

Dr. Waley has stated<sup>6</sup> that the third line is literally "esteem and joy have no gaps between". The concluding words "have no gaps between" presumably reproduce a single word—it is missing in Parthian—for which the Turkish translator wrote *turqaru* "ever, always". The nouns rendered as "esteem and joy" agree well with Parthian *šādīft ud padīšfar* "gladness and honour": accordingly I have ventured to change von LeCoq's *araqłqan*, which could only mean "in purity (= *ariy-lāqan*)", into *ayaγ-* "honour".

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- Parth.: [wšmnyn]d pd š'd[y]ft, u r'(. . . . .)  
[ ? jmn](y)n pdm[n . . . . .]  
They rejoice in gladness, and . . . . .  
. . . . the measure of hours (?) . . . .
- Turk.: ögi[r]ärlär ögrünçün, †yidan igdilürlär, künin sanī yoq ular  
tirig ösinäng.  
They rejoice in gladness, they thrive on perfume (?).  
In days—there is no number of their "Living Self"  
(= no limit to their lives).
- Chin.: Always pleased, joyful, and gay without break:  
Freely enjoying, body and mind, in the precious-scented air,  
Counting neither years and months, nor hours and days,  
How will one fear the "Three Exterminations" in the end  
of life?

The Turkish is so obscure that von LeCoq refrained from translating it. In the absence of a photograph any change of his readings is hazardous, yet on the strength of "the precious-scented air" one may emend *z(?) yvdan* to punctuation marks + *yidan* "by perfume".<sup>7</sup> The construction of the second half of the verse, where I have replaced *könin* by *künin*, is not very clear.<sup>8</sup>

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- Parth.: missing.
- Turk.: qamay [tirig] öz ular [ara ölmäz ?] . . . .  
No "Living Self" dies among them . . . .
- Chin.: All the Saints are void of birth and death,  
And the killing devil of Impermanence will not attack and  
hurt them . . . . .

Having little Turkish and less Chinese I must confine myself to establishing the identity of the texts and leave their further study to more competent hands.

<sup>6</sup> Boyce, *loc. cit.*, p. 77, n. 5.

<sup>7</sup> In Parthian one would expect *prwrz-ynd pd bwy*, but the traces apparently do not fit; *igdil-* = Parth. *prwrz-* = Sogd. *prwyj-*.

<sup>8</sup> Parth. \**rwd'n pdm'n ny 'st 'w hwyn jyrwhr?*

## CHIA YI'S "OWL FU"

by JAMES ROBERT HIGHTOWER

"And when I read his *fu* "The Owl", where he equates life and death and treats success or failure as matters of indifference, I am quite carried away with enthusiasm."<sup>1</sup> So Ssu-ma Ch'ien concludes the biography which Chia Yi shares with Ch'ü Yüan.<sup>2</sup> We are indebted to Ssu-ma Ch'ien's appreciation of the poem—no doubt intimately bound up with his sympathy for the brilliant and shabbily-treated tutor to the Prince of Ch'ang-sha—for the preservation of the earliest reliably dated specimen of the genre to bear the label *fu*.<sup>3</sup>

Clearly "The Owl" is not the first poem of its kind,<sup>4</sup> though it may well be the earliest use of the *fu* for what is essentially a statement of a philosophy of life. The philosophy is a Taoist one, straight out of *Chuang tzu*, which itself supplies precedents for treating such a subject in meter and rhyme. But "The Owl" is not a prose composition dressed up in the trappings of verse; it is a tightly organized poem in a regular meter. Aside from its intrinsic poetic merits (which are considerable), it is interesting as an example of the Han *fu* before its period of greatest popularity under the Emperor Wu and before it was shaped in the hands of Ssu-ma Hsiang-ju, Mei Sheng, and their more prolific if less talented contemporaries.

Metrically "The Owl" is more regular than most Han dynasty *fu*. It is predominantly in lines of eight beats, each divided into two equal halves by a strongly marked caesura. Except in five lines, the form *hsi* 兮 occurs at the caesura;<sup>5</sup> in addition *hsi* is used in two lines (16 and 50) for emphasis. In the whole poem there are only five exceptions to the 4-4 pattern, two of which can be brought into line if the extra *hsi* is not counted as a beat. This particular meter occurs exceptionally in some of the *sao* poems (*e.g.*, the opening lines of "Huai sha") and is the initial meter of Chia Yi's "Lament for Ch'ü Yüan". It is rare in *fu* of well-established Han date.<sup>6</sup>

The rhyme-scheme of "The Owl" is eccentric at the beginning of the poem, joining together groups of three lines rather than the expected couplets and multiples of two. This results in some odd combinations. In the first three lines the division by sense comes flat in the middle of the second one. The words of the oracle in the sixth line are neatly set off by the quotation mark 曰, but continue to rhyme with the preceding two lines.

The same gaucheness attaches to lines 10-12, where line 12, in spite of the rhyme, belongs with the following three lines. Such anomalies are avoided in the rest of the piece, where rhymes are by couplets. Another feature of the rhyme scheme is the use (nine times) of internal rhyme, specifically an additional rhyme at the caesura which is then echoed at the end of the line.<sup>7</sup> Only one line—the last one—fails to rhyme within the usual rhyme-book categories.<sup>8</sup>

The poem is neatly and almost conspicuously organized around the three parts standard in the Han *fu*:<sup>9</sup> an introduction (lines 1-11, not the prose setting supplied by the biographer), the body (lines 12-49, beginning with the speech attributed to the owl), and the conclusion (lines 50-54, where the meter changes). The three extra-metrical inserts do not, however, come at these points, but serve rather to punctuate and sub-divide the first two sections: 曰 following line 5 serves to set off the omen; 夫 after line 21, to conclude the series of historical precedents and to introduce the general conclusion these examples lead to; and 且 夫 after line 29, to throw into relief the elaborate smelting metaphor.

The composition formally most like "The Owl" is the "Lament for Ch'ü Yüan" by the same author, and there is no reason for not calling it by the same name. As a matter of fact, the term *fu* was used in Han times to cover nearly all verse compositions, with the exception of song-words (*shih*, or *ko-shih*). The word *sung* 頌 is practically synonymous,<sup>10</sup> and the *sao* poems of Ch'ü Yüan and his school are listed in the *Han shu* "Essay on Bibliography" as *fu*. This situation suggests that not too much importance attaches to the label, particularly since it is nearly always supplied by the scribe—biographer or anthologist—and not by the author of the poem himself. An historical treatment of the early development of the *fu* should take into account all relevant material, under whatever guise it is found, and proceed to establish formal criteria which can then be used to evaluate the unfortunately large mass of undated texts. It is in this context that "The Owl" is of historical importance, providing as it does an early fixed point of reference to which other dateable materials can be related. Such a task goes beyond the scope of the present article, which must remain focused on "The Owl" itself. I shall conclude with a translation.<sup>11</sup>

#### NOTES TO TEXT

<sup>1</sup> Some uncertainty about how the words 爽然自失矣 are to be understood is reflected in the three conflicting versions appearing in note 49 to Hellmut Wilhelm's "The Scholar's Frustration", *Chinese Thought and Institutions*, 402. The expression *tsu shih* has nothing to do with "being in error". It is literally "to lose oneself", as the frog in Chuang Tzu's parable: when he heard about the great sea, he was "flabbergasted with astonishment, lost in admiration" 適適然驚然, 規規自失也 (*Chuang tzu* 6.26a, *Ssu-pu ts'ung-k'an* ed.). Or like King Wen, who, on being told of the marvelous properties of the sword of a Son of Heaven, was "lost in wonder" 芒然自失 (*ibid.* 10.4a).

<sup>2</sup> *Shih chi* 84.37 (Takigawa's edition).

<sup>3</sup> Hellmut Wilhelm, *op. cit.*, proposes to salvage the "Fu p'ien" of *Hsin tzu* as a genuine specimen of the genre by treating the riddles and the verses (隗詩, 小歌) as parts of a single whole. I should like to point out in this connection, and as another example of the very broad use of the term *fu* in Han times, that the last entry among the *fu* listed in the "Essay on Bibliography" (*Han-shu pu-chu* 30.56a) is "18 Riddles" 隱書十八篇.

<sup>4</sup> Whatever the difficulties in establishing a Ch'ü Yüan canon, there were certainly *sao* poems early in the third century B.C., and it is not impossible that some of the Sung Yü *fu* were written by the younger contemporary of Ch'ü Yüan of that name.

<sup>5</sup> Lines 8, 10, 11, 16, 51. In lines 3, 50, 53 and 54 it occurs only as a variant. The *Han shu* version omits *hsi* in this position throughout, as it commonly does in other passages parallel with *Shih chi*, e.g., the "Heavenly Horse" hymn (*Shih chi* 24.8, *Han shu* 22.26b).

<sup>6</sup> Interestingly enough, over half of the "Kao-t'ang *fu*" uses the same meter, though without *hsi*; see the text as printed in Suzuki Torao, *Fushi daiyo*, 28-31.

<sup>7</sup> In lines 10, 13, 18, 20, 22, 24, 32, 44, 50.

<sup>8</sup> It is a *ju-sheng* rhyme, 疑 (rhyme group 之) with 幽 group rhymes. My authority for the rhymes in "The Owl" is 羅常培, 周祖謨, 漢魏晉南北朝韻部演變研究 Vol. 1, 1958.

<sup>9</sup> Suzuki, *op. cit.*, p. 53 ff.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 49.

<sup>11</sup> "The Owl" has been translated by Theodor Bönner, *Übersetzung des zweiten Teiles der 24. Biographie Seu-ma Ts'ien's (Kia-i) mit Kommentar*, Leipzig, 1908; Richard Wilhelm, *Chinesische Literatur*, 111-12; and H. A. Giles, *Adversaria Sinica*, II, 1. (1915) 1-10. This last reference is copied from H. Wilhelm, *op. cit.*; I have been unable to consult it. I wish here to thank Dr. Bruno Schindler for his kindness in making Bönner's translation available to me.

#### THE OWL<sup>1</sup>

Chia Yi had been Tutor to the Prince of Ch'ang-sha for three years when one day an owl flew into his house and perched in a corner of his room. (In Ch'ü the word for owl is *fu*; it is a bird of ill omen.)<sup>2</sup> This was after he had been banished to Ch'ang-sha (Ch'ang-sha is a low, damp place), and he was greatly depressed at what he took to be a sign that he had not much longer to live. On this occasion he wrote a *fu* to console himself. It reads as follows:

The year was *tan-wo*,<sup>3</sup> it was the fourth month, summer's first,  
The thirty-seventh day of the cycle,<sup>4</sup> at sunset, when an owl alighted  
in my house.

On the corner of my seat it perched, completely at ease.  
I marvelled at the reason for this uncanny visitation

5 And opened a book to discover the omen. The oracle yielded the  
maxim:

"When a wild bird enters a house,<sup>5</sup> the master is about to leave."

I should have liked to ask the owl: Where am I to go?

If lucky, let me know; if bad, tell me the worst.

Be it swift or slow, tell me when it is to be.

10 The owl sighed; it raised its head and flapped its wings

- But could not speak.—Let me say what it might reply:  
 All things are a flux, with never any rest  
 Whirling, rising, advancing, retreating;  
 Body and breath do a turn together—change form and slough off,  
 15 Infinitely subtle, beyond words to express.  
 From disaster fortune comes, in fortune lurks disaster<sup>6</sup>  
 Grief and joy gather at the same gate, good luck and bad share the  
 same abode.  
 Though Wu was great and strong, Fu-ch'ai met with defeat;  
 Yüeh was driven to refuge on Kuai-chi, but Kou-chien became  
 hegemon.<sup>7</sup>  
 20 Li Ssu emigrated to become minister, but in the end he suffered the  
 Five Punishments.<sup>8</sup>  
 Fu Yüeh was once in bonds, before he was minister to Wu-ting.<sup>9</sup>  
 So  
 Disaster is to fortune as strands of a single rope,  
 Fate is past understanding—who comprehends its bounds?<sup>10</sup>  
 Force water and it spurts, force an arrow and it goes far:<sup>11</sup>  
 25 All things are propelled in circles, undulating and revolving—  
 Clouds rise and rain falls, tangled in contingent alternation.  
 On the Great Potter's wheel creatures are shaped in all their infinite  
 variety.  
 Heaven cannot be predicted, the Way cannot be foretold,<sup>12</sup>  
 Late or early, it is predetermined; who knows when his time will be?  
 Consider then:  
 30 Heaven and Earth are a crucible, the Creator is the smith<sup>3</sup>  
 Yin and yang are the charcoal, living creatures are the bronze:  
 Combining, scattering, waning, waxing—where is any pattern?  
 A thousand changes, a myriad transformations with never any end.<sup>14</sup>  
 If by chance one becomes a man, it is not a state to cling to<sup>15</sup>  
 35 If one be instead another creature, what cause is that for regret?  
 A merely clever man is partial to self, despising other, vaunting ego<sup>16</sup>  
 The man of understanding takes the larger view: nothing exists to take  
 exception to.<sup>17</sup>  
 The miser will do anything for his hoard, the hero for his repute<sup>18</sup>  
 The vainglorious is ready to die for power,<sup>19</sup> the common man clings  
 to life.  
 40 Driven by aversions and lured by desires<sup>20</sup> men dash madly<sup>21</sup> west or east;  
 The Great Man is not biased, the million<sup>22</sup> changes are all one to him.  
 The stupid man is bound by custom, confined as though in fetters;  
 The Perfect Man is above circumstance, Tao is his only friend.  
 The mass man vacillates, his mind replete<sup>23</sup> with likes and dislikes;  
 45 The True Man is tranquil, he takes his stand with Tao.

- Divest yourself of knowledge and ignore your body, until, transported,  
 you lose self<sup>24</sup>  
 Be detached, remote, and soar with Tao.  
 Float with the flowing stream, or rest against the isle,<sup>25</sup>  
 Surrender to the workings of fate, unconcerned for self,  
 50 Let your life be like a floating, your death like a rest.<sup>26</sup>  
 Placid as the peaceful waters of a deep pool, buoyant as an unfastened  
 boat<sup>27</sup>  
 Find no cause for complacency in life, but cultivate emptiness and  
 drift.  
 The Man of Virtue is unattached; recognizing fate, he does not worry.  
 Be not dismayed by petty pricks and checks!

## NOTES TO TRANSLATION

<sup>1</sup> There are two versions of the "Fu-niao fu": *Shih chi* 84.28-35, and *Han shu* 48.4b-8b, followed by *Wen hsüan* 13.20b-25b (*Ssu-pu ts'ung-k'uan* ed.). Between them there are numerous minor textual variants which do not affect the sense. There is one misprint in my *Wen hsüan* edition (I have also consulted Hu K'o-chia's edition and collation notes). I have recorded only the substantial variants. The parallel text passages noted by Li Shan are so labelled. He also cites most of the close parallels in the *Ho-kuan-tzu* C.4b-5a (*SPTK* ed., in which two folios each are numbered 4 and 5); I follow Wang Hsien-ch'ien in ignoring them. Ever since Liu Tsung-yüan's critique (*Works*, *SPTK* ed., 4.7a) it has been the general consensus that they were copied from "The Owl". (See the texts brought together in 張心澂, 偽書通考 [Commercial Press, 1953], p. 860-867.) Certainly the section of the incomplete chapter on "The modern use of arms" in *Ho-kuan-tzu*, which incorporates in garbled sequence twenty similar or identical lines of "The Owl", is an irrelevant intrusion in rhyme.

<sup>2</sup> This quite obviously is an aside. I have combined the *Shih chi* reading 楚人命鵞曰服 (for 服似鵞 "the fu bird resembles an owl" of *Han shu* and *Wen hsüan*) with the additional remark 不祥鳥也 from the *Han shu* version. The whole of this introductory prose paragraph was almost certainly supplied by the biographers.

<sup>3</sup> 單閼之歲 is defined in the "Essay on Astronomy" in *Shih chi* 27.35 as 歲陰在卯 "the Year-Namer is in mao", i.e., the mansion *Ta-huo*, corresponding to the appearance of Jupiter in the mansion *Hsüan-hsiao*. (For the relation of the Year-Namer to the Year Star (Jupiter), cf. H. H. Dubs, "The Beginnings of Chinese Astronomy", *JAOS* 78 (1958) 298.) According to Hsü Kuang, the year specified should be the sixth of Wen Ti's reign, i.e., B.C. 174. Wang Chung 莊中, supported by Wang Hsien-ch'ien, would make it the fifth year, B.C. 175; but see note 4. Liu Yuan 劉坦, 中國古代之星歲紀年 p. 172-3 argues for the seventh year, B.C. 173. (His essay was first published in *Li-shih yen-chiu* 1956.4 77-89.)

<sup>4</sup> 庚子 corresponds to the 28th day of the fourth moon, B.C. 173, and to the 23rd day of the fourth moon, 174. The fourth moon, 175, had no *keng-tzu* day.

<sup>5</sup> Read 室 with *HS* and *WH* for *SC* 處 "place". The word 去 "leave" is a euphemism for "died"; cf. *Hsi-ching tsa-chi* (*SPTK* ed.) 5.7a: "When Chia Yi was in Ch'ang-sha, an owl perched on his dustbin. It was a Ch'ang-sha superstition that an owl coming to someone's house meant the master would die." (Quoted by Wang Hsien-shen, *HSPC* 48.5a). It is certainly in this sense that Chia Yi understands the omen.

<sup>6</sup> Shortened from *Tao te ching* (*SPTK* ed.) B.10b (Sec. 58) by the omission of the two 之. See also *Chuang tzu* 8.58b: 安危相易, 禍福相生.

<sup>7</sup> The rivalry between Wu and Yüeh provides one of the most dramatic examples of the reversals of fortune which Chia Yi is illustrating. Fu-ch'ai, the last ruler of Wu, failed to take advantage of his opportunity to destroy Yüeh when Kou-chien's army

was surrounded on top of Mt. Kuai-chi. Years later the situation was reversed and Yüeh destroyed Wu. Under King Kou-chien, Yüeh was Leader of the States. The story exists in several versions; cf. *Shih chi* 41 (*Mémoires historiques* 4.420-433).

<sup>8</sup> For the career of Li Ssu in Ch'in, see Derk Bodde, *China's First Unifier*.

<sup>9</sup> Fu Yüeh's term as a convict is mentioned in *Mo tzu* (*SPTK* ed.) 2.9b; according to *Chuang tzu* 3.11a-b he became a star in the sky after being advisor to the Shang ruler Wu-ting.

<sup>10</sup> In *Tao te ching* B.10b the question follows immediately after the line about fortune and calamity; cf. note 6.

<sup>11</sup> This proverbial expression occurs in Huai-nan tzu (*SPTK* ed.) 15.11a and *Lü-shih ch'un-ch'iu* (*SPTK* ed.) 16.18a. In the former it is used to emphasize the need for effort at the right time: the best arrow needs a bow to send it far, etc. In the latter it is a warning against attempting to cope with that which is "stirred up", in particular a ruler. In the present context the arrow and water are examples of things at the mercy of an outside force: even so all of creation, man included, is driven by the impersonal workings of the Way. For 旱 "drought" read 悍 "violent" with *Huai-nan tzu* (Li Shan, Ssu-ma Chen, Wang Hsien-ch'ien).

<sup>12</sup> *Chuang tzu* 6.3b: "[The sage] neither thinks ahead nor predicts" 不思慮, 不豫謀.

<sup>13</sup> This develops the smelting simile that occurs in *Chuang tzu* 3.18a: "Now one might take Heaven and Earth as a great forge and the Creator as a great smith . . ." (Li Shan). This follows the comparison with the metal wilfully leaping up in the crucible and insisting on being made into a Mo-yeh blade.

<sup>14</sup> *Chuang tzu* 3.9b: "Human form is only one of the myriad transformations that never have an end." (Li Shan.)

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*: "Exceptionally one achieves human form, and so takes it as occasion for rejoicing."

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.* 6.16a: "Viewed in the perspective of the Way, there is no such thing as precious or cheap in creation; in the perspective of things, one values his own self and despises others." (Li Shan.)

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.* 1.29b: "Of things some are certainly so and some are certainly right; but there is no thing which is not so and no thing which is not right." (Li Shan.)

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.* 4.7a-b: "The mean man will sacrifice everything in the pursuit of gain, the gentleman for fame, the Great Officer for his house, the sage for All-Under-Heaven. Thus, while these several persons have different occupations and varying reputations, they are alike in sacrificing themselves to the detriment of their natures."

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.* 8.27b: "If his authority is not great, the proud man is grieved."

<sup>20</sup> The passage cited by Wang Nien-sun (*HSPC* 84.7b) from *Kuan tzu* (*SPTK* ed.) 13.4a shows how this line is to be understood: "[The sage] is neither enticed by his preferences nor repelled by his aversions."

<sup>21</sup> Read 或 as 惑 (Yang Shu-ta, *漢書窺管*, 285).

<sup>22</sup> Read 億 with *Shih chi* (Wang Nien-sun).

<sup>23</sup> After Wang Nien-sun.

<sup>24</sup> *Chuang tzu* 3.26b: "Relax the limbs, renounce perception, leave form, and reject knowledge, becoming one with the All-Pervasive—this is what is meant by 'sitting and forgetting'" (Li Shan). For 自喪 see *ibid.* 1.18b: 今者吾喪我.

<sup>25</sup> For 坻 *HS* has 坎, the hexagram *k'an*, standing for danger. Either reading gives essentially the same sense—he does not struggle to surmount obstacles—but *ti* is preferable as continuing the river metaphor.

<sup>26</sup> *Chuang tzu* 6.3b is identical. (Li Shan)

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.* 10.14a: "Floating like an unfastened boat."

## BASHÔ'S JOURNEY OF 1684

by DONALD KEENE

### INTRODUCTION

In the eighth moon of 1684 the celebrated *haiku* poet Matsuo Bashô (1644-94) set out from Edo on a journey to his birthplace in Iga Province, some hundreds of miles away. He was not to return until the fourth moon of the following year. His journey took him considerably beyond Iga, to Mount Yoshino, Nara, and Kyoto, and finally back along the Kiso Road to Edo. Much of the way was on foot over mountainous roads, an arduous enough undertaking for a man in good health, but almost unthinkable for the sickly and prematurely aged Bashô.

The immediate occasion for the journey was the death of Bashô's mother in Iga during the previous year. Bashô's poor health prevented him from leaving early enough to attend funeral services, but he was determined to make the journey. In the opening verse of his *Journey of the Year 1684*<sup>1</sup> he says that he is even prepared for death on the way. Perhaps he exaggerated the danger, but there is no doubt that he was willing to undergo great hardships. More than filial piety was involved: Bashô felt that the time had come to create a new style of *haiku*, and he was convinced that the most effective preparation for it was to leave Edo and travel through the countryside for fresh inspiration. The importance of leaving in 1684 may have stemmed from the fact that it was the first year of a new cycle, an auspicious time for making changes.<sup>2</sup>

Bashô in 1684 was still groping towards what was to be his distinctive style of *haiku*. He had already shown his dissatisfaction with the superficial humour of the Danrin School, but its influence was still apparent in his verse. Such Danrin mannerisms as the prominent use of Chinese vocabulary and allusions persist in the *Journey*, though not as markedly as in works of a short time previous. Earlier in 1684, for example, Bashô was writing such verses as "I would ask you about the *haikai* of China, flying butterfly".<sup>3</sup> The

<sup>1</sup> *Kasshi ginkô* 甲子吟行 means literally "a poetry-making journey of the *kasshi* year". *Kasshi* corresponds to the first year of the Jôkyô era, or 1684. The journey extended into 1685.

<sup>2</sup> See for example Asô Isoji, *Bashô* (Tokyo, 1957), p. 48.

<sup>3</sup> *Morokoshi no haikai towan tobu kochô*. See Katô Shûson, *Bashô Kôza* I, Part II, p. 303. (This volume will henceforth be abbreviated Katô.)