

THE ORIGINS OF CHINESE NATURE POETRY

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The opening decades of the sixth century of our era saw the production of two works of literary criticism, the *Wen Hsin Tiao Lung* 文心雕龍 of Liu Hsieh 劉勰 and the *Shih P'in* 詩品 of Chung Hung 鍾嶸¹ which in their scope and critical acumen represent the highest point reached by a movement which had begun to gain impetus only a century or so before.²

Yet important as these works are, their account of the development of Nature poetry, "shan-shui shih" 山水詩, is extremely misleading. Liu Hsieh writes in his chapter on poetry:

"Literature at the beginning of the Sung dynasty (*i.e.* the Liu Sung dynasty, A.D. 420-79) underwent a stylistic revolution. Chuang-tzu and Lao-tzu went out and Nature poetry flourished."³

And Chung Hung says in his preface to the *Shih P'in*:⁴

"During the Yung chia period (A.D. 307-12) Taoism flourished. Discourses on the Void were highly valued (*i.e.* Taoist philosophy). In the

¹ Liu Hsieh (Biography in *Liang Shu* 50. *Nan Shih* 72). (A.D. 366-8-510). For a discussion of the birth date of Liu Hsieh see the *T'ung Yi T'ang Wen Chi* 通義堂文集 of Liu Yü-sung 劉彥崧. *Wen Hsin Tiao Lung* was probably written about A.D. 502. Chung Hung's biography is in *Liang Shu* 49. *Nan Shih* 72.

² This critical movement may be said to have really begun during the 5th century A.D. though there are, of course, isolated outstanding works of criticism before this. But it is during this period that we first find a great number of critical works recorded. During the Liu Sung dynasty we find the *Hsi Wen Chang Chih* 續文章志 of Fu Liang 傅亮 (A.D. 374-426); the *Chin Chiang Tso Wen Chang Chih* 晉江左文章志 of Emperor Ming of Sung; the *Wen Chang Lu* 文章錄 and the *Pieh Chi Lu* 別集錄 of Ch'iu Yüan 邱淵 (fourth century A.D.); See the *Yü Hai* 54. p. 7a. ff. The Hung Pao 鴻寶 of Wang Wei 王徽 (A.D. 415-443); See the Preface to the *Shih P'in* of Chung Hung.

During the Ch'i dynasty (479-501) we find the *Chiang-tso Wen Chang Lu Hsiu* 江左文章錄序 of Ch'iu Ling-chü 丘靈鞠 (*fl.* A.D. 484) (See the *Yü Hai* 54. p. 7a.). The *Wen Shih Chuan* 文仕傳 of Chang Shih 張麟. The *Sung Shih Wen Chang Chih* 宋史文章志 of Shen Yo 沈約 (A.D. 441-613). (Both these are recorded in the *Sui Shu Ching Chi Chih*). The *Wen Chang Shih* 文章始 of Jen Fang 任昉 (A.D. 460-508) The *Hsi Wen Chang Chih* 續文章志 of Ch'en Yao-ch'a. The chief early sixth century works beside the *Wen Hsin Tiao Lung* and the *Shih P'in* are: Hsiao T'ung's prefaces to his *Wen Hsüan* and his "Collected Works of T'ao Yüan-ming." Hsiao Kang's 蕭綱 (Emperor Chien-wen of Liang, reigned A.D. 550-552) three "Letters", and the "Letters" of Hsiao I 蕭繹 (Emperor Yüan of Liang, reigned A.D. 552-554.)

³ *Wen Hsin Tiao Lung*, *Ming Shih*. 明詩, p. 2a.

⁴ *Shih P'in* p. 16.

verse of the time there was more philosophy than there was poetry. It was flat and insipid. A little of this influence was passed on to the other side of the river (*i.e.* to the Eastern Chin dynasty). Sun Ch'o⁵ 孫綽, Hsü Hsün,⁶ 許詢 Huan (Hsüan)⁷ 桓玄 and Yü (Ch'en)⁸ 庾闡 wrote verses which were all as dull and as full of allusions as the *Discourses on the Tao Te Ching*. (By Ho Yen 何晏 A.D. 249) The inspiration of the Chien-an period had petered out."

That these famous dicta asserting that Taoist verse (*Hsüan-yen shih* 玄言詩) suddenly gave way to Nature poetry were evidently critical commonplaces of the time, and not the result of a mere propensity to sacrifice accuracy to antithesis is evident if we examine the works of other important critics of this period.

Shen Yo 沈約 (441-513) says in his famous postface to the biography of the great Nature poet Hsieh Ling-yün 謝靈運 (385-433):⁹

⁵ Sun Ch'o, style Hsing-kung 興公 (A.D. 320?-380?). For an account of this poet see Hellmut Wilhelm's "Note on Sun Ch'o and his Yü-Tao-Lun" (*Liebenthal Festschrift*. 1957. p. 261).

Sun Ch'o's birth and death dates are extremely controversial. Wilhelm would assign him the dates A.D. 313-370. But he has overlooked the fact that Sun wrote an eulogy 贊 for the monk Chu Tao-t'ai who died between 397-402. (See the *Shih Shih I-mien Lu* 釋氏疑年錄 of Ch'en Yuan 陳垣 C.1. p. 3b.) Of course this eulogy may have been written during Tao-t'ai's lifetime. But its position in the context of Tao-t'ai's biography (*KSCFTT*. No:2059, p. 357a) is misleading, coming as it does after the account of his death. (*Ibid.* p. 357b). This additional clue only serves to make Sun Ch'o's dates even more hypothetical. A. E. Link, "Biography of Shih Tao-an" (*TP XLVI*. 1958, Note 3, p. 41) would assign him the dates 301-385 or after. This is nearer the mark, though I fail to see why Link accepts as early a birth-date as A.D. 301. His biography in *Chin Shu* 56, p. 1233b, is based on the *Shih Shuo Hsin Yü*.

⁶ Hsü Hsün, style Hsüan-tu 玄度 (300?-356). Belonged to the coterie of aristocrats around Hsieh An. They maintained him for many years as a recluse in Kuei-chi (*Shih Shuo Hsin Yü*, III A, p. 176, SPTK ed.) He was noted for his skill at *ch'ing-t'an* and at writing five-word poems. Emperor Chien-wen (371-73) said of him: "Hsüan-tu's five-word poems are far beyond all others in their subtlety" (*Shih Shuo Hsin Yü* IA, p. 34a, SPTK ed.)

⁷ The text has Huan 桓 which could refer either to Huan Hsüan 玄 or Huan I 彝. Huan Hsüan, style Ching-tao 敬道 (369-404) hardly seems a promising choice. He was the son, by a concubine, of the famous general Wen 溫 (312-373). In 403 A.D. he seized the Chin throne and overthrew the dynasty. In the following year, however, he was overthrown by Liu Yü 劉裕 and killed. He had only the most minor of reputations as a poet.

Huan I, style Mao-lun 茂倫, (275-328), Biography in *Chin Shu* 74, p. 1274d, is preferred by Chang Chen-yung 張振鏞 (see the *Chung-huo Wen-hsüeh-shih Fen lun* 中國文學史分論 p. 43. Ch'angsha. 1938). However, he has no reputation as a poet whatsoever so I have reluctantly decided in favour of Huan Hsüan.

⁸ This could refer either to Yü Liang 亮 or Yü Ch'en 闡 (or Ch'an. Ancient: ts'jan). Yü Liang, style Yüan-kuei 元規 (289-340) Biography in *Chin Shu* 73, p. 1272b, has a reputation as a Taoist rather than a poet. Hence in view of Yü Ch'en's importance in the literary history of this period I have adopted this interpretation. See below, Note 66, for further details on Yü Ch'en. (Better read Yü Ch'an; *Editors*).

⁹ *Sung Shu* 67. p. 1595d.

"After the restoration of the Chin dynasty (in A.D. 317) the influence of Taoism reigned supreme. Studies went no further than Chu-hsia (*i.e.* Lao-tzu) and knowledge ended with the first seven chapters (of Chuang-tzu). Their words went galloping on while their ideas were drawn only from these books. From the Chien-wu period (A.D. 317) until the I-hsi period (A.D. 405) for almost a hundred years, contrasted tones and coupled phrases rushed together like billows and rolled up like clouds. Everyone expressed himself through the 'highest virtue' and took his idea from 'the mysterious pearl'¹⁰ and so language of consummate beauty was simply unheard of.

"Chung-wen¹¹ was the first to alter the influence of Sun and Hsü. Shu-yüan¹² brought about a change in the spirit of the T'ai-yüan period (A.D. 367-97). By the time of the House of Sung we find that Yen (*i.e.* Yen Yen-chih¹³ 顏延之) and Hsieh (*i.e.* Hsieh Ling-yün) excelled everybody else in verse. Ling-yün's metaphorical style is of the highest order while Yen-nien's form is brilliant and finely chiselled. Both ran side by side in the tracks left by the great writers of the past and bequeathed a model for posterity."

Another critic, Hsiao Tzu-hsien 蕭子顯 (A.D. 489-537) says in his appendix to the biographies of literary men in the "*History of the Southern Ch'i Dynasty*" (A.D. 479-501)¹⁴:

"The prevailing taste south of the Yangtze made the words of the Taoist schools flourish. Kuo P'u¹⁵ 郭業 brought to light its magic

¹⁰ The expression "highest virtue" occurs in the *Tao Te Ching* 38. (*Chu Tzu Chi Ch'eng* ed. p. 23) 上德不德是以有德. The "mysterious pearl" is an expression from *Chuang-tzu*. 12.18 讀其玄珠. Both phrases are glossed as meaning "the Way" by most commentators.

¹¹ Yin Chung-wen, style Chung-wen 仲文, d. A.D. 407. From Ch'en commandery 陳郡. Sided with Huan Hsüan in his usurpation of the throne and was later killed by Liu Yü. Hsieh Ling-yün once said of him: "If he had read half as many books as Yüan Pao 袁豹 his literary genius would have been equal to that of Pan Ku". (Biography p. 1344a. Biography: *Chin Shu*. 99. p. 1343d.)

¹² Hsieh Hun, style Shu-yüan 叔原 (d. 412 A.D.), a grandson of Hsieh An and uncle of Hsieh Ling-yün. He is known for his literary salon where he schooled his young nephews in the arts of verse. He was ultimately executed for his part in Liu Yi's conspiracy against Liu Yü. Biography: in *Chin Shu* 79. p. 1289.b.

¹³ Yen Yen-chih, style Yen-nien 延年 (384-456) was one of the three leading poets of the Yüan-chia era along with Hsieh Ling-yün and Pao Chao 鮑照 (405-466). There is a brief account of his career in Liebenenthal "*A biography of Chu Tao-sheng*". (Monumenta Nipponica XI. p. 77. Note 56).

¹⁴ *Nan Ch'i Shu*. 52. p. 1749.d.

¹⁵ Kuo P'u, style Ching-shun, 景純 (276-324) is known today chiefly for his "Fourteen Poems on Wandering Immortals". Chung Hung remarks of him (*Shih P'in* p. 10a): "He was the first to bring about a change in the monotonous style of the Yung-chia period (A.D. 307-313). Hence he may be called the first poet of the restoration."

The preface to the *Shih P'in* modifies this statement by asserting that Liu K'un 劉琨, style Yüeh-shih, 越石 (270-317), shared this honour. Liu K'un is a neglected poet of considerable stature. See Shen Te-ch'ien's remarks on him in the *Ku Shih Yüan* 古詩源.

transformations, Hsü Hsün carried the Doctrine of Names¹⁶ (*Ming chiao*) to its highest pitch. This mystic spirit was still not entirely lacking in (Yin) Chung-wen 殷仲文. Hsieh Hun 謝混 discovered a new range of emotions but he has never had the recognition that he deserves."

Perhaps the fullest account of the literary history of this period is given by a passage in the lost historical work the *Hsü Chin Yang Ch'iu* 續晉陽秋 of Tan Tao-luan 檀道鸞 (*fl.*: fifth century A.D.) which in discussing the verse of Hsü Hsün also gives a useful account of the developments leading up to it.¹⁷

"Hsün had a gift for style and wrote well. Since the time of geniuses like Ssu-ma Hsiang-ju 司馬相如 (179-117 B.C.), Wang Pao 王褒 (d. 61 B.C.) and Yang Hsiung 揚雄 (53 B.C.-A.D. 18) everybody had thought highly of 'Fu' poems and 'Odes' and modelled their style on the *Shih Ching* 詩經 and the *Li Sao* 離騷, making an eclectic choice from all the words of the philosophic schools.

"During the Chien-an period (A.D. 196-219) poetry was in a very flourishing state. Even up to the end of the Western Chin dynasty (A.D. 317) P'an Yo 潘岳 (A.D. 247-300), Lu Chi 陸機 (A.D. 261-303) and their followers all had the same aims although some used simple language and some ornate.

"During the Cheng-shih period (A.D. 240-9) Wang Pi 王弼 (A.D. 226-49) and Ho Yen 何晏 loved the mysticism in the discourse of Chuang 莊 and Lao 老 and everyone admired them. After the crossing of the Yangtze (*i.e.* after the fall of Western Chin in A.D. 317) Buddhism flourished greatly and it was on account of this that the five word poems of Kuo P'u first put into rhyme the words of the Taoists.

"Hsün and Sun Ch'o of the T'ai-yüan period (A.D. 376-97) on the contrary thought highly of Buddhism, so they for their part added phrases from the Three Ages (三世 *i.e.* past, present and future, a Buddhist term) to their style and completely did away with forms based on the *Shih Ching* and the *Li Sao*. Hsün and Ch'o were the best writers of their time and from them all scholars took their style as a model. During the I-hsi period (A.D. 405-19) Hsieh Hun began to change this."

The above quotations give a good idea of the contemporary opinions about the development of Nature poetry. By combining the various points of view of all these critics one may arrive at something like the following résumé of their arguments:

"Taoist verse began to come into prominence with Kuo P'u, a Taoist who wanted to combat the growing influence of Buddhism. His verse,

¹⁶ The philosophical thought implied by this term is outlined in Feng Yu-lan's 馮友蘭 *Chung-kuo Che-hsüeh shih*. p. 604.f. Trans. D. Bodde, *A History of Chinese Philosophy* Vol. 2. pp. 175-179.

¹⁷ Cited in the *Shih Shuo Hsin Yü*, I.B. pp. 33b-34a.

however, was still stylistically related to the *Shih Ching* and the *Ch'u Tz'u* poems. Hsü and Hsün and Sun Ch'o broke completely with this tradition. Their most famous followers were Huan Hsüan (?) and Yü Ch'en. Their style was gradually altered by Yin Chung-wen and finally transmuted by Hsieh Hun."

All these critics, then, agree in seeing Nature poetry develop as the result of a sudden revolution in taste which overthrew the reigning Taoist verse and ushered in the first of the great Nature poets, Hsieh Ling-yün. This critical stereotype was to persist more or less unchanged for the next 1500 years or so. So even the great Ch'ing critic Wang Shih-chen 王士禛 (A.D. 1634-1711) does little more than elaborate on these earlier views in his discussion of Nature poetry.

"The 305 poems (i.e. 'The Classic of Poetry') in expressing grievances through metaphors include the names of birds, animals and plants with few omissions. And though they do not depict landscapes yet here and there are a few stanzas, or rather a few lines in a few stanzas, which do so. Such are those in 'Wide is the Han' (Song 97) and 'What is there on Chung-nan Hill?' (Song 130). But there is nothing besides these. The works of the poets of the Han and Wei dynasties also have but little connection with landscape poetry. But during the Yüan-chia period (A.D. 424-54) Hsieh K'ang-lo 康樂 (i.e. Hsieh Ling-yün) came forward as the first to write verse depicting landscape. He strove to carry 'mystery' and 'sublimity' in verse to the utmost degree and discovered the sort of emotions that valleys, mountains and springs produce. This was what somebody long ago called 'Chuang and Lao retiring while mountains and rivers flourished'. From the Sung and Ch'i dynasties onwards K'ang-lo was generally taken as a model."¹⁸

Wang Shih-chen is certainly right in making the point that there is, on the whole, not a trace of anything that can be called true Nature poetry in the *Shih Ching* or the earlier poets. Nor, he might well have added, is there any to be found in the *Ch'u Tz'u* even though it contains many passages which describe landscapes. For if Nature poetry is defined, as it might be, as verse inspired by a mystic philosophy which sees all natural phenomena as symbols charged with a mysterious and cathartic power, then the descriptions of nature in this early verse can by no means be called Nature

¹⁸ Preface to the *Tai Ching T'ang Shih Hua* 帶經堂詩話 (Chapter 5) of Wang Shih-chen. Edition of 1760. Edited by Chang Tsung-nan 張宗楠. Wang Shih-chen was not the only Ch'ing critic of note who helped to perpetuate this fiction. Shen Te-Ch'ien 沈德潛 (1673-1769) says in his *Shih Shuo Sui Yü* 詩說粹語 (1731); 'Liu (Hsieh) says: "Lao-tzu and Chuang-tzu retired and landscape poetry flourished". Poems about wandering among landscapes evidently began with (Hsieh) Ling-yün'. These views have been echoed by every history of Chinese literature ever written.

poetry.¹⁹ However, this does not mean that Hsieh Ling-yün was the founder of this school, though he was undoubtedly the first poet in whom this philosophy found perfect and mature expression. But such a degree of maturity as is found in his verse can only be the result of a long process of development. It is my contention that Chinese literary criticism has long been guilty of a gross over-simplification in seeing Nature poetry as springing in "celestial panoplie all armed" from Ling-yün's ingenious imagination, for his verse represents but the culminating point of a movement which had begun centuries before. I shall endeavour to trace here the gradual evolution of these ideas from their earliest appearance to their first mature realization in the art of the Liu Sung dynasty.

If we ignore the generalizations of the critics and look at the literature of this period with eyes ready to see the resemblances, rather than the differences, between writers, a very different picture begins to come into focus. We see in fact that the essential characteristics of Nature poetry existed within the corpus of the earlier Taoist *Hsüan-yen* 玄言 verse.

It is in the sudden growth in the importance of Taoism with the fall of the Later Han that we must look for the beginnings of this new attitude to nature. The collapse of the ordered stable society of Han brought with it the eclipse of Confucianism. Faced with the ruins of their civilization the intelligentsia compensated themselves by taking refuge in a philosophy which denied any value to civilized society. By the 3rd century A.D. Confucianism had become merely the official ideology while Taoism had attracted to itself the best minds of the time, who saw in Confucianism only a theoretical justification for the war and disorders that characterized the

¹⁹ See below, note 107, for a fuller definition of landscape verse.

Early Taoist and Confucian texts contain passages which hold the seeds from which the later love of nature may have sprung. As for example *Lun Yü* 6.21. The good man delights in mountains. The wise man delights in water. 仁者樂山。知者樂水 *Chuang-tzu*. 24.81. Mountains and woods make us joyfully delight in them. 山林與...使我歡歡然而樂焉 *Chuang-tzu*. 26.40. Great forests, hills and mountains are pleasant to men. 大林丘山之善於人也. The question here, of course, is how one is to arrive at a satisfactory definition of what is and is not a Nature poem. Could the early descriptive *fu* poems like the *Chao Yin Shih* 招隱士 of the King of Huai-nan 淮南 (*Ch'u Tz'u* 12. p. 1a-3b. *SPPY*. ed.) be called Nature poetry? I do not think so. To come within my definition a poem must be more than a mere descriptive catalogue. On the other hand it does not affect the value of a poem if what looks like genuine Nature poetry proves, on examination, to have deeper meanings. The poem by Hsieh Hun quoted above (on p.17) for instance, is made up of a tissue of quotations from the *Shih Ching* and *Ch'u Tz'u*. Yet it is much more than merely the sum of its quotations. One might draw an analogy here with the medieval European practice of reading a text by four-fold interpretation. On the literal level the poem is unchanged. But it gathers new meanings when read allegorically, tropically and anagogically. My argument against including the early *fu* and other poems of this sort is that they are not even Nature poetry on a literal level.

age.²⁰ There were two types of reaction against the prevailing conditions subsumed under the heading of Taoism. The first school, best represented by Wang Pi (A.D. 226-49), used the dialectical weapons of the "ch'ing t'an" school of philosophical wit to destroy the cumbersome Confucian philosophy of Han and then went on to create a plan for an alternative system of government based on Taoist principles. This was in fact more properly a union of Taoism and Confucianism than the pure doctrine of the early philosophers.²¹

The second school, typified by Ho Yen stressed the anarchical side of Taoism. For them society was evil and the true man 真人 had no truck with it. This type of thought easily degenerated into mere epicureanism with "gain immortal life" 長生 as its watchword.²² The earliest poetic exponents of Taoism, the so-called Chu Lin 竹林 poets, would seem to have fallen between these two schools. Their careers, oscillating uneasily between rustic seclusion and court preferment, seem to indicate a sort of cultural schizophrenia. Yet though theirs was a "version of pastoral" rather than true Nature poetry, it is here in "The discontent of the civilized with

²⁰ See E. Balazs. "La Crise Sociale et la Philosophie politique à la fin des Han." T'oung Pao 1949-50. Pages 83-132. E. Balazs. "Entre Révolte nihiliste et Evasion mystique" Asiatische Studien. 1948, pages 27-56. A. Waley. "The Fall of Lo-yang" History Today. April 1951. pp. 1-8.

²¹ See T'ang Yung-t'ung 湯用彤 "Wang Pi chih Chou I Lun Yü hsin i" Reviewed by W. Liebenthal. "Wang Pi's New Interpretation of the I ching and Lun Yü" H.J.A.S. 1947. Pages 124-162.

²² See H. Maspero "Le Taoisme" in "Mélanges Posthumes" Volume 2. In his famous "Fu on Dwelling in the Mountains" 山居賦 Hsieh Ling-yün explicitly states that he spent much of his time in gathering herbs which would help him to remain young.

"This weak substance is difficult to preserve,
It is all too easy to mourn one's declining years,
When to stroke one's hair breeds sadness
And to look at one's own face is painful.
I had heard of the arts of the Holy Temple,
And hoped my decrepit body could be made strong again.
I look for rare herbs on famous mountains;
I cross the magic waves and then halt my carriage.
I gather Earth Yellow from the rocks,
I cull Heaven's Gate from beneath bamboos.
I collect Lesser Bitters on mountain ranges,
I gather Stream Orchids by gloomy torrents.
I hunt after stalactites in caverns,
And seek for the male cinnabar by the Red Spring."

(Sung Shu 67.p. 30b. Po Na Ed.)

(Earth Yellow is *Rehmannia Lutea*.
Heaven's Gate is *Asparagus Lucidus*.
Lesser Bitters is *Asarum Sieboldi*.)

civilization" (the phrase is Lovejoy's) that we find the beginning of the school of Nature poetry.²³

In the biography of the famous poet Juan Chi 阮籍 (A.D. 210-63) we read that "he would sometimes climb mountains and look down on waters, forgetting to return for days on end".²⁴ And again, "I, Chi, used to wander about Tung-p'ing enjoying its scenery".²⁵ That such ideas were in the air at the time and were not just confined to this poetic clique is shown by a passage in the biography of Yang Hu 羊祜 (d. A.D. 278). "Hu loved landscapes and every time the view was a good one (i.e. when visibility was good) he would insist on having a drinking party on Mount Hsien where they would talk all day long and never grow weary. Once, sighing sadly, he turned to Captain Tsou Chan 鄒湛 and the rest of his retinue:

"Since the beginning of the Universe," he said, "this mountain has stood here. It saddens one to think how many geniuses and brilliant men have climbed up here and looked into the distance like you and I, who now have perished never to be heard of more. If we have consciousness a hundred years from now our spirits will still surely climb up here."²⁶

By the third century A.D., as we see from the above quotations, there was a new feeling for nature growing up among the literati, a feeling which is probably to be connected with the resurgence of Taoism at the time. Yet these feelings had not yet become an organic part of the art of the time. They had not yet drastically affected the poetry of the Ch'ien-an period.

²³ A useful account of these poets is found in R. H. van Gulik's monograph "Hsi K'ang and his Poetical Essay on the Lute", *Monumenta Nipponica Monographs. No. 4.* as well as in D. Holzman "La vie et la pensée de Hi K'ang". Shan T'ao 山濤 courtesy title Chü-yüan 巨源 (A.D. 205-203) whose biography is found in the *Chin Shu* 43. is the classic example of one whose Taoist pretensions did not prevent him from taking high office. (See the famous letter from Hsi K'ang replying to Shan T'ao's advice that he should take office).

This wandering in the mountains which was later to become an essential part of the philosophy of the *Shan-shui* school may well have had its origin in the very practical pursuit of magic herbs and drugs. See the *Chin Shu* 49. p. 1251.b. (Lines 40; 43-44.) K'ang used to wander about the mountains and marshes gathering herbs" 康嘗探藥遊山澤 "K'ang also met Wang Lieh and they both went into the mountains. Lieh once found a "stone marrow" like a cake and he himself ate half of it. 康又遇王烈共入山. 烈嘗得石髓如餠即自服半. The Buddhist monk Chih Tun (Chih Tao-lin) (A.D. 314-366) says in his preface to his *Pa Kuan Chai* 八關齋 poems:

"Once I loved the quiet of a hut in the wilds and had ideas about digging up herbs. So I dwelt alone there. I climbed mountains and gathered herbs and knew all the joys that crags and rivers can afford." (KHMC. T.T. No. 2103. C.30. p. 350a) See also Note 22 above.

²⁴ *Chin Shu* 49. p. 1241.a. 或登臨山水經日忘歸.

²⁵ *Chin Shu* 49. p. 1241.b.

²⁶ 結樂山水每風景必造峴山買酒主詠終日不倦. 嘗慨然歎息願謂從事中郎鄒湛等曰自有宇宙復有此山由來賢達勝士登此遠望如我與爾者多矣. 皆運滅無聞使人悲傷如百歲後有知魂魄猶懸登此也. *Chin Shu* 34) p. 1178d.

However, we have an example of this pre-Taoist Nature poetry in the *yüeh-fu* "Looking at the Blue Sea" of Ts'ao Ts'ao, which has been called the first "*shan-shui*" poem in Chinese literature.²⁷

In the East I stand on the Pillar Rock
And look at the blue sea.
How chaste the waters lie,
Around the mountainous islands towering high.
The trees grow densely,
All sorts of plants grow there in beautiful profusion.
The autumn wind is sad,
Vast waves swell and rise
So that the sun and moon in their journeyings
Seem to be among them,
And the starry river, burning bright,
Seems to be in their midst.
How great is my happiness!
I express my feeling in song.²⁸

This poem is simple and stylized yet curiously effective. It is certainly the first example of a complete poem of this type that we possess. Yet the absence of any informing philosophy which would transform natural phenomena into symbols, and mere emotion into a release from emotion marks it off from real Nature poetry. Perhaps the four-word line in which this poem is written has something to do with this. Certainly the conservative influence of the *Shih Ching*, with its stereotyped turns of phrase must have tended to limit the powers of invention of any poet writing in this metre. This poem may well have succeeded as far as it does only because it was a *yüeh-fu* ballad meant to be sung and therefore to a certain extent careless of canonical imitation. The development of Nature verse is undoubtedly bound up with the development of the five-word line which not only took the poet out of the restrictive confines of earlier verse but, by enabling him to write flowing descriptive passages, did away with the necessity of having to chop them up into the short and relatively clumsy lengths of the four-word line.

The only successful Nature poetry we have which was written in the four-word line are the verses of the Orchid Pavilion poets which I shall discuss later on. But even there it will be seen that their four-word poems are greatly inferior to the five-word poems treating the same subject.

²⁷ By Lin Keng 林庚 in his *Chung-Kuo Wen-hsüeh Chien Shih* 中國文學簡史 p. 154. Vol. I.

²⁸ *T.F.P. Wei Shih* Ct. p. 119.

It would seem then that it was not only the lack of a felt philosophy but the absence of a suitably pliant form which was holding up the development of Nature poetry. But the philosophy, as we have seen, came to maturity before the five-word verse-form and, in the absence of a suitable medium, poets began to write Nature verse in the form of *fu* poems.²⁹

The *fu* had been for centuries the literary form best adapted to descriptive word painting. The *fu* of the Han poets—some of whom were lexicographers like Yang Hsiung who compiled the *Fang Yen* 方言—had piled synonym on synonym and epithet on epithet in a style that tended to exhaust the very resources of their own dictionaries. But with the fall of Han and the immense destruction of cities and palaces that went with it the principal subject of the *fu* disappeared. No longer could the poet, standing as he did among the wreckage of the empire, sing of the glories of the capital and the magnificence of the imperial sway. It is hardly surprising then that the writers of *fu* turned to natural splendours for the subjects of their works.

This shift in interests is clearly reflected even in *fu* which do not ostensibly deal with landscapes. One of the earliest and best examples is found in the "*Fu of the Lute*" 琴賦 of Hsi K'ang (A.D. 223-62):

"The scenery there is rugged and irregular with many a hidden depth. There are rock covered heights and lonely mountain peaks, dark rocks and craggy ascents, steep cliffs and precipitous ridges. Red rocks rise steeply upwards, and there are green walls 10,000 fathoms high. Mountain crest rises above mountain crest. They seem to be pressed down by the clouds. Lofty and verdurous summits far off show their massive shapes; here and there a solitary peak rising in impressive splendour draws the eye. The spiritual haze that hovers over these mountains mingles with the clouds, and from their mysterious founts streams burst forth. Tumbling waves gush one after the other. Running onwards they vie in crazy torrents, they hurtle themselves against rocks and beat in recesses in a boiling rage. The wild waters churn, the billows spurt foam, with a roaring noise they turn round and round like a mass of intertwined, coiling dragons."³⁰

This is descriptive verse of its own sake, very much in the *fu* tradition, lavishing on this new subject all the technique built up by centuries of experience.

²⁹ The role of the *fu* poem in the development of Nature poetry seems to have been ignored by literary historians, who have been so obsessed with the lyric poem that they seem to have forgotten that the *fu* existed. On the transition from the *fu* to the *shih* during the third and fourth centuries see Ami Yüji 網祐以 "*Buntai no henshen, Nanchō jidai o chūshin to shite*" 文體の變遷南朝時似を中心 (Ochanomizu daigaku jimbun kagaku kiyō. No. 2. 1952. 茶の水大學人文科學紀要.) See also below Note 93. p. 28.

³⁰ *Wen Hsüan* 18.p. Transl. R. van Gulik, *Hsi K'ang's Poetical Essay on the Lute. Monumenta Nipponica Monographs*. No. 4. p. 53.

Yet though the *fu* seems to have been the first form to give expression to this sort of feeling, the five-word lyric poem soon took up the same theme, as the following poems by Tso Ssu³¹ prove.

The cave in the crags has no criss-cross beams,³²
 Within the hill there is a singing lute.
 White clouds hang over the shadowy side of the hill,
 Red flowers burn bright in the sunny forest.
 The stony spring washes over precious stones;
 Delicate-scaled fishes swim in its depths.
 No need at all of silk or bamboo,
 For there is a pure music in the landscape itself.

I have built a hut on the Eastern Mountain.
 Under its fruit-trees a thorn-brake has sprung up,
 In front stands a well with an icy spring,³³
 Where I can refresh my heart and soul.
 Among these brilliant blues and emeralds
 Bamboos and cypress-trees can realize their true nature,
 Their tender leaves are hung with frost.
 But from their green and soaring tops the water drips.
 Rank and uniform are uncertain pleasures,
 One must bend or stretch as the times are good or ill.
 Knotting (the seal) at one's girdle may bring trouble,
 Tapping one's hat may rid it of dirt and dust.

Verse like this proves that even at this early date, in the last quarter of the 3rd century A.D., something very like true Nature poetry was being written. Yet this aspect of the verse of that time goes unmentioned in all histories of Chinese literature. According to the conventional view which has been outlined above it was only a short time after the Cheng-shih period (A.D. 240-49) when the above verse was written, that Taoist verse proper (*Hsüan-yen Shih*) was first written. However, if we examine in some detail the names of the poets who were cited in all those critical evaluations which I have translated, a very different picture appears. We see, in fact, that these poets write verse which shows even more of the characteristic features of Nature poetry than the lines quoted above.

³¹ Tso Ssu 左思 (272-306?) Biography; in *Chin Shu*. 92. p. 1320a. The extracts quoted are from *Wen Hsüan* 22. pp. 77a-b "Summoning the Hermit". 招隱士.

³² 綉構 "Criss-cross beams"—merely synecdoche for "luxurious palace."

³³ *Yi Ching* 48. 9/5: "In the well there is a clear cold spring. One can drink from it." The Commentary adds: "A man who has virtues like a well of this sort is born to be a leader of men for he has the water of life." (Wilhelm. *Yi Ching*. p. 200.)

This line demonstrates the necessity for reading what are apparently simple descriptive passages with a great deal of caution. See above, Note 19.

First let us look at the work of the masters of the *hsüan-yen* school, Sun Ch'o and Hsü Hsün. Here is a poem by Sun Ch'o:

An Autumn Day

A melancholy day in the second month of autumn;
 A whirling wind moans, the windy clouds are high.
 Living in the mountains you feel the seasons changing,
 Far from home the traveller sings a long ballad.
 Through the sparse woods blow many icy winds,
 Empty caves are hung with frozen mist.
 Soaking dew wets garden and woods,
 Thick leaves take farewell of wind-blown boughs.
 I touch these orchids, grieving that they will be first to fall
 I pull down a branch of pine, admiring its being last to wither.
 I cast my line in woods and wilds,
 I have my friendships far from market and court.
 Gone now is the troubled heart I used to bear;
 Surely I am not far from the banks of the River Hao!³⁴

This verse is certainly not as Taoist as we would have expected from the accounts of the critics of the period. However, in view of the later

³⁴ *T.F.P.* 5.12a. Note that no lyric poem by Sun Ch'o exists in the *Wen Hsüan*. However, we do have his "Wandering on Mount T'ien-t'ai; a *Fu* Poem". (*W.H.* 11. p. 3a-8b.) which is written in much the same style as his surviving poems. This contains the lines: "Red cliffs rise from the mist like portents; Waterfalls, flying down, set bounds to the Way". (p. 4a). 赤城霞起而懸標瀑布飛流以界道。

It is noteworthy that the expression 界道 occurs in the *Sūtra of the Lotus of the Wonderful Law* 法華經 in a description of the future destiny of Śāriputra. "One whose domain shall be named undefiled . . . the ground of lapis-lazuli having eight intersecting roads with golden cords to set bounds to their sides." . . . 黃金爲繩以界道。

Presumably T'ien-tai is envisaged here as the earthly equivalent of Śāriputra's kingdom. It is, as I have already remarked above misleading to read these Nature poems only on the literal level.

Tan Tao-luan's statement (quoted above, p. 71) that Sun Ch'o used Buddhist expressions in his poems is convincingly borne out by this *fu*, which contains the lines:

王喬控鶴以冲天

"Wang Ch'iao gave the rein to his crane and flew up to heaven;

應真飛錫以踰虛 (*T'ien-t'ai Fu*. p. 56).

The Arhat with his flying staff trod the void air".

敷以象外之說

"(The Immortal) explains to me the doctrine of what is beyond Form,

暢以無生之篇

He makes clear to me the writings on Nirvāna.

悟道有之不盡

I understand why my rejection of Existence was not complete,

覺涉無之有間

I realize why my plunge into Non-existence was mistaken." (*Ibid.* p.6a).

The mediaeval Chinese view of the essential unity of Taoism and Buddhism is well-demonstrated here. (The allusion in the last line of the poem "An Autumn Day" is to *Chuang-tzu* 33).

prestige of Nature poetry, it could be argued that only such poems survived as were acceptable to the tastes of the time and that this poem therefore was not a typical example of Sun Ch'o's work. I believe that this is in fact the case, for in Chiang Yen's 江淹 (A.D. 444-505) brilliant "Imitations of Thirty Poets" (*Wen Hsüan* 31) we find a poem in the style of Sun Ch'o which, lacking other evidence, is the best possible representative of what a typical poem by Sun Ch'o must have been like:

Once the Great Uniform Chaos had been divided
 It blew in ten thousand different ways and evolved Forms.
 It is only because we think that action and inaction really have a
 Final Cause
 That we call a child who dies young "short-lived".
 The Way has been lost for a thousand years.
 Who is there who can know the bridges and fords?
 I would like to ride upon the wings of a whirlwind,
 And go striding high upon the wind.
 When I reflect quietly on the meaning of the syllogism of "the
 stick a foot long",
 I see that its structure was such that it could never be smaller.
 Under the dazzling autumn moon
 I lean on my windowsill and sing of Yao and Lao-tzu.
 Go where you will there is neither good nor evil,
 Once you have understood this you will have found the way of
 the Noble Man,
 You will have grasped the essential fact that all is one,
 As did Ch'i the white-haired man on Mount South.
 Though we rub shoulders with it we lose it: we are long exposed
 to mutability.
 So fire is passed on through dry wood and grass.
 To this end we must try to cleanse our inmost thoughts
 And banish all artifice and trickery from our hearts.
 When we have forgotten both ourselves and the world
 We will be able to make friends with seagulls.³⁵

³⁵ *W.H.* 31. p. 13a. Translated Von Zach; Vol. 1, p. 594.

Line 1. *Lieh-tzu* (II, p. 2b) "The Great Uniform Chaos was the origin of Matter."

Line 2. *Chuang-tzu* 2.4. "Then from 10,000 apertures there comes its excited noise."

Line 4. *Chuang-tzu* 2.52. "There is no one more long-lived than a child which dies prematurely and Grandfather P'eng died young."

Line 5. *Chuang-tzu* 16.11. "The world has lost the Way"

Line 6. *Lun Yü.* 18.6. "He knows the ford"

Line 7. *Chuang-tzu* 1. "Then it goes up on a whirlwind for 90,000 leagues"

Line 10. *Chuang-tzu* 33.78. A paradox of Hui Shih's. "If from a stick a foot long you every day take the half of it, in a myriad ages it will not be exhausted."

It would be difficult to find a more purely Taoist poem than this one in which almost every line contains an allusion to *Chuang-tzu*. We are forced to conclude then that Sun Ch'o's work was basically Taoist in conception and inspiration. Yet in spite of this there is a great deal of real Nature poetry in it.

In the case of Hsü Hsün we are forced to rely on Chiang Yen's imitation as only one poem of Hsün's exists and this is valueless for our purposes. Here is Chiang Yen's impression of what a poem by Hsü Hsün was like:

Description of Myself

Master Chang did not understand his inner workings,
 Master Shan was in the dark about outward reality.
 But I have suddenly sprung out of the dark "fish trap"
 And I love to stride airily on the wind.
 No longer do I feel like a lost child,
 I follow the promptings of my heart and wander alone where I will.
 I gather herbs on a mountain side covered with white clouds
 To enable my body to live as long as it can.
 The scented petals of the red flowers are brilliant,
 Green bamboos shade a peaceful spot.
 Far from the world my mind is vanquished (laid asleep),
 Without knowing it I rise and stride upon the air.
 Through the crooked lattice rushes a fresh wind,
 My house of stone is filled with mysterious sounds.
 I have fled from it all; now I do as I please.
 Gain or loss—nothing affects me any more.
 The man who swung the axe was unsurpassable.
 His double clarity was certainly evident.
 I have already cast from me the five difficulties.
 I have broken through the snares of the world.³⁶

Line 15. *Yi Ching.* 46 擊辭 III 下 "The Master said: 'Through one action the fruits of a hundred thoughts are realized.'" 一致而百慮。

Line 16. *Han Shu* 72. Ch'i Li-chi, the Younger son from the village of Ch'i was one of the "Four white-haired men" 四皓 who took service under Han after having retired to the Shang-lo mountain during the Ch'in. So called because their beard and eyebrows were dazzling white. (*Shih Chi Hwei-chu k'ao-cheng* 史記會注考證 ch. 55. pp. 26-27. 年皆八十有餘鬚眉皓白。I have used Ch'i as though it were his family name (which it is not) for purposes of translation.

Line 17. *Chuang-tzu* 21.21. "Though we are shoulder to shoulder you lose the Way."

Line 18. *Chuang-tzu* 3.19. "What we can point to are the burnt-out faggots. But the fire is transmitted elsewhere."

Line 22. *Lieh-tzu* 2.10.

³⁶ *W.H.* 31. p. 13b. Translated Von Zach, Vol. 1, p. 595.

Line 1. *Chuang-tzu.* 19.29. "Chang Yi hung up a screen at his lofty gates and everybody hurried to him. In his fortieth year he fell ill of a fever and died."

These poems are both much more obviously Taoist than those first cited yet in spite of this they are still not completely dissimilar from what we know as "Nature poetry". We may conclude from the above that the purely Taoist element in the work of Hsü Hsün and Sun Ch'ö has been greatly exaggerated. When we come to the work of Yin Chung-wen and Hsieh Hun we find that the Taoist element in their poems is almost negligible. Here are two poems typical of these poets. This time we are not forced to rely solely on Chiang Yen's imitations as two good examples of the work of these two writers exist in the *Wen Hsüan*.

Yin Chung-wen

Written for Duke Huan on the Nine Well Mountain in Nan-chou.

Although the four seasons follow hard on one another,
Each has its due measure of order and influence,
But only the clear autumn days
Can bring our inspiration to its highest pitch.
Through the sunlit air many distant things seem clear,
The landscape has grown harsh and menacing.
From clear pipes rises a mysterious note, *lü*.
Howling torrents beat against the Female void.
In this cold season, nothing can blossom early;
The frail flowers were glad to wither so soon.
How can we distinguish the constant from the mutable?
I give you as examples pine and mushroom.
The wise artificer, saddened by these desolate dawns,
Went on honoured wheels beyond the dust of the world.
On those seated on the wide mats of bamboo he lavished his
bounteous love.

Line 2. *Chuang-tzu*. "In Lu there was a Shan Pao who lived among the rocks and drank only water. He would not share with the people in the work and the profits they got from it. Though he was in his 70th year he still had the complexion of a child. Unfortunately he met with a hungry tiger which killed and ate him."

... "Pao nourished his inner man and a tiger ate his outer. Yi nourished his outer man and disease attacked his inner."

Line 4. *Chuang-tzu*. 1.19. "There was Lieh-tzu who rode on the wind".

Line 5. *Chuang-tzu*. 2.79. "How do I know that the love of life is not a delusion? And that the dislike of death is not like a young child losing his way and not knowing that he is on the road home?"

Line 18. *Yi Ching*. Hex; 30. 重明以麗平正... "Doubled clarity, clinging to what is bright, transforms the world and perfects it."

Line 19. Hsi K'ang. "Replying to the Criticism of Hsiang Tzu-ch'i." "There are five difficulties in nourishing one's life. The first is in not getting rid of feelings of self-interest. The second in not doing away with feelings of joy and anger. The third in not banishing sounds and colours. The fourth in not cutting oneself off from tastes. The fifth in having an unquiet mind and one's essential fluid scattered." (*Hsi K'ang's Collected Works*. 嵇康集) p. 70 in Vol. 5 of *Lu Hsün san-shih nien chi* (1947). 魯迅三十年集. Transl. D. Holzman.

With swift-winged goblets he won friends for himself.
I delight in this lover of the good,
My troubles vanish and my greed disappears.
Wretch that I am to hold high office in the Court of this
second O-heng!

I shall be exposed to the laughter of the Hsiung-nu.³⁷

Here follows a typical poem by Hsieh Hun:

An Excursion to the West Lake

I like to hear the chirping of the cricket,
It is certainly a song for one who has been working hard.
The years go quickly by,
Yet never has that happy outing come about.
Carefree I wander past the city market place,
Full of longing I walk along the path.
A winding road joins hill and watch-tower,
From the high tower I look out on the flying mist.
A gentle wind rushes through the gardens,
White clouds mass above high hills.
At sunset singing birds flock together,
Riverside trees steep their fresh blossoms in water,
With my robes girt up I go to the orchid island.
As I wait I pull the scented orchid boughs towards me;
The fair lady is months late, years late!
In my eventide what am I to do?
I will not be bound by my love;
Nan-yung was warned against having too many thoughts.³⁸

³⁷ *W.H.* 22. p. 46. Translated Von Zach, p. 335. Huan is Huan Hsüan. 玄. See Note 7 above.

Line 7. *Chuang-tzu* 2.

Line 8. *Ta Tai Li Chi* "Hills are male; valleys are female." See also *Tao Te Ching*. Tr. Waley. "The Way and its Power" (1934) p. 149 "The valley Spirit never dies" etc.

Line 12. *Lun Yü* 9.27. "When the year becomes cold then we know how the pine and cypress are the last to lose their leaves." Also *Chuang-tzu*. 1.10.

Line 15. *Lun Yü*. 1.6. "He should overflow in love to all and cultivate the findings of the good."

Line 19. *Shih Ching*. No. 304. "There was a time of peril but truly did heaven deal with him as his son and send him down a minister, namely O-heng, who gave his assistance to the King of Shang."

O-heng, is I-yin 伊尹 the legendary chief minister of T'ang the Completer.
Line 20. *Han Shu* 66. Ch'e Ch'ien-ch'iu 車千秋 was laughed at by the Hsiung-nu when he went to them as an ambassador.

³⁸ *W.H.* 22. p. 5a. Von Zach, p. 336.

Line 1. *Song* 114. "The cricket is in the hall, the year is drawing to its end."

Line 6. *Song* 44. "Longingly I think of you."

Line 13. *Song* 87.

Line 18. *Chuang-tzu*. 23.10. Keng Sang-ch'ü said: "Do not let your thoughts keep working anxiously" (Legge, *S.B.E.*, p. 77).

In order to show how closely Chiang Yen follows the style of the poets he is imitating I add here a translation of his impression of a poem by Yin Chung-wen.

A Joyful Poem describing a Landscape

In the morning I wandered out at random.
Great was my desire for beautiful landscapes.
The cloudy sky was bright and high,
At times I met with things that gladdened my heart.
Green pines stretched out their lovely branches,
Tall trees were clad in soft hues.
Gaze as far as I would the clear waves were deep
Shining into the distance went cliffs of white rock.
My feelings were pure and unsullied.
I brushed my clothes to rid them of the dust (of this world)
We must begin by seeking love within ourselves,
That mysterious quality is not to be found outside us.
Once truth has been established all other authority is forgotten,
Once cares are scattered you can abandon Mind.³⁹

It will be seen that though these poems are somewhat precious in diction and though natural description in them is apt to be submerged by Taoist philosophy there is nevertheless a clear connection between this sort of style and the work of the great Nature poets of a later era. Compare the above poems with their characteristic admixture of Taoism and landscape painting with a couple of typical poems by Hsieh Ling-yün:

*"On climbing the highest peak of Stone Gate"*⁴⁰

At dawn I took my staff and sought the rugged crags,
At dusk I halted and spent the night in the mountains.
On this distant peak I have built a lofty house
Facing the mountain and overlooking winding streams.

³⁹ W.H. 31 p. 14a. Von Zach, p. 596.

Line 11. *Lun Yü* 15.

⁴⁰ *Hsieh K'ang-lo Shih Chu* 謝康樂詩注 compiled by Huang Chieh. 黃節 Second edition, Peking 1958, p. 72. 石門新營所住四面高山迴溪... Stone Gate is the mountain in the district of Sheng in Chekiang on the south of Mount South 南山.

Line 17. *Lieh-tzu*. 1, p. 10b. S.P.P. Y. ed. "Poverty is the scholar's constant companion. Death is the end of man. How sad to dwell with this constant companion and await the end."

Since Ling-yün was very wealthy this line can only be taken to mean that he was living a life of extreme simplicity, like that he describes in his "*Fu on Dwelling in the Mountains*." (*Sung Shu* 67, p. 1594.)

Line 18. *Chuang-tzu*. 3.18. "Quiet submission affords no occasion for grief or for joy."

Chuang-tzu. 6.8z. "When a man rests in what has been ordained he is at one with the Mysterious Heaven."

Vast forests stretch in front of its door,
Massy rocks make a stairway to it.
Encircling peaks give the impression that the road ends here,
The path gets lost among the thick bamboos.
Newcomers are puzzled to find the way,
When they leave they are doubtful which way they came.
How furiously the streams rush on through the dusk,
How shrilly the apes scream through the night!
Though quite forgotten how can I abandon Truth?
I cherish the Way and will never leave of myself.
In autumn my heart is saddened by the trees in the ninth month,
In spring my eyes delight in the birds of the third month,
I dwell with my "constant companion" and await my end,
Submissively I rest in what has been ordained.
I regret that I have no friend to share my thoughts,
For together we could have climbed this cloudy green ladder.
"All around my new house at Stone Gate are high mountains,
winding streams, rocky torrents, thick woods and tall bamboos."⁴¹
I climbed these steeps to build my secluded dwelling,
I brushed aside the clouds and rested at Stone Gate.
Who can walk on this slippery moss,
Or hold on to the frail dolicho plants?
Gustily the wind goes by in autumn,
Lush are the myriad flowers of spring.
My beloved went away and has not come back,
What hope have I of a joyful reunion?
Fragrant dust grows thick on the jewelled mat,
Clear wine overbrims the golden beakers.
What good are the waves on Tung-t'ing lake?

⁴¹ *Hsieh K'ang-lo Shih Chu*, p. 59 石門新營所住四面高山迴溪石瀨茂林修竹。

Line 23. *Chuang-tzu*. 24.29.

"Ride in the chariot of the sun and roam in the wilderness of Hsiang-ch'eng." Huang Chieh asserts that Hsieh is saying he would like to make time go more slowly.

Line 24. The term 營魂 occurs also in the *Wen Fu* of Lu Chi. 懷營魂以探蹟. where Achilles Fang translates simply as "You probe into the hidden depths of your soul." (*Rhyme-prose on literature*, p. 545, H.J.A.S. No.XIV, 1951.) He notes (*ibid.*, p. 558, Sec.120) that this may have some connection with *Tao Te Ching*. 10. 營魄 "The spiritual and animal souls."

Duyvendak (Wisdom of the East, *Tao Te Ching*) thinks 營 may be a Ch'u dialect word for 魄 in which case 營魂 would be a binome. This would connect with the reference in the *Ch'u-tz'u*, 3, 5.7a, S.P.T.K. ed. which has 載營魄而登靈兮 in which a commentator reads 魄 as 魂. E. R. Hughes translates as "mutinous soul" (*The Art of Letters*, 1951, p. 107, note on p. 181.) but this is much too far-fetched.

In vain I climb up by the cassia boughs,
 I long for someone far off as the Milky Way,
 My lonely shadow has no one to help it forget.
 Down there I bathe in the lake at the foot of the rocks,
 Up there I see the apes among the branches.
 In the morning I hear the evening gust rush by,
 In the evening I see the morning sun spring up.
 Among these towering crags the light cannot linger long,
 In this deep forest the slightest sound can be heard.
 When sadness has gone thought returns again,
 When Understanding comes Passion no longer exists.
 I should like to drive the chariot of the sun,
 And so be able to solace my soul.
 Not for the common herd do I speak of these things
 But in the hope I may discuss them with the wise.

I have discussed earlier on in this article the works of the Bamboo Grove poets and pointed out that though they affected to lead a pastoral existence their verse reflects very little of this romantic environment. How is it then that the poets of the *hsüan-yen* group who modelled themselves on these seven geniuses managed to avoid writing verse like theirs? The answer lies in the great changes which had taken place since the Wei dynasty and which had made their situations very different from those of Hsi K'ang and his companions. First, the new philosophy, Taoism seen through the haze of a half-apprehended Buddhism, had completely displaced Confucianism as the foremost code of ethics, and had had a great liberating influence on Chinese thinking. Second, the country in which the Court was now situated was very much finer and more spectacular than the bare plains of the north. These two circumstances must have done much to awaken a new feeling for nature.

This feeling first took articulate shape in a region famous for its beauty, Kuei-chi in Eastern Chekiang.⁴² It was there during the middle of the

⁴² Kuei-chi was an administrative district, covering present-day Shao-hsing in Chekiang and the county of Wu in Kiangsu. It was an important centre of culture during the Six-dynasties period. The *Yüeh-chün Chih lüeh* 越郡志略 of Ssu-ma Hsiang 司馬相 (*chin-shih* of 1521) says: "When the Chin moved to the East of the Yangtse the flower of the gentry of the central plain all gathered in Yueh. It became the major cultural centre of six provinces. Distinguished men and literary worthies came together in clouds, one attracting another." (Quoted in *Ta Ch'ing i-t'ung chih* 大清一統志 294.4b. Trans. A. F. Wright. "Hui Chiao's 'Lives of Eminent Monks'." In "Silver Jubilee Volume of the Zinbun Kagaku Kenkyusyo". Kyoto 1954, p. 395. This article also stresses the importance of Kuei-chi as a cultural and intellectual centre.) The district was very badly ravaged by the Sun En 孫恩 rebellion of 399-402. (See *Chin Shu* C.100. 孫恩傳 Biography of Sun En). Lu Hsün has collected the following works on Kuei-chi in his *Kuei-chi chin ku-shu tsu-chi* 會稽郡故書雜集 in *Lu Hsün Ch'üan Chi* 魯迅全集 Shanghai 1938, C.8.

fourth century that a group of poets and painters gathered, who were to make the landscapes of this region celebrated for centuries.

The biography of one of the most important of these men, Wang Hsi-chih 王羲之 (A.D. 321-79) says:

"There are beautiful landscapes in Kuei-chi and many famous men made their homes there. Hsieh An 謝安 (A.D. 320-85) for one used to live there before he took office. Sun Ch'o, Li Ch'ung 李充 (*fl. c.* A.D. 330) Hsü Hsün and others, all of whom were among the best writers of the time, had houses built in the Eastern region and were on good terms with Hsi-chih."⁴³

The biography of Sun Ch'o who was also associated with the group says:

"He lived in Kuei-chi and roamed freely about the countryside for more than ten years."⁴⁴

References to Kuei-chi abound in the literature of the period. The biography of Sun T'ung 孫統 (*fl.* A.D. 326) says:

"His family lived in Kuei-chi. He was by nature fond of landscape . . . and wandered where he would at his leisure. There was not a single famous mountain or fine river that he had not explored."⁴⁵

The biography of Tai Yung 戴顓 (d. A.D. 441) says:

"There are many famous mountains in the county of Shan in Kuei-chi so a lot of people lived down in Shan . . .

- (a) The *Kuei-chi Hsien Hsien Chuan* 先賢傳 of Hsieh Ch'eng 謝承 who lived in the 3rd century A.D. in Wu 吳. The *Sui Shu* bibliography lists it as 5 c. *Hsin T'ang Shu* as 7 c. The *Chiu T'ang* as 5 c. The *P'u San Kuo I Wen Chih* 補三國藝文志 of Hou K'ang 侯康 says it is quoted in the *T.P.Y.L.*
- (b) The *Kuei-chi Ch'ü Lu* 曲錄 of Yü Yu 虞預 *Sui Shu*, 24 c. So also *Hsin T'ang Shu* and *Chiu T'ang Shu*.
- (c) The *Kuei Chi Hou Hsien Chuan* 後賢傳 of Chung-li Hsü 鍾離岫 (the Chung-li were an important family in Kuei-chi. Nothing further is known of the author.) *Sui Shu*, 2 c. *Hsin T'ang* and *Chiu T'ang* 3 c.
- (d) The *Kuei-chi Hsien Hsien Hsiang tsan* 先賢像讚 *Sui* 5 c. *Chiu T'ang* 4 c. *Hsin T'ang* 4 c. Ho also wrote a (lost) work, the *Kuei T'ai Shou Hsiang Tsan* 太守像讚 in 2 c.
- (e) Chu Yü, 朱育 style Ssu-ch'ing 嗣卿 (see biography in the *Kuei-chi Ch'ü Lu* 會稽曲錄. See also the *San Kuo Chih K'ao Cheng*. 三國志考證 and the *T'ang Shu I-twen-chih* 藝文志). Chu Yü wrote the *Kuei-chi T'u Ti Chi* 土地記. See the *Sui Shu*. 1 c. *T'ang Shu* (both) 4 c. Quoted in the Commentary to the *Shih Shu Hsin Yü*.
- (f) The *Kuei Chi Chi* of Ho Hsün 賀循 *Sui Shu* 1 c. Not in *T'ang Shu*.
- (g) The *Kuei Chi Chi* of K'ung Ling-fu 孔靈符 (*fl.* A.D. 450)
 The *Kuei-chi San Fu* 會稽三賦 of Wang Shih-p'eng (written A.D. 1158) contains a great deal of information about literary societies and famous writers of the region.

⁴³ *Chin Shu*. 80. p. 1291b.

⁴⁴ *Chin Shu*. 56. p. 1233b.

⁴⁵ Brother of Sun Ch'o. *Chin Shu* 56, p. 1233b.

⁴⁶ Younger son of Tai K'uei. (See below, note 47.) The *Ku Hua P'in Lu* 古董品錄 (.) says: "Later (K'uei's) son Yung was able to inherit these excellent qualities (as a painter)." Biography; in *Sung Shu* 93.

"In T'ung-lu county there are also many famous mountains and he and his elder brother used to wander about among them and there they dwelt."

Tai Yung and his brother were carrying on the tradition of their father the great landscape painter Tai K'uei⁴⁷ 逵. Finally, the biography of Hsieh An who was perhaps the real centre of this Kuei-chi group says:⁴⁸

"He dwelt in Kuei-chi with Wang Hsi-chih, Hsü Hsün of Kao Yang and the monk Chih Tun.⁴⁹ And there they lived at their ease. They went out to fish and shoot among the mountains and rivers. They came home and recited verse and composed poems. They had no worldly thoughts."

It would appear then that some time before the middle of the fourth century a literary coterie which had its centre in Kuei-chi had come into existence. The names of some of the leading poets of this group have been mentioned above while by a fortunate coincidence we have the names of the rest of this clique preserved for us in Wang Hsi-chih's famous account of the gathering of poets in the Orchid Pavilion on the day of the spring purification festival.

This was a gathering of poets on the third day of the third month to celebrate the spring by drinking from goblets floated on the waters of the river and composing verse. The poems they wrote together with a list of those present were written out along with the preface by Wang Hsi-chih. As this was a particularly splendid example of his noted calligraphy⁵⁰ the text was preserved in its entirety thus giving us a good idea of the type of verse which was normally written by members of this school.

The best account of the original Orchid Pavilion itself is to be found in the "Shui Ching Chu" by Li Tao-yüan (d. A.D. 527) which says:⁵¹

⁴⁷ Tai K'uei, style An-tao 安道 (A.D. ?-396) was a friend of Hsieh An's. The *Shih Shuo Hsin Yü, Ya Liang P'ien* 雅量篇 says: "When Master Tai came from the East he begged to be allowed to visit the Great Tutor (Hsieh An). At first Hsieh had a low opinion of Tai and when he had an interview with him would talk of nothing but the lute and calligraphy. But Tai showed no sign of embarrassment and went on to discuss lute-playing and calligraphy in even subtler terms so that Hsieh at last recognized his talents." No paintings by Tai K'uei have survived but the *Ming Hua Chi* (C.3. Trans. P. Pelliot, "Les Fresques de T'ouen-houang et les Fresques de M. Eumorfopoulos" in *Revue des Arts Asiatiques*, Tome 5 (1928) Appendix I, pp. 205-214 and W. Acker "Some T'ang and pre-T'ang texts on Chinese Painting", pp. 366-382) mentions a Manjusri by Tai An-tao as having survived the holocaust of A.D. 845. For Tai's love of mountains see his biography in *Chin Shu* 94, p. 1328c. which tells of his friendship with Wang Hsün.

⁴⁸ *Chin Shu* 79, p. 1288c.

⁴⁹ For Chih Tun 支遁 see below, Note 90.

⁵⁰ P. Pelliot, "Les Débuts de l'Imprimerie en Chine", p. 95, Note 1, and p. 105, Note 1, has a brief account of the fate of the original preface in Wang Hsi-chih's own calligraphy. It was apparently buried with Emperor T'ai-tsung of T'ang in A.D. 649.

⁵¹ *Shui Ching*, C.40, pp. 115-116. (Kuo Hsüeh Chi Pen Ts'ung-shu edition.)

"The river Che also joins up to the East with the Orchid stream. South of the lake is found Mount T'ien-chu. At the mouth of the lake stood a pavilion called the Orchid Pavilion or the 'Village on the Orchid stream'. The Governor Wang Hsi-chih, Hsieh An and his younger brother often used to go there . . . When Wang I-chih⁵² was governor he moved the pavilion into the water (*i.e.* he built it out over the water). During the Chin dynasty when Ho Wu-chi⁵³ (d. A.D. 410) came to govern the district he had another pavilion built on the top of the mountain. From such a great height you could see everything round about. Although the pavilion has been destroyed its foundations still exist to this day."⁵⁴

The above account does not tell us when the pavilion was actually built for the first time or who built it. But we may infer from this description that for something like a century it was the custom to celebrate the purification festival in this pavilion. Actually these celebrations out of doors go back to a time long before this for they are described in the monograph on ritual in the *History of the Han Dynasty*.⁵⁵ The earliest poems extant composed on these occasions are by Chang Hua (A.D. 232-300) 張華 and Pan Ni (d. A.D. 249-310).⁵⁶ But they show little trace of any feeling for nature and are simply indifferent examples of occasional verse which might have been written anywhere. The first true Orchid Pavilion poem which shows real observation of nature is by the little-known poet Yü Ch'en⁵⁷ (c. A.D. 286-339) whose work I propose to discuss fully later on in this article. This poem is very similar in its freshness and vivid imagery to the verse of Hsieh Ling-yün.

Yü Ch'en

"By the Crooked River on the Third day of the Third Month"

At the end of spring I wash in the clear water of the arm of the river.

⁵² Wang I-chih 王廙之. I cannot trace anyone of this name. Could this be a mistake for Wang I 廙 (276-322) who was governor here. The 之 would creep in by parablepsis from the 之 after 何無忌.

⁵³ Ho Wu-chi. 何無忌 (d. A.D. 410) Biography: *Chin Shu* 86, p. 1303b. Known as the Rebellious Śramaṇa 五橫之一. *T'ang*, p. 351.

⁵⁴ It would appear from this that the ruins of the pavilion were still standing during Li Tao-yüan's lifetime. But it seems more than likely that he is simply quoting here from the *Kuei-chi Chi* of 孔暉 K'ung Yeh which says: 起亭山極極巖山基址猶在 "He set up the pavilion on the mountain top. From there you can see the hills. Its foundations are still standing." It is hardly likely that Li could have checked a minor detail like this for himself.

⁵⁵ *Hou Han Shu* 14 禮儀志 p. 684d. 是月上巳官民皆契於東流水上. "In this (3rd) month on the first day ssu, the officials and people (sic.) all purified themselves in an eastward flowing river." Wang Hsien-ch'ien 王先謙 has a long note which proves that 官民 should be 宮人. (Wang Hsien-ch'ien ed: C.4, p. 9b.)

⁵⁶ Poems in *I Wen Lei Chü* 4. Note that Chang Hua is mentioned in connection with Shu Hsi's account of the festival. See below, Note 58.

⁵⁷ See below, Note 66.

Swimming fishes plunge through the whole gorge.
Up on high a spring gushes from the Eastern Peak,
Its whirling waves give out a clear sound.
I look on the river covered with winding currents,
The great forest is bright with verdure.
From our light boat we float the flying goblets:
Drumming of oars—and we see the fishes leap.⁵⁸

It is impossible to date this poem exactly but it was certainly written before A.D. 339, the date of Yü Ch'en's death. We may deduce from this poem that frequent meetings of poets were held at the Orchid Pavilion and that it was probably written at one of these. This is important as it shows that the meeting in 353 was considered to be of special importance only because its poems were written out by Wang Hsi-chih himself and not because it was felt to be an extraordinary event. It is therefore clear that the verse which I shall translate below is to be considered as typical of the type of poetry being written by the poets of the Kuei-chi school during the middle of the fourth century A.D. and is not to be regarded as an anomaly.

In his famous preface Wang Hsi-chih describes the scene of the gathering:

*"Preface to the Festival in the Orchid Pavilion"*⁵⁹

In the beginning of the last month of spring in the year Kuei-ch'ou, the 9th year of the year period Eternal Harmony, (353) a gathering was held in the Orchid Pavilion in the Sha-yü district of the country of Kuei-chi to observe the Spring Purification Festival. On this occasion many talented men, old and young, were present. Round this spot were high mountains

⁵⁸ Ting Fu-pao, *Chin Shih*, C.5 p. 445. From *I Wen Lei Chü*, C.4. The "flying goblets" were the same as the "winged goblets" we read of in *Chin Shu* 61, Biography: of Shu Hsi 東督. They were evidently in the form of winged birds. (See *Chin Shu* 51, p. 1221d, line 39 ff. for Shu Hsi's interesting account of the origin of this custom of floating goblets.)

⁵⁹ This *Lan T'ing* poetry would really merit a much fuller discussion than I have been able to give within the limits of this chapter. Principal sources for the literary works connected with the Spring Purification Festival are to be found in the *I Wen Lei Chü* chapter 4. This includes poems by Chang Hua 張華, Yü Ch'en 庾闡, Pan Ni Lü-ch'iu 潘尼 仲 (d.311), Wang Chi 王濟 (d. A.D. 290), Juan Hsiu 阮修 (A.D. 270-311), Hsieh Ling-yün, Hsieh Hui-lien 謝靈運 (394-433), and Yen Yen-chih (384-456). Also cited are the 洛陽賦 of Ch'eng kung-sui 成公綏; the 洛陽賦 of Chang Hsieh 張協 and the 禊賦 of Ch'u Shuang 褚爽. Of exceptional interest also are the prefaces by Yen Yen-chih and Wang Jung 王融 entitled respectively 三日曲水詩序 (found in *Wen Hsüan* C.46) and 三月三日曲水詩序 (also in *Wen Hsüan* C.46). Another valuable account of the Orchid Pavilion is found in the *Huai Hai Chi* 淮海集 of Ch'in Kuan 秦觀 (1049-1161) C.35, p. 6a-6b (Ssu-pu Ts'ung-k'an edition).

The *Yün Ku Tsa Chi* 雲谷雜記 of Chang (fl. 1216 A.D.) Hao 張謐 C.1 (p. 20b) says: with references to the list of poets given above as being present at the Spring

and lofty peaks, thick forests and tall bamboos, as well as clear streams and rushing torrents that brightly girded us round on both sides, so that we were led to float goblets on their winding waters. Although we had no silken strings or bamboo pipes to complete our joy we drank and sang, and this was quite enough to let us express our subtlest feelings. It was a day when the sky was clear and the weather was good. A gentle breeze

Purification Festival of A.D. 353 予嘗得蘭亭石刻一卷。首列藝之序文。次則諸人之詩末有孫綽後序。其詩四言二十二首五言二十六首自藝之而下凡有四十有二人。There must, therefore, have been 42 present and not 41 as is maintained in the *Huai Hai Chi*.

I adopt the title given in the *Lan T'ing K'ao*. Sang Shih-ch'ang 桑世昌 says in his commentary that this famous preface had many titles. "During Chin it was called the 'Preface composed while overlooking the river' 臨河序. During T'ang it was called the 'Preface to the Orchid Pavilion Poems' or the 'Orchid Pavilion Record' 蘭亭記 Master Ou (perhaps Ou-yang Hsiu? 歐陽修) calls it the 'Spring Purification Preface' 春禊序. Ts'ai Chün-mu 蔡君謨 calls it the 'Ch'ü River Preface' 曲水序. Tung Ch'eng calls it the 'Orchid Pavilion Text' 蘭亭文, Shan-ku calls it the 'Festival Drinking-bout Preface' 禊飲序. Emperor Kao Tsung's imperial pencil (i.e. Sung Kao Tsung, 1127-1163 Tr.) gave it the title 'Festival Plaque' 禊帖". Shih-ch'ang points out that of the forty-two poets present at the gathering only eleven managed to compose the two poems required of them. Fifteen of them managed to compose one poem while sixteen poets did not compose a single poem among them—no doubt as Sang Shih-ch'ang suggests—out of regard for their future reputation! The names of those present were as follows:

15 poets who composed only one poem:

"Ch'i T'an 郗曇, Wang Feng-chih 王豐之, Hua Mo 華茂, Yü Yu 庾友, Yü Yueh 虞悅, Wei Pang 委滂, Hsieh I 謝暉, Yü Yün 庾胤, Sun Ssu 孫嗣, Ts'ao Mo-chih 曹茂之, Huan Wei 桓偉, Wang Yüan-chih 王元之, Wang Yün-chih 王蘊之, Wang Huan-chih 王渙之, Ts'ao Hua 曹華 (or Ts'ao Hua-p'ing 華平)."

11 poets who composed both one four word poem and one five word poem:

"Wang Hsi-chih 王羲之, Hsieh An 謝安, Hsieh Wan 謝萬, Sun Ch'ü 孫綽, Hsiü Feng-chih 徐豐之, K'ung T'ung 孔統, Wang Ning-chih 王凝之, Wang Su-chih 王肅之, Wang Pin-chih 王彬之, Wang Hui-chih 王徽之, Yüan Chiao-chih 袁孝之."

16 poets who wrote no poems at all:

"Hsieh Kuei 謝瑰, Pien Ti 卞迪, Yin Ch'iu-ma-mao 印丘髦, Wang Hsien-chih 王獻之, Yang Mo 羊璜, K'ung Chih 孔徽, Liu Mi 劉密, Yü Ku 虞谷, Ts'ao Lao-i 曹勞夷, Po Hu-mien 籬戶綿, Hua Chi 華書, Hsieh Sheng 謝勝, Po Jen-i 薄任繼, Lü Hsi 呂系, Lü Pen 呂本, Ts'ao Li 曹禮". (One source includes Li Ch'ung 李充, making seventeen.) This galaxy of names gives a very good idea of the literary world towards the middle of the Western Chin dynasty.

A further account of this gathering is contained in the *Lan T'ing Chi* of 715 (by Ho Yen-chih 何延之 incorporated in Chang Yen-yüan's *Fa-shu Yao-lu* 法書要錄 (TSCC. No.1626, pp.54-8). See also the *Lan T'ing Hsiü K'ao* 蘭亭續考 by Yü Sung 俞松 preface dated January 1243 and the *Su Mi Chai Lan T'ing K'ao* 蘇米齋蘭亭考 (T.S.C.C. No.1614) by Weng Fang-kang 翁方綱 preface dated 1803. (See *T'oung Pao* 42, pp. 392-393.)

We have also the *Lan T'ing Chi* 蘭亭集 listed in the *Shan Yin Hsien Chih* 山陰縣志 of Ssu-ma Yen 司馬昱, style T'ung-po 通伯. See also the article "Rantei Shi Kō 蘭亭詩考 by Obi Kōichi 小尾郊一 in *Hiroshima Daigaku Bungakubu Kiyō*. 廣島大學文學部紀要 No.7, 1955, pp. 224-249.

blew softly. When we looked up we beheld the vast universe.
When we looked around us we could perceive the fullness of things.

Orchid Pavilion Poems

No. 1—Hsieh Wan⁶⁰

I gaze at the high hills,
I look at the lofty woods,
Green creeper covers the crags,
Tall bamboos crown the peaks
The stream in the valley makes a clear sound,
The branching drums have resounding notes,
The gloomy heights spit rain,
Flying mist shadows everything.

No. 2

Pines and bamboos stick up from the craggy shores,
Through a gloomy gorge rushes a clear stream.
Free from care I tell of what I feel,
When drunk I understand the obstructions of sorrow.

Wang Hui-chih⁶¹

No. 3

I cast off my melancholy among mountains and rivers,
Blandly forget all that has held me back.
Flowering plants, fine ears of grain,
Sparse pines barring the banks.
Wandering birds flying through the clouds,
Fishes leaping in the clear water.
As I return my eyes betray my joy,
My heart confused by twofold wonder.

Wang Su-chih⁶²

No. 4

During my days of leisure in the past
I used to enjoy thoughts of wooded peaks.
Now amid these delights
My spirit is at peace and my heart is tranquil.

O. Sirén, "Gardens of China" (1949), p. 8 reproduces a charming woodcut of the Lan-ting garden taken from *Hung-hsüeh yin-yüan t'u-chi* 鴻雪因緣圖記 of Lin Ch'ing 麟慶 (1791-1846).

⁶⁰ Hsieh Wan 謝萬, style 萬石. Elder brother of Hsieh An. Achieved considerable distinction as a statesman. Biography in *Chin Shu* 79, p. 1290a.

⁶¹ Wang Hui-chih 王徽之, style Tzu-yu 子猷 fifth son of Wang Hsi-chih. Biography: in *Chin Shu*, p. 1291d. Married a daughter of Hsieh I 謝奕. (See the *Shih Shuo Hsin Yü* 19.) It was Hui-chih who "held the bamboo in such respect that he always referred to it as 'this gentleman' " (See Wang Shih-hsiang, "Chinese Ink Bamboo Painting," *Archives of the Chinese Art Society of America*, 3. (1948-49) p. 49.)

⁶² Wang Su-chih 王徽之. Otherwise unknown.

No. 5

Crimson cliffs rise up sheer,
The woods are bright with blossom.
On clear waters dashing waves
They now float, now sink.

No. 6

Freshets of blossom bright in forest verdure,
Swimming fishes play in the clear dykes.
By the water I joyfully cast my hook,
The success of my outing does not depend on whether I catch anything.⁶³

It is a pity that so much of the verse of this time has been lost that it is difficult to gain a clear picture of how it developed. There are necessarily so many gaps in our knowledge that any sort of critical judgment which contradicts the literary historians of the time, who must have had access to a hundred poems for every one that we can see, is highly suspicious. Nevertheless, in the light of the above facts it does seem that we are justified in concluding that they were mistaken in their opinions about the sudden appearance of Nature poetry in the 5th century. It would seem that Nature poetry was in existence about 50 years earlier than has been supposed. How far back then can we trace the origins of this kind of verse? Here again we find ourselves severely limited by lack of material. Fortunately, however, such poems as still remain of the once vast corpus of 3rd and 4th century verse provide sufficient evidence that Nature poetry not too dissimilar to that of Hsieh Ling-yün was being written shortly after the end of the Western Chin, some thirty years before even the poems of the Orchid Pavilion.

The *Shih P'in* in discussing the verse of Sun Ch'o and Hsü Hsüan also introduces a number of other poets of the same school, most of whose work, with one important exception, is now lost. Chung Hung says of these writers:⁶⁴

"From the Yung-chia period (A.D. 307-12.) onwards the 'pure void' became a commonplace. Poetry like that of Wang Wu-tzu 王武子 valued the words of the Taoists. Down to the crossing of the Yangtze Taoist influence was still predominant. Chen-chang, Chang-tsu, Huan (Hsüan) and Yü (Ch'en) all took after each other.⁶⁵ The age acclaimed Sun (Ch'o) and Hsü (Hsün) as the best at quietist verse."

⁶³ Both by Wang Pin-chih 彬之. Known only from this text and a mention in *Shih Shuo Hsin Yü*, pp.A.40a-b.

⁶⁴ *Shih P'in*, p. 34a.

⁶⁵ The first three poets referred to are respectively Wang Chi 濟, Liu T'ian 劉愔 and Wang Meng 王濛. Of their works only one poem of Wang Chi's has been preserved (T.F.P. *Chin*, p. 321).

Of Huan Hsüan's once extensive work only two poems have been preserved, both of which might be called Nature poems. But Yü Ch'en,⁶⁶ who has been mentioned earlier, has eighteen poems extant, the greater part of which are of a type which strikingly anticipates in its combination of freshness with literary allusion—here chiefly Taoist—the work of the later Yüan-chia poets. Here are some examples of his work:

"Mount Heng"

To the North I see the beginnings of the Heng Mountains,
To the South I look at the end of the Five Peaks.
I sit peacefully drinking in the quiet calm;
As I let my eyes wander around, my feelings understand all.
A winged dragon crosses the empyrean,
Stranded fishes barely moisten each other with slime.
How can they know the greatness of the southern deep
Since they are not even in the far-off rivers and lakes?⁶⁷

"Looking at Stone Drum Mountain"

I called for my carriage to go and see something rare and strange,
Hastening on my way I went to the Magic Mountain.
In the morning I crossed the shores of a pure stream,
In the evening I rested by the Five Dragon Spring.
The Singing Stones made a hidden sound,
Thunder startled the nine heavens.
It is not that I have no magic powers
But that no one can know spiritual freedom.
Flying mist brushed the blue peaks,
A green torrent washed between the crags.
I rinsed my hands in the pure waters of the spring fountain
While my eyes enjoyed the brightness of flowers in the sun.⁶⁸

⁶⁶ Yü Ch'en, style Chung-ch'u 仲初 (286-339). Biog. in *Chin Shu* 92, p. 1321a. The *Chin Shu* records his works in ten rolls. Yü Ch'en's position as the first, or one of the first, of the Nature poets has also been noticed by Fan Wen-lan 范文瀾 who says in the Commentary to the *Ming Shih* 明詩 chapter in his edition of the *Wen Hsin Tiao Lung*: "The writing of Nature verse began with Yü Ch'en and others during the early years of Eastern Chin." (p. 18b. 1946 ed.) Note 34. 寫山水之詩起自東晉初庚蘭諸人. There are two fragments of poems by Yü Ch'en recorded in the *Ch'u Hsüeh Chi* 初學記 which have been omitted from the poetic thesaurus of Ting Fu-pao 丁福保. They occur in the 天部 4th section and 樂部 雅樂 1st section respectively (p. 7a in the edition of 1587).

I give their text below for the sake of completeness.

玄景如映壁 繁星如散錦

(a) This fragment is also quoted in the *T'ai P'ing Yü Lan*, 79, p. 3a, S.P.T.K. edition.
(b) 蕭史吹鳴簫 王子吐鳳歌.

⁶⁷ Text in T.F.P., p. 445.

⁶⁸ Text in T.F.P., p. 445.

"On meeting with winds in Chiang-tu"

As T'ien Wu bounds in the awful gorges
I prepare to flee in my chariot from gloomy rainclouds.
Fei Lien shakes trees and shatters them
As the flowing light mounts on a whirlwind.
On the great river we halt for the night on the waves,
On the surging waters we will welcome the morning tide.
When I look up I see we are hard pressed by dark clouds,
When I look down I hear the deafening roar of the sad winds.⁶⁹

There are other poets not mentioned by the Shih P'in writing about this time whose work, as far as can be judged by such fragments as remain, must have been on the whole very similar to that of Yü Ch'en. Perhaps the best examples of these are Chan Fang-sheng⁷⁰ 范方生 and Chiang Yu⁷¹ 江適 (303-62).

Nothing is known of Chan Fang-sheng except the brief entry in the *Sui Shu* bibliography which says that he held the rank of Administrator and Counsellor to the Army of Defence under the Chin dynasty and that his collected works in ten rolls were still extant. However, from a date (A.D. 386) mentioned in the preface to his "*Poems of the Gods and Fairies on Mount Lu*" we can infer that he was alive some time near the end of the Eastern Chin dynasty. What remains of his work is extremely interesting for we find in it a genuine feeling for nature, which is sometimes expressed quite purely without any of the Taoist trappings usual in the work of the period. The following poem is a good example of his work:

"Returning to the Capital by Sail"

High mountains that rise to ten thousand feet,
Long lakes, pure for a thousand leagues.
White sands that are pure the whole year long,
Pine woods that are green winter and summer.
Water that stays not even for a moment,
Trees that have stood firm for a thousand years.
I lie awake writing new poems,
Having suddenly forgotten my sadness at the journey.⁷²

This is a remarkable poem since it is not only more free from overt philosophizing than anything in Hsieh Ling-yün but it also avoids all the

⁶⁹ Text in T.F.P., p. 446.

⁷⁰ His works are extant in Y.K.C. Chin, 140, p. 3b and T.F.P., C.7 p. 491. I have also found a fragment of a poem of his in *T'ai-p'ing Yü-lan*, 56, pp. 4a-b, S.P.T.K. edition. His works in ten rolls were evidently lost before the Sung as they are last recorded in the bibliographical chapter of the *Hsin T'ang Shu*.

⁷¹ Chiang Yu, style Tao-tsai 道載. Biography *Chin Shu* 83, p. 1298d. Prose works extant in Y.K.C. and T.F.P. Chin 5, pp.

⁷² T.F.P. *Chin*, p. 492.

literary allusions so characteristic of the bookish style of the time. With its balanced verse, its simple but effective imagery and the neat turn in the oddly personal final couplet it might well have been written some 300 years later.

Here are two other poems by Chan Fang-sheng which perfectly exemplify all the finest qualities of this early Nature poetry:

"Sailing into the Southern Lake"

P'eng-li is a place where three rivers meet.
Mount Lu reigns over many hills.
White sands make a road along the pure river.
Green pines flourish on the tops of crags.
How long have these rivers been flowing?
How long have these mountains endured?
It is man's fate to pass away,
But these can last for ever.
Sad am I amid this universe,
For past and present, first secedes to last.⁷³

A Fine Day

P'ing I has dropped his divine rains,
Fei Lien has folded his magic wings.
The clear sky is as bright as a mirror,
The frozen ford as level as a whetstone.
With sail hauled down I go past the islands in the river,
Sad am I as I strain my eyes into the distance.
Through this bright pure air of the mountain gorges
You can see as far as a thousand leagues.⁷⁴

The following poem by Chan Fang-sheng is in some ways the most interesting of all his work for it is more reminiscent of the verse of T'ao Yüan-ming⁷⁵ than of the "shan shui" poets:

"Poem about my Study at the back of the House"

I loosened my cap strings and put on dolicho clothes again,
I said farewell to the Court and went back to my marshes,
No carriages can get through my gates.
My homestead is not even a full acre.

⁷³ T.F.P. Chin, p. 492.

⁷⁴ T.F.P. Chin, p. 492. 屏翳 Ping I, The "Lord amid the Clouds" or "Cloud Spirit." See *Ch'u Tz'u*, 2, p. 52. Tr. Waley. "The Nine Songs" p. 27. Fei Lien, sometimes called the "Earl of the Wind". See the *Feng Su T'ung-i* 風俗通義 61.

⁷⁵ I have deliberately excluded all mention of T'ao Yüan-ming from my argument. His verse comes too late to add anything to a discussion of the origins of landscape poetry. Furthermore, the Chinese literary historians classify his verse as "garden poetry" 田園詩 and not as landscape poetry proper. A comparative study of these two genres might help to bring our conception of *shan-shui shih* into clearer focus.

Thick grasses fence in my courtyard,
Orchids in profusion brush against my windows.
I fondle my sons and nephews,
I clasp the hands of my friends.
We eat vegetables from the garden
And drink this spring wine.
I open the lattice window and gaze out for a long time,
I sit and look at the river and hills.
Who can I tell what I am feeling?
There is no one I can tell my feelings to.
Unpainted beams are easy to look after,
The "dark root" does not easily rot.
If you go towards it it will not be far away.
Keep this in mind and you can live for ever.⁷⁶

The following poem by Chiang Yu 江適 (A.D. 303-62) is stylistically very similar to the work of Yü Ch'en and Chan Fang-sheng:

A Song of Autumn

Chu Jung loosens his fiery reins,
Ju Shou rises in icy chariot.
A high wind urges on the changing season,
Frozen dew speeds on Mutability.
Throughout the forest I am saddened by white autumn.
Thick grasses make me think of the fiery summer.
A crying goose draws near the cloudy peak,
A cricket sings in the depth of the tower.
The cicada of cold cries as evening draws on.
Nature moves us to greater sadness still.
Wretched am I, and have no joyful hours of leisure.⁷⁷

It would seem, in the light of the evidence I have been quoting, that the orthodox accounts of the development of Nature poetry badly need re-writing.

So far I have made no mention of the part played by Buddhism in the formation of this landscape consciousness of the time.⁷⁸ We have already seen that several of the Nature poets were ardent Buddhists, among them Hsieh Ling-yün. Evidently the association of landscape and Buddhism is not fortuitous. It has been argued that since Reality for the Buddhist is

⁷⁶ T.F.P. Chin, p. 493. I have included this poem more for its almost certainly early date than for its value as Nature poetry. It seems to be closer to "garden poetry."

⁷⁷ T.F.P. Chin, p. 444.

⁷⁸ See the recent article "The landscape Buddhism of the fifth-century poet Hsieh Ling-yün" by Richard Mather (*Journal of Asian Studies*, Vol. XVIII, No. 1, November 1958, pp. 67-79).

often described in terms of emptiness, landscape is a very fitting symbol for it.⁷⁹ But it is possible to put the matter much more exactly. Landscape was not just a symbol for the Tao—the term was at this period as much a Buddhist as a Taoist expression—it is the Tao itself. This is brought out very clearly by a passage in Sun Ch'o's "Fu of my Wanderings on Mount T'ien T'ai":

When the Tao dissolves it becomes rivers;
When it coagulates it becomes mountains.⁸⁰

So the contemplation of landscape is the contemplation of Reality itself. It brings on that state of mystical detachment which could either be described in Taoist terms, as in the passage below, or as the trance of visualizing the Buddha, Chien-fo san-mei⁸¹ 見佛三昧. Sun Ch'o continues:⁸²

"When I have done with wandering around and contemplating Nature my body is tranquil and my heart is peaceful. I have by now driven off anything that might 'harm the horses'⁸³ and have done away with the things of this world. My knife meets only with emptiness. I see the ox but not as a whole.⁸⁴ I concentrate my thoughts on these mysterious crags and sing a clear song about the long rivers."

It is hardly surprising then that so many Buddhist monasteries were set in remote places among the mountains or that their occupants should write poems about the landscape. For was this not a religious act, the equivalent of a hymn to the Buddha himself?

The following two poems by the Buddhist laymen Wang Ch'iao-chih⁸⁵ 王喬之 and Chang Yeh⁸⁶ 張野 should certainly be considered in this light:

Wander where you will you rarely meet with spirits,
Their subtle goodness being naturally akin to darkness.
Yet when you reach this place of the wisdom of emptiness,
A mysterious hill has formed here from the dust.
All the mountains lie in silence,
A single peak cuts through the air.

⁷⁹ See Professor Mather's article, p. 76.

⁸⁰ *W.H.* II, p. 3b. 融而爲川凝結而爲山阜.

⁸¹ The buddhānu-smṛiti 念佛三昧. See Liebenenthal *Book of Chao*, p. 101 and Appendix V. See Professor Mather's note on the significance of this trance in Pure Land thought as exemplified by the correspondence between Kumārajīva and Hui-yūan in the *Ta-sheng ta-i chang* 大乘大義章 (T.T. XLV, 134b-135a).

⁸² *W.H.* 79, p. 6a.

⁸³ *Chuang-tzū*. 24.32. 亦去其害馬者而亥已.

⁸⁴ *Chuang-tzū*. 3.5. 所見無非牛者... 彼節者有間而刀刃者无原.

⁸⁵ Also known as Wang Ch'ih-chih. 王赤之. See Zürcher, *Buddhist Conquest* vol. II, p. 398, n. 205.

⁸⁶ Chang Yeh 張野, style Lai-min 萊民 (350-418). Biography: in *Lu Shan Chi* (T.T.LI., No.2095, p. 1040a.)

Misty sunlight falls along the crags,
The pure air suits the season.
There is a summit, a divine peak,
There are men who cross these heights.
A long river washes the wooded lands of Ch'u,
On its rainy slopes stand autumn pines.
It is dangerous to set foot near these vast deeps,
A magic gorge shines bright ten thousand feet down.
The sound of wind and springs make far off music in the air,
Many sounds echo in the distance.
Their all-pervading beauty has made me feel sad,
I gaze a little longer and see the nine rivers.
Here we are near the land of the heavenly men,
Always I hear their clear flutes sounding in the air.⁸⁷

The next poet, Chang Yeh, writes:

When I look at the peaks I am confused by their great image.
When I look at the crags there is nothing like their steepness.
Their power is so great that it hides the heavens,
They come up on high soaring up wall after wall.
In a single bound they cast off all dust and stains,
I can see clearly into the distance.
My glances reach the sky,
I penetrate the distance.
Through this I can express my joyful feelings,
And so forget the faults that I still have.
My mysterious dwelling wears an air of loneliness,
By taking this weird path death is diminished.⁸⁸

These poems were written in A.D. 400.⁸⁹ They are therefore not particularly early examples of Buddhist Nature poetry. But there are poems extant by Chih Tun⁹⁰ 支遁 (A.D. 314-66), a Buddhist monk who was a friend of Wang Hsi-chih, which must have been written at least fifty years earlier.

⁸⁷ *Lu Shan Chi*, C.4, p. 1042. One of a collection of poems entitled "Poems on Wandering on Stone Gate by various Monks of the Lu Shan community". Stone Gate is one of the peaks of the Lu Shan range.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, C.4, p. 1042.

⁸⁹ The date is given by the preface to the poems.

⁹⁰ Chih Tun, style Tao-lin 道林 (314-366). See above, Note 49. See Bodde, "History of Chinese Philosophy" II, pp. 250-52. He built himself a monastery, the *Ch'i-kuang ssu* on Mount Stone Wall 石城山 in Chekiang. He helped to make Buddhism popular at court. See A. Link, "Biography of Shih Tao-an" in T'oung Pao 1958.

Song of My Mountain Dwelling

The Five Holy Mountains are great works raised by spirits,
 The four rivers have vast and surging floods.
 I went there to seek of myself a true wisdom,
 In its silence I guarded there the heights of tranquil love.
 If I do not feel happy out of my seclusion,
 It is because I have found a constant pleasure there.
 Those who seek heaven will live for ever,
 From my cave I look on those who have left the world of men.
 There is pure jade at the foot of the crags,
 A sound as of metal as the stream washes the nearby banks.
 I went gathering flowers and was hidden in deep mist,
 I shook my coarse clothes and brushed them free of dust.
 What I have done has been like the measuring worm when it
 draws itself up,
 The Tao stretches like a leaping dragon.
 On this peak is no successor to Shan Pao,
 It is not my lot to know the truth revealed on Shou-yang.
 With a long whistle I go back to my wooded peak,
 In that solitary place I shall devote myself to my potter's wheel.⁹¹

From the soil of this new consciousness of landscape another art began to spring about this time, that of landscape painting. Poetry and painting were of course intimately connected. Many of the poets we have mentioned—including Hsieh Ling-yün himself—were well-known calligraphers and painters.⁹² It is highly probable indeed that the origins of landscape

⁹¹ *Kuang Hung Ming Chi*. 30. p. 351b. T.T. LI. No.2103.

⁹² Wang Hsi-chih and his sons were famed for their calligraphy. The biography of Wang Hsien-chih 王獻之 (344-388) (*Chin Shu* 92, 1292a) says: "He was skilled in the draft script and the plain style and good at painting." 工草隸善丹青. (*Ibid.* hūe 17.) 丹青 is the highly coloured style as opposed to 青線—the softer blue and green manner used for landscapes and bamboo paintings.

Hsieh Ling-yün's mother was a niece of Wang Hsien-chih and Ling-yün's own calligraphy and painting were greatly influenced by his style. "Ling-yün's mother came from the Liu clan and was a niece of Tzú-ching (Hsien-chih). So Ling-yün was able to use an extraordinary number of Wang's stylistic characteristics in his calligraphy." (See *K'uai Chi Chih* 會稽志 Library of Congress Rare Books Microfilm Collection of Cambridge University Library, Roll 308, C.16, p. 8b). Some paintings of Ling-yün's survived the Hui-ch'ang iconoclasm (A.D. 845). The *Ming Hua Chi* III Section 5 (Trans. W. Acker, "Some T'ang and pre-T'ang Texts on Chinese Painting", Leiden 1955, p. 372) mentions "six wall sections with Bodhisattvas by Hsieh Ling-yün on the outer T'ien-wang-t'ang (Chapel of the Four *Devarājas*"). It seems to me highly probable that Hsieh Ling-yün may have illustrated his own poems and his "*Fu on Dwelling in the Mountains*". It is interesting to note how English landscape verse was affected by painting. Most minor 18th century landscape poets merely describe the paintings of Salvator Rosa, Poussin, or Claude, even when supposedly writing of the English countryside. See C. V. Deane, "*Aspects of 18th Century Nature Poetry*" (1935), pp. 63-92.

painting may be found in the practice of illustrating poems and *fu* describing scenery.⁹³

One of the most famous of these painters was Ku K'ai-chih,⁹⁴ who was closely associated with the group of poets who wrote the Orchid Pavilion poems. He, like Hsieh Ling-yün, spent much of his time in wandering round the country looking at celebrated landscapes. His remarks on Kuei-chi, of which he made a series of paintings, betray an attitude of mind in all respects like that of the Nature poets.

"When Ku Ch'ang-k'ang had come back from Kuei-chi someone asked him about the beauty of its mountains and rivers. Ku replied: 'A thousand crags vie with each other in magnificence. Ten thousand ravines contend with rival torrents. Plants and trees cover everything like clouds rising and mists spreading'."⁹⁵

Tsung Ping⁹⁶ (A.D. 375-443) another landscape painter of the time, was also a Buddhist and a member of the original circle of the White Lotus Society. He was apparently a devotee of mountains. His biography says of him: "He loved landscapes and liked to go off for long excursions. In the west he climbed up Ching and Wu, in the south he ascended Hung and Yo."⁹⁷

Tsung Ping is the probable author of a treatise on painting, the *Hua Shan-shui Hsü* 畫山水序 that gives us an insight into the mystical powers that landscape was felt to possess; "Landscapes exist in the material world yet soar into the realms of the spirit."⁹⁸ "The Saint interprets the Way as Law through his spiritual

⁹³ The *Li Tai Ming Hua Chi* (C.50a) S.P.T.K. ed. says: "Tai K'uei once went to study under Fan Hsüan. When Fan saw K'uei's paintings he thought he was wasting his time and that he should not weary his mind with them to no purpose. So K'uei gave him his illustrations to the *Nan Ch'ao Fu*. When Fan saw them he stopped sighing for he knew they were very great paintings indeed." See also M. Sullivan, "*Notes on Early Chinese Landscape Painting*", H.J.A.S. (1955), pp. 422-46, especially pp. 445-6.

Nor was it only verse that was illustrated. T'ao Yüan-ming had a copy of the *Shan Hai Ching* 山海經 of which he says: "My eyes wander over the pictures of Hills and Seas". (Translated Waley, *170 Chinese Poems*, New York 1938, No.114.)

⁹⁴ Ku K'ai-chih, style Ch'ang-k'ang 長康 Biography in *Chin Shu* 92, p. 1323a. See the "*Biography of Ku K'ai-chih*". Translated and annotated by Chen Shih-hsiang. *Chinese Dynastic Histories Translations*, No.2, 1953.

⁹⁵ *Chin Shu* 92, p.1323b.

⁹⁶ Tsung Ping, style Shao-wen 少文 was a nobleman of Nan-yang in Honan. Biography in *Sung Shu* 93, p. 1644b. See also the *Li Tai Ming Hua Chi*, C.6. pp. 207-211, T.S.C.C., No.1646, and the *Lu Shan Chi*, T.T. LI, No.2095, p. 1040a, T'ang, p. 422. See also W. Liebenthal "*The Immortality of the Soul in Chinese Thought*" Monumenta Nipponica VIII, 1952, p. 378, Note 175.

⁹⁷ *Sung Shu* 93, p. 1644b.

⁹⁸ *Hua Shan-shui Hsü*, *Li Tai Ming Hua Chi*, C.6, pp. 208-210. This essay may be spurious since it is not included in the *P'ei-wen Chai Shu Hua Pu* 佩文齋書畫譜 of Wang Yüan-ch'i 王原祁 (1642-1715) and others.

insight and so the wise man comes to an understanding of it. Landscape pays homage to the Way through Form and so the virtuous man comes to delight in it."⁹⁹ Here again we meet this emphasis on landscape as the very manifestation of the Tao. The Tao itself could not be expressed directly through words—"He who speaks of it does not know it"¹⁰⁰—but could be understood only through its manifestation as Nature. Hsieh Ling-yün insists that this is so:

"If enjoyment of Nature should end who would understand what all this means?"¹⁰¹

It was this aspect which was later to be stressed by Zen Buddhism. As Suzuki well expresses it: "The mountains are only mountains when they are assimilated into my being and I am absorbed in them."¹⁰²

That storehouse of Zen "mondō", "*The Transmission of the Lamp*", is full of examples which might have been culled from Nature poetry;

"The green bamboos are swaying in the wind; the cold pine trees are shivering in the moonlight."¹⁰³

"The white clouds are rising as far as the eye can see from every peak of the mountain range; while a fine drizzling rain falls silently outside the bamboo curtain."¹⁰⁴

"The murmuring sound of the mountain stream—here is the entrance."¹⁰⁵

It is doubtful, however, whether in the period with which we have been dealing—the fourth and fifth centuries A.D.—landscape had acquired the full richness of the connotations it was to acquire later. One might half suspect that at this date the appreciation of Nature may still have been subjected to the great Taoist aim of the prolongation of life, so that painting and verse might be seen as disciplines or exercises, much like the technique of breath-control or abstaining from cereals. Such at any rate would seem to be the opinion of Tsung Ping;

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 209.

¹⁰⁰ *Tao Te Ching* 56.

¹⁰¹ Hsieh K'ang-lo Shih Chu, pp. 74-5.

¹⁰² "What I saw when I had crossed the lake on my way from Mount South to Mount North". 於南山往北山經湖中瞻眺。

¹⁰³ D. T. Suzuki, "*Studies in Zen*" (1955). "*The Role of Nature in Zen Buddhism*", p. 187. Suzuki has also said: "Most Zen masters are . . . Nature mystics." *Zen Essays* II, p. 184b.

¹⁰⁴ "Transmission of the Lamp", *Ch'uan Teng Lu*, T.T. No.2076, Vol.LI, 2.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*

Ibid.

"So by living at leisure, by controlling the vital breath, by rinsing out the goblet, by playing the lute, by contemplating pictures in silence, by never resisting the influence of heaven and by responding to the call of the wilderness where the crags and peaks rise to shining heights and the cloudy forests are dense and vast, the wise and virtuous men of old found innumerable pleasures which they assimilated through their souls and minds."¹⁰⁶

Yet, whatever its ultimate cause or motives, the supreme quality of this art is incontestable. Had any poetry before managed to shade overt statement of spiritual meaning so curiously, so dramatically, and with such sleights and duplicities of meaning, into the metaphoric intimations of the literally described landscape?¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁶ *Hua Shan-shui Hsü, Li Tai Ming Hua Chi*, C.6, p. 210.

¹⁰⁷ Adapted from W. K. Wimsatt and Cleanth Brooks, "*Literary Criticism. A Short History*" (New York, Knopf, 1957), p. 401.

The above work also contains a definition of the structure of the poetry of Wordsworth which is also the best possible definition of the formal characteristics of Chinese landscape poetry.

"Both tenor and vehicle are wrought in a parallel process out of the same material. The landscape is both the occasion of subjective reflection or transcendental insight and the source of figures by which the reflection or insight is defined . . . The interest derives from our discerning the design and unity latent in a multiform sensuous picture." (*Ibid.*, p. 401.)

Note, however, that there is no animating imagery, no "pathetic fallacy", in Chinese Nature poetry. "A puddle", says Hazlitt, speaking of Wordsworth's "*Excursion*", "is filled with pre-natural faces." This was never true of any stage in the development of Chinese landscape poetry, even though it may be approached philosophically in the Zen concept of "*śūnyatā*" when "the mountains are mountains and I see them as such and they see me as such" (Suzuki, *Studies in Zen*, 1955, p. 188). Nevertheless there are interesting points of contact between the Chinese and the European concept of Nature which would repay detailed study. For both these groups scenery provided the best evidence of the fundamental nature of the universe.

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