

“THE SCHOLAR’S FRUSTRATION” RECONSIDERED: MELANCHOLIA OR CREDO?

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Previous critics and translators of the works in rhyme-prose associated with the *tristia* or disillusionment theme have generally tended to emphasize their melancholy and self-important tone. This emphasis on the subjective may have been the result of an inadequate appreciation of the rhetorical character of this early subcategory of the *fu* form. When the earliest of these *fu*, Xunzi’s “Gui shi” and Dong Zhongshu’s “Shi bu yu *fu*,” are retranslated with an eye to their philosophical predilections and to the rhetorical preoccupations of the genre, a more balanced picture of the authors’ motivations is seen to emerge. Moreover, a reexamination, in the Appendix, of the phonological argument concerning the authorship of Dong’s *fu* finds no compelling reason to question its authenticity. On the contrary, the evidence that emerges from the reassessment of the content of these *fu*, and from the stylistic and thematic relations that obtain among them, strongly supports the traditional attribution.

THE FOUR WORKS IN RHYME-PROSE called *shi bu yu fu* 士不遇賦 with which this study is concerned have been the subject of discussion and critical scrutiny on several occasions. They include: the prototype found in the “*Fu* chapter”¹ 賦篇 of Xunzi 荀子 (298–238 B.C.E.), another by Dong Zhongshu² 董仲舒 (180–115 B.C.E.), a third by Sima Qian³ 司馬遷 (145–ca. 86 B.C.E.), and the last by Tao Yuanming⁴ 陶淵明 (365–427). Jia Yi’s 賈誼 (ca. 200–168 B.C.E.) “Lament for Qu Yuan”⁵ 吊屈原 is also considered an early example of the genre, but in what follows I shall focus

mainly on the autobiographical *fu* by Xunzi and Dong Zhongshu.

The main *topos* which these *fu* all share has variously been denoted “the *tristia* or disillusionment theme,”⁶ “the scholar’s frustration,”⁷ “neglected men of worth,”⁸ and “the rhapsody of frustration”⁹ by critics and translators of the genre. However, detailed discussion of these four *fu* in the past has for the most part been tangential to the various authors’ purposes, and it has been my feeling for some time that justice has yet to be done to this particular subgenre of rhyme-prose, especially with regard to the political and philosophical content of the unique exemplar by Dong Zhongshu. In my view, the attempt ought to be made to put to rest the widely shared misapprehension that these *fu* “express the disgruntlement of the authors at the failure of the world to recognize and make use of their matchless talents, surely as subjective and melancholy a theme as one could find in all *fu* literature.”¹⁰

¹ See Wang Xianqian 王先謙, *Xunzi jijie* 荀子集解, *Xinbian zhuzi jicheng* ed., vol. II (Taipei, 1974), 318–20. Hereafter XZJJ.

² *Gu wen yuan* 古文苑 3:2b–4a, *Shoushan ge congshu* ed., with a preface by Sima Guang 司馬光 (1019–86), published with commentary by Zhang Qiao 章樵 in 1232. Hereafter GWY.

³ See Yan Kejun 嚴可均, comp., *Quan shanggu sandai Qin Han Sanguo liuchao wen* 全上古三代秦漢三國六朝文 (Taipei, 1963), 26:4b–5a. Hereafter QHW.

⁴ See Yang Yong 楊勇, *Tao Yuanming ji jiaojian* 陶淵明集校箋, *Zhongguo xueshu mingzhu* ed. (Hong Kong, 1971; rpt. Tainan, 1975), 255–60.

⁵ QHW 16:7b; tr. Burton Watson, in *Anthology of Chinese Literature: From Early Times to the Fourteenth Century*, ed. Cyril Birch (New York, 1965), 140; see David R. Knechtges, *The Han Rhapsody: A Study of the Fu of Yang Hsiung* (53 B.C.–A.D. 18) (Cambridge, 1976), 27.

⁶ See Burton Watson, *Chinese Rhyme Prose* (New York, 1971), 9.

⁷ See Hellmut Wilhelm, “The Scholar’s Frustration: Notes on a Type of *Fu*,” in *Chinese Thought and Institutions*, ed. J. K. Fairbank (Chicago, 1957), 310–19.

⁸ See James Hightower, “The *Fu* of T’ao Ch’ien,” *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 17 (1954): 200–203.

⁹ Knechtges, 27.

¹⁰ Watson, *Rhyme Prose*, 9.

Burton Watson, Hellmut Wilhelm, and David Knechtges have all emphasized that the disillusionment theme is one of the important elements taken over from the *Chuci* 楚辭, and that the *fu* has traditionally been understood to be a development of the *sao*,¹¹ Qu Yuan's 屈原 (332–295 B.C.E.) *Li sao* 離騷 in particular being extremely important as a precursor of the Han *fu* that focus on the *tristia* theme. Wilhelm's article clarified the early development of the *fu* by presenting invaluable background material documenting the traditional use of poetry as a vehicle for oblique statement down to the Han period. His view that the *fu* is essentially a rhetorical genre has been corroborated by the subsequent researches of David Knechtges.¹² Drawing on various sources, including influential theoretical statements on poetics by Ban Gu, Sima Qian, Yang Xiong and others, these studies have demonstrated the long-standing tradition of using poetic recitation to express oneself in an indirect fashion, whether in diplomatic discourse, philosophical exposition, or self-consciously political polemic. Wilhelm observed that in the early Han Dynasty in particular the *fu* form experienced a sudden rise to prominence as the dominant form of literary expression, and he concluded that "in no other period has the predominantly literary type been so exclusively used for political purposes as was the *fu* in Han times . . . these *fu* revolve around one central problem, the position of the scholar in government and his relation to the ruler . . . this exclusive preoccupation of the literary mind reflected a historical situation in which important decisions were at stake concerning the structure of Chinese society."¹³ Wilhelm also observed that "to explain the attitude of the scholars during this development, very little use has thus far been made of purely literary materials, yet from them, if properly interpreted, the scholars' personal reactions can be deduced with much more insight than from their expository writings."¹⁴ Given the claims concerning the use of the *fu* genre as a vehicle for indirect political comment, Wilhelm's choice of the words "purely literary" may require some qualification, but the point remains well taken

that literary works by figures like Xunzi and Dong Zhongshu may offer unique insight into the personal reflections of their authors.

In his early study of the development of the *fu* in the later Han and Six Dynasties periods,¹⁵ Hightower also briefly discussed the much earlier *shi bu yu fu* and translated the *fu* by Dong Zhongshu, Sima Qian, and Tao Yuanming. Recognizing that Tao Yuanming's contribution to the genre, *Gan shi bu yu fu* 感士不遇賦, was not characteristic of the author and that its inspiration was strongly traditional, Hightower remarked that "the rather pedantic tone of the preface suggests the seriousness of the subject."¹⁶ Nevertheless, in his translation and criticism of the earlier models by Sima Qian and Dong Zhongshu, Hightower applied the same predominantly literary criteria as for the much later examples of self-consciously lyrical and descriptive *fu* that comprise the chief subject matter of his article; consequently the translations illustrate the inadequacy of what Knechtges has called the "monolithic approach to the definition of the *fuh*."¹⁷ Indeed, one finds in Hightower's discussion no mention at all of the earliest prototype and source of the title *shi bu yu* that identifies our subgenre: Xunzi's "Fu chapter." Hightower's failure to appreciate the characteristic rhetorical treatment of various themes in this type of *fu* led him to interpret the literary and philosophical allusions merely as conventional devices, which they in many cases had become by the Six Dynasties period, and as a result he frequently misconstrues the two authors, Dong Zhongshu in particular.

In view of the light that has since been shed on the rhetorical preoccupations of early *fu*, and because of the stature of Xunzi and Dong Zhongshu as Confucian thinkers, I believe it would be appropriate to reexamine their only surviving contributions to the genre. Perhaps a clearer understanding of their personal and political motives in composing these poetical statements will enlighten us not only about their attitudes concerning the role of the scholar vis-à-vis the ruler but also about the Confucian traditions with which they sought to identify themselves. In what follows I retranslate the *Shi bu yu fu* by Dong Zhongshu and the *gui shi* 隄詩 "Drastic Ode" that concludes Xunzi's "Fu chapter" in an effort to offset a tendency in the past to overemphasize the element of personal disillusionment in what may equally be

¹¹ See especially Knechtges, 17.

¹² Knechtges, 6; see also his "Narration, Description, and Rhetoric in Yang Shyong's Yeu-lich Fuh: An Essay in the Form and Function in the Hann Fu," in *Transition and Permanence: Chinese History and Culture*, ed. Buxbaum and Mote (Hong Kong, 1972), 359–77.

¹³ Wilhelm, 311.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 316.

¹⁵ See note 8 above.

¹⁶ Hightower, 196.

¹⁷ Knechtges, "Yang Shyong's Yeu-lich Fuh," 372.

interpreted as ideological manifesto couched in poetic form. In so doing, I also intend to reflect on how the representative works in this tenacious subgenre of *fu* relate to one another and to certain idealist, even utopian, elements in Han Confucian thought.

THE USE OF INDIRECTION

By all accounts, preserving "plausible deniability" by conveying one's meaning indirectly has long been a generic convention in court recitation. As Knechtges has pointed out,¹⁸ however, there is a serious drawback with a rhetorical technique that depends on a "display of learning"; that is, of course, that the listener (or critic) must appreciate the literary conventions of the genre and the allusions employed if the message is to get across. Be that as it may, and in spite of Yang Xiong's disillusionment with it,¹⁹ this was still the most highly regarded discursive technique for indirect admonition, one with well-understood formal constraints which, in spite of the intention to criticize, could not be transgressed without violating tradition-bound rules of propriety and social form. This is, of course, the theme of the famous passage in the "Major Preface" that elucidates the meaning of *feng* 風 "indirect criticism":

Those in high position, by means of suasive force transform those below them; and those below, by means of oblique admonition criticize those above them. In this, by stressing embellishment [one is able] to render admonishment oblique; the one who speaks does so without incriminating himself, and the one who is criticized hears enough to be warned. Thus the first principle of poetry is *feng* (suasive force/oblique admonition). . . . The *feng* of decline issue forth from human emotions but are limited [within the bounds of] propriety and social forms. That they sprang from human emotion is [owing to] the nature of the people; that they abided [within the bounds of] propriety and social form is the beneficent [legacy] of the Former Kings. Therefore, when the affairs of a single state are tied to the person of one man as their root, this is called *feng* (moral suasion/oblique admonition).²⁰

The ideal fount of moral suasion, the ruler, is also in this view the "one man" who is susceptible to persuasion by means of oblique admonition.

That this view of poetry, as a vehicle for expressing indirect criticism within the constraints of socially accepted forms, did not originate in the Han period is obvious from earlier similar statements. Xunzi, for example, in characterizing the individual works in the Confucian canon says: "Sageliness is the pivot of the Way; the pivot of the Way in the world; the uniting in One of the Way of all Kings. Hence the *Odes*, the *History*, the *Rites*, and the *Music* all derive from this. What the *Odes* speak of is the will [to sageliness], what the *History* speaks of are its deeds, what the *Rites* speak of are its practice, what the *Music* speaks of is its harmony, what the *Spring and Autumn Annals* speak of are its subtleties of expression. So the reason why the ballads (*feng*) of the States are not unrestrained is because [their authors] drew on this to keep them within limits. . . ."²¹ Clearly, if one's object is to criticize a deficiency in superiors, the most elegant way to accomplish this is through subtle allusion and ambiguous expression which, at least superficially, must not violate tacit conventions of ritual and rhetorical form that dictate a respectful and reverential attitude toward those same superiors. It is especially significant that Xunzi mentions the *Spring and Autumn Annals* as the source of the paradigms of "subtlety of expression," since the system of discursive rules that dictated the forms that admonition could take in poetry, or in the rhetorical use of poetry, also provides the methodological key to the Gong Yang exegesis of the *Spring and Autumn Annals*, where the purpose of subtlety is said to have been *exclusive* rather than *inclusive*—i.e., intentional obfuscation.²²

Therefore, for the purpose of clarifying the conventions of the subgenre of *shi bu yu fu*, it is apparent that we must distinguish the early *fu*, which are located solidly within the tradition of persuasive rhetoric, and oblique admonition such as the prototype by Xunzi, and as will become apparent those of Dong Zhongshu and Sima Qian, from the rest which comprise the mainstream of Chinese poetry from the Han to the Six Dynasties period. In contrast even to

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ See Wilhelm, 314; Knechtges, "Yang Shyong's Yeu-lich Fuh," 366.

²⁰ Tr. Donald Gibbs, "Textual Evidence for China's Earliest Aesthetics," paper presented to the U. C. Berkeley Regional Seminar in Confucian Studies (1/13/78): 13–14; modified; see also his "Notes on the Wind: The Term 'Feng' in Chinese Literary Criticism," in *Transition and Permanence*, 285–93.

²¹ XZJJ, 84; tr. H. H. Dubs, *The Works of Hsun-tzu* (London, 1928), 143–44; modified.

²² Cf. *Gong yang zhuan*, Duke Ding, 1st year: "[In the *Annals* of Dukes] Ding and Ai there is much subtlety of expression. [In this way, when] the principals (i.e., Dukes Ding and Ai) would review the phrasing and ask for explication, they would not be aware that blame was imputed to themselves by what was written!" *Chunqiu Gong yang zhuan Heshi jiegu* 春秋公羊傳何氏解詁 (SBBY ed.) 25:1b.

authors like Yang Xiong, who perhaps typifies the middle ground between the two extremes, Xunzi and Dong Zhongshu make virtually no attempt to conceal their polemical rhetoric behind an epideictic facade of narrative and descriptive poetry. There is, however, clearly an effort on the part of both writers to convey meaning indirectly by means of allusions, of varying degrees of obscurity, to aspects of Confucian doctrine and received tradition. One must assume, therefore, that these particular examples of persuasive rhyme-prose were not literary entertainments meant for public recitation; indeed, it would probably have been suicidal to recite Dong Zhongshu's *fu* at the court of Emperor Wu. The purpose of these *fu*, it seems to me, was not *feng* ("indirect admonishment") in the classical "inclusive" sense, which would imply that their object was to persuade a superior to undertake a particular course of action. Rather, like the teaching story, conundrum, or allegory, the main purpose of these *fu* would have been an "exclusive" one of subtly reaffirming the sense of solidarity among the members of a more or less select group—those who possess the philosophical and literary sophistication to grasp the import, learning whose very acquisition implies a commitment to a certain world-view. The message in the case of this subgenre of *fu* is clearly addressed to those who already share the authors' knowledge and convictions, and this makes all the difference when it comes to assessing their meaning and significance.

XUNZI'S "DRASTIC ODE"

As I pointed out earlier, the *locus classicus* of the phrase *shi bu yu*²³ denoting this subgenre is the

²³ The words *yu*/*you* "to encounter," 隅 *ngiu*/*yu* "corner," 偶 *ngiu*/*ou* "be a mate to" are all cognate. It is clear from usage elsewhere (e.g., *Guliang zhuan* 穀梁傳 Yin 4; "The term *yu* [implies that] both parties achieved their purpose" 遇者志相得也) that in a technical sense the term is used when personages of the same dignity meet without the customary prior arrangement. It is also glossed as 合 "to fit together," 待 "to treat to," 敵 "to be an equal adversary to," so that it is clear our 遇 means more than simply "to encounter." Perhaps it is more adequately rendered as "to encounter a counterpart" or "to meet with one's due" or "to meet with (something) appropriate to one's station, virtue, etc." This is clearly the sense in which the word is taken in *Xunzi*, where it says: "Whether one encounters [the appropriate reception] or not is [a matter of] the times . . ." 遇不遇者時也. (See n. 27 for a translation of the entire passage.) The idea of "correspondence" or "equivalence" would seem to be an implicit corollary to the basic idea of "to encounter."

earliest work traditionally identified as a *fu*, that of Xunzi. In one verse of the poem called *gui shi* 侁詩 that concludes the "Fu chapter," in which Xunzi decries the decadence and perversity of the world, he writes, "How utterly impropitious was the time which he met!" (*yuyu hu qi yu shi zhi bu xiang ye* 鬱鬱乎其遇時之不祥也). The epithet *shi bu yu*, "men of worth not meeting with responsive times," which derives from this, subsequently appeared in the titles of all three later *fu* on this theme.

The first five sections of the "Fu chapter," the so-called "riddles in rhyme," bear a somewhat tenuous relationship to the closing *gui shi* "Drastic Ode" that concerns us here, and scholars have traditionally been divided over the issue of whether in fact they form a cohesive whole.²⁴ Thematically and stylistically, the "Drastic Ode" is virtually indistinguishable from later examples of "frustration" *fu*, except for the fact that it is not written in *sao*-style but in tetrasyllabic couplets. In fact, it is quoted with only minor variations in *Hanshi waizhuan* 韓氏外傳 and *Zhanguo ce* 戰國策, where it is identified as the *fu* with which Xunzi concluded his letter to Chunshen Jun 春申君 declining reinstatement as prefect of Lanling.²⁵

This "Drastic Ode," which Knechtges calls one long "topos of the world upside-down,"²⁶ begins with an acerbic depiction of the perverse and benighted condition of the world, and then cites the examples of Bi Gan 比干 and Confucius, both of whom found themselves confronted by similarly inhospitable times. Only in the pivotal lines 13 through 16, which sympathetically portray the predicament of the Sage and lament his unrealized agenda of cultural and political unification, does Xunzi depart from the tetrasyllabic pattern. Following this, in a few short lines, Xunzi reveals his personal philosophy and the only adequate solution to the dilemma that is open to the man of cultivation and integrity; namely, to remain true to one's convictions and discipline oneself in study, to be circumspect in one's behavior and to be always prepared, so that when times change, as they surely must,

²⁴ For a discussion of this question see Knechtges (*Han Rhapsody*, 18–21). See also Hu Yuanyi 胡元儀, *Xunqing biezhuang kaoyi ershier shi* 荀卿子別傳考異二十二事, *XZJJ*, xxxiv, xxxvii–xxxviii; and Janet Kuller, "The *Fu* of Hsuntzu," *Monumenta Serica* 31 (1974–75): 206–7, 217.

²⁵ This story and Liu Xiang's 劉向 uncritical acceptance of it in the preface to his recension of the works of Xunzi (*XZJJ*, 366) is criticized by Wang Zhong 汪中 (1745–94) in his *Xunqingzi tonglun* 荀卿子通論, *XZJJ*, xvi. For another opinion, cf. Hu Yuanyi, op. cit. xxxvii–xxxviii.

²⁶ Knechtges, *Han Rhapsody*, 20.

he will be ready to assume responsibility for implementing the will of Heaven.²⁷ In this way, at the precise moment when he abandons the mood of disillusionment and doomsday-like metaphor that has overshadowed the poem up to this point, Xunzi reaffirms his solidarity with the Confucian agenda that he emphasized prosodically in verses 13–16 above. The resulting contrast serves to underscore the hopeful resolve that he appears intent on conveying.

The same pattern is repeated in lines 22–31, the coda or *xiao ge* 小歌 (lit., “small song”) that immediately follows. Since his sympathetic listeners ask the poet to repeat the theme, in a manner somewhat reminiscent of a Socratic dialogue, we expect the poet to speak more directly and to the point, and this is precisely what happens. Most of the literary allusions are stripped away. Where the metaphors in the beginning evoked in sweeping fashion the upside-down state of affairs reigning between heaven and earth, here the baldly critical language refers explicitly to those in power who possess rank and wealth. The only obliqueness is found in the complimentary metaphors which denote the morally upright. The *xiao ge* reiterates the disillusionment theme and indicts the

²⁷ For a striking parallel and more explicit statement of this attitude, see *Xunzi*, chapter 28 (*XZJJ*, 345), where Confucius expostulates on the themes of timeliness, self-cultivation, and moral fortitude using the lessons to be learned from the fate of Bi Gan and Wuzi Xu (see below nn. 35 and 82): “Now, whether one encounters [the appropriate reception] or not is [a matter of] the times. Worthiness and unworthiness are [a matter of] ability. Looking at it in this way, there have been many superior men of wide learning and careful deliberation who encountered unreceptive times, and numerous were those who met with an unresponsive world. How could I be the only one? However, the angelica and the orchid growing in the deep forest do not [cease to be] fragrant because there are none there [to appreciate them]. The study and practice of the superior man [are not undertaken] for the purpose of succeeding, but rather in order, when afflicted, not to be at a loss, and in order, when distressed, not to flag in determination. Knowing that good and ill fortune come and go, his mind will not be confused. Now, being worthy or unworthy is [a matter of] ability; to act [for the good] or not is up to the man. Whether one encounters [the appropriate reception] or not is [a matter of] the times. Death and birth are Heaven-ordained; were there such a man today who did not meet with [appropriately receptive] times, though he may be worthy, would he be able to carry out [his Way] successfully? But should he encounter [the proper] times, what possible difficulty could there be? Therefore, the superior man studies extensively and deliberates carefully, cultivates his person and tempers his behavior in order to await his time.”

powerful for failing to provide the example of moral rectitude which is their sacred obligation. They are reproached for bringing ruin on the state by failing to recognize and rely on men of integrity and wisdom, choosing instead sycophants and scheming slanderers. Then, in a final apostrophe to Heaven, Xunzi cries, “When will they unite in commonality?” revealing his unflagging devotion to the political goal of Confucian moral self-cultivation and humanism. Xunzi has amply demonstrated that the signs are everywhere that heavenly intervention—when time runs out for the unworthy—is long overdue. The long awaited goal of Confucian striving and teaching, the restoration of sagely rule, must be near at hand—at least this is the almost millennial note of anticipation, albeit tinged with self-doubt, with which Xunzi concludes.

A Drastic Ode

1. All the world is in disorder,
So let me display my meaning in drastic verse.²⁸
2. Heaven and Earth have changed their stations,
And the four seasons their quarters.²⁹
3. The fixed stars have fallen from the firmament,
Leaving dawn and dusk dark and sightless.

²⁸ The term 僂 in *gui shi* 僂詩 “drastic, or peculiar, verse” is cognate with the series 危 “dangerous,” 詭 “treacherous,” 嵬 “ruinous,” etc. Yang Liang 楊倞 (fl. ca. 819) in his commentary glosses *gui shi* as “aberrant and drastic” and goes on to interpret this usage as referring to the extraordinary style and content of the *fu*. This reflects the traditional view in the “Major Preface” where the norm of “rectitude” 正 is related to the vicissitudes of the Kingly Way. In those terms, what we evidently have here is an example of *bian feng* 變風 “the *feng* of decline.” What sets this *fu* apart is the straightforwardness of the lament, the unmodulated starkness of the imagery, and the so-called “host and guest,” or dialogue, form. All of these contribute to create the impression of strong personal conviction and authority on the part of the author.

²⁹ A change in the cardinal directions associated with the four seasons implies, of course, that the sequential order has been radically altered—i.e., the elemental forces of yin and yang have become dysfunctional. This is also the implication of the inverted positions of heaven and earth. The lines that immediately follow are a further amplification of this theme in the heavenly sphere, after which the analogous phenomena in the human realm are enumerated. The obvious implication is that the former state of affairs is a direct consequence of the latter. For a parallel from *Zhuangzi* where similar disruption of the natural order is attributed, not to a failure to recognize the knowledgeable, but to the pursuit of knowledge itself, see Kuller, 209.

4. Darkness and obscurity glare from on high,
Sun and Moon have descended into
concealment.³⁰
5. Justice, uprightness and selflessness
Are seen as the capricious self-interest of the
itinerant politician,³¹
6. The ambition to nurture the common weal
As a longing for multi-storeyed towers and
separate ceremonial halls.³²
7. Those who without selfish motives cause offense
to some,
- Are seen as provoking the readying of armor
and the redoubling of troops.³³
8. Those in whom Virtue and the Way are pure and
without failing,
Against these rises a chorus of slandering
tongues.
9. Benevolent men are displaced and restrained,
While the arrogant and violent usurp and
tyrannize at will.
10. Throughout the world there is darkness and peril,
And I fear the loss of all men of worth in our
time.
11. Now the auspicious dragon is reduced to a lowly
gecko,
And the noxious owl becomes a propitious
phoenix.³⁴
12. In such a time was Bi Gan disembowelled,
And Confucius confined in Kuang.³⁵

³⁰ This figure, associating light and darkness with human moral qualities, is quite conventional. Cf. Lu Jia 陸賈 (d. ca. 180 B.C.E.), *Xinyu* 新語 (*Xinbian zhuzi jicheng* [Taipei, 1974], 2:10): "Unethical ministers overshadow the worthy just as floating clouds obscure the sun and moon" 邪臣之蔽賢猶浮雲之障明. Elsewhere, Xunzi also characterized the "Great Man" as possessing "radiance on a par with the sun and moon" 明參日月 (*XZJJ*, 265). Here, however, it is worth noting that Xunzi does not merely speak of occultation of the sun and moon, but says that they have literally descended into concealment, leaving the darkness to "shine" in their place; i.e., to usurp their functions. This is perhaps a good example of the "drastic" quality of the metaphors referred to above.

³¹ This line and the two that follow have occasioned considerable discussion among the commentators, particularly with regard to how the second phase is to be understood. It seems clear, however, that the *topoi* of "the world upside-down" and "time and space out of joint" which begin the *fu* are intended to govern the parallelism in these verses. In other words, the idea seems to be that in perverse times like these even qualities such as justice, uprightness, impartiality and selflessness can appear (or be made out to be) just the opposite. The derogatory connotations of *zong heng* 縱橫 include overweening self-interest and crass political opportunism.

³² 重樓疏堂 "Multi-storeyed towers and separate ceremonial halls" is used as a figure for the affluence and prestige of the aristocracy, according to Yang Liang. The meaning of *shu* 疏 here is not entirely clear, although I suspect it refers to multiple reception halls through which one proceeds in succession toward the interior or inner sanctum of a compound. If this is correct, the parallel in *Zhuangzi*, 內周樓疏外不敢獨行 "within they surround themselves with towers and partitions, without they dare not travel alone," adduced by Kuller, 209, is exact since *lou shu* there is also synonymous with wealth. Yang Liang's entire comment reads, "Their wish when in highest office is to practice the utmost selflessness for the benefit of the people and not for the affluence and prestige of multi-storeyed towers and separate ceremonial halls" (*XZJJ*, 318).

³³ In other words, paraphrasing Yang Liang, their decisiveness and determination in defending justice and the common good is characterized by those who feel themselves threatened as aggressive militancy.

³⁴ The auspicious *chi*-dragon 螭龍 was a popular motif in decorative relief sculpture on the columns and eaves of residences. Its exclusive use was almost certainly an aristocratic prerogative. The horned owl 鸛梟 was traditionally a baleful auspice that normally inspired fear and apprehension in anticipation of imminent catastrophe. See for example, Jia Yi's *fu* "The Owl" (tr. Watson, *Rhyme Prose*, 25-28) and the *Book of Odes*, no. 264 "Zhan yang," where the owl is said to symbolize the insidious influence of an evil woman. Here again symbols of nobility of spirit are humbled while the unworthy are exalted.

³⁵ Wangzi Bi Gan was an uncle of the last Shang king Zhou (d. 1046 B.C.E.) with whom Bi Gan repeatedly remonstrated about his excesses. Ultimately King Zhou's irritation grew to such a pitch that he had Bi Gan disembowelled in his presence. Bi Gan is frequently represented in classical Confucian literature as a paragon of moral courage and steadfastness in the face of overwhelming opposition and misfortune. The episode referred to is recounted in *Shiji* (Zhonghua shuju ed., 1959, 3.107-8). In *Zhuangzi*, on the other hand, Bi Gan is ridiculed for his suicidal stubbornness (cf. Kuller, 215). *Mencius* 2A/1 dwells on the theme of timeliness and on the fate of kings and advisors of the past. Referring to Bi Gan, among others, Mencius observes, "The people of Qi have a saying, 'though you may have wisdom, it is better to be on top of circumstances; though you may have a plow, it is better to wait for the right time'" (tr. D. C. Lau, *Mencius* [London, 1970], 75; modified). The difficulty that Confucius encountered in Kuang is explained in *Shiji* (47.1919) as a case of mistaken identity. Confucius was confused by the local populace with Yang Hu, a Lu official who had led a

13. How brilliant was the brightness of their wisdom!
 14. But how utterly unpropitious were the times they met!³⁶
 15. How noble their aspiration that the norms of propriety and ritual should be practiced everywhere!³⁷
 16. But how dark the all-pervading blindness of the world.
 17. Should Great Heaven not reverse it,
 Our distress would be boundless!³⁸
 18. But before a thousand years have passed there must be a return,
 Since antiquity this has been the constant rule.
 19. Students! Exert yourselves in your study and practice,
 And Heaven shall not forget you!³⁹
 20. The Sage but folds his arms to wait,
 The change of season is approaching!⁴⁰

devastating attack on Kuang some years earlier. The implication in both cases is that the sagely attributes of Confucius and Bi Gan were not only not recognized, they were even mistaken for enemies.

³⁶ I agree with Yang Liang that the exclamation *yu yu hu* "How elegant!" that begins this line has probably been transposed with the 拂乎 "How contrary!" in the next. This is confirmed by the fact that *yu yu hu* is an obvious allusion to *Analects* 3/14, where Confucius praises the sophistication of Zhou culture, which to him meant the aggregate of ritually and socially patterned behavior, i.e., *li*. Thus Xunzi's use of the phrase here to describe the Rites which Confucius hoped to see universally followed agrees with the sense of the passage alluded to.

³⁷ Xunzi is stressing here a central concern of his, the achievement of social and political harmony on the basis of unified customs, mores, ritual practice, etc. He is quite explicit about this unifying role of *li* in the riddle in the "Fu chapter" devoted to that topic: "Is it not something which, if an ordinary man should cause it to flourish he would become a sage, and if a lord of a state should cause it to prosper then he would unite all within the four seas!?" (*XZJJ*, 313).

³⁸ The significance of "reversal" or "turning about," as Yang Liang observes, is made clear by the following line which implies that "disorder which has persisted for long must revert to order; that surely is the constant way of the past."

³⁹ Yang Liang comments: "That is to say, 'Heaven rewards the good.' Fearing that his disciples would doubt the advantage of doing good and become indolent and negligent, Xunzi says 'Heaven will not forget!' in order to encourage them."

⁴⁰ Here, in the concluding lines of this first part of the *gui shi*, Xunzi introduces the millenarian theme toward which he has been building. First the times are depicted in such a way

21. "We, the unlearned, in our puzzlement,
 Would willingly hear the reprise."⁴¹
 22. The reprise goes:
 I think of that distant Way,
 How is it thus obstructed?⁴²

as broadly to suggest that the arrival of a sage ruler, i.e., dynastic renewal, is overdue. Xunzi alludes to the neglect of the outstanding candidate, Confucius, both to reinforce this theme of impending change and to lend authority to his own prophecy. The role of the sagely man is to attend in quietude the approach of the favorable juncture, when the course of events set in motion by Heaven will be conducive to his acting assertively. Yu Yue 俞樾 correcting Yang Liang's misreading of 時幾將矣 as referring to past events says: "Xunzi's meaning here is that when disorder has reached a peak there must occur a reversal, and not that past events once past cannot again be put in order. These sentences are therefore [spoken in] anticipation, saying that a sage man in such circumstances has only to fold his arms and await the change. 'After a thousand years there must be a return' [implies that] the times are probably about to witness such a change" (*XZJJ*, 319). The same idea is developed quite unambiguously in *Mencius* 2B/13: "When Mencius left Ch'i, on the way Ch'ung Yu asked, 'Master, you look somewhat unhappy. I heard from you the other day that a gentleman reproaches neither Heaven nor man.' 'This is one time; that was another time. Every five hundred years a true King should arise, and in the interval there should arise one from whom an age takes its name. From Chou to the present, it is over seven hundred years. The five-hundred mark is passed—the time seems ripe. It must be that Heaven does not as yet wish to bring peace to the Empire. If it did, who is there in the present time other than myself? Why should I be unhappy?'" (tr. Lau, 94). For the historical basis of Mencius' belief in a 500-year dynastic cycle see my "Astronomical Dates in Shang and Western Zhou," *Early China* 7 (1981–82): 2–37. Xunzi, like Mencius, must have known that the Zhou received the Mandate in the mid-11th century, which means that he fully realized that by his own time only about 800 years had elapsed. Though he was clearly looking to the millennium, he also knew that he would not live to see it.

⁴¹ Taking 與 *ziag/you as 舉 *kiag/ju, yielding a polite expression for "your students"; cf. elsewhere in the "Fu chapter" the analogous phrases 弟子不敏此之願陳 and 臣愚不識敢請諸王 (*XZJJ*, 313, 315), which are also typical of the "host and guest" form employed by Xunzi. What follows is the "small song" (*xiao ge*), a "reprise" or straightforward recapitulation of the theme.

⁴² Yang Liang takes the ambiguous 遠方 "Distant Region" in the sense of 大道 "Great Way." Yu Yue, who is uncomfortable with that gloss, proposes "distant region" as an oblique reference to Chu and the events surrounding the death of Chunshen Jun and Xunzi's dismissal. This may be

23. Benevolent men are displaced and restrained,
While the violent are abundant.
24. Loyal officials are imperiled and threatened,
While slanderers give counsel.⁴³
25. Precious jades and pearls,
None know how to wear them.⁴⁴
26. Simple cloth and brocade,
None can tell them apart.⁴⁵
27. Lü Qu and Zi She,⁴⁶
There is none to arrange their match.
28. Mo Mu and Li Fu,⁴⁷
Theirs is the joy!

over-interpreting the text, considering the lofty tone maintained up to this point. Given the parallelism between the two parts of the *fu* it is likely that Yang's intuition is right, that the "Way" that is blocked here is the same as in the opening stanza. Perhaps rendering *yuan fang* as "distant region" is acceptable if it is understood metaphorically as "the place where order and justice prevail" in contrast to the decadence depicted in what follows.

⁴³ Rejecting Lu Wenchao's emendations in lines 22 and 24 of 蹇 for 塞 and 盤 for 服.

⁴⁴ The concluding lines of the reprise are reproduced in *Hanshi waizhuan* 4/25 and *Zhanguo ce* 5:38b-40a with only minor variations; cf. J. R. Hightower, *Han Shih Wai Chuan: Han Ying's Illustrations of the Didactic Application of the Classic of Songs* (Cambridge, Mass., 1952), 151-52. There the piece is identified as a part of Xunzi's letter to Chunshun Jun declining reinstatement as prefect of Lanling from which he had been dismissed by his lord after being slandered. *Hanshi waizhuan* quotes Xunzi at length and cites other outstanding examples of loyal and courageous ministers, beginning with Bi Gan, who did not fail in their duty to reproach an erring lord. The tone of the letter is rather blunt, and it concludes with our lines 25-31. Wang Xianqian reproduces the entire passage from *Zhanguo ce* in a note and comments on how the three texts diverge (*XZJJ*, 320).

⁴⁵ As in the previous line, "none" refers to the rulers of states who, though they ought to possess the necessary qualifications, fail to recognize and appreciate the virtuous.

⁴⁶ Lü Qu 閭婁 was a legendary beauty; cf. Dongfang Shuo 東方朔, "Qi jian" 七諫 in *Chuci buzhu* 楚辭補注 (*SPPY* ed. 13:11a; hereafter *CCBZ*). For Zi She 子奢, or more correctly, Zi Du 子都, as Yang Liang notes, cf. *Book of Odes*, no. 84, "Shan you fu su"; Karlgren (*The Book of Odes* [Stockholm, 1950], 57) comments, "on the strength of this ode, Tsi-tu later became a traditional figure, symbolizing a beautiful young man. See Meng: Kao-tsi [6A/7] 'One who does not understand that Tsi-tu is beautiful, is one who has no eyes.'" *Zhanguo ce* has 知 for 之 and 姝 for 嫵.

⁴⁷ Mo Mu 嫫母 was a legendary consort of Huang Di 黃帝 who was notorious for her unattractiveness. About Li Fu 力父 nothing is known, although the name is evidently

29. Blindness is considered clarity of vision,
And deafness acuity of hearing.⁴⁸
30. Danger is considered security,
And auspicious signs are thought baleful.
31. Alas! Oh, Great Heaven!
When will they unite in commonality!?⁴⁹

pejorative. From the context one would expect him to symbolize reprehensible moral character. Here again, Xunzi is contrasting a symbol for the virtuous ruler and upright advisor with the actual situation in which ineptitude on the part of the ruler is matched by moral turpitude in the advisors he attracts to himself. Wilhelm (401, n. 46) observes: "According to the symbolism of the *Book of Changes*, the official stands to the ruler in the relationship of yin to yang. Love affairs are therefore frequently used to symbolize a ruler-official relationship." Cf. for example, "The Nine Declarations" 九章 (*CCBZ*, 4.17b), where the matchmaking is also unsuccessful. *Zhanguo ce* has "Mo Mu seeks him and greatly pleases him" 嫫母求之又甚喜之.

⁴⁸ *Zhanguo ce* has 瞽 "blind man" for 盲 "blindness", and 以是為非 "mistaking right for wrong" for 以危為安 "mistaking danger for security."

⁴⁹ Curiously, not one of the commentators has recognized the phrase 曷維其同 (lit.) "when will [they] be alike?" as an allusion to ode 27, "Lü yi" 綠衣, in the *Book of Odes*, where we find 心之憂矣曷維其已...心之憂矣曷維其亡 "the grief of the heart, when will it end? ...the grief of the heart, when will it disappear?" (tr. Karlgren, 16). That this is indeed the source of this allusion is suggested by the fact that this is the only occurrence of *he wei* in all of Xunzi. Furthermore, it is clear that Dong Zhongshu took it to be so in as much as he alludes to the identical line in his own *fu* (see below, line 3 of *Shi bu yu fu*). The lament in "Lü yi" was traditionally thought to represent the plaint of a wife who had been supplanted in her husband's favor by a younger concubine of dubious moral character, a situation closely paralleling the theme of our *fu*. Moreover, the wife in the ode turns to the same source of moral support as Xunzi (and later Dong Zhongshu): "I think of the ancient men, it causes me to have no fault . . . I think of the ancient men, and then truly I find my heart." Karlgren notes, "the poet, grieving over a beloved one absent or lost, fortifies himself [*sic*] by thinking of 'the ancient sages'" (Karlgren, 16). If this parallel is not recognized, Xunzi's last, and extremely significant, statement is easily misconstrued. It is clear from the context in "Lü yi" and elsewhere that 曷維 is a *temporal* interrogative asking "when?", a point on which Zheng Xuan (127-200), Kong Yingda (574-648), Zhu Xi (1130-1200), and Karlgren all agree. Cf. also Dobson, *Late Archaic Chinese* [Toronto, 1959], 145, n. 14. *Lüshi chungqiu* 呂氏春秋 [*SBBY*, 15:16b], for example, has: "Jiao Ge asked, 'When will you arrive?' King Wu said, 'We will reach the outskirts of Yin on the day *jiazi*'" 膠鬲曰曷至武王曰將以甲子至殷郊. Understanding

Although he observes that Xunzi introduces the seminal *topos* of timeliness, in translating the conclusion "Alas, Great Heaven, How can I consort with them?" Wilhelm inclines to the view that Xunzi's is more a personal than a political statement: "Hsün Ch'ing had felt frustrated on account of one event in his personal career, and, even though he delights in putting himself alongside some of the great heroes of the past, it is in the last analysis his personal misfortune that he bemoans."⁵⁰ The interpretation that I have presented here, particularly of the conclusion, echoing as it does the forward-looking resolve of lines 18 to 20, suggests instead the indomitable spirit of a man of deep conviction. This portrayal of Xunzi is certainly more in keeping with the paradigmatic example of Confucius than self-pity. Later in his discussion Wilhelm did recognize this Confucian ideal in the *fu* on the same theme by Sima Qian when he remarked: "This was an attitude for which Confucius was famous, of whom it was said, 'There's a man who is undertaking something even though he knows it can't be done!'"⁵¹ We shall see that it is this attitude with which Dong Zhongshu also identifies himself, even to the extent of using some of the same allusions, and that it is precisely this timeless Confucian ideal that is a key to understanding these distinctive early *fu*.

DONG ZHONGSHU'S *SHI BU YU FU*

It is Dong Zhongshu's *Shi bu yu fu* that provides the most explicit, though highly allusive, exposition of the conceptual framework and political philosophy undergirding this idealism. Stylistically and structurally Dong's *fu* is very similar to the "Drastic Ode," with the same pattern of reiteration in a *luan* or coda, the same paradoxical turns of phrase, and almost the same length. By contrast, Dong makes greater use of topical variation, symmetry in rhyming, and *sao*-style lines (of the form X X X O X X *xi* and X X X X O X X *xi*, where O is a particle or conjunction) as

the temporal quality of the interrogative is essential to a proper appreciation of the forward-looking resolve with which Xunzi concludes. Still undaunted, Xunzi looks forward to the day when the ideal "community of purpose" he envisages will be realized, even if he personally may not live to see it. This sentiment echoes line 20 above and the parallelism is to be expected given the more explicit reiteration of the theme here in the "reprise." Moreover, this is a fundamental tenet that links all the *fu* of this type.

⁵⁰ Wilhelm, 317.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 319.

prosodic devices. In terms of content, what are of particular interest in Dong's *fu* are the extremely revealing allusions to the *Book of Changes* and the way in which he develops the ideas of timeliness and change. Dong Zhongshu owed a great intellectual debt to Xunzi, as evidenced by the central role in his thinking played by fundamental themes such as "timeliness," "rectification of names," "constant norm versus expedient adaptation," the educability of humanity, and the vital role of ritual and mores in this connection.⁵² Perhaps the most significant contribution made by Dong in developing these ideas was the stress he placed on their evolutionary potential, and on how this could be exploited to serve the meliorist goal of gradually perfecting human social institutions. In the concluding stanza of his *fu*, Dong also successfully modulates the basically pessimistic feeling evoked by the conventional *topoi* of frustration and misfortune by implicitly appealing, not to heavenly intervention, but to the inexorable momentum of the moral rectitude that sustains his philosophy of self-cultivation.

First, however, some brief historical observations will help to locate Dong's *fu* in the intellectual and political climate of the times. The first half-century of Han rule witnessed the consolidation and stabilization of the imperial power, and gradually interest was increasingly directed toward establishing the doctrinal legitimacy of the new dynasty. This was to be accomplished by rejuvenating where possible and by reformulating where necessary the political and social ideology that was to serve the vast new unified empire in all its complexity. Great effort was expended in gathering and restoring writings and traditions lost, dispersed, and interrupted during the Qin Dynasty (221–207 B.C.E.). Millenarian beliefs were certainly widespread and taken very seriously, as witnessed by the special attention paid during the reign of Emperor Wu 武帝 (141–87 B.C.E.) to reinstating ancient ritual practices and institutions such as the *feng* 封 and *shan* 禪 sacrifices, the Music Bureau *yuefu* 樂府, and by the preoccupation with the interpretation of portents potentially indicative of Heaven's disposition toward the new dynasty. During this entire period intense

⁵² For a discussion of Xunzi's role as the crucial link in the transmission of Confucian teaching on the *Rites*, the *Odes*, the *Spring and Autumn Annals* and its commentaries, and the *Changes* through the Warring States period as well as his subsequent influence on Han figures such as Mao Heng 毛亨, Dai Sheng 戴聖, Dai De 戴德, Han Ying 韓嬰, Dong Zhongshu, Liu Xiang, and Liu Xin 劉歆, see Wang Zhong, *Xunqingzi tonglun* 荀卿子通論, XZJJ, xiv–xv.

debate was carried on between learned representatives of the progressive and conservative points of view as to the contours of the state ideology. The reign of Emperor Wu witnessed the first climactic resolution of this ideological conflict, with the progressive New Text School eventually gaining the ascendancy for the duration of his reign.⁵³ Participating in these scholarly deliberations at the highest levels of the imperial hierarchy was Dong Zhongshu, foremost Confucian ideologue and philosopher of the Han Dynasty. Eminent though he was, Dong never attained the office of Chancellor nearest to the Emperor, and although he exerted a powerful influence on the formulation of the cosmological Confucianism which was to become identified with the imperial state, the concrete governmental policies he espoused were only selectively adopted. Indeed, his high-mindedly critical attitude nearly cost him his life on one occasion and probably resulted in his lifelong estrangement from the center of power.

When one considers the highly advantageous time in which he lived, when as a brilliant and eminent Confucian he had a once-in-a-millennium opportunity to bring the state ideology into conformity with Confucian precepts by helping to shape imperial policy in a pivotal age, it is not difficult to understand the poignancy and even pathos which Dong expresses in his *fu*. As we shall see, Dong Zhongshu's reflections on this unfulfilled opportunity were to move Tao Yuanming deeply some five hundred years later. Later still, in 1232, Zhang Qiao 章樵 added perspective by prefacing Dong's *fu* with historical remarks supplied by Sima Guang 司馬光 (1019–86):

During the reign of Emperor Jing (157–142 B.C.E.) when the heir apparent [son of the Empress née] Li 栗 was deposed, next eldest [in the line of succession] was Xian, King of Hejian. Had he been entrusted with the imperial power true Kingly rule could have been restored, and the teaching of Dong Zhongshu, being genuinely Confucian, would certainly have been favorably received by him.⁵⁴ That Emperor Jing de-

posed his legal heir and established Che 徹 (i.e., Emperor Wu) as heir apparent was evidently the will of Heaven. Emperor Wu preferred mere show to real substance and Dong Zhongshu ended up the object of Gongsun Hong's⁵⁵ jealous envy, dying a rejected man. Small wonder then, that when Tao Yuanming composed his *fu*, "Moved by Gentlemen of Integrity Unappreciated in Their Time," in the preface he wrote: "Formerly, Dong Zhongshu wrote a *fu*, 'Gentlemen of Integrity Unappreciated in Their Time,' and so did Sima Zizhang 司馬子長 (i.e., Sima Qian). When I read what they had written I was profoundly grieved. . . ."⁵⁶

GENTLEMEN OF INTEGRITY
UNAPPRECIATED IN THEIR TIME

1. Oh, Alas! How remote! How far off!⁵⁷
How tardily the chance comes, that so swiftly
recedes!⁵⁸

reputation as a scholar set him apart from other potential heirs to the throne, and the possibility of his succession presented Confucians with an unprecedented opportunity to realize their ambition of serving a sagely ruler. He is most famous for the efforts he devoted to rescuing from oblivion lost and scattered pre-Qin writings of all kinds. See *Shiji*, 59.2093 and *Jiu Tang shu*, 47.2081.

⁵⁵ 公孫弘 was Chancellor under Emperor Wu; he died in 127 B.C.E. Although bested by Dong Zhongshu in public debate, he was chosen to serve as Chancellor, probably due to his more pragmatic bent; Dong Zhongshu and Sima Qian both considered him a toady. Despite their rivalry, Gongsun Hong respected Dong's erudition. See *Shiji*, 121.3128.

⁵⁶ *GWY*, 3:2b; this is the 21-fascicle redaction found in *Shou shan ge congshu*. Variant readings from the earlier Han Yuanji edition of *Gu wen yuan* (see n. 113) will be identified as *GWY(B)*.

⁵⁷ 遲哉遲矣. In contrast to Hightower, I take this to refer to the time when sagely rule in the human sphere was still a reality, a time now in the distant past; cf. *Shiji*, 12.461: 三代邈絕遠矣難存. *GWY(B)* substitutes *wu* 嗚 for the first 嗟.

⁵⁸ 時來曷遲去之速矣. Hightower ("Fu of Tao Ch'ien," 200, n. 189) cites a close parallel in *Fa yan* 法言 (*SPTK* ed., 6:2b) 辰乎辰曷來之遲去之速矣 "The propitious hour, the propitious hour, why is it so late in coming and so swift in departing?" Zhang Qiao interprets Dong here to mean the opportunity already lost to him, with which I agree. The line must have been written in retrospect toward the end of Dong's career. It is no doubt also significant, given the preoccupation with calendrical astronomy, astrological portents, and auspicious "Grand Conjunctions" of the planets in

⁵³ For an evocative discussion of these ideological developments and of the mood of the times, see Michael Loewe, *Crisis and Conflict in Han China* (Cambridge, 1974), 11–31.

⁵⁴ Hejian Xian Wang 河間獻王, whose name was Liu De 劉德, was a son of Emperor Jing 景帝 (157–142 B.C.E.) who enfeoffed him as King of Hejian. After his death he was given the posthumous title *Xian* 獻 in recognition of his erudition and donations of recovered lost writings to the imperial library. His love of Confucian learning and his

2. No kinsmen of mine,
Those who compromise convictions and follow
the crowd.⁵⁹
Upright, awaiting the timely moment,
I shall approach my end.⁶⁰
3. If I should placidly go along with the times,⁶¹
Then surely they won't be enlightened!⁶²
Is not this the despair of my heart?⁶³
I do not hope for high station!

4. Restless activity will only aggravate my
humiliation:
"Butting the fence with all one's strength will
only break one's horns."⁶⁴
5. And: "Not going out of the door or the courtyard
is without fault."⁶⁵
6. The reprise goes:⁶⁶
I was born, not during the flourishing of the
Three Dynasties,

Han times, that the terms *chi* "tardy" and *su* "rapid" were also used in a technical sense to describe variations in the apparent motion of the visible planets. Hence Dong's metaphorical "season" or "chance," in addition to referring to a fortunate coincidence of temporal events, also suggests a parallel concatenation of portentous happenings in the heavens.

⁵⁹ 屈意從人; cf. *Lisao* (CCBZ, 1:13a) 屈心而抑志 Cf. also Sima Qian, "Bei shi bu yu fu" 悲士不遇賦; 遂屈而不伸 (QHW 26:5a). For 非吾徒矣 *Yiwen leiju* (30:20b) 有悲吾族矣. Malmqvist (*Han Phonology and Textual Criticism* [Canberra, 1963], 30), Luo Changpei and Zhou Zumo (*Han Wei Jin Nanbei chao yunbu yanbian yanjiu* 漢魏晉南北朝韻部演變研究 [Beijing, 1958], 54), and Hightower ("Fu of T'ao Ch'ien," 200, n. 191) all follow the reading 徒 for 族. I prefer 族. The character *tu* appears twice more in the *fu*, once in line 4 from the *Book of Changes*, and once in line 9 from the *Book of Documents*. This alone should make the occurrence of *tu* here, where copyists have evidently had difficulty reading the text, dubious at best. For a more detailed discussion of the argument in favor of *zu* for reasons of rhyme and prosody, see the Appendix to the present essay.

⁶⁰ Cf. Xunzi's line 20 above.

⁶¹ 悠悠偕時; cf. *Book of Changes*, 乾文言: "All day long he is creatively active. He moves with the time" 終日乾乾與時偕行, and 益 "The way of increase everywhere proceeds in harmony with the time" 凡益之道與時偕行 (tr. Wilhelm, *The I Ching* [Princeton, 1968], 381, 597). The difficulty lies in determining how to adapt in a purposeful way without compromising one's convictions to conform with the times.

⁶² 豈能覺矣. As will become clear, Dong is not about to abandon the task of enlightening others in spite of the difficulty of the undertaking, but he will reexamine the means available to him. 覺 here is used in the same sense as in *Mencius* 5A/7: 予將以斯道覺斯民也非予覺之而誰也. Cf. also *Chunqiu fanlu yizheng* (CQFL) 春秋繁露義證, ed. Su Yu (rpt. Taipei, 1975), 10:10a where Dong discusses the necessity of awakening the inner goodness in man.

⁶³ 心之憂歎 cf. *Book of Odes*, no. 27 "Lü yi": 心之憂矣曷維其已 "the grief of the heart, when will it end?"

(Karlgrén, 16). For Xunzi's use of the same passage see line 31 in his *fu*. 歎 is a rhetorical interrogative.

⁶⁴ Cf. *Book of Changes* 大壯, 九三: "A goat butts against a hedge and gets its horns entangled," (Wilhelm, 134). Wilhelm comments: "The hexagram points to a time when inner worth mounts with great force and comes to power. But its strength has already passed beyond the median line, hence there is danger that one may rely entirely on one's own power and forget to ask what is right. There is danger too that, being intent on movement, we may not wait for the right time. . . . For that is truly great power which does not degenerate into mere force but remains inwardly united with the fundamental principles of right and of justice. . . ." (p. 133). This and other allusions by Dong to images in the *Changes* are intended as capsule representations of his situation and are not simply literary embellishment, as will become quite evident. It is helpful therefore to weigh the dynamics of the hexagram as a whole in order to appreciate the predicament which Dong is trying to depict. *GWY(B)* erroneously substitutes 觸藩 for 觸藩.

⁶⁵ Cf. *Book of Changes*, 節, 初九: "Not going out of the door and the courtyard is without blame" (Wilhelm, 232). Wilhelm comments: "Often a man who would like to undertake something finds himself confronted by insurmountable limitations. Then he must know where to stop. If he rightly understands this and does not go beyond the limits set for him, he accumulates an energy that enables him, when the proper time comes, to act with great force. Discretion is of prime importance in preparing the way for momentous things" (ibid.). Hightower ("Fu of T'ao Ch'ien," 201, n. 199) notes that this unpaired line does not end in a rhyme and concludes that either "fault" is a misprint, or a line has dropped out of the text. *GWY(B)* writes 遇 for 過, but notes the variant 遇.

⁶⁶ 重曰. Hightower ("Fu of T'ao Ch'ien," 201, n. 199) notes that this term occurs in the "Distant Wandering" 遠遊 (CCBZ, 5:4a). Hong Xingzu 洪興祖 (1090-1155), commenting on *Lisao* (CCBZ, 1:37a) glosses *chong*, "the sentiment not being fully explained, to expostulate again." Malmqvist (26, n. 10) notes that the entire line, with the omission of 而, is quoted in Li Shan's 李善 (c. 630-689) commentary to the *Wen xuan* 文選 (SBCK ed., 55:5b).

- But under the decadent Three Ji of latter days.⁶⁷
7. At a time when through glibness and deceit some can expect to succeed,
While the upright and high-principled exercise self-restraint.
8. Nevertheless, "I thrice daily reflect on my conduct,"⁶⁸
Still cherishing the maxim, "In advancing and retiring alike there is only the valley."⁶⁹
9. "Men of that ilk, truly there are many,"⁷⁰
who point at the white and call it black!
10. Sight which is truly clear, they call dim!⁷¹
Words which are truly eloquent, they call insipid!⁷²
11. Revenants and spirits cannot correct this perverse turn of human affairs.⁷³
Nor can sages dispel the stubborn befuddlement of the ignorant.

⁶⁷ 三代 refers, of course, to the Three Dynasties Xia, Shang, and Zhou. 三季 refers to the closing years and accompanying disorder of the Zhou, or more specifically, to the period of usurpation of the ducal prerogatives in the state of Lu by the three families Jisun, Zhongsun, and Shusun. Obviously, Dong is including the Han in the latter category, a rather daring assertion considering the repressive milieu he lived in. Perhaps one can conclude from this that the *fu* was circulated, if at all, in an "eyes only" fashion among his associates.

⁶⁸ Hightower ("Fu of T'ao Ch'ien," 201, n. 200) notes the parallel with *Analects* 1/4: "I thrice daily examine myself on three points" 吾日三省吾身.

⁶⁹ 進退惟谷. Cf. *Book of Odes*, n. 257 "Sang rou": "Look at the middle of the forest, numerous are its deer (amicably grazing together); but comrades slander each other, and are not good to each other; and yet people have a saying, 'In ups and downs alike be good!'" (Karlgren, 222; my italics). The ode "Sang rou" is a scathing indictment of a rapacious and irresponsible ruler and a bitter lament at the fate of the common people in times of disorder. Not surprisingly, Sima Qian also alludes to this ode in his "Bei shi bu yu fu", when he quotes the line "I was born at an unhappy time" 我生不辰. Cf. also *Zhuangzi*, chapter 33, "Lao Tan said, 'Know the male but cling to the female; become the ravine of the world 為天下谿. Know the pure but cling to dishonor, become the valley of the world 為天下谷'" (tr. Watson, *The Complete Works of Chuang-tzu*, [New York, 1970], 372). That the "valley" metaphor should evoke the qualities "receptive, flexible," accords well with other cognates such as 裕 "generous, magnanimous" and 容 "accommodating." In the *Changes*, 乾文言 it says: "The Master said: 'In ascent and descent there is no fixed rule, except that one must not depart from one's nature. In advance or retreat no sustaining constant avails 進退無恆, except that one must not depart from one's nature. The superior man fosters his character and labors at his task, in order to do everything at the right time'" (Wilhelm, 381; modified). For the importance of 容 "capaciousness" or "great-heartedness," see *CQFL*, 14:5b, 6b: "'Capacious' means there is nothing which is not accommodated; if the mind of the one who rules as King is

expansive and great, leaving nothing out of its compass, then his sagely ability disseminates [its transforming influence among the people] and each measure promulgated achieves its proper application."

⁷⁰ 彼寔繁之有徒. Cf. Hightower ("Fu of T'ao Ch'ien," 201, n. 202) who notes the parallel with the *Book of Documents* 4/2/3: "Contemners of the worthy and parasites of the powerful—many such followers he had indeed."

⁷¹ 目信嫫而面眇眇. Cf. *Lisao* (CCBZ, 1:10a) 苟余情其信嫫 "If my mind can be truly beautiful" (Hawkes, *Ch'u Tz'u, The Songs of the South* [London, 1959], 81). Clearly, 信 here must be taken adverbially in the sense of "truly" and not "to trust." Hightower ("Fu of T'ao Ch'ien," 201, n. 204) also reads 視 for 言, following *QHW* 23:1a-1b which cites *YWLJ* as authority. However, this reading is not found in either edition of *YWLJ* consulted by Malmqvist (26, n. 14).

⁷² 口信辯而言訥. Cf. *Laozi*, chapter 45, 大辯若訥 "Great eloquence seems tongue-tied" (Lau, *Lau-tzu: Tao Te Ching* [Baltimore, 1963], 106). Wang Bi's 王弼 (226-49) comment is instructive as to the meaning of 訥 here: "Great eloquence speaks wholly from things and events without any artifice of its own, therefore it seems commonplace" (*Laozi dao de jing zhu* 老子道德經注 [Xinbian zhuzi jicheng ed.], 28). Similarly, in *Analects* 4/24 君子欲訥於言, the meaning is more nearly "artless and deliberate in speaking" rather than "tongue-tied." Dong Zhongshu was famous for his great eloquence which far outshone his chief rival at court, Gongsun Hong.

⁷³ Dong is probably being sarcastic here when he alludes to the propensity to avoid self-criticism and to put greater and greater reliance on the spirits as conditions in society grow progressively worse. This tendency was ridiculed in the Gong Yang commentary which he championed. Cf. *Gong Yang zhuan*, Duke Cheng 6th year, where He Xiu 何休 (129-182) comments on the impropriety of establishing the Wu Gong temple: "Now this [case of] 'establishing the Wu Gong temple' was no doubt [due to the fact that] during periods of decline, human affairs are grossly neglected and [those in power] prefer to seek the beneficence of revenants and spirits. Therefore [this event] is emphasized and recorded [in the *Spring and Autumn Annals*]" (*Chunqiu gong yang zhuan He shi jiegou* 春秋公羊傳何氏解詁 [SBBY ed., 17:8b).

12. If I leave my door, I cannot go along with them.⁷⁴
But if I contain my talents, they ridicule my
intransigence.⁷⁵
13. "I withdraw to cleanse my heart,"⁷⁶
"and examine my conscience."⁷⁷
Still they do not understand the course that I
follow.
14. When I consider the vicissitudes of virtue in
antiquity,⁷⁸
Then too were men of integrity isolated, with
nowhere to turn.
15. Under Tang of the Yin, there were Bian Sui and
Wu Guang.⁷⁹

⁷⁴ 出門同人. Cf. *Book of Changes*, 同人, 初九象: "Going out of the gate for fellowship with men—who would find anything to blame in this?" (Wilhelm, 453). Wilhelm's translated commentary reads, "The beginning of union among people should take place before the door. All are equally close to one another. No divergent aims have yet arisen, and one makes no mistakes. The basic principles of any kind of union must be equally accessible to all concerned" (57). *GWY(B)* has 出門同人.

⁷⁵ 藏器. Cf. *Book of Changes*, "Appended Judgements" B/4: "The superior man contains the means in his own person. He awaits the proper time and then acts" 君子藏器於其身待時而後動 (Wilhelm, 340). The predicament described in these two lines finds similar expression in *Lisao* (CCBZ, 1:14b–15b).

⁷⁶ 退洗心. Cf. *Book of Changes*, "Appended Judgements" A/10: "In this way the sages purified their hearts, withdrew, and hid themselves in the secret 洗心退藏於密, suffering the same good and evil fortune as the people. Miraculous because they knew the future, wise because they preserved the past, who else but [such as they] could partake of this [knowledge]!" (Wilhelm, 316; modified).

⁷⁷ 內訟. Cf. *Analects*, 5/26: "The Master said, 'In vain I have looked for a single man capable of seeing his own faults and bringing the charge home against himself' 吾未見能見其過而內自訟 (tr. Waley, *The Analects of Confucius*, [New York, 1938], 114). *GWY(B)* repeats 訥言 from an earlier line for the *Analects* 內訟, again, obviously, a care-less error.

⁷⁸ *GWY*, 3:3a, has 濁 "murky," though the variant 暉 "pristine" is noted. The distinction is not crucial: either 暉 refers to the paragons Dong is about to cite in evidence, or 濁 refers to the unsettled times during which they lived.

⁷⁹ Hightower ("Fu of T'ao Ch'ien," 202, n. 210) says, "T'ang first offered Pien-sui the empire, and Pien-sui drowned himself. He then offered it to Wu-kuang, who likewise drowned himself. Cf. *Chuang-tzu* 9:29b–30a" (Watson, 320). Their opposition to the newly founded Shang dynasty stemmed from the fact that they considered Tang a usurper

- Under Wu of the Zhou, there were Bo Yi and
Shu Qi.⁸⁰
16. Bian Sui and Wu Guang drowned themselves in
the deep.
Bo Yi and Shu Qi climbed the mountains to
subsist on herbs.
17. If even sages such as these were distraught, what
is to be expected when the whole world has
gone astray?⁸¹
18. Later men like Wu Yuan and Qu Yuan,⁸² certainly
had nowhere left to cast a backward glance!
19. Indeed, I am unable to emulate those worthies,
but shall journey far,⁸³ always admiring

and their loyalty to their former king, however oppressive, precluded their cooperating with Tang. *GWY(B)* omits the name 暉 in 殷湯 and adds a superfluous 王 in 周武王, thereby destroying the parallelism.

⁸⁰ After the defeat of the Shang, the brothers Bo Yi and Shu Qi both chose to live on what they could forage in the wild rather than besmirch their honor by eating grain belonging to the "usurping" Zhou house. Their biography comprises fascicle 61 in *Shiji*. Cf. *Chuang-tzu*, chap. 28; tr. Watson, 321.

⁸¹ Zhang Qiao comments, "Although these four worthies who possessed sagely wisdom lived during the heyday of Shang and Zhou, still they met with this fate. How much [greater the likelihood] for other [lesser men and more disordered times]!" *GWY*, 3:3b.

⁸² Wu Yuan 伍員 (5th century B.C.E., cognomen 子胥) was famous as a paragon of loyalty and filial devotion. Originally from Chu, he fled to the state of Wu after King Ping of Chu executed both his father and elder brother. Later he acted as advisor to Wu in a successful attack on Chu, but he eventually fell victim to intrigue and slander when he repeatedly admonished the king for ignoring the threat to Wu posed by Yue. He ultimately committed suicide and some nine years later Yue annihilated Wu. His biography comprises fascicle 66 of *Shiji*. Qu Yuan (4th century B.C.E.), author of the *Lisao*, was also famous as a paragon of loyalty and virtue who fell victim to slander. Unable to resolve the dilemma of how to fulfill his duty to loyally serve unenlightened rulers surrounded by sycophants, while at the same time preserving his dignity, Qu Yuan also took his life.

⁸³ 遠遊 "wandering far," the connotations of which are doubtless Taoist, as Hightower suggests ("Fu of T'ao Ch'ien," 202, n. 216), are not necessarily allegorical of a search for a patron, nor is the phrase to be taken literally, as Zhang Qiao does. This term occurs in the *Chu ci*, both in the *Lisao* (CCBZ, 1:33b) in the form 遠逝: 何離心之可同兮吾將遠逝以自疏 "How can they be united, whose hearts are strangers? I am going a far journey to be away from them" (Hawkes, 33; modified), and as the title of two shorter poems

- them.⁸⁴
20. I am likewise far from thinking like my
colleagues,
Who worry that the path is long abandoned
and hard to walk.⁸⁵
21. And who dread that: "the superior man when
journeying goes three days without eating."⁸⁶

22. Alas! The whole world goes along with perversity!
I grieve that we cannot join together in
turning back.
23. What else can I do but return to the constant
task?⁸⁷
And not let myself be cast about by the times.

遠逝 and 遠遊 (CCBZ, 1611b, 16:15a). "Wandering far" proves to be an esoteric flight of metaphysical fancy to the farthest reaches of consciousness, an escape to a dream-like place where mastery of the forces of the universe is ultimately achieved. According to Hawkes (p. 8), "[T]he Sao poet is no ordinary neurotic. He is, or aspires to be, a magician. He feels that he belongs to a supernatural environment more pure than this earthly one, in which he feeds on nothing less ethereal than the dew and vapours of heaven, in which he can summon gods and immortal spirits to do his bidding, and can roam at will to the uttermost ends of the universe. His is the frustration of an immortal spirit condemned to exile in the world of men; and his ultimate despair arises from the fact that his attempt to escape into that bright other-world does not quite succeed."

⁸⁴ 終慕. QHW, 23:1b has 古 for 慕, a reading which Malmqvist follows (1963, 28, n. 23), yielding the translation: "I shall go on a distant voyage and follow my ways (or the ways of old) till the end of my time." There are also parallels to this reading in *Lisao* (CCBZ, 1:27a) "How can I bear to endure this forever?" 焉能忍與此終古 (Hawkes, 30), and in "The Nine Songs" (CCBZ, 2:23b), "So it shall go on until the end of time" 長無絕兮終古 (Hawkes, 44). I agree with Malmqvist's conclusion that Dong is rejecting suicide as a solution to his problem, as does Zhang Qiao (cf. *GWY*, 3:3b); however, I prefer not to emend the text since 慕 agrees better with the rhyme. *GWY*(B) omits the character following 終.

⁸⁵ Zhang Qiao (*GWY*, 3:3b) paraphrases the line, "My colleagues say that since the ancients are so far away and the Way so long abandoned, [they] fear that [the path] cannot be followed and warn against impulsively setting off." The contrast between Dong and his contemporaries that is being emphasized here anticipates an idea developed in the concluding stanza of the *fu*. In any event, the subject of "doubt, suspect" in the second clause is definitely not the author, as Hightower ("Fu of T'ao Ch'ien," 203) would have it.

⁸⁶ Cf. *Book of Changes*, 明夷, 初九, "Darkening of the Light": "Darkening of the light during flight. He lowers his wings. The superior man does not eat for three days on his wanderings. . . . It is the obligation of the superior man to refrain from eating during his wanderings" (Wilhelm, 140, 566). Elaborating on the interpretation, Wilhelm remarks: "The whole hexagram has a historical background. For at the time when King Wen wrote the judgements on the

hexagrams, conditions in China were just as this hexagram pictures them. In the judgements on the lines, the Duke of Chou refers to Prince Chi as exemplifying the situation. Confucius carries this further in the Commentary on the Decision by adding the example of King Wen. Later on—quite in keeping with the meaning—historical personages came to be linked with each of the lines. The evil ruler was Chou Hsin, the last king of the Yin dynasty. He is symbolized by the six at the top. Under him the most able princes of the realm were all made to suffer severely, and their fates are mirrored in the individual lines. The high-minded Po I withdrew into hiding with his brother, Shu Ch'i. He is represented by the nine at the beginning. The six in the second place pictures King Wen, who, as the foremost of the feudal princes, was long held prisoner by the tyrant, with constant danger to his life. The nine in the third place represents his son, afterward King Wu of Chou, who overthrew the tyrant. The six in the fourth place depicts the situation of Prince Wei Tzu, who was able to save himself by timely flight abroad. Finally, the six in the fifth place depicts the situation of Prince Chi, who could save his life only by dissembling" (p. 564).

⁸⁷ 返身於素業. On the constant task of the superior man, see *Zhong yong* 中庸 "Doctrine of the Mean," chapter 14: "The superior man does what is proper to his position and does not want to go beyond this 君子素其位而行不願乎其外. If he is in a noble station, he does what is proper to a position of wealth and honorable station. If he is in a humble station, he does what is proper to a position of poverty and humble station. If he is in the midst of barbarian tribes, he does what is proper in the midst of barbarian tribes. In a position of difficulty and danger, he does what is proper to a position of difficulty and danger. He can find himself in no situation in which he is not at ease with himself. In a high position he does not treat his inferiors with contempt. In a low position he does not court the favor of his superiors. He rectifies himself 正身 and seeks nothing from others, hence he has no complaint to make. . . . Thus it is that the superior man lives peacefully and at ease and waits for his destiny, while the inferior man takes to dangerous courses and hopes for good luck" (tr. Chan, *A Sourcebook in Chinese Philosophy* [Princeton, 1963], 101). See also *Book of Changes*, 乾文言, "The superior man fosters his character and labors at his task, in order to do everything at the right time" (Wilhelm, 381).

24. Though all profit be gained by violating the true self,⁸⁸

It is still better to straighten the mind, and
cleave to the one Good!⁸⁹

⁸⁸ Commenting on this line, Zhang Qiao says: "Those who pursue profit in the world all say it is natural for them to do so, therefore they do it gladly, without qualms. If they really knew that it is a perversion of their nature they wouldn't willingly do it. Dong Zhongshu has said, 'The man of humanity (*ren*) confirms the appropriateness [of his behavior] without considering profitability. He manifests the Way without reckoning how meritorious [he will appear].' Evidently, even in his daily routine, Dong Zhongshu adhered tenaciously to his principles" (*GWY*, 3:3b).

⁸⁹ 不如正心而歸一善. *Zheng* is often loosely interpreted to mean "to rectify, to correct" without any mention of what standard is implicitly assumed to represent the norm or ideal. In *CQFL* (2:11b) Dong Zhongshu is quite explicit about what is normative: "That which is Right is confirmed [by comparison] with man's preordained nature as conceived by Heaven. Heaven has determined man's nature such that he is induced to practice humanity and justice and to feel shame for what is execrable. And not merely, like a bird or beast, to seek by whatever means to survive or to gain personal profit." See also *CQFL* (11:1a) where Dong discusses at length his conception of the affinity between one's nature and Heaven. That the impetus toward fulfillment of one's nature likewise derives from Heaven is also clear: "The activity of Heaven extends to a certain point and then stops. What stays within the operation of Heaven is called human nature endowed by Heaven, and what stays outside the operation of Heaven is called human activity. Man's activity lies outside his nature, and yet his nature cannot but [strive to] complete its virtuous [expression externally]" (Chan, *Sourcebook*, 275; modified). This conception is fundamental to the Confucian interpretation of the *Changes*; see, for example, "Appended Judgements" A/4: "The successive movement of yin and yang constitutes the Way. What [makes for] the continuity of the Way is the Good, and that which [makes for] its completion is the individual nature" (Chan, *Sourcebook*, 266; modified). Conscious dedication to this goal of completing and fulfilling the "heaven-in-man" which is his true nature is the mark of the superior man. At the worst of times, when one has little hope of accomplishing miracles through moral suasion, the emphasis is on preserving the integrity of the endeavor, so that if not one's contemporaries, at least a later age may derive benefit from one's example. In *Mencius* 7A/9, Mencius answers the question, "What must a man be before he can be content?" this way: "If he reveres virtue and delights in rightness, he can be content. Hence a Gentleman never abandons rightness in adversity, nor does he depart from the Way in success. By not abandoning rightness in adversity, he finds delight in

25. If only the buffeting of urgency causes me to be moved,⁹⁰

Surely I cannot be said to have a narrow and
intemperate nature!⁹¹

26. Clearly manifesting "Fellowship with Men"⁹²
means "Possession in Great Measure!"

And to brightly show forth the "radiance of
modesty," means to further the cause!

27. If abiding by the hidden, I take refuge in silence,⁹³
Surely that is not to make a display of talent in
pursuit of prominence!?

himself; by not departing from the Way in success, he does not disappoint the people. Men of antiquity made the people feel the effect of their bounty when they realized their ambition, and, when they failed to realize their ambition, were at least able to show the world an exemplary character. In obscurity a man makes perfect his own person, but in prominence he makes perfect the whole Empire as well" (Lau, 183).

⁹⁰ 紛既迫而後動. Cf. *Zhuangzi* (HY 40/15/11): "He is not the harbinger of good fortune, nor the initiator of bad fortune. Roused by something outside himself, only then does he respond; *pressed, only then does he move*; finding he has no choice, only then does he rise up" (Watson, 168; modified, italics mine). Sima Qian (*QHW*, 26:5a) quotes *Zhuangzi*'s first clause, "He is not . . . bad fortune," as the penultimate line of his "Bei shi bu yu fu."

⁹¹ 稟性之推褊. See *Book of Odes* no. 107 "Ge ju," "Only this intemperate nature, this gives cause for a rebuke."

⁹² *Book of Changes*, hexagram 13. Wilhelm comments: "This hexagram embodies the ideal of the universal brotherhood of man, which, however, is not yet attained. Its demand thus points beyond all of the situations of fellowship shown in the hexagram—none of these is wholly satisfactory. None of the individual lines attains the ideal. All seek fellowship on the basis of narrower relationships. For this reason, none of them attains the great success that the hexagram as a whole envisions" (Wilhelm, 456). For a detailed discussion of the complex interrelationships among the three hexagrams *Tong ren* "Fellowship with Men," *Da you* "Possession in Great Measure," and *Qian* "Modesty," see below.

⁹³ 默足. See *Doctrine of the Mean*, chapter 27, on the behavior of the superior man: "Thus, when occupying a high station he is not arrogant, and in a low station he is not insubordinate. When the kingdom is well governed, he is sure by his words to inspire, and when it is ill-governed, he is sure by his silence to command forbearance to himself. Is this not what we find in the *Book of Poetry*—'Enlightened is he and discerning, and so preserves his person'?" (Legge, *The Four Books: The Doctrine of the Mean* [rpt. Taipei, 1971], 423; modified).

28. If in liver and gall, men are truly of a kind,⁹⁴
How can mere hair and beard suffice to make
distinctions!?⁹⁵

⁹⁴ 肝膽. See *Zhuangzi* (HY 12/5/7) where this expression occurs in a passage in which Confucius contrasts a partial and dependent view with the holistic and transcendent view of the sage: "Confucius said, 'Death and life are indeed great events, and yet he is unaltered by them. Though heaven and earth overturn and collapse he will not be lost with them. He understands clearly the transformations of destiny and physical things and holds steadfastly to the source.' Ch'ang Chi asked, 'What do you mean by that?' Confucius said, 'If you look at things from the point of view of their differences, then there is liver and gall, Ch'u and Yueh. But if you look at them from the point of view of their sameness, then the ten thousand things are all one.'" And again, "To men such as these, how could there be any question of putting life first or death last? They employ the different forms of things, but attribute them to the same whole. They neglect [distinctions like] liver and gall, ignore ears and eyes; turning and revolving, ending and beginning again, not recognizing boundaries or limits" (Watson, 68-69, 87; modified, emphasis mine). This same metaphor figures in a discussion in chapter 43 of *Wenxin diaolong*: "Therefore, those which are most excellently associated are [words having] different principles such as 'liver and gall,' and those which are most ineptly combined are [words of] the same tone like Hu and Yue." In translating the latter passage as I do here I am disagreeing with the explanation of Vincent Shih (*The Literary Mind and the Carving of Dragons* [Taipei, 1970], 324), since at this point the discussion concerns, not the organizational talent of an author, but rather the principles involved in "associating" (*juhui*) words of different or similar "tonality" or connotation. It would seem that Liu Xie's substitution of the word *Hu* 胡 "barbarian" for *Chu* is not without significance as Shi says, but represents a liberty that Liu has taken with the phrase to convey a slightly different idea from that of "spatially proximate yet differing in essential attributes" of the original *gan dan Chu Yue*. In other words, since Yue is of the category "Hu" there is some redundancy in the "tonality" of the two words (Liu uses the word *yin* 音 in the sense of "musical key" here) and this seems to be precisely the point of his criticism. Taking *Hu* as equivalent to *Chu* renders Liu's point vacuous. The expression *gan dan Chu Yue* probably enjoyed wide currency in the popular wisdom as an aphorism connoting "the commonality underlying apparent diversity." In any event, it is evident that Dong is here appealing to the theme of commonality just as in the figure of "fellowship." This idea is fundamental to his thought as the conceptual basis for the practice of statecraft and for achieving his ideal of political and spiritual unity.

⁹⁵ "Hair and beard" 鬚髮 are used here to touch on several

Like its predecessor, the *Shi bu yu fu* begins by describing the perversity of the circumstances confronting the author, although in this case Dong Zhongshu characterizes his situation in more personal terms than did Xunzi. One can easily categorize the attitudes of the contemporaries which Dong so aptly portrays. The frustration he feels as a result of

levels of association. First, the phrase refers to the most superficial and uniquely individual aspects of the human form, thus contrasting with the "interiority" and commonality of liver and gall (associated with *ren* "humankindness" and courage, respectively). Zhang Qiao paraphrases these last two lines of the *fu*, "Search within physical form, do not seek outside it" (*GWY*, 3:4a). Secondly, an oblique criticism is no doubt intended of the "specious" sophistry and "superficial" intellectuality indulged in by such figures as Hui Shi 惠施 (350-260 B.C.E.) and Deng Xi 鄧析 (d. 501 B.C.E.), who concerned themselves primarily with linguistic paradoxes dealing with relativism in form and appearance, time and space, etc., and in whose arguments hair, beard, feathers, and so on all play a part. This preoccupation with *bian* 辯 "disputation" was deplored by Confucian and Taoist thinkers alike. This remark is no doubt meant as a dig at Dong's political rivals at court. A similar criticism, namely that such specious theories were likely to confuse and mislead the masses, is found in *Xunzi* (*XZJJ*, 23ff, 58-59), and it is doubtless this view that approximates most closely to the attitude of Dong Zhongshu: "The superior man does not respect foolhardiness in conduct, in explanations he does not respect sophistry; and in reputation he does not respect undeserved fame. He values highly only what is appropriate. Now, to carry a stone and throw yourself into the river is hard to do, but Shen-t'u Ti was capable of it. However, this is not conduct which the superior man respects because it is not fitting according to the mean of Li and Yi. That mountains and streams are level, that heaven and earth are equal, that Ch'i and Ch'in are contiguous, that it goes in the ear and comes out the mouth, that a barb has whiskers and an egg has feathers; these theories are difficult to uphold, but Teng Hsi and Hui Shih were equal to it. However, the superior man does not respect them, because (superficiality) is not in accord with the mean of Li and Yi. The notoriety of Tao Chih is in everyone's mouth; his fame is (glaring as) the sun and moon, and is transmitted without interruption (to later generations) together with the fame of Shun and Yu. But, the superior man does not hold him in high regard, as (such undeserved fame) is not in accord with the mean of Li and Yi. Thus it is said, the superior man does not respect foolhardiness in conduct, in explanations he does not respect sophistry, and in reputation he does not respect unmerited fame. He values highly only what is meant by the ode when

conflicting impulses is only too evident: on the one hand he feels duty-bound to take advantage of his timely opportunity to influence the making of imperial policy, yet the repressiveness of his surroundings demands circumspection. Isolated as he is in his devotion to higher principles, he must avoid endangering himself by assuming too exposed a position at court, either by remonstrating too assertively, or, paradoxically, by not acting politically at all. Then there follows the conventional evocation of sages and worthies of the past whose course of action in similar circumstances may serve to inspire, if not to do likewise, at least to be steadfast in adversity. Of the honorable paths open to him, only one is explicitly rejected, that of suicide.

Dong is not prepared to emulate Qu Yuan by seeking solace in death, but he does express a desire to "journey far" until the end. What precisely he means by this bears further investigation since it would seem hardly in character for Dong to succumb to the escapist allure of a shaman-like peregrination to otherworldly realms. Wang Fuzhi 王夫之 (1619–92), a man whose personality and Confucian convictions closely resemble Dong's, characterized "Distant Wandering" in *Chuci* this way:

This account of journeying into the realm of immortals runs the gamut of profound mysteries [encountered] in the study of abstruse esoterica. . . . [This conceit] no doubt grew out of the techniques of Peng [Xian] and [Lao] Dan, to whose practice of fashioning glittering pearls of allegory it bears a resemblance. The main thing is to seek [Tao] in the profound subtlety of the imponderable purpose of Heaven and of the quintessential ether (*qi*).⁹⁶

And in a concluding note on the psychological dilemma facing Qu Yuan and its resolution in the final stanza of *Lisao*, Wang has the following to say after citing other figures who fit the pattern:

it says, "Of the things in plenty, only those in season (i.e., timely and appropriate)" (Hightower, *Han Shih Wai Chuan*, 116–17; modified; *Hanshi waizhuan* 3/33 quotes *Xunzi* almost verbatim, with the exception of the concluding quote from the *Book of Odes*). The course of conduct that Dong advocates in his *fu* no doubt exemplifies his conception of "the mean of Li and Yi." He claims for the "commonality" with which he is concerned a more profound philosophical significance than the linguistic hairsplitting of his contemporaries.

⁹⁶ *Chuci tongshi* 楚辭通釋 (Taipei, 1972), 101.

All of them at one time or another delved into studies of the "miraculous" in an effort to extricate themselves from danger and impediment, and all ultimately sacrificed themselves. Thus, the essential meaning of "distant wandering" is definitely something that men of integrity have sought after (貞士所嘗問津; the allusion to Tao Yuanming's allegory "Peach Blossom Spring" is certainly suggestive). But having once achieved insight into the principles of life and death they are even less able to ignore their inclination toward loyalty and filial devotion. An understanding of the meaning of "nurturing one's true nature and setting oneself on the destined path" is not something to be found in a Qin Shihuang or an Emperor Wu of Han. Nor, indeed, is the impassive choice of righteousness over life itself something that can be understood by those who, charged up with an overblown self-esteem and an impassioned disregard for life, boldly sally forth, paying no heed to personal safety. The one who, having learned the lessons of advancing and retreating, acts with calm deliberation, his is the purpose that will out in the end.⁹⁷

It is important to note, as Wang does in passing, that mystic journeys also figure prominently in early Taoism as a metaphor for the adept's course of training in Taoist mysticism and yoga-like techniques, and as such the motif provides an important link with the Chu traditions.⁹⁸ More to the point, however, the terminology and symbolic trappings of the Taoist "journey" bring us in the end to the metaphysical notion of a "grand unification" (大同), whose more "down-to-earth" realization in this world is a central concern of both Xunzi and Dong Zhongshu: "Like the journey in 'Yüan Yu' back through the chaos realm of Hsüan Ming and Chuan Hsü, through the twin gates of lightning's fissure and the Great Abyss, which lead back in time to the Great Beginning, the *Chuang Tzu* also speaks of a mythical journey of the sage to the land of the dead ("Yellow Springs") where all is harmonized: 'To him [the sage] there is no north or south—in utter freedom he dissolves himself in the four directions and drowns himself in the unfathomable. To him there is no east or west—he begins in the *Hsüan ming* and returns to the *Ta-t'ung*.' . . . In this sense, the idea of returning to the chaos time in Taoism frequently takes the form of the mystical journey to the 'center' through a chaos region (laby-

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 24.

⁹⁸ See N. J. Girardot, *Myth and Meaning in Early Taoism: The Theme of Chaos (hun-tun)* (Berkeley, 1983), 82.

rinth, dark cave, wilderness, desert, ocean, etc.). This is the place of the creative 'union,' 'meeting,' or Great Equalization' (*ta-t'ung*) of the two [opposites]."⁹⁹ The only difference, it seems, is that for Confucians like Xunzi and Dong Zhongshu the journey through the darkness and chaos is taking place here and now, so that in ideological terms reconciliation and harmony in the Grand Unification must be envisioned as ultimately taking place in some future "here and now." In individual terms, however, Dong can look forward only to the harmonious resolution of opposites in death. In a personal sense, Dong seems to be saying that if the time is not to be now, one must nevertheless keep the faith and content oneself with honorably living out his allotted span in contemplation and purposeful inaction, abstaining from official life for the duration, if need be.¹⁰⁰

In the conclusion of the *fu*, in oblique language relying mainly on a few crucial allusions to the *Book of Changes*, Dong then discloses the philosophical basis for his commitment to the system of belief that sustains him. Dong's preoccupation with evolutionary change and eschatology derived, of course, from his mastery of both the *Book of Changes* and the *Spring and Autumn Annals*, especially the *Gong Yang* 公羊 exegesis of the latter, which was first committed to writing in Dong's own lifetime during the reign of

⁹⁹ Ibid., 93.

¹⁰⁰ Not surprisingly, recent history can also witness to the continuity of these traditions and the psychological dispositions they reflect. In a synopsis of Kang Youwei's life as recounted by Kung Chuan-hsiao, Frederick Wakeman writes: "Hsiao divides K'ang Yu-wei's life and thought into two major stages. During the first, which lasted through the early 1900s, K'ang believed in a benevolent cosmos—a place of universal "soul substance" (*hun-chih*) which partook of primal good, and where it was the duty of the enlightened to reform the world. In the second phase, which began around 1910 and lasted until his death in 1927, he ceased to believe in meliorism and detached himself from the world, directing his inner energies beyond the planet itself to a kind of higher state of apolitical cultivation. According to Hsiao, the two phases of the philosopher's life were discrete, even contradictory." About this second phase of K'ang's life, Wakeman continues, "after 1917, when Chang Hsun's restoration attempt was foiled, the philosopher-statesman simply retired to his estate on the shores of Hangchow's West Lake, where he pursued his interests in astronomy and science fiction, and lost himself in reveries of celestial peregrinations 'beyond the world of men'; see Wakeman, review of *A Modern China and a New World: K'ang Yu-wei, Reformer and Utopian, 1858-1927*, *JAS* 37 (1978): 334-35.

Emperor Wen of Han (180-157 B.C.E.). Surprisingly, however, the nexus of fundamental tenets of the two traditions is more strikingly revealed in Dong's *fu* than in any other writings attributed to him. For that reason, careful examination of his use of images from the *Changes* ought to be doubly informative, both concerning his personal beliefs and also with regard to his interpretation of the classic.

One cannot but be struck by the remarkable consistency with which certain images drawn from the *Book of Changes* have been exploited to comment critically on the political life of the times. For example, in line 21, Dong alludes to hexagram 36, *Ming yi* "Darkening of the Light" which uses the evocative image of a bird overtaken in mid-flight by the darkening of the sky, and of the physical deprivations which the noble in spirit are obliged to endure. Xunzi, too, spoke of "light sinking into the earth" in the opening lines of his *fu*. More than seventeen hundred years later, Huang Zongxi 黄宗羲 (1610-95) chose the same figure for the title of his *Ming yi daifang lu* 明夷待訪錄, and for the very same reasons:

A literal translation of the Chinese title *Ming-i Tai-fang Lu* does not convey its real significance. *Ming-i* has multiple meanings. Ordinarily *i* signifies "peace and order," and therefore *ming-i*, literally, suggests that the theme of this book is "an exposition of (the principles of) good government." But *ming-i* also means "brightness obscured" or "intelligence repressed," and is the title of the thirty-sixth hexagram in the Confucian classic, *Book of Changes*. . . . The *Ming-i* hexagram was considered to represent a phase in the cosmic cycle, during which the forces of darkness prevailed but the virtuous preserved their integrity, hopefully waiting for the power of evil to wane. Traditionally this was thought to symbolize a wise and virtuous minister of state, forced by a weak and unsympathizing ruler to hide his own brilliance and remain upright in obscurity. Chi-tzu, a legendary figure of classical times, exemplified this during the last reign of the Shang dynasty. Imprisoned for protesting against the decadent ways of his king, Chi-tzu was freed after the conquest of the Shang by King Wu. He refused to serve under the latter, considering him a usurper, but, when King Wu visited him to ask his advice in ruling the country, the veteran statesman communicated the political principles contained in the "Great Plan," a section of the *Book of History*. Thus Chi-tzu's knowledge of the ancient ideal of government did not die with him but was preserved and put into practice during the glorious reign of King Wu. In his preface to this work,

Huang describes himself as living in a period of darkness such as that represented by the *Ming-i* hexagram, and says that he has written down a "Great Plan" (ta-fan) of ideal government for the benefit of posterity.¹⁰¹

As we shall see, the idea of leaving to posterity a written record embodying one's political ideals forms an integral part of the archetypal Confucian attitudes that surface in these *fu*.

Most enlightening, however, is Dong's assertion that "[c]learly manifesting 'Fellowship with Men' means 'Possession in Great Measure,' and to brightly show forth the 'radiance of Modesty' means to further the cause"; for here we are afforded significant insights into the interpretive methodology that Dong was applying to the *Changes*. The connection now begins to be apparent between the theory of evolutionary change deriving from the *Changes* and the social and political philosophy of the Gong Yang school that Dong espoused. *Tong ren* "Fellowship with Men," *Da you* "Possession in Great Measure," and *Qian* "Modesty" are hexagrams thirteen, fourteen, and fifteen. Their pivotal importance in the Han Confucian interpretation of the *Changes* is second only to the first two, *Qian* "The Creative" and *Kun* "The Receptive." In terms of their structure, there is an intrinsically dynamic relationship that was thought to obtain among the central ideas and images embodied in these three hexagrams which is represented graphically in their configuration. They symbolize, at one and the same time, the means (humanism and self-cultivation) and the end (political unity and social harmony) of Confucian ethical instruction, just as we see reflected in the schematic linkage "investigate things," "extend knowledge," "make the will sincere," "rectify the mind," "cultivate personal life," "regulate the family," "order the state," "bring peace throughout the world" in the *Great Learning*.

The dynamic relationship linking *Tong ren* and *Da you*, ☱ and ☲, is readily apparent when we examine the configurations of the two hexagrams. They are two of the very few that have a complementary pair of yin — — and yang — — lines occupying the two central, mutually interacting positions in the hexagram, the second and fifth positions. Traditionally, the second line is associated with the concept "minister" and the fifth line with that of "ruler." In both cases then, we have a representation of the ideal

situation in which a yielding, or receptive line and an assertive, or creative line finds its counterpart in precisely the right location. Both hexagrams therefore symbolize the ideal relationship of "wise ruler-sagely advisor," but in two different aspects.

That is not all, however, because the two hexagrams also stand in a peculiar converse relationship one to the other, denoted by the term *zong* 綜. Deriving from the art of weaving, this term originally referred to the tying on of the warp threads of the loom to the harnesses which are alternately raised and lowered in different sequences and configurations to produce the patterns in the weave. What this means in the case of *Tong ren* and *Da you* is that the one is the mirror image of the other in the vertical plane. The components of the one are identical to the components of the other, just like the obverse and reverse of a piece of woven goods. In terms of the *Changes*, therefore, the one *implies* the other, the one *becomes* the other, the one *simultaneously is* the other. The yin line in the second place in "Fellowship with Men" advances through the dynamics of this relationship to the ruling place in "Possession in Great Measure" (i.e., the empire). This is expressed by one commentator, "there are those [hexagrams] in which the second and fifth lines are in converse relationship (*zong*). [In this case] the 'yielding' achieves centrality and moves upward."¹⁰² Dong Zhongshu has expressed this dynamic relationship grammatically in line 26 using the subordinating conjunction *er* 而 to link the two concepts sequentially, thereby resuming the dynamics of the process syntactically. In other words, implicit in clearly manifesting "Fellowship with Men" is the actual bringing about, or realization, of "Possession in Great Measure" as a personal and political reality. The "yielding" virtue of the superior man in a subordinate position rises to occupy the central and ruling place, by virtue of his ability to expand the principles of fellowship from the few to the many: "The yielding finds its place, finds the middle, and the Creative corresponds with it; this means fellowship with men. . . . Only the superior man is able to unite the wills of all under heaven."¹⁰³

The one sustaining virtue that is relevant throughout this process is that of Modesty, one of the few hexagrams in the *Changes* in which all the lines are auspicious: "Modesty creates success, for it is the way of heaven to shed its influence downward and to create light and radiance. It is the way of the earth

¹⁰¹ W. T. deBary, "Chinese Despotism and the Confucian Ideal," *Chinese Thought and Institutions* (Chicago, 1957), 166.

¹⁰² Lai Zhide 來知德, *Yijing Laizhu tujie* 易經來註圖解 (rpt. Taipei, 1971), 114.

¹⁰³ Wilhelm, 452.

to be lowly and to go upward. It is the way of heaven to make empty what is full and to augment the modest. Spirits and gods bring harm to what is full and prosper what is modest. It is the way of men to hate fullness and to love the modest. Modesty that is honored spreads radiance. Modesty that is lowly cannot be ignored. This is the end attained by the superior man."¹⁰⁴ Thus by manifesting the "radiance of modesty," as Dong says, the cause must necessarily be furthered, so that the superior man's task of enlightening the world is accomplished in the end, no matter what the obstacles.¹⁰⁵

The mood of self-confidence deriving from deeply held moral convictions that is conveyed by the two *fu* translated here has been denoted the "spirit of Confucianism." That this is an accurate characterization of Confucius' paradigmatic example is corroborated by an influential anecdote recorded in the *Records of the Grand Historian*.¹⁰⁶ There Sima Qian relates an episode that is said to have transpired when Confucius and his followers were encircled on the border of Chen 陳 and Cai 蔡:

Confucius, knowing that his disciples were resentful of the situation, called Zi Lu 子路 to him and asked, "In the *Odes* it says, 'We are not rhinoceroses, we are not tigers, but we go along these wilds.'¹⁰⁷ Is my Way wrong? What am I to make of this?" Zi Lu answered, "It means, 'Am I not benevolent, that men do not trust me? Am I not wise, that men do not follow me?'" Confucius said, "Is that really the case? *You* 由 (i.e., Zi Lu), if it were so that a benevolent man will necessarily be relied upon, how could there have been a Bo Yi and a Shu Qi? Or, if it were so that a wise

man will necessarily do well, how could there have been a Wangzi Bi Gan?" Zi Lu left and Zi Gong 子貢 came in to pay his respects. Confucius said, "*Ci* 賜 (i.e., Zi Gong), in the *Odes* it says, 'We are not rhinoceroses, we are not tigers, but we go along these wilds.' Is my Way wrong? What am I to make of this?" Zi Gong replied, "The Master's Way is great in the extreme, therefore the world is not able to accommodate him. Why does the Master not censure the world less?" Confucius said, "*Ci*, a good farmer is able to plant, but he cannot make the harvest. The talented artisan is skillful, but he cannot make the going easy. The superior man is able to cultivate the Way, to order and settle its principles, to unify and arrange them, but he cannot provide for its accommodation by the world. Now, you do not cultivate your Way but seek to make for its accommodation. *Ci*, your ambition does not reach very far at all!" Zi Gong went out, whereupon Yan Hui 顏回 came in to pay his respects. Confucius said, "*Hui*, in the *Odes* it says, 'We are not rhinoceroses, we are not tigers, but we go along these wilds.' Is my Way wrong? What am I to make of this?" Yan Hui answered, "The Master's Way is great in the extreme, therefore the world cannot accommodate him. Though that is the case, if the Master propounds and practices it, what harm is there in not finding accommodation? For it is in its not finding acceptance that the Way of the superior man is manifested! Now, not to cultivate the Way, that is *my* shame! Having amply done so and then not to find employment, that is the shame of those who rule states. What harm is there in not finding acceptance? For in that the Way of the superior man is seen!" Confucius laughed lightly and said, "Just so! You scion of the Yan family. Were you a man of wealth, I would be your Major-domo!"¹⁰⁸

Here we see the Sage refusing to compromise his principles to achieve accommodation, but remaining true to his convictions in the hope that his Way will become manifest in the very contrast between his behavior and the world at large. Thus the tension that manifests itself in the *Shi bu yu fu* springs from a self-consciously cultivated, exemplary attitude central to the philosophy of life depicted in the above anecdote. The crux for the superior man is to discern, at any given time, how to maintain equilibrium between

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 462.

¹⁰⁵ The school of Dong's contemporary, Han Ying, evidently shared his estimation of the significance of these images from the *Changes*. In *Hanshi waizhuan* there is a long excursus on the virtue of modesty in which the same passage (referring to the "radiance of modesty") from the "Great Commentary" to the hexagram *Qian* "The Creative" is quoted, numerous precedents are cited, etc. The passage begins and ends as follows: "Confucius said, 'The *Changes* first has the *t'ung jen* and afterward the *ta yu*. That it continues them with the *ch'ien*—is this not indeed fitting?' . . . Now the *Changes* has one way whereby, on a large scale, one may bring order to an empire; or on a medium scale, bring peace to one's state, or more immediately, preserve one's own person—is it not simply the virtue of humility?'" (tr. Hightower, *Han Shih Wai Chuan*, 285, 287; modified.)

¹⁰⁶ *Shiji*, 47:1931ff.

¹⁰⁷ Karlgren, 1950, 184.

¹⁰⁸ Wang Su 王肅 (195–256) comments, "The *zai* manages the property [of the household]. 'I will be your Major-domo' is [a way of] saying 'their ambitions are the same'" (*Shiji*, 47.1932).

contrasting motives, between the will to sagehood and ambition in the political sphere—the will to unity. But more than merely maintaining equipoise, the superior man must find a way to reconcile the contradictions, as a last resort by identifying with a “timeless” archetype that allows him to transcend his particular circumstances. It is at this point that the rationalism of Xunzi and Dong Zhongshu causes them to part company with the disillusionment and mystical escapism of Qu Yuan. It is their commitment to the Confucian idea and to the belief in its ultimate realization that both Xunzi and Dong Zhongshu reaffirm in the conclusions of their respective *fu*.¹⁰⁹ And it is the failure of their high ideals to have achieved fulfillment in their day that Tao Yuanming laments in his “Moved by Gentlemen of Integrity Unappreciated in Their Time” some five hundred years later. Speaking of Dong Zhongshu, Tao Yuanming wrote, “I am distressed that Minister Dong’s profound learning should have endangered him repeatedly, though he fortunately escaped. I am moved that the wise man is without a counterpart¹¹⁰—my dripping tears wet my sleeve!”

This last allusion is no doubt intended to call to mind the parallel, and profoundly evocative, passage that concludes the *Gong Yang Commentary* to the *Spring and Autumn Annals*. It was, of course, Dong’s expertise in the *Gong Yang* exegesis of the classic for which he was most renowned. In the closing passage of the *Spring and Autumn Annals*, Confucius is similarly moved to tears on hearing the news of the capture of the unicorn, the mythical creature whose arrival foretold the arising of a true King, and with him the inauguration of an age of peace and harmony.

¹⁰⁹ The same theme of unity on the basis of commonality in the *fu* we have considered is also emphasized in Sima Qian’s “Bei shi bu yu fu.” There we read, “If, toward that which is shared in common we act with equanimity and in the common interest, then ‘other’ and ‘self’ are united. But if we apply ourselves selfishly to that which is of private interest, we only aggrieve one another” (*QHW*, 26:5a); cf. also *Liezi* 列子 (*SBBY* ed. 1:16a).

¹¹⁰ 偶 “Counterpart,” “the other of a pair,” refers to the enlightened ruler to whose service the Confucian of integrity sought to devote himself, the yang to his yin, the “equal” he was supposed to *yu* “encounter.” The whole purpose of the peregrinations of itinerant teachers in classical times, Confucians in particular, was to find such a patron and base of operations from which progressively to exert a civilizing influence on the world. See Hightower (“*Fu* of T’ao Ch’ien,” 207) for a complete translation of Tao Yuanming’s *fu*.

According to the tradition, it was this occurrence that prompted the Sage to compose the *Spring and Autumn Annals*, the embodiment of his social and political philosophy. Seeing in the unicorn’s demise the sign that he would not live to see the realization of his ideal, Confucius committed his teaching to writing so that it might not be lost to posterity:

(S&A) In the 14th year, in Spring, there was a hunt in the West and a unicorn was captured.

(GY) Why was this entry made? In order to record an extraordinary event. What was extraordinary in this? It was not an animal of the central states. Who was the one who hunted it? Someone who gathered firewood. One who gathers firewood is a man of mean position. Why does the Text use the term “hunt” in this context? In order to magnify him. Why magnify him? He was magnified on account of his capture of the unicorn. Why so? The unicorn is a benevolent beast: when there is a true King it appears; when there is no true King it does not appear. Someone informed [Master Kong] of this, saying, “There is a fallow deer and it is horned!” Master Kong said, “For whose sake has it come!? For whose sake has it come!?” He turned his sleeve and wiped his face. His tears wet his robe. . . . Why does the *Spring and Autumn* end with the 14th year of Duke Ai? [The Master] said, “[All] is completed!” Why did the superior man write the *Spring and Autumn*? To bring order in a time of disturbance and to effect a return to the correct order. Nothing is closer to [the correct order] than [the teaching laid down in] the *Spring and Autumn Annals*. However, it is not known whether it was for this purpose [that the S&A] was written or whether it possibly could be that the superior man took pleasure in narrating the ways of Yao and Shun. And in the end, is it not also a cause for joy that a Yao and a Shun [of later ages] shall know [and appreciate] the superior man? [Master Kong] created the doctrine of the *Spring and Autumn Annals* in order to await [the appearance of] later sages. It is considered that the superior man indeed took delight in this.¹¹¹

No doubt Xunzi, Dong Zhongshu, Sima Qian, and Tao Yuanming also derived consolation from composing *fu* in this particular genre; that is, not merely for reasons of a personal kind stemming from their

¹¹¹ Tr. Malmqvist, “Studies on the Gongyang and Guiliang Commentaries I,” *Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities* 43 [Stockholm, 1971]: 218–19; modified. See *Gong yang Heshi jiegou* 公羊何氏解詁 (*SBBY* ed. 28:4b–6b).

failure to realize their own political ambitions, but out of a desire to identify themselves with certain ideals for the sake of posterity. In this sense then, perhaps each *shi bu yu fu* can legitimately be read as a declaration of solidarity with an ongoing tradition, a legacy to whose meta-historical continuity each is a highly personal contribution.

APPENDIX

The aim of this appendix is twofold. First, it is intended to display graphically the rhyme scheme of Dong Zhongshu's *Shi bu yu fu* in order to make clear the relationship between change of rhyme and thematic shifts from one stanza to the next. Second, it is intended to raise some questions about the conclusions drawn by Zhou Zumo 周祖謨, Luo Changpei 羅常培, and Göran Malmqvist as a result of their phonological studies of this work.¹¹² Although Dong Zhongshu is reputed to have written several *fu* on political subjects, the *Shi bu yu fu* is the only one to have survived. Therefore the question of its authenticity is of some significance, particularly in view of the splendid exposition of Dong's thinking that emerges on detailed examination of this *fu*.

In presenting an alternative rhyme scheme (fig. 2) to that proposed by Zhou, Luo, and Malmqvist (fig. 1), I have included all rhymes or potential rhymes occurring in either final or penultimate position in each two-phrase line (excluding particles serving only prosodic or grammatical functions, e.g., *ye, yi, zai, hu*, etc.). Pronunciations given are those reconstructed by Karlgren for the Archaic Chinese and found in his *Grammata Serica Recensa*, with the exception that *-o finals have been revised to *-âg. The Han rhyme categories are those established by Luo Changpei and Zhou Zumo.

The three major sections may be briefly characterized as: first, an opening thematic statement which reveals the disposition of the author in relation to the basic themes of destiny, timeliness and change; second, a "development" which depicts the circumstances in which the poet finds himself and in which historical precedents are alluded to, thus highlighting the moral

1.	邈	mók	# (藥)
2.	速	suk	(屋)
3.	徒	d'âg	# (魚)
4.	木	muk	(屋)
5.	覺	kok	# (沃)
6.	祿	luk	(屋)
7.	辱	ńjuk	(屋)
8.	角	kūk	(屋)
9.	暹	piək	# (職)
10.	俗	dziuk	(屋)
11.	束	sjuk	(屋)
12.	谷	kuk	(屋)
13.	黑	xmək	(職)
14.	訥	nwət	(質)
15.	惑	g'wək	(職)
16.	容	diung	(東)
17.	從	dz' iung	(冬)
18.	歸	kiwər	(脂)
19.	齊	dz' iər	(脂)
20.	薇	miwər	(脂)
21.	迷	miər	(脂)
22.	顧	kâg	(魚)
23.	慕	mâg	(魚)
24.	踐	dz' ian	(元)
25.	飯	b' iwăn	(元)
26.	返	piwăn	(元)
27.	轉	tiwăn	(元)
28.	善	dian	(元)
29.	褊	pian	(元)
30.	展	tian	(元)
31.	顯	xian	(元)
32.	辯	b' ian	(元)

Fig. 1. Rhyme scheme of *Shi bu yu fu* proposed by Luo Changpei and Zhou Zumo, and followed by Malmqvist. Proposed rhyme contacts in the first sequence (lines 1-12) are marked by #.

¹¹² Luo Changpei and Zhou Zumo, *Han Wei Jin Nanbei chao yunbu yanbian yanjiu* 漢魏晉南北朝韻部演變研究, part 1 (Beijing, 1958); Göran Malmqvist, *Han Phonology and Textual Criticism*, Australian National University Centre of Oriental Studies, Occasional Papers, no. 1 (Canberra, 1963), and "On a Recent Study of Han Phonology," *T'oung Pao* 49 (1961): 194-205.

dilemma comprising the main motif of this particular genre of *fu*; third, the conclusion and resolution of the dilemma in which the author reveals what is both an intimate personal philosophy and an ambitious political manifesto, albeit couched in highly allusive language. Referring back to the text a few times should suffice to demonstrate the strict coordination between change of topic and change of rhyme characteristic of

		<u>a</u>	<u>b</u>			<u>a</u>	<u>b</u>
1.	邈	mǒk	速	suk	1.	# (藥)	(屋)
2.	族	dz'uk	木	muk	2.	(沃)	(屋)
3.	覺	kōk	祿	luk	3.	# (屋)	(屋)
4.	辱	niuk	角	kūk	4.	(歌)	(屋)
5.	過	kwâ	---	---	5.	(冬)	---
6.	隆	gliông	俗	dziuk	6.	@ (東)	(屋)
7.	通	t'ung	束	siuk	7.	@ (東)	(屋)
8.	身	siĕn	谷	kuk	8.	(真)	(屋)
9.	徒	d'âg	黑	Xmak	9.	# (魚)	@ (職)
10.	眇	miog	訥	nwat	10.	# (脂)	@ (質)
11.	戾	liət	惑	g'wək	11.	(脂)	@ (職)
12.	往	giwang	容	diung	12.	# (陽)	(東)
13.	訟	dziung	從	dz'iuŋ	13.	# (東)	(東)
14.	濁	túk	歸	kiwar	14.	(屋)	(脂)
15.	光	kwâng	齊	dz'iar	15.	@ (陽)	(脂)
16.	淵	iwen	穢	miwar	16.	@ (真)	(脂)
17.	遼	g'wâng	迷	miər	17.	@ (陽)	(脂)
18.	原	ngiwan	顧	kâg	18.	(元)	(魚)
19.	子	tsiæg	慕	mâg	19.	(之)	(魚)
20.	遠	giwan	踐	dz'ian	20.	(元)	(元)
21.	行	g'âng	飯	b'iwân	21.	(陽)	(元)
22.	遠	giwar	返	piwan	22.	# (脂)	(元)
23.	業	ngiâp	轉	t'iwân	23.	(盍)	(元)
24.	利	liəd	善	dian	24.	# (脂)	(元)
25.	動	d'ung	禰	pian	25.	(東)	(元)
26.	有	giüg	展	t'ian	26.	# (之)	(元)
27.	足	tsiuk	顯	Xian	27.	(屋)	(元)
28.	同	d'ung	辨	b'ian	28.	(東)	(元)

Fig. 2. Complete rhyme scheme of *Shi bu yu fu*. On the left the rhymes themselves, on the right the categories to which they belong. Distinctive potential rhyme contacts are indicated by # or @.

old *fu*. The text on which this analysis is based is found in *Gu wen yuan*.¹¹³ Significant variation from the text as established by Malmqvist will be noted in each case.

The authenticity of Dong Zhongshu's *Shi bu yu fu* has been the subject of discussion on several occasions, and as one might expect, scholarly opinion has been

¹¹³ *Shoushan ge congshu* ed. (3:2b-4a), of Zhang Qiao's 1232 redaction in 21 fascicles. This annotated version of Dong's *fu* is much preferred to the defective version contained in the earlier (1179) Han Yuanji 韓元吉 redaction of *Gu wen yuan* (1:13a-14a) in 9 fascicles which is collected in

divided. In his somewhat cursory discussion of this *fu* Hightower did not touch on textual problems at all, except to note the mention of *Shi bu yu fu* in the preface to the similar work by Tao Yuanming (365-427).¹¹⁴ In his more ambitious article "The Scholar's Frustration: Notes on a Type of *Fu*," Hellmut Wilhelm noted that Dong's *fu* is recorded in both *Yiwen leiju* and *Gu wen yuan*, and that it is quoted in *Wen xuan* commentaries, and he concluded with the observation

the *Dai nan ge congshu*. The latter contains a number of careless copyist's errors.

¹¹⁴ Hightower, "Fu of Tao Ch'ien," 200.

that its position "is rather trustworthy."¹¹⁵ Later, however, Burton Watson raised the issue in a discussion of this genre of *fu* when he noted in passing the existence of "... other works, attributed to Tung Chung-shu and Ssu-ma Ch'ien, though of doubtful authenticity,"¹¹⁶ without mentioning on what grounds he is impugning their genuineness. Most recently, in the *Indiana Companion to Traditional Chinese Literature*, Timoteus Pokora and Sin-Sing Kong simply echo the by now well-established opinion that among Dong Zhongshu's "extant works only the 'Shih pu-yü fu' (Prose-poem on Neglected Men of Worth) can be regarded as a piece of literary writing and its authenticity is questionable."¹¹⁷ In all likelihood, Watson, Pokora, and Kong were relying on the conclusions of Göran Malmqvist, the only scholar to undertake a specifically textual study of this *fu* by Dong Zhongshu. In that article, "Han Phonology and Textual Criticism," in which Malmqvist relies on the phonological researches of Zhou Zumo and Luo Changpei, he challenges the traditional attribution of the *Shi bu yu fu* to Dong Zhongshu. In what follows I propose to discuss the phonological argument and to suggest an alternative interpretation of the data.

Malmqvist's argument may be briefly paraphrased as follows: based on the phonological researches of Luo and Zhou establishing the rhyme categories of the Han *koinê*, the major dialects, such as those of Shu and Chu, may be delineated on the basis of phonological features revealed by rhymes. This demarcation of the major dialects of the Han period has been reached on the basis of contacts between different rhyme categories distinguished in the *koinê*. Thus when certain rhyme contacts which cut across the distinctive rhyme categories are found only in the works of Sima Xiangru and Yang Xiong, both from Chengdu, and Wang Bao, from Zizhong in the same commandery, one is able safely to assume that these rhyme contacts reflect phonological properties peculiar to the Shu dialect of Former Han (206 B.C.-A.D. 8). On the basis of the occurrence of such distinctive rhyme contacts (according to the rhyme scheme as established by Luo and Zhou) in the first rhyme series of the *Shi bu yu fu* (fig. 1, lines 1-12), Malmqvist ultimately concludes that the author of this *fu* most

likely was a native of Shu or Chu.¹¹⁸ Dong Zhongshu, who originated from Guangchuan 廣川 in present Hebei, thus could not have authored this *fu*. Of course, Malmqvist's argument is more subtle than this brief recapitulation would suggest, but it is the basic assumption or "root," and not the subtlety of the "branches" which I will address here.

That assumption, namely Luo and Zhou's assertion that the syllables occurring in rhyming position in the first sequence of rhymes (fig. 1, lines 1-12) are indeed rhyme pairs or contacts, seems to me unjustified when the pattern of rhymes and the structure of the *fu* as a whole are considered. Although the logic of Malmqvist's phonological argument is indisputably sound, the analysis of the rhyme sequence of this particular *fu* is open to criticism. Before examining the reasons in more detail, it will be helpful to review briefly the salient rhyme characteristics of Han *fu*. So-called "old *fu*" of the Former Han period typically exhibit the following characteristics: (i) Change of rhyme may be frequent, with series often as short as only two or three rhyme-fellows. Later *fu*, particularly of the Six Dynasties period (222-589), rarely contain such short series, as stylistic trends tended toward fewer rhyme changes and longer sequences. (ii) Change of rhyme is regularly indicative of a change of topic. Rhymes do not straddle stanzas which are distinguished by idea. (iii) In old *fu* the most common pattern is alternating end-rhyme, a feature which these poems share in common with the poems of the *Book of Odes* and the *Songs of Chu*. Exceptions to this general rule are almost invariably on the side of more intermittent rhyming with interspersed prose, rather than regular consecutive end-rhymes. (iv) When the final syllable is a grammatical function-word, the rhyme is regularly on the penultimate syllable, another feature which these poems share in common with the *Odes* and *Songs of Chu*. (v) No identical rhymes occur. When identical graphs occur in rhyme position they represent different sememes with homologous graphic shape, e.g., 樂 *nglök/yue and 樂 *gläk/le, so-called *po Yinzi* 破音字.¹¹⁹

As I mentioned, the distinctive rhyme contacts which are cited in support of the contention that Dong Zhongshu could not have authored this work appear in the first series of rhymes. According to Luo,

¹¹⁵ Wilhelm, "Scholar's Frustration," 402, n. 48. Actually, Dong's *fu* is quoted four times in *Wen xuan* (SBCK ed.), at 55:5b (twice), 23:1a, and 23:34b.

¹¹⁶ Watson, *Rhyme Prose*, 9.

¹¹⁷ *The Indiana Companion to Traditional Chinese Literature*, ed. Wm. H. Nienhauser, Jr. (Bloomington, 1986), 834.

¹¹⁸ Luo and Zhou confine themselves to vague statements about the flexibility of Dong's rhyme categories without actually questioning the authenticity of the *fu*.

¹¹⁹ Wang Li 王力, *Gudai Hanyu* 古代漢語 (Beijing, 1962), 1290-94.

In this arrangement a regular end-rhyme on alternate phrases emerges, with eight lines of approximately equal length, a pattern that is echoed in the final lines of the *fu* (see fig. 2). In addition, a pattern of internal rhyming on intermittent phrases begins to be apparent. In the sample above, this pattern appears in the following rhyme pairs: 2a:4a, 6a:8a,¹²³ (and perhaps 1a:3a, 6a:7a as well, for which see below) and in the pair nieng:d'ieng occurring in parallel position in lines 4 and 5. This internal rhyming, although secondary and intermittent, remains consistent throughout the work, as a glance at fig. 2 will confirm—it persists in lines 12a:15a:17a:21a, 18a:20a, 22a:24a, 25a:28a. The greatest appeal of this alternative scheme, however, is that it introduces no irregularities, aside from the obvious one in line 5 where parallelism in the text makes it clear that part of the line is missing.

In my view, the analysis proposed by Luo and Zhou unnecessarily introduces an anomalous scheme into the first sequence of rhymes while ignoring existing regularities. Although, unlike Malmqvist, Luo and Zhou do not question the attribution to Dong, their unexamined assumptions about consecutive end-rhyming in this particular *fu* have led them to the conclusion that "the range of permissible rhymes for Dong Zhongshu . . . was rather broad."¹²⁴ In an ambitious scholarly undertaking such as Luo's and Zhou's study of the vast corpus of Han poetry, occasional mishaps are inevitable. One hopes, though, that their conclusions about the distinctive features of the Han regional dialects are not significantly skewed by "anomalies" of this sort.

Only once each rhyme scheme has been securely established, taking into consideration the content of the work, characteristics of the genre and the like, can one reasonably proceed to generalize about distinctive contacts between rhyme categories. In the present case examples of such potential contacts occur between

rhymes 1a:3a, 6a:7a:8a, 9a:10a, 9b:10b:11b, 12a:13a, 15a:16a:17a, and 22a:24a:26a (see fig. 2). But in view of the irregular nature of the intermittent internal rhyming, which contrasts markedly with the strict scheme of the six regular rhyme sequences, these contacts remain conjectural, with the exception of the sequence 9b:10b:11b. On the other hand, the regular pattern of rhymes, length of line, and contrastive symmetry of the opening and closing stanzas which I have described are not conjectural. Given the regular appearance of the first sequence of rhymes in figure 2, lines 1–8, there is no reason to assume from potential contacts that highly irregular rhyming is taking place without some compelling corroborative evidence drawn from Dong Zhongshu's other writings.

In conclusion, the phonological evidence in the *Shi bu yu fu* does not point to an erroneous attribution of this work to Dong Zhongshu. If anything, it supports the generalizations formulated by Wang Li cited earlier concerning the rhyme characteristics of "old *fu*" of the Former Han period. Furthermore, comparison with other *fu* on the identical theme by Xunzi and Sima Qian reveals a marked similarity in rhyming patterns, and clear evidence of mutual influence provided by literary allusions. Examples of the latter are the quoting of adjacent lines from the same ode in the *Book of Odes*, quoting the same passage from *Zhuangzi* with each author using half, and so on. In addition, interpretive study has yielded abundant evidence that the eclectic taste, as well as the central ideas, including abstruse elements of the Gong Yang exegesis and *Book of Changes* esoterica, are typical of Dong Zhongshu. Given the early mention of Dong as the author of *fu* on political subjects by Ban Gu,¹²⁵ direct references to Dong's *fu* by Tao Yuanming, quotations from it in *Wen xuan* commentaries, its presence in both *Gu wen yuan* and *Yiwen leiju*, and given the fact that Dong, like Xunzi and Sima Qian, had every reason to write a *fu* on this theme, it seems hardly defensible to continue to relegate Dong Zhongshu's *Shi bu yu fu* to the limbo of "dubious authenticity."

¹²³ 身 *sjěn/shen and 躬 *kjōng/gong are quite often used interchangeably. Given the rhyme series 冬:東 in the two preceding lines, it is possible that this graph should be read kjōng/gong. *Analects* 1/4 from which Dong is quoting does have *shen*, however, as do all versions of *Shi bu yu fu*.

¹²⁴ Luo and Zhou, 54.

¹²⁵ See the translation of the preface to the "Fu on the Two Capitals" by Ban Gu in Watson, *Rhyme Prose*, 111–12.