



Università
Ca' Foscari
Venezia

Master's Degree
in Languages, Economics
and Institutions of Asia
and North Africa
Language, economics and institution of
Japan

Final Thesis

**A diachronic analysis of the Zhuangzi reception
in Japanese literary sources**

– From the VI to the XIV century

Supervisor

Professor Attilio Andreini

Assistant supervisor

Doctor Giuseppe Pappalardo

Graduand

Giovanni Pasa
853009

Academic Year

2019 / 2020

本稿は飛鳥時代から室町時代にかけて、日本文学に於ける『莊子』受容の歴史的概略を解説することを目指す研究である。『莊子』は戦国時代の後半に書かれたとされる漢籍であり、古くから文学と思想の両面で卓越した作品として高評を得てきた。

遅くも七世紀中期に日本へ伝来したと思わせる手掛かりが残っており、当時から日本文学の作品の中で言及や原文の引用を見せる箇所が少なからず見られる。又、借用語、参考になったと思しき内容及び全体的に『莊子』に基づいた詩歌までも、日本上代文学の名著の全てに含まれる。その後の文献にも『莊子』の言語が響いた文が散見され、日本では古代からかなり普及していたことが推測される。平安時代の中期以降は詩歌に於ける『莊子』への言及が比較的になくなり、その一方で散文に於いて影響を受けた作品が増える傾向が見られる。本研究では先行研究に指摘されてきた日本文学での『莊子』からの借用語と引用、『莊子』の内容への言及、『莊子』の思想の受入などを取り上げ、分析を加えるのである。

本稿の成果として次の三点が挙げられる。一、先行研究が論じる日本文学の作品に於ける『莊子』の受容ケースを集め、実証し、その受け入れの意義や方法を分析することを通して従来学問より一層完全な概論を提供する。二、日本の文人の『莊子』に対しての解釈や理解を検証し、『莊子』の思想や美的価値をどのように意識していたのかを明らかにする。三、歴史的流れを解析し、文学と思想との領域で『莊子』に対しての、日本の執筆者の趣味や興味対象の、時代推移に伴う変遷を辿る。

本研究の必要性は日本文学に於ける莊子の受入を概観する学術的資料が未だほとんどないことに由来する。神田秀夫の著書『莊子の蘇生』の第二章を他として、『莊子』の日本受入を時系列に遡る日本語資料は全くない。但し、莊子と日本の作者や作品の関係を個別に扱う研究はややあり、特に『莊子』の思想の影響を最も明確に匂わせる吉田兼好の『徒然草』を中心とするものが多い。本テーマに関する英語の資料が更に少なく、竹内ローン的一件の他に、研究がない状態である。中国側は近年、『莊子』の日本伝来や普及などに関する研究が散発的に現れるようになり、その中で張愛民によって日本文学に於ける『莊子』受容の歴史的な流れを描いたものもある。しかし、張の研究はリストに似た形式を示し、内容を学問的に論じることより、日本文学に現れる『莊子』の引用例や言及の箇所を羅列することで止まる。又、それらの例や箇所は以前の資料を基にして転載されたものだけであると考えさせる形になっている。とはいえ、張の研究は微細な点までわたらないとしても、日本文学での『莊子』への言及ケースを最も広く網羅するものであり、神田の著書より取り上げたケース数が多い。だが、張が列挙するものの内、疑わしいと思われるケースもいくつかあったため、『莊子』と日本文献の間の関連性の有無をより確実に判明する必要があると思われ、

本研究では慎重な調べを行った。既述の通り、張や神田やその他の研究者が報告した例を実証することが本稿の目的の一つである。最後に筆者が日本の古典文献を集める様々なコーパスを使用して、参考にした先行研究に含まれていなかったケースを二個見出した。

本研究は歴史的概略であるため、先行研究の結果を実証して整理し、個人的な発見をも含めて、七世紀から十四世紀までの日本文学に於ける『莊子』の受容の全体像を窺える資料を作り出すことを中心としており、明確な論点を出すことを目指さない。だが、本稿の作成過程中、不束ながら論点じみた結果に至ったと思われるところもなくはない。日本文学の『莊子』受容に限って論じることがこの論点を提示するのに物足りないと考えられ、本研究から除外したのだが、注目に値するものであると思われるので、序論として手短かに述べることにする。

『莊子』は非常に意味深い本である。しかし、非常に難解な本でもある。長時間にわたって多数の著者による編集の結晶であるため、構造的に混乱しており、内容的にも多様で異質なものが大量に混じっている。その結果、意味的な矛盾や書き方の不均一が不注意な読者の目にもつきやすい。中国では唐の時代からその異質性に気づき、それを根拠として『莊子』が多数の作者によるものであるという結論に至った人物がいたが、本研究が扱う時代の中、日本ではそのような人物が現れなかったようである。『莊子』の言語が晦渋で解釈しがたいことにもよるに相違ないが、日本文学での『莊子』の受容例を通観するとその迂闊さが別の理由からも生じるのが明白である。つまり、そういう受容例を検討すると、当時の日本人は印象的な文句や面白い逸話に気を奪われ、本文の哲学的意義の探究さえも試みず、文字通りの表面的意味の解釈にとどまっていたという風に考えざるを得ない。確かに、『莊子』は語句の奇妙さや挿話の面白おかしさで名高いのだが、やはり哲学上で最も優れた成果を上げていることが否み難い。『莊子』の思想が独創性や意外性を有し、異例な知恵が満ちた珍しい本であり、昔の読者にかなりの衝撃を与えていたことを鑑みれば無理もない。その思想の極意を把握していたまでは期待せずとも、読書にあたって驚いたまま内容の吟味に耽ってしまうことが、昔の文人にとって自然な心地であるはずだった。二千年以上前の作品であることに意識を寄せると、現在の読者でもまだ似た驚きを覚えるから尚更だ。しかし、そういう衝撃をそれとなく連想させた、文献にあれこれ散らかっている老莊思想の賞賛の他、日本文学の作品の中では『莊子』の思想への批評や検討が全く見当たらない。古代日本の文人が文学的性質のみを重要するきらいがあったようで、『莊子』の思想の偉大さに心を寄せていなかったようである。しかし、それはなぜなのであろうか。それは、当時の日本では古書の思想的趣旨を論理的に批評する心構えが未

だ発展していなかったからであるというのは、本研究の結果が導いた結論である。つまり、日本の文人が思想的価値を取り上げ、思想評価を重点的に『莊子』の読書に向き合っていなかったからであると思えない。思想評価というのは発想の検討を通して世界に対してのより深い理解を求める基準に立っていると言えるだろうが、勿論日本ではそういう意向がなかったことが考えにくい。それよりは、冒険心を持って既存の世界観を論理的に挑戦する姿勢が取られるという可能性が、当時の日本人の視野に入っていなかったからであるのではないかと思われる。

いずれにせよ、『莊子』思想の深みが本研究で扱う日本文学に反映されることはなかったわけである。それは少し残念なことに思いながらも、古代日本の文人がどのような姿勢で別の異なった世界観や人生観に接していたのかを僅かでも露わにするヒントになればよいのである。こういう論点を提示するにはより細かい考慮が必要であることに自覚していても、本研究の今後の課題としてこのような方向性への発展が期待されることを言い及ぶのがよいと思われた。

Table of Contents

1. Introduction.....	7
I. Existing Scholarship.....	8
II. Conventions and terminology.....	10
2. Sources of the <i>Zhuangzi</i> in ancient Japan.....	12
3. Asuka and Nara period	14
I. The <i>Jūshichijō kenpō</i>	14
II. The <i>Kaifūsō</i>	24
a. <i>Utage ni shisu</i>	24
b. Emperor Kōbun's <i>Omobi wo nobu</i>	29
c. <i>Sansai</i>	31
d. <i>Yayoi Mika</i>	34
e. <i>Ganjitsu</i>	36
f. <i>Yoshinogawa wo asobu</i>	38
g. <i>Shunjitsu</i>	39
h. <i>Shūen</i>	40
i. <i>Shinnagon-kyō wo sugu</i>	41
j. Ochi no Hiroe's <i>Omobi wo nobu</i>	42
III. The <i>Kojiki</i>	43
IV. The <i>Nihonshoki</i>	46
V. The <i>Man'yōshū</i>	50
4. Heian period.....	57
I. Early Heian period.....	58
a. The <i>Bunka Shūreishū</i>	58
b. The <i>Keikokushū</i>	59
c. The <i>Shoku Nihonkōki</i>	62
d. The <i>Honchō Monzui</i>	63
e. The <i>Chiteiki</i>	64
II. Sugawara no Michizane.....	66
a. <i>Aman wo yumemiru</i>	67
b. <i>Kansha Yūshū</i>	69
c. <i>Tansei</i>	70

d. <i>Shūkō Goji</i>	71
e. <i>Joi Ichihyaku In</i>	73
f. The <i>Xiaoyaoyou</i> trilogy.....	74
III. The <i>Ise Monogatari</i>	82
IV. The <i>Genji Monogatari</i>	88
V. Later Heian period poetry.....	91
VI. The <i>Konjaku Monogatari</i>	95
a. The ruttred fish.....	96
b. Between a tree and a goose.....	99
c. The distracted heron and the happy fish.....	102
5. Kamakura period.....	106
I. The <i>Jikkinsbō</i>	106
II. The <i>Uji Shui Monogatari</i>	108
a. The ruttred fish.....	108
b. Bandit Zhi.....	109
III. The <i>Hōjōki</i>	110
6. Muromachi Period.....	113
I. The <i>Tsurezuregusa</i>	113
7. Conclusions.....	123
8. Bibliography.....	125

1. Introduction

As can be surmised by the title, this work aims at presenting a comprehensive analysis of the *Zhuangzi* reception in Japanese literature up to the XIV century. The *Zhuangzi* was read and appreciated from a very early stage of Japan's history, and many literary works written in Japan contain, whether in a direct or indirect way, references or allusions to it. Even more works might have been affected ideologically by its ideas and world-view, though in the absence of textual references, i.e. quotations or lexical borrowings, it is often difficult – not to say altogether impossible – to determine with certainty the reality and extent of such influences. Research investigating hidden intertextuality based on alleged ideological analogies has actually been conducted limitedly to specific works, yet, exactly because of the veiled nature of the connections they purport, confirming with certainty such speculations is inherently impossible. Direct references are easier to detect and analyse, as the aim of the writer is precisely that of revoking the original text and its content through the use of a quotation. Direct references will therefore be the main target of this paper, but lexical borrowings and content sourcing will be addressed too. I have also taken into consideration all previous research dealing with the ideological impact of the *Zhuangzi* on works that lack any proved textual reference, although such scholarship generally appears to me as an unrewarding academical exercise. One major hurdle to the understanding of the intertextuality between Japanese works and the *Zhuangzi* is the difficulty of determining precisely each of the sources classical Japanese literati consulted and referred to: while some terms, expressions and the ideological content they brought up in their works might have originated in the *Zhuangzi*, there is often no definitive evidence to prove that Japanese authors did not in fact rely on later Chinese literature which, in turn, was grounded on or influenced by the *Zhuangzi*, rather than directly to it. Apparently, this point was largely ignored by previous scholarship on the topic.

I took a wide approach to the category of 'literary sources', including in the analysis works that, strictly speaking, do not belong to what is commonly meant by 'literature', such as Shōtoku Taishi's *Jūshichijō kenpō* or the historical record *Shoku Nihonkōki*. Nevertheless, the greater part of works considered here are purely literary, such as poems, *monogatari*s and *setsumas*. The term 'literary sources' here designates sources written in Japan by Japanese, so as to encompass those employing Chinese, Japanese and mixed writing styles.

I. Existing Scholarship

This work was felt necessary as to this day a complete and updated overview of the subject is missing. Several scholarly studies have been conducted on this topic, yet, with the exception of Kanda's book "The revival of the *Zhuangzi* – Why the *Zhuangzi* now?"¹, each research carried out until now has been limited to one literary work or a specific author. As to Kanda's book, its second chapter is fully dedicated to a historical excursus of the *Zhuangzi* in Japanese literature but, although brilliant in its insights, the book fails to mention a few literary works that were pointed out as being related to the *Zhuangzi* by later observers. Furthermore, being a book intended for a general audience, it does not delve deep into philological or philosophical details, nor is it expected to follow the rigorous norms of academy that the present study hopefully observes. Kanda's book is also quite dated, out of print and inconvenient to procure out of Japan. Nonetheless, there is no denying that Kanda is the initiator and major interpreter of this discipline, publishing his first paper on the subject in 1956. Later major contributors to the field are Nakagawa and, from the Chinese side, Wang Yong, Chen Bingshan and Zhang Aimin. Among these, Zhang Aimin authored two historical overviews of the subject, although their conciseness and the lack of argumentation on some of the associations postulated leave ample room for doubt. To my knowledge, Takeuchi's (2009) is the only study in this field from the Anglo-European academia to this very day. With the present work I hope to join the efforts of previous scholars to develop a coherent and thorough diachronic analysis on the subject.

The reason why later literature is not dealt with here is two-fold: first, taking into account modern and contemporary literature would enlarge the scope of investigation well beyond the possibilities of a graduation thesis such as this; second, in some cases the reception of the *Zhuangzi* by later literature has already been studied intensively, as in the case of *haikais* – especially of Matsuo Bashō – wherein relation to Taoism and the *Zhuangzi* has been described thoroughly.² My contribution to that field would therefore be insignificant.

1 Kanda (1988)

2 See Qiu (2001, 2005), Satō (2017), Nonomura (1957), Kanaya (1998), Hirota (1956, 1959, 60), Wolfe (2004), Chen (1999, 2002) etc.

Although in the course of analysis I heavily relied on previous research, in particular to those mentioned above, personal findings and further suggestions have been proposed throughout the thesis. Specifically, I expanded the analysis to those works that, maybe due to their relative lack of originality or recognised literary value, in the previous studies were only mentioned without serious engagement. I also took into consideration some recent theories on the correlations between the *Zhuangzi* and Japanese literary works that were absent in Kanda's investigation, especially those proposed by Takeuchi and reported by Zhang Aimin. However, I have dismissed for the most part these new proposals after an attentive enquiry.

One more difference of this work from previous research is the stress on the philosophical aspects and implications of the reception of the *Zhuangzi* in Japan, rather than its historical flow. As will become clear during the analysis below, few of the Japanese literary works considered here dealt critically with the *Zhuangzi* ideas, the greater part of them just quoting some of its content to stimulate the reader with an association to Taoism or merely for aesthetic purposes. Some authors seem to have been inspired by the *Zhuangzi* and to chime in with its ideas, but none dealt with its content in an analytical or speculatively critical way. However, I believe the *Zhuangzi* to be primarily a philosophical text.³ Hence, I examined in depth the philosophical import of each excerpt before turning to its echoes in Japanese literature. The differences between the interpretations of Japanese texts and what I believe to be the purports of the passages undertaken have been stressed. Whenever the Japanese texts conscientiously ignore the meaning of the original source they are referring to, an examination of the passages meanings might seem superfluous, yet it can still provide the chance to view the interconnections between the two texts from an all encompassing perspective.

3 Some scholars would not agree “I view the *Chuang Tzu* primarily as a work of literature rather than as a work of philosophy (...)” (Mair 1994). To avoid the unease involved by applying the word ‘philosophy’ to ancient Chinese thought, I will only make use of its adjectival form, to indicate the speculative activity akin to what designated by the Greek term of ‘philosophy’. Scholarship, however, seems to be comfortable with a rather free use of terminology.

II. Conventions and terminology

The accepted view in modern scholarship holds that Zhuangzi 莊子 (369-286 BC), whoever he might have been, is the author only of the first seven chapters of his eponymous book, the *Zhuangzi* 莊子. The first seven chapters are known as *neipian* 內篇 ‘inner chapters’ and are believed to constitute the oldest part of the book, while the *waipian* 外篇 ‘outer chapters’ and the *zhipian* 雜篇 ‘mixed chapters’ are thought to be later additions presumably attached by disciples or other Taoist intellectuals during the third century BC. Some scholars even questioned this belief, doubting that all seven of the inner chapters were written by the same author, or that these were written earlier than the outer and mixed chapters.⁴ Be it as it may, for sake of conciseness and simplicity, I will refer to the author of the inner chapters as ‘Zhuangzi’ and to the authors of the whole *Zhuangzi* as ‘the *Zhuangzi* authors’. While in early Tang China Lu Deming 陸德明 (556-627) questioned some of the outer and mixed chapters authorship, there seems to be no hint suggesting that in ancient and medieval Japan any part of the *Zhuangzi* authorship was doubted.

Quotations from the *Zhuangzi* are based on the text of *Zhuangzi zhubu suoyin* 莊子逐字索引 ‘A Concordance to the *Zhuangzi*’ (shortened to *ICS Zhuangzi*, followed by chapter/page/line). Unless differently specified, translations from both Chinese and Japanese sources are mine. Needless to say, as far as the *Zhuangzi* is concerned, this choice is not due to the lack of already available adequate translations into English. Instead it is down to the need, solely proper to this work, of emphasising the similarities (or differences) between the *Zhuangzi* and the Japanese texts taken into account. Translation from the *Zhuangzi*, therefore, is based on comparative purposes, and was carried out while keeping an eye on the intertextuality with the Japanese works. Moreover, I selected extracts often abridging parts unnecessary to the ongoing analysis, so that conducting an ad hoc translation seemed the most befitting choice. As is well-known, the *Zhuangzi* is an extremely challenging reading and scholars often still disagree on the meaning of some passages and on the nuances of its peculiar wording. An even greater disagreement concerns its philosophical interpretation. In the case of obscure or unclear passages, I tried to expose the different exegesis by leading scholars to provide a better account of the

4 See Graham (1979) or, recently, Klein (2010).

possible interpretations. I am greatly indebted to the English translations by Watson (1964), Graham (1981), Mair (1994), Wang (1999), Ziporyn (2009), the modern Chinese translation by Chen (1983) and the Japanese translation by Fukunaga (1971), which I consulted frequently and referred to in case of ambiguities. In many circumstances translation from Japanese sources, whatsoever their *buntai* might be, was instead a forced choice: few of the extracts from Japanese literature presented in this paper have ever been published in English, some of which not even in modern Japanese. Amongst the Japanese works whose translation, to my knowledge, have never been published into English, are some poems from *Kaifūsō*, *Bunka Shūreishū*, *Keikokushū*, *Kanke bunsō*, *Honchō shokumonzui*, *Ryōjinhishō* and the extracts from *Shoku Nihonkōki* and *Chiteiki*. In rare cases I had difficulties in the exegesis of *kanbun* texts still untranslated in modern languages, for instance in the case of *Sōshū yume ni kochō ni naritaru fu* by Ōe no Masafusa.

With respect to the phonetic rendering of characters and compounds of characters examined, I employed the following conventions: for those words appearing exclusively in the Chinese sources, only modern Chinese phonetic rendering in *pinyin* is displayed; for the Japanese sources, Hepburn transliteration system is followed; in the case of Chinese language texts drawn from Japanese sources, only Japanese reading (*kundoku* 訓読) is displayed; for those words appearing both in Chinese and Japanese sources, both modern Chinese reading in *pinyin* and *kundoku* are provided when deemed necessary, one of which in brackets, such as (ch.) or (j.), depending on the order each source appears in the text. As a general rule, I will use both Chinese/Japanese characters and their phonetic rendering in Roman characters in the first occurrence of a word, while from the second occurrence only phonetic rendering will be employed. The same rule applies to titles of the literary works, authors etc. mentioned. Phonetic rendering of titles of Chinese works is displayed in *pinyin* only. For the sake of length, the *kundoku* of the whole extracts is not provided and is therefore limited to singular words taken into specific analysis. For the same reason, phonetic rendering of phrases or whole sentences of both Chinese and Japanese sources is never displayed, even when individually examined.

When not differently noted, quotes from Chinese sources are based on the text from Chinese Texts Project website (ctext.org), while quotes from Japanese sources are based on the text from the Corpus of Historical Japanese (chunagon.ninjal.ac.jp).

2. Sources of the *Zhuangzi* in ancient Japan

The *Zhuangzi* (henceforth *ZZ*) was circulating in Japan at least as early as the Asuka period, in all likelihood especially in the commented and annotated versions by Guo Xiang 郭象 (252-312), Sima Biao 司马彪 (240?-306) and Cheng Xuanying 成玄英 (608-669). The 日本国見在書目録 *Nihonkoku Genzai Sho Mokuroku* ‘Catalogue of books present in Japan’, a catalogue of Chinese books circulating in Japan towards the end of the ninth century, records more than twenty different versions of the *ZZ*, which accounts for the popularity that the book enjoyed in the early Heian period. The catalogue entry for the *ZZ* begins with Sima Biao and Guo Xiang commentaries and also comprises Cheng Xuanying’s sub-commentary. Here is the integral entry to the catalogue for the *ZZ*:

庄子廿卷梁漆園吏庄周撰後漢司马彪注

- · · 卅三郭象注
- · · 義記十張議撰
- · · 義疎廿王穆夜撰
- · · 九同撰
- · · 義疎九賈彦感撰
- 篇 · · · 十二張拔
- · · 疎五續行仏集解
- · · 講疎八周僅射撰
- · · 松義記十
- · · 後撰廿
- · · 序略一
- · · 集解卅
- · · 要難十六
- · · 字訓一
- · · 疎十西立十寺法順成英撰
- · · 音義十卷道士方守一撰
- · · 二
- · · 三徐貌撰
- · · 音訓事義十冷然院

The variety of the ZZ versions available in Japan in the ninth century is remarkable. As to China, Luo Zongqiang (2019) counted 27 different commentaries certainly written during the Tang dynasty, of which eight are anonymous.⁶ However, earlier commentaries were fewer. In the early Tang dynasty, Lu Deming listed six versions available at that time, all of which were presumably written in the period that goes from the eastern Jin (266-420) to the Sui (581-618), with the earliest version being by Cui Zhuan 崔譔, now almost completely lost.⁷ This would bring the total of commentaries up to the end of the Tang dynasty to at least 33. The *Nihonkoku Genzai Sho Mokuroku* was redacted in the year 891, roughly corresponding to the end of the Tang dynasty, hence it entails that over half of the commentaries circulating in China were brought to Japan shortly after their compilation. This estimate can be further increased when historical details are taken into account: first, the catalogue was supposedly redacted after the imperial book repository, the *Reizeiin* 冷然院, was destroyed by a fire in 875 (Kano 1973), which means that before that year even a greater number of Chinese books must have been in Japan; second, the last envoy sent to the Tang court had been in the year 838, with the real possibility that after this last diplomatic mission very few books, if any at all, were imported into Japan. From these considerations, it might be presumed that, at least up to the first half of the ninth century, about two-thirds of the ZZ commentaries compiled in China were brought to Japan.

Kanda (1988) suggests that the first version of the ZZ to reach Japan might have been brought either directly from Tang China or by Korean inhabitants fled to Japan after the fall of Baekje and Goguryeo in 660 and 668. From the literary sources available we can

5 *Nihonkoku genzai sho mokuroku*, *Fujimura Sukeyo* 藤原佐世. The text here reported was drawn from two manuscripts published by the National Diet Library, one anonymous dated 1835 p. 25, and one comprised in *Gunsbo Ruiju* 群書類從 by Hanawa Hokiichi 塙保己一 dated 1851, p. 22. When the manuscripts presented differences I gave priority to the former.

6 Yan Lingfeng 嚴靈峰 in *Zhongguo Zhuangzi Shumulu* 中國莊子書目錄 counts 31 (Luo 2019). Luo argues that four of the twenty-three whose author is known cannot with certainty be recognised as belonging to the Tang dynasty period, therefore reduces the estimate to 27.

7 See Lu Deming, *Jingdian shiwen* 經典釋文, XXVI in Klein (2010).

suppose that a complete version of the *ZZ* was already in Japan in the second half of the seventh century, although some scholars believe the first transmission to trace back to the sixth century. Following Kanda, I argue that there is no evidence demonstrating the presence of any version of the *ZZ* in Japan before the mid seventh century, which does not necessarily imply that the book had not been brought to Japan earlier, but just that no proofs confirming such view have been left.

3. Asuka and Nara period

As seen above, the *Nibonkoku Genzai Sho Mokuroku* gives an accurate account of the conditions of the *ZZ* presence in Japan during the second half of the ninth century. In literature, however, the first references to the *ZZ* date back to a much earlier time. All the major literary works of the Nara period, either written in Japanese or *kanbun*, prose or poetry, include some sort of reference to the *ZZ*, be it a long quotation or just the use of a single word. Although the history of Japanese literature formally begins in the first years of the Nara period with the compilation of *Kojiki* 古事記, poems that would be included in later poetry collections and other sort of writings were actually produced earlier, in the Asuka period or even before. These writings constitute some of the earliest literary works ever created in Japan. Among the early writings of the Asuka era, there are a few that scholarship has claimed contain literary or philosophical references to the *ZZ*: these are Shōtoku Taishi's seventeen article constitution and a few poems of the Nara *kanshi* collection *Kaifūsō* 懷風藻.

I. The *Jūshichi jō kenpō*

Shōtoku Taishi's 聖德太子 *Jūshichi jō (no) kenpō* 十七条憲法 'Seventeen article constitution' was redacted in the year 604 and is known to comprise a great number of references to the Chinese classics. Past research has already established that, as might be expected, the seventeen articles were heavily influenced on both the lexical and ideological level by a wide range of Chinese works, especially by the Ruists and Legists classics, other than by the Buddhist canon. As to Taoism, the *Liezi* 列子 is explicitly quoted in the fifth

article⁸, which implies that Prince Shōtoku possibly knew, at least partly, the Taoist scriptures. As a consequence, a quote from the ZZ is indeed plausible.

Starting off from this evaluation, Xu Shuisheng (1996) and Zhang Aimin (2005, 2009) argued that the tenth article of the constitution was partially inspired by the ZZ second chapter, *Qiwulun* 齊物論.

十曰。絕忿棄瞋。不怒人違。人皆有心。心各有執。彼是則我非
我是則彼非。我必非聖。彼必非愚。共是凡夫耳。是非之理詎能
可定。相共賢愚、如鑲無端。是以、彼人雖瞋、還恐我失。是以、
我獨雖得、從衆同舉。⁹

Tenth: eradicate anger and cast away wrath, do not get angry if people do not obey. People all have their own heart-mind and every heart-mind has its own attachments. The right of others is our wrong and our right is the others' wrong. We are definitely not sages nor are the others fools. We and the others are but mediocre men, that is all. The right and the wrong, how can they be determined? Wisdom and stupidity are undivided, like a metal ring with no starting nor ending point. Therefore, even though others are angry, let us worry again about our own errors. Thus, although we might

8 *Nihonshoki* 日本書紀, XXII, 5, *Chōsaku Kenpō Jūshichi jō* 肇作憲法十七條, 5: “便有財之訟、如石投水。乏者之訴、似水投石。” “A complaint by a rich person is like throwing a stone in the water. A complaint by a poor person is like throwing water on a stone.”. 如石投水 and 似水投石 were probably quoted from the *Liezi*, 說符 *Shuofu* “白公問曰「若以石投水，何如？」。孔子曰「吳之善沒者能取之」。曰「若以水投石，何如？」” “The Duke Bai asked: ‘What about you throwing a stone in the water, how’s that?’ Confucius replied: ‘A good diver from Wu would be able to retrieve it.’ The Duke said: ‘How about you throwing water on a stone? How’s that?’”. However, the dialogue between Duke Bai and Confucius is also reported in the *Lishi Chunqiu* 呂氏春秋, which quotes the *Liezi*, while the expressions 如石投水 and 以石投水 also appear in several later Chinese works, among which the *Wenxuan* 文選. The presence of these quotes does not therefore necessarily imply that a complete version of the *Liezi* was known in Japan in the first years of the seventh century.

9 *Nihonshoki*, XXII, 5, *Chōsaku Kenpō Jūshichi jō*, 10. Quotes from *Nihonshoki*, comprising Shōtoku’s constitution, are based on the text of *Rikkokushi* by Ariyoshi Saeki (1940).

believe that we are the only ones in the right, let us follow the majority and act together with them.

Shotoku Taishi's *kenpō* is normally translated with the modern term 'constitution' although, as is clear from the section here reported, the seventeen articles are closer to moral precepts than statutory laws. Noticeably, the tenth article is an ethical injunction against anger and the arrogance of considering oneself to be always in the right. The article advocates the moral need to accept different opinions and promotes a spirit of tolerance, also pointing out the necessity of questioning one's own viewpoint. The final part casts doubt on the objectivity of right and wrong, seemingly affirming the ultimate subjectivity of any discourse. Right and wrong – the article states – are undifferentiated, resembling a round metal ring that has no prominent side.

Although both Xu and Zhang thought the tenth article of Shōtoku's constitution was influenced by the *ZZ*, they disagreed on which part of the book was the origin of such influence, mentioning different passages of the *Qinlun* as possible sources. Specifically, Zhang (2005, 2009) regarded the phrase 彼是則我非、我是則彼非 of the tenth article as an example of the influence exerted by the *ZZ* on the constitution, arguing that this verbiage is reminiscent of one passage of *Qinlun*.

非彼無我，非我無所取。¹⁰

Without them there would not be a self; without a self, there would be nothing that one can take.

However, I believe the two sentences to be unrelated. Since the nature of the correlation postulated by Zhang is semantic, any alleged relation between the two sentences should have been proved by an exegetical analysis, but the author provides none. Comparing the semantic values of the propositions will show the two sentences hardly compatible, although unfortunately the interpretation of the extract from *Qinlun* is rather problematic. The point at issue is whether 非彼無我，非我無所取 relates to the previous paragraph or whether it stands on its own. The previous paragraph describes at length the numerous emotions and sentiments of humans, concluding that despite their

10 ICS *Zhuangzi*: 2/4/1

manifestations being evident, their origin is mysterious. ‘Them’ therefore indicates such emotions.

喜怒哀樂，慮嘆變蜚，姚佚啟態，樂出虛，蒸成菌。日夜相代乎前而莫知其所萌。已乎，已乎！旦暮得此，其所由以生乎！¹¹

Joyful, angered, sad, pleasant, worried, regretful, strange, afraid, frivolous, indulgent, insolent, affected, like music coming from a hole and mushrooms spawning from humidity. They alternate before us day and night, but we don’t know whence they sprout. Enough! Enough! We get them morning and evening, they are the means of our living!

The two phrases 非彼無我 and 非我無所取 can be interpreted as a continuation of the previous discourse, in which case the character *bi* 彼 would indicate the various emotions of humans described just above, resulting in the passage to convey the mutual genesis of the two phenomena, namely the ever manifesting emotions and the self who perceives them.¹² On the other hand, this sentence could be regarded as broaching a new topic. In such a case, *bi* would indicate an unspecified ‘else’ and create an abstract antithesis with *wo* 我 ‘self.’¹³ The whole proposition would thus convey the impossibility of a clear-cut

11 Ibid. 2/4/29 – 30 – 31

12 This is the interpretation of Chen and many other scholars and translators. Chen explicitly refers to Guo Xiang’s comment “彼自然也” as wrong. The notable point is that Guo Xiang felt this proposition to be separated from the above paragraph.

13 Understanding what Zhuangzi meant by *wo* is not an easy task. See Slingerland (2004), Yao (2013), Poli (2015), Ming (2016) etc. In this proposition, considering its opposition with *bi* ‘else’, *wo* supposedly indicates one of the two elements constituting the conditions for something to be *qu* 取 ‘take(n)’. However, the precise meaning of *qu* in this context is contested. Given the context, I believe *qu* might be extended to ‘experience’ or ‘perceive’, which, in a way, are similar to Mair’s rendering (p. 13) ‘apprehend’ but more direct. Watson’s (p. 8) ‘take hold’ is analogous but the emotions mentioned earlier are made the subject. Graham and Ziporyn translates *qu* with ‘choose’ and ‘select’, arguing the term to be etymologically related to the Mohist canon. See Graham (1969). Although irreproachable from the philological point of view, I see some difficulties in the logic viability of this rendering.

dichotomy between what is *wo* ‘self’ and what is *bi* ‘other’ and their mutually caused inseparability, which ultimately can be viewed as an extension of the previous argument to a more general level.¹⁴ In fact, commentators generally agree in translating the verb *fei* 非, appearing twice in this proposition, as formulating an hypothesis ‘if there is not’, and accordingly *fei wo* 非我 as ‘if there is no self’. The logical consequence is that *wo* is what allows something to be ‘taken’ or, extendedly ‘perceived’, which is to say *wo* is the essential means of experience. If it is true that those emotions that the author listed just above can be *perceived* as long as there is a subject to experience that perception, it is also true that anything ‘else’ – not only the above emotions – must go through the ‘self’ before being observable. Whatever the case, it is safe to say that the author is here pointing out the interconnectedness between the ‘self’ and the ‘else’, and the relational nature of their being.

Now let us turn again to the tenth article of the constitution. If in 彼是則我非、我是則彼非 from the tenth article, 是 is interpreted as ‘to be’ and 非 as ‘not to be’ – as supposedly Zhang did – the whole sentence would be simply translated as ‘It is thus I am not, I am thus he is not’. Under this interpretation, the passage presents a slight lexical similarity with the extract from *Qiwulun*: the structure of the two sentences are somewhat similar, both based on the contrast of the first and third person and the opposition of the verbs ‘be’ and ‘not to be’. However, besides being semantically obscure, such exegesis would evidently conflict with the following 是非之理詎能可定 ‘The right and the wrong, how can they be determined?’. Here, translating 是非 as ‘to be and not to be’ is clearly inadequate, whereas ‘right and wrong’ is a much more sensible rendering. A reading of the article as dealing with the concepts of ‘right’ and ‘wrong’ is appropriate also because it

14 This seems to be Graham and Mair’s approach. I believe this to be a less precise interpretation although in the fourth paragraph of *Qiwulun* a similar dichotomy is discussed in parallel terms, this time without any possible connection with the second paragraph describing human emotions. See Ibid.: 2/4/16 “物無非彼，物無非是。” “Nothing is not ‘that’ to something other, nothing is not ‘this’ to itself”, which seems to me as a further step in the author’s reasoning compared to the second paragraph. Graham held this sentence, as many others of the *Qiwulun*, to be a tentative statement based on common sense or prevailing view of the time that he then argues against. This view helps solving some points where the received text is in apparent contradiction but the sentence in question seems to be a stage of the author’s reasoning rather than a tentative statement.

does not compromise the context coherence of the subsequent statement on wisdom and stupidity (我必非聖彼必非愚 ‘We are definitely not sages nor are the others fools’). Consequently, it is more reasonable to construe the sentence as pointing at the relativity of a personal conception of right and wrong rather than at any concept about existence. Even considering the characters 是非 as expressing existential states, the sentence would have a radically different meaning from that of the extract from *Qiwulun*: in fact, 彼是則我非 ‘the other is, thus I am not’ is the opposite of 非彼無我 ‘if there is no other, then there is no I’. This extract from *Qiwulun* and the tenth article of the constitution, therefore, clearly differs in meaning, while between the two expressions there is no more than a slight lexical affinity. Considering that the analogy between the constitution tenth article and *Qiwulun* texts can be reduced merely to three characters, each one of which is extremely frequent in Chinese, Zhang’s conjecture of a correlation between the two texts seems all the more doubtful. For the above reasons, connecting the tenth article of the constitution with the above extract from *Qiwulun* as proposed by Zhang seems unnecessary, and the view supporting such relatedness should be dismissed.

Also Xu Shuisheng (1996) mentions the *Qiwulun* as the ideological basis for the tenth article, though quoting two different sections as sources.

夫隨其成心而師之，誰獨且無師乎？¹⁵

If we follow our prejudices and make them our masters, who would be without a master?

是亦彼也，彼亦是也。彼亦一是非，此亦一是非。果且有彼是乎哉？果且無彼是乎哉？彼是莫得其偶，謂之道樞。¹⁶

‘This’ is also ‘that’, ‘that’ is also ‘this’. ‘There’ has its ‘this’ and ‘not-this’, ‘here’ has its ‘this’ and ‘not-this’. So, are there ‘that’ and ‘this’ as presumed? Or aren’t there? ‘That’ or ‘this’ not getting their opposite, is what is called ‘the Hinge of the Way’.

15 Ibid: 2/4/9

16 Ibid. 2/4/18 – 19

In the first of the two extracts the author argues on the impossibility of determining a *shi* ‘this’ and *fei* ‘not-this’,¹⁷ unless they are already formed in the mind.¹⁸ In the second, the author reiterates the statement on the relativity of ‘this’ and ‘that’, adding a further step: the hinge of the Way, a periphrasis denoting the world as it is in its pivotal essence (Chen 1983), lies where no opposition between ‘this’ and ‘that’ is possible. The pivotal essence of the world resides in the absence of opposition between dichotomic intellectual discriminations, in the absence of logical antithetical alternatives.

The tenth article, in its questioning the possibility of establishing a right and wrong, certainly resembles these two passages to some extent. Throughout the *ZZ*, *shi* and *fei* are appraised negatively, often described as cumbersome burdens to forsake, a view that is somewhat reflected by the tenth article of Shōtoku constitution. However, the spirit of tolerance and sympathy purported by the tenth article seems to be inspired by Buddhism more than Zhuangzian Taoism. All through the *ZZ*, especially in the outer and mixed chapters, the author(s) severely condemns Ruism and its values, frequently ridicules the logicians and occasionally argues against other schools too. The *ZZ* is therefore very far from assessing positively diverse points of view, which arguably is the gist of the tenth article. Besides, the author of *Qinwulun* and Shōtoku seem to be moving in altogether different dimensions, the former in a philosophical, speculative sphere, the latter limitedly to socio-political circumstances. The constitution was basically designed to provide the subjects, especially government officials, with a coherent set of values and concrete behavioural guidelines for the newly established institutions and renewed social system.

17 *Shi* basically is a demonstrative pronoun, ‘this’, used verbally, ‘it is this (= the one in question)’ (Graham 1969) while *fei* is its negation ‘it is not the one in question’. In the *Qinwulun* the two terms, often translated as ‘right’ and ‘wrong’, frequently appear in combination to *bi* 彼 and *ci* 此, ‘there’ and ‘here’. It entails that what for *ci* ‘here’ is *shi* ‘this’, for *bi* ‘there’ is *fei* ‘not-this’. In these cases, translating with ‘right’ and ‘wrong’ might lead to ambiguity, although in other cases such translation is viable.

18 *Chengxin* 成心, lit. ‘completed heart’. It is impossible to discriminate anything from all the rest calling it *shi* (or, conversely, *fei*) unless one coordinate (*ci* ‘here’ or *bi* ‘there’, and consequently its opposite) is given. In fact, if there is no ‘here’, nothing can be called ‘this’. In this context ‘prejudice’ has to be taken as an initial, arbitrary determination of a coordinate.

Conversely, the arguments of *Qiwulun* are highly speculative and spiritual, so that gleaning a socio-political interpretation from them seems to be a hardly possible feat.

One more suggestion by Fukunaga (1971), later picked up by Fukase (1995), is that the character 和 (j. *wa* ch. *he*), which is central to three of the seventeen articles, is of Taoist derivation. The character 和 appears four times in the constitution.

一曰、以和爲貴、無忤爲宗。人皆有黨。亦少達者。以是、或不順君父。乍違于隣里。然上和下睦、諧於論事、則事理自通。何事不成。¹⁹

First: regard harmony as precious and obedience as fundamental. Every person has personal favouritism. Wise people are few. Therefore, some disobey their lords or their fathers or suddenly oppose their neighbours. Even so, if there is harmony above and peace below and all harmoniously settle on discussing matters, the nature of the matter is spontaneously understood. What, then, cannot be accomplished?

十三曰、諸任官者、同知職掌。或病或使、有關於事。然得知之日、和如曾識。其以非與聞。勿防公務。²⁰

Thirteen: All those who are appointed as officials should equally know their duties and responsibilities. They might miss out on matters because of illness or to go on a mission. Even so, from the day they come to know about these duties and responsibilities, they should conform harmoniously to them as if they had known them for long. Not to hinder public affairs, they must not claim to be uninvolved.

In three of the four cases, *wa*, grammatically a substantive, is employed to define a social harmony between ‘above and below’, the higher and lower social status. However, in the

19 *Nibonshoki*, XXII, *Go – Chōsaku Kenpō Jūshichi jō*, 1. 和 *wa* appears with the same meaning in the fifteenth article (Ibid.15) “(...) 故初章云、上下和諧、其亦是情歟。” “Therefore the first article said, harmony between above and below, that is precisely this sentiment.”

20 Ibid. 13

thirteenth article 和 is verbal (*yawaragu*), ‘to be in harmony with’, outlining how officials should unwaveringly commit to their tasks without inappropriate resistance due to personal inclinations or favouritisms.

Fukunaga identified the *Laozi* 老子²¹ as well as the ZZ as ideological sources of the concept of harmony as seen in the first, thirteenth and fifteenth articles. As to the ZZ, he quotes the *Zaiyou* 在宥 and *Zhibeiyou* 知北遊 chapters as possible sources. In the first of these, 和 appears in a dialogue between a Taoist master and the Yellow Emperor, in which the Emperor poses a question on governing the country and, later, on obtaining a long life.

「聞吾子達於至道，敢問治身奈何而可以長久？」「(…) 慎守女身，物將自壯。我守其一以處其和。」²²

“I heard you have reached the supreme Way. I dare ask: how should one govern oneself so as to obtain longevity?” “(…) Guard carefully your body, and things will naturally prosper. I maintain my integrity and dwell in harmony.”

Harmony is the ‘dwelling place’, viz. ‘the way of being’, of who has acquired the *zhidao* 至道 ‘perfect Way’, as, in this case, the fictional master whom the Yellow Emperor is addressing. This is true because, according to the author, *harmony* is an intrinsic quality of the Way and to dwell on *harmony* means to enter the Way and conform to it.

以和為量，浮游乎萬物之祖。²³

With harmony as one’s measure, to journey floating to the origin of all things.

21 Fukunaga only quotes the *Laozi*, 55 “含德之厚比於赤子。(…) 終日號而不嘎，和之至也。知和曰常。” “those who possess the profound Virtue are like infants. (...) They cry all day without their voice growing hoarse, that is the acme of harmony. To understand harmony is called Constancy”, though several other chapters contain the character too.

22 *ICS Zhuangzi*: 11/27/22 – 23, 11/27/27

23 *Ibid.* 20/53/14

As is clear from these examples, the concept of *harmony* in the *ZZ* is not to be intended as social harmony, nor does it indicate the unhindered execution of official duties upheld by the constitution. In the *ZZ*, *harmony* means conforming to the Way without attaching oneself to deviating ideological constructions; it is a personal dimension, not a relational or social one. Consequently, I believe that at an ideological level the concept of *wa* appearing in the constitution has no direct connection with the *ZZ*, as instead asserted by Fukunaga and supported by Fukase.²⁴

Although a direct connection between the tenth article of the constitution and the *ZZ* is improbable, that Prince Shōtoku knew and appreciated the book is indeed possible. In the *Jōgū Shōtoku Hō Teisetsu* 上宮聖徳法王帝説 – the oldest extant biography of Prince Shōtoku – the author commented that “Shōtoku also knew the meaning of the three dark books and the five classics”²⁵ among which figures the *ZZ*, and according to other sources, Prince Shōtoku would have ordered the carving of a stone monument to commemorate his journey to the *Dōgo* hot springs, upon which the sentence “The *Chun* trees cast their shade on each other creating a dome of branches” would have been engraved.²⁶ In this case the *chun* 椿 trees are mentioned in the attempt to express the feeling of unworldliness and separation from reality that is a peculiar feature of the *ZZ*, and especially of chapters like *Xiaoyaoyou*, from which the term was supposedly drawn (Zhang 2005). Nevertheless, the character 椿 appears in other Chinese sources too, albeit rarely, so the above is far

24 Some early scholars, most famously Okada (1946) and Yamada (1940), argued in support of a direct ideological influence of the *ZZ* on the constitution too, although Kanda later called attention to the lack of any evidence demonstrating the transmission to Japan of a complete version of the *ZZ* in the sixth or early seventh century, denying speculations on the constitution as ‘crossing the limits’ (Kanda 1989, 133).

25 *Jōgū Shōtoku Hō Teisetsu* “亦知三玄五經之旨” (Zhang 2009). The three “dark books” are the *Laozi*, the *Zhuangzi* and the *Yijing*. The *Yijing* appears twice in this description since it is normally included in the five classics too. The date of compilation of the biography is thought to be the ninth century, more than two hundred years after Shōtoku’s death.

26 See *Shaku Nihongi* 釋日本紀 “椿樹相廕而穹窿” (Zhang 2009). Similar records are contained in *Manyōshū Chūshaku* 万葉集注釈 and fragments from *Iyokoku Fudoki* 伊予国風土記. The stele is named *Iyo no yu no oka no hi* 伊予湯岡碑 ‘Stele on the hill of Iyo hot water springs’. The one still existing is a reproduction.

from being conclusive evidence. In the case these records are correct, though, *ZZ* must have been known and read in Japan as early as the end of the sixth century.

II. The *Kaifūsō*

As mentioned above, the first *kanshi* collection compiled in Japan – the *Kaifūsō* 懷風藻 ‘Fond recollections of poetry’ – includes a few poems composed during the Asuka period comprising lexical loans and semantic references pointing at the *ZZ*. Although the *Kaifūsō* was redacted in the year 751, the collection gathers earlier poems, which are ordered chronologically.

a. *Utage ni shisu*

According to Zhang Aimin (2009), the first reference to the *ZZ* appears in the opening poem of *Kaifūsō*, therefore the most ancient of the whole collection, which was written by the imperial Prince Ōtomo 大友 in the first half of the seventh century. The poem, entitled *Utage ni shisu* 侍宴 ‘Serving at a feast’, is a eulogy dedicated to the Emperor Tenji 天智, and was composed by Prince Ōtomo probably while at a feast.

侍宴	Serving at a feast
皇明光日月	The august wisdom is as bright as the light of sun and moon,
帝德載天地	The emperor’s virtue sustains sky and earth,
三才並泰昌	Sky, earth and man equally prosper peacefully
万国表臣義 ²⁷	And all the countries show submission.

In the second line, the expression *tenchi wo nosu* 載天地 ‘sustain the sky and earth’ allegedly harks back to the *ZZ*, in which the expression *fuzai tiandi* 覆載天地 ‘covers the sky and sustain the earth’ occurs twice (Zhang 2009), albeit in two identical sentences. The first occurrence is in a speech uttered by the mythical sage Xu You 許由 (*Dazongshi* chapter), whilst the second by Zhuangzi himself (*Tiandao* chapter). Either time the expression is

²⁷ *Kaifūsō*, 1, *Utage ni Shisu*. Quotes from the *Kaifūsō* are based on the text of *Nihon koten zenshū* by Yosano Hiroshi (1926).

part of an invocation directed to the Way and carries an identical meaning, both times being used as a grammatical modifier applied to the Way, the ‘master’ to which the two sages address.

許由曰「(...) 吾師乎！吾師乎！齋萬物而不為義，澤及萬世而不為仁，長於上古而不為老，覆載天地，刻雕眾形而不為巧。此所遊已！」²⁸

Xu You said: “(...) Master, master! You blend all things but do not regard it as virtue; bestow your favour to all things and do not regard it as benevolence; you are older than antiquity but do not regard it as longevity; you cover the sky and sustain the earth, you carve all the shapes but do not regard it as skilful. This is what journeying is, nothing else!

This peculiar invocation of the Way comes at the end of a long dialogue between Xu You and Yierzi 意而子, a fictional character appearing only in this paragraph. The theme of the dialogue is the necessity of dropping limiting intellectual concepts such as the Ruist values *ren* 仁 ‘benevolence’ and *yi* 義 ‘righteousness’ or the objectivating *shi* 是 ‘right’ and *fei* 非 ‘wrong’, all of which are seen as arbitrary standards that hinder or even prevent men to live spontaneously in accordance to the Way. *Ren*, *yi* and other similar values are misleading insofar as they presume to capture and linguistically formalize the Way into rigid moral yardsticks. Similarly, *shi* and *fei*, in their attempt to force into logical proposition such as affirmation and negation what originally has no connotation, fails to become reliable criteria of judgment. According to the narrative, these values were transmitted to Yierzi by

28 *ICS Zhuangzi*: 6/19/14. Xu You’s speech must have stricken the first curator of the ZZ as impressive since “great ancestral master” was then chosen as the title for the whole chapter (Graham 1981). Later, in the *Tiandao* chapter, the same words are uttered by Zhuangzi, see *ibid.* 13/34/26. The only difference between the two invocations is the substitution in the latter of character *yi* 義 with *li* 戾. Following Chen (1983), I believe *yi* to be the original and correct version of the sentence at issue for two reasons: first, the initial part of the paragraph is centred on the two terms *ren* and *yi* while *li* sudden occurrence seems somewhat abrupt; besides, the focal point of the following sentence is the character *ren* 仁, which would form a pertinent couple with *yi*, while would be unnatural alone.

Emperor Yao 堯, the paradigm of Confucian virtues but also upheld by the Mohist tradition. Nonetheless, *ren* and *yi* are scornfully compared to *qing* 黥 ‘a criminal brand’ whereas *shi* and *fei* to *yi* 劓 ‘a nose ablation’ by Xu You, who regards them as ridiculous and superfluous intellectual constructions causing people to stray away from their original path of spontaneity. The verbiage of this section is particularly harsh. The author makes use of lexis indicating physical disfigurements to assert that common sense morality and rational discernment are an invading, pernicious presence, actually a mutilation of one’s true being (Fraser 2014). In the second part of the dialogue, Yierzi replies to Xu You’s criticism by pointing out the possibility of his present condition being only temporary: can Xu You really know that his adoption of intellectual conceptions as *ren* and *yi* or *shi* and *fei* are not momentary stages from which he will be redeemed by Nature?²⁹

「(…) 庸詎知夫造物者之不息我黥而補我劓，使我乘成以隨先生邪？」許由曰「噫！未可知也。(…)」³⁰

“(…) How do you know that the creator of things will not erase my brand and make up for my nose and, availing of my completeness, it will make me follow you, master?”. Xu You replied: “Ah! That cannot be known. (…)”

Yierzi, though tentatively embracing the values received from Yao, acknowledges their momentary nature and explicitly declare to be willing to wallow in their relativity, meanwhile agreeing with Xu You on their absolute worthlessness.³¹ Xu You admits that it cannot yet be known whether Yierzi will be restored to his original ‘completeness’, namely

29 Zhuangzi noticed that opinions and beliefs change even radically over time. E.g. see Ibid. 27/80/3, “莊子謂惠子曰：「孔子行年六十而六十化，始時所是，卒而非之，未知今之所謂是之非五十九年非也。」” “Zhuangzi said to Huizi: ‘When Confucius was sixty he had changed sixty times, what at the beginning he affirmed, at death he negated, never knowing whether what he was calling right today wasn’t what he had called wrong for 59 years.’”. Almost the same dialogue is reported in the *Zeyang* chapter (Ibid. 25/75/16). I believe this to be one expression of Zhuangzi’s relativism, in this case consisting in the disregard of one’s own beliefs and opinions, the dismissal of logic and the repudiation of language faculties (See Schwitzgebel 1996).

30 Ibid. 6/19/12 – 13

the absence of intellectual conceptualization, which entails that neither Yierzi nor Xu You have certain power to establish the course of Yierzi's future development. In fact, the grammatical subject of Yierzi's whole question is 造物者 *zao wu zhe* 'Nature',³² whilst Yierzi himself is passive, as can also be ascertained in 使我... 隨 'makes me follow'. Clearly, Nature is what determines whether Yierzi will abandon *ren* and *yi*, *shi* and *fei*, while he himself seems to have little say in it. Analogously, nature is what determines whether Yierzi will follow Xu You's teaching or, in the first place, Yao's.

The dialogue is quite unclear in its purport. Does the author root for Yierzi or for Xu You? Xu You seems celebrated in some passages and is seemingly made the spokesperson for the author's views in all the occasions. Moreover, the fact that in *Tiandao Zhuangzi* pronounces the same invocation seemingly speaks in his favour, certainly implying that the author of *Tiandao* looked upon the dialogue as the contrast between zhuangzian Taoism, purported by Xu You, and conventional views, by Yierzi. However, in a way Yierzi might be seen as a model of zhuangzian relativist, explicitly stating that his beliefs are far from fixed, determined, objective certainties, since they might be subject to change independently from oneself and due to external causes. In Yierzi's view 'wandering' in the realm of the relative and momentary *ren*, *yi*, *shi*, *fei* means therefore to accept them without wilful resistance, while concurrently being aware of their futility and being ready to switch over to something else, such as Xu You's doctrine, whenever naturally made do so. Eventually, Xu You must acknowledge this point: one cannot really decide of one's future inclinations, which in the end are in the hands of the so-called 'Creator of things'.³³

31 See Ibid. 6/19/10 – 11 “許由曰「夫堯既已黥汝以仁義，而劓汝以是非矣。汝將何以遊夫遙蕩、恣睢、轉徙之途乎？」」意而子曰：「雖然，吾願遊於其藩。」” “Xu You said: ‘Yao has already marked you with benevolence and righteousness and maimed you with right and wrong; how will you wander the realm of carelessness, recklessness and unhindered change?’ Yierzi said: ‘Even so, I’m willing to journey its borders’”. Yierzi’s ‘even so’ acknowledges the undesirable conditions of being ‘tattooed’ and ‘maimed’, though still reiterating the will to reach the state of mind Xu You describes as ‘careless’, ‘reckless’ and ‘(ever) changing’.

32 English translators seem to prefer literal rendering as seen in Mair ‘the Creator of Things’, Graham ‘the maker of things’, Watson ‘the Creator’ etc. Obviously, it has to be interpreted as an impersonal Creator.

Assumed the impossibility to know whether Nature will make Yierzi abandon the conceptual values transmitted by Yao, what can be learned from the ancestral master – the Way – is the unceasing transformation to which one can conform by ‘roaming’. Xu You therefore describes the Way in several ways, which can be regarded as an enumeration of the great master’s unmeant, unintended ‘teachings’, for ‘roaming (aimlessly)’ is the state of mind resulting from a conformation to the Way’s teaching. Amongst the attributes that Xu You attaches to the Way is found *fuzai tiandi* ‘covering the sky and sustaining the earth’, presumably the source of Prince Ōtomo’s quotation. Through Xu You’s words, Zhuangzi elevates the Way to the role of sustaining principle of the universe, inasmuch as ‘sustain’ can actually be understood as ‘allow (sky and earth) to be as they are’.³⁴ In *Utage ni shisu*, Ōtomo made use of the expression 載天地 to celebrate the emperor’s virtue, skipping the character 覆 to conform to the five characters meter. Ōtomo compares Emperor Tenji’s virtue to the zhuangzian Way, commending it as what sustains the existing order of the world. The lexeme *fuzai* occasionally appears in other Chinese classics, especially in Taoist-oriented scriptures, in combination with *tiandi*, *wanwu*, or similar combinations to create collocations of analogous usage and meaning to those from the ZZ analysed above.³⁵ Nevertheless, the fact that Prince Ōtomo quoted *Qiwulun* in the only other poem remained of him endorses the hypothesis of a lexical sourcing from the ZZ. Although conclusive evidence is missing, Zhang’s hypothesis is plausible.

33 Arguably, this somewhat obscure dialogue can be explained by means of the initial passage of *Dazongshi*. See *ibid.* 6/15/29 “知天之所為，知人之所為者，至矣！” “Knowing what the sky does and knowing what man does, that is the summit!” If it is true that one cannot ultimately know whether they will be redeemed from limiting, conventional values, what can be done is know how much is left in the hand of Nature and how much can be accomplished by man: indeed, that is the utmost knowledge. For how can man act properly unless knowing the limitations of his own possibilities?

34 Except the two passages commented above, in the ZZ the compound *fuzai* also occurs once in pair with *wanwu* 万物 ‘all things’ to express a similar meaning: *Ibid.* 12/29/20 “夫子曰：‘夫道，覆載萬物者也，洋洋乎大哉！君子不可以不剝心焉。’” “The master said: ‘The Way is what covers and sustains all things, it is vast as the open sea that stretches to the horizon. The man of virtue cannot but hollow out his heart on it.’”

35 For instance, *fuzai* occurs in pair with *tiandi* in the *Huainanzi* 淮南子 and *Wenzi* 文子.

b. Emperor Kōbun's *Omohi wo nobu*

The second poem of *Kaifūsō* authored by Prince Ōtomo is titled *Omohi wo nobu* 述懷 ‘Expressing my feelings’ and is recorded just below *Utage ni shisu* as the second poem of the collection. It was written soon after Ōtomo had become emperor taking the name of Kōbun 弘文. Although the *Kaifūsō* does not provide information on the date of composition of these two poems, Emperor Kōbun reigned only in the year 672, hence *Omohi wo nobu* must have been written in that year, while *Utage ni shisu* was certainly composed earlier.

述懷	Expressing my feelings
道德承天訓	As to virtue, I receive the Sky's teaching,
塩梅寄真宰	As to politics, I entrust it to the Providence,
羞無監撫術	Ashamed by my ineptitude to direct and foster my people,
安能臨四海 ³⁶	How can I govern the world?

The term *shinsai* 真宰 (ch. *zhenzai*) ‘true ruler’, on the second line, is a loanword from the *Qiwulun* chapter, here indicating the ‘providence’ to which the emperor wishes to entrust the politics (Kanda 1989). The term *zhenzai* is semantically connected with other compound words containing the character *zhen* 真, first of all *zhenren* 真人 ‘true person’, which appears frequently throughout the *ZZ* to designate who has obtained the Way, and which is also quoted by later Japanese works. Other lexemes related to the pre-substantive modifier *zhen* ‘true-’ are *zhenjun* 真君 ‘true lord’, *zhenzhi* 真知 ‘true knowledge’ and *zhenxing* 真性 ‘true nature’. The source of Emperor Kōbun’s quotation is the paragraph of *Qiwulun* mentioned earlier in connection to the tenth article of Prince Shōtoku’s constitution.

36 *Kaifūsō*, 2, *Gogon* – *Omohi wo Nobu*

非彼無我，非我無所取。是亦近矣，而不知其所為使。若有真宰而特不得其朕。可行已信、而不見其形、有情而無形。³⁷

Without them there would not be a self; without a self, there would be nothing that one can get. This is close to the truth, but one does not know what makes it be so. It is as if there was a *true ruler*, of which one cannot understand the signs. One can trust its functioning but cannot see its shape; for it has qualities but it has no shape.

Zhenzai reportedly refers to the heart, the organ of thought governing the relation between the self and the emotions.³⁸ After the description of the multiplicity of emotions, Zhuangzi seems to be reflecting on their mysterious origin. Zhuangzi reasons there must be something governing their coming into being, then tentatively pinpoints it down through the term *zhenzai*. As it can be noticed, however, the meaning of the term in Emperor Kōbun's *Omohi wo nobu* is considerably different. The fact that the first two lines of Emperor Kōbun's poem have the same structure, consisting in 'theme of the proposition' + 'verb' + 'substantive', implies a semantic correlation between the two themes and between the two final substantives of the first half of the composition. It may be noticed that the themes of the propositions, 'virtue' and 'politics', are the domain of the emperor, the author himself. Similarly, the two final substantives refer to the same domain, opposed to that of the emperor-man: both *tenkun* 天訓 'the Sky's teaching' and *shinsai* indicate the notion of *Sky* has a conscious ruling entity, a natural providence that

37 *Zhuangzi*, II, *Qiwulun*, 5. Unfortunately this is one more disputed passage. Chen p.48 holds “是亦近矣” is to underline the similarity between the self and the aforementioned emotions, while other versions generally interpret the phrase to roughly mean “this is close to the truth”. This second rendering seems the most befitting. “可行已信” is also controversial. In Chen and Mair's translation, 可 *ke* modifies 信 *xin* “can trust”, in Watson's it modifies 行 *xing* “can act”. Graham changes the subject and puts the sentence in the passive voice translating *ke xing* as “it can be walked”, which I deem unnecessary.

38 Graham 1981, p. 51. As Chen (1983, p. 47) points out explicitly, the numerous interpretations of *zhenzai* as “the Way”, “Nature” etc. are wrong. The term *zhenjun*, appearing some lines below, is therefore a synonym to *zhenzai*, see ICS *Zhuangzi*: 2/4/4 “其有真君存焉” “There must be a ruler among them (=the aforementioned organs)”.

bestows virtue to the earthly ruler and assists him in political matters. In fact, construing Kōbun’s usage of *shinsai* as indicating the governing organ of an individual – in this case the emperor himself – would irremediably conflict with the third line, where the author humbly confesses his ineptitude to government. Starting from such consideration, entrusting politics to the Providence is a natural outcome. However, this vision is clearly closer to a Ruist conception of ‘Sky’, whilst severely clashes with what ‘True Ruler’ understandably means in the *Qiwulun*. In *Omobi wo nobu*, therefore, translating *shinsai* as ‘providence’ seems most appropriate, for the ‘True Ruler’ of *Qiwulun* is clearly not something that can be appealed to in order to solve political matters. In this light, emperor Kōbun’s usage of the word cannot but appear slightly off the mark. In any case, entrusting the politics to the providence would not prove a good idea: Emperor Kōbun would soon be defeated in the Jinshin war and dethroned, resulting in his suicide and in a longlasting ill repute in the official chronicles, such as the *Nihonshoki*, in which he was even stripped of the title of emperor. In any case, his poems prove that as far back as the mid seventh century, the *ZZ* was known among Japanese literati and that its literary value was appreciated enough to be used in a poem dedicated to the emperor, and written by the emperor. The fact that the two oldest extant Chinese poems written in Japan actually comprises lexical features ultimately deriving from the *ZZ* is indeed surprising. Emperor Kōbun might actually have had a preference for the *ZZ* and highly appraised it as a valuable literary source, though his understanding for its philosophical contents, as far as can be surmised from the two hints gathered from his brief poems, seems to have been rather shallow.

c. *Sansai*

According to Zhang (2009), also the third poem of the *Kaifūsō*, *Sansai* 山齋 ‘A mountain hermitage’, includes a loanword from the *ZZ*. The poem was written in the second half of the seventh century by Prince Kawashima 河島, one of Emperor Kōbun’s younger brothers.

山齋

A mountain hermitage

塵外年光滿

Far from society a spring light fills the sky,

林間物候明	In the forest the cyclic change is manifest.
風月澄遊席	On a breezy, clear moon night I leave my seat at the banquet,
松桂期交情 ³⁹	A pine and a laurel hoping to mutually befriend.

The poem is somewhat obscure, though seemingly celebrates friendship. Nonetheless, neither the introduction nor the poem itself provide any clue on who was the recipient of the work, resulting in the author's purport being hardly comprehensible.

Zhang argues that the word *jingai* 塵外 (ch. *chenwai*) was borrowed from the ZZ where it appears twice in the expression *chengou zhi wai* 塵垢之外 'Outside of the dust and dirt'.

瞿鵠子問乎長梧子曰：「吾聞諸夫子，聖人不從事於務，不就利不違害，不喜求，不緣道，無謂有謂，有謂無謂，而遊乎塵垢之外。夫子以為孟浪之言，而我以為妙道之行也。吾子以為奚若？」長梧子曰：「是黃帝之所聽熒也，而丘也何足以知之！(…)」⁴⁰

Ququezi asked Changwuzi: "I heard Confucius saying 'The saint does not engage in public affairs; does not pursue benefits; does not avoid damages; does not hope to obtain more; does not forcibly stick to the Way; does not say anything yet seems to be saying something; says something yet seems to be saying nothing; and journeys outside of the dust and dirt.' Confucius thinks these to be rash and untrustworthy words, but I think these are the working of the wondrous Way. What do you, master, think about it?" Changwuzi said: "Even the Yellow Emperor would be puzzled; how can Confucius suffice to understand this?"

孔子曰：「彼遊方之外者也(…)彼方且與造物者為人，而遊乎天地之一氣。彼以生為附贅縣疣，以死為決疢潰癰。夫若然者，又惡知死生先後之所在！假於異物，託於同體，忘其肝膽，遺其

39 *Kaifūsō*, 3, *Sansai*

40 *ICS Zhuangzǐ*: 2/6/21 – 22

耳目，反覆終始，不知端倪， 芒然彷徨乎塵垢之外，逍遙乎無為之業。」⁴¹

Confucius said: “They journey outside of the world. (...) They make Nature their fellow and journey where sky and earth are one; they regard life as a swelling tumour or a protruding wen, death as a rotting ulcer or a festering wound. People like this, how would they know which of life and death stands before the other! Taking advantage of diverse matters, build up the same body, forgetting their inside like liver and gall, leaving behind their outside like ears and eyes, leaving life repeat over and over its end and beginning, without knowing the border between the two, carelessly roaming without the dust and dirt, aimlessly wandering in the absence of action.”

In both these extracts context, *chengou* ‘dirt and grime’ indicates society as a place of secular life – the mundane lifestyle originating from accepting the common values and norms and following the general trend – whereas *chengou zhi wai* ‘outside the dirt and grime’ indicates distancing oneself from these conventional tendencies. The term *jinwai*, in Prince Kawashima’s poem, conveys a similar meaning. In either of the extracts, therefore, Zhuangzi is positively appraising the departure from conventional lifestyles and mundane interactions, although this has not to be construed as a resolution to concretely retreat from society.

As to the plausibility of Zhang’s association, it must be noticed that the two character compound *chenwai* is absent in the *ZZ*, whilst appears once in the *Wenxuan*.⁴² The *Wenxuan* was brought to Japan in the Asuka period and must have been circulating by the outset of the seventh century, soon becoming an extremely popular reading for classical Japan aristocracy.⁴³ As a consequence, it is highly probable that Prince Kawashima had studied it,

41 Ibid. 6/18/21 – 19/52/20

42 Zhangheng 張衡, *Sixuanfu* 思玄賦: “遊塵外而瞥天兮，據冥翳而哀鳴”，“Travelling out of the dust, skimming through the sky with an eye and from high and far crying sadly”.

43 See Kojima (1962) or Satō (2009), who argue for traces of the *Wenxuan* in Shōtoku’s constitution. The *Kojiki* and the *Nihonshoki* are thought to have received its influence too (Kojima 1962).

which entails the possibility that the compound *jinnwai* appearing in *Sansai* is a lexical loan from the *Wenxuan*. Other than by the fact that, albeit the etymological source of the word can be verified as ultimately originating from the ZZ, there is no occurrence of *chenwai* as a two characters compound in the whole book, this hypothesis is endorsed by the analogies in the literary style of Zhangheng's and Kawashima's poems, while Zhuangzian philosophical disquisitions against Ruism appears to be a less befitting source. Hence, it is reasonable to suppose that Prince Kawashima drew the compound *jinnwai* from the *Wenxuan*, although there is no conclusive evidence confirming such supposition.

d. *Yayoi mika*

As to other examples of lexical loans from the ZZ that can be found in the *KS*, Zhang mentions *kofuku* 鼓腹 (ch. *gufu*) 'bulging belly', *inwa* 飲和 (ch. *inbe*) 'drinking harmony' and *ube wo wasuru* 忘筌 (ch. *wangquan*) 'forgetting the fish trap', all of which occur in later poems of the collection.⁴⁴ The first of these, *kofuku*, appears in the poem *Yayoi mika* 三月三日 'Third day of the third lunar month' by Tsuki no Okina 調老人 and is used to describe an era of peace and prosperity.

三月三日	Third day of the third lunar month
玄覽動春節	Gazing from afar the shifting springtime,
宸駕出離宮	And the emperor's cart leaving the palace
勝境既寂絕	I feel how this solitary yet beautiful place
雅趣亦無窮	has an inexhaustible refinement.
折花梅苑側	Picking flowers on the side of the plum orchard,
酌醴碧瀾中	Pouring sweet wine amid the turquoise waves of its pond,
神仙非存意	Celestials would not even notice

44 Zhang mentions other words, as *shitoku* (ch. *zhide*) 至德 and *ten... nasu* (ch. *tianwei*) 天為, as examples of Zhuangzi's influence on the *Kaifūsō* and *Manyōshū* but, surprisingly, none of the two collection actually contain these words. Moreover these terms are extremely common in ancient Chinese sources and any usage of the terms by no means can be proved to be loanwords from the ZZ.

廣濟是攸同	For generous graces are here just as in their lands!
鼓腹太平日	A bulging belly! Days of great peace,
共詠太平風 ⁴⁵	Together chanting the customs of great peace.

Tsuki no Okina was a courtier who lived towards the end of the Asuka period. ‘Third day of the third lunar month’ is the only poem known to be by him although since the precise date of composition being unknown, it is not clear which emperor’s reign it extols. In any case, to the poet’s eyes it was a time of great peacefulness and prosperity. The lexeme ‘bulging belly’ is an obvious symbol of prosperity, first attested in *Mati* 馬蹄 chapter, where it describes the times of the mystical ‘clansman Hexu’ – by some identified as the Yellow Emperor – a golden age when people were not yet spoiled by the limiting and corrupting influence of Ruist values such as the above mentioned *ren*, *yi* or *li* 禮 ‘rites’ and *yue* 樂 ‘music’.

夫赫胥氏之時，民居不知所為，行不知所之，含哺而熙，鼓腹而游、民能已此矣！⁴⁶

At the time of Hexu, when staying at home people did not know what they were doing, when travelling did not know where they were going; they would rejoice when their mouth was full, and roam around when their belly was full. These were the only abilities of people of that time.

Okina compares his times to the golden age when people lived in harmony with Nature, implying a praise to the emperor’s virtuous government. Nevertheless, the compound *gufu* is first attested in *Mati*, it occurs in other ancient Chinese texts too, such as the *Huainanzi* 淮南子, the *Shiji* 史記 and the *Houbanshu* 後漢書. Consequently, Okina’s direct sourcing from the *ZZ* asserted by Zhang is questionable, although plausible.

e. *Ganjitsu*

45 *Kaifūsō*, 28, *Yayoi mika ōshō* 三月三日應詔, 9-10

46 *ICS Zhuangzǐ*: 9/24/10

The term *inwa*, literally ‘drinking harmony’, appears in the poem *Ganjitsu* 元日 ‘New Year's Day’ by Fujiwara no Fuhito 藤原不比等. Fuhito was a powerful statesman, the first in Japan history to reach the highest court rank after the introduction of the *ritsuryō* system and a key figure in the rise to power of the Fujiwara family.

元日	New Year's Day
正朝觀萬國	Controlling all the countries on New Year's morning,
元日臨兆民	Governing all the people on New Year's Day,
有政敷玄造	Unfolding politics to the mysterious creator,
撫機御紫宸	Attending state affairs and managing the imperial matters.
(…)	
感德遊天澤	Feeling the virtue and crossing the empress' wide favour,
飲和權聖塵 ⁴⁷	Drinking harmony, rejoicing for the empress and the world.

Analogously to the previous poem by Okina, ‘New Year's Day’ was composed in praise of the imperial virtuous government, probably referring to Empress Genshō's 元正 reign (715-724). The source of the term *inwa*, indicating a state of mind of harmonious contentedness and tranquillity,⁴⁸ is the first paragraph of *Zeyang* 則陽.

故聖人，其窮也使家人忘其貧，其達也使王公忘其爵祿而化卑。
其於物也，與之為娛矣；其於人也，樂物之通而保己焉。故或不

47 *Kaifūsō*, 29, *Gogon – Ganjitsu ōshō* 五言元日應詔, 11-12. This poem is based on Xu Jingzong's 許敬宗 poem 奉和元日應制.

48 Guo Xiang “人各自得，斯飲和矣，豈待言哉？” “Each person is satisfied, thus drinks harmony. Why should one rely on words?”

言而飲人以和，與人並立而使人化。(…) ⁴⁹

Therefore, when he is in distress, the sage makes his family forget its poverty; when he has power, makes dukes and kings forget their status and wealth, and become low in rank. In treating things, he handles them with joy. In treating people, he enjoys communicating things with them while conserving his own self. Thus, though he might not speak a word, he makes people drink harmony, and just by standing on their side makes people change.

The first paragraph of *Zeyang* rehabilitates the figure of the *shengren* 聖人 ‘sage’, assessing positively his virtue and impact on society, although such an evaluation contrast with some other passages where the *shengren*’s virtue are appraised as negative.⁵⁰ Fuhito, by borrowing the term *inbe*, tacitly assigns the characteristics of the virtuous *shengren* to the empress, who is therefore portrayed as able to make the poet ‘drink harmony’ with her sole presence. Said bluntly, Fuhito praises the empress to be a harmonizing figure that has a positive influence on society, similar to the *shengren* of *Zeyang*. This is therefore one more example of a lexical loan used with eulogistic purposes.

49 ICS *Zhuangzi*: 25/73/13 – 14

50 In the *ZZ* several terms are employed to indicate a wise, spiritually accomplished person, the ‘sage’ who obtained the Way. The most common terms are *zhenren* 真人, *zhiren* 至人 and *shengren* 聖人, but *tianren* 天人 and *shenren* 神人 are occasionally employed too. Guo Xiang (“凡此四名一人耳” “All these four names [= *tianren*, *shenren*, *zhiren* and *shengren*] are just the same person”) and Cheng Xuanying (“至言其体，神言其用，圣言其名。故就体语至，就用语神，就名语圣，其实一也。” “*Zhi* describes his body, *shen* his use, *sheng* his name. A perfect body is called *zhi*, a perfect use is called *shen*, a perfect name is called *sheng*, but their substance is the same.”) believed the terms ultimately designate the same ‘sage’. Gu (2007) chimed in with the two, stating that the terms are interchangeable. Wang and Xu (2019) argued the terms indicate ‘sages’ who obtained the same attainment but from different backgrounds and processes. Generally speaking, in the inner chapters *shengren* has a positive nuance while elsewhere in the book it seems to be connected with Ruism and frequently belittled, especially in *Mati* or *Qujie* 祛箴 chapters. The usage and connotation of the term *shengren* is heterogeneous, varying from chapter to chapter. A full account of these terms uses might yet have to be done.

f. *Yoshinogawa wo asobu*

Fujiwara no Umakai's 藤原宇合 *Yoshinogawa wo asobu* 遊吉野川 'Wandering along the Yoshino river' is ideologically inspired by Taoism, employing the expression *ube wo wasuru* 忘筌 (ch. *wangquan*) 'forgetting the fish trap' (Zhang 2009), which famously derives from the ZZ. Umakai was a son of the previously mentioned Fuhito.

芝蕙蘭蓀澤	As lush wild flora is their virtue,
松柏桂椿岑	As tall, enduring trees their integrity,
野客初披薛	The dweller of fields for the first time wears grass
朝隱暫投簪	Hiding in the court, for now giving up one's office
忘筌陸機海	Forgetting the fish trap in Luji's sea,
飛繳張衡林	Shooting arrows in Zhangheng's grove,
清風入阮嘯	Fresh wind mingles with Ruanji's whistling,
流水韻嵇琴	The flowing water rhymes with Jikang's zither.
(...)	

Despite 忘筌 being a noted metaphor from *Wainu* 外物 chapter,⁵¹ Umakai must have drawn it from the *Wenxuan* where the compound occurs several times, among which also in a celebrated poem by Jikang⁵². Except for the use of the compound 忘筌 and the explicit mention in the second stanza, Jikang's poem is similar to Umakai's inasmuch as both begin with a floral description primarily including the orchids (in Jikang's poem 息徒蘭圃 'resting soldiers on an orchid field') and the presence of a 'stray arrow-tail' (流磻平皋 'stray arrow-tails (with a stone attached) on a plain marshy ground'), which is a metonymy

51 *ICS Zhuangzi*: 26/79/12 – 13 – 14 “筌者所以在魚，得魚而忘筌；蹄者所以在兔，得兔而忘蹄；言者所以在意，得意而忘言。吾安得忘言之人而與之言哉？” “The purpose of a fish trap is in the fish, once the fish is obtained the trap is forgotten; the purpose of a hare trap is in the hares, once the hare is obtained the trap is forgotten; the purpose of words is in the meaning, once the meaning is obtained the words are forgotten. How can I find a person who has forgotten words, so that I can talk to him?”

52 *Wenxuan*, XXIV, *Zeng xiucai rujun* 贈秀才入軍 'Dedicated to the official entering the army', 14

for full arrows.⁵³ It is probable that Umakai drew the expression 忘筌 from Jikang's *Zeng xincai rujun* rather than directly from the *ZZ*.

g. *Shunjitsu*

A further reference to a creation of Zhuangzi's fertile imagination occurs in the poem *Shunjitsu* 春日 'Spring day', where the poet Kose no Tayasu 勢多益須 mentions Mount Guye 姑射, an imaginary mountain appearing in the *Xiaoyaoyou* 逍遙遊. According to the *Nihonshoki*,⁵⁴ Tayasu was a courtier of the last part of the Asuka era who was chosen to become the compiler of a moralistic collection of aphorisms which, however, eventually was never completed. Amongst the other officials chosen was Tsuki no Okina, whose only known poem will be considered below. Judging from this nomination, it is supposed that Tayasu was a renowned literate of Chinese at court, though only two of his poems have been received.

姑射遁太賓	Guest of honour do seclude at Mount Guye!
崆巖索神仙	Deities and immortals have climbed its lofty peaks!
豈若聽覽鄭	Isn't it better to listen and gaze at Chao?
仁智寓山川 ⁵⁵	Benevolence and wisdom live in mountains and rivers.
(...)	

Miaoguye zhi shan 藐姑射之山 'Far away Guye mount' is referred to twice in the *Xiaoyaoyou* as a legendary abode of sages.⁵⁶ Similarly, in Tayasu's poem *Guye* mount is introduced as an

53 In the *Wenxuan* the note for the rare character *bo* 礮 comprise a quote from the Han period dictionary *Shuowen Jiezi* 說文解字: “《說文》曰: 礮, 以石著弋繳也。” “In the *Shuowen Jiezi* is written: a *bo* 礮 is a *zhuo* 繳 attached to an arrow with a stone”. I argue Umakai's 飛繳 'stray silky arrowtail' is but a rewriting of 流礮 in different terms, based on the explanatory note of *Shuowen Jiezi*.

54 *Nihonshoki*, XXX, 4

55 *Kaifūsō*, 20, *Gogon – Shunjitsu ōshō* 五言春日應詔, II, 1-4

56 *ICS Zhuangzi*: 1/2/14 “藐姑射之山, 有神人居焉” “In the faraway Mount Guye there is a holy man living”, *Ibid.* 24 “堯(...)往見四子藐姑射之山” “Yao (...) went to see the four masters of Guye mount”.

idyllic place detached from earthly affairs, a land for Taoist immortals and deities. In Nara period Japan, *Guye* mount must have been known as a symbol of Taoism and its spirituality since, as it will be seen later, the legendary mount is mentioned in similar tones also in the *Man'yōshū*.

h. *Shūen*

In addition to the loanwords listed above, the *Kaifūsō* also contains a few poems engaging more closely with the content of the *ZZ*. The first of these is *Shūen* 秋宴 ‘Autumn Feast’ by Michi no Obitona 道首名 (Kanda 1989), an official and courtier of high rank who lived between the end of the Asuka and the beginning of the Nara period. ‘Autumn Feast’ is the only known poem by him.

秋宴	Autumn Feast
望苑商氣艷	Gazing at the vibrant autumn atmosphere of the garden,
鳳池秋水清	The imperial pond autumn water is clear,
晚燕吟風還	An evening swallow cries to the wind returning,
新雁抃露驚	A wild goose flying away from north to spend winter.
昔聞濠梁論	I once heard the debate of the Hao river bridge,
今弁遊魚情	And now I discuss the feelings of a fish,
芳筵此僚友	A splendid feast with these friends and colleagues,
追節結雅声 ⁵⁷	Joining sweet voice to recall days now gone.

As the title makes clear, the poet describes his participation at an autumn feast, during which he recalled the famous dialogue between Zhuangzi and Huizi and conversed on the topic with other guests. Judging from the description of the ‘phoenix pond’ of the imperial park in the second verse, it can be presumed that the guests were on the shore of the pond observing fishes while conversing, a stance analogue to that of the two

57 *Kaifūsō*, 49, *Shūen* 秋宴

ancient Chinese philosophers. The contrast between *mukashi...kikeri* 昔聞 ‘I once heard’ and *ima...benzu* 今弁 ‘I now discuss’ reveals that the author had known the philosophical dialogue and possibly reflected on it for a very long time. Still, the poem does not disclose any hint on Obitona’s understanding of the dialogue, nor does it state its source explicitly, which means Obitona assumed the reader to be able to autonomously understand what he was referring to. This can be taken as an evidence that ‘the Hao river debate’ – as Obitona puts it – was already known to the audience of *kanshi* literacy in the first years of Nara period Japan. The *mukashi...kikeri* ‘I once heard’ might actually refer to an oral transmission of the anecdote, supposedly implying that knowledge of the ZZ was shared not only by literati of Chinese, but might have been more widely diffused. The dialogue on the Hao river is one of the episodes most favoured by Japanese authors although being one of the most puzzling ones too. As will be shown below, it was quoted frequently also in later literary works.

i. *Shinnagon-kyo wo sugu*

In the *Kaifūsō*, the happy fish is mentioned by Fujiwara no Maro 藤原麻呂 too. Maro was one of Fuhito’s sons and a brother to Umakai, both of whose poems are reported above.

(...)

君道誰云易	The way to be a lord, who would call it easy?
臣義本自難	The duties of a minister are in themselves difficult.
奉規終不用	He respectfully accepted the rules but eventually was not appointed
歸去遂辭官	Went back to his home, then resigned from office.
放曠遊嵇竹	Idly travelling in Jikang’s bamboo forest,
沈吟佩梵蘭	Reciting poems softly to fragrant orchids,
天闔若一啟	If the sky gates open,
將得水魚歡 ⁵⁸	He will get the joy of a fish.

58 *Kaifūsō*, 96, *Shinnagon-kyo wo sugu* 過神納言墟. The author is also known as Fujiwara no Banri 藤原万里. The meaning of the title is unclear to me. *Shinnagon* might be a toponym.

This poem was written when a friend of the poet, namely the high official Miwa no Takechimaro 三輪高市麻呂, resigned office after failing to prevent the emperor going on a pilgrimage to Ise during the farming season of March 692 (Suzuki 2016). Takechimaro maintained that a pilgrimage during the farming season would be inconvenient and attempted to convince the emperor to postpone the pilgrimage to a more suitable time. When the emperor ignored his counsel, Takechimaro resigned and went back to his residence, taking with him Fujiwara no Maro who recorded the event in this poem. Jikang 嵇康, mentioned in the poem, is one of the *zhulin qi xian* 竹林七賢 ‘bamboo grove seven sages’, Jin dynasty sages who advocated Laozi and Zhuangzi’s thoughts, disregarded Ruist values and avoided meddling with the world, preferring instead to gather in a bamboo grove and dedicate to art or to philosophical discussions. Jikang was uncooperative towards the powerful men of his time and thus ended up being executed. The poet here mentions Jikang to draw a comparison between the bamboo grove sages and Takechimaro, all of whom were resistant or even hostile towards authority. The sky gates refers to the emperor’s palace gates, while the whole sentence seems to be alluding to the fact that Takechimaro would eagerly pick up a new official post, thus being allowed to enter again the imperial palace by crossing its gates. By referring to the happy fish, the author is indirectly hinting that Takechimaro was suitable for the official career, suggesting that to him serving as an official was as natural and spontaneous as swimming is for the Hao river fish portrayed in *Qiushui*.

j. Ochi no Hiroe’s *Omohi wo Nobu*

The last poem of *Kaifūsō* to mention the ZZ is titled *Omohi wo Nobu* 述懷 ‘Expressing my feelings’ (Zhang 2005). Judging from the aforementioned poem by Emperor Kōbun and several others contained in the *Kaifūsō*, 述懷 was probably a standardized title for lyrical compositions. The poem was composed by Ochi no Hiroe 越智広江.

述懷

Expressing my feelings

文藻我所難

Rhetoric is what is difficult to me,

莊老我所好

Zhuangzi and *Laozi* are what I love,

行年已過半

More than half of my life has already gone by,

今更為何勞⁵⁹

At this point, what should I strive for?

Ochi no Hiroe was an early Nara period court official and a scholar of the imperial academy, but little is known about his life, this poem being the only one remaining by him. What can be inferred from this composition is that Hiroe, reached the latter part of his life, felt an aversion towards the flowery language of literature, which he probably used to teach as a senior staff of the imperial academy. Instead, he reveals his fondness towards the *ZZ* and the *Laozi*, thereby making the earliest explicit mention to Zhuangzi in Japan's known sources. The first two lines evidently counterpoise *bunsō* 文藻 'ornate diction', which usually has a positive connotation, to *sōrō* 莊老 'Zhuangzi and Laozi', making the reader wonder why these two classics should not be regarded as 'ornate diction'. By *bunsō*, Hiroe probably refers to literature of polished wording but shallow content, implying a positive appraisal of the *ZZ* and the *Laozi* primarily on the base of their philosophical load rather than literary achievements. The simplicity of this composition succeeds in evoking the image of an aged man tired of verbose literature but deeply conversant with Taoist classics.

III. The *Kojiki*

Whilst the *Kaifūsō*, as might be expected from a Chinese style poem collection, is surely the Nara period text containing the greatest number of lexical borrowings and mentions to the *ZZ*, it does not signify that such references are only confined to the *kanshi* literature. Quite the contrary, materials deriving from the *ZZ* are reported to be scattered in all the other three major works of Nara too, namely the *Kojiki*, the *Nihonshoki* and the *Man'yōshū*. As to the *Kojiki* 古事記 'Chronicles of old events', in the first part of its preface, the author Ō no Yasumaru 太安万侶 summarizes some of the episodes narrated in the following chapters, starting right from the generation of the universe. The outset of this very first section is clearly inspired by some Taoism scripture, in one case seemingly presenting a lexical loan from the *ZZ* (Zhang 2009).

59 *Kaifūsō*, 58, *Omoi wo nobu*

臣安萬侶言。夫、混元既凝、氣象未效、無名無爲、誰知其形。然、乾坤初分、參神作造化之首、陰陽斯開、二靈爲群品之祖。⁶⁰

I, Yasumaro, say this. There was a time when the mixed elements had already condensed, but the atmosphere still had no effect. There was no name and no action, who could know its shape? Then, for the first time, sky and earth split, and three spirits were the first creations of the Maker of Change. The Yin and Yang principles thus divided, and two beings became the ancestors of a multitude of things.

Yasumaro began his book by relating nothing less than the myth of the origin of the universe, describing the initial atmosphere arisen from the ‘mixed elements’ and its effectless, nameless, deedless and shapeless nature. *Mumei* (ch. *wuming*) 無名 ‘without name’, *mui* (ch. *wuwei*) 無爲 ‘without action’ appear frequently in the *Laozi*⁶¹ and, subsequently, in the *ZZ*, as attributes of the Way or what conforms to it. Although both terms are used repeatedly in different parts of the *ZZ*, they occur in the same sentence only in the *Zeyang* chapter.

万物殊理，道不私，故無名。無名故無為，無為而無不為。⁶²

Everything has its own different principle; the Way does not prefer one over the other, therefore it has no name. It has no name thus has no action; it has no action but there is nothing that it does not do.

However, in this passage the author of *Zeyang* himself is quoting the *Laozi*.⁶³ Similarly, *mukei* (ch. *wuxing*) 無形 ‘without shape’ occurs only once in the *Laozi*⁶⁴ but rather frequently in the *ZZ*. The opening part of the *Kojiki* quoted above is therefore likely to have received the influence of either of the two Taoist classics, though, arguably, ‘who

60 *Kojiki*, I, Jo 序. Quotes from *Kojiki* are based on the text of *Kojiki* edited by Fujimura Tsukuru (1930).

61 See *Laozi* chapters 1, 2, 3, 10, 32, 37, 38, 41, 48, 57, 63, 64.

62 *ICS Zhuangzi*: 25/76/5 – 6

63 *Laozi*, 48 and possibly 38.

64 See *Laozi*, 41, “大象無形” “The biggest image has no shape”.

could know its shape?' 誰知其形, which might either indicate the absence of any initial shape or the impossibility of figuring it, may directly have been drawn from the ZZ.

無始曰：「道不可聞，聞而非也；道不可見，見而非也；道不可言，言而非也。知形形之不形乎？道不當名。」⁶⁵

No-Beginning said: “The Way cannot be heard; if you heard it, that’s not the Way. The Way cannot be seen; if you saw it, that’s not the Way. The Way cannot be spoken; if you spoke it, that’s not the Way. Did you know that what shapes shapes is without shape? The Way is unsuitable for names.”

泰初有無，無有無名，一之所起，有一而未形。物得以生，謂之德；未形者有分且然無間，謂之命；留動而生物，物成生理，謂之形；形體保神，各有儀則，謂之性。性修反德，德至同於初。⁶⁶

In the great beginning there was nonbeing, there was no being and there was no name. When the One rose, there was One but there wasn’t yet any shape. What all things obtained as a means of life, it is called ‘virtue’; what has no shape, is differentiated but still unseparated, is called ‘destiny’; when the movement temporarily stopped things were created, when things came into being their principle was generated, it is called ‘shape’; shape has a spirit, each spirit has its rules, it is called ‘nature’; cultivating the nature one can return to virtue, when virtue is maxed one merges into the beginning.

夫道有情有信、無為無形。可傳而不可受、可得而不可見。⁶⁷

The Way has attributes and trustworthiness but has no action nor shape. It can be transmitted but not taught, it can be obtained but not seen.

65 *ICS Zhuangzi*: 22/62/25 – 6

66 *Ibid.* 12/31/11 – 12

67 *Ibid.* 6/17/1

In the *ZZ*, *wuxing* also occurs elsewhere, though in three extracts above the term usage is closest to that of the *Kojiki*. In the first of these, the impossibility of any linguistic approach (*wen* 聞, *yan* 言) or direct observation (*jian* 見) of the Way is reiterated, while *xing* ‘form’ is ultimately negated. *Xing* appears in correlation with *zhi* 知, to form a rhetorical question rather similar to the *Kojiki* preface, although different in focus.

Zhang (2005, 2009) argues that the influence played by *ZZ* on the first part of the *Kojiki* preface is even more visible in its second line, where Yasumaro employs the term *zōka* (ch. *zāobua*) 造化. The term literally means ‘the Creator of change’, a periphrasis that indicates the principle according to which every existing object is subject to unceasing transformation, and is semantically related to the term *zāowuzhē*, encountered earlier. *Zāobua*, whilst occurring thrice in *Daxiongshi*, does not appear in the *Laozi*, which endorses the hypothesis that Yasumaru might have actually consulted the *ZZ* when redacting the myth of the generation of the universe in the *Kojiki*. However, the term can be seen in later Chinese sources too, especially in the *Huainanzi*, which, as seen below, is quoted in the first lines of the *Nihonshoki*, also co-edited by Yasumaro.⁶⁸ It is not possible, therefore, to establish with certainty the presence of any direct influence exerted by the *ZZ* on the *Kojiki*, although the possibility of a correlation indeed exists. Elements reported to have derived from the *ZZ*, as those listed above, might have actually been drawn from other sources, such as the *Laozi* and the *Huainanzi*. In any case, the myth of the origin of the universe of *Kojiki* is evidently built on a Taoist conception and its lexicon is highly reminiscent of the Taoist scriptures, though there are original aspects too, such as the generation of the ‘three spirits’ and the ‘two beings’, the five creatures that, according to the *Kojiki*, were the earliest to be born.

IV. The *Nihonshoki*

Zhang Aimin (2009) reports that, analogously to the *Kojiki*, a lexical loan from the *ZZ* is employed in the opening sentence of the first chapter of *Nihonshoki* 日本書紀 ‘Chronicles of Japan’. These two hints would give good reason to think that Yasumaro, who

68 In one of occurrences of the *Huainanzi*, the usage of *zāobua* is somewhat similar to that of the *Kojiki*. See *Huainanzi*, *Yaolue* 要略, 3, “《俶真》者(…)通回造化之母也。” “The chapter ‘Initiating authenticity’ reaches back to the origin of the creator of change”.

is supposed to be both the author of the preface of *Kojiki* and a compiler of *Nihonshoki*, might have consulted the ZZ when editing the initial part of the two books.

古天地未剖，陰陽不分，渾沌如雞子，溟滓而含芽。及其清陽者薄靡而為天；重濁者，淹滯而為地。精妙之合搏易，重濁之凝竭難。故天先成而地後定，然後神聖生其中焉。⁶⁹

In ancient times, when the sky and earth had not yet split, and Yin and Yang had not yet divided, the primal chaos was like a chicken's egg, watery, boundless and bearing a germ. Its clear and bright part lightly floated upward and became sky. Its heavy and turbid part stagnated and became land. The subtle essence combined easily while the heavy and turbid one condensed with utmost difficulty. Therefore, first the sky was generated then the earth was established. Afterwards, the gods and the wise were born in between.

The word *meikō* (ch. *mingxing*) 溟滓, appearing in this passage, was supposedly borrowed from the ZZ (Zhang 2009), in which it indicates a vast watery expanse or, extendedly, a puzzling, unclear state of mind, which is metaphorically described through the image of a vast expanse of an undefined watery matter.

豈兄堯舜之教民溟滓然弟之哉？⁷⁰

“Should we really respect Yao and Shun's way of teaching the populace as if they were older brothers, and vaguely revere them as is proper of a younger brother?”

The term *mingxing* here is used adverbially, seemingly indicating, through the image of a boundless and indistinct dark watery expanse, the state of somebody baffled by the vastness of an open space lacking any secure landmark. In this case, the author probably wants to make clear that only someone benighted by the confused and unclear conventional stance would humbly respect Yao and Shun's teaching to the people.

69 *Nihonshoki*, I, *Kami no yo no kami no maki*

70 *ICS Zhuangzi*: 12/31/29

Curiously, in the ZZ, the characters *xing* 溱 and *ming* 溟 occurs also in the reverted order as *xingming*.

大同乎溱溟⁷¹

Merge into the boundless formless expanse.

Zhang argues that even the character 搏, appearing in the extract from *Nibonshoki* reported above, derives from *Xiaoyaoyou*⁷² although, since the section going from 清陽者 up to 地後定 is a verbatim quotation from the *Huainanzi*⁷³, in which original text the character used in that position is 專, the *Nibonshoki* version is undoubtedly a miscopying. A further investigation would prove that *mingxing* occurs in the *Huainanzi* too,⁷⁴ with a similar usage as to that of *Nibonshoki*, a point clearly overlooked by Zhang. Evidently, the compiler is taking inspiration from the *Huainanzi* and not from the ZZ.

However, in the *Nibonshoki* there is one section certainly drawn from *Xiaoyaoyou*, which consists in a long but partial quote of the dialogue between Emperor Yao and the previously mentioned mythical sage Xu You. The quotation is used by the author to put into comparison the spontaneous and mutual yielding of the empire by Yao and Xu You with that of two Yamato princes, Oke 億計 and Kenzo 顯宗.⁷⁵ In the scroll fifteen of the

71 Ibid. 11/28/17

72 Ibid: 1/1/3 “搏扶搖而上者九萬里” “Mounting on a whirlwind rose to ninety thousand leagues of height”.

73 *Huainanzi*, III, *Tianwenxun*, 1

74 Ibid. VIII, *Benjingxun*, 6 “舜之時，共工振滔洪水，以薄空桑，龍門未開，呂梁未發，江淮通流，四海溟溱，民皆上丘陵，赴樹木。” “At the time of Shun, Gong Gong caused floods by rousing the waters, which approached KongSang. The dragon door hadn’t yet been opened, the Lv ridge hadn’t yet been breached, the Yangzi and Huai rivers flowed together, the four seas were a boundless expanse of water, all the people went up on the hills and clambered up trees”.

75 Names might be confusing when transliterated since Emperor Kenzo’s true name was Oke 弘計, in Roman characters same as his elder brother. To avoid confusion, I will call the younger brother by his name as emperor, Kenzo, although in the episode he obviously is not yet an emperor. In the original text reported here, therefore, he refers to himself as Oke 弘計 when speaking.

Nibonshoki, the Crown Prince Oke asks his younger brother Kenzo to become emperor in his stead, but the offer meets Kenzo's unexpected refusal.

前後固辭曰：「日月出矣，而燭火不息，其於光也，不亦難乎？時雨降矣，而猶浸灌，不亦勞乎？所貴為人弟者，奉兄，謀逃脫離，照德解紛，而無處也。即有處者，非弟恭之義。弘計，不忍處也。兄友弟恭，不易之典。聞諸古老，安自獨輕？」⁷⁶

(Kenzo) refused firmly from beginning to end saying: “When the sun or the moon rises but the torch hasn't yet been put out, isn't it difficult to see its light? When the rain falls timely but you still keep irrigating, isn't it fruitless labour? A younger brother is esteemed for serving the older by planning how to escape hardships, by making his virtue shine and by solving his issues, not by taking his place. If one takes his place, he would not be abiding to the younger brother's duty of respecting the older. I cannot bear to take your place. The older brother loves and the younger respects, this is a law that does not change. I heard it from the elders, how could I alone lightly accept?”

The two rhetoric questions opening Kenzo's argumentation are quoted from the speech Yao made in the attempt to convince Xu You to take his place as emperor. The only difference between the two versions is the lack of the four characters 其于澤也 ‘for the moist (seedlings)’, which was abridged by the curators of *Nibonshoki* or was maybe missing in the received text they were consulting.

堯讓天下於許由，曰：「日月出矣，而燭火不息，其於光也，不亦難乎！時雨降矣，而猶浸灌，其於澤也，不亦勞乎！夫子立而天下治，而我猶尸之，吾自視缺然，請致天下。」

Yao yielded the throne to Xu You, saying: “When the sun or the moon rises but the torch hasn't yet been put out, isn't it difficult to see its light? When the rain falls timely but you still keep irrigating, to the moist seedlings isn't it fruitless labour? If you, master, become emperor, the

76 *Nibonshoki*, XV, *Tagami ni kōi wo yuzuru* 互禪皇位

world will be at peace. While I still occupy the throne, I see myself as unworthy, so I kindly yield the world to you.”

In the *Nihonshoki* version the roles are swapped and the younger Prince Kenzo, who plays the role of Xu You and refuses the offer, quotes Yao’s speech. In any case the quotation still maintains its meaning and purpose, which is that of deprecating the speaker (Yao, Kenzo) in comparison to the listener (Xu You, Oke). The last sentence of Kenzo’s speech could be a further reference to the episode of the two legendary Chinese men, as it states that, being opposed the elders’ teaching, it would be improper to accept any offer resulting in the reversing of the usual social status. ‘Elders’ might as well include Xu You and allude to the exemplary refusal related in *Xiaoyaoyou*.

V. The *Man’yōshū*

In the *Man’yōshū* 万葉集 ‘Ten thousand leaves collection’, there are at least two sections that are certainly related to the ZZ (Kanda 1989). The first of these is a reference included in the introduction to the poem number 810.⁷⁷ The poem was written by Ōtomo no Tabito 大伴旅人 and sent to Fujiwara Fusasaki 藤原房前 along with a *wagon*, a six-stringed Japanese zither, given as a present. Tabito was a military commander, mainly remembered for leading the imperial expedition to quell the Hayato rebellion in 720 and for being an excellent poet of *tankas*, while Fusasaki was a high ranking courtier at the Nara court. Judging from the exchange of poems recorded in the *Man’yōshū*, the two must have been close friends. According to the introduction, in Tabito’s dream the zither transformed into a young woman before finally stating its desire to be possessed by a skilled master.

此琴夢化娘子曰「余託根遥嶋之崇巒、晞幹九陽之休光、長帶烟霞逍遙山川之阿、遠望風波出入鴈木之間、唯恐百年之後空朽溝壑偶遭良匠散為小琴不顧質龜音少恒希君子左琴」⁷⁸

77 *Kanbun* introductions to poems like this are known in Japanese as *zenchi kanbun* 前置漢文. Although the *Man’yōshū* is a Japanese poems collection, introduction are generally written in *kanbun*.

78 *Man’yōshū*, V, 810. Quotes from *Man’yōshū* are based on the text of *Man’yōshū Nisshi Honganji-bon* edited by Sasaki Notbusuna and Takeda Yūkichi (1933).

This zither in my dream took the shape of a young woman and said “I entrusted my body to a high peak of a far island, drying up the sun’s magnificent light. For long I travelled freely the recesses in the mountains and rivers wearing clouds and mist, and watching from afar the winds and waves, I went in and out between a wild goose and a tree. I am just afraid that a hundred years later I will be rotting vainly in a gutter. By chance I met a good carpenter and I became a small zither by patient shaving. Do not mind the coarseness of the material and the modesty of the sound, for I wish to become forever the instrument of a man of virtue!”

Several parts of this introduction lack any literal sense. 出入鴈木之間 ‘to go in and out between a goose and a tree’ appearing in the zither-young woman’s speech, is a reference to a famous episode narrated in the *Shanmu* 山木 chapter of the *ZZ*. In the episode, the long life of tree that, due to the low quality of its wood, no lumberjack bothers fell down, is put into contrast with the short life of a goose that does not cackle at sunrise. Both the tree and the goose are symbols of uselessness, inasmuch neither has the quality required to be of any use to man. The episode addresses the stance in life to be taken towards what is considered to be ‘useful’: to be ‘useful’ might seem a good thing, but for a tree it means facing the danger of being cut down and dying. Similarly, also being ‘useless’ entails being confronted with difficulties, just like the goose was slaughtered due to its inability to cackle at sunrise. The central point of the story revolves around the puzzling circumstances due to which both usefulness and uselessness do not guarantee self preservation. Should one seek usefulness, making it a yardstick of one’s judgment, or should one instead avoid it as a possible source of trouble? In the episode, Zhuangzi replies to a disciple’s interrogation on the right alternative by answering that he would neither choose to be like the tree nor like the goose, but would rather be ‘between’ them. To be ‘between’ them – as is argued at the end of the *Shanmu* chapter narrative by the author himself – means to understand the relativity of either alternative and the necessity to avoid sticking forcibly to only one side, instead allowing oneself to go to and fro from one alternative to the other in accordance with the natural tendency of each moment, adapting to an ever changing scenario.⁷⁹

79 ICS *Zhuangzi*: 20/53/13 “無譽無訾，一龍一蛇，與時俱化，而無肯專為” “Without praise and blame, one time a dragon one time a snake, transforming along with the passing time, not

However, this interpretation appears to be in contradiction with other sections of the *ZZ*, especially with the inner chapters, where Zhuangzi clearly seems to prefer uselessness over usefulness. According to Graham (1981) and Svarverud (2005), inner chapters praise of uselessness and the *Shanmu* chapter anecdote of the goose and tree are in contradiction because written by different authors, who entertained different thoughts on the subject. In their view, the latter is a moderate development of Zhuangzi's thought by later disciples. One more possibility is that inner chapters vehemently argue in favour of uselessness only to help the readers disentangle from the fetters of conventional thought rather than to state the author's heartfelt opinion.⁸⁰ The anecdote of the tree and the goose is but one of several passages where the *ZZ* authors discuss about the concept of utility, which is not surprising since Mozi had previously made utility one of the major, highest philosophical values. In fact utility, in its various definitions, can become the rational solution to the frequently encountered ethical impasse caused by the lack of a manifest absolute moral standard. Utility can be an evaluation criterion, the standard according to which take a course of action, and in this sense the concept of utility had its generous space in Occidental philosophy too.

Whatever the case, in the introduction to his poem, Tabito's purpose is clearly not that of discussing such suggestive philosophical implication, inasmuch as the allusion is just literary. In addition to the goose and the tree story, also the word *shāoyāo* 逍遥 (ch. *xiaoyao*), 'ramble carefreely' or 'wander about at leisure' appearing in the introduction originally derive from the *ZZ*. Notoriously, *xiaoyao* is one of the words that better than any other summarizes Zhuangzi's Taoist attitude: 'rambling carefreely' is a leitmotif to the book, to the extent that its first curator chose *Xiaoyaoyou* as the title of its first chapter.⁸¹ The word was used by later Japanese authors in a variety of works of every literary style, in fact entering by all means Japanese vocabulary. Certainly, Chinese works that had wide circulation in Japan, among which primarily the *Wenxuan*, contains the word too, hence in the majority of cases it is not possible to trace it back to its original zhuangzian semantic

willing to stick to an only course of action".

80 See Schwitzgebel (1996), who argues that many of passages of the *ZZ* must not be taken literally, being therapeutical rather than informative.

81 The term *xiaoyao* appears only twice in the inner chapters, although the character *you* 遊, which in many occasions conveys a similar meaning, appears more frequently.

and philosophical baggage. However, considered the presence of an allusion to the tree and goose anecdote, it can be assumed that Tabito actually meant to make a further association to the ZZ through the use of this word. As was seen in the previous cases, for ancient Japanese literati quoting the ZZ meant to trigger a feeling of bizarre exoticism and unworldliness that Japanese readers nurtured towards zhuangzian Taoism, adding a hue of unrealness and fantasy to the content of the text.

According to Zhang (2009), Tabito's reception of laoist and zhuangzian ideas would be manifest also in Tabito's *Sake wo homuru uta jūsanshū* 讃酒歌十三首 'Thirteen eulogies of wine', laudatory compositions that betray the author's intense affection for *sake* drinking. In the third of these poems, Tabito mentions with sympathetic tones the aforementioned Jin dynasty seven sages, symbols of a free and unfettered Taoist lifestyle.

古の七の賢しき人どもも欲りせしものは酒にしあるらし⁸²

It seems to me that what the seven wise people of old did really crave for is *sake*.

Although Tabito seems somehow sympathetic towards the seven sages whom he supposed sharing with him a passion for *sake*, Zhuangzi has clearly no connection with this poem. Still, Zhang (2005) quotes Saigō (1978) according to whom the eleventh poem of the serie would be inspired by *Xiaoyaonyou*.

今の世にし楽しくあらば来む世には虫に鳥にもわれはなりなむ⁸³

If in the present world I am enjoying life, in the world that will come, an insect or a bird, I will certainly become.

Here the poet is clearly thinking of his reincarnation in the next world and wonders whether making merry and drinking wine will cause him to be born as an inferior creature, in accordance with Buddhist thought. Saigō reportedly associates the final two verses, 虫に鳥にもわれはなりなむ 'an insect or a bird I will certainly become', with the transformations of Zhuangzi into a butterfly and of fish *Kun* 鯤 into bird *Peng* 鵬

82 *Manyōshū*, III, 348, *Sake wo homuru uta*, 3

83 *Ibid.* 11

respectively narrated in *Qiwulun* and *Xiaoyaoyou*. Despite transformation being a frequent theme in Zhuangzi's Taoism – also casually encountered earlier when discussing the term *zhaohuazhe* – considered the obvious Buddhist attributes of Tabito's composition and the lack of any direct textual reference, Saigō's association cannot but strike as a rather strained interpretation. It is true that among the most famous sections of the ZZ two involve a transformation into a bird and an insect, yet here the author is explicitly referring to the Buddhist transmigration while there is no convincing evidence requiring the zhuangzian transformation to be called into play, whatsoever its interpretation might be. The order of the two words is also indicative since, famously, the transformation of fish *Kun* into bird *Peng* is the very outset of ZZ first chapter: therefore, if Tabito, when writing this poem, had been thinking of Zhuangzi, he would have probably chosen to put the bird before the insect.

In the *Man'yōshū* there is yet another poem whose introduction is related to both Tabito and the ZZ. When Tabito's wife died, one of *Man'yōshū*'s greatest poets and a friend to Tabito, Yamanoue no Okura 山上憶良, wrote an elegy of condolence and sent it to Tabito. In the *zenchi kanbun* to the elegy, Okura made use of a poetical image stemming from the ZZ, 過隙之駒 'a foal that flits past a crack', which expresses the transiency of life.

二鼠競走而度目之鳥旦飛、四蛇争侵而過隙之駒夕走。嗟乎痛哉

84

The race of two mice and a bird that crosses your eyes in a dawn flight,
four snakes contend fighting and a foal that flits past a crack and leave in
the evening. Aye, how sad.

The mice, bird, snakes and foal are literary images that symbolize the brevity and transiency of human's life. The mice and the snakes are Buddhist symbols⁸⁵ while the 'foal that flits past a crack' is an idiomatic metaphorical expression first occurring in the ZZ precisely to express the brevity of life.

84 *Manyōshū*, V, Introduction to elegies 794/799

85 The two mice and four snakes appear in a metaphorical tale included in the *Āpadāna*, in Japanese 譬喻經 *Hiyukyō*.

人生天地之間，若白駒之過郤，忽然而已。⁸⁶

Human life between the sky and earth, is just like a white foal passing through a crack: sudden, that is all.

The metaphor of the foal was then frequently used by subsequent Chinese literature, hence the presence of this idiom in the preface to the elegy does not necessarily entail that Okura knew the ZZ well enough to quote it. In such preface Okura uses expressions and literary elements coming from Confucian, Taoist and Buddhist traditions, weaving them effectively into a coherent pattern. In the case Okura had read the ZZ, it might be assumed that his interest towards the book was only literary: it would be otherwise surprising that he did not mention the episode of the death of Zhuangzi's wife in the elegy, as would be expected from an appreciator of Zhuangzian Taoism.

Another poem of *Man'yōshū* certainly related to the ZZ is the number 3851, written by an unknown author.

心をし無何有の郷に置きてあらば藐孤射の山を見まく近けむ⁸⁷

If my heart was laying there where nothing is, then I would probably be closer to see the Hakoya Mountain.

In this poem, *mukau no sato* (ch. *wuhyou zhi xiang*) 無何有之郷 'the place where nothing is' and *Hakoya* (ch. *Miaogyue*) 藐孤射⁸⁸ are lexical loans from *Xiaoyaoyou*. In the ZZ, *Wuhyou zhi xiang* first occurs in the dialogue concerning utility between Zhuangzi and his friend and philosophical rival Huizi: with this expression Zhuangzi refers to an imaginary place where one should reportedly plant the huge *Chu* 樗 tree, of which Huizi complains the uselessness. Planting such tree where there is nothing else would make it a perfect resting place for a wonderer, Zhuangzi argues, which means that its uselessness can become usefulness if one knows how its potentiality can be exploited. The *Chu* tree, as Huizi

86 *ICS Zhuangzi*: 22/61/25

87 *Man'yōshū*, XVI, 3851

88 Although *Miaogyue* in the ZZ is written as 藐姑射, in *Man'yōgana* 姑 and 孤 have identical *onyomi*, therefore are phonetically equivalent.

himself explains, is not only a symbol of uselessness, but also a metaphor for Zhuangzi's discourses and argumentative style, which Huizi describes as *da* 大 'big', which stands for flamboyant and extravagant, and *wuyong* 無用 'useless'. Zhuangzi continues the argument by picking up the same metaphor.

今子有大樹，患其無用，何不樹之於於無何有之鄉？廣莫之野，徬徨乎無為此側，逍遙乎寢臥其下。不夭斤斧，物無害者，無所可用，安所困苦哉！⁸⁹

Now you have a big tree and worry about the fact that it's useless, why don't you plant it there where nothing is? In this vast and bare expanse, he who wanders can stand by its side doing nothing, he who roams carelessly can lie down and sleep below it. It doesn't die cut by the axe, there is nothing that hurts it, there is nothing than can make use of it, how could it fall into trouble?

This is the first passage where Zhuangzi defends and explains the value of 'uselessness', pointing out that 'usefulness' is not an objective concept that can be easily raised to the role of judgment criteria. *Wuheyou zhi xiang* appears again in the *Yingdi* 應帝 and *Lie Yukou* 列御寇 chapters.⁹⁰ Later, the expression acquired the new meaning of 'a state of unrealness and emptiness', which is well exemplified by an empty space. The Edo period scholar and poet Okanishi Ichū 岡西惟中 was the first to discover a relation between *Man'yōshū* and ZZ, asserting that the emotional state described in this poem and the one expressed in *Xiaoyaoyou* are just the same. However, at a second glance it is easy to see that

89 *ICS Zhuangzi*: 1/3/8 – 10

90 Ibid. 7/20/15 “予方將與造物者為人，厭則又乘夫莽眇之鳥，以出六極之外，而遊無何有之鄉，以處壙垠之野” “I was going to make the Creator of things my companion, when tired of it I would just have mounted the Mengmiao bird, and go out of the six directions, travelling there where nothing is, to reside the vast, boundless plains”. Ibid. 32/95/28 “彼至人者，歸精神乎無始，而甘冥乎無何有之鄉。” “The perfect man makes the energies of his spirit return to before the beginning, and is content of seeing the place where nothing is with his eyes closed.” 無何有之宮 appearing in *Zhibeiyou* is analogue.

the unknown author of this *Man'yōshū* poem does not really seem to have composed it to express any profound state of mind, but instead just to enjoy a sense of far exotic, both temporal, from Zhuangzi, and spatial, from China, that is given by a combination of the two ancient expressions.

4. Heian period

For the purpose of this study, Heian period can roughly be divided into two parts: early-mid Heian, comprising works composed in the ninth and tenth century, and late Heian period, comprising later works, which I in turn divided into two sections, one for poetry and one dedicated to the folktale collection *Konjaku Monogatari*. Works by Sugawara no Michizane will be discussed separately. Takeuchi's theory of an interconnectedness between *Ise Monogatari* and the *ZZ*, and the brief mention of the episode of Confucius and bandit Zhi appearing in the *Genji Monogatari* deserve separate analysis too.

Notoriously, during early Heian period, Japan's diplomatic contacts with the Tang court drew to an end, while cultural elements transmitted earlier from China began to be further elaborated into original cultural and artistic expressions. Heian period culture is generally regarded as slowly drifting apart from Chinese influences that had been prevalent during the earlier Nara period, to give birth to what in Japanese studies is often referred as *kokufū bōka* 国風文化 'national culture'. Although modern scholarship no more emphasizes or strives to appraise positively, as it did in the past,⁹¹ the historical flow that led Nara period Chinese-style culture to gradually transform into a cultural system more independent from external influences, as far as literature is concerned, early Heian was a period characterized by the rise of original genres of acknowledged literary value, such as the *setsuma* 説話 'folk narrative', *monogatari* 物語 'tale' and *nikki* 日記 'diary' genres.

Meanwhile in Tang China, Taoism enjoyed the imperial favour, especially under the reign of Emperor Wuzong 武宗 (840-846), who was a fervent Taoist follower to the point of leading large-scale persecutions against Buddhism and other religions. Laozi, traditionally accepted as the author of the eponymous *Laozi*, became the most revered between Taoist figures due to the fact that Tang emperors shared with him the same

91 The term *kokufū bōka* came into use through Kojima Noriyuki (1968), who defined earlier times as 国風の暗黒時代 'the dark era of Japanese style', which is also the title of his collection of books on Nara literature.

family name *li* 李. However, also Zhuangzi was revered, thereby being raised to the status of *Nanhua Zhenren* 南華真人 ‘True man of south China’, while the ZZ was respectfully named *Nanhua Zhenjing* 南華真經 ‘True classic of south China’.⁹² Similarly, what can be deduced from literary and historical references to the Zhuangzi is that in ninth century Japan Zhuangzi was at the peak of his fame, in particular during the reign of Emperor 仁明 *Nimyō*.

I. Early Heian period

Two *kanshi* collections of early Heian include poems that mention or quote the ZZ: the *Bunka Shūreishū* 文華秀麗集 ‘Collection of gracious literary excellencies’ and the *Keikokushū* 經国集 ‘Collection on governing the country’. The *Bunkashūreishū* is the second imperially commissioned collection of *kanshi* and was completed in 818 following the *Ryōunshū* 凌雲集 ‘Poems reaching the clouds’, which compilation had ended just four years earlier, while the *Keikokushū* was redacted in the year 827.

a. The *Bunka Shūreishū*

In the *Bunka Shūreishū*, Kose no Shikihito 巨勢識人, a pre-eminent contributor to the three collections, revokes Zhuangzhou’s butterfly dream in one of his long poems.

神泉苑九日落葉篇	On the Gods’ Spring Garden ninth of September falling leaves
(…)	
觀落葉兮落林塘	Look at the falling leaves! Pond of the falling foliage,
半分紅兮半分黃	Half red! Aye, and half yellow,
洞庭隨波色泛映	The hall reflection floats following the waves colour
合浦恩風影飄揚	?

92 In the 史記 *Shiji* is reported that Zhuangzi was originally from 蒙 *Meng*, located in the southern part of the state of 宋 *Song*, therefore close to the border of state of 楚 *Chu*, anciently considered south China.

繞藜宛似莊周蝶	The tangled bushes look like Zhuangzhou's butterfly,
度浦遙疑郭泰舟	And the boat crossing the river afar, isn't it Guotai's one?
四時寒暑來且往	The four seasons, cold and hot, come and go
一歲榮枯春與秋	One year, flourishing and withering, spring and fall.

(...)⁹³

The *Shinsen'en* 神泉苑 'Gods' Spring Garden' is a garden located in the south east of the imperial palace where, on the ninth of September, in the occasion of *jūyō* 重陽 'double Yang' festival, a poetical event was customarily held. Shikihito here describes the autumn appearance of the garden, its falling leaves and its pond. The 郭泰舟 'Guotai's boat' mentioned in the poem refers to an episode narrated in the *Houhanshu* in which Guotai and his friends Liying 李膺 cross a river on a single boat.⁹⁴ The episode then became a metaphor symbolizing friendship. As in the previous poems analysed, the poet is not here interested in dealing with philosophical themes, as both Zhuangzhou's dream butterfly and Guotai's boat are just literary allusions, rhetorical devices only meant to create a sense of elegance and literary suggestiveness. Even so, such empty use of literary allusions cannot avoid sounding somehow pretentious and affected.

b. The *Keikokushū*

Sugawara no Kiyobito 菅原清人, about whom except for the name no information is available, quotes the ZZ in a long poem from the third imperially commissioned collection,

93 *Bunka shūreishū*, III, *Shinsen'en kokonuka ochiba hen*, 137, 9-16. Quotes from *Bunka shūreishū* and *Keikokushū* are based on the text of *Nihon koten zenshū* by Yosano Hiroshi (1926).

94 *Hou Hanshu*, LXVIII, 郭符許列傳第五十八, *Guotai-zhuan* "始見河南尹李膺, 膺大奇之, 遂相友善(...). 後歸鄉里, 衣冠諸儒送至河上, 車數千兩。林宗唯與李膺同舟而濟, 眾賓望之, 以為神仙焉。" "When (Guotai) met the magistrate of Henan Liying, Liying greatly praised him, and soon the two became good friends. (...) Later they returned to their hometown, officials and scholars accompanied them to the river, there were one thousand carts. Linzong(=Guotai) and Liying crossed the river on the same boat, all those present looked at them from afar, thinking they resembled immortals."

the *Keikokushū*.

和和少輔鵲鴿賦 Rhapsody on harmonizing the vice minister and the
wagtail

觀羽族之群類 When watching flocks of birds
偉原上之連錢 I saw above the reedy plain a wagtail,
挺參差之毛翮 It would stick out its feathery wings
施背腹之素玄 Revealing the white and black of its back and chest.
受含養於造化 Receiving its virtue from the Creator of change,
任亭毒於自然 And leaving nature in charge of its growth,
從運命兮舉動 Taking every action according to destiny,
與時節兮推遷 Together with time shifting constantly.

(...)

鸚武慧以見羈 Parrots are restrained because they are clever,
鷹隼猛以被孿 Hawks and falcons are chained because they are fierce,
非鶴脛之當斷 There is no appropriate way of snapping a crane's shin
豈鳧足之可延 How could you lengthen the feet of a duck?

(...) ⁹⁵

Since the *Keikokushū* contains one more poem, listed just above, that has the same title, it might be assumed that this work was composed at a poetical event on Emperor Junna's 淳和 request. The theme of the two compositions, 'Harmonizing the vice minister and the wagtail', is very bizarre; perhaps it refers to some mundane event concerning life at the Heian court of those days. The first stanza portrays the wagtail that Kiyobito claims to see above a reedy plain. Kiyobito's verbiage is clearly remindful of Taoism, depicting the wagtail as a Taoist sage who received his inner virtue from nature, leaves nature taking its course and follows his destiny unceasingly changing with the passing time. *Zōka* 造化, as

95 *Keikokushū*, I, *Wasbō sekirei wo nagomu fu*, 7

mentioned above, is a Zhuangzian word, whilst *teidoku* (ch. *tingdu*) 亭毒 derives from the *Laozi*.⁹⁶

The latter part of the above extract refer to a passage of the *pianmu* 駢拇 chapter where the length of two kind of birds' legs are discussed: the *he* (j. *tsuru*) 鶴 'crane' legs are long but not too long, the *fu* (j. *abiru*) 鳧 'wild ducks' legs are short but not too short.

長者不為有餘，短者不為不足。是故鳧脛雖短，續之則憂；鶴脛雖長，斷之則悲。故性長非所斷，性短非所續，無所去憂也。⁹⁷

The long is not too much, the short is not insufficient. Therefore, although the legs of a wild duck are short, make them longer and it will be in grief; although the legs of the crane are long, cut them and it will suffer. Thus, if what by nature is long is not cut and what by nature is short is not lengthened, then there is no need to worry about this.

The *pianmu* chapter is centred on the superfluity of Ruist values, which are metaphorically likened to physical deformities, while natural shapes are flawless insofar perfectly appropriate to their purpose. The natural shape of the birds' legs, be it short or long, is just what is needed to them, so that attempting to shortening or lengthening them is an absurd, meaningless deed. The author of *pianmu*, through the use of this metaphor, criticizes other schools values and teachings not only as superfluous and useless but as detrimental: as seen above values such as, for instance, Ruist *yi*, *ren* and *li* inevitably become an impediment in the spiritual quest, dispossessing man of its original spontaneity and preventing them to return to it. Criticism towards conventional moral standards or alternative values proposed by other schools, which is here expressed through the metaphor of the duck's and the crane's legs length, is frequent throughout the *ZZ*, as for instance in the above reported dialogue between Yierzi and Xu You from *Dazongshi*.⁹⁸

96 *Laozi*, 51

97 *ICS Zhuangzi*: 8/22/13 – 14

98 Curiously, the brief story on the death of Emperor *hundun* 渾沌, one of the passages containing the same criticism most celebrated by modern critique, cannot be found quoted even once in the Japanese sources analysed.

Kiyobito's composition is clearly taking inspiration from Taoist classics such as the *Laozi* and the *ZZ*, although also contains other kinds of literary references. For instance, the verse 偉原上之連錢 is reminiscent of the *Shijing*.⁹⁹ Even though it is true that Kiyobito seems to be particularly versed in Taoism, the poem was probably written to demonstrate the author's rhetoric ability rather than to expose his philosophical views. In special occasions such as banquets or festivals, it was then customary to compose poems on a fixed theme, chosen by the emperor or by the host. Right before Sugawara's one, the *Keikokushū* records a poem by a different author that has the same theme, which suggests that the two works were composed in one such occasion. In a poem such as this, quotations have the major function of displaying one's erudition and literary ability rather than aiming at expressing any sophisticated content. Therefore, the quotations from the *ZZ* appearing in Kiyobito's poem serve as literary devices to complete a stanza of four verses all based on birds derived from Chinese literature sources and does not really imply a critique of Ruist values.

c. The *Shoku Nihonkōki*

According to what the historical chronicle *Shoku Nihonkōki* 続日本後紀 records,¹⁰⁰ in the Heian period the *ZZ* seems to have been especially popular during the reign of Emperor Ninmyō 仁明 (833-850). In the seventeenth scroll of the *Shoku Nihonkōki*, it is mentioned how Emperor Ninmyō held a feast in commemoration of Zhuangzi and invited the greatest scholar of that time, Harusumi no Yoshitada 春澄善繩, to hold a lecture on the topic.

乙亥・於清涼殿、行莊子竟宴。先是、帝受莊子於文章博士、從五位上兼備中守、春澄宿禰、善繩。是日、引善繩宿禰殿上、殊酌恩杯、行束脩之禮（可參照學令）令左右近習臣、各賦莊子一（按、莊子內篇七篇、外篇十五篇、雜篇十一篇）。管絃更奏、

99 *Shijing*, *Xiaoya* 小雅, *Tangdi* 棠棣: “脊令在原，兄弟急難。每有良朋，況也永嘆” “The wagtail on the plain, brothers that fall into trouble. Even good friends would but sigh still longer”.

Rensen (ch. *lianqian*) 連錢 was an alternative name for *Jiling* 鶻鶻 (脊令) ‘wagtail’.

100 The *Shoku Nihonkōki* is the fourth of the *Rikkokushi* 六国史, the oldest Japanese historical chronicles. It records the events that took place during Emperor Ninmyō's reign.

酣暢為樂、庭燎晫晫、賜善繩宿禰御衣二襲。自外之物、亦稱是也。賜近臣祿、各有差。當代儒者、共以為榮。¹⁰¹

Year 848, Day 12 of the fifth lunar month¹⁰² · A commemorative feast of Zhuangzi was held in the emperor's residence. As first thing, the emperor was given a lecture on Zhuangzi by the Doctor of literature Lord Harusumi Yoshitada. The same day the emperor invited Lord Yoshitada to the visitors hall and specially poured for him a cup in gratitude, performed the lesson payment (according to the school decree), made the ministers of right and left visit Yoshitada in person, and bestowed each a copy of the *Zhuangzi* (accordingly, inner chapters in seven sections, outer chapters in fifteen sections and mixed chapters in eleven sections). Then music was played, and everyone drank to their heart's content, the ceremonial lights shone brightly, and the emperor conferred lord Yoshitada two sets of robes. Other people praised him too. The emperor bestowed robes to the courtiers too, each in a different manner. The Confucians of that age all regard that day as prosperous.

As attested in this record, Emperor Ninyō must have been especially passionate about the ZZ, so much as to hold a feast to celebrate its author, Zhuangzi, and to invite a famous scholar of Chinese to lecture on its content.

d. The *Honchō Monzui*

In the first half of the Heian period a clear reference to the ZZ was also made by Ōe no Asatsuna 大江朝綱, a courtier and literate active in the first half of the tenth century. The reference is comprised in the *Honchō Monzui* 本朝文粹 'Literary essence of Japan', a literary collection of Chinese prose and poetry compiled long after Asatsuna's death, roughly around the mid eleventh century. The third scroll of *Honchō Monzui* is entirely dedicated to the *mondō* 問答, a style of dialogues composed by one question and one answer on a philosophical or theoretical topic. In one of these *mondōs*, entitled *Unmei wo*

101 *Shoku Nihonkōki*, XVII, 3. This quote is based on the text of *Shoku Nihonkōki Sankō* by Muraoka Ryōsuke (1912).

102 According to other sources the date would be the 11th day of the 5th lunar month of 847.

ronzu 論運命 ‘On destiny’, Asatsuna replies to an interrogation directly appealing to Zhuangzi.

對：竊以，漆園傲吏，初發有涯之談。四科英賢，爰馳在天之說
方圓修短之質，性靈群分；貴賤榮枯之姿，毛骨區別。神理不遠，
逆順之徵相符；(…) ¹⁰³

Answer: I tenet that the Qiyuan proud official was the first to put forward the idea that life has limits. Those talented and wise in the four subjects of Confucianism, how could they gallop on the teaching of the sky? Qualities such as the square and the round, the long and the short all differ in their character and spirit. Figures such as the noble and the petty, the prosperous and the declining, the difference between them is the same as that between hairs and bones. Superior truth is not far, the signs of what obey and disobey mutually match.

The author here quotes *Yangshengzhu* 養生主 and supports Zhuangzi’s idea of the limitedness of human life and knowledge against Ruist teachings, which reportedly cannot ‘gallop the doctrine of the sky’.

e. The *Chiteiki*

Kanda (1956) briefly reports that in the *Chiteiki* 池亭記, an early *zuihitsu* written in the second half of the tenth century, the author Yoshishige no Yasutane 慶滋保胤 quotes the *ZZ* in several occasions.¹⁰⁴

鷓住小枝、不望鄧林之大、蛙有曲井、不知滄海之寬、家主職雖
在柱下、心如住山中、官爵者任運命、天之工均矣。¹⁰⁵

103 *Honchō Monzui*, III, 対冊 *Taisatsu*, 63, 論運命 *Unmei wo ronzu*. Quotes from *Honchō Monzui* and *Honchō Shoku Monzui* are based on the text of *Kokushi Taikēi*, volume 29, edited by Kuroita Katsumi.

104 *Chiteiki* “Notes of a pond-side pavilion” is not a real title. It seems there were several works sharing this designation, though those now known are Kaneakira Shinnō’s 兼明親王, compiled in 959, and Yoshishige no Yasutane’s, compiled in 982, which is the one here considered.

105 *Chiteiki* from Kanda (1956).

The quail lives on a small branch, it does not gaze at the hugeness of the forest of Deng, a frog has a crooked well, it does not know the wideness of the blue sea, even though the office of a householder is below the pillars, it is as if he was living between mountains, entrusting offices and ranks to the destiny, it is the fairness of the Sky's job.

This excerpt contains two metaphors drawn from *Xiaoyaoyou* and *Qinshui*, respectively the quail and the frog allegories, though Yasutane adapted the former to the latter modifying its original purport.

鷓鴣巢於深林，不過一枝；偃鼠飲河，不過滿腹。¹⁰⁶

A Jiaoliao bird when nesting in the deep woods just needs a single branch; moles when drinking from a river only need a belly of water.

北海若曰：「井蛙不可以語於海者，拘於虛也；夏蟲不可以語於冰者，篤於時也；曲士不可以語於道者，束於教也。（…）」¹⁰⁷

The Northern Sea said: "A frog in a well cannot discuss about the sea, it is limited to the hole; a summer insect cannot discuss about ice, it is loyal only to its season; a crooked person cannot discuss about the Way, he is constrained by his education."

Secondly, Kanda reports one more passage to be inspired by the ZZ.

人之無友者、以勢以利、不以淡交、不知無友。¹⁰⁸

A person who has no friend, associating to achieve strength or benefits and not for the sake of associating, does not know he is without friend.

106 ICS *Zhuangzi*: 1/2/10 – 11

107 Ibid. 17/43/24 – 25

108 *Chiteiki*, quoted from Kanda (1956). I took the liberty of translating 淡交 as meaning something like 'associating without pursuing any objective in doing so', since this is what the term seemingly indicates in this sentence. Interpretations may differ.

Reportedly, the expression 淡交 is inspired by 交淡若水 from *Shanmu*.

且君子之交淡若水，小人之交甘若醴。¹⁰⁹

And the human relations of a man of virtue are bland like water, those of a base person are sweet like sweet liquor.

II. Sugawara no Michizane

When investigating the influence of the ZZ on Japanese literature a special mention goes to Sugawara no Michizane 菅原道真, probably the most famous *kanshi* poet in the history of Japan, and an excellent composer of *waka* too. In addition to being a prominent literate, Michizane was also an influential politician. Thanks to his outstanding intelligence and literary talent, Michizane could reach higher posts in the government than his family pedigree would normally allow, receiving several promotions especially during the reign of Emperor Uda 宇多 (887-897). Such increase in rank caused Michizane to enter political competition with the Fujiwara 藤原 family, in those days about to reach the height of its power. After the abdication of Emperor Uda, whom he had been supporting against the Fujiwaras, Michizane's political position became vulnerable, finally resulting in a demotion and a command to serve as governor of the farthest region of Heian Japan – Dazaifu 太宰府 – in 901, virtually an exile. It is said that after Michizane died in exile, numerous natural disasters occurred in Japan, which brought the emperor and the court to think that Michizane's spirit was taking vengeance for the wrongful treatment he had suffered when alive. To pacify the angry spirit, Michizane was deified with the name of Tenjin and many shrines were built for his worship and are still dotted across the entire territory of Japan today.

Michizane was born during emperor Ninyō's reign, which, as was shown above, was a time during which the ZZ was relatively popular in Japan, so it is not surprising that he frequently mentioned, referred to or even based his poems on some of the ZZ most popular chapters, especially *Xiaoyaoyou*. Michizane's appreciation for the ZZ and appeal to the Taoist scriptures is revealed by several hints scattered in his poems, such as lexical loans, but also by several direct statements. Unlike the greater part of previous authors,

109 ICS *Zhuangzi*: 20/54/30

Michizane did not only draw some words or touch upon some episodes of the ZZ for aesthetic purposes, instead, he appears to have actively sought an understanding of them. Many of the references contained in his poems seem to suggest a profound empathy towards Zhuangzian ideas, especially in the latter part of his life, after he was forced out of the political competition and exiled to Dazaifu.

a. *Aman wo yumemiru*

A first appearance of Zhuangzi in Michizane's poetry can be glimpsed at in *Aman wo yumemiru* 夢阿滿 'Dreaming Aman'¹¹⁰, a composition dedicated to his son's death in which Michizane expressed the pain of the loss. At the time of composition, thought to be around the year 893, Michizane was still a powerful official.

(...)

萊誕含珠悲老蚌	Laidan laments an old clam yielding a precious pearl,
莊周委蛻泣寒蟬	Zhuangzhou cries for what was entrusted like the shed skin of a winter cicada.
那堪小妹呼名覓	How am I supposed to bear your little sister calling your name and looking for you,
難忍阿孃滅性憐	Hard to endure is seeing your mother crying your demise.

(...) ¹¹¹

Michizane is known to have been a fond parent, dedicating many poems to his offspring. In a particularly important poem as the one dedicated to his seven year old son's death,

110 阿滿 is the nickname that Michizane used when calling his son, which was presumably pronounced 'Amaro'. However, since the poem is a *kanshi* it is conventionally read 'Aman'. The character 阿 is often found as a prefix used before kinship terms indicating familiarity.

111 *Kanke bunsō* 菅家文草, II, *Aman wo yumemiru*, 117. *Kanke* is an additional name of Michizane. Quotes from Michizane's works are based on the text of *Kanke Bunsō*, *Kanke Kōshū* edited by Kawaguchi Hisao (1966).

Michizane mentions Taoism most celebrated sages, Laozi¹¹² and Zhuangzi, right before introducing other components of his own family. Zhuangzi is described as ‘crying for what was entrusted like the shed skin of a winter cicada’ with the expression *monuke wo yudanu* 委蛻 ‘entrusted (moulted and shed) skin’ being clearly drawn from the ZZ.¹¹³ The term *weitui* 委蛻 appears in a dialogue of *Zhibeiyou* in which the legendary Emperor Shun 舜 interrogates a minister¹¹⁴ on the possibility of obtaining or possessing the Way. The minister denies the possibility, affirming that body, life, nature, destiny and even descendants do not truly belong to one, but instead are just entrusted temporarily by the sky-and-earth.

舜問乎丞曰：「道可得而有乎？」曰：「汝身非汝有也，汝何得有夫道？」舜曰：「吾身非吾有也，孰有之哉？」曰：「是天地之委形也；生非汝有，是天地之委和也；性命非汝有，是天地之委順也；孫子非汝有，是天地之委蛻也。故行不知所往，處不知所持，食不知所味。天地之強陽氣也，又胡可得而有邪？」¹¹⁵

Shun asked the prime minister: “Can the Way be obtained and possessed?”. The minister replied: “Your body is not yours to possess, how could you obtain and possess the Way?”. Shun said: “If my body is not mine to possess, who possesses it?”. The minister said: “It is a shape entrusted to you by the sky-and-earth. Life is not yours to possess, it is harmony entrusted to you by the sky-and-earth. Nature and destiny are

112 I assume that 萊誕 *Laidan* (j. *Raitan*) appearing in the first line of the extract here reported indicates Laozi, deriving from a blend between 老萊子 and 老誕, where 聃 have been substituted with the homophonic 誕. Michizane might have changed the character 老 with 萊 to avoid repeating it twice, since it was already to be employed in the expression ‘old clam’. One translation reads 萊 as a miswriting of 韋, so that the complete name would be 韋誕, a famous calligrapher of the Wei dynasty.

113 The *kundoku* of 委蛻 is sometimes rendered as *monuke wo atsumeru* ‘gathering shed skins’ but I see *atsumeru* as inconsistent when the text from *Zhibeiyou* is taken into consideration.

114 It is not clear whether 丞 *Cheng* stands for the name or the post of Shun’s interlocutor. In any case it is irrelevant to the meaning of the dialogue.

115 *ICS Zhuangzi*: 22/61/4 – 5 – 6 – 7

not yours to possess, it is compliance entrusted to you by the sky-and-earth. Children and grandchildren are not yours to possess, they are just a skin to shed entrusted to you by the sky-and-earth. Therefore, going without knowing the destination, residing without knowing how to carry on, eating without knowing the taste of food, it is the strong vigour of sky-and-earth. What is there that one can obtain and possess?

The minister clearly impersonates the views of the author and is portrayed as a sage instructing Emperor Shun – who instead is embodying Ruism – on the impossibility of obtaining and possessing the Way. In the occasion of his young son's death, Michizane probably recalled this passage where sons and daughters are compared to moulted skins to be shed by a cicada, which symbolize entities entrusted to the hands of nature and not in those of parents. Michizane indirectly refers to himself through two images of Taoist sages of antiquity, since clearly Laidan's lament and Zhuangzhou's cry symbolize those same sentiments of the author. The expression 'an old clam yields a pearl' is a metaphor to indicate having a child at an advanced age and introduce a biographical detail, meaning that Michizane regretted having a late son since he died young.

b. *Kansha Yūshū*

Dreaming Aman was composed when Michizane was still in the capital working as a court official. After he was demoted and sent to the far away Dazaifu, Michizane had an additional reason to feel an affinity with Zhuangzi, inasmuch as the ancient philosopher had spent his whole life living idly and far from court and power.

官舍幽趣

The quiet charm of an official mansion

城中不得避諠譁

In the city there is no way to avoid the din,

遇境幽閑自足誇

So to live in this quite environment is enough to
feel proud.

秋雨濕庭潮落地

Autumn rain soaks the garden, the ground is like
after the tide ebbed,

暮煙縈屋潤深家	The evening mist envelops and dampens even this solitary house.
此時傲吏思莊叟	In this moment I think of the proud official, old Zhuangzi.

(...)¹¹⁶

When living in the quiet and isolated official demesne in Dazaifu, Michizane is reminded of Zhuangzi, whom he calls *gōshi* (ch. *aoshi*) 傲吏 ‘proud official’, a designation stemming from the fact that Zhuangzi notoriously turned down advances to serve in official posts.

c. *Tansei*

Michizane appreciation for the ZZ is also explicitly enunciated in the poem *Tansei* 灘聲, a short composition written while exiled in Dazaifu.

灘聲	The voice of the shoal
避喧雖我性	Even though avoiding clamour is in my nature,
唯愛水潺湲	And I only love the quiet flowing of water,
可轉幽人枕	Turning my worn-out pillow around
如彈古調絃	Feels like plucking some old chords.
孤松臨岸蓋	A lonely pine covers a shore with outstretched branches
落葉繫波船	Dropping leaves on a roped waving boat,
此夕無他業	Tonight I won't do anything else,
莊周第一篇	I'll just read the Zhuangzi first chapter. ¹¹⁷

Here the expression 幽人枕 ‘pillow of a secluded person’ can be associated with a frequently used and therefore a worn-out pillow, as might be that of a demoted official spending idly his last years. In *Tansei*, Michizane’s fondness for the ZZ is again revealed, especially for its first chapter *Xiaoyaoyou*.

116 菅家後集 *Kanke kōshū* (後草 *kōsō*), *Kansha Yūshū*, 504

117 *Kanke bunsō*, II, *Tansei*, 161

d. *Shūkō Goji*

Shūkō Goji 舟行五事 ‘Five stories on a boat journey’ is a long poem of one hundred verses where Michizane expresses his concerns for the poverty of common people which includes a few allusions to the ZZ as well. The ‘five stories’ of the title are divided into five stanzas, each composed by twenty verses.

舟行五事

Five stories on a boat journey

(…)

3

區區渡海麋

A little fawn that crosses the sea,

(…)

母鹿每提攜

The doe leads it along,

適遇獠徒至

By chance they come across a night hunter

分奔道路迷

And scatter fleeing, losing their way.

(…)

茫茫不測水

Boundless and indistinct, unfathomable its (= the sea) water

豈是毛群栖

How can this be the dwelling of a deer?

淼淼無涯浪

A vast expanse of waves that has no limits,

未曾野獸蹊

Never had a beast trodden its surface.

何福鸚巢藪

How lucky the parrot that nests in the woods,

何分龜曳泥

How fortunate the turtle that drags its tail in the mud,

客有離家者

There is somebody who left his house (?)

看麋灑血啼¹¹⁸

Watching a fawn belling whilst spilling its blood.

4

(…)

老泣雖哀痛	Although the old man's crying makes my heart ache,
虛舟似放遊	The empty boat travels as if left adrift.
有人前有禍	Before people there are calamities,
無物後無愁	After nothing there are no worries.
冒進者如此	Who advances rashly ends up like this,
虛心者自由	Who is empty-hearted is free,
始終雖不一	Although this end is different from how it started,
請我學莊周 ¹¹⁹	I felt invited to study Zhuangzhou.
(…)	

The third of the five stanzas relate the story of a fawn who must leave its beloved home to cross the sea. Presumably, the fawn figuratively stands for Michizane himself, whilst the sea to be crossed can be identified as Japan's inner sea, which separates Heian-kyō from Dazaifu. The fawn gets lost from its mother due to the arrival of a hunter, so that they can never meet again: the doe might be a metaphor for Michizane's friends and relatives or maybe the capital Heian-kyō, whereas the hunter(s) might hint at the Fujiwara political rivals who caused Michizane to be sent into exile. In the second part of the stanza, Michizane describes the sea as a place where the fawn is not accustomed to live, so much that it envies animals like parrots and turtles, who instead are allowed to live in their own humble habitat. While the parrot metaphor – although admittedly similar to the *Jiaoliao* 鷓鴣 bird metaphor of *Xiaoyaoyou*¹²⁰ – might be in fact an original creation by Michizane, the metaphoric allusion to the turtle derives from the *Qiushui* 秋水 chapter, with the minor lexical alteration consisting in the swapping of character 塗 into 泥 probably meant to preserve the rhyme *-ei* in *sei* 栖, *kei* 蹊 and *dei* 泥.

The fourth stanza narrates the story of an old poor fisherman who once heard that the price of salt soared, sailed out in the middle of the night and, pulling against the wind

119 *Kanke bunsō*, III, *Shūkō goji*, 236, 4

120 *Zuangzi*, I, *Xiaoyaoyou*, “鷓鴣巢于深林，不过一枝” “A Jiaoliao bird when nesting in the deep woods just needs a single branch.”

supposedly to purchase salt to commerce, broke the oars on a reef and was left drifting off on the waves. Michizane reasons that by acting rashly like the old fisherman one ends up encountering unexpected hardships, concluding that this story in turn invited him to study Zhuangzi's thought. This statement discloses what apparently is Michizane's understanding of at least a part of Zhuangzi's thought: forasmuch as the old fisherman's failing is due to the desire of obtaining material gains, which caused him to act rashly, going against the wind at night causing the boat to bump into the reef (逆風去不留/夜行三四里/觸石暗中投), in Michizane's eyes by studying Zhuangzi's thought one can learn to be content with the actual situation, adapting to it without striving to forcibly modify it. Michizane might have believed that the old fisherman should have acted like Zhuangzi who, offered a high official post by the king of Chu, refused instead preferring to continue his humble lifestyle.

e. *Joi ichihyaku in*

In the poem *Joi ichihyaku in* 叙意一百韻 'A hundred rhymes for telling my feelings' written a few days before dying, Michizane mentions Zhuangzi and two major chapters of the ZZ: *Qiwulun* and *Yuyan*. The poem was inspired by Du Fu 杜甫¹²¹,

(...)

紅輪晴後轉	The sun turns after the sky cleared,
翠幕晚來褰	The green curtain is lifted at the coming of the night.
遇境虛生白	Attaining enlightenment from an empty state of mind
遊談時入玄	And entering the mystical state while conversing idly.
老君垂跡話	Laozi manifests through words, (?)
莊叟處身偏	Zhuangzi place himself in the partial,
性莫乖常道	The nature never violates the eternal Way
宗當任自然	The origin has to leave nature in charge.
殷勒齊物論	Solemnly engraved is the <i>Qiwulun</i> chapter,
冶恰寓言篇	Properly forged is the <i>Yuyan</i> chapter,

121 Dufu, *Qiuri kuifu yonghuai fengji zhengjian libingke yibai yun* 秋日夔府詠懷奉寄鄭監李賓客一百韻

景致幽於夢	The scenery is obscure like when in a dream,
風情癖未痊 ¹²²	The scene's illnesses at the end fully recovers. (?)
(...)	

In addition to the excerpt here reported, ‘a hundred rhymes for telling my feelings’ has lexical features reminiscent of the ZZ in some of the other stanzas too, as in the case of the second stanza, where the character 壺(齋)¹²³ and the previously mentioned 造化 occur in the same line.

f. The *Xiaoyaoyou* trilogy

The influence exerted by the ZZ on Michizane’s poetry is even clearer in the three poems *Hokumeishō* 北溟章 ‘The northern sea’, *Shōchishō* 小知章 ‘Small knowledge’ and *Yōjōshō* 堯讓章 ‘Yao yields’, all of which are based on *Xiaoyaoyou*. In fact, the triad can be thought as a poetical rewriting of *Xiaoyaoyou* and a further explanation of its contents. Unlike some of the above considered poems, the *Xiaoyaoyou* trilogy was written before Michizane’s final demotion and exile to Dazaifu, when he was still faring relatively well as a provincial official. To be precise, Michizane wrote the trilogy during a brief sojourn in the capital after a one-year stay in his country of assignment, as he himself explains in the introduction to the three poems.

予罷秩歸京，已為閑客。玄談之外，無物形言。故釋逍遙一篇之三章，且題格律五言之八韻。且敘義理，附之題腳。其措詞用韻，皆據成文。若有諳之者，見篇疏決之。¹²⁴

122 *Kanke bunsō*, III, *Shūkō goji*, 236, 4

123 Ibid. verse 34, I “春壺由造化” “the Creator of change blends spring(?)”. *ICS Zhuangzi*: 6/19/14 (13/34/26) “壺萬物而不為義(戾)” “Blend all things but do not regard it as virtue”, ibid. 22/63/21 “君子之人，若儒墨者師，故以是非相壺也” “Those people who are called men of virtue, once they had Confucians or Moists as masters fought each other over right and wrong.” According to Chen, *ji* 壺 would originally mean ‘blend, mix (of food, dressing)’ in the first two cases, ‘to attack’ in the third.

124 *Kanke bunsō*, IV, Introduction to poems 333, 334, 335

I resigned from office and returned to the capital, where I have already become an idle visitor. Except for Taoist discourses, there is nothing I bother putting into words. Therefore, I will expound *Xiaoyaoyou* with three writings and choose the five characters and eight rhymes as poetic meter. I will relate its meaning and its principles, attaching such explanation just after the title. The wording is in rhyme, and all based on the Cheng Xuanying's¹²⁵ commentary. If the reader is well versed on the subject, may he, seen this work, clear and improve it as one would clear a river by dredging it.

Michizane resigned his official post as assistant ceremonial and Doctor of Literature and was appointed for four years governor of the comparatively remote Sanuki province, in modern Kagawa, starting from 886. Being temporarily appointed governor of a distant region was customary for bureaucrats that lacked sufficient influence at court. As the introduction narrates, in the following year Michizane provisionally returned to Heian-kyō where he composed the three poems on *Xiaoyaoyou*. The second sentence of the above introduction, 玄談之外，無物形言 ‘except for Taoist discourses, there is nothing I bother putting into words’ reveals how following this first minor demotion Michizane had developed a strong interest towards Taoism and especially towards the first chapter of *ZZ*, so much as to declare that in that period he did not to talk of anything else. *Gendan* 玄談 refers to philosophical discourses developed by Wei and Jin dynasty Taoist intellectuals, comprising the seven bamboo grove sages, mainly based on the above mentioned *sanxuan* 三玄, viz. *Yijing* 易經, *Laozi* and the *ZZ*.

The first poem of the trilogy, *Hokumeishō*, paraphrases the initial part of *Xiaoyaoyou*: *bokumei* (ch. *beiming*) 北溟(冥) is in fact the first word of *Xiaoyaoyou*, and indicates the imaginary northern sea from where the enormous bird *Peng* sets out on its journey.

125 Cheng Xuanying's subcommentary consists in a collection of notes to Guoxiang's commentary.

The two commentaries were joined into one with the title of *Nanhua Zhenjing Zhusu* 南華真經注疏. Cheng Xuanying was a Buddhist monk who lived during the early Tang dynasty, resulting in his interpretation of the *ZZ* being affected by Buddhist ideas while steering away from Guoxiang's Ruism-oriented approach.

北溟章

述曰、鯤為鵬鳥、自北徂南。蜩與鸞鳩咲其宏大。自得之場雖異、逍遙之道惟同。唯此章、舉鳩略、而舉蜩詳。明鯤麤而鵬密。故偏發鵬蜩二蟲之性、遂終小大一致之篇。

The northern sea

The poem narrates as follows: the fish *Kun* became the bird *Peng*, which went from north to south. The cicada and the turtledove scorned its great size. Although the place where each is at ease is different, the way they roam carefreely is just the same. In this writing I shall talk roughly about the turtledove and in detail about the cicada. I shall clarify about *Kun*'s coarseness and *Peng*'s subtlety. Therefore, I shall partially expose the nature of the two vermin *Peng* and the cicada, and then conclude this section on how their size, small and big, coincide.

舉小將均大	To equal small to big
惟鵬自對蜩	This is what comparing <i>Peng</i> to the cicada is,
海鱗波淼淼	Like the sea rippled surface vast to the horizon
泥蛻景蕭蕭	And the muddy remains of a rain on a bleak landscape.
變化談同日	Transformation treats each day equally,
形容類各宵	And describes each night similarly,
無時頻決起	At all times rising resolutely,
有處積扶搖	In all places it gathers like a cyclone.
控地榆枋鬱	The cicada falls to the ground among lush Yu and Fang trees,
垂天羽異調	And <i>Peng</i> hangs in the sky, its wings flapping a different tune.
劬勞空半歲	It strives in the air for half a year,
逸樂不終朝	Whereas the cicada comfort and leisure do not even last a morning.
野馬吹相息	Mist mutually breathed,

班鳩咲共嬌	The turtledove laughs affectedly,
二蟲雖異趣	These two vermin, although different in style,
適性共逍遙 ¹²⁶	All roam freely, each according to its nature.

Michizane here summarizes the first part of *Xiaoyaoyou*. The first stanza composed by the first four lines puts into contrast the small size of the cicada with the huge size of *Peng*, which difference is then compared to that existing between a sea that stretches to the horizon and a muddy puddle left in the ground after a spring rain. The second stanza concerns *bianhua* 變化 ‘transformation’, which is described as treating all things in the same way, be everywhere at every moment and be forceful and intense as the cyclone aroused by *Peng*’s wings. The third stanza continues the comparison between the sizes of the two animals emphasizing their differences: while the cicada cannot fly over the thick Yu and Fang thicket and falls to the ground, *Peng* soars high in the sky; while *Peng* strives for half a year before resting, the cicada life does not last long so long as to enjoy a full morning. The sentence ‘do not last a morning’ is a quote from *Laozi*¹²⁷ employed to indicate the very limited temporal span of a cicada’s life. The last stanza concludes that although the two kinds of animals are different in each respect, they all are similar in that they live freely each according to its nature.

The second poem of the trilogy is *Shōchishō*.

小知章

述曰，宋容忘有，禦寇得仙，大智也。五等殊方，諸侯就事，小智也。冥靈在楚，彭祖仕周，大年也。蟋蟀夏生，朝菌暮死，小年也。然而物安天性，理任自然，羨慾累絕，逍遙道成。唯有榮公咲宰官之祿，列子御冷然之風，未得遺無，猶憂有侍。未若無功之神，無名之聖，能馭六氣，遠遊無窮，逍遙之智足矣，無待之心適焉。故遍舉小大之性，說以神聖之遊。此章更載大椿花葉之長年，尺鷃鯤鵬之遊放，義為重疊，略而不取也。

126 *Kanke bunsō*, IV, *Hokumeishō*, 333

127 *Laozi*, XXIII, “故飄風不終朝，驟雨不終日” “Therefore a stormy wind does not last a morning and a shower does not last a day.”

Small knowledge

The poem narrates as follows: Song Rongzi forgot his existing, Liezi became an immortal, that is big wisdom. The five orders of feudal nobility each are different, and the dukes orderly assume their posts, that is small knowledge. The dark spirit in Chu, Pengzu who served the Zhou, that is longevity. The cicada is born in summer and the morning mushroom dies at dusk, that is small age. But all things abide to their nature, the principle lets nature be in charge, envy, desire and all restraints cease, and the Way to be free and unconstrained comes into being. Just because Song Rongzi laughs at the high wages of ministers and officials, Liezi mounts the chilly wind and still did not succeed in leaving nothing behind him, he is carefree but still has dependencies. He still was not like a spirit without accomplishments, a sage without name, who can mount the six factors and travel afar endlessly, be satisfied of the wisdom of journeying carefreely and follow a heart that has no dependency. Therefore, I will partially consider the big and small natures and explain the journey of spirits and sages. In addition this writing also records the longevity of the *Chun* tree flowers and leaves, the free roaming of the quail, *Kun* and *Peng*. The meaning is expressed repetitively, roughly, and not in a way in which it may be understood thoroughly.

知分明又闇	Wisdom tells light from dark,
年定短能脩	Time decides short and long,
內外先雙遣	First do away with both in and out,
逍遙便一遊	And go roaming carefreely and without
堯臣猶歷夏	The Yao minister still experienced the Xia dynasty
曹后不知秋	While the cicada knows no Autumn,
勁節冥靈老	The unyielding life force of the old dark spirit,
浮生日及休	And the fleeting life of a morning mushroom that reaches its rest.

共慙相企向	Together ashamed, mutually admiring and yearning for
多恐暫拘留	Very afraid of stopping temporarily
有待何稱善	If there is dependency, how would you call it Good?
無為我道周	Non action is one's Way completeness.
榮公干祿笑	Song Rongzi laughs at the officials who pursue their career,
列子御風憂	Liezi mounts the wind carefreely,
好是無名客	He really is a traveler without name!
茫茫六氣幽 ¹²⁸	Boundless and indistinct the six factors are deep and obscure.

As he himself declares in the preface, Michizane here considers the second part of *Xiaoyaoyou* including the lines concerning Song Rongzi, Liezi and makes a poetical paraphrasis of its content, changing some words with synonyms to avoid repeating *Xiaoyaoyou* too closely. For instance, Pengzu is referred at with the periphraisis 堯臣 ‘the Yao minister’, the cicada as 曹后 ‘queen of Qi’¹²⁹ while the morning mushroom would have been replaced with 日及 ‘Hibiscus flower’, which reportedly also survives for a sole day.¹³⁰

The third and last poem of the *Xiaoyaoyou* triad is *Yōjōshō*. As one might as well imagine, *Yōjōshō* relates of Emperor Yao's attempt to yield the world to Xu You. an episode already encountered above when discussing the *Nibonshoki*.

128 *Kanke bunsō*, IV, *Shōchishō*, 334

129 曹后 is a miscopying of 齊后 which stands for cicada along with the more frequent 齊女. These alternative names for the cicada come from a legend regarding a queen of Qi, who after death was said to have transformed into a cicada.

130 Michizane probably picked up this name from Li Zhouhan's 李周翰 commentary of the *Wenxuan*, in which the word appears explained as “日及，木槿華也，朝榮夕落” “*Riji* is the flower of Hibiscus. It flourishes in the morning and falls in the evening”. Otherwise, the term might just be an alternative designation for *chaojun*.

堯讓章

述曰，堯帝舉炬火浸灌之喻，將讓天下於許由。許由說鷓鴣偃鼠之心，更歸堯帝於天下。聖人賢者，黃屋青山，逍遙尚一。故敘堯許之有情，明優遊之無別也。

Yao yields

The poem narrates as follows: Emperor Yao, by using the metaphor of a torch and of the irrigation of fields, wants to yield the world to Xu You. Xu You explains the nature of wagtails and moles, thus returning the world to Emperor Yao. An emperor and a sage, one in the emperor's palaces, the other on a wild mount, so different yet roaming carefreely in the same way. Therefore, I will describe Yao's and Xu You's state of mind and make clear that the way they aimlessly wander hold no distinction between them.

推賢堯授手	Yao promotes the wise by extending his hand,
寄身許慙顏	Entrusting his whole to Xu You's ashamed face.
四海君功大	The accomplishments of the world's lord are big,
孤雲我性閑	And his nature idle like a solitary cloud.
穎川清石水	The Ying river clear stony water,
箕嶺老松山	The old pined mountain of Ji peak,
送日蔬食足	Is where Xu You spends his old age content of rough food.
臨煙葦戶開	Standing before the mist the wicker door is wide open,
既知尸祝用	Knowing that the sorcerer would enter.
誰為實賓煩	Who would bother telling internal things from external?
鳳曆何無主	How can an imperial age be without a master?
龍飛欲早還	The dragon flies and wishes to return early,

鷓鴣從取樂	The Jiaoliao bird follows enjoying,
浸灌莫辛艱	Watering the fields is not hard or tiring,
向背優遊去	And the emperor leisurely returns whence he had come,
形體一世間 ¹³¹	Everywhere is shape and body. (?)

The first four lines recount of Yao's plan to promote wisdom by yielding the world to Xu You and describe Yao's nature as idle and quiet, not apt to the role of emperor. 'Xu You's ashamed face' implies that Xu You feels awkward to hear Yao's offer, a detail absent in *Xiaoyaoyou*. Such detail might have been drawn from an episode narrated in the third century bibliographies collection *Gaoshizhuan* 高士傳, a work that Michizane probably knew, which records ninety-one brief bibliographical sketches, the greater part of which supposedly fictional rather than historical.¹³² In the section dedicated to Xu You, the *Gaoshizhuan* recounts how a hermit named Chaofu 巢父, seeing Xu You washing his ears in the Ying river, interrogated him on the reason of such action: when Xu You explained that he came to wash his ears after hearing Yao offering him to succeed as emperor, Chaofu chided Xu You for maintaining connection with the world and for descending too often the mountain to go to the city, then leads his cow to drink the water upstream to prevent it drinking water that touched Xu You's ears.¹³³ Xu You's 'embarrassed face' would therefore derive from this story. Other details are absent in the *Xiaoyaoyou* too, such as the mountain of the Ji peak, which is the living place of Xu You and Chaofu¹³⁴ and the wicker

131 *Kanke bunsō*, IV, *Yōjōshō*, 335

132 Zhuangzi himself is included, together with some fictitious characters appearing in the ZZ, like Xu You, Wangni 王倪 or Nique 嚙缺.

133 *Gaoshizhuan*, Juanshang, Xu You “巢父曰「子若處高岸深谷人道不通孰能見子。子故浮游欲聞求其名譽。污吾犢口。」牽犢於上流飲之。” “Chaofu said: ‘If you live in a high cliff and a deep valley, where no ways might reach out, who would ever meet you? Just because you keep secular ties, wish to become famous and long for fame and honor, you defile the mouth of my calf’. Then he led the calf upstream to make it drink.”

134 *Gaoshizhuan*, Juanshang 卷上, Xu You “許由(…)堯聞致天下而讓之乃退遁中岳潁水之陽箕山之下隱” “As to Xu You, Yao heard he was accomplished and yielded him the world, whereupon

door, which symbolizes the frugality of Xu You's abode. *Shizhu* 尸祝 'sorcerer' and *Jiaoliao*, a kind of small bird also mentioned above, metaphorically refers to Xu You both in Michizane's poem and in *Xiayayou*,¹³⁵ while obviously the dragon stands for Yao.

III. The *Ise Monogatari*

Kamata (1919) and, more in detail, Takeuchi (2009) have attempted to find a connection to the ZZ in some sections of the *Ise Monogatari* (henceforth *IM*). While Kamata did not go beyond pointing out the similarity of the plot of section 63 to one brief anecdote related in *Tianzifang* 田子方, Takeuchi developed Kamata's insight, eventually supporting the thesis of a major ideological influence exerted by the ZZ on the whole work. According to Takeuchi's theory, *IM* unknown author(s) took inspiration from several episodes and anecdotes contained in the ZZ for the narrative structure of the 1st, 2nd, 4th, 6th, 63rd and 69th sections of the work. Furthermore, Takeuchi argues that the ZZ has been more than just a narrative source used by the author(s) of *IM* for the redaction of some sections. On the contrary, in Takeuchi's words, the ZZ provides the *IM* with "an ideological pretext to construct a valorized episteme that grounded knowledge, perception and action in the ultimate immediacy beyond subjective or conventional distinctions".¹³⁶ Put simply, the ZZ would offer an alternative decision making episteme that goes beyond conventional social and personal values prevalent at the ninth-tenth century Japan court, like Ruist and Buddhist values, which presumably should have constituted the decision making standards for the *IM* characters.

To be sure, an analysis of Heian period *monogataris* in the light of the values emerging from the narrative is not a new approach, inasmuch as it dates back at least to Motoori Norinaga's 本居宣長 times. In one of his most celebrated essays, *Genji Monogatari Tama no Ogushi* 源氏物語玉の小櫛, Norinaga famously argues that *monogataris* should not be expected to respect Ruist and Buddhist moral and behavioural values, but instead adopted *mono no aware* as their ideological standard. Norinaga's suggestion is that *monogataris*, among

he retreated and hid in the north of river Ying, below the mount Ji."

135 ICS *Zhuangzi*: 1/2/10: "「(…)歸休乎君! 予無所用天下為。庖人雖不治庖, 尸祝不越樽俎而代之矣。」" "Go back, my lord, and rest; for I have no use of the world! A cook might not be able to order his kitchen, but the sorcerer would not dare to hold rites with his vessels!"

136 Takeuchi (2009, 1)

which especially the *Genji Monogatari* (henceforth *GM*), should not be judged from a perspective related to the two aforementioned major ideological currents, which generally looked askance to the morally questionable contents of the masterpiece. The main narrative ideology should be recognized in the *mono no aware*, which can be thought as an exclusive Japanese aesthetic value that does not derive from the Chinese culture, and should be appreciated as such, without imposing on it any ethically-oriented verdict. Norinaga's essay is centered on the *GM*, but the same point might be extended to the whole *monogatari* genre, since the *GM* is far from being a solitary example of the veiled refusal of conventional moral values and the adoption of the aesthetic conception of *mono no aware*, nor is it the first. *IM* is just one more such example and, according to Norinaga, all the *monogatari* genre shares this same trait. Although more than two hundred years has passed from when Norinaga first published the essay, his point is still valuable insofar it identifies in the *monogatari* genre a common ideological-aesthetic standard that differs from the socially acknowledged Ruist and Buddhist principles. Norinaga was the first to point out the inconsistency of a negative appraisal of the *GM* on the basis of such principles so that nowadays moralizing tendencies has hopefully been altogether overcome, while the notion of *mono no aware* is generally accepted as a cardinal feature of classical Japanese literature.¹³⁷

137 Although *mono no aware* is normally associated with 無常 *mujō* 'impermanence' and a gentle sadness resulting from the keen realization of the fleeting transiency of beauty, Norinaga using this word originally wished to emphasize the inadequacy of a critical view of the *GM* based on Ruist and Buddhist values, as is clear from several passages of his essay. See “さて物語は、もののあはれをしるをむねとはしたるに、そのすぢにいたりては、儒仏の教へには、そむける事もおほきぞかし。そはまづ人の情の、物に感ずることには、善悪邪正さまざまある中に、ことわりにたがへることには、感ずるまじきわざなれども、情は、我ながらわが心にもまかせぬことありて、おのづからしのびがたきふし有りて、感ずることあるもの也。” “Now, since the gist of *monogataris* is understanding the *mono no aware*, in their plots there are many things that go against the teachings of Confucianism and Buddhism. That is because among the sentiments that people feel toward things, be they good, bad, wrong, right and so forth, one should not feel in a way opposed to the principles, but feelings are often impossible to control, and there are cases in which they are naturally difficult to hide, so that people often feel that way all the same” etc.

With regards to the *IM*, I see a profound incompatibility between Takeuchi's argument and the notion of *mono no aware* first developed by Norinaga and later to become convention. In the *IM* and the *Genji monogatari*, the protagonist does not certainly abide to the moral precepts of Ruism or Buddhism, but rather follows his own feelings even when in discord with the principles that such ideologies prescribe. The ideological basis of this alternative course of action is, from Norinaga's times forth, generally identified in the notion of *mono no aware*. Affirming that the *ZZ* provides the ground for decision making in the *IM* necessarily entails that *mono no aware* can be no longer regarded as the ideological basis of Narihira's conduct. Again, since the *IM* evidently shares with other works of the same genre, such as the *GM* itself, the spirit that Norinaga pinpointed in the *mono no aware*, how can the *ZZ* be affecting ideologically the *IM* alone? On the ideological level, the *IM* retains features that are shared by approximately all the *monogatari* genre, which make the work hardly conceivable as an isolated case resulting from an influence of *ZZ*.

As to the specific evidences of the six chapters mentioned above, I will briefly propose here some of them. The best argument in favour of the theory of a correlation between the two works is the similarity of the 63rd section of *IM*, titled *Tsukumogami* つくも髪 'White hair', to an anecdote on King Wen 文 narrated in the *Tianzifang* chapter. The *tsukumogami* section relates the story of a woman who lies to three young servants pretending she had a dream through which she indirectly states her desire to find a new romance.

むかし、世心づける女、「いかで心情けあらむ男にあひえてしがな」と思へど、言ひ出でむも頼りなさに、まことならぬ夢がたりをす。子三人を呼びて語りけり。二人の子は、情けなくいらへて止みぬ。三郎なりけむ子なむ、「よき御男ぞいでこむ」とあはするに、この女気色いとよし。「こと人とはいと情けなし。いかでこの在五中將にあはせてしがな」と思ふ心あり。¹³⁸

Once upon a time, a woman who had known worldly affairs was thinking "How I would like to meet a romantic man!" but, since she had no relative with whom she could talk to about this, she spoke about a dream which in truth she hadn't had. She called upon three children and told them about

138 Teikabon, *Ise Monogatari*, *Tsukumogami*, VXIII

the dream. Two of the kids replied quickly without showing interest. When the third kid, interpreting the dream, said “A fine man will appear in your life” the woman’s face cleared. The kid thought “Other people have no elegance. How I wish to let her meet the fifth grade lieutenant general!”

As said above, just over one century earlier, Kamata pointed out that this narrative scheme is analogue to the story of the old fisherman and king Wen related in the *Tianzifang* chapter. King Wen wished to appoint an old fisherman, whom he had seen earlier, as prime minister but feared by doing so to displease and enrage his relatives and the ministers. He therefore pretended to see in a dream his late father commanding him to put the old fisher in charge of the state, then told the dream to the ministers and asked for an interpretation. The ministers obviously construed the dream as the will of his late father to appoint the old fisherman as prime minister and incited the king to obey the order, thus falling to King Wen’s trick.

文王觀於臧，見一丈夫釣，而其釣莫釣，非持其釣，有釣者也，常釣也。文王欲舉而授之政，而恐大臣父兄之弗安也；欲終而釋之，而不忍百姓之無天也。於是旦而屬夫夫曰：「昔者寡人夢，見良人黑色而髯，乘駁馬而偏朱蹄，號曰：『寓而政於臧丈人，庶幾乎民有瘳乎！』」諸大夫蹶然曰：「先君也。」文王曰：「然則卜之。」諸大夫曰：「先君之命王，其無它，又何卜焉！」遂迎臧丈人而授之政。¹³⁹

King Wen was visiting Zang when he saw an old man fishing. His fishing was not deliberate fishing, he wasn’t holding the rod for the purpose of fishing. He was fishing as if he had to fish forever. King Wen wished to appoint the old man and to entrust him the government but feared that the ministers and relatives would be uneasy. He was going to give up and leave the man be, yet could not bear leaving the populace without the protection of such a great man. Therefore, the next morning he summoned the ministers and said “In the past I dreamed of a fine man of dark complexion and with a beard, he mounted a dappled horse with red

139 ICS *Zhuangzi*: 21/58/25 – 29

hooves on one side. He shouted” “Entrust the government to the man from Zang, and maybe people will be cured!”. All the ministers were astonished and said “It was the former king, your late father.” King Wen said: “If so let us divine the dream.” All the ministers said “It is the command of the previous king, we just need to carry it out, what need is there to divine it?”. Then, he invited the old man from Zang and entrusted the government to him.

Although the two stories surely present an analogy in the plot, which can be synthesized in the protagonist pretending to have a dream in order to achieve an aim, such analogy is not enough to prove that a connection between the two works actually exists. The author of this section of *IM* may have took inspiration from the story of King Wen but the parallel might as well be a coincidence. Even if the author of *IM* had somehow copied some details from the story of King Wen and the old fisherman related in the *Tianzifang* chapter, it would not necessarily entail that the *ZZ* influence on the *Tsukumogami* section in any way affects the “decision making episteme” to which Takeuchi refers. after all the *IM* has 125 sections, each of which with a different plot, enough to baffle even the most creative writer, so that copying or representing features derived from previous resources is surely a most natural approach. Since there is no conclusive evidence and no particular necessity to claim that the *ZZ* had a significant further influence on the plot of the *Tsukumogami* section, it would be sufficient to mention the analogy as a possibility, which is what Kamata actually did. However, Takeuchi insists that the narrative analogy is just one of many hints that suggest a greater, ideological intertextuality between the *IM* and the *ZZ*. According to Takeuchi’s theory such hints would prove that the *Tsukumogami* section ultimately derives from a zhuangzian ideological substratum.

One more example Takeuchi reports in the course of analysis is segment 69, *Mori no Chokusbi* 森の勅使, in which the male main character, supposedly Ariwara no Narihira 在原業平, spends a few hours of one night with a princess who is serving as priestess at Ise shrine. The next morning, as customary, the princess composes a *waka* and sends it to the man:

君やこし

Whether you came

我や行きけむ	Or I went,
おもほえず	I cannot tell.
ゆめかうつゝか	Was it dream or reality?
ねてかさめてか ¹⁴⁰	Was I sleeping or awake?

According to Takeuchi, this poem would express “the princess’ detached scepticism about telling dream from reality”¹⁴¹, a stance supposedly akin to the one presented in the famous passage of *Qiwulun* on Zhuangzhou’s butterfly dream. This interpretation is grossly misleading. As first thing, it should be pointed out that what the princess expresses in her poem is clearly not true scepticism about the possibility to tell dream from reality, since presumably the sequence of questions are not proposing the philosophical riddle on the relativity of reality or requiring a serious and objective reply, but instead are just a rhetorical tool that well expresses the feeling of haziness and vagueness felt by the princess when waking up after a dreamlike night. Undoubtedly, the princess simply has towards the previous night’s tryst a sense of incredulity, which is expressed efficiently by the two rhetorical questions that end the poem. Secondly, in addition to Zhuangzhou’s butterfly dream, Takeuchi connects the princess’ *waka* to one more passage from *Qiwulun*.

予惡乎知說生之非惑邪！予惡乎知惡死之非弱喪而不知歸者邪！¹⁴²

How do I know that enjoying life is not a delusion? How do I know that loathing death is not like a man who got lost when he was young and cannot find the way home?

Takeuchi’s argument is even less convincing when this quotation is taken into account. The quote is drawn from the speech made by a fictional master named *Changwuzi* 長梧子 appearing in *Qiwulun*, in which is proposed the idea that *yuesheng* 說生 ‘enjoying life’ and the parallel *wusi* 惡死 ‘loathing death’ is a wrong attitude to take towards life, similar to the state of a disoriented man unable to find his way back home.¹⁴³ Reportedly, such stance therefore differs from the mindset of a clear, confident man who knows where to go, such

140 Teikabon, *Ise Monogatari*, VXIX, *Mori no chokushi*

141 Takeuchi (2009, 31)

142 *ICS Zhuangzi*: 2/6/28

as a man who does not loath death or does not regard life as being superior to death. Whatever the case, this extract shows no connection whatsoever with the concept of difficulty in telling dream from reality. As to the butterfly dream, it seem reasonable not to take a slight similarity between two sentences as evidence of an influence exerted by the ZZ on the *IM*, especially in consideration of the fact that this poem is meant to express the princess' feelings and not to initiate any sort of philosophical quest.¹⁴⁴

IV. The *Genji Monogatari*

As seen above, what can be assumed from the literary sources and historical records available is that during the ninth century the ZZ aroused keen interest among Japanese literaty. However, along with the interruption of diplomatic exchanges with the Tang dynasty court and the rise of the so-called *kokufū bunka*, Japanese literature gradually steered away from Chinese influences, resulting in an unprecedented flourishing of the *kana* literature, though *kanbun* remained the main writing style among men. Accordingly, the reception of the ZZ in Japanese literature appears to ebb from the onset of the tenth century with the death of Michizane, and would be revived only towards the end of the Heian period, following the increased diffusion of the *setsuwa* genre. In the tenth and eleventh century, therefore, direct references to the ZZ in Japanese literature are few if compared to the preceding three centuries. The earliest of the few known is comprised in *Kochō*, the 25th chapter of *GM*.

右大将の、いとまめやかにことごとしきさましたる人の、恋の山には孔子の倒れまねびつべき気色に愁へたるも、さる方にをかすと、みな見くらべたまふ。¹⁴⁵

The worrying of the commander of the right, who was usually very diligent and excessively serious, that he was going to end up imitating “the

143 This is explicitly reiterated a few lines below the same paragraph, see *Ibid.*: 2/6/30 “予惡乎知夫死者不悔其始之蘄生乎！” “How do I know that the dead do not regret having initially sought for life?”

144 Arguably, other evidences supporting Takeuchi's argument are even less plausible and therefore will not be individually considered here.

145 *Genji Monogatari*, XXIV, *Kochō*

fall that Confucius had in the mountain of love”, seemed, in the eyes of those looking, funny to that person (Genji).

Genji, going through the love letters received by his adopted daughter Tamakazura, read the message sent by the commander of the right, and was amused to find out that even a stiff and serious person such as the commander was secretly exchanging heartfelt correspondence with her. The expression *Kuji no tafure* 孔子の倒れ ‘the fall that Confucius had in the mountain of love’ was probably a proverbial idiom indicating that errors can be committed even by wise and great men, literally indicating that even sages like Confucius can suffer failures or make mistakes. The *locus classicus* is said to be the episode, narrated in the *Daozhi* 盗跖 chapter of the *ZZ*, in which Confucius fails to persuade the bandit Zhi to stop plundering and turn to a decent lifestyle. Bandit Zhi not only is not persuaded but even smartly counters Confucius’ arguments, putting to ridicule his rebuke and winding up intellectually prevailing on him. Confucius is shocked by Zhi’s argumentation and utterly loses confidence towards his own beliefs and values. In Japan his episode was interpreted with a meaning roughly corresponding to ‘Homer sometimes nods’. The connection between the proverb *Kuji no tafure* and the story of bandit *Zhi* is explained in detail in a later *setsuma* contained in the *Uji Shūi Monogatari*, which will be considered later. However, since the proverb was usually referred to simply as *Kuji no tafure* ‘Confucius’ fall’, the addition of *kobi no yama niva* 恋の山には ‘in the mountain of love’ was probably worked out by Murasaki herself, and is meant to indicate that the commander’s failure would be committed in the feelings area.

Recently, Li Xianyi (2019) established some unexpected connections between *GM* and the *ZZ*. Li argues that in the *GM* there are lexemes seemingly connected with zhuangzian concepts or which can even be regarded as the result of an indirect ideological sourcing from the *ZZ*. The examples that Li identifies are *Utsusemi* 空蟬, *Yūgao* 夕顔 and *Ukifune* 浮舟, all three of which are improper nouns whereby Murasaki indicates female characters that appears in the *GM* storyline, in fact employing them as personal names. In addition, the chapters dedicated to the three ladies are titled accordingly. Li asserts that these terms, along with other few words scattered here and there in the associated sections, are used to express zhuangzian concepts. Still, he tenets that their inspiration was drawn from the

poems of Bai Juyi 白居易, Michizane and by the poems of the collection *Wakan Rōeishū* 和漢朗詠集, at that time very recent, and not directly by the *ZZ*.¹⁴⁶ More concretely, Li notices a similarity between the names Utsusemi and Yūgao with *huigu* 蟋蟀 and *chaojun* 朝菌 that, as seen above, are also mentioned in Michizane's *Small knowledge* as *kigō* 曹(齊)后 and *nikkyū* 日及. The *yūgao* is a flower that blooms in the evening and withers in the morning, for which reason was chosen by Murasaki as a metaphor for the short life of the lady known by its name. Li asserts that *yūgao* creates a pair with *asagao*, a flower that flourishes in the morning and withers at noon, so that *yūgao* can be construed as *chaojun* appearing in *Xiaoyaoyou*. Li goes on stating that *utsusemi* corresponds to *huigu*, yet if so *utsusemi* should be seen as one more metaphor for the brevity of life and/or the limitedness of knowledge, whilst in the *GM* lady Utsusemi's life is not short at all, since she is described to outlive her husband, which makes Li's theory problematic. Moreover, the fact that lady Yūgao dies early at dawn just like the *yūgao* flower withers at daybreak seems to be the most logical reason why Murasaki named her after the flower, which is a much more straightforward source for the name compared to the conjecture of a literary reference to the *ZZ*, a book surely not popular among many Monogatari readers. Sure enough, in both cases a plant is used as a metaphor for the transiency of life, but the choice of *yūgao* as a symbol of transiency must have been determined by the plot development of the respective *GM* chapter rather than the will to refer or quote the *ZZ* or any poem that might have received its influence.

Similarly, according to Li, Ukifune would be an extension of Zhuangzi's *fusheng* 浮生 'floating life'¹⁴⁷, an expression that Murasaki had probably seen in Bai Juyi, Li Bai and/or

146 For instance, Bai Juyi refers to the content of *Xiaoyaoyou* in *Fangyan* 放言 n. 5, “泰山不要欺毫末，顏子無心羨老彭。松樹千年終是朽，槿花一日自爲榮。何須戀世常憂死，亦莫嫌身漫厭生。生去死來都是幻，幻人哀樂系何情。” “The mount Tai will not bully a trifling end, Yan Hui selflessly envies Pengzu, the pine rots after one thousand years, the hibiscus flower flourish for one sole day. What is the need of longing for an eternal life and worrying for death? Yet again you should not dislike oneself and loath life without good reason. Life going and death returning, all this is but a delusion; what kind of feeling would deluded people bear with it?” Famously, Murasaki's reception of Bai Juyi poetry is relevant.

147 *ICS Zhuangzi*: 15/41/26 – 28 “聖人之生也天行，其死也物化(…)其生若浮，其死若休” “The life of a sage is a spontaneous journey, while his death is a transformation of matter (...), his

Michizane poems.¹⁴⁸ Be it as it may, what can be said with certainty is that *GM* do not contain any direct reference to *Zhuangzi* or his ideas, although Murasaki might have received some kind of zhuangzian influence through previous poets' literary creations, among whom especially Bai Juyi.

V. Later Heian period poetry

In the *Honchō Shokumonzuī* 本朝続文粹, a Chinese style poetry collection sequel of *Honchō Monzuī*, Ōe no Masafusa 大江正房 devotes a whole *fu* to the topic of Zhuangzhou's butterfly dream. Masafusa was a renowned literate of both Chinese and Japanese poems and a high ranking courtier active from the latter eleventh to the first years of the twelfth century. The *Honchō Shokumonzuī* was compiled around the mid twelfth century, around thirty years after Masafusa's death, and gathers poems written in the previous one hundred years span.

庄周夢為胡蝶賦

漆園傲使、南華真人、因寢寐而入夢、忽變化兮如神、改性羽蟲。
不知彼為我、為彼受身蝴蝶。何辨孰是秋、孰是春。原夫優之遊
之、日涉月涉、託氣於思鄂之鄉。卜宿於梅杏之葉、驚目省、悠
然而周。眠猶迷。栩然而蝶。況亦聯翩殘漏！翱翔百年、偉
人虫之異地、知運命之在天、事在床頭、誠類滄花之客。說出枕
上。自似冠霞之仙。既而物同逍遙理齊小大。咲蜂蠆之有綏。褊
螂蛆之甘帶。憐黃鸝之有友來自遠方、不悅乎。吞文鳥而為倫、
遠於眾藝、其才奈。¹⁴⁹

living is like floating, his death is like resting.”

148 For instance in Li Bai's *Chunye yan cong di taobuayuan xu* 春夜宴從弟桃花園序: “而浮生若夢，為歡幾何” “But this floating life is like a dream, how long can we enjoy it for?”, Bai Juyi's *Chongdao Wei shang jinju* 重到渭上旧居: “浮生同過客，前後遞來去” “This floating life is similar to a traveller, the new replaces the old (?)”. Sugawara no Michizane, 宿舟中 *Shūchū wo yadoru*, “客中重旅客，生分竟浮生” “floating life”, other than the above 少知章。

149 *Honcho Shokumonzuī*, I, *Fu*, *Zasshi*, 2, *Sōshū kochō wo yume to nasu*. The text here is drawn from the Kamakura manuscript published by the national archives of Japan digital archives. Punctuation marks are mine.

A rhapsody on Zhuangzhou becoming a butterfly in dream

The proud official of the Qi park, the true man of south China, laid down and slept, thus entered a dream. Suddenly he transformed – just like a god – changing his nature and becoming an insect with wings. He did not know whether it had transformed into him, or he had transformed into it receiving the body of a butterfly. How could one tell what is spring and what is fall? Originally, he roamed carefree through the impossibility of distinction, wondering day by day and night by night, entrusting one's life force to the noble longing for E(?). He divined constellations under the leaves of plums and apricots, then something amazed his eyes and he woke! There he is, quietly and idly going around, still dazed with sleep, lively and joyfully fluttering like a butterfly, flapping even more spiritedly during the remaining night! Hovering for a hundred years, that is where a great man and a butterfly are different. Knowing that destiny resides in the sky and that worldly affairs are close like the head of a bed, that is where it is analogue to the butterfly (?). The speech comes out from a dream, itself similar to the immortal crowned with mist. And thus all things that follow their nature wandering idly are equal in size. Laughing at the bee sting for having strings on the tassels of a cap (?). Shrinking the centipede that likes eating crawling creatures. Envy the oriole who has friends who come from afar, isn't this joy? Swallow the mannikin and do good (?). The art of being away from the multitude. How about that talent?

Several sections of this rather obscure *fu* remain unclear, for instance 託氣於思鄂之鄉.¹⁵⁰

A thorough analysis of each sentence and its complete translation is difficult but the general meaning is still somewhat comprehensible. Masafusa's composition presents Zhuangzhou's butterfly dream in a similar way to the original version of *Qiwulun*, while also adding some elements from *Xiaoyaoyou*. After the initial part simply portraying Zhuangzhou becoming a butterfly in dream, the author enlarges the scope of observation, giving space to one more example expressing the impossibility of determining with

150 In one manuscript I consulted 鄉 is reported as 卿. See the manuscript by 藤原季綱 Fujiwara Suetsuna dating 1849, published by Waseda University.

certainly the reality of spring and fall. However, more than aiming at expressing any philosophical conception, the author probably wants to refer to *Xiaoyaoyou* 蟪蛄不知春秋 ‘the summer cicada does not know spring nor fall’, which, however, is not relevant to the butterfly dream. Also the quote from Lunyu 有友來自遠方不悅乎 is irrelevant to the topic and seems somehow misplaced. Perhaps the clearest part is 知運命之在天 ‘knowing that destiny resides in the sky’, where Masafusa appears to be bringing in a personal interpretation.

The butterfly dream must have been a fond theme of Masafusa since it is found quoted in another poem by him, which is contained in the *Shika waka shū* 詞花和歌集, a later Heian period collection of *waka* compiled in 1151.

百年の花に宿りてすぐしてきこの世は蝶の夢にぞありける¹⁵¹

Dwelling on a hundred-year flower did I spend it all! This life truly was a butterfly dream.

One more reference to the ZZ from the Insei period poetry appears in the *Imayō uta* collection *Ryōjin Hisbō* 梁塵秘抄 ‘Secret transcript of the dust over beams’¹⁵² (Zhang Aimin 2005, 2009), compiled by Emperor Go-Shirakawa in 1179. One song by an unknown author alludes to the ZZ in a way much similar to that previously encountered in the Heian collection *Keikokushū*.

鳥は見る世に色黒し。鷺は年は経れども猶白し。鴨の頸を短し
とて継ぐものか、鶴の脚をば長しとて切るものか。¹⁵³

The crow is black no matter in which age you look at it. The heron is still white despite the passing years. If you think the neck of a duck is short, would you really lengthen it? If you think that the legs of a crane are too long, would you really cut them?

151 *Shika waka shū*, 378

152 This peculiar name hails from the tale according to which dust over beams would be moved when hearing a good poem. The full name of the collection is *Ryōjin Hisbō Kudenshū* 梁塵秘抄口伝集.

153 *Ryōjin Hisbō*, 386

The poem facetiously refers to two different passages of the ZZ. The first, which concerns the natural length of the legs of wild ducks and cranes, was already discussed above. The second has its source in the *Tianyun* 天運 chapter, where Confucius interrogates Laozi on the meaning of benevolence and righteousness.

老聃曰：「（…）夫仁義憺然，乃憤吾心，亂莫大焉。吾子使天下無失其朴，吾子亦放風而動，總德而立矣，又奚傑然若負建鼓而求亡子者邪？夫鵠不日浴而白，烏不日黔而黑。黑白之朴，不足以為辯；名譽之觀，不足以為廣。（…）」¹⁵⁴

Laozi replied: “ (...) Benevolence and righteousness are terrible, and they anger me. There is nothing that troubles the world more than them. If you want to make people stick to their original nature and simplicity, you need to move following the wind, stand on this world by grasping the sky’s virtue. What need is there to beat a battle drum and wilfully pursue those who fled? The swan is not white because it bathes on the sun light, the crow is not black because it tanned on the sun light. White and black are their original nature, there is nothing to discuss about that.”

The writer here is again arguing against Ruist values like *ren* ‘benevolence’ and *yi* ‘righteousness’, which reportedly are not only totally useless but even detrimental. As saw above, the ZZ authors accuse such values of misleading people into losing their original authenticity and prevent them from regaining it, so much as to state that they cause more trouble to the world than anything else. The *imayō* song of *Ryōjin Hisbō* fuses these two paragraphs together on account of their shared use of metaphors on birds, sarcastically applying their metaphorical meaning to a mundane topic. Admittedly, the unknown author of this *imayō* song has no intention to refer to the critique of Ruist values and debate the positions expressed in the passages alluded, instead, the author just aims at making a secular, ironic application of the quotations, smartly using the two metaphors drawn from the ZZ as metonymies probably indicating somebody close to the author, possibly his wife. Most likely, the author is complaining about the fact that no matter how many years

154 *ICS Zhuangzi*: 14/40/5 – 9

passed, his wife did not change in the least: just like a crow's black and a heron's white do not change over time, his wife flaws or idiosyncrasies are exactly as they were before. Again, just like the short legs of a wild duck cannot be lengthened and the long legs of a crane cannot be shortened, any of the implied wife's features are resilient to any attempt of adjustment. In this case, the two quotations from the *ZZ* serve the purpose of creating a comical effect given by the unexpected overlapping of the serious arguing of an ancient Chinese sage with an everyday, mundane jest. Even so, the two passages combination is original and reveal the author's remarkable familiarity with the *ZZ*.

VI. The *Konjaku Monogatari*

From the Insei period forward, due to the flourishing of the *setsuwa* genre, the *ZZ* returns to be a major source of inspiration for Japanese literary works. *Setsumas* are short vernacular stories mainly based on orally transmitted material, the term itself being sometimes translated with 'folktales'. *Setsuma* literature is known to have been written throughout all Heian period, starting from the *Nihon Ryōiki* 日本悪異記 in the ninth century, but its production intensified from the first half of the twelfth century with the compilation of a huge collection, the *Konjaku Monogatari*.

The fact that in some of the major *setsuwa* collections several tales were inspired by the *ZZ* is not surprising. The greater part of the *ZZ* is in fact composed by series of short philosophical tales or dialogues that offer a perfect starting point from which to develop a *setsuwa*, since in most cases they possess both a captivating narrative and a profound ideological connotation. Thanks to the latter, the short narratives contained in the *ZZ* are not simply stylistic expressions having the only aim of pleasing the reader, they also conceal a message that might be either explicitly stated or that the reader is expected to acquire through a personal interpretation. This feature fits well with the *setsuwa* genre too, as it can enrich a tale with a final moral giving further significance to the story plot. In the *setsuwa* most ordinary structure, the moral is explicitly put into words at the end of the tale, although sometimes it remains unexpressed, left to the reader's imagination. In the case they are explicated, morals frequently differ from what presumably was the message that the writers of the *ZZ* originally wanted to convey through the same narratives. This is because the *setsuwa* genre is recreational, rather than educational or speculative, therefore differs altogether in purpose from the *ZZ* text: as a result, *setsumas* change the focal points

of the narratives, introducing into them arbitrary meanings or wrong or partial interpretations. One more likely reason is the limited understanding that *setsumas* authors had towards the ZZ, which might have led them to superficial or biased interpretations.

Short episodes from the ZZ were adapted and rewritten, often with added features, abridgements, developments or other kinds of textual alterations, which were mainly carried out with the purpose of rendering the text easier to understand and more captivating for the then contemporary Japanese readers. Zhuangzi himself can be found as the protagonist of many *setsumas*, which narrative is based on the original Chinese text, with only some details and minor parts revised, modified or abridged. The *Konjaku Monogatari*, the *Jikkishō* and the *Uji Shūi Monogatari* all contain stories drawn from the ZZ sharing these features.

The earliest extant *setsumas* collection containing tales based on the ZZ is the *Konjaku Monogatari* (henceforth *KM*), which dates back to the first half of the twelfth century. In the *KM* there are three tales derived from the ZZ, in all of which Zhuangzi can be found as protagonist.

a. The rutted fish

The first of these three stories is titled “Zhuangzi borrowing millet at ---’s place”¹⁵⁵, which is a rewriting of a paragraph from the *Waiwu* 外物 chapter.¹⁵⁶ In the *Waiwu* version of the tale, Zhuangzi, having nothing to eat, visited a man known as *jianbe hou* 監河侯 ‘river superintendent’ to borrow some millet. The superintendent, however, urged him to wait until the following week, promising to lend him a great amount of money by then. Thereupon Zhuangzi replied that while he was walking towards the superintendent’s abode, he had just come across a stranded carp which, having mysteriously ended up in a cart wheel rut on the ground, was in dire need of water. When the fish had seen Zhuangzi passing by, it had called out on him and pleaded him for some water to live in. Heard the request, Zhuangzi told the carp that in three days time he would be going to a place abounding in rivers and lakes, supposedly a perfect spot for fish, so he promised to take it along and set it free there. Knowing it would not survive for three days without water, the

155 *Konjaku Monogatari Shū*, X, 11, 莊子……の許に粟を借りること *Sōshi --- no moto ni zoku wo kobu koto*. … stands for a white space in *KM* text. Quotes from the *Konjaku Monogatari Shū* is based on the text from *Konjaku Monogatari Shū* edited by Jun’ichi Ikegami (2001).

156 *ICS Zhuangzi*: 26/77/14 – 19

carp flared up at Zhuangzi, sarcastically exhorting him to take it to the nearest fish dealer instead. Using the carp story as a metaphor, Zhuangzi clearly hinted to the superintendent that he would not survive without rice for a week. This paragraph from the *ZZ* is reproduced in entirety in the *KM setsuna*, with only a few differences: the addition of a brief biographical introduction to Zhuangzi as the protagonist of the story, the absence of the superintendent's name, the addition of a final sentence to explain the moral of the tale and some minor lexical differences owing to the translation process. Curiously, in the *KM* the designation of 'river superintendent' appearing in the original version of *Waiwu*, is substituted with a white space.

今昔、震旦ノ周ノ代ニ、莊子ト云フ人有ケリ。心、賢クシテ、
悟リ広シ。家、極テ貧クシテ、貯フル物無シ。¹⁵⁷

Once upon a time, during the Zhou dynasty in China, there lived a man called Zhuangzi. He was wise and of wide understanding but his household was poor and he had no food stored up.

This initial presentation of Zhuangzi as *dramatis personae* is almost the same as that offered by other tales of *KM* for Confucius.

今昔、震旦ノ周ノ代ニ、魯ノ孔丘ト云フ人有ケリ。父ハ叔梁ト云フ。母ハ顔ノ氏也。此ノ孔丘ヲ世ニ孔子ト云フ此レ也。身ノ長、九尺六寸也。心賢クシテ、悟リ深シ。¹⁵⁸

Once upon a time, during the Zhou dynasty in China, there lived a man called Kong Qiu of Lu. His father was called Shu Liang, his mother's surname was Yan. This Kong Qiu is known as Kongzi to the world. His stature was of 9 *chi* and six *cun*. He was wise and of deep understanding.

In Confucius' case, the description continues with a few more lines praising Confucius' knowledge and wisdom and adding some further biographical information. Even so, the author of these tales seems to have regarded Confucius and Zhuangzi in much a similar

157 Ibid.

158 *Konjaku Monogatari Shū*, X, 9, *Shinka Kōshi michi wo yuki dōji ni abi tobi mōsu koto*

way, portraying them with a standardized wording, while the greater length of the description dedicated to Confucius is most likely to be ascribed to the major familiarity that the author had with Confucius' biographical details. Interestingly, the *KM* contains only two *setsumas* about Confucius, less than the three dedicated to Zhuangzi. This may be taken as further evidence that in the *KM* author's eyes, Zhuangzi as a historical figure and narrative target was not less relevant or appealing than the most celebrated of sages, Confucius. On the contrary, the metaphorical tales contained in the *ZZ* are much more suitable to a vernacular rewriting than Confucius' analects, which short length and overserious content can hardly befit a folk narrative without sounding strained and pretentious.

Going back to the stranded fish *setsuma*, the main difference of the *KM* version from the original consists in the addition of the final moral, where a Japanese proverb, namely *nochi no senkin* 後ノ千金 'a thousand coins later', is used to summarize the meaning of the episode.

(…)然レバ、彼ノ鮒ノ云シガ如ク、我ガ今日ノ命、物食ハズシテハ、更ニ生クベカラズ。後ノ千金、益有ラジ」ト云ヒケリ。其ノ時ヨリ、「後ノ千金」ト云フ事ハ、此ノ如ク云フ也トナム、語り伝ヘタルトヤ。

159

“(…) Therefore, like that carp had said, if today I don't eat, I certainly won't live anymore. A thousand coins later won't do any good.” Zhuangzi said. It is told that from that time forward, the expression “A thousand coins later” is used to indicate this kind of situations.

The fact that Japanese old proverbs such as *Kuji no tafure* and *nochi no senkin* derived from episodes of the *ZZ* supposedly entails that the book was known not only by literati of Chinese classics and monks but, more generally, by common people at large. This assumption is based on the fact that these proverbs have fairly down-to-earth meanings hailing from a 'popular' interpretation of the episodes rather than from a scholarly reconstructed hermeneutics. In fact, neither of these passages had been construed like that by previous Chinese commentators. Moreover, the proverbs are linguistically Japanese

159 *Konjaku Monogatari Shū*, X, 11, *Sōshi --- no moto ni zoku wo kobu koto*

and appear to be a semantic superimposition and evidently not a textual quotation from the Chinese original text. According to Nakagawa (1985), the proverb and its connection to the carp story in *Waimu* was not devised by the author of *KM*, but had been established formerly. As likely as not, the proverb had originated from the stranded carp story, as the *KM* author implies or, alternatively, the possibility of an already existing proverb being applied to the story as an interpretation is also viable. In any case, at the end of the Heian period the connection between the two was already assumed to be common knowledge, though the proverb later fell into disuse and disappeared from spoken language. Nakagawa reports a further evidence of the connection between the *ZZ* and the proverb, the entry for *Nochi no senkin* in an Edo period collection of proverb named *Tatoedsukushi* 譬喩尽.

後ノ千金ヨリ今ノ一飯てっぶ莊子轍鮒ノ語ノ心¹⁶⁰

“Better a meal now than a thousand gold after” is the meaning of Zhuangzi’s story about the stranded carp.

As will be shown below, the story about the stranded carp is contained also in the *Uji Shūi Monogatari*, where the narrative appears written in a very similar fashion to the *KM* version, only with a few minor changes. This is not surprising since the materials for tales of *Uji Shūi Monogatari* is thought to have been in great part drawn from previous collections of *setsuwa*, among which the *KM*.

b. Between a tree and a goose

The second tale of *KM* to stage Zhuangzi as protagonist is grounded on the already covered episode of the tree and the goose of *Shanmu* chapter. Differently from the previous one, in this *setsuwa* the meaning of the episode is not summarized in a proverb but is instead exposed at length in rather sophisticated terms. This exposition, just like in the original episode of *Shanmu*, is presented through Zhuangzhou’s reply to a disciple’s interrogation, whilst the two texts differ greatly on the contents of such s reply. This difference is the result of an original interpretation by the author of *KM*.

160 *Tatoedsukushi*, see Nakagawa (1985). The proverb 轍鮒の急 *teppu no kyū* also deriving from this episode is still used in Japan, although rarely, to indicate an imminent danger.

「昨日ノ杣山ノ木ハ、不用ナルヲ以テ命ヲ持ツ。今日ノ主人ノ鴈ハ、才有ルヲ以テ命ヲ生ク。コレヲ以テ心得ルニ賢キ者モ愚カナル者モ命ヲ持ツ事ハ其レニハ不依ズ。只自然ラ令然ムル事也。然レバ材有レバ不死ザルゾ不用ナレバ死ヌルゾトモ不可定ズ。不要ノ木モ命長シ。不鳴ヌ雁モ忽ニ死ヌ。此レヲ以テ諸ノ事ハ可知シ」ト。此レ、莊子ノ言也トナム、語り伝ヘタルトヤ

161

“Yesterday, the tree of the logging mountain preserved its life because of its uselessness. Today, the goose of the host survived because of its skill. This demonstrates that the survival of either a man of understanding and a stupid one, do not depend on their intelligence. That it should be so is decided naturally. Therefore it is not certain that what is useful will live and what is useless will die. The useless trees live a long life. But also the goose that doesn’t call dies right away. Through this we can understand all things.” It is told that these were the words of Zhuangzi.

The *KM* interpretation of the passage is straightforward but original, convincing and exposed in simple words. The life or death of a being is not determined by its skills: rather, its living or dying 只自然ラ令然ムル事也 ‘is just spontaneously made do so’, as the text literally puts it. In other words its life is spontaneously determined, therefore not decided by any of its attitudes or faculties. This principle, the *KM* concludes, can be applied to all things, and all things can be known through it. However, these assertions differ consistently from Zhuangzi’s reply as narrated in the final part of the original version of *Shanmu*.

莊子笑曰：「周將處夫材與不材之間。材與不材之間，似之而非也，故未免乎累。若夫乘道德而浮游則不然。無譽無訾，一龍一蛇，與時俱化，而無肯專為；一上一下，以和為量，浮游乎萬物之祖；物物而不物於物，則胡可得而累邪！此黃帝、神農之法則也。若夫萬物之情，人倫之傳，則不然。合則離，成則毀，廉則

挫，尊則議，有為則虧，賢則謀，不肖則欺，胡可得而必乎哉？
悲夫！弟子志之，其唯道德之鄉乎！」¹⁶²

Between usefulness and uselessness, it seems the right place but it isn't, because it isn't yet where one can avoid trouble. Mounting the Way's virtue roam floating, as if brought about by the current, is different though. Without praise nor blame, now flying like a dragon, now crawling like a snake, transforming along with the passing time, unwilling to act by one's own judgment. Now up, now down, with harmony as one's measure, to roam floating to the origin of all things. Using things without being used by things, how could one get into trouble! This was the method of the Holy Farmer and the Yellow Emperor. As to the condition of things and to the teachings on the relationships between men, they are not like this. Unite and thus separate, come into being and thus fall into pieces, have angles and thus being dulled, be respected and thus be questioned, be active and thus be in lack, be clever and thus be conspired, be unworthy and thus be bullied. How can one be certain of what one is going to get? Alas, disciples, remember this! That is the only place where the Way's virtue resides.

As it was previously mentioned, the point here is that between two alternatives, such of usefulness and uselessness, none should be preferred over the other.¹⁶³ Better is to choose to be 'between them'. This choice, however, does not entail that one should accept and subscribe to the view that be between usefulness and uselessness, or whatever other alternatives one might be facing, is the right place to be. In fact there is no right place to be at all: the 'floating journeying' and all the succeeding images are but figurative descriptions of a roaming without dependency, without sticking to anything, not to the 萬物之情 'conditions of all things' nor to the 人倫之傳 'handed down teaching on relations

162 ICS *Zhuangzi*: 20/53/12 – 16

163 Scholars agree that the goose and the tree episode, as the whole *Shanmu* chapter and probably all the chapters after the eighth, was written by a different author than the first seven chapters, most likely by Zhuangzi's disciples. In the first part of the book, eg. in the *Xiaoyaoyou* and *Qiwulun*, the author tends to appraise uselessness over usefulness while here none are preferred over the other.

between men’ or whatsoever else. One should not stick even to the place ‘between a tree and a goose’, because that, as Zhuangzhou tells us, would still be a dependency and therefore would not be help avoid trouble. *Wudai* 無待 ‘without dependencies’ is a major theme of the *ZZ* and arguably the central point of Zhuangzi’s speech here. In any case, this passage from *Shanmu* is way too complex to be fitted into a folk tale moral, so it might be assumed that the author of *KM* opted for abridging its last part and exposing a simpler interpretation in shorter terms.

c. The distracted heron and the happy fish

The third *setsuna* is the result of a combination of two episodes contained in the *ZZ*, the first again drawn from *Shanmu*, the second from *Qiushui*. The fact that two episodes originally separated were joined in one tale is indicative of an original reworking of the material deriving from the *ZZ* by the author of *KM*. As in the preceding cases, there are several minor differences in the details of the narrative structure, yet the plot is basically identical. In the first part of this *setsuna*, Zhuangzi, who is having a promenade in a park, came across a heron and approached it in order to hit it with a stick. To Zhuangzi’s surprise, the heron did not flee, nor even noticed he was approaching. At a second glance, Zhuangzi realized that the reason for the heron’s inattention is its intently aiming at a frog, which, in its turn, did not detect the peril of the heron being wholly absorbed in aiming at an insect. Zhuangzi, seen this scene, was filled with dread and fled, as he felt he might be just one more link of the chain, and that there could be some superior being he is not aware of observing him from afar, ready to knock him dead.

我レ (….)ニ増サル者有テ我レヲ害セムト為ルヲ不知ジ。¹⁶⁴

There must be a superior being of which I am unaware of who is going to hurt me.

In the original version from *Shanmu*, the narrative is more detailed and continues with a description of what happens after Zhuangzi escaped. In its final part, the guardian of the chestnut grove caught sight of Zhuangzi running around and, judging his movements as suspect, chased him down and questioned his strange behaviour. Finally, a few days after Zhuangzi had returned home, his disciples asked him the reason of his lasting bad mood.

164 *Konjaku Monogatari Shū*, X, 13, *Sōshi chikurui no shogyō wo mite bashiri nigetaru koto*

莊周曰：「吾守形而忘身，觀於濁水而迷於清淵。且吾聞諸夫子曰：『入其俗，從其俗。』今吾遊於雕陵而忘吾身，異鵲感吾穎遊於栗林而忘真，栗林虞人以吾為戮，吾所以不庭也。」¹⁶⁵

Zhuangzhou said: “I was concentrated on shapes and forgot my body, I was observing muddy water and strayed away from a clear deep pool. Moreover, I heard my master saying “Enter its convention and follow its command”. Now I travelled to Diaoling and forgot my body, a weird bird swept before my forehead and wandering in the chestnut grove forgot its authenticity. The guardian of the chestnut grove thought I was a poacher, so I’m out of sorts.”

Both the dialogue with the guardian and the reply to the disciple were abridged in the *KM* version, which ends with Zhuangzi fleeing and the author praising his insight.

此れ、賢き事也。人、此の如き思ふべし。¹⁶⁶

This is wisdom. People should think like this.

However, the author did not clarify the meaning of this metaphorical story nor did he attempt an interpretation. By exposing the interconnectedness existing between gain and loss, the story probably aims at recalling the readers’ attention to the real significance of their objectives and goals. During the fighting kingdoms age, in which Zhuangzhou and his disciples lived, examples of kings or ministers perishing while concentrated on the purse of their ultimately unimportant goals must have been abundant. Even the lives of common men are normally set on some headstrong quest of empty ideals, concentrating on ‘shapes’ while losing contact with their spontaneous nature by ‘forgetting their bodies’. Be it as it may, the lack of any explanatory comment is probably a proof that the *KM* author chose the episode for its amusing narrative rather than for its speculative or moral import. Subsequently, the *setsuwa* continues with another episode unrelated to the previous one, which unsurprisingly is again the *Qiushui* dialogue between Zhuangzi and Huizi on the

165 *ICS Zhuangzi*: 20/56/4 – 7

166 *Konjaku Monogatari Shū*, X, 13, *Sōshi chikurui no shogyō wo mite bashiri nigetaru koto*

happy fish. Curiously in the *KM* version of the episode, Huizi, who was probably unknown to the Japanese medieval readers outside scholars of Chinese, is replaced by Zhuangzi's wife. With this replacement, the *KM* author possibly aimed at avoiding the appearance in the narrative of a character whom the readers knew nothing of, thus preventing unnecessary confusion. The perplexing point is that the two characters' roles are swapped, so that the words which in the original text of *Qinshui* were spoken by Huizi are now spoken by Zhuangzi instead of by his wife.

妻、此ヲ見テ云ク。此ノ魚定メテ心ニ喜ブ事可有シ。極テ遊
ブ。莊子、此ヲ聞テ云ク、汝ハ何デ魚ノ心ヲバ知レルゾト。
妻、答テ云ク、汝ハ何デ我ガ魚ノ心ヲ知り不知ズヲバ知レルゾ
ト。其の時に莊子ノ云ク、魚ニ非ザレバ魚ノ心ヲ不知ズ、我レ
ニ非ザレバ我ガ心ヲ不知ズト。¹⁶⁷

The wife seeing this (=the fish), said: "This fish must be happy. It is definitely enjoying a lot." Zhuangzi hearing this said: "How do you know about the feelings of the fish?". The wife replied: "How do you know whether I know or not the feelings of the fish?". Zhuangzi said: "If you aren't a fish you can't know its feelings, If you aren't me, you can't know my feelings."

The *setsuna* stops here, thus skipping the celebrated conclusion of the dialogue.

莊子曰：「請循其本。子曰『汝安知魚樂』云者，既已知吾知之
而問我，我知之濠上也。」¹⁶⁸

Zhuangzi said: "Please, let's get back to the starting point. You said "How do you know that the fish is happy?", which is asking me on the basis that you already knew I know. I know it by standing above the Hao river."

In the *KM* version, the conclusion of the dialogue might have been abridged because the author could not make any sense of it. To be sure, it is a puzzling passage and scholars

167 Ibid.

168 *ICS Zhuangzi*: 17/47/13

have not yet come to an agreement as to its scope and implications to this day. Interpretations vary. The point is that Zhuangzi here seems to dismiss Huizi's argument with a dialectical approach unusual to him. Zhuangzi's confutation of Huizi's argument appears to be merely linguistic: the question 汝安知魚樂 'How do you know the fish is happy?', Zhuangzi notices, implies that Huizi is taking as a condition that he knows the fish is happy and just asks 'how' he could come to that knowledge. However, it is clear that Zhuangzi's point is but a linguistic sophistry that cannot be easily seen as resolving the epistemological issue raised by Huizi. In any case, the *KM* author seems to have been troubled by the dialogue intricacy too, since he decided to cut the last part and invert the roles of the speakers. The confusing inversion of roles has much to do with the recreational purpose of *setsumas* other than with the supposedly shallow understanding that the author had toward the dialogue. As was shortly mentioned above, *setsumas* are vernacular narratives meant to entertain the reader with interesting plots and amusing episodes; they are short and written in plain language while their main aim is recreation and certainly not philosophical speculation. Also the *setsumas* based on the *ZZ* share this features and the author of such *setsumas* achieves this aim by reporting some of the most entertaining stories of the *ZZ*. The protagonist, Zhuangzi, is portrayed as an idealized figure of a sage of antiquity and the *setsumas* aim at presenting a selection of his best intellectual feats, emphasizing his intellect and wisdom. This purpose can be inferred from the explicit eulogistic introduction mentioned above, which is almost identical to Confucius' one, in medieval Japan acknowledged as the greatest sage. However, the substitution of Huizi with Zhuangzi's wife and the inversion of the roles irremediably modify the dialogue implications. By reading the *KM* version of the fish argument, the reader receives the impression that Zhuangzi is opposing the common and prevailing view, personified by the wife, according to which things 'are' what they 'seem', as in the case of the fish which is judged 'happy' on the basis it *appears* to be 'happy'. In the author's eyes, the wife states that the fish is happy because, as she herself says, 極テ遊ブ 'it is enjoying very much'. Therefore her statement is founded on the fact that the fish seems happy: it is a judgment rooted on the appearances and the senses. On the other hand, the reader also receives the impression that Zhuangzi, being a sage of distinct intellect, is not prejudiced by superficial and commonplace knowledge nor tricked by appearances, so that he understands that such judgment basis is illusory and logically points out the impossibility

of knowing the feelings of the fish. The wife immediately applies Zhuangzi's logic to her own case, whereupon Zhuangzi cannot but accept her thesis while defending his initial point.

此レ、賢キ事也。実ニ、親シト云ヘドモ、人、他ノ心ヲ知ル事無シ。然レバ、莊子ハ妻モ心賢ク、悟リ深カリケリトナム、語り伝ヘタルトヤ。¹⁶⁹

This is wisdom. In truth, no matter how familiar you are with somebody, there is no such thing as knowing somebody else's feeling. Therefore, it is told that both Sōshi and his wife were wise and of deep understanding.

Whilst praising both Zhuangzi and his wife, the *KM* author modified the episode making it an expression of the impossibility of a complete comprehension of others, a view that in the original version was asserted by the sophist Huizi. To summarize, Zhuangzi, who is usually regarded as an anti-rationalist, appears in quite a different light in this *setsuma*, giving a misleading impression of Zhuangzi and his thought.

In conclusion, what can be said for certain is that the author of *KM* was more interested in using the witty and piquant stories and the original dialogues of the *ZZ* to entertain and amuse the readers rather than to argue their philosophical implications. The author even modifies or purposely disregards the major speculative features of some of the tales in order to simplify their meaning and render them more suitable to the Japanese medieval audience.

5. *Kamakura* period

Kamakura period literature reception of the *ZZ* shows continuity with the late Heian period. The *zuihitsu Hōjōki* and two *setsuma* collections, namely *Jikekinsbō* and *Uji Shui Monogatari*, contain references to the *ZZ*.

I. The *Jikekinsbō*

One tale contained in the 十訓抄 *Jikekinsbō* 'Transcript of ten precepts', a moralistic collection of *setsuma* compiled in the mid *Kamakura* period, is inspired by the episode of

169 *Konjaku Monogatari Shū*, X, 13, *Sōshi chikurui no shogyō wo mite bashiri nigetaru koto*

the tree and the goose of *Shanmu* chapter. The *Jikkinsbō* is divided into ten sections, each one of which containing several short stories dedicated to the teaching of a specific precept. Similarly to other medieval folktales collections, the *Jikkinsbō* is known to have drawn material from the *KM*. This tale too was almost certainly based on the version of *KM* analysed above, although the narrative was slightly edited and re-presented in a still shorter version. Nonetheless, the interpretation of the episode by the author of *Jikkinsbō* is very different from that reported by the author of *KM*. In the version of *Jikkinsbō*, at the end of the usual narrative of the episode, the author attaches the following moral.

(…) 莊子の云、「世の中のためし、これにあり」と答給へり。
 かかるにつけてもよく傲慢をばすてて身をつつしむべしと見え
 たり。文集の詩にいはいはく、「木雁一篇須記取、致身材與不材
 間」とあるはこれなり。又陸士衡が文賦には、「在木闕不材之
 資、處雁乏善鳴之分」ともかけり。又藤篤茂が句にも、「昨日
 山中之木材取諸己、今日庭前之花詞慙於人」。¹⁷⁰

Zhuangzi replied “The way of the world is in this”. It looks like one must, in every circumstance, cast away one’s pride and be moderate and humble. It is indeed just like what a poem from Bai Juyi’s *Monjū* says: “I need to memorize the writing on the tree and the goose, and entrust my body between usefulness and uselessness.” In Lu Shiheng’s *fu* “be in the substance of a useless wooden tower, be in the distinction from the goose unable to cackle (?)” is dedicated to it too. In Fujiatsu Shigeru’s poem “Yesterday the mountain timber was taken from oneself, today the false words of the front garden ashamed others (?)”.

The fact that this tale is based on the previous version of *KM* can be noticed from the final sentence of Zhuangzi’s speech 世の中のためし、これにあり ‘the way of the world is in this’, which seemingly paraphrases 此レヲ以テ諸ノ事ハ可知シ ‘through this we can understand all things’, which appears in the *KM* as a final comment to the episode. The original version from *Shanmu* never claimed to be exposing a principle through which ‘all

170 *Jikkinsbō*, II, *Gōman wo hanaru beki koto* 可離憍慢事, 2. Quotes from *Jikkinsbō* are based on the text from *Jikkinsbō: kōchū* edited by Ishibashi Shōhō (1922).

things’ can be understood: that is an arbitrary assertion by the author of *KM*, not supported by any textual evidence, which suggests that the similarity of *Jikkinsbō* in this respect is due to an imitation of the *KM* version of the story. Even so, the *Jikkinsbō* interpretation of the passage differs greatly from that of the *KM*. The theme of the second of the ten sections of *Jikkinsbō*, in which the tree and the goose story is included, is *gōman wo hanaru beki koto* 可離憍慢事 ‘On the necessity of avoiding pride’, which is also the explicitly stated moral of the episode. However, to construe the episode of the goose and tree as an expression of ‘the necessity of being humble and avoid pride’ is, to say the least, arbitrary and reductive. In this light, the quotation from *Baishi Wenji* 白氏文集¹⁷¹ is also inappropriate, since Bai Juyi’s poem content has clearly nothing to do with humility, modesty and the necessity to suppress pride. The author of *Jikkinsbō* himself must have noticed the inconsistency of such interpretation and appears to be somewhat lacking confidence when jotting his hasty conclusion, as can be perceived by the final *mietari* ‘it looks like’, which adds a sense of uncertainty to the statement.

II. The *Uji Shūi Monogatari*

The Kamakura period *setsuwa* collection *Uji Shūi Monogatari* 宇治拾遺物語 ‘Collected tales of Uji’ (henceforth *USM*) comprises two tales deriving from the *ZZ*, which are placed in the final position of the entire collection, at the end of the fifteenth and last scroll. The first of the two tales relates again the story of the stranded fish and is probably the result of a revision of the *KM* version of the episode. However, the second and last tale presents for the first time in Japanese literature an adaptation to the *setsuwa* genre of the story of Confucius visiting the bandit Zhi and of their subsequent dialogue, which original version is contained in the *Daozhi* chapter.

a. The rutted fish

The rutted fish story is re-presented in the *USM* in similar terms to the *KM* version. There are minor differences like the presence of a designation for the millet-lender, namely the ‘river superintendant’, which was absent in the received text of *KM*, and the location to which the carp was traveling before ending up in the rut, specifically *kōri* 高麗 in the *KM* and *kōko* 江湖 in the *USM*. Obviously, neither of these details is relevant to the

171 *Baishi Wenji*, XXXIII, *Ouzuo* 偶作

story development. As well-known, the *USM* is written in a more colloquial style than the *KM*, which conversely is closer to *kanbun kundoku*, but the overall structure and content of the two versions are analogous. Most probably the author of *USM* simply paraphrased the *KM* version, reproducing the same content in a style closer to the spoken language. For instance, the influence of *KM* is manifest in the last part of the tale.

「(…)さらに今日の命、物食はずは生くべからず。後の千の金さらに益なし」とぞいひける。そりより、「後の千金」いふ事名誉せり。¹⁷²

“(…) Moreover, without eating I won’t be able to live today’s life. A thousand coins later won’t do any good by then.” he (=Zhuangzi) said. From that, the proverb “A thousand coins later” became renown to the world.

Supposedly, 後の千の金さらに益なし is paraphrasing 後ノ千金益有ラジ, which appears in the last line of *KM* version of the tale.

b. Bandit Zhi

As mentioned above, the story of the dialogue of bandit Zhi and Confucius is used to explain the origin of the Heian period proverb *kuji no tafure*, earlier encountered during the analysis to the *Genji Monogatari*. Employing an episode deriving from the *ZZ* to explain the meaning of a proverb is a technique which the author of *USM* likely drew from the *setsuna* of the stranded fish of *KM*. As to the structure of this *setsuna*, several parts of the dialogue between Confucius and bandit Zhi were abridged and many of the sarcastically harsh comments that the bandit addressed to Confucius were removed. However, the last part was kept.

「(…)汝がいふ所、まことにおろかなり。すみやかに、はしりかへりぬ。一も用ゆべからず」と云時に孔子、また言ふべきこと思えずして、座を立ちて、急ぎ出でて、馬に乗り給ふ

172 *Uji Shūi Monogatari*, XV, 11, 196, *Nochi no senkin no koto*. Quotes from the *Uji Shūi Monogatari* are based on the text of *Uji Shūi Monogatari* by Fujū Otoo and Tsukamoto Tetsuzō (1922).

に、よく臆しけるにや、轡を二度取り外し、鐙をしきりに踏み外す。世の人、「孔子倒れず」と言ふなり。¹⁷³

When bandit Zhi said “What you say is truly foolish. Be quick to leave! There’s nothing of any use in your words!”, Confucius, unable to think of anything else he should say, stood up and hurried out, mounted the horse and, maybe because he felt overwhelmed by bandit Zhi’s speech, lost the hold of the horse’s bit twice and frequently lost the footing of the stirrups. People now say “(Even) Confucius falls”.

The conversation between robber Zhi and Confucius constitute the longest dialogue of the whole *ZZ* and one of the most amusing too. The author, probably a disciple of Zhuangzi, criticizes Confucianism, putting to ridicule its ideals through the words of the witty bandit *Zhi*. Obviously, the original text was not written with the purpose of expressing what the compiler of *USM* synthesized in the proverb *kuji no tafure*. The original meaning of the passage is explicit: criticize Confucianism hypocrisy and show the absurdity of its values. *USM* author however did not venture into a more detailed argumentation of the critique. The purpose of a *setsuma* is in fact providing a smooth and simple narrative pleasant to read and understandable even to a less educated reader.

III. The *Hōjōki*

The most famous medieval *zuibitsus* – the *Hōjōki* and the *Tsurezuregusa* – are known to occasionally touch upon ideas or make use of literary expressions borrowed from the *ZZ*. Arguably, the *zuibitsu* ‘essays’ genre have produced works structurally analogous to the *ZZ*, as is the case of *Tsurezuregusa*: both are composed by unordered sections concerning different topics in the shape of short essays that can be divided into smaller parts, each of which independent from the others; both comprise biographical information, albeit in the case of Zhuangzi largely fictional; both collect fragmented ideas lacking any apparent intentional order; both were written to share ideas and to assert the thesis of their authors. Although Kamo no Chōmei’s *Hōjōki* ‘Account of a three square meters hut’ presents features resembling more the *nikki* ‘diary’ than the *zuibitsu* genre, its main nature is

173 *Uji Shūi Monogatari*, XV, 197, *Tōseki to kuji mondō no koto*

argumentative, primarily aiming at communicating the concept of *mujo* 無常 ‘impermanence’. In addition to that, in the *Hōjōki* Chōmei describes his life as a hermit and advocates retirement from society, biographically asserting that turning his life to seclusion was a right choice. An allusion to the ZZ was made in relation with the last of these topics.

今、さびしき住ひ、一間の庵、みづからこれを愛す。おのづから都に出でて身の乞匄となれる事を恥づといへども、帰りてここにをる時は他の俗塵に馳する事をあはれむ。もし人この言へる事を疑はば、魚と鳥とのありさまを見よ。魚は水に飽かず、魚にあらざればその心を知らず。鳥は林をねがふ。鳥にあらざればその心を知らず。閑居の気味もまた同じ。住まずして誰かさとりむ。¹⁷⁴

Now, this forlorn dwelling, this single-room hermitage, I love it spontaneously. I left the capital by choice, and even though I am ashamed of living by begging, when I come back here I pity the other people’s chasing of daily, secular matters. If you were to doubt this fact, just look at the way fish and birds are! Fish don’t get tired of water. If you are not a fish you cannot understand its feelings. Birds need woods. If you are not a bird you cannot understand its feelings. The feeling of living secluded and quietly is the same thing. Without having tried, who would know how it feels?

Here, Chōmei argues in favour of a secluded life, leisurely and carefree, stating that he pities those whose lifestyle is restricted by society, busy due to mundane events and worldly affairs. To prevent readers from doubting his word, Chōmei makes use of two similes intended to reassure his point, the first of which regards fish, the second birds. The first simile compares the hermit to a fish, which 魚にあらざればその心を知らず, literally ‘unless you are a fish you won’t understand a fish heart’, clearly a quote from the ZZ. The argument of the happy fish is by Chōmei employed to support his claim, while the second simile on birds can be considered an original addition to the fish one, also

174 *Hōjōki*, XXII, 閑居の気味 *Kankyō no kimi*

exploited to the same end. Chōmei uses Huizi's point to prove that his own feelings cannot be understood by those who do not share the lifestyle of a hermit, which entails that, similarly to the case of *KM*, Chōmei is ignoring Zhuangzi's conclusive remark of the dialogue. As seen above, from the closing sentence it is clear that Zhuangzi rejects Huizi's logic and his epistemological theory of knowledge. As to Chōmei's stance towards the fish joy discourse, there are two possibilities: that he is using the fish argument despite being aware of *Zhuangzi's* denial, therefore for its literary power rather than compelling logic, or that he believes that what the episode truly attempt to convey is the impossibility of unempirical knowledge. Considered the analogies between Chōmei's use of the argument and the *KM* interpretation, a connection might be postulated. Chōmei may have read *KM* and felt inspired by its straightforward exegesis. Otherwise it is possible to think that the interpretation of Chōmei and of the *KM* author was part of a shared, conventional understanding of the fish joy dialogue in old and medieval Japan. If so, the two authors would have just relied on such common interpretation without feeling the necessity of pioneering a new evaluation.

Kanda (1956) mentions one more passage on *Hōjōki* as remindful of the *ZZ*. In the section of *Hōjōki* called *Yo ni shitagaeba* 'If you conform to the world', Chōmei pessimistically laments the circumstances according to which in life each choice has negative consequences. Either living in accordance to the lifestyle established by society or countering it bring about unfortunate results.

人を頼めば、身、他の有なり。人を育めば、心、恩愛につかは
る。¹⁷⁵

If you rely on people your body becomes a possession of others. If you
foster people your heart will be commanded by gratitude and love.

According to Kanda, this excerpt would be based on the following passage of *Shanmu*.

故有人者累，見有於人者憂。¹⁷⁶

175 *Hōjōki*, VIII, *Yo ni shitagaeba*

176 *ICS Zhuangzi*: 20/54/2

Therefore, owning people is troublesome, being owned by people is worrying.

The implicit semantic analogy exposed by such comparison reveals Kanda's astounding familiarity with both texts. However, the common points between the two extracts are very limited, hence their interconnection is doubtful.

6. Muromachi Period

Muromachi Period *zuibitsu Tsurezuregusa* 徒然草 by the Buddhist monk Yoshida Kenkō 吉田兼好 and works by numerous authors of the so-called *gozan* 五山 literature quotes or refer to the *ZZ*. During this period monks – especially *Zen* monks – show the most interest towards the *ZZ*.

I. The *Tsurezuregusa*

Much has been written on the relation between the *Tsurezuregusa* 'Essays in idleness' (henceforth *TZG*) and the *ZZ*, especially by Kanda (1956, 1988) and, more recently, by Chen (2005, 2006, 2007, 2011), although recent and comprehensive research is still lacking. One of the reasons of the relative abundance of academical research on the topic is probably the fact that the *TZG*, from a philosophical point of view is involved more in depth with the *ZZ* than any of the preceding literary works. Furthermore, the *TZG* is written in a clear and plain prose, more apt to deal with abstract speculations than other forms of literature, especially Chinese style poetry, which previous examples showed being overloaded with literary allusions but lacking significant originality. Compared to Chōmei, the author of the *TZG*, Yoshida Kenkō seems to be more interested in the speculative aspects of the *ZZ*, going beyond Chōmei's casual literary allusion to probe into philosophical argumentation. Kenkō himself explicitly reveals his preference for the book in the thirteenth section of *TZG*.

ひとり、燈のもとに文をひろげて、見ぬ世の人を友とするぞ、
こよなう慰むわぎなる。文は、文選のあはれなる巻々、白氏文

集、老子のことば、南華の篇。この国の博士どもの書ける物もいにしへのは、あはれなること多かり。¹⁷⁷

When I'm all alone, unfolding books under a lamp and making friends with the people of the old ages is an act of immense consolation. The books I'm talking about are the touching scrolls of the *Wenxuan*, the collection of Bai Juyi poems, the *Laozi*, the *Zhuangzi*. Among the books that the learned persons of this world wrote, many of the best ones are of antiquity.

Among the four books that first came to Kenkō's mind when about to enlist masterpieces of antiquity, two are Taoist classics, while no reference is made to Ruist sources. The fact that a Buddhist monks of medieval Japan like Kenkō appreciated the Taoists classics is not surprising as will be seen more in detail below.

I.a Section 7

A first consideration of a zhuangzian theme is undertaken in the 7th section of TZG, which concerns lifespan and death. Kenkō's reflection is evidently inspired by *Xiaoyaoyou*, although Buddhist *mujō* also left a clear ideological trace on the passage.

命あるものを見るに、人ばかり久しきはなし。かげろふの夕べを待ち、夏の蝉の春秋を知らぬもあるぞかし。つくづくと一年を暮らすほどだにも、こよなうのどけしや。飽かず、惜しと思はば、千年を過ぐすとも、一夜の夢の心地こそせめ。住み果てぬ世に、みにくき姿を待ちえて、何かはせん。命長ければ辱多し。長くとも四十に足らぬほどにて死なんこそ、目安かるべけれ。¹⁷⁸

Among things that have life, nothing has as long a life as man. There are such things like a mayfly waiting in vain the evening and a summer cicada not knowing spring and fall. Compared to those, to live even for a complete year is utter comfort. If one does not grow tired of it and thinks

177 *Tsurezuregusa*, 13, *Hitori, tomoshibi no moto ni fumi wo hirogete*. Quotes from the *Tsurezuregusa* are based on the text of *Kōchū Nihon Bungaku Taikei 3*, edited by Yamazaki Fumoto.

178 *Ibid.* 7, *Adashino no tsuyu keyuru tokinaku*

it is not enough, to spend a thousand years will feel like a dream of one single night. In a world where one cannot live forever, what is the purpose of waiting to become ugly? A long life has many shames. To die before forty years of age at most, that indeed is pleasant to the eye.

The summer cicada that ‘does not know the spring and fall’ is a literary loanword from *Xiaoyaoyou*, previously encountered in the poem *Shōchishō* by Michizane. As mentioned in the comment to Michizane poem, in the *Xiaoyaoyou* the summer cicada, together with *chaojun* ‘morning mushroom’, is the representative for short-living creatures, subsequently becoming an allegory for the brevity of life. Coincidentally, these short-living creatures can also be seen as forming a couple with the previous paragraph *tiao* 蝸 ‘cicada’ and *xuejiu* 學鳩 ‘dove’ which metaphorically indicate low, limited knowledge:¹⁷⁹ while the cicada and the dove represent the limitedness of knowledge, the summer cicada and the morning mushroom represent the temporal limitedness of the life span.

小知不及大知，小年不及大年。奚以知其然也？朝菌不知晦朔，蟪蛄不知春秋，此小年也。楚之南有冥靈者，以五百歲為春，五百歲為秋；上古有大椿者，以八千歲為春，八千歲為秋。而彭祖乃今以久特聞，眾人匹之，不亦悲乎！¹⁸⁰

Small knowledge cannot understand great knowledge, small age cannot understand great age. How can we know it is so? The morning fungi do not know of the end or the beginning of a month, the summer cicada does not know spring or fall: this is what small age is. In the south of Chu there is a mysterious turtle, it has five hundred years for spring, five hundred years for fall. In ancient times there was a great Chu tree, it had eight thousand years for spring, eight thousand years for fall. And now,

179 As Van Norden (1996) pointed out, a critical view of the cicada and the dove that Zhuangzi seems to be suggesting is contradictory with the relativism that he apparently advocates in other sections of the inner chapters and even in the *Xiaoyaoyou* itself. However, a relativistic interpretation of the two paragraph at issue would be even more problematic.

180 ICS *Zhuangzi*: 1/1/19

Pengzu is renowned for his old age, and everybody would wish to contend with him in longevity, isn't it sad!

Zhuangzi, after a description of what is small and big knowledge, proceeds discussing small and big age, which are seen as being connected by the same relation. Man's life span is not particularly short nor long, as it is definitely longer than that of a summer cicada but definitely shorter than that of the tortoise of *Chu* or of the *Chun* tree. The connection between knowledge and age stated in the first part of the paragraph is implied: Zhuangzi uses the predicate 不知 as in 朝菌不知 and 蟪蛄不知 to explain why he knows that small age is no match for great age, which entails that knowledge and age develop concomitantly and that man, with his average life span, cannot aspire to reach superior wisdom, which is the cause of Zhuangzi's final lamentation. With man's relatively short lifespan one will not ultimately understand eternal Nature, similar to a morning lichen will not know what a month is and a cicada will not know what a season is. Kenkō only quotes a little part of the paragraph, ignoring the remainder and its conclusions. He even skips the last passage where Zhuangzi overtly compares human life's span with that of long living beings, lamenting its relative brevity, even though it is true that such a comparison conversely carries human's life relative length in comparison to that of short living beings as a direct implication. Differently from Zhuangzi, who also refers to extremely long-living beings, Kenkō tends to accentuate the brevity of life, putting emphasis on the transiency of the experience of living, plainly receiving the influence of Buddhist *mujō*. The two authors are clearly trying to express different concepts.

Unexpectedly, 'a long life has many shames', which at a first glance might seem to be a genuine thought of Kenkō, was copied verbatim from *Tiandi* too. Even so, this statement is in line with 'The world is beautiful right because it's transient' (世は定めなきこそいみじけれ) appearing just above, which very well summarizes Kenkō sensibility and in general Japanese medieval aesthetic conception.

堯曰：「多男子則多懼，富則多事，壽則多辱。是三者，非所以養德也，故辭。」封人曰：「始也我以女為聖人邪，今然君子也

天生萬民，必授之職，多男子而授之職，則何懼之有！富而使人分之，則何事之有！（…）三患莫至，身常無殃，則何辱之有！」¹⁸¹
 Yao said: “If you have many male sons, you’ll have many fears; if you are wealthy, you’ll have many troubles; if you live long you’ll have many shames. These three are not what can foster virtue, therefore I dismiss them.” The border warden said: “At the beginning I thought you were a saint, now I think you are just a man of virtue. When the Sky begot the ten thousand people, it certainly bestowed on them offices; if you have many male sons, bestow on them offices, what is there to be afraid of! If you have wealth, let people share it, what trouble could there ever be! When you are still not afflicted by the three maladies and the body is always free of calamities, what shame could there ever be!”

The fact that Kenkō could put together two parts of the *ZZ* in the original separated by several chapters demonstrates a high familiarity with the text. As Kanda observes, the original extract of *Tiandi* from which Yao’s speech is reported was written with the intention of negating the value of Yao’s views, therefore supporting exactly the opposite of what Kenkō advocates. In this instance too, the authors completely differ in their purports.

I.b Section 38

Another passage of *TZG* to famously touch upon Taoism is the 38th section. Here, Kenkō argues against the lust for fame, wealth and social status, stating that ‘those lost in the pursue of profits are the most foolish people’ and that ‘those who single-mindedly desire high posts and offices are next in foolishness’.¹⁸² Thirdly, Kenkō criticizes those who wish to be remembered through the ages and calls them fools too.¹⁸³ Such views

181 *ICS Zhuangzi*: 12/30/23 – 27

182 *Tsurezuregusa*, 38, *Meiri ni tsukawarete shizuka naru itoma naku*, “利に惑ふは、すぐれて愚かなる人なり” and *ibid.* “偏に高き官・位を望むも、次に愚かなり。”

183 *Ibid.* “身の後の名、残りて、さらに益^{やく}なし。これを願ふも、次に愚かなり。” “Again, leaving the name after one’s death is useless. To wish this, is next in foolishness.” This seem to be a contradiction with what Kenkō just said in the previous paragraph, where he wrote “埋もれぬ名を長き世に残さんこそ、あらまほしかるべけれ。” “To leave a name that

countering the common mentality of pursuing fleeting or illusory gains as the above are features frequently encountered in ancient philosophies, and here seems to be of Buddhist derivation (Chen 2006). However, in the following paragraph the objective of Kenkō's criticism turns into knowledge and wisdom, revealing a plain lao-zhuangzian ideological influence.

但し、強ひて智を求め、賢を願ふ人のために言はば、智恵出でては偽りあり。才能は煩惱の増長せるなり。伝へて聞き、学びて知るは、まことの智にあらず。いかなるをか智といふべき。可・不可は一条なり。いかなるをか善といふ。まことの人、智もなく、徳もなく、功もなく、名もなし。誰か知り、誰か伝へん。これ、徳を隠し、愚を守るにはあらず。本より、賢愚・得失の境にをらざればなり。¹⁸⁴

But I tell this to those who seek wisdom wilfully and wish for intelligence: when wisdom arises there is deception. Talent is what aggravates one's worries. What you know and learn by teaching and listening is not true wisdom. What is what we can call wisdom? What you think is good, and what you think it isn't, are the same thing. What is what we call good? The true person has no wisdom, no virtue, no achievement, no fame. Who knows him? Who will transmit his name? This is not hiding one's virtue and protecting one's stupidity. It's because from the start he is not on the border between wisdom and stupidity, advantages and disadvantages.

won't be buried for long generations might indeed be a desirable thing.”. Probably Kenkō provisionally took up this view as an example of common-sense and prevailing idea just to rebut it in the following argumentation. Otherwise, this last sentence might be a provisional hypothesis that struck the author but that was discarded as ‘foolish’ after a brief reconsideration.

184 Ibid.

This paragraph has evident Taoist attributes, quoting the eighteenth chapter of the *Laozi*¹⁸⁵ and referring to several chapters of the *ZZ*, primarily to the notion of *juesheng qizhi* 絕聖棄知,¹⁸⁶ discussed in detail in *Quqie*. Still, an identification of the absurdity of pursuing knowledge from a temporal point of view is famously exposed in the outset of *Yangshengzhu*.

吾生也有涯，而知也無涯。以有涯隨無涯，殆已；已而為知者，殆而已矣。¹⁸⁷

My life has limits, but knowledge has no limits. Pursuing what has no limits with what has limits is dangerous. Even so, if one lives pursuing knowledge, there won't be but dangers!

A long paragraph in *Zaiyou* is dedicated to the same topic.

老聃曰：「(…)吾未知聖知之不為桁楊接楛也，仁義之不為桎梏、鑿枘也，焉知曾、史之不為桀、跖嚆矢也！故曰：『絕聖棄知而天下大治。』」¹⁸⁸

Laodan said: “(…) I have yet to encounter a case in which wisdom or knowledge are not shackles and fetters, benevolence and righteousness are not handcuffs or mutually unfitting mortises and tenons. How could you know that Zeng Shen or Shi Qiu are not harbingers of Xia Jie and Dao Zhi! Therefore it is said: ‘Eradicate wisdom and discard knowledge and the world will be at peace.’”

185 *Laozi*, 18, “大道廢有仁義；慧智出有大偽；六親不和有孝慈；國家昏亂有忠臣。”

“When the Way is lost there are righteousness and duty; when wisdom and knowledge appear there is the great counterfeiting; when the six relatives are not on good terms there is filial piety and kindness; when the country is in disorder and turmoil, there are loyal officials.”

186 *ICS Zhuangzi*: 10/25/13, “故絕聖棄知，大盜乃止” “Therefore eradicate wisdom, discard knowledge and the great heist will stop.”

187 *Ibid.* 3/7/27

188 *Ibid.* 11/27/12 – 13

Still, Kenkō bases his argumentation on the ZZ also in the subsequent 可・不可は一条なり ‘What you think is good, and what you think it isn’t, are the same thing’, which was clearly drawn from 德充符 *Dechongfu*.

無趾語老聃曰：「孔丘之於至人，其未邪！彼何賓賓以學子為？彼且蘄以諛詭幻怪之名聞，不知至人之以是為己桎梏邪？」老聃曰：「胡不直使彼以死生為一條，以可不可為一貫者，解其桎梏其可乎？」無趾曰：「天刑之，安可解？」

Without Toes asked Laodan: “Confucius is still far off from becoming an attained man! Why is he so eager to study from you? He probably wishes to get fame for being weird and unusual, doesn’t he know that the perfect man sees this as constraining fetters?” Laodan said: “Why not let him regard life and death as one cord, permissible and impermissible as one string, thus removing his fetters? Is this possible?” Without Toes said: “That is a condemnation from the Sky, how could you dispel it?”

Chen (2006) sharply observes that Kenkō probably had read the ZZ version commented by Cheng Xuanying, known as *Nanhua zhenjing zhubushu* 南華真經註疏. Kenkō writes that what can be learnt by transmission or by practice ‘is not true wisdom’ (まことの智にあらず) but the character 智 does not appear even once in the original text of the ZZ, since its meaning is usually conveyed by 知, as common in pre-*qin* texts. The first commentary construing 知 as 智 is Cheng Xuanying’s, which endorses the hypothesis that Kenkō had been reading it. The term *makoto no hito* is the direct translation of the Taoist *zhenren* ‘true person’ which stands for who achieved spiritual perfection and is also connected with the previously mentioned *zhenzai*. As to the ‘true person’, Kenkō states that he/she is ‘with no wisdom, no virtue, no achievement and no fame’, which partly is a quote from the *Xiaoyaoyou*,¹⁸⁹ whereas the ‘no virtue’ does not appear connected to the description of the spiritually accomplished man in any chapter. Arguably this could be a

189 ICS *Zhuangzi*: 1/2/2 “至人無己，神人無功，聖人無名” “The perfect man has no self, the spiritual man has no achievement, the sage has no name”.

personal addition by Kenkō himself, who, in this passage, seems to value virtue as unrelated to spiritual superiority.

I.c Section 97

The brief section 97 introduces the idea according to which any existing object is imperfect due to the presence of some other entity spoiling it.

その物に付きて、その物をつひやし損ふ物、数を知らずあり。
身に蝨あり。家に鼠あり。国に賊あり。小人に財あり。君子に
仁義あり。僧に法あり。¹⁹⁰

Anything has uncountable other things that spoil or damage it. Bodies have lice. Houses have rats. Countries have bandits. Base people have riches. Men of virtue have benevolence and righteousness. Monks have the Law.

Kanda identifies the source of inspiration for the 97th section in the following paragraph from *Pianmu*.

伯夷死名於首陽之下，盜跖死利於東陵之上。二人者，所死不同其於殘生傷性均也，奚必伯夷之是而盜跖之非乎？天下盡殉也。彼其所殉仁義也，則俗謂之君子；其所殉貨財也，則俗謂之小人其殉一也，則有君子焉，有小人焉；若其殘生損性，則盜跖亦伯夷已，又惡取君子小人於其間哉？¹⁹¹

Boyi died pursuing fame below mount Shuyang, Bandit Zhi died pursuing profits on the east mound. These two died a different death, but the way they ruined life and harmed their nature is equal. Why is it that Boyi is right and bandit Zhi is wrong? In the world, when dying for one cause, if one dies because of benevolence of righteousness, society will call him a man of virtues; if one dies for goods and riches, society will call him a base man. But their sacrificing for a cause is equal, both in the case of the

190 *Tsurezuregusa*, XCVII, *Sono mono ni tsukite, sono mono wo tsubiyashi sokonabu mono*

191 *ICS Zhuangzi*: 8 / 23 / 2 – 5

man of virtue and of the base man. As to ruining life and harming his nature, bandit Zhi is but the same as Boyi; what is there to pick one or the other as a man of virtue and a base man?

An interconnection between these two texts seems rather doubtful although the phrase ‘men of virtue have benevolence and righteousness’ (君子に仁義あり) certainly seems to have a zhuangzian imprint. There is no textual analogy worth mentioning between the 97th section and the extract from *Pianmu*, exception made for the recurrence of 君子 and 仁義 which, however, occur together in many other passages of the *ZZ* too. Hence, it is reasonable to think that, despite a zhuangzian influence might actually be the source of the phrase indicating benevolence and righteousness as ‘spoiling and damaging entities’ of the men of virtue, there is no enough evidence to establish a connection with the *Pianmu* excerpt of above or any other specific section of the *ZZ*.

Notably, the last sentence of the 97th section ‘monks have the Law (as their spoiling entity)’ (僧に法あり) puts monks – comprising Kenkō himself – grossly on the same level to the Confucian man of virtue disparaged by the *ZZ* authors. Kenkō with this remark equates the Buddhist Law to harmful Ruist values that should be abandoned, arguably acknowledging a priority of the value relativism conveyed by numerous sections of the *ZZ* over the Buddhist Law absolutism.

7. Conclusions

In this thesis I laid stress on the individual reception of the *ZZ* by authors of Japanese literature and tried to emphasize the textual and ideological influences separately and on a singular basis, rather than from an organic, overall viewpoint. Even so, a few general conclusions might be drawn from such individual analysis.

Ōtomo's poems prove that the *ZZ* was transmitted to Japan at the latest during the mid-seventh century, whilst all the following texts reported in this thesis demonstrate that later, the *ZZ* was a rather frequent source of literary inspiration with several of the most appreciated works quoting or alluding to it in different ways and with different purposes. However, what needs to be stressed is that, despite the essence of the *ZZ* being mainly speculative, in Japanese literary sources its philosophical and spiritual import was mainly disregarded, while what was appreciated most was the originality of its wording and the oddness of the narratives with their witty remarks and unexpected twists and turns. Emphasis should be put on the fact that, except for Sugawara no Michizane and Yoshida Kenkō, it seems no effort whatsoever was spent in the attempt of comprehending the text from an intellectual perspective. Although just taking the *ZZ* as basis might not be enough to make any definite statement, I suggest that Japanese authors disregard of philosophically oriented content is not due to a misunderstanding of the ideas purported by the *ZZ* nor by any possible ideological opposition by Japanese literates whose works were here considered, inasmuch as in these cases traces of such misunderstanding or opposition should have manifested more clearly. I argue that such lack of any in depth consideration and argumentation of the speculative content of the *ZZ* can be credited to the absence of a tradition of textual philosophical criticism, which might have led authors not to see the speculative content of philosophical texts as needing to undergo any kind of assessment or evaluation before been appreciated and held valuable and, consequently, any kind of personal judgment, be it of approval or disagreement. Admittedly, in many cases the limited quotes or mentions appearing here and there in literary sources are not enough to speculate with a decent level of precision what the authors were actually thinking about the philosophical views presented in the *ZZ*. However, the fact that across all the seven centuries considered here, there are virtually no traces of philosophical criticism nor almost any other statement aimed at probing the truth of such views is somewhat suspect. Even Sugawara no Michizane, who dedicates more than any other

Japanese poet space to the *ZZ* in his poetry, to the point of rewriting in rhyme its first chapter, does not appear to be taking up critically ideas purported by the *ZZ* and support or oppose them in any of his work. Therefore, among the authors here considered, Yoshida Kenkō might be the only one who went beyond the until then common stance of simply quoting or alluding to the *ZZ* without even being aware of the possibility of dealing critically and in a speculative way with its ideas. Differently from the previous authors, Kenkō employs quotes and mentions of the *ZZ* not for aesthetic purposes, to demonstrate his erudition, or simply to express his fondness to the book, but rather to the end of arguing and supporting ideas and views on various subjects. Furthermore, Kenkō's use of speculative material deriving from the *ZZ* is far more pertinent and reasoned than that of previous authors.

Conceivably, if only the number of texts taken into consideration were larger, more could be said on the lack of philosophical textual criticism in ancient Japan. Hence I deem this might be a possible future development in the field of the reception of Chinese philosophical works in Japan.

8. Bibliography

AKEGARASU Haya *ben*, *Jōkyū Shōtoku Hō Teisetsu, Shōtoku Kōtaishi Jūshichijō Kenpō, kōtaishi Shōtoku Hōsan Wasan, Sanban* (The *Jōkyū Shōtoku Hō Teisetsu*, Prince Shōtoku's seventeen article constitution and the *Shōtoku Hōsan Wasan*), Dejiromura, Kagusasha, 1936

暁烏敏編、『上宮聖徳法王帝説・聖徳皇太子十七条憲法・皇太子聖徳奉讃和讃』、出城村、香草舎、1936年

ARIYOSHI Saeki *ben*, *Rikkokushi* (The seven national histories), Tōkyo, Asahi Shinbunsha, 1940

佐伯有義編、『六国史』、東京、朝日新聞社、1940年

BORGEN, Robert, *Sugawara no Michizane and the Early Heian Court*, University of Hawaii Press., pp. 158–181, 1994

CHEN Bingshan 陈秉珊, 从“智”看兼好对《庄子》的理解 (The understanding of the *Zhuangzi* by Kenkō viewed from the perspective of “*zhi*”), *Cong zhi kan Jianhao dui Zhuangzi de lijie*, Journal of Zhejiang international university, March 2011, No. 2 pag. 29-34

CHEN Bingshan, “*Tsurezuregusa*” *dai sanjūbachi dan ni okeru Sōshi jūyōkō* (Some considerations on the reception of the *Zhuangzi* on the thirtyeighth section of the *Tsurezuregusa*), *Kokubungaku* research institute of the University of Ōsaka, 87, 27-36, 2006-12

陳秉珊、「『徒然草』第三十八段における『莊子』受容考」、大阪大学国文学研究室、語文 87, 27-36, 2006-12

CHEN Bingshan, “*Tsurezuregusa*” *ni okeru chūgoku shisō jūyō no kenkyū: mujōkan to no kakawari no shiten toshite* (A study on the reception of Chinese ideas in the “*Tsurezuregusa*”: from the perspective of its relation with the sense of impermanence), University of Ōsaka, 2007

陈秉珊, 「『徒然草』における中国思想受容の研究: 無常観との関わりを視点として」、国文学研究室、大阪大学、2007年

CHEN Bingshan 陈秉珊, 《徒然草》第九十七段中的《庄子》 (The Zhuangzi as seen in the 97th section of Tsurezuregusa), “*Tsurezuregusa*” *di jiusiqi duan zhong de “Zhuangzi”*, Zhejiang University of foreign languages bulletin, 2016, 1st issue, p. 75 – 80

CHEN Bingshan 陈秉珊, 《徒然草》第二百十七段中的《庄子》 思想——以“大欲与无欲相似”为视点 (Zhuangzian ideas in the 217th section of “Tsurezuregusa” – from the perspective of “great desire resemble no desire”), “*Tsurezuregusa*” *di er bai shi qi duan zhong de “Zhuangzi” sixiang – yi ‘da yu yu wu yu xiangsi’ wei shidian*, Zhejiang University of foreign languages bulletin, 2012, 3rd issue, p. 55 – 59

CHEN Bingshan 陈秉珊, 《徒然草》中的“物之哀”与庄子思想 (The *mono no aware* in the “Tsurezuregusa” and its connection with zhuangzian ideas), “*Tsurezuregusa*” *zhong de “mono no aware” yu Zhuangzi sixiang*, Zhejiang University of foreign languages bulletin, 2009, 5th issue, p. 72-76

CHEN Guying 陳鼓應, 莊子今注今釋 [Contemporary commentary and explanations to the Zhuangzi] *Zhuangzi Jinzhu jinshi*, Zhonghuashu ju, 1983

COUTINHO, Steve, *Zhuangzi and Early Chinese Philosophy - Vagueness, Transformation and Paradox*, Ashgate, 2004

FRASER, Chris, *A Daoist Critique of Morality*, Oxford Handbook of Chinese Philosophy, 2014

FUJII Otoo *kō*, Tsukamoto Tetsuzō *ben*, *Uji Shūi Monogatari*, Tōkyō, Ariake dōshoten, 1922
藤井乙男、塚本哲三編、『宇治拾遺物語』、東京、有明堂書店、1922年

FUJIMURA Tsukuru, *Kojiki*, Tōkyō, Shibundō, 1930

藤村作、『古事記』、東京、至文堂、1930年

FUJITA Kiyoshi, *Shugō shisō kara mita kenpō jūshichi jō* (A consideration of the seventeen article constitution from the viewpoint of syncreticism), *Studies on India and Buddhism*, 28(1), 260-263, 1979

藤田清、「習合思想から見た憲法十七条」、四天王寺女子大学印度學佛教學研究, 28(1), 260-263, 1979

FUKASE Tadakazu, *Shōtoku-taishi no 17-jō no kenpō (toku ni "yawaragi wo motte tōtoki to nasu") ni taisuru Chūgoku sho shisō no eikyō to nipponteki sōgō oyobi sono kenpō bunka-teki isan to kyō-teki igi* (The influence of Chinese ideas on Prince Shōtoku's seventeen article constitution [especially on the "valuing harmony"], its Japanese synthesis, its cultural inheritance and its contemporary meaning), *Hokusei Gakuen University, Economics department bulletin* (32), p119-141, 1995-03

深瀬忠一、『聖徳太子の17条の憲法(とくに「以和為貴」)にたいする中国諸思想の影響と日本的総合およびその憲法文化的遺産と今日的意義』、北星学園大学経済学部北星論集 (32), p119-141, 1995-03

FUKUNAGA Mitsuji, CHEN Guanxue (traduzione), *Zhuangzi – Gudai Zhongguo de cunzai zhuanyi* [The Zhuangzi, ancient China existentialism], Sanminshuju, 1971

福永光司、陳冠學譯、莊子 - 古代中國的存在主義、三民書局、1971

GALVANY Albert, *Discussing usefulness: trees as metaphor in the Zhuangzi*, *Monumenta serica*, 2009

GRAHAM, Angus Charles, *Chuang-tzu's essay on seeing things as equal*, *History of Religions*, Nov., 1969 - Feb., 1970, Vol. 9, No. 2/3 (Nov., 1969 - Feb., 1970), pp. 137-159

-----, *How much of "Chuang Tzu" did Chuang Tzu write?*, *Journal of the American Academy of Religion*, 1979

-----, *Chuang-tzu, the inner chapters*, George Allen & Unwin, London, 1981

HE Zhihua 何志華, LIU Dianjue 劉殿爵, CHEN Fangzheng 陳方正, 莊子逐字索引 (A Concordance to the Zhuangzi), *Zhuangzi zhubuzi suoyin*, D. C. Lau and Chen Fongching eds., Institute of Chinese Studies at The Chinese University of Hong Kong, 2000, Philosophical works no. 43, Hong Kong: The Commercial Press

HU Zhiang, “*Dazai sochi Ōtomo-kyō sake no homuru uta jūsan shū*” *kō* (Some considerations on the thirteen poems on praising sake by lord Ōtomo, governor of Dazai), Keiō gijutsu Daigaku geibun gakkai, geibun kenkyū, 1989

胡志昂、「「太宰帥大伴卿讚酒歌十三首」考」、慶應義塾大学藝文学会、芸文研究 (56), p27-51, 1989 年

IKEGAMI Jun'ichi *ben*, *Konjaku Monogatari Shū*, Tōkyō, Iwanami Bunko, 2001

池上洵一編、『今昔物語集』、東京、岩波書店、2001 年

ISHIBASHI Shōhō *ben*, *Jikkinsbō: kōchū*, Tōkyō, Meijishoin, 1922

石橋尚宝編、「十訓抄：校註」、東京、明治書院、1922 年

ISHIWARA Hiroko, *Rōsō – Rongo inyō yori mita Kenkō no mujunsei ni tsuite* (The contradictions of Kenkō seen from the quotations of Laozi, Zhuangzi and Confucius analects), Kumamoto Joshi Daigaku Kokubun Danwakai, Kokubun kenkyū (15), 42-49, 1969

石原弘子、「老莊・論語引用よりみた兼好の矛盾性について」、熊本女子大学国文談話会、国文研究 (15), 42-49, 1969 年

KAMATA Masanori, *Kōshō Ise monogatan shōkai* (Detailed historical investigation of *Ise Monogatari*), Chomei kankōkai, 1966 (1919)

鎌田正憲、『考証伊勢物語詳解』、町名南北社出版部、1919 年

KANDA Hideo, *Kenkō hōshi to Sōshi to no deai ni tsuite* (On the encounter of Kenkō and the Sōshi), Tōkyō joshi daigaku ronshū (Collection of thesis of the Tokyo Woman's Christian University), 7(1), 1956-12

神田秀夫、『兼好法師と「莊子」との出会いに就いて』、東京女子大学論集、7(1)、1956-12

-----, *Sōshi no sosei – Ima naze Sōshi ka?* (The revival of the *Zhuangzi* – Why the *Zhuangzi* now?), Meiji Shoin, Ōsaka, 1988

神田秀夫、『莊子の蘇生—今なぜ莊子』、明治書院、大阪、1988年

KANO Naoki, *Nihonkoku genzai shomokuroku ni tsuite* (On the “Catalogue of books currently present in Japan”), in Shinagaku Bunsō, Kōbun Shobō, Tōkyō, 1927

狩野直喜、「日本國見在書目録に就いて」、『支那學文藪』、弘文書房、1927年

KAWAGUCHI Hisao *chū*, *Kanke Bunsō*, *Kanke Kōshū*, Tōkyō, Iwanami Shoten, Nihon Koten Bungaku Taikai, 1966

川口久雄校注、『菅家文草、菅家後集』、東京、岩波書店日本古典文學大系、1966年

KAWAI Sōzō, TOMINAGA Kazuto, KAMATANI Takeshi, WADA Hidenobu, ASAMI Yōji, MIDORIKAWA Hideki, *Monzen Shibien* (1-6) [The poetry of *Wenxuan*], Iwanami Shoten, 2018

川合康三、富永一登、釜谷武志、和田英信、浅見洋二、緑川英樹、『文選詩篇(一)・(六)』、岩波書店、2018

KUROITA Katsumi *ben*, Kokushi Taikai Editing Team *ben*, *Honchō Monzui*, Shintei Zōho Kokushi Taikai, XXIX, 2, Tōkyō, Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1965

黒板勝美編、国史大系編修会編、『新訂増補國史大系』、第29巻下、東京、吉川弘文館、1965年

LI Xianyi, 李现译, 源氏物语对庄子的接受 — “浮生”与《空蝉》、《夕颜》、《浮舟》诸篇 (Genji Monogatari reception of the Zhuangzi - “Floating life” and the chapters Utsusemi, Yūgao and Ukifune), *Yuanshi wuyu dui Zhuangzi de jieshou - “Fusheng” yu “Utsusemi”, “Yūgao”, “Ukifune” zhupian*, 人文学論集, 2019

LUO Zongqiang, 羅宗強, 從莊子的「坐忘」到唐人的煉神服氣 (From Zhuangzi’s “forgetful sitting” to Tang dynasty training of spirit and qi), *Cong Zhuangzi de “zuowang” dao tangren de lianshen fuqi*, in 因緣居別集 (Where the causes reside, an anthology), *Yinyuanju bieji*, Zhong hua shu ju, 2019

LUO Zongqiang, 羅宗強, 唐人對莊子思想的解讀, (The interpretation of the Zhuangzi ideas by Tang dynasty commentators), *Tangren dui Zhuangzi sixiang de jiedu*, in 因緣居別集, (Where the causes reside, an anthology), *Yinyuanju bieji*, Zhong hua shu ju, 2019

MAIR, Victor Henry (Editor), *Experimental Essays on Chuang-Tzu*, University of Hawaii Press, 1983

-----, *Wandering the Way*, Bantam, 1994

-----, *Buddhism and the Rise of the Written Vernacular in East Asia: The Making of National Language*, *The Journal of Asian Studies*, Vol. 53, No. 3 (Aug., 1994), pp. 707-751

MING Thomas, *Who Does the Sounding? The Metaphysics of the First-Person Pronoun in the Zhuangzi*, *Dao* (2016) 15:57–79, 2016

MURAOKA Ryōsuke 村岡良弼, *Shoku Nihonkōki Sanko* (Collation and Exegesis of the *Shokunihonkōki*), Tōkyō, Kondō Shuppanbu, 1912

村岡良弼編、『続日本後紀纂詁』、東京、近藤出版部、1912年

OKADA Kikuo, *Ōtomo no Tabito “Sake wo homuru uta jūsanshu” kō* [Considerations on Ōtomo no Tabito “Thirteen poems on praising sake”], *Nihon bungaku kenkyū*

岡田喜久男、「大伴旅人『讚酒歌十三首』考」、日本文学研究 (14), p135-141, 1978-11、1978

OKADA Masanori, *Ōmi Nara Chō no kanbungaku* [The Chinese literature in the Nara court], Yōtokusha, 1946

岡田正之、近江奈良朝の漢文学、養徳社、1946

POLI, Maddalena, *Me, Myself and I: The Notion of Self in the Zhuangzi*, 157.138.7.91, 2016

RODIN Stepan Alekseevich, *Poetical collection Kaifusō: history, Politics and poetics*, *Orientalia et Classica. Papers of the Institute for Oriental and Classical Studies*, 2012, Issue XLIX. St. Petersburg: Giperion. Pp. 25-41.

ROTH, Harold David, *A companion to Angus C. Graham's Chuang Tzu: the inner chapters*, University of Hawai'i press, 2003

SAIGŌ Nobutsuna, PEI Shan tr., *Riben wenxueshi* (History of Japanese literature), Peking, Jinmin Wenxue Chubanshe, 1978

西郷信綱、佩珊譯、『日本文學史』、北京、人民文學出版社、1978年

SATŌ ichirō, *Chūgoku koten ni okeru "wa" to jūshichijū kenpō* (The notion of "wa" in ancient chinese text and the seventeen article constitution), Hikaku shisō kenkyū, 1984

佐藤一郎、『中国古典における「和」と十七条憲法』、比較思想研究、1984年

SASAKI Nobusuna *ben*, TAKEDA Yūkichi *ben*, *Man'yōshū Nishi-Honganji-hon* (The West-Hongan Temple text of *Man'yōshū*), Tōkyō, Chikuhakukai, 1933

佐佐木信綱編、武田祐吉編、『万葉集西本願寺本』、東京、竹柏会、1933年

SCHWITZGEBEL, Eric, *Zhuangzi's attitude toward language and his skepticism*, *Skepticism, Relativism, and Ethics in the Zhuangzi*, eds. Paul Kjellberg and Philip J. Ivanhoe, 1996

SUZUKI Masanobu, *Clans and Religion in Ancient Japan: The mythology of Mt. Miwa*, Routledge, 2016

SVARVERUD Rune, *The Usefulness of Uselessness: The Realm of Useless Trees According to Zhuangzi*, Studies in Chinese Language and Culture, dited by Halvor Bøyesen Eifring and Christoph Anderl (Oslo: HermesAcademic Publishing, 2006), 157–68

TAKEUCHI Lone, "*Zhuangzi*" and the Search for Coherence in *Ise monogatari*, Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, 2009, Vol. 72, No. 2 (2009), pp. 357-388

WANG Jinglin 王景琳, XU Tao 徐甸, 莊子至人, 神人, 聖人辨析 (Analysis of the 'zhiren', 'shenren' and 'shengren') *Zhuangzi zhiren, shenren, shengren bianxi*, Zhunyin Shifan Xueyuan Xuebao 淮陰師範學院學報, 2019

WATANABE Sayuri, *Nihon ni okeru "Monzen" no gakushū* (The study of the *Wenxuan* in Japan), *Hikaku bunka ronsō* (Thesis collection on comparative culture), Sapporo University bulletin of the department of culture, 2008

渡辺さゆり 日本における『文選』の学習、比較文化論叢：札幌大学文化学部紀要, 2008

XU Shuisheng 徐水生, 略論道家思想在日本的傳播 (A survey of the diffusion of Taoist ideas in Japan) *Lvelun daoja sixiang zai riben de chuanbo* in Chen Guying 陳鼓應 *Daoja wenhua yanjiu* 道家文化研究, 10th edition, Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1996

YAMAZAKI Fumoto, *Kōchū Nihon Bungaku Taikei 3 "Tsurezuregusa"* (Revised and commented Japanese literature), Tōkyō, Kokumin Toshō Kabushiki Gaisha, 1924

山崎麓校、校註日本文學大系3『徒然草』、東京、国民図書株式会社、1924年

YAO Zhihua, "I Have Lost Me": *Zhuangzi's Butterfly Dream*, Journal of Chinese philosophy, 2013

YOSANO Hiroshi *ben*, *Nihon koten zenshū* (Complete collection of Japan classic works), Tōkyō, Nihon koten zenshū kankōkai, (1926)

与謝野寛編、『日本古典全集』、東京、日本古典全集刊行会、1926年

YŪKO Ashina, *Nihon kodai no shūkyō jōkyō: Yamanoue no Okura wo chūshin ni* (The religious situation of ancient Japan: with special mention to Yamanoue no Okura), Nishōgakusha daigaku ronshū, 2006

芦名裕子、『日本古代の宗教状況：山上憶良を中心に』、二松學舎大學論集、2006年

ZHANG Aimin 张爱民, "庄子" 在日本的传播 (The diffusion of the Zhuangzi in Japan), *Zhuangzi zai riben de chuanbo*, Journal of shandong normal university, 2005, Vol.50 No.2 (General No.199)

ZHANG Aimin 张爱民, 庄子对日本古代文学的影响 (The influence of the Zhuangzi on classic Japanese literature), *Zhuangzi dui riben gudai wenxue de yingxiang*, Journal of shandong normal university, 2009, Vol.50 No.3 (General No. 210)

ZIPORYN, Brook, *Zhuangzi, the essential writings. With selections from traditional commentaries*, Indianapolis, Hackett Publishing Company, 2009