

TSAUR JYR'S "LUOHSHERN FUH"

曹植 洛神賦

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Tsaur Jyr's *Luohshern Fuh* raises a number of problems for the student of Chinese literature. In the present article I wish to discuss only two aspects of this *fuh*, both of which, in my opinion, have affected its composition: (1) previous compositions which supply themes for this *fuh* (of which Tsaur Jyr mentions only one), and (2) its political significance (which is closely linked with the question of previous compositions). In addition I would like to make a survey of comments made by a number of Chinese scholars regarding the "original" of the Goddess of the Luoh River. To facilitate the discussion of these points I have thought it useful to append a full translation of the *fuh* since the previous translation (into German) by E. von Zach¹ is practically inaccessible.

I

THEMES FROM PREVIOUS COMPOSITIONS AND THEIR
MODIFICATIONS BY TSAUR JYR
IN THE LIGHT OF CONFUCIAN ETHICS

The *Luohshern Fuh*, like most *fuh* of the time, begins with a preface in which Tsaur Jyr names the *Sherneue* legend (used in the *Sherneue Fuh* 神女賦 and *Gautarng Fuh* 高唐賦) as a kind of literary model, whereby he was able to weave a similar story around the Goddess of the Luoh River. Then follows the story: Tsaur Jyr, on leaving the capital after an audience with the Emperor (Wendih, his elder brother) is returning to his "country seat" on the eastern borders. When he reaches the Luoh River, his thoughts naturally turn to *Fwufei*, the legendary goddess of that river, since she figures so beautifully and elegantly in the *Chuutsyr*,² with which scholars of his day were certainly familiar. From the thoughts of the beautiful Goddess of the Luoh River (and the *Chuutsyr*, no doubt), Tsaur Jyr's mind turns to the *Sherneue Fuh*, the composition of which has been ascribed to Sonq Yuh 宋玉.

(a) *Themes from the Sherneue Fuh and their modifications.*

Tsaur Jyr follows fairly closely the form of the *Sherneue Fuh*. As a prince

or as a poet, not merely one of the common herd, he can see a vision imperceptible to his charioteer, just as Sonq Yuh alone can see the goddess in all her splendour in the *Sherneue Fuh* 他人莫觀玉¹覽其狀. As the charioteer seems unaware of any extraordinary sight, the prince calls his attention to it, with some doubt as to the charioteer's ability to perceive anything so mystical. The answer justifies his doubts, but supplies the information he has been seeking—that the apparition is probably that of the legendary *Fwufei*. Since the charioteer is unable to see her beauty, he begs his master for a description. This is a conventional yet convenient device for the main theme to unfold itself and develop its poetical and mystical possibilities. As in the earlier *fuh* the description of the Goddess of the Luoh River begins with the appearance of the lady, moving or still, viewed from afar or near; next comes the author's address to her, and the great attraction such a wondrously beautiful woman has for him, and finally his feelings when he knows that their love can never be realized and he is left alone to grieve. The general shape of the story of the *Sherneue Fuh* is kept, but the character of the author in the *Luohshern Fuh* appears to be much "improved" from the point of view of a Confucian moralist, for whereas the earlier author, seeing the beautiful goddess, without a moment's hesitation draws aside his bed curtain and invites her to enter, the author of the *Luohshern Fuh*, while being spell-bound at the sight of the beautiful apparition, merely regrets that there is no go-between to convey his love to her according to the dictates of propriety and so he entrusts the little waves with the message. The only gesture he makes as an indication of his passion is to untie a jade pendant as a gift respectfully offered. Thus he goes through a form of betrothal in the Confucian tradition—unlike the behaviour of Sonq Yuh in the *Sherneue Fuh*.

Equally Confucian and "improved" is *Luohshern*. Compared with her the Goddess of Mount Wu, as portrayed in the *Gautarng Fuh* and the *Sherneue Fuh*, is much more passionate and less tutored, or regimented, in the Rites. When the prince indicates his affection by offering his pendant, *Luohshern's* response is a restrained acknowledgment shown by holding up one of the ornaments on her person and the giving of a promise of eternal faithfulness. This ready promise, however, creates a doubt in the mind of the prince who even suspects her of being capable of practising deception, as other fairies have done before her. Thereupon he restrains his feelings by means of the discipline engendered by the Rites, *shen lii-farng yii tzyh chy*.² The author here echoes the phrase in the *Sherneue Fuh* which describes how the whimsical *Sherneue*

¹ This emendation of 王 to 玉 by Jang Fenqiyih 張鳳翼 of Ming (in his *Wensheuan Tzoanjuh* 文選纂注 (adopted by Guh Shyjen 顧施禎 in his *Wensheuan Liowchern Hueyjuh Sujie* 文選六臣彙註疏解 J. 19, p. 14a), seems justified. In any case the phrase means to convey the idea that the vision is reserved for a privileged person alone and no one else.

² See below Chinese text p. 51. line 18.

¹ "Aus dem Wen-Hsüan, Die Nixe des Lo-flusses", in *Deutsche Wacht* XIV, 8 (August, 1928) p. 45.

² See *Chuutsyr Buujuh* 楚辭補注 hereafter abbreviated to *CTBY* by Horng Shingtzuu 洪興祖 *Syhbuh Beyjaw* J. 1, p. 24b and J. 5, p. 9b.

restrains her own passion and rejects Sonq Yuh's advances by showing a little anger which is reflected in the slight colouring of her face, 頰薄怒以自持兮. The result of the unfortunate love between Luohshern and the prince is that the former has to make the painful decision to part and her farewell speech is dignified and Confucian, *chern jiaujie jy dahgang*,¹ and her parting oath of eternal constancy is sweet and sorrowful, a theme not present in the *Sherneue Fuh*.

(b) *Themes from the Dengtwutzzy Haw Seh Fuh 登徒子好色賦² and their modifications.*

The "Confucianizing" of the chief characters in the *Luohshern Fuh*, especially that of the lady, seems to follow the story of the mulberry girl in the *Dengtwutzzy Haw Seh Fuh* (introduced by Janghua Dahfu) rather than the *Sherneue Fuh*, for when Janghua Dahfu makes irresponsible advances to the mulberry girl, couched in gentle hints, and symbolized by a gift of flowers, he meets with an immediate rebuff. The mulberry girl is nearer to the ideal woman of the Confucian mould than *Sherneue*, for she is simplicity itself—she is naturally attractive and uses no artificial aid to beauty 體美容冶不待飾裝 like Luohshern who uses neither powder nor fragrant oils—and she follows the Confucian code to the letter, for her reaction to the un-Confucian offer of love by Janghua Dahfu is a partial quotation of an Ode to convey the idea that she would rather die than be treated so wantonly 贈我如此兮不如無生, thus moving the gentleman to the realization that although he desires her beauty, he cares more for her high principles 目欲其顏心顧其義. Thus the gentleman of this story is amenable to correct behaviour. But Tsaur Jyr in the *Luohshern Fuh* is superior, for he is never off his guard in the matter of propriety. The phrase *shen lii-fang yii tzyh chyr*, line 18, quoted above and the remark about Luohshern, *chiang shyi lii erl ming shy*, line 16, are probably echoes of Janghua Dahfu's comment on the mulberry girl's virtue 揚詩守禮終不過差.

Thus, Tsaur Jyr in his *Luohshern Fuh* follows the high moral tone of the mulberry girl of the *Dengtwutzzy Haw Seh Fuh* rather than the amorality shown in the behaviour of the Goddess of Mount Wu who is perhaps too frankly sensual in the *Gautarng Fuh* for her creator to change her too suddenly (in another *fuh* about her) into a completely Confucian woman, although Sonq Yuh seems to have the intention of improving her character considerably, and, as a result, has made her behaviour appear a little inconsistent in the *Sherneue Fuh*. She is at first so attracted to the poet, Sonq Yuh, that she cannot take her eyes from him and she entices him with her great beauty³

¹ Chinese text p. 52, line 26.

² Its composition has also been ascribed to Sonq Yuh.

³ "Gazing for a long while at my bed curtains, she casts glances which are like the undulating waves about to break": 望余帷而延視兮若流波之將瀾

and feminine qualities most appealing to a gentleman of high station,¹ until he succumbs to her charms and makes the fatal mistake of extending to her a bold invitation. This she rejects with great dignity and then she hurries away in spite of herself.

It is worthy of note that in both the *Sherneue Fuh* and the *Dengtwutzzy Haw Seh Fuh* it is the lady who resists the temptation and rejects the gentleman's advances, whereas in the *Luohshern Fuh* the gentleman takes the initiative in rejecting his own un-Confucian impulses and, both outwardly and inwardly, observes strictly the rules of propriety. To make this theme possible the author ingeniously introduces his doubt of the lady's sincerity and thereby gives the story a new turn.

II

THE POLITICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE "LUOHSHERN FUH"

The deliberate circumspection with which Tsaur Jyr built up his two chief characters in the *Luohshern Fuh* suggests that he wrote with a view to appealing to his most important critic, his brother the Emperor Wendih. He had been paying dearly for the wild times he had enjoyed in the most carefree and dangerous manner in his early years: first losing his father's favour, and secondly, becoming the envied and suspected rival of his brother, Pi, even after the latter had succeeded in ascending the throne. The bitter pills Tsaur Jyr had to swallow are recorded in his biography.² It seems to me apparent that Tsaur Jyr, as a kind of poet laureate of his day who was expected to produce a poem or some other form of writing on every occasion, should have written with the intention of appeasing his brother and reducing the latter's hatred and suspicion of him by emphasizing at every opportunity his desire to make amends and to practise Confucian circumspection. "Imitations" of former compositions, like the *Luohshern Fuh*, were current in his day. As they had no rivals, such as the short stories 傳奇 and novels 小說 of later days, they must have been awaited eagerly by their reading public. Among Tsaur Jyr's readers was certainly the enlightened and cultured circle at court with the Emperor Wendih at its head as the most powerful critic, owing to his position as well as his education and considerable literary fame. For Tsaur Jyr the Luoh River, where 魏 made a halt in his journey, probably suggested to him immediately an opportunity to do so. The Emperor would certainly have been as well read in the *Chuutsyr* and Sonq Yuh's *fuh* as Tsaur Jyr was, so that the latter could gather together and turn to fruitful use the rich harvest of allusions and associated ideas to be found in these earlier works. He rearranged, therefore, the beautiful or apt phrases of old, as was the custom of his time, so that they might take on a fresh appearance, and further, he coined

¹ "With a mild and gentle nature, most suitable for waiting upon (her lord and master)": 性和適宜侍傍

² History of Wei 魏志陳思王植傳 *Sangwo Jyh* 三國志 reprinted by the Commercial Press, Shanghai, 1927, J. 19, pp. 2a-3b.

some exquisite new conceits to harmonize with the old. All these, he knew, would, through their æsthetic appeal, so please the Emperor that he would be able to get a hearing, after having repeatedly failed in this before.¹ Moreover, through a story like that of the *Luohshern Fuh*, the idea of the repentant brother's adherence to the Confucian code could be put across and impressed on the Emperor's mind. More than just impressing his new morality on the Emperor's mind, Tsaur Jyr could make a strong appeal to his pity without appearing abject, merely by associating his own rôle in the *fuh* with that of Chiu Yuan 屈原 in the *Lisau* 離騷 and other poems in the *Chuutsyr* which were certainly familiar to scholars of his day. By echoing, in the *Luohshern Fuh*, the political theme of the *Lisau*, Tsaur Jyr could drive home his appeal more successfully than if he had merely depended on his own ingenuity in making up a new allegory. Moreover, since this kind of political theme is all too apparent in some of his other poems, we may suspect him of similar preoccupations in the case of this *fuh*.

(a) *Echo of the political themes of the Lisau and of other poems in the Chuutsyr.*

From the non-political theme of the *Sherneue Fuh* Tsaur Jyr passes skillfully and smoothly on to the incorporation of the ruler-minister relationship in the parting speech of *Luohshern*: "To you, my Lord, my heart forever belongs". That the *Luohshern Fuh* has such a political significance has recently been discussed by Jang Jyhyueh 張志岳 in his *Luohshern Fuh Shuo*.² In a feudalistic society like that of ancient China, in which the ruler had, or was supposed to have, absolute power over his subjects, and the minister served him with fear and diligence, it was natural to compare the relationship between ruler and minister with that between man and woman or between master and slave. It was likewise natural that Chiu Yuan, or any other writer of his time, should make the most of that similarity by composing an allegory which might thereby have a poetic atmosphere highly charged with emotion. It was also natural for Tsaur Jyr to follow the *Lisau* tradition, which was both apt and moving, to make his appeal at a time when he was himself persecuted with harsh treatment, jealousy and suspicion, and perhaps even in danger of his life. Moreover, when he took the *Sherneue Fuh* as his "model" his mind probably turned by association from Sonq Yuh to the earlier poet Chiu Yuan, and the *Lisau* and its related poems. For one who must have known these poems by heart, or at least very well, the store of fragrant and exotic plants³ and resplendent ornaments was there for him to use as he would, as indeed his *fuh* echoes a great deal of the *Lisau* vocabulary. Although other poems in the *Chuutsyr* also provided stylistic material for the *Luohshern Fuh*, the *Lisau* seems to have been the chief and most likely stimulus for the composition. Like Chiu Yuan, in

the *Lisau*, the author of the *Luohshern Fuh* puts himself in the position of a suitor of a beautiful woman, and weaves round this allegory the suggestion of a worthy minister's plight in his search for a suitable lord. *Fwufei*, the Goddess of the Luoh River, is mentioned in the *Lisau*, 求宓妃之所在, *CTBY*, J. 1, p. 24b, and in the *Yeuanyou* 遠遊: 騰告鸞鳥迎宓妃, *CTBY*, J. 5, p. 9b. Though *Fwufei*, in the *Lisau*, is much less real or humanized than Tsaur Jyr's *Fwufei* in the *Luohshern Fuh*, she none the less furnishes the outline for the later and more successful portrayal. The story in the *Lisau* tells how Chiu Yuan is searching for the dwelling place of *Fwufei* and when he reaches there he finds that she is not at all interested in his plan and leaves him thoroughly disappointed, 雖信美而無禮兮來違棄而改求,¹ *CTBY*, J. 1, p. 25a. The transformation of *Fwufei* into a tractable Confucian lady well-versed in the Rites and the Odes (*Jie jia ren jy shinn shiou shi, Chiang shyi lii erl ming shy* [see below, Chinese text, p. 51, line 16]) to suit his own purpose as well as the further development of the story in the *Luohshern Fuh* is Tsaur Jyr's own contribution.

In creating an allegory and in allowing the identities of the characters in it to remain sufficiently vague, Chiu Yuan had the opportunity to express his outraged feelings and bitter complaints against the unpleasant realities which he could not ignore, through a medium which afforded him perhaps a momentary relief from the oppressive circumstances with which he was beset. Similarly Tsaur Jyr did not specify whether *Luohshern* symbolized the minister or the ruler. In his *fuh* he proposes to the goddess, so that she could have symbolized the ruler, yet she addresses the prince as an inferior would a superior. Probably Tsaur Jyr, knowing that his readers were practised in sorting out the vague references in the *Lisau*, merely dropped them a broad hint in the final speech of *Luohshern*, in which she pledges absolute loyalty to her lover and prince, so that the readers could please themselves in thinking out the identities. Tsaur Jyr did not dwell for long on this theme of the ruler-minister relationship. He enumerated instead the bright and precious jewels and ornaments, the beautiful colours and sounds and the specially attractive features of the lithe, young girl and the idyllic pursuits of her companions. In spite of the conformity with the *Sherneue Fuh* so far as the description of the goddess's face, figure, colour of skin, teeth and lips goes, *Luohshern*'s character does not bear a close resemblance to the more tantalising and unpredictable *Sherneue*, whose quick change of mood is reflected in the expressiveness of her face, summed up vividly and tersely by the phrase 忽兮改容 "suddenly her expression changes" which is still reminiscent of the awesome moods of nature, of sudden wind and rain, which are linked with the countenance of the goddess described in the *Gautarng Fuh*. *Luohshern*'s change of mood is only shown in her manner, from a leisurely and graceful walk in a quiet spot of the

¹ As shown in his memorials, and in his poems like the 應詔 and 責躬.

² *Lingnan Shyuebaw* XI 2 June 1951, pp. 201-209.

³ See also below, p. 42.

¹ She is very beautiful indeed but she does not act according to the Rites. I shall leave her and seek another.

mountain to a sudden quickening of her pace, as if her attention has just been arrested by something that interests her at that moment, when her mood becomes more playful and her body becomes more lithe, more active. It is the picture of a young girl, playing along a mountain path innocently enjoying nature. She has none of the boldness and (before the prince's doubt of her sincerity) none of the whimsicality to be found in the description of the maturer woman who has learned to please and tantalize. Thus she comes much nearer to the idealized beauties in the *Lisau* and its related poems than to Shernneu.

The *Lisau*, then, is apparently an important source of inspiration for the *Luohshern Fuh*, yet Tsaur Jyr has not included many of its exotic plants in his composition. Although it seems not unnatural for a poet to use fragrant herbs as metaphors for the ruler and other high persons of state, it was perhaps no coincidence that this idea suggested itself to Chiu Yuan because two noble princes at his court were named Tzyylan 子蘭 (the second element of which means "orchid") and Tzyyjiau 子椒 (the second element of which means "pepper plant"). As for Tsaur Jyr, he was content to use the exotic plants to enhance the mystical background, and did not give them personal attributes. In any case such herbs and fragrant plants as Tsaur Jyr mentioned created the *Lisau* atmosphere sufficiently well to make clear to his brother his motive in composing this *fuh*, and his desire for employment. Since his expressions of regret for his past conduct and his declaration of a single-minded loyalty to the throne, in memorials as well as in poems, had already led to the kinder tones of the Emperor's edict to him 優詔答勉之¹, in the fourth year of the Hwangchu period (223 A.D.), it was probably as a practical step to "cash in" on the changed attitude of the Emperor that the *Luohshern Fuh* was duly composed. Apparently the *fuh* had the desired effect and won his brother's approval, for in the sixth year of the same period his "country seat" at Iongchiou 雍丘 was honoured by a visit from the Emperor. This suggests that the Emperor was growing less severe with his repentant brother and perhaps there was a partial reconciliation between the two before the Emperor's death, which was in the following year. It appears, therefore, that this composition, apart from enhancing Tsaur Jyr's literary reputation, also served as a useful means to lift him a little from the hopeless political situation in which he found himself at the time.

(b) *Echo of political themes from Tsaur Jyr's other poems.*

Probably about the same time as he composed the *Luohshern Fuh*, Tsaur Jyr wrote other allegories with similar political themes, such as that of a woman's search for a suitable lord, or a woman's longing for her lord who has been parted from her. The *Meeineu Pian* 美女篇 (*Tsaur Jyi Chyuanpyng* 曹集銓評 *Basic Sinological Series*, J. 5, pp. 45-46) has a number of lines of very

similar phraseology to relevant passages in the *Luohshern Fuh*.¹ As the lady in the *Meeineu Pian* is a more elementary creation than Luohshern, it may not be unreasonable to consider it as a poem with similar political significance written previously to the *Luohshern Fuh*. As the form of the *Meeineu Pian* is more restricted than that of a *fuh*, Tsaur Jyr left the lady in it as unhumanized or un-individualized a state as Chiu Yuan's beautiful ladies. But it may be because the *fuh*, with its greater latitude in length and arrangement of syllables and rhymes, offered the author a better medium, that the characterization of Luohshern gained momentum, although the characters and roles of the two ladies were at first similarly conceived. The *Meeineu Pian* mentions explicitly the lady's search for the worthy, and thus throws the ruler-minister relationship into bold relief, whereas the significant phrase 求賢 is absent from the *Luohshern Fuh*.

Besides the many similar phrases in the *Meeineu Pian*, the *Luohshern Fuh* can also claim a close relationship with the poem under the title of *Chieh Baurming Shyng* 姜薄命行², in which can be detected Tsaur Jyr's particular interest in the Goddess of the Luoh River and similar nymphs who haunt the rivers: 想彼宓妃洛河退詠漢女湘娥³; similarly, with the *Jeou Yeong* 九詠, which has the lines 感漢廣兮羨遊女揚激楚兮詠湘娥³. These and other poems like the *Gaan Huen Fuh* 感婚賦, *Tsaur Jyi Chyuanpyng* J. 2, pp. 10-11, and the *Chu Fuh Fuh* 出婦賦, *ibid.*, J. 2, p. 11, also have this political theme.

Though the allegory of the ruler-minister relationship in the *Luohshern Fuh* must have been as obvious to the Emperor as that in the *Meeineu Pian*, it is subtle enough not to be standing out too much in proportion to the rest of the story and it does not show any trace of a "grafting" on to the *fuh* as a whole. Perhaps this is the reason why the *Luohshern Fuh* has such a universal appeal and also why it did not pall on the Emperor who must have been surfeited with flattery and similar pleas for office from all quarters. Perhaps this subtlety in employing the political theme is also the reason why quite other theories concerning the allegory in the *Luohshern Fuh* have been advanced at various times and to this day. Among these the most insistent is the

From the <i>Meeineu Pian</i> :	From the <i>Luohshern Fuh</i> :
(a) 長嘯氣若蘭	(a) 氣若幽蘭
(b) 休者以忘餐	(b) 令我忘餐
(c) 容華耀朝日	(c) 榮耀秋菊，華茂春松；皎若太陽升朝霞
(d) 媒氏何所營	(d) 無良媒以接歡兮
(e) 盛年處房室	(e) 怨盛年之莫當

¹ *Tsaur Jyi Chyuanpyng*, *Basic Sinological Series*, J. 5, p. 43. Regarding its political significance, see *Tsaur Tzyyjian Shy Fuh* 曹子建詩注 by Hwang Jye 黃節, 1928: 朱嘉徵曰姜薄命 自傷不遇也 有盛年莫當之感. J. 2, p. 66.

² Cf. *Tsornng Nan-Shiang jy ell fei, shi Hann bin jy youneu*, see below Chinese text, p. 52, line 20. For the *Jeou Yeong* quotation see *Tsaur Jyi Chyuanpyng*, J. 8, p. 101.

¹ See his biography, *Sangwo Jyh*, ed. cit., J. 19, p. 4b.

theory that the Empress Jen 甄后 is the lady in question, but the story in the *fuh*, as analysed above, has so far yielded no relevant evidence in support of such a belief.

III

ATTEMPTS TO IDENTIFY LUOHSHERN

(a) *The Luohshern Fuh inspired by the Empress Jen.*

The author of the following note, which is generally believed to be part of Lii Shann's 李善 commentary and printed as such in most editions¹ of the *Wensheuan*, is at present unknown. It gives the following account of the origin of the *Luohshern Fuh*:

"According to the Jih 記 [without specifying which record], at the end of the Hann period, Tsaur Jyr asked for the hand of the daughter of Jen Yih 甄逸, but he was not successful. When Tsaur Tsau returned [without stating from where], he gave the lady to Tsaur Pi (in marriage) and Tsaur Jyr rather resented this. He thought of her day and night, to the extent of losing sleep and appetite. In the middle of the Hwangchu period [220-226 A.D.] he attended an audience of the Emperor Wendih, who showed him a pillow with jade carvings and golden trimmings, which was the personal property of the Empress Jen. When Tsaur Jyr saw this, he broke down and wept, for by that time the Empress Jen had already been killed as a result of the Empress Guo's slanderous accusations. The emperor then seemed to realize what he had done and so he ordered the crown prince to entertain Tsaur Jyr to a banquet. He then made a present of the pillow to his brother. Meanwhile Tsaur Jyr was returning to his 'country seat' via Hwanyuan. After a while he was about to make a halt at the Luoh River. He thought of the Empress Jen. Suddenly he saw a woman coming towards him and she said: 'Originally I was in love with you, my lord, but my heart's desire was not granted. This pillow I brought from my home when I was married. Formerly I gave it to the Wuuguan Jongtang Jianq [Tsaur Pi] and now it is given to you'. Thereupon she offered the services of 'the pillow and mat' to Tsaur Jyr, and their happiness was such that no ordinary words are able to describe it fully'. Then without the least warning the story continues with a direct speech: "My mouth has been stuffed with chaff by the Empress Guo and my hair is in a dishevelled state². I am ashamed to show my face to you, my lord'. After these words she was seen no more". However, the story continues: "She sent some one with a present of pearls for the prince, who replied with the gift of a jade pendant. He felt

¹ For instance, in the edition reprinted in the *Basic Sinological Series*, Book II, J. 19, p. 401-402.

² The apparitions of the deceased are supposed to keep the same appearance (the way they are dressed, etc.), as when they are buried. The Empress Guo was thus supposed to have followed up the persecution of her predecessor with a thoroughness which left the poor woman gagged and bedraggled even in the world below.

so moved, with joy and sorrow at the same time, that he could hardly contain himself. Thereupon he composed the *fuh*, 'Thinking of the Empress Jen'. Afterwards when Mingdih [son of Wendih and the Empress Jen] came across it, he changed its title to *Luohshern Fuh*".

Apart from the improbable story of the alleged title¹ of the *fuh*, which we can reject (since we have in the preface of the *Luohshern Fuh* the definite statement by Tsaur Jyr that his *fuh* follows the legend of Shernneu, and that he intends to write about the Goddess of the Luoh River according to that pattern), the above legend may, in any case, be considered suspect, owing to the ill-defined sequence of its events, as well as its many inconsistencies. However, poets usually seize on such a theme as good material for their poems², for a popular legend makes a good story for a literary exercise, and also such a theme, charged with the powerful appeal of long tradition and tense emotion, would forge at once a link of sympathy and understanding between the poet and his readers.

Even though Yuan Jen's 元稹 and Lii Shangyiin's 李商隱 poems suggest a close relationship between Tsaur Jyr and the Empress Jen, they neither prove nor disprove the poets' belief in the truth of the legend, for they merely show that the legend was current in Tarnq and Songq times.

(i) *Comment by Hwu Kehjia 胡克家 (of Ching, 1757-1816) on the legend.*

In view of the unreliable nature of the legend, Hwu Kehjia, in the *Kaoyih* of his edition of the *Wensheuan*³ suggests that the legend quoted above might have been a note interpolated [by an unknown hand] beneath the title of the *fuh*, in the MS. available to You Maw 尤袤 (*tsyh* Yanjy 延之 of Songq, 1127-94) who then included it in his edition of the *Wensheuan*. As this note is not found in either the Yuan edition 袁本 or the Charling edition 茶陵本,⁴ Hwu emended the text in his edition accordingly, by deleting the note about the legend. He also thinks that the one other note [under the phrase "*charng jih shin yu fjunwang*", [Chinese text line 28] which alludes to the Empress Jen 此言微感甄后之情 was probably an interpolation as well.

(ii) *Comment by Ding Yann 丁晏 (of Ching, 1794-1875) on the legend.*

Ding Yann considers the theory that this *fuh* was originally entitled "Thinking of the Empress Jen" untrue, because Tsaur Jyr states clearly in

¹ The title *Gaan Jen Fuh* was probably suggested to its creator by that of another poem of Tsaur Jyr's, namely, the *Gaan Huen Fuh*, mentioned in p. 43.

² Yuan Jen 元稹 in his 代曲江老人百韻 has the line 思王賦感甄 in the *Yuan Shyh Charngching Jyi* 元氏長慶集, *SBTK*, J. 10, p. 2a; Lii Shangyiin 李商隱 in his 無題 has the line 宓妃留枕魏王才 in the *Lii Yihshan Shy Jyi* 李義山詩集, *SBTK*, J. 5, p. 6a, and his 東阿王詩 runs as follows: 國事分明屬灌均 西陵魂斷斷來人 君王不得為天子 半為當時賦洛神, *ibid.*, J. 6, p. 21a.

³ Reprinted in the *Syhbuh Beyyaw*, 考異, J. 4, p. 4a.

⁴ Both printed in-Ming times.

⁵ See first two paragraphs of the "top commentary" to the text of the *fuh*, *Tsaur Jyi Chyuanpyng*, *Basic Sinological Series*, J. 2, pp. 11-12.

his preface that his *fuh* takes the *Shernneu Fuh* as its model. That Tsaur Jyr expresses his loyalty to the Emperor by means of the allegory of Fwufei shows that his state of mind was akin to those of Chiu Yuan and Song Yuh. He also believes that the legend should be classed with other fictions like Guo Ban's 郭頒 *Wey-jinn Shyhhyeu* 魏晉世語, etc. The fact that it is not included in the *Wuuchern Fuh* 五臣注 edition of the *Wensheuan* shows, in Ding's opinion, that the commentary there is superior to that by Lii Shann.¹

(iii) *Comment by Miaw Yueh* 繆鉞 *on the legend.*

This legend was a later interpolation and not part of Lii Shann's original commentary. This is borne out by its non-inclusion in the *Liowchern Fuh Wensheuan* 六臣注文選 reprinted in the *Syhbuh Tsongkan*. Miaw Yueh points this out in his paper *Tsaur Jyr Luohshern Fuh* 曹植洛神賦 in the *Jonggwo Wenhuah Yanjiow Hueykan* 中國文化研究彙刊, No. 7, Sept., 1947, p. 67.

(iv) *Comment by Ju Shiuhtzeng*² 朱緒曾 (of Ching) *on the legend.*

In his *Tsaur Txyyjiann Jyi Kaoyih* 曹子建集考異, J. 3,³ Ju Shiuhtzeng argues against the theory of linking Luohshern with the Empress Jen, by stating the fact that Tsaur Jyr could not have been a suitor before the Empress Jen's first marriage, for he would have been a mere child of seven when she was seventeen, and she was probably married to Yuan Shi 袁熙 by eighteen, the year when Yuan left for Ioujou 幽州.

(v) *Comment by Her Jwo* 何焯 (of Ching, 1661-1722) *on the legend.*

Her Jwo's disbelief of the story of Tsaur Jyr's attachment to the Empress Jen is expressed in his comment in the *Yihmen Dewushu Jih*⁴ 義門讀書記, quoted in the "top commentary" to the *Luohshern Fuh* text in Yeh Shuhfarn's 葉樹藩 edition of the *Wensheuan*, 1772, J. 19, pp. 9a and b, saying that the story about Tsaur Jyr having once asked for the hand of the Empress Jen is a fabrication by writers of fictions and that the showing of the pillow by the Emperor to his brother and then giving it to him as a present is something even the vulgar would not think of doing. As Tsaur Pi was a most jealous character, his brothers were not even allowed to linger [in the capital] for banquets at their leisure. How much more would he have objected to the disrespect if Tsaur Jyr had composed a *fuh* called "Thinking of the Empress Jen". Such disrespect would have been far greater than his alleged rudeness to the Emperor's envoy. He maintains that since Tsaur Jyr incurred the displeasure of his brother, the Emperor, he was anxious to undo the harm he had done. He made use of the crossing of the Luoh River as an occasion for writing the *fuh*, in which he expressed his loyalty and devotion by making Luohshern his mouthpiece. Thus his motive was similar to that of Chiu Yuan.

(vi) *Comment by Guo Mohruoh* 郭沫若 *on the legend.*

Guo Mohruoh thinks¹ that although the legend sounds nonsensical, it is probably an undeniable fact that Tsaur Jyr had once been in love with his sister-in-law who was ten years older than he, otherwise this gossip would not have arisen. He links up the Empress Jen's death with this gossip and seems to assume that the slander against her was connected with Tsaur Jyr's love for her, and that this had caused the rift between the brothers to the very end. Further, he rejects Ding Yann's theory of Tsaur Jyr's motive for writing the *fuh* (given in [ii]) and gives no rational grounds for his rejection. He seems horrified to find Tsaur Jyr classed with Chiu Yuan whom he considers as an ideal minister and a friend of the people,² therefore not to be mentioned with Tsaur Jyr in the same breath.

From the comments above it is apparent that scholars are generally agreed that the *Luohshern Fuh* was written with an eye to the Emperor Wendih's appreciation of fine literary works, and that the note containing the legend is an interpolation, for the origin of the note itself is doubtful and its story is not supported by historical facts.

Recorded history seems to point to the fact that Tsaur Jyr could not have asked for the Empress Jen's hand either before her first marriage, as explained by Ju Shiuhtzeng (see [iv]), nor before her second marriage, as it is recorded clearly that she was seen for the first time by Tsaur Pi when her first husband's fortunes in war had changed for the worse, and she was the beautiful captive who in her turn captured the heart of her captor, Tsaur Pi, who married her and later made her Empress.³ It is not likely that Tsaur Jyr, who was ten years younger than she, would have developed a passion for her. Apart from this conjecture, which only suggests the improbability of such a story, the internal evidence in the *fuh* seems to refute it, for the description in the *Luohshern Fuh* does not tally with the life and sad circumstances of the Empress Jen. The youthful beauty and gaiety of Luohshern as depicted in the earlier part of the *fuh* would suggest some young, lithe dancer whom Tsaur Jyr had seen, or the two rows of dancers chanting songs while dancing, described in the line 二八接舞投詩賦只, CTB7, 大招 J. 10, p. 5b. The description certainly does not suggest a picture of the solemn and dignified figure of a tragic queen, abandoned by her husband and destined to be brought low eventually by her ambitious rival, Guo, moving inevitably and without hope towards a cruel and untimely end.⁴ Guo Mohruoh's remarks about the cause of her death show that he chooses to ignore the historical records which state that the Empress Jen's death was caused chiefly by her loss of favour with the

¹ In his *Lihshyy Renuwh* 歷史人物, Shanghai, 1947, reprinted 1951, p. 20.

² See his *Chiu Yuan Yanjiow* 屈原研究, Shanghai, 1953.

³ *Sangwo Jyh*, ed. cit., J. 5, pp. 2b-3a.

⁴ See the note quoting the *Wey Liueh* 魏略 *Sangwo Jyh*, ed. cit., J. 5, last line of p. 5a and beginning of p. 5b.

¹ For this attack on Lii Shann's commentary see (i) above and (iii) below.

² Passed his Jeuren examination in the Dawguang period, 1821-50.

³ This reference is taken from Miaw Yueh's paper as Ju's book is inaccessible to me.

⁴ This book is inaccessible to me.

Emperor and her tactless complaints against his neglect, which further hastened her end.¹ Guo explains that Tsaur Jyr's attachment would have been possible because men and women were freer in their relationship at that time, freer than either before or after that period. As an instance he recounts the occasion when Tsaur Pi, as Crown Prince, ordered his wife to come out to meet his scholar friends who had been dining well. All bowed low out of respect but Liou Jen 劉楨 alone stared at her (without bowing). Tsaur Pi did not take exception to it but his father did.² But such a small offence, often committed by scholars who wished to show their independence in front of the great, is hardly to be compared with a love affair with one's wife, whatever the period. As Tsaur Pi was such an intriguer,³ he was naturally suspicious as well. It is unthinkable that a man of his nature would not have known of his brother's passion for his wife, or that having realized it, he would have condoned it to the extent of feeling sorry for the offender and giving him her personal property like that very special pillow. It is equally unthinkable that Tsaur Jyr, fearful of his very life, would have dared to write and keep a dangerous reference of that kind, for such an episode in a man's married life would have been held up for ridicule in China, whatever the period, and Tsaur Pi would not have tolerated such a disgrace. Tsaur Jyr's *ts'ue*, since his brother's accession to the throne, was preserved only through his mother's influence, and through exercising greater and greater caution himself (for he failed to hide his true feelings when the news of his brother's usurpation of the Hann mandate reached him, and it seems that he thus incurred the Emperor's wrath).⁴ Thus the composition of such an allegory as that of the *Luohshern Fuh* and similar poems was both necessary and wise, and, as I mentioned before (p. 42), apparently fruitful.

(b) Other theories regarding the "original" of Luohshern.

(i) Miaw Yueh's theory.⁵

Apart from the convincing emendation (based on the Bronze script form of the character "four" which consists of four horizontal strokes and which was still the current form on bronzes in late Hann) of the character "three" in the phrase "*Hwangchu san nian*" to "four", namely, "*Hwangchu syh nian*", Miaw Yueh gives us a close comparison of the place-names along the route taken by the author after the Emperor had granted his brothers an audience

¹ See her biography in the *Wey Jyh, Sangwo Jyh, ed. cit.*, J. 5, p. 3a.

² *Lihshyy Renuuh*, p. 20.

³ See the biographies of Tsaur Jyr (*Sangwo Jyh, ed. cit.*, J. 19, p. 3a and b, in the note which quotes the *Wey Shyh Chuenchiou* 魏氏春秋) and of the Empress Guo (*ibid.*, J. 5, p. 4b). Perhaps it was no coincidence that there arose such a bond of alliance between Tsaur Pi and the Empress Guo (when she was still a mere concubine of his) over the question of the succession in the Wey 魏 House.

⁴ See the biography of Su Tzer 蘇則, *Sangwo Jyh, ed. cit.*, J. 16, pp. 2a and b.

⁵ In his *Tsaur Jyr Luohshern Fuh (Wensheuan Fuh Jian (4))*, *Jonggwo Wenhuah Yanjiow Hueykan*, No. 7, September, 1947, pp. 66-72.

which was followed by the tragic death of Tsaur Jyr's favourite brother, Jang 彰, place-names which are mentioned in the poem to another favourite brother, Biau, 贈白馬王彪, with those mentioned in the *Luohshern Fuh*, and concludes that his *fuh* must have been written about the same time as the poem to Biau. This is again a reasonable conjecture. But Miaw goes further and identifies Luohshern's beauty with the outstanding qualities and fine figure of Tsaur Jang and maintains that (a) 抗瓊瑤以和予兮指潛淵以爲期 (see below, Chinese text, p. 51, lines 16-17) refers to the secret intention Jang had to put Tsaur Jyr on the throne¹ and that the negative answer Tsaur Jyr gave him is recalled in (b) 收和顏而靜志兮申禮防以自持 (lines 17-18) and that by this Tsaur Jyr refers to the occasion when he prevented Jang's rebellion against the Emperor by alluding to the great principle (of brotherliness); further, that in (c) 悼良會之永絕兮哀一逝而異鄉 (line 27) Tsaur Jyr mourns the death of Jang, regretting that from then on they would go the different ways of life and death; and finally in (d) 雖潛處於太陰長寄心於君王 (lines 27-28), Tsaur Jyr reflects on the loyalty Jang always had towards him, so that even in death there would be no change of heart.

Miaw seems to presume that the death of Jang must have been the sole pre-occupation in Tsaur Jyr's mind, so much so that he could not think or write of anything else. Actually the many fine phrases which are echoes of the *Lisau* and its related poems point to the fact that he was thinking of writing a fine poem in the tradition of the *Lisau*. It seems more probable that at the moment when he was composing this *fuh* he heard the phrases of these well-known poems ringing in his ear, so that they flowed freely from his pen into a freshly woven pattern of familiar images and vocabulary. A person who has learnt some poems by heart from his youth, especially if they are very fine poems, does not grope for such phrases or images, for they have become his "second nature" and they lead to the coining of similar fine phrases. To say that Tsaur Jyr saw in a beautiful maiden of his imagination, the fine figure and outstanding personality of a dead brother, seems to me an idea rather foreign to the mind of a Chinese poet, as the difference between the two sexes in appearance, in carriage, and particularly in social standing, would make such a comparison most unlikely. The phrases in (a) are probably derived from 指九天以爲正兮夫唯靈脩之故也曰黃昏以爲期兮 *Lisau*, *CTBY*, J. 1, p. 8a, and 指西海以爲期 *CTBY*, J. 1, p. 35b; and (b) is probably an echo of 揚詩守禮終不過差 in the *Dengtwtzzy Haw Seh Fuh* and 頽薄怒以自持兮 in the *Shernneu Fuh* (as mentioned above on p. 38). Tsaur Jyr could have been thinking of Jang in composing the phrases in (c) but 魂一夕而九逝 in 抽思 *CTBY*, J. 4, p. 17b, seems also a possible

¹ Commentary quoting the *Wey Lihsh* says that at the death of Tsaur Tsau, Tsaur Jang told his brother Jyr that their father had summoned him, presumably with the intention of asking him to support Tsaur Jyr as heir to the throne, and Tsaur Jyr's answer was: "Don't you see the trouble between the brothers Yuan?" *Sangwo Jyh, ed. cit.*, J. 19, p. 16.

derivation for them. The significance of (d) seems to be a deliberately flattering reference to the Emperor in the *Lisau* tradition. Tsaur Jyr was, therefore, like Chiu Yuan, loyal to his ruler in spite of the cool reception he had had so far. Although Tsaur Jyr had to stay away from the "sunshine" of the Emperor's favour in the "darkness" of the border province, his heart would never change. In view of the flattering memorials and repeated requests for employment he sent up to the throne, the more practical interpretation of his allegory by Ding Yann and others seems more credible.

(ii) *Jan Ing's* 詹鏗 theory.¹

Jan Ing suggests that the brothers Ding Yi 丁儀 and Ding Yih 丁廙 are the people in Tsaur Jyr's mind when he wrote the moving speech "To you, my Lord, my heart forever belongs". It is again possible that his loyal friends who supported him at the risk of their lives and, for that matter, his brothers Biau and Jang, must have often come into his mind when he was writing about the sad thoughts of parting and when he was describing how lonely and desolate he felt; however, this *fuh* has too many echoes of the *Lisau* themes and vocabulary to be other than a chiefly political or politic kind of composition in spite of its deep feelings and literary excellence. However clever Tsaur Jyr considered himself in the art of concealing his real objects of affection in an allegory, he would not have dared to try to evade the watchful eye of his brother, for it would have endangered his precarious position further in that fourth year of Hwangchu if he included any reference, however vague, to any one of those who had been summarily disposed of by Tsaur Pi. Indeed, all the evidence shows that at that time he was straining every nerve to create a good impression and persuade the Emperor to forget the past. The phrases "The love she has left behind, and her image which fills my mind, make me look back, and feel desolate in my heart", could have reflected his yearning for his dead brother Jang or his lost friends, the brothers Ding; but this declaration itself is too general to be identifiable. Thus not even Tsaur Pi could suspect or accuse him in the least of treason or disaffection.

¹ In the *Dongfang Tsarjyh* 東方雜誌, J. 39, No. 16, *Tsaur Jyr Luohshern Fuh* *Beenshyh Shuo* 曹植洛神賦本事說 quoted by Jang Jyhyueh 張志岳 in his *Luohshern Fuh Shuo, Lingnan Shyuebaw*, J. 11, No. 2, June, 1951, pp. 201-202. The original publication is inaccessible to me.

APPENDIX

(Chinese Text)¹

1 黃初三年，余朝京師，還濟洛川。古人有言：斯水之神，名曰宓妃。感宋玉對楚王說。文七十九○程十
 2 既，神女之事，遂作斯賦。其詞曰。
 3 余從京城，張作師言歸東藩，背初學記六伊闕，越轅轅，經道四有五十谷，陵景山日既西傾，車
 4 殆馬煩爾，乃稅駕平衡，泉秣颺乎芝田，容與乎陽林。文選十九李注云流盼文八乎洛川。
 5 於是精情張作移神駭，忽焉思散，俯則未察，仰以殊觀。觀一麗人於岩之畔，張有適援御者而
 6 告之曰：爾有觀御覽八百八於彼者乎？彼何人斯？若此初學記之豔也。御者對曰：臣聞河洛
 7 之神，名曰宓妃。然張說則君王之所見也。無文選○是乎？其狀若何？臣願聞之。余告之曰：
 8 其形也，翩若驚鴻，婉若遊龍。榮曜秋菊，華茂春松。鬋鬢兮若輕雲之蔽月，飄飄兮若流
 9 風之回雪。遠而望之，皎若太陽升朝霞；迫而察之，灼若芙蓉出渌波。張作攏攏得衷，張
 10 中修短合度，肩若削成，腰如約素。延頸秀項，皓質呈露。芳澤無加，鉛華弗張作御雲鬋，張
 11 修眉連娟，文選娟丹脣外朗，皓齒內鮮。明眸善睐，輔屬初學記十承權。環委豔逸，懷靜體閑。柔
 12 情綽態，媚於語言。奇服曠世，骨象應圖。披羅衣之璀璨兮，珥瑤碧之華瑤。文選○戴金翠之
 13 首飾，綴明珠於白帖，八以耀白帖，張作深窈窕，文八以嬉。左倚采旄，右蔭桂旗。攘皓腕於神辭兮，采湔澗之
 14 於山隅。於是忽焉縱體，以遨遊，文八以嬉。左倚采旄，右蔭桂旗。攘皓腕於神辭兮，采湔澗之
 15 玄芝。余情悅其淑美兮，心振蕩而不怡。無良媒以接歡兮，托微波而通辭。願誠素之先
 16 達兮，解玉珮以張作。要之，嗟佳人之信修兮，程本○羌習禮而明詩。抗瓊瑤以和予兮，指潛
 17 淵而爲期。執春春之款實兮，懼斯靈之我欺。感交甫之棄言兮，惟猶豫而狐疑。收和顏而靜
 18 志兮，申禮防以自持。於是洛靈感焉，徙倚彷徨。神光離合，乍陰乍陽。竦輕軀以鶴立，若
 19 將飛而未翔。踐椒塗之郁烈，步蘅薄而流芳。超長吟以永慕兮，聲哀厲而彌長。爾適來靈雜

¹ This text has been taken from the *Tsaur Jyr Chyuanpyng*, by Ding Yann, *Basic Sinological Series*, J. 2, pp. 11-13.

30 繁霜而至曙命僕夫而就駕吾將歸乎東路攬騶以抗策恨盤桓而不能去
 29 願望懷愁冀靈體之復形御輕舟而上泝浮長川而忘反思絲絲而增暮夜耿耿而不寐素
 28 陰長寄心於君王忽不悟其所舍恨神霄而蔽光於是背下陵高足往神心張作留遺情想像
 27 悼良會之永絕兮哀一逝而異鄉無徵情以效愛兮獻御覽七百江南之明璫雖潛處於太
 26 言陳交接之大綱恨人神之道殊兮張說怨盛年之莫當抗羅袂以掩涕兮淚流襟之浪浪
 25 毅水禽翔而爲衛於是越北津過南岡紆素領回清揚文選○程動御覽三百六朱唇以徐
 24 文魚以驚文選乘鳴玉鑾以偕逝六龍儼其齊首載雲車之容裔鯨鯢踊十書抄一百四而夾
 23 含辭未吐氣若幽蘭華容婀娜令我忘餐於是屏翳收風川后靜波馮夷鳴鼓女媧清歌騰
 22 神陵波微步羅襪生塵動無常則若危若安進止難期若往若還轉盼文選流精光潤玉顏
 21 瓜之無匹兮詠牽牛之獨處揚輕袿之綺張靡兮張說翳修袖以延佇體選迅飛說忽若
 20 還命儻傭侶或戲清流或翔神渚或采明珠或拾翠羽從南湘之二妃攜漢濱之游女歎飽

TRANSLATION¹

¹In the third² year of Hwangchu I attended the Emperor's court at the capital. Returning home I crossed the Stream of Luoh. It was said of old that the goddess of this river is called Fwufei. I recalled the account Sonq Yuh gave in answer to the question put by the King of Chuu² about the story of Shernneu (Goddess of the Wu Mountain). Thereupon I wrote this *fuh* which runs as follows:—

³I set out from the capital to return to the eastern province. With my back towards Ichiueh, I cross over Hwanyuan. I pass the Tong Valley and climb the Jiing Mountain. The chariot⁴ has become sluggish³ and the horses are exhausted (weighed down with toil).⁵ Thereupon I make a halt at the bank of *Herng* grass, and graze my horses on the field of *Jy* herb. I stroll about at leisure in the Yang Grove and let my eyes feast upon (sweep along) the whole view of the Stream of Luoh. At this point I feel disturbed in my heart and my mind is startled. Suddenly my thoughts become confused. Looking down I cannot see distinctly. I look up in order to have a different view⁴. I see a beautiful woman on the bank by the cliff. Thereupon I touch the arm of the charioteer and⁶ ask him, "Are you aware of someone over there? Who can that be, as beautiful as that?" He answers, "Your servant has heard that the Goddess of the Luoh River⁷ is called Fwufei. May she not be what Your Highness sees? What is she like? I would like to hear about it." I tell him saying, "⁸In appearance she is light and nimble (literally: flutters) like the startled wild swan; (her body) is lithe, like the coiling dragon (literally: wandering, the movement of the dragon sailing through the clouds). Her splendour glows like the chrysanthemum in Autumn. Her beauty is luxurious like the

¹ In this translation I have made no attempt at emulating the poetic language and constructions of the *fuh* as this is only given to facilitate references to the text itself. Superior figures at the *beginning* of a word in the translation refer to the numbered lines in the Chinese text. Furthermore, I have merely transliterated place-names and plant-names, as their identification would require a special study in these fields.

² The proposed emendation to "the fourth year of Hwangchu (223 A.D.)" by Miaw Yueh 繆鉞 is supported with convincing arguments in his article in the *Jonggwō Wenhuah Yanjiou Hueykan* 中國文化研究彙刊, No. 7, September, 1947, pp. 67-69.

³ Von Zach and most translators take *day* 殆 to mean weary or exhausted, similar in meaning to *farn* 煩. But as Tsaury Jyr in his *Jeou Yeong* 九詠 has the line 馳覆車之危路. *Tsaury Jyi Chyuanpyng*, J. 8, p. 102, I see the possibility of his using *day* to convey the idea that the chariot is in danger of turning over or breaking up.

⁴ These two phrases are apparently an extension of 俯仰異觀 in the *Dengtwutszy Haw Sek Fuh*, which emphasizes the vivacity of the mulberry girl by describing a quick change of expression on her face in the short space of looking up and down. This stress on the shortness of time is lost in the parallelism when interpreted as above. The second part of this parallel arrangement is taken by von Zach and others to mean "Looking up I behold a wonderful sight". This would preserve the sense of suddenness of the "model" phrase and quicken the pace of the story, but seems unacceptable owing to syntactical difficulties.

pinus in Spring¹. Her dream-like figure recalls a thin wisp of cloud over the moon. Swaying gently in her gait, she is like ⁹the snowflakes in the whirling wind. Viewed from afar, she is bright as the sun rising from the morning haze. When I get nearer to have a closer view she looks like the lotus bloom rising out of the clear ripples. She is just right in size (literally: midway between fat and thin) ¹⁰and her height is of right proportion. Her shoulders are well-shaped (literally: square, like the straight edges of the Huah Mountain). Her waist is like a tied skein of silk². Her neck is long and slender and reveals the pure whiteness (of her skin). She uses neither fragrant oils nor powder. Her billowy coils of hair (like clouds) are piled high, ¹¹and her long eyebrows are slightly curved. Her lips shine red on the outside, while her pure white teeth flash their dazzling whiteness from within. Her bright eyes know well how to cast beautiful glances. There is a dimple on either cheek (below the cheekbone). Her wondrously beautiful appearance is most attractive and refined. Her carriage is calm and her movement (literally: body) leisurely. She has a soft (and sweet) ¹²nature and elegant manners. She bewitches when she speaks. Her marvellous clothes have no equals in the world, and her whole appearance corresponds to the picture (of the Goddess of Luoh?). Draped in the glittering colours of her soft silk garment, she wears in her ears the finest and rarest jades. She decorates her hair with ornaments of gold and kingfishers' plumage ¹³and bedecks her person with strings of bright pearls which sparkle and glitter. She wears patterned (embroidered?) shoes of Distant Wanderings and trails a light skirt of gossamer silk in a train. Faintly from her there floats a perfume of some orchid rare, while she paces hesitatingly ¹⁴the secluded corner of the mountain". Suddenly she becomes more active (literally: she lets herself go)—she runs about and plays (literally: to ramble and amuse herself). On her left stands a coloured pennant and on her right spreads a cassia banner (plaited with cassia twigs?)³. She bares her white arms (rolls up her sleeves) at the bank of immortals and gathers the ¹⁵black *fy* herb from the shallows of the whirling rapids. I am so overcome with love for her comely form that my heart is disturbed and I feel ill at ease. As I have not a good intermediary to join us in a joyful union, I entrust my message of love to the little waves. Wishing my true

¹ The two phrases could also be interpreted as "Her splendour surpasses that of the chrysanthemum in Autumn. Her beauty is more luxurious than that of the pines in Spring". The two editors and translators of the *Wensheuan* in the *Kokuyaku-Kanbuntaisei*, Dr. Okada Masayuki and Dr. Saku Misao, have chosen this interpretation (*Monzen, chūkan*, p. 18), but I have followed the suggestion of the commentator of the *Wensheuan*, as the majority of the figures of speech in this part are similes with the character for "like" 若 *ruoh* in them. *Ruoh* is probably left out in these two phrases to make room for the verbal adjectives *yaw* and *maw*.

² This interpretation is most common. In the *Kanbuntaisei* (*ibid.*, p. 19) the term 約素 is translated as "tied up silk". But as this phrase is an echo of 腰如束素 in the *Dengtwutzzy Haw Seh Fuh* and Tsaur Jyr has the line 妾十五而束帶, in his *Chu Fuh Fuh 出婦賦, Tsaur Jyi Chyuanpyng*, J. 2, p. 11, it is possible that he means to describe a small waist with the words "as if it were tied with a silk sash".

³ See note under "cassia banner", *CTBJ*, J. 2, p. 202.

love to ¹⁶reach her before my person, I untie my jade pendant and with it beckon to her. Ah, my lovely lady is indeed good (literally: cultivated morally)¹. Oh, how well-versed in the Rites and the Odes she is!¹ She answers me by lifting up her jade ornament². Pointing to the deep ¹⁷pool she makes a tryst with me. Holding in my hands my simple heart which is full of affection, I feel afraid that the spirit may deceive me. Recalling the broken promise made to Jiau Fuu, (by another immortal), I feel sadly hesitant and in doubt. I put on a genial look and make myself calm and collected, ¹⁸controlling myself by the reiteration of the Rites. Thereupon the Goddess of the Luoh River is moved. She appears ill at ease and uncertain of herself. The light about her disperses and comes together again, so that at one moment it fades and at another it shines again. She lifts up her delicate shoulders (literally: slight form) and stands up erect like the crane, as if ¹⁹she is about to fly but has not yet taken wing (soared). She treads on a path of pepper plants which give out an intense fragrance. She paces the meadow of *Herng* grass and spreads a perfume. Feeling disheartened, she sighs a long sigh of everlasting longing, in a lingering note which has a piercing sadness. Then many spirits come together, ²⁰calling and hailing their companions. Some of them play in the clear stream and some hover about the islets of the gods; some gather bright pearls and some pick up kingfishers' feathers: while (the goddess) follows behind the two queens (of the Emperor Shuenn) of the Shiang River in the south, and goes hand in hand with the nymph who roams the banks of the Hann River. She sighs ²¹for the mateless position of the Gourd³ and sings of the Cow-herd's⁴ lonely state. Her light garment flutters gracefully in the wind (literally: she waves the loveliness of her light garment), and she hides her face behind her long sleeve while pausing there. Her nimble body (then) moves as swiftly as⁵ the wild duck, and she is now here now there like a ²²spirit. When her light steps go over the waves, her silken slippers seem to leave a fine spray in their wake. Her movements have lost their usual rhythm: at one moment she looks as if she is going to fall and at another her step is sure. It is difficult to tell whether she is about to go forward or stop: at one moment she looks as if she is going away and at another she seems to be turning back. Casting a sweet glance (at me) her eyes shine bright and their lustre lights up her beautiful face. ²³Before words come forth from her mouth, there is already a fragrance

¹ I differ from von Zach in the interpretation of these two phrases. His translation is as follows: Und wider Erwarten scheint die Nixe zu mir Zutrauen zu haben, sie hält aber an der Sitte fest und spricht wie ein Gedicht (verstehst das Buch der Oden.)

² As was the practice between lovers in the *Odes* (Karlgrén, No. 64): 投我以木瓜 報之以瓊瑤。

³ A constellation in the north belonging to the Dolphin group. The legend in connection with it seems to have been lost.

⁴ Another constellation in the north. According to the legend the Cow-herd is separated from his beloved Spinning Maid by the Milky Way.

⁵ Or "more swiftly than".

like that of orchids rare. Her beauty is so full of elegance that it makes me love her to distraction (literally: makes me forget to eat). Then the God of the winds causes the wind to die down, and the Goddess of the streams calms the waves. (The spirit) Pyng-yi beats the drum and Neu-ua sings her sweet song. ²⁴The patterned fish rise up to give the word for her chariot to start and tingling jades are sounded for all to go on the journey. Six dragons harnessed abreast raise their heads evenly and draw her chariot of clouds in her leisurely drive. Whales leap up to flank her chariot on either side ²⁵and water fowl hover about as her guards. Thereupon she crosses the northern islet and passes the southern peak. She stretches her fair neck and turns (her bright eyes) round to look at me. Moving her red lips to speak slowly, ²⁶she talks about the great principle of love and friendship. She regrets that the ways of gods and men are not the same and deplures that in the prime of her youth she is not chosen for the service of her lord¹. She lifts her silken sleeve to cover (dry) her tears, which flow down freely and soak her lapel. ²⁷She regrets that their wonderful meeting can never be repeated and laments that once parted they will go their different ways to different worlds. "Not having even a small gift to convey to you my affection, I respectfully offer this bright pendant from the south. Although I dwell below in the Great ²⁸Darkness, my heart forever belongs to you, my Prince". Suddenly I cannot see where she is. I feel sad at her disappearance and the fading of her light. Thereupon I turn my back to the plain and climb the heights. My legs go forward but my mind remains behind. The love she has left behind and her image which fills my mind ²⁹make me look back and feel within my heart a great sorrow. Hoping for her divine form to manifest itself once again, I take a light boat and go up the stream. Floating along the endless stream and forgetting to return, my thoughts linger for ever around her and they only increase my longing. In the night I feel restless and cannot sleep. Damp ³⁰with thick frost I remain awake until dawn. I order the servant to make ready my chariot, as I am about to return to the east. I take up the bridle and lift the whip, but feel so desolate that I linger and cannot go away.

¹ The above interpretation is a paraphrase of Lü Shann's commentary, 盛年謂少壯之時不能當君王之意, *Liouchern Fuh Wensheuan*, SBTk, J. 19, p. 20a. But looking at the way Tsaur Jyr uses the phrase 莫當 in his 靜思賦: 卓特出而無匹呈才好其莫當. *Tsaur Jyi Chyuanpyng*, J. 1, p. 10, in which 莫當 clearly means "no-one can match her", I am inclined to believe that the phrase in the *Luohshern Fuh* means "she deplures that in the prime of her youth there is no-one worthy of her hand".