

Chinese Sources and Contexts for *Stèles*

Stèles / Gǔ jīn bēi lù 古今碑錄
[*Stèles / Records of Stèles Old and New*]

BOOK TITLE AND FRONT MATTER. No supplementary material. For all notes, sources, and contexts, see VOL. 1.

Stèles Facing South [*Stèles face au midi*] 南面

SECTION TITLE. Segalen may have been inspired with the idea to separate the collection into stèles facing different directions by an appendix in Edouard Chavannes's edition of the *Records of the Grand Historian* 史記 (*Mémoires historiques*) by Sima Qian (Se-ma-Tsien) 司馬遷, in which Chavannes discusses the famous inscription commanded by Emperor Qin Shihuang 秦始皇 on Mount Tai 泰山 (see note to S11) that is engraved along all four sides of the stele, beginning with the western face and then continuing onto the northern, eastern, and southern faces (3:553–560). Segalen begins the collection, however, with “south,” as the direction toward which the emperor traditionally faced in court and toward which Chinese compasses “pointed.” In the following passage from Segalen's satirical novel *René Leÿs*, which is structured around many of the same ideas as this collection, the narrator (wryly called “Victor Segalen,” despite the obvious differences between the two) puns on the double sense of the French *midi* as both “noon” and “south” while imagining himself as living a life parallel to that of the emperor, facing southward. (See also S52 “To Lose Everyday South,” where this pun is also at work.)

Nothing has changed the beauty of the night. Since the Spring is swelling suddenly toward Summer, I dwell, and for a long time now, in the largest of my interior courtyards. I have dined in this courtyard, under the square of crepuscular sky. I have read, and I have written a little, and mostly, leaning back in a wicker chair, I have watched, without thinking of anything in particular, the *arched roof* set with stars above my face. . . . I dream more clearly and more lucidly than high noon [*le grand midi*] upon my rooftops! I dream how, stretched out with my head here and my feet there, so near this southeast corner of the Tartar city, I find myself lying exactly north to south. Like all the houses, palaces, shacks of Beijing, my house, my shack, my palace is very astronomically oriented, occidented, trimming its major buildings exactly toward the south. This is an imperial rule among all: “Let the Emperor be named, He Who Faces South”! And this is how I feel—not participating in this flea-bitten and “unanimous” life of worms swarming on the dung heap or of tapeworms in the intestines, but living *parallel*, in the full cold and measured strictness of the term, parallel to the hidden life of the Palace, like me, facing south [*face au midi*].

Rien n’est changé dans la beauté de la nuit. Comme le Printemps se gonfle tout d’un coup jusqu’à l’Été, j’habite, et pour longtemps, la plus grande de mes cours intérieures. J’ai dîné dans cette cour, sous le carré du ciel crépusculaire. J’ai lu et j’ai écrit un peu, et surtout, renversé sur la chaise de joncs tressés, j’ai regardé, sans penser à rien de certain, le *plafond cave étoilé* au-dessus de ma face. . . . Je songe plus clairement et plus lucidement que le grand midi sur mes toits! Je songe, qu’allongé, la tête ici et les pieds là, tout près de ce coin sud-est de la ville tartare, je me trouve exactement étendu du nord au sud. Comme toutes les maisons, les palais ou les huttes de Pei-king, ma maison, ma hutte ou mon palais est très astronomiquement orienté, occidenté, dressant ses bâtiments majeurs exactement face au midi. Ceci est une règle impériale entre toutes “que l’Empereur soit nommé Celui qui est face au midi”! je me sens ainsi—non point participer

à cette vie pouilleuse et “unanime” des vers grouillants sur le fumier, ou des ténias intestins, mais vivre *parallèlement*, dans toutes la rigueur froide et mesurée du terme, parallèlement à la vie cachée du Palais, comme moi face au midi. (OC 2:474–475)

Curiously, the second page of the manuscript for this section [Mf 3783:2] has the two characters *dong mian* 東面 (facing east) in the calligraphy of the printed edition, along with a caption in an unknown hand: “Stèles facing south” [*Stèles face au midi*]. This page and its incorrect caption must have been posthumously interpolated during the redaction of Segalen’s manuscripts.

Soi “Without Reign Mark” (SANS MARQUE DE RÈGNE) 無朝心宣年撰

The uniquely famous Tang dynasty stele about Nestorian Christians, which fuses Christian, Buddhist, and Daoist concepts, seems to have inspired Segalen with more than just the epigraph for this stèle. (For an analysis of the western reception of this stele, see Billings.) As can be seen from Segalen’s notes on the work, Henri Havret’s detailed monograph *La Stèle chrétienne de Si-ngan-fou* (The Christian Stele of Xi-an-fu) provided descriptions of the literary genres of the *song* 頌 (eulogy) and *xu* 序 (narrative) that were crucial in shaping Segalen’s sense of the possibilities of the “stèle” as a poetic form, whereas the inscriptions on many actual steles, as Segalen himself observed, tended to be rather dull. The portions in bold below were copied onto the sixth manuscript draft of this stèle, which are but some of the many notes that Segalen took from Havret while working on the collection.

—頌 *Song* [eulogy]. Chinese lexicography has justified the presence of the radical 頁 *xiè* “head” in this word in the following way. The *Shuowen* [說文] defines it [*mao ye*] 貌也 “appearance, to retrace the aspect.” According to the [*Zhengyun*] 正韻, it means [*cheng shu*] 稱述 “to praise in recounting.” According to the [*Shiming*] 釋名, *Song* signifies “to praise the merits, retrace the countenance, con-

duct, to display the meritorious actions of someone.” After the [*Shi da xun*] 詩大序, “to praise events, virtuous actions, to avert spirits.” The *Wenxin diaolong* defines it *rong* 容也, because it is “to praise the virtues and to recount their expression.” The same work attributes to [*Xian Mo (Hei)*] 咸墨(黑), under the reign of [*Di Ku*] 帝嚳 (2436 BCE) the composition of the first known Eulogy; but, it adds, the literary form of these pieces reached its perfection only beginning in the [*Shang*] 商.

In fact the *Book of Odes* (詩經) includes in its 4th part, bearing the title [*song*] 頌, only Eulogies or Dithyrambs dating from this last era.

These sorts of compositions are rhythmic. The one at the end of the inscription on the Christian monument contains eight stanzas of four verses each; each verse is itself composed of eight characters divided in two hemistiches. (Note: This meter is very common in the *Book of Odes*, especially in the section of *Eulogies*.)

This Eulogy [in the inscription of the Nestorian stele], despite its brevity, holds priority of nomination in the title because of the nobleness of its character; it evokes the memory of ancient poems which have praised in turn the Emperors of the *Zhou* and *Shang* dynasties, as well as the princes of the kingdom of *Lu*; and the very sight of the character [*song*] 頌 brings back to life the history of a glorious past in the spirit of any Chinese scholar.

—序 *Xu* [narrative]. This character is given by the [*Er ya*] 爾雅 as synonym of *xu* 緒 “Connection, chain;”; it is confused with [*xu*] 敘. A narrative is thus called, commentators say, “because one reveals things in order, and their succession is linked together as a cord.”

This explanation completely disregards the material place that the literary piece *Xu* occupies. The name “Preface” which is normally given to it is, strictly speaking, imprecise: these sorts of compositions can in fact follow as well as precede another composition; they can even exist isolated and independent.

The most famous *Xu*, either by virtue of their antiquity, or by virtue of the books that they analyze, or even by virtue

of their presumed authors, are those which accompany the *Shijing* [*Book of Odes* 詩經] and the *Shujing* [*Classic of History* 書經].

—頌 *Song*. La lexicographie chinoise a justifié de la façon suivante la présence du radical 頁 *hié* “tête” dans ce mot. Le *Chouo-wen* le définit 貌也 “apparence, retracer l’aspect”. Suivant le 正韻, il égale 稱述 “louer en rapportant”. D’après le 釋名, *Song* signifie “**louer les mérites, retracer la conduite, la conduite**, exposer les actions méritoires de quelqu’un”. D’après le 詩大序, “**louer les manifestations, les actions vertueuses, pour en avertir les esprits**”. Le 文心雕龍 le définit 容也, parce que c’est “louer les vertus et en retracer l’expression.” Le même ouvrage attribue à 咸墨 (黑), sous le règne de 帝嚳 (2436 av. J.-C.) la composition du premier Éloge connu; mais, ajoute-t-il, la forme littéraire de ces pièces ne reçut sa perfection qu’à partir des 商.

De fait le *livre des Vers* (詩經) ne renferme dans sa 4e partie, portant le titre 頌, que des Éloges ou Dithyrambes datant de cette dernière époque.

Ces sortes de compositions sont rythmées. Celle qui termine l’inscription du monument chrétien comprend huit strophes de quatre vers chacune; chaque vers est lui-même composé de huit caractères répartis en deux hémistiches. (Note: Cette mesure est très commune dans le *livre des Vers*, surtout dans la partie des *Éloges*.)

Cet Éloge, malgré son peu d’étendue, obtient la priorité de dénomination dans le titre, à cause de la noblesse de son caractère; il évoque le souvenir des antiques poésies qui ont loué tour à tour les Empereurs des dynasties *Tcheou* et *Chang*, ainsi que les princes du royaume de *Lou*, et la seule vue du caractère *song* 頌 fait revivre dans l’esprit de tout lettré chinois, l’histoire d’un passé glorieux.

—序 *Siu*. Ce caractère est donné par le 爾雅 comme synonyme de *xu* 緒 “Connexion, enchaînement”; il se confond avec 敘. Un récit est ainsi nommé, disent les commentateurs, “parce qu’on y expose les choses avec ordre, et que leur suite s’y enchaîne comme un fil.”

Cette explication fait complètement abstraction de la

place matérielle qu’occupe la pièce littéraire nommée *Siu*. L’appellation de “Préface” qu’on lui donne généralement est donc en rigueur inexacte: ces sortes de compositions peuvent en fait aussi bien suivre que précéder une composition différente; elles peuvent même exister isolées et d’une manière indépendante.

Les *Siu* les plus fameux, soit à raison de leur ancienneté, soit à raison des livres qu’ils analysent, soit enfin à raison de leurs auteurs présumés, sont ceux qui accompagnent le *Che-king* et le *Chou-king*. (Havret 12:241–242)

Segalen may also have taken note of the Chinese idioms combining mouths and steles for widespread praise, as described in the following entry in Pétillon’s collection of literary allusions, *Allusions littéraires*:

□碑載道 *Kou bei zai dao*. Mouths are like eulogistic steles filling the road: everyone extols a figure, a mandarin. Var. 碑鑄于□. His praise is on everyone’s lips.

□碑載道 *K’ou pei tsai tao*. Les bouches sont comme des stèles élogieuses qui remplissent le chemin: tous célèbrent un personnage, un mandarin. Var. [*bei juan yu kou*] 碑鑄于□. Son éloge est sur toutes les lèvres. (*AL* 46)

If Segalen did have one of these phrases in mind, it would have been but one of many instances where he drew inspiration from Pétillon: see also the notes for S11, S18, S20, S24, S28, S32, S42, S49, S54.

As Doumet (*Stèles*, 57) has also noted, an evocative parallel passage to the description here of watchtowers along the imperial way can be found in *The Son of Heaven* [*Le fils du ciel*] (which also resonates with S43 “Advice to the Good Traveler” and S48 “The Pass”):

It seems therefore that the Emperor would return to his glorious beginnings of those two years in order thus to confront the path followed ever since. It is in this way that a good traveler looks back and with a single glance takes in the

path followed. This one is ample and noble like an Imperial road, guarded every five *li* by watch towers with burning signals—large enough to receive ten chariots and leading from one capital to another, or connecting the borderlands of the Kingdoms! What great omens indeed these are!

Il semble donc que l'Empereur revienne à ses débuts glorieux de ces deux années afin de confronter par là le chemin parcouru depuis. C'est ainsi qu'un bon voyageur regarde en arrière, et d'un seul coup embrasse le chemin couru. Celui-ci est ample et noble ainsi qu'une route de l'Empire, gardée de cinq *li* en cinq *li* de ses tours de veille où flambent les signaux,—large à recevoir dix chars, et menant d'une capitale à l'autre, ou reliant les marches des Royaumes! Quels ne sont pas les bons présages! (*OC* 2:384)

So2 “The Three Original Hymns” (LES TROIS HYMNES PRIMITIVES) 作咸池之樂 / 作大淵之樂 / 作承雲之樂

Segalen imaginatively “reconstructed” these lost ancient hymns using the most minimal details from the following three passages in Wieger’s *Textes historiques*. The combination here of redacted classical texts with Wieger’s interpolated glosses and editorial commentary is typical. (Passages in bold were adopted for the epigraphs. Note the circles in Wieger’s text that inspired the circles that Segalen used to divide the sections of his stèles.)

Lakes. From the reign of Emperor Huangdi 黃帝, the Yellow Emperor (25th c. BCE):

He classified functionaries as *Clouds* of various classes. . . . The emperor having seen in a dream two dragons presenting him with a pattern, he purified himself through abstinence, then went to the bank of the Yellow River. Suddenly, a gigantic fish (tortoise) [*yu* 魚], riding the current, presented itself to him. The emperor kneeling down copied the pattern that the fish bore on its back. . . . Afterward, he had an observatory built, to which he assigned officers of the five great affairs in order to learn the observation of Heaven, the calculation of the calendar, the inspection of the wind,

the clouds, and emanations from the earth. It is since that time that meteorological phenomena have been recorded, signs by which Heaven instructs men.—The emperor had the sexagenarian cycle developed in order to count the years.—He had a celestial sphere constructed which served to calculate the calendar.—He determined the laws of arithmetic from which derive the musical tones, measurements, volumes, and weights.—He created the musical scale; then cast twelve tuning-bells making the twelve fundamental tones in order to secure it, making; finally **he composed the hymn of his reign, entitled “The Lakes.”**

Il classa les fonctionnaires, en *Nuées* de diverses classes . . . L'empereur ayant vu en rêve deux dragons qui lui présentaient un dessin, il se purifia par l'abstinence, puis se rendit au bord du Fleuve Jaune. Soudain un poisson (tortue) gigantesque, remontant le courant, vint se présenter à lui. L'empereur prosterné, copia le dessin que le poisson portait sur son dos. . . . Il fit ensuite élever un observatoire, auquel il attacha des officiers chargés des cinq grandes affaires, savoir, l'observation du ciel, le calcul du calendrier, l'inspection du vent, des nuées, et des émanations de la terre. C'est depuis lors qu'on enregistra les phénomènes météorologiques, signes par lesquels le ciel instruit les hommes.—L'empereur fit composer le cycle sexagénaire, pour compter les années.—Il fit construire une sphère céleste, qui servit à calculer le calendrier.—Il fixa les lois de l'arithmétique, d'où sortirent les tons musicaux, les mesures, les volumes et les poids.—Il créa la gamme; puis il fonda, pour la fixer, douze cloches-diapasons, donnant les douze tons fondamentaux; enfin **il composa l'hymne de son règne, intitulé “Les Lacs”.**

以雲紀官. . . 帝夢見兩龍援圖。乃齋戒往河求之。忽有大魚沂流而上，負圖而進。帝跪受之。乃設靈臺，立占天之官，以敘五事，掌天文，歷數，風，雲，氣色。于是乎有星官之書。○ 作甲子。作蓋天及調歷。定算數，而律，度，量，衡，由是成焉。造律呂，作十二鐘作咸池之樂。(TH 28–29)

Abyss. From the reign of Emperor Shaohao 少昊 (24th c. BCE):

The phoenix having appeared, he classified his officers as *Birds* of various ranks. **The hymn of his reign was entitled “The Abyss.”**—His government having been too easy-going, nine members of the powerful *Li* clan who were feudatories at that time brought disorder to the ancient customs and teachings. *Shaohao*, who was weak, did not know how to suppress them. Thus the people of his empire began to believe in Genies [*shen* 神] and Monsters: they called sorcerers to their homes; they sullied themselves with illicit oblations. . . This text proves that there was a traditional primitive cult. We will see the reaction against these abuses in the next reign.—*Shaohao* died after having reigned for 84 years. He was buried near the capital, in a locality [i.e., *Yun-yang* 雲陽 ‘Clouds and Sun’] which gave him the additional name, *Yun-yang-shi* [雲陽氏 [Master Clouds and Sun].

Le phénix ayant paru, il classa ses officiers en *Oiseaux* de divers grades. **L’hymne de son règne fut intitulé ‘L’abîme’.**—Son gouvernement ayant été trop débonnaire, neuf membres du puissant clan *Li*, feudataires de ce temps-là, mirent le désordre dans les usages et les enseignements anciens. *Cháo-hao*, trop faible, ne sut pas les réprimer. Alors le peuple de l’empire se mit à craindre des Génies et des Monstres: on appelait des sorciers à domicile; on se souillait par des oblations illicites. . . Ce texte prouve qu’il y avait un culte primitif traditionnel. . . Nous verrons la réaction contre ces abus, sous le règne suivant.—*Cháo-hao* mourut après avoir régné 84 ans. Il fut enseveli près de sa capitale, dans une localité qui lui valut un nom de plus, *Yúnn-yang-cheu*.

鳳凰適至，因以鳥紀官。作大淵之樂。○ 帝致頗善，既而黎氏九人，亂拂風教天常。少昊衰微，弗克弔伐。由是天下之人，相懼以神，相感以怪，家為巫史，民瀆於祀。○ 在位八十四年，崩葬於雲陽，故又曰雲陽氏。(TH 32)

Clouds. From the reign of Emperor Zhuanxu 顓頊 (23th c. BCE)

He was of the clan Ji, son of *Zhangyi*, son of *Huangdi*. His birthplace was in the basin of the Blue River, in modern Si-quan. He was first Lord of *Gaoyang*. *Zhuanxu*, the Diligent, was his posthumous title. He moved the capital to *Diqiu* on the north of the Yellow River.—He reigned by the virtue of water. **The hymn of his reign was called “The Clouds.”** He classified his officers after the five elements, a minister of fire, a minister of water, etc.—To him is attributed the first division of the empire into nine provinces.—He entrusted to *Zhong* the son of *Shaohao* and his own son *Li* the task of managing the affairs of genies and men, that is, of putting in order the superstitions that had been introduced during the reign of *Shaohao*, commanding that everything be restored to the former customs.

Il était du clan *Kī*, fils de *Tch'āng-i*, fils de *Hoāng-ti*. On place son berceau dans le bassin du Fleuve Bleu, au *Séu-tch'oan* actuel. Il fut d'abord seigneur de *Kāo-yang*. *Tchoān-hu*, le Diligent, est son titre posthume.—Il transféra la capitale à *Ti-k'iou*, au nord du Fleuve Jaune.—Il régna par la vertu de l'eau. **L'hymne de son règne s'appela ‘les Nuées’.**—Il classa ses officiers d'après les cinq éléments, eut un ministre du feu, un ministre des eaux, etc.—On lui attribue la première division de l'empire en neuf provinces.—Il commit à *Tch'oūng*, fils de *Chāo-hao*, et à son propre fils *Lí*, le soin de régler les affaires des génies et des hommes, c'est-à-dire de mettre ordre aux superstitions qui s'étaient introduites sous le règne de *Chāo-hao*, ordonnant que tout fût ramené à l'ancien usage.”

顓頊，高陽氏。黃帝孫，昌意子。姬姓初國高陽，故號高楊氏。都於帝邱。以水德王。作承雲之樂。始以民事記官。制九州。命重，黎，治神人，使復舊常。(TH 32-33)

Segalen drew more material from Wiegner's collected *Textes historiques* than from any other work: see also the notes for S03, S06, S07, S12, S17, S25, S27, S36, S37, S46, S56, S57, S60.

So3 “On a Dubious Guest” (SUR UN HÔTE DOUTEUX)
真所謂大亂之道

The Tang emperor Xianzong 憲宗 (r. 806–820) is slightly mocked in Wieger’s *Textes historiques* for a number of foolish actions, especially with regard to religions, so that he is not so inappropriately chastised by the famous letter of *Han Yu* 韓愈 denouncing Buddhism, the *Lun fōgu biao* 論佛骨表 (Letter on the Bone of the Buddha). Segalen copied the bolded section of the text below in Chinese onto the first manuscript draft as though he might have originally considered drawing his epigraph from it.

In 819, the emperor added to his devotion for Daoism a devotion for Buddhism. Since he still had some little bit of his Confucianist devotion, the confusion in this poor head was complete. Some bonzes having described to him that a finger of the Buddha, kept in the stupa of the *Fa-men* pagoda in *Feng-xiang* (upper valley of the *Wei*), would be brought out every thirty years, that this phenomenon each time produced a year of peace and abundance, and that it would happen again in the following year, 820, the emperor commanded that they bring him the relic. It remained for three days in the interior of the palace, then was led in a procession to all the pagodas to be venerated. On this occasion, the nobles, the officers, and the people were made jealous of the gifts to the bonzes. . . . *Han-yu* dipped his brush and poured out his indignation in writing that has become very famous. . . . Buddhism, he said, is a barbaric doctrine. From *Huang-di* to the *Zhou*, sovereigns lived long, the people passed peaceful days; and all that was before the Buddha. It was under Emperor *Ming* of the *Han* that Buddhism was introduced. The times that followed were times, not of peace, but of troubles. It was especially during the *Nan Bei-chao* period that Buddhism spread. In particular, Emperor *Wu* of the *Liang*, who, in 48 years of reign became a bonze three times, preached it ardently. And what did he gain from it? . . . He died of hunger and misery. That proves that it is madness for anyone to honor the Buddha to obtain happiness. **No, Buddhism**

deserves no belief! Buddha was a Barbarian who badly fulfilled his duties as a subject and a son. Suppose that he were brought back to life and came to your court, it would only barely be advised that you should grant him a small audience for the sake of form, a meal, and a garment, taking great care to have him led back afterward all the way to the border, lest he seduce the people. And behold how they receive with such honor, not the person himself, but a charred and stinking bone from this old character. I ask that the officers receive order to throw it in the river or the fire to destroy this opportunity for superstition, to clear up the ideas of the people, and to prevent following generations from being seduced. If Buddha really has so much power, let him take vengeance on me, I await it with a firm stance! . . . When the emperor had read this factum, he flew into a rage, and spoke of nothing less than sending the author to torture. But highly placed friends intervened.

En 819, à sa dévotion pour le Taoïsme, l'empereur joignit la dévotion pour le Bouddhisme. Comme il lui restait aussi quelque peu de dévotion confucianiste, l'amalgame, dans cette pauvre tête, fut complet. Des bonzes lui ayant raconté qu'une phalange de Bouddha, conservée dans la stupa de la pagode *Fā-menn* à *Fóng-siang* (haute vallée de la *Wéi*), s'entr'ouvrait tous les 30 ans, que ce phénomène produisait chaque fois une année de paix et d'abondance, et qu'il se renouvellerait en l'an prochain 820, l'empereur ordonna qu'on lui apportât la relique. Elle séjourna trois jours dans l'intérieur du palais, puis fut conduite processionnellement à toutes les pagodes pour y être vénérée. A cette occasion, les nobles, les officiers et le peuple, firent à l'envi des largesses aux bonzes. . . . *Hân-u* trempa son pinceau, et déversa son indignation dans des écrits qui l'ont rendu très célèbre. . . . Le Bouddhisme, dit-il, est une doctrine barbare. Depuis *Hoàng-ti* jusqu'aux *Tcheōu*, les souverains ont vécu longtemps, le peuple a coulé des jours paisibles; et cependant alors c'était avant Bouddha. C'est sous l'empereur *Ming* des *Hán*, que le Bouddhisme s'introduisit. Les temps qui suivirent, furent des temps, non de paix, mais de trou-

ble. C'est surtout durant la période *Nân pei-tch'áo*, que le Bouddhisme se répandit. En particulier, l'empereur *Où* des *Leáng*, lequel, en 48 ans de règne, se fit bonze trois fois, le propagea avec ardeur. Il y gagna. . . quoi? . . . de mourir de faim et de misère. Cela prouve que bien fol est quiconque honore Bouddha, pour obtenir de lui le bonheur. Non, **le Bouddhisme ne mérite aucune créance! Bouddha fut un Barbare, qui remplit mal ses devoirs de sujet et de fils. Supposé que, ressuscité, il vint à votre cour, c'est à peine s'il conviendrait que vous lui accordiez une petite audience pour la forme, un repas et un habit, en ayant bien soin de le faire reconduire ensuite jusqu'à la frontière**, pour l'empêcher de séduire le peuple. Et voilà que l'on reçoit avec tant d'honneur, non sa personne, mais un os décharné et puant de ce vieux personnage. Je demande que les officiers reçoivent ordre de le jeter à la rivière ou au feu, pour détruire cette occasion de superstition, pour éclaircir les idées du peuple, et empêcher que les générations suivantes ne soient séduites. Si Bouddha a vraiment quelque pouvoir, qu'il se venge sur moi, je l'attends de pied ferme! . . . Quand l'empereur eut lu ce factum, il entra dans une grande colère, et ne parla de rien moins que d'envoyer l'auteur au supplice. Des amis haut placés s'entremirent.

己亥，先是功德使上言，鳳翔法門寺塔有佛指骨，相傳三十年以開，開則歲豐人安，來年應開。請迎之。上從其言。至是，佛骨至京師，留禁中三日，歷送諸寺，王公士民，瞻奉捨施，推恐弗及。○刑部侍郎韓愈，上表諫曰，佛者，夷狄之一法耳。自黃以至禹湯文武，皆享壽考，百姓安樂，當是時，未有佛也。漢明帝始有佛法。其後亂亾相繼，運祚不長。宋，齊，梁，陳，元魏以下，事佛漸謹，年代尤促。惟梁武帝，在位四十八年前後三捨身為寺家奴，竟為侯景所逼，餓死臺城。事佛求福。乃更得禍。由此觀之，佛不足信，亦可知矣。佛本夷狄之人，不知君臣之義，父子之恩，假如其身尚在，來朝京師，階下容而接之，不過宣政一見禮賓一設，賜衣一襪，衛而出之於竟，不令惑眾也。況其身死已久，枯朽之骨，豈宜以入官禁。乞付有司，投諸水火，永絕根本，斷天下之疑，絕後代之惑。佛如有靈，

能作禍福，凡有殃咎，宜加陳身。○ 上得表，大怒，將加愈極刑，褻度崔群。(TH 1724–1725)

The following excerpt from the *Lun fogu biao* 論佛骨表 (Letter on the Bone of the Buddha) by *Han Yu* 韓愈 appears only in a French translation in a footnote to Wiegier's *Textes historiques*. (We give a brief excerpt of the relevant section along with the same text in Chinese, which Segalen probably never saw.) Note that the history above quotes and paraphrases the letter.

Curses! these things ruin our customs, and make us ridiculous in the eyes of strangers. For in the end it is a Barbarian whom we honor in this way; a man who did not know how to speak our language, who did not know how to dress himself like us, who saw nothing and learned nothing of the teachings and traditions of our Sages, who disregarded his duties as subject and son! If he were still living, this man; if he came here, as ambassador from his king, you would undoubtedly have to receive him, but at best only once and briefly; then, after the strictly indispensable ceremonies, after having made gift of a robe, you would have to have him led back to the frontier under good guard in order to remove any possibility of his infecting your people. . . . Show to your subjects that the Sage thinks differently from the commoner.

Malheur! ces choses ruinent nos mœurs, et nous rendent ridicules aux yeux des étrangers. Car enfin, c'est un Barbare que nous honorons de la sorte; un homme qui n'a pas su parler notre langue, qui n'a pas su s'habiller comme nous, qui n'a rien vu ni connu des enseignements et des traditions de nos Sages, qui a méconnu ses devoirs de sujet et de fils! S'il vivait encore, cet homme; s'il venait ici, comme ambassadeur de son roi, vous devriez sans doute le recevoir, mais tout juste, une petite fois; puis, après les cérémonies strictement indispensables, après lui avoir fait don d'une robe, vous devriez le faire reconduire à la frontière sous bonne garde, pour lui ôter toute possibilité d'infecter votre peuple.

. . . Montrez à vos sujets, que le Sage pense et agit autrement que le vulgaire.

傷風敗俗，傳笑四方，非細事也。夫佛本夷狄之人，與中國言語不通，衣服殊製，口不言先王之法言，身不服先王之法服。不知君臣之義，父子之情。假如其身至今尚在，奉其國命，來朝京師，陛下容而接之。不過宣政一見，禮賓一設，賜衣一襲，衛而出之於境，不令惑衆也。[. . .]使天下之人知大聖人之所作爲，出於尋常萬萬也。[韓愈，唐論佛骨表] (TH 1727–1728)

The epigraph (in bold below) was drawn from a fifth-century gloss in the following account in Wieger of the introduction of Buddhism into China under the reign of the late Han emperor Ming 明 (r. 57–75 BCE).

In the year 65, the emperor opened the gates of China to Buddhism. The thing is variously recounted. Some say that Buddha appeared to him in a dream; Buddhist legend. Others say that a statue of Buddha, brought from Tarim (Kachgar, Yarkend, especially Kotan, were important Buddhist centers), piqued his curiosity. The fact is that the contact of China with India in the Tarim made the Indian religion known to China. Nothing could be more natural! Rather, it is astonishing that it was not officially known or observed earlier. In short, the emperor Ming having learned that in Tarim there was a *Shen* named 佛 (then pronounced *Bout*), he sent an embassy to India (through Khotan) to inquire about its teaching and bring back its books. Some bonzes having come, they translated the first sutras in *Luo-yang* beginning in the year 67. . . . [Here follows a summary of the five principle teachings contained therein.] It was thus that Buddhist texts and images spread through China. The bonzes called themselves 沙門 *Sha-men* (Sramanas, Samaneans). They only had a success of curiosity among the blood princes and the women of the harem, idle people eager for novelties.

En l'an 65, l'empereur ouvrit au bouddhisme les portes de la Chine. La chose est diversement racontée. Les uns disent que Bouddha lui apparut en songe; légende bouddhique. Les autres disent qu'une statue de Bouddha, rapportée du Tarim (Kachgar, Yarkend, surtout Kotan, étaient d'importants centres bouddhistes), piqua sa curiosité. Le fait est que le contact de la Chine avec l'Inde, dans le Tarim, fit connaître à la Chine la religion de l'Inde. Rien de plus naturel! Il est plutôt étonnant qu'elle ne l'ait pas officiellement connue ou remarquée plus tôt. Bref l'empereur *Ming* ayant appris qu'au Tarim il y avait un *Chénn* nommé 佛 (prononciation d'alors *Bout*), il envoya une ambassade dans l'Inde (par Kotan), pour s'enquérir de sa doctrine et rapporter ses livres. Des bonzes étant venus, traduisirent à *Láo-yang*, à partir de l'an 67, les premières Sutras. . . . [Here follows a summary of the five principle teachings contained therein.] C'est ainsi que les livres et les images bouddhiques, pénétrèrent en Chine. Les bonzes s'appelèrent 沙門 *Chā-menn* (Sramanas, Samanéens). Ils n'eurent qu'un succès de curiosité, parmi les princes du sang et les dames du harem, gent oisive avide de nouveautés.—La Glose ajoute: Voilà comment le bouddhisme s'introduisit en Chine. Or **les préceptes et les exemples de Bouddha, sont subversifs de tout ordre.** Au temps des Trois Dynasties et des Sages anciens, ils auraient été proscrits et prohibés sans merci.

乙丑，帝聞西城有神，其名曰佛，因遣使之天竺，求其道，得其書... 精於其道者，號曰沙門。於是中始傳其術，圖其形象。而王公貴獨楚王英最先好之。○ 此佛教入中國之始。夫浮屠氏之所言，所為真所謂大亂之道，在三代聖王所必誅而無赦者也。(TH 808–809)

Considering that Segalen's original working title for this stèle was "Defense / For the Savior of Men" [*Defense / Au sauveur des hommes*], the original idea for describing the Buddha in distinctly Christian terms may have come from the following passage in Evariste Huc's *L'Empire chinois* (1857):

In the eyes of the Buddhists this figure is sometimes a man, sometimes a god, or sometimes he is both. He is a divine incarnation, a man-god who has come to this world to enlighten men, to redeem them and to show them the way of salvation. This idea of a human redemption by a divine incarnation is so widespread and popular among the Buddhists that we have found it everywhere distinctly formulated in such remarkable terms. If we were to ask a Mongolian or a Tibetan: “What is the Buddha?” He would instantly respond: “He is the Savior of Men.”

Aux yeux des bouddhistes, ce personnage est tantôt un homme, tantôt un dieu, ou plutôt il est l'un et l'autre. C'est une incarnation divine, un homme-dieu, qui est venu en ce monde pour éclairer les hommes, les racheter et leur indiquer la voie du salut. Cette idée d'une rédemption humaine par une incarnation divine est tellement générale et populaire parmi les bouddhistes, que partout nous l'avons trouvée nettement formulée en des termes remarquables. Si nous adresses à un Mongol ou à un Thibétain cette question: Qu'est-ce que Bouddha? Il nous répondait à l'instant: “C'est le sauveur des hommes” (1992 ed., 2:175).

So4 “Eulogy on a Western Virgin” (ÉLOGE D'UNE
VIERGE OCCIDENTALE) 無災無害彌月不遲是生后稷

On page vii of the introduction to his edition of the *Cheu King* or *Book of Odes* 詩經, Couvreur gathers together the following quotations from two odes with their commentaries as an explanation of “The Marvelous Birth of Hou Ji” [*Naissance merveilleuse de Heou Tsi*] under the heading “Notions Drawn from the Shi Jing” [*Notions tirées du Cheu King*]. (The bolded passage translates the epigraph.) Segalen seems to have relied on this introduction while drafting the stèle and then later to have turned to the second of the two odes mentioned therein for his epigraph. These passages are reproduced here as they are quoted in Couvreur’s introduction, with their individual citations, including the references to the famous Song dynasty commentator Zhu Xi.

The standard Mao numbers for the odes have been provided in square brackets to supplement the old-style sinological designations that Couvreur uses when citing his own edition.

“Jiang Yuan offered a sacrifice to obtain children. Walking on the trace left by the big toe of the sovereign king, she felt a shiver. She returned to the palace, . . . conceived, . . . delivered a son into the world. This son was Hou-ji.

“The months of her pregnancy having run their course, she gave birth to her first-born as easily as a sheep brings forth a lamb, without rupture or tear, without ache or lesion; and they saw clearly that the birth was a prodigy. Was not the king of heaven content? Did he not accept the pure offering of Jiang Yuan, since he allowed her to give birth without difficulty?

“They left the infant on a narrow path, but the cows and the sheep protected him with their bodies, offering him affectionate care. They left him on a plain covered with trees, but there were woodcutters there (who gathered him up). They left him in the middle of the ice; but a bird covered him (with one wing, and with the other) made a couch for him. The bird having gone away, Hou-ji began to wail. His sustained and powerful cries were heard in every lane.” IV.ii.1 [Ode 245; for the Chinese, see below, from *CK* 347–348]

“The ancient scholars have to some small degree dismissed in doubt the story of the trace left by the big toe. But the philosopher Zhang says: [天地之始固未嘗先有人也則人固有化而生者矣] ‘Before the beginning of heaven and earth, certainly man did not exist; there must have been a being who formed him and gave him birth.’ The philosopher Su also says: ‘All beings of an extraordinary nature are born in an extraordinary way. The unicorn is born differently from the dog and the lamb; the crocodile and the dragon are not born as the fish and the tortoise. Certainly this is so for the animals. Should one be astonished that the birth of extraordinary men differs from that of other men?’ The reasoning is just.” (Zhu Xi [from *CK* 348]).

[無人道而生子或者以為不祥故棄之而有此異也於是始收而養之] “A woman had conceived and given birth

contrary to the ordinary laws of nature. They feared that it was a bad omen. For this reason they wanted to do away with the child. But the unexpected arrival of the extraordinary things recounted above, they immediately recovered him and raised him.” (Zhu Xi [from *CK* 349]).

“Jiang-yuan is worthy of veneration; her virtue has always been irreproachable. The king of heaven bent upon her a favorable gaze. **As soon as the months of her pregnancy had come to term, suddenly, without tear or pain, she delivered Hou Ji into the world.** The king of heaven gave to Hou-ji all sorts of good things, two varieties of millet, . . . beans, wheat.” IV.iv.4. [Ode 300; from *CK* 452–453]

“Kiang Iuen offrit un sacrifice pour obtenir des enfants. Marchant sur la trace laissée par le pouce du pied du souverain roi, elle éprouva un frémissement. Elle retourna au palais, . . . conçut, . . . mit au monde un fils. Ce fils fut Heou tsi.

“Les mois de sa grossesse étant écoulés, elle enfanta son premier-né, aussi facilement qu’une brebis met au jour un agneau, sans rupture ni fissure, sans mal ni lésion; et l’on vit clairement que cette naissance était prodige. Le roi du ciel ne fut-il pas content? N’agréa-t-il pas l’offrande pure de Kiang iuen, puis qu’il lui donna d’enfanter sans aucune difficulté?

“On déposa l’enfant dans un étroit sentier; mais les bœufs et les brebis, le protégeant de leurs corps, lui donnèrent des soins affectueux. On le déposa dans une plaine couverte d’arbres; mais il y avait des bûcherons (qui le recueillirent). On le déposa au milieu de la glac; mais un oiseau le couvrit (de l’une de ses ailes, et de l’autre) lui fit une couche. L’oiseau s’en étant allé, Heou tsi se mit à vagir. Ses vagissements prolongés et puissants furent entendus par tous les chemins.” IV.ii.1.

“Les anciens lettrés ont quelque peu révoqué en doute l’histoire de la trace laissé par le pouce du pied. Mais le philosophe Tchang dit: [天地之始固未嘗先有人也則人固有化而生者矣] ‘Avant le commencement du ciel et de la terre, certainement il n’existait pas d’homme; il a fallu un

être qui le formât et lui donnât naissance.’ Le philosophe Sou dit aussi: ‘Tout être d’une nature extraordinaire naît d’une façon extraordinaire. La licorne naît autrement que le chien et l’agneau; le crocodile et le dragon ne naissent pas comme le poisson ou la tortue. Certainement il en est ainsi pour les animaux. Doit-on s’étonner que la naissance des hommes extraordinaires diffère de celle des autres hommes?’ Ce raisonnement est juste.” (Tchou Hi).

[無人道而生子或者以為不祥故棄之而有此異也於是始收而養之] “Une femme avait conçu et enfanté contrairement aux lois ordinaires de la nature. On craignit que ce ne fût un mauvais présage. Pour ce motif on voulut se défaire de l’enfant. Mais survinrent les choses extraordinaires racontées plus haut; aussitôt on le recueillit et on l’éleva.” (Tchou Hi).

“Kiang iuen est digne de vénération; sa vertu a toujours été irréprochable. Le roi du ciel abaissa sur elle un regard favorable. **Dès que les mois de sa grossesse furent écoulés, aussitôt, sans lésion ni douleur, elle mit au monde Heou tsi.** Le roi du ciel donna à Heou tsi toutes sortes de biens, les deux espèces de millet à panicules, . . . les haricots, le blé.” IV.iv.4. (CK vii)

Segalen used a number of details from Ode 245 as excerpted in Couvreur’s introduction just quoted. Here follows the Chinese for the opening lines of that ode that are translated in the first section above. It begins with a couple of lines not excerpted by Couvreur in his introduction, as follows: “The mother who gave birth to the race of the Zhou was Jiang Yuan. How did she give birth? She made an offering with a pure mind; she offered a sacrifice in order not to remain childless” [*La mère qui donna naissance à la race des Tcheou, fut Kiang Iuen. Comment a-t-elle enfanté? Elle fit une offrande avec une intention pure; elle offrit un sacrifice pour obtenir [sic] de ne pas rester sans enfants*].

厥初生民，時維姜嫄。
生民如何，克禋克祀，以弗無子。履帝武敏，歆攸介攸止，載震載夙，載生載育，時維后稷。

誕彌厥月，先生如達，不坼不副，無齧無害。
以赫厥靈，上帝不寧，不康禋祀，居然生子。

誕寘之隘巷，牛羊腓字之。
誕寘之平林，會伐平林。
誕寘之寒冰，鳥覆翼之。
鳥乃去矣，后稷呱矣，實覃實訐，厥聲載路。
(CK 347, Ode 245)

The epigraph (in bold below) was drawn from the opening stanza of Ode 300 (too long to warrant reproduction here in its entirety), which is preceded by a headnote adapted from the “Little Preface” that reads, “Origin of the imperial family of Zhou and the princely family of Lu” [*Origine de la famille impériale des Tcheou et de la famille princière de Lou*]. A portion of this translation is given in Couvreur’s introduction (see above).

The temple of the ancestors, situated in a withdrawn and closed place, is solitary and silent. The foundation there is solid and the structure perfect. Kiang Yuan is very venerable; her virtue has always been irreproachable. The king of heaven bent upon her a favorable gaze. **As soon as the months of her pregnancy had run out, just then, without tear or pain, she delivered Hou Ji into the world.** The king of heaven gave to Hou Ji all sorts of good things.

Le temple des ancêtres, situé dans un endroit retiré et fermé, est solitaire et silencieux. Les fondements en sont solides et la structure parfaite. Kiang iuen est très vénérable; sa vertu a toujours été irréprochable. Le roi du ciel abaissa sur elle un regard favorable. **Dès que les mois de sa grossesse furent écoulés, aussitôt, sans lésion ni douleur, elle mit au monde Heou tsi.** Le roi du ciel donna à Heou tsi toutes sortes de biens.

閟宮有恤，實實枚枚。
赫赫姜嫄，其德不回。
上帝是依，無災無害。
彌月不遲，是生后稷，降之百福。(CK 452–453, Ode 300)

A notable parallel may be found in Wieger's *Textes historiques*, whose explicit purpose was to help prepare Jesuit missionaries for disputation and which includes frequent commentaries intended to help novitiates interpret the Chinese classics according to an evangelical polemic. As the first note to the five "semihistorical" emperors (which material Segalen used when preparing So2), Wieger translates at length from an unidentified "critique chinois moderne." The central ironic frame of this stèle is remarkably similar to this passage, where the Chinese commentator extensively praises reason, but still accepts as believable at least the outline of the story of Jiangyuan's conception as a gift from Heaven. Indeed, the very trick of comparing Jiangyuan to the Virgin Mary is already implicit in Wieger's footnote:

I have omitted mention of the legends regarding the conception of several earlier emperors. This is what a modern Chinese critic says of them: "When a Sage is conceived, the quintessence of the universe is incarnated, all good things are brought together in his person, and that is why this conception is accompanied by signs and prodigies. Nevertheless the conception of Sages does not depart from the rule of corporeal reproduction. When *Jiangyuan*, having made sacrifice to the Lord on high to obtain a son from him, then gave birth to *Ji*, it was simply that the Lord on high found her sacrifice acceptable and rendered her fertile; this is perfectly worthy of belief. But for those who speak of *Qingdou* conceiving *Yao* by a red dragon, of *Jiandi* conceiving *Xie* by a sparrow's egg, of *Leizu* conceiving *Shaohao* by a rainbow; of *Nüshu* conceiving *Zhuanxu* by a lunar halo . . . oh, dear! These latter fables must be refuted, and one must enlighten disciples as to their worth. It is true that emperors have heaven for a father and the earth for a mother, which is why they are called Son of Heaven. But, though they be quintessence of heaven and earth, they are still born through corporeal reproduction. Heaven creates them lords of people—that is how their generation differs from that of common people. A dragon is a scaly reptile; how could it give a woman a child? A sparrow is a feathered bird; how

would it give a woman a son? As for the rainbow father of *Shaohao* and the lunar-halo father of *Zhuanxu*, these things are untenable. To delve deeply into the reason of things is what is important for a scholar. As long as the reason of a thing is not clear, we are not taking full account of it, a judgment cannot be reached, knowledge is not acquired, the emotion that we bring to it is not judicious. And when emotion is not ruled by strict judgment, impure fables can influence healthy reason, superstition can prevail over intelligence. . . . One must not give these things more attention than they merit. The sage applies to them the touch-stone of criticism.”

J’ai omis de rapporter les légendes relatives à la conception de plusieurs anciens empereurs. Voici ce qu’en dit un critique chinois moderne: “Quand un Sage est conçu, la quintessence de l’univers s’incarne, tous les biens se réunissent dans sa personne, voilà pourquoi cette conception est accompagnée de signes et de prodiges. Cependant la conception des Sages ne sort pas de la règle de la génération corporelle. Quand *Kiāng-yuan* [Jiangyuan] ayant sacrifié au Souverain d’en haut pour obtenir de lui un fils, enfanta ensuite K’i, c’est que le Souverain d’en haut eut son sacrifice pour agréable, et la rendit féconde; cela est parfaitement digne de foi. Mais pour ce qu’on raconte de *K’ing-tou* concevant *Yáo* d’un dragon rouge, de *Kièn-ti* concevant *Sie* d’un œuf d’hirondelle, de *Lèi-tsou* concevant *Cháo-hao* d’un arc-en-ciel, de *Niù-chou* concevant *Tchoān-hu* d’un halo lunaire . . . hola! Ces fables-là doivent être réfutées, et il faut éclairer les disciples sur leur valeur. Il est vrai que les empereurs ont pour père le ciel et pour mère la terre, voilà pourquoi on les appelle Fils du Ciel. Mais, quoique quintessence du ciel et de la terre, ils naissent par voie de génération corporelle. Le ciel les crée seigneurs des peuples, voilà ce en quoi leur génération diffère de celle du vulgaire. Un dragon est un reptile écailleux; comment peut-il donner un enfant à une femme? Une hirondelle est un oiseau emplumé; comment donnerait-elle un fils à une femme? Quant à l’arc-en-ciel père de *Cháo-hao* et au halo

lunaire père de *Tchoāon-hu*, ces choses-là sont insoutenables. . . . Approfondir la raison des choses, voilà l'important pour un lettré. Tant que la raison d'une chose n'est pas éclaircie, ou ne s'en rend pas bien compte, le jugement ne peut pas se former, la science n'est pas acquise, l'affection qu'on lui porte n'est pas judicieuse. Or quand l'affection n'est pas réglée par un jugement droit, les fables impures peuvent influencer la saine raison, la superstition peut prévaloir contre l'intelligence. . . . Il ne faut pas accorder à ces choses plus d'attention qu'elles ne méritent. Le sage leur applique la pierre de touche de la critique." (TH 34n)

This is the first of the stèles that draws upon the *Book of Odes* 詩經; see also the notes for S18, S21, S30, S31, S50, and S63.

S05 "The Luminous Religion" (RELIGION LUMINEUSE)
大秦景教流行中國碑

Although it is well known that Segalen drew certain details from Havret's study of the Nestorian Stele for this "exotic" description of Christianity, it has not generally been observed that the details of this stèle do not actually correspond very closely with Havret's partial translation. Indeed, they correspond more closely to the version by Paul Pelliot, which was actively in circulation only in manuscript during the period that Segalen was writing *Stèles* / 古今碑錄. We give here the version later published for its striking similarity. Most notably, Segalen's "he proclaimed the equality of greatnesses" [*proclama l'égalité des grandeurs*] seems to follow Pelliot's "he interpolated the equality of greatness" [*intercala l'égalité de grandeur*] for the phrase 開平大—a very difficult phrase in the context of the inscription, for which Pelliot alone supplies this unique reading (Havret gives, "opening a breach in this moral greatness" [*ouvrant une brèche dans cette grandeur morale*]).

[W]ho would he be if not the transcendent person of our Tri-One, the True Lord, without beginning, Aluohe? He drew a cross to fix the four cardinal points; he stirred up

the original Breath, in order to produce the two principles. The darkness and the void transformed themselves, and the heaven and the earth opened up; the sun and the moon grew to perfection, and the days and the nights came to be. He made and perfected the ten thousand beings; he created and formed the first man. In particular, he endowed him with an excellent harmony (with himself?). . . . / But it came to pass that So-tan (Satan) used deceit, and dressed up the pure essence with ornaments. He inserted the equality of greatness into the middle of that [which had been] good; he inserted the mysterious identity within the interior of that [which was] bad.

[C]elui-là, qui serait-il, sinon la personne transcendante de notre Unité Trine, le Seigneur Véritable, sans commencement, A-lo-ho (Alaha)? Il a tracé un croix pour fixer les quatre points cardinaux; il a agité le Souffle primitif, afin de produire les deux principes. Les ténèbres et le vide se transformèrent, et le ciel et la terre s'ouvrirent; le soleil et la lune se murent, et les jours et les nuits existèrent. Il ouvra et parfit les dix mille êtres; il réalisa et dressa le premier homme. Spécialement, il le doua d'une harmonie excellente (avec lui-même?). . . . / Mais il advint que So-tan (Satan) usa d'imposture, et para d'ornements l'essence pure. Il intercala l'égalité de grandeur au milieu de ceci [qui était] bien; inséra l'indentité mystérieuse à l'intérieur de cela [qui fut] mal. (Pelliot 173–174)

其唯我三一妙身無元真主阿羅訶歟判。十字以定四方。鼓元風而生二氣。暗空易而天地開。日月運而晝夜作。匠成萬物然立初人。別賜良和 [. . .] 泊乎娑殫施妄。鈿飾純精。間平大於此是之中。隙冥同於彼非之內。(景教碑)

For more notes on Segalen's use of Havret's study of the Nestorian Stele, see the introduction to VOL. 1, the note on the title of the book, and the notes in both volumes to S01 and S05.

So6 “In Honor of a Reclusive Sage” (EN L’HONNEUR
D’UN SAGE SOLITAIRE) 山野之人於時無用

The following anecdote from the reign of Song emperor Taizong 太宗 (r. 976–997) in Wieger’s *Textes historiques* is cited in the manuscript as the source for both poem and epigraph (in bold).

At the end of the same year 984, the emperor had summoned to his court the famous hermit and Taoist philosopher *Chen Tuan*, author of a new interpretation of the Book of Changes. He treated him with honor, and had asked of him what his meditations had taught him of use for the good of men. **Being a hermit**, *Chen Tuan* replied, **I have not concerned myself with men**. I have never seen a single Genie, nor a single Immortal. I know nothing of the recipe for the Drug of immortality. I do not understand a jot about the training of the inner man through respiratory exercise. I possess no magic formula. Moreover, if I were to make the emperor ascend to heaven, that would be a loss here, not a profit to the empire. My style is, to be sure, an extraordinary one. My meditations to myself have revealed only the most ordinary thing, which is this: To be a good prince, it suffices to choose well one’s ministers, to govern well one’s people, to be watchful of peace and good customs. . . . Very edified by these words, the emperor thanked the hermit with a fine title. The latter returned to his solitude, where he died shortly afterward.

A la fin de la même année 984, l’empereur fit appeler à sa cour le célèbre ermite et philosophe taoïste *Tch’ênn-t’oan*, auteur d’une nouvelle interprétation du Livre des Mutations. Il le traita avec honneur, et lui fit demander ce que ses méditations lui avaient appris d’utile pour le bien des hommes. **Etant ermite**, répondit *Tch’ênn-t’oan*, **je ne me suis pas occupé des hommes**. Je n’ai jamais vu aucun Génie, aucun Immortel. J’ignore la recette de la Drogue d’immortalité. Je n’entends goutte à la formation de l’homme intérieur, par la gymnastique respiratoire. Je ne possède aucune formule magique. D’ailleurs, si je faisais monter l’empereur au ciel,

ce serait là une perte, non un profit pour l'empire. La mode est, il est vrai, à l'extraordinaire. Mes méditations à moi, ne m'ont révélé que la chose fort ordinaire que voici: Pour être un bon prince, il suffit de bien choisir ses ministres, de bien gouverner son peuple, de veiller à la paix et aux bonnes mœurs. . . . Très édifié de ces paroles, l'empereur gratifia l'ermite d'un beau titre. Celui-ci retourna dans sa solitude, où il mourut bientôt après.

冬，十月，召華山隱士陳搏入朝，待之甚厚，遣中使送至中書，送琪等從容問曰，先生得玄默修養之道，可以教人乎。搏曰，搏，山野之人，於時無用，亦不知神仙黃白之事，吐納養生之理，非有方術可傳。假令白日上升，亦何益於世。今聖上龍顏秀異，有天日之表。搏達古今，深究治亂，真有道仁聖之主也，正君臣憐心同德，興化致治之秋，勤行修煉，無出於此。琪等以聞，帝益重之，賜號希夷先生，還華山，尋卒。(TH 1829–1830)

Chen Tuan thus receives a title of his own from the emperor that is not unlike Shao Yong's in the following excerpt. Wieger refers to it only as a "fine title" [*beau titre*] without trying to translate the tricky phrase: *xi-yi xiansheng* 希夷先生, which might be variously rendered as "Master Desiring-Peace," "Master Rarely-Ordinary," or "Master Strange-Barbarian."

Segalen's initial but ultimately rejected idea for his epigraph, which was accidentally incorporated into the "drafted note" on the stèle (see note in VOL. 1), was drawn from the following excerpt from a monograph on the great Song dynasty philosopher and commentator Zhu Xi (朱熹) by Stanislas Le Gall, *Le Philosophe Tchou Hi: Sa doctrine, son influence* (The Philosopher Zhu Xi: His Doctrine and Its Influence), published in the series *Variétés sinologiques* (1894). (Segalen also used this work for S53.) This edition is the first to identify this source.

Shao Yong (邵雍, 堯夫) is the first in chronological order in the gallery of famous men in the epoch of the *Song*. Born in 1011 at Luoyang (洛陽), to poor parents, he gave himself

early to study and devoted himself to it with an ardent passion. After several trips to the Center and to the North, he returned to settle permanently in the capital. He lived there in a miserable hut open to the wind and rain, without a fire in the winter or a fan to cool himself in the summer. But, contented with his lot, he gave to his hut the poetic name An-le wo (安樂窩, Nest of Quiet Joy), whence the name 安樂先生 [Master Quiet Joy], by which his friends liked to refer to him. *Li Zhi-cai* (李之才), magistrate of the city of *Gong-cheng* (共成), in the prefecture of *Wu-hui* (衛輝府), was among the first to appreciate the talent of the reclusive scholar. . . . Loved by all, blessed with the marvelous discoveries that he made in the ancient Books, *Shao Yong* passed his days in peace in his little hovel, from which ambition could never pull him away. The most eminent men in politics and letters would come to visit his *Nest* and consult the *Doctor of Quiet Joy*.

Chao Yong (邵雍, 堯夫) est le premier par ordre chronologique dans la galerie des hommes célèbres de l'époque des *Song*. Né en 1011 à *Lo-yang* (洛陽), de parents pauvres, il s'adonna de bonne heure à l'étude et s'y livra avec une ardeur passionnée. Après quelques voyages au Centre et au Nord, il revint se fixer définitivement dans la capitale. Il y vécut dans une misérable hutte ouverte aux vents et à la pluie, manquant de feu en hiver et d'éventail pour se rafraîchir en été. Mais, content de son sort, il donna à sa hutte le nom poétique de *Ngan-lo ouo* (安樂窩, Nid de la joie tranquille), d'où le nom de 安樂先生 par lequel ses amis aimaient à le désigner. *Li Tche-ts'ai* (李之才), magistrat de la ville de *Kong-tch'eng* (共成), dans la préfecture de *Ouei-hoei* (衛輝府), fut des premiers à apprécier le talent du Lettré solitaire. . . . Aimé de tous, heureux des découvertes merveilleuses qu'il faisait dans les anciens Livres, *Chao Yong* passait en paix ses jours dans son pauvre réduit, d'où l'ambition ne put jamais l'arracher. Les hommes les plus éminents dans la politique et les lettres venaient visiter dans son *Nid* et consulter le *Docteur de la Joie Tranquille*. (3-4)

So7 “The People of Mani” (LES GENS DE MANI)
(1914 ed.) 以香為信

Segalen modeled this stèle on the unfriendly description of Manicheism in Wieger’s *Textes historiques*—from which he also drew the epigraph (in bold)—which presents the religion as one of the many follies entertained by the unscrupulous wife of the Tang emperor Zhongzong 中宗 (r. 684–710). Wieger, ever loose in translation, here freely interpolates “false doctrine” where the source reads simply “scriptures” (*jing* 經), a sleight of hand that Segalen could have seen by a mere glance at the Chinese.

Furthermore, in 694 a Persian by the name of *Fu-duo-dan* brought and presented to the court the false doctrine of the Two Principles (Manicheism). The sectarians of this religion say that men and women must not marry, that they must not speak when they embrace, that sick people must not take medicines, that the dead must be buried entirely naked. . . . They recognize each other through the use of certain perfumes. They sleep by day, wake by night, couple in the shadows, call each other good friends (and not spouses).

Encore en 694, un Persan nommé *Fou-touo-tan*, apporta et présenta à la cour la fausse doctrine des Deux Principes (Manichéisme). Les sectateurs de cette religion disent, que les hommes et les femmes ne doivent pas se marier, qu’ils ne doivent pas parler quand ils se tiennent, que les malades ne doivent pas prendre de médecines, que les morts doivent être enterrés tout nus. . . . Ils se reconnaissent entre eux, par l’emploi de certain parfums. Ils dorment le jour, veillent la nuit, s’accouplent dans les ténèbres, s’appellent bons amis (et non époux).

甲午，波斯國人拂多誕。持二宗經偽教，來朝。二宗者，謂男女不嫁娶，互持不語，病不服藥，死則裸葬。等。以香為信。晝寢夜興。陰相交結，稱為善友。
(*TH* 1627)

Segalen also uses details from a long annotation explaining some

of the tenets of Manicheism mentioned in the classical text, from which we offer the following excerpt in Father Wieger's mocking tone.

After death, the souls of the Manicheans, passing by the planets and the sun (Mazdaism), are finally reabsorbed into the good principle from which they emerged. The souls of the non-Manicheans pass into vegetables and animals (metempsychosis). Principle consequence of this system: Since matter, dross, flesh are bad, marriage is bad, for it incorporates souls; by contrast, sterile lust, of whatever sort, is something irreproachable. . . . You'd think that the second principle will be: To free souls by killing the body is a good work. Hardly! The consequence is logical, all the same; but the inventors of religions, subjects who are usually neurotic, a bit cracked, or even mad, care little about logic. To kill a plant, an animal, a man, would be a sin. To make use of it afterward, would not be a sin. Before eating his bread, the Manichean curses the Author of matter, the worker, the harvester, the baker, then eats with complete peace of mind. . . . Since the Manicheans condemn marriage as a cooperation with the Principle of evil, and practice coitus only as a bestial act whose procreative intention must be excluded, they enforce the prescription of absolute silence during this act in order that no word, expressing a mutual consent, a reproductive will, might make a bad deed of it by accident. *Sit venia verbis!* . . . As for the last two precepts, medicines are bad because they hinder destruction, a natural phenomenon; the dead are buried entirely nude so that the natural agents may act directly on the corpse.

Après la mort, les âmes des Manichéens, passant par les planètes et le soleil (mazdéisme), sont finalement réabsorbées par le principe bon, d'où elles étaient sorties. Les âmes des non-Manichéens, passent dans les végétaux et les animaux (métempsychose). Conséquence principale de ce système: La matière, la gangue, la chair étant mauvaise, le mariage est mauvais, car il incorpore les âmes; par contre la luxure stérile, quelle qu'elle soit, est chose irréprochable. . . . Vous pensez

que le deuxième principe va être: Délivrer les âmes, en tuant les corps, est une bonne œuvre. Du tout! La conséquence est logique, pourtant; mais les inventeurs de religions, sujets généralement névrosés toqués ou même fous, n'ont cure d'être logiques. Tuer une plante, un animal, un homme, était un péché. En user ensuite, n'était pas péché. Avant de manger son pain, le Manichéen maudissait l'Auteur de la matière, le laboureur, le meunier, le boulanger, puis dégustait en toute sécurité. . . . Les Manichéens condamnant le mariage comme une coopération avec le Principe du mal, et ne pratiquant le coït que comme un acte bestial dont l'intention d'engendrer devait être exclue, ils renforcèrent la prescription du silence absolu durant cet acte, afin qu'aucune parole exprimant un consentement mutuel, une volonté générative, n'en fit, par accident, un acte mauvais. *Sit venia verbis!* . . . Quant aux deux derniers préceptes, les médicaments sont mauvais, parce qu'ils entravent la destruction, phénomène naturel; les morts sont enterrés nus, afin que les agents naturels aient prise directe sur le cadavre. (TH 1741–1742n)

So8 “Pious Vision” (VISION PIEUSE) (1914 ed.) 視若天神

The scenario of this stèle reads suspiciously like an adaptation from an actual account, which would be consistent with Segalen's method, but we have been unable to find the source.

So9 “To the Ten Thousand Years” (AUX DIX MILLE ANNÉES) 萬歲萬萬歲

A draft of this stèle and the closely related S10 appear in Segalen's unpublished collection of travel writings *Bricks and Tiles* [*Briques et tuiles*]. The following excerpt is from a journal entry of 3 September 1909, written in the Hongdong prefecture of Shanxi province, which is headed “To the Years. To Time the Destroyer” [*Aux années. Au temps dévorateur*]:

You who return from the strange Western lands, a merchant whom your voyage ennobles to the point that you can speak to me face to face—do you dare pretend, truly?—that in

the Kingdom of Fa [a calque for *Fa-guo* 法國, i.e., France] and in the little countries that border it they disdain light, fragrant, and smooth Wood and that they build with stone in order to build for eternity?

Toi qui reviens des étranges contrées occidentales, marchand que ton voyage ennoblit jusqu'à me parler face à face, —qu'ose-tu prétendre, en vérité?—que, dans le royaume de Fa et dans les petits pays qui le bordent, on méprise le Bois léger, odorant et suave, et qu'on bâtit avec la pierre afin de bâtir éternel? (*OC* 1:871)

An entry of 4 December 1909 in Segalen's *Bricks and Tiles* entitled "Essay of Orchestration on Chinese architecture" [*Essai d'orchestrique sur l'architecture chinoise*] places the theme of ten thousand years in a broader thematic context:

Examine in detail the monumental in China, the two qualities it challenges and on account of which people persist in neglecting it: Stability, Duration (cf. *Prose for the Son of Heaven: To the Ten Thousand Years*, and notes on the *Mysterious in the Arts* which exceed their domain). Take up again the critical work on monumental art, substituting for weighty and geometric definitions an entire procession of rhythms, undulations, dynamism and impermanence. . . . A fleeting illustration of *pānta rhei*[everything flows], but would one find ideas such as this in literature, which, on the contrary, is so stable, and in architecture, which is fixed? Undoubtedly, no. Beautiful discord, irreparable, cantilevered [askew].

Dépouiller enfin la monumentaire en Chine des deux qualités qu'elle récusé et dont on s'obstine à l'accabler d'absence: la Stabilité, la Durée (cf. *Prose pour le Fils du Ciel: Aux dix mille années*, et notes sur le *Mystérieux des Arts* qui excèdent leur domaine). Reprendre les critiques d'art monumentaire, en substituant aux définitions pesantes et géométriques tout un cortège de rythmes, d'ondulations, de dynamique et d'impénérité. . . . L'illustration temporaire du *pānta rhei*

mais trouverait-on, dans la littérature si stable, au contraire, et dans l'architecture, celle-là fixée, des idées, une seule en accord avec ceci? Non, sans doute. Beau discord, irrémédiable, porte-à-faux. (OC 1:900–901)

See also OC 1:857–860, OC 2:745–891, and OC 2:909–1001.

S10 “Marching Order” (ORDRE DE MARCHE)
萬里萬萬里

In lieu of the well-known early drafts in Segalen's journals, which are too long to include here, we cite the following letter from Segalen to his wife, Yvonne, of 25 July 1909:

Here the monument is unenduring, is slight. . . . But it does appeal to another power: the Chinese Monument is *mobile* and its hordes of pavilions, its cavalries of fiery roofs, its columns, its flares, everything is ready for departure, always, everything is nomadic: Let us therefore render unto it its departure, its flight, its exodus, and its eternal procession.

Ici le monument est indurable et léger. . . . Mais il se réclame d'une autre puissance: le Monument chinois est *mobile*, et ses hordes de pavillons, ses cavaleries de toits fougueux, ses poteaux, ses flammes, tout est prêt au départ, toujours, tout est nomade: Rendons-lui donc son en-allée, sa fuite, son exode, et sa procession éternelle. (Segalen, *Lettres de Chine*, 108)

See also OC 1:855 and OC 2:413–414.

S11 “Nominations” (NOMINATIONS) 封官

Segalen's central concept for this stèle and a number of the details seem to have been primarily inspired by the following passages in Edouard Chavannes's monograph on Mount Tai, *Le T'ai chan* (1910). The extended excerpts here show that even the epigraph may have been suggested by this source. (This story also appears in Pétilon's *Allusions littéraires* and in Chavannes's edition of the *Records of the Grand Historian (Mémoires historiques)* 史

記 by Sima Qian 司馬遷, 2:140, which could equally have been the source. See also Chavannes's translation in the same work of Sima Qian's treatise "Les sacrifices Fong et Chan," 3:413–519.)

But the mountain is not only the place where the celestial gods and immortals appear; it is itself a divinity. For *Tai shan*, we have proof of it in the official honors which have been bestowed upon it; ever since the *Zhou* dynasty, if one believes *Sima Qian*, the gods of the five peaks were treated on the same footing with the three highest functionaries of the court, those called the three dukes. In the year 725, the Emperor *Xuanzong* of the *Tang* dynasty raised the rank of the god of *Tai shan* one level in conferring upon him the title of King equal to Heaven *tian qi wang* (天齊王). . . .

. . . [W]e read in *Si-ma Qian* that, in 219 after Christ, the famous *Qin Shi-huang-di* whose tough rule had built imperial China out of the ruins of the feudal system, climbed *Tai shan*; "arriving at the summit, he carved an inscription on stone in which he celebrated his own virtue and published that he had been able to complete the sacrifice *feng* [封]"; on his descent, he was surprised by a violent storm and sought refuge under a tree; in recognition, he conferred on this tree the title of grand officer of the fifth class (*wu da fu*). — This could not be a lie; *Qin Shi-huang-di* actually climbed *Tai shan* and the anecdote about the tree promoted to the rank of grand officer is undoubtedly authentic. . . .

. . . The *feng* ceremony is performed in two places: it consisted first of a sacrifice on an altar which was 4 *li* to the south of the foot of the mountain's base; this was the altar called "the altar of the *feng* sacrifice" 封祀壇. . . . Elsewhere, the *feng* ceremony was also celebrated on an altar on the summit of the mountain, which was named "the altar of the *feng* sacrifice that one climbs to perform."

. . . Moreover this rite must be in fact quite ancient since even the character for investiture is a symbol of it. The word [*feng*] 封, as the *Shuo wen* dictionary explains, is composed from the combination of three elementary images, which are, first, the earth 土 topped with, second, a sprout of grass

that has become, in the modern form of the character, just like the sign for the earth; third, the measure called “inch” 寸. This last element gives the idea of measure in a general sense and expresses the fact that the fiefs granted by the Son of Heaven had dimensions determined by the dignity of the feudatory; the sign of the earth gives the sense that the investiture is made by means of a plot of earth; finally the sign of vegetation carries the idea that the new lord receives as gift not only the land, but also its products. This Chinese character thus expresses perfectly how investiture is made; it would express just as well investiture as it was practiced in our Middle Ages “per herbam et terram,” or “per ramum et cespitem,” for here we discover a marvelous accord between the rites of the Extreme Orient and those of the Occident.

Mais la montagne n'est pas seulement l'endroit où apparaissent dieux célestes et les immortels; elle est elle-même une divinité. Pour le *T'ai chan*, nous en avons la preuve dans les honneurs officiels qui lui ont été rendu; dès l'époque de la dynastie *Tcheou*, s'il faut en croire *Sseu-ma Ts'ien*, les dieux des cinq pics étaient traités sur le même pied que les trois plus hauts fonctionnaires de la cour, ceux qu'on appelait les trois ducs. En l'année 725, l'empereur *Huan-tsong* de la dynastie *T'ang* augmenta d'un degré le rang du dieu du *T'ai chan* en lui conférant le titre de Roi égal au Ciel *t'ien ts'i wang* (天齊王). . . .(6)

. . . [N]ous lisons dans *Sseu-ma Ts'ien* que, en 219 av. J.-C., le fameux *Ts'in Che-houang-ti* dont la rude poigne avait édifié la Chine impériale sur les ruines de la féodalité, gravit le *T'ai chan*; “parvenu au sommet, il dressa une inscription sur pierre où il célébrait sa propre vertu et publiait qu'il avait pu accomplir le sacrifice *fong*”; à la descente, il fut surpris par un violent orage et chercha un refuge sous un arbre; par reconnaissance, il conféra à cet arbre le titre de grand officier du cinquième degré (*wou ta fou*).—Ce ne saurait être mensonger; *Ts'in Che-houang-ti* est effectivement monté sur le *T'ai chan* et l'anecdote de l'arbre promu au rang de grand officier est sans doute authentique. (18)

. . . Le cérémonie *fong* se faisait en deux endroits: elle comportait d'abord un sacrifice sur un autel qui était au pied et à 4 *li* au sud de la montagne; cet autel était celui qu'on appelait "l'autel du sacrifice *fong*" 封祀壇. . . D'autre part, la cérémonie *fong* se célébrait aussi sur un autel qui était au sommet de la montagne et qui se nommait "l'autel du sacrifice *fong* qu'on fait quand on est monté" 登封壇. (20)

. . . Aussi bien ce rite doit-il être en effet fort ancien puisque le caractère même qui désigne l'investiture en est le symbole. Le mot 封, comme l'explique le dictionnaire *Chouo wen*, est composé par l'association de trois images élémentaires qui sont 1e la terre 土 surmontée de 2e la pousse d'herbe devenue elle-même, dans la forme moderne du caractère, semblable au signe de la terre, 3e la mesure appelée "pouce" 寸. Ce dernier élément donne l'idée de mesure d'une manière générale et exprime le fait que les fiefs concédés par le Fils du Ciel avaient des dimensions déterminées d'après la dignité du feudataire; le signe de la terre donne à entendre que l'investiture se faisait par le moyen d'une motte de terre; enfin le signe de la végétation comporte l'idée que le nouveau seigneur recevait en don non-seulement le sol, mais aussi ses productions. Ce caractère Chinois exprime donc parfaitement comment se faisait l'investiture; il exprimerait aussi bien l'investiture telle qu'elle se pratiquait dans notre Moyen-âge "per herbam et terram", ou "per ramum et cespitem", car ici nous découvrons un merveilleux accord entre les rites de l'Extrême-Orient et ceux de l'Occident. (459).

Pétillon also mentions the famous story in his *Allusions littéraires*, as follows:

大夫 *Da fu*. The pine, decorated with this epithet of *toparch* by the emperor *Shi Huang-di* in recognition of the shelter that this conifer had offered him during a storm. (歐陽詢藝文類聚). Var. 五大夫, the fifth toparch. Other names: 蒼松, 虬松 green pine twisted like the dragon (*qiu*).—大葉粗枝, All sorts of flowers.—大廈之材. Material for a great

house: man of remarkable talents, which make him suited to the highest positions. (江淹詩)

大夫 *Ta fou*. Le pin, décoré de cette épithète de *toparque* par l'empereur *Che-hoang-ti*, en reconnaissance de l'abri que ce conifère lui avait offert pendant un orage. (歐陽詢藝文類聚). Var. 五大夫, le cinquième *toparque*. Autres noms: 蒼松, 虬松 pin vert tordu comme le dragon (*k'ieou*).—大葉粗枝, Toutes sortes de fleurs.—大廈之材. Matériaux pour une grande maison: homme de talents remarquables, qui le rendent apte aux plus hautes positions. (江淹詩). (*AL*, class. 37, p. 85)

Segalen could also have seen this famous story described in the following passage and footnote from Chavannes's edition of the *Records of the Grand Historian* (*Mémoires historiques*) 史記 by Sima Qian 司馬遷:

When he descended, a storm of wind and rain arose; he took shelter beneath a tree and that is why he conferred upon this tree the title of *wu-da-fu*. He made an inscription on the stone he had raised up. [Note: When one climbs *Tai-shan*, the stepped path dug for the ascent passes beneath a triumphal arc on which one reads the inscription 五大夫松; there stood the pine 松 to which *Qin Shi-huang-di* conferred the title *wu-da-fu* to reward it for having provided him with shelter against the storm.]

Quand il descendit, un orage de vent et de pluie survint; il s'abrita sous un arbre et c'est pourquoi il conféra à cet arbre le titre de *ou-ta-fou*. Il fit une inscription sur la pierre qu'il avait dressée. [n.4 Quand on monte au *T'ai-chan*, le chemin en escalier qu'on gravit pour faire l'ascension passe sous un arc de triomphe sur lequel on lit l'inscription 五大夫松; c'est là que s'élevait le pin 松 auquel *Ts'in Che-hoang-ti* conféra le titre *ou-ta-fou* pour le récompenser de lui avoir fourni un abri contre l'orage. (Chavannes, *Mémoires historiques*, 2:140)

For the trope of the well as chief astrologer, Segalen seems to have been thinking partly of the following allusion in Pétillon's *Allusions littéraires*:

坐井觀天 *Zuo jing guan tian*. Sitting at the bottom of a well to observe the heaven: to see only a point, to have only a limited knowledge. (韓文). To examine with a tube and measure (the sea) with an oyster shell 管窺洛蠡測 (*guan kui luo ce*): mean spirit, narrow mind, limited wisdom. 載盆望天, putting a washbasin on your head to view the heaven: willing or enforced blindness.

坐井觀天 *Tsouo tsing koan t'ien*. Assis au fond d'un puits observer le ciel: ne voir qu'un point, n'avoir qu'une connaissance limitée. (韓文). Examiner par un tube et mesurer (la mer) avec une coquille d'huître 管窺洛蠡測 (*koan k'oei lou tch'e*): petit esprit, vue étroite, sagesse bornée. 載盆望天, coiffé d'une cuvette regarder le ciel: aveuglement volontaire ou contraint. (*AL*, class 7, p. 9)

For the poetic associations of the *laurel*, Segalen may have been inspired by the following entry in Pétillon's *Allusions littéraires*.

梗楠勝大任 *Pian nan sheng da ren*. Laurel, *pian*, and cedar, *nan*, triumph over great weight: a superficial effort procures only little merit, whereas a labor that lasts a long time, in imitation of these slowly growing trees, renders much glory. (淮南子)

梗楠勝大任 *P'ien nan cheng ta jen*. Laurier, *p'ien*, et cèdre, *nan*, triomphent d'un grand poids: une application superficielle ne procure que peu de mérite, tandis qu'un travail qui dure longtemps, imitant ces arbres lents à pousser, donne beaucoup de gloire. (淮南子). (*AL*, class. 75, p. 220)

S12 “Departure” (DÉPART) 王西征於青鳥之所憩

Segalen drew the epigraph from the following passage in Wiegner's *Textes historiques* about the Zhou monarch known as King Mù

(*Mu Wang* 穆王, 10th c. BCE) and his legendary meeting with the Western King Mǔ (*Xi Wang Mu* 西王母). (Note the difference between Mù 穆 and Mǔ 母, as well as the different diacritical marks for tones in the English and French romanizations.)

In 989 [950], the emperor [Mù 穆] made an expedition into the west, as far as the country where the azure birds rest. In 985 [946], having beaten the *Róng* of the *Hàn* basin and revenged the death of his father, he visited Mǔ [母], king of the West, and was received by him in his palace of *Zhāo*. At a celebration given in his honor in the Jade Basin, after the emperor had raised a toast to the king of the West, the latter sang this verse: “The white clouds rise from the mountains and climb toward the heaven; your road will be long, broken by hills and rivers; before your death, will you be able to return?” . . . The emperor replied with another verse: “I return toward the Orient, to bring peace again to China; when her peoples are pacified, I will attempt to return to see you; this will be in three years, I hope!” With this, the emperor made his way back.

En 989, l'empereur fit une expédition dans l'Ouest, jusqu'au pays où les oiseaux bleus se reposent. En 985, ayant battu les *Joúng* du bassin de la *Hán* et vengé la mort de son père, il visita Mǔ roi de l'Ouest, et fut reçu par lui en son palais de *Tchāo*. Dans une fête qu'on donna en son honneur au Bassin du Jade, l'empereur ayant porté la santé du roi de l'Ouest, celui-ci chanta cette strophe: “Les nuées blanches s'élèvent des montagnes et montent vers le ciel; votre route sera longue, coupée par des monts et des fleuves; avant votre mort, pourrez-vous revenir?” . . . L'empereur répondit par cette autre strophe: “Je retourne vers l'Orient, pour remettre la paix dans la Chine; quand ses peuples seront pacifiés, je tâcherai de revenir vous voir; ce sera dans trois ans, je l'espère!” . . . Sur ce, l'empereur s'en revint.

十有三年，王西征於青鳥之所憩。十有七年，王西征，征徐戎，見西王母，賓於昭宮。天子觴西王母於瑤池之上，西王母為天子瑤曰。白雲在天，山陵自出，道里

悠遠，山川間之，請子無死，尚能復來。天子答曰。子歸東土，和治諸夏，萬民平均，吾顧見汝，比及三年，將復而野。(TH 121–122)

The classical story of Mù Wang 穆王 and his out-of-body experience appears in chapter 3 of the *Book of Liezi* 列子. Although Segalen drew his epigraph from the passage quoted above, he was less interested in the formal meeting between Mù Wang (穆王) and Xi Wang Mǔ (西王母) than in the magical stories that were later attached to the two monarchs, as described by Wiegner in one of his interpolated commentaries, as follows:

It was by a play on words (母 *mǔ* mother) that the fantasists later made King *Mǔ* of the West into the Queen Mother of the West, a fairy, a Calypso who would have held the emperor *Mù* in her palace in the *Kūn-lun* mountains, and would have made him forget his empire with her enchantments [*ou ge wang gui*] 謳歌忘歸. The Daoist story-teller 列子 *Liezi* preserved the story in a fantastic page. According to him, a magician from the West, having taken control of the spirit of the emperor, immediately sent him on flights of the soul, in the possibility of which the Daoists firmly believe. The emperor afterward wanted to go see in reality the splendid things that he had seen in his dreams. He harnessed his eight horses [*ba jun*] 八駿 and departed.

C'est par un jeu de mots (母 *mòu* mère [. . .]), que les fantasistes firent plus tard de *Mòu* roi de l'Ouest, la Reine Mère de l'Ouest, une fée, une Calypso qui aurait retenu l'empereur *Móu* dans ses palais des monts *K'oūnn-lunn*, et lui aurait, par ses enchantements, fait oublier son empire 謳歌忘歸. Le romancier taoïste 列子 a fixé la légende dans une page fantastique. D'après lui, un magicien venu de l'Ouest, s'étant rendu maître de l'esprit de l'empereur, lui procura d'abord ces exodes de l'âme, à la possibilité desquels les taoïstes croient fermement. L'empereur voulut ensuite aller voir dans la réalité, les belles choses qu'il avait vues dans ses songes. Il fit atteler ses huit chevaux 八駿, et partit. (TH 122)

Segalen explicitly brings together the figures of Mù Wang and Ulysses in the following excerpt from his unfinished manuscript draft for “The Quest for the Unicorn” [*La Queste à la Licorne de Messire Béroald de Loudun*] (discussed below):

I believe that the passion, madness, enthusiasm and faith were not less with my mad lover of the Unicorn, on a lost quest toward a dream country, or indeed with Ulysses, nostalgic for his home. Both exhibit therein the same passion and feelings that will remain invincibly the same as long as the heart and mind remain human. But Ulysses reached his goal and one might believe that he had nothing to be displeased about. It is doubtful that my Voyager was ever in possession of his; the ambiguous text does not allow us to decide.

[J]e crois que la passion, la folie, l'enthousiasme et la foi n'étaient pas moindres chez mon amant insensé de la Licorne, en quête éperdue vers une patrie de rêves, ou bien chez Ulysse, nostalgique de son foyer. Tous deux y déplo- yèrent une même passion et des sentiments qui resteront invinciblement mêmes tant que le cœur et l'esprit resteront humains. Mais Ulysse atteignit son but, et l'on peut croire qu'il n'eut point à s'en déplaire. On doutera si mon Voyageur fut jamais en possession du sien; le texte ambigu ne permet pas d'en décider. (*OC* 2:1006)

The relationship between the epigraph and Segalen's drafted note in this case is vexed enough to require further comment. As Gloria Bien has also observed in her unpublished dissertation, Shu Ling has a supplementary translation of the epigraph, which decides the question in favor of Wieger over Segalen's drafted note in their disagreement over the meaning of the Chinese: “the emperor pushed his conquest as far as the country where the blue birds live” [*l'empereur poussa sa conquête jusqu'au pays où vivent les oiseaux bleus*]. Albert Tschepe, however, whose study Segalen cited in the manuscript for S29, gives a paraphrase that may have influenced Segalen: “Mu-wang made his way to the countries of the west; he liked it so much that he did not consider return-

ing from there” [*Mou-wang se rendit dans les pays de l’ouest; il s’y trouva si bien qu’il ne songeait pas à en revenir*] (12). Readers of Chinese will see that the question revolves around whether one sees *suo* 所 as an auxiliary verb that attaches *qi* 憩 (repose) to the subordinate clause (as Wieger and Shu translate it), or whether one sees *suo* 所 as the main verb of the subordinate clause meaning “habitation,” which would leave *qi* 憩 (repose) without a subject except for that of the main clause (as Segalen translates it). Indeed, if *qi* 憩 (repose) were to be unambiguously related to the emperor and not to the birds, the sentence would probably include a conjunction, such as: 王西征於青鳥之所[而]憩, “The emperor conquered westwardly to where the azure birds live, [and only then did he] rest.” All the same, it should be noted that in the interstitial lexical notes on these characters in the manuscript, Segalen writes, “所 *suǒ* there he 憩 *Qì* rested” [所 *chòu* *s’y* 憩 *K’i* *reposa*], which suggest that this is how he always understood it (i.e., the emperor rests), contrary to Wieger’s translation. Doumet is slightly misled by the translations that he uses, but his insightful remarks on this epigraph in his introduction merit attention (29).

The two possible readings of the epigraph constitute precisely the comparison that Segalen makes between Mu Wang and Ulysses in the unfinished draft for “The Quest for the Unicorn” (quoted above), which was meant to be a mock-journal of Mu Wang’s fascination with, and search for, the exotic western unicorn—an inversion of occidental exoticism in the form of one of the popular apocryphal supplements to Mu Wang’s otherwise prosaic life, which Wieger describes in the histories. In this comparison, Odysseus, the great wanderer, finds his goal, Segalen tells us; but in the case of Mu Wang, we will never know. Curiously, Segalen’s translation of the epigraph (in comparison with Wieger’s) would seem to be giving us the answer that we *least* expect from him; but we must always be on guard for the subtlest little grin of understated irony in Segalen. (Indeed, a tone of absolute matter-of-factness is frequently the very clue to Segalen’s deadpan irony.) Since the world of the stèle is *doubly* imaginary—both creating its own imaginary world, as each stèle does, and also departing from the Daoist fantasies that have been interpolated into the gaps of the official histories—we must

also be prepared to consider that the azure birds can be reached, and that Mu Wang will find his soul, only in the fable, only in the story within the history, precisely because these things will never have happened anyway. By recreating the terms of these Daoist fantasies—in which, for example, Xi Wang Mu 西王母 is transformed from a western king into a magical queen of changeable desires whom Wieger compares to Calypso—the stèle seems to acknowledge that the rewriting of Chinese history at the core of *Stèles / 古今碑錄* is only an imitation of what other Chinese texts are already doing. By contrast, in the histories, Mu Wang (whom Wieger calls an “empereur touriste”) does not rest here, at least not for long, but rather wages another military expedition in the northwest and then, over a hundred years old, returns to the capital to set up a new set of penal codes. In any case, the emphasis on fixing the exact point of departure suggests that what matters is the setting out in pursuit of the imagination, not the mundane outcome and petty sequels of such a journey.

S13 “Homage to Reason” (HOMMAGE À LA RAISON)

(1914 ed.) 其國無師長,其民無嗜

The source for the epigraph is the following well-known passage from chapter 2 of the *Book of Liezi* 列子, in which the legendary Yellow Emperor (c. 27th c. BCE) describes the utopia that he visits in a dream and the lesson about ruling that he learns from it. Although he left no citation, Segalen might have read this text in Wieger’s bilingual facing-page edition, *Pères du système taoïste* (1913), which is excerpted here.

The Yellow Emperor reigned for fifteen years, enjoying his popularity, concerning himself with his health only for the pleasure of the senses to the point of becoming haggard and gaunt. When he had reigned for thirty years, making continual intellectual and physical efforts to organize the empire and better the lot of the people, he found himself even more thin and fatigued. So he said to himself with a sigh: I must have overdone it. If am not capable of doing well for myself, how will I be able to do well for all beings? . . . With this, the Yellow Emperor abandoned the cares of government,

left the palace, rid himself of his entourage, deprived himself of all music, limited himself to a sparse fare, confined himself to a removed apartment where for three months he devoted himself solely to the ruling of his thoughts and the curbing of his body. During this seclusion, one day, during his siesta, he dreamed that he was strolling in the country of *Hua-xu-shi*.—**In this country, there is no leader; all runs spontaneously. The people have neither desires nor covetousness,** but only their natural instinct. None loves life, nor fears death; each lives to his end. No friendship and no hate. No gains and no losses. No interest and no worry. Water does not drown them, and fire does not burn them. No weapon can wound them, and no hand can harm them. They mount upon the air as if they were climbing steps, and they lie down in empty space as if upon a bed. Clouds and mists do not obstruct their view, the noise of thunder does not affect their hearing, no beauty nor ugliness moves their heart, no height nor depth impedes their way. The flight of the soul takes them everywhere.—Upon waking, a peaceful light of understanding was cast in the emperor's spirit. He called his principal ministers *Tian-lao*, *Li-mu*, and *Tai-shan-ji* and said to them: During a retreat of three months, I have ruled my spirit and subdued my body, thinking how I would have to conduct myself in order to govern without tiring myself. In the waking state, I did not find the solution; it came to me while I slept. I know now that the supreme Principle is not accomplished by positive efforts (but by abstraction and inaction). A light of understanding has been cast in my spirit, but I cannot explain the matter to you any further.—After this dream, the Yellow Emperor reigned for another twenty-eight years (applying the method of letting all things be). Consequently the empire became very prosperous, nearly as much as the country of *Hua-xu-shi*. Then the emperor mounted toward the heights, where, two centuries later the people (who missed him) still called upon him.

Hoang-ti régnait depuis quinze ans, jouissant de sa popularité, se préoccupant de sa santé, accordant du plaisir à ses

sens, au point d'en être hâve et hagard. Quand il eut régné durant trente années, faisant des efforts intellectuels et physiques continuels pour organiser l'empire et améliorer le sort du peuple, il se trouva encore plus maigre et plus fatigué. Alors il se dit en soupirant: je dois avoir excédé. Si je ne suis pas capable de me faire du bien à moi-même, comment serai-je capable d'en faire à tous les êtres? . . . Sur ce, *Hoang-ti* abandonna les soucis du gouvernement, quitta le palais, se défit de son entourage, se priva de toute musique, se réduisit à un ordinaire frugal, se confina dans un appartement écarté, où il s'appliqua durant trois mois uniquement à régler ses pensées et à brider son corps. Durant cette réclusion, un jour, pendant sa sieste, il rêva qu'il se promenait dans le pays de *Hoa-su-cheu*.—**Dans ce pays, il n'y a aucun chef;** tout y marche spontanément. **Le peuple n'a ni désirs ni convoitises,** mais son instinct naturel seulement. Personne n'y aime la vie, n'y redoute la mort; chacun vit jusqu'à son terme. Pas d'amitiés et pas de haines. Pas de gains et pas de pertes. Pas d'intérêts et pas de craintes. L'eau ne les noie pas, le feu ne les brûle pas. Aucune arme ne peut les blesser, aucune main ne peut les léser. Ils s'élèvent dans l'air comme s'ils montaient des marches, et s'étendent dans le vide comme sur un lit. Nuages et brouillards n'interceptent pas leur vue, le bruit du tonnerre n'affecte pas leur ouïe, aucune beauté aucune laideur n'émeut leur cœur, aucune hauteur aucune profondeur ne gêne leur course. Le vol de l'âme les porte partout.—A son réveil, une paisible lumière fit dans l'esprit de l'empereur. Il appela ses principaux ministres, *Tien-lao*, *Li-mou*, *T'ai-chan-ki*, et leur dit: Durant trois mois de retraite, j'ai réglé mon esprit et dompté mon corps, pensant comment il faudrait m'y prendre pour gouverner sans me fatiguer. Dans l'état de veille, je n'ai pas trouvé la solution; elle m'est venue, pendant que je dormais. Je sais maintenant que le Principe suprême ne s'atteint pas par des efforts positifs, (mais par abstraction et inaction). La lumière est faite dans mon esprit, mais je ne puis pas vous expliquer la chose davantage.—Après ce songe, *Hoang-ti* régna encore durant vingt-huit ans, (appliquant la méthode de laisser aller toutes choses). Aussi l'empire devint-il très prospère, presque au-

tant que le pays de *Hoa-su-cheu*. Puis l'empereur monta vers les hauteurs, d'où, deux siècles plus tard, le peuple (qui le regrettait) le rappelait encore.

黃帝即位十有五年，喜天下載已，養正命，娛耳目，供鼻口，焦然肌色肝黝，昏然五情爽感。又十有五年，憂天下之不治，竭聰明，進智力，營百姓，焦然肌色肝黝，昏然五情爽感。黃帝乃喟然讚曰，朕之過淫，養一已其患如此，治萬物其患如此。於是放萬機，舍宮寢，去直侍，徹鐘懸，減廚膳，退而閒居大庭之館，齋心服形，三月不親政事，晝寢而夢遊於華胥氏之國。華胥氏之國，在州之西，台州之北，不知斯齊國幾千萬里。蓋非舟車足力之所及，神游而已。其國無師長，自然而已。其民無嗜慾，自然而已。不知樂生，不知惡死，故無天殤。不知親己，不知踈物，故無愛憎。不知背逆，不知向順，故無利害。都無所愛惜，都無所畏忌。入水不溺，入火不熱。斫撻無傷痛，指撻無癢。乘空如履實，寢虛若處床。雲霧不礙其視，雷霆不亂其聽，美惡不滑其心。山谷不躡其步，神行而已。黃帝既寤，怡然自得，召天老，力牧，太山稽，告之曰，朕閒居三月，齋心服形，思有以養身治物之道，弗獲其術疲而睡所夢若此。今知至道不可以情求矣，朕知之矣，朕得之矣，而不能以告若矣。又二十有八年，天下大治，幾若華胥氏之國，而帝登假，百姓號之二百餘年不輟。(83-84)

SI4 “Funeral Edict” (ÉDIT FUNÉRAIRE) 詒卜皇陵

The following long journal entry from early August 1909 in Segalen's *Bricks and Tiles* entitled “The Thirteen Tombs” [*Les treize tombeaux*] is often cited as the departure point not only for this stèle in particular, but also for a whole series of texts with the emperor as the central character or speaker. (The precise source for this stèle, however, is given further below.) Segalen himself makes a marginal note on the manuscript of this well-known passage, as follows: “From this paragraph were born: a book, *The Son of Heaven*; a short story, *The Seat of the Soul*; a stèle, ‘Funeral Edict’” [*Sont nés de cet alinéa: un livre, Le Fils du Ciel; une nouvelle, Le Siège de l'âme; une stèle, Edit funéraire*]

(OC 1:862n). We excerpt the following brief passage from *Bricks and Tiles*:

I am Emperor. I choose my sepulture. Yes, the Mountain is charming to my eyes; the field its immense sweep embraces is peaceful. . . . Here: this recess without a sepulcher will be mine; may a first gate of red cob—an extended wall—bar the way, and enclose my park. . . . I will need some living beings around me. I will tolerate this little village in order to see the smoke men ignite towards evening, and to pass, sometimes, on the peaceful air, toward evening. Here and there thujas and oaks and pines. The valley is closed off, yes, well closed off. There are neither flaws nor fissures. Solitary, the triumphal arch defends the only way in. . . . I have no desire to return; no regrets, no haste, no breath. I hear nothing; I see nothing. I think in a void. A fine residence. The tomb is very livable. It is good thus. I am dead, and I take pleasure in it.

Je suis Empereur. Je choisis ma sépulture. Oui, la Montagne est douce aux yeux; le champ qu’embrasse son geste immense est paisible. . . . Voici: ce recoin sans sépulcre sera le mien; qu’une première porte de torchis rouge—mur étendu—barre la route, et enclose mon parc. . . . Il me faudra quelques vivants autour de moi. Je tolérerai ce petit village, afin de voir la fumée qu’allument les hommes vers le soir, et de passer parfois sur l’aire paisible, vers le soir. Ça et là, des thuyas, et des chênes et des pins. La vallée est enclose, oui, bien enclose. Il n’y a pas de failles ni de fentes. Seul, l’arc de triomphe en défend l’unique accès. . . . Je suis sans désir du retour; sans regret, sans hâte et sans haleine, je n’entends rien; je ne vois rien. Je pense dans un vide. La demeure est bonne. Le tombeau est fort habitable. C’est bien ainsi. Je suis mort, et m’y complais. (OC 1:862–863)

Previous commentators have also noted that Segalen reprises the same lengthy description of the approach to the Ming tombs in a letter to his wife, Yvonne, of 31 July 1909 (Segalen, *Lettres de Chine*, 117). It is worth noting further that Segalen transcribes the

entire passage just quoted in another letter to Yvonne two days later (2 August 1909), with the following additional comment:

I wrote to you thus to mark for you the exact point, circled in red, from whence has just been born, yesterday evening, the immense and unique Character of my entire first book on China: *The Emperor*. Everything will be thought by him, for him, through him. Lofty, aristocratic, legendary, ancestral and refined Imperial Exoticism. Because everything in China becomes his. He is everywhere; he knows all and can do all. His capital? A garden for his eyes. His province? A little park. Faraway countries? Distant vassals. And the peoples of the West? His respectful tributaries. I've got my Character. This came after a series of prose pieces that stubbornly haunted the Son of Heaven in various forms. This is born from the work itself.

Je t'ai écrit cela tel quel, pour te marquer le point juste, entouré de rouge, où vient de naître, hier soir, l'immense et unique Personnage de tout mon premier livre, sur la Chine: *l'Empereur*. Tout sera pensé par lui, pour lui, à travers lui. Exotisme Impérial, hautain, aristocratique, légendaire, ancestral et raffiné. Car tout, en Chine, redevient sa chose. Il est partout, il sait tout et peut tout. Sa capitale? jardin pour ses yeux. Sa province? petit parc. Les pays éloignées? vassaux lointains; et les peuples d'occident? ses tributaires respectueux. Je tiens ma Personnage. Ceci est venu à la suite d'une série de proses, que hantait obstinément le Fils du Ciel, sous ses formes diverses. Cela est né de l'œuvre même. (Segalen, *Lettres de Chine*, 122–123)

It has not been generally recognized, however, that on the first manuscript draft, Segalen cites the origin of this stèle as the following journal entry on the day of his visit to the thirteen Ming tombs (30 July 1909), in which he writes a few lines as a dead emperor below a heading in Chinese transcription alone.

SHI-SAN-LING [十三陵 “The Thirteen Tombs”]

And now, close the Door upon me. And so that it may not

reopen, pile bricks in front of it; cement the wall, wall up the path of life. . . .

It is good thus. I have no desire to return, no regret, no haste, and no breath. I hear nothing; I see nothing. I think in the void. This dwelling is good. My tomb is so liveable. It is good thus: I am dead, and I delight in it.

CHE-SAN-LING

Et maintenant, refermez la Porte, sur moi. Et pour qu'elle ne se rouvre pas, entassez les briques devant elle, cimentez le mur, murez le chemin de la vie. . . .

C'est bien ainsi. Je suis sans désir de retour, sans regret, sans hâte et sans haleine. Je n'entends rien; je ne vois rien. Je pense dans un vide. La demeure est bonne. Mon tombeau est fort habitable. C'est bien ainsi: je suis mort et m'y complais. (OC 1:860)

Segalen may have known about or later recognized the resonance here with Zhuangzhou's positive notion of death as the *zhi le* 至樂 (perfected happiness), in chapter 18 of the *Zhuangzi* 莊子.

S15 “Decree” (DÉCRET) 欽此

Segalen probably became familiar with this imperial formula from its use in Couvreur's well-annotated selection of texts, *Choix de documents: lettres officielles, proclamations, édits, mémoires, inscriptions* (1894), whose purpose was “to give a key to the official style, and to provide authentic, instructive, and curious information about China” [*Ce livre a été composé dans le but de donner la clef du style officiel, et de fournir sur la Chine des renseignements authentiques, instructifs et curieux*] (1). For the first appearance of the word, Couvreur offers the following footnote:

欽 Qīn. To respect, respectable; august, royal, imperial. 欽此 cǐ. We respect, or one must respect these words. This formula, at the end of an edict, is added by him who publishes or cites it.

欽 K'in. Respector, respectable; auguste, royal, impérial. 欽此 ts'èu. Nous respectons, ou l'on doit respecter ces paroles.

Cette formule, à la fin d'un édit, est ajoutée par celui qui le publie ou qui le cite. (Couvreur, *Choix de documents*, 8n)

“*Stèles Facing North*” [Stèles Face au Nord] 北面

No supplementary resources.

S16 “Imprint” (IMPRINT) 班瑞于羣后

The epigraph and central trope of the stèle are drawn from the following passages and footnotes on the ancient emperor Shun 舜 (r. 2245–2205 BCE) in Couvreur’s edition of the *Classic of History* 書經. (Segalen makes repeated references to Emperor Shun [Chouen] in *Peintures*, *Le fils du ciel*, and *Le combat pour le sol*, usually invoking him in the traditional way as a model ruler.) This edition is the first to include these sources, which were first identified by Gloria Bien in her unpublished dissertation.

He brought together the five kinds of jade tablets. The first month (of the year after his accession) having come to an end, he gave audience each day to the princes (or to the four inspectors of the princes) of the four regions of the empire and to the prefects of the provinces. **He distributed (or rendered) to all the princes their jade tablets.** (AC 16–17; 舜典, I.ii.7)

Il réunit les cinq espèces de tablettes de jade. Le premier mois (de l’année après son avènement) étant écoulé, il donna audience chaque jour aux princes (ou aux quatre inspecteurs des princes) des quatre régions de l’empire et aux préfets des provinces. **Il distribua (ou rendit) à tous les princes leur tablettes de jade.**

輯五瑞，既月乃日觀四岳羣牧，班瑞于羣后。

Segalen also consulted the following footnotes to the passage above:

The emperor in giving investiture to a prince would have presented to him a jade tablet 瑞 *ruì*, as a badge of princely office. He was careful to keep the form 璫 *máo*. [Here Couvreur makes a cross-reference to another footnote on page 356, which Segalen also used, and which we insert here: “璫 *Máo*, a sort of mold (carved in recess) after which the emperor had someone carve the upper face of the jade tablets which he distributed to the princes as signs of their official position. On the outside, it was square and was four 寸 *cūn* (eight cm) on each side.” The large tablet 介圭 *jiè guī* is one of the insignias of imperial office. (356n)]

They distinguished the five classes of prince ([*gong hou bo zi nan*] 公侯伯子男) and also the five kinds of jade tablets. A prince of the first class [*gong*] 公 received an oblong tablet on which was depicted two columns 桓圭 *huán guī*; a prince of the second class [*hou*] 侯, an oblong tablet on which is depicted a man holding his body straight 信圭 *xìn guī*; a prince of the third class [*bo*] 伯, an oblong tablet on which is depicted a man bent over 躬圭 *gōng guī*; a prince of the third class [*zi*] 子, a ring-shaped tablet on which is depicted millet 穀璧 *gǔ bì*; a prince of the fifth class [*nan*] 男, a ring-shaped tablet on which are depicted rushes. . . .

When the prince presents himself before the emperor, he holds the jade tablet in his hands.

At the end of the month, that is, according to the most common interpretation, at the end of the first month of the year after Shun had participated in the government of the empire, all of the princes, on his order, arrived at the imperial court, some before others depending on the distance that they had to travel to reach the capital of the empire, which was in the [*Ping yang fu*] 平陽府 (Shanxi province). Shun gave audience each day, taking all of the jade tablets and matching them with the forms 璫 *máo* kept in the palace, in order to assure their authenticity, then he returned them to the princes to confirm the investiture of their offices.

L'empereur en donnant l'investiture à un prince, lui remettait une tablette de jade 瑞 *chouéi*, insigne de la dignité

princière. Il avait soin d'en conserver la forme 璽 *maó*. [“璽 *Maó*, sorte de moule (taillé en creux) d'après lequel l'empereur faisait tailler la partie supérieure des tablettes de jade qu'il distribuait aux princes comme marques de leur dignité. A l'extérieur, il était carré, et avait quatre 寸 *ts'uénn* (huit centimètres) de chaque côté”. La grande tablette 介圭 *kiái kouéi* était l'un des insignes de la dignité. (356n)]

On distinguait cinq classes de princes (公侯伯子男), et aussi cinq espèces de tablettes de jade. Un prince du première rang 公 recevait une tablette oblongue sur laquelle était représentées deux colonnes 桓圭 *houàn kouéi*; un prince du deuxième rang 侯, une tablette oblongue sur laquelle était représenté un homme tenant le corps droit 信圭 *chēnn kouéi*; un prince du troisième rang 伯, une tablette oblongue sur laquelle était représenté un homme courbé 躬圭 *kōung kouéi*; un prince du quatrième rang 子, une tablette de forme annulaire sur laquelle était représenté du millet 穀璧 *kōu pǐ*; un prince du cinquième rang 男, une tablette de forme annulaire sur laquelle étaient représentés des joncs. . . .

Lorsqu'un prince se présentait devant l'empereur, il tenait dans les mains sa tablette de jade.

A la fin du mois, c'est-à-dire, selon l'opinion la plus reçue, à la fin du premier mois de l'année après que Chouenn eut été associé au gouvernement de l'empire, tous les princes, sur un ordre de sa part, arrivèrent à la cour impériale, les uns plus tôt, les autres plus tard, selon la distance plus ou moins grande qu'ils avaient à parcourir pour aller à la capitale de l'empire, qui était dans le 平陽府 (province de Chan si). Chouenn donnait audience chaque jour, prenait toutes les tablettes de jade, les confrontait avec les formes 璽 *maó* conservées dans le palais, pour s'assurer de leur authenticité, puis il les rendait aux princes, comme pour leur confirmer l'investiture de leurs dignités. (16–17n)

The confusion over sources for this stèle arose with Bouillier, who was apparently stumped by Segalen's citations of *The Classic of History* 書經 on the first manuscript draft simply as “書經 p. 17” and “書經 p. 356.” Segalen's drafted note, moreover, gives only

“Shun” [*Chouen*] and the “Annals” [*Annales*]. Somewhat confusingly, Segalen seems sometimes to have used the term “annals” loosely to refer to historical sources, but also specifically to refer to Couvreur’s edition of *The Classic of History* 書經, called *Les Annales de la Chine*. In trying to determine the sources for this epigraph, Bouillier was evidently misled by another of Segalen’s notes on the manuscript that reads “TH 43” (the easily identifiable *Textes historiques*) where the reign of Shun is also recounted and which Segalen must also have consulted as a cross-reference only to discover (as Bouillier also disappointedly reports) that it contains no reference to the jade tablets.

SI7 “Mirrors” (MIROIRS) 人以銅為鏡, 人以古為鏡,
人以為鏡

Segalen copied the following anecdote *in Chinese* onto his first draft from Wiegier’s *Textes historiques*, about the great Tang emperor Taizong 太宗 (r. 627–649), which supplied the raw material for both the stèle and epigraph. (The phrases adapted for the epigraph appear in bold.)

In 643, when the minister and favorite advisor *Wei-zheng* had just died, the emperor said to those close to him: **Men look at themselves in mirrors** in order to groom themselves; **in the examples of ancients** in order to see if they are worthy of praise [*éloge*] or blame; **in the opinion of their contemporaries** to confirm if they are well-liked or not. *Wei-zheng* by himself rendered all these services to me. With him, I have lost my mirror.

En 643, le ministre et conseiller favori *Wéi-tcheng* étant venu à mourir, l’empereur dit à ses intimes: **Les hommes se mirent dans les miroirs**, pour mettre en ordre leur toilette; **dans les exemples des anciens**, pour voir s’ils sont dignes d’éloge ou de blâme; **dans l’opinion de leurs contemporains**, pour constater s’ils sont populaires ou non. *Wéi-tcheng* me rendait à lui seul tous ces services. Avec lui, j’ai perdu mon miroir.

[癸卯，] 魏徵卒，上謂侍臣曰。人以銅為鏡，可以正衣冠。以古為鏡，可以見興替。以人為鏡，可以知得失。魏徵沒朕此一鏡矣。(TH 1561)

S18 “False Jade” (JADE FAUX) 君子恥其言而過其行

Segalen copied out the following passage in French from Couvreur’s edition of the *Book of Rites* 禮記, which inspired the stèle, then continued working with excerpts from the Chinese text as possible epigraphs, which were finally rejected (see the discussion in VOL. 1).

The master said: “He who is charitable only in speech and never brings anything into effect draws upon himself discontent and misfortune. Therefore the sage prefers to displease by a refusal to incur with a promise a debt that he will not be able to pay. We read in the Lessons of the States [Ode 58]: ‘We talked, we laughed together in a perfect harmony. We swore our loyalty in terms clearer than the day. I was not expecting the present change. I did not expect this change; and now, it is over.’”

Le maître a dit: “Celui qui n’est bienfaisant qu’en paroles et n’en vient jamais à l’effet, s’attire des mécontentements et des malheurs. Aussi le sage aime mieux mécontenter par un refus que de contracter par une promesse une dette qu’il ne pourra pas acquitter. On lit dans les Enseignements des principautés: “Nous parlions, nous riions ensemble dans une concorde parfaite. Nous nous sommes juré fidélité en termes plus clairs que le jour. Je ne prévoyais pas le changement actuel. Je n’ai pas prévu ce changement; à présent c’est fini.”

子曰，口惠而實不至，怨菑及其身。是故君子與其有諾責也，寧有已怨。國風曰，言笑晏晏，信誓旦旦。不思其反。反是不思，亦已焉哉。(LK 509)

This is the first of the stèles that draws upon the *Book of Rites* 禮記; see also the notes for S18, S20, S23, S41, S45, and S54.

S19 “From Distances” (DES LOINTAINS) 死朋生友

No supplementary resources.

S20 “To the One” (À CELUI-LÀ) 秘園

Segalen copied onto the first manuscript draft the following passage from Couvreur’s edition of the *Book of Rites* 禮記 in both Chinese and French (but without the parenthetical comment), including the notes on pronunciation and the citation. Segalen framed the stèle around the central idea of this passage while expanding it into a sequence using two more of the “five relations” (see note to S24 “The Five Relations”). This appears to have been his first idea for an epigraph.

As long as his parents are alive, he does not promise to a friend to be devoted unto him until death (because his life does not belong to him, but belongs to his parents); he possesses nothing of his own.

Tant que les parents sont en vie, il ne promet pas à un ami de se dévouer pour lui jusqu’à la mort, (parce que sa vie ne lui appartient pas, mais appartient à ses parents); il ne possède rien en propre.

父母存，不許以死。不有私財 禮記 / Fou mò tsuén pou hui yeou yi sseu pou sseu ts’ai / 禮記 Tom. I, p. 14 [LK 1:14]

Segalen’s idea for the Chinese nickname that constitutes the epigraph to this stèle may have been influenced by the following definition and example in the first-year Chinese-language textbook written by Segalen’s teacher at the Ecole des Langues Orientales Vivantes, Arnold Vissière:

The *hào* 號, or Nickname, a sort of title or honorific name that a young man takes, especially if he is a scholar, or that he receives from a friend and by which it is polite to call him. Ex.: *Xiang-tao* 香濤 “Fragrant floods,” *Chao-quan* 少荃, “Young scented plant.”

Le 號 *háo*, ou Surnom, sorte de titre ou de nom honorifique que prend le jeune homme, surtout s'il est lettré, ou qu'il reçoit d'un ami et par lequel il est poli de le désigner. Ex.: 香濤 *Hiāng-t'āō*, "Les flots parfumés," 少荃 *Cháo-ts'iuán*, "Jeune plante odiférante." (Vissière, *Premières leçons*, 161)

In the following passage from Segalen's semisatirical novel *René Leÿs*, the speaker reveals René Leÿs's *hao* 號 (*surnom*, nickname) to be a calque of *mi yuan* 秘園 (which is the epigraph of this stèle) in provocative, almost erotic terms, which seem to figure him not only as the unreliable and seductive guide to a mysterious place but also as that very place in all of its unknowability:

He let me see, he lead me, he opened me. . . . Ah, then and there for the first time in so long his Chinese nickname came to my ear: he had truly opened for me, over so many hot nights and cold nights, the jade locket of the "*Mysterious Garden*" of which he seemed the master.

Il m'a laissé voir, il m'a conduit, il m'a ouvert. . . . Oh! voici que pour la première fois depuis si longtemps son surnom chinois me revient à l'oreille: il m'a véritablement ouvert au long des nuits chaudes ou froides, le loquet de jade du "*Jardin Mystérieux*" dont il semblait le maître. (215)

S21 "Faithful Betrayal" (TRAHISON FIDÈLE) (1914 ed.)
求友聲

The epigraph (in bold) is drawn from Ode 165 of the *Book of Odes* 詩經, the first of three stanzas from which is quoted below, along with James Legge's classic nineteenth-century translation. Couvreur's headnote adapted from the "Little Preface" (in italics) may initially have caught Segalen's attention, with its emphasis on friendship.

The emperor, at a festival held for the princes, praises concord and friendship. The noise of the axes in the forest, he says, the

song of the birds, everything in nature tends toward harmony, and invites man to nurture friendship.

The noise of the axes resounds rhythmically in the forest. The birds sing in concert. From the depth of the valley they come to the top of the great trees. They respond to each other and call one another. See, a bird knows **to call a companion with its voice**. How would a man not seek out the friendship of another man? (If he does) the spirits would heed him; he will always have harmony and tranquility.

L'empereur, dans un festin offert aux princes, loue la concorde et l'amitié. Le bruit des haches dans la forêt, dit-il, le chant des oiseaux, tout dans la nature tend à l'harmonie, et invite l'homme à cultiver l'amitié.

Le bruit des haches retentit en cadence dans la forêt. Les oiseaux chantent de concert. Du fond de la vallée ils vont sur la cime des grands arbres. Il se répondent et s'appellent l'un et l'autre. Voyez donc, un oiseau sait **par son chant appeler un compagnon**. Comment un homme ne rechercherait-il pas l'amitié d'un autre homme? (S'il le fait) les esprits l'exauceront; il aura toujours la concorde et la tranquillité. (CK 180–181)

伐木丁丁，鳥鳴嚶嚶。
出自幽谷，遷于喬木。
嚶其鳴矣，求其友聲。
相彼鳥矣，猶求友聲。
矧伊人矣，不求友生。
神之聽之，終和且平。

On the trees go the blows *chǎng-chǎng*;
And the birds cry out *ying-ying*.
One issues from the dark valley,
And removes to the lofty tree,
While *ying* goes its cry,
Seeking with its voice its companion.
Look at the bird,
Bird as it is, **seeking with its voice its companion**;

And shall a man
Not seek to have his friends?
Spiritual beings will then hearken to him;
He shall have harmony and peace. (Legge, *Chinese Classics*,
Ode 165, 4:253–254, 2.1.5)

On the back of the first manuscript draft of S41 “Courtoisie” (as if seizing the closest paper at hand), Segalen copied verbatim the following footnote from Chavannes’s edition of the *Records of the Grand Historian* 史記 by Sima Qian 司馬遷 (*Mémoires historiques*, 1:ccxxvii, n1), which Segalen indicated as the source on the first manuscript draft for this stèle. (The footnote explains an allusion that Sima Qian makes in his famous “Letter to Ren An” 報任安書 about his own punitive castration and his aims as a historian—see also the note for S49).

Zhong Ziqi and *Bo Ya* were both from the country of *Zhou*. *Bo Ya* played the lute admirably. *Zhong Ziqi* greatly enjoyed his music and when listening to it was able to guess his thoughts. When he died, *Bo Ya*, having lost the only one who knew how to appreciate him, stopped playing.

Tchong Tse-k’i et *Po Ya* étaient tous les deux du pays de *Tch’ou*. *Po Ya* jouait admirablement du luth. *Tchong Tse-k’i* goûtait fort sa musique et devinait, en l’entendant, ses pensées. Quand il mourut, *Po Ya*, ayant perdu celui qui seul savait l’apprécier, cessa de jouer.

The most immediate inspiration for the stèle comes from a letter of 17 January 1913 to Segalen from his friend Henry Manceron, responding to Segalen’s concern that their friendship was in decline. This stèle quotes Manceron’s actual letter, which itself quotes S19 “From Distances” from the first edition of *Stèles* / 古今碑錄 (1912), as the following excerpt from Manceron’s letter shows. The reciprocal echo of friendship is thus enacted in this stèle as Segalen echoes Manceron echoing Segalen himself.

I am here, faithful to the echo of your voice, attentive to the suggestions of your thoughts, ardently fraternal to all

the emotions and fluctuations of your life. “From distances, great distances, I run, friend, toward you, the dearest of all. My steps have carved the dreadful space between us.” Have I gone for long months without writing you? Stupid paralysis of my pen. You know me, taciturn, unexpressed, but faithful and unchanged.

Je suis là, fidèle à l'écho de ta voix, attentif aux suggestions de ta pensée, ardemment fraternel à toutes les émotions et les fluctuations de ta vie. ‘Des lointains, des si lointains j'accours, ami, vers toi, le plus cher. Mes pas ont dépecé l'horrible espace entre nous.’ Ai-je passé de longs mois sans t'écrire? Stupide paralysie de ma plume. Tu me connais, taciturne, inexprimé, mais fidèle et inchangé. (*Trahison fidèle*, 126)

S22 “No Mistake” (SANS MÉPRISE) (1914 ed.) 東向形, 北向心

See Segalen's letter of 31 July 1913 to his wife, Yvonne (*Correspondances* 2:169–174).

S23 “Vampire” (VAMPIRE) 之死而致死之不仁, 之死而致生之不知

Segalen excerpted the epigraph (in bold) and material for the body of this stèle from the following passage in Couvreur's edition of the *Book of Rites* 禮記. (See also Legge's edition, 2.2.1.3:3.)

[Confucius said:] **To treat the deceased as if they were (wholly) dead would be to lack affection for them; this cannot be done. To treat them as if they were still alive is to lack wisdom;** this is not appropriate either. For this reason (all the objects that are used in offerings must be imperfect or defective): bamboo vases are awkward to use, silver vases are not shiny, wooden utensils are not well carved. The strings of the two kinds of lutes are strung, but are not tuned; the flutes of two sorts of mouth organs have the de-

sired number, but are not in tune. One uses bells and musical stones, but without bars or posts to suspend them. All these objects are called brilliant utensils or instruments, because one treats the dead as brilliant or glorious spirits.

Traiter les défunts comme s'ils étaient (entièrement) morts, ce serait manquer d'affection envers eux; cela ne se peut faire. Les traiter comme s'ils étaient encore vivants, c'est manquer de sagesse; cela ne convient non plus. Pour cette raison, (tous les objets qui servent aux offrandes doivent être imparfaits et défectueux): les vases de bambou sont d'un usage incommode, les vases d'argile ne sont pas luisants, les ustensiles de bois ne sont pas bien sculptés. Les cordes des deux sortes de luths sont tendues, mais ne sont pas accordées; les tuyaux des deux sortes d'orgues à bouche sont au nombre voulu, mais ne sont pas d'accord. On se sert de cloches et de pierres musicales, mais sans traverses ni montants pour les suspendre. Tous ces objets sont appelés ustensiles ou instruments brillants, parce qu'on traite les défunts comme des esprits brillants ou glorieux.

孔子曰，之死而致死之，不仁，而不可為也。之死而致生之，不知，而不可為也。是故竹不成用，瓦不成味，木不成斲。琴瑟張而不平，等聖竽笙備而不和。有鍾聲而無龔虞。其曰明器神明之也。(LK 163)

Facing East [STÈLES ORIENTÉES) 東面

SECTION TITLE. No supplementary resources.

S24 “The Five Relations” (LES CINQ RELATIONS)

夫婦有別

This stèle was apparently adapted from the following entry in Pétillon's *Allusions littéraires*, which also provided the epigraph (in bold). (Note that Segalen's diction precisely follows Pétillon's translation, changing only the order of the relationships for rhetorical emphasis: **親** *l'affection*, **義** *la justice*, **別** *la distance*, **序** *la subordination*, **信** *la confiance*.)

五典 *Wu dian*. The five rules which govern the five relations [wu chang] 五常. “He applies himself to the perfection of the five laws [shen hui wu dian] 慎徽五典” ([shu Shun dian 書舜典]. To name them, affection reigns between the father and the son, justice between the prince and the subject, **distance between the husband and wife**, subordination between elder and younger, trust between friends [fu xi you qin, jun chen you yi, fu fu you bie, zhang you you xu, peng you you xin] 父子有親, 君臣有義, 夫婦有別, 長幼有序, 朋友有信.

五典 *Ou tien*. Les cinq règles qui gouvernent les cinq relations 五常. “Il s’est appliqué à la perfection des cinq lois 慎徽五典.” (書舜典). A les observer, l’affection règne entre le père et le fils, la justice entre le prince et le sujet, **la distance entre l’époux et l’épouse**, la subordination entre l’aîné et le cadet, la confiance entre les amis. 父子有親, 君臣有義, 夫婦有別, 長幼有序, 朋友有信. (*AL*, class. 13, p. 24)

In an even shorter earlier entry, which Segalen is likely to have seen, Pétillon gives the term for the “five relations” as such, and then names them, as follows:

五倫 *Wu lun*. The five relations, which are prince to subject [jun chen] 君臣, father to son [fu zi] 父子, husband to wife 夫婦 [fu fu], elder to younger 昆弟 [kun di], and friend to friend [peng you] 朋友.

五倫 *Ou luen*. Les cinq relations, c’est-à-dire de prince à sujet 君臣, de père à fils 父子, d’époux à épouse 夫婦, d’aîné à cadet 昆弟, et ami à ami 朋友. (*AL*, class. 9, p. 17)

Although Segalen seems not to have known it himself, the ultimate source of the lines quoted above by Pétillon is the following passage from the *Book of Mengzi* (Mencius) 孟子, 3.1.4. We give the passage from Couvreur’s rather free translation in his edition of *Les Quatre livres* (1895), but it should be noted that Segalen does not cite this translation anywhere in his manuscript drafts.

Man has the natural law engraved in his heart; but if he is well fed and well dressed, if he dwells in leisure and receives no education, he approaches the beasts. The very wise emperors (Yao and Shun) had at heart the education of the people. They named Qi minister of education and entrusted him with the teaching of the mutual duties, so that there would be affection between the father and the son, justice between the prince and the subject, **distinction between the husband and wife**, gradation among people of different ages, loyalty between friends.

L'homme a la loi naturelle gravée dans son cœur; mais s'il est bien nourri et bien vêtu, s'il demeure dans l'oisiveté et ne reçoit aucune instruction, il se rapproche de la bête. Les très sages empereurs (Iao et Chouenn) eurent à cœur l'instruction du peuple. Ils nommèrent Sie ministre de l'instruction, et le chargèrent d'enseigner les devoirs mutuels, afin qu'il y eût affection entre le père et le fils, justice entre le prince et le sujet, **distinction entre le mari et la femme**, gradation entre les personnes de différents âge, fidélité entre les amis.

人之有道也，飽食煖衣，逸居，而無教，則近禽獸。聖人有憂之。使契為司徒，教以人倫，父子有親，君臣有義，夫婦有別，長幼有序，朋友有信。(423–425)

It is worth noting that Legge offers the following footnote to his translation of the phrased used in the epigraph, which he renders as “between husband and wife, attention to their separate functions”: “In [*fu fu you bie*] 夫婦有別 = ‘separate functions,’ according to which the husband is said to preside over all that is internal, while to the former it belongs to lead, and to the latter to follow” (Legge, *Chinese Classics*, 2:252). Among the many other places where the five relations are discussed in the sinological works of the period, Segalen undoubtedly read the following two footnotes in Couvreur’s edition of the *Classic of History* 書經, during the reign of Emperor Shun 舜, since he used that chapter for multiple stèles.

五典 *Wú diǎn*, 五常 *wǔ diǎn*, 五教 *wǔ jiào*, the rules of the five principal social relations, or laws that govern the mutual duties of father and son, of prince and subject, of husband and wife, of old and young, of friends or companions.

五典 *Où tièn*, 五常 *òu tch'áng*, 五教 *òu kiaó*, les règles des cinq principales relations sociales, ou lois qui règlent les devoirs mutuels du père et du fils, du prince et du sujet, du mari et de la femme, des vieux et des jeunes, des amis ou compagnons. (*AC* 13n)

五教 the five social virtues; namely, affection [*qin*] 親 between father and son, justice [*yi*] 義 between prince and subject, inequality *bie* 別 between husband and wife, order [*xu*] 序 between the older and the younger, loyalty [*xin*] 信 between friends.

五教 les cinq vertus sociales; à savoir, l'affection 親 entre le père et le fils, la justice 義 entre le prince et le sujet, l'inégalité 別 *piě* entre le mari et la femme, l'ordre 序 entre le plus âgé et le moins âgé, la fidélité 信 entre les amis. (*AC* 26n)

S25 “To Please Her” (POUR LUI COMPLAIRE) 撕網倒血

This stèle adapts the following anecdote from Wiegier's *Textes historiques* about the savage final ruler of the Xia Dynasty, Emperor Lü Gui 履癸—more commonly known by his posthumous name Jie 桀, “the Cruel”—and his notoriously depraved empress Moxi (or Meixi) 妹喜. Wiegier calls him Emperor Gui [*Koèi*] and gives his reign dates as 1589–1556 BCE (whereas they were probably circa 18th–17th c. BCE). Segalen copied the bolded passage in French below from Wiegier onto the first manuscript draft. (Segalen also used this history for S59.)

The emperor was debauched and brutal. His muscular strength was such that he could bend iron bars and tear apart living buffalo and tigers. Proud of this gift, he made no attempt to act well, and offended the people. A certain *Zhao-*

liang was teaching him the disdain of all laws and stimulated his desires and his cruelty to such an extent that the lot of the people became unbearable.—Since the reign of *Kong-jia* [his father], the virtue and the power of the *Xia* diminished from day to day. Even the feudal subjects no longer performed their courtly duties. . . . *Gui* wanted to punish the lord *Shi* of *Meng-shan*. To appease him, the latter gave his daughter *Meixi*. **The emperor was so taken with her that he did everything she desired. Since she loved to listen to the sound of tearing silk, the emperor tore pieces of silk in order to please her.** He had built for her a palace made entirely of rare stones and ivory, and gave himself over to debauchery to the point of entirely neglecting the care of government. He had laid out great heaps of meat and filled with wine a basin so vast that a boat could easily turn about in it; then, at the signal of a drum, three thousand men devoured the food and lapped up the wine like animals before the eyes of the emperor and his concubine, who were entertained by the spectacle.

L'empereur était libertin et brutal. Sa force musculaire était telle, qu'il courbait des barres de fer, et déchirait vivants des buffles et des tigres. Fier de cet avantage, il ne s'appliqua pas à bien agir, et offensa le peuple. Un certain *Tcháo-leang* lui enseignait le mépris de toute loi, et excitait ses convoitises et sa cruauté, au point que le sort du peuple devint insupportable.—Depuis le règne de *K'òung-kia*, la vertu et la puissance des *Hia* baissent de jour en jour. Bien des feudataires ne faisaient plus leur cour. . . . *Koèi* voulut châtier le seigneur *Chëu* de *Mông-chan*. Pour l'apaiser, celui-ci lui donna sa fille *Méi-hi*. **L'empereur s'éprit d'elle, au point qu'il faisait tout ce qu'elle désirait. Comme elle aimait à entendre le bruit que fait la soie qu'on déchire, l'empereur déchirait des pièces de soie, afin de lui complaire.** Il lui fit bâtir un palais tout de pierres rares et d'ivoire, et s'adonna à la débauche, au point de négliger entièrement le soin du gouvernement. Il faisait disposer des amas de viande, et remplir de vin un bassin si vaste qu'une barque pouvait y évoluer à

l'aise; puis, au signal du tambour, trois mille hommes dévoiraient ces victuailles, et lappaient [*sic*] le vin à la manière des animaux, sous les yeux de l'empereur et de sa concubine, que ce spectacle divertissait.

癸，是為桀，淫虐。有殊力，能伸鈎索鐵，生裂兕虎。負恃其勇，不務德，而武傷百姓。有趙梁者，教為無道。勸以貪狠。百姓弗堪。○自孔甲之後，王室德政日衰，諸侯或不朝。伐蒙山有施氏。有施氏進女妹喜。王嬖之，所言皆聽。妹喜好聞裂繒聲，王發繒裂之，以順適其意。為瓊室象廊，瑤臺玉牀，行淫縱樂，政氏怠廢。又為肉山脯林，酒池可以運舟。一鼓而牛飲者三千人，以為戲劇。(TH 59—60)

Segalen also gives an extended portrait of this emperor under “Tremulous Throne of the House of Xia” [*Trône chancelant de la maison de Hsia*] in his collection of imaginary paintings, *Peintures*, where Emperor Gui is depicted as heroic in his superhuman grandeur, dangerousness, and appetite for extravagance:

But he is painted here ready less for the hunt or for murder than for rutting; and his arms, in this gesture, suffocate and strangle nothing but the delicate girl he loves, Mei-xi with the rare smile on her crimson mouth. The powerful kiss imprisons a fragile breast that beats and blushes with pleasure, from whence there would readily gush—not the sour milk of mothers—but the blood of noble mistresses.

Mais il est peint ici moins prêt à la chasse ou au meurtre qu'au rut; et ses bras, dans ce geste, n'étouffent et n'étreignent rien d'autre que la délicate fille qu'il aime, la Mei-hsi au sourire rare à la bouche violette. Le puissant baiser emprisonne un sein fragile qui bat et rougit de plaisir, et d'où jaillirait sans peine,—non point le lait aigre des mères,—mais le sang des nobles amantes. (OC 2:215)

S26 “Face in Her Eyes” (VISAGE DANS LES YEUX)

目井

In a strikingly similar piece in *Peintures*, “Reflection in the Eyes” [*Reflète dans des yeux*], which must be read in its entirety, the speaker describes the portrait of a lovely girl whose demeanor is perfectly chaste and modest, but in whose eyes the painter has meticulously depicted the miniature reflection of a quasi-pornographic scene between two nude girls. The final lines read:

That is the scene that the pure face reflects and decorously contemplates. / But meanwhile the eyes stare directly into ours. From whence, then, does the reflection come? / From ours? From that space *behind* us?”

C’est donc la scène que le pur visage reflète et contemple déceimment. / Mais les yeux cependant se fixent bien droit dans les nôtres. Le reflet, alors, d’où vient-il? / Des nôtres? De cet espace qui est derrière nous? (*OC* 2:169).

The central conceit for this stèle of *eyes as wells* seems to have been inspired by a poem by Li Bai 李白 as translated by d’Hervey-Saint-Denys (“Sur la Chanson des têtes blanches”) in his notable collection *Poésies de l’époque des Thang* (1862). This poem, in a female voice, expresses the disappointment and resolution of a loving wife (Yuanjun), whose husband (Xiangru) has slighted her by taking a second wife and who refuses to be reconciled to him. (The excerpts here also touch upon the proverb in the epigraph to S28.)

Once water is poured out, who can gather it up and fill the
cup again!
Once an abandoned woman leaves, it is no less difficult to
bring her back.
.....
As for me, I possess a magic mirror,
A mirror where the heart is reflected like the face in the
bottom of a well;

I want you to keep it in order to view your new wife,
And may it help you later to know each other.
Once water is poured out, it is in vain to try to gather it up
to fill the cup again,
Once Yuan-jun leaves, it is in vain for Xiang-ru to call her
back to him again.

Une fois l'eau répandue, qui pourrai la recueillir et remplir
de nouveau la tasse!
La femme délaissée, une fois partie, il n'est pas moins
difficile de la ramener.

.....

Pour moi, je possédais un miroir magique,
Un miroir où le cœur se reflète comme le visage au fond
d'un puits;
Je désire que vous le conserviez, pour y regarder votre
nouvelle épouse,
Et qu'il vous serve plus tard à vous bien connaître tous les
deux.
Une fois l'eau répandue, c'est en vain qu'on essaierait de la
recueillir pour emplir de nouveau la tasse,
Ouên-kiun partie, c'est en vain que Siang-ju la rappellerait
près de lui. (36–38)

The “magic mirror” that provides the interior reflection in the source poem is the *Qin lou jing* 秦樓鏡 (Mirror of the Qin Tower), which d'Hervey-Saint-Denys glosses in a footnote drawn from the *Xi jing za ji* 西京雜記 (Miscellaneous Records from the Western Capital) as follows. (Note the reference to Emperor Qin Shihuang.)

[T]here was a square mirror . . . in which the interior of a person could be seen as clearly as the exterior. It was enough to place it against the heart of someone in order to know the nature of his thoughts; for if the heart were perverse, it would begin to beat violently. The emperor Qin-shi-huang-di often used it to test his wives.

[I]l y avait un miroir carré . . . où voyait clairement

l'intérieure aussi bien que l'extérieur des gens. Il suffisait de l'appliquer sur le cœur de quelqu'un pour connaître aussitôt la nature de ses pensées; car si le cœur était pervers, il se mettait à battre violemment. L'empereur Thsin-chi-hoang-ti en faisait souvent l'épreuve sur ses femmes. (41n)

S27 "They Tell Me" (ON ME DIT)

嫠也何害先夫當之矣

The epigraph (in bold) and the main body of the stèle are both drawn from the following anecdote in Wieger's *Textes historiques*, during the reign of the Zhou monarch King Ling 靈王 (r. 571–545 BCE), which is part of the story of how Cui-zhu 崔杼 murders Marquis Zhuang 莊公 of Qi 齊.

In 548, *Cui-zhu* murdered [his prince,] Marquis *Zhuang* of *Qi*. . . . *Tang*'s spouse, a member of the ruling family of *Qi*, was the sister of *Dong Guoyan*, who was *Cui-zhu*'s officer. When *Tang* died, *Dong Guoyan* and *Cui-zhu* went to weep before his coffin, according to custom. On that occasion, *Cui-zhu* saw *Tang*'s widow, who pleased him. He asked her brother for the right to marry her. He said: You are descended from Marquis *Ding*, my sister and I descended from Marquis *Huan*; therefore it is not fitting for you to marry her. . . . In the meantime *Cui-zhu* consulted the *achillea* [yarrow stalks], which indicated first the hexagram *Kun*, then the hexagram *Da-guo*. All the diviners said that the prediction was auspicious. Meanwhile *Cui-zhu* further consulted *Chen Wen-zi*, who said: Note that, in *Da-guo*, the water [husband] (the lower part of the hexagram) of *Kun*, is replaced by wind (the upper part of the two hexagrams being the same). For the wind overturns. It is inauspicious; do not marry this woman! Moreover the Commentary says: "He smashes against the rocks; he is caught in the brambles; having entered his house, he does not find his spouse there." These are inauspicious words; do not marry this woman! . . . *Cui-zhu* said: **Since she is a widow, none of that concerns me; that concerned her first husband.** And he married her. . . . Soon Marquis *Zhuang* of *Qi* began spending a great

deal of time around her. Vexed, *Cui-ꜱhu* sought to assassinate him but found no opportunity for it. Nonetheless the marquis whipped his valet *Jia-ju*, then committed the imprudence of keeping him in his service. Thereafter this man spied on the marquis on behalf of *Cui-ꜱhu*. In the summer, in the fifth month, the viscount of *Ju*, having come to visit the marquis of *Qi* on the eleventh day of the cycle, was treated to a sumptuous banquet in an area just north of the city. *Cui-ꜱhu* had himself excused under the pretext of an illness. The marquis, believing him to be truly ill, went to his house the following day to court his wife. She escaped with *Cui-ꜱhu* through a rear door while the marquis was looking for her wildly through all the apartments. At the same time, the valet *Jia-ju*, having stopped the marquis's procession in the street, closed the entry door to the house and attacked the marquis with a troop of armed men. Having sought refuge on a terrace, he asked to be let out; he was refused. He asked to negotiate; he was refused. He asked to commit suicide in the temple of his ancestors; he was refused. The cut-throats cried out to him: Since *Cui-ꜱhu* is ill, we cannot report your offers to him; we do not know who you are; we are hunting a suitor! . . . The marquis, having leapt from the top of the terrace, took an arrow through his thigh, fell backward, and was finished.

En 548, *Ts'ōēi-tchou* assassine le marquis *Tchoang* de *Ts'í*. . . . L'épouse de *T'áng*, membre de la famille régnante de *Ts'í*, était la sœur de *Tōng kouoyen*. Celui-ci était officier de *Ts'ōēi-tchou*. *T'áng* étant mort, *Tōng kouoyen* et *Ts'ōēi-tchou* allèrent pleurer devant son cercueil, selon l'usage. A cette occasion, *Ts'ōēi-tchou* vit la veuve de *T'áng*, qui lui plut. Il la demanda en mariage à son frère. Celui-ci dit: un homme et une femme de la même famille, ne doivent pas s'épouser; or vous descendez du marquis *Tīng*, moi et ma sœur nous descendons du marquis *Hoán*; donc il ne convient pas que vous l'épousiez. . . . Cependant *Ts'ōēi-tchou* consulta l'achillée, qui indiqua d'abord l'hexagramme *K'ounn*, puis l'hexagramme *Tá-kouo*. Tous les devins dirent que le pronostic était fauste [*sic*]. Cependant *Ts'ōēi-tchou* ayant encore consulté *Tch'én*

wenntzeu, celui-ci dit: Remarquez que, dans *Tá-kouo*, l'eau (partie inférieure de l'hexagramme) de *K'óunn*, est remplacée par du vent (la partie supérieure des deux hexagrammes étant la même). Or le vent renverse. C'est néfaste; n'épousez pas cette femme! D'autant que la Glose dit "il se heurte aux rochers, il s'accroche aux ronces; entré dans sa maison, il n'y trouve pas son épouse." Ce sont là des paroles néfastes; n'épousez pas cette femme! *Ts'ōēi-tchou* dit: **Comme elle est veuve, tout cela ne me regarde pas; cela concernait son premier mari;** et il l'épousa. . . . Bientôt le marquis *Tchoāng* de *Ts'í* devint fort assidu auprès d'elle. *Ts'ōēi-tchou* irrité, chercha à l'assassiner, mais n'en trouva pas l'occasion. Cependant le marquis cravacha son valet *Kià-kiu*, puis commit l'imprudence de le garder à son service. Désormais cet homme épia le marquis pour le compte de *Ts'ōēi-tchou*. En été, au cinquième mois, le vicomte de *Kiù* étant venu visiter le marquis de *Ts'í*, le onzième jour du cycle, on le régala dans le faubourg du nord. *Ts'ōēi-tchou* se fit excuser, sous prétexte de maladie. Le marquis le croyant réellement malade, alla chez lui, le lendemain, pour courtiser sa femme. Celle-ci s'échappa avec *Ts'ōēi-tchou* par une porte de derrière, tandis que le marquis la cherchait à tâtons par les appartements. Cependant le valet *Kià-kiu*, ayant arrêté dans la rue le cortège du marquis, ferma la porte d'entrée de la maison et attaqua le marquis avec une troupe d'hommes armés. Celui-ci, réfugié sur une terrasse, demanda qu'on le laissât sortir; on refusa. Il demanda à parlementer; on refusa. Il demanda à se suicider dans le temple de ses ancêtres; on refusa. Les sicaires lui criaient: *Ts'ōēi-tchou* étant malade, nous ne pouvons pas lui rapporter vos offres; nous ne savons qui vous êtes; nous donnons la chasse à un galant! Le marquis ayant sauté du haut de la terrasse, reçut une flèche au travers de la cuisse, tomba à la renverse et fut achevé.

二十有四年，齊崔杼弑其君莊公。齊棠公之妻，東郭偃之姊也。東郭偃臣崔武子。棠公死，偃御武子以弔焉。見棠姜，而美之，使偃取之。偃曰，男女辨姓。今君出自丁，臣出自桓，不可。武子筮之，遇困之大過，史皆曰吉。示陳文子。文子曰，夫從風，風隕，妻不可取

也。且其繇曰，困於石，據於蒺藜。人於其宮，不見其妻，崔子曰，嫠也何害，先夫當之矣。遂娶之。莊公通焉，驟如崔氏。崔子困是欲殺莊公，而不獲間。公鞭侍人賈舉，而又近之。乃為崔子間公。夏，五月，莒子朝於齊，甲戎，饗諸北郭。崔子稱疾，不視事。乙亥，公問崔子，遂從姜氏。姜入於室。與崔子自側戶出。公拊楹而歌。侍人賈舉止眾從者，而入閉門，甲興。公登臺，而請。弗許。請盟，弗許。請刃於廟，弗許。皆曰，君之臣杼疾病，不能聽命。近於公宮陪臣干擻有淫者。不知二命。公踰牆，又射之，中股，反隊，遂弑之。
(TH 172–174)

Although there is no evidence that Segalen read Couvreur’s translation of the same story instead of Wieger’s, we may observe that the former is clearer and more accurate than the latter’s, as in, for example: “The husband (represented by the trigram 坎 *kan*, which is the lower part of the hexagram 困 *kun*) gives way to the wind (represented by the trigram 巽 *xun* of the hexagram 大過 *da guo*)” [“Le mari (représenté par le trigramme 坎 *k’ān*, qui est la partie inférieure de l’hexagramme 困 *k’ouén*) a fait place au vent (représenté par le trigramme 巽 *suén* de l’hexagramme 大過 *tá kouó*)”] (420). For the rest of this translation and more commentary on the hexagrams themselves, see Couvreur, *Tch’ouen Ts’iou*, 2:419–421.

S28 “My Lover Has the Virtues of Water” (MON
AMANTE A LES VERTUS DE L’EAU) 覆水難收

Segalen used for his epigraph a four-character proverb from the following entry in Pétilion’s collection of *Allusions littéraires*:

覆水難收. *Fu shui nan shou*. It is difficult, impossible to gather up spilled water: a divorced wife will not be taken back. *Tai-gong Wang* 太公望, abandoned by his wife because of his great age, was heading to the principality received in fief from the emperor, when he encountered her on the way lamenting and asking to come back. To demonstrate to her the uselessness of these entreaties, *Tai-gong* poured out a vase and commanded her to gather up the liquid. A

fistful of mud was the sole result of her efforts. (類林). The wife of *Zhu Mai-chen Wang-zi* 朱買臣翁子, of the *Han*, had broken with him also for fear that he would reduce her to misery by his excessive love of studying. He even went so far as to read while carrying firewood 擔束薪誦書! When he finally became governor of [*Hui Ji*] 會稽, the defector wanted to return to the marital home, but he sent her away with the same words as *Tai-gong*. (漢書朱買臣傳). Var. 買臣之妻, 因貧求去.

覆水難收. *Fou choei nan cheou*. Il est difficile, impossible de recueillir l'eau répandue: l'épouse divorcée ne se reprend plus. *T'ai-kong Wang* 太公望, abandonné par sa femme à cause de son grand âge, se rendait dans la principauté reçue en fief de l'empereur, quand il la rencontra sur la route, se lamentant et demandant à rentrer. Pour lui montrer l'inutilité de ses instances, *T'ai-kong* renversa un vase et lui ordonna d'en recueillir le liquide. Une poignée de boue fut l'unique résultat de ses efforts. (類林). La femme de *Tchou Mai-tch'en Wong-tse* 朱買臣翁子, des *Han*, avait aussi rompu avec lui, par crainte qu'il ne la réduisît à la misère par son amour excessif pour l'étude. N'allait pas jusqu'à lire en portant des fagots 擔束薪誦書! Quand enfin il fut devenu gouverneur de 會稽, la transfuge désira réintégrer le domicile conjugal, mais il la renvoya avec les mêmes paroles que *T'ai-kong* (漢書朱買臣傳). Var. 買臣之妻, 因貧求去. (*AL*, class 85, pp. 238–239)

Inside a box drawn at the lower left of this manuscript draft Segalen drafted the opening of what appears to have been plans for a companion stèle, as follows:

My lover has all the virtues of fire—a bright look, dazzling cheeks, a hot and sharp caress.

When at times, weary of the affairs of government, the cold invades my limbs [*sic*] she knows how to reheat them, ardent lamp waking the blood.

—My lamp is extinguished, alas, and I am always cold, and I search. . . .

Mon amante a toutes les vertus du feu,—Un regard vif, des
joues éblouissantes, une caresse chaude et mordante

Quand parfois, las des affaires et du gouvernement,
le froid envahit mes membres [*sic*] elle sait comment les
réchauffer, lampe ardente éveillant le sang.

—Ma Lampe est éteinte hélas, et j'ai froid toujours, et je
cherche. . . .

This companion stèle derives from a note that Segalen jotted in
the lower right corner of the first manuscript draft, as follows:

DICT: Once an emperor had as a concubine a woman
dressed in red. She disappeared each dawn and returned in
the evening. Another woman, intrigued, followed her into
the alcove where she took refuge, and there saw nothing
but a lamp which she extinguished. The lover appeared no
more.

DICT: Un jour un empereur eut pour concubine une femme
vêtue de rouge. Elle disparaissait chaque aurore pour revenir
le soir. Une autre femme, intriguée, la suivit dans l'alcôve où
elle se réfugiait, & ne vit, là, qu'une lampe qu'elle éteignit.
L'amante ne reparut plus.

The source of the note just quoted has never been identified,
but its similarity to the following entry in Pétillon's collection of
literary allusions leads us to believe that Segalen may have read
it there and then later adapted it from memory, perhaps without
clearly remembering where he had seen it.

梵堂長明燈. *Fan tang chang ming deng*. The lamp of con-
stant brightness which, in a Buddhist temple of 江寧縣 [Ji-
angning Prefecture], burned without tending from the *Qin*
until the *Tang*. The following legend also has it designated
by the term 長明公 [Duchess of Constant Brightness].
Yang Zhen 楊稹 met one night in the Buddhist temple 石甕
思 (or 照應寺) [Stone Vase Contemplation (or Illuminat-
ing Consequences Temple)], a beautiful woman all dressed
in red 紅裳女子, who told him that she was descended

from 燧人氏 [Master Ignis], the inventor of fire, and had received from the emperor the titles of 長明公 [Duchess of Constant Brightness] and 西明夫人 [Dame Western Brightness]. *Yang* took her as a concubine; but his nurse, informed of the presence of this strange person who came in the evening and disappeared in the morning, followed her one night all the way to her alcove. There she found nothing but a lamp, which she quickly extinguished, after which the spirit returned no more. (太平廣記).

梵堂長明燈. *Fan t'ang tch'ang ming teng*. La lampe de la clarté constante qui, dans un temple bouddhique de 江寧縣, brûla sans entretien depuis les *Tsin* jusqu'aux *T'ang*. La légende suivante la fait désigner encore par le qualificatif 長明公. *Yang Tchen* 楊稹 rencontra un soir dans la bonzerie 石甕思 (al. 照應寺), une belle femme tout habillée de rouge 紅裳女子, qui lui dit descendre de 燧人氏, l'inventeur du feu, et avoir reçu de l'Empereur les titres de 長明公 et de 西明夫人. *Yang* la prit pour concubine; mais sa nourrice avertie de la présence de cette personne étrange, qui venue le soir disparaissait le matin, la poursuivit une nuit jusque dans son alcôve. Là elle ne trouva qu'une lampe, qu'elle se hâta d'éteindre, et depuis lors l'esprit ne reparut plus. (太平廣記). (*AL*, class. 86, p. 264)

Instead of completing this companion stèle, Segalen reworked the same material for a painting in *Peintures* called “*Flamme amante*” (Loving Flame, or Flame Lover), which concludes as follows:

Compared with her, what do his well-protected and so ceremonious girls give to the sovereign Lover, since he here possesses and kindles this Painting: this
LOVING FLAME,
burning-red, licking him, enveloping him, penetrating him,
and melting joy like bronze flowing in the furnace of the heart! Look! Look! He is consumed by love of the flame.

But take care and breathe no more. . . At once she dwindles, trembling and merely luminous. . .

No! No! Do not breathe! — That is nonetheless what, here, a wife will do, jealous for love of the flesh. The Other, the Red One, would be extinguished and never lit again.

Auprès d'elle, que donnent à l'Amant souverain ses filles bien gardées, bien cérémonieuses, puisqu'il possède ici et avive cette Peinture: cette
FLAMME AMANTE,
rouge-ardente, qui le lèche, l'enveloppe, le pénètre, et fond la joie comme un bronze en coulée au four du cœur! Voyez! Voyez! Il est dévoré d'amour de flamme.

Mais, prenez garde, et ne respirez plus. . . . Elle redevient petite tout d'un coup, tremblotante et lumineuse simplement. . . .

Non! Non! Ne soufflez pas!—C'est pourtant ce que ferait ici une épouse en jalousie d'amour de chair. L'Autre, la Rouge, s'éteindrait, et ne serait plus rallumée. (OC 2:167–168)

S29 “Musical Stone” (PIERRE MUSICAL) 樂石

All of the sources below for this stèle are newly identified in this edition. Although Segalen recorded his source on the first manuscript draft very precisely as “*tiré du recueil* [taken from the collection] *Chensi-t'ong-tche* (vol. 73, pp. 41–42) in *Hist. de 秦* p. 57,” the embedded reference has proven somewhat baffling. The explanation is that Segalen drew the main story of the stèle from a footnote on page 57 of a scholarly monograph by Albert Tschepe called *Histoire du royaume de Ts'in* (History of the Kingdom of Qin 秦), published in the series *Variétés sinologiques* (1909), in which Tschepe retells this as one of two stories from the *Shanxi Tongzhi* 陝西通志 (The General Gazetteer of Shanxi) with the citation 73:41–42. Segalen copied onto his first manuscript draft the following section of the footnote from Tschepe with only very slight emendations.

Mu Gong had a daughter named Long Yu, who passionately loved the flute with several pipes called Xiao 簫. She was married to a famous musician very talented in this

instrument.—At the sound of his music, the phoenixes, cranes, and peacocks came and gathered around him. Mu Gong had a belvedere constructed for this happy couple. One day, they flew off with the phoenix. Ever since then one continues to hear phoenixes in this enchanted palace.

Mou-Kong avait une fille nommée Long-Yu qui aimait passionnément la flûte à plusieurs tuyaux appelée Siao 蕭. On la maria à un fameux musicien très habile à jouer de cet instrument.—Au son de sa musique, les phénix, les grues, les paons venaient s’assembler autour de lui. Mou-Kong fit construire un belvédère pour ce couple heureux. Un jour, ils s’envolèrent avec le phénix. Depuis lors on continua d’entendre les phénix dans ce palais enchanté. (57)

Segalen also incorporates various details from the following material in Couvreur’s edition of the *Classic of History* 書經, as well as from the footnotes below.

Kui (who was the prefect of music) said: “When we lightly or loudly strike the musical stones [*qiu* 球], when we lightly or loudly strum the strings of the two kinds of lute, and when the sounds of these instruments alternate with the voices of singers, the *manes* of the ancestors arrive, the guest of Yu (of the emperor Shun) takes a place (and participates in the ceremony), all the princes show their virtue through their mutual courtesy. Below (in the room or in degree), the flutes and drums unify their accords as soon as the signal is given by the wooden box; they stop at the signal given by the sleeping tiger. The mouth organs and the bells make themselves heard in the intervals. The birds and beasts leap for joy. When we play the nine songs called *Xiao Shao* [蕭韶], the two phoenixes come and disport themselves elegantly.”

Kui said: “Oh! when I lightly or loudly strike the musical stones [*shi* 石], the animals of all species leap for joy, all of the highest officials are truly in harmony.”

K’ouei (qui était préfet de la musique) dit: “Lorsqu’on frappe légèrement ou fortement les pierres musicales, qu’on

agite légèrement ou fortement les cordes des deux espèces de luths, et que les sons de ces instruments alternent avec les voix des chanteurs; les mânes des ancêtres arrivent, l'hôte de Iu (de l'empereur Chouenn) prend place (et assiste à la cérémonie) tous les princes montrent leur vertu par leur mutuelle courtoisie. Au bas (de la salle ou des degrés), les flûtes et les tambourins unissent leurs accords, dès que le signal est donné par la caisse de bois; ils s'arrêtent au signal donné par le tigre couché. Les orgues à bouche et les cloches se font entendre dans les intervalles. Les oiseaux et les quadrupèdes tressaillent de joie. Quand on exécute les neuf chants appelés *Siao chao*, les deux phénix viennent et s'agitent avec élégance."

K'ouei dit: "Oh! quand je frappe les pierres musicales légèrement ou fortement, les animaux de toute espèce tressaillent ensemble, tous les chefs des officiers sont vraiment en harmonie."

夔曰：戛擊鳴球，搏拊琴瑟，以詠，祖考來格，虞賓在位，羣后德讓。下管鞀鼓，合止祝敵，笙鏞以間，鳥獸蹌蹌。簫韶九成，鳳凰來儀。夔曰：於予擊石拊石，百獸率舞，庶尹允諧。（書經，益稷， I.v.9–10, AC 57–58）

The following footnotes to the passage above in Couvreur explain a number of details that Segalen used in the stèle.

球 [*qiu*] or [*qing*] 磬. Musical percussion instrument, consisting of one or several stone tablets suspended from a transverse. (57n.)

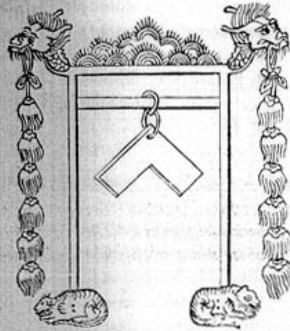
琴 [*qin*]. Lute with five cords. (57n.)

敵 [*yu*]. Wooden instrument in the shape of a sleeping tiger, backed with twenty-seven "teeth." One struck it with a mallet 夔 *zhen* to announce the end of each piece of music. (58n.)

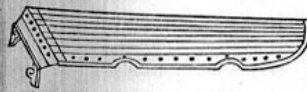
鳳 [*feng*] Male phoenix; [*huang*] 凰 female phoenix. The phoenix is a bird with varied plumage, 五彩色 (of all colors). It has the head of a cock or hen, the neck of a serpent, the breast of a sparrow, the back of a tortoise,

cantica (dum cantantur), phœnices veniunt et decore gestiunt.»

球 ou **磬** Instrument de musique à percussion, consistant en une ou plusieurs tablettes de pierre suspendues à une traverse.



琴 Luth à cinq cordes.



瑟 Luth à vingt-cinq cordes.

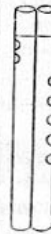
丹朱 Tchou de Tan, fils de l'empereur lao, se fit **虞賓** l'hôte de lu

敔 Instrument de bois qui avait la forme d'un tigre couché, surmonté de vingt-sept dents. On le frappait avec un bâton **欒** tchénn pour annoncer la fin de chaque morceau de musique.



笙 Petit orgue à bouche composé de treize ou de dix-neuf tuyaux fixés sur unealebasse ou sur une coupelle de bois. Le musicien applique la bouche à un tube latéral.

Les pierres musicales et les luths étaient placés à la partie supérieure de la salle

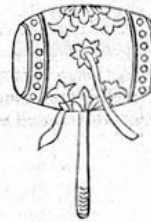


(l'empereur Chouenn); **在位** il occupa une place et prit part aux cérémonies faites en l'honneur des ancêtres.

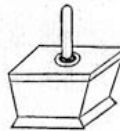
管 Flûte à bec composée de deux tuyaux.

簫 ou **箛** Flûte que les pantomimes tenaient à la main. **箛韶** Nom de neuf chants ou morceaux de musique attribués à l'empereur Chouenn.

鼗鼓 Tambourin muni d'un manche et portant de chaque côté une balle suspendue. On l'agitte en le tenant par le manche; les deux balles frappent sur les peaux et les font résonner.



祝 Caisse de bois qu'on faisait résonner en agitant le bâton **椎** ou **止** placé en son milieu. Elle servait à donner le signal, quand on devait commencer l'exécution d'un morceau de musique.



Figures 1a & 1b: From Séraphin Couvreur's *Chou King: Les Annales de la Chine* (1897). Collection of the authors.

the tail of a fish. Its size is six [*chi*] 尺 (one meter, twenty cent.). (58n.)

簫 [*xiao*] or [*shuo*] 箛. Flute that pantomimes held in the hand. (57n.)

Note that it is the *xiao* 簫 (not pictured in Couvreur) that is associated with Long Yu, not the double-piped *guan* 管 (mouth flute) or the *sheng* 笙 (little mouth organ) in the illustrations. Couvreur also reminds the reader that *Xiao Shao* 簫韶 (Flute Songs) is the “Name of nine songs or pieces of music attributed to the emperor Shun”: these are the *jiu shao* 九韶 “Nine Accords” [*Neuf Accords*] that constitute the “fourth” of the Primitive Hymns that Segalen considered “recomposing” (see S02), attributed to the very same emperor Shun 舜 who figures prominently in S16 “Imprint.” Note also that the *qin* 琴 is probably what Segalen had in mind here for the “lute,” as in S21 “Faithful Betrayal.” In a footnote to his translation of Tang poetry, d’Hervey-Saint-Denys writes: “The desire to introduce foreign words as little as possible into my translation has led me to render as *lute* the instrument that the Chinese call the *qin*. . . . The Chinese poet has his *qin* as the troubadours had their mandolin and the romancers their guitar. One will thus not lose sight of the fact that nearly all Chinese poetry was meant to be sung” [*Le désir de n’introduire dans ma traduction que le moins possible de mots étrangers m’a déterminé à rendre par luth le nom de l’instrument chinois appelé kin. . . . Le poète chinois a son kin comme les trouvères eurent leur mandoline et les romancers leur guitare. On ne perdra point de vue que presque tous les vers chinois sont faits pour être chantés*] (72n).

It seems likely that Segalen would also have had in mind the following well-known passage in the *Classic of History* 書經, which also mentions Kui and the musical stones, and where music is described as an extension of poetry:

The emperor said: “Kui, I appoint you to take charge of music and the instruction of the elder sons (of the emperor, princes, ministers of state, and the great prefect. By means of music), teach them to unite moderation with uprightness, strictness with leniency, gentleness with force, respect

with ease of manners. Poetry expresses the sentiments of the soul; song prolongs this expression. This prolonged expression gives place to the different tones (of the scale); the musical tubes regulate the tones. Thus the tones of the eight sorts of instruments are in accord and do not encroach upon each other. Spirits and men (charmed by the sweetness of concerts) put themselves in harmony.”

“Oh! I strike the musical stone,” said Kui, “I strike the musical stone. The different animals come to dance together.”

L’empereur dit: “K’ouei, je vous charge de diriger la musique, et l’instruction des fils aînés (de l’empereur, des princes, des ministres d’État et des grands préfets. Au moyen de la musique), apprenez-leur à unir la modération avec la rectitude, la sévérité avec l’indulgence, la douceur avec la force, le respect avec l’aisance des manières. La poésie exprime les sentiments de l’âme; le chant prolonge cette expression. Cette expression prolongée donne lieu aux différents sons (de la gamme); les tubes musicaux règlent les sons. Ainsi les sons des huit sortes d’instrument s’accordent et n’empiètent pas les uns sur les autres. Les esprits et les hommes (charmés par la douceur des concerts) se mettent en harmonie.”

“Oh! je frappe la pierre musicale, dit K’ouei, je frappe la pierre musical. Les différents animaux viennent danser ensemble.”

帝曰·夔·命汝典樂·教胄子·直而溫·寬而栗·剛而無虐·簡而無傲·詩言志·歌永言·聲依永·律和聲·八音克諧·無相奪倫·神人以和·夔曰·於予擊石·拊石·百獸率舞·(書經·舜典, I.ii.24; AC 29–30)

Kui and the almost magical power of the musical stones are also mentioned in chapter 2 of the *Book of Liezi* 列子, which Segalen could have read in Wieger’s bilingual facing-page edition, *Pères du système taoïste* (100–101). (See note to S13.)

S30 “Supplication” (SUPPLICATION) (1914 ed.)

月出照兮/ 勞心慘兮

Segalen drew the epigraph (in bold) from Ode 143 of the ancient *Book of Odes* 詩經, in Couvreur’s edition, which reads as follows:

The beauty of the face compared to the brightness of the moon.

The moon at its rising shines with a pure brightness. Such a lovely face is adorable. The sight of it swells a heart pressed with sadness. Uneasiness tires my heart.

The moon at its rising shines with a pure brightness. Such a lovely face is adorable. The sight of it dispels the deepest sadness. Uneasiness disturbs my heart.

The moon at its rising brightens the earth. Such a lovely face is brilliant. The sight of it swells a heart pressed with sorrow. **Uneasiness fills my heart.** (IV.iv.4)

La beauté du visage comparée à la clarté de la lune.

La lune à son lever brille d’une clarté pure. Ce beau visage est aimable. Sa vue dilate un cœur serré par la tristesse. L’inquiétude fatigue mon cœur.

La lune à son lever brille d’une clarté pure. Ce beau visage est aimable. Sa vue dissipe la tristesse la plus profonde. L’inquiétude agite mon cœur.

La lune à son lever éclaire la terre. Ce beau visage est brillant. Sa vue dilate un cœur serré par le chagrin. **L’inquiétude accable mon âme.**

月出皎兮，佼人僚兮。
舒窈糾兮，勞心悄兮。
月出皓兮，佼人攸兮。
舒憂受兮，勞心慄兮。
月出照兮，佼人僚兮。
舒天紹兮，勞心慘兮。(CK 150, Ode 143)

In James Legge’s classic translation, the ode reads:

The moon comes forth in her brightness;
How lovely is that beautiful lady!
O to have my deep longings for her relieved!
How anxious is my toiled heart!

The moon comes forth in her splendour;
How attractive is that beautiful lady!
O to have my anxieties about her relieved!
How agitated is my toiled heart!

The moon comes forth and shines;
How brilliant is that beautiful lady!
O to have the chains of my mind relaxed!
How miserable is my toiled heart! (Legge, *Chinese Classics*, 4:212, 1.12.8)

S31 “Equivocal Sister” (S’ŒUR EQUIVOQUE) (1914 ed.) 女子有行遠兄弟

The line from which the epigraph is drawn occurs in three separate odes in the *Book of Odes* 詩經—39, 51, and 59—making it difficult to know with certainty precisely which of the three is the source and primary intertext. It has been assumed that it must be the first of them, Ode 39; but, in fact, that is the one of the three that has a slightly different word order from the epigraph, where “parents” appears before “brothers.” (In fact, Ode 59 has both arrangements, which differ for different rhymes.) Considering that Segalen looked up as a cross-reference the final lines of Ode 58 (which appear in a passage that he transcribed in Chinese from the *Book of Rites* 禮記 on a manuscript draft for S18), it seems likely that he found his epigraph on the facing page in the opening lines of Ode 59. All three odes are given below (with the epigraph in bold) in James Legge’s classic translation of *The Book of Odes* 詩經 along with Couvreur’s versions and headnotes (in italics) adapted from the “Little Preface.”

Ode 59 (竹竿):

With your long and tapering bamboo rods,
You angle in the K’e.

Do I not think of you?
But I am far away, and cannot get you.

The Ts'euen-yuen is on the left,
And the waters of the K'e are on the right.
**But when a young lady goes away, [and is married],
She leaves her brothers and parents.**

The waters of the K'e are on the right
And the Ts'euen-yuen is on the left.
How shine the white teeth through the artful smiles!
How the girdle gems move to the measured steps!

The waters of the K'e flow smoothly;
There are the oars of cedar and boats of pine.
Might I but go there in my carriage and ramble,
To dissipate my sorrow! (Legge, *Chinese Classics*, 4:101–
102, 1.5.5)

*Une fille de la maison de Wei, mariée à un prince étranger,
désire revoir les rivières, les bambous de son pays, et faire visite
à ses parents. [A girl from the house of Wei, married to a
foreigner, wishes to see again the rivers, the bamboo of her
country, and to visit her parents.]*

Tiges de bambous longues et terminées en pointe, vous
servez pour la pêche à la ligne dans la K'i. Comment ne
penserai-je pas à vous? Mais je suis trop loin pour aller
vous revoir.

La Ts'iuen coule à gauche et la K'i à droite. **Une jeune
fille qui s'en va pour se marier, quitte ses parents et ses
frères.**

La K'i coule à droite et la Ts'iuen à gauche. Les
promeneurs dans leur rire gracieux laissent voir leur belles
dents blanches, et dans leur marche cadencée font entendre
le son des jolies pierres suspendues à leurs ceintures.

La K'i déroule ses eaux; les rames de cèdre et les barques de sapin ne manquent pas. Attelez ma voiture, que je parte, me promène (sur les bords de la K'i) et dissipe ma tristesse.

藿藿竹竿，以釣于淇。
豈不爾思，遠莫致之。

泉源在左，淇水在右。
女子有行，遠兄弟父母。

淇水在右，泉源在左。
巧笑之瑳，佩玉之儺。

淇水泔泔，檜楫松舟。
駕言出遊，以寫我憂。(CK 70—71, Ode 59)

Ode 39 (泉水):

How the water bubbles up from that spring,
And flows away to the K'e!
My heart is in Wei;
There is not a day I do not think of it.
Admirable are those, my cousins;
I will take counsel with them.

When I came forth, I lodged in Tse,
And we drank the cup of convoy at Ne.
When a young lady goes [to be married],
She leaves her parents and brothers;
[But] I would ask for my aunts,
And then for my elder sister.

I will go forth and lodge in Kan,
And we drink the cup of convoy at Yen.
I will grease the axle and fix the pin,
And the returning chariot will proceed.
Quickly shall we arrive in Wei;
—But would not this be wrong?

I think of the Fei-ts'euén,
I am ever sighing about it.
I think of Seu and Ts'aou,
Long, long, my heart dwells with them.
Let me drive forth and travel there,
To dissipate my sorrow. (Legge, *Chinese Classics*, Ode 39,
4:63–64, 1.3.14)

Une fille de la maison de 衛 Wéi, mariée à un prince étranger, désire aller revoir son pays natal. Elle demandera à ses compagnes si ce voyage convient ou non; car ses parents ne sont plus. (D'après l'usage, la femme d'un prince pouvait retourner à la maison paternelle, tant que ses parents étaient en vie; après leur mort, elle se contentait d'envoyer un 大夫 t'ai fōu grand préfet pour saluer ses frères). [A girl from the house of 衛 Wei, married to a foreign prince, wishes to visit her native land. She will ask her companions if this journey is proper or not; for her parents are gone. (According to custom, the wife of a prince could return to her paternal household, so long as her parents were alive; after their death, she contented herself with sending a 大夫 dài fū high commissioner to greet her brothers.)]

La Ts'iuen prend sa source dans le pays de Wei et se jette dans la K'i (sans sortir de Wei. Son sort me fait envie). Mon cœur est à Wei; j'y pense chaque jour. Mes compagnes, mes parentes [sic] sont admirable; je les consulterai (sur mon projet de retour).
Quand je suis venue ici, je me suis arrêtée à Tsi; j'ai bu le vin et reçu les honneurs du festin d'adieu à Gni. **Jeune fille, pour faire ce voyage, j'ai quitté mes parents et mes frères.** Je consulterai mes tantes et mes autres parents (sur mon projet de retour).
Partie d'ici, je m'arrêterai à Kan; je boirai et recevrai les honneurs du festin d'adieu à Ien. Déjà on graisse, on arme l'essieu; la voiture s'en retournera vite. J'arriverai bientôt à Wei; mais ne serai-je pas en faute?
Je pense à la Fei; je soupire sans cesse après le bonheur

de la revoir. Je pense aux villes de Siu et de Ts'ao; leur souvenir occupe toujours mon esprit. Que ne puis-je monter en voiture, partir, voyager et dissiper ma tristesse!

瑟彼泉水，亦流于淇。
有懷于衛，靡日不思。
變彼諸姬，聊與之謀。
出宿于泂，飲餞于禰。
女子有行，遠父母兄弟。
問我諸姑，遂及伯姊。
出宿于干，飲餞于言。
載脂載輦，還車言邁。
遄臻于衛，不瑕有害。
我思肥泉，茲之永歎。
思須與漕，我心悠悠。
駕言出游，以寫我憂。(CK 45-47, Ode 39)

Ode 51 (蜎蜎):

There is a rainbow in the east,
And no one dares to point to it.
**When a girl goes away [from her home],
She separates from her parents and brothers.**

In the morning [a rainbow] rises in the west,
And [only] during the morning is there rain.
When a girl goes away [from her home],
She separates from her brothers and parents .

This person
Has her heart only on being married.
Greatly is she untrue to herself,
And does not recognize [the law of] her lot. (Legge,
Chinese Classics, Ode 51)

*Une union qui n'est pas contractée selon les règles, est semblable
à l'arc-en-ciel, qui résulte d'un trouble dans la nature, est
de mauvais augure et prive la terre de la pluie du matin.
[A marriage that is not contracted according to the*

rules is like a rainbow, which comes from a disturbance in nature, is of ill omen, and deprives the earth of the morning rain.]

Lorsque l'arc-en-ciel paraît à l'orient, personne n'ose la montrer du doigt. Une fille qui se marie, quitte ses parents et ses frères.

Lorsque l'arc-en-ciel paraît le matin à l'occident, la pluie cesse avec la matinée. **Une fille qui se marie, quitte ses parents et ses frères.**

Cette fille pense à se marier (sans tenir compte des usages). Elle se perd elle-même, et ne connaît plus la loi naturelle.

蝮蝮在東，莫之敢指。
女子有行，遠父母兄弟。
朝濟于西，崇朝其雨。
女子有行，遠兄弟父母。
乃如之人也，懷昏姻也。
大無信也，不知命也。(CK 58–59, Ode 51)

S32 “Provisional Stele” (STÈLE PROVISOIRE)
(1914 ed.) 雲碑

No supplementary resources. See Segalen's letter to Jean Lartigues of 7 March 1913 (*Correspondances* 2:101–102).

S33 “Eulogy of the Young Girl” (ÉLOGE DE LA JEUNE
FILLE) 童女之頌

Some of the details of this stèle are so similar to the following excerpt from “Honorific Monuments” [*Monuments honorifiques*] in the first chapter of Evariste Huc's *L'Empire chinois* (1879) that we think that Segalen probably used it, even though he does not record any source in his manuscript notes.

We encountered along our way a great number of monuments that are particular to China, and which would be enough to distinguish this country from all others. They

are the triumphal arches raised to widowhood and virginity. If a girl does not want to marry in order better to devote herself to the care of her parents or if a widow refuses to have a second wedding out of respect for her deceased husband, they are honored after their death with great pomp and solemnity. A pool is established to erect a monument to their virtue; all of the relatives contribute, and often even the inhabitants of the village or quarter where the heroine lives wish to take part. These triumphal arches are of stone or wood: they are laden with sometimes quite remarkable sculptures representing fabulous animals, flowers, and birds of every kind. . . . These triumphal arches make a lovely sight and are commonly found on the roads and sometimes in the villages.

Nous rencontrâmes sur notre route un grand nombre de monuments particuliers à la Chine, et qui suffiraient seuls pour distinguer ce pays de tous les autres. Ce sont des arcs de triomphe élevés à la viduité et à la virginité. Si une fille ne veut pas se marier, afin de mieux se dévouer au service de ses parents ou si une veuve refuse de passer à de secondes noces, par respect pour la mémoire de son mari défunt, elles sont honorées, après leur mort avec pompe et solennité. On forme des souscriptions pour élever des monuments à leur vertu; tous les parents y contribuent, et souvent même les habitants du village ou du quartier où demeurait l'héroïne veulent y prendre part. Ces arcs de triomphe sont en pierre ou en bois: ils sont chargés de sculptures, quelquefois assez remarquables, représentant des animaux fabuleux, des fleurs et des oiseaux de toute espèce. . . . Ces arcs de triomphe sont d'un bel effet, et sont très-répandus sur les chemins et quelquefois dans les villes. (1:24–25)

The convention of dedicating arches to virtuous women is notably satirized in the following excerpt from Segalen's novel *René Leys*:

I accuse Lady Long-Yu of being in love with the Son of the Prince, whom she raised after the disappearance of the Re-

gent to the hasty rank of Emperor-Consort, while granting for life, to the still-virginal little singer, the title of twenty-fifth laundress of wedding-night linens, and, after death, the official consecration of a beautiful triumphal arch reserved for exemplary widows, for diehard virgins, whose pillars, straddling the crossways, let pass through their crotch all the traffic of the street!

[J]'accuse Dame Long-Yu d'être amoureuse du Fils de Prince qu'elle élèverait, après la disparition du Régent, au rang brusque d'Empereur-Consort, accordant pour la vie, à la petite chanteuse toujours vierge, le titre de vingt-cinquième laveuse de linge de nuit de noces, et, à sa mort, la consécration officielle d'un bel arc de triomphe que l'on réserve aux veuves exemplaires, aux vierges à tous crins, et dont les poteaux, enjambant les carrefours, laissent passer dans leur entrejambe toute la circulation de la rue! (*OC* 2:527)

It should be noted that Segalen chose not to describe the young woman here according to the conventional poetic tropes of female beauty (as he does in *René Leyš*, see further below), which Couvreur summarized in his introduction to the *Book of Odes* 詩經 with a pastiche of excerpts from various odes, as follows:

A type of beauty is offered to us in the person of Xuan Ji-ang 宣姜. "She has brilliant eyes, a broad forehead, a well-shaped brow. . . . Her large forehead is very white. Her beautiful black hair forms like a cloud around her head." I.IV.3. [from Ode 47]

Zhuang Jiang 莊姜 is not less remarkable. "She is tall in stature. Her fingers are as white and delicate as young sprouts of milkweed, her skin white as congealed fat, her neck white and long as the worm that gnaws wood, her teeth as white and regular as the seeds of a squash, her brow as broad as that of a cicada, her eyebrows thin and arched like the antennae of silkworm butterfly. A graceful smile adorns her cheeks. Her lovely eyes shine with lively burst, where the white and the black set each other off. I.V.3 [from Ode 57]

At Hao 鎬, capital of the empire, the hair of the women of high rank was thick and loose. They curled naturally at the temples, and looked like scorpion tails. I.VIII.1 [from Ode 225]

Un type de beauté nous est offert en la personne de 宣姜 Siuēn Kiāng. “Elle a les yeux brillants, le front large, les angles du front bien remplis. . . . Son large front est très blanc. Ses beaux cheveux noirs forment comme une nuée autour de sa tête.” I.IV.3.

莊姜 Tchouāng Kiāng n’est pas moins remarquable. “Sa taille est élevée. Ses doigts sont blancs et délicats comme les jeunes pousses de laitrons, sa peau blanc comme la graisse figée, son cou blanc et long comme le ver qui ronge le bois, ses dents blanches et régulières comme les pépins de la courge, son front large comme celui de la cigale, ses sourcils minces et arqués comme les antennes du papillon du ver à soie. Un gracieux sourire embellit ses joues. Ses beaux yeux brillent d’un vif éclat, où le blanc et le noir tranchent bien l’un sur l’autre.” I.V.3

A 鎬 Haò, capitale de l’empire, les cheveux des femmes de haut rang étaient épais et lisses. Sur les tempes ils étaient bouclés naturellement, et présentaient l’apparence de la queue du scorpion. I.VIII.1 (*CK xi*).

Segalen wryly invokes these poetic tropes of female beauty in the descriptions of Mrs. Wang in *René Leys* and in the following passage about the emperor’s concubines from *Le fils du ciel* (The Son of Heaven):

All of them have the characteristics that define a beautiful woman: small eyes, a slight and delicate nose, a flat forehead like the brow of a cicada, a neck like that of a white worm, a flat chest, neither small nor overlarge in size, skin as soft as congealed fat, long and slender hands, feet that are not deformed, heels larger than the balls of the feet.

Toutes, elles ont les traits qui désignent une femme jolie: car leurs yeux sont petits, le nez fin et discret, le front plat

comme le front de la cigale, le cou semblable à celui du ver blanc, la poitrine droite, la taille ni petite ni démesurée, la peau très douce à l'égal de la graisse figée, les mains longues et minces, les pieds non déformés, le talon plus large que l'attache des orteils. (*OC* 2:339)

In a now well-known letter to Henri Manceron of 23 September 1911, after describing his sexual encounters with Tahitian women, Segalen writes, as follows:

It is high time that I reaffirm it before I age: the young girl, the virgin, is to me the true lover—and so uncooperative, or even so cleverly and exquisitely hypocritical!—At the age of thirty-three that can still be said, especially after twenty years of uninterrupted tasting; if in twenty years I declare it again, my friends at least will know that this is not a sign of senility, but my sincerest attitude toward love. Moreover, my *Essay on Exoticism* will say it thus: the young girl is distant from us in the extreme, therefore incomparably precious to all devotees of the Diverse.

Il est grand temps que je le réaffirme, avant la maturité: la jeune fille, la vierge, est pour moi la véritable amoureuse,—et si peu complice, ou bien si habilement et exquisement hypocrite!—A trente-trois ans cela peut encore se dire, surtout après vingt ans de goûts ininterrompus; si dans vingt ans je le déclare encore, mes amis, au moins, sauront que ceci ne dénonce pas de la sénilité, mais ma plus franche attitude amoureuse. Ceci encore, mon *Essai sur l'Exotisme* le dira: la jeune fille est distante de nous à l'extrême, donc précieuse incomparablement à tous les fervents du Divers.] (*Trahison fidèle*, 106–107).

See also Segalen's letter to his wife, Yvonne, of 7 April 1913 (Segalen, *Correspondances*, 2:133–134). See also the extended meditation on the appearance of Chinese and Tibetan women in *Équipée* 18 (*OC* 2:298–301).

S34 “Stele to Desire” (STÈLE AU DESIR) (1914 ed.)

不為而成

The epigraph is taken from the famous *Daode jing* (Tao Te Ching) 道德經 (Book of the Way and Its Power) attributed to Laozi 老子, which Segalen could have read in Wieger’s bilingual facing-page edition, *Pères du système taoïste*, excerpted here.

Without leaving one’s door *one can* know all the world; without looking out of the window, *one can* understand the ways of heaven (principles which govern all things).—The further one goes, the less one learns.

The Sage arrives *at the goal* without having made a step *to attain it*. He knows, before having seen, *by superior principles*. **He achieves without having acted** *by his transcendent influence*.

Commentaries: The superior overall knowing is that of the Sage. The knowledge of details is unworthy of him.

Sans sortir par la porte, *on peut* connaître tout le monde; sans regarder par la fenêtre, *on peut* se rendre compte des voies du ciel (principes qui régissent toutes choses).—Plus on va loin, moins on apprend.

Le Sage arrive *au but*, sans avoir fait un pas *pour l’atteindre*. Il connaît, avant d’avoir vu, *par les principes supérieurs*. **Il achève, sans avoir agi**, *par son influence transcendante*.

Commentaires: La connaissance supérieure globale, est celle du Sage. La connaissance des détails, est indigne de lui.

不出戶知天下, 不闚牖見天道. 其出彌遠, 其知彌少. 是以聖人, 不行而至, 不見而名, 不為而成. (47)

S35 “Out of Respect” (PAR RESPECT)

敬避字 / 敬忘名

We have found the French title for this stèle as well as the first half of the epigraph and even certain details for the body of the poem in an article (excerpted below) by Arnold Vissière, “Traité des caractères chinois qu’on évite par respect (敬避字) [Treatise

on Chinese Characters That Are Avoided Out of Respect (敬避字)].” (See also the note to S64.)

NAME OF THE EMPEROR GUANG-XU

載活 Zai-tian “Whose acts have a peaceful course.”

Since the reigning emperor is first cousin to his predecessor, the first character of his personal name is the same. . . . We have seen that 載, though it ought to be, in principle, avoided in the exam compositions, is neither replaced nor modified.

The second character, 活 *tian* “course of peaceful water,” has no substitute used out of respect. When writing it one deletes the last brush stroke of the right part. . . . One cannot use these expressions:

恬愉 *tian-yu* “peaceful and contented,”
神恬 *shen-tian* “supernatural happiness,”
引恬 *yin-tian* “to lead to a peaceful life,”

where, in the case of 恬, the form is complete and both the pronunciation identical and also the meaning similar to those of 活.

NOM DE L'EMPEREUR KOUĀNG-SIÚ (當今皇帝)

載活 *Tsai-t'ien* “Dont les actes ont un cours tranquille”.

L'empereur régnant étant cousin germain de son prédécesseur, le premier caractère de son nom personnel est le même. . . . Nous avons vu que 載, s'il doit, en principe, être évité dans les compositions d'examen, n'est ni remplacé ni modifié.

Le second caractère, 活 *t'ien* “cours d'eau tranquille”, n'a pas de substitut employé par respect. On supprime, en le traçant, le dernier trait de pinceau de sa partie droite. . . . On ne peut se servir des expressions:

恬愉 *t'ien-yü* “tranquille et content”,
神恬 *chên-t'ien* “bonheur surnaturel”,
引恬 *yin-t'ien* “conduire à une vie tranquille”,

dont la forme est complète et dont la prononciation est iden-

tique et le sens voisin, en ce qui concerne 恬, de ceux de 活.
(360–361)

Vissière makes the following remarks on the *ming* 名 or “given name.”

It will perhaps be useful to end this summative study with several words on the very practice which motivated it. It is certainly not customary, among us, to refer to people by their given name and in their presence if our relationship with them is not one of intimacy. In China, the *ming* 名 is the name by which the father calls his child and by extension the master his servant, the superior his subordinate. It is even used by one person to another as necessary to mark one’s inferiority in relation to another whom one addresses, either out of duty or out of politeness. Thus, Chinese visiting cards carry this name (except in the case of princes, who have their title written) out of respect and humility.

Il sera peut-être utile de terminer cette étude récapitulative par quelque mots sur l’usage même qui l’a motivée. Il n’est certes pas habituel, parmi nous, de désigner par leur prénom et en leur présence les personnes avec lesquelles nos rapports ne sont pas ceux de l’intimité. En Chine, le *ming* 名 est le nom par lequel le père appelle son enfant et par extension le maître son domestique, le supérieur son subordonné. Il est employé par la personne même à laquelle il appartient pour marquer son infériorité vis-à-vis de celle à laquelle elle s’adresse, soit par devoir soit par politesse. C’est ainsi que les cartes de visite chinoises portent ce nom (sauf dans le cas des princes, qui y font inscrire leur titre) par respect et humilité. (369)

Vissière gives the source for the phrase which Segalen uses for the epigraph as follows:

Zhang zhidong, in his *You xuan yu* 輶軒語 (or “Words from the Carriage of an Imperial Envoy”), whose preface dates to 1876 and which contains his advice to Chinese scholars,

in particular to those preparing their exams, devotes a short chapter—the fifth of six—to characters that one avoids out of respect *jing bi zi* 敬避字.

Tchāng Tchē-tóng, dans son 輶軒語 *Yeōu-hiuān-yù* (ou “Paroles venues du char d’un envoyé impérial”) dont la préface est de 1876 et qui contient ses conseils aux lettrés chinois, en particulier à ceux qui préparent leurs examens, consacre un court chapitre,—le cinquième sur six,—aux caractères que l’on évite par respect 敬避字 *kíng-pí-tséu*. (328).

Segalen uses this idea again in his novel *René Leys*, at the moment when Leys, who claims to be an intimate friend of the emperor, offers to reveal to the narrator an imperial secret.

—I will tell you in confidence the story of the first wedding night of “Guangxu” . . .

I interrupt:

—Why do you call him “Guangxu”? You who certainly know his name!

—Why do you want me to use the name that is forbidden from . . .

—That’s true. I accept the pseudonym. And so?

—Je vais vous confier l’histoire de la première nuit de noces de “Kouang-Siu” . . .

J’interromps:

—Pourquoi l’appeler “Kouang-Siu”? Vous qui savez certainement son nom!

—Pourquoi voulez-vous que j’use du nom qu’il est défendu de . . .

—C’est vrai. J’accepte le pseudonyme. Alors? (OC 2:527–528)

S36 “Mongol Libation” (LIBATION MONGOLE)

他日再生當令我得之

The following anecdote from the reign of the Southern Song emperor Lizong 理宗 (r. 1225–1264) in Wieger’s *Textes historiques* is

cited in the manuscript as the source for both poem and epigraph (in bold).

[In 1232. . . .] Meanwhile, the *Jīn* general *Chen Heshang*, who had marched against Toulouï, was defeated. His army disbanded. The cry of despair they let out at the moment that panic seized them was like the sound of a mountain collapsing, says the Text. *Chen Heshang* was taken alive. Admiring his courage, the Mongols offered him a chance to serve with them. He refused. Then they cut his hamstrings, broke his arms and legs, sliced his mouth to his ears. Despite the blood streaming into his throat, *Chen Heshang* cried out until his death that he remained faithful to his king. When he died, the Mongol chieftains poured libations with koumiss to him, exclaiming: Brave soldier, **at your next reincarnation, do us the honor of being reborn among our nation!**

[En 1232. . . .] Cependant le général *kīnn* [*sic*] *Tch'én-houochang*, qui avait marché contre Toulouï, fut battu. Son armée se débanda. Le cri de désespoir qu'elle poussa, au moment où la panique la saisit, fut comme le bruit d'une montagne qui s'écroule, dit le Texte. *Tch'én-houochang* fut pris vivant. Admirant sa bravoure, les Mongols lui offrirent du service. Il refusa. Alors ils lui coupèrent les jarrets, lui brisèrent bras et jambes, lui fendirent la bouche jusqu'aux oreilles. Malgré le sang qui ruisselait dans sa gorge, *Tch'én-houochang* cria jusqu'à la mort qu'il restait fidèle à son roi. Quand il expira, les chefs mongols lui firent des libations avec du koumys, en criant: Brave officier, **lors de ta prochaine réincarnation, fais-nous l'honneur de renaître dans notre nation!**

金將陳和尚及蒙古拖雷戰於三峰，遂潰，聲如崩山。蒙古兵生擒陳和尚，欲其降，不肯，乃所足脛折之，大敗，金軍割口吻至耳，噴血呼，至死不屈，蒙古將有義之者，以馬湏酌而祝曰，好男子，他日再生當令我得。
(*TH* 1928–1929)

S37 “Written with Blood” (ÉCRIT AVEC DU SANG)

死當為厲鬼以殺賊

The following anecdote from the reign of the Tang emperor Suzong 肅宗 (r. 756–762) in Wieger’s *Textes historiques* is cited in the manuscript as the source for both poem and epigraph (in bold).

[We are in the year 757. . . .] Meanwhile, at the other end of this valley (in what is today *Guilei-fu*), the imperial commandant of *Sui-yang*, *Zhang-sun*, under siege since the beginning of *Yin-tzji*’s revolt, was being worn down in the extreme. Their provisions exhausted, they ate their horses, then sparrows and rats, then the women. As the besieged knew they would not be spared, the idea that they might surrender did not even occur to them. Sword and hunger decimated them until they were only 400 men, so exhausted they could no longer lift a weapon. Then the rebels scaled the rampart. *Zhang-sun* was brought before *Yin-tzji*. Why do you gnash your teeth in combat? he asked him. . . . From the desire to devour you! was the answer. . . . Then, bowing down toward the West (toward the emperor), *Zhang-sun* cried out: If I have succumbed it is because my strength is completely exhausted! **I will keep serving you after my death! I ask to become a demon of the worst kind to keep biting these men!** . . . The rebels strangled him. He died without changing his expression.

[Nous sommes en 757. . . .] Cependant, à l’autre bout de cette vallée (dans le *Koëitei-fou* actuel), le commandant impérial de *Soëi-yang*, *Tchāng-sunn*, assiégé depuis le commencement de la révolte par *Yinn-tzeuk’i*, était réduit à l’extrémité. Les provisions étant épuisées, on mangea les chevaux, puis les moineaux et les rats, puis les femmes. Comme les assiégés savaient qu’il n’y aurait pas de quartier pour eux, l’idée de capituler ne leur vint même pas. Le fer et la faim les décimèrent, au point qu’ils finirent par n’être plus que 400 hommes, si exténués qu’ils ne pouvaient plus soulever une arme. Alors les rebelles escaladèrent le rempart. *Tchāng-*

sun fut traîné devant *Yinn-tzeuk'i*. Pourquoi grinçais-tu des dents, durant les combats? lui demanda celui-ci. . . . Par envie de vous dévorer! fut la réponse. . . . Puis, se prosternant vers l'Ouest (vers l'empereur), *Tchāng-sun* cria: Si j'ai succombé, c'est que mes forces sont absolument épuisées! **Je continuerai à vous servir après ma mort! Je demande à devenir un démon de la pire espèce, pour continuer à mordre ces gens-là!** . . . Les rebelles l'égorèrent. Il mourut sans changer de visage.

張巡堅守睢陽，賊將尹子奇攻之。城中糧盡，遂食馬馬盡，羅雀掘鼠。雀鼠又盡，巡出愛妾殺以食士。城中知必死，莫有叛者。所餘纔四百人。賊登城，將士病不能戰。巡西向再拜曰，臣力竭矣，生既無以報陛下，死當為厲鬼以殺賊。(TH 1689)

An allusion to the same anecdote appears in Segalen's "Painted with Blood" [*Peint au sang*] (27 December 1912), a draft of which he decided not to include in the published edition of his collection of imaginary paintings, *Peintures* (1916). The following brief excerpt tantalizingly evokes some of the images that Segalen may have already had in mind when drafting this stèle.

The tool of the painter here is not the flexible brush, thick as a stalk and supple as living hair;—but merely the living finger, the finger cut with an evil spell and sweating its color; or the finger dipped in blood. . . . Those under siege had nothing more than a finger for a brush and their blood for pigment. And each of those strokes is precious. These are painful or atrocious gestures. They are moments coagulated under a dark brown tracery. We cannot see any gentleness in them: this one is painted with spurts of blood.

L'outil du peintre ici n'est pas le pinceau élastique, dru comme un stylet et souple comme des cheveux vivants;—mais seulement le doigt vivant, le doigt coupé par maléfice et suant sa couleur; ou le doigt trempé dans le sang. . . . Des assiégés n'avaient plus que le doigt pour pinceau et leur sang comme couleur. Et tous les éclats en sont précieux. Ce sont des gestes douloureux ou atroces. Ce sont des moments caillés sous

un réseau brun sombre. On ne peut y voir aucune douceur:
ceci est peint à jets de sang. (OC 2:256)

S38 “At Sword Point” (DU BOUT DU SABRE) (1914 ed.) [戈]

On the second manuscript draft (10 March 13), Segalen wrote out the bolded portions of the following passage, partly in shorthand, from Léon Cahun’s *Introduction à l’histoire de L’Asie*, which suggest that Segalen was intrigued by the possibility of making a Turkish-Mongolian connection.

The Turks have kept in their legends the memory of their ethnic origins; it is easier for them than for other peoples to correlate the legendary ethnography with the historical reality.

The ancestry of the Turks of the 6th to the 8th century is better known today than that of the Germans of the 1st to the 6th century. We possess **written monuments**, in Turkic languages, earlier than the most ancient written monuments of Teutonic languages. . . .

The most important of these monuments is a stele bearing an inscription in ancient Turkish, and another in Chinese characters, dated with a Chinese date corresponding to 18 January 733 of our era. This stele was part of a group of monuments discovered in 1889 in Mongolia in the northwest.

Les Turcs ont conservé, dans leurs légendes, le souvenir de leurs origines ethniques; il est plus facile chez eux que d’autres peuples, de faire coïncider l’ethnographie légendaire avec la réalité historique.

La filiation des Turcs, du VIe au VIIIe siècle, est mieux connue, aujourd’hui, que celle des Germains du Ier au VIe siècle. Nous possédons des **monuments écrits**, en langues turques, antérieurs aux monuments écrits les plus anciens des langues teutoniques. . . .

Le plus important de ces monuments est une stèle portant une inscription en ancien turc, et une autre en caractères chinois, datée d’une date chinoise qui corre-

spond au 18 janvier 733 de notre ère. Cette stèle fait partie d'un groupe de monuments découverts en 1889, dans la **Mongolie du nord-ouest**. (Cahun 72–73)

Gabriel Germain was the first to recognize that the striking image in this stèle of “a cuirass crystallized with dew” [*une cuirasse où la rosée cristallise*] alludes to a line in the translation by d'Hervey-Saint-Denys of a poem by the great Tang poet Li Bai (Li Po) 李白, as follows: “The crescent of the moon hanging in the void is all that one perceives in this wild desert, / Where the dew crystallizes on the polished iron of swords and breastplates” [*Le croissant de la lune, suspendu dans le vide, c'est tout ce qu'on aperçoit dans ce farouche désert, / Où la rosée se cristallise sur le fer poli des sabres et des cuirasses*] (d'Hervey-Saint-Denys 62; Germain 450). Germain was also the first to notice that the epigraph appears in Wiegner's *Histoires des croyances religieuses* (1917).

S39 “Hymn to the Sleeping Dragon” (HYMNE AU DRAGON COUCHÉ) 龍可起矣毋泥蟠

Both stèle and epigraph have for their source the following memorial hymn to the spirit of the famous Han-dynasty Marquis Zhuge Liang 諸葛亮 (181–234), which was inscribed on a modern stele in Nanjing and translated by Louis Gaillard in his *Nankin d'alors et d'aujourd'hui* (Nanjing Then and Now), published in the series *Variétés sinologiques* (1903). (Zhuge Liang is a monumental Chinese hero who figures memorably in the classic historical novel *The Romance of the Three Kingdoms* 三國演義.) The hymn is preceded on that stele by an introduction twice its length, which argues that this location is suitable for such a stele to this legendary hero since it faces a hill where he was rumored to have descended on horseback while on imperial assignment to the region; but it also argues that, even if that story were not true, one ought to be able to memorialize him and offer sacrifices to him anywhere, since his spirit is everywhere. The hymn is as follows:

1. The sleeping dragon is immobile: heaven and earth are

as if oppressed by it.; the wind blows violently; the sun and moon refuse their light. As in a severe winter, men carry the imprint of suffering on their features.

2. But should the sleeping dragon move, the mists will dissipate at once, and a beneficent rain, falling in abundance, will serve to lessen the sufferings of the people. Everyone will be content, as during the days of an exquisite spring.

3. Here, we offer you a cup of perfumed nectar, here some fruit (lit. some figs). Our victims are pure, fragrant the flowers we burn. With hands (lit. sleeves) raised in the air, we pray, waiting for you to deign to come.

4. When finally the dragon arrives, a purple cloud takes the place of his standard, the wind (the Spirit) serves as his advance guard, and the rain (the Spirit) follows behind him. His voice resounds, fearsome and sonorous: for a whip, he wields lightning and thunder.

5. If I were not certain that he lives here, my heart would be filled with chagrin. When the wild cat and the vulture met on the road, which was the hero to save the world? Which was the new *Yu*, the new *Ji*?

6. We call upon the presence of *Shen* (申伯) and of *Fu* (仲山甫): heaven made them descend from *Song* mountain to aid the Emperor and to purge the country of the plague of wicked men steeped in crime. **Dragon, arise: it is time; do not keep your body and your talents buried in the mud.**

1. Le dragon couché est immobile: le ciel et la terre en sont comme opprimés; le vent souffle avec violence; le soleil et la lune refusent leur lumière. Comme dans un hiver rigoureux, les hommes portent sur leurs traits l'empreinte de la souffrance.

2. Mais le dragon couché vient-il à s'agiter, le brouillard de se dissiper aussitôt, et une pluie bienfaisante, tombant en abondance, suffit à soulager les misères du peuple. Tous sont contents, comme aux jours d'un printemps délicieux.

3. Voici une coupe de nectar parfumé, et voici, quelques fruits (litt. quelques figues) que nous vous offrons. Pures sont nos victimes, et odoriférantes les fleurs que nous

brûlons. Les mains (litt. les manches) levées en l'air, nous prions en attendant que vous daigniez venir.

4. Lorsqu'enfin le dragon arrive, un nuage empourpré lui tient lieu d'étendard, le vent (l'Esprit) lui sert d'avant-garde, et par derrière suit la pluie (l'Esprit). Sa voix retentit terrible et sonore: pour fouet, il prend l'éclair et le tonnerre.

5. Si je n'étais pas sûr qu'il habite ici, mon cœur se remplirait de chagrin. Quand le fauve et le vautour se croisaient en chemin, quel fut le héros qui sauva le monde? qui fut le nouveau *Yu*, le nouveau *Tsi*?

6. Nous réclamions la présence de *Chen* (申伯) et de *Fou* (仲山甫): le ciel les fit descendre de la montagne *Song*, pour aider l'Empereur, et purger le pays de la peste des méchants enracinés dans le crime.—**Dragon, lève-toi: c'est le temps; n'enfouis plus dans la boue ton corps et tes talents.**

臥龍蟄兮天地閉，風怒號兮日月翳，嚴寒中人顏色悴，
臥龍躍兮陰霾開，沛大澤兮澹羣災，熙熙萬家登春臺，
酌桂椒兮奠薜荔，潔牲牢兮熱蘭蕙，敷衽嗽詞企侯臺，
侯之來兮紛雲旗，前風伯兮後雨師，聲靈赫濯鞭霆雷，
侯不處兮我心戚，獸蹄縱橫交鳥跡，救世需才誰禹稷，
祝申甫兮降嵩山，佐聖明兮除凶頑，龍可起矣毋泥蟠。(284–286)

S40 “Savage Oath” (SERMENT SAUVAGE) (1914 ed.)
西夷碑

On the first manuscript draft, Segalen copied out the bolded sections of the following passage from D'Ollone's *Les Derniers Barbares* (1911), except that for the final passage in square brackets below, Segalen wrote: “. . ., etc. (comes inevitably the lions in Salamambo)” [. . ., etc. (*arrive inévitablement les lions crucifiés dans Salammbó*)].

At the entry of the cluse by which the river of Si Gui Ba emerges from the mountain, we find **two enormous dogs crucified back to back**; we had already found two others on the bank opposite Jiao-ju. **In a general way, this practice, which is very wide-spread among the Lolos, signifies that there is a serious dispute to be settled,—**here, that dividing the Paki and the Acheu over the subject of the territory of Jiao-ju.—Impossible to render the savage and sinister impression, full of menace, that the torture of these powerful animals produced; their huge size seemed doubled again by the stretching of their members, and with their tawny pelts, [they evoke in a gripping way the wild tableau of lions crucified in *Salammbô*].

A l'entrée de la cluse par où la rivière de Sseu-Kouei-pa débouche de la montagne, nous trouvons **deux énormes chiens crucifiés dos à dos**; nous en avons déjà trouvé deux autres du côté opposé de Kiao-Kio. **D'une façon générale, cet usage, qui est très répandu chez les Lolos, signifie qu'il y a un litige grave à régler,—ici, celui divisant les Paki et les Acheu au sujet du territoire de Kiao-Kio.—**Impossible de rendre l'impression farouche et sinistre, pleine de menaces, que produit le supplice de ces puissants animaux; leur forte taille paraît encore doublée par l'allongement de leurs membres, et avec leur pelage fauve, [ils évoquent de manière saisissante le tableau sauvage des lions crucifiés dans *Salammbô*.] (76)

S41 “Chivalry” (COURTOISIE) (1914 ed.) 勝則洗而以請

As noted on the manuscript, the idea for this stèle and its epigraph (in bold) come from the following passage in Couvreur's edition of the *Book of Rites* 禮記:

A man who had to shoot at a target (with another older man or one of higher station than him) took four arrows at once. If he had to throw the arrows into the opening of a vase, with his hand, he held them pressed against his chest. **If he**

was victorious, he washed a cup and offered a drink (to his respectable rival. The master of the house) acted in the same way toward his guest; he did not offer him the horn. (The lesser man) did not set up a third token.

Un homme qui devait tirer à la cible (avec un autre plus âgé ou plus élevé en dignité que lui), prenait quatre flèches d'une seule fois. S'il devait lancer des flèches avec la main dans l'ouverture d'un vase, il les tenait serrées contre sa poitrine. **S'il était vainqueur, il lavait une coupe et invitait à boire** (son respectable rival. Le maître de la maison) agissait de même envers son invité; il ne lui présentait pas la corne. (Un inférieur) ne dressait pas une troisième marque.

侍射，則約矢。侍投則擁矢。勝，則洗而以請。客亦如之。不角。不擢馬。(禮記，少儀; LK 2:7-8).

The contest described above is fully explained by the following footnote in *Couvreur*, the final paragraph of which Segalen copied onto his first manuscript draft with a citation (omitting only the Chinese character “爵”):

For the game called *tou hu* 投壺, each of the two players took four arrows, got onto his knees at some distance from a vase *hu* 壺, put his four arrows on the ground, and then took them up again one by one and aimed to throw them into the opening of the vase with his hand. Someone who played with an older man or one of higher station did not put his arrows on the ground; he held them tight against his chest.

Each time an arrow went into the opening of the vase, one set up a token called *ma* 馬. The one who acquired three tokens was declared the winner. A younger man or one of lesser station was not permitted to set up a third token or be declared the winner.

The loser was forced to drink liquor from a horn presented him by the winner. If the winner was younger or of lower station, or if he was the master of the house, in the place of a horn he presented a cup *jue* 爵, as at a banquet, in order to honor his adversary instead of humiliating him.

Pour le jeu appelé 投壺 *t'éou hou*, chacun des deux joueurs prenait quatre flèches, se mettait à genoux à quelque distance d'un vase 壺 *hou*, déposait ses quatre flèches à terre, puis les reprenait une à une et visait à les lancer avec la main dans l'ouverture du vase. Celui qui jouait avec un homme plus âgé ou plus élevé en dignité que lui, ne déposait pas ses flèches à terre; il les tenait serrées contre sa poitrine.

Chaque fois qu'une flèche était entrée dans l'ouverture du vase, on dressait une marque appelée 馬 *mà*. Celui qui avait obtenu trois marques était proclamé vainqueur. Un homme inférieur en âge ou en dignité ne se permettait pas de dresser une troisième marque et de se déclarer vainqueur.

Le vaincu était condamné à boire de la liqueur dans une corne qui lui était présentée par le vainqueur. Si le vainqueur était inférieur en âge ou en dignité, ou s'il était le maître de la maison, au lieu d'une corne il présentait une coupe 爵 *tsiö*, comme à un banquet, afin d'honorer son adversaire, au lieu de l'humilier. (*LK* 2:8n).

S42 “Order to the Sun” (ORDRE AU SOLEIL)

援戈而麾落日

The epigraph and main body of the stele are drawn from the following entry in Pétillon's *Allusions littéraires* of an anecdote in a 2nd c. BCE collection of Daoist writings by Liu An 劉安, the *Book of the Prince* [or Masters] of *Huai Nan* 淮南子. Segalen copied onto his manuscript the first part (in bold) of this entry in French, without the Chinese, along with the citation “*Allus. litt. T. I. p. 172.*” This annotation was written into the available margin remaining at the upper left after the poem had already been drafted.

援戈而麾落日. **Yang, duke of Lu** 魯陽公, brandished, *yuan*, his lance, and commanded *hui* the setting sun to retreat in order to permit his soldiers, then in the wild fury of battle, to achieve a victory. **Immediately the star drew back to around 38 degrees.** 戰酣日暮, 援戈而麾之, 日為之反三舍. (淮南子). 舍 or 宿 constellation of

the zodiac: of which there are 28 in Chinese astronomy.

Var. 魯陽苦戰揮西日，日反戈頭。 *Yang* of *Lu*, in the heat of battle, made a sign, *hui*, to the setting sun, which returned backward from the point of his lance.

援戈而麾落日。 *Yang*, duc de *Lou* 魯陽公, brandit, *yuen*, sa lance, et commanda *hoei* au soleil couchant de rétrograder, pour permettre à ses soldats, alors dans l'ivresse du combat, d'achever la victoire. Aussitôt l'astre recula de 38 degrés environ. 戰酣日暮，援戈而麾之，日為之反三舍。(淮南子)。舍 ou 宿 constellation zodiacale: il y en a 28 dans l'astronomie chinoise. Var. 魯陽苦戰揮西日，日反戈頭。 *Yang* de *Lou*, au fort de la bataille, fit signe, *hoei*, au soleil couchant, qui revint en arrière de la pointe de la lance. (Petillon, class. 72, 172)

The curious case of the duke of Lu warrants additional comment. One of the little puzzles of *Stèles* / 古今碑錄 that appears when we study Segalen's sources is why the duke in this stèle is called "Ma" whereas the figure in the ancient history just quoted is called "Yang." Bouillier comments: "Segalen thus helped himself to the anecdote for the first part of his poem. Segalen was contented to change the name of the person by calling him *Má*, duke of Lu, famous prince that we find again in the stèle [S63] *Runaway chariot*" [*Segalen s'est donc servi de l'anecdote pour la première partie de son poème. Segalen s'est contenté de changer le nom du personnage en l'appellant Má, duc de Lou, prince fameux que nous retrouvons dans la stèle Char emporté*] (186). Yet the supposed "famous prince" from the source passage in *Couvreur* for S63 "Runaway Chariot" is not Ma, but "僖 Xi, prince of Lu" [僖 *Hī*, prince de *Lou*]. Indeed, among the twelve legendary dukes of Lu and in all of the rest of the genealogy of that state, including the least significant figures, there is no Duke Ma, Prince Ma, or any other Ma by any other title. This "Ma, duke of Lu," is thus entirely of Segalen's own invention, an apparent fusion of two dukes of Lu (Yang and Xi) into a single recurring character with a new name (Ma), just as he invents the character of Cai-yu [T'ai-yü] partly out of the figure of Moxi (Meixi) 妹喜 for S25 and also the unpublished S66. Cai-yu afterward takes on an intertextual

life of her own by reappearing as a major character in the novel *The Son of Heaven* [*Le Fils du ciel*]. With perhaps the same spirit of invention, Segalen's *René Leys* includes a "Eunuch Ma" in the Qing court who is apparently an avatar of the notorious eunuch Ma Tang 馬堂 who impeded Matteo Ricci in his progress to Beijing three centuries earlier. (See also the note on *Miyuan* for S20 in VOL. 1.) Doumet interestingly speculates that Segalen intends an interlingual pun on the (feminine singular) French possessive adjective *ma* ("my") in order to tie the poems reflexively and thematically back to the self. Yet it is worth noting that in both this stèle and in S63 "Runaway Chariot," the traits and actions of this imaginary "*Má, Duc de Lou*" are set in definitive opposition to those of the speaker. In both cases, Duke Ma does exactly what the speaker cannot do, embodying a mastery and control (over the sun, over an army, over horses, over thoughts) which the speaker does not have—even though that very *lack* of mastery and control is seen in positive terms as what defines the Self-Emperor and (at least in S63). The Duke Ma of S63 "Runaway Chariot" may have control of his thoughts and his horses, but who would not prefer a wild joy ride beyond the horizon on a runaway, unicorn-led chariot? This stèle would thus seem to be the melancholy complement to the vision of boundless joy in S63, the necessary accompaniment to a renunciation of control, like the final renunciation of "Knowledge" in favor of the "devastating torrents" of life in the final poem of the collection.

And yet one still wonders about the choice of this particular name. The word *Ma* 馬 ("horse") is, indeed, a Chinese family name—as in Ma Tang 馬堂 and as also in the compound name of the famous (castrated) historian Sima Qian 司馬遷 (see note to S43). (The multiple determination for the association of Ma with emasculation is difficult to ignore.) For a Chinese reader who sees "Ma, duke of Lu," this character *mǎ* 馬 is the name invariably comes to mind, as a calque of the imagined name *Lu Ma gong* 魯馬公 (Ma, duke of Lu) even though such a figure does not exist outside of Segalen's imagination. Indeed, this imagined name is exactly what the translators of both Chinese translations use (Che and Qin, 97; Lin and Diény, 135). This name is reinforced by the theme of the well-controlled thought-horses from the *Book of Odes* 詩經 which appear in S63 "Runaway

Chariot,” whose manuscript drafts bear discussion in this context. To follow the tantalizing implications of this association, Duke Ma would thus be the “Horse Duke” of genuinely disciplined thinking and controlled action—which are admirable traits, but potentially repressive in practice and perhaps impossible anyway. But there is a serious problem with this line of interpretation, which is that the duke Ma’s name in the stèle does not have the correct tone, as Segalen would surely have known: to be more specific, it does not have the low *third* tone (i.e., *Mà* in the old French notation of the Ecole Française d’Extrême Orient [EFEO], and *Mǎ* in the new pinyin system), but rather the rising *second* tone (i.e., *Má* in EFEO, and *Má* in pinyin). In short, the Ma of “*Má, Duc de Lou*” cannot be *Mǎ* 馬 (horse, and the family name) since it is the wrong tone. But the evidence of Segalen’s manuscript drafts complicates the matter further. In fact, Segalen did not give this duke a name in S63 “Runaway Chariot” until he reached the third manuscript draft, at which point he also first included the notes on the Chinese verses from the *Book of Odes* 詩經 about the horses of the duke of Lu. Interestingly, on that draft he marks the word with the low third tone, the correct tone for 馬 (horse), as follows: “Wise Lord Mǎ, duke of Lu” [*Sage Seigneur Mǎ, duc de Lou*]. On the fourth and fifth manuscript drafts, however, Segalen changed the tone mark to “Wise Lord Mā, duke of Lu” [*Sage Seigneur Mā, duc de Lou*], thus indicating the high first tone, which would suggest *mā* 媽 (mother). Sometime *after* this fifth and final extant draft, Segalen abandoned this idea, too, for his ultimate choice (the rising *second* tone), since the final version does not appear anywhere other than in the final printed edition. Unless any of these variations can be attributed to carelessness, it seems that Segalen was toying with the appearance of the romanized word as a bit of Chinoiserie—just as the Duke himself is an invention—created to fool someone who does not know better. Contrary to his usual practice of secreting Chinese calques in the French, this would be an instance of a false calque. Another possibility, however, is that the rising *second* tone is exactly what Segalen intended, in a bit of hermetic interlingual wordplay during the final stages of composition, in order to suggest *má* 麻 (numb, without sensation), thus creating the imaginary figure of *Lu Ma gong* 魯麻公, the Numb Duke of Lu, as

the sensible but senseless counterpoint to the passion of abandon that characterizes Segalen's aesthetic of surrendering oneself to otherness.

“*Steles by the Wayside*” (STÈLES DU BORD DU CHEMIN)
曲直

SECTION HEADING. No supplementary resources.

S43 “Advice to the Good Traveler” (CONSEIL AU BON VOYAGEUR) 行路須知

This stèle is adapted from the following entry in Segalen's unpublished collection of travel writings *Bricks and Tiles* (3 December 1909), written in Mianzhou:

The city after solitude, and the Plain where the mountains open.—Never chose one extreme or the other, this quality over that one, but rather one and then the other, on the condition they follow each other in oppositions of which you are the master. Only you will be able to take pleasure in the one quality that doesn't disappoint, alternation, and to savor its sure possession.

Rest from sound in silence; but even more, deign to return from silence to sound.—Do not believe in the virtue of a lasting virtue, but snap it with a spice that burns you, so that, cleaning yourself of it with this bite, you enliven the bland taste that prepared it . . . Isolation is a great and terrible thing. It expands and strengthens. But pour it out at times even into a crowd, and drown it in the swarm. Love to run among the rocks and the borderlands; do not forget the pedestals where you can place your foot flat.—The mountain circling your gaze leads it and contains it: the immense plain liberates it. Do not disdain any of these adversaries: know that from their brutal combats a great gentleness is born. Do not chose one as a lasting asylum; above all never mix them. Do not attenuate the glory of their antinomies but, cultivating that in yourself, know how to intensify it and to make it spring up magically around you. It is thus

that, without goal and without end, without merits, without error and without cease, you will arrive—not at eternal peace and beatitude, what horror—but at a war of shocks and whirlings full of the intoxication of infinite Diversity.

Ville, après solitude, et Plaine, au débouché des Montagnes. —Ne choisis jamais un extrême ou un autre; cette qualité-ci plutôt que celle-là, mais bien l’une et l’autre, à condition mêmes qu’elles se suivent en des oppositions dont tu sois le maître. Alors seulement tu pourras te réjouir de la seule qualité qui ne déçoive pas, l’alternance, et en savourer la possession certaine.

Repose-toi du son dans le silence; mais plus encore, du silence, daigne revenir au son—Ne crois point à la vertu d’une vertu durable, mais romps-la de quelque épice qui te brûle, afin qu’en te lavant de cette morsure, tu rehausses le goût un peu fade qui la préparait. . . L’isolement est une grande et terrible chose. Il détend et renforce. Mais déverse-le parfois jusqu’à la foule et noie-le dans le grouillis. Aime à courir les roches et les marches; n’oublie point les dalles où le pied pose bien à plat.—La montagne, en cerclant ton regard, le ramène et le contient: la plaine immense le libère. Ne méprise aucun de ces adversaires: sache que de leurs combats brutaux naît une grande douceur. Garde d’en élire aucun pour asile durable, surtout ne les mêle jamais; n’atténue point la gloire de leurs antinomies: mais, la cultivant en toi-même, sache l’exaspérer et la faire magiquement surgir autour de toi. C’est ainsi que, sans but et sans fin, sans mérites, sans erreur et sans trêve, tu parviendras—non point, horreur, à la paix et béatitude éternelles—mais à la guerre aux chocs et aux remous pleins d’ivresse de l’innombrable Diversité. (OC 1:899–900)

In the following passage from Segalen’s notes toward his *Essai sur l’exotisme*, he names this poem by title when discussing the relationship between place and the experience of diversity:

The sensation of Exoticism augments the character, enriches it, far from stifling it.

Discrimination is formed by the sensation of the diverse. Those who are disposed to taste it find themselves reinforced, augmented, intensified. It crushes others. If it also crushes their character, how weak must it have been, or simply made from something other than a true aptitude for exoticism.

The exote, from the hollow of his clump of patriarchal earth, calls, desires, scents the things beyond. But, inhabiting these things beyond—enclosing them, embracing them, savouring them all, here is the Clod, the Turf that becomes suddenly and powerfully Diverse. From this double game of back and forth, an untiring and inexhaustible diversity (Advice to the good traveler.)

La sensation d'Exotisme augmente la personnalité, l'enrichit, bien loin de l'étouffer.

La discrimination est faite par la sensation du divers. Ceux-là qui sont aptes à goûter s'en voient renforcés, augmentés, intensifiés. Elle écrase les autres. Si elle écrase aussi leur personnalité, combien celle-ci n'était-elle pas faible, ou bien faite d'autre chose que d'une aptitude vraie à l'exotisme.

L'exote, du creux de sa motte de terre patriarcale, appelle, désire, subodore des au-delà. Mais, habitant ces au-delà,—tout en les enfermant, les embrassant, les savourant, voici la Motte, le Terroir qui devient tout à coup et puissamment Divers. De ce double jeu balancé, une inlassable, intarissable diversité (Conseils au bon voyageur.)] (*OC* 1:762–763)

See the entry for *Soi* for an excerpt from Segalen's novel *Le fils du ciel*. See also Stanislas Julien's translation of the 太上感應 緣, *Le livre des récompenses et des peines* (1841).

S44 “Solid Sea” (TEMPÊTE SOLIDE) 陸海

This stèle is largely adapted from two passages in Segalen's *Bricks and Tiles* (17–21 August 1909), one of which follows. (See the note to S47 “Terre jaune” for the other.)

Encircle me with your immobile swell, O frozen sea, tide without ebb, sterile waves whose summits will join the copula of the clouds where my whole gaze is absorbed. That I might finally encircle myself in forbidden phrases and exact rhythms, Mountain! All the loftiness of your beauty.

You undulate and my gaze follows. My eye tames you, preceding my steps on the oblique path. I know that behind your visible threshold other crests will block my route. I know that you double the way I must complete; what does it matter: gather up my efforts like the stones left behind by travelers, in homage to your altitude: weary my route, but may it be bitter, may it be hard, may it be lofty.

Your skin is rugged. Your air is vast and descends from the immense sky. Your flowers appear strange. And all across the even plain I crossed toward you, out of fervor.

...

But, leaving you for the Plain, how the Plain has, anew, for me, beauty!

Encerle-moi de ta houle immobile, ô mer figée, ô marée sans reflux, vagues stériles dont les sommets vont joindre la coupole des nues, où s'englobe tout mon regard. Et que j'encerle enfin moi-même en des phrases forcloses et des rythmes exacts, Montagne! toute la hauteur de ta beauté.

Tu ondules, et mon regard te suit. L'œil te dompte, précédant les pieds sur le sentier oblique. Or, je sais que derrière ta frange visible d'autres crêtes me barreront la route. Je sais que tu doubles le chemin que je dois accomplir; qu'importe: accumule mes efforts comme les pierres laissées par les voyageurs, en hommage à ton altitude: fatigue ma route, mais qu'elle soit âpre, qu'elle soit dure, qu'elle soit haute.

Ta peau est rugueuse. Ton air est vaste et descend du ciel immense. Tes fleurs apparaissent spéciales. Et, tout au long de la plaine en bon équilibre, que j'ai marché vers toi, par ferveur. . . .

Mais, te quittant pour la Plaine, que la Plaine a, de nouveau, pour moi, de beauté! (OC 1:870)

The phrase *lu hai* 陸海 occurs in one of the classical com-

mentaries to the *Records of the Grand Historian* 史記 by Sima Qian 司馬遷, in the “Zhang Yi liezhuan” 張儀列傳 (Biography of Zhang Yi), as follows: “‘Western sea’ is a name for Shu and Chuan [i.e., Sichuan]. The sea brings forth an abundance of treasures: thus, by analogy, the central plain of Qin was also called the ‘Land Sea’” [西海謂蜀川也。海者珍藏所聚生，猶謂秦中為「陸海」然也] (史記，張儀列傳, ch. 70). Oddly, this passage is not included in Chavannes’s translation, which means that Segalen must have found it in some other edition or an unidentified secondary source.

S45 “Eulogy on Jade” (ÉLOGE DU JADE) (1914 ed.) 故君子貴之也

On the second manuscript draft Segalen copied the following passage in Chinese from Couvreur’s edition of the *Book of Rites* 禮記, from which he chose the epigraph (in bold).

孔子曰：非為玟之多，故賤之也，玉之寡，故貴之也。夫昔者，君子比德於玉焉。溫潤而澤，仁也。縝密以栗，知也。廉而不劌，義也。垂之如隊，禮也。叩之其聲清越以長其終詘然，樂也。瑕不揜瑜，瑜不揜瑕，忠也。孚尹旁達，信也。氣如白虹，天也。精神見於山川，地也。圭璋特達，德也。天下莫不貴者，道也。詩云：言念君子，溫其如玉。故君子貴之也。

Confucius said: No, it is not that alabaster is abundant that he thinks little of it, and that jade is rare that he esteems it. In antiquity, wise men compared virtue to jade: soft, smooth, and slick, it is like benevolence; fine and dense to make it durable, it is like wisdom; having an edge but not wounding, it is like righteousness; pendulant, as if to fall upon the ground, it is like propriety; its sound when struck both clear and long, and its ending abrupt, it is like music; its flaws not concealing its luster, and its luster not concealing its flaws, it is like honesty; its real and true qualities showing through every side, it is like good faith; its essence like a bright rainbow, it is like heaven; exquisite and mysterious in appearance as the mountains and rivers, it is like the earth; in the

official scepters and tablets of honor so prominently distinguished, it is like virtue; esteemed by all under heaven, it is like the proper way. As the verse [Ode 128 in *The Book of Odes*] reads, “I dream about my lord; he is gentle like jade.” **That is why wise men have esteemed it.**

(In this instance, we have translated the Chinese rather than the French. See also Legge’s edition, 2:45.13.)

Couvreur translates the passage as follows:

Confucius répondit: “Si le sage fait peu de cas de l’albâtre et estime beaucoup le jade, ce n’est pas parce que l’albâtre est commun et le jade rare. C’est parce que les sages de l’antiquité comparaient la vertu au jade. Il est à l’image de la bonté, parce qu’il est doux au toucher, onctueux; de la prudence, parce que ses veines sont fines, compactes, et qu’il est solide; de la justice, parce qu’il a des angles, mais ne blesse pas; de l’urbanité, parce que, suspendu (à la ceinture en guise d’ornement), il semble descendre jusqu’à terre; de la musique, parce que par la percussion on en tire des sons clairs, élevés, prolongés et finissant d’une manière abrupte; de la sincérité, parce que son éclat n’est pas voilé par ses défauts ni ses défauts par son éclat; de la bonne foi, parce que ses belles qualités intérieures se voient à l’extérieur, de quelque côté qu’on le considère; du ciel, parce qu’il ressemble à un arc-en-ciel blanc; de la terre, parce que ses émanations sortent des montagnes et des fleuves (comme celles de la terre); de la vertu, parce qu’on en fait des tablettes et des demi-tablettes que les envoyés des princes offrent seules (sans les accompagner de présents); de la voie de la vertu, parce que chacun l’estime. On lit dans le Cheu king: “Je pense à mon seigneur; il est doux comme le jade.” Voilà pourquoi le sage fait grand cas du jade.” (*LK* 2:697–98, II.xlv.13)

S46 “Tablet of Wisdom” (TABLE DE SAGESSE)

(1914 ed.) 人無識者

The epigraph (in bold) is taken from chapter one of the *Book of Liezi* 列子, which Segalen could have read in Wieger’s bilingual

facing-page edition, *Pères du système taoïste*, which is excerpted here.

Liezi lived in a cottage in the principality of *Zheng* for forty years **with no one taking notice of him**; with neither the prince, his ministers, or his officers seeing in him anything but an ordinary man.

Lie-tzeu habitait un cottage, dans la principauté de *Tcheng*, depuis quarante ans, **sans que personne prit garde à lui**; sans que le prince, ses ministres et ses officiers, vissent en lui autre chose qu'un homme vulgaire.

子列子居鄭圃,四十年人無識者,國君卿大夫[耳+示]之猶眾庶也。(68–69)

The main body of the stèle was inspired by the following anecdote during reign of the Yin emperor Wuding 武丁 (r. 1274–1215 BCE), as translated by Chavannes in his edition of the *Records of the Grand Historian* 史記 (*Mémoires historiques*) by Sima Qian 司馬遷 (which edition Segalen cited in his manuscript). Wieger also includes this passage from Sima Qian 司馬遷 in his *Textes historiques*, but only Chavannes's version stresses the bad company in which the sage hides, by interpolating commentary into his translation by adding the footnote: "The presence of this sage in such bad company is explained by the desire he had to hide himself far from the world" [*La présence de ce sage en si mauvaise compagnie est expliquée par le désir qu'il avait de se cacher loin du monde*] (Chavannes 1895–1905, 1951).

When the emperor *Wu Ding* had assumed the throne, he thought of making the *Yin* prosper anew; but he had not yet found the one who was capable of helping him. For three years he did not speak; all the affairs of government were dictated by the prime minister; he took advantage of this to observe the customs of the kingdom. *Wu Ding* dreamed during the night that he had found a sage; his name was *Yue*; he compared the face that he had seen in his dream to the crowd of his ministers and his hundred officers; it was none

of them; he therefore charged a hundred artisans to make pictures of him and to search for him in the countryside; they found *Yue* in the rough territories of *Fu*. At that time *Yue* was among the criminals who were erecting embankments in the rough territories of *Fu*. He was admitted to the presence of *Wu Ding*. *Wu Ding* said: "It's him." When he had thus been found, he conversed with him and knew that he was in fact a sage. He appointed him to the high office of advisor. The kingdom of the *Yin* was very well governed. (*Wu Ding*) thus gave him for a family name the name of the rough territories of *Fu* and they called him *Fu Yue*.

Quand l'empereur *Ou-ting* eut revêtu cette dignité, il pensa à faire de nouveau prospérer les *Yn*; mais il n'avait pas encore trouvé celui qui était capable de l'aider. Pendant trois années il ne parla pas; toutes les affaires du gouvernement étaient décidées par le premier ministre; il en profita pour observer les mœurs du royaume. *Ou-ting* rêva pendant la nuit qu'il avait trouvé un sage; son nom était *Yue*; il compara avec la figure qu'il avait vue en songe la foule de ses ministres et ses cent officiers; ce n'était aucun d'eux; alors donc il chargea les cent artisans d'en faire le dessein et de le rechercher dans la campagne; on trouva *Yue* dans les parages difficiles de *Fou* [Shanxi]. En ce temps *Yue* était parmi les malfaiteurs qui élevaient des terrassements dans les parages difficiles de *Fou*. Il fut admis en présence de *Ou-ting*. *Ou-ting* dit: "C'est lui." Quand il l'eut ainsi trouvé, il s'entretint avec lui et reconnut que c'était en effet un sage. Il le promut à la dignité de conseiller. Le royaume des *Yn* fut fort bien gouverné. (*Ou-ting*) lui donna donc pour nom de famille le nom des parages difficiles de *Fou* et on l'appela *Fou Yue*. (Chavannes, 1895–1905, 195)

Since Chavannes gives the text above only in French, the Chinese for the passage above is here given from Wiegier's *Textes historiques*:

武丁宅憂，思復興殷。三祀免喪，弗言。恭默思道。夜夢上帝賚以良弼。以夢所見，視羣臣百吏，皆非也。

乃吏百工圖其像，以形旁求於天下。得說，於傳險中。見於武丁。武丁曰，是也。得而與之語，果聖人。舉以為相。殷國大治。故遂以傳險姓之，號曰傳說。(TH 81–82)

The *locus classicus* for this story is to be found in the ancient *Classic of History* 書經 (商書, 說命, III:8); see Couvreur's edition (AC 150–161).

S47 “Yellow Earth” (TERRE JAUNE) 上平下亂

This stèle is largely adapted from the following entry in Segalen's unpublished collection of travel writings *Bricks and Tiles* (17–21 August 1909) on the yellow earth:

Your houses emerge from it and your people flee into it! Walls and ways, everything is the one and the other; the vertical faces, jagged blades, must have inspired the sculptural stylization of these rocks. Smooth and fat, the cutting wheel furrows it with striated ruts; and, little by little, the procession of passersby, between two high collapsing cliffs, sink into the path.

Yellow earth. Architectures: towers and dungeons, balconies, walls, crenellations, screens and sharpened blades; pointed peaks, everything is unexpected, worn out and worn down, soft to the eye, velvety, upright and most rich . . . but so precarious, so “about-to-collapse.” An image of China?

Tes maisons en sortent, et ton peuple s'y enfouit! Murailles et routes, tout est l'une et l'autre; et les pans verticaux, lames dentelées, ont dû inspirer cette stylisation sculpturale des rochers. Onctueuse et grasse, la roue coupante y creuse de striantes ornières; et peu à peu, la marche des passants y enfonce, entre deux hautes falaises qui croulent, le sentier.

Terre jaune. Architectures: tours et donjons, parois, murailles, créneaux, écrans et lames affilées; pics aigus, tout est inattendu, minable et miné, doux à l'œil, par exemple,

velouté, honnête et fort riche . . . mais si précaire, si “qui va s’effondrer”. Image de la Chine? (OC 1:870)

See also Segalen’s letter to Claude Debussy of 6 June 1910 (reprinted in *Cahier du Sud*, no. 288 [1948], 270.)

S48 “The Pass” (LA PASSE) 陰陽界

The epigraph (in bold) for this stèle is drawn from the following passage in Wiegier’s *Folk-Lore chinois moderne* (1909), at the start of a rather long story about a low-ranking officer who accidentally wanders into the underworld and undergoes a series of comically frightening adventures before returning to the world of the living. (For more on “satellite” see the note to S57.)

In *Si-quan*, a satellite of the vice-prefecture of *Feng-du* was entrusted to deliver a document to the prefect of *Gui Zhou*. Our man was named *Ding-kai*. He passed by the pass called *Gui-men*, gate of the dead. He saw there a stele which bore these words: **Boundary of two worlds.**

Au *Séu-tch’oan*, un satellite de la sous-préfecture de *Fōng-tou*, fut chargé de porter un document au préfet de *K’oéi-tcheou*. Notre homme s’appelait *Tīng-k’ai*. Il passa par la passe dite *Koèi-menn*, porte des morts. Il vit là une stèle, qui portait ces mots: **Limite des deux mondes.**

四川酆都縣皂隸丁愷持文書往夔州投遞過鬼門觀見前有石碑上書陰陽界三字。(157–158)

As indicated by a note added to the first manuscript draft (“Briques & Tuiles p. 30 / Passe de Nan-K’eu”), this stèle is partly adapted from the description in Segalen’s unpublished collection of travel writings that was written on 31 July 1909 at Nankou 南□ and is entitled “Tumble-down. Procession. The Pass” [*Dévalée. Défilé. La passe.*]. It begins as follows:

Two worlds are joined through it, across it. And as it is narrow and led by a procession, everything seems less

large, tapers off, in order to keep itself there.

[*Deux mondes se rejoignent par là, à travers elle. Et comme elle est étroite et précédée d'un défilé, tout se fait moins large, s'effile, afin d'y pouvoir tenir.*] (OC 1:860)

For other related writings, see *Équipée*, OC 2:274 and OC 2:301.

S49 “Stele of Tears” (STÈLE DES PLEURS) 墮淚碑

The epigraph is drawn directly from the following entry in Pé-tillon’s *Allusions littéraires*, as cited by Segalen.

墮淚碑. The grave stone that makes tears fall. *Yang Hu* 羊祜 of the *Qin* had left so good a memory with the people by his kindly administration that they would cry at the single view of his tomb located on Mount *Xian* 峴 in [*Xiangyang*] 襄陽. This scholar, who became a general, would walk among his troops in a light fur with a loose belt [*qing dai huan dai*] 輕裘緩帶, and was the model of the distinguished officer. [*Zhuo er xian shan qiu dai*] 卓爾峴山裘帶 eminent like *Yang Hu* entombed on Mount *Xian*, with unbuttoned clothing.

墮淚碑. La Pierre tombale qui fait verser des larmes. *Yang Hou* 羊祜, des *Tsin*, avait laissé un si bon souvenir dans le peuple, par sa bénigne administration, que l’on pleurait à la seule vue de son tombeau situé sur le mont *Hien* 峴, à 襄陽. Ce lettré, devenu général, se promenait au milieu de ses troupes en fourrure légère et la ceinture desserrée 輕裘緩帶, aussi est-il le type de l’officier distingué. 卓爾峴山裘帶 éminent comme *Yang Hou* enterré sur le mont *Hien*, aux habits déboutonnés. (AL 253)

This stèle probably alludes to the notorious punishment of castration suffered by the great historian Sima Qian 司馬遷, who is the chief source for most of the material in Wiegier’s *Textes historiques* on which Segalen relied for so many stèles in the collection. In his famous *Bao Ren An shu* 報任安書 (Letter to Ren

An), which Chavannes includes in his edition, Sima Qian defends his decision to continue writing history over the traditional recourse to suicide. We know for a fact that Segalen read this letter in Chavannes since he used a footnote to it for S21 “Faithful Betrayal.” The following excerpts seem most relevant:

[T]here is no greater shame than to suffer the punishment of castration. The eunuch is no longer counted among the numbers of men.

Alas, alas, could a man like me ever speak again; could he ever speak again?

If a man is not of wood or stone, could he side with a torturer to send another man to the darkness of prison? / But I have been thrown into the room where the silk worms are raised [typical for castration victims] anyway; I have become a great laughing stock in the eyes of the empire. How sad it is! How sad it is!

[I]l n’y a pas de honte plus grande que de subir le châtement de la castration. L’eunuque n’est plus compté aux nombres des hommes. (ccxxviii)

Hélas, hélas, un homme comme moi pourrait-il encore parler, pourrait-il encore parler? (ccxxix)

Si un homme n’est pas en bois ou en pierre, peut-il faire cause commune avec les bourreaux pour en précipiter un autre dans les ténèbres de la prison? . . . / Mais moi, j’ai en outre été jeté dans la chambre où on élève les vers à soie; je suis devenu un grand sujet de risée aux yeux de l’empire. Que cela est triste! que cela est triste! (ccxxxii)

S50 “The Bad Craftsmen” (LES MAUVAIS ARTISANS)

雖則七襄不成報章

The epigraph (in bold) and the tropes for the Chinese constellations in this stèle are drawn from Ode 203 in Couvreur’s edition of the ancient *Book of Odes* 詩經. In his classic translation, Legge renders the ode as follows:

Well loaded with millet were the dishes,
And long and curved were spoons of thorn-wood.
The way to Zhou was like a whetstone,
And straight as an arrow.
[So] the officers trod it,
And the common people looked on it.
When I look back and think of it,
My tears run down in streams.

In the States of the east, large and small,
The looms are empty.
Thin shoes of dolichos fibre,
Are made to serve to walk on the hoar-frost.
Slight and elegant gentlemen,
Walk along that road to Zhou.
Their going and coming,
Makes my heart ache.

Ye cold waters, issuing variously from the spring,
Do not soak the firewood I have cut.
Sorrowful I awake and sigh; —
Alas for us toiled people!
The firewood has been cut; —
Would that it were conveyed home!
Alas for us the toiled people!
Would that we could have rest!

The sons of the east,
Are only summoned [to service], without encouragement;
While the sons of the west,
Shine in splendid dresses.
The sons of boatmen,
Have furs of the bear and grisly bear.
The sons of the poorest families,
Form the officers in public employment.

If we present them with spirits,
They do not look on them as liquor.

If we give them long girdle-pendants with their stones,
They do not think them long enough.
There is the milky way in heaven,
Which looks down on us in light;
And the three stars together are the Weaving Sisters,
Passing in a day through seven stages [of the sky].

**Although they go through their seven stages,
They complete no bright work for us.**
Brilliant shine the Draught Oxen,
But they do not serve to draw our carts.
In the east there is Lucifer;
In the west there is Hesperus;
Long and curved is the Rabbit Net of the sky;—
But they only occupy their places.

In the south is the Sieve,
But it is of no use to sift.
In the north is the Ladle,
But it lades out no liquor.
In the south is the Sieve,
Idly showing its mouth.
In the north is the Ladle,
Raising its handle in the west. (Legge, *Chinese Classics*,
Ode 203, 2.5.9, 4:356)

Couvreur's translation reads as follows, preceded by his head-note adapted from the "Little Preface" in italics.

Un officier de la principauté de 譚 T'ân se plaint de ce que le gouvernement impérial, dont le siège est à 鎬 Haò dans le Chen si actuel, favorise les contrées occidentales, et accable d'exactions les régions orientales. Les esprits qui régissent les étoiles du ciel, voient les souffrances des opprimés, et ne font rien pour les secourir. [An officer of the principality of 譚 Tan complained that the imperial government, whose seat was at 鎬 Hao in present day Shenxi, favored the western countries, and overwhelmed the eastern regions with taxation. The spirits who govern the stars of the heaven

see the suffering of the oppressed and do nothing to help them.]

1. (Sous les premiers empereurs de la dynastie des Tch-eou, régnait l'abondance). Il y avait de grands vases remplis de millet (qu'on offrait aux esprits), et des cuillers recourbées en bois de jujubier (qui servaient à retirer les viandes des chaudières). La route de la capitale était unie comme une meule, droite comme la trajectoire d'une flèche. (Elle était très battue.) Les dignitaires la suivaient (pour aller rendre leurs hommages à l'empereur); les hommes du peuple la voyaient (et la parcouraient). A présent, lorsque je tourne mes regards vers cette route, (je la vois déserte), je verse un torrent de larmes.

2. Dans les principautés orientales, petites ou grandes, la navette et l'ensouple sont inoccupées. Les habitants sont réduits à fouler les frimas avec des souliers d'été faits de brins de dolics tordus ensemble. Les fils délicats des grands dignitaires parcourent à pied la route de la capitale. Quand je les vois aller et venir ainsi, mon cœur est saisi de douleur.

3. La source qui répand ses eaux glaciales en différentes directions, ne va pas mouiller (et gâter) le bois recueilli pour le chauffage. (L'empereur, moins compatissant que cette source, opprime ses propres sujets). Dans ma douleur, je gémis privé de sommeil. Oh! que nous sommes malheureux! Lorsque le bois a été recueilli pour le chauffage, il a l'espoir d'être voituré (et mis en lieu sûr). Hélas! infortunés que nous sommes, nous devrions aussi pouvoir jouir d'un peu de repos.

4. Dans les contrées orientales, les fils des habitants sont voués à la souffrance, et ne reçoivent aucun encouragement. (Au contraire) dans les régions occidentales, les fils des habitants sont vêtus d'habits magnifiques. Les fils des bateliers portent des tuniques garnies de peaux d'ours. Les fils des serviteurs sont admis à remplir toutes sortes de magistratures.

5. Si quelqu'un de nous offre du vin aux habitants des contrées occidentales, ils l'estiment moins que leur eau de riz. Si on leur offre de longs pendants de ceinture ornés de belles pierres, ils ne les trouvent pas assez longs. Cependant,

du haut du ciel, les étoiles de la Voie lactée nous regardent, et elles ne manquent pas de lumière. Il y a aussi les trois étoiles disposées en triangle et formant la constellation de la Vierge qui fait de la toile (Wéga et deux autres étoiles de la Lyre); elles parcourent dans la journée sept des douze parties de la sphère céleste.

[See Couvreur's footnote quoted below.]

6. **Bien qu'elles parcourent sept des stations du ciel, elles ne font pas une belle pièce de soie pour nous récompenser.** Ce Bœuf traîné à l'aide d'une corde (le Cou de l'Aigle) est très brillant; mais il ne nous sert pas à traîner une voiture. A l'orient paraît l'Étoile du matin, et à l'occident l'Étoile du soir, (elles ne nous sont d'aucun secours). Il y a aussi dans le ciel ce Filet recourbé qui semble fait pour prendre des lièvres (les Hyades); il est bien étendu à sa place (parmi les autres constellations zodiacales; mais il ne nous sert pas même à prendre un lièvre).

7. Au midi est le Van; il ne peut servir à vanner le grain. Au nord est la Cuiller (l'Épaule et l'Arc du Sagittaire) elle ne peut servir à tirer du vin ou de la liqueur. Au midi le Van allonge sa langue (comme pour dévorer l'orient). Au nord la Cuiller lève son manche vers l'occident (comme pour prendre à l'orient et donner à l'occident).

有饑簋飧，有捋棘匕。
周道如砥，其直如矢。
君子所履，小人所視。
睠言顧之，潸焉出涕。
小東大東，杼柚其空。
糾糾葛屨，可以履霜。
佻佻公子，行彼周行。
既往既來，使我心疚。
有冽洿泉，無浸穫薪。
契契寤歎，哀我憚人。
薪是穫薪，尚可載也。
哀我憚人，亦可息也。
東人之子，職勞不來。
西人之子，粲粲衣服。

舟人之子，熊羆是裘。
私人之子，百僚是試。
或以其酒，不以其漿。
鞞鞞佩璲，不以其長。
維天有漢，監亦有光。
跂彼織女，終日七襄。
雖則七襄，不成報章。
睨彼牽牛，不以服箱。
東有啟明，西有長庚。
有捄天畢，載施之行。
維南有箕，不可以簸揚。
維北有斗，不可以挹酒漿。
維南有箕，載翕其舌。
維北有斗，西柄之揭。(CK 263–66)

Segalen would undoubtedly have read Couvreur's footnote to this poem on *qi xiang* 七襄 (the seven stations), as follows:

Zhu Xi says that he does not well understand the meaning of the last line of this stanza; he is content to repeat the opinion of Zheng Kangcheng 鄭康成, commentator of the second century of our era. The celestial sphere is divided into twelve parts or stations which correspond to the twelve signs of the zodiac. The stars run through seven of these stations from five in the morning to seven in the evening, and the other five from seven in the evening to five in the morning.

Tchou Hi dit qu'il ne comprend pas bien le sens du dernier vers de cette strophe; il se contente de rapporter l'opinion de 鄭康成 Tch'eng K'ang tch'êng, commentateur du deuxième siècle de notre ère. La sphère céleste se divise en douze parties ou stations, qui correspondent aux douze signes du zodiaque. Les étoiles parcourent sept de ces stations, de cinq heures du matin à sept heures du soir, et les cinq autres, de sept heures du soir à cinq heures du matin. (CK 34n)

S51 “Stele of the Way of the Soul” (STÈLE DU CHEMIN DE L’ÂME) (1914 ed.) [太祖文皇/帝之神道]

Note that the characters in this epigraph are printed in mirror image.

The epigraph and main body of the stèle both draw material from an actual stele marking a Liang dynasty tomb, which is described in detail in a section, excerpted at length below, called “Inscriptions written backward on fluted columns” [*Les inscriptions en sens inverse sur les colonnes cannelées*] in a monograph by Mathias Tchang, *Tombeau des Liang, famille Siao*, published in the series *Variétés sinologiques* (1912). Segalen copied the text in bold onto his first manuscript draft.

(1) *Their form.* These two curious inscriptions are found on large stone tablets placed near the summit of their columns; they face each other and are composed of these characters:



Figure 4: From Léon Wiegier’s *Textes philosophiques*, second edition (1930). Collection of the authors.

(2) *General sense:* “Path of the spirit of the emperor, great ancestor, civilizer” each term will be studied in the following paragraph.

(3) *The arrangement of the inscriptions.* At the tomb of Xiao Shunzhi, the two inscriptions were turned toward the central alley, and were found thus facing each other. This arrangement is unusual; in the other Liang tombs the inscriptions are perpendicular to the central alley and turned toward the entry of this alley.

Another exception: contrary to that which took place at the other tombs, here it is the column on the right that bears the inverted characters and the left column which bears the ordinary characters. . . . The left and the right are indicated with respect to the visitor who approached following the central alley, from the west. . . . This arrangement is surprising: the inscriptions thus present themselves to the visi-

tor in the least normal manner, and nothing lets us guess the reason for this choice.

(4) *Current state*. In May 1909, the vice prefect of Danyang, with the thought of preserving the two inscriptions from future damage, wanted to transport them to the city. Seventy men, they say, undertook to carry first the stone with the inverted characters and after plenty of effort managed to carry it about three li from the tomb in the direction of the city. There, either courage or money ran out, and the massive stone is resting on sitting on the spot, on the way-side. It is there that we found it to our great surprise, in our last visit to the tomb, the 2nd of June 1909. The characters have lost much of their precision, and would probably now only give a rather confusing rubbing. Arriving at the tomb, we were able to observe, at the foot of the north column, the place still fresh from which the stone had just been lifted. The stone with the normal characters was still at the base of the south column, turned over toward the ground; it was thus impossible to assess the state of the characters. Several clumps of earth torn up around it suggested a fleeting wish to transport it just as quickly discouraged. . . .

(7) *The Inverted Characters*: . . . In examining the work of *Yu Yuan-wei* 庾元威, a writer during the era of the *Liang*, on the 120 forms of writing, I found therein noted this: “it was about the middle of the period of *Da-tong* (535–547) that the academic *Kong Jing-tong* invented this manner of backwards writing. Having seen this script, I decided to make it known, whereupon I spoke about it among friends: no one knew of it; thus, we proclaimed this kind of script bright and amusing among all others.” . . . Thus, following *Ji Meng-xiong* this inverted writing would be one of the 120 forms of writing known under the *Liang*. Was it the pure peculiarity of an artist? Was there some allegorical sense? We do not dare assert. . . .

And yet, how to explain it? Some would perhaps see **only an error by ignorant workman totally ignorant of characters, who turned them around without even noticing**. Others recall the opinion of *Ji Meng-xiong* and conclude the excentricity of an artist. Finally, a third

opinion exists, presented by the author of the *Jin shi suo* 金石索 [Record of Metal and Stone Inscriptions], juan 11, folio 10, who maintains that by thus carving these characters the wrong way, they wanted to make them easier for the deceased to read.

1) *Leur forme*. Ces deux curieuses inscriptions se trouvaient sur des grandes tablettes de pierre, placées vers le sommet des colonnes; elles se faisaient face et se composaient des caractères que voici:



Figure 4: From Léon Wiegier's *Textes philosophiques*, second edition (1930). Collection of the authors.

2) *Sens général*: “Chemin de l’esprit de l’empereur, grand ancêtre, civilisateur” chaque terme sera étudié dans le paragraphe suivant.

3) *La disposition des inscriptions*. Au tombeau de *Siao Choën-tche*, les deux inscriptions étaient tournées vers l’allée centrale, et se trouvaient ainsi vis à vis l’une de l’autre. Cette disposition est exceptionnelle; dans les autres tombeaux des *Liang*, les inscriptions sont perpendiculaires à l’allée centrale, et tournées vers l’entrée de cette allée.

Autre exception: contrairement à ce qui a lieu aux autres tombeaux c’était ici la colonne de droite, qui portait les caractères gravés en sens inverse, et la colonne de gauche qui portait les caractères de forme ordinaire. . . . La gauche et la droite sont indiquées par rapport au visiteur qui s’avance en suivant l’allée centrale, d’est en ouest. . . . Cette disposition est surprenante: les inscriptions se présentaient ainsi au visiteur de la manière la moins normale, et rien ne laisse deviner la raison de ce choix.

4) *Etat actuel*. En mai 1909, le sous-préfet de *Tan-yang*, dans la pensée de préserver les 2 inscriptions des destructions futures, voulut les transporter dans la ville. Soixante-dix hommes, dit-on, entreprirent d’abord le transport de

la pierre aux caractères inverses, et, après bien des efforts, parvinrent à la porter à environ 3 li du tombeau dans la direction de la ville. Là, le courage ou l'argent manqua, et la pierre massive est restée sur place, au bord de la route. C'est là que nous l'avons trouvée à notre grande surprise, dans notre dernière visite au tombeau, le 2 juin 1909. Les caractères ont beaucoup perdu de leur précision, et ne donneraient probablement plus qu'un décalque assez confus. En arrivant au tombeau, nous avons pu constater, au pied de la colonne nord, la place encore fraîche d'où la pierre venait d'être enlevée. La pierre aux caractères droits était encore au bas de la colonne sud, renversée sur le sol: il était donc impossible de se rendre compte de l'état des caractères. Quelques mottes de terre soulevées à l'entour indiquaient là aussi une velléité de transport qui s'était aussitôt découragée. . . .

7) *Les caractères renversés*. . . . En examinant l'ouvrage de *Yu Yuen-wei* 庾元威, écrivain de l'époque des *Liang*, sur les 120 formes d'écriture, j'y ai vu noté ceci: "c'est vers le milieu de l'époque *Ta-t'ong* (535-547) que l'académicien *K'ong King-t'ong* inventa cette manière d'écriture inverse. Ayant donc vu cette écriture, je la fis connaître. Là-dessus, entre convives nous en parlâmes: aucun ne la connaissait; alors on proclama ce genre d'écriture clair et amusant entre tous."

. . .

Ainsi donc, d'après *Ki Mong-hion* cette écriture renversée serait une des 120 formes d'écriture connues sous les *Liang*. Était-ce pure singularité d'artiste? y avait-il quelque sens allégorique? nous n'osons rien affirmer. . . .

Là encore, quelle explication donner? **Quelques-uns** voudraient peut-être n'y voir qu'une erreur de manœuvres ignorant totalement les caractères, et les retournant, sans même y prendre garde. D'autres se rappelleront l'opinion de *Ki Mong-hion* et conclueront à une excentricité d'artiste. Enfin une troisième opinion se présente, exposée par l'auteur du *Kin-che souo* 金石索, k. II. fol. 10, qui soutient qu'en gravant ainsi ces caractères à rebours, on voulait en rendre la lecture plus facile aux défunts. (73-80)

In his posthumously published *Chine, le Grand statuaire* (1972), Segalen writes of an example of inverted script as follows:

But here these characters are reversed, against the grain. One must read not from right to left but from left to right and, moreover, the characters are in reverse. For a true Chinese scholar, this discovery should have been equal to that of an entire backwards world. I have the regret of noting that Chinese scholars have preoccupied themselves with these ruins much less than have the pilgrim barbarians, of which I am one. This writing disturbs me and will not say its true message. And yet, might this not be simply the neat trick of a stone engraver? Or of a “foreign” architect? This should be placed into and melted down in some rare crucible . . . somewhere other than in this book of stone born in space.

Mais ici ces caractères sont à l’envers, à rebours. Il faut, non pas lire de droite à gauche, mais de gauche à droite, et de plus ces caractères sont inversés. Pour un lettré chinois véridique, cette découverte aurait dû équivaloir à peu près à celle d’un monde tout à l’envers. J’ai le regret de noter que les lettrés chinois s’en sont beaucoup moins préoccupés que les barbares pèlerins à ces ruines, dont je suis. Cette écriture m’inquiète et ne dit pas son véritable mot. Et pourtant, ne serait-ce pas ici, simplement, le bon tour d’un graveur en pierre? ou d’un architecte “étrangère”? Ceci est à remettre et à fondre en un creuset unique . . . ailleurs qu’en ce livre de la pierre née à l’espace. (*OC* 2:818–819)

Segalen includes a photograph of such a stele (the inscription of Xiao Jing, reprinted as figure 53 in the *OC*) in the “Sepultures of the Southern Chinese Dynasties,” where he writes:

The inscriptions on the columns’ cartouches are analogous, in their text, to those of all the funereal monuments of the preceding dynasties, and they end with the expression *shen dao*, path of the Spirit, attesting that the columns play the same role here as the funeral pillars (the *que*) under the Han, which open the road to the field of the burial site. But the

graphic disposition is doubly surprising because of a *reversal of the writing*. The inversion is of three kinds, affecting: a) the direction of the reading (which is done from the left to the right), without turning the characters. Ex. A Xiao Ji inscription, left column, or the fallen column from Xiao Hong; b) the characters are seen as if in a mirror, but the direction of the reading remains normal, from right to left. Ex.: an inscription from Xiao Jing. c) The direction of the reading and the characters at the same time. Ex.: an inscription from Xiao Shunzhi, published in facsimile in Father Zhang's [Tchang's] work. No explanation based on Chinese texts seems to me to have responded, as of yet, to the objections raised by these inverted inscriptions. I hope to present another one based on the indisputably foreign origin of these monuments.

Les inscriptions des cartels des colonnes sont analogues, dans leur texte, à celles de tous les monuments funéraires des dynasties précédentes, et se terminent par l'expression: chen tao, chemin de l'Esprit, attestant que les colonnes jouent ici le même rôle que les piliers funéraires (les k'iue) sous les Han, qui ouvrent la route au champ de sépulture. Mais la disposition graphique est une fois sur deux surprenante: par le *renversement de l'écriture*. L'inversion est de trois sortes; elle affecte: a) Le sens de la lecture (qui se fait de gauche à droite), sans retourner les caractères. Ex. inscription de Siao Tsi, colonne de gauche, ou de Siao Hong, colonne tombée. b) Les caractères, qui sont vus comme dans un miroir, mais le sens de la lecture demeure normal, de droite à gauche. Ex.: inscription de Siao King. c) A la fois le sens de la lecture et les caractères. Ex.: inscription de Siao Chouen-tche, publiée en fac-similé dans l'ouvrage du P. Tchang. Aucune explication fondée sur les textes chinois ne me paraît répondre, jusqu'ici, aux objections que soulèvent ces inscriptions inverses. J'espère en présenter une autre basée sur l'origine indiscutablement étrangère de ces monuments. (OC 2:987)

See also "The Tomb of the Qin" [*Tombeau de Ts'in*] in *Peintures* (OC 2:222–224).

Stèles of the Middle [STÈLES DU MILIEU] 中
SECTION HEADING. No supplementary resources.

S52 “To Lose the Habitual South” (PERDRE LE MIDI
QUOTIDIEN) 為自難

No supplementary resources. (See Qin 1987.)

S53 “To the Contrary” (A L’ENVERS) 混沌

As he noted on his manuscript, Segalen drew his epigraph and the raw material for this stèle from a monograph on the great Song dynasty philosopher and commentator Zhu Xi 朱熹 by Stanislas Le Gall, *Le Philosophe Tchou Hi: Sa doctrine, son influence*, published in the series *Variétés sinologiques* (1894), from which we excerpt the following passages. (The source for the epigraph and the drafted note are printed in bold.)

This strange notion about the length of cosmic evolution [i.e., 129,600 years] was adopted by Zhu Xi and by several authors cited in the *Xing-li da-quan* (性理大全). They call this period *Yuan* (元) or the Great Year (太歲), which they represent by the attached figure of a clock-face formed of twelve subdivisions (會, *hui*). (27)

Thus comments a learned scholar *Wu Lin-chuan* (吳臨川) during the time of the *Song* . . . :

“ . . . The 5400th year after the beginning of the 12th *Hui* (亥, *Hai*) is the middle of this division: then the portion of gross and heavy matter, which, in solidifying, had formed the earth, disintegrates, dissolves, and mixes into a single mass with the light and subtle matter of the sky: they call this state *Hun-dun* (渾沌) or *Chaos*.” (28) . . .

A modern scholar, Xu Yong-zhai 許庸齋, describes as follows the various states through which the universe passes, with an inevitable regularity, from chaos to order and from order to chaos. The passage is cited in the *Xing-li da-quan* (性理大全):

“ . . . Chaos (混沌) and Opening (開闢) are two states in the evolution of matter, the one of progress and free ex-



Figure 3: From Stanislas Le Gall's *Le Philosophe Tchou Hi* (1894). Collection of the authors.

pansion, the other of decline and then cessation. . . . Then appears a new series of great kings and wise princes. Human perfection attains its apogee. After so fine a beginning, such a blossoming of beings, it would seem that the world would no longer return to the confusion of primitive chaos. But the movement of the evolution of matter cannot always be forward, nor its expansion made without obstacle. Some hundreds of thousands, or perhaps only some tens of thousands of years will pass, after which progress will surely be followed by a period of decline; after the free expansion will come cessation, obstruction.

“Finally, at the final point of decline and obstruction, the subtlest matter, which had risen to form the heaven, becoming impure will fall by degrees: the condensed matter which had sunk to form the earth will disintegrate. The great multiplication of men will diminish also and then cease completely. **The five elements will then no longer have their own action. Water and fire will act contrarily to their na-**



Figure 3: From Stanislas Le Gall's *Le Philosophe Tchou Hi* (1894). Collection of the authors.

ture. Fire, instead of shining in space will permeate the deep abysses. Water, instead of filling terrestrial cavities will rise boiling. Thus water and fire will each in turn act contrarily to their natural propensities.” (31–32)

Cette opinion singulière sur la durée de l'évolution cosmique est adoptée aussi par *Tchou Hi* et par plusieurs des auteurs cités dans le *Sing-li ta-ts'ieun* (性理大全). Ils appellent cette période *Yuen* (元) ou la *Grande Année* (太歲), qu'ils représentent par la figure ci-jointe d'un cadran formé de douze subdivisions (會, *hoei*). (27)

Voici comment un savant lettré *Ou Lin-tch'oan* (吳臨川) du temps des *Song* . . . :

“ . . . La 5400^e année après le commencement du 12^e *Hoei* (亥, *Hai*) est le milieu de cette division: alors la portion de matière lourde et grossière qui, en se solidifiant, avait formé la terre, se désagrège, se dissout et, avec la matière légère et

plus subtile du ciel, se mélange en une seule masse: on appelle cet état *Hoën-t'oën* (渾沌) ou *Chaos*. (28). . .

Un lettré moderne, *Hü Yong-tchai* 許庸齋, décrit comme il suit les divers états par lesquels l'Univers passe, avec une régularité fatale, du chaos à l'ordre et de l'ordre à chaos. Le passage est cité dans le *Sing-li ta-ts'iuën* (性理大全):

“. . . Le Chaos (混沌) et L'Ouverture (開闢) sont deux états dans l'évolution de la matière, l'un de progression et de libre expansion, l'autre de déclin et puis d'arrêt. . . Alors paraît une nouvelle série de grands rois et sage princes. La perfection humaine atteint son apogée. Après un si beau début, un tel épanouissement des êtres, semblerait que le monde ne dût plus revenir à la confusion du chaos primitif. Mais le mouvement d'évolution de la matière ne peut pas toujours être en progrès, ni son expansion se faire sans obstacle. Quelque cent mille, ou peut-être seulement quelque dix mille ans s'écouleront, après quoi le progrès sera sûrement suivi d'une période de déclin; après la libre expansion viendra l'arrêt, l'obstruction.

“Enfin, au dernier point de déclin et d'obstruction, la matière plus subtile, qui s'était élevée pour former le ciel, en devenant impure s'abaissera par degrés: la matière condensée qui, en se tassant, avait formé la terre, se désagrègera. La multiplication si grande des humains diminuera aussi, puis s'arrêtera complètement. **Alors les cinq éléments n'auront plus leur action propre. L'eau et le feu agiront contrairement à leur nature.** Le feu, au lieu de briller dans l'espace pénétrera dans les profonds abîmes. L'eau, au lieu de remplir les cavités terrestres, s'élèvera en bouillonnant. Ainsi l'eau et le feu agiront l'une et l'autre contrairement à leur propension naturelle.” (31–32)

See also the entry for So6.

S54 “Memorial Jewel” (JOYAU MÉMORIAL) 記珠

The epigraph is drawn from the following entry in Pétillon's *Allusions littéraires*, which Segalen copied onto the first manuscript draft. (Pétillon indicates that his source is Wang Renyu's *Lega-*

cies of the Heavenly Treasures from the Kaiyuan Period [王仁裕, 開元天寶遺事].)

記珠 *Ji zhu*. To recall. Under the reign period [*Kai yuan*] 開元, of the *Tang*, the Minister *Zhang Shuo* 張說 received as a gift the pearl [*ji shi zhu*] 記事珠 which had the power to recollect things from memory. A simple glance at it would suffice.

記珠 *Ki tchou*. Se rappeler. Sous la période de règne 開元, des *T'ang*, le Ministre *Tchang Chouo* 張說 reçut en cadeau la perle 記事珠 qui avait la vertu de remettre les choses en mémoire. Un simple regard jeté sur elle suffisait pour cela. (*AL*, class. 96, p. 291)

In the margin of the first manuscript draft, Segalen recorded—largely in shorthand—the first six of the nine decades of a typical man’s life as it appears in the following passage in Couvreur’s edition of the *Book of Rites* 禮記, along with citation “Li Ki I. 8.”

At ten years a man is young; he goes to school. At twenty years he is still weak; he receives the manly headdress. At thirty he is strong; he has a wife, (before his thirtieth year he must be married). At forty years he is robust; he is in charge, (before his fortieth year he must have an office). At fifty years, his hair is grey; he is in the high administration. At sixty years, he approaches old age; he directs and orders the work of others. At seventy he is old; he yields (to his children the direction of domestic affairs). At eighty or ninety years, he is decrepit, (the strength of body and mind are exhausted). An infant of seven years is worthy of commiseration.

A dix ans l’homme est jeune; il va à l’école. A vingt ans il est encore faible; il reçoit le bonnet viril. A trente ans il est fort; il a une femme, (avant sa trentième année il doit être marié). A quarante ans il est robuste; il est en charge, (avant sa quarantième année il doit avoir une charge). A cinquante

ans, ses cheveux sont gris; il est dans la haute administration. A soixante ans, il approche de la vieillesse; il dirige et fait travailler les autres. A soixante-dix ans il est vieillard; il cède (à ces enfants la direction des affaires domestiques). A quatre-vingts ou quatre-vingt-dix ans, il est décrépité, (les forces du corps et de l'intelligence sont épuisées). Un enfant de sept ans est digne de commisération. (*LK* 1:8–9; 1.8:27)

A similar passage appears in the Confucian *Analects* 論語 2.4.1–6; see Legge, *Confucian Classics*, 1:146–147). For other significant contexts in Segalen's own writings see also “Moi et Moi” (*OC* 1:818) and *Équipée* (esp. *OC* 2:312ff.).

S55 “To the Secret Demon” (AU DÉMON SECRET)

心師之神

While searching for details about Chinese popular religions for this stèle, Segalen culled a number of ideas from Wieger's *Taoïsme*, which he compiled as a draft paragraph in the top margin of the third manuscript draft, as follows:

For they judge, they know very precisely, the stellar habitats of the shen [神 genies], the ordinary and immortal customs of the xian [仙 immortals], the least crossroads of the infernal city, the means to untie the knots of the tangled vital spirit, the recipe for edible sulfur and gold, the exact cost of sins, the role of the genie of the altar, the theriac, the care of the viscera, the pathways through the air, invocation to the monkey who brings the rain, gilding of the soul and how to make it incorruptible, invocations to the armed protector, efficacious prayers, capture of demons, nomenclature of the divine personnel of the heavens, manner of behaving with genies.

Car il jauge, il sait très précisément, les habitats stellaires des chenn, les usages quotidiens ou immortels des sien, les moindres carrefours de la ville infernale, le moyen de défaire les nœuds de l'esprit vital embrouillé, la recette du soufre et de l'or comestibles, le compte exact des péchés, le rôle du

génie de l'âtre, la thériaque, le soin des viscères, les randonnées à travers les airs, invocation du singe qui donne la pluie, dorure de l'âme et la rendre imputrescible, invocations au protecteur armé, prières efficaces, capture des démons, nomenclature des personnel divin des cieux, manière de traiter avec les génies.

We have identified the source of this material as Wieger's two-volume *Taoïsme* (1911), whose first volume bears the cover-title *Le Canon Taoïste* and consists of an annotated bibliography of the many hundreds of texts contained in the *daoꝯang* 道藏 (Daoist Canon, or "Patrologie" as Wieger preferred to call it). The following selections from this newly identified source offer a rare glimpse of how Segalen used sinological material. (See also the note for this stèle in VOL. 1.)

Daoist alchemy was born out of the desire to find edible sulfur and gold. [*L'alchimie taoïste naquit du désir de trouver du soufre et de l'or comestibles.*] (from the Introduction, 14)

1. Vast fundamental treatise. . . . The heavens of *Chen* and of *Xian*. [*Vaste traité fondamental. . . . Les cieux des Tchenn et des Sien.*] (29)

5. . . . Treatise of the nine heavens, of their gods and their inhabitants. [*Traité des neuf cieux, de leurs dieux et de leurs habitants.*] (30)

183. Number of points, for current good and ill acts. Index used by the censors holding seat in the quadrilateral, for establishing the moral account of souls; capable of use for establishing one's own moral debits and credits, and to erase one's calculated debt, by the number of good works required. Famous opusculé, often reprinted, very popular. Anonymous, not dated. [*Nombre des points, des actions bonnes ou mauvaises courantes. Index servant aux censeurs qui siègent dans le quadrilatère, pour établir la balance morale des âmes; pouvant servir à établir soi-même son doit-et-avoir moral, et à éteindre sa dette calculée, par le nombre de bonne œuvres requis. Opusculé fameux, souvent réimprimé, très répandu dans le peuple. Anonyme, non daté.*] (56)

364. The exalted *Ling-bao* develops the cult of the Genie

of the altar. [*Le Très-haut Ling-pao développe le culte dû au Génie de l'âtre.*] (82)

376. How to avoid the pains of the infernal city, and to prepare oneself instead for the joys in the other world. [*Comment éviter les peines de la cité infernale, et se préparer au contraire des joies dans l'autre monde.*] (84)

385. Efficacious formulas of every kind; for flying through space; for helping phototherapy; for reinforcing the action of the agaric and of the drug for long life; for succeeding at passing common foods, principle of putrefaction; for destroying the three worms that gnaw the body, that of the brain, that of the heart, that of the lower belly (deterioration of thinking, of affection, of rut). [*Formules efficaces de toute sorte; pour voler à travers l'espace; pour aider la photothérapie; pour renforcer l'action de l'agaric et de la drogue de longue vie; pour arriver à se passer des aliments communs, principe de putréfaction; pour détruire les trois vers qui rongent le corps, celui du cerveau, celui du cœur, celui du bas ventre (usure de la pensée, des affections, du rut).*] (85)

820. The knot of life is the bond between the soul and the breath. Maintaining this union makes life last; its cessation causes death. [*Le nœud de la vie, c'est la cohésion de l'âme avec le souffle. Maintenir cette union, fait durer la vie; sa cessation cause la mort.*] (141)

851. Conjectures on weather; invocation of the monkey who gives the rain, creation that dates from the 唐 *Tang*. [*Conjectures sur le temps; invocation du singe qui donne la pluie, invention qui date des 唐 T'ang.*] (145)

1196. Invocations to the armed Protector. [*Invocations au Protecteur armé.*] (189)

1197. Invocations to the deities who reside in the circumpolar constellations. [*Invocations aux déités qui résident dans les astérismes circumpolaires.*] (189)

1228. Efficacious prayers. [*Prières efficaces.*] (193)

1368. Nomenclature for the personnel of the nine heavens. [*Nomenclature du personnel des neuf cieux.*] (208)

1376. On the capture of demons and harmful influences. [*Sur la capture des démons et des influences nocives.*] (209)

1381. Evocation of genies, manner of treating them, of

honoring them. [*Évocation des génies, manière de traiter avec eux, de leur faire fête.*] (209)

Qin Haiying was the first to discover the probable inspiration for Segalen's epigraph in the "spirit tablets" (like little steles) on the altars to various spirits in Wiegier's *Textes philosophiques* (298–305), the first edition of which includes a series of diagrams showing the formula "___之神" (The Spirit of ___) where the blank is a different term in each case, naming the particular kind of spirit (Qin, *Segalen et la Chine*, 104). Segalen apparently adapted this formula for the final epigraph 心師之神 (The Spirit of *The Master of the Heart*). His manuscripts notes, however, show that he was already working on the epigraph in a slightly different form before he adopted the one from Wiegier, suggesting either that the similarity is a coincidence or that he was initially working from memory and made modifications after consulting Wiegier again. (See VOL. 1.) One such notable figure in Wiegier includes four spirit tablets to the gods that govern the weather: 雲之神 (Spirit of the Clouds), 雨之神 (Spirit of the Rain), 風之神 (Spirit of the Wind), 震之神 (Spirit of the Thunder).

S56 "Liberation" [LIBERATION]

旌別善惡渥沛甘霖

The idea for this stèle derives partly from an anecdote in Wiegier's *Textes historiques* about the atmosphere of paranoia under the Later Han emperor Ming 後漢明帝 (r. 58–75), during which several innocent men of rank are executed or exiled after their unjust accusation by corrupt rivals. Finally, when a certain honest official named Han-lang is arrested simply for not having come forward earlier to accuse the accusers, he makes a passionate plea in a final audience granted by the emperor. The story ends as follows. Segalen's original idea for the epigraph to this stèle, as he copied it in Chinese on early drafts, is marked in bold.

And when you yourself are seated at the decisive hearings, the leading judges, prostrated before you, say: 'We have been negligent in anticipating this evil! It is very widespread! For

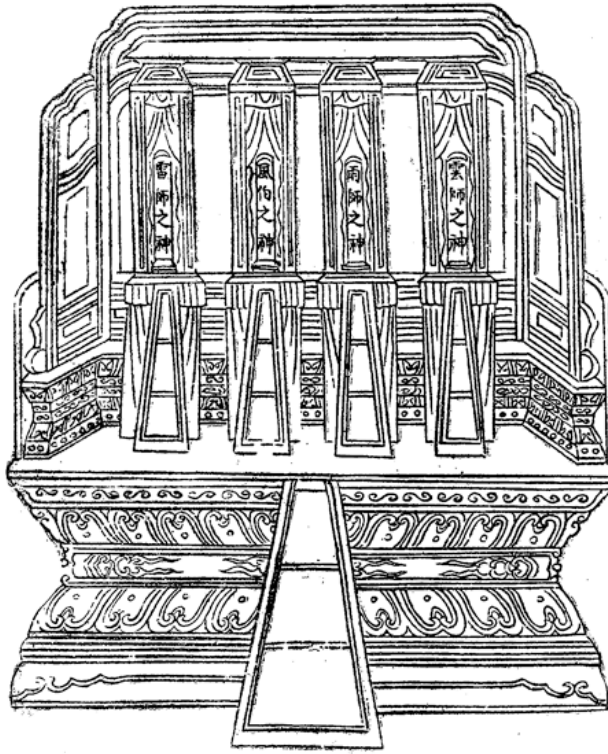


Figure 4: From Léon Wiegner's *Textes philosophiques*, second edition (1930). Collection of the authors.

the health of the empire, be pitiless!' . . . Then, having returned to their homes, they dare not say, but know well, that those who have been tortured were tortured unjustly; their remorse makes them shake pitifully, but none has the courage to risk your disgrace by telling you the truth. As for me, now that I have told it, I will die without regret! . . . These words were a revelation for the emperor. He set *Hán-lang* free. Two days later, he made his way to the prison of *Lùo-yang*, conducted an appeal for the prisoners, and set free more than one a thousand of them who had been arbitrarily arrested. **At once the drought ended, and the rain fell.**

Et quand vous siégez vous-même, aux séances décisives, les juges instructeurs prosternés devant vous, disent: Nous

avons été négligents à prévenir ce mal! Il est très étendu! Pour le salut de l'empire, soyez impitoyable!.. Ensuite, rentrés dans leurs demeures, ils n'osent pas dire, mais ils savent bien, que tous les suppliciés l'ont été injustement; leurs remords les font gémir piteusement; mais aucun n'a le courage de risquer votre disgrâce, en vous disant la vérité. Pour moi, maintenant que je l'ai dite, je vais mourir sans regret!.. . . . Ces paroles furent une révélation pour l'empereur. Il mit *Hân-lang* en liberté. Deux jours plus tard, lui-même se rendit à la prison de *Lúo-yang*, fit l'appel des prisonniers, et en délivra plus de mille qui avaient été arrêtés arbitrairement. **Aussitôt la sécheresse cessa, et la pluie tomba.**

及其歸舍，口雖不言，而仰屋竊歎，莫不知其多冤，無敢悟陛下言者。臣今所陳，誠死無悔。帝意解，詔遣朗出。後二日，車駕自辛洛陽獄，錄囚徒，理出千餘人。時天旱，即下雨。(TH 813-14)

S57 “Underground Judges” (JUGES SOUTERRAINS)

地下心中

This stèle was inspired most immediately by an extended footnote in Wiegier's *Textes historiques*, in which he provides an excerpt in French translation of the katabasis chapters (11-12) from the *Journey to the West* 西遊記 describing the descent of the famous Tang emperor Taizong 太宗 (r. 627-649) into the underworld, a portion of which follows. (See also the note to S48.)

At the gate of hell 幽冥地府鬼門關, a procession of infernal satellites receives the emperor, and he leads him into the infernal city, to the cries of *Make way in the name of the infernal Judges!* The ghosts, of his father dethroned by him and of his two brothers killed by him, try to throw themselves at *Taizong*, but are pushed back by the escort. . . . To reinforce his conversion his escort leads him through all of the nooks and crannies of hell. When he appears at the gates of [*Wangsi Cheng*] 枉死城 [City of Wrongful Deaths] the city in which are kept all of those who died horrible deaths,

all the soldiers who had perished in his wars rush at him. His escort calls for assistance to protect him.

A la porte des enfers 幽冥地府鬼門關, un cortège de satellites infernaux reçoit l'empereur, et l'introduit dans la cité infernale, aux cris de *Place au nom des Juges infernaux!* Les spectres de son père détrôné par lui, de ses deux frères tués par lui, veulent se jeter sur *T'ai-tsoung*, mais sont repoussés par l'escorte. . . . Pour consolider sa conversion, son conducteur le promène par tous les coins et recoins des enfers. Quand il paraît aux portes de 枉死城 la cité dans laquelle sont renfermés tous ceux qui sont morts de malemort, tous les soldats qu'il a fait périr dans ses guerres, se précipitent sur lui. Son conducteur requiert main-forte pour le protéger. (TH 1586)

Segalen copied out in Chinese on his manuscript what appears to have been his initial idea for an epigraph drawn from the following story in Wieger's bilingual *Folk-lore chinois moderne* (1909). A satellite from the underground court summons a minor official named Shen to bear witness in a case about events that took place during a previous life when he was a high official of the Ming dynasty. The angry ghosts of five hundred men decapitated after they were taken prisoner during an uprising have complained of injustice to the infernal judge, and Shen testifies that he had tried to persuade the general in command not to kill the prisoners. The soul of the general, however, testifies that it was necessary since the five hundred rebels from a notorious band had already been caught and released once before, but had reneged on their vow not to bear arms again in violence. He further testifies that it was his duty as general to punish them thus, not out of personal hatred, but for the good of the country. At this point in the story, the following passage appears (where bold indicates the Chinese that Segalen copied onto his manuscript, then scratched out):

At that moment, a whirlwind as black as ink rose before the tribunal with a whistling sound and the unbearable stench of blood. Then, within the cloud, 500 skulls

appeared rolling like balls, followed by 500 skeletons. The skulls opened their jaws and tried to snap their teeth at general X. . . . *Shen* was terrified.—Banging on the table, the judge cried out: Wretches! were you not decapitated for having rebelled again after an initial defeat?—It is true, responded the *gui* [ghosts].—Then the general had you decapitated justly, said the judge.—Not so, replied *gui*; he did it to please the emperor, not for the good of the people.—Not for your good, perhaps, quipped the judge; but certainly for the good of the country.

A ce moment, un tourbillon noir comme de l'encre, s'éleva devant le tribunal, accompagné de sifflements, et d'une insupportable odeur de sang. Puis, dans le tourbillon, 500 crânes roulèrent comme de balles, suivis de 500 squelettes. Les crânes ouvraient leurs mâchoires, et cherchaient à happer de leurs dents le général X. *Chènn* était terrifié.—Frappant sur sa table, le juge cria: Misérables! n'avez-vous pas été décapités, pour vous être révolté de nouveau après une première soumission?—C'est vrai, répondirent les *koèi*.—Alors le général vous a fait décapiter justement, dit le juge.—Non pas, répondirent les *koèi*; il l'a fait pour plaire à l'empereur, pas pour le bien du pays et du peuple.—Pas pour votre bien, peut-être, ricana le juge; mais certainement pour le bien du pays.

下黑風如墨，聲啾啾遠來，血臭不可耐。五百頭拉雜如滾毬，齊張口牙來嚙總兵兼耽沈。沈大懼，向王拜不已，且以袖中文書呈上。王拍案厲聲曰，繼頭奴詐降復反事有之乎？羣鬼曰，有之。王曰，然則總兵殺汝誠當。尚何嘵嘵？羣鬼曰，當時詐降者，渠魁數人復反者，亦渠魁數人餘，皆脅從者也，何可盡殺？且總兵意欲迎合嘉靖皇帝嚴刻之心，非真為國為民也。王笑曰，說總兵不為民可也，說總兵不為國不可也。
(26–29; our punctuation.)

In the conclusion to this story, when the judgments are then handed down, Shen is found guilty of having been weak in that previous life and is sentenced to be reborn as a woman in his next life.

S58 “Earth-Bound” (RETOMBÉE) 飛檐

No supplementary sources or contexts.

S59 “Prince of Forbidden Joys” (PRINCE DES JOIES
DEFENDUES) 日亡吾乃亡耳

This stèle adapts the following anecdote excerpted from Wieg-
er’s *Textes historiques* about the notorious final ruler of the an-
cient Xia dynasty, Emperor Lü Gui 履癸, also known by his
posthumous name Jie 桀, “the Cruel” (18th–17th c. BCE). (This
is a different section of the same text used for S25 “To Please
Her.”) According to this anecdote, Lord Tang of the feudal state
of Shang is so disturbed by the conduct of Emperor Gui that he
sends a wise counselor named Yi-yin to the imperial court on
five separate occasions in order to instruct him in the principles
of the model ancient emperors Yao and Shun. But the emperor
never listens to him.

One day, when the emperor and his officers were getting
drunk together, the latter were dancing in a round and sing-
ing: The waters are vast, the boat and the oars are broken;
our prince heads to his ruin; why do we not give ourselves
over to *Bo*? *Bo* is also a power. . . They continued to sing:
Oh joy, oh joy! The four horses trot, the six reins float. To
leave evil for good—wouldn’t that be a pleasure? . . . *Yi-yin*,
understanding that the judgment of heaven had been pro-
nounced, raised his goblet and said to *Gui*: Prince, do you
not hear what your officers are saying? Your fall is immi-
nent! . . . *Gui*, who was drumming on the table, said laugh-
ing, in a drunken voice: Enough of these words of ill omen!
I am to the empire what the sun is to the firmament. Can the
sun perish? **When it perishes, so will I perish!** . . . As soon
as *Yi-yin* had heard these mad words, he put on his shoes
and left on foot for *Bo*, where he resumed his duties as min-
ister alongside *Tang*. From that day, *Shang* grew greater and
Xia weakened. His posthumous name is *Jie*, the Inhuman.

Un jour, l’empereur et ses officiers s’étant enivrés ensemble,

ceux-ci dansant la ronde, chantaient: Les eaux sont vastes, la barque et les rames sont brisées; notre prince va à sa ruine; pourquoi ne nous donnerions-nous pas à *Poúo*? *Poúo* est aussi une puissance. . . . Ils chantaient encore: O joie, o joie! Les quatre coursiers trottent, les six rênes flottent. Quitter le mal pour le bien, ne serait-ce pas un plaisir? . . . *I-yinn* comprenant que l'arrêt du ciel était prononcé, éleva son gobelet et dit à *Koèi*: Prince, n'entendez-vous pas ce que disent vos officiers? Votre perte est imminente! . . . *Koèi* qui tambourinait sur la table, dit en riant, d'une voix avinée: Assez de ces paroles de mauvais augure! Je suis à l'empire ce que le soleil est au firmament. Le soleil peut-il périr? **Quand il aura péri, moi aussi je périrai!**.. Aussitôt que *I-yinn* eut entendu cette parole insensée, il se chaussa et partit à pied pour *Poúo*, où il reprit auprès de *T'āng* ses fonctions de ministre. De ce jour, *Chāng* grandit et *Hiá* diminua. . . . Son nom posthume est *Kíe*, l'Inhumain.

王與羣臣，俱沉湎於酒。羣臣相持歌曰，江水沛沛兮，舟楫敗兮。我王廢兮，趣歸亳兮，亳亦大兮。又曰，樂兮樂兮，四牧躋兮，六轡沃兮，去不善而從善，何不樂兮。伊尹知天命之至，舉觴而告桀曰，君王不聽臣之言。亡無日矣。桀拍然而作，啞然而笑，曰，子何妖言。吾有天下，如天之有日也。日有亡乎。日亡，吾乃亡耳。於是伊尹接履而趨，遂適商就湯，湯立為相。故伊尹去夏歸亳，商王，而夏亡。(TH 60–63)

S60 “The Eulogy and Power of Absence” (ÉLOGE
ET POUVOIR DE L'ABSENCE) 壽頌

As Segalen noted on the first manuscript draft (with the citation “TH 271”), the body of this stèle is based on the following anecdote in Wieger’s *Textes historiques* about the famous emperor Qin Shihuang 秦始皇 (r. 259–210 BCE), whose name is translated literally below as the “First Emperor”:

Then the magician, master *Lu*, said to the emperor: My aids and I seek the drug of immortality for you in vain. We cannot meet the Immortals. It seems that some harmful in-

fluence keeps them at a distance. For the precepts of magic say that the master of men must sometimes make himself invisible in order to disorient the bad *gui* [ghosts]. When these are put at a distance, then the Immortals approach. If the residence of the Master of men is known by his subjects, the *gui* know it also, which disturbs the *shen* [spirits]. The spirits enter water without getting wet and fire without being burned; they ride the clouds like horses; they are immortal like heaven and earth. After such toil, here you are at last absolute master of the empire. May no one henceforth know where you reside, and we will be able to obtain for you the drug of immortality. . . . The First Emperor said: I will do everything that I must do to gain the good graces of the Immortals! . . . Thereupon he renounced the imperial pronoun *chen*, and called himself *Spirit*, as if he were already one of them. He caused to be connected, through covered roads or ways bordered by walls or tapestries, the 270 palaces scattered around *Xian-yang* in a radius of 200 *li* in order to be able to circulate without anyone perceiving him. His groups of musicians, his *houris*, and all the rest were distributed throughout the various palaces, in specified places, no longer following the movements of the emperor. If someone named the place the emperor currently favored with his presence, he was put to death. . . . One day, when the emperor was looking out at the countryside from the terrace of the *Liang-shan* palace, he spied the entourage of the great minister and greatly condemned its sumptuousness. Some of his assistants told this to the minister, who decreased his train. The emperor, having noticed this, became angry and said: this proves that my men repeat my words. He brought them all to judgment. The investigation having not revealed the guilty party, the emperor had put to death all those who happened to be near him when he had made his observation. After that, no one ever knew where he spent his time.

Alors le magicien, maître *Lóu*, dit à l'empereur: Moi et mes aides, nous cherchons en vain, pour vous la drogue d'immortalité. Nous n'arrivons pas à rencontrer les Immortels. Il semble que quelque influence nuisible les écarte. Or les

préceptes de la magie disent que le Maître des hommes doit parfois se rendre invisible, afin de dérouter les mauvais *koèi*. Quand ceux-ci sont écartés, alors les Immortels approchent. Si la résidence du Maître des hommes est connue de ses sujets, les *koèi* la connaissant aussi, cela gêne les *chénn*. Les Génies entrent dans l'eau sans se mouiller et dans le feu sans se brûler; ils chevauchent sur les nuées; ils sont immortels, comme le ciel et la terre. Après tant de labeurs, vous voici enfin maître absolu de l'empire. Que désormais personne ne sache plus où vous résiderez, et nous pourrons obtenir pour vous la drogue d'immortalité. . . . Le Premier Empereur dit: Je ferai tout ce qu'il me faudra faire, pour gagner les bonnes grâces des Immortels!.. Dès lors, il renonça au pronom impérial *tchénn*, et s'appela *le Génie*, comme s'il était déjà l'un d'entre eux. Il fit mettre en communication, par des chemins couverts ou bordés de murs et de tentures, les 270 palais épars autour de *Hiên-yang* dans un rayon de 200 *li*, afin de pouvoir circuler sans que personne s'en aperçût. Les orchestres, les houris et le reste, tout fut réparti dans les divers palais, à poste fixe, sans plus suivre les déplacements de l'empereur. Si quelqu'un nommait l'endroit que l'empereur favorisait actuellement de sa présence, il était mis à mort. . . . Un jour que l'empereur regardait la campagne, de la terrasse du palais *Leâng-chan*, il aperçut l'équipage du grand ministre et blâma tout haut sa somptuosité. Quelqu'un des assistants le dit au ministre, qui diminua son train. L'empereur l'ayant remarqué, se fâcha et dit: cela prouve que mes gens répètent mes paroles. Il les fit tous mettre en jugement. L'instruction n'ayant pas révélé le coupable, l'empereur fit mettre à mort tous ceux qui se trouvaient auprès de lui, au moment où il avait fait son observation. Après cela, on ne sut jamais plus où il séjournait.

廬生說始皇，曰，臣等求芝奇藥，仙者常弗遇，類物有害之者。方中，人主時為微行，以避惡鬼。惡鬼避，真人至。人主所居，而人臣知之，則害於神。真人者，入水不濡，入火不熱，陵雲氣，與天地久長。今上治天下，未能恬慤，願上所居宮，毋令人知。然後不死之藥，殆可得也。於是始皇曰，吾慕真人。自謂真人。不

稱朕。乃令咸陽之旁，二百里內，宮觀二百七十復道甬道相連帷帳，鐘鼓美人充之，各案署不移徒行所幸，有言其處者，罪死。始皇帝幸，梁山宮，從山上見丞相車騎眾，弗善也。中人或告丞相。丞相後損車騎。始皇怒，曰，此中人泄吾語，案問，莫服，當是時詔捕諸時在旁者。皆殺之。自是後，莫知行之所在。(TH 270–271)

Segalen's source for the etymology of the unusual character *yan*/*bian* 鼻 in the epigraph was drawn from Wieger's *Rudiments*, the original of which reads as follows:

Given here as a doubled 冫 [cover], the base of an important compound in which you will rarely see it, however, since modern scribes have judged it appropriate to write as 方.

Yān. Disappearance, absence. An object that was originally found as 自 (no. 159 A) in the 宀 storehouse, has there become invisible 回 (doubly covered). 从回，从自，从宀，會意。冫冫不見也。此字形意俱闕也。See no. 23 G. Note the phonetic compound.

Piān. To walk along the edge of a precipice. *Zhuan-zhou*, edge, side, limit, in general. 行垂崖也。从辵，鼻聲。(Wieger, 1905, 117).

On donne, comme 冫 doublé, le bas d'un complexe important, dans lequel toutefois vous le verrez rarement, les scribes modernes ayant jugé à propos d'écrire 方.

Yēn. Disparition, absence. Un objet qui se trouvait primitivement 自 (no. 159 A) dans le 宀 magasin, y est devenu invisible 回 (doublement couvert). 从回，从自，从宀，會意。冫冫不見也。此字形意俱闕也。Voyez no. 23 G. Notez le complexe phonique.

Piēn. Marcher au bord d'un précipice. *Tchoàn-tchou*, bord, côté, limite, en général. 行垂崖也。从辵，鼻聲。(Wieger, 1905, 117).

S61 “Moment” (MOMENT) (1914 ed.) 名可名非常名

The epigraph (in bold below) is taken from the famous open-

ing of the *Daode jing* 道德經 (Book of the Way and Its Power), which lines Segalen would surely have known by heart and could easily have drawn from memory: 道可道非常道, 名可名非常名. Although he might have read the text in Wieger’s bilingual facing-page edition, *Pères du système taoïste*, Segalen would nevertheless have disdained Father Wieger’s Christian distortion of the passage in his translation there, which is clearly an attempt to show that the Chinese anciently had an intuitive understanding of the Christian god: “The principle that can be spoken is not that which always was. The named being is not that which was for all time. *Before all time was an ineffable, unnamable being*” [*Le principe qui peut être énoncé, n’est pas celui qui fut toujours. L’être nommé, n’est pas celui qui fut de tout temps. Avant les temps, fut un être ineffable, innommable*] (18). A more neutral rendering might read: “There is a way to speak the Way, but not the everlasting Way. There is a Name that can be named, but not the everlasting Name.” Cf. the contemporaneous translation of Charles Harlez in his *Textes taoïstes*: “Le Tao qui peut être expliqué n’est point le *Tao* éternel. Le nom qui peut être nommé n’est point le nom éternel, substantiel” (31).

S62 “Violet Forbidden City” (CITÉ VIOLETTE
INTERDITE) 紫禁城

No supplementary sources or contexts. See *René Leyš*, passim.

S63 “Runaway Chariot” (CHAR EMPORTE)
駟駟牧馬在垆之野

The central trope of this stèle is adapted from Ode 297 in the *The Book of Odes* 詩經, a very lyrical ode that consists of four nearly identical stanzas with only slight variations in diction. The epigraph is drawn from the opening lines (in bold), which are repeated in each stanza. The headnote in italics and first stanza from Couvreur’s edition read as follows:

僖 Xi, prince of Lu (659–626), extends his watchfulness over all branches of administration. He gives intelligent care to the raising of horses.

Fat and large are the horses in the plains near the frontiers. Among the fat and large horses, some are black with white legs, and others light yellow; others are black, and others are yellow. They are excellent for pulling carriages. The thoughts of the prince have a limitless reach; he thinks of his horses, and they are good.

僖 *Hī*, prince de Lou (659–626), étend sa vigilance à toutes les branches de l'administration. Il donne des soins intelligents à l'élevage des chevaux.

Des chevaux grands et gras sont dans les plaines près des frontières. Parmi ces chevaux grands et gras, les uns sont noirs et ont les cuisses blanches, les autres sont jaune pâles; d'autres sont noirs, d'autres sont jaunes. Pour traîner les voitures ils sont excellents. Les pensées du prince ont une étendue sans limite; il pense aux chevaux, et les chevaux sont bons.

駟駟牡馬，在坰之野。
薄言駟者，有驕有皇，有驪有黃，以車彭彭。
思無疆，思馬斯臧。(CK 445–446)

See the note to S42 in this volume for additional commentary on this stèle. See also Legge, *Chinese Classics*, 2:611–613.

S64 “Hidden Name” (NOM CACHÉ) 諱名

The following passage from the *Book of Mengzi* (Mencius) 孟子 (7.36:1–2) is the *locus classicus* for the epigraph, which Segalen could have seen in Couvreur's edition of the “four books” of Confucius, *Les Quatre livres* (1895). For the English, we quote James Legge's famous translation in *The Chinese Classics*.

1. Mencius said, “Tsäng Hsi was fond of sheep-dates, and *his son*, the philosopher Tsäng, could not bear to eat sheep-dates.”
2. Kung-sun Ch'âu asked, saying, “Which is best,—minced meat and broiled meat, or sheep-dates?” Mencius

said, “Mince and broiled meat, to be sure.” Kung-sun Ch’âu went on, “Then why did the philosopher Tsäng eat mince and broiled meat, and would not eat sheep-dates?” Mencius answered, “For mince and broiled meat there is a common liking, while that for sheep-dates was peculiar. **We avoid the name, but do not avoid the surname. The surname is common; the name is peculiar.**” (Legge, 1893, 2:497–498)

Tseng Si aimait les jujubes de brebis; son fils Tseng tzeu n’en voulait pas manger. *Les jujubes de brebis, appelées aussi jujubes-crottes-de-brebis, sont de petits fruits noirs et ronds, de la grosseur d’une crotte de brebis. Ils croissent dans les pays septentrionaux. Tseng Si les aimait. Après sa mort, si Tseng tzeu en avait mangé, le souvenir de son père aurait renouvelé douleur.*

Koung suenn Tch’eu dit: “Lequel vaut le mieux, du hachis ou du rôti, ou bien des jujubes de brebis?” “Le hachis ou le rôti, répondit Meng tzeu.” “(Tseng Si devait donc aimer le hachis et le rôti), reprit Koung suenn Tch’eu; pourquoi Tseng tzeu mangeait-il de la viande hachée ou rôtie, et ne mangeait-il pas de petites jujubes noires?” “C’est, répondit Meng tzeu, parce que le goût pour la viande hachée ou rôtie est commun à tout le monde, tandis que le goût pour les petites jujubes noires était particulier à Tseng Si. **C’est ainsi qu’après la mort d’un homme, on s’abstient de prononcer son nom propre, mais on prononce encore son nom de famille; parce que le nom de famille est commun à plusieurs, et que le nom propre est particulier à un seul.**”

曾晰嗜羊棗，而曾子不忍食羊棗。公孫丑問曰：「膾炙與羊棗孰美？」孟子曰：「膾炙哉！」公孫丑曰：「然則曾子何為食膾炙而不食羊棗？」曰：「膾炙所同也，羊棗所獨也；諱名不諱姓，姓所同也，名所獨也。」
(Couvreur, *Quatres livres*, 648–649, 7.2.36) /

Segalen uses the same anecdote in his novel *René Leyš*, in the following dialogue between the fictionalized speaker “Victor

Segalen” and René Leÿs, his dubious informant on all things Chinese:

—Well, where does the name Beijing come from? Where is it written?

—I don’t know anything about it. For the first time in more than a year I ask myself if the name of the city that I inhabit more and better than any of its inhabitants, that I try to possess, to dominate as much and more than the Emperor himself, if this city and its name possess a solid, grounded existence that isn’t legendary and historic!

He reassured me:

—The two characters “Bei-jing” are inscribed *somewhere* in the city.

—Where then?

—In the “Inner” city, *under* the road that leads from Beitung to Bei-tai. . . .

—Oh, I’ve passed by there. . . .

—Very often. But the first time with me. It was I who showed you the road. You didn’t see anything out of the ordinary?

—Nothing.

But wait! I remember now: His horse’s inexplicable rearing! . . . So I had to admit to him:

—Yes! Your horse’s inexplicable rearing! . . .

—You didn’t notice . . . (he hesitated and smiled)—that it sounded hollow? No? It’s right there. It’s in that very place that the two characters “Northern Capital,” “Pe-king,” are inscribed. But I must warn you that deciphering them is difficult. To begin with, you can’t see any part of them in summer: the waters are too high.

—Alors, d’où vient le nom Pei-king? Où est-il écrit?

—Je n’en sais rien. Pour la première fois, depuis plus d’une année, je me demande si le nom de la ville que j’habite plus et mieux que nul de ses habitants, que j’essaie de posséder, de dominer autant et plus que l’Empereur lui-même, si cette ville et son nom détiennent une existence solide, foncière, autre que légendaire et historique!

Il me rassure:

—Le deux caractères “Pei-king” sont inscrits, *quelque part*, dans la ville.

—Où donc?

—Dans la ville “Intérieure,” *sous* la route qui mène du Péi-t’ang au Péi-t’ai. . . .

—Oh! j’y suis passé. . . .

—Très souvent. Mais la première fois avec moi. C’est moi qui vous ai montré la route. Vous n’y avez rien vu d’extraordinaire?

—Rien.

Pourtant! Je m’en souviens maintenant: les écarts incompréhensibles de son cheval. . . Je dois donc lui avouer:

—Si! Les écarts incompréhensibles de votre cheval. . .

—Vous n’avez pas remarqué . . . (il hésite et il sourit)—que cela sonnait creux? Non? C’est bien là. C’est à ce même endroit que les deux caractères “Capitale du Nord,” Pei-king, sont inscrits. Mais je dois vous prévenir que le déchiffrement est difficile. D’abord, on ne peut rien voir en été: les eaux sont trop hautes (*OC* 2:545–546).