

harvest. Yet our hopes are clouded by anxieties. There may be drought instead of rain. And if it rains there may be floods. And if there are indeed no floods we are still anxious for fear that the sprouts will not grow; or if they grow, the grain may not fill. And beyond this we fear locusts. And beyond them we fear that the stabled horses may steal our food and the corrupt officials may increase their levies.

"Alas, if only the horses would not gorge themselves on millet and concubines would not be surfeited with silken garments, our taxes would indeed be small. How else can their reduction be achieved? We hope that the gods will not be neglectful and we pray: 'Do not make thin the farmers in order to fatten the stabled horses. Do not make cold the cocoon-tending women in order to warm singing girls and concubines. Do not melt down ploughs to multiply weapons of war. If the farmers are not hungry, the world will be fat. If the cocoon-tending women are not cold, the world will be at peace. If the ploughs are not melted down, the whole world will prosper. If concubines are kept warm, they are proud. If weapons multiply, they bring destruction. If horses are fat, they are haughty. If the unrighteous<sup>69</sup> do not gallop, it will bring sufficiency of food and clothing.

"August Heaven! August Heaven! How can you bear such conduct! If only there were not such conduct, the people would laugh and the gods would be at ease.'

"We offer up sacrifice."

## SOME NOTES ON CHIA YI AND HIS FUH-NIAO FU ("OWL SONG")

by B. SCHINDLER

I should like to be permitted to make some additions to Professor Hightower's explanations regarding Chia Yi and his Fuh-niao fu which I collected a long time ago. I wish to combine these with some appreciation of the poet and his art which even if known to most scholars will, I hope, not be entirely superfluous.

Chia Yi's life was a short one, yet rich and glorious. A son of the town of Loh-yang, Chia Yi at the age of eighteen was already so famous throughout his own province as an authority with regard to the philosophical schools, as well as to poetry that Wu Kung 吳公, the governor of Honan, recommended him to Hiao Wên-ti who had just come to power in 180 (or 179) for appointment as "Professor" (博士 *Poh-shi*) at "the age of twenty or so". Because of his extraordinary knowledge which enabled him to triumph over all learned people in giving advice and counsel, he was appointed within a year to the rank of 太中大夫, something like a marshal of the King's household (*cf.* Chavannes, *M.H.* II, 515). In this capacity he was fully engaged in the entire reform of the state administration which had replaced that of the Ts'in by other arrangements, and in recognition of this, the Emperor intended to make him a member of the Privy Council (公卿). But owing to opposition at Court the Emperor changed his plan and removed Chia Yi from his entourage by appointing him "Grant Tutor" *t'ai fu* (太傅) to the Prince (King) of Ch'ang-sha (in Ch'u), a very high title but which is according to Chavannes (*M.H.* II, 514) of a more titular status. He administered this office three years and he was subsequently transferred in some capacity to King Huai of Liang. His transfer to the south very much affected him, for it took him away from the Imperial Court and he feared for his delicate health in the swampy climate of Ch'ang-sha. But he appeared to have allied himself extraordinarily closely to Huai-wang of Liang, for on his sudden death, he soon followed him out of this vale of tears amidst much lamentation.

Chia Yi was, so it would appear, for the most part a melancholy person and this may have been due to his physical weakness and aggravated by the sentimentality of the time which may have contributed much to his character. In any event, the three poems which are attributed to him, two of which

<sup>69</sup> 不蹟 "unrighteous". See *Shih-ching* 183.2 (Karlgren, *Book of Odes*, p. 127).

are confirmed with certainty by the *Shih-chi*, etc. and the third (or the first) *Hsi-shih* (惜誓) with less certainty, because of its opening words "I regret that I am old in years", are the products of these melancholy years. This does not seem entirely to originate from the fact that they were in keeping with prevailing fashion in accordance with the school of Ch'ü Yüan, for in fact, the "Owl Fu" is comparatively independent of it in its method of expression. Otherwise, however, the resemblance in structure and ideas is obviously quite clear and this may originate from the fact that because of his own fate which drove him from his own country, he found a certain similarity with that of his prototype. Because of this connexion between the two, and not only because he had composed "the Lament for Ch'ü Yüan" (when crossing the Siang on his journey to Ch'ang-sha) as e.g. Chavannes assumes (see *M.H.* *Introd.*, p. 180), that Ssü-ma Ch'ien in his work placed the biographies of both in close relation to each other.

Because of this melancholy, his youth and his delicate physical condition, it is doubly surprising when we see how statesmanlike, deep, masculine, mature and powerful are the ideas which he expressed in his *Sin-shu* (新書). Compare the beautiful characteristics which Chavannes gives (*M.H.I.* *Introd.* 159/60). Chu Hi, in the preface to the *Fuh-niao fu*, also seems to have regarded Chia Yi as a Confucianist, who only in his poems appears to have deserted to Chuang-tzū and Lieh-tzū in a manner which is quite incomprehensible. It is only necessary, however, to examine the quotations in the *Sin-shu* to come to a different conclusion. There apart from Confucius and the canonical writings, we find mentioned the Lao Tan (2, 4a) in addition to the indifferent Kuan-tzū, and furthermore *Tao* and *Teh* are dealt with in great detail and in a praiseworthy manner in certain other chapters (6<sup>b</sup>, 7<sup>a</sup>, 8, 9<sup>a</sup>, 10<sup>b</sup>, etc.). If, furthermore, consideration is given to the evidence provided by his poems which are entirely based on Taoism, he can in my opinion only be described as an *eclectic* who may perhaps have preferred Confucian political philosophy for the administration of the state, but who strongly adhered to the ideas of Lao-tzū and his school in so far as his own soul was concerned. His *Sin-shu* must be considered as being a further attempt to those made at that time to evolve from the existing religious systems a new unified religion for the unified state of the Han, that is to say a system of spiritual centralization as identical with or, at least, similar to, that embodied in the *Lü-shi Ch'un-ch'iu*.

Chia Yi's Taoistic tendencies and knowledge are especially clearly and distinctly expressed in his *Fuh-niao fu*. It is a poem of melancholic beauty, perhaps the deepest, but in any event, the most touching of his songs which, as far as I can see, stands alone among the lyrical works of the time. It seems to me to represent proof of the way in which in those days a reply was sought to the frightening question of what lay beyond, the question of Life after Death raised in Taoism, but left unanswered in Confucianism

and one which had yet to be solved in the light of the needs of that time with its revolutions, disturbances and transformations in all spheres of life. At that time there was a search probably resulting from the influence of the south and of democracy for a real religion, a religion for the ordinary people instead of the barren, unsentimental and especially aristocratic and purely North Chinese political philosophy of the followers of Confucius, and these needs were at least partly met by Taoism until they were fully met in the end by Buddhism.

And now a last word about the Owl Song.

A conversation with an owl is a charming poetic idea and it may be possible that Chia Yi did in fact address the bird, taking him to be the reincarnation of a spirit. But this idea should have been expressed better and more logically in the following, where it is said: "The owl sighed deeply; it raised its head and flapped its wings but could not speak" and the entire subsequent revelation is done through transformation of thoughts (or pantomime?) and this is introduced through the second part of verse 11 by: 請對以意 "it asked to be permitted to reply by thoughts". The profound system of philosophy which the wise bird subsequently develops is an anthology of quotations and allusions to half a dozen philosophers, especially Taoists, and that is the reason it has been very wisely chosen as the author. The poet attributes hardly anything to himself, for he is indebted for everything to his own owl-like nocturnal industry.

This characteristic makes the poem into a prototype of Chinese combinations of allusions<sup>1</sup>—an art whereby the thoughts of others are gathered together to form a new whole like a piece of mosaic, which is a

<sup>1</sup> To quote a few examples at random: e.g. verse 37 reads: 達人大觀。物亡 (v.l. 無) 不可 "The man with sharp intelligence judges from a broader sight; among the beings there is nobody who could not be useful (to him)". The first half verse is a quotation from Chuang-tzū. Ho-kuan-tzū (who may have used the text of Chia Yi) has as second half verse: 乃見其可 "then he sees the useful ones". Chia Yi has as second half verse also a quotation from Chuang-tzū. According to the commentary in Wen-hsüan Chia Yi has taken the last part of [物故 (固) 有所然。物故有所可。無物不然。] 無物不可 "... amongst the beings there is no useless one" (i.e. no one who has not a good side). Why has Chia Yi made this transposition in the quote from Chuang-tzū? I believe that was done to work another allusion in, viz. from Lun-yü, XVIII, 8,5 where Confucius says of himself: 無可無不可 "I have no 'thou shalt' or 'thou shalt not'" (Waley). The verse 37 consists therefore of two (or three) quotations. There is really nothing by Chia Yi himself. He has only replaced 亡 for 無. Or verse 53: 德人無累。知命不憂 "The man of Virtue (i.e. the man who has absorbed the Taoistic Teh in him) has no tie up (to or by the things); knowing the ordinances of Heaven (i.e. the fate) he is without worries". The first half verse is a combination of two Chuang-tzū passages of which the first one is from Chuang-tzū 5 (12) 9<sup>b</sup> and the second one also from Chuang-tzū which I could not find but which according to the Wen-hsüan commentary runs as follows: 聖人循天之理。故無天災。無物累。 The second half verse: 知命不憂 is a quotation from the Yih ching (上傳) 3,3<sup>a</sup> (=Legge, *S.B.E.*, XVI, 314: "he rejoices in Heaven and knows its ordinances; and hence he has no worries". There is also nothing by Chia Yi himself in this verse.

characteristic of Chinese writing since the Han period and which seems to bear so clearly the stamp of decadence.

This play with allusion and quotation is not, however, a product of that period, for we find definite indications of it in earlier periods, as for instance in the Li-sao and perhaps also in the Shi and Shu. It is after all, merely an expression of the primitive tendency to flock or herd together and develop a kind of community poetry which can be observed so well in China over a long period.

Nevertheless, this tendency to work with allusions was strongly developed in the Han period, or perhaps it might only seem to us to be so or we may realize it more clearly because of the fact that the originals of the quotations are for the most part preserved for us whereas those dating from earlier periods are frequently missing.

And so the poetry of this period fits in well with the framework of the entire Han culture, that is building with old bricks in order to create a new and more comprehensive house.

This insight into the workshop of a Han poet may well disappoint many of us, but not the Chinese to whom this appears as the quintessence of scholarship and fine taste, but some poetic significance cannot be denied to a poem of this type. In particular the basic idea is a poetic one and some genuine feeling is expressed in the fear of premature death. It should also not be forgotten that it is just the allusion as expressed here, that brings to the mind of the connoisseur the entire literature in question the complete environment of the quotation—and gives rise to a whole series of thoughts. This indication of a thought, like a single note taken from a complete chord, belongs also to the finest media of other<sup>2</sup> and our own poetry.

<sup>2</sup> One typical example amongst many which just comes to my mind. The Nishmat prayer "The Blessing of Song" which plays a great role in the Jewish liturgy is one of the finest specimens of the post-Biblical revival of Hebrew literature. This prayer, full of quotations, is recited on the morning of every Sabbath and Festival after the reading of a whole range of selected psalms for the day. It is also presented for recital at the close of the Haggadah. And the most remarkable thing is that it contains in the second part quotations from three psalms, viz. XXXV, 10, CIII, 1, and XXXIII, 1, consisting of one verse only. This indication is sufficient to bring home to everybody the three psalms in full.

## THE ATTRIBUTION TO MICHAEL BOYM OF TWO EARLY ACHIEVEMENTS OF WESTERN SINOLOGY

by WALTER SIMON

The First Part of Kircher's *China Illustrata*<sup>1</sup> is devoted to the Nestorian Tablet. This had occupied Kircher already in his *Prodromus Coptus sive Aegyptiacus*<sup>2</sup>, but in *China Illustrata* he added *inter alia* a contribution by the Jesuit Father Michael Boym (1612-59). On pp. 7-10 we find Boym's letter of 4 November 1653, and furthermore (i) an engraving of the inscription (facing p. 12<sup>3</sup>), dated 1664, and due to a Chinese hand, (ii) a romanization of all the Chinese characters, due to Boym (pp. 13-21), (iii) a literal translation, likewise due to Boym (pp. 22-8), and (iv) a reproduction of the Latin translation (though with certain changes) which Kircher had published in his *Prodromus Coptus*<sup>4</sup>. Through the medium of Italian<sup>5</sup> the latter translation went back to a Portuguese<sup>6</sup> translation of the

<sup>1</sup> Amsterdam, 1667.

<sup>2</sup> Rome, 1636, pp. 50, etc.

<sup>3</sup> In certain other prints of the same edition the engraving is to be found at the end of the work.

<sup>4</sup> pp. 54, etc. The differences are all of minor importance only, such as e.g. the new heading *Interpretatio III (China Illustrata, p. 29)* and the addition, there, of the word *paraphrastica* after *Declaratio*, or various changes in the wording of the translation, additions of explanations in parentheses, and changes in the numbering of the paragraphs. A further change consists in the addition of Boym's name on p. 34: while the sentence in *Prodromus Coptus* (p. 70) runs: *Fuit autem hujus scripturae duplex facta interpretatio; praesens admodum conformis est illi quae facta fuit Pequini, quae et elegantior est, et magis propria, Sinicaeque phrasi magis conformis*, Kircher added in *China Illustrata* the following words between *Pequini* and *quae et elegantior est*: "deinde etiam a P. Michaele Boymo denuo ex Sinico Exemplari exposita".

<sup>5</sup> The Italian version has been reprinted as *Pièce Justificative D* (pp. 78-84) in H. Havret, *La Stèle chrétienne de Si-Ngan-Fou, IIIe Partie, Commentaire partiel et pièces justificatives, Chang-Hai, 1902 (Variétés Sinologiques, No. 20)*. "*Pièce Justificative A*" represents "*La Première Version (1625)*", which is evidently referred to by Kircher in the quotation reproduced above (n. 4), when he speaks of "*duplex facta interpretatio*".

<sup>6</sup> H. Havret, *La Stèle Chrétienne de Si-Ngan-Fou, IIe Partie, Chang-Hai, 1897 (Variétés Sinologiques No. 12)*, p. 328, n. 2, suggests that this Portuguese translation was due to J. Rho. About the attribution to Rho of the Latin translation see A. C. Moule, *Christians in China*, London, 1930, pp. 33, 34, n. 10.