. Zuǒ zhuàn, Dīng 1: "The fortifications were finished in three weeks (xún 旬), and then the guards of the various marquises were sent home" 城三旬而畢, 乃歸諸侯之戍 (cf. Legge, 745).

[34] See Zuǒ zhuàn, Xī 5 and 7 (Legge, 145, 149). This carries on the story begun in Xī 4, discussed in the previous note. Yuán Táotú bore a strong grudge against Shēn Hóu for his treachery. He artfully convinced Shēn Hóu to build fortifications around his town of Hǔláo so as to firmly establish his name for posterity's sake. Yuán Táotú himself offered to seek from the various marquises permission for the fortification project. The permission secured, excellent fortifications were built. Yuán Táotú then slandered Shēn Hóu before the various marquises, saying that Shēn Hóu's purpose for erecting the fortifications was in preparation for rebellion. Shēn Hóu was shortly after put to death by Zhèng, in part because of Yuán Táotú's slander, and in part because Qí wished it. "Shēnzǐ" used in this line is an honorific form of address for Shēn Hóu.

Ripened was the obstinate rancor of Táotú 涛塗,[35]

28 Who entrapped that man using "grand reputation."[36]

I climb up a tall slope to cross the heights,[37]

30 Ascend the soaring steepness of leek-green mountains.[38]

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[35] Rěn 稔 literally means "to ripen," "to be ready for harvest," and here has the extended meaning of "to have increased over the course of time." CZwj (Lánxuě táng ed. and Sbck), "Wàizhuàn," 4b, has the lexical variant shèn 甚 ("excessive") in place of rěn. CZj (Zhāng Pǔ ed.), 1.2a; CZj (Wāng Shìxián ed.), 496; and CZwj (Lánxuě táng ed. and Sbck), "Wàizhuàn," 4b, have the graphic error fù 復 ("return," "repeat") for bì 愎 ("obstinate," "obdurate").

[36] Regarding the meaning of this couplet, see n. 34. Cài Yōng uses this allusion to criticize the "Five Marquises." Note that in this allusion, "that man" (fú rén 夫人) who was "brought down," Shēn Hóu, was no more a morally upright person than was Liáng Jì. Nonetheless, by conspiring to destroy him the eunuchs exposed their own moral bankruptcy.

[37] Cf. Sīmǎ Xiāngrú, "Āi Èrshì fù" 哀二世賦 (Shǐ jì, "Sīmǎ Xiāngrú lièzhuàn," 117.3055; Hs, "Sīmǎ Xiāngrú zhuàn," 57B.2591 [with graphic variant]): "I climb up a tall slope, steep and craggy" 登陂陀之長阪兮.

[38] Hàn Wèi Liùcháo fù xuǎnzhù, 75 n. 39, and Zhōngguó wénxué míngpiān jiànshǎng cídiǎn, 1742 n. 38, state that a specific mountain is being identified here: a Cōng shān 蔥山 (or 葱山), located southeast of what is modern Gǒng xiàn 鞏縣 in Hénán Province. Although this would seem to be in line with Cài Yōng's course of travel, I cannot find any corroboration for a Cōng shān in this area. Moreover, the context given by the lines that follow suggest a number of mountains, and not simply one. Like David Knechtges ("Poetic Travelogue in the Han Fu," 149, and n. 106), I have chosen not to render it as a proper noun. I have derived the color, "leek-green" from the plant cōng, which is something between a small onion and a leek (Allium fistulosum; see Bernard E. Read, comp., Chinese Medicinal Plants from the Pen Ts'ao Kang Mu 本草綱目 A.D. 1596, 3rd. Edition of a Botanical, Chemical and Pharmacological Reference List (Peking: Peking Natural History Bulletin, 1936; reprint, Taipei: Southern Materials Center, Inc., 1982), no. 666, p. 217).

The Cōng lǐng 蔥嶺 mountain range that stretches over what is today southwest Xīnjiāng Province was well-known in the Hàn for its tremendous height. (It is today commonly referred to as "the roof of the world" 世界屋脊.) See Hs, "Xīyù zhuàn," 96A.3871, and Yán Shīgǔ's 顏師古 (581-645) note (n. 3). It is possible that Cài Yōng is making an allusion to those mountains as a

They create forms rubbing one against the other, standing great and high,[39]

32 Having endured a myriad generations and not toppled.

I wind down from the precipitous and spiring, descend the defile,

34 Small hills fill the expanse, of diverse forms.

Ridges and crests wind about in linked succession,

36 Canyons and gorges run deep, dusky and murky.[40]

Compelled by bluff and cliff to warp and sheer,[41]

---

hyperbolic description of the mountains that he is climbing; it is also possible that the mountains he refers to are "leek-covered," which is the way that the Cōng lǐng mountain range got its name.

This line ends with Yáo (or, Xiáo) 峭 which, aside from the fact that it does not make sense here (it is the name of a couple of mountains lying to the northeast of what is today Luòníng 洛寧, seventy-five to a hundred kilometers west of Luòyáng), does not match the rime (耕, píng shēng), being in the 宵 group. (As such, it forms a reduplicative with yáo 嶢 before it.) Xǔ Hàn, in Yáng kè "Cài Zhōngláng jí" jiàokān jì, "Wàijì," 109, suggests that 峭 is a graphic error for zhēng 崢, which fits the rime. The binomial, yáozhēng 嶢崢, describing great towering height, is attested to other works: cf. Yáng Xióng, "Hé dōng fù" 河東賦 (Hs 87A.3538; trans. David Knechtges, The "Han shu" Biography of Yang Xiong (53 B.C.-A.D. 18), Occasional Paper No. 14 [Tempe: Center for Asian Studies, Arizona State University, 1982], 27): "Ascend the soaring steepness of the Western Peak" 陟西岳之崤崢. I have borrowed Professor Knechtges's rendering of the term in translating Cài Yōng's line. CZj (Dīng Fúbǎo ed.), 1.1b, and Quán Hòu Hàn wén, 69.2a, have the lexical variant xíng 陘, "a defile, a pass," which also fits both the rime and the context.

[39] This line is difficult to comprehend, as Hàn Wèi Liùcháo fù xuǎnzhù, 75 n. 40, and Zhōngguó wénxué míngpiān jiànshǎng cídiǎn, 1742 n. 39, both attest. I have made a fanciful rendering of fǔ tǐ 撫體, "one rubbing against the other": fǔ means to "to rub, pat, grasp, etc."; tǐ means "body" or "form."

[40] CZj (Zhāng Pǔ ed.), 1.2a; CZj (Dīng Fúbǎo ed.), 1.1b; CZj (Wāng Shìxián ed.), 497; and Quán Hòu Hàn wén, 69.2b, have the nearly synonymous lexical variant gǔ 谷 ("ravine") for huò 壑 ("gorge").

38 Spreading palisades and gorges so tower taller.[42]

Clumped cudrania and oak, clustered hazel and arrow-thorn,[43]

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[41] CZwj (Lánxuě táng ed. and Sbck), "Wàizhuàn," 4b, has the graphic error pò 魄 ("earth-bound soul") for pò 迫 ("to compel").

Cuó é 嵯峨 ("jutting and jagging bluff and cliff") is a riming binome (歌 rime, píng shēng) for the irregular appearance of high, jagged cliffs; I have used simply "bluff and cliff" with the intention of mirroring with the final -ff of these words the original rime.

[42] Zhēng róng 崢嶸 (or, in CZj (Sbby), "Wàijì," 6a, 崝嶸) is a riming binome (耕, píng shēng) describing great height. CZwj (Lánxuě táng ed. and Sbck), "Wàizhuàn," 4b, has for this line: 廓寥壑以崢 (the 廊 in the Lánxuě táng ed. is a graphic error for 廓) : "Wide open gorges ever steeper."

[43] Though separated by the names of trees, cuán 攢 and zá 雜 are alliterative (從 initial), hence, "clumped and clustered." There are four names of trees in this line, none of which can be identified with certainty:

Yù 棫 and pò 樸 (朴) both appear in the Shī jīng, "Dàyá" poem, "Yù pò" (Máo shī 238). Yù 棫 is identified by the Ěr yǎ (Ěr yǎ zhùshū, 9.7a) as bái ruǐ 白桵, which Lù Wényù 陸文郁, in Shī cǎomù jīnshì 詩草木今釋 (Xiānggǎng [Hong Kong]: Wànyè chūbǎnshè, 1970), 118, no. 127, identifies it as zhè 柘 or Cudrania tricuspidata. The leaves of this thorny tree were used in sericulture in place of mulberry leaves. Bernard E. Read identifies bái ruǐ as the Prunus undulata (see Chinese Medicinal Plants, no. 452, p. 139), but The New Royal Horticultural Society Dictionary of Gardening (editor-in-chief, Anthony Huxley [New York: The Stockton Press, 1992], 3: 741) says that that evergreen tree is found in the Himalayan region, and makes no mention of China. Lù Jī 陸璣 (3rd century A.D.), in Máo shī cǎomù niǎoshòu chóngyǔ shū 毛詩草木鳥獸蟲魚疏 (in Hàn Wèi cóngshū 漢魏叢書, 1791 ed.), A.12b, equates the yù with the zuó 柞 or serrated oak (Quercus serrata; see Chinese Medicinal Plants, no. 612a, p. 197). In his commentary to Ěr yǎ (Ěr yǎ zhùshū, 9.7a/b), Guō Pú 郭璞 (276-324) disputes Lù Jī's conclusion. David Knechtges, in the notes to his translation of Zhāng Héng's 張衡 (78-139) "Xījīng fù" in Wén xuǎn, states that it "probably is a variety of cudrania" (1: 206, l. 412n.).

The Máo Commentary (Máo shī zhuàn, in Máo shī zhèngyì, 16C.1a) states that pò is the bāo tree 枹木 or a type of oak (Quercus glandulifera [see Chinese Medicinal Plants, no. 613a, p. 197] or Quercus acutissima [Shī cǎomù jīnshì, 67-68, no. 76]). According to the Hànyǔ dàcídiǎn, s.v. pò 朴, it is a general reference to the elm genus (榆科), but s.v. pú 樸, it is the bāo. The Dai Kan-Wa jiten, s.v. pò 朴, identifies it as the hòu pò 厚朴, a type of magnolia (Magnolia officinalis; see Chinese Medicinal Plants, no. 511, p. 162, where under "Remarks" there is a note that it is the same as the "Ch'en" [should read "Chen," i.e., zhēn] 榛 tree); s.v. pú or pò 樸, the reference is to the bāo. To

40 Having been washed and drenched they are spread and thriving.[44]

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add to the confusion, bāo may not be a type of tree at all, but a term denoting a dense growth of small trees.

Zhēn 榛 and hù 楛 appear in the Shī jīng, "Dàyá" poem, "Hàn lù" (Máo shī 239/1). The zhēn is probably not the tree mentioned above (Chinese Medicinal Plants, no. 511, p. 162), but the hazel (one of the small trees of the Corylus genus; see Chinese Medicinal Plants, no. 618, p. 199; Shī cǎomù jīnshì, 24, no. 29). The hù is a type of thorn or bramble, fancifully called "arrow-thorn" by Legge (The She King, 444); see Shī cǎomù jīnshì, 6, no. 7, where it is identified as Vitex chinensis. The combination may also simply refer to a dense growth of various trees; see Zhèng Xuán's 鄭玄 (127-200 C.E.) notes to Máo shī 239 (Máo shī zhèngyì, 16C.1a), and Hànyǔ dàcídiǎn, s.v. zhēn hù.

It is not by accident that Cài Yōng chooses pairs of tree names that appear in successive Shī jīng poems, Máo shī 238 and 239. In these poems the tree names are mentioned in connection with dense growth. The Máo Commentary (Máo shī zhuàn, in Máo shī zhèngyì, 16C.1a) on the first pair of names, yù pò, suggests that just as the mountains are thickly covered with these trees, the wood of which is put to use as firewood, so is the kingdom filled with worthy men whose talent is to be employed. Zhōngguó wénxué míngpiān jiànshǎng cídiǎn, 1742 n. 46, suggests that since this part of "Shù xíng fù" has been entirely devoted to the description of landscape, Cài Yōng is not borrowing the metaphor. I maintain that we cannot rule out his making metaphorical use of the other landscape imagery; moreover, the correlation to the tradition preserved in the Máo shī is too strong to be regarded as simply coincidence.

CZj (Dīng Fúbǎo ed.), 1.2a, and Quán Hòu Hàn wén, 69.2b, have 枯 in place of 楛; by the former these texts do not intend the word kū, "withered," but a graphic variant for hù.

[44] I follow the emendation of Sūn Xīngyǎn 孫星衍 [1753-1818], in Xù Gǔwén yuàn 續古文苑 [1820; Píngjīn guǎn cóngshū ed. of 1885], 1.17a, in substituting shēng 生 for bù 布 in the binome given in most editions as luóbù 羅布, meaning "to be distributed over a large area." Of the versions considered here, only CZj [Dīng Fúbǎo ed.], 1.2a, Quán Hòu Hàn wén, 69.2b, and the modern annotated texts of this piece have luóshēng 羅生, which the modern commentaries gloss as cōngshēng 叢生, "to grow thickly." Bù (魚 rime, gù shēng) is clearly wrong, as it does not match the rime of this section (耕 rime, píng shēng). Nonetheless, as the textual note in Yáng kè "Cài Zhōngláng jí" jiàokān jì, "Wàijì," 110, points out, there is no extant early textual authority on which to base the emendation to shēng. I tentatively accept it for the tenuous reason that the binome luóshēng appears in other early fù, e.g., "Gāo táng fù" 高唐賦, traditionally attributed to Sòng Yù 宋玉 (3rd c. B.C.E.) (see Wén xuǎn, 19.880), and Zhāng Héng's "Xījīng fù" (see Wén xuǎn, 2.55), and that the rarer luóbù does not otherwise appear until a memorial by Yǔ Liàng 庾亮 (289-340 C.E.) recorded in the Jìn shū 晉書 (Běijīng: Zhōnghuá shūjú, 1974), 73.1923.

Strewn lily turf and silver grass, sedge and fritillary,[45]

The annotated texts under consideration here without exception interpret huànzhuó 浣濯 as zīrùn 滋潤, "moist"; huànzhuó should be taken more literally, i.e., "to wash," referring to the great amount of rainfall that this vegetation received. CZwj (Lánxuě táng ed. and Sbck), "Wàizhuàn," 4b, has in place of zhuó the lexical variant 蒶, which the textual note in Yáng kè "Cài Zhōngláng jí" jiàokān jì, "Wàijì," 110, explains is a graphic variant of zhǒu 帚, itself a variant of 帚, "a broom," and perhaps, "to sweep away." I think bèi 被 should be read as a passive marker, similar to its modern usage.

[45] Following CZj (Dīng Fúbǎo ed.), 1.2a, and Quán Hòu Hàn wén, 69.2b, in beginning with the bù 布 ("to be spread over an area") that the other versions place at the end of the previous verse, and in omitting yù 蒮 ("crimson glory vine"); see Sūn Xīngyǎn's emendation (Xù Gǔwén yuàn [Píngjīn guǎn cóngshū], 1.17a) for the reason that the yǔ 與 in this line was probably confused at some point in the textual transmission with 奧, and thus with 蒮. Sūn does not explain why it is that some versions have both 蒮 and 與. (See the discussion of this in Yáng kè "Cài Zhōngláng jí" jiàokān jì, "Wàijì," 110.) Nonetheless, an even earlier source than Xù Gǔwén yuàn (1820) omits the 蒮: The Kāngxī zìdiǎn, completed in 1716, cites this line (s.v. méng 蒙) without 蒮 and with 與 as the key word, though it does not begin the verse with bù 布. (It should be pointed out that the Kāngxī zìdiǎn is notorious for errors in its citations of texts; see Ssu-yü Teng and Knight Biggerstaff, An Annotated Bibliography of Selected Chinese Reference Works, 3rd ed., Harvard-Yenching Institute Series II [Cambridge: Harvard-Yenching Institute, 1971], 130. Nonetheless, it is significant that a text earlier than Sūn Xīngyǎn's should have the yǔ in place of yù as he conjectured. The Kāngxī zìdiǎn kǎozhèng, comp. Wáng Yīnzhī 王引之 [1766-1834] et al., appended to Kāngxī zìdiǎn [Běijīng: Zhōnghuá shūjú, 1963], notes the omission of bù 布.) Following the other versions: "Lily turf, silver grass, glory vine, sedge and fritillary." CZj (Dīng Fúbǎo ed.), 1.2a, CZj (Wāng Shìxián ed.), 497, and Quán Hòu Hàn wén, 69.2b, have the lexical variant jùn 菌 ("mushrooms") for méng 蒙 ("fritillary"); the Kāngxī zìdiǎn citation has méng.

Mèn 蔪 is a graphic variant of 蘴; I follow Hàn Wèi Liùcháo fù xuǎn, 46 n. 13, and Hàn Wèi Liùcháo fù xuǎnzhù, 75 n. 49, in regarding it as the méndōng 蘴冬, which could either be the tiān méndōng 天蘴冬 (a kind of asparagus, Asparagus lucidus; see Bernard E. Read, comp., Chinese Medicinal Plants, no. 676, p. 220) or the mài méndōng 麥門冬 (門 being a loan for 蘴), a rhizomatous herb commonly known as lily turf (Liriope spicata; see Chinese Medicinal Plants, no. 684, p. 222, where it is called "black leek," though not really a type of leek, and The New Royal Horticultural Society Dictionary of Gardening [3: 95]). Zhōngguó wénxué míngpiān jiànshǎng cídiǎn, 1742 n. 48, takes it as a kind of fine grain, a red-stocked millet, possibly glutinous millet (see Chinese Medicinal Plants, no. 752, p. 248).

While hemming the layers of cliffs do their stems tangle.[46]
As I amble, my roaming eyes to the south look,[47]
And catch sight of the majesty and wonder of Grand Hall.[48]
I turn 'round and descry the northern edge of the Great River,[49]

Tǎn 荻, amur silver grass (Miscanthus sacchariflorus) is a kind of dí 荻, a rhizomatous reed that can be used to make mats and screens; see Shī cǎomù jīnshì, 35-36, no. 43, and The New Royal Horticultural Society Dictionary of Gardening 3: 246.

Yù 蒮--which I have rejected in favor of Sūn Xīngyǎn's emendation--is the yīngyù 嬰蒮, or Vitis thumbergii or Vitis coignetiae; see Shī cǎomù jīnshì, 84-85, no. 93, where Lù Wényù states that the fruit of this wild vine, commonly known as the "mountain grape" (shān pútáo 山葡萄), was used to make a kind of wine. The New Royal Horticultural Society Dictionary of Gardening (4: 678, 680) states that the fruit of the "crimson glory vine" is "black, purple-glaucous" and "scarcely edible."

Tái 臺, the short form of 薹, is a kind of suōcǎo 莎草 (Cyperaceae). Lù Wényù (Shī cǎomù jīnshì, 96, no. 106) identifies it as Carex dispalata. The New Royal Horticultural Society Dictionary of Gardening (1: 514) describes it as sedge with "rhizomes creeping."

Méng 茴 is a kind of fritillary (Fritillaria verticillata or thunbergii; see Chinese Medicinal Plants, no. 678, p. 220; Shī cǎomù jīnshì, 33, no. 40), a bulbous, flowered plant.

[46] The consensus among the annotations I have consulted read the penultimate word as jiē 結 (note first tone), which refers to the growth of plants, and in particular their bearing of fruit and the forming of seeds. I think it can be taken more commonly as "to intertwine" or "to knot" (jié) though the sense is not all that discrete from the idea of lush growth.

[47] CZwj (Lánxuě táng ed. and Sbck), "Wàizhuàn," 5a, dittography and omission, repeating the second graph of the line, 遊, in place of the penultimate graph 望 (thus, "my roaming eyes to the south roam").

[48] Grand Hall (Tàishì 太室) was the ancient name of Mount Sōng 嵩山, the central of the "Five Peaks" (Wǔyuè 五嶽). Mount Sōng is located north of modern Dēngfēng xiàn 登封縣 in Hénán Province.

[49] The "Great River" (Dà Hé)大河 refers to theYellow River.

CZwj (Lánxuě táng ed. and Sbck), "Wàizhuàn," 5a, has a lacuna where the other editions have 於.

And overlook the confluence at Luò Junction.[50]

I recall whom Dìng of Liú 劉定 deemed a model,[51]

Praise what Bó Yǔ 伯禹 accomplished.[52]

I grieve over Tàikāng's太康 losing his throne,[53]

Bewail the music of "Songs of the Five Sons."[54]

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[50] The notes to the annotated texts all agree that the confluence of the Luò and Yellow Rivers at this particular juncture in history was located near what is now Gǒng xiàn 鞏縣 in Hénán Province. "Luò Junction" is my translation of Luò ruì 洛汭.

CZwj (Lánxuě táng ed. and Sbck), "Wàizhuàn," 5a, employ the loan 看 for kàn 瞰; Ywlj, 27.490, and Gǔwén yuàn, 21.6/7a, have the synonym dǔ 覩.

[51] "Dìng of Liú" refers to Duke Dìng of Liú; see Zuǒ zhuàn, Zhāo 1: At Luò Junction, Duke Dìng said, "How admirable are the achievements of Yǔ 禹! His perspicacious power has been far reaching. If not for Yǔ, we would be fish!" (cf. Legge, 578). Yǔ was the legendary founder of the Xià dynasty. He is most honored as the great engineer whose heroic efforts resulted in controlling the devastating flood waters that impeded the progress of agriculture and civilization. See Shàngshū, "Yǔ gòng"; Legge, The Shoo King, The Prolegomena, 57-66.

Yōu 攸 here means suǒ 所, "that which" or "whom"; it is parallel to the suǒ in the following line. Cài Yōng has deliberately, I think, chosen a word whose primarily meaning is to describe the calm flowing of water--this, in a context of his being near the Luò River, where he remembers the flood-controlling achievements of Yǔ. See Shuō wén jiě zì zhù 說文解字注, comp. Xǔ Shèn 許愼 (58-147 C.E.), commentary by Duàn Yùcái 段玉裁 (1735-1815) (Shànghǎi: Gǔjí chūbǎnshè, 1981), 124: "Yōu refers to moving water" 攸行水也, and Duàn Yùcái's commentary.

[52] "Bó Yǔ" refers to Xià Yǔ (see note above). Cí yuán (s.v. "Bó Yǔ") suggests that "Bó" derives from his father Gǔn 鯀, who was the chief of Chóng (Chóng bó 崇伯). The name Bó Yǔ appears in Shàngshū, "Shùn diǎn."

[53] Tàikāng was the third ruler of Xià, and the grandson of Yǔ. He was neglectful of his grandfather's precepts and his royal duties, and was given to a life of dissipation. He once went off hunting in the area of Luò Junction across the Yellow River--hence Cài Yōng's reference to the "northern edge" in line 45--and when, after a hundred days, he did not return, the people rebelled and his government fell.

I seek out the long wagon track to set off anew,

Endlessly going on and on, it is hardly over yet.

In the mountains, winds race and vortices spring,[55]

The air, dismal and dreary, is sharp and cold.

Clouds, congealing and rising, block up the four directions,

Rain, drizzly-mizzly, inundates the road.[56]

The driver is enervated, fagged from exertion,[57]

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[54] The "Songs of the Five Sons" ("Wǔ zǐ zhī gē" 五子之歌) is a book in the Shàngshū. It is composed of an introduction and five songs each one of which was sung by a different younger brother of Tàikāng. In James Legge's opinion (see his notes, 156), for the reason that the five brothers were, according to the introduction of this book, attending to their mother at this time, the title thus has "five sons" rather than "five younger brothers." The five songs lament the dissipation of their older brother and his loss of the throne.

[55] Following Sūn Xīngyǎn's emendation (Xù Gǔwén yuàn [Píngjīn guǎn cóngshū], 1.17b) of bó 泊 ("to lie along the shore" [nautical], "ripples"), a probable graphic error, to yù 汩 ("rapid," as a current), employed by CZj (Dīng Fúbǎo ed.), 1.2a, and Quán Hòu Hàn wén, 69.2b. A biāo 飆 is literally a vortex, but here probably means a strong wind.

[56] Méngméng 濛濛 is a reduplicative suggesting the obscuring haziness of misty rain. Táng 唐 here means "road," originally in the sense of an avenue (in the British sense of the term) leading from a gate to a temple or a main hall. See Ěr yǎ, "Shì gōng," 5.6a, "The central road of a temple is referred to as a táng." I have taken the preceding graph 漸 to be the word jiān, i.e., "to cover with water." Here I follow the interpretation given in Hàn Wèi Liùcháo fù xuǎnzhù, 76 n. 64. (Hàn Wèi Liùcháo fù xuǎn, 47 n. 6, is similar, but is somewhat vague in whether it takes táng as "dike" or "road," glossing it as both tí 堤 and dàolù 道路.) Zhōngguó wénxué míngpiān jiànshǎng cídiǎn, 1743 n. 61, reads 漸 as jiàn, "progressively more so," and táng as "great" or "large," hence, "becomes increasingly greater."

[57] Cf. Máo shī 168/2, "The drivers were anxious and fagged" 僕夫況瘁 (cf. Legge, 263).

My horses, haggard, stagger, turning from sloe to sallow.[58]

Upon reaching a luxuriant knoll, I unhitch the carriage,

Dark and loury-lowery, there's no light of day.[59]

I lament the many reasons for the decline of Zhōu,

Gazing afar on the riversides and bends, I'm moved still more.

I detest the wantonness and rebellion of Zǐ Dài 子帶,[60]

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[58] Máo shī 3/2.3, "My horses haggard, stagger," and "My horses turned from sloe to sallow" (cf. Legge, 8) also describing horses laboring through steep terrain. Huī tuí 虺隤 is a riming binome (微 rime, píng shēng), referring to exhaustion to the point of collapse; I have used a nearly riming binome to translate it, "haggard, stagger." Xuán huǎng 玄黃 is an alliterative binome (匣 initial) describing the sick appearance of the horses. The Máo Commentary (Máo shī zhuàn, in Máo shī zhèngyì, 1B.9b) notes that when "dark horses are sick, they are then sallow [in color]." (Bernhard Karlgren argues ["The Book of Odes: Kuo Feng and Siao Ya," 173, note (c) to this poem] that the term describes the horses as "Black-streaked with sweat and yellow with dust; . . . a result of their labour." I follow the traditional reading.) I have rendered xuán huǎng as well with a nearly alliterative binome, "sloe(-black)" and "sallow," though the effect is diminished by the need for the intervening "to."

All versions but CZj (Sbby), "Wàijì," 6a, have the loan tuí 頹 in place of 隤 in huītuí.

[59] Cf. Máo shī 30/4: "Loury-lowery, the darkness" 噎噎其陰 (cf. Legge, 47). The reduplicative yìyì 噎噎, translated here with "loury-lowery" (variants of the same word), suggests atmospheric darkness and may include windiness as well.

[60] See Zuǒ zhuàn, Xī 7, 8, 11-13, 22, 24 (cf. Legge, 192-193); Shǐ jì, "Zhōu běn jì," 4.152, 154. Dài (Wángzǐ Dài 王子帶, i.e., the King's son Dài or Prince Dài, also known as Duke Zhāo of Gān 甘昭公) was the half-brother of Zhèng 鄭; both were sons of King Huì 惠王 (reg. began 676 B.C.E.) of Zhōu. Dài and Zhèng competed to succeed their father, and Zhèng was the victor. He was to be known posthumously as King Xiāng 襄王 (reg. began 651 B.C.E.). Since Dài had been the favorite of their father's queen, King Xiāng feared him. Dài, for his part, was aware of his precarious situation and fled. He conspired with the Róng 戎 and Dí 翟 (or 狄) tribes against his brother. Those plans were frustrated, and later, receiving a pardon, Dài returned to Zhōu. After his return, he had an

64 And condole with King Xiāng 襄王 at Tánkǎn 壇坎.[61]

I deplore the distress brought about by favor and dotage,[62]

66 My heart, anguished and aggrieved, is wrapped in dolor.[63]

---

affair with his brother's queen, Lady Wěi 隗, and raised troops, putting King Xiāng to flight. While in exile, King Xiāng obtained the assistance of Duke Wén of Jìn 晉文公 to reëstablish himself on the throne and execute Dài.

CZj (Sbby), "Wàijì," 6b, and CZj (Zhāng Pǔ ed.), 1.2b, have the lexical variant yì 逸 ("indulgence," "intemperance") for nì 逆 ("rebelliousness"); here, I follow the latter version.

[61] Tentatively following Hàn Wèi Liùcháo fù xuǎn, 47 n. 2 (left); Hàn Wèi Liùcháo fù xuǎnzhù, 77 n. 70; and Zhōngguó wénxué míngpiān jiànshǎng cídiǎn, 1743 n. 67, that Tánkǎn is Kǎnkǎn (? the initials are problematical) 坎欿, the place King Xiāng fled to after being forced from the throne by his brother. See Zuǒ zhuàn, Xī 24. I cannot find independent corroboration of Tánkǎn as an alternate name for Kǎnkǎn, which was located about a dozen kilometers east of modern Gǒng xiàn in Hénán Province, but the explanation put forth in Hànyǔ dàcídiǎn, s.v. tánkǎn (with reference to "Shù xíng fù"), that this is a synecdoche ("altars and pits") to refer generally to places of sacrifice or a metonym for the ceremonies held there, is unconvincing: "And condole with King Xiāng at the sacrificial sites/rites"? On the other hand, Kǎnkǎn, known as Kǎnkǎnjù 坎欿聚 in Cài Yōng's time, is just several kilometers WSW of his last clearly identified position, Chénggāo.

CZwj (Lánxuě táng ed. and Sbck), "Wàizhuàn," 5a, has the graphic error 衰 for 襄 in King Xiāng's name.

[62] Cf. Máo shī 257/3: "Who produced the cruel steps / Which today brings about distress" 誰生厲階, 至今為梗 (cf. Legge, 521).

CZwj (Lánxuě táng ed. and Sbck), "Wàizhuàn," 3b, has a lacuna where other editions have bì 嬖, and the graphic error 綆 for 梗.

[63] Cè chuàng 惻愴 ("anguished and aggrieved") is an alliterative binome (初 initial).

Sūn Xīngyǎn (Xù Gǔwén yuàn [Píngjìn guǎn cóngshū], 1.17b) emends the final cǎo 慅 of this verse to cǎn 慘 to fit the rime of this section (談 rime, shǎng shēng) on the basis of the likelihood of graphic confusion. This is followed by CZj (Dīng Fúbǎo ed.), 1.2a, and Quán Hòu Hàn wén, 69.2b; in any case, the two words, cǎo and cǎn, may be taken as synonyms. See also the textual note in Yáng kè "Cài Zhōngláng jí" jiàokān jì, "Wàijì," 111.

After boarding a boat, I head up against a rapid current,[64]

And float on limpid waves to cross the river.[65]

I reflect on the numinous brilliance of Consort Fú 宓妃;

The goddess, occulted and obscured, is submerged, covered.[66]

---

[64] Following CZj (Zhāng Pǔ ed.), 1.2b; CZj (Dīng Fúbǎo ed.), 1.2a; CZj (Wāng Shìxián ed.), 498; and Quán Hòu Hàn wén, 69.2b, that have the lexical variant chéng 乘 ("to get on") in place of the other versions' cāo 操 ("to get a hold of"), an emendation likely due to suspected contamination with line 75. See the textual note in Yáng kè "Cài Zhōngláng jí" jiàokān jì, "Wàijì," 111. Since the imagery and vocabulary of this section is apparently borrowed from "Jiǔ zhāng" 九章 ("Nine Pieces"), "Shè jiāng," in Chǔcí (Chǔcí bǔzhù [Sbby]), 4.7b-11a, I think this line may be a reflection of the "Shè jiāng" verse (4.8b; trans. David Hawkes, The Songs of the South, 160): "Then, boarding a barge, I sailed up the River Yuan" 乘舲船余上沅兮.

Fāngzhōu 方舟 (CZj [Sbby], "Wàijì," 6b) or fǎngzhōu 舫舟 (the other versions), variants of the same word, are two boats rigged together side by side; here it is simply synecdoche for a boat.

Xù Gǔwén yuàn [Píngjīn guǎn cóngshū], 1.17b, has the lexical variant "Luò" 洛, referring to the name of the river, in place of liú 流 ("current"). CZwj (Lánxuě táng ed. and Sbck), "Wàizhuàn," 5a, has the variant yù 浴 ("to bathe" or "to dart up and down in flight"), probably a graphic error of the variant 洛.

[65] Cf. Liú Xiàng's 劉向 (77-6 B.C.E.) "Jiǔ tàn" 九歎 ("Nine Laments"), "Lí shì," in Chǔcí (Chǔcí bǔzhù [Sbby]), 16.7b (trans. David Hawkes, The Songs of the South, 286): "I rowed my boat across the river" 擢舟杭以横濊兮. The lì 厲 of the "Shù xíng fù" is the short form of 濊 in "Jiǔ tàn"; the literal meaning of hénglì 横厲 is "to cross and traverse."

[66] On Fú Fēi or Consort Fú, Rú Chún 如淳 (fl. 3rd c.) comments (Shǐ jì, 117.3040): "Fú Fēi was the daughter of Fú Xí 伏羲 [legendary ruler, traditionally dating 2853-2838 B.C.E., who is credited with teaching people hunting, fishing, husbandry, the eight trigrams, and writing] who drowned in the Luò River, and subsequently became the goddess of the Luò River." Cáo Zhí wrote a fù on her, "Luò shén fù" 洛神賦; see Wén xuǎn, 19.895-903; Knechtges, 3: 355-65. See also notes on Fú Fēi by David Knechtges in Selections, 1: 252, l. 127n, and by David Hawkes in The Songs of the South, 90-91, ll. 221-222n.

Yōu yǐn 幽隱 is an alliterative binome (影 initial), and is translated here as "occulted and obscured."

This river flows from the fountainhead juices of Xióng'ěr 熊耳;[67]

It draws together the Yī 伊 and the Chán 瀍, and the Jiàn 澗 torrent.[68]

Opening a waterway from the source to the capital city,

It draws tribute from the wastelands and outskirts.

Grasping the oars of Wú 吳 on a myriad vessels,[69]

They fill the royal treasuries and offer up their hoards.[70]

After crossing the river westward, I tarry,[71]

---

[67] The line begins with shí 實, which should be interpreted as "this is the one that"; in the translation, I have interpolated "river flows from" to clarify the meaning. The Xióng'ěr Mountains lie roughly a hundred kilometers southwest of old Luòyáng, and though the Luò River passes by them (to the north), they are not its actual source.

[68] These are all tributaries of the Luò River.

[69] Cf. "Jiǔ zhāng" ("Nine Pieces"), "Shè jiāng," in Chǔcí (Chǔcí bǔzhù [Sbby]), 4.9a (trans. David Hawkes, The Songs of the South, 160): "The oars of Wu dipped in time and beat the willowing water" 齊吳榜以擊汰. The meaning of wúbàng 吳榜 is unclear: Hóng Xīngzǔ (see note at Chǔcí bǔzhù [Sbby], 4.9a) states that 吳 is a loan for 艎, another word for a boat. Zhū Xī 朱熹 (1130-1200) posits that it refers to the state of Wú, and compares it to a Yuè barge (Yuè líng 越艇) or a Shǔ skiff (Shǔ tǐng 蜀艇); see Chǔcí jízhù 楚辭集註 (Táiběi: Hóngdào wénhuà shìyè yǒuxiàn gōngsī, 1971), 4.5a.

[70] The final word, zuì 最, refers, in this context, to what has been gathered up, hence, a "hoard" or "cache," and is the tribute given to the court.

[71] Cf. "Jiǔ zhāng" ("Nine Pieces"), "Shè jiāng," in Chǔcí (Chǔcí bǔzhù [Sbby]), 4.9a (trans. David Hawkes, The Songs of the South, 160): "The boat went slowly, making little headway" 船容與而不進兮. Róngyǔ 容與 is the appearance of moving slowly or hesitating.

78 Rest at Gǒng City 鞏都 and then depart.[72]

I commiserate with Duke Jiǎn 簡公's losing his army,[73]

80 And detest Zǐ Zhāo's 子朝 causing the damage.[74]

Murky clouds darken as they thicken and condense,[75]

82 Storming rain gathers into a drenching deluge.[76]

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[72] The administrative center of the Eastern Hàn prefecture of Gǒng was located about five kilometers WSW of modern Gǒng xiàn 鞏縣. From Chénggāo, Cài Yōng has travelled about thirty kilometers (air distance); he has travelled in all 171 kilometers (from the administrative center of Chénliú) or 206 kilometers (from Yǔ).

[73] CZj (Wāng Shìxián ed.), 498, has the lexical variant wèi 未 for Jiǎn 簡.

[74] See Zuǒzhuàn, Zhāo 22; Shǐ jì, "Zhōu běn jì," 4.156. After the death of King Jīng of Zhōu 周景王 (reg. 544-520 B.C.E.), the Zhōu dynasty went into upheaval. Měng 猛, a son of the King by his principle wife, took his father's throne. His father's favorite, Zhāo 朝 (Zǐ Zhāo, "Son Zhāo" or perhaps, "Prince Zhāo") a son by a concubine, rebelled. Duke Jiǎn of Gǒng 鞏簡公 supported Měng (posthumously known as King Dào 悼王, though, since he did not live to begin his reign with the new year, is not recognized in the succession of Zhōu kings) against Zhāo. Eventually, Měng's party was able to put Zhāo to flight, but then Duke Jiǎn suffered defeat at the hands of Zhāo's forces. Měng ended up dying within the year. With the assistance of the state of Jìn, whose army finally overpowered Zhāo, Měng's son Gài 匄 took the throne; he was posthumously known as King Jǐng 敬王 (reg. 519-476 B.C.E.). This story resonates highly with the business alluded to above concerning the succession of King Huì; see n. 60. On these events that shook the Zhōu dynasty, see Dài Xī 戴溪 (13th c.), Chūnqiū jiǎng yì 春秋講義 (Sìkù quánshū zhēnběn, 1972), 77: 4A.29b-30a, cited by Legge in his remarks (The Ch'un Ts'ew with The Tso Chuen), Par. 6, 693-94.

[75] CZwj (Lánxuě táng ed. and Sbck), "Wàizhuàn," 5b, has the lexical variants xuě 雪 ("snow") for the other versions' yún 雲 ("clouds"), and yǎn 黭 ("blue-black") for àn 黯 ("dark," "black"), hence: "Dark snow blue-black thickens and condenses" 玄雪黭以凝結兮. Lǐ Shàn's citation of this line in his commentary to Xiè Huìlián's 謝惠連 (407/397-433) "Xuě fù" 雪賦 (Wén xuǎn, 13.596) is like the other versions, but for having yǎn for àn.

The road, obstructed and ravaged, is left without tracks,[77]

84 The route, muddied and submerged, is difficult to follow.[78]

I go along the hills and knobs, clambering up and down,[79]

86 After arriving in Yǎnshī 偃師, I relieve my fatigue.[80]

Heroic was Tián Héng 田橫 who presented his head,

88 True were the two knights who flanked the grave.[81]

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[76] Following Lǐ Shàn's citation of this line in his commentary to Xiè Huìlián's "Xuě fù" (Wén xuǎn, 13.596): 零雨集之溱溱. CZwj (Lánxuě táng ed. and Sbck), "Wàizhuàn," 5b, has the same line, but only one zhēn 溱 (thus short by a syllable). Zhēnzhēn 溱溱 is a reduplicative describing profuse quantity, here translated as "drenching deluge." The other versions have 集零雨之溱溱: "Gathering into the drenching deluge of a storming rain."

[77] CZwj (Lánxuě táng ed. and Sbck), "Wàizhuàn," 5b, has the graphic error 潞 for 路.

[78] The binome nìng nì 濘溺, "muddied and (sub)merged," is alliterative (泥 initial).

[79] Here the author describes going around the flooded areas by using higher elevations.

[80] Yǎnshī was located about seven to eight kilometers WSW of Gǒng, and a little over fifteen kilometers to the east of Eastern Hàn Luòyáng. (The Yǎnshī of this period was a few kilometers to the southeast of modern Yǎnshī, and a little over thirty-five kilometers ENE of modern Luòyáng.) At Yǎnshī, Cài Yōng has travelled in all 179 kilometers (from the administrative center of Chénliú) or 214 kilometers (from Yǔ). (The total distance calculated is point-to-point air distance; the ground distance would be somewhat greater.)

Ywlj, 27.490, and Gǔwén yuàn, 21.6/7a, have the variant jīng qín 精勤 ("dedicated and assiduous") for the other versions' shì qín 釋勤 ("to dissolve fatigue"); it is difficult to make sense of in this context.

[81] See Shǐ jì, "Tián Dān lièzhuàn," 94.2647-49. Tián Héng was King of Qí up to the time Qí was conquered just prior to the establishment of the Hàn dynasty. After Liú Bāng defeated Xiàng Yǔ in 202 B.C.E., Tián Héng fled with about five hundred followers to an island off the coast (since become part of the Jiāngsū mainland). Promising safe passage, Liú Bāng, as the new emperor, invited Tián Héng to Luòyáng. Tián Héng, accompanied by two of his men, went as far as Shīxiàng 尸鄉 (a

Standing still I tarry, stay put, watching for the rain to stop,

Affected by the sadness and sorrow of my despondent heart.[82]

Both day and night my mind is far away,[83]

Through the small hours I do not sleep, overtaking dawn.[84]

I watch the forms and conditions of the wind and clouds,[85]

The heavens, impervious and scoured, are without markings.[86]

---

small place located five kilometers WNW of Cài Yōng's Yǎnshī). There, reflecting on the shame of submitting to a former equal, as well as the shame of serving alongside the brother of the Hàn envoy he had had boiled to death (because the envoy had been suspected of being duplicitous), Tián Héng cut his own throat, having ordered his men beforehand to present his head to the Emperor. The Emperor was deeply moved and buried Tián Héng as a king. After the burial, the two men who had accompanied Tián Héng dug holes alongside the grave, and then committed suicide themselves.

CZj (Wāng Shìxián ed.), 499, has the lexical variant fèn 憤 ("angry," "depressed") for the other versions' fén 墳 ("grave").

[82] Cf. Máo shī 40/1: "I go out from the north gate, / My despondent heart sad and sorrowful" 出自北門、憂心殷殷 (cf. Legge, 65).

[83] Cf. "Yuǎn yóu" 遠遊 in Chǔcí (Chǔcí bǔzhù [Sbby]), 5.2a (trans. David Hawkes, The Songs of the South, 194): "Restless I paced, with my mind on distant things" 步徙倚而遥思兮.

[84] Cf. "Yuǎn yóu" in Chǔcí (Chǔcí bǔzhù [Sbby]), 5.1b (trans. David Hawkes, The Songs of the South, 193): "In the night-time I lay, wide-eyed, without sleeping" 夜耿耿而不寐兮.

CZwj (Lánxuě táng ed. and Sbck), "Wàizhuàn," 5b, has the loan graph 霄 for xiāo 宵, and the lexical variant cǎo 懆 ("worried," "anxious") for mèi 寐 ("to fall asleep").

[85] Cf. Bān Gù, "Xīdū fù" 西都賦 (Wén xuǎn, 1.20; trans. David Knechtges, 1: 139, l. 383): "He gazes at the forms and shapes of the mountains and streams" 覽山川之體勢. I have chosen a slightly different rendering of tǐ shì 體勢 for the above context, "forms and conditions."

[86] This line means that the sky is overcast, and appears washed out, leaving no "markings." The "markings" (wén 文) are celestial phenomena like the sun, moon, and stars.

After a full two nights' lodging, I finally rest,

My thoughts winding and rambling are eastward conveyed.[87]

I see the bright whiteness of the sun's rays,[88]

And feel somewhat at peace and even happy.[89]

Commanding the driver to go and harness the horses,[90]

I'm about to go forth to the capital district.[91]

The august house is splendorous as if in heaven dwells,

A myriad feudatories proceed to it like stars congregating.[92]

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[87] CZwj (Lánxuě táng ed. and Sbck), "Wàizhuàn," 5b, has the textual variants sī 絲 ("silk") for sī 思 ("thoughts"), and wēi yí 威遺 for the apparently synonymous wēiyí 逶迤 (or 逶迆, "winding and rambling"). Wēi yí 威遺 is not likely to have been a loan for wēi yí 逶迤 in Old Chinese: Yí 遺 and yí 迤 had different finals, i.e., 微 and 歌 rimes, respectively. A note in Yáng kè "Cài Zhōngláng jí" jiàokān jì, "Wàijì," 112, suggests that yí 遺 in this compound may have derived from 遺 (wéi or wěi). In any case, it is difficult to make sense of the CZwj line, 絲威遺以東運.

[88] CZwj (Lánxuě táng ed. and Sbck), "Wàizhuàn," 5b, has this line, "The sun gloriously appears, bright and white" 陽光見之顥顥兮 in place of 見陽光之顥顥兮, translated above.

[89] Cf. the use of shǎo mǐ 少弭 in Zuǒ zhuàn, Xiāng 25: "Henceforth, the hostilities will likely be somewhat lessened" 自今以往兵其少弭矣 (cf. Legge, 515). What is "lessened" here are the worries and cares that weigh heavily on the speaker.

[90] This line is borrowed by Cáo Zhí in "Luò shén fù"; see Wén xuǎn, 19.901 and cf. trans. Knechtges, 3: 365, l. 165.

[91] Cf. Cáo Zhí, "Luò shén fù" (Wén xuǎn, 19.901): "I'm about to return to the eastern road" 吾將歸乎東路 (cf. Knechtges, 3: 365, l. 166).

The prized and the favored, fanned, more intensely blaze,

All, while safeguarding profit, do not desist.

When a forward carriage, having overturned, is not far ahead,

The later coaches, having set chase, vie to catch up.[93]

They are utterly ingenious with respect to their terraces and terrace halls,[94]

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[92] Following Lǐ Shàn's citation of this line in his commentary to Lù Jī's 陸機 (261-303) "Qián huǎn shēng gē" 前緩聲歌 (Wén xuǎn, 28.1315), ending in xīng jí 星集; CZj (Dīng Fúbǎo ed.), 1.2a, and Quán Hòu Hàn wén, 69.3a, follow the Wén xuǎn Commentary. The other editions have bìng jí 並集, "gather together."

Cf. Lúnyǔ, 2/1: "The Master said, 'One who effects sociopolitical order by means of virtue may be compared to the northern pole star which, fixed in its place, the multitude of stars pay homage to'" (cf. David L. Hall and Roger T. Ames, Thinking Through Confucius, SUNY Series in Systematic Philosophy, ed. Robert Cummings Neville [Albany: State University of New York Press, 1987], 168, and Legge, 145). For wànfāng 萬方, lit. "a myriad regions," in the sense of referring to people see the beginning of "Tāng gào" 湯誥 in Shàngshū (Shàngshū zhèngyì), 8.10a (Legge, 184).

[93] Following Sūn Xīngyǎn's emendation (Xù Gǔwén yuàn [Píngjīn guǎn cóngshū], 1.18a) of rù 入 ("to enter") to jí 及 ("to reach to") on the suspicion of graphic error; this is adopted by CZj (Dīng Fúbǎo ed.), 1.2b, and Quán Hòu Hàn wén, 69.3a. There is no evidence on the basis of rime: Both rù 入 and the suggested emendation, jí 及, are 緝 rime, rù shēng. CZwj (Lánxuě táng ed. and Sbck), "Wàizhuàn," has the graphic error 桀 for 乘.

Cf. Cài Yōng's "Shì huì" 釋誨 ("Cài Yōng lièzhuàn," HHs 60B.1986; CZj [Sbby], "Wàijì," 14b): "'The forward carriage has overturned, / Following along the wheel-ruts, they rush off. / And so they do not learn from others' misfortunes, / Thereby knowing to fear and dread,' which cites Xúnzi, "Chéngxiàng" (Xúnzi jíjiě, ed. and comm., Wáng Xiānqiān 王先謙 [1842-1918] [Táiběi: Shìjiè shūjú, 1939), 18.7a: "The forward carriage has overturned; those after were not yet aware of it, and moreover, how would they have time to notice?" Cf. also the proverb in Hán shī wàizhuàn 韓詩外傳 (Sbck), 5.12a (trans. Hightower, 178, mod.): "'If the chariot ahead turns over and the one following does not take warning, then it too will overturn.' Truly, that which brought about the fall of the Xià was practiced by the Yīn, and that which brought about the fall of the Yīn was practiced by the Zhōu. Hence, the Yīn could have used the Xià as a mirror, and the Zhōu could have used the Yīn as a mirror." See also the note in Asselin, "The Hou Han shu Biography of Cai Yong (A.D. 132/133-192)" (M.A. thesis, University of Washington, 1991), 94-95 n. 140.

108 While the masses, having to live in the open, sleep in dankness.

They waste fine millet on fowl and beast,[95]

110 While the underclass is given the husks and chaff without the grain.

They extend magnanimity and tolerance to fawning and flattering,[96]

112 But censure loyal admonishment with swiftness and celerity.

Even having taken to heart Yī 伊 and Lǚ 呂, one is dismissed and banished,[97]

114 The Way lacks the support to gain entry.

Táng 唐 and Yú 虞 are obscured in the vast distance,[98]

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[94] Xiè 榭 in this context are the wooden observation pavilions atop high terraces. The term also refers to open courts. See Xíng Bīng's 邢昺 subcommentary to Ěryá, in Ěryá zhùshū, 5.8a.

[95] Sūn Xīngyǎn emends (Xù Gǔwén yuàn [Píngjīn guǎn cóngshū], 1.18a) qīng 清 ("clear") to xiāo 消 ("to dispense"), but there is not much need to do this: Qīng may be likewise interpreted as "to clean out," hence, "to exhaust." The emendation is adopted by CZj (Dīng Fúbǎo ed.), 1.2b, and Quán Hòu Hàn wén, 69.3a. The qiōng 窮 ("exhaustively") of the first line of the previous couplet is parallel to qīng.

[96] Pián pì 便辟, "fawning and flattering," is a riming binome (並 initial). Referring to people who exhibit these traits, it appears in Lúnyǔ 16/4 as one of the three kinds of injurious friendships; a cognate term, pián bì 便嬖, referring to the "attendants and favorites" of a ruler, appears in Mèngzi 1A/7.

[97] Yī Yīn 伊尹 and Lǚ Shàng 呂尚 were sage councilors of early antiquity. Yī Yīn was advisor to Tāng 湯 of the Shāng, and Lǚ Shàng, also known as Tàigōng Wàng 太公望 and Shī Shàng Fù 師尚父, advised Kings Wén 文王 and Wǔ 武王 of Zhōu. On Yī Yīn, see Shǐ jì, "Yīn běnjì," 3.94-99, and Bernhard Karlgren, "Legends and Cults in Ancient China," BMFEA 18 (1946): 328-29, 334-35; on Lǚ Shàng, see Shǐ jì, "Zhōu běnjì," 4.120-27 passim, and his biography in "Qí Tàigōng shìjiā," 32.1477-81; Sarah Allen, "The Identities of Taigong Wang 太公望 in Zhou and Han Literature," MS 30 (1972-73): 57-99; and Asselin, "The Hou Han shu Biography of Cai Yong (A.D. 132/133-192)," 190 n. 421.

116 Common practices become inveterate habits.

The Zhōu way has become all overgrown with rank grass,[99]

118 I lament the daily erosion of the path of ordering.[100]

I observe the successes and failures of moral influence,

120 And likewise is it confused and jumbled, producing much waywardness.[101]

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[98] Táng Yáo 唐堯 and Yú Shùn 虞舜 were successive sage emperors of high antiquity; Yáo is said to have abdicated in favor of Shùn. See Shàngshū, "Yáo diǎn" and "Shùn diǎn"; Shǐ jì, "Wǔdì běnjì," 1.14-44; and Karlgren, "Legends and Cults," 289-301.

[99] Cf. Máo shī 197/2: "Easy and even was the Zhōu way, / All become overgrown with rank grass" (the second verse borrowed from Karlgren, "Glosses on the Siao Ya Odes," BMFEA 16 [1944]: 107, no. 592; cf. Legge, 336). Karlgren (Ibid.) argues that jū 鞫 (or 鞠) in the Shī song means "entirely" rather than "to become wild, overgrown"; certainly the verse contains both ideas even if the latter is not explicitly stated. The term 周道 is being used by Cài Yōng with the double meaning of "Zhōu way" or "road to Zhou" and "the Way [=Tao] of Zhōu."

[100] Following gloss on hū 滹 in Hànyǔ dàcídiǎn, referring to this passage, saying that it "describes the passage [of time] like water flowing, and a situation becoming worse by the day." Sūn Xīngyǎn's emends (Xù Gǔwén yuàn [Píngjīn guǎn cóngshū], 1.18b) hū, which literally describes the swift flow of water, to sè 澀, "to obstruct [a road]," on the suspicion of graphic error; this is adopted by CZj (Dīng Fúbǎo ed.), 1.2b, and Quán Hòu Hàn wén, 69.3a. A textual note in CZj (Wāng Shìxián ed.), 500, states that hū 滹 means jí 汲, lit., "to draw water," but which can also mean "swift." The line falls at the cusp of a rime change: The next couplet (ending with l. 120) is in the 脂 rime group, rù shēng. Hū is in that rime group whereas sè is in the previous rime, 緝, rù shēng. Usually, a new topic accompanies a change of rime, but there is no such clear break here. Either reading is thus possible.

[101] CZj (Dīng Fúbǎo ed.), 1.2b, and Quán Hòu Hàn wén, 69.3a, have the synonymous binome fēn ná 紛拏 ("confused and muddled") for the other versions' fēn zhǎng 紛掌. Cf. use of fēn ná in Wáng Yí 王逸 (fl. 114-120), "Jiǔ gē" (in Chǔcí [Chǔcí bǔzhù] (Sbby)], 17.10a), "Dào luàn" section (trans. David Hawkes, The Songs of the South, 313): "What turbulent confusion!" 殽亂兮紛拏.

Without ability to assist in setting right the times,[102]

122 For my part, why should I be in this domain?[103]

Preferring a simple hut where I can calm my spirit,[104]

124 While intoning "The Officers of the Capital," I contemplate returning.[105]

Thereupon, after having concluded my trek, I turn 'round on the wheel tracks,

126 And repair to my country and kin to bring myself peace.[106]

The Luàn says:[107]

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[102] For liáng cǎi 亮采, "to assist in affairs," see Shàngshū, "Shùn diǎn" (cf. Karlgren, 5, no. 28; Legge, 42 n., 43). In this context, it may mean "ability to assist."

[103] Jī 畿 is the royal domain, i.e., the capital and its environs.

[104] The expression héngmén 衡門 or 橫門, lit. "a cross-beam door," is a synecdoche for a rustic hut; cf. Máo shī 138, titled, "Héngmén." Its frequent reference in traditional Chinese literature is to a simple refuge for a poor recluse or a scholar-official withdrawing from society.

[105] "Dū rén" is "Dū rénshì" 都人士, Máo shī 225, which extols the deportment, speech, and dress--and thus the virtue and talent--of nobles living in the Zhōu capital Hàojīng 鎬京, while lamenting the deficiencies in these respects in current times. James Legge suggests (409) that it was written after the movement of the capital to Luòyì 洛邑 (old Luòyáng), which, if true, would have given Cài Yōng all the more reason to cite it.

[106] Cf. Máo shī 187/1, "I will turn back, I will return, / Repair to my country and kin" 言旋言歸、復我邦族 (cf. Legge, 301). See also Máo shī 188. These poems are traditionally associated with the decline of the Western Zhōu during the reign of King Xuān 周宣王 (reg. 827-782 B.C.E.); see Wáng Xiānqiān, Shī sānjiā yì jíshù 詩三家義集疏 (Táiběi: Shìjiè shūjú, 1957), 16.10b-11b.

[107] On the Luàn 亂, the coda or envoi section, see David Hawkes, The Songs of the South, 95, l. 369n. Instead of Luàn, CZwj (Lánxuě táng ed. and Sbck), "Wàizhuàn," 6b, has Cí 辭, which one

I have trudged and waded distant roads,[108]
That were difficult and hazardous.[109]
Throughout were my perpetual worries,
And I was beset by overcast and rain.[110]
Progressively I surveyed many metropolises,
Searching for former achievements.[111]
I researched into tales of old,
These affairs were clearly set forth.

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might render as "Song" in this context. The prosody of this section as well as the entire piece is discussed at the end of these notes.

[108] On the binome bá shè 跋涉, "trudging and wading," descriptive of a difficult journey, cf. Máo shī 54/1: "A great officer has trudged and waded, / My heart was thus grieved" 大夫跋涉, 我心則憂 (cf. Legge, 87). See also Bernhard Karlgren, "Glosses on the Kuo Feng Odes," BMFEA 14 (1942): 140-41, no. 145, on how the original sense of bá shè as "to trudge and wade" came to mean more generally "to trudge and cross." Given the flood conditions during Cài Yōng's trip, the translation "waded" nonetheless seems appropriate here.

[109] CZwj (Sbck), "Wàizhuàn," 6b, has the graphic error 分 for the particle 兮.

[110] Cf. Máo shī 192/9: "Throughout there are my perpetual worries, / And again I'm beset by overcast and rain" 終其永懷, 又窘陰雨 (cf. Legge, 318). It is possible Cài Yōng may have interpreted the second line of the Shī song to mean "And again repeatedly there was overcast and rain," and that this would alter the translation offered above. On the Hàn-era reading of jiǒng 窘 as "to repeat" rather than "to be afflicted," see Karlgren, "Glosses on the Siao Ya Odes," 83, no. 543.

[111] Cf. Féng Yǎn 馮衍 (fl. 24 C.E.), Preface to "Xiǎn zhì fù" 顯志賦 (HHs 28B.987): "One after another I beheld the forms of the Nine Regions' mountains and streams; / Looked back to the moral influence of High Antiquity's successes and failures" 歷觀九州山川之體, 追覽上古得失之風.

Climbing high I wrote this fù--

My reason obtains from this.[112]

Making standards out of the good, and warnings from the bad,[113]

Could I be said to have been remiss?

Flit-flittering, alone I journeyed,[114]

Without companions.[115]

I will turn back, I will repair,[116]

My heart is far away.[117]

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[112] The Máo Commentary (Máo shī zhuàn 毛詩傳, in Máo shī zhèngyì), 3A.16b, states, "If one climbs high and is able to recite [fù 賦, i.e., rhapsodize] . . . one can become a grandee." Liú Xīn 劉歆 (ob. 23 C.E.) states (Hs, "Yìwén zhì," 30.1755): "The Commentary says '. . . If one climbs high and is able to recite [fù 賦, i.e., rhapsodize] . . . one can become a grandee.' This says that he responds to things, and brings about its inception [i.e., the topic of recitation]; his talent and wisdom is profound and excellent, he can be consulted with on affairs, and hence he can be ranked a grandee." The received Máo shī zhuàn has the synonym shēng 升 in place of the dēng 登 ("to climb") of the Hàn shū and "Shù xíng fù."

[113] CZwj (Lánxuě táng ed. and Sbck), "Wàizhuàn," 6b, has the graphic error 或 for the other versions' 戒.

[114] Piānpiān 翩翩 is a reduplicative suggestive of light, swift movement, as of birds.

[115] CZj (Wāng Shìxián ed.), 500, has the graphic error 典 for 與.

[116] Cf. Máo shī 187/1,2,3: "I will turn back, I will return / Repair to my country and kin" 言旋言歸, 復我邦族 (cf. Legge, 301). Cf. l. 126 above.

[117] The modern Chinese commentaries I have consulted are unanimous in reading xū 胥 as meaning "to be glad," hence, "My heart is glad." Hàn Wèi Liùcháo fù xuǎn, 51, and Hàn Wèi Liù cháo fù xuǎnzhù, 81, cite the line 君子樂胥 from Máo shī 215/1 as the basis for this interpretation. Similarly, Hànyǔ dàcídiǎn, s.v. xū, cites Máo shī 261/3's verse, 侯氏燕胥, as textual authority for

this reading. In both instances, the gloss of the word xū as "to be glad" derives from Mǎ Ruìchén's 馬瑞辰 (1782-1853) Máo shī zhuàn qiǎn tōngshì 毛詩傳箋通釋 (in Huáng Qīng jīng jiě xù biān, collated by Wáng Xiānqiān [Nánjīng: Nánjīng shūyuàn,1888]), 22.16a, 27.21a/b.

Bernhard Karlgren discusses the problem of xū extensively in "Glosses on the Siao Ya Odes," 94-96, no. 564, and in "Glosses on the Ta Ya and Sung Odes," BMFEA 18 (1946): 20-22, no. 790. Although he does not treat the line from Máo shī 261/3, he does discuss Máo shī 215/1 ("Glosses on the Siao Ya Odes," 96), including Mǎ Ruìchén's gloss of jiē 皆 which, in turn, is explained as jiā 嘉 ("fine," "excellent") (Máo shī zhuàn qiǎn tōngshì, 22.16a). Karlgren dismisses Mǎ's suggestion by saying that xū "certainly has no such meaning." After discussing the various possible meanings of xū, he concludes that in Máo shī 215/1 it is simply a final particle. From his translation of the line in Máo shī 261/3, "the princes feasted" (see "The Book of Odes: Kuo Feng and Siao Ya," 84), one can see that Karlgren takes xū as a final particle in that context as well. There, Mǎ Ruìchén glosses xū as xū 須 and, stating that the two were used interchangeably in old texts, goes on to give evidence of xū 須 as a word meaning "to be glad" (xǐ 喜). He then refers back to Máo shī 215/1 and says that where he had glossed xū as jiā 嘉, it means xǐ 喜 there, also (Máo shī zhuàn qiǎn tōngshì, 27.21a/b). There is no evidence, though, contemporary or prior to Cài Yōng, of xū 胥 meaning "to be glad." There is substantial evidence for linking xū 胥 and xū 須 as the same word meaning "to wait," "to tarry" (see "Glosses on the Ta Ya and Sung Odes," 21, no. 790, B). The problem of reading xū 胥 as a word also meaning "to be glad" is akin to the error of reading xū 胥 as a loan for xiàng 相, "to inspect," because it can be substantiated as a loan for xiāng 相, "mutually"; see "Glosses on the Ta Ya and Sung Odes," 20-21, no. 790, A.

The Máo Commentary (Máo shīzhuàn) glosses xū's meaning in Máo shī 215/1 as jiē 皆 and Zhèng Xuán 鄭玄 (127-200 C.E.) notes that it means "having the reputation for talent and wisdom" 有才知之名也 (i.e., 胥 as a short form of xǔ 諝; Máo shī zhèngyì, 14B.6b). This would appear to agree with Mǎ Ruìchén's gloss of jiē as jiā 嘉, except for this: The Máo Commentary does not treat xū in Máo shī 261/3; Zhèng Xuán there glosses it as jiē 皆 (Máo shī zhèngyì, 18D.7a), but then interprets the line to read jiē as meaning "together." Karlgren ("Glosses on the Siao Ya Odes," 96) also notes this discrepancy.

In short, we have no evidence by which to suggest that Cài Yōng would have used xū as a word meaning "to be glad." As the word should be a nucleus in the line, and with xū substantiated as a common verb meaning "to tarry" (see "Glosses on the Ta Ya and Sung Odes," 21-22, no. 790, B, with respect to Máo shī 237/2 and Máo shī 250/2), one possibility is to read lines 141-142 as "I turn back, I repair [to the place] / My heart lingers." The disadvantage to this interpretation is the necessity of interpolating the words "to the place" to make sense of the couplet. Another possibility is to take xū as a verb meaning "to be distant"; Sīmǎ Biāo 司馬彪 (ob. 306 C.E.) is cited by Lù Déming 陸德明 (ob. ca. 627) as glossing xū as shū 疏; see Zhuāngzǐ jiàoquán 莊子校詮, comp. and annotated by Wáng Shúmín 王叔岷, Academia Sinica, Institute of History and Philology, Special Publications No. 88 (Táiběi: Zhōngyāng yánjiūyuàn lìshǐ yǔyán yánjiūsuǒ, 1988), 1: 7.285 n. 4.

Prosody: The preface is written in prose. The body of the fù is written in "Sāo-line." Each distich is divided by the particle xī 兮, which carries no semantic weight. The stichs are usually six syllables, not including the xī at the end of the first stich, and very infrequently are seven syllables long. Each stich is composed of an A-member of three syllables, an unstressed particle, and a B-member of two syllables or, in a few instances, three. In one case, line fifty-eight, there is a four-syllable A-member, a particle, and a two-syllable B-member. The unstressed particle, called the keyword, does not necessarily have a semantic value. The keywords used in this piece are, in descending order of frequency, 而, 之, 以, 于, 其, 乎, 與, 為. The rimes occur at the end of the second stich. The Luàn 亂 is composed of tetrasyllabic lines. The second stichs of this section end with the riming syllable followed by xī in the fourth place.

The rimes for the main body of the fù and the Luàn are as follows: Lines 2-8 rime in the 之 group, píng shēng: 2. 時, 4. 災, 6. 思, 8. 詞; lines 10-16 in the 眞 group, píng shēng: 10. 神, 12. 軍, 14. 臣, 16. 聞; lines 18-22 in the 陽 group, píng shēng: 18. 疆, 20. 商, 22. 陽; lines 24-50 in the 耕 group, píng shēng: 24. 縈, 26. 城, 28. 名, 30. [峭] 峭? 陘?, 32. 傾, 34. 形, 36. 冥, 38. 嶸, 40.[布] 生?, 42. 莖, 44. 靈, 46. 并, 48. 營, 50. 聲; lines 52-60 in the 陽 group, píng shēng: 52. 央, 54. 涼, 56. 唐, 58. 黃, 60. 陽; lines 62-66 in the 侵 group, shǎng shēng: 62. 感, 64. 坎 (héyùn, 談 group), 66. [懆] 慘?; lines 68-80 in the 月 group, qù shēng: 68. 厲, 70. 翳 (héyùn, 脂 group), 72. 瀨, 74. 裔, 76. 最, 78. 逝, 80. 害; lines 82-98 in the 眞 group, píng shēng: 82. 溱, 84. 遵, 86. 勤, 88. 墳, 90. 殷, 92. 晨, 94. 文, 96. 連, 98. 欣; lines 100-116 (118?) in the 緝 group, rù shēng: 100. 邑, 102. 集, 104. 戢, 106. 及, 108. 涇, 110. 粒, 112. 急, 114. 入, 116. 習, [118. 澀]; lines 118-126 in the 脂 group, píng shēng: 118. 悤, 120. 違, 122. 畿, 124. 歸, 126. 綏; lines 128-142 (Luàn) in the 魚 group, shǎng shēng: 128. 阻, 130. 雨, 132. 緒, 134. 舉, 136. 取, 138. 苟 (héyùn, 侯 group), 140. 與, 142. 復, 144. 胥.

APPENDIX B

ZHÀO YĪ'S "CÌ SHÌ JÍ XIÉ FÙ" 刺世疾邪賦

"FÙ SATIRIZING THE AGE, DETESTING INIQUITY"[1]

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[1] Zhào Yī 趙壹 (ca. 130-ca. 185 C.E.), styled Yuánshú 元叔, has a biography in HHs, "Wényuàn lièzhuàn," 80B.2628-35. Zhào Kuífū 趙逵夫, "Zhào Yī shēngpíng zhùzuò kǎo" 趙壹生平著作考, in Dìsānjiè guójì cífùxué xuéshù yántǎohuì lùnwén jí 第三屆國際辭賦學學術研討會論文集, Táiběi, Táiwān, December 1996, by the Guólì Zhèngzhì dàxué Wénxué yuàn (Táiběi: Guólì Zhèngzhì dàxué, 1996), 2:556, determines Zhào Yī's dates to be ca. 126-131 to ca. 184-188. Zhào Yī hailed from Xī Prefecture 西縣 in Hànyáng 漢陽 Commandery. (Xī Prefecture was located about forty kilometers southwest of modern Tiānshuǐ 天水 in Gānsù Province.) Zhào Yī was large man, supposedly nine chǐ in height (about 214 cm. or seven feet tall), with "handsome whiskers and lengthy brows" (HHs 80B.2628). An egotistical air accompanied his great talent. His supercilious manner did not endear him to his townsfolk, who ended up expelling him. He was later thrown in prison for some unspecified offenses. Zhào Yī was at point of execution when a friend--one of his few?--redeemed him his life. Sometime soon after he wrote "Qióng niǎo fù" 窮鳥賦 ("Fù on a Cornered Bird"; HHs 80B.2629) and "Cì shì jí xié fù" 刺世疾邪賦 ("Fù Satirizing the Age, Detesting Iniquity"; see below for text locations). In Guǎnghé 1 (178 C.E.), his commandery selected him to present its accounts to the court. When the officials in charge of accounts of the various commanderies had their audience with Minister over the Masses Yuán Féng 袁逢 (ob. ca. 180; Zhào Kuífū, "Zhào Yī shēngpíng zhùzuò kǎo," 550-52, says it was Yuán Pāng 袁滂), Zhào Yī was the only one not to kneel. He simply bowed. When asked by Yuán's assistants why he dared to offend the high official, Zhào Yī replied, "Long ago Lì Yìjī 酈食其 (ob. 203 B.C.E.) bowed to the King of Hàn, and now I bow to one of the Three Excellencies. Why should you find that strange?" (HHs 80B.2632). Rather than being offended by his impudence, Yuán Féng led Zhào to the honored seat. Inquiring about matters in the western regions, he was apparently impressed with Zhào Yī's insights. Zhào Yī then met with the Governor of Hénán, Yáng Zhì 羊陟, who also found him a remarkable man. Afterwards, Zhào Yī returned home and was many times summoned to office, but in each instance he declined. He died at home. His corpus included rhapsodies, eulogies, admonitions, letters, treatises, and miscellaneous essays, but only a handful of works survive today. Gōng Kèchāng, in Hàn fù yánjiū, 261, calls Zhào Yī "the most important fù writer in the declining years of the Eastern Hàn." The "Fù Satirizing the Age, Detesting Iniquity" may have been his greatest work.

For the Chinese text of "Cì shì jí xié fù," see HHs, "Wényuàn lièzhuàn," 80B.2630-31, and Quán Hòu Hàn wén, 82.8a-9a; and the excerpts in Běitáng shūchǎo, 138.6a, and Tàipíng yùlǎn, 693.5b, and 771.4b. The few textual variants that there are are noted in Quán Hàn fù, 555-56.

Yea, the Five Thearchs had not the same rites,[2]

2 The Three Kings, for their part, moreover had not the same music.[3]

The cycle reaches an apogee and so of itself changes and transforms,[4]

4 It's not that they intentionally contradict one another.[5]

Among the numerous modern punctuated and annotated versions are those in Hàn Wèi Liù cháo fù xuǎn, 37-41; Hàn Wèi Liùcháo fù xuǎnzhù, 62-67; and in Zhōngguó wénxué míngpiān jiànshǎng cídiǎn, 1732-36. The latter version also includes a short essay by Zhōu Guǎngquán 周廣全, 1733-35. Gōng Kèchāng discusses "Cì shì jí xié fù" in Hàn fù yánjiū, 261-67, and his discussions on 415-22 (reprint of 1987 article, "'Cì shì jí xié fù' shǎng xī" 刺世疾邪賦賞析), and on 423-27 (reprint of 1988 article, "Tán 'Cì shì jí xié fù'zhōng de shī" 談刺世疾邪賦中之詩), include glosses and explanations of lines.

[2] The "Five Thearchs" (Wǔ dì 五帝) are legendary rulers variously listed as Fú Xī 伏羲, Shénnóng 神農, Huángdì 黃帝, Yáo 堯, and Shùn 舜; Huángdì 黃帝, Zhuānxù 顓頊, Dì Kù 帝嚳, Yáo, and Shùn; and Shàohào 少昊, Zhuānxù, Gāoxīn 高辛 (=Dì Kù), Yáo, and Shùn.

[3] The "Three Kings" (Sān wáng 三王) refer to Yǔ 禹 of Xià, Tāng 湯 of Shāng-Yīn, and Wén 文 of Zhōu, i.e., the founding rulers of the first three dynasties.

Shāngzǐ 商子 (Sbck), "Gēng fǎ," 1.2b, states, "As for the kingships of Tāng and Wǔ, they did not follow antiquity and yet rose; and as for the extinction of Shāng and Xià, they did not change the rites and yet perished." The HHs Commentary (HHs 80B.2630 n. 1 [first]), sponsored by Lǐ Xián 李賢 (651-684), cites from the Lǐ jì, "Yuè jì" (in Lǐ jì zhèngyì), 37.17a: "The Five Thearchs lived in different times, and so they did not follow the same music. The Three Kings lived in different ages, and so they did not carry on the same rites" (cf. Legge, 4: 102, no. 27). See also Shǐ jì, "Zhào shìjiā," 43.1810, "As for the rise of the sages, they did not carry on what came before and yet they were kings; as for the decline of Xià and Yīn, they did not change the rites and yet were destroyed." Shǐ jì, "Shāng jūn lièzhuàn," 68.2229, states, "Tāng and Wǔ did not follow antiquity and yet were kings; Xià and Yīn did not change the rites and yet perished." See also the edict of 123 B.C.E. (Emperor Wǔ), in Hs, "Wǔdì jì," 6.173. Cf. Lúnyǔ, 2/23.

[4] On shǔ 數, which I have translated here as "cycle," see Cài Yōng's "Stele Inscription for Tàiqiū Magistrate Chén," n. 3.

If "virtuous governing" cannot rescue an age out from muddy morass,[6]

How do reward and punishment suffice to warn the times against corruption?[7]

The period of the Annals was the beginning of calamity and ruin,[8]

The Warring States still more increased its bitter and poison.[9]

Neither Qín nor Hàn were able to leap over and surpass them,

Rather, they even more added to their ill-will and ruthlessness.

How could they have taken account of the lives of the populace

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[5] Gōng Kèchāng interprets this line as, "Truth and falsity in that way become their antithesis" 是與非就要轉到自己的對立面; see Hàn fù yánjiū, 415.

[6] Hùnluàn 溷亂, translated here with the alliterative "muddy morass," is a binome consisting of assonant syllables, 文 and 元 rimes, respectively, qù shēng.

[7] Cf. Hán Fēizǐ, "Nàn èr" (Hán Fēizǐ jíshì [Hong Kong: Zhōnghuá shūjú, 1974]), 2: 15.821: "If one does not punish transgressions, then the people, after not having been warned, will easily fall into error: This is the root of chaos." A binome composed of antonyms, qīng-zhuó 清濁, lit. "pure and foul," takes its meaning from the second graph, thus "corruption."

[8] "The period of the Annals," Chūnqiū shí 春秋時, is commonly literally rendered into English as "The Spring and Autumn Period." It refers to the period covered by the Annals (Chūnqiū), 722-481 B.C.E.

[9] The HHs Commentary (HHs 80B.2630 n. 2 [first]), cites Shàngshū, "Tāng gào" (Shàngshū zhèngyì, 8.10a; trans. Legge, 186): "Suffering from his cruel injuries, and unable to endure the wormwood and poison. . . ." Kǒng Yǐngdá's subcommentary on this passage explains (Shàngshū zhèngyì, 8.10b): "The [Ěrvá] "Shì cǎo" [Ěrvá zhùshū, 8.3a] states, 'Tú 荼 is a bitter herb.' The taste of this plant is bitter. Hence, it is borrowed to describe the bitterness people experience." Legge points out in his glossary to his Shàngshū translation, p. 712, that the metaphor is similar to the use of the English word, "wormwood."

The Warring States period was from 481/403-221 B.C.E.

12 When they only profited themselves and satisfied their selfish desires.[10]

Right down to now, to this day,

14 Deceit has had a myriad faces.[11]

The glib and the flatterers blaze hotter by the day,[12]

16 The firm and the able disappear and perish.[13]

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[10] Following HHs 80B.2630, which has wéi 唯, "only," in place of wéi (here, "to seek"?) or wèi ("for the sake of" or "in order to") 為, in Quán Hòu Hàn wén, 82.8b.

[11] Cf. Guǎnzǐ 管子, "Qīfǎ" (Sbck), 2.2b: "If the ruler of the people is indiscreet, then gentlemen who speak the truth will not come forward; if gentlemen who speak the truth do not come forward, then dishonest practices in the state will not be extinguished by superiors." Here, as in the passage above, the term qíng-wéi 情偽, a binome of antonyms literally meaning "the genuine and false," is used with the sense taken from the second member, hence, "falsities," "deceptions." Cf. qīng-zhuó 清濁 of line 6.

[12] Cf. Cài Yōng's "Fù Recounting a Journey," ll. 103-104: "The prized and the favored, fanned, more intensely blaze, / All, while safeguarding profit, do not desist" 貴寵扇以彌熾兮, 僉守利而不戢.

[13] On the binome gāngkè 剛克, see Bernhard Karlgren, "Glosses on the Book of Documents," BMFEA 20 (1948): 238-39, no. 1543. In the context of the line "二曰剛克," in the "Hóngfàn" chapter of Shàngshū, Karlgren argues in favor of Mǎ Róng's 馬融 (76-166) gloss of shèng 勝 ("to prevail") for kè 克 (see Shàngshū zhèngyì, 12.15a). Thus he translates gāngkè as "hardness predominating." Qū Shuìyuán, in Hàn Wèi Liùcháo fù xuǎn, 38 n. 3, follows this gloss in the context of Zhào Yī's piece. It seems to me Zhèng Xuán's gloss of néng 能 ("capable," "competent") throws considerable light on the matter (see Shàngshū jīn-gǔwén zhùshū 尚書今古文注疏, comp. Sūn Xīngyǎn [Sbby ed.], 12B.3a); Karlgren, "Glosses on the Book of Documents," 238-39, no. 1543, A). The other modern Chinese commentaries to Zhào's piece that are consulted here gloss kè as zhèngzhí 正直, "straightforward" (Hàn Wèi Liùcháo fù xuǎnzhù, 65 n. 16), and duānzhèng 端正, "correct" (Zhōngguó wénxué míngpiān jiànshǎng cídiǎn, 1716 n. 11). This is unsupported, except as logical extensions of the meaning of gāng 剛 (a point also suggested by Qū Shuìyuán, in Hàn Wèi Liùcháo fù xuǎn, 38 n. 3). Moreover, the Shàngshū text given above is preceded by the line 一曰正直

Pile lickers have trains of quadrigae,[14]

While those of austere countenance travel by foot.

Those bowing and bending become the famous and powerful,[15]

Those petting and patting become the puissant and brutal.[16]

When the lofty and haughty oppose current mores,[17]

They at once bring about calamity and disaster.

Those who pell-mell chase after things,[18]

(Shàngshū zhèngyì, 12.15a), suggesting that there is a semantic distinction between gāngkè and zhèngzhí: "The first is called being correct and straight; the second is called being firm and able."

[14] The HHs Commentary (HHs 80B.2630 n. 1 [second]), cites Zhuāngzǐ, "Lièyù Kòu," (Zhuāngzǐ jiàoquán), 3: 32.1268. The story concerns a man of Sòng named Cáo Shāng who was sent on a mission to Qín by the king of Sòng. The king of Qín was so impressed with him that he added a hundred carriages to the several given him by the king of Sòng. Upon his return to Sòng, he bragged to Zhuāngzǐ about his abilities and achievement. Zhuāngǐ said to him, "When the King of Qín has an illness, he calls a physician. One who lances a carbuncle or drains a boil gets one carriage. Those who lick his piles get five carriages. The lower the treatment, the more carriages he receives. Could you have merely treated his hemorrhoids? How is it you obtained so many carriages? Off with you!"

Jiésì 結駟 are a row of fours-in-hand or quadrigae.

[15] Yùqǔ (yùqū, yǔjǔ) 嶇嵎, following the fǎnqiè glosses for the finals, 宇 and 矩, given in the HHs Commentary (HHs 80B.2630 n. 2 [second]), is a riming binome (魚 rime, shǎng shēng), represented here with the alliterative "bow and bend."

[16] Fǔpāi 撫拍 is an alliterative binome (滂 initial), represented here with the alliterative "petting and patting."

[17] Yǎnjiǎn 偃蹇 is a riming binome (元 rime, shǎng shēng), represented here with "lofty and haughty."

Grow richer by the day and more prosperous by the month.

In the turmoil, all together are confused--

What's warm, what's cold?[19]

Perverse fellows are illustrious and advance,

Upright gentlemen are obscure and concealed.

Seek out the source from which this malady arises,

And this is the unworthiness of the one who manages government.

Female intercessors block his vision and hearing,[20]

Close intimates wield his power and authority.[21]

Those whom they like they pierce the skin to bring forth their plumage;[22]

Those whom they dislike they wash the dirt to seek their scars.[23]

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[18] Jiéshè 捷慴 is a riming binome (葉 rime, rù shēng); following the gloss in HHs Commentary (HHs 80B.2630 n. 3 [second]), "hurriedly" (jí 疾) and "apprehensively" (jù 懼), and represented here by the riming "pell-mell."

[19] I.e., with lack of distinctions, how does one know what is good and what is bad?

[20] Nǚyè 女謁, "female intercessors," refers to the empresses, empresses dowager, and favored palace women who commanded the eyes and ears of the emperor and his circle of advisors.

[21] Cf. Hán Fēizǐ, "Guǐ shǐ" (Hán Fēizǐ jíshì), 2: 17.940: "Close intimates and female intercessors have walked side-by-side; the sundry officials and the nobility have banished others; those carrying out the affairs [of governing] have transgressed."

[22] Cf. Shǐ jì, "Sū Qín lièzhuàn," 69.2241: "When the plumage has not yet been fully formed, it cannot fly high" 毛羽未成, 不可以高蜚.

Even if one desires to be utterly true to oneself and exhaustively to do one's best,

The road is extremely perilous and lacks accessibility.[24]

Not only can the nine ranked gates not be opened,

But moreover there's the gnarling and snarling of a pack of barkers.[25]

Unperturbed by the crises and perils that lie from dawn to dusk,

They give free reign to the cravings and lusts of the moment.[26]

How is it different from losing a rudder when crossing a sea,

Or sitting on a pile of firewood, waiting for it to kindle?[27]

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[23] Cf. Hán Fēizǐ, "Dà tǐ" (Hán Fēizǐ jíshì), 1: 8.512: "Don't blow the fur to look for defects; don't wash the dirt to find out what's difficult to know" 不吹毛而求小疵, 不洗垢而察難知.

This couplet means that unworthies who exert power over others in governmental affairs go out of their way to help those they like by exaggerating their qualities, and equally expend their energies to injure those they dislike by exposing their faults.

[24] I think the phrase mí yuán 靡緣 must be similar to mí cóng 靡從 (= wú cóng 無從) hence, "to have no place to start."

[25] Cf. "Jiǔ biàn" 九辯 ("Nine Changes"), attributed to Sòng Yù, in Chǔcí (Chǔcí bǔzhù [Sbby], trans. David Hawkes, The Songs of the South, 212, ll. 13-16), 8.6b-7a: "How should I not think anxiously of my lord? / But nine gates, gate within gate, divide me from him. / Fierce, snarling dogs run out from them and bark, / And they bar me against him and will not let me through" 豈不鬱陶而思君兮, 君之門以九重. 猛犬狺狺而迎吠兮, 關梁閉而不通. I have chosen to render the reduplicative, yínyín 狺狺, an onomatopoetic word for barking, with the riming "gnarling and snarling." "The nine ranked [gates]" (jiǔchóng 九重) is a synecdoche that refers to the imperial palace, used in turn as a metonym for the emperor and high ministers. The "barkers," or dogs, is an allegorical figure for those at court who slander just and worthy men.

[26] Mùqián 目前, translated here as being "of the moment" or now, is literally, "before one's eyes."

Glory and appointment are due to guile and flattery,[28]

Who knows how to distinguish their ugliness and beauty?

To be sure, laws and prohibitions bend and yield to the powerful clans,

Favor and kindness do not reach to the isolated families.

I would rather starve and freeze in a lean harvest under Yáo and Shùn,

Than be full and warm in a bountiful year of the present time.

If one pursues orderliness, though he die he will not perish,

If one acts contrary to appropriateness, though he live, he will be a nonentity.[29]

There was a guest from Qín[30]

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[27] Following Běitáng shūchǎo, 138.6a, Tàipíng yùlǎn, 771.4b, and Quán Hòu Hàn wén, 82.8a, in beginning this line with zuò 坐, omitted in the HHs version.

See Hs, "Jiǎ Yì zhuàn," 48.2230: "In any particular respect of someone carrying fire and setting it under a pile of firewood, yet resting on top of it, and since the fire has not yet kindled, thus regarding it as safe: How are today's circumstances different from this?" A version of this is cited in HHs 80B.2631 n. 2 (first).

[28] The HHs Commentary (HHs 80B.2631 n. 3) explains that "shǎnyú 閃揄 means to be extremely glib. If one acts extremely glib then he will enjoy glory and favor, and be appointed to office."

[29] Cf. Mèngzi, 6A/7: "As for minds, are they alone in lacking something in common? What are the things that minds share in common? They are orderliness [lǐ 理] and appropriateness [yì 義]. The sages only first attained what my mind shares in common with others" (cf. Legge, 406). See David L. Hall and Roger T. Ames's discussion of the difficult concept of yì, in Thinking Through Confucius, pp. 89-110.

[30] The "guest from Qín" (Qín kè 秦客) is a hypothetical figure. This type of literary device is common in Hàn literature. The "master from Lǔ" (Lǔ shēng 魯生) below is similarly fictional. See HHs Commentary (HHs 80B.2632 n. 1 [first]).

Who once wrote a song that went:

The clearing of the Hé cannot be awaited,
The lifespan of a man cannot be prolonged.[31]
Grass that follows along with the wind, is whipped and knocked down,
The rich and exalted call worthies.[32]
Writings and books, even if they fill the belly,
Are not equal to a purse of cash.[33]
The hem-and-hawers go north up to the halls,[34]

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[31] See Zuǒ zhuàn, Xiāng 8, "There is an ode of Zhōu that says, 'To wait for the clearing of the Hé, / What is the lifespan of a man next to that?'" 周詩有之曰俟河之清, 人壽幾何 (cf. Legge, 435), and cited in HHs Commentary (HHs 80B.2631 n. 1 [second]), which adds, "This says that a human life is very brief, and the clearing of the Hé is slow in coming." Cf. also Zhāng Héng, "Guī tián fù" 歸田賦, in Wén xuǎn, 15.692, "I waited for clearing of the Hé, but it was not yet time" 俟河清乎未期 (cf. Knechtges, 3: 139, l. 4). The clearing of the loess-filled Yellow River was a rare and propitious event thought to herald the appearance of a sage or good government.

[32] Cf. Lúnyǔ 12/19: "The power of an exemplary man may be compared to wind, and the power of a petty man compared to grass. When the grass is topped by wind, it invariably falls back" (cf. Legge, 258-59). Here, Zhào Yī refers to the opportunists and sycophants who bend with every change in the current.

[33] In other words, in obtaining an official position, being filled with learning is not as good as having money. With money one can buy a position.

[34] Yī-yōu, translated here as "hem-and-hawers," derives from the nonsense syllables yī-yōu-yà 伊優亞 (the syllables all begin with the same initial, 影) that appear in a riddle in Dōngfāng Shuò's 東方朔 (154-93 B.C.E.) biography (Hs 65.2845), where it is given the explanation, "words that are not yet settled." The HHs Commentary (HHs 80B.2631 n. 2 [second]) to Zhào Yī's piece states that "Yī-yōu describes the manner of bending and twisting, of being glib and ingratiating." In other words, such people practice complaisance and equivocation.

60 The firm and forceful keep by the gates.[35]

A master of Lǔ, after having heard these words,[36]

62 Wrote a song, appending it to what came before, that said:

For the powerful households much is considered right,

64 Even the spittle they cough up self-forms into pearls.[37]

Those clad in homespun carry inside gold and jade,[38]

66 Thoroughwort and melilot are transformed into fodder.[39]

I am not sure what běi táng shàng 北堂上, refers to here. Notes in Hàn Wèi Liùcháo fù xuǎnzhù (66-67 n. 56) and in Zhōngguó wénxué míngpiān jiànshǎng cídiǎn (1736 n. 40) suggest, without documentation, that běitáng, "northern halls," were the places where the wealthy and influential dwelt. I prefer to treat it as a factor-object, "go north up to the halls," parallel to line 60's yǐ mén biān 倚門邊, "keep by the gates." The HHs Commentary (HHs 80B.2631 n. 2 [second]) states, "The glib and ingratiating are made intimates, and so ascend to the halls; the staunch and straightforward are cast aside, and so keep by the gates" 佞媚者見親, 故昇堂; 倖直者見棄, 故倚門. In any case, the contrast is clear between those who choose to ingratiate themselves by saying whatever is pleasing, and thus have the ears of their superiors (line 59), and those who are honest and direct, and end up having no one to listen to them (line 60).

[35] Kàngzàng 抗髒, "firm and forceful," is a riming binome, 陽 rime, qù shēng.

[36] On the "master of Lǔ," see n. 30 above.

[37] Cf. Zhuāngzǐ, "Qiū shuǐ" (Zhuāngzǐ jiàoquán), 2: 17.613: "Have you not seen a person spit? If he sprays, then the big ones are like pearls, and the small ones like mist."

[38] Lǎozi Dào dé jīng 老子道德經 70: "Therefore, a sage, being clad in homespun, carries inside a piece of jade" (cf. D.C. Lau, Tao Te Ching [Harmondsworth, Middlesex, England: Penguin Books, Ltd., 1963], 132), and cited in the HHs Commentary (HHs 80B.2632 n. 2 [first]).

The worthy, though they alone are clear-minded,

Their distress is due to a bunch of dolts.

For the moment, each of you abide by your parts,

Don't again gallop about in vain.[40]

Alas, again alas!

Such indeed is life![41]

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[39] Cf. "Lí sāo," in Chǔcí (Chǔcí bǔzhù [Sbby]), 1.31a: "Thoroughwort and angelica after changing are no longer fragrant, / Flag and melilot after transforming become hay" (cf. David Hawkes, The Songs of the South, 76, ll. 307-308), and cited in the HHs Commentary (HHs 80B.2632 n. 2 [first]). I think that lán 蘭 must be láncǎo 蘭草 (thoroughwort or Eupatorium chinense; see Bernard E. Read, comp., Chinese Medicinal Plants, no. 33, p. 8), and huì 蕙, huìcǎo 蕙草 (melilot or sweet clover, Melilotus arvensis; Read, Chinese Medicinal Plants, no. 134a, p. 34).

[40] Cf. Jiǎ Shān's 賈山 (ca. 179 B.C.E.) biography in Hs 51.2335: "Nowadays, square and proper cultured gentlemen are now all at court, and moreover select their worthies to serve as regular attendants and various functionaries, and together with them gallop about and hunt, going out three times a day." Zhào Yī turns the phrase chíqū 馳驅 (written 馳敺 in the Hs text), translated here as "gallop about" (lit., to gallop by goading), to mean racing about to attain position and reputation.

[41] Prosody: The entire piece is rimed. The first paragraph contains lines of uneven length, six to eight graphs long. Paragraph Two is in tetrasyllabic form. The next paragraph is like the first, uneven, of five to nine graphs (not including the xī 兮 caesura marker, which appears only twice in twenty-two lines). The fourth paragraph is composed of a two-line introduction in tetrasyllabic form, followed by a "song" (shī 詩) of five-syllable lines. Paragraph Five, the final section, is likewise comprised of a two-line introduction, this one in five-syllable lines, followed by a "song," also in five-syllable lines. I believe the final two lines are a coda in five-syllable lines and are not part of the last song; line 72 does not rime with that song.

The rimes for this piece are as follows: Paragraph 1 rimes together the following 宵, 侯, and 幽 groups, rù shēng: l. 2. 樂 (宵), 4. 駮 (宵), 6. 濁 (侯), 8. 毒 (幽), 10. 酷 (幽), and 12. 足(侯).

Paragraph 2 employs 陽 rime, píng shēng: l. 14. 方, 16. 亡, 18. 行, 20. 強, 22. 殃, 24. 昌, 26. 涼, 28. 藏.

Paragraph 3 rimes together the 元 group with 眞 and 文 rimes. píng shēng: l. 30. 賢 (眞), 32. 權 (元), 34. 痕 (文), 36. 緣 (元), 38. 掀 (元), 40. 前 (元), 42. 燃 (元), 44. 妍 (元), 46. 門 (文), 48. 年 (眞), 50. 存 (文).

Paragraph 4, after the Introduction (lines 51-52), is in the 元 rime, with a single 眞 rime, all píng shēng: l. 54. 延, 56. 賢 (眞), 58. 錢, 60. 邊.

Paragraph 5, after the Introduction (lines 61-62), is in the 侯 rime, píng shēng: l. 64. 珠, 66. 芻, 68. 愚, 70. 驅. Line 72 ends in 夫, which is 魚 rime, píng shēng. This line does not rime with Paragraph 5 and so distinguishes this couplet, lines 71 and 72, as a separate section and coda to the entire piece.

APPENDIX C

ZHŪ MÙ'S "CHÓNG HÒU LÙN" 崇厚論

"TREATISE ON ESTEEMING 'THICKNESS'"[1]

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[1] Zhū Mù 朱穆 (100-163 C.E.), styled Gōngshú 公叔, has a biography in HHs 43.1461-76. His highly respected family was from Wǎn prefecture 宛縣 in Nányáng commandery 南陽郡 (located at what is now Nányáng City, Hénán). At age five (suì), his biography tells us, he had already demonstrated his filial piety by refusing to partake of food and drink while his parents were ill. He was devoted to his studies, and often so lost in thought that he was oblivious of everything else. Later, Zhū Mù was elevated as a Filially Pious and Incorrupt (xiàolián 孝廉) candidate. At the end of Emperor Shùn's reign (125-144), the area of what is now Jiāngsū and Ānhuī was plagued by bandits. General-in-Chief Liáng Jì 梁冀, who was Shùn's regent, commissioned Zhū Mù to take charge of this military matter. Zhū Mù was then transferred to the post of Attending Secretary (shìyùshǐ 侍御史). He reproved Liáng Jì for his arrogance and overbearing behavior; these remonstrations went unheeded. In 153, in the wake of a devastating flood and renewed banditry, Zhū Mù was made regional inspector of Jì Region 冀州. He was regarded by the people there as upright and just. It was said that, upon hearing of Zhū Mù's assignment, over forty corrupt officials of the region resigned and fled; after Zhū Mù started sending up indictments, others committed suicide. He ended up offending Emperor Huán (reg. 146-168) with his overzealousness in punishing a eunuch's violation of sumptuary regulations in the burial of his father. A student petition, signed by several thousands, landed Zhū Mù a pardon, but he remained out of office for many years. Finally, he was appointed to the secretariat (shàngshū 尚書), but felt indignant at having to work alongside the court eunuchs, and urged the emperor to remove them from office. As a result, the eunuchs slandered him. In the end, Zhū Mù, distressed at having failed to achieve his aspirations, developed malignant boils, and died.

For the Chinese text of "Chóng hòu lùn," see HHs 43.1463-67; Quán Hòu Hàn wén, 28.9b-11a; annotations and translations into the modern vernacular can be found in Gǔjīn wénxuán, n.s. 520, ed. Zēng Yǒngyì 曾永義 and Huáng Qǐfāng 黃啓方 (Tāiběi: Guóyǔ rìbào, 1977), 1-5.

This treatise is primarily a reflection on Lǎozǐ 38, with references to the "Jiě Lǎo" chapter of Hán Fēizǐ (Hán Fēizǐ jíshì), 1: 6.326-86 and to the "Zhōng yōng."

I have followed Lǎozǐ 38 in rendering hòu 厚, "thick," and bó 薄, "thin," literally. The sense of hòu as Zhū Mù uses it includes its other shadings, including "genuine," and "sincere"; after the initial philosophical statement of the first paragraph, the emphasis is on "magnanimity." Bó, mirroring hòu, is used to mean "false," "insincere," and "mean," as in the HHs introduction to this piece, "He was constantly moved by the insincerity and meanness [澆薄] of the times. . ." (43.1463).

In any particular respect, the "thinness" of mores has been long standing.[2] Hence, Zhòngní sighed and said, "As for the carrying out of the great Tao, I, Qiū, did not participate in it."[3] That is his expression of distress over it. In any particular respect of the Tao, it takes up the entire realm as one: It resides in others as its resides in oneself. Hence, if one's conduct runs counter to the Tao, then the feeling of shame that wells in the heart is not the fear of rightness.[4] If one's affairs run counter to the pattern, then the feeling of regret that besets the mind is not the dread of ritual.[5] To be

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[2] On the phrase, 有自來矣, "has been since early times," or "has been long standing," cf. Zuǒ zhuàn, Zhāo 1 (cf. Legge, 576, "is an established custom").

[3] Cf. Lǐ jì, "Lǐ yùn" (Lǐ jì zhèngyì), 21.1a-b: "Confucius said, 'As for the carrying out of the great Tao, and the great men of the Three Dynasties, I, Qiū, was not in time for them, but I have the accounts about them'" (cf. Legge, 3: 364, no. 1). A similar passage is in Kǒngzǐ jiāyǔ 孔子家語, "Lǐ yùn" (Sbck), 7.13a. Zhòngní is Confucius' style name (zì) and Qiū his personal name (míng). Zhèng Xuán's Commentary to this passage (21.1b) states that "'the Great Tao' refers to the time of the Five Emperors," i.e., the legendary period of early China.

[4] See Shàngshū zhèngyì, "Dà Yǔ mó" (4.3b): "Don't oppose the Tao to seek a reputation among the people" (cf. Legge, 55). (Pseudo?) Kǒng Ānguó notes: "The ancients despised opposing the Tao and seeking a name." Lǐ jì, "Biǎo jì" (Lǐ jì zhèngyì), 54.12a: "Therefore, the exemplary man . . . abases himself and honors others, is careful and fears rightness, thereby seeking to serve his ruler" (cf. Legge, 4: 338, no. 25). To "fear rightness" means to do what is right out of reverence for rightness.

[5] On the relation between Tao and lǐ 理, "pattern" or perhaps "principle," see Hán Fēizǐ, "Jiě Lǎo" (Hán Fēizǐ jíshì), 1: 6.365 (cited in trans. in A. C. Graham, Disputers of the Tao, 286): "The Way is that through which the myriad things are so, that in which the myriad patterns run together. A

sure, to act in accord with natural tendency is called the Tao[6]; to attain the natural tendency of Heaven is called virtue.[7] Only after virtue and natural tendency were abandoned did we prize nobility and rightness.[8] Thereupon, after nobility and rightness arose, the Tao and virtue dispersed[9]; after ritual and law prospered, then purity and

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pattern is the texture of a thing as a whole, the Way is the means by which the myriad things become wholes." Graham, in Disputers of the Tao, 286-87, has a discussion of this.

[6] See Lǐ jì, "Zhōng yōng" (Lǐ jì zhèngyì), 52.1a (trans. David L. Hall and Roger T. Ames, Thinking Through Confucius, 219, mod.): "The mìng of tiān [天命] is called natural tendency. To accord with natural tendency is called the Tao" (cf. Legge [in Classics], 383). On tiānmìng and xìng 性 ("natural tendency," "natural process," or "nature-in-context"), see Hall and Ames, Thinking Through Confucius, 219-20.

[7] Tiānxìng 天性, the "natural tendency of tiān ["Heaven"]," is tiānmìng 天命; see Commentary in HHs 43.1464 n. 3; on tiānmìng, see Hall and Ames, Thinking Through Confucius, 208-16; and on its relationship to Tao and dé 德 ("virtue"), 247.

There is word play in this sentence. The first half begins with lǜ 率, which means "to follow, accord with," is soon followed by xíng 行, "to act, carry out" and also "to ambulate," and ends with dào 道, left in the translation above as "Tao," but meaning at root, "road, path." The second half begins with dé 得, "to get," and ends with the cognate dé 德 ("virtue," "particular focus"). See the entry for the graphic variant of dé 德, 悳, in Shuō wén jiě zì zhù, 502; Hall and Ames, Thinking Through Confucius, 218.

[8] On rén 仁 ("nobility") and yì 義 ("rightness"), see Hall and Ames, Thinking Through Confucius, 89-127. Although I have used currently accepted translations, Hall and Ames make good cases for translating rén as "authoritative person" and "acting authoritatively," and yì as "significance," "significating," or "appropriateness."

The HHs Commentary (HHs 43.1464 n. 4) states, "After the natural tendency of Tao and virtue were lost, the traces of nobility and rightness were evident."

[9] See Lǎozǐ Dào dé jīng 18, "After the Great Tao was abrogated, there were humaneness (rén 仁) and rightness"; 38, "When having lost the Tao, there was virtue; when having lost virtue, there was humaneness; when having lost humaneness, there was rightness; when having lost rightness, there was ritual." See also Zhuāngzǐ (Zhuāngzǐ jiàoquán), "Mǎ tí piān," 9.335, "If the Tao and virtue were

simplicity dissolved.[10] To be sure, the Tao and virtue were attenuated by nobility and rightness; purity and simplicity were harmed by ritual and law. What was generous to Middle Antiquity was already considered mean by High Antiquity.[11] How could it have been any more mean than at this time?

To be sure, if heaven is not lofty and large, then what it covers and overspreads is not vast. If earth is not deep and thick, then the things that it sustains are not extensive.[12] If people are not generous and large-minded then the principles of the Tao

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not abrogated, how did we attain humaneness and rightness? . . . Destroying the Tao and virtue as the way to bring about humaneness and propriety is the transgression of the sage."

[10] On ritual and penal law (fǎ 法), see Hall and Ames, Thinking Through Confucius, 168-73, and Joseph Needham, Science and Civilisation in China, vol. 2, History of Scientific Thought (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1954), 518-23; 530-32; 544-47 (and cited in Hall and Ames).

Cf. Cuì Yīn's 崔駰 (?C.E.-92 C.E.) "Dá zhǐ" 達旨, in HHs 42.1711, "Purity and simplicity are dissolved and dissipated, / People and things are mixed-up and perverse" 淳樸散離,人物錯乖.

[11] See Lǎozǐ Dào dé jīng 15, "Solid, his being like an uncarved block" 敦兮其若樸; dūn 敦, "solid," carries with it the connotation of genuineness and generosity.

Zhōngshì 中世 is, lit., "the Middle Ages," and shàngshì 上世, "the High Ages." HHs Commentary, 1464 n. 7, says "Middle Antiquity refers to the Five Emperors." The "Five Emperors" is a term with different referents depending on the source, but that usually includes the legendary emperors Yáo 堯 and Shùn 舜. Other sources refer to "Middle Antiquity" as the age of the Shāng and Zhōu dynasties (see Shāngzǐ 商子, "Lái mín" [Sbck], 4.4a), and to the Warring States period (see Hán Fēizǐ, "Wǔ dù [Hán Fēizǐ jíshì], 19.1042).

[12] Cf. Zuǒ zhuàn, Xiāng 29: "It is like the all-inclusive overspreading of Heaven, and the all-inclusive sustaining of Earth" (cf. Legge, 550). Cf. also Hán Fēizǐ, "Jiě Lǎo" (Hán Fēizǐ jíshì), 1: 6.365: "Heaven gets it [the Tao] to be high by; earth gets it to hold things by" 天得之以高, 地得之以藏.

will not be far-reaching.[13] In the past, Zhòngní did not abandon an old friend in Yuán Rǎng 原壤[14]; Yán of Chǔ 楚嚴 could not bear to display [his consort's chastity] with respect to the broken chinstrap.[15] We can see from these examples that the virtue of sages and worthies had been generosity. The classic of Master Lǎo states, "The Great

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[13] The Commentary to HHs 43.1465 n. 2, notes that this passage "says that if people are not generous and large-minded, they cannot enter into the essential principles of the Tao." Cf. "Ròu xíng yì" 肉刑議 by Kǒng Róng 孔融 (153-208 C.E.) in HHs 70.2266, "The ancients were generous and large-minded, good and bad men were not differentiated, officials were upstanding and the laws were pure, and governance was without transgressions or faults."

[14] See Lǐ jì, "Tán gōng" B (Lǐ jì zhèngyì), 10.27a-b. When Yuán Rǎng's mother dies, Confucius helps him prepare the outer coffin. At one point, Yuán Rǎng climbs up onto the wood and begins to sing. Confucius goes about his business, ignoring him. His disciples ask him why he just doesn't abandon this bizarre friend, and Confucius replies, "I have heard it said that intimates should not abandon their relationships, and old friends should not abandon their old friendships" (cf. Legge, 3: 198-99, no. 24). See also Lúnyǔ 1/13, "Companions who do not abandon their intimates can, for their part, be honored" (cf. Legge, 143), and 18/10: "If an old friend lacks great wrongdoing, then he should not be cast off" (cf. Legge, 338).

[15] See Hán shī wàizhuàn (Csjc), 7.93 (trans. Hightower, 238), and a similar version of the story in Shuō yuán 說苑, comp. Liú Xiàng 劉向 (79-8 B.C.E.), "Fù ēn piān" (Sbck), 6.8a-b. "Yán of Chǔ" refers to King Zhuāng 莊王 of Chǔ 楚 (reg. 613-591 B.C.E.); in order to avoid use of words homophonous with Emperor Ming's (reg. 29-75 C.E.) personal name, Liú Zhuāng 劉莊, "Yán" 嚴 is used in place of "Zhuāng"; see Chén Yuán 陳垣, Shǐ huì jǔ lì 史諱舉例 (Běijīng: Zhōnghuá shūjú, 1962), 11, 131. The anecdote in Shuō yuán concerns a party given by Zhuāng for a large group of officials. After dusk, one of these officials, in a place where the lamps were extinguished, grabbed at the clothing of the King's consort (possibly Lady Fán [Fán Jī 樊姬] mentioned in Cài Yōng's "Fù on the Grisette"). Defending herself, the consort pulled at the chinstrap of the man's hat and broke it. The King was cognizant of both his guest's violation and his consort's innocence, but was unwilling to let his guest lose face. Before the lamps were relit, Zhuāng had all of his guests break their chinstraps so that the guilty party would not be conspicuous. I have interpolated "his consort's integrity" in light of the King's comment in Shuō yuán (6.8a), "How could I, having revealed my wife's integrity, shame the gentleman?"

Mature Man abides by the thick and does not abide by the thin, dwells in the fruit and not in the flowers, and consequently rejects that and takes this."[16] In any particular time, when there is thinness [i.e., meanness], thickness [i.e., magnanimity] is to be extended; in any particular case of conduct, where there is error, benevolence is employed.[17] To be sure, covering up the transgressions of others is the Tao of generosity; saving others from error is the practice of magnanimity. In former times, Mǎ Yuán 馬援 deeply understood this Tao, and that it can become virtue.[18] He admonished his nephews saying,[19] "I wish that you would listen to the transgressions of

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[16] Lǎozǐ Dào dé jīng 38. Hòu 厚, "thick," is associated with dūn 敦, "solid," "integral," "genuine," "generous"; bó 薄, as stated above means "thin," "depleted," "mean,"or "false"; shí 實, "fruit" or "kernel" is close to dūn as "substantial" and "genuine"; huá 華, "flower," is close to bó as "artifice." HHs Commentary, 43.1465 n. 5, cites Gù Huān 顧歡 (390-453), "The Tao and virtue constitute 'the thick'; ritual and law constitute 'the thin'; the pure and empty constitute 'the fruit'; sound and hue constitute 'the flowers.' He rejects those, the flowers and the thin, and takes these, the thick and the fruit."

[17] HHs Commentary, 43.1465 n. 6, states, "As for the decrepitude and meanness of mores, they take up magnanimity to set them in order. Where there is error in conduct, they take up benevolence to treat it. As for the above, these are like Confucius and Zhuāng of Chǔ."

[18] On the powerful Hàn general Mǎ Yuán (14 B.C.E.-49 C.E.), see his official biography in HHs 24.827-52; see also Han Bielenstein, "The Restoration of the Han Dynasty," vol. 2, BMFEA 31 (1959): 165-66; vol. 3, BMFEA 39 (1967): 63-73; vol. 4, BMFEA 51 (1979): 111-14, 121-22, and "Wang Mang, the Restoration of the Han Dynasty, and Later Han," in Cambridge History, 1: 271, 272, 275-76, 277, 279; Yü Ying-shih, "Han Foreign Relations," in Cambridge History, 1: 454; Mieczyslaw Jerzy Kunstler, Ma Jong: Vie et ocuvre (Warszawa: Panstwowe Wydawn Naukowe, 1969), 11-13.

[19] For the complete text of Mǎ Yuán's letter, see HHs 24.844-45. The nephews being referred to here are his older brother Mǎ Yú's 馬余 sons, Mǎ Yán 馬嚴 and Mǎ Dūn 馬敦, who were orphaned as young children. Mǎ Yuán heard that his nephews "both took delight in criticism and

others just as you would listen to the personal names of your father and mother[20]: The ears can hear them, but the mouth cannot speak of them."[21] This is the gist of it. Long ago it was the sages and worthies who in High Antiquity put it into practice[22]; recently, it was Bǐng Jí 丙吉 and Zhāng Zǐrú 張子孺 who at the Hàn court carried it out.[23] To

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disputation, and alike disdained knights-errant," and so he wrote this letter to admonish them (HHs 24.844). See a discussion of this letter in Eva Yuen-wah Chung, "A Study of the Shu (Letters) of the Han Dynasty (206 B.C.-A.D. 220)" (Ph.D. diss., University of Washington, 1982), 148-49.

[20] The word that I have translated as "you" here, cáo 曹, is the second person plural pronoun used by a superior to address inferiors, similar to the archaic English form "ye."

[21] Inserting a kě 可 before dé yán 得言, as in the text at HHs 24.844.

See Lúnyǔ 17/24: "Zǐgōng asked, 'As for the exemplary man, does he have his aversions?' The Master said, 'He has his aversions. He hates those who proclaim the wrongs of others'" (cf. Legge, 329).

[22] The Commentary at HHs 43.1465 n. 7, states that this "says the Tao [= Way] of generosity and magnanimity had already been put into practice [= tread, lǚ 履] by Confucius and Zhuāng of Chǔ."

[23] Bǐng Jí (ob. ?55 B.C.E.) has an official biography at Hs 74.3142-51 (English translation available in Courtier and Commoner in Ancient China: Selections from the "History of the Former Han" by Pan Ku, trans. Burton Watson [New York: Columbia University Press, 1974], 186-97). He succeeded Wèi Xiàng 魏相 as Chancellor (chéngxiàng 丞相) upon the latter's death in 59 B.C.E. Bǐng Jí was renowned for covering up the transgressions of his subalterns, and praising their good points. He would not punish a wrongdoer in his charge, but send him off on a "long vacation." When a guest once inquired why he did not impose punishment on such offenders, Bǐng Jí replied, "Now, if I, having taken up office in the Three Excellencies, should have the reputation of punishing officials in my charge, I would be debased by it" (Hs 74.3145). Those who followed Bǐng Jí as Chancellor continued this policy.

Zhāng Ānshì 張安世, styled Zǐrú (ob. 62 B.C.E.; official biography at Hs 59.2647-53) had, along with Bǐng Jí and some other officials, promoted Liú Bìngyǐ 劉病已 as Emperor (Xuān, reg. 74-49 B.C.E.) after the disastrous seventeen-day reign of Liú Hè 劉賀. Zhāng rose to the position of

be sure, to extend a glorious reputation over a hundred generations, and spread a cultural legacy that is unextinguished, is that not for its part excellent?

Yet, current mores are heterodox, moral teaching is no longer generous, and moreover, slandering and defaming one another are called "praise and blame."[24] If one makes an accounting of another's shortcomings, then simultaneous with this is he discounting the other's strengths. If one depreciates another's demerits, then concurrently is he felling his merits.[25] Many, many are like this--how can they be reckoned?[26] In all these kinds of situations, how is it merely deviating from the Tao of the exemplary man! There is bound to be a calamity that would endanger oneself and implicate one's family in it. How lamentable! Those who conduct themselves so do not know to be anxious over it being this way, and hence when harm arises it is too late to

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General of Chariots and Cavalry Serving as Commander-in-chief (dàsīmǎ jūjì jiāngjūn 大司馬車騎將軍). Once, Zhāng had recommended someone for office who then came to Zhāng to express his gratitude. Zhāng felt great remorse in seeing his official duty being transformed into a private relationship. He subsequently broke off his ties with the man. In another instance, Zhāng inquired after the fault of some official who had been dismissed. When he learned that the official had been dismissed because of his failure to have received a recommendation from Zhāng, he explained that that was due solely to his ignorance of the man (See Hs 59.2650; HHs 43.1465 n. 8).

[24] Zāng pǐ 臧否 means literally, "good and bad"; cf. Zhāng Héng's "Xījīng fù," in Wén xuǎn, 2.63 (trans. David R. Knechtges, 1: 205, l. 372): "Taking shots at the good and bad" 彈射臧否.

[25] The reading suggested in Gǔjīn wénxuán, 3 n. 24, of fá 伐 as "to boast of oneself" (cf. Lúnyǔ 6/13: "Mèng Zhīfǎn did not boast of his merits" [cf. Legge, 189]), does not seem appropriate here; "to fell," parallel to "to rend" (zhé 折) in the previous line, makes more sense.

[26] The HHs Commentary to this passage, 43.1466 n. 1, glosses chēng 稱 as jǔ 舉, "to take up."

do anything. Even though this has been the case, there are still heterodoxies among them. People all see them, and yet are powerless to reform themselves. Why is this? Those devoted to advancing after forging ahead do not look back, and those with honor and wealth flaunt themselves and do not brook others. The enlightened do not befriend the benighted, the rich do not provide for the poor. *Incorruptible cultured gentlemen*, being friendless, are not sympathized with[27]; worthies, being reduced to straits, are not condoled with.[28] To be sure, Tián Fén 田蚡 used his venerable and illustrious position to obtain [Hán] Ānguó's 韓安國 gold.[29] Chúnyú [Cháng] 淳于長 used his influence as

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[27] Cf. Lúnyǔ 4/25: "Virtue is not friendless; invariably it will have companions" (cf. Legge, 172).

[28] Cf. Mèngzi, 7B/18: "The reduction to straits of The Exemplary Man [here, = Confucius] between Chén and Cài was that he lacked the associations of superiors and inferiors [= their rulers and officials]" (cf. Legge, 486).

[29] Tián Fén (?-131 B.C.E.) was a younger half-brother of Emperor Jǐng's (reg. 157-141 B.C.E.) consort, Empress Wáng. As a member of this consort clan, Tián was enfeoffed Marquis of Wǔān 武安侯 in 141 B.C.E. In the reign of Emperor Wǔ (reg. 141-87 B.C.E.), whose mother was the now Empress Dowager Wáng, Tián Fén was made Grand Commandant (tàiwèi 太尉). Early in his career he was devoted to Ruist principles, but he was soon corrupted by wealth and privileges. Tián Fén accepted a gift of five hundred units of gold from Hán Ānguó (?-127 B.C.E.), a former metropolitan superintendent (nèi shǐ 内史) under Prince Xiào of Liáng 梁孝王, and subsequently spoke to his sister about him. Soon after Hán Ānguó was made commandant of Běidì 北地, Superintendent of Agriculture (dàsīnóng 大司農), and later, grandee secretary (yùshǐ dàifū 御史大夫); Hán Ānguó had had a good reputation, and though it is possible that he attained these posts on his own merits, it is assumed here that the "gift" helped speed along his elevation by bringing his name to the fore. Tián Fén, for his part, was named Chancellor in 135 B.C.E., and grew attached to a life of conspicuous luxury. After Tián Fén's rise to Chancellor, Hán Ānguó was made Imperial Counsellor (yùshǐ dàifu 御史大夫). Sīmǎ Qiān praises Hán Ānguó's recommendation of worthy men, but notes that he was

a member of the consort clan to draw [Zhái] Fāngjìn's 翟方進 words.[30] Now then, on account of their own integrity Hán and Zhái became renowned ministers of the Hàn. And yet, even they were unable to rescue an impoverished worthy, or recommend a friendless cultured gentleman. How much more so those inferior to them![31] This is the reason why Qín Xí 禽息 and Shǐ Yú 史魚 had special renown in former times, and no successors after.[32] To be sure, if the current mores were generosity and goodness, then

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greedy for money. See Shǐ jì, "Wèiqí Wǔān hòu lièzhuàn," 107.2841-44, "Hán Chángrú lièzhuàn," 108.2859-60, 2863, and Hs, "Dòu Tián Guàn Hán zhuàn," 52.2377-80; 2398.

[30] Chúnyú Cháng (?- 7 B.C.E.) was a nephew (older sister's son) of Emperor Yuán's (reg. 49-33 B.C.E.) consort, Wáng Zhèngjūn 王政君. He served as palace attendant (shì zhōng 侍中) and Superintendent of the Guard (wèiwèi 衛尉), and was enfeoffed Marquis of Dìnglíng 定陵侯. He was executed in prison for the crime of "impiety" (dànì wúdào 大逆無道). Zhái Fāngjìn (?-7 B.C.E.) held a series of positions, culminating with Chancellor under Emperor Chéng (reg. 33-7 B.C.E.), and was enfeoffed Marquis of Gāolíng 高陵侯. Earlier, when Chúnyú Cháng had maneuvered to attain high office, Zhái Fāngjìn alone had friendly associations with him and then recommended him. After Chúnyú Cháng was executed, Zhái impeached over twenty of Chúnyú Cháng's friends. See Hs, "Zhái Fāngjìn zhuàn," 84.3419, 3421; "Nìngxìng zhuàn," 93.3730, 3732.

[31] Cf. Wáng Fú 王符 (ca. 90-165, or ca. 78-163), Qián fú lùn 潛夫論, "For this reason, Hán Ānguó could bequeath Tián Fén five hundred pieces of gold yet could not rescue a single impoverished [worthy]; Zhái Fāngjìn commended Chúnyú Cháng yet could not recommend a single cultured gentleman. In any particular respect, Ānguó and Fāngjìn were loyal and good [ministers] of the former age, and yet if they were like this, then how much more so those lesser officials at the end of the road [i.e., at the end of this age]!" (Qián fú lùn jiān jiàozhèng 潛夫論箋校正, annotated by Wāng Jìpéi 汪繼培 [b. 1775], ed. Péng Duó 彭鐸 [Běijīng: Zhōnghuá shūjú, 1985]), 30.339-40.

[32] See HHs 43.1466 n. 5, which records a passage from the Hán shī wàizhuàn not included in the received text: "Qín Xí was a grandee of Qín. His recommendation of Bólǐ Xī 百里奚 was not received. Duke Mù went out and Qín Xí, facing the carriage, rammed his head on the doorsill. Then, with fluid from his brain flowing out, Qín said, 'It is better to die than not be of service to my state.' Duke Mù, having been moved and come to a realization, employed Bólǐ Xī. Qín became strong as a

even the petty man would abide by rectitude and profit could not lure him.[33] If the current mores were vileness and meanness, though an exemplary man were about to commit an act of badness, rightness could not stop him. Why? Those who have proceeded before, having already gone, do not turn back, and those who come after, while repeating practices and customs, chase after them. Therefore, emptiness and superficiality flourish, and wholeheartedness for others and trustworthiness decline; the cruel and mean are legion and the unsullied and sincere are rare. This is probably why "Valley Wind" has the plaint of "casting me off,"[34] and "Hewing Trees" has the concern

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result." Bólǐ Xī previously had been a beggar from Qí; see Hán shī wàizhuàn (Sbck), 8.14b (trans. Hightower, 279). A version of the story (with Shǐ Qiú 史鰌 for Shǐ Yú 史魚) is preserved in Xīn shū 新書, attributed to Jiǎ Yí 賈誼 (201-169 B.C.), "Tāi jiào" (Sbby), 10.6a/b.

Shǐ Yú was a grandee of Wèi. On his deathbed he lamented to his son that he had been unsuccessful in recommending two worthies, Qú Bóyù 蘧伯玉 and Mí Zǐxiá 彌子瑕. He told his son that he was unworthy of having the mourning conducted in the main hall. When, upon Shǐ's death, the prince came to condole, he asked why the mourning was taking place in a secondary hall. Chastened by the reason, he summoned to office Qú Bóyù and Mí Zǐxiá. See Hán shī wàizhuàn (Sbck), 7.14b (trans. Hightower, 245-46).

[33] Cf. Lúnyǔ 4/16, "The exemplary man is conversant with rightness, the petty man is conversant with profit" (cf. Legge, 170).

[34] See Máo shī 201, "Gǔ fēng" 谷風. The phrase cited refers to the theme of the poem: In a time of fear and distress, the song's voice finds intimacy with another, but when the other experiences ease and pleasure, he or she forgets the former closeness and kindnesses. In other words, the poem describes the fickleness of some friends. Both the Máo and Lǔ schools agree that this corruption of the ideal of friendship was due to deficiency in governing; see Wáng Xiānqiān, ed. and comm., Shī sānjiā yì jíshù 詩三家義集疏 (1915; typeset ed., Táiběi: Shìjiè shūjú, 1957), 18.1a/b.

of "birds calling"![35]

Alas! If the cultured gentlemen of the world would take as their model the eminent principles of Confucius the Sage, praise the excellent conduct of Yán of Chǔ, admire the elegant teachings of Lǐ the Venerable,[36] reflect on what Mǎ Yuán honored, despise the mistaken measures of the two ministers,[37] praise the lofty rectitude of Hán Léng 韓棱,[38] prize the great tolerance of Bǐng [Jí] and Zhāng [Zǐrú], and scorn the

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[35] See Máo shī 165, "Fā mù" 伐木. The poem is a paean to friendship. Zhèng Xuán's notes and Kǒng Yǐngdá's subcommentary (Máo shī zhèngyì, 9C.1b, 2a, respectively) suggest that the calling of the birds is a metaphor for friends offering mutual correction, and that when an exemplary man has obtained a lofty position--like the birds literally do in the poem--he does not forget his friends but seeks them out. See also Ěr yǎ, "Shì xùn" (Ěr yǎ zhùshū, 4.6b): "'Dīng dīng' and 'Yīng yīng' are associated with mutual correction" 丁丁嚶嚶相切直也, and Guō Pú's 郭璞 (276-324) subcommentary (Ibid.), "It takes up a metaphor for friends refining one another through mutual correction." The Lǔ school regards this song as having to do with the beginning of the decline of the Zhōu dynasty's virtue; see Wáng Xiānqiān, ed. and comm., Shī sānjiā yì jíshù, 14.14a.

[36] Lǐ Lǎo 李老, which I have freely translated "Lǐ the Venerable," refers to Lǎozi, whose family name, according to tradition, was Lǐ, and whose given name was Ěr 耳.

[37] The "two ministers" are Hán Ānguó and Zhái Fāngjìn.

[38] See HHs, "Yuán Zhāng Hán Zhōu lièzhuàn" 45.1535. Hán Léng served as Director of the Secretariat (shàngshū lìng 尚書令) under Emperor Hé (reg. 88-106 C.E.). When Dòu Xiàn 竇憲 (ob. 92) had been given the title "General-in-chief" (i.e., Regent) after his victory over the Northern Xiōngnú, the Secretariat wanted to receive him with cheers of the Chinese equivalent of "Banzai!": "Léng with solemn demeanor said to them, "In any particular case of 'one's associations with superiors, one is not obsequious; in one's associations with inferiors, one is not contemptuous' [Zhōu yì zhèngyì, "Xì cí zhuàn" B, 8.13a (cf. Wilhelm and Baynes, 342)]. In the Ritual there is no rule for ministers crying 'Banzai!'" The cheer of "banzai" (wànsuì 萬歲) had, by this time, come to be associated with the emperor (Cí yuán, s.v. wànsuì); to greet Dòu Xiàn in this way would be to accord him the status of emperor.

slandering and defaming of current convention, then the Tao would be abounding and achievements would flourish, names would be illustrious and personal character would be glorious, virtue would be recorded that would not be stricken, and reputation would be spread that would not be extinguished. In this way, afterwards,[39] they would be aware of the insufficiency of thinness and the exuberance of thickness. The former would rot away together with the plants and trees, and the latter would compete with metal and stone.[40] How could they be discussed in the same year, chatted about on the same day?

It is odd that this passage should include Hán Léng since he is the only figure in the conclusion not previously mentioned in the essay. Perhaps an earlier reference had been somehow excised or omitted.

[39] See the textual note to this line in HHs 43.1489, on the interpolation of hòu 後 after rán 然.

[40] HHs 43.1467 n. 4, makes reference to Lǎozǐ Dào dé jīng 2, but there I think the meaning is a little different: "High and low depend on each other," i.e., for their definition. Here, the sense is more of vying with one another in permanence; cf. use of the term xiāng qīng 相傾 in Shǐ jì, "Lǔ Bùwéi lièzhuàn," 85. 2510, "all vied in welcoming cultured gentlemen and retainers" 皆下士喜賓客以相傾.

APPENDIX D

ZHŪ MÙ'S "JUÉ JIĀO LÙN" 絕交論

"TREATISE ON SEVERING PRIVATE ASSOCIATIONS"[1]

Someone said, "You no longer go visiting, you do not receive guests, and you don't respond in kind.[2] Why?"

I said, "The ancients, in their entrances and exits, and in pursuing activities,[3] did so without associating through private relationships: They used the open court to receive one another, and took up the rules of etiquette in hosting banquets. Otherwise, colleagues and followers received instruction and that was that."

He said, "If others should scorn you, how would that be?"

I said, "Then I would bear their scorn!"

He said, "Bearing their scorn is all right by you?"

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[1] For the Chinese text of "Jué jiāo lùn," see HHs 43.1467-68 n. 1; Quán Hòu Hàn wén, 28.11a; Yìwén lèijù, 21.397 (excerpt), and Tàipíng yùlǎn, 410.6b (excerpt).

[2] Cf. Mèngzǐ, 4A/4: "If he treats another according to etiquette and is not responded to in kind, let him reflect on his sense of respect" (cf. Legge, 294-95).

[3] Cf. Xúnzǐ, "Xiū shēn" (in Xúnzǐ jíjiě), 1.15b (trans. John Knoblock, Xunzi: A Translation and Study of the Complete Works, vol. 1, Books 1-6 [Stanford: Stanford Univ. Press, 1988], 152): "If one's . . . entrances and exits, and one's rapid steps proceed according to ritual principles, they will be cultured" 進退趨行由禮則雅.

I said, "The age's devotion to making private associations has been of long standing:[4] Not sedulous as to their occupations,[5] not fearful with respect to their ruler, they abrogate ritual[6] to pursue it, turning their backs on the common good to follow it. In extreme cases, then it is the love of concubines;[7] in even worse cases, it is seeking to cover up transgressions and steal a reputation, thereby providing for themselves. Duties are cast aside and rightness is dismissed,[8] the common good is disdained and private gain is valued. They rest or toil as they please. There are ample cases of causing confusion with respect to the Tao and seeking one's own private gain.[9] Consequently, they push forward and do not turn back, and no one dares put a stop to them: For this reason, streams and ditches bust their banks and no one ventures to block them; roving gelded boars trample the grain and no one prohibits them.

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[4] Yìwén lèijù, 21.397, and Tàipíng yùlǎn, 410.6b, have shén 甚 ("great," "deep") in place of jiǔ 久 ("long standing").

[5] Cf. Guǎnzǐ, "Jūn chén" (Sbck), A, 10.9a: "When the sovereign is in accord with his way, and the subjects are sedulous as to their occupations . . ." 上惠其道下敦其業.

HHs 43.1467, in place of 不敦于業, has 敦千乘: "honoring [the authority of] a thousand chariots."

[6] Yìwén lèijù, 21.397, has sì 祀 ("sacrifice") in place of lǐ 禮 ("ritual").

[7] Cf. Hán Fēizǐ, "Bā jiān" (in Hánfēizǐ jíshì), 2.151: "Honored ladies and favored concubines" 貴夫人、愛孺子; n. 4, p. 154, citing Jiǎng Chāobó 蔣超伯, suggests male homosexuality, "favored boys." It is possible that Zhū Mù means "the love of boys" here.

[8] Quán Hòu Hàn wén, 28.11a, has lì jìn 利進 ("profit is advanced") in place of shì tì 事替 ("duties are cast aside").

[9] I am reading huò 或 as 惑.

The Songs say: "My awesome demeanor is complete and perfect. / It cannot be measured."[10] What will the next generation follow? And since I'm in want of ability, how can they take their model here?[11] Truly lamenting the lack of good conduct, the many deficiencies of filial devotion,[12] and the many errors in ministry service, my thoughts turn time and again to the white jade,[13] examining over and over the ancient words in order to repair past transgressions. The times lack Confucius' hall,[14] and if my thoughts coalesce and stagnate, and there is nothing sloughed off, then for their part how will they rise? This is why I venture to bear scorn. Is that not also acceptable?"

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[10] Máo shī 26/3. In the second verse, Zhū Mù uses suàn 筭 in place of Máo shī's xuǎn 選. This supports the Máo Commentary's gloss, shǔ 數 (Máo shī zhèngyì, 2A.6b).

[11] Lit., "And since I have no talent. . ." 而吾不才, the sense being that one has not met with success in his official life and hence cannot serve as a model for later generations. Cf. Zuǒ zhuàn, Chéng 3, "I, your vassal, am in want of ability, and fall short of my position" 臣不才,不勝其任 (cf. Legge, 352).

[12] On zǐ dào 子道, see, for instance, Shǐ jì 1.32: "Shùn's father Gǔ Sǒu was oafish, his mother dull, his brother, Xiàng, haughty. All wanted to kill Shùn. Shùn was obedient and was not remiss in filial devotion and fraternal love."

[13] See Máo shī 256/5: "A flaw in a white jade scepter, / Yet can be ground away; / A flaw in such speech / Cannot be fixed" (cf. Legge, 513). See also Lúnyǔ, 11/5; Lǐ jì zhèngyì, "Zī yì," 55.17a.

[14] See Lúnyǔ, 11/14: "The Master said, 'What's Yóu's zither doing at my door?' So his disciples did not respect Zǐlù [i.e., Yóu]. The Master said, 'Yóu has ascended to the hall, but has not yet entered into the chambers'" (cf. Legge, 242). Confucius here first criticizes Zǐlù, then praises his attainment of a high level of erudition.

APPENDIX E

CÀI YŌNG'S "ZHÈNG JIĀO LÙN" 正交論

"TREATISE ON RECTIFYING PRIVATE ASSOCIATIONS"[1]

I have heard lessons from the past saying, "The exemplary man takes up colleagues and friends for discussion and study,"[2] and the upright man "does not have depraved colleagues."[3] Therefore, as for friendships in antiquity, their principles were solid and upright, their oaths trustworthy and steadfast. Coming to the Zhōu, virtue

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[1] The Treatise to Zhū Mù's biography in the HHs states (43.1474): "Cài Yōng regarded Mù as genuine and self-possessing, and wrote 'Rectifying Private Associations,' expanding on his ideas in it."

For the Chinese text, see CZ wàijí (Sbby), 2.8a-9b; CZj (Zhāng Pǔ ed.), 2.44a-46a; CZj (Dīng Fúbǎo ed.), 6.3a/b; CZj (Wāng Shìxián ed.), 478-81; HHs 43.1474-75 n. 2; Quán Hòu Hàn wén, 74.3b-4b; annotations and translation into the modern vernacular by Liáng Róngmào 梁榮茂 can be found in Gǔ jīn wénxuǎn (ed. Zēng Yǒngyì and Huáng Qífāng), n.s. 520 (1986): 5-8.

[2] Zhōu yì, "Tuàn zhuàn," on the hexagram for duì 隊 (Zhōu yì zhèngyì, 6.9b; cf. Wilhelm/Baynes, 686). Kǒng Yīngdá's subcommentary states, "Fellow students are called péng 朋; the like-minded are called yǒu 友. Péng and yǒu [=good friends] come and abide together to discuss and practice the Way and rightness."

[3] Shàngshū zhèngyì, "Hóng fàn," 12.11a, with a slightly different reading in this context: "Among all the people, (the fact) that there will be no licentious factions, and nobody will take conspiratory action, is because the august one (makes=) creates correctness" (trans. Karlgren, 30, no. 10, emphasis added; cf. Legge, 329).

began to decline, and the sounds of the "Eulogia" had already ceased.[4] "Hewing Trees" had the criticism of "birds calling"[5]; "Valley Wind" had the plaint of "casting me off."[6] The source from whence these came was a deficiency in governing.[7]

From here on down it deteriorated more and more.[8] Some neglected to complete what they started, and some exerted themselves in associating for private

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[4] Yáng Xióng's Fǎ yán 法言, "Xiào zhì piān" (Sbby,13.4b), states, "In the time of Kāng of Zhōu, sounds of the "Elegantiae" [the "Sòng" 頌 of the Shījīng] arose from [among the people] below and 'Guān jū' was arose from [the court] above. They were accustomed to order. In the time of Huán of Qí, it was chaotic and the Annals praised Shàolíng. [See about the covenant at Zuǒ zhuàn, Xī 4; Shǐ jì, 32.1489.] They were accustomed to disorder. Consequently, if they were accustomed to order, then they lamented the beginning of disorder. If they were accustomed to disorder, then they delighted in the beginning of order."

HHs 43.1474, has dàizhì 逮至 for the other texts' dàifū 逮夫, with no significant change in meaning. CZ wàijí (Sbby), 2.8b, has jì shuāi 既衰 ("already declined") in place of the other texts' shǐ shuāi 始衰 ("began to decline").

[5] See Máo shī 165, "Fāmù" 伐木, and n. 35 to Zhū Mù's "Treatise on Esteeming Genuineness."

[6] See Máo shī 201, "Gǔ fēng" 谷風, and n. 34 to Zhū Mù's "Treatise on Esteeming Genuineness."

[7] Wáng Chōng's 王充 (27-ca. 100) Lùn héng 論衡, "Xiè duǎn piān" (Sbck), 12.14b, states, "If you ask an expert on the Songs, 'In the time of what ruler were the Songs composed?' he will say, 'When the Zhōu was in decline, the Songs were composed. . . ."

CZ wàijí (Sbby), 2.8b; CZj (Zhāng Pǔ ed.), 2.44b; and CZj (Wāng Shìxián ed.), 478, omit this line.

[8] CZj (Zhāng Pǔ ed.), 2.44b, has the graphic variant líng 凌 for 陵, with no semantic change; a textual note in CZ wàijí (Sbby), 2.8b, states that it should read the latter, but both 凌遲 and 陵遲 (língchí, lit., a gradual slope, or slowly coming down an incline, and here referring to "progressive deterioration") are attested to in Hàn-period texts. For the former, see Hs, "Xíngfǎ zhì," 3.1109; the latter may be seen in Shǐ jì, "Zhāng Shìzhì Féng Táng lièzhuàn," 102.2752.

gain.[9] Thus officials were troubled by these circumstances,[10] and those who discoursed on it did so inculcatingly.[11] There are those who detest insincerity and meanness and so harbor disaffection,[12] and there are those who loathe cronyism and partisanship and so break off private associations. Someone who discoursed on friendship said: "If it is the wealthy and influential, then others vie to hang on to them. . . . If it is the destitute and lowly, then others vie to be rid of them."[13] Therefore, the exemplary man is prudent

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[9] The Treatise to Zhū Mù's biography, HHs 43.1474, states: "Zhū Mù, seeing that associating for private gain [比周] harmed rightness, and that the inclination towards partisanship caused injury to society, and intent on curbing the private dealings of old associations, subsequently wrote the essay 'On Severing Private Associations.'"

[10] On jìnshēn 搢紳 (or 縉紳), lit. "stick into girdle," a kenning for "officials," see "Stele Inscription for 'Holder of Principle" Guō Línzōng," n. 54

[11] On zhūnzhūn 諄諄, cf. Máo shī 256/11: "I instruct you inculcatingly" (trans. Karlgren, "Glosses on the Ta Ya and Sung Odes," 108, no. 962; cf. Legge, 517).

[12] Chūnqiū fánlù 春秋繁露, attrib. to Dǒng Zhòngshū 董仲舒 (ca. 195-ca. 115 B.C.E.) (Sbck), "Wèi rén zhě tiān," 10.10b, states: "If one is fond of humaneness and magnanimity, and hates superficiality and frivolity, gravitates to good people and keeps distant from the mean and vile, then the heart will be happy indeed."

CZj (Dīng Fúbǎo ed.), 6.3a; HHs 43.1475 n. 2; and Quán Hòu Hàn wén, 74.4a, omit huái 裹(懷), "to cherish, harbor," before xiéèr 攜貳 ("disaffection").

[13] Wáng Fú, Qián fú lùn, "Jiāo jì lùn" (Qián fú lùn jiān jiàozhèng), 30.333, with the variant fù 附, "to attach to," in place of qù 趣, "to hang on to."

According to a note that appears in both the Dīng Fúbǎo ed. of CZj, 6.3a, and Quán Hòu Hàn wén, 74.4a, Lǐ Shàn's Wén xuǎn Comm. to Yìng Jù's (or, Yìng Qú) 應璩 (190-252) "Yǔ shìláng Cáo chángsī shū" 與侍郎曹長思書, 42.1916, records that Cài Yōng's "Zhèng lùn" 政論 includes the following lines: "If the skin is old, then the hair falls out; if the water dries up, then the fish die. Their power is like that" 皮朽則毛落; 水涸則魚逝; 其勢然也. The note concludes that the "Zhèng lùn" being referred to is the "Zhèng jiāo lùn" and that these two lines belong here.

with respect to the way others associate with him, and judicious with respect to the way he associates with others. If he becomes wealthy and influential, then he will not have a retinue suddenly gather; if he becomes destitute and lowly, then he will not have retainers who desert old friends. Hence,[14] finding out the reason why they come, one then knows the reason why they go. Seeing the way in which they begin, one then observes the way in which they conclude.[15] Those incorruptible cultured gentlemen,[16] destitute and lowly they do not wait on the wealthy and influential; wealthy and influential they do not hold in contempt the destitute and lowly,[17] hence they are commendable.

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[14] CZ wàijí (Sbby), 2.8b; CZj (Zhāng Pǔ ed.), 2.45a; and CZj (Wāng Shìxián ed.), 479, omit gù 故, "hence."

[15] CZ wàijí (Sbby), 2.8b; CZj (Zhāng Pǔ ed.), 2.45a; and CZj (Wāng Shìxián ed.), 479, have guān 觀 in place of the other versions' dǔ 覩, with no semantic difference.

[16] On the term shì 士, "cultured gentlemen," "scholars," or "scholar-officials," see Patricia Ebrey, "Toward a Better Understanding of the Late Han Upper Class," in State and Society in Early Medieval China, ed. Albert E. Dien (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1990), 49-72; John Makeham, Name and Actuality in Early Chinese Thought, 196 n. 9; Jack L. Dull and Hellmut Wilhelm, eds., Han Dynasty China, vol. 1, Han Social Structure, by Ts'ung-tsu Ch'ü, 101-7 (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1972); Patricia Ebrey, "The Economic and Social History of Later Han," in The Cambridge History of China, 1: 630-32.

[17] Cf. Lúnyǔ 1/15: "Zīgōng said, 'When destitute, not be ingratiating, when wealthy, not be contemptuous, what about that?'" (cf. Legge, 144). Also, Lǚ shì chūnqiū 呂氏春秋, "Guì shēng (Sbck), 2.4b, "Many of the rulers of the age use wealth and power to treat contemptuously others who have attained the Way."

The Dīng Fúbǎo ed. of CZj, 6.3b, and Quán Hòu Hàn wén, 74.4a, have the lexical variant fū 夫, in place of the other versions' hū 乎, with no real semantic change.

As for the way of colleagues and friends: If there is rightness, then they should come together; should there lack rightness, then they should separate. In the case of a good person, then "as for long-standing agreements one does not neglect them though they be the words of youth."[18] In the case of a bad person, then "faithfully admonish and skillfully instruct him. If he is incorrigible, then stop. Do not humiliate yourself in it."[19] Therefore, if the exemplary man does not do acts that can be scorned, he will not be troubled by others' forsaking him.[20] If verily he possesses virtue that can be followed, he will not be distressed over others' distancing themselves from him.[21] If by ill fortune this should happen, then "he should reproach himself heavily and others

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[18] Lúnyǔ, 14/13 (cf. Legge, 280); see Hé Yàn's note to this passage (Lúnyǔ zhùshū, 14.5b), where he cites Kǒng Ānguó: "Jiǔ yāo 久要 is an old covenant; píngshí 平時 is like shàonián 少年 ['youth']."

CZj (Zhāng Pǔ ed.), 2.45a, has yì 義 ("rightness") in place of shàn 善 ("good" or "good person"), probably a case of contamination by the previous line.

[19] Lúnyǔ, 12/23 (cf. Legge, 261), with a few variants: Lúnyǔ has dǎo 道 ("lead" or "guide") in place of huì 誨 ("instruct") here; bù kě 不可 ("impossible") in place of fǒu 否 with no semantic change; and wú 毋 in place of wú 無, with no semantic change.

The Dīng Fúbǎo ed. of CZj, 6.3b, and Quán Hòu Hàn wén, 74.4a, follow Lúnyǔ with bù kě 不可.

[20] This is evocative of Lúnyǔ passages 1/16 and 14/32 (4/14 is also similar), "Do not be troubled by others' not knowing you" 不患人之不己知 (cf. Legge, 145, 287). Though this line is constructed a little differently, 不患人之不遺己也, Cài Yōng seems to be deliberately imitating the Lúnyǔ in this section.

[21] Like the previous line, which is parallel to it, this is similar to a Lúnyǔ passage, 15/18: "He is not distressed by others' not knowing him" 不病人之不己知也 (cf. Legge, 300).

lightly, and resentment will thus be kept distant."[22] If he "seeks it in himself" and does not "seek it in others," then rarely will he have been blamed.[23] Now then, the key to keeping resentment distant and keeping blame rare all rests with oneself. Nothing can change this.[24]

"The disciples of Zǐxià asked Zǐzhāng about friendship," and the two disciples each had his own version of what he had heard from the Master. That being so then, and taking up their instruction on friendship: Shāng was broad-hearted, and consequently was told how to reject people; Shī was narrow-minded, and consequently was exhorted to be "tolerant of the masses."[25] For each one it was adjusted according to his way of doing things. As for the true teaching of Confucius, then one "should have broad care for the masses and make friends of the noble."[26] To be sure, unless one

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[22] Lúnyǔ, 15/14, with a different grammatical structure for the last phrase: "and then you will keep distant resentment" 則遠怨矣 (cf. Legge, 299), instead of 怨其遠矣.

[23] Lúnyǔ, 15/20, "The Master said, 'The exemplary man seeks it in himself; the petty man seeks it in others" (cf. Legge, 300).

[24] CZ wàijí (Sbby), 2.9a; CZj (Zhāng Pǔ ed.), 2.45a; and CZj (Wāng Shìxián ed.), 480, have "Nothing can reach this" 莫之致也, in place of the other versions' 莫之能改也; it is difficult to ascertain which version is correct, though obviously zhì 致 and gǎi 改 have been confused on the basis of graphic similarity.

[25] Lúnyǔ, 19/3 (cf. Legge, 340). Zǐxià子夏, whose personal name was Bǔ Shāng卜商, was from Wèi 衛; Zǐzhāng 子張 (Zhuānsūn Shī 顓孫師) was from Chén 陳. They were disciples of Confucius. Shāng refers to Bǔ Shāng, and Shī to Zhuānsūn Shī.

CZj (Zhāng Pǔ ed.), 2.45b, has the lexical variant huì 誨 ("teach," "instruct") in place of the other versions' xùn 訓 ("instruct," "exhort").

[26] Lúnyǔ, 1/6 (cf. Legge, 140).

is good he does not like him; unless one is noble he does not make him a friend. In making friends, one does so by means of rectitude, and in meeting with friends, one does so by means of refinement: This can be without blame.[27] Master Gǔliáng for his part said,[28] "If minds and aims are already known to one another, but names and reputations have not yet been made known to others, it is the fault of friends."[29] At present, troubled by its flowing, he blocks it at its source; distressed by its branches, he excises its roots.[30] Wouldn't it be better yet to select the upright and cast off the corrupt?[31] This is comparable to sowing all glutinous millet to want only common millet from it.[32] In any case, glutinous millet is also one of Shénnóng's fine grains,[33]

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[27] Cf. Lúnyǔ, 12/24 (Legge, 262).

[28] CZ wàijí (Sbby), 2.9b; CZj (Zhāng Pǔ ed.), 2.45b; and CZj (Wāng Shìxián ed.), 480, have "Gǔliáng Chì states" 穀梁赤曰, in place of the other versions' 穀梁子亦曰. Gǔliáng Chì is attributed with a "commentary" on the Chūnqiū, the Gǔliáng zhuàn 穀梁傳.

[29] Gǔliáng zhuàn, Zhāo 19; Cài Yōng's text omits the ér 而 of the received Gǔliáng zhuàn text.

[30] Cài Yōng is referring here to Zhū Mù.

[31] HHs 43.1475 n. 2, omits the yǔ 與 at the end of this sentence.

[32] The two kinds of millet named here are panicled millet (Panicum miliaceum). The first is shǔ 黍, glutinous millet (E. var. glutinosa, Bretsch), and the second, common millet or Indian millet. See Bernard E. Read, comp., Chinese Medicinal Plants from the Pen Ts'ao Kang Mu 本草綱目 A.D. 1596, nos. 752 and 751, p. 248. Glutinous millet could be used to make ale, while the common variety could be cooked and eaten.

[33] On the legendary ruler Shénnóng 神農, "The Divine Husbandman," see Bernhard Karlgren, "Legends and Cults in Ancient China," BMFEA 18 (1946): 276-77; see also 207, 212-13; 220-22.

and is a sacrificial grain along with common millet.[34] If one supposes that friendships can be discarded,[35] then the glutinous millet will have been lost.

To sum up these two essays, the one criticizing "thinness" is broad and encompassing[36]; the one on severing private associations shows genuineness and self-possession.[37] To be "self-possessing" means having the integrity of lambs and sheep.[38]

Agriculture is said to have originated with him; he is also known as "The First Husbandman" Xiānnóng 先農. See Cài Yōng, Dú duàn 獨斷 (in CZj [Sbby], Wàijí), 4.11a.

Jiāgǔ 嘉穀 ("fine grains") refers to the "Five Grains," among which glutinous millet and common millet (see previous note) are counted. See Shàngshū zhèngyì, "Lǚ xíng," 19.22a; Zhèng Zhòng's Commentary in Zhōu lǐ zhùshū, "Xià guān zhífāng shì," 33.12a; Zhuāngzǐ, "Xiāoyáo yóu" (Zhuāngzǐ jiàoquán), 1: 24, and 26 n. 8; Dú duàn (CZj [Sbby], Wàijí), 4.11a.

[34] The term zīchéng 粢盛, loosely translated here as "sacrificial grain," literally reads "millet-fill," and refers to the grain that was offered up in sacrificial vessels. See Hé Xiū's commentary to the Gōngyáng zhuàn, Huán 14 (Chūnqiū Gōngyáng zhuàn zhùshū, 5.13b), and Hs, "Wén dì jì," 4.125.

[35] CZj (Dīng Fúbǎo ed.), 6.3b; HHs 43.1475 n. 2; and Quán Hòu Hàn wén, 74.4a, insert ér 而 after jiāo 交.

[36] Referring to Zhū Mù's "Treatise on Esteeming 'Thickness.'" Bó 薄 (lit., "thinness") is the trait of being mean, intolerant, dishonest, and perfidious.

[37] Referring to Zhū Mù's "Treatise on Severing Private Associations." Gū 孤 (lit., "to be orphaned") means to stand alone or apart, in this context, to be independent, and not following the crowd.

[38] See Máo shī 18, "Gāo yáng" 羔羊 ("Lambs and Sheep"); about this song, the "Lower Preface" says, "The lands of Shàonán transformed the sociopolitical order of King Wén, and all in the ranks possessed integrity and frugality, rectitude and uprightness, virtue like lambs and sheep" (Máo shī zhèngyì, 1D.13a). See also Zhèng Xuán's commentary to Yí lǐ (Yí lǐ zhùshū, 7.7a), "Shì xiāng jiàn lǐ," which states, "Lambs select their leaders, and dwell in flocks, but do not form cliques."

If it is a matter of rectifying the times after having failed to succeed,[39] then this mere lackey would rather adopt self-possession.[40]

[39] See Cài Yōng's "Stele Inscription for 'Holder of Principle' Guō Línzōng" (CZj [Sbby], 2.1a), "Straightening and being steadfast were enough to rectify the times" 隱括足以矯時. In Zhū Mù's HHs biography (43.1467), his "Treatise on Severing Private Associations" is described as a "work to recify the times."

Bú huò 不獲, lit. "not to obtain," means not attaining a deserved status and reputation, hence, as in the translation, failing to succeed.

[40] For the use of the term zǒu 走 as a humble form of the first person pronoun, deriving from lì zǒu 吏走, or "lackey," cf. Zhāng Héng's "Dōng jīng fù" 東京賦 in Wén xuǎn, 3.135 (Knechtges, 1: 309, l. 780, and see the note on 308).

APPENDIX F

CÀI YŌNG'S "DUǍNRÉN FÙ" 短人賦

"FÙ ON THE SHORT PEOPLE"[1]

Pygmies are short people,[2]

2 Descendants of the wren-men,[3]

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[1] For the Chinese text of "Duǎnrén fù," see CZj (Sbby), "Wàijì," 8a-9a; CZj (Zhāng Pǔ ed.), 1.7a/b; CZj (Dīng Fúbǎo ed.), 1.3b-4a; CZj (Wāng Shìxián ed.), 501-2; CZwj (Lánxuě táng ed. and Sbck), "Wàizhuàn," 6b-7a; Chūxué jì, 19.462, 463; Gǔwén yuàn, 7.3a-4a; and Quán Hòu Hàn wén, 69.4b-5a. Textual notes by Xǔ Hàn, with modern annotation, can be found in Yáng kè "Cài Zhōngláng jí" jiàokān jì, "Wàijì, 112-13, and in Quán Hàn fù, 576-78. This piece has not been dated. As will become apparent, there are a number of unresolved textual problems.

[2] Zhūrú 侏儒 (also written 朱儒) is a riming binome (侯 rime, píng shēng) that refers to short things, and here, to little people (in general and perhaps to a specific group of them; see line 9) or to their appearance, hence, "pygmy" or "runty-stunted." (By "pygmy" or "Pygmy" I am not referring to the Pygmies of Greek mythology.) Exactly what ethnic group is being named by this term is open to speculation. See Wada Sei's 和田清 article on the subject, "Shujukō" 侏儒考, Tōyōgakuhō, 31 (1947): 345-54; Wada briefly treats this fù on p. 353. Early textual references to "Zhūrú" are made in Zuǒ zhuàn, Xiāng 4 (Legge, 424), Guó yǔ, "Jìn yǔ" (Sbck), 10.24a, 25a, and in Hàn shū, "Dōngfāng Shuò zhuàn," 65.2843. On the term "Zhūrú" and related words, see Wáng Niànsūn, Guǎngyǎ shūzhèng 廣雅疏證 (Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press, 1978): 1: 2B.244-48.

Yú Huàn's 魚豢 (Wèi dyn.) Wèi lüè, "Xī Róng zhuàn," cited in Sānguó zhì, Wèi shū, 30.863 n. 1, records a state called "Duǎnrén guó" 短人國 (lit., "State of the Short People"). It was supposed to have been located northwest of Kāngjū 康居, and hence presumably in what is now Kazakstan.

[3] Jiāoyáo 僬僥 (a riming binome, 宵 rime, píng shēng), is the designation for a legendary land of little people (see Lièzi 列子, "Tāng wèn," [Csjc] 5.62; cf. the ancient Greeks' Pygmies), and

Who emerged from the outer regions,

And are a branch race of the Róng 戎 and Dí 狄.[4]

They cast off their customs and submitted to proper decorum,

Emulating and assimilating, they stood on tippy-toes.[5]

Subsequently they dwelt in the Central Country,

In features and looks there are various sorts.

The ones called Pygmies,

When born resemble the father.

There was only Yànzǐ 晏子,

---

alternately, another name for the Southwestern Mán 蠻 tribe (see Wéi Zhāo's 韋昭 [204-273 C.E.] note to Guó yǔ, "Lǔ yǔ" B [Sbck], 5.14b). The word is probably cognate with the word for "wren" (jiāoliáo 鷦鷯); hence, Edward H. Schafer, in The Golden Peaches of Samarkand: A Study of T'ang Exotics (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1963), 47, fancifully calls them "the little wren-people," which I have adopted here. In the Guó yǔ passage just cited, Confucius describes the Jiāoyáo people as being three chǐ 尺 tall, about sixty-nine centimeters or twenty-seven inches. This becomes a cliché in Chinese texts for describing the height of little people. On jiāoliáo and the connection with smallness, see William G. Boltz, "Cicada Sinica Quotidiana, the Vocabulary of Common and Classical Chinese," JAOS 100 (1980): 499.

[4] Róng is a general name covering the tribes of the Western Regions; Dí refers to the tribes to the north. This line is simply to say, then, that the Jiāoyáo are also a "barbarian" tribe.

[5] Cf. (Pseudo-?) Kǒng Ānguó's commentary to Shàngshū, "Lǜ áo" (Shàngshū zhèngyì, 13.1a): "The four Yí Tribes, emulating and assimilating, presented as tribute the riches of their regions" 四夷慕化貢其方賄. "To stand on tip-toes" (qǐ zhǒng 企踵) may have the double sense of physically standing on tip-toes (to make themselves taller?) and to look forward with great anticipation.

In Qí 齊 he was eloquent and brave.

He aided Jǐng 景 and opposed Cuī 崔,

To be inflicted with a blade he did not fear.[6]

But the others are puny and tender,[7]

Petty and picayune, misshapen and mean.[8]

They yell and shout and talk with invective,[9]

And push people away.

Blind and benighted by their relish for wine,[10]

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[6] Yànzǐ, whose personal name was Yīng 嬰, and who was also known posthumously as Yàn Píng Zhòng 晏平仲, was a officer in Qí during the Chūnqiū Period. He is not identified as a "Zhūrú," but was diminutive, not reaching six chǐ (under four-and-a-half feet; see his biography in Shǐ jì, 62.2135). In 547 B.C.E., the Qí grandee Cuī Zhù 崔杼 murdered his ruler, Duke Zhuāng 莊公, because the Duke was having an affair with Cuī's wife. Yànzǐ opposed Cuī's action, but he neither joined the Duke in death, nor fought against Cuī. Though it was recommended to Cuī that Yàn Yīng be eliminated, Cuī thought it would be more useful to keep him alive as a means of gaining public support. (See Zuǒ zhuàn, Xiāng 25; Lúnyǔ 5/18.) He served the succeeding Duke Jǐng as minister; Yànzǐ chūnqiū 晏子春秋 is filled with accounts of his advice and admonitions to this duke and others.

CZwj (Lánxuě táng ed. and Sbck), "Wàizhuàn," 6b, omits jiā 加, here, "to inflict."

[7] Wāng 尪 may refer to deformities in the skeletal structure, or be a general term for physical weakness. Chūxué jì, 19.463, has the graphic error 公 for 么.

[8] Liè jué 劣厥, "petty and picayune," is a riming binome (月 rime, rù shēng) that describes small-mindedness; following the gloss in Hànyǔ dàcídiǎn, s.v. liè jué, with reference to this passage. Lǚ jù 僂窶 is also a riming binome (侯 rime, shǎng shēng), "misshapen and mean."

[9] Gǔwén yuán, 7.3b, has zézé 嘖嘖 in place of huòzé 嚄嘖, "to yell and shout." Chūxué jì, 19.463, has the graphic error 噴 for 嘖.

They delight in exacting penalty toasts.

When drunk they raise their voices,

Abuse and insult loose from their mouths.[11]

The multitudes are annoyed and resentful,[12]

It is difficult to associate with them.[13]

Thus I set forth a fù,

Drawing comparisons and making parallels.

In all cases I've obtained the shapes and forms,

They are truly as I have told them.

His Song says:[14]

Jīng cocks, fledgling grebes,[15]

---

[10] Méngmèi 曚昧, "blind and benighted," is an alliterative binome (明 initial). CZwj (Lánxuě táng ed. and Sbck), "Wàizhuàn," 6b, omits this binome.

[11] CZj (Zhāng Pǔ ed.), 1.7a, has the graphic error 咨 for 恣, "to let loose."

[12] Chūxué jì, 19.463, has the lexical variant kǒng 恐 ("to fear") in place of huàn 患 ("to be concerned," "to be alarmed"), hence, "The multitudes fear and resent them."

[13] Gǔwén yuàn, 7.3b, has a lexical variant, the semantically similar gòng 共 in place of bìng 並.

[14] Gǔwén yuàn, 7.3b, omits qí 其, "his." The preceding twenty-eight lines are a rimed Preface. What follows is the fù proper. The qí of this introductory phrase refers to Cài Yōng.

30 Pigeon chicks, quail hens,[16]

Crested hoopoes and woodpeckers:[17]

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[15] On the Jīng chicken, a small fowl named for the ancient state of Jīng 荊, later known as Chǔ 楚, which was located in greater southern China, see Zhuāngzǐ jiàoquán, 2: 872-73 n. 9 (mis-numbered as 5).

CZwj (Lánxuě táng ed. and Sbck), "Wàizhuàn," 7a, has the graphic error 難 (nán, "difficult") for 雞 (jī, "chickens").

The pìtī 鷿鶈 (or 鷿鷉) is the grebe ("Chinese little grebe," or Podiceps fluviatilis philippensis; see Bernard E. Read, Chinese Materia Medica: Avian Drugs, no. 258, p. 19). It is a small water fowl, related to the loon family, from the south of China. Translating from the the Běncǎo gāngmù 本草綱目 by Lǐ Shízhēn 李時珍 (Míng dyn.) (Xiānggǎng [Hong Kong]: Shāngwù yìnshūguǎn, 1965), 6: 47.62, Read reports that its "tail and the legs are so closely united that it cannot walk" (Ibid.). See also HHs Commentary to "Mǎ Róng lièzhuàn," HHs 60A.1966 n. 13, citing Yáng Xióng's Fāng yán.

The actual structure of this verse is: Cocks(?)/Strong(?)-Jīng chickens, Ducks(?)/Fledglings(?)/ Speedy(?)-Grebes 雄荊雞兮鶖鷿鶈. Since every other line in the Song portion of this fù refers to only two objects, I do not take wù/mù 鶖 as a synonym for fú 鳧, the domesticated duck. To parallel "cocks" of the first phrase, as well as "chicks" and "hens" of the next line, 鶖 may be a loan for 鵻, referring to the young of birds. Another possibility, though less likely in my opinion, is that 鶖 is a loan for 鶩, "speedy," hence: "Strong Jīng fowl, speedy grebes."

[16] Hújiū 鶘鳩 is another name for the húcháo 鶘巢 or Loochoo green pigeon (Treron permagna); see Bernard Read's Chinese Materia Medica: Avian Drugs, no. 305, pp. 72-73. The Běncǎo gāngmù, 6: 49.12, states (trans., Read, Chinese Materia Medica: Avian Drugs, 73): "It is easily intoxicated with mulberries, of which it is very fond. Lascivious in character." Cài Yōng might be making an allusion both to the size as well as to the behavior of this bird. Chūxué jì, 19.463, has the graphic error (?) 鵴 for 鳩.

Chúnyàn 鶉鴳 (or 蝡鴳) refers to the quail family (Coturnix communis); see Read, Chinese Materia Medica: Avian Drugs, no. 278, p. 45. In contrast to the Loochoo green pigeon, the quail is supposed to have "a good character" (Běncǎo gāngmù, 6: 48.93; Read, Chinese Materia Medica: Avian Drugs, 45). Yàn (鴳 or 鵪) might also be taken by itself as a particular type of quail, the Eastern quail (Coturnix coturnix japonica; see Read, Chinese Materia Medica: Avian Drugs, no. 279, pp. 45-46), which is described as a small bird in Wéi Zhāo's 韋昭 (204-273 C.E.) commentary to Guó yǔ, Jìn yǔ (Sbck), 14.7b.

32 Observe the short people: Their appearances are like these.

Bā-Peaks horses, Xiáxià ponies,[18]

34 Locusts in hibernation under ground, crickets in reeds,[19]

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[17] The dàishèng 戴勝 is another name for the jíjiū 鴷鳩, the eastern hoopoe (Upupa epops saturata; see Read, Chinese Materia Medica: Avian Drugs, no. 295A, pp. 64-65). It is a small bird, about the size of a sparrow.

On the zhuómù 啄木 (a riming binome, 侯 rime, rù shēng) or woodpecker, see Read, Chinese Materia Medica: Avian Drugs, no. 300, p. 68. This, too, refers to a small sparrow-size bird. I suspect that the ér 兒 at the end of this line is a suffix to zhuómù with no semantic significance. I also surmise a play on the phonetic similarities between "Zhūrú" and zhuómù. See n. 22 below for another pun.

[18] Following CZj (Dīng Fúbǎo ed.), 1.4a, and Quán Hòu Hàn wén, 69.5a, which follow the single-line citation of this piece in Chūxué jì 19 and place it here on the basis of rime: 巴巔馬兮柙下駒. The edition I'm using of Chūxué jì (Běijīng: Zhōnghuá shūjú, 1962), 19.462, has 狗 in place of 駒, leading to the possible reading, "dogs under cages." I have found nothing on "Bā-Peaks horses," but they must be some variety of small horse. I suspect that "Xiáxià ponies" (lit., "Below-the-Xiá-tree ponies")--other than that the Xiá tree is an aromatic tree it has not been otherwise identified (see David Knechtges, Selections, 1: 314, l. 52n)--may be the Guǒxià 果下 pony. Schafer, in discussing this pony in The Golden Peaches of Samarkand, 68, writes, "In T'ang times their name, *kuâ-ha, was written with the Chinese characters meaning 'beneath a fruit-tree,' and the explanation then current was that it signified that one could ride them without mishap under the lowest branches of a fruit tree. But the name must originally have been a word from some northeastern language, whose meaning was forgotten and then rationalized by the Chinese." Xiá 柙 and guǒ 果 are graphically similar, and if in the given compounds they do not refer to different horses, I suspect that one graph is an error for the other. For references to the Guóxià pony, see HHs, "Dōng Yí lièzhuàn," 85.2818, and Sānguó zhì, Wèi shū, "Wūwán Xiānbēi Dōng Yí zhuàn," 30.849.

With this line, one is faced with a potentially mismatching topic: horses, as opposed to insects in lines 34 and 35. Horses are associated with silkworms (l. 35), and so perhaps that is the basis of the grouping here; see Bernard E. Read, Chinese Materia Medica: Insect Drugs (Peking: Peking Natural History Bulletin, 1941; reprint, Taipei: Southern Materials Center, 1982), p. 59, n. 27; p. 61, n. 4; no. 17, pp. 61-62.

[19] Following Chūxué jì, 19.463, CZj (Dīng Fúbǎo ed.), 1.4a, and Quán Hòu Hàn wén, 69.5a, in reading zhé or zhí 蟄 ("to be in hibernation") in place of rè 熱 ("hot") in the other versions, on the

Chrysalides in cocoons, silkworms wriggling hairs.[20]

36 Regard the short people: Their appearances are like these.[21]

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basis of parallelism with the following line. Much later, the phrase rèdì shàng 熱地上 was combined with the names of certain insects to form common expressions, and hence 蛰 might easily have been confused with the graphically similar 熱.

According to Běncǎo gāngmù, 6: 41.23 (Read, Chinese Materia Medica: Insect Drugs, no. 74, p. 142) certain grasshoppers go underground for hibernal diapause; Běncǎo gāngmù, 6: 41.23-24, also cites Cài Yōng's Commentary to "Yuè lìng" 月令 to note that such locusts lay their eggs in the ground. I have not identified which species of Acrididae hibernate underground. With reference to what Cài Yōng says about the "short people" toward the end of the Preface, I note what the Grolier's Encyclopedia (On-line Version, 1996), s.v. "Locust," by J. S. Kennedy, says about these insects: "As their numbers increase . . . they respond to more frequent encounters with one another by becoming more and more gregarious, active, and conspicuous."

Jíjū 即且, the short form of 蜡蛆, may refer to the wúgōng 蜈蚣 or centipede (see Zhāng Shǒujié's 張守節 [8th c.] note [from Shǐ jì zhèngyì] cited in Shǐ jì, "Guī cè lièzhuàn," 128.3237 n. 4), or be a synonym for the field cricket, the xīshuài 蟋蟀. Since it is paired in this line with the locust, it is likely to be the cricket here. Guō Pú, in his commentary to Ěr yǎ (in Ěr yǎ zhùshū), "Shì chóng," 9.12a, notes, "It is like the locust [huáng 蝗] but is big-bellied and long-horned, and can eat the brains of snakes." This last characteristic is commonly attributed as well to centipedes, but then Gāo Yòu 高誘 (3rd c. C.E.), in his commentary to Huáinánzǐ, "Shuō lín xùn" (Huáinán hóngliè jíjiě), 17.556, refers to Guō Pú's comment and explicitly equates the jíjū with the cricket (xīshuài). See also Bernard E. Read, Chinese Materia Medica: Insect Drugs, no. 85, pp. 162-65.

[20] CZj (Zhāng Pǔ ed.), 1.7b, omits xū 須 ("hair"). CZwj (Lánxuě táng ed. and Sbck), "Wàizhuàn," 7a; Chūxué jì, 19.463, CZj (Dīng Fúbǎo ed.), 1.4a, and Quán Hòu Hàn wén, 69.5a, have xié 頡, but the meaning of that is opaque. There is a problem with this phrase in that the syntax is not parallel to the others in this section (lines 33-35), which are all adjunct-head constructions.

Chūxué jì, 19.463, has chǔn 蠢 in place of cán, hence, "Worming and wriggling ____ (?)" Cf. Máo shī 178: "Moving are you Mán from Jīng" 蠢爾蠻荊 (cf. Legge, 287), where chǔn is extended to the movement of people.

[21] This line ends with sī 斯 (支 group, píng shēng), which does not match the rime (魚 or 侯 rime, píng shēng). It is probably an error which should read, as in the final line, xǔ 許, with little change in meaning: "Regard the short people: Their appearances are like so." See Yáng kè "Cài Zhōngláng jí" jiàokān jì, "Wàijì, 112-13.

Wooden door middle-posts, beam-top supports,[22]

38 Damaged chisel heads, broken-handled axes.[23]

Pítā hand-drums, mallets for repairing shoes,[24]

---

[22] The ménkǔn 門閫 is the short post in the middle of a threshold. See Guō Pú's gloss on niè 閾 in his commentary to Ěr yǎ (Ěr yǎ zhùshū), 5.5a.

The second phrase, 梁上柱, is a pun. It is a common early gloss for zhuōrú 棳儒, posts that rest on supporting beams and hold up the roof. See Shì míng 釋名, "Shì gōng shì" (Hàn Wèi cóngshū, 1791 ed.), 3.8a, which states, "Zhuōrú are the short posts on top of beams. Zhuōrú are short like Zhūrú 侏儒 ("pygmies"), and hence take their name from them." See also Wáng Niànsūn, Guǎngyǎ shūzhèng, 1: 2B.246, and the Preface by D. C. Lau, p. 5.

[23] In addition to referring to an axe handle, the word kē 柯 also denotes a measurement of three chǐ (69.3 cm.). See Zhèng Xuán's commentary to Zhōu lǐ, "Kǎo gōng jì," "Jūrén" (Zhōu lǐ zhùshū), 42.9b, "The handle of an axe for felling trees is three chǐ long" 伐木之柯柄長三尺.

[24] The Hànyǔ dàcídiǎn, s.v., "Pítā gǔ 鞞鞳鼓," states that this is "the name of a musical drum of an ancient minority people." I have found no other reference to this particular kind of drum. Given the nature of the metaphors here, it must have been a small drum. There is textual evidence for a pí drum 鞞鼓: Lǐ Shàn, in his commentary to Pān Yuè's 潘岳 [ob. 300 C.E.] "Jí tián fù" 藉田賦 in Wén xuǎn, 7.340, notes that 鞞 and 鼙 refer to the same word, and cites Zì lín 字林 (Jìn dyn.) in glossing it as a small drum. See also Shì míng, "Shì yuè" (Hàn Wèi cóngshū, 1791 ed.), 4.3a. I think the "Pítā drum" may be a small drum mounted on a stick, like the táo 鞉, which has swinging knobs that strike the two faces of the drum when twirled; see Lǐ jì, "Yuè lìng" (Lǐ jì zhèngyì), 16.2a: "Orders are given to the music master to repair the táo, pí, and gǔ drums" 命樂師脩鞉鞞鼓 (cf. Legge, 3: 273, no. 7), and Kǒng Yǐngdá's subcommentary, 16.2b.

For the second phrase, I follow Gǔwén yuàn, 7.4a, 撲, for what Chūxué jì, 19.463, reads 獛, and the other versions, 樸; this suggests that the orthography of the word, or the word itself, has been in some doubt. The word pú written 樸 might be what is usually referred to as a xuàn 楦 or 梋, a shoetree or last, hence: "lasts for repairing shoes." I have not found any other textual source for interpreting pú in this way. Another problem with this interpretation is that it would make this the only line in which the paired objects are unrelated. As "mallet," the word pū 撲 might at least be thought of as an instrument with which to lightly tap, and hence matched with "Pítā hand-drum." I think it possible that pū or pú (Chūxué jì's graph is rare and is used only as a syllable in a name for a southern tribe) may refer to another kind of small drum, and that the preceding binome, bǔlǚ 補履, is a name, but there is no evidence for this.

40 Slipped-off hammer handles, pestles for pounding garden shallots.[25]

Regard the short people: Their appearances are like so.[26]

---

[25] First phrase: Following CZwj (Lánxuě táng ed. and Sbck), "Wàizhuàn," 7a, which has bǐng 柄 ("handle") in place of the other versions' ruì 枘 ("tenon"). Gǔwén yuàn, 7.4a, also has bǐng for ruì, and inverts bǐng and chuí 椎 ("hammer"), hence, "Handle-less hammers."

Second phrase: Following CZj (Zhāng Pǔ ed.), 1.7b; Chūxué jì, 19.462; and Gǔwén yuàn, 7.4a, in the reading 擣薤杵, "pestles for pounding garden shallots," on the basis of difficilior lectio potior. CZj (Sbby), "Wàijì," 9a; CZj (Wāng Shìxián ed.), 502; and CZwj (Lánxuě táng ed. and Sbck), "Wàizhuàn," 7a, have 擣衣杵, "clubs for beating clothes." I suspect that this is an error which arose in seeking parallelism with the second half of the previous line where it might read, 補履撲 "mallets for repairing shoes." In the "Song" section of this fù there is no other example of distichal parallelism where there is also dissimilarity in kind within the individual lines; cf. lines 34 and 35.

CZj (Dīng Fúbǎo ed.), 1.4a, and Quán Hòu Hàn wén, 69.5a, have dǎo 禱 ("to supplicate") for the other versions' dǎo 擣 ("to beat"), as well as xiè 薤 (garden shallot or bakers garlic, Allium Bakeri [see Bernard E. Read, Chinese Medicinal Plants, no. 663, p. 216]) for yī 衣. I cannot make sense of the resulting phrase: 禱薤杵.

[26] Prosody: The entire preface is written in tetrasyllabic stichs; the song (cí 詞) proper has seven-syllable stichs, with a xī caesura marker in the fourth-syllable place. The entire piece, preface and song, is rimed. The rime scheme for this piece is as follows: Cài Yōng rimes the 之 and 魚 groups together, as well as the 侯 and 魚 groups. Nonetheless, he does not seem to mix 之 and 侯 rimes, suggesting that he distinguishes these potentially distinct rimes--unless one takes the entire Preface as one rime. Thematic shifts, though, seem to parallel what appear to be changes in the rime, as one would expect. Cài Yōng also groups together here the yīn-yáng counterparts, 侯 and 東 rimes. Lines one through six may be grouped together: 2. 後 (侯 group), 4. 種 and 6. 踵 (both 東 group), all shǎng shēng. Lines seven through ten form a unit: 8. 部 (之 group) and 10. 父 (魚 group), both shǎng shēng, are rimed together. Another small unit is lines 11-14: 12. 勇 and 14. 恐 are 東 group, shǎng shēng. Lines 15-28 complete the Preface, with lines 16, 22, and 26 in the 侯 group and the others in the 魚 group, all shǎng shēng: 16. 宴, 17. 語 (intentional rime?), 18. 距, 20. 舉, 22. 口, 24. 侶, 26. 偶, 28. 語. The fù proper (the "Song") rimes every line: lines 29-32 are, but for line 29 (脂, a héyùn rime), 支 group, píng shēng: 29. 鵝, 30. 鵙, 31. 兒, 32. 斯. Lines 33-36: 33. 駒 (侯 rime), 34. 且 (魚 rime), 35. 須 (侯 rime), 36. 斯, probably an error for 許 (魚 rime), all píng shēng. Lines 37-41: 37. 住 (侯 group), 38. 斧, 39. 撲? 樸? 獲? (侯 group, rù shēng), 40. 杵 (魚 group), 41. 許 (魚 group), all shǎng shēng, but for line 39.

APPENDIX G

CÀI YŌNG'S "QĪNGYĪ FÙ" 青衣賦

"FÙ ON A GRISETTE"[1]

Gold comes forth from grains of sand,

2 And pearls emerge from the grit of mussels.[2]

O this coy and comely one,[3]

---

[1] For the Chinese text, see CZ wàijí (Sbby), 3.2b-3a; CZj (Zhāng Pǔ ed.), 1.6a-7a; CZj (Dīng Fúbǎo ed.), 1.3a/b; Yìwén lèijù, 35.635-36 (incomplete), Chūxué jì, 19.465, Quán Hòu Hàn wén, 69.4a/b. Not dated by Gōng Kèchāng in Hàn fù yánjiū. Textual notes can be found in Yáng kè "Cài Zhōngláng jí" jiàokān jì, Wàijí, 3.142-46, and in Quán Hàn fù, 573-74. An earlier version of this translation will appear in Asselin, "The Lu School Reading of 'Guanju' as Preserved in an Eastern Han Fu," JAOS, scheduled for 117.3 (July-September 1997).

Qīngyī 青衣 is a metonym for "servant girl," identifying her lowly status by the color (probably gray or blue-black) of her clothes. Possibly it may refer to any woman of low social station. This seems to be the earliest literary appearance of the term used in this way. Cf. Gān Bǎo's 干寶 (Eastern Jìn) Sōu shén jì 搜神記 (Shànghǎi: Shāngwù yìnshūguǎn, 1931), 124: "Xīn Dàodù 辛道度 of Lǒngxī, journeying as an itinerant teacher, had gone forty-five lǐ, reaching Yōngzhōu, when he saw a grand mansion, and gray-smocked girls at the gate."

[2] Bernard E. Read, Chinese Materia Medica: Turtle and Shellfish Drugs (Peking: Peking Natural History Bulletin, 1937; reprint, Taipei: Southern Materials Center, 1977), no. 217, p. 43, n. 2, notes that the pearls from the bàng 蚌, a fresh water mussel (Unionidae), were once highly valued in Europe and in America.

[3] Cf. Máo shī 1/1. On the riming binome yǎo tiǎo 窈窕 (riming 幽 and 宵 groups, shǎng shēng), see Karlgren, "Glosses on the Kuo Feng Odes," BMFEA 14 (1942): 86, no. 1, and his comments on pp. 82, 83; the suggestion that the Lǔ School reads this binome as meaning "beautiful" (hǎo 好), in contrast to the Máo shī's "dark and secluded" or "retiring" (yōu xián 幽閒), given what

Is born in lowliness and humility![4]

An engaging smile and animated eyes, a fair beauty,[5]

Gleaming teeth, lovely brows,[6]

---

we know of the Lǔ shī's interpretation of the osprey metaphor in "Guānjū" 關雎 is not very convincing. See also Peter Boodberg, "On the Translation of Chinese Binoms," from "Cedules from a Berkeley Workshop in Asiatic Philology," in Selected Works of Peter A. Boodberg, compiled by Alvin P. Cohen (Berkeley: Univ. of Calif. Press, 1979), 176, no. 1 ("Cedules" was originally published in The Tsing Hua Journal of Chinese Studies, 7.2 [1969], 1-39).

[4] Yìwén lèijù, 35.635, has the lexical variant shēng 生 for the other versions' chǎn 產, with no substantive change in meaning.

[5] This section evokes Máo shī 57/2 (Legge, 95-96), and this line the last two lines of this stanza of the Shī ode. The Hànyǔ dàcídiǎn, 7:1189, suggests with reference to this fù, that pànqiàn 盼倩 is a compound that, harkening back to the above-cited Shī ode, describes the enchanting manner in which a beautiful woman looks about. See Karlgren's "Glosses on the Kuo Feng Odes," 152, nos. 166 and 167, and Gāo Yòu's 高誘 (Eastern Hàn) references to these lines in Huáinánzǐ, "Xiū wù xùn" (Huáinán hóngliè jíjiě), 19.659. According to the traditional Máo shī interpretation, qiàn refers to dimples, and pàn to the definition of black and white in the eyes; in both cases the beauty of these features are being accented, hence Legge's (95) "What dimples, as she artfully smiled! / How lovely her eyes, with the black and white so well defined!" Wáng Xiānqiān notes, in Shī sānjiā yì jíshù, 3b.13a, that Gāo Yòu follows the Lǔ shī tradition, which we have some reason to believe Cài Yōng also follows. Gāo Yòu does not gloss qiàn, but uses pàn (actually, he uses xì 眄, which means "an angry glance," but this graph is often confused with pàn 盼) as the definition for liútiào 流眺, "to glance around." This agrees with Mǎ Róng's gloss of pàn as dòng mù mào 動目貌, "the appearance of moving eyes," in his note to Lúnyǔ 3.8 (Lúnyǔ zhùshū, 3.5a), which cites this passage of Máo shī 57. Mǎ Róng glosses qiàn as xiào mào 笑貌, "the appearance of smiling."

Yìwén lèijù omits this couplet. Chūxué jì follows Gāo Yòu's Huáinánzǐ commentary in employing the variant xì 眄 for pàn 盼.

The binome shúlì 淑麗 refers to a woman "good and lovely"; see also Cài Yōng's "Fù on Curbing Excess."

[6] This line, 皓齒蛾眉, can also be found in Méi Chéng's 枚乘 (2nd c. B.C.) "Qī fā" 七發 ("Seven Stimuli"), with the variant 娥 ("beautiful") for 蛾 ("silkworm-like") in Wén xuǎn, 34.1560. The line is found with the phrases reversed, 蛾眉皓齒, in Sīmǎ Xiāngrú's 司馬相如 (179-117 B.C.) "Měirén fù" 美人賦 (Yìwén lèijù, 18.331; Chūxué jì, 19.465; Gǔwén yuán 3.11b). The phrase

Black hair, shiny and sleek,[7]

8 Neck long and white like a grub.[8]

Across and down, touching her hair,

10 Are leaves like falling mallow.[9]

éméi 蛾眉 appears in Máo shī 57/2; Karlgren's discussion of it ("Glosses on the Kuo Feng Odes," 151-52, no. 165) concludes that the Máo shī song means "her eyebrows silkworm-like" on the basis of other similes with nature in this stanza, but notes that other versions (e.g., Yìwén lèijù, 18.324) read 娥. Moreover, Karlgren notes that in the modern editions of the Chǔcí, 蛾眉 appears in the "Lí sāo" 離騷 (Chǔcí bǔzhù [Sbby] 1.12a), but that in the oldest extant commentary, Wáng Yì 王逸 (ca. 90?-ca. 165?) discusses it as 娥眉. Hence, with respect to the Eastern Hàn, there is some ambiguity here, and indeed there is the suggestion that no matter the original intention of the phrase it had come later to mean simply "beautiful eyebrows." (David Knechtges, in Selections 1: 326, l. 189n, argues that originally it had meant this.) Although Cài Yōng below returns to the use of natural similes, I have chosen to render 蛾眉 in the latter manner.

[7] This couplet is not included in the Chūxué jì text.

[8] The simile compares the woman's neck, the whiteness and tenderness of the flesh and its alluring length, with the cáoqí 螬蠐 or qícáo 蠐螬 (grub) in modern Chinese. A line in Máo shī 57/2 is identical but for the name of the grub, a qiúqí 蝤蠐, or "tree-grub." I have interpolated the words "long and white" in the translation to draw out more clearly the sense of the simile.

[9] CZj (Dīng Fúbǎo ed.), 1.3b; Yìwén lèijù, 35.635; and Quán Hòu Hàn wén, 69.4a, omit this and the previous line. The couplet is difficult to interpret. With a simile falling in the second line, it appears to be roughly parallel with the previous couplet. It seems unlikely that Cài Yōng would return to hair proper as the subject of this couplet since he has already referred to it above.

I think it is probable that there is an omission here that eliminates the context for this couplet. If we look at Cáo Zhí's 曹植 (192-232) "Měinǚ piān" 美女篇 (see Lù Qīnlì, Xiān Qín Hàn Wèi Jìn Nánběicháo shī, 1:431-32) we see: "The beautiful lass bewitching and modest, / Gathers mulberry between forked paths. / Tender branches abound dainty-delicate, / Falling leaves, how they flit-flutter" (cf. translations by Anne Birrell, New Songs from a Jade Terrace, An Anthology of Early Chinese Love Poetry [Harmondsworth, Middlesex, England: Penguin Books Ltd., 1986], 68, and Song Yongyi [宋永毅], "Erotic Archetypes in Jian'an Literature," Chinese Culture, 34 [June 1993]: 24). As Sòng Yǒngyì ("Erotic Archetypes," 24-32) points out, the conceit of mulberry picking in Hàn, Wèi, and Jìn verse has erotic connotations. Although "Qīngyī fù," as we have it today, doesn't make overt reference

Longish and dainty-delicate,

12 "A stately woman of goodly height."[10]

Damask sleeves, vermilion skirt;[11]

14 Chaussé with silken slippers.[12]

She glides along in mincing steps,[13]

---

to mulberry picking, the similarities in imagery with those that do are significant. For instance, falling leaves is an image shared by both Cài Yōng's piece and Cáo Zhí's poem. Again, the next line in Cài Yōng's piece uses the reduplicative, rǎnrǎn 冉冉 ("dainty-delicate"), also found in Cáo Zhí's poem; the comparison between the branches' appearance and a woman's is deliberate. Moreover, although the work described in Cáo Zhí's poem casts the woman in a lowly social position, her later physical description pictures her as one of high social station; similarly Cài Yōng's "grisette" is said to be of a lowly background, but bears noble qualities and appearance.

Kuí 葵 is a tall herb (to six feet) known in English as the Chinese mallow (Malva verticillata) with small white or purple flowers in axillary clusters, and five- or seven-lobed palmate leaves; see Bernard E. Read, Chinese Medicinal Plants, no. 280, p. 80, and The New Royal Horticultural Society Dictionary of Gardening, 3: 175.

[10] Máo shī 57/1 (cf. Legge, 94). Chūxué jì, 19.465, omits this and the previous line.

[11] CZ wàijí (Sbby), 3.2b, and CZj (Zhāng Pǔ ed.), 1.6a: 綺袖丹裳. CZj (Dīng Fúbǎo ed.), 1.3b; Yìwén lèijù, 35.635; Quán Hòu Hàn wén, 69.4a: have homophone xiù 繡 ("embroidery") in place of 袖, hence, "Colorfully-embroidered vermilion skirt."

[12] Yìwén lèijù, 35.635, has wéi 韋 ("leather") in place of fèi 屝 ("slippers"); Yáng kè "Cài Zhōngláng jí" jiàokān jì, Wàijí, 3.143, notes this variant and adds that it means the same thing. Niè dào 躡蹈 is a compound meaning "to be shod with."

[13] Yáng kè "Cài Zhōngláng jí" jiàokān jì, Wàijí, 3.143, states that the graph 蹴 in CZ wàijí (Sbby), 3.2b, and CZj (Zhāng Pǔ ed.), 1.6b, is not only an error but also is not an orthodox graph. Yìwén lèijù omits this line and the following three lines. CZj (Dīng Fúbǎo ed.), 1.3b, and Quán Hòu Hàn wén, 69.4a, have the graph cù 蹴. But Yáng kè "Cài Zhōngláng jí" jiàokān jì suggests that since the first two graphs in the line, pánshān 盤跚, are riming binomes (元 rime group, píng shēng), then the latter two ought to be as well. It posits the graph xiè 蹀 in place of cù 蹴, thus, xièdié 蹀蹀 (葉 rime group, rù shēng), with the same meaning as cù dié. The note gives as textual corroboration

Seated or standing, rising or lowering,[14]

She is mild and graceful, with a pretty smile,

Uplifting red lips.

Elegant and charming, lovely and alluring,[15]

She is peerless in her many qualities.[16]

Sharp-witted and prudent,

She bustles about her work as if in flight.

---

for this riming binome a passage in the "Āi yǐng" 哀郢 (Yáng kè "Cài Zhōngláng jí" jiàokān jì mistakenly gives the source as "Shè jiāng"涉江) of the "Jiǔ zhāng"九章 in Chǔcí (Chǔcí bǔzhù [Sbby]) 4.14b, where the riming loan qiè 踕 is used for xiè 蹶, and the latter is given as a variant in Wáng Yì's commentary.

[14] I.e., "In her bearing and manner." For zuòqǐ 坐起, cf. Lǐ jì zhèngyì, "Rú xíng," 59.2a, "In his sitting and standing, he is reverential and respectful" 其坐起恭敬 (cf. Legge, 4: 403, no. 5). For the last two graphs of the line, CZ wàijí (Sbby), 3.2b; CZj (Zhāng Pǔ ed.), 1.6b; Chūxué jì, 19.465, have the order 低昂; CZj (Dīng Fúbǎo ed.), 1.3b, and Quán Hòu Hàn wén, 69.4a, the order 昂低. Following the rime (脂 rime, píng shēng), the latter version is correct.

[15] For the alliterative binome wǔmèi 嫵媚 (明 initial), cf. Sīmǎ Xiāngrú's "Shànglín fù" 上林賦, in Shǐ jì, 117.3040, and in Wén xuǎn, 8.375, and Hs 57A.2571, where it is written 嫵媚; see also David Knechtges's note in 2: 108, l. 412n.

[16] For "peerless," following CZ wàijí (Sbby), 3.2b; CZj (Zhāng Pǔ ed.), 1.6b (both of which have zhuōluò 桌躒; and Yìwén lèijù, 35.636, which has zhuōluò 桌礫). CZj (Dīng Fúbǎo ed.), 1.3b, and Quán Hòu Hàn wén, 69.4a, have zhuōshuò 桌鑠. In both cases, they are riming binomes (藥 rime, rù shēng). The first set is attested to in Kǒng Róng's 孔融 (153-208) "Jiàn Mí Héng biǎo" 薦禰衡表: "Upright and honest, of superior talents and eminent [桌躒 in the Wén xuǎn, 37.1668, and 桌礫, in HHs 80B.2653]." Zhuōshuò 桌鑠 has an entry in the Hànyǔ dàcídiǎn, 1: 852-53, and is glossed to mean "radiant and splendorous" (= zhuōshuò 桌爍) with reference to this passage in "Qīngyī fù."

In serving viands and tailoring,[17]

No one can rival her.

With the purity of the "The Calling Ospreys,"[18]

She does not act perverse or contrary.[19]

Behold how she conducts herself,

She's a rarity in this world.

It'd be fitting that she make a Lady,

And act as instructress to a host of women.[20]

Wherefore is it your fate

To remain here, lowly and humble?

---

[17] For zhōngkuì 中饋 (lit., "attending within to the victuals"), see Kǒng Yǐngdá's gloss in Zhōu yì zhèngyì, "Jiārén guà," 4.17a (cf. Wilhelm and Baynes, 145); the term refers to the duty of preparing food for family and sacrifice. Zhōngkuì later came to be a metonym for "wife." Cáigē 裁割 (lit., "shearing and cutting") is a metonym for tailoring.

Yìwén lèijù omits this line and the next seventeen lines.

[18] "Guān jū" 關雎 is the title of the first ode of the Shī jīng, which celebrates the beauty and goodness of a lady being sought after. See n. 3 above.

[19] Following CZ wàijí (Sbby), 3.2b, and CZj (Zhāng Pǔ ed.), 1.6b: 不蹈邪非 (lit., "She does not practice being perverse or contrary"); CZj (Dīng Fúbǎo ed.), 1.3b; Chūxué jì, 19.465; Quán Hòu Hàn wén, 69.4b, have: 不陷邪非, hence, "She does not stoop to being perverse or contrary," or possibly, "She does not stoop to ridicule or blame."

[20] Chūxué jì, 19.465, has nǚshǐ 女使 ("maidservant") in place of the other versions' nǚshī 女師 (a "matron," "duenna-instructress," or "instructress of women"). The Máo Commentary to Máo shī 2/3 (Máo shī zhèngyì, 1B.4a) states that "In antiquity instructresses of women taught feminine virtue, feminine speech, feminine appearance, and feminine merits."

Our age lacks a Lady Fán 樊姬,

Zhuāng of Chǔ's 楚莊 consort from Jìn.[21]

I'm moved by Zhèng Jì 鄭季 of olden times,

It was he that Píngyáng 平陽 favored.[22]

To be sure, he was by his qualifications conferred a fiefdom,[23]

And traversed this imperial domain.[24]

---

[21] The spouse of King Zhuāng 莊王 of Chǔ (reg. 613-591 B.C.), Lady Fán remonstrated with her husband to stop hunting and devote himself instead to governing. She also convinced the complacent and ineffective minister Yú Qiūzǐ 虞丘子 to resign--offering herself as an example of one who had stepped aside in favor of others (in her case, younger consorts)--and promoted the candidacy of the competent Sūnshú Áo 孫叔敖. See Liènǚ zhuàn 列女傳, attributed to Liú Xiàng 劉向 (57-6 B.C.) (Sbck), 2.8a-9a.

[22] This is an allusion to the affair between the Lady Wèi 衛, one of the concubines of the Marquis of Píngyáng, and one of his family's functionaries, Zhèng Jì. The offspring from their illicit union was the great Hàn general Wèi Qīng 衛青 (ob. 104 B.C.). Wèi Qīng led campaigns to deal with Xiōngnú border incursions. In a celebrated campaign in 127 B.C., for instance, he crossed the frontier, reclaimed lands south of the Yellow, and founded Shuòfāng and Wǔyuán commanderies; see Michael Loewe, "The Campaigns of Han Wu-ti," in Chinese Ways in Warfare, eds. Frank A. Kierman, Jr., and John K. Fairbank (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1974), 112; Yü Ying-shih, "Han Foreign Relations," in The Cambridge History of China, 1: 390. Wèi Qīng's sister or half-sister was Emperor Wǔ's second empress. Wèi Qīng has biographies in Shǐ jì, 111.2921-47, and Hàn shū, 55.2471-77.

[23] CZj (Dīng Fúbǎo ed.), 1.3b, and Quán Hòu Hàn wén, 69.4b, have yáng 楊, and Chūxué jì, 19.465, has yáng 揚, in place of xí 錫 in CZ wàijí (Sbby), 3.3a, and CZj (Zhāng Pǔ ed.), 1.6b. For yīn 因 as "going by qualifications" or "in accordance with his claims," see Makeham, Name and Actuality in Early Chinese Thought, 217 n. 10.

[24] This couplet seems to refer to Wèi Qīng, but it is difficult to make sense of it without concluding that there is an omission in the text.

Even if I experience pleasure and bliss,[25]

I express, vent my feelings.

Cold snow whipping, swirling,[26]

Fills the courtyard, covers the steps.

My layered robes are burdensome and oppressive,[27]

I wheel and stagger, stumble and fall.[28]

At morning twilight, just foredawn,[29]

Cocks crow, together urging me on.

I make ready my carriage, hastily pack my bags,[30]

---

[25] For the alliterative and assonant binome yànwǎn (both have 影 initials) 嬿婉, cf. poem (third of four) attributed to Sū Wǔ 蘇武 (ca. 143-60 B.C.) in Wén xuǎn, 29.1355: "Delight and joy rest with us tonight, / Pleasure and bliss reach to the good times" 歡娛在今夕, 嬿婉及良時 (the graph 婉 is a variant of 婉).

[26] Following CZ wàijí (Sbby), 3.3a; CZj (Zhāng Pǔ ed.), 1.6b; Chūxué jì, 19.465: 寒雪繽紛 (with the alliterative--both having the initial 滂--and assonant binome bīnfēn 繽紛, describing flying about, moving chaotically, or copious quantities). CZj (Dīng Fúbǎo ed.), 1.3b, and Quán Hòu Hàn wén, 69.4b, have the reduplicative binome piānpiān 翩翩, and Yìwén lèijù, 35.636, has the alliterative (again, both having the initial 滂) and assonant binome piānfān 翩翻, both of which similarly express falling, squalling, or rapid fluttering movement.

[27] Yìwén lèijù omits this and the next seven lines.

[28] "Wheel and stagger" is my rendering of the reduplicative (two homophones) binome zhǎnzhuǎn 展轉 (端 initial, 元 rime, shǎng shēng).

[29] Chūxué jì, 19.465, has the reduplicative binome xīnxīn 昕昕 ("growing brighter and brighter") in place of hūxīn 昕昕 ("morning twilight").

About to abandon you and depart.

Muddled, rash--muddled, rash--[31]

My longing cannot be dispelled.[32]

Standing tall on the canal banks,

Weeping and sobbing is the grisette.

My thoughts travel afar,

Your thoughts come in pursuit.

The bright moon shines and glistens,

Blocked by my door.

The northeasterlies come continuously,[33]

Blowing my bed curtains.

On the Hé river bank I saunter,[34]

---

[30] In order to avoid use of words homophonous with Emperor Míng's (reg. A.D. 29-75) personal name, Liú Zhuāng 劉莊, yán 嚴 was used in place of zhuāng 裝 ("baggage"); see Chén Yuán, Shǐ huì jǔ lì, 11, 131.

[31] That is to say: I'm muddle-headed and I'm acting rashly.

[32] This is the last line given in the Chūxué jì.

[33] The tiáofēng 條風 (lit., "ordering winds") are seasonal winds coming from the northeast (or from the east). See Shǐ jì, "Lǜ shū," 25.1245, "The tiáofēng occupy the northeast, lording over and producing the myriad things. To tiáo means to set in order the myriad things and produce them, hence they are called the 'ordering winds.'" The "Tiānwén xùn" of Huáinánzǐ (Huáinán hóngliè jíjiě), 3.92, states, "The forty-fifth day from the winter solstice is when the 'ordering winds' arrive." This coincides with lì chūn 立春, or "Beginning of Spring," in early to mid-February. (As easterly winds, see the "Dì xíng xùn" of Huáinánzǐ [Huáinán hóngliè jíshì, 4.132].)

Linger by the courtyard steps.[35]

Southward I look up at the Well and Willow,[36]

Peer upwards at the Dipper Armillary.[37]

We are not like Oxherd and Weaving Maid,[38]

Separated by Sky River.

I think about you, muse about you,

---

[34] See Máo shī 79/2 (Legge, 131).

[35] Cf. "Chángmén fù" 長門賦, attributed to Sīmǎ Xiāngrú 司馬相如 (179-117 B.C.), in Wén xuǎn, 16.714: "I linger idly in the eastern chamber / Gazing at its inexhaustible exquisiteness and elegance" 閒徙倚於東廂兮, 觀夫靡靡而無窮 (cf. Knechtges, 3: 163, ll. 39-40).

[36] These refer to two of the seven constellations comprising the southern quadrant of the "twenty-eight lunar mansions" 二十八宿, the Well (Jǐng 井; also known as Eastern Well, Dōngjǐng 東井) and the Willow (Liǔ 柳); see Gāo Yóu's 高誘 (fl. 205-212) commentary to "Tiānwén xùn" of Huáinánzǐ (Huáinán hóngliè jíjiě), 3.85.

[37] Dǒu jī 斗機 specifically refers to the third (Phecda, γ Ursae Majoris) of the seven stars that make up the Northern Dipper constellation (běidǒu 北斗), and is a synecdoche for the constellation itself. See Gustav Schlegel, Uranographie chinoise (1876; reprint, Taipei: Ch'eng-wen Publishing Co., 1967), 1.502-3; Joseph Needham, Science and Civilisation in China, vol. 3, Mathematics and the Sciences of the Heavens and the Earth (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1959), 232.

[38] These are two asterisms, Oxherd (Qiānniú 牽牛, α Aquilae, or Altair) and Weaving Maid (Zhīnǚ 織女, 3α Lyrae, or Vega); according to mythology they were lovers separated by the Sky River (our Milky Way) who could meet only once a year, on the seventh day of the seventh month, by crossing a bridge formed by magpies. See Gustav Schlegel, Uranographie chinoise, 1.493-97; F. Solger, "Astronomische Anmerkungen zu chinesischen Märchen," Mitteilungen der deutschen Gesellschaft für Natur-und Völkerkunde Ostasiens, 17 (1922): 168-94; Needham, Science and Civilisation in China, 3: Table 24, pp. 235-38, and Fig. 102, following p. 277; Edward H. Schafer, Pacing the Void: T'ang Approaches to the Stars (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977), 143-48; Knechtges, 1: 140, ll.400-402 n.

66 Aching for satisfaction, I'm utterly famished.[39]

[39] Cf. Máo shī 197/2 (Karlgren, 239): "My heart is grieved and pained, / I am hungrily dissatisfied as if in bowel-pains" 我心憂傷, 怒焉如擣 (cf. Legge, 336-37), and Máo shī 10/1: "While I have not yet seen my lord, / I am hungry for him like being famished in the morning" 未見君子, 怒如調饑 (cf. Legge, 17).

Prosody: The rime scheme for this piece is as follows: It appears that Cài Yōng does not distinguish between 脂 and 微 rimes (píng shēng) as he intermixes the two groups here. However that may be, he still uses a preponderance of 微 rimes after line twenty. There are also two anomalies: in lines twelve and eighteen there are presumably 文 rimes, qí 頎 and chún 脣; perhaps these should be classified as 脂 rimes. The following are 脂 rimes (with line numbers): 2. 泥, 6. 眉, 8. 螅, 10. 葵, 16. 低, 20. 姿, 30. 師, 36. 私, 42. 階, 60. 階; the following are 微 rimes: 4. 微, 14. 扉, 22. 飛, 24. 追, 26. 非, 28. 希, 32. 微, 34. 妃, 38. 畿, 40. 懷, 44. 頹, 46. 催, 48. 乖, 50. 排, 52. 衣, 54. 追, 56. 扉, 58. 帷, 62. 機, 64. 維, 66. 饑. All the lines are tetrasyllabic.

APPENDIX H

ZHĀNG CHĀO'S "QIÀO 'QĪNGYĪ FÙ'" 誚青衣賦

"REPROACHING THE 'FÙ ON A GRISETTE'"[1]

"What sort of man is he"[2]

Who delights in such pulchritude?

His gorgeous words are praiseworthy,

His elegant phrases vivid and splendid.[3]

---

[1] Zhāng Chāo 張超 has the following brief biographical note in HHs, "Wényuàn lièzhuàn," 80B.2652: "Zhāng Chāo, styled Zībìng 子並, was from Mò 鄚 in Héjiàn 河閒 [Mò was a prefecture (xiàn 縣) located about twenty km. north of modern Rénqiū 任邱 in Héběi], and a descendant of the Marquis of Liú 留侯, [Zhāng] Liáng 良 [see Shǐ jì, "Liú hòu shìjiā, 55.2033-49]. He possessed literary talent. In the time of Emperor Líng, he accompanied General of Chariots and Cavalry Zhū Jùn 朱儁 to subdue the Yellow Turbans, serving as Major Accompanying a Regiment [? biébù sīmǎ 別部司馬]. He wrote rhapsodies, eulogies, stele inscriptions, recommendations, proclamations, memoranda, letters, supplications [? yèwén 謁文], and satires, totalling nineteen piān. Chāo was also skilled at cursive script, which was marvellous and peerless among his contemporaries, and his generation all acclaimed him." Only a handful of his literary works survive to this day.

For the Chinese text of "Qiào 'Qīngyī fù'," see Yìwén lèijù, 35.636 (under the title, "Jī 'Qīngyī fù'" 譏青衣賦 (meaning of jī is akin to that of qiào), Chūxué jì, 19.465, Gǔwén yuàn, 6.12b-15a; Quán Hòu Hàn wén, 84.9a/b. Textual notes can be found in Quán Hàn fù, 606-8. An earlier version of this translation will appear in Asselin, "The Lu School Reading of 'Guanju' as Preserved in an Eastern Han Fu," JAOS, scheduled for 117.3 (July-September 1997).

[2] Máo shī 199/1, 3, 4 (cf. Legge, 343-46).

[3] Yìwén lèijù, 35.636, has the variant cí 詞 (words) for jù 句 (phrases).

The style is laudable,[4]

But the intent is base, its meaning frivolous.[5]

"Oh Phoenix! Oh Phoenix!

How thy virtue has waned!"[6]

A high ridge can be glorious,

There's no need for brambles.[7]

Sweet spring water can be drunk,

There's no need for a muddy pool.[8]

It's like using the Suí pearl to shoot down a sparrow,[9]

---

[4] Gǔwén yuàn, 6.13a, has the variant jiā 佳 for jiā 嘉, with no apparent change in meaning.

[5] Gǔwén yuàn, 6.13a, and Quán Hòu Hàn wén, 84.9a, have the variant bēi 卑 for bǐ 鄙, with no apparent change in meaning.

[6] Lúnyǔ 18/5.

[7] Yìwén lèijù omits this couplet.

The expression jí cí 棘茨 refers literally to thorns (jīngjí 荊棘) and caltrop (cí 茨 =jílí 蒺藜, Tribulus terrestris, L.; see Bernard E. Read, comp., Chinese Medicinal Plants from the Pen Ts'ao Kang Mu 本草綱目 A.D. 1596, no. 364, p. 108). The meaning of the couplet is that a high ridge has its own pristine beauty: Why ruin it with thorny bushes? The author feels that Cài Yōng has sullied himself by writing this piece. An alternate translation for line 9 is "On a high ridge flowers can grow."

[8] Gǔwén yuàn, 6.13b, has the graphic error chí 池 ("pool") for ní 泥 ("mud").

[9] Cf. Zhuāngzǐ (Zhuāngzǐ jiàoquán), "Ràng wáng piān," 28.1129: "Suppose there were now a man here who used the pearl of the Marquis of Suí [隨侯, the 隋 of Zhāng Chāo's text is a graphic variant] to shoot down a sparrow a thousand meters high. The world would inevitably laugh at him. Why is this? Because that which he used was of worth, and that which he wanted was insignificant." Hence, Zhāng Chāo says that Cài Yōng wastes precious words on something of no worth. For more on the Suí pearl, see Zhuāngzǐ jiàoquán, 28.1132 n. 16; Gāo Yòu's commentary to Huáinánzǐ, "Lǎn

14 Or using the Tángxī to mow down mallows.[10]

If a phoenix pecked at a mouse,

16 How different would it be from an owl?[11]

Successively examining past and present,[12]

---

míng" (Huáinán hóngliè jíjiě), 6.198; Shih-shuo Hsin-yü, A New Account of Tales of the World, by Liu I-ch'ing with Commentary by Liu Chün, trans., introduction, and notes by Richard B. Mather [Minneapolis: Univ. of Minnesota Press, 1976], 42 n. 3 (top).

[10] Tángxī 堂谿 (the 溪 of Zhāng Chāo's text is a graphic variant) is the famous "brand name" of a fine sword; it's actually the place where the swords were made; see Chǔcí (Chǔcí bǔzhù [Sbby]), "Jiǔ tàn" ("Yuàn sī"), 16.9b (trans. David Hawkes, The Songs of the South, 288, l. 41; see also p. 304, l. 41n.): "The Tang-xi is grasped now for chopping straw with"; Wáng Niànsūn, Guǎngyǎ shūzhèng, "Shì qì" (Sbby), 8A.27b, 28a. The meaning of this line parallels the previous one.

On kuí 葵 (mallows), see Cài Yōng's "Fù on the Grisette," n. 9. This is undoubtedly a deliberate reference to Cài Yōng's piece.

[11] Yuānchú 鴛雛 (= 鵷雛) is a fabulous bird akin to the fènghuáng 鳳凰 (commonly translated "phoenix")--it may be alternately thought of as the young (chú 雛) of such a bird ("phoenix chicks," as in David R. Knechtges's translation of Guō Pū's "Jiāng fù" 江賦, in Selections, 2: 341, l. 204)--that represents a worthy. See Zhuāngzǐ (Zhuāngzǐ jiàoquán), "Qiū shuǐ," 2: 17.633: "Zhuāngzǐ went to see [Huìzi] and said, 'In the South there was a bird whose name was the phoenix [yuānchú]; are you familiar with it? Now then, the phoenix emerged from the South Sea and flew to the North Sea, and there not being a phoenix tree it did not rest [cf. Máo shī 252/9], there not being bamboo seeds [or, fruit of the Persian lilac] it did not eat, and there not being sweet spring water it did not drink. Then, an owl captured a rotten mouse and as the phoenix passed by, [the owl] looked up at it and said, "Buzz off!"'" The "phoenix tree" mentioned in this passage is the Sterculia platanifolia, also known as Firmiana simplex; it goes by the common names of Chinese parasol tree, Chinese bottletree, Japanese varnish tree, and phoenix tree, the latter suggesting its connection with this legend; see Bernard E. Read, comp., Chinese Medicinal Plants, no. 272, p. 78, and The New Royal Horticultural Society Dictionary of Gardening, 2: 308. The bird name chī 鴟 can be applied to various kites, sparrow hawks, falcons, and eagle owls; see Bernard E. Read, Chinese Materia Medica: Avian Drugs (Peking: Peking Natural History Bulletin, 1932; reprint, Taipei: Southern Materials Center, 1982), nos. 314, 315, pp. 85-87.

Yìwén lèijù, 35.636, has the variant yú 于 for hū 乎, with no apparent change in meaning.

We see that the route to calamity

Is mostly due to[13]

Wretched concubines and wanton wives.

The Documents warns against hens crowing at dawn;[14]

The Songs records shrewd wives.[15]

The termini of the Three Dynasties,

Have all come about due to this.[16]

---

[12] Chūxué jì, 19.465, has jīn gǔ 今古 ("present and past") instead of gǔ jīn 古今 ("past and present").

[13] Yìwén lèijù omits this and the next thirty-one lines. This line is unusual in that it is only two syllables long; the rest of the piece is tetrasyllabic.

[14] An allusion to Shàngshū, "Mù shì," 11.16b (Legge, 302-3), that warns against women usurping power, thought to be the perquisite of men, which would lead to the destruction of the household and the state.

[15] An allusion to Máo shī 264/3 (Legge, 561), in which women are identified as the cause of disorder. Zhé 哲 is being used in the pejorative sense, hence, "shrewd." The point is that women who think too much or scheme are dangerous, or that if men utilize women's words the result will be calamity. See Kǒng Yǐngdá's comments in Máo shī zhèngyì, 18E.8b-9a.

Cf. this couplet with HHs, "Yáng Zhèn zhuàn," 54.1761: "The Documents warns against hens cocking and crowing; the Songs reproaches shrewd wives destroying the state."

[16] Cf. Dù Qīn's 杜欽 presentation preserved in his Hs biography, 60.2669: "Following the traces of the final generations of the Three Dynasties . . . was it ever the case that misfortune and calamity did not derive from female character?" The "Three Dynasties" (sāndài 三代) refers to the three earliest dynasties of China, the Xià, Shāng, and Zhōu. Traditionally, these three dynasties lost their mandates to rule on account of their final rulers' inattentiveness to governing and their predilections for licentious behavior. Tradition adds that these three rulers, Jié 桀, Zhòu 紂, and Yōu 幽 (of Western Zhōu) brought ruin to their people by indulging the whims of favorite women, Mòxī 妹嬉 (or 末喜), Dájī 妲己, and Bāosì 褒姒, respectively. On Jié and Mòxī, see Shǐ jì, "Wàiqī

Jìn attained a Lí Róng,

Who caused the demise and ruin of the Reverential Heir.[17]

Xià took to wife Réng,

"Subverting the clan and terminating the rites."[18]

---

shìjià," 49.1967, Hs. "Wàiqī zhuàn xù," 97A.3933, and Yán Shīgǔ's 顏師古 (581-645) commentary on the latter passage, 97A.3934 n. 3, and Liú Xiàng 劉向 (ca. 79- ca. 6 B.C.E.), Liènǚ zhuàn 列女傳 (16 B.C.E.) "Xià Jié Mòxī" (Sbck), 7.1a-2a; on Zhòu and Dájī, see Shǐ jì, "Yīn běn jì," 3.105-8, "Zhōu běn jì," 4.123; Hs. "Wàiqī zhuàn xù," 97A.3933, and Yán Shīgǔ's commentary on the latter passage, 97A.3934 n. 5; Liènǚ zhuàn, "Yīn Zhòu Dájī," 7.2b-3b, and Kwang-chih Chang, Shang Civilization, 13-15; on Yōu and Bāosì, see Shǐ jì, "Zhōu běn jì," 4.147-49, Liènǚ zhuàn, "Zhōu Yōu Bāosì," 7.4a-5b, and Herrlee G. Creel, The Origins of Statecraft, Vol. 1, The Western Chou Empire (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1970), 438-39; and on all three pairs, see Guó yǔ, Jìn yǔ (Sbck), 7.2b-8a; Liènǚ zhuàn, "Wèi Qūwò fù," 3.23a.

[17] Duke Xiàn of Jìn 晉獻公 (reg. 676-652 B.C.E.) subdued the Lí Róng 驪戎 and was presented by their leader two daughters; the eldest daughter, Lí Jī 驪姬 became the Duke's favorite. (The "Lí Róng" in this line is Lí Jī.) She successfully connived to have her own son named heir designate in place of the previously-designated heir, Shēn Shēng 申生, the eldest son of the Duke's principal consort. Shēn Shēng, hearing of his father's plans to kill him, committed suicide. See Guó yǔ, Jìn yǔ (Sbck), 7.2a-8.5a; Zuǒ zhuàn, Zhuāng 28 (Legge, 114), and Xī 4 (Legge, 141-42); Lǐ jì zhèngyì, "Tán gōng" A, 6.14b-15a (Legge, 3: 126-27, no. 15); and Shǐ jì, "Jìn shìjiā," 39.1640-46.

Gǔwén yuàn, 6.13b, has the graphic error huái 懷 for huài 壞.

[18] This couplet is an allusion to a story-within-a-story (see note 19 below) in the Zuǒ zhuàn, Zhāo 28 (Legge, 726-27) about a certain Réng 仍 whose daughter of extraordinary beauty was given in marriage to Shùn's minister of music Kuí 夔. They gave birth to a son, Bó Fēng 伯封, such a covetous and gluttonous beast of a man that he was called "Fat Pig" (Fēngshǐ 封豕). Yì 羿, ruler of Qióng 窮, had Bó Fēng killed, and thus Kuí had no one to carry out his sacrifices. It was not Bó Fēng who was blamed for this calamity, but his mother, the beautiful "Dark Lady" (Xuánqī 玄妻). The quote in the second line of the couplet comes from Shàngshū, "Wǔzǐ zhī gē," 7.7a (cf. Legge, 160); the original text, though concerned with the affairs of Xià, is otherwise unrelated to the story at hand.

Zhāng Qiáo's 章樵 (fl. 1230) Gǔwén yuàn commentary, 6.13b, suggests that Xià 夏 is a graphic error for Kuí 夔.

Shú Xī took in marriage Shēn,

And discerned a sound, like that of a wolf.[19]

Mùzǐ had a liaison at Gēng,

The footboy Ox starved him to death.[20]

Huáng Xiē's demise,

Began with Lǐ Yuán.[21]

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[19] According to the Zuǒ zhuàn, Zhāo 28 (Legge, 726-27), Shú Xī 叔肹 of Jìn 晉, also known as Yángshé Xī 羊舌肹, Yáng Xī 楊肹, and Shú Xiàng 叔向, married a daughter of the duke of Shēn 申. His mother opposed the marriage on two grounds: that the duke's wife, Xià Jī 夏姬, had been the death of three husbands, a ruler, and a son, and that beautiful women like Xià Jī were in general the cause of great misfortune. Here she related the anecdote given in the previous note. Duke Píng 公平 compelled Shú Xī to go through with the marriage. After Shú Xī's bride gave birth to their son, her mother-in-law heard the baby cry and denounced him, saying the cry sounded like that of a wolf. She predicted that this "wolf" would destroy the Yángshé ("Sheep's Tongue") clan. See also Liènǚ zhuàn, "Jìn Yáng Shú Jī" (Sbck), 3.15b-17a.

[20] Mùzǐ 穆子 (or Shúsūn Bào 叔孫豹) of Lǔ 魯, according to Zuǒ zhuàn, Zhāo 4 (Legge, 598-99), was the head of the Shúsūn clan. He once went to Qí 齊 and on the way stopped in Gēngzōng 庚宗 where he met and slept with a woman. After reaching Qí he married a woman of the Guó clan 國氏. In a dream one night he saw the sky crashing down on him. Not being able to hold up the sky alone, Mùzǐ called out "Ox!" (Niú 牛) and an odd beast of a man came to his rescue. When Mùzǐ later became a minister in Lǔ he discovered that the woman in Gēngzōng had borne him a son. Mùzǐ, upon meeting his son, cried "Ox!" in recognition, and the boy responded to the name. Over time, the "footboy" Ox (Shù Niú 豎牛) successfully schemed to rid himself of his rivals, Mùzǐ's sons by his marriage to Guó. Then, when Mùzǐ became ill, Ox managed to starve his father to death.

The Quán Hòu Hàn wén, 84.9b, has jǐ 己 in place of yǐ 已 in Chūxué jì, 19.465, hence, "The footboy Ox starved himself," which conflicts with the original story.

[21] See Shǐ jì, "Chūnshēn jūn," 78.2396-98 (the story is rendered in English in William Dolby and John Scott's Sima Qian: War-Lords [Edinburgh: Southside, 1974], 125-27). Huáng Xiē 黃歇, Lord Chūnshēn 春申君 of Chǔ 楚 (ob. 237 B.C.E.), was a trusted envoy for and advisor to the king of Chǔ. Concerned that King Kǎolìe 考烈王 had no sons, he sought to procure fertile women for him. A man from Zhào 趙, Lǐ Yuán 李園, wished to present his younger sister to the king. Lǐ Yuán

When Lǔ received the dancers from Qí,

Zhòngní had gone away.[22]

When Duke Wén cherished comfort,

Lady Jiāng reproached him for his vulgarity.[23]

As Zhōu gradually neared decline,

King Kāng was late in rising.[24]

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first introduced her to Huáng Xiē, who subsequently had intercourse with her; she became pregnant. She convinced Huáng Xiē that he should go ahead and present her to the king. After she had had relations with the king, she would deceive him into thinking she had become pregnant by him. The alternative might be that one of the king's brothers would ascend the throne and deny Huáng Xiē his position and power. Lǐ Yuán's sister gave birth to a boy. A few years later, the king died. Seeking to secure his own position, Lǐ Yuán had Huáng Xiē assassinated.

[22] See Shǐ jì, "Kǒngzi shìjiā," 47.1917-18 (the story is rendered in English in Records of the Historian, translated by Yang Hsien-yi and Gladys Yang [Hong Kong: The Commercial Press, Ltd., 1974], 9), and Lúnyǔ 18/4 (Legge, 332). Qí 齊 was concerned about Confucius' (Zhòngní 仲尼) gaining high position in Lǔ, and predicted that under Confucius Lǔ's power would wax and become a threat. In the fourteenth year of Duke Dìng 定公 of Lǔ, Qí sought to undermine it by sending as a gift to the duke eighty of the most beautiful dancing girls they had. The duke, as a result, neglected government and the rituals for three days. Confucius left Lǔ in disgust.

[23] See Zuǒ zhuàn, Xī 23 (Legge, 186-87): The future Duke Wén 文公 of Jìn 晉 (reg. 635-628 B.C.E.), Chóng'ěr 重耳 (a son of Duke Xiàn of Jìn 晉獻公; see n. 17), had wandered in exile for many years. He once settled in Qí 齊 for a while, where he took for a wife the Lady Jiāng 姜氏. Chóng'ěr enjoyed his life in Qí, but his retainers voiced to him their desire to move on. Their deliberations were overheard by a member of the harem, who informed Lady Jiāng. Lady Jiāng killed the concubine (because she knew too much), then admonished Chóng'ěr for his reluctance to depart from her and for his love of comfort (懷而安), which would certainly bring ruin to his claim as pretender to Jìn (實敗名). Chóng'ěr would hear none of it, so his wife made him drunk and had him taken away.

Gǔwén yuàn, 6.14a, and Quán Hòu Hàn wén, 84.9b, have the variant xiào 笑 ("ridiculed") for qiào 誚 ("reproached"; Chūxué jì, 19.465).

The Duke of Bì, repining with sighs,

42 Deeply pondered the Way of old.[25]

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[24] King Kāng 康王 (ob. 978? B.C.E.) was the grandson of King Wǔ and followed his father King Chéng 成王 (ob. 1006 B.C.E.) to the throne. Though he was only the third actual king of the Zhōu dynasty--King Wén was only posthumously recognized as a king--he is traditionally viewed as the last of the Zhōu kings before the dynasty went into decline. Sīmǎ Qiān says in Shǐ jì, 4.134, that "in the period of Chéng and Kāng, the entire realm was secure and at peace," but that after Kāng "the way of the Kings became weak and deficient."

This couplet initiates a section referring to a sketchy tradition, best preserved here, that foreshadows the decay of the Zhōu court. According to the Lǔ school of the Shī jīng (and apparently Hán and Qí schools as well), the Duke of Bì (see following note) wrote "Guān jū," the first song in the Shī jīng, as a poem of criticism directed at King Kāng. By it, he is chastising King Kāng for being negligent in his duties: King Kāng was once late for court, and the greater blame for this is laid on his consort for not awakening him in a timely fashion. This same ode is interpreted by the Máo school (see the Máo shī Commentary [Máo shī zhèngyì, 1A.20a]) as describing the chaste manner of a consort's devotion to her spouse. The Preface to "Guānjū" states that it is about "the virtue of the Consort" (關雎、后妃之德也; Máo shī zhèngyì, 1A.3b); this tradition holds that this Consort is the bride of King Wén of Zhōu, and that the author of the piece was the Duke of Zhōu. For the Lǔ shī interpretation of "Guān jū" as a poem of criticism rather than of praise, and a song connected with the time of King Kāng rather than of King Wén, see Pí Xíruì 皮錫瑞, Jīngxué tōnglùn 經學通論 (Hong Kong: Zhōnghuá shūjú, 1961), 2.4-2.11, and Asselin, "The Lu School Reading of 'Guanju' as Preserved in an Eastern Han Fu," JAOS, forthcoming.

[25] The Duke of Bì 畢公 (Bì being a small area NW of Cháng'ān), was a scion of the Zhōu House. Gāo 高, as the Duke of Bì was otherwise known, was instrumental in ensuring that the son of King Chéng, Jī Zhāo 姬釗, posthumously known as King Kāng, succeeded him on the throne. After his ascension, Kāng charged the Duke of Bì with assisting him in the governance of Zhōu, specifically in the region of Chéng-Zhōu 成周, or Luòyì 洛邑 (east of the White Horse Temple to the east of modern Luòyáng), where the former Shāng-Yīn people now resided. He was to bring to fruition the work of Jī Dàn 姬旦 (the Duke of Zhōu) and Jūn Chén 君陳 (Duke Píng 平公) before him. Kāng exhorted him to follow "the teachings of old" (古訓) and "the accomplishments of the former kings" (先王成烈), and not to think himself below the task. See Shàngshū, "Bì mìng." Another tradition, reflected in this passage, has the Duke of Bì admonishing King Kāng for not assiduously performing his duties.

I believe that Zhāng Chāo is also evoking here the beginning of "Lǐ yùn," in Lǐ jì, in sentiment and in language. Here Confucius, at the conclusion of a sacrifice, "repining, sighs" (喟然而嘆) over the situation in Lǔ. When his disciple Yán Yǎn 言偃 asks him why he sighed, Confucius laments

He was moved by the calling ospreys,[26]

By nature they don't go together in pairs.[27]

He hoped to get a Duke of Zhōu,[28]

Who'd make a consort of a coy and comely lady,[29]

To prevent degeneracy and reproach its progress,[30]

---

that he had not witnessed the "carrying out of the great Way" (大道之行); Confucius is referring to early antiquity. See Lǐ jì zhèngyì, 21.1a/b (Legge, 3: 364, no. 1).

[26] This refers, then, to the first poem of the "Airs of the States" in the Shī jīng, "Guān jū" ("The Calling Ospreys"). The Máo shī Commentary (Máo shī zhèngyì, 1A.20a) identifies the jūjiū 雎鳩 as the wángjiū 王鳩, the osprey (Pandion haliaetus); see Read, Chinese Materia Medica: Avian Drugs, no. 313, p. 84.

[27] Following Gǔwén yuàn, 6.14a, xìng 性 ("nature") for the other versions' dé 德 ("virtue"). This verse accords with the Máo shī Commentary's (Máo shī zhèngyì, 1A.20a) statement that ospreys are "devoted and yet maintain separation." It is curious that Read (Chinese Materia Medica: Avian Drugs, no. 313, p. 84) says about ospreys that the "sexes are friendly, flying together in pairs during the mating season."

[28] Following Gǔwén yuàn, 6.14a: 願得周公; Chūxué jì, 19.465, has 但願周公 ("Only hoping for a Duke of Zhōu"; the dàn 但 may be a result of contamination by the previous graph lǚ 侶); Quán Hòu Hàn wén, 84.9b, transposes the first two graphs, 得願周公.

[29] Chūxué jì, 19.465, has the lexical variant hào 好 for the other versions' pèi 妃, hence, "Who'd be fond of the coy and comely."

[30] Following Chūxué jì, 19.465: 防微誚漸. Gǔwén yuàn, 6.14a, and Quán Hòu Hàn wén, 84.9b, have: 防微消漸, thus "To prevent degeneracy and dispel its progress." Obviously, xiāo 消 and qiào 誚 are graphic variants here, but is the intended word "to dissolve" (消) or "to reproach" (誚)? The phrase is similar to the later 防微杜漸 (see Sòng shū 宋書, comp. Shěn Yuē 沈約 (441-513) [Běijīng: Zhōnghuá shūjú, 1974], "Wú Xī zhuàn," 83.2121), "prevent degeneracy and block its progress."

He tactfully criticized and admonished the lord, his father.[31]

Master Kǒng thought it great,

Arranging it to cap the head of the book.[32]

Yàn Yīng with chaste resolve,

Did not regard Duke Jǐng's daughter.[33]

As for Juàn Bùyí

Presented a Huò, he did not accept.[34]

They were not entranced by nobility,

Far less by this lowly maid.[35]

The three clans have no ordered hierarchy,

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[31] Jūn fù 君父 ("the lord, his father") refers to King Kāng, who was not literally the father of the Duke of Bì.

[32] Cf. Preface attributed to Kǒng Ānguó to the Shàngshū (Shàngshū zhèngyì, 1.16a): "Consequently, I drew from it [i.e., Confucius' Preface], making each [i.e., his comments] cap the head of a book" (故引之各冠其篇首).

[33] Yàn Yīng 晏嬰 was a minister of Qí 齊, known for his personal integrity and austerity. Duke Jǐng 景公 wished to give his "young and lissome" daughter in marriage to Yàn Yīng after seeing that his minister's wife was "old and ugly," but Yàn Yīng refused the offer. See Yànzi chūnqiū 晏子春秋 (Sbby), 6.9a.

[34] See Hs 71.3038: The highly-respected governor of the capital under Emperor Zhāo (reg. 87-74 B.C.E.), Juàn Bùyí 雋不疑 , was once offered a daughter of the famed general-in-chief Huò Guāng 霍光 (ob. 68 B.C.E.) in marriage, but Juàn in all humility turned down the proposal.

[35] Following Yìwén lèijù, 35.636. Chūxué jì, 19.465, Gǔwén yuàn, 6.14a, and Quán Hòu Hàn wén, 84.9b, have the lexical variant lì 麗 ("pretty") for lì 隸 ("lowly servant"), hence, "Far less by this pretty maid." Yìwén lèijù omits the next eight lines.

Attachments of affection are not properly ranked.[36]

Going crabwise he solicits a mate,

Slinking sideways he seeks a companion.[37]

The marriage lacks a go-between,[38]

The ancestral temple is without a host.

The family is not called by name,

Relying on the place where they dwell.[39]

If they produce a girl she'll be a concubine,

---

[36] This refers to failing to maintain the appropriate hierarchy of the clans of father, mother, and wife. Chóu móu 綢繆 is a riming binome (幽 rime, píng shēng), here represented with the assonant, "attachments of affection."

[37] This is to say that such a person goes about seeking a consort in an oblique manner, not in an upright way.

[38] Following Chūxué jì, 19.465, and Quán Hòu Hàn wén, 84.9b; Gǔwén yuàn, 6.14b, has 昏無媒理 ("The marriage lacks the matchmaking protocols").

[39] These two couplets refer to the ritual surrounding the marriage arrangements. According to the Lǐ jì and Yí lǐ, a marriage is to be arranged through the assistance of a go-between (méi 媒); if the proposal is acceptable to the girl's family, the prospective groom sends them the gift of a goose. Among other preliminary activities, the prospective groom's party formally inquires as to the girl's clan name; this is a ritualization of the taboo on consanguineous marriage. These preliminaries take place at the prospective bride's ancestral temple; the hosts at the temple are identified by Zhèng Xuán (Commentary, Yí lǐ zhùshū, "Hūn lǐ," 4.2a) as the girl's father, and by Kǒng Yīngdá (Subcommentary in Lǐ jì zhèngyì, "Hūn yì," 61.5a) as the girl's father and mother. This section further illustrates that the suitor being described in the lines above is heterodox in his behavior: he does not follow the prescribed rites. See Yí lǐ zhùshū, "Hūn lǐ," especially 4.1a-8a, and Lǐ jì zhèngyì, "Hūn yì," 61.4b-5b (Legge, 3: 428-30, nos. 1-2); on the taboo on consanguineous marriage, see, for instance, Lǐ jì zhèngyì, "Fāng jì," 51.25a/b (Legge, 3: 297-98, no. 34).

Produce a boy and he becomes a servant.

At the appointed times of the year they pour the libations,[40]

Calling upon their ancestors.

Either in the stable,

Or in the kitchen by the stove,[41]

Facing the east they kneel a long time,

Offering endless goblets of wine.[42]

They wholly invite the numerous spirits,

Deviant and aberrant they serve as hosts.[43]

They beg a lot and give little:[44]

Copper balls and iron poles,[45]

---

[40] Yìwén lèijù, 35.636, has the nearly synonymous zhuì 醊 in place of lèi 酹 (sprinkling or pouring out libations).

[41] Yìwén lèijù, 35.636, has "at the kitchen door" 廚門 in place of "in the kitchen" 廚間.

[42] Yìwén lèijù, 35.636, has "Receiving the spirits 接神 with goblets of wine" instead of "Offering endless 接狎 goblets of wine."

[43] Following Chūxué jì, 19.465, and Quán Hòu Hàn wén, 84.9b: 僻邪當主. Yìwén lèijù, 35.636, has "Being deviant and aberrant, rich hosts 富主" (富 is probably a graphic error for 當); Gǔwén yuàn, 6.14b, has "Deviant and aberrant, they lack a host," or "Deviant and aberrant with abandon" 無主 (possible influence from line 62).

[44] Yìwén lèijù, 35.636, has "They beg a lot and walk little 步少" instead of ". . . and produce little 出少."

[45] Chūxué jì, 19.465, has "copper tiles" (tóngwǎ 銅瓦) in place of the other versions' "copper balls" (tóngwán 銅丸).

Layered silks, piled up in the hundreds of millions,[46]

All come gathered up together.

Proper wives, submissive and loving,[47]

Each has her place in the ranks.

As for chattel and wenches and the sort,[48]

Those don't amount to much.

The freeloading sons-in-law of old,[49]

Moreover may be considered dust and filth.

How is it that one so bright and wise,

Desires to become the father of a servant?[50]

Striving to be a gentleman of integrity,

---

[46] Following Chūxué jì, 19.465, Gǔwén yuàn, 6.14b, and Quán Hòu Hàn wén, 84.9b, which have "hundred million" (yì 億) in place of jiā 嘉 ("good," "excellent") in Yìwén lèijù, 35.636.

[47] Chūxué jì, 19.465, has "cultivated and good" (qǐ 綺) in place of "the proper wife" (dí 嫡) in Gǔwén yuàn, 6.14b, and Quán Hòu Hàn wén, 84.9b. Yìwén lèijù omits this couplet.

[48] On the terms zāng and huò 臧獲, which are derogatory terms for slaves and maidservants, see Yán Shīgǔ's commentary to "Sīmǎ Qiān zhuàn," Hs 62.2735 n. 25, where he affirms Yìng Shào's 應劭 (ca. 140-ca. 206) view, who himself cites Yáng Xióng's (52 B.C.E.-18 C.E.) Fāng yán as authority.

[49] On the term "freeloading sons-in-law" (zhuìxù 贅婿, here the latter graph is written with a 土 signific), see Sīmǎ Zhēn's 司馬貞 (8th c.) Shǐ jì suǒyǐn 史記索隱, in Shǐ jì, "Gǔ Jī zhuàn," 126.3198 n. 2. For xù 壻, Gǔwén yuàn, 6.14b, has 媭 (a graphic variant?).

[50] This is the final line in the Chūxué jì version.

88 One ought not give oneself over to lust.[51]

One ought, like damming a river,[52]

90 Maintain it with single-mindedness.[53]

Mù of Qín pondered Bāo,

92 Hence garnered fortune in the end.[54]

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[51] See Máo shī 193/8: "I dare not imitate my friends in giving themselves over to pleasure" (cf. Legge, 325).

[52] Cf. "damming a river" (fáng shǔi 防水) in Shǐ jì, "Zhōu běn jì," 4.142, and in Zuǒ zhuàn, Xiāng 31 (where it is fáng chuān 防川; see Legge, 566), where the stories have different contexts but are similar in language and in intent. The basic idea is that absolute repression of people's grievances towards a government is like damming a river: Eventually the dikes are breached and catastrophe results. It is best to let water out of a small opening. This suggests that the state should allow a certain degree of political expression. Here, in reference to maintaining personal integrity, Zhāng Chāo speaks in favor of complete repression of wayward behavior; presumably he does not think one's own "dam" would be breached by a flood of pent-up feelings and desires. See also Hs, "Gōu xù," 29.1692.

[53] Duke Mù of Qín 秦繆 (or, 穆) 公 (reg. 659-621 B.C.E.) is said to have been "single-minded with respect to his people (與人之壹也)" (Zuǒ zhuàn, Wén 3; Legge, 236); see following couplet and note.

[54] Following Yìwén lèijù, 35.636, and Quán Hòu Hàn wén, 84.9b. Though I have not found a source that says that Duke Mù of Qín "pondered Bāo" 思褒, that is to say, the case of King Yōu of Zhōu and Bāosì (see n. 16), it would certainly be appropriate to his situation if he had. King Yōu had set aside his heir designate, his son by his proper consort, and installed his concubine Bāosì's son in his place. Yōu's blindness induced by his rapacious affection for Bāosì led to his demise at the hands of the Western Yí 西夷, Quǎn Róng 犬戎, and the state of Zēng 繒. Duke Mù, on the other hand, assisted the wronged son of Duke Xiàn of Jìn 晉獻公 (reg. 676-652 B.C.E.), Chóng'ěr 重耳 (who was also Duke Mù's wife's half-brother, Duke Mù having married a daughter of Duke Xiàn), to gain his usurped position; see Zuǒ zhuàn, Xī 24 (Legge, 190); Shǐ jì, "Jìn shìjiā," 39.1656, and "Qín běn jì," 5.190; Guó yǔ, Jìn yǔ (Sbck), 9.10b. Just before his death, Duke Mù, in contrast to King Yōu's experience, subdued the Róng 戎 (in his case, the Western Róng 西戎); see Zuǒ zhuàn, Wén 3 (Legge, 236); Shǐ jì, "Qín běn jì," 5.194. Gǔwén yuán, 6.15a, has "Mù of Qín repented of his error" 秦繆思曏.

Prosody: The rime scheme for this piece is as follows: It appears that Zhāng Chāo, like Cài Yōng (see "Rhapsody on the Grisette," n. 39), does not distinguish between 脂 and 微 rimes (shǎng shēng) as he freely intermixes the two groups in lines 1-20; 脂 rime: l. 2. 姿, 10. 茨, 12. 泥, 14. 葵, 16. 鴟, 18. 階, 20. 妻; 微 rime: l. 4. 斐, 6. 微, 8. 衰. Lines 21-40 are rimed in 之 group (shǎng shēng): l. 22. 婦, 24. 起, 26. 子, 28. 祀, 30. 似, 32. 已, 34. 始, 36. 矣, 38. 鄙, 40. 起. Lines 41-86 are evenly divided between 魚 and 侯 rimes, and rimed together with 幽 and 宵 rimes, all shǎng shēng and all mixed together; 魚 rime: l. 44. 侶, 48. 父, 52. 女, 58. 序, 64. 所, 66. 虜, 68. 祖, 70. 下, 86. 父; 侯 rime: l. 56. 豎, 60. 偶, 62. 主, 74. 主, 76. 柱, 78. 聚, 80. 後, 82. 數, 84. 垢; 幽 rime: l. 42. 道, 50. 首, 54. 受, 72. 酒; 宵 rime: l. 46. 窕. Lines 87-92 are rimed in 質 group (rù shēng): l. 88. 逸, 90. 一, 92. 吉. All the lines but line 19 are tetrasyllabic.

APPENDIX I

CÀI YŌNG'S "NÜ JIÈ" 女誡

"ADMONITIONS FOR WOMEN" (SECTION)[1]

Now then,[2] the mind is like the head and face.[3] This takes up in it the notion of being very devoted to one's toilette. Take the face: if for one day one does not groom and do one's toilette, then dust and dirt will make it filthy.[4] As for the mind, if for one morning one does not think of goodness, then waywardness and depravity enter into it.[5]

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[1] I have translated only what appears in the CZ wàijí. For the Chinese text, see CZ wàijí (Sbby), 2.11b-12a (under the title, "Nǚ xùn" 女訓 ["Instructions for Women"]); CZj (Dīng Fúbǎo ed.), 6.7b; Quán Hòu Hàn wén, 74.9b; smaller fragments in Wén xuǎn Commentary to Zhāng Huá's 張華 (232-300) "Nǚ shǐ zhēn" 女史箴, 56.2404-05; Tàipíng yùlǎn, 365.6b, 459.7b, 714.2a, 719.3a, and 720.2a. See the note in Yáng kè "Cài Zhōngláng jí" jiàokān jì, Wàijí, 2.139.

For other fragments with the titles "Nǚ jiè" or "Nǚ xùn," which deal with other topics, see CZj (Dīng Fúbǎo ed.), 6.7a/b; Běitáng shūchǎo, 129.3b; Tàipíng yùlǎn, 577.7b, 814.8a; Quán Hòu Hàn wén, 74.9a; Yáng kè "Cài Zhōngláng jí" jiàokān jì, Wàijí, 2.139.

[2] CZ wàijí (Sbby), 2.11b, omits the initial particle fū 夫.

[3] Tàipíng yùlǎn, 365.6b, has "face and head" 面首.

[4] CZ wàijí (Sbby), 2.11b, and Tàipíng yùlǎn, 459.7b, omit shì 飾 ("to do one's toilette," or "to do one's make-up").

[5] The Wén xuǎn Commentary, 56.2404, and Tàipíng yùlǎn, 365.6b, have rénxīn 人心 ("human mind"). Tàipíng yùlǎn, 365.6b, omits yìzhāo 一朝 ("one morning").

People all know to make up their face, but no one grooms her mind.[6] This is mixed up indeed! In any particular case where the face is not made up, the benighted regard it as ugly. If the mind is not groomed, the worthy regard it as depraved. That the benighted regard it as ugly will do. That the worthy regard it as depraved--from what appearances do they take that? To be sure, if one examines and inspects the act of wiping the face, then one thinks of the cleanliness of her mind; if the act of applying ointment, then one thinks of the harmony of her mind;[7] if the act of adding powder, then one thinks of the freshness of her mind;[8] if the act of pomading the hair, then one thinks of the obedience of her mind;[9] if the act of using a comb, then one thinks of the regulation of her mind; if the act of setting a topknot, then one thinks of the rectitude of her mind; if the act of arranging the earlocks, then one thinks of the orderliness of her mind.[10]

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[6] CZ wàijí (Sbby), 2.11b, and Tàipíng yùlǎn, 459.7b, omit rén 人 ("people"), ér 而 (a conjunction), and have bù 不 ("do not") for mò 莫 ("no one"). The Wén xuǎn Commentary, 56.2404, and Tàipíng yùlǎn, 365.6b, have shèng shì 盛飾 ("neatly make-up") in place of xián zhī shì 咸知飾 ("all know to make-up").

Cf. Zhāng Huá's "Nǚ shǐ zhēn," Wén xuǎn, 56.2404: "People all know to groom their countenance, yet no one knows to groom his nature" 人咸知飾其容, 而莫知飾其性.

[7] Tàipíng yùlǎn, 459.7b, has ruǎn 軟 ("complaisance") in place of hé 和 ("harmony").

[8] Tàipíng yùlǎn, 720.2a, has hóng 弘 ("to extend," "broaden") in place of jiā 加 ("to add").

[9] CZ wàijí (Sbby), 2.12a, and Tàipíng yùlǎn, 719.3a, have rùn 潤 (lit., "glossiness," here, "tractability") in place of shùn 順 ("obedience").

[10] On women's coiffures in the Hàn dynasty, see Zhōu Xíbǎo 周錫保, Zhōngguó gǔdài fúshìshǐ 中國古代服飾史 (Běijīng: Zhōngguó xìjù chūbǎnshè, 1984), 104-6, 109-14, 116-17.

APPENDIX J

CÀI YŌNG'S "JIǍN YÌ FÙ" 檢逸賦

"FÙ ON CURBING EXCESS"[1]

Now then,

How lovely and bewitching, the comely lass,

Her face, bright and shining, filled with radiance.[2]

Throughout all heaven and earth she has no match;

Only once in a millennium is one like her born![3]

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[1] For the Chinese text, see CZ wàijí (Sbby), 3.2a; CZj (Zhāng Pǔ ed.), 1.5b; CZj (Dīng Fúbǎo ed.), 1.3a; Běitáng shūchǎo, 110.5b (the small fragment from which is noted below); Yìwén lèijù, 18.331-32; Quán Hòu Hàn wén, 69.4a. Not dated. Textual notes can be found in Yáng kè "Cài Zhōngláng jí" jiàokān jì, Wàijí, 3.141-42, and in Quán Hàn fù, 596.

In the Preface to his "Xián qíng fù" 閑情賦 (Jìngjié xiānshēng jí [Sbby], 5.3b), Táo Qián 陶潛 (372-427) refers to a fù by Cài Yōng titled "Jìng qíng fù" 靜情賦 ("Fù on Quieting the Passions"). Yán Kějūn 嚴可均 (1762-1843) states (Quán Hòu Hàn wén, 69.4a) that this was the old title of "Jiǎn yì fù." James Robert Hightower translates "Jiǎn yì fù" in his article, "The Fu of T'ao Ch'ien," HJAS 17 (1954): 172.

[2] Cf. Zhāng Héng, "Dìng qíng fù" 定情賦 (Yìwén lèijù, 18.331; Quán Hòu Hàn wén, 53.9b): "Now then, / How bewitching a lass, goodly and lovely, / Beaming in florescent splendor and shining countenance" 夫何妖女之淑麗、光華豔而秀容.

[3] Cf. Zhāng Héng, "Dìng qíng fù" 定情賦 (Yìwén lèijù, 18.331; Quán Hòu Hàn wén, 53.9b): "Unique among her contemporaries she manifests her beauty, / Topping friends and companions she has no match" 斷當時而呈美、冠朋匹而無雙.

My heart delights in her goodness and beauty;

Love binds me alone, being as yet unrequited.

My feelings are inexhaustible and abandoned;[4]

Intentions hesitant and unsure.[5]

By day I let fly my feelings to vent my love,

At night I count on dreams for our souls to meet.

* * *

I imagine being the tongue of a mouth organ singing in your mouth,[6]

---

[4] Following wǎng xiě 罔寫 ("without exhaustion") in CZ wàijí (Sbby), 3.2a, and CZj (Zhāng Pǔ ed.), 1.5b; the other versions have wǎng xiàng 罔象 ("formless," or perhaps "turbulent," as a river can be turbulent). For wú zhǔ 無主 ("lacking self-control," "abandoned"), cf. "Rhapsody on Harmonious Marriage," l. 38: "One gazes upon her in abandon."

[5] Cf. Chǔcí, "Yuǎn yóu," (Chǔcí bǔzhù, [Sbby] 5.2a): "I pace around hesitant and unsure, wandering afar are my thoughts" 步徙倚而遥思兮 (cf. Hawkes, The Songs of the South, 194, l. 13).

[6] This couplet is preserved in Běitáng shūchāo, 110.5b, and may also be found in CZj (Dīng Fúbǎo ed.), 1.3a, and Quán Hòu Hàn wén, 69.4a.

The "mouth organ" referred to here is the shēng 笙, a panpipe-like instrument with thirteen or nineteen tubes with bamboo or metal tongues attached over most of the openings in such a way that they are free to vibrate. This tongue is called a huáng 簧; huáng is sometimes used as a synecdoche for shēng, e.g., Máo shī 67/1 (Legge, 113; see also his note, 114). Cf. also Liú Xiàng's "Jiǔ tàn," "Yōu kǔ," in Chǔcí, (Chǔcí bǔzhù, [Sbby]) 16.19a: "I should like to use the mouth organ (huáng) to vent my anguish" (cf. Hawkes, The Songs of the South, 294, l. 31, where huáng is generalized to "music"). Pān Yuè 潘岳 (247-300) wrote a fù on this instrument; see Wén xuǎn, 18.856-65; Knechtges, 3: 303-14.

Following James Robert Hightower's translation cited above ("The Fu of T'ao Ch'ien," 172), "I imagine being the vibrating reed in your mouth" (思在口而為簧鳴). Cf. Zhāng Héng's "Dìng qíng fù" (Wén xuǎn Commentary to Cáo Zhí's "Luò shén fù," 19.897; Quán Hòu Hàn wén, 53.9b; not in Yìwén lèijù text): "I imagine being the ceruse powder on your face" 思在面為鉛華兮.

12 The mournful sound, lonesome--I haven't the courage to listen.[7]

---

[7] Cài Yōng believed that music had the power to express the feelings of the musician at the moment of performance; see HHs 60B.2004-5 (trans. Asselin, "The Hou Han shu Biography of Cai Yong [A.D. 132/133-192]" [M.A. thesis, University of Washington, 1991], 186).

Prosody: This is only a fragment of the original. With the exception of the initial particle fū 夫 and the eleventh line, which has seven syllables, the other lines are all six syllables long.

Lines 2, 4, 8, 10, 11, and 12 rime in the 耕 group (píng shēng); line 6 also rimes in this group but apparently in qù shēng. Perhaps it had a different reading here. The rimes are as follows (with line numbers): 2. 榮, 4. 生, 6. 并, 8. 傾, 10. 霊, 11. 鳴, 12. 聆.

APPENDIX K

CÀI YŌNG'S "XIÉHÉHŪN FÙ" 協和婚賦 and "XIÉCHŪ FÙ" 協初賦

"FÙ ON HARMONIOUS MARRIAGE"

AND THE "FÙ ON THE BEGINNING OF HARMONY"[1]

As human nature's greatest kind of love,

2 No pleasure is more complete than that of husband and wife.[2]

It is endowed with the creative power of seminal spirits,[3]

---

[1] Yáng kè "Cài Zhōngláng jí" jiàokān jì, Wàijí, 3.141, suggests that these two fù are actually the first and second parts, respectively, of the same piece. They will be treated together here. For the Chinese text of "Xiéhéhūn fù," see CZ wàijí (Sbby), 3.1b-2a; CZj (Zhāng Pǔ ed.), 1.5a/b; CZj (Dīng Fúbǎo ed.), 1.2b-3a; CZj (Wāng Shìxián ed.), 503-4; Chūxué jì, 14.355, Gǔwén yuàn, 21.4a-5a; Quán Hòu Hàn wén, 69.3b. Some textual notes can be found in Yáng kè "Cài Zhōngláng jí" jiàokān jì, Wàijí, 3.140-41, and in Quán Hàn fù, 589-90. For the Chinese text of "Xiéchū fù," see below. Neither piece is dated.

[2] Following CZj (Dīng Fúbǎo ed.), 1.2b, and Quán Hòu Hàn wén, 69.3b, which have bèi 備 ("complete") place of the other versions' wěi 偉 ("extraordinary," "great"). One or the other is a graphic error.

[3] See Zhōu yì, "Xìcí zhuàn" (Zhōu yì zhèngyì), 7.9b: "The seminal vapors create things; the roaming soul creates change" 精氣為物, 遊魂為變 (cf. Wilhelm/Baynes, 294); Kǒng Yīngdá's subcommentary states, "'The seminal vapors create things' refers to the hylozoistic vapors of yīn and yáng seminal spirits. When the harmonious vapors of heaven and earth collect they form the myriad things." Wáng Chōng's Lùn héng, "Zì rán" (Sbck), 18.1a, states, "When heaven and earth combine their vapors, the myriad things are self-produced. Likewise, when husband and wife have combined their vapors, children have been self-produced."

And truly is what the divine forces of light call forth.[4]

The matter is profound and subtle, dark and mysterious;[5]

This indeed is the beginning of right relationships.[6]

Examining into the primordial origins,[7]

We behold the ordering principles of yīn and yáng:

The Creative and the Receptive harmonize the firm and the yielding,[8]

---

[4] See Zhōu yì, "Xìcí zhuàn" (Zhōu yì zhèngyì), 8.15a/b: "When yīn and yáng have combined their power, the firm and yielding have form, thereby giving form to the multiplicities of heaven and earth, and attaining to the power of the divine forces of light" (cf. Wilhelm/Baynes, 343-44). Richard Wilhelm writes, "The light and dark [i.e., yīn and yáng] are energies. The interaction of these forces gives rise to matter--that is, the firm and the yielding. Matter makes up the form, the body, of all beings in heaven and on earth, but it is always energy that keeps it in motion. The important thing is to maintain connection with these divine forces of light."

[5] Cf. Lǚ shì chūnqiū, "Wù gōng" (Sbck), 17.11a, "The essence reaches to ghosts and spirits, profound and subtle, dark and mysterious, and no one can see its form."

CZj (Dīng Fúbǎo ed.), 1.2b, and Quán Hòu Hàn wén, 69.3b, have yuán miào 元妙 instead of xuán miào 玄妙, with no real semantic difference.

[6] See Zhōu yì, "Xù guà" (Zhōu yì zhèngyì), 9.12b-13a: "After heaven and earth there are the myriad things; after the myriad things, male and female are defined, after male and female are defined, there are husbands and wives; after husbands and wives there are fathers and sons; after fathers and sons there are rulers and vassals; after rulers and vassals superior and inferior are defined; after superior and inferior are defined, ritual and signification have that which are set in their proper places" (cf. Wilhelm/Baynes, 540-41).

CZj (Dīng Fúbǎo ed.), 1.2b, Chūxué jì, 14.355, and Quán Hòu Hàn wén, 69.3b, have duān shǐ 端始 instead of zhuàn shǐ 肇始, with no real semantic difference. Gǔwén yuàn, 21.4b, has "This is where right relationships begin" 實人倫之所始.

[7] CZj (Dīng Fúbǎo ed.), 1.2b, Gǔwén yuàn, 21.4b, and Quán Hòu Hàn wén, 69.3b, have 遂初 instead of 邃初, with no real semantic difference.

10 The Mountain and the Marsh stimulate the nape and calves.[9]

"Kudzu Vines Spread" fears missing opportunity,[10]

12 "Dropping Plums" seeks after gentlemen.[11]

---

[8] See Zhōu yì, "Xìcí zhuàn" (Zhōu yì zhèngyì), 8.15a/b: "The Master said, 'The Creative [Qián 乾] and the Receptive [Kūn 坤] are the gateways of the Changes. The Creative are the yáng things; the Receptive are yīn things" (cf. Wilhelm/Baynes, 343), and "Xìcí zhuàn" (Zhōu yì zhèngyì), 7.3a (Wilhelm/Baynes, 285): "The way of the Creative brings about the male. The way of the Receptive brings about the female."

[9] See Zhōu yì, "Xián guà" (Zhōu yì zhèngyì), 4.3b, 4.2b: "Nine in the fifth place means: Influence shows in the nape," and "Six in the second place means: Influence shows in the calves" (adapted from Wilhelm/Baynes, 125, 123). The Xián 咸 hexagram, "Influence" is composed of the Duì 兌 ("Marsh," "Joyous") trigram on top, and the Gèn 艮 ("Mountain," "Keeping Still," "Being Firm") trigram on bottom. The "Tuàn zhuàn" states (Zhōu yì zhèngyì), 4.1b: "Influence means stimulation [cognates xián 咸 and gǎn 感]. The yielding is above, the firm below. The power [or, vapors] of the two stimulate and respond to each other, so that they unite. . . . Hence it is said, . . . 'To take a maiden to wife brings good fortune'" (adapted from Wilhelm/Baynes, 541). The nape of the neck is hard and firm whereas the calf yields to the movement of the foot; thus these images are parallel to the previous line's "the firm and the yielding."

Zhāng Qiáo's 章樵 (fl. 1230) commentary to the Gǔwén yuàn, 21.4b, states, "Gèn corresponds to a young man; Duì corresponds to a young woman. They stimulate and respond and effect influence."

On the problem with the rime in this line, see the final note to this piece.

[10] This line refers to Máo shī 2, "Gé tán" 葛覃. Cài Yōng's interpretation of this piece is obscure. In the first stanza, a maiden, waiting for the right season, sings of birds gathering in the trees, a possible reference to mating. When in the next stanza the leaves of the gé, the kudzu vine (Pueraria hirsuta), grow thick enough, she diligently attends to her work, making cloth from the leaves and clothes of the cloth. In the last stanza she may be looking ahead to married life, and informs her husband, through the instructress, of her intention to visit her parents. This interpretation would essentially be one of anticipating married life. See Legge's notes, 7.

[11] This refers to Máo shī 20, "Biào méi" 摽梅, which contains the line, "The gentlemen who are seeking me" 求我庶士. This poem more clearly refers to a young maiden's reaching her prime and fearing that she will not be selected by a gentleman than the poem in the preceding line.

Only in a prosperous age of peace and harmony,

When boys and girls come of age,[12]

Marriage is harmonious and nothing is wayward,

Dispensing manifold blessings of joy and jubilation.

The propitious date has now arrived,[13]

The wedding has just been set in motion.

The two clans are bedighted,

The awesome ceremony has order.

Honored guests and colleagues,

Leisurely, leisurely gather like clouds.[14]

Carriage and trappings brighten the road;

CZj (Dīng Fúbǎo ed.), 1.2b, and Quán Hòu Hàn wén, 69.3b, have the graphic error (?) 事 (matter) for 士 (gentleman).

[12] Gǔwén yuàn, 21.4b, has 德 ("virtue") for 得 ("attain").

[13] Liáng chén 良辰 is "a favorable occasion," i.e., a propitious date for the wedding ceremony determined through divination.

[14] Cf. Máo shī 261: "The various young consorts followed her, / Leisurely, leisurely like clouds" 諸娣從之、祁祁如雲 (cf. Legge, 549). The Máo Commentary (Máo shī zhèngyì, 18D.8b) notes that the reference to clouds is to give the sense of large numbers. See also Zhèng Xuán's note to the line in Máo shī 212 (Máo shī zhèngyì, 14A.16b): "And it starts to rain, slowly, slowly" 興雨祈祈 (where 祈 is a graphic variant of 祁, the same variant used in CZj [Dīng Fúbǎo ed.], 1.3a, Chūxué jì, 14.355, and Quán Hòu Hàn wén, 69.3b): "In antiquity, when yīn and yáng combine and there are wind and rain, they come slowly and gently, and not violently."

The hackneys seem to dance.[15]

When arriving at the gate and screen,

From an endless stream of carriages they dismount.[16]

The nurses and attendants,[17]

Are all lined up, in uneven formation.[18]

A lovely woman, gorgeously arrayed,

Splendid like a spring bouquet.[19]

* * *

When she's nearby,[20]

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[15] CZ wàijí (Sbby), 3.2a, and CZj (Wāng Shìxián ed.), 504, have jǔ 舉 ("fly"?) in place of the other versions' wǔ 舞 ("dance"); the rime is the same for both words (魚, shǎng shēng). This is probably due to contamination from the end of the third couplet prior to this one (l. 18).

[16] The term jié guǐ 結軌, lit., "coinciding tracks," is glossed by Hànyǔ dàcídiǎn, 9:806, as "describing an uninterrupted stream of carriages" 形容車輛絡繹不絕, and citing, among others, Sīmǎ Xiāngrú in his Hs biography, 57B.2583, "an uninterrupted stream of returning carriages" 結軌還轅.

[17] CZ wàijí (Sbby), 3.2a, CZj (Wāng Shìxián ed.), 504, and Gǔwén yuàn, 21.5a, have the graphic error jiān 坚 for the other editions' shù 豎 ("attendants").

[18] Yàn háng 雁行, "to be lined up," literally means, "to be in the flying formation of geese." Cuōtuó 蹉跎, "in uneven formation," is a riming binome (歌 rime, píng shēng).

[19] Cf. Sòng Yù 宋玉 (Warring States), "Shénnǚ fù" 神女賦 (Wén xuǎn, 19.887): "Splendid like flowers" 曄兮如華, and Bān Gù, "Dá bīn xì" 答賓戲 (Hs, "Xù zhuàn," 100A.4226, and Wén xuǎn, 45.2016): "Displaying phrases like spring flowers [or, bouquet]" 摛藻如春華.

[20] This begins the section usually given the separate title, "Xiéchū fù." For the Chinese text, see CZ wàijí (Sbby), 3.2a/b; CZj (Zhāng Pǔ ed.), 1.6a; CZj (Dīng Fúbǎo ed.), 1.3a (although separated from the main text of "Xiéhéhūn fù," it is not given a separate title here); Yìwén lèijù, 18.331; Quán

It's like the iridescent scaly wings of a divine dragon
about to go aloft.[21]
And when she's far off,
It's like rolling away the clouds, skirting along the Hàn,
and seeing the Weaving Maid.[22]
She stands erect like a jade-green mountain, straight and tall,
She moves like a kingfisher unfolding her wings.
Her manifold hues brightly shine--
One gazes upon her in abandon.
Her visage is like the bright moon,
And is glorious like the morning sun.[23]

Hòu Hàn wén, 69.3b-4a; the first two couplets can be found in Tàipíng yùlǎn, 381.6b. See also n. 1 above. Some textual notes can be found in Quán Hàn fù, 591-92.

[21] There is a suggestion here of virtue and rectitude. The line contains the phrase cǎi lín 采鱗 ("iridescent scales"): When Bān Gù uses the phrase in "Diǎn yǐn" 典引 (Wén xuǎn, 48.2164), he uses it as a synecdoche for the yellow dragon (itself an auspicious sign). In his commentary to this line in "Diǎn yǐn," Cài Yōng notes, "If he [presumably the ruler] listens to virtue and realizes rectitude, then the yellow dragon will appear" 聽德知正則黃龍見.

[22] Cf. Liú Yìqìng 劉義慶 (403-444), comp., Shìshuō xīnyǔ 世說新語, "Shǎng yù," 8.327 (Yáng Yǒng, comp., Shìshuō xīnyǔ jiàojiān [Táiběi: Zhèngwén shūjú, 1989]; trans. Richard B. Mather, Shih-shuo Hsin-yü), 219: "Seeing him is like rolling away the clouds and mist and gazing at the blue sky" 見之若披雲霧睹青天.

On the Weaving Maid (zhīnǚ 織女, 3α Lyrae, or Vega) asterism and myth, see n. 38 to "Fù on a Grisette."

Tàipíng yùlǎn, 381.6b, has the lexical variant sǎo 掃 ("sweep") for the other versions' yuán 緣 ("follow along the 'hem' or edge of").

Her complexion is like the lotus flower,[24]

42 Her skin like jelled honey.

* * *

Long pillows are spread across,[25]

44 A great coverlet stretches over the bed.[26]

Rush mats gentle and soft,[27]

46 Cushions easy and comfortable.

* * *

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[23] Cf. Sòng Yù, "Shénnǚ fù" (Wén xuǎn, 19.887): "Dazzling like the white sun when first rising and shining on the roof beams . . . Luminous like the bright moon spreading its rays" 耀乎若白日初出照屋梁 . . . 皎若明月舒其光 (cf. Knechtges, 3. 341, ll. 33-34).

[24] Lián 蓮 is the Indian lotus (Nelumbo nucifera; see Bernard E. Read, comp., Chinese Medicinal Plants from the Pen Ts`ao Kang Mu 本草綱目 A.D. 1596, no. 542, p. 173), and this line refers to its white flowers.

[25] For this fragment, see CZj (Dīng Fúbǎo ed.), 1.3a; Běitáng shūchǎo, 134.13a; Quán Hòu Hàn wén, 69.4a. Some textual notes can be found in Quán Hàn fù, 591-92.

[26] Cf. Sīmǎ Xiāngrú's "Měirén fù" (Yìwén lèijù, 18.331; Chūxué jì, 19.456): "Mats in layers laid out, / Horned pillows spread across" 茵褥重陳, 角枕橫施.

[27] Guān-ruò 莞蒻, lit. "angelica [Angelica anomala; see Bernard E. Read, comp., Chinese Medicinal Plants, no. 207, p. 54] and rush [actually, a particular type of rush, not identified by Read]," serves as a synecdoche for rush mats, being plants with which such mats could be made. "Zhǔ shù xùn" of Huáinánzǐ (Huáinán hónglìè jíjiě, 306) states, "A comfortable bed and rush mats are nothing if not restful" 匡床蒻席, 非不寧也.

Quán Hàn fù, 591-92 n. 6, states that two lexical variants for the plant names occur in different editions of Běitáng shūchǎo; these names, róu 茱 (for ruò 蒻) and xiàn 莧 (for guān 莞) do not seem the best choices in this context.

Powder and mascara in disrepair,[28]

48 Hair disheveled, a hairpin has fallen.[29]

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[28] For this fragment, see CZj (Dīng Fúbǎo ed.), 1.3a; Běitáng shūchǎo, 135.13a, 14b; Quán Hòu Hàn wén, 69.4a. Some textual notes can be found in Quán Hàn fù, 591-92.

Shǐ (or, chí) luò 弛落 (the former with graphic variants 施, and that with the 弓 classifier), means to be in the process of coming off, of being removed, or to be in the state of having been removed.

[29] This line, with variations, becomes a recurrent image in later Chinese poetry. See Qián Zhōngshū's 錢鍾書 censorious comments about this in Guǎn zhuī biān 管錐編, Qián Zhōngshū zuòpǐn jí, no. 6-3 (Táiběi: Shūlín chūbǎn yǒuxián gōngsī, 1990), 3: 1017-18.

Prosody: I regard the "Xiéhéhūn fù" and "Xiéchū fù" (including the subsequent two fragments) as comprising two sections of the same work: Section 1: ll. 1-16: 6 syllables per line; ll. 17-30: 4 syl./line; Section 2: ll. 31-34, 4/8 alternating syl./line; ll. 35-36: 7 syl./line; ll. 37-48: 4 syl./line.

The first sixteen lines rime in the 之 group (shǎng shēng), with one problem: Line 10 ends in féi 腓 which is of the 微 group (píng shēng). Perhaps, as Xǔ Hàn suggests (in Yáng kè "Cài Zhōngláng jí" jiàokān jì, Wàijí, 3.141), this syllable should be reversed with the one preceding it, which is of the 之 group. This does not change the sense of the verse, and improves it insofar as it would then reflect the order found in the source from which the idea is drawn, the Zhōu yì. A problem remains in that the suggested syllable, méi 脢, is píng shēng.

The rimes of the first sixteen lines are (with line numbers): 2. 婦, 4. 使, 6. 始, 8. 紀, 10. ?, 12. 士, 14. 齒, 16. 祉.

The predominant rime of lines 17-24 is 魚 (shǎng shēng), which Cài Yōng rimes with 侯 (shǎng shēng): the 魚 rimes are: 18. 舉, 20. 序, 24. 舞; l. 22. 聚, is in the 侯 rime group.

In lines 25-30, Cài Yōng rimes the 魚 group (píng shēng) with the 歌 group (píng shēng): 26. 車 and 30. 華 are in the 魚 group; l. 28. 跎, is in the 歌 group.

The predominant rime of lines 31-38 is 魚 (shǎng shēng), which are again rimed with 侯 (shǎng shēng): the 魚 rimes are: 32. 舉, 34. 女, 36. 羽; 38. 主, is in the 侯 rime group.

Lines 39-42 are rimed in the 質 group (rù shēng): 40. 日, 42. 密. Lines 43-46 are in the 陽 group (píng shēng): 44. 牀, 46. 良. The final extant line, line 48, ends in a 月 rime (rù shēng), 脫.

APPENDIX L

CÀI YŌNG'S "GUŌ YǑUDÀO LÍNZŌNG BĒI" 郭有道林宗碑

"STELE INSCRIPTION FOR 'HOLDER OF PRINCIPLE' GUŌ LÍNZŌNG[1]

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[1] For the Chinese text, see CZj (Sbby), 2.1a-2b; CZj (Zhāng Pǔ ed.), 2.40b-42a; CZj (Dīng Fúbǎo ed.), 8.1a/b; CZj (Wāng Shìxián ed.), 526-28; CZwj (Lánxuě táng ed. and Sbck), 2.1a-2a; Wén xuǎn, 58.2500-2503; Yìwén lèijù, 37.657-58 (excerpt); Chūxué jì, 18.433-44 (excerpt); Quán Hòu Hàn wén, 76.1a/b. Title follows Sbby. Dated by Gōng Kèchāng to the first month of Jiànníng 2 (169 C.E.) (Hàn fù yánjiū, 283). A Japanese translation is available in Obi Kōichi 小尾郊一, Monzen 文選, vol. 3, in Zenshaku Kambun taikei 全釈漢文大系, 32 (Tokyo: Shueisha, 1976), 399-406. A thoroughly annotated text is provided in Gāo Bùyíng's 高步瀛, Liǎng Hàn wén jǔyào 兩漢文舉要 (Běijīng: Zhōnghuá shūjú, 1990), 279-83; annotations and translations into the modern vernacular can be found in Lǐ Jīngyíng's 李景滢, Zhāomíng Wén xuǎn xīnjiě 昭明文選新解 (Tāiběi: Jínán chūbǎnshè, 1990-93): 6: 262-66, and by Fāng Zǔshēn 方祖燊, in Gǔ jīn wén xuǎn 古今文選, no. 190, ed. Liáng Róngruò 梁容若 and Qí Tiěhèn 齊鐵恨 (Tāiběi: Guóyǔ rìbào, 1955), 1-4; less useful annotation is given in Hàn Wèi Liùcháo wén 漢魏六朝文, comps. Wáng Yúnwǔ 王雲五 et al. (Táiběi: Shāngwù yìnshūguǎn, 1961), 141-44. Textual notes by Xǔ Hàn, with modern annotation, are in Yáng kè "Cài Zhōngláng jí" jiàokān jì, 2.12-13.

As noted by Gāo Bùyíng (p. 279), according to Yuè Shǐ's 樂史 (930-1107) Tàipíng huányǔ jì 太平寰宇記 (1803 ed.), 41.6a, and cited in Wáng Chǎng 王昶 (1725-1807), Jīn shí cuìbiān 金石萃編 (Shànghǎi: Sǎoyè shānfáng, 1926), 12.8b, the stele itself was located 20 lǐ SW of Jièxiū xiàn 介休縣. It was spared the destruction of steles under Emperor Wǔ (561-178) of the (Northern) Zhōu dynasty, but appears to have been lost by the beginning of the Northern Sòng. Recontructions were made in the Qīng dynasty, including Fù Shān's 傅山 (1607-1684) new engraving and Jiāng Rènxiū's 姜任脩 (ca. 18th c.) reconstructed copy. The latter copy was made in 1742; Jiāng collated his text by comparing his base text (a rubbing) against Fù Shān's new engraving, another version by Zhèng Fǔ 鄭簠 (ob. 1693), and other testimonia. (Both Fù Shān and Zhèng Fǔ were esteemed calligraphers in their own right, yet their copies were regarded quite poorly by Wēng Fānggāng 翁方綱 [1733-1818]; see below.) Hoping to recapture the integrity of Cài Yōng's calligraphic style, Jiāng also examined the Xīpíng Stone Classics fragments, which are purported to exhibit Cài Yōng's calligraphy. Jiāng's conflation is preserved in Wēng Fānggāng's 翁方綱 (1733-1818), Liǎng Hàn jīn shí jì 兩漢金石記 (Nánchāng, 1789; reprint in Shíkè shǐliào cóngshū 石刻史料叢書, ed. Yán Gēngwàng 嚴耕望 [Táiběi: Yìwén yìnshūguǎn, 196-]), 17.6a-7b; Zhèng's, which was placed

The late gentleman by the venerable name[2] Tài 泰, styled Línzōng 林宗, was a man from Jièxiū 界休 in Tàiyuán太原.[3] His ancestors emerged from the Zhōu. Of the scions of Wáng Jì 王季, there was one Guó Shú 虢叔 who possessed excellent Virtue; King Wén consulted with him.[4] He established the fiefdom and named the clan after it.[5] Some referred to him as Guō 郭, and [Guō Tài 郭泰] was his descendant.[6]

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near Guō Tài's gravesite, can be found in Wáng Chǎng, Jīn shí cuìbiān, 12.7b. Jiāng has appended textual notes to indicate where he has made changes.

Guō Línzōng 郭林宗, given name Tài 泰 (128-169 C.E.), has a biography in the HHs 68.2225-28. Honoring the taboo against using his deceased father's name, Fàn Yè substituted the homophone tài 太 for Guō Tài's given name. See HHs 68.2225 n. 1.

[2] CZwj (Lánxuě táng ed. and Sbck), 2.1a, has the lexical variant míng 名 (given name) in place of the other versions' huì 諱.

[3] Guō Tài was born, probably in 128, of a family that hailed from this place, located just SE of modern Jièxiū xiàn 介休縣 in Shānxī. The graphic variant for Jiè was employed at least as early as the Jìn shū; see Gāo Bùyíng, 279.

[4] Mù 穆 ("scions") was originally associated with the proper ordering of ancestors (and their spirit tablets) with respect to the layout of the imperial ancestral temples and gravesites. The decendants of the even-numbered generations two, four, and six were placed to the left of the progenitor; these were called zhāo 昭. The descendants of the odd-numbered generations three, five, and seven were placed to the right; they were called mù. Later the terms came loosely to be used to distinguish generations of ancestors. See Lǐ jì zhèngyì, "Zhōng yōng," 52.16b (Legge [in Classics], 402-3, and 403n), "Wáng zhì," 12.13b (Legge, 3: 223, no. 4, and n. 2, pp. 223-25), and Zhōu lǐ zhù shū, "Chūn gūan, Xiǎo zōng bó," 19.2b (Biot, 1: 443; see also his n. 4).

Wáng Jì was the youngest son of Gǔgōng Dǎnfù 古公亶父, who established the state of Zhōu and who was, after the defeat of the Shāng, retrospectively called Tàiwáng 太王 (Supreme King). Originally, Wáng Jì's name was Jì Lì 季歷; he was chosen by Gǔgōng Dǎnfù to succeed him and became Gōng Jì 公季 upon the former's death. After the triumph of Zhōu over Shāng, Gōng Jì was

The late gentleman

Was greatly gifted in innate qualities,[7]

He was astute and perceptive, perspicacious and wise,

---

again honored, given the name Wáng Jì 王季. Wáng Jì was succeeded by his son Wén Wáng; it was Wén Wáng's son, Wǔ Wáng, who defeated the Shāng. Guó Shú was Wén Wáng's younger brother and served him honorably as a minister. See Shǐ jì, "Jìn shìjiā," 39.1647. (Dù Yù 杜預 [222-284] comm. to Zuǒ zhuàn, Xī 5, says that Guó Shú was Wén Wáng's mother's younger brother, i.e., Wén Wáng's maternal uncle; see Chūnqiū Zuǒ zhuàn zhèngyì, 12.22b.)

This section contains internal riming: the three four-syllable lines ending with "Zhōu" 周, "scions" 穆, and "Shú" 叔 fall in the 幽 rime group: 周 in píng shēng, 穆 and 叔 in rù shēng.

[5] Guó Shú received his name Guó from the place with which he was enfeoffed, specifically Eastern Guó (in the area of present-day Yíngzé xiàn 滎澤縣 in Hénán province). His brother Guó Zhòng 虢仲 was enfeoffed with the same place. Guó may be described as a territorial subdivision of the Zhōu populated by a gens, similar to the Greek phratry but of a single clan, or clans claiming descent from the same ancestor.

[6] Gāo Yòu's 高誘 (fl. 205-212) comm. to the Zhànguó cè (Sbby), "Qín cè yī," 3.11a, states that "The graph 郭 was what in the old script was said 虢" 郭古文言虢也. (Lǐ Shàn's citation of this source [Wén xuǎn, 58.2501] leaves out "said" [yán 言], and adds to the line zì 字, "graph"). Read this way it says that the former is a loan graph. Although the readings diverged by Middle Chinese, in Old Chinese they were homophones, with the initial jian 見, in the rime 魚 (rù shēng). See Gāo Bùyíng, 279-80, for further discussion, especially the passage cited from Yuánhé xìngzuǎn 元和姓纂, comp. by Lín Bǎo 林寶 (Táng dyn.).

Gāo Bùyíng also notes (p. 280) that an old manuscript of the Wěn xuǎn had xiānshēng 先生 ("the late gentleman" or "the seignior") before "his descendant." The interpolation is probably dittography, anticipating the start of the next line while clarifying the subject of the clause.

[7] CZj (Sbby), 2.1a; CZj (Zhāng Pǔ ed.), 2.40b; CZj (Wāng Shìxián ed.), 526; CZwj (Lánxuě táng ed. and Sbck), 2.1a; Yìwén lèijù, 37.657; Jiāng Rènxiū's version (Liǎng Hàn jīn shí jì, 17.6b), all write yīng 膺 ("received"). Wx, 58.2501; Quán Hòu Hàn wén, 76.1a; CZj (Dīng Fúbǎo ed.), 8.1a, have yìng 應 ("reflected"). The two graphs in this instance simply may be graphic variants. Cf. Shàng shū zhèngyì, "Wǔ chéng," 11.22a: "greatly received heaven's mandate" (cf. Legge, 311).

Filial and fraternal, good-natured and respectful,[8]

Humane and sincere, kind and benevolent.[9]

Now then,

The compass of his talents was large and deep,[10]

The breadth of his gifts was wide and great,

vast and sweeping,

broad and comprehensive,

so profound--

it was simply unfathomable.[11]

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[8] The two lines ending in "qualities" (zhōng 衷) and "respectful" (gōng 恭) rime in the 東 group, píng shēng.

[9] Following the Wén xuǎn text; CZj (Zhāng Pǔ ed.), 2.40b; Quán Hòu Hàn wén, 76.1a; CZj (Dīng Fúbǎo ed.), 8.1a; Jiāng Rènxiū's version (Liǎng Hàn jīn shí jì, 17.6b), follow the same reading: rén dǔ cí huì 仁篤慈惠. The reading rén dǔ róu huì 仁篤柔惠 is given in CZj (Sbby), 2.1a; CZj (Wāng Shìxián ed.), 526; and CZwj (Lánxuě táng ed. and Sbck), 2.1a; the sense is something like, "Humane and sincere, gentle and yielding" (interpreting the huì differently). The Yìwén lèijù (37.657) has: rén cí huì mǐn 仁慈惠敏: "Humane and kind, intelligent and sharp-witted" (again interpreting the huì differently). Chūxué jì, 18.433, has rén dǔ cí gù 仁篤慈固: "Humane and sincere, kind and steadfast." Since it is a non-riming line, rime cannot be used to judge the correct reading.

[10] Cf. Lúnyǔ 3/22 (Legge, 162). This refers metaphorically, in a manner not so different from English usage, to one's moral and intellectual abilities, including one's capacity for magnanimity.

[11] Guō Tài is attributed with similar remarks about Huáng Xiàn 黃憲 (75-122) in the latter's biography, HHs 53.1744, and in Liú Yìqìng, comp., Shìshuō xīnyǔ, "Dé xíng" (Shìshuō xīnyǔ jiàojiān), 1.3 (trans. Mather, Shih-shuo Hsin-yü, 4).

Now then,

For a well-honed character and polished conduct,[12]

An upright way and straight speech--[13]

"Constancy and being firm were enough to carry out all matters,"[14]

Straightening and being steadfast were enough to rectify the times.[15]

Thereupon, he

examined and perused the Six Scriptures,[16]

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[12] This four-graph line appears in Kǒng Cóngzǐ 孔叢子 (Sbby), A.48b, a work reputed to be of the Hàn period but more likely to be a fourth-century forgery. Cf. also Hs, "Wáng Zūn zhuàn," 76.3235, "a well-honed character and wholeheartedly straight-forward" 砥節首公.

[13] Cf. Zhòngcháng Tǒng 仲長統 (179-219), Chāngyán 昌言: "An upright bearing and straight speech, a righteous and honest character" (cited in Lǐ Shàn's Wén xuǎn Comm., 58.2501).

[14] Zhōu yì zhèngyì, "Qián guà," Wén yán zhuàn, 1.10a (cf. Wilhelm and Baynes, 376). On the use of zhēn 貞 in this manner, cf. Shàngshū, "Luò gào" (Shàng shū zhèngyì), 15.16b, and Mǎ Róng's gloss, dāng 當, (cf. Legge, 438; see notes).

[15] Yǐnkuò 隱括: 隱 is a short form of 檃; 括 is a loan for 栝; see Xǔ Xùnxíng 許巽行 (early 19th c.), Wén xuǎn bǐjì 文選筆記, in Xuǎnxué cóngshū 選學叢書 (Táiběi: Guǎngwén shūjú, 1966), 2: 8.71a. Yǐnkuò is a device for straightening bamboos and trees, and is used as a metaphor for correcting and changing. Giving full weight to the second graph of the word as found in the text, the now isolated word kuò means "fastening, binding to." The translation maintains the parallelism with the previous line. Cf. Dà Dài Lǐjì 大戴禮記, "Wèi jiāngjūn Wénzǐ" (Hàn Wèi cóngshū, 1791), 6.7b; Hán Fēizǐ, "Xiǎn xué" (Hán Fēizǐ jíshì), 2: 19.1098; written in the form, 檃栝: cf. Xúnzi (in Xúnzi jíjiě), "Xìng'è piān," 17.6a; "Dà lüè piān," 19.15a; "Fǎ xìng piān," 20.12b.

[16] In CZj (Sbby), 2.1a; CZj (Wāng Shìxián ed.), 526; CZwj (Lánxuě táng ed. and Sbck), 2.1a, this line ends with jí 籍 (documents). CZj (Zhāng Pǔ ed.), 2.40b; CZj (Dīng Fúbǎo ed.), 8.1a; Wén xuǎn, 58.2501; Chūxué jì, 18.444; Quán Hòu Hàn wén, 76.1a, and Jiāng Rènxiū's version (Liǎng

investigated and arranged the diagrams and apocrypha,[17]

circulated all around the Chinese states,[18] and

subsequently settled at the imperial academy.[19]

Hàn jīn shí jì, 17.6b), all have the lexical variant jīng 經 (scriptures, or commonly, classics). On the basis of antithetical parallelism with the end of the following line, wěi 緯, literally the woof, as opposed to jīng 經, literally the warp, I follow the Wén xuǎn. There is, though, little real semantic difference between the two words in this context.

The Six Scriptures or Classics refer to the Yì jīng, Shàngshū, Shī jīng, Yí lǐ, Chūnqiū (including Gōngyáng zhuàn), and Yuè jīng. See Tsuen-hsuin Tsien, Written on Bamboo and Silk: The Beginnings of Chinese Books and Inscriptions (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1962), 75; on the origin of the concept of canonical works in China, see Michael Loewe, "The Former Han Dynasty," in The Cambridge History of China, 1: 154.

[17] CZj (Dīng Fúbǎo ed.), 8.1a, and Quán Hòu Hàn wén, 76.1a, have the graphic error cǎi 採 (here, "comprehended"?) in place of the other versions' tān 探 ("investigated"). CZj (Sbby), 2.1a, and CZwj (Lánxuě táng ed. and Sbck), 2.1a, have qúnwěi 群緯 (a manifold group of apocryphal texts, or, "the legion apocrypha"). The lexical variant tú 圖, for "Hétú" 河圖 ("River Diagrams"), replaces qún in CZj (Zhāng Pǔ ed.), 2.40b; Wén xuǎn, 58.2501; Chūxué jì, 18.444; Quán Hòu Hàn wén, 76.1a; Jiāng Rènxiū's version (Liǎng Hàn jīn shí jì, 17.6b). Qún better preserves the parallelism with liù (six) in the preceding line, but the "Six Scriptures" taken as a unit may be paired with the commonly associated "River Diagrams" and apocrypha.

The "River Diagrams" were charts with divinatory applications that were based on the eight trigrams of the Yì jīng, or that bore a numerical pattern associated with Five Activities (wǔxíng 五行) ideology. See David R. Knechtges, Selections, 1: 100-101, l. 27n, and Knechtges's references given thereat, especially Jack L. Dull, "A Historical Introduction to the Apocryphal (Ch'an-wei) Texts of the Han Dynasty" (Ph.D. diss., Univ. of Washington, 1966), 155-56, 165-66, 228-29. On the apocryphal texts (chènwěi 讖緯, "prognosticatory apocrypha"), Hàn era esoteric expositions of canonical scriptures, see Dull, "A Historical Introduction," and Robert P. Kramers, "The Development of the Confucian Schools," in The Cambridge History of China, 1: 759, 763, 764.

[18] Huáxià 華夏 is a common early term referring to China and the Central Plain. Cf. Shàng shū zhèngyì, "Wǔ chéng," 11.23a (Legge, 313).

[19] CZj (Sbby), 2.1b, and CZwj (Lánxuě táng ed. and Sbck), 2.1a, begin this line with yóují 游集 ("came to roost at"). The lexical variant suí 隨 ("subsequently") replaces yóu 游 in CZj (Zhāng

He saved [the Way of] Wén and Wǔ which had been on the brink of collapse,[20]

and rescued the profound teachings [of Confucius] from extinction.[21]

At the time,

The class of chinstraps and tassels[22]

And the gentlemen of sashes and girdle[-pendants][23]

Pǔ ed.), 2.40b; CZj (Dīng Fúbǎo ed.), 8.1a; Wén xuǎn, 58.2501; Chūxué jì, 18.444; Quán Hòu Hàn wén, 76.1a; Jiāng Rènxiū's version (Liǎng Hàn jīn shí jì, 17.6b). The error, one way or the other, is a graphic one. In the absence of a definitive resolution of this problem, I follow the Wén xuǎn. Dìxué 帝學 probably signifies the imperial academy (usually tàixué 太學 or guóxué 國學).

[20] Chūxué jì introduces the line with gù 故 ("Hence," or "To be sure, . . ."). CZj (Sbby), 2.1b; CZj (Zhāng Pǔ ed.), 2.41a; CZj (Dīng Fúbǎo ed.), 8.1a; Wén xuǎn, 58.2501; Quán Hòu Hàn wén, 76.1a; Jiāng Rènxiū's version (Liǎng Hàn jīn shí jì, 17.6b), all begin this line with shōu 收 (to detain, to gather up). CZwj (Lánxuě táng ed. and Sbck), 2.1a, reads jiù 救 (to save). This is a graphic error; substituting one or the other does little to change the sense of the line. Chūxué jì, 18.444, has zhěng 拯 ("to rescue"); this is nearly synonymous with jiù, but it is an error, a result of contamination from the following line. Indeed, one should note the parallelism of this and the following verses. As for this line, cf. Lúnyǔ, 19/22 (Legge, 346). "Wén and Wǔ" refer to the two early Zhōu kings.

[21] CZwj (Lánxuě táng ed. and Sbck), 2.1b, has the graphic error jí 極 in place of zhěng 拯. Wéiyán 微言 refers to Confucius' teachings; Lǐ Shàn (Wén xuǎn, 58.2501) cites an apocryphal text titled Lúnyǔ chèn 論語讖: "Zǐxià and sixty-four others together compiled the profound teachings [wéiyán] of Zhòngní [i.e., Confucius]." Cf. line of text to Liú Xīn 劉歆 (ob. 23 C.E.), "Yíshū ràng tàicháng bóshì" 移書讓太常博士 (Hs 36.1968, or Wén xuǎn, 43.1952): "When Confucius died, the profound words became inaccessible" 夫子沒而微言絕, and l. 7 of Cài Yōng's inscription in "Stele Inscription for Tàiqiū Magistrate Chén."

Lines ending in "collapse" (zhuì 墜) and "extinction" (jué 絕) rime as matched rimes: 脂 (qù shēng) and 微 (rù shēng) groups.

[22] "Chinstraps and tassels" (yīng ruí 纓綏) is a metonym for "prominent nobles," deriving from the headwear associated with the latter.

Witnessed his presence and like shadows attached [themselves to him],[24]

Heard his fine voice and as echoes harmonized [with his],[25]

Just as the sundry streams turn unto the great sea,[26]

And the scaly and shelly creatures pay homage to the tortoise and the dragon.[27]

And then,

---

[23] "Sashes and girdle-pendants" (shēn pèi 紳佩) is a metonym for "scholar-officials" deriving from the latter's court apparel. Pèi alone refers to the jade pendants that hang from the girdles. See Máo Comm. to Máo shī 91/2 (Máo shī zhèngyì, 4D.6b).

[24] Cf. Yáng Xióng's 揚雄 (53 B.C.E.-18 C.E.) "Hélíng fù" 覈靈賦: "The branches are appended and leaves follow, / Manifestations are established and shadows accompany" 支附葉從, 表立景隨, cited in Lǐ Shàn's Comm. to Wén xuǎn, 58.2502.

CZwj (Lánxuě táng ed. and Sbck), 2.1b, introduces the graphic error lèi 累 in place of yǐng 景/影.

[25] "Fine voice" or "fine music" (jiāshēng 嘉聲) is a metonym for reputation. This line reflects the last verse of the previous couplet with its reference to girdle-pendants. The sound of tinkling jade pendants was traditionally associated with nobility, excellence, and virtue (=power); see, for instance, Máo shī 83/2: "Setting out and roaming, / Her jade girdle pendants tinkling; / That beautiful eldest lady Jiang / A virtuous sound not to be forgotten" (cf. Legge, 137).

Cf. Zhuāngzǐ, "Zài yòu piān" (Zhuāngzǐ jiàoquán), 1: 11.405: "The teachings of the great man are like the relation of forms to shadows, like the relation of sounds to echoes." The sense of this couplet is that Guō Tài's reputation was like a beautiful voice drawing admirers from among those in high social or official positions.

[26] Cf. Shàngshū dàzhuān 尚書大傳, attributed to Fú Shēng 伏生 (b. ca. 260 B.C.E.), cited in Lǐ Shàn's Wén xuǎn Comm., 58.2502: "The sundry streams move towards the Eastern Sea." (The Eastern Sea was the great sea now known as the Yellow Sea.)

[27] Cf. Dà Dài Lǐjì (Hàn Wèi cóngshū, 1791), "Zēngzǐ tiān yuán piān," 5.7b, "The finest of the shelled crawlers is the tortoise; the finest of the scaly crawlers is the dragon."

He lay submerged, hidden in a crude hut,[28]

receiving his friends and exerting himself in teaching--

the young novices depending on him,[29]

he thereby dispelled their ignorance.[30]

[Chiefs of] regions and commanderies heard of his virtue.

They humbled themselves by providing gifts.[31]

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[28] Cf. Máo shī 138/1 (Legge, 207). The Máo Comm. (Máo shī zhèngyì, 7A.7a) explains that "héng mén 衡門 means a door built of cross pieces of wood, and suggests the lowliness and rusticity of the hermitage."

CZj (Sbby), 2.1b, stands alone among the versions in having dé 德 ("virtue") in place of yǐn 隱 ("hidden"), thus, "He kept his virtue hidden [qián 潛] in a crude hut." This is probably a graphic error.

[29] See Zhōu yì zhèngyì, "Tuàn zhuàn," on the hexagram for Méng 蒙, 1.32b (Wilhelm/Baynes, 20-21): "It is not I who seek the young fool; the young fool seeks me." Baynes states in a footnote (20 n. 1) that "young fool" (for tóngméng 童蒙) "should be understood to mean the immaturity of youth and its consequent lack of wisdom, rather than mere stupidity." "Novice" avoids misconstruing the sense of the bēiwén line.

[30] CZwj (Lánxuě táng and Sbck eds.), 2.1b, have the graphic variant 祛 for the other versions' 袪. On this, see Xǔ Xùnxíng, Wén xuǎn bǐjì, in Xuǎnxué cóngshū, 2: 8.70a/b.

Guō Tài's biography in the HHs 68.2226, states: "When the factional affair was instigated, many renowned gentlemen suffered; only Línzōng and Yuán Hóng of Rúnán managed to escape it. Guō Tài retired to his home to teach, and his students were to have run over a thousand." This event refers to the first period of proscription of men identified as factionalists in opposition to the emperor. Court eunuchs instigated the proscription in February of 167 with charges against Colonel Director of the Retainers Lǐ Yīng 李膺, recognized as an anti-eunuch leader, and many others. This period of proscription ended a year later, although a longer period of proscription, known as the Great Proscription, began in 169 C.E.

The lines ending in "depending on him" (lái [yǎn] 賴〔焉〕) and "ignorance" (bì 蔽) rime in 祭 group, qù shēng.

No one could get him into his service.

The coterie of excellencies praised him.

Thereupon

he was summoned to be a clerk for the Minister over the Masses[32] and

again was elevated to "Holder of Principle,"[33]

but in both cases he declined on the pretext of illness.[34]

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[31] Cf. Hán shī wàizhuàn (Sbck), 2.10b (Hightower, 55), "The superior man is filled with moral power but is humble. He empties himself to receive [the influences of] others. . . ."

[32] Yuàn 掾 is rendered by Bielenstein as "division head" and by Hucker as "Administrator" (A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China [Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1985], 595.8220). Gāo Bùyíng (281) cites Sīmǎ Biāo's 司馬彪 (ca. 240-ca. 306) Xù Hàn shū 續漢書, "Bǎi guān zhì" A, that states there were thirty-one yuàn assisting the Minister over the Masses (sītú 司徒). He also quotes from the Commentary to Wáng Liáng's 王良 HHs biography, 27.933, in a way that suggests that yuàn was a post peculiar to the bureaus overseen by the Minister over the Masses. This is not the case; his abridgment of the text is misleading. The original text of the Comm. does not read, "A yuàn is an official of the Minister over the Masses," but "Yuàn refers to Bào Huī, who was a yuànlì [掾吏= 掾] for the Minister over the Masses." The Minister over the Masses referred to in the bēiwén is Huáng Qióng 黃瓊; see Guō Tài's biography in the HHs 68.2225.

[33] Yǒudào 有道 was one of a number of titles awarded through the recommendation system of Hàn-era civil service recruitment to men with specified moral traits who were considered highly promising candidates for office. On these titles and the recommendation system, see Hans Bielenstein, The Bureaucracy of Han Times, 133, and Rafe de Crespigny's article, "The Recruitment System of the Imperial Bureaucracy of the Late Han," Chung-chi Journal, 6/1 (1966): 67-78.

[34] See Guō Tài's biography in the HHs 68.2225: "Minister over the Masses Huáng Qióng summoned him to service, and Grand Master of Ceremonies Zhào Diǎn 趙典 recommended him as 'Holder of Principle.' When someone urged Línzōng to assume office, he responded, 'By night I observe the celestial signs, and by day I look into the affairs of the world; "what Heaven is toppling cannot be supported."' Subsequently, in both cases he did not respond." (Guō Tài invokes here Zuǒ zhuàn, Dīng 1, where there is the graph huài 壞 in place of fèi 廢, with little semantic difference.)

Moreover,[35]

he followed the ancient traces of Hóngyá 鴻涯,[36]

carried on the remote tracks of Cháo[fù] 巢父 and [Xǔ] Yóu 許由;[37]

he soared beyond the world to spread his wings,

ascended the Celestial Thoroughfare to stand on high.[38]

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[35] Yìwén lèijù, 37.657, adds the graph fāng 方 before jiāng 將.

[36] Hóngyá 鴻 (or, 洪)涯 was a famed immortal of antiquity, but beyond that he is difficult to identify. See Zhāng Héng's "Xījīng fù" 西京賦 in Wén xuǎn, 2.76 (Knechtges, 1: 231, 230, l. 697n); Gě Hóng's 葛洪 (Jìn dyn.) Shénxiān zhuàn 神仙傳, cited in Lǐ Shàn's Wén xuǎn Comm., 58.2502.

[37] CZj (Sbby), 2.1b; CZj (Wāng Shìxián ed.), 527; and CZwj (Lánxuě táng ed. and Sbck), 2.1b, have Yóu 由 in place of the other versions' Xǔ 許 in representing Xǔ Yóu's name.

Cháofù and Xǔ Yóu were legendary hermits of high antiquity. According to legend, Emperor Yáo first wanted to abdicate his throne to Cháofù, but the latter refused. He then wanted to abdicate to Xǔ Yóu, who also declined. Cháofù, whose name means "Treenester," secluded himself in a "nest" he had built in a tree. Xǔ Yóu retired to Jīshān 箕山. Upon hearing Yáo's second request that he take command of the realm, Xǔ Yóu washed out his ears. (Another version of the story has Cháofù washing his ears.) See Huángfǔ Mì's 皇甫謐 (215-282) Gāoshì zhuàn 高士傳 (Hàn Wèi cóngshū, 1791), A.2a/b (Lǐ Shàn's citation [Wén xuǎn, 58.2502] gives the source as Yìshì zhuàn 逸士傳): "Cháofù was a hermit of the time of Yáo. . . . When Yáo was to abdicate his throne to Xǔ Yóu, [Xǔ] Yóu took up telling Cháofù about it. Cháofù asked, 'Why do you not hide yourself? If you do not sequester your brilliance, then you are not my confrere.'" See also Yáng Xióng, Fǎ yán (Hàn Wèi cóngshū, 1791), 5.3b; Jī Kāng 嵇康 (233-262), "Shèngxián Gāoshì zhuàn zàn" 聖賢高士傳贊, in Jī Kāng jí jiàozhù 嵇康集校注 (Běijīng: Rénmín wénxué chūbǎnshè, 1962), 399; Zhuāngzǐ "Xiāoyáo yóu" (Zhuāngzǐ jiàoquán), 1: 1.21-22; Wáng Yìnglín 王應麟 (1223-1296), Kùnxué jìwén, in Wēng zhù Kùnxué jìwén 翁注困學紀聞 edited by Wēng Yuánqí 翁元圻 (1750-1825) (Sbby), 12.20a; Aat Vervoorn, Men of the Cliffs and Caves: The Development of the Chinese Eremetic Tradition to the End of the Han Dynasty (Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press, 1990), 213-14, and throughout the book passim.

His mandated lifespan was not long: the years he enjoyed were forty and two, and he died on the yǐhài 乙亥 day of the first month of Jiànníng 建寧 2 [169 C.E.].[39]

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[38] Tiān qú 天衢, "Celestial Thoroughfare," can stand figuratively for a high place, as in Hs, "Xù zhuàn" B, 100B.4249: "To mount the dragon and cleave to the phoenix, both ways to ascend the Celestial Thoroughfare" (i.e., climb the backs of others' successes), and metaphorically for the capital, e.g., in Zhāng Héng's "Xījīng fù," Wén xuǎn, 2.51: "Did he not pay respectful attention to the Celestial Thoroughfare?" (i.e., Luoyang; trans. Knechtges, 1:185, l. 82). Although it possibly connotes the capital in the bēiwén's context, its figurative sense works as well.

The lines ending in "wings" (yì 翼) and "stand" (zhì 峙) rime in the 之 (rù shēng and shǎng shēng) group.

[39] Wén xuǎn, 58.2502; Quán Hòu Hàn wén, 76.1b; CZj (Dīng Fúbǎo ed.), 8.1a; and Jiāng Rènxiū's version (Liǎng Hàn jīn shí jì, 17.7a) say "forty and two" instead of the other versions' "forty and three." Guō Tài's HHs biography, 68.2227, also says "forty and two." As stated elsewhere in his biography, 68.2226, two members of the regency triumvirate at the start of Emperor Líng's reign, the Grand Tutor Chén Fān 陳蕃 and the General-in-chief Dòu Wǔ 竇武 died in the course of court intrigue in Jiànníng 1, or 168 C.E. (The third member of the regency triumvirate was Hú Guǎng 胡廣, who survived.) The biography continues (68.2227) to say that Guō Tài died in the spring of the following year, hence, Jiànníng 2 or 169. This is confirmed elsewhere (see HHs, "Xiào Língdì jì," 7.329).

There is some controversy over the specific date, with scholars arguing whether or not there could have been an yǐhài 乙亥 day in the first month of that year. In the Annals of Emperor Líng of the HHs ("Xiào Língdì jì," 7.330) there is a record of a dīngchǒu 丁丑 day in that month, and two days prior to that would have been yǐhài. Nonetheless, by taking into account the records of other dates near this one, some scholars contend that the dīngchǒu date is also wrong. A citation in Lì Dàoyuán's 酈道元 (No. Wèi dyn.) Shuǐ jīng zhù (Sbck), 6.7a, gives the dīnghài day of the first month of Jiànníng 2 (a woodblock ed. has Jiànníng 4), but the date poses similar problems to that of yǐhài. See Gāo Bùyíng (282) for a summary of the arguments. He does not draw a conclusion, hoping that some crack expert on the calendar might someday resolve it. See also Zhū Jiàn 朱珔 (1759-1850), Wén xuǎn jíshì 文選集釋, in Xuǎnxué cóngshū (Tāiběi: Guǎngwén shūjú, 1966), vol. 4, 24.15-16. (Gāo Bùyíng briefly presents Zhū Jiàn's argument in his summary of positions).

All of us from the four directions who share this common love for him long thought of him and grieved and mourned--there was absolutely no place where we could put aside our thoughts.[40] Then,

his companions ruminated on the virtue of the late gentleman,

thereby pondering imperishable deeds.[41]

We all believed that when a worthy of the past had died[42]

for his virtuous reputation to be preserved,[43]

for its part required someone to write about him.[44]

As for now, how could we omit this observance![45]

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[40] According to Shuǐ jīng zhù (Sbck), 6.7a, these mourners included, besides Cài Yōng, Cài Yōng's colleagues Lú Zhí 盧植 (ob. 192) and Mǎ Mìdī 馬日磾.

[41] CZj (Sbby), 2.2a; CZj (Wāng Shìxián ed.), 527; and CZwj (Lánxuě táng ed. and Sbck), 2.1b, have the synonymous lexical variant tú 圖 in place of the other versions' móu 謀.

See Zuǒ zhuàn, Xiāng 24: "I have heard it said that in the highest case virtue is established; in the second, merit is established; and in the third, speech is established. If these stand a long time and are not abrogated, this is what is meant by, 'They do not decay'" (cf. Legge, 507).

Another possible interpretation of the bēiwén line is "And considered ways to make it everlasting."

[42] On xiānmín 先民, see Máo shī 254/3 (Legge, 501).

[43] On déyīn 德音, cf. Máo shī 35/1, (Legge, 55); Máo shī 83/2, (Legge, 137); and see note 24 above.

[44] CZj (Zhāng Pǔ ed.), 2.41b, and CZj (Wāng Shìxián ed.), 527, have the lexical variant jì 紀 for the other editions' jiàn 見. Jiàn serves as a passive marker, lit., "it depends on [i.e., requires] its being narrated." Jì changes the clause to an active tense, but there is little change in the overall sense of the line: "it depends on recording and narrating it."

Thereupon, we set up memorial tablets to honor his grave,[46] and displayed inscriptions about his noble conduct,[47] allowing his fragrant achievements to inspire for a hundred generations,[48] and his fine reputation to shine everlastingly.[49] The text says:

Alas! our seignior

2 Illustrated virtue and comprehended mystery,[50]

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[45] The lines ending in "died" (mò 沒), "write about [him]" (shù 述), and "observance" (lǐ 禮) rime in the 脂 group (the first in rù shēng and the latter two in shǎng shēng). Note the meter of the seven lines that end here: 7-6-7-6-7-4-4.

[46] CZj (Sbby), 2.2a, and CZwj (Lánxuě táng ed. and Sbck), 2.2a, have the lexical variant jiàn 建 (to erect), in place of the other versions' shù 樹 (to plant).

[47] Quán Hòu Hàn wén, 76.1b, and CZj (Dīng Fúbǎo ed.), 8.1a, have the lexical variant míng 明 for the other versions' míng 銘 (inscriptions), thus: "and displayed his brilliant and noble conduct."

On jǐngxíng 景行, cf. Máo shī 218/5 (Legge, 393); see also Zhèng Xuán's 鄭玄 (127-200 C.E.) notes in Máo shī zhèngyì, 14B.15b-16a.

[48] Cf. Mèngzi, 7B/15: "For a hundred generations afterward, among those who hear of them, no one is not roused" (cf. Legge, 485).

[49] CZj (Zhāng Pǔ ed.), 2.41b; CZj (Wāng Shìxián ed.), 528; and Jiāng Rènxiū's version (Liǎng Hàn jīn shí jì, 17.7a), have 聞 in place of the other versions' 問.

Lǐ Shàn's Comm. to Wén xuǎn, 58.2502, makes reference to the Shī jīng. The line, as given (顯顯令問), actually comes from Shǐ Cén's 史岑 (ca. 69-ca. 148) "Chūshī sòng" 出師頌, in Wén xuǎn, 47.2098. The Máo shī 249/1 (Legge, 481) line ends in dé 德 ("virtue") instead of wèn 問 (=聞 "reputation"). The collation notes to the Hú Kèjiā ed. of the Wén xuǎn, 58.2505, indicate that there may be an omission in the Comm. It originally may have read to refer first to Mao shi 252/6 (Legge, 493), and then to Shǐ Cén's piece. See also Xǔ Xùnxíng, Wén xuǎn bǐjì, in Xuǎnxué cóngshū, 2: 8.70b-71a.

His unadulterated goodness and pure intelligence--

4 He received them from Heaven.

Lofty and strong, recondite and profound,

6 Like a mountain, like a gulf.

Rituals and Music: these he delighted in.

---

[50] Cf. the beginning of Dàxué: "The Great Learning's way rests with illustrating illustrious virtue. . . " (cf. Legge, 356).

The term xuán 玄 ("mystery") poses some difficulties. Tāng Yòngtóng 湯用彤 in Wèi Jìn xuánxué lùn gǎo 魏晉玄學論稿 (Běijīng: Rénmín chūbǎnshè, 1957), 48-49, and cited in Xǔ Jié 許結, Hàndài wénxué sīxiǎngshǐ 漢代文學思想史 (Nánjīng: Nánjīng dàxué chūbǎnshè, 1990), 355 n. 2, says that the views of Eastern Hàn scholars on xuán differed from those of the succeeding Wèi-Jìn period. He explains that for Yáng Xióng (see his philosophical treatise Tàixuán 太玄 [Great Mystery]) it is related to the cosmic order of Heaven and Earth; it is another word for Tiān Dào 天道, the Way of Heaven. Yáng Xióng's understanding of this concept shunts aside the occult tendencies of apocryphal writings and prognosticatory charts, and the prevailing popular interest in transcendental beings, and yet it is closely tied to the interrelationships of Heaven, Earth, and Man, particularly as they bear on the significance of calamities and anomalies on governmental affairs. Zhāng Héng 張衡 (78-139; Xuán tú 玄圖 and "Sī xuán fù" 思玄賦), too, perceives xuán at the center of the cosmic order. Concerned as he is with cosmogony, his inquiry does not venture beyond space and time, but is directed towards the origin and basis of the phenomenal. In short, Tāng says, Hàn scholars "consign Heaven's Way to nature." Those embracing the Wèi-Jìn concept of xuán are eminently concerned with the underlying principle of reality: what's really real about Heaven, Earth, and the myriad creatures. Theirs is a search for the noumenon, the root apart from the phenomenal world; they are not interested in things and their heavenly counterparts. Their search is an inner journey. Xǔ Jié is dissatisfied with Tāng's dating of the change in the conceptualization of xuán. He says the theory espoused by Yáng Xióng held preeminent position from the late Western Hàn to the mid-Eastern Hàn. But the fin de siècle had already seen a shift toward the succeeding Wèi-Jìn views. In Xǔ Jié's opinion, this change parallels, indeed is linked to, the emergence of individual consciousness among literati of this time.

Songs and Documents: these he honored.[51]

He not only gathered up the flowers,[52]

But also searched for their roots.

The walls of the house are manifold fathoms high--

He truly found the gate.[53]

Deep in his purity,

Solid in his probity.[54]

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[51] Cf. Zuǒ zhuàn, Xī 27: "He takes delight in Rituals and Music; he honors Songs and Documents." Kǒng Yǐngdá 孔穎達 (574-648) (Chūnqiū Zuǒ zhuàn zhèngyì, 16.11b) glosses yuè 說 as "to delight in" (愛樂之), and dūn 敦 as "to honor" (厚重之). James Legge interprets them differently (201), as "explains," and, "is versed in."

[52] Cf. Yáng Xióng, Fǎ yán (Hàn Wèi cóngshū, 1791), 5.1b: "He gathered my flowers, but did not eat my fruit."

[53] Cf. Lúnyǔ, 19/23: Confucius' disciple Zǐgòng responds to the report of a remark by Shúsūn Wǔshú that Zǐgòng is superior to his Master: "Let's take the example of the outer walls of our houses as an analogy: My outer walls reach shoulder height. One might peep over them and spy the quality of the house and household. The Master's outer walls are several fathoms high. If one does not find the gate and enter, one will not see the beauty of the ancestral temples, nor the sumptuousness of the sundry officials. Since those who find the door are, I suggest, few, what the Master [here referring to Shúsūn Wǔshú] has said, is it not, for its part, what ought to have been expected?" (cf. Legge, 347). Zǐgòng suggests that Shúsūn Wǔshú does not know what he's talking about; he can't see over Confucius' walls.

[54] Lǐ Shàn (Wén xuǎn, 58.2503) cites Zhōu yì, "Qián guà," "Wén yán zhuàn" (Zhōu yì zhèngyì, 1.12a/b; Wilhelm/Baynes, 379): "This means a person who has the character of a dragon but remains concealed. . . . Verily, he cannot be uprooted; he is a hidden dragon." Wilhelm/Baynes translates què 確 as "verily," whereas I give it, in the inscription's context, full weight as "solid." Cf. also Mèngzi 3B/10 (Legge, 285).

Wave after wave of officials[55]

16 Admired his eminence.[56]

Resting secluded on Woody Knoll,[57]

18 He was good at guiding and able at teaching.[58]

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[55] Jìnshēn 搢紳, lit. "stick into girdle," is a kenning for officials, referring to their custom of putting the tablets they bore to imperial audiences into their girdles. Cf. Cài Yōng's biography, HHs, 60B.2006, "Of the scholar-officials [=scholars who stick tablets in their girdles] and of the various savants, no one did not have tears flowing." Cf. also Shǐ jì, "Fēng shàn shū," 28.1384.

[56] CZwj (Sbck), 2.2a, has the lexical variant ér 而 in place of the other versions' qí 其. I regard ér as an error and follow the other versions.

[57] Lǐ Shàn's Wén xuǎn Comm., 58.2503, cites Máo shī 138/1 (Legge, 207): "Beneath my door made of cross pieces of wood, / I can rest at my leisure; / By the wimpling stream from my fountain, / I can joy amid my hunger." Wáng Niànsūn 王念孫 (1744-1832), Dú shū zázhì 讀書雜志 (Jīnlíng shūjú, 1870), Yúbiān B.69a, rejects the notion that what the Máo shī refers to by bì 泌, spring waters, is what is meant here. Wáng notes that the Guǎngyǎ 廣雅, "Shì qiū" (see Guǎngyǎ shūzhèng [Sbby], 9B.8a) describes a hill covered with trees as bìqiū 秘邱, and he adds that the graphs 泌, 祕 and 秘 can be taken as graphic variants. Apparently the Lǔ school of the Shī jīng took bì as the name of a hill (Gāo Bùyíng, 283, attributes this idea to Chén Qiáocōng 陳喬樅 [1809-1869]; see Lǔ shī yíshuō kǎo 魯詩遺說攷 [1840], 6.13a/b, in Huáng Qīng jīngjiè xùbiān, compiled by Wáng Xiānqiān [1842-1918] [Nánjīng: Nánjīng shūyuàn, 1888]); Wáng Niànsūn (and later, Bernhard Karlgren) suggests that Cài Yōng follows this interpretation here and in "Rǔnán Zhōu Jùshēng bēi" 汝南周巨勝碑 ("Epitaph for Zhōu Jùshēng of Rǔnán," CZj (Sbby), 2.9a-11a): "Wide and spacious is the Woody Knoll" 洋洋泌丘. Karlgren translates the line of the Guō bēiwén as "I rest at the Pi hill," misconstruing the subject (or, at least, being unconcerned with the true subject). He notes that the etymology of bì is not at all clear. My translation "Woody Knoll" is a fanciful rendition; it could as well be "Spring Hill," or, as Karlgren suggests, "Bì Hill." This is ultimately a metaphor for Guō's being in seclusion. See Karlgren, "Glosses on the Kuo Feng Odes," 221 n. 336.

[58] Cf. Lúnyǔ, 9/10: "The Master, in an orderly fashion, is good at guiding others" (cf. Legge, 220).

The glorious and illustrious Three Functionaries[59]

Several times summoned him.[60]

He tactfully declined recruitment and recommendation,[61]

Protecting his immaculateness and abstruseness.

The years bestowed on him were not long[62]--

And so the people sadly grieved for him.

Thus we carve this inscription

Setting forth his glory and brilliance for all to see.

O! for generations to come[63]

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[59] Yìwén lèijù, 37.657, has the graphic error gōnggōng 恭恭 ("reverent and respectful") in place of the other versions' hèhè 赫赫.

Cf. Máo shī 191/1, 2: "The glorious and illustrious Grand Master Yīn" (cf. Legge, 309, 310). A Grand Master (Tàishī 太師) in the Zhōu was one of the "Three Excellencies" (Sān gōng 三公), a general name throughout much of Chinese history for the top three ministers of the king or emperor. The "Three Functionaries" (Sān shì 三事) is a synonym for "Three Excellencies," the Grand Commandant (tàiwèi 太尉), Minister over the Masses (sītú 司徒), and the Minister of Works (sīkōng 司空). In this instance, it specifically refers to the Minister over the Masses, Huáng Qióng, and Zhào Diǎn, who as Grand Master of Ceremonies was not truly one of the Three Excellencies, but a high official associated with the Supreme Commander. See Zhèng Xuán's gloss in Máo shī zhèngyì, 12B.11b.

[60] Yìwén lèijù, 37.657, has the graphic error hé 何 in place of the other versions' xíng 行.

[61] Yìwén lèijù, 37.657, has the lexical variants míng yuán 名員 ("renown and position") in place of zhàogòng 召貢 in the other versions.

[62] Cf. Shàng shū zhèngyì, "Gāozōng róngrì," 10.10a (Karlgren, 26, no. 3; Legge, 264).

[63] CZwj (Lánxuě táng and Sbck eds.), 2.2a, have the lexical variant yǒng 永 in place of the other versions' ěr 爾.

28 This may you follow! This may you imitate![64]

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[64] Cf. Máo shī 161/2: "Gentlemen, this may you follow, this may you imitate!" (cf. Legge, 246), and cited in Zuǒ zhuàn, Zhāo 7 (Legge, 619).

Prosody: The rime structure for the text of the inscription is as follows: ll. 1 and 3 (生,靈) rime in the 耕 group, píng shēng; ll. 2, 4, and 6 (玄,天,淵) rime in the 眞 group, píng shēng; the previous two groups are also matching rimes; ll. 8, 10, 12, and 13 (敦,根,門,純) rime in the 文 group, píng shēng, which rimes together with the previous group; ll. 14, 16, 18, and 20 (操,高,教,招) rime in the 宵 group, píng shēng; ll. 22, 24, 26, and 28 (妙,掉,耀,效) rime in the 宵 group, qù shēng. All the lines are tetrasyllabic.

APPENDIX M

CÀI YŌNG'S "CHÉN TÀIQIŪ BĒI" 陳太丘碑

"STELE INSCRIPTION FOR TÀIQIŪ MAGISTRATE CHÉN"[1]

The late gentleman by the venerable name Shí 寔, styled Zhònggōng 仲弓, was a man from Xǔ prefecture 許縣 in Yǐngchuān 潁川.[2] He embodied the harmony of the

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[1] For the Chinese text, see CZj (Sbby), 2.5b-8a (to be distinguished from a second piece with the same title, alternately known as "Chén Tàiqiū miào bēi" 陳太丘廟碑); CZj (Zhāng Pǔ ed.), 2.35a-37a; CZj (Dīng Fúbǎo ed.), 10.1a/b (followed by a second piece as in Sbby); CZj (Wāng Shìxián ed.), 516-19; CZwj (Lánxuě táng ed. and Sbck), 2.4b-6b (to be distinguished from a second piece as in Sbby); Wén xuǎn, 58.2504-7; Quán Hòu Hàn wén, 78.1a-2a. Title follows Sbby. Dated by Gōng Kèchāng to the eighth month of Zhōngpíng 3 (186 C.E.) (Hàn fù yánjiū, 293). A Japanese translation is available in Obi Kōichi, Monzen, 3: 407-17. A thoroughly annotated text is provided in Gāo Bù ying's Liǎng Hàn wén jǔyào, 271-78; annotations and translation into the modern vernacular can be found in Lǐ Jīngyíng's Zhāomíng Wén xuǎn xīnjiě, 6: 266-71. Textual notes by Xǔ Hàn, with modern annotation, are in Yáng kè "Cài Zhōngláng jí" jiàokān jì, 2.16-17.

An old gazetteer cited by Gāo Bùyíng, 271, notes that Chén Shí's 陳寔 grave (zhǒng 冢) was located west of Chánggé prefecture 長葛縣 (Hénán, SE of Zhèng xiàn 鄭縣, N of Xǔchāng xiàn 許昌縣). The Hénán tōngzhì 河南通志 (compiled by Sūn Hào 孫灝 [Qīng] et al.; ed. Tiān Wénjìng 田文鏡 [1662-1732], et al.; 1869; reprint, 1914), "Líng mù," 49.31a, records the location of Chén Shí's grave (mù 墓) as 20 lǐ west of modern Yǎnchéng xiàn 郾城縣 in Hénán, about 70 km. due south of the position given by Gāo Bùyíng's source.

For Chén Shí's (104-186 C.E.) official biography see HHs 62.2065-67.

[2] CZj (Zhāng Pǔ ed.), 2.35a; CZj (Wāng Shìxián ed.), 516; CZwj (Lánxuě táng ed. and Sbck), 2.4b: all state Xǔchāng prefecture 許昌縣 in place of Xǔ prefecture 許縣. Lǐ Shàn's Wén xuǎn Comm. (58.2504) states that in the Hs ("Dìlǐ zhì," 28A.1560), Yǐngchuān commandery is said to have had a Xǔ prefecture; the Wèi shū of the Sānguó zhì 三國志 (comp. Chén Shòu 陳壽 [233-297] [Běijīng: Zhōnghuá shūjú, 1962]), "Wéndì jì," 2.64, states that Emperor Wén, in Huángchū 2 (221

primal essence, and resonated with the cycle of fate.[3] He was completely endowed with the nine virtues, and wholly cultivated the sundry aspects of proper conduct.[4] In his

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C.E.) changed Xǔ prefecture to Xǔchāng prefecture. Hence, in Cài Yōng's time it wasn't yet Xǔchāng prefecture. Gāo Bùyíng (271) notes that Xù Hàn shū gives Xǔ prefecture as the capital of Yīngchuān commandery. Chén Shí's HHs biography, 62.2065, states that he was from Xǔ prefecture (about 90 km. SE of modern Zhèngzhōu).

[3] Lǐ Shàn's Wén xuǎn Comm. (58.2504) refers to the Yì tōng guàyàn 易通卦驗 which states, "The earlier rises of the great sovereigns splendorously contained the primal essence [yuánjīng 元精]." And Wáng Chōng's Lùn héng ("Chāo qí," [Sbck], 13.19b) says, "Heaven takes in the primal pneuma, people receive the primal essence." Gāo Bùyíng (271) refers to the "Láng Yǐ zhuàn 郎顗傳" in HHs 30B.1070: "What are produced by the primal essence are the clerks and ministers of the king."

Lǐ Shàn also cites Mèngzi 2B/13 in which Mencius states that a king should appear every five hundred years, "and in the meantime there will invariably be those renowned in their generation" (cf. Legge, 232). Gāo Bùyíng (272) cites Lǚ Xiàng 呂向 (fl. 723, one of the Wǔchén Wén xuǎn commentators) who says that "'the cycle of fate' is the period during which, in five hundred years time, worthies ought to arise." See also John Makeham's Name and Actuality in Early Chinese Thought, SUNY Series in Chinese Philosophy and Culture, ed. David L. Hall and Roger T. Ames (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1994), 14, and Chi-yun Chen's Hsün Yüeh and the Mind of Late Han China (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980), 119 n. 2, for a discussion of shù 數 (lit., numbers), which Chen translates as "mechanism" and says that in the Yì jīng tradition was for some scholars "the principle of synchronicity." F. W. Mote, in a note to his translation of K. C. Hsiao's Zhōngguó zhèngzhì sīxiǎngshǐ, titled, A History of Chinese Political Thought, Vol. 1, From the Beginnings to the Sixth Century A.D. (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1979), 477 n. 24, comments on the difficulty of rendering in English such terms as shù in its various applications. In a passage translating from Xīn shū 新書, attributed to Jiǎ Yí 賈誼 (200-168 B.C.E.), Mote chooses "key" (477); in translating Zhòngcháng Tǒng 仲長統, he uses "the constant great design" (546). My choice of "cycle" or "period" is in accord with the sense of the Mèngzi passage just cited.

[4] See Shàngshū zhèngyì, "Gāo Yáo mó," 4.18b-19a: "Gāo Yáo said, 'Oh, in conduct there are nine virtues: When we say that this man has virtue, we say that he shows it in his actions.' Yǔ said, 'What are they?' Gāo Yáo replied, 'Magnanimous and yet wary, mild and yet steadfast, forthright and yet respectful, brings order and yet is cautious, is humble and yet bold, straightforward and yet gentle, to the point and yet conscientious, hard and yet just, strong and yet decorous. Displaying these with constancy is truly propitious!'" (cf. Karlgren, 8, no. 3, and Legge 70-71).

community he was respectful and deferential, poised and well-balanced.[5] He was good at guiding people,[6] good at showing the way, was humane and cared for others, rendering young and old, then, all to feel reassured and return unto him.[7] As for his

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Lǐ Shàn (58.2504) cites Kǒng Zāng's 孔臧 (ca. 201 B.C.E.-ca. 123 B.C.E.) "Yǔ Zǐ Lín shū 與子琳書 (Lǐ Shàn gives the source as "Yǔ cóng dì shū 與從弟書"): "What a scholar adorns himself with is the sundry aspects of proper conduct [bǎi xíng 百行]" (see Quán Hàn wén, 13.6a).

Gāo Bùyíng adds (273) that Gù Guǎngqí 顧廣圻 (1776-1835), in the latter's notes to his collation of Cài Yōng's collection, pointed out that another famous bēiwén writer and a contemporary of Cài Yōng, Hándān Chún 邯鄲淳, made reference to the "nine virtues" and "the sundry aspects of proper conduct" in an epitaph for Chén Shí's eldest son, Chén Yuánfāng 陳元方: "Within he embraced the nine virtues, without he brought together the sundry aspects of proper conduct" ("Hòu Hàn Hónglú Chén Jūn bēi" 後漢鴻臚陳君碑, in Gǔwén yuàn, 499.

[5] Cf. Lúnyǔ 10/1: "In his village, Confucius was respectful and deferential" (cf. Legge, 227), and 6.16, "When outward refinement and nature are well-balanced, then one has an exemplary person" (cf. Legge, 190).

[6] Cf. Lúnyǔ 9/10 (Legge, 220) and 12.12 (Legge, 260). The variant xǐ yòu 喜誘 for shàn yòu 善誘 in CZj (Dīng Fúbǎo ed.), 10.1a, is a graphic error.

[7] Cf. Lúnyǔ 5/25: "Zǐ Lù said, 'I would like to hear the aims of the Master.' The Master said, 'With respect to the aged, to render them assured; with respect to my friends, to inspire trust in them; with respect to the young, to return them unto me'" (cf. Legge, 183). (Pseudo-?) Kǒng Ānguó's 孔安國 (fl. 126-117 B.C.E.) commentary to the passage in Shàngshū, "Gāo Yáo mó" (Shàngshū zhèngyì, 4.18a), "If [a ruler] makes the people secure, then he is kind, and the numerous people will huái 懷 him" (cf. Karlgren, 8, no. 2, and Legge, 70), states that "[If a ruler] shows concern, then the people will return [guī 歸] to him." Hé Yàn 何晏 (ob. 149), in his commentary to the Lúnyǔ passage (Lúnyǔ zhùshū, 5.11b), cites Kǒng Ānguó's gloss that huái 懷 means guī 歸 (to return). Xíng Bǐng 邢昺 (932-1010), in his subcommentary to the same passage (Lúnyǔ zhùshū, 5.12a) further explains: "[The Master] is saying that to desire the aged to be reassured is to serve them with filial piety and respect, to desire friends to be trusting is not to take advantage of them in your dealings, and to desire the young to return [guī 歸] is to bestow them with kindnesses."

way of acting: Employed, he carried out his duties; set aside, he lay retired.[8] In "advancing and retreating he can serve as a standard."[9] He did not appropriate or expose others to seek favor in his times.[10] He did not transfer his anger or repeat his transgressions in dealing with his subordinates.[11] Four times he served in a

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[8] Cf. Lúnyǔ 7/10: "The Master said to Yán Yuān, 'If employed, one carries out his duties; if set aside, he lies retired: Only you and I have this!'" (cf. Legge, 197).

[9] Xiào jīng zhùshū, "Shèng zhì zhāng," 5.7b. Táng Xuánzōng 唐玄宗 (8th c.) says in his commentary to the Xiào jīng: "Advancing and retreating means being industrious and being quiescent. [If in these two things] one does not transgress ritual and laws, then one can serve as a standard." In his subcommentary (Xiào jīng zhùshū, 5.8a), Yuán Xíngchōng 元行沖 (653-729) cites the Zhōu yì zhèngyì, "Commentary on the Judgment" ("Tuàn zhuàn") on the hexagram for Gèn 艮 (5.27a): "When it's time to stop, then stop; when it's time to act, then act. Being industrious and being quiescent do not misappropriate their time. This way is bright and glorious" (cf. Wilhelm and Baynes, 253).

[10] Cf. Lúnyǔ 17/24: "'Cì, do you also have antipathies?' 'I detest those who appropriate [others' ideas] and regard it as their own knowledge. . . . I detest those who expose others and regard it as being straightforward'" (cf. Legge, 329-30). In his commentary, Hé Yàn (Lúnyǔ zhùshū, 17.11a) cites Kǒng Ānguó's gloss that jiāo 徼 means "to appropriate someone else's ideas as one's own."

[11] Cf. Lúnyǔ 6/2: "Duke Āi asked who, among his disciples, was fond of learning. Confucius replied, 'There was Yán Huí. He loved to learn. He did not transfer his anger and did not repeat his transgressions [不遷怒、不貳過]'" (cf. Legge, 185). Cài Yōng's line--as found in CZj (Zhāng Pǔ ed.), 2.35a; CZj (Dīng Fúbǎo ed.), 10.1a; Wén xuǎn, 58.2505; Quán Hòu Hàn wén, 78.1a--is elliptical: 不遷貳, i.e., "He did not transfer [his anger] nor repeat [his transgressions]. . . ." A variant reading (found in CZj [Sbby], 2.6a; CZj [Wāng Shìxián ed.], 516; CZwj [Lánxuě táng ed. and Sbck], 2.4b; and as Gāo Bùyíng informs us [272], in a manuscript of the Wén xuǎn as well as in the Wǔchén commentators' version), 不遷怒, is a direct citation of Lúnyǔ 6/2, "He did not transfer his anger. . . ." The variant reading does not maintain the parallelism of the previous line that contains two verbs, "appropriate" and "expose."

commandery bureau of merit,[12] five times was appointed by Yù Region 豫州.[13] Six times he was appointed by the Three Bureaus,[14] and repeatedly was appointed by the General-in-chief.[15] He oversaw Wénxǐ 聞喜 for half a year, and Tàiqiū 太丘 for a year.[16] His virtue strove for the mean and constant,[17] and his moral instruction was

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[12] A bureau of merit (gōngcáo 功曹) was responsible for identifying worthy men; see Hans Bielenstein, The Bureaucracy of Han Times, 85-86, 96.

[13] Yù Region stretched east-west to the SE of Luòyáng and included Chén Shí's home area.

[14] The "Three Bureaus" (sānfǔ 三府) is recorded as the "Four Bureaus" in the commentary (7th c.) to the biography of Yú Fān 虞翻 in the HHs (58.1867 n. 4) where it is said to include the high offices of tàifù 太傅 (Grand Tutor), tàiwèi 太尉 (Grand Commandant), sītú 司徒 (Minister over the Masses), and sīkōng 司空 (Minister of Works). Gāo Bùyíng suggests (272) that sānfǔ may not include the "Grand Tutor." The "Chén Tàiqiū miào bēi" says "Four Bureaus" instead of Three Bureaus (see CZj [Sbby], 2.8a); Gāo Bùyíng explains this by saying that since the "Chén Tàiqiū miào bēi" does not specifically mention the General-in-chief's appointing Chén Shí (see next line above), Cài Yōng there uses "Four Bureaus" loosely to encompass both sets of appointments.

[15] Generals-in-chief Dòu Wǔ 竇武 and Hé Jìn 何進 both summoned him to office. See Chén Shí's biography, HHs 62.2066, 2067.

[16] Chén Shí was appointed magistrate of Wénxǐ, a district where Shānxī Province's modern Wénxǐ xiàn lies, and of Tàiqiū, located 15 km. NW of modern Yǒngchéng xiàn 永城縣 in Hénán. See HHs 62.2066.

[17] Cf. Lúnyǔ 6/27: "The Master said, 'Supreme, indeed, is the constant and the mean as virtue. It has long been rare among the people'" (cf. Legge, 193-94). See also Chén Shí's biography: "In his refined Virtue and pure tranquillity the common people found stability" (HHs 62.2066).

sincere and not severe.[18] His governance was accomplished by ritual, and his transforming effect brought about tranquility.[19] It happened that he met with the factional affair, and was banned from office for twenty years.[20] "Delighting in Heaven and knowing fate,"[21] he was unperturbed and at ease.[22] In his associations he did not

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[18] Cf. Xiào jīng zhùshū, "Sāncái zhāng," 3.3b: "His moral instruction is not severe and yet brings others to completion; his regimen is not harsh and yet brings things to order." There is a similar line in Guó yǔ, Qí yǔ (Sbck), 6.4a, 4b.

[19] Cf. Zuǒ zhuàn, Chéng 12: "When governance is accomplished by ritual, the people thereby enjoy rest" (cf. Legge, 378).

[20] See Chén Shí's biography, HHs 62.2066: "When later they arrested the factionalists, the affair even involved Shí. Many men fled seeking to avoid it, and Shí said, 'If I don't go to prison, the flock will have no one to depend on.' Thereupon he requested to be imprisoned. He was met with a pardon and obtained release."

This event refers to the first period of proscription of men identified as factionalists in opposition to the emperor. Court eunuchs instigated the proscription in February of 167 with charges against Colonel Director of the Retainers Lǐ Yīng 李膺, recognized as an anti-eunuch leader, and many others. Over two hundred of Chén Shí's followers (HHs 67.2187) were implicated. The next year, Dòu Wǔ, who was the empress dowager's father, asked for and obtained the release of those imprisoned. They were barred from office until, at the start of Emperor Líng's reign, the empress dowager, acting as regent, permitted these men to assume office again. We know from Chén Shí's biography, HHs 62.2066, that Dòu Wǔ himself summoned Chén Shí to be a clerk (yuànshǔ 掾屬) at this time. A second period of proscription, known as "the Great Proscription," followed the overthrow of the Dòu clan and lasted from 169 to 184. See Rafe de Crespigny, "Political Protest in Imperial China: The Great Proscription of Later Han, 167-184," Papers on Far Eastern History, no. 11 (March 1975): 12-15, 30-36; B. J. Mansvelt Beck, "The Fall of Han," in The Cambridge History of China, 1: 328-30.

[21] Zhōu yì zhèngyì, "Xì cí zhuàn" A, 7.10a (Wilhelm and Baynes, 295): "He rejoices in heaven and has knowledge of fate, therefore he is free of care. . . ."

flatter those above him, and in his affections he did not have contempt for those below him.[23] "He would see the opportunity for change and act, not waiting an entire day."[24] At the time a decree granted him pardon, he had already reached seventy years of age,[25] thus he secluded himself in the hills and mountains, hung up his carriage[26] and announced his superannuation.[27] Powerful lords from the four quarters furnished him

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[22] Cf. Zhuāngzǐ (Zhuāngzǐ jiàoquán), "Kè yì piān," 1: 552: "He is unperturbed beyond bounds, and the masses praise him and follow him; this is the way of Heaven and Earth, and the virtue of the sage."

[23] Cf. Zhōu yì zhèngyì, "Xì cí zhuàn" B (8.13a): "The gentleman with respect to his higher associations does not flatter, and with respect to his lower associations does not have contempt" (cf. Wilhelm/Baynes, 342).

[24] Zhōu yì zhèngyì, "Xì cí zhuàn" B (8.13b; cf. Wilhelm and Baynes, 342).

[25] If "seventy years of age" were correct, then Chén Shí was pardoned thirteen years before his death (186 C.E.), i.e., 173 C.E. The earlier line stating that he "was proscribed from office for twenty years" (beginning 167 C.E.) suggests a date of about 187, the year after his death. Gù Guǎngqí, cited by Gāo Bùyíng (273), points out that Cài Yōng's "Inscription for Master Exemplar of Refinement Chén Zhònggōng" 文範先生陳仲弓 (CZj [Sbby], 2.4a) gives eighteen years for the same period of time. Gù Guǎngqí suggests that the line above ought to be emended to read "eighty years of age."

[26] Cf. Bóhǔ tōng dé lùn 白虎通德論 (attributed to Bān Gù 班固 [32-92 C.E.] et al.), "Zhì shì piān," (Sbck, 4.15b): "I, your vassal, am age seventy, and am one who, having hung up my carriage, have retired from office."

[27] Cf. Zuǒ zhuàn, Xiāng 7: "Hán Xiànzǐ announced his superannuation" (cf. Legge, 431). Lǐ Shàn's Wén xuǎn Comm. (58.2505) records that Dù Yù 杜預 (222-284) glosses gào lǎo 告老 (lit., "announce one's age") as "to go into retirement"; though that gloss doesn't appear in the Chūnqiū Zuǒ zhuàn zhèngyì (at least in this location, 30.10a), it is indeed the sense here.

with gifts,[28] but he stilled his mind and dwelt quietly.[29] General-in-chief Venerable Hé 何公 and Minister of Finance Venerable Yuán 袁公 one after the other summoned him to service,[30] sending others to exhort and persuade him saying that, "We want[31] specially to honor you so you can be admitted and elevated to executive attendant,[32]

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[28] Cf. Shàng shū zhèngyì, "Shùn diǎn," 3.2b: 賓于四門，四門 穆穆; (Legge, 31-32:) "Having to receive the princes from the four quarters of the empire, they all were docilely submissive." Karlgren, in his gloss (74, no. 1250), rejects the notion that there is an ellipsis in this passage that suggests that anything or anyone other than the four gates (sìmén 四門; Legge takes it rightly as a metonym, "the princes from the four quarters of the empire") are mùmù 穆穆, hence his rendition, "He received the guests at the four gates, the four gates were stately." Karlgren concedes that all the commentators take mùmù (variously, "respectful," "harmonious," "concordant") as referring to the guests, which, he adds, were "feudal lords who came to court." Moreover, the guests are to be regarded as being good men. Zuǒ zhuàn, Wén 18 (cf. Legge, 283), cites this line and adds 無凶人 "there were no heinous men."

[29] Mèn 悶 for xián 閑 in CZwj (Lánxuě táng ed. and Sbck), 2.5a, is a graphic error. See Gāo Bùyíng's note, 273.

[30] See Chén Shí's biography, HHs 62.2067: "General-in-chief Hé Jìn [ob. 189] and Minister of Finance Yuán Wěi 袁隗 [ob. 190] sent men to exhort Shí, desiring to specially honor him with a jump in rank." Hé's and Yuán's exalted political and social statuses cannot be understated: Hé Jìn was a half-brother of the empress, and Yuán Wěi hailed from an important noble family.

[31] The lexical variant jiē 皆 ("both," "all") in place of yù 欲 ("desire") in CZj (Dīng Fúbǎo ed.), 10.1a, may be a graphic error.

[32] Charles O. Hucker explains that chángbó 常伯 is an "unofficial reference to a high-ranking official having close access to the ruler" (A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China, 115, no. 259). Lǐ Shàn's Wén xuǎn Comm. (58.2505) cites Yìng Shào's 應劭 (Eastern Han) "Hàn guān yí" 漢官儀 which relates the archaic (Zhōu period) chángbó to the term shìzhōng 侍中 "palace attendant," adding that the title chángbó "says that their Way and virtue can be constantly revered." Lǐ Shàn also cites another source, the Huán Jì yàolüè 環濟要略, which gives another version of the term's origin, saying that it was a Zhōu period name for one of the Yellow Thearch's attendants, Fēng Hòu 風后. According to this explanation, his name thus became a metonym for shìzhōng.

and rapidly promoted to the Three Functionaries,[33] bound and girded with gold seal and purple sash,[34] to shed glory on the country and pass down meritorious achievement." Our late seignior said, "I lost hope long ago, and have simply donned my cap and wait for the appointed time, is all."[35] Consequently, no one got him into his service. Venerable Yáng of Hóngnóng 弘農楊公 and Venerable Chén of Dōnghǎi 東海陳公 were each one placed in the Invested Offices, and their peers and colleagues congratulated them.[36] Both raised their hands[37] and said, "Lord Chén of Yǐngchuān is

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[33] Qǐ 起 for chāo 超 in CZwj (Lánxuě táng ed. and Sbck), 2.5a, is a graphic error.

On the Three Functionaries (sānshì 三事), i.e., Three Excellencies, see "Stele Inscription for 'Holder of Principle' Guō Línzōng," n. 59.

[34] "Gold seal and purple sash" were the symbols of highest office represented by the Three Excellencies. See Hs, "Báiguān gōngqīng biǎo," 19A.725-26.

[35] Cf. Chén Shí's biography, HHs 62.2067: "Shí thereupon declined to the emissaries saying, 'I have long been cut off from human affairs, and having donned my cap simply await the end'" (寔乃謝使者曰：寔久絕人事，飾巾待終而已). Thus, by "appointed time" in the version above, Chén Shí refers to his impending death.

[36] Cf. Chén Shí's biography, HHs 62.2067: "Supreme Commander Yáng Cì 楊賜 and Minister of Finance Chén Dān 陳耽 were each one commissioned high officials, and their peers and colleagues all congratulated them. Cì and the others often sighed that Shí had not climbed to a high position, and they were ashamed to have gone ahead of him." According to the HHs, "Língdì jì" (8.346, 347), in the tenth month of Guānghé 4 (181 C.E.), Chén Dān became Minister of Finance, and in the tenth month of Guānghé 5 (182 C.E.), Yáng Cì was made Supreme Commander.

Lǐ Shàn's Wén xuǎn Comm. (58.2506) states that the term "Invested Offices" (gǔnzhí 袞職) refers to the Three Excellencies (see n. 33). The term probably originates from the vestments with coiled dragon design known as gǔn 袞; on gǔn see David R. Knechtges, Selections, 1: 154, l. 104n, and Zhèng Zhòng's 鄭衆 (ca. 5 B.C.E.-83 C.E.) Commentary in Zhōu lǐ zhùshū, "Sī fú," 21.6a.

unmatched in his generation, surpassing his peers,[38] but has not yet climbed to a great post, ashamed of the onus of having arrogated to himself a position like Zāng Wén 臧文."[39] Consequently, his contemporaries esteemed his position the more and honored him as they would one among the Three Excellencies and the chancellors.

At eighty-three, on the bǐngwǔ 丙午 day of the eighth month of the third year of the Zhōngpíng 中平 era, he fell ill and died.[40] On the point of death he issued a

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Zhāng Héng uses gǔn to refer to office at the level of the Three Excellencies in "Sī xuán fù" 思玄賦; see Wén xuǎn, 15.663.

[37] CZj (Sbby), 2.6b, and CZwj (Lánxuě táng ed. and Sbck), 2.5a, have the lexical variant shǒu 首 (heads) for the other versions' shǒu 手 (hands). Translation follows Wén xuǎn version.

[38] CZj (Sbby), 2.6b; CZj (Wāng Shìxián ed.), 517; and CZwj (Lánxuě táng ed. and Sbck), 2.5a: "renowned in his generation, unmatched by his peers" (命世絕倫); CZj (Zhāng Pǔ ed.), 2.35b: "renowned in his generation, surpassing his peers" (命世超倫); in place of other versions' 絕世超倫. Translation follows Wén xuǎn version.

[39] Cf. Lúnyǔ 15/13: "The Master said, 'Was not Zāng Wén Zhòng 臧文仲 one who had arrogated to himself a position? He was aware of Liǔxià Huì's 柳下惠 worthiness, yet did not yield him his position'" (cf. Legge, 298-99). Confucius felt that Zāng Wén Zhòng had been in a position to which he was not entitled, but that someone like Liǔxià Huì deserved. This is an indictment of those whose reputations don't match their realities and as a result obtain undeserved recognition. For another of Confucius' critical opinions of Zāng Wén Zhòng; see also Lúnyǔ 5/17, and Legge's note to this, p. 179.

All versions but CZj (Dīng Fúbǎo ed.), 10.1a, and Wén xuǎn, 58.2506, have "Wén Zhòng" in place of these two texts' "Zāng Wén." Translation follows Wén xuǎn version.

[40] Cf. Chén Shí's biography, HHs 62.2067: "In the fourth year of the Zhōngpíng era (187 C.E.), at age eighty-four, he died at home." The year of Chén Shí's death in his official biography conflicts with the date given in this bēiwén. All three of Cài Yōng's inscriptions for Chén Shí in most versions of Cài Yōng's literary collections agree. With respect to the specific date the Wén xuǎn (58.2506) as well as Quán Hòu Hàn wén (78.1a) further complicate the matter. The present inscription (as well the

testamentary charge that he be left and buried in the place where he died,[41] in ordinary clothes and in plain coffin, with the outer coffin just surrounding the inner one,[42] the

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"Inscription for Master Exemplar of Refinement Chén Zhònggōng") in most versions of Cài Yōng's literary collections (CZj [Sbby], 2.6b; CZj [Wāng Shìxián ed.], 517; CZwj [Lánxuě táng ed. and Sbck], 2.5b) have the textual variant bǐngzǐ 丙子 for the Wén xuǎn's bǐngwǔ 丙午. The text in Dīng Fúbǎo's ed. of CZj, 10.1a, gives the Wén xuǎn for its source, and has bǐngwǔ, but then the "Inscription for Master Exemplar of Refinement Chén Zhònggōng" (10.2a), which gives Cài Yōng's literary collections for its source, has bǐngzǐ. Zhāng Pǔ's CZj does the same without specifying sources. Which version is correct? If the inscription is right in saying "the third year of the Zhōngpíng era," then bǐngwǔ is correct (the fifteenth day of the month, the first day being rénchén 壬辰); the eighth month of that year did not have a bǐngzǐ day. If the inscription is incorrect, and the biography's "fourth year of the Zhōngpíng era" is accurate, then the opposite would be true: the bǐngzǐ day was the twenty-first day of the eighth month, which began with the bǐngchén 丙辰 day. There was no bǐngwǔ day in that month. This is to say that either version may be correct depending on the year.

Yáng kè "Cài Zhōngláng jí" jiàokān jì, 2.16-17, makes a case for accepting the HHs's account: if the date of Zhōngpíng 3 were correct, an inordinate amount of time, twenty months, would have passed between that time and the composition of "Chén Tàiqiū miào bēi," which at the beginning of the text gives the date of the third month of Zhōngpíng 5 (see CZj [Sbby]), 2.8a). Gāo Bùyíng (275) favors the Wén xuǎn version (third month of Zhōngpíng 3, on the bǐngwǔ day) but his reasoning suffers from the same circularity I indicated above. Gōng Kèchāng (Hàn fù yánjiū, 293) accepts the year given in the bēiwén, but does not address the issue of the specific date. It seems reasonable to accept the year given here since all three inscriptions agree on it; the problem of the specific date in various versions, whether an accidental interpolation (graphic error?) or a conscious effort to reconcile the facts, probably cannot be resolved.

[41] See (Pseudo-?) Kǒng Ānguó's 孔安國 (fl. 126-117 B.C.E.) gloss of gùmìng 顧命 in Shàngshū zhèngyì, "Gùmìng" (18.13b). I've borrowed Legge's Shàngshū translation of the term (see his note, p. 544) not only because it conveys the sense of the term accurately, but also because it is etymologically parallel: "testament" is cognate with testis, "witness" (cf. gù, "to turn the head around back to look").

[42] See Zhèng Xuán's gloss to shífú 時服 "ordinary clothes" in the line, "In his burial preparations they used ordinary clothes," in Lǐ jì zhèngyì, "Tán gōng" B (10.18b).

Cái 財 here is the same as the homophones 纔 or 才 in the sense of "only, barely." Yòng 用 for zhōu 周 in CZj [Wāng Shìxián ed.], 518, is a graphic error.

obsequies but spare, and that they should "in spending be excessive in thrift."[43] Among a legion of nobles and a crowd of colleagues no one did not sigh and sob; the renowned of tors and heath lost their voices and wiped away tears.[44] The General-in-chief condoled and offered sacrifice,[45] and bestowing him with an auspicious posthumous name said, "The solicited gentleman lord Chén was endowed with the spiritual essence of the Five Peaks and Four Waterways, and contained the purity of the numinous empyrean.[46] Heaven has 'not seen fit to leave me the Elder to shield' our king.[47] A

On Han use of elaborate coffins, and the criticism this engendered, see Wáng Fú, Qiánfū lùn, "Fú chǐ" (Qián fū lùn jiān jiàozhèng), 12.134-39 (cf. HHs 49.1636); Mu-Chou Poo, "Ideas Concerning Death and Burial in Pre-Han and Han China," Asia Major, 3d ser., 3, pt. 2 (1990): 39-62, and 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), 125-26.

[43] "Xiàng zhuàn" of "Xiǎo guò," Zhōu yì zhèngyì, 6.18b (cf. Wilhelm and Baynes, 706).

[44] Presumably this refers to those living in seclusion, retired from the world around them. For shīshēng 失聲 ("lost voice"), cf. Mèngzǐ 3A/13: "Before, when Confucius died, and after three years had passed, the disciples packed their bags, and prepared to go home. They went in and bowed to Zǐgòng, and looking at each other they bawled, and all lost their voices" (cf. Legge, 254). For both shīshēng and huītì 揮涕 ("wipe away tears"), also cf. Kǒngzǐ jiāyǔ, "Zǐgòng wèn pián," (Sbck, 10.19a), including Wáng Sù's 王肅 (195-258) note.

[45] Cf. Chén Shí's biography, HHs 62.2067: "[General-in-chief] Hé Jìn sent representatives to condole and offer sacrifice. . . ."

[46] A "solicited scholar" (zhēngshì 徵士) is a scholar who, by virtue of his talent, is summoned by the government, but who does not go to serve.

See the Xiào jīng apocrypha, Xiào jīng Yuán shén qì 援神契, cited in Lǐ Shàn's Wén xuǎn Comm. (58.2506), "The spiritual essence of the Five Peaks is virility and wisdom; the spiritual essence of the Four Waterways is nobility and perspicacity," and Xiào jīng Gōu mìng jué 鉤命決, (also cited in Lǐ Shàn's Wén xuǎn Comm.,58.2506), "The Five Peaks spew out essences," adding Sòng Jūn's

pillar has collapsed; a genius has withered away.[48] In this time we are without a model. Ministers and scholars have discussed his Virtue and deliberated over his deeds,[49] and have granted him the posthumous epithet 'Master Exemplar of Refinement.'"[50] The Analects state: "How resplendent in refinement!"[51] The Documents says: "The Grand

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宋均 (Eastern Hàn) explanatory note, "'Spew out essences' means 'produces sages.'" The Five Sacred Peaks are Sōng shān 嵩山 (central), Tài shān 泰山 (east), Huà shān 華山 (west), Héng shān 衡山 (south), and Héng shān 恒山 (north). The Four Waterways are the Jiāng 江, Huái 淮, Hé 河, and Jì 濟.

Lǐ Shàn also notes that yào 曜 (lit., bright, fiery light) refers to heaven (cf. "empyrean," from empyrios, "fiery"); CZwj (Lánxuě táng ed. and Sbck), 2.5b, has huī 輝 ("brilliant") for yào 曜.

[47] Zuǒ zhuàn, Āi 16: "Heaven has not been kind; it has not seen fit to leave me the Elder [i.e., Confucius] whom it could let shield my reign" (cf. Legge, 846), and Máo shī 193/6, "He has not seen fit to leave an elder / Whom he could let guard our king" (cf. Legge, 323). For lǎo 老, an elder, as an experienced man or minister, see Máo Hēng's commentary to the Shī line in Máo shī zhèngyì, 12B.8b, and Legge's notes, 324, 317. CZj (Sbby), 2.7a; CZj (Zhāng Pǔ ed.), 2.36a; CZj (Wāng Shìxián ed.), 518; CZwj (Lánxuě táng ed. and Sbck), 2.5b: these all preserve the yìlǎo 一老 of the line's sources. The Cí yuán's gloss for yìn yí 慇遺 notes that many Hàn and Wèi stele inscriptions use the line, "Heaven has not seen fit to leave me an elder" 天不慇遺老 as a way of expressing lamentation over the death of a great man.

[48] "Pillar" here is lit. "beam" (liáng 梁). Cf. Lǐ jì zhèngyì, "Tán gōng" A (7.12b): "The beam will break, / The wise man will wither away" (cf. Legge, 3: 138, no. 20), sung by Confucius, referring to himself.

[49] On the term jìnshēn 搢紳, here translated as "ministers," see "Stele Inscription for 'Holder of Principle' Guō Línzōng," n. 55.

[50] Cf. Lúnyǔ 5/14: "Zǐgòng asked, 'Why was Kǒng Wén Zǐ called Wén [=Refined or Cultured]?' The Master said, 'He was agile and fond of learning, and not ashamed to ask questions of his inferiors. This is why he was called Wén'" (cf. Legge, 178).

[51] Lúnyǔ 3/14 (cf. Legge, 160); the same line might be translated as "How resplendent in culture!" The Analects are referred to by the word zhuàn 傳 ("records"). Gāo Bùyíng (276) devotes

Exemplar in nine parts is where the constant norms get their proper order."[52] Refinement is the manifestation of virtue; exemplars constitute models for the gentleman.[53] When alive, teaching; when dead, a respected name: Is it not, for its part, fitting?[54] The Three Excellencies dispatched foreman clerks to make sacrifice with a middle rank offering.[55] The inspectors reverentially expressed their condolences.[56] The

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a lengthy note as to why it is referred to by this word rather than by jīng 經 ("scriptures"). It suffices to say that zhuàn is a rather generic term, and that, as Gāo Bùyíng points out, Cài Yōng was not alone in using it to refer to the Lúnyǔ. Liú Xīn 劉歆 (ob. 23 C.E.) does the same in "Yíshū ràng tàicháng bóshì" 移書讓太常博士 (see Hs 36.1971, or Wén xuǎn, 43.1955).

[52] Shàng shū zhèngyì, "Hóng fàn," 12.3a (cf. Karlgren, 30, no. 3, and Legge, 323).

[53] The biography of Zhèng Ài 鄭艾 in Sānguó zhì, Wèi shū, 28.775, gives a different version of this line: "When he was twelve, [Zhèng Ài] followed his mother to Yǐngchuān. There he read the stele inscription of the former Tàiqiū Magistrate Chén Shí which said, 'Refinement is the exemplar for generations; [good] conduct constitutes a model for the gentleman [文為世範，行為士則].' Ài thereupon called himself Fàn 範 [Exemplar], with the style Shìzé 士則 [Model for the Gentleman]." Gāo Bùyíng (276) reports that Hé Zhuó 何焯 (1661-1722) rejects this reading (see Yìmén dúshū jì 義門讀書記, Sìkù quánshū zhēnběn, 49.40a/b).

[54] CZj (Sbby), 2.7a, has the lexical variant liǎng 兩 ("two") for the other versions' yì 亦 ("also," "for its part").

[55] "Foreman clerks" (lìngshǐ 令史) were, along with attendants (yùshǔ 御屬), among the lesser staff of the imperial bureaucracy. Hans Bielenstein notes that in the Later Han, a total of twenty-three foreman clerks and attendants served in the various bureaus organized under the Grand Commandant (tàiwèi), thirty-six under the Minister over the Masses (sītú), and forty-two under the Minister of Works (sīkōng). See Hans Bielenstein, The Bureaucracy of Han Times, 13, 15, 17.

The prevailing custom of the time prescribed sacrifices to the spirit of the deceased (jìdiàn 祭奠). In the sacrifice mentioned above, two animals, a sheep and a pig, were probably offered. A tàiláo (太牢) sacrifice offered three animals, a bull, a sheep, and a pig; a shàoláo (少牢) offering is the one described here; a single sheep or pig was proffered in a tèshēng (特牲) oblation. This stele inscription uses the term zhōngláo (中牢), which Yán Shīgǔ 顏師古 (581-645), in a note to Hs,

grand administrator, Governor Cáo of Nányáng 南陽曹府君,[57] ordered an official to write a dirge that read:

Truly illustrious Lord Chén,

2 To be renowned in your generation, thus were you born;[58]

"Zhāodì jì," 7.225, equates with shàoláo and adds that it refers to a sheep and a pig. The size of the sacrifice seems to have been correlated with the social position of the offerer. These types of offerings, in the context of other rituals, are mentioned in Hé Xiū's 何休 (129-182) commentary to the Gōngyáng zhuàn (Chūnqiū Gōngyáng zhuàn zhùshū, Huán 18), and in Lǐ jì zhèngyì, "Wáng zhì" (12.21a; cf. Legge, 3: 226, no. 9). The Dà Dài Lǐ jì, "Zēngzǐ tiān yuán" (5.8a, Hàn Wèi cōngshū) complicates the matter by stating that "In the various marquises' sacrifices, the sacrificial bull is called tàiláo, in the grandees' sacrifices, the sacrificial sheep is called shàoláo, and in the gentlemen's sacrifices, the sacrificial single pig is called kuìshí 饋食 (proffered viands)." Thus it is possible that the sacrifice mentioned in the inscription was an offering of sheep and no other animal.

[56] On regional inspectors (cìshǐ 刺史), see Hans Bielenstein, The Bureaucracy of Han Times, 90-92, and Yán Gēngwàng 嚴耕望, Zhōngguó dìfāng xíngzhèng zhìdù shǐ 中國地方行政制度史, Academia Sinica, Institute of History and Philology Special Publications No. 45A (Táiběi: Zhōngyāng yánjiūyuàn lìshǐ yǔyán yánjiūsuǒ, 1990), 1: 31-32, 272-97. Essentially, they were responsible for inspecting the local administration of commanderies and kingdoms. Although they originally served at the capital under the Palace Assistant Secretary (and making annual tours of their jurisdictions), in 35 C.E. their seat of office moved to the local administrations.

[57] On governors (tàishǒu 太守, Bielenstein: grand administrator), see Hans Bielenstein, The Bureaucracy of Han Times, 93-96, and Yán Gēngwàng, Zhōngguó dìfāng xíngzhèng zhìdù shǐ, 1: 73-97. The term fǔjūn 府君 is an unofficial reference to a governor; see Qián Dàxīn 錢大昕 (1728-1804), Héng yán lù 恆言錄, 3.3b-5b, in Qiányán táng quánshū 潛研堂全書 (Chángshā, 1884).

I cannot further identify Cáo, who presumably was governor of Yǐngchuān; if he held the office of governor of Nányáng (located nearly 190 km. due south of Luòyáng, adjacent to Chén Shí's home region), he then probably followed a certain Qín Xié (?Jié?/Jiá?) 秦頡 in that position. The HHs, "Xiào Língdì jì," 8.349, reports that Qín was in office in the sixth month of Zhōngpíng 1 (of Emperor Líng, 184), but was killed while in office in the second month of Zhōngpíng 3 (186 C.E.; HHs 8.352).

You embodied brilliance, were pure in virtue,
A model for gentlemen.
Right from the beginning you had been upright,
And protecting your integrity to the end were still good,[59]
Respectfully we perform the rites on your passing,
How excellent your pure reputation![60]

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[58] On this use of mìng shì 命世 ("renowned in their generation"), referring to those deserving of recognition, cf. Lǐ Líng's 李陵 "Dá Sū Wǔ shū" 答蘇武書, in Wén xuǎn, 41.1851, "all trusted in these capable men renowned in their generation" 皆信命世之才, and Hs, "Chǔ Yuán zhuàn," 36.1972, "Mèng Kē, Sūn Kuàng, Dǒng Zhòngshū, Sīmǎ Qiān, Liú Xiàng, and Yáng Xióng . . . their words brought benefit to their generation. The Records state, 'When a sage does not appear, in the meantime there will invariably be those renowned in their generation'" [cf. Mèngzi, 2B/13]. See n. 3 above.

The phrase shì shēng 是生, here, "thus was he born," is difficult to interpret.

Lìng 令 for mìng 命 in CZwj (Lánxuě táng ed. and Sbck), 2.6a, is a graphic error.

Reading this dirge as addressed to Chén is my own invention; there are no second-person pronouns, or any pronouns, in the original text.

[59] Cf. Guó yǔ, Zhōu yǔ A (Sbck), 1.3b: "[The Quǎn-Róng] follow the virtue of old [i.e., the benevolent governing of former kings] and defend to the end purity and steadfastness"; Zhōu yǔ C, 3.4b: "Defending to the end purity and steadfastness, his way was rectified and affairs were trustworthy"; cf. also Máo shī 247/3: "May your brilliance and perspicacity be enduring / May your eminent illustriousness come to a good end" (cf. Legge, 323).

CZj (Sbby), 2.7b has zhōng yǒu 中有 for zhōng yòu 終又; CZwj (Lánxuě táng ed. and Sbck), 2.6a, has just the yǒu 有 for yòu 又 (possible influence from Máo shī 247/3: 令終有俶).

[60] Lines 2, 4, 5, and 8 of this dirge rime: 生, 程, 正, and 聲 are all in the 耕 rime group (píng shēng); 令 at the end of the sixth line is also in the 耕 rime group, but in qù shēng.

He sent forth official associates and clerks, all going to the convocation one after the other, to carve inscriptions in stone.[61] The commandery assistant and the heads of nearby districts together carried out the obsequies.[62] Xún Címíng 荀慈明, Hán Yuáncháng 韓元長, and some five hundred others, wearing thin jute mourning robes, set his spirit tablet, and "grieving, bid him farewell."[63] From far away and nearby, those assembled for the burial rites numbered over a thousand.[64] The viceroy of Hénán,

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[61] On associates (shǔ 屬) and clerks (yuànlì 掾史, a variant of yuàn 掾 and yuànshǐ 掾史; Bielenstein: "division heads") serving under the governor, see Bielenstein, The Bureaucracy of Han Times, 94, 96, 97, 99.

[62] On the governor's commandery assistant (fǔchéng 府丞, variant of chéng 丞), see Bielenstein, The Bureaucracy of Han Times, 93. Gāo Bùyíng (277) says that fǔchéng is analogous to fǔjūn 府君, an unofficial reference to a governor.

On the use of huì zāng 會葬 ("to come together to carry out the obsequies"), cf. Zuǒ zhuàn, Yǐn 1 (Legge, 7 [although note that he inaccurately translates the term as if a single person were involved: "The marquis of Wei came to be present at the burial"]), and Gǔliáng zhuàn, Wén 1.

[63] Xún Shuǎng 荀爽 (128-190), styled Címíng, and Hán Róng 韓融, styled Yuáncháng , both also from Yǐngchuān, later became Minister of Works and superintendant of transportation (tàipú 太僕; Bielenstein's "Grand Coachman"), respectively, under Emperor Xiàn. On these two men, see their biographies, HHs 62.2050-57, and 62.2063. On Xún Shuǎng's politically-charged interpretation of the Book of Changes, see Ch'en Ch'i-yün, "Confucian, Legalist, and Taoist Thought in Later Han," in The Cambridge History of China, 1: 797-801, and Chapter VI of this study.

Sīmá 緦麻 is the lightest of the five types of traditional mourning, worn three months for distant relatives; see Yí lǐ zhùshū, "Sāngfú," 33.5a/b, and Zhèng Xuán's commentary.

On "setting the spirit tablet" (shè wèi 設位), see Lǐ jì zhèngyì, "Sāngfú xiǎojì" B (33.14a; Legge, 4: 56, no. 38, has interpreted the passage incorrectly).

"Grieving, bid him farewell" (哀以送之), is from Xiào jīng, "Sāng qīn" (Xiào jīng zhùshū, 9.2b).

[64] Cf. Chén Shí's biography, HHs 62.2067, "all those within the realm who went numbered more than thirty thousand, and those wearing the coarse hempen mourning numbered a hundredfold."

Governor Chóng 种,[65] arrived in this commandery, sighing in nostalgic admiration over Chén's achievements and virtue, recounting and recording his lofty conduct, believing that hardly anyone in antiquity or in the present could match him. He attached great importance to arranging for a grand clerk to write an inscription forthwith.[66] This can

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[65] "Hénán Yĭn" 河南尹 (here, "viceroy of Hénán," Bielenstein's "Governor of Hénán") refers to the governor of the capital environs; see Bielenstein, The Bureaucracy of Han Times, 88-89.

Lĭ Shàn's Wén xuǎn Comm. (58.2507) cites the biography of a Liú Yì 劉翊 (from Yĭngchuān) in Xiè Chéng's 謝承 Hòu Hàn shū where the viceroy of Hénán is given as Chóng Fú (Bì?) 种拂. (His father, Chóng Gǎo 种暠, was from Luòyáng [HHs 56.182.]) Chóng's biography in the HHs 56.1829-30, does not mention that he held this position, but does note that he later replaced Xún Shuǎng as Minister of Works (58.1830). Indeed, he could not have been viceroy of Hénán much longer: The HHs, "Xiào Língdì jì," 8.354, has a Hé Miáo 何苗 being promoted out of that office in the third month of Zhōngpíng 4 (187 C.E.).

CZwj (Sbck), 2.4b has the graphic error 神 for 种.

[66] CZj (Sbby), 2.7b; CZj (Zhāng Pǔ ed.), 2.36b; CZj (Wāng Shìxián ed.), 519: These have the variant line 以成斯銘 ("to write this inscription"). CZwj (Lánxuě táng ed. and Sbck), 2.6a, has the variant 以成時銘 ("to write this inscription" or "to write an inscription appropriate to the occasion"). Translation follows follows Wén xuǎn version, 58.2507, 以時成銘.

Gāo Bùyíng (278) argues that bù 部 here should not be construed to mean regional division, regiment, or ministry, but rather as bùshù 部署 (to make arrangements). Although yuàn 掾 could be a reference to a lowly appointee (see Charles O. Hucker, A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China, 595, no. 8219), or to a division head at various levels of government (see Hans Bielenstein, The Bureaucracy of Han Times, 7, 8, and 94, for instance), Cài Yōng may be using the term dà yuàn rather loosely. He is not recorded to have been employed at this time, being in self-imposed exile from 179 to 189 C.E. Prior to his exile, he was a gentleman consultant (yíláng 議郎) in the central administration (see Cài Yōng's biography in HHs 60B.1990, 2003-5).

be referred to as: being glorious in life, and lamented in death,[67] and though he has died, yet he will not have perished. Thereupon I wrote an inscription saying:

Tall and imposing are the lofty peaks,
Issuing forth auspicious omens and "sending down spirits."[68]
O! The august gentleman,
Embracing the treasure and cherishing the jewel.[69]
Why did the Empyrean,
Already let perish this Refinement?[70]
The profound words are in ruin, inaccessible,[71]

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[67] Cf. Lúnyǔ 19/25 (Legge, 349); bù xiāng 不襄 ("will not perish"), cf. Zuǒ zhuàn, Xiāng 24 (Legge, 507).

[68] Cf. Máo shī 259/1 (Legge, 535, and his notes, 536). See n. 46 above.

[69] "The treasure" (bǎo 寶) refers to virtue (see Zhèng Xuán's gloss in Lǐ jì zhèngyì, "Tán gōng" B, 9.9a: "The 'treasure' refers to excellence in the Way, something that can be protected" 寶謂善道可守者); "the jewel" (zhēn 珍) similarly refers to virtue or excellence in character, and may even stand for a worthy (see Kǒng Yǐngdá's subcommentary in Lǐ jì zhèngyì, "Rú xíng," 59.4a: "The 'jewel' refers to a Way of excellence and goodness" 珍謂美善之道).

[70] Cf. Lúnyǔ 9/5: "Since Wén Wáng is dead, does not refinement rest here with me? If Heaven intends to let this refinement perish, those yet to die will not be able to attain to it" (cf. Legge, 217).

[71] Cf. Liú Xīn, "Yíshū ràng tàicháng bóshì" (Hs 36.1968, or Wén xuǎn, 43.1952): "When Confucius died, the profound words became inaccessible 夫子沒而微言絕," and Bān Gù, "Yōu tōng fù" (Hs 100B.4213, or Wén xuǎn, 14.636): "I'm on the verge of ruining, putting an end to [the accomplishments of my forebears] and lack the steps [by which to establish myself]" 將圮絕而罔階 (cf. Knechtges, 3: 85, l. 14).

How might those to come hear them?
"Chirp, chirp, cry the orioles,"
Perching in the jujubes.[72]
His fate cannot be ransomed,[73]
How can our lament have limits?[74]

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[72] Cf. Máo shī 131/1 (cf. Legge, 198, and his notes, 199). Karlgren discusses a few possible interpretations of "Jiāo-jiāo huángniǎo" 交交黃鳥 ("Glosses on the Kuo Feng Odes," 215, no. 321). The translation here follows Jī Kāng's 稽康 (233-262) "Zèng xiùcái rù jūn" 贈秀才入軍 (Wén xuǎn, 24.1128) citation of the line, but where 交交 is normalized 咬咬; it suggests a plaintive cry. The Máo shī reads it as "Wee, small orioles." The line, "Perch in the jujubes" 爰集于棘, does not appear in the Lánxuě táng and Sbck editions of CZwj. Lǐ Shàn (Wén xuǎn Comm., 58.2507) suggests that this couplet refers to serving in government in troublesome times. The poem from which this and the following couplet derive is a lament over the tragic waste of three outstanding worthies of Qín ordered to be entombed with the deceased Duke Mù (620 B.C.E.).

[73] Cf. Máo shī 131/1: "Could he be ransomed, / A hundred would offer their lives for his" (cf. Legge, 199).

[74] Lines 2, 4, 6, 8 rime, as do lines 10 and 12; 神, 珍, 文, and 聞 are in the 眞 rime group (píng shēng), and 棘 and 極 are in the 職 rime group (rù shēng). All the lines of the inscription are tetrasyllabic.

VITA

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