

This priest informed me that Abbot Daiten of the Enkaku Temple had passed away at the beginning of the first moon. I couldn't believe the news—it seemed like a bad dream. I wrote at once to Kikaku:⁷⁶

Ume koite	Longing for plum-blossoms
U no hana ogamu	I bow before verbenas
Namida kana	Behold these tears! ⁷⁷

Sent to Tokoku:⁷⁸

Shirakeshi ni	In the white poppy
Hane mogu chô no	A butterfly tears off his wings:
Katami ka na	This is his keepsake.

I stayed for a second time with Tôyô.⁷⁹ When about to return to Edo I wrote:

Botan shibe	Grief over parting:
Fukaku wake izuru	From the peony heart, the bee
Hachi no nagori kana	Struggles to the surface.

I stopped at a hut in the mountains of Kai.

Yuku koma no	The horse I rode on
Mugi ni nagusamu	Is solaced with oats, and I
Yadori kana	With lodgings tonight! ⁸⁰

At the end of the fourth moon I returned to my hut. When I had rested from the fatigue of the journey I wrote:

Natsugoromo	My summer garments—
Imada shirami wo	I still have not quite finished
Toritsukusazu	Picking out the lice.

⁷⁶ Enomoto Kikaku 榎下其角 (1661–1707). The letter may be found in Numami, *Kikaku Zenshû*, p. 61.

⁷⁷ Plum-blossoms are associated with the first moon, when Daiten died. They are also associated with scholars. The verbenas (*unohana*) bloom in the fourth moon, when Bashô wrote the letter.

⁷⁸ Tsuboi Tokoku 坪井杜國 (1660?–1690), a young pupil of whom Bashô was especially fond. Katô (p. 401) suggests that the imagery in this poem indicates a relationship between the two men "beyond that of teacher and pupil". The poppy may have been used by Bashô because of Tokoku's verse *Keshi no hitoe ni na wo kobosu Zen* in *Fuyu no hi* (edited Kôda Rohan, p. 145).

⁷⁹ Hayashi Tôyô 林桐葉 (1650?–1712). For a biography, see Ishida Motosue, *Haibungaku Kôsetsu*, pp. 606–13.

⁸⁰ Probably a verse of greetings to someone who was thoughtful not only to Bashô but to his horse.

LIU K'O 劉軻, A FORGOTTEN RIVAL OF HAN YÜ

by E. G. PULLEYBLANK

In *The Life and Times of Po Chü-i*¹ there is a passing mention of a certain Liu K'o, for whom Po Chü-i once wrote a letter of introduction. Liu K'o is not a famous name in Chinese literary history, indeed one will look in vain for so much as a reference to him in books on the subject. Nevertheless he must have had a considerable reputation in his own day, for in the *T'ang chih-yen* 唐摭言 (tenth century) it is said of him, "As an essayist he had a name equal to Han [Yü] and Liu [Tsung-yüan]" 文章與韓柳齊名.² This is high praise indeed. His few surviving pieces are hardly sufficient to warrant such a judgement and it is not my purpose to make exaggerated claims on behalf of a forgotten genius. Nevertheless he is an interesting minor figure in an important period of intellectual history and his career illuminates several diverse facets of the life of those times.

Liu K'o has no biography in the *T'ang* histories. There is a brief account of him in the above-quoted *T'ang chih-yen* and a somewhat longer passage in the *Yün-ch'i yu-i* 雲谿友議, a collection of anecdotal material from the end of the ninth century.³ The details they give about his early career do not agree and the improbable stories told of him in the *Yün-ch'i yu-i* do not give much confidence in its reliability. Nevertheless they are at one in describing him as a man who, after devoting himself to Buddhism and Taoism, took up Confucian studies and passed the *Chin-shih* examina-

¹ A. D. Waley, *The life and times of Po Chü-i*, London, 1949, pp. 123, 124.

² *T'ang chih-yen*, 11, p. 120 (Chung-kuo wen-hsüeh ts'an-k'ao tz'u-liao hsiao ts'ung-shu).

³ *Yün-ch'i yu-i* B, pp. 22, 23 (Chung-kuo wen-hsüeh ts'an-k'ao tz'u-liao hsiao ts'ung-shu). A text of the first part of this passage is contained in *T'ai-p'ing kuang-chi* 117. It contains a number of variants.

⁴ The Ming *Kuang-tung t'ung-chih* by Huang Tso 黃佐 evidently contained a biography of Liu K'o. I have not been able to see this but it was used by Juan Fu 阮福 in a biography which he compiled to accompany the *Liu Hsi-jen wen-chi*, an edition of his surviving works extracted from the *Ch'üan T'ang-wen* (abbreviated *CTW*) and reprinted in the second series of the *Ling-nan i-shu* in 1845. It is clear that Huang had nothing reliable to add to what can be found in Liu's works, the *T'ang chih-yen*, etc., but merely padded out the story with conventional formulas. Juan Fu also gathered together some other references to Liu K'o and his works from the *T'ang-shih chi-shih* of Chi Yu-kung 計有功, the *Lo-fu-shan chih* 羅浮山志, Sung bibliographies, etc. A biography based on Juan's, but re-edited and augmented with the material from the

tion. Fortunately we can correct and supplement this information⁴ by what he tells of himself in some of his writings.⁵

According to his own account Liu K'o's forebears had been "people who lived by the plough on the banks of P'ei 沛 (i.e. in the homeland of the Han royal family near P'eng-ch'eng in Northern Kiangsu)". Yet he goes on to say, "from generation to generation they carried on Confucian studies as a peasant family" 代業儒爲農人家.⁶ This and the fact that he himself was able to get an education seem to indicate that they were something more than mere peasants and must have had sufficient resources to enable them to have some books and leisure. On the other hand they were clearly far below the social status of the great aristocratic clans which dominated society in those days. We have good reason to believe in the existence of an emerging middle stratum in T'ang China but it is not easy to get direct information about it. The case of Liu K'o is interesting because it provides a concrete example of a man working his way up from quite humble beginnings.

The catastrophe of the An Lu-shan rebellion in the middle of the eighth century uprooted the Lius and they migrated south to Ch'ü-chiang 曲江 (Shao Chou) in Kuangtung.⁷ It was a time of mass upheaval and the whole country was on the move. Most of the migration, however, seems to have been into the Yangtze valley and, at least as far as I have evidence, the Lius were unusual in proceeding so far south. They seem to have established themselves successfully but we are unfortunately told nothing of the details. Liu K'o was insistent that they had not succumbed to their outlandish environment. "The people of the remote southern frontiers have different habits and tastes from those of P'ei. But we never ceased to plough,

Yün-ch'i yu-i which Juan missed, is included in the *Kuang-tung t'ung-chih* of Juan Yüan (1822, reprint of 1864), ch. 288.10a ff. None of these biographies made use of the material contained in the *Lu-shan chi* (see below).

⁵ A collection of his prose works in one *chüan* is listed in the *Hsin T'ang shu* I-wen chih but it is clear that it must have disappeared at an early date. The fourteen pieces contained in the *Ch'üan T'ang wen* consist of: (1) six letters, one "description" (*chi*) and the preface of Liu K'o's commentary on the *Ch'un-ch'iu*, the *San chuan chih-yao* 三傳指要, all of which were included in the *T'ang wen-ts'ui*; (2) the texts of five inscriptions on stone; (3) "The Farmers' Prayer", translated below, which is to be found in *Wen-yüan ying-hua* 374. In his postface to the *Liu Hsi-jen wen-chi* Wu Ch'ung-yao 伍崇曜 mentions that another piece entitled the "Wang Shih Kuang-ling san-chi" 王氏廣陵散記 was included in two anthologies of literary pieces from Kuangtung. Wu suggests that it was omitted from the *Ch'üan T'ang wen* because of its *hsiao-shuo* character. A piece of this title is, however, contained in *Wen-yüan ying-hua* 186, where it is attributed to Ku K'uang 顧况.

Liu's one surviving poem, an examination piece, is contained in *Wen-yüan ying-hua* 186 and also in *Ch'üan T'ang shih* 18.62a.

⁶ "Shang tso-chu shu", *CTW* 742.7b ff.

⁷ Liu K'o, *loc. cit.*, merely says that they migrated south. Huang Tso's biography specified Ch'ü-chiang as the place where the family settled. *Yün-ch'i yu-i* calls him a man of Shao-yu 韶右 (i.e. Ch'ü-chiang).

nor left off study in order to conform with the frontier customs . . . So we lived on the frontier just as in P'ei."⁸

They were not quite in a cultural desert for, although Kuangtung in T'ang was still very much on the fringe of China, there had been settlements there for a very long time and Ch'ü-chiang had produced at least one distinguished man of letters and Chief Minister in Chang Chiu-ling 張九齡.⁹

In his youth Liu K'o was ambitious to serve the world, by which he presumably meant that he hoped for an official career. Some unnamed disaster struck him, however, and he was left with "only my form and shadow beneath the sun and moon". For a time he gave up his worldly ambitions and his words, "I intended heedlessly to use up my remaining breath moving on the current of the Great Transformation 苟將盡餘息以鴻同大化", may indicate that he took to the life of a Taoist hermit. He was roused out of his quietism, however, by the admonitions of a friend and he once again took up his studies.¹⁰

Apparently he was at this time in Shantung (how he had got there is not explained),¹¹ for he now proceeded down the Chu 洙 and Ssu 泗 rivers to the Huai and thence by other waterways to Lo-fu shan 羅浮山, the famous sacred mountain north of Canton. There he took as his teacher a certain Mr. Yang 楊, who was a specialist on the Spring and Autumn Annals.¹²

This links him immediately with the intellectual movements of the second half of the eighth century. We do not know who Mr. Yang was but in making the Annals the basis of his studies and using all three commentaries rather than specializing in one tradition he was following the trend initiated by Tan Chu 啖助 in Jun Chou (Nanking) just after the An Lu-shan rebellion. Tan Chu's critical approach to the commentaries and attempt to get behind them to the classic itself were carried on by Chao K'uang 趙匡 and Lu Ch'un 陸淳, through whom they were very influential

⁸ *CTW* 742.8a.

⁹ Biographies in *Chiu T'ang-shu* 99, *Hsin T'ang shu* 126.

¹⁰ "Yü Ma Chih shu", *CTW* 742.12a.

¹¹ The sequence of his travels is given differently in the *T'ang chih-yen* and the *Yün-ch'i yu-i*. The former mentions Kao-an in Kiang-si before Lu-shan. The latter says that he began with Taoist studies on Lo-fu-shan and then mentions a number of other places where he stayed before going to Lu-shan. These include: (a) Chiu-i 九疑 shan, south of Ning-yüan hsien in Hunan; (b) Ts'ao-ch'i 曹溪, the Ch'an centre 50 li south east of Ch'ü-chiang. (c) The text as given in the *T'ai-ping kuang-chi* reads "monasteries to the north on Yün 筠 shan and Fang 方 shan". The separate editions of the *Yün-ch'i yu-i* read 筠川 方等寺. I cannot identify any Yün shan but Yün ch'uan may be a corruption of Yün chou 州, another name for Kao-an. There are several mountains known as Fang shan. The most likely one is in Shantung 90 li south-east of Ch'ang-ch'ing 長清, where there was a famous monastery, the Ling-yen ssu 靈巖寺. This is in the region from which Liu K'o says that he went south to Lo-fu shan.

¹² *CTW* 742.12b.

among the young intellectuals at Ch'ang-an in the reign of Te-tsung (780-804), among them Liu Tsung-yüan. This was an important factor in the revival of Confucianism and foreshadowed the critical achievements of Sung scholarship.¹³

Liu K'o was known for his writings in *ku-wen* or "ancient style" which was very much in the air at the end of the eighth century, and he must have been practising this along with his classical scholarship. Although the breakaway from the trammels of "parallel prose" is associated mainly with the name of Han Yü, the greatest champion and most accomplished practitioner of the freer style, it had developed into a coherent movement at the same time as the new classical scholarship among refugee intellectuals gathered in the lower Yangtze valley after the An Lu-shan rebellion. The two movements grew up side by side and along with other intellectual movements, notably the renewal of T'ien-t'ai Buddhism and the attempt to develop a Confucian metaphysics based on it. Han Yü was exceptional in showing little interest in classical scholarship and in rejecting Buddhism. Others, like Liu Tsung-yüan and his friends, combined all these interests. Liu K'o does not discuss literary theory in any of his surviving writings but he was fond of calling himself a follower of ancient ways.

He does not mention Buddhist interests at Lo-fu-shan but this is not surprising since his account of his stay there is in a letter in which he is seeking the assistance of a friend in getting official employment. There is plenty of evidence of his close connexions with Buddhism, however, from the inscriptions and the like that he composed for monks. There would, of course, be nothing in the least incongruous in terms of those days in his having carried on Confucian studies in a Buddhist monastery. It remains a question, however, whether, or in what sense, he actually became a monk. Both the *T'ang chih-yen* and the *Yün-ch'i yü-i* say that he did and the latter even gives his religious name.¹⁴ He himself never uses it, however, even in an inscription for a monk of the Eastern Forest Monastery on Lu-shan whom he describes as his teacher.¹⁵ It seems to me likely that he was never regularly ordained (which would have involved getting an official certificate from the civilian authorities), even if he may have at some time taken Buddhist dress and submitted to a monastic regimen.

¹³ These intellectual movements are discussed in "Neo-Confucianism and Neo-Legalism", an article to be published shortly in *The Confucian persuasion*, edited by Arthur Wright.

¹⁴ His Buddhist name seems to have been Hai-na 海納. This is the form given in the *T'ai-p'ing kuang-chi*. The separate editions of the *Yün-ch'i yü-i* have P'en 湮 -na but later use the form Hai-na.

¹⁵ "Lu-shan Tung-lin ssu ku Lin-t'an ta-te t'a ming", CTW 742. 23b ff. This inscription was composed in 815. In the "Lu-shan Huang-shih yen yüan chi", CTW 742.20a ff., recording a visit he made to a *ch'an* master on Lushan in 800 (on his way south to Lo-fu shan?) he describes himself as "the sojourner in the mountains, Liu K'o" 山客劉軻.

At the beginning of the Yüan-ho period (806-20) Liu K'o moved to Lu-shan 廬山, the famous mountain between Lake P'o-yang and the Yangtze.¹⁶ He speaks as if he came directly from Lo-fu-shan to Lu-shan and does not mention any of the other places named in the *T'ang chih-yen* and the *Yün-ch'i yü-i*, such as the Nan-kuo Yüan 南果園, a Buddhist monastery at Kao-an 高安 in Kiangsi. If, as seems likely, there is some basis to these specific details, we must assume that he either chose to ignore intermediate stops or that his stay at these places preceded his time on Lo-fu-shan.¹⁷

On Lu-shan he was, as we have seen, attached in some way to the famous Eastern Forest Monastery 東林寺 on the south side of the mountain. He did not, however, live in the monastery but built himself a house nearby.¹⁸ He also had what seems to have been an extensive farm.¹⁹ It would be interesting to know how he acquired the land but, like most Chinese writers, he does not inform us of such mundane matters. He describes himself as personally working in the open at the tasks of construction and agriculture and, though in another letter he mentions having slaves to help him, I see no reason to disbelieve him.²⁰ He had time, however, to carry on his studies. In secular matters he now sat at the feet of a Mr. Mao 茅, who was a specialist in history.²¹

Liu K'o seems to have spent about twelve years living in this way on Lu-shan and he wrote a number of books. First there was *The Essential Meaning of the Three Commentaries* 三傳指要在 15 scrolls.²² This was the outcome of his studies with Mr. Yang but seems to have been completed on Lu-shan. Another work of classical commentary was the *Aids to*

¹⁶ CTW 742.13a. Cf. also *ibid.* 8a.

¹⁷ See n. 11.

¹⁸ According to the *Lu-shan chi* (Southern Sung), quoting the *Chiu-chiang lu* 九江錄, Liu K'o's studio (*shu-t'ang*) was below the Ling-yün 靈雲 Peak on the south side of the mountain (*Taisho tripitaka* 2095, vol. 51, p. 1034.2). The *Chiu-chiang lu* is probably the *Chiu-chiang hsün-chiu* 新舊 9 in 3 ch. by Chang Jung 張容, "a man of the Hsien-t'ung period (860-73)", listed in the *Hsin T'ang shu* 1-wen chih. This work is also listed in the *Sung shih* 1-wen chih but the author's name is given as Chang Hsiu 修.

¹⁹ In his letter to Ma Chih (CTW 742.15a) Liu K'o says that he has one *ch'eng* 成 of land. Taken literally this would mean an area 10 *li* square, or 100 square *li* (about ten square miles). This is incredibly large, especially when he also speaks of having two plough oxen. The expression 有田一成 occurs in *Tso-chuan*, Ai Kung, first year, referring to the size of the fief given by the Emperor Shun to Yü the Great. Liu K'o's land must surely have been fairly extensive if such a comparison were not to be completely ludicrous.

²⁰ CTW 742.8a. Cf. *ibid.* 9a.

²¹ CTW 742.13a.

²² *ibid.* 13b. See also "Shang tso-chu shu", *ibid.* 8 b. This work is listed in the *Hsin T'ang shu* 1-wen chih and the preface is contained in CTW 742.19a,b. *Lo-fu shan chih hui-pien* 6.4a says that he wrote this work on Lo-fu shan, but there is no reason to think that this is based on anything but what Liu says about his studies there.

Mencius 翼孟 in three scrolls.²³ Others such as the *Historian of the Right* (i.e. Recorder of Words) of the *Book of Han* 漢書右史, in ten scrolls,²⁴ the *Mirror (?) of Sui* 隋監 in one scroll,²⁵ the *Proposals of Illustrious Ministers of Thirteen Dynasties* 十三代名臣議 in ten scrolls,²⁶ and the *Three Abdications and Five Revolutions* 三禪五革²⁷ one scroll, were obviously historical. The title of the *Huang chung t'ung-li* 黃中通理, three scrolls, is not very illuminating.²⁹ *Chüan-lung-tzu* 眷龍子 in ten scrolls, was no doubt a miscellaneous work of philosophical character.³⁰ None of these books has survived though one or two still existed in Sung times.

In spite of his devotion to learning and his life of seclusion Liu K'o had not altogether given up the idea of an official career. He began to write letters to prominent people. Although he professes to be offering disinterested advice, it is clear that he is trying to attract attention in the hope of a recommendation. This kind of self-advertisement tends to strike us nowadays as somewhat distasteful but it was a recognized practice indulged in by aspiring young men in those days. Unsolicited good advice is usually not very popular, however, and Liu K'o's letters did not get him very far.

We first find him writing to Han Yü, after the latter had been appointed to the History Office in 813. This letter has not survived but we have Han Yü's reply. Probably Liu, whose greatest ambition was to be an historian, hoped to be recognized as a kindred spirit by the most noted *ku-wen* writer of the day. Instead Han Yü answered his exhortations about the high seriousness of the historian's calling by disclaiming all intention of seriously trying to write history. Not for him the risk of offending the powers by trying to make a true record and giving just praise and blame;

²³ CTW 742.8b, 13b. Po Chü-i referred to this work in the letter of introduction he wrote for Liu K'o. He says that Liu particularly admired and emulated Mencius. (*Po Hsiang-shan chi* 26, ts'e 5, p. 15. (Kuo-hsüeh chi-pen ts'ung-shu)). The *T'ang chih-yen* says that Liu took the name K'o because of this.

²⁴ CTW 742.8b, 13b. "Shang Ts'ui hsiang-kung shu", *ibid.* 3a, has simply "Tso-shih 左史 10 *chüan*", but this is probably a copyist error.

²⁵ CTW 742.3a, 13b. In both places the text reads 監 which I suppose to be an error for 鑑.

²⁶ CTW 742.13b.

²⁷ *ibid.*

²⁸ The *Hsin T'ang-shu* I-wen chih also records the *Ti-wang li-shu ko* 帝王歷數歌 1 ch., by Liu K'o. This may be the same as the *Ti-wang ching-lieh* 鏡畧 listed in the *Chün-chai tu-shu chih, hou-chih* 1.13a (Ssu-pu-ts'ung-k'an) of which it says, "The above was written by Liu K'o of T'ang. The succession of the emperors and kings from the earliest times to the beginning of T'ang are arranged in four word phrases for the instruction of the young. Feng Chien 馮鑑 of Shu (蜀) continued it to the end of T'ang." In addition the *T'ung-chih lieh* lists a *T'ang nien-li* in 1 *chüan* by Liu K'o. These works may come from a later period of his life.

²⁹ CTW 742.13b.

³⁰ *ibid.* See also *Po hsiang-shan chi*, loc. cit. Po Chü-i also refers to "over 100 miscellaneous essays".

others could undergo the labour of trying to sort out true and false from conflicting testimony. Perhaps it would fall to the lot of his correspondent to be one of those to perform the task. For himself he simply regarded his post as a sinecure given him by a well-disposed Chief Minister.³¹

Dr. Solomon thinks that Han Yü may have written this with his tongue in his cheek as a suitable reply to rather naïve advice³² (but it should be remembered that Han Yü had drawn attention to himself in his youth by writing the "Cheng-ch'en lun" 爭臣論, telling a remonstrance official how he should behave). However this may be, he referred to his reply to Liu K'o in a letter to Liu Tsung-yüan as representing his views on historiography. When Liu Tsung-yüan, who had reason to feel sensitive about the way in which the history of the reign of Shun-tsung was written, got hold of a copy, he wrote a famous letter to Han Yü scolding him in blistering terms for his attitude.³³

A few years later Liu K'o tried again, this time with a letter to a certain Assistant of the Right Wei, 韋右丞, who, from internal evidence, was a Chief Minister.³⁴ This can only have been Wei Kuan-chih 韋貫之, who held these two offices from the sixth month of 814 to the second month of 816.³⁵ The purport of the letter is that the achievements of the great Chief Ministers of the past, in particular those of the outstanding periods of T'ang history, the reigns of T'ai-tsung and Hsüan-tsung, can be repeated if only the Chief Minister will accept counsel from the able men who have ideas to impart about how the country should be governed (including, no doubt, Liu K'o). It is interesting to note that Liu K'o says that Taoist, Confucian and Legalist (!) doctrines are all being advocated at this time. "Now there are men arising and standing out from among the humble scholars of the empire. Some speak with the words of Huang Lao (Taoism), some with Confucian arts, some with laws and punishments. They wish to spit out one unusual idea or propose one plan, so that those who preside over the source of civilizing transformation will open their eyes and see the affairs of the four quarters [of the empire]." He goes on to say that in the

³¹ *Han Ch'ang-li chi, wai-chi* 2, ts'e 7, p. 69 (Kuo-hsüeh chi-pen ts'ung-shu). The identification of the Liu Hsiu-ts'ai of this letter with Liu K'o depends on the note of a commentator whose identity I have not discovered. There seems little reason to doubt it in view of Liu's character. On the date see Hung Hsing-tsu in *Han wen lei-p'u* 6.9a (*Han Liu nien p'u*).

³² Bernard S. Solomon, *The veritable record of the T'ang emperor Shun-tsung*, Cambridge, Mass., 1955, pp. xiv, xvi.

³³ *Liu Ho-tung chi* 31, ts'e 4, pp. 93 ff. (Kuo-hsüeh chi-pen ts'ung-shu).

³⁴ CTW 742.9a ff.

³⁵ See *Hsin T'ang shu* Tsai-hsiang piao. Note that I do not convert Chinese months to western months. I adopt the convention of referring to Chinese years by the number of the year in the western calendar to which the greater part of it corresponds. Thus, the 6th month of 814 means the 6th month of the 9th year of the Yüan-ho period, not June 814.

past each of these philosophies has provided the basis of good government at different periods. Such indifference to doctrinal orthodoxy would have been shocking in some periods of Chinese history but, except for eccentrics like Han Yü, eclecticism was the order of the day. The combination of Buddhist and Confucian doctrines has already been mentioned and Liu Tsung-yüan and his friends were certainly influenced by legalist ideas.³⁶ Even Han Yü was criticized in Sung times for mixing Mohism with his Confucianism.³⁷

There is no evidence that Wei Kuan-chih responded in any way to the hint that he should do something for Liu K'o, who continued to farm and study on Lu-shan. His chance finally arrived when Po Chü-i fell into disgrace in 815 and was sent into exile as an official at Chiang Chou 江州, the prefecture in which Lu-shan lay. As Dr. Waley tells us, Po Chü-i enjoyed his stay there, having little to do and much time for wandering about the beautiful countryside. He visited the Eastern Forest Monastery and made the acquaintance of Liu K'o, whose merits he evidently appreciated. At any rate he gave him a letter of recommendation to a number of his friends in Ch'ang-an, including Niu Seng-ju 牛僧孺 and other members of that political faction.³⁸ According to the *Lu-shan chi* 廬山記, a Sung dynasty guide to the mountain and account of its antiquities which based itself in this instance on a T'ang local history, the *Chiang chou hsin-chiu lu* 江州新舊錄, Liu also had the recommendation of the Commissioner P'ei, that is P'ei Tz'u-yüan 裴次元, who was Governor of Chiang-hsi Province from 814 to 820. Thus armed he went to the capital and passed the *Chin-shih* examination in either 818 or 819. The *Lu-shan chi*, which gives what appears to be a reliable if meagre account of his official career, definitely states the latter year and in support of this one might adduce Liu's friendship for Ma Chih 馬植, a *Chin-shih* of 819.⁴¹ A special bond existed between graduates of the same year. On the other hand the *Teng-k'o chi-k'ao* 登科記考 places his graduation in 818, apparently on the basis of the one poem of his that survives, which was an examination

³⁶ See my article "Neo-Confucianism and Neo-Legalism" referred to in n.13.

³⁷ Su Shih, "Han Yü lun", *Ching-chin Tung-po wen-chi shih-lüeh* 8, pp. 110-12 (Wen-hsüeh ku-chi k'an-hsing she, Peking, 1957).

³⁸ Waley, *op. cit.*, pp. 123, 124.

³⁹ See n.18.

⁴⁰ No biography. See *T'ang fang-chen nien-piao* in *Erh-shih-wu shih pu-pien*, p. 7433-3.

⁴¹ Biographies in *Chiu T'ang shu* 176, *Hsin T'ang shu* 184. Cf. *Teng-k'o-chi k'ao* 18.23b. A good example of the influence of conventional *topoi* may be seen in the statement, quoted by Juan Fu from Huang Tso's biography of Liu K'o, that in the Chen-yüan period, when Liu was still a boy, Ma Chih saw his writing and admired it, comparing it to that of Han Yü. Since Ma Chih was almost certainly a good deal younger than Liu K'o, this is absurd, but it was necessary in writing a man's biography to say that he had been recognized by some eminent person at an early age!

piece on the theme for 818.⁴² Perhaps he tried unsuccessfully in that year.

It is not surprising to find among Liu's surviving works a letter written to his presiding examiner.⁴³ Apart from any special propensity on his part to self-advertisement, it was the regular practice at this time to offer samples of one's work to examiners before the examination and try to influence them. It is from this letter that we learn much of what we know of Liu's early life. Whether the year was 818 or 819, the presiding examiner was Yü Ch'eng-hsüan 庾承宣, but there is little information about him.⁴⁴

An anecdote in the *Yün-ch'i yü-i* makes it appear that Liu K'o became a history official while Han Yü was still on the scene, that is before the latter died in 824.⁴⁵ This is certainly wrong. Like Han Yü before him Liu K'o found that passing the *Chin-shih* examination did not automatically give one the *entrée* to an official career. The *Lu-shan chi* dates his first appointment in 827 and the evidence of letters of the period support the view that he had a long and embittering wait, spent, it would seem, going back and forth between his farm on Lu-shan and the capital.

He continued to send letters of advice to people. He sent two in quick succession to a Chief Minister Ts'ui,⁴⁶ i.e. Ts'ui Chih 崔植 whose term of office ran from the eighth month of 820 to the second month of 822.⁴⁷ He refers to the recent enthronement of a new emperor (Mu-tsung) and the recent appointment of Chief Minister Ts'ui, so the date is probably 820.

These are the last letters we have to prominent people. It may have been about this time, however, that he wrote to Ma Chih, who, as we have seen, was probably a graduate of the same year as himself. Why he thought Ma might help him is not clear, for there is nothing to suggest that Ma was any more fortunate than himself in getting employment. Liu writes expressing his profound wish to obtain access to the historical works contained in the archives and not available to outsiders. Any sort of job that would enable him to do this would satisfy him. He cites the case of Juan Chi 阮籍 of Wei (Three Kingdoms) who accepted a military post for which he was not suited in order to satisfy his thirst for wine. "Now my

⁴² *Teng-k'o-chi k'ao* 18.21b, 22a.

⁴³ *CTW* 742.7b ff.

⁴⁴ *Teng-k'o-chi k'ao* 18.22a, 24a.

⁴⁵ The story is that Liu K'o took to drink in order to hide his frustration at not being able to write truthfully and frankly in the History Office. Han Yü spoke critically about this conduct. Perhaps the story grew up because of the ironical turning of the tables in having the man Liu had once criticized now criticizing him.

⁴⁶ *CTW* 742.1a ff., 3a ff.

⁴⁷ Biographies in *Chiu T'ang shu* 119, *Hsin T'ang shu* 142. Cf. *Hsin T'ang shu* Tsai-hsiang piao.

⁴⁸ According to his biographies Ma Chih only received his first office after passing a further "specially decreed examination" (*chih-ts'e k'o* 制策科). This was presumably the Hsien-liang fang-chen neng chih-yen chi chien k'o 賢良方正能直言極諫科 which he passed in 828 (*Teng-k'o-chi k'ao* 20.24b).

love of books is greater than [Juan] Ssu-tsung's love of wine." He recognizes that his friend may not be in a position to help in which case he will have to go back to his farm and his own library of 10,000 assorted scrolls.⁴⁹

Liu K'o evidently blamed his ill-success in gaining employment on the faction led by Niu Seng-ju, to whom Po Chü-i had once recommended him. This clique, which as was inevitable in those days, had connexions with powerful eunuchs, was in power much of the time in the short reigns of Mu-tsung (820-24) and Ching-tsung (825-6). Seeing young supporters of that group much less learned than himself rising quickly to high positions, Liu K'o came to hate them with all the intensity of disappointed hopes. He wrote a letter, probably around 825 or 826, to a young friend Lu Pin-yü 陸賓虞 to try to persuade him not to demean himself by seeking to be sent up as an examination candidate from the Capital Prefecture. He clearly regarded this as equivalent to joining the Niu faction, for he said meaningfully, "Don't think because I don't eat of the Great Sacrifice I have no sense of taste". The Great Sacrifice 大牢, which consisted of oxen (*niu* 牛) was a nickname for Niu Seng-ju, while the Lesser Sacrifice 少牢, which consisted of sheep (*yang* 羊), was the nickname for Yang Yü-ch'ing 楊虞卿, another leader of the faction.⁵⁰

When a job did come in 827 it was not at all what he had wanted. The *Lu-shan chi* merely says that he was made an Examining Censor 監察

⁴⁹ CTW 742.11b ff. The letter is not dated but from internal evidence it appears that Liu and Ma have quite recently become friends. They have been together (presumably at the capital) but now Liu has gone home (遷罷) and wishes to open his mind to his friend in a letter about things that he has not been able to talk about face to face. Liu's letters to Chief Minister Ts'ui, written on the point of departure from the capital, imply that he went home in the latter part of 820. Assuming that this was his first return to Lu-shan since taking his degree, his letter to Ma Chih was probably written shortly thereafter. There is another indication of date in the letter. Liu gives an autobiographical account of himself beginning, "Twenty years ago I had just left boyhood". Counting back from the year 820 we arrive at the year 801. This leaves scarcely time for all his wanderings before he arrived at Lu-shan in 806, especially if we suppose that his visit to Lu-shan in 800 (see n.15) was on his way south to Lo-fu shan. "Twenty years" may, however, be a rough figure somewhat less than the actual amount. It is also possible that the letter dates from an earlier departure from the capital, though this can hardly have been before 818. If Ma Chih had not yet passed his *chin-shih* degree, Liu's appeal to him becomes all the harder to understand.

⁵⁰ CTW 742.18a ff. Lu Pin-yü obtained the *chin-shih* degree in 827 (*T'ang k'o-chi k'ao* 20.18b). In view of Liu K'o's admonition to him, it is interesting to note that according to an anecdote in the *Ch'ien ting lu* 1.21a ff. (in Hsüeh chin t'ao-yüan) Lu Pin-yü was told by a fortune-teller that in order to succeed in the examinations he must be sent up from the capital which he did the year before he succeeded in getting his *chin-shih*. On the special prestige that came from being sent up by the capital prefecture see *T'ang chih-yen* 2, pp. 13 ff. I have not found any special evidence that the Niu faction controlled the prefectural examinations. Indeed, in the year 827 the man in charge of them was Li Hui, a close friend of Li Te-yü (*ibid.*, p. 21) but presumably Lu Pin-yü would have been sent up the previous year or earlier. There is no doubt, in any case, that Liu K'o believed that the Niu faction controlled the prefectural examinations at the time he wrote.

御史,⁵¹ but it is clear from an inscription set up in 830 composed by him that this was a concurrent appointment with a post on the staff of the Governor of Fukien.⁵² Chang Chung-fang 張仲方, who was made Governor of Fukien in 827, belonged to the family of Chang Chiu-ling and came from Ch'ü-chiang, Liu K'o's native place.⁵³ This local tie no doubt explains why he took Liu K'o on his staff. Moreover, Lu Pin-yü was Chang Chung-fang's son-in-law⁵⁴ and no doubt it was this relationship which brought him into contact with Liu.

In 830 Liu's rank in the Censorate was raised to Censor of the Court of Palace Affairs 殿中侍御史. This was the year in which Chang Chung-fang returned to the capital and Liu K'o may have followed him but I am inclined to think that, as before, this rank was held concurrently with some provincial post.⁵⁵ There is no inscription from this period to give his full title.

At last, according to the *Lu-shan chi*: "In the period K'ai-ch'eng (836-40) he was promoted to be Assistant in the Imperial Library and to be a scholar compiler in the History Office" 開成中遷祕書丞史館修撰學士.⁵⁶ An inscription set up in 839 confirms that he had held such a title.⁵⁷ Chang Chung-fang held the post of Imperial Librarian 祕書監 from the fifth month of 736 until his death in the fourth month of the

⁵¹ *Lu-shan chi*, loc. cit.

⁵² *ibid.*, p. 1048.3, 唐栖霞寺 . . . 碑, dated T'ai-ho 4/7/11. Chang Chung-fang was actually replaced as Governor of Fukien by Kuei Chung-wu 桂仲武 in the third month of T'ai-ho 4 (*T'ang fang-chen nien-piao* in *Erh-shih-wu shih pu-pien*, p. 7439.3). Probably Liu K'o's promotion came at the same time, but the inscription, having been composed some time previously, recorded Liu's titles before that date.

⁵³ *Chiu T'ang shu* 171, *Hsin T'ang shu* 126. Cf. Waley, *op. cit.*, p. 183. Chang Chung-fang belonged in some degree among the enemies of Li Te-yü, and it might therefore seem surprising to find him patronizing Liu K'o. Chang does not, however, seem to have been closely connected with Niu Seng-ju and Yang Yü-ch'ing and in 836 a friend of Li Te-yü deliberately gave him an appointment in order to avoid suspicion of partisanship. The bureaucracy as a whole were by no means sharply divided into two groups.

⁵⁴ Epitaph by Po Chü-i, *Po Hsiang-shan chi* 61, ts'e 9, pp. 68, 69.

⁵⁵ Titles in the censorate were regularly given to Military Governors and other commissioners (*shih*) even before the rebellion of An Lu-shan. In the post-rebellion period they and other central government titles were commonly held concurrently by even minor members of the staffs of provincial governors and came to function chiefly as a means of determining rank. Examining Censors were of the eighth degree, second class. Censors of the Court of Palace Affairs were of the seventh degree, fourth class. Later Liu K'o was promoted to *Shih-yü-shih*, i.e. sixth degree, second class, when he again held a provincial post.

⁵⁶ p. 1034.2.

⁵⁷ The 唐廬山東林寺故寶稱大律師塔碑 set up in K'ai-ch'eng 4/4/27, records his full title as 朝義郎守祕書丞史館修撰. This omits the words "scholar" (*hsüeh-shih*) which are probably incorrect, since the title of "scholar compiler" in the History Office is otherwise unknown. Liu K'o was certainly not in this office as late as 839, but no doubt, as before (see n.52), the title refers to his office when the inscription was composed rather than when it was set up.

following year⁵⁸ and it seems highly likely that Liu K'o owed this appointment to his old patron. If we take the words of the *Lu-shan chi* strictly, Liu could not have received his appointment before the second year of K'ai-ch'eng (otherwise it would have said 初 instead of 中). Since we know that at some time in 737 Liu was living, apparently in retirement, in Lo-yang, when some Buddhists came to ask him to write a memorial inscription for the famous Hsüan-tsang,⁵⁹ it would appear that he was an historian for at most a few months in 737.

Sad to relate, he seems to have made use of his opportunity chiefly to vent his spleen on those whom he blamed for his failure to advance more rapidly, Niu Seng-ju, Yang Yü-ch'ing and their party. Fragments of the *Niu Yang jih-li* 牛羊日曆 ("Day Calendar of the Ox and Sheep", or "of Niu and Yang") attributed to Liu are still extant and it must have been written at this time.⁶⁰ The term "day calendar" needs some explanation. In 805 the Chief Minister Wei Chih-i 韋執誼 proposed that in order to prevent historians from keeping drafts of the official history in their own homes which might result in one-sided, unauthorized versions being spread abroad, each historian should compose his work in the form of a "day calendar". At the end of each month the historians were to meet and correct the "day calendars" which were then to be signed and sealed and stored in the History Office. Only officially sanctioned Veritable Records (實錄) were henceforth to be allowed to be kept in private possession. It seems clear that "day calendars" were preliminary drafts of what eventually became the Veritable Records.⁶¹

⁵⁸ *Chiu T'ang shu* 171.

⁵⁹ See n.64.

⁶⁰ Liu K'o's *Niu Yang jih-li* in 1 *chüan* is listed in the *Hsin T'ang shu* I-wen chih, where it is classified as *hsiao-shuo*, and is said to have had a preface by Huang-fu Sung 皇甫松. It is also listed in the *Chih-chai shu-lu chieh-t'i*, p. 171. (Kuo-hsüeh chi-pen ts'ung-shu), under the heading *chuan-chi* 傳記. A lengthy extract from it was copied into the *Hsü t'an chu* 續談助, a Southern Sung work (Ts'ung-shu chi-ch'eng edition). Miao Ch'üan-sun's reconstituted text in the Ou-hsiang ling-shih consists merely of this together with a single quotation from the *Tzu t'ung-chien k'ao-i* (Ch'ang-ch'ing 2 (822)/12/kuei-ssu). A further quotation from Huang-fu Sung's continuation, the *Hsü Niu Yang jih-li*, is found in the *K'ao-i* under the date Pao-li 1 (825)/1/i-mao. This has been improperly included by Miao in his reconstituted text of the *Niu Yang jih-li*, without any indication of his source.

Huang-fu Sung was the son of Han Yü's disciple, Huang-fu Shih 晁 (T'ang shih chi-shih 52.4b). He has no biography. His book on the art of drinking, the *Tsui hsiang jih yüeh* 醉鄉日月 in three *chüan*, contained an autobiographical section but unfortunately this is not included among the extracts preserved in the *Shuo-fu*. He was evidently a partisan of Li Te-yü who wrote a preface to Liu's work and a continuation, which probably had no claim, as had Liu's, to be a product of the History Office. The author of the *Hsü t'an chi* calls it simply Hsü-chi 晁, not *Hsü jih-li*. It is not mentioned in the *Hsin T'ang shu* I-wen chih.

⁶¹ *T'ang hui-yao* 63, p. 1097 (Kuo-hsüeh chi-pen ts'ung-shu). Cf. Tamai Zehaku, "Tô no jitsurokû senshû ni kansuru ichi kôsatsu" in *Shina shakai keizai shi kenkyû*, 1942, pp. 4244, 25; Solomon, *op. cit.*, p. xxvi.

The main existing extract from the *Niu Yang jih-li* records under the first and fourteenth days of the seventh month of the ninth year of T'ai-ho (835), the banishment of three leaders of the Niu faction, Yang Yü-ch'ing, Li Tsung-min 李宗閔 and Yang Han-kung 楊漢公. The record of their dismissals is followed in each case by a recital of past crimes of that person in particular and of the clique in general. The form seems to me to be consistent with its having been composed by Liu K'o during his brief stay in the History Office. If it were indeed a "day calendar" or part of a "day calendar", it should have stayed locked up in the History Office but no doubt it was copied out irregularly, given its partisan title, and circulated for propagandist purposes. Li Te-yü 李德裕 refers to "The Historian Liu K'o's Day Calendar" in an essay written after his banishment to Hainan Island in 847.⁶²

There is no doubt that Liu K'o allowed his personal rancour to carry him away in writing this work. He even sneers at Po Chü-i, who did after all help him to get his *Chin-shih* degree and who was not an active member of the faction even though he had some connexions with it. In the passage relating to Yang Yü-ch'ing he says: "Yang Yü-ch'ing . . . for twenty years has upset the executive government and meddled with the bureaucracy. Those who attached themselves to his faction might be dressed in the plain clothes of private citizens in the morning and obtain ministerial blue and purple in the evening. Those who could convey gold or bring jewels in their sleeves might become famed as Confucian scholars without being able to read a book, might become doctors without even knowing how to recognize characters. Their syllabus was Po Chü-i's *Liu t'ieh* 六帖 (Book of Quotations). They made it their Unspeaking Teacher (不語先生). They would say, 'When a man is born into the world and, having passed boyhood, has become mature in his faculties, he can straightway make contacts and go about with people, getting to know the ropes (literally: the times and circumstances). By being submissive and facing north, paying court to three or five important persons, without getting out of bed he can make his fame travel like rolling a ball downhill. Why should he do as the old book scholars who, while diligently plying brush and ink, memorize the Six Classics and immerse their thoughts in the poetry and *fu*? Their hair goes white and their teeth fall out but they never get the least salary and have no respite from hunger and poverty. In such circumstances why should one read books and work at literary composition?'"—and much more in the same vein.⁶³

⁶² "Chou Ch'ün hsing chi lun", *Li Wen-jao wen-chi, wai-chi* 4 (Ssu-pu ts'ung-k'an).

⁶³ *Niu Yang jih-li* 1a (Ou-hsiang ling-shih). As punctuated in the Ts'ung-shu chi-ch'eng edition of the *Hsü t'an chi* this would read ". . . become doctors transmitting teaching without even knowing how to recognize characters. Po Chü-i's *Liu t'ieh* calls them 'Unspeaking Teachers'." 不識字爲博學傳業. 乃白居易六帖以爲不語先

The death of Chang Chung-fang may have led to Liu's departure from the History Office or the way in which he approached his task as an historian may have led to his dismissal. Apparently he went first to Lo-yang where he had a house in the Hsiu-hsing Ward 修行坊, but thereafter (before the fourth month of 839 but probably somewhat earlier) he accepted the post of Prefect of Ming Chou 洛州 (Yung-p'ing Hsien in Ho-pei).⁶⁴ This was in the territory of one of the virtually independent Military Governors of the North-east and we may perhaps surmise that he took office there in order to be out of reach of the Niu faction, who came back into power towards the end of Wen-tsung's reign. According to the *Lu-shan chi* he died in this office but the *Yün-ch'i yü-i* refers to him without explanation as Liu Tz'u Chou 劉磁州. Tz'u Chou was a neighbouring prefecture in the territory of the same Military Governor and if this appellation has any basis it may mean that he was transferred there from Ming Chou. The date of his death is not recorded but was probably around 839.

Ambition turned sour does not make an altogether pleasing picture but Liu K'o must, I think, be granted some attractive qualities which justify rescuing him from the almost total oblivion into which he has fallen. His thirst for learning was certainly genuine. His desire to give good advice is a little tiresome but was not, I feel sure, entirely a matter of self-interest. He really had high principles and wanted to have them carried into effect. There is no doubt that his humble social background and lack of connexions made it hard for him to achieve what he felt was his due and he had to see lesser men receive greater recognition and greater rewards.

One hesitates to venture an opinion on his style. Certainly he has nothing of the incandescence of a Han Yü but his prose was attractive enough to obtain the survival of at least a few pieces in anthologies. It seems to me to be a good free prose, more spontaneous, less marred by artificial striving after effect than that of some of Han Yü's disciples such as Huang-fu Shih or Sun Ch'iao.

生. The punctuation I have followed, placing stops after *po-hsieh* and *Liu-t'ieh*, is confirmed by a quotation in the Sung encyclopaedia *Hai-lu sui shih* 海錄碎事: "The *Niu Yang jih-li* calls Po Chü-i's *Liu-t'ieh* 'The Unspeaking Teacher' 牛羊日曆以白居易六帖爲不語先生." (As quoted in Morohashi, *Dai kanwa jiten* under 不語先生. The *Hai-lu sui-shih* is not available to me.)

⁶⁴ In the colophon of his inscription for Hsüan-tsang, set up in K'ai-ch'eng 4 (839)/5/16, Liu is referred to, among other titles as Prefect of Ming Chou and concurrently Shih-yü-shih (see n.55) (*Chin-shih ts'ui-pien* 113.26b) but in the text of the inscription Liu says that in the second year of K'ai-ch'eng (837) people came from Ch'ang-an (上京) to see him at his private house in Lo-yang to ask him to compose the inscription. This seems to imply that he was then in retirement. (CTW 742.25a.) The inscription actually speaks of his house in the "Hsing-hsiu" Ward but as the *T'ang liang ching ch'eng-fang k'ao* 5.16a points out, this must be a mistake for "Hsiu-hsing" (*Chōan to Rakuyō, shiryō*, p. 62, Hiraoka Takeo, *Tōdai kenkyū no shiori*, vol. 6, Kyoto, 1956).

I append a translation of one of his prose pieces called "The Farmers' Prayer". Though the hard lot of the peasant was a fairly common theme with writers, Liu K'o, who was himself a farmer, knew it perhaps better than most.

*The Farmers' Prayer*⁶⁵

In the *ping-hsi* year (806) there was a great famine, which was particularly severe in the southern part of Ch'u between Chiang Chou and Huang Chou 黃州 (Huang-kang Hsien in Hupei). The following year, on the way to Shu Chou 舒 (Ch'ien-shan Hsien in Anhwei) my road passed through the Eastern Mountains.⁶⁶ I saw some old farmers who had gathered their clans together and were praying at the shrine of Lord Wu 伍君.⁶⁷ Though the thought was sincere the words were rustic; so I took down what they said in order to polish it and express it more finely, and also to admonish those in authority.

"The farmers so-and-so and so-and-so respectfully make known their sincere feelings to the gods. Alas, we are men who eat the fruit of our ploughing. Who of us is not a man of this land? When men ask, can the gods fail to listen with clear perception and uprightness? Recently we have suffered famines year after year. Many have become widows and widowers. The fields lack ploughmen and the mulberry trees lack girls to tend the cocoons. There has been fever and pestilence and the whole land has been full of dread. Then came war in Wu and Shu (Southern Kiangsu and Szechwan).⁶⁸ The recruiting officers shouted at the doors and with sticks drove the men who had survived the plague and famine to take up bows and spears. Their women and children, parting with them as for the last time, walked and ran, crying and weeping beside them. Only after the royal army had gone into battle and the bandit hordes had been executed one after another could they return to their homes. Their cottages were in ruins and their fields overgrown with weeds, yet their taxes were not remitted.

"Now, gathering together the remnants, the people have multiplied their efforts a hundredfold. With good fortune this autumn may see a great

⁶⁵ CTW 742.32b to 33b.

⁶⁶ Numerous mountains are, or have been, known as Tung shan, but the geographical dictionaries do not refer to any place between Lu-shan and Ch'ien-shan by this name.

⁶⁷ Wu Chün is perhaps Wu Tzu-hsü 子胥, a man of Ch'u in the Ch'un-ch'iu period who was involved in the wars between Wu and Yueh. There was a temple to him near where he was supposed to have died in the region of Su chou and he may have been worshipped elsewhere as well. (See *Shih-chi* 66).

⁶⁸ There were revolts of Military Governors in Ssu-ch'uan in 806 (Liu P'i 劉闢) and Kiangsu in 807 (Li Ch'i 李錡). There is a little difficulty about the chronology here, for if the men had returned from fighting in Kiangsu the year should be 808, not 807 (the "next year" 明年 after 806).

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

"Alas, if only the horses would not gorge themselves on millet and concubines would not be surfeited with silken garments, our taxes would indeed be small. How else can their reduction be achieved? We hope that the gods will not be neglectful and we pray: 'Do not make thin the farmers in order to fatten the stabled horses. Do not make cold the cocoon-tending women in order to warm singing girls and concubines. Do not melt down ploughs to multiply weapons of war. If the farmers are not hungry, the world will be fat. If the cocoon-tending women are not cold, the world will be at peace. If the ploughs are not melted down, the whole world will prosper. If concubines are kept warm, they are proud. If weapons multiply, they bring destruction. If horses are fat, they are haughty. If the unrighteous⁶⁹ do not gallop, it will bring sufficiency of food and clothing.

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

"We offer up sacrifice."

⁶⁹ 不蹟 "unrighteous". See *Shih-ching* 183.2 (Karlsgren, *Book of Odes*, p. 127).

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

by B. SCHINDLER

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

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

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