

INFORMATION TO USERS

This material was produced from a microfilm copy of the original document. While the most advanced technological means to photograph and reproduce this document have been used, the quality is heavily dependent upon the quality of the original submitted.

The following explanation of techniques is provided to help you understand markings or patterns which may appear on this reproduction.

- 1. The sign or "target" for pages apparently lacking from the document photographed is "Missing Page(s)". If it was possible to obtain the missing page(s) or section, they are spliced into the film along with adjacent pages. This may have necessitated cutting thru an image and duplicating adjacent pages to insure you complete continuity.**
- 2. When an image on the film is obliterated with a large round black mark, it is an indication that the photographer suspected that the copy may have moved during exposure and thus cause a blurred image. You will find a good image of the page in the adjacent frame.**
- 3. When a map, drawing or chart, etc., was part of the material being photographed the photographer followed a definite method in "sectioning" the material. It is customary to begin photoing at the upper left hand corner of a large sheet and to continue photoing from left to right in equal sections with a small overlap. If necessary, sectioning is continued again — beginning below the first row and continuing on until complete.**
- 4. The majority of users indicate that the textual content is of greatest value, however, a somewhat higher quality reproduction could be made from "photographs" if essential to the understanding of the dissertation. Silver prints of "photographs" may be ordered at additional charge by writing the Order Department, giving the catalog number, title, author and specific pages you wish reproduced.**
- 5. PLEASE NOTE: Some pages may have indistinct print. Filmed as received.**

University Microfilms International

**300 North Zeeb Road
Ann Arbor, Michigan 48106 USA
St. John's Road, Tyler's Green
High Wycombe, Bucks, England HP10 8HR**

77-24,709

STALBERG, Roberta Helmer, 1950-
THE POEMS OF THE HAN-SHAN COLLECTION.

The Ohio State University, Ph.D., 1977
Literature, Asian

Xerox University Microfilms, Ann Arbor, Michigan 48106

© Copyright by
Roberta Helmer Stalberg
1977

THE POEMS OF THE HAN-SHAN COLLECTION

DISSERTATION

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the
Degree Doctor of Philosophy in the Graduate School
of The Ohio State University

By

Roberta Helmer Stalberg, A.B., M.A.

* * * *

The Ohio State University

1977

Reading Committee:

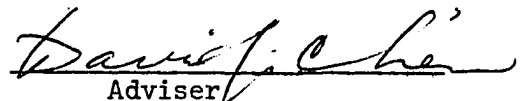
Professor David Y. Ch'en

Professor William Graham

Professor John Huntington

Professor Yan-shuan Lao

Approved By


Adviser

Department of East Asian
Languages and Literatures

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to take this opportunity to acknowledge my gratitude to the following:

to Professor David Y. Ch'en, for his unceasing assistance and stimulating observations, without which this work could not have been effected;

to Professor William Graham, for his careful reading of the dissertation and his very helpful suggestions;

to Professor Yan-shuan Lao, for his many useful suggestions and especially for his capable assistance in documentation;

to Professor John Huntington, for his profitable insights on Buddhist and philosophical matters;

to Ms. Linda Yearling and Ms. Janet Irons, for their great assistance in typing the manuscript;

to Mrs. Alice Ts'ao, whose careful hand provided the calligraphy;

to my parents, who taught me the love of learning;

and finally, to my husband Christopher, for whom, I think, no words are enough.

VITA

July 19, 1950	Born - Dayton, Ohio
1972	A.B., The University of Pennsylvania Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
1972-73	NDFL Title I Fellow, Department of East Asian Languages and Literatures, The Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio
1973-1975; 1976-1977	Teaching Associate, Department of East Asian Languages and Literatures, The Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio
1975-1976	Teaching Associate, Department of English, The Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio

FIELDS OF STUDY

Major Field: Chinese Literature

Studies in Chinese Poetry: Provessor David Y. Ch'en

Studies in Chinese Fiction: Professor Tien-yi Li

Minor Field: Chinese Language

Studies in Chinese Language: Professors Eugene Ching and
Feng-sheng Hsueh

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	Page ii
VITA	iii
CHAPTER	
I. INTRODUCTION	1
II. BIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION	36
III. HAN-SHAN AND NATURE POETRY	66
IV. THE MOUNTAIN AND ITS SYMBOLISM	97
V. METAPHYSICAL POETRY AND THE VERNACULAR TRADITION OF CH'AN	122
VI. THE CATEGORIES AND POETIC TECHNIQUE OF THE HAN-SHAN COLLECTION	156
VII. CONCLUSION	177
APPENDIX	180
BIBLIOGRAPHY	183

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

The poet Han-shan has been many things to many people. The earliest editor of the Han-shan collection, the Taoist Hsü Ling-fu 徐靈府 (ninth century), esteemed Han-shan as a Taoist sage-hermit, while the Buddhist Ts'ao-shan Pen-chi 曹山本寂 (840-901)¹ held Han-shan to be a lay Buddhist. Although for a time Han-shan was claimed by both Taoists and Buddhists, the latter association has been more persistent. The lack of reliable historical evidence about the life of Han-shan has created an open field for such rival claims. Scholarly opinion about Han-shan's birth date ranges from 577 A.D.² to 840 A.D.³ and some question remains whether there was indeed one historical person who composed the collection of poems attributed to Han-shan. Nor is Han-shan the sole example of a Buddhist poet about whom biographical information is unreliable or inadequate. Wang Fan-chih 王梵志 (590?-660?) and P'ang Yün 龐綽 (740-808)⁴ are similar cases. The very opacity of the background of these writers became an asset within the Ch'an tradition, and came to symbolize the poets' detachment from mundane relationships and elevation to a semi-deified status.

This opacity became a distinct part of Han-shan's allure for modern Western translators, as well. To Arthur Waley, Han-shan appeared as sympathetic and somewhat bumbling, a man who fell out with wife and family and "wandered from place to place, reading many books and looking in vain for a patron."⁵ For Burton Watson, Han-shan emerged as a poor

and eccentric scholar, a grotesque little man "guffawing in the wilderness," whose poems chronicle a spiritual search vacillating between moments of rich contentment, harsh loneliness, and bitter self-doubt.⁶ With Gary Snyder, Han-shan took still another manifestation, that of a disillusioned intellectual and bohemian scholar who "got sick of the big city and the world and took off to hide in the mountains."⁷ That Han-shan could show such differing faces to his various editors and translators is, in fact, a great part of his fascination.

Traditional Chinese Treatment of Han-shan, the Ninth to the Nineteenth Centuries

Chinese interest in Han-shan has, predictably, not been consistent throughout the years since the first collection of poems appeared in the ninth century. The earliest collection, mentioned in an extract from the Hsien-chuan shih-i 仙傳拾遺 (Collection of Supplementary Biographies of the Immortals) by Tu Kuang-t'ing 杜光庭 (850-933) and preserved in ch'uan fifty-five of the T'ai-p'ing kuang-chi 太平廣記 (Expanded Records Compiled During the T'ai-p'ing hsing-kuo Period, compiled 978)⁸ is attributed to the Taoist Hsü Ling-fu, who resided at Yün-kai Peak 雲蓋峰 of T'ien-t'ai Mountain, several times refusing office during the Hui-ch'ang 會昌 period (841-46) of Emperor Wu-tsung 武宗. During the years of the Ta-chung 大中 period (847-59) of Emperor Hsüan-tsung 宣宗 and the Hsien-t'ung 咸通 period (860-73) of Emperor I-tsung 懿宗, Hsü Ling-fu assisted in the reconstruction of the Taoist temple known as T'ung-po Ch'ung-tao Kuan 桐柏崇道觀. Hsü Ling-fu is known for his description of T'ien-t'ai Mountain, entitled T'ien-t'ai-shan chi 天台山記.⁹ Tu Kuang-t'ing records that Hsü Ling-fu edited the

Han-shan poems and added a preface, and that this edition in three chüan was very popular. Unfortunately this edition by Hsü Ling-fu is no longer extant.

The next editor of the Han-shan poems was Ts'ao-shan Pen-chi, an important figure in the development of Chinese Buddhism, having founded, along with Tung-shan Liang-chieh 洞山良价 (807-69), the Ts'ao-Tung 曹洞 School of Ch'an Buddhism.¹⁰ The Sung kao-seng chuan 宋高僧傳 (Sung Compilation of Biographies of Eminent Buddhist Monks, compiled 982-88) of Tsan-ning 贊寧 (tenth century) records in chüan thirteen that Ts'ao-shan Pen-chi wrote a commentary to the Han-shan poems, entitled Tui Han-shan-tzu shih 對寒山子詩, and that this was a very popular work.¹¹ The biography of Han-shan in chüan nineteen of the Sung kao-seng chuan also records that Ts'ao-shan Pen-chi commented upon the existing collection of some 200 Han-shan poems.¹² Although the Sung kao-seng chuan does not list the number of chüan in this work, the "Treatise on Literature" of the Hsin T'ang shu 新唐書藝文志 (compiled 1032?-60) records a book of the same title and notes that it contained seven chuan and a preface by the Prefect of T'ai-chou, Lü-ch'iu Yin 呂兪 丘胤.¹³ This edition of the Han-shan poems by Ts'ao-shan Pen-chi appears to have been lost by the Sung dynasty, as the "Treatise on Literature" of the Sung shih 宋史 (compiled 1343-45) lists an edition of the poems in one chüan, entitled Han-shan Shih-te shih 寒山拾得詩 (The Poems of Han-shan and Shih-te),¹⁴ and another one-chüan work entitled Han-shan-tzu ta-huan hsin-chien 寒山子大還心鑑 (The Mind's Mirror of the Great Return by Han-shan-tzu).¹⁵

The fact that two ninth century poets referred to Han-shan in their poems also attests to Han-shan's popularity in that century.

The Ch'an master Kuan-hsiu 貫休 (832-912) mentioned Han-shan in the poem, "Chi Ch'ih-sung Shu Tao-shih 寄赤松舒道士" ("Sent to the Taoist Shu of Ch'ih-sung"):

You admire Han-shan-tzu,
Only singing songs about the Way.
By chance you may accompany a prefect,
Going one day amid mist and creeping vines.¹⁶
子愛寒山子
歌唯樂道歌
會應陪太守
一日到煙蘿

The ninth century poet Li Shan-fu 李山甫 mentioned Han-shan in his poem, "Shan-chung chi Liang P'an-kuan" 山中寄梁判官 ("Sent, From the Mountains, to Judge Liang"): "Han-shan, too, suffered because of his great literary talents."¹⁷ 寒山子亦患多才

That Han-shan was well known in the eleventh century is proved by several references. The famous statesman Wang An-shih 王安石 (1021-86) wrote twenty poems entitled, "Ni Han-shan Shih-te shih" 擬寒山拾得詩 ("In Imitation of the Poems of Han-shan and Shih-te").¹⁸ Huang T'ing-chien 黃庭堅 (1045-1105) also appears to have been an admirer of Han-shan, according to recent findings by I Chung-ta 易中達. I Chung-ta has discovered in the National Palace Museum in Taiwan a horizontal scroll bearing a Han-shan poem; I Chung-ta states that this scroll was found to be an authentic work of the celebrated Northern Sung poet, Huang T'ing-chien.¹⁹ On the scroll, the poem is prefaced with the words, "Escape from the defiling roots (i.e., the sense organs)" 超脫塵根. After this is copied the following poem,

I look at the water of the Yellow River
Wondering altogether how many times has it cleared and settled.
The water flows with the swiftness of an arrow;
The human world is like floating duckweed.
Ignorance is part of the basic [human] karma;
Cleverness [leads to] the trap of mental turmoil.
[People] go through birth and death for countless kalpas

Only because they fall into delusion and blindness. ²⁰

我見黃河水
凡經幾度清
水流似箭急
人世若浮萍
癡屬根本業
聰明煩惱坑
輪迴幾許劫
只為造迷盲

This poem is very similar to a poem of Han-shan included in the Ch'üan

T'ang shih:

I look at the water of the Yellow River
Wondering altogether how many times has it cleared and
settled.
The water flows like a swift arrow;
The human world is like floating duckweed.
Ignorance is part of the basic [human] karma;
Delusion [leads to] the trap of mental turmoil
[People] go through birth and death for countless kalpas
Only because they fall into delusion and blindness.²¹

我見黃河水
凡經幾度清
水流如箭急
人世若浮萍
癡屬根本業
無明煩惱坑
輪迴幾許劫
只為造迷盲

I Chung-ta notes that at the end of the scroll which he examined,
there appears the following colophon, "Respectfully writing down the

Han-shan-tzu, Layman P'ang poems; calligraphy by Old Fu." 敬錄
 寒山子龐居士詩語題. I Chung-ta wrongly infers from this colophon that P'ang was Han-shan's surname. In fact, P'ang Yün was a popular ninth century Buddhist poet who, like Han-shan, wrote in the colloquial language.

The National Palace Museum in Taiwan has described in correspondence another hand scroll which it has verified as a genuine work by Huang T'ing-chien. This scroll contains three poems, and appears originally to have followed two chüan of poems by Han-shan-tzu and P'ang Yün, as indicated by the colophon, which reads, "Written while trying out a Chang-T'ung brush in Jen-yün Hall. For Abbot Fa-tsung I have written the poems of Han-shan-tzu and Layman P'ang in two chüan. Calligraphy by Old Fu. 任運堂試張通筆為法聿上座書寒山子龐居士詩兩卷語題²² This hand scroll contains three poems. The first is similar to that cited by I Chung-ta:

I look at the water of the Yellow River
 Wondering altogether how many times has it cleared and settled.
 The water flows like a swift arrow.
 Man's life is like floating duckweed.
 Ignorance is part of the basic [human] karma,
 Desire makes for the trap of mental turmoil.
 Going through birth and death for countless kalpas,
 [People] don't understand how to end their ignorance.

我見黃河水
 凡經幾度清
 水流如激箭
 人世若浮萍
 癡當根本業
 愛為煩惱坑
 輪迴幾許劫
 不解了無明

The second poem on the hand scroll appears as follows:

Han-shan says these words:
 Of all the people in the world, half are mad.
 When I have something to say, I say it to people's faces,
 So there is much for people to hate me for.
 If your mind is true, your speech is also honest,
 In honest speech there is no front or back.
 Just look at those who have crossed the River of No Escape--
 Who is a bully then!

寒山出此語
 舉世狂癡半
 有爭對面說
 所以足人怨
 心真語亦直
 直認無背面
 君看是渡奈何漢
 誰是囉囉漢

This poem approximates a ten-line poem in Ch'üan T'ang shih:

Han-shan says these words
 Seeming like a fool.
 When I have something to say I say it to people's faces,
 So there is much for people to hate me for.
 If your mind is true, the words you speak are honest,
 An honest heart has no front or back.
 Just at death you cross over the River of No Escape--
 Who is a bully then!
 Dark and gloomy is the road to the underworld--²³
 Because of past actions, you are bound with chains.

寒山出此語
 復似顛狂漢
 有爭對面說
 所以足人怨
 心真語亦直
 直認無背面
 臨死是渡奈何漢
 誰是囉囉漢

冥冥泉台路
 被業相拘絆

In each of these poems, the River of No Escape or Nai Ho 奈河 is the
 border of the underworld which all spirits are forced to cross.

The third poem on the hand scroll appears to be a poem by Layman

P'ang:

Send word to those who are benevolent--
 What do they consider benevolence to be?
 When you return to your source you know your original nature;
 Your original nature is the Tathagatha.²⁴

寄語諸仁者 歸源知自性
 仁以何為懷？ 自性即如來

We may speculate, on the basis of these hand scrolls, that the poems of Han-shan and Layman P'ang were associated in the mind of one Sung poet, Huang T'ing-chien, and probably were generally considered to be related. The three poems and colophon described above probably concluded a very long hand scroll or an album which appears to have contained one chüan of the poems of Han-shan and one chüan of the poems of Layman P'ang.

Tenth and eleventh century Buddhist sources also contain references to Han-shan. The Sung kao-seng chuan has attempted to fix Han-shan within the Buddhist ranks. In chüan eleven is recorded an encounter between Han-shan and Ling-yu 靈祐 (771-853) of Ta-kuei Mountain 大潞山 whom Han-shan counsels with a prophecy of his future enlightenment at a place named T'an 潭.²⁵ Travelling by the Kuo-ch'ing Monastery 國清寺, Ling-yu next encounters Shih-te 拾得, who counsels him in exactly the same words as those of Han-shan. When Ling-yu arrives later in Le-t'an 潞潭, he does in fact attain enlightenment as predicted. Sung kao seng chuan 19.3ab contains a brief biography of Han-shan, coupled with the biographies of Shih-te and the Ch'an master Feng-kan 封干.

In this tenth century source, we see in its incipient stages the relationship between Han-shan, Shih-te, and Feng-kan which became a persistent feature in all later accounts.

The Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu 景德傳燈錄 (compiled 1004) of Tao-yuan 道原 (mid-ninth to tenth centuries) also records the biographies of Han-shan, Shih-te, and Feng-kan, which is written 豐干. Ch'uan twenty-seven contains an exchange between the three men in which Han-shan refuses to accompany Feng-kan on a pilgrimage to Wu-t'ai Mountain 五台山.²⁶ The goal of Feng-kan's visit is to worship Mañjuśrī, but instead he encounters an old man. Thinking him to be Mañjuśrī, Feng-kan asks the old man if it is so. The old man replies, "How can there be two Mañjuśris?" The clear implication of this anecdote is that although Feng-kan is a respected and formally established Ch'an master, Han-shan is truly the enlightened man; in fact, he is Mañjuśrī. At the same time, the friendship between Han-shan and Shih-te is deepened in the Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu, as the two laugh together and dance, seemingly beyond the follies and constraints of the human world.

Also dating from the Sung dynasty is the 1189 anthology of Han-shan poems compiled by the monk Chih-nan 志南 and entitled, T'ien-t'ai-shan Kuo-ch'ing Ch'an Ssu san yin chi 天臺山國清禪寺三隱集 (The Collected Poems of the Three Recluses of the Kuo-ch'ing Monastery at T'ien-t'ai Mountain).²⁷ The preface to this work by Chih-nan relies heavily upon material contained in the preface attributed to Lü-ch'iu Yin. This preface attributed to Lü-ch'iu Yin, whose final character

is sometimes written as yin 允 or yin 蔭, is of questionable authenticity for a number of reasons, the main one being the dating of place names cited within the preface. These inconsistencies will be discussed presently.

An additional reference to Han-shan occurs in the recorded teachings of the Ch'an Master Yen-chao 延沼 (d. 973), entitled Feng-hsüeh yu-lu 風穴語錄 (The Recorded Sayings of Feng-hsüeh [Yen-chao]), in which Yen-chao quotes a poem which he credits to Han-shan. This poem is not seen in any of the present Han-shan collections, but Hu Shih 胡適 was convinced of its authenticity.²⁸

The variety of above-mentioned references to Han-shan reveals that Han-shan was well known from the ninth to the twelfth centuries, and was mentioned in both Taoist and Buddhist sources. Further, Han-shan seems to have received at least some degree of official acceptance, as is attested by his inclusion in the Hsin T'ang shu and the Sung shih. And yet, from the thirteenth century to the beginning of the eighteenth century, Han-shan seems to have dropped from the cultural mainstream.²⁹

During the Ch'ing dynasty, Han-shan returned as a subject of poetic interest. The Ssu-k'u ch'üan-shu 四庫全書 (completed in 1782) contains Han-shan's poems, as does the Ch'üan T'ang shih 全唐詩 (completed in 1707). In spite of this recognition, however, Han-shan did not receive the serious attention of orthodox literary critics, who still retained deep-seated scorn for the vernacular language as a vehicle for literary expression.³⁰ Only after the vernacular language was accepted as a legitimate medium for literature could Han-shan be

treated seriously.

Twentieth Century Chinese Research: Part One

In the first decades of the twentieth century, Chinese scholars such as Hu Shih and Cheng Chen-to 鄭振鐸 began to advocate the adoption of the vernacular language as the only medium appropriate for a "new literature" in a "new China." Under the impetus of this movement, Han-shan was to receive his first serious literary consideration since the Sung dynasty.

In 1921, Hu Shih began to investigate Han-shan as part of his Pai-hua wen-hsüeh shih 白話文學史 (History of Vernacular Literature). In this work Hu Shih discussed Han-shan's place in the development of vernacular poetry, which he at first felt could not have been produced before the late T'ang.³¹ In Hu Shih's work, Han-shan was for the first time evaluated in other than philosophical or religious terms. Hu Shih's early research lead him to place Han-shan at the end of the T'ang dynasty, largely because he felt that such a well-developed colloquial poetry could not have sprung up without antecedents.³² But after assessing the poetry of Wang Fan-chih, Hu Shih revised his previous dates, moving Han-shan to the mid-T'ang period, ca. 700-780.³³ He proposed that Han-shan was a direct inheritor of the poetic tradition of Wang Fan-chih and felt that Han-shan at times even consciously copied some of the poems of Wang Fan-chih.

Hu Shih based his dating arguments on two specific sources: the preface attributed to Hsi-ch'iu Yin and the extract of Tu Kuang-t'ing

preserved in the T'ai-p'ing kuang-chi. The preface attributed to Lü-ch'iu Yin states that Han-shan "lived as a recluse on the T'ien-t'ai Mountain, seventy li west of T'ang-hsing hsien, and he was called Cold Peak."³⁴ Hu Shih traced the change of the district name Shih-feng 始豐 to T'ang-hsing 唐興, arriving at the second year of the Shang-yüan 上元 period of Emperor Kao-tsung 高宗, i.e. 675 A.D. Hu Shih concluded, therefore, that this preface could not have been written before the end of the seventh century, and probably was not written until a much later date.³⁵ The prefect to whom the preface is attributed is mentioned in the T'ai-chou fu-chih 臺州府志 (T'ai-chou Gazetteer, published in 1723) in chüan five, "li-tai kuan chih" 歷代官制 as Prefect of T'ai-chou during the Cheng-kuan 貞觀 period (627-49).³⁶ The gazetteer also mentions that Lü-ch'iu Yin wrote a preface to the poems of Han-shan. That this official is mentioned in no other historical sources raises some doubts about the reliability of his inclusion in this Ch'ing document of much later date. Another problem with the dating of T'ang hsing hsien arises from Hu Shih's identification of the Shang-yüan period as that during the reign of Emperor Kao-tsung. In fact, there was a later T'ang Shang-yüan period (760-1) during the reign of Emperor Su-tsung 肅宗. Although there are contradicting accounts as to which Shang-yüan period saw the change of Shih-feng to T'ang-hsing, the earlier sources seem unanimous in accepting the 761 date rather than the 675 date. One of these early sources is Hsü Ling-fu's T'ien-t'ai-shan chi 天臺山記.³⁷ The earlier date is also confirmed by the Yüan-ho chün-hsien

chih 元和郡縣志 (A Record of Prefectures and Districts, Compiled During the Yüan-ho Period) of Li Chi-fu 李吉甫 (seventh century).³⁸

The authoritative Hsin T'ang shu, however, gives the earlier reign period in the "Ti-li chih" 地理志 ("Treatise on Geography"), but the value of this source is decreased because it was compiled some 250 years later than Li Chi-fu and Hsü Ling-fu were writing.³⁹

These facts reveal a glaring discrepancy in the preface. How could Lü-ch'iu Yin, listed as a Prefect of T'ai-chou sometime from 627 to 640, have used the name T'ang-hsing hsien, when the district was called Shih-feng until at least 675 and most probably until 761? Thus this preface is not the work of the prefect described in the T'ai-chou Gazetteer. Hu Shih was, therefore, correct in his deduction that the preface attributed to Lü-ch'iu Yin was indeed a later insertion.

A second detail cited by Hu Shih is the date given by Tu Kuang-t'ing in the extract from his Hsien-chuan shih-i preserved in the T'ai-p'ing kuang-chi. This is the earliest extant account of Han-shan, and Hu Shih concluded that it is reliable. Hu Shih accepted Tu Kuang-t'ing's statement that Han-shan went to live at T'ien-t'ai Mountain during the Ta-li 大曆 period (766-779). On the basis of this date, Hu Shih concluded that Han-shan lived from about 700 to 780, although he did not make clear the reasons for his inference.

The next modern Chinese scholar to investigate Han-shan was Yü Chia-hsi 余嘉錫 in his Ssu-k'u t'i-yao pien-cheng 四庫提要辨證 (Corrections to the Ssu-k'u Catalogue), published in 1937.⁴⁰ Yü Chia-hsi proposed that the work entitled Tui Han-shan-tzu shih

mentioned in the "Treatise on Literature" of the Hsin T'ang shu was based on Hsü Ling-fu's edition of the poems of Han-shan, but that Ts'ao-shan Pen-chi probably objected to the Taoist elements of Hsü Ling-fu's preface. Yü Chia-hsi speculated that Ts'ao-shan replaced Hsü Ling-fu's preface with his own preface, which he attributed to Lü-ch'iu Yin, last of all adding the monk Tao-ch'iao 道翹 as the collector of the poems.⁴¹ This hypothesis accords well with conclusions of E. G. Pulleyblank, who proposes that the Lü-ch'iu Yin preface is actually a late T'ang addition to the poems.

Yü Chia-hsi also felt that the many Taoist references in the Han-shan poems point to the poet's familiarity with Taoism and the Taoist classics. Yü Chia-hsi noted the ridicule in the poems for those who sought long life through techniques of wai-tan 外丹 (physical cultivation by means of external aids) rather than relying on nei-tan 內丹 (refinement by means of the energies and abilities immanent in the body).⁴² He concluded that Han-shan practiced such nei-tan techniques but later gave them up in frustration and ridiculed them.

In respect to the dating of the place names mentioned in the preface attributed to Lü-ch'iu Yin, Yü Chia-hsi identified the change of Shih-feng to T'ang-hsing as the later Shang-yüan period of Emperor Su-tsung. He pointed out that Tsan-ning corrected this anachronism in his biography of Han-shan in the Sung kao-seng chuan, where the place name of Shih-feng is given.⁴³

In 1938, Cheng Chen-to mentioned Han-shan in his Chung-kuo su wen-hsueh shih 中國俗文學史 (History of Chinese Folk Literature). Cheng Chen-to assigned Han-shan to the T'ang dynasty, although giving no specific dates. He felt that the Han-shan poems were much influenced by the philosophical and admonitory style of Wang Fan-chih. Cheng Chen-to devoted less than one page to Han-shan, however, and seems to have had little regard for the literary value of the Han-shan poems.⁴⁴

Liu Ta-chieh 劉大杰, in his Chung-kuo wen-hsueh fa-chan shih 中國文學發展史 (History of the Development of Chinese Literature), attempted to use the tools of Western literary criticism to evaluate the Han-shan poems as "pure literature." Liu Ta-chieh concurred with Hu Shih's assessment of Han-shan as an inheritor of the poetic tradition of Wang Fan-chih. Although Liu Ta-chieh pointed out that the poems of both Wang Fan-chih and Han-shan contain gatha-like elements, Liu Ta-chieh felt that the poems of Han-shan have greater scope and are stronger because they frequently express personal feelings.⁴⁵ Liu Ta-chieh thus considered the Han-shan poems to be superior to those of Wang Fan-chih, which can be considered dry and flavorless.⁴⁶ Liu Ta-chieh listed three of Han-shan's strengths: his use of personal sentiment, his poetic feelings, and his inclination towards the pure and lofty.⁴⁷ Liu Ta-chieh tempered his praise, however, adding that such poems are not numerous in the collection, the majority being expository in purpose.

Han-shan's revived popularity was also reflected in his inclusion in the important collection of Chinese literature, the Ssu-pu

ts'ung-k'an 四部叢刊. The Han-shan poems included in the first edition of the Ssu-pu ts'ung-k'an (1919-22) are taken from a Korean reprint of a Hangchow edition.⁴⁸ In the second printing (1929) this edition was replaced by a Sung edition preserved in the T'ien-lu-lin-lang collection of the Ch'ing dynasty.⁴⁹

After this revival of popularity during the first three decades of the twentieth century, however, Han-shan seems to have slipped again into obscurity in China. This lack of interest remained until 1960, when, with the stimulus of Western translations of the poems, Han-shan enjoyed a second period of interest.

Modern Japanese Scholarship

In Japan, Han-shan seems to have maintained a consistent popularity since his first translation into Japanese during the Edo period (1600-1867).⁵⁰ The earliest printed edition of Han-shan's poems was a 1189 text edited with a preface by the monk Chih-nan and printed by the Kuo-ch'ing Monastery. Though this text is no longer extant, a closely related Sung text is preserved in the Japanese Imperial Palace Library (Kunaichō no shoryōbu 宮内廳書陵部).⁵¹ In addition, many commentaries upon the poems are preserved in Japan. Given the continuing Japanese enthusiasm for Han-shan, it is logical that Japanese scholarship would be among the first to pay serious attention to Han-shan and adopt the tools of Western literary criticism in this evaluation. In 1958, Iriya Yoshitaka 入矢義高 published an analysis of Han-shan in the fifth work in the series

entitled Chūgoku shijin senshū 中國詩人選集 (Anthology of Chinese Poets), with a postface provided by Yoshikawa Kōjiro 吉川幸次郎.

Previously, both Chinese and Japanese Buddhist commentators had investigated the religious aspects of the poems, while the Sung neo-Confucians had stressed the poems' metaphysics.⁵² But Iriya and Yoshikawa went beyond the traditional didactic evaluations, even beyond the early twentieth-century Chinese approach of Hu Shih and Cheng Chen-to, who valued Han-shan primarily for his contribution to vernacular poetry. Iriya stressed the disparate elements of the poems, the emotional swings from joy to sorrow; in these Iriya saw the marks of honesty and spiritual searching--the real core of Han-shan's attraction. Iriya also rated highly Han-shan's use of metaphor in his poems; Iriya saw this as a significant improvement over the simple admonitory pieces of Wang Fan-chih.⁵³

Recent Western Translations and Research

Arthur Waley was the first Western scholar to translate the poems of Han-shan. In 1954, he published a translation of twenty-seven of the poems in Encounter. Waley included only a brief biographical sketch with his translations, and based his biographical sketch on details in the poems rather than upon external information. This was an important precedent, as earlier research had attempted to describe Han-shan by using commentaries or prefaces, such as that attributed to Lü-ch'iu Yin, or the excerpt from Tu Kuang-t'ing's Hsien-chuan shih-i. In his style of translation, Waley was formal,

using few colloquial expressions or contractions.

In 1958, Gary Snyder published a translation of twenty-four poems in *Evergreen Review*.⁵⁴ Snyder's translations are colloquial and free, filled with current American images and expressions. Perhaps the most extreme examples of this style are

Go tell families with silverware and cars
What's the use of all that noise and money?⁵⁵

and

寄語鍾鼎家
虛名定無益

Once at Cold Mountain, troubles cease--
No more tangled, hung-up mind.⁵⁶

一住寒山萬事休 更無雜念挂心頭

Because of this vitality, Snyder's translations are attractive, even if not always totally accurate; their popularity is attested by the fact that they have been twice reprinted in other publications.⁵⁷ Their translator and his subject were both to become widely known during the 1960's after Jack Kerouac published *Dharma Bums*.⁵⁸ Snyder lived in Japan from 1956 to 1957 and from 1959 to 1965, when he studied Zen (Chinese: Ch'an) under the head abbott of the Daitoku-ji 大徳寺.⁵⁹ Because of this training, Snyder was influenced by Japanese readings of and scholarship on the poems.

In 1962, the well-known translator Burton Watson published a translation of 100 of the Han-shan poems. In his translations, Watson relied heavily upon Iriya Yoshitaka's work of 1958.⁶⁰ In a translator's note, Watson writes;

By rights, two names should appear as translators of this volume. Though the English of the poems is entirely my own responsibility, I would hardly have had the temerity to undertake this translation if it had not been for the recently published work on Han-shan by Yoshitaka Iriya....With his

thorough knowledge of the colloquial literature of the T'ang period, Iriya has offered a number of new suggestions on the reading and interpretation of the poems, and it is his work which has formed the basis of my English versions.⁶¹

Watson's translations employ colloquial expressions and an informal style, but not to the extent of Snyder. Nor does he transform the poems by using anachronistic imagery such as "silverware and cars."

Watson's style ranges from terse informality,

When people see the man of Cold Mountain
They all say, "There's a crackpot!"⁶²
時人見寒山 各謂是風顛

to stately cadence,

I spur my horse past the ruined city;
The ruined city, that wakes the traveller's thoughts.
Ancient battlements, high and low;
Old grave mounds, great and small.
Where the shadow of a single tumbleweed trembles
And the voice of the great tree clings for ever,
I sigh over these common bones--
No roll of the immortals bears their names.⁶³

驅馬度荒城 所嗟皆俗骨
荒城動(重)客情 仙史更無名
高低舊雉堞
大小古墳塋
自振孤蓬影
長凝拱木聲

It must be noted that this shift of mood and audience distance is appropriate to the original poems, which in fact show a great variety in style, ranging from purely colloquial lines which approximate prose, as in the first example, to Six Dynasties lyric complaints, as in the second example.

The three Western translators noted above all were influenced by the Japanese traditions relating to Han-shan. In addition, the primary

concerns of these men have been care in translation, rather than dating or textual criticism. Other Western research on Han-shan has had a different emphasis, however. In 1957, Wu Chi-yu 吳其昱 published an article entitled, "A Study of Han Shan" in T'oung-pao. In his research Wu Chi-yu has paid great attention to sources which provide dates for Han-shan. Along with Hu Shih and Iriya Yoshitaka, Wu Chi-yu rejects the attribution of the poems' preface to Lü-ch'iu Yin, again basing his argument on the dating of the name change from Shih-feng to T'ang-hsing. Wu Chi-yu concludes that the later Shang-yüan period of Emperor Su-tsung (760-1) is the true reign period during the second year of which the term T'ang-hsing was adopted.⁶⁴ In addition, Wu Chi-yu has traced the periods of usage of certain of the official titles used in the preface, such as ch'ao-i tai-fu 朝議大夫, shou tz'u-shih 守制史, shang-chu-kuo 上柱國, and tzu fei yü-tai 賜緋魚袋. His assessment is that although the periods of usage of these terms overlap, the only dates common to all are 721 to 742, and after 758.⁶⁵ This would provide further support for the choice of the later Shang-yüan reign period.

In addition to the dating of official titles, Wu Chi-yu has examined some of the most frequent Buddhist terms and allusions used in the poems, attempting thereby to reveal which sutra influenced Han-shan most strongly. Wu Chi-yu has concluded that nearly half of such terms "are found in, if not derived from, the Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra" (Chinese: Ta-po nieh-p'an ching 大般涅槃經). He also states that Han-shan's poems have far more terms common to the Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra than those common to the Saddharmapundarikasūtra (Chinese:

Miao-fa lien-hua ching 妙法蓮華經;

As the writer of the poems was exceptionally interested in the former sutra and in Taoism which exercised an important influence on the Southern Chinese Buddhism in the later Six Dynasties (sixth century A.D.), we may suppose that these poems were written by a southern monk under Buddhist influence not later than the middle of the seventh century.⁶⁶

In fact, Wu Chi-yü identifies Han-shan with the Buddhist monk Chih-yen

智嚴 (577-654) of Chiang-su, who is mentioned in Tao-hsüan's 道宣

(d. 667) Hsü kao seng chuan 續高僧傳. This source records a visit

by a Lü-ch'iu Yin 呂胤胤, once governor of Li-chou 麗州, to meet

with his former colleague Chih-yen in his mountain cave.⁶⁷ According

to Tao-hsüan's account, Chih-yen, originally surnamed Hua 華, had been

a military officer under General Chang Chen-chou 張鎮周, distin-

guishing himself in the campaign against Wang Shih-ch'ung 王世充.⁶⁸

In 621, Hua left his official position and became a Buddhist monk,

studying under the Ch'an master Pao-yüeh 寶月. According to Tao-hsüan,

Chih-yen was then over forty years old. Chih-yen lived in a crude

house high in the mountains, and when his former friends came to visit,

they exclaimed that he must be mad, and asked why he had chosen to live

in such a place. Chih-yen's reply was much in the same vein as Thoreau's

response to Emerson:

As for my madness, it will soon be healed, but your madness is just becoming manifest--how can it be healed? If you are not mad, then why do you chase after fame and scheme for official position?⁶⁹

In 643 Chih-yen returned to Nanking. Later he tended patients at a

hospital at Shih-t'ou 石頭 city, finally dying there in 654 at the age

of seventy-eight. Wu Chi-yü concludes that this identification seems

to be supported, in general, by information presented in the poems.

Wu Chi-yu centers his essay upon this identification of Han-shan, but he does append some brief comments on the various extant texts of the Han-shan poems, including a "preliminary reconstruction of their transmission."⁷⁰ Finally, he includes translations of forty-nine Han-shan poems plus one poem attributed to Shih-te. His translations aim at accuracy rather than elegance, as,

Riding my horse by a ruined town,
I was touched by its vanished past.
High and low are the parapets,
Large and small are the ancient graves.⁷¹

驅馬度荒城
荒城動(重)客情
高低雉堞
大小古墳塋

Yet Wu Chi-yu's translations are often awkward,

I chose a dwelling place on the mountain with many crags,
Inaccessible to humans, there are just the birds.⁷²

重巖我卜居 鳥道絕人迹

and sometimes worse than awkward;

I have had much ado about nothing,
Since my entrance into this our kaleidoscopic and bewildering
world!⁷³

出身既擾擾 世事非一狀

Another Western scholar has approached Han-shan from a different perspective. Unlike other researchers, E. G. Pulleyblank is investigating Han-shan on the basis of evidence provided by the rhymes used in the poems. Because Han-shan is a colloquial language poet, it can be assumed that he did not observe archaic rhyme categories or preserve artificial distinctions in his rhymes. Rather, his rhymes should reflect the state of the spoken language during his life time.⁷⁴ Basing his work on this premise, Pulleyblank has compared

the rhymes in the Han-shan collection with the rhyme categories of the Ch'ieh-yün 切韻, composed by Lu Fa-yen 陸法言 in 601. The preliminary results of this comparison suggest to Pulleyblank that there is not, in fact, one but two Han-shan's.

While a portion of the poems must clearly be of late T'ang date, another considerably larger portion shows rhyming which points very strongly to an early T'ang or even Sui date....The basis for the conclusion that the original and larger portions of the Han-shan poems come from early T'ang or Sui is that they rhyme, not less, but more strictly according to the Ch'ieh-yün than the court poetry of early T'ang. Since Han-shan is clearly a rustic poet, this can only be because the distinctions he followed were part of his actual speech, not learned from a dictionary.⁷⁵

Pulleyblank proposes that the poems of the former type, labelled Han-shan I for convenience, manifest more restricted rhyming than necessitated for kung-t'i shih 宮體詩 and thus must be dated as early T'ang or even Sui. Noting that the Han-shan II poems rhyme more freely, "very much in accordance with the patterns that we find in certain ninth century poets like Li Ho and Po Chü-i (in his New Yüeh-fu)," Pulleyblank concludes that these poems were based on the new standard language of the late T'ang.⁷⁶ He theorizes that the latter group was added to a collection of poems of early T'ang origin which circulated in Buddhist circles, the whole corpus taking "something like its present shape in late T'ang."⁷⁷

Based on similar phonological evidence, Pulleyblank also concludes that the preface attributed to Lü-ch'iu Yin is a later insertion because of the final gātha, whose rhymes are "clearly of late T'ang vintage."⁷⁸ This conclusion supports the prevailing scholarly opinion about the unreliability of the association of the preface with

“Lu-ch'iu Yin.”⁷⁹ In respect to the poems attributed to Shih-te, Pulleyblank finds clear evidence of their being even later than Han-shan II, in that they show characteristics of late T'ang rhyming as well as some further blending of rhyme categories, which is a Northern Sung (960-1126) phenomenon.

Twentieth Century Chinese Research: Part Two

As mentioned above, Chinese interest in Han-shan flagged after the third decade of the twentieth century. In March of 1970, some forty years later, Chung Ling 鍾玲 heralded a new revival of interest with her article published in the Chung-yang ji-pao fu-k'an 中央日報 副刊. Entitled "Han-shan tsai tung-fang yü hsi-fang wen-hsüeh chieh ti ti-wei" 寒山在東方與西方文學界的地位 ("Han-shan's Position in the Realms of Eastern and Western Literature"), this article addresses, in particular, the phenomenon of Western enthusiasm for a Chinese poet forgotten in his native culture.⁸⁰ Chung Ling discusses the American interest in Han-shan among the "hippies." She recounts the answers given when she questioned such students at the University of Wisconsin as to whether they had read the poems of Han-shan.

"Have you read Cold Mountain's poems translated by Gary Snyder?"
 "Woo, yah."
 "Do you like Cold Mountain's poetry?"
 "Yah--sure!"
 "Why?"
 "Why? because he is BEAT man!"⁸¹

She says that American students like Han-shan's poems because they feel that Han-shan had their "hippy spirit."⁸² The translations by

Gary Snyder were particularly well received, she says, becoming "the spiritual food of the Beat Generation,"⁸³ while Snyder becomes its "venerated idol."⁸⁴

After Chung Ling's article rekindled Chinese interest in Han-shan, Chung-kuo shih chi-k'an 中國詩季刊 (Chinese Poetry Quarterly) published between 1972 and 1974 twenty-nine articles devoted to Han-shan. These articles treat all aspects of the Han-shan collection, including textual study, Ch'an influences, dating research, and literary criticism. They attempt to reassess the literary merits of Han-shan, using Western literary criticism as well as traditional Chinese poetic theories. Finally, there are even some poems written in imitation of Han-shan's pieces, a tradition of imitation begun by no less a personage than Wang An-shih, and continued in the Ming dynasty by Ch'u-shih Fan-ch'i 楚石梵琦 (fourteenth century) and later by Shih-shu Chi-yüeh 石樹濟岳 (seventeenth century). This tradition continues to the present, as Hu Tun-yü 胡鈍俞, Kuo I-yüan 郭亦園, and others have published imitations of the Han-shan poems.

Structure of the Present Work

Although most studies of Han-shan, both traditional and modern, have placed great emphasis on dating theories, it would be outside the scope of this dissertation to provide more than a statement of the research of others in this area. There is too little information as yet to provide a basis for speculation, although phonological research on rhymes used in the poems is likely to shed new light on this problem.

A review of the major Han-shan texts is contained in Appendix I. Textual variants, however, are cited where they occur in translations throughout the dissertation.

Chapter Two will present the biographical information available in the poems--what may be discerned about the poet's youth, family life, failure in official pursuits, eremitism, and old age. This chapter will attempt to determine if such facts provide a biographical composite or instead suggest multiple authorship.

Chapter Three will review the development of Chinese nature poetry, beginning from the "Yu-hsien shih" 遊仙詩 ("Poems of Wandering Amid the Immortals") of Kuo P'u 郭璞 (227-317), through the t'ien-yüan 田園 (field and garden) poetry of T'ao Yüan-ming 陶淵明 (365-427) and the shan-shui 山水 (mountain and stream) poetry of Hsieh Ling-yün 謝靈運 (385-432). The chapter will discuss the criterion of mature nature poetry and evaluate the success of the Han-shan nature poems in fulfilling that criterion.

The Chinese cult of the mountain will be examined in Chapter Four, with a discussion of the mountain's symbolism in Chinese art and literature and its function in the Han-shan poems. This chapter will also treat the Lohan cult of T'ien-t'ai Mountain and its connection with the development of the Han-shan legend.

Chapter Five will discuss metaphysical poetry, beginning with the "yu-hsien" 遊仙 form. The Ch'an vernacular tradition and its development from the gāthā will also be discussed. This chapter will examine some writers connected with the colloquial language tradition: Wang Fan-chih and Wang An-shih. Comparisons with the two Ming imitators

Ch'u-shih Fan-ch'i and Shih-shu Chi-yüeh will delineate how Han-shan was understood in later Buddhist circles. Finally, the chapter will look at some modern imitations of Han-shan by Hu Tun-yü.

Chapter Six will investigate the poetics of the Han-shan collection. The chapter will present a categorization of the poems of the collection, namely autobiographical poems, nature poems, ballads, folk parables, Buddhist parables, Buddhist admonitory pieces, and poems of direct criticism. The chapter will look at several poems in the collection which reflect the poet's attitude towards poetic theories and the purpose of writing. Finally, the chapter will look at poetic technique as seen in parallelism, tonal regulations and diction.

NOTES TO CHAPTER ONE

¹Chang Chung-yüan gives these dates in his Original Teachings of Ch'an Buddhism (New York: Pantheon Books, 1969), p. 306, while Wu Chi-yu gives the birth date of 830 in his article, "A Study of Han-shan," T'oung-pao, 45, 4-5 (1957), p. 445.

²Wu Chi-yu, p. 411.

³Ruth Fuller Sasaki, Yoshitaka Iriya 入矢義高, and Dana Fraser, The Recorded Sayings of Layman P'ang (New York: Weatherhill, 1971), p. 20.

⁴Ibid., pp. 20-1.

⁵Arthur Waley, "Twenty-seven Poems by Han-shan," Encounter, 3, 3 (September, 1954), p. 3.

⁶Burton Watson, Cold Mountain (London: Jonathan Cape, 1962), p. 7.

⁷Gary Snyder as quoted by Jack Kerouac in Dharma Bums (New York: Signet Books, 1954), p. 17.

⁸T'ai-p'ing kuang-chi (Taipei: Hsin-hsing shu-chü 新興書局, 1962) 55.30a. Tu Kuang-t'ing states that this edition by Hsü Ling-fu disappeared from circulation after ten years, but his comment is not necessarily reliable.

⁹Hsü Ling-fu, T'ien-t'ai-shan chi, Ku-i ts'ung-shu 古逸叢書 edition (Taipei: I-wen yin-shu kuan 藝文印書館, 1965.)

¹⁰Chang Chung-yüan, p. 307. For the biography of Ts'ao-shan Pen-chi, see Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu 景德傳燈錄 (Taipei: Chen shan mei ch'u-pan she 真善美出版社, 1967), chüan 17, pp. 135-7.

¹¹Sung kao seng chuan, Ta tsang-ching 大藏經 (Shanghai: P'in-chia ching-she 頻伽精舍, 1913) 13.3a. The title is probably best translated as On the Poems of Han-shan; the work appears to have contained some 200 poems of Han-shan and a commentary by Ts'ao-shan Pen-chi.

¹²Sung kao seng chuan 19.4b.

¹³Hsin T'ang shu (Po-na 百衲 ed.) (Taipei: Commercial Press, 1968) 49.8b.

¹⁴Sung shih (Po-na ed.) 4.17ab.

¹⁵Ibid., 7.29a. The term ta-huan 大還 is a Taoist phrase denoting the completion of a cycle in which the body's inner energy is returned to its source. In this process of internal alchemy, the body's dormant energy is activated and the base body is replaced by an immortal form. The technique of cultivation by exterior aids (wai-tan 外丹) would differ somewhat from the technique of cultivation by inner forces (nei-tan 內丹). Ta-huan is the final goal in each case, however, being the state in which the body becomes absolutely indestructible and beyond physical laws.

¹⁶Ch'üan T'ang shih 全唐詩 (Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü 中華書局, 1960) Vol. 12, chüan 830, pp. 9360-1, ll. 5-8. The final line describes a locale seen in many Han-shan poems, e.g.,

I've wanted to go to the eastern peak
For uncounted years.
Yesterday I came, pulling myself up by creeper vines--
Halfway up and pressed by wind and mist.

欲向東巖去
于今來攀蔓
昨半路因風煙

Ch'üan T'ang shih Vol. 12, chüan 806, p. 9100, poem number six, ll. 1-4. Hereafter all Han-shan poems from the Ch'üan T'ang shih will be cited in the following form: CTS 9100/6.1-4.

The following lines of a Han-shan poem also describe this scene;

I delight in the lifelong Tao
Here among misty vines and rocky caves.

自樂平生道
煙蘿石洞間

Ibid., 9091/3.1-2. Unless otherwise indicated, all translations are my own.

¹⁷Ibid., Vol. 10, chüan 643, p. 7369.

¹⁸Wang Lin-ch'uan chi 王臨川集 (Shanghai: Commercial Press, 1935) chüan 3, pp. 16-9.

¹⁹I Chung-ta, "Shih-jen Han-shan ti yen-chiu," 詩人寒山的研究 ("Research on the Poet Han-shan"), Chung-kuo shih chi-k'an 中國詩季刊, 3, 3 (September, 1972), p. 2. It should be noted that the volumes of Chung-kuo shih chi-k'an are not continuously paginated, and the page numbers merely indicate the page within the given article.

²⁰Ibid., p. 2.

²¹CTS 9095/1.

²²Personal correspondence with the National Palace Museum.

²³In line nine, ch'üan-t'ai 泉臺 involves a composite image of death derived from huang-ch'üan 黃泉 and yeh-t'ai 夜臺. For the first, see Duke Chuang of Lu's 魯莊公 oath that he would not see his mother again until both went to the Yellow Springs (huang-ch'üan), i.e., in death. For the second, see Juan Yü's 阮瑀 (third century) "Ch'i ai shih" 七哀詩, quoted in WH 28.34a: "Dark and gloomy, the [tomb] chamber at the Nine Springs, / Endless, endless, is the eternal night in the Night Terrace." 冥冥九泉室, 漫漫長夜臺.

²⁴The authorship of this poem is speculative, as the poems of Layman P'ang are presently unavailable to me. This is not a poem contained in any of the existing Han-shan collections.

²⁵Sung kao seng chuan 11.6a.

²⁶Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu, chüan 27, pp. 158-60.

²⁷The preface (chi 記) by Chih-nan is included in Han-shan shih 寒山詩集 (Taipei: Wen-feng ch'u-pan she 文峰出版社, 1960), pp. 58-64. This edition of the poems will hereafter be cited as the Wen-feng edition.

²⁸Hu Shih, Pai-hua wen-hsüeh shih 白話文學史 (Hong Kong: Ying-chung shu-wu 應鍾書屋, 1959), p. 174. This poem reads as follows:

When Wang Fan-chih died,
His ghost met King Yama [Judge of the Underworld].
He had read the books of the hundred sage kings,
But he didn't escape a flogging.
Yet as soon as he recited the name of the Buddha,
He attained the dharma.

梵志死去來
魂識見閻老
讀盡石王書
未免受捶拷
一緇南無佛
皆以成佛道

If this is in fact a genuine poem of Han-shan, it would support the idea that Wang Fan-chih was earlier than Han-shan.

²⁹Chung Ling 鍾玲, "Han-shan tsai tung-fang yu hsi-fang wen-hsueh chieh ti ti-wei," 寒山在東方與西方文學界的地位 ("Han-shan's Place in Eastern and Western Literary Circles"), Chung-kuo shih chi-k'an, 3, 4 (December, 1972), p. 2.

³⁰Ibid., p. 2.

³¹Hu Shih, p. 172.

³²Ibid., p. 173.

³³Ibid., p. 175.

³⁴The phrase reads, "yin chü T'ien-t'ai T'ang-hsing-hsien hsi ch'i-shih li, hao wei Han-yen" 隱居天臺唐興縣西七十里號為寒巖.

³⁵Hu Shih, pp. 172-3.

³⁶In this source, the prefect's name is given as Lü-ch'iu Yin 閔丘蔭.

³⁷Cho An-ch'i 卓安琪, "Han-shan shih-tai ti t'an-k'ao" 寒山時代的探索 ("An Investigation of the Dates of Han-shan"), Chung-kuo shih chi-k'an, 3; 4 (December, 1972), pp. 5-6.

³⁸Ibid., p. 5.

³⁹Hsin T'ang shu 41.7a.

⁴⁰Yü Chia-hsi, Ssu-k'u t'i-yao pien-cheng [Taipei: I-wen yin-shu kuan, 1957]. The section related to Han-shan was reprinted in Chung-kuo shih chi-k'an, 4, 3 (September, 1973).

⁴¹Ibid., p. 14.

⁴²Ibid., p. 12.

⁴³Ibid., p. 3. See Sung kao seng chuan 19.4a.

⁴⁴Cheng Chen-to, Chung-kuo su wen-hsüeh shih (Peking: Tso-chia ch'u-pan she 作家出版社, 1954), p. 124.

⁴⁵Liu Ta-chieh, Chung-kuo wen-hsüeh fa-ta shih (Taipei: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1968), p. 380.

⁴⁶Ibid., p. 380.

⁴⁷Ibid., p. 382.

⁴⁸David Hawkes, Review of Cold Mountain by Burton Watson, Journal of the American Oriental Society, 82, 4 (1962), p. 587.

⁴⁹Wu Chi-yu, p. 446.

⁵⁰Iriya Yoshitaka, Kanzan 寒山 (Tokyo: Iwanami shōten 岩波書店, 1958), p. 19.

⁵¹Ibid., p. 20.

⁵²Chung Ling, p. 5.

⁵³Iriya Yoshitaka, "Ō Bonshi ni tsuite" 五 絶 志 1-2, Part II, Chugoku gakuhō 中國學報, 4 (April, 1953), pp. 42-4.

⁵⁴Gary Snyder, "Translation of Twenty-four Poems of Han-shan," Evergreen Review, 2, 6 (Autumn, 1958), pp. 68-80.

⁵⁵Quoted in Cyril Birch ed., Anthology of Chinese Literature, Vol. I, (New York: Grove Press, 1965), p. 197. C.f. CTS 9063/2.7-8; ho 何 is given as a variant for wu 無 in line eight.

⁵⁶Birch, p. 201. C.f. CTS 9086/2.1-2.

⁵⁷The poems were reprinted in Gary Snyder, Riprap and Cold Mountain Poems (San Francisco: Four Seasons Foundation, 1969) and in Birch, op. cit.

⁵⁸Although the work is ostensibly fictional, its main character, Japhy Ryder, represents Gary Snyder.

⁵⁹David Kherdian, Gary Snyder: A Biographical Sketch and Descriptive Checklist (Berkeley: Oyez, 1965), p. 12.

⁶⁰Watson has translated only a few poems not contained in Iriya's work.

⁶¹Watson, p. 17.

⁶²Ibid., p. 49. C.f. CTS 9090/5.1-2.

⁶³Watson, p. 35. C.F. CTS 9064/7.

⁶⁴Wu Chi-yu, pp. 442-4.

⁶⁵Ibid., pp. 398-9.

⁶⁶Ibid., p. 403.

⁶⁷Tao-hsüan, Kao seng chuan erh-chi 高僧傳二集 (Taipei: Taiwan yin-ching ch'u 台灣經教社, 1960), chüan 25, pp. 718-9.

⁶⁸These details in the life of Chih-yen, however, contradict information in the following Han-shan poem, which laments the poet's lack of success in both civil and military undertakings:

I once was a scholar and swordsman
Twice encountering good lords.
In the eastern provinces my civil skills were not respected,

And in the western campaigns my vigor was not decorated.
 I studied literature and studied war;
 I studied war and studied literature.
 Today I've already grown old--
 The rest of my life not even worth mentioning.

一為書劍客
 二遇聖明君
 東宇文不賞
 西征武不勳
 學武兼學文
 今日既老矣
 餘生不足云

CTS 9064/3. In line two, san 三 is given as a variant for erh 二.

Kao Yüeh-t'ien 高越天 proposes a similar hypothesis in his article entitled, "Tu Han-shan shih ou-chi" 讀畧山詩偶記 ("Random Notes on Reading the Poems of Han-shan"), Chung-kuo shih chi-k'an, 3, 3 (September, 1972), p. 5. Kao Yüeh-t'ien feels that Han-shan was one of the military supporters of Hsiao Hsien 蕭銑 (583-621), who was one of the contenders for the throne during the last years of the Sui dynasty.

⁶⁹Kao seng chuan erh-chi, p. 719.

⁷⁰Wu Chi-yu, p. 447.

⁷¹Ibid., p. 423. Line three could perhaps be rendered more accurately as, "This desolate town moves a traveller's heart." C.f., CTS 9064/7.

⁷²Ibid., p. 422. C.f., CTS 9063/2.1-2.

⁷³Wu Chi-yu, p. 433. CTS 9081/4.1-2. A more accurate translation would be:

My early life has been nothing but trouble upon trouble;
 The world's affairs do not appear in one guise.

⁷⁴Internal evidence would support this, as Han-shan says others criticized him for not observing the eight euphonic proscriptions of Shen Yüeh 沈約 (441-513). CTS 9099/5 reads as follows:

There is a certain scholar Wang
 Who belittles my poems for being filled with faults.
 He says, "You don't understand the "wasp waist,"
 Nor know about the stork's knee."

有個王秀才
說我詩多失
云不識蜂腰
仍不會鶴膝

Later scholars are not in agreement as to what Shen Yüeh meant to denote in the terms feng-yao 蜂腰 (wasp waist) and ho-hsi 鶴膝 (crane's knee). In Wen-ching mi-fu 文鏡秘府 (A Treasury of Secrets about the Mirror of Literature), Shih Hsing-k'ung 釋性空 suggests that the feng-yao flaw stems from both the second and fifth characters in a five-word line being p'ing 平 (even) or tse 仄 (deflected) tones. According to Shih Hsing-k'ung, the ho-hsi defect refers to both the fifth and fifteenth characters (that is, the final characters of lines one and three) being even or deflected. The twentieth century scholar Liu Ta-pai 劉大白 presents a different interpretation in his Chiu-shih hsin-hua pa-ping cheng-wu 舊詩新詁八病正誤 "A Correction of Errors about the Eight Poetic Defects" in New Discussion of Old Poems). He identifies the feng-yao error as similarity of tone among the third and eighth characters, with ho-hsi denoting similarity of tone among fourth and ninth characters (taking a five-word line couplet as basis). Probably the best interpretation, however, is given by Ts'ai K'uan-fu 蔡寬夫 (Sung dynasty) in his Ts'ai K'uan-fu shih-hua 蔡寬夫詩話 (Ts'ai K'uan-fu's Remarks on Poetry). Here Ts'ai K'uan-fu posits that the feng-yao defect arises from the first and fifth characters of a five-word line having deflected tones, while the third character has even tone; ho-hsi would represent the opposite phenomenon, in which the first and fifth characters would have even tone, while the third character would have a deflected tone. For a further discussion, see Kuo Shao-yü 邵紹虞, Chung-kuo wen-hsüeh p'i-p'ing shih 中國文學批評史 (A History of Chinese Literary Criticism) (Shanghai: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1962), pp. 148-9.

Regardless of the definition of these euphonic proscriptions, the person who wrote this poem would have been unlikely to preserve archaic pronunciation in his poems.

⁷⁵E. G. Pulleyblank, "Linguistic Evidence for the Date of Han-shan," unpublished paper read at the 1970 Congress of Orientalists, Paris, pp. 1-2.

⁷⁶Ibid., p. 8.

⁷⁷Ibid., p. 8. The problem of the heterogeneity of the collection will be discussed in Chapter Two.

⁷⁸Ibid., p. 9.

⁷⁹In his review of Burton Watson's Cold Mountain, David Hawkes proposes that the author of the preface was the monk Tao-ch'iao 道翹, mentioned in the preface as the one whom Lú-ch'iu Yin delegated to collect the poems left by Han-shan on trees and walls of houses in the area.

Hawkes says,

My own view, admittedly no more than a guess, is that Tao-ch'iao really lived in the ninth century and merely took over the name Lü-ch'iu Yin and the story about Lü-ch'iu Yin's visit to an eccentric monk from Hsü kao seng chuan. I suspect that Tao-ch'iao did not, in fact, know who Han-shan was; that he did really, as the preface says, copy down the poems from trees, and the walls of houses and temples in the neighbourhood of his monastery; but that the poet-recluse who wrote them had died fifteen or twenty years before, so that all he could find out about him were the legends told by superstitious locals in the locality. (p. 596)

This supposition that the preface was the work of a later writer would be supported by Pulleyblank's findings.

⁸⁰Chung Ling, p. 1.

⁸¹Ibid., pp. 1-2, in English.

⁸²Ibid., p. 2.

⁸³Ibid., p. 7.

⁸⁴Ibid., p. 9. Chung Ling's analysis of the phenomenon of American interest in Han-shan is shallow and simplistic. The youthful literary movements of the 1950's and 1960's were complex phenomena and simplistic analyses will not provide a clear assessment of them. I Chung-ta shows similar deficiencies in his article cited above, pp. 15-6.

CHAPTER TWO

BIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION

When perusing the 300-odd poems contained in the Han-shan corpus, one is struck by the often jarring heterogeneity of the pieces. The complexity extends from poetic forms through attitudes expressed in the poems, even stretching to outright contradictions in biographical information. Although each edition of the Han-shan collection has a different arrangement of the poems, none of the editions provides an orderly or logical organization.¹ Structural eclecticism in poetry is, of course, characteristic of the Chinese literary tradition, in which classical genres survive side by side with more recent styles, none ever being totally displaced. In the area of philosophy, too, Chinese attitudes have been singularly syncretic, with the result that the three teachings of Confucianism, Taoism, and Buddhist became in practice almost inextricably interwoven. Structural and philosophical heterogeneity, therefore, is acceptable within the works of one author; biographical contradictions are not. This chapter will examine the biographical data contained in the Han-shan collection in an attempt to determine if the collection provides any sort of biographical composite.

The poems used in this chapter have been selected to include only those which relate personal episodes or, in some cases, attitudes. In addition, poems which provide some kind of chronological arrangement or evidence for dating have also been cited. Poems which conform to

these criteria but are of questionable authenticity are not cited in the main text, but mentioned in the notes, together with the grounds for suspicion.

Youth

Few of the Han-shan poems describe the poet's youth and, indeed, those which do seem to provide contradicting evidence. One poem suggests that the poet had a rather humble upbringing, although he possessed a great love for learning.

In my youth I carried books when I went to hoe,
And lived with my brothers.²

少小帶經鋤
本將兄共居

Another poem paints a sad picture of the poet's early years.

I live in a rural village
Without father or mother.
As I have no personal name, surname, or sibling rank-name,
People call me Chang or Wang.³

我住在村鄉
無爺亦無娘
無名無姓第
人喚作張王

The following lines of a poem in the collection describe a situation of political turmoil which broke families apart and caused strangers to join together as relatives in order to replace those they had lost.

Men joined as brothers in five commanderies;
Fathers and sons originally from three provinces.⁴

弟兄同五郡
父子本三州

These lines suggest that the poet was forced to separate from his family rather than freely choosing his reclusion.

The following poem indicates that the poet at one time had a life of wealth and leisure.

I often think of my younger days,
When I went hunting near P'ing-ling.
I certainly had no desire to be an imperial deputy,
Nor considered [the search for] immortality worth mentioning.
Almost flying, I roamed astride a white horse;
I harried the rabbits and loosed my gray falcon.
How was I to know that I would end up an outcast;
White-haired in old age--who will take pity on me?⁵

尋思少年日
遊獵向平陵
國使職非願
神仙未足稱
聯翩騎白馬
喝兔放蒼鷹
不覺大流落
皤皤誰見矜

That the poet spent time in the North near the old capital of Hsien-yang 咸陽, perhaps an allusion to the T'ang capital of Ch'ang-an 長安, is stated in the following poem.

Last year the spring birds sang:
Now I'm thinking of my brothers.
This year the autumn chrysanthemums are blazing:
At this time the thought rises again.
Green water blocked in a thousand torrents;
Yellow clouds stretched level on four sides.
Alas! throughout my span of years
With saddened heart I'll think of Hsien-yang.⁶

去年春鳥鳴
此時思弟兄
今年秋菊爛
此時思發生
綠水千腸咽
黃雲四面平
哀哉石年內
腸斷憶咸京

The last two poems refer to areas in Hsien-yang hsien in northern China, suggesting that the poet lived some years in the North. Hu Shih felt that Han-shan was a southern poet, but Pulleyblank posits that Han-shan was originally from the North and only later moved to the South.⁷ The poems cited above lament the poet's sadness at his great distance from home, and present a distinct contrast to the common characterization of Han-shan as a transcendent being beyond worldly ties.⁸ This mood is very different from the peace and self-absorption of the nature poems.

Wife And Family

The Han-shan collection contains several poems which describe the domestic life of the poet. Two of these poems reveal scenes of tranquillity and happiness amid humble circumstances.

My rush house is a rustic dwelling;
 In front of my gate, carriages and horses are few.
 The woods are secluded and attract a gathering of birds;
 Valley streams are broad and certain to shelter fish.
 I pick mountain fruits, holding child in hand;
 With my wife, I hoe the high fields.
 What is inside my house:
 Only a bed full of books.⁹

茅棟野人居
 門前車馬疏
 林幽偏聚鳥
 谿澗本藏魚
 山果攜兒摘
 畚田共婦鋤
 家中何所有
 唯有一牀書

Because this poem contains stock phrases describing the rustic life,

it probably should not be considered to provide literal details of the poet's life.

The vitality of a family scene is described in the following lines;

As my wife moves her hands, her shuttle clacks;
As my child plays, his voice murmurs.¹⁰

婦操機軋軋
兒弄口過過

The following poem laments the poet's old age and separation from his wife.

Last night in a dream, I returned to my old home;
I saw my wife, weaving at her loom.
She stayed her shuttle, lost in thought,
Then lifted the shuttle listlessly.
I called to her and she turned to look--
Dimly, without recognition.
We must have been separated for too many years--
The hair on my temples no longer its original color.¹¹

昨夜夢還鄉
見婦機中織
駐梭若有思
敬梭似無力
呼之迴面識
恍復不相識
應是別多年
鬢毛非舊色

The sadness evoked by an imagined return to a scene of previous happiness is heightened in the above poem by insurmountable distances of time and place: the wife stares confusedly, her husband grown old beyond recognition.

Such thoughts, however, are the tender recollections of the past, after absence has smoothed away some of the bad memories. The following poem describes some unhappy experiences.

In my youth I carried books when I went to hoe,
 And lived with my brothers.
 Because I was blamed by other people,
 My wife, too, became estranged.
 I departed from the realm of red dust,
 And throughout my constant travels, I loved to read.¹²

少 小 帶 經 鋤
 本 將 兄 共 居
 緣 遭 他 輩 責
 刺 被 自 妻 疎
 拋 絕 紅 塵 境
 常 遊 好 閑 書

This poem seems to indicate that unspecified criticism and family quarrels provoked the poet to leave home and travel about. The subject is not mentioned in other poems, however.

Friends

The Han-shan corpus is especially remarkable in its scant mention of friends or companions. As will be discussed in the section concerning his career, the poet makes deprecatory mention of his colleagues, showing little affinity for his fellow scholars. In the following poem, we find pleasurable reminiscences about excursions and friends.

I recall all the places I've visited,
 Chasing about amid this human world.
 Delighting in mountains, I've climbed thousands of feet;
 With a love for rivers, I've drifted in a thousand boats.
 I saw off travellers in P'i-p'a Valley
 And carried my ch'in on Parrot Island.¹³

憶 昔 遇 逢 處
 人 間 逐 勝 遊
 樂 山 登 萬 仞
 愛 水 泛 千 舟

送客琵琶谷
攜琴鸚鵡洲

This love of nature and admiration for beautiful scenery is also reflected in the poems describing the beauties of Chekiang, notable for its magnificent mountains and rivers.

Another poem implies that friendship was dear to the poet.

Friends came to visit--the feelings linger on;
Now it's daybreak and I still can't sleep.¹⁴
朋遊情未已
徹曉不能眠

Although this poem mentions no specific friends, during the Sung dynasty, Han-shan came to be associated first with Shih-te and later with the Ch'an master Feng-kan. These accretions are unreliable and probably attest to the Buddhist appropriation of the Han-shan legend as, indeed, the three came to be seen, respectively, as Manjusri, Amitabha, and Samantabhadra.¹⁵ In fact, loneliness and poverty seem to have been the poet's only constant companions, as we shall see below.

Unsuccessful Career

The Han-shan collection contains several poems which reveal the poet's lack of success in both military and civil pursuits. Two poems lament the poet's lack of success in military pursuits:

I left my home 10,000 li away;
Sword in hand, I fought the Hsiung-nu.¹⁶
去家一萬里
提劍擊匈奴

and

I once was a scholar and swordsman
Twice encountering good lords.
In the eastern provinces my civil skills were not respected,

And in the western campaigns my vigor was not decorated.
 I studied literature and studied war;
 Studied war and studied literature.
 Today I've already grown old--
 The rest of my life not even worth mentioning.¹⁷

The poems are much more detailed in respect to civil pursuits, however. Many reveal bitterness at the poet's failure to advance in government service. The following poem describes the poet's repeated failure to become a graduate of the metropolitan examinations. The nan-yüan 南院 (southern courtyard) mentioned in line two was the location of the lists of successful candidates; the practice of posting the lists at that spot began in the mid-eighth century.¹⁸

What kind of wretched scholar am I!
 Coming again and again to check [the wall of] the southern
 courtyard.
 My years are beyond thirty
 And already I've been through four or five examinations.
 In my purse I have no money;
 In my trunk I have [only] books.
 When I walk in front of the food shops,
 I don't even dare to turn my head.¹⁹

箇是何措大
 時來省南院
 年可三十五
 曾經四選
 囊裏無青蚨
 篋中到黃絹
 不敢食店前
 暫迴面

During the T'ang dynasty, the two most prestigious types of metropolitan examination were the ming-ching 明經 and the chin-shih 進士. These examinations entitled successful applicants to enter the job pool for government service, although passing the examinations did not guarantee

one an official position. Candidates for the ming-ching examination could be tested on five, three or two classics or tested thoroughly on just one classic. They could also choose to be examined on the three works of ritual (I li 儀禮, Chou li 周禮, and Li chi 禮記), on the three commentaries to the Ch'un ch'iu 春秋 (Tso chuan 左傳, Kung-yang chuan 公羊傳, and Ku-liang chuan 穀梁傳), or on the histories.²⁰ Candidates for the chin-shih examination were tested mainly on one classic.²¹ They were also tested in two literary genres (tsa-wen 雜文) which, during the k'ai-yüan 開元 period (713-41) always included at least one fu 賦 or shih 詩, and after the t'ien-pao 天寶 period (742-55) solely involved one fu and one shih.²² In general the chin-shih examinations were the most prestigious and produced the greatest number of successful candidates. Although this examination was based on literary composition and included subjects with little practical application, graduates of the chin-shih level were considered to be able to respond ably when they were confronted with practical matters.²³ The chin-shih examination was considered to require more skill and creativity than the ming-ching, which became largely a test of memory. Graduates of the chin-shih examination, therefore, looked down upon their counterparts in the ming-ching category.²⁴

Even if successful in the ming-ching or chin-shih examinations, however, one was not automatically entitled to obtain an appointment. In fact, years often passed before graduates realized this hope. Those who wanted to speed up the process could sit for a second examination, administered by the Board of Civil Office (li pu 吏部). Before

sitting for this examination, a candidate had to prove that his father was not of the lower classes to whom the examinations were closed, i.e., merchants, artisans, or convicted criminals. Next, the candidate had to be supported by five metropolitan officials, one of whom had to be a personal acquaintance. In addition, the candidate had to agree to be enrolled with four other candidates into a unit of five in which each was responsible for the conduct of the other four. This placement examination investigated candidates in the areas of calligraphy (shu 書) and judgments (p'an 判). The p'an was a short, stylized form in p'ien wen 駢文 or parallel prose; candidates were asked to render decisions on three issues which might be legal, moral, ritual, or merely social etiquette.²⁵ Candidates were also judged on their personal appearance (shen 身) and speech (yen 言).²⁶ After passing these four areas, candidates were classified by their previous conduct in the aspects of virtuous conduct (te hsing 德行), talent (ts'ai 才) and acquired merit (lao 勞). Those who passed the second examination were reserved (liu 留) for official positions.²⁷

The following poem describes the poet's repeated failures in the placement examination, specifically in the areas of speech and personal appearance.

At calligraphy and judgments, I'm not too poor,
 But [because of] speech and personal appearance, I didn't
 get a position.
 I was rejected by the Board of Civil Office,
 Who were looking for defects and flaws.
 It must be Heaven's will;
 This year I'll sit for the examinations again.
 Even if a blind man aims at the sparrow's eye,
 A random bull's-eye might not be impossible.²⁸

書 判 全 非 弱
 嫌 身 不 得 官
 銓 曹 被 勘 折
 洗 垢 篋 瘡 搬
 必 也 關 天 命
 今 年 更 試 看
 盲 兒 射 雀 目
 偶 中 亦 非 難

It appears that the poet failed due to inadequacies of social bearing or physical appearance, rather than due to a weakness in literary composition. Although the last two lines reveal a jaunty optimism, it is very unlikely that the poet ever successfully completed the placement examination, because there is no mention of this in any other poem. The poet's failure is not surprising if one considers the extreme competitiveness of the examinations, a difficulty which was compounded by departmental rivalry. As Max Weber pointed out:

The departments...fought against each other. The board of Rites was in charge of the examinations after 736, but the Board of Civil Office appointed the officials. The examined candidates were not infrequently boycotted by the latter department, the former answering by going on strike during the examinations.²⁹

Indeed, even the eminent proponent of the classical prose style, Han Yü 韓愈 (768-824) became a chin-shih only on his fourth try and did not succeed in his two attempts to pass the placement examination offered by the Board of Civil Office.³⁰

Several poems reveal the dispirited outlook of such scholars, who found their energies wasted in spite of long struggles for success.

[We] hopeless scholars
 Gone to the limits of hunger and cold.
 Out of work, we like to write poetry;
 Writing, writing, wracking our brains.

Who cares for poor men's poems?
 I say you'd better stop sighing.
 If we wrote [our poems] and put them on biscuits,
 Even a begging dog wouldn't eat them.³¹

踏 躋 諸 貧 士
 飢 寒 成 至 極
 閑 居 好 作 詩
 札 札 用 心 力
 賤 人 言 孰 笑
 勸 君 休 歎 息
 題 案 餬 餅 上
 乞 狗 也 不 吃

And why did scholars expend such energy in pursuit of learning? The answer lies in practicality rather than love of knowledge.

How can reading books prevent death!
 How can reading books prevent poverty!
 So why do they love to study--
 Because their education makes them superior to others.
 If a man has no education
 Then there's nothing for him to rely on.
 If you mix the medicine in a spicy sauce,
 You'll forget that it's even bitter.³²

讀 書 豈 免 死
 讀 書 豈 免 貧
 何 以 字 天 處 連 記
 識 丈 無 黃 忘
 豈 好 勝 不 可 搵 是
 免 識 他 識 安 蒜 苦
 死 貧 字 人 字 身 體 辛

This poem offers a subtle analysis of the psychology of would-be officials, who endure and even come to overlook continuous hardships in the hope of eventual success. In addition, their struggles are tempered by the increased social standing to which their knowledge entitles them.

But even such rationalizations must eventually give way before the weight of a pressing reality.

Mild and courteous, a handsome young man,
Widely read in classics and history.
All call him a gentleman;
All praise him as a scholar.
Yet he cannot get an official position
And he doesn't know how to use a hoe.
Winter, and he wears a tattered gown:
All because his books have duped him.³³

年史先生職粗衫
少經先學官素布
美諸日為得策破書
空臨覓號稱能解披
雖博盡皆未不冬蓋

Line six is of special interest because it contradicts the information of poems cited above which describe the poet engaged in some kind of farming. This kind of inconsistency adds support to the theory of composite authorship.

Poverty And Loneliness

Many of the poems in the Han-shan collection bitterly condemn human selfishness, especially to those in greatest need. Such poems have a personal ring and show similarity in style, namely in the use of many vernacular expressions, as well as a tendency to include in the final couplet a folk saying which summarizes the poem's message.

When I lived in the village,
Everyone praised me as peerless.
Yesterday I came to the city
And [even] the dogs sized me up carefully.

Some criticize my trousers as too narrow;
 Some say my gown is not long enough.
 Let the hawk's eyes bulge--
 This sparrow will do as he pleases!³⁴

我在村中住
 眾推無比方
 昨日到城下
 仍被狗形相
 或嫌衫太窄
 或說衫少長
 撐劫鷄子眼
 雀兒舞堂堂

Because of similarities in style and content, it is not unreasonable to consider the last group of poems and the present group as the work of one man. In such a case, the above poem would perhaps denote the period when the poet went to the city to participate in the metropolitan examinations described in the previous section. To sophisticated city-dwellers, the poet's attire and manners would seem old-fashioned and rustic. The lines of the following poem explain the reason for such outdated attire:

My hat has never been tall
 And my belt is often tight.
 It is not that I don't know the current styles,
 But without money, I can't observe them.³⁵

中子未曾高
 腰帶長時急
 非是不及待
 無錢趁不及

Nor were old-fashioned clothes the only manifestation of the poet's hardships.

In the past I was tolerably poor,
 But today I've reached the extremes of poverty and cold.

When I do something, it doesn't come out right;
 When I go somewhere, I hurry uselessly.
 Wading in the mud, I slip and stumble;
 After attending the village festival, I'm always wracked
 with an aching stomach.³⁶

昔時可司貧
 今朝最貧凍
 作事不諧和
 留途成倥傯
 行泥壘脚屈
 坐社頻腹痛

In this group of poems, physical hardships are described concretely, with a personal involvement which distinguished them from the somewhat too pat lines cited above describing the simple pleasures of a rustic life.

The new grain still isn't ripe
 And the old grain is already used up.
 I go to borrow a peck of rice
 And stand outside the gate, anxiously pacing.
 The husband comes out and tells me to ask his wife;
 The wife comes out and sends me to her husband.
 So stingy that they won't help me in my need—
 When money is much, it becomes a snare for fools.³⁷

新穀尚未熟
 舊穀今已無
 就貸一斗許
 門外立踟躕
 夫出教問婦
 婦出道問夫
 慳惜不救乏
 財多為累愚

Living away from his family and friends, the poet has no one to relieve his distress, and sickness is soon added to his hunger.

Alas! first poverty and then illness,
 Living apart from friends and family.
 The food jar never has food within;
 The cooking pot is ever collecting dust.

My weed-covered hut doesn't keep out the rain
 And my wet bed is too small for me.
 No wonder that today I'm so haggard--
 So much sadness is bound to harm a man.³⁸

吁	嗟	貧	復	病
為	人	絕	友	親
寵	裏	長	無	飲
甌	中	憂	生	塵
蓬	菴	不	免	雨
漏	榻	劣	容	身
莫	怪	今	憔	悴
多	愁	定	損	人

Eremitic Years

The most famous category of poems in the Han-shan corpus is, of course, the eremitic group. This group includes a large percentage of the 300-odd total number. The power of the eremitic poems eventually brought about the characterization of Han-shan as a rustic, enlightened, Ch'an recluse in later legends. Since there are far too many such poems to cite them all here, selections are limited to those poems which provide elements of personal information.

The following poem reveals the poet's disappointment both in Taoist techniques of physical cultivation and in the standard Confucian education. The poet resolves, instead, to become a recluse and take solace in the natural beauty and purity of Cold Mountain.

Thirty years have elapsed since I was born,
 [Since then] I've travelled constantly, over 10,000 li.
 Walking by rivers where green grasses grow together;
 Entering the pass, where red dust rises.

I've refined medicines, vainly seeking immortality;
 I've read books and written poems about the past.
 Today I'll retire to Cold Mountain--
 Pillow my head in the stream and clean my ears!³⁹

出 生 三 十 年
 常 遊 千 萬 里
 行 江 青 草 合
 入 塞 紅 塵 起
 鍊 藥 紅 空 求 仙
 讀 書 兼 詠 史
 今 日 歸 寒 山
 枕 流 兼 洗 耳

The numbers cited in lines one and two are so commonly used that they need not indicate actual facts here. The reference in line eight to the famous hermit Hsü Yu 許由 is somewhat ironic, in that Hsü Yu twice refused Yao's 堯 offers to cede the throne to him, while the Han-shan poems of the preceding category lament the poet's lack of success in exactly the same service to which Hsü Yu was so opposed.

After a number of years of solitary life, the poet returned to seek out old friends, but with sad results. As indicated in the preceding poem, numbers are probably not to be taken literally.

Once I settled at Cold Mountain
 I lingered on for thirty years.
 Last night [in a dream] I sought family and friends,
 But most had gone to the Yellow Springs.
 [Our life is] extinguished gradually, like a melting candle,
 Passing always, like a swift river,
 Today as I face my lonely shadow,
 I am unconscious of two streams of tears.⁴⁰

一 向 寒 山 坐
 淹 留 三 十 年
 昨 來 訪 親 友
 太 半 入 黃 泉

漸滅如殘燭
長流似逝川
今朝對孤影
不覺淚雙懸

The following poem describes the scenes of earlier travels and the sad passing of old friends.

The places where I roamed in former days
Today are seventy years distant,
No old friends come to see me;
They are buried amid the old grave mounds.
As for me, my hair is now white
And still I keep to my clouded mountain.
Give this advice to those who come later:
Why not read the old sayings.⁴¹

昔日經行處
今復七十年
故人無來往
埋存古冢間
余今頭已白
猶守片雲山
為報後來子
何不讀古言

There are a number of poems in the collection in which animals seem to take the place of human companionship for the reclusive poet.

Sitting alone, my mind often drifts
And my thoughts are so distant.
On the mountain's waist, clouds drift slowly by;
In the ravine, winds sigh sadly.
Monkeys come, causing the trees to wave delicately;
Birds fly in, causing the forests to moan.
Time presses--my temple hairs are fading;
At the year's end, I'm old and disappointed.⁴²

獨坐常怱怱
情懷何悠悠
山腰雲縵縵
谷口風颼颼

猿來樹鳴鳴
鳥入林啾啾
時催鬢颯颯
歲盡老惆惆

In this poem, natural objects such as clouds and the wind suggest the poet's sadness, while the delicate movements of the trees and the birds crying from within the forest provide a backdrop for his musings. The last line of the poem parallels the end of the year with the last years of the poet's life, an association which implies that the poet is not fulfilled in his reclusion.

During his experience of solitude, the poet could sometimes lay aside his sadness at the loss of friends.

Although my friends are far away,
When spring comes the birds sing.⁴³

友朋雖阻絕
春至鳥喧喧

Nature and other living creatures come to replace human contacts: "The tiger and deer are my neighbors."⁴⁴ 虎鹿每為鄰 Another example is seen in the following couplet.

Chirp, chirp, there are always birds;
Calm and still, there are no men.⁴⁵

啾啾常有鳥
寂寂更無人

The majority of the eremitic poems relate the equanimity and peace to be found amid nature.

No one comes to this Cold Peak;
White clouds often fill the sky.
Fine grass makes my sleeping mat;
Blue sky for a coverlet.
Contentedly, I take a rock for my pillow
Leaving change to heaven and earth.⁴⁶

寒 巖 人 不 到
 白 雲 常 雲 建
 細 草 作 卧 褥
 青 天 為 被 蓋
 快 活 枕 石 頭
 天 地 任 變 改

The following poem would appear to have been written in old, or at least middle, age due to line five.

He wanted to find a place for settling down;
 Cold Mountain will always sustain him.
 A slight breeze sighs amid secluded pines--
 Listen closer and the sound gets better.
 Beneath, a gray-haired man,
 Mumbles, reading Taoist books.
 For ten years he hasn't been back home--
 Completely forgot the road he came on.⁴⁷

欲 得 安 身 處
 寒 山 可 常 保
 微 風 吹 幽 松
 近 聽 聲 逾 好
 下 有 斑 白 人
 喃喃 讀 黃 老
 十 年 歸 不 得
 忘 却 來 時 道

The oldest age given in the poems occurs in the following lines;

Old and sick at the end of my life, over 100 years old,
 Hoary-faced and white-haired, I love mountain living.⁴⁸
 老 病 殘 年 百 有 餘
 面 黃 頭 白 好 山 居

Although the poet is probably taking advantage of poetic license in citing his age here, many of the poems refer to the writer's advanced years.⁴⁹

Like all other details concerning Han-shan, the location of the recluse's retreat is not clearly indicated. The poet's name, "Cold

Mountain," itself denotes the poet's home, as does the frequent term han-yen 寒巖 (cold peak). In the Shen-hsien shih-i excerpt cited in the T'ai-p'ing kuang-chi, Tu Kuang-t'ing records that Han-shan went into retirement on Ts'ui-p'ing 翠屏 Mountain, which he says was also known as Han-yen, and that the poet's name was derived from this. The mountain is mentioned in the following lines.

Over the flat plains, the river stretches broad and full;
 Tan-ch'iu Mountain joins Ssu-ming Mountain.
 Hsien-tu Mountain is most lofty and fine;
 Among the numerous peaks rises Ts'ui-p'ing Mountain.
 Far into the distance, where does the vista end?
 Jagged and uneven, the shapes come together.⁵⁰

平野水寬濶
 丹丘連四明
 仙都最高秀
 群峰聳翠屏
 遠望何極
 磊磊勢相迎

That Ts'ui-p'ing Mountain occurs in the corpus certainly is not conclusive evidence of location, especially since there is only one such appearance.

The collection contains many poems critical of Buddhist monks, a fact which casts suspicion on the traditional association of Han-shan with the Buddhists at T'ien-t'ai Mountain.

I notice that those who have left home to become monks
 Never got deeply into the Buddhist teachings.
 Do you want to know what makes a true monk--
 His heart is pure, without bonds.⁵¹

我見出家人
 不入出家學
 欲知真出家
 心淨無繩索

The following poem criticizes the hypocrisy of some monks.

There is a group of people in the world
 Who really are laughable.
 After becoming monks, they debase their bodies,
 And lie to the world, saying they'll achieve the dharma.
 Although they wear "garments free from dust,"
 In their clothes live many fleas.
 Better return [to one's original purity]
 And perceive the goodness of the sovereign mind.⁵²

世間一等流
 誠堪與人笑
 出家弊己身
 誑俗將為道
 雖著離塵衣
 衣中多養蚤
 不如歸去來
 識取心王好

The lines of the following poem, however, appear to be the work of a monk.

Since I left home (to become a monk)
 I've gradually come to enjoy self-cultivation.
 Expanding and contracting, my appendages are whole;
 Industrious and obedient, my six roots are complete.
 Today I am diligently cultivating myself...
 And aspire to meet the Buddha.⁵³

自從出家後
 漸得養生趣
 伸縮四肢全
 勤聽六根具
 今日怨怨修
 願與佛相遇

The Buddhist ideas of the last four lines show that the earlier phrase ch'u-chia (to leave the family) is used in the specifically Buddhist sense of becoming a monk.

Summary

The final question is, of course, whether a biographical composite can be constructed from the above information, or whether the disparities are so numerous that any attempts at a unified representation would be forced. If, after unreliable or questionable poems have been excluded, there remain unresolved biographical inconsistencies, then we must conclude that the latter hypothesis is correct, and the corpus attests to composite authorship. As seen from the above examples, the latter case is correct.

Earlier writers have resolved this disparity of biographical elements by simply overlooking those elements which did not suit the specific writer's image of Han-shan. Such treatment stems from an unconscious or conscious conviction that all of the poems are the creation of one man, Han-shan. This unquestioning acceptance of tradition is reminiscent of the persistent belief in the legend that Ch'ü Yüan 屈原 (fourth century B.C.) wrote most of the poems in the Ch'u tz'u 楚辭 anthology, even though the collection contains obviously incongruous historical details and literary styles.

If no unified biographical picture may be constructed from the poems, then can one at least discern sub-categories which seem to have internal consistency? Certain data do, indeed, seem to fall into biographical sub-categories, which may be summarized as follows:

1. Poems describing a background within a farming family,

the poet studying in addition to performing his farming duties.

2. Poems describing a wealthy and leisured youth, engaged in entertainments with friends and travelling. Place names used in this sub-category reveal a familiarity with the North.

3. Poems describing frustrations in career attempts. All discussions of career, excepting a scant two references to military pursuits, portray an unsuccessful scholar trained with a traditional Confucian education. Already over thirty years old, the poet had failed repeatedly in the metropolitan examinations, although one poem describes his anxiety awaiting results of the placement examination. The collection is consistent in omission of any official successes. The poems criticize the poet and his fellows, constantly striving for advancement yet constantly frustrated in these attempts. A frequent complaint of this group of poems is the fact that education does not keep out the cold or fill one's stomach.

4. The eremitic poems vary from ecstatic delight in mountain scenery to bitter regret at the poet's increasing age to quiescent musings, but there is no reason why one man could not have experienced these emotional swings during his lifetime. Instead, classification of this group is better based on philosophical terminology and imagery.

a. A large group of the eremitic poems shows decided Buddhist influences, including transliterated Sanskrit terms, parables from Buddhist sutras, as well as imagery of the schools of Hua-yen ^{華嚴}, T'ien-t'ai ^{天台}, and Ch'an.

b. Another category of the eremitic poems displays Taoist inclinations, including references to the Tao te ching and the

Chuang-tzu. In addition, some of these poems speak of dissatisfaction with attempts at attaining immortality by the physical methods of elixirs and medicines.

c. A third sub-category contains eremitic poems of non-specific terminology and outlook.

We may conclude that these sub-categories present evidence of composite authorship, although the authorship may be more complex than even these groups show. If these classes are to be ranked in terms of their reliability in representing the earliest substratum of the corpus, probably the most trustworthy are the poems of civil career and the eremitic poems of non-specific or Taoist outlook. Because of the power of later Buddhist legends accruing to Han-shan, those poems which reveal unquestionably Buddhist imagery or terminology must be treated with greater caution.

NOTES TO CHAPTER TWO

¹Most collections, including the Ch'uan T'ang shih, the Wen-feng edition, and the Hong Kong facsimile edition of the Kunaichō edition, place the three-word line poems together at the end of the anthology. Beyond this there is no structural or topical organization. In addition, all poems are untitled.

²CTS 9077/2.1-2.

³Ibid., 9099/6.1-4. Chang and Wang are very common Chinese surnames, comparable to Smith or Jones.

⁴Ibid., 9064/2.1-2. See lines 171-2 of Yü Hsin's 庾信 (513-81) "Ai Chiang-nan fu" 哀江南賦 ("Lament for the South"), in Yü Tzu-shan chi 庾子山集 (SPTK ed.) 1.12b:

In five commanderies, brother mourned brother;
In three provinces, father and son were parted.
五郡則兄弟相悲
三州則父子離別

Sou-shen chi 搜神記 (Han Wei ts'ung-shu 漢魏叢書 ed.) 4.6a recounts a story that five men from different commanderies, having lost their families, apparently in the battles of the late Han or during the Three Kingdoms period, joined together as brothers. T'ai-p'ing kuang-chi 161.3b tells a similar story of three men from different provinces of Chin 晉 who agreed that one should act as a father to the others. Professor William Graham has kindly indicated these sources, and the translation from the "Ai Chiang-nan fu" is his.

⁵CTS 9075/8. P'ing-ling 平陵 is the mausoleum of Emperor Chao of the Former Han dynasty 漢昭帝, regn. 86-74 B.C. This mausoleum is located in present-day Shensi province, Hsien-yang 咸陽 hsien.

⁶Ibid., 9085/8. Hsien-yang is located in present-day Hsien-yang hsien, northwest of the Western capital of Ch'ang-an. Although CTS mentions no variant readings for ch'ang 陽 in line five, the Wen-feng edition, Iriya's volume, and the Kunaichō edition all give ch'ang 塲. Thus the CTS version is probably a misprint.

⁷Hu Shih, p. 174. Pulleyblank, p. 2.

⁸See Kao Yüeh-t'ien's article cited supra, Chapter One, n. 68.

⁹CTS 9066/7.

¹⁰Ibid., 9065/3.3-4.

- ¹¹Ibid., 9080/1.
- ¹²Ibid., 9077/2.1-6. Hung-ch'en ching 紅塵境 denotes the human world, where attachments and defilements (red dust) are numerous.
- ¹³Ibid., 9085/6.1-6.
- ¹⁴Ibid., 9065/6.7-8.
- ¹⁵Wu Chi-yu, p. 398, incorrectly equates Feng-kan with Maitreya, although the preface attributed to Lü-ch'iu Yin clearly identifies Feng-kan with Amitabha (Mi-t'o 彌陀): "Feng-kan has a loose tongue! If you don't recognize Amitabha, why pay respects to us?"
- ¹⁶CTS 9074/2.1-2. The Hsiung-nu were a Turkish tribe active during the Han dynasty. The poet here follows a long poetic tradition of describing the present by using details of the past.
- ¹⁷Ibid., 9064/3. See supra, Chapter One, n. 68.
- ¹⁸Ch'en Hui-chien 陳慧劍, Han-shan-tzu yen-chiu 寒山子研究 (Research on Han-shan-tzu) (Taipei: Hua-hsin ch'u-pan yu-hsien kung-ssu 華新出版有限公司, 1974), p. 25, cites two possible dates for the inception of such posting of lists: 734 or 740. See T'ang hui yao 唐會要 (Taipei: Shih-chieh shu-chü 世界書局, 1963), Vol. 3, chüan 74, p. 1348, which gives the date of 740.
- ¹⁹CTS 9078/3.
- ²⁰Robert des Rotours, Le Traité des examens (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1932), pp. 129-30, 147.
- ²¹Ibid., p. 147.
- ²²Ibid., p. 167.
- ²³Ibid., p. 185. Hsin T'ang shu 44.5a
- ²⁴Arthur Waley, The Life and Times of Po Chü-i (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1949), p. 20.
- ²⁵Ibid., p. 27.
- ²⁶Hsin T'ang shu 45.1a. T'ang hui yao, Vol. 3, chüan 75, pp. 1338-40, 1361.
- ²⁷Hsin T'ang shu 45.1a.

²⁸CTS 9077/4. I have followed Professor David Y. Ch'en's suggestion to read yen 言 for hsien 嫌 in line two, as this is much more plausible in light of the four parts of the placement examination. This reading also makes for stricter parallelism with shu p'an 書判 in line one.

²⁹Max Weber, "Struggle of Monarch and Nobility: Origin of the Career Open to Talent," in Johanna M. Menzel, ed., The Chinese Civil Service (New York: D.C. Heath and Co., 1963), p. 59.

³⁰David Nivison, "The Criteria of Excellence," in Menzel ed., p. 96.

³¹CTS 9075/

³²Ibid., 9089/1. The huang-lien 黃連 or coptis japonica of line seven is a bitter additive to many traditional Chinese herbal medicines. Watson, Cold Mountain, p. 93, feels that ll. 7-8 should be interpreted as follows: "the sauce of learning will help you to forget the bitter-and-the-bite of life." The present writer suspects that a more cynical notion is presented in the poem, namely that the lure of social advancement is an effective inducement to scholars, taking the harshness away from their long and difficult struggles to succeed in the examinations.

³³CTS 9079/4.

³⁴Ibid., 9090/7. The phrase t'ang-t'ang 堂堂 of line eight might allude to a T'ang yüeh-fu 樂府 of the ch'ing shang ch'ü tz'u 清商曲辭 category. See the yüeh-fu to this tune by Wen T'ing-yün 溫庭筠 (818-70) in Yüeh-fu shih-chi 樂府詩集 (SPY ed.) 47.3a.

³⁵CTS 9086/5.3-6.

³⁶Ibid., 9083/1.1-6. Drinking to intoxication and over-eating were common during this festival. See Wang Chia's 王駕 (chin-shih 890) poem entitled "She jih" 社日 in Ch'üan T'ang shih, Vol. 10, chüan 690, p. 7918. See also Tu Fu's 杜甫 (712-70) two poems of this title in Tu Kung-pu shih chi 杜工部集 (SPY ed.) 16.1b.

³⁷CTS 9079/1. The expression ch'ih-ch'u 踟躕 of line four derives from the Shih ching 詩經, "Ching-nü" 靜女, ll. 3-4: ai er pu-chien/ sao shou ch'ih-ch'u 愛而不見, 搔首踟躕 "I love her but can't see her, / I scratch my head, pacing anxiously." See Mao shih 毛詩 (SPTK ed.) 2.16b-17a. Line eight is reminiscent of Chang Hsieh's 張協 (ca. 295) "Yung-shih shih" 詠史詩, line 16: To ts'ai wei lei yü 多財為累 . See Liu ch'en chu Wen hsüan 六臣注文選 (SPTK ed.) 21.9a.16.

³⁸CTS 9085/2. Lines three and four allude to the famous poor man Fan Tan 范丹 of the Eastern Han dynasty. A popular verse described him thus: "Fan Shih-yün, whose food jar collects dust; / Fan of Lai-wu

with a fish growing in his cooking pot." 曾凡中生歷范史雲釜中生魚
范榮燕. See his biography in Hou Han shu 後漢書 (Po-na ed.) 71.28b;
his name is given there as Fan Jan 范冉.

³⁹CTS 9101/3. Line eight refers to the story that the recluse Hsü Yu 許由 washed his ears in a river to cleanse them after Yao offered the throne to him. See Huang-fu Mi's 皇甫謐 (215-282) Kao shih chuan 高士傳 (Ku-chin i-shih 古今逸史 ed.) A4ab.

This story was also reflected in an anecdote in the Shih-shuo hsin-yü 世說新語. A third century official named Sun Ch'u 孫楚 told his friend Wang Chi 王濟 of his intention to become a hermit. Instead of saying he would "take a stone for a pillow and wash in a stream" (chen-shih shu-liu 枕石漱流), however, Sun Ch'u said he would "wash with a stone and take the stream for a pillow" (shu-shih chen-liu 漱石枕流). When asked to explain himself, Sun Ch'u replied with quick wit that he would pillow his head on a stream in order to wash his ears and rinse his mouth with stones in order to sharpen his teeth. See Shih-shuo hsin-yü (SPTK ed.) 25.2ab. See also Richard Mather, Shih-shuo Hsin-yü: A New Account of Tales of the World (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1976), p. 402.

⁴⁰CTS 9069/5. In line four, huang-ch'üan 黃泉 refers to the underworld, where the soul goes at death. I have followed the Wen-feng edition in line five, reading mieh 滅 for chien 減. Line six is an allusion to the Analects: "The Master, standing on the river bank, said: 'It passes on like this, never stopping day or night.'" See Lun-yü 5.7a.

⁴¹CTS 9100/5. In line seven, che 者 is given as a variant for tzu 子.

⁴²Ibid., 9081/6. The "mountain's waist" of line three refers to the area midway up the mountain's slope. Lines five and six portray living creatures seeming to animate inanimate objects; first, monkeys cause the slender tree boughs to shake as if of their own motivation. Then birds enter the forest and their songs appear to be produced by the forest itself.

⁴³Ibid., 9090/6.7-8.

⁴⁴Ibid., 9100/1.6.

⁴⁵Ibid., 9067/3.3-4.

⁴⁶Ibid., 9083/6.5-10. Line three has been cited by I Chung-ta to support the theory that jen-yün 任運 was Han-shan's pieh-hao 別號. See supra, Chapter One, n. 19. The line reads jen-yün tun lin ch'üan 任運遜林泉 "Following the changes [of Nature] I conceal myself amid forests and springs." Line four is parallel in structure:

hsi-ch'ih kuan tzu-tsai 棲遙觀自在 "lingering on, I observe the world with independence, free from delusion." Kuan tzu-tsai 觀自在 or Kuan-shih tzu-tsai 觀世自在 is another name for Avalokiteśvara, the "Sovereign Regarder." In addition, the term denotes the Bodhisattva's attributes of independence and sovereignty, which occur when the mind is free of delusion. See William Soothill, A Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist Terms (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner and Co., 1937), p. 489. The parallelism (albeit pseudo) between jen-yün and hsi-ch'ih precludes the use of the former as a name, a fact which is further evidenced by the usage of jen pien-kai 任變改 in line ten.

⁴⁷CTS 9065/8. In line six, Huang Lao 黃老 refers to Huang Ti 黃帝 (the Yellow Emperor) and Lao Tzu 老子, the two legendary patriarchs of Taoism. Thus, "reading Huang [Ti] and Lao [Tzu]" might mean the Nei Ching 內經 and the Tao te ching 道德經, which were traditionally attributed to Huang Ti and Lao Tzu respectively. It is more likely, however, that the phrase here denotes Taoist works in general.

⁴⁸Ibid., 9087/8.1-2.

⁴⁹E.g., CTS 9064/3, 9065/8, 9074/8, 9080/1, 9100/5. Some commentators have taken this information literally, and computed Han-shan's years of birth and death from this figure of "over 100 years old." See Hsü Tuan-fu 胥端甫, "Han-shan shih-chieh" 寒山世界 ("Han-shan's World"), Chung-kuo shih chi-k'an, 3, 4 (December, 1972). One is inclined to agree with Waley that this figure is an exaggeration.

⁵⁰CTS 9096/3.1-6. Ssu-ming Mountain is located in southwestern Yin 鄞 hsien, Ning-po 寧波 prefecture, in present-day Chekiang province. This mountain is contiguous with T'ien-t'ai Mountain, running north-east for some 130 li. The mountain was considered to be the ninth of the thirty-six Taoist dwelling places of the immortals (tung-t'ien 洞天) known also as the Heaven of Cinnabar Mountains and Red Rivers (tan-shan ch'ih-shui chih t'ien 丹山赤水之天).

Tan-ch'iu Mountain is located in Ning-hai 寧海 hsien, in present-day Chekiang province.

Hsien-tu Mountain is located in eastern Chin-yün 縉雲 hsien, present-day Chekiang Province. The mountain was originally named Chin-yün Mountain 縉雲山. See Ku Tsu-yü 顧祖禹, Tu shih fang yü chi yao 讀史方輿記要 (Taipei: Hsin-hsing shu-chü 新興書局, 1956), Vol. 14, chüan 94, p. 3927.

⁵¹CTS 9094/2.1-4.

⁵²Ibid., 9099/3.

⁵³Ibid., 9097/2.1-4; 7-8. In line four, liu ken 六根 denotes the six sense organs of hearing, sight, smell, taste, touch, and mind.

CHAPTER THREE

HAN-SHAN AND NATURE POETRY

In Western Europe, landscape or nature poetry developed from the tradition of Platonic idealism as modified by the romanticist theory of organic unity of nature.¹ The greatest English symbolic nature poets, such as Coleridge, Shelley, and Wordsworth, espoused this theory of animating imagery or romantic anthropomorphosis, and their greatest achievement was the careful fusion of spiritual and psychological meaning with the scenes of a literally described landscape.² The mature poetic technique of the symbolic nature poets, as defined by Wimsatt and Brooks, is applicable to the Chinese phenomenon, as we shall see below:

One might redescribe this structure approximately in these terms: It is a structure which makes only a restrained use of the central overt statement of similitude which had been so important in all poetry up to that time. 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. In such a structure, finally, the element of tension in disparity may not be prominent. The interest derives not from our being aware of disparity in stated likeness, but in the opposite activity of discerning the design and the unity latent in a multiform sensuous picture.³

Although traditional Chinese literary criticism had divided nature poetry into two currents, the poetry of field and garden

(t'ien-yüan shih 田園詩) and the poetry of mountain and stream (shan-shui shih 山水詩), this distinction is misleading and ignores the ground shared by the two schools. In a specific sense, the former school is a suburban view of nature as seen from untrammelled environs where the hand of man is yet visible, and typified by the works of T'ao Ch'ien. The latter school of nature poetry depicts "Nature in her wilder aspects"⁴ as seen from the vantage of towering cliffs and spitting torrents far removed from any vestige of human artifice. The major poet associated with this style of poetry is Hsieh Ling-yün. But the two types of poetry are in fact one: both view nature in an attempt to see beyond her external manifestations to a deeper truth and a greater unity. Both schools begin from a love of nature but progress beyond the physical to the metaphysical or organic unity, which is intuited through the symbols of natural objects, scenery and living things. This is the distinctive characteristic in the definition of nature poetry as verse which observes nature in order to ascertain Nature; which experiences natural phenomena at once with an appreciation of their own worth, and at the same time as symbols shot through with an unnameable and potent mystery which is approachable only through symbol. Below we shall see how this fusion of tenor and vehicle in an animating imagery came to evolve in China.

The Development of Chinese Nature Poetry⁵

Scenery and natural objects play an important part in the earliest Chinese poetic anthology, the Shih ching 詩經 (compiled twelfth to sixth centuries B.C.). In this anthology, plants and animals are used

to suggest human emotions or to lend a general atmosphere. This use of natural objects or living things to produce a mood for the entire poem is a technique often used and is essential to the function of hsing 興. The poems of the Shih ching also use plants, animals, and birds to reveal grievances by indirect association, but there are very few descriptions of landscapes in this anthology. Indeed, mountains and streams are the realm of lonely travellers or exhausted soldiers, far from home and loved ones; such areas call forth awe and even horror, but certainly not love.

In the anthology of songs traditionally associated with the fourth century B.C. figure Ch'ü Yüan 屈原 and his followers and entitled the Ch'u tz'u, 楚辭 (compiled in its present form by Wang I 王逸, d. 158 A.D.), natural objects again figure prominently, but with a different effect. The shamanistic elements of the south figure strongly in the Ch'u tz'u, especially in the "Chiu ko" 九歌 ("Nine Songs") and, in a more symbolic form, in the "Li sao" 離騷 ("Encountering Sorrow"). These poems reflect the ancient belief that a shaman possessed the power to cure sickness and to prophesy, which he accomplished on aerial journeys. The shaman's journey was a ritual circuit of a cosmos whose various areas were presided over by specific deities who could be induced to submit or give active support to the traveller who approached them using the correct rituals.⁶ In the Ch'u tz'u, nature is viewed in her wilder aspects as the traveller/shaman progresses first through terrestrial regions, then up to the heavens. The wilder and more primal were the areas described, the greater the powers to be derived from the visit.

David Hawkes has suggested that the contents of the Ch'u tz'u fall within two categories, "tristia" and "itineraria".⁷ The tristia include expressions of resentment at the world's corruption, sorrow at an unhappy fate, and complaints of being misunderstood by the sovereign. The itineraria include the records of physical and mystical journeys undertaken to acquire temporal or, more usually, spiritual powers.

During the course of its literary treatment, the ritual circuit in the itineraria became more and more formalized. The shaman's magical journey was translated to the physical plane, as a traveller visited numinous or famous locales. The orderly enumeration of these journeys was an important part of the itineraria, suggesting that these recitations engendered the same power as did the shaman's ritual circuits. We shall see below that these themes accord well with the contents of the Han-shan nature poems.

In the third century A.D., there came a new attitude toward nature. As the institutionalized Confucian apparatus of the Han dynasty began to crumble before the onslaught of peasant revolts and provincial military powers, writers and philosophers began to search for a system of thought more suited to the uncertainties of the age. The result was a revival of Taoism.

The first of such attempts were merely directed at reforming Han Confucianism, trimming away the supernatural speculations and reviving classical humanism. Then followed a second stage in which Confucian texts were reinterpreted using Taoist ideals. Such men as Wang Pi

王弼 (226-249), Ho Yen 何晏 (d. 249), and Kuo Hsiang 郭象

(d. 312) characterize the efforts of the hsüan-hsüeh 玄學 (mystical learning) school, which adopted the metaphysics and dialectical argumentation of the ch'ing-t'an 清談 (pure talk) thinkers in order to derive a Taoist-inspired system of government service.⁸ According to Zürcher, these men sought to adapt Taoism as philosophical support for participation in government service.⁹

This reassessment of Confucian tenets is first seen in the poems of Ts'ao Chih 曹植 (192-232), scion of the Wei 魏 royal family. A loyal aristocrat steeped in classicism and deeply concerned with social responsibilities, Ts'ao Chih was nevertheless pressed by the turmoil of his age to seek philosophical alternatives to Confucianism. His tentative stirrings toward the mysticism of Taoism are recorded in his "Yu-hsien p'ien" 遊仙篇 ("On Wandering Amid the Immortals").¹⁰

The attempts to synthesize Confucianism and Taoism were not successful, however, and the result was a total rupture with Confucianism and the triumph of Taoism. This third stage included the era of the Seven Sages of the Bamboo Grove (chu-lin ch'i-hsien 竹林七賢), who replaced the ritual and etiquette of Confucianism with the natural laws of spontaneity and relativity.¹¹ The most famous of the bamboo grove writers were Hsi K'ang 嵇康 (223-262) and Juan Chi 阮籍 (210-263). Hsi K'ang's poems reflect the quest for immortality which characterized this revised form of Taoism, or neo-Taoism. Wandering in the mountains north of Loyang, Hsi K'ang sought to remain aloof from the turmoils of the capital, searching out herbs and natural medicines to put in his concoctions. His skill at playing the ch'in 琴 is legendary, and was so even during his lifetime. His "Ch'in fu"

琴賦("Fu on the Lute") reflects a new attitude toward nature in its lavish descriptions of wild landscapes.¹²

Hsi K'ang is typical of the men of this age, neo-Taoists whose search for herbs and minerals brought them into closer contact with nature than ever before. As a result, nature became less horrible and even her savagery was appreciated as a sign of the primal being, untouched by the corrupting influence of human hands. These poets are the forerunners of the shan-shui poets.

Among the most famous of the poets influenced by Taoist metaphysics is Kuo P'u 郭璞(276-324), who repeated the term used by Ts'ao Chih, in his fourteen "Yu-hsien shih" 遊仙詩("Poems on Wandering Amid the Immortals").¹³ These five-word line lyric poems record imaginary travels and use natural descriptions to symbolize the Taoist philosophical ideals of spontaneity and purity. Because they focus on the wilder faces of nature, Kuo P'u's poems are close to the outlook of the shan-shui poets.

The increased familiarity with nature found a more pastoral expression in the writings of other poets of this age, such as Tso Ssu's 左思(272-305) "Chao-yin shih" 招隱詩("Poem of Invitation to Reclusion"). This title had been used previously in one of the Ch'u tz'u poems entitled "Chao yin-shih" 招隱士("Summons to a Gentleman in Reclusion"), composed by a poet at the court of Liu An 劉安, Prince of Huai-nan 淮南王(d. 122 B.C.). The Ch'u tz'u poem details the hardships and fearful sights to be encountered among the forbidding mountain slopes, and calls the prince back from such dangerous wanderings with the final words,

Monkeys in chorus cry;
 Tigers and leopards roar.
 One has climbed up by the cassia boughs
 Who wishes to tarry here...
 O prince, return!
 In the mountains you cannot stay long.¹⁴

A fully different intent is expressed in the poem of Tso Ssu, however, which sketches the pure pleasures to be enjoyed among the beauties of nature,

The cave in the crags has no criss-cross beams,
 Yet within the hill there is a singing lute.
 White clouds hang over the shadowy 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.¹⁵

The changed usage of the word chao 招 in the titles of these two poems clearly reflects the new attitude toward nature and eremitism.

During the Yung-chia 永嘉 period (307-312), Taoist metaphysics blended with Buddhist elements in the philosophical verse of Sun Ch'o 孫綽 (ca. 300-380) and Hsü Hsün 許詢 (320?-365). Although Chung Hung 鍾嶸 (fl. ca. 500) scorned the Yung-chia poets, saying in the preface to his Shih-p'in 詩品 (Classification of Poetry) that their verse was insipid and full of allusion to Taoist texts,¹⁶ these poets had in fact developed the fusion of tenor and vehicle which characterizes mature nature poetry. Sun Ch'o in his "Yu T'ien-t'ai shan fu" 遊天臺山賦 ("Fu on an [Imagined] Journey to T'ien-t'ai Mountain") describes the mountain using his imagination and diagrams made for him; his envisioned ascent progresses from concrete, physical details to supernatural precincts such as the City of Immortals (hsien-tu 仙都) with its strange flora and fragrant springs. The journey

culminates, however, when the poet had advanced beyond even this paradise, when he has destroyed both Form and Emptiness and transcended all dualisms.¹⁷

Sun Ch'o's fu is especially important because the journey or ascent clearly symbolizes a spiritual development. For Sun Ch'o, contemplation of nature is an important means of advancement along the spiritual path. In fact, contemplation of landscape is contemplation of the tao itself. As Sun Ch'o wrote, in reference to the tao,

Melted it becomes rivers and waters;
Solidified it becomes mountains and hills.¹⁸

Mountains and streams are seen as the physical manifestations of tao; through the contemplation of nature, one attains a mystical vision which at once views the object and also can see beyond the object to the immanent principle which the object expresses.

This mystic comprehension is reminiscent of the use of multiple perspective in Chinese art, in which each element of a landscape is seen from a different perspective against an unspecified horizon. As a result of this technique, the landscape seems to appear in both a frontal and an aerial view.

As the viewpoint is mobile, and parallel lines do not converge towards a vanishing-point but remain parallel... the result is a feeling of panoramic intensity, a sense of movement and participation. One is looking at the scene as from a slight eminence, in detachment, and yet simultaneously wandering through it.¹⁹

The appreciation of landscape becomes, thus, a spiritual technique leading to mystical awareness and at the same time a representation of that mystical understanding. This is the mature state of landscape verse, seen for the first time in the verse of Sun Ch'o, whose

symbolic interpretation of nature is combined with a basic appreciation for nature in her own right. Here is an advance beyond the physical approach of the neo-Taoists, who sought in nature the techniques of long life while slighting the intrinsic merits of the landscape. It is no coincidence that the Han-shan poems are also associated with T'ien-t'ai Mountain, because Chekiang was the spiritual center of the mature shan-shui form, as seen in the works of Sun Ch'o and later in those of Hsieh Ling-yün.

The shan-shui verse of Hsieh Ling-yün, Duke of K'ang-lo 康樂 is characterized by a deep appreciation for Buddhism. Hsieh had connections with the learned coterie surrounding the scholar-monk Hui-yüan 慧遠 (334-417) on Lu 廬 Mountain in northern Chekiang,²⁰ and was a follower of the school of instantaneous enlightenment (tun-wu 頓悟) begun by Tao-sheng 道生 (ca. 360-432). Like Sun Ch'o, Hsieh Ling-yün had a great interest in both Taoism and Buddhism, and his own philosophy was a synthesis of the two, as was common among the educated southern gentry of this age.²¹

Hsieh Ling-yün retired among the mountains of Chekiang, seeking out the herbs and ingredients necessary for elixirs of immortality. The search for long life might seem an odd occupation for a Buddhist, but this attitude only serves to point out how imperfectly understood were the basic tenets of Buddhism even among sophisticated and erudite practitioners such as Hsieh Ling-yün. At this time, Taoism and Buddhism were seen by many as merely different means to a similar end, and Buddhist techniques of meditation were practiced side by side with Taoist techniques of physical cultivation.²²

Hsieh Ling-yün used both the shih 詩 and fu 賦 forms for his landscape writings. His "Shan-chü fu" 山居賦 ("Fu on Dwelling in the Mountains") enthusiastically portrays the cloud-layered, mist-hung beauty of the region of K'uai-chi 會稽. His fu piles detail upon concrete detail, the cumulative effect of which surpasses realism and engenders the transcendental message of the landscape. As Hsieh Ling-yün remarks in his poem entitled "Ts'ung Chin-chu-chien yüeh ling ch'i hsing" 從竹澗越嶺溪行 ("Following Chin-chu Stream, I Cross the Peak and Walk along the River"), "When I look at all this, the world of men disappears, / In a flash of enlightenment everything falls from me."²³ This poem of Hsieh Ling-yün demonstrates the influence of the Southern gentry Buddhism propagated by Hui-yüan and other Southern scholar-monks who equated the purity and solitude of nature with the quiescent non-duality of the highest truth of dharma. As Richard Mather has written in his discussion of Hsieh Ling-yün, "Since Reality for the Buddhist is often described in terms of emptiness or quiescence, landscape makes a very fitting symbol of that Reality, a symbol that in some respects surpasses the cult images of the temples themselves."²⁴

Poems describing the wildness of Hsieh Ling-yün's mountain retreat seem to foreshadow a similar theme in those of Han-shan. In the poem entitled "Teng Shih-men tsui-kao ting" 登石門最高頂 ("On Climbing the Highest Peak of Stone-gate"), Hsieh Ling-yün writes,

At dawn with staff in hand I climbed the crags,
At dusk I made my camp among the mountains.
Only a few peaks rise as high as this house,
Facing the crags, it overlooks winding streams.
In front of its gates a vast forest stretches,
While boulders are heaped round its very steps.

Hemmed in by mountains, there seems no way out,
 The track gets lost among the thick bamboos.
 My visitors can never find their way,
 And when they leave, forget the path they took.²⁵

We shall also see that in the poems of Han-shan, the allegory of the road (tao 道) or means to enlightenment becomes even more clearly stated.

As the shan-shui poets were evolving their techniques, the t'ien-yüan poets were also developing. The generally acknowledged master of the latter form is T'ao Yüan-ming. Like Hsieh Ling-yün, T'ao Yüan-ming used both fu and shih in his nature writings. The philosophy reflected in his poems is a blend of Confucianism and Taoism. Having left behind the "dusty net" of public office, T'ao Yüan-ming chose to nurture inner purity away from the restraints and corruption of bustling society. The setting chosen for his reclusion is not the wild mountain country of Hsieh Ling-yün; rather it is the field, grove, and garden of a suburban farm. When T'ao Yüan-ming does evoke distant scenes and paint wide vistas, it is merely to focus one moment later on a more intimate and restricted scene.

The white sun sinks behind the western slope
 The pallid moon climbs up the eastern range,
 Far, far the rays extend a million miles
 Wide, wide the light spreads out through space.
 A breeze comes through the door into my room
 Pillow and mat grow chill as night wears on.
 As the air turns we feel the season's change,
 When we do not sleep we know the night is long.²⁶

Here, lines one through four open the poem by providing a generalized atmosphere or mood. Nature is used as an evocative poetic language, leading by suggestion into the more personal details which follow in lines five through eight.

T'ao Yüan-ming preferred the familiar, secure environment of home and farm, his attention ever returning to these precincts just like the homing birds at twilight which figure so frequently as symbols in his verse.²⁷

Contentedly I sit and pour the new spring wine,
Or go out to pluck vegetables in my garden.
A gentle shower approaches from the east²⁸
And a pleasant wind comes along with it.

This poem reveals the fusion of vehicle and tenor which defines the mature nature verse. The new spring wine and the garden vegetables represent the poet's contentment and familiarity with a gently-depicted nature. In the same way, the shower and wind are appreciated both as actually experienced and also as a representation of the cleansing and calmativ forces of nature.

We have seen above the development of nature poetry from its earliest roots in the Shih ching to its maturity in the shan-shui and t'ien-yüan verses of Six Dynasties poets like Hsieh Ling-yün and T'ao Yüan-ming. During the course of this development, various vehicles were tested. Successful pieces were written in both the fu and shih styles, the former retaining something of its inclination to virtuosity and extensive description, while the latter retained much of its lyricism and intimacy. Although the shih pieces seem to possess greater freshness and vitality, the evolution of the wen fu 文賦 or prose fu in the Sung dynasty brought new possibilities of personal expression in this genre.²⁹

Some have argued that the fu was merely a lower stage of development of a successful vehicle for nature poetry, i.e., the five-word line poem, and even that "the development of nature verse is

undoubtedly bound up with the development of the five-word line."³⁰

It would perhaps be better to view the fu and shih forms as providing two different qualities to nature literature: each genre retained its own characteristics of technique and thus provided a different set of rhetorical possibilities for the expression of sentiments about nature. As such, then, the use of fu and shih in nature poetry becomes no longer so much a question of linear development as of a parallel and complementary development.

Just as the development of nature verse through the fu and shih genres must not be seen as a simple linear progression, in the same way must the shan-shui and t'ien-yüan schools be seen as development of two different approaches to nature. Some would argue that the development of nature poetry progressed from distaste for nature, through appreciation for the suburban views of field and garden, to an appreciation for nature in all her aspects, and finally to nature as a vehicle for mystical awareness.³¹ Such a view is simplistic and inaccurate. As seen above, the Chinese approach to nature did change from distaste and even horror to joyful appreciation and active involvement. But once the new awareness of nature began to be felt, it was expressed in both its pastoral and jungle aspects. Poets chose either approach in accord with their temperament, background, philosophy, and particular skill. Thus, the shan-shui poems of Hsieh Ling-yün are not more advanced or mature than the t'ien-yüan verse of T'ao Yüan-ming; rather these are two different expressions of a mature nature poetry.

The Nature Poems of the Han-shan Collection

The nature poems of the Han-shan corpus fulfill the criterion of nature poetry as defined above, namely the fusion of tenor and vehicle. As the poetics of Han-shan will be discussed further in Chapter Six, our main interest here is in tenor, rather than vehicle.

A major theme of the category of nature poets in the Han-shan collection is the allegory of a spatial journey which in fact represents a spiritual development. This concept of spiritual advancement is the tenor of most of the nature poems in the collection. Of course, the allegory of the physical journey did not originate with the Han-shan poems. In Taoism, the way of nature and the highest principle, or tao, literally meant a road; this symbolic use of the word tao was never quite lost in later Taoist literature, and the Chinese Buddhists, too, used the word tao to denote the way of enlightenment through spiritual stages as well as the goal, nirvana.

As mentioned above, the categories of tristia and itineraria assigned by David Hawkes to the Ch'u tz'u may be, with minor modification, applicable to the nature poems of the Han-shan collection. The tristia theme is frequently seen in post-Ch'ü Yüan poetry, in the altered form of laments against fate, human fickleness, and the lack of a friend with whom to share one's feelings, rather than complaints about being misunderstood or underestimated by a sovereign. This more generalized lament of loneliness is repeated again and again in the works of such poets as Ts'ao Chih, Juan Chi, Pao Chao 鮑照 (421-465) and especially in the poetry of reclusion.³² Many of the Han-shan nature poems express this regret at having no friends with whom

to discuss one's innermost thoughts. But there is an attempt at resolving this loneliness by developing an almost mystic interaction with living creatures and forces of nature, usually birds, tigers, and clouds.³⁴ Thus the nature poems reveal a very understandable vacillation between loneliness and the resolution of loneliness. The very presence of such conflict makes the poems more complex, more human, and thus more believable.

Even more important within the nature poems is the itineraria theme. That Cold Mountain is a state of mind as well as a man was noted by Arthur Waley.³⁵ By an extension of this symbolism, the road to Cold Mountain signifies the technique to achieve the Cold Mountain state of mind. And yet this allegory is never crudely drawn; rather the poems include skillful geographical descriptions to present the concreteness of the journey, while merely suggesting the spiritual allegory. The ascent of the mountain requires both physical stamina and correct psychological awareness. This is the prescription for the traveller who would reach Cold Mountain.

That the journey to Cold Mountain is difficult and leads the adept to strange areas is a frequent theme of the Han-shan nature poems. The strangeness of the terrain indicates a break with habit, a rupture with former ideas. The adept enters, instead, a new zone of being on his search for reality, and the unusual nature of the surroundings confirms that the direction is correct.³⁶

The place where I've come to rest
Is solitary and distant, difficult to describe.
No wind, but the creeper vines move of themselves;
No mist, but the bamboos are always dark.
The alpine streams sob for whom?
The mountain clouds suddenly pile up.

At noontide, sitting in my hut, 37
 I only now become aware of the rising sun shining in.

以我棲遯處
 幽深難可論
 無風蘿自動
 不霧竹長昏
 澗水緣誰咽
 山雲忽自屯
 午時庵內坐
 始覺日頭曛

This poem reveals the poet's absorption with his strange and somewhat fearful surroundings. His absorption is intense, almost trance-like, so that he only notices the rising sun at noontime, when the sun is high enough to shine down over the steep mountains, interrupting his meditations. In fact, the poem shows the relativity of time, in that noon is dawn for the poet, because he does not see the rising sun until then.

Cold Mountain, so lonely and strange
 Climbers are always frightened.
 The moon shines on water calm and translucent;
 The wind blows and grasses sigh.
 In the snow, withered plum trees [seem] to put forth blooms;
 In the mist, tree stumps [seem] to put forth leaves.
 Touched with rain, everything turns fresh and alive, 38
 But if it's not a fair day, you won't be able to ford the streams.

寒山多幽奇
 登者皆怛懼
 月照水澄澄
 風吹草獵獵
 凋梅雪作花
 朽木雲充葉
 觸雨轉鮮靈
 非晴不可涉

In the following poem, lines five and six describe more strange

and unexplained phenomena.

I climb the road to Cold Mountain--
 The road to Cold Mountain is never exhausted.
 The creek is long and heaped unevenly with stones;
 The mountain stream is broad, grasses wet with mist.
 The moss is slippery but not because of rain;
 The pines sing but not from the wind.
 Who can pass over worldly ties 39
 And sit with me amid the white clouds!

登 涉 寒 山 道
 寒 山 路 不 窮
 谿 長 石 磊 磊
 澗 闊 草 濛 濛
 苔 滑 非 關 雨
 松 鳴 不 似 風
 誰 能 超 世 累
 共 坐 白 雲 中

The above poem indicates that there is always a way to reach Cold Mountain, because the road "is never exhausted." But the road is arduous and hidden,

Hidden and without a trace is the road to Cold Mountain,
 Isolated and distant is the cold stream's other shore.⁴⁰

杳 杳 寒 山 道
 落 落 冷 澗 濱

and because of its obstacles, few can travel the road,

Cold Peak--the deeper you go the better it gets,
 But no people take this road.⁴¹

寒 巖 深 更 好
 無 人 行 此 道

The road is called "laughable", perhaps because the path is so narrow and difficult as not even to deserve to be called a road. It is definitely not a well-travelled path, and no visitors pass through with cart and horse.

Laughable, the Cold Mountain way--
 And no cart or horse traces.
 Streams join with turnings hard to recall
 Amid layered peaks, who knows how many.
 Weeping dew are the myriad plants;
 Sighing in the wind are all the pines
 This moment, lost and at an impasse,
 Body asks mind: where do we go [now]?⁴²

可笑寒山道
 而無車馬蹤
 聯谿難記曲
 疊障不知重
 泣露千般草
 吟風一樣松
 此時迷徑處
 形間影何從

Lines one and two are reminiscent of T'ao Yuan-ming's "Yin-chiu shih" 飲酒詩("Drinking Wine Poems"), no. 5, ll. 1-2: "I build my hut amid the world of men,/But there are no sounds of carts or horses." (WH3.12ab) The difference between T'ao Yüan-ming and Han-shan is that the former chose to live amid human society, but avoided human contact, as indicated by the lack of cart and horse coming to his door. T'ao Yüan-ming explained this situation in lines three and four of the same poem: "You ask me how I can be thus/When the heart is distant, the place also becomes distant." Han-shan, however, has chosen to remove himself from society both psychologically and physically.

The following two poems stress the importance of having the correct state of mind in order to reach Cold Mountain.

People ask the way to Cold Mountain--
 The road to Cold Mountain doesn't go clear through.
 In summer the ice still hasn't melted;
 At sunrise the mists hang thick.
 How did a man like me arrive there?
 My heart is not the same as yours.

If your heart were just like mine
You could get here too.⁴³

人問寒山道
寒山路不通
夏天冰未釋
日出霧朦朧
似我何由住
與君心不同
君心若似我
還得到其中

I delight in the lifelong Tao,
Here among misty vines and rock caves.
My rustic nature is free and far-reaching;
Often I accompany the white clouds in their idleness.
There is a road, but it doesn't cross through your world:
Without [the right] state of mind, who can ascend by it?
I sit on my stone bed, alone at night,
While the round moon rises over Cold Mountain.⁴⁴

自樂平生道
煙蘿石洞間
野情多放曠
長伴白雲閑
有路不通世
無心孰可攀
石牀孤夜坐
圓月上寒山

Lines seven and eight provide an example of this correct mental outlook, with the poet sitting quietly and alone at night, witnessing the beauty of a full moon shining down on his mountain retreat.

In the Han-shan poems, the moon and clouds are often associated with spiritual attainment.

The people of my time seek the cloud-path;
The cloud-path is hidden without a trace.
The mountains are high, very dangerous and steep;
The alpine streams are broad, with muted tones.
Jade-green peaks before and behind;
White clouds to west and to east.

You want to know where the cloud-path lies?
The cloud-path lies within the void.⁴⁵

時人尋雲路
雲路香無蹤
山高多險峻
澗瀾少玲瓏
碧嶂前兼後
白雲西復東
欲知路處空
雲路在虛空

In line eight of the poem above, hsü-k'ung might denote the Buddhist term śūnya, although such an interpretation is not reinforced by the inclusion of other Buddhist terms within the poem, except yün 雲, which may have Buddhist associations. In the following poem, however, the spiritual path is definitely Buddhist, the final goal being nothing less than Buddhahood.

The road to Cold Mountain
No one attains.
If you can follow it
You are conferred with the ten titles (of a Buddha).⁴⁶

寒山道
無人到
若能行
稱十號

In the Han-shan nature poems, mountains and streams provide both a stimulus to meditation and a means to measure one's spiritual development. The road to Cold Mountain is described as hidden, frightening, untravelled, inexhaustible, and inaccessible. The road or way to Cold Mountain is to be interpreted as both a physical path and spiritual means. When one attains the proper state of mind, then the mind becomes placid and clear, empty of itself but reflecting all phenomena,

almost as if merged with objective phenomena. This mental state is described clearly below.

In front of the cliffs, alone, at peace I sit;
 The round moon is dazzling in the sky.
 The myriad forms cast shadows in the moonlight
 But the moon's disc actually is not shining.
 Vast and empty, the soul of itself is pure
 Holding to the emptiness, it apprehends the profound.
 Because of the pointing you see the moon--
 The moon comes from the mind's pivot.⁴⁷

巖	前	獨	靜	坐
圓	月	當	天	耀
萬	象	影	現	中
一	輪	本	無	照
廓	然	神	自	清
含	虛	洞	玄	妙
因	指	見	其	月
月	是	心	樞	要

This poem reveals the influence of the theory of mere ideation (wei-shih 唯識) introduced during the T'ang dynasty by Hsüan-tsang 玄奘 (596-664). Both the Hua-yen and T'ien-t'ai schools accepted this theory that all phenomena derive from action of mind, but these schools conceive of an absolute or universal mind, which is ever constant and whose reflection manifests all events and all things.⁴⁸

In the Hua-yen ching yi-hai pai-men 華嚴經義海石門 The Hundred Theories of the Sea of Ideas of the Avatamsaka Sutra of Fa-tsang 法藏 (643-712), the substance of this universal or absolute mind is described as follows,

This substance is a mirror of pure and limpid water, which follows causation, yet remains ever still. It is like the diffused radiation of the sun, which, without deliberate purpose, illumines the ten directions. It is like the upright figure of a clear mirror, which, motionless itself, presents all forms.⁴⁹

The substance or noumen described here is ever quiescent amid the play of the phenomenal world; in the same way, in the poem cited above, the moon does not actually shine, but the myriad forms are manifested of themselves by means of their shadows. And just as the mirror is actually empty, so is man's soul in fact empty, or lacking in its own genuine being. When this emptiness is perceived, the soul becomes purified. In this purified state of mind, the innate knowledge, which was present all along if one could but see it, is perceived.

The following poem describes the intuitive experience which occurs when the soul or mind is enlightened. The first two lines of the poem are concrete elements directly experienced, but at the same time serve as symbols of the enlightened state of mind. This fusion in literal and figurative usage of metaphor is also a characteristic of romantic nature poetry as it developed in the West.⁵⁰

In a jade-green stream, the spring-water is pure,
Over Cold Mountain, the moon is a white splendor.
With intuitive knowledge, the soul of itself is enlightened:
Contemplate the void and this realm becomes yet more serene.⁵¹

碧澗泉水清
寒山月華白
默知神自明
觀空境逾寂

In line four of the above poem, ching 境 denotes one's environment or physical surroundings. Within the Ch'an tradition, ching also came to denote the spiritual attitude which one assumed towards one's surroundings or situation in life. As Suzuki wrote in his Essays in Zen Buddhism,

...strictly speaking, Zen Buddhists do not regard gocara or ching as mere attitude or tendency of mind but something

more fundamental constituting the very ground of one's being, that is to say, a field where a person in the profoundest sense lives and moves and has his reason of existence. This field is essentially determined by the depth and clarity of one's spiritual intuitions.⁵²

This merging of subjective and objective elements was to become a keynote of the English romantic nature poets. As Coleridge wrote,

In looking at objects of Nature while I am thinking,
as at yonder moon dim-glimmering through the dewy-
window-pane, I seem rather to be seeking, as it were
asking for, a symbolical language for something within
me that already and forever exists, than observing
anything new. Even when that latter is the case, yet
still I have always an obscure feeling as if that new
phenomenon were the dim awakening of a forgotten or
hidden truth of my inner nature.⁵³

And in the Han-shan nature poems, as within Taoist and Ch'an traditions, the highest awareness is ineffable.

My mind seems like the autumn moon
Or an emerald pool, clear and pure.
No other things can be compared to it--
How shall I explain this?⁵⁴

吾心似秋月
碧潭清皎潔
無物堪比倫
教我如何說

According to both Taoism and Ch'an, words obscure rather than mirror spiritual experience, a notion which later found expression in the West, again among the romantic poets, in Shelley's A Defense of Poetry;

Poetry is not like reasoning, a power to be exerted according to the determination of the will. A man cannot say, "I will compose poetry." The greatest poet even cannot say it; for the mind in creation is as a fading coal, which some invisible influence, like an inconstant wind, awakens to transitory brightness; this power arises from within, like the color of a flower which fades and changes as it is developed, and the conscious portions of our natures are unprophetic either of its approach or its departure. Could this influence be durable in its original purity and force,

it is impossible to predict the greatness of the results;
 but when composition begins, inspiration is already on the
 decline, and the most glorious poetry that has ever been
 communicated to the world is probably a feeble shadow
 of the original conceptions of the poet.⁵⁵

Although Shelley is here describing the act of literary creation, his description extends to the human soul, since Shelley felt that poetry was a record of the best moments of the human mind as it felt the intimations of divinity.

In the nature poems of Han-shan, the metaphor of the road finds final expression in its own negation, rather as the Chuang-tzu 莊子 suggests that one should discard the net after obtaining the fish.⁵⁶

So in the Han-shan nature poems does the poet forget the way to enlightenment after the state is reached.

He wanted to find a place for settling down;
 Cold Mountain will always sustain him.
 A slight breeze sighs amid secluded pines--
 Listen closer and the sound gets better.
 Beneath, a gray-haired man,
 Mumbles, reading Taoist books.
 For ten years he hasn't been back home--
 Completely forgot the road he came on.⁵⁷

The forgetfulness of the above poem is meant to be understood not as a negative quality, but rather as a liberating experience because the poet, in the lapse of usual mental formations, returns to the innate state of purity and enjoys a dolce far niente. And it is at this point that the traveller has reached Cold Mountain.

Finally, as we notice in the poem cited above, the Han-shan nature poems contain Taoist as well as Buddhist elements. To attempt to label the poet as exclusively Taoist or Buddhist would be a mistake, in spite of the traditional view that Han-shan was a Ch'an Buddhist. Certainly the poems show Ch'an and Hua-yen or T'ien-t'ai influences,

but the Han-shan nature poems include frequent Taoist references as well. In this respect Han-shan follows the eclectic example of nature poets such as Sun Ch'o and Hsieh Ling-yün. Unlike Sun Ch'o and Hsieh Ling-yün, however, Han-shan did not rely on myriad allusions or phantasmagoric descriptions to reveal his appreciation of nature. It is rather the brevity, peace, and purity of the Han-shan nature poems which have made them so justly esteemed. Indeed, the poet's skill at nature poetry is attested by the fact that these epithets have been applied to the entire Han-shan corpus, overpowering other categories of poems which are equally numerous but to which these epithets do not apply, such as ballads, Buddhist parables, and Buddhist admonitory pieces.

NOTES TO CHAPTER THREE

¹W.J. Bate, Criticism: The Major Texts (New York: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, Inc., 1970), p. 275.

²William K. Wimsatt, Jr., and Cleanth Brooks, Literary Criticism: A Short History (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1967), pp. 400-1. Richard Brantley, in Wordsworth's "Natural Methodism" (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1975), has proposed that Wordsworth's view of nature stemmed from the natural theology of the English Evangelical Movement which frequently used didactic interpretation of "emblems" and "types," the two forms of natural symbols. The Evangelicals, like Wordsworth, says Brantley, "exercised their vested spiritual power to discern a practical, moral significance among the subjectified objects and the mind-independent phenomena underlying a Nature inscribed by God and read by men. Their natural emblems comprised a kind of didactic symbology dating back, for example, to the 1630's, when Francis Quarles expressed the following concept of the emblematic universe: 'Before the knowledge of letters, God was known by Hieroglyphics. And indeed what are the heavens, the earth, nay, every creature, but Hieroglyphics and Emblems of his glory.'" (p. 147) This emblemology (Brantley's term), then, is a wellspring in the development of Western as well as Chinese nature poetry.

³Wimsatt and Brooks, p. 401. J.D. Frodsham has mentioned this useful definition in The Murmuring Stream (Kuala Lumpur: University of Malaya Press, 1967) Vol. 1, p. 104.

⁴Frodsham, p. 87.

⁵Throughout this chapter, the term "landscape poetry" is used only to denote the Chinese shan-shui school of poetry and not as a synonym for nature poetry as a broad class. This will avoid confusion of the Chinese term in its more specific sense with the English term.

⁶David Hawkes, "The Quest of the Goddess," Asia Major, New Series 13, 1-2 (1967), p. 82.

⁷Ibid., pp. 82-3.

⁸Frodsham, pp. 90-1.

⁹E. Zürcher feels that the hsüan-hsüeh 玄 學 school should be classed as totally distinct from the Taoist philosophy of this age, the former being created by and for literati who had political and official positions. The Taoist masters, recluses, and cave-dwelling mystics had no connection with the hsüan-hsüeh school, according to Zürcher, while thinkers like Hsi K'ang and Juan Chi were far more concerned with physical cultivation and the practice of spontaneity.

In fact, Ko Hung 葛洪 (ca. 250-330) scorned the practitioners of ch'ing-t'an and hsüan-hsüeh as "high-class idlers who disregard the rules of decorum and moral behaviour and who waste their time in noisy gatherings 'falsely quoting Lao-tzu and Chuang-tzu.'" See Zürcher, The Buddhist Conquest of China (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1959), Vol. 1, p. 87 and Vol. 2, pp. 347-8, notes 10-11.

¹⁰Ts'ao Tzu-chien chi 曹子建集 (SPTK ed.), 6.6a.

¹¹Donald Holzman, in La Vie et la pensée de Hi K'ang (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1957) assigns the following dates to each of these three stages of reaction: 200-40, 240-50, 250-60, respectively.

¹²Liu-ch'en chu Wen hsüan 六臣注文選 (SPTK ed.) (hereafter WH) 18.16a-30b. See R.H. van Gulik's translation in Hsi K'ang and his Political Essay on the Lute (Tokyo: The Charles E. Tuttle Co., 1969), pp. 70-120.

¹³WH 21.28a-33b cites seven of the fourteen.

¹⁴Ch'u tz'u 楚辭 (SPTK ed.) 12.2a-4a. David Hawkes' translation, in Ch'u Tz'u: The Songs of the South (Boston: Beacon Press, 1959), pp. 119-20.

¹⁵WH 22.1b. Frodsham's translation, p. 93. The next-to-last line quoted, however, is an example of synecdoche and would be better translated as "What need is there for silk [stringed instruments] and bamboo [flutes]?"

¹⁶Chung Hung, Shih-p'in chu 詩品注 (Taipei: K'ai-ming shu-tien 開明書店, 1968), p. 3.

¹⁷Richard Mather, "The Mystical Ascent of the T'ien-t'ai Mountains: Sun Cho's Yu-T'ien-t'ai-shan Fu," Monumenta Serica, 20 (1961), p. 233.

¹⁸WH 11.6a. Sun Ch'o exemplifies the tendency to blend Taoist and Buddhist concepts which was current in his day. See his Yü-tao lun 俞道論, Hung ming chi 弘明集 (SPTK ed.) 3.15a-20b. The beginning of this piece by Sun Ch'o reveals the synthesis of Taoism and Buddhism:

The Buddha is one who embodies Tao. Tao is that which leads things. Passing everywhere without obstacles, [the Buddha] gives blessings to all. He does not act and yet there is nothing which he does not effect. 夫佛也者體道者也。道也者導物者也。應感順通無為而無不為者也。

(3.15ab)

¹⁹Anil de Silva, The Art of Chinese Landscape Painting (New York: Crown Publishers, Inc., 1967), p. 91.

²⁰Richard Mather, "The Landscape Buddhism of the Fifth-Century

Poet Hsieh Ling-yün." Journal of Asian Studies, 18, (November, 1958), p. 69; Frodsham, pp. 16-17.

²¹Zürcher, Vol. 1. pp. 132-4, has pointed out that the synthesis of hsüan-hsüeh and Buddhist ideas began with the "gentleman-monk" Chih-tun 支遁 (314-366), who removed hsüan-hsüeh speculation from its secular application and transplanted it to the monastic situation, where metaphysical thought could flourish free from the restrictions of social or political philosophies.

²²Frodsham, p. 50.

²³WH 22.19a. Frodsham's translation, p. 147.

²⁴Mather, "The Landscape Buddhism of the Fifth-Century Poet Hsieh Ling-yün," p. 76.

²⁵WH 22.15b-16a. Frodsham's translation. p. 144.

²⁶"Tsa-shih" 雜詩 ("Miscellaneous Poems"), no. 2, 11.1-8, in Chien-chu T'ao Yüan-ming chi 箋註陶淵明集 (SPTK ed.) 5ab. J.R. Hightower's translation in The Poetry of T'ao Ch'ien (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970), p. 187.

²⁷J.R. Hightower, "T'ao Ch'ien's 'Drinking Wine' Poems," in Wen-lin: Studies in the Chinese Humanities, Chou Tse-tung ed., (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1968), p. 11.

²⁸Chien-chu T'ao Yüan-ming chi, 4.18ab. William Acher's translation in Cyril Birch ed., Anthology of Chinese Literature, Vol. 1, pp. 184-5.

²⁹Su Shih's 蘇軾 (1036-1101) two "Fu on the Red Cliff" ("Ch'ih-pi fu" 赤壁賦) and Ou-yang Hsiu's 歐陽修 (1007-1072) "Fu on the Sounds of Autumn" ("Ch'iu-sheng fu" 秋聲賦) reveal the possibilities for personal expression which the new prose fu afforded.

³⁰Frodsham, p. 92.

³¹Frodsham, p. 95, writes, "At this juncture we are tempted to draw a comparison between the development of nature poetry in medieval China and the closely parallel process in eighteenth-century Europe. Both cultures progressed from a shuddering distaste for mountains and forests through a carefully urban taste for landscape gardens to a mystical understanding of nature."

³²Burton Watson, Chinese Lyricism (New York: Columbia University Press, 1971), p. 84.

³³E.g., CTS 9060/2, 9069/5, 9071/8, 9072/1, 9079/5, 9081/6.

³⁴E.g., Ibid., 9063/4, 9067/3, 9078/6, 9081/6, 9084/1, 9091/5,

9095/6.

³⁵Waley, "Twenty-seven Poems by Han-shan," p. 3.

³⁶As Mircea Eliade has written in Cosmos and History: The Myth of the Eternal Return (New York: Harper and Row, 1959), p. 18;
"The road is arduous, fraught with perils, because it is, in fact, a rite of the passage from the profane to the sacred, from the ephemeral and illusory to reality and eternity, from death to life, from man to the divinity. Attaining the center is equivalent to a consecration, an initiation; yesterday's profane and illusory existence gives place to a new, to a life that is real, enduring, and effective."

³⁷CTS 9085/5. CTS gives the variant of t'eng 藤 (creepers) for lo 蘿 in line three.

³⁸Ibid., 9082/5. CTS gives hsien 仙 (fairy or immortal) as a possible variant for hsien 鮮 in line seven.

³⁹Ibid., 9066/8.

⁴⁰Ibid., 9067/3.

⁴¹Ibid., 9098/2.

⁴²Ibid., 9063/3. Lines seven and eight are reminiscent of T'ao Yüan-ming's poem "Hsing ying shen" 形影神 ("Body, Shadow, and Spirit"). In this poem the body represents the hedonistic idea of taking pleasures while one can, the shadow represents the Confucian idea of creating a good name which will live on after death, while spirit is described as the best basis for life, denoting a yielding to the myriad changes of the universe. See Chien-chu T'ao Yüan-ming chi 2.1a-2b.

Two human components are also seen in Li Po's 李白 (701-62) "Yüeh-hsia tu cho" 月下獨酌 ("Drinking Alone Beneath the Moon"), poem number one, where the inebriated poet, his shadow, and the moon form the three elements:

I lift my cup and urge the bright moon [to drink],
And together with my shadow, we become three.

舉杯邀明月
對影成三人

See Li T'ai-po shih chi 李太白詩集 (Su-pu pei-yao 四部備要 ed.) 23.2b, ll. 3-4.

A similar theme is seen in Su Shih's tz'u 詞 poem to the tune of "Shui tiao ko t'ou" 水調歌頭, where the poet drinks beneath the bright moon and reflects on the passage of time. Then, in a burst of happiness, all his musings are forgotten:

Rising to dance, I cavort with my clear shadow--
How could this be within the human world!

See Pai-hsiang tz'u-p'u chien 白香詞譜箋 (Hong Kong: Commercial Press, 1972), p. 47.

In the poems of Li Po and Su Shih, man is divided into a mental self and a physical self, the latter represented by the shadow. Han-shan's poem also represents a two-fold division of body and mind, representing the struggle to overcome physical obstacles. In Han-shan's poem, the mind is called upon to give higher counsel to the body; the poem presents an independent outlook, as one relies upon his own mind and body as the means to enlightenment rather than seeking outside assistance.

For an interesting discussion of the varying patterns of reclusion, see Li Chi, "The Changing Concept of the Recluse in Chinese Literature," Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies, 24 (1962-63), pp. 234-47.

⁴³CTS 9064/5.

⁴⁴Ibid., 9091/3.

⁴⁵Ibid., 9095/5.

⁴⁶Ibid., 9101/6. The shih-hao 十號 are the ten titles of a Buddha: (1) ju-lai 如來 (Tathāgata), (2) ying-kung 應供 (Arhat), (3) cheng-pien-chih 正徧知 (Samyak sambuddha), (4) ming-hsing-tsu 明行足 (Vidyācarana-sampanna), (5) shan-shih 善逝 (Sugata), (6) shih-chien-chieh 世間解 (Lokavid), (7) wu-shang-shih 無上士 (Anuttara), (8) t'iao-yü chang-fu 調御丈夫 (Puruṣa-dāmya-sarathi), (9) t'ien-jen-shih 天人師 (Sāstā deva-manuṣyaṇam), (10) fo shih-tsun 佛世尊 (Buddha-lokanātha). See Soothill, p. 52.

⁴⁷CTS 9098/3.

⁴⁸Fung Yu-lan 馮友蘭, A History of Chinese Philosophy, Derk Bodde trans. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1953), Vol. II, pp. 383-4.

⁴⁹Ibid., p. 348.

⁵⁰W. K. Wimsatt, The Verbal Icon (n.p.: University of Kentucky, 1954), p. 114.

⁵¹CTS 9073/5. Ch'en Ting-huan 陳鼎環 in his article entitled, "Han-shan ti ch'an-ching yü shih-ch'ing" 寒山的禪境與詩情 ("The Ch'an World and Poetic Feeling of Han-shan") in Chung-kuo shih chi-k'an, 3, 4 (December, 1972), p. 4, states that this poem is one of best of the collection, revealing a perfect blend of Confucianism, Taoism, and Buddhism.

⁵²D. T. Suzuki, Essays in Zen Buddhism, Third Series (London: Luzac and Co., 1934), p. 90.

⁵³Quotation from Coleridge's Anima Poetae, in Wimsatt and Brooks, p. 394.

⁵⁴CTS 9069/7.

⁵⁵Bate, pp. 433-4.

⁵⁶Chuang-tzu (SPTK ed.) 9.1.1ab.

⁵⁷CTS 9065/8. See Chapter Two, n.47.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE MOUNTAIN AND ITS SYMBOLISM

From earliest recorded times, mountains have been considered sacred in China. According to ancient cosmology, the mountain represented the yang 陽 aspects of vitality, strength, brightness, prominence, and masculinity; indeed, yang originally denoted the sunny southern heights of a mountain. The complement of the mountain was the river, representing the yin 陰 aspects of flexibility, pliancy, darkness, receptivity, and femininity. Together, mountain and stream thus were considered to represent two complementary forces which engendered the whole range of physical manifestations of nature.

Mountains and streams were the powerful or numinous centers on earth. Mountains were seen as the bony framework of the world, and their mana was thought to be derived from the energy which the heavens discharged upon their summits.¹ The mountain, being close to heaven, from which the king and later the emperor derived his mandate, was the spot where the Son of Heaven paid homage to heaven by appropriate rituals. Such rituals involved the ascent of the mountain and subsequent ceremonies at the summit, through which the sovereign gained the power immanent in the mountain.² T'ai Mountain 泰山 figured strongly in these early cults, with both the First Emperor of Ch'in 秦始皇帝 and Emperor Wu of the Han 漢武帝 making such ascents. In addition,

the First Emperor of Ch'in actually began a ritual circuit of China's five sacred mountains; however, he managed to ascend only two, T'ai Mountain and Heng Mountain 恒山, before he gave up his plan.³ Even Confucius is said to have climbed T'ai Mountain and experienced some sort of heightened awareness as he saw the world spread so small beneath him.⁴

The reverence for the mountain, which originated in early, animistic beliefs, was preserved in Taoism. The highest human attainment in Taoism was to become a hsien 仙 or immortal, the very character for which represents a "man of the mountains," who flees society to cultivate his purity, eating wild roots and berries, and later, according to the techniques of physical culture, seeking out the simples which grew in the mountains. In Taoism, the journey of ascent maintained its original significance of mystic as well as physical achievement. The favorite locale of Taoist hermits, and later of Buddhist monks, was the mountain, far removed from worldly problems and a catalyst to spiritual progress.

The Mountain in Chinese Art

During the Han dynasty, Chinese cosmological theories were formalized, possibly receiving some influence from Altaic shamanism and from India.⁵ The Han world view is represented in their cosmic mirrors, particularly the so-called "TLV" mirrors. The distinctive features of such mirrors include a raised circle or boss in the center, surrounded by a square, bordered finally by a circular rim.

The outer circle represents the dome of the sky which is supported by the earth, represented by the square.⁶ The inner raised circle with rounded roof represents the ming-t'ang 明堂 (hall of light) or temple where the sovereign performed important religious ceremonies. The central portion of the ming-t'ang which towered above the rest of the structure was originally called the k'un-lun 崑崙. The K'un-lun mountain figures strongly in early Chinese legends as the paradise-home of Hsi-wang-mu 西王母 and later of her consort Tung-wang-kung 東王公, and was considered as the abode of the immortals as well as the axis mundi.⁷ As the central mountain of the universe, K'un-lun is the Chinese equivalent of the Indic Mt. Meru. The emperor who presided over the ceremonies in the ming-t'ang ritually gained magical power over the universe by controlling the center. The ming-t'ang, as axis mundi, also represented the point of vertical passage between the three cosmic planes, and the emperor, by controlling the axis, could communicate with heaven and acquire its powers.⁸ Thus as early as the Han dynasty, the mountain had acquired the significance of the cosmic center as well as a paradise.

In Indian cosmology, of course, the sacred Mt. Meru represents the axis mundi at the center of the universe. Every temple or palace, and by association, every sacred city, ritually recreates this sacred mountain and cosmic center.⁹ The ascent to heaven was performed by an ascent of the mountain, or another model of the axis mundi, such as a birch tree in Altaic shamanism.¹⁰ Buddhism, too, drew upon the ancient idea of the cosmic mountain and axis mundi. When the Bodhisattva (or the adept in initiation) sits upon the bodhimanda or wisdom seat, he

recreates the Buddha's experience of enlightenment, in which the throne is the cosmic center by which the adept ascends to a metaphysical plane and passes beyond samsara.

It is probably from Indian or Altaic beliefs that the Chinese derived the idea of the mountain or sacred tree as world axis. The representation of this concept in Chinese literature occurs relatively late, in the Shan-hai ching 山海經 (first mentioned by Ssu-ma Ch'ien 司馬遷, 145-90?B.C., in the Shih-chi 史記), and the Huai-nan-tzu 淮南子, a collection of Taoist writings sponsored by Liu An, Prince of Huai-nan (d. 122 B.C.). The Shan-hai ching, for example, records a legend identifying the axis mundi with a tree, a mountain, or a tree growing on a mountain (11.3a), by which the sovereign mounts and descends from the sky (10.5a). Michael Sullivan has suggested that both indigenous and foreign ideas influenced the Han iconography of the mountain, so that three separate notions were represented: the idea of the three Isles of the Immortals, in the Eastern Sea; the primitive, animistic cult of the mountain; and the notion of the mountain as the axis mundi and cosmic center.¹¹

In addition to the Han cosmic mirrors, the cult of the mountain found representation in the Han hill censers (po shan lu 博山爐), whose lids are intricate miniature mountains which are characterized by the iconographic fusion mentioned above.

Another important Han representation of the mountain is the so-called ch'üeh 𡵓, a type of mountain which occurred frequently in Han landscapes. The ch'üeh is characterized by a flat summit which hangs down on one or both sides. The form is derived from the twin

watchtowers erected before the palaces of the Chou kings as emblems of sovereignty. During the Han dynasty, ch'üeh were built as signs of power by those who could afford them, regardless of rank.¹² They were also built to mark tomb entrances and as such were often represented on funerary reliefs. But the ch'üeh preserved its connotation as the dwelling place of transcendent or supernatural beings, as a sort of mountain paradise. During the Six Dynasties, this characteristic type of mountain was used in landscape paintings specifically to denote transcendent or spiritually advanced beings, Taoist or Buddhist, who dwelt on the mountain's flat crown.

The Mountain in Chinese Literature

In literature, one of the first explicit references to the mountain's power occurs in the "Kao-t'ang fu" 高唐賦 traditionally attributed to Sung Yü 宋玉 (ca. mid-third century B.C.).¹³ This poem purports to record a conversation between King Hsiang of Ch'u 楚襄王 and Sung Yü, who describes the Yang t'ai 陽台 (Yang terrace) at Wu Mountain 巫山, where King Huai of Ch'u 楚懷王 was visited by a spirit lady (shen-nü 神女). After King Huai passed the night with the spirit, she told him that she at dawn would show herself in the morning cloud (chao-yün 朝雲) and at dusk she would show herself in the driving rain (hsing-yü 行雨). The spirit lady possessed the natural forces of the clouds and rain, appropriately yin elements; that the king "shared mat and pillow" with her signifies his conquest or control over the power of the natural elements which she represents.

The "Kao-t'ang fu" describes the savagery and strangeness of the Kao-t'ang mountain, at whose summit dwell the immortals. Sung Yü counsels King Hsiang that any journey to those sacred precincts must be preceded by long abstinence and fasting. One must also select a propitious day for the journey and wear proper clothing. The end of the fu displays a rationalization of animistic beliefs into secular, Confucian concepts: through his efforts, the king will achieve temporal success and will become a just and benevolent ruler.

Thereafter shall my lord the King deal kindly for ever with the thousand lands, sorrow for the wrongs of his people, promote the wise and good, and make whole whatever was amiss. No longer shall the apertures of his intelligence be choked; to his soul's scrutiny all hidden things shall be laid bare. His years shall be prolonged, his strength eternally endure.¹⁴

Another description of the dangers of travel amid the mountains is found in the fourth century work entitled Pao-p'u tzu 抱朴子 (The Master Who Embraces Simplicity) of Ko Hung 葛洪 (ca. 280-340). Ko Hung, an ardent student of the Taoist techniques of physical cultivation and alchemy, recorded lore relating to the immortal's pharmacopoeia, methods of transmuting base metal to gold, and techniques of physical hygiene.

In his chapter entitled "Teng she" 登涉 ("Into Mountains and Over Streams"), Ko Hung records the correct method for entering mountains so as to avoid harmful forces. Stressing that reclusion among mountains is not to be undertaken lightly, Ko describes the strange phenomena which may be expected there, such as unexplained lights and shadows, weird noises, and movement of trees and rocks as if by their own force.¹⁵ He lists the proper times for entering the mountains,

ways to overcome treacherous spirits who may assume human shapes, how to summon friendly spirits, and how to avoid snakes while in the mountains.¹⁶ Knowledge of these prescriptions amounts to an initiatory test, and is reminiscent of early shamanistic initiations.

At the beginning of the six Dynasties, thus, the mountain remained, even for a Taoist like Ko Hung, a zone of horror. Sometime during the early part of the fourth century, however, a new attitude toward nature began to develop.¹⁷ The invasion of Loyang and the subsequent flight to the South in 317 A.D. was an important factor in this new awareness of nature. In the South, writers began to record visits to famous mountains where they witnessed scenes of great beauty rather than the fearful sights as described in earlier literature. A new ideal began to emerge--that of the cultivated tourist who traveled to mountain fastnesses in search of philosophical insights which could be realized in works of art.

Another important stimulus to the less fearful attitude toward the mountain came with the spread of Buddhism in China. Buddhist masters preserved the early conception of mountains as sacred areas, but by establishing their monasteries on famous mountains, the Buddhist appropriated the earlier animistic and Taoist beliefs and provided them with Buddhist interpretations. Hui-yüan, for example, established an important religious center at Mount Lu 廬, which had earlier been associated with the Taoists, while Chih-i 智顗 (ca. 538-597) founded his school at T'ien-t'ai Mountain, from which his school derived its name.¹⁸ Other mountains were consecrated to specific Bodhisattvas, such as Wu-t'ai 五臺 (Mañjuśrī; Chinese:

Wen-chu 文殊), P'u-t'o 普陀 (Avalokiteśvara; Chinese: Kuan-yin 觀音), O-mei 峨嵋 (Samantabhadra; Chinese: P'u-hsien 普賢), and Chiu-hua 九華 (Kṣitigarbha; Chinese: Ti-tsang 地藏).¹⁹

Buddhism also provided a metaphysical basis for the appreciation of the mountain. We have seen above that the Indian Buddhists assimilated an ancient cosmology of the tree of life and cosmic mountain or axis mundi. The mountain's symbolism in Buddhism is explicitly revealed in the Gandavyūha (Chinese: Ju fa-chieh p'in 入法界品), one of the last works in the collection known as the Avatamsakasūtra (Chinese: Hua-yen ching 華嚴經), of which the first Chinese translation was completed between 418 and 421 A.D.²⁰ This work gave its name to the Buddhist school begun by Ti-hsin Tu-shun 帝心杜順 (d. 640).²¹ The opening of the Ju fa-chieh p'in describes the Buddha's Great Towering Palace (Sanskrit: kūtāgāra) in the garden of Anathapiṇḍada at Jetavana in Srāvastī,²² where the Buddha performs miracles to enlighten his audience. One of these feats is the expansion of the Great Towering Palace to the fullest limits of the universe, symbolizing the dissolution of the universe in the being of the Buddha, and the interpenetration of the two.²³ The body of the text then records the spiritual search of the young pilgrim Sudhana (Chinese: Shan-ts'ai t'ung-tzu 善財童子). After his visits to more than fifty spiritual teachers, Sudhana is finally directed to the Great Towering Palace of the Bodhisattva Maitreya, who allows Sudhana to enter the palace and witness the indescribably beautiful world there. The text concludes as Sudhana reaches the residence of the Bodhisattva Samantabhadra, who initiates Sudhana and causes him to enter the final samādhis.

Of major interest to the present discussion is the Great Towering Palace, which in fact represents the dharmadhātu (Chinese: fa-chieh 法界). The towering palace is the abode of those who are unattached, without fixed abode or dependence, who move about freely because they have attained the knowledge of the interpenetration of all things. Sudhana's spiritual ascent, thus, is symbolized by a spatial ascent. When Sudhana ascends and enters the Buddha's towering palace, he recreates the Buddha's enlightenment and the tower becomes the cosmic center, Mt. Meru.²⁴

Perhaps the influence of the Ju fa-chieh p'in should not be over-emphasized, however, as the Chinese Hua-yen school was little known outside of monkish, intellectual, and court circles, and lost vitality after the ninth century, except for a brief revival during the Northern Sung dynasty (960-1126).²⁵ As Jan Fontein has commented,

To the Avatamsaka sect the persecutions of the Hui-ch'ang era [841-846] dealt an almost fatal blow, especially because the sect had lost two of its greatest leaders only a few years before. The death of Ch'eng-kuan [澄觀] and Tsung-mi [宗密], fourth and fifth patriarchs, within a few years of each other, had deprived the sect of its leadership, and after the confiscation of its property and the destruction of most of its temples it sank back into almost complete oblivion...Although not much is known about the fate of the Avatamsaka sect after the persecutions of the Hui-ch'ang era, it seems that the rapprochement between the Hua-yen and the Ch'an sects, which Ch'eng-kuan and Tsung-mi had already propagated, resulted in an almost complete absorption of the Hua-yen sect by the Ch'an Buddhists.²⁶

If the influence of the Hua-yen school on Chinese culture was small, however, the influence of Ch'an has been indisputably great. It is through Ch'an that the mountain as symbol of spiritual success became firmly established in Chinese culture. In Ch'an allegory, a

mountain could represent a geographical location, a monk who lived in that area, or the highest truth. As Walter Liebenthal has pointed out, the highest truth is veiled, and is symbolized by a mountain whose crown is hidden by clouds.²⁷ The title of the famous collection of Ch'an stories, Pi-yen lu 碧巖錄 (Blue Cliff Records), compiled 1128, thus represents the transcendental and arcane truth of Ch'an.

The importance of the mountain as a Buddhist symbol is attested by the plethora of monks whose religious names contain mountain-related expressions, such as shan 山 (mountain), yen 巖 (cliff), feng 峰 (peak), luan 巖 (mountain), and yüeh 岳 (peak).²⁸ The mountain in such cases probably combines the symbolism of cosmic center with the notion of transcendental truth, as noted by Liebenthal.

Let us turn now from the consideration of the general religious significance of the mountain to the legends associated with one mountain in particular, a mountain frequently mentioned in the poems of Han-shan.

T'ien-t'ai Mountain and the Cult of the Lohan

The Chinese cult of the lohan 羅漢 (Sanskrit: arhat) developed in the province of Chekiang, spreading rapidly at the end of the ninth century.²⁹ It appears that Taoist legends connected with T'ien-t'ai Mountain had begun to yield to Buddhist influences by the beginning of the ninth century, when Hsü Ling-fu, Taoist author of the T'ien-t'ai-shan chi, spoke of a legend concerning lohan at T'ien-t'ai Mountain.

The lohan cult was centered at one particular area of T'ien-t'ai Mountain--on Hua-ting 華頂 peak, where a rock bridge (shih-ch'iao 石橋) spans Yu stream 楠溪. Here is found a breath-taking natural phenomenon, as two mountain streams flow together to form a powerful cataract which spills beneath the natural stone arch. The bridge of stone is quite thick, but the width in some spots does not exceed four or five inches. This narrowness, when combined with the thick covering of moss and a surface moist from the spray of the stream below, made the bridge extremely difficult to traverse. But there is a second obstacle, which proves to be more imposing still. This is a great stone which rises vertically above the end of the stone bridge. Some six feet tall, this vertical boulder cannot be negotiated from the slender arch below. Called the "blue-green screen" (ts'ui-p'ing 翠屏), the vertical stone was in the past covered by creeping vines and lichens, but in more recent years has been bare, with a bronze shrine at its base.³⁰

According to early legends, transmitted by such writers as Sun Ch'o, Hsieh Ling-yün, and Ku K'ai-chih, the stone bridge guards a border between this world and the other-world, the latter being defined either in Taoist terms, as the city of immortals (hsien-tu 仙都), or in Buddhist terms, as the paradise home of the lohans. In either tradition, however, the allegory is clear: an adept must surmount difficult obstacles on his spiritual search, which must not be lightly undertaken. The path is slippery and tortuous, while beneath is a roaring chasm and possible destruction. Even after traversing the path to its final point, the adept meets an

impenetrable wall, beyond which no physical passage is possible. This is the dilemma, which may only be overcome by a leap of faith and transcendental understanding. Only these techniques will bring the adept to the other shore, beyond human affairs, to the abode of the enlightened.³¹

Let us turn to the descriptions of early writers for a clear picture of the significance of the stone bridge and screening rock in the fourth century, when Taoist and Buddhist legends had begun to blend at T'ien-t'ai Mountain.

In Sun Cho's's "Yu T'ien-t'ai shan fu," the author's imagined ascent follows a decision to cast off worldly attachments and seek the highest truths, expressed in both Taoist and Buddhist terms.

Opening up the tangled brushwood's covering loom,
I scale the towering cliff-wall's dizzy height.
I ford Yu Creek, straightway proceeding,
Skirt Five Borders, hastening on.

Straddling the high-arched Hanging Ledge,
I look down to the furlough-plunging Utter Darkness.
Having trod the moss-grown slippery rock,
Am steadied by the wall-like Feathered Screen.
I seize the "drooping Braches'" trailing moss,
And pull the "climbing creeper's" lifted stalks;
Though once endangered "at the brink",
Forever spared to "lasting life."³²

The Wen hsüan commentary by Li Shan 李善 (d. 689) et al. stipulates that the hanging ledge (hsüan-teng 懸磴) in these lines represents the stone bridge (shih-chiao 石橋).

Hsieh Ling-yun's "Shan-chu fu" also mentions the stone bridge: "Traversing the moss of the stone bridge, / Across over the coils of Yu creek."³³ In his own commentary to the fu, Hsieh Ling-yün adds,

"This is where the immortals live. In coming and going [they] must cross the stone bridge and pass over Yu

stream. It is so difficult for humans to cross that none have been past this point."³⁴

Ku K'ai-chih mentioned this natural phenomenon in his Ch'i-meng chi 啓蒙記 (Record of Dispelling Ignorance), which is no longer extant except in fragmentary citations such as that in Li Shan's commentary to Sun Ch'o's fu, which states:

The path of the stone bridge on T'ien-t'ai Mountain is no more than a foot [wide], and is some several tens of steps long. The walk is extremely slippery, and beneath, one overlooks an utterly dark stream.³⁵

Li Shan adds another quotation from Ku K'ai-chih's commentary to his Ch'i-meng chi, "those who cross the stone bridge seize the cliff face, grasping the stalks of drooping branches and climbing creepers."³⁶

The screening rock is described in Li Shan's commentary as follows, "the blue-green screen is on top of the stone bridge, and is the name of a stone wall."³⁷ Li Shan also cites the K'uai-chi chi 會稽記 (Records of K'uai-chi) of K'ung Ling-fu 孔靈符 (fl. 450 A.D.);

On top of Red-wall Mountain is a stone bridge. Suspended on it is a rock screen which cuts off [the bridge] crosswise.³⁸

We see that even in the fifth century, the stone bridge and "blue-green screen" of T'ien-t'ai Mountain had acquired the significance of obstacles on a spiritual journey. This allegory is further clarified in the biography of the fourth century Buddhist monk T'an-yu 曇猷, recorded in the Kao-seng chuan 高僧傳, which was compiled some one and one-half centuries after the writers mentioned above.³⁹

The hanging cliffs at T'ien-t'ai are steep and narrow, and their peaks are close to Heaven. An ancient tradition relates that above [the peak], there are beautiful and exquisite buildings inhabited by 'those who have attained the Tao'. Although there is a rock bridge across the deep ravine, the bridge is blocked by a huge

stone which stops all passengers. Furthermore, moss has made it green and slippery. From time immemorial, there has never been anyone who could cross over to reach [the peak].

Yu came to the bridge and heard a voice from the air, saying: 'We know that you are sincere and faithful. But time is not yet ready for your passage. Ten years from now, you shall come again.' Yu was greatly disappointed. When night came, he remained there. While sleeping, he heard the sounds of pradakṣina processions and prayers to Bodhisattvas. In the morning, he was ready to go forward again, when he saw a man with white beard and eye-brows appear and ask where he was going. Yu answered him; whereupon the elder said: 'Sire, you have a body that is subject to life and death, so how can you cross! I am the genius of the mountain, and that is why I give you this advice.' Thus Yu withdrew and returned...

Yu had always regretted that he failed to cross the rock bridge. Later, he fasted for several days and went forward again. [This time] he found the obstructing stone opening into a large hole. As he entered, not far beyond the bridge, he saw exquisite buildings and holy monks just as he had heard. So he joined the censuring and the mid-day repast. When it was over, the holy monks said to Yu: 'Exactly ten years from now, you will come again. Today you shall not stay.' With this [promise], he returned. As he turned and looked at the obstructing stone, it was closed as it had always been⁴⁰

There are a number of points of interest in this account. First, Taoist elements have been largely trimmed away in this story, and replaced with pradakṣina processions and monk-deities. Perhaps the only vestige of the Taoist substratum is the spirit of the mountain (shan-shen 山神)⁴¹ who offers counsel to T'an-yu. Second, the rock bridge in this account is unmistakably a bridge between this shore and the other shore, which may not be reached by one whose body is still subject to life and death. Third, T'an-yu's test of devotion and endurance is reminiscent of Sudhana's pilgrimage, which is finally interrupted by the intercession of Maitreya, who allows Sudhana to enter the Great Towering Palace and witness the splendors there. Finally,

we have the description of the screening rock which opened and closed for T'an-yu. This miraculous occurrence is similar to a description of the disappearance of Han-shan, as recorded in the preface attributed to Lú-ch'iu Yin. The preface records that the prefect had ordered gifts of new clothes and incense made for Han-shan and Shih-te, but when the two men did not return to Kuo-ch'ing Monastery, the prefect sent men to carry the articles into the mountains to the hermits' abode. The porters

ascended and saw Han-shan-tzu, who then cried out in a great voice, "Thieves! Thieves!" Then [Han-shan] entered a cave on the cliff, saying, "I tell you all, strive diligently!" He entered the cave and went away, the cave closing of itself.⁴²

This preface appears to reflect the same influence of the lohan lore which is seen in T'an-yu's biography. If the preface is indeed a forgery of the late T'ang, as scholars suggest, then such an influence would be quite reasonable, as the lohan cult began to spread at the end of the ninth century. It would appear that Han-shan, a popular figure of T'ien-t'ai Mountain, became associated with the lohan cult centering on this mountain, and in fact eventually came to be seen, in literature and painting, as himself a lohan.⁴³

If we look into the Han-shan collection, we find several references to the stone bridge and screening rock, but none seems to be based upon firsthand experience. The following poem describes the sadness of the poet, who, like Sun Ch'o, had not actually made the trip across the stone bridge.

I've heard of T'ien-t'ai Mountain
On the mountain is an alabaster tree.
I've always said I meant to pull my way up,
But have never known the road across the stone bridge.

Because of this I heave a sigh
 Bitter in my longing.
 Today when I looked in the mirror--
 Faded, my white temple hairs hanging down.⁴⁴

我聞天臺山
 山中有琪樹
 永言欲攀之
 莫曉石橋路
 緣此生悲歎
 幸居將已慕
 今日觀鏡中
 頌頌鬢垂素

The "alabaster tree" in line two is a reference to the Shan-hai ching (11.54a), "North of the Daybreaks (legendary creatures) are meat-watchers (legendary animals), pearl trees, veined-jade trees, alabaster trees, and immortal trees." In addition, Sun Ch'o's Yu T'ien-t'ai shan fu contains a reference to the alabaster trees in the celestial realm;

The Standing Tree effaces shadows for a thousand hsün,
 While "alabaster orchards" gleam and glow with hanging
 pearls.⁴⁵

In addition, Sun Ch'o's fu contains the phrase mo-hsiao 莫曉, seen in line four of the Hsian-shan poem;

Far off, that trackless realm,
 Deep-hidden and withdrawn from men.
 Myopic knowers, who reserve their views, will never fare,
 The farers, since their road is cut, none understand
 (mo-hsiao).⁴⁶

In the following poem, the poet describes an imagined trip over the stone bridge, much as Sun Ch'o did in his famous fu.

Sleeping alone beneath multiple peaks
 Clouds like steam, even in day not dissipated.
 Although my house is dark and cloudy inside,

In my heart is no noise or clamor.
 In my dreams I wander to the golden towers
 And my spirit returns, crossing the stone bridge.
 Thrown off is that which would disturb me--⁴⁷
 Clearly [seen] is the gourd amid the trees.

獨卧東巖下
 燕雲晝不消
 空心中雖瞬
 心裏絕喧
 夢去遊金闕
 魂歸度石橋
 拋除閑我者
 歷歷樹間瓢

The golden towers of line five again allude to Sun Ch'o's fu, which describes the city of immortals: "Here twin watchtowers, cloud-ascending, flank the road."⁴⁸ Line eight refers to Hsü Yu 許由, who as a recluse at Chi 箕 Mountain drank water with his hands rather than be annoyed with co-called conveniences which were actually unnecessary and troublesome. Someone, feeling sorry for Hsu Yü's lack, gave him a gourd as a dipper, but when Hsu Yü had used the dipper once, he hung it in a tree and, disliking its clattering in the wind, he finally took it off.⁴⁹

Although this poem is somewhat vague, it appears that the poet has not actually travelled across the stone bridge, and thus has not actually seen the watchtowers or the celestial land across the bridge, except in his dreams or imagination. And yet the final lines of the poem indicate a placid acceptance of the situation; as the poet could not make the trip in person, he would travel there in his imagination.

Other poems in the Han-shan collection refer to the famous sights of T'ien-t'ai hsien 縣, but none clearly indicates firsthand experience. The following poem, greatly inferior to the preceding poem, refers to the cascade and the stone bridge, also mentioning a cave somewhere beneath the bridge.

Rising in the distance, beyond the Milky Way--
 Amid the clouds, a road through lofty peaks.
 The cascade flows for a thousand chang,
 Unrolled like a bolt of white silk.
 Beneath is a cave to rest one's mind;
 Across is secured a bridge which settles one's life.
 Mighty and majestic, ruling over the world--
 T'ien-t'ai Mountain's reputation alone reigns supreme.⁵⁰

迥 聳 霄 漢 外
 雲 裏 路 崑 嶠
 瀑 布 千 丈 流
 如 鋪 練 一 條
 下 有 棲 心 窟
 橫 安 定 命 橋
 雄 雄 鎮 世 界
 天 臺 名 獨 超

The cave and bridge mentioned in lines five and six appear to indicate some sort of spiritual achievement, although details are lacking. The concluding lines do not reinforce this idea, however, and seem to degenerate to mere platitude.⁵¹ Probably the sights of T'ien-t'ai had become standard poetic references by the T'ang dynasty, and Han-shan was merely following a precedent set by writers such as Sun Ch'o, Hsieh Ling-yün, and Ku K'ai-chih.

Regardless of the examples just cited, in the eyes of later readers Han-shan became one of the lohans of T'ien-t'ai Mountain,

depicted with ragged clothing and unconventional manner concealing his great spiritual attainment. We might trace this back as early as Tu Kuang-t'ing, who recorded the home of Han-shan as Ts'ui-p'ing shan 翠屏山, which would appear to denote the mountain on which is located the screening rock mentioned above, as there does not seem to be another similarly named mountain in T'ien-t'ai hsien. If this association is correct, then Han-shan's home is identified with the center of the lohan cult, the bridge between this world and the next, which is traversable only by perfected beings; Han-shan is thus identified as a lohan. Tu Kuang-t'ing's comment undoubtedly reflects a process of mythicization which began after the poet's death and continued until the poet was completely idealized as the unconventional wise man, or fool-sage, seen in later sources such as the preface attributed to Lü-ch'iu Yin and the Sung kao-seng chuan.

In this chapter, we have examined the substratum of beliefs, some conscious and others perhaps unconsciously held, which influenced the mountain imagery in the poems of Han-shan. From animism and shamanism was derived the notion of the mountain's importance as a sacred precinct. From religious Taoism was derived the concept of the mountain as a paradise where the immortals dwelt in bliss. From Buddhism came the idea of the mountain as axis mundi, where the adept recreates the Buddha's enlightenment. Although these beliefs are not all clearly articulated in the Han-shan poems, something of their influence is seen in the very pseudonym of the poet. In the poet's title, the "mountain" probably suggests a numinous region, a cosmic center, and spiritual achievement. The "cold" probably implies the hardship and

material want of a spiritually-directed or eremitic life, but also suggests the simplicity, tranquillity, and detachment of such a life.

And it is this tranquillity amid, or perhaps because of, a primitive mountain environment that is a frequent theme of the Han-shan poems.

NOTES TO CHAPTER FOUR

¹Edward Schafer, The Vermilion Bird: T'ang Images of the South (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967), p. 140.

See Shih chi 史記, chüan 28, "Feng-shan shu" 封禪書 ("Treatise on the Feng and Shan sacrifices"); also Edouard Chavannes, trans., Les Mémoires historiques de Se-ma Ts'ien (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1905), Vol. III; also Burton Watson, trans., Records of the Grand Historian of China (New York: Columbia University Press, 1961), Vol. II, pp. 13-69.

²Sun Ch'o shows knowledge of this tradition in his "Yu T'ien-t'ai-shan fu;" "In all the world are few can mount or climb [them] (the T'ien-t'ai and Ssu-ming Ranges),/And of kings none there have offered prayer or sacrifice." WH 11.5a. Mather's translation, p. 235.

See also Edouard Chavannes' study of the cult of the mountain in Le T'ai Chan (Paris: Ernest Leroux: 1910).

³The powers derived from the ascent of sacred mountains are mentioned in Chou and Han mirror inscriptions, which cite Mounts T'ai and Hua 華. See Bernard Karlgren, "Early Chinese Mirror Inscriptions," Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities, No. 6 (1934), pp. 29-33.

⁴The following lines from the Lun-yü reflect Confucius' feeling for the qualities which the mountain represents:

The wise man delights in waters; the benevolent man delights in mountains. The wise man is active; the benevolent man is quiescent. The wise man enjoys himself; the benevolent man lives long. (3.17ab)

Also see Mencius (SPTK ed.): "Confucius climbed Tung-shan 東山 and saw the state of Lu to be small; he climbed T'ai-shan and saw the whole country to be small." (13.10b)

In his poem entitled "Wang yüeh" 望嶽 [Gazing at [T'ai] Mountain], Tu Fu 杜甫 (712-770) reminisces on Confucius' ascent:

How becomes the T'ai a worshipful mountain? See how the greenness of the surrounding plains is never lost. Creation has lavished there its mysterious wonders; The sunny and shady sides fashion dawn and dusk at the same moment.

The growing layers of clouds might scour one's bosom of worldly thoughts; To follow those returning birds would strain my eyes. One day I shall climb like Confucius to the top to see how the surrounding hills dwarfed into moles.

William Hung's translation in Tu Fu: China's Greatest Poet (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1952), p. 30. See Fen-men chi-chu Tu Kung-pu shih 分門集註杜工部詩 (SPTK ed.) 4.1a-2a.

⁵Michael Sullivan, The Birth of Landscape Painting in China (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1962), p. 172.

⁶Schuyler Cammann, "Significant Patterns on Chinese Bronze Mirrors," Archives of the Chinese Art Society of America, 9 (1955), p. 45.

⁷Ibid., p. 48.

⁸Under Empress Wu 武 of the T'ang dynasty (reg. 684-704), a particularly large ming-t'ang was constructed, with a central pillar representing the axis mundi. See Nelson Wu, Chinese and Indian Architecture: The City of Man, the Mountain of God, and the Realm of the Immortals (New York: George Braziller, 1963), p. 41. Wu also presents a diagram of a first century ming-t'ang from Sian, whose features bear a striking resemblance to the Tibetan mandala. (p. 100)

Cammann, noting the similarity of structure between the "TLV" mirrors and Tibetan Buddhist mandalas, suggests that the former provided a basis for the latter, the adaptation made by early Chinese Taoists, Tibetan shamans, or priests of the Bon religion. See Schuyler Cammann, "Suggested Origin of the Tibetan Mandala Paintings," Art Quarterly, 13, 2 (Spring 1950), p. 115.

⁹Eliade, Cosmos and History, p. 12.

¹⁰Eliade, Rites and Symbols of Initiation (New York: Harper and Row, 1958), p. 94. John Irwin has identified the so-called Aśokan Pillars as remnants of a pre-Buddhist cult in which the pillar represented the axis mundi; these pillars were also connected with the cosmic tree, which was later assimilated by the Buddhists and transformed into the Bodhi tree. See John Irwin, "'Aśokan' Pillars: A Reassessment of the Evidence," Burlington Magazine, November 1973, p. 720.

¹¹Sullivan, p. 59. Sullivan makes this remark apropos Han hill censors.

¹²Ibid., p. 129.

¹³WH 19.1a-8b.

¹⁴Ibid., 19.8b. I have used Waley's translation in The Temple and Other Poems (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, n.d.), p. 72.

¹⁵Pao p'u tzu, 17.1ab. Similar strange phenomena, although in more benign forms, are frequently seen in the Han-shan nature poems; c.f. CTS 9064/5; 9066/8; 9071/7; 9082/5 9085/5.

¹⁶Pao p'u tzu, 17.8a-9b.

¹⁷Paul Demieville, "La Montagne dans L'art littéraire chinoise," France-Asie 20 (1965-66), p. 15.

¹⁸Zürcher, Vol. 1, pp. 208-9.

¹⁹Wen Fong, The Lohans and a Bridge to Heaven, Freer Gallery of Art Occasional Papers, Vol. 3, No. 1 (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institute, 1958), pp. 17-8; p. 21.

²⁰Jan Fontein, The Pilgrimage of Sudhana (The Hague: Mouton and Company, 1967), p. 3.

²¹Soothill, p. 387.

²²I have followed Fontein's synopsis, pp. 5-14.

²³Suzuki Daisetz Teitaro, Essays in Zen Buddhism, Third Series (London: Luzac and Company, 1934), p. 57.

²⁴Fontein's discussion of the architectural arrangement of the Barabudur adds support to this interpretation of the spatial ascent as spiritual ascent.

Mount Meru is known as Hsü-mi 須彌 or Hsiu-mi lou 修迷樓 in Chinese; it is also called Hsüeh-shan 雪山 (Snow Mountain).

²⁵Fontein, p. 22.

²⁶Ibid., p. 23.

²⁷Walter Liebenthal, review of R.D.M. Shaw, The Blue Cliff Records - the Hekigan Roku, Monumenta Serica, 22 (1963), pp. 308-9.

²⁸The T'ang dynasty monk Chih-yen 智嚴 mentioned in Chapter One and the famous Ming dynasty commentator on the Surāṃgamasamādhi sūtra, Han-shan 寒山, are well-known examples. Kao-seng chuan erh-chi reveals the following examples: T'an-luan 譚 讖 of the Wei dynasty (chuan 7); Tao-yüeh 道岳 of the T'ang dynasty (chuan 34); Hui-feng 慧豐 of the southern state of Ch'en (chuan 34); Hui-yen 慧嚴 of the Sui dynasty (chuan 34); Te-shan 德山 of the Sui dynasty (chuan 35); Pao-yen 寶嚴 of the Sui dynasty (chuan 36); Seng-ai 僧崖 of the Northern Chou state (chuan 37).

²⁹Wen Fong, p. 43.

³⁰Mather (p. 239) gives "feathered screen" for ts'ui-p'ing but ts'ui more likely denotes the color of the moss- and vine-colored rock. Early accounts by Hsieh Ling-yün, Sun Ch'o, and Ku K'ai-chih 顧愷之 (ca. 345-406) describe the heavy covering of vegetation on the vertical rock.

³¹Mather has noted this allegory in his article on Sun Ch'o's fu, pp. 231-2.

³²WH 11.8ab. Mather's translation, pp. 239-40.

³³Sung shu 宋書, Erh-shih-wu shih 二十五史, Vol. 10 (Taipei: I-wen yin-shu kuan 藝文印書館, 1956), 67.15b.

³⁴Sung shu 67.15b. See also WH 11.8a, for a slightly different, and less acceptable, version of these lines.

³⁵WH 11.8b.

³⁶Ibid., 11.8b.

³⁷Ibid., 11.8b.

³⁸Ibid., 11.8b.

³⁹Kao-seng chuan (P'in-chia ching-she edition) 11.59b-60a.

A strange tale relating to T'ien-t'ai Mountain is also told of Liu Ch'en 劉晨 and Juan Chao 阮肇 of the Eastern Han, who went to the mountain to gather herbs. They stayed on the mountain for some days, eating peaches and drinking water from the mountain streams, entertained by two goddesses they met there. When the two men returned after half a year, they found that their descendants were in their seventh generation. Their stay far outlasted that of their American counterpart, Rip Van Winkle, who was only gone for twenty years.

Hsü Ling-fu discusses the legends of lohans at T'ien-t'ai Mountain and the stone bridge in T'ien-t'ai-shan chi 1ab, 16ab, 18ab.

⁴⁰Wen Fong's translation, pp. 15-16.

⁴¹The term shan-shen is given as "genius of the mountain" by Wen Fong; perhaps genie might be preferable, so as to avoid confusion with the more common meaning of genius.

⁴²Han-shan shih-chi 寒山詩集 (Wen-feng edition), p. 56.

⁴³For a study of Han-shan and Chih-te in Chinese and Japanese art, see Carla M. Zainie, "The Eccentric Hermits Han-shan and Chih-te: Three Late Paintings in the Nelson Gallery," Bulletin of the Nelson Gallery and Atkins Museum, 5, 3 (February, 1976), pp. 17-34.

⁴⁴CTS 9090/2.

⁴⁵WH 11.10b. Mather's translation, p. 242.

⁴⁶Ibid. 11.6b. Mather's translation, p. 237.

⁴⁷CTS 9068/3.

⁴⁸WH 11.9b. Mather's translation, p. 241.

⁴⁹Iriya, Kanzan, p. 44.

⁵⁰CTS 9096/6. In line three, one chang is approximate to ten feet. The great difference in poetic quality between this and the preceding poem supports the notion of composite authorship.

⁵¹A similar phenomenon is seen in CTS 9087/6.

CHAPTER FIVE

METAPHYSICAL POETRY AND THE VERNACULAR TRADITION OF CH'AN

Metaphysical or religious poetry developed in China at a relatively late date, appearing during the third century A.D. The poems of this period are thoroughly classical in diction and references. They owe their inspiration to Taoism and depict excursions amid the immortals and their realm. The development of Buddhism in China brought a new element to metaphysical poetry, however, with the introduction of the gātha. This loose form contained many colloquial elements and used few allusions besides references to popular Buddhist stories or sūtras. The popularity of the Chinese form of the gātha brought an alternative to the earlier tradition of metaphysical poetry. An examination of these two traditions of metaphysical poetry will clarify the position of Han-shan as a metaphysical poet and will also provide a background for assessing the works of his later imitators.

The Development of Metaphysical Poetry

In discussing metaphysical poetry, it is well to consider its two faces. On the one hand, such poems engender a profound dissatisfaction with worldly turmoil, suffering, and corruption. This outlook is negative in its rejection of the social and political aspects of the human world, with its vagaries and evanescent pleasures. This turning away

created the basis for a positive perspective, however, in the search for a paradise world above and beyond the human realm. As the immortal realm became depicted more and more concretely, the positive elements of metaphysical poetry came to take precedence over the negative elements. Let us examine this process below.

The earliest poetic anthology, the Shih ching, contains very little of what may be considered as a denial of or an attempt to transcend human affairs. The poems of the Shih ching for the most part reflect a concern with the quintessentially human: the planting, hunting, and harvesting which were the most important events in the world of man.

From the southern state of Ch'u came a different influence, however, reflecting the shamanistic practices preserved in that area. Because of the shamanistic communion with deities and animistic spirits, the southern tradition was far more conscious of the meta-human sphere, either physically conceived as the high mountains, cloud-wrapped rivers, and dense forests where such spirits could be encountered or allegorically conceived in the way of life which could transcend the restraints and commitments of human relationships. It is logical, then, that the earlier elements of metaphysical poetry should germinate in southern soil, to take root later in the third and fourth centuries.

In the Ch'u tz'u anthology, we can discern Chinese metaphysical poetry in its incipient forms. The anthology reveals two aspects: the yu-hsien notion of transcendence to a world more real, more beautiful, and more durable than the human realm, and hsüan-hsüeh speculation about the realities of man's life and the natural world. These two elements are seen in varying degrees in the Ch'u tz'u poems. The "T'ien

wen" 天問 ("Questions about Heaven"), with its questions about creation legends and ancient heroes, exhibits the crude origins of speculative poetry. The yu-hsien element is a distinct feature of the "Chiu ko," which depict concretely the deities and splendors of the meta-human realm, but show little concern for understanding the purpose of this realm. The yu-hsien and hsüan-hsüeh elements are blended, however, in the "Li sao." The negativism and rejection of worldly affairs catalyzes the poet to transcend the common path and seek a purer, more permanent world. The "Li sao" describes the immortal realm in great detail; colors, sounds, and smells create an intoxicatingly sensuous effect. Although the poet is often beset with homesickness and frustration at being misunderstood, his wanderings allow him to find solace in a world which is more attractive than that which he has left.

The negative tradition once again prevailed during the years of turmoil at the end of the Han dynasty. The collection known as the Ku-shih shih-chiu shou 古詩十九首 ("Nineteen Old Poems") describes the sufferings of broken families in a world turned upside down. These poems mock transcendence as an impossible fantasy: the only certainty for man is death, after a life of struggle, separation, and suffering. No elixirs will prevent the end; one had better enjoy life's scant pleasures while they last.

a speeding carriage climbs through eastern gate
to view far off the tombs past northern wall
white poplar's leaves all a rustle
evergreens line the broad ways

below these are men long dead
come through dark to endless dusk
sunken in sleep under Yellow Springs
never waking for a thousand years or forever

yin and yang turn in ceaseless flow
 spans of years like morning dew
 men's lives go fast like stops overnight
 old age lacks the fixity of iron or stone

eons on end we saw them off
 no saint nor sage that found escape
 some took drugs to find the potions were wrong

better to drink good wine
 and clothe yourself in satins and silks.¹

It is clear that the speculative aspect of the "Nineteen Old Poems" lead only to unremitting pessimism.

A similar attitude of negativism is seen in the poems of Ts'ao Chih. Although his "Yu-hsien p'ien" describes an excursion amid the fairy realm, the predominant themes of Ts'ao Chih's poetry are separation, distance, and sorrow. And all the legends of famous immortals are nothing more than pipe dreams. The following poem, the last poem in a group entitled "Tseng Pai-ma Wang Piao" 贈白馬王彪 ("Written to Ts'ao Piao, Prince of Pai-ma"), reveals this pessimism clearly:

Why should I worry about this bitter grief?
 Heaven's decree is indeed dubious!
 In the realm of the Void I sought the immortals,
 But Master Red Pine has long deceived me.
 In a twinkling comes the great change.
 Who could live to a hundred years?²

During the early fourth centuries, poets such as Juan Chi 阮籍 (210-63), Hsi K'ang, and Kuo P'u grappled with the same themes seen above. Although the emphasis of their poetry differs, all these poets reveal some degree of Taoist influence.

Juan Chi is remembered for his "Yung huai shih" 詠懷詩 ("Poems Describing the Innermost Thoughts"). His poems lament his inability to serve in a corrupt world, specifically referring to the Ssu-ma 司馬

clan which usurped the throne from the Ts'ao 苻 family, to which Juan Chi felt loyal. It has been stated, thus, that Juan Chi was more of a Confucian than a Taoist.³ In his "Yung-huai shih" Juan Chi describes immortal and transcendent beings, but like most of his contemporaries, Juan Chi used descriptions of immortal beings and their paradise as allegorical symbols to express a distaste for the violence, corruption, and injustice of the world of his day. In a few of his poems, however, the search for the paradise of the immortals and the supernatural state which they enjoy is portrayed as a real search, although even such poems often conclude with a rhetorical question which suggests the impossibility of attaining the immortal state.⁴

Hsi K'ang was able to take a far more positive attitude about the possibility of attaining the state of a hsien or immortal being, an optimism which is ironic in view of his eventual death by execution. Unlike his contemporaries, Hsi K'ang believed in the attainment of long life, and practiced with great intensity the Taoist techniques of physical cultivation. His practices included, besides diet, exercise, and alchemy, a psychological regimen of stilling the passions by understanding the relativity of all desirable objects.⁵

In his four-word line poems written to his elder brother Hsi Hsi 嵇喜, Hsi K'ang describes the beauties of nature and his mystical feeling of union with tao which dissipates his sadness at being separated from his brother.⁶ In his poem entitled "Yu-hsien shih" 遊仙詩 ("Travelling Amid the Immortals"), Hsi K'ang describes the pure mountain setting conducive to attaining the state of hsien.⁷

The actual description of immortals and their world was also the intention of Kuo P'u in his fourteen poems entitled "Yu-hsien shih." As an ardent adept of physical and alchemical techniques, Kuo P'u lamented the fact that his contemporaries did not take such practices seriously. His "Yu-hsien" poems describe the splendors of the immortal realm, while also expressing the poet's frustration that his duties as court astronomer kept him from retiring and devoting his time to alchemical practices.⁸

In discussing the development of metaphysical poetry of the yu-hsien type, it is helpful to look at the themes contained in such poetry. Chu Kuang-ch'ien 朱光潛 has distinguished three different themes in such poetry. The first is a protest against the corruption of human society, and the reclusion in such poem symbolizes a rejection of the political environment. This type of poem is modelled upon the political allegory in the "Li sao." A second theme is the romantic journey to an immortal habitat and encounters with beautiful goddesses; such poems often have erotic overtones. This theme is derived from Sung Yü's "Shen-nü fu" 神女賦 ("Fu on the Goddess").⁹ The third theme is true metaphysics, seen in poems whose aim is to describe the magic world of the immortals as an actual location rather than as a symbol. The "Yu-hsien" poems of Kuo P'u exemplify this third stage, the mature form of metaphysical poetry. We shall see below that the classical tradition of metaphysical poetry in the yu-hsien style was ably continued in the works of the ninth century monk Kuan-hsiu. Meanwhile, during the intervening centuries, an important force began

to shape the form of religious poetry. This is the Indian gātha, which we shall discuss below.

The Gātha and the Development of the Vernacular Ch'an Tradition

With the importation of Buddhism to China came the adoption of one of the Indian verse forms, the gātha (Chinese: chia-t'o 伽陀 or chieh 偈). The Chinese form of the gātha, or chieh, was quite loose in structure, sometimes rhyming at the end of even lines, and sometimes without any rhyme. The form is subsumed under the larger category of ku-shih because of the lack of tonal regulations or semantic parallelism. The standard chieh was composed of four eight-word lines, forming a total of thirty-two characters. Three-word, four-word, six-word, and even longer lines were acceptable; the number of lines was usually limited to four.

The diction of chieh included many colloquial elements. Allusions, where found in the chieh, usually referred to the Buddhist sūtras and popular Buddhist tales rather than to classical sources. And this simplification was in keeping with the purpose of proselytism for which these poems were composed, as they were aimed at a popular audience. The purpose of the chieh was to convert its audience by enticing or scaring people into good behavior; poetic technique played a minor role in this aim. Ch'an monks and masters also composed chieh to reveal a mystical awareness. The biographies of eminent monks record many chieh composed at the moment of a monk's enlightenment and on the deathbed, as well as at other times of heightened spiritual awareness in between. Let us look at some of these chieh.

The fifth Ch'an Patriarch Hung-jen 弘忍 (602-675), planning to choose his successor, asked his disciples to write a chieh revealing their grasp of prajñā. To the truly awakened monk, Hung-jen would transmit the position of patriarch. The head monk Shen-hsiu 神秀 (606?-706) wrote up the following chieh on the wall during the night.

The body is the Bodhi tree,
The mind is like a clear mirror.
At all times we must strive to polish it,
And not let the dust collect.¹⁰

身是菩提樹
心如明鏡臺
時時勤拂拭
莫使有塵埃

When the Fifth Patriarch saw the chieh, he told Shen-hsiu that he had "arrived at the front of the gate" but had still not entered. At that time Hui-neng 慧能 (638-713) was milling rice in the monastery.

Hearing of Shen-hsiu's chieh, he disagreed and produced the following chieh:

Bodhi originally has no tree,
The mirror also has no stand.
Buddha nature is always clean and pure;
Where is there room for dust?¹¹

菩提本無樹
明鏡亦無臺
佛性常清淨
何處有塵埃

Hung-jen determined then that Hui-neng should be the Sixth Patriarch.

The lay Buddhist P'ang Yün composed a number of chieh, several of which are recorded in his biography in the Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu.¹² The chieh of P'ang Yun are straightforward and colloquial: their difficulty lies in the philosophy expressed rather than in the method of expression. The following example describes Layman P'ang's non-differentiating approach to life.

When the mind's as is, circumstances also are as is;
 There's no real and also no unreal.
 Giving no heed to existence,
 And holding not to non-existence--
 You're neither saint nor sage,
 Just an ordinary man who has settled his affairs.¹³

心如境亦如
 無實亦無虛
 有亦不管
 無亦不居
 不是賢聖
 了事凡夫

The flexibility of the form is evident in this example, which contains both five-word and four-word lines. Rhymes occur at the end of the first and even lines.

The following chieh of Layman P'ang reveals the late stage in development of the chieh as it used the lü-shih form. Layman P'ang composed this chieh in response to the question of Master Shih-t'ou Hsi-ch'ien 石頭希遷 (700-90) as to what had been the layman's activities since coming to see the master.¹⁴

My daily activities are not unusual,
 I'm just naturally in harmony with them.
 Grasping nothing, discarding nothing,
 In every place there's no hindrance, no conflict.

Who assigns the ranks of vermillion and purple?--
 The hills' and mountains' last speck of dust is extinguished.
 [My] supernatural power and marvelous activity--
 Drawing water and carrying firewood.¹⁵

日用事無別
 唯吾自偶諧
 頭頭非取捨
 處處勿張乖
 朱紫誰為號
 丘山絕點埃
 神通並妙用
 運水及搬柴

The last two lines of this chieh became extremely popular, representing the state of mystical awareness amid the most commonplace activities of human life.

We see from the above examples that the chieh is not determined by structure. Although the earliest form was a quatrain with an un-specific number of words per line, the chieh was soon adapted to the Chinese poetic tradition and used the structure of the standard ku-shih and lü-shih forms. The term chieh, thus, came to denote Buddhist poems with religious content, but did not designate a specific structure.

Let us proceed to some examples of poets writing in the vernacular Ch'an tradition: Wang Fan-chih and Wang An-shih. It is important to note that the examples chosen below have been selected not for aesthetic value or even for intrinsic interest. Rather, in the case of Wang Fan-chih, poems were chosen as pieces representative of his general style as well as for having similarities to extant Han-shan pieces. In the case of Wang An-shih, pieces were selected from one group of this poet's colloquial religious poems -- the poems written in imitation of

Han-shan and Shih-te. Some of the examples cited are inferior poems, but our interest in the present discussion is not primarily in their artistic value.

The works of the colloquial poet Wang Fan-chih were unknown after the Sung dynasty, and were only rediscovered in the beginning of this century with the reopening of the Mo-kao Cave 莫高窟 at Tunhuang 敦煌 in northwest Kansu Province. Biographical data about Wang Fan-chih are scanty, and what does exist consist of standard Buddhist hagiography.¹⁶ According to T'ai-p'ing kuang-chi 82.23b, Wang Fan-chih was a native of Li-yang 黎陽 in Weichou 衛州, in present day Chün-hsien 浚縣, Honan Province. This account, taken from a source entitled Shih-i 史遺 (Historical Supplements), recounts that a certain Wang Te-tsu 王德祖 noticed a knob growing on one of his trees. After growing for some three years, the knob decayed and Wang Te-tsu peeled off the bark and found a child inside. Wang Te-tsu raised the child, who uttered his first words at age seven, asking, "Who raised me? What is my name?" Wang Te-tsu named the child Lin-mu-fan-t'ien 林木梵天 (The Brahma From a Tree). Afterwards the name was changed to Fan-chih and the boy took Wang as his surname because he had been raised by the Wang family. In its inclusion of legendary elements and few historical details, this biographical entry is similar to that of Han-shan in the T'ai-p'ing kuang-chi.¹⁷

Wang Fan-chih's poems are very colloquial, and most are admonitory pieces. In this respect, the poems of Wang Fan-chih are quite similar to the Buddhist admonitions and the satirical poems of Han-shan.

In fact, several of the Wang Wan-chih poems are similar to poems in the Han-shan collection, as we shall see below.

The following poem describes the simple lifestyle chosen by the poet.

I have ten mou of land
Which I cultivate on the slope of South Mountain.
Of green pines, four or five,
Of green lentils, two or three.
When I'm hot I bathe in the pond;
When I'm cool I sing on the bank.
Strolling at my leisure, I am self-satisfied--
Who can bother me!¹⁸

我有十畝田
種在南山坡
青松四五樹
綠豆兩三窠
熱即池中浴
涼便岸上歌
遨遊自取足
誰能奈我何

The next poem paints a stark picture of human life. Its realism captures not only the fears of one individual, but the desperate situation of every human being, whose hours of life are inexorably limited.

When I see that guy die,
It makes my guts burn.
It's not that I pity the man,
But that I dread my turn.¹⁹

我見那漢死
肚裏熱如火
不是惜那漢
恐畏還到我

The following poem expresses a similar cynicism about man's existence, but provides something of a palliative for man's bitter situation in the enjoyment of simple pleasures and not taking life too seriously.

We all have received impermanent and illusory bodies
 We all are endowed with the essence of the great void.
 At death, although we are born again,
 We come back and don't remember anything.
 If you think about this well,
 All [life's] concerns will be weak and insipid.
 Better to soothe your mundane mind
 By time to time lying down drunk.²⁰

身氣生記思味心醉
 假虛更不尋無俗倒
 虛太雖盡好淡慰一
 受享去來此事如時
 共死迴以萬不時

The famous Sung poet Huang T'ing-chien was especially fond of the next poem.

Outside the city are the earthen buns,
 The filling is inside the city.
 Every person eats one;
 Don't criticize them for lacking flavor.²¹

城外土饅頭
 餡草在城裏
 一人吃一個
 莫嫌沒滋味

In this poem, the earthen buns are graves, while the filling is the corpse. Wang Fan-chih again expresses a bitter view of human life in this poem. Huang T'ing-chien suggested that the last two lines were illogical, as there was no one but oneself to eat the bun. He suggested the following lines instead;

Beforehand let us libate it with wine
In order to give it some flavor.²²

His suggestion does seem to provide a more logical conclusion to the poem.

The next poem by Wang Fan-chih reveals the same sardonic humor seen in the poem above.

In this world no one lives a hundred years.
But they forcedly strike up the hope of a thousand-year life.
They forge iron for their thresholds--
The ghosts, looking on, clap their hands and laugh.²³

世無百年人
強作千年調
鑄鐵作門限
鬼見拍手笑

The Southern Sung dynasty Hui-hung 慧洪 cited a very similar poem in his work entitled Lin-chien lu 林間錄; he cites Han-shan as the author of this poem, although this poem does not appear in any extant collections.

Men are black-headed bugs
Just striking up the hope of a thousand-year life.
They cast iron to make their thresholds--
The ghosts, looking on, clap their hands and laugh.²⁴

人是黑頭蟲
剛作千年調
鑄鐵作門限
鬼見拍手笑

The next poem by Wang Fan-chih also reveals a great similarity to a Han-shan poem, which is found in the existing collections.

If your house has the poems of [Wang] Fan-chih,
Then through your [rounds of] life and death you will avoid
entering hell.
No need to mention doing good works--
Just become familiar [with my poems]!
[Use] white paper and write them on a screen,
When guests come, give them [the poems] to read.

Plain rice with a pinch of salt
 Is better than setting out wine and meat.²⁵

家有梵志詩	客來即與讀
生死免入獄	空飲手捻鹽
不論有益事	亦勝設酒肉
且得耳根熟	
白紙書屏風	

The last two lines imply that the poems of Wang Fan-chih are simple fare, but that they, like plain rice, are better for one than elaborate dishes. In fact, the poem goes so far as to state that one need not even do good works; mere reading of the poems of Wang Fan-chih will prevent one from entering hell. The following four-line poem by Han-shan is roughly analogous to lines one, two, five, and six of the poem of Wang Fan-chih.

If your house has the Han-shan poems
 This is better [for you] than reading sūtras.
 Write them and put them on a screen
 And glance at them from time to time.²⁶

家有寒山詩
 勝汝看經卷
 書放屏風上
 時時看一遍

The remarkable similarity of the two poems suggests a direct influence, but with the lack of accurate biographical details about each poet, it is impossible to be more specific about the direction of this influence.

In the eleventh century, the famous Northern Sung prime minister Wang An-shih, influenced by the colloquial Ch'an tradition, produced a group of twenty poems in imitation of the poems of Han-shan and Shih-te.²⁷ In their structure, the pieces by Wang An-shih primarily contain ku-shih with eight lines. Wang An-shih also followed tradition in his use of many vernacular expressions, as we shall see below.

If the cow's nose isn't pierced,
 How will it submit to pulling the millstones?
 If a horse is not secured with a halter,
 Then it will get up or lie down whenever it chooses.
 Parched ground will never be marshes;
 Level ground will never sink.
 In disorder and confusion we endure reincarnation
 Only because we doubt this.²⁸

牛若不穿鼻	平地終不墮
豈能推人磨	擾擾受輪迴
馬若不絡頭	祇緣疑這個
隨宜而起卧	
乾地終不澆	

This poem shows the influence of the colloquial Ch'an tradition in its admonitory tone, its lack of polished poetic technique, and, of course, in its use of colloquial expressions.

The next poem, although lacking overt admonitions, presents in simple terms the poet's view of how a good man acts within humble or straitened circumstances.

There is a kind of poor man
 Who cannot support himself independently.
 If he doesn't become a vagabond,
 Then he has to join up with thieves.
 But there is another kind of poor man
 Who always feels proud and pompous.
 What he has, he doesn't hoard;
 What he lacks, he doesn't struggle for.²⁹

有一種貧兒	復有一種貧
不能自營生	常時腹彭亨
若不作客走	若有亦不富
即須隨賊行	若無亦不營

The following poem is an admonitory piece containing several Buddhist references in lines seven and eight.

If one fails in his plans, it's difficult to find happiness;
 If one attains power, it's easy to commit a crime.

When in difficult circumstances, one remembers [past]
happiness;
When happy, one becomes greedy.
[Better to] lack both bitterness and happiness,
To lack both intelligence and ignorance.
[Better] not [to] be connected with the three realms,
But not be beyond the three realms either.³⁰

失志難作福	無苦亦無樂
得勢易造罪	無明亦無昧
苦即念快樂	不屬三界中
樂即生貪愛	亦非三界外

In lines seven and eight, san-chieh 三界 (triloka) represents the three realms of yü-chieh 欲界 (kāmadhātu), the realm of sensual desires; se-chieh 色界 (rūpadhātu), the realm of form, of things which have material existence and substance, but are above the world subject to contaminating desires; wu-se chieh 無色界 (arūpadhātu), the formless realm of pure spirit, where there are no physical bodies or material things.³¹ The message of the poem, then, is that one should avoid all distinction and discrimination, and transcend both the realm of form and also the realm of spirit. Lines one and two are especially significant when one considers Wang An-shih's own checkered career.

The Classical Tradition of Metaphysical Poetry in the T'ang Dynasty

During the T'ang dynasty, Buddhist ideas and references found their way into the classical tradition of metaphysical poetry. We shall see below that the description of landscapes, either natural or supernatural, was used by two famous poets to make a metaphysical statement.

The poems of the eighth century poet Wang Wei are filled with still and isolated landscapes. The frequent use of the word empty (k'ung 空)

in the poems of Wang Wei suggests not only the idea of reclusion and isolation as a necessary element of a spiritual life, but also the Buddhist idea of 'sunya, or the lack of permanence or identity which characterizes all things. Thus the natural descriptions of Wang Wei are both a setting for and the key to the state of spiritual awareness. That the nature poems of the Han-shan collection share a similar outlook has been shown above in Chapter Three. Several examples will illustrate Wang Wei's technique.

The following poem, entitled "Chu-li kuan" 竹里館 ("Bamboo Lodge") reveals a quiet setting in which the poet expresses his heightened awareness by playing the ch'in 琴 and singing.³²

Alone I sit in a secluded grove of bamboos,
Playing my ch'in and singing.
In the deep woods, no one knows of my presence
As the bright moon comes out to shine on me.³³

獨坐幽篁裏
彈琴復長嘯
深林人不知
明月來相照

The last couplet of Wang Wei's poem is reminiscent of the following couplet of Han-shan:

I sit alone and no one knows
As the solitary moon illumines the cold spring.³⁴

獨坐無人知
孤月照寒泉

The following poem, "Lu-chai" 鹿柴 ("Deer Hermitage"), describes the setting sun entering the deep woods of a peaceful mountain. Again, Wang Wei provides a still and isolated setting which is used to describe the still and isolated state of the poet's mind.

On the empty mountain no people are seen
 But I hear people's voices.
 The returning light enters the deep woods,
 And shines on the green moss.³⁵

空 山 不 見 人
 但 聞 人 語 響
 返 景 入 深 林
 復 照 青 苔 上

The next example presents a question and provides an answer which is no answer, much like the kung-an 公案 used so frequently by Ch'an masters. The poem is entitled "Ch'ou Chang Shao-fu" 酬張少府 ("Sent to Sub-prefect Chang"). Once again the ch'in appears as a symbol of elevated awareness.

A wind through the pines blows my loosened sash,
 The mountain moon shines as I pluck the ch'in.
 You ask the principle behind success and failure--
 The fisherman's song penetrates the hidden bend of the river.³⁶

The ninth century Ch'an master Kuan-hsiu frequently used natural description as a means to depict a psychological state or spiritual awareness, as did Wang Wei. Of special interest here, however, are four poems by Kuan-hsiu which continue the earlier yu-hsien tradition of Kuo P'u. Entitled "Meng yu-hsien" 夢遊仙 ("Dreaming of Roaming Amid the Immortals"), these four poems reveal much of the Taoist symbolism which characterizes Kuo P'u's verses. The poems also exemplify the syncretism of Taoism and Buddhism which was reaching its peak in the ninth and tenth centuries.³⁷ These poems of Kuan-hsiu draw upon the

Taoist tradition of a concretely described paradise. Their view of paradise is physical and yet metaphysical, concrete in detail and yet abstract in suggestion.

Number One

In a dream I visited the Isles of the Immortals in the Eastern Ocean.

There I visited a house of purest silver,
And discovered a venerable Taoist adept
Who claimed to be the ancient healer Li Pa-po!³⁸

夢到海中山
入個白銀宅
逢見一道士
稱是李八伯

Number Two

I saw a bevy of fair beauties there,
Clad in rich emerald-studded robes;
They were throwing magical moon-tinted pearls,
To knock down magical golden pears.³⁹

三四仙女兒
身著瑟瑟衣
手把明月珠
打落金色梨

Number Three

It was a lovely, pearly place, shimmering white and clean,
And so I walked on to the side of a jadelike pond,
Where long-lived ch'un-trees (Cedrela sinensis) grew in
thick profusion;

A white dragon came out of the water to sniff at me.⁴⁰

車渠地無塵
行到瑤池濱
森森椿樹下
白龍來嗅人

Number Four

The palaces of the immortals were heaped high, bathed in
 mysterious, purple mist,
 Iridescent water flowed through their golden, jade-sanded
 waterways,
 Fairy maidens, the guardians of the Garden of Life, lay fast
 asleep at their posts, hugged in each others arms,
 But when I tried to steal a Peach of Immortality--I almost
 fell and killed myself.⁴¹

宮殿崢嶸籠紫氣
 金渠玉砂五色水
 守閭仙婢相倚睡
 偷摘蟠桃幾倒地

The magic fruits described in these poems contained, according to Taoist tradition, the ability to cure sickness and prevent harm. Such fruits were thought to grow on the long-living trees found only in the celestial realm.⁴² The pearl, too, possessed life-extending powers, according to the Taoists.⁴³ These magical elements are used by Kuan-hsiu to symbolize spiritual attainments. The attempt to steal the peach symbolizes an attempt to reach beyond one's appointed lot in greed for immortality.

Imitations of Han-shan by Ch'an Monks

During the Sung dynasty, Ch'an Buddhist monks such as Fa-teng 法鐙, Tz'u-shou 慈受, and Chung-feng 中峯 produced poems in imitation of Han-shan.⁴⁴ Unfortunately, however, none of the imitations by these men is extant. The first extant imitations by Buddhist monks date from the Ming dynasty. During the early Ming, the Ch'an master Ch'u-shih Fan-ch'i completed a set of imitations of the whole Han-shan collection, even using the same rhyme words. This example was followed some three hundred years later by the late Ming Buddhist monk Shih-shu Chi-yüeh,

who also produced a complete set of imitations and used the same rhyme words. A comparison of the triad formed by an original Han-shan poem, the first imitation by Ch'u-shih and the second imitation by Shih-shu reveals an interesting pattern. First appears a Han-shan poem of one of the categories discussed above, such as nature poem, ballad, folk parable, buddhist parable, Buddhist admonitory piece, or satirical poem. No matter the type of original Han-shan poem, however, the Ming imitators respond with Buddhist amplifications upon the basic message of Han-shan. Typically, the second poem by Ch'u-shih elaborates upon this message by means of historical allusions or added examples. The third poem by Shih-shu then embellishes the diction and adds to the allusions of Ch'u-shih, while pushing the philosophical message to a level of ultimate negation. The examples cited below are chosen for their philosophical content and clarity in representing this characteristic pattern, rather than for their intrinsic aesthetic value or poetic technique.

Han-shan

In front of the cliffs, alone, at peace I sit;
 The round moon is dazzling in the sky.
 The myriad forms cast shadows in the moonlight
 But the moon's disc actually is not shining.
 Vast and empty, the soul of itself is pure
 Holding to the emptiness, it apprehends the profound.
 Because of the pointing you see the moon--
 The moon comes from the mind's pivot.⁴⁵

Ch'u-shih

The heart is like a great round mirror,
 All objects are brightly reflected in it.
 [Like a mirror], one's innate purity need not be burnished,
 The original brightness is not a reflection.
 Within the mirror are success and failure,
 Above and beyond are no profound mysteries.
 Let us shatter this mirror--
 What importance in it anyway, we say!⁴⁶

心如大圓鏡
 萬象同輝耀
 本淨非琢磨
 元明不隨照
 于中無得失
 向上無玄妙
 打破此鏡來
 吾人云甚要

Shih-shu

One's mind and sense-spheres are separated from defilements;
 One's body and the mountains compete in their brilliance.
 The body and the mind should not be termed different,
 Like water and the moon, they illumine each other.
 By means of this one awakens to the commonplace;
 What need to discuss the mysterious?
 Not that the mysterious doesn't exist,
 But rather that the truly secret is not the most important.⁴⁷

心與境絕淨
 身與山爭耀
 身心無異論
 水月互相照
 於此悟尋常
 何必譚玄妙
 真機則非至要

The poem by Ch'u-shih clarifies the basic message of Han-shan by pointing out that one's original nature is pure and needs no polishing because it produces its own illumination rather than reflecting an external light. After having made use of the simile of the mirror, however, Ch'u-shih negates this simile in lines seven to eight, suggesting that such comparisons are only obstacles to real understanding. Finally, the poem of Shih-shu adopts elements from both of the succeeding poems, noting that one's mind is never defiled and that the physical world and mental sphere illumine one another. Shih-shu concludes that the everyday is the most important. He does not deny the existence of profound mysteries, as does Ch'u-shih, however; rather, he points out that such unknowable secrets are not the true objects of a spiritual life.

The pattern of thesis, antithesis, and synthesis which is a negation of the two preceding concepts is seen again in the following triad.

Han-shan

He wanted to find a place for settling down;
Cold Mountain will always sustain him.
A slight breeze sighs amid secluded pines--
Listen closer and the sound gets better.
Beneath, a gray-haired man,
Mumbles, reading Taoist books.
For ten years he hasn't been back--
Completely forgot the road he came on.⁴⁸

Ch'u-shih

Man's life stretches but a breath's span,
Glory and prosperity are indeed hard to preserve.
Better to go to T'ien-t'ai Mountain,
Where peaks and streams are clear and pleasing.
The moon in the river always approaches my eaves,
And the wind through the pines can amuse an old man.
What for, this chasing of fame and fortune,⁴⁹
Coming and going along the roads of red dust.

人間保去好
 難臺且近娛名塵
 吸定天清長可逐紅
 呼定天清長可逐紅
 命華如水月風為往
 人榮不山江松胡來

Shih-shu

In times of disorder and separation what is there to fear?
 [Only] the wisdom-life must be earnestly protected.
 Of course springs and stones are secluded and hidden,
 But accepting one's human lot is also good.
 By chance I live in a commoner's home
 But I imitate the men of old who took refuge in their virtue.
 Dusty cities are the same as a mountain residence--
 Everything one encounters is Tao.⁵⁰

亂離何足畏
 慧命須勤保
 泉石固幽深
 隨緣納亦好
 偶而住民房
 且學棲賢老
 塵市即山居
 觸處無非道

In the above set of poems, Han-shan expresses his tranquillity in the eremitic life and an absorption so complete that he's never returned to his previous way of life. Ch'u-shih adds to this basic idea, describing the vanity and evanescence of temporal success as compared to the simple but lasting pleasures of a hermit's life. Shih-shu, finally, scorns the idea of making any distinctions. While mountain landscapes may be beautiful, it is better that one follow one's destiny and accept

his lot in life. In the end the defilements of the human world are just the same as a pure mountain residence, because there is nothing that is not Tao.

This characteristic pattern of development on a theme can in some cases clarify the original message of the Han-shan poem. In other cases, however, the original message is obscured beneath the Buddhist message of the imitators. Thus, for example, CTS 9085/8 describes the poet's sadness as he recalls his brothers. Ch'u-shih's imitation states that Han-shan is the older brother of Shih-te, and Shih-te the young brother of Han-shan; Ch'u-shih then describes their difficulties in life. Shih-shu transcends the previous poems by stating that all sages are brothers. This example reveals the unreliability of using the imitator's poems as invariable echoes of the ideas of the original poem by Han-shan.⁵¹

In recent years there has been a revived interest in Han-shan in Taiwan. As part of this revival, some writers have produced imitations as a correlary to their research. In 1972, Hu Tun-yü produced a complete set of imitations of 307 Han-shan poems, also using the same rhyme words.⁵² In his imitations, Hu Tun-yü continues the nature poetry tradition of Han-shan, but does not use the travel metaphor in the manner characteristic of the Han-shan nature poems. Hu Tun-yü's imitations contain elements of personal philosophy as well as folk parables. The major difference, however, is seen in regard to Han-shan's categories of Buddhist parables, Buddhist admonitions, and poems of criticism. Hu Tun-yü has reduced the Buddhist element in his poems and emphasized the personal element. In addition, he has used many of the Han-shan

poems of criticism as a basis for contemporary political and social criticism. Unfortunately, the imitations of Hu Tun-yü are flaccid and forced, lacking the liveliness and intuition of the Han-shan nature poems. For this reason, the imitations of Hu Tun-yü are inferior to those of Ch'u-shih and Shih-shu. Let us examine several examples.

Han-shan

Laughable, the Cold Mountain way--
And no cart or horse traces.
Streams join with turnings hard to recall
Amid layered peaks, who knows how many.
Weeping dew are the myriad plants;
Sighing in the wind are all the pines.
This moment, lost and at an impasse,
Body asks mind: where do we go [now]?⁵³

Hu Tun-yü

Wise men do not [live] in the same age [as mine]--
Where can one trace their lost steps?
On T'ien-t'ai Mountain, the wind is far-reaching;
Near Hua-ting Peak, a myriad folds of mountains.
A brook flows, fish sporting in its waters;
The moon is bright, and cranes nest in the pines.
In this dusty world are many branching roads;
Which do we abandon and which do we follow?⁵⁴

哲人不同世
何處訪遺蹤
天台風浩浩
華頂山萬重
溪流魚戲水
月明鶴巢松
塵世多歧路
何去又何從

The first couplet of Hu Tun-yü's imitation laments the inability to trace wise men who, like Han-shan, seem restricted to previous ages; none exist in the writer's own age. The middle two couplets describe the physical setting of Cold Mountain, but the examples lack the peculiar element of strangeness seen in Han-shan's two middle couplets. At first glance, the final couplet by Hu Tun-yü seems analogous to that of Han-shan, but there is a difference, Han-shan's final couplet suggests that the impasse is spiritual -- only the mind or soul can provide higher counsel. The couplet of Hu Tun-yü is more mundane, questioning what decisions people should make in life rather than asking what spiritual paths people should follow.

The following examples are interesting for their comments on literature.

Han-shan

Some people laugh at my poems,
 [But] my poems conform to classical models.
 They don't need Cheng's commentary,
 Nor Mao's explications!
 I don't regret that those who understand [my poems] are rare,
 This is only because those who understand me are few.
 Even if you had me follow the tonal regulations,
 My [euphonic] defects could never be shed.
 One day I will meet a clear-eyed person
 And then [my poems] of themselves will spread through
 the world.⁵⁵

有人笑我詩
 我詩合典雅
 不煩鄭氏箋
 豈用毛公解
 不恨會人稀

只為知音寡
若遣病莫能
忽遇明眼人
即自流天下

Hu Tun-yü

Some people ask how to study poetry:
"The 300 [Odes], sung, feng, and ya.
Several tens of verses of the "Li sao"
Day and night seek explanations.
The yüeh-fu ballads, recite exhaustively;
Don't sigh that those who understand you are few.
As to T'ao [Yüan-ming] and Li Po
Hold them to read and don't put them down.
The T'ang and Sung dynasties had great writers:
Do not study anything after the Sung!"⁵⁶

有人問學詩
三百頌風雅
離騷數十篇
日夕求講解
樂府吟熟爛
休歎知音寡
陶公興李白
持讀宋能罷
莫學宋以下

This imitation by Hu Tun-yü has little to do with the import of the Han-shan poem, which ridicules those who advocate tonal regulations in poetry, and the use of copious classical references. Han-shan concludes by stating that the difficulty of his poems is in their message rather than their expression, and only a wise reader will understand his meaning. Hu Tun-yü's imitation does not follow this pattern, and

simply makes several prosaic statements about poetry. As such, his imitation is clearly inferior to the original poem by Han-shan.

In 1973, Chung-kuo shih chi-k'an published a number of Han-shan imitations by writers such as Kuo I-yüan, Wu Shu-ming 吳漱溟, Li Jen-nan 李任難, and Hsü I-heng 徐義衡.⁵⁷ That the tradition of imitation continues today, over 1,000 years after the death of the original poet, attests to the vitality and popularity of the original Han-shan collection, although we have seen that not all of the imitations are of high quality.

Conclusion

We have examined above the classical tradition of metaphysical poetry, especially in respect to the yu-hsien form. We have also investigated the Ch'an colloquial tradition of metaphysical poetry. The Han-shan poems reveal influences from both traditions, the classical tradition affecting the nature poems and the colloquial tradition affecting the Buddhist parables and Buddhist admonitory poems of the collection. The later imitators of Han-shan, except for Wang An-shih, chiefly modelled their poems upon the nature poems, expressing spiritual insights by means of natural descriptions. Unfortunately, the tradition of imitating Han-shan's poems has been no exception to the general rule that imitation and increased poetic polishing yield insipid and devitalized products.

NOTES TO CHAPTER FIVE

¹WH 29.8ab. Charles Hartman's translation, in Liu Wu-chi and Irving Lo, ed, Sunflower Splendor (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1975), pp. 32-3.

²Ts'ao Tzu-chien chi 5.9a.1-6. Liu Wu-chi's translation, in An Introduction to Chinese Literature (Bloomington: University of Indiana Press, 1966), p. 49.

³Donald Holzman, Poetry and Politics: The Life and Works of Juan Chi. Cambridge Studies in Chinese History, Literature, and Institutions. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976), p. 153.

⁴Ibid., p. 173. Holzman has concluded that ten of Juan Chi's poems describe immortals with an allegorical intent, four poems seem to describe the paradise world for its own sake, and nine poems express his doubts about the existence of immortals, while retaining some faint belief that such beings actually exist. For the last type of poem, see, for example, "Yung-huai shih" 詠懷詩, number sixteen, WH 23.10ab.

⁵Donald Holzman, La Vie et la pensée de Hi K'ang, pp. 54-5.

⁶"Hsiung Hsiu-ts'ai Kung-mu ju-chün tseng shih shih-chiu shou" 兄秀才公穆入軍贈詩十九首, in Hsi Chung-san chi 嵇中散集 (SPTK ed.) 1.1b-4a.

⁷Ibid., 1.6a.

⁸WH 21.27a-33b contains seven of these fourteen poems.

See Hiroshi Kozen's 興膳宏 interesting discussion of Kuo P'u's "Yu-hsien shih" in his article entitled, "Shijin toshite no Kaku Haku" 詩人としての郭璞, Chūgoku gakuhō 19 (1963), pp. 17-67.

⁹Chu Kuang-ch'ien, "Yu-hsien shih" 遊仙詩, Wen-hsüeh tsa-chih 文學雜誌, 3 (1948), pp. 1-14. For Sung Yü's fu, see WH 9.8b-12a.

¹⁰Philip Yampolsky's translation in his work entitled, The Platform Sutra of the Sixth Patriarch (New York: Columbia University Press, 1967), p. 130; Chinese Tunhuang text in same source, p. 3.

¹¹Ibid., p. 132; Chinese text, p. 4. This is again Yampolsky's translation.

- ¹²Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu, ch'uan 8, pp. 146-7.
- ¹³Ibid., ch'uan 8, p. 147. Translation by Iriya, Sasaki, et al., The Recorded Sayings of Layman P'ang, p. 74.
- ¹⁴For the biography of Shih-t'ou Hsi-ch'ien, see Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu, ch'uan 14, pp. 70-1.
- ¹⁵Ibid., ch'uan 8, p. 146. This piece is also cited in CTS, p. 9137, which gives ch'ing $\frac{3}{4}$ for ch'iu $\frac{1}{4}$ in line six. Translation of Iriya, Sasaki, et al., p. 46.
- ¹⁶For a discussion of such hagiography, see the previously cited article on Wang Fan-chih by Iriya Yoshitaka, Part One, pp. 52-7.
- ¹⁷See T'ai-p'ing kuang-chi 55.30a.
- ¹⁸Hu Shih, pp. 164-5. Iriya, "Ō Bonshi," Part Two, p. 33.
- ¹⁹Hu Shih, p. 165. Iriya, "Ō Bonshi," p. 33.
- ²⁰Hu Shih, p. 165. Iriya, "Ō Bonshi," p. 33.
- ²¹Hu Shih, p. 166. Iriya, "Ō Bonshi," p. 36.
- ²²Hu Shih, p. 166.
- ²³Ibid., p. 167.
- ²⁴Ibid., p. 167. Iriya, "Ō Bonshi," p. 42.
- ²⁵Iriya, "Ō Bonshi," p. 48.
- ²⁶CTS 9102/6.
- ²⁷Wang Lin-ch'uan chi, ch'uan 2, pp. 16-9.
- ²⁸Ibid., p. 16.
- ²⁹Ibid., p. 19.
- ³⁰Ibid., p. 19.
- ³¹Soothill, p. 70.
- ³²R. H. van Gulik has noted the tradition crediting the lute with the magical ability to prolong life and aid meditation. See his serialized work entitled, "The Lore of the Chinese Lute," III, Monumenta Nipponica, 2, 1 (January 1939), pp. 75-99.

³³Yü Shou-chen 喻守真, ed., T'ang shih san-pai shou hsiang-hsi
唐詩三百首詳析 (Hong Kong: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1965), p. 266.

³⁴CTS 9099/4.3-4.

³⁵Yü Shou-chen, p. 267.

³⁶Ibid., pp. 146-7, ll. 5-8.

³⁷Edward Schafer, "Mineral Imagery in the Paradise Poems of Kuan-hsiu," Asia Major, N.S. 10, 1, p. 81.

³⁸CTS, p. 9305. Translation by E. Schafer, "Mineral Imagery," p. 77.

³⁹CTS, p. 9305. Schafer's translation, "Mineral Imagery," p. 77.

⁴⁰CTS, p. 9305. Schafer's translation, "Mineral Imagery," p. 77.

⁴¹CTS, p. 9305. Schafer's translation, "Mineral Imagery," p. 78.

⁴²For the story of divine peaches bestowed upon Han Wu-ti by Hsi-wang-mu, see Han Wu-ti nei-chuan 漢武帝內傳, Tao-tsang 道藏, Tung-ch'en pu 洞真部 (Taipei: I-wen yin-shu kuan, 1962), 2b-3a.

For the story of a dwarf who was said to be banished to earth by Hsi-wang-mu as a punishment for stealing the magical peaches which ripen only once every 3,000 years, see Han Wu ku-shih 漢武故事 (Ku-chin i-shih 古今逸史 ed.) (Taipei: I-wen yin-shu kuan, 1965) 5ab.

⁴³Pao p'u tzu 4.18a.

⁴⁴Ch'iu Shih 仇實, "Han-shan shih-hsiao lu" 寒山識小錄 ("Some Minor Problems about Han-shan"), Chung-kuo shih chi-k'an, 4, 3 (September 1973), p. 2.

⁴⁵CTS 9098/3. See supra, Chapter Three, n. 47.

⁴⁶Wen-feng ed., p. 76.

⁴⁷Ibid., pp. 76-7.

⁴⁸CTS 9065/8. See supra, Chapter Two, n. 47.

⁴⁹Wen-feng ed., p. 73.

⁵⁰Ibid., p. 73.

⁵¹Wen-feng ed., pp. 180-1.

⁵²Hu Tun-yü, "Ho Han-shan shih" 和寒山詩 ("Imitating the Poems of Han-shan"), Chung-kuo shih chi-k'an, 3, 3 (September 1972), pp. 1-59. These imitations by Hu Tun-yü follow the arrangement of the Wen-feng edition.

⁵³CTS 9063/3. See supra, Chapter Three, n. 42.

⁵⁴Hu Tun-yü, "Ho Han-shan shih," p. 3.

⁵⁵CTS 9101/6.

⁵⁶Hu Tun-yü, "Ho Han-shan shih," p. 58.

⁵⁷Chung-kuo shih chi-k'an, 4, 3 (September 1973).

CHAPTER SIX

THE CATEGORIES AND POETIC TECHNIQUE OF THE HAN-SHAN COLLECTION

As has been mentioned frequently throughout this study, the Han-shan collection contains various types of poems, poems whose diction, contents, structure, and purpose differ greatly. The only way to deal with this heterogeneity is to treat each category of poems separately and to avoid any attempt to impose unity where none exists. In this chapter we shall examine the categories of poems in the Han-shan collection, namely the ballads, folk parables, Buddhist parables, Buddhist admonitions, and satirical pieces, while reconsidering the category of nature poems, as discussed in Chapter Three.¹ We shall focus on diction, contents, structure, and purpose, while also noting any discernible order in the placement of the poems within the Ch'üan T'ang shih, Wen-feng, and Kunaichō editions. The chapter will conclude with a consideration of the characteristics of Han-shan's poetic technique.

The Ballads

There are in the Han-shan collection a number of poems which I have termed, somewhat loosely, ballads. These poems often describe the ephemeral beauty of a young woman or spring flower and lament the inevitability of their decline. All of these poems contain eight pentasyllabic lines. They are ku-shih in most cases, although some

have made imperfect attempts at fulfilling the tonal requirements for lü-shih 律詩 (regulated verse). Their diction is perhaps less colloquial than some of the other categories, such as the folk parables or Buddhist admonitions.

The following poem is an example of the ballads of the Han-shan collection.

In town a moth-browed girl,
How her pearl belt pendants tinkle.
A parrot she plays with amid the flowers;
A p'i-p'a she strums beneath the moon.
Her long tunes echo for three months;
Her short dances are watched by many.
Improbable that she will stay this way for long,
Because a hibiscus cannot endure the cold.²

城中蛾眉女
珠珮珂珊珊
鸚鵡花前弄
琵琶月下彈
三五月當看
長歌萬古人
未容長如此
芙蓉不耐寒

This poem is typical of the Han-shan ballads in their lament for the evanescence of youth and beauty, especially female youth and beauty.

This poem will be discussed below in terms of poetic technique.

In the following ballad, the poet makes a more generalized lament at the passage of time and the changes of nature, which wait for no man.

Peach blossoms would like to last through the summer,
But winds and [the passage of] the months press on in their haste.
Look for someone from the Han dynasty
And there is none [alive today].
Morning after morning the flowers turn;
Year after year people move on.
The place where today dust rises
In former times was a vast ocean.³

桃花欲經夏
 風月催不待
 訪覓漢時人
 能無一個在
 朝朝花遷落
 歲歲人移改
 今日常揚塵
 昔時為大海

We may conclude that the Han-shan ballads are simple yet effective, but perhaps do not display as distinctly individual a style as the nature poems. In addition, those ballads which make imperfect attempts to fulfill the tonal regulations of lü-shih are generally of inferior quality.

The Folk Parables

Another category of the collection includes folk parables, which often reveal a satirical purpose but lack the direct criticism of some of the other categories. This type of poem contains eight pentasyllabic lines, and is usually written in the ku-shih style. The diction of the folk parables often includes colloquial elements.

The following poem draws upon a common phenomenon to criticize the competition and struggle of human society.

I see a hundred-odd dogs,
 Each with hair bristling wildly.
 Those who lie down, lie down at will;
 Those who walk, walk at will.
 Throw them a bone
 And they'll fight each other with teeth bared.
 Indeed this is because bones are few
 And, with dogs many, the split isn't always fair.⁴

我見百十狗
 個個毛鬚鬚
 卧者渠自卧
 行者渠自行
 投之一塊骨
 相與嗷喋爭
 良由為骨少
 狗多分不平

The directness of content and the straightforward style make this a very effective poem.

The following folk parable lacks the criticism of the poem cited above, but is effective due to the choice of an apt symbolism;

The country takes the people as its foundation,
 Just as a tree relies upon the ground.
 If the ground is rich, then the tree flourishes
 But if the ground is poor, then the tree wastes away.
 You cannot expose its roots
 Or the branches wither and the fruit falls prematurely--
 If you drain a pond to get the fish,
 This will bring only one chance for profit.⁵

國以人為本
 猶如樹因地
 地厚樹扶疏
 地薄樹憔悴
 不得露其根
 枝枯子先墜
 決陂以取魚
 是取一期利

Lines eight and nine are reminiscent of the parable used by Mencius to remind Duke Hui of Liang 梁惠王 that the people of a state, like any other natural resource, must be used conservingly. Thus, Mencius says, if one does not put fine-meshed nets into the ponds, there will

be more than enough fish to eat.⁶ Han-shan, however, instructs by negative example in his poem.

The folk parables of the Han-shan collection are quite effective due to their clarity and simplicity. They are frequently mordant and often contain colloquial expressions; it is likely that their directness and language style offended orthodox readers.

The Buddhist Parables

The next category of poem is the Buddhist parable. Like the previous category, these poems draw upon folk wisdom and natural phenomena for subjects. Their purpose is to explain Buddhist theories by means of easily understood concepts. As such, these poems are didactic, and to determine their success, one must determine whether their analogies are reasonable and convincing. Most of the Buddhist parables are written in the ku-shih style, with pentasyllabic lines. Some, however, contain more or less than eight lines.⁷ The diction of these poems, although simple, is usually somewhat less colloquial than that of the folk parables. In addition, these poems sometimes contain Buddhist terms and symbols.

The following poem draws upon a natural phenomenon to explain the Buddhist concept of reincarnation.

You want to know an analogy for life and death?
Take ice and water as a comparison.
Water congeals to become ice;
Ice dissolves and again becomes water.
After death must come life;
After birth, once again death.
Ice and water do each other no harm--
Birth and death also are both beautiful.⁸

欲識生死譬
 且將冰水比
 水結即成冰
 冰消返成水
 已死必應生
 出生還復死
 冰水不相傷
 生死還雙美

Other poems of this category use Buddhist symbols or references as part of their analogy. In the following poem, for example, the cave represents the mind, and the house represents the physical body.

In my house there is a cave,
 Within the cave is nothing at all.
 Pure and clean, empty and vast,
 It is shining and splendid, bright like the sun.
 Vegetarian foods nourish this frail body;
 Ramie covers this illusory form.
 Let a thousand sages materialize--
 I have the in-born Buddha-nature!⁹

余家有一窟
 窟中無一物
 淨潔空堂堂
 光華明日日
 蔬食養微軀
 布裹遮幻質
 任你有千聖
 我有一天真
 真佛

The Buddhist parables seem to have varying success in providing convincing explanations. Those which use fresh analogies, like the first poem, seem to be more satisfying. The second poem is also persuasive, however, because it begins with a standard Buddhist symbolism, but expresses the analogy in a clear and personal way. If analyzed for aesthetic merit, however, the second poem would probably fall short of

the first.

The Buddhist Admonitory Pieces

Another category of the Han-shan collection includes Buddhist admonitory pieces, which depict the tortures of hell and exhort readers to cease their evil practices. Meat-eating and greed figure frequently as practices to be avoided. Most of the admonitory pieces contain pentasyllabic lines and are written in the ku-shih form. Like the Buddhist parables, the admonitory pieces are more flexible in number of lines, some containing as few as four lines and others as many as forty-six lines.¹⁰ The variation of line length in the admonitory poems and Buddhist parables is acceptable because of the flexible number of lines in the ku-shih form.

In the following poem, the priceless jewel of the mind refers to the innate Buddha-nature possessed by all human beings.

A thousand lives, 10,000 deaths: altogether how many
lifetimes;
Living then dying, coming then going, your feelings become
deluded.
You do not know of the mind's priceless jewel--
You're just like a blind donkey trusting in its feet to walk!¹¹

千生萬死凡幾生
生死來去轉迷情
不識心中無價寶
猶似盲驢信腳行

Like the category discussed above, the admonitions which use fresh imagery seem to be more convincing poems. Thus, the above poem is an effective poem, while some of the admonitions which repeat hackneyed expressions about hell or exhortations to "consider this well" (shan

szu-liang 善思量) seem less forceful.

The Poems of Direct Criticism

The final category contains poems of direct criticism. These poems attack religious hypocrisy, condemning dishonest monks who claim to follow the Buddhist teachings but merely act with outward piety in order to gain fame and status. Other poems criticize the superficial filial piety of sons. Women, too, come under criticism in one poem. Most of these poems contain pentasyllabic lines, and their number of lines is variable, the longer pieces often containing attacks on dishonest Buddhist clergy. Although most of these poems are in the ku-shih style, a few are lü-shih. The diction of the critical poems is frequently very colloquial, as befits the contents.

The following poem censures the deceit of some Buddhist monks.

There is a group of people in the world
Who really are laughable.
After becoming monks, they debase their bodies
And lie to the world, saying they'll achieve the dharma.
Although they wear "garments free from dust,"
In their clothes live many fleas.
Better to return [to your original purity]
And perceive the goodness of the sovereign mind.¹²

The following poem excoriates dishonest Buddhist clergy. This poem is quite long, containing forty-six pentasyllabic lines, of which I will cite only the first six.

I say to you monks:
How do you dare to call yourselves monks!
In seeking your livelihood you go toward extravagance and
luxury,
Maintaining your connections with great clans and houses.
With beautiful tongues, sweet lips and mouths,
But fawning and crooked, with barbed hearts.¹³

輩家出 家出 出為 你名 語何
 家活 養姓 求族 名華 奢奢
 家嘴 唇膚 甜舌 綴綴 繼繼
 加鈞 心曲 諂諂 美美 諂諂

Lines seven through eighteen detail the hypocrisy of such monks, who burn incense, chant loudly, and study incessantly, but only because of their greed for wealth.¹⁴ Lines nineteen through forty-six describe the two types of monks: those who are sincerely devoted and those who are not. The former earn praise and admiration because of their efforts, while the latter merely feign diligence in order to secure wealth and prestige. The last lines of the poem warn of the inevitable punishments which must attend such falsity.

Another critical poem attacks women, who traditionally were considered to have a great propensity for misconduct.

As for the raising of daughters, I fear there are far too many,
But as they are already born, they must be given some instruction.

Shove down their heads to make them cautious;
Flay their backs to make them keep their mouths shut.
If they don't know how to use loom and shuttle,
Then how can they become good housewives!
Old Lady Chang says to the donkey foal:
When you grow up you won't even know your mother.¹⁵

養女畏太多
 已生須訓誨
 捺頭遣小心
 鞭背令緘口
 未解乘機杼
 那堪事笑常

張婆語驢駒
汝大不知母

As a group, the critical poems are lively, provocative, and direct. Although they probably held little interest for orthodox readers, they probably had quite a strong effect on an audience with less refined tastes.

Poetic Technique

Let us now look at the collection in terms of poetic technique and structure, including parallelism, tonal regulation, and diction. A great number of poems in the collection have the superficial appearance of lǔ-shih, due to their extensive use of grammatical parallelism. All of the categories of poems, except for the Buddhist admonitory pieces, contain a large number of such poems. And yet, in the selected poems which I have examined, the apparent attempts at lǔ-shih are not confirmed by a careful compliance with the tonal regulations of the form.

The following poem is interesting because it states that some have criticized the poet for failing to comply with tonal regulations. At the same time, the poem incorporates the very tonal defects for which the poet is criticized.

There is a certain scholar Wang
Who belittles my poems for being filled with faults.
He says, "You don't understand the 'wasp waist,'
Nor know about the 'crane's knee.'
You don't know how to regulate level and deflected tones,
And your vulgar expressions appear in a long procession."
Well, I laugh at your attempts at writing poems--
You're like a blind man trying to describe the sun!¹⁶

有箇王秀才
 笑我詩多失
 云不識蜂腰
 仍不會鶴膝
 平側不解壓
 凡言取次出
 我笑你作詩
 如盲徒詠日

If we chart the tonal arrangement of this poem, we find the following pattern, in which [-] represents the even tone and [/] represents any of the three deflected tones:

/ / - / -
 / / - - /
 - / / - -
 - / / / /
 - / / / /
 - - / / /
 / / / / -
 - - - / /

The tonal errors described in lines three and four are two of the eight defects (pa-ping 八病) described by Shen Yüeh 沈約 (441-513). Although later scholars are not in agreement as to the exact phenomena which these terms denote, the most acceptable definition is probably that of Ts'ai K'uan-fu, who, in his Ts'ai K'uan-fu shih-hua, identifies the feng-yao defect as the phenomenon of the first and fifth characters of a five-word line having deflected tones while the third character has an even tone.¹⁷ The ho-hsi error, according to Ts'ai K'uan-fu, represents the opposite phenomenon, in which the first and fifth characters have an even tone while the third character has a deflected tone. Thus, in the poem cited above, the poet commits the very errors for which he is criticized, the feng-yao in line two, and the ho-hsi in line three.

The effect is to defy regulation and poetic theory, supporting the poet's statement that he has no concern for such petty things. Here, feng-yao and ho-hsi probably designate both the specific errors and also the whole notion of tonal regulation.

Despite the statement of this poem, many poems of the collection make some gestures toward fulfilling the tonal regulations of lú-shih, although most handle those regulations imperfectly. The following poem, cited above in the discussion of the ballad category, is an example of such defects.

In town a moth-browed girl,
 How her pearl belt pendants tinkle.
 With a parrot she amuses herself amid the flowers;
 A p'i-p'a she strums beneath the moon.
 Her long tunes echo for three months;
 Her short dances are watched by everyone.
 Improbable that she will stay this way for long,
 Because a hibiscus cannot endure the cold.¹⁸

The tonal pattern of the poem is as follows:

```

- - - - /
- / - - - (R)
- / - - /
- - / / - (R)
- - - / /
/ / / - - (R)
/ / - - /
- - / / - (R)

```

Rhymes occur at the end of each even line. The third and fourth couplets are perfectly contrastive in tones, while the second couplet is slightly incorrect in having an initial even tone in line three. Although strict adherence to tonal rules was required in the second and fourth characters (and sixth in a seven-word line), some flexibility was permitted in the first and third characters (and fifth in a seven-word line). Therefore, this couplet is nevertheless

acceptable. The first couplet, however, is very imperfect, line one violating the tonal requirements for the fourth character, and line two violating requirements for the first and third characters. There are, then, two important tonal defects in the first couplet: ku-p'ing 孤平 (an isolated even tone occurring anywhere but in a rhyming position) and hsia san lien 下三連 (the final three words of a line all being either even or deflected). Thus, although the grammatically parallel middle couplets fulfill the standards for lü-shih, the poem is less successful in fulfilling the tonal requirements for lü-shih. This poem is also imperfect in use of allusion, line five containing an allusion to the famous singer Han Er⁴ 韓娥 whose notes resounded among the rafters for three days after she sang. Here the poet has converted the three days into three months, perhaps alluding to the experience of Confucius, who for three months after he heard the shao 韶 music in Ch'i 齊 did not know the taste of meat.¹⁹

As has been frequently noted by earlier students of the collection, the Han-shan poems reveal an odd, unstandard, and colloquial diction. This phenomenon, whether conscious or unconscious, is a characteristic of the poetic style of the collection. In spite of the fact that colloquial expressions or padding words were considered unacceptable in the best lu-shih, such expressions are common in the lu-shih of the Han-shan collection, not to mention in the folk poems or admonitory pieces.

Another characteristic of the lu-shih of the collection is the attempt at semantic parallelism which results in weak or insipid lines. The following couplet exemplifies such a defect:

Chirp, chirp, there are always birds;

Calm and still, there are no men.²⁰

In the attempt to produce semantic parallelism, the poet has made the following couplet needlessly contrary to normal word order, while using weak existential verbs in the fourth characters.

Joining in my songs, there are the sounds of birds;²¹
Asking about dharma, there are no men to talk with.

助 歌 聲 有 鳥
問 法 語 無 人

We must not consider that such contrived lines outnumber the powerful and successful couplets, however. The nature poems are especially rich in examples of the effective use of semantic parallelism to heighten poetic drama. The following couplet describes both the physical road to Cold Mountain as well as the spiritual technique necessary to gain the poet's state of mind:

There is a road, but it doesn't cross through your world;
Without [the right] state of mind, who can ascend by it?²²

In the following couplet, which describes the poet's unusual habitat, the poet uses two common types of alpine vegetation but adds the factor of the unknown:

No wind, but the creeper vines move of themselves;
No mist, but the bamboos are always dark.²³

In the following couplet, the poet incorporates an allusion to Confucius and describes with terse eloquence the swift passage of a human life.

[Our life is] extinguished gradually, like a melting candle,
Passing always, like a swift river.²⁴

The poet was aware of criticism of his unorthodox techniques and responded to such criticism with the statement that good poems require an intelligent reader to appreciate their merit. To unenlightened readers, even a meaningful poem may appear laughable.

Some people laugh at my poems,
 [But] my poems conform to classical models.
 They don't need Cheng's commentary,
 Nor Mao's explications!
 I don't regret that those who understand [my poems] are
 rare--
 This is only because those who understand me are few.
 Even if you had me follow the tonal regulations,
 My [euphonic] defects could never be shed.
 One day I will meet a clear-eyed person
 And then [my poems] of themselves will spread through
 the world.²⁵

In this poem, the poet explicitly states his impatience with inflexible proponents of theories of tonal arrangement. He also points out that his poems are not difficult because of copious or recondite allusions; rather their difficulty lies in the subtlety of their ideas. Such a statement is consistent with the contents of the collection, which is indeed largely devoid of allusions. Lines seven and eight are somewhat at variance with the reality of the collection, however, as many of the poems make some gestures toward tonal regulation, although imperfectly effected. Thus, we may conclude that either the poet was being slightly hypocritical in his statements defying tonal regulation, or that the many lü-shih are additions by other hands, a hypothesis which seems quite unlikely.

It is apparent that the elements of technique and meaning vary in importance throughout the poems in the collection. In the lü-shih cited above, for example, the metaphysical element is equal to, if not subordinated to, technical considerations. In the Buddhist admonitions and poems of direct criticism, however, the element of proselytism clearly outweighs any poetic concerns. Several poems proclaim the poet's didactic intent:

Of five-word line poems, 500.
 Of seven-word line poems, seventy-nine.
 Of three-word line poems, twenty-one,
 All coming to 600 poems.
 All are written on cliffs and stones,
 And I may boast of myself as quite skillful.
 If you can understand my poems,
 You are indeed the mother of a tathāgata.²⁶

五言五百篇
 七字七十九
 三字二十一
 都來六百首
 一例書巖石
 自誇云好手
 若能會我詩
 真是如來母

In line eight, ju-lai mu 如來母 denotes one who possesses prajñā, the transcendental wisdom which is equated with Buddhahood. We shall see below that the poet describes this transcendental awareness in the best of his nature poems.

Although the poet implies that one must already be a Buddha to understand his poems completely, he elsewhere states that frequent reading of his poems can hasten one's spiritual development.

If your house has the Han-shan poems
 This is better [for you] than reading sūtras.
 Write them and put them on a screen
 And glance at them from time to time.²⁷

In such poems, metaphysical content clearly takes precedence over poetic technique. And yet the best poems are probably those in which metaphysical intent and poetic technique are evenly balanced. The category of nature poems contains more of this type than does any other category. The following poem reveals the careful balance of structural skill and metaphysical content which characterizes the best Han-shan poems.

In a jade-green stream, spring-water is clear.
 Over Cold Mountain, the moon is a white splendor.
 With intuitive knowledge, the soul of itself is enlightened--
 Contemplate the void and this realm becomes yet more serene.²⁸

Although tonal arrangement identifies this piece as a ku-shih, the poem nevertheless shows a careful and yet uncontrived parallelism which crystallizes the message of the poem. The first couplet introduces the physical world of Cold Mountain, reduced to two main components: the clarity of a mountain stream and the glow of the moon shining over the mountain. The mountain possesses the attributes of indestructability, elevation, and permanence, while the water is a physical symbol for knowledge, which, like the stream, always changes and yet ever remains the same stream. The couplet also implies that the moon is reflected in the water, a common Buddhist symbolism in which the moon represents enlightenment and the reflection of the moon in the water represents perception, which is an illusion.²⁹ The physical world, then, is here both permanent and evanescent, both immovable and always changing. Nor is the illusory physical world described as an obstacle. If rightly understood, illusion is the springboard to enlightenment. The second couplet expresses this intuitive awareness, in which illusion and reality, emptiness and being, are seen to be identical. The judicious use of parallelism helps to clarify this identity, and makes this one of the most effective poems in the Han-shan collection.

We have seen above some of the structural features of the categories of poems of the Han-shan collection and the variability of importance placed upon technique and content. Those poems which evidence a balance of technique and content are the most effective poems in the collection

and are seen most frequently in the category of nature poems. It is probably for this reason that most traditional and modern imitators of Han-shan have imitated this category most frequently, and that modern translators of the collection have chiefly chosen nature poems for their translations.

NOTES TO CHAPTER SIX

¹It is interesting that Tu Kuang-t'ing noted the categories of the collection, but mentioned the two categories which are least discussed today, the satirical poems and admonitory pieces. His comment was that "some of the poems satirize the attitudes of [the poet's] contemporaries, and others admonish against prevailing customs." It is logical that Tu Kuang-t'ing would omit to mention the Buddhist parables and admonitions, however, as he was a Taoist and would wish to deemphasize those elements of the collection.

²CTS 9065/2; ho何 is given as a variant of k'o珂 and line two would then read, "How her jade belt pendants tinkle!" Iriya, pp. 88-9, has cited T'ao Yüan-ming's "Ni-ku shih" 擬古詩 number seven as an influence on this poem, but there seems to be no connection between the two outside of a general similarity of subject matter. Iriya has also noted that Chu Hsi 朱熹 (1130-1200) felt that this poem is excellent and can be equalled by few other poems. See Chu Tzu yü-lei 朱子語類 (Taipei: Cheng-chung shu-chü 正中書局, 1962) 140.4b-5a.

The belt pendants described in line two are reminiscent of the following line of "She Chiang" 涉江 ("Crossing the River"), "Round my neck moon-bright jewels, and a precious jade at my girdle." 被明月兮瑩寶璐 Ch'u tz'u (SPTK ed.) 4.9b; David Hawkes' translation, p. 63.

³CTS 9070/3. Lines one through four allude to the famous story by T'ao Yüan-ming entitled "T'ao hua yüan chi" 桃花源記 ("Peach Blossom Spring"). In this story, a fisherman follows a stream full of peach blossoms fallen from trees along the shore. The stream leads the fisherman to a spring and then to a hill. After climbing through a small opening there, the fisherman comes to a totally isolated world populated by refugees from the turmoils of the Ch'in dynasty (255-209 B.C.); these people have had no contacts with the outside world since then, knowing nothing of the Han or following dynasties. See Chien-chu T'ao Yüan-ming chi 5.1a-2a.

Lines seven and eight allude to the story of Ma Ku 麻姑, who lived so long that she saw the Eastern sea three times changed into mulberry groves. See "Shen hsien chuan" 神仙傳, in Chang Chün-fang 張君房 comp. and ed., Yün-chi ch'i-ch'ien 雲笈七籤 (SPTK Taiwan ed.), chüan 109, p. 746.

⁴CTS 9070/6.

⁵Ibid., 9091/1. CTS gives ch'iu 求 as a variant for ch'ü 取 in line eight.

⁶Meng-tzu 1.4b-5a.

⁷E.g., CTS 9100/8 contains only four lines, while CTS 9084/5 contains sixteen lines.

⁸Ibid., 9075/7.

⁹Ibid., 9083/4.

¹⁰E.g., CTS 9074/3 contains only four lines, while CTS 9092/1 contains twenty lines.

¹¹Ibid., 9087/7. A possible variant for the last three characters is cited in CTS as ho shih i 何時已, which would read, "when will they end." In line four, ch'iao 恰 is given as a variant for yu 猶.

Although there is a simile in line four, I have not classed this poem as a Buddhist parable, because the simile is restricted to the last line. Likewise, I have treated CTS 9084/5 as a parable since the poem centers around a Buddhist metaphor, although lines thirteen to sixteen contain an admonition.

¹²Ibid., 9099/3. See supra, Chapter Two, n. 51.

¹³Ibid., 9097/8.

¹⁴It is interesting to note that the Wen-feng edition, pp. 249-52, breaks this unit into two poems after line eighteen. The CTS and Kunaichō editions, however, list this as one poem. This arrangement is supported by the fact that line nineteen does not appear to start a new topic, but continues the previous one:

I also see monks--

Some devoted and others not.

又見出家兒
有力及無力

¹⁵CTS 9085/3. I have followed the variant reading given in CTS, taking chih 知 for ju 如. This reading seems to be a more severe criticism. Iriya, p. 191, also reads chih for ju; he cites a similar anonymous poem stressing strictness in the raising of sons.

¹⁶Ibid., 9099/5. See supra, Chapter One, n. 74. See also Eugene Eoyang's translation in Liu Wu-chi and Irving Lo ed., Sunflower Splendor (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1975), p. 91.

¹⁷See supra, Chapter One, n. 17.

¹⁸CTS 9065/2. See supra, n. 2.

¹⁹Lun yü 4.3b-4a.

²⁰CTS 9067/3.3-4. See supra, Chapter Two, n. 45.

²¹Ibid., 9063/4.5-6.

²²Ibid., 9091/3.5-6. See supra, Chapter Three, n. 43.

²³Ibid., 9085/5.3-4. See supra, Chapter Three, n. 36.

²⁴Ibid., 9069/5.5-6. See supra, Chapter Two, n. 40.

²⁵Ibid., 9101/6. See supra, Chapter Five, n. 51. Cheng's Commentary is a commentary to the Mao 毛 version of the Shih ching. written by the Eastern Han scholar Cheng Hsüan 鄭玄.

²⁶Ibid., 9097/3.

²⁷Ibid., 9102/6. Note similarity to Wang Fan-chih's poem cited supra, Chapter Five, p. 136.

²⁸See supra, Chapter Three, n. 50.

²⁹Lu K'uan Yü (Charles Luk), The Surangama Sutra (London: Rider and Company, 1966), xviii.

CONCLUSION

The 300-odd poems of the Han-shan collection present a perplexing situation for one who wishes to gain a clear picture of the poet/poets or to provide neat epithets characterizing the poetic merit of the poems. Besides the fact that all accounts of Han-shan in outside sources are filled with legendary elements and lack any attempt to identify the poet, the poems themselves contain few details which would provide a biographical composite. In addition, although Chinese poetry commonly displays a very liberal range of rhetorical situations, the heterogeneity of the themes, attitudes and types of poetry seen in the collection strongly suggests composite authorship, a judgment which is supported by the extremely varying quality of the poems. A translator or editor dislikes to admit the inferior worth of his subject's works, but it must be done. In the present case this admission is palliated somewhat by the fact that a great number of the poems of Han-shan are quite good. The nature poems, especially, will bear comparison with the works of China's best metaphysical and nature poets -- T'ao Yüan-ming, Hsieh Ling-yün, and Wang Wei. But the pseudo-lü-shih ballads and many of the Buddhist admonitions make a reader uncomfortable, and the weakness of such pieces is rendered all the more apparent by their juxtaposition with far superior poems. One may find some solace in the notion of composite authorship, which has been given tentative support from recent linguistic studies of the poems. Such methods are probably

the only means which will provide conclusive evidence about the periodization of the collection. Even given a proof of multiple authorship, however, the problem of who wrote what would still exist; linguistic data can only conclude that a certain poem displays the features of a certain time period and/or region, but cannot provide conclusive evidence about a multiplicity of contemporary authors. So the reader is left with a baffling and often frustrating variety in style, attitude, and poetic technique. And barring the good fortune of another Tunhuang, this frustrating situation is likely to persist.

It is perhaps because of this heterogeneity that early editors of the collection could describe the poet in such different ways. The influence of the nei-tan school of Taoism is as apparent as are Buddhist elements. This jumble of philosophical outlooks permitted the early editors to highlight those elements which they favored and simply ignore those which they did not like so well. Although we are not likely to find definite answers about the identity of the poet/poets, we may be a little more positive about the handling of the poems by various editors and the development of the Han-shan legend. If we exclude the Prefect Lü-ch'iu Yin, whose name was likely given to a forged preface of the late T'ang, the earliest name connected with the Han-shan collection is Hsü' Ling-fu. An ardent Taoist, Hsü' Ling-fu certainly considered Han-shan to be a Taoist, or it is unlikely that he would have taken the trouble to edit his poems. Tu Kuang-t'ing, in turn, considered Han-shan to be a Taoist immortal of some sort, including the poet in his Hsien-chuan shih-i, which was later cited in the T'ai-p'ing kuang-chi. From these circumstances, we may infer that, in the ninth

century, Han-shan was held to be a Taoist or was at least shared by the Taoists and Buddhists.

If this is the case, then how did the Buddhists eventually appropriate Han-shan? The answer lies in the next collection of the Han-shan poems, made by the important Buddhist Ts'ao-shan Pen-chi. It is probable that Ts'ao-shan Pen-chi based his edition on that of his contemporary, Hsü Ling-fu, but deleted the preface by Hsü Ling-fu, which would be sure to contain Taoist explications. Instead, Ts'ao-shan Pen-chi would have added his own Buddhist annotations; we know that his edition formed a work in seven chüan, while the earlier collections contained only three chüan. Yü Chia-hsi, in his entry on Han-shan in the Ssu-k'u t'i-yao pien-cheng, which was reprinted in Chung-kuo shih chi-k'an, goes so far as to speculate that Ts'ao-shan Pen-chi actually wrote the Lü-ch'iu Yin preface himself. (p. 13) As Ts'ao-shan Pen-chi's work was lost by the Sung dynasty, the contents of it, too, must remain hypothetical. We may suppose, however, that Han-shan's association with the Buddhist schools became formalized because of Ts'ao-shan Pen-chi's collection, which we know to have been very popular.

Modern editors and translators, too, have enjoyed the variety of the collection, which seems to provide something for everyone. The heterogeneity of the poems, when coupled with the lack of authentic details about the original poet/poets, allowed translations which show great variety in formality and distance. No doubt this opacity is part of the Han-shan mystique and goes far towards soothing the reader's discomfort in other features of the collection.

APPENDIX

TEXTUAL STUDIES

A. In his Kanzan, pp. 20-1, Iriya Yoshitaka (see Chapter One) states that the earliest texts of the Han-shan poems date from the Sung, and that there are at least five such versions extant:

(1) The earliest printed edition is the 1189 Kuo-ch'ing Monastery text with a preface by Chih-nan. While this text is not itself extant, a very closely related version is preserved in the Kunaicho shoryobu in Tokyo. (The Kunaicho text was reprinted in Hong Kong by Yung-chiu fang-sheng hui in 1959.) Iriya used this edition as the basic text for his studies.

(2) A second Sung text was preserved in the Chi-ku 汲古閣 collection of the late Ming bibliophile Mao Chin 毛晉. This text was used in the second SPTK printing.

(3) A third Sung text is a Southern Sung edition printed by Chiang-tung ts'ao-yüan 江東漕院 in 1255 and again in 1516. Iriya did not have access to this text.

(4) A fourth text is a 1325 reprint of a Sung edition and contains only the poems of Han-shan.

(5) The fifth text is a 1529 Korean reprint of a Yüan edition which includes 148 imitations written by the monk Tz'u-shou Huai-shen 應受懷神 in 1130. This edition was used in the first SPTK printing.

According to Iriya, versions (2), (4) and (5) are relatively

similar. Although the first version (1) has distinct differences, Iriya used this as his basic text, making changes where indicated by information in the other three available editions.

B. Karl Lo, in his Guide to the Ssu pu ts'ung k'an (Lawrence: University of Kansas Libraries, 1965), states that the second SPTK printing is a facsimile of a Sung edition, made by a Mr. Chou 周 of Chien-te 建德. (p. 15).

C. The Ssu-pu ts'ung-k'an shu-lu 四部叢刊書錄 states that the second SPTK printing was based on a Sung edition preserved in the imperial T'ien-lu-lin-lang 天祿琳琅 collection of the Ch'ing dynasty.

D. Wu Chi-yu, in his article entitled "A Study of Han-shan," p.465, (see Chapter One) presents the following preliminary reconstruction of the development of editions of the Han-shan poems: (See page 182.)

A. *T'ien-lu-lin-lang* ed. (Sung) ————— Second SPTK ed.

天祿琳琅

Pak Kyōng-yang's 朴景亮

ed. (14th c. in Korea)

Kuo's stationery ed. 郭宅紙舖

(13th c.? Hang-chou)

First SPTK ed.

B. Chih- — Tung-kao-ssü 東臯寺無隱

nan's Wu-yin's ed.

ed. 志南 (1229)

(1189)

Ch'ing-fu-yüan 慶福院

ed. (= *Sô taiji*

bon) (13th c.?)

宋大字本

Tse-shih-chü

ts'ung-shu ed.

擇是居叢書 (1916)

Yu-chêng shu-chü

ed. 有正書局

Shimbi shoin ed.

審美書院 (1928)

Shimada's ed. (1904)

島田翰

C. Hsing-kuo's ed. 行果 — Shen-tu-chai — Wang Tsung-mu's

(1225) (= Chiang-

ed. (1516)

ed. (c. 1592) 王

tung ts'ao-ssü ed. ?)

Chien-yang

宗沐

江東漕司

建陽慎獨齋

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Note: This bibliography consists of two parts. Part one contains works in Western languages or translations in Western languages. Part two contains works in Chinese and Japanese. Works in both parts are arranged alphabetically by author or translator, except that works which are best known by title will be listed thus in Part two.

Part One

- Balazs, Etienne. "La Crise sociale et la philosophie politique à la fin des Han," T'oung-pao, 39 (1950), 83-131.
- Bate, W.J. Criticism: the Major Texts. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1970.
- Birch, Cyril, ed. Anthology of Chinese Literature, Vol. I. New York: Grove Press, 1965.
- Brantley, Richard. Wordsworth's "Natural Methodism." New Haven: Yale University Press, 1975.
- Brooks, Cleanth and W.K. Wimsatt, Jr. Literary Criticism: A Short History. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1967.
- Cammann, Schuyler. "Significant Patterns on Chinese Bronze Mirrors," Archives of the Chinese Art Society of America, 7 (1953), 43-62.
- "Suggested Origin of the Tibetan Mandala Paintings," Art Quarterly, 13, 2 (Spring, 1950), 107-117.
- Chang Chung-yuan. Original Teachings of Ch'an Buddhism. New York: Pantheon Books, 1969.
- Chavannes, Edouard, trans. Les Mémoires historiques de Se-ma Ts'ien. Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1901-5.
- Le T'ai Chan. Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1910.
- Csongor, B. "A Note on T'ang Dialects," Monumenta Serica, 26 (1967), 286-94.
- de Silva, Anil. The Art of Chinese Landscape Painting. New York: Crown Publishers, 1967.

- Demiéville, Paul. "La Montagne dans l'art littéraire Chinois," France-Asie, Autumn, 1965, 7-32.
- des Rotours, Robert. Le Traité des examens. Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1932.
- Eliade, Mircea. Cosmos and History. New York: Harper and Row, 1959.
- . The Quest. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1969.
- . Rites and Symbols of Initiation. New York: Harper and Row, 1958.
- Fontein, Jan. The Pilgrimage of Sudhana. The Hague: Mouton, 1967.
- , and Money Hickman. Zen Painting and Calligraphy. Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1970.
- Fraser, Dana, Iriya Yoshitaka, and Ruth Fuller Sasaki. The Recorded Sayings of Layman P'ang. New York: Weatherhill, 1971.
- Frodsham, J. D. The Murmuring Stream. Vols. I and II. Kuala Lumpur: University of Malaya Press, 1967.
- Fung Yu-lan. A History of Chinese Philosophy. Vols. I and II. Trans. by Derk Bodde. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1953.
- Giles, Lionel. Descriptive Catalogue of the Chinese Manuscripts from Tunhuang in the British Museum. London: Trustees of the British Museum, 1957.
- Goodenough, Edwin. The Psychology of Religious Experiences. New York: Basic Books, 1965.
- Hawkes, David. Ch'u Tz'u: The Songs of the South. Boston: Beacon Press, 1959.
- . "The Quest of the Goddess," Asia Major 13, 1-2 (1967), 71-94.
- . Review of Cold Mountain, by Burton Watson, Journal of the American Oriental Society, 82 (1962), 596-9.
- Hickman, Money. See Fontein, Jan, Zen Painting and Calligraphy.
- Hightower, J.R. The Poetry of T'ao Ch'ien. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970.
- . "T'ao Ch'ien's 'Drinking Wine' Poems," in Chow Tse-tsung ed., Wen-lin: Studies in the Chinese Humanities. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1968, 3-44.
- Ho Ping-ti. The Ladder of Success in Imperial China. New York: Columbia University press, 1962.

Hodous, Lewis. See Soothill, W.E., A Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist Terms.

Holzman, Donald. Poetry and Politics: The Life and Works of Juan Chi. Cambridge Studies in Chinese History, Literature and Institutions. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976.

-----. La Vie et la pensée de Hi K'ang. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1957.

Hung, William. Tu Fu: China's Greatest Poet. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1952.

Iriya, Yoshitaka. See Fraser, Dana, The Recorded Sayings of Layman P'ang.

Irwin, John. "'Asokan' Pillars: A Reassessment of the Evidence," Burlington Magazine, November 1973, 706-20.

Karlgren, Bernard. "Early Chinese Mirror Inscriptions," Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities, no. 6 (1934).

-----. "Grammata Serica Recensa." Reprinted from Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities, no. 29 (1957).

Kerouac, Jack. Dharma Bums. New York: Signet Books, 1954.

Kherdian, David. Gary Snyder: A Biographical Sketch and Descriptive Checklist. Berkeley: Oyez, 1965.

Legge, James. Chinese Classics. 5 vols. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1960.

Li Chi. "The Changing Concept of the Recluse in Chinese Literature," Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies, 24 (1962-3), 234-47.

Liebenthal, Walter. Review of The Blue Cliff Records - the Hekigan Roku, translated by R.D.M. Shaw, in Monumenta Serica, 22 (1963), 308-9.

Liu, James J.Y. The Art of Chinese Poetry. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962.

-----. Chinese Theories of Literature. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1975.

Liu, Wu-chi and Irving Lo, ed. Sunflower Splendor. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1975.

Lo, Karl. A Guide to the Ssu pu ts'ung k'an. Lawrence: University of Kansas Libraries, 1965.

- Lu K'uan Yü (Charles Luk). The Śūraṅgama Sutra. London: Rider and Company, 1966.
- Mather, Richard. "Chinese Letters and Scholarship in the Third and Fourth Centuries: the 'Wen-hsueh p'ien' of the Shih-shuo Hsin-yü," Journal of the American Oriental Society, 84, 4 (1964), 348-91.
- , "The Landscape Buddhism of the Fifth-Century Poet Hsieh Ling-yün," Journal of Asian Studies, 18, 1 (November, 1958), 67-79.
- , "The Mystical Ascent of the T'ien T'ai Mountains: Sun Ch'o's Yu T'ien-T'ai-shan fu," Monumenta Serica, 20 (1961), 226-45.
- , trans. Shih-shuo Hsin-yü: A New Account of Tales of the World. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1976.
- Menzel, Johanna, ed. The Chinese Civil Service. New York: D.C. Heath and Co., 1963.
- Needham, Joseph. Science and Civilization in China. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1956.
- Nivison, David. "The Criteria of Excellence," in J. Menzel, ed., The Chinese Civil Service.
- Pulleyblank, E.G. "Linguistic Evidence for the date of Han-shan," unpublished paper read at the 1970 Congress of Orientalists, Paris.
- Reischauer, Edwin O. Ennin's Diary. New York: Ronald Press, 1955.
- , Ennin's Travels in T'ang China. New York: Ronald Press, 1955.
- Robinson, G.W. Review of Cold Mountain, by Burton Watson, in Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, 26, 2 (1963), 456-8.
- Sasaki, Ruth Fuller. See Fraser, Dana, The Recorded Sayings of Layman P'ang.
- Schafer, Edward. "Mineral Imagery in the Paradise Poems of Kuan-hsiu," Asia Major, N.S. 10 (1963), 73-102.
- , The Vermilion Bird: T'ang Images of the South. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967.
- Shih, Robert, trans. Biographies des moines éminents. Louvain: Institut Orientaliste, 1968.
- Snyder, Gary. Riprap and Cold Mountain Poems. San Francisco: Four Seasons Foundation, 1969.

- . "Translation of Twenty-four Poems of Han-shan," Evergreen Review, 2, 6 (Autumn, 1958), 68-80.
- Soothill, W.E., and Lewis Hodous. A Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist Terms. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner, 1937.
- . The Hall of Light. London: Lutterworth Press, 1951.
- Stein, R. "Jardins en miniature d'Extrême-Orient: le monde en petit," Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient, 42 (1943), 1-104.
- Sullivan, Michael. The Birth of Landscape Painting in China. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1962.
- . "On the Origin of Landscape Representation in Chinese Art," Archives of the Chinese Art Society of America, 7 (1953),
- . "Pictorial Art and the Attitude toward Nature in Ancient China," Art Bulletin, 36 (March 1954), 1-19.
- Suzuki Daisetz. Essays in Zen Buddhism, First Series. London: Luzac and Co., 1927.
- . Essays in Zen Buddhism, Second Series. London: Luzac and Co., 1933.
- . Essays in Zen Buddhism, Third Series. London: Luzac and Co., 1934.
- Twitchett, Denis and Arthur Wright, ed. Perspectives on the T'ang. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1973.
- van Gulik, R.H. "The Lore of the Chinese Lute," Monumenta Nipponica, 2, 1 (1939), 75-99; 2,2 (July, 1939), 77-104; 3 (1940), 127-76.
- Waley, Arthur. The Life and Times of Po Chu-i. London: George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., 1949.
- . The Temple and Other Poems. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, n.d.
- . "Twenty-seven Poems by Han-shan," Encounter, 3, 3 (September, 1954), 3-8.
- Ware, James. Alchemy, Medicine, Religion in the China of A.D. 320: The Nei P'ien of Ko Hung. Cambridge, Mass.: The M.I.T. Press, 1966.
- Watson, Burton. Chinese Lyricism. New York: Columbia University Press, 1971.
- . Cold Mountain. London: Jonathan Cape, 1962.

-----, trans. Records of the Grand-Historian of China. New York: Columbia University Press, 1961.

Weber, Max. "Struggle of Monarch and Nobility: Origin of the Career Open to Talent," in J. Menzel ed., The Chinese Civil Service.

Wen Fong. The Lohans and a Bridge to Heaven. Freer Gallery of Art Occasional Papers, 3, 1. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institute, 1958.

Wimsatt, W.K., Jr. See Brooks, Cleanth, Literary Criticism: A Short History.

-----, The Verbal Icon. n.p.: University of Kentucky Press, 1954.

Wordsworth, William. The Complete Poetical Works, Cambridge Edition. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1932.

Wright, Arthur. See Twitchett, Denis, ed., Perspectives on the T'ang.

Wu Chi-yu. "A Study of Han-shan," T'oung-pao, 45, 4-5 (1957), 392-450.

Wu, Nelson I. Chinese and Indian Architecture: The City of Man, the Mountain of God, and the Realm of the Immortals. New York: George Braziller, 1963.

Yampolsky, Philip, trans. The Platform Sutra of the Sixth Patriarch. New York: Columbia University Press, 1967.

Zainie, Carla M. "The Eccentric Hermits Han-shan and Shih-te: Three Late Paintings in the Nelson Gallery," Bulletin of the Nelson Gallery and Atkins Museum, 5, 3 (February, 1976), 17-34.

Zürcher, E. The Buddhist Conquest of China. Vols. I and II. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1959.

Part Two

(Unless otherwise indicated, all SPTK citations are from the first printing.)

Chang Chün-fang 張君房, comp. and ed. Yün-chi ch'i-ch'ien 雲笈七籤. (SPTK Taiwan ed.).

Ch'en Hui-chien 陳慧劍. Han-shan-tzu yen-chiu 寒山子研究. Taipei: Hua-hsin ch'u-pan yu-hsien kung-ssu 華新出版有限公司

Ch'en Ting-huan 陳鼎環. "Han-shan ti ch'an-ching yü shih-ch'ing" 寒山的禪境與詩情, Chung-kuo shih chi-k'an 中國詩季刊, 3, 4 (December, 1972). (Articles in this journal are paginated individually.)

- Cheng Chen-to 鄭振鐸. Chung-kuo su wen-hsüeh shih 中國俗文學史. Peking: Tso-chia ch'u-pan she 作家出版社, 1954.
- Ch'ien Mu 錢穆. "Tu Han-shan shih" 讀寒山詩, Hsin ya shu-yüan hsüeh-shu nien-k'an 新亞書院學術年刊, 1959-60, Part I, 1-12.
- Ch'iu Shih 仇實. "Han-shan shih hsiao lu" 寒山詩識小錄, Chung-kuo shih chi-k'an, 4, 3 (September 1973).
- Cho An-ch'i 卓安琪. "Han-shan shih-tai ti t'an-k'ao" 寒山時代的探索, Chung-kuo shih chi-k'an, 3, 4 (December 1972).
- Chu Kuang-ch'ien 朱光潛. "Yu-hsien shih" 遊仙詩, Wen-hsüeh tsa-chih 文學雜誌, 3, 4 (1948), 1-14.
- Ch'u tz'u 楚辭. (SPTK ed.).
- Chu Tzu yü lei 朱子語類. Taipei: Cheng-chung shu-chü 正中書局, 1962.
- Ch'üan T'ang shih 全唐詩. Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü 中華書局, 1960.
- Chuang-tzu 莊子. (SPTK ed.).
- Ch'un-ch'iu ching-chuan chi-chieh 春秋經傳集解. (SPTK ed.).
- Chung Hung 鍾山榮. Shih p'in chu 詩品注. Taipei: K'ai-ming shu-tien 開明書店, 1968.
- Chung Ling 鍾玲. "Han-shan tsai tung-fang yü hsi-fang wen-hsüeh chieh ti ti-wei" 寒山在東方與西方文學界的地位, Chung-kuo shih chi-k'an, 3, 4 (December 1972).
- Han-shan shih 寒山詩. Hong Kong: Yung-chiu fang-sheng hui 永久硯生會, 1959.
- Han-shan shih chi 寒山詩集. Taiwan: Wen-feng ch'u-pan she 文峯出版社, 1960.
- Han-shan-tzu shih chi 寒山子詩集. (SPTK ed.).
- Han Wu ku-shih 漢武故事. (Ku-chin i-shih 古今逸史 ed.). Taipei: I-wen yin-shu kuan 藝文印書館, 1965.
- Han Wu-ti nei chuan 漢武帝內傳. Tao-tsang 道藏. Tung-ch'en pu 洞真部. I-wen yin-shu kuan, 1962.
- Hou Han shu 後漢書. (Po-na 伯納 ed.).

Hsi Chung-san chi 嵒中散集. (SPTK ed.).

Hsin T'ang shu 新唐書. (Po-na ed.).

Hsü I-heng 徐義衡. "Ho Han-shan shih" 和寒山詩, Chung-kuo shih chi-k'an, 3, 4 (December 1972).

Hsü Ling-fu 徐靈府. T'ien-t'ai-shan chi 天臺山記. (Ku-i ts'ung-shu 古逸叢書 ed.) Taipei: I-wen yin-shu kuan, 1965.

Hsü Tuan-fu 胥端甫. "Han-shan shih-chieh" 寒山世界, Chung-kuo shih chi-k'an, 3, 4 (December 1972).

Hu Shih 胡適. Pai-hua wen-hsüeh shih 白話文學史. Hong Kong: Ying-chung shu-wu 應鍾書屋, 1959.

Hu Tun-yü 胡鈍俞. "Ch'u-shih Shih-shu ho Han-shan shih hsüan-p'ing" 楚石石樹和寒山詩選評, Chung-kuo shih chi-k'an, 4, 1 (March 1973).

----- "Ho Han-shan shih" 和寒山詩, Chung-kuo shih chi-k'an, 3, 3 (September 1972).

----- "P'ing Wang An-shih ni Han-shan Shih-te shih" 評王安石擬寒山拾得詩, Chung-kuo shih chi-k'an, 4, 1 (March 1973).

Hung-ming chi 弘明集. (SPTK ed.).

I Chung-ta 易中達. "Shih-jen Han-shan ti yen-chiu" 詩人寒山的
研究, Chung-kuo shih chi-k'an, 3, 3 (September 1972).

Iriya Yoshitaka 入矢義高. Kanzan 寒山. Tokyo: Iwanami shōten 岩波書店, 1958.

----- "Ō Bonshi ni tsuite" 王梵志について, Chūgoku gakuhō 中國學報 3 (October 1955), 50-60, (Part One); 4 (April 1956), 19-56, (Part Two).

Kao shih chuan 高士傳. (Ku-chin i-shih 古今逸史 ed.). Taipei: I-wen yin-shu kuan, 1965.

Kao Yüeh-t'ien 高越天. "Tu Han-shan shih ou-chi" 讀寒山詩偶記, Chung-kuo shih chi-k'an, 3, 3 (September 1972).

Ko Hung 葛洪. Pao p'u tzu 抱朴子. (SPTK ed.).

Kozen Hiroshi 興膳宏. "Shijin toshite no Kaku Haku" 詩人としてのかく環, Chūgoku gakuhō, 19 (1963), 17-67.

Ku Tsu-yü 顧祖禹. Tu shih fang yü chi yao 讀史方輿紀要. Taipei: Hsin-hsing shu-chū 新興書局, 1956.

Kuo I-yüan 郭亦園, Wu Shu-ming 吳漱溟, et al. "Ni Han-shan shih"
擬寒山詩, Chung-kuo shih chi-k'an, 4, 3 (September, 1973).

Kuo Shao-yü 郭紹虞. Chung-kuo wen-hsüeh p'i-p'ing shih 中國文學
批評史. Shanghai: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1962.

Liu ch'en chu Wen hsüan 六臣注文選. (SPTK ed.).

Liu I-ch'ing 劉義慶. Shih-shuo hsin-yü 世說新語. (SPTK ed.).

Liu Ta-chieh 劉大杰. Chung-kuo wen-hsüeh fa-ta shih 中國文學發
達史. Taipei: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1968.

Lun yü 論語. (SPTK ed.).

Mao shih 毛詩. (SPTK ed.).

Meng-tzu 孟子. (SPTK ed.).

Pai-hsiang tz'u-p'u chien 白香詞譜箋. Hong Kong: Commercial
Press, 1972.

Shan hai ching 山海經. (SPTK ed.).

Shih chi 史記. Taipei: I-wen yin-shu kuan, 1955.

Sou-shen chi 搜神記. (Han Wei ts'ung shu 漢魏叢書 ed.).

Sung shu 宋書 (Erh-shih-wu shih 二十五史) Vol. 10. Taipei: I-
wen yin-shu kuan, 1956.

T'ai-p'ing kuang-chi 太平廣記. Taiwan: Hsin-hsing shu-chü, 1962.

T'ang hui yao 唐會要. Taipei: Shih-chieh shu-chü 世界書局,
1963.

Tao-hsuan 道宣. Kao seng chuan erh-chi 高僧傳二集. Taipei:
Yin-ching ch'u 印經處, 1970.

T'ao Yüan-ming 陶淵明. Chien-chu T'ao Yüan-ming chi 箋註陶淵明
集. (SPTK ed.).

Tao-yüan 道原. Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu 景德傳燈錄. Taipei: Chen
shan mei 真善美, 1967.

T'ien-t'ai-shan chih 天臺山志. Anonymous. Tao-tsang 道藏
Tung-hsüan pu 洞玄部. Taipei: I-wen yin-shu kuan, 1962.

Tsan-ning 贊寧. Sung kao seng chuan 宋高僧傳, in Ta tsang-ching 大藏經
Shanghai: P'in-chia ching-she 頻伽精舍, 1913.

Ts'ao Tzu-chien chi 曹子建集. (SPTK ed.).

Tu Kung-pu shih chi 杜工部詩集. (Ssu-pu pei-yao 四部備要 ed.).

Wang Lin-ch'uan chi 王臨川集. Shanghai: Commercial Press, 1936.

Yü Chia-hsi 余嘉錫. Ssu-k'u t'i-yao pien-cheng 四庫提要辨證. [Taipei: I-wen yin-shu kuan, 1957.]

----- "Ssu-k'u t'i-yao pien-cheng," Chung-kuo shih chi-k'an, 4, 3 (September 1973). This article is a reprint of the material relating to Han-shan in Yü Chia-hsi, Ssu-k'u t'i-yao pien-cheng.

Yü Tzu-shan chi 庾子山集. (SPTK ed.).

Yüeh-fu shih chi 樂府詩集. (SPPY ed.).