The Capeline Cantos : verses of the divine loves of Taoist priestesses

Autor(en): **Schafer, Edward H.**

Objekttyp: **Article**

Zeitschrift: **Asiatische Studien : Zeitschrift der Schweizerischen Asiengesellschaft = Études asiatiques : revue de la Société Suisse-Asie**

Band (Jahr): **32 (1978)**

Heft 1

PDF erstellt am: **04.07.2024**

Persistenter Link: https://doi.org/10.5169/seals-146514

THE CAPELINE CANTOS
Verses on the Divine Loves of Taoist Priestesses

EDWARD H. SCHAFER

University of California, Berkeley

At the zenith of the reign of Li Lung-chi (T'ang Hsüan Tsung), shortly before the mid-point of the eighth century, the realm contained 1,786 Taoist "belvederes" *(kuan),* of which 550 – roughly one third – were assigned to "Gentlewomen of the Tao" *(nü tao shih).*[1]

These magnificent dames were ornaments of the Taoist clergy, and if beauty were conjoined in one of them with obvious sanctity and esoteric wisdom, she might make the fortune of a great convent. We have a poem by Han Yü which describes this mutual dependency. It tells how a pious family sends a young daughter off to take holy orders. The entrance of the simple novice into her new life is portrayed in these words:

> She washes her makeup off, wipes her face, dons crown and cloak
> White of throat, pink of cheeks, her long eyebrows blue.[2]

Finally the day of her formal initiation arrives. It is described in a poem by Chia Tao entitled "A Gentlewoman of the Tao Receives her Ordination Tablets on the Epochal Day"[3]. It is a night ceremony, addressed especially to the spirit-kings of the Northern Dipper – as often in these astral rites:

> The epochal day[4] – the night of renewal:
> Her purged body is fit for her clean dress.

[1] *T'ang liu tien,* 4, 42a.

[2] Han Yü, "Hua shan nü", *Ch'üan T'ang shih,* han 5, ts'e 10, ch. 6, 2b–3a.

[3] Chia Tao, "Yüan jih nü tao shih shou lu", *Ch'üan T'ang shih,* han 9, ts'e 4, ch. 3, 12b.

[4] The expression "epochal day" *(yüan jih)* instantly suggests New Year's Day, a primary denotation which is clearly out of the question here, since New Year's Day is always moonless, and this nocturnal scene is lit by a bright – probably full – moon. But "epochal day" is also applied to other solemn, festive, and holy days, meaning that they introduce fortunate epochs.

Many stars – the Dipper's linkage emerges;
A myriad miles – the broken clouds fly off.

The frost descends – the sounds of stone chimes persist;
The moon goes high – shadows on the altar fade away.
She stands and listens: her Teacher's discourse is finished;
With talisman tied to left elbow she goes home.

The "crown and cloak" *(kuan p'ei)* were worn, as Han Yü writes, from the very first day. This fact appears also in the poem by Hsüeh Chao-yün translated below (V.a. 4–5)[5]. They appear prominently both in Taoist iconography and in the more worldly costumes of the lovely priestesses of the poems to which this study is devoted. Whether she is acolyte or initiate, they distinguish her as accepted by the Realized Ones of the upper realms, and her virtual deification by the faithful citizenry. Reading further in Han Yü's verses we see the tender maid transformed into a living goddess: her success is wonderful, and the establishment she adorns, until then devoid of lay worshippers, is suddenly crowded with excited visitors, and soon richly endowed with "piles of gold and heaps of jade".

Indeed, the great Taoist convents were regarded as suitable residences for the highest ladies in the land, including members of the ruling family. Even the Empress Wu, biased as she was in favor of Buddhism, tried to persuade her daughter, that bold and ambitious lady the T'ai-p'ing Princess, to become a Taoist priestess and devote herself to holy practices that would benefit her family even after death[6]. Li Lung-chi, disconsolate since the death of his wife, another member of the Wu clan, on 1 January 738, ultimately came to recognize that the only woman who could replace her was already married to his son Li Ch'ang, Prince of Shou. He thought it quite appropriate that the young couple should be separated, and that the divorcee, Yang Yü-huan should undergo a period of purification and religious instruction in a Taoist convent under the new name of T'ai-chen "Grand Realized One". Later, on 17 September 745, she was released from these disciplines and designated Noble Consort (Kuei Fei)[7]. But the Lady Yang, despite her eminence, lacked royal blood. This was not true of

[5] In referring to my translations of the capeline cantos, the Roman numeral represents the number of the poem, the following letter (a or b) represents first or second stanza respectively, and the Arabic numeral refers to the verse in that stanza.

[6] *T'ang shu* (*Szu pu pei yao* ed.), 83, 5a.

[7] *Tzu chih t'ung chien,* 8a, 10a. Cf. Hsüan Tsung, "Tu Shou wang fei wei nü tao shih ch'ih", *Ch'üan T'ang wen,* 35, 15a–15b.

a daughter of Li Yü (T'ai Tsung), posthumously titled Hua-yang Princess, a woman of great intelligence and a favorite of her father. Disabled by disease, she became a "Gentlewoman of the Tao" at her own request, and was given the religious name of "Realized Person of Rose-gem Flower" *(Ch'iung hua chen jen)*[8].

The most spectacular instance of the ordination of imperial princesses was that of two daughters of Li Tan (Jui Tsung). In the year 711 two magnificent convents – i.e. "belvederes" in Taoist usage – were built for them in the Fu-hsing Quarter of Ch'ang-an, immediately west of the T'ai-chi Palace[9]. They were styled "Capeline Belvedere of the Jade Realized One" *(Yü chen nü kuan kuan)* and "Capeline Belvedere of the Golden Transcendent One" *(Chin hsien nü kuan kuan),* names that correspond to the new titles conferred on the royal daughters: the former *Ch'ung ch'ang hsien chu*[10] became "Jade Realized Princess" while the former *Hsi ch'eng hsien chu* became "Golden Transcendent Princess". (The English word "capeline" will be explained below.) There was exceptionally strong opposition to this expensive undertaking. It was voiced chiefly by two officials, Wei Ts'ou and Hsin T'i-fou. They objected to needless extravagance, and to the public support of unproductive monks and nuns in such establishments (Buddhist as well as Taoist), as well as to the injury done to agricultural production by the drafting of large numbers of farmers to work on the new project. The only important statesman to support the enterprise was Tou Huai-chen, who happened to be related to the ruling family by marriage. But the great buildings were constructed in spite of the objections, and the princesses were duly installed in them. Shih Ch'ung-hsüan[11], an important priest, was appointed as their teacher, and the two royal novices were ordained as Gentlewomen of the Tao in 712[12].

[8] *T'ang shu,* 83, 12a.

[9] The date of 31 March, given in *T'ang shu,* 5, 2b, may be that of the authorization, or of the completion of construction.

[10] So say the dynastic histories. But Chao Yen-jo, *Ch'ang-an chih* (T. Hiraoka), 10, 1b, styles her Ch'ang-lung Princess.

[11] Later a partisan of the T'ai-p'ing Princess, he became a high court official, but was put to death at the time of that lady's fall from power and suicide.

[12] *T'ang shu,* 83, 8b–9a; 118, 3b, 10b–11a; *Chiu T'ang shu,* 101, 6b–7a, 13b–14a; 183; 3a *Ch'ang-an chih,* 10, 1b; *T'ang liang ching ch'eng fang chi,* 4, 9a; *Liang ching hsin chi* (T. Hiraoka ed.), 3, 182. Tu Kuang-t'ing, in his *Li tai ch'ung tao chi* (*Ch'üan T'ang wen,* 933, 9b), which tells of the honors paid to the Taoist religion by Chinese governments, refers to the construction of two convents for two royal

Some little information survives about the subsequent history of the Jade Realized Princess. Ts'ai Wei, a priest of the Belvedere of the Boundless Tao *(Hung tao kuan)* and author of the lost book *Hou hsien lu,* composed an account of the miracles associated with the altar at which she was ordained[13]. He also refers to her in a long memorial inscription he wrote in memory of the Revered Master Chang, a descendant of Chang Tao-ling[14]. She was ultimately awarded the splendid title of "Teacher of the Three Phosphors of the Great Grotto of the Mystic Metropolis of Supreme Clarity" *(Shan ch'ing hsüan tu ta tung san ching shih)* – an unmistakably "Mao Shan" title. In 744 she petitioned Li Lung-chi asking that she be allowed to give up her title of "Princess", along with her royal mansion and income. The sovereign was at first reluctant to agree to this, but was finally persuaded. She took the new name of Che-ying, and lived on until 762[15].

But such great ladies, privileged to combine religious piety and possibility of eternal life with an honored and comfortable life on earth, were by no means always drawn from court circles. Their prestige sometimes depended on other circumstances or attributes. For instance, a gifted Cantonese girl known as Lu Mei-niang, sent as "tribute" to the capital, so captivated Li Ch'un (Hsien Tsung) early in the ninth century that he gave her a "golden phoenix" bracelet. But she could not bear to remain in the imperial harem, and was allowed to take holy orders as a Gentlewoman of the Tao. She was sent back to Canton, whence she eventually ascended to heaven, leaving only her shoes in her coffin. Later she was often seen "riding the purple clouds over the sea"[16].

Sometimes a priestess remained known to posterity for virtues quite unconnected with her sanctity. Such a one was Li Hsüan-chen, who enjoys a biographical notice in the official history of T'ang because of her pious efforts to rehabilitate her male ancestors, who lived in exile in Lingnan[17].

princesses in 749, during the reign of Li Lung-chi. He styles them "Golden Transcendent" and "Jade Polypore" *(yü chih).* "Jade Polypore" may be a corruption of "Jade Realized" – or else the venerable author was misinformed. The official histories of T'ang say nothing about such an event.

[13] *T'ang liang ching ch'eng fang chi,* 4, 9a. A defective version of this text survives in *Ch'üan T'ang wen,* 927, 7b–11b.

[14] *Ch'üan T'ang wen,* 927, 11b–14b.

[15] *T'ang shu,* 83, 9a; *Chiu T'ang shu,* 9, 6b.

[16] Tu Kuang-t'ing, *Yung ch'eng chi hsien lu,* in *Yün chi ch'i ch'ien,* 116 (*Tao tsang ching hua* ed., Taipei, 1973), p. 1624.

[17] *Chiu T'ang shu,* 193, 7b–8a.

Entirely different was the case of Yü Hsüan-chi[18], whose attractive poems may still be enjoyed: after an unsatisfactory episode as the concubine of a high official, this talented woman became a Taoist priestess. Later she took up the life of a geisha. When she killed a female slave she was put to death in the capital city[19].

But it is out of the question here to attempt to display in full the social and cultural history of the Taoist priestesses of T'ang – the samples just provided must suffice. It may be noted, however, that their fortunes tended to parallel those of the Taoist church, complicated by the fact that they were women. The relative independence they enjoyed – to a large extent similar to that enjoyed by other female aristocrats of T'ang – and the unconventionality of the lives of many of them, provoked the displeasure of censorious citizens and professional moralists. Things went well for them under such rulers as Li Yen (Wu Tsung), who persecuted the Buddhists and gave high honors to the Taoists. Being enamoured of a beautiful priestess of the Belvedere of the Golden Transcendent, he restored and embellished that establishment, and even installed his own portrait in one of its halls[20]. But in the absence of such exalted favor, as when a Son of Heaven looked with equal displeasure on the supposed errors of Taoism and on the handsome accouterments and seemingly brazen behavior of its priestesses – living as they did apart from their families, as richly housed as if in a divine seraglio – these ladies might suffer much more than their male counterparts. A case in point: when Li Ch'en (Hsüan Tsung), Li Yen's successor and a strong partisan of the Buddhists, made an incognito visit to the Belvedere of Utmost Virtue *(Chih te kuan),* he was enraged by the splendid costumes and rich makeup of the priestesses there. He hurried back to the palace and ordered their immediate expulsion. A band of twenty male priests was dispatched to "purify" the convent[21]. This gives the impression of being as much an anti-feminist outburst as a display of pious austerity or even of anti-Taoism.

As an appellation of a priestess the expression *nü kuan* is said to have been an introduction of Chang Lu in his holy nation in Han-chung early in

[18] In *Ch'üan T'ang shih,* han 11, ts'e 10.

[19] Sung Kuang-hsien, *Pei meng so yen* (*Ts'ung shu chi ch'eng* ed.), 9, 77.

[20] E. H. Schafer, "The last years of Ch'ang-an", *Oriens Extremus,* 10 (1963), 151, 165.

[21] P'ei T'ing-yü, *Tung kuan tsou chi* (ed. of *Hsiao shih shan fang ts'ung shu*), a, 8b.

the third century. It was then given to female initiates of the grade next above that of mere novice, and was paralleled by *nan kuan* for male officiants of comparable rank. The latter term seems to have disappeared quickly from common usage. But there is doubt as to whether the element *kuan* in these early titles meant "official" or "hat; crown"[22]. The bulk of the evidence indicates that these earliest *nü kuan* were "female officials" – hierophants in the purified enclaves embedded in the Han empire, and surviving in communities of Taoist believers in the Six Dynasties period. By that time the expression was already being used less strictly, applied, for instance, to the divine inhabitants of cloud palaces beyond the confines of China. We have, for example, the case of a wonderful woman, three hundred years old, who dwelt on an island in the sea. She had a retinue of four or five hundred *nü kuan tao shih,* all more than one hundred years old[23]. Here the words (woman, official, Tao, gentleman) have been construed in a modern dictionary in the sense of "Taoist gentlewomen who are officials", that is, Taoist ladies-in-waiting. But this interpretation is forced. The phrase is better taken as a simple inversion of *tao shih nü kuan* which regularly denotes "male Taoist priests and female Taoist priests"[24]. In any event, Tu Kuang-t'ing, in a typical piece of late T'ang hagiography, uses the expression *nü kuan* (written with the graph for "official") in the plain sense of "Taoist priestess": "in the households of the *nü kuan* (woman officials) throughout the whole belvedere"[25].

But *nü kuan* "female official" occurs regularly in T'ang texts in the sense of palace employees (harem ladies and the like, in nineteen ranks from Noble Consort [*kuei fei*] – in fact, a queen – down to Select Woman [*ts'ai nü*] – that is, a palace maidservant). Possibly the ambiguity produced by this usage, in which the term might refer either to a Taoist

[22] So states H. Maspero, in "Essai sur le Taoisme aux premiers siècles de l'ère chrétienne", *Le Taoisme* (Mélanges posthumes sur les réligions et l'histoire de la Chine, II [Paris, 1950]), p. 155. Maspero, unfortunately, does not supply the source for this information. Levy cites Maspero as an authority on this point, and adds that the titles may be found in Hsüan-kuang, *Pien huo lun* (in *Hung ming chi* [Tōkyō Daizōkyō, 52], 8, 49a). But that text gives *kuan* "official", not *kuan* "crown". See H. S. Levy, "Yellow Turban Religion and Rebellion at the End of Han", *Journal of the American Oriental Society,* 76 (1956), 223. These titles of functionaries survived in the "parishes" of the faithful into the sixth century. See H. Maspero, *Les Religions Chinoises* (Mélanges posthumes, I [Paris, 1950]), p. 58.

[23] *Nan shih* (*K'ai ming* ed.), 6, 2566c.

[24] *Tzu chih t'ung chien,* 181, 8a, referring to the retinue of Sui Yang Ti.

[25] Tu Kuang-t'ing, *Yung ch'eng chi hsien lu,* in *Yün chi ch'i ch'ien,* 116, p. 1619.

priestess or to a female palatine, led to the adoption of the alternate form "female hat" exclusively for the former, especially as the Taoist priesthood became increasingly conspicuous on the higher levels of society, and it became more and more necessary to distinguish a lady of the convent from a lady of the court.

The T'ang expression *nü kuan* "female hat" is the denotative equivalent of *nü tao shih,* which I have approximated with "Gentlewoman of the Tao". In it *kuan* has a metonymous role, as when we say "gumshoe" meaning "detective", or "bluestocking" meaning "female pedant". "Female hat" is a faithful version of the phrase, and indeed there are many precedents for calling a person some kind of hat. A "bad hat", for instance, is a rascal (British), a "black hat" is a new immigrant (Australian), and a simple "hat" is a gentleman-commoner (Cantabrigian). But I have rejected "female hat" because of its slightly comic ring. "Coronette" sounds unpleasantly like "usherette" and "drum-majorette". "Capucine" was a possible translation, being not only hattish, but also yellowish, and the characteristic color of Taoist crowns was yellow. But finally I settled on "capeline"[26], an uncommon word for a type of woman's headgear[27].

The word *kuan* referred to many kinds of formal or ceremonial hats. Its range of connotation was partly that of our "crown", but also that of "mitre", "tiara", "diadem", and others. To the men of T'ang a Taoist *kuan* was horned, lobed, or petalled, and it was and is easy to imagine the hat of a capeline as a yellow lotus or a golden water-lily – and indeed they were actually manufactured in such guise. "Yellow hats (or crowns)" *(huang kuan)* were common symbols of Taoist initiates and are frequently encountered in T'ang poetry. A typical example occurs in the verses of Yin Yao-fan, who lived early in the ninth century. He writes of a woman leaving service as a maid or intermittent concubine in the palace to enter a Taoist convent, not an uncommon transition:

> She puts away her palatine cosmetics and her dresses of damask and embroidery;
> A yellow crown and a costume of plain silk are suited to her now.[28]

[26] Pronounced *kă-pĕ-lin.*

[27] See the entry under "capeline" in *Webster's New International Dictionary* (2nd edition): "A woman's hat with a soft brim." The word is cognate to "chapel", "chaplain", and "chaplet".

[28] Yin Yao-fan, "Kung jen ju tao", *Ch'üan T'ang shih,* han 8, ts'e 2, 10a. Cf. Yü Ku, "Sung kung jen ju tao kuei shan", *Ch'üan T'ang shih,* han 5, ts'e 6, 3a, on the

There is even an example of "yellow crown" as the sobriquet of a Taoist priest. This was Li Po, the father of the astronomer Li Ch'un-feng. The former resigned a position in the Sui administration and in his new religious life adopted the name *Huang kuan tzu*[29]. Still, this is not generic usage. A true case of metonymy, however, appears in a poem of Han Yü: "Your servant is not a yellow hat teacher", in the sense of "I am not a Taoist priest"[30]. Probably a little earlier than this example is a poem by the Buddhist priest Hu-kuo (fl. 773):

> On Fou-ch'iu Mountain I saw a "yellow crown";
> In leafy darkness of pine and cypress he mounted the ancient altar.[31]

I have not seen the expanded form "female yellow crown" *(nü huang kuan)* – possibly underlying *nü kuan* – in a T'ang text, although it exists in Sung literature[32]. Most probably the longer term is an expansion of the shorter, rather than the shorter a reduction of the longer.

Nü kuan "capeline", although very common in poetry, also appears in ordinary historical prose, as in the notice in the official history of T'ang which tells how, in 691, the government of the "Empress" Wu, who had in the previous year abolished the state of T'ang and established the rule of Chou, "ordered that the teaching of Shakya should be put above the law of the Tao, and that monks and nuns should be placed before gentlemen of the Tao and capelines"[33].

In literature the expression "capeline" might be used to distinguish a mortal priestess, however high her expectations, from a true female transcendent *(nü hsien)* – that is, a female being who has actually passed above the trammels of matter and mortality. Yüan Chieh, writing late in

same theme, in which the yellow crown also appears. Other poems on "palace persons" moving to convents include Chang Hsiao-yüan, "Sung kung jen ju tao", *Ch'üan T'ang shih,* han 8, ts'e 2, 1b, and Li Shang-yin, "Ho Han lu shih sung kung jen ju tao", *Ch'üan T'ang shih,* han 8, ts'e 9, ch. 2, 14a. The former refers to the lady's "horned crown" *(chüeh kuan).*

[29] *T'ang shu,* 204, 1a.

[30] Han Yü, "Sung Chang tao shih", *Ch'üan T'ang shih,* han 5, ts'e 10, ch. 10, 1b.

[31] Hu-kuo, "Feng ling tao shih", *Ch'üan T'ang shih,* han 5, ts'e 1, 2a. This metonymous usage can be seen again in a poem written near the end of the T'ang dynasty by T'ang Ch'iu (fl. 906), his "T'i ch'ing ch'eng shan fan hsien kuan", *Ch'üan T'ang shih,* han 11, ts'e 3, 4b.

[32] Liu K'o-chuang (1187–1269), "Tzu tse kuan", in *Hou ts'un hsien sheng ta ch'üan chi* (*Szu pu ts'ung kan* ed.), 2, 8b.

[33] *Chiu T'ang shu,* 6, 3b–4a.

the eighth century, tells us of a capeline in a Taoist retreat on Chiu-i Mountain – the Mountain of Nine Uncertainties – in southernmost Hunan, who had already lived "who knows how many hundred years"[34]. He is careful not to call her a "female transcendent" unlike many of his contemporaries who were quick to bestow that distinction on younger priestesses, out of flattery, policy, or true conviction – as we might style a Catholic nun of oustanding piety a saint even during her lifetime. For the Taoists, evidence of female sanctity was not altogether a matter of devotion to religious objectives. It often revealed itself physically, especially in the unearthly beauty attributed to the capelines both in prose texts and in poetry, or was shown by the possession of strange attributes and magic powers, as in the following tenth century tale, typical of the genre of wonder tales that had become popular at that time:

> The Prior Born capeline Keng had the talons[35] of a bird and the aspect of jade, and possessed the arts of the Tao in abundance. She had gained the loving favor of Hsüan Tsung, and three days before her delivery she said to her [attendants] on left and right. "My son will be out of the ordinary. On the evening when I give him birth there will be strange things". When that evening came, there was indeed the rumbling of thunder all around the house. Because of great rains the Ho overflowed. At midnight the thunder stopped. Keng's body was no longer gravid, but those on her left and right had no knowledge of what she had given birth to. Then she herself disappeared, taking her child with her.[36]

Fantasy perhaps – but capelines were beyond ordinary expectations.

Here now is another capeline tale – hagiography assimilated to the fictional manner – written in the ninth century but set in the eighth at the court of a different Hsüan Tsung. It tells of a kind of Taoist Mary Poppins[37].

[34] Yüan Chieh, "Teng chiu i ti erh feng", *Ch'üan T'ang shih,* han 4, ts'e 6, ch. 2, 13a.

[35] A variant text has "long talons". The lady inherits a classical attribute of aviform beings – above all, a trait of that attractive harpy Ma Ku.

[36] Cheng Wen-pao (953–1013), *Nan T'ang chin shih* (*Ts'ung shu chi ch'eng* ed.), p. 11a. For a fuller account of this female adept – primarily in her role as alchemist – see Joseph Needham and Lu Gwei-djen, *Science and Civilisation in China,* Vo. V, Pt. 3 (1976), 169–171. The Hsüan Tsung of this tale is that ninth-century Hsüan Tsung, Li Ch'en.

[37] As from Niu Su (fl. 804), *Chi wen,* in *T'ai p'ing kuang chi,* 62, 6a.

> In the second month of spring in the twenty-fourth year of Opened Prime of T'ang[38], the Royal Rig was at the Eastern Capital[39]. Li Shih-chih was made Governor of Ho-nan[40]. On that day there was a great wind. Borne up by the wind, a capeline came to the Belvedere of the Honorable Ones of Jade *(Yü chen kuan)*[41] and perched on a bell-loft. Folk who came to watch were like a solid wall. This was brought to the ears of the Governor. Now the Governor was, in the main, a rigorous man. Being angered by the gathering of a crowd, he had her stripped to the waist and flogged. At the count of ten the wind-borne one had still not prayed for pity. Moreover she was neither wounded nor maimed, and the color of her face had not altered. Shih-chih was greatly startled by this, and so, after a ceremonious plea, made a report for the [royal] ears. She was summoned into an inner basilica by edict, and asked for an accounting. As it happened she was a Gentlewoman of the Tao from the Belvedere of Purple Clouds in P'u-chou[42]. By the long avoidance of cereals she had lightened her body, and so had flown to this place through the agency of the wind. The Mystic Ancestor accorded her great reverence and awe. He bestowed gold and silk on her, and sent her back to P'u-chou under escort. Several years later, once more through the agency of a great wind, she flew away and did not return.

The name "capeline" seems to have been a fairly informal equivalent of "Gentlewoman of the Tao" in T'ang times. Apparently in Sung it became the normal title of a Taoist priestess. This appears from an edict of Chao Chi (Hui Tsung), in all of Chinese history one of the most fanatically Taoist of monarchs. On 19 February 1119 he declared that the Buddhist clergy must adopt Taoist titles. For instance, the Buddha must be referred to as "Golden Transcendent of Great Awareness" *(Ta chüeh chin hsien)*. The great array of terminological changes included some

[38] March/April, 736.

[39] The court had moved there from Ch'ang-an on 14 February 734, and departed from Lo-yang on 9 November 736. See *T'ang shu,* 5, 10a; *Chiu T'ang shu,* 8, 19b; *Tzu chih t'ung chien,* 214, 9a.

[40] He was a member of the royal family; his biographies may be found in *T'ang shu,* 131, 1a–1b; *Chiu T'ang shu,* 99, 8b–9b.

[41] We would expect *yü chen* "The Realized Ones of Jade", but the graphs for "honorable" and "realized" appear interchangeably in *Ch'ang-an chih,* 10, 1b, referring to the names of Ch'ang-an convents. I have not found a convent of either name in Lo-yang.

[42] Alternately Ho-chung fu, and, for a short time in 720, "The Central Metropolis" *(chung tu),* in Ho-tung *tao.* This important city was situated in a region that produced felt, fans, dragon bones, salt, and copper. *T'ang shu,* 39, 1a–1b.

strange neologisms. "Capelines" were henceforth to be styled *nü tao* – a title I hesitate to translate, although it is clearly a shortening of *nü tao shih* – while Buddhist nuns must be called *nü te.* Obviously obtained by splitting the expression *tao te,* this terminology brought both classes of female clergy together under a familiar Taoist rubric[43]. Nonetheless the appellation "capeline" has persisted until modern times. I have observed, for instance, that it was still in use at the end of the nineteenth century[44], but I have not tried to trace it further.

* * *

The tune called *Nü kuan tzu* is listed in the register of songs taught in the Instruction Quarter *(chiao fang)* – the school for popular music founded in the eighth century by Li Lung-chi[45]. It has generally been assumed that the first literary texts written to the tune are the surviving verses of Wen T'ing-yün, which date from the middle of the ninth century. His, at least, are the oldest that survive. After his we have a few from the pens of ten other poets of the ninth and tenth centuries, preserved in the *Ch'üan T'ang shih*[46]. These form the chief subject matter of the present study. The style was modified and developed in Sung times, however. It is connected especially with the names of Liu Yung (fl. 1045), Li Ping (1085–1146), K'ang Yü-chih (fl. 1131), and Chiang Chieh (fl. 1279)[47], but these writers are beyond my competence and the scope of this paper, as are the *ch'ü* of Southern Sung and Yüan which carry the name and some of the qualities of the T'ang *tz'u.* Suffice it here to paraphrase the statement of Huang Sheng (fl. 1240), who observed that T'ang writers of *tz'u* tended to adhere to the theme indicated by the title. Thus, *tz'u* entitled *Lin chiang hsien* were, in that period, actually about "transcendental affairs" *(hsien shih),* and those entitled *Nü kuan tzu* actually dealt

[43] *Sung shih,* 22, 4534b.

[44] Hsü K'o, *Ch'ing pao lei ch'ao* (1917 ed.), 35, 8.

[45] Ts'ui Ling-ch'in, *Chiao fang chi,* 7b (page 360 of *Ts'ung shu chi ch'eng* ed.).

[46] In han 12, ts'e 10. I have not tried to search for other poems in this form that may have been missed by the *Ch'üan T'ang shih* editors. I have discovered a few textual differences between my *Ch'üan T'ang shih* and the 1922 *(Szu pu ts'ung k'an)* edition of *Hua chien chi,* and will note them below when they seem significant.

[47] *Ch'in ting tz'u p'u,* 4, 4b; G. W. Baxter, *Index to the Imperial Register of Tz'u Prosody* (Ch'in-ting Tz'u-u'u) (Harvard-Yenching Institute Series, XV, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1956), p. xi.

with "Taoist emotions" *(tao ch'ing)*[48]. *Wu tai shih hua* mentions the *Wu shan i tuan yün* poem by Li Hsün as an excellent example of correspondence of song title and content[49]. After that period treatment diverged markedly from the sense of the title.

Nevertheless, it appears to be almost a dogma that the capeline cantos of T'ang, like other types of *tz'u,* are little more than romantic accounts of enchanting women transiently decked out in Taoist costumes as if for a fancy-dress ball. The rather nebulous theme of feminine allure is, of course, hardly enough to bind the poems bearing the title *Nü kuan tzu* together in any but the most trivial way: in that case they would hardly deserve discussing as a group, except to illustrate the usage of certain popular images. It is indeed true that nicely made-up faces, fashionable garments, and shy blushes haunt many, perhaps even a majority of them, which is rather like saying that images of glory and adoration are frequently found in Christian hymns. If I may compare the capeline songs to another *tz'u* form, the *Nan hsiang tzu,* in which I have taken a special interest, we can indeed see allusions in both sets to pink gauzes, halcyon kingfishers, and ill-defined swains lurking in the wings. But in the *Nan hsiang tzu* of Ou-yang Chiung and Li Hsün[50] – both of whom also wrote to the *Nü kuan tzu* tune – the gauzes are exotic dyed cottons, like those worn by the queens of Champa, not the divine veils of goddesses of the dawn. In them the halcyon is the living bird, not a bluish cosmetic or the glint of carefully combed hair. In them the faceless youths are Chinese emigrés in a tropical land, not mysterious spirits from Seventh Heaven. In the *Nü kuan tzu* poems the lady longs for an unattainable divine lover; in the *Nan hsiang tzu* poems the girl ogles an all too susceptible stranger. Moreover, although some of the stage properties are shared by the two styles, others are regularly employed by one but are incompatible with the other. So, for example, the altars, crowns and ordination tablets of the *Nü*

[48] Wang Shih-chen and Cheng Fang-k'un, *Wu tai shih hua* (*Kuo-hsüeh chi-pen ts'ung-shu* ed.), 4, 182.

[49] Huang Sheng, *Hua an tz'u hsüan* (1630 ed.), 1, 21a. The form *Lin chiang hsien,* to judge from the number of extant examples, was the most popular of the *tz'u* forms with Taoist themes. There were many others, including *Che hsien yüan, Juan lang kuei, T'ien hsien tzu,* and somewhat marginally *Yüeh kung ch'un* and *Pu ch'an kung.* Indeed Taoist content can be found in some whose titles do not immediately suggest its presence.

[50] My evidence is based chiefly on the poems translated in E. H. Schafer, *The Vermilion Bird* (University of California Press, 1967), pp. 84, 85, 176, 188, 200.

kuan tzu contrast with the bananas, palm leaves and elephants of the *Nan hsiang tzu.* In neither case are the properties to be despised: they are essential to the producer's great design. The supposed "erotic" or sentimental similarities fade into a secondary role when the Taoist motifs in the one case and the tropical motifs in the other are taken with the seriousness they deserve. I am persuaded that careful study of the language and content of the other *tz'u* forms would also reveal unique characteristics, whether subtle or obvious, whether detailed or broadly brushed in – in any case as significant as those I have noted for the *Nü kuan tzu* and *Nan hsiang tzu* styles. Both Shakespeare and Spenser wrote of faery worlds and shared many stereotypes of plot and imagery. But they are not the same worlds. This paper is dedicated to the heresy that the differences between the cantos about capeline ladies and the cantos about monsoon maidens are *poetically* more important than the similarities.

The special virtue of this way of looking at the capeline poems – contrasting them rather than comparing them with other kinds of *tz'u* – can best be demonstrated by looking at their verbal structure[51]. The most obvious feature of the *nü kuan tzu* stanzas is the constant repetition of words and phrases – it is also a feature of other *tz'u* forms – which inevitably directs the reader's thoughts to "formulaic" poetry. Perhaps indeed these clichés were commonplaces of speech in the elegant taverns of ninth and tenth century China. In short, it may be that a kind of urban oral tradition underlies the sophisticated lyrics set to popular songs by the masters of the *tz'u* form. But if such is indeed the case, we must still beware of the naive assumption that the exploitation of these lexical items is "mere" in any sense: the undeniable splendors of Homer are studded with such common currency, given inimitable luster by the craft of the true poet.

Among the capeline cantos the most striking example of lexical identity appears in stanzas by Lu Ch'ien-i (VI.a) and Chang Pi (XII):

Lu Ch'ien-i
(3) It is the very depth of spring
(6) Where bamboos are sparse, *the Basilica of Purgation stands remote*
(7) Where pines are dense the Altar of the Cosmodrama lies shadowed

[51] First of all it is necessary to dispose of the syllabic count: 4/6/3/5/5//5/5/5/3. (Some translators seem not to have noticed that the syntax of the six-syllable verse always requires subdivision into 2/2/2, not 3/3.)

Chang Pi
(3) It is the very depth of spring
(6) Where bamboos are sparse, *the vacated fence is quiet*
(7) Where pines are dense an Altar of the Cosmodrama lies shadowed

The only point of difference – the last three (Chinese) words of the sixth verse – is only a partial difference, since, despite my translation, they are semantically close and the syntax is identical. (The remainder of the two poems show few plain points of similarity.) It might be argued that we have here an example of scribal or editorial confusion – verses unwittingly shuffled about in an anthology – or some problem of attribution. But these conclusions are not the only possible ones. That another one is more probable is suggested by the abundant recurrence of short linguistic units among the poems.

Striking examples of this phenomenon are exhibited in the densely twinned vocabulary in the capeline cantos of Wen T'ing-yün and Wei Chuang. This is clearly observable only when it is recognized that the *Nü kuan tzu* stanzas must always be grouped in pairs. As it happens only a single pair survives from the pen of each poet represented, with the exception of Niu Ch'iao, for whom we have two pairs – that is, two complete poems. Two exceptions to the rule are single stanzas surviving from the pens of Yin O and Chang Pi. These have a curiously apocopate look, and we can be certain that what we see in each case is only a half of the original composition. The relationship between the two constituent stanzas of each poem in subject, treatment and imagery will become apparent below. Before proceeding to the discussion of these matters, the reader is invited to consider a simple and obvious demonstration of the relationship in the form of a double list of words which occur in both stanzas of the echoic pair written by Wen T'ing-yün, all in identical syntactic situations:

stanza a	*stanza b*
suppressed tenderness,	
suppressed laughter	suppressed modesty
light gauze	light fan
simurgh mirror	inlaid mirror
phoenix loft	jade loft
speech confided	speech impeded

The reader will easily discover many other examples – for instance they are easily detectable in Wei Chuang's contribution.

If, instead of comparing the two stanzas of one poem, we go on to compare the poems of different authors, the ubiquits of stock words and phrases becomes even more obvious. Classifying the words broadly according to meaning we obtain some curious results. Not unexpectedly, the lexicon of Taoism makes significant contributions. Most characteristic of the capeline idiom are words for and about divine hats and crowns and magical cloaks and capes. These expressions allude to topics so heavily freighted with ritual meaning that they will be reserved for separate and special comment at the end of the present excursus.

Here we may first and fittingly take note of the prevalence, among words of religious import, of *t'an,* usually translated "altar". In fact it refers to a carefully defined precinct consecrated to sacred dances and other ritualistic movements. Normally it was a high stage or platform, but sometimes it was marked off on a grassy plot or other consecrated tract. Most frequently the word occurs in the combination *chiao t'an,* which might be loosely rendered as "altar of solemnities", and in fact means something like "sanctified space, platform or arena, set aside for solemn rites", in some of which the lay faithful as well as the priesthood participated, with the objective of renewing and solidifying the bonds between macrocosm and microcosm. I have translated the word *chiao* with the neologism "cosmodrama"; perhaps "cosmoliturgy" would have been better. But other words also occur with *t'an:* they tend to be terms for specific ceremonial observances and performances. For example, the "sky altar" in Hsüeh Chao-yün's verses and the "altar for pacing the barrens" in Lu Ch'ien-i's pair refer to the characteristic astral rites of the Mao Shan devotees. A form of the rite of "Pacing the Barrens" *(pu hsü)* is still part of a living ritual of choral dances that trace the stellar paths which are the external counterparts of corporeal channels. Indeed, the word *pu* "step; pace" is a descriptive term of the utmost importance in Taoism, since it links the rites of earth-bound adepts both to the routine activities of the divine beings that preside over the universe, and to the regular movements of their stellar emblems – the stars and planets – which they imitate. The capeline poems yield only faint allusions to the entrancing movements of the lovely priestesses whose earthly and divine avatars are the major icons projected by those poems. We read of their "dainty steps", "deliberate steps", and "steps languid and slow". Their devout and leisurely pavanes trace the celestial roads which lead to the chamber of the Beloved One, for the consummation of the ultimate unearthly union.

The phrases just referred to are mostly bisyllabic in Chinese, and seem to fit in predictable slots in the poems where the prototypical, but perhaps imaginary, *nü kuan tzu* songs had them – or phrases very much like them. This is also true of the other "stereotypes" – an unfortunately demeaning word – in these lyrics. Perhaps it is best not to think of these phrases as "clichés" or "stereotypes" at all, but as the constituents of a technical vocabulary which the writer is required to use. They challenge his craft; they test his skill; they try his fancy. It was incumbent on him to make the most of his talent in shaping excellent verses under the restrictions imposed by lexical conventions and concomitant limitations of tone and atmosphere.

Among the terms that might not appear to be "Taoist" at first glance, but actually have a significant role in the vocabulary of its most persistent traditions, is *tung* "grotto". This word suggests a passage into the roots of a mountain – especially an extensive limestone cavern – where powerful herbs and chemical reagents may be found, and divine beings encountered. Our poems have "flowered grotto", "cool of torrents and grottoes", "inside the grotto", and above all "grotto heaven". All of these allude to the mysterious adits leading to Taoist underworlds, called "grotto-heavens", which are self-contained universes under holy mountains, populated by spirits. They were of the greatest importance in Taoist belief and in popular literature. The subject has been much studied, and need not be elaborated here[52].

Another word of this "Taoist" type is *hsiang* "aromatic". It occurs commonly throughout T'ang poetry – not surprisingly in view of the ubiquity in T'ang culture of every kind of perfume, incense, and spice, and the attention that the men and women of that age paid to camphor, musk, and aloeswood, and even to such imports as frankincense and patchouli, and to the blends of these aromatics used in every sort of social situation. Nonetheless, the word *hsiang* occurs in the capeline cantos with unexpected frequency. It commonly suggests the sky-wafted fumes of incense, and even when it has to do with flowers the allusion is still to the soul-nourishing qualities they lend, in a simple and natural way, to the open-air altars of the Mao Shan devotees.

[52] The most important work in a European language is Michel Soymié, "Le Lo-feou chan; étude de géographie réligieuse", *Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient,* 48 (1954), 1–139. In Chinese, especially in the *Tao tsang,* there are many sources. The most accessible is Tu Kuang-t'ing, *Tung t'ien fu ti chi* (in *T'ang tai ts'ung shu*).

Yü "jade" is another such word. I count eleven occurrences in the capeline poems. It might be assumed that this frequency is not unnatural, in view of the general importance of jade physically and symbolically in the upper levels of T'ang society. But many of these occurrences refer to a very important ritual object, the crown of a Taoist priestess, who impersonates a goddess. Even at the lowest level the gemstone is the token of a "jade woman" – a messenger-archivist of the super-beings of Highest Clarity. Most other occurrences are intended to show the close relation between the furniture of earthly religious structures and the crystalline palaces of the stars. Typical phrases are "jade loft", "jade brazier", and "jade hall". Still other instances have easily demonstrable reference to supernatural qualities – such as "toes of jade" (III.a.8), which suggests the classic description of a "transcendent being" *(hsien)* found in *Chuang tzu:* "flesh and skin resemble ice and snow"[53]. In short – a creature of crystalline purity and whiteness, like the best jade.

In the same class we may place words for mists, fogs, hazes, thin clouds, rainbows, and the like – all very common – which share the attribute of transparency, often lightly tinted with color. There are certain characteristic associations for each of these words – although they are not entirely restrictive ones. *Yün* "cloud", for instance, most often describes the priestess's hair – but sometimes we find a "cloudy gauze". The remainder of the words refer regularly to the fabrics out of which the filmy costumes of the priestesses are made – usually, fine net-weaves, gauzes, and chiffons. They recall immediately the ancient iconography of the divine women of Highest Clarity. Indeed the esoteric symbolism of these fluttering silks can be traced far back to the soft-hued mists that swirled around the "Divine Woman" of the rhapsodies attributed to Sung Yü[54]. This subject is important enough in Taoism to deserve the special treatment which it will receive below.

The capeline songs are liberally sprinkled with colors. Those in the blue-green range of the spectrum predominate: "cyan" *(pi);* "green" *(lü);* "blue" *(ch'ing);* "halcyon, kingfisher blue; 'turquoise' " *(ts'ui).* Of these, "halcyon" is easily the most common, and will, like the gauzes, receive special attention later. Next to it comes "cyan" – that is, the dark blues

[53] *Chuang tzu,* "Shao-yao yu". The text, which calls these beings only "divine persons" *(shen jen),* gives them all the attributes which came to distinguish a *hsien* – abstention from cereals, riding dragons, and the like.

[54] See, for instance, E. H. Schafer, *The Divine Woman* (University of California Press, 1973), p. 35.

and greens, used not only of textiles in these poems, but also of forested mist and almost opaque nephrite. "Blue" occurs only three times, with no special association. "Green" is found twice: in both cases, somewhat surprisingly, it refers to a glint of color in a lady's hair. The only other significant group of colors is the yellow-red segment of the spectrum, represented by "yellow" *(huang),* used of facial cosmetics and of textiles – and once of a lotus crown; by "red" or "pink" *(hung),* used of cosmetics (rouge), of textiles, and of flowers. The remaining word in the color group is much less common than the others in literature generally. It is *chiang,* standing for a yellow-red hue, originally made by mixing a red pigment with gambodge; I have adopted the convention of translating it with "orange", though, depending on the amount of yellow present, "scarlet" might be a more exact equivalent. The word occurs twice (VI.b.2; XI.b.6), in both cases descriptive of the sacred insignia *(chieh)* posted at a Taoist altar during the performance of a rite. Indeed, the word appears with higher frequency in Taoist texts collectively than in other writings. A few examples: it is the color of the interstellar vehicle of the great deity who presides over the southern hemisphere[55]; when a jade woman emerges from the sun to transmit its essence to the entranced adept, she can be recognized by her lotus crown and her "damask cloak with orange ground"; moreover she exhales an "orange" vapor into the mouth of the initiate[56]. It is, in short, the flame-like color that symbolizes the secret energy of the sun-soul – the color of *yang.* A great many comparable examples can be found in other Taoist writings, especially those that touch on iconography. It is above all the color of the microcosmic palace of the heart – the "Orange Palace" – one of the most important focuses of astral numina[57].

There are surprising lacunae in this sacred palette. "Purple" *(tzu),* a very important word in Taoist literature, especially in the titles of deities and their dwelling-places, is unaccountably absent from the capeline cantos. Of the five "primary" colors of Chinese metaphysical terminology, white occurs only once – aside from such obvious tokens of whiteness as "moon" and "jade" – and black is absent altogether. There is no obvious

[55] *Nan chi shang chen ch'ih ti chün.* See *Shang ch'ing pa tao pi yen t'u* (*Tao tsang,* 196), p. 5b.

[56] See *Shang ch'ing ming t'ang yüan chen ching chüeh* (*Tao tsang,* 194), p. 2a and 3a.

[57] See, *inter alia,* Rolf Homann, *Die wichtigsten Körpergottheiten im Huang t'ing ching* (Göppingen, 1971), p. 58.

reason for these gaps, since the words in question are otherwise common throughout Chinese literature, and are particularly abundant in the works of some poets. White is a favorite color of Li Ho, for instance. The absences or shortages may have a deep significance which I have been unable to detect. But perhaps, considering the small body of writings we are dealing with here, word-counts do not provide entirely reliable pointers.

Words for various kinds of makeup and hairdo are typical of the *tz'u* forms, the *Nü kuan tzu* included. There are a few plants and flowers, including twelve appearances of the word "flower" *(hua).* But perhaps this frequency is not surprising even allowing for the importance of lotus crowns in these Taoist contexts. Of special significance, however, are three occurrences of "stamen" *(jui),* which clearly allude to the name of a celestial palace (IV.a.2; X.b.6; XI.a.3). The vocabulary of nocturnal rites and astral beliefs is represented by such words as "cloud-soul" *(hun),* the soul that is a potential space-explorer and dream-traveller, and "dream" *(meng)* itself. Perhaps the word "mirror" *(ching)* should be included in this group, because of its association with the moon and its importance in Taoist lore and magic, and even in cosmology and ritual. To the mirror, then, must be added such other lunar images in the capeline poems as dewdrops, pearls, tears – and perhaps snowy breasts (I.a.6).

Another special category consists of words that suggest lightness, restraint, inhibition, fading, and other concepts that have to do with subdued or partly concealed qualities, actions, and feelings. The most common of these are "light" *(ch'ing),* with seven occurrences (one of them in reduplicated form) referring mostly to mists and filmy fabrics, and *han,* which also appears seven times, in such senses as "restrained; held in; suppressed; withheld", referring usually to suppressed laughter, modesty and the like, but also used in the sense of "containing (a glint of color)". With these we might also put "fading" *(ts'an)* – of colors and odors – and perhaps a surprising five occurrences of *ti* "to lower", used once of sounds, but otherwise of head or hair or eyebrows. All of these words tend to enhance atmospheres of delicate allusion, fine subtlety, fleeting perceptions, nuances of mood, and more especially the light, buoyant, evanescent, and volatile realm of the spirits of Taoism.

Finally we must take note of the remarkable abundance of the word *yü* "speech; converse". There are eight occurrences. The majority of them are allied with the group of words discussed in the preceding paragraph, in that they are modified to produce expressions which suggest reduced speech, muted speech, birdlike speech, and non-speech. Among these

phrases are "impeded speech" (*che yü;* I.b.4); "bushwarbler's speech" (*ying yü;* IV.b.2, VIII.a.4); "not speak" (*pu yü;* IV.b.8, VIII.b.2); and "faint speech" (*wei yü;* X.a.7). In this usage, then, we have more linguistic devices to convey, imperceptibly, an atmosphere suitable to divine beings, who, if they speak at all, whisper mysteriously, or chant sweetly, like the feathered angels in whose costumes they appear. Even the phrase "warbler's speech", conventionally applied to the twittering conversation of women, takes on, in this environment, the added connotation of speech appropriate to "feathered persons" *(yü jen),* who may even appear as actual birds to mortal eyes, like the divine woman in a poem by Chia Tao, who visits the earth in the guise of a hoopoe.

In addition to these repeated lexical associations we may take note of recurring motifs and traits – components of the capeline cantos which can be grouped according to shared denotations, but at the same time show distinct lexical differences, as when we classify "the depths of the sky" and "in cloudland" together.

One of the commonest of these recurrences is the presence of a phrase identifying a crucial time, place, or situation, which fixes the whole imaginative representation within the illusion of a real context – temporal, spatial, or emotional – identifiable by the reader. In almost every case this specifying phrase occupies the three syllables of the third verse of the poem, although twice it is to be found in the other three-syllable verse – the ninth. Typical examples are "when she was parted from her lord" (II.a.3); "in the very depth of spring" (VI.a.3; XIII.3); and, most plainly Taoist, "to the Palace of Gemmy Stamens" (XI.a.3).

Less frequent is the presence of a young female companion who accompanies the aspiring priestess on her mystic mission. She is an avatar of the maidservant who escorts the heroine of many other styles of *tz'u.* In the capeline cantos she is twice shown blowing on a syrinx – the pipes of Pan as we call them – obviously playing supernatural tunes. This adolescent associate is readily identifiable as one the of the great company of Jade Women – emanations of astral configurations – the messengers of the divinities of Highest Clarity. In very old mythology they were the attendants and envoys of the Western Royal Mother, and indeed, Sun Kuang-hsien shows us, instead of a single mineral maiden, a whole assemblage at the beautiful palace on Mount K'un-lun (XI.a.8). In virtually every appearance the musical damsel is to be found in the eighth verse of the first stanza.

But the most common of these themes is represented by phrases and verses telling of a message, or an expected visit, or the hope for news, or the lack of news, or the fruitless search for a missing person. There are twelve such allusions, distributed among eight of the twelve extant capeline dyads. Often they tell plainly of the failure of communication with an immortal youth, whose name I shall reveal presently, or with an anonymous celestial personage who is his equivalent. But sometimes, although the whole poem breathes an atmosphere of divinity, the divine source of the message, whether hoped for or actually received, is not made clear. The fullest presentation, however, describes not only the significance of the message but the identity of the supernal lover. The best example of this explicit treatment is Hsüeh Chao-yün's contribution, in which the priestess's search for a revelation from the realm of Highest Clarity is about to be realized, and her future life in a gleaming palace beyond the stars already assured; moreover it is stated plainly that the holy tablets of ordination have been sent by a waiting bridegroom who will soon welcome her into the company of the elect.

The name of this divine lover, who hovers, visibly or invisibly, over the poems, is "Master Liu" *(Liu lang)*. His prototype was one of a pair of youths who, according to legend, wandered into the T'ien-t'ai Mountains in the first century of our era to look for magical herbs and fruits. Their names were Liu Ch'en and Juan Chao. (They appear together in Li Hsün's poem [IX.b.8] as "Liu and Juan".) There they met two divine ladies *(hsien)* and stayed with them. When they returned home they discovered that seven generations – two centuries – had passed away. Soon, however, they disappeared from this world, undoubtedly to enter the blissful state to which they had already been initiated by their lovely mates[58]. To later ages these two fortunate beings may seem to be merely fairy-tale figures, like Aladdin or Jack the Giant-killer, without either substantial human or theological stuffing. But to the medieval Chinese they were persons of rich spiritual content, however sketchily portrayed. They might be compared to Sir Perceval who, however meagerly his character and biography are delineated, remains a man of spiritual wealth and charismatic beauty to the true believer.

In the *Nü kuan tzu* poems Master Liu is the putative lover of the priestess who is their chief persona. Elsewhere in T'ang poetry Master Juan plays an identical role. For instance, a poem variously attributed to

[58] *Yu ming lu*, quoted in *T'ai p'ing yü lan*, 41, 2b–3a.

Ch'in Hsi (fl. ca. 720–810) or to Ma Tai (fl. 853) honors a Gentlewoman of the Tao who was reputed to have lived without any nourishment, and to have been as beautiful as a transcendent woman. The poem concludes with the flattering rhetorical question "She isn't the wife of Master Juan, is she?"[59] We also have two stanzas to the *tz'u* tune "Master Juan Returns" *(Juan lang kuei)* from the pen of Feng Yen-chi (903–960), an official of the state of Southern T'ang, and another with same title from that of his famous lord Li Yü[60].

But now we must pay a visit to the vestry of the capelines. In some ways it takes precedence over the sanctuary. The costumes of the poeticized priestesses are of enormous importance. They prefigure their future elevation among the most perfect of beings. A pre-T'ang canonical text states the situation clearly: when a novice aspires to the transcelestial realm of Highest Clarity, she must, on the day that she enters the House of Concentration *(ching shih),* ". . . be crowned and costumed as a Primal Mistress *(yüan chün)*[61] . . . without this costume, she will not gain elevation into Highest Clarity"[62].

In what manner were our capelines capped and caped? As stated earlier, a flowered crown – especially a lotus crown – was highly characteristic of them. Normally, it seems, this was in the form of a single flower, real or simulated, perched on the top of the head. Yin O's *Nü kuan tzu* has "a flower crown with jade petals" (VII.5). Ma Hsi-chen's capeline is "crowned with jade petals" (VIII.a.6). In Sun Kuang-hsien's poem (XI.b.7) it is a "yellow lotus crown". All of these are just what we should expect, consistent with an average ceremonial hat in the form of a lotus with thin petals of jade –– the same formal Taoist hat that we encounter in the *shih* poetry of T'ang times. Here are examples of the latter: Li Po shows us a priestess wearing a "lotus-flower headkerchief" *(lien hua chin)* with her rainbow dress *(ni i)*[63]; in a sceptical poem about a male Taoist priest Chang Chi shows us a "Tall crown – like a lotus;

[59] Ch'in Hsi, "T'i nü tao shih", *Ch'üan T'ang shih,* han 4, ts'e 8, 1b.

[60] *Ch'üan T'ang shih,* han 12, ts'e 10, ch. 10, 11b–12a; *ibid.* ch. 1, 6a.

[61] That is, a fully realized and greatly exalted female personage in the *shang ch'ing* heaven.

[62] *Tung chen szu chi ming k'o,* in *Wu shang pi yao,* 43, 4a–4b. The full title, as used in *Tao tsang,* 77–78, is *T'ai chen yü ti szu chi ming k'o ching.*

[63] Li Po, "Chiang shang sung nü tao shih Ch'u San-ch'ing yu nan Yüeh", *Ch'üan T'ang shih,* han 3, ts'e 5, ch. 17, 1b.

Aurorae and moons wrapped round dress and skirt"[64]. (To this last costume we should compare that of the divine being in Li Hsün's *tz'u* written to the *Wu shan i tuan yün* mode: "A moon cloak, thin as auroral pink clouds."[65]) "The "dark-blue lotus flower" worn by the priestess Cheng Yü-hua, as portrayed in verse by Shih Chien-wu, a hermit of Hung-chou early in the ninth century[66], must be an artificial one – unless we credit the persistent tales that blue lotuses were grown in T'ang times by the treatment of seeds with chemical reagents[67]. Blue water lilies are always a possibility, of course – the confusion between the two is world-wide.

Descriptions of such divine articles are abundant in the Taoist canonical scriptures. For instance the "jade women" who, through mystic wedlock, lead initiates to knowledge of the arcana, are dressed in damask capes and vermilion petticoats according to one source, and are capped with "purple-flowering lotus numinous crowns"[68]. Lotus crowns were also worn by the most distinguished members of the Taoist pantheon. For example, T'ao Hung-ching's *Chen kao,* that careful reconstruction of the origins of the Mao Shan tradition, tells of an old man wearing a lotus crown: it is sufficient to identify him as a Realized Person, "since, if he had not achieved Realization, he would not have obtained such a crown"[69]. We have it on the high authority of Wei Hua-ts'un, the goddess who transmitted the secrets of Highest Clarity to Yang Hsi, that the "High Supreme Sire" *(T'ai shang chang jen),* who resides in the High Palace of Chang-chou, "wears a robe of auroral feathers, and is crowned with a lotus crown"[70], and indeed the perfected goddesses who appeared to the inspired youth in the fourth century themselves wore lotus crowns[71]. So it was also with other divinities of Highest Clarity: the Realized Person of Grand Prime *(T'ai yüan chen jen)* is hatted with a lotus[72], and another

[64] Chang Chi, "Hsüeh hsien", *Ch'üan T'ang shih,* han 6, ts'e 6, ch. 2, 5a.

[65] Li Hsün, "Wu shan i tuan yün", *Ch'üan T'ang shih,* han 12, ts'e 10, ch. 8, 8b.

[66] Shih Chien-wu, "Tseng nü tao shih Cheng Yü-hua", *Ch'üan T'ang shih,* han 8, ts'e 2, 15a.

[67] E. H. Schafer, *The Golden Peaches of Samarkand* (University of California Press, 1963), p. 130.

[68] *Shang ch'ing ming t'ang yüan chen ching chüeh* (*Tao tsang,* 194), p. 3a.

[69] *Chen kao,* in *T'ai p'ing yü lan,* 675, 1a.

[70] Quoted in *Yün chi ch'i ch'ien,* 106, p. 1454.

[71] See *Chen kao,* ch. 2, *passim.*

[72] *Shang ch'ing pien hua ching,* in *T'ai p'ing yü lan,* 675, 2b.

distinguished being, the Transcendent Lord Tso *(Tso hsien kung)* was awarded a "Daybreak Crown with a Lotus" *(Fu-jung ch'en kuan)*[73].

Priests and priestesses still bound to the earth, then, were hatted in the same manner as the beings who had already achieved the most elevated status. Their crowns – and, as we shall see, their gowns – foretell their future glory. As to the origin of the lotus crown, it is reported that at the Han court, before the formalization of Taoist iconography, the sovereign might bestow a "lotus coronet" *(fu-jung kuan tzu),* colored dark blue or stammel *(fei),* on a lady who had gained his favor[74]. Indeed it seems likely that many elements in the costumes of the purified beings of Taoism echoed and idealized the fashions of the royal court of Han.

It is less clear that *jade* crowns – floriform or not – were bestowed by the ancient Sons of Heaven on the ladies they loved, although gemmed ceremonial hats are certainly ancient in China. The perfected beings of Highest Clarity, at any rate, wore jade crowns of many kinds. Perhaps their prototypes are to be found in mythology as much as in court life. The venerable *Shan hai ching,* for instance, tells of a "jade woman" who wears a white crown[75]. The sectarians of Mao Shan, although they recognized jade women as archivists and psychopomps, knew even grander females who also wore crowns of jade: such were the "realized women of Highest Clarity" *(shang ch'ing chen nü)*[76]. By far the most common color attributed to these precious hats was yellow – also a normal attribute, as we have seen, of the lotiform crowns. Indeed, lotus crown, jade crown, and yellow crown must often – perhaps almost always – have been identical. So the deity of Sung Shan, the sacred mountain of the Center, "is crowned with a yellow jade crown of the Grand Prime" *(huang yü t'ai yüan chih kuan)*[77]. Doubtless this divinity is no other than the Lord of the Heights of Sung *(Sung kao chün)* who wears a "jade crown of yellow daybreak of the Central Prime" *(chung yüan huang ch'en yü kuan)*[78]. Here the color yellow is plainly a directional symbol: "center" is "yellow". A similar clue is provided in the name of another deity who

[73] *T'ai chi Tso hsien kung ch'i chü chu,* in *T'ai p'ing yü lan,* 675, 5a.

[74] Kao Ch'eng, *Shih wu chi yüan* (Taipei, 1971 reprint), p. 208. This Sung source cites no authority, and I have not found a reference to the custom either in *Shih chi* or in *Han shu.*

[75] *Shan hai ching,* in *T'ai p'ing yü lan,* 675, 3b.

[76] *Ta yu ching,* in *T'ai p'ing yü lan,* 675, 4a.

[77] *Wu yüeh chen hsing t'u,* in *T'ai p'ing yü lan,* 675, 5b.

[78] *Yü p'ei chin tang ching,* in *T'ai p'ing yü lan,* 675, 2b.

wears "the jade crown of yellow daybreak". He is the "Realized Person of the Three Barrens who Consolidates the Prime in the Exact Center" *(chung yang tsung yüan san hsü chen jen)*[79]. But whether the cosmic symbolism of the hue is enough to explain all instances of the association of "yellow" with the jade crowns is uncertain. In any event, our lovely initiates of the T'ang era were certainly garbed as divine beings – and divine they must have seemed to their admirers, and even to themselves.

Although we have a "star crown" in only one of the extant capeline poems – one of those written by Niu Chiao – this singularity is no index of the importance of this corona among Taoist vestments. Like the lotus crowns, the star crowns had early antecedents in both myth and historical tradition. We may perhaps dismiss, as anachronistic, the story that when the divine being Wei Shu-ch'ing visited Han Wu Ti in 109 B.C., he wore, along with a costume of feathers (not strange in Han times), a "starry crown"[80]. Certainly by T'ang times, when the costumes of the Taoist clergy had long since developed orthodox styles intimately related to divine iconography, the star crown had become a commonplace. Often – perhaps usually – the star crown was also the yellow lotus crown. Canonical texts are replete with references to coronets or tiaras resembling flowers with golden petals and studded with representations of the stars and planets. One such was the crown ornamented with representations of the sun, moon, and five naked-eye planets: it identified a high lord who presided over the whole of the cosmos. Priests and priestesses still confined to the mortal world were similarly garbed. Chia Tao's hoopoe poem, referred to above, shows us a feathered image of the bird with its spangled panache as a mutation of a Taoist adept: "star-dotted flower crown – the dress of a gentleman [or woman] of the Tao."[81] Although the "auroral" pink or peach-colored cloak, commonly associated with star-crown or lotus-crown, was dominant in T'ang times, the robe of feathers, symbolizing the power of flight above the material world, which seems to have made its appearance in Han times, still survived. We have, for instance, the case of a super-annuated court lady of the T'ang, shown by a poet taking her leave of the glories of palace life for a more glorious,

[79] *Tung shen ching,* in *T'ai p'ing yü lan,* 675, 3b.

[80] Ko Hung, *Shen hsien chuan,* 12a–12b. For this and more information on star crowns, see my forthcoming book, *Pacing the Void.*

[81] Chia tao, "T'i tai sheng", *Ch'üan T'ang shih,* han 9, ts'e 4, 12b.

even if less lively, career in a wealthy convent, "costumed in feathers, hatted with stars, her mind fixed on the Tao"[82].

Along with the crown, it was the visible presence of the "cloak" *(p'ei)* that authenticated the advanced initiate or identified the actual transcendent. I have not myself tried to pursue the history of the cloak in Chinese culture, but a Sung authority at any rate states that the use of the garments that bear the name *p'ei* goes back to the Ch'in period; that they were made of fine silk in Han times; that "orange nimbus" *(chiang yün)* cloaks – presumably showing concentric gradations of yellow-red hues – were worn in the fourth century; and that court ladies, from the rank of Consort *(fei)* down, of the K'ai Yüan reign (early eighth century) all wore cloaks[83]. Our capeline poems tell of "auroral cloaks" *(hsia p'ei)* and a "yellow net-gauze cloak" *(huang lo p'ei).* (I use "auroral" here to translated the word *hsia* which, in T'ang times, occurred commonly in the name of a textile color, *chao hsia.* I have rendered this expression elsewhere as "auroral pink clouds" and "sunrise clouds of morning", with the comment ". . . suggestive of filmy mists suitable for the dress of a dawn goddess . . . actually applied to a pink cotton fabric in T'ang times"[84].) Universally these divine cloaks are described as tinctured with pink, pale orange, or yellow hues. Among these, yellow seems to predominate. They seem also to have shared the thin translucency of high layers of clouds at sunrise or sunset. In T'ang times, accordingly, an intricately woven gauze such as *lo* was deemed most suitable for them, although we note a plain-weave pink gauze *(sha)* in one of Niu Ch'iao's capeline poems (III.b.7)[85].

This characteristic garment was worn both by priestess and by goddess – and also by male divinities[86]. The early Taoist scriptures provide excellent descriptions of them, as was natural: adepts must memorize the

[82] Tai Shu-lun, "Han kung jen ju tao", *Ch'üan T'ang shih,* han 5, ts'e 1, ch. 1, 26a. This priestess is placed in an ancient Han setting by the poet, but this is a commonplace disguise. Feather dresses were worn by Han adepts. Compare Han Wo's poem, "Ch'ao t'ui shu huai", *Ch'üan T'ang shih,* han 10, ts'e 7, ch. 3, 9b, with its "Crane-cloaked, star-crowned, feathered visitor".

[83] Kao Ch'eng, *Shih wu chi yüan,* 218.

[84] E. H. Schafer, *The Golden Peaches of Samarkand,* pp. 206–207.

[85] Kao Ch'eng, *loc.cit.,* writes that in his own times, "auroral cloaks" were worn only by imperial favor, although other persons might wear less distinguished capes.

[86] Examples in *T'ai p'ing yü lan,* 675, 5b–6a, describing costumes of the deities from Taoist scriptures.

attributes, including details of costume, of divine beings in order to identify them correctly in visions. For instance, "The Heavenly Theocrat of Primal Initiation" *(Yüan shih t'ien ti),* a primordial being unimaginably remote from human affairs, can be identified by his "beaded and embroidered auroral cloak"[87]. The highest ladies in the Mao Shan pantheon – the three Primal Mistress *(yüan chün)* of the "Three Immaculates" *(san su)* – are veiled in the iridescent films that shimmer in the sky at dawn. Their typical colors are white, yellow (sometimes green), and purple, displayed in their cloud-chariots as well as in their costumes. Each of them has charge of the primordial and ineffable form of one of the basic *shang ch'ing* scriptures[88]. One of this shining triad, manifest in the pure, pale colors of daybreak, is "The Yellow Immaculate Primal Mistress of the Exact Center", who appears to well-favored initiates wearing, with her lotus crown, "a cloud cloak of yellow damask" *(huang chin yün p'ei),* and under it "a flying floriate skirt of yellow net-gauze"[89]. (Not surprisingly, Yang Kuei-fei, who had been trained in a Taoist convent, affected a yellow skirt – regarded as outré, to say the least – at the court of Hsüan Tsung.[90]) The costume of the consort of the great lord in the palace in "Heaven's Pivot" *(t'ien shu),* the first star of the Northern Dipper, resembles that of the Primal Mistress. It consists of "a yellow damask cloak, with a flying skirt of vermilion and blue, and a slumped cloud chignon" *(huang chin p'ei tan ch'ing fei chün t'ui yün chi)*[91]. (Stellar goddesses of this order normally assume "slumped cloud chignons".) The T'ang capelines were garbed like these goddesses.

One of the words used most frequently in describing the appearance of the capelines is *ts'ui;* a shortened form of *fei-ts'ui,* the halcyon kingfisher *(Halcyon smyrnensis). Ts'ui* appears not only in "compounds" in which it represents the bird itself – as in *k'ung ts'ui* "peafowl and halcyons", i.e. birds with plumage of glittering blue and green – but also in those in which it stands for bits of iridescent plumage set in jewelry – as in *ts'ui ch'ai* "forked hairpin inset with snippets of halcyon plumage". It also occurs as a pure color word, detached from the actual feathers of

[87] *T'ai chi chin shu,* in *T'ai p'ing yü lan,* 675, 5b.

[88] One of the most important canons which describes them is *Shang ch'ing t'ai shang pa su chen ching* (*Tao tsang,* 194).

[89] *Tung chen yü ch'en ming ching tz'u i pao ching,* in *Wu shang pi yao,* 17, 3a (*Tao tsang,* 769).

[90] *T'ang shu,* 34, 4b.

[91] *Tung chen chiu chen chung ching,* in *Wu shang pi yao,* 18, 5a (*Tao tsang,* 769).

the kingfisher – as in *ts'ui shih* "halcyon-blue stones"[92]. The problem is to discover in the cantos of Wen T'ing-yün, Niu Ch'iao, Hsüeh Chao-yün, Mao Hsi-chen and Li Hsün, which of these is the correct referent of the word. Most frequently it represents the color and luster of the capeline's carefully arranged hair, although in one or two places there is the possibility of ambiguity, since it might apply, as commonly elsewhere, to a hair ornament inset with feathers rather than to the appearance of the hair itself. Undoubtedly in Mao Hsi-chan's poem the line *ts'ui huan kuan yü yeh* means "halcyon hair-coil crowned with jade petals". This has an exact parallel in a *shih*-poem by Kao Ch'an (fl. 881), in which he writes of the "halcyon hair-coils and vermilion faces" of the palace beauties of Hsüan Tsung's court[93]. In Niu Ch'iao's stanza with "on luminous halcyon she shakes cicada wings" (IV.a.4) we might be tempted to see a reference to a *pu yao,* a vibrating hair ornament mounted on a coiled wire, often brightened by bits of blue halcyon feathers. But in fact the line is best taken as an integral unit, having to do only with black hair and its iridescent sheen. (An apparent derivative of *ts'ui* is the rhyming binom *ts'ui-wei,* which refers to the pale, hazy blue of distant mountains – perhaps not irrelevant to the contemplation of heaped-up masses of hair.)

The *su ts'ui* "overnight halcyon" – coiffure as it appears in the morning – of Wen T'ing-yün's poem, in which the color is contrasted with the smudged pink of morning-after rouge (I.a.2), as it is also in one of Niu Ch'iao's stanzas (III.a.2), could just possibly refer to an ornament, but this seems unlikely, especially in view of the subsequent jade hairpins. Elsewhere in this set of poems are two phrases which support the preference for a color image rather than a jewel image in doubtful cases. One is in the first of Niu Ch'iao's four stanzas, which begins with a description of hair piled up into "green clouds" *(lü yün),* and the other is in the second of Mao Hsi-chen's pair, where the earlocks are tinctured with green *(han lü).* But *ts'ui,* a word which connotes the variable gleam of light blue or turquoise plumage, is certainly more effective than the old dye-word *lü* in such contexts.

[92] For more complete information on the bird and the word, see E. H. Schafer, *The Vermilion Bird,* p. 238.

[93] Kao Ch'an, "Hua ch'ing kung", *Ch'üan T'ang shih,* han 10, ts'e 5, 2b. Our set of poems provides no example of "halcyon eyebrows", but I am happy to see that Jonathan Chaves, in his M. A. thesis (see n. 96 below) sees more in the phrase than a crude color stereotype: the image suggests also the slightly curved shape and the shining, parallel, hairlike barbs of a feather, visible also in an eyebrow.

In the capeline poems the only sure case of the use of *ts'ui* to stand for actual cuttings of kingfisher feathers is in Hsüeh Chao-yün's contribution, which has "halcyon filigrees and golden comb". This can hardly refer to anything but a gold or silver filigree hairpin with feather appliqué – a type of head ornament that has been made for centuries in China – matching a golden comb.

In the first of the four Niu Ch'iao stanzas, *ts'ui* is most probably a pure color-word, unrelated to the iridescence of a textured surface. Here the poet tells of the capeline's facial makeup: "spotted halcyon and equal-spread pink" (III.a.2). The spotted halcyon must refer to dots of blue paint applied directly to the skin, as we can actually see represented in the well-known painting of an aristocratic woman preserved in the Shosoin. It shows a pattern composed of four spots of blue in the middle of her forehead, and one at each corner of her mouth. Comparable are the "halcyon lappets" *(ts'ui chü)* of the second of Li Hsün's stanzas, and the "halcyon moss" of the first of them.

In some cases *ts'ui* refers to the blue chatoyancy – either that of a lustrous silken fabric or an actual feathered dress – that derives from structure rather than pigment, although there are no such cases in the capeline poems. But these associations are relevant even in the absence of the actual usage. We can hardly forget, reading these verses, the "halcyon cloaks" of transcendent beings and Taoist priestesses which sometimes replace the more usual "auroral cloaks"[94]. Since the time of Han Wu Ti feathered clothing was not merely a pictorial or literary symbol of an angelic "plumed person" *(yü jen),* but the actual costume of some mortal adepts[95].

The special charm of the word *ts'ui,* then, whatever its transient denotation, lies in its connotation of "the pale blue, sometime faintly tinged with green of turquoise, characteristic of the iridescent feathers on the back of the halcyon kingfisher of south China". Metaphorically, it suits the unstable gloss of shining black hair, especially when finely combed to give a satiny set of parallel strands. But even more important is the allusion to the bird people of antique legend – the erstwhile humans who had acquired the power to fly above their harassed, gravity-bound contemporaries.

[94] So in *Hai k'ung ching,* in *T'ai p'ing yü lan,* 675, 1b.

[95] For further information, see E. H. Schafer, *The Golden Peaches of Samarkand,* p. 110, and *The Vermilion Bird,* p. 238.

To sum up, we have in three stereotypes the essentials of the iconography of the Taoist priestess and goddess. They are the floriate crown, the auroral cloak, and the metallic glint of halcyon feathers from paradisiac wings in carefully confected coiffures.

* * *

The linguistic atoms we have been studying do not exist in isolation. The poet's ingenious word pattern, otherwise flocculent and amoeboid, derives its organic coherence and its unity of theme precisely from the disposition of these semantic atoms within the molecular boundaries of the poems. To determine the topic common to all of these cantos we must make a careful study of the signals interchanged by the constituents of each separate poem, and, after comparing all of the poems, proceed to deduce the "grand capeline theme". The evidence is displayed below. Although at first glance the general topic of the cantos seems to be merely the traditional one of "the forsaken woman"[96], I hope to demonstrate that the persona of these poems is more than a thinly disguised courtesan, mistress, or abandoned wife.

More precisely, I hope that my translations and the exegetical notes which accompany them will persuade some readers that the beautiful sectarians portrayed in the capeline cantos of the ninth and tenth centuries must be understood generally, if not specifically, in comparison with the career and writing of St. Teresa of Avila, with the Song of Solomon, with Sufiism, and with English metaphysical poetry. I am saying that the important subject of the poems is not the separation of earthly lovers transparently disguised by Taoist vestments, but is the longing of a Taoist priestess for transcendental marriage and mystic union with a Realized Person in the world or condition called "Highest Clarity"[97].

[96] Jonathan Chaves, in his M. A. Thesis, *The Tz'u Poetry of Wen T'ing-yün* (Columbia University, 1966), p. 2, properly draws attention to the long history and diversified treatment of this topic in Chinese literature. Of the *tz'u* of Wen T'ing-yün (not just those to the tune *Nü kuan tzu*) he writes that they ". . . are love poems first and last, dealing entirely with women who are separated from their husbands and lovers for one reason or another". In *general* he is quite right; in *specific* much more remains to be said. The first is not quite the last. In short, to argue by analogy, to say that the text of Wagner's *Parsifal* is a version of the medieval legend of Sir Perceval and his quest for the Grail is to say something – but only something.

[97] Since writing this passage, I have discovered a comparable statement in Chia-ying Yeh Chao, "The Ch'ang-chou School of *Tz'u* Criticism", *Harvard Journal of*

In what follows each of the capeline cantos will be treated individually. The treatment will follow a set sequence. This will begin with a brief statement about the author; next will come a fairly literal translation of his contribution; this in turn will be followed by glosses on individual words, phrases or verses; finally, there will be a kind of interpretative comment on the poem as a whole, sometimes thorough and substantial, but sometimes – especially when my earlier remarks make fuller treatment redundant – a mere partial or selective exegesis, interpretation of atmosphere, or personal evaluation of the use of imagery.

* * * * *

I. WEN T'ING-YÜN

Wen T'ing-yün hardly needs comment. Among our capeline writers he has attracted the most attention by virtue of an established reputation that has nothing to do with the two poems in this form that we owe to his pen. Genevieve Wimsatt translated them. William R. Schultz translated the first stanza again[98]. Schultz observes that the poems are sometimes thought to have been addressed to Yü Hsüan-chi, a Taoist priestess and sometime hetaira. So Wimsatt believed. At any rate, Yü Hsüan-chi is a suitable exemplar for a poetized capeline. This assumed dedication, as Jonathan Chaves has pointed out, is based on a very late source, the *T'ang ts'ai tzu chuan* of Hsin Wen-fang, who lived in the Yüan period, and so is

Asiatic Studies, 35 (1975), 131: "The use of the form and substance of erotic poetry as a deliberate allegory for divine love is exemplified by Richard Crashaw's 'Hymn to Sainte Teresa' . . . This sort of thing, then, is not peculiar to the Chinese tradition, but of all Chinese verse forms, *tz'u* is the most readily adaptable to such purposes, being most often concerned with love themes." The author of this article does not refer to the *Nü kuan tzu* form in particular but is making the broad generalization that *tz'u* poems, traditionally invested with an erotic flavor, having begun as popular songs addressed by female entertainers to captivated young men, were easily adapted to the expression of quite different emotions.

[98] G. Wimsatt, "To a Taoist Nun", *Selling Wilted Peonies: Biography and Songs of Yü Hsüan-chi, T'ang Poetess* (New York, 1936), p. 75. W. R. Schultz, "Wen T'ing-yün and His Tz'u Poetry", *Journal of Oriental Literature,* 5 (Honolulu, December, 1952). Schultz has borrowed Wimsatt's translation of the first line (see his footnote 36), acknowledging that he cannot improve on it: "Full of charms! full of smiles! "

"probably apocryphal"[99]. It may well be so. Nonetheless, the attractive idea is far from incredible, since Wen T'ing-yün was acquainted with Yü Hsüan-chi's protector, Li I, and so presumably knew the lady as well. How better to praise an aspirant to immortality than to transfigure her in suitably seraphic verse?

a.
1 Suppressed tenderness – suppressed laughter;
2 Last night's halcyon and faded pink – winsome but demure;
3 Earlocks like cicadas:
4 Cold jade stabs as autumn water,
5 Light gauze curls as cyan smoke.

6 Snowy breast inside simurgh mirror;
7 Nandin tree before phoenix loft;
8 Speech confided to companion – a fairy maid in blue;
9 Soon now – the search for transcendence!

b.
1 Auroral cloak and clouded hair;
2 Inlaid mirror: transcendent countenance seeming snow;
3 Brows painted with sorrow;
4 Speech impeded as she turns a light fan;
5 Suppressed modesty: she lowers an embroidered curtain.

6 From jade loft the watch for him is long;
7 In flowered grotto she loathes his late arrival.
8 But soon or late he will go, mounted on simurgh –
9 Nothing left for her.

Notes

a.1 "Withheld tenderness" suggests modesty, even coyness: if simulation is a factor, coldness is not.
As in expressions like *han lü* (VIII.b.4) the word *han* never connotes anything obvious or obtrusive.
a.2 "Last night's halcyon" means "coiffure, halcyon-tinted, in disarray after the passage of the night". "Faded pink" refers to cheeks from which the rouge has almost disappeared.

[99] Chaves, Thesis, p. 37.

a.3 "Cicada earlocks" are wisps of hair, curled up as thin and translucent as the lacy wings of a cicada. According to *Ku chin chu*[100] this fashion was invented by a lady named Mo Ch'iung-shu, the beloved of Wei Wen Ti. The style is referred to again in the poems in Niu Ch'iao and Mao Hsi-chen below. But more than fashion is involved here. Miss Sue Glover, a graduate student at Berkeley who has also been working on these poems, has enlightened me about the symbolic meaning of the coiffure: ". . . the cicada presages the transformation of the lady into a transcendent being, for this insect above all represents the principle of corporeal transformation and purification, since it lives in the tree tops, feeding on air and dew, the very type of the *hsien.*" She points out, by way of example, the statement in *Yün chi ch'i ch'ien:* "Realized Persons who employ a treasure sword to obtain dissolution *via* the corpse are the highest quality of the 'cicada transmutants' *(ch'an hua).*"[101] These diaphanous wings attached to the sides of the initiate's head represent the spiritual wings that will waft her into the Upper World.

a.4 Ornaments of jade, piercing the hair, are as pure and cold as "autumn water".

a.5 The thin fabric of the costume swirls – a bluish mist.

a.6 "Simurgh" is *luan,* the magical bird; it is ravished by the sight of its own beauty in a mirror. "Snowy breast" seems to augment the mirror duplication by the addition of a double moon image. The moon is white and round, but also cold and metallic like the breast in the mirror. It is also the home of a goddess.

a.7 She is a personification of the nandin tree *(ch'i shu; Nandina domestica).* Its common name in Chinese is "south sky candle" *(nan t'ien chu)* or "south sky bamboo" *(nan t'ien chu). Nandina* is, of course, *nan t'ien* latinized. Its common name in English is "sacred bamboo" or "heavenly bamboo", although it is no bamboo. It is an ornamental which normally displays pink or purplish berries. Li Shen (? –846) wrote an entire poem on the subject of this tree[102]. The preface says "The *ch'i* tree lets its branches droop like a 'weak willow'. It sets berries like cyan beads. In the third year all the berries mature at once. The annual yields are sequential. In the first year green, second year cyan, third year pink. They

[100] Ts'ui Pao, *Ku chin chu (Ts'ung shu chi ch'eng ed.),* c, 21.

[101] *Yün chi ch'i ch'ien,* 84, 4b. Maspero has alluded to this instance in his "Les procédes de 'nourrir le principe vital' dans la réligion Taoiste ancienne", *Journal Asiatique,* 229 (1937), 181.

[102] Li Shen, "Ch'i shu", *Ch'üan T'ang shih,* han 8, ts'e 1, ch. 2, 11b.

are threaded on the branches intermingled in glittering clusters." Li Shen's poem has much Taoist content; for instance, a "mystic crane" and "a feathered person". There is also a white-berried variety native to Chekiang which is called "white nandin" *(po nan t'ien)* or "jade [-white] coral" *(yü shan-hu)*[103]. This kind is also called, especially in poetry, *ch'i;* the word appears uncommonly elsewhere as the name of a fairy-white gem-tree. It has close associations with the sacred slopes of Mount T'ien-t'ai – a tree transplanted from heaven, or from Mount K'un-lun. In this double guise it is common in T'ang poetry, for instance in Hsü Hun (fl. 844), "Thinking of T'ien-t'ai"[104]: in a Taoist setting on the sacred mountain, "the moon illuminates the shadow of a nandin *(ch'i)* tree." "Phoenix loft" *(feng lou)* is a building with a second storey, suitable for a numinous bird. It is a common image for the residence of a woman, or for a lofty royal building. Here I suspect that it is an image of a divine palace – perhaps that of Hsi Wang Mu.

a.8 Among other referents, "blue" is used of the uniform of a maidservant – here a rather exalted one, since she is called "fairy maid" *(o),* a word that occurs in the names of many divine women. For instance, the moon-maid is *su o* and one of the goddesses of the Hsiang River has the sobriquet of "Fairy Radiance" *(o huang)*[105]. The blue fairy is elsewhere the emissary of Hsi Wang Mu. Sometimes she appears in the form of a blue bird.

b.1 Both hairdo and ceremonial cloak are described in meteorological terms.

b.2 *Tien* is, in T'ang literature, usually gold filigree work. Here we seem to have an early example of another usage which later became common: precious substances, such as tortoise shell, used in inlays. The backs of mirrors were commonly so decorated. Here the moon-mirror reflects not a snowy bosom but a snowy face – the face of a Taoist fairy maiden, herself akin to the goddess of the moon.

b.3 This is a way of touching up the eyebrows so that they seem bent in anxiety.

[103] Ch'en Jung, *Chung-kuo shu-mu fen-lei hsüeh* (Shanghai, 1957), p. 277. See *Yü ti chi sheng,* ch. 12, for examples of the special significance of this tree on Mount T'ien-t'ai.

[104] Hsü Hun, "Szu T'ien-t'ai", *Ch'üan T'ang shih,* han 8, ts'e 8, ch. 11, 1a.

[105] See E. H. Schafer, *The Divine Woman* (University of California Press, 1973), p. 39.

b.5 In the *Hua chien chi,* the classical anthology of tenth century *tz'u,* the text has "halcyon curtain"[106].
b.7 Grottoes *(tung)* commonly lead into underground worlds.
b.8 The simurgh is a vehicle to carry one into the empyrean. But compare I.a.6: she is also the same gorgeous creature.

Comments

The poet follows one version of the standard capeline scenario. At the beginning of the day a beautiful woman is revealed. She adorns herself and goes off with a female attendant, as enchanting as herself, on a magical errand. Whether it is to a Taoist ceremony of ordination or invocation, or to a private rendezvous, its aim is to achieve communion with a perfected being, visualized as male. In the second stanza the spell is broken, the excitement of anticipation fades, ecstasy gives way to desolation. The temporary contact between the celestial and terrestrial worlds is broken.

In Wen T'ing-yün's treatment the Taoist tonality is subdued. There is little formal scenery on the stage. As clues we have an auroral cloak, a mysterious grotto, and a simurgh as sky-vehicle. The poetic landscape is haunted by the cool presence of the moon – although it is never named. It is suggested by a sequence of white and round images. Round: flat discs of hair. White: jade, snow. Both round and white: breast, mirror, nandin berries, fan. Over all is the sense of aching loss: the transcendental world has receded even beyond dreaming.

II. WEI CHUANG

Next to Wen T'ing-yün, Wei Chuang is the best known of the capeline composers – again because of the reputation of his compositions in other forms. He too left a pair of stanzas to the tune. I have not seen the French translations by S. N. Hsü[107], but have inspected those of S. L. Feng, done into the same language[108].

[106] Chao Ch'ung-tso, *Hua chien chi* (*Szu pu ts'ung k'an* ed.), 2, 2b.
[107] S. N. Hsü, *Anthologie de la littérature chinoise des origines à nos jours* (Paris, 1933).
[108] S. L. Feng, *La technique et l'histoire du ts'eu* (Doctoral thesis, University of Paris, 1935), p. 83.

a.
1 Fourth moon – the seventeenth:
2 It was just this day last year –
3 The time of parting from her lord.
4 She withheld tears, feigning – lowered her face;
5 Suppressed modesty, half-contracted brows.

6 She does not know that their cloud-souls are alread severed;
7 Vain are her dreams of going after him.
8 Excepting only the moon on the verge of the sky
9 No one knows where.

b.
1 Last night, at midnight
2 She dreamed she saw him, clear and distinct above the pillow –
3 A time for much talk.
4 As of old the peach-flower face –
5 Repeated lowering of willow-leaf brows.

6 Half shy, yet half joyful,
7 On the point of his going, gently reluctant.
8 Realization comes: she knows it is a dream –
9 Insupportable grief!

Notes

a.6, a.7 The "cloud-soul" *(hun),* in Chinese belief, separated from the body in dreams, and had encounters with other souls, with spirits, or even with live and wakeful persons. Sometimes children might be engendered in dream liaisons[109]. Dream travel is characteristic of the capeline poems, as will become apparent.

Comments

This is an anniversary poem, but the expected happy reunion does not take place – the divine bridegroom can be reached only in dreams. The lady is at first unaware that he has left the subcelestial world altogether – elevated from the rank of "transcendent" *(hsien)* to that of "realized being" *(chen)* in the realm of Highest Clarity. Physical contact is no longer possible. In the end the lady realizes this.

[109] See E. H. Schafer, "Notes on T'ang Culture, II", *Monumenta Serica,* 24 (1965), 135–139.

The scene is rather stark – lacking even such minor Taoist trappings as those provided by Wen T'ing-yün, and is quite unlike the later capeline cantos with their rich iconographic detail. The imagery is colorless – another difference between these stanzas and the more sensuously painted ones to follow. All takes place in the twilight world of the spirits.

III. NIU CH'IAO

Niu Ch'iao (fl. 890) became a high official under Wang Chien, ruler of the tenth century state of (Earlier) Shu in Szechwan. He is said to have confessed a weakness for imitating the style of Li Ho[110], and was famous for his *tz'u.* His supernatural tales are also well known[111].

a.

A green cloud – her high chignon;
Spotted halcyon and equal-spread pink – as in the temporal world.
The moon is like her eyebrow;
A shallow laugh suppressed into a pair of dimples;
In low tones she sings a "lesser canto".

Her eyes are watchful: she fears only his mutation;
Her cloud-soul is ungoverned: she wishes to go after him.
Jade toes turn in dainty steps;
She contracts a date for delight.

b.

Damask Kiang with misted water:
She is Cho Woman with her "burnt spring" – rich and relished,
Auroral hue of "small sandalwood."
Embroidered belt and lotus draperies;
Golden hair-forks and peony flowers.

Forehead yellow invades lustrous hair;
Arm bangles show through pink gauze;
In a place where warblers cry – the dark of willows –
She recognizes the young master's house.

[110] *Wu tai shih hua,* 4, 183.
[111] See his "Ling kuai lu" in *T'ang tai ts'ung shu* (Taipei, 1970), pp. 846–852.

Notes

a.2 I imagine that the "spotted halcyon" refers to the little clusters of blue beauty spots we see in paintings of T'ang ladies. "Equal-spread pink" is rouge applied equally to both cheeks. "Temporal world" denotes "according to current fashion". Compare Po Chü-o's "new *yüeh fu*" entitled *Shih shih chuang* "Makeup of the contemporary world"[112]. This poem, deploring popular women's makeup, has been translated by Arthur Waley[113].

a.5 "Lesser lyric" – or possibly "small canto" – is a term used by Sung critics for the late T'ang *tz'u,* also called *hsiao ling.* In short, it is a class of which the capeline cantos are members[114]. Evidently the term was already used in late T'ang times, but possibly is used here in a non-technical way.

a.6 Her fear is that her lover may already have assumed a new mode of being, and disappeared forever into the unattainable Beyond.

b.1 The Damask Kiang is a tributary of the River Min near Ch'eng-tu. It gets its name from its shimmering clarity.

b.2 The Cho Woman is Cho Wen-chün, the beloved of Szu-ma Hsiang-ju, who was obliged to sell wine for a living[115]. The suggestion that she might, in Han times, have sold "burnt wine" (i.e. Branntwein, brandy) is anachronistic. *Shao chiu* "burnt wine" is first reported in ninth century Szechwan[116]. "Burnt spring", in the sense of "distilled spring wine", was an expression also current in Szechwan in late T'ang times[117].

b.3 "Small sandalwood" seems to be the name of a pigment. *T'an,* my "sandalwood", is basically Chinese rosewood *(Dalbergia hupeana),* which has a pale yellow color, but the word is also used as an abbreviation of *chan-t'an,* from Sanskrit *candana* "sandal[wood]," which often has a pale red-yellow color. Webster (2nd ed.) describes this color as equivalent to "fawn". Compare the usage in Mao Hsi-chen's poem (VIII.b.2). Here "little fawn-colored auroral clouds" could refer either to the yellow color of the turbid beverage, or possibly to a kind of lady's makeup – as in Indian custom. I take it to refer to the color of the brandy.

[112] *Ch'üan T'ang shih,* han 7, ts'e 1, ch. 4, 7b.

[113] Published in *Forum,* 78 (July, 1927), p. 3. I have used this translation in my *Golden Peaches of Samarkand,* p. 214.

[114] See, *inter alia,* Kao Ch'eng, *Shih wu chi yüan,* p. 148.

[115] *Shih chi,* 117, 0245c–d.

[116] *The Vermilion Bird,* p. 190.

[117] Li Chao, *Kuo shih pu,* p. 5a (*T'ang tai ts'ung shu* ed., p. 166).

b.6 "Forehead yellow" was a cosmetic ornamentation popular among ladies of the T'ang period. In most cases it must have been massicot (*ch'ien huang* "lead yellow") – lead oxide, manufactured in China since antiquity[118]. But it may possibly have been orpiment (a sulphide of arsenic), which was also sometimes used for cosmetic purposes. The verse suggests that the golden yellow from the lady's forehead was spreading into the lustrous coiffure[119].

b.7 The penetration of one color by another (see line 6) is repeated: the bracelet (of jade?) shows through the pink gauze of the lady's sleeve or shawl.

Comments

Here too the Taoist atmosphere is painted in very low key, but unlike the setting constructed by Wei Chuang, this one provides rich food for the senses – colors, lustres, textures, patterns, sounds, even flavors. The search for the divine youth does not end in frustration, as it normally does, but goes continually forward until we are actually afforded a glimpse of the maiden's objective.

The opening of the second stanza is unique in placing the scene firmly in Szechwan – the tokens being the figure of Cho Wen-chün (with which the persona of the priestess is transiently merged), and the famous Szechwanese distillate. It is as if the poet wished to show the country of his king as a world of wonder.

IV. NIU CH'IAO

a.

1 Star crown and auroral cloak –
2 She resides within the Palace of Staminate Gems;
3 At her girdle – clings and clangs;
4 On luminous halcyon she shakes cicada wings,
5 Delicate wands of jade arrange last night's makeup.

[118] See E. H. Schafer, "Orpiment and Realgar in Chinese Technology and Tradition", *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 75 (1955), 77.

[119] For a discussion of examples of "forehead yellow" in poetry of the Six Dynasties and T'ang periods, see *Wu tai shih hua*, 4, 183, as part of a discussion of the expression *yün mien* "spread [cosmetics] evenly on the face", in its treatment of Niu Ch'iao's poetry. Cf. *yün hung* "equal-spread pink" in III.a.2.

6 At the Altar of the Cosmodrama – the green of spring grasses;
7 In the close of herbs – the aroma of apricot flowers.
8 A blue bird trasmits an affair of the heart
9 Confided to Master Liu.

b.
1 Paired in flight and paired in dance,
2 A day in spring – the back garden – the talk of warblers;
3 She rolls up a net-gauze curtain;
4 A message in graphs of damask now finally sealed:
5 Wild goose on the Silver Ho – its passage is slow.

6 Mandarin ducks – where she pushed back the precious draperies;
7 Cardamom plants – where she embroidered a linkage of branches.
8 No speech now, but matched pearls of tears,
9 In the season when flowers fall.

Notes

a.2 The Palace of Staminate Gems – the name suggests gemstones borne on stems of golden wire – is also known as "Hostel of Solar Pylons with Staminate Gems" *(Jui chu jih ch'üeh kuan).* It is the residence of the Most Highly Exalted Exemplar, the Lord of the Tao of the Jade Daybreak *(T'ai shang kao sheng yü ch'en tao chün)*[120].

a.3 "Luminous halcyon": shining hair with blue highlights.

a.4 "Delicate wands of jade", or, more coarsely, "jade batons": finely tapered white fingers.

a.6 "Altar of the Cosmodrama": the stage prepared for the solemn astral rite; in the capeline poems it represents a magical frontier post between the two worlds – celestial and terrestrial. It is a transition point that is neither in one state of being nor in the other[121].

a.7 "Close of herbs" is an enclosed garden for medicinal herbs.

a.8 A blue bird came to Han Wu Ti from the west on the seventh day of a seventh month, the day of the renewal of love, with its conventional astral pageantry. Tung-fang Shuo explained to the sovereign that it was a harbinger of Hsi Wang Mu, who, in fact, arrived shortly. This blue bird of

[120] See *Wu shang pi yao,* 22, 1b, and commentary on *Huang t'ing nei ching ching,* in *Yün chi ch'i ch'ien,* 11, 132.

[121] The "grasses" of my translation follows the text of *Hua chien chi,* 4, 10a. *Ch'üan T'ang shih* has *chou* "daytime".

the western mountains is mentioned also in the *Shan hai ching* and other early sources[122]. In *Han Wu Ti nei chuan* the queen's herald is instead a strikingly beautiful woman dressed in blue. "Blue bird" accordingly may be used of any bearer of happy news.

a.9 "Master Liu" is, of course, not only the comrade of Master Juan, but Master Liu Ch'e – that is, Han Wu Ti, making our capeline an avatar of Hsi Wang Mu.

b.4 The "message in graphs of damask" was woven by Miss Su and sent to her husband Tou T'ao who, in the fourth century, went off to the Gobi on official business, accompanied by a favorite concubine. The lady's artistic expression of her loneliness consisted of two hundred stanzas of reversible poetry *(hui wen)* done in polychrome damask[123].

b.5 The wild geese, southbound in winter, are slow to cross the Milky Way: the woman's message has been sent, a reply is slow to come back.

b.8 The tears are matched pairs rolling down equally rouged cheeks. See III.a.2. This is only one of many such doublets in these stanzas.

Comments

This second set of stanzas written by Niu Ch'iao is characterized by ironic matings and broken pairs. They are invested with a birdy, winged, flighty atmosphere. The poem differs from its predecessor in that the author has not dropped the veil of secularity over the ritual scene. We plainly have a ceremonial arena, an herb garden, and a winged messenger passing over the Sky River.

The first stanza is set in hopeful spring, the second in despairing autumn.

V. HSÜEH CHAO-YÜN

Hsüeh Chao-yün (fl. 932) held high office in Shu.

a.
1 To go off in search of transcendence –
2 Halcyon filigrees and golden comb are all discarded:

[122] *Han Wu ku shih,* as quoted in *T'ai p'ing yü lan,* 927, 3b, but this passage does not appear in modern versions of the tale.

[123] *Chin shu,* 96, 1335b.

3 She enters among the steep tors;
4 Fogs roll up – as her yellow net-gauze cloak;
5 Clouds sculptured – as her white jade crown.

6 Mists on the countryside: cool of torrents and grottoes;
7 Moon over the forest: cold of the stone bridge.
8 Calm night under the piney wind;
9 She makes obseisance at the Sky Altar.

b.
1 Cloudy net-gauze and misty crepe-gauze;
2 Newly bestowed – for illumination and awe: the orthodox tablets of ordination
3 Descend in a sheath from the Realized Ones.
4 Chignon threaded with blue strands of hair;
5 Crown extruding cyan jade hatpins.

6 Gong and coming: the clouds she must cross are The Five;
7 Leaving or staying: the islands she must pass are The Three.
8 And now she meets the messenger of Master Liu –
9 And unfastens the azure-gem seal.

Notes

b.2 "Illumination and awe" *(ming wei)* is from the *Shu ching.* The gods illuminate what is good and overawe what is evil: now from Heaven comes authority to reward good and punish evil. The tablets of tradition provide special secrets which the initiate will need to recognize and identify the Realized Ones, along with cues for her own role in the divine drama.

b.6 The clouds of the five auroral colors – in all directions of the sky – are at her disposal.

b.7 She passes freely over the three enchanted isles in the eastern sea, P'eng-lai, Fang-chang, and Ying-chou. I fancy that these are ceremonial replicas placed on the altar, through which the celebrant must dance.

b.9 "Azure-gem" represents *yao,* an archaic word for a forgotten gemstone – possibly turquoise, or even malachite, in Chou texts. Even after its specific mineralogical identity was forgotten it retained strong blue-green associations, and acquired an affinity for manifestations of water, such as ponds, pools, burns, lakes, rills, and tarns[124]. It is frequently

[124] See E. H. Schafer, "Mineral Imagery in the Paradise Poems of Kuan-hsiu", *Asia Major,* 10 (1963), 96.

found paired with *ch'iung,* a word whose history was similar, but which favored the red part of the spectrum; the reader will find it in Sun Kuang-hsien's canto (XI.b.3), where I have rendered it "rose-gem".

Comments

Here, for a change, we have a success story. In the first stanza we see a courtesan discarding her secular gauds, for which she substitutes the garb of a Taoist acolyte; she goes on to take her vows in a mountain sanctuary. The second stanza shows her inauguration as a priestess. She is now accepted as a "flying transcendent" by the Realized Ones of Highest Clarity. A message arrives from the usually evasive Master Liu – a wonder in the capeline poems.

The language is cool, full of fogs, clouds, mists, torrents, grottoes, cold stones, and forest winds. It is also tinted with various shades of blue – blue itself, halcyon, cyan, azure-gem, and the sky (altar).

VI. LU CH'IEN-I

Lu Ch'ien-i (fl. 913) held office under Meng Ch'ang of [Later] Shu. Seventeenth century sources state that he and four Szechwanese contemporaries were known as "The Five Ghosts"[125]. The others were Ou-yang Chiung (see below), Han Tsung, Yen Hsüan, and Mao Wen-hsi. All of them excelled, we are told, at "small cantos" *(hsiao tz'u).*

a.

By phoenix loft, a nandin tree –
Hopeless, despairing, since Master Liu went away.
It is the very depth of spring.
Inside the grotto: knotted with misery, in vain;
Out among men: searching for news – but none.

Where bamboos are sparse, the Basilica of Purgation stands remote;
Where pines are dense, the Altar of the Cosmodrama lies shadowed.
Leaning on clouds, he looks off with lowered head –
His heart can be understood.

[125] *Wu tai shih hua,* 4, 181, relying on Wu Jen-ch'en, *Shih kuo ch'un ch'iu.*

b.
1 "Pacing the Barrens" up on the altar;
2 Orange insignia and rainbow standards face one another.
3 To attract the Realized and Transcendent Ones –
4 Jade girdle-plaques shake: apparitions of the moon;
5 Gold braziers curl out wisps of musky smoke.

6 Dew is heavy, flakes of frost grow damp;
7 Wind is brisk, feathered dress swept aside.
8 He wishes to remain, sighs – if only he might stay –
9 Goes off, back into the sky.

Notes

a.1 Compare I.a.7.
a.4 The grotto, as usual, is a passageway to mysterious worlds; its opposite is "among men" (a.5).

b.1 For a full acount, see my forthcoming book "Pacing the Void". The ancient "Pace of Yü" *(Yü pu)* took many forms; one of the most common, abundantly illustrated in the woodcuts of the *Tao Tsang,* is a magical technique for walking through the stars of the Great Dipper. Here the astral pattern is danced by the celebrants on the altar. Many poems with the old *yüeh fu* title of *Pu hsü tz'u* survive from the late T'ang, the best known being those of Wu Yün. The modern Taiwanese ritual called "Separating the Lamps" begins with the appearance of the high priest, who, after performing a few steps of the "Pace of Yü", chants "Pacing the Barrens", and is joined by the acolytes. At the end of the same rite, a stanza from a Six Dynasties chant on the same theme is sung[126]. (The translation "barrens" attempts to capture the real sense of *hsü* and its cognate *hsü* "deserted land". It suggests "region bereft of human life; empty of men and their works" – the frightening void.)
b.2 The orange insignia are the holy standards of a Realized Being. The rainbow standards are banners of colored feathers, simulating clouds and vapors[127]. To these compare Yang Kuei-fei's Taoist dance, performed in

[126] See K. M. Schipper, *Le Fen-teng; Rituel taoiste* (Publications de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient, Vol. 103; Paris, 1975) for an account of the rite, with the words and music of the chant.
[127] Cf. *Lieh hsien chuan,* quoted in *T'ai p'ing yü lan,* 675, 10a, where "The followers of P'ei, the Realized Person, hold insignia of blue plumage . . . the followers

"rainbow skirt and feathered dress". All of these are symbols of flight beyond the clouds.

Comments

The female persona usually remains dominant throughout these poems. Here however all attempts to maintain this interpretation founder under unbearable strains and distortions. The best sense is provided by taking the last tow verses of each stanza as direct references to the elusive Master Liu. In VI.a.8 it must surely be him looking down from the clouds, like Dante Gabriel Rossetti's "Blessed Damozel": "It was the rampart of God's house//That she was standing on;//By God built over the sheer depth//The which is Space begun;//So high, that looking downward thence//She scarce could see the sun." In Chinese poetry we can detect an analogy in Po Chü-i's romance *Ch'ang hen ko,* where he reveals the purified alter-ego of Lady Yang gazing down upon Ch'ang-an from beyond the stars: "She turns her head, looks far down to the place that is man's demesne." Again, in VI.b.9 it must surely be the young man who goes back into the heavens. Such close climpses of him are rare. Taking this view, then, the plot in outline is this: Master Liu is beyond the sky; he is summoned in the ritual; in the end he returns to outer space.

VII. YIN O

Yin O (fl. 896) was a native of Szechwan – a Han-lin scholar and royal librarian of Shu.

1 Paired together, comrades and mates,
2 They are off and away – we can not know whither.
3 They have a joyous tryst:
4 Auroral cloak, gold threads drawn thin;
5 Flowered crown, jade petals hung free.

6 Casually one mounts the vermilion phoenix child;
7 Studiously the other straddles the little dragonlet.

of Lord Chou hold insignia of yellow plumage". Note also the "colorless rainbows of the orange pennants" in the *Ta jen fu* of Szu-ma Hsiang-ju, *Han shu,* 57b, 0502c, with the commentary of Chang I.

8 Neither is able to bear the quickening of Heaven's wind –
9 They strain both loins and limbs.

Comments

One stanza is missing from Yin O's contribution. The survivor seems to show a Female Realized Person, newly exalted, on her way to the transcendental realm accompanied by her "maidservant" in the guise of a Jade Maiden, as if in the retinue of Hsi Wang Mu. The "joyous tryst" is the divine wedding. The struggle against the stream of the cosmic breath is the ultimate obstacle to the achievement of the priestess's high purpose.

VIII. MAO HSI-CHEN

Mao Hsi-chen (fl. 947), a Szechwanese, was a royal librarian in Later Shu. He enjoys the special distinction of being one of the tenth century writers who refers to the practice of foot-binding[128].

a.
1 As cyan peach or pink apricot
2 In lingering sun – enticingly encaged in bright reflections –
3 In depths of painted auroral clouds:
4 Aromatic warmth fuming the speech of warblers;
5 Windy clarity drawing the tones of cranes.

6 Halcyon hair-coil crowned with leaves of jade;
7 Rainbow sleeves hold up a gemmed zither:
8 She must join her syrinx-blowing comrade –
9 Search for him in darkness.

b.
1 She restores her mothwings – composes her features;
2 Without speaking – a single spot of "sandal heart";
3 "Little hill" makeup;
4 Cicada earlocks lower their tinctured greens,
5 Net-gauze dress is palely brushed with yellow.

[128] See *Wu tai shih hua,* 4, 182. This collection of poetical anecdotes cites evidence for the existence of this practice in the *Shih chi* (!) and in many Six Dynasties' sources.

6 Worried, she comes into the depths of the close;
7 Slowly she steps along by the fallen flowers;
8 Slim fingers lightly, lightly make adjustments:
9 Aromatics in the jade brazier.

Notes

a.1 "Cyan peach" is, in modern times, *Prunus persica* var. *duplex.* It has pink flowers[129]. The Chinese apricot *hsing,* which bears both white and pink blossoms, is *Prunus armeniaca.*

a.4 "The speech of warblers" may well be the speech of the two women.

a.5 But they hear the approach of a vermilion-crowned crane, the vehicle of a divine being.

b.1 The entire phrase "restores her mothwings [i.e. eyebrows] – composes her features" appears to have been lifted from a poem by Po Chü-i addressed to a geisha of Soochow[130].

b.2 "Sandal heart" (a fawn color; cf. III.b.3) is a not uncommon term in poetry. It represents the appearance of the yellow set of stamens in the center of a flower, surrounded by the aureole of petals. Here, doubtless, it describes a beauty mark on the lady's face.

b.3 From the tenth century at least it was said that when Li Lung-chi (Hsüan Tsung) was in exile in Szechwan he commissioned paintings to show the ten styles of beautiful eyebrow makeup – the so-called *shih mei t'u.* A list of these, in several variant forms, still survives. One of them was called "small mountain". (Other names were "three peaks", "dripping pearls", "brushed clouds", and so on.)[131]

[129] See Ch'en Jung, *op.cit.*, p. 469.

[130] Po Chü-i, "I chiu yu", *Ch'üan T'ang shih,* han 7, ts'e 5, ch. 21, 16a.

[131] Yü-wen (given name unknown), *Chuang t'ai chi* (in *Shuo fu,* han 77[= ts'e 155]), 4a. From internal evidence, this is a text of the early Sung period. In Chang Pi. *Chuang lou chi (T'ang tai ts'ung shu),* p. 2b (p. 493), the names of only two of the ten are given. They are slightly different from the corresponding pair in Yü-wen's list. The Yü-wen version says that the pictures were "in the Five Dynasties Palace", but it is not clear what this means. It appears that the beginning of the text is somewhat garbled. For instance, later authorities agree that the first of the ten styles was called "mandarin ducks", but the *Shuo fu* text omits this, and has instead an apparently misplaced *k'ai* ["open" (apparently for the era name *K'ai yüan*)] *yü ai mei,* i.e. Li Lung-chi's favorite eyebrows.

Comments

Here there is no scene with altar or ritual activity. If it were not for the cumulative effect of such clues as auroral clouds, cranes, a headdress of jade leaves, rainbow sleeves, a servant with syrinx, a misty yellow dress, and an incense brazier, we might take the circumstances to be entirely secular. The same phrases which in other contexts would suggest merely luxurious surroundings and high fashion, here point inevitably – through all the haze of music and perfumes, as it were – along the road that leads to the crystalline mansions of the stars.

IX. LI HSÜN

Li Hsün (fl. 896) came from Persian stock. His younger brother Li Hsüan sold drugs and aromatics in Szechwan. Li Hsün himself is probably the author of the "Basic Herbal of Overseas Drugs" *(Hai yao pen ts'ao)*[132]. He specialized in the *tz'u* form *Nan hsiang tzu,* enriching his contributions with splendid examples of tropical imagery[133]. In them, the female protagonists are alluring aboriginal maidens.

a.

1 Stars high, moon at zenith;
2 Cinnabar cinnamon and blue pine: in a place deep within them
3 The Altar of the Cosmodrama opens up.
4 From metals and stone chimes is struck the clear dew;
5 Beaded streamers are erected on halcyon moss.

6 "Pacing the Barrens" – the sounds hauntingly distant;
7 Imaged icons – thoughts restless but hesitant.
8 The sky at daybreak: the road leading away to home –
9 Pointing to P'eng-lai.

b.

1 Spring hills and the stillness of night;
2 Gloomily heard in grotto-heaven: the spaced-out chimes;
3 Jade Hall is lifeless,

[132] *The Vermilion Bird,* p. 83.
[133] See translations in *The Vermilion Bird,* pp. 85, 174, 176, 188, 194, 231.

4 Fine fogs drip with pearled pendants;
5 Light mists drag halcyon lappets.

6 Facing the flowers, feelings inexpressible;
7 Looking off at the moon, steps languid and slow;
8 In what place now are Liu and Juan?
9 Messages from them are cut off.

Notes

a.2 "Cinnabar cinnamon" today refers to *Osmanthus fragrans* (more commonly called *mu hsi*). Originally a native of southwest China, this deliciously scented flowering shrub is now widely planted in warm regions. Despite the name of the tree, the flower is white[134]. In Lingnan the expression "blue pine" is used especially of *Pinus massoniana,* and in Yunnan of *Pinus armandi* (also called *Hua shan* pine because it was originally discovered on Mount Hua)[135]. But perhaps the word "blue" is here merely descriptive, to balance the "cinnabar".

a.4 The ceremony begins in the morning; the chimes shed showers of dewdrops as the music strikes up.

a.6 Compare VI.b.1 for "Pacing the Barrens".

a.7 The reference is to the fixing, or "actualizing" *(ts'un)* of astral deities, in parts of one's body, in order to draw effectively on their supernatural powers. To do this, it is essential to know their attributes. The "icons" *(hsiang)* are the stellar counterparts of earthly beings and associations. Asterisms are often called "mystic icons [i.e. replicas]" *(hsüan hsiang).*

b.2 The music of the ceremonial lithophone can be heard in a secret grotto-world.

b.3 Hsi Wang Mu lives in a "hall of cyan jade" in the Palace of Rampart City *(Yung ch'eng kung)* at K'un-lun[136]. The goddess, impersonated in our poem by the priestess, is off looking for her mate, probably Han Wu Ti, Master Liu's alter ego.

b.4, b.5 The misty costume of a divine woman.

[134] Ch'en Jung, *op.cit.*, p. 1020.
[135] *Ibid.*, 21, 25.
[136] See *Hai nei shih chou chi* (ed. of *Shuo k'u,* 1973), 5a.

Comments

This poem is dominated by the cosmodrama, which takes place, as regularly in these cantos, deep in the forest. All is ready for the summoning of the star spirits. The second stanza directs our attention away to a haunted region – evidently the summit or the interior of a sacred mountain, the lower residence of divine beings.

X. OU-YANG CHIUNG

Ou-yang Chiung (896–971) was in the service both of Later Shu and of Sung. Like Li Hsün he wrote fine examples of *Nan hsiang tzu*[137]. He also wrote a preface to Chao Ch'ung-tso's anthology of tenth century *tz'u* from Szechwan, the *Hua chien chi*[138].

a.

Thin makeup on peach features;
Over all the face, this way and that – flowered dimples;
Sensual feelings abound.
Ribbon-belt laced with golden filaments;
Light shirt of transparent cyan net-gauze.

Suppressed modesty – eyebrows make a furrow;
Whispered conversation – laughs blended together;
Unpremeditated – frequent stolen glances.
What can be their intent?

b.

Autumn night and autumn moon;
Lotus flower – a single bud, but newly opened:
Reflected on the front pool.
Waving, trailing – a night of fuming incense;
Charming, bewitching – a time for facing the mirror.

Among the stamens a thousand spotted tears;
Inside its heart a myriad strands of thread –
Exactly like a delicate, tender woman,
Posture agreeable to wind-drift.

[137] *The Vermilion Bird,* pp. 83–86.
[138] His biography may be found in *Sung shih,* 479.

Notes

a.2 Kao Ch'eng of Sung tells of "flowered dimples" under the rubric *chuang yen* "cosmetic dimples", commenting that "recently" women were making "powdered dimples", like moons or coins, sometimes touched with rouge[139]. This custom goes back to pre-T'ang times: Tuan Ch'eng-shih finds its origin in the state of Wu in the Three Kingdoms period. He gives the example of a "yellow star dimple" as a recent fashion. In Wu times, he tells us, the paste for making these "dimples" was compounded of otter's marrow, powdered jade, and amber[140]. I take it that these charming spots were either actual dimples enhanced with pigments or false dimples, or both.

b.5 The mirror here may refer back to the pool in b.3. As an image it reflects the moon in b.1.

b.6 The dew-drops on the stamens of the lotus may be intended as images of the gems on the lotus crown of a Taoist priestess, which represent stars.

Comments

This delicate confection is superficially the least religious of all the capeline cantos, but the lotus and its stamens – allusions to the priestly crown and the celestial palace respectively – along with the fuming incense, are signs meant to tell us that we are looking at a complicated, wordly mask, which conceals an unearthly – here invisible – beauty. These stanzas are particularly well furnished with filaments, gossamer, and floating wisps.

XI. SUN KUANG-HSIEN

Sun Kuang-hsien (? –968) held office in the state of Ching-nan (also known as Nan-p'ing, capital at Chiang-ling). He is best known as the author of *Pei meng so yen.*

a.

1 Melilot wind and polypore dew:
2 At the altar's boundary fading aromas pass lightly

[139] Kao Ch'eng, *Shih wu chi yüan,* p. 211.
[140] *Yu yang tsa tsu* (*Ts'ung shi chi ch'eng* ed.), 8, 61.

3 To the Palace of Gemmy Stamens.
4 Spots of lichen – distinctly ringed cyan;
5 Flowers of peach – trodden into sherds of pink.

6 By quality and caste: from beyond Shamanka Gorge;
7 By name and registry: from within Purple Subtlety.
8 The Realized Comrades assemble at Rampart City –
9 Her cloud-soul, dreaming, finds passage to them.

b.
1 A pallid flower, or thin jade,
2 She might well be a Divine Transcendent, made up and belted,
3 Her pendants – incised rose-gems.
4 Auspicious dew-drops, stored up through the night;
5 Remote fragrances, burned to the end of day.

6 Cyan gauze encages the orange insignia;
7 Yellow lotus crowns the dense cloud.
8 Nor may we take her syrinx-blowing companion
9 To be no member of the same company.

Notes

a.1 Or "wind in the melilot, dew on the polypore". Actually *chih* "polypore" stands for a rather diversified collection of sacred mushrooms, among which the purple *chih,* at any rate, is a polypore *(Ganodermum lucidum).*

a.6, a.7 The lady has the credentials of an astral goddess.

a.7 The reference is to the Palace of Purple Subtlety, the supreme mansion of the spirits who reside in the pole star and the circumpolar asterisms – Draco and others.

a.8 For Rampart City, see IX.b.3. There Hsi Wang Mu reigns over her host of Jade Women[141]. Tu Kuang-t'ing included the name of this golden palace *(Yung ch'eng)* in the title of his important collection of female Taoist hagiographies[142].

b.1 Apparently a description of the ethereal lady herself.

[141] *Hai nei shih chou chi,* 5a.

[142] *Yung ch'eng chi hsien lu, hsü,* in *Ch'üan T'ang wen,* 932, 3b–4a, explains the relevance of the usage.

b.7 Her hair.
b.9 The maid too is surely one of the "divine transcendents".

Comments

This is a more static scene than most, distinctly formalized and ecclesiastical – a tapestry of ritual. It seems to me that the poem reads better with the stanzas reversed, so that the priestess and her vestments are presented first, with her altar girl in attendance late in the stanza, as normally. The second stanza (the first as it now stands) then conforms to tradition in showing the divine breath at work beyond the sacred precint, after which it is revealed that the priestess – already recognizable as a goddess – is not far from acceptance among the great deities assembled at K'un-lun. The theme of the search for the deified hero is absent.

I would risk a judgment in favor of this as the best of the capeline poems, because of the skilful deployment of images, both conventional and novel, providing a glimpse into a new and wonderful world. (The same vision is not, of course, provided by my translation.)

XII. CHANG PI

Chang Pi (fl. 924) worked for the state of Earlier Shu. Whether a set of supernatural tales called *Shih mei chuan,* and a set of notices about makeup and other women's things entitled *Chuang lou chi*[143], came from his pen, or were written by his namesake and contemporary in Southern T'ang is uncertain[144].

1 Dewed flowers and misted herbs;
2 Hushed and alone: the Five Clouds – the Three Isles;
3 It is the very depth of spring.
4 Her semblance dissolves – lurks beneath the melted jade;
5 Her perfume fades – still adheres to her collar.

6 Where bamboos are sparse the vacated fence is quiet;
7 Where pines are dense an Altar of the Cosmodrama lies shadowed.

[143] In *T'ang tai ts'ung shu,* 796–799 and 493–498 respectively.
[144] Information about the latter's career and verse may be found in *Wu tai shih hua,* 3, 140.

8 What affair took Master Liu away?
9 News is remote – inaccessible.

Notes

2 For the Five Clouds and the Three Isles see V.b.6–7.
4 "Melted jade" must be a metaphor for a mirror – by way of the image of the white crystalline moon. A rhapsody by Li Ch'eng (ca. 765 – ca. 841), which describes the moon as a mirror, especially one set in a cosmetics box, contains the line "She does not inspect her countenance in the melted jade"[145].

Comments

This appears to be the second stanza of a pair whose first has been lost. The succession of images is rather ordinary – except for the disquieting fixation of the lady's face in the frozen depths of the mirror.

[145] Li Ch'eng (ca. 765 – ca. 841), "P'o ching fei shang t'ien fu", *Ch'üan T'ang wen*, 632, 15b.

Glossary

Books

Chen kao 真誥

Chuang lou chi 粧樓記

Hou hsien lu 後仙錄

Hua chien chi 花間集

Pei meng so yen 北夢鎖言

Shih mei chuan 尸媚傳

T'ang ts'ai tzu chuan 唐才子傳

Che-ying 摘盈

Cheng Yü-hua 鄭玉華

Chia Tao 賈島

Chiang Chieh 蔣捷

Cho Wen-chün 卓文君

Chung yang tsung yüan san hsü chen jen 中央總元三虛真人

Feng Yen-chi 馮延己

Han Tsung 韓琮

Hsin T'i-fou 辛替否

Hsin Wen-fang 辛文房

Hsü Hun 許渾

Hsüeh Chao-yün 薛昭蘊

Hu-kuo 護國

Huang kuan tzu 黃冠子

Huang Sheng 黃昇

Personal and Divine Names

Chang Chi 張籍

Chang Lu 張魯

Chang Pi 張泌

Chang Tao-ling 張道陵

Chao Chi 趙佶

Chao Ch'ung-tso 趙崇祚

Huang su chung yang yüan chün 黃素中央元君

Juan Chao 阮肇

K'ang Yü-chih 康與之

Kao Ch'an 高蟾

Kao Ch'eng 高承

Keng (Miss) 耿

Li Ch'ang 李璚

Li Ch'en 李忱

Li Ch'un 李純

Li Ch'un-feng 李淳風

Li Hsüan 李玄

Li Hsüan-chen 李玄真

Li Hsün 李珣

Li I 李億 [憶]

Li Lung-chi 李隆基

Li Ping 李郱

Li Po 李播

Li Shen 李申

Li Shih-chih 李適之

Li Yen 李炎

Li Yü (Tai Tsung) 李豫

Li Yü (of Nan T'ang) 李煜

Liu Ch'en 劉晨

Liu Yung 柳永

Lu Ch'ien-i 鹿虔扆

Lu Shen-ku 盧神姑

Mao Hsi-chen 毛熙震

Mao Wen-hsi 毛文錫

Mo Ch'iung-shu 莫瓊樹

Niu Ch'iao 牛嶠

Ou-yang Chiung 歐陽炯

Shang ch'ing chen nü 上清真女

Shih Chien-wu 施肩吾

Shih Ch'ung-hsüan 史崇玄

Su (Miss) 蘇

Sun Kuang-hsien 孫光憲

Sung kao chün 嵩高君

T'ai shang chang jen 太上丈人

T'ai shang kao sheng yü ch'en tao chün 太上高聖玉晨道君

T'ai yüan chen jen 太元真人

T'ang Ch'iu 唐求

T'ao Hung-ching 陶弘景

Tou Huai-chen 竇懷貞

Tou T'ao 竇滔

Ts'ai Wei 蔡瑋[偉]

Tso hsien kung 左仙公

Wang Chien 王建

Wei Chuang 韋莊

Wei Shu-ch'ing 衛叔卿

Wei Ts'ou 韋湊

Wen T'ing-yün 溫庭筠

Wu Yün 吳筠

Yang Yü-huan 楊玉環

Yen Hsüan 閻選

Yin O 尹鶚

Yin Yao-fan 殷堯藩

Yüan shih t'ien ti 元始天帝

Places and Institutions

Chang chou 丈洲

Chiao fang 教坊

Chih te (belvedere) 至德

Chin hsien (belvedere) 金仙

Ching-nan 荊南

Chiu-i 九疑

Fu-hsing 輔興

Hua Shan 華山

Hung-chou 洪州

Hung tao (belvedere) 宏道

Jui chu jih ch'üan kuan 蕊珠日闕館

Nan-p'ing 南平

P'u-chou 蒲州

Sung Shan 崇山

T'ai-chi (palace) 太極

Yung ch'eng [kung] 墉城[宮]

Yü chen (belvedere) 玉真

Yü chih (belvedere) 玉芝

Titles

Che hsien yüan 謫仙怨

Ch'iung hua chen jen 瓊華真人

Ch'ung ch'ang kung chu 崇昌公主

Hsi ch'eng hsien chu 西城縣主

Hua-yang (princess) 華陽

Juan lang kuei 阮郎歸

Kuei fei 貴妃

Nan hsiang tzu 南鄉子

Nü kuan tzu 女冠子

Nü tao 女道

Nü te 女德

Pu ch'an kung 步蟾宮

Pu hsü tz'u 步虛詞

Shang ch'ing hsüan tu ta tung san ching shih 上清玄都大洞三景師

Shou (prince) 壽

Ta chüeh chin hsien 大覺金僊

T'ien hsien tzu 天仙子

Ts'ai nü 采女

Yüeh kung ch'un 月宮春

Words and Phrases

chan-t'an 栴檀

ch'an hua 蟬化

chao hsia 朝霞

che yü 遮語

ch'i [shu] 琪[樹]

chiang 絳

chiang yün 絳暈

chieh 節

chih 芝

ching shih 精室

ch'ing 青

ch'iung 瓊

chuang yen 粧靨

chung yüan huang ch'en yü kuan 中元黃晨玉冠

ch'ü 曲

fei 緋

fei-ts'ui 翡翠

fu-jung kuan 芙蓉冠

han 含

han lü 含綠

hsia 霞

hsia p'ei 霞帔

hsiang "icon" 像

hsiang "aromatic" 香

hsiao tz'u 小詞

huang chin p'ei tan ch'ing fei chün t'ui yün chi 黃錦帔丹青飛裙褪雲髻

huang chin yün p'ei 黃錦雲帔

huang lo fei hua chün 黃羅飛華裙

huang lo p'ei 黃羅帔

huang yü t'ai yüan chih kuan 黃玉太元之冠

hui wen	回文	nü tao shih	女道士
hun	魂	o	娥
jui	蕊	p'ei	帔
kuan	冠	pi	碧
kuan p'ei	冠帔	po nan t'ien	白南天
k'ung ts'ui	孔翠	pu yao	步搖
lien hua chin	蓮花巾	san su	三素
luan	鸞	sha	紗
lü	綠	shang ch'ing	上清
lü yün	綠雲	shao chiu	燒酒
ming wei	明威	shih mei t'u	十眉圖
mu hsi	木樨	shih shih (chuang)	時世(妝)
nan t'ien chu	南天燭[竹]	su ts'ui	宿翠
ni i	蜺衣	t'an	檀
nü kuan (capeline)	女冠	tao shih	道士
nü kuan (official)	女官	ti	低

tien 鈿

t'ien shu 天樞

ts'an 殘

ts'ui 翠

ts'ui ch'ai 翠釵

ts'ui chü 翠裾

ts'ui huan kuan yü yeh 翠鬟冠玉葉

ts'ui shih 翠石

ts'ui-wei 翠微

ts'un 存

tung 洞

tzu hua fu-jung ling kuan 紫華芙蓉靈館

tz'u 詞

wei yü 微語

yao 瑤

ying yü 鶯語

yü jen 羽人

yü pu 禹步

yü shan-hu 玉珊瑚

yüan chün 元君

yüan jih 元日