Bai Juyi’s Poetry as a Common Culture in Pre-modern East Asia

by

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A thesis submitted in confirmation with the requirement for the degree of Master of Arts

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Abstract

This paper applies a hermeneutic approach to analyze, and a comparative approach to examine, Bai Juyi’s poems referenced in Tale of Genji by Murasaki Shikibu, Pillow Book by Sei Shōnagon, Tongguk Yi Sang-guk Chip by Yi Kyu-bo and Kyewŏn Pilgyŏngjip by Ch’oe Ch’i-wŏn. Through exploring Bai’s poetry in these texts, the author discovers how Murasaki, Sei, Ch’oe, and Yi contributed to transculturuation in Korea and Japan. Furthermore, the transculturation demonstrated by these literati shows a diversity of patterns: cultural mobilization from west to east; the emergence of overlapping histories in different eras and locations; a disappeared culture, recovered through being transmitted to other regions; cultural transplantation or transformation resulting from cultural contacts; and cultural products helped to stimulate economic growth. Subsequently, Bai Juyi’s works stand as a testament to the power of great poetry to improve and enhance cultures across a broad span of time and space.
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Introduction

Bai Juyi (772-846) was a famous Chinese poet in the mid-Tang era. While he was alive, Bai’s poems were already widely known throughout Tang China (618-906), Silla Korea (57 BCE-935), and Heian Japan (794-1185) in pre-modern Asia. In Japan, the *Entire Corpus of Bai’s Work (Haku-shi monjū 白氏文集)*, was extensively referenced in *Tale of Genji (Genji monogatari 源氏物語)* by Murasaki Shikibu (紫式部 970-1014?) and *Pillow Book (Makura no sōshi 枕草子)* by Sei Shōnagon (清少納言 966-1025). In Korea, Bai’s corpus of literary work was modelled in the *Corpus of Prime Minister Yi from the Eastern State (Tongguk Yi Sang-guk Chip 동국이상구길東國李相國集)* by Yi Kyu-bo (이규보李奎報 1168-1241) and *Collection of Pen Cultivation at Kyewŏn (Kyewŏn Pilgyŏngjip 거원 필경집桂苑筆耕集)* by Ch’oe Ch’i-wŏn (최치원崔致遠 855 - 949). I hypothesize that Bai Juyi is a representation of a common element among the three pre-modern states for his compatibility to their respective aesthetic

\[\text{\textsuperscript{1}}\text{J.A.G Roberts, *A Concise History of China* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999), 70.}\]
\[\text{\textsuperscript{3}}\text{Shizunaga Takeshi, *Kanseki Denrai: Haku Rakuten no Shiika to Nihon* (Tōkyō: Bensei Shuppan, 2010), 44, 137.}\]
\[\text{\textsuperscript{4}}\text{Yi Kyu-bo, *Tongguk Yi Sang-guk Chip* (Sŏul: Tongguk Publisher, 1958), preface, 1.}\]
\[\text{\textsuperscript{5}}\text{Fang Xiaowei, *Cui Zhiyuan Si Xiang He Zuo Pin Yan Jiu* (Yanzhou Shi: Guang Ling Shu She, 2007), 1, 283. Liu Qiang, *Gaoli Han Shi Wen Xue Shi Lun* (Xiamen: Xiamen Da Xue Chu Ban She, 2008), 75, 171-175.}\]
traditions. Therefore, my objective of the paper is to find textual evidence of Bai Juyi’s poetic compositions that demonstrates a common culture within pre-modern East Asia in Tang China, Silla and Koryŏ Korea, and Heian Japan. Arthur Waley, a Western Sinologist, translated Bai’s collections of poetry in 1919, Murasaki’s *Tale of Genji* in 1925, and Sei’s *Pillow Book* in 1928; since then Western scholars, including Burton Watson and Stephen Owen, have also translated Bai’s poetry. Subsequently, the Japanologists, Edward G. Seidensticker and Royall Tyler translated *Tale of Genji*; Ivan Morris and Meredith McKinney, both of who are Japanese translators, translated *Pillow Book*. I aim to apply a hermeneutic approach to analyze, and a comparative approach to examine, lines of Bai’s poems and styles of his literature that were referenced in the original text of *Tale of Genji* by Murasaki and the translated text by Seidensticker, the original text of *Pillow Book* by Sei and the translated text by Morris, two original Korean texts by Yi and Ch’oe, and Ch’oe Ch’i-wôn’s and Yi Kyu-bo’s poems compiled into Sŏ Kŏ-jŏng’s *Eastern literature anthology*, (*Tongmunsŏn* 東文選) and Kim Pu-sik’s *Original History of Three Nations* (*Wŏnbon samguk sagi* 原本三國史記). Furthermore, I will explore how Murasaki, Sei, Ch’oe, and Yi created their writings and contributed to tranculturuation in Korea and Japan by adapting literary texts presented by Bai Juyi.

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Bai Juyi’s Life

The story of Bai’s life is often told based on the historical documentation of New History of the Tang Dynasty (Xin Tangshu 新唐書) and Old History of the Tang Dynasty (Jiu Tangshu 舊唐書). Bai was born and lived in a social background where the power of China began to weaken and deteriorate after the An Lushan rebellion in Tang Xuangzong’s era. Subsequently, Chinese society was unstable because political officials were only interested in their own personal gains instead of societal well-being. Under such political chaos, Bai served as a Tang official in the year 800 CE, after he passed the civil service entrance examination. Through his poetry, Bai wrote aggressively and critically, wishing to save the masses, but the corrupted political authority was unable to back him up with his willingness to save the commoners. Accordingly, his political life was in turmoil when he became an enemy to many political figures in power. Eventually, he was demoted and banished for his contributions to the welfare of the populace via his memorials of censorship and poems of satire. Despite his literary writings concerned the mistreated in Tang society, Bai was eventually outcasted. Bai did contribute to the betterment of the life of the masses during his civil services, yet due to his unpleasant experiences of banishment, he withdrew from his role as a proactive political official and switched to learning Buddhism or Daoism, and changed his writing style from poems of critique

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to poems of leisure. He resigned from his political post, and eventually lived in seclusion during his older age, yet maintaining close friendships with Yuan Zhen (元稹) and Liu Yuxi (劉禹錫).

Bai and his friends continued to write poetry anthologies such as *Yuan-Bai Poetry Anthology* (元白詩集) and *Liu-Bai Poetry Anthology* (劉白詩集). These two anthologies and the *Entire Corpus of Bai’s Work* remained popular bringing happiness to inhabitants in pre-modern East Asia.
Transmission of Bai Juyi’s poems in China

Bai’s poems were transmitted widely throughout China while he was still alive for the simplicity, colloquiality, and innovation of his poems. In order to make his poems understood by non-scholars, Bai would change his poems such that they be easily read and understood by the masses. When the majority of the population understood his poems, the popularity of Bai Juyi increased even much more quickly and broadly. In addition, Bai and his scholar friend, Yuan Zhen, advocated the movement of “New Music Bureau Poetry” (Xin Yuefu 新樂府), a literary movement for the purpose of the masses’ benefits; with a critique of corrupt political policies, Bai intended to satirize the corruption of the Tang government, hoping to change the current politics for the better by employing his literary writings of satirical poems. For his willingness to remonstrate the political wrongs in order to save the commoners, the masses were grateful for his intention to make their lives better and appreciated his poems much further. Therefore, more and more people recited Bai’s poems. In addition, the illiterate masses preferred to chant or recite poems especially something they could understand and someone they could respect like Bai. Subsequently, the masses wrote his poems on walls all over the cities where Bai lived. Merchants would forge Bai’s name to sell his poems in the market for gaining more profit. Prostitutes would recite Bai’s poems in order to elevate their price. Bai’s poems seem to become a form of merchandise and commodity to enable people to make a better living. The more people knew about his poems, the more people sold his poems; the more people made money from Bai’s poems, the more his poems had a greater face value. When settling down in Chang’an, the capital city in a well-connected network environment, Bai’s reputation grew even
faster in this communication center. Consequently during his time, Bai’s poems were popular in China among the old and the young, the rich and the poor, the noble and the lowly. Bai’s reputation became popular quickly in his lifetime and was further passed along to the following generations in China. Furthermore, simplicity in Bai’s poems helped his works to be received easily among foreign states of Korea and Japan.

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Chinese Literary Theory

The representative idea about Chinese poetic theory is demonstrated in the Classic of Documents, recorded by the Great Preface of the Classic of Poetry, continued by Lu Ji’s “Literary Rhapsody” (Wen Fu 文賦), and finally confirmed by Liu Xie’s Literary Mind Carves Dragons (Wen-Xin Diao-Long 文心雕龍). The legacy initiated from this conventional theory was transitioned into practices by Chinese literati ever since. Based on this, the Classic of Documents first describes “the poem articulates what is on the mind intently; songs make language last long” (she yan zhi ge yong yan 詩言志歌永言). “Poetry is emotion” (shi zhe zhi 詩者志) was then depicted in the Great Preface of the Classic of Poetry. Subsequently, Lu Ji commented “poetry expresses human emotion” (shi yuan qing 詩緣情) in “Literary Rhapsody”. Lu Ji further developed this poetic theory into an aesthetic theory and Liu Xie concurred with Lu Ji. Liu Xie, in Literary Mind Carves Dragons, expressed “poetry states about human’s vivid feelings” (xu shu ai qing 序述哀情). The aesthetic theory of composing poems was that they were written to express human feelings and fuse emotions with external landscape. Poems were further developed into an emotional appeal to practitioners of religions such as Buddhism or

15 Liu Xie: ca. 465-ca. 522, Wen Xin Diao Long, trans., Huang Shulin (Taipei: Jing wen shu ju, 1964), 69 Liu Xie describes the function of poems:蓋詩人之則也至於敘述哀情而觸類而長 It is a poet’s task to express sorrowful emotion, at times to be emphatic about the depth of every kinds of emotions.
Daoism, both popular in the Tang. From Six Dynasties until late Tang, due to the chaos of political turmoil, the aesthetic concept of sadness as beauty was widely accepted.\textsuperscript{16}

\textsuperscript{16} de Bary et al., *Sources of East Asian tradition*, 223, 239, 244-245. Fang, 187-188.
Bai Juyi’s theory of his poetic compositions

Bai’s literary theory can be found in “a letter to Yuan Jiu” (Yu Yuan Jiu shu 與元九書).\(^{17}\) In this letter to Yuan, Bai depicts literary theory as: only the presentation of “emotion” (qing 情), “speech” (yan 語), “sound” (sheng 聲), and “meaning” (yi 義) in poetry can move one’s heart.\(^{18}\) Since Bai considers the best of Chinese literature are the Six Classics; among the Six Classics, the Classic of Poetry (Shijing 詩經), is the first and the best. It is an anthology in China formed 2,500 to 3,000 years ago collected largely from folk songs among the Chinese populace.\(^{19}\) Bai follows the literary theory demonstrated in the Great Preface of Shijing for his literary practice, “there are six principles (yi) in the poems: 1) Airs (feng); 2) exposition (fu); 3) comparison (bi); 4) affective image, (xing); 5) Odes (ya); 6) Hymns (song).”\(^{20}\) Among these six principles, Bai focuses on “airs” (feng 風), “comparison” (bi 比), “grace” (ya 雅), and “affective image” (xing 興) for the methodology of his poetic compositions.\(^{21}\) The majority of Chinese poets began composing poems exactly as Bai did following classics and modeling poems written prior to their time, just as Bai modelled his poetic compositions after Tao Qian, referenced the poems of Li Bai and Du Fu, and ended with the strong influence of Buddhism and Doaism. Bai, in his writing of “Reading Zhuangzi” (Du Zhuangzi 讀莊子) advocating his focus on Zhuangzi’s philosophy written in Chapter one “Free and Easy Wandering” (Xiaoyao you 逍遙遊) and


\(^{18}\) Lu Ji, 900-922. Bai’s advocacy of “emotion” (qing 情), “speech” (yan 語), “sound” (sheng 聲), and “meaning” (yi 義) are very much like Lu’s advocacy of “emotion” (qing 情), “writing” (wen 文), “sound” (sheng 聲), and “meaning” (yi 意).


\(^{20}\) Stephen Owen, Readings in Chinese literary thought, 45.

\(^{21}\) Bai Juyi, Bai Juyi ji, ed. Gu Xuejie, 961.
Chapter two “Discussing on Making All Things Equal” (Qi\wu lun 齊物論), portrays Zhuangzi’s aesthetic theory as a part of Bai’s aesthetic theory. According to Zhuangzi’s philosophy, Bai considers the balance of body and mind establishes the foundation of human well being. Human emotions affect the reception of external scenes and external scenes affect human internal feelings through orifices such as eyes, nostrils, and ears opening themselves to the external realms as connections to internal human bodies and feelings. Through their five sensory organs, Bai’s readers perceive his poems in forms much as paintings are drawn in a diversity of colours and scenes filled with music, singing, and dancing and further sought consolation from his poetic writings to sublimate their negative feelings and enrich their happiness in life.

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22 Chen Guying, Zhuangzi jin zhu jin yi (Beijing: Zhonghua shu ju, 1983), 46.
**Bai Juyi’s literary contributions to China**

Bai appeared to be the most industrious poet in Tang Dynasty by the volume of poems he had composed. Based on the context of his poems, Bai classified his poems into four categories of didactic critiques, meditative philosophies, sorrowful emotions, and miscellaneous narrations. Among these four types, “New Music Bureau Poetry”, the didactic critiques he created, was to criticize the darkness of political corruption and social problems in his time. This righteous innovation is considered as his best political contribution and highest literary achievement. These unprecedented works created a new trend of energy, and not only influenced his contemporary peers but also the following generations such as Su Shi in the Song Dynasty. According to Gu Xuejie, the editor of the *Entire Corpus of Bai’s Work*, Bai is the greatest poet after Li Bai (also known as Li Po) and Du Fu (also know as Tu Fu) in the Tang Dynasty of China. As the most productive poet in China, Bai wrote over 3,000 poems for his sentimental interests and around 800 memorials for his political endeavours. With such a large volume of Bai’s poems, it is hard for foreigners to translate all his corpus of poems except ones that were specifically famous for some reasons such as the one below “Composing on the Theme: a Poem of Parting on the Grass of the Old Plain” (*Fu de guyuan cao songbie* 賦得古原草送別) having made him famous in his early career:

- *lili yuan shang cao* 離離原上草 Thick, thick the grass grows in the fields;
- *yi sui yi ku rong* 一歲一枯榮 Every year it withers, and springs anew.
- *yehuo shao bujin* 野火燒不盡 The prairie fires never burn it up;
- *chun feng chui you sheng* 春風吹又生 The spring wind blows it into life again.

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23 Bai Juyi, *Bai Juyi ji*, ed. Gu Xuejie, catalogue 1-150, Yuan Zhen’s preface 2, 964. Bai is considered as the most productive poet in the Chinese literary history by the volume of his written poems.
24 Fang, 192.
Reading this poem closely, Bai did not only follow Chinese literary conventions, but also opted to emphasize the alternative rhyming for acoustic pleasure. In addition to the spirituality of perserverance, optimism, and vitality, there are two couplets still loved by the majority of Chinese and are often used in their daily life. Those are, “The prairie fires never burn it up; the spring wind blows it into life again”, stating life goes on despite external difficulties and obstacles. In Bai’s other poem of “Ocean Unrestrained” (Hai manman 海漫漫), he depicts the legend of Xufu, who cheated the first Emperor Qin (Qin Shihuang) about picking herbs of immortality and had no choice but to stay in a foreign land of Japan:

…

Qinhuang Hanwu xin ci yu
方士年年采藥去
煙水茫茫無覓處
海漫漫

fangshi niannian cai yao qu
Penglai jingo dan wenming
yanshui mangmang wu mi chu
hai manman
feng haohao
yan chuang bujian Penglai dao
bujian Penglai bugan gui
tongnan kwangnu zhouzhong lao
Xufu Wencheng duo kwangdan

Emperor Qin and Han Wu believed his words.
Wizards every year go to pick medicine.
Penglai, before and now, is always eminent.
Among boundless smoky waters, there is no way to find the island.
Unrestrained ocean,
Vast and torrential wind;
he searches and searches still cannot see the Penglai Island.
Not seeing Penglai he dares not to return.
Virgin boys and girls grow old in the ship.
Xufu and Wen Cheng were full of deceit.

28 Guo Jie, 7.
30 Murasaki Shikibu, Murasaki Shikibu nikki, ed. Masamune Atsuo (Tokyo: Tokyo Nihon Koten Zenshu Kankokai, 1928), 90 Although Murasaki did not ever refer to this line of Bai’s poem, she
Shangyuan Tai-yi xu qidao 上元、太一虚祈禱 Shangyuan and Tai-yi devine lords were falsefully prayed.

...

There are several different stories about Xufu; some would believe Xufu arrive Peng Lai islands. However, Xufu navigated eastward was an adventure of cultural transmission to Japan. According to the fact that Prince Shōtoku sent Chinese descendants to China to learn mainland culture and bring back knowledge for Japan to accept as a model. From this, one can speculate Chinese descendants were already in Japan before Prince Shōtoku’s time and whether these Chinese descendants were those Xufu brought with him to Japan is unknown and cannot be verified. Nevertheless, it is certain that Chinese immigrated to Japan before Prince Shōtoku’s time. The ancestral link to China helped the cultural transmission from China to Japan.

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quouted this line in her diary. Shinma Kazuyoshi, Genji Monogatari no Kōsō to Kanshibun (Osaka: Izumi Shoin, 2009), 145, 137-138 Shinma considers Murasaki writes in an old waka form as the background scenery alluding to this poem of Bai’s in her Tale of Genji, “Butterfly”.

31 Hada Buei and Hirooka Jun, Shinsetsu “Jo Fuku densetsu”: nazo ni tsutsunareta “Nihonjin no sosen” no jitsuzō (Tokyo: Sangkan, 2000), 106 Hada thinks the early texts referring fairyland to Peng Lai were originated from Moutain Sea Sutra, 178 Saka was one of the places that Hada thinks Xufu arrived in Japan, 237-238 Hohanshu and Shiji write about Xufu ordered by Qin Shihuang to go to Japan. Yang Bin, 12-16 Yang supposes that Xufu was dead while on his way to Peng Lai, 23-25 Yang refers what were stated in Shiji to Xufu’s Japan trip, 28 Yang supposes that Xufu landed in Dannoura where Taira clan were exterminated in 1185, 33 Abe Nakamaro believes Xufu went to Japan and Japan later was named Peng Lai, 34 Ban Gu wrote Hanshu to reiterate what Xufu was described by Sima Qian in Shiji. All these speculations were only legends. However, Xufu had his footprints in both China and Japan.

32 Theodore Wm. de Bary, William Bodiford, Jurgis Elisonas, Philip Yampolsky, and Yoshiko Dykstra et al. Sources of Japanese tradition (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001), 42. Prince Shōtoku sent students having possible Korean or Chinese ancestry to Sui China for learning Chinese culture. From this, we can speculate that Korean or Chinese immigrants arrived and lived in Japan before Shōtoku’s time. The first batch of Chinese immigrants to Japan might have been or might have not been Xu Fu’s family, but there were Chinese immigrants living in Japan before Shōtoku’s time.
Transmission of Bai’s poems to Japan

As Covell mentions, in general, the cultural transmission from China to Japan before Prince Shōtoku was via Koguryŏ (37BCE-668CE) Korea by Korean scholars, monks, and immigrants living in Japan or China.\(^{33}\) Even after Prince Shōtoku’s advocacy of taking the political and cultural systems from China as a model and ever since the first Japanese ambassador, Ononoimoko, sent to Sui China in 607, Korean politicians and monks still contributed greatly to the cultural transmission from China to Japan. After Taika Reforms in 646, Takamuko Kuromaro as National Consultant in Japan went to Tang China, returned to Japan with Kim Chun-chu of Silla, Korea to draw up a cooperation system among Taika, Silla, and Tang.\(^{34}\) Afterwards, Japanese envoys endeavoured greater dedications to the cultural transmission from China to Japan helping to develop pre-modern Japanese culture such as the invention of *kana* characters in the mid 9th century.\(^{35}\) Based on its natural geographical factors and mutual diplomatic relationship, Heian Japan further sent students, monks, and envoys

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(kentoshi 遣唐使) into Tang China.\(^\text{36}\) However, Bai’s poetry first exposed and transmitted to Heian Japan through a Tang ship sent from China to Japan: the Yuan-Bai Poetry Anthology was found in the Heian period of 838, as recorded in The record of Emperor Montoku (Montoku jitsuroku 文德実録), and was the first record of Bai’s poetry being transmitted to Japan.\(^\text{37}\) Moreover, Shizunaga, a Japanese scholar specialized in the pathways of Chinese cultural transmission to Japan, elaborates Koreans playing a notable role in this respect and lists works referring to the Koreans importing Chinese culture and further points out that many diligent Japanese scholars, monks, and envoys also travel across the Yellow Sea to China to bring back Chinese knowledge and civilization to Heian Japan. However, some of them did not make it to return home such as the Japanese student, Abe Nakamaro who received great patronage from Tang Xuanzong but died in Chang’an China.\(^\text{38}\) Thanks to these cultural transmitters, since then Bai’s literary writings placed a great influence in the Heian court and had been incorporated by Emperor Saga (r. 809-823), who had edited Bai’s poems and was proud of himself. Sugawara no Michizane (菅原道真 845-903) is said to be the first Japanese scholar learning Bai’s poems by amalgamating Japanese culture with Chinese culture as many other Heian literati without thinking whether accepting Bai’s poems or not, only concentrating on seeing themselves in Bai’s poems combining Bai’s poetic aesthetics with Japanese traditions.\(^\text{39}\)


\(^{39}\) Pai Chü-i, Translations from Po Chü-i’s collected works, I, trans. Howard S. Levy (San Francisco: Chinese Materials Center, Inc. 1971), 143. de Bary, et al. Sources of Japanese tradition, 388. Shizunaga, 76 Sugawara’s birthdate, 70 Murasaki was speculated to use Chinese
Ki no Tsurayuki (紀貫之 882-945) compiled *Collected Japanese Poems of Ancient and Modern times* (*Kokin wakashū 古今和歌集*), containing portions of Bai’s poems, Ooeno Koretoki (大江維時 888-963) collected *Great Poems in Thousand Years* (*Senzaikaku 千載佳句*), and was a compilation of Tang and Silla poems written in classical Chinese bearing greater influence from Bai.40 Fujiwara Kintō (藤原公任 966-1041) edited *Collectin of Japanese and Chinese Recitable Verse* (*Wa-Kan rōeishū 和漢朗詠集*), the anthology of poetry is written in Japanese converting couplets of Chinese poems into a 31 (5-7-5-7-7) syllable Japanese poems (*waka*) format easier for Japanese scholars to read.41 Fujiwara Sadaie (藤原定家 1162 – 1241) quoted Bai’s poems in his diary *Bright Moon Writing*, depicting Taira Kolemori’s story when Fujiwara Sadaie was only 19 years old. Subsequently, Bai’s poems were referred to in *Tale of Heike* (*Heike Monogatari 平家物語*), a narration of the well-known Taira clan at the end of Heian period.42 Since Bai’s corpus had a heavy impact on Heian literature, even esoteric Shingon Buddhists made good use of Bai’s corpus to advertise and promote their religious sect. To make them famous for better spreading Buddhism among the masses, the Shingon sect published their study of Bai’s corpus and aggressively researched whether the famous Japanese

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40 Takamatsu, 82-99 myriad Bai’s poems were included in *Senzaikaku*.
monk Kūkai (空海 774-835) had contacted Bai while Kūkai was in Chang’an China. Although the monk never did meet Bai while he was in Chang’an, the topic of the relationship between these two well-known figures remains as a controversial topic today, even after a millennium had passed. Above all, among Bai’s corpus of poems, *Entire Corpus of Bai’s Work* (*Haku-shi monjū*), created a great impact on Heian literature encompassing two canonical pre-modern literary works written in *kana* as of a representation of Heian culture: *Tale of Genji*, the world’s first novel by Murasaki Shikibu and *Pillow Book*, Japan’s first essay (*zuihitsu* 随筆) by Sei Shōnagon.

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43 Ōta Tsugio, *Kūkai oyobi Haku Rakuten no chosaku ni kakawaru chūshaku shorui no chōsa kenkyū* (Tōkyō: Bensei Shuppan, 2007), 202, 204, 213-214. James H. Sanford, R. LaFleur, and Masatoshi Nagatomi, eds., 29. LaFleur acknowledges the tantamount of poetry collection to the Buddhist transmission in medieval Japan and Buddhism as a basic element in medieval literary aesthetic. Takamatsu, 126-127 Bai’s poem was accepted by Tendai sect.

Japanese Literary Theory

The most well-known Japanese aesthetic theory, *mono no aware* 物のあはれ (sorrow of things), was articulated by the 18th century Japanese scholar Motoori Norinaga (本居宣長) who argued that *mono no aware* represents a profound sensitivity to emotional and affective existence in general. Motoori Norinaga’s *mono no aware* is considered as a primary Japanese literary concept broadly employed and studied by a myriad of Japanese and Western scholars as a well-known Japanese aesthetic theory. As a nativist, Motoori Norinaga was against borrowing foreign literature to aid in the growth of indigenous Japanese literature. Furthermore, Motoori Norinaga observed pre-modern Japanese literature through his lens as a contemporary Edo scholar and views *Tale of Genji* with an attitude of eros that could not be accepted in earlier medieval Japanese culture. Furthermore, at least seven centuries prior to Motoori’s time, an older aesthetic concept, *aware* 哀れ (sorrow), was referred to as a Japanese traditional aesthetic theory by Japanese literati of that time. To explain the meaning of *aware*, Komori Ikuko (1926-), a Japanese scholar who studied *Tale of Genji* and the *Entire Corpus of Bai’s Work*, further divided Motoori’s *mono no aware* into three parts: *mono no aware*, *mono aware*, and *aware*. In the Heian period, *aware* resides at the core of the Japanese pre-modern aesthetic sensibility, the crucial emotion that moved readers over a millennium ago, and can be envisioned in Heian literature such as the first Japanese poetry anthology, *Manyōshū*, and the later poetry anthology, *Kokin wakashū*. Aware is not restricted to the feelings of sadness as suggested in the surface

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meaning of its written form. *Aware* includes all kinds of human emotions, such as joy, anger, grief, and delight. In addition to human emotions, *aware* also encompasses all external objects and scenes that could stir human internal feelings: the interaction of human emotions and external substances, and the association of religion and philosophy in human life. In fact, lines of *Zhuangzi*, which Bai follows and admires closely, were incorporated into *Manyōshū*, where feelings of *aware* can be discerned as in traditional Japanese aesthetics.\(^4^8\) For Murasaki, I will employ her aesthetic theory of *aware* explained by Komori Ikuko how Murasaki deployed Bai’s poems in her *Tale of Genji*.\(^4^9\) As for Sei, I will illustrate her aesthetic theory of *wokaši* をかし (splendid; wonderful; or interesting) through the lens of Mark Morris to illuminate her usage of Bai’s poems in her *Pillow Book*. With her learning and ingenuity in Japanese and Chinese literature, Sei created literary works based on her unique aesthetic theory. Sei breaks through traditional literary boundaries in Japanese literary writings via her characteristic creativity of *wokaši*, employing homonyms, puns, pivot word (*kakekotoba*), word play, affective appeal, proverbial wisdom, and language gamesmanship.\(^5^0\) In Sei’s use of logic, she, at times, is witty, naughty, ironic or critical in expressing her unique ideas and in writing her essays. Sei referred to Bai’s poems mostly for the purpose of playful appeal with non-aesthetic grounds, such as in

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\(^{48}\) Takamatsu, 258 Zhuangzi’s thoughts were known to have influenced pre-modern Japanese literature. Pai Chü-i, *Translations from Po Chü-i's collected works* Vol I, trans. Howard S. Levy (New York Paragon Book Reprint Corp: 1971), 148 showing Zhuangzi’s thoughts were already in *Manyōshū*. Ko Shikō, 125-129,180,182-190. de Bary, et al. *Sources of Japanese tradition*, 197.\(^{49}\) Komori Ikuko, 60-89 Komori explains different kinds of feelings expressed by Murasaki in her *Tale of Genji* as *aware*. de Bary, et al. *Sources of Japanese tradition*, 197-200, 204. Masamune Atsuo, 56 Although Murasaki does not specifically say *aware* in her *Tale of Genji*, she does express *aware* in her diary.\(^{50}\) Mark Morris, 7-10, 13-17, 26, 36-37, 47-48, 50. Sei’s literature was different from didactic Tang literature.
poem matching games and quick-witted word play. Ever since the periods of the Nara and the Heian, Japan has accepted Chinese thoughts such as negative-positive (ying-yang). Moreover, in China, there are chapters of elegance (ya 雅): “Great Odes” (“Da-ya” 大雅) and “Lesser Odes” (“Xiao-ya” 小雅) in Classic of Poetry showing Chinese paying great thoughts in graceful (ya in Chinese; miyabi in Japanese 雅) aesthetics.\(^{51}\) However, Sei and Murasaki and other Heian literati especially were fond of Bai’s poems. They must have seen something they were looking for in Bai’s poems and often referred to Bai’s poems.\(^{52}\)

In addition to their preference to Bai’s poems, the commonality between Murasaki and Sei is their erudite usage of primary sources from historical, philosophical, and cultural texts of Japan and China. In the Heian court, there was no formal education for females; Murasaki and Sei learned Han literature as Heian male aristocrats were supposed to do. Regular Heian females were like Murasaki’s female characters in Tale of Genji waiting for males to visit them at night and living on their relationship. As bilingual scholars of Japanese and Chinese, Murasaki and Sei were rivalry with each other in the Heian court for their official posts by attaining Japanese and Chinese literary learning. Murasaki utilized about 42 Japanese and Chinese literary sources. Sei also employed the majority of Murasaki’s textual sources, such as Collectin of Japanese and Chinese Recitable Verse (Wa-Kan rōeishū), Entire Corpus of Bai’s Work (Haku-shi monjū), Collected Japanese Poems of Acient and Modern Times (Kokin wakashū), and Collection of Ten Thousand Leaves (Manyōshū). The main focus of Murasaki’s Tale of Genji is about the love affairs of its aristocratic protagonist, Prince Genji. The success of the text lies in part in its erotic quotient and its historical gossip value. It also displays accurate psychoanalysis and an

\(^{51}\) de Bary, et al. Sources of Japanese tradition, 68, 200, 204.

\(^{52}\) Takamatsu, 174 Yamanaka comments many versions of Sei’s Pillow Book showing wokaši and aware referring to Bai’s poetic compositions.
engrossing depiction of a “shining” hero whose complex character matures as he undergoes successes and defeats in life. In addition to all this, each chapter, within the dialogue of men and women, or even men with men or women with women, there is much erudite quotations of poetry exchanged with each other with an awareness of beauty as they recite fragments of poems by Tang poets in China such as Bai Juyi or by Heian poets in Japan such as Murasaki herself. Murasaki pens Emperor Kiritsubo a fictional figure (the protagonist’s father) who is speculated to have existed in reality as Emperor Ichijo in the same Heian period when the story was staged. Genji’s mother, Kiritsubo no Kōi, seems to be a reflection of the real figure of Fujiwara Teishi (or Sadako; Sei’s Empress). There are also speculations that Murasaki reflected the lives of herself or people around her in her novel. One other supposition is that Hakushi monjū or Wa-Kan rōeishū inspired Murasaki greatly and that Murasaki planned her novel according to the settings of these books and further added her own Japanese poems (waka) following her contemporary social customs to express different kind of human feelings in her characters’ lives.

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The commonality between Bai Juyi, Murasaki Shikibu, and Sei Shōnagon

In addition to native sources, people, and events, both Murasaki and Sei simultaneously seem to adapt the aesthetic principles and the structure of the *Entire Corpus of Bai’s Work* (*Haku-shi monjū*) to construct their writings and create their literary works, inheriting Bai’s versatility in epistemology of history, politics, religion, and philosophy. Through alluding to Bai’s poems, Sei and Murasaki portray the development of human emotional appeal towards religions in Buddhism, Daoism, Confucianism, and Shintoism; in the game of *go* (*weiqi* 圍棋; *go* 嵐棋); in court music (*Saibara* 催馬楽); and in beauty of colours, landscape, paintings, and flowers to explore every kind of human emotions present in Heian court life. Both Sei and Murasaki studied Bai’s corpus of poems thoroughly and applied Bai’s aesthetic theory in their creations of literary works. While Murasaki refers to the game of *go* in one of Bai’s poems about killing time, Sei refers to the game of *go* throughout her *Pillow Book* as a popular game in Heian court. As Bai follows Zhuangzi’s philosophy and aesthetic theory, both Sei and Murasaki refer to Zhuangzi’s philosophy in different ways in their literary works. Furthermore, Bai’s depiction of his belief in Buddhism can also be seen throughout the writings of Sei in religious events and in Murasaki as a principle of karmic retribution in Buddhism as a national religion in the life of Heian court. Consequently, both Sei and Murasaki quote or allude to Bai’s poems as topics for Sei’s games and essays; and in the settings and plots of Murasaki’s novel.

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To create their literary writings, Murasaki and Sei draw from Japanese and Tang traditional literary aesthetics. Japanese traditional literary aesthetics are founded on the most ancient poetry anthologies of Collection of Ten Thousand Leaves, an eighth-century completed anthology of Japanese poetry, before Bai’s time and in the Collected Japanese Poems of Ancient and Modern Times, a Heian court literature edited by Ki no Tsurayuki (d. 946)\textsuperscript{55} after Bai’s time becoming Japanese aesthetic and poetic conventional literary tradition. As a literary refinement that enriched conversation, the use of and reference to poetry constituted conventional behaviour at the Heian court. Usually composed in momentary flashes of inspiration in native Japanese tanka or waka poetic forms, such poems used the evocative power of images to hint at very subjective emotions. Flowers, trees or other aesthetically acceptable images were commonly associated with people. A poet could use a well-known “pillow-word” (makura-kotoba) as an instant key to describe a common subject or emotion. However, sometimes the allusion(s) in a poem might be more specific, subtly modifying a famous poem by a word or two in order to apply it to new circumstances in the here and now. This device, known as “allusive-variation” (furuko-toba / honkadori) was very popular and much admired when skilfully utilized in the Heian court.\textsuperscript{56} In addition to Japanese studies, Murasaki and Sei engaged in Han learning that included Chinese literature, history, philosophy, music, dance, the game of go, and the philosophy of Confucianism, Buddhism, and Daoism. As an example, I will now turn to the usage of Bai’s most famous poem quoted from Entire Corpus of Bai’s Work; quoted in Collectin of Japanese and Chinese Recitable Verse, in Muraski’s Tale of Genji, and in Sei’s Pillow Book.

\textsuperscript{55} de Bary, et al. Sources of Japanese tradition, 68, 204, 247, 385.
\textsuperscript{56} Usami Akinori, 169-180. Mark Morris, 13-17, 19.
Song of Lasting Pain

Bai Juyi’s most famous poem, “Song of Lasting Pain” (Chang Hen Ge 長恨歌)\(^57\) was popular both in Tang China and Heian Japan.\(^58\) Murasaki and Sei draw extensively in this well-known poem of Bai’s. The following lines from Bai’s poems are the ones used most often by Murasaki and Sei in their own works:

漢王重色思傾國 Han emperor places value on beauty as the kind that overturns the state.\(^59\)

驪宮高處入青雲 The highest place of the Li palace pierces into blue clouds,
仙樂風飄處處聞 the heavenly music floats with the wind to everywhere, so that could be heard.
緩歌慢舞凝絲竹 The slow music and dance congeal stringed zithers and bamboo windpipes,
盡日君王看不足 day after day, the emperor cannot be tired of watching.
驚破霓裳羽衣曲 alarmingly break the tune of rainbow skirts and feather tops.\(^60\)

太液芙蓉未央柳 Lotus in the Tai-yi pond and willows in Wei-yang [currently Xi’an District];
芙蓉如面柳如眉 Lotus remind him of her face and willows remind him of her eyebrows.

春風桃李花開日 When the day of blossoming peach and plum flowers,
秋雨梧桐葉落時 and the leaves of the paulownia trees drop at autumn rainy days.

夕殿螢飛思悄然 In the evening palace, glow worms fly around as if their missing her silently.
孤燈挑盡未成眠 The solitary lamp burn all night, the emperor still could not get into sleep.

羅雀瓦冷霜華重 Roof tiles of lovebirds are chilled with layers of frosty flowers.
翡翠衾寒誰與共 The emerald quilt is cold, with whom could I together warm it up?

風吹仙袂飄飄舉 The wind blows her immortal sleeves lightly rising up,
猶似霓裳羽衣舞 It looks like she is dancing the tune of “garments of rainbow and feather”.

梨花一枝春帶雨 She looks like a branch of pear flower showered with raindrops.

蓬萊宮中日月長 In the Palace of immortal Peng-lai, days pass slowly.

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\(^{57}\) Bai Juyi, *Bai Juyi ji*, ed. Gu Xuejie, 238-239.

\(^{58}\) ibid.

\(^{59}\) Han Emperor a metaphor for Xuanzong to Bai; Emperor Kiritsubo for Xuanzong to Murasaki.

\(^{60}\) From 2\(^{nd}\) line to 7\(^{th}\) line, Bai states Tang dance which are implanted in Murasaki’s and Sei’s.
a gold hairpin in an inlaid box, she asks the wizard to carry it back to him.

On the seventh day of the seventh month in the Palace of Longevity, at midnight when nobody is around, she whispers:

In the sky, I want to be a bird flying beside you.
On the earth, I want to be a tree branch entangling with you.

My sorrow for this will never ended.\(^{61}\)

The aesthetics of sorrow, dedicated to an expansive web of human emotions, resulted in a heightened and intense experience of these lines for poetry lovers and connoisseurs in Japan, Murasaki renders Bai’s verse as “There were lotuses in Tai-ye Pool, and willows at Weiyang” (Taieki no fuyō, Biō no yanagi mo 太液の芙蓉、未央の柳も).\(^{62}\) In the first chapter, “The Paulownia Court” (Kiritsubo 桐壺), of Tale of Genji, Murasaki relates her own version of story to Bai’s lines in a similar way that Bai himself connects external scenes or objects to the human sensory system to affect human emotions. The relationship between Tang Xuanzong and Yang Guifei resonates with the tale of the Emperor’s love for his beautiful low-level consort Kiritsubo, Genji’s mother. In Bai’s original poem, after Yang Guifei was executed by the military, Tang Xuanzong sadly visits the execution ground and later sees the lotus in Tai-Ye Pool and the willows at Weiyang. Bai writes: “But the lotuses looked like her face and the willows seemed

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like her brows,“ deliberately linking the beautiful scenery seen by the Emperor Tang Xuanzong to the memory of human beauty he still envisions. In Murasaki’s reference, the Emperor Kiritsubo, mourning the death of Kiritsubo no Kōi, looks at the painting of Yang Guifei and reconnects himself to the beauty of his dead consort like that composed in Bai’s poem.\textsuperscript{64}

Significantly, the beauty of both the natural scenery and the deceased individual do not occur to both the Chinese emperor Tang Xuanzong and the Japanese Emperor Kiritsubo until they have experienced the deep sorrow of losing their loved ones. Yet, their sorrow is at the same time triggered by the memory of the beauty of both women in question. For Murasaki, beauty serves double duty as both cause and effect of sorrow; this is the chief element behind the aware aesthetics of sorrow she elucidates in Bai’s poem, triggered by Yang Guifei’s picture as an external object entering Emperor Kiritsubo’s mind through his eyes and creating sorrowful feelings as an element of aesthetics.

Another occasion of external scenes stirring internal feelings can be seen in Chapter 41, “The Wizard” (\textit{Maboroshi 仮}) , when Genji loses his favourite wife and decides to become a Buddhist monk, Genji essentially disappears from the book and Murasaki referenced Bai’s verse: “As glow worms flew through the twilight courts” (\textit{sekiden ni hotaru tonde 夕殿に螢飛んで}).\textsuperscript{65}

In the original poem, Bai continues, adding “he would sink into silent thought. The wick of his lonely lamp burned low and still he could not sleep”\textsuperscript{66} to further describe Tang Xuanzong

\textsuperscript{63} Seidensticker, 12. English translation by Seidensticker. Imaizumi, 9.
\textsuperscript{64} ibid.
\textsuperscript{66} ibid. Seidensticker, 731. Imaizumi, 874. Murasaki uses only the portion of the flying fireflies to express Genji’s missing his lady. However, Bai expresses explicitly what Xuanzong is
thinking of Yang Guifei and losing his sleep endlessly into the realm of literary aesthetics. In a refinement of the aesthetics of grief, Murasaki tries to romanticize Genji’s sorrow by adding the sound of the weeping cicadas in the background to express Genji’s sadness intensifying the audio-visual effect calculated to reflect Genji’s internal sorrow. By means of poetic grace and picturesque charm, Murasaki is clearly interested in moving beyond sorrow as mere unhealthy grief when stirred by external scenes. Murasaki employs views of fireflies and the music of summer insects to envision the picture of Tang emperor’s sleepless nights to sublimate human sorrow into the realm of literary aesthetics.

We find an excellent example of Murasaki’s romanticization of sorrow in Chapter 9, “Heartvine” (Aoi 葵), when Genji’s wife Aoi dies after giving birth to his son. Describing Genji’s loneliness when sleeping alone, Murasaki quotes Bai’s verse as “Old pillow and old quilt, with whom I am going to share” (Furuki makura furuki fusuma tare to tomo ni ka ふるき枕ふるき衾、誰とともにか)? However, Bai’s original is “The kingfisher quilts were cold without someone to share” (feicui qinhan sheiyu gong 翡翠衾寒誰與共), words initially intended by Bai to describe Tang Xuanzong’s lonely desolation at not being able to share his quilts with his beloved consort. Murasaki alters Bai’s setting to add a pillow and change from jade quilts to old quilts. Although referencing and alluding to Bai’s poem, Murasaki expresses her own thoughts to depict Genji’s internal feelings of loneliness stirred by the touch of the old pillow and the old quilt. In the verse previous to that one, “The lovebird tiles were chill, heavy

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missing about: Yan Gui-fei in the imagery of flying fireflies. This might be a subtle cultural difference. For Japanese, flying fireflies are sufficient to express sorrow of missing lost love.

67 Imaizumi, 196. This expression is not found in Fujiwara Kintō’s Wa-kan roeishū.

68 Seidensticker, 178. Bai Juyi, Bai Juyi ji, ed. Gu Xuejie, 239.
with flakes of frost”, Bai composed roof tiles in the format of lovebirds burdened with frost to express Xuanzong’s grieving for his lost love and romanticizing the scenery in the process of seeing external objects such as the roof tiles. Murasaki alludes to Bai’s verse with the intention of romanticizing Genji’s sorrow of losing his wife and Genji’s father-in-law’s sorrow on seeing Genji’s poems and thinking of his dead daughter. While alluding to Bai’s lines, Murasaki employed her own poetic expressions to romanticize her characters’ sorrowful feelings.

However, there are competing thoughts of utilizing lines of poems concerned with vanquishing death. In Chapter 49, “The Ivy” (Yadorigi 宿木), Kaoru, marrying the second princess, is struck by Ukifune’s resemblance to Oigimi and thinking sadly of Oigimi, consoles himself by referencing Bai’s poem as “even as far as Peng-lai I would search (for the beauty – Ukifune/Oigimi)” (Hōrai made tazunete 蓬萊まで尋ねて). Murasaki expresses the loss of departure from lovers using poems Bai composes under the category of sentiment to make sorrowful feeling romantic. Murasaki may be employing irony about Kaoru thinking of getting back his lover by all means, just as Tang Xuangzong did when using a Daoist wizard to go to the underworld to look for his lost lover. As a Tang Emperor, Xuangzong, who lost control of his state did not feel shamed by his faults, but doubly exerted his efforts to seek for the dead soul of his lover. As an aristocrat, Kaoru could not think of anything else but to follow Xuangzong’s method to get back his lost love. Murasaki might have been ironically questioning whether the two male characters were thinking rationally of their social obligations instead of personal love affairs. Murasaki subtly transforms Bai’s sentiments into satire in depicting her love stories.

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69 ibid. Imaizumi, 196.
70 ibid.
71 Imaizumi, 1110. Seidensticker, 12, 934. Bai Juyi, Bai Juyi ji, ed. Gu Xuejie, 239.
Different from Muraski’s aware, Sei’s aesthetic preference is wokaši. According to Mark Morris, in Sei’s Makura no sōshi, three types of dan (passage), are distinguished: diaries, essays, and lists. Among lists, two genres of wa は (particles of Japanese) passage and mono 物 (things) passage could be identified. However, Sei interweaves these types and genres into passages to express her preference in interesting things. For example, Sei lists red plum flowers, cherry blossoms, wisteria, orange flowers, and pear flowers in her 34th passage. Among the category of flowering trees, Sei likes bright colours, and she comments she adores red plum blossoms, red cherry leaves, blue-lilac wisteria, light purple melia, and purple paulownia flowers. Sei enjoys the sight of white orange blossom (tachibana) showered with rain.

Although Sei does not think too highly of the white pear flowers, she starts to notice and like the tiny pink edge in the plain white pear flowers while trying to reason why Chinese like plain pear flowers so much. Sei links Bai’s poem of Yang Guifei to the pear flowers being sprinkled with rain alluding to the beauty of a crying woman’s face. Whether Sei likes pear flowers or not, she praises Yang Guifei’s beauty as the imagery of “a pear flower covered in spring raindrops” rika isshi haru ame wo obitari 梨花一枝春雨をおびたり (Japanese): lihua yizhi cundaiyu 梨花一枝春带雨 (Chinese). By connecting tears with raindrops or morning dews, Sei demonstrates her poetic talent of looking at negative things with positive thoughts. While shedding tears is a consequence of feeling sad, if one can enjoy and appreciate the beauty that negative feelings bring, sorrow is not necessarily a negative feeling at all. Sei demonstrates her appreciation of the beauty of negative feelings, such as sorrow, as one of life’s pleasures.

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72 wa は in Japanese is a particle.
73 Mark Morris, 5, 8-11.
Aware by Murasaki

For Murasaki, reading “Song of Lasting Pain” did not restrict her to the exact moment as an instant photographic image or a poetic moment of watching Yang Guifei’s beauty like a pear flower, but the time extends to a longer span and generates several series of aware feelings in Genji’s stories. Murasaki is conscious that Tang Xuanzong, in losing himself single-heartedly to the endless aesthetic repercussions occasioned by his love affair with Yang Guifei, neglected the affairs of his realm and thus was in due course deposed by one of his Turkic generals. After Yang Guifei died, Tang Xuanzong, desiring to once again live with Yang Guifei, does double duty by being indicated, “as in sky wishing to be like birds flying together” hane wo kawasan to wa hikkaete 羽をかはさんとは引きかへて (in Japanese); zaitian yuanzuo biyiniao 在天願作比翼鳥 (in Chinese), both Emperor Tang Xuanzong and Genji commemorated their private romance in the hope of reunion with the deceased, with Yang Guifei for Tang Xuanzong and with Lady Yūgao for Genji. It is, of course, an impossible dream to bring dead people back to life. The relinquished hope of being reunited in this life is replaced with that of meeting in future lives, whether as birds flying wing to wing or trees interwined root to root. The suffering Tang Xuanzong, and by extension, Genji with the hope of rebirth sublimate their grief, finding the strength to overcome their pain and continue living. Murasaki links Tang Xuanzong’s determination with Genji’s to show a strong Buddhist implication that re-incarnation will happen in future lives as in both Tang Xuangzong’s and Genji’s belief. Their thoughts for a love reunion through religious fantasy help to sublimate their greifs and sorrows.

As Sei shows her personal preference for the colours of flowers, Murasaki expresses refined sensitivity to colours in things of nature, clothes, fans, drapes, and writing paper.

throughout her novel. Colour as an implication of human feelings can be seen in Chapter 34, “New Herbs I” (Wakana 1 若葉上) of The Tale of Genji. Here Genji, forced by Emperor Suzaku to take the Third Princess as a child-bride, returns to Murasaki early in the morning. Outside the Third Princess’ quarters, he catches sight of the snow from the previous night in the yard, and realizes with bemused self-irony that he is forced to be away from home. Albeit for a very different motive, he is inspired to recite Bai’s poem “A dawn gaze from Yu Tower” (Yu Lou Xiao Wang 庚樓曉望): 76

獨懽朱樞立凌晨 Alone I lean against the red threshold of the tower, standing before dawn,山色初明水色新 the mountain scene is starting to turn bright and the river looks fresh.竹霧曉籠銜嶺月 Bamboo fog standing like morning cage bites the moon over mountain path.蘋風暖送過江春 the warm breeze of the duckweeds blows through the spring river。子城陰處猶殘雪 At the shaddy corner of the son castle within Chang’an, snow still remains,衙鼓聲前未有塵 before the sounding of official drum, there are no signs of the secular world。三百年來庾樓上 Since three hundred years, who climbed up this Yu Tower,曾經多少望鄉人 how many of them come to gaze at their home town? 77

He intones (as the reader encounters it in the Japanese version) “There is yet snow by the castle wall” (nao nokoreru yuki なお残れる雪). 78 This simultaneously painterly and philosophical poem originally described Bai’s feelings as he gazed from the heights of the tower upon the awakening town below him. Bai concluded it by extending these feelings as he wondered how many had come to the same place with the same feeling in the early morning light. In any case, Murasaki Shikibu’s visual sensibilities have led her to make a particularly apt choice because thinking of the poem’s original text, readers visualize for themselves the block of red colour as

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76 Bai Juyi, Bai Juyi ji, ed. Gu Xuejie, 326. Not in Fujiwara Kintō’s Wa-Kan rōeishū.
77 My translation. Seidensticker II, 556. Genji intoned to himself when he came out of the Third Princess’ to go back to Murasaki’s; the white sand in the garden is no different than the snow patch making him allude to the poem of Bai’s. Nakanishi Susumu, Genji monogatari to Haku Rakuten (Tōkyō: Iwanami Shoten, 1997), 286. The portion referenced by Murasaki is not in Kintō’s Wa-Kan rōeishū, but other parts not referenced by Murasaki are in Wa-Kan rōeishū.
78 Imaitsume, 647. Bai’s poem is not in Fujiwara Kintō’s Wa-Kan rōeishū.
formed by the threshold, the turquoise of the water further on, the distant green of the mountain and the close and startling white of the snow. A few moments later, describing Genji’s arrival outside his home, Murasaki successfully engages in further painting by association when the whiteness of the snow is echoed in her mention of the white sand stone in the garden path. Might the colour white represent the sadness of absence for both Bai and Murasaki, indicating nostalgia for home in the first instance and nostalgia for the beloved Murasaki no ue in the second? Based on Renling Lo’s theory of using colours to reflect writers’ moods, many colors such as the red threshold, green mountains, turquoise water, and white snow are used in Bai’s poem. In every chapter of *Tale of Genji*, different colours in female’s clothes represent a certain kind of feeling. Among these various colours, Murasaki only picks the colour white to show Genji’s state of worrying and missing his beloved wife, Murasaki no ue, a female figure in her *Tale of Genji*. To Sei, the colour of the flowers is something merely from the external world that stimulates Sei’s internal affective interest as wokaši. However, Murasaki effectively employs the white colour in Bai’s poem to express Genji’s sorrows and worries at being away from his wife.

Murasaki’s immersion in aware can be further seen in using one of Bai’s most popular poems, “The Lutist” (*Pipa xing* 琵琶行). In Chapter 13 of *Tale of Genji*, “Akashi” (*Akashi* 明石), she references this poem in a subtly multiple fashion, drawing allusions to both music and painting. Genji, banished to Suma, moves to Akashi, where he meets an old priest who tries to interest him in his gifted, if unavoidably provincial daughter. The old man first shows Genji his

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79 Luo Renling, *Taiwan xian dai shi zi ran mei xue: yi Yang Mu, Zheng Chouyu, Zhou Mengdie wei zhong xin* (Taipei: Er ya chu ban you xian gong si, 2005), 144-147, 235-236. Luo argues different colors can be used to reflect various moods of writers through literary writing. It seems that Bai and Murasaki both employ color white to represent the feeling of sorrow.

80 Yoshioka Sachio, *"Genji monogatari" no iro jiten* (Kyōto-shi: Shikōsha, 2008), 3-245

Yoshioka concurs with Bai, Murasaki, and Luo that colors can represent different feelings.

own skill in lute playing, carefully mentions his daughter’s skill, and that he can “summon her. There was once a poet, you will remember, who was much pleased at the lute of a tradesman’s wife.”82 The old man was talking about Bai’s poem, “The Lutist”:

…

忽聞水上琵琶聲 Suddenly we hear the music of the lute in the river.
主人忘歸客不發 The host forgets going home and the guest does not want to leave.
尋聲暗問彈者誰 We search where the music from, secretly ask each other who the lutist is.
琵琶聲停欲語遲 The music stops, but the lutist would not reveal her name.
…

猶把琵琶半遮面 Still holding her lute to cover half of her face.
…

杜鵑啼血猿哀鳴 The cuckoo bird cries until it bleeds and the monkey whines sorrowfully.83
…

The poem to which Murasaki refers here is Bai’s sadness at having been banished to a far off place where he chances to hear the lute performance of a tradesman’s wife. The image of Bai sitting in a boat in southern China listening to the tradesman’s wife’s lute performance overlaps with the image of Genji sitting in a house by the sea and reacting with sadness when the old man plays the lute; biwa琵琶 (in Japanese); pipa琵琶 (in Chinese),84 a musical instrument very popular in the Tang era spread to Japan in the same era), himself sad about Genji’s banishment.85 Later, the old man arranges his daughter Akashi to marry Genji. Eventually, Akashi plays koto sorrowfully at Genji’s residence apart from her hometown.86 At this stage, Murasaki’s fiction alludes not only to Bai’s poem, but the music performance in the later part of the novel as well.

82 Seidensticker I, 256. Imaizumi, 282. Although this poem of Bai’s is indicated in Seidensticker’s text, it is not mentioned in Imaizumi’s text. (Allusion is still there.)
85 Seidensticker I, 255-256.
86 Seidensticker I, 323. Imaizumi, 362.
Murasaki’s narration of the music event is so vivid that even if the reader is not surrounded by musicians, he can hear the lute playing as Bai mentions; although he is not in front of the actual image or picture, he can visualize Bai’s scene of the Lutist. He can, in fact, hear, see, and feel the female lute player’s sad emotion; through the audio-visual imagery, the sadness shared by both Bai and Genji is also felt by the audience. Murasaki’s choice of reference here well illustrates how sorrow is aligned with images of music and poetry within the system of aware.

Both Sei and Murasaki adopt Bai’s poem based on principles of Japanese traditions of literary aesthetics. Such adaptations between cultures are common. The profound sorrowful tales about cuckoos in ancient Chinese times were domesticated in Japan as a different version of cuckoo (hototogisu 郭公) living in orange trees. The nuances of cuckoos living in orange trees had been seen in Collection of Ten Thousand Leaves and Collected Japanese Poems of Ancient and Modern Times before Yang Guifei’s time became a part of the Japanese poetic tradition of imagery. The bird alone is not necessarily a figurative image, but part of a combination of beauty with the golden bulbs and the white flowers of orange trees. Although the cuckoo is considered as an inauspicious bird in China, which is often ominous and would not stop crying until it bleeds, the vivid pattern of orange blossoms with cuckoo in the summer is used by Sei and Murasaki in Japan for aesthetic principles, such as that described in Sei’s Essay 39 “Flowering Trees” and Murasaki’s Chapter 11 of Tale of Genji, “The Orange Blossoms” (Hanachirusato 花散里). Other such traditional Japanese aesthetic borrowings can be seen in images such as plum flowers with orioles in spring. Sei further surprises her readers by alluding to Chinese aesthetic tradition mentioning paulownia trees with a noble bird of phoenix

87 Watanabe, 50.
88 Ivan Morris, 42-43. Watanabe, 50-52.
89 Imaizumi, 240.
90 Imaizumi, 895.
(yuan chu 鴻鵠) drawn from the text of Zhuangzi. Sei demonstrates an innovative reception of Chinese literature in Japan. The image is not only for the philosophical reason of the noble and aloof yuan chu bird living exclusively on paulownia trees, but also paulownia trees were material for making musical instruments exported from China to Japan in the Tang era such as zithers (koto 琴). Sei connects the noble tree with materials of making musical instruments, showing Sei’s logic of analysis. Perhaps this is why Sei has deeper strength in writing essays than poetry and her aesthetic preference to wokaši rather than merely restricting herself to the traditional aware. In this passage, Sei depicts her affective preference in the colours of flowers, her familiarity of Zhuangzi, and knowledge of musical instruments – is a poet, a philosopher, and a connoisseur interweaving three different skills is the practice of wokaši for Sei.

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91 Watanabe, 51-52. Hua, 77. Zhuang, 76-82. Koto is gu zheng 古箏 (zithers) in Chinese,
Sei and her Empress: mutually implicit recognition and the same level of Chinese learning

Although Murasaki’s usage of Bai’s celebrated “The Lutist” is without a doubt very refined, she is, of course, not alone in choosing to elaborate upon it. The poem is also borrowed by Sei in Essay 77 of her Pillow Book, “On the Day after the Naming of the Buddhas”,92 where Sei describes when screens of the hell were brought to the Empress’ place, affecting the viewers painfully. Sei becomes frightened and takes refuge in her own room next to where she occasions to hear some of the senior courtiers playing a music concert for the bored Emperor on lute (biwa 琵琶), zithers (koto 琴), flutes (hue 筚), and sheng; a mouth organ with pipes stuck into a gourd (shō 笙). After they have finished, the sound of the flute stops and Sei hears Korechika, the Major Counsellor, intone “The Lutist” chanting “The music stops, but the player will not speak her name” (biwa koe yande monogatarisen to suru koto ososhi 琵琶声やんで 物語せんとする事をそし).93 With this well-timed quotation, the Counsellor references the exiled Bai who one evening while seeing off a friend whose boat is moored on a river, hears a lute-player on a neighbouring boat who declines to identify herself.94 Literary recitation and musical chanting, rhythm and percussion, pace and movement, not to mention painting-viewing and anecdote-telling, all add here to the emotional appeal that was de rigueur for the aristocratic sensibilities of the Heian court. Sei interweaves her diary writing of an isolated music event taking place during the day at court and a list of musical instruments, focusing on the nature of the day event as wokaši; the activities during the day seem frozen in a vivid instant, placing the didactic Buddhist picture of hell in the background. While Bai and Sei narrate a music event that they encounter in

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the past, Murasaki focuses on a temporal series that spans from the past, through the present, and into the future. Murasaki alludes to Bai’s past, states Genji’s present talking to the old man and playing with his *koto*, and prefigures a future encounter with the Akashi lady, who eventually holds sorrow as heavy as the tradesman’s wife that Bai chanced to hear her playing lute.

Unlike her narrating a music scene in the Heian court as an analogy for Bai’s poem, elsewhere Sei refers to the same poem of Bai to tease the Empress. Interestingly, in Essay 88, entitled “A Group of Senior Courtiers,” Sei relates how one evening through her blinds she caught sight of the Empress, dressed in scarlet and holding her lute lengthwise. Her sleeves were falling elegantly over the wood musical instrument and her white forehead contrasted with the black lute. Reminded instantly of Bai’s poem “The Lutist”, she unhesitatingly says to a nearby woman: “The girl whose face was half-hidden can certainly not have been as beautiful as this.” Immediately informed by the woman of her comment, the Empress is not at all insulted at being compared to Bai’s unknown commoner on a boat, as she has instead been able to appreciate Sei’s apt erudition and playful remarks. The Empress, not hesitating to carry the game of allusion yet a step farther, smiles and replies: “Can Sei understand the sorrow of parting?” Sei, confident the Empress is well aware of her abilities, ends her entry saying she was greatly amused. Clearly, both she and the Empress are able to share a profound enjoyment of teasing each other by making good use of Bai’s evocative poem. Unlike Murasaki’s *aware*, however, the poem seems emotionless under Sei’s pen. First, Sei classifies the music event of lute in her paragraph of

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96 ibid.
97 ibid.
98 ibid.
99 Morris I, 70. Morris II, 65. Watanabe, 88. This episode is mentioned only in Watanabe’s.
things or events (*mono dan*). Sei then utilizes the poem to make fun of her Empress’ looks holding the lute musical instrument. As for writing about the event in her memoir, Sei keeps each anecdote as an isolated occasion. The events happened only in the past; they would not return to haunt her even though the Empress died afterwards at a young age. However, while Murasaki refers to the same poem, the poem works in a circular motion. Retribution is illustrated throughout Murasaki’s didactic literary work. Her novel portrays Genji’s promiscuous behaviours as receiving proper punishment in the ending of Genji’s life. Whatever one has done in the past would return to the present and will extend to the future. Cause and effect works in a cyclical motion in life: good causes plant good seeds; bad causes plant bad seeds. As for Sei, she utilizes Bai’s poem merely for the cause of *wokaši*, just for a comedic effect.

Anecdotes such as these give us some idea of the importance of Bai’s poetry for the aristocrats in the Heian court of Japan. Knowledge of Bai’s works was indispensable for answering essay questions with illustrative proofs that might assure promotion within the governmental system. Bai’s output of poetry was an object of study for all those with palace positions; aristocrats could at any moment be called upon to demonstrate their knowledge of Bai’s texts. Sei in Essay 278, entitled “One Day, When the Snow lay thick on the Ground”,100 relates in a cold day while the snow falls heavily on the ground, the Empress said “Tell me, Shōnagon, how is the snow on Hsiang-lu peak?” (*Shōnagon yo Kōrohō no yuki ikanaran?* 少納言よ。香炉峰の雪いかならん?)101 She was referring to Bai’s poem of “At the Foot of Xianglu Mountain; Newly Chosen Mountainous Residential Place; a Grass Hut Just Finished;

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Spontaneously Writing on the East Wall Five Poems” *(Xianglu feng xia xin bu shan ju cao tang chu cheng outi dongbi wushou* 香爐峰下新卜山居，草堂初成，偶題東壁五首):\(^{102}\)

... 遗愛寺鐘欹枕聽 I raise my head from my pillow and listen to bells chiming at Yi-ai Temple.\(^{103}\)

香爐峰雪撥簾看 Pushing up the blind, I gaze upon the snow on the top of mount Xianglu.\(^{104}\)

... What the Empress alludes to is particularly the line of Bai’s verse: “Pushing aside the blind, I gaze upon the snow of Hsiang-lu peak.”\(^{105}\) Although all the ladies-in-waiting knew this line, which had been rewritten in Japanese in *Wa-Kan rōeishū*, only Sei recognized the Empress’ mind and was able to match the poetry to that moment. Instantly Sei orders the maid to roll up the blinds so that the scene outside could be seen matching that of Bai’s poem and the Empress could gaze upon the mountain peak. Such vignettes again and again inform us that knowledge of Bai’s poetry was clearly of considerable importance, ensuring affection and honours as payment for the responding suitably to the sentiments of one’s superior. Murasaki, on the other hand, utilizes the first portion of the poem to allude to the time when Genji is banished to Suma. In Chapter 12 “Suma” *(Suma 須磨)*, Murasaki writes: “He erected his pillow to support his head and listened to the roar of the wind” *(makura wo sobatatete yomo no arashi wo kikitamau ni 枕をそばたてて四方の風を聞き給ふに)*\(^{106}\) to express how Genji suffered loneliness in his exiled life. From the surrounding of Genji’s home, the fall colour accompanies the sound of the wind.

Murasaki illustrates Genji’s desolate feeling siding on the pillow and alludes to the imagery of

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\(^{102}\) Kintō Fujiwara, 210, *Wa-Kan rōeishū*. <山家>香爐峰の雪は簾を拨げて見る<“mountain home”> I roll up the blind to see the snow on the Xianlu mountain. Nakanishi, 146.

\(^{103}\) My translation refers to works of Seidensticker’s and Morris’. Seidensticker, 235. Morris II, 180. There are two ways of interpretations: the head is siding away from the pillow; the head is leaning on the erected pillow to listen to the external realm.


\(^{105}\) ibid.

listening to the temple bell that Bai described in his poem. While Murasaki employs Bai’s poem to express aware, depicting the sorrowful feeling of the protagonist; Sei utilizes Bai’s poem to exhibit wokaši, her wit to respond to the Empress’ examination of literary ability.

Yet another episode illustrates Sei’s literary prowess as well as the comfortable relationship and mutual aesthetic enjoyment she and the Empress feel as they converse with each other, highlighting poetry composed by others as well as by Bai. In her Essay 256, “On about the Twentieth day of the Second Month”, our authoress relates that in preparation for a Dedication of the Full Canon of the Sutras, the Empress and her ladies-in-waiting move to the Palace of the Second Ward, which boasts a garden with a cherry tree unseasonably in bloom. It turns out that the tree is covered with ingenious artificial blossoms in an attempt to delay the inevitable. As the days pass, the blossoms are given a unpleasantly withered look by the sun and finally after a night’s rain, are so aesthetically worthless that Sei remarks that they “could hardly be compared to the faces of lovers crying for being forced to say good-bye” (nakite wakareken kao ni kokoro otori koso sure なきて別けん顔に心おとりこそすれ), feeling sorry for the flowers losing natural beauty so as to be unable to be made a metaphor for the beauty of a sad woman. Subsequently, hearing the talk of the men sent by the Chancellor to clean the soggy blossoms off the trees before anyone notices, her association-hungry brain, by way of comment on the deception thus engineered, makes her think of “Let him tell me what he will”, the first line of a poem whose author we are told she may or may not have correctly remembered. Eventually, imitating the example of other ladies who wish to prepare themselves for the coming ceremony, she returns home, only to receive a clever message from the Empress. Sei manages to reference

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107 Watanabe, 293. Morris I, 222. Watanabe, 51. In Sei’s 39th essay “Flowering Trees”, she also refers Yang Guifei’s crying face to a branch of pear flower showered by rain, making a comparison of showered flowers with a crying woman’s beauty.
their recent joint amusement at the Chancellors’s blossom-removal deception. Sei is asked whether she misses her mistress: “Have the flowers laid bare their hearts yet” (hana no kokoro hirakezaruya ikani 花の心ひらけざるや。いかに)? The Empress implicates: “You must not fail to let me know now whether you miss me and when you are coming back”, an allusion to Bai’s poem “Long Love Sickness” (Chang xiangsi 長相思):

九月西風興 In the ninth month of the year, the west wind quickens;
月冷霜華凝 in the cold of the moon, flowers of frost have formed.
思君秋夜長 When I think upon you, the autumn night seems long.
一夜魂九昇 My soul, nine times, rises towards you in one night.
二月東風来 In the second month of the year, the east wind comes;
草拆花心開 tearing at the plants till the flowers lay bare their hearts.
思君春日遅 When I think upon you, the spring day passes slowly.
一日腸九廻 My heart, nine times, leaps up to you in one night.

The Empress picks the line of torn flowers as a question to trick Sei into answering her with the wrong line, which is the next to the line of her question. The Empress, playing word games with Sei, knowing Sei’s courtly ability, expects her to reference the right half of the fragment and reply correctly. Sei does so, answering: “The autumn still far away, but my soul has risen 9 times toward you in one night” (aki wa madashiku habere do, yoru ni koko no tabi noboru kokochi nan shihaberu 秋はまだしき侍れど、夜にここのたびのぼる心ちなんし侍) to respond to the Empress. Since it is a Japanese aesthetic tradition that friends reply to each other if one asks a topic from the lower portion of the poem, the other replies with a line from the upper portion of the poem, Sei, thus, picked the line of her heart leap nine times in Japanese expression to emphatically propound her feelings of missing her Empress. Bai originally began his poem to describe how a woman greatly missed the warmth of her husband in the ninth month

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111 Watanabe, 296.
and the second month; here, Sei has expertly rendered that nostalgia in her own way to match with the Japanese protocol of wordplay among literati friends. This particular example illustrates that Sei and the Empress are equally matched in the game of appreciating, identifying, completing, and indeed, extending poetic images. As they apprehend each other’s thoughts and emotions, they assure a poetic result that is well balanced and touches equally on Bai’s past history. In her specialty of wokaši, Sei presents her usage of kake-kotoba, a technique that employs a sophisticated double- or even triple-entendre, called a “pivot-word”. This device, when carefully manipulated, could result in the creation of a veritable changing nexus of joined associations and meanings, thus engendering an even more intense feeling of empathy and appreciation in those who understood it. Poetic sensitivity to the delicacy and subtlety of beauty was the supreme factor that won admiration. As Sei and her Empress extend the poet’s original sentiments beyond their own individual ones, they ingeniously succeed in relating them to a shared present moment, fleeting, sometimes mundane, but always the highest expression, in experiential terms.

\[112 \text{ Mark Morris, 16.} \]
More *wokashi* by Sei

Sei, famous for her wit and her encyclopaedic knowledge of Bai’s works, relates another episode in which one wintry day she is handed a note from Fujiwara Kintō containing two lines by Bai’s with which Fujiwara Kintō is obviously challenging her to produce the opening verse in Essay 102, entitled “On the Last Day of the Second Month.” Playing the game of matching different parts of Bai Juyi’s poems was very common at the Heian court as yet another way to create aesthetic beauty and partake in its emotional appeal. Answering Kintō’s challenge in 7-7 syllables as second half of *waka* form: “just some slight spring feelings” (*sukoshi haru aru kokochi koso sure* すこし春ある心ちこそすれ), Sei wishes she could ask the absent Empress for help because this poem of Bai’s does not appear in the *Wa-Kan rōeishū*. Sei finally precedes the reference with an adaptation of Bai’s poem, “Snow at Nanqin” (*Nanqin xue* 南秦雪):

Previous years I have been the official at the west village,
I used to travel from Luokou to Nanqin.
At three o’clock the wintry sky filled with cold cloud and flying snow,
On the second month, in the cold mountains spring hardly arrives.

The answer for Kintō’s puzzle is the opening part of the couplet in Bai’s line: “At three o’clock the wintry sky filled with cold cloud and flying snow.” Sei replies to Kintō in 5-7-5 syllables as opening of *waka* format: “In the wintry sky, snow flakes scatter like flowers.” (*sora samumi hana ni magaete chiru yuki ni* 空寒み花にまがへてちる雪に) Sei must have had a photographic memory of Bai’s poems, because she spotted the previous line in Bai’s poem and expresses the imagery of snowflakes in her own words. Bai’s “Snow at Nanqin”, which was

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113 Morris I, 120-121. <line 526>  
114 ibid. Watanabe, 146.  
116 My translation.
originally written as: “In the second month, when mountains are still cold, there is little feeling of the spring” (eryue shan han shaoyou chun 二月山寒少有春)\textsuperscript{117} has thus been pleasingly modified into Japanese, first by Kintō and then by her. It appears Sei enjoyed the challenge, not only completing a Japanese poem (waka), but also the opportunity exercising her wit finding the right answer to Kintō’s question. Sei’s knowledge of Chinese and Japanese poems, along with her wit, provides her unique style of wokaši.

That she was very hard to beat at word games is illustrated by her reaction to a letter sent to her from her lover Tadanobu, the Captain First Secretary, which she later finds out was a means of testing her skill that he and several male friends decided on one idle evening. In the letter is a fragment of a poem Bai wrote from his exile to a friend still sampling the delights of the capital\textsuperscript{118} “In Lushan grass hut lodge alone at a rainy night, writing to Niu Two, Li Seven, and Landlord Yu Thirty-two” (Lushancaotang yeyu dusu ji Niu er, Li qi, Yu san shi er Landlord 廬山草堂夜雨獨宿寄牛二、李七、庾三十二員外).\textsuperscript{119}

蘭省花時錦帳下 With you, three governor councillors, at flowery time, are under the broacaded tent covered by the flowers; 廬山雨夜草庵中 I am, here at Mount Lu at a rainy night, inside the grass-thatched hut.\textsuperscript{120}

Bai was describing his desolate physical state now that he had been reduced to a station very different from that of Bai’s friend. Tadanobu, however, has only sent the section mentioning flowery time and brocade. He and his friends do not expect Sei to manage an accurate reply, and she surprises them with an answer that she cleverly adapts the rest of Bai’s poem to the actual

\textsuperscript{117} ibid.
\textsuperscript{118} Morris I, 72. Watanabe, 90.
\textsuperscript{119} Bai Juyi, Bai Juyi ji, ed. Gu Xuejie, 368. 次韻七言律詩 this is poem is alternative rhyming seven words regulated poetry. Kintō, Wa-Kan rōeishū, 210 <山家>蘭省の花の時錦帳の下廬山の雨の夜の草庵の中<mountain home> At Lansheng, when the flowers are blossoming in full under the brocaded veil; at Lu mountain, when a rainy night I am inside the grass hut.
\textsuperscript{120} Morris II, 66-67. My translation refers to Ivan Morris’ translation.
situation between Tadanobu and herself, responding “No one comes to visit this grass-thatched hut of mine.” (kusa no iori wo tare ka tazunen 草の庵りをたれかたづねん) The subtleness of her wit – her ability to unite Bai’s poeticality to the present moment along with her flirtatious implication of inviting Tadanobu to her place – touches Tadanobu’s heart. From that time, she reports, Tadanobu no longer hid his face behind his sleeves when they met and they resumed their relationship. Sei’s “outstanding” answer has soon spread around the Palace by its delighted recipients and the Empress informs her that all the Emperor’s gentlemen in fact have her answer written on their fans. In this way, by infusing new meaning into Bai’s lines of poetry, Sei simultaneously demonstrates her humour and readiness to master Chinese literature, the importance of Chinese literature at the Heian court, and the role of Bai’s poetry in literature and entertainment for the aristocrats of the Heian period, all neatly within the parameters of Sei’s great humor: wokaši.

Such entertaining and exquisite word games, endemic to the Heian court at large, no doubt helped to pass time while allowing one to prove one’s subtle erudition and thus one’s worthiness concerning the bestowing of high honours. Sei in Essay 175, entitled “One Evening during the Reign of Emperor Murakami,” tells an anecdote about a snowy night with bright moonlight. After an instrumental interlude called “snow moon flower” is played to allude to a poem of Bai’s “Harmonized melody sent to Yin (a Tang poet friend of Bai’s): a full narration of old trips to the Southland” (Ji yin xie lu: Dou xu Jiangnan jiuyou 寄殷協律: 多敘江南舊遊): 122

121 Watanabe, 90. Morris I, 72.
122 Gu, 568. Watanabe, 221. 「雪月花の時」と奏したりけるをこそ When the tune of “the time of snow, moon, and flower” is played in a music event. Morris I, 177. Kintō Fujiwara, Wa-Kan rōeishū 275 雪月花の時最も君を憶ふ (at the time of snow, moon, and flower, I miss you, Yin Yaofan, the most. Horiuchi Hideaki interpretes zithers, poems, and wines are Bai’s three best friends. Ko, 90-117 Ohtomo no Tabito describes how wine culture was developed in China and later adopted and interpreted by Japanese literati.
五歲優遊同過日 Five years roaming together to pass time,  
一朝消散似浮雲 we drifted apart in a morning just like the floating clouds.  
琴詩酒伴皆拋我 Friends who shared the pleasure of zithers, poems, and wine all deserted me,  
雪月花時最憶君 at the time of snow, moon, and flower, I miss you (Yin Yaofan) the most,  
幾度聽雞歌白日 How many times I hear the rooster singing in the broad day light,  
亦曾騎馬詠紅裙 I also have ridden the horse to sing the tune of “the red skirt”.  
吳娘暮雨蕭蕭曲 Even the tune of Wu niang’s “Evening Hissing Rain”,  
自別江南更不聞 since leaving the Southland, I have heard no more.  

Emperor Murakami orders a plum flower branch stuck into a platter heaped high with snow and has the platter handed to Hyoe, the Lady Chamberlain, asking her for a poem on the subject.  
Much to his delight, the lady gives the right answer. The Emperor reacts with keen pleasure, pointing out that she has not merely followed convention and composed a poem for the occasion, but has found a line “that fits the moment so beautifully.” She recites with passion the scene of Bai’s poem, “snow, moon, and flower: friends who shared with me the pleasure of zithers, poetry, and wine all deserted me; at the time of snow, moon, and flower, I most miss you.” She adapts Bai’s poetry to the moment with breathtaking precision. She is able to reference through multiple associations, the beautiful platter, the musical interlude before it, and with understated elegance, her loyalty to the Emperor. No doubt Sei was impressed with the court lady’s knowledge of Bai’s poetry that compared to her own, truly an art of wokaši.  

Thorough grounding in Bai’s works was equally necessary for participation in the poem matching games at the Heian court. Undoubtedly entertaining, this type of game, however, had participating courtiers filling in lines of missing poetry unnecessarily concentrating on their

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123 Kim T’ae-jun, Chŏngbon Chosŏn hanmunhaksak (Sŏul-si: Simsan, 2003), 134 Kim explains Yi Kyu-bo loves his three friends: zithers, poems, and wines. Sin Yong-ho, 93-94 social activities among friends were playing zithers, composing poems, and drinking wines. Thus, there are two interpretations for this line: I forsake three friends of mine: koto, poetry, and wine or three friends of mine with whom I enjoy koto, poetry, and wine forsake me.  
124 My translation.
original meaning. A case of Sei’s account is Bai’s “Li Palace is high” (Li Gong Gao 驪宮高)\textsuperscript{125} in her Essay 79, “On the Twenty-Fifth of the Second Month”.\textsuperscript{126} In Bai’s poem, he had originally turned a critical and sarcastic eye on a parasitic class which mercilessly continued to consume the resources created by the labours of the populace. As Bai underlined the fact as a metaphor for the heights of Li Palace continued to be built higher and higher, he had ingeniously twisted the meaning of these glorious heights to instead signify high, indeed unendurable injustice:

...  
翠華不來歳月久 How many months and years have passed since the Imperial banners last visited!  
牆有衣兮瓦有松 The walls lie silently under moss and the tiles are choked with ferns.  
吾君在位已五載 His Majesty has been on the throne for five years.  
何不一幸乎其中 Why has he not once paid a visit to here?  
西去都門几多地 It is not far from the capital’s western gate.  
吾君不游有深意 There must be a deeper meaning in my lord’s failure to visit.\textsuperscript{127}

This particular poem, memorized by all the Heian literati, in another example is used by them with the frivolous aim of literary games. When Tadanobu spoke of his trip to the west side of the Heian capital initially, one of the ladies-in-waiting deliberately starts to recite a line of Bai’s poem, “there are pine leaves on the roof tile” (kawara ni matsu wa aritsuru ya 瓦に松はありつるや),\textsuperscript{128} Tadanobu recognizes her challenge and correctly responds with the latter part of the poem: “The west side of the capital is dilapidated and deserted” (nishi no kyou to iu tokoro no, aware nari tsuru koto 西の京といふ所の、あはれなりつること) to answer her with the actual line of Bai’s poem in Japanese that reflects Tadanobu’s recent experience just returning

\textsuperscript{125} Bai Juyi, *Bai Juyi ji*, ed. Gu Xuejie, 73. Not in Fujiwara Kintō’s *Wa-Kan rōeishū*.  
\textsuperscript{126} Morris I, 78. Watanabe, 97.  
\textsuperscript{127} Watanabe, 97. Morris I, 75-78. Morris II, 70. <line 355>English translation by Ivan Morris.  
\textsuperscript{128} ibid.
from the west side of the capital, Heian.\textsuperscript{129} In this way, we can see that the courageous allegory of Li Palace was transformed into a socially innocuous word game symbolizing nothing more than tastefulness, elegance, and sophistication in its witty word play of Sei’s \textit{woka}ši.

Sei, as might be expected, is not in the least averse to using satire in her \textit{Pillow Book}. In the 51st Essay, “Once I saw Yukinari,”\textsuperscript{130} she states that she enjoys a close relationship with Yukinari, the Controller First Secretary, a man who although perceptive and philosophical (or perhaps because perceptive and philosophical) does not bother to mince words. Taking advantage of this psychological intimacy, throughout her account she does not hesitate to affectionately mock her friend’s straightforward character, which at one point he indeed answers, he sees no reason to change. When she lets Yukinari know that, for her, his bluntness is proof that he is a smart man, she is not making him a simplistic compliment; rather, she is gently mocking him, a sign that, as she writes, she finds him delightful, although she thinks Yukinari should not always stick to the same habits, Yukinari replies, “what cannot be changed is one’s nature” (\textit{aratamazaru mono wa kokoro nari} 改まざるものは心なり).\textsuperscript{131} Yukinari makes direct reference in this passage to the words of Bai written to mock himself in “Sighing of own Bluntness” (\textit{Yong Zhuou 詠拙}).\textsuperscript{132}

Everyone has been endowed by the heaven with either smartness or bluntness; either sharp or blunt, his nature could never be altered.\textsuperscript{133}

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Sei ends her essay on Yukinari with another anecdote about him that proves he has never deserted his own bluntness. Instead, the Controller First Secretary remained alive even under the

\footnotesize
\textsuperscript{129} ibid.
\textsuperscript{130} Morris I, 54. Morris II, 53-54. <line 261> Morris interprets Shōnagon’s thinking as one should adapt to circumstances.
\textsuperscript{131} Watanabe, 66.
\textsuperscript{133} My translation refers to Levy’s and Morris’ translations. Levy I, 53. Morris I&II, 54.
most precarious circumstances. Yet another essay of Sei in her *Pillow Book*, Essay 160 entitled “One Day Captain Tadanobu, the Imperial Adviser, Came to Call”\(^{134}\) is centred on her affectionate and witty mockery of another of her close friends, Tadanobu. When, at the close of the evening, Tadanobu recites a poem based on a Chinese myth which tells about the sorrowful parting of the weaver girl and the cowherd, Sei mocks him, claiming he is getting his dates mixed up: the story of the weaver and the cowherd happened in the lunar calendar on the 7\(^{th}\) day of the seventh month. However, intent only on alluding to a parting at dawn, Tadanobu lamely recites his verse on the last day of the third month. Tadanobu is very ashamed and quickly makes himself invisible in front of Sei. Sometime later in April, Sei, characteristically seeking (as she confesses) a further opportunity to test her friend and hoping he will remember their previous encounter, asks him what poem he would choose to recite on that particular day. This time, Tadanobu remembers his previous mistake, and vowing he will never make it twice, corrects his problematic chronology by aptly replying: “precisely the poem of the April in the secular world” (*jinkan no shigatsu wo koso wa* 人間の四月をこそは);\(^{135}\) which is from another of Bai’s poems “Peach Blossom in Dalin Temple” (*Dalin si taohua* 大林寺桃花);\(^{136}\)

人間四月芳菲尽 The fourth month in this human world, when all flowers’ fragrance has been lost.
山寺桃花始盛開 The peach trees by the mountain temple have just put out clouds of bloom.\(^{137}\)

All is well between the two friends, who by this innovative means sanctified by social norms and unimpeded by differences of rank, have further cemented their friendship. Sei documented how


\(^{135}\) Watanabe, 205. Gu Xuejie, 341. Not in Fujiwara Kintō’s *Wa-Kan rōeishū*. Watanabe details the reason why Sei wants to mock Tadanobu.

\(^{136}\) ibid.

she maintained her relationship with Tadanobu by mutual endeavour on mastery of Bai’s poems using her aesthetic preference of *wokaši*.

*Aware* begins with the sad awareness of evanescence, sympathetic affection turned rueful and wistful by the knowledge of the transience of things. Normally, sorrow might be construed as a negative emotion, one that impedes mental and physical wellbeing as well as positive development. Notably, Bai for one does not subscribe to this definition of sorrow; instead, he twisted it around to create a positive contribution to the human experience. In this, he is followed by both Murasaki and Sei, who enthusiastically espouse sorrow’s aesthetic properties as more redemptive and meaningful than the simple feeling of sorrow. Bai deliberately merges two love stories, that of the Tang Emperor Xuanzong and his consort, Yang Guifei, whose soul after her execution was the subject of the Emperor’s anguished search, and that of the Han Emperor, Han Wudi, and his favourite consort, Lady Li, whose death caused the inconsolable Emperor Wu to despatch a wizard to locate her whereabouts until the Lady’s soul was finally summoned from the underworld to appear in front of him (perhaps only an illusion created by the shaman). Although Yang Guifei and Lady Li both made emperors frantic with love and grief, Lady Li did not overturn Han Wudi’s sovereignty and died naturally having her family taken care of; while Yang Guifei caused the loss of Tang Xuanzong’s sovereignty and was put to death. Bai’s use of the archetype of the grieving emperor willing to go as far as the netherworld to find his lost love was notable. The emperors dwelled in the emotions rather than on criticism whether their behaviours were appropriate in endeavouring to find their lost love and not paying much attention to their duty to take care of the poor masses and commoners who suffered from shortages of food and excessive taxes.
It seems we may cautiously conclude that Bai’s poems, which already romanticized sorrow, its sublimation, and its deep appreciation on the grounds of beauty, were a natural match for the Heian court, with its refined, aesthetic approach to aristocratic life. Even so, Bai’s poetic range extended well beyond the aesthetics of sorrow and the treatment of the highly personal and subjective, and he was capable of romantizing, as in the much-quoted “Lady Li” (Li fūren 李夫人):

…
反魂香降夫人魂 Soul-return incense calls down the soul of Lady Li,
…
香烟引到焚香處 Perfumed smoke draws the soul to the place where incense was burned.
…
生亦惑 While she lived, she enchanted you.
死亦惑 After she died, she still enchanted you.
尤物惑人忘不得 Such a rare enchanting beauty can never be forgotten.
人非木石皆有情 Humans are not made of wood or rock, all have feelings,
不如不遇傾城色 It is better not to know such a beauty that can topple a city.

While it was commonly referred to as a vehicle of grief during the Heian period, Bai originally wrote this poem as a satire that mocked the foolish Han Wudi and Tang Xuanzong, who attempted all possible ways to bring Madame Li and Yang Guifei back from the dead. Kaoru, Genji’s son: in reality Kashiwagi’s and the Third Princess’ son, thinks the same to utilize the smell of the incense to attract the soul of Oigimi back to life who Kaoru believes still possesses the five sensory human systems. Murasaki continues to describe the craziness of Genji’s two sons, Kaoru and Yūgiri, alluding to Bai’s poem and demonstrating her ability of saying one thing of multiple ways in waka formats. In Chapter 49, “The Ivy”, Kaoru attempts to draw Oigimi’s

138 Shizunaga, 94-95,110. Bai sublated his sorrow of losing his three year old daughter by writing this poem. It is said Bai might have written “The Lutist” and “Songs of Lasting Pain” to sublimate sorrow he encountered in his exiled life. By the same token, Bai’s readers might have read Bai’s poems to sublimate their own sorrow in their lives.
139 Bai Juyi, Bai Juyi ji, ed. Gu Xuejie, 83. Not in Fujiwara Kintō’s Wa-Kan rōeishū.
140 Levy I, 142. I have consulted with Levy’s work to do my translation.
soul back to the world as Han Wudi did to attract the dead soul: “long ago, there is a story about the fragrant incense” (mukashi ari kou no kemuri ni tsuketedani 昔有りけん香の煙をつけでたに). In Chapter 39, “Evening Mist” (Yūgiri 夕霧), another son of Genji, Yūgiri, falls in love with Princess Ichijō, widow of the deceased Kashiwagi, even though she does not return his affections. Yūgiri, unable to comprehend how she cannot love him back, expresses his disappointment by saying “Humans are not as unyielding as a rock or a tree; all has feelings” (hito bokuseki ni arazareba, mina nasake ari 人木石にあらざれば、皆情あり) and refuses to cease his suit. As for the expression of sympathy and compassion for friends, lovers, or family members, we have an example in Chapter 50, “The Eastern Cottage” (Azumaya 東屋), where Nakanokimi, exhibiting compassion for Kaoru’s love of her eldest sister, Ōigimi, alludes to Bai’s poem, saying Kaoru seemed so open with her that she sympathizes with his feelings: “not being a log or a stone” (iwaki naraneba 岩木ならば). Again, in Chapter 52, “The Drake Fly” (Kagerō 蛍蛉), after Ukifune, pressured by two male contenders for her affections, Kaoru and Niou, disappears and has reputedly drowned herself; the two men meet after the funeral, Kaoru visiting ill Niou and blending his own sorrow with that of Niou as he recites “harder than the rocks and sticks, your heart is so unmovable; nothing can move your heart” (iwaki yori keni nabiki gataki wa 岩木よりけに靡き難きは). Murasaki employs three different ways in waka format to express one line of Bai’s poem, “Humans are not a piece of wood or rock; all have feelings” (ren fei mushi jie youqing 人非木石皆有情). Murasaki first brings into play the external aroma of incense that enters into human sensory system to stir

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141 Seidensticker II, 890, 860. Imaizumi 1056.
142 Seidensticker II, 707. Imaizumi, 843.
143 Seidensticker II, 950. Imaizumi, 1130.
internal feelings through nose. She then uses different words to describe the craziness of Genji’s two sons. She might have agreed with Bai’s usage of sarcasm, planting Bai’s poems in her creative way to express different kinds of feelings: female sympathy versus male sorrow, stubbornness, and craziness.

Given this reductive interpretive protocol, one is tempted to ask just what the Heian approach to satire was. It is not surprising to find that satire was not absent from the emotional vocabulary of aware; it was merely redirected away from subjects deemed politically sensitive and above all devoid of any positive aesthetic and emotional charge. In Chapter 2 of *Tale of Genji*, “The Broom Tree” (*Hahakigi* 帚木), a young student speaks of his experience of studying under a well-learned man and having an affair with his daughter. When the father learns of the affair, he takes out a wedding cup and recites one phrase: “listen to my song of two alternatives” (*waga futatsu no michi utau wo kike* 我が二つの道歌ふを聴け) from Bai Juyi’s “On Marriage” (*Yi hun* 議婚); also entitled “A Girl from a Poor Family” (*Pin jianu* 貧家女):146

…

Bai’s poem was in fact a satire about the social norms of an unequal class structure in which parents manoeuvre by every means to marry their daughters to man of superior social class; in the Heian interpretation, however, the difference between the two girls becomes merely a witty comment on the merits of possessing a more compliant wife. Another example of Heian

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145 Imaizume, 35. Seidensticker I, 35.
attitudes can be seen in Chapter 6 of *Tale of Genji*, “The Safflower” (*Suetsumuhana* 末摘花), where Murasaki recounts that when Genji saw the lady called by this name of the Safflower, he was astonished at her singularly unattractive face. Making a sympathetic commitment to assist the poor girl nonetheless, he recited a verse beginning with “the young are naked” (*wakaki mono wa katta kake sazu*)\(^{148}\) from Bai Juyi’s poem “Heavy Tax” (*Chong fu* 重賦);\(^ {149}\) other name: “Unnamed Tax” (*wuming shui* 無名稅) in “Ten Poems Composed at Qin Zhong” (*Qin zhong yin shi shou* 秦中吟十首):\(^ {150}\)

…

夜深煙火盡 At late night, smoke diminishes.
霰雪白紛紛 White sleet and snow are flying in abundance.
幼者形不蔽 The young are naked.
老者體無溫 The aged are cold.\(^ {151}\)

…

In due course, the poor girl was relieved to gain welcome knowledge of her undeniable virtue in other domains. This use of Bai’s poem has little in common with Bai’s original intention, which was to mock the dark side of the governmental officials of the time. Faithfully reflecting the norms of a highly competitive environment, Murasaki references Bai’s verse from a perspective of ridicule tempered by sympathy when she points out the Safflower lady’s detrimental appearance. Although Genji is a man who appreciates external beauty of ladies, he demonstrates that he does have human feelings to help the miserable looking of Lady Safflower. Murasaki makes use of Bai’s satirical poems to describe the social imbalances in the Heian period between the poor and the rich. She shows how people find excuses to change their mind for managing

\(^{148}\) Imaizumi, 138. Seidensticker, 125.


\(^{150}\) Bai Juyi, *Bai Juyi ji*, ed. Gu Xuejie, 30. In his preface, Bai Juyi explains he saw sadness of the populace in Chang’an and wrote ten poems named them as “Chant of Qin (Shanxi) Zhong (inside)”. Qin is an abbreviation of Shanxi; I suspect Qin Zhong another name for Chang’an.

\(^{151}\) Seidensticker, 125. LevyI, 20. My translation refers to Levy’s and Seidensticker’s texts.
their daughters to someone of a better social class. She further shows the good side of Genji’s kindness, being sympathetic about the ugly girl and willing to help the helpless.

There are many examples of self-mockery in Murasaki’s *Tale of Genji*, all of them predicated on overcoming negative and unhelpful feelings. In Chapter 36, “The Oak Tree” (*Kashiwagi* 柏木), Genji’s wife, the Third Princess (*Onna San no Miya* 女の三宮), gives birth to Kaoru, the child of Kashiwagi, then she takes refuge in the Buddha, yet figuratively she continues to live in Genji’s residence, leaving a sad Genji to ruminate about his life and his acquisition in maturity of a newborn boy through his wife’s extra-marital affair. He proceeds to recite “at age of ten taken from fifty-eight: forty-eight, I have a young son, I think upon it quietly and lament on it…..please do not be like your father” (*gojūhachi wo to tori sute taru, ohom yowai nare do shizuka ni omoite nageku ni taetari ~ nanji ga chichi ni* 五十八を十取り捨てたら御齢なれど 静かに思ひて嘆くに堪へたり～「汝が父に」), alluding to Bai’s poem “Self-mockery” (*Zichao* 自嘲).\(^{152}\)

五十八翁方有後 Old man of fifty-eight finally has an heir –
靜思堪喜亦堪嘆 quietly I ponder, a cause for joy, also a cause for sighs.

…
慎勿頑愚似汝翁 Take care, don’t be stubborn and witless like your father.\(^{154}\)

Applying the balm of humour in order to acquire philosophical distance, his gentle self-mockery fulfills the aesthetic demands of *aware* hoping the child in the name of his son would not follow Genji’s footprint. Other personages in Murasaki’s fiction also indulge in the same ironical view of self. Other than teasing himself, Genji suffers from his past promiscuous behaviours – having an affair with his stepmother and having her bear his son, Reizei Emperor in the name of Genji’s

\(^{152}\) Imaizumi, 769.


brother. As retribution, Genji’s wife has an affair with Kashiwagi and bears Kashiwagi’s son in the name of Genji’s son. Genji mocks himself and wishes Kaoru not follow Genji’s footsteps going through the same cycle of retribution in Kaoru’s life. About something that one can never help, instead of feeling sorry for oneself, one could joke about oneself to alleviate one’s pain. This kind of strategy might be one way to look at the bright side of things to forget one’s trouble; this type of tactic, thoughts, and feelings, can be also treated as aware by Komori’s definition.

Murasaki Shikibu attempts a somewhat more complex conversion of Bai’s satirical intentions of his poem in Chapter 38 “The Bell Cricket” (Suzumushi 鈴蟲), where Murasaki invokes to Buddhist beliefs and introduces the theme of compassion for the human incapacity to overcome stubbornly one-sided secular love and desire. After Lady Rokujo died, Genji adopted her daughter, Akikonomu, as his daughter. Genji, aware of the revengeful spirit of Lady Rokujo and fearful of yet another visit by her ghost, comments on his thoughts regarding Lady Rokujo’s worries about her daughter, linking the situation to lines in Bai’s poem “Refuse to Retire” (Buzhi Shi 不致仕) of “as the existence of the evanescent life of morning dew” (asa tsuyu no kakareru hodo wa あさ露のかかれる程は):

…
朝露貪名利 I am greedy for profits and fame in the early morning dew,
夕陽憂子孫 at sunset, I begin to worry about the future of my off-spring.
掛冠顧翠緌 I take off the cap to quit work, but I still begrudge losing the kingfisher hat strings,
懸車惜朱輪 I park the vehicle to retire, but I still covet the red wheels.
…

Bai uses morning dew to correspond with evening glow representing two opposite sides of temporal nature; the beginning of the day versus the end of the day. However, there is also an

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155 Bai Juyi, Bai Juyi ji, ed. Gu Xuejie, 32. Not in Fujiwara Kintō’s Wa-Kan rōeishū.
156 Imazumi, 801. Seidensticker II, 675.
overtone of representing the beginning and the ending of everything, a Buddhist implication as well. If one only worries about his profit, not at all anything else such as establishing their virtues, his behaviour will affect his children, who also will not be motivated to build their own virtues. For a while, the children may become wicked and be in trouble. Genji is peculiarly aware of the difficulty in abandoning the delectation of the aesthetic life and shows great sympathy for Lady Rokujo, who still lingers in the secular world refusing to give up what it has given to her while she was alive. In this instance, Murasaki somehow succeeds in converting Bai’s satirical mood into that of a contemplative Buddhist belief which prepares humans for getting beyond merely wishing for further achievements. Via Genji, she engenders compassion for Lady Rokujo’s tragic inability to get rid of her attractions to smoke and fire of incense burning. Melded together in this complex passage, Murasaki associates human feelings of Bai’s satire combining with Genji’s sympathetic understanding of Lady Rokujo with Buddhist beliefs.
Making excuses to avoid embarrassment as emotional appeals developed

In Chapter 35 of “New Herbs II”, Kashiwagi, in the course of his affair with the Third Princess (Onna San no Miya 女の三宮), encounters Genji and tries his best to cover up his guilt; he recounts his story of having been unable to walk for a while and living as a hermit, giving an excuse of appearing in public urged by his father, and teasing his father for still be concerned with celebrations and ceremonies at the court even after his retirement. Kashiwagi, alluding to the same poem of Bai’s, says: “I take off my official hat, stop clinging to my vehicle; desert these fringe benefits; quit my social status and absolutely give up my position” (kōburi wo kake, kuruma wo oshimazu suteteshi mi ni te ~ 冠を掛け、車を惜しまず捨てててし身にて、～). This text was famous in the Chang’an capital for its satire of the typical officials refusing to retire, regretting the loss of their wealth and positions after the age of seventy, still trying to cling to the upper-class life. The background of the story is that Kashiwagi had tried to avoid meeting Genji for a while after he learned Genji knew about his affair with Genji’s wife. However, one day they happened to see each other. Kashiwagi had to find something to talk about, and he then thought of Bai’s poem. In fact, Murasaki employs Bai’s poems in her own words exploiting these two separate chapters to add Buddhist thoughts, secular excuses, and poetic expressions in her stories. This just shows how skillful Murasaki is using Bai’s poems to create her own fiction.

The overall tone of Tale of Genji suggests that Murasaki is especially fond of poetic associations that deliver a clear aesthetic and emotional charge to the readers. What better opportunity to capture the very kernel of aware, the wistful poignancy felt at the transience of

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158 Seidensticker, 632-633. Kashiwagi tried to find an excuse to escape from Genji, but he failed. The portion of Murasaki’s allusion to Bai’s peom is only referenced in Imaizumi’s text.

159 Imaizumi, 747.
life and love, than to feature extensive instances where aesthetic experience is used to recapture the bliss of the past that Genji spent a short happy time with Yūgao. In Chapter 4, “Evening Face” (Yūgao 夕顔), Genji, discussing the death of Yūgao with her faithful servant Ukon, recalls the noisy sound of smashing wood blocks, on which one cleans cloth by hammering clothes on this piece of flat board, at the district of the Fifth Street (Gojō),\(^\text{160}\) where Yūgao used to live. The everyday sound has the result of bringing back all Genji’s sweet feelings about that distant night of love with Yūgao. He is moved to recite “the night is long” (masani nagaki yo 正に長き夜)\(^\text{161}\) from Bai’s “Hearing the Fulling Blocks at Night” (Wen ye zhen 閁夜砧):\(^\text{162}\)

... 八月九日正長夜 In the Eighth Month, the Ninth Day, the nights are long\(^\text{163}\) ...

Genji’s choice of fused auditive and visual association here comes with particularly rich reverberations. Genji references a sound initially suggested by thousands of unending sounds, to simultaneously project their very opposite: a silence in which “never-ending” sounds can never be heard. With this coexistence of limitless and none, we are confronted with the Buddhist belief in simultaneous form and emptiness, a concept at the very crux of the aestheticization of conflicting religious orientations that gave birth to aware.

Poignant memory of the past is again underscored by Murasaki when she reworks the fusion of scene and emotion depicted in Bai’s poem “On the Fifteenth Day of the Eighth Month, I am alone in the Palace, Gazing at the Moon and Thinking of Yuan Jiu” (Bayue shiwu ri ye

\(^\text{160}\) Seidensticker, 67.
\(^\text{161}\) Imaizumi, 87. Nakanishi, 61. Fujiiwara Kintō Wa-Kan rōeishū, 131. (the noise of ) pouding clothes on flat boards to wash clothes> (It is ) really, a long night.
\(^\text{162}\) Bai Juyi, Bai Juyi ji, ed. Gu Xuejie, 423. Seidensticker, 80-81. A fulling block is a piece board that Heian ladies used to pound and wash their clothes.
\(^\text{163}\) Seidensticker, 81. English translation by Seidensticker.
not only once but twice, first in Chapter 12, entitled “Suma”, and later in Chapter 38 “Bell Cricket”. In “Suma”, Bai’s evocative moonlit scene and nostalgia for a friend is the subject of the banished Genji’s allusive quote when, emotionally touched by his exchange with the family servants, he is moved to recite a further fragment from Bai’s poem:

…

三五夜中新月色 The 15th day (of the 8th month) at midnight with fresh new moon; 二千里外故人心 two thousand leagues away, sorrow for missing my old folks.

…

Murasaki writes, “I am reminded of the 15th day of the 8th month as of tonight” (koyoi wa jugo ya nari keri to oboshi idete 今夜は十五夜なりけりと思し出でて) alluding to the full moonlit scenery that reminded Genji of the first line of Bai’s poem outlined above. Then, Genji recited, “two thousand leagues far away, my heart is aching thinking of my old folks” (nisenri no hoka kojin no kokoro 二千里の外故人の心). In this case, Bai’s sentiments, gazing at the moon at the very moment feeling his distant friend is doing the same thing, are transferred to the situation of Genji and all victims of a capriciously impermanent world, sadly thinking of their faraway loved ones.

In “The Bell Cricket”, on the other hand, the catalytic setting for aware aesthetics is quite different: on the mid-month night the bell crickets are crying under a full moon as the Rokujō aristocrats gather to enjoy a musical event. Reminded of the dead Kashiwagi, who would formerly always preside over musical proceedings, Genji recites: “the scenery of tonight bright
fresh moon” (koyoi no arata naru tsuki no iro ni wa 今夜の新たなる月の色には), again spontaneously alluding to the above first line of Bai’s poem: “On the 15th night under the fresh moon light” as another way used in Japanese to describe the fresh new moon on the 15th day of the 8th month. The music of bell crickets together with the scenery of full moon instigates Genji’s memory of Kashiwagi to produce a highly refined experience born of the fusion of sound and sight. For anyone conversant with the continuation of the poem, the sad thought of a dead loved one is enough to provoke aware-induced tears of sadness.

For Murasaki, the sad emotion of parting, unadorned by further sentiments, often serves as the spark for her characters’ spontaneous engagement in poetic association, allowing her to craft an auditively and visually attractive scene for her readers. In Chapter 12, “Suma,” Genji’s ex-brother-in-law makes a trip to Suma to visit Genji and the two friends talk and compose Chinese poems throughout the night. When the moment comes to part, they raise a toast to Bai’s poem “In year 10, on the 30th Day of the third month departing from Wei Zhi at Feng shang” (Shi nian sanyue sanshi ri bie Wei Zhi yu fengshang 十年三月三十日別微之於灃上):  

…

醉悲灑淚春杯裏 Intoxicated and saddened, we shed tears in our springtime cups.

吟苦支頤曉燭前 Reciting my pain, holding my jaw, and facing the early morning candle.  

…

Because of having left their wives and children in the capital of Kyoto, Genji, his friends, and his relatives chanted Bai’s poem together in waka style: “We fill our springtime cups with tears of intoxicated sadness” (ehi no kanashimi no namida sosoku haru no sakazuki no uchi 醉ひの悲しみに暮らしを盛る春の桜にうち).  

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168 Imaizumi, 798. Seidensticker II, 672 Seidensticker is drawn more towards Murasaki’s expression in one short sentence: “one is always moved by the full moon,” instead of Murasaki’s allusion to Bai’s poems building up her affective expressions into Bai’s lines.


171 My translation refers to Seidensticker’s work.
Another similar scene of family parting can be found in Chapter 22 “The Jeweled Chaplet” (*Tamakazura* 玉鬘), when the vice-governor has to leave his family behind in Hizen in order to accompany Tamakazura to Kyoto. Sublimating his sadness, the vice-governor consoles himself singing and thinking of his family left in Karadomari, “We have left our wives and children in alien lands” (*Ko no chi no seiji wo ba munashiku sutetsu* 胡の地の妻児をば虚しく棄てつ),173 in reference to his own familial context through Bai’s poem, “Captured Nomads” (*Furong ren* 縛戎人):174

…

*凉源郷井不得見* Liangyuan hometown well, I am unable to see.
*胡地妻児虚棄損* To the Hu land, I, in vain, abandon my wife and children.175

…

The vice-governor feels the same kind of painful feelings as that of the captured nomad left alone far away from his family. He cannot do anything to alleviate his painful feelings but chant Bai’s poems depicting a captured nomad unable to see wells of his original hometown and his family left behind in the foreign land. The subject of parting from one’s family constituted a reliable poetic convention in Heian times, and in its somewhat sentimental fusion of scene and emotion fulfilled the aesthetic demands of *aware*.

The reader is more cheered when Murasaki chooses to illustrate through poetic association early moments of human relationships that have not yet had time to develop into crisis and tragedy in her story. In Chapter 24, “Butterfly” (*Kochō* 胡蝶), Genji is on his way to see the beautiful Tamakazura, daughter of his short-lived lover Yūgao, and is in excellent spirits.

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172 English translation by Seidensticker, 244. Imaizumi, 270. Nakanishi, 161.
173 Imaizumi, 446.
175 Seidensticker I, 393-394. Waley, 58. My translation refers to Seidensticker’s and Waley’s texts.
In tune with his visual environment, he hums “It is gentle, it is fresh” (washite mata kiyoshi 和して又清し)\(^{176}\) from Bai’s poem, “To the Minister of Transport, Wu Langzhong, Seventh Elder Brother” (zeng jiabu Wu Langzong qi xiong 贈駕部吳郎中七兄):\(^{177}\)

四月天氣和且清 The April climate is gentle and fresh.

…

風生竹夜窗間臥 A breeze rises in the bamboo at night as I lie by the window,
月照松時台上行 As the moon shines on the pines, I stroll on the terrace.\(^{178}\)

…

Genji was thinking of nothing fresher than the glow of Tamakazura’s skin while Genji was humming Bai’s poem. Later in the same chapter, after Genji tells Tamakazura that he loves her in a way that goes beyond his paternal duty, Murasaki, alluding once again to the same Bai Juyi’s poem, writes about the lovely night: “the rain had stopped, the breeze was rustling the bamboo, and like flower in full bloom, the bright moon came out” (ame wa yamite kaze no take ni naru hodo, hanayakani sashiïdedetaru tsukikage 雨はやみて、風の竹に鳴る程、花やかにさし出でたる月影).\(^{179}\) The visual attractiveness of the outdoor scene is enriched by an auditory component as, in the silence that denotes the absence of rain, the breeze touches the bamboo and causes it to rustle, creating a gentle sound of friction which is further enhanced by the appearance of flowers and the shadow of the moon. The momentary transfer and re-use of Bai’s evocative April vignette this time makes for a delightful illustration of the aware esthetics.

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\(^{177}\) Bai Juyi, Bai Juyi ji, ed. Gu Xuejie, 421.

\(^{178}\) Seidensticker I, 427. English translation by Seidensticker.

\(^{179}\) Seidensticker I 428. Imaizumi, 488. Fujiwara Kintō, 64 <夏夜>風の竹に生る夜窓の間に臥せり月の松を照らす時テーブの上に行く. <summer night> The breeze was rubbing the bamboo in the night window wedge when moving on the terrace and the moon shone. Bai’s poem was altered between Fujiwara Kintō’s Wa-Kan rōeishū and Murasaki’s further expressing in their own styles to portray the summer rainy night.
A similarly attractive instance featuring both scenery and emotions, albeit juxtaposed for decidedly different reasons, can be found in Chapter 33, “Wisteria Leaves” (*Fuji no uraba* 藤裏葉), of Tale of Genji. Tō no Chūjō, who formerly refused to give Yūgiri permission to marry his daughter Kumoinokare, appears to be reconsidering his decision; in fact, newly sensitive to Yūgiri’s high social position as Genji’s son, he seeks a proper occasion for reconciliation with Yūgiri. Early in the fourth month, arranging a concert with the excuse of the wisteria coming into bloom in order that his intention can go unnoticed, he alludes to Bai’s poem, “Thirtieth day of the Third month, inscribed at Cien Temple” (*Sanyue sanshi ri ti cien si* 三月三十日題慈恩寺):  


181 Watson, 4.

182 Seidensticker II 524. Imaizumi, 607.

...
Murasaki often pens the fusion of scene and emotion to depict the interaction of external scenes and internal feelings. In Chapter 41, “Wizard”, when the wind almost blows out the lamps and raindrops pound on the roof while the sky blackens, Genji whispers, “the sound of rain beating at the window” (mado wo utsu koe 窓を打つ聲),\(^{183}\) to allude to Bai’s poem, “Shangyang White Haired Man” (Shangyang baifa ren 上陽白髮人):\(^{184}\)

…

秋夜長 Autumn nights are long –
夜長無寐天不明 long nights sleepless – will sky never brighten?
耿耿殘燈背壁影 Fading lamp flickering flickering beyond the partition,
肅肅暗雨打窓聲 swish-swish of dark rain beating at the window.\(^{185}\)

…

Murasaki utilizes the auditory effect of the rain beating on the windows to capture the painful feelings of sorrow beating on Genji’s heart as loud as the percussion of the rain as deep as the strain that his heart felt. In fact, Genji could not do anything else but recite Bai’s poem to alleviate and sublimate his heartfelt sufferings. In Chapter 52, “The Drake Fly”, when the colour of the afternoon changed to red, Kaoru gazed at the sky and the flower beds in front of the Empress’ house, leaning on the east railing. Feeling unbearable loneliness and lost in his sad thoughts, Kaoru murmured to himself, “Autumn skies are the cruellest of all” (naka ni tsuite harawata wo tayuru wa aki no ten 中に就いて、腸を断ゆるは秋の天)\(^{186}\) from Bai’s poem, “Standing in Sunset” (Muli 暮立).\(^{187}\)

黃昏獨立佛堂前 At nightfall, I stand alone in front of the Buddha Hall.

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\(^{184}\) Bai Juyi, Bai Juyi ji, ed. Gu Xuejie, 59.

\(^{185}\) Watson, 26.

\(^{186}\) Imaizumi, 1234. Wa-Kan rōeishū, 89. 秋興 autumn sentiment 就中に腸の断ゆることはこれ秋の天 Among all of these seasons that make my internal intestines broken is the autumn.

In the season of autumn, Kaoru feels the external scene transmits to him the desolate feelings that melt into his already sad internal feelings. Sad feelings stimulate each other from the external scene to the internal feelings and from the internal feelings feeding back to his view of the external scene thereby forming a vicious cycle further worsening Kaoru’s desolate feelings.

Deep down in his heart, Kaoru might have wished to be removed from this vicious cycle, so he chants Bai’s poem to make himself feel better. Kaoru refers to the expression of broken internal intestines to describe his intensely sad feeling. Murasaki plans the poem with the story to depict the romanticizing and sublimating effect of aware.

Murasaki embeds Buddhist didactic teachings in her love story from time to time. In Chapter 53, “At Writing Practice” (Tenarai 手習), Murasaki Shikibu once again employs the technique of fusion of scene, religion, and emotion to describe Buddhist philosophy. Trying to drown herself, Ukifune is saved by the Bishop and his family. Ukifune regrets her suicide attempt and decides to become a nun. The Bishop visits Ukifune, describes human life by being as thin as a leaf circling in front of the entrance to the mausoleum under the early morning moon, and persuades her to concentrate on spiritual cultivation of Buddhism, showing that worldly existence is nothing but a blade of thin grass, and says, 190 “when dawn arrives at the pine gate (the entrance to the mausoleum), the moon continues to linger” (shōmon ni akatsuki itarite tsuki

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188 The Huai tree is a Japanese pagoda tree: a Chinese scholar tree.
189 Seidensticker II 1039. My translation refers to Seidensticker’s explanation.
190 Takamatsu Hisao, 224. Seidensticker II 1072.
haikaisu 松門に暁至て月徘徊す), referencing Bai’s poem describing innocent courtiers forced to serve at the mausoleum, “Women Serving at the Tomb” (Linyuan qie 陵園妾): 191

...松門到暁月徘徊 At the gate of pine trees, the dawn arrives while the moon still lingers around. 柏城盡日風肅瑟 At the wall of cedar trees, throughout the day, the wind blows desolately. 192

... To demonstrate that Buddhism was essential to medieval literary aesthetics in Japan, Murasaki employs Bai’s poem to describe the unjustified palace custom of female courtiers serving at the mausoleum. At a cemetery, dead masters and living servants represent the ontological dualism of beings and non-beings. In comparison with unwilling palace maids serving their deceased masters for the rest of their lives, the bishop attempts to have Ukifune belittle her secular troubles and transcend her life dilemma. In transient human life, it would be better to engage in a deeper thought related to Buddhist philosophy, even in the unpleasant situation of the live courtiers waited in the burial space, than to waste life in sadness. Murasaki thus shows that deploying Bai’s poems for Dharmic transmission is an important part of medieval Japanese culture. 193 To Komori Ikuko, associating the human fear of impermanence with religion demonstrates the development of aware emotional appeal. 194 Initially, Murasaki first writes amorous love between Kaoru and Ukifune as a secular reality in Heian court. Subsequently Murasaki describes a Buddhist monk’s teaching of convincing the suffered to take refuge in the Buddha; the bishop intended to save the suicidal girl by explaining retribution arising from cause and effect in human behavioural errors. As a writer, Murasaki inserts a line from Bai’s poetry into the time series that spans from the past, through the present, and into the future to

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194 Sanford, 30 it is necessary for Heian writers to describe realistic societal customs such as Genji’s promiscuous behaviours. Komori Ikuko, 117-119.
demonstrate the terror of retribution. No one can avoid retribution from her wrong doings even those from a previous life. To the bishop, persuading Ukifune to take refuge in the Buddha and forgetting worldly troubles is his duty as a human being and as a Buddhist.

Murasaki applies one of Bai’s satirical poems in Chapter 41, “The Wizard”. When Genji lost his most beloved wife, Murasaki no ue, he was heartbroken and felt withdrawn from the world. Genji stands in front of the cherry (sakura) tree, feeling lonely even with the company of the Third Prince. The Third Prince recites: “around the cherry trees we should cover a tent (although the cherry is blooming, before long it will wilt; with this type of umbrella, the wind would not destroy the beautiful flowers)” (ki no meguri ni tobari wo tatete 木のめぐりに帳を立てて).195 Murasaki is alluding to Bai’s poem, “Peony’s Fragrance” (Mudan fang 牡丹芳).196

共愁日照芳難駐 We all worry about the sun shining on the flowers, making it hard for them to stay longer.
仍張帷幕垂陰涼 Therefore, we put up curtains to provide cooling shade.
人心重華不重實 The human mind tends to focus on the flowery not the fruit of truth.
重華直至牡丹芳 We only focus on the flowery fragrance and are led to the smell of peonies.
田中寂寞無人至 As a result, nobody comes to the lonely silent farms.197

Typical of Bai’s “New Music Bureau Poetry”, this poem satirizes the Court’s ill governance for taking excessive cares with cherry trees but not growing enough rice for the hungry populace.198 Murasaki strips away Bai’s satirical intent and simply uses her own languages to allude to Bai’s poem to depict a poetic scene of Genji standing in front of the cherry trees with his grandson.
After this chapter, Genji disappeared from the fiction, Tale of Genji. Instead, Genji’s sons and

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195 Imaizumi, 867.
197 Seidensticker, 725-726. My translation refers to Seidensticker’s explanation.
198 ibid.
grandsons are taking over as protagonists performing love stories of the following generations.

Bai’s poem is truly a sad yet poetic ending as a picture of aware without political overtones.
Conclusion: Literary world of Murasaki and Sei in Heian Japan

Murasaki employs aware through her reception of Bai’s poems to make her readers appreciate, beautify, romanticize, and sublimate their negative feelings while reading Tale of Genji to emphasize a philosophical attitude in life for the better. By the means of depicting the interaction between external things and internal feelings in her characters’ lives, Murasaki portrays how the exterior changes the interior and the interior overcomes the exterior. When Emperor Kiritsubo sees Yang Guifei’s picture, his sorrow of losing his beloved Kiritsubo no Kōi is even further intensified. Touching an extra pillow reminds Genji of his loneliness in losing his wife. Akashi’s father plays lute for Genji making him grieve over his exile. Kaoru wants to attract Oigimi’s soul to the living world just as Han Wudi attracted Lady Li’s soul with the smell of fragrant incense. Genji and his friends drink wine to numb their sorrow of departing. However, Murasaki’s characters view the external scenes in a better light through their improved internal feelings. When Genji thinks of seeing the beautiful Tamakazura, he feels very cheerful and that affects him to notice that the April weather peaceful and to sense the air clean. Murasaki depicts how human psychology is shaped by the interaction between exterior and interior through the five sensory organs of eyes, ears, noses, tongues, and skin. At times, Murasaki fuses the internal feelings and external things in depicting her characters’ lives. Kaoru, looking at the sky one afternoon and feeling the desolate autumn fusing with his internal sadness, exemplifies the description of human emotion as a mixture of interior with exterior. At these key moments, Murasaki inserts her created Japanese poems (waka) or by modifying Bai’s poems to create her own poetry as part of the dialogues among her characters or as descriptions in the dramatic settings of her vivid stories.
Murasaki further associates human feelings with Buddhist teaching to improve natural human feelings by developing a stronger psychological cycle. Buddhism, as the popular religion in Tang court, is reflected significantly in Bai’s poems. Murasaki depicts retribution, secular worries, conviction in Buddhism, and the monks’ commitment to spreading Buddhist teachings in constructing her settings of the Heian court stories. Unlike Sei, writing her essays as discrete episodes, Murasaki writes her story taking place in a continuous narrative. Murasaki makes Tang Xuanzong a metaphor for Genji and Genji’s father, invoking the Buddhist teaching of retribution. The beauty-seeker, Tang Xuanzong, ignored his duty as an Emperor and received retribution, losing his sovereignty of the state. In Genji’s case, having an affair with his stepmother, who bore a son from Genji, as a bad karma eventually affected his life. His wife has an affair with Kashiwagi and bears a son of Kashiwagi’s. Subsequently, Genji values the philosophy of Buddhism, strongly viewing impermanence as the nature of life. Therefore, Genji adopts Lady Rokujo’s daughter as his daughter so that Genji does not have to worry about his own children or grandchildren receiving retribution in the future for Genji’s previous extramarital affairs. The bishop persuades Ukifune to take refuge in Buddha to avoid further misfortunes in the future caused by her previous karma. Consequently, Murasaki depicts how religious philosophy can get beyond negative human feelings through a poetic introduction of Buddhist teachings into her narrative episodes.

Although Sei employs aesthetic preference of wokaši to exploit Bai’s poems, Sei presents her aware in Pillow Book as well. To Sei, aware あはれ is more inclined to the meaning of sorrow; at times, Sei writes aware in the form of 哀れ (sadness) to directly express the meaning of mourning. Unlike Komori Ikuko, who includes all sorts of human feelings as part of aware ascethetic, in her Pillow Book, Sei never combines “happy” (ureshi うれし) or “lovely” (itoshi いとし)
いとしい) with the expression of aware. This shows Sei utilizes aware to express the feeling of bitterness or beauty in sorrowfulness. Sei mainly applies wokaši as her aesthetic preference with a meaning of interesting or attractive. Sei changes the kana of を to the kana of お simply based on her spontaneously subjective feelings. To Sei, wokaši represents various interesting things such as a piece of lute music, a performance of lion dance, a game of go, the beauty of colours in writing paper, and the rites of religion. Sei uses approximately 80% of wokaši and 20% of aware in her writings. With the air of an intelligent scholar, Sei’s logic shows in her essays. However, one can discern Sei’s poetic compositions flowing everywhere.

While Sei occasionally uses mono no aware or aware, Murasaki focuses on depicting the complexity of human relationships solely through aware (sorrow) in her fiction. Murasaki’s writing is characterized by aware, yet her intricacy of planning the settings of the story and implanting Bai’s poems into the dialogue among the characters, Murasaki shows logic in organizing her 54 long fiction which became Tale of Genji, a masterpiece of Japanese literature and the world’s first novel. These two outstanding women, Murasaki Shikibu and Sei Shônagon, transformed Bai’s poems to instill new elements into Japanese culture in the unique Heian setting, mixing their logic with their aesthetic preferences for wokaši and aware. Another Heian aesthetic tradition that have the same Chinese writing character of elegance or enlightenment (ya in Chinese; miyabi in Japanese 雅) are depicted throughout Classic of Poetry, showing compatibility between Chinese culture and Japanese culture. However, the explanation why Sei and Murasaki particularly patronized Bai’s poems might be that they could find their wokaši and aware demonstrated in Bai’s collection of poetry. By accepting Bai’s poetry as a common

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199 Yu Fei, Shi jing xin yi, 5-7. Zhu Gongqian, Shi jing shu yi hui tong, 3-6, 10-11. Takamatsu, 174 Bai’s poem was considered aware, which is considered as Japanese aesthetic traditions. Masamune, 176, 211 Sei quotes aware at times in her diary just showing she adheres to Japanese aesthetic traditions as well, but that is not Sei’s literary characteristics.
culture, Japanese literati furthered Heian acculturation of Chinese culture. Sei and Murasaki showed innovation in their literary works through their aesthetic preferences and adopted portions of Bai’s poems that suited Japanese aesthetic traditions helping to further develop a new style of Japanese culture.
Cultural transmission from Tang China to Silla Korea

A number of geographical, political, religious, economic, and cultural factors permitted the transmission of Chinese culture to Korea. The Chinese can cross the unblocked border into Korea and travel through major rivers in Korea by the Yellow Sea, between China and Korea. A common climate which seasonally produced the same plants as in China meant that Korea had little difficulty in absorbing and adapting Chinese culture.\(^{200}\) For this geographical and agricultural convenience, Jizi 箕子, the uncle of the last King of the Shang Dynasty, was said to have been exiled to Korea around 1045 BCE. Later in 194 BCE, the Han people escaped the despotism of Qin Shi Huangdi, the first Emperor of China, founded a state called Wei Man in what is now Korea. Subsequently, the Chinese Emperor Han Wudi conquered Korea and in 109 BCE established four counties there: Le Lang, Xuan Tu, Zhen Pan, and Lin Tun.\(^{201}\) Hundreds of years later, Silla, one of the three kingdoms in Korea, requested the Emperor of Tang dynasty in China to send troops to assist in the civil war and thus built a stronger diplomatic relationship with the Tang. Such diplomatic relations were further strengthened by religious ties. Buddhism from India, first was introduced to Northern China through Central Asia in 372, was transmitted to Silla later in 384, and was passed to Koguryŏ as early as in the 4\(^{th}\) century. Buddhism and Daoism from China, permeated with native Korean shamanism, were the main religious beliefs in Korea before the fourteenth century.\(^{202}\) The transmission of Buddhism brought trade, as merchants transported Buddhist rosaries, scrolls, artefacts and paintings from China to Korea. Many Japanese and Korean merchants flocked to Chinese cities and were exposed to Tang

\(^{200}\) Roberts, 58. Wei, 7-8, 10-16.
\(^{201}\) Wei, 1-6, 338.
\(^{202}\) Henthorn, 68 Korean Shamanism blended well with Buddhism and Daoism from China.
culture, including the extremely popular poems of Bai Juyi. A Korean merchant, Chang Pogo, worked for the Tang as a military officer, and went back to Silla to prevent Silla people from being kidnapped by pirates to be sold as slaves to the Tang. To defend maritime trade against pirates, Chang Pogo led a military naval force to safeguard the merchants’ freedom among China, Korea, and Japan. Chang was assassinated in 846, the same year that Bai Juyi died. Through his facilitation of trade and cultural exchange, Chang helped to promote literary artefacts such as Bai’s poetry to flow among the three states of China, Korea, and Japan.

The majority of Korean transmitters of Chinese culture possessed a trilingual capability. While Chang Pogo lived, he first went to work in China and obtained a military position. He then went back to Korea and established a navy force to protect maritime commerce in pre-modern East Asia. In addition to his military power, he or his assistants must have acquired three languages in order to handle international trades among these three states. Furthermore, Simsang, from the Hwaōm Buddhism School in Silla Korea, studied in Tang China, and later lectured in Heian Japan at the Tōdai-ji monastery on the doctrine of the Hwaōm. To study Buddhist sutras which were written in classical Chinese, Simsang needed to comprehend spoken and written Chinese in order to communicate with local Chinese monks for digesting and reading materials of Buddhist sutra. For lecturing at a Japanese monastery, Simsang needed to converse fluently in Japanese as well. Another example can be seen in Japan is the famous Buddhist monk Kūkai who was said to possess extraordinary language power. These multilingual monks from Korea and Japan helped in the transmission of Chinese learning, including the collections of Bai’s literary works, to Korea and Japan.

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203 Fang, 42-43.
204 Ou-yang Hsiu, 6206-6207. Henthorn, 79-81. Han, 116. Covell, 94-95 Chang Pogo’s endeavour was considered as unofficial cultural transmission by Covell.
205 Henthorn, 69.
How were Bai Juyi’s poems transmitted to Korea?

Transmission of Bai’s poem to Korea in pre-modern age was also credited to Korean scholars in China, in addition to Korean monks and merchants. Before Korean alphabets (Han’gul 한글) were created by King Sejong (세종世宗) in 1446, Chinese characters comprised the writing system employed in Korea.\textsuperscript{206} Within the sphere of the Chinese writing system, Han learning including Chinese pre-modern history, philosophy, literature, and Buddhism was considered as a primogenitor culture by Koreans.\textsuperscript{207} The reception of Han Learning inspired a few cultural establishments such as flower youth (hwarang 화랑), an indigenous elite cultural and military organization to strengthen the kingdom of Silla. With the transmission of Han learning, including the work of Tang poets, Bai Juyi became highly popular in Korea. In the preface of the \textit{Entire Corpus of Bai’s Work}; other name: the \textit{Chang Qing Corpus of Bai’s Work} (Bai Shi Chang Qing Ji 白氏長慶集), Yuan Zeng reports that Silla merchants were willing to exchange a piece of gold for one of Bai Juyi’s poems, evidence of his fame while he was still alive. There was also a story that some Bai’s relative emigrated to Silla Korea and that Bai had befriended some Korean monks such as Lang Hui 朗慧, who went to Tang China in 822. He met and became friends with Bai who was a sincere and serious Buddhist, at the temple of Xiang Mountain 香山. After Lang Hui returned to Korea, he eventually became the patriarch of Silla’s Buddhist clergy. Lang Hui had a monk friend, Ru Man 如滿, who claimed he had a close relationship with Bai and Bai made mention in his will that he wished to be buried beside Ru

\textsuperscript{207}Yi Chae-un, \textit{Ch’oe Ch’i-wŏn yŏn’gu} (Sŏul-si: Paeksan Charyowŏn, 1999), 1.
Man’s stele. It is on Lang Hui’s pagoda stele that Bai’s name was first documented by a famous Korean scholar, Ch’oe Ch’i-Won.\textsuperscript{208}

Ch’oe Ch’i-Won (855 - 949),\textsuperscript{209} served as a politician, a scholar and a transmitter of culture between Korea and China. Ch’oe went to China as a student at 12 and passed the civil service examination at the age of 18 in China. Around the age of 27, Ch’oe worked for a local Chinese military officer of the late Tang era, Gao Pian, 高駢 who was recorded as a rebel servant in the History of the Early Tang Dynasty.\textsuperscript{210} Ch’oe wished to carry out his aspiration of serving Tang welfare through his literary and political work. After Gao was dismissed from his post for his revolt, Ch’oe returned to Silla and compiled Kyewŏn Pilgyŏngjip, which is not only a major Silla literary work in Chinese but also a primary source for late Tang historiography, for this account contains many historical documents that were not preserved by the late Tang government. Ch’oe became the most influential Chinese cultural scholar in the Silla era.\textsuperscript{211}

Ch’oe joined the Silla civil service at the age of 31 and around the age of 39, he was sent by the Silla government as an envoy to China. However, his political life in Korea was not successful. After Silla sovereignty perished, when he was 46, Ch’oe lived in seclusion and became involved with study of Daoism and Buddhism. He eventually died in 949 at the age of 95. As a famous foreigner official, the Chinese populace respected Ch’oe and erected an upright stone tablet at his footprint in Yangzhou, China. As a cultural pioneer, Ch’oe transmitted Chinese culture to Korea hoping to help Silla achieve enlightenment and civilization. After Ch’oe’s compilation of


\textsuperscript{209} Fang, 1,283.

\textsuperscript{210} Ou-yang Hsiu, 6391-6404.

\textsuperscript{211} Ch’oe Ch’i-wŏn,(Cui Zhiyuan) Kyewŏn Pilgyŏngjip (Collection of Pen Cultivation at Kyewŏn; Gui Yuan Bi Geng Ji Jiao Zhu), ed. Yinping Dang (Beijing: Zhonghua Shu Ju, 2007), 1.
Kyewŏn Pilgyŏngjip, Korean literati stopped using the Ido system to record pronunciation for Korean prose or songs with Chinese characters and began to write literature in classical Chinese, such as Tongmunsŏn, which is comprised of literary writings by famous Korean writers and became a writing model for contemporary and future Korean literati.

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Korean poetry theory

Pre-modern Korean literati inherited the lineage of literary theory for poetic composition from China. As the Korean writing system was in classical Chinese before a Korean alphabet was created, distinguished scholars often obtained an education in Tang China. Ch’oe was a rare representative among this group of Korean students in that he obtained a government post as a foreigner in China. In direct competition with other students for passing the civil service entrance examination, Ch’oe needed to study the same subjects of the Four Books: the Great Learning, the Analects of Confucius, Mencius, and the Doctrine of the Mean; and the Five Classics: the Classic of Poetry, the Classic of Documents, the Classic of Rites, the Classic of Change, and the Spring and the Autumn Annals. For Ch’oe’s poetic compositions, he must have started out as any other Chinese poet by memorizing and imitating prior Chinese poetry in order to create his own style of poetry. Naturally, Ch’oe had taken models from previous Tang poets and those as far back as in the era of the Classic of Poetry. In the Koryŏ Period, Korean literati still connected with Confucianism and continued to master in the Chinese language, works of literature, philosophy, and history. The Korean classical Chinese poets of Silla and Koryŏ naturally followed conventional Chinese literary theory based on the learning of the Four Books and the Five Classics, as Bai and Ch’oe did. Silla scholars in the Tang era and Koryŏ scholars in the Song-Yuan era both memorized Chinese poems prior to their time, referenced Tang or Song poems, and wrote Chinese poems following the traditional Chinese literary theory, articulated in the Classic of Documents, “the poem articulates what is on the mind” (shi yan zhi 詩言志).

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Ch’oe’s literary works
The sea as an element of nature is the major subject matter of poems in Ch’oe’s Kyewŏn Pilgyŏngjip. Within Ch’oe’s Kyewŏn Pilgyŏngjip, the majority of the official documentations are appreciation, reports, and letters. There is only a small portion of poems in the style of sentiment mixing with leisure, mostly written at the time Ch’oe was about to leave China for Korea. Unlike the majority of Chinese poets writing about mountain as a depiction of landscape beauty, his aesthetic preference was particularly in sea. Ch’oe describes the beauty of nature in his poem of “Tapered Rock” (Shi feng 石峰): 215

chan yan jue ding yu motian 嶂巖絕頂欲摩天 The extreme apex of skyscraper rock seems to touch Heaven.
hairi chu kai yi duo lian 海日初開一朵蓮 At the scenery of sun over sea, there is a newly blossomed lotus flower.
she xue bu rong fan shumu 勢削不容凡樹木 Such a scraping cliff cannot allow the survival of an ordinary tree.
ge gao wei re hao yun yan 格高唯惹好雲煙 Its extraordinary style only attracts company of the best mist.
dian su han ying zhuang xing xue 點酥寒影妝新雪 The mist decorates the desolate image of new snow flakes.
jia yu qingyin peng xi quan 戛玉清音噴細泉 With the clear sound of slender jade, the fine water spurts out.
jing xiang Penglai zhi ruci 靜想蓬萊只如此 Peacefully, I imagine Penglai would be just like this.
yingdang yueye hui qun xian 應當月夜會群仙 It must be during the moonlit night that a flock of fairies gather here.

Bai employs Penglai several times in his poems such as “Song of Lasting Pain”, which was also used by Murasaki to describe the immortal underworld. While Bai talks about Penglai as an alien place in “Ocean Unrestrained”, Ch’oe uses Penglai to describe a fairylike landscape that cannot be found in the human world. When Ch’oe was on a mission in the peninsula of

215 Ch’oe Ch’i-wôn, 756-757. Unless I mentioned that I referred to others’ translation, I translated the majority of Korean poems. Ch’oe’s complete poetry corpus has been translated into English will soon be published by a Ph.D. graduate, Christina Han and a M.A. graduate, Wing S. Chu, of UofT.
Shangdong, he composed this imagery of mountain and sea. Through Ch’oe’s poems, readers can visualize a picture of colourful drawing in black, blue, fuchsia, green, and white painted in his words. Intending to forget secular worries, similar to Bai, Ch’oe draws his readers’ attention to a utopian world where a temporary escape from worldly matters can be rewarded through spending time with the elements of the nature. Ch’oe references not only Bai’s fairytale space of Penglai, but also Bai’s aesthetic preference to enjoy the beauty of nature. Other poems can be interpreted as leisurely, lonely, or sorrowful in feeling such as, “Spring Dawn Leisurly Gaze” (Chun xiao xian wang 春曉閑望):\textsuperscript{216}

\begin{verbatim}
shan mian lan yun feng nao san 山面懶雲風惱散

On the surface of the mountain, idle clouds are purpetuated and battered by the wind.

ang tou wan xue ri qi xiao 岸頭頑雪日欺銷

At the edge of the coast, the stubborn snow is bullied and melted by the sun.

du yin guanjing qing he hen 獨吟光景情何限(恨)

In this scene of humming poems on the scenery by myself, how regretful do I feel?

you lai sha ou ban ji liao 猶賴沙鷗伴寂廖

I am still relying on the seagulls to accompany me in my loneliness.
\end{verbatim}

Similarity in the title, the nature, the context, and the rhyming style of the poem can be found comparing Bai’s poem “A Dawn Gaze from Yu Tower” (Yu Lou Xiao Wang 庾樓曙望) with that of Ch’oe’s. Both titles are about a dawn view. However, Ch’oe ingeniously inserts an adverb of “leisurely” and an adjective of “spring” before dawn gaze. As far as the context is concerned, both Bai and Ch’oe describe the natural scenery of the landscape (mountain and water). Ch’oe opted to do an alternate rhyming on the vowel of “iao” to express the aural aesthetic of the poetic composition to complement the visual beauty of the scenery. In Tang China, Bai expresses his emotion of missing his home town, while in Heian Japan Murasaki alludes to Bai’s poem to

\textsuperscript{216} Ch’oe, 768.
express Genji’s missing his home. Ch’oe portrays green mountains, white snow and cloud, blue sky, and grayish seagulls in the imagery of the poem, while both Bai and Murasaki concentrate on the white snow expressing the sorrowful feeling of missing home. When Ch’oe was about to leave Tang China in 885, he composed several poems stating his mixed feeling on leaving China. In this poem, he uses the word of regret to describe his departing a place where he used to live for nineteen years since he was twelve. Another poem he wrote about the same time entitled “A Seashore Spring Gaze” (*Haibian chun wang* 海邊春望)\(^{217}\) again showing his aesthetic preference for the sea rather than the mountains:

\[
\begin{align*}
ou \ lu \ fen \ fei \ gao \ fu \ di & \quad 鷗鷺分飛高復低 \\
yuan \ ting \ you \ cao \ yu \ qiqi & \quad 遠汀幽草欲萋萋 \\
cishi \ qianli \ wanly \ yi & \quad 此時千里萬重意 \\
mu \ ji \ mu \ yun \ fan \ zi \ mi & \quad 目極暮雲翻自迷
\end{align*}
\]

In this poem, Ch’oe describes his struggle for his identity as a Tang official and as a Silla student. Ch’oe’s other internal feelings of confusion might have been from leaving Tang China and returning to Silla Korea. For his relationship between him and his ex-employer, Gao Pian, Ch’oe makes a metaphor of splitting into two different directions between seagulls and herons and the sandbar splitting the sea in the middle. In addition, Ch’oe makes a metaphor of the clouds in the sunset glowing to the end of his journey living in China and adds the bright colours of red sunset glow and green grass to the imagery of his poem. Depicting the natural scenery of the shoal at the beach with an emphasis on the white substances of snow, moon, and flower as loved by people living in the area of Silla Korea, Ch’oe writes his “Shoal” (*Shating* 沙汀)\(^{218}\):

\[^{217}\text{Ch’oe, 767.}\]
\[^{218}\text{Ch’oe, 758.}\]
yuan kan huang si xuehua fei 遠看還似雪花飛 In a distance, it looks like flying snow flakes flowers.

ruo zhi youlai bu zichi 弱質由來不自持 Its original weak nature cannot support itself.
jusan zhi ping chao lang bo 聚散只憑潮浪簸 Together or apart it only relies on the carrying of the tides and the waves.

gao di kuang bei haifeng chui 高低況被海風吹 Its ups and downs are controlled by the blowing sea breeze.
yenlong jinglian ren xing jue 煙籠靜練人行絕 Its misty covering as placid silk fabric shows no signs of human footprint,

ri she ning shuang he bu chi 日射凝霜鶴步鶴 when sun shoots, frost forms, and cranes’ step slows.
bie hen manghuai yin dao ye 別恨滿懷吟到夜 My sorrow for departing fills my heart that I chant into the night.

na kan you zhi yue yuan shi 那堪又值月圓時 How can I endure the time of full moon again?

The triple subject matter of snow, moon, and flower of Bai’s poem “Harmonized Melody sent to Ji: a full account of my old trips to the Southland” is not only considered as an aesthetic tradition in Japan, but also in Korea and China. Choe further describes his contradiction in leaving a foreign land where he lived eighteen years for a homeland where he was born and lived for twelve years. Ch’oe shows his grudge against the full moon representing a happy reunion feeling, vexed why he was not happy leaving the alien state for his home state. The sea waves drift sand apart and bring sand together as if destiny drifts people apart and brings people together. At times, life rises up and drops down as sea waves rise high and drop low controlled by unknown external forces. Ch’oe implicates the fate of sand as a metaphor for his political life beyond his control and aspirations. The impermanence of human life also echoes the Buddhist popular teachings across Tang China, Silla Korea, and Heian Japan in Ch’oe’s time.
How do Ch’oe’s poems relate to Bai’s poems?

In addition to being included in his own collection of writings, Ch’oe’s sentimental poems can also be seen in another Korean literature anthology, Tongmunsŏn, which includes Ch’oe’s “The autumn night rain” (Qiu ye yu zhong 秋夜雨中):\(^{219}\)

\begin{align*}
qiū fēng wéi kǔ yín & \text{ 秋風惟苦吟 The autumn wind only makes me chant bitterly.} \\
shì lù shào zhī yín & \text{ 世路少知音 In this life’s journey, only a few soul-mates I meet.} \\
chuāng wài sān gēng yù & \text{ 窗外三更雨 In the midnight rain outside of the window,} \\
dēng qián wàn lǐ xīn & \text{ 燈前萬里心 sitting in front of the lantern, my mind is ten thousand miles away!}
\end{align*}

The line of “two thousand miles away, my mind is missing my old folks 二千里外故人心” in Bai’s poem of “On the fifteenth Day of the Eighth Month, I am alone by myself at the palace gazing the moon and thinking of Yuan Jiu”,\(^{220}\) was used by Murasaki to describe Genji’s sentiments missing his faraway family; it has great similarity in syntax structure Ch’oe’s use of “my mind ten thousand miles away” (Wān lǐ xīn 萬里心). Furthermore, Bai’s poem, “Shāngyāng White Haired Man” has a similar description of rain in autumn nights cited in the title of Ch’oe’s poem. It seems that Ch’oe alluded to Bai’s poem in his own way just as Murasaki always did. It is not immediately obvious, but once one reads through Ch’oe’s poem, it is not too hard to discern the similarity between the styles of the two.

In addition to his sentimental writings, Ch’oe also wrote a few satirical poems with a similar intention as Bai of promoting egalitarianism between the poor and the rich. These satirical poems are in a style of “New Music Bureau Poetry,” a literary movement propounded by Bai Juyi and Yuan Zhen to advocate for the wellbeing of the masses. Not merely for recording music or dance as with the Old Music Bureau established in the Han dynasty, “New

\(^{219}\) Sŏng Nak-hŭi, Ch’oe Ch’i-wŏn ŭi si chŏngsin yŏn’gu, 94. Sŏ, 217(five-word quatrain).

Music Bureau Poetry”, set at its taste satirizing governmental ill conduct that caused the populace to suffer. Ch’oe wrote this poem “Southland Girls” (Jiangnan nu 江南女),

compiled in Tongmunsŏn, intending to promote a better life for the poor people:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Jìngnán dāng fèngsù</th>
<th>江南蕩風俗  Corrupted social customs exists in the Southland.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yáng nu jiāo qie lián</td>
<td>養女嬌且憐  Girls are raised to be pampered and pathetic.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xíng xì chì zhēn xiān</td>
<td>性治恥針線 They are brought up to be ashamed of doing needle works.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zhùàng chéng tiáo guān xiān</td>
<td>妝成調管弦  After they finish their makeup, they tune up their pipes and strings.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>suǒ xué fēi yá yín</td>
<td>所學非雅音 What they learn is not the pure and elegant music,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>duō bei chūn xìng qiān</td>
<td>多被春心牽 but is often stirred with amorous feelings.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zì wèi fāng huā sè</td>
<td>自謂芳華色 They consider themselves possessing beautiful appearances.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chāng zàn yān yāng niān</td>
<td>長占艷陽年 After occupying long years of gaudy outlooks,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>què xiāo lín shè nu</td>
<td>卻笑鄰舍女 nevertheless, laugh at their neighbouring girls.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zhòng zhào nóng jí shū</td>
<td>終朝弄機抒 Who, all morning, are busy working on looms.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jí shū zòng lāo shēn</td>
<td>機抒縱勞身 The looms never spares their bodies.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>luò yī bū dāo nù</td>
<td>羅衣不到汝 Beautiful clothes, however, will not come to these girls.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As a Confucian, Ch’oe denounces the inequality and the imbalance between the rich and the poor at the south of Yangtze River. Confucius encourages labouring as a proper career, disapproves of unorthodox or in-authentic music, and advocates love (ren) for all sentient beings. Wealthy girls raised from the south of Yangtze River live against Confucianism: they do not have proper jobs; they do not learn graceful music (yā yín),

and they do not have empathy (ren) for their labouring neighbours. Ch’oe makes his poetic critiques of family education in the area south of Yangtze River to encourage a better societal environment. Girls from poor families in the south

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221 Sŏ Kŏ-jŏng, No Sa-sin tŏng ch’anjip - Tongmunsŏn (Sŏul : Kyŏngin Ŝulim konggûp, 1967), 37. Sŏng Nak-hŭi, Ch’oe Ch’i-wŏn ū si chŏngsin yŏn’gu (Sŏul T’ukpyŏlsi: Soeul, Kwandong Ch’ulp’ansa, 2000), 109. Wei, 162. When Ch’oe compiled his Guī Yuan Bi Geng Ji after he arrived home in Silla Korea, not every poem he wrote in his life was included in his corpus.

222 Xie Bing Ying, et.al., eds., Xin Yi Sishu Duben (Taipei: Sanmin Shuju, 1966), 114, 222. Since Confucius dislikes music from Zheng, music from Zheng was considered as unorthodox by Confucians.
Yangtze River area seem to have the same fates as the character of Safflower described by Murasaki, in her allusion to Bai’s “Heavy Tax” which was referenced in Chapter 6 of Tale of Genji. “The Safflower” with its image of poor girls not even having proper clothing; and in Bai’s “On Marriage” of Chapter 2 “The Broom Tree” where a girl from a poor family cannot be married off because of her difficult family situation. Through their advocacy with their literary works, Bai, Murasaki, and Ch’oe are wishing better for the impoverished classes.

As a critique of corrupted political policies, Bai created “New Music Bureau Poetry” a consideration of contemporary Tang music and dance. In History of the Three Kingdoms (Samguk sagi), a history of Korea in the era of Three Kingdom compiled by Kim Pu-Sik (1075-1151), Ch’oe’s poems of Korean music and dance were included under the music section. Similarities in structure can be seen between the two histories, Tang history and History of the Three Kingdoms and between poems of Ch’oe’s and Bai’s describing music and dance.

Narrating the dance movements of “Musicians at the Standing Section” (Li bu ji 立部伎), Bai writes:

\[
\begin{align*}
gu di xuan & \quad \text{鼓笛喧} \quad \text{clamour of drums and flutes} \\
wu shuang jian & \quad \text{舞雙劍} \quad \text{dance of double swords} \\
tiao jiu wan & \quad \text{跳七丸} \quad \text{hops among seven balls}\quad \text{224} \\
\text{...} & \\
yu wang feng lai baishou wu & \quad \text{欲望鳳來百獸舞} \quad \text{almost seeing the phoenix arriving and every kind of beasts dancing} \\
\text{...} & \\
y a yin ti huai yi zhici & \quad \text{雅音替壞一至此} \quad \text{the elegant music is substituted for the broken in this moment}
\end{align*}
\]

Evidently, Bai did not approve of the transmission of music and dance from the western region of China into China Proper because the dance from the western region does not belong to

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223 Bai Juyi, Bai Juyi ji, ed., Gu Xuejie, 57. My translation.
224 ibid. In Yuefu, it is written as 九 (nine) balls; sometimes it was written as seven balls.
traditional and graceful Chinese music and dance advocated by Confucius. As far as Chinese aesthetic traditions are concerned, the orthodox Chinese dance should not be replaced by that from a foreign state. Bai also did not approve of the transmission of a dance from Hu, another western region of China, in his “The Whirling Girl from Hu” (Hu xuan nu 胡旋女): 225

\[ hui xue piaopiao zhuang pen wu \quad \text{回雪飘飘转蓬舞} \quad \text{the whirling snow turning and dancing around} \]

\[ zhouxuan youzhuan buzhi pi \quad \text{左旋右转不知疲} \quad \text{left whirl and right turn not feeling weary} \]

…

Bai’s original intention of this poem was as a satire of Tang Xuanzong being bewitched by this type of dance from the western regions and eventually losing his power to govern Tang China. After An Lushan rebelled, China was not able to return to its previous glory. 226 Subsequent to Ch’oe’s return to Korea, Ch’oe recorded Korean dance in the countryside depicting contemporary entertainment among the Korean folks. In his poem of “The Golden Balls” (Jin wang 金丸), 227 Ch’oe writes about a whirling dance as:

\[ hui shen diao bi long jin wan \quad \text{迥身掉臂弄金丸} \quad \text{Bending his body and bracing his arms, he juggles the golden balls.} \]

\[ yue zhuan xing fu man yankan \quad \text{月轉星浮滿眼看} \quad \text{Moons wheel, and stars float, watching with fully opened eyes.} \]

…

The similarity wording for describing the dance between the poems of Bai’s and Ch’oe’s shows Ch’oe might have referenced Bai’s poem in composing his own to describe Silla folk dance. Ch’oe seems to add the details of how the dancers could hop around with nine balls by twisting around their bodies and holding balls behind their arms. In order to achieve this, Ch’oe adds the

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225 Bai Juyi, Bai Juyi jì, ed. Gu Xuejie, 60-61.
whirling described in *Hu xuan* dancer and the descriptive dancing scene similar to watching the moon and stars turning in the sky: a Chinese expression uses stars turning as a metaphor for getting dizzy. The “golden ball” dance Ch’oe describes is a textual merging of Bai’s “Musicians at the Standing Section” and “The Whirling Girl from Hu”. Meanwhile, it is also textual evidence that music and dance from the western region was transmitted into China. Via China, the same type of dance was transmitted into Korea, and became a part of Korean dance. Another type of dance, the lion dance, is also described by Bai Juyi’s “Western Liang Dancers” (*Xi Liang ji* 西涼伎): 229

\[\ldots\]

*jiamian huren jia shizi* 假面胡人假獅子 *Huren* mask in a form of a lion.

\[\ldots\]

*fen xun maoyi bai shuang er* 奔迅毛衣擺雙耳 It exerts its strength, rapidly moving his wool costume to swing his ears to and fro.

ru cong liu sha lai wanly 如從流沙來萬里 It seems having come from Liusha 230 through tens of thousands of *li*.

\[\ldots\]

*shizi huitou xiangxi wang* 獅子回頭向西望 The lion turns its head and gazes westward,

*aihou yisheng guanzhe bei* 哀吼一聲觀者悲 (the lion) sorrowfully roars once and the audience are heart-felt with sadness.

\[\ldots\]

In comparison with Bai’s poem, Ch’oe writes “Lion” (*Suanni 獅猊*): 231

*yuanshe liusha wanli lai* 遠涉流沙萬里來 Afar across from Liusha tens of thousands of *li* he came.

*maoyi po jin zhu chenai* 毛衣破盡著塵埃 His fur is all torn and covered with dust.

*yaotou diaowei xun rende* 搖頭掉尾尋仁德 He shakes his head and swishes his tail mildly in pursuit of benevolence and virtue.

*xiongqi rutong baishou cai* 雄氣如同百獸才 His bravery is equal to competence of every kind of beasts. 232

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230 *Liusha* was a desert region in the western area of China.
231 Kim, 362. Sŏng, 185.
232 Henthorn, 77. English translation by Henthorn.
It seems that Ch’oe switches around the order of words of Bai’s “came from Liusha through tens of thousands of li” (liu sha lai wanli 流沙來萬里) in a slightly different order of “from Liusha tens of thousands of li he came” (liusha wanli lai 流沙萬里來) by switching the position of the verb of “came”. Furthermore, Ch’oe moves the line of wool costume around after the line of “come from Liusha through tens of thousands of li” (liusha wanli lai 流沙萬里來) in his own way to describe the dancer’s costume having been worn out and having been covered with dust. Bai took “every kind of beast leading the dance” (baishou shuaiwu 百獸率舞) from “Shundian” of the Classic of Documents in his previous poem of “Musicians at the Standing Section”. It would not be surprised if Ch’oe took this portion from Bai’s and changed from “every kind of beasts dancing” to “competence of every kind of beasts” that Ch’oe describes in the previous three lines. Ch’oe might have referenced Bai’s way of composing poems to write poems in his own manners. Bai’s and Ch’oe’s descriptions of the lion dance are evidence that the dance must have been performed in pre-modern China and Korea. As Sŏng Nak-hŭi describes, the lion dance was a type of entertainment in the Korean countryside and Zhao Weiping suggests the lion dance was spread to Japan before the thirteenth century via Korea. Henthorn states that the lion dance was performed and introduced by a Paekche immigrant living in Japan as recorded in Nihon shogi of 612. Moreover, Ch’oe in his “The Mask” (Da mian 大面) alludes to Bai’s “Western Liang dancers”:

huangjin mianbao shi qi ren 黃金面具是其人 What man is this with the golden coloured mask?
shuo ba zhubian yi guishen 手把珠鞭役鬼神 In his hand, he holds the pearl whip to exorcise the ghostly spirits.

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233 Guang Hu, ed., Shu Jing Da Quan (Taipei: Taiwan Shang Wu Yin Shu Guan, 1977), 72.
234 Sŏng Nak-hŭi, Ch’oe Ch’i-wŏn úi si chŏngsin yŏn’gu, 181-185. Weiping Zhao, Zhongguo gu dai yin yue wen hua dong liu Riben de yan jiu (Shanghai: Shanghai yin yue xue yuan chu ban she, 2004), 107-108. Henthorn, 53.
235 Sŏng, 181,184.
Walking quickly, then running slowly, he performs an elegant dance. Which resembles the Phoenix Dance and the spring of Emperor Yao.

The masking of the dancer in this poem appears to be described in Bai’s “Western Liang dancers” (Xi Liang ji 西涼伎). It is possible to see that the poem is a mixture of Ch’oe’s “Golden balls” and Bai’s “Western Liang dancers” in which Ch’oe emphasizes the gold colour of the dancers’ costumes. This type of music and dance was performed at a party and was exported to Heian Japan from Tang China as the party music (yanyue 燕樂 or 宴樂) to entertain aristocrats in parties in the Heian court. However, the name of the party music was changed to elegant music (gakaku 雅樂), a name that is still used in modern Japan. Therefore, the elegant music in Japan is no long the same as the original Chinese elegant music (yayue 雅樂). In China, the elegant music was a ritual music and dance related to palace ceremonies in the Zhou dynasty, which was transmitted to Korea.

Through comparing Bai’s and Ch’oe’s poems and Murasaki’s dance settings in her fiction, Tale of Genji, evidence of the common origins of the music and dance among these three states – China, Korea, and Japan, can be discerned.

As Ch’oe adapted Bai’s writing style in both sentimental and satirical works, Ch’oe further adapted Bai’s philosophy in Confucianism, Buddhism, and Daoism. In his later years, Ch’oe lived as a hermit in a mountain and followed the philosophy of Zhuangzi, a Daoist, regarding being a free person not serving at the court; this approach was adopted by the Chinese poet Tao Qian (376–427) who was also famous in the Heian period in Japan and in the Silla and Koryŏ eras in Korea. In his collection of literary works, Bai propounds his Daoist thought following the philosophical lineage from Zhuangzi and Tao Qian with other thoughts of

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236 Henthorn, 77. English translation by Henthorn.
237 Zhao, 9-10.
Confucianism and Buddhism. Accordingly, as a founder of Korean literature, Ch’oe passed along a trinity of Confucianist, Daoist, and Buddhist schools of philosophy as a literary model that would be followed by Korean writers.\footnote{Kim In-jong, et al, \textit{Koun Ch’oe Chi-wŏn} (Sŏul: Minŭmsa, 1989), 55-85 Confucianism, 87-122 Buddhism, 123 Daoism, 141-172 Zhuangzi. Koun Kukche Kyoryu Saŏphoe, \textit{Koun Ch’oe Chi-wŏn ŭi chonghapchŏk chomyŏng} (Sŏul: Munsach’ŏl, 2009), 370-372, 373-374 Buddhism.} Although Ch’oe never explicitly expressed that he learned from Bai’s writing style, we know from Ch’oe’s literary works that Bai was one of his mentors, along with other famous Chinese poets such as Li Bai and Du Fu.\footnote{Han, 106. Ch’oe, 1. Roberts, 64. Ŝong Nak-hŭi, 97-102.} At a later date in the Koryŏ period, Yi Kyu-bo was another Korean scholar who contributed greatly to Korean literary field, helped to transmit Bai’s poem, and was among the authors of \textit{Tongmunsŏn}. 

**Yi Kyu-bo’s Life**

Yi Kyu-bo, specifically acknowledges in his writings that he modeled his work on Bai and wanted to be Bai’s imaginary friend. Yi’s corpus of literary works, *Tongguk Yi Sang-guk Chip*, is representative of Korean and Chinese historiography and literature as written by a Korean literatus. Emphasizing the culture and tradition of the Koryŏ Kingdom (918-1392) in Korea, the political scholar and the famous poet, Yi Kyu-bo wrote for stirring up patriotism among the Korean populace. Before Yi turned to the age of one, his body became swelled malignantly to the stage that his wet nurse wanted to abandon him. At the time, a deity, purportedly coming from the star *Kyu*, emerged to say that the baby boy could not be abandoned. Furthermore, the deity appeared to Yi’s father in a dream to tell him that Yi would place the first in writing the civil service exam in his later time. This is how Yi got himself named: from star of *Kyu* and from the verb *bo* (to tell). At the age of 22, Yi passed the Korean civil service examination as the first among qualified candidates. Because he annoyed his contemporary government officials, Yi was not able to serve the Koryŏ government and lived in seclusion until 32. Later on, he continued to satirize government policies and was banished a few times by the Koryŏ authority. Under Mongolian rule in Koryŏ, he became the first privy councillor handling important national duties. Yi was famous for writing letters to the Mongolian king for his persuasion of Korean welfare and then retired after 72 years old for writing more literary works.²⁴⁰ In Yi Kyu-bo’s *Tongguk Yi Sang-guk Chip*, Yi wrote many prose essays such as “Why Tang China did not comprise Ch’oe’s biography in *the Tang*” (*History Tangshu bu li Cui Zhiyuan liezhuan yi 唐書不立崔致遠列傳議*) speculating why Ch’oe was not considered worthy to be

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listed as a Tang official in Tang historiography.\textsuperscript{241} In addition to writing to the Mongolian Emperor to protect the welfare of Korea, Yi further wrote in an epic format such as “King Tong-myong 東明王篇” to inspire patriotism among the Koryŏ populace. Furthermore, Yi wrote a narrative fiction “White cloud novel 白雲小説” in poetry format to depict miscellaneous stories about Tang history, Ch’oe and Ch’oe’s works, Bai and Bai’s work, and Yi’s religious beliefs all intended to sustain and cherish the Korean cultural tradition.\textsuperscript{242} In Tongmunsŏn, Yi wrote at least 22 prose essays expressing his admonition or appreciation on a variety of things. Having great knowledge of Chinese history, philosophy, and literature, helped Yi to voice his opinions in his prose essays.\textsuperscript{243} Yi’s collection of works was compiled as an invaluable corpus in the field of Korean literature as Yi shared his joy in reading Chinese classic literature with his readers.

\textsuperscript{241} Yi, 237.
\textsuperscript{243} Wei, 289. Sŏ Kŏ-jŏng, 102-111.
Yi Kyu-bo’s literary theory

Yi Kyu-bo presents Korean literary theory within his essays of discussing poetic composition in his *Tongguk Yi Sang-guk Chip*. Yi highly praises Tao’s literary writings in “Reading Tao Qian’s Poetry” (*Du Tao Qian shi* 讀陶潛詩) and considers the poetic compositions of Tao Qian, a renowned Chinese poet in the Eastern Jin Dynasty, impossible for him to be anywhere close to Tao’s literary achievement. Moreover, in Yi’s “After I Wrote at the Collection of Bai Letian” (*Shu Bai Letian Ji hou* 書白樂天集後), Yi counters the criticism of simplicity in Bai’s poem as ignorance about the real aesthetics of poetic composition. To Yi, Bai’s simplicity is analogous to Tao’s blandness. In “Sixteen Poems Imitating Tao Qian’s Style” (*Xiao Tao Qian ti shi shiliu shou* 效陶潛體詩十六首), Bai composed 16 poems in imitation of Tao’s corpus of literary work. Furthermore, in Bai’s “Visiting Previous Residence of Honourable Tao” (*Fang Tao gong jiuzhai* 訪陶公舊宅), Bai depicted that while in the neighborhood of Tao’s previous residence he thought of Tao and visited Tao’s former residence. With a similar affinity to Tao, Yi Kyu-bo further writes of the stringless zither as the core of Tao’s literary theory. It was said that Tao kept a stringless zither in his room to show his concurrence with Zhuangzi’s philosophy that even the best music performance is imperfect; the supreme music is music that is not played. Yi refers to Zhuangzi’s philosophy as it appears in Tao’s corpus of literary writings, but also in how Tao lived according to Zhuangzi’s philosophy as a hermit enjoying the simple elements of nature. As a mentor for Bai and Yi, Tao was a follower of the great philosopher, Zhuangzi, whom Bai also studied a great deal and found his aesthetic theory in Chapter 1 and Chapter 2 in *Zhuangzi* depicting freedom and equality as

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244 Yi, 555. Wei, 318. Sin, 209.
instrumental to the aesthetic theory of poetic composition.\textsuperscript{246} We can discern Zhuangzi’s philosophy and aesthetics among the following correspondence of alternate rhyming poems between Yi and Bai. First is Bai Juyi’s “Stay Home to Become a Buddhist Monk” \textit{(Zai jia chu jia 在家出家)}:\textsuperscript{247}

\begin{quote}
\textit{yi shi zhi fen hun jia bi} 衣食支分婚嫁毕 There’s plenty of food and clothes and the children are married.
\textit{cong jin jia shi bu xiang reng} 從今家事不相仍 Now that I’m free and clear of all these familial duties to the family,
\textit{ye mian shen shi tou lin niao} 夜眠身是投林鳥 I fall asleep at night with the body as a bird reaching forests.
\textit{chao fan xin tong qi shi seng} 朝飯心同乞食僧 I eat at dawn with the mind of a monk who begs for means.
\textit{qing li shu sheng song xia hao} 清唳數聲松下鶴 A scatter of crystalline voices calls: cranes beneath pines.
\textit{han guang yi dian zhu jian deng} 寒光一點竹間燈 A single fleck of cold light burns: a lamp in among bamboo.
\textit{zhong xiao ru ding jia fu zuo} 中宵入定跏趺坐 On a sitting cusion, I’m all ch’an stillness deep in the night.
\textit{nuu huan qi hu duo bu ying} 女喚妻呼多不應 A daughter calls, a wife hoots: no answer, no answer at all.\textsuperscript{248}
\end{quote}

 Usually one needs to live an isolated life in a temple to cultivate Buddhist learning if one wants to become a monk. Bai did spend time with Buddhist monks in the temples inquiring about the true meaning of Buddhist sutras. Although Bai sincerely wished to learn more about Buddhism, he was not able to desert his family to become a monk. Since Bai had many worldly obligations, he waited until he had fewer secular worries to focus on his Buddhism learning at home. Bai provided an alternative option for those people wanting to become a monk while staying home.

\textsuperscript{247} Bai Juyi, 802. I prefer to entitle this seven-character-regulated-verse as “staying home to become a Buddhist monk” instead of “at home, but not at home” or “at home giving up home”.
Yi entitled his poem “Using Bai’s Alternate Rhyming in my ‘Stay Home to Become a Buddhist Monk’” (Ciyun Bai Letian zai jia chu jia 次韻白樂天在家出家). Yi follows Bai’s style to compose this poem, yet Yi displays a different attitude than Bai does, even with the same alternate rhyming scheme and the same Buddhist theories:

*duan zuo guan kong wan lu cheng* 端坐觀空萬慮澄 Sitting upright and beholding emptiness; every thought of anxiety becomes nothing.

*lao chan ji gu fa wei reng* 老禪肌骨髮唯仍 This old Zen practitioner of me still has his skin, bones, and hair as before.

*zai jia wei ai xian cheng fo* 在家未礙先成佛 Staying home does not hinder early achievement of nirvana.

*pi sha he xu geng zou seng* 披裟何須更作僧 In becoming a Buddhist monk why need to leave home and live in temples?

*zhi shi yao pao cheng xiang shi* 自始腰拋丞相氏 Ever since I forsook my position as a Prime Minister.

*hui kan xin you zu shi deng* 迴看心有祖師燈 I look back and in my mind there already exists a Buddhist master.

*ge zhong yiduan kan chao shi* 箇中一段堪嘲事 There is an anecdote worth laughing at though.

*qi mai bei huh u cuo ying* 妻買盃呼忽錯應 When my wife hailed a cup vendor, I responded by mistake.

According to Yi’s literary theory of poetic composition as entitled in his, “A Few Words for the Purpose of Composing Poems” (Lun shi zhong wei zh lue yan 论诗中微旨略言), Yi discusses his aims in poetic composition as follows. The process of corresponding to Bai’s poems seems to be analogous with the process of solving a puzzle: the first step for Yi was to find the alternate rhyming words of *reng, seng, deng, ying*. He then uses these same words at the end of each fourteen-word couplet. Yi also replaces thirteen of Bai’s original words within each couplet with a similar meaning of his own under the same subject matter. Yi then organizes

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251 Yi, 242, 243.
these ideas into a logical order so that the meaning of each word can be connected together from left to right and up to down. Yi divulges that there were times he needed to forsake a few words or ideas if those would not fit into the complete picture of what he wished to express. Since pronunciation between Korean and Chinese is different, it takes a familiarity with the Chinese language to compose a classical Chinese linking verse. For Yi, the knowledge of words is secondary: the idea is primary. Yi demonstrated an approach of composing proper poems via his creativity and consequently inspired his Korean literati in his time and thereafter. Through Yi’s correspondence to Bai by poems, Yi created a new style of poetic composition and passed on this method to the future Korean generations in his home state away from the territory of China.

In Bai’s time, one needed to forsake worldly matters in order to become a Buddhist monk or nun. Bai managed to stay at home cultivating Buddhism, and when he had doubts about Buddhist teachings, he then went into the mountains to search for the right solutions. Bai’s innovative idea of cultivating Buddhism at home provided a convenient methodology for Buddhists to stay home without escaping their secular obligations. Yi responded to Bai’s poems to show his agreement with Bai’s idea. Away from the dualism in the surface meaning of at home versus not at home, Bai shows an attitude of self-monitoring and self-motivation adopted in Bai’s time, in Yi’s time, and in Murasaki’s time. In the 36th Chapter of Tale of Genji, “The Oak Tree” (Kashiwagi 柏木), the Third Princess after giving birth to Kaoru, still lives with Genji becoming a nun at home. This type of Buddhist cultivation continued to exist until the later era at the end of Heian period and much later into the Japanese Age of War (1478-1568). The strong religious Buddhist implication between Bai’s and Yi’s linking verse clearly demonstrates

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252 Ōta Tsugio, 299-300.
253 de Bary, et al., Sources of Japanese tradition, xxvi.
the trinity of the three teachings of Buddhism, Daoism, and Confucianism across the three East Asian pre-modern states: China, Japan, and Korea.
Alternate Rhyming between Bai Juyi and Yi Kyu-bo

Among a myriad of Tang poets, Yi Kyu-bo chose Bai Juyi to be his imaginary friend through the wordplay of the alternate rhyming (*ci yun* 次韻) across spatial and temporal barriers between Yi and Bai. Bai portrayed in his corpus of poetry a popular wordplay among Tang literati friends writing to each other with an alternate rhyming pattern on specific words, usually corresponding among close friends for mutual entertainment. As reading Bai’s collections of poems and playing the musical instrument of *jiaye* zithers was Yi’s favourite past time after his retirement, Yi shared the same kind of feelings towards old age such as impaired vision as that experienced by Bai while Yi got older.\(^{254}\) Having the same kind of life experience such as planting or eating bamboos, or the bitterness of losing family members, Yi treated Bai as his imaginary friend. Yi might have considered that if he ever lived at the same time as Bai did, Yi might have done the same as either Yuan Zhen or Liu Yuxi, Bai’s close literati friends, had done in responding to Bai’s poems. Bai could never have imagined that he gained a friend four hundred years after his death.\(^ {255}\) Subsequently, Yi followed the same type of Bai’s hobby dialoguing poems with his literati friends writing alternate rhyming poems. Yi read Bai’s poems four hundred years after Bai’s death and decided to correspond with Bai’s selected rhyming words. Once Bai left alone and wrote “Entertaining Myself with Three Quatrains” (*zi xi san jueju* 自戲三絕句)\(^{256}\) to relieve himself of boredom. In his preface to the poems, Bai explains:

\[
\begin{align*}
xian wo du yin & \quad 閒臥獨吟 \quad \text{Leisurely I lay down and alone hummed a poem.} \\
wuren chouhe & \quad 無人酬和 \quad \text{No one responded to my poem with their own.} \\
liao jia shenxin xian xi & \quad 聊假身心相戲 \quad \text{So I just made myself into two entities: the body and}
\end{align*}
\]

the mind to amuse one another. 

Bai portrays a replacement for alternate rhyming poems by splitting himself into two entities for self-entertainment. With compassion, Yi wrote to reply to Bai, pretending he was alone without a friend in the same era as Bai’s and befriending Bai in his “Rephlying to Letian’s Fifteen Poems Series” (Ji he Letian shiwu shou shi hui shu ji bei 既和樂天十五首詩回書集): 258

In the preface of the poem, Yi poses a strong philosophical question about the ontology of friendship between Bai and himself in regard to spatial and temporal differences. Although Bai did not engage in any alternate rhyming exercises in his preface, Yi voluntarily rhymes on the last word of Bai’s second line of couplets, perhaps preparing for the coming vigorous rhyming exercises in which Yi intends to participate. Although the actual existence of their friendship is in question, Yi puts forth the imaginary friendship regardless of the spatial and temporal differences. Let us turn to the first poem which Bai wrote about the topic of splitting the self into body and mind in “The Mind Asks the Body” (Xin wen shen 心問身): 260

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257 This is a preface for the following three poems.

258 Yi, 459.

259 I translated Yi’s poems assuming Yi composed them based on Bai’s pronunciation (Chinese pronunciation). Wei, 28-29, 32.

260 Bai Juyi, Bai Juyi ji, ed. Gu Xuejie, 805.
On the surface, this is only a poem of amusement in which Bai splits self into dual entities forging an interlocutor for himself. As an admirer of Zhuangzi, a Daoist philosopher, Bai was alluding to Chapter two of *Zhuangzi*, “Discussing on Making All Things Equal”, where Zhuangzi conferred vigorously on the philosophy of splitting the self into the physical self and the mental self. Bai was witty in a way to set the dialogue between body and mind as a satirical dialogue between two opponents. Yi simply concurred with Bai’s philosophical point of view, responding to Bai in the poem of “The Mind Asks the Body” (*Xin wen Shen* 心問身):  

(shishi fang jun kiu rao ran) 世事煩君久擾然  World matters bother you in such a long annoying manner.

(cong jin dan xu zui jian mian) 從今但許醉兼眠  From now on, I only wish you become intoxicated or fallen into sleep.

(ruhe dou wo xian shuairuo) 如何先我多衰弱  How can you be weakened in such a greater degree than I am?

(wo zhuang youru shi guan nian) 我壯猶如始冠年  I am still as strong as if 20 years old.

According to Bai’s hypothesis about the opposition between the physical self and the mental self, Yi teased about his mind much younger than his body. The vehicle that carries his mind has worn out over years of hard work. Yi demonstrates his youthful mind by engaging in the word play matching Bai’s exact alternate rhyming word of *mian* and *nian*. No doubt, Yi needs to possess extreme proficiency in Chinese reading and speaking in order to rhyme with the exact same word of Bai’s, a process in the manner of a word play or a puzzle. In addition to his willingness to be Bai’s friend, Yi demonstrates his knowledge of Chinese literature as a

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261 Chen Guying, *Zhuangzi jin zhu jin yi*, 46.
262 Yi, 459.
respectful scholar. Bai continues the dialogue of his dual self in “The body responds to the
mind” (Shen bao xin 身報心): 263

xin shi shen wang shen shi gong 心是身王身是宮 The mind is the king of the body; the body is
the palace of the mind.

jun jin ju zai wo gong zhong 君今居在我宮中 You now live within my palace.
shi jun jia she jun xu ai 是君家舍君須愛 I am your property; you should cherish me.
he shi lun eng zi shuo gong 何事論自說功 Why bother bragging of your own merits and
contributions?264

Bai argues as to whether the mental self can survive without the physical self, crediting the mind
as the ruler of the physical body. Without the mind, one would not have a meaningful existence
in one’s life. Yet, one cannot survive without one’s physical form which carries the mind to
accomplish one’s goals in life. If one cannot ignore the importance of bodily existence, one
should cherish bodily form. Yi would not miss his opportunity to converse with Bai, responding
to Bai’s poem of “The Body Responds to the Mind” (Shen bao xin 身報心) with his own: 265
duo xing rujin zuo er gong 多幸如今作爾宮 It is fortunate, today that I serve as your
palace.

zhī yīng shé qiū liú tiān zhōng 知應捨去六天中 You should forsake six human desires.
ling yang é shǎng rú tǔ xiāng 凌煙閣上如圖像 In the picturesque pavilion of Ling Yang,
wo de ru zhēn zì shāng gōng 我得如真自擅功 If I attain the power of authenticity then
I can claim self-achievement.

There is another supposition that one’s mental self should not only respect the importance of
physical existence, but also cultivate one’s mental development to reach the metaphysical level
of self. Both Bai and Yi, as Daoists, would believe in natural rules that the maturity of the body
should match up with the maturity of the mind. Furthermore, according to Zhuangzi’s
philosophy of achieving dao, one should commit to mental cultivation in order to transcend the
ordinary mental self that merely satisfies desires by the five sensory organs; excessive emotions

263 Bai Juyi, Bai Juyi ji, ed. Gu Xuejie, 806.
264 My translation; other translation was done by Howard S. Levy IV, 119.
265 Yi, 459-460.
arisen as joy, anger, grief, and delight; and mental effort is spent on winning power or authority. Often, one’s greed, anger, and ignorance result in one’s physical desires. Physical desires, in turn, obliterate mental stability, self-monitoring, and wisdom. Finally, Bai comes to the final stage of his wordplay that the mind retorts back to the body for ending the dialogue between body and mind in his “The Mind again Retorts to the Body” (Xin chong da shen 心重答身):²⁶⁶

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yin wo shu yong xiu ba zao 因我疏慵休罷早 Because I am lethargic, I retire early.
qian jun anle suishi duo 遣君安樂歲時多 I let you have plentiful time of peace and happiness.
shijian lao ku ren he xian 世間老苦人何限 In this world, population of the old and the suffering is unlimited.
bu fang jun xian nai wo he 不放君閑奈我何 If I do not let you have leisure; what can you do to me?²⁶⁷
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The separation line between body and mind is blurred by Bai. According to Bai’s argument, the heart is the controller of the body. Mental health can affect and change physical health. If one is often unhappy, one is prone to be ill. If one is often happy, one is bound to be healthy. On the other hand, physical reception of external impacts can affect internal feelings as well. In reality, human life is an interaction of body and mind; there should not be any dividing line between them. As Bai’s physical health worsened, he became visually impaired, and he had to deal with the deaths of family members while he was sick.²⁶⁸ Yi failed no better than Bai, his teeth and eyes worsened as he grew older. However, both of them kept up good spirits by composing poems to sublimate the suffering arisen from physical illness. And so, Bai would not skip the

²⁶⁶ Bai Juyi, Bai Juyi ji, ed. Gu Xuejie, 806.
²⁶⁷ My translation; other translation by Howard S. Levy IV, 118.
chance of entertaining himself for the last poem to get rid of his loneliness. Yi responded to his poem of “The Mind again Retorts to the Body” (Xin chong da shen 心重答身) as follows:²⁶⁹

- ren xing di chu bu wei jia 人行底處不為家 People would not want to build a home from a deteriorated place.
- sou zhai can tui qi zhe duo 所宅殘頹棄者多 A majority would want to forsake the ruins crumbling as their living place.
- duo shuai tian zhong wu ruo qu 兜率天中吾若去 If I pack up and lead all my thoughts and brains to leave you,
- gu gong sui zai nai ru he 古宮雖在奈如和 The old palace, although it exists, cannot do anything without me.

Yi points out that if one loses mind, one’s body is merely an empty shell of meaningless form. If one does not have spiritual endeavours, the existence of the body is not worth any value. In reality, the mind and the body constantly interact with each other and cannot be separated. Both Bai and Yi allude to the truth that attaining equilibrium between the body and mind can achieve a healthier and happier life. In Bai’s collections of poems, he exhibits a great respect for Zhuangzi and imitates Tao Qian’s poems; while in Yi’s collections of poems, he shows he read Zhuangzi and likes Tao’s and Bai’s poems. Obviously, both Bai and Yi follow a similar lineage of aesthetic theory in their poetic compositions originating in Zhuangzi and continued by Tao.²⁷⁰

In addition to specifically responding to Bai’s alternate rhyming poems, Yi follows a wide range of Bai’s aesthetic preferences by composinge poems using the subject matters of nature, music, dance, satire, religious belief in Confucianism, Buddhism, Daoism (Zhuangzi’s

²⁶⁹ Yi, 459.
²⁷⁰ Chen, 1-92 Chapter 1 and 2 of Zhuangzi, 67 Tao Qian refers to Zhuangzi’s aesthetic theory. Bai Juyi, Bai Juyi ji, ed. Gu Xuejie, 104, 129 Bai imitated Tao Qian’s poems and visited Tao’s previous residence, 318, 716 Bai reads Zhuangzi. Tao, 81 context of Laozi, 81, 130, 249 Zhuangzi, 247 freedom advocated by Zhuangzi and imitated by Bai. Yi, 227 admiring Tao’s poem, 157 zithers without strings, a style of Zhuangzi’s philosophy.
philosophy), and alluding to Tang historical stories. In Yi’s poem “Singing of Snow” (Yong xue 詠雪), he describes the romance of the drifting substance of snow:271

... 

\textit{piao kong shang zuo xian lai xian} Drifting in the sky it yet forms the first early snow pellets. 
\textit{pu de cu tong hou zhu shuang} thrown on the ground its thickness is that of frost. 
\textit{qi wei ze wei qing fu xi} How can you look down upon these delicate drops and not feel happy? 
\textit{yi zhi jin que he xin xiang} How do you know snow dropping from the sky is not a congratulation for a new auspicious sign?272

Although Yi chants about the beauty of snow, he repeatedly demonstrates the philosophy of negative things bringing good things; snow in winter can represent a new spring coming soon. Yi presents the elegance in the shape, the colour, and the movement of the snow which is reminiscent of poetic representations by Ch’oe, Murasaki, Sei, and Bai in their literary writings. In addition to snow, white flowers symbolizing purity, were also often referenced by Ch’oe, Murasaki, Sei, and Bai. Moreover, Yi writes, “Pear Flower Poetry” (Li hua shi 梨花詩):273

... 

\textit{chu yi zhi shang xue nian hua} First, I suspect it is flowery snow attached to the branch of the tree. 
\textit{wei you qingxiang ren shi hua} Only because it has light fragrance I begin to recognize it is a flower. 

Yi adds the fragrance of the pear flowers to define the reception of smell through the sensory organ of nose, apart from the colour white through visual perception of eyes as aesthetic reception. Since Sei does not deny that a pear flower is gracious or pretty, Sei refers to the line

\footnotesize

\textsuperscript{271} Yi, 455. 
\textsuperscript{272} Jin que 金闕 is a place where celestial beings or rulers lived; in other words, these immortals live in the heaven. I interprete \textit{jin que} as the heaven or the sky. 
\textsuperscript{273} Yi, 112.
of “a pear flower covered in spring raindrops”\textsuperscript{274} (\textit{rika isshi haru ame wo obitari} 梨花一枝春雨をおびたり；\textit{lihua yizhi cundaiyu} 梨花一枝春帶雨) in Bai’s poem of “Song of Lasting Pain” as her aesthetic preference of \textit{wokashi}. Yi composes a poem about the pear flowers in a different manner recognizing flowers as a common aesthetic tradition among the elements of nature in Korea, Japan, and China. Another instance of the colour white was used by Yi in his “The Autumn Day” (\textit{Qiu ri} 秋日):\textsuperscript{275}

\begin{quote}
\textit{meng hun hua chu shan chongdie} 夢魂畫處山重疊 The picture in my soul dreaming of places where mountains overlapped each other.
\textit{yue ku shuang han duan ying ti} 月苦霜寒斷鷹啼 The bitterness of the moon and the trembling coldness of the frost stop the crying of the falcon.
\end{quote}

Yi used the crying falcon as a Korean aesthetic expression which shows a difference of aesthetic preferences among China, Korea, and Japan. Falcon is a type of fierce bird and cannot be imagined as poetic in China and Japan. However, Yi, a Korean literatus, can see the sharpness and strength in this bird possessing a romantic overtone. This is an example to show differences in regional tastes of the aesthetic standards among the three states. Although falcons were not utilized in China and Japan as an aesthetic representation, the moon described in Yi’s “The Platform to Gaze at the Full Moon” (\textit{Wang yuetai} 望月臺) might be considered as poetic:\textsuperscript{276}

\begin{quote}
\textit{liang chen leshi xi cenci} 良辰樂事喜參差 On a good day of happy times, I have a mixed feeling of joy.
\textit{xu zhu gaotai zhi houqi} 虛築高臺指後期 I, in vain, built the high platform aiming for a future joy at a later date.
\textit{wei you niannian qiu yueye} 唯有年年秋月夜 Only every year, there is an autumn moonlit night.
\textit{yilun yijiu gua tiangya} 一輪依舊掛天涯 Still a round moon in the sky of this world and in the sky of the other world.
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{274} Watanabe, 50-51. Not in Fujiwara Kintō’s \textit{Wa-Kan rōeishū}.
\textsuperscript{275} Yi, 39.
\textsuperscript{276} Yi, 77.
Yi’s poem alludes to a taste of bitterness and sorrow in “Song of Lasting Pain” elaborating the story between Tang Xuanzong and Yang Guifei. Yi states Tang Xuanzong’s wish to enjoy a better autumn moonlit night by building a new platform for a moon gazing. However, the secular world is unpredictable. After the completion of the new platform, Tang Xuanzong lost his lover and would never want to see this new platform again. Yi not only transplanted Bai’s poems to the Korean literary field, he created a new writing of Tang Xuanzong’s sorrow by reading the original Chinese source in history, building a terrace for gazing at the moon. Murasaki referenced Bai’s lines of poems in her phrase of “There is still snow left by the corner of the castle wall”,277 employing the snow as a metaphor of white sand in his garden and “the fresh moon scenery of the fifteenth night”278 using the silver moon to express his loneliness away from home. Ch’oe in Korea writes about “Snow Flowers/Snow Flakes” (Xuehua 雪花) and “the Full Moon” (Yue yuan 月圆) in his poem of “Shoal” (Shating 沙汀)279 expressing his preference for the moon, snow, and flower in composing poems as Yi had done. Through Bai’s poems, poets in China, Korea, and Japan are seen to share a common interest in snow, moon, and flower as aesthetic traditions in these three states.

Although the nature of Bai’s “New Music Bureau Poetry” is different than that of “Han Music Bureau Poetry”, Bai recorded different styles of music and dance of the Tang dynasty in his poems, which serve as textual evidence of Tang music and dance. In addition to the depiction of Tang music and dance, Bai intended to satirize the corruption of Tang government hoping to change Tang politics for the better using his satirical poems. In the following selected

277 Imaizumi, 647. Seidensticker II, 556.
279 Ch’oe, 758. Shizunaga, 225 snow, flower, and moon are basic Japanese aesthetic traditions.
lines of Bai’s poem, “The Whirling Girl from Hu” (Hu xuan nu 胡旋女), \(^{280}\) Bai teased Tang Xuanzong, the emperor before his time as a veiled allusion to his contemporary Tang Emperor:

…

*Hu xuan nu* 胡旋女

*mo kong wu* 莫空舞

*shuchang cige wu Mingzhu* 数唱此歌悟明主

The whirling girl from Hu!

Do not waste your dancing performances!

Repeatedly I sing this song to let all Emperors be awakened to their political duties.

In Bai’s first literary work that was transmitted to Japan, Bai and his colleague, Yuan Zhen, corresponded with each other regarding this subject. Yuan Zhen wrote a poem with the same name as Bai’s intending to support Bai’s literary endeavour and change the political reality.

Yuan did not only describe the singing and dancing scene, but also strongly blamed the unwise Tang Emperor for losing his sovereignty of the state in the following lines of his “The Whirling Girl from Hu”: \(^{281}\)

…

*li zhu beng er zhu fei xing* 驪珠迸珥逐飞星

Jewelry of beads in jade one by one fly away like stars.

…

*hui feng luan wu dang kong xian* 回風亂舞當空霰

Through the unruly style of dancing as whirling wind, beads look like soft hail spreading in the sky.

…

*qiao sui qing ying chuchu xing* 巧隨清影觸處行

Her distinctive image opportunely follows everywhere she goes.

*miao xue chun ying baiban zhuan* 妙學春鶯百般轉

Skillfully, she imitates the singing of the spring orioles in every possible way.

…

*youguo youjia dang gong qian* 有國有家當共譴

From the state’s and the family’s point of view, we should altogether condemn these wrong behaviours.

The expression about the singing of spring orioles described in Yuan’s “The Whirling Girl from Hu” was included as a dance performance in the Tang era. The dance was transmitted eastward

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\(^{281}\) Guo Jie, 516-517.
to Japan and Murasaki shows a piece of music and dance modifying the name of the dance in an acceptable Japanese way. As a Japanese custom, Murasaki in *Tale of Genji*, Chapter 8 “The Festival of the Cherry Blossoms” (*hana no en* 花宴), wrote “the dance of spring singing orioles” (*haru no uguisu saezuru to iu mai* 春の鸚鵡るといふ舞) to demonstrate adherence to Japanese aesthetic traditions.\(^{282}\) Showing the popularity of spring orioles in Tang China, Bai wrote a poem about orioles in “Listen to the Singings of Early Orioles” (*Wen zao ying* 聞早鶯):\(^{283}\)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{richu mian wei chi} & \quad \text{日出眠未起 The sun is out, but I am still sleeping not getting up.} \\
\text{wutou wen zao ying} & \quad \text{屋頭聞早鶯 From roof, I heard the morning orioles singing.} \\
\ldots & \\
\text{jin wen zai hechu} & \quad \text{今聞在何處 Now, where am I hearing it?} \\
\text{jimo Xunyang cheng} & \quad \text{寂寞潯陽城 In the lonely city of Xunyang.}\(^{284}\) \\
\ldots & \\
\end{align*}
\]

As a result of Bai’s and Yu’s “New Music Bureau Poetry” movement, Bai annoyed his contemporary Tang political officials and was deported. While in his exile, every time Bai heard the singing of the orioles, he must have felt lonely, having missed his job as a righteous political official striving to achieve welfare for the populace in the capital where he used to live for so many years. Yi seems to correspond to Bai’s sorrow as his real friend in Yi’s “Listen to the Singings of Early Orioles”\(^{285}\).

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{jiji shanhua li} & \quad \text{寂寂山花裏 Within the quiet mountains of flowers,} \\
\text{huangying yiwai ming} & \quad \text{黃鶯意外鳴 yellow orioles unexpectedly sing.} \\
\text{wei lu xinyi ting} & \quad \text{為綠新邑聽 In the green village of the mountain, the birds let everyone hear their singings.} \\
\text{si sheng jiu jing sheng} & \quad \text{似勝舊京聲 The orioles’ singing seems better than the orioles from the old capital.}
\end{align*}
\]

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\(^{282}\) Imaizumi, 165.


\(^{285}\) Yi, 200.
Juxtaposing these two poems of Bai’s and Yi’s together, Yi seems to converse with his imaginary friend having lived four centuries ago consoling Bai’s feelings of being evicted that Yi experienced many times for the same reason of satirizing the Korean Koryŏ political authority. However, Yi must have concurred with Bai’s efforts to save the populace. In this poem of Yi’s, readers can visualize the red mountain flowers, yellow orioles, green mountains in the new city. The orioles’ singing in the new town seemingly represents the loneliness of Bai as a consequence of Bai’s righteous speech. Even though he was outcasted, to Yi, Bai was not a failure because Bai tried to achieve something meaningful. Through the aesthetic representation of orioles, Bai’s and Yi’s poetic composition and Murasaki’s dance settings in her novel demonstrate the cultural commonality in orioles as an aesthetic preference in these three pre-modern states.
Courtesan culture depicted by Bai Juyi and Yi Kyu-bo

Although Bai described many styles of Tang dance and music in his poems and showed his disapproval of receiving the dance and music culture from the western area, Bai also wrote about his enjoyment of being entertained by the performance of Tang music and dance. Bai at times sees it in the performance of Tang courtesans. Depicting the courtesan culture in the Tang, Bai writes, “While Intoxicated, I Played with all Prostitutes” (Zui xi zhu ji 醉戲諸妓):286

\[
\text{xi shang zheng fei shi jun jiu } \quad \text{席上爭飛使君酒} \\
\text{On the gathering, everyone competes to make others drink.}
\]

\[
\text{ge zhong duo chang sheren shi } \quad \text{歌中多唱舍人詩} \\
\text{Among the songs they sing, the majority of the songs are my poems.}
\]

\[
\text{buzhi mingri xiu guan hou } \quad \text{不知明日休官後} \\
\text{I do not know after I quit my post tomorrow,}
\]

\[
\text{zhu wo dongshan qu shi shei } \quad \text{逐我東山去是誰} \\
\text{who will be the one to chase me away to the Eastern Mountain?}
\]

The poem shows the Tang courtesan culture offering dance and music in the brothel districts patronized by the Tang literati. In Tang capital Chang’an, there were living wards where courtesans lived together with Tang literati.287 Tang literati saw their sorrow in their valueless political endeavours reflected in the courtesans’ struggling in the demimonde. However, Bai depicts his joy with the courtesans: drinking wine, listening to the singing of Bai’s poems, and making more poems to forget his sorrow of leaving the capital. Bai might have felt sorry for his unsmooth official life; seeing courtesans was one way for him to escape his unhappiness. However, his relationships with the courtesans were the same as the rest of the Tang literati.

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286 Bai Juyi, Bai Juyi ji, ed. Gu Xuejie, 510.
They do not have any intention to have a formal relationship with courtesans. The Tang courtesan culture was thus shaped. Unfortunately, this kind of misery among courtesans was not restricted to the region of Tang China only. Chang’an courtesan culture was seen to have transmitted to Koryŏ Korea, as seen in the following poem of Yi’s. Yi writes about his empathy with the suffering of an aged courtesan, “The Aged Prostitute” (Lao ji 老妓):

*hongyan huan zuo luo huazhi* 紅顏換作落花枝 The young beauty disappeared and became the looks of fallen flower branch.

*shei jian jiaorao shiwu shi* 誰見嬌饒十五時 Who can see the exuberant delicacy when they were fifteen years old?

*gewu yiuyan you si jiu* 歌舞餘妍猶似舊 Her singing and dancing still remain as beautiful as before.

*zkelian caiji wei quan shuai* 可憐才技未全衰 How pitiful losing her outlook, yet her talents and skills have not completely declined.

In addition to this poem, Yi writes a few other poems about courtesans showing the courtesan culture was transmitted from Tang China to Koryŏ Korea before his time. In this poem of Yi’s, he describes a courtesan’s sorrowful life as she grows old. As the courtesan culture was accepted by Koryŏ Korea, it might have been customary for the Korean literati to frequent in the brothels. Korean courtesans seemed not different than Chinese courtesans; when they aged, their lives became difficult with their declined beauty. Yi wrote the poem with compassion for the aged prostitute and also shows his contradiction to his belief in orthodox Confucianism, wandering in the brothels areas.

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288 Zhu Yuqi, 90 Zhu makes an example of Tang literati, Wun Tingyun, who went in and out in brothels area of Beili while he failed civil service exams. Wang Jing, *Courtesan Culture in the Beili Zhi (Records of the Northern Quarter) in the context of Tang Tales and Poesm* (Madison: University of Wisconsin-Madison, 2009), 12 there was previous textual evidence in Shiji that courtesans perform licentious music and dance for King Zhou, 43 Wang depicted three types of courtesans: official, civil, and household; Bai had and dismissed household courtesans written in his collection of poems on page 1628, 70 Tang literati went to see courtesans for gaining moral support to keep their lives going, 109 showing courtesans’ musical performance in Dunhuang.

289 Yi, 454.
A diversity of colours is a common aesthetic interest among the literati of pre-modern East Asia. Other than his fondness for white winter snow, white autumn moon, and white pear flowers, Yi also expresses his interests in other colours as well - in yellow, red, and green - through his poems. Ch’oe describes the bright colour of gold in his poem of “The Golden Balls” and in his poem of “The Mask”. Murasaki constantly depicts colours in flowers or leaves in the background of the story, dialogues among her fictional characters, or clothes or the drapes in her characters’ room. Readers can visualize her fiction as a colorful drawing through the white orange flowers and evening face flowers, the wisteria purple flowers, the yellow safflowers, the red maple leaves, the green trees, and the green and red costumes of the Seigaiha (another type of party music and dance, which was later called the dance of elegance) in the settings of her fiction. Through the bright colours Murasaki presented in her fiction, Yoshioka considers her fiction as a story of the colourful purple (murasaki). Sei lists her fondness of the bright colours of red, white, blue-lilac, light-purple, and purple flowers in her essays. After all, in Bai’s “Refuse to Retire”, he describes the colour green as in the jade string of the officials’ hats; the colour red as in red wheels of the officials’ vehicles; the colour yellow-orange as it glows in the sunset of the evenings. A variety of colours are employed by the literati among these three states of China, Japan, and Korea as an aesthetic expression in their literary writings.

Yi wrote many poems regarding music and dance following the same format of “Song of Lasting Pain” prefaced by Chen Hong, stating historical truth then followed by Bai’s poetic composition. Based on historical records regarding Tang history of Tang Xuanzong and Yang

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290 Yi, 461-462.
291 Sŏng, 181-182.
292 Sŏng, 181,184.
294 Watanabe, 50-52.
Guifei, Yi wrote about music and dance arranged by Tang Xuanzong. In Yi’s “Drum of Jie – a double ended skin drum with a narrow waist” (Jiegu 羯鼓), he composed a poem based on an anecdote of Tang Xuanzong: on completion of Tang Xuanzong’s hitting his favourite drum (of jie), and having arranged a musical tune, willows and apricots blossomed. Tang Xuanzong then asked whether he be called the lord of heaven. Moreover, a horse trained by Tang Xuanzong danced to the music and was put to death because the horse trainers considered dancing horses as demons. However, in this poem of “Dancing Horse” (Wu ma 舞馬), Yi confirms that the animals do have capability to dance. In his preface of the poem “Wearing Poles Dance – putting poles on heads to dance” (Dai gan wu 戴竿舞), the expression of “dancing to the melody and rhythm” (wu zhong yinjie 舞中音節) was alluding to Zhuangzi’s expression, “the dancing movement never escapes the melody” (mobu zhong yin 莫不中音) in Zhuangzi. In his “Yang Guifei is blowing the Jade Flute” (Yang Fei chui yu di 楊妃吹玉笛), Yi describes the story of Yang Guifei, who stole a jade flute from Ning Wang, to depict Tang history and the type of musical instrument used in Yang Guifei’s time. In the poem of “Happiness of Dancing” (Wu xi 舞喜), Yi changes some of Zhuangzi’s words in “the Xian pool and Nine Shao music” (xian chi jiu shao zhi yue 咸池九韶之樂) to “Nine Shao music” (Jiucheng shao le 九成韶樂) to express the joy of watching Korean music and dance as it had been performed in Zhuangzi’s time, which showed Koreans adopting Chinese music. Yi shows he possesses a familiarity of

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297 Yi, 50. Hu Guang, 72. borrowing “bai shou shuai wu” (all kinds of animals dance) from “Shundian” of Shujing (the Classic of Documents).
298 Yi, 47. Chen Guying, 96.
299 Yi, 47-48. Hua, 25. The flute is said to be invented in Han Wudi’s time and spread to Korea in Yi’s time.
Chinese music and dance culture encompassing knowledge of Chinese musical instruments, Chinese aesthetic theory in music and dance, Chinese history in music and dance, and styles and types of Chinese music and dance.

Yi demonstrates the trinity of Confucianism, Buddhism, and Daoism as a national trend in Koryŏ Korea's literature in Yi’s time. As a Confucian, Yi held compassion when he saw an abandoned baby boy on the road, feeling sympathetic and was angry with the irresponsible mother. Consequently, he composed “On the Road an Abandoned Baby” (Lu shang qi er 路上棄兒)\(^{301}\) intending to criticize and stop this bad societal trend. In his poem of “A Sigh of Widows and Elder women” (Shuang yu tan 嬪嫗嘆), Yi describes his sympathy for an elder’s poverty by writing this poem intending to save the overlooked, caring for others’ elders as their own elders as Confucius advocated.\(^{302}\) Although Yi was not able to give direct support to the forsaken baby boy and the poor elder, he brought these issues to the attention of the populace so that they could think twice about ignoring their own youngsters and elders. In criticizing the wrongs of the society, Yi had the same literary style as Bai in writing his poem of “The Satire of Fishing for Names” (Diao ming feng 釣名諷), for elevating societal moral standards in order to benefit the populace.\(^{303}\) Yi even writes poems of “Self-mockery” (Zichao 自嘲) for sublimating his anguish in the subject matter of self-satire and self-censorship in order to make progress in his own cultivation of life.\(^{304}\) Confucius’ advocacy of universal love (ren) seems to be close to the principle of Buddhism which pursues world peace and world welfare through preaching Buddhist sutras. Yi wrote poems to praise Buddha sites, the picture of Dharma (達摩) patriarch,

\(^{301}\) Yi, 448. Xie Bing Ying, et.al., ed. Xin Yi Sishu Duben (Taipei: Sanmin Shuju, 1966), 255.
\(^{302}\) Yi, 140. Xie, 255.
\(^{303}\) Yi, 141.
Buddhist sutra and rosary, and his belief in Buddhism. Furthermore, Yi read a story in the first chapter of Zhuangzi, Zhuangzi exemplifies good cultivation of Liezi and talks about the journey of “Liezi Rides on The Wind” (Liezi yu feng 列子御風). Yi twisted around Zhuangzi’s story and wrote a poem making fun of Liezi riding a trip on the wind. Nevertheless, as a Confucian scholar, Yi shows his belief in both Buddhism and Daoism.

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How did Yi’s literary theory change Han literature in Korea?

Yi’s literary theory inspired Korean literati to create their own works instead of copying or imitating the works of other authors such as Li Bai, Du Fu, and Bai Juyi. Yi expresses his literary theory in three of his poems: in the first poem, “Discussing Poetry Theory” (Lun shi shuo 論詩說), Yi wrote, “Our poetic composition is far from the ancient people such as Tao Qian. His poems are quiet and contented, peaceful and tranquil. Even though I want to imitate him, I cannot even come close to touching him”. Although modest about his own writing abilities, Yi confessed that he had followed Tao’s literary advocacy of expressing authors’ feelings, mind, and emotion. In the second poem, “Discussing Poetry” (Lun shi 論詩), Yi wrote, “Speeches and ideas should both be satisfactory” (yuyi de shuang mei 語意得雙美). Since Yi believed that ideas cannot be gifted by the heaven, some literati felt the limitation of their ideas, and they “tried to cover up with the extravagance of words” (yin zhi shi qimi 因之事綺靡). Yi seemed to follow Lu Ji’s literary theory, which was followed by most of the Chinese literati including Bai; Lu Ji stated, “A poem follows human emotions therefore and make them beautiful” (shi yuan qing er qimi 詩緣情而綺靡). While Lu emphasizes human emotions, Yi focused on a balance of meaning and words. In a third poem, “A Few Words for the Purpose of Composing Poems” (Lun shi zhong wei zhi lue yan 論詩中微旨略言), Yi further stresses both techniques for refining speech (yu 語) and meaningful content (yi 意); rather than just following the traditional conventions of Chinese poets or previous Korean writers, Yi went one step further...

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307 Yi, 227.
309 ibid.
310 Xiao, 902.
by advocating the importance of creativity and individual innovativeness. In order to achieve this, Yi encouraged writers to balance techniques and content: filling poems with carefully thought-out arrangements and organizations, developing and expressing emotional appeal in poems, and logically refining poems in order to reach a higher level of literary aesthetics. Authors could begin to decorate their poems with more flattering words once they had achieved these requirements. It might have been in part because of Yi’s inspiration that Korean poets created their own style of Chinese classical poems and established a unique classic Chinese poetry field outside of China Proper in the territory of Korea. This literary field continues to exist to this date and can be seen in Tongmunsŏn (the Eastern Selection of Literature).

In terms of prosody, the alternate rhyming scheme was first characterized and patronized by Bai and was later adopted by Yi, the privy councillor who lived four centuries after Bai’s time; it is a rhyming pattern based on specific vowels of words that are often in poems exchanged between literati friends for their pleasure. During Yi’s time, he composed many poems with his literati friends, including his imaginary friend, Bai Juyi. Although still somewhat popular in modern China and continuing to thrive in Korea, classical Chinese poetry has not been widely created and published in modern China. Lee Hai-soon compiled an anthology of Chinese classical poems selecting a group of Korean female poets from the 15th century to the 20th century that employed Bai’s characteristic alternate rhyming style. One example can be seen in Song Deokbong’s “alternate rhyming” (ciyun 次韻), who lived during the 16th century:312

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{chun feng jiajing gulai guan} & \quad \text{春風佳境古來（關）觀？Spring wind brings in beautiful scenery which is wonderful to behold ever since long ago.} \\
\text{yue xiatanqin yi yi xian} & \quad \text{月下彈琴亦一閑 Playing music under the shining moon is also a splendid rest.}
\end{align*}
\]

312 Lee Hai-soon, The poetic world of classic Korean women writers, trans., Won-Jae Hur (Seoul: Ewha Womans University Press, 2005), 19, 22 Won-Jae Hur translated it as “afterword”.
Wine, too, puts worries to rest and raises plentiful affection.

How then will you rest only in books?\(^{313}\)

The alternate rhyming scheme matches that of Bai’s “White Cloud Stream” (Bai yun quan 白雲泉).\(^{314}\)

On the Tianping Mountain, there is a white-cloud stream.

The cloud has no worries or schemes and the water flows leisurely.

There is no need for the water to rush down the mountains.

Further adding billows to the human world.\(^{315}\)

This is one of the poems in which Bai employs alternate rhyming on the words of “leisure/time” (xian 閑) and “room/space” (jian 間). Bai demonstrates time and space in the imagery of his poetic compositions as the still space of clouds and waters versus the peaceful spaces of mountains and waters while Song Deokbong communicates leisure in playing zithers, drinking wine, and wandering in the space of books. In the 19th century, another Korean female poet, Jijaedang, composed Geumneung” (Geumneung-japsi 金陵雜詩):\(^{316}\)

The alternate rhyming on the last word of the second line and the fourth line – “wind” (feng 風) and “middle” (zhong 中) match that of Bai’s “Repying to Wei-Zhi” (Da Wei-Zhi 答徽之):\(^{318}\)

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\(^{313}\) ibid.

\(^{314}\) Bai Juyi, Bai Juyi ji, ed. Gu Xuejie, 1517.

\(^{315}\) My translation.

\(^{316}\) Lee Hai-soon, 95, 99-100. After 1446, it is unknown whether pinyin was used in Han poetry.

\(^{317}\) ibid.
君寫我詩盈寺壁 You write my poems filling the temple walls.
我題君句滿屏風 I inscribe your lines filling my screens.
與君相遇知何處 I do not know where I can meet you again.
兩葉浮萍大海中 We are like two leaves of duckweed drifting in a big sea.\textsuperscript{319}

Furthermore, Nam Jeongilheon (1840-1922), a 20\textsuperscript{th} century Joseon woman who follows traditional Korean tradition writes “The Great Ultimate” (\textit{Taegeuk 太極}):

\begin{quote}
太極斯為萬物先 The Great Ultimate is the beginning of the ten thousand things. \\
濂翁圖說至今傳 So Elder Yeom’s diagram said and passed down even now. \\
氣行天地無形外 Gi moves in formless space outside heaven and earth. \\
理具陰陽未判前 While Yi already takes shape before Yin Yang divides. \\
月照萬川象可玩 Moonlight brightens the whole city, its form beautiful. \\
吾人各有心中極 The Great Ultimate bides within us. \\
活水源頭浩浩天 The origin of the flowing stream is the endless heavens.\textsuperscript{321}
\end{quote}

Words rhyming on the 2\textsuperscript{nd}, 4\textsuperscript{th}, 6\textsuperscript{th}, and 8\textsuperscript{th} line: “transmit” (\textit{chuan} 傳), “front” (\textit{qian} 前), “round” (\textit{yuan} 圓), “heaven” (\textit{tian} 天) can be found in a poem of Bai’s, in which verses were linked from sources of his and other literati’s poems, “Facing Things in the Autumn Rain, Linked Verses in Thirty Rhymes” (\textit{Qiu Lin ji shi lian ju sanshi yun 秋霖即事聯句三十韻}):\textsuperscript{322}

\begin{quote}
萧索窮秋月 The desolate and destitute autumn moon. \\
蒼茫苦雨天 Indistinct and suffering rainy day. \\
泄雲生棟上 Drifted clouds over the ridgepole; \\
行潦入庭前 The brook flows into the front of the court, \\
... \\
竹沾青玉潤 Bamboo wet with the green pearl of water drops. \\
荷滴白珠圓 Lotus with round white water drops. \\
... \\
金烏何日見 Which day can I see the bright sun? \\
玉爵幾時傳 When are you passing me the jade goblet?\textsuperscript{323}
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{318} Bai Juyi, \textit{Bai Juyi ji}, ed. Gu Xuejie, 361. \\
\textsuperscript{319} My translation. \\
\textsuperscript{320} Lee Hai-soon, 107. \\
\textsuperscript{321} ibid. \\
\textsuperscript{322} Bai Juyi, \textit{Bai Juyi ji}, ed. Gu Xuejie, 1529. \\
\textsuperscript{323} My translation.
In Lee Hai-soon’s compiled anthology, more than thirteen female Korean writers wrote Chinese classical poems between the 15th century and the 20th centuries.\textsuperscript{324} The Entire Corpus of Bai’s Work includes nine poems written by Bai Juyi with alternate rhyming on “gap” (\textit{jian} 間) and “leisure” (\textit{xian} 閑), yet only four poems with that on “leisure” (\textit{xian} 閑) and “gap” (\textit{jian} 間); seventeen poems with alternate rhyming on “wind” (\textit{feng} 風) and “middle” (\textit{zhong} 中), but six poems with alternate rhyming on “middle” (\textit{zhong} 中) and “wind” (\textit{feng} 風); and only two poems with different orders of : “heaven” (\textit{tian} 天), “front” (\textit{qian} 前), “round” (\textit{yuan} 圓), and “transmit” (\textit{chuan} 傳). Of the writers in Lee’s compilation, the personal aesthetic preference that is most matched with that of Bai is the the 19th century female Korean poet, Jijaedang, while the 16th century Song Deokbong ranks second in regards to similarity with Bai’s taste. The 20th century Nam Jeongilheon creatively scrambles the order of words used by Bai and uses the following order instead: “transmit” (\textit{chuan} 傳), “front” (\textit{qian} 前), “round” (\textit{yuan} 圓), “heaven” (\textit{tian} 天); she ranks last in regards to similarity with Bai.\textsuperscript{325} While these three female Korean poets opted for alternate rhyming based on the personal preference and not the number of times that it was applied by Bai, their choices first came for Bai’s creations. This shows that Bai Juyi continues to be remembered by female Korean poets even in modern times. Contemporary female Korean poets still employ and patronize Bai’s characteristic alternate rhyming styles. As a matter of fact, 80\% of Lee’s entire anthology was written in Bai’s characteristic alternate rhyming style.

\textsuperscript{324} Lee Hai-soon, 12-109. \\
This demonstrates that Bai’s literary impact has not disappeared even within present-day East Asian states as it adds aesthetic feelings to poetic compositions.
Conclusion: Silla and Koryŏ Korea

Bai, Ch’oe, and Yi had a few things in common: they all held religious belief in Confucianism, Buddhism, and Daoism; advocated egalitarianism; had unsuccessful political lives; lived in seclusion; wrote satirical poems on behalf of the populace; and compiled canonical corpuses of literary writings. Believing in the concept of egalitarianism, they saw the sufferings of the populace across different social classes. Their righteousness made them conscientious of their responsibility to improve the ill-fated masses. They all held great aspirations to make political contributions for the populace through their literary writings; yet did so unsuccessfully. They wrote in the goal of saving the miserable, endeavouring to increase the welfare of the masses. As a consequence, they annoyed the authorities and either were evicted from the political world or quit their political positions from which both Yi and Bai were banished a few times. All three of them lived in seclusion at some point in their life; Ch’oe lived more than half of his life in seclusion at Jiaye Mountain. However, their literary writings are canonical and both the poems and essays of these authors are quite similar. Their essays compromised admonition, proclamation, or disquisition. Their poems can be divided into the four following categories: leisure, satire, sentiments, and miscellaneous. They were unhappy with their political life and spent most of their time writing poems; for them, poetic compositions were sublimation to escape cruel reality. They remained optimistic towards life; their optimism is contagious to readers and their literary writings helped readers escape from the boredom and sadness associated with living in pre-modern Tang-Silla and Song-Koryŏ.
A common culture among China, Korea, and Japan as seen through Bai’s poems

Turning to Japan, in Chapter 49 of Tale of Genji, “The Ivy” (Yadorigi 宿木), Murasaki’s intention is far less aesthetic than narrowly focused on a socially ingenious instance of subtle communication at the Heian court. Her depiction illustrates how the cultivation of mental discipline manifests in the go game (the nearest thing to work for the pre-modern Japanese aristocratic class), which was used by the Emperor to communicate imperial decisions. One autumn day when the Emperor decided to marry the Second Princess (who had recently lost her mother) to Kaoru (son of the Third Princess and Kashiwagi), he used the occasion of a go game at which Kaoru would be present to give several oblique hints at his nuptial intentions for Kaoru. The Emperor alludes to Bai Juyi’s “A Poem Inscribed Leisurely at the Official Dorm” (Guanshe xianti 官舎閑題):\(^{326}\)

... 送春唯有酒 We have only wine for sending off the spring.  
鎮日不過棊 There is nothing better than playing a game of go for whiling away the days.\(^{327}\) ...  

This is a line of Bai’s poem referenced by the emperor in which the poet asserts that nothing is better to while away the boredom of aristocratic life than “to play a game of go” (ohom-go nado utase tamai 御碁など打たせ給ひ),\(^{328}\) thus the emperor suggests the go game to Kaoru. Perhaps Murasaki is trying to show Heian social custom of aristocrats being momentarily diverted from the business of marrying off their daughters to appropriate candidates. The Tang and Heian aristocracies, uniformly taxed by the vexing experience of boredom, played the go game as an

\(^{326}\) Bai Juyi, Bai Juyi ji, ed. Gu Xuejie, 328. Not in Fujiwara Kintō’s Wa-Kan rōeishū.  
\(^{327}\) Seidensticker II 888. English translation by Seidensticker.  
\(^{328}\) Imaizumi, 1053.
intricate form of mind training, an enjoyable entertainment that qualified as non-menial work suitable for individuals of their breeding and standing. Just as in chess, studying how to win requires that players exercise their intellectual capacities through arduous and disciplined choice. Go games are depicted throughout Sei’s Pillow Book, as well. These small incidents reveal that Heian poetic allusions of Bai’s work could be used for more prosaic ends not necessarily consonant with the creative aesthetic complexity demanded by aware or by wokaši. In addition to the go game being a popular pastime in the Heian court, it was also employed by the famous Korean poet, Yi Kyu-bo; this shows that the go game was a part of common culture in the pre-modern East Asia in China, Korea, and Japan.

In Essay 188 of the Pillow Book, entitled “Writing in Chinese”, Sei says, “If one talks about Chinese literature; one would mean the Entire Corpus of Bai’s Work, Selections of Literature, and Shiji” (fumi wa Monjū, Monzen, Shinpu, Shiki 文は文集、文選、史記). Although it is referenced a few times in Sei’s Pillow Book and Murasaki’s Tale of Genji, Classic of Poetry, Selections of Literature is hardly seen. Bai’s collections were extensively deployed in Murasaki’s novel, Tale of Genji. This shows how Japanese literati placed so much importance on Bai’s poem and considered Bai to be the most popular Chinese poet in the Heian court. In Korea, Tongmunsŏn (the Eastern Selection of Literature), compiled by Sŏ Kŏ-jŏng 서거정徐居正, was assembled through collections of literature written in Chinese by famous and popular Korean literati from the 9th to the 15th century, including Yi’s and Ch’oe’s poems and prose. In the title of the book, an extra “East” was added to Chinese title of Selections of Literature (Wen xuan) meaning the collection of the prose from a state east of China: Korea. The Eastern

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329 Yi, 126, 252. Yi treated a go game as a military battle that added joy to his life and Korean literati entertained themselves with the game of go.
330 Watanabe, 245. Not in Fujiwara Kintō’s Wa-Kan rōeishū.
Selection of Literature is in a similar format as the corpus of Bai Juyi that elaborates the history, philosophy, and literature written in the language of Classical Chinese by Korean scholars. 

Selections of Literature (*Wen xuan*) was first compiled in China, referred to by Sei in her *Pillow Book* and Murasaki in her *Tale of Genji*, and created with a new name given by the Korean scholars, the latter of which demonstrates the importance of collecting well-known proses as models for future literati to follow.

Ch’oe Chi-Won’s *Kyewŏn Pilgyŏngjip* and Yi Kyu-bo’s *Tongguk Yi Sang-guk Chip* which depict Chinese and Korean history, philosophy, and culture are in the same format as the *Entire Corpus of Bai’s Work*. The collected works of Ch’oe and Yi seem to be a transplantation of Chinese classical poetry with similarities in structure, rhyming styles, and subject matter to Bai Juyi’s collections of works. In addition, two canonical pre-modern Japanese literary works, Murasaki writes in a fiction style and Sei writes in an essay style; they both transform Bai’s poems and present an outstanding Heian court culture for us to enjoy a millennium later. Within these texts, Murasaki Shikibu and Sei Shōnagon drew from Bai’s poems extensively to express their aesthetics in their literary creations. Commonality of literary aesthetics exists among the works of these five literati: Bai, Murasaki, Sei, Ch’oe, and Yi. These poets demonstrate a mutual interest in Japanese, Chinese, and Korean literature in regards to elements of nature such as the four seasons, trees, birds, and flowers. One particular bird, orioles, seems to be a common aesthetic tradition in literature and the dances by this singing bird was also another commonality in China, Korea, and Japan. Other types of natural elements such as clouds are also alluded to by Sei, who depicts the beauty of clouds as a part of the nature in “Flower, But not a Flower” (*Hwa fe hwa* 花非花).*331

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On the surface, Bai only expresses the shapes of the clouds. In reality, there is also a philosophical overtone of the impermanence and freedom of the clouds. The clouds drift along as freely as they wish, and no one can predict when and where the clouds are coming from and going to. By the same token, the cloud is never stable just like the changes in human life of the secular world. It might be for this reason that Sei uses clouds in her 273rd essay wherein she depicts the different colours of white, purple, and black in clouds. To Sei, the changes in colours of the clouds are *wokashi* (Sei’s aesthetic theory; meaning interesting things). However, in the 19th Chapter of Murasaki’s *Tale of Genji* titled “A Rack of Cloud” (*Usugumo* 薄雲), Fujitsubo dies and Genji dies in 42nd Chapter “The Moon is Hidden in Clouds” (*Kumogakure* 雲隠). The cloud insinuates death of characters in Murasaki’s fiction. To Murasaki, she applies aesthetic theory, *aware* (emotional feeling such as sorrow) to describe the death in Genji’s life. Yi called himself “White Cloud Literatus” 白雲居士; which may have been because Yi wanted to experience and enjoy the freedom of the clouds. Ch’oe referred to himself as a lonely cloud; this might have been because, feeling the sorrow of impermanence in his life for philosophical reasons, Ch’oe preferred to be a lonely cloud than to interact with others;

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332 Watson, 104.
334 Imaizumi, 879-880.
335 Yi, 223. Bai Juyi, 863 Bai says he loves white clouds drifting among mountain peaks, 1517 Bai inscribes “White Cloud Stream” as one poem of his; these might be the reasons why Yi calls himself “White Cloud.”
eventually Ch’oe became a hermit. The cloud poem of Bai’s broke the barriers that existed between states in pre-modern East Asia adding romantic feelings for poets’ aesthetic preference.
Conclusion

Cultural reception and adaptation take place when the geographical environment changes, forcing humans to alter their lifestyle and culture and understanding of their relationship to their history. Because of geographical proximity, historical overlapping often emerges among the neighbouring states. The islands of Korea and Japan were formed in the Pleistocene epoch due to the elevation of the sea level. Later in the Neolithic era, Koreans moved onto the peninsula to build a state from Central Asia through to Manchuria China and Siberia to the north of China. In the first century, the Japanese moved from the Korean peninsula to the Japanese archipelago. Nevertheless, according to traditional accounts, the Shang Dynasty developed the first court culture in China in 1554 BCE. Later in the Han period, China formed a well-known cultural circle in pre-modern East Asia. Eventually the Han people reached their richest and strongest state in the Tang dynasty. Tang China absorbed, amalgamated, and exchanged with foreign cultures in the West through the Silk Road. Subsequently, Tang further spread the Han culture to Silla Korea and Heian Japan in the East. Silla Korea and Heian Japan maintained a close relationship with Tang China to receive Han learning, including literature, philosophy, history, religion, and art through calligraphy, painting, music, and dance.

The adoption of the common culture in pre-modern East Asia reflected in Bai’s poetry is indebted to the widespread acceptance of Bai’s poetry because he was famous and popular in China; his poetry was easy to understand; and his aesthetic principles were compatible with Silla and Koryŏ Korea and Heian Japan, he made new contributions to respective scholarship. As a

336 Henthorn, 6.
337 Seth, 9. de Bary, et al., Sources of East Asian tradition, 486.
338 de Bary, Sources of East Asian tradition, 622.
339 de Bary, Sources of East Asian tradition, 13, 152, 290.
340 Seth, 52-53.
consequence, Bai Juyi’s poetry was a vital common thread throughout pre-modern times, reflecting not only literature but also philosophy, history, religion, and arts in the form of painting, music, and dance. Cultural transmission in these areas through Bai Juyi’s poetry is also reflected in Murasaki Shikibu’s novel, Sei Shōnagon’s essays, Ch’oe Ch’i-wŏn’s poetry, and Yi Kyu-bo’s poetry. This transculturation shows a diversity of patterns: cultural mobilization was constantly moving from the west to the east; overlapping histories emerged in different eras and locations in pre-modern East Asia; when a culture disappeared from one region, it was able to be recovered by being transmitted to other regions; cultural contacts among states often resulted in cultural transplantation and/or cultural transformation; and cultural products helped to stimulate economic growth among these the pre-modern states of China, Korea, and Japan.

Transcultural transmission of literature, religion, history, music, and dance was mobilized from the West to the East as it emerged in pre-modern China, Korea, and Japan. Buddhist scriptures from India might have arrived first in China as early as 65 CE; these translated sutras together with Chinese philosophies of Confucianism and Daoism written in classical Chinese, were later transmitted to Korea, and then moved further eastward to Japan. Music and dance culture received from the western region of China through the Silk Road was accepted by the Tang and was developed as a part of Tang music and dance. This music and dance culture of the western region further spread eastward to Korea and through Korea to Japan and was altered into unique styles of respective music and dance culture in Korea and Japan. The traces of cultural mobilization were expounded in Bai Juyi’s, Ch’oe Ch’i-wŏn’s, Yi Kyu-bo’s, Murasaki Shikibu’s, and Sei Shōnagon’s texts showing a movement of cultural transmission from the West to the East.

\[341\] Roberts, 45.
It took time for the transculturation to be accepted and absorbed among the areas as it moved through vast spaces in East Asia. As demonstrated in the Sinosphere writing system in China, Korea, and Japan, the history in these areas seems to have overlapped in different periods of time with the nature and reality within these respective areas. The Three-Kingdom period occurred in 220-280 CE in China, yet a similar period occurred in 18 BCE-660 CE in Korea and extended into Bai’s time and Ch’oe’s time near the end of the Silla era.\(^{342}\) In the North-South court era (420-589 CE), China was split into more than two or three entities fighting with each other. Much later after Murasaki’s and Sei’s time in Japan, the Heian court was replaced by the Kamakura bakufu split into a North-South court (1336-1392 CE), which were opposed to each other.\(^{343}\) The Seven Sages of the Bamboo Grove met for pure conversation in the Wei-Jin era around the mid-third century in China, while in Korea another seven sages did not meet until 1228 CE during Yi Kyu-bo’s time.\(^{344}\) Elements of Wei-Jin and Tang courtesan culture in Bai Juyi’s time were written via Yi Kyu-bo’s poetry in Korea around the 12th or 13th century, yet did not become systemized politically and depicted by literati in Japan until the 17th century, as a part of the famous Edo Yoshiwara culture.\(^{345}\) Based on the Chinese Han writing system, the invention of the \textit{kana} writing system took place in Japan around the 9th or 10th century in the Heian period.\(^{346}\) Later around 1446 CE, Hangul (the Korean phonetic alphabet) was created by King Sejong in Chosŏn (or Joseon) Dynasty to replace Chinese characters.\(^{347}\) Musical instruments such as zither (\textit{koto} 琵琶) and lute (\textit{biwa} 琵琶) depicted in Bai’s corpus in the 9th

\(^{342}\) Roberts, 40, Seth, 27. de Bary, Sources of East Asian Tradition, 483.
\(^{343}\) Roberts, 42, 46-47. de Bary, Sources of Japanese Traditions, 417.
\(^{344}\) Roberts, 44, 41, Sin Yong-ho, 34-35.
\(^{346}\) de Bary, Sources of Japanese Traditions, 241.
\(^{347}\) Henthorn, 140, 146. KBS, 32, 98.
century were in Sei’s and Murasaki’s literary works in the 11th century and Yi’s poetry collections in the 13th century. Above all, Murasaki Shikibu and Sei Shōnagon, two female writers created pre-modern Japanese canonical literary works, which stood out in Heian society when formal female education did not exist; women engage in similar activities in modern Korea. Lee Hai-soon348 collected poems from female Korean poets from the 15th century to the 20th century showing that female Korean poets began to write their poems within male-dominated literary surroundings and, in doing so, broke through the social barriers impeding females from writing poetry in classical Chinese.

Forms of transculturation in Korea and Japan encompassed two forms of transplantation and transformation. For example, Tang China absorbed the dance culture from the western territory that was transplanted in Korea and transformed in Japan. Through Bai’s and Choe’s descriptions of the lion dance, we can see the lion dance was received from western region of China to the Metropolitan Chang’an capital. Later, the lion dance was transplanted to the country style of folk dance at Gyeongju Silla in Choe’s time. However, in modern Japan, the lion dance performed as in kabuki is quite different from that of Bai’s and Choe’s depictions. This shows that the lion dance was transformed in Japan after the dance was accepted from the Tang era.349 Moreover, Sei and Murasaki both demonstrated a literary writing of the obeisance dance transformation in Heian court culture. The aesthetic theory of these created dances seem analogous to the aesthetic principle that Bai followed – with the trinity of poetry, music, and

348 Lee Hai-soon, the author of *The poetic world of classic Korean women writers*, holds a doctoral degree in Chinese Literature from National Taiwan Normal University and has been a Professor of Korean at Ewha Womans University since 1973. She compiled this book of thirteen female writers living from the 15th century to the 20th century to show that at a time women were prohibited from receiving public education and when male intellectuals monopolized Chinese literary field, women poets still strived to write poems in classical Chinese.

349 NHK lion dance special, August 26th, 2012. にっぽんの芸能百花繚乱特集春興鏡獅子 Japanese hundred flowers special: spring affective lion dance.
dance – for his affective expression in poetic compositions, reflecting the statement in the Great Preface of Classic of Poetry, “affections are stirred within and taken on form in words. If words alone are inadequate, we speak them out in sighs. If sighing is inadequate, we sing them.” \(^{350}\) Furthermore, if singing is insufficient, then “unconsciously our hands dance them and our feet tap them” (buzhi shou zhi wu zhi zu zhi dao zhi ye 不知手之舞之足之蹈之也). \(^{351}\) However, this literary expression was altered in the Japanese way of expression as “hands dancing and feet stomping” (te no mai to ashi no fumi 手の舞と足の踏み); later simplified into “(hands) dancing and (feet) stomping” (mai to ashibumi 舞いと足踏み); further into “(hands) dancing (feet) stomping” (butō 舞踏); and much further into “obeisance dance” (haimu 抜舞), which was eventually depicted by Sei Shonagon in Essay 8, 85, and 135 of the Pillow Book and Murasaki Shikibu in Chapter 1, 33, and 49 of the Tale of Genji, \(^{352}\) describing the dance as a part of Heian etiquette to show deferential respect and thanks from the dancers to the audiences watching their performances. Murasaki Shikibu and Sei Shōnagon demonstrated transformation, while Ch’oe Ch’i-Won and Yi Kyu-Bo illustrated transplantation of Bai Juyi’s poetry, a process reflected on these two variations of dance art transculturation.

For political reasons, one ancient culture that disappeared in one place may have been preserved in another part of the world. In pre-modern Chinese history, culture often disappeared or was destroyed, such as through the burning of the books (in 213 CE) by Qin Shihuang, the


\(^{351}\) ibid.

First Emperor of Qin in China. He ordered the burning of five of the Six Classics: the *Classic of Music*, the *Classic of Poetry*, the *Classic of History*, the *Classic of Rites*, and the *Spring and the Autumn Annals*, excepting the *Classic of Changes*. As a result, the graceful music of Zhou dynasty (ya yue 雅樂) was lost in China. Fortunately, remnants of this Chinese music culture was transplanted to and preserved in Korea. Party music of the Tang court (*Yen yue 燕樂*) was discouraged and eventually disappeared in China after the An Lushan rebellion, but was also transplanted to Japan and kept even until modern times, being performed regularly for cultural activities. The official history of the late Tang era was obliterated and lost in wars, but the lost history can be found in Choe’s *Kyewon Pilgyongjip* which contains valuable historical documentation of that period. The city infrastructure of the Chang’an capital did not survive a myriad of wars, yet it persists in the layout of the streets of modern day Kyoto, Japan. Buddhism later became unpopular and diminished in India, however, Buddhism continued to flourish and prosper to modern times in China, Korea, and Japan. Although the game of *go* is no longer as popular in China, it was passed to Japan and Korea from China and became popular in medieval East Asia. Now the game continues to survive as a respectable occupation in Japan. After the May 4th Movement in China, which advocated vernacular literature, poets were not encouraged to write or to publish poems written in classical Chinese. However, classical Chinese literature

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353 Roberts, 23. Yi, 563-564.

still exists in Korea as a part of Korean literature and is now reemerging in China. This is the advantage of cultural transmission, adoption, and adaptation within China, Korea, and Japan. Through the Chinese cultural transmission to Korea and Japan, many original Chinese cultures that might otherwise have disappeared in China, are still preserved elsewhere, although transformed and adapted to new contexts.

Transculturati on often accompanies economic growth in times of cultural exchanges. Transmission of Buddhism brought the trade of Buddhist rosaries, scrolls, artefacts and paintings among the three pre-modern states. In Silla, merchants were willing to exchange Bai’s poems for pieces of gold. Chang Po-go, a Korean navel commander in Bai’s time, promoted commercial transactions of cultural products. In China, Bai’s poems became valuable commodities; prostitutes could elevate their asking prices by reciting Bai’s poems. In Japan, men and women working at the Heian court engaged in poetry competitions on Bai’s verses for their political advancement, writing Bai’s poems on fans as a part of the Heian court aesthetic and societal fashion, and selling scrolls, calligraphy, and paintings of Bai’s poetry for economic advancement. Bai’s poems had real cultural and economic value and helped to stimulate economic exchange among the states of Tang China, Heian Japan, and Silla Korea.

Bai Juyi’s poetry was very popular in Heian Japan, but not so in other periods of Japanese history. Although in Ch’oe’s and Yi’s time, Bai Juyi was well-known in Silla and Koryō Korea, he was not as popular as Li Bai or Du Fu in other periods of Korean history. However, the nostalgia for Bai Juyi’s poetry has never disappeared. Today in Japan, traces of Tang culture depicted in Bai Juyi’s poetry remain alive and can be seen in the architecture of Nara and Kyoto temples, in the dramatic adaptations of Yang Guifei’s story in Japanese classical play: nō, and in the usage of Bai’s poems in Japanese medieval television series. In the past,
Bai’s poems were discovered in a Tang ship heading to Japan, a scroll of Bai’s “Song of Lasting Pain” was deployed as a means of persuading Go Shiragawa (a cloistered emperor of the Heian) not to neglect his duty of national governance for personal affairs; similarly having knowledge of Yi-ai Temple (depicted famously in one of Bai’s poems) was a symbol of having attained Buddhahood. In Korea, there have been female poets who write classical Chinese poems using Bai’s alternate rhyming schemes. In China, Bai’s words can still be heard in modern colloquial conversations and have been inserted into popular songs as nostalgic lyrics. The popularity of Bai’s poems is not limited to pre-modern East Asia, but extends to modern East Asia and modern English-speaking countries, where Bai’s poems are also cherished through English translations.

Bai Juyi’s literary writings offer great aesthetic values to his readers, who receive entertainment and education that imperceptibly replaces their negative thoughts with positive ones. His poetry adds happiness and pleasure to the lives of his readers, who enjoy his vivid descriptions of paintings, music, dance, poetry, history, and philosophy. Moreover, Bai’s sense of aesthetics helps his readers escape worldly troubles, sublimate their sorrowful feelings, and maintain equilibrium of body and mind. In the Tang era, bilingual or trilingual Koreans and Japanese monks and scholars learned multiple foreign languages in order to promote mutual communications between different states, helping to spread and transmit Bai Juyi’s poetry in classical Chinese across East Asia in Silla and Koryŏ Korea and in Heian Japan. Thanks to these interpreters, the pre-modern Asian populace was familiar with, shared, and loved Bai’s poetry as

355 Shizunaga Takeshi, Haku Kyōi "fūyushi" no kenkyū, trans., Liu Weizhi (Beijing: Zhonghua shu ju, 2007), 239-240. Shizunaga considers that Bai’s poem have had great impact on Heian literature. Bai’s “Song of Lasting Pain” keeps reappearing in television series as a setting in the Heian drama, Tale of Heike. Takamatsu, 180 this poem was widespread in the Heian period. Komori Ikuko, 63 popularity of this poem was well known in the Heian aristocratic society.

356 Arthur Levy, Translations from Po Chü-i’s collected works III, xxi.
a cultural treasure across East Asia. Through evidence of Bai’s poems as a common element in pre-modern East Asia, not only can we discern the past of China, Korea, and Japan but also we see that they, in the past of, learned continuously from each other. As a consequence, the cultures of China, Korea, and Japan are further inspired to be creative and innovative through literary writings of Bai, Murasaki, Sei, Ch’oe, and Yi. Bai’s poetry stands as evidence that maintaining an openness to learn from each other improves and enhances the diversity of all cultures. As a result, Bai Juyi’s poetry was indispensable not only to elevate the well-being of the inhabitants of these regions, but also to stimulate the prosperity of economy and further cultural exchange in pre-modern East Asia. Furthermore, through translations by many scholars, Bai Juyi’s poetry, Murasaki Shikibu’s novel, Sei Shōnagon’s essays, Ch’oe Ch’i-wŏn’s poetry, and Yi Kyu-bo’s poetry are all translated into English. These literary writings either directly or indirectly introduced Bai Juyi’s poetry to the Western world. Consequently, Bai Juyi’s nostalgic aesthetics are not restricted to pre-modern East Asia, but also extended to the modern English-speaking world. Bai Juyi’s works stand as a lasting testament to the power of great poetry to improve and enhance cultures across a broad span of time and space.
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